


1988

The Land of Norumbega - Maine in the Age of Exploration and Settlement

Maine Humanities Council

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.usm.maine.edu/oml_exhibits

 Part of the [Canadian History Commons](#), [Latin American History Commons](#), [Other Geography Commons](#), [Other History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

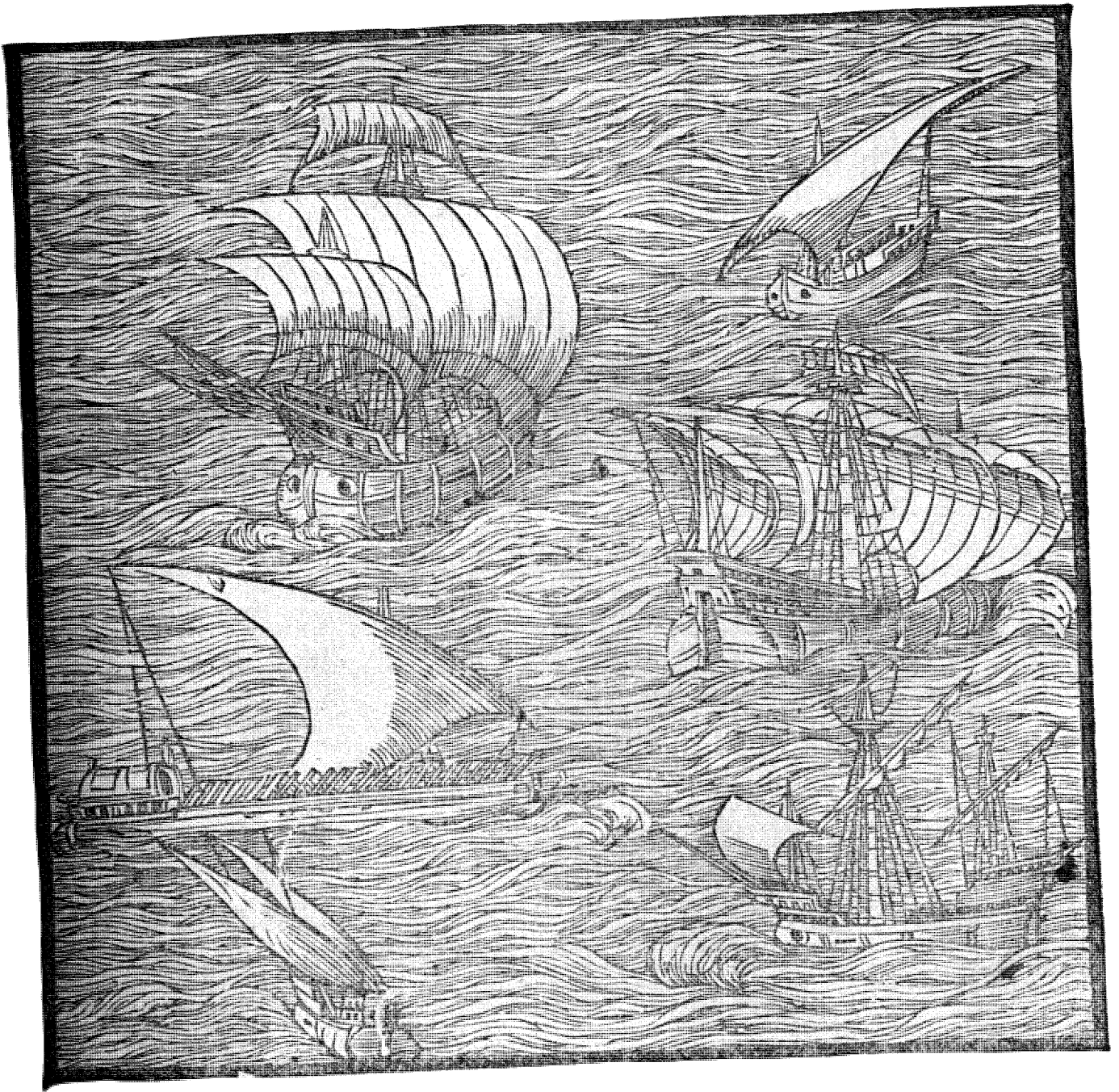
Maine Humanities Council, "The Land of Norumbega - Maine in the Age of Exploration and Settlement" (1988). *Osher Map Library Exhibition Catalogs*. 12.
https://digitalcommons.usm.maine.edu/oml_exhibits/12

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at USM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Osher Map Library Exhibition Catalogs by an authorized administrator of USM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact jessica.c.hovey@maine.edu.

THE LAND OF NORUMBEGA

Maine in the Age of Exploration and Settlement

THE LAND OF NORUMBEGA



THE LAND OF NORUMBEGA

Maine in the Age of Exploration and Settlement



An Exhibition by Susan Danforth
Maine Humanities Council
Portland, Maine 1988

This catalogue has been published in conjunction with the exhibition,
"The Land of Norumbega: Maine in the Age of Exploration and Settlement"

Portland Museum of Art
15 November 1988 through 22 January 1989

Hudson Museum, University of Maine
March 1989 through June 1989

The exhibition has been organized by the Maine Humanities Council. This project is made possible by grants from the Davis Family Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency.

Copyright © 1988 by the Maine Humanities Council. All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that copying permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law and except for reviewers for the public press) without written permission from the Maine Humanities Council (P.O. Box 7202, Portland, ME 04112).

Printed in the United States of America.

This catalogue has been composed, printed, and bound by Penmor Lithographers. Design by Mahan Graphics.
Photographs by John Tanabe.
Library of Congress Card Number 88-63346
ISBN 0-9621545-0-4

Frontispiece: Detail, *L'Arte del Navegar*. Pedro Medina. Venice, 1554. Osher Collection.

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

Bowdoin College Library

Bowdoin College Museum of Art

Maine Historical Society

Maine State Archives

Maine State Library

Maine State Museum

Harold and Peggy Osher

Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts

University of Maine/R. H. Fogler Library

University of Southern Maine Library/Eleanor Houston

and Lawrence M.C. Smith Cartographic Collection

Other Private Collections

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This exhibition began in 1986, when the University of Southern Maine received an extraordinary collection of rare maps, atlases, and globes, donated by Lawrence M.C. and Eleanor Houston Smith. The collection reflected the Smiths' interests in history and geography and their devotion to the Maine coast, expressed as well by their generous gifts of land to the state. In 1987, in response to a call from the National Endowment for the Humanities for programs relating to the Columbian Quincentenary, the Maine Humanities Council submitted a proposal for "The Land of Norumbega" project. The Smith Cartographic Collection, rich in material relating to the early exploration and settlement of New England and Maine, shaped our thinking about a public humanities project that would illuminate a complex and neglected topic. Other important cartographic resources in the state expanded our conceptual framework.

The Land of Norumbega contained many components: an exhibition, a symposium for scholars, a public conference, followed by outreach programs throughout the state. The Maine Humanities Council hoped to stimulate public interest in Maine history, in the Native American experience, in the lore of ships and navigation, in the interpretation of maps as cultural texts, and in the relationship between history and geography. The exhibition defined and summarized the major themes and intellectual content of the project.

Numerous individuals and institutions have helped to make the exhibition possible. We are grateful to the University of Southern Maine for the loan of materials from the Smith Cartographic Collection. President Patricia Plante, George Parks of the University Library, and Kinvin Wroth, chair of the committee overseeing the collection, were all helpful. A large measure of gratitude is owed Dr. Harold and Peggy Osher, whose encouragement and enthusiasm for the project from its inception, cartographic expertise, and willingness to lend many fine works from their own collection have been invaluable.

We wish also to thank the other lending institutions and the members of their staff who have assisted us: Eric Flower of the R. H. Fogler Library at the University of Maine; James Henderson of the Maine State Archives; Elizabeth Maule and Elizabeth Miller of the Maine Historical Society; Arthur Monke of the Bowdoin College Library; J. Gary Nichols of the Maine State Library; Paul Rivard of the Maine State Museum; Katharine Watson and Henrietta Tye of the Bowdoin College Museum of Art.

Many scholars have helped in important ways to shape the content and intellectual scope of the exhibition. We could not have undertaken this project without the superb scholarship and wit of Susan Danforth, Curator of Maps

and Prints at the John Carter Brown Library, who is the curator of the exhibition. Advisory scholars who deserve special recognition for their fine help are Emerson Baker, Executive Director of the York Institute Museum; Bruce Bourque, Archaeologist at the Maine State Museum; Richard Candee, Director, Preservation Studies Program at Boston University; Edwin Churchill, Chief Curator at the Maine State Museum; Joseph Conforti, Director, New England Studies Program at the University of Southern Maine; Victor Konrad, Director of the Canadian-American Center at the University of Maine; Harald Prins, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Colby College. Thanks are also owed to advisors John Allen, Kathy Brann, William Browder Jr., Marcia Carlisle, Richard Emerick, Robert French, Roger Howell, Kristine Jones, Eunice Nelson, Robert Rothschild, Susan Wegner.

The exhibition was designed and produced by Duncan Smith and David Seibert of the Boston Museum Design Group, with poster and exhibition logo by George Hughes. We offer special thanks to Director Barbara Shissler Nosanow and the entire staff of the Portland Museum of Art. Curator Martha Severens has assisted the project in every aspect, and Registrar Barbara Redjinski provided invaluable help.

The catalogue was designed by Mahan Graphics, with photography by John Tanabe, and printing by Penmor Lithographers. Ingrid Monke served as the able coordinator for the exhibition, the associated conference, and the catalogue. Deborah Zorach assisted this effort. Their dedication and hard work are appreciated very much.

Special words of gratitude are due my colleague Richard D'Abate, whose intelligence and vision inspired the whole project. As its director, he navigated Norumbega through perilous shoals and water teeming with sea monsters, to reach safe harbor. I also wish to thank the members of his family for their patience.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the generosity of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Davis Family Foundation and express my appreciation to the board of trustees and staff of the Maine Humanities Council. Their support and understanding have been fundamental to the achievement of the project.

Dorothy Schwartz
Executive Director
Maine Humanities Council

COMPREHENDING THE NEW WORLD

IN THE medieval European view, the habitable world consisted of the continents Europe, Asia, and Africa. The border of this world was defined and protected by a continuous ring of ocean; a fragile order reigned within and chaos ruled without. The “Western Ocean” that washed the shores of Europe and Africa was described as a shallow body of water, choked with weeds and inhabited by monsters that preyed on hapless ships trapped in the vegetation. All things considered, West was an unpromising direction for human curiosity.

Traditional theories about geography began to break down in 1488 when Portuguese mariners, after decades of reconnaissance south along the coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, proving that the Indian Ocean was not a land-locked sea. The most dramatic blow, however, was dealt by Christopher Columbus, who in his search for a shorter route to the Orient sailed into the Western Ocean and encountered a New World in 1492. Other Europeans followed Columbus before the end of the century, among them John Cabot, who reconnoitered the coast of Newfoundland and northern New England in 1497–1498. Old assumptions began to change as explorers, travelers, and merchants brought back tales of lands unfolding at all points of the compass.

☞ *Old Knowledge and Fresh Discoveries*

IT WAS not a simple matter to incorporate new information into the traditional view of the world. Natural phenomena that fell outside the bounds of Christian dogma were commonly considered part of the occult, and those who questioned the orthodox view exposed themselves to charges of heresy. But there were challenges of perception as well, more subtle perhaps, but just as great, and in the early period legends colored observation as viewers often saw what they expected to see.

I *Das ender alter der werlt.*

From: Hartmann Schedel. *Liber Chronicarum*. Nuremberg, 1493. Osher Collection. Woodcut, 17 x 23½ in.

NOAH'S SONS present this traditional European view of the habitable world, supplemented by pictures of some of the "monsters" that inhabited the borderlands. The six-armed figure at the upper left may be a depiction of a Hindu dancer brought back by early travelers to India.

Michael Wolgemut and Hanns Pleydenwurff, masters of the workshop where Albrecht Dürer served his apprenticeship, were among the designers of the "Nuremberg Chronicle," the larger work in which this map appeared.

2 *Islandia.*

From: Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1585–1602. Osher Collection. Engraving, 18 x 22 in.

ON THIS MAP the Dutch cartographer Abraham Ortelius was able to convey a feeling of the ruggedness of Icelandic geography with glaciers and an erupting Mt. Hekla. But the surrounding ocean is populated with sea creatures that combine both real and imaginary characteristics.

3 *Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio.*

Anthony Jenkinson. From: Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1570. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 17½ x 22½ in.

IN 1557 ENGLISHMAN Anthony Jenkinson began his trek across central Asia in an attempt to establish a northern land route to eastern markets. This goal never proved practical, but his observations were incorporated by the cartographer Abraham Ortelius into his first modern map of Russia.

The vignettes that decorate the map come from contemporary records, but also from reports of Marco Polo's travels centuries before. This story-telling quality is characteristic of many early cartographic productions, and the pictures emphasized the strangeness, the "otherness," of far-off lands and peoples.

4 *Presbiteri Iohannis, Sive, Abissinorum Imperii Descriptio.*

From: Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, from 1573. Osher Collection. Engraving, 17 x 22 in.

CRUSADERS TO THE Holy Land brought back tales of Prester John, a fabulously wealthy black Christian king supposedly descended from King Solomon, who vowed to help his European brethren in their fight against the

Infidel. Most legends located his domain in Africa, but after years of fruitless search, the possibility was raised that he might be somewhere in the New World. Ortelius opts for the older tradition and places the empire of Prester John on the map of Abyssinia (near the equator).

5 [Orbis Tabula.]

From: Benedictus Arias Montanus, comp. *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine*. Antwerp, 1569–1572. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 14 x 22 in.

THIS MAP describes the biblical repopulation of the earth by the offspring of Noah and their descendants. After the European discovery of the Americas, biblical scholars discussed the possibility that some of the lost tribes of Israel had migrated to the New World. This gave rise to lively speculation that the native peoples of America might be their descendants.

In Old Testament geography, Ophir was the country that supplied gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, sandalwood, apes, and peacocks. Here, an old legend finds a new home in California.

6 *Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula.*

Johannes Ruysch. From: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Rome, 1507–1508. Osher Collection. Engraving, 16½ x 22 in.

THE RENAISSANCE rediscovery of classical learning brought the ideas of Claudius Ptolemy, an Alexandrian cosmographer of the second century A.D., into wide circulation throughout Europe. At the dawn of the Age of Discovery Ptolemy was the accepted geographical authority. His *Geographia*, first published with printed maps in 1477, was periodically updated in succeeding editions. This was the first modern world map added to his work, and it demonstrates the difficulties of incorporating new information into the traditional view of the world.

Columbus was convinced he had found a new route to the known Indies, but those who followed him voiced their convictions that the lands unfolding to the east and to the west were, in fact, an unknown New World. Here, Columbus's discoveries stand alone, separate from the East, while Newfoundland and the northern discoveries of John Cabot are presented as part of Asia. Much of the Latin text on the face of the map is an address from Ruysch to his audience concerning sources of information and the geographic decisions he was required to make, especially significant because there is some evidence that the cartographer actually sailed with Cabot.

7 *Tabula Terre Nove.*

Martin Waldseemüller. In: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Strasbourg, 1513. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Woodcut, 19 x 27 in.

THE FIRST EDITION of Ptolemy to include a map devoted to the islands and coasts of North America was published in Strasbourg in 1513. Twenty new maps were drawn for this atlas by the geographer-scholar Martin Waldseemüller, the man to whom the credit for naming America rightfully belongs. Waldseemüller was more impressed by Amerigo Vespucci's announcement of his discovery of a New World than by Columbus's voyages to what he thought were the Indies. In a pamphlet and on a map, both published in 1507, Waldseemüller suggested that the continent be named after Amerigo. Later, he realized that the discoveries of Vespucci and Columbus were one and the same and tried to retract his suggestion, but to no avail. The name America remained on the map.

Waldseemüller's map of the New World is usually called the "Admiral's map" due to the comment (located on South America) that the geographic information was obtained directly from charts drawn by Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Sea.

8 *Typus Cosmographicus Universalis.*

From: Sebastian Münster. *Novus Orbis Regionum*. Basel, 1532. Osher Collection. Woodcut, 16 x 24 in.

THE BORDERS OF the expanding world are now populated with a mixture of Old and New World monsters and strange beings. Lodovico de Varthema, a celebrated Italian traveler who visited the Near East in 1502, hikes through the lower right, while American cannibals have set up camp at the lower left.

Although the map itself is probably the work of Münster and is based upon the cartography of Martin Waldseemüller, the decoration has been attributed to the German artist Hans Holbein the Younger.

☛ *Toward a New Accuracy*

IT TOOK TIME to disentangle mythology and legend from the new discoveries, but in the wake of the Renaissance, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed dramatic intellectual revolution. The introduction of methods, instruments, and attitudes that are a direct link to modern science provided a new framework in which the physical world could be understood. Scholars began to look for a more rationalized geography than the one provided by legend, religious doctrine, or occult theories.

The challenges of understanding a wider world in new ways led to unprecedented associations between men of reflection and men of action. Scholars, practical geographers, explorers, artists, and publishers combined their talents on an international scale to gather and assimilate new knowledge and make it available. The overriding question, however, was always how to shape the new observations into an accurate model of the world.

9 [Title page.]

From: Johann Gabriel Doppelmayr. *Atlas Novus Coelestis*. Nuremberg, 1742. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 20 x 26 in.

THE COMMUNITY OF scholars, ancient and modern, is celebrated in the engraved title page of Doppelmayr's celestial atlas. From left to right: the Alexandrian geographer Claudius Ptolemy (fl. A.D. 150); Copernicus (1473–1543), father of modern astronomy and the sun-centered model of the universe; Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), discoverer of the laws of planetary motion; and Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), the great Danish practical astronomer, whose tables of star positions were used by Kepler. Missing from this pantheon is Galileo (1564–1642), the famous Italian astronomer and physicist, who corresponded with Kepler and whose observations helped demonstrate the heliocentric theory of the universe.

10 *Arcis Uraniburgi.*

In: Joan Blaeu. *Atlas Maior*. Vol. I. Amsterdam, 1665. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 22 1/2 x 29 in.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE of Frederick II of Denmark, Tycho Brahe constructed Uranienborg on the island of Hven as a center for astronomical observation. Completed in 1580, the site contained some of the largest-scale, most accurate instruments that had been built to that date. Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638), founder of the publishing house that issued this atlas, gave up his job as a clerk in the herring trade for the study of mathematics. In 1594 he went to Uranienborg as an assistant to Tycho Brahe and learned the theory and practice of astronomical observation and the art of instrument- and globe-making.

Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* is considered one of the great publishing achievements of all time. This volume is one of eleven in the edition of 1665, one the most expensive and beautiful pieces of bookmaking in the seventeenth century.

☞ *Representing the Earth and the Heavens*

P T O L E M Y the cartographer clearly understood that the surface of a sphere could not be exactly represented on a plane surface and that any attempt would, at best, be only an approximation. In fact, a globe is the only means by which the geographical relationships of the earth can be shown correctly.

II *[World in gores.]*

Antonio Florian. [Venice, 1555.] Osher Collection. Engraving, 21½ x 33½ in.

G O R E S, OR P I E - S H A P E D sections of a sphere, were designed to be cut out and attached to a globe or preserved flat to minimize distortion, as in the copy shown here. Antonio Florian, an Italian artist of some distinction, received notice in *Vasari's Lives of the Painters* (1550), an important source for the history of Renaissance art.

I2 *Copernian Armillary Sphere.*

[Charles François Delamarche. Paris, ca. 1790.] University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Diameter, 14½ in.; height, 20 in.

A N A R M I L L A R Y sphere is a skeleton celestial globe revolving on an axis within a horizon. The series of rings represents the great circles of the heavens. With the earth at the center, the sphere is known as Ptolemaic; with the sun at the center it is known as Copernian.

Armillary spheres, used as astronomical instruments in early China and in the classical world, were carried over into later times as teaching tools.

I3 *Globo Terrestre.*

Giovanni Maria Cassini. Rome, 1790. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Diameter, 20 in.; height, 24 in.

A L T H O U G H GIOVANNI Maria Cassini (fl. 1790) was an engraver and a geographer with a particular interest in globes (he published a number of rules for their construction), this is the only pair he is known to have made. The terrestrial globe incorporates the latest information from Captain James Cook's voyages in the Pacific Ocean and along the northwest coast of North America (1768–1780); the celestial globe places “in the round” information that was included on Cassini's flat star charts, published in that same year.

I4 *Globo Celeste.*

Giovanni Maria Cassini. Rome, 1792. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Diameter, 20 in.; height, 24 in.

THE HISTORY OF the celestial globe is older than that of the terrestrial. This might be attributed to the fact that within the limits of human perception the sky overhead more readily suggests a turning semi-sphere, while the earth appears to be flat and fixed. One of the first celestial globes was a work of Archimedes (287–212 B.C.), which Cicero carefully describes. Only one Greek terrestrial globe has been noted by ancient writers, that of Krates of Mallos (ca. 150 B.C.). It is thought that Ptolemy may have possessed a terrestrial globe in the second century A.D.

✂ *Flattening the Sphere*

GLOBES HAVE practical drawbacks—they are not easily portable, and there are physical limitations on the size of the scale they can represent. Transferring the description of a sphere to a flat piece of paper, however, presents major problems of distortion, and over the centuries various projections based upon geometry or trigonometry have been devised as practical solutions.

I5 *[Map of the world.]*

From: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Rome, 1478–1507. Osher Collection. Engraving, 16½ x 22 in.

PTOLEMY OUTLINED four projections, two of which, the conic projection and the “projection of Marinus of Tyre,” were used for the maps that accompanied his writings. The conic projection, shown here, was used for his map of the world. It was formed, in effect, by projecting the surface of the earth onto a cone and unrolling it onto a plane surface. This projection was best suited for areas in middle latitudes, such as the Mediterranean.

I6 *Pas Caerte van Nieu Nederlandt.*

In: Pieter Goos. *Zee Atlas Ofte Water-Weereld*. Amsterdam, 1666. Osher Collection. Engraving, 18½ x 24½ in.

THE PROJECTION attributed to Marinus of Tyre disregarded the fact that the earth was a sphere, but it did maintain relatively accurate north/south relationships when it was used to describe a small section of the earth's surface. Charts drawn on this projection, and variations on the theme, were often called “plane charts.” Since they were easy to construct and moderately effective for areas of about 200–300 square miles (most coastal charts focused upon fairly small sections of the coast for manageability's sake), the useful life of this ancient chart-form extended well into the eighteenth century.

I7 *[Map of the world.]*

Bernard Sylvanus. From: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Venice, 1511. Osher Collection. Woodcut, 17 x 23 in.

CONTRARY TO publishing custom, nearly all the maps in this edition of Ptolemy are printed in red and black; the red lettering was achieved by inserting movable type into the woodblock. The map, one of the earliest to show any part of North America, is on a cordiform, or heart-shaped, projection, which Sylvanus derived by making some alterations to one of the projections outlined in the writings of Ptolemy. This form enjoyed great popularity, possibly because it pointed to mystical connections between the physical and spiritual world.

I8 *Nieuw Aerdsch Pleyn.*

From: Jacob Robyn/Cornelius Danckerts. *Atlas de la Mar*. Amsterdam, ca. 1700. Osher Collection. Engraving, 24½ x 22 in.

MANY PROJECTIONS were devised that centered on the North or South Pole. They provided a better view of the regions that were crucial in the ongoing search for a passage through the barrier of the American continent. This one is called an equidistant azimuthal projection.

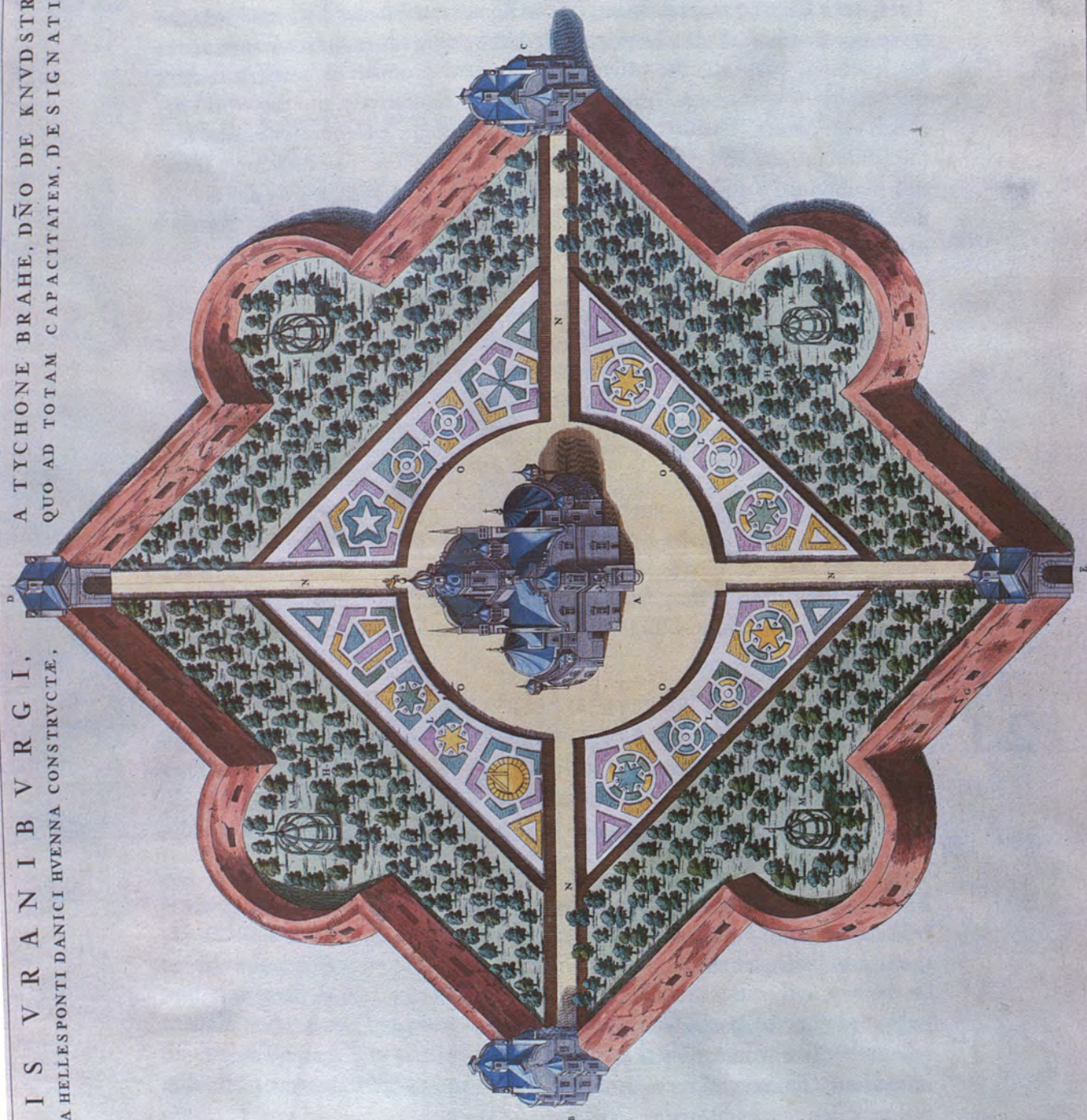
I9 *Carta Seconda Generale del'America.*

From: Sir Robert Dudley. *Arcano del'Mare*. Florence [1646–1661]. Osher Collection. Engraving, 18 x 16½ in.

THE PROJECTION devised by Gerard Mercator, demonstrated for the first time on his world map of 1569, is of great importance to the navigator. It is the only flat projection on which a ship's course (called a rhumb line or loxodrome) can be correctly drawn as a straight line. Despite its obvious advantages, Mercator's projection was not immediately adopted by mariners because the mathematics of its construction were not understood. Though a set of rules and tables for its construction were published in 1599, laying out a course on a Mercator chart was a tedious process, and many seamen chose to use the old plane chart instead, despite its drawbacks.

The publication of Dudley's great sea atlas, the *Arcano del'Mare*, marks the first time that the Mercator projection was used for printed large-scale, sectional charts. An Englishman in exile, Dudley worked for the Medici in Florence and is said to have used 5000 pounds of copperplate to engrave his atlas.

A R C I S V R A N I B V R G I ,
 IN INSVLA HELLESPONTI DANICI HVENNA CONSTRUCTÆ.
 A TYCHONE BRAHE, DÑO DE KNVDSTRVP,
 QUO AD TOTAM CAPACITATEM, DESIGNATIO.



10. *Arcis Uraniburgi.* In: Joan Blaeu, *Atlas Maior*, Vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1665.
 University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection.
 Engraving, 22½ x 29 in.

☞ *The World in Microcosm*

THE INVENTION of printing in the Renaissance helped to reinforce the reverence that had always been accorded to books. More than a convenience for learning, each volume offered the physical promise of a self-sufficient microcosm of knowledge. Atlases, literally and figuratively, put the world between two covers. The earliest printed atlas, Ptolemy's *Geographia*, was first published in 1477 and provided the "authoritative" view. The Ptolemaic tradition maintained a powerful hold on the European mind, even as new discoveries pointed to its obvious deficiencies. Within this established framework, advances in geographical knowledge were accommodated, not by revising the existing cartography, but by adding new maps to the book—addenda to the standard *Geographia*.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, there was a wealth of updated geographic information being made available from many sources. Maps were issued separately by publishers in a variety of sizes, and new cartography supplemented the *Geographia* with almost every edition. The time was right for a new model of the world, and the cartographer Abraham Ortelius filled the need with the first modern atlas.

20 *[Atlas supporting the world.]*

From: Louis Renard. *Atlas de la Navigation*. Amsterdam, 1715–1745. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 9 x 11 in.

21 *Spectandum dedit Ortelius mortalib. orbem, Orbi Spectandum Galleus Ortelium.*

From: Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, various editions. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 20 x 12 in.

THROUGHOUT THE 1560s Abraham Ortelius built up his cartographic collection, gathering detailed information from a wide variety of sources. He then commissioned the engraving of maps for each country or region based on the best authorities available. His atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (first published in 1570), broke with the Ptolemaic tradition and was the first modern comprehensive world atlas presented in uniform size and format. It was an immediate commercial success, and more than forty editions were printed in different languages by 1612.

22 *Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio.*

In: Abraham Ortelius. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1602. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 18 x 25 in.

THE MAP SHOWN here has the distinction of being the first map of the western hemisphere to achieve wide circulation. The numerous editions of Ortelius's atlas insured that most Europeans would form their view of the Americas on the basis of this map. This is the first edition of the *Theatrum* in Spanish, in the original color.

23 *Tabula Africa IIII.*

In: Giovanni Antonio Magini. *Ptolemy. Geographia*. Cologne, 1597. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 16 x 9½ in.

IN THIS ATLAS Magini follows the common practice of early publishers. He bowed to tradition with the standard body of Ptolemaic maps (shown here is the Ptolemaic view of a section of Africa) and added new maps in a separate section. Although the maps may have hearkened back to ancient times, the introductions to these enhanced editions of the *Geographia* were often used as a forum for editors and scholars to comment upon various developments in the fields of geography and navigation.

24 *Gerardus Mercator Natus Rupelmundae . . . Iudocus Hondius Natus Pago Flandriae . . .*

In: Gerard Mercator/Jodocus Hondius. *Atlas ou Répresentation du Monde . . . Edition Nouvelle*. Amsterdam, 1633. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 19½ x 27 in.

AN ORIGINAL cartographer of the highest standard, Gerard Mercator (1512–1594) studied as a mathematician and land surveyor and then established himself as a professional instrument-maker. For his atlases, Mercator searched out the best existing maps and then redrew them, incorporating the latest scientific and geographic information.

Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612) spent much of his early life in England in the company of geographers and scientists where he practiced as a type-founder, instrument-maker, and engraver. Upon his return to Amsterdam in 1593, he set up as a publisher in competition with Mercator. After Mercator's death, Hondius acquired his rival's copperplates at auction and brought out a new edition of Mercator's atlas supplemented by his own maps.

The copy shown here was formerly in the collection of Louis XIV, king of France.

FINDING THE WAY

SAILING the broad stretches of the oceans, the “highways” to new lands, required that mariners learn how to locate themselves accurately on the surface of an expanding globe. The need to go safely to and from America and India and to explore those unfamiliar coasts helped turn the art of navigation into a science. Instruments were developed to provide more accurate navigational data, and those who ventured out into the uncharted waters and unmapped lands were encouraged (and sometimes required) to act as gatherers of information that could be examined in European centers of learning.

It was recognized that mastery of the sea was the first and most important step in gaining access to the wealth of foreign lands. This required a combination of accurate geographic information and practical maritime expertise that was addressed by a growing body of publications that flowed from the printing presses of Europe.

25 *[The benefits of navigation.]*

B. Pinart. [Paris] 1719. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 17½ x 11½ in.

THIS ALLEGORY, explained in the poem below the picture, celebrates the benefits reaped by Europe due to her knowledge of navigation. Without this understanding of the sea, the treasures of Asia and Africa would remain unrevealed, and America—“the benighted”—would still be ungraced by European civilization. The cast of characters, clockwise from lower left: Africa, Asia, Europa, Mercury, and America.

☞ *Hugging the Coast*

MARINERS IN the ancient world sailed the known coasts of the narrow Mediterranean without instruments. They were aided by charts for sections of the coast that were apparently accompanied by books of written sailing directions. These charts, called portolans, marked distances and spatial relationships from “port-to-port” and were eventually adopted into French as *routiers*, or route charts. To English mariners from 1500 to the beginning of the nineteenth century, *routier* anglicized to *rutter* was the term used for any book of sailing directions.

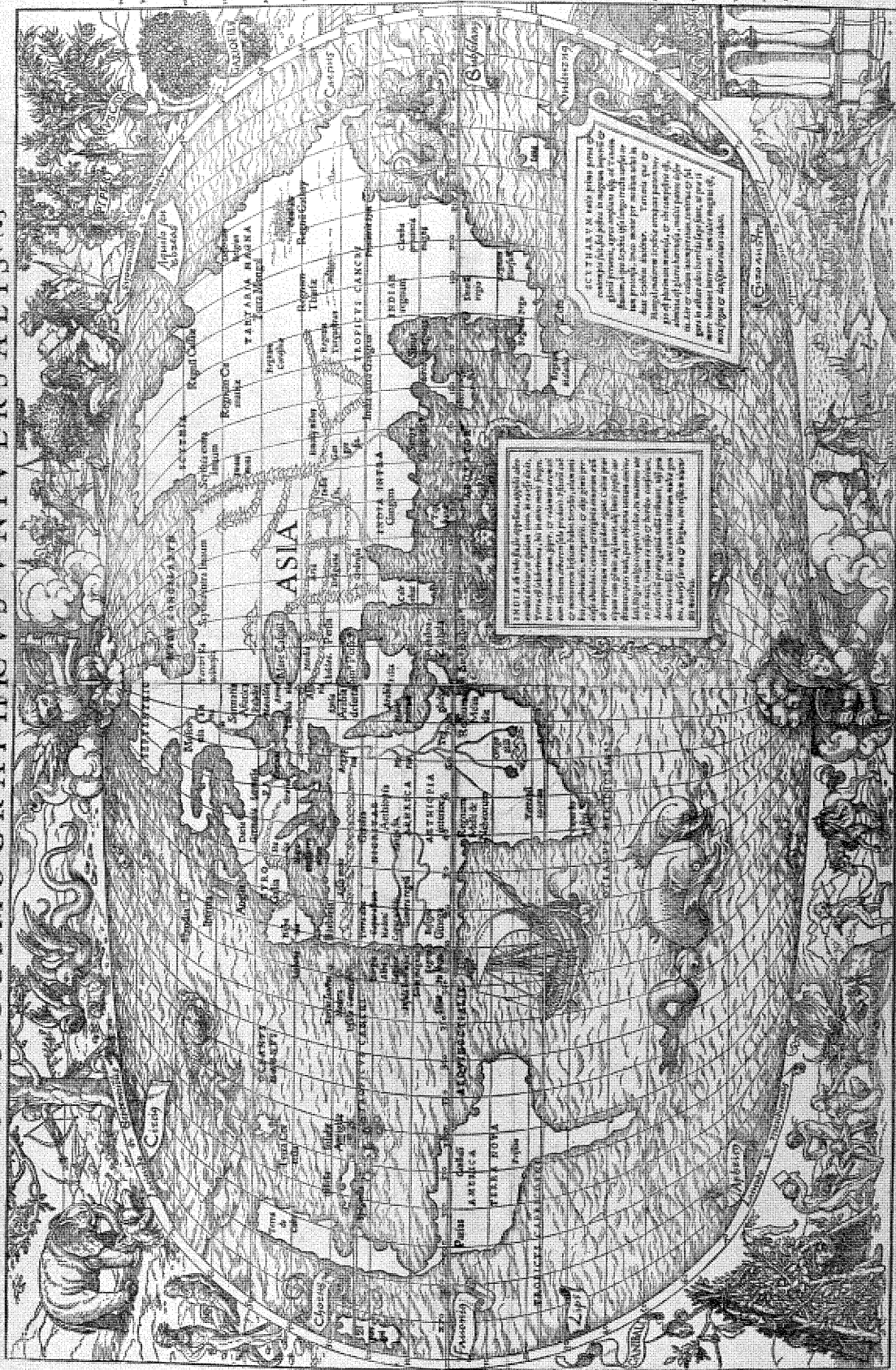
Examples of early sailing directions that are still extant (such as the Periplus of Scylax, set down between 400 and 600 B.C. and known from a copy in a twelfth-century manuscript) are directly related, not only in form and content, but also in written style of expression, to coast pilots of today, an uncommonly direct link between ancient and modern times.



17. [Map of the world.] Bernard Sylvanus. From: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Venice, 1511. Osher Collection. Woodcut, 17 x 23 in.

- 26 *[Portolan chart of the Mediterranean Sea.]*
From: Vesconte Maggiolo. *[Manuscript Atlas.]* Naples, 1511. 15½ x 22 in.
Photograph of the original chart in the John Carter Brown Library.
- 27 *[Portolan chart of the Mediterranean Sea.]*
In: Benedetto Bordone. *Libro di Benedetto Bordone Nel Qual Si Ragiona da Tutte L'Isole del Mondo.* Venice [ca. 1540]. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Woodcut, 12 x 17 in.
- 28 *Directions for Portland Harbour and Plan of Portland Harbour.*
In: Lawrence Furlong. *The American Coast Pilot.* 7th ed. New York [1812]. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. 9½ x 12½ in.
- 29 *L'Arte del Navegar.*
Pedro Medina. Venice, 1554. Osher Collection. 9 x 12½ in.
- SEPARATE NAVIGATIONAL treatises that had circulated haphazardly in manuscript were brought together for the first time at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1545, at Valladolid, Spain, Pedro Medina brought out his *L'Arte del Navegar*, an immensely popular book republished during the next century in thirteen editions in Spanish, French, Italian, and English. This was the basic book for the study of navigation in the romance languages, while in England students preferred the work of Medina's successor, Martín Cortés. His *Breve Compendio* was translated into English in 1561.
- 30 *Africae Pars.*
In: Willem Blaeu. *Het Licht der Zee-Vaert.* Amsterdam, 1608. Osher Collection. Engraving, 11 x 24 in.
- IN 1584 Lucas Waghenaeer, a Dutch pilot, brought out the *Spieghel der Zeevaert*, a volume that combined printed charts and sailing directions together in a single work for the first time. It was also one of the handsomest books of its day and in a short time became part of the equipment of every well-outfitted ship. Before long, any collection that combined sailing directions and charts was spoken of as a "waggoner," long after the connection to the author of the *Spieghel* had been forgotten. Willem Blaeu's first published sea atlas, shown here, was a seaman's guide in the waggoner tradition.

TYPVS COSMOGRAPHICVS VNIVERSALIS.



8. *Typus Cosmographicus Universalis*. From: Sebastian Münster.
Novus Orbis Regionum. Basel, 1532. Osher Collection.
 Woodcut, 16 x 24 in.

3I *Nieuwe Wassende Graade Zee Kaart Over de Spaanse Zee.*

Gerard Van Keulen. Amsterdam, 1728. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 25 x 40½ in.

DESCRIPTIONS OF the Old World were typically divided into maps (that described land areas) and charts (that described the seas and coastlines). Van Keulen's chart of the Atlantic Ocean ("Spanish Sea") combines elements of both maps and charts. This cartographic approach to the New World was common during the early period of discovery and exploration because initial settlements hugged the coast, and their entryways were the harbors and river mouths that required accurate charts. Behind these settlements, however, lay a vast unknown continent, and publishers satisfied their audience's curiosity with whatever information was available, filling the vacuum with a combination of real knowledge, hearsay, and decoration.

☛ *On the Open Sea: Distance North and South*

IT IS probable that mariners in ancient times, lacking instruments, used observations of the movement of celestial bodies only as an aid to maintain their direction. By the beginning of the discovery period, the corpus of scholarly knowledge about the heavens was contained in the star catalogue, or *Almagest*, of Claudius Ptolemy (written ca. A.D. 150), but its information was used mainly for astrological prediction. It was not until sailors left inland seas for voyages in unknown waters out of sight of land that they found it necessary to make use of celestial observations to determine their position at sea.

Although instruments for taking celestial observations had been used by land surveyors and astrologers for centuries, their adaptation for the use of navigators on the high seas is largely a development of the last 500 years. The quadrant, astrolabe, cross-staff, back-staff, and their later refinements were instruments of latitude, which gave the mariner a measure of his distance north or south of the equator. Determining latitude at sea was a matter of measuring the angle formed by a celestial body (the sun during the day and the moon or the stars at night), the ship, and the horizon. Even under the best of circumstances, however, the moving deck of a ship made the taking of readings difficult, and cloud cover or fog made it impossible.

32 *[Map of the world.]*

In: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Florence: Francesco Berlinghieri, 1480–1520. Osher Collection. Engraving, 16½ x 22 in.

EVEN BEFORE the Age of Discovery scholars had attempted to locate places on the spherical surface of the earth without the aid of instruments. Claudius Ptolemy used data gathered from travelers' reports of plant growth, differences in the length of daylight hours, weather, and estimated distances between cities to compile a list of 8000 sites for which he tried to give exact locations.

33 *[Constellations of the southern hemisphere.]*

In: Johannes Bayer. *Uranometria*. Augsburg, 1603. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 14½ x 21 in.

UNEXPECTED LANDS were encountered by Columbus and by those who followed him, but the heavens expanded as well, revealing the new constellations of the southern hemisphere, which are shown here along with the Magellanic clouds. Throughout the sixteenth century, star charts were still based upon Ptolemy's *Almagest*, but by 1600 cartographers had begun to provide mariners with new information by incorporating the latest astronomical observations of Tycho Brahe for the northern skies and those of the Dutch navigators Pieter Dirkszoon Keyser and Frederick de Houtman for the southern skies. Although the execution of this map is cruder than others in the atlas, Bayer may have been working from a manuscript copy of Keyser's actual observations.

34 Photographs showing how to use the astrolabe, the quadrant, and the back-staff. From Joseph Moxon. *A Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie*. London, 1659.

35 *Astrolabe.*

French or Italian, mid-sixteenth century. Peabody Museum of Salem. Diameter, 9 in.

36 *Quadrant.*

American, 1775. Peabody Museum of Salem. Radius, 6 in.

37 *Cross-staff.*

American? 1748. Peabody Museum of Salem. Length, 33 in.

38 *Davis Quadrant, or Back-staff.*

James Halsey. Boston, 1676. Peabody Museum of Salem. Radius, 29½ in.

39 *[Declination tables.]*

In: Willem Barentsz. *Description de la Mer Mediterranee*. Amsterdam, 1599. Osher Collection. 17 x 24 in.

THE SUN does not move through the sky on a course that is directly overhead (except at the equator), and its angle changes according to the time of the year and the viewer's location. For this reason, the accurate determination of latitude was dependent upon the existence of tables that showed, for the day of observation, the declination of the sun (the degree to which its course was "off center"), so that the mariner could correct his visual sightings.

Tables of declination were in use by the end of the thirteenth century for astrological purposes. Columbus seems to have been aware of both the printed tables of Regiomontanus (published in 1474 and 1475) and those of Abraham Zacuto, whose work circulated in manuscript from about 1474 until it was printed in 1496.

40 *Mariner's Compass.*

Benjamin King. Salem, Massachusetts [before 1775]. Peabody Museum of Salem. 10 x 10 x 6½ in.

ALTHOUGH THE origin of the compass, the earliest and most important direction-finding instrument, is ancient and uncertain, it has come down through the centuries virtually unchanged. Mariners had long been aware of its drawbacks—that the needle did not point to true north, that the variation from true north was not the same in all places, and, further, that the variation progressively changed from year to year. Sailing the oceans and charting and mapping the Americas provided an unparalleled field for observation and information-gathering that began to illuminate some of the natural patterns of the earth. One such pattern was the mysterious "variation of the compass."

41 *New and Correct Chart of the Western and Southern Oceans showing the Variations of the Compass.*

In: *The English Pilot. Fourth Book*. London, 1789. Osher Collection. Engraving, 19 x 25½ in.

IN 1701 AND 1702 Edmond Halley issued charts of the world and of the Atlantic Ocean that incorporated information about the variation of the compass that he had gathered during the course of his own voyages. Connections were made between places with the same variation to produce a pattern of "isogonic lines."

From its first edition in 1689, the *English Pilot. Fourth Book* provided seamen with their standard view of the Atlantic coast of the Americas until the end of the eighteenth century. The information published by Halley was first incorporated into the *Pilot* in 1721. This is the revised chart that appeared from 1755 to 1794.

42 *Use of a Mathematical Instrument Called a Quadrant . . . With many other Delightful Operations.*

Joseph Moxon. 7th ed. London, 1708. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. 6 x 4 in.

43 *A Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie. Or an Easie and Speedy way to know the use of both the Globes.*

Joseph Moxon. 2d. ed. London, 1670. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. 8 x 11½ in.

IT IS DIFFICULT to determine the extent to which mariners actually made use of the developing maritime technology. It is known that many explorers welcomed the latest instruments and considered them a necessary part of their equipment, and it is also obvious from publication records that practical manuals were extremely popular and saw many editions. Still, lack of interest “out in the field” was apparently common enough for Thomas Jefferys to comment as late as 1755, “the Generality of Mariners seem to know of no Utility in observing Latitude, farther than to find the Place where they are bound to; and, when they come in sight of Land, lay the Quadrant aside, as an Instrument no longer of Use, and sail by the Direction of the Coast.”

☞ *On the Open Sea: Degrees East and West*

LATITUDE-FINDING may have been hindered by weather and a rolling ship, but the problem of determining longitude frustrated mariners and scientists until the middle of the eighteenth century. Samuel de Champlain recorded his conviction that God did not intend that man should be able to determine longitude at sea, while Sebastian Cabot (on his deathbed) confided that he had acquired the knowledge of finding longitude by divine revelation but was not permitted to share it.

Longitude is defined as the number of degrees east or west of an arbitrary north/south line on the earth’s surface, called a meridian. (The official line today, or prime meridian, is Greenwich, England.) As early as 1598 Philip II of Spain offered a cash reward to the discoverer of a method for determining



24. Gerardus Mercator Natus Rupelmundae . . . Iudocus Hondius Natus Pago Flandriae . . . In: Gerard Mercator/Jodocus Hondius. Atlas ou Représentation du Monde . . . Edition Nouvelle. Amsterdam, 1633. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 19 1/2 x 27 in.

longitude. In 1714, after a series of maritime disasters, Great Britain's Board of Longitude offered £20,000 to anyone who devised a way to determine longitude within half a degree.

Longitude is actually a measurement of time, but most scientists, influenced by the well-understood concept of latitude, tried to determine longitude by observing the movements and angles of heavenly bodies. A time-based theory had, in fact, been proposed as early as 1530. Leaving a port of which the longitude was known, said the mathematician Gemma Frisius, the mariner would set a clock to that time. At any point during the voyage he could calculate noon-time by observing the sun. The difference between his local time and that which appeared on his clock could quickly be stated in degrees east or west of his starting point. What was missing, however, was a clock that was accurate at sea.

44 *Chronometer.*

[London] ca. 1860. Peabody Museum of Salem. 7 x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

IT WAS NOT until 1761 that the English clock-maker John Harrison, with his clock "No. 4" (after more than forty-five years work), developed a time-piece that kept accurate enough time on a sea voyage to determine longitude with an error of less than one geographical mile. Parliament grudgingly gave Harrison his prize eleven years later, but only after King George III had interceded on his behalf.

45 *Log, Chip, Line, and Reel.*

Peabody Museum of Salem. Chip, radius, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; reel, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 in.

46 *Log Glass.*

American, ca. 1800. Peabody Museum of Salem. 5 x 3 in.

47 *Traverse Board.*

American, nineteenth century. Peabody Museum of Salem. 16 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 in.

UNTIL THE invention of Harrison's clock, or chronometer, mariners determined their longitude (very imperfectly) by a method known as "dead reckoning." The seaman found his position by keeping detailed records throughout each watch: (1) he measured rate of speed (with a log); (2) transposed this into nautical miles; (3) marked on his traverse board the distances and angles of his courses, or tacks; (4) calculated the absolute distance gained with the aid of his traverse tables; and, finally, (5) transposed that distance into degrees and marked it on his chart at the correct latitude of the ship when it was last determined.

THE NEW WORLD TAKEN

WHILE the discovery of a new world contributed to an age of great intellectual growth in Europe, the knowledge acquired by scholars, explorers, and navigators was essentially applied toward practical ends. The New World was a resource that could be exploited for Europe's benefit. Fueled by enticing accounts of Spanish encounters with the fabulously wealthy civilizations of Mexico and Peru, Europeans perceived the Americas as the answer to Old World economic woes.

But Spain's experience was markedly different from that of the northern European countries, who looked to North America for their fulfillment. No golden cities and "advanced" civilizations awaited them. After initial disappointment, the French, the Dutch, and the English, who were active in this region, began to appreciate the possibilities of the country. Resources such as timber and fish were in high demand in Europe, and trade with the Amerindians could be developed for furs. Outposts to oversee these ventures could also serve as way stations for expeditions in the ongoing search for a passage through the continent to the wealth of the East. Later, the land itself would draw attention as a place to plant colonies—transplants of European civilization—that could provide economic benefit for the mother country. America was an arena in which Europe could work its will.

☞ *The Land of Norumbega*

THE EARLIEST European name for the New England area was "Norumbega," and it appears in written accounts and on maps in a variety of different spellings. Its origin is not clear, but scholars have suggested a number of possibilities, from a product of the European imagination to an attempt on the part of Giovanni da Verrazzano to understand and transcribe a Northeastern Algonquian word meaning, perhaps, "river flowing up" or "where the river is wide."

Norumbega began as a generic term for much of North America. Its magnificent and wealthy "capital city" (also of the same name) was said to be located on a mighty river that was a potential gateway to the passage to the East. Further exploration yielded more information about the entire region, and the general concept of Norumbega was gradually replaced by separate regional designations and place-names. The name Norumbega, however, remained on the map and came to be associated almost exclusively with the area of the Penobscot River, in what is now the state of Maine.



73. Le Canada Faict par le Sr. de Champlain. Pierre Du Val. Paris, 1677.
 University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection.
 Engraving, 18 x 24 in.

48 *Tierra Nueva.*

Giacomo Gastaldi. In: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geografia*. Venice, 1548. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 7 x 10 in.

THIS IS THE earliest printed map to focus on the eastern seaboard. It shows the results of Verrazzano's voyage along the coast of North America in 1524 and demonstrates some knowledge of Jacques Cartier's explorations in the St. Lawrence area in 1534. The foreshortened appearance of the North American coast, confusing to the modern eye, is due in large part to the fact that Verrazzano sailed out to sea in order to avoid the shoal waters of Cape Cod, and the map provides no information for the area from Narragansett Bay (P. Refuge) to Cape Breton Island. It was not until the explorations of Samuel de Champlain, Adriaen Block, John Smith, and others in the seventeenth century that the characteristic New England coastline began to emerge from obscurity.

Norumbega (Tierra de Nurumberg) is prominent, if vague in extent. The area it encompasses is best explained, perhaps, by noting that the two bays in the area of "Larcadia" are the Chesapeake and the Delaware, and that "Angoulesme" was Verrazzano's name for New York Harbor.

49 *Norumbega et Virginia. 1597.*

In: Cornelius Wytfliet. *Descriptionus Ptolemaicae Augmentum*. Louvain, 1598. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 12 x 17 in.

EARLY ON, Europeans searched the coast of Norumbega for the fabled passage to the Indies, as well as for commodities desirable in European markets (sassafras—a supposed cure-all—was a primary objective). In 1525 Estevão Gomes, a Portuguese mariner employed by Spain, sailed up the Penobscot River as far as Bangor, seeking a new route to Asia, while Simão Fernandão, a Portuguese in English service, led an expedition there in search of Norumbega in 1579. The Englishman John Walker followed Fernandão the next year on a voyage to assess the area's suitability for settlement.

Wytfliet's map marks a high point in the evolution of the idea of Norumbega. The country reaches south to Virginia (the Chesapeake and the Outer Banks of the Carolinas are well defined), and the fabled city stands at the head of the river.



52. *Die Neuen Inseln so hinder Hispanien gegen Orient beh dem Land Indie ligen.*
Sebastian Münster. From: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Basel, 1540-1544. Osher Collection.
Woodcut, 12 1/2 x 15 in.

☞ *The Draw of a Northern Passage*

BEGINNING AS Columbus's dream of Asia realized, the Americas gradually came to be viewed by some as a massive barrier to the riches of the East. Magellan's discovery of a southern passage to the Pacific Ocean in 1520 was an event of the greatest significance, but the difficulty of this route convinced other nations that the location of a passage in more northern latitudes was of the utmost importance. Such speculation often skewed observation and re-arranged the maps as explorers interpreted geographic reality in the light of their own desires.

50 *Universale Descrittione di Tutta la Terra Conosciuta Fin Qui.*

Paolo Forlani. Venice, ca. 1565. State I. Osher Collection. Engraving, 19 x 31 in.

51 *Il Disegno del Discoperto della Nova Franza.*

Bolognino Zaltieri. Venice, 1566. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 11 x 16 in.

FOR OVER two decades Giacomo Gastaldi was the leading mapmaker of Italy, both for his technical expertise and for the information he assembled and interpreted. In 1562 he published a pamphlet in which he proposed the existence of a passage separating Asia from America called the "Strait of Anian." The strait now named for Vitus Bering was not "discovered" until 1728, but Gastaldi had guessed at its existence nearly two centuries previously.

The maps shown here, which were in circulation during the same period of time, demonstrate the problems faced by the cartographer who had to reconcile often vague or contradictory information from many sources. One shows the "Streto de Anian" between Asia and America, and one does not.

52 *Die Neuwen Inseln so hinder Hispanien gegen Orient beh dem Land Indie ligen.*

Sebastian Münster. From: Claudius Ptolemy. *Geographia*. Basel, 1540–1544. Osher Collection. Woodcut, 12½ x 15 in.

THIS IS THE first printed map that clearly depicts the New World as a distinct insular land mass. The continuity of North and South America is stressed, and the southern passage, the Strait of Magellan, is noted. Magellan's ship, the *Victoria*, is shown in the Pacific.

Geographically, the highlight of the map is the isthmus of North Carolina, an illusion first reported by Verrazzano, who misread the nature of the Outer Banks of Carolina. The "Sea of Verrazzano" is separated from the Atlantic Ocean by a tantalizingly narrow neck of land, a misconception that made a deep impression on the minds of explorers looking for a passage through the continent.

53 *Universi Orbis.*

In: Gerard de Jode. *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1578. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 17 x 24 in.

THIS VIEW OF the world, with its wide and easily accessible passage through North America, was engraved by the van Doetecum brothers for Gerard de Jode, Ortelius's elder rival. It is a reduced version of an eight-sheet world map published by Ortelius in 1564. De Jode's *Speculum* is very rare; of the twelve known copies, this is the only one in original color.

54 *A General Map of the Discoveries . . .*

In: [Bartolomé de Fonte]. *Great Probability of a North West Passage*. London, 1768. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 11½ x 23 in.

THE CLASSIC Northwest Passage hoax, the origin of which has never been fully explained, began in 1640 when the story circulated that the Spanish Admiral Bartolomé de Fonte (later proved nonexistent) had discovered a large network of bays and rivers on the northwest coast of North America. Sailing inland he supposedly met with a ship that had traveled west from Boston. The Fonte pseudogeography was tantalizing and difficult to lay aside, circulating as "fact" for many years before it was finally rejected.

☞ *Extracting the Natural Wealth*

BY THE END of the fifteenth century, "Newfoundlanders" from French, Portuguese, English, and Spanish ports made regular trips to North American waters to take cargoes of fish and oil (cod, whale, and seal). Fishing became a major industry that supplied a growing European population with oil for their lamps and fish for the ritual abstention from meat on Wednesdays and Fridays. Even Protestant England established "Fish Days" to support her seamen's interests.

Trade in furs with the Indians, which had begun as an incidental but profitable sideline for the fishing fleets, became a major element in the development of trans-Atlantic commerce and, later, a powerful factor in colonization schemes. Both fish and fur interests were tied as well to the search for the Passage. Seamen explored the waters in northern latitudes to ascertain the farthest range of whale and cod, while fur traders pushed west to the interior by the river highway of the St. Lawrence; supporters of both groups hoped for the discovery of an ice-free way to the Orient.

55 *Comme on prend la Baleine.*

In: André Thevet. *La Cosmographie Universelle*. Vol. 2. Paris, 1575. University of Maine/R. H. Fogler Library. Engraving, 14 x 22 in.

EUROPEAN fishermen were regular visitors to the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. The Basques gravitated to the Straits of Belle Isle in search of whales, as shown in this handsome plate, while the French and the English concentrated on the south and east coasts of Newfoundland. The first camps and “factories” set up to salt and dry the catch for the homeward journey were temporary seasonal constructions, and the fishermen made no attempt to explore the interior or to establish permanent settlements.

56 *Veduta d'un palco.*

From: *Il Gazzettiere Americano*. Vol. 3. Livorno, 1763. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 12½ x 20 in.

THE BRETONS and the French and Spanish Basques usually fished from their ships, cleaning and salting the catch on board, which they then pressed into barrels. This was called the “green-cod” method. The English, who did not have the large quantities of salt required for this process, used the “dry-cod” method, which involved building stages and drying the cod on land.

Although this picture appeared at the end of the eighteenth century (and was directly copied from a map published in London by Herman Moll more than sixty years before), it accurately portrays methods and staging procedures practiced by English cod fishermen in the sixteenth century.

57 *La Nuova Francia.*

Giacomo Gastaldi. From: Giovanni Battista Ramusio. *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. Venice, 1556. Osher Collection. Woodcut, 12½ x 17 in.

RAMUSIO, THE indefatigable Venetian editor of early texts of discovery, presented his readers with the first printed report of Verrazzano's voyage of 1524, illustrated by this strong woodcut map representing the coastline from New York to Labrador. It is an enlarged and elaborated version of Giacomo Gastaldi's map of 1548, notable for the lively representation of Amerindian settlements and customs in the “Land of Norumbega” and for its depiction of European fishing activity in the waters off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The wide dotted band that snakes from the right to the lower left-hand margin represents the fishing banks.

In this map, Norumbega extends from New York to Cape Breton. Although Ramusio in his text makes a blanket statement that the people of Norumbega were “friendly and pleasant,” he was probably referring to the peoples of southern New England, for Verrazzano had described in very plain language his difficulties with the hostile northern tribes.



81. Totius Neobelgii Nova et Acuratissima Tabula.
Joachim Ottens. Amsterdam [ca. 1718]. Osher Collection.
Engraving, 21½ x 26 in.



- 58 *A Map of the British Empire in America.*
Henry Popple. *Key Sheet (edition in French)*. Amsterdam, 1734. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 20½ x 23 in.

- 59 *A Map of the British Empire in America.*
Henry Popple. *New England section (edition in English)*. London, 1733. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 21 x 31½ in.

SHOWN HERE are the key sheet and the New England section of the first large-scale printed map of North America. Although the grand size of Henry Popple's map magnifies contemporary geographic errors and missing information, the New England section highlights the offshore fishing banks that drew English attention to the Gulf of Maine.

- 60 *A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain.*
Herman Moll. [London] 1715. State 1. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 41 x 25 in.

ALTHOUGH THE Indians of New England had long been able to supply dressed deerskins, the demand was never very great. It was the market for beaver and for exotic furs such as bear, lynx, and fox that attracted Europe to northeastern North America.

Herman Moll's celebrated "Beaver" map is a strong cartographic statement of British territorial claims in North America, but its most prominent feature is the vignette of the beaver colony, for which it is popularly named. The beaver population of Europe was nearly exhausted when the popularity of felt hats made from beaver soared in the seventeenth century. The demand was huge, and pelts became a major international trading commodity. North American Indians living in fur regions became participants in the trade, with profound effects upon their cultures.

☞ *Dispossessing the Natives*

FROM THE FIRST encounter, European explorers held conflicting perceptions of the nature of New World peoples. Were they innocents, ripe for conversion, living in a Garden of Eden as before the Fall, or were they castaways of God ruled by the Devil? Further experience revealed complex societies that differed greatly from one another, but Europeans, convinced of their religious and cultural superiority, were not particularly astute observers of ethnographic detail. (There were notable exceptions, especially among the French, such as

Jean de Lery, a Huguenot minister in Brazil, and Samuel de Champlain, cartographer, explorer, and artist in New France). Cultural misunderstandings, combined with the newcomers' overriding focus upon practical, commercial ends, caused friction whose legacy continues to this day.

The French were remarkably successful in their dealings with the northern Amerindians. The Jesuit missionaries, the traders, and the *coureurs du bois* who ranged through the interior were not immediately followed by large numbers of colonists in search of land to settle, reducing opportunities for direct conflict in the early contact period. The same could not be said, however, of the English settlers who arrived in ever greater numbers throughout the seventeenth century, clearing and fencing the land in accordance with European custom. These practices permanently (and almost immediately) changed the landscape the Amerindians knew so intimately.

6I *Allegory of America.*

Girolamo Brusaferrero. Venice, ca. 1680–1760. Bowdoin College Museum of Art. Ink and wash on paper, 6½ x 5½ in.

BRUSAFERRO FURNISHED numerous paintings for churches and palaces in Venice and Mantua, and the drawing shown here is thought to be a study for a ceiling painting. Its subject is the allegory of “America,” an Amerindian woman bedecked in a feather crown, holding a bow and arrow. The severed head at her feet symbolizes New World cannibalism, tales of which fascinated Europeans. This image, perhaps echoing the classical model of Diana, goddess of the hunt, entered European iconography very early and grew to represent both continents. Ironically, the description was drawn from reports of the dress of the Tupinambá Indians in Brazil, a tribe that was destroyed within decades of its first contact with Europeans.

62 *Novus Orbis Sive America Meridionalis et Septentrionalis.*

In: Matthew Seutter. *Atlas Novus*. Augsburg, ca. 1740. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 21 x 25½ in.

SPANISH “SUCCESSES” in the New World were the envy of Europe and an inspiration for explorers from all countries who hoped that history would repeat itself in northern latitudes. The cartouches on this map emphasize the idea of material and spiritual riches (converts to Christianity) that were to be derived from contact with Amerindian cultures.

63 *A new Plaine and Exact Map of the North Part of America.*

Robert Walton. From: Peter Heylyn. *Cosmography*. London, 1666. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 18 x 23 in.

VERY FEW European explorers supplied their readers with pictures of the peoples they encountered, since most came to the Americas with very practical goals to accomplish and were interested in Amerindian cultures only insofar as they could aid or hinder European aims. As a result, many of their cultural generalizations were woefully inaccurate. The images that did appear enjoyed a long lifetime and were used over and over again to decorate books and maps.

64 *[America.]*

From: Arnoldus Montanus. *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*. Amsterdam, 1671. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 13 x 16½ in.

EARLY EXPLORERS attempted to follow Old World diplomatic practices in their contact with Amerindian societies, especially those that were perceived to be monarchical. This often consisted of identifying a “king” and persuading him to swear to a more powerful Christian, European monarch. Many times hierarchies were assumed that did not, in fact, exist within Indian societies, or the nature of a true chieftain’s role was misinterpreted.

This decorative title page is symbolic of the European attitude toward America as a base for trade and also represents a standard misconception of northern Amerindian cultures. In this Dutch view, the Indian chief was highly placed, and his people occupied themselves by hunting various animals for his benefit, most notably the beaver (the animal head at the lower center). Note the European soldiers, ships, and a stone fort in the background.

65 *La Terra de Hochelaga Nella Nova Francia.*

In: Giovanni Battista Ramusio. *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. Venice, 1556. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Woodcut, 12½ x 23½ in.

EUROPEAN misinterpretation of Indian ritual sometimes caused friction. At the lower left of this plan of the Indian town of Hochelaga, near the site of present-day Montreal, a tiny figure of an Indian carries a European in “piggy-back” fashion. This was apparently a ceremonial gesture of deference that was practiced by some tribes in the Americas. For a time, Europeans who did not understand the subtleties of the ritual expected to be carried everywhere.

The plan of Hochelaga was based upon the description of Jacques Cartier, made during his visit in 1535–1536.

Handwritten notes in the top left corner, including "Merrill's Survey of the Town of Kittery, 1701" and "Part 3, York Co."

1
5
201-1

No 14

misstr Smiths Land ~ ~ ~

Greater Scall

East and west 58 pole in Breadth

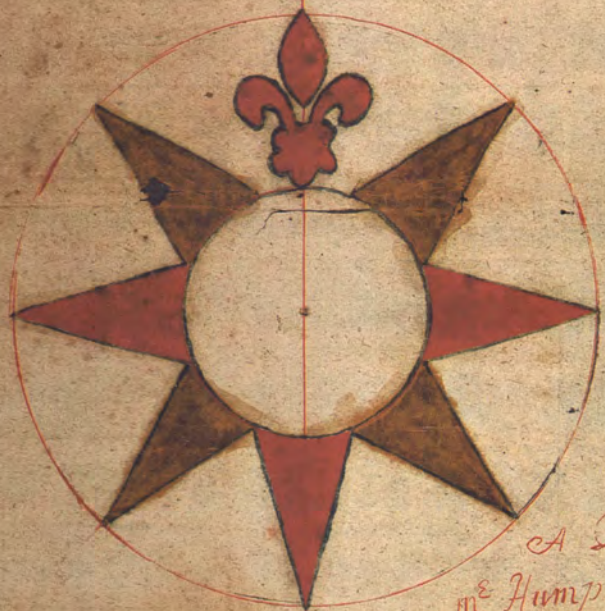
400 pole 1st side by John Heard

Contents 150 acres

HCTCF

Noats of observation made By the severall flugun

- Sturgen Creek 1
- a stake in the marsh 2
- a walnut tree 3
- Brooke? 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9



South e- north 24 8 pole



A Plott of
m^r Humphrey Chadburns
Farm att Sturgen Creek Taken
October 6th 1701 By m^r William Godsoe
Survey^r for the Town
of Kittery.

m^r John Heards Land

Leutenant Frosts Farm

m^r John Shapleighs meadow

This above Plott Entered in History Town Book
from November 3rd 1701. By m^r William Godsoe

84. A Plott of Mr. Humphrey Chadburns Farm att Sturgen Creek. William Godsoe. Kittery, 1701. Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 14 x 11 in.

66 *Et Leges et Sceptra Terit.*

In: Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan. *Nouveaux Voyages*. Vol. 1. La Haye, 1703. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 6½ x 8 in.

THROUGHOUT THE period of discovery and exploration, illustrations of Amerindians were often used in symbolic fashion to underscore the perceived differences between Old and New World cultures. Subtly or blatantly, these pictures mirrored European fears and biases. On the one hand was the attraction of people living harmoniously with nature in egalitarian societies. Balanced against that view was the repulsion felt toward those who were seen as barbarians living in a state of anarchy without the humanizing benefits of "society."

Here, the Amerindian is portrayed as a disruptive presence: one foot desecrates the book of law, the other, the crown.

67 *An Exact Mapp of New England and New York.*

In: Cotton Mather. *Magnalia Christi Americana*. London, 1702. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 13 x 22½ in.

THE FAITH OF New England Puritans was strengthened by their uncompromising conviction that coming to America fulfilled their Christian destiny. The map illustrating this history of New England by Cotton Mather (1663–1728), one of the foremost Puritan theologians, contains reminders of how that destiny was won. Names such as "Swampfort," a Pequot village, and "Canonicus," a Pequot chief, recall King Philip's War in the "Country of Narragansett."

As Amerindians began to see how contact with European society was eroding their traditions, they tried to stem the tide of influence, often with violent measures. In 1675 the realization that white man's ownership meant permanent, private possession of the land (not its temporary use as was the native custom) and the conviction that native peoples were regularly treated unfairly under Massachusetts law brought about King Philip's War. King Philip was the Wampanoag chief Metacomet, who led a fierce uprising against English colonists in southern New England. In separate but related struggles, northern tribes devastated settlements in Maine.

In the short term these measures were often successful, insofar as they slowed the advance of settlement for a time. (Maine was almost forty years in recovering, even though peace was concluded at Casco in 1678.) Eventually, however, all coastal Indian societies found themselves threatened as occupants of land the newcomers found especially desirable. Tribes were either decimated or pushed to the interior or caught in the sweep of newly introduced epidemic diseases.

04452

AMERICA



T' AMSTERDAM
By Jacob van Meurs, *Plaatfijver en Boeckverkooper op de Keyfers graft in de Stadt. Meurs. 1671.*

64. [America.] From: Arnoldus Montanus. *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*. Amsterdam, 1671. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 13 x 16½ in.

☛ *Roots of Settlement and Empire*

ALTHOUGH EXPLORERS, fishermen, and fur hunters had sailed along the rocky New England coast during the sixteenth century, the forbidding nature of the northern shoreline was not inviting, and the region remained virtually unknown and unexplored by Europeans. At the opening of the seventeenth century, however, both England and France were in the process of re-examining the resources of the northeast coast with a speculative eye toward colonization. Beginning in the early seventeenth century, both France and England established northern settlements and issued overlapping grants to their subjects that were to cause international conflicts for more than 150 years.

☛ *The French*

FRANCE BEGAN reconnaissance for its first northern settlements in 1600. In 1603 the merchant-captain François Gravé du Pont was accompanied on a voyage by Samuel de Champlain, who here began a career of exploration and information-gathering about the region that earned him the title, “father of New France.” Champlain returned to France and published a book about what he had seen, called *Des Sauvages* (1603), and the following year, armed with a royal charter, Pierre du Gua de Monts and Champlain returned to New France. Their establishment of a *habitation* on an island at the mouth of the St. Croix River in 1604 was the first settlement attempted by Europeans in New England.

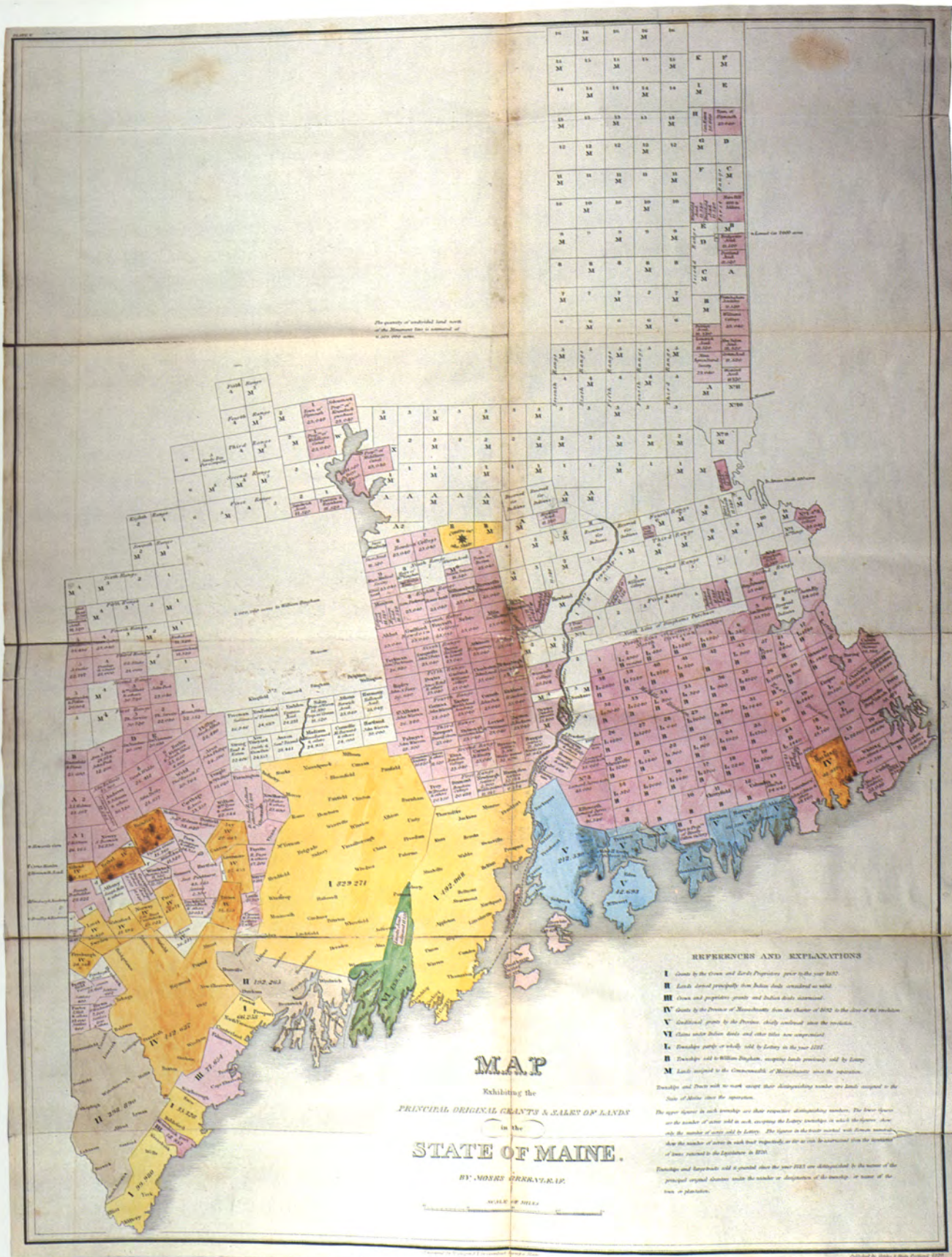
During the seventeenth century the French presence in North America was concentrated in Acadia, which extended from the St. Lawrence River to the Penobscot River. This territory overlapped lands claimed by the English, and the region, particularly around the Penobscot, remained a point of conflict. (Fort Pentagoet, 1635–1674, was established by the French, at what is now Castine, Maine, to guard against English encroachment.) They maintained a presence in the northeast until 1763, when the Treaty of Paris ended all their claims to land east of the Mississippi.

68 *Chouacoit [Saco Bay].*

From: Samuel de Champlain. *Les Voyages*. Paris, 1613. Private Collection. Engraving, 9 x 7 in.

69 *Qui ni be quay [Mouth of the Kennebec River].*

From: Samuel de Champlain. *Les Voyages*. Paris, 1613. Private Collection. Engraving, 9 x 7 in.



89. Map Exhibiting the Principal Original Grants & Sales of Lands in the State of Maine.
In: Moses Greenleaf. Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of the State of Maine. Portland, 1829.
University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection.
Engraving, 32 x 24½ in.

70 *Mallebarre [Nauset, Massachusetts].*

From: Samuel de Champlain. *Les Voyages*. Paris, 1613. Private Collection. Engraving, 7 x 9 in.

DURING THE summers of 1604 and 1605 Champlain reconnoitered the coast of New England as far south as Nauset on Cape Cod to assess the land and its peoples with an eye toward trade and possible settlement, drawing careful charts of the harbors that appeared to offer potential. It was during the course of these explorations that he encountered the mouth of the Penobscot River, which he identified as the “great river of Norumbega,” and sailed up to what is now Bangor, Maine.

71 *[Encounter with Amerindians at Port Fortuné (Chatham, Massachusetts).]*

From: Samuel de Champlain. *Les Voyages*. Paris, 1613. Private Collection. Engraving, 6 x 9½ in.

CHAMPLAIN encountered hostility from the coastal Amerindians, in large part because so many of them had been ill-used by Europeans they had encountered over the years. In fact, the aggressiveness of New England tribes was a factor in turning French attention away from the southern coasts.

This simple but handsome drawing of an encounter at Chatham on Cape Cod was done by Champlain himself. An artist of uncommon skill, naive charm, and attention to detail, his representations of the New World stand among the best. Note that the drawing serves also as a map.

72 *Carte Géographique de la Nouvelle Franse Faictte par Le Sieur de Champlain.*

From: Samuel de Champlain. *Les Voyages*. Paris, 1613. Engraving, 17½ x 30½ in. Photograph of the copy in the John Carter Brown Library.

THIS IS THE first printed map to attempt to show the latitude and longitude of the New England region, reflecting Champlain’s surveys along the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts in 1604 and 1606.

The accuracy of Champlain’s maps is due in large part to the extensive use he made of geographical information provided by Indians. French explorers, aided by the Jesuit missionaries who had learned the native languages, could more easily recognize the significance of Amerindian descriptions of the land. Place-names, in particular, reflected the characteristic geographical features of an area. Rather than replace them with European names (as was common among the English), the French incorporated them, thus increasing the communicative range of their maps.

65. *La Terra de Hochelaga Nella Nova Francia*. In: Giovanni Battista Ramusio. *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. Venice, 1556. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Woodcut, 12½ x 23½ in.

Of the two types of Indians pictured, the Montagnais, who were allies of the Algonquins against the Iroquois, lived on both sides of the Saguenay River, in Quebec; the Armouchiquois lived south of the Kennebec. Unlike many other cartographers who used generic “Indians” as decoration, Champlain’s observant drawings articulated the differences between real tribes in real places, just as he distinguished between kinds of edible plants to be found in the region. Here we can identify three types of grapes, plums, chestnuts, “Brazilian” beans, pumpkins, and currants.

73 *Le Canada Faict par le Sr. de Champlain.*

Pierre Du Val. Paris, 1677. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 18 x 24 in.

THE COPPERPLATE that produced this map of 1677 had a long and rather obscure history. In its first and simplest form (located today in only one copy), the map was probably drawn about 1616 to illustrate the 1619 edition of Champlain’s *Les Voyages*. In geographic scope it is intermediate between Champlain’s map of 1613 and his final cartographic statement of 1632.

In 1653, and again in 1677, the royal geographer Pierre Du Val used the same copperplate for his own publication, making some alterations in the land configurations and adding a large number of place-names. Where the copperplate had been from 1616 to 1653, and why the 1616 version was never used to illustrate Champlain’s book, no one knows.

☛ *The English*

PRIVATE INVESTMENT companies provided the necessary financial backing for English colonial ventures in North America. In 1606 the Virginia Company was incorporated by royal charter and given settlement rights to the region between Cape Fear, North Carolina, and the Penobscot River—a grant that ignored the French presence in the north and of course the Amerindians who lived there. In 1607 the Virginia Company, which consisted of two parts, the London and the Plymouth companies, tried with half success to establish colonies within the territory of their grant. Settlers were sent to Jamestown, Virginia, by the London Company and to the mouth of the Kennebec by the Plymouth Company. Jamestown struggled and held on, but the poorly supplied and poorly administered Sagadahock or “Popham” Colony in Maine, under the command of George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, foundered after one year. It was not until the establishment of the Plymouth Company’s successor, the Council for New England (1620–1635), that the first successful English settlements were planted, beginning with the Plymouth Colony in 1620.



92. Partie Orientale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada. From: Matthew Seutter. Augsburg, ca. 1750.
University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection.
Engraving, 24 x 21 in.

Of the two types of Indians pictured, the Montagnais, who were allies of the Algonquins against the Iroquois, lived on both sides of the Saguenay River, in Quebec; the Armouchiquois lived south of the Kennebec. Unlike many other cartographers who used generic “Indians” as decoration, Champlain’s observant drawings articulated the differences between real tribes in real places, just as he distinguished between kinds of edible plants to be found in the region. Here we can identify three types of grapes, plums, chestnuts, “Brazilian” beans, pumpkins, and currants.

73 *Le Canada Faict par le Sr. de Champlain.*

Pierre Du Val. Paris, 1677. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 18 x 24 in.

THE COPPERPLATE that produced this map of 1677 had a long and rather obscure history. In its first and simplest form (located today in only one copy), the map was probably drawn about 1616 to illustrate the 1619 edition of Champlain’s *Les Voyages*. In geographic scope it is intermediate between Champlain’s map of 1613 and his final cartographic statement of 1632.

In 1653, and again in 1677, the royal geographer Pierre Du Val used the same copperplate for his own publication, making some alterations in the land configurations and adding a large number of place-names. Where the copperplate had been from 1616 to 1653, and why the 1616 version was never used to illustrate Champlain’s book, no one knows.

☛ *The English*

PRIVATE INVESTMENT companies provided the necessary financial backing for English colonial ventures in North America. In 1606 the Virginia Company was incorporated by royal charter and given settlement rights to the region between Cape Fear, North Carolina, and the Penobscot River—a grant that ignored the French presence in the north and of course the Amerindians who lived there. In 1607 the Virginia Company, which consisted of two parts, the London and the Plymouth companies, tried with half success to establish colonies within the territory of their grant. Settlers were sent to Jamestown, Virginia, by the London Company and to the mouth of the Kennebec by the Plymouth Company. Jamestown struggled and held on, but the poorly supplied and poorly administered Sagadahock or “Popham” Colony in Maine, under the command of George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, foundered after one year. It was not until the establishment of the Plymouth Company’s successor, the Council for New England (1620–1635), that the first successful English settlements were planted, beginning with the Plymouth Colony in 1620.

74 *New England Observed . . .*

From: John Smith. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*. London, 1624. Osher Collection. Engraving, 13½ x 22 in.

IN 1614 THE Plymouth Company sent John Smith on a reconnaissance voyage along the coast of what was then called northern Virginia. One of his directives was to scout sites in the region for future plantations. Smith drew this map based upon his six-month exploration. It was the first to present accurate detail of the coastline from Cape Cod to Penobscot Bay to an English audience (compare with preceding Champlain map). This first edition engraving is particularly bright.

In a conscious attempt at anglicization, Smith dropped the name Norumbega in favor of "New England." He presented his map to the Prince of Wales, later King Charles I, who liked the name and proceeded to change many of the Indian place-names to English ones, convinced "that posterity may say, King Charles was their godfather." Most of the names he supplied did not stand the test of time. A few did: Plymouth and Cape Ann, Massachusetts, and Cape Elizabeth, Maine, are (in name, at least) the god-children of Charles I.

75 *Letters Patent from King Charles I to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. 1640.*

Maine Historical Society. Eighteenth-century manuscript copy, 12½ x 14 in.

IN 1622 Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason were granted the region between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers by the Council for New England. The stretch of coastline variously labeled Norumbega, northern Virginia, or New England received a new name—the "Province of Maine"—as well as the first permanent English settlement north of Massachusetts: Gorges's fishing station at Damariscove Island. In 1639 the association between Gorges and Mason was dissolved, and new grants were made.

This patent gives the region between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec to Gorges and reaffirms its true name: ". . . and we do name and ordain and appoint that the portion of the main land and premises afore said shall forever hereafter be called and named the Province or County of Maine and not by any other name or names whatsoever."

76 *Letters Patent from King Charles I to William Bradford, 1629.*

Maine Historical Society. Eighteenth-century manuscript copy, 13 x 16 in.

THIS PATENT confirms and clarifies the original Plymouth Colony Charter in what is now Massachusetts, but it also grants an additional parcel on the Kennebec to William Bradford of Plymouth, recognizing that the colonists had

"no convenient place either for trading or fishing." Since 1625 the colonists had regularly gone north to the Kennebec lands in search of furs and had seen the economic value trading outposts could provide. In 1629 the Council for New England granted Plymouth's request for a monopoly in the region. Over the years the Plymouth Colony increased its holdings in the area by purchases from the Indians, and these land acquisitions in the north were the foundation of what was later known as the Kennebec Purchase Company.

77 *A Mapp of New Englande.*

Sir William Alexander. In: Samuel Purchas. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Vol. 4. London, 1625. Osher Collection. Engraving, 13½ x 19½ in.

ALEXANDER, Lord Stirling of Scotland, who named Nova Scotia, received grants from James I and Charles I for most of eastern Canada and New England, but his colonization attempts were ultimately futile. This map locates the twenty patentees among whom the region extending from Cape Cod to Maine was divided by the Council for New England in 1623. This map is the only printed cartographic record of the earliest attempts to settle New England.

78 *Deed Between the President and Council of New England and Robert Trelawney Granting Trelawney Black Point.*

1631. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 19½ x 27 in.

FERDINANDO GORGES tried a number of things to make good on his investment. He deeded parts of his territory to others who promised to support settlement (Trelawney established a fishing station at Scarborough) and even attempted to tax the catch of fishermen in the coastal waters of his province. The latter proved hopeless, of course, and aroused great enmity. This vellum deed is signed by both Ferdinando Gorges and his brother Edmund.

79 *Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova.*

Willem Janszoon Blaeu. Amsterdam, 1635. Osher Collection. Engraving, 19½ x 24 in.

80 *Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae Nec Non Partis Virginiae Tabula.*

Nicolas Janszoon Visscher. [Amsterdam, ca. 1656–1682.] State 3. Osher Collection. Engraving, 20½ x 24 in.

- 81 *Totius Neobelgii Nova et Acuratissima Tabula.*
Joachim Ottens. Amsterdam [ca. 1718]. Osher Collection. Engraving,
21½ x 26 in.

THESE DUTCH maps delineate New England based upon the geography of Champlain, Adriaen Block, and John Smith. They are notable for their lively decoration and also for the fact that the cartography remained essentially unchanged from 1635 until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Although Dutch interests lay primarily in the New York area, which is the main design focus of these maps, the static New England cartography has broader implications: those who encouraged and supported the publication of maps in Europe perceived the northern coast as a backwater, without the investment potential to create the demand for a cartographic update.

- 82 *Deed from Robinhoud Sagamour to Thomas Clives for Land in the Place Caled wichCasset.*
1662. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 12 x 9 in.

IN THE VAGUE language of this Indian deed one can see why obtaining a clear title to property was often impossible and disputed claims inevitable. Here Robinhoud, an Indian native at the center of many land deals in seventeenth-century Maine, "assignes for ever all and singular those lands begines one the westward side of Shipcot River the place caled wichCasset from the hier end of the upper narowes downe to the lower end of lower narowes fower mile in length due Norwest into the Country and fower mile likewise in length from the head of the upper narowes due north nor west. . . ."

- 83 *America Painted to the Life.*
Ferdinando Gorges. London, 1659. University of Maine/R. H. Fogler Library. Engraving, 7 x 12 in.

THE GRANDSON of Sir Ferdinando Gorges (also of the same name) attempted to hold on to his patrimony in the face of repeated attempts to negate his claims. This book was probably published to demonstrate to his critics that he had an ongoing interest and involvement in Maine, for one of the ways a claim could be overturned was to prove that the owner had not "improved" his land or met his responsibilities toward settlement.

The Gorges chapter closed once and for all when the Massachusetts Bay Colony, established in 1629, purchased the territory from the heirs in 1677 for £1,250.



106. Addison [Washington County]. Incorporated February 1797. Surveyed by Jones & Frie 1763, corrected and the Islands Surveyed 1785 by and under the Inspection of Rufus Putnam. Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 21 x 14½ in.

THE SHAPING OF MAINE

INTEREST in lands encompassed by the present state of Maine increased through the seventeenth century. But even in the best of times wealthy grant holders often found it difficult to attract the artisans and farmers required to turn “unimproved” lands into profitable business enterprises. Maine was a regular victim of “bad press”: its soil was scorned as a “wasteland,” and its climate was described as impossible.

American land speculators, however, were undaunted by Maine’s bad reputation and regularly asserted that cutting timber improved the climate. Northern land was of particular interest to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which by the end of the seventeenth century had annexed all of Maine and much of what are now the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Although this “empire” would eventually be reduced, Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820—nearly 150 years.

Throughout the troubled eighteenth century, Maine was a characteristic frontier: a risky but expansive place to settle; a dangerous buffer zone in the struggle between imperialistic forces; and an immense land-bank for the renewal of depleted pocketbooks.

☛ Settlers and Surveyors in a Troubled Land

POPULATION in the coastal area from Kittery to Pemaquid saw a steady increase until the Indian attacks of the 1670s, which effectively dampened settlement. It was not until the 1720s and 1730s, in fact, that the population in Maine began to approach its earlier levels. Much of this new activity was confined to the southern coast, though so-called squatters were illegally establishing themselves on vacant lands throughout the region.

The progress of settlement through the mid-eighteenth century, however, faced a number of obstacles. A checkered and confusing history of overlapping grants, geographical misconceptions, inaccurate surveys, and vague deeds made the buying and selling of property extremely difficult. The confrontation over Plymouth Colony lands on the Kennebec in the 1750s is a prime example. In addition, the region again became hostile territory for white settlers, as France and her Indian allies actively fought the English for American dominion in the colonial wars of the mid-eighteenth century. Raids on Maine settlements made the ordinary conduct of life and business extremely dangerous.



74. New England Observed . . . From: John Smith. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*. London, 1624. Osher Collection. Engraving, 13½ x 22 in.

84 *A Plott of Mr. Humphrey Chadburns Farm att Sturgen Creek.*

William Godsoe. Kittery, 1701. Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 14 x 11 in.

THE EARLIEST views of Maine settlements are most often the result of the exchanges of property that were part of everyday life. Surveyors were hired to document land sales, estate inventories, and boundary disputes, producing the cartographic record that today forms part of the archives of various governmental bodies.

Landowners in Kittery often turned to the immigrant English mariner and surveyor William Godsoe and his grandson John Godsoe, who were active in southern Maine from 1689 to 1769. The characteristic “vernacular” style of the Godsoes is evident in this plan of Humphrey Chadburn’s farm, undertaken on behalf of Lucia Styleman, Chadburn’s recently remarried widow. Dramatic compass roses were a favorite design element of the Godsoes, but they demonstrated a keen eye for local detail as well: the lozenge-shaped design over the door of Charles Frost’s house is a symbol of mourning for a recently deceased relative.

85 *A True Copy from an Ancient Plan . . .*

Thomas Johnston. Boston, 1752. Maine Historical Society. Engraving, 18½ x 13½ in.

IN 1661 FOUR Boston merchants purchased the Plymouth Colony’s Kennebec lands and under the name of the Plymouth Company began to make grants for settlement in the area. In the years that followed other companies also acquired interests in the region, setting the stage for conflicts. Matters came to a head in 1749 when the Plymouth Company, encouraged by recent peace treaties with the Indians, actively tried to pursue and enlarge its rights to the area. Among the most outspoken opponents were the Proprietors of the Township of Brunswick. Arguments on both sides were supported by historical surveys and made public in maps and broadsides published on both sides of the Atlantic.

Thomas Johnston of Boston drew this map in support of the Brunswick claim, which would have kept the Plymouth Company well up the Kennebec. The lower stretch of the river south of Merrymeeting Bay is here called the Sagadahock, a way of suggesting that Kennebeck lands, properly called, could not extend so far south. In attacking this map, the Plymouth Company was apparently able to “reach” the cartographer, for when Johnston gave his affidavit in court about its construction, he implied that the Brunswick Proprietors had “adjusted” some of the information to suit their purposes. The Proprietors were not pleased.



88. A Plan of the Kennebek and Sagadahok Rivers. Thomas Johnston.
London, 1755. Maine Historical Society.
Engraving, 17 1/2 x 14 1/2 in.

86 *Neridgawalk Fort. . .*

Joseph Heath. Brunswick, 1719. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 25½ x 21 in.

THE BRUNSWICK Proprietors supplied Johnston with Joseph Heath's 1719 survey of the "great river" and insisted that he cite it as a source in the legend of his printed map. This he did, but in his court testimony Johnston says he ignored it.

Heath's map played a more serious role in Maine history, however. As a captain stationed at Fort George, in Brunswick, Heath had traveled to the Abenaki village of Norridgewock where the French Jesuit priest Sebastian Rale, an intelligent and sympathetic friend of the Indians, kept his mission. The map records his journey and contains information on the Norridgewock fortifications. It was later used by the English for their raids on the mission in the 1720s. Rale and many of the Indians were killed.

87 *Plan of a Tract of Land Lying 15 English Miles on Each Side of Kennebeck River . . .*

John North. 1750–1751. Bowdoin College Library. Manuscript copy of 1785, 36 x 28 in.

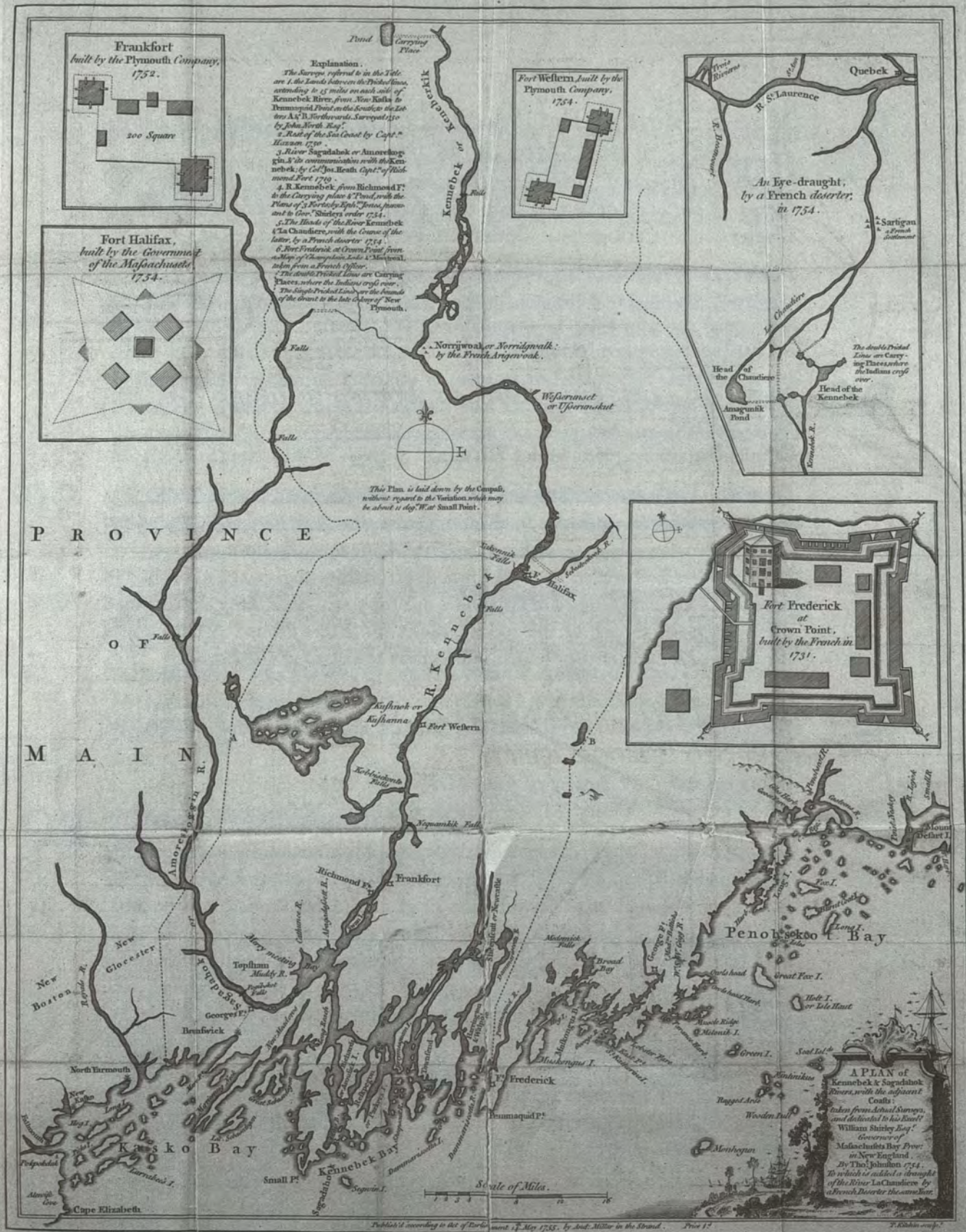
IN 1753 what had been known as the Plymouth Company became the Kennebec Purchase Company, called "the greatest land speculating concern in New England." John North's survey of 1750 was the official basis for the Company's claims. The survey is shown here at a reduced scale; the original (now at the Maine Historical Society) is a 12 x 9-foot manuscript. Johnston also made use of North's survey, as he noted in the legend to his printed map.

88 *A Plan of the Kennebek and Sagadahok Rivers.*

Thomas Johnston. London, 1755. Maine Historical Society. Engraving, 17½ x 14½ in.

IN 1755 Thomas Johnston was again hired to make a map; this time, it was to support the claims of the Kennebec Purchase Company rather than the Brunswick Proprietors. The claim, indicated by a single dotted line, gives the Company a tract of land that reaches to the sea on each side of the Kennebec River. The legend at the upper right provides a succinct historical statement of the Company's claim. It also contains the assertion that the Company was at that time making large settlements (at great cost) throughout the tract.

The controversy was eventually settled through compromise in the London courts.



91. Plan and History of Land Surveyed on the Kennebec and Sebasticook Rivers Based on the 1769 Survey of John McKechnie. Late eighteenth century. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 24 x 19 in.

89 *Map Exhibiting the Principal Original Grants & Sales of Lands in the State of Maine.*

In: Moses Greenleaf. *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of the State of Maine*. Portland, 1829. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 32 x 24½ in.

IN THIS classic and handsome document of the state's history, Moses Greenleaf attempts to summarize in a coherent fashion the complicated history of land grants and sales in Maine.

90 *Plan of Lots Laid Out in Pownalborough on the Kennebec.*

Samuel Goodwin. 1760. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 21½ x 15 in.

POWNALBOROUGH was located in the Kennebec Purchase area that was so hotly contested. In order to shore up its claims, the Plymouth Company laid out two townships on either side of the Kennebec. By the spring of 1752, forty families had settled near Richmond. Pownalborough was established in February 1760, and Goodwin's plan lays out the town, describing the intended use of each lot as well as the specifications for a courthouse. A drawing of the proposed courthouse, which still stands today, is at the bottom.

91 *Plan and History of Land Surveyed on the Kennebec and Sebasticook Rivers*

Based on the 1769 Survey of John McKechnie.

Late eighteenth century. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 24 x 19 in.

THE HISTORICAL narrative that envelops this plan attempts to legitimize the Kennebec Company's claims, but it also reveals the unpredictability of life during the colonial wars between the English and the French.

Since 1661, it says, the Company "had a continouel possession of their land on each side of Kennebec river ever since except when they was drove off by the Indians. And as they began again in 1745 as peace was mad with the Indians in 1749 at Falmouth they thought there was no danger of the Indians. The said proprietors sent their agent Samuel Goodwin to Kennebeck river to survey their tracts of land . . . he did have it surveyed . . . as far as Cusnok Island and there he was stopped by the Indians. The Indians took and carried away (13 person out of 16) . . . and carried all to Canaday, some of which never returned."

☞ *Geography and Emergency*

NOT MANY YEARS separated the long struggle of the colonial wars from the American Revolution. During the Revolution Maine once again became a battleground for raids and reprisals as British forces attempted to control the eastern coast.

It has been ironically observed that it takes wars to make geography interesting. Indeed, it was not until an area of the Americas became the focus of European strategic interests that new or updated maps were published. The imperial conflicts that were staged in the northeast throughout the last half of the eighteenth century gave rise to pictures and maps that showed a newly concerned audience where the action was. Cartographers joined in the fray, producing maps that graphically supported the claims of one side or another.

92 *Partie Orientale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada.* From: Matthew Seutter. Augsburg, ca. 1750. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 24 x 21 in.

THIS MAP'S cartography, which shows land masses compressed to the point of distortion, is apparently secondary to its effort to encourage settlement in New France at the time of the colonial wars. It was recognized that populating the land was an effective way to establish claim to contested areas. The multitude of French place-names give Acadia and the St. Lawrence River Valley a "settled" feeling, while the lively cartouche and other decorations focus upon the lucrative fishery.

93 *Carte de la Nouvelle France.* From: Henry Abraham Châtelain. *Atlas Historique*. Amsterdam, 1705-1720. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 21½ x 25½ in.

CHATELAIN'S MAP gives the French version of its North American possessions at the beginning of the eighteenth century. New England is cut off at the Kennebec, while the large insets of French ports in Louisiana and Quebec emphasize its strategically powerful position. Views such as this one caused English settlers much alarm. France was to the north, to the south, and behind them to the west, and the colonists began to feel very insecure on their narrow band of Atlantic coastline.

94 *A New and Accurate Map of North America.*

John Huske. From: *The Present State of North America*. [London] 1755. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 17 x 21 in.

THE ENGLISH view of the various European possessions in North America clearly differed from the French version, and Huske states in the title that his map is the definitive statement. It is perhaps the most subtle power of a map to be able to present interpretation and propaganda in the form of a seemingly objective record.

95 *A New and Correct Chart of the Sea Coast of New-England.*

Henry Barnsley. From: *The English Pilot. Fourth Book*. London, 1767–1773. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 22½ x 49 in.

ALTHOUGH THE British Admiralty complained loudly and regularly about what they felt was the inferior quality of American timber for shipbuilding (other than masts), they increasingly turned to colonial yards during the period of the colonial wars to produce the smaller vessels required for engagements with the French on the lakes, rivers, and coasts of disputed territory.

While the ship *America* was being built in New England, the British seaman Henry Barnsley occupied his time surveying the coastal waters between Cape Cod and Casco Bay. His chart was published in 1752 and appeared in editions of the *English Pilot* from 1767 until 1773.

96 *The Harbour of Casco Bay and Islands Adjacent.*

Cyprian Southicke [i.e., Southack]. In: *The English Pilot. Fourth Book*. London, 1760. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 19 x 26 in.

FROM ITS FIRST edition in 1689 to the end of the eighteenth century, British seamen turned to the *English Pilot. Fourth Book* for their view of the North American coastline. The example shown here, worn with use and bound in serviceable burlap, is a *Pilot* in typical condition. This chart of Casco Bay appeared in editions of the *Pilot* from 1721 until 1794, a very long lifetime that was not unusual.

Its author, Cyprian Southack, was born in London in 1662 and came to Boston as an officer of the Admiralty Coast Guard. The Massachusetts government utilized his maritime experience and sent him on numerous diplomatic errands from New York to the St. Lawrence. In the course of his travels he

worked up an impressive series of coastal charts, which appeared in his own pilot and in editions of the *English Pilot* as well. Southack's diplomatic work increased his awareness of French strengths in North America, and he also published a map to call his countrymen's attention to Gallic encroachments on the British colonies.

97 [*Spurwick River (Cape Elizabeth) to Moose Point.*]
From: J. F. W. Des Barres. *Atlantic Neptune*. London, 1776. Osher Collection. Engraving, 43 x 30½ in.

98 [*Watering Cove (Gouldsborough) to Moose Harbor.*]
Samuel Holland. From: J. F. W. Des Barres. *Atlantic Neptune*. London, 1776-. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 31 x 64½ in.

99 [*Parkers Island (Rodgers Bay) to Alewife Cove (Cape Elizabeth).*]
Samuel Holland. From: J. F. W. Des Barres. *Atlantic Neptune*. London, 1776-. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 31 x 44 in.

100 *Falmouth Harbor.*
Samuel Holland. From: J. F. W. Des Barres. *Atlantic Neptune*. London, 1776-. University of Southern Maine Library/Smith Cartographic Collection. Engraving, 31½ x 23½ in.

SAMUEL HOLLAND, one of the few trained surveyors in North America, was appointed Surveyor General for the Northern District in 1764. Along with his numerous other responsibilities, he began a survey of the Atlantic coast in 1765, concentrating on the St. Lawrence area. Later he carried his surveys from the Bay of Fundy to Boston as part of a larger effort to map the entire Atlantic coast to New York.

The outbreak of hostilities between England and her American colonies disrupted these plans, and Holland returned to military duty. Des Barres, a British hydrographer who had for many years tried to convince the Admiralty that up-to-date charts were necessary for American waters (with lukewarm response), found that his superiors were now ready to support his efforts. He used Holland's northern surveys and those of his counterpart for the Southern District, Gerard De Brahm. The first charts were ready by the end of 1776, and publication of the four massive sections of the *Neptune* continued through the 1780s.

IOI *The Town of Falmouth, Burnt, by Captain Moet, Oct. 18, 1775.*

John Norman. From: Edmund Burke. *An Impartial History of the War in America*. Vol. 2. [Boston, 1782.] Engraving, 6 x 11 in. Photograph of the original in the John Carter Brown Library.

IN THE SPRING of 1775 a Falmouth merchant whose business had suffered under colonial restrictions on imports secured the aid of British Captain Henry Mowatt to unload English goods. The patriots were outraged and proceeded to arrest the captain and to ransack the merchant's household. In October, Mowatt retaliated, and this view shows the destruction of the town by his troops. Many Americans chose to see the incident as unprovoked and outrageous. In the author's words, "the burning of churches and libraries is a new species of warfare. . . ."

IO2 *Attack of the Rebels upon Fort Penobscot by an Officer present.*

From: Paul de Rapin-Thoyras. *Rapin's Impartial History of England*. [London] 1785. Maine State Museum. Engraving, 18 x 18 in.

IN AUGUST 1779 Massachusetts, encouraged by recent successes of Continental privateers, launched an expedition to capture the strong point the British were establishing at Fort George on the Penobscot River. Although the British troops were unprepared, poor planning and even worse execution on the part of the Americans resulted in their total defeat. In the words of the British report, "no vessel of any kind . . . escaped . . . and . . . their army, which consisted of three thousand five hundred men, and their sailors, are now exploring their way thro' the woods and wilderness of Maine, where most likely many of them will perish."

Although this plan purports to be drawn "by an officer present," the location of Castine is incorrect, and one of the American privateers supposedly there was elsewhere at the time.

IO3 *Amerique Septentrionale avec les Routes, Distances en Miles, Villages Etablissements François et Anglois . . . par le Docteur Mitchel . . .*

John Mitchell. Paris, 1777. 3d French ed. 5th Impression. Osher Collection. Engraving, 55½ x 85 in.

DR. JOHN MITCHELL was a physician, a botanist, and an author of numerous works. The one map he drew has been called "the most important map in American history." Mitchell was concerned about French expansion throughout North America and the seeming disinterest of the British authorities

in enlarging and solidifying their colonial possessions. In order to call attention to this neglect, Mitchell compiled and published a large map of British North American possessions from the best information available. Dr. Mitchell's map was very well received. It quickly became the standard British view of her territory and was reproduced over the years in many editions in English, Dutch, French, and Italian.

This was the map used to draw the boundary between the United States and Canada at the peace negotiations in Paris in 1782, which ended the Revolutionary War. The Treaty of Paris (1783) designated the boundary in eastern Maine as a line drawn along the middle of the St. Croix River from its mouth to its source. Unfortunately, the Mitchell map showed the St. Croix River in an incorrect location, one of the factors that gave rise to the series of disputes that would plague Maine until the middle of the nineteenth century.

☛ *Selling off the Eastern Lands*

AT THE CLOSE of the Revolutionary War, Massachusetts was faced with an empty treasury and immediately looked to the almost 17 million acres of "wild lands" in Maine. In addition to their potential for raising needed cash, the eastern lands could be given as reward to veterans, as assistance to educational and charitable institutions, and as incentives to industry and commerce—all without expense.

As early as 1781 an attempt had been made to make new maps of these lands and to prosecute interlopers (most of whom were taking lumber). In 1783 a Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands was formed to concentrate on the sale of lands east of the Kennebec. The Committee had difficulty selling the townships they so optimistically laid out. A national shortage of cash had depressed the market, but then too, most of those who had received free land from the state immediately tried to sell (at terms more favorable than the Committee's), resulting in a glut. A lottery was tried and failed, and by 1788 the Committee was once again exploring more conventional methods of land sales.

104 *A Plan of 1,060,166 acres of Land & Water . . . a purchase made by Henry Jackson & Royal Flint Esqrs. forming nearly a Square. County of Lincoln April 20th 1792. James Burton Scripsit.*
Daniel Weston and Samuel Titcomb. Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 25 x 29 in.

LAND SPECULATION answered the prayers of the Massachusetts Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands. "Were I to characterize the United States, it would be by the appellation of the land of speculations," wrote the English traveler William Priest in 1796. Speculation fever hit all of the United States

in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, fueled by capital from Europe and wealth acquired by profiteers during the Revolution. The most audacious (if not ultimately successful) speculators in northern lands were William Duer and Henry Knox, who between them set out to corner all the wild lands in Maine, aided by their assistants Henry Jackson and Royal Flint. Shown here is the map of Jackson and Flint's purchase (for Knox and Duer) of the area southwest of Moosehead Lake.

105 *York Ss. Pursuant to an Order of the Court of General Sessions . . .*

appointing us a Committee to lay out Roads from Sanford & Lebanon to the main Road which leads through Conway . . . Accepted Berwick, April 6th 1785.
Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 32 x 20 in.

THE DECADE of the 1780s saw a rapid increase in the population of the District of Maine, although most of those people lived in the three western counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln. In 1780 there were forty incorporated towns in the District, not one of which was east of the Penobscot, but by 1790 another thirty-one had been incorporated, nine of which were in Hancock and Washington counties. This map lays out a road in York County; the columns of figures indicate the directions and lengths for each turn in the road, going and coming.

106 *Addison [Washington County] Incorporated February 1797.*

Surveyed by Jones & Frie 1763, corrected and the Islands Surveyed 1785 by and under the Inspection of Rufus Putnam.
Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 21 x 14½ in.

107 *[Islands in Western Bay.]*

No. VI Surveyed by Jones & Frie 1763, corrected and the Islands Surveyed 1785 by and under the Inspection of Rufus Putnam.
Maine State Archives. Manuscript, 21 x 14 in.

IN THE mid-eighteenth century there were attempts to settle eastern lands, but the area was so threatened during the course of the colonial wars that most of these plans did not succeed. Interest rekindled after the Revolution, and many of the proposed settlements of the 1760s were taken up again in the 1780s and 1790s. The maps shown here were based upon the survey that had been made in 1763. With additional information they were brought up to date for settlement in 1797.

108 *The Foregoing is a Plan of 189,426 Acres on the Penobscot River*

it being the purchase made by the Government of the Penobscot Tribe of Indians . . . Charleton Dec. 20th. 1797.

Park Holland, Jonathan Maynard, and John Chamberlain. Maine State Archives. Manuscript copy of 1820, 39 x 28½ in.

ONE OF THE problems faced by the Committee in organizing Maine land sales was the amount of desirable territory still owned by the Penobscot tribe. As this land bordered and “encroached” upon many of the large tracts that the Committee was trying to sell, the government began a systematic effort to acquire clear title to the land.

This purchase stretches from Bangor to West Enfield. The key explains that the triangles represent “Indian huts & Squatters Houses,” a subtle expression of the white man’s general disdain for the legality of Amerindian rights.

109 *An Accurate Map, of the District of Maine; Being Part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Compiled Pursuant to an Act of the General Court, From Actual Surveys . . .*

Osgood Carleton and John Norman. Boston [1798]. Maine State Museum. Engraving, 54 x 34 in.

IN THE LAST decade of the eighteenth century many states took steps to produce up-to-date maps of their territories. In 1794 the well-known Boston cartographer Osgood Carleton was given the job of compiling and publishing official maps of Massachusetts proper and the District of Maine. All towns in the state, as well as the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands in Maine, were ordered to forward their plans and surveys to Boston so that Carleton and John Norman, a Boston engraver, could produce a map.

Two different sets of maps were published under this charge. The first set (published in 1798) was rejected, mainly because of the “inelegance” of John Norman’s engraving. Between the preliminary and the final rejection, however, Norman tried to sell as many of this edition as possible and advertised the maps in the *Portland Gazette*, hoping perhaps that news of his difficulties had not yet reached Maine.

110 *Map of the District of Maine*

Compiled from Actual Surveys Made by Order of the General Court, and Under the Inspection of Agents of their Appointment.

Osgood Carleton. [Boston, 1802.] Peter L. Murray Collection. Engraving, 53 x 37 in.

THE SECOND set, engraved by the Boston firm of Callender and Hill, was first published in 1801, with a second edition the following year. These were the “official” maps of Massachusetts and the District of Maine. It is, in fact,

on the map of Maine that the major differences between the two sets of maps appear, for it incorporated recent surveys from the Committee for Eastern Lands and the Committee for the St. Croix Boundary Survey.

III *Map of the State of Maine.*

Moses Greenleaf. Portland, 1822. Osher Collection. Engraving, 42 x 27½ in.

MAINE HAD been part of the Massachusetts empire since the mid-seventeenth century. By the close of the eighteenth century there was a growing sentiment in the district that neither its geography nor its political interests could be served from Boston. Agitation for a separation between Maine and Massachusetts, centered in Portland in 1795, did not succeed at the time, but seeds had been planted for the final division, which took place in 1820. At the time of separation what remained of the 17 million acres of wild Maine land was divided between the states. During its tenure, the Committee for Eastern Lands had managed to give away 1.2 million acres in public grants and to sell 4.7 million acres, at roughly 20 cents per acre.

☛ *The Final Boundaries*

THE BORDER between Maine and the Canadian provinces had long been a bone of political contention in North America. This seemed about to end in 1783 when the Treaty of Paris set out the territorial boundaries of the United States and Canada. Using the beautiful but inaccurate Mitchell map as the basis of their negotiations, diplomats started a new round of geographical arguments, known as the Northeast Boundary Disputes.

Drawing a line on paper was one thing, but finding real geographical features to correspond with that line in a rugged and almost unexplored territory was another. Though it had been decided, for instance, that the St. Croix River (the location of Champlain's 1604 settlement) would be the proper eastern boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, it could not be determined which of the many rivers in the region was the true St. Croix. An archaeological rather than a cartographic solution was found in 1798: the remains of Champlain's settlement were located on what was then called the Schoodic River—the "true" St. Croix.

Other boundary issues were less neat, dragging on for many years, caught in the complications of new wars, threatening to create wars of their own. Explorations in northern Maine increased, however, and a rich harvest of maps, serving as both documents of persuasion and records of objective fact, was produced.

II2 *A New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Britain*

with the Adjacent Parts of New England and Canada.

Thomas Jefferys. [London] 1755. Osher Collection. Engraving, 19½ x 26 in.

LONG BEFORE Great Britain and the United States attempted to hammer out a final territorial agreement at the end of the Revolution, New England and Nova Scotia were concerned about the boundaries. A series of maps focusing upon the division was published by Thomas Jefferys beginning in 1755. The copperplate saw many changes through the end of the century as its various publishers attempted to keep pace with the changing geographical information and political situations that altered the boundary.

Two versions were issued by Jefferys in 1755. One showed the boundary line running up the "Pessemiquiddi or St. Croix River" (the true location of which was not yet known), and the other, shown here, moved the boundary about two degrees west to the "Kenebec River."

II3 *A New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island.*

Thomas Jefferys. London, 1775. Osher Collection. Engraving, 22 x 29½ in.

IN THIS issue, the third of seven versions with varying information to be issued in 1775, the boundary line runs up the Penobscot River, although the dotted line of the earlier Kennebec boundary has not been erased.

II4 *Map of Penobscot Bay.*

London, 1816. Maine State Library. Engraving, 9 x 12 in.

A VARIETY of international pressures drew the United States into the War of 1812, which threatened to erase completely the boundaries between English and American interests. The United States planned an invasion of Canada, which failed. The English launched attacks on the Maine coast and proceeded up the Penobscot River to destroy American shipping at Bangor; Castine, was occupied yet again, a fact noted on this map, just as it had been during the Revolution.

The Treaty of Ghent in 1814 brought the war to a close and also directed that commissioners from the United States and England renew their attempts to settle the northeast boundary disputes.

II5 *Plan of the Village of Eastport.*

1835. Maine State Library. Manuscript, 24 x 32 in.

EASTPORT, LOCATED on Moose Island in Passamaquoddy Bay, was the focus of international attention in both the boundary disputes and the War of 1812. It was taken by British forces in the summer of 1814, and although

news of the declaration of peace arrived in Maine in 1815, the British did not leave Eastport for three years. The location of the water boundary between Maine and New Brunswick also ran through Passamaquoddy Bay; in one proposal at least Eastport would have become a part of Canada. Other aspects of the water boundary issue remained unresolved until 1910.

II6 *A Map of the Boundary Line Explored in 1817 by John Johnson, U.S. Surveyor.*

John Johnson. 1817. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 39 x 13 in.

II7 *Plan . . . Exploring Survey* *From the Source of the River St. Croix to the Great Waggansis or Waters of the Restigouche . . .*

Joseph Bouchett. 1817–1818. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 25 x 108 in.

II8 *A Map of the Country* *Explored in . . . 1817 & 1818 by Order of the Commissioners . . . of the Treaty of Ghent. 1817–1818.*

John Johnson. Maine Historical Society. Manuscript, 76 x 40 in.

THESE STUNNING manuscript maps were based on explorations and surveys that attempted to locate a set of illusive “highlands.” According to the treaty, a line from the highlands to the source-point of the St. Croix River would complete a part of Maine’s northern border. The United States, hoping to gain as much territory as possible, insisted these features could be found nearer the St. Lawrence. The British naturally claimed they lay farther south, in a line across Maine from Mars Hill.

Neither these maps nor the negotiations of the various commissions were successful in solving the boundary dispute. In 1830 the boundary question was submitted to the king of the Netherlands for arbitration. His award was a compromise, dividing the territory between the two countries, but pressured by the state of Maine, which thought it could do better, the United States refused the award.

II9 *Map Compiled and Drawn by the Commissioners,* *Appointed under the Resolves of the Legislature of the State of Maine. Ap-* *proved March 23d. 1838. for Ascertaining, Running, and Locating the North* *Eastern Boundary of the State.*

William Anson. Portland, March 1839. Maine State Library. Manuscript, 29½ x 55 in.

I20 *Plan of British and American Positions on the Disputed Territory by an Eye Witness.*

Bowe and Sharp. 1843. Maine State Museum. Lithograph, 30 x 23 in.

AFTER A DECADE of worsening relations over the northern boundary the violence of an "Aroostook War" seemed almost inevitable, as troops were drawn up on either side of the border. This plan makes the war look imminent, but in fact it did not take place. The United States and Great Britain appointed two commissioners, Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, to negotiate a compromise. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1843 secured the Aroostook territory for Maine and gave the state's boundaries their final identity.

I21 *The MAIN Question.*

New York, 1839. Maine State Library. Lithograph, 12 x 18½ in.

I22 *Grand Falls, of the River St. John.*

Charles Thomas Jackson. 1835. Maine State Library. Watercolor, 9 x 11 in.

I23 *Mount Ktaadn, from W. Butterfields, (Oct. 8th. 1836).*

Charles Thomas Jackson. 1835. Maine State Library. Watercolor, 9 x 11 in.

I24 *Red Sandstone, Pulpit Rock. Perry.*

Charles Thomas Jackson. 1835. Maine State Library. Watercolor, 9 x 11 in.

I25 *Mount Desert.*

Charles Thomas Jackson. 1835. Maine State Library. Watercolor, 9 x 11 in.

I26 *West Quoddy Head Lighthouse.*

Charles Thomas Jackson. 1835. Maine State Library. Watercolor, 9 x 11 in.

THE HISTORY of discoveries and arguments over rivers, grants, and boundaries shows that maps do not begin as pictures of geographic reality. Rather, they are documents that interpret the land in the light of human desires and perceptions. Gradually, through revision and adjustment to new information, they come to resemble a general agreement about what is real in the world. Only then can they be called, in the old style, "trew plans."

But people of the earlier times did not dwell in maps or geographies, however exact. They lived, as these scenes remind us, in a vital and expansive landscape, not too different from our own.

