
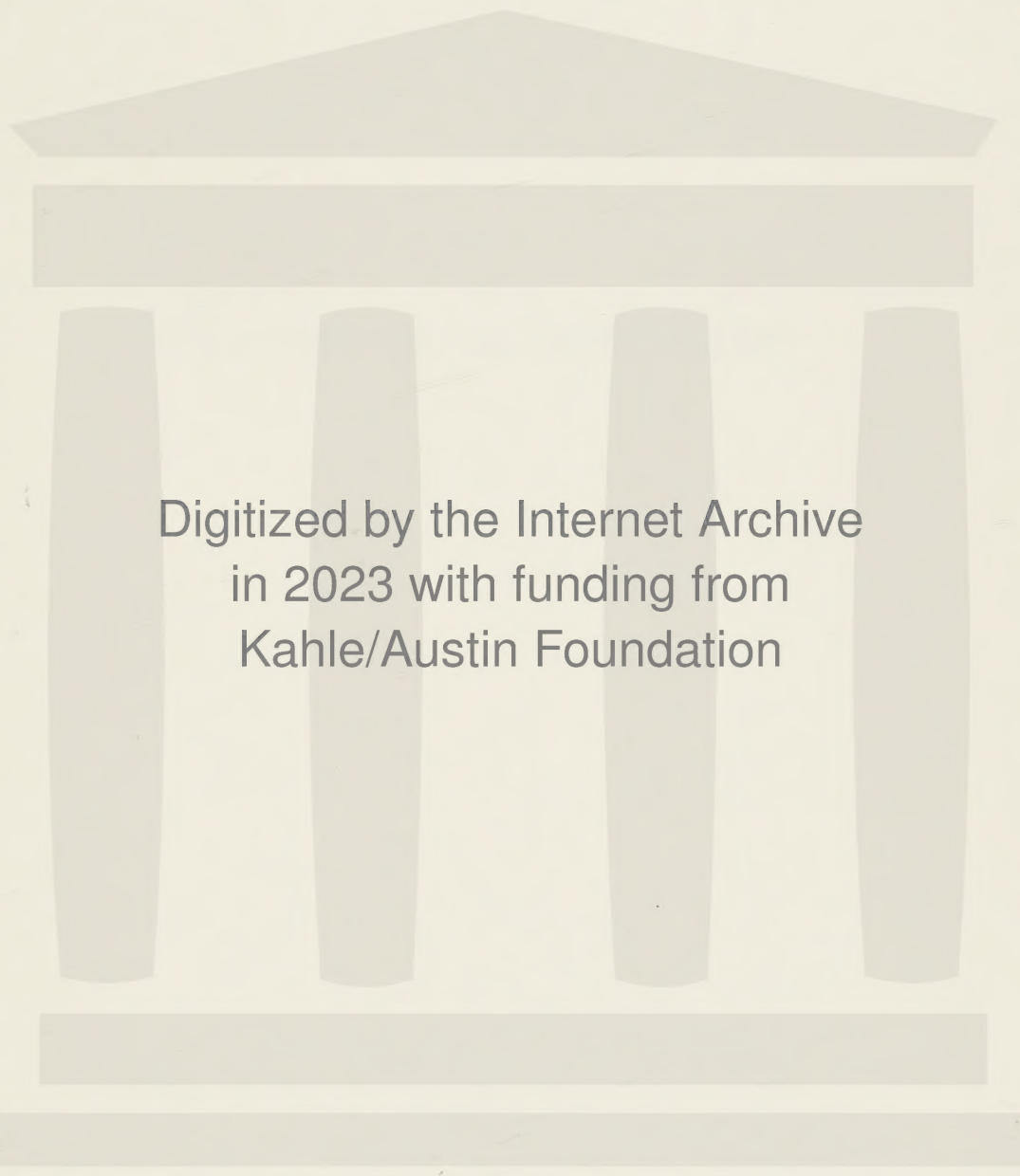


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EARLY MAPS OF THE OHIO VALLEY

EARLY MAPS
OF THE OHIO VALLEY

A SELECTION OF MAPS, PLANS, AND VIEWS
MADE BY INDIANS AND COLONIALS FROM 1673 TO 1783

Lloyd Arnold Brown

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS



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REFERENCE

To
Howard N. Eavenson
and
Ada J. Eavenson

FOREWORD

THIS BOOK was begun many years ago by the late Howard N. Eavenson, a Pittsburgh industrialist who had a great love for the Ohio River and its valley. He read widely and deeply on the history of the area. He studied its geology and topography, as well as the maps and charts that attempted to depict it from the time it was discovered to the end of the Revolutionary War in America.

Mr. Eavenson corresponded with libraries, historical museums, and privately owned repositories, both great and small, and in the course of time acquired a remarkable collection of valuable notes, photostats, and photographs, most of which relate to his favorite subject: the cartographic history of the Ohio River. He hoped that one day he would be able to put all this information together in the form of a book, illustrated with some of the rare and important maps he had seen and studied. This day did not come to pass.

As time went on and the pressure of business affairs mounted, Mr. Eavenson realized that he could not possibly encompass and digest in book form the subject of his researches. A study of his early notes indicates that at the outset he did not fully appreciate the magnitude of the task he had undertaken as a part-time hobby. They lead one to believe that he intended his work to embrace the entire Ohio Valley, a subject that is almost generic in scope, and one which has been well-nigh exhausted by the ablest historians of the age, both here and abroad. Hundreds of weighty tomes and thousands of shorter works have covered it in published form.

Either for this or for other reasons, Mr. Eavenson began to confine his studies, if not his interest, during his latter years, to a subject that would fit his life expectancy and the amount of time he was able to devote to his hobby. The final limitation he placed on his efforts was a study of the early cartography of the upper Ohio River. This volume, then, represents the ultimate selection of a subject chosen by a man who was dedicated to a much broader field of endeavor.

In spite of the self-imposed restriction Mr. Eavenson placed upon his study, he steadfastly refused to abandon the project. A published book on the subject was what he wanted, whether he himself wrote it or not. He did not live to see it published. However, in 1953, his widow, Ada J. Eavenson, made provision for the ultimate publication of her husband's project by establishing the "Eavenson Cartography Trust," the purpose of which was to provide funds for the compilation and publication of a book whose theme would be the cartography of the upper Ohio River to 1783.

To carry out the wishes of Mr. Eavenson and to satisfy the provisions and conditions set forth in the Eavenson Cartography Trust, the persons responsible for its administration enlisted the services of Mrs. Lois Mulkearn, then Librarian of the Darlington Memorial Library at the University of Pittsburgh. It was a logical selection of a person who had demonstrated ability as an author, historian, and editor. Moreover, her position, in a splendid reference and research collection dedicated to the subject of the Ohio Valley and the Middle West in general, gave her ready access to the material she would need to consult: books, manuscripts, and maps. Mrs. Mulkearn worked

hard for several years on the Eavenson project. Her exhaustive notes, based on the latest researches and conclusions of present-day historians, would have delighted Mr. Eavenson. They represent the work of a careful student, and one who is thoroughly familiar with her subject. Unfortunately, Mrs. Mulkearn was unable to complete the project, and it has devolved upon the writer to bring it to a conclusion and see it through the press in a somewhat attenuated form.

The limitations of this book have been largely governed by the terms set forth in the Eavenson Cartography Trust. A definite time limit for publication of the work was specified, a clause which has restricted somewhat the writer's ability to review all that has been written on the subject. Likewise, the funds available in the Trust for research, editorial work, and production costs, had a great deal to do with the format of the book and the amount of material it contains. However, in spite of these necessary restrictions, every effort has been made by the writer and publisher to present to the reader in an attractive and palatable form the story Mr. Eavenson wanted so badly to tell.

This book is primarily a picture book containing a brief review and summary of the cartographic record left by the men who first explored and mapped the region of the Ohio. So far as the writer has been able to determine, there is no part of this story, no facet, that has not been explored and reported at great length by capable historians. The subject is so broad and such an important part of American history that it has fascinated and inspired some of the best chroniclers to devote the better part of their careers delving into it. This volume adds nothing new to the literature, and no attempt has been made to evaluate the merits and faults of the historical works which have dealt with the numerous controversial issues involved in this complex story. Such an attempt would have made the book too long and too discursive.

The selection of maps for illustrations was arbitrary, and the sole responsibility of the author. With more than five hundred possible maps available, the choice was not an easy one. Historical importance, legibility, general interest, and beauty were the principal factors involved, though not necessarily in that order. For example, some of the pioneers and discoverers made maps whose historical importance is incontestable, yet these documents are little more than geographical monstrosities, badly distorted, and with almost no geographical information on them that can be easily identified, especially in the region of the Ohio River. Therefore, these maps did not seem suitable for inclusion in a book which is aimed at the pictorial, the interesting, and the familiar. They only reflect the utter confusion of the people who made them in regard to the region they were trying to map.

Some of the maps reproduced in this volume have made their appearance in print many times, in one form or another. Several others have been reproduced in learned journals or historical writings that are not known or readily available to the general reader. A few others have never been reproduced in any form whatsoever. It is unfortunate that some of the maps in this last category have never been identified as to author and date of publication. However, their pictorial interest is such that they merit a place in this volume.

Over the course of years many people and many institutions have contributed to this volume. It is safe to assume that all of those who assisted Mr. Eavenson and Mrs. Mulkearn in their search for historical data have already been thanked for their help. The author regrets that he cannot thank them again, personally, but unfortunately they are people who cannot be identified, mentioned by name, and thanked in print.

The libraries and museums that have contributed material to this volume are noted and credited in the *Descriptions* of the maps which follow. To each of these I am greatly indebted for their splendid cooperation and generosity. For more personal reasons I wish to express my gratitude to several people for their assistance in the compilation of this book, namely: Thomas R. Adams, Elizabeth Baer, S. Lee Bear, John Berthel, Christian Brun, Florence D. Brown, Mary M. Bryan, Caroline Dunn, Arch C. Gerlach, Emerson Greenaway, E. Harold Hugo, Frank N. Jones, Jean Jung, Carl L. Lokke, James M. Patton, Howard H. Peckham, Constance Anne Price, Howard Rice, Jr., R. A. Skelton, Agnes L. Starrett, Alexander Victor, Helen M. F. White, Robert N. Williams II.

LLOYD ARNOLD BROWN

Lutherville, Maryland

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LA BELLE RIVIÈRE

LA BELLE RIVIÈRE

THE STORY of the Ohio River and its valley has no real beginning, and there are no indications that it will ever have an ending. In recent years the region has been dubbed the Ruhr Valley of North America.

No man or men can lay claim to its discovery, for along its banks are traces of prehistoric life and a long-lost civilization which left artifacts, mounds, and skeletons indicating that long before the advent of the European white man the Ohio River was a good place to live by, surrounded with all the bounties that nature could bestow upon primitive man.

Its place on the face of nature is in itself remarkable, and its topography is even more so. Its basin covers 203,900 square miles of the good earth, and the river follows a tortuous course for 987 miles to the Mississippi. In so doing it tumbles or roars down through its bed from an altitude of approximately 700 feet above sea level at Pittsburgh, to a level of 322 feet at its mouth. Its waters, sometimes turbulent and sometimes placid, have proved to be a mixed blessing, for in some years the variation between low and high water has been as much as seventy feet. This situation has necessitated considerable adjustment on the part of the inhabitants along its banks. Yet in spite of its tempestuous moods, it is without doubt one of the best loved and most important rivers in America.

The Ohio never was and never will be all things to all men, but it has come closer than most bodies of water to being just that. In addition to being the habitat of a long-lost primitive civilization which fully appreciated its natural resources, it has served modern man in many capacities: as a vital water highway connecting the Great Lakes with the Mississippi, and as a natural boundary for states which were dubious about the extent of their belongings. After its re-discovery by white men, and after they had taken the time to survey its waters and its valley, it logically became a closely-knit part of the fabric of American history, and was recognized as the heart land of the country east of the Mississippi River. At that point both its history and its cartography became involved in the development of all the lands west of the Appalachian Range. However, the Ohio River did not lose its identity. On the contrary, it became a symbol as well as a means of defining a





geographical location. “West of the Ohio” or “Northwest of the Ohio” meant something to almost everyone east of it to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The Ohio became famous and infamous, a source of international contention, and a prize worth fighting for.

The Ohio River from the time it first acquired a name from the native Indians was the Beautiful River, or the equivalent in the language of the tribes that roamed along it. It has often been said that beauty is in the eye of the beholder, and in the case of the Ohio River, all the eyes that beheld it were unanimous in their praise of what they saw. Translated from the Indian tongue, which came out phonetically as the Oyo, it became *La Belle Rivière*, *La Rivière Fine*, *The Fair*, *The Wonderful*, or *The Beautiful*. It all amounted to the same sentiment. Nowhere in the literature or on the early maps did it receive a bad name. No writer or map maker called it the *Rivière Puans*, or even suggested in any way that it smelled of anything except rhododendrons, wild grapes ripening in the sun, flowers and aromatic shrubs, and clean running water.

These appellations, which became a matter of historical record, were not the result of fleeting impressions made by individuals who happened to see the River on a moonlit night in the Spring of the year. The glowing descriptions of its beauty, fertility, and utility came from many an impartial observer, and it came in several languages. They all spell out the fact that Indians, explorers, and settlers found something unusually beautiful in the valley of the Ohio River.

The River has been even more bountiful than beautiful to mankind. Its broad valley, irrigated by hundreds of miles of smaller rivers and streams, was lush when the first white men saw it. Its primeval forest, of formidable proportions, its giant cane and equally gigantic wild



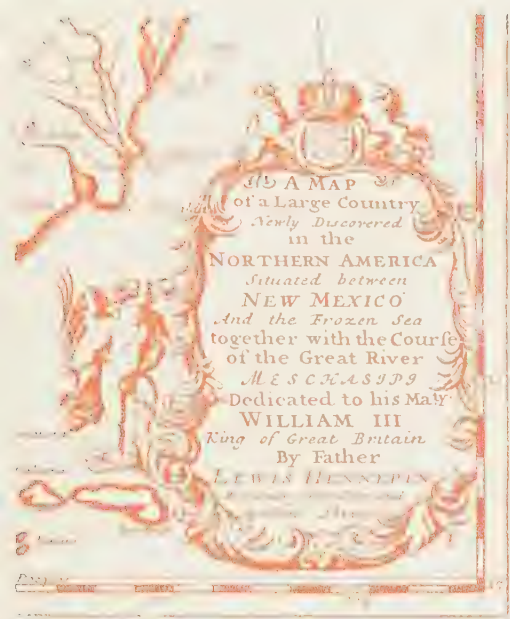
grapes were awe-inspiring and at the same time utilitarian. Baron La Hontan, who flourished in the early eighteenth century, was particularly impressed by the wild grapes. "The Vines twine around the Trees," he wrote, "to the very top; and the branches of those Trees are so cover'd with Grapes, that one would take the Grape to be the Fruit of the Tree. In some Countries of North-America, the grape is little, but very well tasted; but towards the *Mississipi*, tis long and thick, and so is the Cluster. There has been some wine press'd from the Grapes of that Country, which after long standing became as sweet as Canary, and as black as Ink." Game was abundant: buffalo, elk, and the beavers that built their dams indiscriminately, checking, and in a sense regulating the flow of water from the smaller rivers and streams that feed the Ohio River. The beaver was an ingenious creature "that had more to do than any explorer or general with shaping the history of the West." Berries, fruit and nut trees crowded one another for survival. Had Christopher Columbus seen the Ohio instead of the waters of the Orinoco, he might well have decided that this was the river of the terrestrial Paradise.

In spite of its beauty, its fertility, and the wealth of natural resources it had to offer, the Ohio River remained unknown to the white men from Europe for almost two hundred years after the New World was discovered by Columbus. This is not so surprising when one considers that in 1492 the people of Europe were not looking for a New World, and they were not very much interested in it after it was discovered. And like many another discovery, like the discovery of the North American continent itself, the Ohio River was first revealed in all its beauty to white men who were looking for something else at the time.

The date of its discovery by the white intruders in North America has been a subject of endless debate, to which there is probably no conclusion. The river belonged to the Indians after it was abandoned by prehistoric man and beast, and it was the Indian who first mapped it. He did it first for his own convenience and security, and later as an accommodation to the white explorers. He fully appreciated the importance of maps, and knew how to draw them. Without his help the white explorer would have been hard put to it to find his way around in the vast country in which he found himself.

Geographical information about any part of the continent of North America was hard to come by, unless of course one had a lifetime to spend tramping through the wilderness fighting off predatory beasts and human savages that resented intruders on their domain. Information, then, about where to tramp and how to get there safely was where one found it, and it was usually well received and carefully weighed.





And most of it came from the native Indian, who in many ways was not as primitive as he was supposed to be. To be sure he was crafty and cruel, susceptible to bribery, treason, and firewater. But when it came to his country and his knowledge of it, he was a useful person to have around. He was thoroughly familiar with the terrain and how to get along with it. Politically and socially he was well organized, tribe by tribe, and alliance by alliance. He was skillful at the council table, even though the table might be a fire no more than a spot and the seats on the ground.

It was logical to assume that the American Indian was sadly lacking in scientific knowledge and the other disciplines usually associated with Christian civilization, but some of the early explorers from Europe found that this was not necessarily so. Baron La Hontan, one of the early chroniclers of American history, had this to say about the Indians he found in the interior of North America:

"They are as ignorant of *Geography* as of other *Sciences*, and yet they draw the most exact Maps imaginable of the Countries they're acquainted with, for there's nothing wanting in them but the Longitude and Latitude of Places: They set down the True *North* according to the Pole Star: The Ports, Harbours, Rivers, Creeks, and Coasts, of the Lakes, the Roads, Mountains, Woods, Marshes, Meadows, &c. counting the Distances by Journeys and Half-Journeys of the Warriors [*sic*] and allowing to every Journey five Leagues. These *Chorographical Maps* are drawn upon the Rind of your *Birch Tree*; and when the Old Men hold a Council about War or Hunting they never fail to make use of them."

In view of this interesting commentary by a firsthand observer, as well as other evidence recorded by the early explorers, there is reason to believe that the Indian was well-informed, geographically, about the land in which he dwelt. And it explains in part why a map copied from information supplied by an "intelligent Indian" was not to be lightly cast aside, even when there were doubts about its accuracy and the dependability of the informant. On the other hand, a certain amount of skepticism on the part of the white man was understandable, for on occasion the Indian was not as well-informed as he claimed to be. Sometimes he was drunk on firewater, having been paid in advance for his information. Occasionally he deliberately falsified information. But when he was in the proper mood and well reimbursed for his time and trouble, he could steer a course without deviation through the forest or from one watercourse to another. In short, he was the first American geographer and the first to map America's surface.

Maps of any place are utilitarian, by and large. They tell people

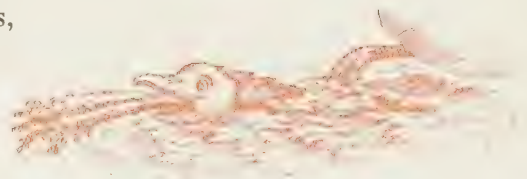


where to go, how to go, and what they may expect to find when they get there. They are, after all, primarily tools—to be used for a day's trip, a long journey, or as a permanent record for posterity and a reason for making war. They vary in accuracy and detail with the urgency of the occasion for which they were made and will be used.

In the case of the Ohio River, there were many motivating factors involved in the mapping of its waters and its valley, but each of the assorted people who attempted it had some kind of an ax to grind. The results, as might be expected, varied in direct proportion to the importance of the occasion or the monetary investment at stake. And, of course, there was always to be considered the availability of geographical information, an element which varied from heresay information to the scientifically accurate. Many times immediacy and expediency governed the map making of the region. It might be that there was a battle to be fought or a march through the wilderness to be undertaken in a hurry. The maps that were hastily drawn to meet such emergencies left something to be desired, and the men who made them were obliged to fall back on the best geographical information available, regardless of its source. The results were sometimes disastrous.

Another important factor to be considered when one is appraising the maps of the early explorers, or the maps of any part of the western hemisphere in the first three hundred years of its modern history, is the time element. There was often a lag of from three to ten years between a discovery, a new survey, and its appearance on the map—any map. Each new fact, real or alleged, had to be tested and tried, investigated and proved, before it appeared in print. All such *new* information was viewed with a certain amount of suspicion, and rightly so, and many geographers hesitated to add new information to their maps without some proof that it was accurate. Geographical information was borrowed, begged, and stolen, as most people knew, and the fact that a map that reached the hands of a publisher in Europe was dated, did not necessarily mean that it represented the latest information available about a given area. It is not safe, therefore, to place too much faith in the date of a map, and assume that because certain information is not shown on it men did not know about it. On the contrary, it is safer to assume that the man who made the map was uninformed, or that his superior chose to withhold information for one reason or another, or that the man who made the map did not care.

Regardless of the accuracy of the maps of the early explorers, the proper measurement of longitude and latitude, the courses of rivers and the location of mountain ranges, there was always a certain amount of confusion when it came to naming geographical localities,





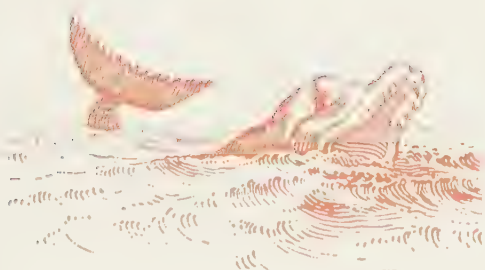
whether they were forts, lakes, or rivers. The maps made during the first two hundred years of America's history present a puzzle that is impossible to solve: the identification of early place names with their modern equivalents. Scholars have spent thousands of hours and written millions of words defending their selections, and there is no end in sight.

If you were an explorer, going into a new land unknown to your fellow-men, where no geographical landmark had a name, you could and would call it just about what you pleased, and that is precisely what happened in America and in the valley of the Ohio River. Place names were chosen without discrimination, and all too often a river or a settlement had more than one name, one that was selected because of affection for a person or because of political affiliation. Sometimes a place was given a name which seemed to describe it best, such as *La Belle Rivière*. Armed with these facts of history it is possible to study and appreciate the trials and tribulations of the early map makers and to appreciate the remarkable facts and figures they gleaned from the wilderness.

Throughout the ages, pure exploration, the investigation of unknown lands for itself alone, has been limited almost entirely to the two poles of the earth, where a handful of hardy souls have braved the elements and the icy cold merely for the love of adventure, and geographical information. In all other cases there has been a motive, a driving force that carried the pioneer explorer to the far corners of the earth. The discovery of America and the exploration of the Ohio Valley are no exceptions. There were strong motives in each instance, and they are both part of the same story. The results of these respective discoveries were not what the early explorers expected; they were far better and in the long run much more profitable.

To the first white men who saw it, the New World had little more than nuisance value. Their hopes that they had found Asia and a western waterway to the Spice Islands of the Indies were soon blasted; and from then on the force that drove them to further exploration was the fond hope that somewhere, somehow, they would find an opening through this continental barrier that would lead them where they wanted to go. Like cornered rats, they clawed their way up and down the eastern coasts of North and South America, forever searching for the passage that must be there, the one that eluded all men until Magellan discovered it.

The great expedition of Magellan did much more for the world than prove that a western waterway to the Spice Islands was there for the asking in the Strait that bears his name. It revealed to the European geographer, map maker, and trader the immensity of the continental



barrier that lay between the western coast of Europe and the riches of Cathay. And in the process of searching for a passage through the barrier, Europeans paused now and again to take a second look at the barrier. Spanish and Portuguese explorers and adventurers discovered a treasure trove in pearls, silver, and gold in the southern latitudes and staked out their claims to the lands and wealth they produced. Other countries were envious but some were still in favor of bypassing the American continents and pressing on to the Indies.

The passage which was finally discovered by the Magellan expedition was far from attractive. It was a long one, cursed by weather such as no European had ever endured. On both sides of the Strait were hostile Indians who were barbarous in the extreme. In short, the passage through the Strait, either way, was hardly worth the price. For these and other reasons explorers kept searching for a better and safer route through the barrier, both to the south and the north. Schouten found his way around Cape Horn, but this was a route even more formidable and forbidding than the Strait that Magellan had discovered. The search, therefore, turned to the isthmus which separated North and South America, and to the north, where men hoped to find better sailing conditions and a route that was far removed from the menace of Spanish domination. The search for a Northeast or a Northwest passage became legendary, a prime goal of European nations, especially France and England.

If at first the search was desultory, it was because both France and England were too deeply involved in military and political strife at home to pay much attention to another world, a world that was far from home, a perilous world of doubtful value, and one which might or might not provide a Northwest passage to something tangible and familiar in the way of wealth. Many men, including some of the best scientific minds in Europe, were willing to lay heavy odds against the existence of a Northwest passage. But others, who were either wise or foolhardy, or a little of both, were willing to stake their fortunes and their reputations on the Northwestern road to wealth, and did so.

These men were not altogether fools. Even before the interior of North America was well penetrated, early investors in the wealth of the New World saw possibilities in the land, values that might not rank with silver, gold, or the precious spices that spelled immediate riches to those who could get to them and bring them home, but real assets, nevertheless. The Grand Banks of Newfoundland were the best fishing grounds in the world, well stocked with fish that grew fat on the bountiful feast brought northward by the Gulf Stream. Not far inland were virgin forests of tall, straight trees and hardwood that would furnish



shipbuilders with masts and timbers for hundreds of years to come. And farther inland was an abundance of game and fur-bearing animals such as the European hunter and trapper had never dreamed of. To many a Frenchman this kind of wealth was enough, and he settled down to make the most of it.



The mapping of the interior of North America and the early exploration of the Great Lakes and the Ohio River were accomplished by an assorted group of people. They included representatives of Church and State, a handful of scientists, and a roving lot of itinerant traders and trappers. Each was driven westward by a different motive, but all became hopelessly entangled in the exploration and exploitation of the land and all it had to offer. The discovery of the tremendous mineral resources in the region of the Great Lakes came later, quickening the pace of exploration and increasing the value of the prize awaiting the nation that could claim the land and hold it.

In view of the assortment of people from all walks of life who penetrated the interior of the continent it seems incredible that any accurate maps were produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet such was the case, and there is no great mystery about it.

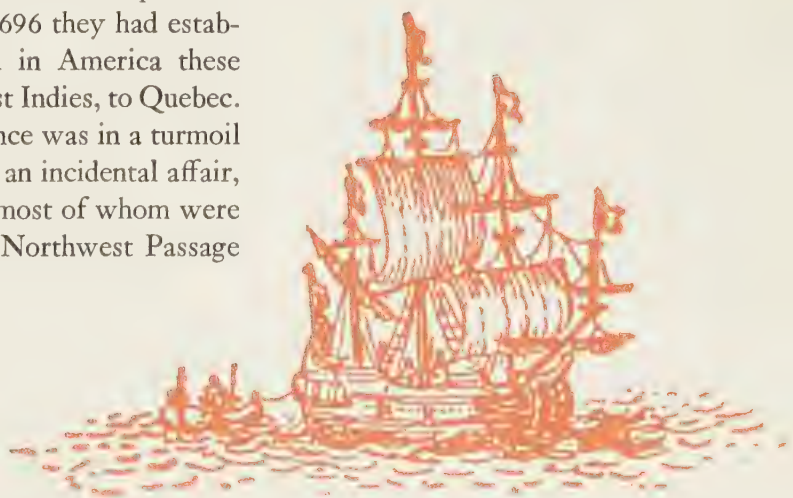
Following more or less closely the straight course of history which led to the exploration and mapping of the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, and the Ohio, the story turns to France in the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715), who ascended the throne when he was five years old, but had to wait sixteen years before he could take the reins of government. Louis had to sit back and watch affairs of state handled by the Queen Mother and Cardinal Mazarin. He saw the royal authority weakened by domestic troubles and the last stages of the Thirty Years' War. Having suffered through one humiliation after another without being able to do anything about it, Louis resolved, when he reached the age of twenty-one, to rule as well as reign in France. He



would be his own first minister. Foremost among his trusted advisors was Jean Baptiste Colbert, minister of home affairs, who in a short time became the chief power behind the throne. Colbert, an ambitious and industrious man with expensive tastes, contrived to indulge himself in literary and artistic extravagances while adding to the stature and glory of his monarch. As for the affairs of state over which he exercised control, there were two enterprises which entitle Colbert to an important place in the history of France and in the mapping of the New World. The first was the establishment of the French Marine under a monarch who cared little for naval exploits or the importance of sea power in the defense of his realm and the colonial expansion of the country; the second was the founding, in 1666, of the Académie Royale des Sciences, now the Institut de France. No monarch, young or old, could have been more fortunate in his choice of a home secretary. And no home secretary ever did more to further the cause of science and the production of accurate maps than Jean Baptiste Colbert.

The primary objective of the Académie was the improvement of maps and charts. The best scientists of Europe were enlisted to work on the problem. A drastic revision of the map of the world was indicated, and new methods of determining latitude and longitude were urgently needed. The project launched by Colbert and the Académie Royale des Sciences was international in scope and one which required the cooperation of many people with assorted talents. For this reason Church and State were brought together in a concerted effort to re-map the world on a scientific basis.

The time was ripe for such an enterprise, and the outside world waited expectantly for the results. Jesuit and Recollect missionaries were fanning out from France to all parts of the globe to preach the gospel of Christianity, to convert heathens and unbelievers to the faith. But because these men were far more than religious zealots they did double duty wherever they went and sent home scientific observations and geographical information that proved to be invaluable in the revision of maps and charts, of the New World and elsewhere. Armed with telescopes, quadrants, and pendulum clocks they ventured forth to battle the wilderness, convert the heathen, and revise the map of the world, on the basis of scientific observations. By 1696 they had established observatories in many remote places, and in America these ranged from Mexico City, several islands in the West Indies, to Quebec. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the court of France was in a turmoil and the New World and its exploration was almost an incidental affair, the job of mapping it was carried on by able men, most of whom were dedicated to the cause of finding a water route, a Northwest Passage

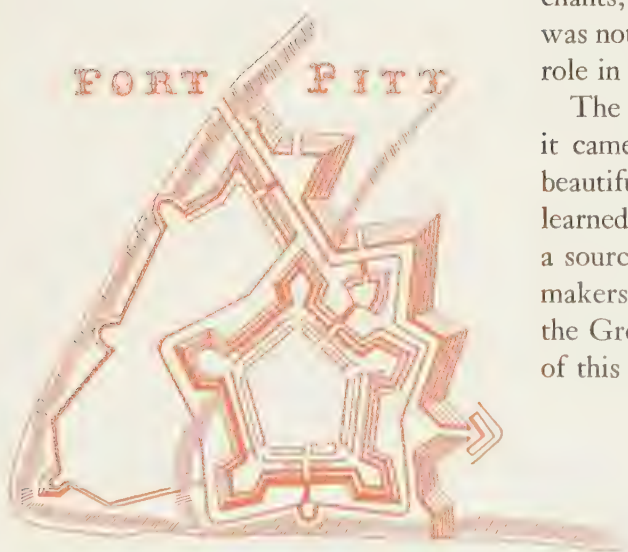


to the Indies that would pay the bills of His Majesty Louis XIV of France and convert untold numbers of human beings to Christianity. That religion should be so closely related to science in this period of history may seem strange, but it is nevertheless a fact that organized religion has played a vital part in the dissemination of geographical information, plotting and planning, taking into consideration the history, politics, and geography of the world in order to understand better the problems involved in the propagation of the faith, regardless of its kind.

The exploration and settlement of North and Central America was the biggest real estate venture the world had ever seen. It began even before the New World was discovered, with Columbus laying claims in behalf of himself and his heirs and assigns to a rich share in any lands which he might discover in another world that were not already possessed by some Christian king. The King and Queen of Spain were generous, having nothing to lose at the time, and signed the papers. Later explorers and kings followed suit. Spanish and Portuguese adventurers and conquistadors blithely laid claim to huge grants that took in the entire coast of the Gulf of Mexico, far inland and upward along the North Atlantic seaboard. Grants were assigned promiscuously by sovereigns who had no idea what they were granting, and gratefully received by more or less loyal servants of the Crown who could not possibly survey their claims, let alone colonize and take possession of them.

This general land grab in North America did not reach the Ohio Valley for nearly two hundred years, but once it began it rivalled anything of the kind that had ever occurred in history. It was not precipitated by any one person or any one discovery. It was the cumulative result of many small discoveries and the predatory tendencies of many individuals. It was also a manifestation of the intense rivalry of England and France primarily for domination in the world of trade, and every year of the eighteenth century brought a stronger conviction to merchants, traders, and adventurers that the interior of North America was not only there to stay, but that it was destined to play an important role in the market place.

The light dawned slowly, and it came from many sources, and with it came the realization that the Ohio River was much more than a beautiful body of water. Every year more people "discovered" it and learned to appreciate its manifold possibilities as a place to live and as a source of wealth. As a watery highway it gained stature when map makers demonstrated that the River was not only a way of getting to the Great River, but the short route as well. One by one the hazards of this short route were eliminated as were the Indians who resented



and opposed the march down its course. There was no grand march to the Ohio; the valley was infiltrated by men and women from all walks of life who ventured there for a multitude of reasons. Some of them stayed; others moved on to pastures that looked greener. Those who stayed found that life was good. Food of all kinds was plentiful and shelter was for the asking in the hundreds of thousands of acres of timber that flanked the River.

In spite of the fact that the Ohio River and Valley were slowly but surely taken over by explorers, hunters, and trappers, good men and bad, cutthroats and kings, it did not come into its own and was not carefully mapped until its strategic importance as a military highway was appreciated. From then on things moved fast, and the Ohio and its forks took its place in military history along with Ticonderoga, Crown Point, New Orleans, and other control points on the rivers of North America. As a great general once wrote, accurate maps of a country are very useful to the public in peacetime, but their importance is never appreciated fully until war is declared. He also said, nearly two hundred years ago, that even though a peaceful atmosphere is necessary in order to survey a piece of land or a country, it is also true that nothing stimulates the production of maps like a war. These points have been thoroughly proved in the course of time and along the Ohio River.

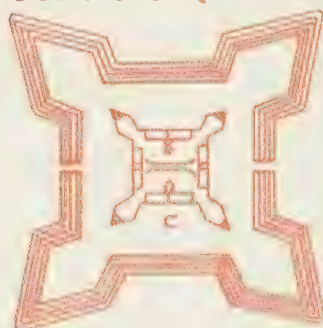
War or impending war was largely responsible for the mapping of the Ohio River in the eighteenth century. And in reading the history of the region and the times it is not always easy to determine who were the primary opponents in the struggle, for there were several factions involved and several motives. But as the story unfolds it becomes clear that the military forces of France and England were largely responsible for the fundamental mapping of the area, and that the civilian surveyors in the employ of the land seekers or speculators took over the local surveys of the territory. It was an old form of alliance and one that worked fairly well. In addition, there were, as always, a few pioneer landowners who did their own surveying and mapping, but these last individuals worked for themselves, and their maps and plats seldom became a part of the historical record. The spoilers, of which there were many, drew their geographical information from any and all sources.

The military conflicts that took place in the region of the Ohio River were as diverse and on as many different scales as the maps and battle plans that accompanied them. No one incident precipitated the struggle between France and England, and no single engagement on the battlefield resolved the situation, but the issue involved was simple and clear: control of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and their valleys as well as

FORT LE BEUF.



FORT PRÉ'SQU'ISLE.



FORT VENANGO.



the Indian trade that went with it. Therefore the best possible knowledge of the country and the strategic river highways was of paramount importance. But just as the mapping of the great waterways and their tributaries was desultory at first, the cause for open warfare built up slowly. George Washington got a taste of things to come when he delivered his message from Governor Dinwiddie to the French commander at Fort Le Boeuf and was told in no uncertain terms that the French forces had no intention of abandoning their claim to the Ohio country.

Geographical information about the region improved as the political situation worsened, and between 1755 and 1766 many maps were produced by French and English cartographers. Some of them were remarkably accurate, and most of them have a great deal of historical interest. Active conflict was the principal stimulus to this upsurge in map making. And for better or worse the results were of long standing, including a close appraisal of the Ohio country as a region ideally suited for English settlers and a potential source of great wealth. Boundary lines, hitherto loosely defined and poorly delineated on maps, acquired new significance and importance. Treaties that had been made with Indian nations involving the sale or exchange of land were more carefully scrutinized, accurately described, and properly recorded.

It was during this crucial period in the history of the Ohio River that the first accurate map, or more properly, hydrographic survey of its waters was made by two British military engineers: Captain Harry Gordon and Ensign Thomas Hutchins. The year was 1766. Although this survey came about by indirection the result was the same, and by the end of 1766 the outside world knew, for the first time, the tortuous course of the Ohio, the latitude and longitude of various places along its banks, the necessary carrying places for boats of any draught, and possible sites where fortifications could be built and later defended. The end result of this survey was the realization that the firm control of the waters of the Ohio, especially at the Forks, was every bit as important as the establishment of a fort or forts in the Illinois or anywhere on the upper Mississippi River, which was the primary object of the survey. Prior to that, the Ohio was considered by many as merely a way to get to the Illinois country.

From then on through the long, weary years of the Revolutionary War to the signing of the Definitive Treaty and the establishment of the United States of America in 1783, the mapping of the Ohio improved along with the maps of the entire nation east of the Mississippi. Its proper place in the geography of the country was firmly established; and its importance as a region for future colonization was confirmed

beyond all doubt. Proof positive of this sentiment, expressed by many leading citizens of the country, was the imaginative proposal of Thomas Jefferson, David Hartley, and others to lay out and survey ten new states northwest of the Ohio. With all its faults, this plan reflected the confidence of its proponents that the region would one day be needed to take care of the westward expansion of the nation that was already well under way.

The Ohio River has never belonged to any man or men, but as in centuries past it will continue to be many things to many people, serving them as a prime inland waterway, a vital boundary line between the states that border it, and a source of comfort and wealth to the people who live along its banks. To be sure, much of its natural beauty has been destroyed or altered by the progress of civilization, but in its place is a kind of beauty and vitality nourished by many natural resources and flourishing industry that would have been far beyond the comprehension of the first white men who saw and described the beautiful river while paddling its waters in their birch-bark canoes.

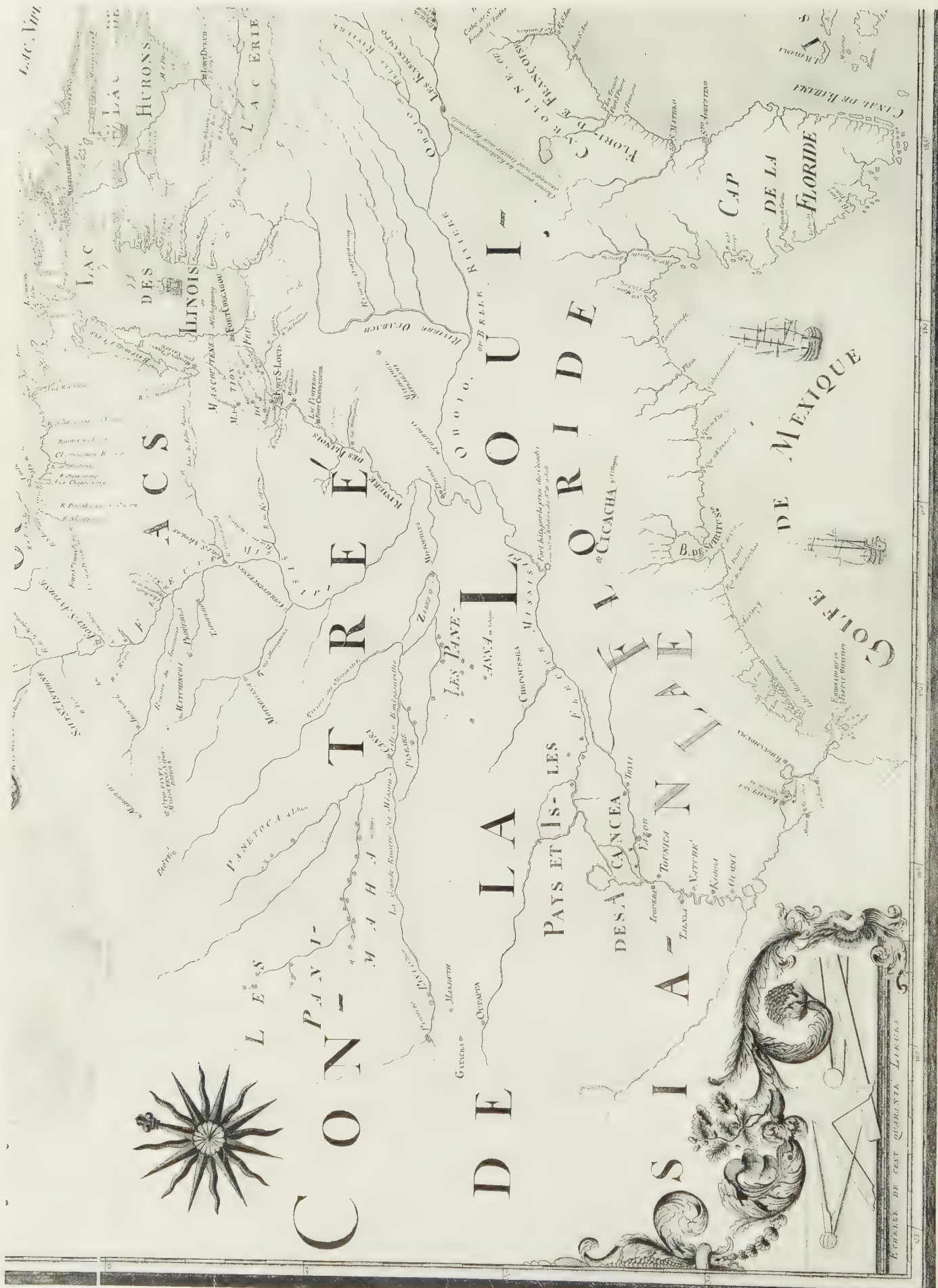


THE MAPS







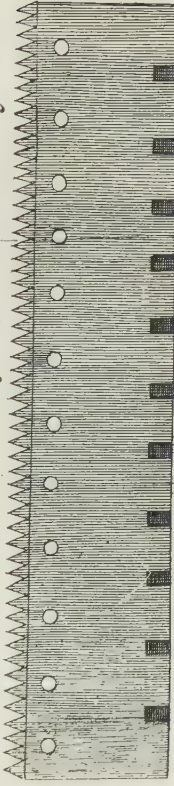


6. A section from Franquelin's map of North America including New France and Louisiana, 1688



8. A section of Father Hennepin's map of North America. [1698]

The Dwelling Houses of the TAHUGLAUK, which are 80 paces in length according to the Draught that y^e Mozeemlek Slaves gave me upon y^e Barks of Trees.

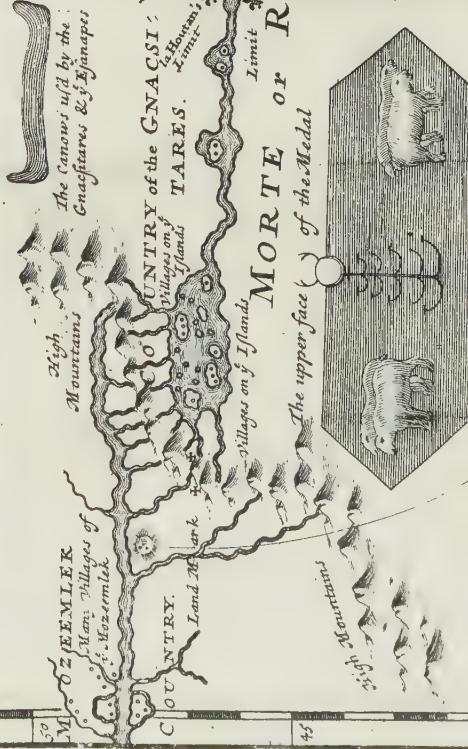


The Vessels us'd by the TAHUCLAUK in w^{ch} 200 men may row; provided they are such as som^e of ^y Mozeemle people drew to me upon ^y Banks of Tress.



According to my computation such a vessel must be 120 foot long from the prow to the stern

A Map drawn upon a skin by 6 Gnacatares who gave me to know the Latitudes of all places mark'd in it, by pointing to 6 respective places of 6 heavens, that one or other corresponded to, for by this means I could adjust 6 Lat. to half a Degree or little more, having first resolv'd from sin a computation of 6 distances in 14 zones each of which I compute to be 3 Long French Leagues.



A MEDAL of the TAHUGLAHUK
made of a certain sort of metal of a Red colour not
unlike Copper



The Reverse of the Medal

New Mexico
\$14 Fee

262

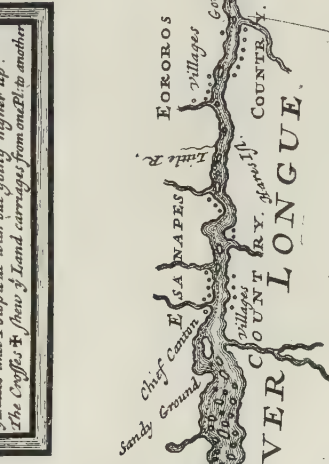
257

2521

H. Moll S.

A Map of y^e LONG RIVER and of some others
that fall into that small part of y^e Great River
of Mississipi which is here laid down.

The small pricks that are run along from Millimakinac and back to it by another way is of Course I steerd in my voyage
The Flowers de luyes ✱ mark'd in some Rivers represent
of Places that I stop'd at with out going higher up.
The Crosses ✱ shew of Land carriages from one to another



0 1 2 3 4 5

0.5 1.0 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 5.0

Degrees

40 60 80 100

and French Leagues

up Relates to L,

4

1

1

2

... F. C. ...

degrees E. from Porto I

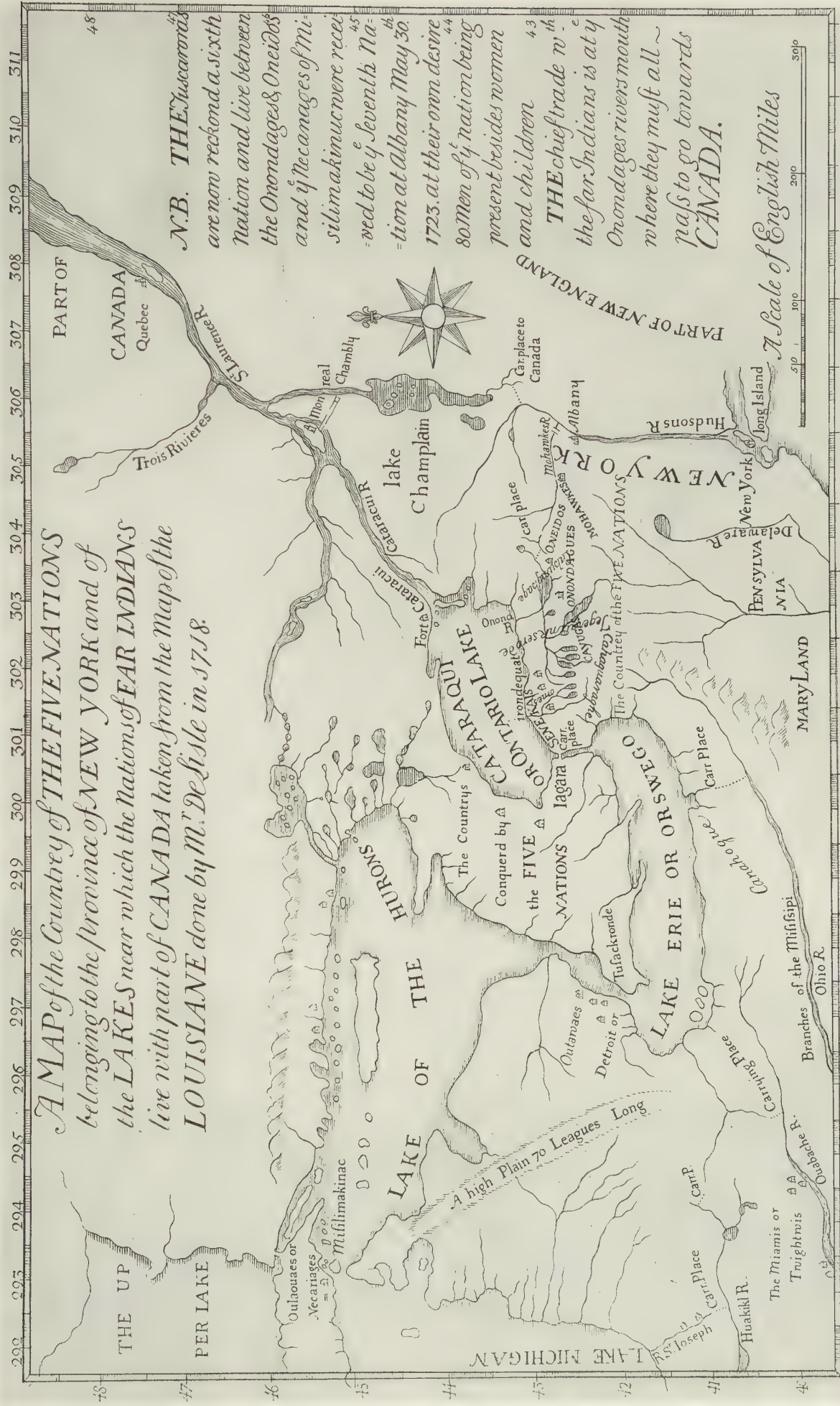
n's map of the Lon

This Map Relates to Letter XVI.

9. Baron La Hontan's map of the Long River. 1735



12. A new map of North America from the atlas of Edward Wells, 1722.



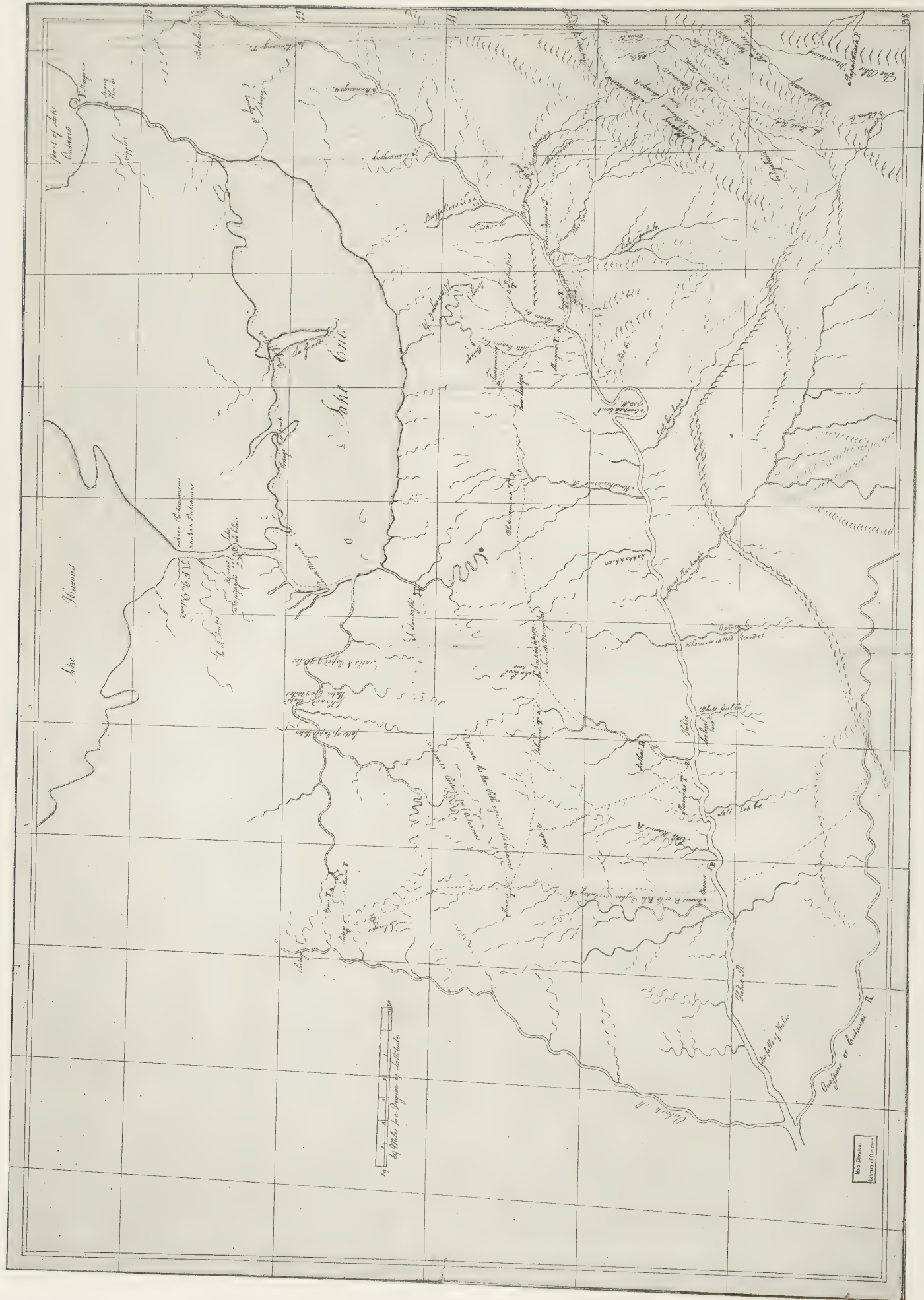
13. An anonymous map of the Five Indian Nations. c. 1730.



14. A section from Henry Popple's map of the British Empire in North America, 1733.

This is a detailed historical map of the Great Lakes region, titled "A Scale of English Miles". The map shows the five Great Lakes: Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario. It includes the St. Lawrence River, Hudson River, and Ohio River. Key locations like Quebec, Montreal, Albany, and New York are marked. The map also shows the "Country of the Five Nations" and "The Country of the Hurons". A compass rose is in the top left, and a scale bar is in the top right. The map is oriented with North at the top.

15. The Five Indian Nations, from Cadwallader Colden's *History*, London, 1750.



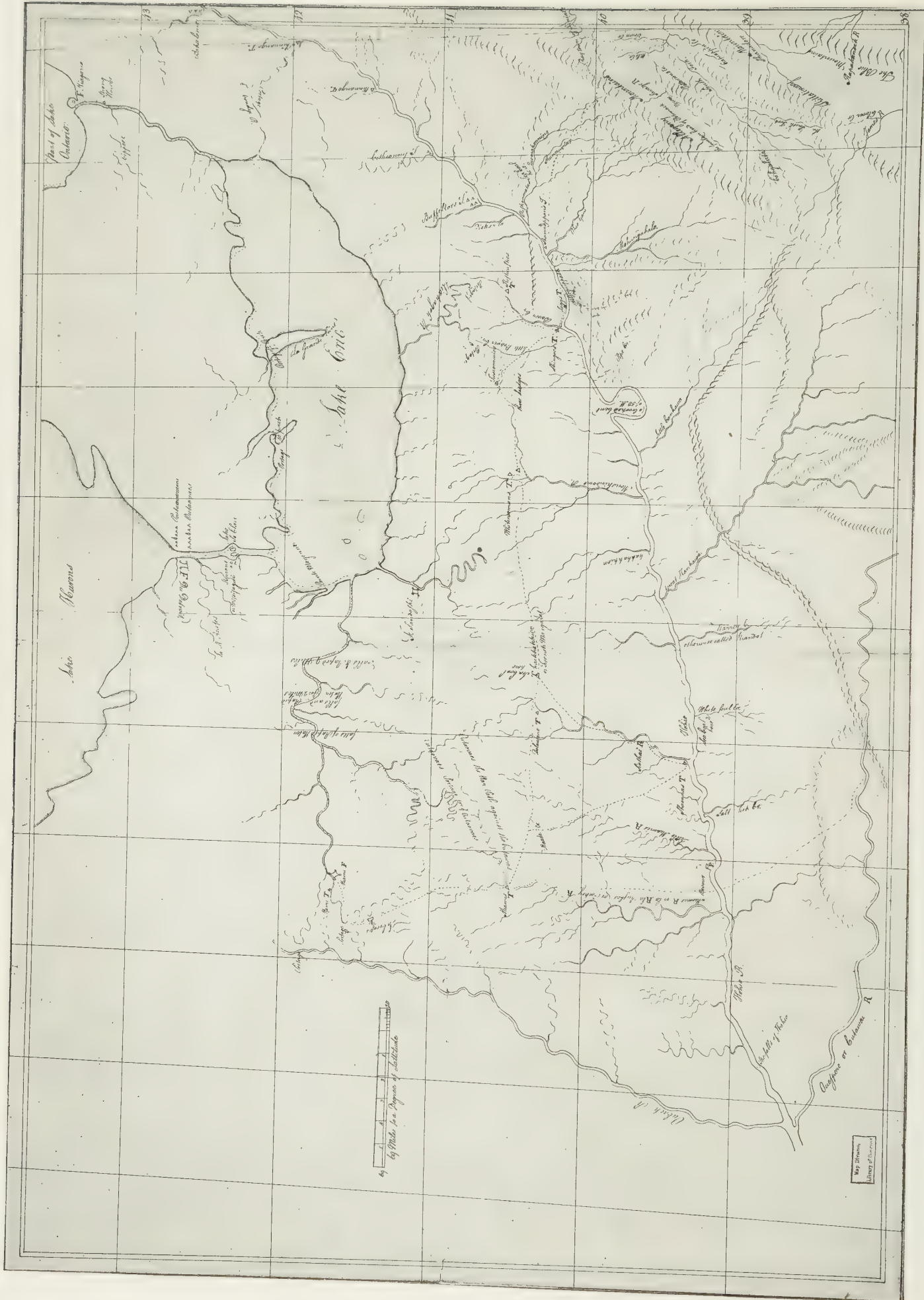
16. A section of John Patten's map of the Ohio country. [1752]

A. J. J. Where I suppose they began as they informed Mr. Gist their Beginning was upon the Branches of Red Horse Creek. We run the Course marked 123 some Distance the 1 was N 59 E which cornered within 10 or 12 Miles of William Crowwells House the 2 was N 30 W which they run to leave out Mr. Gist and his Son in Law William Crowwell being willing as they said to leave them handsome Settlements within 3 of a Mile of Mr. Gists House to the River Gary argued about what I saw them running about 5 Miles from Mr. Gist, Thursday 26 of April in my Mail to the Indian Town. Where this head is about 20 Miles to the West of a North line of 55 Miles run by Col. Coe up from the Head Spring of Catomack up the dotted lines of B.C. tho' their Grant which was



A Where the Company propose to erect a Town. This is a Plain about 3/4 of a Mile in length and 1/2 a Mile in breadth, bounded on the North by a very high Hill (where the Fort is to be built) on the Southward and East by Fourteen Creek, on the Eastward and West by the Ohio River which winds round this Hill. This Hill is a very fine Situation for a Fort, being very steep on the North and South Sides the River rising up at the Foot of it on the North Side, as it does at the East End which is inaccessible, being near 100 Feet high and large Rocks jutting one over the other to the Top. The West End has a gradual Descent down to the River.

There has been an Indian Fort there some Years ago. The District is now to be seek. Here the Indians always fled upon an Alarm as it was called the Strongest Fort they had, several thousand have lost their lives in the Attack of it, but it never was yet taken.



16. A section of John Patten's map of the Ohio country. [1752]

which was

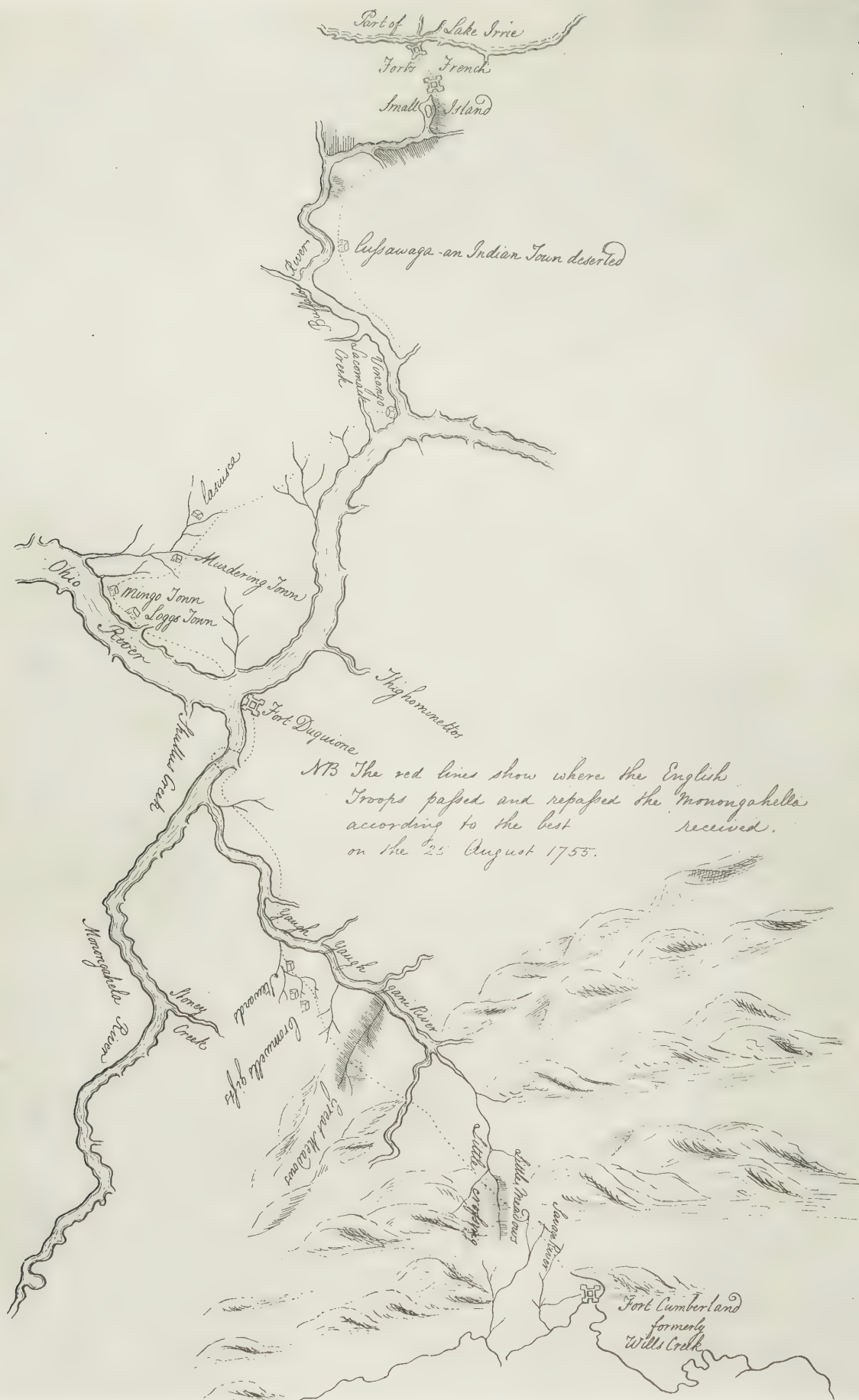
Turn Over [see 3c.8.6w]

The Northern Neck

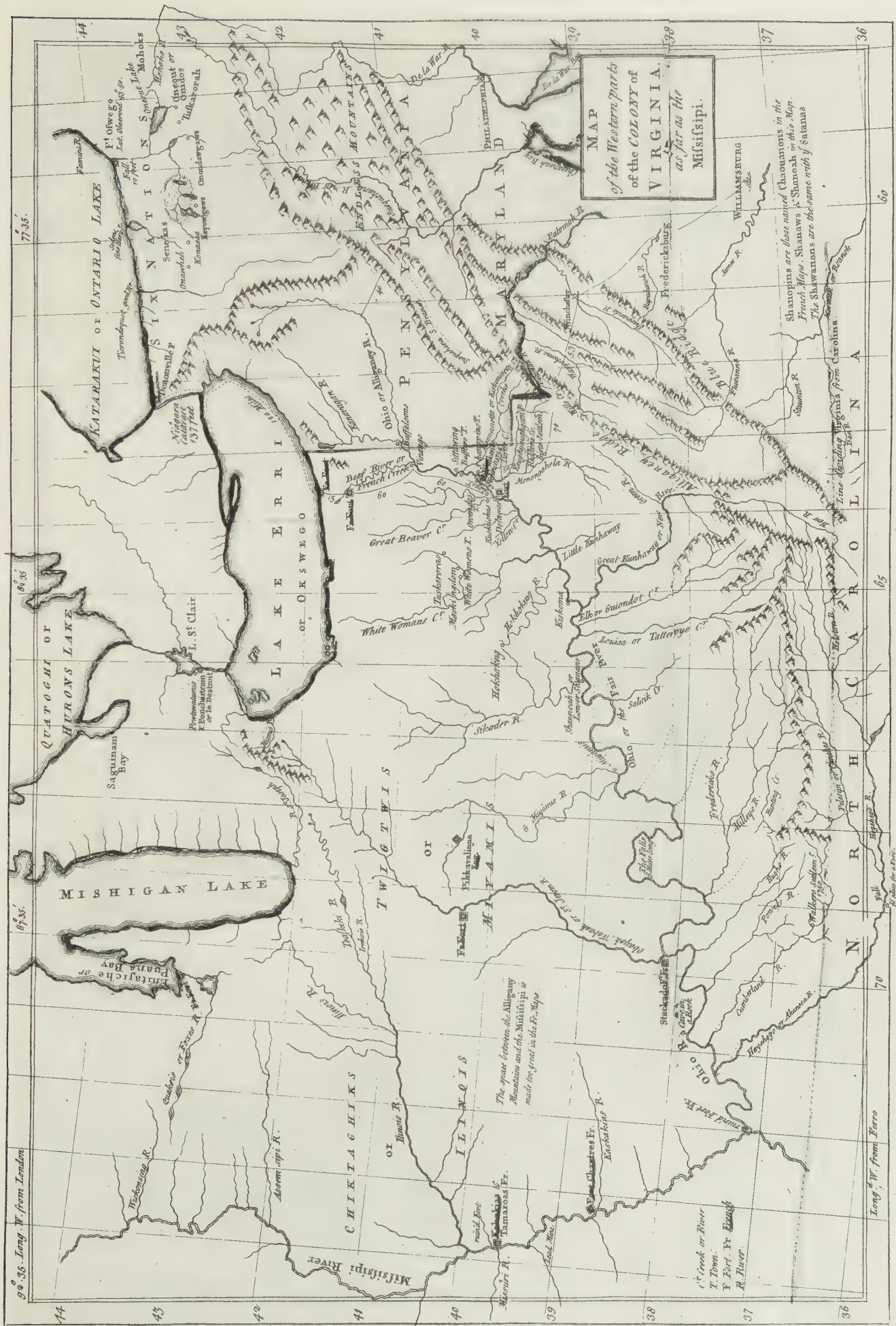
There has been an Indian
Fist there some Years ago. The
Ditch is now to be seen. Here the
Indians always fled upon an Alarm
as it was reckoned the strongest Fort
they had, several thousands have lost
their lives in the Attack of it, but it never was yet
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Q Where the Company propose to erect a Town. It is a Plain about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile in Breadth bounded on the North by a very high Hill (where the Fort is to be built) on the Southward and East by Shurtess Creek, on the Eastward and West by the Ohio River which runs round this Hill.

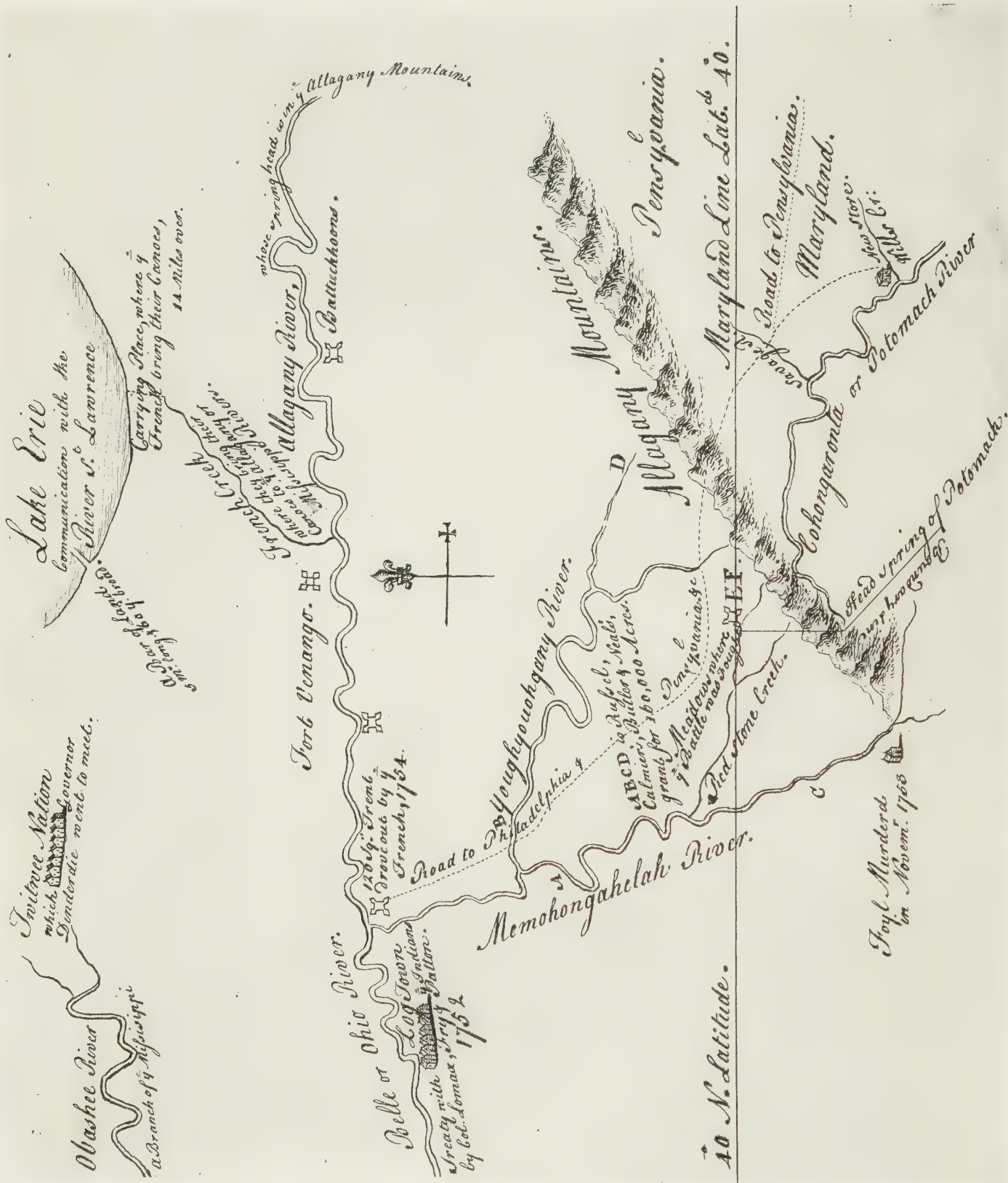
This Hill is a very fine Situation for a Fort being very steep on the North and South Sides the River running at the Foot of it on the North Side, as it does at the West End which is inaccessible, being near 100 Feet high and large Rocks jutting one over the other to the Top. The West End has a gradual Descent down to the River.



18. George Washington's map of the Ohio country traversed in 1753-54.



19. The western parts of Virginia from Washington's published *Journal*, 1754



Captain Snow's

Sketch

of the COUNTRY

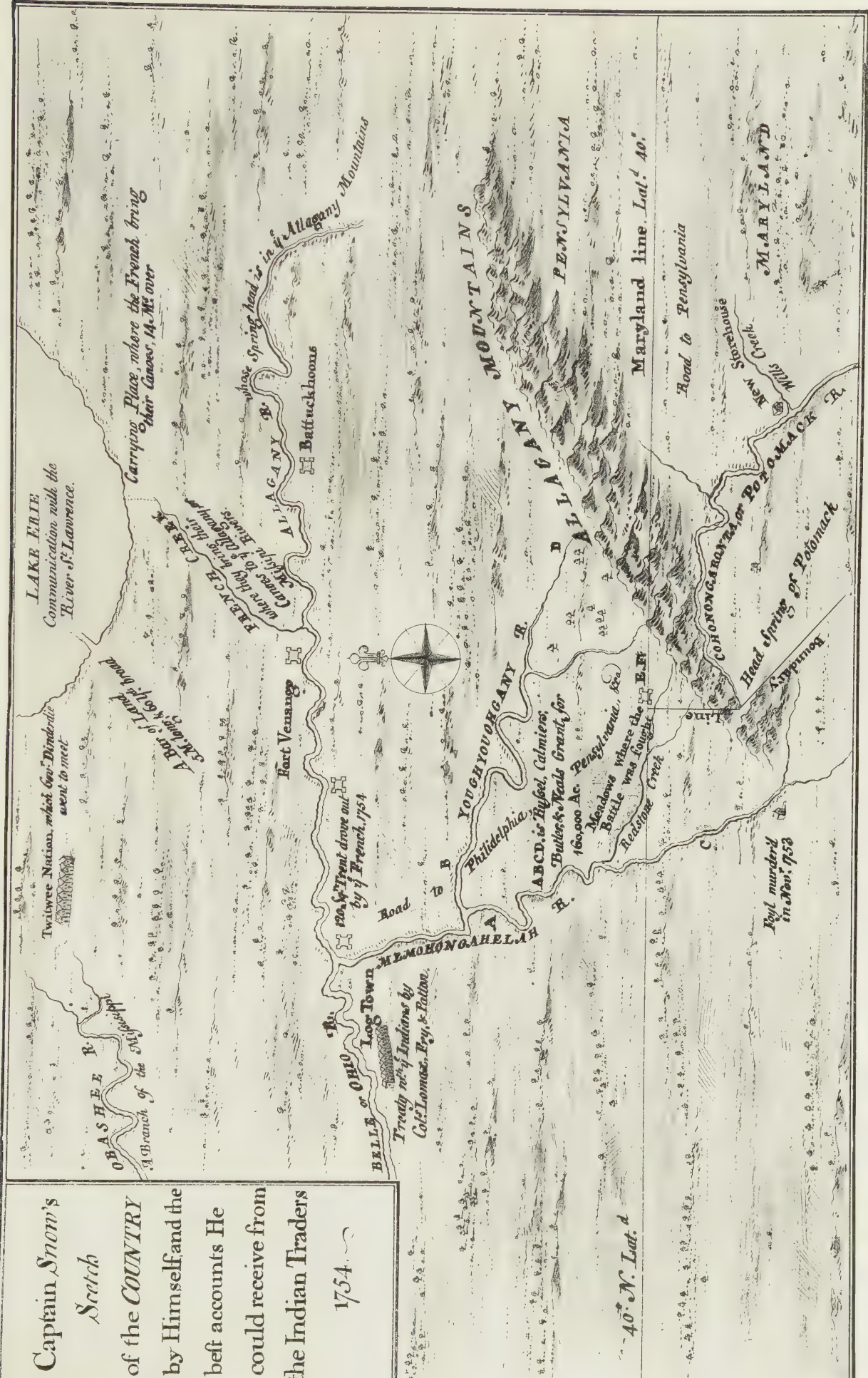
by Himself and the

best accounts He

could receive from

the Indian Traders

1754



21. Captain Snow's finished sketch of the same area, 1754



22. An anonymous map of the Ohio drawn about 1755.



23. Section of a German map of the theater of war. c. 1755

This MAP was undertaken with the Approbation and at the Request of the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and is chiefly composed from Drawings, Charts and Observations of different parts of His Majesty's Colonies & Plantations in America: Great parts of which have been lately taken by their Lordships' Orders, and transmitted to this Office by the Governors of the said Colonies and others.

Printed in the
Half Sheet

John Cornwall
Secretary

A N

- EXPLANATION.
- 1. Cities and Capitals
 - 2. Towns
 - 3. Villages
 - 4. Indian Towns and Forts
 - 5. Indian Villages
 - 6. Fortifications
 - 7. Forts
 - 8. Distances marked
 - 9. Settlements
 - 10. Roads with their Distances
 - 11. Mills
 - 12. Falls in Rivers
 - 13. Indian Villages destroyed

BERMUDAS I.

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 Obedient
and very humble servant

J. Mitchell

The Engraver, Andrew Millar

Longitude West from London.

Printed by the Author, Feb. 1755, according to Act of Parliament, and Sold by And. Miller opposite Rathbone Street in the Strand.

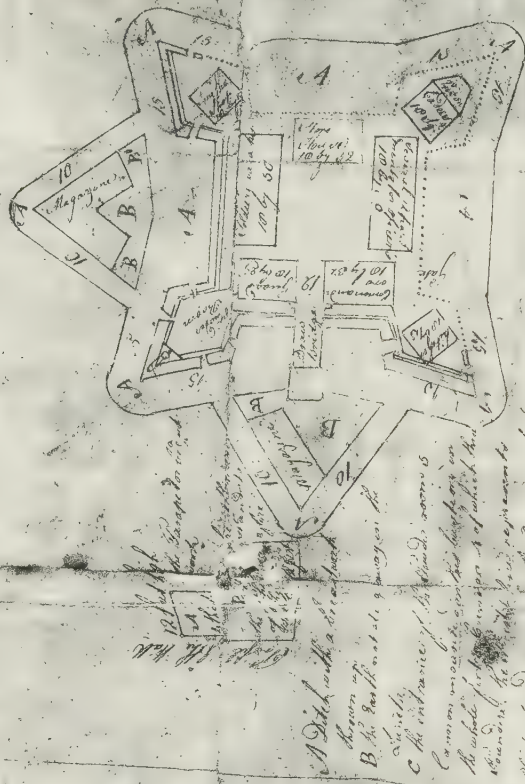
24. The title cartouche from Dr. John Mitchell's map of 1755.

Fort Duquesne - 1754

See Colonel Rogers' vol. vi. p. 140.

Completed

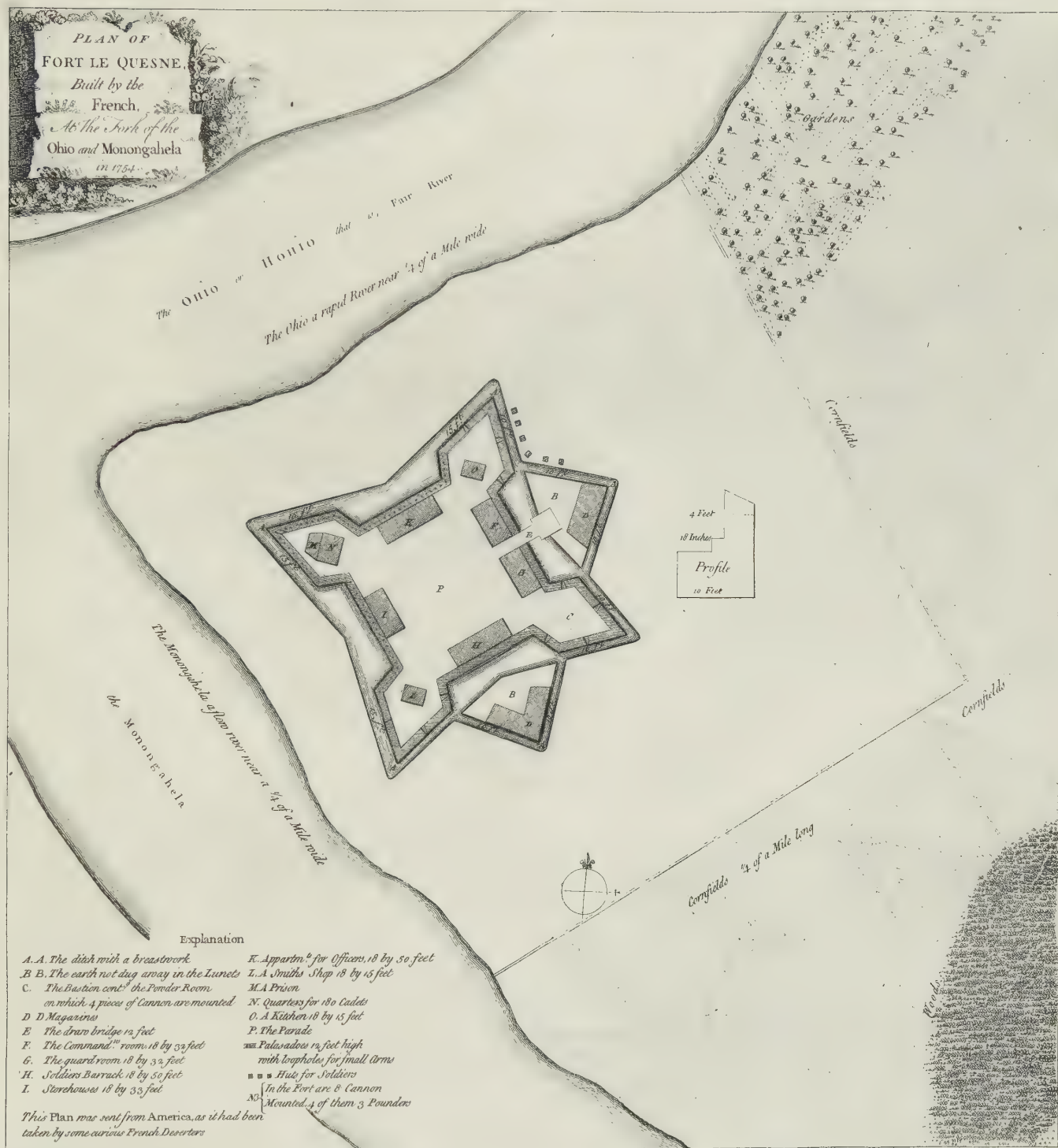
Part is lower for the river



Ohio

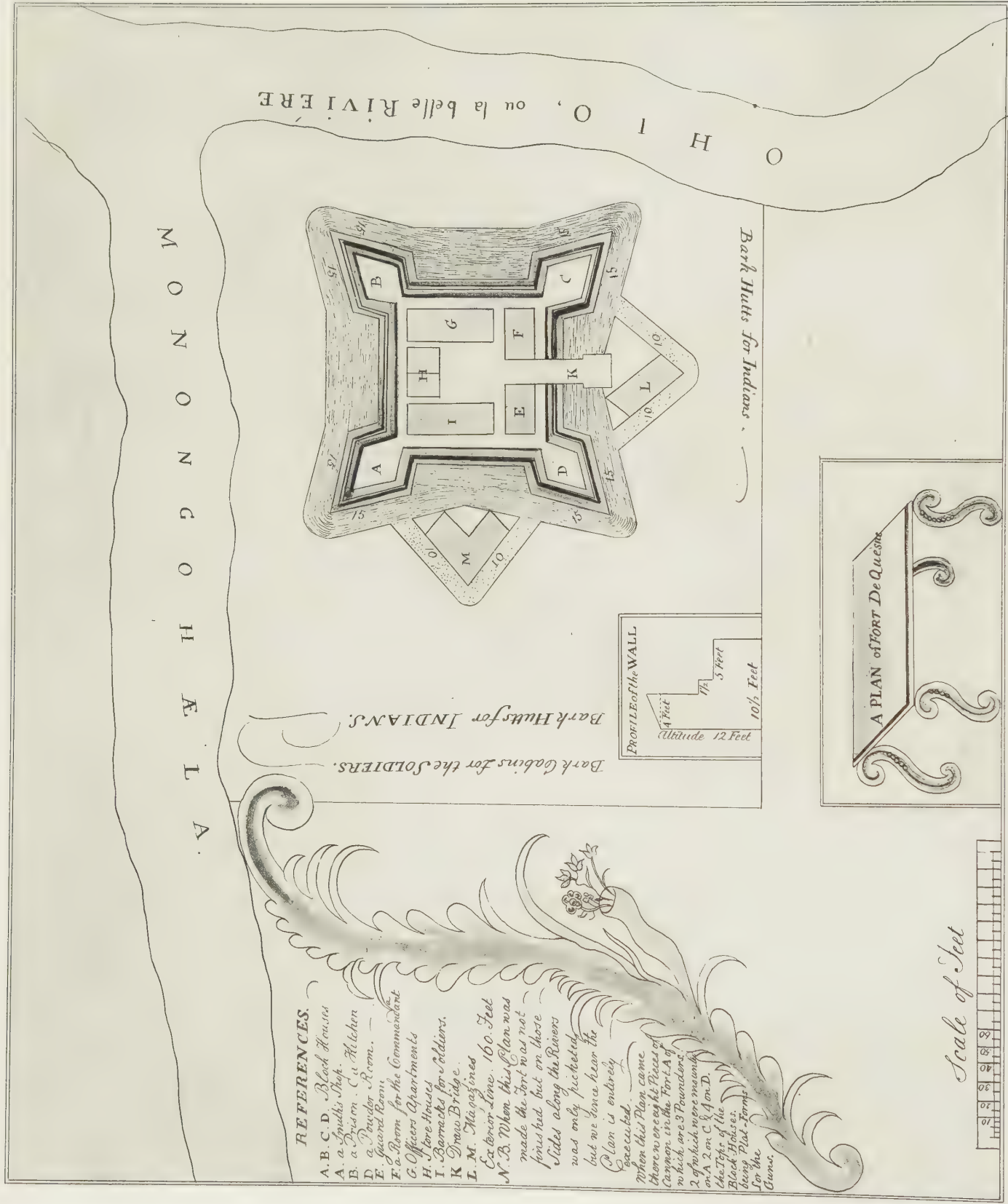
Mississippi

26. A plan of Fort Duquesne as Robert Stobo pictured it in 1754.



Printed for Rob^t Sayer in Pall Mall and Thos. Jefferys at the Corner of St. Martins Lane in the Strand.

27. The printed version of Robert Stobo's plan, London, 1755.



28. An anonymous plan of Fort Duquesne drawn about 1755.

A Sketch of the Field of Battle with the Disposition of the Troops in the beginning of the Engagement of the 9th of July on the Monongahela 7 Miles from Fort Duquesne

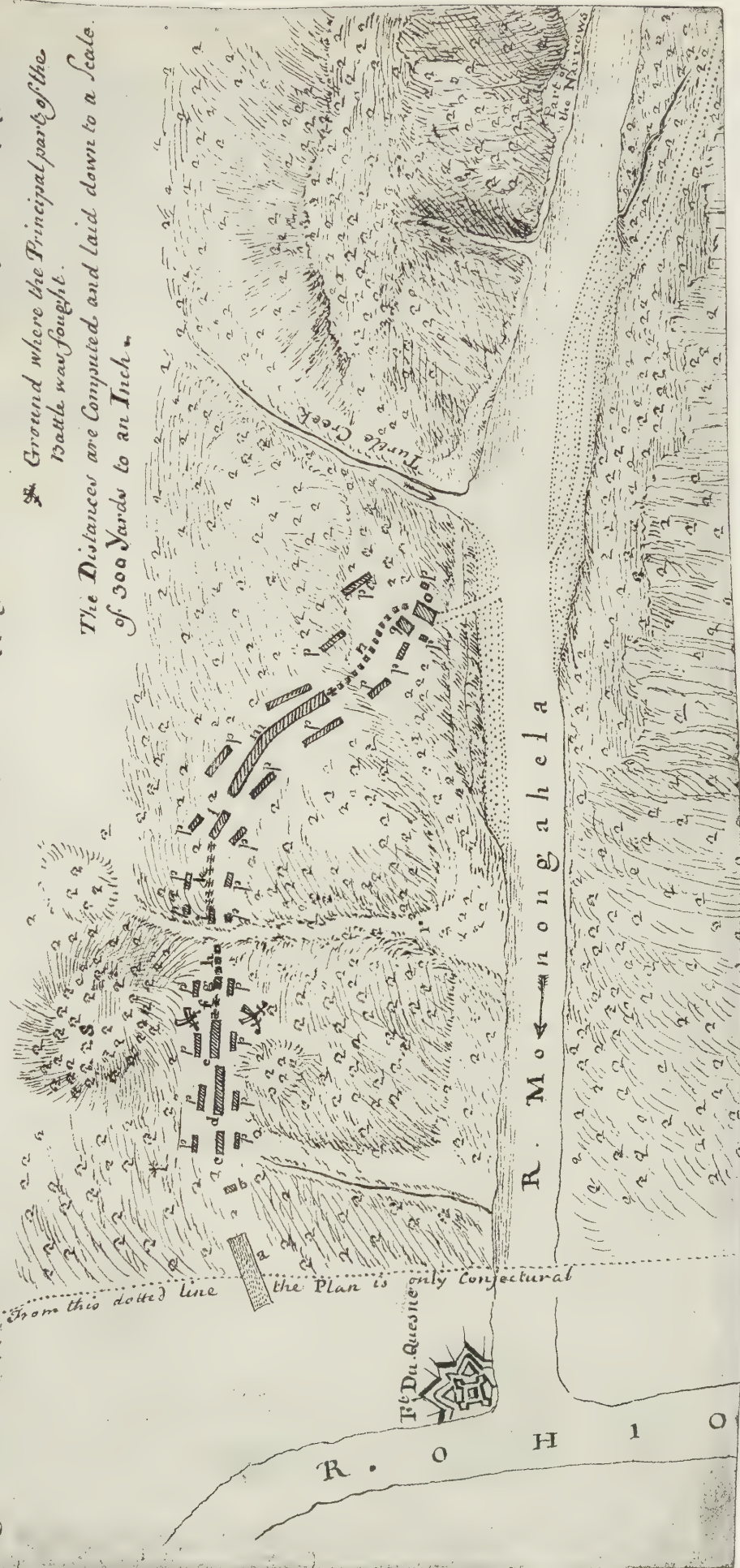
French & Indians upon their March toward

References

- a. the British Troops when discovered by the Guides.
- b. Guides & six light Horse.
- c. Van Guard of the Advanced Party.
- d. Advanced Party.
- e. Working Party.
- f. Two 6 Pounders Field Pieces.
- g. Guard to D.
- h. Tool Waggon.
- i. Sailors leading the Van of the Main Body.
- k. Artillery of the Main Body.
- l. Guard to D.
- m. Main Body.
- n. One Field piece Waggon & Baggage.
- o. Rear Guard.
- p. Flank Guards.
- q. Frasers house.
- r. Hollow way.
- s. Rising ground which the Indians took possession soon after the beginning of the Engagement.

Ground where the Principal part of the Battle was fought.

The Distances are Computed and laid down to a Scale of 300 Yards to an Inch.



From Fort Cumberland Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

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To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

To the Northumberland, Miles

From For Humboldt? 146 No For Dubuque

All the General's friends are on a visit with
 Genl. M. C. A.

Drop on its back pup's knee
The old

no lines from 4.10 to Capt. Dobson's House)
Do (the mouth of the ...)

System of Redstone Creek and Back No.
Gy 2 houses: 1 No.

The red line is

Fort Duquesne

we have for the 4th. July and for the 11th of August

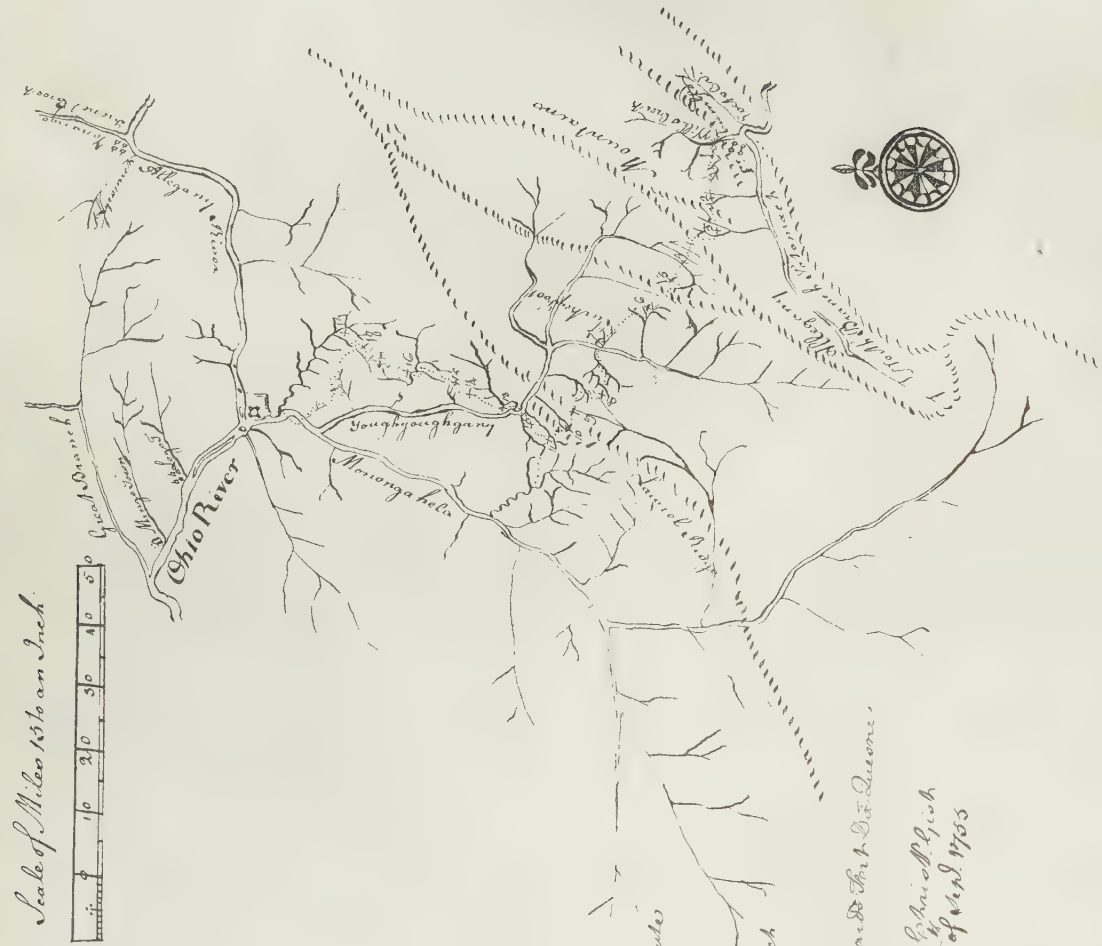
I have secured the 6th of June

the Draught of Genl. Bradocks Book shown to Sir P. D. Quince,

Mr. J. H. Jones

My friend, Rich

The 15th of April 1975.





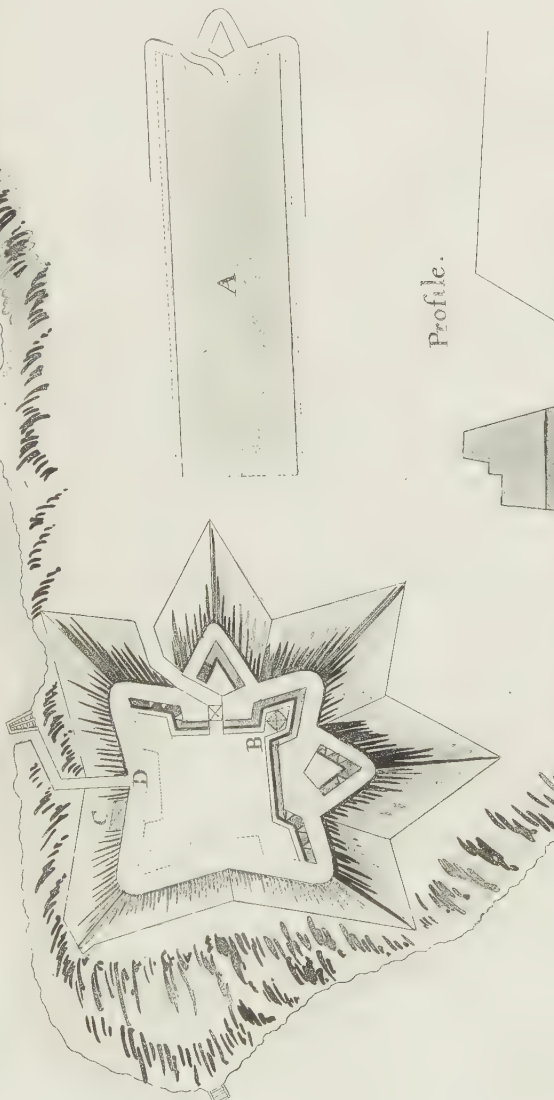
Ohio River, 300 Yards Wide

Plan of Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh.

as it was, before it was Demolish'd
1758.

Explanation ~

- A - Work in which was the greatest part of the Soldiers Barracks, & Towns.
- B - Bastion, under which was the principal Magazine, entirely Demolish'd.
- C - Powder Magazine, Intended to have been Blown up, but the Match went out, before it reach'd the Powder.
- D - Passage to the River, at the mouth is a Small Harbour.



Profile.



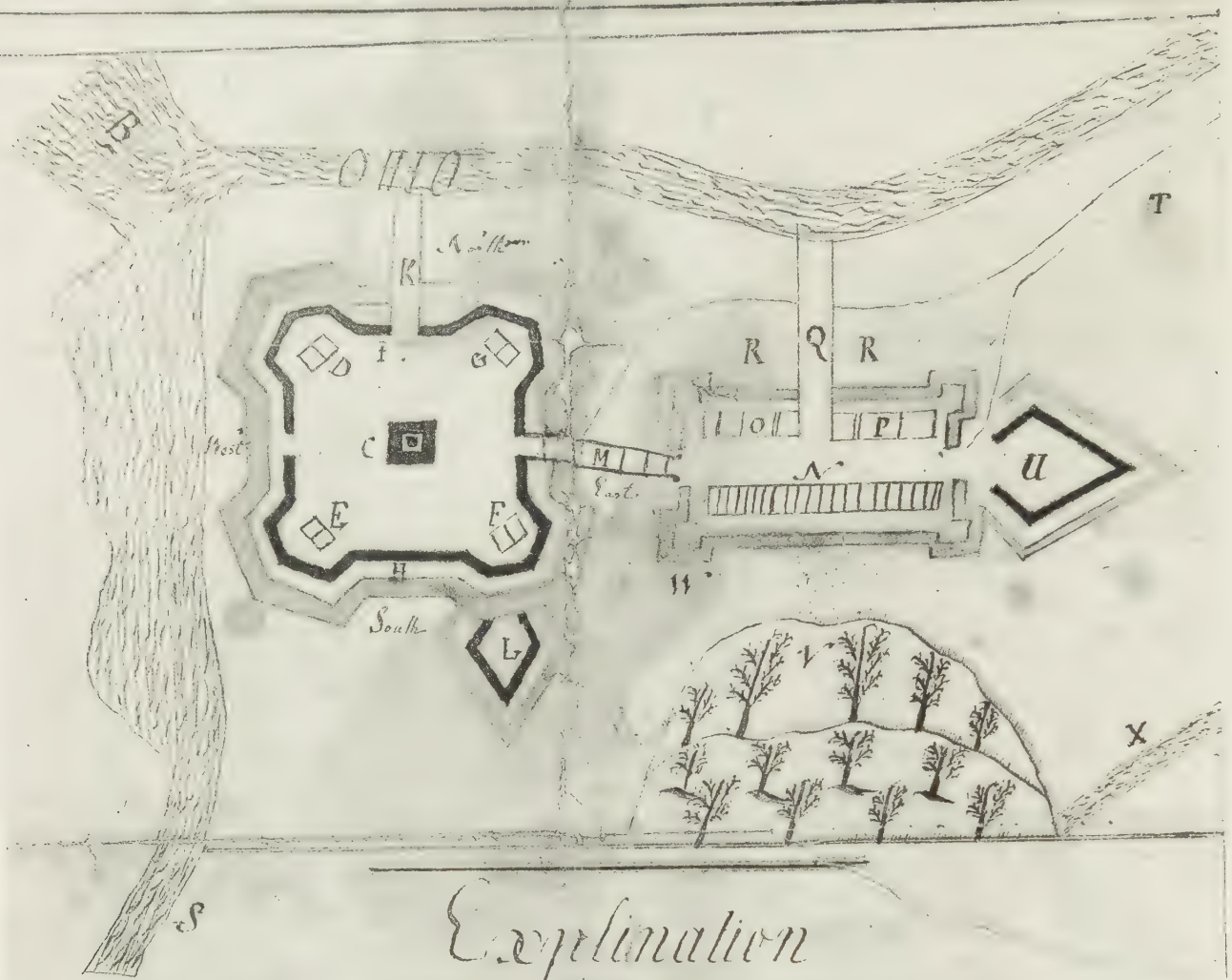
Scale for the Profile 60 Feet ~

Scale for the Plan, 400 Feet ~

Mononghela River 360 Yards Wide at y Forks

J. C. Mordell ~

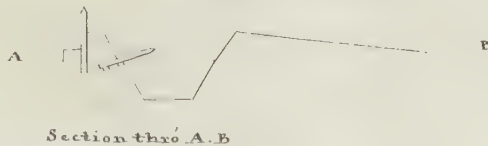
A Plan of Fort Duquesne now call'd Pittsburgh.



an Island where 10 Indians were killed. C a well. D the Provision house. E the Prison and Store house. F the Soldiers guard house. G Officers guard room. H a Trench 12 feet wide. I a door to the powder Magazine. J Under ground. K a Road Under ground to convey Provisions into the Fort. L a Battery. M a draw Bridge. N Soldiers Barracks. O Officers Lodgings. P a Cannon road Under ground to bring loads. Q into Incampments. R Braddock Defeated 7 Miles from the Fort. S Roads. T another Battery. U a Mountain where Majors Grant and Lewis were Defeated. V Smiths Shop. W a Creek.

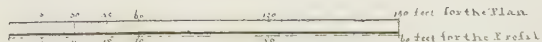
A PLAN of the Fort for 220 men
built in December 1738. within 400 yards
of Fort Du Quebec

- a. Soldiers Barracks
- b. Officers houses
- c. Stores of Provision
- d. h^o for Indian Goods

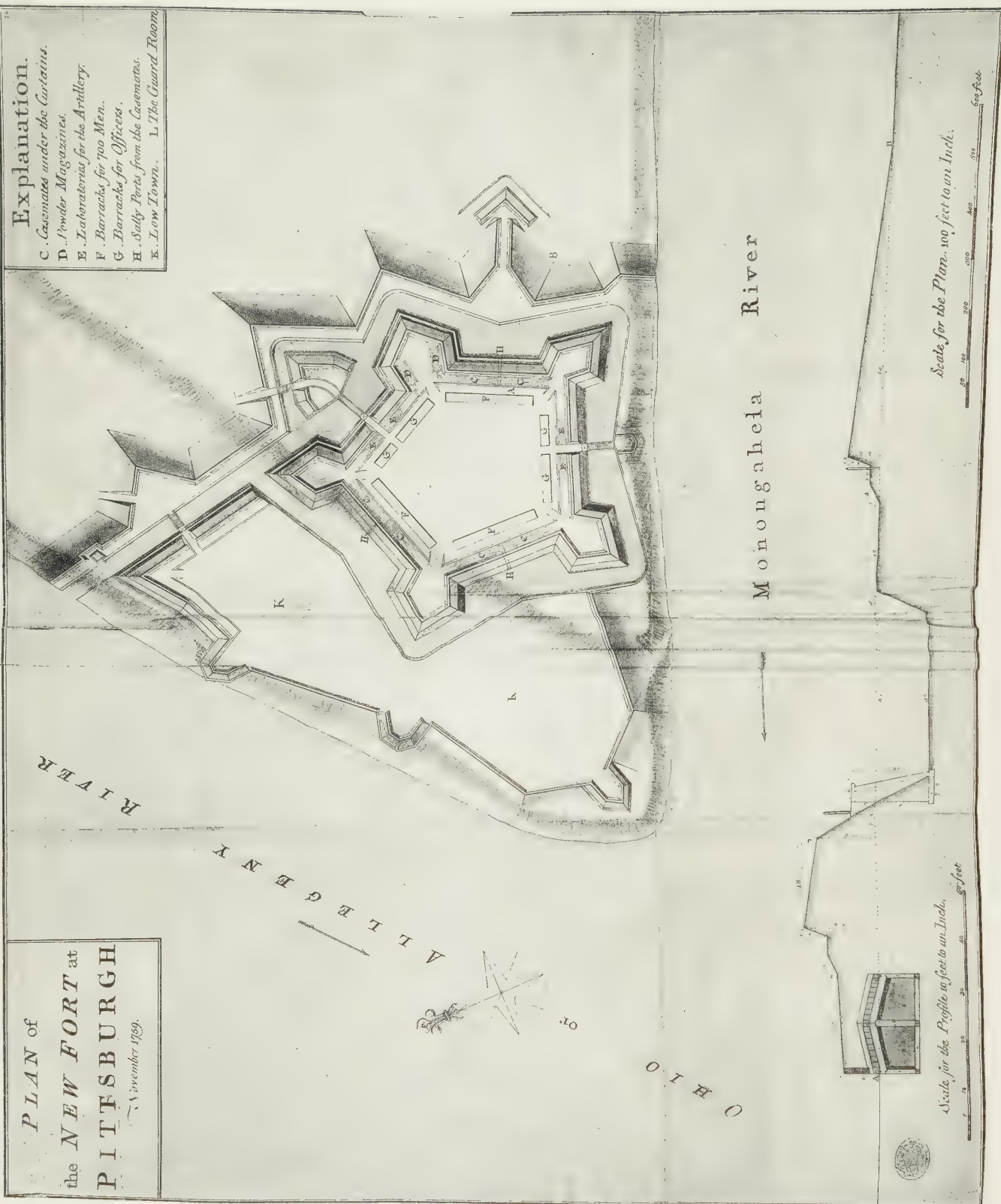


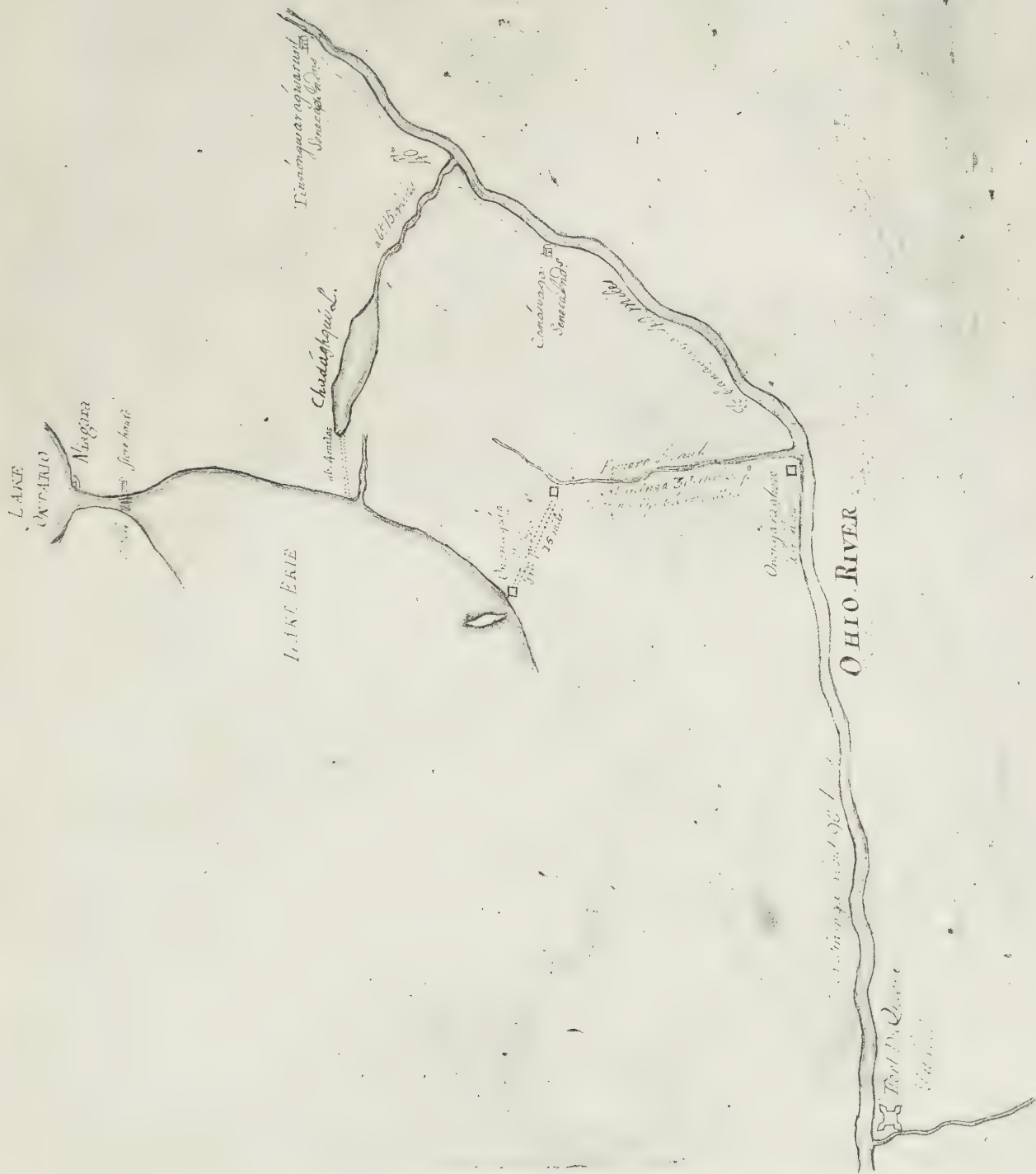
Woods to Fort Ingouner

M O N O N G E L L A R I V E R 100 yards broad



35. Mercer's fort, built 1,000 feet back from the Point in the winter of 1758.





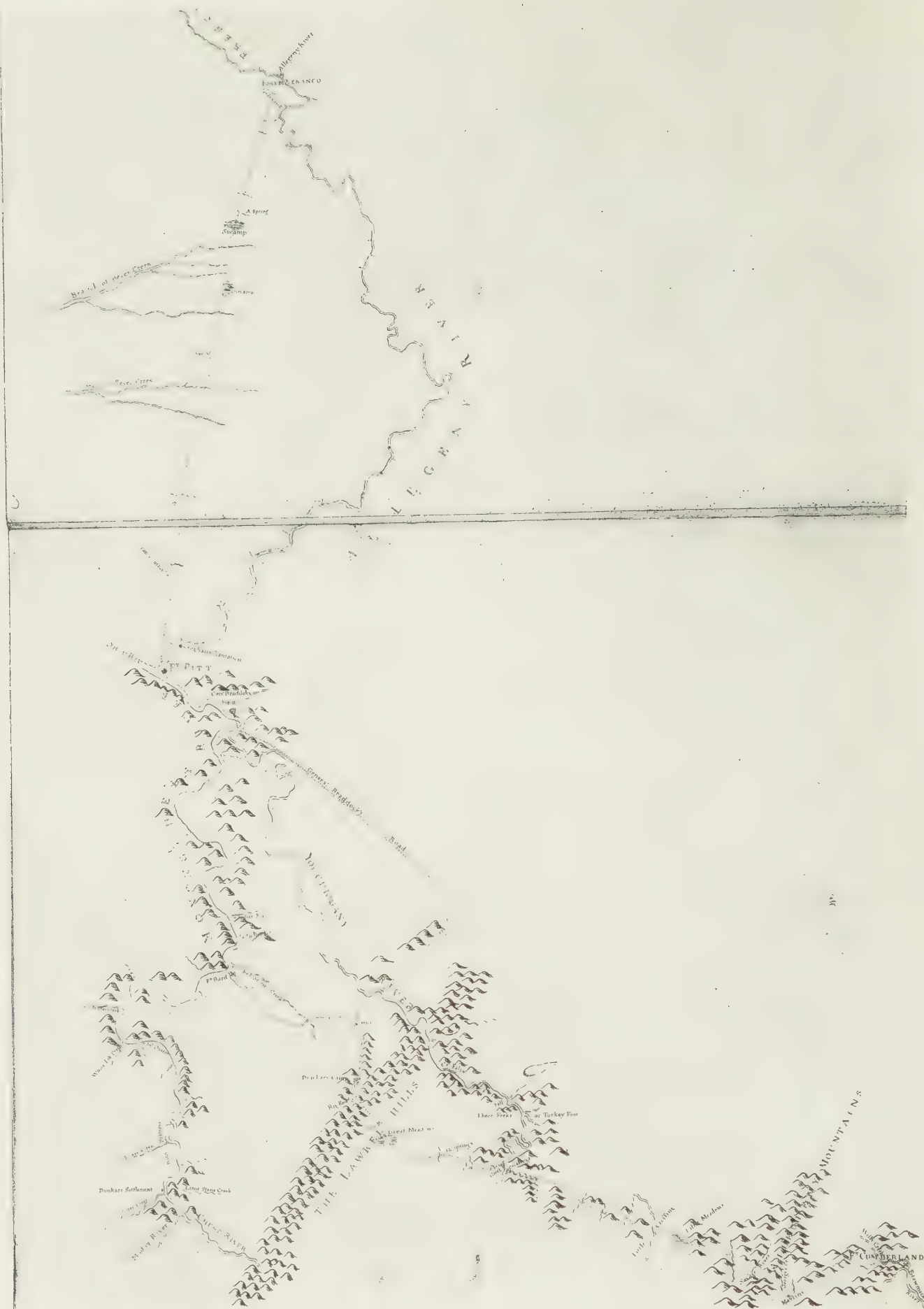
SKETCH.

of
 the route from Fort
 Duquesne to Niagara
 as described by an intelligent
 person who had resided
 there for a considerable time.

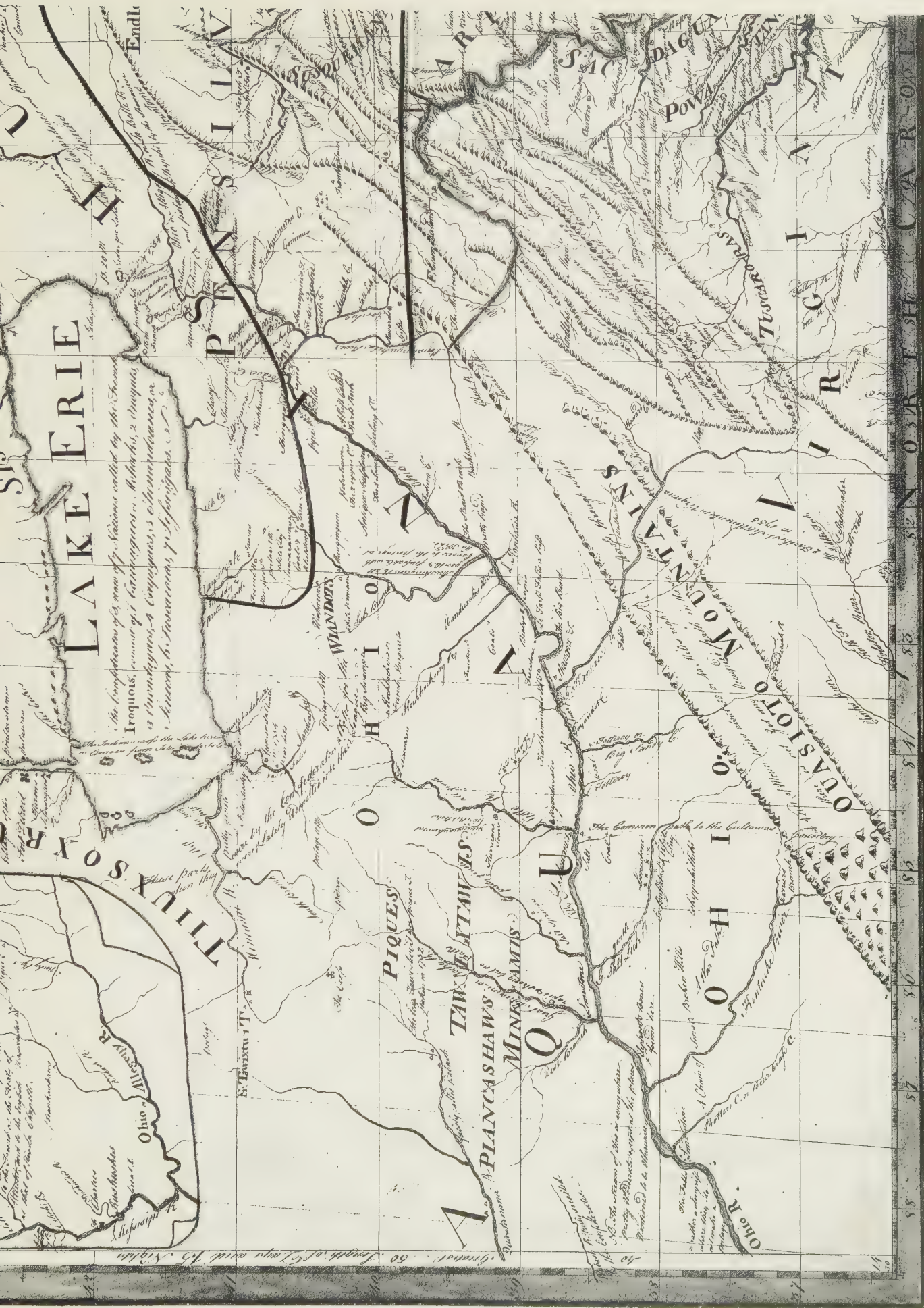
REFERENCES.

- Logged route.
- Carrying places.
- Indian villages.

Good maps, &c. from St. Pauline
 to Lake Erie, except the carrying place
 of 15 miles from Pittsburg
 to Niagara.



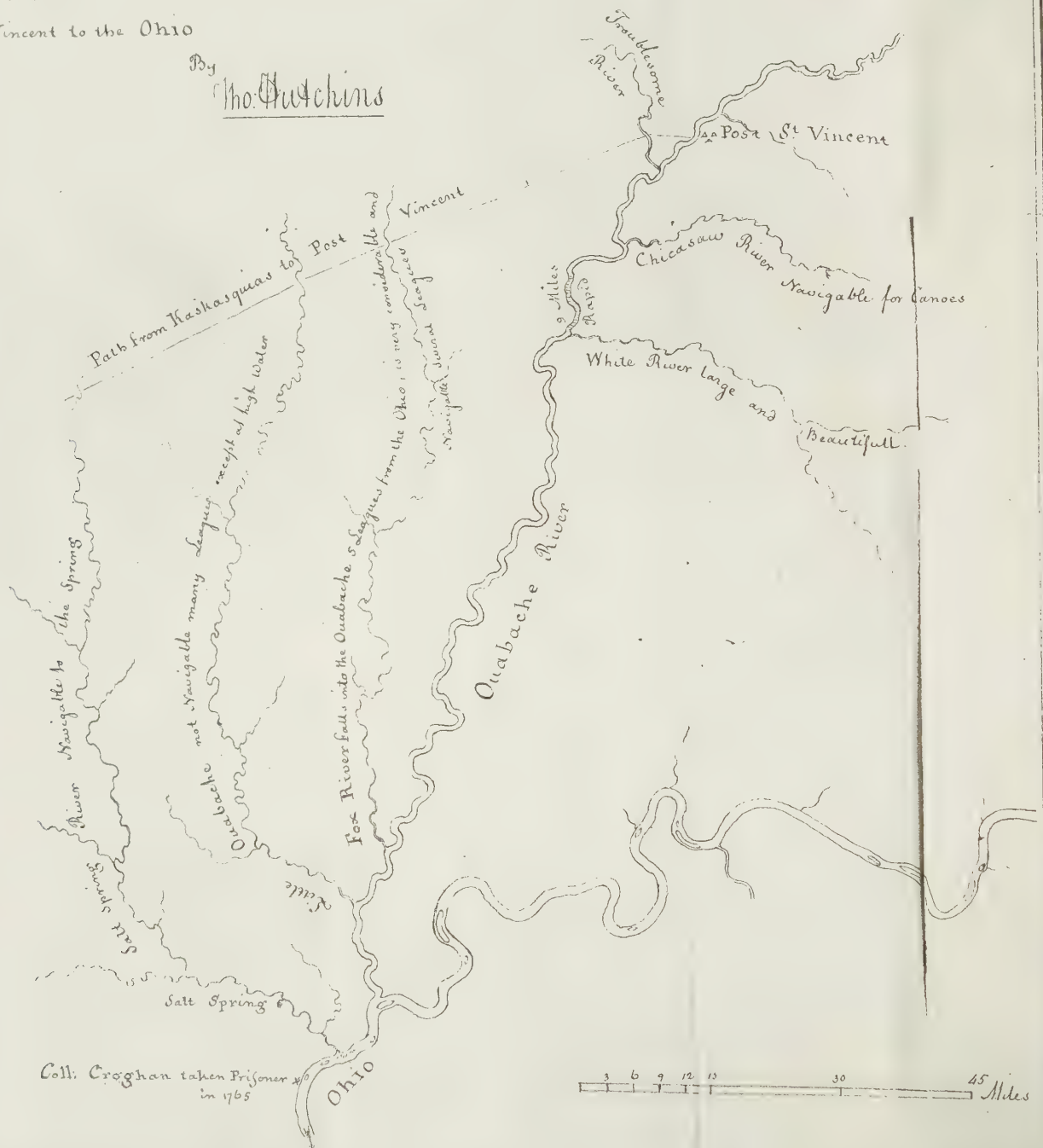
40. A map of the routes between Forts Venango, Pitt, and Cumberland. c. 1766

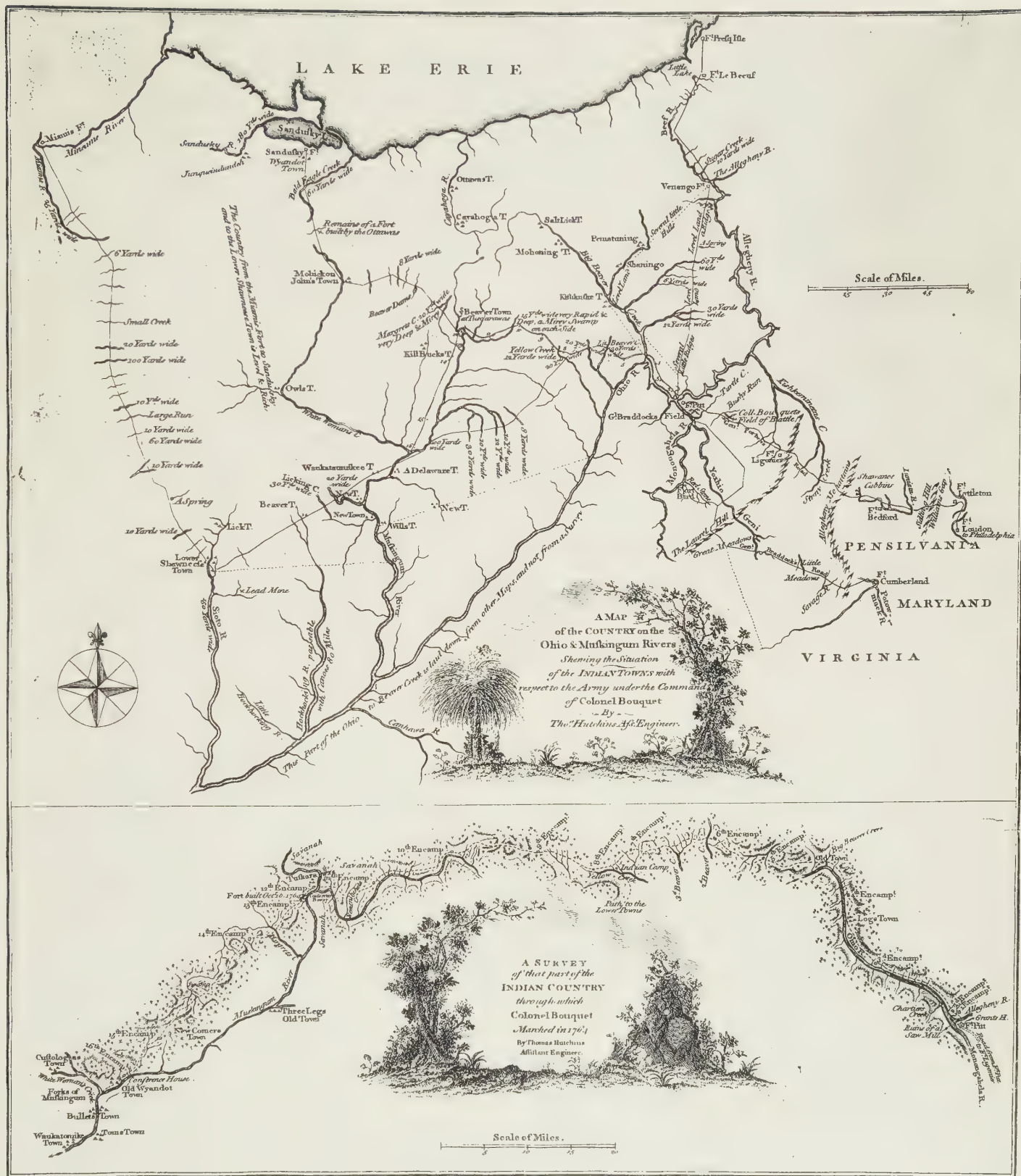


41. A manuscript copy of Lewis Evans' map of the Middle British colonies. 1766

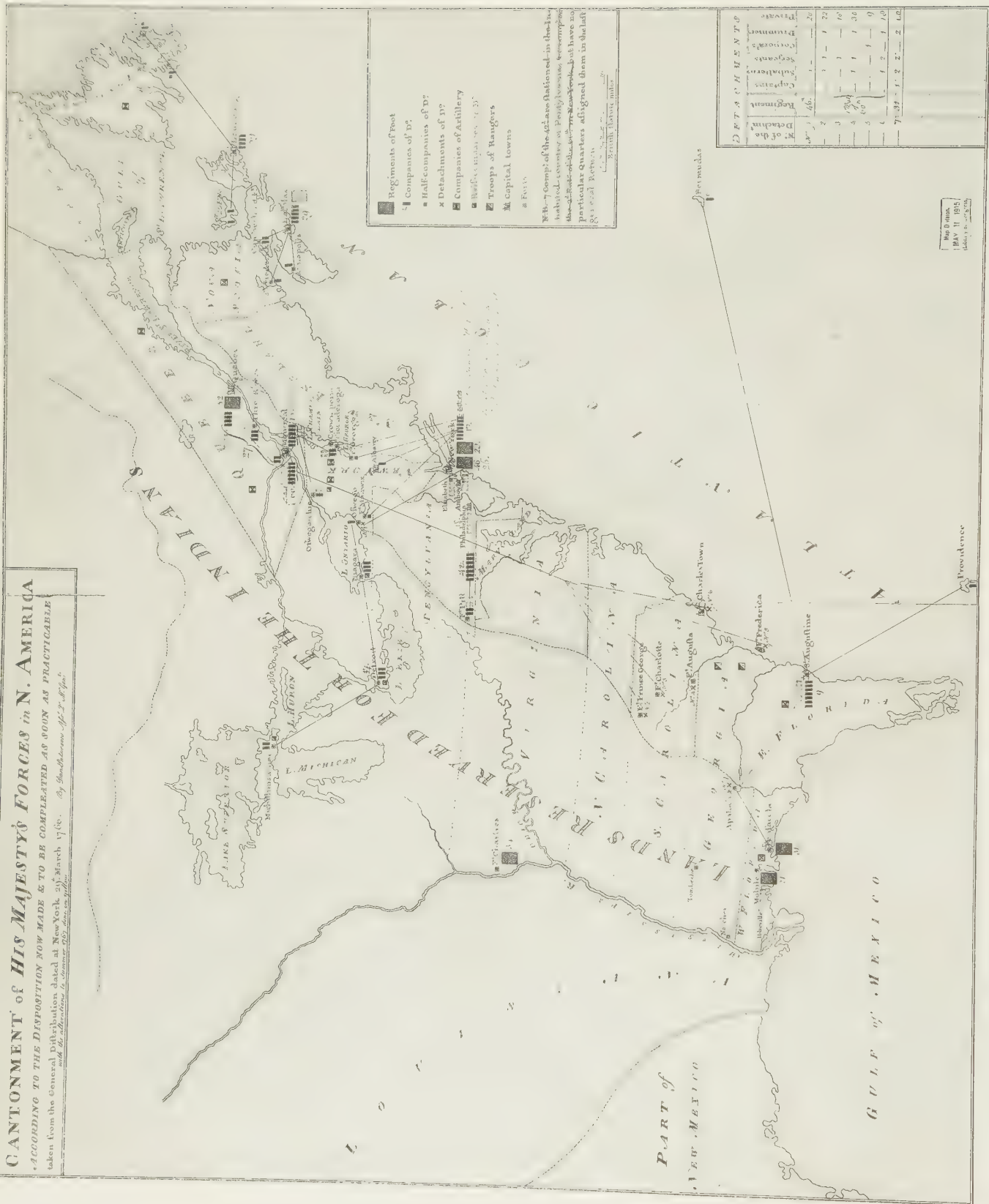
A SKETCH of the Ouabache &c from
Post Vincent to the Ohio

By
Tho. Hutchins

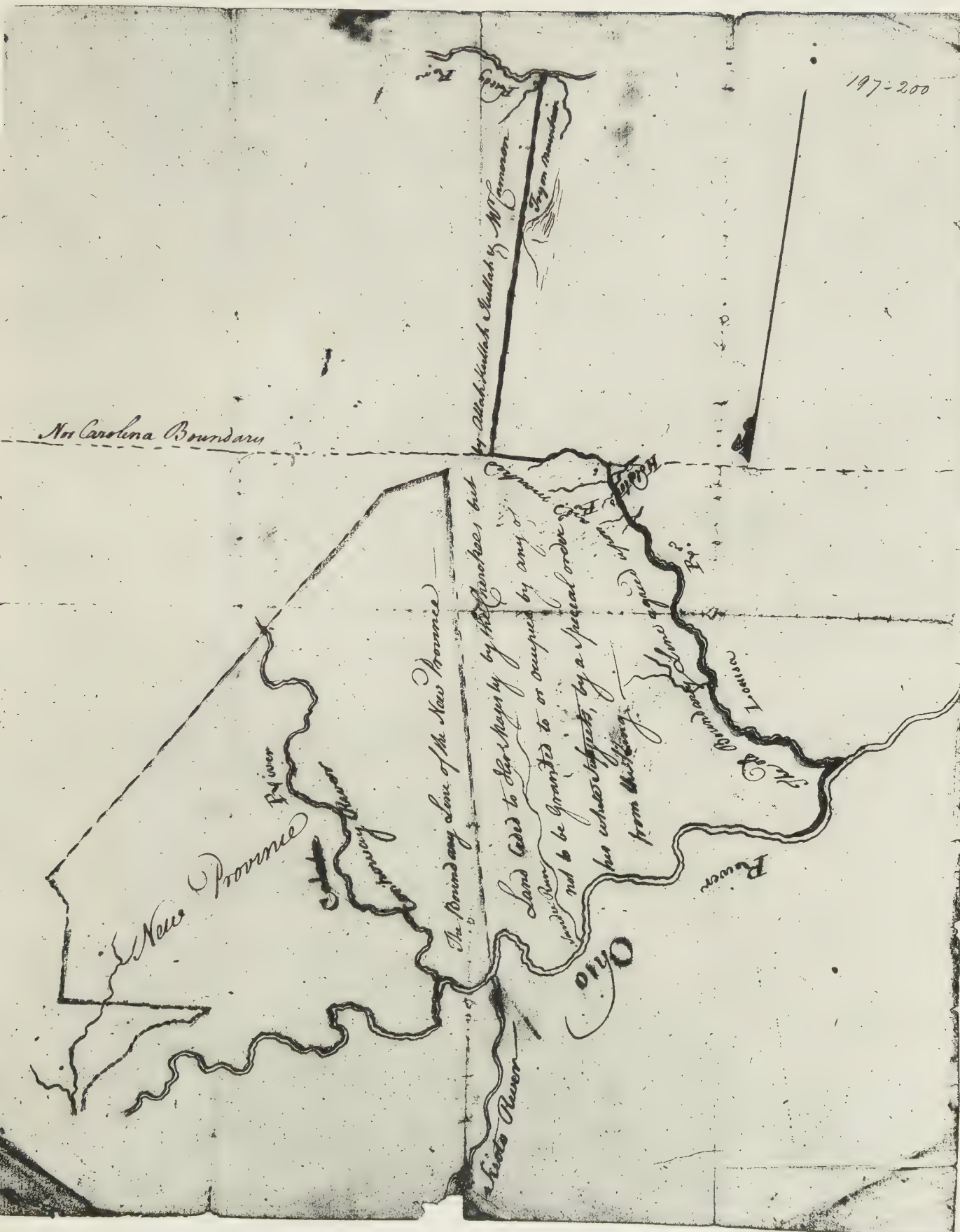


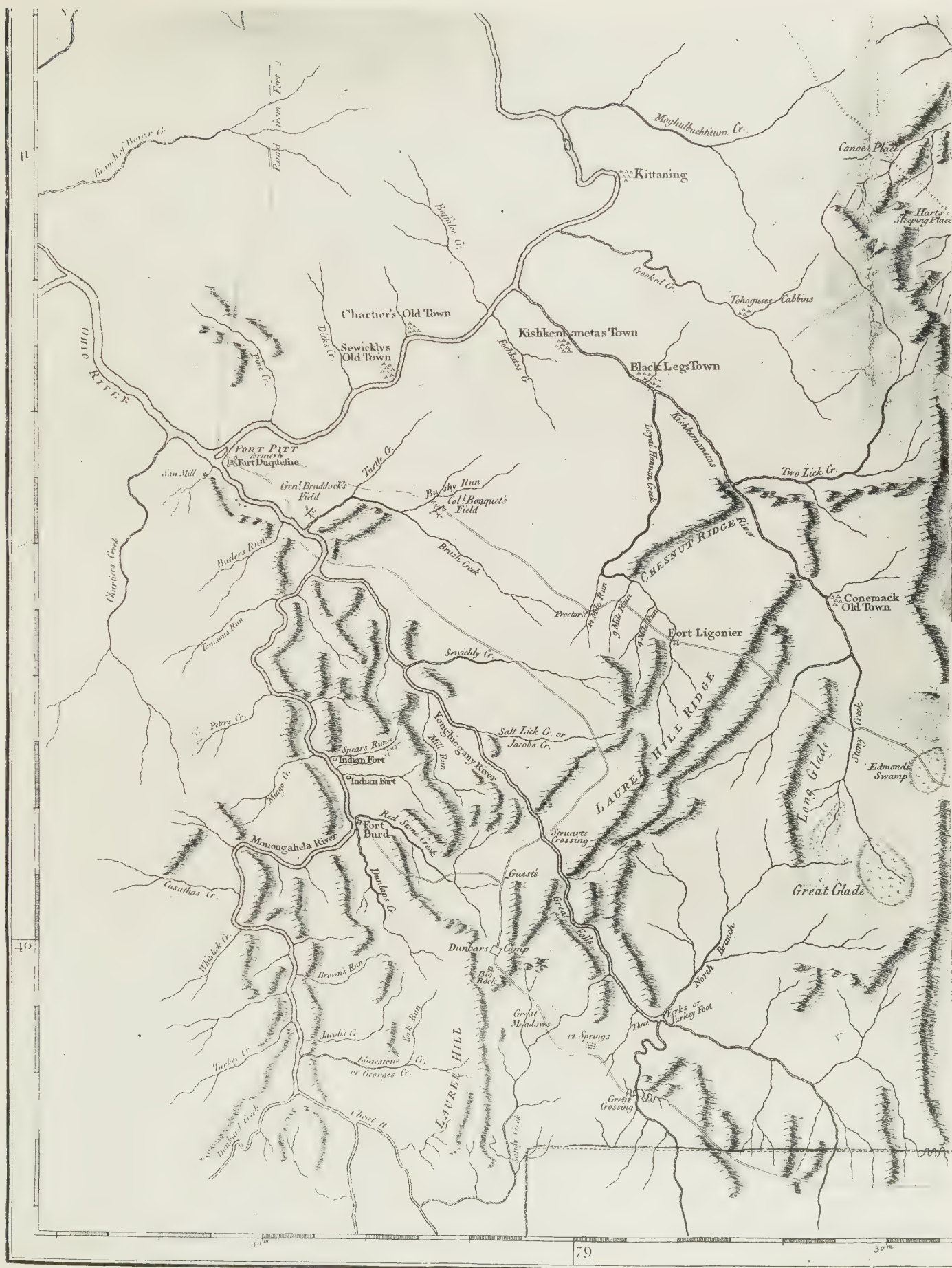


45. The printed version of Thomas Hutchins' maps of the Ohio country. 1766



46. Captain Dan Patterson's map of the disposition of British troops in North America. 1767





49. The frontiers of Pennsylvania laid down by Nicolas Scull. London, 1775.



50. John Montresor's map of the upper Ohio River made about 1776.





52. A sketch of the new states proposed by Jefferson and others, 1783-84.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MAPS

FRONT ENDPAPER

BELLIN, JACQUES NICOLAS

1744

Carte de la Louisiane cours du Mississipi et pays voisins. Dediée à M. le Comte de Maurepas, Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat, Commandeur des Ordres du Roy. Par N. Bellin, Ingenieur de la Marine, 1744.

22 x 15½ inches. Printed map.

This interesting map appeared in Vol. II of the *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France*, written by the Jesuit who signed himself P. Fr. X. de Charlevoix, Paris, 1744. The complete work, in three volumes, is a splendid example of historical writing in the best tradition, embellished with maps compiled by one of the best geographers and hydrographers of the age. The narrator of the *Histoire*, Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, was preeminent among the later writers on American history. As a learned scholar and traveller, Father Charlevoix had access to contemporary materials that were not available to all scholars and writers, "of which he made careful use." Unlike Hennepin, he sorted and sifted information and did not allow his imagination to run away with him. And in spite of the fact that he wrote about events that occurred some years before his time, his writings carry considerable weight and authority because of their tested accuracy and obvious sincerity. As one of his biographers wrote, "Access to State papers, and the archives of the religious order to which he belonged, experience and skill as a practised writer, a clear head and an ability to analyze, arrange, and describe, fitted him for his work."

It was a happy set of circumstances that brought together the talents of Charlevoix, the Jesuit historian, and Bellin, one of the leading geographers of France. Jacques Nicolas Bellin was a dedicated man who felt that "one day Geography would prove to be so advantageous to a knowledge of History that the two would become inseparable." In regard to the maps he compiled for the *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France*, Bellin had something to say. Like many another map maker, he made claims for the superiority of his work, but he did not damn his predecessors as hard as some. And Nicolas Bellin had a right to claim that his general map of *Louisiane* was different from all the others that had been compiled. He also had a right to feel that it was superior in many respects to the productions of other map makers.

In commenting on the earlier maps of New France and Louisiana, Bellin stated that even though it was not his purpose to criticize them, he was obliged to conclude that most of them were so inaccurate, "so far from the truth," that they merited little attention. He went on to say that he was unable to refrain from criticizing the English map in twenty sheets compiled by Henry Popple and published some years before. This map, because of its gigantic size and

the enormous amount of detail it contained, had enjoyed a fine reputation, and was generally considered accurate and dependable. However, he, Nicolas Bellin, was constrained to report that it was not accurate or dependable, and he could prove it on his own map of the region—which he proceeded to do.

The compilation and editing that went into Bellin's map represent a tremendous amount of research based on sound knowledge, and the result is proportionate to the work involved. The man was a trained geographer and hydrographer, and the first to hold a government position in the engineering department of the French Marine. He was *Première Géographe* of the Marine and of the *Dépôt des Cartes et Plans*, charged with the duty of supplying maps and charts of all the known coasts and harbors of the world to his government. He and his co-workers performed this task with considerable zeal, and the maps and charts produced by the French Marine were both voluminous and amazingly accurate. The fact that most of their publications were strictly nautical and designed for seafaring men, atlases such as the *Atlas Maritime* and the *Hydrographie Française*, merely emphasizes the remarkable quality of the information compiled by Bellin for his map of *Louisiane*. To be sure, he had access to the official documents: the journals, diaries, sketches, maps, and charts of the earlier explorers. But it must also be said that like Father Charlevoix, he used his material with discrimination and with a practiced eye. The result is a compendium of information about the interior of North America such as had not been compiled before. The geographical outlines are faulty; the courses of the rivers are not true; but the notes which almost crowd the map are invaluable source material.

There is, for example, his now famous note in regard to Big Bone Lick, which reads, "*Endroit ou on a trouvé des os d'Elephant en 1729.*" Who found the bones in the first place is a question that has not been answered.

There are many printed references to Bellin and his maps. In addition to the French biographical dictionaries and the technical publications that have been published in France, the reader will find lists of Bellin's atlas publications in Phillips: *A list of geographical atlases*, Vol. IV; Tooley's *Maps and Map-makers*; Lowery's *A descriptive list* (N.376 and 368). There is no complete list of Bellin's maps and atlas publications, at least in print, but he says that all of them were deposited in the Marine archives. Other references to Bellin will be found in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vols. IV, V, especially Bellin's contribution to the *Histoire et description* of Father Charlevoix.

ORIGINAL IN THE PEABODY INSTITUTE LIBRARY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

BACK ENDPAPER

JOSHUA FRY & PETER JEFFERSON

1775

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 1775. London, Printed for Robt Sayer at No. 53 in Fleet Street, & Thos Jefferys at the corner of St Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, London.

50 x 31 inches. Printed map.

This important map was compiled by two distinguished gentleman surveyors. They finished it in 1751. However, proofs from the engraved plates were not pulled until after March, 1752, and sometime before January, 1755. Like the maps of Lewis Evans, Thomas Hutchins, and John Mitchell, this document had a long and checkered career. And like the others, it was altered several times by the compilers and the publishers, and was “adapted” and otherwise utilized by competitors who were obliged to lean on it in the absence of better information. As Coolie Verner points out, there were “multiple derivatives produced between the day it first came from the press and the year 1800.” Many of these are hard to trace because of the fact that the original map base was so altered, for better or worse, that plagiarism or piracy would be impossible to establish.

Joshua Fry was a gentleman and a scholar. He was educated at Oxford, England, and after coming to this country was made professor of mathematics at William and Mary College. He became a member of the House of Burgesses in Virginia and served on the commission to determine the Virginia and North Carolina boundary line. He learned the country and the ways of Indians. When he and his partner, Peter Jefferson, surveyed the Fairfax Line, Joshua Fry was the senior surveyor with the title of commissioner for the Crown.

Peter Jefferson, an able surveyor and one of the leading citizens of Shadwell and later Tuckahoe in Goochland, might have lived and died without distinction and would have been relegated to oblivion except for two splendid accomplishments. He was co-author of a fine map that served its country well for more than fifty years. He also sired and successfully raised a son named Thomas, who benefited from the many things his father taught him, including the value of a liberal education and a knowledge of surveying. The son later became one of the most distinguished presidents of the United States.

Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson were selected by Acting-Governor Lewis Burwell as the two “most proper and best qualified” men to draw a map of the interior of the country and the inhabited part of Virginia, in accordance with an order issued by the Lords of Trade dated July 19, 1750. The idea for such a map had been proposed twelve years earlier by Joshua Fry, Robert Brooke, and William Mayo. In fact, Governor William Gooch had strongly advocated the project; but like many another mapping enterprise it was turned down by the government, presumably because of the exorbitant cost involved, and perhaps because there seemed to be little likelihood of the back country beyond the mountains ever growing up to amount to anything, anymore than the Ohio Valley would ever produce anything but large farms and enough “minerals” to supply a limited demand.

After the map was completed and a report was submitted to the Council, the work was formally approved, and each of the surveyors was voted £150 sterling for his expenses and trouble. Virginia finally had a map of herself, and one that compared favorably with the best that had been made of any of the American colonies. Sometime between 1752, when the map was formally accepted by the home government, and 1754, the first impressions were pulled from the engraved plates.

The sins of omission on the Fry and Jefferson map are readily apparent, especially to anyone interested in the mapping of the Ohio River and its Valley. But if one bears in mind that the geography depicted in the northwestern area represents the knowledge or interest of most

Virginians as of the year 1750, it is not surprising to find an Ohio River that meanders across the top of the early issues of the map, devoid of place names along its banks, and one that is labelled "Allegany or Ohio River." Moreover, the authors wrote that "Maps differ much in the Longitude and Latitude of the Lakes, and whether Lake Erie in this Map is in its proper Situation or not must be left to further Discoveries." In the eyes of most Virginians, their colony was plenty big enough, and someone else could survey the hinterland. The push to the Ohio had not yet begun.

The publication of the Fry and Jefferson map was an important event, but the revised editions, beginning in 1755, were even more so. The most significant changes in the map are to be found on the upper left sheet, where many important details have been added. The Ohio River no longer meanders aimlessly across the top. Some of its branches are shown and have acquired names; and the Forks, which were almost lost at the top of the plate, are nevertheless there, to the west of the Pennsylvania boundary line, as well as a note indicating a "Fort taken in 1754 called by the French F. du Quesne." Other important additions to the upper left corner of the map are (1) A note stating that "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." (2) A table of distances and a note stating that "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. [Signed] J. Dalrymple—London, Jan^y ye 1st 1755." In short, geographical information was now catching up with political events.

It is difficult to select the most *important* edition of the Fry and Jefferson map. Each change that was made on the plates was either for the correction and improvement of geographical information, or one that would illustrate a change in colonial affairs—both political and military. A thorough review of the map and its various editions will be found in *The Fry & Jefferson Map of Virginia and Maryland*, Published for the University of Virginia by Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1950. This work, ably edited by Coolie Verner, will give the reader additional references to the map.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN W. GARRETT LIBRARY, THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

1. [JACQUES MARQUETTE, S. J.] [1673–1674]

[A map of the western waters of the Great Lakes, including part of Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, the Mississippi and the mouth of the Ohio River.]

13½ x 18½ inches. Manuscript map.

This map, crude as it may seem, is an important document, the end result of much plotting and planning on the part of French officialdom in Canada. And it may well be the earliest map extant to show, in any shape or form, the Ohio River. Only a section of it is reproduced, but it is the important part so far as this story is concerned.

Jean Talon, intendant of Canada, was full of ideas and projects for the betterment of the colony. He was well-informed on the geography and politics of North America and determined to learn more about the interior of the country. Of primary importance was the Great River, the Father of Waters known to the Indians but undiscovered by Europeans. "Talon was resolved

to find the Mississippi, the most interesting object of search, and seemingly the most attainable. . . ." The Indians had described it; the Jesuits were eager to discover it; and La Salle, if he had not reached it, had explored two of several avenues by which it might be approached.

The actual "discovery" of the Great River has been recounted many times. The two men who made the journey and the discovery had much in common: Louis Jolliet, who had been trained for the priesthood and decided to become a trader and explorer instead, and Father Jacques Marquette, a devout missionary who welcomed any opportunity to preach and teach. "I came to this country," he wrote, "to obtain from God the favor of being enabled to visit the nations on the river Mississippi. . . . this very day was precisely that on which M. Joliet arrived with orders from Count Frontenac, our governor, and from M. Talon, our intendant, to go with me on this discovery. I was all the more delighted at this good news, because I saw my plans about to be accomplished, and found myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of these tribes; and especially of the Illinois, who, when I was at Point St. Esprit, had begged me very earnestly to bring the word of God among them."

Marquette lived to see his dream come true. History does not say how much of Christianity he was able to impart to the Indians he and his companion encountered along the route, but he did find the Mississippi. Armed with all the information they could glean from the natives, Marquette, Jolliet, and their guides explored the Great River, from the mouth of the Wisconsin southward almost to the mouth of the Arkansas River. There they were told that it would be dangerous to go farther, because of the Spaniards, who were as much to be feared as hostile Indians.

Turning back, the explorers eventually came to the mouth of the Ohio, and some accounts say they explored it as far as the rapids. Regardless of how far up they paddled, they put La Belle Rivière on the map, this map, possibly for the first time. Although Father Marquette was neither an artist nor a cartographer, his rough map of the country he and his companion traversed and of the waterways they explored is the only known autograph record of the expedition. Jolliet lost all of his belongings, including his journal and any maps he may have made, on the return voyage to Montreal, after leaving Marquette.

For a discussion of this map, see Parkman: *La Salle and the discovery of the Great West*. Boston, 1879, pp. 451 ff. For a fine reproduction of the map, one of many, see Sara Jones Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Plate V.

ORIGINAL IN COLLEGE SAINTE-MARIE, MONTREAL, QUEBEC.

2. JOLLIET, LOUIS

[1674]

Nouvelle decouverte de plusieurs nations dans la Nouvelle France en l'année 1673 et 1674.

35 x 26½ inches. Manuscript map.

This is a section from one of the most famous and controversial maps in American history. Jolliet (or Joliet) was born in Quebec in 1645, the son of a wagonmaker in the service of the Company of the Hundred Associates, who claimed to own Canada. He was a promising scholar who was taught by the Jesuits. He was destined to become a priest, but by the time he was twenty-one he had decided to become an explorer and fur trader instead. Just beyond the

limits of Quebec was enough wilderness to attract a young man interested in adventure, and there he found it. A young man of more than average intelligence, well educated and interested in exploration, was not common in the community, and Jolliet found himself in demand as an emissary and investigator of a country far removed from civilization. Among other forays, Jolliet was sent by Talon to explore the copper deposits of Lake Superior.

On his several missions in behalf of church and state, Jolliet saw more of the country than most men then living, and because of his education and later training it is logical to assume that he made many maps, large and small. However, few of them have survived, and about these there is considerable dispute.

This beautiful manuscript embodies all that Jolliet knew about the country, or that part of it which he thought would interest his superior officer and the governor of the French possessions. Enclosed in a heavily bordered cartouche is his letter to Le Comte de Frontenac, summarizing briefly the information on the map, descriptions that he would expand in a complete journal of his explorations. Besides the Indian nations he had located and the iron deposits he had found, there was something far more important: a river that discharged from the West into the Rivière Buade or Mississippi that was said to lead to La Mer Vermeille, the Gulf of California. From there, he thought, it was clear sailing to Japan and China.

Whether or not this map is an original manuscript in the handwriting of Jolliet is a point that will probably never be settled. The information contained in his letter corresponds in all respects with the information on the map proper. And it is doubtful whether a competitor would have bothered to reproduce in holograph a letter which claimed so much for the man who wrote it. For a complete bibliography on the map and its author, see Sara Jones Tucker: *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Plate IV.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

3. [HUGUES RANDIN]

[1672-1682]

Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale Depuis l'embouchûre de la Rivière St. Laurens jusques au Sien Mexique.

41 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Manuscript map.

This beautiful and important map, attributed to Hugues Randin (or Raudin), has been the subject of a great deal of research by the best writers of American history. Randin was a French engineer and cartographer who served under Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac. On April 9, 1672, Frontenac replaced Siegneur de Courcelles as governor and lieutenant general in Canada and other parts belonging to New France. Courcelles, in the summer of 1673 visited the territory around Lake Ontario, and suggested to Frontenac the wisdom of establishing a fort on the lake. Frontenac saw the point and did some exploring of his own, with the aid of Iroquois guides. In a beautiful bay, not far from the River Katarakoui, so called by the Indians, Frontenac decided to build his fort. Sicur Randin was ordered to lay out and trace the proposed clearing, which he did forthwith. And as was customary, the new fortress was named Fort Frontenac. Its site is generally believed to be not far from the present town of Lisbon, in St. Lawrence County, New York, at the head of the rapids of the St. Lawrence.

Randin's general map of North America, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico is, of course, a compilation of all the information he could glean from explorers, traders, and Indians about a land which was poorly known. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable achievement in cartography. His choice of place names is interesting. The territory that might be considered as "Northwest of the Ohio River" is the territory of *Frontenacie*, and the Great River, or Mississippi, is called the *Rivière Buade*. Joliet may have been responsible for these names, but obviously Count Frontenac was not overlooked.

Being one of the most important maps in the history of the nation, the Randin map has not been neglected: its date, the circumstances under which it was made, have fascinated scholars for many years. For further information on the subject the reader will do well to consult Sara Jones Tucker: *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, p. 3, and Plate VI, which give an excellent reproduction of the entire map, an exhaustive discussion on its origin, and a list of the numerous published works which have been written about it.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY.

4. FRANQUELIN, JEAN BAPTISTE

[1682?]

Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale et partie de la Meridionale depuis l'embouchière de la Rivière St Laurens, jusques à l'Isle de Cayenne, avec les nouvelles découvertes de la Rivière Missisipi [*sic*] ou Colbert.

60 x 57½ inches. Manuscript map.

This is a greatly reduced section (the northwest quadrant) of a map which by any standards of map making would be considered beautiful. Its authorship has been questioned as well as the date it was made, but it is an important document in the cartographic history of the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys.

Jean Baptiste Franquelin was an able cartographer and an expert draftsman. According to his biographer, the late Jean Delanglez, Franquelin never ventured farther west than Montreal, but he was nevertheless responsible for more maps of North America, both general and regional, than any other map maker of the seventeenth century. His status as a cartographer in Canada varied from year to year and from governor to governor. He was a trader by inclination, but apparently he was not too much of a success in business because he turned to map making as a source of livelihood, and at a very small salary. But he was soon recognized as one of the very few able cartographers in Canada. Governor Denonville wrote that Franquelin was a very useful man to have around. He could teach writing, drawing, arithmetic, and navigation, not to mention his qualifications as a map maker.

Franquelin had the map which Jolliet drew from memory after his historic journey down the Mississippi with Marquette. For a time he worked on the maps sketched by La Salle, and in 1692, he served as Cadillac's draftsman. Apparently Franquelin worked for the government in an official or semiofficial capacity for nearly twenty years, copying for the home government and Louis XIV the latest findings of the explorers and military men of Canada, in a style which could be readily understood by the court of France. His sources of information are still the subject of loud debate, and in view of the fact that geographical information about discoveries

in the New World was generally "classified," it is not surprising that Franquelin and other map makers did not state their authorities.

In addition to the beautiful workmanship and the attempted portrayal of topographical detail on this map, it has many interesting place names that are seldom seen on other maps of the period. They are a mixture of French and Indian names, selected, not at random, but on the basis of the latest information brought in by explorers and traders. Franquelin did not approve of this mixture of names, and said so in a memoir written for the perusal and education of his government. He advocated that all of New France be divided into "provinces" and that proper French names be given them, "as well as to rivers and settlements, doing away with all Indian names, which only create confusion, because they change very often, and because each tribe names places and rivers in its tongue, so that one and the same thing always has several different names."

The Mississippi River ends abruptly just below the mouth of the Ohio, indicating to Parkman and other authorities that the compiler did not have any information about the voyage of La Salle down the Great River. Therefore it has been assumed that the map was made either in 1682 or 1683.

This and other extant maps made by or under the direction of Franquelin have been the subject of a great deal of research. For further information about them, see Henry Harrisse: *Notes pour servir à l'histoire . . . de la Nouvelle France, 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872; also C. C. Baldwin: "Early Maps of Ohio and the West," being No. 25 of the *Tracts* of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, 1875. Justin Winsor, in his *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. IV credits Parkman: *La Salle and the discovery of the great west*, as the source of most of his valuable information. Parkman describes this map on p. 455 of the above work. A comprehensive list of Franquelin's maps can be found in Woodbury Lowery's *A descriptive list of maps of the Spanish possessions*, pp. 175-180. In recent years Father Jean Delanglez has produced a great deal of new information about Franquelin and his maps, all of which can be found in issues of *Mid-America*, especially in Vol. XXV, New Series, Vol. XIV, No. 1. January, 1943. ORIGINAL IN ARCHIVES DU DÉPÔT DES CARTES ET PLANS DE LA MARINE. PARIS, FRANCE. MANUSCRIPT COPY IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

5. [CORONELLI, VINCENZO MARIA]

[1688]

America Settentrionale colle nuoue scoperte fin all'Anno 1688. Piuisa nelle sue parti Secondo lo Stato presente, e descritta dal P. Mro Coronelli M. C., Cosmografo, della Serenis: ^{ma} Repub: ^{ca} di Venezia.

7 x 16½ inches. Engraved map.

This reproduction is a slightly enlarged section of one of the gores that make up the elaborate globe of Coronelli. It shows one of the most attractive maps of America produced in the seventeenth century and one of the relatively few maps of geographical consequence produced in Italy during that period. Coronelli is called a Venetian Conventual friar by his biographers as well as a member, and later general, of his Franciscan order. He was a celebrated mathematician and cosmographer and professor of geography to the Republic of Venice. He also founded the

Academie Cosmografia Degli Argonauti at the Franciscan Monastery of Gran Casa del Ferrari.

Biographical sketches in several languages have been written about Coronelli, and a comparison of these brings out several conflicting reports about him, and his first two names. But as Woodbury Lowery noted some years ago, in spite of the fact that Coronelli signed his own name to his maps as Vincenzo Maria, and should be presumed to be the principal authority on the subject, biographers have called him "Marco Vincenzo." However, it is generally agreed that during his career this fine geographer was responsible for more than 400 maps and 50 globes. This is the essential part of the story.

Of all these cartographic productions, his most famous were the terrestrial and celestial globes commissioned by Cardinal d'Estrées in 1680. The two globes, measuring "douze pieds de diamètre," were later presented to His Majesty Louis XIV. These globes, first installed at Marly, later became familiarly known as the *globes de Marly*. The terrestrial globe was eventually published in two forms: as a series of globe gores in his atlas called *Atlante Veneto*, and as a map, on a different projection, and engraved on two sheets, each measuring $18\frac{1}{8} \times 23\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Both the map and the globe gores were published many times.

The presentation of Coronelli's globes took place in 1683, according to most authorities; and it is also generally conceded that the information engraved on the terrestrial globe furnished the basis for most of his other maps and globes. Like all other ambitious mapping enterprises, the Coronelli globe was a compilation of information gleaned from many sources. The author was acquainted with the foremost geographers of France, and one of his principal sources of information on the Mississippi Valley and surrounding country, according to Father Delanglez, was the *Relation Officielle*, describing the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi by La Salle. But there were several others who contributed to his knowledge.

Geography and cartography had come to be an international enterprise, and willy-nilly, the men who made the maps had to pool their resources, regardless of political or religious affiliations, in order to stay in business. Coronelli had friends in France, not only among the map makers and publishers, but among the churchmen who were both ardent spiritual leaders and scientific scholars. Among these were Abbé Bernou and Abbé Renaudot, who supplied him with much valuable information in regard to the wilds of North America. Among the unsung who gave Coronelli ideas about how to make a map palatable and interesting, were Theodore De Bry, a clever publisher of picture books, and John White, "the first American artist" who supplied the human interest in the form of Indian scenes depicting life as it was supposed to be lived in North America: the shaping of boats from burned-out logs, the method of slaughtering fish that could be whales or swordfish, and the design and construction of an Indian village. The essential geography of the region is elementary and faulty, including the Ohio River, which Coronelli was not sure about and so indicated its course with double dotted lines.

The references on Coronelli and his work are numerous. Two of the most comprehensive studies will be found first in Woodbury Lowery: *A descriptive list of maps . . .* No. 177, which in turn supplies various biographical and bibliographical references. Second, the reader should consult P. Lee Phillips: *A list of geographical atlases in the Library of Congress*, Vol. I, No. 521. Additional notes on the maps and globes of Coronelli are supplied by Sara Jones Tucker, as well as a handsome facsimile of Coronelli's map of 1688, in her *Indian Villages*, Plates IX, X,

and text. There one will find a summary of the latest studies made by Father Jean Delanglez.

This particular gore is reproduced from one of fifty plates of the Coronelli globe (each gore on a separate plate) in his *Globi diversi del P. Coronelli* 1690.

ORIGINAL IN YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

6. FRANQUELIN, JEAN BAPTISTE LOUIS

[1688]

Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale depuis le 25: jusqu'au 65^e deg. latt. & environ 140: & 235 deg. de longitude. Contenant les pays de Canada ou Nouvelle France, la Louisiane, la Floride, Virginie, Nlle. Suede, Nle. Yorc, Nlle. Angleterre, Acadie, Isle de Terre-neuve &c . . .

40 x 63½ inches. Manuscript map.

This is a section, greatly reduced, of a manuscript map which Franquelin obviously considered one of his cartographic masterpieces, regardless of later critics and historians. The fact is indicated by the long, running title he gave to the map, only part of which is reproduced above. He had been elevated to the post of hydrographer to the King, after years of faithful service for which he was only poorly compensated. Now he was able to state with conviction that this map was a most accurate one, based on the personal observations he, himself, had made during more than sixteen years of service in the government, working on orders of the various governors of Canada. And he wished to point out that it was executed primarily for them and their instruction. He also informed his readers that he had given the utmost attention to the journals and diaries of explorers who had travelled the country during the years he had been working in Quebec.

This is an elegant map in every respect, brilliantly colored and highly ornamental. In spite of its lack of geographical accuracy and its dearth of information in certain regions, including the Ohio River Valley, it is a fascinating production. Lowery (No. 190) and other scholars have noted that Franquelin tended to "magnify" the territory belonging to France "to the evident detriment of the English." This is without doubt a true statement and one which could be made about more than one English or American map maker who was a faithful civil servant drawing his pay from the government.

Father Delanglez notes two maps made by Franquelin in 1688 (Nos. 17, 18) which are similar but not identical. Both manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique, according to Delanglez. Lowery notes them in the "Bibliothèque du Dépôt des cartes et plans de la marine." The reproduction in this volume is from a faithful manuscript copy, in color, of the original in Paris.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

7. [LOUVIGNY, LOUIS DE LA PORTE DE]

[1697]

Carte du fleuve Missisipi [*sic*] avec les noms des peuples qui l'habitent et des etablissements des Espagnols et Anglois qui en sont proches par de la porte de louuign[y]

19⅞ x 15½ inches. Manuscript map.

This is a section, representing about two-thirds of a very interesting map made by a French

engineer, either in 1697 or 1698. The background of the man who made it is as interesting as the map itself. Louvigny was a brother-in-law of Daniel Greysolon du Lhut, who in turn was a cousin of Henri de Tonty. Thanks to this happy family alliance, Louvigny did very well. He had the confidence and presumably the ear of Count Frontenac, then governor, and according to Parkman was a member of his guard.

Louvigny was an ambitious man, as well as an experienced woodsman and explorer. He and others had grandiose ideas of carrying on the work of exploration initiated by La Salle. His motives were not of the purest, because he and his cohorts had designs on the Mexican mines, and a share in the wealth they produced. His obvious interest in the location and nature of the Indian nations in the valley of the Ohio and on the Mississippi was both practical and profitable. He and his peers were sure that the Indians could be used to good advantage to drive the Spaniards out of Mexico, and in 1697, Louvigny wrote to the French Minister of the Marine to that effect. He wanted to invade and conquer Mexico from what is now Texas, a major project, to say the least.

His map is interesting in several respects. The workmanship is not up to the standard of the best maps of the period, and if Louvigny was an engineer he was poorly trained in the art of making maps. The nomenclature is a combination of French and a phonetic equivalent of Indian place names. But the multitude of Indian villages located on his map reflect his interest in the savage Americans. How much of the country he saw at firsthand is problematical, and his general layout of the country, including the River Ohio is sketchy. However, his map deserves a place with those of other explorers and adventurers in the mapping of the interior of the country.

For further information on the man and the map see Sara Jones Tucker, *Indian Villages*, Plate XIV and text.

ORIGINAL IN BIBLIOTHÈQUE SERVICE HYDROGRAPHIQUE, PARIS.

8. HENNEPIN, LOUIS

[1698]

A map of a large country newly discovered in the Northern America situated between New Mexico and the Frozen Sea, together with the course of the great river Meschasiipi. Dedicated to his Ma^{ty} William III, King of Great Britain. By Father Lewis Hennepin. Missionary Recollect and Apostolic Notary.

17 x 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Printed map.

This famous map appeared in one form or another in the various editions of Hennepin's book on Louisiana, which in turn was published under several different titles. The reproduction in this volume was made from a section of the map in Vol. I of the first English edition: *A new discovery of a vast country in America, extending above four thousand miles, between New France and New Mexico. With a description of the Great Lakes, cataracts, rivers, plants and animals:—* . . . London, 1698.

Louis Hennepin was a Franciscan Recollect friar. He was also an explorer, author, and preacher, who was born in the Flemish province of Ath. Regardless of his dedication to the Church, Father Hennepin was possessed of a superabundance of physical and mental energy, as well as a loose heel. He liked to travel. An assignment as missionary to Canada in 1675

fulfilled his fondest dreams, and off he sailed to the New World. Aboard the same ship was Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle, another man who loved to travel. La Salle was returning to Canada with supplies and trade goods for an expedition to the western parts of North America.

The chance meeting of these two men was the beginning of a long friendship guaranteed by similar interests and mutual respect for each other. La Salle negotiated the appointment of the friar as chaplain at Fort Frontenac, his seignory on Lake Ontario. And in 1678, when La Salle established a shipyard on the Niagara River above the Falls, he was there, too, as chaplain. In that post he no doubt learned a great deal about life that he did not know before. He also learned about the great cataract of Niagara, and wrote what is probably the first description of the Falls.

During the next few years Hennepin got more than he bargained for in the way of travel and adventure. In 1679 he sailed with La Salle in the good ship "Griffon" to the Illinois country. At Green Bay the ship was sent back loaded with furs, while La Salle and his men navigated Lake Michigan to the southward in canoes. The following year Hennepin and a small party explored the upper Mississippi. Captured by the Sioux, Hennepin did still more travelling and under auspices that were not of his choosing; but while a prisoner of the savages he saw in the course of time much of Wisconsin and "discovered" and named "St. Anthony's Falls" at the site of Minneapolis. Eventually Hennepin was liberated by Duluth, who took him back to Canada, and in 1682 saw him aboard a ship that was sailing to France. Father Hennepin went home loaded with experience and exciting information.

The following year Hennepin wrote and published his *Description de la Louisiane*, which was described as "the most prominent, most interesting and most minute of all the narratives of early American history." The book was a huge success, and had the author stuck to the simple facts of his discoveries and the simple truth of his personal experiences and observations, he would have gone down in history as a great explorer and narrator of the interior parts of North America. But unfortunately Hennepin was tripped up by the very qualities that made him seek and find adventure: a vivid imagination, an intellectual curiosity that knew no bounds, a profound sense of the dramatic, and a chronic inability to stick to the truth, even when the truth was strong enough. In his writings there were just too many statements and claims that were easily disproved, and the result was that Louis Hennepin was discredited, both by his contemporaries and later historians. As Bancroft wrote, "had he loved the truth, he would have gained a noble reputation, who now is remembered, not merely as a light-hearted and daring discoverer, but also as a boastful liar."

Hennepin's maps were another matter. Regardless of how they were compiled or of the information he borrowed, begged, or stole, they are generally considered "the best issued up to that time." Neatly engraved, they portray, to the best of Hennepin's knowledge or inclination, the geographical situation in North America, including the region of the Great Lakes, "The Great River Mischasipi—full of Pillicans" and the Ohio River.

Much has been written about Louis Hennepin. A bibliography of his writings was published in 1880 by John G. Shea. In addition to the standard references on American history such as Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Jared Sparks' life of La Salle, Bancroft, Parkman, and others, see Jean De Langlez: *Hennepin's Description of Louisiane*, Chicago, 1941. In 1903,

R. G. Thwaites edited Hennepin's *A new discovery*; this edition includes a biography and bibliography.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN WORK GARRETT LIBRARY.

9. LA HONTAN, BARON.

[1735]

A map of y^e Long River and of some others that fall into that small part of y^e Great River of Missisipi which is here laid down.

13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Printed map.

This is a reproduction of a map which was published off and on for more than thirty years in various forms and in several languages. This copy came out in the 1735 edition of La Hontan's *New Voyages to North America*, published in London. It deserves a niche in the cartographic history of North America if for no other reason than it perpetuated several false impressions about the Mississippi River and its tributaries, the most important of which concerned the existence of the River Long, a river that was never located.

Armand Louis de Londarce, Baron de la Hontan, was a Gascon, born about 1667. He was a professional traveller and adventurer, according to his biographers, and did not entirely meet with the approval of his contemporaries, for the same reason that the good Friar Hennepin lost caste among the historians who read and appraised his writings. He did not always adhere to the truth.

La Hontan arrived in Canada, probably as a private soldier, in 1683, attached to one of the companies of marines that were sent over by Governor de la Barre against the Iroquois. Numerous assignments followed. He served with Denonville against the Senecas and was stationed successively at Chambly, Fort Frontenac, Fort Niagara, and Fort St. Joseph. He was also sent to Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay. His various other assignments in the military service pale before his claim that he discovered the *Rivière Longue*, a fantastic tributary of the Great River or Mississippi. This pronouncement was made in his two-volume history or account, published at La Haye in 1703, under the title *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amererique Septentrionale*. . . . At the time, La Hontan was on the run; he had quarrelled with his superior at Placentia, where he had served for a brief period as deputy governor. He returned home, but there he was not welcome. France proved too warm for him and he fled beyond the border. When he tried to be reinstated he failed; he had said too much, or the wrong things about his superiors.

Under the circumstances La Hontan wrote his book abroad, and because of its general tenor, historians have concluded that he deliberately falsified certain facts and fabricated more than one yarn about America. It has been said that in his book the Baron vented a good deal of spleen, and let the facts fall where they might. It was an annoying work of history, a mixture of fact and fiction that baffled his contemporaries and many a later historian. Nevertheless it was published and republished many times, revised and supposedly amended and improved each time it came out. An English edition, for example, includes a *Dialogue* between La Hontan and a Huron Indian ("The Rat") which caused quite a stir in religious circles.

La Hontan's *New Voyages* went on and on in the publishing world, and its multifarious

issues and editions, the plates and maps that were sometimes included and sometimes omitted, have given bibliographers considerable trouble. The "Mouth of Ouabach R.," for example, may or may not be the mouth of the Ohio River. No present-day authority is in a position to say. But many of the authorities who have studied the book and this map of the Mississippi region have assumed the right to question not only the course it followed, but the tributaries La Hontan drew on his map for his readers to ponder and admire.

In regard to the Long River, one of La Hontan's contemporaries wrote,

Would it not be well to efface that great river which La Hontan says he discovered? All the Canadians, and even the Governor-General, have told me that this river is unknown; if it existed, the French who are in the Illinois, and at Ouabache would know of it. The last volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes* of the Jesuits, in which there is a very fine *Relation* of the Illinois country, does not speak of it, any more than the letters which I received this year, which tell wonders of the beauty and goodness of that country.

Geographers of the eighteenth century vascilated about the dependability of La Hontan's writings and his map, but Charlevoix did not hesitate to voice his opinion of the man, supported as he was by the maps made for him by Bellin. "The great liberty which La Hontan gives his pen," wrote Charlevoix, "has contributed greatly to make his book read by people not informed to separate truth from falsehood. It fails to teach the well-informed, and confuses others. The episode of the voyage up the Long River is as fabulous as the Barataria of Sancho Panza." An interesting bibliographical and critical note on La Hontan will be found in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. IV, pp. 257-262.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN WORK GARRETT LIBRARY.

10. ANONYMOUS

c. 1710

A general map of New France. Commonly called Canada.

14 x 11 inches. Manuscript map.

This interesting map with uncommon place names and distorted geography represents one of England's earlier attempts to appraise the region of the Great Lakes and the important rivers of the interior. It was made either somewhat earlier than the date assigned to it or the man who made it was grossly misinformed in regard to the geography of the country. In the long note below the map proper the author gives his analysis of the situation with regard to trade and the possibility of improving the situation:

In our present course of Proceeding in America I am conceived [*sic*] it is impossible to bring the War to a happy Issue, or to gain the Indians over to our Interest, unless we break the Communication of the French Settlements, which may be done by Building a strong Fort at the Mouth of the River Condé; a second on the south side of the Lake Huron; and a third at the River des François: but it will be proper to begin with building a Fort at the River Condé & to have several Rowboats of Force to command the Navigation of the Lake Erie, which has a communication with the Lake Huron, & by means of those Boats we may build the Forts on the North and South sides of the Lake Huron, & also supply the Garrisons with all manner of Necessarys in Summer. The aforesaid Forts & Row Gallies built on the Lakes Erie & Huron may command the whole of the Indian Trade, & render the French Settlements of little or no service to them.

The maker of this map had the right idea, regardless of his sources of information. His "Ouabach R." may or may not be the Ohio. The mythical "Long River" featured on Hennepin's map is prominent among the geographical monstrosities in the surrounding country. The manuscript is listed in the *Crown Collection*, edited by Hulbert (Series 2, Vol. II, Kc XIX, 7, I.) ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

11. [COXE, DANIEL]

[1722]

A map of Carolana and of the River Meschacebe. (In Coxe, Daniel: *A description of the English province of Carolana* . . . London, 1726.)

16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Engraved map.

This reproduction is a section, representing approximately one-fourth of the original printed map. The man who made it or had it made was the son of Daniel Coxe (1673–1739), who got in on the ground floor when England's monarch was making lavish grants in North America to lands which had never been surveyed and where titles were in dispute between Spain and France. Dr. Coxe acquired interests in West Jersey and East Jersey between 1684 and 1686, and in 1698 he procured the assignment of Sir Robert Heath's patent to *Carolana*, which included Norfolk County, Virginia, and the English right to the Mississippi Valley west of Carolana. The precise boundaries of this grant are unimportant, because no person knew where it lay. The Heath grant, like many another, was annulled, but for years Dr. Coxe struggled for confirmation of this patent, and managed to stir up a great deal of trouble in the process.

The Louisiana, a territory described by Charlevoix as "the name which M. de La Salle gave to that portion of the country watered by the Mississippi which lies below the Illinois," was imperfectly known. There were several claimants to the region so poorly defined: France, Spain, England, and Dr. Coxe. The Doctor was determined to pursue his claim and colonize the banks of the Mississippi northward from the Gulf of Mexico. His energy and persistence, plus the appearance of La Salle in Paris, were largely responsible for the French government becoming interested in the region. As late as 1699 the French Minister of the Marine wrote "that the King does not intend at present to form an establishment at the mouth of the Mississippi, but only to complete the discovery in order to hinder the English from taking possession there."

Dr. Coxe was determined, and chartered two armed vessels to explore and survey the mouth of the Mississippi, assisted by his son Daniel, who came to America in 1702 with Lord Cornbury. The map which accompanied the published *Description of the English province of Carolana* is far from accurate, and represents a strange combination of French, English, and Indian geography, with boundaries that defy analysis. The extent of the limits of "Carolana" are not shown. The Ohio River is one of four that form a lake before flowing into the Mississippi.

For information on Daniel Coxe see G. D. Sculd in the *Penn. Mag. of History*, Vol. VII, p. 317; see also *Dictionary of National Biography*. For many of the details connected with the Carolana grant and the area as a whole, see Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. V, Chapt. 5, and notes.

ORIGINAL IN YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

12. WELLS, EDWARD

[1722]

A new map of North America shewing its principal divisions, chief cities, townes, rivers, mountains &c. Dedicated to His Highness William Duke of Glocester. [London, 1722]

14½ x 19¼ inches. Engraved map.

This reproduction is the left half of a map, slightly reduced, which first was published in the author's atlas entitled *A new sett of maps both of antient and present geography* . . . Oxford theatre, 1700. It was printed from then on, with few changes, in the various editions of the Wells atlas, and Phillips noted only a change in the lettering, which may be accounted for by a revision of the entire plate from which it was printed or a slight alteration of the title cartouche.

Edward Wells (1667–1727) was a mathematician and geographer and “the divine son of Edward Wells, Corsham, Wiltshire.” Edward Wells had a long and stormy career in the ministry and became involved in several controversies involving the Church of England. He was not only a thorough scholar but a prolific writer. He translated several religious and secular works from Greek and Latin into English. He also wrote various works on scientific subjects such as astronomy, dialling, chronology, arithmetic, and geometry. In England he was highly esteemed as a geographer and cartographer. His geographical works included historical geographies of the Old and New Testaments.

His *New Map of North America* is a bold attempt to delineate a part of the world that he and his English compatriots knew little about. The result is no better or worse than might be expected. And the map is no better or worse than most of the other maps of the interior of North America that were coming off the press. The distortion of geographical features such as mountain ranges and river courses was the rule rather than the exception. Except for a small handful of explorers who had gone over the terrain or knew some person who had, no English map maker could have done much better with the over-all picture, based as it was on conjecture, heresay evidence, and a smattering of firsthand information. Readers will enjoy picking this map apart. The “Apalachin” Range, for example, takes a broad sweep from east to west, ending somewhere in Mexico; California is an island; the Great Lakes are distorted almost beyond recognition, and the “Hotico” River meanders casually through the “Apalachin” Mountains. The discoveries north of the 45th parallel of latitude are for the most part ignored.

A reproduction of this map, reduced in size, will be found in George M. Wheeler's *Report upon United States geographical surveys west of the one hundredth meridian* . . . Washington 1889, Vol. I, p. 511.

ORIGINAL IN YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

13. ANONYMOUS

c.1730

A map of the countrey of the Five Nations belonging to the Province of New York and of the Lakes near which the nations of Far Indians live, with part of Canada, taken from the map of Louisiane done by M^r De Lisle in 1718.

13⅝ x 8⅛ inches. Manuscript map.

This manuscript is the prototype of a map which was reproduced many times in various

forms. The date is problematical and the author is unrecorded; but the original source, the map of Louisiana by William Delisle, was one of the best. The geographical outlines and the political boundaries are of course faulty, but the map as a whole shows in a general way the location of the Five or Six Nations that constituted the Iroquois League, one of the most powerful political combines in American history. It also notes the formation of a "Seventh Nation at Albany, May 30th, 1723." The territorial limits of these nations may have been clearly understood by the Indians involved and by their enemies, but in negotiations with white men they were not so easily defined. European map makers were never sure.

In spite of its rather crude workmanship, this map and the many copies which followed it represent one of the fundamental conflicts in Colonial America: control of the Great Lakes and the river valleys, meaning the control of trade. In this struggle the Indian Nations that held the land played a vital role in international politics, and both France and England resorted to every known device to enlist their support and acquire their lands. The alliance of the French with the Hurons, for example, prompted the powerful Iroquois League to unite with the English forces in a concerted effort to destroy the power of New France.

As a strategic map this manuscript was important, for it attempted to show the portages that linked the rivers and lakes of the interior. Few, if any maps of the period, showed more of them. The number of miles one had to "Carry" between navigable rivers is not indicated, but in general the routes and the approximate locations of the portages are shown. The course of the Ohio River is poorly drawn, but at the time it was poorly known.

There are many excellent references to the Five Indian Nations, including Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vols. IV, V, which includes copious notes and an extensive bibliography. A more popular treatment will be found in Lewis H. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*. Among the helpful sources of information on the portages and water routes of colonial days are Archer Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, and the *Atlas of American History*.

This manuscript map is a copy made in London for W. M. Darlington in 1882, from the original in the Public Record Office, Board of Trade Collection.

DARLINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

14. POPPLE, HENRY

1733

A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto. By Henry Popple. London, 1733.

21 sheets, each 24 x 19 inches. Engraved map.

Henry Popple's is the first large-scale printed map of North America. It was published in an unusual format, twenty-one sheets bound in the form of an atlas. The twenty sheets which constitute the map proper are double pages, while the first sheet, on one page, is a general map on a much smaller scale, of the same area. Joined, the sheets of the large map measure approximately 94 x 90 inches. A printed endorsement signed by the celebrated astronomer Edmund Halley states that the map was "laid down with great Accuracy, and to shew the Position of the different Provinces & Islands in that Part of the Globe more truly than any yet extant." Dr. Halley also notes that the map was undertaken "with the approbation" of

the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, and he assured the public that in its compilation, "great Care" was taken, "by comparing all the Maps, Charts, and Observations . . . especially the Authentick Records & Actual Surveys transmitted . . . by the Governors of the *British Plantations*, and Others, to correct the many Errors committed in former Maps." This statement was of course the standard claim made for nearly every new map, no matter where it was published. Often it represented no more than a hope and a prayer on the part of a map maker, and in the case of Edmund Halley's testimonial it was a matter of hope and the presumption that Henry Popple had explored all the geographical data available in government archives and had put it together in the best possible form. His brother was secretary to Britain's Board of Trade and Plantations.

Henry Popple finished his map in 1733 and the Board recommended to the Treasury that a copy be sent "to each government in America" and it was so voted.

Not only the map but the effort behind it was on a large scale. The time had come for England to do something about the French and their threat to British economy and the westward expansion of her colonies in North America. French traders were taking over the Mississippi Valley. Sir William Keith, governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, had written the home government as early as 1718 outlining the deplorable situation and pointing out the three most important water routes from the coast and Great Lakes to the Mississippi. He urged the government to do something about the situation. After three years Governor Keith's report was embodied in a "representation" to the king, which set forth the state of affairs in His Majesty's colonies in North America, together with "considerations for securing and enlarging the British colonies."

Henry Popple's map, when it was finally engraved and published, did not clarify the picture much. His facts were faulty and the sources of his information contributed to a badly distorted map. Three of the double-page map sheets show the Ohio Valley region, and on such a large scale, the lack of information possessed by Popple is greatly magnified. The region contains few place names or well located rivers and settlements. The small-scale map was therefore chosen for a reproduction here, as it contracts the Great Lakes area as well as the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. The political boundaries, when found, were the subject of long debate and military conflict before they were settled between England and France.

Like most important maps of the period, Popple's was reproduced in numerous editions, issues, and forms. It was published in France and Holland, with various titles and imprints attached. It could be bought in England in separate sheets or bound. Because of its impressive size and because there were so few decent maps available at the time, it gained a wide reputation as an important geographical document, in spite of its obvious shortcomings.

For information, bibliographical or otherwise, on Henry Popple, see Woodbury Lowery's account (*op. cit.*) No. 338; Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. V, p. 81.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN WORK GARRETT LIBRARY.

15. ANONYMOUS

[1747]

A map of the country of the Five Nations, belonging to the Province of New York; and of the Lakes near which the nations of Far Indians live, with part of Canada.

9 x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Printed map.

This map was published as the frontis in Cadwallader Colden's: *The history of the Five Indian nations of Canada, which are the barrier between the English and French in that part of the world* . . . London, 1747. The reproduction in this volume is from the Second Edition, London, 1750, but it is the same plate. And it is essentially the same map which was made from Guillaume Delisle's large map of Louisiana and other maps, in 1718.

Cadwallader Colden, the author of *The history of the Five Indian nations*, was a remarkable man who played an important part in the history of colonial America. He was born in Scotland and educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1705. He then spent three years studying medicine and mathematics, after which he came to this country and established himself as a medical practitioner. At the request of his friend, Governor Hunter, he moved to New York in 1718, and the following year was appointed the first surveyor-general of the province. In 1761, Lord Halifax appointed him lieutenant-governor. Colden was an ardent Loyalist as well as a scientist, and the combination of these interests resulted in his writing *The history of the Five Indian nations*. The book was an indirect plea for a better understanding of the relation of Indian affairs to English commerce, past, present, and future. First published in 1727, the book and its map were an introduction to a problem which the French had known about for some years, and one which they had solved fairly well. One learned to deal with the Indian nations or one did not trade with them. When in Indian territory the French did what the Indians did, and did it very successfully. The English, on the other hand, had to learn the hard way that when they negotiated with these American savages, they had to play the game according to long-established rules that the Indians had no intention of changing. Failing this, there was a fair possibility of good Englishmen being killed and scalped, and not necessarily in that sequence.

This course of diplomatic action was most offensive to the English, and Cadwallader Colden was one of a select group who tried to convince the home government that it was the only way to eradicate the French and at the same time gain the confidence of the powerful Indian nations that had thus far controlled the situation and the trade in North America. It was a kind of diplomacy unheard of in Britain's history, and the realization that it was the only way to win the interior of the country was slow in coming. The lesson was learned, but it was a costly one. In 1754 Edward Livingston, writing on the subject of the French intrigues with the Indians, said, "They persuade these people that the Virgin Mary was born in Paris, and that our Saviour was crucified at London by the English."

The bibliographical history of Colden's book and map, first published in 1727 by William Bradford, will be found in John G. Shea's reprint edition published in 1866. English editors trifled with the text and engravers altered the map plates. For further information on this important work, see Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. IV, pp. 299 ff; Vol. V, pp. 612 ff. ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN WORK GARRETT LIBRARY.

16. [JOHN PATTEN]

[1752]

[A map of the Ohio country showing the places in Canada west of Niagara visited by John

Patten during his captivity by the French, 1750–1751. Made by John Patten in Philadelphia, December, 1752.]

21 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Manuscript map.

This anonymous map became famous almost overnight, after resting unnoticed in the Map Division of the Library of Congress for many years. It was brought to light by Mr. Howard N. Eavenson, sponsor of this book, and made the subject of one of the most exhaustive pieces of research that has ever been done in the field of historical cartography. The results were published in *Map Maker & Indian Traders*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949.

According to our authority John Patten made at least three maps, and in the course of his map making he established the fact that the forks of the Ohio River were well within the western boundary line of Pennsylvania. He also noted the presence of coal in the province, five years before Benjamin Franklin recorded the fact. Like many of the traders and map makers of the day, Patten was an independent spirit and therefore suspect. On a trading expedition he was more or less lured to Miami Fort, in November, 1750, and found himself a prisoner of the French. Shortly after, he was taken to Detroit for further questioning. There he found himself incarcerated with three other English Indian traders who were being held for questioning. The issue, of course, was what right they had to trade in territory which belonged to France.

In Montreal the traders were again questioned at length and in great detail. They disclaimed any political motives in their operations, and assured the authorities that their business was to trade—goods of one kind and another—for skins, deer and beaver, primarily. Patten and his fellow traders were eventually shipped to France, and their confinement became the subject of considerable debate. Eventually, Patten was released and arrived in Philadelphia in 1752, where he petitioned for relief because of the hardships he had suffered during his imprisonment and the financial losses he had taken during that period. He was promptly reimbursed by the House of Representatives in the amount of thirty pounds for the distress he had suffered.

As Mr. Eavenson states, John Patten would have been remembered as one of the more able cartographers of the country if he had lived. He was a better-than-average draftsman, and by virtue of his occupation and enforced travels, saw more of the Ohio country than most traders. The reader will find other reasons for Patten's claim to some fame in the pages of Mr. Eavenson's book, especially his references to the presence of "Sea Coal" in the area. How much information about the geography of the region was borrowed or adopted by Patten we will never know.

The reader is again referred to the primary and best source of information on this map, much reduced in reproduction: Mr. Eavenson's study. Here he will find an abundance of material on the map, the man who made it, and the background of history that all but envelops it. The bibliography appended to the work as well as the long list of individuals and institutions consulted during the course of his study attest the scholarly care with which the author assembled and set down on paper his findings and conclusions.

This anonymous map was first reproduced by C. A. Hanna: *The Wilderness Trail*, 2 vols., 1910–11. A full-scale reproduction will be found folded into Howard N. Eavenson's *Map Maker & Indian Traders*, at end.

ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

[Map of the Ohio Company's lands on the Ohio River with the proposed location of a fort and settlement. Signed "G. Mercer."]

18 x 15 inches. Manuscript map.

This map is by no means a finished production, but it is one of the most informative documents of the period and about the upper Ohio River. It was made for a definite purpose: to locate specific land grants, adjacent boundaries that would help to identify these grants, and a suitable place for the Ohio Company's headquarters in the Ohio. George Mercer, the author, was the son of John Mercer of Marlboro, who served in the Virginia Militia. On orders issued by the commanding officer, dated October 5, 1755, he was appointed aide-de-camp to Colonel Washington. Mercer had a long career in the armed forces, and was lieutenant colonel of the Second Virginia Regiment. He became a burgess in 1761, and went to England in 1763 as agent for the Ohio Company. In 1767 he was appointed lieutenant governor of North Carolina.

The map of the Ohio was made in the early days of Mercer's career as a military man and land agent. As an agent of the old Ohio Company and a surveyor Mercer did his duty, made his extensive observations, and drew his map. He looked at the situation from the standpoint of an interpreter for an important trading company, always having an eye on the possibility of intrusion by an enemy, whether white or red. His conclusions are shown in the long notes on his map, half of which are written on the back of it, and his description of a proposed site that would be accessible to the river and also defensible is eloquent in its simplicity.

It is a Plain about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile in Length and $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile in Breadth, bounded on the North by a very high Hill (where the Fort is to be built) on the Southward and East by Shurtees [Chartier's] Creek, on the Eastward and West by the Ohio River which runs round this Hill.

This Hill is a very fine Situation for a Fort, being very Steep on the North and South sides, the River running at the Foot of it on the North side as it does at the East End which is inaccessible [*sic*], being near 100 Feet High and large Rocks jutting one over the other to the Top. The West End has a gradual Descent down to the River.

As if to help confirm his own impression of this site, Mercer added "There has been an Indian Fort there some Years ago. The Ditch is now to be seen. Here the Indians always fled upon an alarm, as it was reckoned [*sic*] the strongest Fort they had, several thousands have lost their lives in the Attack of it, but it never was yet taken." The site is identified by Charles Morse Stotz (*Drums in the Wilderness*, p. 122) as "the hill just below Brunot's Island, which terminates in the rocky cliff from which McKees Rocks took its name." Archaeologists have since corroborated Mercer's statement in regard to the early settlement of this "natural acropolis" by Indians as early as 1,000 B.C. Apparently these very early settlers of the Ohio were more impressed by the protection against high water that the hill afforded, not to mention the commanding view from the top, than were later settlers, who selected the lowland of the Point as a likely place for a fort and still later for a city.

Among those who disagreed with George Mercer and the Indians who flourished long before his day was George Washington, who had more than a passing interest in the location of a site for the frontier headquarters of the Ohio Company. He was a landowner and prospective buyer.

He was also interested from the standpoint of a soldier, and when he was faced with the problem of appraising the region for his superior officer, Governor Dinwiddie, he took a stand. In November of 1753, on his celebrated journey to Fort Le Boeuf to deliver what was supposed to be an ultimatum to the French commander, Washington "spent some Time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Forks," which he thought was "extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water; and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it, very convenient for Building."

The day after Washington made his appraisal of the land at the Forks he went down stream.

About two miles from this, on the South East Side of the River, at a Place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a Fort . . . as I had taken a good deal of Notice Yesterday of the Situation at the Forks, my Curiosity led me to examine this [McKees Rocks site] more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages: especially the latter: For a Fort at the Forks would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire Command of the Monongahela; which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well designed for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep still Nature. Besides a Fort at the Fork might be built at a much less Expence than at the other Place.

Washington was fully aware of the virtues of the McKees Rocks site:

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill whereon it must stand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then descending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expensive, to make a sufficient Fortification there;—The whole Flat upon the Hill must be taken-in, the Side next the Descent made extremely high, or else the Hill itself cut away: Otherwise the Enemy may raise Batteries within the Distance without being exposed to a single Shot from the Fort.

This map, as well as the reams of correspondence between people who were interested in the settlement of the Forks, was responsible for the construction of Fort Prince George, built by a small force under the command of Captain William Trent in the spring of 1754.

References: *Writings of Washington*, Vols. I, III; *The George Mercer Papers, relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia; Drums in the Forest*, pp. 124 ff.

This reproduction, reduced in size, is a faithful copy of Mercer's manuscript, and was made in 1882 by J. A. Burt for W. M. Darlington of Pittsburgh.

ORIGINAL IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON.

18. [WASHINGTON, GEORGE]

[1754?]

[A sketch map of the country traversed by George Washington in 1753–1754 between Cumberland, Maryland and Fort Le Boeuf, at Waterford, Pennsylvania, showing parts of the "Potomack" the "Menongehela," the Forks of the Ohio and French Creek.]

11 x 18 inches. Manuscript map.

There are at least three versions of this map, and two of them are in the unmistakable handwriting of G. Washington. One of them is entirely his, and the one reproduced in this volume was annotated by him, even though he may have had one of his surveyors fill in some of the background. Regardless of the date this sketch was made, it is most evident that Washington

was pioneering a route that became a major highway in the Ohio Valley. Of course he had help and the benefit of experienced men who knew the country and how to get from place to place. In his *Journal*, recounting his journey to Fort Le Boeuf, Washington noted that he picked up baggage and horses at "Wills-Creek," where he arrived on November 14, 1753. And he added that "Here I engaged Mr. [Christopher] Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as serviteurs, *Barnaby Currin*, and *John Mac-Quire*, Indian Traders, *Henry Steward*, and *William Jenkins*; and in Company with these Persons, left the Inhabitants the Day following."

Christopher Gist, Indian scout, was the key man in the expedition, insofar as knowledge of the country was concerned. What qualifications the other men had, we do not know. Gist had worked for the Ohio Company, as scout and surveyor. He knew the country well, and that same year (1753) had established a plantation near the Youghiogheny River. Gist was Washington's guide and no doubt his principal source of information about the country.

The legend or note on the map, enclosed in a scroll-like cartouche, is as interesting as the map itself, for in it Washington informs the public in general that "The French are now coming from their Forts on and near the Lake Erie, to Venango to erect another Fort,—and from thence they design to the Forks of the Monongehale and to the Logs Town, and so to continue down the River building at the most convenient places in order to prevent our Settlements &c"

"NB: A little below Shanapins Town in the Forks, is the place where we are going immediately to Build a Fort, as it commands the Ohio and Monongehale."

On the second manuscript copy of this map the above note is enclosed in a rectangular frame which serves as a cartouche, and the entire production seems to be in the handwriting of George Washington. The original of this second map is also in the British Colonial Record Office, and was reproduced in *The George Washington Atlas*, published by the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, 1932, Plate XI. A third variant of the same map is in the British Museum. It is a later copy. To the right and slightly below "Fort Duquione" is a note: "N.B The red lines show where the English Troops passed and repassed the Monongahella according to the best [accounts] received, on the 25 August 1755." A pricked or dotted line shows the trail from "Fort Cumberland formerly Wills Creek" which was "the Common rout of a Traveller." A beautiful manuscript facsimile of this map is in the Darlington Library in the University of Pittsburgh, made around 1882 for Mr. Darlington. This copy is reproduced here.

ORIGINAL IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON.

19. ANONYMOUS

[1754]

"Map of the western parts of the colony of Virginia, as far as the Mississippi." (London, 1754)

14 x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Engraved map. (*In: Washington, George: The Journal of Major George Washington, sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie Esq.; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of Virginia, to the Commandant of the French Forces on Ohio . . . with a new map of the country as far as the Mississippi. Williamsburg printed, London reprinted for T. Jefferys, 1754.*)

This interesting map may or may not have been executed from information furnished by

George Washington. It is probably a composite map based on the best information available to the publisher, who was primarily interested in maps and charts, about the lands between Blue Ridge and the "Endless Mountains" to the east, and the Mississippi River on the west. It was not bound into the Williamsburg edition of the *Journal*, and there is no clue as to its origin or the sources of information from which it was compiled. However, Thomas Jefferys evidently saw great possibilities in the small journal made by young Washington and brought out a reprint with a map folded in, so that the people of Europe would have a better idea of the territory Washington was talking about.

Every bit as interesting as the map is the *Journal* it accompanied in print, written by the young major when he was twenty-one years of age. It is a fascinating account, remarkable for its simplicity of style and understatement of the hardships and dangers that he and his small party had to endure while tramping through the wilderness for six-hundred miles between Williamsburg and Fort Le Boeuf.

Washington's mission, aside from the hardships involved, was a touchy one. On orders which came from the British Ministry and through his commanding officer, the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, the young major was to deliver a message, the substance of which was that the French should vacate their fort and leave the Ohio forthwith. "The Lands upon the Ohio River," wrote Dinwiddie, "in the Western Part of the Colony of *Virginia*, are so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; that it is a Matter of Equal Concern and Surprize to me, to hear that a Body of *French* Forces are erecting Fortresses, and making settlements upon that River, within His Majesty's Dominions."

Washington delivered the message, was treated well by the garrison, and was told by the French officers "That it was their absolute design to take Possession of the *Ohio*, and by G____ they would do it; For that altho' they were sensible the *English* could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew, their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs." Washington observed that "They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River from a Discovery made by one La Solle [*sic*] 60 years ago; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent our settling on the River of Waters of it"

References: Evans #7331; Sabin #101,710. A facsimile reprint of the Williamsburg edition of the *Journal*, with an introduction by Randolph G. Adams, was published in 1940 by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, New York. It was published again in facsimile by *Colonial Williamsburg* in 1959, and in facsimile is printed in Hugh Cleland's *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955. Extracts from the *Journal* were printed in the *London Magazine*, June, 1754, with a small map "Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater Noster Row," which map has no connection with the original map. A facsimile of this small map was published in the *Proceedings* of the Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. LXI, Boston, 1926-28, opp. p.73. In 1868 Joseph Sabin reprinted the English edition of the *Journal* in a limited edition.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN WORK GARRETT LIBRARY.

20 [SNOW, CAPTAIN]

1754

and 21. Captain Snow's Scetch [*sic*] of the country by himself and the best accounts he could receive from the Indian traders. 1754. [Also his preliminary map]

13½ x 8¼ inches. Manuscript map.

This charming manuscript map, with the preliminary sketch accompanying it, is one of the most interesting and quaint map productions of the period and of the area. It is by no means the most accurate map from the standpoint of geography, but it does provide a great deal of light on the current situation in the general region of the upper Ohio River.

The "Allagany R." runs due west, where it is joined by the "Memohongahela R," far to the west of its true position in relation to Lake Erie. "French Creek" is the only tributary of the Allegheny shown, and the portage between it and Lake Erie is marked "Carrying Place." "Fort Venango" is indicated below the mouth of French Creek. This is the fort finished by Joncaire in 1754 and called Fort Machault by the French and "French fort at Venango" by the English. It was destroyed by the French in 1759 when they evacuated it. The later Fort Venango was built about 40 rods higher up the river by the English in 1760.

Farther up the Ohio to the east of the mouth of French Creek is a symbol of a fort indicated as "Battuckhoons." This name is an attempt to locate in a general way the Indian town of Baccaloons or Buccaloons. John Mitchell called it "Senekaas T." on his map of 1755, at least the spot on the western side of the Allegheny and "Baccaloons" on the east. Other map makers were confused about its precise location. Actually the Indian town was located at the mouth of a creek of the same name, now called "Brokenstraw Creek."

On the shore of Lake Erie a spit of land extends out into the lake and is marked "A Bar of Land 5 M. long, & 60 yds broad." This of course is Presque Isle at Erie. To the west of Lake Erie towards the headwaters of the "Obashee R." lies the "Twitwee Nation, which Govr Dinderdie went to meet." This was the settlement of the Twightwees or Miamis. At the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers is a fort marked "120 Sq^r Trent drove out by y^e French, 1754." Actually it was Ensign Ward who was driven out of the fort by the French, Captain Trent having returned to Wills Creek.

A short distance down the Ohio from this fort at the Forks is "Log Town" where the treaty was signed "wth y^e Indians by Col^s Lomax, Fry, & Patton." On the sketch map, the date of this treaty is given as 1752. The position of Logstown, whether on the north or south side of the Ohio, has been disputed, but the evidence favors the north side. (See Christopher Gist's *Journals*, edited by Darlington, pp. 95-100.)

The great tract of land between the "Youghyouhgany R." and the "Memohongahela R." is marked and lettered, defining more or less the tract of 160,000 acres granted to Russel, Calmiers, Butler and Neal. Included in this area is the "Meadows where the Battle was fought." Fort Necessity is marked "E. Fort."

Wills Creek is shown, and near its mouth is the "New Storehouse," which the Ohio Company erected in 1752, as a permanent trading post. The road from Wills Creek to the Forks is well marked on the sketch map and was well worn on the ground at the time. Justin Winsor described it in some detail in his *Mississippi Basin*. Leaving Philadelphia, there was a wagon road through Lancaster to Harper's Ferry and a bridle path from there to Wills Creek, and from there the trail, blazed by the Indians, led through the wilderness to the Forks of the Ohio. Hanna, in his *Wilderness Trail*, writes about this route:

Nemacolin . . . in 1752, was employed, with others, by Christopher Gist and Col. Thomas Cresap, acting for the Ohio Company, in blazing the most direct trail between Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), and the mouth of Redstone Creek on the Monongahela River. It followed the route of Gist's second journey from the Potomac to the Ohio, in 1751, being several miles shorter than the path then used by the Virginia Traders travelling from the Potomac to the Ohio. This trail, afterwards known as Nemacolin's Path, was used by Washington and Gist in their journey to the Ohio in 1753, and in 1754, by Washington's little army on its unsuccessful march against Fort Duquesne. Braddock's route was partly over the same road; and it is now followed in part by the National Road between Cumberland and the Monongahela.

At a point southwest of the upper Monongahela River, a sketch of a house is shown, marked "Foyl murder'd in Novr 1753." Shortly before that date, according to records in the Library of Congress, Robert Foyle or Files, and Donald Tygart, with their families established themselves in this locality. Files' place was at what is now Beverly, a town in Randolph County, West Virginia, on the creek still called Files Creek. Files, his wife, and five children were murdered there by Indians. His oldest boy escaped and warned the Tygart family. The account of this murder did not get back to the settlements until February, 1754. It is referred to by Governor Dinwiddie in a message to the House of Burgesses, dated February, 1754.

The identity of Captain Snow is uncertain. In the first index to the British *Army List* there is a William Snow, whose rank in 1755 is ensign. He may well have been the maker of these two maps, because up to 1757, officers in the British Corps of Engineers often held two ranks: one in the Corps and another, usually lower, in some foot regiment. Captain Snow may have been one of these.

ORIGINALS IN LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

22. ANONYMOUS

c.1755

A draft of the Ohio from an Indian account.

16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Manuscript map.

This is a pencil-drawn manuscript and a curious one, made by an unknown draftsman who attempted an artistic production with little training behind him. He also attempted to depict the Ohio and some of the surrounding country, with the benefit of precious little geographical information to fall back on except that which he put together from an Indian account. Whether it was an account transmitted orally or by way of a birch-bark map is a question. How far to the west this map extended originally is problematical. It was cropped at the side many years ago and later reinforced with linen.

The fact that this map was found in the papers of General Thomas Gage is interesting, because it is not on a par with most of the other maps in the collection. And the vague information it contains leads one to believe that Gage received it during the first years of his tour of duty in America, when he was seeking information from every possible source on the location of the Indian nations he would have to deal with and the territory he would have to defend for the Crown. (Brun #696)

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Theatrum belli in America Septentrionale. II foliis comprehensum jussu Acad. Reg. Scient . . .
J. C. Rhode, Ac. Geogr.

22¼ x 32 inches. Engraved map.

This reproduction is a section of a folding map engraved and printed in Germany, possibly for inclusion in a general atlas of the world. However, the two copies examined, one in the Library of Congress and the other in the William Clements Library, are in separate form.

The map is interesting because it is one of the earliest attempts to indicate the topography of the Ohio Valley and the surrounding country as well as the dense forests and mountain ranges. The use of fine shading and hachures to indicate relief is unusual for the period, and very effective regardless of the accuracy of the map. The projection on which it was drawn accounts for some of the distortion of shapes and distances. The language of the map is an interesting combination of Latin, German, and English, with a few local Indian names thrown in for good measure.

ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

and 25. 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 and Plantations, by their Lordships most obliged and very humble servant Jn^o Mitchell. London, Published by the author Feb^y 13th 1755 According to Act of Parliament, and sold by And: Miller opposite Katherine Street in the Strand.

75 x 52 inches. Engraved map.

In order to give the reader some conception of the size and scope of this great map, the section which embraces the major portion of the Ohio and the handsome title cartouche are both reproduced separately. The official stamp of authority for its publication is to be found in a note to the left of the title cartouche:

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 and 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 Feb^y 13th 1755.

The origin of this map is as interesting as its later history. It was compiled by a physician, Dr. John Mitchell, and "is very aptly called Mitchell's Map, for not only was John Mitchell its author, but he made no other." Little is known about his early career except the fragments uncovered by his principal biographer, Colonel Lawrence Martin, who spent many years investigating the man and his map. Mitchell was a botanist as well as a physician and map maker, and he corresponded with John Bartram, Cadwallader Colden, Linnaeus (Carl von Linné),

Peter Kalm, and many other prominent scientists of the day. He was probably born in the British Isles, but for nearly eleven years he lived in Urbanna, Virginia.

No person seems to know what inspired Dr. Mitchell to compile his large-scale map of the British and French dominions in North America, but it is known that he was a friend of George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, who gave him free access to the maps and geographical information concerning North America in the archives of the Board of Trade; and rightly so, for Mitchell was an ardent patriot as well as a scientist. His numerous writings and publications, many of which were in Latin, are permeated with the theme that America belonged to the British and not the French.

Even during the life of the author, Mitchell's map, engraved on eight sheets, was immensely popular, both because of the information it contained and the beauty of its design. It was reprinted at least five times in England; it was translated and printed eight times in France—some impressions had titles and legends in German as well as French. It was printed twice in the Netherlands, and two Italian piracies were published in Venice. The number of facsimiles, partial reproductions, and adaptations are almost endless, because "Mitchell's Map is the most important and the most famous map in American history."

The fame of this map, aside from its inherent merits, came about because from the date of its publication to the signing of the Definitive Treaty in 1783, it was universally considered the best available "political" map on which disputed boundary lines in North America could be superimposed with any degree of confidence. It was called upon in the House of Commons during the debate on the Quebec Act of 1774. It hung on the wall in the halls of Congress in 1802 and several times later. It was called into play during the peace negotiations at the end of the Revolutionary War when the British land grants in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys were in dispute. Several copies lay on the table when in 1783 the boundary line between the United States and Canada was laid down. Of these, John Jay's copy, "the King George Map," and the copy possessed by John Adams are among the more interesting. In effect, the Mitchell map is the "title guarantee" of the United States of America, in spite of its faults and sins of omission.

Mitchell was not a surveyor, and it is doubtful whether he ever tramped very far through the wilds of the country, but his sources of information on the geography of the colonies were the best that were available to British officialdom at the time. He worked on his map for nearly five years and was given *carte blanche* to prowl and study the journals, reports, diaries, and maps that had filtered back to the home government. Therefore there are traces on his map that stem from many sources, some of them reliable and some of dubious origin. One of the most cluttered areas on the map is the Forks of the Ohio, which is so filled with notes and place names that it is almost meaningless to the uninitiated.

Referring again to Mitchell's principal biographer, Colonel Martin reported this map in a pamphlet "Noteworthy Maps, Accessions 1925-26," item 103, issued by the Library of Congress. He also wrote a biographical sketch of Mitchell for the *Dictionary of American Biography*. In the Library of Congress there is an unpublished manuscript which Colonel Martin hoped one day to publish on the man and his work. The most important published work on the Mitchell Map is in *Treaties and other international acts of the United States of America*, edited by

Hunter Miller. Washington, 1933. Vol. III, p. 319. The last reference includes an exhaustive study of the Mitchell Map, its various editions and issues, and a discussion of the various "official" copies that have been involved in diplomatic negotiations throughout the years. The copy reproduced in part herewith is from the first issue of the map.

ORIGINAL IN YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

26 [STOBO, ROBERT]

[1755?]

and
27. Plan of Fort Le Quesne, built by the French, at the Fork of the Ohio and Monongahela in 1754. Printed for Robt Sayer in Fleet Street and Thos Jefferys at the corner of St Martins Lane in the Strand. [Also a manuscript map]

12 x 13 inches. Engraved map.

Robert Stobo, the author of this map, was one of the handful of military men in colonial history who emerged as a colorful and dramatic figure, partly because of his character. However, some of his fame can be attributed to the fortunes of war, a factor which often decides who is to be a hero and who will die unsung on the battlefield.

From all accounts Robert Stobo was a charming, convivial fellow, who arrived in Virginia in 1742 as the representative of a combine of Glasgow merchants. His personality and love of conviviality made him a popular man, and the fact that he was unmarried increased his social standing in the community. A young man of considerable means, Stobo travelled with a retinue of servants and made the most of the good living Virginia afforded. Through his friendship with Governor Dinwiddie, Stobo was given a captain's commission in a Virginia regiment. He marched out with Washington into the wilderness with a covered wagon containing his personal luggage, ten servants, and an ample supply of extra comforts, one of them being a large cask of Madeira wine. Thus equipped, he took part in the engagement at Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754, and after the smoke of the battle had cleared, Captain Robert Stobo and Captain Jacob Van Braam were chosen by the French victors as hostages and security against the safe return of all French and Canadian prisoners already in English hands. These prisoners were to be sent under proper escort "To Fort Duquesne, situated on Belle River," according to the terms set forth in the Articles of Capitulation.

During his imprisonment at Fort Duquesne, Robert Stobo was promoted to the rank of major, and in the same period laid his claim to fame. He studied the fort in which he was imprisoned with great care. Having plenty of time on his hands, he was able to learn in minute detail the construction of the fort, its exact size and shape, and to study the terrain around it. This information he set down on paper, and he also drew a map to illustrate his description. His conclusions in regard to the fort and its defensibility were emphatic, and the substance of his message to his military superiors was to attack the fort without delay, because he was sure the English could take it without difficulty.

These documents were smuggled out of Fort Duquesne through the courtesy of a friendly Indian, and delivered to British headquarters, where they were gratefully received and widely circulated. However, this pair of documents was nearly the downfall of Major Stobo. The originals, or copies thereof, were found in the baggage of General Braddock at the time of his

defeat. Stobo, imprisoned in Quebec, was tried, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death. Technically he had violated his parole as a prisoner of war and was therefore guilty of a horrible crime on two counts; but the record indicates that both the French and English had violated the terms set forth in the Articles of Capitulation.

Major Stobo did not wait for the day set for his execution. With Lieutenant Simon Stevens and others he broke jail and fled down the St. Lawrence River, and after a thirty-eight-day flight joined the British forces in time to participate in the siege of Quebec. Stobo fought with Wolfe, and led the assault at Pointe aux Trembles. Among other things Stobo located, and no doubt recommended, the Foulon where Wolfe landed for the ascent of the Plains of Abraham.

Major Stobo was without doubt a carefree gentleman, and George Washington did not altogether approve of his casual handling of business matters. These facts are brought out in the writings of Washington between 1771 and 1773 when the distribution of bounty lands (veterans' compensation) was being negotiated and in progress. His letter to Robert Stobo (*Writings*, Vol. III), dated from Mount Vernon, November 22, 1771, reveals his annoyance at Stobo for being so indifferent to the vexing problems involved in distributing equitably 200,000 acres of land to the Virginia troops "For Protecting Frontiers against the Indians" (*Writings*, Vol. III, p. 171).

There are at least four manuscript copies of Robert Stobo's map in existence, and how many of these are in his own hand is a matter of debate. One of them, reproduced in this volume, is in the Darlington Memorial Library at the University of Pittsburgh. His famous letter describing Fort Duquesne is published in the *Minutes* of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Vol. VI, 1851, pp. 141-43, 161-63. His map is reproduced in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II, 1853, p. 146. The engraved map from which the above title was taken is rare. The initial printing was undoubtedly small, and copies of the print were either worn out from study and use on the frontier or distributed to an unappreciative audience who threw them away. According to Phillips the map was included in an atlas: *A general topography of North America and the West Indies*. London, for R. Sayer & T. Jefferys, 1768, No. 45. For other references to Stobo see the *Dictionary of American Biography*. An unpublished manuscript has been written about Stobo and his map by Agnes L. Starrett of the University of Pittsburgh.

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

28. ANONYMOUS

c.1755

A plan of Fort Du Quesne.

14 x 11½ inches. Manuscript map.

This map constitutes an interesting piece of military intelligence, unsigned and undated, but very revealing. It was obviously made by a British agent, and from the phraseology of the legend it would seem that the map was passed along in the direction of British headquarters. The draftsmanship is curious. The map proper and the lettering could be the work of a military engineer, but the flowery decorations that enclose the list of "References," and the small, ineffectual tabletop that encloses the title, would have been considered unbecoming work

from the pen of a British engineer. The Corps maintained high standards when it came to draftsmanship.

The precise date of the map is impossible to establish from internal evidence. In his "References" the author notes: "When this Plan was made the Fort was not finished but on those Sides along the Rivers was only picketed, but we since hear the Plan is entirely executed."

"When this Plan came there were eight Pieces of Cannon in the Fort A [*sic*] of which are 3 Pounders. 2 of which were mounted on A. 2 on C & 4 on D. The tops of the Block-Houses. being Plat-Forms for the Guns." These lettered references represent the bastions or points of the fort.

This reproduction was made from a manuscript "Copied by James A. Burt, 17th June, 1874" for William Darlington, in London.

ORIGINAL IN THE DARLINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

29. ANONYMOUS

1755

A sketch of the field of battle with the disposition of the troops in the beginning of the engagement of the 9th of July on the Monongahela. 7 miles from Fort Du Quesne.

14¼ x 9½ inches. Manuscript map.

This map was doubtless made in the field by one of General Braddock's engineers at the time of the engagement or shortly after. For a sketch of the terrain more or less hastily drawn it is far better than average, and a map which could not have been drawn by a man who was untrained. "The distances," says the author, "are Computed and laid down to a Scale of 300 Yards to an Inch." This statement confirms the impression that the map was the work of an engineer, possibly Captain Harry Gordon, or one of the others who were engaged in the business of carving out a wagonroad in the wilderness.

It is an interesting document, and a graphic portrayal of the last phase of an ill-fated expedition. According to "the book" it should have been successful, and the military odds, by any standards, were very much in favor of General Braddock. However, the book he went by was written in England, and the rules of modern warfare did not fit the situation. And unfortunately General Braddock had seen little action during his forty-five years of service. The results were disastrous.

With years of experience in military theory and a thorough knowledge of military strategy to support him, Braddock marched into the wilderness to cope with an enemy that completely ignored the rules of civilized warfare—white ruffians of French birth or extraction, and savages who made their own rules as they went along, skulking from tree to tree, sniping at their enemy, scalping their prisoners and burning them at the stake. It was an intolerable situation, utterly confusing, but the veteran military commander was too imbued with military tradition to change his ways. George Washington and his provincials might have been able to save the day, and as Braddock's aide Washington went so far as to suggest that he be allowed to head the provincials and fight the enemy in their own way instead of by the book, but as Washington wrote, "the propriety of it was not seen into until it was too late for execution."

Braddock's army was not a happy one, and considering the friction between the provincials

and the British regulars it is a wonder that they fought as well as they did. The general was openly contemptuous of his provincials, who seemed indifferent and did not yield well to military discipline. This attitude contributed nothing to the morale of his troops. He did not like the country. He did not like the "Banditti" who called themselves Traders. He did not trust the Indians who were his principal source of intelligence. He did not like the "Borderers" or pioneer settlers he encountered. Above all, he did not like "the uninhabited Wilderness over steep rocky Mountains and almost impassable Morasses."

But in spite of all his dislikes and suspicions, General Braddock marched into the wilderness with the sublime faith in the superiority of British arms which was inbred and unquenchable. And from the beginning there was dissension in the ranks as well as among his officers, especially the provincials. Overloaded with confidence and baggage he started his march with firm determination and too many wagons. Until the train had crossed the mountains, it was in serious difficulty. It was more an army of pioneers and engineers than an organized force. As one of his officers wrote, "One may go twenty miles without seeing before him ten yards." Still they plodded on, building a road in the wilderness according to the best military tradition. Washington had many suggestions to make, many of which apparently were either ignored or impossible to carry out. He wanted to substitute pack horses for wagons, but the natives and traders had sold Braddock so many poor horses that the plan was not feasible. Washington, a sick man, probably the victim of a bad dysentery, was irritated by the interminable delays caused by the road builders. "They halt to level every mold [*sic*] hill and to erect bridges over every brook."

No army ever heralded its approach to the enemy more thoroughly than did Braddock's. The French and their Indian scouts followed every movement of the train and noted every mile of progress it made. The campfires of the army lighted the sky at night and every day the ceaseless noise of drums, axes, and blasting powder created a din that could be heard for miles. Secrecy, under the circumstances, was out of the question, and Captain Beaujeu, commander at Fort Duquesne, had ample time to decide what to do about the oncoming British forces that outnumbered his garrison four to one. He decided to sally forth and meet the enemy rather than wait for an attack on his small, poorly constructed fort. He was not sure just how many of his Indian allies would be with him or how many of them could be depended on in battle, but he nevertheless decided to march.

The battle took place on the ninth of July, only seven miles from Fort Duquesne. General Braddock and many of his men were utterly unprepared for the kind of fighting that followed. They struggled manfully to get their heavy equipment and themselves across the Monongahela at the ford, and up the bluff they went, while an unseen enemy potted away at them from behind trees and rocks. Any semblance of order in the plan of battle was out of the question. Flanking parties, deployed in the best tradition on both sides of the main column, were either cut down in their tracks or just disappeared into the forest and were seen no more. The main body of troops was picked off one by one like sitting ducks. There was nothing to do but fall back, and the order to retreat was given by General Braddock, who was slowly dying of a gunshot wound. Washington, his principal aide, was still in no condition to sit a horse. The march to the rear presented the same problems as the forward march, many times compounded, for the men were tired, hungry, and surrounded on all sides by their own dead and dying as well as a

relentless enemy. That they made it at all is a miracle. The ninth of July was not a glorious day in the annals of British military history.

Various maps and plans of the engagement and the march through the wilderness were made at the time and by historians who later tried to reconstruct the scene for posterity. The map here reproduced is probably one of the most accurate. Among recent accounts of the story, one of the best and most interesting is in Lee McCardell's *Ill-Starred General*, University of Pittsburgh, 1958, pp. 240–265. Another interesting version of the march and the battle will be found in Hugh Cleland's *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, University of Pittsburgh, 1955, pp. 119–150, which reproduces original documents written by some of the men who took part in the engagement.

ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

30. GIST, CHRISTOPHER

1755

The draught of Gen^l Braddocks route towards Fort Du Quesne as deliver'd to Cap^t McKeller Engineer. By Chris^t Gist The 15th of Sep^r 1755.

18 x 13³/₄ inches. Manuscript map.

Christopher Gist, scout, explorer, surveyor, Indian agent, land promoter, and soldier, was born in Maryland. His father was one of the first surveyors of the eastern shore of Maryland and one of the commissioners appointed to lay out the town of Baltimore.

In 1750 Christopher was living with his family near Daniel Boone, on the Yadkin, in North Carolina when the Ohio Company, predecessor of the Potomac Company, was formed. Lawrence Washington, half-brother of George, was one of the organizers. Because of his training and experience, Christopher Gist was commissioned by the Ohio Company to investigate and explore the half million acres to be granted them by the Crown, and to act as a combination land and Indian agent in future operations. He was to explore the Ohio lands as far as the present Louisville, and during the winters of 1750–51 and 1751–52, he travelled far and explored extensively. He reached Shanopin's Town, crossing and recrossing the Ohio, making extensive notes on the river country as far as the mouth of the Scioto. He explored the country south of the Ohio from the Monongahela to the Great Kanawha.

In 1753, when George Washington started for Fort Le Boeuf with a message to the French commander from Governor Dinwiddie, few English-speaking guides were available in the colonies. One of the few was Christopher Gist, and at Wills Creek he joined Washington and led him through the wilderness to his destination. It was the beginning of a lasting friendship. The rigors they endured together, the daily struggle with imminent death and starvation, resulted in a mutual respect and admiration which was well-deserved and well-tested.

Washington's confidence in Gist is reflected in his correspondence, and he never failed to recommend him to a post which required a responsible person of great integrity and ability, especially in any dealings with the Indian nations of the country.

An Indian will never forget a promise made to him: They are naturally suspicious; and, if they meet with delays or disappointment, in their expectations; will scarcely ever be reconciled. For which reason nothing ought ever to be *promised* but what is performed; and one *only* person be empowered to do *either*.

If your Honor shou'd think this an advisable measure, and be inclined to carry it into execution, I wou'd beg leave to recommend Mr. Gist as the most proper person I am acquainted with to conduct the Business. He . . . is well acquainted with their manners and customs; especially of the Southern indians. And, for his honesty and zeal I think I dare vouch.

According to one of Gist's biographers, "He was the first white American to make a careful exploration of the Ohio River lands in southern Ohio and northeastern Kentucky, preceding Daniel Boone in the latter region by eighteen years."

The map here reproduced is the report of a scout who was telling the world in general and his superiors in particular about the route taken by General Braddock and his troops through the wilderness, giving in detail the distances between familiar landmarks from Fort Cumberland to Fort Duquesne, marking the camping places of the army each night, and indicating them "with a cross on the black pipp'd lines." Another note indicates that he reconnoitered the situation around Fort Duquesne as Braddock's force approached its destination and objective. His legend says, "The red lines from No. 17 is Gists Route to Fort Du Quesne and back to the line of march set out from the 4th July and return'd the 6th of July."

Information on the life and activities of Christopher Gist is not wanting, although there are gaps in the biographical material available. *Christopher Gist's Journals*, edited by William M. Darlington, is one of the best sources of information (Pittsburgh, 1893). The *Writings of George Washington* edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick, Vols. I-III, shed a great deal of light on the man and his association with G. Washington. A copy of this manuscript map, almost identical in detail, is in the Huntington Library.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY.

31. ALEXANDER, WILLIAM

[1756]

A sketch of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland & Virginia shewing the line of forts lately built on the frontiers of those colonies and their scituation with respect to the french forts on the Ohio & Lake Erie. Also the route from Albany to Oswego with the forts built & to be for its security. Drawn by order of His Excellency General Shirley, by W^m Alexander secretary.

17½ x 14¼ inches. Manuscript map.

William Alexander, the author of this map, was eventually known as Lord Stirling, even though he was unsuccessful in prosecuting his claim to the earldom of Stirling in 1757. Alexander was born in New York, became a career military man, and inherited the position his father had held as surveyor-general. For a time he served as aide-de-camp to Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts.

At the time this map was ordered and made William Shirley was commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. A staunch patriot and loyal subject of his king, Shirley was a vigorous proponent of fortifications that would strengthen the British hold on her New World colonies against the incursions of the French and other undesirable elements. This map, made by his aide, reflects his feelings in the matter, and even though many of the fortified positions shown on it were little more than dreams or primitive blockhouses, they nevertheless

illustrate a determination on the part of the British commander-in-chief to erect a barrier of fortifications that would keep the French on the other side of the mountains.

At the time this map was made there was a nice distinction in military circles between a blockhouse and a fort. In the wilds of the interior the line was not finely drawn, and frequently a blockhouse constituted the entire fort, so called. There a fort was any kind of habitation or edifice that offered protection, however fleeting, against human or animal intruders. Prerequisite in the construction of such a defense was a stockade or fence. As many times as not it was defended by members of the family or pickup volunteers who were temporarily and primarily concerned with the safety of their own skins and the lives of their families.

The military posts, blockhouses and forts, established on the frontier by Europeans, varied in size and construction with the presumed importance of the post, and General Shirley had the problem of deciding how thin he could spread his defenses and his troops. Thus there were blockhouses interspersed between forts, temporary shelters and places of refuge from a surprise attack, where his men could collect themselves and organize their strength. Shirley's strategy was bold enough, and one wonders if he did not underestimate his potential enemies somewhat, considering that his troops were spread out across the land in a thin line, with blockhouses defended, as his engineer notes, by from twenty to thirty men each, and by fifty to seventy men in each of the several forts.

The French strategy, on the other hand, was much more simple. Great pains were taken to fortify and secure the principal water routes from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi and southward to the Gulf of Mexico, the outlet for peltry destined for the markets of Europe. This map shows only the short route by way of Lake Erie, Presque Isle, Venango, Fort Du Quesne, and the Ohio River, and consequently the details of the route, thus far controlled by French troops and traders, are not set down with great care.

The original manuscript from which this copy was made is in the British Museum. The copy was made by James A. Burt for W. M. Darlington in 1874.

DARLINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

32. [GEORGE ARMSTRONG]

[1758]

Mr. Armstrong's rough draft of the country to the west of the Susquehanna.

14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Manuscript map.

The title of this map is written on the back of it. The authorship and date are established by a letter written by Colonel John Armstrong to Governor William Denny, July 20, 1758, which was printed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II, p. 483. In this letter, Colonel Armstrong said,

The general has sent my brother George to Reas' Town, with orders to take with him a hundred men, in order to find out and mark a road from Reas' Town as near to Fort Duquesne as he can possibly go, leaving General Braddock's road and the Yohiogaine entirely to the left.

Therein lies a tale, and the beginning of a controversy between George Washington and Colonel Henry Bouquet, not to mention General Forbes, the man who was going to use one road or the other. The question was how best to transport an army overland from the Susquehanna and parts east and south to Fort Duquesne.

The trouble began when Colonel Henry Bouquet, commander of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, received orders from Secretary William Pitt to move his troops from their station in South Carolina and join forces with General John Forbes in Pennsylvania. What route should they take to get there? Should a new road be built to Raystown and from thence across country to Fort Duquesne or should the old road, so laboriously built by Braddock's army, be used? The final decision, of course, rested with General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet, two officers who were unfamiliar with the terrain and not well acquainted with the peculiar problems in logistics that were about to confront them on the march. In addition, there was the complicating factor of intercolonial rivalry, jealousy, and suspicion on the part of all who were concerned with the final decision.

At a time when land prospectors and traders from all parts of the eastern coast were struggling to widen their holdings in the Ohio country, any road was a good one, but if it happened to be a convenient road, well-built with government funds, so much the better. Both Forbes and Bouquet were well aware of these elementary facts, but for a time they were not certain what to do.

George Washington was called upon for an opinion because of his firsthand knowledge of the country and the fact that he had marched with Braddock. He had learned that route the hard way. Bouquet had great respect for Washington's opinion and judgment in many matters, but in this case there was some doubt in his mind. Washington, a persuasive writer, urged that the old road be used; it was already built and had been used by one army. Why not another? Even though Braddock's march had not been successful, the road could not be blamed for the defeat.

In a letter dated July 25, 1758, from Fort Cumberland, Washington assured Bouquet that his men would do their best to build any road that his superior officers ordered built, and perform any other duty which was good for the cause. But he went on to tell Bouquet that after talking to all the guides who knew the country he was "convinced by them and every other Person who has knowledge of that Country, that a Road comparable to General Braddock's, or indeed fit for any Service at all, even for Carrying Horses cannot be made . . . I don't know what reports your Reconnoitering Parties have given, but I have been told on all hands that if any thing is expected there, disappointments will ensue, for nothing can be taken that way without destroying of our Carrying Horses, so extreme bad the Hills are." That was one man's opinion.

The political issue involved was well to the fore. Bouquet wrote Forbes:

The Virginia *party* in regard to your route is continuing in full force, and although the secret motive animating them appears to smack of partiality, it seems to me, however, that this is an additional reason for acting with double caution in a matter of consequence, in order to answer their outcries convincingly in case of an accident, which they would never fail to attribute to the choice of a new route.

Forbes did not make up his mind in a hurry, but two days after he heard from Bouquet he replied that such rivalry between factions was unfortunate, and that he himself disclaimed any connection with parties who were interested in road-building.

I therefore cannot Conceive what the Virginia folks would be att, for to me it appears to be them,

and them only, that want to drive us into the road by Fort Cumberland, no doubt in opposition to the Pennsylvanians who by Raestown would have a nigher Communication to the Ohio.

Bouquet vacillated. He reported the substance of Washington's letter in regard to the old road versus the proposed new road, throwing the decision in the lap of his commanding officer. But a few days later (July 31, 1758) he wrote Forbes, enclosing an "extract" of Major Armstrong's letters, written during and after he made his preliminary survey. He distrusted the young Major's judgment, and had sent another party out to make a survey of the situation. On the basis of their findings he concluded "that with a great deal of work a road much more satisfactory than the other could be built there"; and he added:

It remains to be seen what obstacles are left as far as Loyal Hannon . . . I think as you do that you cannot accept Cumberland until after you have it in your power to demonstrate the impossibility of finding another road, or at least the impossibility of opening it without risking the expedition by too great a loss of time.

The decision was finally made. Washington and the alleged "party" of Virginians were overruled, and the new road was begun. The map made by Major George Armstrong shows by dotted lines the proposed course of the New Road with approximate compass bearings. It also indicates the existing "Warriers Path" through the mountains and the cross-country trek to "Reas T.," or Raystown, leaving the old route "entirely to the left." The trials and tribulations of General Forbes from the time he made his decision are a part of another story. For an interesting series of official letters connected with the selection of the line of march to Fort Duquesne, see Hugh Cleland's *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, and Fitzpatrick's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. II.

ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

33. PLEYDELL, J. C.

1758

Plan of Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh, as it was, before it was demolish'd. 1758. [Signed] J. C. Pleydell.

11 x 9⁵/₈ inches. Manuscript map.

Four engineers were involved in the search for a pass through the mountains to transport General Forbes and his army to Fort Duquesne, over a new road that had not yet been built. The key to an almost insurmountable obstacle turned out to be a pass over Laurel Hill (or Ridge). The men who found the way were Ensign Charles Rhor, Captain Harry Gordon, Robert Dudgeon, and J. C. Pleydell. In one of Washington's orderly books, dated 1758, he noted the course of the advance troops by encampments. Laurel Hill is prominent in his entries. On October 20, 1758, the army camped at White Oak Ridge; the following night on the "S.E. side Laurel Hill," and the next night on the "N.W. side of Laurel Hill." On the night of the twenty-third they made camp at "Loyal Hannon" (Loyal Hanna, Pennsylvania, which became the site of Fort Ligonier). It was no easy march, but once the pass was negotiated, the rest of the march looked comparatively easy.

Pleydell was an expert draftsman, as were his fellow engineers on this and other expeditions into the wilderness. When he and his colleagues arrived at Fort Duquesne they found nothing

but rubble and ashes; the French had completely “demolish’d” it before their hasty departure. They did it while Forbes and his army plodded through the woods, and when scouts reported that he was not more than five or six leagues away. At that point fifty or sixty barrels of powder that had been left in the magazine for the purpose were touched off, thus ending Fort Duquesne.

The reconstruction of the ruins on paper was a mighty task, and at the time, Pleydell and others used what they could find among the ashes and ruins to help them guess the probable location and size of the various buildings on the post. It is doubtful whether they had any French plans to help them. Pleydell made at least two sketches of Fort Duquesne, both of which are in the British Museum. An excellent description of the fort has been written by Charles M. Stotz in *Drums in the Forest*, pp. 130 ff. In the same volume he describes the four other forts that were built at the Point between 1754 and 1792. The facts presented are based on contemporary documents and eyewitness descriptions of the buildings, their equipment, and the surrounding terrain.

The plan reproduced in this volume and described above was made from one of the two original manuscripts executed by Pleydell now in the British Museum. It was faithfully copied for William M. Darlington by James A. Burt in 1874. A reproduction of Pleydells’ second manuscript map is in *Drums in the Forest*, p. 140.

DARLINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

34. ANONYMOUS

[1759]

A plan of Fort Duquense now call’d Pittsburgh.

9½ x 13½ inches. Manuscript map.

Not all the plans of Fort Duquesne just after its demise were made by trained engineers. This one, for example, does not compare favorably with Pleydell’s beautiful sketch or some of the others that were made by experts who were on the scene. However, it has its interesting features, in spite of the crude workmanship of a man who had a story to tell but did not quite know how to tell it. In addition, the map is cropped, and it is difficult to estimate how much of the surrounding country was lost in the cropping.

In the legend below the map the initial letter *A* is missing.

B an Island where 10 Indians were settled. *C* a well. *D* the provision house. *E* the Prison and Store house. *F* the Soldiers guard-house. *G* officers guard room. *H* a Trench 12 feet wide. *I* a door to the powder Magazine Under ground. *K* a Road Under ground to Convey Provisions into the Fort. *L* a Battery. *M* a draw Bridge. *N* Soldiers Barracks. *O* 3 ovens. *P* officers Lodgings. *Q* a Common Road under ground to bring water. *R* Indian Encampments. *S* Braddock Defeated. 7 Miles from the Fort. *T* Roads. *U* another Battery. *V* a Mountain where Majors Grant and Lewis were Defeated. *W* 4 Smiths Shops. *X* a Creek.

This map may well have been made by a soldier writing home, or by one who had just arrived with General Forbes. But regardless of who made it, this plan does not have the appearance of a document which was in any way official. On the contrary, it was made by an amateur, and is to be found in the “Norris family MS letters,” Vol. I, p. 127.

ORIGINAL IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A plan of the fort for 220 men built in December 1758 within 400 Yard's of Fort Du Quesne—
10 x 10½ inches. Manuscript map.

The capture of Fort Duquesne by General Forbes marked the end of a successful military operation: he had accomplished his mission and the enemy had lost their hold on the Ohio and at the Forks. But on that cold November day when his army marched up to the Point, it must have seemed to many, including the general, a hollow victory. There had been no engagement with the enemy and no opportunity to demonstrate in a proper manner the superiority of British arms in battle. The French and their Indian allies had fled, leaving nothing to conquer but a scene of devastation and smoldering ruins. The retreating garrison had done a thorough job of demolition; and at first glance there was nothing left but heaps of ashes, twisted iron, and a few staunch chimneys that had refused to tumble when the fort was blown up and burned. In addition, there was a completely deserted point of land standing bleak and inhospitable in the shortening days of approaching winter. For the conquerors there was no place to go except backward, and the Point they had conquered offered no shelter against the elements. The beauty of the surrounding country was lost on men who were tired and chilled by the freezing weather.

Regardless of the dismal scene and the low spirits of the troops, military discipline was strictly maintained, and the men were ordered to clean up the mess, salvage what they could of the ironwork and any timbers that possibly could be used again. They were also detailed to put out all fires that were still smoldering and bury the human bones that were strewn around the area, grim and demoralizing reminders of Braddock's "engagement" and "Major Grant's Affair." But the important problem was how best to defend and hold the Forks against a clever enemy who might try to retake the site in the middle of the night.

On December 1, 1758, the ruins of Fort Duquesne and environs were officially renamed, with honors befitting the occasion, and from then on the Point was called Pittsburgh. With this ceremony out of the way there was nothing more for the army, as such, to do, and most of the troops were sent back, either to their homes or to military posts in the east. Two hundred Virginia and Pennsylvania troops were left at Pittsburgh to build their own barracks, provision themselves for a long, hard winter, and by all means hold the Forks against all comers. Colonel Hugh Mercer was left in command of the situation. There is a conflict in the reports about what there was left to salvage in the old fort. Bouquet wrote Colonel Mercer on December 26, ordering that "the Ammunition, and Stores actually in ye old Fort are to be removed in the New one as Soon as they can be Safely covered." It may be that there was less destruction at the fort than some reports indicate, or it may be that Bouquet was not thoroughly informed as to the amount of destruction encountered by his troops.

Because of the fast approaching winter it was decided to build a temporary fort close to the bank of the Monongahela and about a thousand feet back from the Point, leaving the strong-point free for the construction of a new fort to be built in the spring. The temporary fort, put up rather hurriedly, was a simple affair, erected in a race with the season and the weather. It was shorn of all accoutrements usually considered standard in military fortifications, but the

British staff decided to risk its strength against a possible Indian attack with the facilities at hand, which meant minimum protection for the winter. When it was first built it had no name, but later it became known as "Mercer's Fort." It was a primitive defense, built from the materials at hand and in the surrounding woods. This in spite of the elegant plans of it that were drawn by Captain Harry Gordon before it was begun and by the anonymous engineer who made the plan reproduced in this volume. These plans include the outbuildings that were essential to the maintenance of a garrison of two hundred men, structures that were put up, one by one, as the winter wore on.

For an excellent description of this fort and the four known plans of "Mercer's Fort," see *Drums in the Forest*, pp. 140-152, as well as the reproduction opposite p. 141.

ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

36. WRIGHT, GEORGE

1759

A plan of the new fort at Pittsburgh. Nov^r 1759. G. Wright fecit.

27 x 19½ inches. Manuscript map.

While the work on Mercer's Fort went forward the high command concerned itself with the problem of choosing the best possible site at the Forks for a permanent fort that would be secure enough to withstand any kind of attack or siege. It was a weighty matter and a decision that was made only after long discussion and with the expert advice of the engineers who were called into consultation. Several of these were summoned to look over the ground. Their findings and reports did not amount to a unanimous decision by any means, nor was it a foregone conclusion that the Point was the one and only spot for a permanent fort of any kind.

The experts did not agree. Captain James Robertson, engineer, was sent out from the East to Pittsburgh, and with Mercer made a careful survey of Chartier's Hill. Robertson liked the site, the same one favored by the Ohio Company. Mercer liked it, too, because of its height, and described it as "Strong, convenient, healthfull and pleasant." But he admitted that in spite of its virtues, it had certain faults. For example, all wood and water and other essentials would have to be drawn to the top of the hill, either by "Cranes or Windlasses."

The defects of the Point as a place to fortify and build on were also reviewed by Mercer. Another fort on the old site of Fort Duquesne, he said, would require "a foundation of Brick or Stone" built several feet above its former level. The floor of the old barracks had been flooded more than once by "the Ohio in its late rises." Other objections were raised by the experts. The engineers made sketches; the officers wrote diplomatic suggestions to their superior officers, some of them in favor of and some against the Point. In the end it was decided that in spite of its obvious faults and the violent moods of the waters that sluiced by it on both sides, the Point would be the proper place for a permanent fortification, and it was generally conceded that the region, because of its beauty and mineral resources, would be a highly desirable place to establish a permanent settlement of Englishmen.

The plan of the new fort at Pittsburgh, executed by George Wright, was undoubtedly made in 1759, as the title states. And the record tells us that no such elaborate fortification had been completed at that time. Therefore this finished plan represents the hopes and dreams of those

men who participated in this well-conceived design. Actually, work on the permanent Fort went ahead at a slow pace, because of the shortage of building materials, and two years after it was begun it was far from being completed. Meanwhile the English did not dare to abandon Mercer's Fort until the new one was finished, and there was an interminable period when a new building was being built and occupied as an old one was being vacated. The move from the old fort to the new was made in several stages, and made with due caution, because of the never-ending threat of an attack by the French and their Indian allies.

A most thorough and scholarly history of Fort Pitt, from the earliest planning stage to the peak of its development, will be found in *Drums in the Forest*, pp. 152–185.

ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

37. ANONYMOUS

c.1760

Sketch of the country from Fort Du Quesne to Niagara as described by an intelligent Indian who had resided there for a considerable time.

14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 inches. Manuscript map.

This rather crude but informative map was among the papers of General Gage. Its chief purpose was to attempt a description of two ways to get from Fort Du Quesne or "Pittsboro" to Niagara. The Indian who supplied the information was no doubt intelligent and well-informed about these two routes, but his knowledge about how to get from place to place through the wilderness was strictly utilitarian, and his ability to communicate his information to the map maker is not reflected in the final product. The principal cue to the date of the map, from internal evidence, is the naming of "Pittsboro," that is, Pittsburgh, which was formally so named in December, 1758, by General John Forbes. The author indicates the "Riviere Beaufe," and notes that the distance "To Wininga 30. miles y^e river navigable for battoes." He also notes in his table of "References" that there is a "Good water carriage from Ft Du Quesne to Lake Erie, except the carrying place of 15 miles from Beef River to Presqu' Isle." (Brun #472)

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

38. JOHNSON, GUY

c.1762

A sketch of the several Indian roads leading from Fort Pitt to Sioto, Lake Erie, &c. Taken from a Draft (made on a Tour thro' y^t Country in 1762 by Mr. Hutchins—then in the Indian Department—Guy Johnson fecit)

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 inches. Manuscript map.

This map was drawn at an unknown date by the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs in the Northern District of the country. Guy Johnson was one of four deputy superintendents appointed by Sir William between 1756 and 1767 to assist him in the all-important administration of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Indians. The other three were George Croghan, Daniel Claus, and Major Joseph Gorham. Before he died in 1774, Sir William Johnson requested that his nephew be appointed to succeed him, and wrote to that effect to General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's

forces in North America. In due time General Gage wrote the necessary letter of recommendation, and was largely instrumental in securing Guy Johnson's appointment.

The post of deputy in the loosely organized department of Indian affairs was not a desk job, and like Croghan and the others, Guy Johnson had to be versatile and adaptable. He knew how to handle himself in the wilderness and at the council fires. He also was a fair hand at drawing maps. This one was undoubtedly drawn while he was a deputy superintendent, and as the title states, it was taken from a draft made by Thomas Hutchins, who was also connected with the Indian department. The map includes only the essential details required by a traveller of the time, showing the well-established water routes and portages, all of which are fore-shortened for the sake of convenience. The same map, greatly expanded and drawn in much finer detail, was later made by Hutchins and published in the account of Bouquet's expedition.

Guy Johnson was not the figure in colonial affairs that his uncle was, but there are several interesting references to his activities in John Alden's *John Stuart and the Colonial Frontier*, and in Albert Volwiler's *George Croghan and the Western Movement*. The map itself is listed in Brun's *Guide to the Manuscript Maps in the William Clements Library*, p. 176, No. 717.

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

39. RATZER, BERNARD

c.1765

Plan of the Indian country through which the troops marchd in 1764 under the command of Col. Henry Bouquet. Copy'd from ye original by Lt. Ratzer.

55¼ x 19¼ inches. Manuscript map.

Bernard Ratzer first appears in the British *Army List* as a lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American regiment. It is odd that he was able to skip the rank of ensign except that he may have been commissioned as a specialist in engineering and map making, which he most certainly was.

This reproduction is a composite of Ratzer's large-scale map of the Indian country, a large map greatly reduced to fit a small page and yet include the interesting legend below the title. In spite of the reduction, however, the reader can get some idea of the exquisite draftsmanship of the map, even if he cannot imagine the delicate shades of green that were used to color the banks of the Ohio and the wilderness road over which Bouquet marched, and which Ratzer describes in his legend as "a very rich country."

Lt. Ratzer refers to this map of his as "a copy of ye original," and without doubt, the map he refers to is the one made by Thomas Hutchins for Colonel Bouquet and published in 1766 in William Smith's *An historical account of the expedition against the Ohio Indians* And if, as the writer suspects, Bernard Ratzer was a specialist in the field of map making rather than a line officer in the usual sense of the term, he was undoubtedly responsible for the finished draft of the map that went to the engraver. (Brun #698)

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

40. [HILLS, JOHN?]

c.1766

[A colored chart of Lake Erie showing the route southward from Fort Presqu isle, by way of Fort Le Boeuf, Fort Venango, Fort Pitt to Fort Cumberland, etc.]

58 x 50 inches. Manuscript map.

This reproduction is a very small section of a large-scale map (5 miles to an inch), the original of which was faithfully copied about seventy-five years ago for Mr. William Darlington of Pittsburgh by an English artist. The area depicted is essentially the same as that shown on George Washington's maps and other maps of the period: the best route from Lake Erie to Fort Pitt and the Ohio and from thence to Wills Creek or Fort Cumberland. This map includes a few more points of interest than Washington's maps, and has been brought up to date by the indication of "General Braddock's Road." Because of the expert draftsman who made the original, the picture is sharp, clear, and somewhat oversimplified. The road was not that easy to traverse! At the bottom of the map are three insets, which are top views, on a much smaller scale, of Fort Pitt, Fort Venango, Fort Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle. The original is reproduced in the Crown Collection, No. CXXI. 15.2.

DARLINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

41. [LEWIS EVANS]

1766

A general map of the Middle British colonies in America (viz) Virginia, Mariland, Delaware, Pensilvania, New Iersey, New York, Connecticut & Rhode Island . . . of the Lakes Erie, Ontario and Champlain and of part of New France. 1766.

26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Manuscript map.

The great maps that were produced in or about colonial America are few and far between. There has to be a motive to produce a superior article of any kind, and in the case of American maps made in the first half of the eighteenth century, there was relatively little pressure from within or without to make an accurate picture of the New World that lay to the west of the Allegheny Mountains. But the situation changed abruptly in the 1750's, and both France and England began to study the area between the mountains and the Mississippi River in minute detail. Therefore, geographical information from any source whatsoever was most welcome to both nations. Lewis Evans, the author of this map, was one of the few people among the English who were qualified and equipped to compile a map of the Middle British Colonies that would speak with authority. Most of his information was obtained firsthand from his travels and scientific observations; the balance came from the best authorities in the land.

Evans was a dedicated man, obsessed with a love for geography and cartography; and like many another dedicated scientist, he ran into all kinds of difficulties, both political and financial. Nevertheless he continued his work while others profited from his knowledge and his maps. Between 1749 and 1755, he executed three maps which were engraved and published. From these plates the Library of Congress has laboriously identified more than twenty-seven "editions," which vary in one way or another. Most of them were printed in English for use in the colonies, but there are also editions in Swedish, Dutch, French, and German. There are doubtless many other maps of the same general area which were "adopted" or deliberately pirated from the Evans' maps. But regardless of ethics and morals, all geographers who attempted a map of the Middle British Colonies between 1750 and 1800, were obliged in all conscience to lean heavily on the maps of Lewis Evans for reliable information. Some of them, like Doctor

John Mitchell, acknowledged their indebtedness to the man; more frequently they did not.

Evans was an ardent patriot and an amateur politician, a combination of qualities that was dangerous in a man who was fundamentally a scientist and geographer, and that got him into serious trouble, and contributed to his last illness. Instead of sticking to map making, he publicly voiced strong opinions in regard to British policy in the American colonies, and openly castigated Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, even accusing him of high treason. He also labelled two of His Majesty's ministers as "pensioners of France." Dedicated though he was, this kind of ill-advised talk did nothing to improve his standing in government circles. He fled from Pennsylvania to New York, hotly pursued by Governor Morris, who was determined to sue, if not ruin him. The fact that Evans knew the geography of the country and the intrigues of the French and the Indians made little difference. His approach was wrong, and so his fortunes were lost.

The Ohio country and its importance became a burning passion. In the *Analysis* of his map of the *Middle British Colonies*, a separate publication, Evans tried to convince people that the control of the Ohio River and surrounding country was the fundamental issue involved in the conflict between England and France, and he also tried to convince his countrymen and his government that something should be done before it was too late. He conceded that the French had certain rights to parts of North America by virtue of their early discoveries, but he also affirmed that they had overstepped the mark, they had gone beyond their rights, and now the situation was serious and close to out-of-hand. The general conflict between the two nations was fast brewing, and Evans was worried about the safety and security of the colonies, especially the Ohio country, where "my very Soul is fixt, and the Frontiers of Virginia and Pensilvania all laid waste with the Massacres of the Indians."

The best route to the Ohio country, Evans wrote, was by way of the Potomac, and the English should by all or any means secure the route and the region, for the ultimate fate of the Southern colonies with respect to their loyalty to the Crown depended upon it. Control of the Ohio and its Valley, he said, "must one Day determine whether the Southern Colonies shall remain the Property of the British Crown; or the Inhabitants, to prevent the entire Defection of their Slaves, which the French will encourage, . . . [will] be obliged to fall under the Dominion of France." And to those critics of British expansion in North America who felt that the colonies had "grown already too large," Evans issued a pungent warning that "an Opportunity now offers of soon making them less." And in answer to those critics who were already afraid that the English colonies in America might become a powerful and dangerous threat to the security of "their Mother Country," Evans retorted that the possibility was "among the greatest of vulgar Errors."

In view of these and other sentiments based on shrewd observation and an acute awareness of the geography involved in the burgeoning conflict, Evans did not make himself popular. His maps were almost universally acclaimed as superior productions, but many people did not like the frankness of his writings or his opinions concerning military and political strategy—conclusions which his government had not yet reached. His glory, therefore, came to him solely by virtue of his maps.

Like Thomas Hutchins, John Mitchell, and a few others, Lewis Evans tried to make his

maps tell a story—the big story of America. He gave his readers not only the best delineation of the country he could supply, but also added copious notes that explain the details which the lines of his maps cannot adequately explain. A prophet without a great deal of honor in his own land, because of his strong political convictions, Evans made the most of his opportunity to make his maps effective. In view of his feelings about the Ohio country, it is significant that on his *General Map* he added “A Sketch of the remaining part of Ohio,” as an inset on a smaller scale, just in case his readers should miss the point and overlook its importance.

The manuscript map here reproduced was drawn ten years after Evans died. It was selected because of the beautiful workmanship displayed by the man who made it. Evans is not given credit for the production, but it is Evans’ map, faithfully reproduced with a few minor alterations and small improvements. It is essentially his *General Map*, first published in 1755. However, it cannot be called an attempted forgery.

Whether the published writings of Lewis Evans were more influential than his maps in the formation of a colonial policy is a debatable point. Both were stimulating and informative. Neither brought him fame or fortune, but his contribution to American cartography was of paramount importance, and his political *Analysis*, though irritating to British officialdom, did much to goad the government into action and the formation of a policy that eventually resulted in the arbitration of the boundary disputes between England and France. The fact that Evans died a disillusioned, brokenhearted man did not affect the course of history, but his maps and his vivid description of the Ohio did. He remains one of the unsung prophets of the New World to the west of the Allegheny Mountains.

There are numerous references that might be cited concerning the life and accomplishments of Lewis Evans. He was a versatile man, and in colonial America was classed with a small but select group of “natural philosophers.” He knew and corresponded with many of the ranking scientists of the country including John Bartram, Cadwallader Colden, Peter Kalm, and others. Consequently one finds in the correspondence of these scientists many references to Evans: his broad knowledge, his intellectual curiosity, and his writings.

Evans’ principal biographer is Lawrence Henry Gipson, whose book *Lewis Evans*, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is a thorough study. Gipson, in turn, had reference to the early and important study of Evans made by Henry N. Stevens, as well as the writings of Charles O. Paullin and Lawrence C. Wroth. An invaluable source of information on Evans and his maps is the reprint edition of Thomas Pownall’s *Topographical Description*, which bears the title, *A topographical description of the dominions of the United States of America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949. This volume was ably edited by Lois Mulkearn.

ORIGINAL IN THE PEABODY INSTITUTE LIBRARY.

42. GORDON, HARRY

[1766]

River of Ohio by Capt Harry Gordon, Eng^t

24 x 12½ inches. Manuscript map.

The necessary reduction of this map reproduction makes it difficult to visualize the beauty and accuracy of the original manuscript; and nothing but a careful review of the journals and

correspondence relating to it could make the reader appreciate its importance in the history of the Ohio River. There are no doubt several manuscript copies ("fair copies") of this map in existence, but this one, unembellished, seems to have been done by Captain Gordon himself. In addition to being chief engineer in His Majesty's forces, Gordon was an expert draftsman.

The story of this map begins in 1765, when Bouquet and others came to the conclusion that the Illinois country would be a good place to establish English settlers and traders, and that the area would then have to be defended by British military forces. It was so ordered, and Fort Chartres was established by the 34th Regiment under the command of Major Robert Farmer in December of that year. At the same time it was decided that the best and safest route to the Illinois for the transportation of trade goods and military supplies was by way of Fort Pitt and the Ohio River to Fort Chartres. Once this line of communication had been established it would be easier to guard against the encroachment of the French and Spanish forces that were already established up and down the Mississippi River—no Englishman knew exactly where.

General Gage issued orders that were explicit and highly detailed in order to get the project under way. George Croghan, Indian agent, wise to the ways of the wilderness and an experienced hand at treating with the aborigine, was to lead an expedition from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres. He was to be well supplied with gifts for the Indians as well as trade goods to be used when the presents ran out. Gage also issued specific and detailed orders to two of his officers in the 60th Regiment: Captain Harry Gordon and Ensign Thomas Hutchins, both experienced engineers and cartographers. These men were to go with Croghan from Fort Pitt to the Illinois, and starting at Fort Pitt they were to explore and chart the Ohio River. They were to map it in minute detail, noting its course, mile by mile, its breadth, depth, and the strength of the current. They were to note any islands that might be suitable for camp sites and any level pieces of ground strategically located where military posts might be established to safeguard this potential trade route.

Having accomplished this mission they were to proceed on down the Mississippi, noting as they went the navigation of the river and the strength of the French and Spanish fortifications on the right bank. The party was also to examine the English posts at Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola, reporting on the condition of the fortifications. It was a large assignment, and one which resulted in the first accurate map or hydrographic survey of the Ohio River, as well as a creditable map of the Mississippi.

Captain Gordon and Ensign Hutchins received their orders in New York and proceeded at once to Fort Pitt. From there they set sail in a flotilla of seventeen batteaux, thirteen of them loaded with trade goods from the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan of Philadelphia. In two small boats were George Morgan, sent to oversee the establishment of a trading post, George Croghan, Harry Gordon, and Thomas Hutchins. Their craft were loaded with surveying instruments in addition to their personal luggage.

The journey down the Ohio was more or less comfortable, thanks to a plentiful supply of water in the river. The four men in the two small boats kept records, wrote letters and journals, made scientific observations, and mapped the river foot by foot. They worked twelve hours a day or more, depending on the weather and the current. The results of their labors were truly remarkable, and their records are among the most important documents relating to the Ohio.

Copies of Harry Gordon's journal of this trip can be found in the Shelburne MSS in the William Clements Library and in the Hutchins MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The papers of George Morgan are in the Illinois Historical Survey at Urbana, Illinois. In addition to the Hutchins manuscript collection already mentioned, the young engineer left an extremely important document in the form of a manuscript. It is entitled "Courses of the Ohio River taken by T. Hutchins Anno 1766." The original is in the Huntington Library. It represents, of course, the combined observations and measurements of both Hutchins and his superior officer made during their trip down the Ohio. The junior officer kept the records. As per instructions, Captain Gordon and Ensign Hutchins were thorough, and in orderly columns they recorded not only the latitude and longitude of stations along the way, but time, distance, condition of the current, and miscellaneous observations under the column headed "Remarks." This valuable record, edited by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., was published by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, 1942. George Croghan's journal of 1767 was edited by Howard H. Peckham and published in 1939.

ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

43. BRASIER, WILLIAM [1766]

The rapids of the Ohio, commonly called the Falls. 682 miles below Fort Pitt in 38°: 08' N. Latitude. By order of ye ch: Engineer. W. Brasier Delt.

15 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 inches. Manuscript map.

This map is one detail of the survey of the Ohio River undertaken by Captain Harry Gordon and Ensign Thomas Hutchins in 1766, on orders of General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America. Brasier, an assistant draftsman, made the sketch, either from the field notes of his two superior officers or from his own survey of that particular section of the river. The record does not say which. However, it is one of the many manuscript maps among the papers of General Gage.

Aside from the geographical details shown on this map, it is interesting because it is almost identical to the map which was engraved and published in the book written by Thomas Hutchins entitled *A topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*. London, 1778, between pp. 12-13.

The two maps vary only in minor details. The area depicted is the same and the channel is the same. On the printed map, which is a rather poor job of engraving, some of the artistry was lost, and the title was changed to *A plan of the Rapids, in the River Ohio*, by Tho^s Hutchins. A scale (in yards) was added and also a key to the lettered references to the important spots among the rapids, including "the safest and shortest Carrying Place." (Brun #692)

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

44. HUTCHINS, THOMAS [1766]

A sketch of the Ouabache &c from Post Vincent to the Ohio. By Tho. Hutchins.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 inches. Manuscript map.

This sketch map of some of the more important water courses north and northwest of the

Ohio River was drawn by one of the most important geographers in the history of Colonial America, and one of the most colorful.

Born in Monmouth County, New Jersey, Thomas Hutchins grew to be a faithful civil servant, a military officer, an engineer and map maker. He had a long and checkered career, first in the armed forces of His Majesty George III and later under the command of the President of the United States as first geographer to the new nation. He might also be classified as a trader and explorer, for at the time he flourished and worked his way out into the Western Country, that is about what every man who survived had to be.

His first military rank (in 1756) was ensign in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, and in short order he became quartermaster of the Third Battalion. With Forbes, he was present at the establishment of the first English garrison in the Ohio Valley.

After two years of work with George Croghan as deputy Indian agent, Hutchins applied for and received a commission as ensign in the British Army, and from then to the end of the Revolutionary War he was attached to the 60th or Royal American Regiment. By 1777 he had achieved the rank of captain. Because of his knowledge of the Western Country and his experience in the Indian department, Hutchins was frequently detached from the rank and file for special assignments, and he was often called upon to serve as guide, interpreter, engineer, and map maker. In each of these capacities he was well qualified to do the job at hand. His reputation grew and his services as a map maker were much in demand.

Acting in the capacity of an engineer he inspected nearly all the British posts in North America from Michillimacinae to Pensacola; he also helped to choose sites for new ones and design their fortifications. His criticism of some of the existing forts, reflecting no great credit on their commanding officers, did not make him the most popular man in the British Army.

During the Revolutionary War, Hutchins was in trouble, and his reputation as a loyal servant of the Crown was questioned in several quarters. Because of his former association with such infamous characters as Benjamin Franklin, and the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in Philadelphia, it is not surprising that Hutchins was accused of treasonable correspondence with the rebels. Moreover, his knowledge of the country, not to mention his numerous maps and sketches, made him suspect and a man to watch.

By the time Hutchins died he had acquired enough fame as a geographer and map maker to be written up by the newspapers of the day, and several biographical sketches of him appeared in various odd places, such as in *The American Museum*, Vol. VII, p. 212. These notices are uniformly inaccurate. However, a thorough study of the life and professional career of Hutchins was made in 1942 by Anna Margaret Quattrocchi, and the manuscript of this work can be found in the library of the University of Pittsburgh. Unfortunately it has not yet been published. Another valuable work is *Thomas Hutchins: The Courses of the Ohio River*, edited by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., and published by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, 1942.

ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

45. HUTCHINS, THOMAS

[1766]

A map of the country on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, shewing the situation of the Indian

towns with respect to the army under the command of Colonel Bouquet. By Tho^s Hutchins Asst^t Engineer. (In Smith, William: *An historical account of the expedition against the Ohio Indians* . . . London, 1766.)

14 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 12 inches. Engraved map.

This dual map, which was engraved and published in 1766, represents a composite picture of the country through which Colonel Bouquet marched in 1764. The upper two-thirds of the plate obviously includes a great deal more of the territory than was necessary to depict the march—wilderness that was not involved in the campaign. The lower third: *A survey of that part of the country through which Colonel Bouquet marched in 1764*, is much closer to the point.

The map as well as the book are compilations of information gleaned from one source or another. The authorship of the book was attributed to Thomas Hutchins for many years, but this matter has since been settled by the discovery of a letter from William Smith, provost of the University of Philadelphia, to Sir William Johnson dated January 13, 1766, which seems to prove that Smith was at least the compiler of the work. Regardless of who wrote the text and who brought together in journalistic form the account of Bouquet's expedition, there is no question about the authorship of this and the other maps and sketches that came out in the book. They belong to Thomas Hutchins. And there is no question that the book and the maps are the official account of the nearly disastrous foray. Hutchins worked closely with Colonel Bouquet, his superior officer, and it is likely that the two men, and possibly others, pooled their knowledge of the march and brought it together for William Smith to write.

Hutchins was a temperamental man and one who took great pride in his work. Bouquet wanted the account published, and with the maps Hutchins had made of the campaign. A brief, but interesting correspondence ensued, because Hutchins did not approve of the arrangements, for some reason. Bouquet finally convinced Hutchins that all would be well and that his maps would redound to his credit. The end result of this minor dispute between a map maker and his superior officer is one of the most attractive maps on a small scale that was engraved in the eighteenth century. Moreover, it is a compilation of geographical information that is far above the average of the day, embodying as it does the information furnished by an engineer in the field and one who was in a position to draw his map with authority and conviction.

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

46. PATTERSON, DAN

[1767]

Contonment of His Majesty's forces in N. America according to the disposition now made & to be compleated as soon as practicable, taken from the general distribution dated at New York 29th March 1766 with the alterations to Summer 1767 done in yellow. By Dan Patterson, Ass^t Q^r M^r Gen^l. [assistant quartermaster general.]

24 x 20 inches. Manuscript map.

Captain Dan Patterson was one of two young officers sent by Colonel Bouquet to inspect the ruins of the forts of Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle, after they were abandoned and destroyed by the French in 1759. The other man was Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins. Their journal "from Pittsburgh to Presque Isle" is in the Bouquet Papers.

This beautifully executed map was more or less a standard which was revised periodically in color to indicate any changes that might have been made since the last one with regard to the distribution of troops and location of English posts throughout the country. It was, in effect, a headquarters map, and this copy, as the author indicates, has been revised up to the summer of 1767.

ORIGINAL IN LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

47. [STUART, JOHN]

[June, 1773]

[A map of the territory lying between the Ohio River on the North, the Louisa River on the West, and the alleged boundary of North Carolina on the south, including the tract of land which was to be a new colony]

13½ x 10½ inches. Manuscript map.

The author of this map, John Stuart, was a man of parts—a seasoned woodsman, explorer, and surveyor, who played an important role in the promotion and development of the Ohio River. He was also an officer in the British Army and came to America in 1733 with General James E. Oglethorpe. He learned fast, about the Indians and their ways as well as the colonial policy of the home government in handling them. He survived and flourished when other men of superior rank failed and perished. In 1763 he was appointed general agent and superintendent of Indian Affairs and handled his job with great skill, never forgetting his own private interests or the great possibilities to be found in the lands of North America.

John Stuart made several maps in the line of duty and in behalf of a great real estate venture that developed along the Ohio River, namely, the "New Colony." This was a project, first suggested about 1763, which visualized the settlement of a new English colony in the Illinois country. Many people in England and along the eastern seaboard of America liked the idea, and several political and commercial combines were organized to see that such a colony was surveyed and settled by English subjects. It was the era of the first great land companies in America, and many prosperous and influential citizens both here and abroad became involved in the scheme. Predominant were certain merchant interests in eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia. A great deal of money was invested and a great deal of political pressure was exerted by the interested parties to see that the project was well launched and given the stamp of approval by the home government. Many of the investors, in advance of the act, had never laid eyes on the territory, but from the glowing reports they received from such people as George Croghan, Indian agent and trader who knew the country, they were well satisfied and ready to go ahead, with or without royal sanction. The borders of the Ohio were pronounced rich, and well able to produce cash crops such as sugar, tobacco, rice, and possibly silk because of the great quantities of white mulberry trees in the region.

All might have gone well with this grand project had it not been for an Indian chief named Pontiac and a host of his warriors who were unfamiliar with or refused to recognize the rules of civilized warfare. Aided and abetted by their French sponsors, they marched on the country in force. The "Suff'rin Traders" as they were called, did more than suffer—they died, scalped and killed by Indian marauders. These unorganized traders, trappers, and pioneer settlers,

some of them “planted” to protect a land claim and supported on credit supplied by eastern merchants, were scattered if they survived a massacre. The territory received a bad name, investors lost money, and a great colonizing project in behalf of Anglo-Americana was in jeopardy.

Like most speculators and gamblers, the financial supporters of the enterprise screamed for help, and because they were among the most influential citizens in the country their pleas for restitution were heard. Shares in the hastily organized land companies were at a low ebb, far below par, and many people, including the surveyors and map makers who had been employed to stake out land claims in the Illinois, stood to lose everything they had invested. However, not all of the interested parties gave up entirely, and after considerable manoeuvring, the “Walpole Company,” reorganized as the Grand Ohio Company, petitioned the government for a grant of land on the Ohio. Ostensibly it was for the purpose of establishing a new colony, but actually it was an attempt on the part of some commercial interests to get some part of their investment back.

The proposed new colony was to be called Vandalia. Its boundaries and acreage varied with the parties concerned and the surveyors involved. The petitioners knew approximately what they wanted in the way of a grant, but some of them were at a loss to describe it in terms of geography. It varied in size from a paltry few hundred thousand acres to 20,000,000 acres. Because of this chaotic situation the matter was referred to the home government, and John Stuart and his deputy, Alexander Cameron, were given the job of surveying a piece of land that to all intents and purposes had no boundaries. Generally speaking, the boundaries of Vandalia, the new colony, were said to be the Ohio River on the north, the southern and western boundaries of Pennsylvania to the south, an irregular and uncertain line somewhere in the Appalachians on the eastward side, and the Kentucky River on the west. (See Alvord: *The Mississippi Valley*, Vol. II, p. 150, for further information.) However, before negotiations were ended a much larger tract was recommended by England’s Board of Trade to “be separated from the colony of Virginia” and included in the new colony of Vandalia.

The excuse for the expansion was that the law might be better enforced throughout a larger area. According to Alvord, the new and revised limits of the proposed new colony cut Virginia entirely from the West. They extended from the Pennsylvania boundary down the Ohio to the Kentucky River, up that river to its source, and “thence by a straight line drawn from the springhead of the said river until it strikes that part of the Holstein River which is intersected by the North Line of Earl Granville’s grant, being the line that separates the province of North Carolina from that of Virginia,” and thence along that line to its intersection with the Great Kanawha, down that river to the Green Briar River; up that river and up the northeast branch of it to the Alleghany Mountains, and thence along Lord Fairfax’s line. The western boundary of the colony of Vandalia from the mouth of the Scioto southward meant nothing thereafter, nor did the prohibition concerning settlements, as shown on John Stuart’s map, because “the Indian boundary line and the western boundary were one and the same.”

The maps that attempted to depict the limits of the proposed colony of Vandalia added to the confusion. John Stuart and his deputy surveyors were no help and were sharply criticized for their naming of the “Louisa River.” The officials and agents of the land companies were not at all sure which river it was. This single place name is a classic example of the confusion

which can be caused by place names on maps of any age. It was called the Kentucky and the Catawba as well as the Louisa. However, it is clearly stated on the map itself that the land ceded to His Majesty by the Cherokees, lying to the west of the proposed new colony, was not to be granted to or occupied by any white subject—by special order from the King. This note might have added “until further notice, or until we know exactly where the land lies, and who are the most prosperous claimants.”

For further information on this grand boundary dispute and the probable location of the “New Colony,” see Clarence W. Alvord: *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1917, Vol. II, pp. 85–87, 151, 186 ff. See also Albert T. Volwiler: *George Croghan and the Westward Movement*, Cleveland, 1926, pp. 264–66, 271 ff. See also John Alden: *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, Ann Arbor, 1944, pp. 286 ff. for an important discussion of the territory and John Stuart’s part in its exploitation.

The original of this map is in the Papers of the Continental Congress (Record Group II, No. 71, Part II, p. 197). THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

48. GEORGE WASHINGTON

[1773]

“Plat of the Survey [of] the little Kanhawa 28,400 acres made in 1773” (title from verso).

24 x 14 inches. Manuscript map.

This is one of several plats made by or for George Washington in connection with his land holdings on the Ohio. Most of the others are in the Library of Congress. Because Washington’s map-making hand varied from time to time it is difficult to determine or say with any degree of assurance that this plat was drawn by him, even though there is no question about the handwriting in the lower right corner. And after studying the original with care this writer believes that Washington’s signature was clipped from the bottom of this map by an enterprising autograph collector at some time in the past. But whether the plat was actually drawn by Washington or by some one of the surveyors he employed, such as William Crawford, makes little difference to the story behind it.

George Washington was a Virginia gentleman who lived the part. Born and raised in a community of landed gentry, he maintained a rather lavish establishment and supported large tracts of land. Like many of his peers he was often in debt, but instead of retrenching and revising his way of living he expanded his land holdings in order to help maintain his plantation and the slaves who were dependent on him for support.

While the land companies in the east were jockeying for choice grants of land in the Ohio country, with special reference to the proposed new colony of Vandalia, Washington was appointed to act in behalf of the “soldiers who enlisted in Virginia for protecting frontiers against Indians.” These loyal subjects had been promised bounty lands on the “Western Waters” for their services, according to His Majesty’s proclamation of 1763. Washington, himself, wanted his share of the bounty, and was justly irritated by the government’s failure to make a decision. No one knew how matters stood, and no person in authority was willing to act without having a clear statement of policy in advance.

However, regardless of official sanction, everyone aimed his sights at the Ohio, and surveyors

representing many different vested interests went into the field, staking out claims to which there might never be a clear title. When Washington's fellow soldiers wrote him to find out what the chances were of obtaining their land grants, he was not in a position to answer. And when there were inquiries about the advisability of paying a surveyor to stake out a claim in advance of official sanction, Washington was at a loss to know what to say. "I own it is a kind of lottery," he wrote John Armstrong, "and whether the chance of a prize is not worth the expense of a survey, is a point in question. As subjects and individuals of the community at large, we are at least on a par with those who are occupying the country; but whether any of these pleas, under the present discouragements of government, will avail anything, is a mere matter of speculation, on which every person must exercise his own powers of reflection."

In November of 1773, Washington wrote to Earl Dunmore, telling his lordship that his soldiers were getting impatient; that as everyone knew, there were no lands available for bounty grants except those that lay by the Western Waters. He therefore humbly requested, on behalf of the Virginia troops, that they be granted permission "to survey on the Ohio River and its waters below the mouth of the Scioto (the Western boundary of the New Colony, should it ever take place)." His lordship was also reminded that the Pennsylvania troops had already surveyed 200,000 acres in the region, on the assumption that their patents to the land would be cleared. And Washington added that "the Country is spreading over with Emigrants, and experience has convinced all those who have had occasion to attend to the matter, that these people when once fixed are not to be dispossessed, were it politic to attempt it."

Permission to make the survey was finally granted, and on December 30, 1773, Washington was able to address a letter to the Virginia troops, telling them that their lands were finally patented and that they lay, "with others, in a Tract of 28,400 Acres, on the little Kanheway a branch of the Ohio about 200 miles below Fort Pitt, and the uppermost survey on the Ohio, granted to the following Persons in the proportions annexed . . . viz:"

	Acres
To Captn. Jacob Vanbraam	9,000
Danl. Richardson representative of Capt. Stobo	9,000
James Tower's heir	6,000
Andw. Towles	400
Thos. Napp	400
Arthur Watt's heir	400
Jesse May (assigned to Jno. Fox)	400
Frans. Self	400
Robtt. Stewart	400
Robt. Murphy	400
Jno. Smith	400
Alexr. Bonny	400
Wm. Horn's heirs	400
William McAnulty	400
Total (also amt. of the Survey)	28,400

In addition to this list of patentees, Washington addressed a few words of wisdom and advice to his soldiers in the same communication. He told them that they were to go ahead with

the subdivision of this tract as soon as possible. He also reminded them that they were to cultivate three acres out of every fifty they had been granted or make improvements on their lands to the amount of fifty pounds for every fifty acres; otherwise they were in danger of losing their grants. Washington also reminded his men that he and a few other officers had paid out a considerable sum of money in the course of prosecuting their claims, and that he would expect them to forward their share of the cost at their earliest convenience.

In spite of this rather firm letter of warning to his troops, Washington was well aware of the impractical clauses that bound his men. He had already written Earl Dunmore and the Council, reminding them that the division of this huge tract of land into individual parcels would take a long time, and that therefore the cultivation of any part or parcel was impossible. For how could a man begin to improve a piece of land until he knew what was his to improve? Moreover, he felt that the men who had paid out cash in order to secure their claims should not be penalized, "inasmuch as they have paid for that which it is not in their power to come at."

It will be noted that Washington's own lands on the Ohio are not included in this list of grantees, nor are they listed on the plat itself. His lands are listed with others on different plats and maps in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress. Several of these have been reproduced in other books; among them is *The George Washington Atlas*, edited by Lawrence Martin. Washington, U. S. George Washington Bicentennial Commission, 1932. This volume contains, among others, reproductions of twenty-eight maps made by Washington, seven used and annotated by him, and eight made under his direction, or for his use. For a fascinating account of Washington's trials and tribulations in connection with the lands on the Ohio, see *The Writings of George Washington*, edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick, Washington, 1931, Vol. III, pp. 149-189 ff.

ORIGINAL IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

49. SCULL, WILLIAM

1775

A map of Pennsylvania, exhibiting not only the improved parts of that province, but also its extensive frontiers: laid down from actual surveys, and chiefly from the late map of W. Scull published in 1770 . . . London, for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, 1775.

53 x 27 inches. Printed map.

The name of Scull is synonymous with map making in colonial Pennsylvania. Nicholas Scull, born about 1700, started his surveying career when he was in his early twenties, and in 1748 he succeeded William Parsons as Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. At intervals he acted as interpreter for the Delaware Indians. His standing in the community was high; he was appointed sheriff of Philadelphia County in 1744, and sheriff of Northampton County, 1753-1755. Among his other affiliations, he was a member of Benjamin Franklin's Junto. In 1759, Scull's map of the improved parts of Pennsylvania was published by Act of Parliament. This was the first of many maps compiled and published by the Scull family. In collaboration with George Heap, Nicholas Scull produced several maps and views of Philadelphia.

Nicholas Scull had five sons who were surveyors: James, Peter, William, Edward, and Jasper. Son William distinguished himself by compiling a map of Pennsylvania which was engraved

on three sheets and published in London in 1775. It was not his first map, but it was probably the most important one he made. Justin Winsor calls it one of the principal contemporary maps of that part of the country. Like many map makers, William Scull drew on other authorities for some of his information, and the only claim made for this map was that it was "laid down from actual surveys and chiefly from the late map of W. Scull." This edition of William Scull's map may therefore be considered an enlarged and improved version of the map he produced in 1770, which is the "late map" referred to.

One can only surmise the sources of his information, but from the appearance of the edition of 1775, it is obvious that Scull took advantage of the best available cartographic information at the time. It is equally clear that the map is a superior production in every respect, especially the section here reproduced on a slightly reduced scale. It is a brave attempt to portray a part of the country which was even then not known well. The old road from Fort Cumberland and the "New Road" are neatly shown, as well as many settlements and "forts" that are not indicated on other maps of the period. Most of the important geographical details on this section trickle out at "Chartier's Old Town," but the "Road from Fort Pitt to Presqu'Isle" is indicated by a double line. No attempt is made to indicate the topography along that difficult route through the wilderness.

Scull's map has been reproduced many times, either in whole or in part. His map of Pennsylvania, made and published in 1770, was dedicated to Thomas Penn and Richard Penn. It was a smaller map (32 x 27 inches). The map of 1775 was engraved in England and published by Robert Sayer and John Bennett, June 10, 1775. It was well received by the public and widely circulated, for obvious reasons: it was a good map, and one that would prove very useful in time of war, and to the Eastern speculators who were involved in the development of that part of the country. It was bound into *The American Atlas* of Thomas Jefferys, published by Sayer & Bennett in 1776. William Faden used it, by arrangement with the publishers, in his *North American Atlas*, London, 1777. A French version was published by Georges Louis Le Rouge in his *Atlas Américain Septentrional*, Paris, [1777], with a sub-title: *La Pensilvanie en trois feuilles. Traduite des meilleures cartes Anglaises*. A facsimile of this version of the map was published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 3, Appendix 1—X.

ORIGINAL IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

50. [MONTRESOR, JOHN]

[1776]

[A map of the Ohio River from Fort Pitt in Latitude 40° 28' 30" to a point just above the mouth of the Muskingum River]

11 x 12 inches. Manuscript map.

This map is undoubtedly a fragment, slightly reduced in size, of a much larger map. It was made either from an original survey by Montresor himself or from the information supplied by the maps of Captain Harry Gordon and Ensign Thomas Hutchins.

Montresor was an engineer in the British Army. Born in Gibraltar, he was taught engineering by his father, James, a very able officer in His Majesty's service. In 1754 John Montresor came to North America and joined Braddock's Army with the rank of ensign. The following year he

received his commission as lieutenant. However, he did not achieve the rank of practitioner engineer until 1758. During the Seven Years War he led scouting expeditions along with other army engineers and carried dispatches from post to post. He was wounded at the Monongahela, and served with British forces along the Mohawk and at Fort Edward. Apparently he was more affluent than some of his colleagues, for he purchased Montresor's Island (Randall's Island) in New York harbor before the Revolutionary War was over. In 1775 he was commissioned chief engineer in North America and served in that capacity as a skilled map maker and draftsman. Many of his maps are beautiful to look at and extremely accurate.

The above map is not one of his best productions from the standpoint of draftsmanship, but it is a clear picture of the area involved in this study. Montresor's manuscript maps are scattered and sequestered in libraries and archives both here and abroad. Biographical information on the man will be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and several secondary sources relating to Pontiac's War and the American Revolution, especially in the British Headquarters Papers in the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

ORIGINAL IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

51. HUTCHINS, THOMAS

1778

A new map of the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina; comprehending the river Ohio, and all the rivers, which fall into it; part of the River Mississippi, the whole of the Illinois River, Lake Erie; part of the Lakes Huron, Michigan &c. And all the country bordering on these lakes and rivers. By Tho^s Hutchins, Captain in the 60 Regiment of Foot. London Published according to Act of Parliament . . . 1778 by T. Hutchins.

44 x 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Printed map.

This reproduction is a small section representing no more than one-sixth of the entire map whose title is given above. However, it is a part of a map which should be included in any work dealing with the cartography of the Ohio River. The map as a whole was compiled to accompany and supplement a volume entitled *A topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* . . . London, 1778. These publications, the map, and the small book, represented to the author the culmination of a long career as an engineer and map maker in the wilderness of North America, and he hoped to make the most out of its publication. Although Hutchins contributed a good percentage of the information to be found on the map and in the book, based on his own travels and observations, he was frank to admit that both were compilations of information gathered from many sources. The engineering fraternity working in the North American colonies was a small one, and the number of men making maps, either in an official or semiofficial capacity, was even smaller. Hutchins either knew them personally or the work they had done, and he drew from the best, acknowledging his indebtedness for the assistance they had given him in compiling his large-scale map, his *opus magnum*. Some he mentioned by name; all he would have been glad to credit, for he was an honest and conscientious worker.

Thanks to a promotional campaign that would have done justice to any present-day salesman, and an engraver who was one of England's best, Hutchins did well with his small book and large-scale map. To be sure they were not universally accepted, but they served their purpose well.

There were those, like George Washington, who granted that it was a good map, but qualified their praise with criticism of its technical accuracy as to the latitudes and longitudes of various places. Other critics found fault with the location of Indian towns, English settlements, and the courses of rivers. Nevertheless, the Hutchins' map was well received, and as a "General" map of the area it depicted, it was a great success. It furnished the reader not only a broad panorama of a little-known region of his world, but a fascinating series of notes or "legends" interspersed between geographical details. It located deposits of "Coals," salt, petroleum, and lead. Northwest of the Ohio, Hutchins described the land as "level, rich & well timbered," and added that it "abounds in very extensive natural Meadows or Savannahs, and innumerable Herds of Buffaloe, Elk, Deer, &c. It yields Rye, Hemp, Pea Vine, Wild Indigo, Red & White Clover &c." In Lake Michigan, "a vast Collection of Fresh Water," there were trout from 20 to 60 pounds in weight, and some had been taken near the Strait of Michilimackinac that weighed upwards of 90 pounds. With these and other interesting notes, the Hutchins' map could not fail.

In the preface to his *Topographical Description* Hutchins went further than most map makers in an attempt to give his readers the sources of his information, freely admitting to all and sundry that no map of this size and scope could ever be compiled entirely from the surveys and personal observations of any one man. He said:

Those parts of the country lying *westward* of the Allegheny mountains, and upon the rivers Ohio and Mississippi [*sic*], and upon most of the other rivers; and the lakes (laid down in my Map) were done from my own Surveys, and corrected by my own Observations of latitudes, made at different periods preceding, and during all the campaigns of the *last* war (in several of which I acted as an Engineer) and *since* in many reconnoitring tours, which I made through various parts of the country, between the years 1764 and 1775.

I have compared my own Observations and Surveys, respecting the lakes, with those made by Captain Brehm of the 60th Regiment of Foot (who was for many years employed as an Engineer in North America) and I find, that they correspond with more exactness than Surveys usually do, which are made by different persons, at different times;—and I am happy in this opportunity, of expressing my obligations to this Gentleman, for the cheerfulness with which he furnished me with his Surveys and Remarks.

In addition to the sources of information on Thomas Hutchins quoted elsewhere in this volume, see Hicks, Frederick Charles: *Thomas Hutchins—A topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina*, Cleveland, 1904.

A handsome reproduction of the entire Hutchins' map, tinted, will be found in Sara Jones Tucker: *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Plate XXIX.

ORIGINAL IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

52. [DAVID HARTLEY]

1783–84

[A sketch of the United States of America according to the Definitive Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, showing the proposed new colonies or states to be laid out along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.]

9½ x 7 inches. Manuscript map.

Of the four commissioners empowered by their respective governments to negotiate the Definitive Treaty between England and the United States at the end of the American Revolution,

David Hartley is the least known, and for legitimate reasons. First of all he represented the mother country, and was therefore not popular at the time in American political circles. Second, his name was somewhat obscured by the other three men, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, who were acting in behalf of the newly born nation. Yet David Hartley, like Edmund Burke and many others, was firmly opposed to a separation of the American colonies. He talked about it and he wrote about it. His published *Letters on the American War* are enlightening. But David Hartley was a good politician and a trained diplomat, and when the cards were down he played his hand like a loyal subject of the Crown, in spite of his regard and friendship for Benjamin Franklin. Hartley chose to stay with England.

The four men who sat down at the conference table in Paris were under great pressure from their governments as well as from the other nations of Europe who carefully watched the proceedings from the sidelines, each hoping to get a stake in the vast territory under dispute. The commissioners brought up and discussed in minute detail not only the principal boundaries involved. They and their governments did their best to anticipate the future possibilities of the country with respect to trade, and where it would be coming from. There were the fisheries to be considered; the vast timberlands were certainly worth a struggle; and the almost untapped mineral resources of the continent constituted one of the more prominent jokers in the deck that was being gingerly handled at the council table. Seldom if ever have diplomats and traders worked harder to settle differences and still come up with a profit.

Why David Hartley made this map is a mystery. But one can guess that as British commissioner and an old friend of many prominent American citizens such as Benjamin Franklin he was well aware of the potential value of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, as well as some of the plans these men had made to settle and exploit them. Armed with this information he could do some fancy political juggling—and trading. The Ohio was most certainly one of the important subjects discussed in the negotiation of the Definite Treaty, officially and otherwise.

The idea of adding ten or more new colonies to the nation stemmed from Thomas Jefferson, the man of vision who believed in the land—any and all land. He was ready and willing to see his country buy up everything from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Gulf of Mexico northward to whatever boundary line might be established between the United States and Canada. His dreams for the Ohio country were no secret, and Hartley and others knew about them. How long Jefferson had dreamed of this expansion of the country will never be known. However, when the time came to state his plan in official circles, the fourteen colonies shown on Hartley's sketch had been reduced to ten. Jefferson had not only laid his out on a map, he had given them names: Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoisia, Saratoga, Polypotamia, Pelisipia, and Washington.

Hartley's plan differs considerably from the one proposed by Jefferson. It divides the territory in and around the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys into fourteen states, the last five lying south of the Ohio River. In effect, these fourteen proposed states partitioned all of the unclaimed territory, and some that had already been claimed by the original colonies, lying between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi—any that could possibly be considered a part of the new United States of America.

David Hartley's fourteen colonies never materialized. Jefferson had better luck with his

proposed *ten* new states. By a "Resolve of Congress of April 23^d 1784, "the land, all of it lying Northwest of the Ohio, was divided into new states. But even though the project was officially approved, the Jeffersonian states did not come into being. There were too many vested interests involved, too many commitments already made to try to arbitrate a geometrical partitioning of the land. The Ohio had already been explored, and the exploitation of it was so well under way that no government could have done much about the situation except go along with the original grants and hope for the best. The end result has proved more than satisfactory.

ORIGINAL IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY.

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This selective list includes books in three general categories.

The first contains some of the fundamental references and bibliographies relating to historical cartography. These might be classed as technical or tools of the trade. Most of them are out of print and some are rare.

The second group includes some of the more important published journals and documents, either originals, translations, or reprints, that relate to the discovery and exploration of the Ohio River.

The third includes a few of the more important books recently published which can be found in most public libraries.

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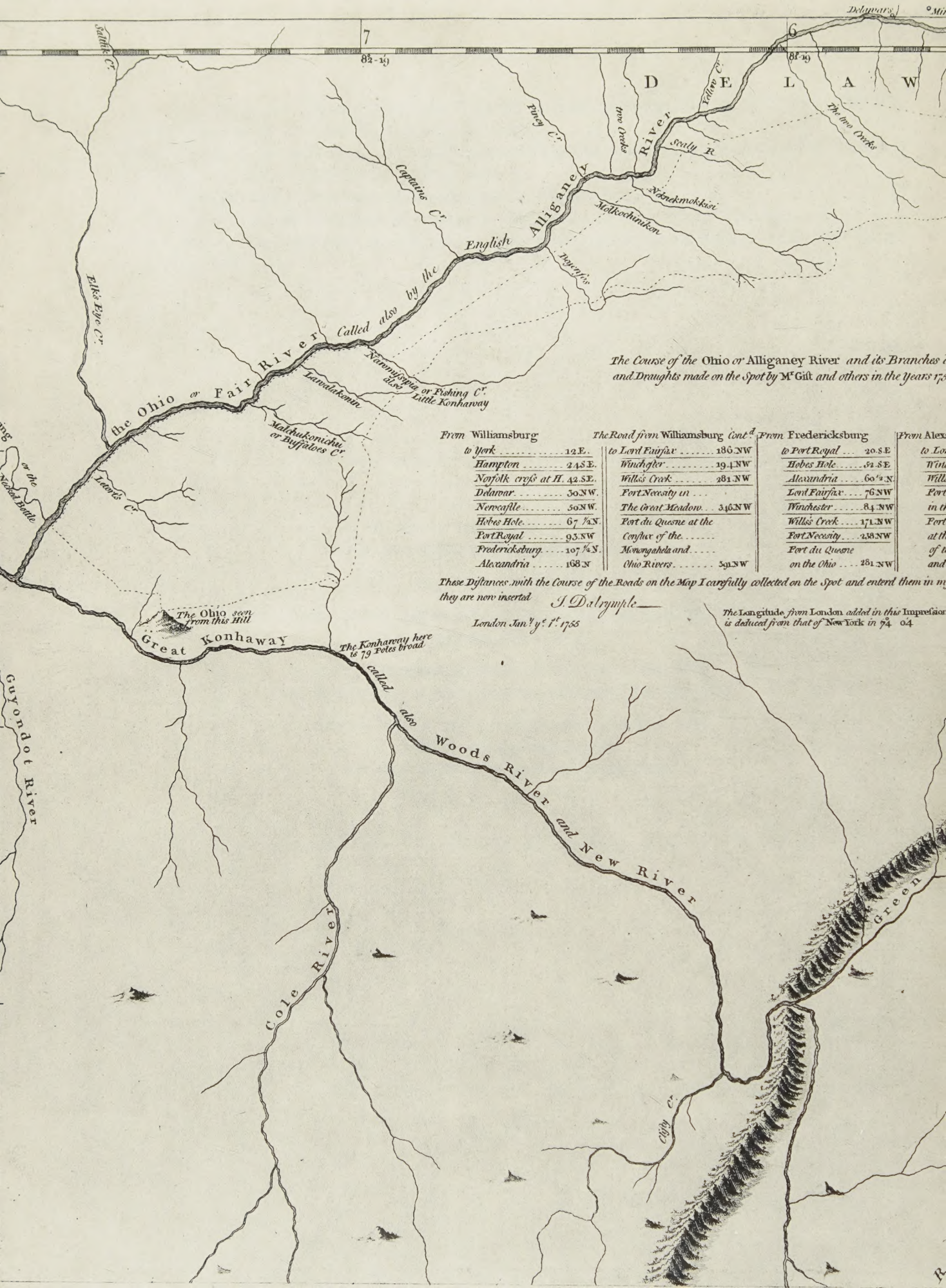
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BACK ENDPAPER. Fry and Jefferson map of 1775.



The Course of the Ohio or Alliganeey River and its Branches and Draughts made on the Spot by M^r Gist and others in the years 1755

From Williamsburg	The Road from Williamsburg Cont ^d	From Fredericksburg	From Alex ^a
to York 12 E.	to Lord Fairfax 186 NW	to Port Royal 20 S E	to Lo.....
Hampton 24 S E.	Winchger 194 NW	Hobbs Hole 52 S E.	Wit.....
Norfolk creek at H. 42 S E.	Willis Creek 281 NW	Alexandria 60 1/2 N.	Will.....
Delaware 50 S W.	Fort Necessity in ..	Lord Fairfax 76 NW	Port.....
Newcastle 56 N W.	The Great Meadow 346 NW	Winchester 84 NW	in th.....
Hobbs Hole 67 1/2 S.	Fort du Quene at the	Willis Creek 171 NW	Port.....
Port Royal 93 S W.	Coyote of the ..	Fort Necessity 238 NW	at th.....
Fredericksburg 107 1/2 S.	Monongahela and ..	Fort du Quene	of th.....
Alexandria 168 N	Ohio Rivers 531 NW	on the Ohio 281 NW	and ..

These Distances with the Course of the Roads on the Map I carefully collected on the Spot and enter them in my Journal they are now inserted

J. Dalrymple

London Jan^y 1st 1755

The Longitude from London added in this Impression is deduced from that of New York in 74 04

