

A Book of Old Maps

DELINEATING
AMERICAN HISTORY
*From the Earliest Days
Down to the Close of the
Revolutionary War*

Compiled and Edited by Emerson D. Fite & Archibald Freeman

75 illustrations

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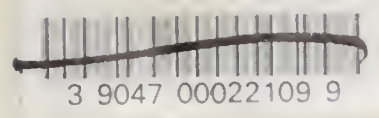
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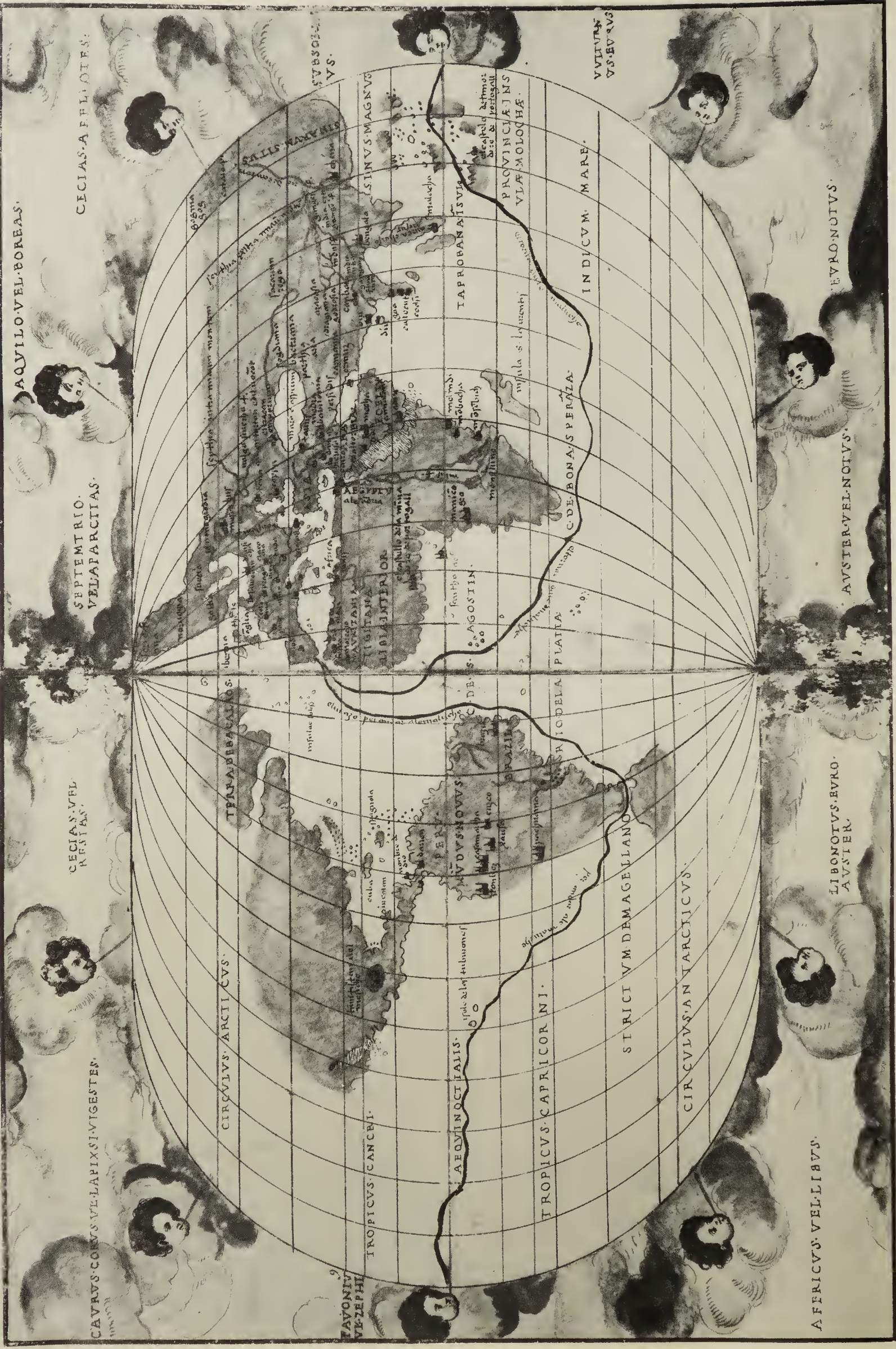




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A BOOK OF OLD MAPS



CECIAS. AFRICAS.

SEPTENTRIO. VEL. PARCIAS.

CECIAS. VEL. AFRICAS.

CAVRVS. CORVS. VEL. LAPIS. VIGESTES.

AQUILO. VEL. BOREAS.

VITIVS. VEL. EVVS.

EVRONOTVS.

AVSTER. VEL. NOTVS.

LIBONOTVS. EVRO. AVSTER.

AFRICVS. VELLIVS.

INDICVM. MARE.

C. DE. BONA. SPERAZA.

PLATIA.

STRICTVM. DEMAGELLANO.

CIRCVLVS. ANTARCTICVS.

TROPICVS. CAPRICORNI.

AEQUINOCTIALIS.

TROPICVS. CANCRI.

FAVONIVS. VEZEPHI.

TAPROBANA. ISVIA.

PROVINCIA. JNS.

VLAE. MOLOCHAE.

SINVS. MAGNVS.

VS.

VS.

*A BOOK OF
OLD MAPS DELINEATING
AMERICAN HISTORY*

from the Earliest Days down to the
Close of the Revolutionary War

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

EMERSON D. FITE & ARCHIBALD FREEMAN

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NEW YORK

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Publisher's Note to the Reprint Edition

ACKNOWLEDGMENT is made to the institutions listed below who supplied new photographs for use in the present edition. An asterisk following a map number indicates that the authors obtained the illustration for the original Harvard University Press edition from a different source, as indicated in the text. The few instances in which the present illustrations differ slightly (generally as to state or edition) are also mentioned below. New photographs of all illustrations not listed below were obtained from the same sources used in the preparation of the original edition.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: Map nos. 2, 7*, 8, 10, 12*, 13*, 14, 19*, 20, 28*, 31*, 32, 33, 34, 36*, 37, 38, 44, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 56, 60, 64*, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73*

The publisher also calls the reader's attention to the following notes regarding several of the maps supplied by the Library of Congress for the present edition. Map number 14 is a reproduction of a map published by S. E. W. Griggs, Peckham, England (1886), which was a facsimile of one in the Vatican Library at Rome that is referred to in the text on page 47 as the "Propaganda" or "Second Borgian" map. The original edition of the present work contained a reproduction of Stevenson's facsimile photograph of the other well-known map signed by Ribero, the map in twelve parchment sheets now in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar.

The reproduction for map number 28 is made from a photograph of the first state and does not carry the legend concerning "the discoveries of Sr. Francis Drake." The legend, which is located in the lower left side of later editions of the map, consists of eight lines of inscription in a frame similar to that enclosing the right-hand legend.

Map number 32 is a reproduction of the sixth state of Smith's map of Virginia, which appears in some copies of Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginie, New England, and the Summer Isles*, London, 1624, and in Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, Vol. IV.

The reproduction of map number 34 is from the sixth state of the map, and not from the fourth state or edition. This sixth state first appeared in the 1627 edition of John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginie, New England, and the Summer Isles*.

The present reproduction of map number 44 is from the second (rather than the first) edition of Penn's *Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders*, published in London in 1683.

P U B L I S H E R ' S N O T E

Map number 47 is a new photograph from the state or edition of the map containing the inscription referred to in the text on page 182, lines 11 ff., but bearing the same statement of publication as that associated with the first edition of the map.

Map number 56 is a reproduction of a copy of Carver's map published by Robert Sayer and John Bennett in London, Feb. 16, 1776.

Lastly, map number 61 in the present edition is reproduced from copy "A" (rather than copy "B") of Faden's *The North American Atlas* in the Library of Congress.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY: Map nos. 5 and 45

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE IN PARIS: Map nos. 18*, 22*, 41

Map number 41 is a reproduction of a photograph of the original map in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: Map nos. 50, 55, 58, 67

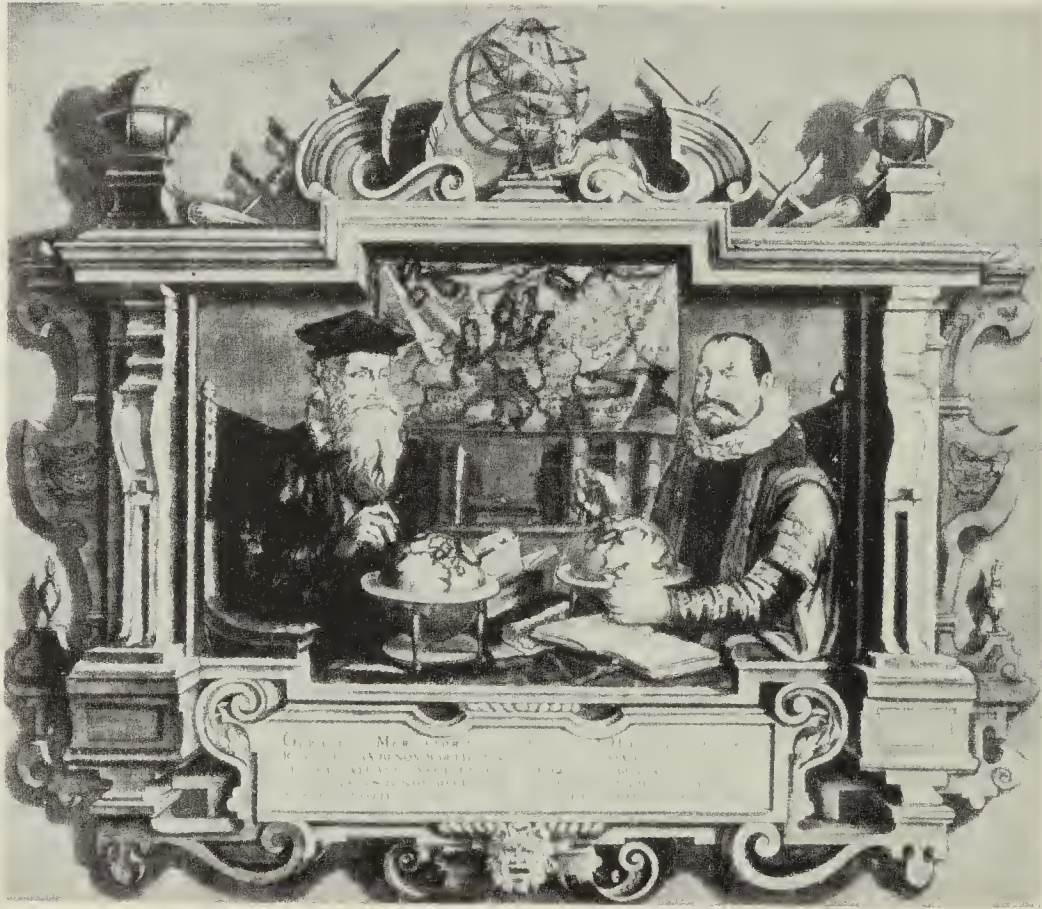
It should also be noted that the present reproduction of map number 4 is from the original parchment map in the Museo Naval, Madrid, instead of from the facsimile made by Canovas Vallejo and Traynor and issued by the Spanish government in 1892.

Map number 35 is a reproduction from the 1906 facsimile reprint of Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus or His Pilgrimees. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others*, Vol. XIV, published by The Macmillan Company, New York.

1969

“**T**HIS worke then is composed of Geographie (*which is a*
“*description of the knowne Earth and the parts thereof*) and
“*Historie, which is (Oculus mundi) the eye of the World.*
“*These two goe inseperably together, and as it were hand in hand, or*
“*as Doctour Heylin saith, are like unto the two fire-lights Castor*
“*and Pollux seene together, crowne or happiness, but parted asunder,*
“*menace a shipwreck of our content, and are like two Sisters intirely*
“*loving each other, and cannot without pittie be divided.*”

PREFACE TO MERCATOR'S ATLAS (1633).



Ubi sunt qui in mundo fuerunt
et non sunt in libro vitae
et non sunt in libro vitae
et non sunt in libro vitae
et non sunt in libro vitae

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TO all those who in any way have aided in the progress of their work, the editors wish to extend their grateful thanks. Especially do they make acknowledgments of their debt to Edward Luther Stevenson of the Hispanic Society of America, Victor H. Paltsits and his assistants in charge of the select books and maps in the New York Public Library, Isaiah Bowman of the American Geographical Society and I. N. P. Stokes of New York; to Walter B. Briggs and others in the Library of Harvard University; to the late Phillip Lee Phillips of the Map Division of the Library of Congress; to the Trustees of the John Carter Brown Library; to Adelaide Underhill and Fanny Borden of the Vassar College Library; to Charles de la Roncière, Historian of the French Navy; to F. P. Sprenck of the British Museum; to Wilbur C. Abbot of Harvard University, and Frank W. Matteson of Providence, Rhode Island; and to the photographers, L. C. Handy of Washington, Louis Huntress of Andover, Peter A. Juley of New York, and Donald Macbeth of London.

EMERSON D. FITE
Poughkeepsie, New York

December 25, 1925

ARCHIBALD FREEMAN
Andover, Massachusetts

“Come, here’s the map.”

SHAKESPEARE : HENRY IV, PART I.
(ACT III, SCENE I)



WORLD MAP

By Claudius Ptolemy. Alexandria, Second Century, A.D.

(15¾ x 21 inches.)

(In Nicolo Todescho, "Geographia." Firenze, 1478 [?].)

(Library of Congress.)

CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY was a Greek astronomer, mathematician, and geographer. Little is known of him personally, aside from the fact that he lived in the second century, during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, in, or near, Alexandria, Egypt. He himself states that he "made his observations in the parallel of Alexandria." His earliest recorded observation was made in 127 A.D. and his last in 151 A.D. There is no evidence that he belonged to the royal family of Egypt.

Ptolemy is the author of two celebrated treatises which profoundly affected mediæval thought. In his *Magale Syntaxis*, more commonly known by its Arab title *Almagest*, he laid the foundation of trigonometry and set forth his system of the universe, which largely determined the opinions of the learned world for fourteen hundred years. He conceived of the earth as a stationary sphere, at the center of the heavens, which revolved daily about it. His proofs of the sphericity of the earth are still accepted as valid. The theory of the rotation of the earth about its axis was rejected by him as ridiculous. Columbus and his contemporaries based their theories concerning the shape of the earth and its position in the universe on the system of Ptolemy.

Ptolemy's second treatise, *Geographikè Syntaxis*, containing twenty-seven maps, was the standard work on geography throughout the Middle Ages and was not superseded until the sixteenth century. While no original manuscript of Ptolemy's work has survived, several manuscript copies still exist and one of them, dating from the thirteenth century, in the monastery of Vatopédi on Mount Athos,¹ has been reproduced. The most valuable manuscript is in the Vatican Library.

Ptolemy states in his preface that his geography and maps were based directly on a work by an older contemporary of his, Marinus of Tyre, whose maps are only known through those of Ptolemy.²

While there is no doubt that Ptolemy's text was from the first illustrated by maps, it is not altogether certain that the maps published with the text are copies of the original series. It is stated in two of the manuscripts that the maps were made by Agathodæmon of Alexandria, "who drew them according to the eight books of Claudius Ptolemy," but there is nothing else known about Agathodæmon. The latest opinion is that "Agathodæmon

can only be regarded as author of the map of the world . . .; the twenty-six regional maps represent the Ptolemaic edition of the maps designed by Marinus."³ As the map corresponds closely to the text in the *Geographikè*, it may safely be said to represent the age and ideas of Ptolemy. It is noteworthy that in its reproductions the map escaped the pictorial fancies characteristic of mediæval maps.

As the Greek language was little known in western Europe in the fifteenth century, the translation of Ptolemy's treatise into Latin was a great stimulus to geographical studies. The translation was begun by Emmanuel Chrysoloras and completed by his pupil Jacobus Angelus, who dedicated it to Pope Alexander V. A manuscript copy of this translation containing twenty-seven Latin maps and bearing the title *Cosmographia* is in the town library at Nancy, France.

The first printed edition is believed to be that of 1475, a copy of which is in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence. The date 1462 on another edition is thought to be an error. Within the next century over fifty editions were published, of which the Library of Congress in 1914 possessed copies of forty-one. The reproduction here given is of the map of the world in a copy of the Florence edition of 1478 in the Library of Congress. The maps in this edition are said by Nordenskiöld to be "the only copies of Ptolemy's maps printed on their original projection with equidistant parallels and meridians." In addition to the twenty-seven maps, one of the world, here reproduced, and twenty-six of special regions, which are the same in all complete manuscripts of the *Geographikè*, this edition contains four contemporaneous maps of Italy, Spain, France and Palestine, which are the foundation of modern cartography. The maps in this Florence edition, probably the first printed on copper, are decidedly inferior in execution to those in the edition published at Rome in the same year, a copy of which may be seen in the New York Public Library. The text of the Florence edition is a metrical translation into Italian made by Francisco Berlinghieri.

The most famous later editions are those of Donnus Nickolaus Germanus in 1482 and 1486, which added knowledge of the British Islands, Scandinavia, and Greenland; John Ruysch;⁴ Martin Waldseemüller;⁵ Michael Servetus, whose

1. Victor Langlois, *Géographie de Ptolémée*, Paris, 1867.

2. Schütte, *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe*, p. 10.

3. *Ibid.* p. 4.

4. In the present work see No. 9.

5. *Ibid.* No. 8.

description of Palestine was the basis of one of the charges brought against him at his celebrated trial; Sebastian Munster; and Gerard Mercator.⁶ The artist Hans Holbein illuminated several editions.⁷

The chief characteristic of the *Geographikè* is its scientific arrangement. In the first book, Ptolemy explains how he made his map of the "habitalis," and in the following books he gives a list of some eight thousand places with their longitudes and latitudes.⁸ There is no description of the peoples and products of the several countries and very little of physical features. The information given is almost entirely mathematical and astronomical.

Ptolemy accepted the theory of the Greeks that the earth is a sphere, and assumed that its surface is divided into zones by the equator and the tropics. He followed Hipparchus in dividing the equatorial circle into 360 parts, later called degrees, and from the equator to the pole drew other circles which were later called meridians. "He thus, like modern geographers, conceived the whole surface of the earth as covered with a network of *parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude*."⁹

Ptolemy understood how to determine the latitude of places north of the equator by observing the elevation of the polar star, but he determined the latitude of places south of the equator only by the estimates of distances made by travelers. Longitude was far more difficult to determine than latitude. Ptolemy, here again, followed Hipparchus, who had demonstrated that difference of longitude can be determined by observing the difference of time when the same eclipse is observed at different places; but, as few such observations had been made, it became necessary to fall back upon the inexact estimates of distance made by travelers. Hence Ptolemy's latitudes are much more accurate than his longitudes.

Another error arose when he took for his prime meridian that of the Fortunate Islands, the modern Canaries, which he placed, unfortunately for the accuracy of his calculations, about seven degrees too far east.

Ptolemy underestimated the size of the earth. He rejected the surprisingly accurate calculation of the circumference of the earth, made by Eratosthenes (276-196 B.C.), of 252,000 stadia and adopted that made by Poseidonius (135-50 B.C.) of 180,000 stadia.

To this initial error in calculation, Ptolemy added another by unduly elongating on his map that part of the world which was then known. The Mediterranean Sea is greatly lengthened east and west, extending over 65 degrees from the Pillars of Hercules to the coast of Syria, instead of less

than 45 degrees. The eastward extension of Asia is also exaggerated, measuring about 110 degrees from the coast of Syria to the utmost limits of China, instead of the true distance of about 85 degrees. The result of these errors was to shorten by some 55 degrees the distance the mariner must travel if he would sail west from the shores of Spain to those of Asia.

The world map well repays study. It is apparent at once that modern map-makers still follow with little variation the conventions used by Ptolemy in representing boundaries, mountains, rivers, and towns. He bases his map on the theory that the earth is round, and depicts only that half of its surface which was then known, with no attempt to represent the other half. He employs lines to represent degrees of latitude and longitude. The tropic of Cancer at approximately 23° 30' north latitude, the tropic of Capricorn at approximately 23° 30' south latitude, the ecliptic, and the signs of the zodiac are also indicated.

The great rivers of the then known world, the Nile, Rhine, Danube, Indus, Ganges, Tigris, and Euphrates, and the chief mountain ranges of Europe and western Asia appear on the map in their proper places.

To judge from the map, Ptolemy discarded the ancient Greek belief that the earth is surrounded on all sides by water, for he extends Africa indefinitely to the southwest and on the east connects it with the eastern part of Asia, thus making the Indian Ocean an inland sea. And yet, in 1569, Gerard Mercator¹⁰ cites the authority of Ptolemy for the statement that the earth was surrounded by water, and Martin Waldseemüller in his great map of 1507¹¹ states that he accepted the belief of Ptolemy and the ancient philosophers in an encircling ocean. The Portuguese could have obtained little encouragement from Ptolemy's map for their belief in a water route to India.

On the left-hand margin of the map are indicated the seven climates or zones which had been distinguished by Permenides of Elea as early as the sixth century before Christ. These so-called "climates" appear on many early maps, on some, as many as thirty, between the equator and the pole. They represent belts of the earth parallel to the equator and correspond, in a general way, to our conception of zones. "A climate," says John Davis in 1594,¹² "is the space or difference upon the face of the earth included between two parallels, whercin the day is sensibly lengthened or shortened half an hower." "The superficialtee of the erthe," says John Mandeville,¹³ "is departed into 7 parties, for the 7 planetes, and tho parties

6. In the present work see No. 16.

7. For bibliographical notes on the various editions of Ptolemy, see Justin Winsor, *Bulletin of Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1884; Nordenskiöld, *Faensmile Atlas*; P. L. Phillips, *Geo-*

graphical Atlases; and Henry N. Stevens, *Ptolemy's Geography, A Brief Account of All the Printed Editions down to 1730*.

8. T. G. Rylands, *Geography of Ptolemy Elucidated*, p. 17.

9. E. H. Bunbury and C. R. Beazley,

"Ptolemy," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Cambridge, 1911.

10. In the present work see No. 22.

11. *Ibid.* No. 8.

12. *Seamen's Secrets*, ii.

13. *Travels*, p. 186.

ben clept *clymates*.”¹⁴ *Clima 1 Per Meroe* is so called because it passes through Meroë, near modern Shendi, a city of Africa in 17° north latitude; *Clima 2 Per Syene* passes through Syene, the modern Assouan; *Clima 4 Per Rodo* passes through Rhodes; and *Clima 6 Per Ponto* passes through the Pontus, or the Black Sea.

The numbers on the right of the map give the number of the hours in the longest day at the different latitudes. The wind heads bear their old Greek names. Ptolemy accepted the statement of Pytheas that Thule was the most northern known land, and locates it at 63° north latitude. This island of *Thyle* or *Thule* was “farthest north” for the Greeks and Romans and held that distinction until the days of Queen Elizabeth. Pytheas of Massalia first saw this island in the time of Alexander the Great. His written account of his voyage has been lost, but his expedition was referred

to by Pliny, Strabo, and others. Ptolemy evidently knew nothing of the Baltic Sea, or of the Scandinavian Peninsula except as the island of *Scandia*, north of Germany. In southern Asia, he fails to represent India as a triangular peninsula; and in the island of *Taprobane* he depicts an exaggerated Ceylon. Europe and Asia extend indefinitely to the north, as Africa does to the south and south-east and southwest.

The source of the Nile lies in two rivers flowing from lakes fed by waters from the *Mountains of the Moon*. *Æthiopia Interiore* on the world map of the Rome Edition of 1478 has the inscription: *Regio Æthiopum in qua eliphates candidi omnes gignuntur et rhinocerantes et tigrides*. (*The region of the Æthiopians, in which there are white elephants, rhinoceroses, and tigers*.)

Names of cities are seldom set down, but are reserved for the twenty-six more detailed maps.

14. Quoted by *Century Dictionary*.

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WORLD MAP

By Donnus Nickolaus Germanus. 1474

*A section of a modern photographic reproduction of the original,
nearly actual size.**(In Joseph Fischer, S.J., "The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America with
Special Relation to their Early Cartological Representation," London, 1903.)*

DONNUS NICKOLAUS GERMANUS was "a German humanist passing part of his life in Italy, and admitted to the circle of scholars at Ferrara, a priest with leisure enough to devote all his efforts to improving the texts and maps of Ptolemy."¹ The earliest of his editions of Ptolemy came before 1470, another as late as 1486; two he dedicated to his patron, Duke Borso di Este, and one to Paul II, who was Pope from 1464 to 1471.

The striking map here presented is an important link in the chain of evidence concerning the early presence of the Norsemen in the western hemisphere. To the Norse sagas, Papal briefs, accounts by Papal legates, and ruins of churches and homesteads, it adds convincing cartological evidence of the existence of Norse colonies in Greenland before 1492. There are extant six maps by Donnus Nickolaus Germanus, which delineate the regions of the North Atlantic before the days of Columbus. This phase of the subject may be studied farther in the above-mentioned work by Fischer, who has the credit of bringing at least three of these maps to the attention of his contemporaries. In some of his maps the German humanist represents Greenland as a peninsula of Europe west and north of Iceland, and in others he places Greenland to the east of Iceland. Numerous local names, scattered over Greenland in the author's more detailed maps, bear witness to an intimate knowledge of the subject.

There are at least five other maps of the fifteenth century covering the same northern regions: one, by Claudius Clavus, dated about 1427, and therefore before Donnus Nickolaus, and long known; another, the so-called Zamoiski map, found in Warsaw in 1888 by the Swedish scholar, A. E. Nordenskiöld, in a Latin manuscript of

Ptolemy; and three anonymous maps, which were found in old manuscripts in Florence by von Wieser in 1890.

It is now believed most of the early Norse settlements in Greenland were on the west coast of that country. In view of two facts—first, that the mainland of America is only ten degrees distant from that point, and second, that the same sagas that speak of Greenland make mention also of other lands reached by the Northmen in the west and in the south—scholars now conclude that the Norse sea-rovers actually brought their ships to the eastern coast of America before Columbus. The mysterious lands were Helluland, identified by the Norwegian scholar, Gustav Storm, as Labrador; Markland identified as Newfoundland, and Wineland as Nova Scotia. Fischer believes that Donnus Nickolaus and the other map-makers of his time omitted putting the more western lands on their maps because the Norsemen gave up their settlements in those regions. But doubt as one may the presence of the Norsemen on the mainland of America, there is no room for doubt that they settled in Greenland before the days of Columbus.

The existence of the numerous fifteenth-century maps of the North Atlantic makes it evident that the Norse discoveries in those regions were far better known in the days immediately preceding the discoveries by Columbus than has been generally supposed. It is a question whether or not Columbus knew of these contemporary maps of Greenland; but cultivated men in southern Europe, Columbus's contemporaries, knew of them, and Columbus may have shared this knowledge. Before 1492, geographers had added the southern portions of Greenland, the Scandinavian countries, and the Baltic Sea to Ptolemy's original map of northern Europe.

1. J. Fischer, *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, p. 80.

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MAP OF THE WORLD

Anonymous. 1488-1493.

(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

THIS colored planisphere, consisting of a large map of Europe and Africa as far south as the Congo, *Poderoso F.*, with a small map of the world, showing Africa as far south as the Cape of *Buena Esperansa*, was purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1849, but attracted no attention until M. Charles de la Roncière, Historian of the French Navy, recently made it the subject of a special monograph.¹

Although the map bears no date, its approximate date may be easily fixed. As it reflects the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Diaz, it must have been made subsequent to his return to Lisbon in December, 1488; and as it fails to depict the discoveries by Columbus on his first voyage, it must have been made before his return to Spain in March, 1493.

The identity of the author, however, cannot be so easily determined. It is pointed out by M. Roncière that as the place names are mostly in Italian it may fairly be inferred that the maker of the map was an Italian. Furthermore, that he was presumably a Genoese is indicated by the Latin inscription near the Cape Verde Islands: *These islands are called in Italian Cavo Verde, they were discovered by a Genoese called Anthony de Noli, whose name they took and still keep.* This care for the honor of Genoa appears also on the map in the conspicuous representation of the castle, harbor, and tower of that city. Still it must be noted that several other cities receive similar attention.

Further study of the map reveals evidence to Roncière which convinces him that this Genoese map-maker was no other than Christopher Columbus himself.

In the North Atlantic, the island *Frixlanda* is described in the Latin inscription near it as *an island full of mountains, snow and ice, with an ever severe climate, called Ieeland in the local language, and Thile in Latin. There, at a great distance from the British Island, on account of the cold no other food is to be had than frozen fish. The islanders exchange them, in guise of money, for wheat and flour or other necessities that the English bring to them annually. It is a rugged and wild population, from what the English say, and it lives in poor subterranean abodes during the six months when the sea is frozen.*²

This inscription is curiously reminiscent of the statement by Christopher Columbus found in the account of his life by his son Ferdinand: "I navi-

gated, in the month of February 1477, as far as a hundred leagues beyond the Island of Tile, whose austral part is at 73° latitude. The island is as large as England. The English, especially those of Bristol, go there to trade. At the time of the year when I was there, the sea was not frozen over. . . . It is quite true that the Tile spoken of by Ptolemy lies where he says: it is the one called by the moderns Frislanda."³

While it is probable that both this statement and the legend on the map originated in the stories of British sailors which Columbus heard at Bristol when he visited that port in 1486, it does not necessarily follow that both were written by the same author.

The map of the world representing the position of the earth, according to the Ptolemaic system, at the center of the universe, surrounded by the ocean and the nine concentric circles of the planets and stars, is in keeping with the well known views of Columbus. The two long Latin inscriptions on either side of this small map of the world are quotations from Cardinal D'Ailly's *Traetatus de imagine mundi*, which had then been recently published for the first time at Louvain in 1483. Columbus's copy of this celebrated treatise, with many marginal annotations in his own handwriting, which he probably carried with him on his first voyage, is still preserved in the Columbian Library at Seville.⁴

Other evidence in support of the claim that the author of this map was either Columbus himself or some one working under his close supervision and direction is found by M. Roncière in a comparison of the Latin inscription on the map of Africa, near the Red Sea, with the text of D'Ailly's *Traetatus* and the annotation by Columbus. The legend on the map reads as follows: *Adeo ut ipsa [Maria] simul jungere alveo manufacto quandoque Egiptii cogitaverunt reges, nam longitudo ejus est sex mensium navigacionis, ut Jeronimus dicit in epistola ad Eliaeum monacum, et de ibi annum integrum usque in Indiam. Unde refert quod classis Salomonis per triennium ab India deportabat commercia.*

The text of D'Ailly's *Traetatus* reads in part as follows: "Adeo ut ipsa [Maria] jungere alveo manufacto quandoque Egiptii cogitaverunt reges, mare Rubrum . . . cujus longitudo vix sex mensium navigatione pertransitur, a cujus littore Oceanus usque ad terminum Indie vix anno in-

1. Charles de la Roncière, *The Map of Christopher Columbus*. Paris, 1924.

2. and 3. These translations are taken

from *The Map of Christopher Columbus* by the permission of the author, M. Roncière.

4. Justin Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 8.

regro navigatur, secundum Iheronimum. Unde refert quod Classis Salomonis per triennium ab India deportabat commertia.”

The annotation on this passage on the margin of the text, in Columbus's copy of this book and in his own handwriting, is as follows: “Reges Egipti voluerunt intromittere mare Rubrum in mari Mediterraneo: mare Rubrum est sex menses navigationis, et de ibi annum usque ad Indiam. Unde [Classis] Salamonis per triennium deportabat comertia.”⁵

The close correspondence of the legend on the map to D'Ailly's text and the marginal note by Columbus, even to the repetition of the Latin solecism, *de ibi*, found in the latter, leads to the conclusion by M. Roncière that the author of the annotation and the author of the legend on the map were one and the same person.

M. Roncière suggests that this may be the very map which Columbus submitted to the Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1491, at Santa Fé during the siege of Granada.

Several curious features of the map deserve notice. In the north of Europe is the peninsula *Groenlant*, bearing the legend *Hic habitat populus monstuosus*.

On the east coast of Asia appear the islands visited by the mythical Irish saint, Brandan, who sailed out into the Atlantic in search of a land “secret, hidden, and secure,” and came after many weeks to an island of flame and smoke, the entrance to hell,⁶ *insule ignibus plene et demoniis infernalibus*. Escaping thence he visited an island filled with angelic birds, *paradisi avium*, and then one on which there was a monastery founded by St. Alben, *insula familie S. Albe*, and at length came

to a delightful island with sun-warmed shores, *insula deliciarum*. Not far from these mythical islands may be seen the terrestrial Paradise, *Paradisi terrestri*, surrounded by mountains of diamonds.

Near the northwest corner of the map, far west of Ireland, there is a faint inscription, which Roncière was able to reproduce by photography as follows: *Hec Septem Civitatum insula vocatur, nunc Portugalensium colonia efecta, ut gromite citantur Hispanorum, in qua reperiri inter arenas argentum perhibetur*. (Here is the island called the Seven Cities, a colony now peopled by Portuguese: it is said from a report by Spanish sailors that silver is found there in the sand.)⁷

This well known mediæval myth of the Island of the Seven Cities is explained in the following legend on Behaim's globe, which was made in 1492. “In the year 734 of Christ, when the whole of Spain had been won by the heathen [Moors] of Africa, the above island Antilia, called *Septe citade* [Seven Cities] was inhabited by an archbishop from Porto in Portugal, with six other bishops, and other Christians, men and women, who had fled thither from Spain, by ship, together with their cattle, belongings, and goods. 1414 a ship from Spain got nighest it without being endangered.”⁸ The island appears on many later maps.⁹

Winsor saw in the story of this island nothing but a geographical fancy,¹⁰ but Roncière conjectures that it “gives us the clue to the discovery of Newfoundland by the Portuguese,” and believes that the famous Papal bull of demarcation of 1493 was inspired by the desire to safeguard the Portuguese rights to this island.¹¹

5. Roncière, *The Map of Christopher Columbus*, p. 12.

6. William Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, p. 34, and M. J.

De Goeje, *La Legende de Saint Brandan*.

7. Roncière, *The Map of Christopher Columbus*, p. 27.

8. E. C. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, p. 77.

9. In the present work see No. 25.

10. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, I, 49.

11. Roncière, *Map of Columbus*, p. 29.

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PORTOLAN WORLD CHART

By Juan de la Cosa. Santa Maria, Spain, 1500.

(38 x 69 inches.)

(Naval Museum, Madrid.)

THE original parchment of this map, an ox-hide 3 ft. 2 in. x 5 ft. 9 in., superbly illustrated in colors, was found in 1832 in a shop in Paris by Baron Walckenaer, the Dutch Ambassador, and was brought to the attention of the world the following year by Humboldt, the German scholar. Upon the death of Baron Walckenaer in 1853 it was purchased by the Queen of Spain, and though greatly deteriorated is now the chief treasure of the Naval Museum at Madrid. It was never engraved or printed until recent years, and probably exercised little influence on the cartography of the sixteenth century. The reproduction here given is from the facsimile made by Cánovas Vallejo and Traynor and issued by the Spanish government in 1892. It was based on that of M. Jomard in his *La Collection des Monuments de la Géographie du Moyen Age*.

The name of the maker of the map is in the legend under the picture of St. Christopher, at the left, which reads: *Juan de la cosa la fixo en el puerto de S: mā en año de 1500.* (*John de la Cosa made it at the port of Santa Maria in the year 1500.*) La Cosa has been called "the most expert mariner and unrivalled pilot of his age." He was the owner and mate of the *Santa Maria*, the flagship of Columbus on his first voyage, and the official cartographer and captain of the *Niña* on the second voyage.¹ With others he signed the famous affidavit, demanded by Columbus, that he believed Cuba to be a part of the mainland of Asia. In 1499, he was chief pilot of Ojeda's expedition along the northern coast of South America. On this voyage, he was associated with Vespucci. Upon his return from this expedition in 1500, he made his famous marine chart for Ferdinand and Isabella. Later he went on four other voyages to the new world and in 1509 was killed by the Indians in Venezuela, "pierced by more than twenty poisoned arrows."

This map is the oldest, now known, made since 1492, which shows the discoveries in the new world. It is an excellent example of the portolan charts which came into use among Italian sailors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Italian portolan originated in the Greek periplus, a harbor-book or set of sailing directions describing harbors, shoals, distances, currents, and winds, but containing no map. The Italian portolan was made on the model of the periplus but contained a map or chart showing the coast line and a few

places along the coast, but, as it was intended only for seamen, it gave little information of the interior of even the most populous countries. After the invention of the compass, portolans became numerous. At least one hundred made before 1500 are still in existence. Modern maps developed from these portolans.² In addition to Juan de la Cosa, some of the most distinguished makers of portolan charts were Alberto Cantino, Nicolo de Canerio, Diego Ribero,³ Vesconte de Maiollo,⁴ and Battista Agnese.⁵

La Cosa represents upon his map the line of the equator and the tropic of Cancer but no other lines of latitude, and no lines of longitude except the *línea meridional*, which is thought to be the line of demarcation of 1494,⁶ crossing the tip of Brazil. The line is plainly indicated with a suitable inscription on the Cantino map made in 1502.

The chief interest in the map is its delineation of the coast line of the new world so recently discovered and so little known. Off the coast of Brazil, the island with the legend, *Ysla descubierta por portugal* (*Island discovered for Portugal*), indicates La Cosa's belief concerning the location of the land discovered by Cabral in 1500. The news of this discovery was probably brought to Spain while La Cosa was still working on his map. On the coast of the mainland farther north is the legend: *Este cavo se descubrio en año de mily IIII XCIX por Castilla syendo descubridor vicentians.* (*This cape was discovered in the year 1499 for Castile, Vicente Yañez being the discoverer thereof.*) This refers to the discovery made by the Spaniard, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, January 20, 1500 (1499 old style), three months before the Portuguese Cabral sighted the same coast on his way to India via the Cape of Good Hope. *Mar Dulce* commemorates the current of fresh water at the mouth of the Orinoco River seen by La Cosa far out to sea when he was with Columbus on his second voyage. *Costa de perlas*, or the Pearl Coast, on the northern coast of South America, was first discovered by Columbus on his third voyage in 1498 and had been visited again by La Cosa, with Ojeda and Vespucci, in 1499.

Haiti and Cuba are located north of the tropic of Cancer. The latter island is now first known by that name. Columbus had called it Iuna. Its representation as an island, instead of a part of the mainland of Asia, indicates that La Cosa had

1. Antonio Vascáno, *Biographical Essay on the Renowned Navigator and Cartographer Juan de la Cosa*.

2. Edward Luther Stevenson, *Portolan Charts: Their Origin and Characteristics*, New York, 1911.

3. In the present work see No. 14.

4. *Ibid.* No. 12.

5. *Ibid.* No. 17.

6. *Ibid.* No. 13.

changed his opinion since he signed the famous affidavit. Henry Harrisse sees in this insular character of Cuba strong confirmation of the much disputed story of Vespucci's voyage along the coast of the mainland in 1497. He points out that there is no record of any other voyage prior to 1500, the date of the map, which had revealed the insularity of Cuba, and that La Cosa may have obtained his information directly from Vespucci, while they were together under Ojeda, in 1499, on the Pearl Coast. The world maps of Cantino, and of Canerio, 1502, agree with La Cosa in putting water and a mainland west of Cuba; indeed these two maps are even more explicit than that of La Cosa in that they place more than a score of names on the supposed mainland, which may be identified as Florida. The bearing of the Waldseemüller map on this controversy over the first voyage of Vespucci will be discussed in a later number of this volume.⁷

The five English standards in the north and the inscriptions, *mar descubierta por yngleses* (*sea discovered by the English*) and *cavo de ynglaterra* (*Cape of England*), indicate the explorations of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498. It is believed that La Cosa drew this portion of the coast from Cabot's map, now lost, which Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador at London, sent to King Ferdinand.

The vignette at the left of the map represents St. Christopher, with a pine tree as a staff, carrying the infant Jesus over the deep water, as Christopher Columbus carried the knowledge of Christ over the sea to the natives of the newly discov-

ered lands. It has been suggested that the face of the saint is a portrait of Columbus.

It is a matter of argument whether La Cosa intended to represent the mainland behind Cuba as the eastern coast of Asia. If so, it seems strange that he placed no Asiatic names upon it.

La Cosa shows the coast line of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope with considerable accuracy. Only the previous year Vasco da Gama had returned from the first voyage to India. The inscription on the southern coast of Asia, *tierra descubierta por el Rey don Manuel Rey de portugal*, refers to Vasco da Gama's voyage to Calicut on the western coast of India from which he had returned to Portugal the previous year. The numerous names on the eastern coast of Africa cannot be attributed to da Gama.⁸

Madagascar and *Zanzibar* lie well out in the Indian Ocean. Ceylon appears in the large triangular island of *Trapobana*. The non-peninsular coast of India is Ptolemaic. In the various kingdoms into which Asia and Africa are divided by La Cosa are pictures of the reigning sovereigns, some seated on thrones. In eastern Asia are two strange figures, one that of a man without a head, with his eyes in his chest and his mouth in his stomach, and the other with the snout of a dog. *R. Got* and *R. magot* suggest the Biblical "Gog and Magog." At Babylon is seen the tower; near the eastern shore of the Red Sea, which on the original parchment is properly colored red, is the Queen of Sheba with drawn sword; and crossing Asia towards Syria are the Three Wise Men, bearing gifts.

7. In the present work see No. 8.

8. For Da Gama's first voyage see E.

G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*.

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WORLD MAP

By Bartholomew Columbus(?).

(4 x 6¼ inches, each section.)

(In Franz R. von Wieser, "Die Karte des Bartolomeo Colombo über die vierte Reise des Admirals." Innsbruck, 1893.)

THE conclusion was reached by von Wieser, and accepted by Edward Gaylord Bourne¹ and A. E. Nordenskiöld,² that these anonymous and undated sections of a world map were drawn by Bartholomew Columbus to illustrate the voyage along the coast of Central America known as Columbus's fourth voyage. The sketches are believed to represent the mature conclusions of Christopher Columbus as to the proximity of his discoveries to Asia.

The circumstantial evidence to support this conclusion is strong.

It is on record that Bartholomew Columbus possessed a map of Central America. The Sammel Codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, Italy, relates that Bartholomew Columbus brought a map and a description of Central America to the Pope in Rome, to induce the latter to intercede with the King of Spain to persuade that monarch to grant to Bartholomew a commission to colonize and Christianize the Central American coast. Bartholomew Columbus gave another copy of a map of Central America with a description of the coast to Brother Hieronymous of St. John Lateran in Rome, who gave it together with the description to Alexander of Strozzi, a collector of travels for the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. The library still possesses a copy of this description as well as an extract from it made by Strozzi; but both these manuscripts now lack the accompanying map, which was long supposed to be lost.

It is certain, however, that Bartholomew and Christopher Columbus themselves made a map of Central America, for Peter Martyr saw such a map at Burgos in 1513, when it was in the possession of Fonseca, the President of the Indian Council.³

The three sketches here reproduced would seem to be that map, because, first, they were found in the Florence edition, above referred to, by von Wieser a few years ago as marginal drawings in a copy of Christopher Columbus's letter from Jamaica, dated July 7, 1503, which is the Admiral's description of his fourth voyage; and, second, the central point of the three maps, the identification of North America with Asia, accords with the conception of Columbus set down in the Jamaica letter.

Columbus's belief that he had been in Asia is revealed by the map and the letter in various ways. The places which he visited in his fourth voyage, according to the letter from Jamaica, are here placed on the map, sheet one, as on the coast of Asia, namely *cariai*, *carambaru*, *bastimentos*, *re-trete*, and *belporto*.

Columbus speaks of the river Ganges as being ten days' journey away, and merely on the other side of a peninsula from where he then was, sheet two. He mentions having reached the province of "Mago, which borders on Cathay." The inhabitants of a certain section he found going clothed in large sheets of cotton; and he adds, "They tell me that more inland toward Cathay they have them interwoven with gold." The *Aurea chersonesus*, the modern Malay peninsula, sheet two, he contends is the *Veragua*, which he visited, and the source of the gold which King Solomon used in the building of the temple at Jerusalem. He points out that the Emperor of Cathay wished wise men to be sent to him from Europe to instruct him in the Christian faith; and he pledges himself to convey to their destination all who would volunteer for such service.

The mathematical and astronomical foundation for the belief of Columbus that he had been in Asia is to be found in the interesting inscription along the west coast of Africa, sheet three, which reads, *According to Marinus and Columbus, from Cape St. Vincent [in Portugal] to Cattigara [in southeastern China] is 225 degrees, or a difference in time of fifteen hours; according to Ptolemy, 180 degrees, which is twelve hours.* But if the inhabited part of the world, from western Europe eastward to eastern Asia, extended 225 degrees, the unknown portion of the earth's surface, westward from Europe to Asia, extended 135 degrees. To Columbus, therefore, the Atlantic Ocean was 135 degrees wide. Here he rejects the world's greatest authority in geographical matters, Ptolemy, who taught that it was 180 degrees eastward from western Europe to eastern Asia, and that the Atlantic was 180 degrees wide.⁴

Following the Arabian astronomer, Alfragan, of the ninth century, Columbus states in the letter from Jamaica that, "The world is not so large as the vulgar suppose: a degree measures on the

1. *Spain in America*, pp. 96-97.

2. *Periplus*, pp. 167-169.

3. Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 97.

4. It is curious that despite this rejection, in the map's description, of Ptolemy's reckoning, Bartholomew Columbus drew the map according to Ptolemy's

figures, making the distance at the equator from western Europe to eastern Asia 180 degrees.

equator $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles." He rejected the opinion of Ptolemy, who reckons the degree at the equator as $62\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Columbus, therefore, was of the opinion that he could reach Asia from Europe by sailing westward over the Atlantic for 135 degrees, which, at the equator, with the degree at $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles,⁵ was 7,650 miles, instead of 11,250 miles as computed by Ptolemy. Columbus thus owed his success to two fundamental errors, his underestimate of the size of the earth and his overestimate of the part already known.

The belief in the connection of the new continent with Asia lasted for a number of years after Columbus, and exercised much influence on early American cartography.⁶ The close general resemblance between the southeastern coast of China, as shown on the maps of the then contemporary editions of Ptolemy, and the unfolding shore line now known as the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, must have been a source of confusion to the explorers and map-makers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when they tried to locate the new discoveries reported from time to time in the west.

Mondo Novo (*the new world*), Columbus's name for the southern land mass, which he found on his third voyage, may be compared with Waldseemüller's term "America," which the latter brought forward in his pamphlet, *Cosmographie Introductio*, and inscribed on his map of 1507.⁷

Columbus's letter, in which he uses the phrase "Mondo Novo," and the map here reproduced, were unknown to his contemporaries, while Waldseemüller's suggested name of America, proposed in honor of Americus Vespucius, was given to the public in a popular book and on a popular map. The latter term survived, while the former was neglected. "America" had the added advantage of being more euphonious than "Mondo Novo."⁸

India, with its two large rivers, the *Ganges* and the *Indus*, and with *Calicut* on its western coast, though far from correct, is superior to the India of the La Cosa map.

The suggestion of a strait, separating *Mondo Novo* from Asia, the forerunner of the Panama Canal of the present day, is a necessity of the geography of Marco Polo. Without the strait there would be no way apparent on the map by which Marco Polo could have traversed the seas from the eastern coast of China to the Indian Ocean, a voyage which he is known to have accomplished.

"These insignificant hasty sketches," says Professor Wieser, "possess for us the value of priceless historical relics. They are not only the remains of the supposedly lost chart of Bartholomew Columbus . . . they are the sole maps which date back to the great discoverer himself and reflect his geographical ideas more truly than all other cartographical monuments."⁹

5. The actual length of a degree of longitude at the equator is 69.65 statute miles, and the actual distance from the shores of Spain westward to those of Asia is about 230 degrees.

6. In the present work see Nos. 10, 11, and 16.

7. *Ibid.* No. 8.

8. Phillips, *Lowery Collection*, No. 4.

9. Professor Wieser was not acquainted with the map in the Bibliothèque Nationale reproduced as No. 3 in this work.

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WORLD MAP

By Giovanni Matteo Contarini. Engraved by Francesco Roselli. 1506.

(16½ x 24¾ inches.)

(British Museum.)

THE only known copy of this map was purchased in 1922 by the Trustees of the British Museum, who published it in facsimile in 1924.¹ The reproduction here given is made from a photograph of the original copy.

The date of the map and the names of the author and engraver are found in the Latin inscription, east of the Cape of Good Hope, which has been translated as follows:² *The geography of Ptolemy to 180 degrees with the addition of the other hemisphere in the same order also on a plane of 180 degrees, and if by folding together the two sets of degrees you form them into a circle you will perceive the whole spherical world combined into 360 degrees. Made known by the industry of Giovanni Matteo Contarini and by the art and ingenuity of Francesco Roselli, of Florence, in 1506.*

The name of Contarini as the author of the map also appears in the inscription near the bottom of the map: *The world and all its seas on a flat map, Europe, Lybia, Asia, and the Antipodes, the poles and zones and sites of places, the parallels for the climes of the mighty globe, lo! Giovanni Matteo Contarini, famed in the Ptolemaean art, has compiled and marked out. Whither away? Stay, traveler, and behold new nations and a new-found world.*

No other map by Contarini is known. He may have belonged to a well known Venetian family of that name. There are two other maps by Roselli which were reproduced in part by Harrisse in his *Découverte et Évolution Cartographique de Terre Neuve*.

Whether the map was printed in Venice or Florence is uncertain, but probably in the former city, as the latter is not marked on the map. Mr. Heawood³ judges from the water-mark that the paper was made in Florence.

In its coniform projection and the extension of Asia to the northeast, the map resembles that of Ruysch⁴ published two years later. It is evidently based on that by Ptolemy.⁵ There is the same large peninsula to the southeast of Asia without the latter's Terra Incognita to the south.

The chief interest of the map is the representation of the newly discovered coasts of the Americas. South America is a large continent bearing the

name *Terr S. Crucis*, with the inscription off the southeast coast: *This is that land named Santa Cruz which was lately [discovered] by the most noble lord Pedro Alvares⁶ of the illustrious stock of the most serene King of Portugal in 1499.*

The inscription on the Caribbean Sea, *The whole of this sea is fresh water*, must have originated in the story of the discovery by Columbus on his third voyage of a current of fresh water off the mouth of the Orinoco River. On the north coast of South America, which Columbus called the "Pearl Coast," is the legend: *This is the gulf in which the Spaniards found very many pearls, and along this coast lions, swine, stags, and other kinds of animals.*

The omission of a coast line to the west of *Terra de Cuba* has a double significance. It would seem to indicate that Contarini knew nothing of the alleged voyage made by Vesputius in 1497 along the eastern coast of North America, and that in 1506, the date of the death of Columbus, Contarini shared the current belief that the great explorer had reached the coast of Asia. Further evidence of this is found in the inscription off the east coast of Asia: *Christopher Columbus, Viceroy of Spain, sailing westwards, reached the Spanish islands after many hardships and dangers. Weighing anchor thence he sailed to the province called Giamba. Afterwards he betook himself to this place, which, as Christopher himself, that most diligent investigator of maritime things, asserts, holds a great store of gold.*

Near the "Spanish islands," or West Indies, is an inscription which reads: *These are islands which Master Christopher Columbus discovered at the instance of the most serene King of Spain.*

Zipagu, or Japan, is described thus: *This island lies 1,500 miles eastward from the coast of Mangi. It has gold in abundance, but this is not easily allowed to be removed. They are idolaters.*

The explorations of the Corte Reals on the coast of Newfoundland in 1500 and 1501 are referred to in the inscription directly north of *Insula Hispaniola*, or Haiti, *This land the seamen of the King of Portugal discovered.*

The position of the islands of *Madagascar* and *Zanzibar* in the Indian Ocean is exactly reversed from that on the La Cosa map. The inscription on

1. *A Map Of The World Designed By Gio. Matteo Contarini Engraved By Fran. Roselli 1506*. London, 1924.

2. The translations of the inscriptions on the map, made for the reproduction

referred to above by Mr. F. P. Sprent, Assistant Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, are published here with his kind permission.

3. Edward Heawood, *The Geograph-*

ical Journal. London, 1923; Vol. LXII, No. 4.

4. In the present work see No. 9.

5. *Ibid.* No. 1.

6. Pedro Alvares Cabral sighted the coast of Brazil in 1500.

the former states: *This island is larger and richer than any in the world. It is 40,000 miles in circumference. From the kingdom of Moabar, reads the inscription on the scroll east of the islands, ships reach the island of Madagascar in twenty-nine days which can hardly return in three months because the vehement current of that sea runs southward. This island has groves of sandal-trees and all kinds of spices, also elephants, lions, lynxes, leopards, stags, camels, and many birds; and there is great abundance of gold there.*

India appears as a peninsula with the name of *Calicut* on its west coast, commemorating the visit of Vasco da Gama. Ceylon is correctly represented as a small island to the southeast of India. *Taprobana*, formerly identified with Ceylon but later with Sumatra, also appears with an inscription to the southwest reading, *Before Taprobane there are*

very many islands, which are said to be 1,778 in number. But these shown are the ones of which the names have been handed down.

Europe and Africa are fairly correctly drawn in outline except that Greenland, or *Engronelant*, is placed north of Scandinavia. The Mediterranean Sea is fairly well drawn although it is given too great an extension east and west. It is the subject of the partly illegible inscription on the corner of the map below South America, which has been rendered into English by Mr. Sprent as follows: . . . *our Sea with the bays joined to it runs out into the Adriatic Sea, the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, but into the Ocean only by the Strait of Hercules in the likeness of a peninsula. This narrow channel is almost an isthmus of sea. But the sea called Hyrcanian [Caspian] is surrounded by land on all sides. . . .*

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THE LENOX GLOBE

Anonymous. 1503 to 1507(?).

(Diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)(In *The Magazine of American History*. New York, 1879; III, 529.)

THIS modern sketch of the oldest known post-Columbian globe, reduced to a plain surface and therefore distorted at the poles, accompanies an article on "The Lenox Globe" by B. F. De Costa.

The globe itself, an engraved copper globe, was found in Paris in 1855 by the architect, Richard M. Hunt, and was presented by him to James Lenox, the founder of the Lenox Library. It is now a prized possession of the New York Public Library, of which the Lenox Library now forms a part. The small globe is composed of two sections closely fitted along the equator, as in the case of the Ulpius Globe, and pierced for an axis. Whatever mountings it may have had are lost. It may once have formed a part of an astronomical clock. "A similar globe, belonging to an astronomical clock and apparently of about the same age as the Lenox Globe, is in the library of the Jagellon University at Cracow in Poland."¹

The globe bears neither the date nor the name of the maker. It is evident that it must have been constructed subsequent to the discovery of the coast of South America, in 1500, by Cabral, who gave it the name "Vera Cruz," which was soon changed to *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*, as on this globe. It seems probable that it was made after the publication, in 1503, of Vesputius's letter to Lorenzo de Medici, in which he gave an account of his third voyage, when he followed the Brazilian coast 34° south latitude. On the other hand, the almost complete lack of information betrayed by the maker of the globe concerning the east coast of North America, and the absence of the name "America" on South America would indicate that it antedates the map of Waldseemüller of 1507.

De Costa and Winsor, neither of whom had seen the Waldseemüller map, which was only discovered in 1901, fixed the date at 1511 and 1510-12, respectively. The most probable date is 1503 to 1507.

The southern coast line of Asia is copied from Ptolemy. The numerous islands in the Indian Ocean are difficult to identify. De Costa suggests

that the large unnamed island was meant for Australia, and *Madagascar* and *Cirtena* for Sumatra and Java misplaced. As Madagascar was not explored until 1508, it might be argued that its appearance here would indicate that the globe was made after that date, were it not for the nameless island off the coast of Africa more nearly on the site of Madagascar. Moreover, a comparison with the Ruysch map of 1508² shows at a glance the ignorance of the maker of this globe in regard to the Indian Ocean and furnishes additional evidence that it must have been made prior to 1507.

The *Simarum Situs* east of the Ganges River corresponds to the "Sinarum Situs" of Ruysch. "Sinarum," says De Costa, like "Serica," was a name for China. The *Loac Provincia* is the "Locac" of Marco Polo. In northern Asia is *Sacharuum Regno* or *Sugar Country*. On the eastern coast, *Hc sunt Dracones* must refer to the "Dagroians" of Marco Polo.

The size of South America attracts attention. Waldseemüller extends the coast of that continent southward to about 50° south latitude, Ruysch to about 40° south latitude or slightly farther south than the Cape of Good Hope but, in an inscription, states that the coast had been explored to 50° south latitude. The Lenox globe, though giving no lines of latitude, represents the coast as far south as about 55° south latitude, the correct latitude of Cape Horn. Moreover, it places open water to the south of this new continent and thus suggests that the water-route around South America was known before Magellan set out in 1519. The Schöner globes of 1515 and 1520,³ on which South America is separated from an antarctic continent by a strait connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, give further evidence of this fact.

The enormous size of the grotesque monsters on the map undoubtedly added to the terrors of the deep. "It sometimes falleth out," wrote Sebastian Munster in his *Cosmography*, "that Mariners thinking the Whales to be Islands, and casting out ankers upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning."⁴

1. John Fiske, *Discovery of America* (illustrated edition), II, xxiii.

2. In the present work see No. 9.

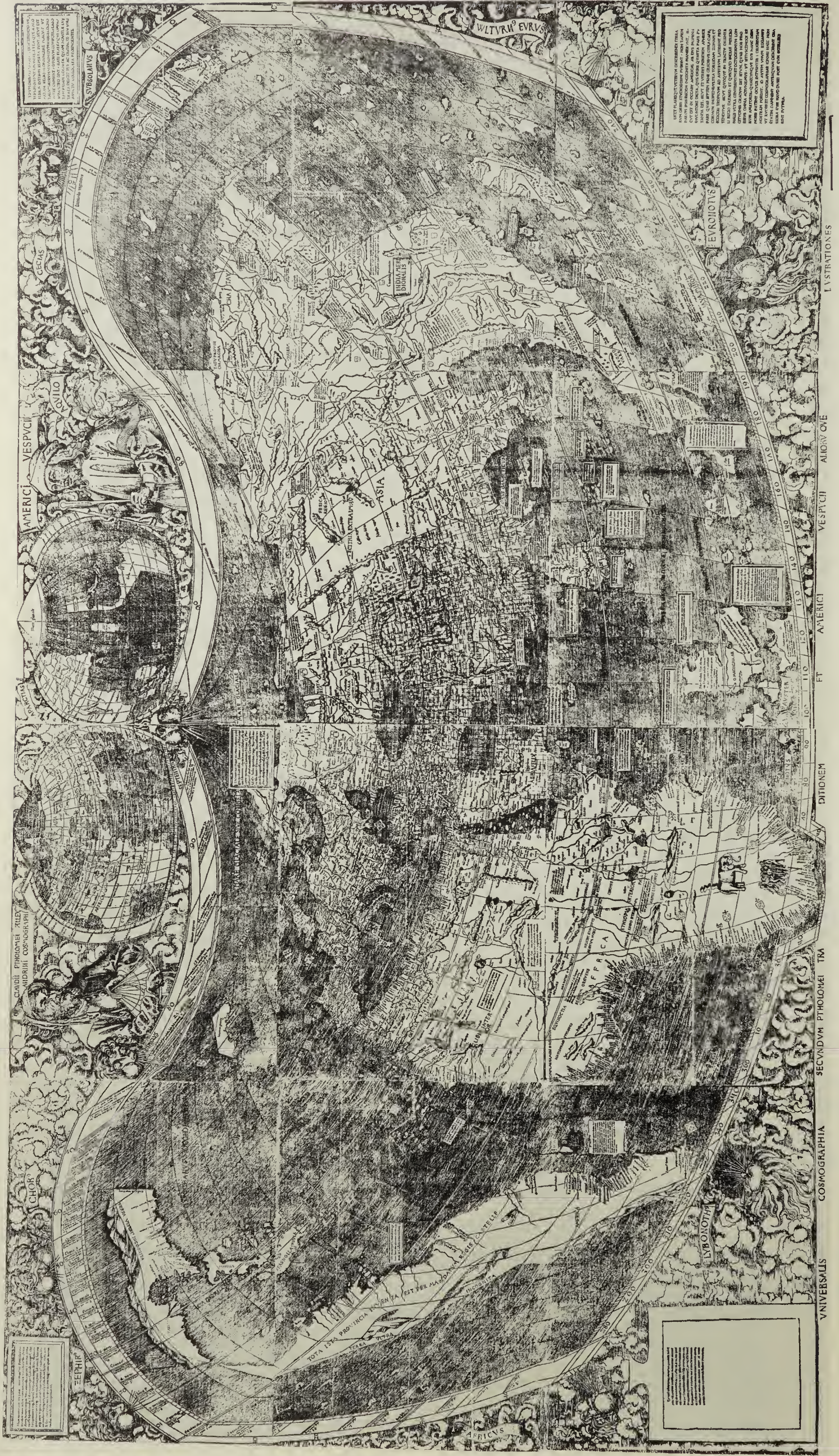
3. *Ibid.* No. 10.

4. Quoted by De Costa, p. 535.

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UNIVERSALIS COSMOGRAPHIA

Secundum Ptholomæi Traditionem et Americi Vespucii Aliorumque
Lustrationes. By Martin Waldseemüller. Strassburg, 1507.

(54 x 96 inches.)

(In Joseph Fischer, S.J., and Franz R. von Wieser, "The Oldest Map with the name America of the year 1507 and the Carta Marina of the Year 1516, by Martin Waldseemüller [*Ilocmilus*]." Innsbruck, 1903.)

AN original copy of this commemorative map of the voyages of Americus Vespucius, dating from the year 1507, which "represents the earth with a grandeur never before attempted," was found by Joseph Fischer, S.J., in the year 1901 in the library of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg at the Castle of Wolfegg, Württemberg, Germany. It was bound up in an old book once the property of the German mathematician and geographer, Johannes Schöner, and bearing that scholar's book plate. The volume, almost four hundred years old but fortunately securely bound and therefore well able to preserve its contents through the centuries, contained twelve sheets, each 21 inches by 30 inches, which when laid together disclosed a large map of the world 4 feet 6 inches by 8 feet, designated by one of its own inscriptions a "carta marina," dated on its own face 1516, and bearing the name of Martin Waldseemüller as author.

There were twelve other sheets of the same size in the book, making another world map but containing no author's name or date. It is this map which is here reproduced.

It had long been suspected that Waldseemüller had made a map of the world in 1507. Henry Harrisse had made this conjecture in his *Discovery of North America*, which he published when the world was celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. That Fischer in these anonymous, undated sheets, had found such a map appears from three leading considerations: from references to such a map by Waldseemüller himself on his map of 1516, from the agreement of the anonymous undated map with an existing map by Glareanus of about the year 1510, on which Glareanus asserts that in the making of his map he had followed Waldseemüller, and from the anonymous, undated map's conformity to certain statements by Waldseemüller in his well known *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of 1507, which is, in fact, an explanatory text for the map in question.

The passage in the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, which bears most strongly on the problem of the identification of the map, is as follows: "The purpose of this little book is to write a description of

the world map, which we have designed both as a globe and as a projection (tam in solido quam plano). The globe I have designed on a small scale, the map on a larger. As farmers usually mark off and divide their farms by boundary lines, so it has been our endeavor to mark the chief countries of the world by the emblems of their rulers. And (to begin with our own continent) in the middle of Europe we have placed the eagles of the Roman Empire (which rule the Kings of Europe) and with the key (which is the symbol of the Holy Father), we have enclosed almost the whole of Europe, which acknowledges the Roman Church. The greater part of Africa and a part of Asia we have distinguished by crescents, which are the emblems of the supreme Sultan of Babylonia, the Lord of all Egypt, and of a part of Asia. The part of Asia called Asia Minor we have surrounded with a saffron-colored cross joined to a branding iron, which is the symbol of the Sultan of the Turks, who rules Scythia this side of the Imaus, the highest mountains of Asia and Sarmatian Scythia. Asiatic Scythia we have marked by anchors, which are the emblems of the great Tartar Khan. A red cross symbolizes Prester John (who rules both eastern and southern India and who resides in Biberith); and finally on the fourth division of the earth, discovered by the kings of Castile and Portugal, we have placed the emblems of those sovereigns. And what is to be borne in mind, we have marked with crosses shallow places in the sea where shipwreck may be feared. Herewith we close."¹

The size of the newly discovered map, which covers nearly thirty-six square feet, was a surprise. The copy here reproduced, is a photograph of Fischer's photograph of the original.

Waldseemüller's map was engraved on wood at the expense of the Duke of Lorraine, and was originally issued, probably at Strassburg, in an edition of one thousand copies. It was the first large engraved and printed map to depict the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the new world.

Martin Waldseemüller, 1470-1521 (?), was a professor of cosmography in a school in St. Dié in the Vosges Mountains in France, and the most celebrated geographer and map-maker of his day. He

1. Herbermann, *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller, p. 66.

is to be remembered for his two great maps of 1507 and 1516, and for his choice of the name *America* for the new world. This name he gave to the public in 1507 in three different ways: in the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, in this world map, and in a globe, now lost.

The two passages from the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, which contain the suggestion of the name America, are as follows: First, "the fourth part of the globe, which since Americus discovered it may be called Amerige, that is, Americ's land or America"; and, second, "Now, indeed, as these regions are more widely explored, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespucius, as may be learned from the following letters, I do not see why any one may justly forbid it to be named Amerige—that is, Americ's Land, from Americus, the discoverer, a man of sagacious mind, or America, since both Europe and Asia derived their names from Women."²

The simple word, America, of seven letters, caused the owner of the map, after its discovery in 1901, to put a value of three hundred thousand dollars upon it.

The sources of the map of 1507 are Ptolemy, the limits of whose world are set in comparison in the two small insert maps at the top; Marco Polo, whose data concerning the geography of eastern China and the adjacent islands, though already known to the world (in manuscript form, for example) in the map of Fra Mauro and in globes such as those of Behaim, are now for the first time embodied in a popular printed sheet map; the Northmen, whose explorations in *Mare Glaciale* and in the neighborhood of Greenland were known from the maps of Claudius Clavus and those of Donnus Nickolaus Germanus; the Portuguese mariners, whose voyages around *Caput de bona Speransa* into the Indian Ocean and on to *Calicut*, along the eastern shores of South America under Cabral and Vespucius, and in the vicinity of *Litus Incognitum* under the Cortereal Brothers, are traced by a series of Portuguese flags; Christopher Columbus; Americus Vespucius; and Nicolo de Canerio, whose map of 1502, now in the Naval Archives at Paris, furnishes many of the legends of the Waldseemüller map and much of the coast line of South America and Africa.

Of all these sources, the most important, in the author's own estimation, are Ptolemy and Americus Vespucius, conventional likenesses of whom adorn the top of the map and whose names appear in the map's title, *A Map of the World according to the Tradition of Ptolemy and the Voyages of Americus Vespucius*.

Vespucius's account of his four voyages to America, included in the Soderini letter, appeared

in print in 1504, and was included by Waldseemüller in his *Cosmographiæ Introductio* in 1507. The main purpose of this map of 1507 is to celebrate these explorations. None of the other early explorers were honored by so striking a map.

Translations of the more interesting inscriptions of the map follow.³

In plate IX, numbering the plates from left to right, the top row first, Waldseemüller asserts that he is delineating especially the lands discovered by Vespucius. Says this inscription in the lower left-hand corner of the map, *A general delineation of the various lands and islands, including some of which the ancients make no mention, discovered lately between 1497 and 1504 in four voyages over the seas, two by Fernando of Castile, and two by Manuel of Portugal, most serene monarchs, with Americus Vespucius as one of the navigators and officers of the fleet; and especially a delineation of many places hitherto unknown. All this we have carefully drawn on the map, to furnish true and precise geographical knowledge.*

Plate I, in the upper left-hand corner, gives Waldseemüller's ideas as to the location of the lands discovered by Vespucius, already referred to in plate IX. *Many have regarded as an invention the words of a famous poet that "beyond the stars lies a land, beyond the path of the year and the sun, where Atlas, who supports the heavens, revolves on his shoulders the axis of the world, set with gleaming stars,"⁴ but now finally it proves clearly to be true. For there is a land, discovered by Columbus, a captain of the King of Castile, and by Americus Vespucius, both men of very great ability, which, though in great part it lies beneath "the path of the year and of the sun" and between the tropics, nevertheless extends about 19 degrees beyond the Tropic of Capricorn toward the Antarctic Pole, "beyond the path of the year and the sun." Here a greater amount of gold has been found than of any other metal.*

Waldseemüller places a land to the west of Cuba, as do the other map-makers of the time, La Cosa, Cantino, and Canerio. This may be the coast of China copied from Marco Polo, and placed here in the belief that the new discoveries were in and near Asia. Ruysch distinctly records his belief on his map that the contemporary explorers had reached China,⁵ and the Columbus map and the letter of Columbus explanatory of his fourth voyage record the same view.⁶ On the other hand, navigators unknown to modern times, may have sailed along the coast of Florida at this time. Waldseemüller himself may have been led by the maps of La Cosa, Canerio, and Cantino to believe that this was at least a possibility.

That Waldseemüller, in doing honor to Vespu-

2. Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 99.

3. These translations were made for the editors by Professor A. W. Hodg-

man of the Department of Latin of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

4. Vergil, *Æneid*, VI, 795-797.

5. In the present work see No. 9.

6. *Ibid.* No. 5.

cius, intends no slight to Columbus, is shown by the generous reference to the latter in the inscription on plate I.

Plate II contains the following data on the ancient theory that the world was surrounded by water: *It was a matter of doubt for a long time what there is beyond the Caspian Sea. For although the natural philosophers, and even Homer himself, have declared that the world is surrounded by water, Cornelius Nepos relates that Quintus Metellus Celer told the following story. When he was proconsul in Gaul, certain Indians were presented to him by the King of the Suevi. He asked whence they had come to those lands, and found that they had been swept away by violent storms from the waters of India and had passed through and had finally come to the shores of Germany. So then the sea remains a fact.*

Plate IV has the following: *In describing the general appearance of the world, it has seemed best to put down the discoveries of the ancients, and to add what has since been discovered by the moderns, for instance, the land of Cathay, so that those who are interested in such matters and wish to find out various things, may gain their wishes and be grateful to us for our labor, when they see nearly everything that has been discovered here and there, or recently explored, carefully and clearly brought together, so as to be seen at a glance.*

Plate V: *These islands were discovered by Columbus, an Admiral of Genoa, at the command of the King of Spain, another indication that Waldseemüller wishes to give Columbus full credit. At the mouth of the Orinoco River is the following:*

All this is sweet water, a statement based on the well known story of Columbus's discovery of the fresh water of the Orinoco River. There is the same reference on the Bartholomew Columbus map,⁷ which has "mar de aqua dulce" along the northeastern shores of South America.

Plate XII: *Although many of the ancients were interested in marking out the circle of the land, things remained unknown to them in no slight degree; for instance, in the west, America, named after its discoverer, which is to be reckoned a fourth part of the world. Another is, to the south, a part of Africa, which begins about seven degrees this side of Capricornus and stretches in a broad expanse to the south, beyond the torrid zone and the Tropie of Egocerus (Capricornus). A third instance, in the east, is the land of Cathay, and all of southern India beyond 180 degrees of longitude. All these we have added to the earlier known places, so that those who are fond of things of this sort may gaze upon all that is known to us of the present day, and may approve of our painstaking labors. This one request we have to make, that those who are inexperienced and unacquainted with cosmography shall not condemn all this before they have learned that it will surely be clearer to them later on, when they have come to understand it.*

In 1512, in Cracow, in a Polish edition of Ptolemy, Johannes de Stobnicza copied Waldseemüller's two small insert maps from the latter's map of 1507, and received credit as the author of these maps down to the twentieth century, when Fischer's discovery revealed to whom the credit was really due.

7. *Ibid.* No. 5.

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TABULA
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VERSALIOR
TIBVS CONECTA
EX REGN

1. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 15.
2. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 14.
3. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 13.
4. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 12.
5. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 11.
6. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 10.
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8. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 8.
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10. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 6.
11. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 5.
12. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 4.
13. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 3.
14. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 2.
15. PARALL. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 1.

DICTIONARIUM
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RES EST. IDOLATRE HABERE. PROPRIV. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 14.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 13.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 12.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 11.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 10.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 9.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 8.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 7.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 6.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 5.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 4.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 3.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 2.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 1.

TERRA SANCTE CRVCIS
SIVE MVNDVS NOVVS
MAGNA VALE DICTA HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 15.
RES EST. IDOLATRE HABERE. PROPRIV. HNS. DIE. MAX. HORARV. 14.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 13.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 12.
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MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 7.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 6.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 5.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 4.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 3.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 2.
MAGNA OCEA EST. AVI. ET ONS. DEI. MAX. HORARV. 1.

UNIVERSALIOR COGNITI ORBIS TABULA

Ex recentibus confecta observationibus. By John Ruysch.

(16 x 21 1/4 inches.)

(In Claudius Ptolemy, "Geographia." Rome, 1508.)

THIS enlarged map of the known world drawn from recent discoveries, engraved on copper, is one of the earliest printed maps showing the discoveries in the new world. This reproduction is from a copy of the edition of Ptolemy of 1508 in the Library of Congress. The map is found in some copies of the 1507 edition of Ptolemy but in such cases it is not mentioned on the title-page and it is therefore probable that it was bound into the volume at a later date. The Harvard College Library has an original copy of the map, which shows no evidence of having been bound.

Besides the fact that Ruysch was a German, little is known of his career. Marcus Beneventanus, an Italian monk, who wrote a commentary on the map for the Ptolemy of 1508 says: "John Ruysch of Germany, in my judgment a most exact geographer, and a most painstaking one in delineating the globe, to whose aid in this little work I am indebted, has told me that he sailed from the South of England, and penetrated as far as the fifty-third degree of north latitude, and on that parallel he sailed west toward the shores of the East, bearing a little northward and observed many islands."¹

He is believed to have been with John Cabot on his famous voyage and yet his map makes no direct mention of the Cabots. Cape Race, which appeared on La Cosa's map as Cavo de Ynglaterra,² on Ruysch's map is called *C. De Portogesi*. There are other indications that Ruysch made use of Portuguese charts in making his map. The names on the coast of Venezuela are quite different from those on the La Cosa map. He adopts the Portuguese name, *Terra Sancte Crucis* for South America instead of *Tierra del Brazil*, the name used by the Spaniards. In his representation of India as a triangular peninsula, between the Ganges and Indus rivers; in his location of the islands of Ceylon (*Prilam*) and Sumatra (*Taprobana*); and in his delineation of the coast line of Africa, Ruysch displays accurate and up-to-date information concerning the Portuguese discoveries. This appears also from the inscriptions in the Indian Ocean. The one to the left states that this sea, which on

the Ptolemaic maps was represented as landlocked, was shown by the Portuguese to be connected with the ocean; while the one to the right records the fact that the Portuguese reached the island of Taprobana in 1507. The news of this discovery must have been very recent when the map was made. This Portuguese influence may be due only to the fact that Portuguese charts were more numerous than Spanish ones.

Ruysch seems to have had no doubt that Greenland was a part of Asia and not of Europe as usually represented on early maps. Off the coast of *Gruenlant* is the location of an island which was *totally consumed by fire in the year of our Lord, 1456*.³ Directly south of Greenland the following inscription gives warning of the dangers encountered by fishermen in that region: *It is said that those who came formerly in ships among these islands for fish and other food were so deceived by the demons that they could not go on land without danger*.⁴

An interesting, but almost illegible, inscription near *Gruenlant* reads: *Hic compassus navium non tenet nec naves quæ ferum tenent revertere valent*. (*Here the ship's compass loses its property, and no vessel with iron on board is able to get away*.) This belief probably arose from the variation of the needle, which was noticed by Cabot. This inscription doubtless refers to the experience of the second expedition of the Cabots, which it is believed Ruysch accompanied.

According to H. P. Biggar, the Cabots came upon the eastern coast of Greenland. This coast was called "Labrador's Land" as it was first sighted by the Portuguese, João Fernandes, the "llabrador" or laborer, whom John Cabot had brought with him from the Azores, whither he had gone the previous summer to recruit skilled seamen for his crew. Turning north, "they had," says Peter Martyr, "in a manner continual daylight." The action of the compass in those high latitudes might well cause the alarm expressed in the above inscriptions. The evidence that the landfall of the Cabots was Greenland and not Labrador is cited by Biggar.⁵

On the margin of the map, near the North Pole,

1. Quoted by Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 9.

2. In the present work see No. 4.

3. According to Nordenskiöld, "the sagas of Iceland mention a small island

between Iceland and Greenland from which the coast mountains of both were visible, although no such island at present exists." *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 65.

4. Weise, *The Discoveries of America*, p. 217.

5. See H. P. Biggar, *The Voyages of the Cabots and Corte-Reals to North America and Greenland*, in *Revue Hispanique*, tome X.

is an interesting inscription referring to the magnetic pole, which it is said was first located by Nicholas of Lynn, who made a voyage to the north in 1355 and presented to Edward III of England an account of his discovery, with the title, *Inventio fortunata*. From this report Mercator said he derived his idea of the four polar islands. These are also seen on the map of Ruysch, who placed the magnetic pole in an island north of Greenland. The pole is now located in Prince Albert Island. The inscription mentioned above reads: *It is said in the book concerning the fortunate discovery that at the arctic pole there is a high magnetic rock, thirty-three German miles in circumference. A surging sea surrounds this rock, as if the water were discharged downward from a vase through an opening. Around it are islands, two of which are inhabited.*⁶

Terra Nova, one of the earliest uses of this term for the modern Newfoundland, appears as a large peninsula jutting out from the mainland of Asia, although a crease in this copy of the map makes it seem to be depicted as an island. On all other maps of the first half of the sixteenth century, even on the Cabot map of 1544, it is represented as a group of islands. The use of the name *Insula Baccalauras* on the coast of *Terra Nova* is one of the earliest instances of the appearance on any map of the American coast of that Romance word for codfish, "baccallaos." There is no certain authority for the statement sometimes made that the term was first applied in the west by the Cabots nor for the assertion by Peter Martyr that the word was found by Europeans in use among the natives of *Terra Nova*.⁷ *C. Glaciato* on the eastern coast suggests the work of the Italian editor and *Baia de Rockas* shows the influence of English associations. The southern coast line of Newfoundland continues directly west to the land of *Gog and Magog*, and thence south to *Cathay*. From the Biblical land of *Gog and Magog* the people of the Middle Ages expected the coming of destructive races at the last day. Behaim and La Cosa also locate this fabled region in Asia.⁸

While Ruysch undoubtedly believed that the lands seen by the Cabots and Cortereals were parts of Asia, he thought that the coasts explored by Columbus, Vincente Pinzon, Cabral, and others belonged to a continent separated from Asia by a stretch of open sea. His representation of the West Indies is confusing. Near the island of *Spagnola* (Haiti) and south of the island of *Antilia* is an inscription which tells the story of that island as given on Behaim's globe. What was intended by the land west of *Spagnola* is uncertain. Varnhagen maintained that it was the land seen by Vesputius on his disputed voyage of 1497. Kohl thought it

was meant to show that Cuba was a peninsula of a new land. Harris believed that the omission of Cuba was an oversight on the part of Ruysch. The name *C. De Fundabril* on the peninsula extending toward *Spagnola* is suggestive of Cuba as that name was given by Columbus, on his second voyage, to a cape on the coast of Cuba which he left on the thirtieth of April. On the scroll upon the west coast of this unnamed land is the inscription, *As far as this the ships of Ferdinand have come.* To the southwest of the supposed island of Cuba is this striking statement: *M. Polo says that 1400 miles to the east of the port of Zaiton there is a very large island called Cipango, whose inhabitants worship idols and have their own king and are tributary to none. They have a great abundance of gold and all kinds of gems. But as the islands discovered by the Spaniards occupy this spot, we do not dare to locate this island here, being of the opinion that what the Spaniards call Spagnola is really Cipango, since the things that are described as of Cipango are also found in Spagnola, besides the idolatry.*

South America is depicted as a large continent with the name: *Terra Sancte Crucis sive Mundus Novus*. The name America had been suggested only the previous year by Waldseemüller, and it is possible that Ruysch had not heard of the suggestion when he made his map or for some reason he did not care to follow it. The natives of this *Mundus Novus* are described in the long inscription across its northern part: *At different places this region is inhabited, and it is supposed by many to be another world. Women and men appear either entirely naked or clad with interwoven leaves and the feathers of birds of various colors. They live together in common without any religion or king. They are continually at war among themselves. They eat the human flesh of captives. They exercise so much in the salubrious air that they live more than one hundred and fifty years. They are rarely sick, and then they cure themselves only with the roots of plants. There are lions here, and serpents and other terrible monsters are found in the forests. Very large quantities of pearls and gold are in the mountains and rivers. From here brazilwood, or verzini, and cassia are carried away by the Portuguese.*⁹

Below this inscription is another: *Portuguese navigators have inspected this part of this land, and have sailed as far as the fiftieth degree of south latitude without seeing the southern limit of it.*¹⁰

On the scroll on the unknown western coast of South America is the statement: *As far as this Spanish navigators have come, and they have called this land, on account of its greatness, the*

6. Weise, *The Discoveries of America*, p. 217.

7. See interesting note in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 12.

8. In the present work see No. 4.
9 and 10. Weise, p. 216.

*New World. Inasmuch as they have not wholly explored it nor surveyed it farther than the present termination, it must remain thus imperfectly delineated until it is known in what direction it extends.*¹¹

On the east coast of South America is the interesting name *Abatia ōniū sāctorū* or All-Saints Abbey. This form, as well as that used by Waldseemüller, "Omnium sanctorum abbatiam," is a corruption of the Portuguese inscription on the

Cantino map: "a baia de todos los sanctos," or the Bay of All-Saints. All maps made in northern Europe followed Ruysch in this error and all Spanish and Portuguese maps used the correct form and hence it has come about that the use of this name has become a means of classifying later maps. Harrisse believed that this error took its origin in the Latin translation of the letters of Vesputius, who first saw and named this port. It is now known as Abbadia.

11. Weise, p. 217.

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GLOBE

By Johannes Schöner. 1520.

(Diameter, $21\frac{7}{16}$ inches.)

(In K. Kretschmer, "Die Entdeckung Americas in Ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Weltbildes." Berlin, 1892; Tafel XIII.)

THE original of this modern facsimile, a mounted wooden globe dated 1520 and inscribed with the name of Johannes Schöner as author, is a prized possession of the Museum of Nuremberg.

Johannes Schöner was a distinguished German astronomer, professor of mathematics at Nuremberg, and an associate of Copernicus in astronomical investigations. He was the author of several geographical works as well as of several globes.

The chief interest of the globe here shown is the assumed proof that it affords of the discovery of the Strait of Magellan at some unknown time before Magellan himself arrived there. Magellan's ship set out from Spain October 21, 1519, and the single surviving vessel of the expedition, the *Victoria*, came back to Spain September 6, 1522. One ship, which turned back in the strait itself, arrived in Spain May 6, 1521. A map which traces the strait before the news of Magellan's discovery could possibly have reached the other side of the Atlantic, must have been based either on prior information or on theoretical speculation.

The inquiry is pushed back five years to the year 1515, by the existence of an earlier globe in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar,¹ which, though anonymous and undated, must certainly have been made by Schöner in 1515. A pamphlet² written by him in that year, says of "Brasilæ Regio": "It is but a little distance from the Cape of Good Hope, which the Italians call Capo de Bona Speranza. The Portuguese have circumnavigated this region, and found a crossing there quite similar to the configuration of the land in Europe, which we inhabit, and situated between the east and the west." The opinion is added by Schöner that one can go from this strait to the Spice Islands of Asia in a short time.

That Schöner, who thus asserted the existence of the South American strait as early as 1515, was also the author of the globe in question in this same year, appears from the following circumstances: The globe resembles the known Schöner globe of 1520 in showing the same continental mass in the north, commonly called Florida but by Schöner *Terra de Cuba*, and in giving the same pyramidal shape to South America, with the apex on the strait in question, on the opposite side of which is

an austral continent. The tract of 1515 affirms that the author, Schöner, had just completed a globe. Moreover, the town of Bamberg, where Schöner was in 1515, and where the bishop lived to whom he dedicates the pamphlet *Luculentissima*, is the only town in Europe pictured on both globes.

The query next arises, what was the source of Schöner's belief in 1515 in the South American passageway from the Atlantic to the Spice Islands of Asia? A textual comparison made by von Wieser between the *Luculentissima* and a certain undated pamphlet still found in numerous libraries, *Copia de Newen Zeytung auss Presilig Landt* (News from Brazil), shows that Schöner drew his views from the latter, which was probably written first in the Portuguese language, then in Italian, and then in German, to describe the arrival at some unknown port in Europe of a vessel from a long voyage along the coast of Brazil.

Henry Harrisse translates the first part of this pamphlet as follows: "Learn also that on the twelfth day of October, a ship from Brazil has come here, owing to its being short of provisions. The vessel has been equipped by Nono and Christopher de Haro, in partnership with other [merchants]. Two of these ships were intended to explore and describe the country of Brazil, with the permission of the King of Portugal. In fact, they have given a description of an extent of coasts, from six to seven hundred leagues, concerning which nothing was known before. They reached the Cape of Good Hope, which is a point extending into the ocean, very similar to North Assril, [that is, very similar to the point of Africa], and one degree still further. When they had attained the altitude of the fortieth degree, they found Brazil, which had a point extending into the ocean. They have sailed around that point, and ascertained that the country lay, as in the south of Europe, entirely from east to west. It is as if one crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to go east in ranging the coast of Barbary. After they had navigated for nearly sixty leagues to round the Cape, they again sighted the continent on the other side, and steered toward the north-west. But stormy weather prevented them from making any headway. Driven away by the Tramontane, or north wind, they retraced their course, and returned to the country of Brazil."³

The pamphlet adds the opinion that one can

1. There is another in the City Museum at Frankfort.

2. *Luculentissima quædam Terræ to-*

rius Descriptio, cum multis utilissimis Cosmographiæ iniciis. Nuremberg, 1515.

There are copies of this pamphlet in the

John Carter Brown Library and in the Harvard College Library.

3. *Discovery of North America*, p. 485.

easily pass from the strait to the Spice Islands of the east.

This description of a Portuguese discovery of the strait at the southern tip of South America, conclude von Wieser and other scholars, is the basis of Schöner's early pamphlet and globes showing the strait before its discovery by Magellan.

Pigafetta, who accompanied Magellan, states that the latter, before setting out, had seen a map by Behaim representing South America as ending in a point, but it cannot be affirmed that Schöner was influenced by such a map, although this is a possibility.

If this conjecture that the Strait of Magellan was navigated before Magellan and that Schöner's globe of 1515 is based on an actual voyage be rejected, it may be possible to explain Schöner's conception of the strait as based on theory alone, the ancient one that the world was surrounded by water. The Portuguese had proved the truth of the theory as applied to the south of Africa, and Schöner may have made his globe in the belief that the same theory would hold for the southern land mass in the new world.

The conception of an austral or antarctic continent is an old one, found in Aristotle, Crates, and Eratosthenes among the ancient Greeks, and in Roger Bacon, the Venerable Bede, and Albertus Magnus during the Middle Ages. Magellan's voyage of three hundred miles through the strait, with land both on the north and the south, gave a definiteness to the conception, even after Lemaire and Schouten rounded South America in 1616, which persisted till the days of Captain Cook in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

How extensive the austral continent was, no one knew. There are early intimations of a continental mass south from the islands of the East Indies, intimations of Australia, which served to perpetuate and to extend the size of the assumed continent farther to the east. It has been suggested that the large island on the Lenox globe⁴ in the south-

ern part of the Indian Ocean, between "Cirtena" and "Loac Provincia" is a representation of the continent of Australia. The early maps based on the voyages of Marco Polo show that the islands and coasts off southeastern Asia were known long before 1492, and the Arabian map of Al-Edrisi tends to prove the same.

Schöner's name, *Terra de Cuba*, for what seems to be the North American continental mass, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, lends support to those who doubt that the first voyage of Vesputius touched the coast of North America, for it shows that geographers were not sure where Cuba was and what it was. Here the so-called Stobnicza map of 1512 is not an exact copy of the small Waldseemüller map of 1507, for whereas Waldseemüller in that year wrote "Isabella" on the island that most resembles modern Cuba, Stobnicza in 1512 places the name on the larger land mass opposite. There is no uniformity of usage as to the location of Cuba in the early maps. C. H. Coote and Henry Stevens contend that the larger land mass in the maps of La Cosa, Cantino, Canerio, and Waldseemüller, usually taken for Florida until the present day, are in reality Cuba, a "bogus Cuba," and that therefore these maps do not show any open water west of Cuba, through which Vesputius could have sailed during his voyage of 1497-98.

In the *Luculentissima* of 1515 Schöner expresses the opinion that the new world is an island, "the island of Parias," while in 1533, in his *Opusculum Geographicum* he writes of Mexico and Temistitan as connected with Asia.

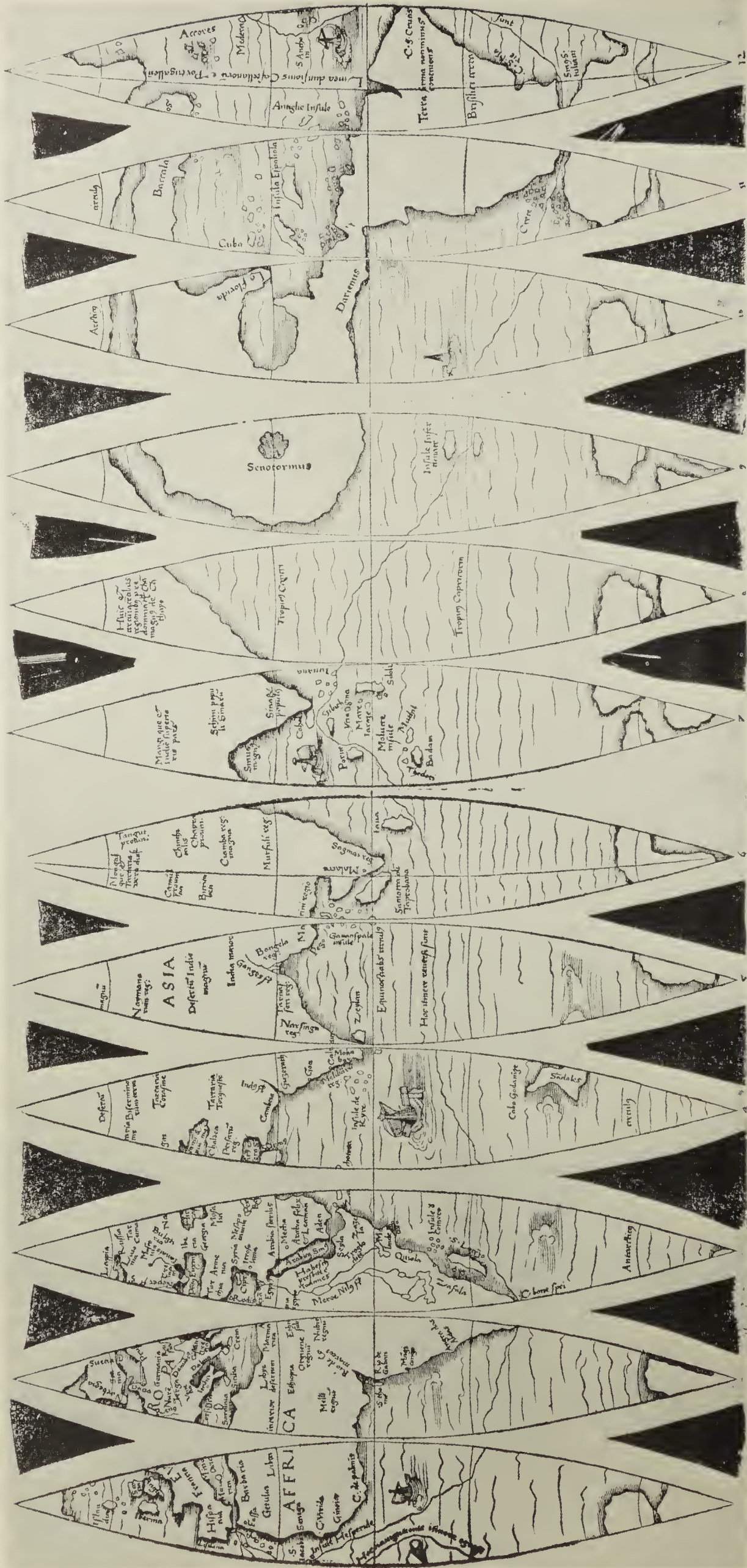
The belief that America was a southeastern projection from Asia is first seen on the sketch map of Bartholomew Columbus of 1503. It yielded to the conception of a separate continent as shown on the map of Waldseemüller of 1507, on that of Stobnicza of 1512 and on Schöner's globe of 1520, but was again revived by Schöner in his tract of 1533 and by Franciscus Monachus in 1526.

4. In the present work see No. 7.

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GORE MAP

Anonymous.

(11 1/2 x 23 inches.)

(New York Public Library.)

THIS is a photograph of two sheets of a very early undated map of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe, brought to light in 1885 by Ludwig Rosenthal at Munich, and since often spoken of as the "Rosenthal" or "Munich" gores. The map came into the possession of Henry Stevens of London, then into that of K. Kalbfleisch of New York, and finally into that of the New York Public Library. No other copy is known. Stevens believes that it is the original gores that were composed for the globe, which it is known Johannes Schöner executed in 1523; and in this belief Stevens prepared a monograph, *Johannes Schöner, Professor of Mathematics at Nürnberg. A Reproduction of his Globe of 1523 long lost . . . with New Translations and Notes on the Globe. London, 1883.*

That Schöner produced a globe in 1523, and that he intended it to illustrate Magellan's voyages around the world, appear from certain definite statements in a pamphlet *De Nuper*,¹ which he published in this year concerning the lands and islands then recently discovered by Spain and Portugal. Beyond this Stevens cannot go. Proof is lacking that this commemorative globe by Schöner and the commemorative gores here reproduced have any connection whatsoever with one another. All the argument points the other way.

While von Wieser and C. H. Coote agree with Stevens, Nordenskiöld and HARRISSE take the opposite view. There is "not the slightest evidence," says HARRISSE, that the gores were made by Schöner²; Nordenskiöld says that "this globe has nothing to do with Schöner's globe of 1523."³

The "Rosenthal" gores depart from the conception of Schöner, embodied in his globes of 1515 and 1520, concerning the relative position and shape of America, especially concerning the strait between North America and South America; and they do not show the new geographical conception which Schöner in the *De Nuper* says that he embraced in 1523, as the result of reading the *De Moluccis* of Maximilianus Transylvanus, namely a connection between Asia and North America. The Schöner globe of 1533 shows this change in the views of the author.

What these new views of Schöner were, may be gathered from a pamphlet which he wrote in

1533, *Johannis Schöneri Carolostadii Opusculum Geographicum*, to accompany his globe of that year, which is now preserved in the Military Academy at Weimar.⁴ In this the author no longer holds to the view that America is "a large independent portion of the world." Rather he asserts that "Americus Vespucius sailing to the west from Spain along the coast of upper India believed that part which belongs to upper India to be an island, which he resolved should be called from his own name. But now other later hydrographers have found that land further on, on the other side, to be continuous with Asia, for so they have come even to the Molucca Islands of upper India." This is said to be the origin of the mistaken belief, still not altogether dead, that Vespucius was somehow personally responsible for the giving of his name to the new continent. In another passage in this tract, Schöner expresses the same belief that America is a projection of Asia. He says, "By a very long circuit westward, starting from Spain, there is a land called Mexico, and Temistatan in upper India, which in former times was called Quinsay; that is, the City of Heaven, in the language of the country."

Further evidence that the gores were not made in 1523, appears from the fact that the Atlantic coastline of North America is drawn in them with an exactitude impossible in that year. Such knowledge could not have existed earlier than the voyage of Estevan Gomez, who was not on the Atlantic coast of North America till 1525. The gores also display a knowledge of the west coast of South America that did not exist in 1523, in fact, could not have existed till after the explorations of the Pizarro brothers in Peru somewhat later.⁵

Maximilianus Transylvanus, whose *De Moluccis* inspired Schöner to make his globe in 1523 and to perpetuate on it new views, wrote his account of Magellan's voyage around the world after interviews with the survivors of the voyage. He shows how the Portuguese, in their search for spices, came by way of the Cape of Good Hope first to Calicut on the western coast of India before 1500, then to Taprobane or Sumatra, to the Golden Chersonesus and the city of Malacca, and finally to China; and how they found that the natives of the Spice Islands were bringing their spices to all

1. This is now extremely rare. It was reprinted in 1872 by Varnhagen with the title *Réimpression fidèle d'une lettre de Jean Schöner*.

2. *Discovery of North America*, p. 520.

3. *Facsimile-Atlas*, p. 80.

4. A copy of this pamphlet is now preserved in the Harvard College Library, and another in the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode

Island. This globe of 1533 is reproduced in HARRISSE's *Discovery of North America*.

5. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, plate XL.

these places for market. Since the Spaniards believed that these new regions lay within their domains, as mapped out for them by the Pope in the Papal Line of Demarcation, and since they could not reach the islands by sailing eastward from Europe *via* the Cape of Good Hope without trespassing upon the territory of Portugal, Magellan proposed to the King of Spain to reach the spice-bearing Moluccas by sailing westward over the waters of Spain alone around the southern tip of South America. Maximilianus gives a long account of the ensuing voyage, of the five islands of the Moluccas, and of the growth and production of their principal products, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, and ginger. The two ships of Magellan's expedition to reach the islands were loaded with cloves and with a few samples of the other products; one, the *Victoria*, set off for Spain *via* the Cape of Good Hope, and the other *via* America and the Isthmus of Darien.⁶

Whatever the date, the gores under consideration are one of the earliest maps to trace the route

of Magellan and to locate the Molucca Islands. *Hoc navigationis itinere egressi sunt* and *Hoc itinere reversi sunt* are easily made out along the path traced. After leaving the Philippines, the *Victoria* sailed home to Spain by way of Borneo, the Moluccas, and the Cape of Good Hope.

Taprobane or Sumatra, according to Ruysch's map,⁷ was reached by the Portuguese in 1507. Malacca, which Maximilianus Transylvanus in 1523 calls "the principal place of business in the east," was visited by Magellan in 1511, who spent the next five years in the region gaining a knowledge of the Moluccas and their trade.

There was a controversy between Spain and Portugal over the location of the Papal Line of Demarcation in Asiatic waters. The gore map takes the view that Malacca and the Moluccas were Spanish and not Portuguese.

La florida, correctly placed on the island opposite Cuba, was probably used for the first time on the globe of Leonardo da Vinci about 1515, two years after Ponce de Leon's expedition to Florida.

6. A copy of *De Moluccis*, which was one of the earliest publications to chronicle the voyage of Magellan, may be found, both in the original and in English translation, in Stevens's volume, al-

ready noted, and in English translation in, Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, Eds., *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803*. Cleveland, 1903.

(I, p. 305.) See also James Alexander Robertson, Ed., *Magellan's Voyage Around the World by Antonio Pigafetta*. Cleveland, 1906.

7. In the present work see No. 9.

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Degeert de Middel compoſuit hanc cartam.
in prima anno dñi 1597 die XX. Decembris.

INDICA.

INDICA.



WORLD MAP

By Vesconte de Maiollo of Genoa. 1527.

(24 x 71 1/4 inches.)

(Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.)

THE author, Vesconte de Maiollo, who died in 1551, was a distinguished portolan chart maker. Fourteen of his maps are known. In 1519, he was made "Magister cartarum pro navigando" of the Republic of Genoa with an annual salary of one hundred lire and a pension, as long as he continued to reside in that city.

The original map, composed of two large sheets of vellum, highly colored, is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. At the extreme left on the map, in the northwestern part of the Pacific Ocean, near a picture of the Madonna in a chair, is the inscription, *Vesconte de Maiollo composuy hanc cartan in Janua anno dñy. 1587 die XX Decenbris*. The map attracted no particular attention until it was discovered, in 1881, by Desimoni, that the date "1587" was a corruption of the true date, 1527, the original figure "2" having been converted at some time into the figure "8." The substitution is quite evident. Further study of the map furnished undoubted evidence that it was the work of the well known cartographer, Vesconte de Maiollo, whose famous map of 1519 is in the Royal Library at Munich. The handwriting and spelling closely resemble that of his other maps.

It was now understood why the maker of a map bearing the supposed date "1587" placed the inscription *terra Incognita* on Peru, which had been explored by Francisco Pizarro more than fifty years before; why the map reveals no knowledge of the explorations of Cabrillo and others on the Mexican shores of the Pacific and in the Gulf of California at about the same time, or of the discovery of the St. Lawrence River by Cartier in 1535; and why the Philippine Islands, which were so named in 1542, appear on the map under their earlier name, *Isola De Serola*.

The map presents many points of interest. It repudiates altogether the theory that America was a part of the continent of Asia. At the strait south of South America is the Spanish flag and an inscription celebrating the passage of the strait by Magellan. The size of the Pacific is appreciated. Ships, which have passed through the strait of Magellan, are on the great expanse of the new ocean, *Mare Indicum*, on the way to the Spice Islands.

This is one of the earliest maps to show the Philippine Islands, *Isola De Serola*, which had recently been made known to cartographers through the publication, in 1522, of a letter written to the Cardinal of Salzburg by Maximilianus Transylvanus, the secretary of Charles V, which gave the first printed account of the famous voyage of Magellan. *Malacha Civitas* (*Malacca*), the trade emporium of the Spice Islands, is on the extreme left of the map.

The Portuguese are located in Brazil; and across South America, where Verrazano has the name "America," Maiollo has an inscription celebrating the discovery of *Terra Nova* by Christopher Columbus of Genoa, a tribute paid by one citizen of Genoa to another. In Mexico is apparently a copy of the plan of the city sent by Cortes to Charles V.

Lavoradore in the northeast may be either Greenland or Labrador with an open strait to the west suggestive of a northwest passage. The discovery by the Cortereals is marked by a Portuguese flag, to the south of which on *Francesca* is one showing the three golden lilies of France. Off the French coast is the little island *Luisa*, named by Verrazano, according to his letter, in honor of the mother of Francis I. This also appears on the Verrazano map. Thirty-five names on the coast appear unchanged on the Verrazano map.

The French flag, the name *Francesca* given to the land, and the numerous French names on the coast are strong corroborative evidence of the truth of the account by Verrazano of his voyage along the eastern shores of America in 1524, for no other French explorer is known to have been along this coast prior to the date of this map. It would seem that nothing but historical accuracy would have led Maiollo to cover the long coast with Italianized French names and to concede the land to France at the end of the very year, 1527, in which the French attacked his native city of Genoa. It is to be noted, however, that neither Francis I nor his successors based a claim to the coast upon the voyage of Verrazano.

Harris believed that this "map of Maiollo represents closely a prototype, still unknown, on which were inscribed Verrazanian data."

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ORBIS UNIVERSALIS DESCRIPTIO

By Robert Thorne. 1527.

(8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

(In Richard Hakluyt, "*Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America and the Ilands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons.*" London, 1582.)

THE original map by Robert Thorne is lost. The oldest copy preserved is a wood engraving published by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* in 1582. The present reproduction is from a copy of the original edition of this volume in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. However, as the map is signed "J. Wharton Rundally, 1849," it is evident that it is but a modern copy of Hakluyt's map.

Robert Thorne, a native of Bristol and a friend of the Cabots, was an English merchant who resided for many years in Seville, Spain, where he had charge of the commercial interests of his family. He died in 1527 shortly after making this map. He inherited his interest in exploration from his father who "with another marchant of Bristow named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the New found lands."

He was the author of two letters in 1527, still preserved in manuscript in the British Museum: one directed to King Henry VIII and the other to Doctor Edward Lee, the King's Ambassador at the court of Spain.¹ These letters were first published in 1582 by Richard Hakluyt in his *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America*. "This exhortation to king Henrie the eight," says Hakluyt, "with the discourse to Doctor Ley, his Ambassadour in Spaine, was preserved by one master Emmanuel Lucar, executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted unto mee by master Cyprian Lucar, his sonne, an honest Gentleman."

The title of Thorne's letter to "Doctour Ley," which Professor Walter Raleigh calls "the most important document of this early period," is as follows: "The booke made by the right worshipfull Master Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527 in Sivill, to Doctour ley, Lorde ambassadour for King Henrie the eight to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discovered by him and the king of Portiugale: and also of the way to the Molluccæs by the north."

To illustrate this interesting "booke" to "Doctour Ley" in which Thorne describes the wealth of the Philippine Islands recently discovered by Magellan (1521), he made the original of the map here reproduced, which he called "a little Mappe or Carde of the worlde."

In order to show the length of the different routes to the Philippines and "howe our Newe founde landes are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were harde to give any declaration of it,) I have caused that your Lordshippe shall receive herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the world: the whiche, I feare mee, shall put your Lordshippe to more labour to understande than mee to make it, only for that it is made in so little roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficultie, it is necessary to declare to your Lordshippe my intent, with which I trust you shall perceive in this card part of your desire, if, for that I cannot expresse mine intent, with my declaratiō I doe not make it more obscure.

"The latitude your Lordship may see marked and divided in the end of this Carde on the left hande: . . . Also the longitude of the worlde I have set out in the nether part of the carde contayning also 360 degrees: which begin to be couēted after Ptoleme and other Cosmographers from an headland called Capo verde, which is over against a little crosse made in the part occidentall, where the division of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in ye same Capo verde. . . .

"And your Lordshippe must understande that this carde though little, conteyneth the universall whole world betwixte two collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall parte descendeth perpendicular upon the 175 degree,² and the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree,³ whose distance measur-eth the scale of longitude. . . .

"And for more declaration of the said card, your Lordship shall understand, that beginning on the parte Occidentall within the lyne, the first land that is set out, is ye mayne land and Island of the Indies of ye Emperour [Charles V]. Which mayne lande or coast goeth Northwarde and finisheth in the lande that wee founde which is called heere Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the sayde lande that wee founde and the Indies to bee all one mayne lande.

"The sayd coast from the saide Indies Southwarde as by the carde your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certaine straite sea, called Estrecho de

1. Chaplain and Almoner to King Henry VIII and later Archbishop of York.

2. "270" on map.

3. "275" on map.

todos Sanctos (*Strictum omnium sanctorum*): by which strait Sea the Spaniards goe to the spiceries, as I shall declare more at large. . . . In the partes of Asia and Affrica I could not so well make the said divisions: . . . returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southwarde to a cape called Capo de bona speransa. . . . And by this cape goe the Portingales to their spicerie.”⁴

It is apparent at once upon reading Thorne’s book that the present map cannot be the one made by him or else that it has been altered by Hakluyt or his modern copyist. Thorne said that the latitude on his map was marked on the left and that his prime meridian was at the Cape Verde Islands, whereas on this map the latitude is marked on the right and the prime meridian is in the vicinity of the Spice Islands. However, if the numbers, at the bottom of the map, marking the degrees of longitude were reversed so that “275” on the extreme right appeared on the extreme left and the other numbers followed it in reverse order, the prime meridian would fall at the cross in the longitude of the Cape Verde Islands, as described by Thorne and the “curious cosmographical dissertation” at the bottom of the map would accord with Thorne’s own references.

The division of the world by the line of demarcation is described by Thorne in the following passage in his letter to Doctor Lee: “all that should be discovered from Cape verde, where this carde beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180, of the sayde scale of longitude, which is halfe the worlde toward the Orient, and finisheth in this carde right over against a little crosse made at the sayde 180 degrees,⁵ to be the king of Portingalles. And all the lande from the sayde Crosse toward the Occident, untill it joyneth with the other Crosse in the Orient, which containeth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to bee the king of Spaynes. . . . So after this manner they divided the worlde betweene them.”⁶

Thorne gave the following account of the dispute over the location of the Philippine Islands: “And for that their Cosmographers and Pilots could not agree in the situation of the saide Ilands (for the Portingals set them al within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards set them all without: and for that in measuring, all the Cosmographers of both partes, or What other that ever have beene cannot give certaine order to measure ye longitude of the world, as they do of ye latitude: for yt there is no starre fixed frō East to West, as are ye starrs of the poles from North to South, but all mooveth with the mooving divine:) no mañer can be found howe certainly it may be measured, but by conjectures, as the Navigantes have esteemed the way

they have gone. . . . And in all their [the Portuguese] cardes they never hitherto set the sayd Ilands [the Philippines] within their limitatiō of the sayd 180 degrees, (Though they knew very well of the Ilandes,) till nowe that the Spaniards discovered them.”

Thorne admits that the location of the Spice Islands on his map is uncertain, as “every of the Cosmographers and pilots of Portingall and Spayne doe set after their purpose. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, because they should appeare to appertaine to the Emperour: & the Portingalles more toward the Occident, for that they should fall within their jurisdiction. . . . And for this cause can be no certaine situatiō of that coast and Ilands, til this difference betwixte them be verified.”⁷

An unsuccessful attempt was made to settle the dispute at the Congress of Badajos in 1524.

In the judgment of Thorne, the Spice Islands clearly fell within the portion of the earth allotted by the Treaty of Tordesillas to Spain for “if their [the Portuguese] 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyonde the sayde Capo verde, to include in it the sayde Ilandes and landes of Brasill, then plainely appeareth the saide 180 degrees should finishe longe before they come to these Ilandes of the spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordshippe may see. For their limittes shoulde beginne at the 340 degrees,⁸ of this Carde, and ende at the 160 degrees,⁹ where I have made two little marks of the compasse with crosses in them.”

As the Spaniards controlled the newly discovered route to the Spice Islands by way of the Straits of Magellan and the Portuguese controlled the route by way of the Cape of Good Hope, Thorne urged the English to seek for a route by “sayling Northwarde and passing the pole, descending to the equinoctiall lyne, wee shall hitte these Ilandes, and it shoulde bee muche more shorter way, then eyther the Spaniards or the Portingales have, . . . by more than 2000 leagues.

“But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seventh clyme, the sea is all ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion that under the lyne Equinoctiall for muche heate the lande was uninhabitable. Yet since by experience is prooved no lande so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude I thinke the same shoulde bee founde under the North. . . . So I judge, there is no land uninhabitable, nor Sea innavigable.”

Thorne’s efforts to arouse an interest in England in finding a northern route to India were not without success. John Rut’s expedition in 1527 to

4. *Divers Voyages*, Original Edition of 1582.

5. “360” on the map.

6. Treaty of Tordessilas.

7. *Divers Voyages*, Original Edition of 1582.

8. “200” on the map.

9. “20” on the map.

search for a Northwest Passage was in part due to Thorne's letter and map and it is believed that Thorne's arguments influenced the famous expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor who, in 1553, set out for the northern coast of Asia in search of a Northeast Passage. Willoughby reached Nova Zembla and finding the "sea innavigable," contrary to Thorne's opinion, landed on the coast of Lapland, where his entire company perished of cold and hunger; Chancellor, more fortunate, landed on the shores of the White Sea, was invited with his company to Moscow, and thus opened up trade between England and Russia.

Thorne, apologizing for the crudeness of his map, admitted "that there lacke many things, that a consummate carde should have, or that a right good demonstration desireth. . . . Many other curiosities may be required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lack leasure and time." In further explanation of his map, he wrote: "Also in this carde by the coastes where you see *C.* your Lordship shall understand it is set for Cape or headland, where *I.* for Iland, where *P.* for Port, where *R.* for River. Also in al this little carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the land, save onely in these Ilands of spicerie: which, for that as afore is sayd, every one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they stand. . . .

"And if by this your Lordshippe cannot well perceive the meaning of this carde, of the which I would not marvell, by reason of the rude composition of it, will it please your Lordship to advise mee to make a bigger and a better mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made."

In a postscript which Thorne added to his letter to Doctor Lee he asks that his letter and map be not shown to anyone at the Spanish Court. "For," said he, "though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may bee a cause of paine to

the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peradventure it woulde not sounde well to them, that a stranger shoulde knowe or discouer their secretes: and wolde appeare worst of all, if they understand that I write touching ye short way to the spicerie by our Seas." From this statement of Thorne's it has been argued that it was the policy of Spain to prevent her geographical discoveries from being known by her maritime rivals. Henry Harrisse, on the other hand, rejects this conclusion and thinks that the passage in Thorne's letter only shows that the Spanish authorities had not approved his map. Harrisse could find no law in Spain prohibiting the disclosure of maritime discoveries on maps and shows that copies of the Spanish official map, the "padron real,"¹⁰ later known as the "padron general," were on sale. Maps not approved by the pilot major, the head of the Casa de Contratacion, could not circulate. Harrisse, however, does not explain the scarcity of Spanish maps known to the world in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, at a time when the Portuguese maps were known the world over, nor why it was that Magellan's route was not marked on Spanish maps for some years after 1522. Justin Winsor says:¹¹ "There is abundant evidence of the non-communicative policy of Spain." He says that not one of the two hundred maps used by Ortelius, in 1570, in compiling his famous atlas was published in Spain and cites the fact that "one of the companions of Magellan was put under a penalty of two thousand ducats not to disclose the route he traversed on that famous voyage."

The English legend at the bottom of Thorne's map was probably written by Hakluyt. On the coast of Labrador, the inscription: *This land was first discovered by the English*, evidently refers to Cabot's discoveries. This map is one of the earliest to call Florida by that name. The Strait of Magellan is called *Strictum Omnium Sanctorum*; the Pacific, *Mare Australe*.

10. No. 14.

11. Christopher Columbus, p. 534.

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CARTA UNIVERSAL

En que se contiene todo lo que del mundo Se ha descubierto fasta agora:
 Hizola Diego Ribero Cosmographo de Su Magestad: Año de 1529. La
 qual Se divide en dos partes conforme à la capitulaçìo que hizieron los
 catholicos Reyes de españa, y El Rey don Juan de portogual ē la Villa
 de tordessilas: Año de 1494.

(35 $\frac{1}{10}$ x 85 $\frac{9}{16}$ inches.)

(In Edward Luther Stevenson, "Maps Illustrating Early Discovery and Exploration in America 1502-1530 Reproduced by Photography." New Brunswick, 1903.)

THE present reproduction is of Stevenson's remarkable facsimile photograph of the original manuscript map, which, in twelve parchment sheets, is to be found in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar. The full title in English is: *General chart containing the whole of the world that has hitherto been discovered; compiled by Diego Ribero, cosmographer to His Majesty, which is divided into two parts according to the agreement made by the Catholic Majesties of Spain and King John of Portugal at Tordesillas, A.D. 1494.*

Ribero was a Portuguese in the service of Spain during the most active period of American discovery. For many years, he was recognized as one of the most expert cosmographers of his time. He was closely associated with all the noted explorers who gathered about the Spanish court. He was a personal friend of the pilot major, Sebastian Cabot; was royal cosmographer under Ferdinand Columbus, who succeeded Cabot as pilot major while the latter was absent on the La Plata expedition;¹ and made the maps which Magellan carried with him on his famous voyage across the Pacific. There is no record that Ribero himself made any voyage of discovery, but no one of his time was in a position to be better informed concerning the discoveries of others than was he. As royal cosmographer, it was his duty to revise the "padron real," or official map, as new data were brought back by pilots from their voyages of discovery. This Padron Real, or standard map, had first been made, by order of Ferdinand in 1508, by a commission under Vespucci, and was put under the control of the Casa de Contratacion, a council which had been organized five years before to supervise discoveries. No copy of the famous Padron Real is now known to exist, although the pilot major was authorized to make and sell copies to all pilots, who were ordered to take them on their voyages. Ribero's maps are the nearest to copies of the official map which have survived.

In 1524, Ribero was a member of the Conference of Badajoz appointed to settle the dispute as to whether the Philippine Islands and the Spice Islands lay within the part of the world allotted by the treaty of Tordesillas to Spain or to Portugal.² The conference dissolved without agreement but Spain retained control of both groups of islands until 1528, when Charles V sold his claim to the Spice Islands to Portugal.

In 1526, Ribero was a prominent member of the junta of pilots at Seville, under the presidency of Ferdinand Columbus, called together by Charles V to secure data for a revision of the official map, and, from the information there obtained, aided in the construction of a new official standard map. The map here reproduced is probably a close copy of that original.

There are two well known maps signed by Ribero, one, sometimes called the "Propaganda" or "Second Borgian" map, now in the Vatican Library at Rome; and the other, in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar. The latter is here reproduced. A third map, closely resembling the other two, but unsigned, known as the "Wolfen-Büttel" map, as it is in the Wolfen-Büttel Grand Ducal Library, is also believed to be the work of Ribero.³ The map here published is not only beautiful, almost a work of art, and surprisingly accurate, but its inscriptions are an epitome of the history of the more famous explorations.

On the coast of *Tierra de Labrador*, the modern Greenland,⁴ a brief inscription reads: *The English discovered this country. It produces nothing of any value.* To this the inscription on the Propaganda map adds: "It was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol"; and the Wolfen-Büttel map: "As he who first sighted it was a farmer from the Azore Islands, this name remains attached to that country."⁵ This name "Labrador," i.e., the land of the laborer, was later transferred to the country west of Davis Strait. The bay to the west of "Labrador," the present Green-

1. In the present work see No. 18.

2. *Ibid.* 13.

3. Stevenson's *Early Spanish Cartography*, p. 14.

4. In the present work see No. 9.

5. Stevenson, *Early Spanish Cartography*, p. 22.

land, is undoubtedly the entrance to Davis Strait not yet explored.

Tierra de los Baccallaos (Newfoundland), which is still a part of the mainland as on the map of Ruysch,⁶ is thus described: *The land of codfish discovered by the Cortereals and where they were lost. Up to this time nothing of value has been found there, except the fishing of codfish, and these do not amount to much.*"⁷

The corresponding legend on the Cantino map of 1502 is interesting in this connection: "This land was discovered by order of the Most High and Most Excellent King Don Manuel, King of Portugal. It was discovered by Gaspar de Corte Real, a nobleman of the court of the said King, who, when he had discovered it, sent [from there] a vessel with men and women of the said land. He remained with the other vessel, but he never returned, and the belief is that he was lost. Here is much mast timber."

Tiera De Estevã Gomez commemorates the voyage made in 1525 by Estevan Gomez, the captain of the *San Antonio*, who deserted Magellan and returned to Spain. He was present as an associate of Ribero in the Conference of Badajos in 1524. Upon the failure of that conference, Gomez was sent out in the autumn of 1524 in search of a shorter passage to the Spice Islands. He explored the same coast which had been visited a few months before by Verrazano, as will be seen in No. 15. He sailed along the coast from Cape Race to Florida, examining all the bays and inlets, and found "much land adjoining that which is called the Baccallaos and situate under the fortieth and forty-first degrees"; but "neither finding the straight nor Gaitaia [Cathay], which he promised, returned backe within tenn monethes after his departure."⁸

The inscription reads as follows: *The country of Stephen Gomez, which he discovered at the command of his Majesty, in the year 1525. There are here many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain, and many rodovallo [walruses], and salmon, and fish of all sorts. Gold they have not found.*⁹

On his return voyage, Gomez saw the Bermuda Islands, which were rediscovered long after by Gates and Somers in 1610. Ribero located them on his map and near them a ship with the legend, *I come from the Indies*.

Tiera De Ayllon lies to the south of the land of Gomez. The tragic attempt of the Spaniard, Ayllon, in 1526, to found a colony on the James River, or according to Harris on the Cape Fear River, had but recently occurred.

The inscription reads: *The country of Ayllon, which he discovered and returned to settle, as it is well suited to yield breadstuff, wine and all things of Spain. He died here of disease.*¹⁰

The corresponding inscription on the "Propaganda" map is much the same: "Here went the licentiate Ayllon to settle the country, for which he sailed from S. Dominigo, or Puerto de Plata, where his men were taken on board. They took with them very little provisions, and the natives fled into the interior from fear. So that when winter set in many of them died of cold and hunger. They determined to return to Hispaniola."¹¹

Tiera De Garay, north of the Gulf of Mexico, was so named for Francis de Garay, the Governor of Jamaica, who in 1619 sent Pineda to find a strait through the land to the "South Sea" recently discovered by Balboa. Pineda sailed along the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico as far west as the river Panuco, discovering a large river, the "R. del Espiritu Santo," probably the Mississippi. In 1523, Garay failed in an attempt to found a colony and died in Mexico.

Ribero's inscription reads: *The country of Garay: All over this coast and that of the Licentiate Ayllon, and the land of Estevan Gomez, there is no hope of finding gold as in New Spain, because it is too much out of the way of the tropic.*¹²

Nueva España, or Mexico, has the following inscription: *Nueva España is thus called because it contains many things [of the kind found] in Spain. Wheat was sent thence in such quantities that it could be re-shipped to other parts. It contains much native gold.*¹³

Castilla del Oro (Golden Castile), in northern South America, is so called because much gold is found there. *The Indians are more warlike than those of Santo Domingo and other parts, because they use poisoned arrows. Here there is a locality called St. Martha, where large quantities of gold are found in the soil. Within it, the Germans have their territory, from the Cabo de la Vela to Cumana, from 140 to 150 leagues.*¹⁴

The northern coast of Brazil has this inscription: *All over this coast, from the Rio dulce to the Cape of San Roque, nothing of account has been found. Once or twice, since the discovery of the Indies, the coast has been ranged, but since, no one has returned thither. The Rio de Maraçon is very large, and vessels enter it to fill their casks, and twenty leagues [from coast] in the sea, they take in fresh water.*¹⁵ The Maraçon, or Amazon, was first seen by Vincente Yañez Pinzon in 1500.

Tiera Del Brazil has this legend: *Here, the only thing of value is the brazil [dyewood], which costs*

6. In the present work see No. 9.

7. Harris, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 570.

8. Quoted from Peter Martyr by Fiske in *Discovery of America*, III, 322.

9. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 30.

10. Stevenson, *Early Spanish Cartography*, p. 28.

11. Harris, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 574.

12 and 13. Harris, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 570.

14 and 15. Harris, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 571.

only the trouble of cutting and carrying to the vessels, which the Indians do for very little. They eat the flesh of their enemies. Here, the King of Portugal has at Pernambuco a factory where is a large quantity of brazil-wood collected for shipping on board vessels sent for the purpose.¹⁶

The La Plata region was first explored by Juan de Solis, who, in 1512, succeeded Vesputius as pilot major. In 1515-16 he led an expedition into that country, where he was "killed and eaten by the Indians." After Gomez had failed to find a passage to the Moluccas between Florida and the land of Baccallaos, Sebastian Cabot, attempting to find a passage through South America in 1526, entered the La Plata River, where he remained four years. He had not returned when Ribero made this map.¹⁷

These facts are referred to by Ribero in the following inscription: *This country was discovered by Juan de Solis in the year 1515 or 1516. There Sebastian Gaboto now is, in a fort which he has constructed. It is very well appropriated for yielding breadstuff and wine in great abundance. The River is extremely large and abounding with fish. The belief is that there is gold and silver in the interior.*¹⁸

The two small islands at the mouth of the La Plata which appear on the Ribero maps no longer exist.

The following inscription on *Tiera De Patagones*, or *the Country of the Patagonians*, discloses that Ribero was familiar with the description of that country brought back to Spain in 1522 by the survivors of Magellan's expedition: *Those who inhabit that land where Fernam de Magellan found the strait, are men of large bodies, almost giants, covered with skins of beasts. The land is steril and of no value. Here Fernam de Magellan stayed six months, especially in the port of St. Julian which is by 50 degrees. There, Indians came on board, and having tasted the bread and wine which was given to them, manifested abhorrence for the same. No houses were seen. They*

*live in the open air. There are many ostriches. The Indians use arrows.*¹⁹ Pictures of ostriches of unusual size may be seen on the map of that region.

Peru bears this inscription: *Peru. This country of Peru was discovered by Francisco Pizarro in the year 1527. Here was found gold and silver with which they trade. The natives are more intelligent than in other parts. They have sheep, with which they make clothes, and they have large walled cities and large praying houses, where they go in processions to adore their idols.*²⁰

The name Peru is derived from that of an Indian chieftain, "Biru," who resisted Francisco Pizarro when he was one of Balboa's party at the time the latter discovered the South Sea. The fact that Pizarro was still engaged in the conquest of the land of the Incas when Ribero made this map shows how well he was informed concerning the former's discoveries.

On the western United States, but relating to the Atlantic Coast, the inscription reads as follows: *Everywhere on this northern coast the Indians are taller than those of Santo Domingo and other islands. They feed on maize and fish, which they have in great abundance; they hunt much game and other animals, and wear the skins of wolves and foxes.*²¹

In accordance with the recommendations of the Spanish members of the Conference at Badajos that all Spanish maps should thereafter locate the line of demarcation, Ribero drew the line 370 leagues west of San Antonio, the westernmost of the Cape Verde Islands, using it as the initial meridian. He thus allotted Brazil, Greenland, and a part of *Tiera nova De Cortereal* to Portugal; and to Spain all lands within 180 degrees west of that line including, besides the greater part of the new continent, the Philippines and the Spice Islands, although according to a modern map, both groups of islands belonged to Portugal. The two flags of Spain and Portugal in the southeast corner of the map and on the coast of China indicate the location of the line.

16. HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 571.

17. In the present work see No. 18.

18. HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 571.

19 and 20. *Ibid.* p. 572.

21. *Ibid.* p. 570.

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WORLD MAP

By Hyeronimus De Verrazano. 1529.

(51 $\frac{1}{5}$ x 102 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

(Vatican Library.)

THIS reproduction is from a photograph, made especially for this work, of the original parchment, somewhat stained, composed of three large skins pasted together. The map was discovered about 1852 by Mons. R. Thomassy in the College di Propaganda Fide, on the Piazza di Spagna in Rome, to which it was bequeathed by Cardinal Stefano Borgia in 1804. It has recently been transferred to the Vatican Library.

The name of the author of the map is found in the inscription at the top, *Hyeronimus de Verrazano faciebat*. Nothing is known of him beyond the fact that he was the brother of Giovanni da Verrazano, the author of the well known letter to Francis I, in which he described his voyage along the eastern coast of America in 1524. It is uncertain whether this Giovanni da Verrazano, the explorer, can be identified with the famous corsair of the same name who, in 1523, captured and brought into La Rochelle the treasure fleet of Cortes. For this exploit he is said to have been captured and hanged by the Spaniards not long after his return from his exploration of the American coast.

The date of the map is determined by the inscription over the three French flags on the Atlantic coast of North America: *Verrazana sive nova gallia quale discopri 5 anni fa Giovanni de Verrazano fiorentino per ordine e commandamento del cristianissimo re di Francia*, which translated into English reads: *Verrazana or New Gaul, which was discovered five years ago by Giovanni da Verrazano, of Florence, by the order and command of the most Christian King of France*. As Giovanni da Verrazano made his celebrated voyage in 1524, the accepted date of the map is therefore 1529.

The chief interest in the map is its connection with that much discussed and formerly doubted voyage, the earliest one made along the coast of North America under French auspices. Until recently the only direct information concerning that expedition was found in a letter "written in Diepe the eight of July 1524" to Francis I by the explorer himself, in which he relates his experiences while voyaging along a strange coast that same year. The original manuscript of the letter, whether written in French or Italian is not known, has been lost, but two early Italian versions exist, one printed by Ramusio at Venice in 1556 and the other by the New York Historical Society in 1841.

The first English translation, that of the one

printed by Ramusio, was published by Hakluyt in 1582 in his *Divers Voyages*. In his dedicatory address, Hakluyt speaks of "an olde excellent mappe, which he [Verrazano] gave to king Henrie the eight, and is yet in the custodie of master Locke." And again in his *Discourse on Western Planting*, he refers to a map: "There is a mightie large olde mappe in parchmente, made, as yt shoulde seme by Verarsanus . . . now in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke." It is of course possible that the map in the Vatican Library is the one mentioned by Hakluyt.

The original manuscript of another letter by Verrazano, describing his celebrated voyage, was recently found in Rome. It is described by Signor A. Bacchiani in the *Bulletino della Società Geografica* for November, 1909. This letter, which is believed to be in part in the handwriting of the explorer himself, was sent from Lyons to Bonacorso Ruscally, a banker in Rome, whose partner, Bernardo Verrazano, was possibly a brother of the writer. It was found among the papers of Count Giulio Macchi di Cèllere and is still in the possession of his family. This letter gives a more accurate account of the voyage and shows that Verrazano recognized the true character of the New World.

According to Verrazano's letter to Francis I, he set sail on his famous voyage with one vessel, the *Dolphin*, and a crew of fifty men. He discovered "a newe land, never before seene of any man . . . in latitude 34. D. with good and holsome ayre," near where Amadas and Barlow and Lane came later.¹ Brevoort, however, contends that the landfall was five degrees farther north, basing his argument on the fact that nothing on the map indicates that Verrazano had seen the coast farther south. "Still running along the coaste, which we found to trende towarde the East," he apparently saw nothing of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, for he makes no mention in his letter of such an opening, which would have aroused keen interest in the mind of an explorer seeking for a route to Asia. The entrance to New York harbor, however, did not escape him. He describes it as "a very pleasant place, situated amongst certaine litle steepe hilles: from amiddest the which hilles there ran down into the sea a great stream of water, which within the mouth was very deep, . . . any great vessell laden may passe up. . . . We entred up the said river into the lande about halfe a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about

1. In the present work see No. 26.

3. leagues in compasse . . . leaving this lande to our great discontentment . . . we sayled towarde the East . . . for 50. leagues. Wee discovered an Ilande in forme of a triangle [Block Island?], distant from the maine lande 3 leagues, about the bignesse of the Ilande of the Rodes." This island Verrazano named after "your Majesties mother." It appears as *Luisa* on the Verrazano map, but later geographers gave it the name of "Claudia" following a curious error of Hakluyt, who says in a marginal note, "Claudia was wife of King Francis," confusing "Claudia, the first wife of Francis I with Louisa, his mother, who was regent of France in 1524, during the absence of the king in Italy."² The next place visited seems undoubtedly to have been Narragansett Bay and Newport Harbor, for his description of the locality and its latitude, 41° 40', are surprisingly accurate. After a stay of fifteen days, he left Newport on the fifth of May. Having rounded Cape Cod, he sailed along the New England coast "Northeast for the space of 150. leagues." The "high mountaines" which he saw "within the lande" were the White Mountains, which may be seen from certain places off the coast. At length, he "approached to the lande that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees [Newfoundland?]. Having now spent all our provisions and victuals, and having discovered about 700. leagues and more of newe Countries . . . wee concluded to returne into Fraunce." He reached Dieppe on the eighth of July, 1524, whence he sent his famous letter to Francis I. What later became of him is uncertain.

An interesting and important piece of evidence of the genuineness of Verrazano's voyage is found in a letter written on August 4, 1524, by Fernando Carli from Lyons to his father in Florence, telling of the voyage of Verrazano.³ "There are news recently received here of the arrival of the Captain Giovanni da Verrazzano, our Florentine, at the port of Dieppe, in Normandy, with his ship, the *Delfina*, with which, at the end of January last, he went from the Canary Islands in search of new countries for the most serene crown of France . . . what our captain brought, he does not mention in his letter. He will see his Majesty, our Sire, who is expecting to arrive within three or four days."⁴

Mr. Henry C. Murphy attacked the genuineness of Verrazano's letter, and the authenticity of that by Carli in a lengthy argument in which he maintained that they were written "to appropriate to a Florentine the glory which belonged to Estévan Gomez, a Portuguese pilot in the service of the Emperor," and that the Verrazano map was

made from the Ribero map of the same year. Murphy's conclusions are not, however, accepted by Dexter, De Costa, Kohl, and other critics.

If further evidence of the truth of the letter of Verrazano and of the map here reproduced is needed, it is furnished by a study of the Maiollo map of 1527.⁵ Since the significance of that map was pointed out by Desimoni, in 1881, there has been no serious question raised as to the fact of Verrazano's voyage and as to the genuineness of his brother's map.

The map is full of interest. It is worthy of notice that the latitudes given in a column on the map, just west of Africa, are inaccurate and do not correspond with the two latitudes mentioned in the letter. The islands of Cuba, Haiti, and Jamaica are incorrectly located north of the tropic of Cancer. The Gulf of Mexico is too far north. The eastern coast of North America trends too much to the northeast, as on all early maps. This was due to the misunderstanding by geographers of the variation of the compass. The coast line of Africa and of India reveals a surprising knowledge of the Portuguese discoveries.

One notices, further, on Verrazano's map, the open sea on the Northeast Passage to the north of Europe and Asia; the Portuguese shields on the coasts of Africa, and in Brazil; the Turkish flag on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean; the Spanish shields on the American coast north from Brazil to Florida; the French flags of solid blue on *Nova Gallia Sive Iycatanet*, that part of the coast visited by Verrazano; and the English shield and an inscription that the land was discovered by the English on *Terra Laboradoris*. This inscription is particularly important as it records the opinion prevalent in 1529 that the land-fall of the Cabots was far to the north in Labrador.⁶

The strait of Magellan is indicated but not named, to the south of which stretches an extensive but nameless continent. South America bears the three names recently given it by Cabral, Vesputius, and Waldseemüller: *Terra Sacte Crucis*, *Mundus Novus*, and *Terra America*. Peru is still *Terra Incognita*, and yet the Ribero map of the same date⁷ reveals a knowledge of Pizarro's discoveries. Unlike Maiollo, Verrazano knows nothing of the "streito dubitoso" through Central America, and *Iucatana* is put down as an island. Why the name is associated with *Nova Gallia* farther north, is difficult to explain. The conquests of Cortes are recognized, the City of Mexico appearing as *Temistitan*, the name by which it was known for some years after its conquest. The western coast of Mexico is obliterated by a large stain.

The western sea has no name or inscription and

2. Kohl's *Discovery of the East Coast*, p. 259.

3. New York Historical Society Collections, Second Series (I, 37-68).

4. Carli's letter in manuscript was found in 1837 in the Strozzi Library at Florence by Professor G. W. Greene, who at the time was United States Consul at Rome.

5. In the present work see No. 12.

6. *Ibid.* Nos. 9 and 18.

7. *Ibid.* No. 14.

is not mentioned in the letter, but on later maps, as that of Lok, 1582, it is called "Mare de Verrazana. 1524." At the place where it approaches nearest the Atlantic, is an inscription: *From this sea one beholds the western sea; there are six miles of land between the two.* Few geographical errors so confused the minds of explorers and map-

makers for a century as this belief in the nearness of the western sea.⁸

The windroses and loxodrome lines are characteristic of maps of that period.⁹ These loxodrome maps first made their appearance in Italy in the thirteenth century. The straight lines marked the sailing course from port to port.

8. In the present work see Nos. 12, 20, 25, 27, 31, and 32.

9. *Ibid.* Nos. 3, 4, 12, 14, and 28.

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WORLD MAP

By Gerardus Mercator. 1538.

(13 x 21 1/2 inches.)

(New York Public Library.)

TWO original copies of this map are extant, one in the New York Public Library, from which the present photograph is taken, and another, which was found by J. C. Brevoort in an edition of Ptolemy dated 1578 and deposited in the Library of the American Geographical Society in New York. A reproduction is to be found in Lafreri's *Atlas* of 1575 (?), in the New York Public Library.¹

The scheme of projection is double cordiform, borrowed from Orontius Finæus, who used it as early as 1531. Bernard Sylvanus used single cordiform projection as early as 1511.

The author, Gerard Mercator, the Flemish map-maker, was born in 1512 at Rupelmonde on the River Scheldt, eight miles above Antwerp. After graduating from the University of Louvain, which was then at the height of its fame with five or six thousand students, he began the manufacture of mathematical instruments and the making of maps. His first engraved map was one of Palestine, no copy of which is now known, and his second map is the one here reproduced. In 1569 he made his famous map² for use in navigation on what is known as Mercator's projection with parallels of latitude and meridians at right angles. A leading geographical authority of the present day, A. E. Nordenskiöld, pronounces him "unsurpassed in the history of cartography since the time of Ptolemy," and Abraham Ortelius, his own contemporary, styles him "nostri sæculi Ptolemæus."

Mercator constructed numerous other maps, which were brought together and published as the *Atlas Major* in 1602, the first published collection of maps to bear the name *Atlas*. He was also a renowned globe-maker, and succeeded in placing his globes, particularly the terrestrial globe of 1541 and the celestial globe of 1551, which were usually sold in pairs, in most of the contemporary libraries. His globes were in common use in England in the sixteenth century. Two sets, each globe about two feet high, are now extant, one brought to light in the Brussels Library in 1868 and the other in the Imperial Court Library in Vienna in 1875.

The most striking thing about the map is the author's initiative in applying the name America to North America as well as to South America. John Fiske, in his *Discovery of America*,³ incor-

rectly states that Mercator's later map, the globe of 1541, contains the first instance of this extended use of the term. Mercator must be associated with Waldseemüller as responsible for the naming of the western hemisphere.

Mercator refuses to entertain the suggestion of Schöner,⁴ and of Franciscus Monachus,⁵ that North America is connected with Asia. With the unknown author of the gores for a globe,⁶ with Robert Thorne,⁷ and with others, he believes that an ocean lies between America and Asia. Likewise he believes that there is a passage around the north of North America to Asia. He was of this view throughout his long career, and because of the immense influence of his maps he is largely responsible for perpetuating the theory of the Northwest Passage to the days of Queen Elizabeth and of her great sea-captains, Drake, Frobisher, Davis, and others.

As has already been pointed out, this view was derived ultimately from the ancients. In his world map of 1569,⁸ sheets 1, 2, 7 and 8, after citing Ptolemy and Pliny on the subject, Mercator says: *It is clear then that our continent is surrounded by the ocean, and that its extent was known to the ancients; and it is evident, on their authority, that it was in large part described.*⁹

In his *Oceanus Indicus*, which is a large Pacific Ocean, Mercator follows Maiollo. The former did not possess in the year 1538 the requisite data to enable him to delineate the Gulf of California and the peninsula of Lower California, which were first explored by Ulloa in 1539. The conquests of the Pizarro brothers in Peru are still recent, and across Peru the author writes *regio cultissima ditissimaque (a highly civilized and very rich country)*. As for the southwestern coast of South America and the exact size and limits of the assumed Antarctic continent, Mercator is uncertain; but he perpetuates Ribero's story of the giants in the vicinity of the Strait of Magellan. He agrees with Agnese in the location of La Plata River, but unlike Agnese he does not name this river, although it had been on the maps for a number of years. He plainly locates a river in the region of the present Hudson, which without a doubt is the river the mouth of which was discovered by Verrazano in 1524. As already stated, Mercator sticks to the same theory in the great

1. Phillips, *Geographical Atlases*, III, 81.

2. In the present work see No. 22.

3. Vol. II, 152.

4. In the present work see No. 10.

5. *Ibid.* No. 21.

6. *Ibid.* No. 11.

7. *Ibid.* No. 13.

8. *Ibid.* No. 22.

9. See also the review of the conception of the earth surrounded by water, No. 23.

map of 1569. Apparently he has not heard of the explorations of Cartier on the St. Lawrence.

The inscription at the top of the map, between the two sections, reads as follows: *Greetings to the reader. Let America, with Sarmatia and India, bear witness, fair minded reader, that the map of the world, which you see here, as it is more recent is also more correct than those which have been*

published before. We have put before you, however, a division of the earth on broad lines only, which later on we shall treat with more detail in the case of some special lands, and, as a matter of fact, we are already doing this in the case of Europe. So look for this in a short time, for it will not be smaller than the universal map of Ptolemy. Farewell. 1538.

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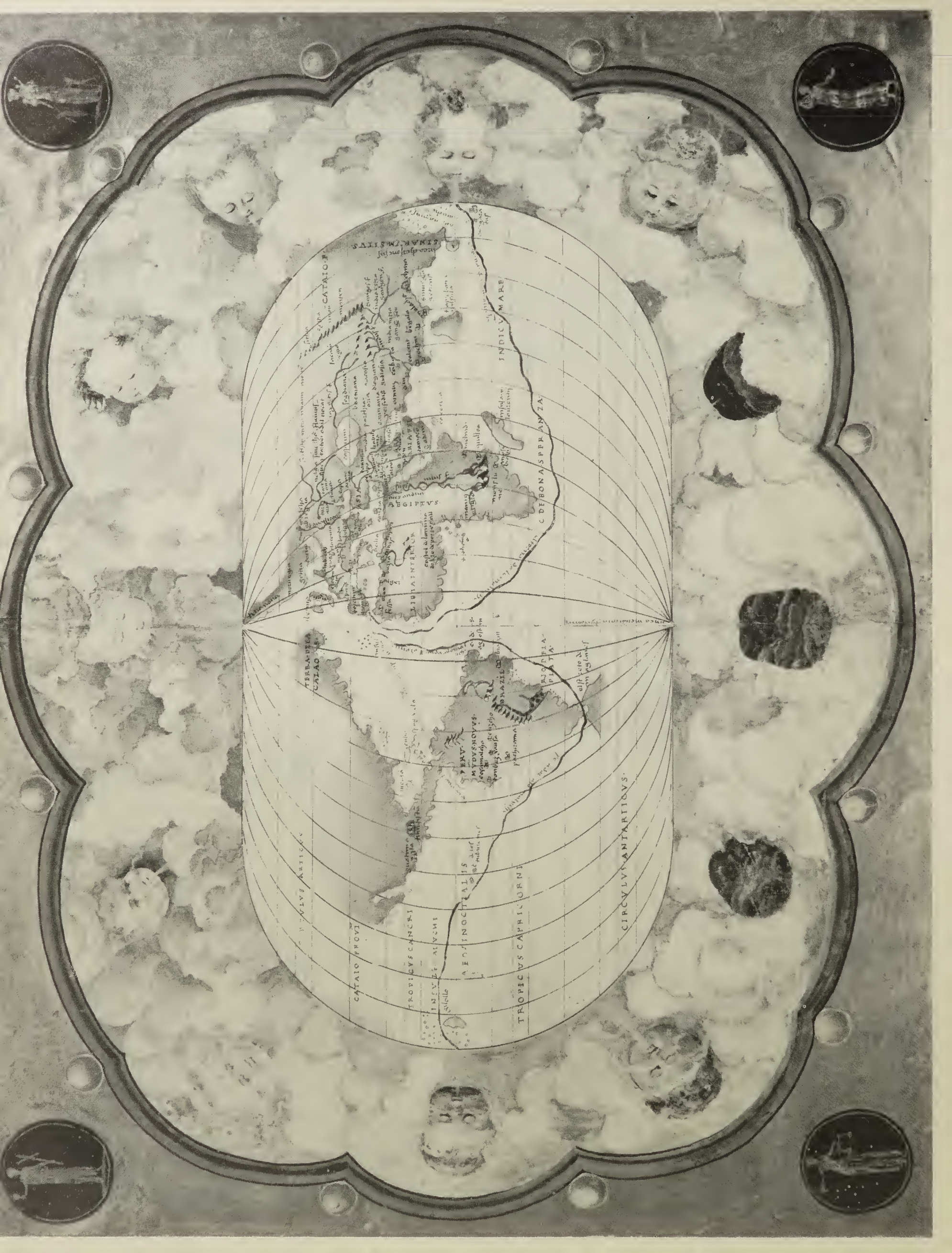
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WORLD MAP

By Battista Agnese. 1538(?)–1548(?).

(8½ x 11 inches.)

(In Battista Agnese, "Atlas," 1538[?]-1548[?].)

(John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.)

THIS beautiful portolan chart belongs to the portolan atlas, once the property of the Emperor Charles V and by him presented to his son and successor, Philip II. The artistic effect, the wind heads, the clouds, and the Greek decorations on this and the other maps of the collection, all exquisitely done in blue and gold, combine to make the atlas a fit volume for the world's mightiest monarchs, the Kings of Spain, at the time of that country's greatest glory.¹

On the right of the frontispiece of the volume are the arms of Castile and Aragon; on the left, an effigy of Charles V, and under a representation of Providence offering a terrestrial globe to a young man the inscription, *Philippo Caroli Aug. F. optimo princ.* (*A gift of the mighty Emperor Charles to his exalted son, Prince Philip.*)

The author, Battista Agnese, was an Italian map-maker, who published charts in Venice from 1536 to 1564. His maps usually delineate a particular country only and map the coast with considerable detail; but the present world map, which may be dated roughly sometime after 1539, the date of the exploration of the Gulf of California by Ulloa, is necessarily drawn on a small scale and lacks details.

Agnese, according to Justin Winsor, was "one of the most prolific draughtsmen of the sixteenth century"; and of no other cartographer of the sixteenth century have so many specimens of work come down to modern times. There are in existence more than fifty atlases by Agnese, all commonly possessing a world map of elliptical shape, in which are traced the route from Spain to the East Indies *via* the Strait of Magellan, and to the west coast of South America by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

Says one authority, "All these maps of Agnese are executed with great skill and taste, beautifully embellished with colors and gold, drawn upon the best of parchment, all in the same style and handwriting, and according to the same geographical

ideas; so that even when the author's name is not given, his works are easily recognized and identified."

One notices on the map the La Plata River, the Strait of Magellan, the *Maluche* (*Molucca*) Islands, and Cape *de Bona Speranza*. There is no strait between South America and North America, as that conception, a requirement of the geography of Marco Polo, which was accepted as long as North America was thought to be connected with Asia, ceased to be represented in cartography after Europeans came fully to appreciate the difficulties in the way of finding a passage across the narrow isthmus on the way to Peru. But, as is indicated by *Cataio Provi* off California and by *Cataio P.* in China, i.e., the province of Cathay, America is still vaguely connected with Asia in the far north.

The scene of the conquests of the Pizarro brothers is named Peru; and the west coast of South America is apparently entirely traced, though there may be noticed a hesitation on the part of the draughtsman on the southwestern coast of South America. South America is called *Mundus Novus*, and no name at all is attached to North America. The fairly correct shape of Central America and Mexico, and the delineation of the Gulf of California, reflect the explorations of Cortes, Ulloa, and others in these regions. The Gulf of California and the peninsular character of Lower California go on the map as the result of the explorations of Ulloa in 1539, and remain on all the maps till the beginning of the next century, when Lower California begins to appear on the French, British, and Dutch maps as an island, and so remains for nearly a century.²

The mariners of the sixteenth century, in their satisfaction at finding a passage through America to Asia, did not stop to explore the land south of the Strait of Magellan. Cape Horn and the insular character of that land they never suspected, but rested in the belief that there was an unexplored Antarctic continent.

1. See frontispiece for a reproduction of the Agnese world map in the New York Public Library.

2. In the present work see No. 35.

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WORLD MAP

By Sebastian Cabot. Antwerp, 1544.

(47 $\frac{1}{3}$ x 84 $\frac{2}{3}$ inches.)

(Harvard College Library.)

THIS elliptical world map, engraved on copper probably at Antwerp, and richly colored, was found by a German scholar, Dr. von Martius, in the home of a Bavarian curate in the year 1843, and was secured by the French government the next year and deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it still remains. Only the single copy is known. The present reproduction is of a full sized photographic copy of the original, deposited in the Harvard College Library in 1882. Thirteen copies of the original were made at the time, of which two were retained in Paris. The other ten copies were distributed among leading American libraries.

Although the map is without name of author, title, or date, it has been attributed to Sebastian Cabot. The inscriptions on the side, which are pasted on the original map, although they were not composed by Cabot but probably by a Doctor Grajales, may fairly be looked upon as an integral part of the map. Inscription No. 17 refers to Sebastian Cabot as the map's author.

Says this inscription, in part: *Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot-major of his sacred imperial majesty, the emperor Don Carlos, the fifth of his name, and the king our lord, made this figure extended on a plane surface, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1544, having drawn it by degrees of latitude and longitude, with the winds, as a sailing chart, following partly Ptolemy and partly the modern discoveries, Spanish and Portuguese, and partly the discovery made by his father and himself; by it you may sail as by a sea-chart, having regard to the variation of the needle.*

It is known that a second edition of the map, dated London, 1549, circulated unchallenged in England as the handiwork of Cabot during the latter's sojourn in that country. This consideration, and the evidence of the legend above quoted, tend to establish the authorship of the map, though, it must be noted, the map itself is unsigned. The date is fixed as 1544 by the explicit statement in the inscription already quoted.

Some time after the voyages of 1497-98 Sebastian Cabot settled in Spain, where he became crown pilot in 1515 and pilot major in 1518. He served in this latter capacity until 1525. He was absent from Spain on an expedition to South America, including the region of the La Plata River, from 1526 to 1530; and he filled the office of pilot major again from 1533 to 1547, when he returned

to England and there lived until his death about 1565.

The chief interest in the map is its bearing on the Cabot voyages to North America, 1497-98. In the body of the map, in Hudson Bay, is a reference to legend "8" on the side, which legend reads as follows: *This land was discovered by Juan Cabot, a Venetian, and by Sebastian, his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, 1494, on the 24th of June, in the morning, to which they gave the name of "land first seen" (prima tierra vista); and to a large island which is situated along the said land they gave the name of San Juan, because it was discovered on the same day. The people of it are dressed in the skins of animals. They use in their wars bows and arrows, lances and darts, and certain clubs of wood, and slings. It is a very sterile land. There are on it many white bears; and very large stags like horses, and many other animals; and likewise there is infinite fish, sturgeon, salmon, very large soles, a yard in length, and many other kinds of fish, and the greatest quantity of them is called baccallaos or cod fish; and likewise there are in the same land hawks black as crows, eagles, partridges, linnets, and many other kinds of birds of different species.*

Examining the map itself closely, one notices that the author places the scene of his discoveries and those of his father in the vicinity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by the words *prima tierra vista*, which he inscribes at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The location is plain.

Despite this statement, scholars of today are not in agreement as to the location of the Cabot land-fall.

Various early maps place the scene of the discovery in northeastern Labrador. The La Cosa map¹ of the year 1500, constructed in Spain where it is known that copies of the original Cabot maps were sent soon after 1498, has "mar descubierta por yngleses" and "cavo de ynglaterra" further north than the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The Thorne map,² of the year 1527, has the words "Terra haec ab Anglis primum fuit inventa" across Labrador at about 60° north latitude. The Ribero map of 1529, Weimar copy,³ contains the words "Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses" on Labrador at 60° north latitude; and the Vatican copy of the same map, in the same inscription and in the same place, adds that the English discoverers were "de la villa de Bristol." The Verrazano map of

1. In the present work see No. 4.

2. *Ibid.* No. 13.3. *Ibid.* No. 14.

1529 also places the English flag on Labrador near 60°⁴

These maps show that the landing place of the Cabots on the soil of North America was for a long time located far in the north in Labrador; and at least three of these maps, that of Thorne and the two of Ribero, came from Seville, where Sebastian Cabot was in charge of the government monopoly of map-making and probably himself gave out the information that the maps divulged as to his own discoveries and those of his father. Cabot was absent from Spain on the expedition to South America, when Ribero made his maps; but even so, the geographical information on which the latter worked must have come from Cabot, his superior officer during the long period in which the two had been associated as official map-makers before Cabot's departure for South America.

On the other hand, on the map of 1544, the only map by Cabot that has come down to the present day, that explorer places the landfall of the Cabots in North America at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, ten degrees farther south than on the older maps. This change, says HARRISSE,⁵ is a fraud by Cabot, a conscious attempt to bolster up the claims of the English to the regions of the St. Lawrence against the encroachments of the French under Cartier and the other French leaders, a treacherous "bid for the King of England's favor."

Lok's map, which locates the landfall in accordance with the Cabot map, shows that the view of the subject, accepted by Cabot in 1544, was accepted in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth.⁶

The date of the Cabot discovery, given above in the marginal inscription number 8, as 1494, is probably a misprint by the copyist for 1497. On this point there is general agreement.⁷

In the body of the map are various references to the twenty-two marginal legends, few of which, however, contain anything of interest. For the most part they are made up of curious tales and old fables, and are probably the work of a careless and ignorant man. Number 8, already quoted, concerning the landfall of the Cabots, is the most important, those concerning Mexico and Peru the most interesting. Students of the present time would welcome in these legends more discussion of geographical problems, such as the Northwest Passage.⁸

The following topics are treated of in the legends:

1, Between the Bermudas and the West Indies, a passage in honor of Christopher Columbus.

2, North of the island of Antigua, a descrip-

tion of the island of Hispaniola, or Santo Domingo.

3, Opposite the west coast of Mexico, a résumé of the contemporary knowledge of Mexico. The language is as follows: *This mainland, which the Spaniards named New Spain, the most illustrious gentleman, Don Fernando Cortez, marquis del Valle de Guaxacon, conquered. There are, in this land, provinces and cities innumerable; the chief of them is the city of Mexico, which contains more than fifty thousand inhabitants; it is in a salt lake which extends over fifty leagues. There is in the said city, and in all the other provinces, much gold, virgin silver, and all kinds of precious stones; and there is produced in the said land and provinces very much silk, and cotton, alum, orchil, dyewood, cochineal, and saffron, and sugar, of all the aforesaid great quantities, with which many ships come loaded to these kingdoms of Spain. The natives of this land are very expert in all things that relate to trade; instead of coins they make use of certain kernels, split in halves, which they call cacao, cacanghnate, a barbarous expression. They have much wheat and barley, and many other grains, and vines, and many fruits of different kinds. It is a land of many animals, deer, mountain boars, lions, leopards, tigers, and much other game, both birds and land animals. It is a people very skillful in moulding any object after nature, and in painting pictures. The women usually adorn themselves with precious stones and valuable pearls. These Indians use a certain kind of paper, on which they draw what they wish to express with figures [pictures] instead of letters. They never had peace among themselves; on the contrary, some persecuted others in continual fights, in which the prisoners on either side were sacrificed by their enemies to their gods, and their dead bodies were given to the army, at public banquets. They were idolaters, and adored whatever took their fancy; they were very fond of eating human flesh, whereas now they have laid aside these fierce and cruel customs, and have clad themselves in Jesus Christ, believing heartily in our holy evangelical faith, and obeying our Most Holy Mother Church and its most holy precepts.* The map locates the city of Mexico and the port of Vera Cruz, and commemorates the discoveries and conquests of Hernando Cortez in Mexico.

4, In the strait of Magellan, and 5, at the Molucca Islands, a reference to Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation and to his discovery of many of the Philippine Islands.

6, The coast of Peru, a reference to that country in the following words: *These provinces were*

4. In the present work see No. 15.

5. *John Cabot and Sebastian*, p. 122-124.

6. In the present work see No. 25.

7. HARRISSE, *John Cabot and Sebastian*, p. 56.

8. These legends are translated in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Second Series (Vol. III, part II, p. 444, 1897); and in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical*

Society, Second Series (Vol. VI, p. 329, 1891); and in Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot* (p. 222), New York, 1898.

discovered by the honored and valiant gentleman, Francisco Pizarro, who was the governor of them during his life; in which there is infinite gold and virgin silver, and mines of very fine emeralds. The bread which they have they make of maize, and the wine likewise; they have much wheat and other grain. It is a war-like race; they use in their wars bows, and slings, and lances; their arms are of gold and silver. There are in the said provinces certain sheep of the form of small camels; they have very fine wool. They are an idolatrous people, and of very subtle mind; and on all the sea-coast, and for more than twenty miles inland, it never rains. It is a very healthy land. The Christians have made many settlements in it, and continually keep increasing them.

7, At the mouth of the La Plata River, a statement of the discovery by Juan Diaz de Solis of this river, the river of silver, the largest river then known. On the map of South America one notices such names as Lake Nicaragua, Panama, and the Amazon River, the discovery of which is attributed to Francisco de Orellana. Cabot records his belief that the La Plata is larger than the Amazon.

8, In Hudson Bay, a statement already quoted, concerning Cabot's discovery of the mainland.

9, Concerning Iceland; 10, the northern part of Russia; 11 and 12, the northern part of Asia; 13, Prester John and the central part of Africa; 14, India and the Indian custom by which a wife sacrifices herself on her husband's tomb; 15, the Tartars; 16, the island of Taprobana in the Indian Ocean; 17, the variations of the compass; 18, navigation on the north of Europe; and 19, 20, 21, and 22, islands in the Indian Ocean.

The last part of legend 22 reflects the sixteenth century knowledge of Japan, drawn from Marco Polo: *Ciapangu is a large island lying in the high seas, which island is fifteen hundred miles distant from the mainland of the Grand Khan towards the East. They are idolaters, and a gentle and handsome race. It has an independent King of its own, who is tributary to no one. It contains much virgin*

gold, which is never taken away from the island, because ships never touch there as it is so distant and out of the way. The king of the island has a very great and wonderful palace all made of gold in ingots of the thickness of two reals, and the windows and columns of the palace are all of gold. It [the island] contains precious stones and pearls in great quantities. The Grand Khan, having heard the fame of the riches of the island, desired to conquer it, and sent to it a great fleet, and could never conquer it, as Marco Polo more aptly relates and tells us in his book, the 106th chapter.

There are other points of interest in the map besides the inscriptions, such as the peninsular character of lower California, and the river system emptying into the Gulf of California, and the extent of the country drained by it. This is an early attempt to set down on the map the results of the recent explorations of Ulloa in 1539, and of Coronado in 1540-42.

In the northeast of North America, the fairly correct outline of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence River, copied from Deslien's map, reflects the geographical results of the explorations of Cartier in these regions. "*Baye Saint Laurens*" is Cartier's original term.

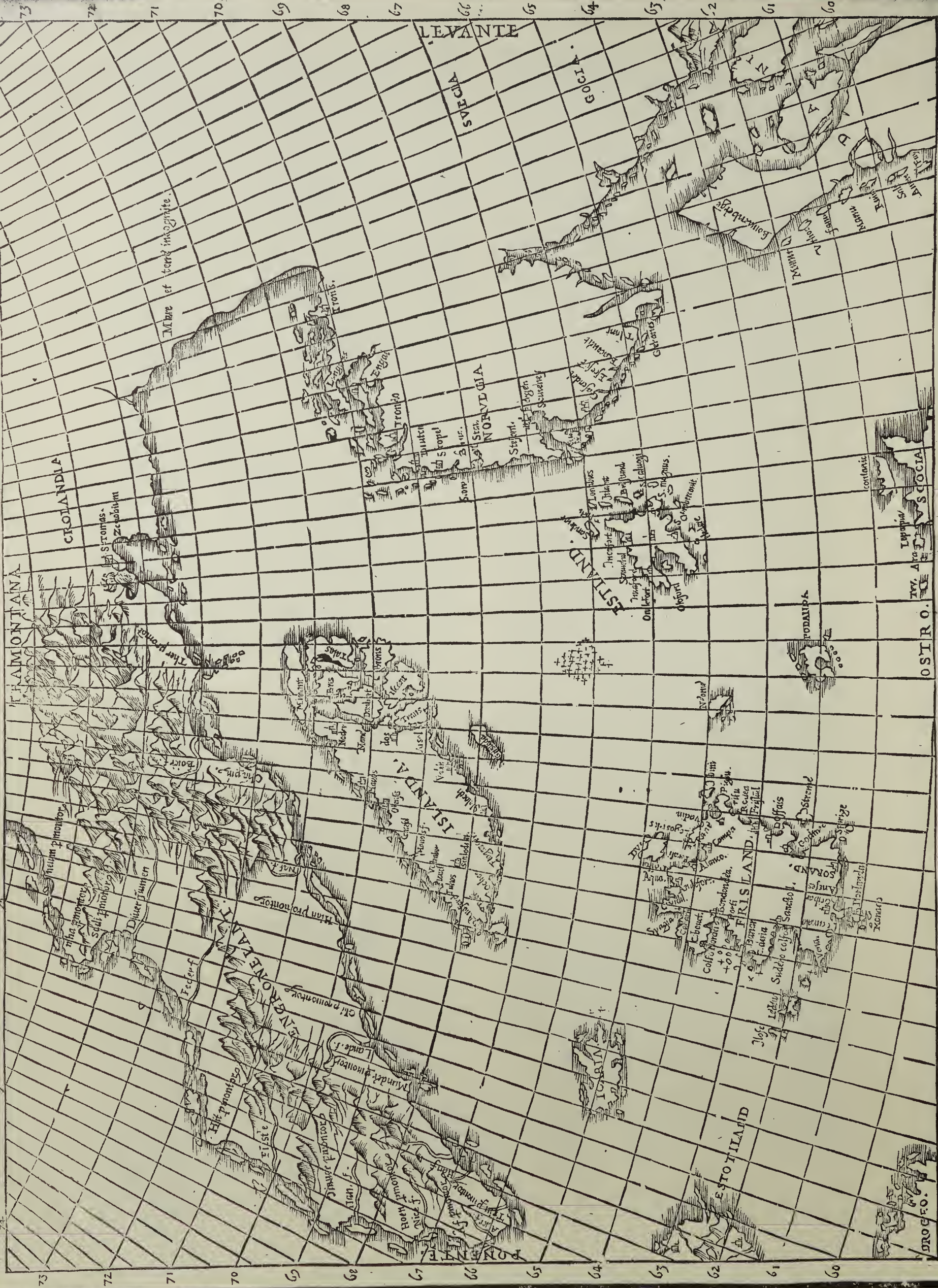
Newfoundland, which still appears as a cluster of islands, is emerging, New England is taking shape, and the Atlantic coast of North America is almost as good as that of Mercator in 1569. There is no reference to Verrazano's river, the present Hudson, and none probably to the Mississippi, which had then but recently been crossed by De Soto, although the *rio del spiritu santo* may be the Mississippi.

Although HARRISSE calls the map "the most imperfect of all the Spanish maps of the 16th century, which have reached us," and KOHL declares that it has so many errors that it is "utterly improbable" that it was made by Sebastian Cabot, it must be remembered that all the old maps have many errors. This map is but little worse than those of the other map-makers of that century.

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CARTA DA NAVEGAR DE NICOLO ET ANTONIO ZENI

Furono in Tramontana Lano MCCCLXXX. Anonymous.

(11 x 15 inches.)

(In "*De I Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno il K. & delle guerre fatte nell' Imperio Persiano, dal tampo di Ussuncassano in qua Libri due. Et dello scoprimento dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engroneland, Estotilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo, Artoco, da due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolo il K e M. Antonio. Libro Uno. Con un Disegno Particolare di tutte le dette parte di Tramontana da lor scoperte.*" Con Gratia, et Privilegio. In Venetia, Per Francesco Marcolini. MDLVIII.)

(John Carter Brown Library.)

IN English the map title reads, *Map of the Voyage of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, who were in the north in the year 1380*. The Italian book title reads: "Annals of the Journey in Persia of Messire Caterino Zeno, the Knight, and of the Wars carried on in the Persian Empire in the time of Ussuncassano. Two Books. And of the Discovery of the Islands, Frislanda, Eslanda, Engroneland, Estotilanda, and Icaria, made under the North Pole by the two brothers Zeni, Messire Nicolo, the Knight, and Messire Antonio. One Book. With a detailed Map of all the Parts of the North discovered by them. With Permission and Privilege. Venice, by Francesco Marcolini. 1558."

Nicolo Zeno, 1515-65, member of a distinguished Venetian family, says in his book of 1558 that he had in his possession the remains of a manuscript of one of his ancestors, Antonio Zeno, the traveler, which as a boy he had torn up but had later recovered and restored as far as he was able; that this was the basis of the book of 1558; and that he drew the map which accompanies the text, after an old chart in the family.

This publication of 1558 attracts attention because of various features. The southern tip of Greenland is put far into the north at 66° instead of 60°, and the longitude differs from that of the existing maps; but that which arouses particular attention is the location of certain islands in the North Atlantic, the existence of which till then had not been suspected, and the presumption which is thus raised that America was reached from Europe before the days of Columbus.

The gist of the story, which in the original is uninteresting and almost unintelligible, is as follows: In about the year 1380, though some modern critics suggest that this date of the map is a mistake and should read 1390, Nicolo Zeno of Venice took a voyage into the open Atlantic and far north to the island of Frisland. A brother, Antonio, soon followed. From Frisland they went

to a land, which may be identified as Greenland, from references to a monastery, a hot spring, and a volcano, and then to the island of Icaria.

Fishermen's tales were reported of a land one thousand miles in the west, by the name of Estotiland; and also of Drogio.

A fisherman says of the latter, "that it is a very great country, and, as it were, a new world; the people are very rude and uncultivated, for they all go naked, and suffer cruelly from the cold, nor have they the sense to clothe themselves with the skins of the animals which they take in hunting. They have no kind of metal. They live by hunting, and carry lances of wood, sharpened at the point. They have bows, the strings of which are made of beasts' skins. They are very fierce, and have deadly fights amongst each other, and eat one another's flesh. They have chieftains and certain laws among themselves, but differing in the different tribes. The farther you go southwestwards, however, the more refinement you meet with, because the climate is more temperate, and accordingly there they have cities and temples dedicated to their idols, in which they sacrifice men and afterwards eat them. In those parts they have some knowledge and use of gold and silver."¹

This may be accepted as a fair description of the Indians and of Indian life in North America in the sixteenth century, and would go far toward proving a pre-Columbian voyage of Europeans to America, if the story is to be credited in other respects.

Antonio Zeno, the traveler, makes no claim that either he or his brother visited the lands in the far west. He was only relating a story, which he had picked up in the islands of the North Atlantic, that other Europeans had been in those lands.

The geographical authorities of the sixteenth century believed the Zeno of 1558, and on his authority based a new mapping of the North Atlantic. Editions of Ptolemy published at Venice in

1. Quoted by John Fiske in his *Discovery of America*, I, 246.

1561 and 1562 delineate the new islands, and the example is followed by Mercator in his great map of 1569,² by Ortelius in his *Theatrum* of 1570,³ by Ramusio in his *Travells* of 1574, by Frobisher in his account of his voyages in search of the Northwest Passage,⁴ by Lok on his map,⁵ by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* of 1582,⁶ by John Davis,⁷ by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes* of 1525,⁸ and by many others. The Zenian geography of the North Atlantic characterized the leading maps of the region for more than one hundred and fifty years, but at last the doubts, that had slowly accumulated, swept the strange names of Frisland, Estotiland, and Drogio from the sea, and from the accepted cartography thereof.

The most recent work on the subject of the map is by Fred W. Lucas, *Annals of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno*.

Lucas examines both sides of the argument, and ends by convicting Zeno's *Annals* and map of fraud.

The first and leading argument in the indict-

ment is the fact that practical mariners have never yet been able to find the islands which the *Annals* and the map call for. The second argument is textual, the third cartological. Lucas believes that Zeno's text was compiled from the original accounts of the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, and others, or of works drawn directly from those accounts, and that his map was derived from the other maps of the period. The original map was not produced to the world, and was only made known in the form of a woodcut representing an alleged amended copy.

Miller Christy, in his *Silver Map of the World*, admits Lucas's main point that both the text and the map of Zeno are untrustworthy, but contends that there is an element of fact back of each. He says that the voyage of the Zeno brothers was not improbable, though the account thereof was greatly embellished. He is so impressed by the correctness of the outline of Greenland (*Engronelant*) that he concludes this must have been drawn from actual explorations.

2. In the present work see No. 22.

3. *Ibid.* No. 21.

4. *Ibid.* No. 24.

5. *Ibid.* No. 25.

6. *Ibid.* No. 13.

7. *Ibid.* No. 35.

8. *Ibid.* No. 35.

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FLORIDAE AMERICAЕ PROVINCIÆ
Recentis & exactissima descriptio
Auctore Jacobo le Moyne cui co-
gnomen de Morgues, Qui Laudo-
nienrum, Altera Gallorum in eam
Provinciam Navigatione commutat^{us}
est, Atque adhibitis aliquot militibus,
ob pericula, Regionis illius interi-
ora & Maritima diligentissime
Lustravit, & exactissime dimen-
sit, Obstruata etiam singulorum
met redux Carolo IX Galliarum
Regi, demonstravit.

Hæc maris pars plena est insulis, scopulis, breuib; et pilulis valde insubolis.

Lacus magnus est hic lacus
ut ex una ripa conspici altera
non possit. Dissit a Charis
fort 180 leucis.

AB INDIGENIS DICTA IACAZA

Montes & palatii, in quibus aurum & argentum & affluuntur

In hac loca indigenæ
ingenti pecunia moventur

SEPTENTRIO

OCCIDENS

ORIENS

Pars Maris Antillarum

Scala Leucarum

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

Scala Magna

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Scala Magna

Scala Magna

FLORIDÆ AMERICÆ PROVINCIÆ

Recens & exactissima descriptio Auctore Jacobo le Moyne cui cognomen de Morgues, Qui Laudōnierum, Altera Gallorum in eam Provinciam Navigatione comitat' est. Atque adhibitis aliquot militibus, Ob pericula, Regionis illius interiora & Maritima diligentissime Lustravit, & Exactissime dimensus est, Observata etiam singulorum Fluminum inter se distantia, ut ipsemet redux Carolo IX Galliarum Regi, demonstravit. 1565 (?)

(14½ x 17½ inches.)

(In Jacques Le Moyne, "Brevis Narratio Eorum Quæ In Florida Americæ Provinciâ Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Nauigatione, duce Renato de Laudōniere classis Præfecto: Anno MDLXIII. . . . Auctore Jacobo le Moyne, cui cognomen de Morgues. . . . Francoforti Ad Mœnum Typis Ioñis Wecheli, Sumtibus vero Theodori de Bry. Anno MDXCI.")

THE title of the map, rendered into English, is as follows: *Recent and very exact description of the province of Florida in America by Jacques le Moyne de Morgues who accompanied Laudonnière upon the second expedition of the French to that province. Some soldiers were taken along because of the danger. The interior and coast were carefully explored and exactly measured and the distance of the several rivers from one another observed in order that upon his return he might be able to demonstrate these things to Charles IX, King of France.*

The title of the book may be translated into English as follows: "A short account of the experiences of the French in the province of Florida in America during the second expedition to that country under René de Laudonnière, the commander of the fleet, in 1564. By Jacques Le Moyne of Morgues. At the press of John Wecheli, at the expense of Theodore de Bry, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1591."

The author of this celebrated map, Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, was a French artist of great merit, who accompanied the French expedition to Florida under Laudonnière in 1564. His map was drawn to illustrate this expedition and an earlier one led by Ribaut in 1562. The map is found in the second part of De Bry's *Grand Voyages*, which was published at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1591. The first part of the *Grand Voyages*, published the previous year, consisted of Thomas Hariot's famous *Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, etc., illustrated by engravings of John White's curious map of Virginia and of its inhabitants.¹

The French expeditions to Florida originated

in the desire of Admiral Coligny and the other leaders of the Huguenot party, during the religious wars in France, to found a colony on the coast of America as a refuge for their sect. Jean Ribaut, a Protestant of Dieppe, was sent out in 1562 to make a survey of the coast and to report upon a favorable site for a colony.

Contrary to his original purpose, Ribaut² determined to plant a colony on the coast and built a fort called *Charlefort*,³ "on a small stream Chenonceau, probably Archer's Creek, about six miles from the site of Beaufort."⁴

Upon the return of Ribaut to France, Coligny fitted out a party under René de Laudonnière to carry reinforcements to the party at Charlefort. Laudonnière took with him Le Moyne, the artist, "to map the sea coast, and lay down the position of towns, the depth and course of rivers, and the harbours; and to represent also the dwellings of the natives, and whatever in the province might seem worthy of observation."

On the twenty-second of June, 1564, Laudonnière entered the harbor of St. Augustine, which he called the River of Dolphins (*F. Delphinium*) "because, when he touched there, a great many dolphins were seen in it." Three days later, the party came to the mouth of the St. Johns and landed near the present village of Mayport. Laudonnière constructed a fort called *Fort Carolina*, after Charles IX, on a knoll above St. John's Bluff,⁵ and sent an exploring party nearly one hundred miles up the St. Johns to a point near the modern town, Palatka.

Numerous vain attempts were made to find gold in the interior. The firm belief in the existence of precious metals in the vicinity is reflected in the inscriptions on Le Moyne's map: *Montes Apalatci*,

1. In the present work see No. 27.

2. Ribaut's Journal was published by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages*.

3. See map.

4. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 41.

5. *Ibid.* p. 55.

in quibus aurum argentum & æs invenitur; In hoc lacu Indigenæ argenti grana inveniunt. The failure in the search for gold, the growing hostility of the Indians, and the consequent scarcity of provisions caused a mutiny at Fort Caroline, and a party seized a boat and sailed out to plunder Spanish vessels and towns in Cuba, thus carrying to the Spaniards the news of the existence of Fort Caroline. Menendez at the head of a Spanish force soon appeared. The fort was captured and its French garrison massacred.⁶ Le Moyne, however, with Laudonnière and Challeux, the carpenter, escaped to the woods and after wandering for some days through the forests and swamps succeeded in reaching the shore, where they were picked up by a French boat and ultimately carried to France.

Laudonnière's *Journal*, telling the story of the three French expeditions to Florida, was first published in French, with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, by Martine Basanier, a friend of Hakluyt's, in Paris in 1586.⁷ Hakluyt translated it into English and published it in London the following year. The French edition fell into the hands of Theodore de Bry, an engraver and bookseller of Frankfort-on-the-Main, who conceived the plan of bringing out an illustrated edition. With this purpose in mind, De Bry sought out Le Moyne, then living in Blackfriars, London, in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh, "acting as painter, engraver on wood, a teacher, and art publisher or bookseller,"⁸ and endeavored to purchase Le Moyne's map and paintings in order to use them for his projected illustrated edition of Laudonnière's *Journal*. Le Moyne, however, refused to sell them, as he was planning to publish a similar work of his own. Upon his death, the following

year, De Bry purchased of the widow of Le Moyne a portion of his drawings or paintings and his map and also his manuscript account of the French expeditions. Hakluyt urged De Bry to bring out this account and undertook to write the descriptions of the illustrations, which he did for both White's⁹ and Le Moyne's paintings.¹⁰ Thus Le Moyne's manuscript and map with many of his remarkable pictures were first published by De Bry in 1591, in his *Florida*, which forms the second part of his famous *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem et Indiam Occidentalem, Francoforti ad Mœnum 1590-1634*. In the first part, or *Virginia*, De Bry had already published in 1590 Thomas Hariot's "Report" illustrated by White's drawings and map.¹¹ The collection is divided into two series: the first, which had to do with America, came to be commonly known as the "Grand Voyages" because the pages were slightly larger than those in the second series, which is known as the "Small Voyages."¹²

De Bry published editions of Le Moyne's *Brevis Narratio* in Latin and German only. An English edition appeared in Boston in 1874 with the title: *Narrative of Le Moyne, surnamed De Morgues, an artist who accompanied the French expedition to Florida under Laudonnière, 1564. Translated from the Latin of De Bry, and printed for William Appleton.*

Le Moyne was apparently more skilled as an artist than as a map-maker. "His maps," says Parkman, "are curiously inexact."¹³ His drawings, reproduced by De Bry, are of great merit. Several of his original drawings, "highly finished in water colors," may be seen in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum.

6. Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, p. 127.

7. *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride, mise en lumière par M. Basanier.*

8. Henry Stevens, *Thomas Hariot:*

The Mathematician, the Philosopher and the Scholar, p. 55.

9. In the present work see No. 26.

10. Henry Stevens, *Thomas Hariot: The Mathematician, the Philosopher and the Scholar*, p. 59.

11. In the present work see No. 26.

12. Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, III, 20.

13. *Pioneers of France*, p. 50.

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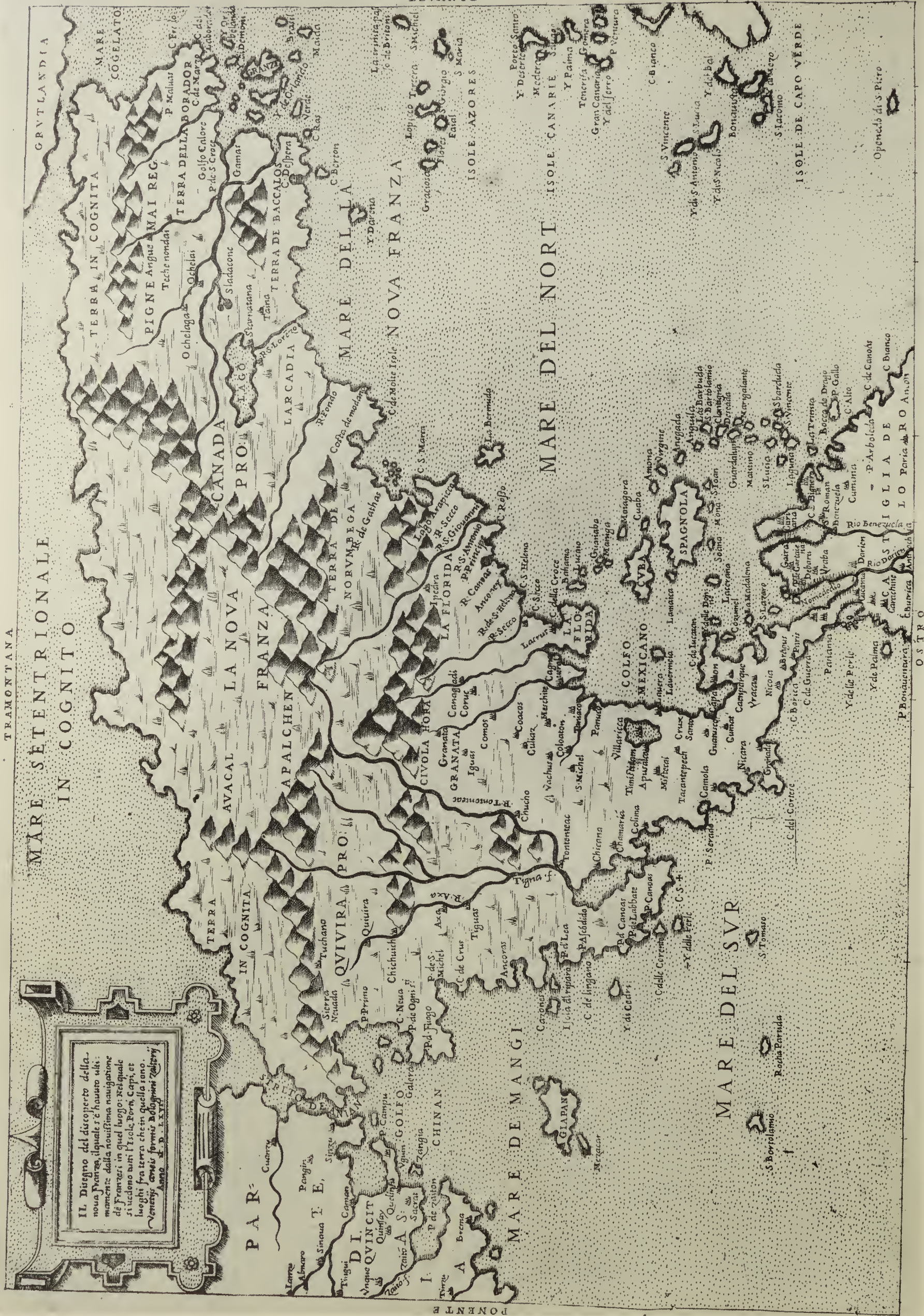
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MARE SETENTRIONALE
IN COGNITO

IL Disegno del disonerto della-
noua France, il quale s'è hauuto uis-
samente dalla nouissima nauigatione
de' Francesi in quel luogo: Nel quale
si uedono tutti l'Isle, Porti, Caps, et
luoghi fra terra che in quella sono.
Veneris amies Bolognini Zaltieri



CONTENT

OSTRO

IL DISEGNO DEL DISCOPERTO DELLA NOVA FRANZA

Il quale s'è hauuto ultimamente dalla nouissima nauigatione dè Franzesi in quel luogo: Nel quale si uedono tutti l'Isole, Porti, Capi, et luoghi fra terra che in quella sono. Venetijs æneis formis Bolognini Zalterij. Anno MDLXVI.

(11 x 15¾ inches.)

(In "Geografia Tavole moderne di Geografia de la maggior parte del Mondo di diversi autori raccolte et messe secondo l'ordine di Tolomeo con disegni di molte citta et fort ezze di diverse provintie stampate in rame con studio et diligenza in Roma." Rome, 1595[?].)

(Library of Congress.)

IN English, the map title is as follows: *Map of the discovery of New France, made lately from the most recent voyages of the French to that place, wherein one can see the islands, ports, capes, and inland places there existing. Venice, on copper plate by Zalterius of Bologna. 1566.*

The atlas which contains this map by Zalterius, is usually known as the *Lafreri Atlas*, after Antoine Lafreri, a French artist, who set up an establishment for copper engraving at Rome about the year 1540. It may be regarded as the first of the modern atlases, in so far as the separate maps which it contains were constructed in the sixth and the seventh decades of the sixteenth century, although the component maps were not brought together in a single volume until about 1575, or five years after the Dutchman, Abraham Ortelius, published the first edition of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which was the first of modern atlases to be placed before the public. In 1914 the Library of Congress in Washington possessed 61 editions of Ortelius's *Theatrum*, 29 editions of Mercator's *Atlas*, 41 of the known editions of Ptolemy, and 1 of Lafreri. The beauty of Lafreri's Italian maps is great, and many of them were models for Ortelius. In addition to this copy of the map of Zalterius, *Lafreri's Atlas* contains engraved copies of Mercator's double cordiform map of 1538,¹ and of the Zeno map.²

The map of Zalterius, 1566, is of interest as being possibly the first to contain the strait between America and Asia, known for a long time to geographers as the Strait of Anian. The conception of a continuous connection by land between the two continents, which Columbus at first entertained, but which was afterwards discarded, was revived by Schöner,³ and by Franciscus Monachus,⁴ and was followed in a very beautiful map by the Vene-

tian geographer, Giocomo Gastaldi, just before 1550. The edition of Ptolemy for the year 1548 contains this map. Zalterius adopts the opposite theory of an ocean between Asia and America. The new Strait of Anian was at once accepted by geographers, Mercator, Ortelius, and many others down to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the voyages of Bering⁵ and Captain Cook dispelled it, and disclosed the true strait, now known as Bering Strait.

Possibly Gastaldi, and not Zalterius, was the originator of the theory of the strait. It is known that the former, in 1562, discarded his old theory of the connection by land between Asia and America, and a map of his, conjecturally dated 1562, and containing the new view, may have antedated this by Zalterius.⁶

The mythical conception seems to have arisen in an attempt in the sixteenth century to verify the geographical names given to places in China by Marco Polo. In his travels Polo speaks of a certain gulf, which "extends to a distance of two months' navigation along its northern shore, where it bounds the southern part of the province of Manji, and from thence to where it approaches the countries of Ania, Tolman, and many others already mentioned. . . . This gulf is so extensive and the inhabitants so numerous, that it appears like another world." Sometimes Ania was on the maps of the sixteenth century as a kingdom or province, sometimes as a strait.

The discovery of the Strait of Anian was claimed for a Spanish adventurer, Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, who was reported to have found the passage in 1588; but his map has been shown to be an enlarged copy of this by Zalterius, and the whole account may be dismissed as a fiction. It is possible that some one before the eighteenth century actu-

1. In the present work see No. 16.

2. *Ibid.* No. 19.

3. *Ibid.* No. 10 and 11.

4. *Ibid.* No. 16.

5. No. 51.

6. *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (XLVII, 161), New

York, 1915; and Dr. Sophus Ruge, *Fretum Anian, Die Geschichte der Beringstrasse und Ihre Entdeckung*. Dresden, 1873.

ally found the strait now named for Bering, but nothing is known of such an achievement.

Other interesting features of the map of Zalterius are *Mare del Nort* for the Atlantic, the counterpart of *Mare del Sur* for the Pacific; *Apalchen*, apparently a mountain range, later applied by Mercator in 1569 to the present Appalachian Mountains; *La nova Franza*, applied to the whole of North America; and the various French names in the north, *Larcadia*, *Canada*, and *R. S. Lorenzo*. Le Moyne's *Florida* may be compared with Zalterius's map.

Evidence of the Spanish discoveries appears in *Sierra Nevada* (*Snowy Mountains*) in the north, near the Strait of Anian, a name derived from the Sierra Nevada Mountains in Spain; in the Spanish names on the various capes and points on the Pacific coast, visited by Cabrillo in 1542-43, and on the Gulf of California and in Lower California, explored by Ulloa in 1539-40; and in the *Tigna* (*Colorado River*) and the *Tontontecac* (*the Gila*), in *Quivira* and *Civola Hora* of the Coronado expedition.

One of the first geographical representations of the work of Fra Marco and of Coronado in the southwest occurs in the globe of Ulpius, 1542,

which reports *Civola*, a term which is plainly from the Spanish word for bison, *cibolo*, and owes its origin to the buffaloes encountered by Coronado and his men; another is in the map of Sebastian Cabot, 1544; and still another is in an undated map of New Spain by Battista Agnese, probably about 1550, which locates both *Quivira* and *Civola*, and gives a delineation of the Colorado River with a distinct reference to Coronado. More satisfactory than any of these, however, in showing the geographical extension to the southwest resulting from the recent Spanish discoveries, is this map of Zalterius; it is more satisfactory for these regions than that of Mercator, though three years older.

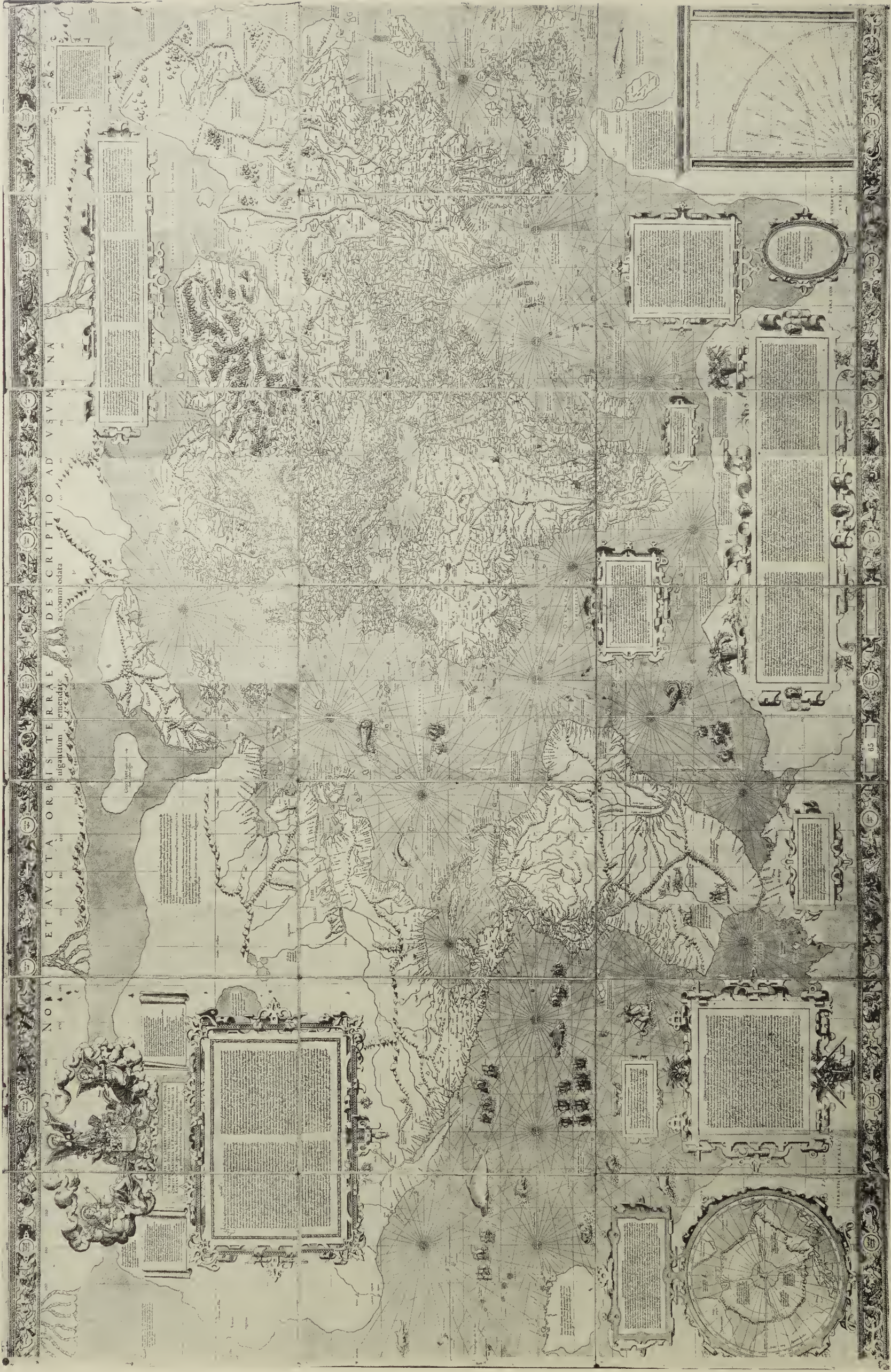
Authorities agree in locating *Quivira* somewhere in the present state of Kansas or Nebraska. Its location on the old maps, like that of most places mentioned by the early explorers, was fanciful.

George Parker Winship, in his *Coronado Expedition*, publishes a number of the contemporary maps of the early Spanish explorations in the southwestern part of the United States, and many valuable pictures of the pueblos which Fra Marco and Coronado found at Cibola.

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NOVA

ET AVCTA ORBIS

IS TERRAE

DES CRIPTIO AD

VSV

NA

NOVA ET AUCTA ORBIS TERRAE DESCRIPTIO

Ad Usus Navigantium Emendate Accommodata. By Gerardus
Mercator. Duisburg, 1569.

(51 $\frac{4}{5}$ x 78 $\frac{3}{5}$ inches.)

(Harvard College Library.)

THE title may be freely translated, *A Nautical Chart of the World*. This is a photograph of a mounted photograph of the original; the original itself is in the Stadtbibliothek in Breslau, where the map was discovered in 1889 by Professor Markgraf and Dr. A. Heyer, hidden away with Mercator's map of Europe and his map of the British Isles of 1564. It was a great discovery, comparable with that of Martin Waldseemüller's map of 1507 by Fischer in 1901. There is a second copy of the map in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

The dedication is as follows, Sheets 1 and 2, under the figures of *Pax, Justitia, and Pietas*:¹ *To the Most Illustrious and Most Gracious Prince and Lord, William, Duke of Julich, Cleves, and Berg, and of Ravensburg, Lord of Ravenstein, this work, begun and completed under his favoring care, is dedicated by Gerardus Mercator.*

Sheet 17, within the oval frame: *Warning is given by copyright of his Imperial Majesty that no one in the empire or the kingdom and provinces connected with it is to reproduce this work within 14 years, or import it if reproduced elsewhere. That it be reproduced in Belgium in ten years is forbidden by command of His Royal Majesty. This work was published at Duisburg in the month of August, 1569.*

The chief interest in the world map under consideration is the method of projection employed here for the first time, which came eventually into universal use under the name of "Mercator's projection." The problem of transferring areas, distances, and directions from the spherical surface of the earth to the flat surface of a sheet map was a difficult one for geographers to solve. Various schemes of accomplishing this end were employed by earlier map-makers, but none of these had proved satisfactory. Correct areas could be represented on a plane surface but only at the cost of inaccuracy in direction. To the navigator, however, the matter of direction is of supreme importance.

Mercator, on sheets 1, 2, 7, and 8, gives an explanation of his method and the purpose of his map which may be translated as follows: *To who-*

soever inspects this map, greeting. In this mapping of the world we have had three ends in view: first, so to spread out the surface of the globe into a plane that the places shall everywhere be properly located, not only with respect to their true direction and distance, one from another, but also in accordance with their due longitude and latitude; and further, that the shape of the lands, as they appear on the globe, shall be preserved as far as possible. For this there was needed a new arrangement and placing of meridians, so that they shall become parallels, for the maps hitherto produced by geographers are, on account of the curving and the bending of the meridians, unsuitable for navigation, and in the high latitudes the contour and position of localities, on account of the oblique cutting of meridians and parallels, are so strangely distorted that they cannot be recognized, and there can be no proper judging of distances. In the maritime charts for navigators, the degrees of longitude, measured along the parallels increase toward the pole beyond the proportion they have on the globe, for they always remain equal to the degrees at the equator, while the degrees of latitude do not increase at all, so that here, too, it is inevitable, that the shape of the lands is enormously distorted, and that not only longitudes and latitudes, but also directions and distances are far from correct. Great mistakes result for this reason; but the greatest is this, that if a mapping of three places on one side of the equator is made in the form of a triangle, and any intervening place is properly located, with correct direction and distance in respect to the corners of the triangle, it is impossible that the corner points agree in the same way. Taking all this into consideration, we have somewhat increased the degrees of latitude toward each pole, in proportion to the increase of the parallels beyond the ratio they really have to the equator. In this way, we have reached this result, that in whatever way one maps out two, three, or more places, provided that of these four things, difference in longitude, difference in latitude, distance, and direction, he keeps any two in any one place with reference to any other, everything will be correct in comparison of one place with an-

1. The sheets have been numbered from left to right, beginning in the upper left-hand corner. The translation

of the map's inscriptions here given were made by Professor A. W. Hodgman of the Department of Latin, Ohio State

University, Columbus, Ohio.

2. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 369.

other; and no error will be found to have been made anywhere, such as must inevitably be made in the ordinary sailing charts, in many ways, particularly in the higher latitudes.³

A second purpose that we had was to show the position of the lands, their size, and the distances between places as close to the truth as possible; on this we have spent extreme pains, comparing the marine charts of the Castilians and the Portuguese not only with one another but also with many accounts of voyages in print and in writing; and after having reconciled all these carefully with one another, we present this present mapping of the world and this outline of places as very accurately done in accordance with all that has been observed hitherto and has come within our reach.

The third aim that we had in view was to show what parts of the world were known to the ancients and to what extent, in order that the limits of ancient geography may not be unknown and that due honor may be paid to the earlier ages.

Another inscription, sheet 13, within the frame, above the map of the North Pole, explains the necessity of a separate map for the north-polar region, and gives the source of the author's information concerning the arctic: *Since our map could not be extended to the pole, as the degrees of latitude run out to infinity, and since we have some description of the north, by no means to be neglected, we have thought it necessary to give here the extreme part of our mapping, and to join what is left as far as the pole. We have taken a figure which best suited that part of the world, and which would represent the position and appearance of the land as if it were on a globe. As for the mapping, we have taken it from the "Itinerium" of Jacobus Cnoyen of the Hague, who makes some citations from the Gesta of Arthur of Britain; however, the greater and the most important part he learned from a certain priest at the court of the king of Norway in 1364. He was descended in the fifth generation from those whom Arthur had sent to inhabit these islands, and he related that in the year 1360 a certain Minorite, an Englishman from Oxford, a mathematician, went to those islands; and leaving them, advanced still farther by magic arts and mapped out all and measured them by an astrolabe in practically the subjoined figure, as we have learned from Jacobus. The four canals there pictured he said flow with such current to the inner whirlpool, that if vessels once enter they cannot be driven back by any wind; and he said that nowhere was there wind strong enough for transporting grain. A very similar description is in Gerald de Barry's book on the marvels of Hibernia, for he writes as follows, "Not far from the islands [Hebrides, Iceland, etc.] on the north is a wonderful whirlpool, to which from distant parts*

all the waves of the sea run and flow as if from a conduit. These, pouring there into the secret penetralia of Nature, are sucked down as if into an abyss. If it happens that a ship passes through this, it is drawn and hurried on by such violence of the waves that the power of the maelstrom sucks it down at once beyond recall."

Sheets 1, 2, 7, and 8 also contain the following: *The remainder of Africa, from the promontory of Pressus to the Sinus Hespericus, Pliny declares, Book 6, Chapter 29, on the testimony of King Juba, to be circumnavigable, even giving several stopping places on the voyage from India to Mauritania; and much earlier, as is stated in Herodotus, Book 4, at the command of Necho, King of Egypt, certain Phœnicians, starting out from the Sinus Arabicus in two years' time sailed around Africa even to the Pillars of Hercules; and later, according to Mela, a certain Eudoxus, when he was escaping from Lathyrus, King of Alexandria, leaving the Sinus Arabicus, sailed as far as Gades. It is clear, then, that our continent is surrounded by the ocean, and that its extent was known to the ancients; and it is evident on their authority that it was in large part described. Plainly those persons are mistaken who make New India continuous with Asia.*

Sheet 3, on the northeastern coast of North America: on Gaspar Cortereal, Verrazano, Cartier, and French fishermen in general.

Sheets 5 and 6: a long inscription about Prester John of Asia and the beginnings of the dominions of the Tartars.

Sheet 6, near the top: on some islands near the North Pole.

Sheet 6, within the frame: *About the beginning of longitude and the magnetic pole. François of Dieppe, a skilled navigator, declares that in the Cape Verde Islands, Sal, Bonavista, and Mayo, sensitive magnetized needles point straight toward the earth's pole. His statement has recently been confirmed by those who say that this happens in Terceira or in Santa Maria, islands of the Azores group; and a few believe that this occurs in the westernmost of the Azores, Corvo by name. Since it is fitting that the reckoning of longitude should, for good reasons, begin at the common meridian of the magnet and of the earth, I have followed the testimony of many men and have drawn the prime meridian through the above-mentioned Cape Verde islands. As elsewhere the magnet deviates more or less from the pole, there must be some other especial pole, to which magnets point from every point of the earth, and this I have learned exists in the place to which I have assigned it by aid of the magnetic deflection observed at Ratisbon. I have computed the position of the pole also with respect to the island of Corvo, so that*

3. Although this projection was invented by Mercator, it was first worked

out in its practical details by Edward Wright of Oxford in his *Certaine Er-*

rors of Navigation. London, 1599.

near the extreme positions of the prime meridian, the extreme limits also within which it is inevitable that the pole be found, may be plain, until the observation of mariners shall have brought forward some more definite information.

Sheet 14, within the small frame: on the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan.

Sheet 14, within the larger frame: here the author gives an abstruse mathematical dissertation on the methods of measuring distance between places.

Sheet 15, within the small frame: *In the year 1493, when the feverish rivalry in distant navigation was at its height between the Castilians and the Portuguese, Pope Alexander fixed a meridian circle distant 100 leucæ from any of the Cape Verde Islands, or from any of the Azores, to mark off for each faction its rights in navigation and conquest, allotting the western hemisphere to the Castilians, the eastern to the Portuguese. This boundary, however, was set aside by both factions on account of the disputes that arose, and in 1524 there was established as their common boundary the meridian distant 370 leucæ to the west of San Antonio, the westernmost of the Gorgades.*

Sheet 16, within the small frame: a long account of how the Niger flows into the Nile.

Sheets 16 and 17, within the large frame: about the true location of the Ganges and the Golden Peninsula.

Sheet 17, within the frame toward the middle of the sheet at the right: concerning the use of the *Organum Directorium*, the diagram in the lower right hand corner of the map.

Sheet 17, within the smaller frame at the left: a notice of the voyage of Vasco da Gama.

Sheet 18: *About the approach of the southern continent to Greater Java.*

Ludovico di Varthema, book 3 of his India, chapter 27, tells that on the southern side of Greater Java toward the south there are certain peoples that navigate by constellations directly opposite to our Septentriones, and this to such a degree that they find a day of 4 hours, that is, in the 63rd degree of latitude; all this he repeats from the lips of an Indian skipper of his. Marco Polo of Venice, however, saw several provinces and islands facing this continent, and noted their distances from Lesser Java. That Lesser Java is neither the island of Borneo, nor any east of Greater Java (for different men incline to one view or the other), is clear beyond question from this consideration that he says it bends so far to the south that neither the Arctic Pole or the stars, that is, Ursa Minor, can be seen; and in chapter 16 he declares that in one kingdom of it, which is called Samara, neither Bear is visible. Therefore, if we consider the circuit of the island, which he states is 2,000 miles, it is certain the northern end of it

comes about the 20th degree of south latitude. We gather, then, that a southern continent juts out far to the north, and leaves only a narrow passage of water between it and Lesser Java. Sir John Mandeville, an author inclined to tell unreliable stories, still a man not to be disregarded in the location of places, agrees with this, chapter 103, saying that the Red Sea, near Taprobana and the neighboring regions and islands, is cut off from the Eastern Ocean.

Sheet 1, at the mound or pole near the edge: *The magnetic pole. This you see at the other end of the map, located in its proper latitude; as also the remaining extremities of the map that bound this edge. This has been arranged in this way, in order that the continuation of each edge with the other might be brought before the eye more distinctly.*

Certain facts concerning Mercator's mapping of America are to be noted. He accepts the southern or Antarctic continent, the Northwest Passage, the Northeast Passage, the strange islands of Zeno, other mythical islands in the Atlantic such as *St. Brandan*, and the Strait of Anian. The statement seems fair that Mercator was not a practical navigator and critical student of geography, but a rather uncritical student who relied too much on the statements of others. In the north central part of North America, on the edge of the large frame, is an inland sea of fresh water, perhaps a survival of the Sea of Verrazano, perhaps a hint of the Great Lakes derived from the Indians. The inscription here says, *Here is a sea of sweet water, the limits of which the Canadians, on the authority of the Saguenay Indians, say they do not know.*

There is a St. Lawrence River, as demanded by the voyages of Cartier, though the limits of the river are unknown; a probable Hudson River, to comply with the requirements of the story of Verrazano's voyage, in which Mercator believed, as may be judged from the inscription on sheet 3; no Mississippi River, though the *r. de spiritu santo* may be intended to represent that river; a southwestern United States delineating the scenes of the expeditions of Coronado and others in these parts.

The general region of New England is called *Norumbega*, a term, says John Fiske in his *Discovery of America*,⁴ which is loosely applied sometimes to the regions of the Penobscot, sometimes to those of the Hudson, and sometimes to the regions between the two rivers. The *Apalchen* Mountains (Appalachian), which are made to run parallel to the Atlantic coast, are probably derived from Le Moyne's map.⁵ Zalterius⁶ applies the term to a confused mass of mountains in the interior.

There are no English names on North America. Rather, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, one sees

4. Vol. II, p. 547, note.

5. In the present work see No. 20.

6. *Ibid.* No. 21.

the French claims, in *Nova Francia, St. Lawrence, Canada, R. de Chaleur, C. de Razo, and Bel Ysle*. Newfoundland is *Terra de Baccalaos*.

In support of the French claims to the eastern part of the United States, Mercator, sheet 3, cites

the discovery of the mouth of the St. Lawrence by the French fishermen in 1504, the voyage of Verazano along the east coast in 1524, and that of Cartier in 1534. He does not mention the English claims founded on the work of the Cabots.

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GENERAL MAP MADE ON ELYE FOR THE TARTI (VLER DE LARATION OF THIS DISCOVERY.



A GENERAL MAP

Made Onelye for the Particuler Declaration of This Discovery.

Anonymous. 1576.

(9 x 13 inches.)

(In Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia." Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton for Richard Ihones. Anno Domini 1576, Aprilis 12.)

(John Carter Brown Library.)

THE peculiar title to the map, *A General Map Made Onelye for the Particuler Declaration of This Discovery*, shows that it is an imaginary one made for the purpose of illustrating the author's main thesis, that there is a passage by water north of North America from Europe to Asia. It is based on no actual voyages to the entrance to the supposed Northwest Passage. Gilbert wrote the *Discourse* in 1566, and withheld it from publication for ten years.

As has been noted in other places in this volume, impelled by the conceptions of the ancients that the earth is surrounded on all sides by water, men naturally looked for a passage around the north of North America and Europe, just as they did around the southern points of South America and Africa. Mercator affirms that the Cortereal brothers, who were in the waters of Newfoundland as early as 1500, were seeking this passage. The assumed passage found its way on the maps very early, in the Gore Map,² in Verrazano's map of 1529,³ in the Mercator map of 1538,⁴ in that of Battista Agnese of 1538 (?),⁵ in that of Sebastian Cabot of 1544,⁶ in Zalterius's map of 1566,⁷ and in that of Mercator of 1569.⁸ The seamen of the time of Queen Elizabeth, when they sought the Northwest Passage, were not acting on a new theory but on one that was widely accepted.

Gilbert's *Discourse* sets forth the popular view of the assumed new ocean route. In its own words, the *Discourse* is written to "prove a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies." The author proves to his own satisfaction the existence of the passage, and to support the claim cites Plato, Pliny, Strabo, and certain geographers of the sixteenth century, Gemma Frisius, Peter Martyr, and Abraham Ortelius. He contends that some had already found the opening of the passage, and that others had sailed through it. Concerning the natives of India, who in the time of the German emperors were cast by storms on the coast of Germany, he argues that they could not have reached

that country from the southwest, the southeast, or the northeast; only by the northwest. The story of the shipwrecked Indians is on the map of Waldseemüller of 1507.⁹

The author makes light of the arguments "of a passage by the northeast," and shows no such passage on his map. "By the Northeast," he says, "(if your windes doe not give you a marvelous speedie & luckie passage), you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to live so long comfortlesse, voide of light (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or understanding may judge." Moreover, the Northwest Passage is "at all times navigable, whereas you have but 4 moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast"; and if the Northeast trade did prove profitable, the Muscovites would steal it away, while "by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince living, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades."

England was better situated than any other nation to traverse the Northwest Passage. Such a passage would call into existence English colonies on the way, build up commerce, and increase "the Queenes Majesties Navie," which was already invincible. "For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence farre better cheape, then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. . . . Also we might inhabite some part of those countreyes, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the commonwealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallows. . . . And also have occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to have our countrey combed with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons."

1. Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (VII, 158), Glasgow, 1904, contains "A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, to prove a

passage by the Northwest to Cathaia and the East Indies."

• 2. In the present work see No. 11.

3. *Ibid.* No. 15.

4. *Ibid.* No. 16.

5. *Ibid.* No. 17.

6. *Ibid.* No. 18.

7. *Ibid.* No. 21.

8. *Ibid.* No. 22.

9. *Ibid.* No. 8.

Such considerations, with the accompanying map, furnished the arguments that won popular support for the three voyages of Frobisher undertaken in 1576, 1577, and 1578, respectively, and they throw light on the reasons back of Gilbert's two attempts to colonize Newfoundland in 1578 and 1583, at a point which it was believed would be the entrance to the passage to the west. A colony in this location would help protect the passage, provision and succor the ships on the way through, build up a new British colony, and foster trade.

As Gilbert's map was published several years before his expedition to Newfoundland, it throws no light on that voyage. All his "cardes and plots that were drawn with due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall," when his little bark of ten tons was lost in a storm off the Azores on the return voyage in 1583.

As Newfoundland is near to the entrance of the passage on the Atlantic, so the *Insulæ Moluccæ* in

the east, assume on the map a position near the entrance to the passage on the Pacific. These islands of the east, the goal of the entire endeavor, figure prominently on almost every map that features the Northwest Passage. The commercial rivalry with Spain and Portugal, which prompted Robert Thorne to address the King in 1528 on the desirability of an English attempt for the Northwest Passage, and which actuated Gilbert, Hakluyt, and Peckham in the days of Queen Elizabeth, was to continue as an important factor in the commercial expansion of England throughout the sixteenth and on into the seventeenth centuries.

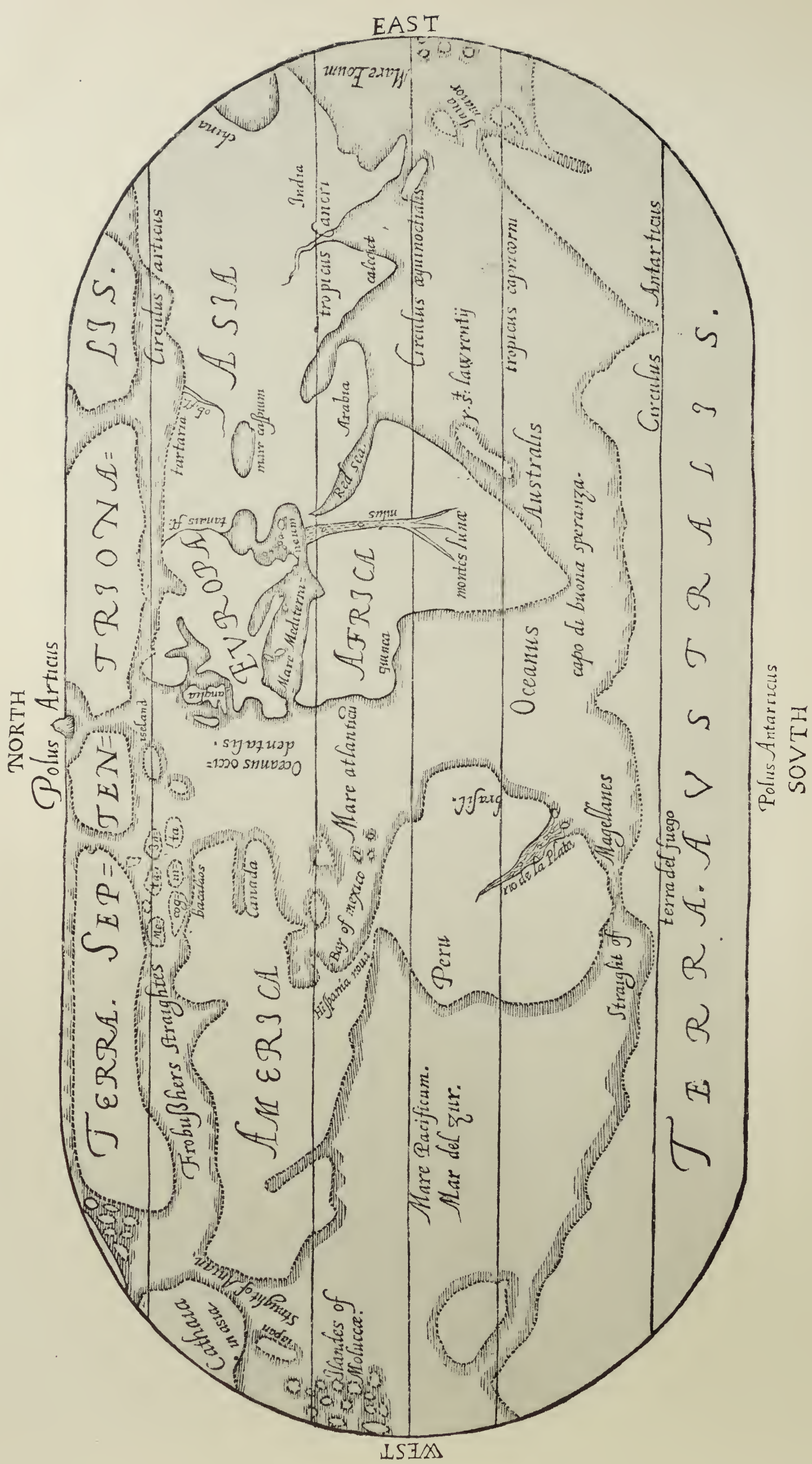
The *E* for *Nuoua Zemlo*, mentioned in the table of abbreviations of the map, may be discerned dimly in northwestern Tartaria near *D*.

Gilbert explains in his *Discourse* that he has "devised to amend the errors of usuall sea cards whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of one like bignesse."

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WORLD MAP

Anonymous. 1578.

(8½ x 15½ inches.)

(In Master George Beste, "A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall. Imprinted at London by Henry Bynnyman. 1578.")

(John Carter Brown Library.)

BESTE'S *Discourse* is the first published account of Frobisher's three voyages to the region of the present Hudson Strait in 1576, 1577, and 1578, and the map is the original commemorative map in celebration of these events. It was generally believed in England that the entrance to the Northwest Passage had been found.

The *Discourse* is also found in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, which was first published in 1589. Hakluyt gives other accounts of the three voyages.

Beste was with Frobisher on each of the expeditions, and wrote his *Discourse* on the return of the last one.

Sir Martin Frobisher had made voyages to Guinea, to the Mediterranean Sea, and to the coast of Iceland. He was inspired to set out for America by reading Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse to Prove a Passage to the Northwest*, while this was still in manuscript.

Beste's description of Frobisher's finding the supposed strait is as follows: "And the twentieth of July he had sight of an high land, which he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after Her Majesties name. And sailing more Northerly alongst that coast, he descried another forland, with a great gut, bay, or passage, dividing as it were two maine lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coveting still to continue his course to the Northwards, was alwayes by contrary winde detained overthwart these straights, and could not get beyond. Within few dayes after he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straights, or else conveyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make proofs of this place, to see how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himselfe thorow the same into some open sea on the backe side, whereof he conceived no small hope, and so entred the same the one and twentieth of July, and passed about fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a greate maine or continent. And that land upon his right as he sailed Westward he judged to

be the continent of Asia, and there to be divided from the firme of America, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

"This place he named after his name, Frobishers streights, like as Magellanus at ye Southwest end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South sea (where America is divided from the continent of that land, which lieth under the South pole), and called the same straights, Magellanes straits."¹

Frobisher proceeded into the passage for sixty leagues, but seeing his forces weakened by the loss of five men through the treachery of the natives, he retraced his course and arrived in England October 2, 1576, where he was "specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathaya."

What Frobisher called *Frobushers Straighes* is only a bay, now known as Frobisher Bay, near the real strait, now Hudson Strait, which Frobisher entered on the second voyage, 1577.

On this second expedition the Admiral was commissioned more especially to search for gold ore rather than to make "any further discovery of the passage." After a troublesome passage, the vessels were loaded at Hall's Island, near Frobisher Bay, with two hundred tons of worthless ore, iron pyrites, which was found in abundance. This ore was deposited in Bristol Castle and the tower of London. The land which he had discovered "her Majestic named very properly *Meta Incognita* as a marke and bound utterly hitherto unknown."

On the third attempt, 1578, Frobisher sailed up the "Mistaken Streight," Hudson Strait, for sixty leagues. They had "always a fayre continente upon their starreboorde syde, and a continuance still of an open sea before them," with a strong current flowing to the west. They encountered much ice, but succeeded in loading their vessels with more worthless ore, and returned home. Before setting out on the return journey, they built a stone house on the Countess of Warwick's Island, in which various objects were placed. These relics were discovered by Captain Charles F. Hall, and in 1862 brought to Washington, where some of them may now be seen in the National Museum.

How the appellation of *Frobushers Straighes*

1. Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Glasgow, 1904, VII, 279.

was later used to designate an assumed strait in southern Greenland will be explained in No. 28.

Concerning the Northeast Passage around Europe and Asia, Beste says little in the *Discourse*; but his map shows the passage, which was quite as much in the mind of his contemporaries as was the Northwest Passage. Robert Thorne² had argued for the route, and Verrazano had indicated the passage in his map of 1529.³

A company of English merchants sent an expedition to the northeast under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor in 1553 and 1554. In the next twenty-five years, at least ten similar expeditions left England, and under the Muskovie Company a considerable trade was built up with Russia and through Russia with Persia.⁴

In 1580 Gerardus Mercator, then the greatest living authority on geographical matters, wrote that "the voyage to Cathaio by the East is doubtlesse very easy and short, and I have oftentimes marveiled, that being so happily begun, it hath

been left off, and the course changed into the West, after that more than halfe of your voiage was discovered"; and he proceeded to map out what he deemed the best course beyond Nova Zembla, where Willoughby had come in 1553. Two ships, under Arthur Pet and Charles Hackman, left England for Cathay over the eastern route in 1580, and eleven under Richard Gibbs and others in 1582.

N. A. E. Nordenskiöld succeeded in traversing the Northeast Passage from the west to the east in the *Vega* in 1878-79. Another trip through the same passage, this time from the east to the west, was accomplished in 1914-15 by two Russian ships.⁵

It is to be noted that no degrees of latitude or longitude are given on the map. This omission is explained by Beste by the phrase in the title of his book: "with a particular card as farre forth as the secrets of the voyage may permit."

2. In the present work see No. 13.
3. *Ibid.* No. 15.

4. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (III, 11, 330, etc.). Glasgow, 1904.

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ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNEO
MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS
HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT : . 1582.



NORTH AMERICA

By Michael Lok. London, 1582.

(11 x 14 $\frac{4}{5}$ inches.)(In Richard Hakluyt, "Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America."¹ London, 1582.)

(John Carter Brown Library.)

MICHAEL LOK, 1532(?)–1615(?), traveler and merchant, was praised by Hakluyt as "a man of knowledge, worthie and of good reputation." As an associate of Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, and the Earl of Leicester, he was a leader in the movement in England for colonial expansion in the days of Queen Elizabeth. When Frobisher returned in 1576 from his first expedition, he brought back some specimens, which it was thought might be gold. Great interest was aroused, and the Company of Cathay was chartered to fit out the second expedition. Lok was made Governor, and lost heavily in the enterprise. He asserted that he expended "£7,500, all the goods he had in the world, whereby himself, his wife, and fifteen children were left to beg their bread." It is no wonder that he quarreled with Frobisher, when the latter returned from the second and third expeditions with the worthless ore, leaving Lok to make up the deficit as best he could.

In dedicating his map to *the Illustrious Sir Philip Sidney*, Lok followed the example of Hakluyt, who dedicates his first volume, *Divers Voyages*, "to the right Worshipfull and most vertuous Gentleman, Master Phillip Sydney, Esquire."

The map is full of history. It is one of the few made soon after the event, that correctly locate the explorations of Frobisher on the mainland of North America. Like Beste, Lok accepts the common theory of the water route to Asia north of America; and suiting his actions to his belief, he made himself one of the leading supporters of Frobisher, contributing £5,000 to the £20,000 raised to further the undertaking. Other contributors were Queen Elizabeth, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, and the Earl of Leicester. Immediately below the *Meta Incognita* suggested by the Queen, which is in quite small print on the map, is Lok's name, in large letters, which doubtful glory was the only return of the latter from his large investment. The chief merit of the map is its extremely clear representation of Frobisher's discoveries.

1. This rare volume of Hakluyt contains two maps, that of Thorne, No. 13, and this by Lok.

N. A. Zena placed on *Groenland*, and *Frisland* perpetuate the Zeno story, and *Jac. Scolbus* on a second Greenland, called *Groetland*, celebrates a Polish explorer, who skirted the coast of Labrador in 1476, according to a tale, which is not clearly accepted but is not improbable.

It has been argued that the inscription *J. Gabot 1497* across the face of *Norombega* supplies an argument for the credibility of the location of "prima tierra vista" on the map of Sebastian Cabot of 1544.² It might be expected that Lok would follow Verrazano in ascribing Cabot's landfall far to the north in Labrador near 60° north latitude, for, so Hakluyt declares, Lok drew his map "according to Verrazano's plat," an "olde excellent mappe, which he gave to king Henrie the eight and is yet in the custodie of master Locke," and Hakluyt uses Lok's map to preface his account of Verrazano in the *Divers Voyages*. But, notwithstanding these facts, Lok rejects Verrazano's location of the Cabot landfall in favor of that on the Cabot map of 1544. Obviously Lok's position in the matter is that of a loyal Englishman, devoted to the interests of his native country against the pretensions of France in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

New England as *Norombega* is common on the maps of the time. Less common is the *Mare de Verrazana 1524*, which Mercator pushes far into the interior. Lok puts the mythical sea farther in the north, in order to make place in the south for the lands explored by De Soto and Coronado.

Early Spanish voyages eastward from the Moluccas to Mexico are chronicled from the year 1518, or before Magellan set out. *Hucusque navigationes Lusitanorum 1520* is a reference to the Portuguese Magellan, who sailed under the flag of Spain and never reached as far north in the Pacific as California. *Navigaciones Hispanorum 1540* refers to the expedition of Cortes to Lower California in 1534, or to that of Ulloa in the Gulf of California in 1539, or possibly to that of Cabrillo along the coast of Upper California in 1542. *Navigaciones Anglorum 1580* refers to Sir Francis Drake.

2. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 169.

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JUSTIN WINSOR, Ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Boston and New York, 1884–89.

LA VIRGENIA PARS

By John White. 1585.

(11¼ x 15¼ inches.)

(In "John White's Original Drawings in Water Colors.")

(British Museum.)

THE reproduction here given was made from a photograph, taken especially for this work, of the original manuscript map, unsigned and undated, in the British Museum. It is one of seventy-six well preserved water-color drawings bound together in modern times in two large red morocco volumes bearing the title given by some one in modern times: *John White's Original Drawings in Water Colors, 1585*. The volumes are in the Print Room of that portion of the British Museum which is known as the Grenville Library,¹ whose founder was a descendant of Admiral Sir Richard Grenville, the commander of the expedition on which John White first went to Virginia.

These beautiful water-colors cover every phase of Indian life on the Atlantic seaboard: natives fishing, a village scene, a tomb, a dance, a gathering around the fire, cooking meat and corn in a pot, boiling fish, a warrior, a priest, a chief's daughter, a wife, a chief, various garments, herbs, flowers, fish, fowl, butterflies, insects, turtles, alligators, etc., etc.

From a letter written on March 22, 1866, by Henry Stevens to the authorities of the British Museum, now preserved with the two volumes in question, it appears that these drawings found their way to Sotheby's auction rooms in London in 1865, that they were there damaged by water during a fire, and that they were then purchased by Mr. Stevens and sold to the Museum for £236. After the fire they had remained for three weeks soaked with water and under heavy pressure, with the curious result that each drawing became clearly imprinted on the sheet next to it. Thus were produced the "off-tracts" or "off-setts," now contained in the first of the two volumes. The originals are in the second volume.

In defense of his claim that these drawings dated from the latter part of the sixteenth century, Stevens pointed out in his letter to the Museum that De Bry's celebrated volume on *Virginia* of the year 1590 was illustrated by twenty-nine copper plate engravings, and that all these were copies of the water-colors contained in the volume which he was offering for sale. The comparison, which was invited, convinced the Museum, and will convince all others who will examine into the subject, that the source of De Bry's engravings had been

found. In none of De Bry's drawings is there an essential change from the unsigned water-colors. This carries the date back at least a decade beyond the year 1600.

De Bry attributes the drawings to John White. They were, he says in his volume, "Diligently Collected and Draowne by John White, who was sent thither specially by the said Sir Walter Raleigh the year abovesaid 1585, and also the year 1588." De Bry's engraving of the map has on its margin the following, "Autore Joanne With. Sculptore Joanne de Bry, qui et excud."²

The identity of "Joanne With" is not altogether certain. The more common opinion is that John "With," the artist and map-maker, and John White, the governor of Virginia, were one and the same. Henry Stevens, in a letter to the authorities of the British Museum, dated March 22, 1866, insists that the map and drawings in the British Museum are the original of those published by De Bry and attributed by him to John White. In none of De Bry's engravings is there an essential change from the unsigned water-colors in the British Museum. As De Bry was a friend of Hakluyt, who introduced him to John White, there seems to be no serious doubt that "Joanne With," the "autore" of the map, was John White the artist of the Lane party and the leader of the ill-fated company which so mysteriously disappeared in Roanoke Island in 1587, while White was in England securing supplies. Philip Lee Phillips, however, in his *Virginia Cartography*, gives interesting reasons for doubting this identity, but this doubt does not lessen in any way the importance of the map.

This map had its origin in the Raleigh expeditions to Virginia. The first expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh to the new world was an exploring party commanded by Amadas and Barlow, which reached the coast of North Carolina in July, 1584.

"When we first had sight of this countrey," they wrote, "some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adjoining to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the

1. The library number is "Print Room, No. 199."

2. For a reproduction of De Bry's engraving, see Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 125.

most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are above an hundreth Islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view."³

Having received the report of Amadas and Barlow, Raleigh sent out "the first colonie of Virginia," in 1585, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. John White, the artist, and Thomas Hariot, the author of *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, were members of this "first colonie." After landing the party, numbering one hundred nine, on Roanoke Island, Grenville returned to England, leaving Ralph Lane in charge of the colony.

Explorations were made of the surrounding country: to the southward some eighty miles, as far as *Secoton*;⁴ to the northward about one hundred thirty miles, to *Chesepinc*; and to the northwest the same distance to *Chawanooc*, where Lane was told of a country some seven days' journey to the northwest lying upon the Sea (Chesapeake Bay), where the King "had so great quantitie of Pearle . . . that his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see."⁵ Lane planned to move to Chesapeake Bay the following year, for, said he, "the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever."⁶

Lane also visited the River of "Moratuc,"⁷ or Roanoke, which he described as "a most notable River and in all those parts most famous." It was thirty to forty days' journey, according to the Indians, to the head of this river, "which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame; and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh

streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish."⁸ "By the opinion of M. Hariots," says Lane, "the head of it [the Moratuc River] either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South Sea."⁹ The hostility of the Mongoack and Chawanook Indians forced Lane and his party to return to Roanoke Island.

In the summer of 1586, Drake, on his return to England from one of his cruises into the West Indies, carried the whole party back to England.

After his return, Hariot wrote his "report" for Raleigh concerning the country he had visited, which was originally published in London in 1588, without the map and illustrations. This small volume is exceedingly rare. There are few copies now known to exist, one of which is in the New York Public Library.¹⁰

Thomas Hariot was a graduate of Oxford, and for nearly forty years was the intimate friend of Raleigh. He was a friend also of Hakluyt, De Bry, Le Moyne, and John White. He was not only "the first surveyor and historian of Virginia," but was also a famous mathematician and astronomer.¹¹

Hariot's *Report*¹² was published again, in 1589, by Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations*. In neither the edition of 1588 nor in that of 1589, however, is White's map used. This first appears in De Bry's *Collection of Voyages* in 1590.

De Bry was the famous printer and engraver of Frankfort-on-the-Main, who became interested in bringing out an illustrated edition of Laudonnière's *Journal*, which had been first published in Paris in 1586. De Bry went to London in 1587 to secure from Le Moyne,¹³ the artist of Laudonnière's expedition, his maps and paintings for that purpose. Le Moyne, however, refused to part with them, but when he died, in 1588, De Bry purchased a portion of them from Le Moyne's widow. While in London De Bry was introduced to John White, the artist of the Lane colony, by Hakluyt, who was interested in De Bry's project of publishing Laudonnière's *Journal* and who urged him to publish a collection of illustrated voyages, including Hariot's *Report*, illustrated by engravings of White's paintings and map. This, according to Henry Stevens,¹⁴ was the origin of De Bry's famous *Peregrinations*, of which the first part, *Virginia*, appeared at Frankfort in 1590, and the second part, *Florida*, in 1591. The first part contained Hariot's *Report* in English, illustrated by White's pictures, including the map now pub-

3. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 308.

4. See map.

5. Lane's Report to Raleigh in Hakluyt, VIII, 323.

6. Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 321.

7. See map.

8. Hakluyt, VIII, 325.

9. *Ibid.* 332.

10. Henry Stevens, *Thomas Hariot*, p. 12.

11. His grave is in the old churchyard of St. Christopher, around which the

Bank of England was built on Threadneedle Street.

12. For Hariot's *Report*, see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 348.

13. In the present work see No. 20.

14. *Thomas Hariot*, p. 59.

lished; and the second part the *Journal* of Laudonnière with Le Moyne's map.¹⁵ It is the opinion of Henry Stevens¹⁶ that "this book of Hariot with Laudonnière's *Florida*, taken in connection with Captain John White's and Jacques Le Moyne's pictures, as reproduced by Theodore de Bry in 1590 and 1591 in the first two parts of his celebrated *Collection of Voyages*, affords at this day more authentic materials for the early history of the Atlantic Coast of North America, from the River of May [the St. John's] to the Chesapeake than any other portion of the New World, Spanish or English, can boast of."¹⁷ Le Moyne's map de-

picts the coast from the River May, or St. John's River, to Cape Fear River and John White's from Cape Fear River to the Chesapeake. Both were eminent artists and each had spent a year in North America.

White's map and pictures of Virginia were obviously inspired by Le Moyne's similar work for Florida. This is evident from the associations of the two men with Raleigh, Hakluyt, and De Bry; from the essentially common character of their work; and finally from the fact that the representation of the coast of Florida on this map is directly based on Le Moyne's *Florida*.

15. In the present work see No. 20.

16. *A briefe and true report*, p. ix.

17. There are copies of De Bry's *Voy-*

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VERA TOTIUS EXPEDITIONIS NAUTICÆ DESCRIPTIO D. FRANC. DRACI

Qui 5. navibus probè instructis, ex Anglia solvens 13 Decembris anno 1577, terrarum orbis ambitum circumnavigans, unica tantum navi, ingenti cum gloria, ceteris partim flammis, partim fluctibus correptis, in Angliam redijt 27 Septembris 1580. ADDITA est etiam viva delineatio navigationis Thomæ Caundissh nobilis Angli, qui eundem Draci cursum ferè tenuit etiam ex Anglia per universum orbem; sed minori damno & temporis spacio: vigesimo-primo enim Julij 1586 navem conscendit, & decimo quinto Septembris 1588, in patriæ portum Plimmouth, undè prius exierat, magnis divitijs & cum omnium admiratione reversus est. Judocus Hondius. London (?), 1595 (?). (12 x 18½ inches.)

(British Museum.)

IN English the Latin title of the map reads as follows: *An accurate description of the globe encircling voyage of Sir Francis Drake, who set out from England with five well equipped ships on the thirteenth of December, 1577, circumnavigated the globe, and came back to England on the twenty-seventh of September, 1580, with only a single ship but with great glory. His other ships were destroyed by fire and by storms at sea. There is included also a true delineation of the voyage of another noble Englishman, Thomas Cavendish by name, who held almost the same course from England around the world, but with less loss of ships and in a shorter space of time, for he sailed on the twenty-first of July, 1586, and returned to his native country at the port of Plymouth, whence he had set out, on the fifteenth day of September, 1588. He acquired great riches and won the admiration of all his countrymen.*

Drake's flag ship, the *Golden Hind*, called the *Pelican* after he left the Straits of Magellan, was preserved for a number of years after the return of the expedition, at Deptford on the Thames, near London, where the artist, Hondius, who was living at the time in London, must have seen it many times. The five engravings on the map are probably the only representations of the famous ship in existence.

The artist himself is enthusiastic over the *Golden Hind*. The inscription below the hemisphere on the left reads: *We have decided, friendly reader, to add to our map a representation of the ship of Francis Drake; this is but just, for it would seem to be miraculous that a ship of this size, laden with gold and silver etc., after it had been tossed on the rocks for twenty hours, could accomplish such a long journey, amounting to at least 8,500 German miles. This ship is now preserved in England, at Deptford on the Thames. Farewell.*

Drake reached the La Plata River April 26,

1578, passed through the Straits of Magellan August 21–September 6, 1578, was in California in June and July of the next year, 1579, left that coast July 23, 1579, reached the Molucca Islands November 14, 1579, and arrived in England ten months later.

Somewhat south of the La Plata River, on the east coast of South America, the expedition lost two ships. Says the inscription on the mainland at this point: *In this place one ship of Francis Drake was lost by fire, and at the same time another left him for England.*

The passage of the Straits of Magellan, which occupied Drake sixteen days, was to hold Sir Thomas Cavendish a little later for six weeks. Drake was the discoverer of the islands south of the straits. Says the inscription on the continental land mass south of South America: *Francis Drake placed these islands near the Straits of Magellan on the map; but Thomas Cavendish and the Spaniards also brought them to view, and corroborated Drake's report of the straits; it is probable also that Drake, who was driven there by storms, observed these islands, for he lost two ships there.*

On the west coast of South America, near the equator, is the inscription: *At Cape San Francisco and along the entire coast of Peru Drake came into possession of a great amount of gold and silver.*

Farther north, on the west coast of North America, are the most interesting inscriptions of the map. The one farthest north reads: *Here in latitude 42°, on the fifth day of June, he was compelled to turn south on account of the great cold.* And farther south there is the following, *Nova Albion, so named on two different occasions by Francis Drake, who though he was twice crowned by the natives on the same day, reserved that honor for Her Serene Majesty, the Queen of England.*

In the upper left hand corner, the map contains a pictorial representation of the port of *New Al-*

bion (*Portus Novæ Albionis*), with the following inscription: *With true lacerations of their bodies and with numerous human sacrifices on the surrounding hills, the natives of this port of New Albion bewail the departure of Drake, whom they had twice crowned as their King.*

Before leaving home, Drake had heard reports of the discoveries in and about Hudson Bay by his fellow countryman, Frobisher, who returned to England from his first voyage, October 2, 1576, believing that he had found the Atlantic entrance to the Northwest Passage, and, says Beste, "especially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathaya." In the next year Frobisher returned as early as September 23, 1577, and again spread the report that he had found the Passage. Drake did not set out till almost three months after this second return of Frobisher, at a time, therefore, when the exploits of the latter were widely acclaimed.

Drake sailed far north in the Pacific, doubtless with the hope of finding the outlet of the Northwest Passage there, possibly in the hope that he might come upon Frobisher or some other Englishmen, and himself return to England by the new route, beyond all possibility of pursuit by the Spaniards, whom he had robbed in South America.

The following is drawn from *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, written under the direction of the Admiral's heir and nephew from the notes of Francis Fletcher, the chaplain of the expedition, and "divers others his followers in the same."

"We came into 42 deg. of north latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby. . . . There followed most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremitie and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

"From the height of 48 deg., in which we now were, to 38°, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high) though it were in June, and the sunne in his nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow.

"In 38 deg., 30 min., we fell in with a convenient harborough, and June 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of July following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet there wee were continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies,

and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us still our winter clothes. . . .

"And also from these reasons we conjecture, that either there is no passage at all through these northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable. Adde thereto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the east, but rather running on continually Northwest, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and even in that height where we had a frank wind to have carried us through, had there been a passage, yet wee had a smooth and calm sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been had there beene a frete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, than conjectured, that there was none. . . .

"This country our general named Albion, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometimes so called."¹

Drake's "farthest North" at 48° north latitude, slightly below the northern boundary of the United States, which is 49°, and the "convenient Harborough" in 38° 30' are now regions where one would occasionally complain of the cold in the months of June and July. The latter point is now known as "Drake's Bay." The cold, the fogs, the white cliffs, and the gophers of the original account all help to identify the place. Here Drake remained for thirty days, beeching, careening, and cleaning his ship. The spot is near Point Reyes, thirty miles along the coast northward from the Golden Gate and the Bay within, which magnificent sheet of water Drake does not mention. None of the early explorers mentions the Golden Gate, possibly because they chanced to find it shrouded in a fog, and possibly because there was no Golden Gate in those days. Gertrude Atherton in her *California: An Intimate History*,² propounds the theory that the cliffs and the bay here were formed by some gigantic convulsion of Nature at a later time. It is a striking fact that no navigator reports the Golden Gate till 1768. But a study of the faults and formations at the Golden Gate convinces geologists that the earth's structure here dates back to geological ages long past.

Had the original account mentioned the bay within "the white bancks and cliffes," the identification of the site with the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay would be instant, especially since the latitude of the account is 38°. It is inconceivable that Drake could have stayed for thirty days on the site of San Francisco without

1. *Old South Leaflets*, V, 313 f. Boston, 1902.

2. New York and London, 1914.

leaving some account of the beautiful bay stretching before him. The only other considerable white cliff on the Pacific near 38° north latitude is Point Reyes.

On the way back to England from the west coast of America, Drake's ship was cast on the rocks for twenty hours not far from the island Celebes, in the East Indies. This is mentioned in the short inscription on the northern part of the *Terra Australis*, south of the continent of Asia, and by the cut in the lower right hand corner of the map.

In the lower left hand corner of the map there is celebrated the picturesque episode of the towing of the *Pelican* at the Molucca Islands by four boats of the king of those islands, who was greatly impressed by the sound of the trumpets on board the English vessel and by the firing by the latter of a salute, possibly the first explosion of gun powder that these islanders had ever beheld and heard.

The cut in the upper right hand corner pictures the departure of Drake's expedition from Java Major.

The inscription below the hemisphere on the right is as follows: *Someone will probably wonder that in this map we have left the face of the earth bare, but since it is our purpose only to represent the voyages of Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish it seemed unnecessary to describe the interior parts of the earth back from the sea coast, nor can all the names along the shore well be put down for want of space, since the shore is usually occupied with tracing the voyages on the sea. Wherefore let it suffice the reader if we mention the places seen by the navigators. . . .*

The maker of the map, Judocus Hondius, may also have been the author of an older map of Drake's wanderings, engraved on silver probably in the year 1584. At least four copies of this silver medal map of the world are in existence, all of them slightly less than three inches in diameter but surprisingly clear and accurate in outline.

In connection with the map of 1595 Hondius made striking engravings of both Drake and Cavendish.

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It appereth by the Iulgements of Francis Guille
a Spaniard in yeare 1558 & that the first towne
one the west part of America and the first of Asia
which hath bene so manerly set out as a straight
and is armed in most maner the length of America
above 1200 leagues wide at the latitude of 58 degree
And that the distance betwene cape Mexicana and
cape Californ which many maps and sea charts is
made to be 1200 or 1300 leagues is farre from this one

Then hold very gentle reader, about this temporal logarithme of so matched the well as hath bene written of difference of and is came to our knowledge, which we have in hand, let peruse well, all places depart far distant from the same place and distances that they haue in the globe being therein placed in longitudes and latitudes which they haue in it, that is which by the ordinance of our way to make the population of our self from any place to chart can in no wise be performed. The way to find out this which is set in the many degrees of chart having latitudes, differeth nothing from that which is set in the many degrees of it. But to find the difference of both places haue the same latitude let haue many degrees of the meridian when in that latitude are contained the two times for so many far leagues is the difference. If they differ in latitude let haue many degrees of the meridian taken about the middle of that difference are contained between them and so many score leagues is the difference.

WORLD MAP

Anonymous. 1600.

(16½ x 25 inches.)

(In Richard Hakluyt, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or overland, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres." London, 1599.)

(New York Public Library.)

AN original of this map is sometimes found in the second edition of Hakluyt's great work, so aptly called the "prose epic of the English nation." It is printed from the second state of the plate, which, when first engraved, did not possess the legend concerning "the discoveries of Sr. Francis Drake." It is extremely rare.

Although the map is undated, it provides data which allow the date to be determined with considerable accuracy. As the first printed account of the discovery by the Dutch explorer Barents of the northeastern extremity of Nova Zembla, referred to on the map, was not published till 1598,¹ and as this map was published by Hakluyt in 1600, the map must have been made within the period between these two dates. The New York Public Library assigns 1600 as the most probable date.

The map's authorship is uncertain. Sabin, Winsor, Stevens, and others attribute it to Emeric Molineaux of Lambeth, "a rare gentleman in his profession"; Markham and C. H. Coote of the British Museum believe that the author was a friend of Hakluyt, Edward Wright, a lecturer on navigation for the East India Company, and the author of *Certain Errors of Navigation*, 1599, in which he developed and perfected Mercator's principles of projection. The map is the first to be engraved in England according to that projection.

A peculiar interest arises from the fact that the map in all probability is the "new map," referred to by Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Scene 2, in the passage, "He does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies." Coote sets forth the reasons why this map is the only one which could be regarded as the "new map" in 1600, the date of the first production of *Twelfth Night*. The map is "new" because just published. It contains the "augmentation of the Indies," because it gives a full delineation of the East Indies and Japan. The "lines" on the first popular map to be published in England on the new system of projection would naturally attract attention. Coote shows, too, that the earlier passage in the same scene, "you are now

sailed into the north of my lady's opinion; where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard," might well be a reference to Barents.²

Hallam gives the following description of the map in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*: "The best map of the sixteenth century is one of uncommon rarity, which is found in a very few copies of the first (sic) of Hakluyt's *Voyages*."

"This map contains Davis's Straits (Fretum Davis), Virginia by name, and the Lake Ontario. The coast of Chili is placed more correctly than in the prior maps of Ortelius; and it is noticed in the margin that the trending of the coast, less westerly than had been supposed, was discovered by Drake in 1577, and confirmed by Sarmiento and Cavendish. The huge Terra Australis of the Old Geography is left out. Corea is represented near its place, and China with some degree of correctness; even the north coast of New Holland is partially traced. The Strait of Anian, which had been presumed to divide Asia and America, has disappeared, while a marginal note states that the distance between these two continents in latitude 38° is not less than 1,200 leagues. The ultra Indian region is inaccurate; the Sea of Aral is still unknown, and little pains have been taken with central and northern Asia. But upon the whole it represents the utmost limit of geographical knowledge at the close of the sixteenth century, and far excels the maps in the edition of Ortelius at Antwerp in 1588."³

The author's address to the reader with directions for the use of the map, found in the legend south of Cape of Good Hope, is as follows:

Thou hast here (gentle reader) a true hydrographical description of so much of the world as hath been hitherto discovered, and is come to our knowledge; which we have in such sort performed, that all places herein set down have the same positions and distances that they have in the globe, being therein placed in same longitudes and latitudes which they have in this chart, which by the ordinarie sea chart can in no wise be performed. The way to finde the position, or course from any place to other herein described, differeth nothing from that which is used in the ordinarie

1. *The Three Voyages of William Barents to the Arctic Regions*. London, 1876. (Hakluyt Society Publications.)

See also John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*. New York, 1874; III, 544-580.

2. *New Shakesperian Society, Series I, Transactions*. London, 1877-1879.

3. Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, IV, 355.

sea chart. But to finde the distance; if both places have the same latitude, see how many degrees of the meridian taken at that latitude are containd betweene the two places, for so many score leagues is the distance. If they differ in latitude, see how many degrees of the meridian taken about the midst of that difference are containd betweene them and so many score leagues is the distance.

The legend in the upper right hand corner of the map reads as follows:

It appeareth by the discoverie of Francis Gaulte a Spaniard in the yeare 1584: that the sea betweene the west part of America and the east of Asia (which hath bene ordinarily set out as a straight and named in most maps the straight of Anian) is above 1,200 leagues wide at the latitude of 38 dgr. And that the distance betweene cape Mendocino and cape California which many maps and sea charts make to be 1,200 or 1,300 leagues is scarce so much as 600.

The reference here is to Francis Gali (or Gaulte) who, on his return voyage from China to Acapulco on the western coast of Mexico, struck the shores of New Spain at 37° 30' north latitude, and disclosed the unexpected width of the Pacific in that latitude. The Strait of Anian was thus pushed farther north on later maps. His account was not published in English until 1598.

The legend in the south Pacific states that *By the discoverie of Sr. Francis Drake made in the yeare 1577, the streights of Magellane (as they are comonly called) seeme to be nothing els but broken land and Ilands and the southwest coast of America called Chili was found, not to trend to the northwestwards as it hath bene described but to the eastwards of the north as it is heere set downe: which is also confirmed by the voyages and discoveries of Pedro Sarmiento and Mr. Tho. Candish A° 1587.*

As Cape Horn was not rounded until 1616, the map is surprisingly accurate in the representation of the southern extremity of South America. Sar-

miento was a Spanish navigator, who was sent with a fleet to the Strait of Magellan in 1579 to intercept Drake upon his expected return. Thomas Cavendish, the noted English navigator, returned to England in 1588, after a circumnavigation of the globe.

It will be noticed that the map removes *meta incognita* and *Frobushers Straights* from the mainland of America, where they belong, to Greenland, where they remain on the maps for over two hundred years; this, in spite of the fact that Beste's map, Lok's, and the Silver Medal map and others, all drawn immediately after Frobisher's return from America, and all reviewed together by Miller Christy in his *Silver Map of the World*, correctly locate Frobisher's discoveries on the mainland. By every right Hudson Strait, into which Martin Frobisher sailed on his second voyage in 1577, and Henry Hudson not till 1610, ought to be known today as Frobisher's Strait. Christy concludes that the confusion arose from the initial error of cartographers in taking Zeno's Frisland as a safe reckoning point.

The map of 1600 is one of the first representations of the false location of Frobisher's Strait in Greenland.

Fretum Davis (*Davis Strait*) is correctly located. An earlier map of Davis's explorations may be seen in the Molineaux globe. The *Lake of Tadousac* the boundes whereof are unknowne, in general in the location of the Great Lakes, is a curious recurrence of Verrazano's Sea.

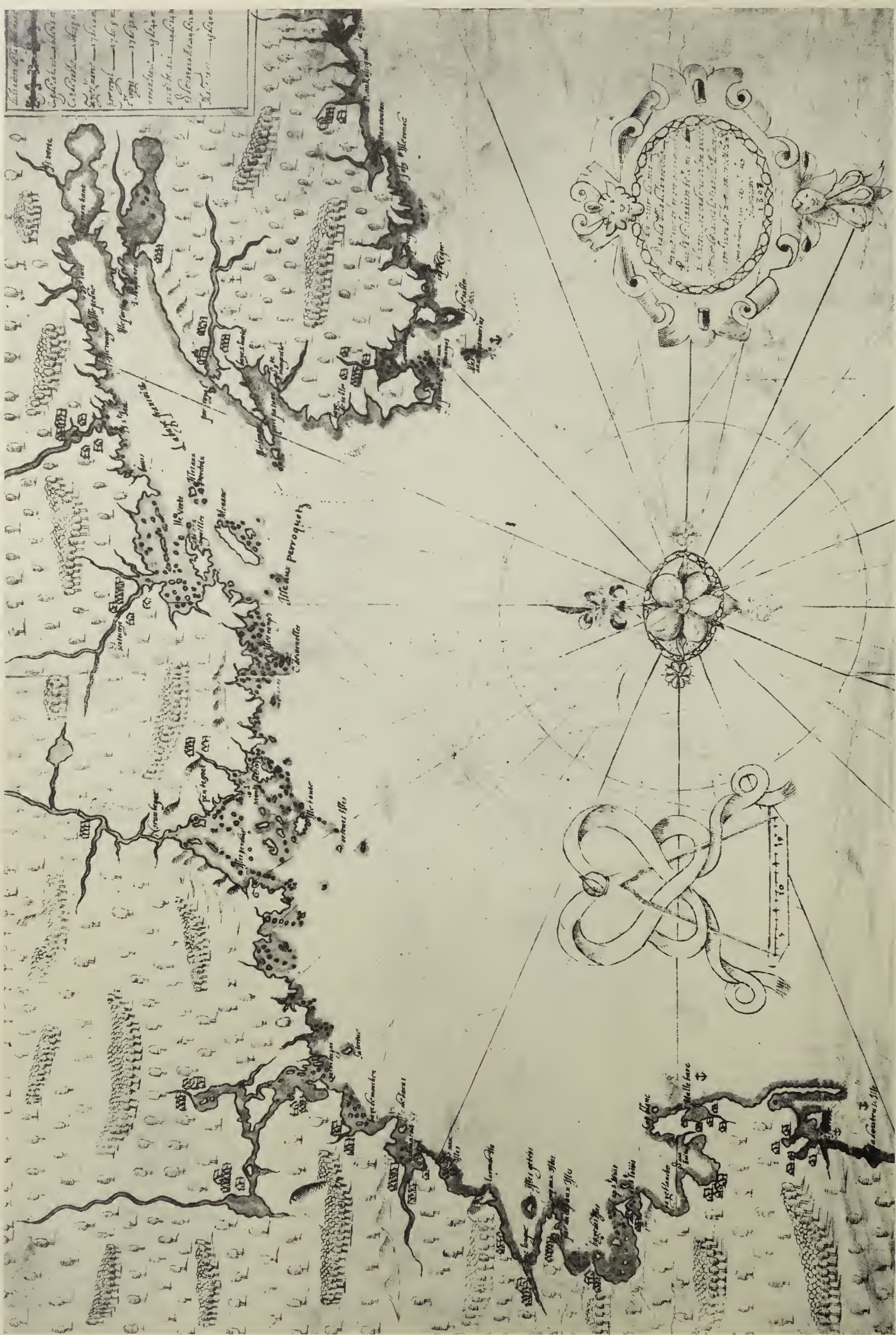
It will be noticed that the river systems of South America, that of the Amazon and that of the La Plata, are both indicated on the map, before anything was definitely known about the river systems of North America.

There is a peculiar interest in this map, due to the fact that it was undoubtedly well known to the founders of Jamestown in 1607, and was probably used by Henry Hudson on his voyage of 1609.

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DESCRIPTION DES COSTS & ISLES DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE

Faict et Observez par Le Sr. de Champlain. 1607.

(14¼ x 21½ inches.)

(Library of Congress.)

THIS is Champlain's original manuscript map, bequeathed to the Library of Congress by Henry Harrisse in 1910. Champlain did not publish it in any of his works. Justin Winsor, writing in 1882 in his *Memorial History of Boston*, had not heard of it, nor had Edmund F. Slafter when he wrote of Champlain's maps in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*.

In the subordinate position of geographer to the king, Champlain accompanied a French expedition to America in 1603, and sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal. Returning to France, he drew up a report, which had influence in arousing the interest of his fellow-countrymen in the new colonization schemes which he represented. The next year, 1604, still as royal geographer, he accompanied De Monts, and for three years remained with that company on the shores of New England and Nova Scotia, where he made the three expeditions that led up to the map of 1607. The accounts of the expeditions of 1604, 1605, and 1606 were published in Champlain's *Les Voyages* of 1613.

In the first of these expeditions, that of 1604, approaching the continent Champlain sighted Sable Island, thirty leagues from Cape Breton. It was fifteen leagues long. "The island is very sandy, and there are no trees at all of considerable size, only copse and herbage, which serve as pasturage for bullocks and cows, which the Portuguese carried there more than sixty years ago, and which were very serviceable to the party of the Marquis de la Roche."

Port Royal on *La baye françoise*, the Bay of Fundy, Champlain calls "one of the finest harbors I had seen along all these coasts, in which two thousand vessels might lie in security. The entrance is eight hundred paces broad; then you enter a harbor two leagues long and one broad, which I have named Port Royal."

The name, St. Croix, derived undoubtedly from the existence of three rivers, "two of moderate size, one extending toward the east, and the other toward the north, and the third of large size, toward the west," he gives to the last-named river, called also the river of the Etechemins, and now known as the St. Croix. The same name he gives to an island in this river, on which the leader De Monts founded the settlement of 1604. The settlement was temporary and soon forgotten; but

the name St. Croix, applied to the river, survived, although there was always confusion as to which stream was the true St. Croix.

The name was claimed for three different rivers, when an arbitration commission, set up by Great Britain and the United States under the Jay Treaty of 1794, endeavored to locate the eastern boundary of the United States, which the Treaty of 1783 named as the St. Croix. The commission imported from Europe a copy of Champlain's *Les Voyages*, edition of 1613, which contains a clear outline map of De Monts' settlement, which Champlain, in the text, says was located on the St. Croix. Excavations were made on the modern Bone Island, in the River Schoodic, which disclosed a plan of ancient and abandoned foundations, corresponding to Champlain's plan of the De Monts settlement. The outline shape of the island also is the same as that delineated by Champlain. The demonstration was complete that the St. Croix of Champlain was the modern Schoodic, and a part of the eastern boundary of the United States was fixed.

After examining *La baye françoise*, the expedition sailed westward as far as the Penobscot, which Champlain calls the *Pentegoet* or *Norumbegue*. An island four or five leagues long was then sighted. "From this island to the mainland on the north," says Champlain, "the distance is less than a hundred paces. It is very high, and notched in places, so that there is the appearance to one at sea, as of seven or eight mountains extending along near each other. The summit of most of them is destitute of trees, as there are rocks on them. The woods consist of pines, and birches only. I named it Isle des Monts Déserts. The latitude is 44° 30'."

"A very high and conspicuous island," he calls *Isle haute*, or as now known, *Isle au Haut*. "Very high elevations of land, which in fair weather are seen twelve or fifteen leagues out at sea," are noted, the Camden Hills.

The next year, 1605, in company with De Monts, several gentlemen and twenty sailors, and with an Indian and his wife as guides and interpreters, Champlain sailed along the coast southward to southeastern Massachusetts beyond Cape Cod. His route may be traced from his own account of the voyage and from the map.

He mentions the *Quenibecqui* (*the people of the Kennebec*), and the junction of this river with

another, the Androscoggin, of which the Indians gave him descriptions. Concerning the Quenibecqui, he reports, "They go by this river across the country to Quebec some fifty leagues, making only one portage of two leagues. After the portage, you enter another little stream, which flows into the great river St. Lawrence. This river, Quenibecque, is very dangerous for vessels half a league from its mouth, on account of the small amount of water, great tides, rocks and shoals, outside as well as within."

From another bay, "where there are a great many islands," . . . large mountains are seen to the west, that is, Casco Bay and the White Mountains of New Hampshire.

The islands of Portland Harbor are located. Cape Elizabeth is delineated but not named. Next on the map comes the *Choiïacoit* (*the Saco*), and after that apparently the Merrimac, which empties into *Baye longue*, near *cap aux Isles* (*Cape Ann*), and "three or four rather high islands," the Isles of Shoals.

Next comes *cap aux Isles* (*Cape Ann*). Then, says Champlain, "Sieur de Monts sent me on shore to observe them [the Indians], and to give each one of them a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance again better than before. This over, I made them understand, as well as I could, that I desired them to show me the course of the shore. After I had drawn with a crayon the bay, and the Island Cape, where we were, with the same crayon they drew the outline of another bay, which they represented as very large; here they placed six pebbles at equal distances apart, giving me to understand by this that these signs represented as many chiefs and tribes. Then they drew within the first mentioned bay a river, which we had passed, which has shoals and is very long."

This river must have been the Merrimac, which Champlain did not see, and the large bay, Massachusetts Bay.

The Charles River must be referred to in the following: "There is, moreover, in this bay a very broad river, which we named River du Guast," in honor of Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, the leader of the expedition. "It stretches, as it seems to me, toward the Iroquois, a nation in open warfare with the Montagnais, who live on the great river St. Lawrence."

The cape below the southern entrance to Boston harbor he names *Cap St. Louis*, and south of it is a little bay, named by him Port du Cap St. Louis, about a league in extent and containing two small islands. The place is very conspicuous from the sea. This is the modern Plymouth harbor, landing place of the Pilgrims in 1620, already visited and named by Captain John Smith in 1614. Cape Cod

Bay is noted, and *Cap blanc*, or Cape Cod, as it was named by Gosnold in 1602. Champlain calls it the White Cape, "since," he says, "it contained sands and downs, which had a white appearance."

South of this cape, there are set down on the map *Mallebare* or shoals. "Fogs and storms" arising, the expedition sailed back to the St. Croix, observing and naming on the way La Nef, "for, at a distance, it had the appearance of a ship." This is Monhegan Island, the center of a considerable English fishing industry.

In preparation for the second winter the island settlement at the mouth of the St. Croix was removed in 1605 across *La baye françoise*, the Bay of Fundy, to the north side of the basin at *por Royal*; and in the fall of the next year, 1606, led by Champlain, another expedition sailed along the same New England coast covered in the two preceding years. This time they reached an island eighteen or twenty leagues south of *Cap blanc*, called on the map *La douteuse* (*the Doubtful*) because in the distance it hardly seemed to be an island, but in the text and in Champlain's map of 1612 named "La Soupconneuse" ("the Suspected"), the modern Martha's Vineyard. Then they turned back.

Champlain gives the following description of the native agriculture: "The next day Sieur de Monts and I landed to observe their tillage on the bank of the river. We saw their Indian corn, which they raise in gardens. Planting three or four kernels in one place, they then heap up about it a quantity of earth with shells. Then three feet distant they plant as much more, and thus in succession. With this corn they put in each hill three or four Brazilian beans, which are of different colors. When they grow up, they interlace with the corn, which reaches to the height of from five to six feet; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw there many squashes, and pumpkins, and tobacco, which they likewise cultivate. The Indian corn which we saw was at that time about two feet high, some of it as high as three. The beans were beginning to flower, as also the pumpkins and squashes. They plant their corn in May, and gather it in September. We saw also a great many nuts, which are small and have several divisions. There were as yet none on the trees, but we found plenty under them, from the preceding year. We saw also many grape vines, on which there was a remarkably fine berry, from which we made some very good verjuice."

In 1607 the settlers abandoned their settlement at *por Royal* and returned to France where Champlain made the map of 1607, here reproduced.

The French claim to the New England coast, according to Mercator on his map of 1569, was laid by the fishermen in 1504, and was reinforced

first by Verrazano in 1524, and then by Cartier in 1534. Champlain's expeditions further strengthened the claim.

It should be noted in regard to the map, that while more elaborate huts mark Port Royal, more humble huts dot the entire shore. These must be the huts of the Indians, inasmuch as in his description Champlain makes no mention of European settlements on the coast which he explored. The trees, seen everywhere on this and on many of the early maps of America, indicate the primeval forest covering the land.

Says Edmund F. Slafter, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, concerning Champlain, "His was altogether pioneer work. . . . Champlain's surveys stretching over more than a thousand miles of sea-coast, are ample, and approximately correct. It would seem as if his local as well as his general maps depended almost entirely on his well trained eye; of necessity they lacked the measurements of an elaborate survey."

In the upper right hand corner the map contains a long and detailed table of longitude, Champlain's own reckonings.

2. Volume IV, p. 112.

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MAP OF NORTH AMERICA

Anonymous. 1610(?).

(30¾ x 42¾ inches.)

(General Archives, Department of State, Simancas, Spain.)

THIS beautiful English manuscript map,¹ in illustration of Henry Hudson's navigation of the Hudson River, was found in the royal archives of Spain, at Simancas, through the researches of Alexander Brown, and was for the first time published to the world by that scholar in the year 1890 in his *Genesis of the United States*.² In the same work Brown includes a copy of a deciphered letter of the Spanish ambassador in England, Don Alonso de Velasco, to his master, the King of Spain, dated March 22, 1611, the last sentence of which contains the following words, "The King sent last year a surveyor to survey that province, and he returned here about three months ago and presented to him [King James] a plan or map of all that he could discover, a copy of which I send Y. M. Whose Catholic Person, etc."

There is nothing to prove that the map which Brown publishes and which is here presented is the purloined map referred to in this letter by the Spanish ambassador, but Brown assumes that the two maps are one and the same, for the apparent reason that he found the map and the letter reposing together in the Spanish archives. The assumption is reasonable, but it is not susceptible of proof.

Samuel Adams Drake contends that this Simancas map is too good for the state of geographical knowledge existing in 1610, and concludes that it belongs to a later date. Brown is sure of the date which he gives, 1610.³

Brown caused a sketch of the original map to be made, which was later presented to the New York Public Library, where it may now be consulted in the Manuscript Department. I. N. P. Stokes, in his *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, discusses the map's probable sources.⁴

The author shows knowledge of the early place names, which were inscribed on the map of the coast through the preceding English, French and possibly Dutch and Spanish voyages. *Whitsuns hed* and *Whitsons bay*, first applied to Cape Cod and its bay by Pring in 1603, are seen; also *C. Cod*, *Marthays Viniard* and *Elizabethes Ile*, first used by Gosnold in 1602; *Sagadahock*, coined by Weymouth in 1605, and *I. St. George*, from Popham in 1607.

Under *Names of townes one the Rivers in the*

Chesapeake Bay are forty-eight references to the new geographical terms already in use in Virginia. These include *the Kings River* [Smith's Powhatan], *Appamatuck*, *Powatan*, *Jeamestown*, *Tipahanock*, and *Patawomeck*. On the face of the map, too, in North Carolina, are to be seen *C. feare*, *hatarask*, and *Roanoack*; and in the Chesapeake region farther north are *C. Henree*, *C. Charls*, *Chesepiock Bay*, and *Sasquasahanock*.

The fact that many of these terms do not agree with those on Smith's map of the same coast⁵ tends to weaken Brown's contention that Smith's map is based on this of 1610. On the other hand, the occurrence of Cape Henry and Cape Charles on a map of 1610, and of "Cape Henneri" on that of Robert Tindall in 1608, tends to overthrow Smith's statement that he is the author of these geographical terms, his compliment to royalty.

The following incomplete table of New England terms will be of interest:

<i>Simancas Map</i>	<i>Present Term</i>
Cladia [Claudia]	Block Island
Elizabethes Ile	Elizabeth Islands
Marthays Viniard	Martha's Vineyard
C. Cod	Cape Malabar
C. Shole	Cape Cod Shoal
Whitsuns hed	Cape Cod
Whitsons bay	Cape Cod Bay
Peninsale	Cape Ann
C. Porpas	Cape Porpoise
R. Sagadahock	Kennebec River
I. St. George	Monhegan Island
S. Georges Banck	Saint George's Bank
I. haute	Isle au Haut
R. Pomerogoit	Penobscot
Iles de Momtes Deserts	Mt. Desert Island

Brown sums up his opinion as to the sources of the map in the following words: "I think that the North Carolina portion embodies the surveys of John White; that the colony of Virginia, where the letter and figure references are used, represents the special work of the surveyor, who Velasco said was sent over by James I; that the coast line from the Chesapeake bay to "Elizabeth's Ile" was made good by Argall's water survey in August, 1610; that the Hudson River, up to the Fork, embodies the careful survey thereof made by Hudson in 1609, and that Hudson's notes may have been used on the draught of portions of the Atlantic coast. From "Elizabeth's Ile" northward

1. Reproduced, by permission, from the beautiful copy of the original in *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, by I. N. P. Stokes, frontispiece, volume II.

2. Vol. I, p. 457.

3. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XLVI, 273 and 401, also 181 and 272, and XLVII, 216, Boston, 1892.

4. Vol. II, 135. Brown's discussion of the same problem may be found in his *Genesis*, I, 455.

5. In the present work see No. 32.

was evidently drawn from painstaking surveys. The portion south of the Penobscot possibly embodies the surveys of Gosnold, Weymouth, and Pring's 'most exact discovery'; while to the north of that river the drawings, or names, of Champlain and other foreigners were apparently used, yet we find at the same time, many names like "Ramea" (visited by George Drake in 1593), which must have been on many English charts prior to 1610."⁶

The fact stands out that in the Simancas map there is a good Virginia and Chesapeake Bay prior to the date of publication of John Smith's *Virginia*,⁷ if in fact the Simancas map is to be dated 1610. Brown, noting this fact, entertains the view, already quoted, that Smith's map is not original, but is based by Smith's engraver on the Simancas map.⁸

In Brown's opinion, too, the New England coast of the Simancas map, apparently antedating Smith's *New England*,⁹ "is equally as valuable as Smith's *New England*, if not more so, for this region."¹⁰

There is considerable evidence that the Simancas map reflects the results of the third voyage of Henry Hudson. Brown, in his *Genesis*, and I. N. P. Stokes, in his *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, take this view. The omission of Long Island and Long Island Sound from the map is indirect evidence that Hudson is followed, because the latter never perceived the existence of either island or sound when entering and leaving the new river. Says Robert Juet, in his account of the voyage on which he himself was present:¹¹ "Within a while after, wee came out also of the great mouth of the great River, that runneth up to the Northwest. . . . Then we took in our boat, and set our maynesayle and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away East Southeast, and Southeast by East off into the mayne sea."

Both the new word "Manna-hata," which Juet in his account applies to the country around New York Bay, and the new river itself, which Hudson explored to the north, appear on the Simancas map, probably the first use of the term and the first accurate representation of the river on any map; and from this the argument is strong that the new map and Juet's account spring from the same source, Hudson's navigation of the river.

Neither the printed account nor the map make use of geographical terms along the river, another close agreement between the two documents. At the mouth of the river the map has *Manahata* on the west shore and *Manahatin* on the east shore.

Henry Hudson's first voyage, in search of the Northeast Passage, led to the coast of Greenland and to the present Spitzbergen in the arctic circle, north of Nova Zembla and Russia, where he made

a literal attempt to follow Thorne's advice to seek China across the North Pole. His second voyage was a hunt for the same goal between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. Both expeditions were under English auspices.

His third expedition, under the Dutch East India Company, reached Nova Zembla also, but there turned back to the west, to investigate the western coasts of the Atlantic in the hope of reaching the goal of China and the east in that direction. He possessed, said Hudson, "letters and charts, which one Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, by which he (Smith) informed him (Hudson) that there was a sea leading into the western ocean by the north of the southern English colony." Hudson must also have been acquainted with Verrazano's letter, as published by Hakluyt, and with the maps of Mercator, Lok, and others, which follow Verrazano in delineating an opening in the American coast to the west, that must have appeared hopeful to the intrepid mariner. It was the search for the Northwest Passage that took Hudson up the river that now bears his name.¹²

After touching at Cape Cod, on this western end of his third expedition, Hudson sights land at *King's River* (*King's River* on the Simancas map, "Powhatan" on Smith's, and "King James his River" on Tindall's), but does not land. An Englishman in the employ of the Dutch, in command of a crew recruited in part in Holland, he probably did not care to encounter his fellow Englishmen in Virginia. He continues to the south to 35° 41', "being farre off at sea from the land" of North Carolina. He then returns along the coast, but whether or not he enters Chesapeake Bay and Delaware Bay, Juet does not make plain; probably he only passes by the entrances to these bays.

Next, on September 3, he reaches a great bay at 40° 30' north latitude, into which flow "three great rivers," the present Hudson, East River, and the channel between Staten Island and the mainland. On the twelfth he starts up the river, and in two days finds that "The River is a mile broad; there is very high land on both sides," the Highlands of the Hudson. On the fifteenth, he "ran up into the River twentie leagues, passing by high Mountains," and on the evening of the same day "We came to other Mountains, which lie from the River's side," the Catskill Mountains. At what point he comes to Juet's "an end for shipping to go in" and turns back, is not plain.

Emanuel Van Meteren, who did not accompany Hudson, but was Dutch consul in London at the time, in his account of the voyages, speaks as follows:

6. *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XLVI, 402. Boston, 1892.

7. In the present work see No. 32.

8. *Genesis of the United States*, I, 459.

9. In the present work see No. 34.

10. *Genesis*, II, 780.

11. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XIII, 373. Glasgow, 1906.

12. Brown, *Genesis*, I, 184, gives Hudson's statement concerning his indebtedness to John Smith.

"Their ship finally sailed up the river as far as 42° 40'. But their boat went higher up. . . . When they had thus been about fifty leagues up the river, they returned on the fourth of October, and went again to sea."¹³

The Dutch unit of distance, which has been

translated leagues in the above account, was the equivalent of three English miles and a fraction, so that fifty leagues means a distance up the river of something over one hundred and fifty miles, the approximate distance between New York and Albany.

13. Jameson, *Original Narratives of Early American History. New Netherland*, p. 7.

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NOVISSIMA

cura & industria ex o



AC EXACTISSIMA

timis quibusq; tabulis Geograp



MA TOTIUS O

hicis et Hydrographicis nuper



RBIS TERRARUM

misq; doctorum virorum obse



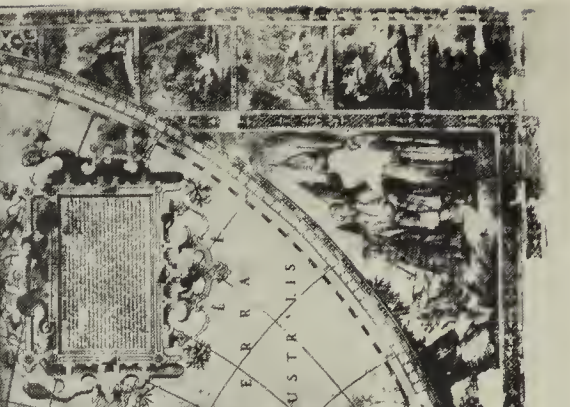
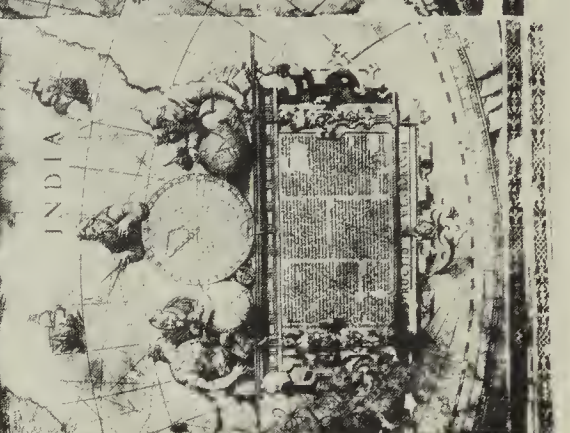
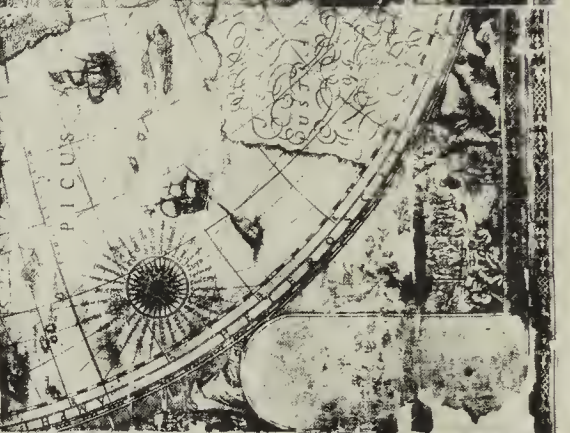
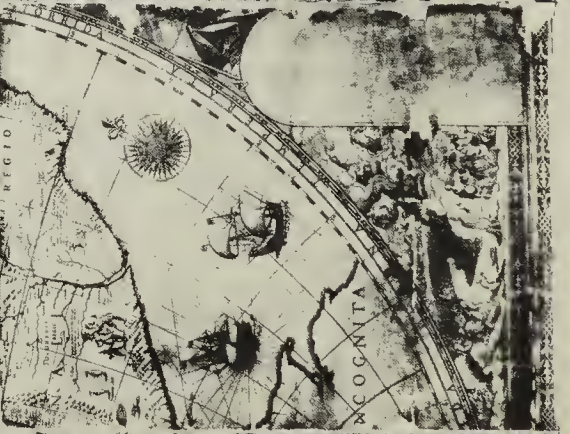
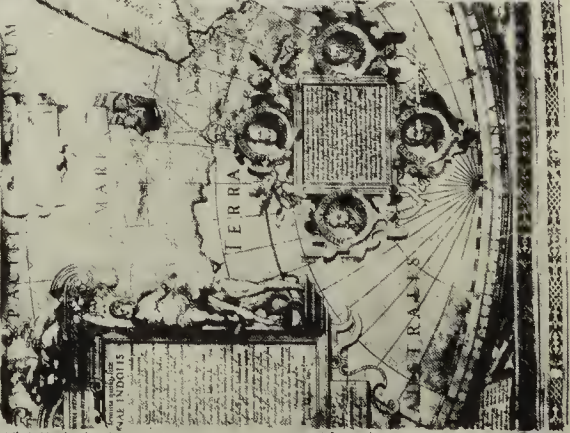
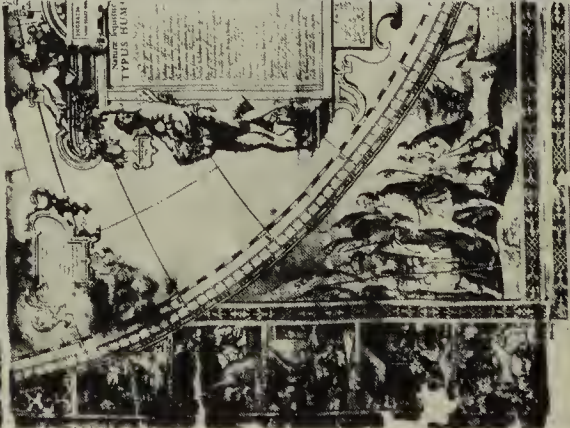
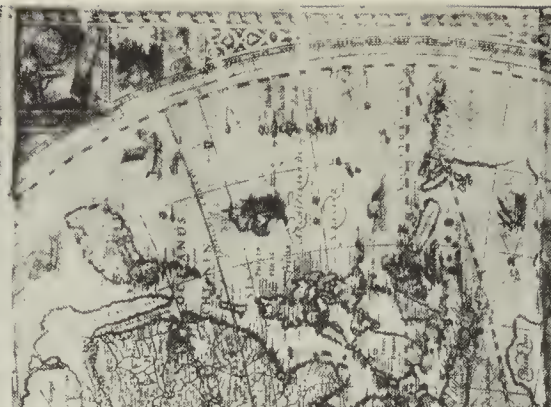
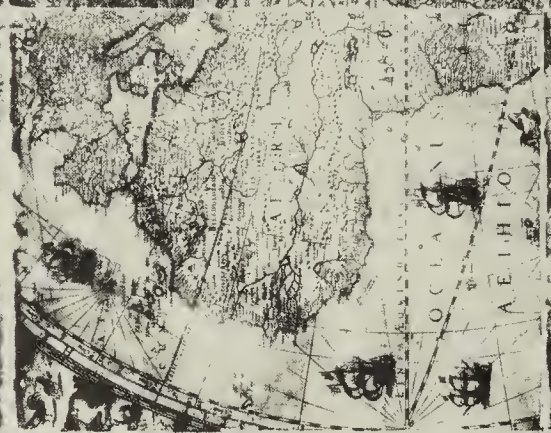
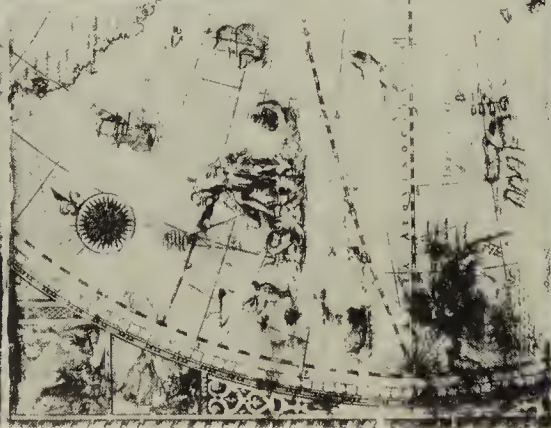
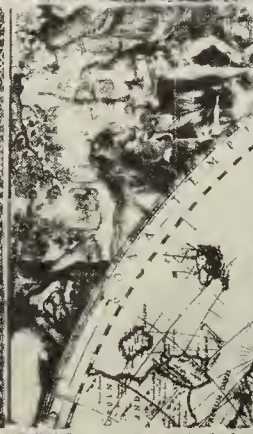
M DESCRIPTIO

rationib; duobus planisphaerijs



MAGNA

delincata. fuct. & foudo



NOVISSIMA AC EXACTISSIMA TOTIUS ORBIS TERRARUM DESCRIPTIO

Magna cura & industria ex optimis quibusq. tabulis Geographicis et Hydrographicis nuperimisq. doctorum virorum observationib. duobus planisphærijs delineata. Auct. J. Hondio. 1611.

(62 $\frac{4}{5}$ x 106 $\frac{4}{5}$ inches.)

THERE is known but a single copy of this world map, which was found by Joseph Fischer in the Wolfegg castle in Württemberg, Germany, in 1901, at the time of his discovery of the two Waldseemüller maps; but whereas the Waldseemüller maps were found securely bound between board covers, this copy of the Hondius map, mounted on linen and attached to an oak roller, was in poor condition, in many places, indeed, illegible. Its restoration was undertaken by Dr. Franz Ehrle, S. J., in the Vatican at Rome, and now, restored and remounted, the map is again in the Wolfegg castle. Another copy is known to have been destroyed by the fire and earthquake in San Francisco in 1906.

Judocus Hondius, 1563–1611, was a map-maker and engraver of distinction. He carried on the publication of Mercator's *Atlas* after the latter's death, and in 1604 acquired the plates of that great work. Later he added to it a series of maps of his own. *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* was illustrated by maps from his pen. Down to very recent times the world map of 1611 has been deemed to be his most distinguished contribution to cartography, but there must now be ranked with it another world map by the same author, drawn on Mercator's projection, dated 1608, and measuring 72 x 90 inches, which has recently been recovered in Amsterdam and is now the property of the Royal Geographical Society.¹

The immediate interest of this map of 1611 lies in its exposition and delineation of the theories of the Northwest Passage prevailing at that time.

The old Sea of Verrazano, perpetuated in 1582 by Hakluyt's publication of Lok's map, itself based on that of Verrazano, and by numerous writings, is accepted by Hondius,² under the name of the Northern Sea of North America. This seventeenth century student of geography, who drew his map before the days of the French explorations of the Great Lakes, connects his Northern Sea by a strait with the Atlantic, in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay.

Says the inscription at the far eastern end of this *Mare Septentrionale Americæ*. Powhatan,

the famous king of all Virginia, King Pamunka and many others, declare that in this region there is a vast sea, and that in it there have been seen ships that greatly resemble the ships of the English. See the observations of the various Englishmen of the year 1608. The natives of Florida give the same testimony.

Farther west on the map in the same sea: *Joseph d'Acosta reports that Peter Mcclendez, a high official in the Spanish fleet and a very accomplished seaman, affirms by the most positive arguments that there is a certain strait on the north through which the way is open to the Pacific Ocean, and that there is also the same way through a strait in the province of Florida, the limits of which are unknown and in which whales are found. It is likewise claimed that wrecked Chinese ships have been seen in the North American Sea.*

And finally this on the southern shores of the sea: *According to the testimony of Goncalvas de Mendoz, these rivers empty into the North Sea.*

The supposed inland sea was in the mind of the English king, when he set the limits of Virginia in the charter of 1609 as follows: "All those Lands, Countries, and Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of America called Virginia, from the Point of Land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the Sea Coast, to the Northward two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of Cape Comfort, all along the Sea Coast, to the Southward two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, West, and Northwest; And also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both Seas of the Precinct aforesaid."

North of Russia the map shows Nova Zembla, which was reached by Willoughby in the middle of the sixteenth century in the search for the Northeast Passage, and explored by the Dutchman, William Barents, from 1594 to 1597. Hudson's first voyage, toward the North Pole, 1607, is not noted, but his second, 1608, between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, is referred to on the map

1. *The Geographical Journal*, LXV, 123 and 178. London, 1919.

2. In the present work see Nos. 25 and 15.

in the legend, *Glacies ab Hudsono detecta anno 1608*, and, likewise his third, 1609, to Nova Zembla, in the decorated inscription concerning Nova Zembla and Barents's explorations there. Hudson's voyages to the Hudson River and to Hudson Bay, 1609-10, are not mentioned, though the date of the map is 1611.

In the northeastern part of North America, within the frame, the inscription says: *In the year 1608 a certain Englishman by the name of Weymouth sailed on the river Baixos (if indeed this is a river and not a strait) for 75 German miles, and he could have gone further, if, as a result of his great fatigue, the persuasion of his companions, and his own lack of forethought, he had not set out for home.*

The engraving and inscription at the lower end of the western hemisphere commemorate four voyages of circumnavigation of the globe: that of Magellan, 1519-22; Sir Francis Drake, 1577-80; Thomas Cavendish, 1586-88; and Olivarius van der Nort, 1598-1601.³

The inscription, *Lamayrs Passage*, at the southern tip of South America, records the circumnavigation of South America outside the islands of Tierra del Fuego, below Magellan Strait, by Lemaire and Schouten van Hoorn, in 1616. Cape Horn is so named in honor of the town in Holland from which Lemaire and Schouten set out. As their voyage came five years after the death of Hondius in 1611, the inscription concerning them must have been added to the plate of the map after

the date of its first publication. Hondius makes the limits of his *Terra Australis* larger than Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, as appears in the inscription in the Southern Pacific.

In the lower left-hand corner of the map is an explanation of the method of drawing a map according to Mercator's principles of projection; also a claim by Hondius that he was the first mapmaker to represent the currents of the ocean and the blowing of the wind constantly in one direction for long seasons. In the Atlantic the *Subsolanus continuo Flat utrumque Tropicus in mari aperto del Nort*, east of Florida is the *Northoost ten Oost (Courrant)* and south of Newfoundland the *Nord Oost Courrant*. West of the Strait of Magellan is a long legend on the winds of the Pacific. The variations of the magnetic needle are indicated in various quarters of the globe.

On the lower part of the eastern hemisphere is a portrait of Gerard Mercator, and of Hondius and his wife and two sons. *For adornment and entertainment*, the author adds the beautiful engravings on the border of the map, Noah and his children and grandchildren, the fall of man, the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, and various agricultural and hunting scenes of European life in the seventeenth century.

Says the inscription in the frame north of North America, *All flesh is grass, and all its glory like the flower of the field. Isaiah, chapter 40. For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is life everlasting in Jesus Christ, Our Lord.*

3. Phillip F. Alexander, *The Earliest Voyages Round the World, 1519-1617*. Cambridge, 1916.

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VIRGINIA

Discovered and Discribed by Captayn John Smith.

Graven by William Hole. 1612.

(12¾ x 16¼ inches.)

(In "The Generall Historie of Virginie, New England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first Beginning An. 1584 to this present 1624. With the Proceedings of Those Several Colonies and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journyes and Discoveries. Also the Maps and Descriptions of all those Countreyes, their Commodities, People, Government, Customes, and Religion, yet knowne. Divided into sixe Bookes. By Captaine John Smith sometymes Governour in those Countreyes & Admirall of New England." London. Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes. 1624.)

THIS famous map was first published in *A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey, etc. At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.* This small quarto volume was printed on the hand press which the Earl of Leicester gave to Oxford in 1585. Joseph Barnes was the first University printer. This so-called "Oxford Tract" consisted of two parts, one a topographical description of Virginia, written by Smith "with his owne hand" and "penned in the Land it treateth of," and the other, a history of the settlement of Virginia, written by the companions of Smith. The tract was republished in Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* in 1624 and in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (IV, pp. 1691 to 1733) in 1625.

The map seems to have been made in response to the instructions issued in 1606 by the London council: "You must observe, if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which runs the contrary way towards the East India Sea." Captain Newport was particularly instructed to spend two months in the exploration of the ports and rivers,¹ for the "council in England were ever solicitous and intent on the discovery of the South Sea."

The persistence of this belief in the proximity of the Atlantic coast to the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, is a curious feature of early colonial geography. It was responsible for the sea-to-sea grants in the colonial charters and for many explorations into the interior. In 1607, Popham wrote to James I from Sagadahoc on the coast of Maine: "They positively assure me that there is a sea in

the opposite or Western part of this Province distant not more than seven days' journey from our Fort of St. George, in Sagadahoc, a sea large, wide and deep, the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant of. This cannot be any other than the Southern Ocean, reaching to the region of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these regions."² As late as 1651 the Domina Virginia Farrer map has this legend on the Pacific coast: "Sir Francis Drake was on this sea and landed Ano 1577 in 37. deg. where hee tooke Possession in the name of Q: Eliza: Calling it new Albion. Whose happy shoers, (in ten dayes march with 50. foote and 30 horsemen from the head of Jeames River over those hills and through the rich adjacent Valleys beautified with as proffitable rivers, which necessarily must run into yt peacefull Indian sea,) may be discovered to the exceeding benefit of Great Brittain, and joye of all true English."³

One week after landing at Jamestown, Newport set out with a party of twenty-four, including Captain John Smith, "to finde the head of this Ryver,"⁴ the Laake mentyoned by others heretofore, the Sea againe, the Mountaynes *Apalatsi*, or some issue."⁵ The party spent the first night at *Weanock*, opposite the mouth of the *Appamatuck* River. At *Arrchatek*, a little above the present Farrar's Island, they met an Indian chief, whom they wrongly supposed to be the great Powhatan of the country, "the Cheife of all the kyngdomes," and were entertained by him at *Powhatan*, "the habitatyon of the great kyng Pawatah" near the falls of the river, the present site of Richmond. Here they heard of the hostile Monacans of the back country, supposed by some to be the ancestors of the Tuscaroras, and decided to return. "So our Captayne made all haste home" and arrived at Jamestown, May 27.⁶

The following November, Smith set out to search the surrounding country for food for the

1. Captain John Smith, *Works*, Part I, p. XXXV.

2. Quoted by De Costa in *Magazine of American History*, 1878, p. 463.

3. The Domina Virginia Farrer map, John Carter Brown Library.

4. The James River was so named on the Tyndall map of 1608. (See No. 30.)

5. *Relatyon of the Discovery of our River* in Smith's *Works*, I, xli.

6. Smith's *True Relation*, edited by Dean, p. 32.

starving settlers. At *Kecoughtan* (Hampton) he forced the Indians to load his boat with corn and returned to Jamestown. In December, while on an expedition up the *Chickahomania* to trade for corn, he was captured by the Indians on the upper waters of the Chickahominy River near where the Battle of Fair Oaks was fought in 1862. He was taken first to *Orapaks*, some twelve miles from the Falls near Richmond, and later carried north as far as the Potomac River. At length, he was brought before Powhatan, "their Emperor," at *Werowocomoco*, his principal and favorite residence, on the north side of the York River, at a place now called "Powhatan's Chimney." An old stone chimney still standing there is believed to be the one built by the colonists for Powhatan.⁷ Here, according to Smith, his life was saved by "the King's dearest daughter," Pocahontas, and he was sent back to Jamestown, where he arrived on January 8, 1608 (1607 O. S., as in legend on map).

The following June, Smith with a party of fourteen, in an open barge, started from Jamestown to explore Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River in the hope of finding the long-sought-for passage to the South Sea. This survey occupied him three months. He went down the James River, passed *Smith's Isles* and *Russell Isles*, the latter named for a member of the party, Walter Russell, "Doctor of Physicke," and explored the eastern side of the Bay until he reached *Limbo Isles*, when he crossed to the west shore and continued north to the Potomac River, which he went up for thirty miles, passing *Potapaco*, now called Port Tobacco. *Stingra Ile*, the modern Stingray Point, at the mouth of the *Toppahanock* (Rappahannock) River, commemorates a serious injury to Smith's hand from a fish called "Stingeray." He went up the Toppahanock to the present site of Fredericksburg. On later issues of the map, *Fetherstones Bay*, near the falls of the river, commemorates the death of one of the party, Richard Fetherstone.

Going north again from Jamestown, the party passed the mouth of the *Pawtuxunt River*, described as "of a lesse proportion than the rest"; the *Bolus*, the modern Patapsco; and *Willoubyes flu*, named after Smith's birthplace in England. They entered the *Sasquesahanock flu* as far as *Smyths fales* and at *Tockwogh* were visited by the "giant-like" natives. Disappointed in the hope of discovering an entrance to the sea, which he still believed lay just beyond the mountains, Smith returned to Jamestown in September in time to compose the draft of a map which he sent by Newport to the London Council in November, 1608. In the letter which accompanied the map, Smith wrote: "I have sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the

Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large." The "Annexed Relation," Deane thinks, was the pamphlet called "Map of Virginia," published at Oxford in 1612.

Smith seems to have sent a duplicate of this early "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers" to Henry Hudson, who carried it with him to Holland in 1609. It was to this map he probably referred, when he said that he possessed some letters and charts in regard to the Northwest Passage, which "Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia." No copy of this map is now known. It was probably the original draft of the map published at Oxford in 1612.

Smith continued to explore the surrounding country. He sent into the country of the *Charwons* and *Mangoags* south of the James to search for traces of Raleigh's lost colony. He himself set out, December 29, 1608, with a party to explore the *Pamanuk* (York) River. The party spent "6 or 7 daies" at Christmas time at *Kecoughton* (Hampton), where they had "plentie of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild foule and bread," and again stopped at *Kiskiack* (*Chescake*, between Williamsburg and York) for "3 or 4 daies." At Werowocomoco, Smith had an interview with Powhatan and forced him to give him corn for the famished settlers at Jamestown. The map of 1612 reflects the result of these various explorations by Smith.

"From the results of these discoveries Smith composed his map of Virginia, a work so singularly exact that it has formed the basis of all like delineations since, and was adduced as authority as late as 1873 towards the settlement of the boundary dispute between the States of Virginia and Maryland."⁸

In the first part of the "Oxford Tract" on page ten, Smith thus refers to his map: "Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bays, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Mappe observe this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places, have beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the *Savages*, and are set downe according to their instructions."

On the issue of the map in the Generall Historie of 1624, is the legend *Page 41, Smith*, and on that in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* of 1625 are the numbers 1698 and 1699, indicating the pages between which the map is inserted. On most later issues the inexplicable figures 1606 appears in the legend at the bottom of the map.

Other curious places of interest are: *Quiyough-cohanock*, ten miles from Jamestown, where ac-

7. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 131.

8. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 132.

according to Smith there was a yearly sacrifice of children; *Vittamussack*, the site of "their principall Temple or place of superstition"; *Ceader Ile*, "where we lived 10 weekes upon oisters"; and *Poynt Comfort*, so named because, after landing first at Cape Henry, it put the settlers in "Good Comfort" to find a fair landing place on the opposite shore. "In my discovery of Virginia," wrote Smith, "I presumed to call two nameless headlands after my sovereignes heires, Cape Henry and Cape Charles." Alexander Brown⁹ ridicules this statement, but without convincing reasons. Both "Cape Henneri" and "Poynt Comfort" are on the map of Robert Tyndall of 1608. *Jamestowne*, on the *Powhatan*, thirty-eight miles from the sea, is almost an island on Smith's map as on that of Robert Tyndall of 1608 and on the Simancas map of 1610.¹⁰ Today, it is an island.

Alexander Brown does not think that Smith drew the map. "He does not always claim to have done so. . . . It seems to me certain that this map was engraved from a copy of the Virginia chart [Simancas map]."¹¹ Correct maps must be alike; but when one inaccurate map follows so closely another, as in this case, it furnishes quite conclusive proof that the latter was copied from

the former. As a further evidence that Smith did not make the drawing for the map, it may be noted that the distances given in the text of his work do not always correspond with the distances on the map. I have found no real evidence that Smith could draw a map."¹² Worthington C. Ford¹³ also doubts that the map was actually made by Smith. He points out that Smith in his tract, *A Map of Virginia*, in which the map first appeared, made no claim to its authorship nor is such a claim made on the map. Ford adduces reasons for the belief that the true author of the map was Nathaniel Powell, a surveyor who accompanied Newport on the expedition up the James River in 1607 and explored Chesapeake Bay with Smith later.

Whether Smith believed or not in the proximity to Virginia of the waters of the Great Western Sea, does not appear on his map, but in the "Oxford Tract" he wrote: "Beyond the mountaines . . . [is] a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of Commada [Canada], some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea";¹⁴ and in his *True Relation* of 1608 is the statement: "Within 4 or 5 daies Journey of the Falls was a great turning of salt water."

9. *Genesis of the United States*, II, 781.

10. In the present work see No. 30.

11. *Ibid.* No. 30.

12. *Genesis of the United States*, II, 596.

13. *Geographical Review* for July,

1924, 433 to 443.

14. *Map of Virginia*, p. 26.

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CARTE GEOGRAPHIQUE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANSE

Faictte par le Sieur de Champlain Saint Tongois, Cappitaine Ordinaire
pour le Roy en la Marine, Faict len 1612. (16 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 30 inches.)

(In *Sieur de Champlain*, "*Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Zaintongois*,
Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine," Paris, 1613.)

THIS map, which is an enlargement of the author's *New England*,¹ is intended by Champlain to illustrate his account of the three voyages of exploration in New France in the years 1608-09, 1610, and 1611. Such an artistic drawing on which Champlain locates Quebec and Montreal four years after he founded the one settlement and one year after his foundation of the other, is an unusual document.

On the first of these three journeys Champlain visited the Saguenay River, which he had already explored in 1603, and learned from the Indians there of a salt sea to the north, Hudson Bay, the discovery of which by Henry Hudson in 1610 was known to Champlain in 1612.

"These people of the north," says Champlain, "report to our savages that they see the salt sea; and, if that is true, as I think it certainly is, it can be nothing but a gulf entering the interior on the north. The savages say that the distance from the north sea to the port of Tadoussac is perhaps forty-five or fifty days' journey, in consequence of the difficulties presented by the roads, rivers, and country, which is very mountainous, and where there is snow for the most part of the year."²

In order to show the relation of the newly discovered bay to the French claims on the south, Champlain brought out in 1613 a new and enlarged edition of the map of 1612.³

From Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, Champlain and his party proceeded up the St. Lawrence past the island of Orleans to a prominent projecting point near the quarters of Cartier in 1535, where the leader founded the village of Quebec, marked on the map by a citadel and a flag. Here he passed the winter. In the summer of the next year, 1609, he went farther up the St. Lawrence beyond Les Trois Rivières to the Iroquois River, the present Richelieu, down which he passed with his Indian allies, the *Algonmequins* (the *Algonquins*) and the *Ochatequins* (the *Hurons*), which tribes were at that time enemies of the Iroquois, to the discovery of Lake Champlain and to the battle with the Iroquois.

After describing the voyage up the Iroquois or

Richelieu, Champlain in his text proceeds: "The next day we entered the lake, which is of great extent, say eighty or a hundred leagues long, where I saw four fine islands, ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues long, which were formerly inhabited by the savages, like the River of the Iroquois; but they have been abandoned since the wars of the savages with one another prevail. There are also many rivers falling into the lake, bordered by many fine trees of the same kinds as those we have in France, with many vines finer than any I have seen in any other place; also many chestnut-trees on the border of this lake, which I had not seen before. There is also a great abundance of fish, of many varieties. . . ."

"Continuing our course over this lake on the western side, I noticed, while observing the country, some very high mountains on the eastern side, on the top of which there was snow. I made inquiries of the savages whether these localities were inhabited, when they told me that the Iroquois dwelt there, and that there were beautiful valleys in these places, with plains productive in grain, such as I had eaten in this country, together with many kinds of fruit without limit. They said also that the lake extended near mountains, some twenty-five leagues from us, as I judge. I saw, on the south, other mountains, no less high than the first, but without any snow. The savages told me that these mountains were thickly settled, and that it was there we were to find their enemies; but that it was necessary to pass a fall in order to go there (which I afterwards saw), when we should enter another lake, nine or ten leagues long. After reaching the end of the lake, we should have to go, they said, two leagues by land, and pass through a river flowing into the sea on the Norumbegue coast, near that of Florida, whither it took them only two days to go by canoe, as I have since ascertained from some prisoners we captured, who gave me minute information in regard to all they had personal knowledge of, through some Algonquin interpreters, who understood the Iroquois language."⁴

In this description it is easy to recognize the

1. In the present work see No. 29.

2. W. S. Grant, *Voyages of Champlain*, p. 128.

3. For a reproduction of this map, see Grant's *Voyages of Champlain*, p. 224.

4. Grant's *Voyages of Champlain*, pp. 161, 162.

Green Mountains of Vermont, in the mountains to the east of the lake, but difficult to understand the reference to snow on the mountains in the middle of the summer. It has been suggested that the snow was white limestone.⁵ The mountains on the south are the Adirondacks; the falls are the narrows at Ticonderoga; the other lake, Lake George; and the river flowing to the south, the Hudson.

Concluding his description of the famous battle with the Iroquois, which took place near Crown Point, Champlain says, "After feasting sumptuously, dancing and singing, we returned three hours later, with the prisoners. The spot where this attack took place is in latitude 43° and some minutes, and the lake was called Lake Champlain."

The Indian appreciation of the strategic position of Lake Champlain is brought out by the name which they gave to it, "Caniaderiguarunte" (the lake that is the gate of the country).

In the year 1611 Champlain started the settlement of Montreal on the deserted site of the once flourishing Indian village of Hochelaga, discovered by Cartier in 1535. Inasmuch as Champlain did not ascend the St. Lawrence beyond the La Chine Rapids among the islands above Montreal, it must be concluded that for his data concerning the *Lac Contenant 15 journees des canaux des sauvages* (Lake Ontario), he is depending on the tales of the Indians. The *grand lac contenant 300. lieux de long* is still more mythical. The *lac des iroquois* extending south through *contres des yrocois* may be Lake Oneida, misplaced.

Only *Quebec, po Royal*, and *Ile de sable*, the graveyard of the Atlantic, south of Cape Breton Island, are marked by flags as the seat of French habitations. Montreal, though located, has no flag.

There will be noticed on the map, further, as throwing light on the life of the Indians in America in the early part of the seventeenth century, the universal primeval forest pictured everywhere; the huts of the natives, the long houses of the Iroquois in New York and the houses of the same style in Canada and Labrador and those of another style in the upper left-hand corner of the map; the fur-bearing animals, *castor* (the beaver), *rat mique* (the mink), *martre* (the martin), and *rubachis* (the lynx [?]); the porcupine, wolf, polar bear, and moose; the various kinds of fish, *chien de mer* (dog fish), *gros chabes* (bull fish), *ballaine* (whale), *molue* (cod), *lou marin* (seal), *bar* (bass), *chaousarou* (gar pike), *chirgon* (sturgeon) and *siguenoc* (horse shoe crab); the following fruits and nuts: *alix* (?), *la forme des sitroulas* (summer squash), *astemara* (?), *prune* (plum), *cachy* (?), *groiselle rouge* (red currant), *cha-*

taigne (chestnut), *pisque penay* (?), *raisins de sortes* (grapes), and *feves de brasil* (beans); also hickory nuts, strawberries, raspberries, acorns, hazel nuts, crab apples, and bunch berries. It is difficult to account for the absence of Indian corn and tobacco from this enumeration, for it is known from Champlain's narrative that he was acquainted with both these American products; and the contemporary map of the same regions by Champlain's companion, Lescarbot, contains a pictorial representation of both.

Le Grand ban, which is southeast of Newfoundland, is the seat of the cod fishery, familiar to all Frenchmen. Lescarbot, companion of Champlain, describes it in the following language:⁶ "Béfore going on, I wish to explain this word 'Bank,' the meaning of which is perhaps troubling some of my readers. The word is sometimes applied to a sandy bottom where there is little water, or which is left dry at low tide. Such places are fatal to ships which run foul of them. But the bank of which we speak is a chain of mountains seated in the deepest depths of the ocean, and lifting their tops to within thirty, thirty-six, or forty fathoms of the surface. This bank is held to be two hundred leagues long, and eighteen, twenty, or twenty-four broad. Once past it there is no bottom on either side until land is reached. When the ships have reached it, the sails are furled, and the crews, as I have said, fish for green cod, of which I shall speak in my last book. To please the reader, I have marked it on my map off Newfoundland with dots, which is all one can do to represent it. A similar phenomenon is found in the lake of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, where the fishermen fish in six fathoms of water, beyond which they find no bottom."

Monsieur Denys, in his *Description Geographique*,⁷ in a striking description of the fishing industry of the banks, says that it is "necessary to know that the Grand Bank is rarely without a mist or fog, which sometimes is so thick that one cannot see from one end of the ship to the other. It is this which obliges them to take precaution to avoid shipwreck. . . . When one goes upon the Grand Banks or into New France in the month of May, June, or July, it is necessary to keep good watch every night. If a ship were to run against an iceberg she would break to pieces as if she had struck against a rock, and there is no salvation in such accidents. . . . Sometimes there occurs so great a number, following one after the other, being all controlled by the same wind, that it is found by ships making for land after dry fish who have met with them [that they extend] a hundred and fifty leagues in length or even more."

The two inscriptions, the one in the upper left-

5. Grant's *Voyages of Champlain*, p. 162.

6. Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de La Nouvelle France*, II, 304. Toronto, 1911.

7. Paris, 1672, p. 262.

hand corner of the map, and the other in the upper right-hand corner, read as follows: *I have made this map for the greater convenience of the majority of those who navigate these coasts, since they sail to that country according to the compasses arranged for the hemisphere of Asia. And if I had made it like the small one, the majority would not have been able to use it, owing to their not knowing the declination of the needle. Observe that on the present map north northeast stands for north, and west northwest for west, according to which one is to be guided in ascertaining the elevation of the degree of latitude, as if*

these points were actually east and west, north and south, since the map is constructed according to the compasses of France, which vary to the north-east.

Champlain's table of original observations follows: *Some declinations of the magnetic needle, which I have carefully observed. Cape Breton, 14° 50'; Cap de Heve, 16° 15'; Bay Ste. Marie, 17° 16'; Port Royal, 17° 8'; en la grande R. St. Lawrence, 21°; St. Croix, 17° 32'; Riviere de Norumbegue, 18° 40'; Quinibequi, 19° 12'; Mallebarre, 18° 40'. All observed by Sieur de Champlain, 1612.*

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Simon Paszeus sculpsit.

NEW ENGLAND

The most remarqueable parts thus named. by the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of great Britaine. Observed and described by Captayn John Smith. 1614. Simon Pasæus sculpsit. Robert Clerke excudit. London. Printed by Geor. Low. 1616.

(12 x 13¾ inches.)

(In John Smith, "A Description of New England." London, 1616.)

CAPTAIN John Smith made this well known map after his visit to the New England coast in 1614. It first appeared in his *Description of New England* in 1616, and again, probably, in his *New England's Trials* in 1620. It was again published in 1624 in Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginie, New England and the Summer Isles*, and finally in his *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England* in 1631. Various changes were made upon the original copy plate from time to time. The date 1614 does not appear on the first edition of the map. It was added in the second edition in 1620. According to Winsor, the map exists in ten different "states" or editions, each having its distinctive features.¹ According to Winsor's classification, the accompanying reproduction belongs to the fourth "state" and appeared in Smith's *Generall Historie*, in 1624. The copy here given is a reproduction of the map in the second edition of that work, belonging to the Library of Congress. In the text of the *Description of New England*, Smith uses the Indian names, which were altered at his request by Prince Charles, then a youth of fifteen.

Smith refers to these changes in the *Description of New England* as follows: "Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new." There follows a list of the Indian names used in the *Description* and the corresponding ones, given by Prince Charles, which appear upon the map. Only three of the names suggested by Smith are found on the map: *New England*, *Smiths Iles*, now the Isles of Shoals, and *Poynt Suttliff*, now Brant Rock. Many names are familiar to New England residents, but only three, *Plimouth*, *Cape Anna*, and *The River Charles*, retain the location given them on Smith's map. *Boston* is at York, Maine; *London* at Cohasset; *Oxford* at Scituate; and *Hull* not far from Durham. *Cape James* became again Cape Cod as originally named by Gosnold. It was but natural for the Stuart prince, the grandson of Queen Mary, to substitute Scotch names for the barbarous Indian names employed by Smith. The "Sagadahoc" river became *The River forth* with

Leth near its mouth, and *Edenborough* in its upper valley. "Pennobscot" was changed to *Abor-den* and "Mecaddacut" to *Dunbarte*. Smith's "Nusket" and Charles's *Lowmonds* have been replaced by Mt. Desert. Smith's "high mountaine of Massachusit," now the Blue Hills of Milton, Prince Charles preferred to call the *Chenyot hills*, but retained *Poynt Suttliff*, as named by Smith in honor of his patron, Dr. Sutcliffe, the Dean of Exeter, who with Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent Smith out in 1614 on his first and only voyage to New England.

In his *New England's Trials*, Smith makes record of this voyage as follows: "I went frō the Downes the third of March, and arived in New England the last of April. . . . 37 (men) did fish; my self with eight others ranging the coast, I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants. I returned for England the 18 of July, and arived safe with my company the latter end of August." The Plymouth Company, the following year, persuaded him to enter their service and, according to him, gave him the title of "Admirall of New England."

Setting out again in 1615, with two ships, he was shipwrecked, and, when he once more put out in a small vessel, was captured by French pirates. While captive on the sea, he wrote out his *Description of New England*, from which the following abstract is taken: "In the moneth of Aprill, 1614, with two Ships from London, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arrive in New England, a parte of Ameryca, at the Ile of Monahiggan [*Barty Ils*] in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper . . . we found this Whalefishing a costly conclusion; we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: . . . Whilest the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them might best bee spared. . . . We ranged the Coast both East and West much further.

"New England is that part of America in the Ocean Sea opposite to Nova Albyon in the South Sea; discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the worlde. In regard whereto this is stiled New England, beeing in the same latitude. New France, off it, is North-

1. *Memorial History of Boston*, I, 52.

ward: Southwardes is Virginia. . . . That part wee call New England is betwixt the degrees of 41, and 45: but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from Pennobscot to Cape Cod. . . . Northward is the River Sadagahock [*The River forth*], where [at *Leth*] was planted the Western Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of vertue Sir John Popham Lord chief Justice of England. . . . The Coast is yet still but even as a Coast unknowne and undiscovered. I have had six or seaven severall plots of those Northern parts, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceived as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselves as I did, I have drawen a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to bee observed which the haste of other affaires did cause me omit: . . . yet it will serve to direct any shall goe that waies, to safe Harbours and the Salvages habitations. . . .

"From Pennobscot [*Aborden*] to Sagadahock [*Leth*] this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but overgrowen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks or shippes;

"Betwixt Sagadahock [*Leth*] and Sowocatuck [*Ipswich*] there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape Cod [*Cape James*] very many: . . . The ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits or Seeds you will sow or plant.

"And of all the foure parts of the world that I have yet seene not inhabited, could I have but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather live here than any where.

"The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of Pennobscot [*Aborden*], which is East and West, North and South more than ten leagues, . . . the River ranne farre up into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people. . . . The Bay is full of great Ilands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length. . . . And Northwest of Pennobscot is Mecaddacut [*Dunbarte*] at the foot of a high mountaine, . . . adjoyning to the high mountaines of Pennobscot, against whose feet doth beat the Sea. . . . Segocket [*Norwich*] is the next; then Nusconcus, Pemmaquid [*St. John Towne*] and Sagadahock [*Leth*]. Up this River where was the Western plantation are Aumuckcawgen [*Cambridg*], Kinnebeck [*Edenborough*] and divers others, where there is planted some corne fields. Along this River 40 or 50 miles,

I saw nothing but great high cliffes of barren Rocks. . . . Westward of this River is the Countrey of Aucocisco [*The Base*] in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Isles. . . . Sowocotuck [*Ipswich*] is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay. . . . But all this Coast to Pennobscot [*Aborden*], and as farre as I could see Eastward of it is nothing but such high craggy Cliffy Rocks & stony Iles, that I wondered such great trees could growe upon so hard foundations. It is a Countrie rather to affright, then delight one. . . . Yet the Sea there is the strangest fishpond I ever saw. . . . As you passe the Coast still Westward, Accominticus [*Boston*] and Passataquack [*Hull*] are two convenient harbors for small barks; and a good Countrie, within their craggie cliffs. Angoam [*South Hampton*] is the next; This place might content a right curious judgement, but . . . it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea.

"Naimkeck [*Bastable*], though it be more rockie ground . . . not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor any thing I could perceive, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland Tragabigzanda [*Cape Anna*], fronted with three Iles called the three Turks heads:² to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, . . . they report a great River and at least thirtie habitations, doo possesse this Countrie. . . . the Countrie of the Massachusetts, which is the Paradise of all those parts: for, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groves, mulberries, salvage gardens, and good harbors: the Coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people.

"Then come you to Accomack [*Plimouth*], an excellent good harbor, good land; and no want of any thing, but industrious people. . . . Cape Cod [*Cape James*] is the next presents it selfe: which is onely a headland of high hils of sand, overgrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. . . . on it doth inhabit the people of Pawmet: and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of Chawum [*Barwick*].

"The cheefe mountaines, them of Pennobscot; the twinkling mountaine of Aucocisco [*Schooters hill*]; the greate mountaine of Sasanov [*Snadoun hill*]; the high mountaine of Massachusit [*Cheuyot hills*]: each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude."

Smith's *Description* was published three years after the appearance in France of Champlain's more interesting account of his voyages along the same coast.³ The New England coast had been visited earlier by Gosnold in 1602, Pring in 1603,

2. In commemoration of Smith's well-known exploit at the siege of the Turkish fortress of Kanizsa in Hungary,

when he cut off the heads of three Turks in a series of single combats.

3. In the present work see No. 33.

and Weymouth in 1605, but their visits were brief and their notes of little value. Smith's description was therefore the earliest one of importance to appear in English and from it the English people derived their first general information concerning this part of America.

After the publication of his *Description*, Smith threw all his energy into the enterprise of arousing public sentiment in favor of the colonization of New England. He traveled through the western counties distributing his map. "I caused," he said, "two or three thousand of them [the book] to be printed; one thousand with a great many maps, both of Virginia and New England, I presented to thirty of the Chief Companies in London at their halls." But "all," he lamented, "availed no more than to hew rocks with oyster shells."⁴

Winsor called Smith's map "the real foundation of our New England cartography." Alexander Brown doubts the truth of Smith's statement that his map was drawn from his surveys.

His coat of arms, which appears at the bottom of the map, was granted him, in 1603, by Sigismund, Duke of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia in acknowledgment of his services in the war against the Turks, which "doth deserve all praise and perpetual memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three Turks heads, which with his sword, before the towne of Regall, in single combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of Transilvania."⁵

The map was well known to the Pilgrims at Plymouth, who quite naturally retained Smith's English name for the place of their settlement in preference to Champlain's French name.

The prominent position on the map given to *The Portraictuer of Captayne John Smith Admirall of New England* illustrates the Captayne's well known modesty. The title, "Admirall," seems to have been self imposed. It appears on his map in 1616, and on the title page of his *Description of New England*, of the same year, where he calls himself "Admirall of that Country"; and yet in his *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, which was published in 1631, he relates that in 1617: "They made me Admiral of the Country for my life, under their hands, and the Colony's Seal for New England."⁶ No other record of this remarkable appointment than that given by Smith has been found.

The lines underneath the portrait were written by John Davies of Hereford, the well known English poet who died in 1618. "Simon Passe," says Winsor,⁷ "whose Latinized name we see on the engraving of Smith's map, was ten years in England, and engraved many of the chief people of the time; and as he was his own draughtsman, it is probable the portrait of Smith was drawn by Passe from life." Although surprisingly exact and detailed, the map does not show the same originality as that by Champlain, with which Smith seems to have been unacquainted.⁸ The famous Simancas map of 1610⁹ of the same coast is equally valuable, but as it was not published until the twentieth century it had no influence on New England cartography.

4. Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I, 52.

5. Arber and Bradley, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, p. 844.

6. Charles Deane, *New England's Trials*, p. 7.

7. *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 212.

8. In the present work see No. 33.

9. *Ibid.* No. 30.

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JUSTIN WINSOR, Ed., *The Memorial History of Boston including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880*. Boston, 1880-81.

A diagram showing a rectangular frame with a diagonal line and a horizontal line intersecting it.

THE NORTH PART OF AMERICA

Conteyning Newfoundland, new England, Virginia, Florida, new Spaine, and Nova Francia, with ye riche Isles of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rieco, on the South, and upon ye West the large and goodly Iland of California. The bonds of it are the Atlantick Ocean, on ye South and East sides ye South Sea on ye west Side and on ye North Fretum Hudson and Buttons baye, a faire entrance to ye nearest and most temperate passage to Japā & China. R. Elstracke Sculpsit. 1625.

(11¼ x 14 inches.)

(In Samuel Purchas, "*Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travells by Englishmen and Others.*" London, 1625.)

THE first edition of Purchas, without maps, appeared in 1613, and several other editions followed from time to time without maps down to 1625, when the first edition with maps, including the map here reproduced, was brought out.

Henry Briggs, 1561-1630, graduate of Cambridge University, fellow, examiner, and lecturer there, professor of geometry at Gresham College in London, and professor of astronomy at Oxford University, was a leading English scientist. He was the contemporary of Edward Wright, the author of *Certaine Errors of Navigation*, and of John Napier, the discoverer of logarithms; and he himself wrote various works on logarithms and other mathematical subjects. He wrote also, while a member of the trading company interested in Virginia, *A briefe Discourse of the probabilitie of a passage to the Westerne or South Sea, illustrated with testimonies*; and a *Treatise of the North-West Passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and by the Fretum Hudson*, both of which writings accompany the map in Purchas, and serve as a commentary on the same. Briggs, who died in 1630, was the first and the best known patron of Luke Fox, who set out for Hudson Bay in 1631.

The *Treatise* reveals the arguments by which the western explorers and merchant adventurers defended their hobby, the Northwest Passage: "Neither is the commodiousnesse of Virginia's situation onely in respect of this West Atlanticke Ocean, but also in respect of the Indian Ocean, which we commonly call the South Sea, which lyeth on the West and Northwest side of Virginia, on the other side of the Mountaines beyond our Falls, and openeth a free and faire passage, not onely to China, Japan, and the Moluccæ; but also to New Spaine, Peru, Chili, and those rich countries of Terra Australis, not as yet fully discovered. For the Sea wherein Master Hudson did winter, which was first discovered by him, and is therefore now called Fretum Hudson, doth stretch

so farre toward the West, that it lyeth as far Westward as the Cape of Florida: so that from the Falls above Henrico Citie, if we shape our journey toward the Northwest, following the Rivers toward the head, we shall undoubtedly come to the Mountaines, which as they send divers great Rivers Southward into our Bay of Chesepiock, so likewise doe they send others from their further side North-westward into that bay where Hudson did winter. For wee see in our own Countrey, from the ridge of the Mountaines continued from Derbshire into Scotland, doe issue many great Rivers on both Sides into the East Germane Ocean, and into the Westerne Irish Seas: in like sort from the Alpes of Switzerland and the Grizons, doe runne the Danubie Eastward into Pontus Euxinus, the Rhene into the North Germane Ocean, the Rhosne West into the Mediterrane Sea, and the Po South into the Adriatike Sea. This Bay where Hudson did winter, stretcheth it selfe Southward into 49 degrees, and cannot be in probabilitie so farre distant from the Falls as two hundred leagues; part of the way lying by the Rivers side towards the Mountaines from whence it springeth; and the other part on the other side cannot want Rivers likewise, which will conduct us all the way, and I hope carry us and our provisions a good part of it. Besides that Bay, it is not unlikely that the Westerne Sea in some other Creeke or River cometh much neerer then that place: For the place where Sir Thomas Button did winter, lying more westerly than Master Hudsons Bay by one Hundred and ninetie leagues in the same Sea, doth extend it selfe very neere as farre towards the west as the Cape of California, which is now found to bee an Iland stretching it selfe from 22 degrees to 42 and lying almost directly North and South; as may appear in a map of that Iland which I have seen here in London, brought out of Holland; where the Sea upon the Northwest part may very probably come much neerer then some doe imagine: who giving too much credit to our usuall Globes and Maps, doe dreame of a large Continent

extending it selfe farre Westward to the imagined Streight of Anian, where are seated (as they fable) the large kingdomes of Cebola and Quivira, having great and populous cities of civil people; whose houses are said to bee five stories high, and to have some pillars of Turguesses. Which relations are cunningly set downe by some upon set purpose to put us out of the right way, and to discourage such as otherwise might be desirous to search a passage by the way aforesaid into those Seas.

“Gerardus Mercator, a very industrious and excellent Geographer, was abused by a Map sent unto him, of foure Euripi meeting about the North Pole; which now are found to bee all turned into a mayne Icie Sea. One demonstration of the craftie falshood of these usuall Maps is this, that Cape Mendocino is set in them West Northwest, distant from the South Cape of California, about seventeene hundred leagues, whereas Francis Gaule that was employed in those discoveries by the Vice-roy of New Spaine, doth in Hugo Linschotten his booke set downe their distance to be onely five hundred leagues.

“Besides this, in the place where Sir Thomas Button did winter in 57. degrees of latitude, the constant great Tydes every twelve hours, and the increase of those Tydes whensoever any strong Western wind did blow, doe strongly perswade us that the mayne Western Ocean is not farre from thence; which was much confirmed unto them the Summer following; when sayling directly North from that place where they wintered, about the latitude of 60. degrees, they were crossed by a strong current running sometime Eastward, sometimes Westward: So that if we finde either Hudsons Bay, or any Sea more neere unto the West, wee may assure our selves that from thence we may with great ease passe to any part of the East Indies; And that as the World is very much beholding to that famous Columbus for that hee first discovered unto us the West Indies; and to the Portugal for the finding out the ordinarie and as yet the best way that is knowne to the East Indies, by Cape Bona Speranza: So may they and all the world be in this beholding to us in opening a new and large passage, both much neerer, safer, and farre more wholesome and temperate through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson, to all those rich Countries bordering upon the South Sea, in the East and West Indies. And this hope that the South Sea may easily from Virginia be discovered over Land, is much confirmed by the constant report of Savages, not onely of Virginia, but also of Florida and Canada; which dwelling so remote from one another, and all agreeing in the report of a large Sea to the Westwards, where

they describe great ships not unlike to ours, with other circumstances, doe give us very great probability (if not full assurance) that our endeavors this way shall by Gods blessing have a prosperous and happy successe, to the encrease of his Kingdome and Glorie amongst these poore ignorant Heathen people, the publique good of all the Christian world, the never-dying honour of our most gracious Sovereigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedie increase and advancement of that most noble and hopeful Plantation of Virginia; for the good successe whereof all good men with mee, I doubt not, will powre out their prayers to Almighty God. H. B.”²

Aside from the references to the Northwest Passage in the title of the map and in Briggs’s *Treatise*, there is interest in the map’s inscription west of Hudson Bay, which follows: *In Porte Nelson did Sr. Thomas Button winter in 57 deg. findinge the tide constantly every 12 howers to rise 15 foote or more: and that a west winde did make the nepe tides equal to ye springe tydes. And ye sumer folowing about the latitude of 60 degrees he found a stronge race of a tide runinge sometymes eastwarde, sometymes westwards, whereupon Josias Hubbarde in his platte called ye place Hubbarts hope.*

In the Bottome of Hudsons bay where he wintered ye height of the tyde was but two foote, and in the bottome of Fretum Davis was found by Mr. Baffin to be but one foote, wheras by the nearenes of the South Sea in Porte Nelson, it was constantly 15 foote or more.

Briggs might have made out a long list of contemporary English explorers, who joined in the search for the Northwest Passage.

Willoughby, Frobisher and Gilbert have already been mentioned.¹ Closely associated with them in time was Sir John Davis, who followed Frobisher in 1585, 1586, and 1587. Davis Strait is named in his honor. Later he accompanied Cavendish on the latter’s second and unsuccessful attempt to go through the Strait of Magellan; and he himself alone made three unsuccessful attempts to go through the passage after Cavendish left him. He penned the *World’s Hydrographical Description*, which is an argument for the existence of the Northwest Passage.

Henry Hudson, with a crew of twenty, followed up Frobisher’s old track to the discovery of Hudson Bay in 1610. Hudson’s original drawing of the Northern regions escaped the wrath of his mutinous sailors, and was reproduced in Holland in 1612. Champlain undoubtedly incorporated this in his map of New France of the year 1613, which is his *New France* of 1612 with the addition of Hudson Bay.³

1. In the present work see Nos. 23 and 24.

2. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, 1906, XIV, 431.

3. A copy of the Dutch map may be found in G. M. Asher, *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*. London, 1860. (*Hakluyt*

Society Publications.) Also in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VIII, 2.

Sir Thomas Button, guided by two of Hudson's crew, spent the winter of 1612-13 on Hudson Bay searching for the lost leader. He named *Porte Nelson* and Nelson River in honor of his mate who died there, and scattered about several other English names; but he found no passage.

In 1619 a Dane, Jens Munck, with a crew of sixty-five, also reached Hudson Bay, but after a winter there only the leader and two others were alive to return to Europe.

Captain Gibbon, in his attempt in 1614, did not get beyond Labrador. In 1615 and 1616 William Baffin, a veteran of the whale fisheries at Spitzbergen, went three hundred miles beyond Davis to 77° 45' north latitude, in what is now Baffin's Bay, which was to remain "farthest North" in these regions for the next 236 years. He did not find any passage, and he did not enter Hudson Bay.⁴

In 1631 Captain Luke Fox and Captain Thomas James led separate expeditions to Hudson Bay. The latter wintered on the southern shores of what came to be known, in his honor, as James Bay. Each left behind an interesting book on the Passage, and interesting maps.

Roald Amundsen went through the Northwest Passage, 1903-07, in the *Gjöa*, over a circuitous path quite impracticable for commerce.

California, originally on the maps a peninsula according to Agnese, Cabot, and Zalterius, is an island on this map. This is one of the first maps to get away from the original peninsular theory. Runs the inscription: *California, sometymes supposed to be part of yewesterne continent, but scince by a Spanish Charte taken by ye Hollanders it is found to be a goodly Ilande; the length of the west shoare beeing about 500 leagues from Cape Mendocino to the South Cape there of called Cape St. Lucas; as appeareth both by that Spanish Chart and by the relation of Francis Gaule, whereas in the ordinarie Charts it is sett downe to be 1700 Leagues.*

The insular theory concerning California was dispelled by Father Kino within the next century.⁵

Po. Sr. Francisco Draco in California, a place-name in honor of Sir Francis Drake, is on the map near the present site of the modern city of San Francisco, though the city was not founded until 1776. It appears on most of the early maps.

Plymouth is located in New England before there is any Boston; also *James Cittie* in Virginia, and *Hudsons River*.

The English on the seaboard in 1625 knew nothing of the Great Lakes, and nothing of the Mississippi River.

4. William Barents, the Dutchman, in 1596 reached 80° 11' north latitude

in the general region of Nova Zembla, north of Europe.

5. In the present work see No. 52.

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CARTE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE

Augmentée depuis la dernière, servant à la navigation faicte en son vray Meridien, par le Sr. de Champlain Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine; lequel depuis l'an 1603 jusques en l'année 1629; a descouvert plusieurs costes, terres, lacs, rivières, et Nations de sauvages, par cy devant incognuës, comme il se voit en ses relations quil a faict. Imprimer en 1632. ou il se voit cette marque  ce sont habitations qu'ont faict les françois. Paris, 1632.

(20½ x 34 inches.)

(In *Sieur de Champlain*, "Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, & toutes les Descouvertes qu'il a faites en ce pais depuis l'an 1603 jusques en l'an 1629. Où se voit comme ce pays a esté premierement descouvert par les François, sous l'authorite de nos Roys tres-Chrestiens, jusques au regne de sa Majeste à present regnante Louis XIII. Roy de France et de Navarre." A Paris, MDCXXXII.

(New York Public Library.)

THIS fourth and last of the great maps of New France by Champlain dates from the end of his career. Together the four maps show the successive stages in the development of the author's geographical knowledge of America. That of 1607 includes the coast of what is now known as New England, that of 1612, making a wider sweep to the west, adds the delineation of the St. Lawrence River and of Lake Ontario, that of 1613 brings into view the scene of Hudson's discoveries in the north, and this of 1632 includes the whole of New France in the north.

In 1615, accompanying an exploring and military expedition of the Indians, north of the St. Lawrence, Champlain passed up the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing and thence by the French River and by "several little falls by land and water," over a line of portages faintly traced on the map, to Lake Attigouautan, the modern Lake Huron, called by its discoverer at the time *Mer douce* (*Fresh Water Lake*). Champlain found the country along the east side of the lake relatively unattractive, and food difficult to obtain; but for the blueberries and strawberries, the party would have been reduced to suffering. The lake itself abounded in fish. The route of this expedition from the St. Lawrence to Lake Huron was the later fur traders' route to Lake Superior and the far west till the days of steam navigation.

The party next struck inland to the southeast till they came to the northeastern shores of the present Lake Ontario, Champlain's *Lac St. Louis*, which, he says, "is the entrance to the great river St. Lawrence," in 43° north latitude; and thence, along the eastern shores of this lake, and up the Oneida River and Lake Oneida, they passed to the attack

on the Iroquois a few miles south of Lake Oneida.

Champlain was the first white man who is known to have reached lakes Huron, Ontario, and Oneida. For the "Lac contenant 15 journees des canaux des sauvages" and for "Lac des Irocois" on his earlier maps, he was evidently depending on the Indians.

The map of 1612 locates a *sault* at the western end of Lake Ontario, which can be nothing else than Niagara; and in the map of 1632 Champlain locates the falls again, describing the phenomenon as "a fall of water at the end of the Falls of St. Louis, very high, in descending which many kinds of fish are stunned." It would appear from the proper location of the falls on the map that in this statement the word *Falls* in the phrase, *Falls of St. Louis*, is a slip for *Lake*. Cartier, almost a century earlier, had heard rumors of the falls. The *Relation* of 1647-48 speaks of them as a "waterfall of a dreadful height." Probably the first pictorial representation of Niagara is given by Hennepin.¹

Grand lac, Lake Superior, which, together with Lake Huron, it took thirty days to cross in a canoe, is now on the map probably for the first time.

Champlain's map of 1632 makes Lake Michigan only a *Grande riviere qui vient du midy*.

To Champlain in 1632 Lake Erie is but a strait or connecting river leading from the upper lakes to Niagara Falls, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence. It is not known what European first saw the waters of this lake. Sanson, the map-maker, who in his map of Canada, 1656, represents Lake Erie much after the fashion of the maps of the present day, probably relied on a short description of the lake in the *Relation* of 1647-48.

The *Relation* of 1662-63 contains a descrip-

1. In the present work see No. 45.

tion of the natural features of the St. Lawrence River and of the surrounding country.

A Jesuit *Account of the Earthquake in New France, 1663*, contains the following description of Quebec: "As, however, the natural strength of that fortress is worthy to be known, and as it commends most highly the foresight of him who first selected a place and seat for the French Colony and founded the Citadel, I have concluded that a Topographical description of the city, apart from the body of the narrative, ought not to be omitted; and I trust that it will not be displeasing.

"Quebec, therefore, is the Key to North America, and as I have said, a very firm bulwark of New France, because it is first a rock, secondly a Height, Thirdly a promontory; and, lastly, because it is fortified by two rivers in a manner of a trench and a moat. The rock serves as a very solid base for the citadel and town founded upon it, and prevents them from being washed away by the waves or undermined by sappers. The Height offers a steep and arduous ascent, almost unscalable by enemies. The promontory, jutting out into the river Saint Lawrence, forms a secure haven for Our own ships, but a dangerous port for those of an enemy; for cannons, on the level space at the base of the cliff, and in the Citadel above, can protect or defend our ships and hinder the others from approaching or passing.

"For from the mouth of the river, that is, for a distance of three hundred and sixty miles, the

shores are not within cannon range of each other; here, for the first time, one bank defends the other. Finally, the river Saint Lawrence on the east and south, and the Saint Charles, the other river, flowing into the St. Lawrence on the north, form as it were a moat and a wall. From these points it is evident how great is the Natural strength of the Citadel, and the stability of the town.

"For the plainer and more ample understanding of what we shall relate here, it will not be out of place to mention that Quebec, so is the principal town of the French colony called in New France, was before our arrival on these shores, a wooded and uncultivated piece of land without a name, as is, at present, all that surrounding region peopled by barbarians, which, on account of its numerous hills, is called Montagne, the inhabitants being called Montagnais. To guard this town from the incursions of enemies, a Citadel has been erected on the steep and commanding crest of the Rocky height. It is very well fortified by both nature and artifice, and is the residence of the Governor and the garrison, being the strongest bulwark of that part of West or North America. So much concerning the situation and nature of the place."²

From year to year the *Relations* contain numerous references to the great hope of all mariners and explorers of the time, that somewhere a short way to China and the east might be found. The French were fired by the same ambition as were the English, the Dutch, and the Danes.

2. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XLVIII, 183.

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THE SOUTH PART OF NEW-ENGLAND

As it is Planted this yeare, 1634. By William Wood. London, 1635.

(7¼ x 12 inches.)

(In William Wood, "*New Englands Prospect*." London, 1635.)

A SMALL volume entitled *New Englands Prospect*, by William Wood, published in London in 1635, has this map as the frontispiece. The reprints bear the incorrect date, 1634. This is the earliest topographical description of Massachusetts.

Wood came to New England in 1629 and settled at Lynn, which he shows on his map under the name of *Sagus*. He sailed for England on the fifteenth of August, 1633, and it is not altogether certain that he returned to America. However, a certain William Wood crossed to Boston in the *Hopewell*, was a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts Bay in 1636, and the following year took part in the establishment of Sandwich. It is believed that this William Wood and the author were the same. In his preface, addressed "To the reader," the author says, "I have layd downe the nature of the Country, without any partiall respect unto it, as being my dwelling place where I have lived these foure years, and intend God willing to returne shortly againe."

The most interesting feature of the book is Chapter X, which gives a somewhat detailed description "Of the severall plantations in particular. Having described the situation of the countrey in generall, with all his commodities arising from Land and Sea, it may adde to your content and satisfaction to be informed of the situation of every severall plantation, with his conveniences, commodities, and discommodities, &c. where first I will begin with the outmost Plantation in the Patent to the Southward, which is called *Wichaguscusset*, an *Indian* name [Weymouth]: this as it is but a small Village, yet it is very pleasant; and healthfull, very good ground, and is well timbred, and hath good stoore of Hey ground; it hath a very spacious harbour for shipping before the towne; the salt water being navigable for Boates and Pinaces two leagues. Here the inhabitants have good store of fish of all sorts, and Swine, having Acornes and Clamms at the time of yeare; here is likewise an Alewife river. Three miles to the North of this is mount *Wolleston* ["Merry Mount" now Brain-tree], a very fertile soyle, and a place very convenient for Farmers houses, there being great store of plaine ground, without trees. Neer this place is *Massachusetts* fields where the greatest *Sagamore* in the countrey lived, before the Plague, who caused it to be cleared for himselfe. The greatest inconvenience is, that there is not very many Springs, as in other places of the countrey, yet water may be had for digging: A second incon-

venience is, that Boates cannot come in at a low water, nor shippes ride neere the shore. Sixe mile further to the North, lieth *Dorchester*; which is the greatest towne in *New England*; well wooded and watered; very good arable grounds, and Hay-ground, faire Corne-fields, and pleasant Gardens, with Kitchin-gardens: In this Plantation is a great many Cattle, as Kine, Goats, and Swine. This Plantation hath a reasonable Harbour for ships: Here is no Alewife-river, which is a great inconvenience. The inhabitants of this towne were the first that set upon the trade of fishing in the Bay, who received so much fruite of their labours, that they encouraged others to the same undertakings. A mile from this Towne lieth *Roxberry*, which is a faire and handsome Countrey-towne; the inhabitants of it being all very rich. This Towne lieth upon the Maine, so that it is well wooded and watered; having a cleare and fresh Brooke running through the Towne: Vp which although there come no Ale-wives, yet there is great store of Smelts, and therefore it is called Smelt-brooke.

"A quarter of a mile to the North-side of the Towne, is another River called *Stony-river*; upon which is built a water-mill. Here is good ground for Corne, and Meadow for Cattle: Vp Westward from the Towne it is something rocky, whence it hath the name of *Roxberry*; the inhabitants have faire houses, store of Cattle, impaled Corne-fields, and fruitfull Gardens. Here is no harbour for ships, because the Towne is seated in the bottome of a shallow Bay, which is made by the necke of land on which *Boston* is built; so that they can transport all their goods from the Ships in Boats from *Boston*, which is the nearest Harbour.

"*Boston* is two miles North-east from *Roxberry*: His situation is very pleasant, being a *Peninsula*, hem'd in on the South-side with the Bay of *Roxberry*, on the North-side with *Charles-river*, the Marshes on the backe-side, being not halfe a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their Cattle from the Woolves. Their greatest wants be wood, and Meadow-ground, which never were in that place; being constrained to fetch their building-timber, and fire-wood from the Ilands in Boates; and their Hay in Loyters: It being a necke and bare of wood: they are not troubled with three great annoyances, of Woolves, Rattle-snakes, and Musketoes. These that live here upon their cattle, must be constrained to take Farmes in the Countrey, or else they cannot subsist; the place being too small to containe many, and fittest for such as can Trade into *England*, for

such commodities as the Countrey wants, being the chiefe place for shipping and Merchandize.

"This *necke of land* is not above foure miles in compasse, in forme almost square, having on the South-side at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon is planted a Fort, which can command any ship as shee sayles into any Harbour within the hill Bay. On the North-side is another Hill equall in bignesse, whereon stands a Windemill. To the North-west is a high Mountaine with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called the *Tramount*. From the top of this Mountaine a man may over-looke all the Ilands which lie before the Bay, and discry such ships as are upon the Sea-coast. This Towne although it be neither the greatest, nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented, being the Center of the Plantations where the monethly Courts are kept. . . . Here likewise dwells the Governour: This place hath very good land, affording rich Corne-fields, and fruitfull Gardens: having likewise sweet and pleasant Springs. The inhabitants of this place, for their enlargement, have taken to themselves Farme-houses, in a place called *Muddy-river*, two miles from their Towne; where is good ground, large timber, and store of Marsh-land and Medow. In this place they keepe their Swine and other Cattle in the Summer, whilst the Corne is on the ground at *Boston*, and bring them to the Towne in Winter.

"On the North-side of *Charles River* is *Charles Towne*, which is another necke of Land, on whose North-side runs *Misticke-river*. This Towne for all things, may be well parallel'd with her neighbour *Boston*, being in the same fashion with her bare necke, and constrained to borrow conveniences from the maine, and to provide for themselves Farmes in the Countrey for their better subsistance. At this Towne there is kept a Ferry-boate, to convey passengers over *Charles River*, which betweene the two Townes is a quarter of a mile over, being a very deepe Channel. Here may ride forty ships at a time. Vp higher it is a broad Bay, being above two miles betweene the shores, into which runnes *Stony-river*, and *Muddy-river*. Towards the South-west in the middle of this Bay, is a great Oyster-banke: Towards the North-west of this Bay is a great Creeke, upon whose shore is situated the Village of Medford, a very fertile and pleasant place, and fit for more inhabitants than are yet in it. This Towne is a mile and a halfe from *Charles Towne*, and at the bottome of this Bay the River beginnes to be narrower, being but halfe a quarter of a mile broad. By the side of this River is built *New-towne* [Cambridge], which is three miles by land from *Charles Towne*, and a league and a halfe by water. This place was first intended for a City, but upon more serious considerations it was not thought so fit, being too farre from the Sea; being the greatest inconvenience it

hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted Towns in *New England*, having many faire structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of them are very rich, and well stored with Cattell of all sorts; having many hundred Acres of ground paled in with one generall fence, which is about a mile and a halfe long, which secures all their weaker Cattle from the wilde beasts. On the other side of the River lieth all their Medow and Marsh-ground for Hay.

"Halfe a mile Westward of this plantation, is *Water-towne*; a place nothing inferiour for land, wood, medow, and water, to *New-towne*. Within halfe a mile of this Towne is a great Pond, which is divided betweene those two Townes, which divides their bounds Northward. A mile and a halfe from this Towne, is a fall of fresh waters, which convey themselves into the Ocean through *Charles River*. A little below this fall of waters, the inhabitants of *Water-towne* have built a Wayre to catch Fish, wherein they take great store of *Shads* and *Alewives*. In two Tydes they have gotten one hundred thousand of those Fishes: This is no small benefit to the plantation: Ships of small burden may come up to these two Townes, but the Oyster-bankes doe barre out the bigger Ships.

"The next Towne is *Misticke*, which is three miles from *Charles Towne* by land, and a league and a halfe by water: It is seated by the waters side very pleasantly; there be not many houses as yet. At the head of this River are great and spacious Ponds, whither the *Alewives* presse to spawn. This being a noted place for that kinde of Fish, the *English* resort thither to take them. On the West side of this River the Governour hath a Farme, where he keepe most of his cattle. On the East side is Master *Craddockes* Plantation, where he hath impaled a Parke, where he keepe his cattle, till hee can store it with Deere: Here likewise he is at charges of building ships. The last yeare one was upon the Stockes of a hundred Tunne, that being finished, they are to build one twice her burden. Ships without either Ballast or loading, may floate downe this River; otherwise the Oyster-banke would hinder them which crosseth the Channell.

"The last Towne in the still Bay is *Winnisimmet* [Chelsea]; a very sweete place for situation, and stands very commodiously, being fit to entertaine more Planters than are yet seated: it is within a mile of *Charles Towne*, the River onely parting them. The chiefe Ilands which keepe out the winde and the sea from disturbing the Harbours, are first *Deare Island*, which lies within a flight-shot of *Pullin-point*. This Island is so called, because of the Deare which often swimme thither from the Maine, when they are chased by the Woolves. Some have killed sixteene Deere in a day upon this Island. The opposite shore is called *Pullin-point*, because that is the usuall *Channell*.

Boats use to passe thorow into the Bay; and the Tyde being very strong, they are constrained to goe a shore, and hale their Boates by the seasing, or roades, whereupon it was called Pullin-point.

"The next Iland of note is *Long Island*, so called from his longitude. Divers other Ilands be within these: *viz.* *Nodles Ile*, *Round Ile*, the Governours Garden, where is planted an Orchard and a Vine-yard, with many other conveniences; and *Slate-Iland*, *Glasse-Iland*, *Bird-Iland*, &c. These Iles abound with Woods, and Water, and Meadow-ground; and whatsoever the spacious fertile Maine affords. The inhabitants use to put their cattle in these for safety, *viz.* their Rammes, Goates, and Swine, when their Corne is on the ground. Those Townes that lie without the Bay, are a great deale nearer the Maine, and reape a greater benefit from the Sea, in regard of the plenty both of Fish and Fowle, which they receive from thence; so that they live more comfortably, and at lesse charges, than those that are more remote from the Sea in the Inland-plantations.

"The next plantation is *Saugus* [Lynn], sixe miles North-east from *Winnesimet*: This Towne is pleasant for situation, seated at the bottome of a Bay, which is made on the one sid with the surrounding shore, and on the other side with a long sandy Beach; which is two miles long at the end, whereon is a necke of land called *Nahant*: It is sixe miles in circumference; well wooded with Oakes, Pines, and Cedars: It is beside well watered, having beside, the fresh Springs, a great Pond in the middle; before which is a spacious Marsh. In this necke is store of good ground, fit for the Plow; but for the present it is onely used for to put young cattle in, and weather-goates, and Swine, to secure them from the Woolves: a few posts and rayles from the lower water-markes to the shore, keepes out the Wolves, and keepes in the cattle. One *Blacke William*, an *Indian Duke*, out of his generosity gave this place in generall to this Plantation of *Saugus*, so that no other can appropriate it to himselfe. . . . The very aspect of the place is fortification enough to keepe off an unknowne enemy, yet may it be fortified at a little charge, being but few landing places there about, and those obscure. Foure miles Northeast from *Saugus* lyeth *Salem*, which stands on the middle of a necke of land very pleasantly, having a South river on the one side, and a North river on the other side: upon this necke where the most of the houses stand is very bad and sandie ground, yet for seaven yeares together it hath brought forth exceeding good corne, by being fished but every third yeare; in some places is very good ground, and good timber, and divers springs hard by the seaside. Here likewise is store of fish, as Basses, Eeles, Lobsters, Clanimes, &c. Although their land be none of the best, yet beyond these rivers is a very good soyle,

where they have taken Farmes, and get their Hay, and plant their corne; there they crosse these rivers with small Cannowes, which are made of whole pine trees, being about two foote and a halfe over, and twenty foote long: in these likewise they goe a fowling, sometimes two leagues to sea; there be more Cannowes in this towne than in all the whole Patent; every houshold having a water-horse or two. This Towne wants an Alewife river, which is a great inconvenience; it hath two good harbours, the one being called Winter, and the other Summer harbours, which lieth within *Derbies Fort*, which place if it were well fortified, might keepe shippes from landing of forces in any of those two places. *Marvill Head* [Marblehead] is a place which lieth foure miles full South from *Salem*, and is a very convenient place for plantation, especially for such as will set upon the trade of fishing. There was made here a ships loading of fish the last yeare, where still stands the stages, & drying scaffolds; here be good harbour for boats, and safe riding for ships. *Agowamme* [Ipswich] is nine miles to the North from *Salem*, which is one of the most spacious places for a plantation, being neare the sea; it aboundeth with fish, and flesh of fowles and beasts, great Meads and Marshes and plaine plowing grounds, many good rivers and harbours and no rattle snakes. In a word, it is the best place but one, in my judgement, which is *Merrimacke*, lying eight miles beyond it, where is a river twenty leagues navigable, all along the river side is fresh Marshes, in some places three miles broad. In this river is Sturgeon, Salmon, and Basse, and divers other kinds of fish. To conclude, the Country scarce affordeth that which this place cannot yeeld. So that these two places may containe twice as many people as are yet in new *England*: there being as yet scarce any inhabitants in these two spacious places. Three miles beyond the river of *Merrimacke* is the outside of our Patent for the *Massachusetts Bay*. These be all the Townes that were begun, when I came for *England*, which was the 15. of August 1633."¹

These early towns were established quite informally at the convenience of the settlers, but later towns derived their land titles and authority from the General Court of the colony. A typical case is that of Woburn in 1641, as described in *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence*:² "But to begin, this Town, as all others, had its bounds fixed by the General Court, to the contene[n]se [contents] of four miles square (beginning at the end of Charles Town bounds). The grant is to seven men of good and honest report,³ upon condition, that within two year they erect houses for habitation thereon, and so go on to make a Town thereof, upon the Act of Court; these seven men have power to give and grant out lands unto any persons who are willing to take up their dwellings within the said pre-

1. *New Englands Prospect*, pp. 31-38.

2. P. 213.

3. Johnson himself was one of them.

cinct, and to be admitted to al common priviledges of the said Town, giving them such an ample portion, both of Medow and Upland, as their present and future stock of cattel and hands were like to improve, with eye had to others that might after come to populate the said Town; this they did without any respect of persons, yet such as were exorbitant, and of a turbulent spirit, unfit for a civil society, they would reject, till they come to mend their manners; such came not to enjoy any freehold. These seven men ordered and disposed of the streets of the Town, as might be best for improvement of the Land, and yet civil and religious society maintained; to which end those that had land neerest the place for Sabbath Assembly, had a lesser quantity at home and more farther off to improve for corn, of all kinds; they refused not

men for their poverty, but according to their ability were helpful to the poorest sort, in building their houses, and distributed to them land accordingly; the poorest had six or seven acres of Medow, and twenty-five of Upland, or thereabouts. Thus was this Town populated, to the number of sixty families, or thereabout, and after this manner are the Towns of New England peopled."

The map would seem to indicate that Wood had little knowledge of the country about Narragansett Bay. It is difficult to explain what he meant by "old Plymouth," near the mouth of the Narragansett River. No permanent settlement was made there until after King Philip's War, when Bristol, R. I., was founded in 1680. Plymouth was called "New Plymouth" in the patent which was secured from the Council for New England in 1629.

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MANATVS

Gelegen op de Noot Riuier



Abteyding der vermaeynde Plantaten op de

MANATVS	
1. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	20. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
2. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	21. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
3. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	22. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
4. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	23. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
5. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	24. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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8. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	27. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
9. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	28. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
10. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	29. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
11. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	30. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
12. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	31. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
13. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	32. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
14. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	33. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
15. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	34. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
16. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	35. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
17. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	36. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
18. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	37. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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25. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	44. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
26. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	45. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
27. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	46. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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31. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	50. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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33. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	52. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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35. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	54. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
36. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	55. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
37. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	56. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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51. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	70. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
52. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	71. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
53. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	72. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
54. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	73. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
55. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	74. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
56. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	75. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
57. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	76. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
58. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	77. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
59. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	78. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
60. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	79. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
61. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	80. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
62. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	81. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
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66. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	85. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
67. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	86. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
68. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	87. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
69. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	88. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
70. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	89. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
71. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	90. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
72. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	91. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
73. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	92. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
74. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	93. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
75. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	94. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
76. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	95. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
77. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	96. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
78. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	97. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
79. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	98. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
80. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	99. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte
81. Camp Beuwigme der verffte	100. Bouw van Tullin in de verffte

MANATUS GELEGEN OP DE NOOT RIVIER

Anonymous. 1639.

(18¼ x 26⅝ inches.)

THIS is a reproduction of the beautifully colored map of "Manhattan Lying on the North River," which formerly belonged to Henry Harrisse, and was bequeathed by him to the Library of Congress. He had exhibited it at Paris at the Columbian Exhibition of Maps and Globes in 1892, but no reproduction had been allowed until it came into the possession of the Library of Congress in 1916.¹ Another copy of the original map was discovered in 1910 in the Villa Castello, near Florence, Italy.

There is nothing on the map to indicate the name of the author. Harrisse, in a letter preserved with the atlas containing the map, expressed the opinion that the author was Joan Vingboon, an Amsterdam cartographer, who made maps for the Dutch West India Company in the early part of the seventeenth century. This opinion was adopted by Edward Van Winkle of the Holland Society of New York in his reproduction of the map in 1916.² The only evidence for this opinion seems to be that Vingboon's name appears on one of the maps in the atlas containing this map, but I. N. P. Stokes³ regards this evidence as insufficient.

The date of the original map is given in the following inscription after Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in the inset: *Five bouweries of the company, three of which are now (anno 1639) again occupied.* Whether this copy was issued in 1639 or at a later date is uncertain. Stokes believes it was made about 1660.

The name *Manatus*, and the modern Manhattan, originated with the French, who called the natives *manants*, which in the middle ages indicated a backward, unintelligent people.⁴

The most valuable feature of the map is the location with their boundaries of the original Dutch *Bouweries*, or farms, with the names of the owners in the inset. As the Dutch land titles were recognized as valid by the English in 1664, this *Manatus* map of 1639, as Harrisse says, is the foundation of many land titles of today. Few great cities have such a valuable record of their early days.

The following translation of the list of names in the inset on the map by Dingman Versteeg is taken from Van Winkle's *Manhattan*:

1. Company's Farm with an imposing House.
2. Five abandoned
3. farms of the Company which are
4. vacant, whereof from now on, 1639,
5. three are again
6. to be occupied.
7. Plantation of Tomes Sanders (the blacksmith).⁵
8. Plantation of Old Jan (John Seals).
9. Plantation of Jan Pietersz.
10. Plantation of Twiller.
11. Plantation of Boere Baecker.
12. Plantation of Mr. Lesle de Neve Sinx.
13. Plantation of Tomas Bets (Bescher).
14. Plantation of Jan Van Rotterdam.
15. Plantation of Hendrick Pietersz.
16. Brewery of Boere Backer.
17. Plantation of Jacob Collaer (Jacob Van Corlaer).
18. Farm of Cornelis Van Thienhoven.
19. Farm of Loen Ontagele.
20. Farm of Twiller in the Hell Gate.
21. Farm of Senikant (Predekant).
22. Farm of Anthony the Turck (Anthony Jansen Van Salee).
23. Farm of Jan Claesen.
24. Plantation of Davit the Provoost.
25. Plantation of Hendric the Tailor.
26. Plantation of Tymen Jansz.
27. Farm of Van Vorst (Cornelis, at Ahasimus).
28. v (Farm of Hendrick Cornelissen Van Vorst at Hoboken).
29. Farm of Jan Everts (Bout at Communipaw).
30. Plantation on the Laeter Hoeck (Jan de Lacher's).
31. Three Plantations at Poueles Hoeck.
32. Plantation of Maeryenes (Maryn Adriaensen, Weehawken).
33. Plantation of Davidt Pieters (De Vries).
34. Nooten (Governor's) Island with a plantation of Twiller.
35. Two beginnings and 3 Plantations of Pannebackery (Pannebacker's).
36. Two plantations and two farms of Wolfert Geritsz and two of his partner (Van Couwenhoven and Andries Hudde).
37. Plantation of Gegoergesyn.
38. Three plantations of Gegoergesyn.
39. Plantation of Claes Norman.
40. Farm of Dieryck the Norman.
41. Farm of Cosyn (Cosyn Gerritsen Van Putten).
42. Commenced farm of Poelen Pietersz in its entirety as the same has been laid out from the river to the Sandhill.

1. For the first description of the map, see Gabriel Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes & de Globes Relatifs à la Découverte de l'Amérique*. Paris, 1893.

2. Edward Van Winkle, *Manhattan*, 1624-1639.

3. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, II, 173-208.

4. Weise, *Discoveries of America*, p. 345.

5. All items in parenthesis are explanatory statements inserted by the translator.

43. Commenced farm of Jonas Bronck.
44. Plantation of Pieter Schorstinveger (Chimney sweeper).
45. Plantation of the Tailor.
- A. Fort Amsterdam.
- B. Grain Mill.
- C. Saw Mill.
- D. Saw Mill.
- F. Quarters of the Blacks, the Company's Slaves.

The commander's house, *No. 1*, located between 15th and 16th streets, was occupied by Minuit, Krol, Van Twiller, Stuyvesant, and possibly by Kieft. Besides the "imposing house," the buildings consisted of a barn, boat-house, and brewery. There were one hundred and twenty acres in the farm. The tobacco plantation of Van Twiller, *No. 10*, was on the site of Greenwich Village. *No. 20* is Ward's Island, which with Blackwell's Island to the left, opposite *F*, the *Quarters of the Blacks, the Company's Slaves*, was granted to Van Twiller in 1637. Versteeg has pointed out that *Senikant*, *No. 21*, is an error for *Predikant*, or preacher. The name commemorates the marriage of Domine Bogardus and Annecke Jans, the owner of the farm. It was part of the grant made by Queen Anne to Trinity Church in

1705. Nooten Island, *No. 34*, the plantation of Wouter Van Twiller in 1634, has been known as Governor's Island since the occupation by the English in 1664. The Brewery of Boere Backer at *No. 16* is on the present site of Flatlands in Brooklyn. From Jonas Bronck, who owned the farm at *No. 43*, come the name of Bronx River and the Borough of Bronx.

Coney Island appears on the map as *Conyne Eyland*, a corruption of the Dutch, Konije Eyland, or Rabbit Island in English, and Sandy Point as *Hoogen Hoeck (Sant Punt)*. *Helle Gaet* and *Noort Rivier* are easily recognized. *Achter't Col* is the present Newark Bay.

Fort Amsterdam, on the site of the present custom house, was erected between 1628 and 1635 and demolished in 1787. It contained the governor's house, the church, government offices and barracks for soldiers. Two mills are indicated on Manhattan Island, and one on Nooten Island. Stokes says that the lower road indicated between *Nos. 4* and *41* was without doubt Bowery Lane. It is interesting to notice that the houses and farms were well scattered. The early Dutch settlers were not concentrated on the island, but some lived on the surrounding shores. No village is on the map.

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EDWARD VAN WINKLE, *Manhattan 1624-1639*. New York, 1916.



BELGI NOVI
ANGLIÆ NOVÆ ET PARTIS
VIRGINIÆ
Novissima Delineatio.

Map Division
Library of Congress

Albany Germanica communis

BELGII NOVI, ANGLIÆ NOVÆ,
ET PARTIS
VIRGINIÆ NOVISSIMA DELINEATIO

Anonymous. 1650(?) (17 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

(In J. Jansson, "Atlanta Majoris Quinta Pars, Orbem Maritimum seu Omnium. Totius Orbis Terrarum . . ." Amstelodami, apud Joannem Janssonium, 1657.)

(Library of Congress.)

THIS beautiful map of *New Netherland, New England, and Part of Virginia* is a reproduction of map number 59 in the fifth volume of Jan Janssen's *Great Atlas* published at Amsterdam in 1657. The original edition of this volume appeared in 1650. Jan Janssen was the brother-in-law of Hendrick Hondius and the son-in-law of Judocus Hondius, who, in 1604, purchased the Mercator plates and in 1606 issued the first edition of the Hondius-Mercator Atlas.¹ This map is one of a series of maps which was printed from the same copper plate or from plates made by the same engraver. They all have the same general characteristics with the same or similar decorations. Differences in details, such as the position of the animals and the distribution of the letters of certain names, indicate the existence of more than one plate, while the close similarity of the lettering of the maps shows that the plates were made by the same skilful engraver.

The use of the term *Nova Belgica* for New Netherland on this series of maps has been attributed to the fact that the Dutch West India Company was composed in large part of Protestant Belgians.²

The dates of the maps may be determined with some accuracy by the presence or absence of certain names and errors. For example, the absence on the present map of the important name Fort Casimir, which was founded by the Dutch in 1651 on the west side of the Delaware River below *t'Fort Christina*, is fair proof that the plate must have been made prior to that date. Again, the error in the name of the Charles River, which is written on this map *R. Charlesr* and corrected on other maps of the series, as the Danckers map, which Asher thought to be the first of the series,³ proves that this map is the older of the two. Likewise, the representation of a group of Indians between the two stockades on the rare N. J. Visscher map, reproduced by Stokes in his *Iconography of Manhattan Island*,⁴ and its absence on this map, is

sufficient reason for giving a later date to the Visscher map. The author of the map was a compiler who made use of all "the material available, from the first exploration of New Netherland up to the time when the map was drawn."⁵ The curious shape of the shoals off Cape Cod was taken from the early map made by Minuit, which, in turn, was based on Block's map. The main features of the Hudson and Connecticut valleys are taken from the map made by De Laet in 1630; the New England coast shows familiarity with John Smith's map;⁶ the course of the St. Lawrence River and the incorrect location and shape of Lake Champlain are copied from Champlain's map.⁷

The place names on the map are full of interest. In New England numerous names are copied from John Smith's map, as *Edenborow*, *Cambridge*, *M. Schuttershill*, *Snowden hill*, *Smits Eylant*, *London*, *Neu Pleymont*, *R. Charlesr*, and others.⁸ *Nieuw Hollant* (Cape Cod) is said to have been so named by Hudson.

In the valley of the Connecticut, which the Dutch called the *Versche* (or *Fresh*) *Rivier*, to distinguish it from the *Noort* (or *Hudson*) *Rivier*, which was salt, the names of the English settlements appear in a Dutch dress as *Voynser* (*Windsor*), *Weeters Velt* (*Weathersfield*), and *Herfort* (*Hartford*). Just south of *Herfort* is *t'Fort de Goode hoop*, built by the Dutch in 1623, the same year that they erected *t'Fort Orangie* on the upper Hudson, *t'Fort Nassou* on the *Zuydt* (or *Delaware*) *Rivier*, and Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.

Farther up the river, *Mr. Pinsers* marks the site of Springfield and commemorates its founder, William Pynchon, a native of Springfield in County Essex, England, and, still farther to the north, *Mr. Pinsers handel huys* (*Mr. Pynchon's trading post*) suggests the origin of the modern Westfield founded in 1641. *Gilfort*, *Milfort*, *Nieuhaven*, and *Stamfort* are easily recognized.

Although the Dutch West India Company had

1. In the present work see No. 16.

2. Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 446.

3. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, I, 143.

4. Vol I, plate 7b.

5. Stokes, II, 118.

6. In the present work see No. 34.

7. *Ibid.* No. 36.

8. *Ibid.* No. 34.

no definite territorial grant, the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, originally claimed all the territory between Cape Henlopen and Cape Cod, but in 1650, at Hartford, he was persuaded to so far modify his claim as to recognize the English title to the present state of Connecticut and to the eastern half of Long Island. The English settlers in the island derived their title from William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling, the Secretary of State for Scotland, who obtained a grant of Long Island in 1635. *Garners Eylandt* was bought by Lyon Gardiner in 1639. On *t'Lange Eylandt* may be seen *Rechtkawack* (Rockaway), *Gravesant* (Gravesend), *Greenwyck* (Greenwich), *Naiack* (Nyack) and *Breukelen* (Brooklyn).

North from *Nieuw Amsterdam* are *Sinsing* (Sing Sing), *Wappinges* (the Indian tribe from which is derived the name *Wappingers Falls*); and on the west side, *Tappaans* (from an Indian tribe, *Tappans*), the *Esopus*, *Kats Kill*, the *Kats Kill Mountains*, *Klaver Rac* (Claverac), *Kinder hoeck* (Kinderhook), *Renselaerswyck* with its settlements on both sides of the river, and *t'Fort Orangie* built on the present site of Albany in 1623. The Highlands of the Hudson are indicated on the map but not named.⁹

Delaware Bay is *Nieuw port May*. At its entrance are *Caep May* on the north and *G. Cornelius* on the south, names given in honor of Cornelius May, who was in those waters in 1614 while his compatriot, Adrian Block, was sailing through *Oost Rivier* into Long Island Sound, and John Smith was exploring the coast of New England. On the *Zuydt* (South) *Rivier* are the Swedish

forts: *Christina*, named in honor of the Swedish Queen, the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, which was founded in 1638, *Elsenburgh* and *Nieu Gottenburg*, also the Dutch fort *Nassou* founded in 1623, the same year in which were erected *t' Fort Orangie* on the upper Hudson, and *t' Fort de Goode hoop* in the land of the *Conittekock*. To the west of *Nieuw port May* is *Swanendael*, the Dutch settlement established by De Vries in 1631 and totally destroyed the following year by the Indians.

The Hudson River is called the *Groote Rivier al.* [ias] *Manhattans R.*, *Noort Rivier*, *Montaigne Ri.*, *Maurits Revier*. The last name was in honor of Prince Maurice, the young stadtholder of the Netherlands. *Godyns Bay*, north of *Sant Punt of Godyns Punt*, was named after Samuel Godyn, a director of the West India Company.

In the north, in the valley of the *Maquaas Kill* (*Mohawk River*), in the country of the *Mackwaas* (the *Mohawks*), are located *Canagero*, *Schanatissa* and other settlements of the Mohawks.

Many of the picturesque drawings of animals, canoes made from the bark of trees, the larger boats fashioned out of the trunks of trees by fire, and the stockaded Indian villages were copied from the map of New Netherland in Blaeu's Atlas of 1635.

"This map," says Stokes, "gives the best and most complete representation that we have of New Netherland during the Dutch period."¹⁰

A copy of a portion of this map appeared in the second edition of Adriaen van der Donck's *Description of New Netherland*, 1656.¹¹

9. William M. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York*.

10. I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, II, 118.

11. J. F. Jameson, Ed., *Narratives of New Netherland*, pp. vii and 294.

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VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

As it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670 Surveyed and Exactly Drawne by the Only Labour & Endeavor of Augustin Herrman Bohemiensis. W. Faithorne Sculpt. London, 1673.

(31½ x 37½ inches.)

(Library of Congress.)

THIS, the first satisfactory map of Maryland, was made from the personal surveys of Augustin Herrman, who spent ten years upon the task. Herrman was one of the most interesting characters of his generation. A native of Prague in Bohemia, he became a surveyor by profession and was skilled in etching. The picture of New Amsterdam on the Van der Donck map is attributed to him. He entered the service of the Dutch West India Company, became a prosperous merchant in New Amsterdam, and as one of the "nine men" in 1647, opposed the arbitrary rule of Peter Stuyvesant. While acting as the representative of the Dutch West India Company in a boundary dispute with Maryland, he wrote to Lord Baltimore offering to make a map of his province in return for a grant of land. Baltimore accepted his offer, and this map was the result. Baltimore was well pleased with the map, declaring it to be "the best mapp, that was Ever Drawn of any Country whatsoever." Washington's opinion was more conservative but favorable, "admirably planned and equally well executed." The map was engraved by William Faithorne, an eminent engraver of London, whose work, however, was far from satisfactory to Herrman, who said that his "map was slobbered over by the engraver Faithorne, defiling the prints with many errors." As compensation for his labor in making the map, Herrman was given a grant of land of some twenty thousand acres in Cecil and New Castle counties, with manorial privileges and the title of "lord." He erected a large manor house on the largest of his grants, where, during his last years, he lived in considerable magnificence. In 1684, he deeded 3,750 acres to the Labodists, an organization of Christian Socialists, which land is still known as the "Labodie tract." Among his descendants were the wife of John Randolph and the wife of Benedict Arnold.

Herrman made no essential change in the topography of Virginia as Smith laid it down more than a half century earlier. Delaware Bay and Delaware River, which Smith did not draw, were added. English names were substituted for many of the old Indian ones. The Powhatan River became the *James*, the Pamunk the *York*, and the Tappahanock the *Rappahanock*. The district north of the Potomac was set off as Maryland and that east of the Delaware Bay as *New Jarsy*. The pen-

insula of the east shore of the Chesapeake had not yet been divided between Maryland and Delaware; but in the inscription on his map, on the lower part of this peninsula, Herrman says: *These limits between Virginia and Maryland are thus bounded by both sides Deputies the 27 May A° 1558 [1658?] marked by dubble Trees from this Pokomoake East to the Seaside to a Creeke called Swansecut Cr.*

The most important change in the interval between the two maps was the spread of the plantations along the banks of the streams and not over the countryside. This mode of settlement was due to the large number of navigable rivers available for the transportation of the crops produced on the plantations. Road making was seldom undertaken in the southern colonies prior to the Revolution.

The most interesting inscription on the map is the one at the top to the right which reads as follows:

These mighty High and great Mountaines trenching N: E. and S: W. and W S W is supposed to be the very middle Ridg of Northern America and the only Naturall Cause of the fierces and extreame Stormy Cold Winds that comes N: W from thence all over this Continent and makes frost. And as Indians reports from the other side Westwards doe the Rivers take their Originall issuing out into the West Sea especially first discovered a very great River called the Black Mincquaas River out of which above the Sassquahana forte meetes a branch. Some leagues distance opposit to one another out of the Sassquahana River where formerly those Black Mincquas came over and as far as Delaware to trade but the Sassquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation and whether that same River comes out into the Bay of Mexico or the West Sea is not known. Certain it is that as the Spaniard is possessed with great Store of Mineralls at the other side of these Mountaines the same Treasure they may in proces of time afford also to us here on this Side when Occupied which is Rec-omended to Posterity to Remember.

Toward the upper left hand corner of the map is the following description of the dangers of that region:

The land between James River and Roanoke River is for the most parts Low Suncken Swampy Land not well passable but with great difficulty

And therein harbours Tygers Bears and other Devouringe Creatures.

The map includes within the bounds of Maryland not only the present state but all of Delaware and a part of Pennsylvania. Herrman laid down the boundaries of Baltimore's grant in accordance with his interpretation of the terms of the royal charter of 1632, viz.: "all that Part of the Peninsula, or Chersonese, lying in the Parts of America, between the Ocean on the East and the Bay of Chesapeake on the West, divided from the Residue thereof by a Right Line drawn from the Promontory, or Head-Land, called Watkin's Point, situate upon the Bay aforesaid, near the river Wigloo, on the West, unto the main Ocean on the East; and between that Boundary on the South, unto that Part of the Bay of Delaware on the North, which lieth under the Fortieth Degree of North Latitude from the Equinoctial, where New England is terminated; And all that Tract of Land within the Metes underwritten (that is to say) passing from the said Bay, called Delaware Bay, in a right Line, by the Degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first Fountain of the River of Pattowmack, thence verging toward the South, unto the further Bank of the said River, and following the same on the West and South, unto a certain Place, called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said River, where it disembogues into the aforesaid Bay of Chesapeake, and thence by the shortest Line unto the aforesaid Promontory or Place, called Watkin's Point; so that the whole tract of land, divided by the Line aforesaid, between the main Ocean and Watkin's Point, unto the Promontory called Cape Charles, and every

the Appendages thereof, may entirely remain excepted for ever to Us, our Heirs and Successors."¹

The dotted line marking the southern boundary crosses the Chesapeake below Watkins Point and the dotted line at the right of the map marks the northern boundary along the fortieth parallel from the Delaware River to the meridian passing through the source of the Potomac. Baltimore refused to recognize the claims of the Dutch West India Company to the lands on the west side of the "South," or Delaware, River, which had been settled by the Swedes in 1638 and conquered by the Dutch under Stuyvesant in 1655. It was to settle this dispute that Herrman visited St. Mary's in 1659, as the agent of Stuyvesant.

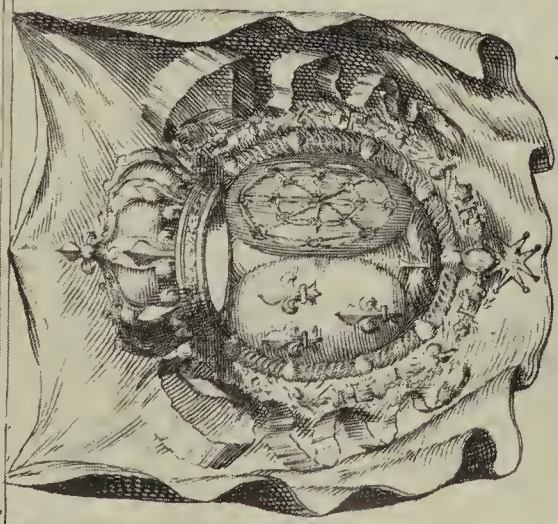
A more serious controversy over the northern boundary of Maryland arose when Penn received his grant from Charles II, the southern boundary of which was "the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude." The phrase, "that Part of the Bay of Delaware on the North, which lieth under the Fortieth Degree of North Latitude," was no doubt intended to mean that Baltimore's grant should extend to the fortieth parallel as represented on Herrman's map, but the ambiguity arising from the use of the word "degree" for parallel gave Penn the chance to assert his claim to the territory as far south as the thirty-ninth parallel, for he stoutly maintained that "the beginning of the fortieth degree," the southern boundary of his grant, could mean nothing else. The dispute was kept up by the heirs of Penn and of Baltimore, and was not finally settled until 1767, when the celebrated Mason and Dixon Line was finally established.

1. Thorpe, *American Charters*, III, 1678.

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Gens des Terres

Gens des Terres

OV

SVPERIEVR

TRACY

LAC

LAC DES HVONS

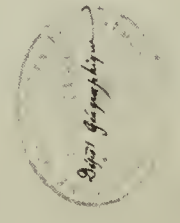
LAC DES ILINOIS

DES JANS

ILINOIS

LAC SVPERIEVR
ET AVTRES LIEUX OU SONT
LES MISSIONS DES PERES DE
LA COMPAGNIE DE JESVS
COMPRISES SOVS LE NOM
D'ONTARIO

Echelle de 50 Lieues



LAC SUPERIEUR

Et autres lieux ou sont les Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus comprises sous le nom D'outaouacs. Anonymous. Paris, 1672.

(6¾ x 9¼ inches.)

(In Reuben Gold Thwaites, Ed., "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents." Cleveland, 1896-1901; LV, 94.)

MADE by the Jesuits, this map of Lake Superior, the Upper Lake, first appeared in the *Relation des Missions aux Outaouacs, des années 1670 & 1671*, written by Father Claude Dablon, the Superior of the Jesuit Missions in New France. The text of the relation may be found in Thwaites' work, Vols. LIV and LV.

The name *Outaouacs*, used in the title of the map, was applied to "all the savages of those regions although of different nations, because the first to appear among the French were the Outaouacs."

Father Dablon's *Relation* is an interesting commentary on the map.

"By glancing, as one can, at the Map of the lakes, and of the territories on which are settled most of the tribes of these regions, one will gain more light upon all these Missions than by long descriptions that might be given of them.

"The reader may first turn his eyes to the *Mission de Ste. Marie du Sault*, three leagues below the mouth of Lake superior. He will find it situated on the banks of the river by which this great Lake discharges its waters, at the place called the Sault, very advantageous in which to perform Apostolic functions, since it is the great resort of most of the Savages of these regions, and lies in the almost universal route of all who go down to the French settlements. It was also on this spot that all these lands were taken possession of in his Majesty's name, in the presence and with the approval of fourteen Nations who had come hither for that purpose.

"Toward the other end of the same lake is found the *Mission du St. Esprit* covering both the district known as Chagaouainigong point, and the neighboring Islands. Thither the Outaouacs, with the Hurons of Tionnontaté, repair in the seasons suitable for fishing and for raising Indian corn.

"It will be easy to recognize the rivers and routes leading to various Nations, either stationary or nomadic, located in the vicinity of this same lake, who are somewhat dependent on this Mission of saint Esprit in the matter of trade, which draws them to our Savages' abode.

"For it is a Southward course that is taken by the great river called by the natives Missisipi,

which must empty somewhere in the region of the Florida sea, more than four hundred leagues hence. Fuller mention will be made of it hereafter. Beyond that great river lie the eight Villages of the Illinois, a hundred leagues from saint Esprit point; while forty or fifty leagues Westward from the latter place is found the Nation of the Nadouessi, very populous and warlike, and regarded as the Iroquois of these regions, waging war, almost unaided, with all the other tribes hereabout. Still farther away is situated another Nation, of an unknown tongue, beyond which, it is said, lies the Western sea. Again proceeding toward the West-Northwest, we find the people called Assinipoualac, constituting one large village,—or, as others say, thirty small villages in a group,—not far from the North sea, two weeks' journey from the above-named Mission of saint Esprit.

"Finally, the *Kilistinons* are dispersed through the whole Region to the North of this Lake Superior,—possessing neither corn, nor fields, nor any fixed abode; but forever wandering through those vast Forests, and seeking a livelihood there by hunting. There are also other Nations in those districts, for that reason called 'the peoples of the Interior,' or of the North Sea.

"The reader will also be enabled—on his journey, so to speak—to note all the places on this Lake where copper is said to be found. For, although at present we have no very definite knowledge on the subject, because no thorough surveys have been made, yet the slabs and huge lumps of this metal which we have seen, each weighing a hundred or two hundred livres, and much more; that great rock of copper, seven or eight hundred livres in weight, seen near the head of the Lake by all who pass; and, furthermore, the numerous pieces found at the water's edge in various places,—all seem to force upon us the conviction that somewhere there are parent mines which have not yet been discovered."

The stories of the finding of copper upon the shores and in the waters of Lake Superior greatly increased the interest of the French in the Northwest. Besides these discoveries recorded by Father Dablon, Allouez reported that he often found "at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper of ten and twenty pounds' weight," and related that

the Indians said "that the little nuggets of copper which they find at the bottom of the water in the lake, or in the rivers emptying into it, are the riches of the gods who dwell in the depths of the earth."²

"After surveying this entire Lake Superior, together with the Nations surrounding it," continues Father Dablon's *Relation*, "let us go down to the *Lac des Hurons*, almost in the middle of which we shall see the *Mission de St. Simon*, established on the Islands which were formerly the true country of some Nations of the Outaouacs, and which they were forced to leave when the Hurons were ravaged by the Iroquois. But since the King's Arms have compelled the latter to live at peace with our Algonquins, part of the Outaouacs have returned to their country; and we at the same time have planted this Mission, with which are connected the peoples of Mississagué, the Amicouës, and other circumjacent tribes,—to whom we have proclaimed the Faith, baptizing many of their children and adults.

"Toward the south, on the other side of the Lake, are the territories formerly occupied by various Nations of the Hurons and Outaouacs, who had stationed themselves at some distance from one another, as far as the famous Island of *Missilimakinac*. In the neighborhood of this island, as being the spot most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish, various Peoples used to make their abode, who now fully intend to return thither if they see that peace is firmly established. It is for this reason that we have already begun there to found the *Mission de St. Ignace*; this was done during the past winter, which we spent there. . . .

"Finally, between this *Lac des Illinois* and Lake Superior is seen a long bay called the *Baye Des Puans*, at the head of which is the *Mission de Fr. Xavier*; while at its entrance are encountered the Islands called Huron, because the Hurons took refuge there for some time, after their own country was laid waste. In one of them especially is found a kind of Emerald or diamond, some white and others green. Still farther Northward may be seen a stream of no great size, to which is given the name of copper river, from a lump of metal that we saw there, weighing more than two hundred livres."³

The *Relation* of Father Dablon gives also interesting descriptions of the principal missions.

Missilimakinac, where Marquette founded *La Mission de St. Ignace*, in 1670, "is an Island of note in these regions. It is a league in diameter, and has such high, steep rocks in some places that it can be seen at a distance of more than twelve leagues.

"It is situated exactly in the strait connecting the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois, and forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all

the peoples of the South, as does the Sault for those of the North; for in these regions there are only those two passages by water for very many Nations, who must seek one or the other of the two if they wish to visit the French settlements.

"This circumstance makes it very easy both to instruct these poor people when they pass, and to gain ready access to their countries.

"This spot is the most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish, since, in Savage parlance, this is its native country. No other place, however it may abound in fish, is properly its abode, which is only in the neighborhood of *Missilimakinac*."⁴

From this Mission of St. Ignace, Marquette set out with Joliet, in 1673, on their memorable voyage of discovery down the Mississippi River and here three years later his body was brought for its final burial.

Mission de St. Simon, on the Lake of the Hurons, is described as follows: "War and peace gave birth to this Mission,—the war waged by the people called Nadouessi, who drove the Outaouacs from *La pointe du St. Esprit*, where they lived; and the peace with the Iroquois, which permitted them to return to their own country. A part of the Outaouacs, who last summer separated from the rest, betook themselves to the Island called Ekaentouton, lying in the middle of the Lake of the Hurons, as to their former country.

"The chief man of this new Colony asked us at the same time for one of our Fathers, to plant the Faith in that new settlement.

"To that duty was assigned Father Louys André, who went up to those regions this year, and has there carried on a number of temporary Missions, which have borne fruits commensurate with the hardships which he has suffered—as may be gathered from his own account of each separate Mission."⁵

"Among the Islands of Lake Huron this [Ekaentouton or Manitoulin Island] is the fairest and largest, being at least forty leagues long, and from ten to twenty broad. It would be difficult to find a finer country for comfortable settlement. Its soil seems excellent, the country being intersected by frequent streams, dotted with numerous Lakes, and surrounded by many bays abounding in fish. The island is readily found in Lake Huron, as it occupies its center, and attracts attention above all the others by its size."⁶

Mission du St. Esprit, at the western extremity of Lake Superior, was founded as early as 1665 by Father Allouez, who here heard tales from the Indians of the great river to the west, the "Missisipi."

"These regions of the North," says Father Dablon's *Relation*, "have their Iroquois, as do those of

2. *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 105, 113.

3. *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 99–103.
4. *Ibid.* 157.

5. *Ibid.* 133.
6. *Ibid.* 141.

the South. They are a certain people called the Nadouessi, who, as they are naturally warlike, have made themselves feared by all their neighbors; and, although they use only bows and arrows, they yet handle them with such skill and readiness as to fill the air with shafts in an instant,—especially when, like the Parthians, they face about in their flight; for then they discharge their arrows so rapidly as to render themselves not less formidable when fleeing than when attacking.

"They live near and on the banks of that great river called Missisipi, of which further mention will be made. They comprise no fewer than fifteen Villages of considerable size, and yet know not what it is to till the soil for the purpose of sowing seed. They are content with a kind of marsh rye which we call wild oats, which the prairies furnish them naturally,—they dividing the latter among themselves, and each gathering his own harvest separately, without encroaching on the others.

"They are sixty leagues from the head of Lake superior in a Westerly direction, and well-nigh in the center of the Nations of the West,—with all of whom they are at war, in consequence of a general League formed against themselves as against a common foe."⁷

Mission de St. Fr. Xavier was founded in 1670 by Allouez among the Pottawattamies at the southern end of the *Baye Des Puans*, so named from the mistranslation of the aboriginal name of the Winnebago Indians living upon its shores, which meant "ill smelling or dirty water."⁸ "This bay," says Marquette,⁹ "bears a Name which has a meaning not so offensive in the language of the savages; for they call it la baye sallée rather than *Baye Des Puans*. . . . This led us to make very careful researches to ascertain whether there were not some salt-Water springs in This quarter, as there are among the hiroquois, but we found none. We conclude, therefore, that This name has been given to it on account of the quantity of mire and Mud which is seen there, whence noisome vapors Constantly arise, Causing the loudest and most Continual Thunder that I have ever heard." This bay was also known to the French as "Grande Baye," which the English corrupted into Green Bay, its present name.

"This Mission," says the *Relation of 1670-71*, "embraces eight different Nations, or even more, if we include some unsettled tribes which sustain relations to it.

"The first to receive our attention, and the best instructed in the faith, are the people living at the head of the Bay commonly called des Puans. This name, which is the same as that given by the Savages to those who live near the sea, it bears perhaps because the odor of the marshes surrounding this Bay somewhat resembles that of the sea; and, be-

sides, there can hardly be more violent blasts of wind on the Ocean than are experienced in this region, accompanied by very heavy and almost continual thunder."¹⁰

The earliest appearance of Lake Superior, or Upper Lake, is on Champlain's map of 1632,¹¹ where it is crudely represented by the name Grand Lac, with a note appended that the Indians reported that it took thirty days in a canoe to cross Mer Douce (Lake Huron) and this "autre grandissime lac." Two years later Nicolet was the first European to see its waters, but he turned south after reaching Sault Ste. Marie, and crossed Lake Michigan and Green Bay. In 1641, Raymbault and Jogues, two French Jesuits, were at the Sault, where they heard rumors, "of another great lake that commences above the Sault." They did not go beyond. The *Relation of 1647-48* contains the name "Lac Superieur," probably the first use of this term in literature. Radisson and Grosseilliers, in the course of their explorations in the Northwest between 1658 and 1660, visited the lake and brought back word of its wide expanse.

The *Relation of 1669-70* speaks of the lake as follows: "This Lake has almost the form of a bent Bow, more than a hundred and eighty leagues long; the South side serves as its string, and the arrow seems to be a great Tongue of land projecting more than eighty leagues into the width of the Lake starting from this same South side, at about its middle.

"The North side is frightful, by reason of a succession of Rocks which form the end of that prodigious Mountain-chain which, beginning beyond Cap de Tourmente, below Quebec, and continuing as far as this point, over a distance of more than six hundred leagues in extent, finally comes and loses itself at the end of this Lake.

"It is clear almost throughout and unencumbered with Islands, which are ordinarily found only toward the North shores. This great open space gives force to the winds, and they stir it up with as much violence as the Ocean."¹²

The *Relation of 1669-70* also describes the outlet of Lake Superior into Lake Huron:

"What is commonly called the *Sault* is not properly a Sault, or a very high waterfall, but a very violent current of waters from Lake Superior,—which, finding themselves checked by a great number of rocks that dispute their passage, form a dangerous cascade of half a league in width, all these waters descending and plunging headlong together, as if by a flight of stairs, over the rocks which bar the whole river.

"It is three leagues below Lake Superior, and twelve leagues above the Lake of the Hurons, this entire extent making a beautiful river, cut up by many Islands, which divide it and increase its

7. *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 169.

8. *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 16.

9. *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 97.

10. *Ibid.* LV, 183.

11. In the present work see No. 36.

12. *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 149.

width in some places so that the eye cannot reach across. It flows very gently through almost its entire course, being difficult of passage only at the Sault."¹³

René Ménard, two years later, perished in the effort to establish a Jesuit mission upon the southern shore of Lake Superior. Ménard's attempt was renewed in 1665 by Claude Allouez, who joined a party of Indian fur traders returning to their villages upon the shores of the lake. The party passed through the Sault Ste. Marie, which Allouez described as "a half-league of rapids that are encountered in a beautiful river which unites two great lakes—that of the Hurons and Lake Superior," and came out upon the waters of the lake,

"which," says Allouez in his journal, "will henceforth bear Monsieur de Tracy's name in recognition of indebtedness to him on the part of the people of those regions." The reference is to the successful expedition into the Mohawk country, led by Alexander de Prouville, the Marquis de Tracy, in 1666, which caused the Iroquois to maintain peace with the French for twenty years. This peace encouraged the exploration of the Northwest.

A reproduction of an interesting map of "Lac Supérieur" of a somewhat later date may be found in Gabriel Marcel's *Reproductions de Cartes & de Globes*, Paris, 1892. The original is in the Dépôt des cartes de la Marine in Paris.

13. *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, p. 129.

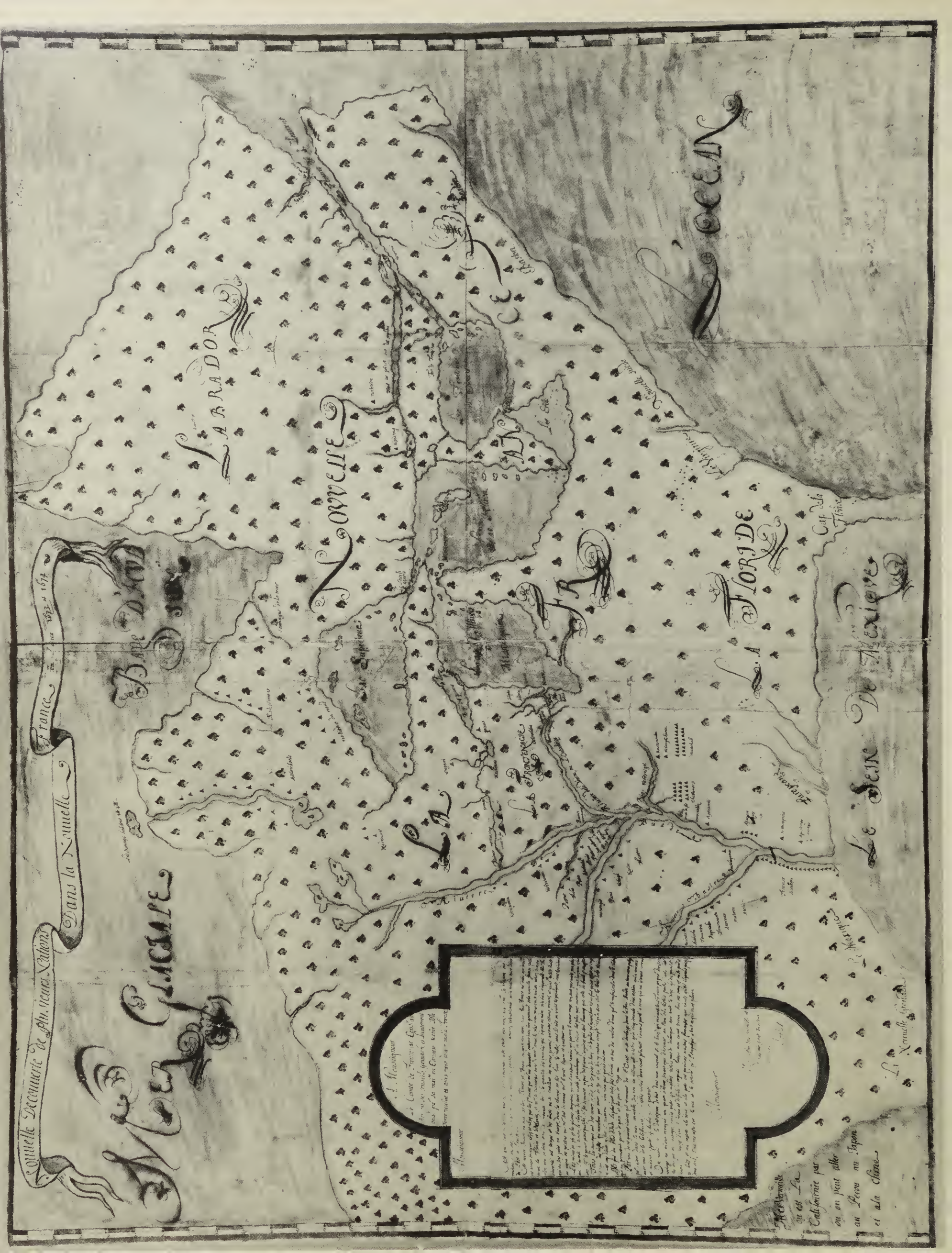
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NOUVELLE DECOUVERTE DE PLUSIEURS NATIONS DANS LA NOUVELLE FRANCE

En l'année 1673 et 1674. By Louis Joliet.

(26 x 33 4/5 inches.)

(John Carter Brown Library.)

THIS *New Discovery of Many Nations in New France*, a map of the Mississippi by its French discoverer, is a photographic reproduction of Joliet's beautiful original manuscript, which is one of the most valued possessions of the John Carter Brown Library.

Joliet's letter to Frontenac, inscribed in the vignette of the map, is as follows:

To Monseigneur, Count Frontenac, Counselor of the King, Governor, and Lieutenant General for his Majesty in Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland, and in the country of New France:

I take pleasure in presenting to you this map which will enable you to understand the location of the rivers and lakes on which one travels through Canada or North America, which is more than 1,200 leagues from the east to the west.

That great river beyond Lake Huron and Illinois, which bears your name, the River Buade [or Mississippi], since it was discovered in these last two years, 1673 and 1674, as the result of the first orders you gave me as you entered on the government of New France, flows between Florida and Mexico, and on its way to the sea runs through the most beautiful country imaginable. I have seen nothing in France so beautiful as the abundance of fine prairies, and nothing so pleasant as the varieties of the groves and forests, where one can pick plums, pomegranates, lemons and several small fruits which are not found in Europe. In the fields quails arise; in the woods parrots are seen; and in the rivers one catches fish which cannot be identified by taste, shape or size.

Iron mines and reddish rocks, never found except with copper, are not rare; likewise slate, saltpetre, coal, marble, and alloys of copper. The largest pieces of copper that I saw were as large as a fist and free from impurities. It was discovered near the reddish rocks, which were much like those of France, and numerous.

All the savages have wooden canoes, fifty feet and more in length; they do not care for deer as food, but they kill buffalo, which roam in herds of thirty or fifty. I have myself counted four hundred on the banks of the river; and turkeys are extremely common.

They harvest Indian corn generally three times a year, and they have water melons for refresh-

ment from the heat, since there is no ice and very little snow.

One of the great rivers running into the Mississippi from the west gives a passage into the Gulf of California (Mer Vermeille). I saw a village which is only five days' journey from a tribe which trade with the natives of California. If I had arrived two days earlier, I could have talked to those who had come and brought four hatchets as a present.

The description of everything could have been seen in my diary if the good fortune which attended me all through the journey had not failed me a quarter of an hour before arriving at the place from which I had departed. I had escaped the dangers from the savages, I had passed forty rapids and was about to land with all possible joy over the success of such a long and difficult undertaking, when my canoe was overturned and I lost two men and my chest, in sight of and at the doors of the first French houses that I had left nearly two years before. Nothing is left to me but my life, and the desire to use it for whatever will please you.

Monseigneur, your humble and obedient servant and subject,

Joliet.

Under strict instructions from the governor, Frontenac, Joliet had reached Mackinac, early in December, 1672, where he found Father Marquette in charge of the Jesuit Mission of St. Ignace. Wild stories of a great western river stirred both men.

Marquette gives the following account of the inception of the voyage: "The Father had long premeditated this Undertaking, influenced by a most ardent desire to extend the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to make him Known and adored by all the peoples of that country. He saw himself, As it were, at the door of these new Nations when, as early as the year 1670, he was laboring in the Mission at the point of St. Esprit, at the extremity of lake superior, among the outaouacs; he even saw occasionally various persons belonging to these new peoples, from whom he obtained all the Information that he could. This induced him to make several efforts to commence this undertaking, but ever in vain; and he even lost all hope of succeeding therein, when God brought about for him the following opportunity.

"In The year 1673, Monsieur the Count De Frontenac, Our Governor, and Monsieur Talon, then Our Intendant, Recognizing the Importance of this discovery,—either that they might seek a passage from here to the sea of China, by the river that discharges into the Vermillion, or California Sea; or because they desired to verify what has for some time been said concerning the 2 Kingdoms of Theguaio And Quiuira, which Border on Canada, and in which numerous gold mines are reported to exist,—these Gentlemen, I say, appointed at the same time for This undertaking Sieur Jolyet, whom they considered very fit for so great an enterprise; and they were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party.

"They were not mistaken in the choice that they made of Sieur Jolyet, For he is a young man, born in this country, who possesses all the qualifications that could be desired for such an undertaking. He has experience and Knows the Languages . . . possesses Tact and prudence . . . has the courage to dread nothing."¹

"When the Illinois come to La Pointe," wrote Marquette, "they pass a large river almost a league wide. It runs north and south, and so far that the Illinois . . . have never yet heard of its mouth; they only know that there are very great nations below them. . . . This great river can hardly empty in Virginia, and we rather believe that its mouth is in California."²

Marquette joined Joliet, and after five others had been added to the party, all set out in two birch canoes on May 17, 1673, to the discovery of the new waterway.

Crossing Lake Michigan and Green Bay, called "Baye des Puans" and "Grande Baye" by the French, and corrupted by the English into the present form, they ascended the Fox River to the portage, now marked by a government canal and by a monument to Marquette, leading to the headwaters of the *Riviere miskonsing*, or Wisconsin River. Here they heard stories from the Indians of the terrors which they would encounter: "horrible monsters," says Marquette, "which devoured men and canoes together; that there was even a demon, who was heard from a great distance, who barred the way, and swallowed all who ventured to approach him."

Undeterred, they followed the Wisconsin to its mouth, now marked by a monument to Marquette at Prairie du Chien, and "safely entered the Mississippi on the seventeenth of June." Floating down the river with the current, seeing "monstrous fish" in the water and "wild cattle," buffaloes, on the banks, they came to a village of "Illinois" on the west side on the "Pekitanoui" (Muddy) river, the Indian name for the Missouri. "I hope by its means," wrote Marquette, "to discover the Vermillion or California Sea." Joliet gives no name to

this river, but locates on its banks the "*Messouri*" Indians.

"Pekitanoui is a river of Considerable size," says the original account, "coming from the Northwest, from a great Distance; and it discharges into the Mississippi. There are many Villages of savages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the vermilion or California sea.

"Judging from The Direction of the course of the Mississippi, if it Continue the same way, we think that it discharges into the mexican gulf. It would be a great advantage to find the river Leading to the southern sea, toward California; and, As I have said, this is what I hope to do by means of the Pekitanoui, according to the reports made to me by the savages. From them I have learned that, by ascending this river for 5 or 6 Days, one reaches a fine prairie, 20 or 30 Leagues Long. This must be crossed in a Northwesterly direction, and it terminates at another small river,—on which one may embark, for it is not very difficult to transport Canoes through so fine a country as that prairie. This 2nd River Flows toward The southwest for 10 or 15 Leagues, after which it enters a Lake, small and deep, which flows toward the West, where it falls into The sea. I have hardly any doubt that it is The vermilion sea, and I do not despair of discovering It some day, if God grant me the grace and The health to do so, in order that I may preach The Gospel to all The peoples of this new world who have so Long Groveled in the darkness of infidelity."³

Near the present Alton, Illinois, the voyagers saw two painted monsters, high up on the rocks by the river side. Some twenty leagues farther south "we found ourselves at a river called ouaboukigou." This name appears on the maps of Joliet and Marquette as Ouabouskigou, which the French later wrote "Ouabache" and the English "Wabash," the name for the lower Ohio and the modern Wabash. Below the Wabash on the left bank, they saw indications of deposits of iron ore, which Joliet marks on his map. When they reached *Akansea* (*downstream people*), opposite the mouth of the Arkansas River, which Joliet calls *Riviere Basire*, after a French fur-trader at Montreal, they were near the site where De Soto died in 1542.

Here Marquette wrote: "After attentively considering that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is at the latitude of 31 degrees and 60 minutes [sic.], while we were at 33 degrees and 40 minutes, we judged that we could not be more than 2 or 3 days' journey from it; and that, beyond a doubt, the Mississippi river discharges itself into the florida or Mexican gulf, and not to The east in Virginia, whose sea coast is at 34 degrees latitude, which we had passed, without, however, having as yet reached the sea, or to the west in California because in that case our

1. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 87.

2. Shea, *Mississippi Valley*, XLVIII.

3. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 141.

route would have been to the west or to the west southwest, whereas we had always continued It toward the south.”⁴

Having accomplished the main purpose of their expedition, the probable solution of the problem concerning the outlet of the Mississippi, and fearing to hazard their discovery by falling into the hands of hostile Indians or still more hostile Spaniards, at its mouth, they resolved to return.

“We therefore reascend the Missisipi, which gives us much trouble in breasting its currents.” When they reached the mouth of the Illinois, which Joliet calls on his map *Riviere de la Divine, ou L’Outrelaize*, to do honor to the wife of Frontenac and to one of her intimate friends, Mlle. d’Outrelaize, they followed it and the Des Plaines River to the Chicago portage, and passing *Mons Joliet*, which still retains the name, reached *Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin*. They arrived at the mission of St. François Xavier on the Bay des Puans, or Green Bay, at the end of September, having traveled in canoes some twenty-five hundred miles, in four months.

Marquette remained at Green Bay, while Joliet spent the winter at Sault St. Marie, and reached Quebec the following summer. While passing through the Lachine Rapids above Montreal, his canoe capsized, and the box containing his papers and map was lost, as he himself says in the legend of the map. The original report by Marquette and a map in his handwriting were preserved at Quebec till about 1842, when they were deposited in the College of Ste. Marie, at Montreal, where they now are.

By his narrative Marquette has reaped more glory from the expedition than Joliet, who was the leader in command. The loss of his records and diary was a cruel blow to the latter. Marquette’s original account may be found in Kellogg’s *Early Narratives of the Northwest*⁵ as well as in the *Jesuit Relations*.

The map here reproduced, was drawn from memory by Joliet after the loss of his papers. It was unknown in modern times till Gabriel Gravier brought it to light in 1879. It was reproduced in *Revue de Géographie*, February, 1880, and in the *Magazine of American History* in 1883. Three other less interesting maps are ascribed to Joliet.⁶

It will be noted that on the map Joliet names the Mississippi *Riviere de Buade*, in honor of Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. When he fell out with Frontenac, he changed the name of the river to “Rivière Colbert” and the name of the country west of *Lac de Illinois* from *La Frontenacie* to “La Colberie.” In his map Marquette has “R. de la Conception” in place of Joliet’s *Riviere de Buade*, but in his text he continually uses the form “Missipi” of the Indian name Mitchisipi, “the great river.” The first use of the name in the *Jesuit Relations* occurs in 1666, in Father Allouez’s account of his journey to Lake Superior, in which he speaks of the “Messipi,” but there is evidence⁷ of the discovery of the river by Radisson in 1659.

The Gulf of California appears in the southwest as the *Mer Vermeille*, or Vermillion Sea, by which one could go to Peru, Japan, and China. It owes its name to its supposed resemblance to the Red Sea.

4. *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 159.
5. P. 223.

6. Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 225.

7. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 93.

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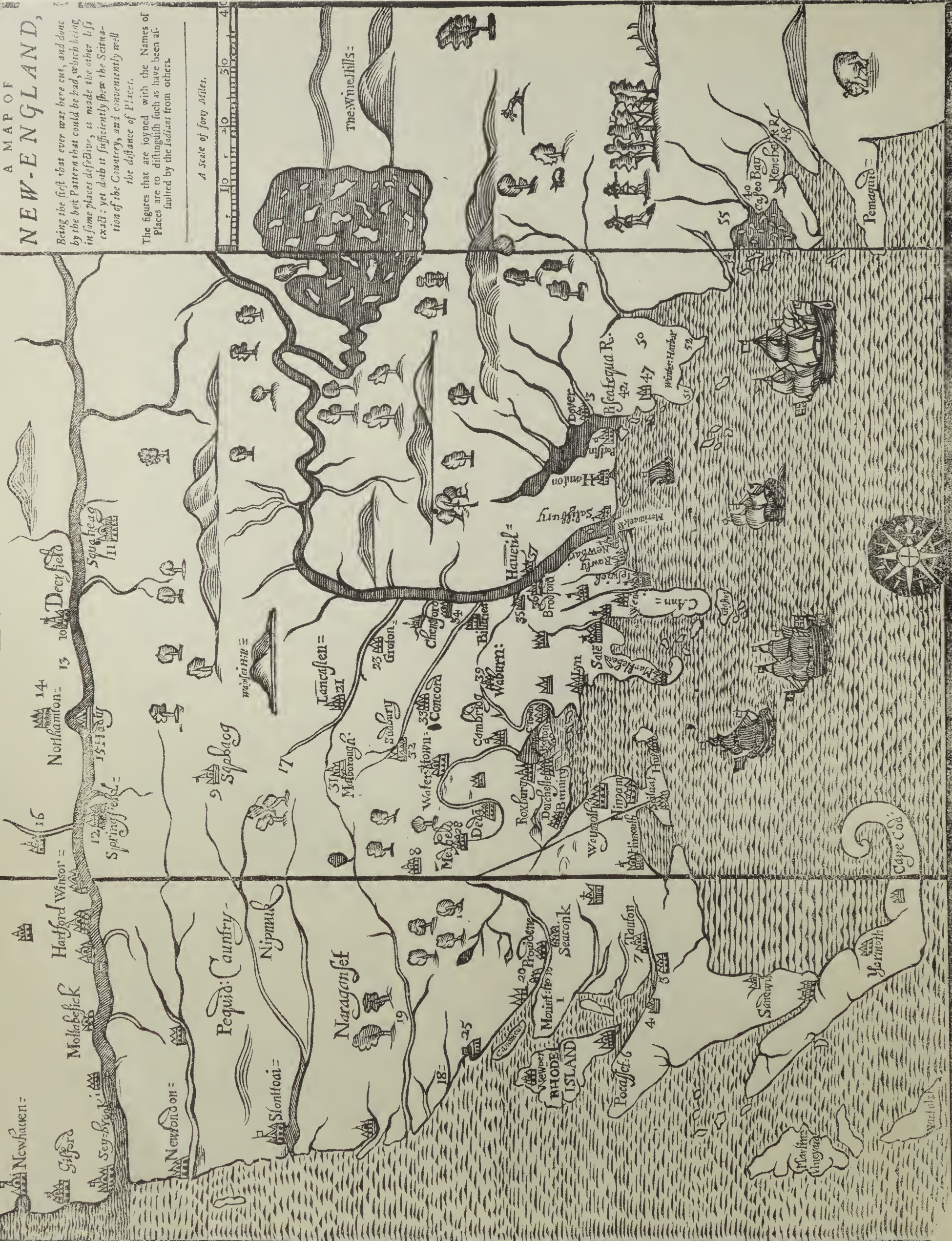
JUSTIN WINSOR, *Cartier to Frontenac*. Boston, 1894.

NEW-ENGLAND,

Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Situation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places.

The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to distinguish such as have been afflicted by the Indians from others.

A Scale of forty Miles.



A MAP OF NEW-ENGLAND

Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places. Anonymous.

(11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches.)

(In William Hubbard, "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England." Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1677.)

THIS map was made to accompany William Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*, which was published in Boston by John Foster, the pioneer printer, in the spring of 1677. The author, William Hubbard, an "eminent scholar, historian, and divine," was born in Tendring, County Essex, England, in 1621; came to New England with his father when fourteen years old; graduated from Harvard University in the class of 1642; studied theology and became the minister of the church at Ipswich where he resided, except for short intervals, until he died in 1704 at the age of eighty-three. In 1688, he had been appointed by Sir Edmund Andros to act as president of Harvard College in the absence of Increase Mather.

His chief literary works were *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*, and a *General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX*. The manuscript of the latter was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Rev. Dr. John Eliot, whose father is said to have rescued it from the mob which sacked Hutchinson's house in 1765. It was first printed in 1815.

The manuscript of his *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* received the sanction of the General Court of Massachusetts on March 29, 1677, and was "licensed" in London on the twenty-seventh of June following. It is probable that Hubbard went to England in May, 1677, carrying a copy of the work with him and that the London or second edition, entitled *The Present State of New England*, which is much more accurate than the first or Boston edition, was published under his supervision.¹

The wood-cut map appeared only in these two editions. In many points it resembles a manuscript map of New England by John Sellar which is now in the Harvard College Library. The Boston edition of the map, known as "The Wine Hills Map" from the mistake in the name given to the

White Mountains, is somewhat smaller than the London or "White Hills Map." The place names on this latter map are more accurate than those on the former. Twenty-one errors of the Boston or first edition published during Hubbard's absence are corrected in the London edition. In the introduction to the Boston edition is an explanation of these errors by the "Printer to the Reader": "By Reason of the Authors long and necessary absence from the Press, together with the difficulty of reading his hand, many faults have escaped in the Printing, either by mistaking of words or mis-pointing of Sentences, which doe in some places not a little confound the Sence." The most striking error on the map is the curious use of *Wine Hills* for White Hills. The reproduction here given is of an original copy of the Wine Hills map in the Library of Congress.² There is considerable difference of opinion as to which edition of the map is the older one. It is believed that both were engraved as well as printed by John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston. By an act of The General Court in 1664 no printing had been allowed in Massachusetts Bay except in Cambridge, but in 1674 the restriction was removed and "Mr. John Foster the ingenious mathematician and printer"³ began printing at the "Sign of a Dove" in Boston. One of the earliest productions of his press was Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*, which contained this map, the first one cut in America.

The purpose of the map is to illustrate the narrative of the Indian wars and was inserted after page 132 to accompany "A Table shewing the Towns and places which are inhabited by the English in *New-England*; those that are marked with figures, as well as expressed by their names, are such as were assaulted by the Indians, during the late awfull revolutions of providence."⁴ The figures correspond to those on the map. Some places are designated by numbers only. They have been identified as follows:⁵ No. 2, Swanzeey, where

1. Samuel G. Drake, *Hubbard's Indian Wars*, p. viii.

2. A copy of the rare second edition, the White Hills map, may be found in the New York Public Library and in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical

Society. A reproduction is the frontispiece of Charles H. Lincoln's *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699*.

3. See epitaph in Old Burying-Ground in Dorchester.

4. King Philip's War.

5. See notes by John Davis, in his reprint of Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial*, p. 463.

thirty-four out of forty houses were burnt; *No. 3*, Middleborough, which is misplaced on the map; *No. 4*, Dartmouth, near New Bedford; *No. 8*, Mendon; *No. 13*, Hatfield; *No. 16*, Westfield; *No. 17*, Quonsigomog, now known as Worcester; *No. 18*, Pettiquomscat, or Jere. Bull's Garrison House; *No. 19*, Canonicus's Fort, where the famous Swamp Fight occurred in the town of South Kingston, Dec. 19, 1675. A monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars to mark the site of the encounter is visible from the Shore Line Railroad near the present station of West Kingston, Rhode Island; *No. 20*, Warwick, which was destroyed; *No. 25*, Wickford; *No. 35*, Andover; *No. 42*, Kittery; *No. 47*, York; *No. 50*, Saco River; *No. 51*, Wells; *No. 54*, Scarborough; *No. 55*, Falmouth. In a few cases, places are indicated by the figure of a house only, without name or number, as Eastham, Barnstable, and Bridgewater in Plymouth colony; Portsmouth, Pawtuxet, and Westerly in Rhode Island; Beverly, Malden, Reading, Topsfield, and Cambridge Village (Newton) in Massachusetts Bay; Farmington, Wethersfield, and Norwich in Connecticut. The names of many towns which existed at the date of the map are omitted. Some fifty-three towns suffered from Indian attacks and eight hundred whites were killed during King Philip's War.

Monnt-hope, the present Bristol, Rhode Island, was the home of King Philip, the chief of the Wampanoags. A tablet has been placed there with the following inscription: "In the miery swamp 166 feet W. S. W. from this Spring, according to tradition, King Philip fell, August 12, 1676,

O. S." Indian massacres occurred at *Pemaquid*, *Groton*, and *Haveril* (the home of Hannah Dustin) during King William's War, 1690-97, and at *Deerfield* and *Haveril* during Queen Anne's War, 1702-14. North of 17, the modern Worcester, is *Wajuset Hill*, the present Wachusett Mountain. *Squaheag*, the northernmost settlement on the Connecticut River, is now known as Northfield.

The perpendicular black lines mark the northern and southern boundaries of Massachusetts Bay Colony according to the charter of 1629. The northern boundary was defined as a line from the Atlantic to the South Sea, "three English myles to the northward of the saide river called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the northward of any and every parte thereof."⁶ The line as drawn places the New Hampshire towns and some of the Maine towns within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Two years after the date of this map, New Hampshire was formally separated from Massachusetts Bay and made a royal colony.

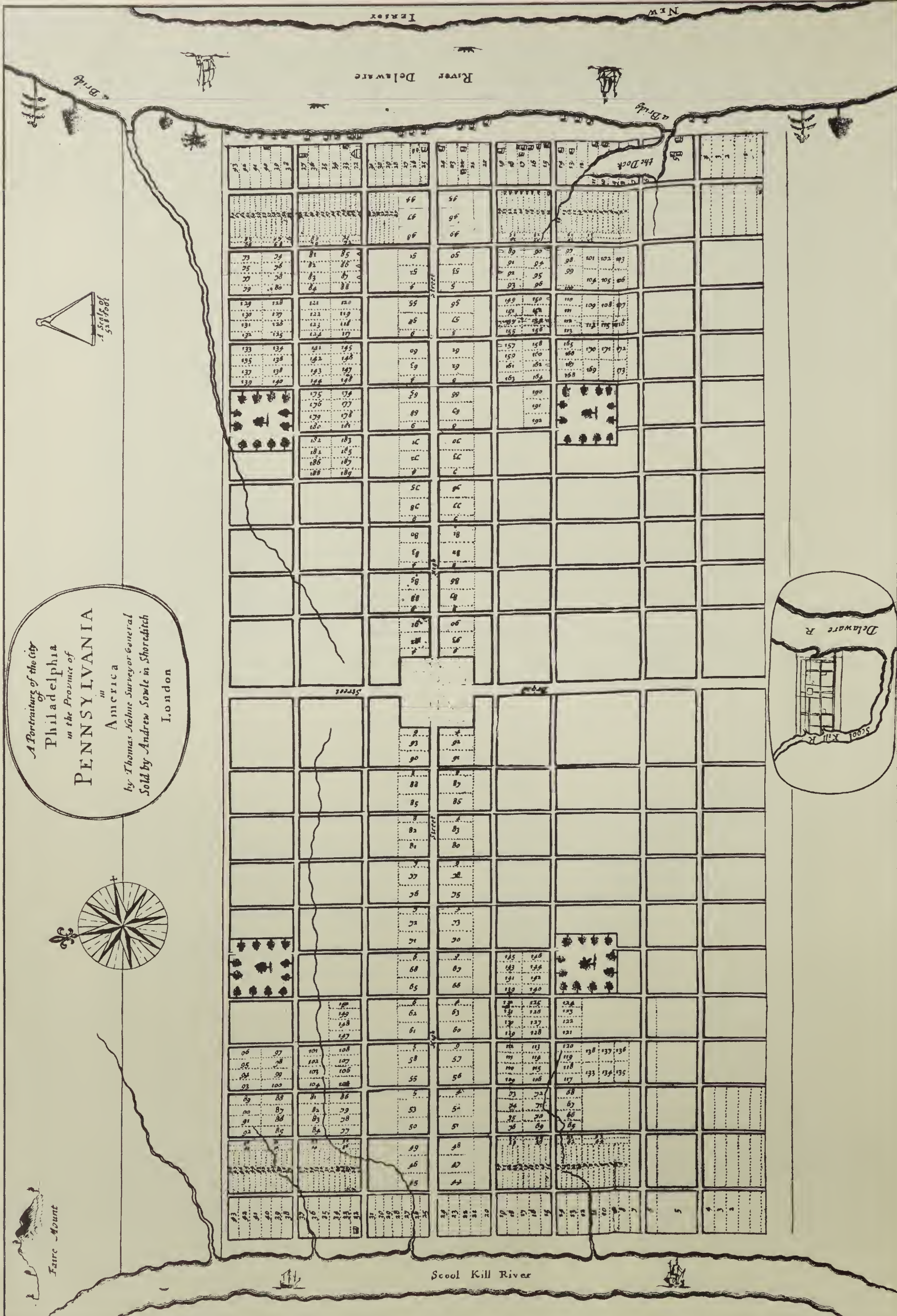
The southern boundary of Massachusetts Bay was a line "three Englishe myles on the south parte of the saide river called Charles river, or of any or every parte thereof."⁷ This line was found to conflict with the northern boundary of the grant to the Plymouth settlers from the Council for New England in 1629, and in 1664 a compromise boundary line was agreed upon as shown by the oblique line commencing near Scituate on the coast. Connecticut disputed the boundary line as established by Massachusetts. The present boundary between the two states was settled in 1713.

6. and 7. MacDonald's *Select Charters*, p. 38.

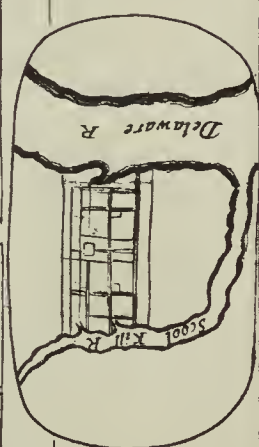
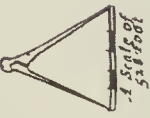
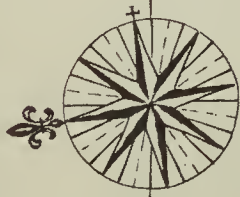
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A Portraiture of the City
of
Philadelphia
in the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
in
America
by Thomas Kuhn Surveyor General
Sold by Andrew Sowle in Shoreditch
London



Schuylkill River

Delaware River

the Dock

the Dock

New

Lexox

the Dock

Fare Mount

A PORTRAITURE OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

In the Province of Pennsylvania in America by Thomas Holme, Surveyor General. Sold by John Thornton in the Minories and Andrew Sowle¹ in Shoreditch, London, 1683.

(11 1/2 x 17 1/4 inches.)

(In "A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governour of Pennsylvania in America, to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province, residing in London.

"To which is added, An Account of the City of Philadelphia, newly laid out, its Scituation between two Navigable Rivers, Delaware and Skulkill, with a Portraiture or Plat-form thereof, wherein the Purchasers Lots are distinguished by certain Numbers inserted, directing to a Catalogue of the said Purchasors Names, and the Prosperous and Advantageous Settlements of the Society aforesaid, within the said City and Country, etc.," London, 1683.)

THIS map is the original plan of the city of Philadelphia as drawn by William Penn's surveyor. It is as valuable a document concerning the origin of that city as is the Manatus map² for the city of New York, or L'Enfant's plan for the city of Washington.

Thomas Holme, the author of the map, was for some years a captain in Cromwell's army in Ireland. Having become a Quaker and a purchaser of five thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania and also a stockholder of the Free Society of Traders, he was appointed surveyor general of the commission appointed by Penn "to lay out ten thousand acres³ for a town; in which every purchaser or purchasers of five thousand acres, shall have one hundred acres." Holme arrived in Philadelphia in June, 1682, and proceeded to lay out the plan of the city, comprising 1,280 acres, as here reproduced. The plan was sent to Philip Ford, Penn's agent in London, so that every purchaser might see the lot appurtenant to his purchase. Holme also compiled a larger map embracing the three eastern counties of Pennsylvania, Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks, with the names of the first owners of all the farms and manors of the three counties, which was published in London in 1687.

"The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania," to whom Penn sent the original of this map, was, according to Albert Cook Myers,⁴ "a joint stock company . . . which received a liberal charter from Penn in March, 1682. Over two hundred persons in the British Isles, largely from among those most interested in the new colony, became subscribers to the stock, which had reached £10,000 in June, 1682. A purchase of 20,000

acres of land in the province was made. The first officers were Dr. Nicholas More, of London, president . . . and James Claypoole, of London, treasurer. . . . The principal trading house and offices were erected on the Society tract in the infant city, on the west side of Front Street—the main street—near the south side of Dock Creek, and at the foot of Society Hill, so named from the location of the company. Thence the society's city tract of about one hundred acres extended westerly in a tier of lots from Front Street on the Delaware to the Schuylkill, flanked by Spruce Street on the north and Pine Street on the south. This main station was the centre for the various activities of the society. From here whalers went fishing for whales to the entrance of Delaware Bay, preparing their oil and whalebone on the shore near Lewes. At Frankford, a grist-mill and a saw-mill on Tacony Creek, a tannery, brick kilns, and glass-works were conducted. Cargoes of English goods were brought in and sold at a profit, but collections being difficult, and the officers tending to look after their private affairs to the detriment of those of the society, it suffered severe losses, and in a few years practically went out of business except as an owner of real estate."

The original of Penn's *Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders* is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was published in London in 1683 in two editions, one of which has a list of the original property-owners of the city. Every person in this list has the number corresponding to the number of his lot as laid down on Holme's map.⁵

In this *Letter* Penn gives the following inter-

1. Sowle's son-in-law, William Bradford, established, in 1685, the first printing press in Philadelphia.

2. In the present work see No. 38.

3. When Penn arrived in America he

abandoned his plan of having so large a city.

4. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 240, note 1.

5. A list of the names of the first purchasers "with their places of abode" may

also be found in *An Explanation of the Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia* by John Reed, published in that city in 1774. See also *Pennsylvania Archives* [Third Series, III and IV].

esting description of the new city: "Philadelphia, the Expectation of those that are concern'd in this Province, is at last laid out to the great Content of those here, that are any wayes Interested therein; The Scituation is a Neck of Land, and lieth between two Navigable Rivers, Delaware and Skulkill, whereby it hath two Fronts upon the Water, each a Mile, and two from River to River. Delaware is a glorious River, but the Skulkill being an hundred Miles Boatable above the Falls, and its Course North-East toward the Fountain of Susquahannah (that tends to the Heart of the Province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the Settlement of this Age. I say little of the Town it self, because a *Plat-form*⁶ will be shewn you by my Agent, in which those who are Purchasers of me, will find their Names and Interests: But this I will say for the good Providence of God, that of all the many Places I have seen in the World, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a Town, whether we regard the Rivers, or the conveniency of the Coves, Docks, Springs, the loftiness and soundness of the Land and the Air, held by the People of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a Year to about four Score Houses and Cottages, such as they are, where Merchants and Handicrafts, are following their Vocations as fast as they can, while the Country-men are close at their Farms."⁷

Appended to Penn's *Letter* is *A Short Advertisement upon the Scituation and Extent of the City of Philadelphia and the Ensuing Plat-form thereof, by the Surveyor General* [Thomas Holme, the author of the map].

"The City of Philadelphia, now extends in Length, from River to River, two Miles, and in Breadth near a Mile; and the Governour, as a further manifestation of his Kindness to the Purchasers, hath freely given them their respective Lots in the City, without defalcation of any their Quantities of purchased Lands; and as its now placed and modelled between two Navigable Rivers upon a Neck of Land, and that Ships may ride in good Anchorage, in six or eight Fathom Water in both Rivers, close to the City, and the Land of the City level, dry and wholsom: such a Scituation is scarce to be parallel'd.

"The Model of the City appears by a small Draught now made, and may hereafter, when time permits, be augmented; and because there is not room to express the Purchasers Names in the Draught, I have therefore drawn Directions of Reference, by way of Numbers, whereby may be known each mans Lot and Place in the City.

"The City is so ordered now, by the Governour's

Care and Prudence, that it hath a Front to each River, one half at Delaware, the other at Skulkill; and though all this cannot make way for small Purchasers to be in the Fronts, yet they are placed in the next Streets, contiguous to each Front, *viz.*, all Purchasers of One Thousand Acres, and upwards, have the Fronts (and the High-street), and to every five Thousand Acres Purchase, in the Front about an Acre, and the smaller Purchasers about half an Acre in the backward Streets; by which means the least hath room enough for House, Garden and small Orchard, to the great Content and Satisfaction of all here concerned.

"The City (as the Model shews) consists of a large Front-street to each River, and a High-street (near the middle) from Front (or River) to Front, of one hundred Foot broad, and a Broad-street in the middle of the City, from side to side, of the like breadth. In the Center of the City is a Square of ten Acres; at each Angle are to be Houses for publick Affairs, as a Meeting-House, Assembly or State-House, Market-House, School-House, and several other Buildings for Publick Concerns. There are also in each Quarter of the City a Square of eight Acres, to be for the like Uses, as the Moore-fields in London; and eight Streets (besides the High-street), that ran from Front to Front, and twenty Streets (besides the Broad-street), that run cross the City from side to side; all these Streets are of fifty Foot breadth.

"In each Number in the Draught, in the Fronts and High-street, are placed the Purchasers of One Thousand Acres, and upwards, to make up five Thousand Acres Lot (both in the said Fronts and High-street), and the Numbers direct to each Lot, and where in the City; so that thereby they may know where their Concerns are therein.

"The Front Lots begin at the South-ends of the Fronts, by the Numbers, and so reach to the North-ends, and end at Number 43.

"The High-street Lots begin towards the Fronts, at Number 44, and so reach to the Center.

"The lesser Purchasers begin at Number 1, in the second Streets, and so proceed by the Numbers, as in the Draught; the biggest of them being first placed, nearest to the Fronts."⁸

Eight of the nine streets running east and west were named after trees;⁹ the streets running north and south were numbered. "The plan here presented," says Dr. Jameson, "did not in all details remain permanently in effect. From the Delaware River to Eleventh Street, indeed—counting the Delaware water-front, or Front Street, as the first—it is substantially the plan of the corresponding area of the present city. But as early as 1684, all the streets west of the eleventh were moved east-

6. The map or plan of Philadelphia by Thomas Holme here reproduced.

7. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*,

West New Jersey and Delaware, pp. 239-240.

8. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*,

West New Jersey and Delaware, pp. 243-244.

9. Mulberry Street was originally known as Holme Street.

ward, and the street marked Broad Street on the 'Portraiture,' and still so called, became the fourteenth instead of the twelfth; while the street next east of the Schuylkill water-front remained, and still remains, Twenty-Second Street."¹⁰

Regardless of Penn's plan, the early city grew up along the Delaware River and it was not until after the Revolution that it extended as far west as Broad Street. In accordance with Penn's desire

that the city should be a "greene country towne," Holme provided for five rectangular open spaces now known as Logan (northwest), Rittenhouse (southwest), Franklin (northeast), Washington (southeast), and City Hall. Each square contained four acres, giving room for large gardens and orchards; the street surface was twice that in European cities, *Broad* and *High* (now Market) *Streets* being twice the width of any street in London.

10. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. vi.

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CARTE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE ET DE LA LOUISIANE NOUVELLEMENT DECOUVERTE

Dédiée Au Roy l'An 1683. Par le Reverend Pere Louis Hennepin,
Missionnaire Recollect et Notaire Apostolique. Paris, 1683.

(10 $\frac{1}{5}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)

(In "Description de la Louisiane nouvellement découverte au Sud-Oüest de la Nouvelle France. Les Mœurs des Sauvages," par le R. P. Louis Hennepin. Paris, 1683.)

HENNEPIN'S *Carte de la Nouvelle France et de la Louisiane* introduces one of the problems of American history. The author, Louis Hennepin, a young French Recollect friar, arrived in New France in 1675, and after spending four years in itinerant missionary work among the Indians in the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal, accompanied La Salle, in 1679, on the latter's expedition to reach the Gulf of Mexico from New France and lay the foundation of an enlarged French colonial empire in the interior of America.

When the expedition was halted by the loss of the *Griffin*, and La Salle was forced to return to Canada to secure supplies and equipment for the continuance of the trip, he left his friend Tonty in charge of the party on the Illinois at *Fort Creve-cœur*, and directed Hennepin in company with D'Accault to follow the Illinois to its mouth and explore the upper waters of the Mississippi.

According to Hennepin's first account, which is accepted as in general reliable, he set out with two companions down the Illinois and up the Mississippi, past the Wisconsin and the Chippewa, to the "Lake of the Tears," or the present Lake Pepin, where the party was captured by the Indians. They were carried up the Mississippi almost to the Falls of St. Anthony, near the site of the present city of St. Paul, where they left the river and proceeded overland to Indian villages near *Lake Buade*. Here they remained for some weeks. Upon their release they floated down the Mississippi and discovered the *Saute de St. Antoine de Padou*, the Falls of St. Anthony. Falling in with other Frenchmen, they reached the Jesuit mission at Michilimackinac by way of the Wisconsin route. Hennepin went on to Montreal and to France.

In Paris, January 5, 1683, he published an account of his experiences, *Description de la Louisiane nouvellement découverte au Sud-Oüest de la Nouvelle France, Les Mœurs des Sauvages*, from the first edition of which the present map is taken.

This popular book went through several edi-

tions, and is, according to Parkman, "comparatively truthful." Says Thwaites,¹ "Had Hennepin, however, been content with being a one-volume author, his reputation might still be as good as that of most other explorers of his day, it being then the custom for travelers freely to spice their narratives with imaginary deeds, and to adopt more or less of a bragging tone. The pages of our adventurous friar abound in exaggeration and self-glorification; although his geographical and ethnographical descriptions are excellent, and add much to our knowledge of the North American interior during the last third of the seventeenth century."

The map of this early volume connects the Mississippi with the Gulf of Mexico only by a dotted line; and thus makes no claim that the author was on the lower part of the Mississippi or anywhere near the Gulf of Mexico. Its only claim is that the author had been on the upper Mississippi.

In Utrecht, in 1697, Hennepin published a second volume, *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays, situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale*, also a literary success, in which the author stretches his claim of 1683 by asserting that after leaving Fort Creve-cœur in 1680 he had followed the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, two years before La Salle had accomplished that feat. The book was accompanied by two new maps.

This ambitious claim of 1697 is now generally rejected for various reasons.

Hennepin delayed the publication of the enlarged claim until ten years after La Salle's death. He had not made the claim earlier, for example in his first volume of 1683, out of fear of the hostility of La Salle, Hennepin explains in the second volume. This is weak and unconvincing. The first map was beyond recall in 1697, and it cannot be explained away by the author's shifty words. Under ordinary circumstances the extreme claim would have been put forward in the earlier work.

1. *New Discovery of a Vast Country in America by Father Louis Hennepin*, XXXIII.

Moreover, the feat of navigating the Mississippi, as Hennepin claims to have accomplished it, was impossible. If the Hennepin of 1697 is to be believed, according to his own reckoning of dates, he consumed only a month's time in making the journey of 1680 from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico and back to the vicinity of the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance up and down the river of 3,260 miles, in large, heavily loaded canoes, at the rate of more than one hundred miles a day, or more than three times as fast as La Salle traveled two years later.

Andrew Ellicott, commissioner on behalf of the United States, 1796-1800, to determine the boundary line between the United States and the Spanish colony of Florida, one of the most distinguished surveyors of his day and a practiced frontiersman, penned a convincing criticism of Hennepin's story, after he himself had made the trip down the Mississippi in an open boat.²

On March 23, 1818, in the diplomatic exchange between Spain and the United States over their respective boundaries, Don Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister in Washington, wrote to the American Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, after the latter had cited Hennepin's narrative and map as authoritative, as follows: "I declare, too, that I do not wish to derogate from the veneration and confidence with which you consider Father Hennepin. But I can never believe the fabulous tales and fictions which abound in his narrative dedicated to Colbert. . . . It is unnecessary to cite the other absurdities and fables scattered throughout the narrative, and I shall content myself with reminding you that on the testimony of the Swedish naturalist, Kalm, the opinion entertained in Canada of Hennepin is expressed in the following words: 'the name of honor they give him there is the great liar; he writes of what he saw in places where he never was.'"

Hennepin's claim that he was on the lower Mis-

issippi in 1680 is rejected, furthermore, because of the unmistakable evidences of plagiarism in his second volume. It is now quite generally agreed that he bases the enlarged claim on Father Membre's account of La Salle's journey to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682. Thwaites, in his edition of the *Nouvelle Découverte*, which has already been referred to, is convincing on this point. Jared Sparks, in his *Life of La Salle*, was the first to disclose the plagiarism.

Hennepin's third book, *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, Utrecht, 1698, was a hasty piece of patchwork.

Henry Harrisse contends that Hennepin's application of the name *Louisiane* to the valley of the Mississippi in the map of 1683 is borrowed from La Salle, who gave the name to the region when he took possession of it for the King of France in 1682. Who first gave currency to this name is thus a problem by itself.

In reply to Harrisse's statement, it may be pointed out that La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi April 9, 1682, sailed for France "in the autumn" of 1683 and landed at Rochelle December 23, 1683. On the other hand, the royal permission to print the *Description de la Louisiane* was given September 3, 1682, the book was registered at the printers' guild a week later, and the printing of the first edition was completed January 5, 1683, nearly a year before La Salle arrived in France. And yet La Salle may have been preceded in his return to France by some other member of the expedition, who furnished the idea of the name to Hennepin.

Hennepin named the Falls of St. Anthony, and his works contain the first known pictorial representation of the Falls of Niagara.

There are preserved in the Harvard College Library two collections of Hennepin maps, one made by Francis Parkman, and the other by Justin Winsor.

2. *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott*, preface.

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|---|---|

NOVISSIMA TABULA REGIONIS LUDOVICIANÆ

Gallice Dictæ La Louisiane Iam olim quidem sub Canadæ et Floridæ nomine in America Septentrionali notæ nunc vero sub auspiciis Sere-niss: Ducis Aurelianensis maxime inclarescentis Colonix Gallicæ, delin-cata ex recentissimis itinerariis et commentariis Gallicis â Guil: Insulano Geographo et Socio Regiæ Scientiarum Academiae et recognita a Chr: Weigelio Nor.

(12½ x 16⅓ inches.)

(In Johann David Kohler's "Bequemer schul-und reisen-atlas aller zu erlernung der alten, weittlern und neuen Geographie." Nürnberg, C. Weigel, 1734 [?].)

(Library of Congress.)

THE date of the map is fixed as after 1717 by the legend at *Natchitoches* on the Red River, *etablissem Francois fait en 1717 par M. de Bienville*. It does not chronicle the founding of New Orleans, which took place in 1718. The copy of the map in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, locates "Orleans" in its proper place.

Guillaume Insulanus (Guillaume Delisle), 1675-1726, the leading geographer and map-maker of his day, was geographer to Louis XIV, King of France. He published a number of beautiful atlases, and has the credit of being, if not the first, at least one of the first, to accept the then new view that California was a peninsula.¹

The present map derives its importance from its delineation of the French claims concerning the boundary between their possessions in the valley of the Mississippi and the Spanish possessions in Mexico, at the time when the struggle between France and Spain over this question was at its height.

Although of French origin, the map traces the basis of the Spanish claim, namely the expedition of De Soto, 1539-42, as this is now usually accepted, through Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. The scene of the crossing of the Mississippi is placed thirty or forty miles below the present city of Memphis, Tennessee. After De Soto's death, which took place near the junction of the Red River and the Mississippi, his successor, Moscosco, led the party westward in an endeavor to find the Gulf of Mexico in that direction; but failing, he returned, and descended the Mississippi to the Gulf.

The basis of the French claim was laid by La Salle one hundred and forty-five years or thereabouts later, when he brought an over-seas expedition to Texas.

By mistake, perhaps due to faulty maps, the

single surviving ship of this expedition missed the mouth of the Mississippi and made land on the coast of Texas, at the mouth of *Rio de San Marco ou Colorado*, at the point marked *Fort Francois Etablissem't de M. de la Salle lan 1685*. The bay in question, *Baye S. Louis ou S. Bernard*, is the present Matagorda Bay. A second and more healthful spot was soon chosen on the present Garcitas River, near the head of Lavaca Bay. This vessel itself was lost in searching for the Mississippi; and illness and scarcity of food forced the leader to leave a few men at the fort, which had been erected, and set out for the Illinois for assistance. He was murdered on the way by one of his own men, somewhat north of the first location, at a point marked *Icy fut tué Mr. de la Salle en 1687*. After the leader's death, his brother, John Cavelier, led the survivors over the route indicated on the map to the mouth of the Arkansas, and thence northward on the Mississippi to New France. This route in Texas is marked, *Route de M. Cavelier en 1687*.

In 1689 a Spanish force from Mexico carried off all the surviving Frenchmen that could be found, nine in number; and in 1698 they themselves founded *Pensacola* farther to the east, near Mobile Bay.

It was a see-saw game between rival colonial powers that now set in, Spain and France ceaselessly manœuvring, each endeavoring to establish itself and to oust the other, and each seeking the support of the natives of the country.

France took the next step. In 1699 Pierre Le Moyne d' Iberville, "fighting trader, hero of the fur raids on Hudson Bay, and the most dashing military figure in New France,"² founded *Bilocci* on Mobile Bay, a settlement that was shifted a number of times to different spots on the bay; and on the same bay *Fort Louis* was founded. In 1712 the King of France made the Crozat grant of a commercial monopoly in the interior of America,

1. Phillips, *Lowery Collection*, No. 250.

2. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, p. 218.

to last for fifteen years, covering all the country south of the Illinois and between the English on the east and the Spaniards on the west. To further the new commercial policy and to build up trade with the Spaniards in Mexico, Saint Denis made French explorations, 1713-16, through Texas as far as the *Rio del Norte* (*Rio Grande*), along routes indicated on the map; and Bienville founded the French settlement at Natchitoches on the *R. Rouge* in 1717. The French city of "Orleans" (New Orleans) was founded in 1718, but this is not on the map.

The Spaniards established six missions, 1716-17, very close to the French at Natchitoches, and west of the latter settlement was *Mission de l'os Teijas etablie en 1716*. This inscription is one of the first occurrences of the word Texas on any map.

Of boundary treaties to decide the rival claims of the two countries in the region there were none, so that in the southwest, as in the northeast, the French map-maker stretched the claims of his country to the limit. A few attempts were made to mark the line between the French and the Spaniards down to 1763, a few leaden plates were sunk along the Sabine to mark the line; but nothing was accomplished.

Delisle's map is one of the first to show the French claims to the Rio Grande as the boundary line between Louisiana and Mexico; and following suit were other French maps of the eighteenth century. But in 1762 le S. Robert de Vaugondy, "Geog. ord. du Roi et du seu Roi de Pologne Duc de Lorr. et de Ber, de la Societe royale de Nanci et Censeur royal," constructed a map of *Amerique Septentrionale*, in which he recedes from the usual French position and concedes the claim of Spain by placing the boundary on the Sabine. But it was in this same year, 1762, that France gave up to Spain the French claim west of the Mississippi. France no longer had reason to make the old claim in that direction. In the same year, 1762, D. Thomas Lopez published a map in Spain, in which this leading Spanish map-maker follows the French claim and makes Louisiana extend to the Rio Grande. But why not? Was not Louisiana then a Spanish colony? ³

John R. Ficklen ⁴ expresses the view that there is nothing conclusive in the testimony of the maps on the subject of the Louisiana boundary. "It would seem," he says, "that as to number and trustworthiness, they are about equally divided." Indeed, in the absence of an official demarcation line, the map-maker's only guide was his own opinion or national prejudice. There are a number of maps which place the line midway between the Rio Grande and the Sabine. Ficklen's article is

accompanied by a reproduction of two of Vaugondy's maps, but these two are not so satisfactory as the one here cited, in the New York Public Library. He does not reproduce the Lopez map.

The Spanish advance up the *Rio del Norte* into *Nova Mexico* is indicated by the *Via regia ex Mexico in Novam Mexico*, and by various settlements, *S. Phelipe d'Albuquerque fondee en 1705*, *Sa. Fé, Villa nueva de S. Maria de Grado fondee en 1705*, *Pueblo de Pecuries fondé depuis peu*, and by *los Taos*.

The chain of forts by which France at this early period sought to protect her claims against her opponents, the Spaniards and the English, already appears at a few points, *Catarocoui* at the outlet of *Lacus Ontario* into the St. Lawrence, *F. Denonville* on the site of the later Fort Niagara at the outlet of the Niagara River, *le Detroit* between Lakes Huron and Erie, *Ancien Fort* at the mouth of the Ohio, *Fort ou Ecors Prudhomme* near Memphis on the Mississippi, *Rosalie* below Natchez, *Vieu Fort* near the mouth of the Mississippi, and *Vieu F. de Bilocci*, *Fort Louis* and *Vieu Fort* on or near Mobile Bay.

There is an Indian settlement at *Chicagou* on the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, and the *Chicagou R* empties into the *Riviere Illinois*.

A striking characteristic of the map is the marvelously correct delineation of the Mississippi River, which differs little from that of the maps of the present day. The French travelers and surveyors had traversed the whole of the course of the river from the Gulf of Mexico to within two degrees beyond the Falls of St. Anthony, and had set down its devious course, the location of its tributaries, the high banks in the north, the low flat banks in the south, and the many shoals. Of the important tributaries on the east, only one, the *Ouisconsin* (*Wisconsin*) leading to the *Riv. aux Renards* (*the Fox*), on the Great Lakes, the most important traveled route in early colonial times from the waters of the Mississippi to those of the St. Lawrence, seems to be well done; the *Illinois* (*Illinois*) and *Ouabache* (*the Wabash*, that is, *the Ohio*) are not so well done. The last two river routes between Canada and Louisiana were little frequented in early times.

It has been claimed that this is the first map to represent the two tributaries of the Ohio, the Cumberland and the Tennessee. The names of these two rivers were applied later. ⁵

On the west, the *Missouri* and its leading tributaries, the *Aiaouez* (*Big Sioux*) and the modern Dakota on the east, and the *Ossages* (*Osage*), *Grand Riviere des Cansez* (*Kansas*) and the *Panis* (*Platte*) on the west, are also well done. The waters of the Missouri had apparently been trav-

3. Vaugondy's map, first published in 1750 and corrected to 1775, may be found in his *Atlas Universel*, map 102, in the New York Public Library. That

of Lopez is map 65 in the collection of Lopez maps in the Boston Public Library.

4. *Publications of the Southern History Association*, V, 366.

5. In the present work see No. 47 for the origin of the word Cumberland.

ersed as far as the modern Big Cheyenne, marked on the map by the inscription *Franci ultra fl. Missouri longius non processerunt*. In the continuation of this river farther to the west the author probably mistakes the Big Cheyenne for the Missouri. The *Akansas* (*Arkansas*) and the *Rouge* (*Red*) beyond Natchitoches are poorly done and probably had been little explored. The mapping of the *Rio del Norte* (*Rio Grande*) and of the rivers in Texas and Florida, copied from Spanish sources, is inferior to that of the French in the interior of the continent.

The rivers of the Atlantic Coast, in Florida copied from Le Moyne,⁶ are also poorly done; but the Great Lakes, with Lake Champlain in correct position, are much improved, and are probably the best representation of these up to this time. The small lakes of western New York are singularly well done, and could have been thus drawn only after careful survey. The portages leading from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi south from Lake Champlain, and south and west from Lakes Erie and Michigan, call attention to the various interior routes of the French in these parts.

The Appalachian Mountains, the Ozarks, and the Rocky Mountains are correctly located. Nor do the mineral resources of the land elude the French, as is shown by the map's various references to the salt houses and salines on the Missis-

siippi, for example to those near St. Louis, to copper mines at various points, to the lead mines east and west of the Mississippi in the present states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and to the "inets" of iron in the Ozarks of Missouri. Meadows, or prairies, are noted on the banks of the Missouri, as well as a hunting ground of one hundred and eighty leagues in extent south of the Ohio, where the Illinois Indians hunted cows (buffaloes).

Few early maps so clearly represent the location of the Indian tribes. Some, especially in Texas, are represented as *errantes* (*wandering*), and along the coast in Texas are *Indi errantes et Antrophagi* (*wandering and cannibal tribes*).

Under *Virginia*, on the sea coast, is *Icy fut defait et fait prisonier Abatschakin Roi de ces contrées* (*Here Abatschakin, King of these regions, was defeated and made prisoner*), and, under *Carolina*, *ita nominata in honorem R. Caroli IX a Francis qui eam detexerunt et possederunt usque ad ann. 1660* (*So named by the French in honor of King Charles IX, who discovered and held it till 1660*).

On No. 238 of the *Kohl Collection of Maps*, in the Library of Congress, J. G. Kohl inscribes a note in which he says that this map of Delisle's "is the mother and main source of all the later maps of the Mississippi and the whole west of the United States."⁷

6. In the present work see No. 20.

7. Phillips, *Lowery Collection*, Nos. 269, 284, and 297, as well as 238.

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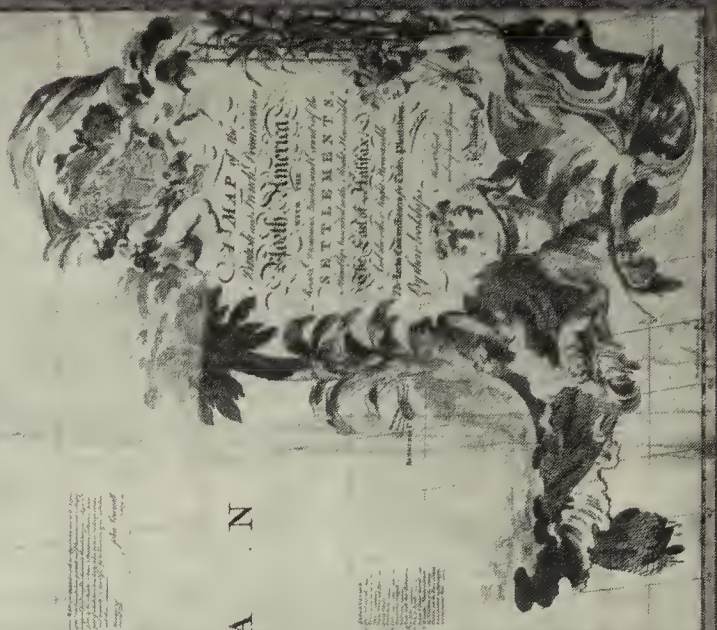
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THE ATLANTIC OCEAN



A MAP OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH DOMINIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

With the Roads, Distances, Limits, and Extent of the Settlements,
Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable, the Earl of Halifax, And
the other Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners for Trade &
Plantations, By their Lordships Most Obligated and very humble Ser-
vant, Jno. Mitchell. London, 1755. Tho: Kitchin sculp.

(40 x 72 inches.)

(Library of Congress.)

GEORGE MONTAGUE DUNK, second Earl of Halifax, to whom this map is dedicated, was placed at the head of the Board of Trade in 1748, with John Pownall, elder brother of Governor Thomas Pownall, as acting secretary. The town of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was named in his honor. After leaving the Board of Trade in 1761, he served in various cabinets as First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Privy Seal, and Secretary of State.

Thomas Kitchin, 1718-1784, the engraver of the map, about whom little is known, is famous not only for this present map, but for many others almost equally distinguished, some of them presented in this volume. Many of his maps were published in *The London Magazine*. In addition to engraving Mitchell's great work, he engraved several maps for Thomas Mante's *History of the Late War in North America*, and for other works; and in 1773, in collaboration with others, he brought out *A General Atlas, Descriptive of the Whole Universe*, which at the time was characterized as "the best collection of maps extant." There were several editions of this work down to 1801. The *London Magazine* contains an interesting world map by Kitchin, showing both Anian Strait off Alaska and Frobisher's Strait in Greenland.¹

John Mitchell, the author of the map, emigrated from England, and settled in the little village of Urbanna on the Rappahannock in Virginia about 1700. A botanist so distinguished that he carried on correspondence with Linnæus, he achieved some distinction as a collector of plant specimens in America, and as the discoverer of several new species. He was also a physician, and his treatise on yellow fever was used by Dr. Benjamin Rush during the outbreak of that disease in Philadelphia in 1793. In England, whither he returned in 1748, he was the friend of the Duke of Argyle, Lord Bute, and Benjamin Franklin. He died in 1768.

Some years before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, Mitchell was employed by the

English ministry not only to make this map of America, but to draw up a report on the colonies. This latter appeared in book form in London anonymously in 1757, under the title *The Contest in America between Great Britain and France, with Its Consequences and Importance*. Though the author's name is withheld, critics now are quite in agreement in ascribing it to Mitchell. "The first and principal of the French encroachments," he says in this publication, "on the British territories is Crown Point"; and it is incorrect to suppose the Ohio "to have been the sole occasion of the present war with the French." He believes the colonies were weakened by their disputes with one another.

Mitchell may have been the author of *An Account of the English Discoveries and Settlements in America*, London, 1748; and in 1767 came *The Present State of Great Britain and North America*, which has generally been ascribed to him. *American Husbandry*, two volumes, which appeared in London in 1775, "the most accurate and comprehensive account of the English colonies in America . . . by far the best description of their agricultural practices," may also have been from the pen of Mitchell.²

The map itself, *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America*, probably Mitchell's only work in cartography, was constructed in England, where Mitchell was made a fellow of the Royal Society on his return from America. The official character of the map is attested by the inscription to the left of the dedication, *This Map was Undertaken with the Approbation and at the request of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and is Chiefly composed from Draughts, Charts and Actual Surveys of different parts of His Majesties Colonies & Plantations in America; Great part of which have been lately taken by their Lordships Orders, and transmitted to this Office by the Governors of the said Colonies and others. John Pownall Secretary. Plantation Office Feby. 13th. 1755.*

1. The *London Magazine*, XXVI, 64, London, 1758.

2. A sketch of Mitchell may be found in Lyman Carrier, "Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer, and Histo-

rian," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1918* (I, 201), Washington, 1921.

The first edition of the map was published by the Author February 13, 1755, according to the Act of Parliament and Sold by And. Miller opposite Katherine Street on the Strand. In the New York Public Library there are two copies, not well preserved, of "a second edition" of the map, "Printed for Jefferys and Faden, Geographers to the King at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, London." One of the New York copies contains a long account of the geographical sources of the map, in an inscription along the eastern coast, in the course of which occur these words, "After the first drawing of this map in 1750, it was again corrected and improved, before it was published." King George III's copy of the map, also a second edition, contains the same inscription.³

In the second edition there are slight changes on the map from the first edition, which is here presented; one at Cape Race, one at Cape Sable, and one on the New England coast.

Mitchell's map is perhaps the greatest map in the history of American cartography. Setting down as it does the known geography of the country at the beginning of the era of the French and Indian War, it is noteworthy for its size, its accuracy, the historical value and suggestiveness of its many inscriptions, and its fortunate date. As a partisan political document it embodies the extreme claims of the British officials to the regions in dispute with the French, and every attempt is made in its inscriptions to justify the British pretensions against the French.

The map was accepted "as the only authentic one extant. None of the rest concerning America have passed under the examination or received the sanction of any public board, and they generally copy the French."⁴ "Most, if not all, our maps preceding that by Dr. Mitchell are very erroneous and injurious to his Majesty's just rights," says Huske, in his *Present State of North America*, 1755.

A copy of the second edition of Mitchell's map was used by the peace commissioners in Paris at the close of the Revolutionary War.⁵

The map is full of interesting legends, which are given here as they appear on the copy of the second edition of the map, reproduced as No. 74 of this present work, where they are more legible.

Concerning the land titles acquired by the English from the Indians it is quite complete. The northern part of the disputed area in the west, between the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Illinois, Lake Michigan, and the Ottawa, was claimed by the English because it was the territory of the *Six Nations of Iroquois*, who formally passed their title to the British. Says the inscription on the left-hand in southern Illinois: *The Six Nations have*

extended their Territories to the River Illinois, ever since the Year 1672, when they subdued and were incorporated with the Antient Chaouanons, the Native Proprietors of these Countries, and the River Ohio: Besides which they likewise claim a Right of Conquest over the Illinois, and all the Missisipi as far as they extend. This is confirmed by their own Claims and Possessions in 1742, which include all the Bounds here laid down, and none have ever thought fit to dispute them.

The inscription on the right-hand in southern Illinois runs as follows: *The Ohio Indians are a mixed Tribe of Several Indians of our Colonies, settled here under the Six Nations, who have always been in Alliance and Subjection to the English. The most numerous of them are the Delawares and Shannoos, who are Natives of Delaware River. Those about Philadelphia were called Sawwanoos, whom we now call Shawanoes or Shawnoes. The Mohickans and Minquaas were the Antient Inhabitants of Susquehanna R.*

Along the Illinois River a boundary line is traced bearing the words, *Western Bounds of the Six Nations Sold and Surrendered to Great Britain.*

In central Illinois at the junction of the Theakiki with the Illinois, *The Antient Eriex were exterminated by the Iroquois upwards of 100 years ago, ever since which time they have been in Possession of L. Erie.*

At the lower end of Lake Michigan, *Quadoghe. So call'd by ye Six Nations, ye Extent of their Territories, and Bounds of their Deed of Sale to ye Crown of Britain 1701 renewed in 1720 & 1744.*

Immediately under the central part of Lake Erie, *The Seat of War, the Mart of Trade, & chief Hunting Grounds of the Six Nations, on the Lakes & the Ohio.*

Between the Ottawa and Lake Huron, under Lake Nipissing, *By the several Conquests here mentioned the Territories of the Six Nations extend to the Limits here laid down; which they have been in Possession of about 100 years.*

In the upper part of the lower peninsula of Michigan, *Nicariages, united with the Six Nations & making the 7th Nation in that League.*

Above Lake Huron, *Messesagues, subdued by the Iroquois, and now united with them making the 8th Nation in that League.*

Southeast of Lake Huron, *Antient Hurons, Conquer'd and Expell'd by the Iroquois Anno 1650, ever since which time they have been in Possess'n of this Country.*

Above the Ottawa River, *Antient Algonquins Extirpated by the Iroquois.*

On the east and west sides of Lake Champlain, *Irocoisia, the Original Country of the Iroquois and formerly so called.*

The various settlements scattered over the north-

3. This royal copy may be studied in No. 74 of the present work.

4. Quoted by Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, V, 83,

from p. 218 of Smith's *History of New York*, 1814.

5. In the present work see No. 74.

ern part of the disputed territory give to the English still another claim, that based on actual possession.

East of the mouth of the Wabash is the inscription, *The first Settlement of the English on the R. Ohio was at about Allegheny 30 Years ago. Since which they have extended their Settlements from Shenango to Pickawillany.*

North from Allegheny or Old Shawnoe T. Engl. Settlem, via the Ohio or Allegany R., one road leads past Venango, English Settlem't to *The Forts lately usurped by the French* at Erie, Pennsylvania; farther up the Allegany, beyond Allegheny, lies *Shenango or Cheninque an English Settlement*, on another route to Lake Erie, which reaches the Lake east of *The Forts lately usurped by the French* via the present Lake Chautauqua.

South from Allegheny, at the fork of the Ohio, is *Ft. Duquesne*, not yet Pittsburg, from whence an almost straight *Traders' Road* leads to the west via *Log's T. built & Settled by the English several Years ago*, thence to Muskingum, an *English Facy.* on the Muskingum River, to *Hockhocken* or *Margarete Town* on the Hockhocken, thence to *Shawnoah* or *Lower Delaware T.* on the Scioto, and finally to *Pickawillany 150 m. from Ohio R., English Ft. Established in 1748 the extent of the English Settlements* on the Great Miami R.

In the vicinity of *The Forts lately usurped by the French* at Erie, Pennsylvania, lies *Kittanning, English Settlement some Years agoe*; on Beaver Creek, north from the Ohio at *Log's T.* is *Kuskuskies, Chief Town of the 6 Nations on the Ohio an English Factory*; and at the mouth of the Scioto River, on the Ohio, is *Lower Delaware T.* or *Lower Shawnoes an English Facy.* 400 m from the Forks by Water: the Ohio is $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. broad, deep & smooth with 5 or 6 feet Water to the forks.

Gist's Route and Traders Road leads northwest from *Lower Delaware T.* to *Pickawillany*, and thence west to the Wabash.

The French forts northwest of the Ohio can best be studied in No. 46. In addition to locating those that came into conflict with the English in western Pennsylvania, Mitchell notices a "usurped" French fort on the *Miamis River*, west of Lake Erie, and another at *Sandoski* on Lake Erie; also the *R. & Port Chicagou*.

One of the most interesting inscriptions lies along the Richelieu River at the outlet of Lake Champlain, *The Extent of the French Conquests and Settlements before their late Encroachments on Crown Pt.*, where the French fort was erected in 1731.

On the Mississippi, in the present state of Illinois, are *Cahokia* and *Kaskaskia*; on Lake Ontario *Niagara Ft.*, *Ft. Toronto*, and *Ft. Frontenac*.

South from the Ohio the English claims are likewise derived in part from the Indians.

Below the word *North*, in the inscription *North Carolina*, in the western part of the present state

of Tennessee, is the following: *The Country of the Cherokees, which extends Westward to the Mississippi and Northward to the Confines of the Six Nations was formally surrendered to the Crown of Britain at Westminster, 1729.* Below the word *Chickasaws* in western South Carolina, *In Alliance and Subjection to the English.* On the *Yasous*, *The Indians on this River were in Alliance with the English, for which they have been destroyed by the French.*

Actual settlement also played a part in the English claim south of the Ohio and west of the mountains.

Through the word *South*, in the inscription *South Carolina*, is the following: *Route of Coll. Welch to the Missisipi in 1698, since followed by our Traders 250 m.* Under *Chickasaws* is *Chickasaw Towns & English Factories the Extent of the English Settlements.* Under *Georgia*, in the present state of Alabama, *The English have Factories & Settlements in all the Towns of the Creek Indians of any note, except Albas; which was usurped by the French in 1715 but established by the English 28 years before.*

In the southeastern corner of the present state of Kentucky is *Augusta Co. Settled*, and in the western part of the same state is *Walkers the Extent of the English Settlements 1750.*

In the western part of Kentucky, *A Fine, Level and Fertile Country of great Extent by Accounts of the Indians and our People.* Above *Carolina*, in the inscription *South Carolina*, is *A fine Fertile Country by all Accounts.*

The name of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of King George II and Queen Caroline, was applied to the *Cumberland Mountains*, *Cumberland Gap*, and *Cumberland River* in 1750 by Thomas Walker of Virginia, who traveled in the western country in this year. When Walker's party reached the gap, which Walker in his Journal first called "Cave Gap," they drank to the health of the Duke, whom Walker had met in London; hence the name, given to mountain, gap, and river. Mitchell's *Cumberland River* is one of the first cartological occurrences of the new name. Lewis E. Evans uses the same term on his map of 1755.

A number of interesting inscriptions on Mitchell's map concern the extent of the country, distances, and paths. On the extreme left-hand side of the map, under *The Country of the Padoucas*, the long inscription reads as follows: *The Heads & Sources of these Rivers, and the Countries beyond the Bounds of this Map, are not well known.*

It is generally allowed to be 18 degrees of Longitude from the Forks of the Missisipi to the Mountains of New Mexico, whereas it is but 13 degrees from thence to the Atlantic Ocean; by which we see that Louisiana, which was granted by Lewis XIV to N. Mexico, is much larger West of the Missisipi than all of our colonies taken to-

gether would be if extended to the Missisipi. Canada again is larger than either of these.

If we extend these two Collonies to the Alleghany Mountains, as we see done in the French Maps, they include nine Tenths of all the Countries here laid down.

This Claim would be much larger than the French themselves imagine it; who lay down the Apalachean Mountains much farther West than the Surveys and Actual Mensurations here mention'd undoubtedly show them to be.

At the Falls of the Ohio, in southern Indiana, is the following: *Falls of the Ohio 6 Miles long passable up or down in Canoes 300 Miles from Shawnoah & about 300 from the Missisipi by Water.*

Along the course of the Missouri River, *Missouri river is reckoned to run Westward to the Mountains of New Mexico, as far as the Ohio does Eastward.*

Above *St. Anthony's Falls*, Thus far the *Missisipi* has been ascended.

In the upper left-hand corner, below the insert, *The head of the Missisipi is not yet known; it is supposed to arise about the 50th degree of Latitude and Western Bounds of this map, beyond which Nth America extends nigh as far Westward as it does to the Eastward by all Accounts.* This statement has an important bearing on the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, but cannot be considered in this volume.

In the insert, *A New Map of Hudson's Bay and Labrador from the late Surveys of those Coasts. The Distance from Hudson's Bay to the South Seas appears from the late Discoveries of the Russians to be about 450 Leagues, which makes a North-West Passage that way very improbable. Also, If there is a N. West Passage, it appears to be through one of these Inlets.*

In this region the map locates *Prince of Wales's Ft, York Ft, Flamborough Factory, Henley Factory, Moose Fort, E. Main Factory, and Rupert's Ft.*

At the top of the map, to the right of the insert map, is *The Passage from ye Lake of the Woods to Port Nelson on Hudson's Bay may probably be by these two Lakes, instead of so many new Lakes running so far West, as has been imagined.*

According to the map, the Ohio River enters the Mississippi 920 miles, and the Illinois 1,170 miles, from the sea.

From the upper Mississippi to the upper Missouri is *Route of the French to the Western Indians*; in central and eastern Kentucky *Route of Gist*

in his Survey of this Country; north of the Ohio, *Gist's Route & Traders Road* to the Wabash. There is an Indian road from the mountains of western North Carolina to Kentucky, apparently via the present Cumberland Gap, and in the Shenandoah Valley is the Great Wagon Road.

Some inscriptions are descriptive of the Indians.

In the upper left-hand corner of the map, west of the *Sioux* or *Nadouessians*, *The Nadouessians* are reckoned one of the most Populous Nations of Indians in North America, altho' the number and situation of their Villages are not known nor laid down.

West of the Missouri River, beneath *Panis*, *The Padoucas* and *Panis* are reckoned very numerous. *the Panis* are said to have 60 or 70 Villages.

In modern Georgia, *Country of the Apalachees* conquered and surrendered to the Carolinians, after two memorable Victories obtained over them & the Spaniards in 1702 and 1703 at the Places marked thus (crossed swords).

In the northern part of modern Florida, *Timouquas* Destroy'd by the Carolinians in 1706.

In the northern part of modern Georgia, *On these Rivers the Lower Creek Indians* formerly dwelt, before the War with Carolina in 1715, when they removed to *Chatahochee River*.

Below Hudson's Bay, *The Long and Barbarous Names lately given to some of these Northern Parts of Canada and the Lakes* we have not inserted, as they are of no use, and uncertain Authority.

The longer inscription south of Lake Erie, *The Places called Licks, and Lick Creeks, are Salt water, which afford plenty of Salt to Man & Beast in those Inland Parts, The Resort of all sorts of Game, Huntsmen, Traders, & Warriors, especially the Salt Ponds.*

Above the lower Missouri, *Extensive Meadows full of Buffaloes.*

Below the lower Missouri, *Mines of Maramag, which gave rise to the famous Missisipi Scheme of 1719.*

West of the mouth of the Mississippi, in the Gulf of Mexico, is the following: *Depths of the Missisipi 18 feet Water into Belise, 12 feet over the Bar, 45 feet within 50. 60 and 100 fathom afterwards: and very deep but rapid to the Illinois, counted 1,200 Miles by water and 770 Miles in a Strait Line.*

Not the least interesting feature of the map is the location of the many boundary lines, but this phase of the subject is treated elsewhere.⁶

6. In the present work see No. 48.

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A NEW AND ACCURATE MAP OF NORTH AMERICA

(Wherein the Errors of all preceeding British, French and Dutch Maps, respecting the rights of Great Britain, France & Spain, & the Limits of each of His Majesty's Provinces, are Corrected.) Humbly Inscribed to the Honorable Charles Townshend, one of the Right Honorable Lords Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain &c. By his Most Obligated, most Obedient and Very Humble Servant, Huske. Tho: Kitchin, Sculpt. London, 1755.

(14 x 16 inches.)

(In "*The Present State of North America*." London and Boston, 1755.)

SOME critics attribute the pamphlet in which this map first appeared to Ellis Huske, but others to his son, John Huske. Channing, in his *History of the United States*,¹ accepts the conclusion of T. N. Hoover that the author was Ellis Huske. On the other hand, the New York Public Library, the Boston Public Library, and the Harvard College Library attribute the authorship to John Huske. The former was an Englishman who resided for some years at Portsmouth, N. H., and then moved to Boston, where he became postmaster in 1734, and published the *Boston Weekly Postboy*. He was later appointed Deputy-Postmaster-General of the colonies. He died in 1755. His son, John, was born in Portsmouth, returned to England, and represented Maldon in the House of Commons, where he voted for the Stamp Act, for which his effigy, with that of Grenville, was hung on the Boston "Liberty Tree," November 1, 1765.

Charles Townshend, to whom the map is inscribed, was twelve years later the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Chatham's cabinet and the author of the famous "Townshend Acts." He had been a member of the Board of Trade from 1749 to 1754, when he became a Lord of the Admiralty. He resigned this position in 1755.

The map was made at the commencement of the French and Indian War to illustrate the conflicting claims of France and England, as set forth in *The Present State of North America*. This interesting presentation of the claims of England is the best commentary on the map.

The author treats first of the "Discoveries, Rights and Possessions of Great-Britain." He argues that "Priority of Discovery . . . was deemed a good claim" and that "The Cabots . . . did in 1496 and 1497 discover and take possession of . . . all the *Eastern Coast of North-America from Cape Florida to the North Polar Circle*, for, and in the Name of, the Crown of England."²

Moreover, the bounds of the English possessions have been settled by treaties with France. The treaty of Utrecht in 1713 recognized the English title to Hudson Bay Company's Territories, which were described as "all that Country from the *North Pole* to a certain Promontory upon the *Atlantic Ocean* in N. Lat. 56 Degrees 30 m. to run S. W. to *Lake Mistasin*, and from thence continued still S. W. indefinitely; which S. W. Line takes in Part of *Lake Superior*, which is as large as the *Caspian Sea*." On the map this southwest line terminates at the forty-ninth parallel, which constitutes the southern boundary of the Hudson Bay Territory from that point to the Pacific Ocean. The origin of the forty-ninth parallel as this boundary line is attributed to the report of a joint commission appointed in accordance with the treaty of Utrecht by which the Hudson Bay Territory was ceded to England. Although it is known that such a commission met in Paris in 1719, it is not at all certain that the members agreed upon the line as described on Huske's map. The more official map, drawn in the same year, 1755, by John Mitchell,³ represents the southern boundary of Hudson Bay Territory as the watershed between Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes.

By the same treaty of Utrecht, "New Britain or *Labradore*" and "New Found Land" were "ceded to *Great-Britain* reserving to the *French* . . . Liberty to visit and to erect Huts and Stages for drying Fish from *Cape Bonavista* to the *Northermost Point of the Island*, and from thence down the *Western Side* to the *Point Riche*."⁴ The French were also allowed to retain the two small islands St. Pierre and Miquelon⁵ off the southwest coast of Newfoundland. The treaty of Utrecht also ceded to Great Britain the ill defined territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia, whose boundaries were long in dispute. The English claims are represented on the map by the inscription which reads as follows:

1. Vol. II, p. 553, note 1.

2. *Present State of North America*, p. 1.

3. In the present work see No. 47.

4. *Present State of North America*, p. 4.

5. *I. St. Peter* and *Micklon I.* on the map.

The River Pentagoit was the Western Boundary of Acadie or Nova Scotia when the limits of this Province were ascertained, according to the Claim of France, in Consequence of the Treaty of Breda.

But as the Crown of Great Britain did in 1663 Grant the Territory lying between Sagadahoc River and the River of St. Croix, and from the edge of the Sea inland to St. Lawrence River, to the Duke of York by the name of Sagadahoc; and as this Territory was annexed to the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in 1691 by Charter from the Crown, St. Croix River is now the Western Limits of Acadie or Nova Scotia.

The author carefully points out that "Acadie, extending from the River of St. Lawrence to the River Pantagoit or Penobscot, was not only first discovered, but first settled by the English."⁶

As for the southern limits of French Canada, Huske insisted that the French had "No Right to any part of the Country to the Southward of the River St. Lawrence below Montreal."

As the Five Nations, or Iroquois, had by Dongan's treaty of 1684 acknowledged "that they had given their Lands and submitted themselves to the King of England,"⁷ which "they further confirmed by several subsequent Treaties, and a Deed of Sale . . . in 1701," and as the Treaty of Utrecht had confirmed the dominion of Great Britain over them, Huske claimed that England had title to all the native country of the Iroquois "extending upon the South Banks of the River St. Lawrence from the mouth of the Iroquois or Sorel River, as high up the St. Lawrence as to be opposite to the West End of Lake Sacrement (Lake George), and from the West End of the said Lake thro' that and Lake Iroquois or Champlain, and Iroquois River to its Mouth, which is opposite to St. Peter's Bay."⁸ Moreover, the English claimed sovereignty over all the lands conquered by the Iroquois extending from "New England and the Utawawas (Ottawa) River to the Eastward, to Hudson's Bay Company's Territories to the Northward, to the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers Westward, and to Georgia Southward."⁹ It is true, says Huske, that "French Geographers, D'Lisle, Du Fur, &c. have in their late Maps limited their Rights Northward. Therefore it must give every Briton great Pleasure to see our Countryman Dr. Mitchel, F.R.S. detecting their Mistakes and designed Encroachments, and almost wholly restoring us to our just Rights and Possessions, as far as Paper will admit of it, in his most elaborate and excellent Map of North-America just published."¹⁰

The extent of the Iroquois country is set forth in the inscription on the map at the left of the title. It reads as follows:

"N. B. The Hereditary and Conquered Country of the Iroquois, or Five United Nations of Indians, residing in His Majestys Province of New York, which has been Ceded and Confirmed by them, in many Treaties and a deed of Sale in 1701; and by France in the Treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle to the Crown of Great Britain, extends to the Eastward on the South side of St. Lawrence River, to the Western bounds of New England and on the North side of that River to the Utawawas River and Lake Abitibis. From Lake Abitibis South west to the North East end of Lake Michigan, & from thence thro' that lake to the River Illinois, & from thence down that River to the Missisipi. From the Confluence of the Rivers Illinois and Missisipi its Western Boundary is the Course of the Missisipi River as far South as Georgia.

"This is a vast Country extending about 1,200 Miles in Length from North to South, and from Seven to 800 Miles in Breadth."

In violation of the rights of the Indians and the English, the French built a fort near the site of Kingston in 1672 and "another Fort, with four Bastions, at Niagara Falls" and "in 1725 [1731] they built Crown-Point or St. Frederick's Fort on Lake Iroquois or Champlain."¹¹

As for the English right to the country south of 34° north latitude, it is based first upon the grant of Charles I to Sir Robert Heath of "all the Country and the Islands on the Sea Coast of the Atlantic Ocean lying between 31 D. and 36 D. N. Lat. and from thence due West to the South Seas." Later in "1665 King Charles II granted to several Noblemen and Gentlemen all the Country lying on the Atlantic Ocean between 29 D. and 36 D. 30 M. N. Lat. and from thence due West to the Pacific Ocean, no Christian Prince or People intervening, by the name of Carolina. This Grant comprehends the present Provinces of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and all the Province of Louisiana, since usurped by the French."¹² Moreover, in 1698, the year before "M. D'Iberville on the Part of France hit upon the Mouths of the Mississippi," an Englishman, Sir Daniel Cox sent a ship up the Mississippi River "above one hundred Miles, taking Possession of the Country in the King's Name."

The northern boundary of Spanish Florida was fixed in 1738 by an agreement between the English and Spanish crowns as the "South Branch of St. John's River." As the "Charter for Georgia . . . does not extend the South Bounds of this Province beyond the South Branch of the River Altamaha; so all the Country to the Southward of the Altamaha to the South Branch of St. John's River continues Part of South-Carolina Province."¹³

6. *Present State of North America*, p. 6.

7. *Ibid.* p. 12.

8. *Ibid.* p. 14.

9. *Ibid.* p. 18.

10. *Ibid.* p. 20. Also see No. 47 in the present work.

11. In the present work see No. 54.

12. *Present State of North America*, p. 21.

13. *Ibid.* p. 23.

The long inscription on the map off the coast of Florida thus sums up the rightful claims of Great Britain, France and Spain:

All the Coloured part of this Map, with the Encroachments of the French thereon that are not Coloured, delineates the Rights and possessions of Great Britain, and the various Colours distinguishes his Majesty's several Provinces as their respective Governments at present exercise their Jurisdictions; But the Limits of the Massachusetts Province with New York, Connecticut with New York, New York with New Jersey and Pennsylvania with Maryland are not yet finally determined, owing to some Ambiguity in the description of the Territory of ye. several Grants and to the tedious and expensive progress such disputes are always attended with. The uncoloured part of this Map to the Northward of the Gulf & River of St. Lawrence is all the Territories France has any just right to in Nth. America to the Northward of 29 Degrees of Nth. Latitude. And the rest of the uncoloured part, to the Southward of South Carolina, is all that belongs to Spain according to Stipulation between Grt. Britain and Spain in 1738.

On the other hand, the French claimed the whole basin of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi Valley, leaving to the English the country north of the line marking *The Southern Boundary of the Hudsons Bay Companys Territories settled in consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht* and the region east and south of the line drawn on the map along the crest of the *Appalachian Mts.*, with the inscription: *The French claim all the Country to the South ward of Hudsons Bay Companies Territories that is within this line.*¹⁴

In the third chapter of *The Present State of North-America*, the author enumerates the "Encroachments and Depredations of the French upon his Majesty's Territories in North-America in Times when Peace subsisted in Europe between the Two Crowns."

Fr. Ft. Balise, at the mouth of the Mississippi, was built by D'Iberville in 1699 when he discovered that river. "In 1701 the next Establishment was made at the *Mobile River*. In 1702 *Isle Dauphin* begun to be settled," and in 1714 the French "built a Fort . . . at *Alibamous* in the Heart of our subjects the *Upper Creek Indians*." "In 1717, the capital of *Louisiana*, called *New-Orleans*, was founded." "The French have just as much Right to that Part of *Louisiana* to the North-

ward of twenty-nine Degrees of North Latitude, as a *Frenchman* would have to one of the King's Forests in this *Island* upon coming from *France*, walking thro' it . . . and then impudently setting himself down."

As for the French encroachments in the north, "there is no Foundation for any pretence to extend this Province [Canada] to the northward beyond the South Bounds of the *Hudson's Bay Company's Territories* and *New-Britain or Labradore*; to the Westward beyond *Lake Abitibis* and the course of the *Utawawas River* that disembogues directly opposite to *Montreal*; to the Southward beyond the North Side of the *River of St. Lawrence*. I say this is *Canada* or *New-France*, and no Authority can be produced for its Extension any way." In spite of this, the French built forts at *Beau Sejour* and *Baye Verte* in *Acadia* from which they instigated Indian attacks upon the English posts and incited the *Acadians* to revolt. Another French fort at the mouth of the *St. John's River* controlled that valley and was used as a base for attacks upon the *New England* settlements.

Moreover, "the French have settled seven Villages in the Province of *Massachusetts-Bay* on the South Banks of the *St. Lawrence River* between the *Isle of Orleans* and the Mouth of the *Iroquois* or *Sorrel River*." There was another "French Fort at *Cowass* or *Cohasser* on *Connecticut River* in the Province of *New-Hampshire*." There were also "two Forts on *Beef River*, which issues from the South Side of *Lake Erie* in his Majesty's Province of *Pennsylvania*; and last year they forcibly attacked and took a Fort [*Du Quesne*] at the Confluence of the Rivers *Mohongala* and *Ohio*." French forts were built at such strategic points as *Kaskaskies* and *Cahokias* on the Mississippi, *Fort Pontchartrain* near the site of *Detroit*, *Fort St. Joseph* near the later site of *Chicago*, *Venango* on the *Alleghany*, *Frontenac* on the *St. Lawrence*, and *Frederick* or *Crown Point* on *Lake Champlain*.

An attempt was made by France and England to settle their disputed boundaries and a joint commission was provided for by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The commission, consisting of Governor *Shirley* and *William Mildmay* for England and *La Galissonière* and *Silhouette* for France, met in *Paris* in 1753 and sat until 1755, but could come to no agreement. The report of their proceedings was published at *London* in 1755 with the title: *Memorials of the English and French commissaries concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia.*

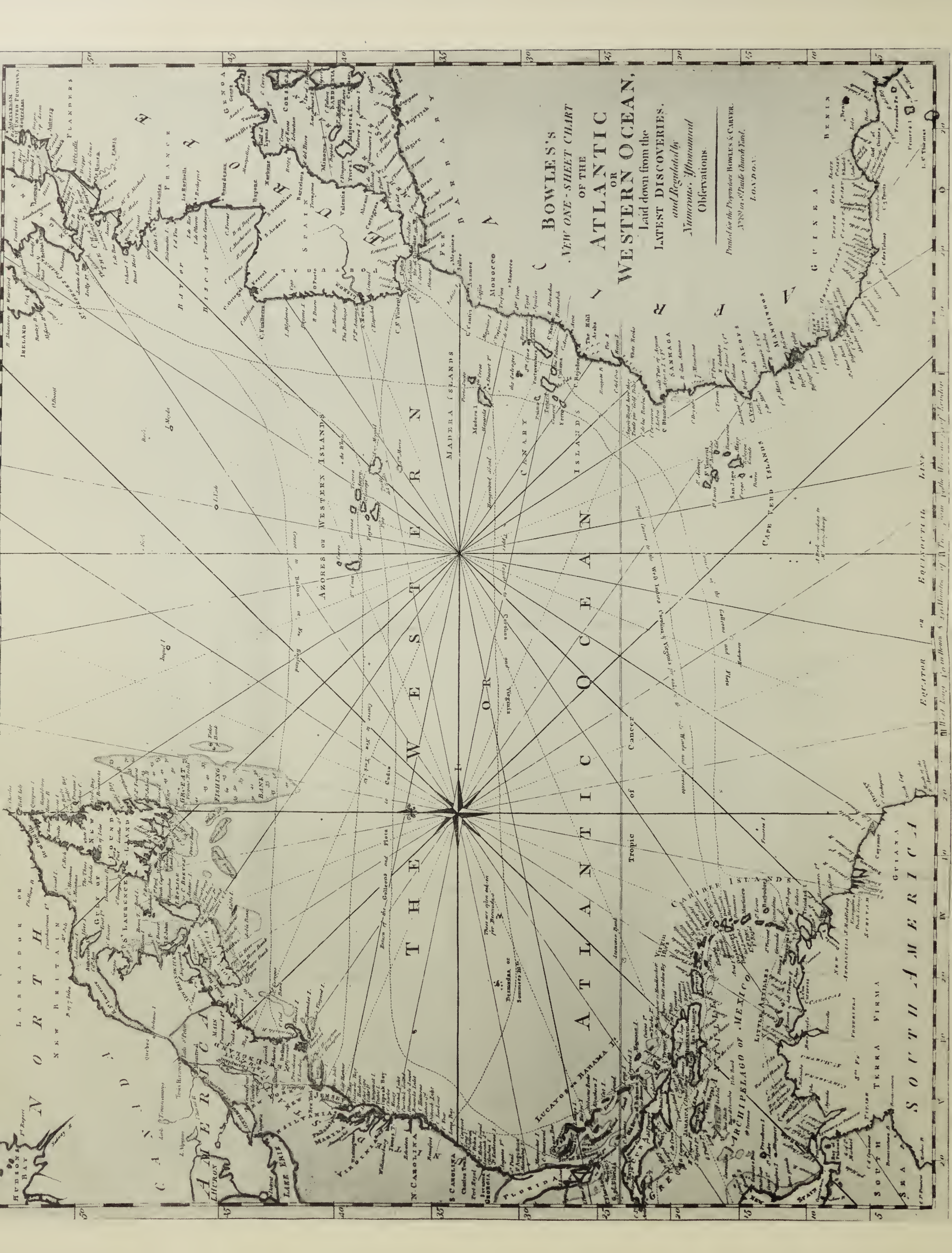
14. For French claims, see also D'Anville's map *Canada, Louisiane, et les ter-*

res anglaises, 1755, and his *Memoire* on the map published in 1756.

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BOWLES'S
NEW ONE-SHEET CHART
OF THE
ATLANTIC
OR
WESTERN OCEAN,
laid down from the
LATEST DISCOVERIES,
and Regularly
Amended
Observations

Printed for the Proprietors **BOWLES & CARVER,**
At the Sign of the *Three Kings*, in *St. Pauls Church Yard,*
LONDON.

ERECTOR or **EQUINOCTIAL LINE**
The line of the Equator is drawn in the middle of the map.

Bowles's New One-Sheet Chart of the

ATLANTIC OR WESTERN OCEAN

Laid down from the Latest Discoveries, and Regulated by Numerous Astronomical Observations. Printed for the Proprietors Bowles & Carver. No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard. London, 1794(?).

(17¾ x 22 inches.)

(In J. Palairé and Others, "Bowles's Universal Atlas." London, for Bowles & Carver, 1794-1798.)

THIS comprehensive map serves to bring into view the trade routes and economic relations between Spain and her colonial empire in South and Central America, as well as the inter-relations of the various elements in the economic life of the British colonies in North America.

Says a modern scholar, Haring, in *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century*,¹ concerning the Spanish commerce in the new world:

"Two fleets were organized each year, one for Terra Firma going to Cartagena and Porto Bello, the other designed for the port of San Juan d'Ulloa (Vera Cruz) in New Spain. The latter, called the Flota, was commanded by an 'almirante' and sailed for Mexico in the early summer so as to avoid the hurricane season and the 'northers' of the Mexican Gulf. The former was usually called the galeones (*anglice*, 'galleons'), was commanded by a 'general,' and sailed from Spain earlier in the year, between January and March. . . .

"The galleons generally consisted of from five to eight war-vessels carrying from forty to fifty guns, together with several smaller, faster boats called 'pataches,' and a fleet of merchantmen varying in number in different years. . . .

"If the two fleets sailed together, they steered south-west from the Canaries to about the latitude of Deseada, 15° 30", and then catching the Trade winds continued due west, rarely changing a sail until Deseada or one of the other West Indian islands was sighted. From Deseada the galleons steered an easy course to Cape de la Vela, and thence to Cartagena. When the galleons sailed from Spain alone, however, they entered the Caribbean Sea by the channel between Tobago and Trinidad, afterwards named the Galleons' Passage. . . .

"Then began the famous fair of Porto Bello. The town, whose permanent population was very small and composed mostly of negroes and mulattoes, was suddenly called upon to accommodate an enormous crowd of merchants, soldiers, and seamen. . . . Owing to overcrowding, bad sanitation, and an extremely unhealthy climate, the place became an open grave, ready to swallow all who

resorted there. . . . Meanwhile, day by day, the mule trains from Panama were winding their way into the town. Gage in one day counted 200 mules laden with wedges of silver, which were unloaded in the market-place and permitted to lie about like heaps of stones in the streets, without causing any fear or suspicion of being lost. While the treasure of the King of Spain was being transferred to the galleons in the harbour, the merchants were making their trade. . . .

"The Flota, or Mexican Fleet, consisting in the seventeenth century of two galleons of 800 or 900 tons and from fifteen to twenty merchantmen, usually left Cadiz between June and July and wintered in America; but if it was to return with the galleons from Havana in September it sailed for the Indies as early as April. The course from Spain to the Indies was the same as for the fleet of Terra-Firma. From Deseada or Guadeloupe, however, the Flota steered north-west, passing Santa Cruz and Porto Rico on the north, and sighting the little isles of Mona and Saona, as far as the Bay of Neyba in Hispaniola, where the ships took on fresh wood and water. Putting to sea again, and circling round Beata and Alta Vela, the fleet sighted in turn Cape Tiburon, Cape de Cruz, the Isle of Pines, and Capes Corrientes and San Antonio at the west end of Cuba. Meanwhile merchant ships had dropped away one by one, sailing to San Juan de Porto Rico, San Domingo, St. Jago de Cuba, and even Truxillo and Cavallos in Honduras, to carry orders from Spain to the governors, receive cargoes of leather, cocoa, etc., and rejoin the Flota at Havana. . . .

"If the fleet was to return in the same year, however, the exports of New Spain and adjacent provinces, the goods from China and the Philippines carried across Mexico from the Pacific port of Acapulco, and the ten or twelve millions of treasure for the king, were at once put on board and the ships departed to join the galleons at Havana."

An instructive map of the West Indies, which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740,² contains the following interesting sailing directions for mariners in the whole island group:

1. P. 14 and following.

2. X, 3.

"Course to Jamaica. All ships from Europe or Africa, bound for Jamaica, make the Island of Antega, or some other of the Caribbees near it, because from thence they can bear away before the Trade Winds due West to Jamaica. Ships also from Carolina and all our Plantations on the Continent of America are obliged to get to Antega or the E. of St. Christophers, and then fall into the same Trade Wind Course; the Gulph of Florida, which seems to be a nearer way for them, being impracticable, the Current there setting from S. to N. & after that the Trade Winds being for 100 Leagues against them.

"From Jamaica by the Gulph of Florida. From the W. Point of Jamaica to the W. end of Cuba Ships have the advantage of the Trade Winds, which are after that till they get into the Gulph as much against them; so that while they are tripping it between Cape Florida and Cuba, the Guarda Costas from the latter can easily bear down upon them. Again, as the Florida coast is flat and Shoaly for 7 or 8 Leagues out, they are obliged to keep near the Bahamas, and are again in danger from thence, all those islands being Spanish, except Providence, where, if our ships get, and take any Logwood on board, tho' the growth of that island, the Spanish Guarda Costas, which lie off the Abaca I. will make prize of them, pretending that wood only grows in their Territories.

"From Jamaica by the Windward Passage. The most difficult part of this course is from Port Royal to Point Morant, which being against the Trade Winds, has sometimes taken up 6 weeks, tho' but 20 Leagues. But the most dangerous is from that Point till they are clear of Crooked Island, a course of 160 Leagues, for the Spaniards, from Cuba, Porto Rico, & Hispaniola (and sometimes the French) are in wait to intercept the English. This is called the Windward Passage because Ships are obliged to keep to the Windward to avoid the Shoals on the Coast of Cuba."³

Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* contains a *Report* on the ports, harbors, forts, and cities in the West Indies, made by a certain Spaniard who was sent to survey the islands for the King of Spain toward the end of the sixteenth century.⁴

Says this report: "Cartagena . . . hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein; as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three monasteries. . . . This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of The new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adjoyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing

of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound countrey. This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receive great store of Ships. . . . There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the Enemie may give an attempt by Land. . . .

"Nombre de Dios [on the Atlantic coast of the present coast of Panama] is builded upon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie houtholdes or inhabitants: their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which are there be forreiners, they are there today and gone tomorrow . . . but seeing it is but a bad haven and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your majestie to be at any charges in fortifying that place. . . .

"The citie of Panama is eightene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the silver is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your majesties treasure as other merchandize; so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the merchandize are carried to the river of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought up by this river within five leagues of Panama unto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama upon Mules. . . .

"Puerto Bello lieth five leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward: It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receive great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water: for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the midst of the same harbour you shall find twelve fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. . . . And like wise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes, and stones to ballast shippes. . . .

"Panama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South Sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said citie . . . also there is a College of Jesuits, and the royale audience or chancery is kept in this citie. . . . This citie hath three hundred and fifty houses, all built of timber, and there are six hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townsmen, and four hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are freemen. . . . There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault us. . . .

"In al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there some ships and barks. The

3. There are many excellent maps of the colonial West Indies. Consult Jedidiah Morse, *American Gazetteer* (p. 608), London, 1794; *The Gentleman's Magazine* (XXXII, 56), London, 1762; Le S. Bellin, *Description Gé-*

graphique des Isles Antilles possédées par les Anglois (p. 171), Paris, 1758; Mr. Salmon, *A New Geographical and Historical Grammar, Wherein the Geographical Part is Truly Modern* (p. 624), London, 1754; and No. 63 in the

Collection of Lopez Maps in the Boston Public Library. On West Indian Atlases, see Phillips, *Geographical Atlases*, Nos. 2694-2711, and 3940-3947.

4. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1904, X, 135.

harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I have certified your majestie, thorow the streits of Magellane, & arrive at that instant, when those barks, do come from Peru with your majesties gold & silver, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks; so the enemy may come and take all their treasure, & not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort.”⁵

The map clearly indicates the trade routes across the Atlantic. One, in the extreme south, with the trade winds and the currents, the usual route from the Madeiras and the Canaries to the West Indies, Carolina, and Virginia; an upper course to the same points; a third from the Azores, almost straight west to New York; and the most northern one of all, to Boston over the Great Fishing Bank off Newfoundland.⁶

The map also serves to bring into view the interrelations of the various parts of the British colonial empire.

The Newfoundland fisheries furnished the basis of a valuable commerce between Great Britain and the Roman Catholic countries of southern Europe, and assured a constant supply of sea-faring men for the British royal navy. The troublesome French fishermen were all but eliminated by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, and by the treaty of Paris, 1763.⁷

The southern mainland colonies, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, in their trade with the mother country were in a position to exchange commodity for commodity, mainly tobacco, rice, and indigo, for the manufactured products of England. The more northern colonies, particularly those in New England, having no great staple crop of their own, were not so fortunate; and as the result of their extensive purchases of manu-

factured products in England, the balance of trade was against them.

The northern colonies, with no agricultural commodities greatly desired by Britain, paid for their English goods partly by the cash which they received in freight charges, for the carrying trade on the ocean was largely in their ships, and partly by the gains which came to them in their trade with the West Indies. New England sent lumber of all kinds, shingles, staves, and hoops, and fish, horses, and oxen, and the middle Colonies the agricultural products of flour and bread, to the West Indies, where the planters were in dependence on the mainland for these necessities; and in return the traders on the mainland received from the West Indies sugar, rum, molasses, and the balance in gold and silver. It was in part this gold and silver that was sent to England to pay for the purchase there of manufactured goods.

From the sugar products of the West Indies the distilleries of New England manufactured the rum which was an essential factor in the slave trade with Africa, and in the Indian trade at home.

It was in connection with the slave trade that the so-called three-cornered trade grew up, in which New England rum was carried to the west coast of Africa, to Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast in Guinea, on the first leg of the journey, and there exchanged for palm oil, gold dust, but principally for slaves; which were, then, on the second leg of the journey, carried to the West Indies, where the slaves were exchanged for sugar products; and these were finally carried, on the third or last leg of the journey, home to New England, there in large part to be manufactured into more rum. The New England vessels, which carried fish to southern Europe, also brought back African slaves to the Sugar Islands and sugar products to their home ports in New England.

5. *Ibid.* X, 280 and 306, contains two ruttier, practically sailing directions, for the West Indies.

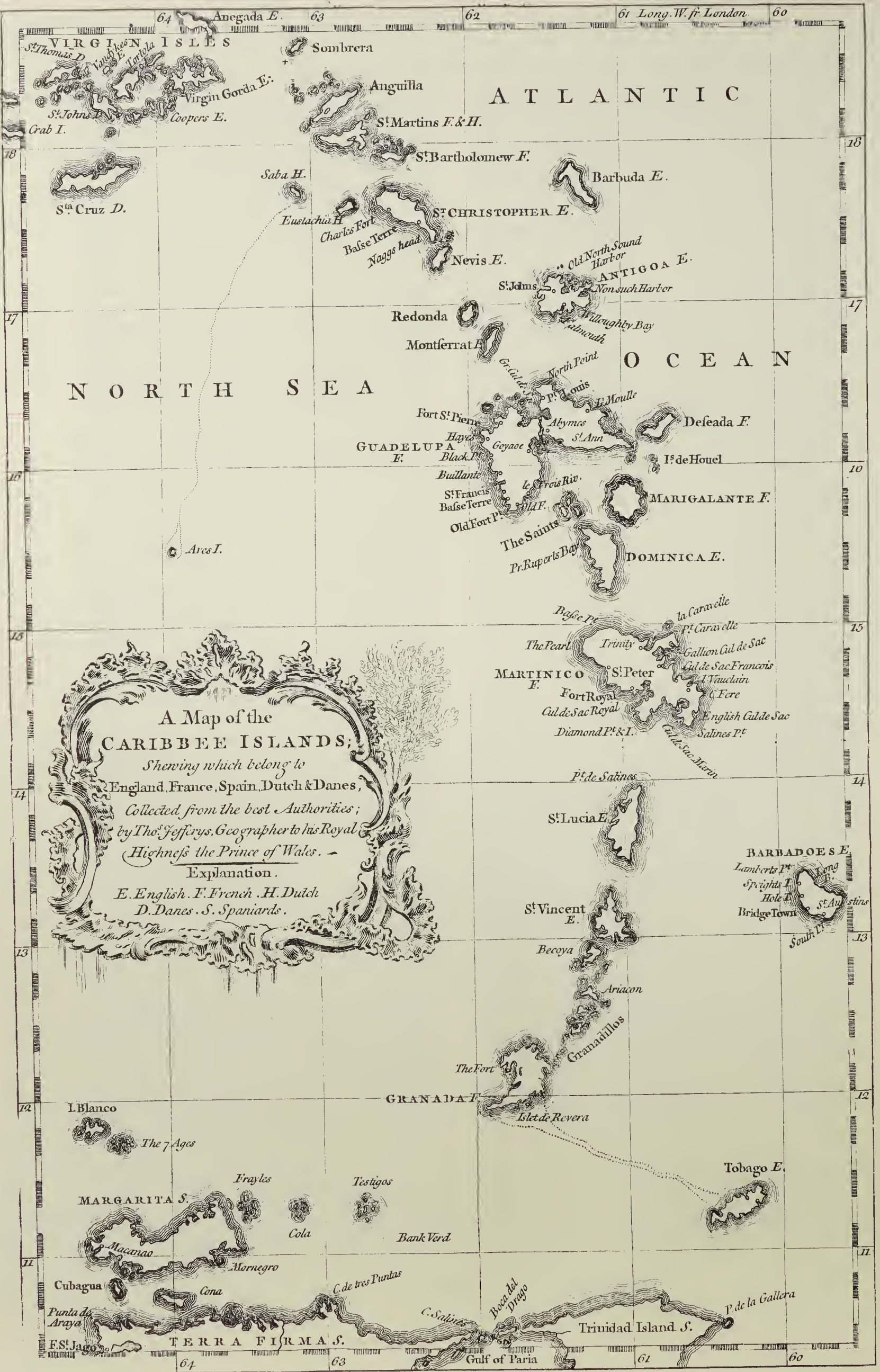
6. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (X), London, 1740, at the end of the volume, contains an instructive map of the Atlantic basin, adorned by engraved like-

nesses of Admiral Blake and Vice-Admiral Vernon.

7. In the present work see No. 48.

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A MAP OF THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS

Shewing which belong to England, France, Spain, Dutch & Danes,
Collected from the best Authorities; by Thos. Jefferys, Geographer to
his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. London, 1756.

(7 x 13 inches.)

(In "The Gentleman's Magazine." London, 1756; XXVI, 368.)

"THOMAS JEFFERYS (d. 1771), map engraver, carried on his business in St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, London, and became geographer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III."¹

There are numerous colonial maps of the West Indies in addition to the one here given. Readers should consult those included by Jefferys in his *West India Atlas* and by Le S. Bellin in his *Description Géographique*.² In the collection of Lopez maps in the Boston Public Library is an excellent map of the Lesser Antilles.

The Caribbee Islands or Lesser Antilles, a group of twenty-seven small islands, many of them surrounded by clusters of smaller islands, stretch northwesterly in a great semicircular sweep from the mainland of South America to the vicinity of Porto Rico, whence another group, the Greater Antilles, continue on to the mainland of North America. Columbus discovered most of the Lesser Antilles and named many of them. Almost all are mountainous, volcanic in origin, cooled by the trade winds during the day and by land breezes at night, subject to tropical diseases, torrential rains, and hail storms, and occasionally visited by earthquakes and hurricanes.

Writers differ as to what islands are included in the two groups, Windward and Leeward Islands, but the boundary line between the two was usually run at the island of *Deseada* (Deserada, Desiderada). In all the islands the trade winds blow from the east, and by the ocean mariners, who generally touched first at this island on approaching the western shores of the Atlantic, all the islands on their north and west were called the Leeward Islands, and those on the south and east the Windward Islands.

The Caribbees are small and close together. *Martinico* measures 30 miles by 60 miles, and contains a land area of about 260 square miles, or 166,000 acres; *Guadaloupa* measures 38 miles by 45 miles, and contains 612 square miles, or 392,000 acres; *Barbadoes*, 14 miles by 21 miles, and 150 square miles, or 106,000 acres; and *St. Christopher*, 7 miles by 20 miles, and 80 square miles, or 51,000 acres. The state of Rhode Island has an area of 1,067 square miles, so that all the Caribbees together are probably not over

twice as large as this smallest of the United States. On a clear day *St. Vincent* is visible from *Barbadoes*, twenty leagues in the west; also *St. Lucia*, twenty-five leagues to the northwest. Many of the islands are closer to one another. *St. Thomas*, *St. Johns*, and *Santa Cruz*, and the surrounding smaller islands, recently acquired by the United States, are about thirty miles from Porto Rico.

Rodney in command of the English fleet defeated the French fleet under De Grasse April 12, 1782, in the triangle between *Dominica*, the *Saints*, and *Marigalante*, less than two leagues from dangerous shores both to leeward and windward; and the inhabitants of the surrounding islands were spectators of the battle. After the battle the shattered French fleet, unable to make *Martinico*, *Dominica*, *Guadaloupa*, *St. Christopher*, or *St. Eustachia*, took advantage of its one avenue of escape and fled to Cape François on the northern shores of Santo Domingo.

The *Constellation* of the United States navy fought *L'Insurgente* February 9, 1799, off the eastern coast of St. Christopher; the *Constellation* fought the *La Vengeance*, February 1, 1800, in the sea west of Guadaloupa.

In 1778 there appeared anonymously in London *The Present State of the West Indies*, from which the following descriptive extracts are taken.

"*Tobago* . . . is about 25 leagues in circumference; it is covered throughout with little hills that might be cultivated, and has but a very small number of craggy mountains at the N. E. extremity; out of all these high grounds run numerous streams and rivers, most of which seem designed to turn sugar-mills. . . .

"To the leeward of *Tobago*, going towards the N. W., is the island of *Grenada*, about nine leagues long, and four broad; a chain of mountains, some very high, crosses it from North to South; the rest of the island is formed of plains and hillocks. . . . Its soil is of different kinds, but mostly a rich and deep black mold which is very fertile. . . .

"Between the Northern extremity of *Grenada* and the Southern point of the island of *St. Vincent* is a range of small islands and rocks dependent of *Grenada*, and known by the name of *Grenadilles* or *Grenadines*; this Archipelago, whose

1. *Dictionary of National Biography*. New York and London, 1892; XXIX.

2. In the present work see No. 49.

length is about 14 leagues, contains 23 islands fit to produce cotton, coffee, indigo, and even sugar. . . .

"About two leagues to the North of the chain of the Grenadines, as we have already observed, is the island of *St. Vincent*, one of those which were called Neutral, and whose possession, assured by the last peace (1763), is shared by us with the Caribbs. It is more than four leagues long. . . . Out of the ridge of mountains, which crosses it from South to North, rise a great number of rivers full of fish, among which are found twenty-two capable of turning sugar-mills. . . . The island of *St. Vincent* is more favorable than any other for the culture of sugar, coffee, cacao, and anatta. . . .

"Twenty leagues from *St. Vincent*, and out of the chain of the Caribbees, is *Barbadoes*, one of the most ancient English settlements in the West-Indies. When they fixed themselves there in 1627, the island did not seem to have been at any time inhabited even by Caribbs. The Spaniards called it 'Isla de los Barbados' (the Island of Bearded People), from a kind of fig-tree on whose sides there hang long filaments which to the eyes of sailors looked like a man with a long beard. . . . The whole island appears a continued plantation, where the houses are so numerous that they seem to touch. . . . Although it is much fallen off from the splendor celebrated at the end of the last century when it contained above 100,000 inhabitants, it is still one of the most valuable of our settlements in the West-Indies."

Barbadoes is said to be the most densely populated country outside of China. Many wealthy English Royalists fled here after the civil war. It was visited by George Washington in 1751, with his brother, Lawrence, who was ill.

"To the North of Barbadoes begin the French islands, in the middle of which we find *Dominica*, the third of the Neutral Isles, which fell into the possession of the English at the last peace (1763). *Dominica*, between Martinico and Guadalupe. . . . Its length is eight leagues and $\frac{1}{2}$; its greatest breadth in the middle about four. It is certainly one of the best islands in the West-Indies, and after Jamaica, the most important, perhaps, of those belonging to England. . . . One of the great advantages of *Dominica* arises from the variety of the aspects of its excellent soil. . . .

"*Antigua* is the most considerable" of the Leeward Islands; "it has been written sometimes 'Antego' and 'Antegoa,' but the proper spelling is *Antigua* after Maria la Antigua, a famous church of Seville, whose name Columbus gave this island. It is above three leagues in its greatest length. . . . In general the climate is hotter, less healthy, and the hurricanes more frequent than at Barbadoes. . . . The English planters had hardly begun to gather the fruits of their industry, when they were attacked and reduced by the French; the treaty of

Breda put them again under the English dominion, which they have enjoyed ever since, to the great advantage of their possessions. . . . The best port on the island is English Harbour on the South side. . . .

"About fifteen leagues to the West of Antigua is the island of *St. Christopher*, commonly called *St. Kitt's*, which has given birth to all the English and French colonies in the West-Indies. The two nations arrived there the same day in 1625; they divided the island between them, agreeing, however, that hunting, fishing, the mines and forests should be in common. . . . The island is thirteen or fourteen leagues in circuit. . . . The center of the island is taken up by a great number of high and barren mountains, intersected by rocky precipices almost impassable and in many of which issue hot springs. There is no harbour, nor anything that has the appearance of any. . . .

"To the south of *St. Christopher* is the little island of *Nevis* (a name corrupted from the Spanish 'Nievus'). . . . It is only a vast mountain rising to a very great height, and whose foot is cultivated all round, as well as a part of the declivity; all the rest is covered with fine trees. The island is about two leagues long and one broad. . . .³

"At ten leagues to the South-East of *Nevis* is the little island of *Montserrat*, so called by Christopher Columbus from its resemblance to a mountain of Catalonea known by the name of Our Lady of *Montserrat*. It is more than three leagues long. . . .

"*Barbuda*, nine leagues to the North of Antigua, is about two or three leagues long, and half a league broad. Soon after the settling of *St. Kitt's* and *Nevis*, the new planters conceived so advantageous an opinion of *Barbuda* that they resolved to cultivate it; they sent there some inhabitants, who, charmed with the mildness and fertility of its climate, called it 'Dulcina'; this name lasted no longer than their colony; they soon perceived that the coasts of *Barbuda* were full of rocks, that the island had little water, and its soil had no depth. . . .

"*Anguilla* is twenty-five leagues to the North-West of *Barbuda*. Its very long and narrow shape induced the Spaniards to give it the name of *Anguilla*, or 'Eel.' . . .

Sombrera to the North of *Anguilla* "consists of an eminence, which the Spanish discoverers, finding some resemblance to a hat," so named.

"*The Virgin Islands* are so called in memory of the 11,000 virgins of the Legend. They are composed of a great number of isles, whose coasts, rent throughout and sprinkled with rocks, everywhere dangerous to navigators, are famous for shipwrecks. Happily for the trade and navigation of these islands, Nature has placed in the middle of them a large basin of three or four leagues broad,

3. This island was the birthplace of Alexander Hamilton.

and six or seven long, the finest that can be imagined, and in which ships may anchor landlocked and sheltered from all winds. The Buccaneers called it 'the Virgins Gangway,' but its true name is 'the Bay of Sir Francis Drake,' who first entered it in 1580. . . .

"*St. Thomas* is more than three leagues in length and, on an average, one in breadth. . . . The principal advantage of *St. Thomas* consists in a very good harbour, on the South side, where fifty ships may lie in safety. . . . This harbour, which the Buccaneers have rendered very famous, is much frequented by merchant-ships. . . .

"*St. John's* is only two leagues to the South of *St. Thomas*, and about the same size. *St. John's* is the best watered among the Virgins, and its harbour has not only the reputation of being better than that of *St. Thomas*, but passes also for the best to the Leeward of *Antigua*; the English give it the name of 'Crawl Bay.' Notwithstanding these advantages, there is so little good land in the island of *St. John's*, that its planting and exportations form only a trifling object.

"*Sainte Croix*, or *Santa Cruz*, is the third and principal of the Danish islands: situated out of the group of the Virgins, five leagues to the South of *St. John's*. . . . It is a flat island, without mountains and badly watered."

Guadeloupe, the largest of the French Islands, "is cut into two by a little arm of the sea, only a league and a quarter long, and from thirty to eighty yards broad. This channel, known by the name of 'Rivière Salée' (Salt River), is navigable for barks of fifty tons. The part of the island which gives its name to the whole colony is filled in the center with frightful rocks. . . . The aspect of these rocks, like to those of 'Our Lady of Guadeloupe,' has given to the island the name it bears at present. Towards the South point, at the summit of them, rises so high as to be lost out of sight, in the middle region of the air, a mountain

called 'La Souffrière,' which exhales, out of an opening one hundred feet wide, a thick and black smoke, mixed with sparks, which are visible in the night. Out of all these mountains run a great many streams that carry fruitfulness into the plains which they water, and temper the burning air of the climate."

La Desirade "is a kind of rock . . . having no water except in a few ponds, and producing nothing but cotton. The government of the isles sometimes banishes there the incorrigible vagabonds, who call it among themselves 'La Desperade.' . . .

"*Mariegalante* (the name of the Spanish flagship) possessed by the French since 1648, is . . . a kind of oval . . . covered with barren mountains over above half its surface. . . .

"Between *Mariegalante* and *Guadeloupe* are the *Saintes*; these are very small islands, . . . they produce 50,000 pounds of coffee and 90,000 pounds of cotton. . . .

"Twenty-two leagues to the South of *Guadeloupe* is the island of *La Martinique*, called by the English *Martinico*. It has the most happy situation of any of the French settlements.

"*Martinico* is crossed throughout its whole length by a ridge of high mountains passable in several places, though their center is only a heap of craggy rock. The two principal towns are *Fort Royal* and *St. Pierre*. . . . The latter, the first built in the island, is the place of communication between the colony and mother-country; it is the residence of the merchants and the center of business. Notwithstanding the fires which have reduced it four times to ashes, it still contains 1,748 houses. . . .⁴

"About ten leagues to the South of *Martinico* is the Island of *St. Lucia*. . . .

"*St. Eustachia* is properly a very steep mountain, which seems to rise out of the sea, in the shape of a sugar-loaf. It has no harbour, only an open road on the West side."

4. There was an eruption of Mont Pelée on this island in 1902, which utterly destroyed *St. Pierre* and the sur-

rounding country, with a loss of forty thousand lives.

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NOUVELLE CARTE

DES DECOUVERTES FAITES PAR DES
VAISSEAUX RUSSIENS AUX CÔTES INCONNUES
DE L'AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE AVEC LES
PAIS ADJACENTS.

Dessinée sur des mémoires authentiques de ceux qui ont été à ces découvertes,
et sur d'autres connaissances dont on rend raison dans un mémoire séparé.

A. P. DE WILHELM à l'Académie Impériale
des Sciences 1798.

MER GLACIALE

BAY
HUDSONS

AMERIQUE
SEPTENTRIONALE

MER D'ANDR

MER DE
KAMTSCHAT

MER OCHOZK
appelée I. A. M. A
par les Japonais.

MER
DU
SUD

ISLES
DES
KALÉES



NOUVELLE CARTE DES DECOUVERTES

FAITES PAR DES VAISSEAUX RUSSIENS

Aux Côtes Inconnues de l'Amerique Septentrionale avec les Pais Adjacents. Dressée sur des memoires authentiques de ceux qui ont assisté a ces decouvertes, et sur d'autres connoissances dont on rend raison dans un memoire separé. A St. Petersbourg à l'Academie Impériale des Sciences. 1758.

(17¾ x 25 inches.)

(In C. G. F. Dumas, "*Voyages et Decouvertes Faites par les Russes le long des Côtes de la Mer Glaciale & sur l'Océan Oriental, tant vers le Japon que vers d'Amerique.*" Ouvrages traduite de l'Allemand de Mr. G. P. Müller. Amsterdam, 1766.)

HERE are set forth the unfolding story of the discovery of the Pacific in the history of America in the eighteenth century, and the many theories and problems thereby raised among geographers. Gerhard Friedrich Müller was a young German, who went to St. Petersburg when Peter the Great founded the Imperial Academy of Sciences there in 1725, and devoted the next fifty years of his life to research work in Russian history. His books were translated into French, and into English under the direction of Thomas Jefferys. Both the French and the English translations give Müller's name incorrectly, and both give the same map. The French reproduction is the better of the two maps.

It is not plain who is the author of the map, but from the fact that it bears the imprint of the Russian Imperial Academy it may be inferred that it is Russian in origin. The map's title makes the direct claim that it is based on the reports of those who accompanied the first Russian expeditions to America.

The Russian explorers in the Pacific in the eighteenth century made many manuscript maps, which await publication. These are still in existence in Leningrad.

Officials in St. Petersburg gave out little information concerning the new discoveries in America, and except for a few scattered references in the newspapers the world knew nothing of what had been accomplished until April 8, 1750, when Joseph Nicholas Delisle (1688-1768), a French astronomer who had gone to St. Petersburg at the invitation of Peter the Great in 1725, returned to France and read a *Memoir* on the recent explorations before the Royal Academy in Paris.

Vitus Bering, the Dane, as appears from Delisle's *Memoir*, undertook his first voyage by the appointment of Peter the Great, though after that monarch's death. On this voyage of 1728, in which he ran close to the coast of Siberia, he

proved the existence of a sea to the east of Asia far in the north, the present Bering Sea; and from the nature of the waves of the North Pacific, from the floating trees found there, all strange to Asia, from the nature of the floating ice, and from the regular arrival on the Asiatic shore of flocks of birds every year from over the sea in the east, he came to the conclusion that the coast of a new continental mass was not far off.

The map has the following, leading northeast from *Kamtschatka*, *Voyage du Capt. Bering en 1728 jusqu'au 66 Degres 30 min.* The turning point of the expedition was approximately the most eastern point of the continent of Asia, where the intervening strait between the two continents was narrowest. The map's inscription, *Côte decouverte par le Geodesiste Gwosdew en 1730*, on the American side of this narrow strait, probably refers to a later Russian voyage, of which several followed that by Bering into the region.

Bering and his associate, Tschirikow, found the suspected land in the east on the second voyage straight east in the open sea, in the year 1741, as indicated on the map. Delisle's *Memoir* does not make Bering reach America at any point, but awards this honor to Tschirikow alone, probably through Delisle's desire to exalt the expedition which was accompanied by one of his own kinsmen, his half brother, Louis Delisle de la Croyere; but this palpable fraud was soon corrected by a Russian officer.

The point on the continent of America first seen by Bering was the present Mount Saint Elias, though this name was first given by him to a neighboring island. Says the original account, the island was called Cape St. Elias, "because we dropped anchor under the lee of it on St. Elias' day." Tschirikow reached the continent on a separate ship a day or so before his commander, and about three degrees farther south.

From *Isle de Bering*, in *Mer de Kamtschatka*, the map traces the two routes to America, *Route*

du Vaisseau St. Pierre commandé par le Capitaine Commandeur Bering, and Route du Vaisseau St. Paul commandé par le Capt. Tschirikow.

Louis Delisle de la Croyere, who was with Tschirikow as a scientist, had served seventeen years with the French troops in Canada before going to Russia; and he easily persuaded the leaders of the expedition in the North Pacific that the natives of the new coast very much resembled the native inhabitants of Canada, and that America had in truth been reached.¹

French influence on the inception of the Russian voyages was strong. Guillaume Delisle, 1675–1726, the leading geographer of the day, the author of a celebrated eighteenth century map of Louisiana,² and the popularizer of the work of Father Kino in California, had an interview with Peter the Great, when the latter was in Paris; and his brother, Joseph Nicholas Delisle, the popularizer of the achievements of the Russian voyagers on the Alaskan coasts, and Louis Delisle de la Croyere, who accompanied Tschirikow, resided in St. Petersburg for long periods at the invitation of the Russian monarch. In the year 1731, Joseph Nicholas drew a map of the North Pacific and its eastern and western shores, accompanying it by a long report; and both the map and the report were with Bering on his second voyage.

Catherine the Great of Russia, who reigned 1762–1796, sent out an expedition in 1764 which explored the new coasts from 40° to 75° north latitude; and this was quickly followed by a Russian settlement in America at 64°, north latitude, which initiated the European fur trade on the northwest coast of America. Spanish advance north from Mexico along the same coasts followed almost immediately, as a necessary act of self defense. The English and the French in turn soon followed the Russians and the Spaniards on the same coasts.

One of the leading results of Bering's discoveries was to push the old Strait of Anian, which had characterized the maps of the North Atlantic for so long a time, into its true position in the far north, where it was soon to receive the new name of Bering. The latter was undoubtedly influenced by the prevailing Russian belief that three Russian vessels had gone through the strait in 1648 from the northern coast of Siberia to *Kamtschatka*. The inscription on this coast reads, *Route par Mer anciennement fort fréquentée. Voyage fait par mer en 1648 par trois vaisseaux Russiens dont un est parvenue Jusqu'à la Kamtschatka.*

1. *The Gentleman's Magazine* Vol. XXIV, 122, London, 1754, contains an account of Delisle's *Memoir*, a copy of his first map of the new coasts, dated 1750, and the reply by "A Russian Officer" to his remarks in the *Memoir*. There is in the Harvard College Library a rare volume, *Explication de la Carte des Nouvelles Découvertes au Nord de la*

Mer du Sud, par M. De Lisle, de L'Académie Royale des Sciences & Professeur de Mathématiques au Collège Royal, Paris, 1752, which contains a map of the early Russian voyages to America by Philippe Buache. The same library has the *Letter from a Russian Officer*, containing in full Delisle's *Memoir* of 1750.

2. In the present work see No. 46.

Bering must also have believed in the story of Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, and from him received inspiration. According to the latter's alleged *Memoir*, delivered to the Council of the Indies in 1609, that traveler passed by sea from Spain to the Philippines *via* the north of North America and through the Strait of Anian in 1588, and returned to Spain by way of Mexico.³ One of the alleged original manuscripts of the voyage, traces of which go far back, was printed in 1788; another was found by Amoretti in 1811. The tale is a fiction, probably invented to reinforce Spain's claims to the northwest coast of America in the decade, 1780–90, when other nations were beginning to dispute the Spanish hold on the coasts north of Mexico. The alleged manuscript makes Maldonado say that he went to Frisland to fit out his expedition with clothes, a reliance on the Zeno story that is enough to condemn the whole tale. The passage north of America was easy, he says, the water there not freezing! Maldonado's map is an enlarged copy of that by Zalterius.⁴

On the face of the map, south of the landing place of Tschirikow, is the following: *Pretendue R. de los Reyes de l'Amiral de Fonte en 1640 suivant Mr. Delisle*. Bering may have been versed in the story of De Fonte, another of the mysterious fables touching the Pacific coast of America. Certainly his French advisers knew the tale.

According to the story,⁵ the Spanish admiral, Bartholome de Fonte, left Callao on the Pacific coast of South America, April 3, 1640, and sailing to 53° north latitude, discovered an elaborate network of rivers and bays, where he found an entrance which led him far inland. Here he fell in with a ship which had come west from Boston on the Atlantic. The owner of the unexpected ship, Major Gibbons of Boston, was on board, while the ship was in command of one Shapley. Details of the story place various geographical names on the map of the northwestern part of America, among which are the following: Velasco, applied both to a bay and a river; St. Lazarus, Rio de los Reyes, R. de Parmentier, and R. Bernarda. The whole has been shown to have been the invention of James Petiner, who, in 1708, communicated it to a London weekly, *The Monthly Miscellany or Memoirs for the Curious*.

When Joseph Nicholas Delisle was preparing the map to accompany his *Memoir* in Paris in 1750 on the Russian discoveries, the tale of De Fonte had just come to him from England, and he embodied it in his map. Thus associated with the

3. Charles Amoretti, *Voyage de la Mer Atlantique à l'Océan Pacifique par le Nord-Ouest dans la Mer Glaciale par le Capitaine Laurent Ferrer Maldonado*. Plaisance, 1812. See also Phillips, *Lowery Collection*, No. 72.

4. In the present work see No. 21.

5. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 462.

Russian discoveries, which were then occupying the attention of the world, and accredited by the great name of Delisle, and later by those of Buache and Jefferys, all men of weight in geographical matters, the alleged discoveries of De Fonte secured a place on the maps of the eighteenth century, which they succeeded in maintaining for almost fifty years.

Thomas Jefferys' work on the subject, *The Great Probability of a Northwest Passage: deduced from observations on the letter of Admiral de Fonte . . . London, 1768*, was followed within less than a decade and a half by the publication of the journal of the Spaniard, Francisco Antonio Maurelle, who traveled along the northwest coast in 1775 without finding the least shred of evidence to substantiate De Fonte's story. The latter was thoroughly discredited. Says Maurelle: "We now attempted to find out the straits of Admiral Fonte, though, as yet, we had not discovered the archipelago of St. Lazarus, through which he is said to have sailed. With this intent we searched every bay and recess of the coast and sailed round every headland, lying to in the night, that we might not lose sight of the entrance. After these pains taken, and being favored by a northwest wind, it may be pronounced that no such straits are to be found."

The French scholars in St. Petersburg, in common with scientific men in general, were also acquainted with the alleged geographical fame of Juan de Fuca, and must have passed this along to Bering.

Samuel Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes*,⁶ prints *A Note made by me, Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest Passage of Meta Incognita*, which probably did more to perpetuate the mythical story of the strait of Juan de Fuca than any maps.

According to this note, dated Venice, 1596, an old man, commonly called Juan de Fuca, but more properly known by his Greek name, Apostolos Valerianos, claimed to Lok that in 1592 he had sailed north from Mexico in the service of Spain and had discovered on "the coast of Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America, . . . a broad inlet of the sea . . . between 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude; hee entred therein, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometimes Northwest and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by divers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an

exceeding high Pinnacle, or Spired Rocke, like a pillar thereupon . . . And he also said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where he entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe; and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Salvage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards Nova Spania, where he arrived at Acapulco, Anno 1592."

The King of Spain refused to reward De Fuca; and, in revenge, the latter offered to find the strait for the King of England, if only a ship were provided him. Lok wrote to Lord Treasurer Cecil, to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, asking for money to bring De Fuca to England. The requests were refused. That De Fuca found the entrance to a strait at the point indicated may well be believed, for the present Strait of Juan de Fuca, named in his honor, is in the location specified in the story; but that he found the inland sea and the Atlantic Ocean (the North Sea) by sailing through this strait from the Pacific is an invention which was exploded by the Spaniards in the last part of the eighteenth century. The map places *Entrée decouverte par Jean de Fuca en 1592* near 48° north latitude.

Where was the river which the Spaniard, Martin Aguilar, said that he approached in 1603, but did not enter because of the force of the current? The map places the river near 45° north latitude, the Columbia of the present day. Conjectures of the Columbia, which were common on the maps after the report of Aguilar, on down to the time of the discovery of that river by Gray in 1792, are a part of the story of the later history of this coast.

The *R. de l'Ouest*, extending on the map between Lake Winnipeg and the Pacific, was another invention of Europeans attempting to find geographical realities to correspond to the Indian tales of the great stream in the west. R. G. Thwaites, in his edition of the voyages of Lahontan,⁷ reproduces Lahontan's map of "Long River" which the latter in his eighteenth letter claims to have discovered on a journey to the interior, west from the valley of the Mississippi. The story was popular in Europe, like the inventions of Father Hennepin, and helped to fix the myth for a number of years.

References to the same Indian tale of the western river, but without the embellishments of Lahontan, occur frequently in the *Jesuit Relations*.⁸

The *R. de l'Ouest* is but another name for the

6. Glasgow edition, 1906, XIV, 415.

7. Chicago, 1905.

8. See the index of this work, and also that of Thwaites's *Lahontan* under "River, Long." Winsor's *Narrative and*

Critical History of America, IV, 257, contains a valuable note on Lahontan.

Long River, Origan or Oregon still another.⁹ Sometimes the mysterious river was made to flow westward from the Mississippi, sometimes from bodies of water farther in the north.

The *L. Winipigue*¹⁰ was reached by the French from Canada under Sieur de la Verenderye in 1733, and by Joseph La France in 1739-42. Arthur Dobbs gives a map of La France's discoveries of

Lake Winnipeg and the other small lakes southwest from Hudson Bay.¹¹

It will be noticed that the map vaguely traces a second river leading eastward from the Pacific to the interior of the continent. The early map-makers did not know that mountains prevented the rivers, which flow into the Pacific, from having an extended east and west course from the far interior.

9. In the present work see No. 70.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countrie adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, etc. London, 1744.

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CARTE DE LA CALIFORNIE

Suivant

I. La Carte manuscrite de L'Amérique de Mathieu Neron Pecci olen dressée a Florence en 1614

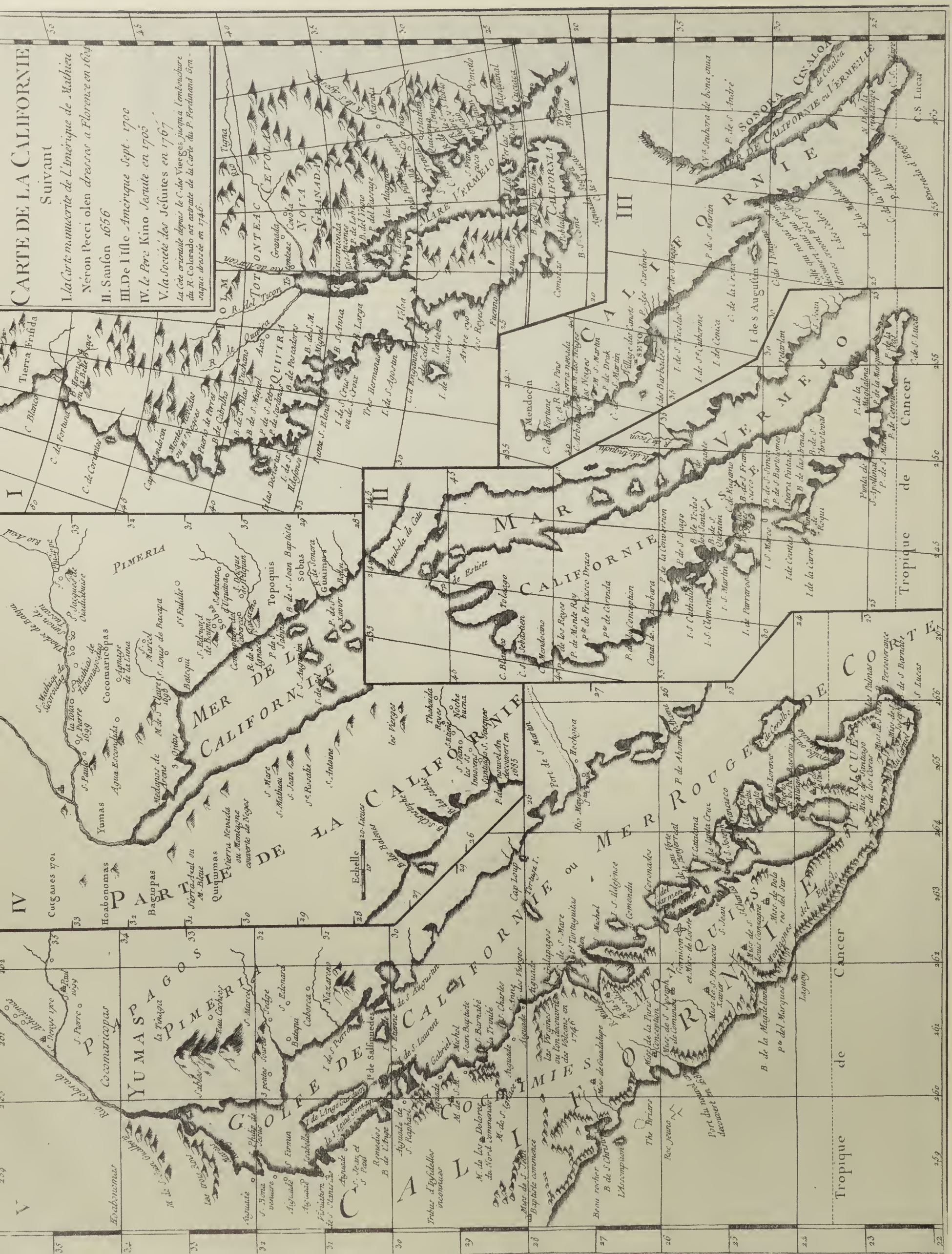
II. Saufon 1656

III. De l'Isle Amerique Sept. 1700

IV. Le Père Kino Jesuite en 1705

V. La Société des Jésuites en 1767

La Côte orientale depuis le C. des Vierges jusqu'à l'embouchure du R. Colorado est extraite de la Carte du P. Ferdinand Granaque dressée en 1746.



CARTE DE LA CALIFORNIE

Suivant I. la Carte manuscrite de l'Amérique de Mathieu Néron Peciolen dressée à Florence en 1604. II. Sanson 1656. III. De l'Isle Amérique Sept. 1700. IV. le Pere Kino Jesuite en 1705. V. la Société des Jésuites en 1767. La Côte orientale depuis le C. des Vierges jusqu'à l'embouchure du R. Colorado est extraite de la Carte du P. Ferdinand Gonsaque dressée en 1746.

(11½ x 15 inches.)

(In D. Robert de Vaugondy, "Recueil de 10 cartes traitant particulièrement de l'Amérique du Nord et des régions arctiques, d'après les relations les plus authentiques depuis le commencement du 17^e siècle, reproduites." Livourne, 1779.)

THESE California maps are from a collection of ten maps made to accompany the various articles on "America," "Asia" and the "Arctic Regions" in Diderot's *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers*, which appeared in Paris 1770-79.¹

The achievements of the first explorers along the coast of California, Francisco de Ulloa, 1539-40; Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, 1542-43; and Sir Francis Drake, 1579, have already been noticed in this volume.² Two Spaniards followed shortly, Sebastian Rodriguez de Carmanon, 1595, and Sebastian Viscaino, 1602-03.

The earliest map-makers depicted the coast of California as a part of the mainland of the continent, as may be seen in the maps of Agnese, Sebastian Cabot, Zalterius, and Mercator.³

The maps here shown date from a few years after the death of Mercator, and are as follows:

I. The Italian map of 1604, representing the results of the expedition of Viscaino, 1602-03, agrees with the earlier maps in showing California as a part of the continent.

II. Sanson's map of 1656 is not the earliest map showing this coast as an island, for the Briggs map, containing this new conception, is a quarter of a century earlier. In the interesting legend on his map Briggs states that the insular theory as to California was to be traced back to a map taken by the Dutch from a Spanish ship soon after 1600. In general agreement with this is Phillip Buache, who, in his *Considérations Géographiques*,⁴ dates the insular theory from the year 1620. On the other hand, the German Jesuit, Kino, makes the statement that it was a map of Sir Francis Drake that deceived Europe concerning the true relation of California with the mainland.

Pto. de Fracisco Draco on Sanson's map calls attention to the common location of this point on

the early maps. The Briggs map of 1625 has the same, *Po. Sr. Francisco Draco*; De Lisle in 1700 has *P. de Drak*, as may be seen in No. III of this present map plate; the Russian map of 1758⁵ has *Port de François Drake*, faussement appelé de *St. François*; two Spanish maps, one by Miguel Costanso, 1770,⁶ and another by Tomas Lopez, 1772, have *Pto. de S. Francisco*. There is further consideration of this subject in No. 27.

Sanson locates on his map *P. de S. Diago*, discovered by Cabrillo in 1542, who called the place *San Miguel*. Viscaino visited the same spot in 1602 and celebrated there the feast of San Diego. Hence the name.

III. In his map of 1700 De Lisle seems to be in doubt as to whether or not California is an island; but there is evidence that later in this same year he accepted the insular theory.

Philip Lee Phillips, in his *Lowery Collection*,⁷ quotes the following from Jules Marcou: "Of all the geographers at the close of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth century, Guillaume Delisle, first geographer of the King of France, Louis XIV, is the one who has shown himself the most sagacious. In a letter to M. Cassin, without date, but which must have been written about the year 1698, and which was published at Amsterdam by Jean Frédérick Bernard in his *Recueil de Voyage au Nord*, Delisle shows a mind filled with sound criticism and a clear knowledge of facts concerning California. Delisle, after having well considered the matter, states that he thought it prudent to leave blank, as unknown, that part of the globe, and to make California 'neither an island nor a part of the continent,' and to await something more positive before arriving at a decision. He did not have to wait a long time, for in his map of North America, dated 1700, Delisle joined California to the continent, and he maintained that California was a

1. See the *Encyclopédie* itself, V, 179-198; also Phillips, *Geographical Atlases*, I, 627, No. 1195.

2. In the present work see Nos. 21 and 27.

3. *Ibid.* Nos. 16, 17, 18, 21 and 22.

4. Paris, 1753.

5. In the present work see No. 51.

6. Teggett, *The Portolo Expedition of 1769-1770*, in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, II, No. 4, frontispiece.

7. Washington, 1912, No. 250.

peninsula in his map of 1702. It is evident that after the commencement of the year 1700 Guillaume Delisle must have received information of the discovery, by the Jesuit father Kino, of the passage by land from New Mexico to California, which this missionary had made during 1698.

"Beginning with the maps of Guillaume Delisle, the truth triumphed. Soon all map-makers adopted his opinion and made use of the famous discovery of Father Kino, joining California as a peninsula to the American continent."

IV. Philip Lee Phillips, in his *Lowery Collection*,⁸ gives a long bibliographical note on Kino's epoch-making map, which appeared in 1705. The original map is in the archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain. The first copy of the map to be published seems to have been that in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* of the Jesuits.⁹ This was soon copied in *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*¹⁰ and in many other places.

When Eusebio Francisco Kino, an Austrian Jesuit, 1644-1711, set out from Europe for Mexico in 1681, he believed that California was connected with the mainland, but this view, which was that commonly held at the time by European scholars, he discarded in 1698, declaring that California was the largest island in the world. The reverend father, however, was greatly interested in the scientific aspects of geographical matters, and after making forty or more expeditions through the present northwestern parts of Mexico and southern Arizona (Kino's *Pimeria*) and southern California, in the course of which he traveled many thousand miles on horseback, he came back to his original view, which he recorded in the map of 1701, here reproduced. Justin Winsor, who says in his *Narrative and Critical History*, that the Kino map "was based rather upon shrewd conjecture than upon geographical discovery," is clearly wrong.¹¹ He never perused Kino's lately discovered narrative, noted below.

Kino was in California for a short time in 1683, his first visit there. In 1698 he was on the eastern coast of the Gulf of California at *M de S Claire* and beyond in the north and west; in 1699 he reached the river Azul north from Mount Sainte Claire; in 1700 he crossed the *Rio Azul* to the Colorado; and in the next year he crossed the Colorado into California. On these explorations he heard the tales of the Indians that the ocean could be easily reached by land, and at various points inland he found blue shells, which he conjectured must be from the Pacific. He came to the head of the Gulf of California in 1702, where he was able to add certainty to his slowly forming opinions.

Kino's interest in geographical matters is attested not only by his explorations but by various writings, including a *Cosmographical Demonstration that California is not an Island but a Peninsula, and that it is continuous with this New Spain, the Gulf of California ending in latitude 35 degrees*, and his *Diary*. This remarkable record, his *Diary*, was not published in his day, but remained in manuscript form till 1919, when it was published by Herbert E. Bolton, who found it in the City of Mexico in 1907.

The only contemporary allusions to Kino's great achievement were the publication of the map, and a brief reference in a letter by Père le Gobien, the editor of the *Lettres Edifiantes*. Says Gobien: "He passed the river Azul, in 1700 was near the Colorado, and having crossed this he was surprised in 1701 to see that he was in California, and to learn that about thirty or forty leagues from the place where he then was, the Colorado, after forming a bay of quite large extent, went on to empty into the sea on the east coast of California, which was thus separate from New Mexico by only the waters of this river."

V. The mapping of the Jesuit missions in southern California is a copy of Kino's map of 1701, brought down to date, 1767, with the assistance of the Gonsaque map of 1746.

8. *Ibid.* No. 250.

9. V, 228.
10. XXVI, 209.

11. II, 467.

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To the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT Esq.
 One of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council
 AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c

*This plan is most Humbly Inscribed
 By his most Obedient and
 most Obedient Humble Servant
 Tho: Jefferys.*

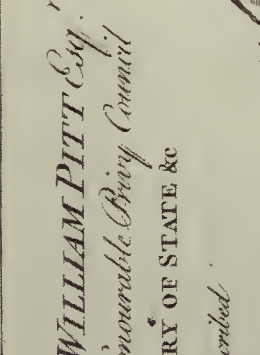
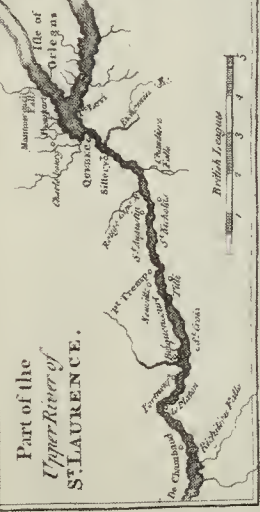
DEFENCES OF QUEBEC.

- Batteries N^o of Guns. Mort^r
- A. The Citadel 9 0 0
 - B. The Clergy on Barbette 28 5
 - C. Saline Bay 7 0 0
 - D. The Hospital 2 0 0
 - E. A New Battery near the City point thro' Ficket 2 0 0
 - F. Queens Battery no G. mounted 0 0 0
 - G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings yard 3 0 0
 - H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings yard 3 0 0
 - I. Royal Battery 40 0 0
 - K. Dauphin Battery 10 0 0
 - L. New Battery 13 0 0
 - M. Hospital General 7 0 0



AN AUTHENTIC PLAN
 of the
 RIVER ST. LAURENCE
 from
 Sillery, to the Fall of Montmorenci,
 with the Operations of the
 SIEGE of QUEBEC
 under the Command of
 Vice Adm^l Saunders & Major Gen^l Wolfe
 down to the 5th Sep^r 1759.
 Drawn by a CAPTAIN in his Majesties Navy

A View of the
 ACTION gained by the ENGLISH
 Sep^r 13 1759 near
 QUEBEC.
 Brought from the
 By an OFFICER of Ditcham.



An Authentic Plan of the
RIVER ST. LAURENCE

From Sillery, to the Fall of Montmorenci, with the Operations of the
SIEGE OF QUEBEC

Under the Command of Vice-Adml. Saunders & Major Genl. Wolfe
 down to the 5 Sepr. 1759. Drawn by a Captain in his Majesties Navy.

To the Right Honourable William Pitt Esqr. One of His Majesties
 most Honourable Privy Council and Principal Secretary of State &c
 This plan is most Humbly Inscribed By his most Obliged and most
 Obedient Humble Servt. Thos. Jefferys. London, 1760.

(13 x 18½ inches.)

(In Thomas Jefferys, "*History of the French Dominions in America.*" London,
 1760.)

ENGLISH engineer officers under the supervision of Major Patrick Mackellar drew the original of this map. The earliest print from the original plate as engraved by Jefferys, but without dedication or signature, appeared in *The Universal Magazine* in 1759.¹ The earliest issue in its present form was in Thomas Jefferys' *History of the French Dominions in America, London, 1760.*² It was reproduced as No. 18 in the same author's *General Topography of North America and the West Indies, London, 1768*, from a copy of which in the Library of Congress the present reproduction was made.

Thomas Jefferys, (d. 1771), a British map-engraver and author, was the geographer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III. He engraved a large number of maps and published several works on geography.³

The topography of the city of Quebec and its vicinity⁴ is clearly brought out on this well known map. The city itself lies upon the north side of the river St. Lawrence at its junction with the St. Charles. It occupies the end of a ridge which extends along the north bank of the river for some thirty miles above the city, rising above the St. Lawrence in a precipitous cliff, almost three hundred feet in height. On the St. Charles side, the slope is more gradual but still sufficiently steep to be easily defended. At the time of the siege, the city was protected on the land side by a poorly fortified wall about fifteen hundred yards long, extending north from the citadel, which stood on a cliff three hundred and forty-five feet above the St. Lawrence. The Lower Town was protected by floating batteries manned by seamen. The fortifications of the city were entrusted to De Ramesay in command of a garrison of two thousand men.

An interesting contemporary description of the city may be found in the *Report on Quebec* written in 1757 by Patrick Mackellar, who at the time of the siege was Wolfe's chief engineer. The cliff between the Upper Town and the Lower Town, says Mackellar, was at least two hundred feet high at Cape Diamond and tapered off to the north. "The High Town from those Differences of Heights has a Considerable Declivity from South to North, and still a greater from South East, to North West, it has a great Deal of vacant Ground, and the Buildings a few Excepted are so retired from the Edge of the Precipice that it cannot be Easily Damaged by Either Shott or shells from Shipping, and the Precipice upon the East side is so High, that Ship Guns can scarce have Elevation Enough to clear it, or if they do the Shott must fly Over.

"The Low Town on the East side is a fair Object for both Shott and shells, from Shipping the Buildings are in General, High and Pretty Close, this is by much the Richest part of the whole, being Chiefly taken up with the Dwelings, Warehouses, and Magazines of the Principal Merchants which are reckon'd, of Considerable Value and some of them are said to be the Kings.

"This part of the Town can be hurt by Land Batterys, only from the hills, on the South Side of the River, and they are at a Distance of 1300 or 1400 yards. . . .

"From some of the Foregoing Circumstances I think it will appear that Shipping can Annoy the Low Town Only and can do little or no Prejudice to the High Town, but supposing the Low Town Destroy'd or in Possession of the Beseiger he is still as far from being Master of the High Town as he was before, he Can make no Lodgment in the for-

1. Vol. XXV, 281.

2. Part I, opp. p. 131.

3. For list of his works, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIX.

4. For an interesting topographical

description of Quebec written by a Jesuit in 1663, see No. 36.

mer that he can keep Possession off. nor take any steps that shall facilitate his Getting into the Latter, and the Ships if within Cannon reach Lay Under a great Disadvantage as they are Exposed to the fire of a Considerable Batty. (1 of 36 Guns) to which they Can do no hurt, but if it is thought worth while to destroy the Low Town, for its own Sake, I should think it most adviseable to do it by Shells Only, and at a distance beyond the reach of Cannon Shott. . . .

"An Attack by Land is the Only Method that promises Success, against the High Town and in all Probability it Could hold out but a very few Days against a Sufficient Force properly Appointed."

Mackellar expressed the opinion that the St. Lawrence was not so difficult of navigation as the French would have the world believe, and he thought that the landing of the British forces on the north shore above the town should not be covered by shipping as the ships would attract attention. He also feared that the water was not deep enough along the north shore, and advised a preliminary landing on the island of Orleans.⁵

The French were conscious of the danger of an attack by land and employed every means possible to add to the great natural strength of the city. The *St. Charles or Little River* was closed by a boom of logs protected by a battery of four guns. Above the boom there were anchored *Two Hulks to defend the River & Ford each 8 Guns on one side*, and above the hulks there was a *Bridge of Boats with a Place of Arms to Defend the Head of the Bridge*, where Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, was in command. Between the St. Charles and the deep chasm and falls of the Montmorenci, where the waters of that river make one sheer leap of two hundred and fifty feet to the level of the St. Lawrence below, there stretched a line of fortifications for a distance of seven miles, defended by the main force of the French army, some fourteen thousand men, under the direct command of Montcalm, whose headquarters were in the old manor house at *Beauport*. The center of this line was held by French regulars with militia on the wings. Montcalm's proposal to occupy the heights of Lévis opposite Quebec was overruled by Governor Vaudreuil, to whose orders Montcalm was instructed to submit for the movement of detachments.⁶

The English fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Saunders, with transports carrying Wolfe's army and nine hundred American colonial troops, sailed up the St. Lawrence without mishap through the difficult passage from the mouth of the Saguenay to Quebec, from which the French had removed all buoys, and reached St. Laurent on the Island of Orleans on the 26th of June. Several members of

the expedition were to become famous in later years; Captain Cook, the Pacific explorer; John Jervis, a schoolmate of Wolfe, who became the famous Earl of St. Vincent; Guy Carleton, the future Governor of Canada and opponent of Arnold in the Revolution; Isaac Barré, the later champion of the colonists in the House of Commons; and William Howe, who became Sir William Howe, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Revolution.

Wolfe at once saw the importance of holding Lévis Heights and established batteries near *Point des Peres*. As the river here is only a little over one-half mile wide, these guns commanded the Lower Town and soon reduced it to ruins. Another British force established itself on the left bank of the Montmorenci. Two frigates succeeded in passing the city at night and were soon joined by others until a considerable fleet was formed above the city, under the command of Admiral Holmes.

Wolfe failed in an attempt to cross the Montmorenci above the falls, and on July 31 (not *July 30* as on the map) he made an attempt to take the Montmorenci Heights. Two English vessels were purposely grounded at high tide in front of the redoubt, as shown on the map, to protect the landing of the troops, while the *Centurion* was anchored in the North Channel, opposite the mouth of the Montmorenci, *for Covering the Troops at the Attack*. The guns from these vessels and the English batteries across the Montmorenci shelled the French lines, while the Lévis batteries bombarded the city. The English attack was spirited but hopeless, and Wolfe ordered a retreat before the rising tide rendered the ford of the Montmorenci impassable.

During the latter half of August, Wolfe was ill and the siege made no progress. He finally determined to withdraw his troops from their camp on the left bank of the Montmorenci and attempt a landing on the north bank at Anse-au-Foulon, now known as Wolfe's Cove, only two miles above the city, where a French post of one hundred men under Vergor kept careless watch.

A feint on Beauport kept Montcalm within his lines while the Quebec garrison's attention was occupied by a severe bombardment from the Lévis batteries. Under cover of darkness, Wolfe landed at Anse-au-Foulon, overwhelmed Vergor's party at the top of the path, captured the *Samos*, or the *New Battery* near *Sillery*, and by 6 A. M. on the 13th of September, drew up his whole force upon the heights near Marchmout. Advancing along the Ste. Foy Road, the central one on the map, Wolfe's army was in battle line at 8 A. M. on an open plateau three quarters of a mile wide, about one mile from the walls of Quebec. This plateau was called the *Heights of Abraham* (see insert map)

5. Arthur G. Doughty, *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North*

America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759; III, 153.

6. William Wood, *The Fight for Canada*, p. 61.

from a French pilot, Abraham Martin, known as "Maitre Abraham," who at one time owned a piece of land there. The British were drawn up in a "thin red line" only two deep, supported by a single six-pounder. Townshend was on the left, Murray in the center, and Monckton on the right, with Wolfe moving up and down the line, standing six feet and three inches in a new red uniform, a most inviting target for the guns of the enemy.

Montcalm hastened with some four thousand five hundred French and Canadians to dislodge the British before they should entrench or receive

reinforcements. The English stood with shouldered muskets along the line of the present de Salaberry Street, until the French were within forty paces when they fired a volley and charged with the bayonet. The French broke and fled into the city or across the St. Charles. The dramatic story of the deaths of Montcalm and Wolfe needs no repetition.

Quebec was surrendered September 18 by De Ramesay, the commandant of the city, to Townshend and Saunders, and the English took possession on the same day.

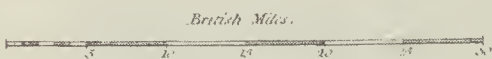
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- For three excellent views of Quebec, drawn in 1759 by Richard Short and now in the possession of the Boston Athenæum, see the *Century Magazine*, XLIII, 721, New Series. These prints and others equally interesting are here reproduced in JUSTIN H. SMITH, *The Prologue of the American Revolution*.
- For a large and clear plan of the city of Quebec before the siege see insert No. 56.
- Photographs of plans of Quebec may be found in ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, Ed., *The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*. Cleveland, 1904; Second Series (Vol. II).

A SURVEY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN, including LAKE GEORGE, CROWN POINT AND ST. JOHN.

Surveyed by Order of
HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR GENERAL S^r JEFFERY AMHERST,
Knight of the most Hon^{ble} Order of the Bath,
Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America,
(NOW LORD AMHERST)

BY
WILLIAM BRASSIER, DRAUGHTSMAN.
1762.



Places where Latitude has been Observed.

Crown Point $43^{\circ} 50' 0''$
More Point $45^{\circ} 00' 0''$

OBSERVATIONS.

Lake Champlain is called by the Indians *Corlaer*, which signifies *The Mouth or Door of the Country*. It lies in a deep narrow chasm of the Land bounded up to the Waters Edge with Steep Mountains on the Western Shore, which continues to be so until it reaches Cumberland Bay; the Bay is of the Mountains then a branch off North West, and the Shore is Low and in many parts Swampy. Many Streams, some of which but times issue an Abundance of Waters, fall into this Lake on the West Side, but they cannot be called Rivers, they are more channels and so barred with Rocks and Sand there is no entrance to them.
The Eastern Shore is formed by a low Swampy Tract of Land, the Mountains keep off at the distance of about 12 Miles. There are some considerable Streams which fall into the Lake on this Side. Otter Creek is the Largest. The Soundings of the Lake are very deep in general, in many Places 60, 70 and 80 and in some parts 100 Fathoms.

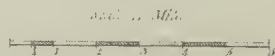
* The Topography in this Description by Capt. Townshend.

13th Parallel Boundary Line between the Province of New York and the Province of Quebec.

A PARTICULAR PLAN OF LAKE GEORGE.

Surveyed in 1756.

By CAPT. JACKSON.



OBSERVATIONS.

Lake George which was called by the French *Lac du St. Sacrement* is named by the Indians *Corlaer*, which signifies *The Mouth or Door of the Country*. It lies in a deep narrow chasm of the Land bounded up to the Waters Edge with Steep Mountains on the Western Shore, which continues to be so until it reaches Cumberland Bay; the Bay is of the Mountains then a branch off North West, and the Shore is Low and in many parts Swampy. Many Streams, some of which but times issue an Abundance of Waters, fall into this Lake on the West Side, but they cannot be called Rivers, they are more channels and so barred with Rocks and Sand there is no entrance to them.
The Eastern Shore is formed by a low Swampy Tract of Land, the Mountains keep off at the distance of about 12 Miles. There are some considerable Streams which fall into the Lake on this Side. Otter Creek is the Largest. The Soundings of the Lake are very deep in general, in many Places 60, 70 and 80 and in some parts 100 Fathoms.

* The Topography in this Description by Capt. Townshend.

A Fort William Henry, and near Fort George.
B. Bridge.
C. Low Water.
D. Rocky Ford.
E. A Swampy ground that overlooks the Fort.
X. A small Island situated in the Lake, up to 1765.
Y. The French Fortification.

A Survey of
LAKE CHAMPLAIN,
 Including
**LAKE GEORGE, CROWN POINT
 AND ST. JOHN.**

Surveyed by Order of His Excellency Major-General Sr. Jeffery Amherst, Knight of the most Honble. Order of the Bath, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America (now Lord Amherst).
 By William Brassier, Draughtsman. 1762.

(19 x 26 inches.)

(In Robert Sayer and J. Bennett, Eds., "The American Military Pocket Atlas." London, for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, 1776.¹)

THIS beautiful map of the *Mouth or Door of the Country*, richly colored, was one of the most popular maps of the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the American Revolution. It is to be found in every considerable collection of colonial maps.

The larger lake, Lake Champlain, still bears the name of its discoverer, "the Father of New France," whose historic fight with the Iroquois in 1609 took place on the western shore of this lake, near the site of the later fortress of Crown Point. The lake is one hundred and ten miles long, and only ninety-five feet above the sea. Governor Pownall's description of the lake, taken from his *Topographical Description of such Parts of North America as are Contained in the Map of the Middle British Colonies in North America*, London, 1776, is reproduced on the face of the map, beneath the title, as follows: *Lake Champlain to which the Dutch formerly gave the name of Corlaer, is called by the Indians Caniad-eri-Guarunte signifying The Mouth or Door of the Country. It lies in a Deep Narrow Chasm of the Land, bounded up to the Waters Edge with Steep Mountains on the Western Shore, which continue thus to bound it as far as Cumberland Bay: the Ranges of the Mountains then trench off North West, and the Shore is Low, and in many parts Swampy. Many Streams, some of which at times Issue an Abundance of Waters, fall into this Lake on the West Side, but they cannot be called Rivers; they are mere Cataracts and so barred with Rocks and Sand there is no entrance to them. The Eastern Shores are formed by a Low Swampy Tract of Land: the Mountains keep off at the distance of about 12 Miles. There are some Considerable Streams which fall into the Lake on this Side: Otter Creek is the Largest. The Soundings of the Lake are very deep in general; in many Places 60, 70 and 80 and in some parts 100 Fathoms."*

On the small insert map, *A Particular Plan of Lake George. Surveyed in 1756. By Capt. Jackson.* are the following *Observations. Lake George which was called by the French Lac du St. Sacrement is named by the Indians Caniad-eri-oit, that is, Tail of the Lake. It is bounded on both Sides with exceeding high Mountains: Its Navigation is obstructed, at the Northern End, by a Ridge of Rocks over which the Surplus Issue of its Waters Falls. The Course which our Troops took during the Last War was generally to Land on Sabbath Day Point, whence a Road Leads to Ticonderago.*

A state road today leads up the western shores of Lake George past Bolton Landing, past Sabbath Day Point and farther north. Beyond Sabbath Day Point the road has always been a difficult one.

Lake George was discovered in 1642, on the eve of Corpus Christi, by a French Jesuit missionary, Isaac Jogues, who gave it the name of Lac du S. Sacrement, by which it was known till 1755, when William Johnson called it Lake George, after George II of England, "not only in honor of His Majesty but to ascertain his undoubted dominion." It is thirty-three miles long, from three-fourths of a mile to three miles wide, and three hundred feet above the sea, or two hundred and five feet above Lake Champlain, into which it empties over a very rough country, too broken by falls to be navigable.

The two lakes were traversed by a number of military expeditions throughout the colonial period, and on their shores or near them were erected several historic forts.

In King William's War, 1689-97, La Morgan's party of French proceeded southwards over these waters to destroy Schenectady, and English expeditions under Winthrop and Schuyler went northward to threaten Montreal.

In Queen Anne's War, 1702-13, two English expeditions to the north and counter French expeditions to the south were on the lakes.

1. The original drawing is in the British Museum.

After the outbreak of King George's War in 1744, in four years "no less than 27 marauding parties" swept down from *Fort St. Frederick* at *Crown Point* upon the settlers of what are now Saratoga and Rensselaer counties. Says Charles Morris, on his *Map of the Northern British Colonies*, which is to be found in the New York Public Library, in a legend off Crown Point, "From this fort the French made their excursions, and have this year burnt & destroyed two forts (Saratoga and Fort Massachusetts) and broke up upwards of 30 new settlements."

A short peace followed, and then came the final struggle of 1755-63. In this war were the campaign of Sir William Johnson against Crown Point in 1755, during which he defeated the French under Dieskau near the foot of Lake George; the campaign of the French under Montcalm in 1757, in which they took Fort William Henry on Lake George, near the scene of Dieskau's defeat; then that of Abercrombie and his English forces in 1758, in which he failed in an effort to capture the fort at Ticonderoga; and finally that of the English forces under General Amherst in 1759, in which he took both the fort at Ticonderoga and that at Crown Point. The French abandoned the two forts without a blow.

In the intervals of peace between the various wars, the opposing forces busied themselves in pushing their outposts farther and farther into the disputed areas, toward the enemy. The French took the initiative in 1731 by erecting *Fort St. Frederick*¹ on the west shore of Lake Champlain near Crown Point. "The Point on which Fort Frederic stands," says Pownell, "is not, as has been vulgarly imagined, Crown Point; it is the opposite Point, so called by the Dutch *Crun Punt*, by the French, *Pointe a la Chevelure*, from a remarkable Action of Scalping committed there." This fort was within the territory claimed by the English as belonging to the Iroquois Indians, whom the French had recognized as British subjects in the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. This challenge to combat was all the more serious, as Crown Point overlooks the only strait in the lake and commanded all passing vessels. The Indian name for the spot means "Two points opposite to each other." This first fort at Crown Point was taken in 1759 by Amherst, who proceeded to erect a massive new fort. This was captured in 1775 by the Revolutionary forces of the Americans, after their surprise of the fort at Ticonderoga.

Fourteen miles south from Crown Point is Ticonderoga, commanded by surrounding high mountains which are difficult of access, the strongest military position on the lake. Hither the French ventured in 1756 and built *Fort Carillon*. From within this fortification, Montcalm repulsed Aber-

crombie's infantry in 1758, but the following year the French abandoned the position, when Amherst brought up his artillery. In 1775 the point was captured by the Americans under Ethan Allen, and in 1777 it fell back again to the British under Burgoyne, who had mounted guns on *Sugar Bush Hill* or *Mt. Defiance*.

The fort at the southern end of Lake George, *Fort William Henry*, was built by the English under William Johnson after their defeat of the French under Dieskau in 1755. It was named for the grandson of George II. The French, recovering the position the next year, destroyed the fort and returned to Ticonderoga.

Fort Edward on the Hudson, fourteen miles to the southeast, is an old English fort, rebuilt by Sir William Johnson in 1755 and by him named Fort Lyman, and then Fort Edward, in honor of the King's grandson.

There was a *Fort Anne* on Wood Creek, along the route to the east, between Lake Champlain and Lake George.

The *Explanation of the Engagement. between Valcour Island, and the Western Shore, October the 11th 1776*, which took place ten miles south of the modern Plattsburg, was a later addition to the original plate of the map. It reads as follows:

- A. American Fleet consisting of 15 vessels, under Benedict Arnold.
- B. Twenty one Gun Boats.
- C. Schooner Carleton, 12 Six Pounders.
- D. Ship Inflexible, 18 Twelve Pounders.
- E. Anchorage of the Fleet during the Night, to Cut off the Rebels Retreat.
- F. Radeau Thunderer, 6 Twenty four, 6 Twelve Pounders.
- G. Gondola, Loyal Convert, 7 Nine Pounders.
- H. Schooner Maria, 14 Six Pounders, with General Carleton on Board.
- I. Where the Rebel Schooner, Royal Savage, of 8 Six Pounders, and 4 Four Pounders, was Burnt.

To the northwest of Crown Point is the following:

- A. Engagement of the 13th of October.
- B. The Congress Galley, General Arnold, and five Gondolas, ran on Shore.

On the west shore, west of Valcour Island, is an inscription concerning *R. aux Sables*, and another stream, which were so choked up with sand that navigation on them was difficult.

On the east shore, near the northern boundary line, is an inscription concerning the swampy nature of the country.

On the west shore, near the northern boundary line, is the following: *On this part of the Shore Major Rogers had an engagement in 1760 with a Large Body of French and Indians.*

1. This fort was so named for Frederick Maurepas who was then Secretary

of State. In 1778, as head of the ministry, he made the treaty of alliance with

the United States. He also gave his name to Lake Maurepas in Louisiana.

North of the boundary line, on the east shore, the inscription concerns a hospital, which was used for the sick and wounded during the siege of *Isle aux Noix*.

Archer Butler Hulbert, in his *Historic Highways of America*, publishes the following vivid account of these old forts and waterways, which he found in the British Museum in London, written on a copy of a French map of Lake Champlain and Lake George by an English prisoner of the French:

"From Fort Edward to Fort William Henry, on Lake George, fifteen Miles good Road. This Lake is thirty Six Miles Long, and in the Widest part not quite three, all very good Navigation But for two miles at the farther End Becomes a Narrow Winding Creek, Very Mountainous on Each Side particularly the East, the Landing place is within three Miles of Ticonderoga, where the Lake Begins to Discharge itself into Champlain over Several Little Falls which Interrupt the Navigation for a mile & half, where everything is Carried over Land for that Distance, on the Eastern Side, to a Saw Mill the French have there, from the Mill to Ticonderoga is a mile & a half more, water carriage only dry a very narrow Creek Overlooked by Steep Mountains on each Side, this is the only Communication their is from Lake George to Ticonderoga for Artillery, and heavy Baggage and is altogether one of the most Difficult and most Dangerous Passes in North America. . . .

"From Fort Edward to wood Creek, where it Becomes Navigable for Batteaux, Eleven Miles, from thence to wood Creek Falls twenty eight miles, from these Falls to Ticonderoga thirty miles uninterrupted Navigation. A few miles Beyond the Falls is a Branch of wood Creek Called South Bay, a noted Rendevous for the Enemys Scalping parties from Ticonderoga. It was from this place that General Dieskeau march'd when he Attack'd General Johnston's Entrenchment on Lake George, it is twenty five miles Distance from Fort Edward & Sixteen from Fort William Henry.

"Ticonderogo by the French call'd Carillon is Distance from Fort Edward by way of Lake George fifty four miles, stands upon that part of Champlain Call'd by the English wood Creek on the western side it is a small Square wooden Fort Advantageously Situate & Regularly built, has two Ravelins, one to the Land, the other, to the water, which with the Ditch are still Unfinished Because of the Rockyness of the Ground, the Garrison Usually Consists of Four Hundred men & Fort will Contain no more.

"From Ticonderogo to Fort St. Frederick or Crown point Fifteen miles, good Navigation some Islands & the Creek not above a mile wide, but the Strait at the point is about three hundred & fifty yards.

"Fort St. Frederick is a place of no Strength being Commanded by several rising Grounds, is

Built of Stone very ruinous & irregular, and however its appearance may be upon paper is by no means Tenable once an army gets before it. their are several houses on the outside but it cannot contain so many men within the walls as Ticonderogo.

"From Crown Point to Fort St. Johns is one hundred and five [?] miles all Navigable as from wood Creek Falls, for vessels, the French have two upon the Lake of Sixty Tons each, but their is water for much Larger a good many very fine Islands very safe Navigation good Anchoring & Shelter every where against all Winds the Lake is very unequal in its breadth but its greatest is seven miles. it abounds with Creeks & Bays particularly on the East side which give admission to the New England Colonies as wood Creek & Lake George Do to New York. Notwithstanding the French Plantations with the names of their owners mark'd out in the Draught there is not a Single Inhabitant between St. Johns & Ticonderoga from under the Cannon of their Forts a few Stragglng houses indeed there are, which have been deserted since the war.

"Fort St. John is built of Pallisados only & two wooden Blockhouses in the Angles next the water has a few Swivels & is of no use but against small arms for which it was Originally Design'd. From Fort St. Johns to La Prarie on the South Bank of the St Lawrence River is fifteen miles Land Carriage Only over a Level Country Partly Settled from La Prarie to the Town & Island of Montreall is Three miles.

"From Fort St. Johns Down Sorrell River to Chamblay there is no Navigation for vessels & a mile from the Fort they are Obliged to Lighten their Batteaux for a hundred yards in Dry Seasons but from that to St. Etreze [Threse?] half way betwixt both Forts Six miles from Each is good Batteau Navigation & a fine Landing place on the west side covered by an Island. here Commence the French Settlements & here is a Magazine for Supplying the Forts on Lake Champlain.

"From St. Etraze to Chamblay Fort the River is very rocky & rapid and not Navigable But for Light Batteaux when the waters are high so that they most Commonly Carry for that Distance by Land. from Chamblay to La prarie Opposite Montreall is twelve miles good Road in Dry Seasons & a fine Level Country. Chamblay is a stone Fort built above Sixty years ago & is not Tenable against Cannon. a Little below the fort, Sorrell River forms a Beautiful Bason Continues so till it empties itself into the great River St Lawrence at Sorrell Village forty five Miles below Montreall & one hundred & thirty five above Quibec.

"There are no Indians upon Lake Champlain except a small tribe of the Abnacquies consisting of twenty families who Live at the Bottom of Massisque Bay, neither does it abound with Bever or such other Commoditys as Constitute the Indian Commerce therefore it has been formerly too much

Neglected & represented as an Aquisition of Less Value than more Distance Lakes & Rivers which would Never have been thought of had it not been for the riches they produced, But this Lake is Nevertheless by far the most important Inland water in North America, Because it is the key of the Enemys Country, a canal leading from New England, & New York, to the very Bowels of Canada, to Montreall in particular, the Seat of all their Indian trade & warlike preparations & which

with the country round it is the most fertile part of all that province.

“Crown Point Commands the whole Lake as it is the only Strait there is upon it, that can in the Least Annoy Vessels or boats in passing, till Arrived within a few miles of the French Settlements, therefore the English when in possession of that pass can land an Army openly or partys Secretly, in many Different places within a few hours march of the French Inhabitants.”²

2. Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, VII, 125.

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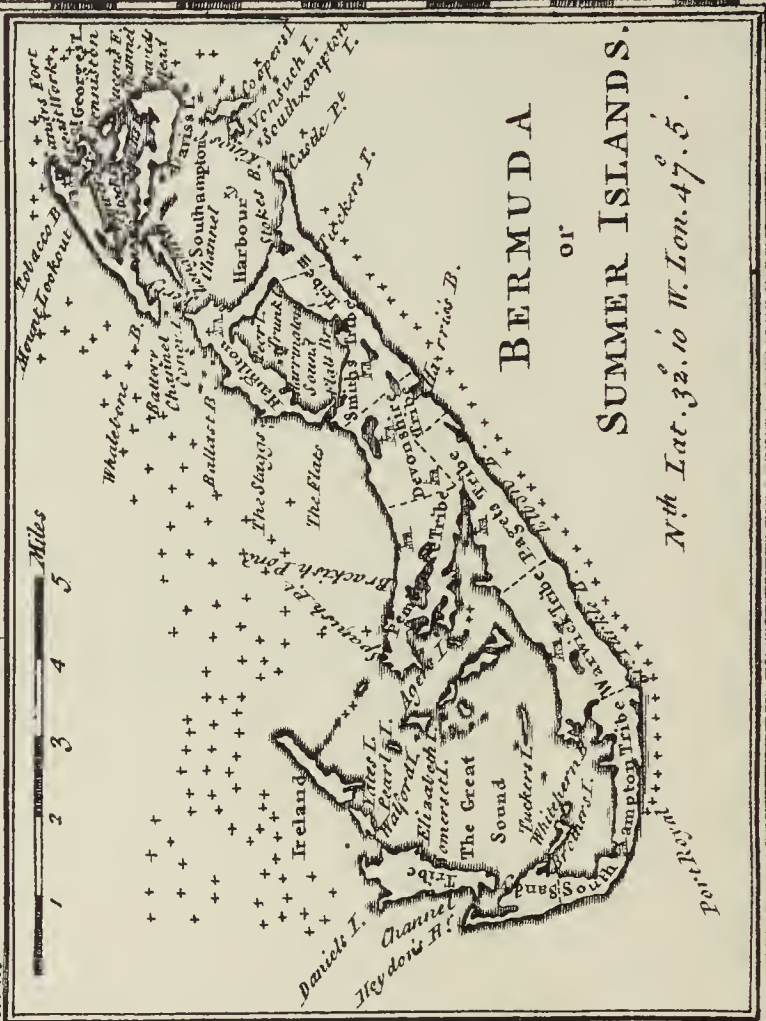
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THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENTS
in
NTH AMERICA
Laid down agreeable to the
PROCLAMATION
of
Oct^r 7. 1763.



50 45 40 35 30 25
70 West Longitude 65 from Ferro 60
Miles
J. Bowen Sculp.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS IN NTH. AMERICA

Laid down agreeable to the Proclamation of Octr. 7, 1763. Anonymous.

(7¼ x 9¼ inches.)

(In "*The Gentleman's Magazine*." London, 1763; XXXIII, 612.)

THE Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, which this map was made to illustrate, was designed to meet the new conditions in the colonies resulting from the Seven Years War. By the treaty of Paris, signed February 10, 1763, England had come into possession of the former French settlements in Canada and the former Spanish settlements in Florida. The first purpose of the Proclamation was to create governments with definite boundaries for these newly-acquired territories. This was done in the following paragraphs:

"WHEREAS we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America, secured to our crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; . . . we have thought fit . . . hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects, that we have, with the advice of our said privy council, granted our letters patent under our great seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands, ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, stiled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.:

"First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake St. John, to the South end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of North latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the North coast of the Bayes des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence by the West end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John.¹

"Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward, by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the Northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Catahoochee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the

East and South by the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

"Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the Northward, by a line drawn due East from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in thirty-one degrees North latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Catahoochee; and to the Eastward by the said river.

"Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.²

"And to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands, we have thought fit . . . to put all that coast, from the river St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelane, and all other smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our governor of Newfoundland.

"We have also . . . thought fit to annex the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to our government of Nova Scotia.

"We have also . . . annexed to our province of Georgia, all the lands lying between the rivers Attamaha and St. Mary's."³

Florida had had no definite northern boundary when in the possession of Spain prior to 1763. In 1767, the English Governor of West Florida was directed to exercise jurisdiction as far north as the parallel through the mouth of the Yazoo River, which Spain later claimed to be the true northern boundary of West Florida, when that province came again into her possession in 1783. The dispute was not settled until 1795, when, by the Pinckney treaty, Spain accepted, as the boundary, the thirty-first parallel, as it had been stipulated by England in the treaty of Paris at the close of the Revolution. The original boundaries of Georgia had been the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. The province of Grenada does not appear upon this map.⁴

1. In the present work see No. 56.
2. *Ibid.* No. 50.

3. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, p. 267-8.

4. In the present work see No. 50.

Provision was made for the government of the "three new colonies upon the continent." The governors were authorized "so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit" to summon general assemblies with power to make laws "under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies." In the meantime the inhabitants were promised "the benefit of the laws of our realm of England." Courts were to be set up to administer English law, with appeals allowed to the Privy Council in England.

The extension of English law to the colony of Quebec was not originally intended by the framers of the Proclamation. The manifest injustice of abolishing the native laws and courts of a population of eighty thousand French people, and imposing upon them the judicial system of the small minority of not more than two hundred English residents was removed by the Quebec Act of 1774, which restored French civil law while retaining English criminal law with trial by jury.⁵

In order to attract settlers to the new provinces and so lessen the pressure of the whites upon the western lands to be reserved for the Indians, the Proclamation authorized the governors to make grants of land to individuals and special grants "without fee or reward, to such reduced officers as have served in North America during the late war, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same." Among the British officers who availed themselves of this privilege, were Horatio Gates, Charles Lee, Arthur St. Clair, and Richard Montgomery.⁶

The main purpose of the Proclamation was to prevent future Indian wars, such as Pontiac's conspiracy which had devastated the frontier settlements in the summer of 1763. The first news of Pontiac's rising had reached England early in August. The Board of Trade had at once asked that a proclamation be issued to quiet the Indians and within a week after the arrival of the news of the capture of the western forts the Proclamation of 1763 was published.⁷

The chief cause of Indian troubles lay in the lax control exercised by the individual colonies over land purchases and fur trading. The Indians complained bitterly of the English encroachments on their lands, as in the case of the Ohio Company, which in 1749 had secured a royal grant of 200,000 acres lying between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers. Rival territorial claims and conflicting colonial regulations were a constant menace to peaceful relations between the races. Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, had urged that the administration of Indian affairs be centralized by transferring the

control of land purchases and fur trading from the separate colonies to the Royal government, and that a boundary line be established between the colonies and the lands of the Indians.⁸ A precedent for such a boundary line had been set by Colonel Bouquet, who in 1761 had issued a proclamation, in accordance with a treaty made by Pennsylvania with the Indians, three years before, at Easton, forbidding "any of his Majesty's subjects to Settle or Hunt to the West of the Allegany Mountains" without a permit from the Governor or General. To carry out this policy was the purpose of the following paragraphs in the Proclamation.⁹

"And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest, and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds; we do therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor, or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrant of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

"And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present, as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and licence for that purpose first obtained.

"And we do further strictly enjoin and require

5. Victor Coffin, *Province of Quebec*, p. 413 et seq.

6. Channing, *United States*, III, 23.

7. That part of the Proclamation con-

cerning Indian affairs had been prepared by Lord Shelbourne before he resigned from the presidency of the Board of Trade on Sept. 2. Alvord, p. 34.

8. *Documentary History of New York*, II, 781.

9. C. W. Alvord, *The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763*, p. 27.

all persons whatever, who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

"And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose."¹⁰

There has been much discussion in regard to the purpose of the ministry in forbidding settlements beyond the mountains. That it was a clear violation of the chartered rights of several of the colonies is evident. Hillsborough, who was President of the Board of Trade when the Proclamation was issued, declared in 1772 that its "two capital objects" were to limit the colonies to territory within which the authority of the English government could be exercised and to retain the settlements within reach of the trade of the mother country. On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that Washington was correct in his belief that it

was "a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians." George Grenville, who was prime minister in 1763, said that the design of it was totally accomplished as soon as the country was purchased from the Indians. The phrase: "for the present," in the paragraph reserving the lands beyond the mountains for the Indians, would indicate that the restriction was to be a temporary one.

Whatever may have been the purpose of this restriction upon the settlement of the lands beyond the mountains, it could not fail to be unpopular with the speculators in western lands, such as the members of the Ohio Company, among whom were the brothers of George Washington, and the stockholders of the Loyal Land Company, who had secured a title to 800,000 acres from the Virginia House of Burgesses.

The duty of putting into execution the provisions of the Proclamation which referred to the Indians fell to the Lords of Trade who acted through the two Superintendents of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnson of the northern district and Captain John Stuart of the southern district. Both men strongly urged the establishment by treaties with the Indians of a new boundary line to take the place of the temporary one along the crest of the mountains, laid down by the Proclamation, which pleased neither the Indians nor the whites, as some tribes still held lands east of the mountains and some white settlements had been made west of that line. Such treaties were made by Captain Stuart, between 1765 and 1768, by which a boundary line was fixed as far north as the junction of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers; and, in 1768, Sir William Johnson in the famous treaty at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations agreed upon the boundary line as laid down on Guy Johnson's map.¹¹

The Bermuda or Summer Islands in the insert were named from a Spanish explorer, Bermudez, who discovered them early in the sixteenth century, and from the Englishman, Sir George Somers, who was wrecked upon them on his way to Virginia in 1609.

10. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, p. 269.

11. In the present work see No. 58.

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A NEW MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

According to The Royal Proclamation, of the 7th of October, 1763,
from The French Surveys Connected with those made after the War,
By Captain Carver and Other Officers in His Majesty's Service. London.
R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1776.

(18½ x 25⅝ inches. Scale, 35.5 miles to 1 inch.)

(In William Faden, Ed., "The North American Atlas." London, for W. Faden,
1777.¹)
(Library of Congress.)

"CAPTAIN CARVER" is doubtless the celebrated Captain Jonathan Carver, the author of *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America*, etc., which was first published in London in 1778.² He was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, about 1732. He served throughout the French and Indian War, narrowly escaping massacre near Fort William Henry,³ and was with Wolfe at Quebec in 1759.⁴ He was made a captain in 1760 and retired from the army in the same year. He traveled in the northwest from 1766 to 1768, and in 1769 went to England, where he resided until his death in 1780. Two other maps are attributed to him: *A New Map of North America from the Latest Discoveries*, 1778, reproduced as No. 70, and *A Plan of Captain Carver's Travels in the Interior Parts of North America in 1766 and 1767*. They both appeared in the first edition of his *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America*, London, 1778. He is also credited by some as joint author with De Costa of the beautiful *Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston*, London, 1775.⁵

The chief purpose of the map here reproduced is to show the first boundaries of the English Province of Quebec. When England came into possession of French Canada by the Treaty of Paris of 1763, it became necessary to provide some form of government for her newly acquired territory and to define its boundaries. This was done by the Royal Proclamation of 1763.⁶ The boundaries were laid down as follows:

"First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake St. John, to the South end of the

lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of North latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the North coast of the Bayes des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence by the West end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John."

It is interesting to notice that although Huske had denied in 1755⁷ that France had any claim to territory south of the St. Lawrence River and had asserted that New York and Massachusetts extended to the St. Lawrence River, the Proclamation limited those colonies in the north by the forty-fifth parallel and the watershed. From Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence, the boundary corresponds more nearly to the contention of Huske that French Canada was limited by the Utawas, or Ottawa River.

The finely executed insert maps of places visited by Carver during the campaigns of the French and Indian War deserve particular attention. As indicated on the map, there were roads on either side of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal, down the Richelieu from Fort St. John and from Fort St. John overland to Montreal. Almost all the French settlements were along the banks of these two rivers. The insert map of the *Course of the River St. Laurence* indicates the size of the French feudal estates along the river. The road from Ft. Halifax on the Kennebec River to the *Chaudiere* marks in general the course of Arnold's expedition against Quebec.

1. From copy "A" of this atlas.

2. In the present work see No. 70.

3. *Ibid.* 70.

4. *Ibid.* No. 53.

5. *Ibid.* No. 64.

6. For a fuller discussion of this Proclamation, see No. 55.

7. William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History*, 1606-1898, p. 113.

8. In the present work see No. 48.

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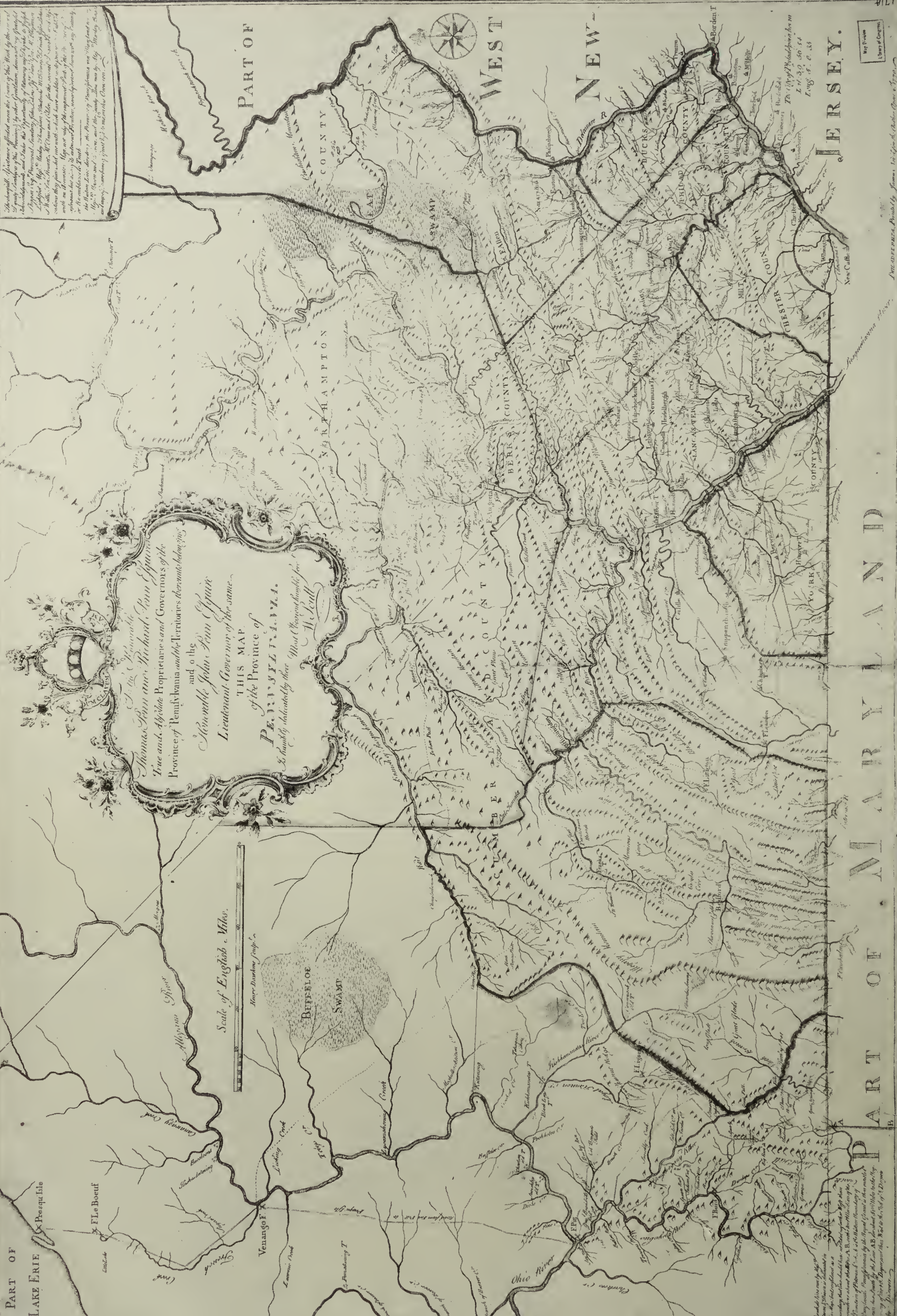
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Sheweth the Situation of the Province of Pennsylvania, bounded by the River Delaware to the East, by the State of New York to the North, by the State of Maryland to the South, and by the Atlantic Ocean to the West. The Province is divided into Counties, and the Seats of Justice are marked. The map is drawn by J. K. Smith, 1763.



By the Honorable Penn Episcopate
True and Able Proprietors and Governors of the
Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereto belonging
and of the
Honorable John Penn Esquire
Lieutenant Governor of the same
THIS MAP
of the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
is humbly dedicated by their Most Obedient Servants
J. K. Smith

Scale of English Miles.
Half an Inch equals
Five English Miles.

Printed by J. K. Smith, in the City of Philadelphia.
The Office of the Proprietors is at the Sign of the Ship in Market Street.
Lancaster, 1763.

Map of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1763.

Printed by J. K. Smith, in the City of Philadelphia.

To the Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn Esquires True and Absolute Proprietaries and Governors of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging and to the Honorable John Penn Esquire Lieutenant-Governor of the same. This Map of the

PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Is humbly dedicated by their Most Obedient humble Servt. W. Scull.
Henry Dawkins sculpt. Philadelphia, printed by James Nevil for the
Author, April 4st, 1770.

(27 x 32 inches.)

(Library of Congress.)

WILLIAM SCULL was a Pennsylvania surveyor. His father, Nicholas Scull, surveyor general of Pennsylvania from 1748 to 1761, was the author of the famous *East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia*, engraved by G. Vandergucht, and of a map of the improved parts of Pennsylvania, of which the present map by his son, 1770, is an extension, to include the new settlements west of the mountains. The elder Scull was also joint author with G. Heep of an interesting map of the city of Philadelphia.¹

Thomas Penn, 1702-75, was the son of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, while Richard Penn and John Penn were grandsons of the founder.

Many historic roads and paths appear on this map of 1770, the routes of the French south from Lake Erie to the Ohio, Braddock's Road, Forbes's Road, or the Pennsylvania State Road, and the various roads of southeastern Pennsylvania concentrating at Lancaster, York and Carlisle, and leading thence to the southwest up the valley of the Shenandoah River in western Virginia.

The more common route of the French from the Lakes to the Ohio was that marked out by an expedition under the auspices of the new governor of New France, the Marquis du Quesne, whose men left the southern shores of Lake Erie near the eastern end of the lake, where they built Fort la Presqu' Isle, the modern Erie, Pennsylvania, on the Lake, and Fort le Bœuf, on French Creek, in 1753, to control the passage from Lake Erie to the Ohio at that point. While they were engaged in this work the French were warned by George Washington, on behalf of the British in Virginia, to desist. They refused, and in 1754 pressed on to the south and built Fort *Venango* on the Alle-

gheny, and still another fort, Fort du Quesne, at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, which the young colonial leader, Washington, had already selected for an English outpost. In the same year, 1754, Washington had come back on his second trip to the west and surprised an advance party of the French at *Great Meadows*, still farther to the south, between *Laurel Hill* and the *Three Forks* or *Turkey Foot* of the Youghio-gheny; but although he held his ground at this point and proceeded to build Fort Necessity for the English, he was driven off a little later by the French, and Fort Necessity was lost.

The road leading west from Cumberland on the Potomac, at the mouth of Wills Creek, to *Fort Pitt* at the "Forks of the Ohio," was first blazed through the forest by an Indian chief, Namacolin, for the Ohio Company, under the direction of Captain Thomas Creasap, about 1750. Christopher Gist went over it for the Ohio Company in 1751. It was traversed by George Washington in 1753 with the message from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the encroaching French. Washington passed over it again in 1754 at the head of the Virginia regiment that surrendered at Fort Necessity, unnamed on the map. The same road was Braddock's route in 1755.

Genl Braddock's field, the scene of Braddock's defeat, is located on the map slightly to the east of Fort Pitt at the junction of *Turtle Creek* with the Monongahela. Braddock set out for the west along the banks of the Potomac, which he followed to the rendezvous of the army at *Fort Cumberland*, a small fort which had been erected by the Virginia troops in 1754. For the transportation of his heavily equipped regulars west from this point he was forced to construct what was in reality a new road, twelve feet wide, over the old path.² Twice he

1. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, 373, London, 1753; or, the same, XLVII, 573, 1777.

2. Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, III, and IV. Lewis Evans's map, *A General Map of the Middle English Colonies in*

America, 1755, traces Braddock's path. For a good copy of this, see Lewis Evans, *Geographical, Historical, Philosophical, and Mechanical Essays. The First, containing an Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America; and of the Country of the Confederate*

Indians; A Description of the Face of the Country; the Boundaries of the Confederates; and the Maritime and Inland Navigation of the Several Rivers and Lakes contained therein. Philadelphia, 1755. (New York Public Library.)

crossed the Youghiogeny before coming upon the enemy, a hazardous manœuvre when battle was impending at any moment; and he never reached Fort du Quesne at the Forks.

The path to the west through central Pennsylvania was the Old Glade Road, or Forbes's Road, later the Pennsylvania State Road, built westward from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to the Ohio in 1758 by Colonel Forbes. It was an old Indian path described first by Gist in 1750. Over the new road Colonel Forbes passed in 1758 through *Carlisle*, *Fort Loudon*, *Fort Littleton*, *Bedford*, and *Fort Ligonier*, to the conquest of the French at Fort du Quesne, which was taken and renamed Fort Pitt. The Swiss soldier in English service, Colonel Bouquet, passed westward over the same road in 1763 and defeated the Indians at *Bushy Run*, located on the map slightly to the east of Fort Pitt. This relieved Fort Pitt and broke the back of Pontiac's conspiracy. Under the name of the Pennsylvania Road, Forbes's Road was again of military value in the time of the American Revolution. The road was greatly improved by the state after the Revolution. It was the route taken by the New England settlers on the way to Marietta on the Ohio in 1788. Says McMaster of the road after 1800, "It was the chief highway between the Mississippi valley and the east, and was constantly traveled in the summer months by thousands of emigrants to the western country, and by long trains of wagons bringing the produce of the little farms on the banks of the Ohio to the markets of Philadelphia and Baltimore." The Pennsylvania Railroad later traversed a portion of Forbes's old road, just as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad traversed parts of Braddock's Road.³

The roads centering in Lancaster, York, and Carlisle were the beginning of the important highway of migration southwest from Pennsylvania across Virginia to the Carolinas and Tennessee.⁴ These roads to the southwest are traced on Lewis Evans's first map of the colonies, dated 1749, and on his later maps.

There were many interesting and important questions concerning the settlement of the boundary lines of Pennsylvania. The most exciting boundary dispute in colonial times concerned the Pennsylvania-Maryland line, the so-called Mason and Dixon Line, for it had bearing not only on the boundaries of Pennsylvania facing Maryland and Delaware but also on the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The charter of Pennsylvania, granted by Charles II of England in 1680-81, defined the boundaries as follows: "All that Tract or Parte of Land in America, with all the Islands therein conteyned, as the same is bounded on the East by the Delaware River, from twelve miles distance,

Northwarde of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, if the said River doth extend soe farre Northwards; but if the said River shall not extend soe farre Northward, then by the said River soe farr as it doth extend, and from the head of the said River the Easterne Bounds are to bee determined by a Meridian Line, to bee drawne from the head of the said River unto the said three and fortieth degree. The said landes to extend westwards, five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Easterne Bounds, and the said lands to bee bounded on the North, by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South, by a Circle drawne at twelve miles distance from Newcastle Northwards, and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude; and then by a streight Line westwards, to the Limitt of Longitude above menconed."

The geographical blunder in this definition was that the line of the fortieth degree of northern latitude was found to run north of Penn's settlement at Philadelphia, which was at 39° 56' 34" north latitude; thus Pennsylvania would be deprived of Philadelphia and excluded from Delaware Bay. The Penn family rested their case in the ensuing dispute with the family of Lord Baltimore of Maryland on the contention that a degree of latitude was a belt around the earth, parallel to the equator, and claimed that the "beginning of the fortieth degree" was at the end of the thirty-ninth degree, i. e., the thirty-ninth parallel, and that therefore Pennsylvania in reality included not only the town of Philadelphia but also Baltimore and a large slice of Maryland almost down to the present District of Columbia. A preliminary agreement between the two parties in 1732 came to nothing; but another, signed July 4, 1760, and based on a decision of Lord Chancellor Hardwick in Chancery in 1750, led to the present compromise line.

According to this arrangement, which Mitchell on his map of 1755 says was "not supposed to affect the claims of any," a due east and west line was to be run from Cape Henlopen to Chesapeake Bay, and in the exact middle of this line, thirty-four miles from the ocean, another line was to be erected, twenty-one miles in length, to run straight north till it touched the western periphery of a circle, having a radius of twelve miles, measured from the center of the town of New Castle. From this tangent point a line, five miles in length, was to be run due north till it cut a parallel of latitude fifteen miles south of the most southern point in the city of Philadelphia; and from this intersecting point the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland was to be run due west. Two English mathematicians, Mason and Dixon, between

3. Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, V.

4. John T. Faris, *Old Roads out of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, 1917.

1763 and 1767, surveyed this line, since called the Mason and Dixon Line, for 244 miles west of the Delaware in the latitude of $39^{\circ} 43' 18''$. They made a clearing through the forest twenty-four feet wide, and marked the boundary by mile-stones. As later extended to the full limit of five degrees of longitude, the line was 267 miles long.⁵

The tracing of the Mason and Dixon Line embraced the land boundaries of "the territories," as Delaware was then known, for these territories as well as Pennsylvania were under the jurisdiction of William Penn.

There was vagueness as to the location of Cape Henlopen. The British lord chancellor arbitrarily directed that the spot on the ocean which he chose as the southern limit of Delaware should be taken as Cape Henlopen. The point on the southern side of the entrance to Delaware Bay, known on the modern maps as Cape Henlopen, was then known as Cape Cornellis; William Penn had called the same spot Cape James.

The idea of drawing the arc of a circle about the steeple of the old court house at New Castle,

Delaware, as a center, and giving the same a radius of twelve miles, did not originate with the Lord Chancellor in 1750, but dated from the original charter given to Penn by King Charles II of England.

Pennsylvania's "five degrees in longitude" gave her an extension to the west fifty-four and one-half miles beyond "the true meridian of the first fountain of the River Pattowmack," which was the western terminus of Maryland. Therefore, as may be gathered from one of the inscriptions on Scull's map, Pennsylvania took the position that inasmuch as it was Maryland that blocked the extension of Pennsylvania southward to 39° north latitude, Pennsylvania should be allowed to reach 39° in the west beyond Maryland. Virginia wished to restrict Pennsylvania to 40° , west of the western end of Maryland. Thus arose a dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, from which the former state withdrew 1782-84, when she allowed Mason and Dixon's Line to be continued as her southern boundary for her entire five degrees of longitude, in the latitude of Newcastle.

5. Channing, *History of the United States*, II, 106-110; James Veech, *Mason and Dixon's Line; A History. Including an Outline of the Boundary*

Controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia. Pittsburg, 1857.

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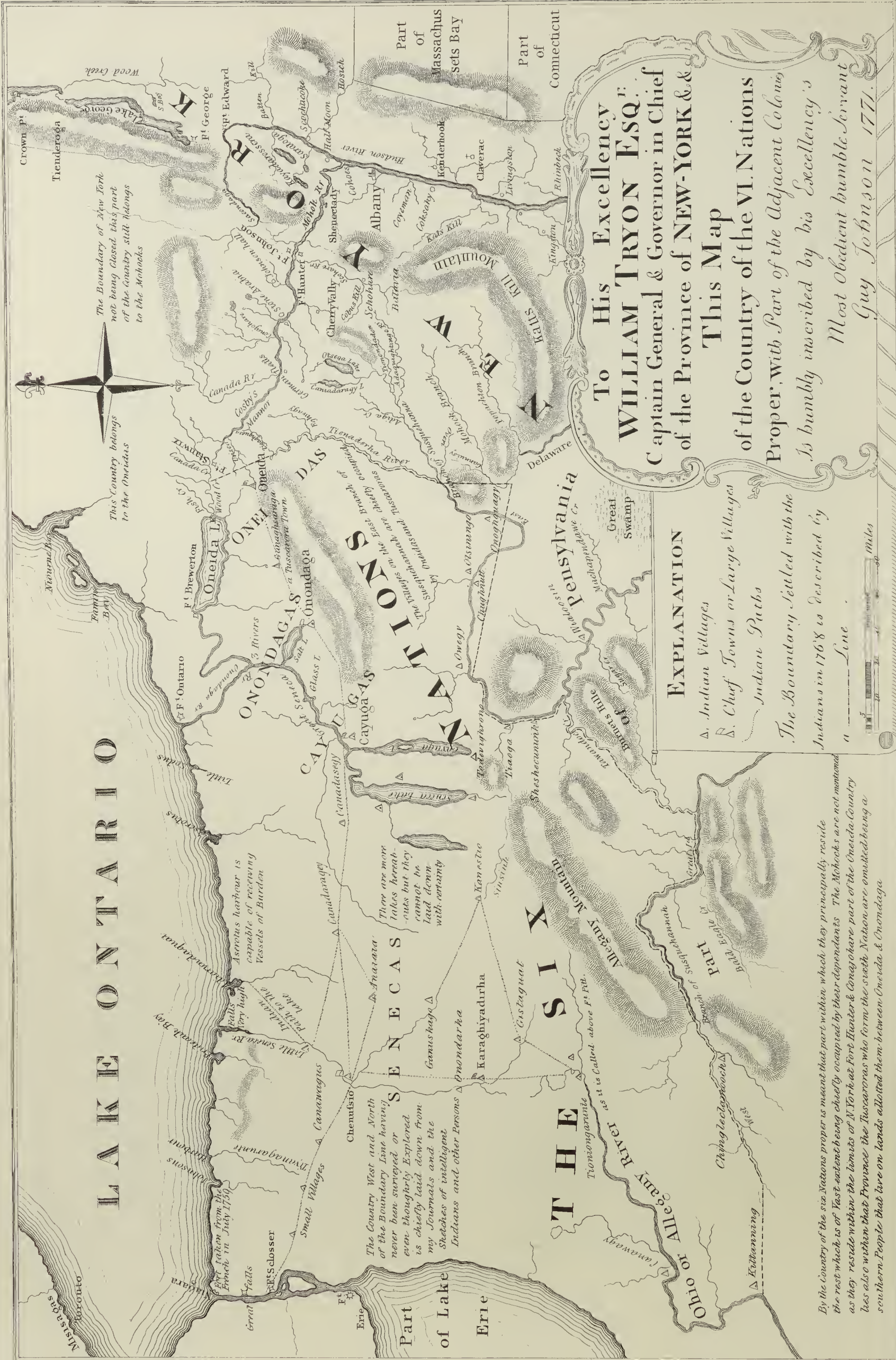
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LAKE ONTARIO



To His Excellency
WILLIAM TRYON ESQ.
 Captain General & Governor in Chief
 of the Province of NEW-YORK &c.

This Map
 of the Country of the VI. Nations
 Proper, with Part of the Adjacent Colonies
 Is humbly inscribed by his Excellency's
 Most Obedient humble Servant
 Guy Johnson 1771.

EXPLANATION

- A. Indian Villages
 - B. Chief Towns or Large Villages
 - Indian Paths
- The Boundary settled with the
 Indians in 1768 is described by
 a ----- Line

Scale: 0 to 10 miles

By the Country of the six Nations proper is meant that part within which they principally reside
 the rest which is of vast extent being chiefly occupied by their dependants The Mohocks are not mentioned
 as they reside within the limits of N. York at Fort Hunter & Cayuga are part of the Oneida Country
 but also within that Province the Tuscaroras who form the sixth Nation are omitted being a
 southern People that live on lands allotted them between Oneida & Onondaga

This Country belongs
 to the Oneidas

The Boundary of New York
 not being closed this part
 of the Country still belongs
 to the Mohocks

Part
 of Lake
 Erie

There are more
 lakes here
 but they
 cannot be
 laid down
 with certainty

The Country West and North
 of the Boundary Line having
 never been surveyed or
 even thoughtfully Explored
 is chiefly laid down from
 my Journals and the
 Sketches of intelligent
 Indians and other Persons

To His Excellency William Tryon Esqr. Captain General & Governor
in Chief of the Province of New York & This Map of

THE COUNTRY OF THE VI. NATIONS

Proper, With Part of the Adjacent Colonies, Is humbly inscribed by his
Excellency's Most Obedient humble Servant Guy Johnson. 1771.

(7¾ x 12 inches.)

(In E. B. O'Callaghan, "Documentary History of the State of New York."
Albany, 1849-51; IV, 1090.)

THE original manuscript of this map, which had been presented to the New York State Library by Mr. Obadiah Rich of London, was destroyed by the disastrous fire in the library at Albany in 1911. This reproduction is a copy of the one made "from the original manuscript map in the state library" and published in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of the State of New York*.

Colonel Guy Johnson, the maker of the map, was a nephew of Sir William Johnson. He served under Jeffrey Amherst in 1759-60, and in 1774 he succeeded his uncle as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He lived at Guy Hall, in Tryon County. During the Revolution, his estates were confiscated by the Americans. He was associated with Joseph Brant in operations against General Sullivan.¹

William Tryon (1725-88), to whom the map is dedicated, was the Royal Governor of New York from 1771 to 1778. He had earlier been governor of North Carolina (1765-71), where he had put down the rising of the "regulators." As governor of New York, he made a visit to the Indian country in 1772, and gave his name to Tryon County in the central part of the state. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution, he took refuge on an English vessel, but returned to the city in 1776 after its capture by General Howe. In 1778 he resigned his Governorship and was appointed major general.²

The map first appeared in a *Memorial Concerning the Iroquois* written by the Rev. Charles Inglis, who was at that time assistant "minister" of Trinity Church in New York City and after the Revolution became the first Episcopal bishop of Nova Scotia. The *Memorial* was sent, in 1771, to Lord Hillsborough, the secretary of state for the colonies, in an effort to induce the English government to appropriate money for the conversion and education of the Six Nations. It asked for the maintenance of two missionaries, one at *Canajohare*, and one at the old Oneida Town, and of

several schoolmasters and blacksmiths in the Indian villages, and for the erection of a college or seminary for the Indians at the Old Oneida Town.³

The Six Nations, according to Inglis, had a total population of 7,860,⁴ of whom 420 were Mohawks living in the three villages of *Schoare*, *Ft. Hunter*, and *Canajohare*, 600 were Oneidas, 800 Onondagas, 1,040 Cayugas, 4,000 Senecas and 1,000 were Tuscaroras. The six tribes together could muster 2,000 warriors.

The inscription near the bottom of the map reads: *By the country of the six Nations proper is meant that part within which they principally reside the rest which is of Vast extent being chiefly occupied by their dependents. The Mohocks are not mentioned as they reside within the limits of N. York at Fort Hunter & Conajohare part of the Oneida Country lies also within that Province the Tuscaroras who form the sixth Nation are omitted being a southern People that live on lands allotted them between Oneida & Onondaga.*

The most interesting feature of the map is the boundary line between the Indian country and that of the whites, established by the famous treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. The Proclamation of 1763⁵ had forbidden the granting of lands "for the present . . . beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or North West." No one was to purchase lands of the Indians or settle beyond the line then established, without permission. Frequent violations of these regulations caused constant trouble with the Indians. Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, had strongly urged, in 1763, "that a certain line should be run at the back of the Northern Colonies, beyond which no settlement should be made, until the whole Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof."⁶ The following year, the Lords of Trade submitted to Sir William Johnson and Captain John Stuart, the Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the northern and southern dis-

1. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXX.

2. *Ibid.* LVII.

3. *Documentary History of New York*, IV, 1090-1117.

4. Sir William Johnson's estimate, in 1763, was 10,000. At the time of their greatest prosperity, in 1650, there were some 25,000. In 1923, there were 6,040.

5. In the present work see No. 55.

6. Max Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," in *American Historical Review*, X, 783.

tracts respectively, for their approval, an elaborate plan for the administration of Indian affairs which included a proposal for the establishment of a precise boundary line. They at once entered into negotiations with the Indians for that purpose, although unauthorized to do so, in the confident belief that the plan of 1764 would be adopted. Stuart, in 1768, agreed with the Creeks and Cherokees upon a continuous line to the junction of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers. Johnson held a conference with the Six Nations at *Johnson hall*, in 1765, and came to a tentative agreement which he submitted to the Lords of Trade. Further action, however, was postponed, because of colonial disturbances, until the spring of 1768, when Johnson was instructed to settle upon a boundary line in the north which would continue that established by Stuart.

Johnson at once invited the Six Nations to a conference at *Ft. Stanwix*, which was attended by some three thousand Indians. Here an agreement was finally arrived at, and the famous Treaty of Fort Stanwix was made by "Sir William Johnson Baronet, His Majesty's Superintendent," and the "Sachems & Chiefs of the Six Confederate Nations & of the Shawaneese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio & other Dependent Tribes, in the presence of His Excellency the Governor of New Jersey [William Franklin], the Commissioners from the Provinces of Virginia and Pensilvania and sundry other Gentlemen," among whom were George Crogan and Guy Johnson. The boundary line, or the so-called "property line," was to commence at the mouth of the Cherokee, or Tennessee River and to extend along the south side of the *Ohio or Allegany River* to *Kittanning*, thence by direct line to the nearest fork of the *West Branch of Susquehannah* and thence as shown on the map to *Canada Cr.* where it falls into *Wood Cr.* to the west of *Ft. Stanwix*.⁷ The lands around the villages of the Mohawks which lay to the east of the line were to belong to them and their posterity. The lands ceded by the Indians could only be granted by the King. As compensation to the Indians for the cession of all territory east and south of the line, i. e., Kentucky, West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania, the English paid £10,460 7s. 3d.⁸ It will be noticed that the line did not extend to the northern boundary of New York, thus leaving the Adirondack country in the possession of the Oneidas and Mohawks, as stated on the map. This boundary line emphasizes the fact that New York was a small colony at the time of the Revolution.

During the Revolution, the greater part of the

Six Nations supported the cause of the Crown and made many depredations upon the frontier settlements, particularly those in Wyoming and Cherry Valleys. In August, 1779, General Sullivan led a punitive expedition into the heart of the Iroquois country where, ruthlessly destroying houses, crops, and orchards, he broke the strength of the confederacy. Upon the conclusion of peace the Six Nations were forced in a series of treaties to cede the greater part of their lands to the whites.

Another interesting feature of the map is the representation of the important route from the Hudson to Lake Ontario *via* the Mohawk Valley. From Albany, a wagon road led to Schenectady, which was founded by the Dutch as a trading post in 1662. From thence, boats could be moved, although with difficulty, up the Mohawk River as far as Fort Stanwix, on the site of Rome. This fort was built in 1758 by General Stanwix, to command the carrying place between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, a small stream which empties into Oneida Lake. From Oneida Lake to Lake Ontario, the route followed the Onondaga, or Oswego River, to Fort Ontario, which was built by Governor Burnett of New York in 1722, on the present site of Oswego.

This route is described by an English traveler as follows: "Oswego . . . is computed to be about 300 miles west from Albany. The first sixteen, to the village of Schenectady, is land carriage, in a good waggon road. From thence to the Little Falls in the Mohawk River, at sixty-five miles distance, the battoes are set against a rapid stream; which too, in dry seasons, is so shallow, that the men are frequently obliged to turn out, and draw their craft over the rifts with inconceivable labour. At the Little Falls, the portage exceeds not a mile: the ground being marshy will admit of no wheel-carriage, and therefore the Germans who reside here, transport the battoes in sleds, which they keep for that purpose. The same conveyance is used at the Great Carrying-Place, sixty miles beyond the Little Falls; all the way to which the current is still adverse, and extremely swift. The portage here is longer or shorter, according to the dryness or wetness of the seasons. In the last summer months, when rains are not infrequent, it is usually six or eight miles across. Taking water again, we enter a narrow rivulet, called the Wood-creek, which leads into the Oneida Lake, distant forty miles. This stream, tho' favorable, being shallow, and its banks covered with thick woods, was at this time much obstructed with old logs and fallen trees. The Oneida Lake stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and in calm weather is

7. The line crosses the campus of Hamilton College at Clinton, N. Y. In Oneida county, the location of the line is said by Chapin to be noticeable by the fences and highways which run either parallel or at right angles to it.

8. See *Documentary History of New York*, I, 387-390, for provisions of the treaty, and a reproduction of the *Map of the Frontiers of the Northern Colonies with the Boundary Line established Be-*

tween Them and the Indians at the Treaty held by S. Will Johnson at Ft. Stanwix in Nov., 1768. Corrected and Improved from Evans Map By Guy Johnson, Dep. Agt. of Ind. Affairs.

passed with great facility. At its western extremity opens the Onondaga River, leading down to Oswego, situated at its entrance on the south side of the Lake Ontario. Extremely difficult and hazardous is the passage thro' this river, as it abounds with rifts and rocks; and the current flowing with surprising rapidity. The principal obstruction is twelve miles short of Oswego, and is a fall of about eleven feet perpendicular. The portage here is by land, not exceeding forty yards, before they launch for the last time."⁹

In the French and Indian war, Governor Shirley followed this route, in 1755, to capture Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River, but turned back at *Ft. Ontario*. In 1758, Bradstreet went over this route on his way to capture Fort Frontenac on the site of Kingston, Canada, and, in 1759, Prideaux and Johnson led their successful expedition against Fort *Niagara* over this same route as far as *Ft. Ontario*, where they embarked

their forces on boats. During the Revolutionary War, St. Leger, coming east, in 1777, to join Burgoyne, passed Fort Stanwix and encountered Herkimer at Oriskany (*Orisca* on the map).

In its representation of the "finger lakes," Johnson's map is inferior to that of Delisle.¹⁰ Neither map locates Lake Chautauqua, which Céloron crossed, in 1749, to reach the Allegheny River on his journey to the Ohio.

The present map lays down the old Iroquois Trail up the Mohawk River to the water shed near Fort Stanwix and thence to *Oneida*, the chief village of the Oneidas; to *Onondaga*, the usual meeting place of the Six Nations near Syracuse; through the country of the Cayugas to the main village of the Senecas, *Canadaragey*, the modern Canandaigua; to *Chenussio* or Genesee; and to the Niagara river at *Ft. Sclosser*. This trail was later followed in general by the New York Central Railroad and the Erie Canal.

9. Quoted by Archer Butler Hulbert in *Historic Highways*, VII, 139.

10. In the present work see No. 46.

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THE BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA

Engraved by William Faden. London, MDCCLXXVII.

(21 x 25 inches.)

(In William Faden, Ed., "The North American Atlas," London, for W. Faden, 1777.¹)

WILLIAM FADEN, 1750–1836, was an English map engraver and publisher contemporary with the American Revolutionary War. In the Library of Congress there are two copies of his *North American Atlas*, one containing twenty-seven and the other thirty-five maps; few of the maps in either volume were engraved by Faden himself. In 1793 Faden published an *Atlas of the Battles of the American Revolution*,² which appeared in various editions containing twelve, twenty-four, thirty-three, and thirty-six maps respectively. What is known as the *Faden Collection* in the Library of Congress is a "collection of original maps and plans of military positions held in the old French and Revolutionary Wars; with plans of different cities and maps of the country. Most of these are original manuscripts, drawn at the time by officers of the English army." The set was purchased by the United States from Edward Everett Hale.

Faden's *British Colonies*, 1777, shows the bounds of the Canadian province of Quebec as enlarged by the Quebec Act of 1774.

This law was one of those "acts of pretended legislation" referred to by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence in the words, "For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies." This characterization reflects the contemporary opinion in the colonies, but does not seem to be supported by the actual facts.

This act of May, 1774, was the first law passed by Parliament concerning Canada after its acquisition, the earlier government deriving its authority from an executive order, the Proclamation of 1763.³

It originated primarily in the demand for a uniform regulation of the valuable fur trade in the northwest, which was threatened by the conflicting laws of the various colonies having claims in that region. As the earlier fur trade in the north-

west had been controlled by the French in Quebec, it was believed better to secure the desired uniformity by extending the jurisdiction of that Province even at the expense of alienating the other colonies. The interior could be more easily penetrated by way of the Great Lakes than from the seaboard colonies farther to the south, and the Indian trade could be more effectively controlled in the single colony.

On the other hand, the opinion expressed by Solicitor-General Wedderburne in the debate on the passage of the law may have had some weight. "In the grant of lands," said he, "we ought to confine the inhabitants to keep them according to the ancient policy of the country along the line of the sea and river."⁴ "It has been the policy of this kingdom," wrote the British Board of Trade in 1768, "to confine her settlements as much as possible to the sea-coast, and not to extend them to places inaccessible to shipping, and consequently more out of the reach of commerce; a plan which at the same time that it secured the attainment of these commercial objects, had the further political advantage of guarding against all interfering of foreign powers, and of enabling this kingdom to keep up a superior naval force in those seas, by the actual possession of such rivers and harbours as were proper stations for fleets in time of war."⁵

By the act of 1774, the boundaries of the colony of Quebec were to run as follows: "All the Territories, Islands and Countries in *North America*, belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain*, bounded on the South by a Line from the Bay of *Chaleurs*, along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the River *Saint Lawrence* from those which fall into the Sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of Northern Latitude, on the Eastern bank of the River *Connecticut*, keeping the same Latitude directly West, through the Lake *Champlain*, until, in the same Latitude, it meets the River *Saint Lawrence*; from thence up the Eastern Bank of the said River to the Lake *Ontario*; thence through the Lake *Ontario*, and the River commonly called *Niagara*; and thence along by the Eastern and South-eastern Bank of Lake

1. From copy "B" of this atlas in the Library of Congress. For copies "A" and "B," see Phillips, *Geographical Atlases*, Nos. 1207 and 1208.

2. For the New York edition of 1845, with the titles of the maps, see Phillips, *Geographical Atlases*, No. 1337. This is a better and more elaborate collection than that of Comte de Rochambeau.

3. In the present work see No. 55.

4. Coffin, *Quebec*, 421.

5. *Ibid.* p. 425.

Erie, following the said Bank, until the same shall be intersected by the Northern Boundary, granted by the Charter of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, in case the same shall be so intersected; and from thence along the said Northern and Western Boundaries of the said Province, until the said Western Boundary strike the *Ohio*; But in case the said Bank of the said Lake shall not be found to be so intersected, then following the said Bank until it shall arrive at that Point of the said Bank which shall be nearest to the North-western Angle of the said Province of *Pennsylvania*, and thence by a right line, to the said North-western Angle of the said Province; and thence along the Western Boundary of the said Province, until it strike the River *Ohio*; and along the bank of the said River, Westward, to the Banks of the *Mississippi*, and Northward to the Southern Boundary of the Territory granted to the Merchants Adventurers of *England*, trading to *Hudson's Bay*; and also all such Territories, Islands, and Countries, which have, since the tenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, been made Part of the Government of *Newfoundland*, be, and they are hereby, during His Majesty's Pleasure, annexed to, and made Part and Parcel of, the Province of *Quebec*, as created and established by the said Royal Proclamation of the seventh of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three."⁶

The Act of 1774 did not establish the Roman Catholic religion in the new province, as charged by the Continental Congress, but gave to it the tol-

eration promised by the Treaty of Paris of 1763. "His Majesty's Subjects professing the Religion of the Church of Rome," ran the words of the act, "may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, subject to the King's Supremacy . . . and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed Dues and Rights."⁷ The Pope of Rome was to exercise no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Quebec, and the tithes were to be for the benefit of both the Protestant and the Catholic churches.

The act did not "abolish the free System of English Laws," as no such system had been established, or could well be established, for a population consisting of some ninety thousand French and less than one thousand English. "In all Matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights," the old French judicial customs, which contained no provision for the Anglo-Saxon jury trial, could go on temporarily, but in all criminal matters the law of England, with the right of trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, etc., was established. A popular legislative assembly was deferred rather than denied. There seems to be no evidence that the French desired such an assembly.

Coffin does not believe that the Quebec Act was so influential in conciliating the French Canadians as has generally been supposed; and in explaining the failure of the American military expeditions against the citadel of Quebec, he lays the emphasis rather on the inefficiency of the Americans themselves.

6. Coffin, *Quebec*, pp. 545-6.

7. *Ibid.* p. 547.

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BOWLES'S
NEW ONE-SHEET MAP
OF
NEW ENGLAND;
comprehending the Provinces of
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
AND
NEW HAMPSHIRE;
with the Colonies of
CONNECTICUT & RHODE ISLAND;
DIVIDED into their COUNTIES,
Townships, &c.
Together with an Accurate Plan of
the Town, Harbours and Environs
of BOSTON.

Printed for the Proprietors BOWLES & CARVER,
No. 69 in St. Pauls Church Yard
LONDON.

REFERENCES

- a. Advanced Embankment
- b. Battery or Cape as Powder
- c. In Boston Neck
- d. Battery or Cape as Powder
- e. on the small Island between
- f. of the Common
- g. The Common
- h. of Boston with two 12 Pounders
- i. In Boston Hill
- j. Battery Point

- g. Boston Hill
- h. Mill Pond
- i. Battery or Cape as Powder
- j. In Cape Hill
- k. North Battery
- l. Castle Wharf
- m. Long Wharf
- n. South Battery
- o. Wood Mill Pond

Scale of Miles

Bowles's New One-Sheet Map of
NEW ENGLAND

Comprehending the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire; with the Colonies of Connecticut & Rhode Island; Divided into their Counties, Townships, &c. Together with an Accurate Plan of the Town, Harbour and Environs of Boston. Printed for the Proprietors Bowles & Carver.¹ No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard. London, [1794-1798].

(20¼ x 25 inches.)

THIS map illustrates the interesting boundary disputes between the several New England colonies. The earliest of these disputes to arise and one of the most protracted was that between Massachusetts and New Hampshire.² According to the royal charter of 1629, Massachusetts was to include "all those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, which lye and be within the Space of Three English Myles to the Northward of the saide River, called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the Norward of any and every Parte thereof."³ At the time this charter was granted, the Merrimac was supposed to run easterly throughout its whole course and is so represented on the early maps.

Not long after the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts, the four New Hampshire towns, Dover, Exeter, Portsmouth, and Hampton, were settled on the grant made in 1629 to Captain John Mason, which extended "from ye Middle part of Merrimack River . . . to passcattaway river,"⁴ and several towns were settled on the Maine coast between the Piscataqua and Kennebec Rivers on the grant made in 1639 to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. As these towns were all situated south of the line "Three English Myles to the Northward of the Merrymack," Massachusetts claimed they were within her territory and proceeded to extend her jurisdiction over them, admitting their representatives to her General Court.

In order to determine the exact location of her northern boundary, Massachusetts, in 1652, appointed commissioners, who proceeded up the Merrimac as far as the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, in latitude 43° 40' 12", which they called the head of the river. Here they cut an inscription on a boulder, which has since been known as "Endicott's Rock,"⁵ as John Endicott was the governor of the colony at the time. An east and west line, three miles north of this point, was said to be the northern boundary.⁶

In 1677, however, the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas decided that the northern bounds of Massachusetts followed the course of the Merrimac River to its source and then extended westward to the South Sea.⁷ This decision annulled the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over the New Hampshire towns, which were soon after, in 1679, erected into a royal province.

Massachusetts, however, purchased the title of the Gorges heirs to the "Province of Maine," in 1678, and set up a government over the Maine towns under her new title acquired by that purchase. This title was confirmed in the charter of 1691 and she was given in addition that part of Maine lying between the Kennebec and St. Croix Rivers which the Duke of York had received, in 1664, from his brother, Charles II.

A Royal Commission consisting of "discreet men" from New York, Nova Scotia, and Rhode Island decided, in 1739, that the eastern boundary of New Hampshire should be north two degrees west from the head of Salmon Falls River, substantially as claimed by New Hampshire and as it is today, but the more difficult problem of the southern boundary was referred to the decision of the King, who, in 1740, in council, decided that "the northern boundary of the Province of Massachusetts be, a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls [Lowell]; and a straight line drawn from thence due west, till it meets with his Majesty's other governments."⁸ This decision gave New Hampshire 450,000 acres more than she had claimed.

Before this decision was announced Massachusetts had laid out nine townships, arranged in two tiers, on the northern frontier from Rumford, now Concord, to the Great Falls on the Connecticut and four townships⁹ on the east side of the

1. For another map by Bowles, see No. 49. Carver is probably Jonathan Carver, the author of maps Nos. 56 and 70. For a sketch of his life see No. 70.

2. In Hulbert's *Crown Collection*, Vol. IV, No. 33, is a photograph of a map of New Hampshire showing the boundaries as "determined by His Majesty."

3. Thorpe, *American Charters*, III, 1849.

4. *Ibid.* IV, 2434.

5. This rock was rediscovered in 1833, and is now carefully preserved.

6. Samuel A. Green, *The Northern Boundary of Massachusetts*, p. 10.

7. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, III, 320.

8. Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, II, 170.

9. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; or Chesterfield, Westmoreland, Walpole, and Charlestown.

Connecticut River. *No. 4*, the most advanced frontier settlement in the north, came to be known as *Fort Stephen* because of its stubborn defense by Captain Phineas Stevens. During the Revolution it was used as a deposit for military stores.¹⁰

The boundary dispute between New Hampshire and New York was still more difficult. In the commission of Benning Wentworth, who, in 1741, became the Royal Governor of New Hampshire, the boundaries of that colony were extended on the west beyond the limits of the Mason grant "till it meets with our other governments." This was construed by Wentworth to mean that the colony should extend as far west as did Massachusetts and, consequently, that the present state of Vermont lay within his jurisdiction. This was vigorously denied by Governor Clinton of New York, who insisted that the colony had a clear title derived from the grant by Charles II, in 1664, to his brother James, the Duke of York, of "all the land from the west side of Connecticut, to the east side of Delaware Bay."

In spite of the protest of New York, Governor Wentworth, in 1749, granted a township six miles square, which he called Bennington after his first name, within twenty-four miles of the Hudson River. During the French and Indian war this boundary dispute was not pressed, but, at its close, the controversy became very serious. The conquest of the French in Canada by removing the danger of attacks by the Indians had stimulated immigration into the Green Mountain region, which had become better known by the passage of colonial troops through its picturesque valleys.

Governor Wentworth granted no less than one hundred and thirty-eight townships west of the Connecticut.¹¹ In each township a tract of five hundred acres was reserved by Wentworth for himself, which is still known as the "governor's lot" and is marked on the old charters "B. W."; two hundred acres were reserved for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and the same amount for a glebe for the Church of England, for the minister, and for a school.¹² These grants were rapidly settled by emigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut.

This action by Governor Wentworth called forth a proclamation by Lieut. Governor Colden of New York, dated December 28, 1763, asserting that the jurisdiction of that colony extended as far east as the Connecticut River. In 1764, New York appealed to the King for a confirmation of her grant and a royal decree was issued declaring "the Western Banks of the River Connecticut, from where it enters the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, as far North as the forty-fifth Degree of Northern Latitude, to be the Boundary Line be-

tween the said two Provinces of New Hampshire and New York."¹³

New York at once proceeded to organize the region into the four counties: *Albany*, *Charlotte*, *Cumberland*, and *Gloucester*, as represented on the map.

Had New York been willing to recognize as valid the titles granted by Wentworth, Vermont might now be a part of that state but her government chose rather to interpret the royal decree as annulling all grants made by New Hampshire and issued orders to the Sheriff of Albany to eject all settlers who refused to pay fees for the confirmation of their titles. This the settlers refused to do, asserting that as their titles had been secured in good faith from the crown through one of His Majesty's governors, they should be recognized as valid by any other Royal Governor.

As New York persisted in her policy of ejectment, a convention of settlers at Bennington "resolved to support their rights and property in the New Hampshire Grants against the usurpations and unjust claims of the Governor and Council of New York by force, as law and justice were denied them."¹⁴

To maintain this resolution, a military force was organized by Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and others, which came to be known as the "Green Mountain Boys." It was at the head of this body of Vermont troops that Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga from the British, May 10, 1775, and John Stark and Seth Warner defeated Burgoyne's troops at Bennington, August 16, 1777.

The outbreak of the Revolution prevented war between Vermont and New York. In 1777, a convention of Vermont settlers met at Windsor and drew up a constitution based on that of Pennsylvania but with a clause prohibiting slavery. New York, however, refused to abandon her claims until after the adoption of the Constitution, when, with her consent, on the fourth of March, 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union.

Fort Dummer, in the southeastern corner of Vermont, near the present Brattleboro, was erected by Massachusetts, in 1724, to protect her settlements on the Connecticut from raids by the French and Indians and was maintained by her for some time after the decision of 1741 had put it outside her jurisdiction. The road shown on the map, from *Fort Stephen* to *Crown Point*, was opened up in 1760 by a body of New Hampshire militia under Colonel Goffe. It ran from Wentworth's Ferry, near Charlestown, up the Black River, across the mountains to *Otter Creek*, and down that stream to *Crown Point*. The *40,000 Acres Equivalent Lands* on the Connecticut River were part of the tract ceded by Massachusetts to Connecticut in exchange

10. Saunderson, *History of Charlestown*, p. 3.

11. Belknap, *New Hampshire*, II, 312.

12. Robinson's *Vermont*, p. 53.

13. *Documentary History of New York*, IV, 355.

14. Robinson's *Vermont*, p. 64.

for the same amount of land retained by the former colony south of her true southern boundary.

The western boundary of Massachusetts was the subject of a long controversy with New York. The original grant of 1629 to Massachusetts Bay Company extended "from the Atlantick and Western Sea and Ocean on the East Parte, to the South Sea on the West Parte. . . . Provided, alwayes, that . . . this present grant shall not extend to any such partes . . . actuallie possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State."¹⁵ As, at the time this grant was made, the Hudson Valley was "actuallie possessed" by the Dutch, the new colony was endowed with a boundary dispute with its neighbor New Netherland, which, the Dutch claimed, extended east to the "Fresh," or Connecticut River. This boundary was recognized by Charles II in 1664, when he made the Connecticut River the eastern boundary of his grant to the Duke of York.

The annulment of the first charter of Massachusetts Bay in 1684 left that colony for seven years without definite boundaries. In 1691, a second charter was obtained from William III, which described the colony as extending "from the said Atlantic, or Western Sea and Ocean, on the East parte, towards the South Sea; or Westward as far as Our Collonyes of Rhode Island, Connecticutt, and the Marragansett Countrey."¹⁶ The phrase "as far as the Colony of Connecticut," was interpreted by Massachusetts to mean that her western boundary, like that of Connecticut, should be a line twenty miles east of the Hudson River. New York, on the other hand, insisted that the phrase meant that Massachusetts Bay colony was to extend "no further westward than till it meets the colony of Connecticut. . . . It is contrary to reason to suppose that King William and Queen Mary could possibly have intended . . . to diminish New York which was a royal colony without express mention thereof in the charter, and without any notification to Colonel Slaughter, the then Governor." New York pointed out that several grants of land had been made by that colony extending eastward more than twenty miles from the Hudson. "These several grants . . . offer the highest evidence of the ancient right and jurisdiction of this colony, as far as the controversy respects the Massachusetts Bay."¹⁷

As the population along the border increased, there were frequent cases of disorder in which several were killed. Military companies in western Massachusetts resisted the New York authorities. In 1754, Livingstone's iron works at *Ancram* were seized by an armed band of Massachusetts men.

In 1767, commissioners of the two colonies met at New Haven but failed to agree upon a boundary, Massachusetts proposing a line twelve miles east of

the Hudson and New York one thirty miles. Another meeting, in 1773, at Hartford, which was attended by Governors Tryon and Hutchinson, was more successful. It was agreed that the line should be fixed substantially as it is at present. The line was run in 1787 by Thomas Hutchins, the map-maker.¹⁸

The first survey of the line between Massachusetts and Connecticut was made in 1642 by Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffrey, who were employed by Massachusetts to locate her southern boundary as defined by the charter of 1629. Having located a point "three English miles on the south part of the Charles River, or of any or every part thereof," they attempted to locate another one on the Connecticut River in the same latitude but actually located it eight miles too far to the south. Connecticut refused to accept this survey. At length, in 1714, the two colonies came to an agreement. As the four towns, Enfield, Suffield, Somers, and Woodstock, had been incorporated by Massachusetts, they were left under her jurisdiction although they were situated for the most part south of her true southern boundary, and Connecticut received in exchange a title to 107,793 acres of so-called "Equivalent Lands" in the valley of the Connecticut. After these lands had been sold and the proceeds given to Yale College, the four towns upon their request were admitted, in 1749, to the jurisdiction of Connecticut against the vigorous and natural protest of Massachusetts. This dispute was not settled until 1804. The map represents the northern boundary of Connecticut prior to her annexation of Enfield and Suffield.

The boundary between Massachusetts and Rhode Island was not finally settled until 1899. The northern boundary of Rhode Island was described in her charter of 1663 as the "southerly lyne of the Massachusetts Collony or Plantation." "This line," says Edward M. Douglas, "was in some respects the most remarkable boundary question with which this country has had to do."¹⁹ Twice the question was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. The northeast corner of Rhode Island was first marked in 1642, by Woodward and Saffrey, who set up a stake at Burnt Swamp Corner near Wrentham, three miles south of the Charles River. In 1711, it was agreed by Commissioners from the two colonies: "that the stake set up by Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffrey, skillful, approved artists . . . be the commencement of the line between Massachusetts and the colony of Rhode Island, from which said stake the dividing line shall run, so as it may [at Connecticut River] be 2½ miles to the southward of a due west line." This line was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in 1846.

The eastern boundary of Rhode Island was laid

15. Thorpe, *American Charters*, III, 1850.

16. *Ibid.* 1876.

17. *A State of the Right of the Colony of New-York*, p. 8.

18. In the present work see No. 71.

19. Edward M. Douglas, *Boundaries and Areas of the United States*, pp. 74-75.

down in the royal charter of 1663 as "three English miles to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of the aforesayd Narragansett Bay . . . from the ocean on the south, or southwardly, unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the towne of Providence, and from thence along the eastwardly side or banke of the sayd river (higher called by the name of Seacunck river), up to the ffalls called Patuckett ffalls, . . . and soe from the sayd ffalls, in a straight lyne, due north, untill itt meete with the

aforesayd line of the Massachusetts Collony."²⁰ This line was fixed by the royal commissioners in 1741 and affirmed by the King in 1746. The two colonies could not agree, however, in running this line and the case was carried to the Supreme Court, which settled the present boundary in 1861. By this decision, the town of Pawtucket, a narrow strip of Seekonk, and East Providence were annexed to Rhode Island in exchange for territory in the vicinity of Fall River. This decision was not finally accepted by the two states until 1899.

20. Thorpe, *American Charters*, VI, 3220.

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A Map of the most Inhabited part of
VIRGINIA
 Containing the whole Province of
MARYLAND

With Part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751. To the Right Honourable, George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, First Lord Commissioner, and to the Rest of the Right Honourable and Honourable Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, This Map is most humbly Inscribed to their Lordships, By their Lordship's Most Obedient & most devoted humble Servt. Thos. Jefferys. 1775.

(31 x 48 inches.)

(In William Faden, Ed., "The North American Atlas." London, for W. Faden, 1777.¹)

JOSHUA FRY emigrated from England between 1710 and 1720, settling in Virginia, where he was successively justice of the peace, county lieutenant, member of the House of Burgesses, and member of the King's Council. He was professor of mathematics in William and Mary College, and a practical surveyor who was employed to run various county lines in the colony. He was associated with Peter Jefferson, the father of Thomas Jefferson, in the survey of the land between the head springs of the Rappahannock and those of the Potomac in 1749; in the running of the line between Virginia and North Carolina; and in the construction of the Fry and Jefferson map. As Colonel of a Virginia regiment he started on the military expedition against the French in the valley of the Ohio in 1754, but he died on the march, and was succeeded in command by George Washington.

In his *Autobiography* President Jefferson, referring to his father's coöperation with Fry in the professorship of mathematics at William and Mary College, in the various surveying expeditions, and in the construction of the map, says that his father was "employed with the same Mr. Fry to make the 1st map of Virginia which has ever been made, that of Captain Smith being merely a conjectural sketch. They possessed excellent materials for so much of the country as is below the blue ridge; little being then known beyond the ridge."²

A comparison of this edition of the map, 1775, with the original map made by Fry and Jefferson in 1751, a good copy of which is preserved in the New York Public Library, shows the rapid advance made by the English surveyors in their knowledge of the Ohio country after 1751. The two editions of the map are of the same size. In the

earlier map Lake Erie is far out of place, extending as far south as Fort du Quesne; and only a few roads are delineated, for example, a short wagon road at Williams Ferry, where the Great Wagon Road to the Southwest crosses the Potomac, and another short section of the same road, known as *Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster*. The map of 1751 contains no table of distances, no *Fort du Quesne*, no *Monongahela*, no *Fort Necessity*, no *Wills Creek*, no *Great Meadows*, and no *Gist's Settlement*. All these points on the later edition of the map were placed there by the opening events of the French and Indian War.

The boundary disputes between Virginia and North Carolina had their origins in the ambitions of Governor Sir William Berkeley of Virginia, but they were terminated by the initiative of Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood of Virginia, who made certain proposals, which were accepted by the Governor of North Carolina and approved in England.

Says the legend of the map, in the lower right-hand corner, *The line between Virginia and North Carolina from the Sea to Peters Creek, was survey'd in 1728 by the Honble. Mr. Willm Byrd, Willm Dandridge, and Richard Fitzwilliams, Commissioners: and Mr. Alexander Irvine and Mr. Willm Mayo, Surveyors.*

The legend in the lower left-hand corner of the map reads: *The line between Virginia and North Carolina, from Peters Creek to Steep Roek Creek being 90 Miles and 280 Poles, was survey'd in 1749. By William Churton, and Daniel Weldon of North Carolina, Joshua Fry, and Peter Jefferson of Virginia.*

Culpepper County, the "debateable ground" between the Crown and Lord Fairfax in the "Northern Neck of Virginia," represents the extreme

1. From copy "B" of this atlas in the Library of Congress.

2. Ford's *Writings of Jefferson*, I, 2.

claims of Lord Fairfax in his famous land dispute with the Crown.

The original grant of Charles II to the Earl of St. Albans and others, reads as follows: "All that entire tract of land, situated within the heads of the rivers Rappahannock and Quirriough or Potomac, the courses of the said rivers . . . and Chesapeake Bay, together with the rivers themselves." This tract was acquired in 1688 by Thomas Lord Culpepper, whose grandson, Thomas Fairfax, lost his title to it in the Revolutionary War.

In the upper left-hand corner the inscription reads as follows:

The Course of the Ohio or Alliganey River and its Branches are laid down from Surveys and Draughts made on the Spot by Mr. Gist and others in the years 1751, 2, 3, & 4.

From Williamsburg to

York	12 E.
Hampton	24 S. E.
Norfolk Cross at H.	42 S. E.
Delawar	30 N. W.
Newcastle	50 N. W.
Hobes Hole	67½ N.
Port Royal	93 N. W.
Fredericksburg	107½ N.
Alexandria	168 N.
Lord Fairfax	186 N. W.
Winchester	194 N. W.
Wills's Creek	281 N. W.
Fort Necessity in the Great Meadow	346 N. W.
Fort du Quesne at the Conflux of the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers	391 N. W.

From Fredericksburg to

Port Royal	20 S. E.
Hobes Hole	52 S. E.
Alexandria	60½ N.
Lord Fairfax	76 N. W.
Winchester	84 N. W.
Wills's Creek	171 N. W.
Fort Necessity	238 N. W.
Fort du Quesne on the Ohio	281 N. W.

From Alexandria to

Lord Fairfax	78 E.
Winchester	86 E.
Wills's Creek	173 E. b N.
Fort Necessity in the Great Meadows	238 E. b N.
Fort du Quesne at the Conflux of the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers	283 E. b N.

These distances, with the Course of the Roads on the Map I carefully collected on the Spot and entered them in my Journal from whence they are now inserted. J. Dalrymple, London, Jany. ye 1st, 1755. The Longitude from London added in this Impression is deduced from that of New York in 64° 04'.

Williamsburg, the seat of William and Mary College, is in the peninsula between the York and the James Rivers, a little to the east of the mouth of the Chickahominy River; Hampton is in the southeast corner of this peninsula near Point Comfort; Norfolk is across the James from Hampton. Leading northwest from Hampton the road passes Delaware at the junction of the Mattapony and

the York, Newcastle farther northwest on the Pamunkey, Hobes Hole (or Tappahanock) on the Rappahannock, Port Royal farther up on the Rappahannock, Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock, and stops at Alexandria, across the Potomac from the present Washington.

The roads lead to the northwest from Alexandria over the Blue Ridge to Frederick Town or Winchester in the Valley of the Shenandoah. Wills Creek or Fort Cumberland, which was the rendezvous of Braddock's Army, Fort Necessity, and Fort du Quesne, are points of interest in the military campaigns against the French.

Dismal Swamp, the source of the five navigable rivers, is now cut by a canal. The Swamp is ten miles from east to west, and thirty miles from north to south.

The topography of Chesapeake Bay and of the rivers emptying into it, as here set down, is not essentially different from that of the John Smith map. Chesapeake Bay extends for one hundred and ninety miles from north to south, and is from seven to twenty miles wide. The distance from Cape Charles to Cape Henry is fifteen miles.

In the west, Kaatatin Chunk, or Endless Mountain, is the Kittatinny Chain, or the Blue Mountains, parallel to the Blue Ridge. The Shenandoah Valley has a mean length of three hundred and a mean width of forty-three miles.

Prominent features of the map are the Great Road from the Yadkin River thro Virginia to Philadelphia, distant 435 Miles, and the new settlements that had sprung up along its path in the valley of the Shenandoah.

The earliest reference on any map to the Great Road in the Shenandoah Valley is to be found in a map of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, dated 1736. The road is marked on John Mitchell's map of 1755. Proceeding westward from Philadelphia through Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the thoroughfare starts on its trend to the southwest by crossing the Susquehanna and passing through York, Pennsylvania, crossing the Potomac at Williams Ferry, the modern Williamsport, Maryland, touching the new villages of the Shenandoah Valley, Winchester, and Staunton, between the Blue Ridge and the next western ridge of the mountains, known as North Mountain, thence skirting the western side of the valley, close up to the North Mountains, and crossing the James at Looney's Ferry; here the road turns diagonally across the upper valley, crosses the Blue Ridge through the water gap of the Staunton or Roanoke River, and goes southwest to the Yadkin.

The legend on the northern side of the Great Road, Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster, refers to the Iroquois Conference at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, where the Indians for £400 surrendered to the British their lands in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge, while the whites allowed the Indians to use the Great Road as a war trail

between the north and the south. The trail reached as far north as Tioga at the junction of the Susquehanna with the Cayuga Branch, whence the upper waters of the Susquehanna led to the Long House of the Iroquois west of the Hudson.

The engraving in the lower right-hand corner

of the map shows a wharf scene in colonial Virginia, the plantation owners standing about, and the negro slaves loading the hogsheads of tobacco and other commodities for shipment abroad. For a similar scene, in an engraved title, see No. 59 of this present volume.

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of LIEUT. PAGE of His Majesty's Corps of Engineers,
and from those of other Gentlemen
Engraved & Printed for Wm. Laiden
Chairing Cross

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Chairing Cross



A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON

With the Intrenchments &c. of His Majesty's Forces in 1775, from the Observations of Lieut. Page of His Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and from those of other Gentlemen. Engraved and printed for Wm. Faden, Charing Cross. 1775.

(12 x 17½ inches.)

(Library of Congress.)

THE original drawing of this interesting map is in the Library of Congress. It is the most valuable contemporary map of Boston at the time of the Revolution. Lieutenant Page, its author, was Sir Thomas Hyde Page, who became a distinguished engineer upon his return to England after the battle of Bunker Hill, in which he was severely wounded. As a cadet at Woolwich, he had won a gold medal given by George III. He was knighted in 1783.

In 1775, the most striking feature of the town, to one approaching it from the sea, was the three hills: *Fort Hill*, *Corps Hill* (Copp's Hill), and *Beacon Hill*. "The building of the Fort furnished a name for one of them, the Windmill for a time the name for another, and the central hill, with its three little hills, received the name of Tramont, which it retained until it was used as a look-out—a place of observation and watching—when it was called Sentry Hill. After the erection of the beacon in 1635 it received the name of Beacon Hill, and lost the name of Tra-mount, or Tremount, which it had conferred upon the town. So that we have had for this hill the names of Sentry, Tra-mount, and Beacon; and for the settlement those of Shawmut, Tramontaine, and Boston."¹

Copp's Hill, so named for William Copp, a cobbler, had an elevation of only fifty feet. In earlier days it was known as "Windmill Hill" because on its brow stood the largest windmill of the town, which was moved here in 1632 from "N-town," where "it would not grind but with a westerly winde." Fort Hill in 1775 was about eighty feet high. The first fortification on its summit was begun in 1632. The hill was sometimes called "Corn-hill," as the land around it was used for the cultivation of corn. Sir Edmund Andros was seized here, April 10, 1689, when the news arrived of the overthrow of James II in England. At the foot of this hill were the works called the *South Battery*, or the "Boston Sconce," which in 1775 were defended by four hundred men. The hill was leveled to build Atlantic Avenue in 1868. Its site was near the present Rowe's Wharf. Beacon Hill was the highest of a group of three hills called "Treamount," "Tramont," or "Tremont." It was originally one hundred and thirty-eight feet high. On its summit was erected the "ancient Pharos" of

Boston, a mast sixty-five feet high, from which swung an iron basket to contain a barrel of tar. The lighting of this beacon was to be a signal to the surrounding towns of an attack upon Boston. There is no record that it was ever used. In 1775, it was taken down by the British. To the west of Beacon was "Mount Vernon," and to the east "Cotton's" or "Pemberton's" Hill. On the slope of this hill stood the residence of Rev. John Cotton. In 1775, the hill was eighty feet higher than at present.

The material taken from this hill was used in filling the large *Mill Pond* at the north end of the town. This "Mill Pond," says Shurtleff, "was originally a salt marsh; and where Causeway street now is, it is said that the Indians had a foot path over the highest part of the marsh or flats, which was raised and widened by a Mr. Crabtree to retain the water of the pond."² This mill pond furnished power for a grist mill and a saw mill. It covered an area of fifty acres, extending as far south as Haymarket Square. In the first part of the nineteenth century, it was filled with material from Beacon, Cotton, and Copp's Hills. The Mill Pond was connected by *Mill Creek*, on the present site of Blackstone Street, with the *Town Dock*, an arm of the sea reaching "from the easterly end of Quincy Market to westerly side of Dock Square."

A curious and interesting feature of the map is the *Old Wharf*, extending from the *South Battery* to *Clarke's or Hancock's Wharf*. This wharf or "barricado" was constructed in the latter part of the seventeenth century to protect the inner wharves and the town against fire-ships. It consisted of a wall fifteen feet high and twenty feet wide on top, with openings through which vessels could enter the inner harbor. In 1868, the city of Boston appropriated money for the construction of Atlantic Avenue along the line of the *Old Wharf*. The material for this work was taken from Fort Hill, which within three years was completely leveled.

Long Wharf, originally nearly two thousand feet long, was begun in 1710. It was a continuation of *King (State) Street* and was "wide enough along its whole length for stores and shops." The British troops who entered the city in 1768 landed on Long Wharf and there embarked to attack Bunker Hill. The following description of Long

1. Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I, 524.

2. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, *A Topographical Description of Boston*, p. 109.

Wharf and King's Street was written by an Englishman in 1740: "At the bottom of the bay there is a fine wharf about half a mile in length, on the north side of which are built many warehouses for the storing of merchants' goods; this they call the Long Wharf, to distinguish it from others of lesser note. And to this wharf ships of the greatest burthen come up so close as to unload their cargo without the assistance of boats. From the end of the Long Wharf, which lies east from the town, the buildings rise gradually with an easy ascent westward about a mile. There are a great many good houses and several fine streets, little inferior to some of our best in London, the principal of which is King's Street; it runs upon a line from the end of the Long Wharf about a quarter of a mile, and at the upper end of it stands the Town House or Guild Hall, where the Governor meets the Council and House of Representatives; and the several courts of Justice are held there also."³

The *Tea Wharf*, a part of the Old Wharf, derived its name from its shape and not from any connection with the "Tea Party" of 1773, which took place at *Griffin's (Liverpool) wharf*, at the foot of Pearl Street, south of Fort Hill.

Clarke's or Hancock's Wharf, now Lewis Wharf, was the scene of the seizure of John Hancock's sloop, *Liberty*, which riot brought the English troops to Boston in 1768.

The *Common* consisted of some forty-five acres purchased by the town in 1634 of William Blackstone "for a trayning field" and a common pasture. It originally extended from the *Burying Ground*, never a part of the Common, at the corner of *Frog Lane* (Boylston Street) and *Common (Tremont Street)*, to Beacon Street. In 1775, British guns were mounted on Flagstaff Hill where now the Soldiers' monument stands. The "Common Burying-Ground," the only one of the cemeteries of the town which appears on the Page map, was purchased by the town in 1756. It was formerly a pasture belonging to Colonel Thomas Fitch.

The most famous buildings of the town in 1775 are located on the map.

A. *Christ Church* in Salem Street, in the North End, the oldest church building in Boston, now commonly known as the Old North Church, was built by the Episcopalians in 1723. It was in its steeple⁴ that the lanterns were hung, the night of April 18, 1775, as a signal to Paul Revere of the start of the British troops for Lexington. Here General Gage watched the battle of Bunker Hill and the burning of Charlestown. The original steeple was blown down in 1805 and was rebuilt by Charles Bulfinch.

B. *Old North Meeting*, "the Church of the Mathers," was built in 1650. It was known as the "Second" Church. It was torn down for fuel in

1775 by the British and its society joined the "New Brick" on Hanover Street.

C. *Anabaptists Meeting*, on Back, now Salem, Street, was first built in 1679. The Baptists were persecuted and banished from Boston as late as 1665. For some years they worshipped on Noddles Island. The First Baptist Church was organized in 1668.

D. *Faneuil Hall* in Dock Square, was built by Peter Faneuil, a Huguenot, in 1742 and presented to the town for a market house and town hall. The original building, two stories in height, was forty by one hundred feet. The grasshopper weather-vane made by Shem Drown, a famous copper-smith, was copied from the one on the Royal Exchange of London. The hall was burned in 1761 and was rebuilt by a lottery. In 1806, the building was enlarged, its width being doubled and a third story added.

E. *Town Hall* in King, now State, Street, is more commonly known as the Old State House. The first building on this, the site of the earliest market, was erected of wood in 1657-59 from a legacy to the town by Captain Robert Keayne. It was burned in 1711, as was another of brick in 1747, and, in 1748, the present structure was erected. As it was used by the colonial courts, it was often called the Court House.

F. *Old Meeting* was the third building of the First Church. The first, having mud walls and a thatch roof, stood on the south side of State Street near the Old State House. The second, built of wood in 1640, was on the site of the Old Meeting. When this was burned in 1711, it was rebuilt of brick and came to be known as the "Old Brick Church." This building had three stories and a bell tower. It was in use in 1775 and was taken down in 1808.

G. *Prison*, or Boston Jail, was on the south side of Queen, now Court, Street, which was originally known as "Prison Lane." In the old stone building on this site, the witches and William Kidd, the alleged pirate, were confined. It was surrounded by a yard.

H. *Kings Chapel*. The English service was forbidden in Boston until 1664 and it was not until 1686 that a regular meeting place was assigned for Episcopalians in "the east end of ye Towne-house, where ye Deputies used to meet, until those who desire his ministry (Ratcliff) shall provide a fitter place." Later, Andros insisted that they should share the use of the Old South. In 1688, the first building was erected of wood on land taken from the burying-ground. In 1710-13, the church was rebuilt and enlarged and in 1749 a new stone building was erected partly on land belonging to the Latin School, which originally stood immediately next to the church on School Street, a new

3. Quoted in Winsor *Memorial History of Boston*, II, 440.

4. For discussion of this question, see Winsor *Memorial History of Boston*, III, 101.

school building being erected on the present site of the Parker House.

I. *Work-House* was a large brick building of two stories, one hundred twenty feet long, facing the Common. It was erected in 1738 and was designed for "rogues and Vagabonds." The British wounded at Bunker Hill were cared for here. It was removed in 1800.

K. *Granary Public* was next to the Granary burial ground. "It was a long wooden building, erected first at the upper side of the Common, but removed about 1737 to the present site of the (Park Street) Church. It was established so as to have a supply of grain, especially in cases of scarcity, where the poor might purchase the smallest quantities at a small advance on the cost. The building contained, when full, twelve thousand bushels, and was the largest in the town."⁵ It was removed in 1809 to Dorchester, and the Park Street Church erected on its site.

L. *Province House*, an old landmark on *Marlborough (Washington) Street*, nearly opposite *Milk Street*, was built in 1679 by Peter Sargent, a wealthy Boston merchant. It was a three story brick building with a lofty cupola, surmounted by the figure of an Indian made by Shem Drown. In 1716, it was purchased by Massachusetts as a mansion for the governors of the Province and in 1775 was occupied by General Gage and later by General Howe. It was nearly destroyed by fire in 1864.⁶

M. *Old South Meeting (the Riding House)* stands at the corner of *Milk* and *Washington Streets* on the site of John Winthrop's garden. The first house of worship of the Third, or Old South, Church, built of wood in 1669, was replaced by the present brick one in 1729.

N. *New South Meeting* was erected in 1717 at the junction of *Bedford* and *Summer Streets* on the site already known as "Church Green." It was rebuilt in 1814 from plans drawn by Bulfinch and demolished in 1868.

O. *Trinity Church*, the third Episcopal church

in the town, was erected in 1735 on the corner of *Summer Street* and *Bishop's Alley* (*Hawley Street*) on the site of the old "Seven-Star Inn," which had given *Summer Street* its early name, "Seven-Star Lane." The first building was of wood, and, while its exterior was plain without tower or cupola, it had the "handsomest interior of any church in Boston of its time." The wooden building was replaced by one of stone in 1828, which was burned in the great fire of 1872, when the society moved to its present location in the Back Bay.

P. *Byle's Meeting* on *Hollis*, formerly *Harvard Street*, was erected in 1732, upon land given by Governor Belcher. It was a small house built of wood, only thirty by forty feet. The first minister was Mather Byles,⁷ who was dismissed in 1777 as he was a Tory. During the winter of 1775, the house was used as a barrack. In 1787, it was destroyed by fire. The street and church were named for Thomas Hollis, a London merchant who was a donor to Harvard College.

Fortifications had been erected on the narrowest part of the neck at *Dover Street* in the early days of the town. The gates were guarded and always closed at night. In 1774, Gage erected new fortifications with a deep fosse through which the tide flowed. These were destroyed by order of Washington after he entered the town in 1776. The British had also established fortifications on *Fort Hill*, on the Common, at *North Battery*, now *Battery Wharf*, and *South Battery* and had mounted guns on *Copp's* and *Beacon Hills*.

The streets as given on the map will easily be identified by one acquainted with Boston. *Clough Street*, *Common Street*, and *Treamount Street* have become *Tremont Street*, while *Orange, Newbury, Marlborough* and *Cornhill Streets* have the common name of *Washington Street*, in commemoration of the visit of President Washington in 1789. *Frog Lane* is now *Boylston Street* and *King* and *Queen* are *State* and *Court Streets*. *Park Street* and *Beacon Street* were not known.

5. Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks of Boston*, p. 299.

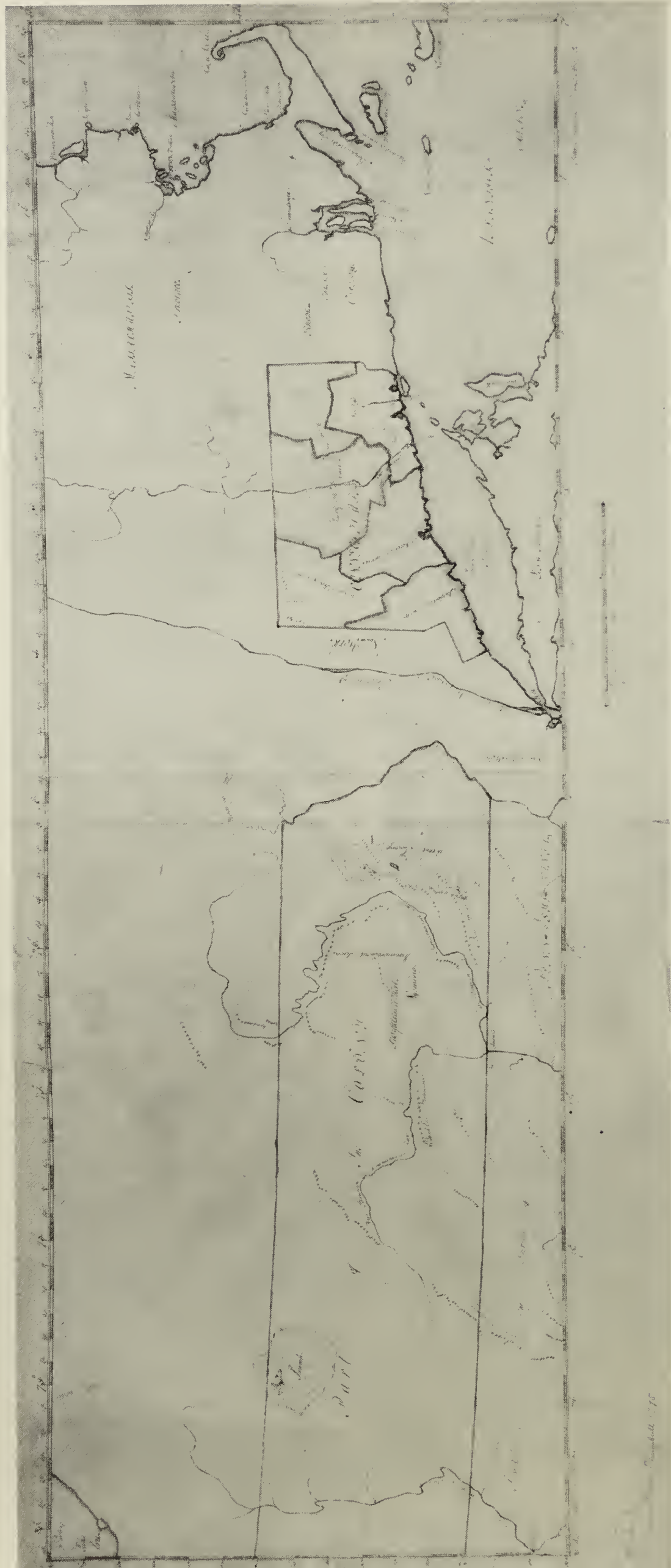
6. See Hawthorne's description of the house in his *Twice Told Tales* and *Legends of the Province House*.

7. He was a great grandson of Cotton Mather.

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PART OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT

By John Trumbull. 1775.

(9¾ x 29¼ inches.)

(*Massachusetts Historical Society.*)

HERE is a reproduction of a manuscript map, hitherto unpublished, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The author of the map, John Trumbull, was the famous historical painter whose paintings in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington are well known. His portraits of Washington and George Clinton are in the City Hall in New York, and others of his portraits and historical paintings are in the Yale Art School. He was the son of Jonathan Trumbull, the Governor of Connecticut, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1773. His skill as a draughtsman secured him an appointment as aide on Washington's staff. At the close of the Revolution, he studied under Benjamin West in London. The map is chiefly valuable as showing the claims of Connecticut to northern Pennsylvania.

The land title of Connecticut originated, in 1644, in the purchase by the "River Towns"¹ of the old Connecticut Patent which had been given in 1631 by the Earl of Warwick, the President of the Council of Plymouth, to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, John Pym, John Hampden, and others.

This title was confirmed by the Royal Charter of 1662 which granted to John Winthrop et al., "All that parte of our Dominions in Newe England in America bounded on the East by Norrogancett River, comonly called Norrogancett Bay, where the said River falleth into the Sea, and on the North by the lyne of the Massachusetts Plantation, and on the South by the Sea, and in longitude as the lyne of the Massachusetts Colony, runinge from East to West, (that is to say,) from the said Narrogancett Bay on the East to the South Sea on the West parte, with the Islands thereunto adjoyneinge."²

The extension of Connecticut to the "Norrogancett River" was vigorously protested by John Clarke, the agent for Rhode Island, even before the charter was issued. By an agreement between Clarke and Winthrop the dispute was submitted to arbitrators who decided that the "Norrogancett River" of the charter should be understood to be the Pawcatuck River near the present eastern boundary of Connecticut. This decision was incorporated in the charter which Charles the Second granted the following year to Rhode Island, which

defined the western boundary of that colony as "the middle or channel of a river there, commonly called and known by the name of Pawcatuck, alias Pawcawtuck river, and soe along the sayd river . . . northward, unto the head thereof, and from thence, by a streight lyne drawne due north, untill itt meets with the south lyne of the Massachusetts Collonie . . . any graunt, or clause in a late graunt, to the Governour and Company of Connecticutt Collony . . . to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; the aforesaid Pawcatuck river haveing byn yeilded, after much debate, for the fixed and certain boundes betweene these our sayd Collonies, by the agents thereof; whoe have alsoe agreed, that the sayd Pawcatuck river shall bee alsoe called alias Norrogansett or Narrogansett river."

Connecticut, however, repudiated the agreement made by Winthrop, denied the right of the King to restrict a grant when once given and maintained that its title extended to the Narragansett Bay. Disputes over the boundary continued until 1703 when commissioners of the two colonies agreed to adopt virtually the present line. This decision was confirmed by the Privy Council in 1727.

Connecticut had likewise a long protracted boundary dispute with New York. The very next year after Charles II made the generous grant of 1662 to Connecticut, he issued a patent to his brother, the Duke of York, giving him title to "All that Island or Islands commonly called by the several name or names of Matowacks or Long Island . . . and all the Land from the West side of Connecticut to the East side of Delaware Bay," etc.³ This patent conflicted with the prior title of Connecticut to Long Island, which might fairly be considered as one of "the Islands thereunto adjoyneinge," mentioned in her charter. In 1635, Charles I had given the Earl of Stirling a patent for Long Island and several towns (Southampton, Easthampton, Brookhaven, Huntington, and Oyster Bay) were settled under this patent.⁴ In 1664 the Duke of York purchased the Stirling patent and thus acquired a second title to Long Island. Under the circumstances, Connecticut thought it wise to yield her claims to the island, and accepted the decision of the Royal Commissioners that "the southern bounds of his majesty's

1. Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield.

2. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, p. 119.

3. *Ibid.* p. 137.

4. Bowen, *Boundary Disputes of Connecticut*, p. 27.

colony of Connecticut, is the sea; and that Long-Island is to be under the government of his royal highness, the Duke of York; as is expressed by plain words in the said patents respectively.”⁵

The same decision of the Royal Commissioners, which awarded Long Island to the Duke of York, ordered that the boundary between Connecticut and New York should be “the creek or river called Momoronock, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of West-Chester, and a line drawn from the east point or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt, at high water mark, north-north-west to the line of the Massachusetts, be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut.”⁶ This boundary line crossed the Hudson at Peekskill and would have given Connecticut the Hudson Valley between Peekskill and Kingston. New York, however, refused to accept the decision and the line was never surveyed. In 1683, during the administration of Governor Dongan, the line was agreed upon substantially as it is at present.

The northern boundary of Connecticut was likewise the subject of a long dispute over the correct survey of the line three miles south of the Charles River, the southern boundary of Massachusetts. At length, in 1714, a line was agreed upon, and Massachusetts was allowed to retain certain lands south of the charter line on condition of giving to Connecticut the property right to an equal amount (107,793 acres) of unimproved lands in Massachusetts. These so called “Equivalent Lands” were sold by Connecticut in 1716 for \$2,274 and the money was given to Yale College.⁷

Connecticut’s most serious boundary dispute, however, was with Pennsylvania over the title to the Wyoming Valley near the present city of Wilkes-Barre. Connecticut maintained that her charter gave her title to all the land west of the Delaware between the forty-first parallel, her southern boundary, and the forty-second, the southern boundary of Massachusetts, and, therefore, her northern boundary. Nineteen years after this tract was given by Charles II to Connecticut, it was included in the grant which that monarch gave to William Penn. According to the Royal patent of 1681, Penn’s grant was “to be bounded on the North, by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude.”⁸ No settlements were made in the disputed region by either colony for many years, but Pennsylvania strengthened her claim in 1736 by securing from the Six Nations deeds to the land between the Delaware River and the “Endless Mountains.” Moreover, Pennsylvania contended that Connecticut had surrendered her title to this territory when her western boundary had been determined in 1683,

and that this line had been “made absolute and conclusive” by William III in 1700.

On the other hand, Connecticut denied that her agreement with New York had affected her title to lands west of the Delaware River, and refused to recognize the legal right of the King to grant lands to William Penn to which she held an earlier title under her Royal Charter. In 1753 the “Susquehanna Company” was organized by Connecticut people to found a new settlement on the vacant lands west of the Delaware under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and two years later secured a grant from that colony of a large tract of land in the Susquehanna Valley “about seventy miles north and south, and from about ten miles east of said river, extending westward two degrees of longitude.”⁹ Under their auspices a considerable immigration of Connecticut people took place in 1768–1769 and settlements were made at Wilkes-Barre, Hanover, and Kingston on lands which the Proprietors of Pennsylvania had already leased on condition that the holders would “defend the lands from the Connecticut claimants.”¹⁰

Frequent collisions between the Pennsylvania and Connecticut settlers took place from 1769 to 1775, when Congress resolved “that the contending parties immediately cease all hostilities, and avoid any appearance of force until the dispute can be legally settled.” In 1774 Connecticut had formally asserted her claims to lands “westward of the Province of New York” and created the township of Westmoreland “from the river Delaware to a line fifteen miles west of the Susquehanna River.” This township was erected into a county in 1776 and its representatives were admitted into the legislature of Connecticut. Connecticut judges administered Connecticut laws in the new county. Two companies were raised for Washington’s army in the county and credited by Congress to the quota assigned to Connecticut. In 1778 the Connecticut settlements were attacked by Indians and Tories under John Butler and the well-known “Wyoming Massacre” followed.

During the Revolution Pennsylvania refrained from pressing her claim, but upon the surrender of Cornwallis petitioned Congress “to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question agreeably to the ninth article of the confederation.” Congress responded by creating a court which met at Trenton in 1782 and rendered a decision “that the jurisdiction and preemption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania.”¹¹ Connecticut’s prompt acceptance of the decision has been attributed to an understanding that she would be allowed to retain

5. Trumbull, *Connecticut*, I, 525.

6. *Ibid.* 273.

7. Bowen, *Boundary Disputes of Connecticut*, p. 59.

9. Trumbull, *Connecticut*, II, 470.

8. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, p. 185.

10. Hoyt, *Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne*, p. 20.

11. *Ibid.* p. 45.

the "Western Reserve" in northern Ohio. The dispute over the private right of soil was settled in 1787, when an act of the Pennsylvania legislature provided for the compensation of the Pennsylvania claimants and the confirmation of the titles of the Connecticut settlers.

The Trenton decision applied only to the land extending five degrees west from the Delaware River. Connecticut still claimed under her charter

the land between the western boundary of Pennsylvania and the Mississippi River. This territory she ceded to Congress in 1786, retaining the property rights, but not the jurisdiction, of the land in what is known as the "Western Reserve." In 1795 Connecticut parted with her title to this land for the sum of \$1,200,000, which she immediately set aside as a fund for the support of her common schools.

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A PLAN OF THE
TOWN and HARBOUR of
BOSTON.

of the Country adjacent with the Road
from Boston to Concord
showing the Place of the late Engagement
between the King's Troops & the Provincials,
together with the several Encampments of
the Armies in & about Boston.

Taken from an Actual Survey
Samuel & Inherited to Rich. Whitworth
sq. Member of Parliament for Stafford.
By his most Obedient & Servant

REFERENCES.

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A PLAN OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF BOSTON

And the Country adjacent with the Road from Boston to Concord
Shewing the Place of the late Engagement between the King's Troops
& the Provincials, together with the several Encampments of both
Armies in & about Boston. Taken from an Actual Survey Humbly
Inscribed to Richd. Whitworth Esqr. Member of Parliament for Staf-
ford. By his most Obedient Servant I: De Costa, London, July 29th,
1775.

(14 $\frac{1}{3}$ x 18 $\frac{4}{5}$ inches.)

(John Carter Brown Library.)

NOTHING is known of De Costa aside from his connection with this map. There is reason to believe that he was assisted in the making of the map by Captain Jonathan Carver,¹ for Isaac Foster in London wrote to Major Robert Rogers in Boston: "Carver and De Costa have finished a new plan of Boston at the request of Whitworth."² The "Whitworth" here mentioned was undoubtedly Richard Whitworth, to whom the map was dedicated and who was interested in Carver's project of crossing the continent of America. Carver himself says in his *Travels* that "in the year 1774, Richard Whitworth, Esq., member of Parliament for Stafford, a gentleman of an extensive knowledge in geography, of an active enterprising disposition . . . intended to travel across the continent of America."³

The opening scenes of the War of the Revolution are here represented with unusual clearness, July 29, 1775, three months and ten days after the battle of Concord and Lexington, and only one month and twelve days after the battle of Bunker Hill.

In the spring of 1775, Gage learned through the reports of spies, whom he had sent into the surrounding country, of the existence of military supplies at Concord and that John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whom he had been ordered to arrest and send to England for trial for treason, were at Lexington. He decided, therefore, to send a military force to capture Hancock and Adams and destroy the stores.

During the night of April 18, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Smith with a force of grenadiers and light infantry crossed the Charles River, and, landing at Lechmere Point in East Cambridge (*Phipps Farm*), set out through Somerville, Cambridge and Arlington (*Monatony*), to Lexington. After the skirmish with the Americans on the Common, Colonel Smith went on through the town of Lincoln to Concord. The famous fight

took place at the North Bridge over the Concord River, which flows north into the Merrimac.

Retreating to Lexington, Smith's troops met the force under Lord Percy, which had come to their relief from Boston *via* Boston Neck, Roxbury, Brighton, Harvard Square, and Arlington. After a halt of about an hour, the British continued their retreat, passing through North Cambridge and Somerville to Charlestown, where they arrived "between 7 & 8 in the even, very much fatigued with a march of above 30 miles."⁴

In the beginning of the ensuing siege of Boston, General Putnam, in command of the American left wing on *Winter Hill*, controlled Charlestown Neck; and General Thomas, in command of the right at *Roxbury Hill*, threatened Boston Neck. General Ward commanded the center at *Water Town*. General Washington took command of the army July 3, 1775.

The map was made nearly six weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, but there is nothing to indicate that the author, or authors, had heard of that event.

During the continuation of the siege, the British held the entrance to Boston Neck by strong entrenchments and a battery; their regulars were encamped on Boston Common; and they had batteries on Beacon Hill, Copp's Hill, and Fort Hill.

The map of the harbor is clear and surprisingly accurate. *Castle Island*, two and one-half miles from Boston, was fortified as early as 1634, when the General Court voted that "the ffort at Castle Island nowe begun, shalbe fully pfcted, the ordinance mounted, & evry other thing aboute it ffinished, before any other ffortificacon be further proceeded in." In 1654, Johnson, in his *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Savior*, thus described the fortifications: "The Castle is built on the northeast of the Island, upon a rising hill, very advantageous to make many shot at such ships as shall offer to enter the harbour without their good leave and liking."⁵ In 1689, Sir Edmund Andros

1. In the present work see Nos. 56 and 70.

2. John Thomas Lee, *Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data*, pp. 101-102.

3. Carver's *Travels* (p. 311), Boston, 1797.

4. Percy's report to Gage.

was imprisoned here. New fortifications, built in the time of William III, were called Castle William. After the Boston massacre, the two British regiments were moved here from the city in accordance with the demands of Samuel Adams. The fort was destroyed by the British in 1776, when they evacuated the city. Again rebuilt, its name was changed, in 1798, to Fort Independence.

Noddle's Island, now East Boston, was named for William Noddle, "an honest man of Salem," who settled here in 1629. In 1633, it was granted to Samuel Maverick on condition that he pay an annual rent of "a fatt weather, a fatt hogg, or XLs in money." During the persecution of the Baptists in Boston, they came here to worship and formed "The Church of Jesus Christ worshipping at Noddle's Island." Here, on May 27, 1775, John Stark with a body of Americans, sent to remove the live stock from the island, fought a sharp engagement with British marines. During the siege of Boston, the houses on the island were destroyed, but after its evacuation they were rebuilt from the barracks of Washington's army at Cambridge.

Governor's, or *Winthrop's*, *Island*, originally known as Conant Island, was granted to Governor Winthrop in 1632 and remained in possession of the Winthrop family until 1808. *Deer Island* "is so called," says Wood, "because of the Deare which often swimme thither from the Maine, when they are chased by the Woolves." Here the Christian Indians were confined during the panic of King Philip's war. It is separated from *Pudding*, or *Pulling*,⁵ *Point*, now Shirley Point, by Shirley Gut. *Nix's* (*Nickes*) *Mate*, to the south of Deer Island, was the scene of the execution and burial of several pirates in the early part of the eighteenth century. *Thompson's Island* was named for David Thompson, a trader whom Sir Ferdinando Gorges had sent to the Piscataqua River, but who moved his post to this island about 1626 and traded with the Massachusetts Indians whose principal village was on the *Milton*, or *Neponset*, *River*. The island was granted to Dorchester in 1634 to maintain a

schoolmaster in that town. *Spectacle Island* was so named for its shape. *King Road* after the Revolution became President's Road. Upon *Long Island* in 1776, Washington erected a battery to drive the English fleet out of the lower harbor. *Lovel Island* bears the name of Captain William Lovell of Dorchester. A French vessel, the *Magnifique*, of the fleet of De Grasse, was wrecked on the island in 1782 on "Man-of-War" bar. *George Island* was fortified in 1850 by the construction of Fort Warren,⁷ in which Mason and Slidell were confined in 1861. *Rainforths*, or *Rainsford*, *Island* was named for Elder Edward Rainsford of Hull, the first ruling elder of the Old South Church in Boston. *Sheen*, or *Sheep*, *Island* was formerly "Sun Island." *Pumkins* (or *Pumkin* or *Bumkin*) *Island* was bequeathed to Harvard College in 1681 for the "easementt of the charges of the Diatte of the Studenttse that are in commonse." *Point Alderton* (*Allerton*) was named for Isaac Allerton of Plymouth, who, with Miles Standish, visited it in 1621. Legend says that the Norse Thorwald, the son of Eric the Red, was buried here. The lighthouse, "Boston Light," the first on the American coast, on *Great Bruster*, or *Brewster Island*, named for the famous Elder Brewster of Scrooby, was originally built in 1716. It was destroyed by the British fleet in 1776. The present structure dates from 1783.

Although Champlain⁸ in 1607 and John Smith⁹ in 1614 must have entered Massachusetts Bay, the earliest recorded exploration of the harbor was made in 1621 when it was visited by a small party from Plymouth in charge of Captain Miles Standish. They anchored off Thompson's Island and landed on the mainland near Quincy Bay. Later they crossed the bay to the mouth of the Mystic River and went up into the country as far as Rockhill in Medford. Having secured some furs from the Indians, they returned to Plymouth, regretting "that they had not been seated there."

For a better plan of the town of Boston, the Page map of the same date, see No. 62.

5. Quoted by James H. Stark in his *Illustrated History of Boston Harbor*, p. 49.

6. For Wood's explanation of the origin of the name, see No. 37.

7. Named for General Joseph Warren.

8. In the present work see No. 29.

9. *Ibid.* No. 34.

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A PLAN OF NEW YORK ISLAND, PART OF LONG ISLAND &c.

Shewing the Position of the American and British Armies, before, at,
and after the Engagement on the Heights, August 27th 1776. Drawn
by S. Lewis. J. H. Seymour Sculp. Philadelphia, 1807.

(10 x 16 inches.)

(In John Marshall, "Life of George Washington." Philadelphia, 1807; Maps,
Plate II.)

WASHINGTON'S hopeless struggle in 1776 to hold the city of New York against a superior British army, supported by a powerful fleet, is vividly depicted in this map. Lee had written Washington after an examination of the vicinity, the city "is so encircled with deep navigable waters that whoever commands the sea must command the town." Military strategy demanded its abandonment, but political consideration required its defense. To have abandoned so important a post to the enemy without striking a blow in its defense, would have cost Washington and the new republic the confidence of the country and would have destroyed the morale of his army.

The city of New York, with its population of some twenty-five thousand, in 1776, occupied only the extreme southern end of Manhattan Island, below what is now Chambers Street, except on the East River side where it extended as far as Grand Street. At the southern end were the *Battery* and *Fort George*, the latter, with its heavy walls of stone, on the site of old *Fort Amsterdam*. The present *City Hall Park* was the *Common*. Just above the city, on the present site of the "Tombs," was *Fresh Water Lake* or *Collect Pond*, which in later years was drained by a canal, along *Canal Street* into the *Hudson River*. Two roads connected the city with the upper part of the island: the "Post Road," the lower end of which was known as the "Bowerie," or "Bowery Lane," and the *Bloomingdale* road, now *Broadway*, which ran through *Greenwich Village*, in the vicinity of the present 14th Street, and *Bloomingdale*, a scattered settlement above 56th Street, and continued on through *McGowan's Pass*, a hollow in the hills on the line of 107th Street, to *King's Bridge*, over the *Harlem River*. Above the city the island was well wooded and sparsely settled.

Fort Washington on the northern end of the island and *Fort Lee* on the New Jersey shore were expected to close the *Hudson* to British vessels. To further this object, hulks were sunk in the stream between the two forts. Strong fortifications were built at *King's Bridge* to secure communication with the mainland and batteries were erected at

Paulus Hook on the present site of *Jersey City*. The batteries on *Governor's I.* were manned by two regiments under the command of Col. Prescott of *Bunker Hill* fame. Washington recognized, as did Lee, that the possession of the city depended upon holding *Brooklyn Heights* which commanded New York as *Dorchester Heights* did Boston.¹ He accordingly placed there his strongest force commanded by General Greene until the latter fell ill with a fever, August 15th, and then by General Sullivan who in turn was superseded, August 24th, by General Israel Putnam.

"Brooklyn is a village," says Marshall, "on a small peninsula made by the East River, the bay, and Gowan's cove, into which a creek empties itself. The encampment fronted the main land of the island, and the works stretched quite across the peninsula from Whaaleboght bay [Navy Yard] in the East river on the left, to a deep marsh on the creek emptying into Gowan's cove on the right. The rear was covered and defended from an attack from the ships by strong batteries on Red hook and on Governor's island, which in a great measure commanded that part of the bay, and by other batteries on East river which kept open the communication with York island. In front of the camp was a range of hills covered with thick woods, which extended from east to west nearly the length of the island, and across which were three different roads leading to Brooklyn ferry. These hills though steep, are everywhere passable by infantry."²

The map shows the eastern portion of *Staten Island*, where on July 5th, General William Howe landed his troops and where he was soon joined by Lord Howe with reinforcements from England and by Clinton, who came from the south after his failure to capture Charleston. Here, at the opening of the campaign, Howe had under his command some twenty-five thousand men fit for duty, of whom one fourth were Germans. He could also rely upon the coöperation of a powerful fleet commanded by his brother, Admiral Howe.

The landing of a British force of fifteen thousand under Colonel Donop at *Gravesend Bay* on August 22, followed three days later by a German

1. In the present work see No. 64.

2. John Marshall, *George Washington*, II, 399.

division, under *Lt. G. Heister*, under cover of the three frigates *Phoenix*, *Greyhound*, and *Rose* and the bomb-ketches *Thunder* and *Carcass*, is clearly depicted. *Col. Hand's Regt.* is shown *retiring on the landing of the British* to the American lines on the wooded heights near *Flatbush*, about three miles from Brooklyn. The *Position of the British Army from the 22d August to the 26th* extended from *New Utrecht* through *Flatbush* to *Flatland*.

The advance position of the Americans was on the ridge already referred to, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height and densely covered with woods and thickets. Along this ridge, ran the road from Jamaica to the Brooklyn Ferry. The American troops were posted on the three roads which cross the ridge; the Gowanus road, near the coast, defended by *B. G. Lord Stirling*; the Flatbush road, three miles to the northeast, held by the main army under *Gen. Sullivan*; and the road from Flatbush to *Bedford* occupied by *Col. Williams* with New England troops. No troops were placed on the *Road to Jamaica* except a patrol of five officers.

On the twenty-sixth, in the face of a strong northeast wind, a naval diversion was attempted by the British against Governor's Island and *Red Hook*, during which the *Roebuck* bombarded *Red Hook*. On the same day, General Heister moved in force as if to attack the Americans in front while General Grant advanced along the Gowanus road and engaged General Stirling's force. While the attention of the Americans was held by these demonstrations in their front, an army of ten thousand men, consisting of the light troops under *Lt. G. Clinton*, the main army under *Earl Percy* and a part of the reserve under Cornwallis with the *49th* regiment in the rear, moved across *The New Lots* and along the *Flushing* road to its intersection with the Road to Jamaica. Having captured the American patrol of five officers, the flanking force appeared at *Bedford* in the rear of the American lines. When *Lt. G. Heister* heard the sound of Clinton's guns, he made a vigorous attack in what is now Prospect Park upon the front of Sullivan's army, which, caught between the two superior British forces, was soon routed with the loss of several hundred prisoners including Sullivan. In the meantime, General Grant engaged Stirling on the Gowanus road, where Greenwood Cemetery is now situated, while Cornwallis fell upon the rear of the Americans. Here again the British were victorious, many Americans including Stirling were captured, and the rest made their escape with difficulty through the swamps of Gowanus Creek to the protection of the lines in front of Brooklyn Heights.

The decisive victory at Long Island won Howe

great applause in England and he was knighted by the King. The main American army under General Putnam, however, still occupied a strong position on Brooklyn Heights and Howe, who had not forgotten the experience at Bunker Hill, hesitated to make an assault upon the American lines.

During the night of the twenty-ninth, Washington withdrew his entire army and all his supplies across the East River to New York. On the thirtieth, Governor's Island was also evacuated.

By the eighth of September, Howe had extended his lines on the opposite shore through *Bushwick*, *Newton*, and *Flushing* to *Hell Gate* and had occupied *Montresor's (Ward's)* and *Buchanan's (Randall's)* Islands. On the tenth, Washington began the removal of military stores from New York, in preparation for the evacuation of the city, to *Harlem Heights* at the northern end of the island.

On the fifteenth of September, a British force embarked at the mouth of *Newtown Inlet* and sailed up the East River to *Kip's Bay* at the foot of the present 34th Street. The American troops at that point fled in a panic, making no resistance to the landing of the British.³

Washington had already withdrawn to Harlem Heights but Putnam with his four thousand men, retreating through the woods above Greenwich Village on the west of the Bloomingdale road, now Broadway, barely escaped capture.

On the evening of the fifteenth, the British entered the city, of which two-thirds of the population were Tories, where they remained in possession until the close of the war. Howe's main army occupied a line from *Horan's Hook* to Bloomingdale at 96th Street, while Washington's army held a strong position on Harlem Heights, protected by three lines of entrenchments to the south and by Fort Washington in the rear. General Heath with four or five thousand men protected King's Bridge. The repulse of a British attack in the action of September 16 is known as the "Battle of Harlem Heights," although it was actually fought on Morningside Heights.

For four weeks following this battle, Washington maintained his position on Harlem Heights inviting an attack by Howe. But the latter recognized the danger of such an enterprise and on the twelfth of October, leaving Percy with a force at McGowan's Pass to cover New York, sailed up East River to *Frog's⁴ Pt.* with the purpose of turning Washington's position and forcing him to withdraw from Manhattan Island or run the risk of being captured. Finding that Washington had forestalled him by destroying the bridge which connected Throgg's Neck with the mainland, Howe continued north to *Pell's Pt.* whence he moved his army to *N. Rochelle*.

3. On the same day a similar panic affected the troops at Paulus Hook.

4. Originally "Throckmorton's" and then "Throgg's Neck."

Washington, meanwhile, had withdrawn his army from Manhattan Island, leaving a garrison in Fort Washington, and had occupied the steep line of wooded hills along the west side of the Bronx River, from *Valentine's Hill* to White Plains, where he erected very strong fortifications on his left wing.

On the twenty-eighth of October, Howe failed in an attack on Washington's left on Chatterton Hill.

Whether to hold or to evacuate Fort Washington was a matter of dispute. The fort with its outworks, built by Colonel Rufus Putnam, occupied an area one and a half by three miles between what

are now 181st and 186th Streets. It was well fortified and was thought impregnable.⁵ Washington believed it should be evacuated, as its possession was no longer of great value to the Americans, but gave Greene the option of defending or abandoning it. Unfortunately, Greene decided to defend it and on the sixteenth of November it was captured by the British with its garrison of 2,600 men. During the night of the nineteenth, Cornwallis, at the head of 4,500 men, crossed the Hudson seven miles above Fort Lee, and moved so rapidly upon the fort that Greene had barely time to withdraw its garrison behind the *Hackinsack R.* leaving all the stores and cannon to the enemy.

5. J. W. Fortesque, *History of the British Army*, III, 191.

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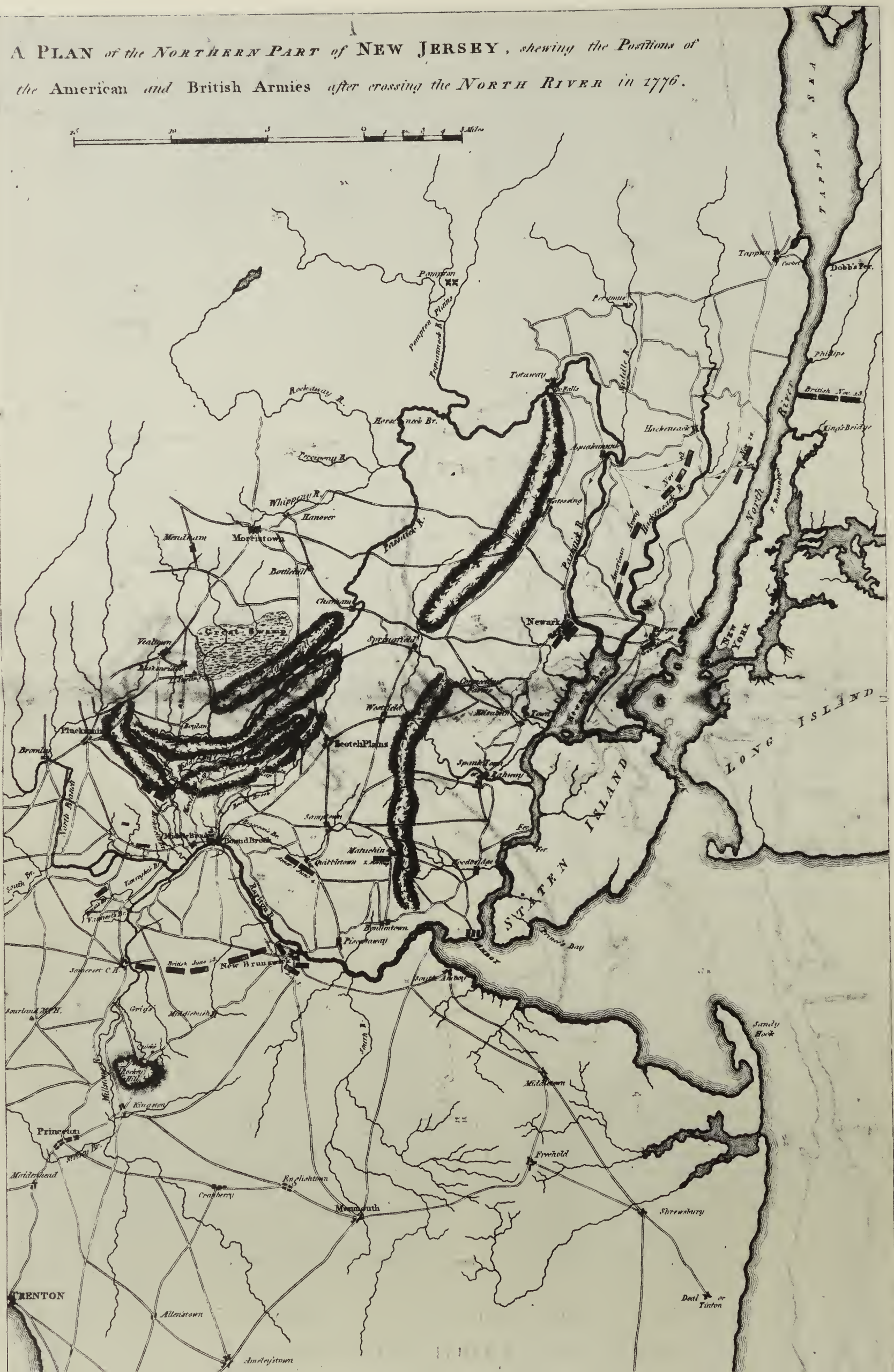
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A PLAN of the NORTHERN PART of NEW JERSEY, shewing the Positions of the American and British Armies after crossing the NORTH RIVER in 1776.



A PLAN OF THE NORTHERN PART OF NEW JERSEY

Shewing the Positions of the American and British Armies after crossing
the North River in 1776. Engraved by F. Shallus.

(10 x 16 inches.)

(In John Marshall, "The Life of George Washington."
Philadelphia, 1807; Maps, Plate IV.)

THIS map was Drawn by S. Lewis from Surveys by order of Gen. Washington, to illustrate the military operations in New Jersey during the late fall of 1776 and the early summer of 1777.

The position of the *American Army* Nov. 18, 1776, is shown on the west bank of the Hackensack and also its line of retreat across the Passaic at *Aquakununk* to escape the danger of being hemmed in between the two rivers by the superior forces of the British under Howe. From *Aquakununk*, Washington retired down the valley of the Passaic to Newark, where he was joined by General Mercer from Bergen. Upon the approach of the British troops, the American army again withdrew, moving in two columns, one along the road through Springfield, Scotch Plains, and *Quibbletown* (now New Market), and the other through *Elisabeth Town* and Woodbridge to New Brunswick on the *Rariton River*. Hard pressed by Cornwallis, Washington retreated to Trenton and crossed the Delaware River with his small army as the British troops appeared in sight.

To the west of the *Great Swamp* south of Morristown is *Baskenridge*, where, on the thirteenth of December, General Charles Lee was taken prisoner by a troop of British cavalry while he was spending the night at White's Tavern some three miles from *Vealtown*, where his army was encamped.

In the belief that the American army would disperse, Howe carelessly divided his army for the winter, placing cantonments of troops at Amboy, New Brunswick, Princeton, Bordentown, and Trenton. This gave Washington his opportunity for the brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton.

From Princeton, Washington moved east across the Millstone River toward Brunswick, where he hoped to capture the British military chest and stores, but, finding that his troops were worn out, he turned north at Kingston to Somerset Court House and then to Morristown, where he went into winter quarters.

In the following spring, the American army

under Washington moved south from Morristown and occupied a strong position at Middlebrook on the north side of the Raritan, ten miles west of Brunswick. General Sullivan was at the same time stationed at Princeton and Colonel Morgan and his corps of riflemen at *Vanveght's Br.* over the north branch of the Raritan.

In the hope of drawing Washington out of his entrenchments, Howe exposed his army in the position shown on the map from Somerset Court House to New Brunswick while Heister with a supporting column moved to Middlebush. Here the British army remained for five days, but, as Washington refused to leave his lines at Middlebrook and Sullivan retired from Princeton to Sourland, Howe withdrew to Amboy and had transported part of his troops to Staten Island when he heard that Washington had moved to Quibbletown and Lord Stirling to *Matuchin*. Howe at once pushed towards Westfield, sending Cornwallis on his right through Woodbridge to Scotch Plains against Stirling. Cornwallis defeated and pursued the Americans as far as Westfield and then returned through *Spank Town* or *Rahway* to Amboy. Meanwhile, Washington had hastily reoccupied his lines at Middlebrook and, on the thirtieth of June, Howe again crossed to Staten Island and New York, and soon embarked his troops on transports for the campaign against Philadelphia.

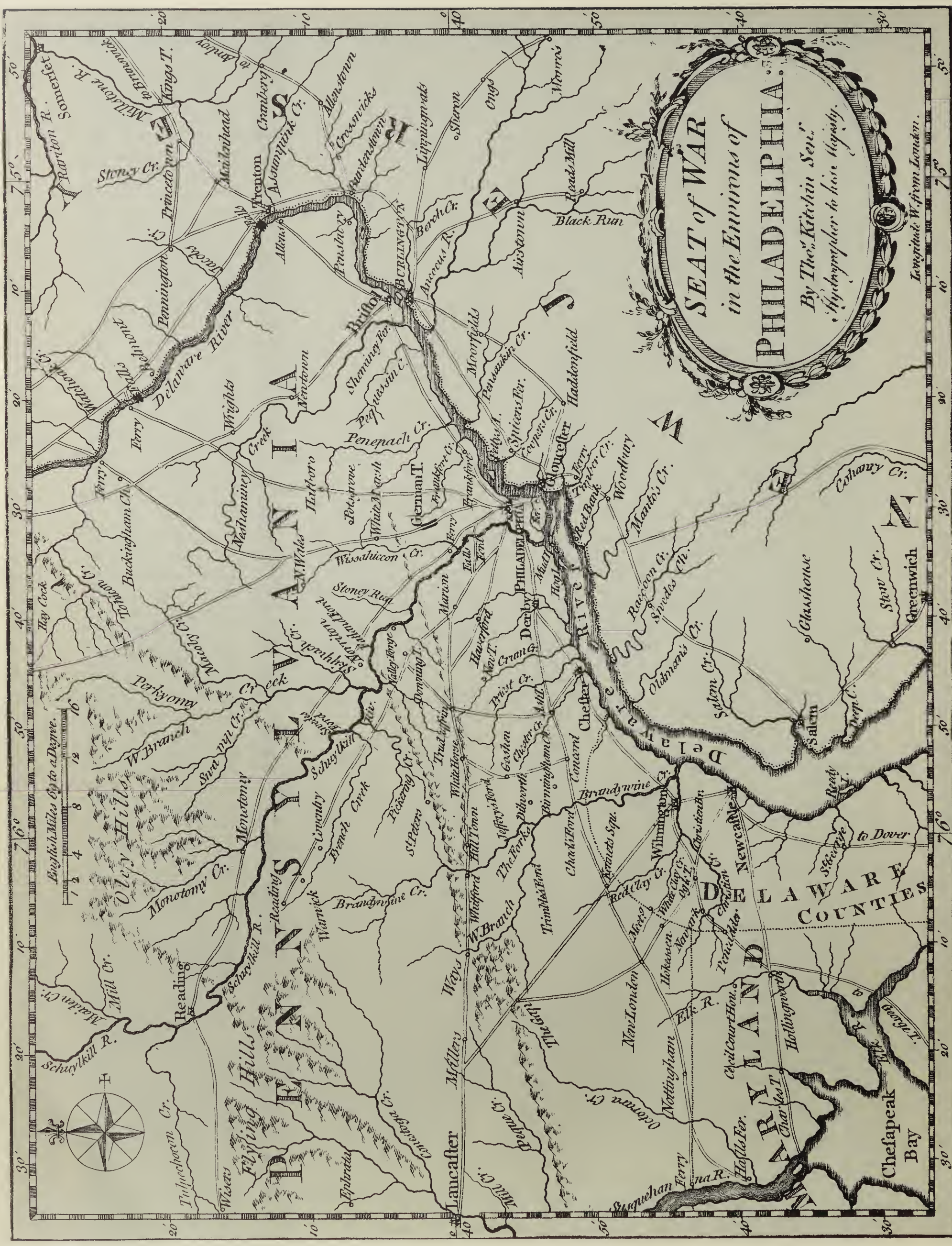
The map also illustrates the summer campaign of 1778 when Clinton evacuated Philadelphia and, crossing the Delaware into New Jersey, advanced slowly through Mount Holly, *Crosricks* and *Allen'stown*, followed by Washington via Kingston, Cranberry, and Englishtown to the vicinity of Monmouth, where, on the twenty-eighth of June, the famous battle was fought, after which Clinton proceeded by way of Middletown to Sandy Hook and crossed to New York, only five days before the arrival of D'Estaing's French fleet.

It should be noted that Englishtown, Monmouth, and Freehold lie much nearer together than they appear on the map.

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SEAT of WAR
in the Environs of

PHILADELPHIA.

By Tho: Kitchin Senr.
Hydrographer to his Majesty.

Longitude W. from London.

SEAT OF WAR IN THE ENVIRONS OF PHILADELPHIA

By Thos. Kitchin Senr. Hydrographer to his Majesty. London 1777.

(7½ x 9½ inches.)

(In "The London Magazine." London, 1777; XLVI, 586.)

THE purpose of the map is to illustrate the campaign of Sir William Howe for the possession of Philadelphia in the summer of 1777. Having failed in spite of skillful manœuvring to draw Washington into a decisive engagement in New Jersey,¹ Howe embarked his army on transports, convoyed by a British fleet under the command of his brother, Admiral Howe, and, leaving Clinton with nine thousand men to hold New York and extend a helping hand to Burgoyne, set sail from Sandy Hook, on the twenty-third of July, for the mouth of the Delaware. A week later, on the thirtieth, the day Burgoyne reached Fort Edward,² the fleet appeared off the capes of Delaware, where it was found that the Americans had placed obstructions in the river from the mouth of Christiana Creek to Philadelphia. Admiral Howe decided it would be dangerous to attempt to force a way through these obstructions and turned south to Chesapeake Bay, which he entered August 15th, arriving at Elk Ferry on the 25th.

When Washington learned in the first days of July that the British troops had embarked on transports at New York, he naturally assumed that it was Howe's intention to sail up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne, and moved his own army northward from Middlebrook through Morristown and Pompton Plains to the Ramapo Valley, where he would be in a position to intercept Howe in the vicinity of Peekskill; but when the news came, three weeks later, that the British fleet had appeared in Delaware Bay, he hurriedly moved his forces to the neighborhood of Philadelphia to protect that city against the expected attack by the British. The withdrawal of the enemy's fleet from the Delaware again left him in doubt as to Howe's intentions until word came that the fleet had entered Chesapeake Bay, when he at once marched his army through the streets of Philadelphia, leading them down Front Street and out Chestnut, and advanced south by way of *Derby*, *Chester*, and *Wilmington* as far as *Red Clay Creek*, behind which he took up a strong position, with his left resting on Christiana Creek, ready to oppose Howe's march. In the meantime, nine days after the battle of Bennington and three days after the retreat of St. Leger from Fort Stanwix to Oswego, the British had landed at Turkey Point,

eleven miles below Elktown, and advanced up the valley of the Elk River until they came in touch with the American forces near *Pencadder*, when Howe moved against Washington's right near Milltown and forced him to fall back or run the risk of being shut up in Wilmington. Washington withdrew to *Chad's Ford*, where the main road to Philadelphia crossed the *Brandywine*. The high wooded banks of the river made this a strong defensive position. From Milltown, the British advanced to *Kennets Square*, seven miles from Chad's Ford. In the early morning of September 11, Knyphausen moved directly against the position of the Americans and engaged their attention while Howe and Cornwallis with a column of seven thousand men, hurried north and, crossing the West Branch of the Brandywine at *Trimble's Ford* and the North Branch at *Jeffery's Ford*, some six miles above Chad's Ford, fell upon the right wing of the American army, commanded by Sullivan, near *Birmingham Meeting House*. As Knyphausen at the same time crossed at Chad's Ford, Washington, caught between the two attacks, was forced to retire to Chester on the Delaware River and the following day to Philadelphia.

After this fight, which is known as the "Battle of Brandywine," Howe moved his left wing north to *Goshen* and *White Horse* on the Lancaster Road, where he threatened the American stores at *Reading*, and his right wing to Chester, while with a third detachment he occupied Wilmington. Washington saw the opportunity of attacking Howe's left wing while it was separated from the right and crossed at *Swedes Ford* to the south side of the Schuylkill intending to make an attack upon the British but a heavy rain upset his plans and he was compelled to recross the river, leaving Wayne on the south side at Paoli. Here Wayne was completely routed by General Charles Grey, the father of Lord Grey, the famous Whig prime minister.

By skillful manœuvring, Howe deceived Washington as to his intentions and succeeded in crossing the Schuylkill River at *Fatland* (Flatland) and Gordon's Fords above *Valley Forge* and on the twenty-sixth of September entered Philadelphia, one month after landing at the head of the Elk, fifty-four miles away, and sixty-five days after sailing from New York, only ninety miles distant.

1. In the present work see No. 66.

2. *Ibid.* No. 68.

Congress had withdrawn to *Lancaster* and later to York.

Howe's main army was encamped at *German-town*, "a long straggling village" on the old Skipach Road, five miles north of the city. Upon these forces, who had failed to entrench, Washington made a vigorous and brilliant attack, after a long night march, in the early morning of the fourth of October. Had it not been for a dense fog, in which one of his divisions mistook another for the enemy, and for the stubborn defense of six British companies in the house of Benjamin Chew, he would have won a great victory. Although beaten in this battle which lasted for nearly three hours, he withdrew his troops in good order and remained in the field, with his headquarters at *White Marsh*. Here he received the news of Burgoyne's surrender and here Morgan rejoined him on the nineteenth of November.

On the nineteenth of December, he withdrew to Valley Forge, twenty-one miles from Philadelphia, and went into winter quarters, in a position

to intercept any movement by Howe against the depot of supplies at Reading.

Meanwhile, Howe, on October 22, had attacked Fort Mercer on the east side of the Delaware River near *Red Bank*, opposite Red Bank Island. The assault, led by Colonel Donop, was repulsed by the garrison commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene and Donop was killed. On November 16, the British captured Fort Mifflin on *Mud Island* at the mouth of the Schuylkill and four days later Fort Mercer also fell into their hands, thus enabling the British fleet and provision ships to establish communications with the British army in Philadelphia.³

Two famous roads are represented on the map: the Great Wagon Road, or Lancaster Road, which ran from Philadelphia to Marion, Lancaster, York, on over the Potomac, and up the valley of the Shenandoah to the Carolinas;⁴ and the Pennsylvania State Road, or Forbes Road, which went up the Schuylkill valley to Reading and thence west to Pittsburgh.

3. For evacuation of Philadelphia and British retreat to New York in 1778, see No. 66.

4. In the present work see No. 61.

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Part of
the Counties of
Charlotte and Albany.
in
the PROVINCE of
NEW YORK;
being the Seat of War
between the King's Forces
under
Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne
and the Rebel Army.
By Tho: Kitchen Senr.
Hydrographer to his
Majesty.

Situations uncertain have
a line drawn under the
Name.

Longitude W. from London.

PART OF THE COUNTIES OF CHARLOTTE AND ALBANY

In the Province of New York; being the Seat of War between the King's
Forces under Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne and the Rebel Army. By Thos.
Kitchin Senr. Hydrographer to his Majesty.¹ London, 1778.

(7 x 9¼ inches.)

(In "The London Magazine." London, 1778; XLVII, 50.)

THIS map was published to throw light on the recent northern campaign of 1777 which had culminated in the surrender of Burgoyne's army. It is also useful, as a supplement to Brassier's map of Lake Champlain,² to illustrate the campaigns of the French and Indian war.

The road is represented which Dieskau followed from *South Bay* to attack William Johnson on Lake George in 1755, and also the roads, drawn with a fine disregard of the mountain barrier, connecting Charlestown, N. H., or *No 4* (also known as "Stephen's Fort"), with Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which were constructed by the New Hampshire militia in 1759, under orders of General Amherst, in preparation for the British campaign of that year against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Over these roads were moved supplies and droves of cattle for the support of the British forces.

Massachusetts Fort, on the upper waters of the *Hosick River* in the present town of Adams, was the most westerly of the Massachusetts frontier posts. In 1746, it was captured and burned by a party of French and Indians under Rigaud.³ The road from Schenectady to Albany was followed by expeditions up the Mohawk Valley, as they thus avoided the *Cohoes Falls*, seventy feet in height. Fort Stanwix, near the present site of Rome, N. Y., lay "85" miles west from Schenectady.

The chief purpose of the map, however, was to show the route followed by Burgoyne.

On July first, the British army appeared before Ticonderoga. The fort and its defenses were held by an American army commanded by General Arthur St. Clair. The defenders had occupied the old French lines and had erected strong works on *Mt. Independence* on the east shore of the lake, which were connected with Ticonderoga by a strong boom and bridge. *Mt. Hope* and *Sugar Hill* were left undefended from lack of troops and in the belief that the latter could not be scaled by artillery. The English engineers, however, seized both points, and when the Americans saw an Eng-

lish battery planted on the summit of Sugar Hill, or *Mt. Defiance*, as the British now renamed it, seven hundred feet above the level of the lake, they recognized that their works on *Mt. Independence* and at Ticonderoga were no longer tenable, and determined on evacuation. This was carried out in great secrecy on the night of July 5. The artillery and heavy stores were abandoned. Over two hundred boats carrying the invalids, ammunition, and commissary stores, were moved up *South River* as far as the falls at *Skeensborough*, where they were overtaken by the English flotilla. The American vessels and stores were here destroyed and their crews fled up *Wood Creek* to *Fort Anne*, eleven miles south of Skeensborough (Whitehall). Having burned the works at Fort Anne, they retreated sixteen miles to *Fort Edward*, where they met General Schuyler, who was coming with reinforcements for Ticonderoga.

In the meantime, St. Clair, with the main American army, retreated with all speed *via Castletown* to Fort Edward. His rear guard under Colonels Seth Warner and Francis made a stand at *Huberton* (Hubbardton), six miles from Castleton, against a pursuing British force under General Fraser, but was compelled to retire to Rutland, whence some of the troops made their way to Fort Edward.

Schuyler remained at Fort Edward long enough to put obstructions in Burgoyne's path and to carry away all supplies of food, and then fell back *via Fort Miller*, the site of an old French fort, to *Still Water*, where he made his headquarters. He posted his army on the north side of the Mohawk, with its right resting on the Hudson River and protected by strong fortifications on Van Schaick's, or Cohoes, Island near the mouth of the Mohawk River.

Burgoyne sent his artillery and stores by way of Lake George, but unwisely determined to move his troops directly from Skeensborough to Fort Edward along the line of Wood Creek, the present route of the Champlain canal. The country was unsettled and heavily wooded and Schuyler had

1. Thomas Kitchin was one of the best known map-makers of his generation. For copies of his other maps, see Nos. 47 and 67.

2. In the present work see No. 54.

3. See Parkman's account of the capture in his *Half Century of Conflict*, II, 243.

added to the natural difficulties of the route by destroying bridges and felling trees into Wood Creek and across the road. Obligated to cut a new road, construct forty bridges, and many timber causeways, Burgoyne did not reach Fort Edward until July 30, having moved his army only twenty-six miles in twenty-four days. Here he was delayed over two weeks while his artillery and stores were brought over from Lake George.

On the day Burgoyne reached Fort Edward, Howe, whom he expected to meet at Albany, was off the capes of Delaware and on the day, August 15, when Burgoyne moved south from Fort Edward, Howe entered Chesapeake Bay. Ignorant of the whereabouts of Howe, but believing that he was moving up the Hudson, Burgoyne pushed south along the east bank of the river as far as *Batten-kiln*. The farther he moved south, the more difficult became the question of supplies for his army. His English flour and beef were nearly consumed and Canada could furnish little. The situation was becoming desperate.

Hearing of American stores at Bennington, he was persuaded by Major Skene to send Colonel Baum with a force of five hundred, consisting of Brunswick dragoons and a light English corps under Captain Fraser, to seize these supplies and to procure horses, which were badly needed by the commissary department. Before the slow-moving Germans had reached the town they were attacked and utterly overpowered by the Americans who had gathered under John Stark and Seth Warner. Colonel Breymann with a relieving column was so roughly handled that he retreated with a loss of one-third of his command and all his artillery and baggage.

This battle of Bennington occurred on August 16. Six days later, St. Leger, hearing of Arnold's approach, raised the siege of Fort Stanwix and retreated to Oswego.

From this time Burgoyne's army was doomed, but he still relied on the expected aid from Howe. The American militia poured into Schuyler's camp. Field-guns, Morgan's riflemen and Benedict Arnold arrived from the south, sent by Washington to strengthen the northern army.

Three days after Bennington, Gates arrived at Schuyler's headquarters at Still Water with orders from Congress to take over the command of the army. At that time, the American lines extended

on the west side of the Hudson from *Half Moon* to Still Water, and Burgoyne's troops on the east side from Batten-kiln to Fort Edward. Gates at once moved north and took possession of a strong position on Bemis⁴ Heights, four miles north of Still Water. This place was selected by Arnold and fortified by the Polish engineer, Kosciusko. The country here was densely wooded with maples and oaks.⁵

Burgoyne's army crossed the Hudson September 13 and 14, on a bridge of boats near the mouth of the Batten-kiln and moved south to the old town of *Saratoga* on the south side of the *Fish Kill*. The British headquarters were at Duer's House near *Fort Miller*.

In the first battle of Bemis Heights,⁶ on the nineteenth, Burgoyne was unable to break through the American lines, although he held his position at the end of the day. On the twenty-first he decided to postpone further attacks as he received a letter from Clinton in New York telling of his intention to move up the Hudson.

From September 20 to October 7, the two armies lay within range of each other. Burgoyne's situation was becoming steadily more desperate. General Lincoln, with an American army, was operating upon his rear, cutting his communications with Canada. No further news came from General Clinton, whom Howe had left at New York to give such aid as he could to Burgoyne. Not until the third of October did Clinton leave New York. He went up the Hudson as far as Esopus (Kingston), which he burned, and then returned to New York City, leaving the northern army to its fate.

On the seventh of October, Burgoyne again attacked the American lines at Freeman's Farm but was overwhelmed by a counter attack led by Arnold and on the night of the eighth withdrew to Saratoga in the hope of effecting his escape to the north. He found, however, the enemy in control of the fords of the Hudson at Saratoga and Fort Edward and on the seventeenth surrendered his whole army, consisting of 5,763 men, to the Americans. In accordance with the terms agreed upon, the British laid down their arms on the site of *Fort Hardy*, an old French fort erected in 1755 to oppose the expedition of Johnson and named by the English after Sir Charles Hardy, the royal governor of the Province of New York in that year.

4. So called from the name of a local tavern keeper who owned part of the heavily timbered heights.

5. Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, I, 45-49.

6. Also called Freeman's Farm and Still Water.

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A MAP OF PART OF RHODE ISLAND

Shewing the Positions of the American and British Armies at
the Siege of NEWPORT, and the subsequent Action on the
29th of August 1778.



A MAP OF PART OF RHODE ISLAND

Shewing the Positions of the American and British Armies at the Siege of Newport, and the subsequent Action on the 29th of August 1778.
Engraved by Benjn. Jones. 1807.

(10 x 16½ inches.)

(In John Marshall, "The Life of George Washington." Philadelphia, 1807; Maps, Plate VII.)

HERE is clearly depicted the strategic positions occupied by the American and English armies in Rhode Island during the campaign of 1778. In the north, at the head of Providence River, Providence, then a town of some three thousand, was occupied by an American force under General Sullivan. This position was protected by batteries at *Fox Pt.*, *Patuxet*, and other strategic places not shown on the map. A beacon was set up on College Hill near the College, now Brown University. *Greenwich*, *Warwick*, *Bristol*, *Warren*, and *Tivertown* were also defended by fortifications against attacks by the British fleet.

In the south, the approach to Newport by *The Main Channel* was defended by guns at *Beaver Tail*, at the southern end of *Conannicut Island*, and a fort near *Brenton's Ledge*, the present site of Fort Adams, and also by batteries at *Dumplings Pt.* and *Goat Island* and on *Castle* and *Tominy Hills*.

In spite of these fortifications, Newport had been occupied in December, 1776, by a British force from New York, commanded by General Clinton, which had sailed through the *West or Narraganset Passage* and around *Conannicut Island*. Two lines of defense had been erected, as shown on the map, between *Easton's Bay* and *Tominy Hill* and a fort built on *Butts Hill* at the northern end of the Island of Rhode Island.

D'Estaing with a French fleet and army appeared off Newport on July 25, 1778, and, anchoring near Brenton's Ledge, arranged with Sullivan for a joint attack against the town, which was defended by a garrison of British troops under General Pigott.

Sullivan and D'Estaing were to make a simultaneous landing on the island above Newport on the tenth of August. The French were to land

above *Dyer's Island* and the Americans were to cross from their camp at Tiverton by *Howland Ferry* and thus cut off the British troops on Butts Hill. Pigott, however, withdrew his troops, on the ninth, from Butts Hill and Sullivan immediately crossed with his army and took possession of the abandoned fortifications. The further execution of the plans of the allies was interrupted by the appearance of Admiral Howe's fleet off Point Judith in the afternoon of August 9. D'Estaing, fearing to be caught in narrow waters, immediately sailed out to attack the English fleet, taking with him all the French troops, while Sullivan moved south along the *East* and *West Roads* to within three miles of the English lines, which he cannonaded until D'Estaing's fleet returned. Meanwhile the two fleets had been struck by a furious storm and had suffered such damage that Howe returned to New York and D'Estaing to Narragansett Bay, whence, in spite of the remonstrances of Green and Lafayette and the indignant protest of Sullivan, he insisted on sailing to Boston for repairs and left the Americans in a dangerous position near Newport.

During the night of August 28, Sullivan retired to the fortified position on Butts Hill. The following day the English seized *Quaker* and *Turkey Hills*, putting the Americans in serious danger which was increased by the appearance of Admiral Howe's fleet bringing Clinton from New York with four thousand reinforcements for Pigott's army. But that night under cover of darkness Sullivan's army crossed safely to the mainland by the Howland and Bristol ferries. Thereupon, Clinton returned to New York and Pigott retired to Newport, where the British remained until 1779, when they were ordered by Clinton to join him in New York to repel an expected attack by Washington.

1. Sasafra, Field, Kettle, and Bullock Points.

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A NEW MAP OF NORTH AMERICA
From the Latest Discoveries
1778.
Engraved for Amos
Travels.

British Statute-Miles by a Degree

Map Division
OCT 19'22
Library of Congress

Map Division
Library of Congress

A NEW MAP OF NORTH AMERICA

From the Latest Discoveries. 1778. Engrav'd for Carver's Travels.
London, 1778.

(13 x 14 inches.)

(In "*Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768, by J. Carver, Esq., Captain of a Company of Provincial Troops during the late war with France.*" London, 1778.)

THIS map is a valuable record of the geographical ideas current at the time of the Revolution among the English on the eastern coast of North America, concerning the vast region west of the Mississippi River and the entire Pacific coast.¹

Jonathan Carver,² the author of the well known *Travels*, of which Moses Coit Tyler writes: "We have no other 'Indian Book' more captivating than this,"³ was a native of Connecticut. He served in the campaigns of the French and Indian War, narrowly escaping from the massacre at Fort William Henry (the usual account of that massacre is taken from Carver's *Travels*), and serving under Wolfe at Quebec in 1759.⁴ In 1760, he was promoted to the rank of Captain. The events of his life, as well as his veracity, have been the subject of considerable controversy.⁵ The Indians spoke of him as "our good brother Jonathan." This may be the origin of the name applied to the United States. Bourne says that he was "the first traveler of English speech to explore any part of the interior west of the Mississippi."

In the introduction to his *Travels*, Carver thus sets forth the purpose of his explorations:

"No sooner was the late War with France concluded, and Peace established by the Treaty of Versailles in the Year 1763, than I began to consider (having rendered my country some services during the war) how I might continue still serviceable, and contribute, as much as lay in my power, to make that vast acquisition of territory, gained by Great Britain, in North America, advantageous to it. It appeared to me indispensably needful, that Government should be acquainted in the first place with the true state of the dominions they were now become possessed of. To this purpose, I determined, as the next proof of my zeal, to explore the most unknown parts of them, and to spare no trouble or expence in acquiring a knowledge that promised to be so useful to my countrymen. I knew that many obstructions would arise to my scheme from the want of good Maps and Charts; for the French, whilst they retained their power in North America, had taken every

artful method to keep all other nations, particularly the English, in ignorance of the concerns of the interior parts of it: and to accomplish this design with the greater certainty, they had published inaccurate maps and false accounts; . . .

"The sources of the Mississippi," for example, "I can assert from my own experience, are greatly misplaced; for when I had explored them, and compared their situation with the French Charts, I found them very erroneously represented, and am satisfied that these were only copied from the rude sketches of the Indians. . . .

"These difficulties, however, were not sufficient to deter me from the undertaking, and I made preparations for setting out. What I chiefly had in view, after gaining a knowledge of the Manners, Customs, Languages, Soil and natural Productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, was to ascertain the Breadth of that vast continent, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part between 43 and 46 Degrees Northern Latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to Government to establish a Post in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian, which having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This I am convinced would greatly facilitate the discovery of a North-West Passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. An event so desirable, and which has been so often sought for, but without success. Besides this important end, a settlement on that extremity of America would answer many good purposes, and repay every expence the establishment of it might occasion. For it would not only disclose new sources of trade, and promote many useful discoveries, but would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies, with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan will allow of."⁶

Carver relates that he set out from Boston on his travels in June, 1766. Passing through Albany and Fort Niagara, he came to Michilimackinac,

1. Compare the Franco-Russian map of 1758, No. 51.

2. For other maps by Carver, see Nos. 56 and 64.

3. Moses Coit Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 150.

4. In the present work see No. 53.

5. E. G. Bourne, in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, p. 287, and

John Thomas Lee in *Proceedings of State Historical Society of Wisconsin* for 1909.

6. Carver's *Travels*, pp. i to vi.

"a Fort distant from Boston 1300 miles," which at the time was the most western post held by the English. Following the route of Marquette, he crossed Lake Michigan and Green Bay, went up Fox River and floated down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. Turning north, he followed the course of Hennepin up stream to the *Falls of St. Anthony*. "About thirty miles below the Falls" he discovered "a remarkable cave of an amazing depth." The Indians term it Wakon-teebe, that is, the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. . . . I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphicks, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them."

Continuing up the Mississippi, he reached the *R. St. Pierre*, the Minnesota River, which, as in the case of Hennepin, was the extent of his travels to the northwest. Ascending this river for many miles, he spent the winter among the *Naudowessie* (Dacotah) Indians. This river, according to Carver, had its source near the Shining Mountains which "divide the waters that fall into the South Sea from those that run into the Atlantic." "These mountains are called the Shining Mountains, from an infinite number of chrystal stones, of an amazing size, with which they are covered, and which, when the sun shines full upon them sparkle so as to be seen at a very great distance. . . . Probably in future ages they may be found to contain more riches in their bowels, than those of Indostan and Malabar, or that are produced on the Golden Coast of Guinea; nor will I except even the Peruvian mines. . . . To this account they [the Indians] added that some of the nations who inhabit those parts that lie to the west of the Shining Mountains, have gold so plenty among them that they make their most common utensils of it."⁷

In these Shining Mountains are "the Heads of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the center of this great continent; viz. The River Bourbon, which empties itself into Hudson's Bay; the Waters of Saint Lawrence; the Mississippi, and the River Oregon, or the River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean, at the straits of Annian."

Here for the first time the *River of the West* was called the Oregon. It was in this passage that Bryant found the name which he used in the famous lines of his *Thanatopsis*:⁸

. . . the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashings.

In the spring of 1767, Carver returned to La Prairie du Chien to obtain supplies and thence

again up the Mississippi and the Chippeway to the Ottawa Lakes and the St. Croix River and down Goddard's River to Lake Superior. Unable to secure supplies, he was forced to abandon his project of reaching the *Straights of Anian* and returned, at the beginning of November, to Michilimackinac, where he remained during the winter. In October, 1768, he reached Boston, "having been absent from it on this expedition two years and five months and during that time traveled near seven thousand miles."

In 1769, he crossed to England, where the first edition of his famous *Travels* appeared in 1778. There is some doubt as to whether he himself wrote this celebrated book. Bourne has proved that the second part, describing the manners and customs of the Indians, "is essentially a compilation from La Hontan, Charlevoix, Adair, and other sources." As for the first part, or narrative, Bourne believes that "Carver was the source rather than the author of the narrative," and that "the *Travels* are the work of the editor, Dr. John Coakley Lettson . . . a charitable friend of Carver."⁹

Carver seems to have aroused some interest in England in his plan of traversing the continent, for he says in the appendix of his *Travels* that Richard Whitworth, Esq., member of Parliament for Stafford, had projected an expedition, of which Carver was to be a member, to proceed "up the River St. Pierre and from thence up a branch of the River Messorie, till having discovered the source of the Oregon or River of the West . . . he would have sailed down that river to the place where it is said to empty itself near the Straights of Annian."¹⁰ The enterprise was abandoned, however, because of "the present [1778] troubles in America."

Doubts concerning the veracity of Carver do not, however, affect the value of his map as illustrating the geographical ideas current, at the time of the Revolution, concerning the vast region beyond the Mississippi.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the map is the representation of the mysterious *River of the West* (the Columbia) and the untraversed Rocky Mountains. The first suggestion of the existence of the River of the West was the report which Marquette heard from the Indians that beyond the sources of the Missouri there was a large river which flowed westward. Impressed by this story, La Salle sent Hennepin to explore the headwaters of the Mississippi.¹¹ In 1688, Baron Lahontan professed to have visited a stream which he called "Long River" and to have heard from the Indians of the River of the West beyond mountains "six leagues broad, and so high one must cast an infin-

7. Carver's *Travels*, pp. 63-64. This cave, on the site of St. Paul, was destroyed by excavations for railways.

8. *Ibid.* p. 121.

9. Carver's description of the funeral of an Indian Chief inspired one of Schiller's finest poems, the *Nadowessiers Todtenlied*.

10. For an opposite opinion, see John

Thomas Lee, *Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data*, Madison, 1913.

11. Carver's *Travels*, p. 541.

12. In the present work see No. 45.

ity of windings and turnings before he can cross them." This is apparently the first mention of the Rocky Mountains.¹³ No serious effort was made to cross the continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean until 1731, when the Sieur de la Vérendrye set out by way of Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods. On the latter, he established *Ft. Charles* which he intended to be the first of a line of forts across the continent. On the Winnipeg River, he built *Ft. Maurepas* and on Lake Bourbon, *Ft. Bourbon*. Turning south, Vérendrye and his party went up the Missouri to the Yellowstone in 1742. A few months later, they reached the Rocky Mountains over which they could find no pass. Vérendrye then returned to Quebec after spending twelve years and all his fortune in a fruitless search for the River of the West.¹⁴

It is probable that Carver derived more of his information concerning the region of the Shining Mountains from the reports of Vérendrye's explorations than from the charcoal sketches on birch bark drawn for him, according to his story, by the Dacotah Indians.

On the Pacific Coast, on the map, are seen the long-sought-for *Straights of Anian*,¹⁵ which had appeared in various places on so many early maps.¹⁶ Nearby are the straits *Discovered by Juan de Fuca*.¹⁷

C. Blanco commemorates the voyage of Sebastian Viscaino who, in 1602, sailed north from Acapulco to find some harbor for the use of vessels returning from the Philippines. One of his vessels under Martin Aguilar discovered the entrance to a river in latitude 43°.

Of *Teguayo*, "nothing was known," says Bancroft,¹⁸ "beyond Indian reports that it was a populous kingdom containing a great lake." *Quivira* was originally the name of the Indian town visited by Coronado on the plains of *Kansez* (*Kansas*). *New Albion* and the port where *Francis Drake was 5 Weeks* commemorate the visit of the great English Admiral to the California coast in 1579.¹⁹

In the east should be noted the unusual boundaries of Pennsylvania and East Florida; in the far north, *The Suppos'd Eskimeaux Passage to the South Sea*.

13. H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North West Coast*, I, 589-90.

14. An original map entitled *Les Découvertes de La Vérendrye* is in the *Dépot des cartes de la Marine*, Paris. A

reproduction may be found in Gabriel Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes & de Globes*. Paris, 1893.

15. *Lowery Collection*, p. 87.

16. In the present work see No. 51.

17. For story of Juan de Fuca, see No. 51.

18. *History of the Northwest Coast*, I, 112.

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S^t Louis

Cahokia

Mill

A Spring

*Merimeg
River*

Belle Fountain

Pond

Road from Kaskaskias to Cahokia

A PLAN
of the several Villages in the
ILLINOIS COUNTRY,
with Part of the
River Mississippi &c.

by
Tho. Hutchins.

S^t Philips

*Indian
Village*

Fort Chartres

*Old
Wind Mill*

Indian

*Kaskaskias
Village*

S^t Genivieve

The Saline

La Prairie de Roche

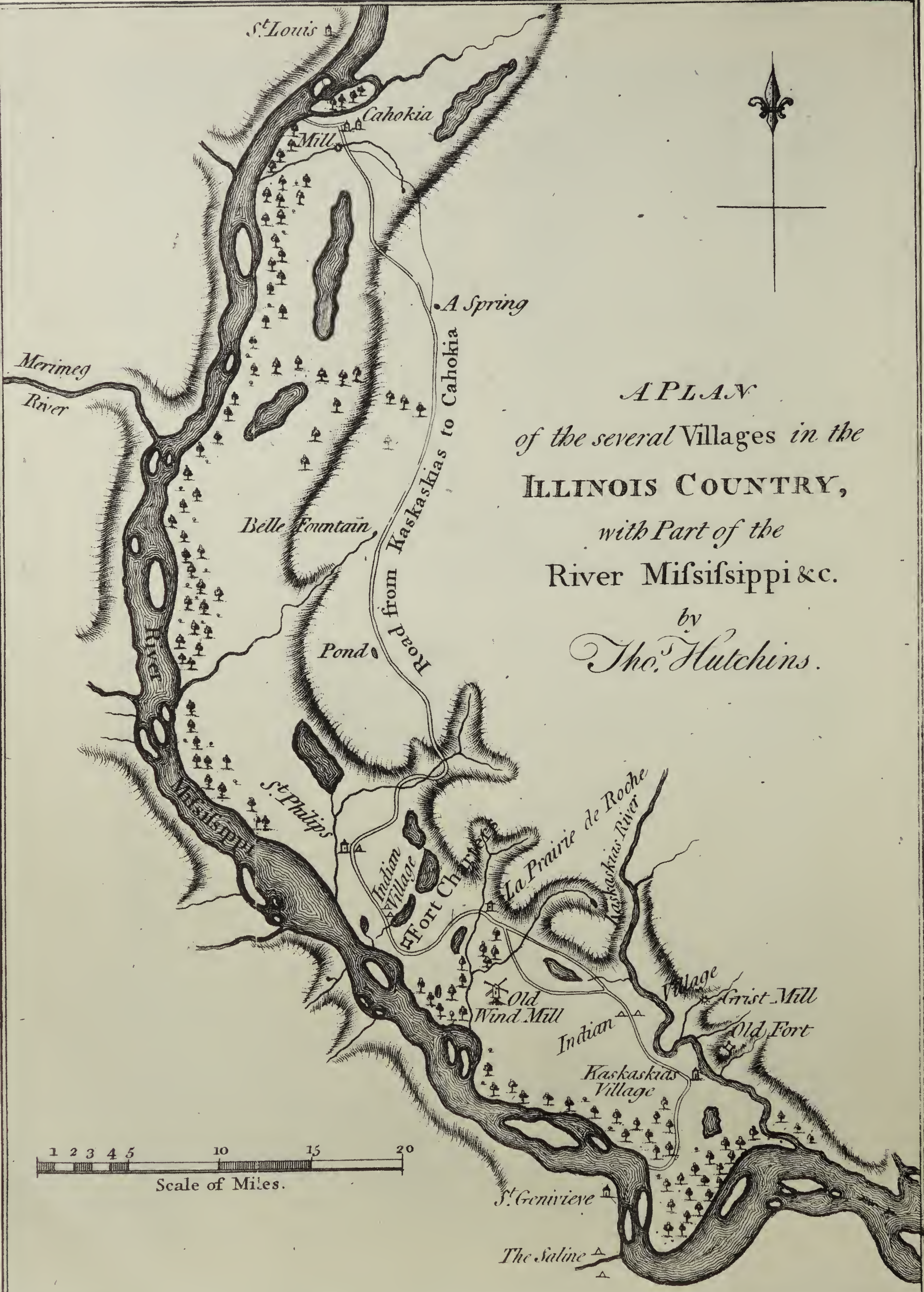
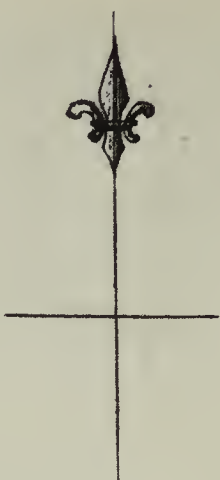
Village

Grist Mill

Old Fort



Scale of Miles.



A PLAN OF THE SEVERAL VILLAGES IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

With Part of the River Mississippi &c. By Thos. Hutchins. London,
1778.

(5 x 7 1/4 inches.)

(In Thomas Hutchins, "A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina." London: Printed for the Author, 1778.)

THOMAS HUTCHINS, the author of this map and of the *Topographical Description*, was a distinguished army engineer, traveler, and geographer in the period of the American Revolution. He was a native of New Jersey and served as lieutenant in a Pennsylvania regiment, in 1758, in the successful campaign of General Forbes against the French fort, Du Quesne. Upon the capture of that fort, he remained there, or in the vicinity, for several years, being one of the garrison of Fort Pitt, as it was renamed by the English, when it was attacked by Pontiac in 1763. Subsequently, he drew the plans for new fortifications of the fort, the ruins of which may still be seen at Pittsburgh.

In 1764, having become an officer in the English regular army, he accompanied Bouquet on his expedition against the western Indians. Two years later he was sent down the Ohio River with a party led by George Croghan, the Indian Agent, to investigate the western territory recently acquired from France as the result of the French and Indian war. Following the Ohio to its mouth, the party ascended the Mississippi to *Fort Charters*, where Hutchins remained for about two months and then went down the Mississippi to New Orleans. He was again stationed at Fort Chartres from 1768 to 1770 and at New Orleans from 1772 to 1777. From his personal observations made while living in the west, he wrote his *Topographical Description*, which he published, with *A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*, at London in 1778.

While in London, although he was an officer in the British army, he refused to serve against his fellow countrymen in America, and was imprisoned, charged with high treason. Upon his release from prison, he escaped to France, where he offered, through Franklin, his services to the American army.

Returning to America in 1781, he joined the southern army under Greene and was appointed by Congress "Geographer to the United States of America." In 1783, he was one of the commission which continued the survey of the Mason and Dixon Line as the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia, and, in 1785, was chosen by Con-

gress a member of a commission of three to determine the boundary between Massachusetts and New York.¹

His last and most important public service had to do with the establishment of the excellent system under which the public lands have been surveyed and divided into townships, ranges, and sections. Whether, as is claimed, he was the originator of the system is uncertain, but he had full charge of its first application, which in accordance with the Ordinance of 1785 was made in the Northwest Territory. He had completed the survey of the "Seven Ranges" in Ohio, when he died at Pittsburgh in 1789.

In his *Topographical Description* he gives the following description of the Illinois Villages, illustrated by the map here reproduced: "The high grounds, just mentioned, continue along the eastern side of the Kaskaskias River at a small distance from it, for the space of five miles and a half, to the *Kaskaskias* village; then they incline more towards that River, and run nearly parallel with the eastern bank of the *Mississippi*, at the distance of about three miles in some parts, and four miles in other parts from it. These principally composed of Lime and Free Stone, and are from 100 to 130 feet high, divided in several places by deep cavities, through which many small rivulets pass before they fall into the *Mississippi*. The sides of these hills, fronting this River, are in many places perpendicular,—and appear like solid pieces of Stone Masonry, of various colors, figures, and sizes.

"The Low land between the Hills and the *Mississippi*, begins on the north side of the *Kaskaskias* River, and continues for three miles above the River *Missouri*, where a high ridge terminates it, and forms the eastern bank of the *Mississippi*.—This interval land is level, has few trees, and is of a very rich soil, yielding shrubs and most fragrant flowers, which added to the number and extent of meadows and ponds dispersed thro' this charming valley, render it exceedingly beautiful and agreeable.

"In this Vale stand the following villages, viz. *Kaskaskias*, which, as already mentioned, is five miles and a half up a River of the same name, running northerly and southerly.—This village con-

1. In the present work see No. 60.

tains 80 houses, many of them well built; several of stone, with gardens, and large lotts adjoining. It consists of about 500 white inhabitants, and between four and five hundred negroes. The former have large stocks of black Cattle, Swine, etc.

"Three miles northerly of *Kaskaskias*, is a village of *Illinois Indians* (of the *Kaskaskias* tribe) containing about 210 persons and 60 warriors. They were formerly brave and warlike, but are degenerated into a drunken, and debauched tribe, and so indolent, as scarcely to procure a sufficiency of Skins and Furs to barter for cloathing.

"Nine miles further northward, than the last mentioned village, is another, called *La prairie du Rocher*, or (the Rock meadows). It consists of 100 white inhabitants, and 80 negroes.

"Three miles northerly of this place, on the banks of the *Mississippi* stood *Fort Chartres*. It was abandoned in the year 1772, as it was rendered untenable by the constant washings of the River *Mississippi* in high floods.—The village of *Fort Chartres*, a little southward of the Fort, contained so few inhabitants, as not to deserve my notice.

"One mile higher up the *Mississippi* than *Fort Chartres*, is a village settled by 170 warriors of the *Piorias* and *Mitchigamias* (two other tribes of the *Illinois Indians*). They are as idle and debauched, as the tribe of *Kaskaskias*, which I have just described.

"Four miles higher than the preceding village, is *St. Philip's*. It was formerly inhabited by about a dozen families, but at present, is possessed only by two or three. The others have retired to the western side of the *Mississippi*.

"Forty-five mile further northwards, than *St. Philip's* (and one mile up a small River, on the southern side of it) stands the village of *Cahokia*. It has 50 houses, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, possessing 80 negroes, and large stocks of black Cattle, Swine, &c.

"Four miles above *Cahokia*, on the western, or *Spanish* side of the *Mississippi*, stands the village of *St. Louis*, on a high piece of ground. It is the most healthy and pleasurable situation of any known in this part of the country. Here the *Spanish* Commandant, and the principal *Indian* Traders reside; who by conciliating the affections of the natives, have drawn all the *Indian* trade of the *Missouri*;—part of that of the *Mississippi* (northwards) and of the tribes of *Indians* residing near the *Ouisconsin*, and *Illinois* Rivers, to this village. In *St. Louis* are 120 houses, mostly built of stone. They are large and commodious. This village has 800 inhabitants, chiefly *French*; some of them have had a liberal education, are polite, and hospitable. They have about 150 negroes, and large stocks of black Cattle, &c.

"Twelve miles below, or southerly of *Fort*

Chartres, on the *Western* bank of the *Mississippi*, and nearly opposite to the village of *Kaskaskias*, is the village of *St. Genevieve* or *Missire*. It contains upwards of 100 houses, and 460 inhabitants, besides Negroes. This and *St. Louis* are all the villages that are upon the western, or *Spanish* side of the *Mississippi*.

"Four miles below *St. Genevieve* (on the western bank of the *Mississippi*) at the mouth of a Creek, is a *Hamlet*, called *the Saline*. Here all the salt is made which is used in the *Illinois* country, from a salt spring, that is at this place."²

A more detailed and interesting description of the villages is found in *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* by Captain Philip Pittman, published in London in 1770. Pittman was also a British army engineer, who came up the *Mississippi* to *Fort Chartres* in 1765 and remained there until 1767, when he returned to West Florida. He must have known Hutchins at *Fort Chartres*. Pittman's book attracted considerable attention as it was the earliest account of the west to be published in England.

These contemporary descriptions of the *Illinois* Villages give a valuable picture of the most important French settlements beyond the mountains. Here, on the American Bottom, comprising an area of some five hundred and twenty square miles, had grown up a small French colony, which was of great economic and strategic value to the French empire in North America. Situated half-way between Canada and New Orleans, it formed a connecting link between those larger French colonies; the fertility of its soil, which produced "all sorts of European grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton, and tobacco, and European fruits,"³ enabled it to furnish much-needed food for the settlements at the mouth of the *Mississippi*; its location on the *Mississippi* near the mouth of the *Missouri* gave the French control of the valuable fur trade of those valleys; and the friendly relations which the settlers always maintained with the Indians gave the French a great advantage over the English in the struggle for the control of the *Mississippi* valley.

While the majority of the settlers, the *habitants* or *coueurs de bois*, were typical of their class in Canada, there were many residents of considerable wealth and culture, some of noble birth, who surrounded themselves with some of the refinements to which they had been accustomed. Their attractive stone houses were surrounded by orchards and well kept gardens. Their fields were cultivated by negro slaves from Santo Domingo. Their system of land tenure and the organization of their village communities were those of mediæval France. "In the late wars," says Pittman,⁴ "New Orleans and the lower parts of Louisiana were supplied with flour, beer, wines, hams, and

2. F. C. Hicks, Ed., *Topographical Description*, pp. 106-111.

3. Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, p. 51.

4. *Ibid.* p. 52.

other provisions from this country: at present its commerce is mostly confined to the peltry and furs, which are got in traffic from the Indians; for which are received in return such European commodities as are necessary to carry on that commerce and the support of the inhabitants."

While economically and politically they were dependent upon New Orleans, in religious affairs they were subordinate to Canada, whence most of them came. Their first settlements, at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, grew up around French missions, the former established, in 1699, by the Sulpicians and the latter, in 1700, by the Jesuits. The parishes were under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, who, in 1768, appointed Father Pierre Gibault his vicar general.

Kaskaskia early became a trading station and in 1720, with the erection of Fort Chartres,⁵ a military post. This fort, after it was rebuilt in 1756, was the strongest military post in the Mississippi Valley.

The existence of these French villages in the American Bottom seems scarcely to have been known to the English ministry, when the Proclamation of 1763⁶ was issued, warning all white settlers beyond the Alleghanies to withdraw east of the mountains. Certainly no attempt was made to enforce the order against the French.

When an English force under General Sterling arrived from Fort Pitt, in 1765, and occupied Fort Chartres in accordance with the terms of the treaty which closed the French and Indian war, one-third to one-half of the French settlers in the Illinois Villages crossed to the west bank of the Mississippi. Those who remained were under the administration of the commander of the British troops at Fort Chartres. This alien military rule was exceedingly distasteful to the French and they sent a memorial to General Gage asking for the

establishment of a civil government. This memorial was not immediately successful, but it was partly responsible for the annexation of the Northwest to the Province of Quebec by the famous Quebec Act of 1774, which provided for a lieutenant governor to reside at Kaskaskia.

The British troops were withdrawn from the villages at the commencement of the Revolution and Rocheblave was left in charge as agent of the British until 1778, when he was taken prisoner by George Rogers Clark. Rocheblave had realized the danger of his position and had vainly urged Carleton to send British troops to occupy the fort.

After the capture of the posts in the Northwest by Clark in 1778, the Virginia House of Burgesses at once created the County of Illinois with its county seat at Kaskaskia; appointed John Todd, a friend of Clark's, County Lieutenant; and sent a military force of five hundred men to garrison the captured posts.

January 2, 1781, an act was passed by Virginia ceding the Northwest to the general government, but this cession was not consummated until March 1, 1784, and no government was instituted by Congress until the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. For six years, the French villages were left to govern themselves. The news of the anti-slavery provision of the Ordinance alarmed many French settlers and they crossed the Mississippi, taking their slaves with them.

As the years passed, the population of the Villages in the Illinois Country steadily decreased until now Cahokia no longer exists, Fort Chartres is an abandoned ruin, and the greater part of the site of Kaskaskia has been swept away by the Mississippi. The French villages of the Illinois are now almost as extinct as those of the prehistoric settlers of the same region whose mounds excite the curiosity of archæologists.

5. Named after the Duc de Chartres, the son of the Regent of France.

6. In the present work see No. 55.

7. *Ibid.* No. 59.

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A MAP
of those parts of
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia
which were the scenes of the
most important Operations
of the
SOUTHERN ARMIES.

Compiled by S. Lewis.

SCALE

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 Miles.

A map of those parts of
**VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA,
 SOUTH CAROLINA, & GEORGIA**

Which were the scenes of the most important Operations of the Southern Armies. Compiled by S. Lewis. Engraved by Francis Shallus. Philadelphia, 1807.

(10½ x 14 inches.)

(In John Marshall, "The Life of George Washington." Philadelphia, 1807; Maps, Plate VIII.)

A BRIEF review of those military operations it was designed to illustrate would seem to be the best commentary on this map. The first serious engagement of the American Revolution in the southern colonies was the attack by the British, on June 28, 1776, upon *Fort Moultrie* on *Sullivan's Island*, which with *Fort Johnson* on *James Island* dominated the entrance to the harbor of *Charleston*.

In accordance with the plan of the British ministry, in 1778, to conquer the southern colonies, Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, with a considerable force, arrived off the Isle of *Tybee* near the mouth of the *Savannah*, on December 23, and was soon in possession of the city of *Savannah* with all its military stores. General Prevost soon took over the command of the British, while General Lincoln superseded Robert Howe in command of the Americans.

Prevost advanced against *Charleston*, hoping to capture it before Lincoln could come to its relief. When the city refused his summons to surrender, Prevost hastily withdrew to *James* and *John's Islands*, just south of *Charleston*, and soon retired again to *Georgia*, leaving a detachment at *Beaufort* on *Port Royal Island*.

The following September (1779), D'Estaing, with a large fleet and a land force of six thousand, appeared before *Savannah* and effected a junction with Lincoln. The allies at once undertook a siege of the town, which was maintained until the ninth of October, when an assault was made upon the fortifications, during which Pulaski was killed and D'Estaing was wounded. Upon the failure of this assault the siege was abandoned, Lincoln recrossed at *Zubley's Ferry* into *South Carolina* and D'Estaing returned to *France*.

When Clinton at *New York* learned that the French fleet had left the American coast, he set sail in December, 1779, with 7,000 troops to make an attack upon *Charleston*. The city was poorly prepared to resist his attack. Clinton landed on *John's Island* and extended his lines to the *Ashley River*, while the English fleet passed the forts and invested the city from the sea. Lincoln made the mistake of undertaking its defense. Colonel Tarleton dispersed the American cavalry posted at

Monks Corner and enabled Clinton to extend his lines to the *Wando* and thus completely invest the city. Its surrender with Lincoln's entire army was not long delayed, the capitulation being signed May 12.

After his signal success at *Charleston*, Clinton embarked for *New York*, leaving Cornwallis with 4,000 men to complete the conquest of the state. The British now had sea-bases at *Savannah*, *Beaufort*, *Charleston*, and *George Town* and soon held posts in the interior at *Camden* and *Rocky Mount* on the *Santee*, *Cheraw Hill* on the *Pedee*, and *Ninety-Six* in the back country.

The loss of Lincoln's army, practically the only one in the south, was one of the severest disasters experienced by the Americans during the Revolution. It put the English in control of *Georgia* and *South Carolina*. Gates, who was at once selected by Congress to succeed Lincoln in the south, joined Kalb, who had already been sent south with the *Maryland* and *Delaware* lines and a regiment of artillery. From *Buffalo Ford* on *Deep River*, Gates advanced directly through a barren section of the state upon *Camden*, S. C., where the main British army commanded by Lord Rawdon was posted. Gates reached *Rugley Mills*, or *Clermont*, about fifteen miles north of *Camden* on August 13, the same day that Cornwallis from *Charleston* joined Lord Rawdon at *Camden*. By a strange chance, both Gates and Cornwallis set out at the same hour of August 15th to surprise the other by a night attack and encountered each other to their mutual surprise. In the battle of *Camden*, which followed at daybreak, the American militia fled from the field and, with Gates, retreated to *Charlotte* and then to *Salisbury* and *Hillsboro*. The Continental troops under Kalb, however, maintained their position until they were overpowered by numbers and Kalb was killed.

After his victory at *Camden*, Cornwallis sent Major Ferguson into the western part of the *Carolinas* to recruit loyalists for his army. At *King's Mountain*, S. C., on the seventh of October, Ferguson was attacked and defeated by an American force of backwoodsmen and "over-mountain" men led by Campbell, Shelby, Cleveland, Sevier, and McDowell. Ferguson was killed and his entire

army was slain, captured, or dispersed. Cornwallis immediately retreated to *Winnsborough*, S. C., west of Camden, where he encamped and awaited reinforcements. His position was a strong one, as he still held Camden on his right and Ninety-Six¹ on his left.

When the news of the disaster at Camden reached Washington, he appointed Greene to supersede Gates. Greene reached Charlotte, on the second of December, where Gates had re-collected his scattered forces.

Greene detached Morgan to operate with Sumter south of the Catawba, between the *Pacolet* and *Broad* Rivers, and cut off supplies from the back country for the British army at Winnsborough, while he advanced down the Pedee River, in order to support Marion, to a position on the east side of the Pedee River opposite Cheraw Hill, some seventy miles east of the camp of Cornwallis. Greene said that he was "well satisfied with the movement, for it has answered thus far all the purposes for which I intended it. It makes the most of my inferior force, for it compels my adversary to divide his, and holds him in doubt as to his own line of conduct. He cannot leave Morgan behind him to come at me, or his posts of Ninety-Six and Augusta would be exposed. And he cannot chase Morgan far or prosecute his views upon Virginia, while I am here with the whole country open before me. I am as near Charleston as he is, and as near to Hillsborough as I was at Charlotte; so that I am in no danger of being cut off from my reinforcements."²

Believing that Morgan was aiming at Ninety Six, Cornwallis sent Tarleton to intercept him. Morgan thereupon fell back to the *Cowpens*, where on January 17, 1781, he won a decisive victory over Tarleton. His position was, however, a hazardous one, for Cornwallis, whose army lay between the two divisions of the American army, was pushing rapidly north from *Turkey Creek* to cut him off before he could cross the Catawba and join Greene. Morgan, however, succeeded in getting across the Catawba ahead of Cornwallis, who was detained two days on the south bank by a heavy rain which made the river impassable. In the early morning of February first, Cornwallis forced a passage at *McCowan's* Ford and pressed on after Morgan.

Meanwhile, the main American army commanded by General Huger, Greene himself having taken personal command of Morgan's force, was hurrying north toward *Salisbury* to join Morgan before Cornwallis should overtake him. Mor-

gan's division had no sooner crossed the ford over the *Yadkin*, east of Salisbury, than another fall of rain again delayed Cornwallis and compelled him to move up the river and cross near its source. While he was doing so, the two divisions of the American army effected a junction at *Guildford Court House*, N. C., on February 9, and racing northward seventy miles succeeded in crossing the *Dan* at Boyd's Ferry after a painful retreat of more than two hundred miles in the midst of winter.

Having failed to intercept Greene, Cornwallis proceeded to Hillsboro, the capital of North Carolina, and then moved west to the country between the *Deep* and *Haw Rivers* in order to protect the loyalists of that region. Greene was soon back across the *Dan* and occupied the region between *Troublesome Creek* and *Reedy Fork* for two weeks when, with his army increased to 4,400, he moved to Guilford Court House and offered battle. The two armies met on the fifteenth of March in the hotly contested battle at Guilford Court House³ which resulted in a tactical victory but strategic defeat for Cornwallis, for although he remained in possession of the field, his army had been so roughly handled and his supplies were so short, he was forced to retire down the valley of the Cape Fear River to *Wilmington*, N. C., where he could get in touch with the British fleet.

Greene followed as far as *Ramsay's* and then turned south with only 900 troops to recover the posts held by the British in South Carolina. Cornwallis remained at Wilmington until the twenty-fifth of April, when he moved north into Virginia, leaving to Lord Rawdon in South Carolina the responsibility of defending the extensive line of posts in that state.

Greene's first objective was Camden,⁴ S. C., a strong position held by Lord Rawdon at the junction of *Pine Tree Creek* and the *Wateree River*. Greene occupied a position on *Hobkirk's Hill* where, on the twenty-fifth of April, the day Cornwallis left Wilmington, he was attacked by Rawdon and forced to retire to Rugley's Mills but still continued to so harass the British at Camden and threaten their communications with Charleston that Rawdon moved down the valley to Monks Corner, about thirty miles from Charleston.

Greene next turned his attention to Ninety Six, to which he laid siege but was compelled to withdraw upon the approach of Lord Rawdon, who withdrew the garrison and abandoned the post. The British posts, *Fort Granby*, *Fort Mott*,⁵ and *Augusta*, also fell into the hands of the Americans.

1. So called because it was ninety-six miles from Keowee, the chief town of the Cherokees.

2. Fisher, *Struggle for American Independence*, II, p. 379.

3. "Guilford Court House," says

Fisher, "was at that time a building standing alone in a clearing, without any village or settlement, and was used for the slight judicial needs of a half wilderness country." *Struggle for American Independence*, II, 406.

4. Originally known as "Pine Tree," the name was changed in honor of Lord Camden, who had argued against England's right to tax the colonies.

5. For an interesting story of its capture, see Lee's *Memoirs*, II, 77.

After an indecisive battle at *Eutaw Springs*, September 8, Greene occupied a position on the *High Hills of Santee* and the British army retired to Charleston where it remained until the conclusion of peace.

Meanwhile, Cornwallis had moved north from Wilmington to *Petersburg*, Virginia, which he reached May 20, 1781, and after a fruitless campaign against the small force of Lafayette, retired to the coast and occupied Yorktown.⁶

6. For the Yorktown campaign, see No. 73.

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**Plan of
YORK TOWN
IN VIRGINIA**
Exhibiting the operations of the American, French & British armies during the Siege of that place in Oct. 1781. Surveyed from the 22nd to the 28th Oct.

REFERENCES TO THE BRITISH LINES.	
1. A Battery of 2, 24 pounders & 1, 5 inch howitzer.	2. 11 A 10 th of 5, 10 pounders.
3. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	4. 12 A da. of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
5. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	6. 2, 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
7. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	8. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
9. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	10. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
11. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	12. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
13. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	14. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
15. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	16. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
17. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	18. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
19. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	20. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
21. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	22. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
23. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	24. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
25. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	26. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
27. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	28. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
29. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	30. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
31. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	32. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
33. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	34. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
35. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	36. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
37. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	38. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
39. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	40. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
41. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	42. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
43. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	44. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
45. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	46. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
47. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	48. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
49. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	50. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
51. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	52. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
53. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	54. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
55. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	56. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
57. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	58. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
59. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	60. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
61. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	62. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
63. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	64. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
65. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	66. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
67. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	68. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
69. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	70. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
71. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	72. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
73. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	74. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
75. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	76. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
77. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	78. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
79. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	80. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
81. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	82. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
83. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	84. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
85. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	86. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
87. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	88. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
89. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	90. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
91. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	92. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
93. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	94. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
95. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	96. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
97. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	98. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.
99. A da. of 1, 10 pm & 5, 9 da.	100. 10 th of 10, 10 & 1, 10 pound.



EXPLANATION.

- a. British out works evacuated on the night of the 9th of September.
- b. The first parallel thrown up by the allied armies on the night of the 6th October.
- c. American Battery of three 18 and three 24 pounders, 2 howitzers and two 10 inch mortars, opened on the 9th Oct.
- d. American Battery of four 18 pounders.
- e. French Battery of four 10 inch mortars, opened on the 11th Oct.
- f. French Battery of four 12 pounders 6 mortars & howitzers opened 9th.
- g. Three French Batteries of sixteen pieces 18 & 24 pounders and 9 inch howitzer, opened on the 10th Oct.
- h. French bomb Battery of six 12 inch mortars opened on 10th at night.
- i. Part of the 2nd parallel thrown up by a detachment from both armies on the night of the 11th Oct.
- j. Redoubt on the British extreme left, stormed by the Americans on the night of the 14th Oct.
- k. Boston redoubt, stormed by the French at the same time.
- l. Remainder of the 2nd parallel, completed in the same night.
- m. Three French Batteries on the 2nd parallel of 16 pieces 18 & 24 pound.
- n. French bomb Battery intended for 18 French mortars in the redoubt, which the Americans had opened on the 15th with two 8 inch howitzers and on the 17th in the morning with two 18 pounders and in the redoubt with two 10 inch mortars.
- o. American Battery of four 18 pounders opened in the morning of the 17th Oct.
- p. American Battery in the 2nd parallel intended for seven 18 pounders three 24 pounders 4 howitzers eight 10 inch and ten 5th inch mortars, part of which had opened on the 16th Oct. the whole not being mounted nor the battery completed when terms of Capitulation were proposed by Lord Cornwallis and ratified on the 19th by which 7257 British troops, Missions and Unpacks became prisoners of war, to the Americans and 800 seamen together with a number of Shipping were surrendered to the French.
- q. Two French ships of war, sent by Count de Grasse, after the capitulation, to take charge of the British marine.

During the siege of York Town, Gloucester was blockaded by the American and French troops, under the command of Brigadier General Choisy, Brigadier General Heeden and the Duke de Lauzan of the French horse.

York Town 1st is situated in 40th lat. 37th W.

Drawn by J. S. Kendall.

with a Cross pen and presented to the MARQUESS DE LA FAYETTE.

Engraved by H. Tanner.



PLAN OF YORK TOWN IN VIRGINIA

And Adjacent Country. Exhibiting the operations of the American French & English armies, during the Siege of that place in Oct. 1781. Surveyed from the 22nd to the 28th of Octr. Drawn by Jn. F. Renault with a Crow-pen and presented to the Marquis de La Fayette. Engraved by B. Tanner. Philadelphia, 1825.

(19 x 30 inches.)

(*New York Historical Society.*)

THIS map was copied by J. F. Renault from the earliest American map of Yorktown, now extremely rare, made by Major Sebastian Bauman, an officer of the Second New York Artillery. During the siege, Bauman was one of four officers in direct charge of the American batteries. He made the surveys for his map immediately following the surrender of Cornwallis. It was dedicated to Washington and published in Philadelphia by subscription in 1782.

A prospectus of the map, issued at the time of its publication, describes it as follows:

"Major Bauman of the New York or Second Regiment of Artillery Has drawn a Map of the Investment of York and Gloucester in Virginia. Showing how those posts were besieged in form by the allied army of America and France; the British lines of defence, and the American and French lines of approach; with part of York River, and the British ships, as they then appeared sunk in it before York-Town; and the whole encampment in its vicinity."

Bauman had served with distinction in the campaigns of 1776 and 1777. In 1780 he was in command of the artillery at West Point at the time of Arnold's treason, but no question of his loyalty arose. In Washington's administration, he became postmaster of New York City and held this position until his death in 1803. His map is now extremely rare. There is a copy in the New York Historical Society Collections.² The title of his map, which was drawn in colors, is as follows: *Map of the Investment of York and Gloucester, in Virginia. Surveyed October 22-28th 1781 by Major Sebastian Bauman Second Continental Artillery Philadelphia 1782.*

In 1824, the map was beautifully redrawn in colors with different legends and ornamentation by J. F. Renault, and presented to Lafayette on the occasion of his visit to America. This later

copy of Bauman's map is selected for publication because of its superior artistic merit.³

The significance of the map may be understood by recalling the events of the Yorktown campaign.

After the failure of Cornwallis in the summer of 1781 to crush the small American force in Virginia under Lafayette, the former had received orders from General Clinton at New York to fortify a naval base on the Chesapeake, either at Old Point Comfort or at Yorktown. Upon the report of the British engineers that the former was untenable, Cornwallis had reluctantly moved his army to Gloucester and Yorktown, against his own judgment. "Upon viewing York," he had written Clinton on the thirtieth of June,⁴ "I was clearly of the opinion that it far exceeds our power, consistent with your plans, to make safe defensive posts there and at Gloucester both of which would be necessary for the protection of shipping." It was the opinion of Cornwallis that his army should either be strengthened sufficiently to enable him to conquer the state or be withdrawn altogether. He saw the danger of holding a defensive post which must depend for its security upon the control of the sea. His military judgment was confirmed when on the thirty-first of August, De Grasse with a French fleet and transports bearing 3,200 French troops under St. Simon cast anchor in Lynn Haven Bay. The news of De Grasse's arrival reached Washington and Rochambeau at Chester, hastening south with a combined French and American army to cooperate against Cornwallis.

Uniting with Lafayette and St. Simon, Washington had under his command at Williamsburg an allied army of some 16,000 men. Cornwallis's forces in Yorktown numbered less than 7,000 with a garrison of about 700 men in Gloucester Point.

The old town of York is on the south side of the York River about twelve miles from its mouth. The river here is only two-thirds of a mile wide.

1. Quoted in *Magazine of American History*, January, 1881, p. 55.

2. A reproduction of the map may be found in the *Magazine of American History* for January, 1881.

3. For note on the maps of the Yorktown campaign by Edward Channing, see Winsor's *America*, VI, 551.

4. Stevens, *Clinton Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 35.

Above and below the town it has a width of two miles. At the time of the siege, the town consisted only of some sixty houses on a bluff about thirty feet above the river. On either side it was protected by small rivers falling into the York. The British fortifications were strong, consisting of seven redoubts and six batteries on the land side, with others along the bank of the river, in which were moored British war ships. The military strength of the position obviously depended upon the control of the sea.

Six days after the arrival of De Grasse in the Chesapeake, the English fleet under Admiral Graves appeared from New York. In the engagement which followed, at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, Graves's fleet was badly damaged and was compelled to put back to New York for repairs, leaving the French fleet, reinforced by the arrival of De Barras from Newport with the heavy artillery, in control of the Chesapeake. During the siege of Yorktown, it lay on guard at Lynn Haven Bay, between Cape Henry and Old Point Comfort.

On September 28, the allied army moved upon Yorktown. The operations on that day were described by Washington in his *Journal* as follows: "Having debarked all the troops and their baggage, marched and encamped them in front of the City,⁵ and having with some difficulty obtained horses and wagons sufficient to move our field Artillery—Intrenching Tools—and such other articles as were indispensably necessary, we commenced our march for the Investiture of the enemy at York. The American Continental and French Troops formed one column on the left, the first in advance. The Militia composed the right column, & marched by way of Harwoods Mill—half a mile beyond the Half Way House the French and Americans separated, the former continued on the direct road to York by the Brick House, the latter filed off to the right for Munfords bridge, where a junction with the Militia

was to be made. About noon the head of each column arrived at its ground, & some of the enemy's Picquets were driven in at the left by a corps of French Troops advanced for the purpose, which afforded an opportunity of reconnoitering them on their right, the enemy's Horse on the right were also obliged to retire from the ground they had encamped on, and from whence they were employed in reconnoitering the right column. The line being formed, all the Troops—officers and men lay upon their arms during the night."⁶

By the sixth of October, the first parallel six hundred yards from the English works was completed, and three days later the bombardment of the English lines began. On the same day the English vessel, the *Charon*, and three transports were set on fire by hot shot from the French fleet. On the twelfth, the allies began a second parallel only three hundred yards from the town. To complete this work, it was necessary to capture two redoubts on the enemy's left. At 7 P.M., on the fourteenth, this was done. The one nearest the river was taken by the American Light Infantry under the command of Lafayette, Colonel Alexander Hamilton leading the assault; the other was captured by the French grenadiers under the Baron de Vioménil. On the fifteenth, Cornwallis attempted in vain to break through the French lines and when the batteries of the second parallel opened fire on the seventeenth, recognizing the hopelessness of his situation, he proposed a cessation of firing in order that terms of surrender might be arranged. These were agreed upon on the nineteenth at *Moore's House*, about a mile below the town behind the American lines. When, in accordance with the terms there made, the English army of 7,000 men marched out of the town and stacked their guns on the *Field where the British laid down their Arms* about a half mile from Yorktown on the south side of the Hampton road, the long struggle of the Revolution was ended and American independence was won.

5. Williamsburg.

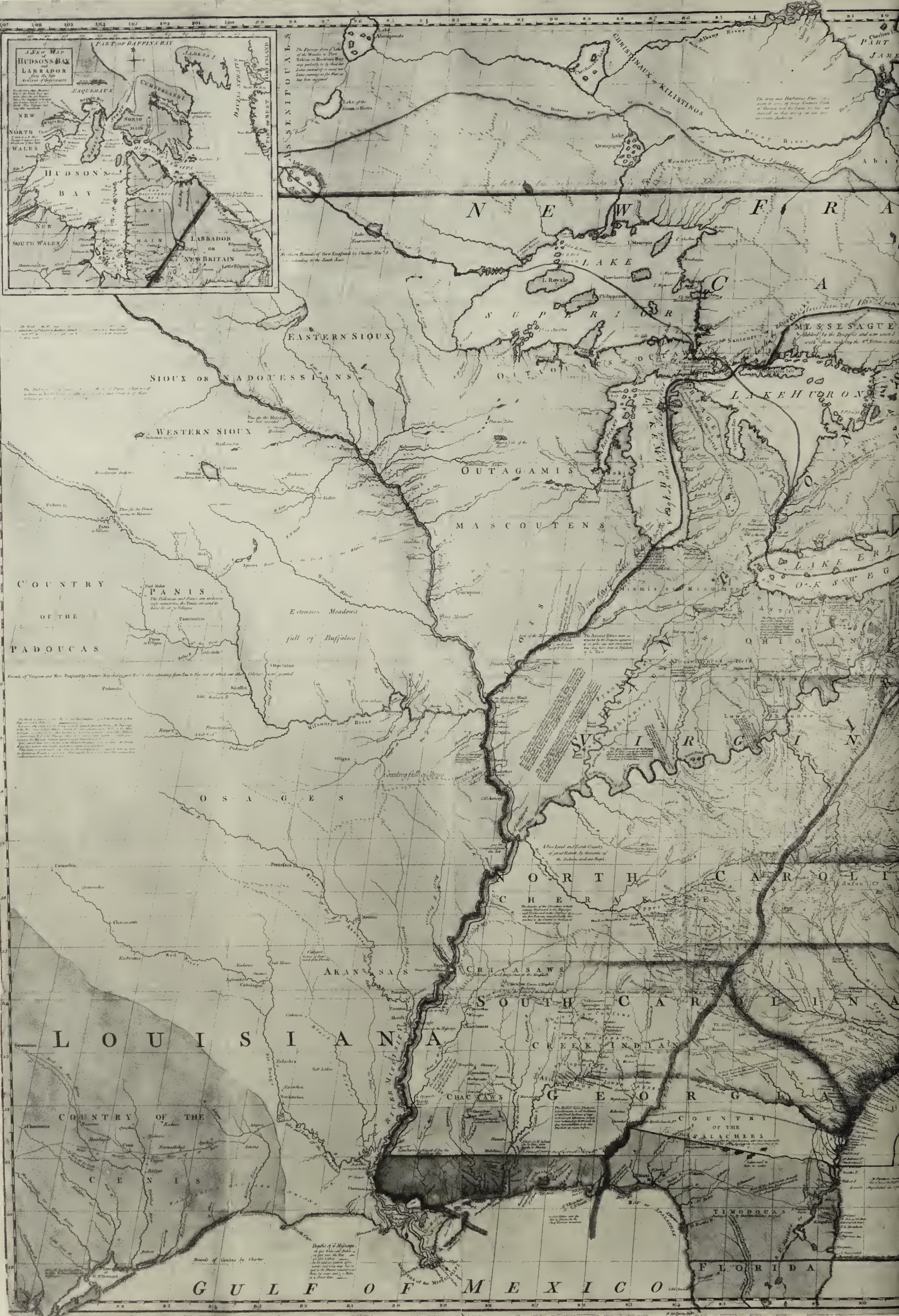
6. For Washington's *Journal* see the

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PART OF LABRADOR

NEW BRITAIN

ISLAND OF
NEW FOUNDLAND

T H E

A T L A N T I C

O C E A N

A MAP of the
BRITISH COLONIES in
North America

WITH THE
SETTLEMENTS.

The Earl of Halifax

and the other Hon. Members
of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations

By John Lockhart

London

A MAP OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

With the Roads, Distances, Limits, and Extent of the Settlements,
Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable, the Earl of Halifax, And
the other Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners for Trade &
Plantations, By their Lordships Most Obliged and very humble Ser-
vant, Jno. Mitchell. London, 1755. Tho: Kitchin sculp.

(*British Museum.*)

(40 x 72 inches.)

THIS "King's Map" was the personal property of George III, and was deposited with a large part of that monarch's library in the British Museum in 1823, the gift of George IV to the British nation. It is a copy of the second edition of the map made by John Mitchell in 1755. A reproduction of a copy of the first edition, with an account of the career of John Mitchell and a transcript of the numerous inscriptions as they appear on this second edition, appears as No. 47 of this present work.

In explanation of the slight changes made in the second edition of the map, the author, in the long inscription off the coast of Virginia and Carolina, speaks in part as follows: "After the first Drawing of this Map in 1750, it was again corrected and improved, before it was published, and I have since taken Care to procure & examine all the Information I could get, in order to render it as correct & usefull as possible; which has given occasion to this Second Edition of it, in which I have likewise inserted all the Observations I believe we have for the Geography of N. America, since I find them grossly misrepresented by others.

"The Foundation of this Map is the several Manuscript Maps, Charts & Surveys that have been lately made of our Colonies which represent most Places from the Ocean to the Missisipi. But in order to know the true Situation of those Places, we must have their Latitudes & Longitudes which are of much more Consequence in a general Map, than their bare Shape or Figure, which we only find represented in our Draughts & Surveys. But after having consulted all the Observations I believe that we have, I found the true Situation, or Latitude & Longitude, of many Places was undetermined or uncertain, & that in the principal Parts on the Coast; and that we had no Accounts of them, but what might be found in the Journals of our Ships of War kept in the Admiralty Office; which I had Recourse to for that reason, and have extracted from them whatever relates to our purpose, which are the chief Source of the Corrections & observations here inserted."

It is well known that a copy of the second edition of Mitchell's map was used by the peace commissioners at Paris in 1783. In a letter to Jefferson, dated April 8, 1790, Franklin wrote, "I am perfectly clear in the remembrance that the map we used in tracing the boundary, was brought to the treaty by the commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell above twenty years before. . . . That the map we used was Mitchell's map, Congress were acquainted at the time, by a letter to their Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which I suppose may be found upon their files."¹

The interesting colonial history contained in the map has already been considered in No. 47. The long diplomatic negotiations that were necessary to settle the boundary disputes arising out of the treaty of peace with England are a part of the history of the country after 1783, and will not be considered in the present volume.

The most valuable and interesting feature of the present map is the line representing the original boundaries of the United States, accompanied at ten different points by the legend of six words, *Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald*. As this legend on George III's private copy of the map is in his own handwriting, and as Mr. Oswald was one of the British commissioners to negotiate the peace with the United States, the map may be assumed to preserve the official British interpretation of 1783 concerning the boundary between the two countries. British and Canadian scholars of the present day, as well as Americans, regard the King's map as decisive for the American claims in regard to the boundary in Maine and in Minnesota; indeed, it illuminates the entire boundary controversy. Had such a map, containing the legend, "Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald," been affixed to the treaty of peace, long and bitter disputes would have been avoided. A "Treaty Map," exactly defining the boundaries between the possessions of the two countries, was officially made a part of the treaty between the United States and Spain of 1819, and the treaty of

1. Albert Henry Smyth, Ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, X, 93.

peace at the close of the Mexican War contained such a Treaty Map.

Article II of the treaty of peace with England describes the boundaries between the two countries as follows:

"And that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and shall be their boundaries, viz: From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of Saint Croix River to the Highlands; along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river, to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the Equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the

middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia."³

Other lines are contained on the King's Map. The Treaty of Utrecht provided for the appointment of a joint commission "to determine—the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French." These "limits" appear on the map in the line along the forty-ninth parallel bearing the inscription, *Boundary between the lands granted to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Province of Quebec*. The Treaty of Utrecht also provided that "all Nova Scotia or Acadia," with its "ancient boundaries" should be "yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain, and to her crown, for ever." What the English construed those "ancient boundaries" to have been is shown by the line on the map with the inscription, *Boundary of Nova Scotia by the Treaty of Utrecht*. It will be noted that "Nova Scotia or Acadia" comprised, according to this map, not only the modern Province of Nova Scotia but also Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and the eastern portion of Maine. The heavy line off the Atlantic coast is the *Line expressing the exclusive Right of the Fishery reserved to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, extending 30 Leagues from the Land*.

The conflicting claims to the west country, which brought about the French and Indian War, are shown by two lines; one running up the Illinois River and Lake Michigan and across Lake Huron to the Ottawa River, bearing the inscription, *Boundary Line between the English and French Territories according to the English Construction of the Treaty of Utrecht*, and the other far to the east along the Alleghany Mountains with the inscription, *Boundary line between the English and French Territories according to the French construction of the Treaty of Utrecht*.

3. MacDonald, *Select Documents*, p. 17.

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