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No. 45: Smith's *Virginia* and its Derivatives

by Prof. Coolie Verner

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SMITH'S *VIRGINIA* AND ITS DERIVATIVES

*A Carto-Bibliographical Study of the Diffusion of
Geographical Knowledge*

BY COOLIE VERNER
Professor, University of British Columbia



No. 45

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I

INTRODUCTION

THE early printed map was the principal instrument for the spread of new geographical information and newer relationships that had been established among already known facts. The process through which this was achieved was simple. The discoverer of new information prepared a map which was then used by a cartographer as the basis for a change to an existing map plate or for the preparation of a new plate. This information would then be accepted by other publishers for their maps until it found its way into all maps in time. If the original explorer's map remained only in manuscript the diffusion process was much slower than if the original was printed and distributed. In some instances, early discoveries did not spread beyond the original manuscript and never actually entered the stream of knowledge.

Samuel Hearne explored the Coppermine River in 1771-1772 and submitted a map with his manuscript journal that was sent to the Hudson's Bay Company. The report was kept secret by the company so that the Coppermine River did not appear on a map until 1784 when it was included in the map of the Pacific prepared by Lt. Roberts for the official edition of Cook's third voyage. Curiously, it appears to have been ignored as the first state of the great Arrowsmith map published in 1795 does not show Hearne's explorations. The Hearne material was finally published in 1795 and was added to the Arrowsmith map on *State 3* in 1802. The Arrowsmith map was the principal instrument for introducing the Coppermine River into the stream of knowledge; consequently, some thirty years elapsed between the discovery and the diffusion of the information.

The carto-bibliographical description and analysis of an important prototype map will often clarify the way in which geographical information is diffused in the map and chart trade. The study reported here shows something of the sequence through which the first delineation of the Chesapeake Bay became a part of geographical knowledge.

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II

ORIGIN OF THE MAP

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH accompanied the party that sailed from England to establish the first permanent English settlement in North America. After sailing into the Chesapeake Bay and up the James River, they landed at Jamestown, Virginia, in the spring of 1607. A set of instructions issued to the party in 1606 noted:

"You must observe, if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and is like enough, that out of the same lake you will find some sprint which runs the contrary way towards the East Indian Sea."

These directions illustrate the then prevalent belief that the western ocean was near at hand with only the open passage to it remaining to be discovered. This dream is illustrated in the Ferrar map of 1651 and it accounts for the sea-to-sea grants of the original colonial charters. The first explorations of the bay area tended to support the belief in a westward passage and Smith wrote Henry Hudson that there was a sea leading into the western ocean to the north of the Virginia Colony, which led Hudson to the discovery of the river which bears his name.

The exploration of the area began almost immediately after settling at Jamestown. In May 1607, Captain Newport led the first party of twenty-three men, including Smith, up the James River as far as the fall line. Later that same year in November and December, Smith explored the Chickahominy River, and on June 2, 1608, Smith, with a party of fourteen men, set out to explore the Chesapeake Bay returning to Jamestown on July 21st. During this period of seven weeks they explored and mapped the eastern shore of the bay and the Potomac River to its fall line. From July 24th to September 7th—six weeks this time—Smith, and a party of twelve men, went to the northern tip of the Chesapeake Bay and explored the Susquehanna, Patuxant, Rappahannock and Piankatank Rivers. During the winter of 1608-1609 further explorations were conducted which included the Pamunkey, Mattaponi and Nansemond Rivers.

Manuscript draughts of these explorations were sent to England periodically. Some of these are extant and illustrate the developing knowledge of the cartography of the area. The first draught is believed to be one sent by Robert Tindall to Prince Henry with a letter dated June 22, 1607, in which he writes: "May it therefore please your grace to accepte at the handes of your most humble and dutifull servante a dearnall of our voyage and draughte of our River, hear inclosed . . ."¹ This manuscript is lost.

The next manuscript is another draught by Tindall dated 1608 which is in the British Museum. It was sent to England with Captain Newport who arrived there May 21, 1608. On this manuscript Tindall shows the area of Hampton

¹ Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston, 1890), p. 109.

Roads from Cape Henry to some distance above Jamestown, and the York River to its origin. The James River is delineated more accurately than the York with shallow water indicated by stippling. Numerous Indian villages are shown along the river and Jamestown is indicated as on a peninsula. The delineation of the York River is less accurate as Tindall depicts two equal size streams coming together at the head of that river. The James and the York are named "King James his River" and "Prince Henneri his River". Cape Henneri and Cape Comfort are also named. Tindall has named two features after himself, one a shoal in the James River east of Jamestown which he calls "Tindalls Shouldes" and the other is on the north bank of the York River (probably at Gloucester) which he calls "Tendales fronte". This latter designation has survived on subsequent printed maps in various forms such as Tindall's fort or Tindall's Creek. The northeast end of the peninsula between the two rivers is depicted as a small bay with eight small islands in it. It is obvious from this manuscript that Tindall had no perception of the Chesapeake Bay as such at the time this chart was drawn.

The third draught was sent to England in 1608 via Captain Francis Nelson who left Virginia on June 2nd. This accompanied Smith's *True Relation* . . . and is known as the Zuniga chart as a copy of it was sent to the King of Spain by his ambassador to London of that name, and it survives in the archives at Simancas, Spain. This chart extends from below Cape Henry to the Potomac River. The relationship between Capes Henry and Charles is quite in error and not depicted as accurately as on Tindall's chart of 1608. The James is delineated much the same as on Tindall except that it extends farther west and its headspring in the mountains is indicated. The Chicohominy River is shown in greater detail and the York is properly delineated from its mouth to the junction of the two rivers which form it. The most curious feature of this chart is the manner in which the west shore of the Del-Mar-Va. peninsula is extended to form the north bank of the Potomac River so that the Chesapeake Bay as now known does not exist. This map was drawn before Smith had explored the bay or the Potomac.

The final extant chart is sometimes known as the *Simancas Map* because it was discovered by Alexander Brown in the archives there; or as the *Velasco Map* because the Spanish Ambassador to London of that name sent a copy of it to Spain in a letter dated March 22, 1611. In the letter Velasco noted: "*This King sent last year a surveyor to survey that Province, and he returned here about three months ago and presented to him King James a plan or map of all that he could discover, A copy of which I send Y.M.*"¹ This map includes the east coast from Newfoundland to North Carolina and is a composite of numerous surveys.

On this map the four chief rivers are named: The Kings River, The Princes River, The Queens River, and Elizabeth River.

In the late fall of 1609, Captain John Smith returned to England, where he prepared a draught for his map. Some historians have argued against the

¹ Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston, 1890), p. 457.

possibility that this map is the work of Captain John Smith, but such a question of origin is academic since historical tradition assigns this map to Smith and there is insufficient evidence at present to resolve the issue either way. The principal arguments against Smith are presented by Alexander Brown¹ and elaborated by Worthington C. Ford.² The former is more emphatic in stating: "... I do not believe that Smith made the drawing himself", while Ford acknowledges that he is taking a "... journey into the realm of hypothesis ..." and "... to advance the claim that Powell, a skilled surveyor, made the platform, or basis, of the Smith map and is entitled to the credit of it".

At the risk of doing them an injustice, their arguments can be summarized and commented upon briefly as follows:

1. The Smith map was engraved from a copy of the Virginia portion of the Velasco map of 1610-1611. Both Velasco and Smith are incorrect which "... furnishes quite conclusive proof that the latter was copied from the former". (Brown).

The most that should be said with assurance is that both the Velasco and Smith maps copied the same prototype. Actually, it would appear that the proper sequence places the Smith map before the Velasco. As noted elsewhere, Smith does not delineate the eastern shoreline of the Del-Mar-Va. peninsula but the Velasco map does. Smith had not himself explored that shore by the time of his return to England in 1609. It was not explored and mapped until Argall's voyage along that coast from June to August 1610. The Velasco map more nearly relates Cape Charles to the Delaware Bay correctly while the Smith map by its indefiniteness gave rise to innumerable distortions. Had Smith copied Velasco he surely would have included the eastern line of the peninsula and possibly the Delaware Bay too. Since he relied upon Indians for some of his information it is strange that he would ignore the reports and surveys of his own countrymen. The Velasco map was made early in 1611 by which time Smith may well have had his own map under way or even in print since it was known to be in print by Samuel Purchas when he was writing his *Pilgrimage* which was entered at Stationers' Hall in August 1612. Smith was in disfavour with the London Company at this moment and may never have seen the original Velasco chart, and had he done so he might have added the east coast line at some time when he made numerous other changes to the plate as noted below. It is equally improbable that Velasco copied Smith since it depicts Smith's Isle indefinitely and out of all proportion while Smith shows it as a small island specifically located. Furthermore, Velasco shows the end of the peninsula at Cape Charles as a smoothly rounded point while Smith depicts two protrusions at the point. There are numerous other

¹ Alexander Brown, "Queries: The Map of Virginia", *Magazine of American History* 8:576 (1882).

² Worthington C. Ford, "Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia 1612", *Geographical Review* 14:433-443 (1924-5).

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delineational differences between the two that would tend to deny that there is as close a relationship between them as Brown assigns.

2. Distances given in the text of his work do not always correspond with the distance in the map. (Brown).

Presumably Smith made the rough draught of his map at the time of surveying and exploring the area, in which case his distances would be accurately recorded on the spot. His description was written some years later and his memory of time and distance would be less exact, which could account for the differences between the work and the map.

3. There is no real evidence that Smith could draw a map. (Brown, Ford). As evidence to support this statement Brown cites a sketch of the Roanoke Island area which he ascribes to Smith. This has since been found to be a rough sketch made by John White in 1585 of the North Carolina coast.¹

4. There is no manuscript of the area signed by Smith equivalent to that by Tindall. (Brown).

Certainly this statement is true so far as present evidence reveals; however, Brown reproduces the Zuniga manuscript—the original for which was sent to England to accompany Smith's *True Relation*. The original may have been signed and this part omitted by the copyist. Furthermore, Henry Hudson acknowledges a map from Smith which was probably a copy of the Zuniga chart. Any manuscript for Smith's map of the Chesapeake Bay would probably be destroyed in the process of engraving.

5. Smith is not cited by contemporary writers as having actually made the map. (Ford).

In citing Laet, as he does for evidence of this statement, Ford is using as a point of reference a work published over a decade after the map was in print. Plagiarism was quite common in the 17th century so it is not unusual to find authors failing to credit their sources. Ford overlooks the reference by Purchas in 1612 which does acknowledge "... his mappe. . ." which would appear to be more creditable positive and contemporary evidence of Smith's work than the negative evidence from Laet a decade later.

6. A tract first published in 1641 and republished in 1648 refers to Captain Smith's book and Captain Powell's map. Since the only published map of Virginia was Smith's such a reference must indicate that Powell made the map. (Brown). This point is based on an ambiguous reference which Ford cited in more detail.

¹ William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, (Chapel Hill, 1962).

A tract by Robert Evelyn published in 1641 contains the statement: "But going to *Delaware Bay*, by Cape May, which is 24 miles at most and is as I understand very well set out, and printed in Captain *Powels Map of New England*, done as is told me by a draught I gave to M. Daniel the plot-maker, which Sir Edmund Plowden saith you have at home . . ." This tract is reprinted in a book published in 1648 where an additional comment notes: "Which is further witnessed by Captain *Smith* and other books of *Virginia* and by *New Englands Prospect*, new *Canaan*, Captain *Powels Map*, and other descriptions of *New England* and *Virginia*". The validity of this circumstantial evidence is hardly comparable to that offered by Purchas when he credits the map to Smith specifically. It is quite possible that Powell did make a map of the area and it is not inconceivable that it was printed but is now lost, or even that it served as the original source for the Baltimore map of 1635. This latter map is sufficiently unlike Smith to suggest a separate and distinct draft but enough like it to suggest certain similarity in the initial survey.

This digest of Brown and Ford does not do justice to their interesting but uncertain arguments; however, it does summarize their main points. The evidence is inconclusive either that Smith did or did not make this first map of the Chesapeake Bay. The fact that the map is credited to him by Purchas at the time it was published; that it appeared with a pamphlet which he authored; that it bears only his name on the plate; and that it was used by Smith in later works associated with his name would seem to tip the balance in favour of continuing the tradition now firmly established that Smith made the first map of the bay.

Smith appears to have draughted his map to illustrate a pamphlet which he wrote. This pamphlet was printed in 1612 by Joseph Barnes at Oxford University on a small hand press given to the University by the Earl of Leicester in 1585. The map itself appears to have been in print before the pamphlet which it illustrates. Purchas' *Pilgrimage* dated 1613 but entered in Stationers Hall August 7, 1612, notes: ". . . Captain John Smith, partly by word of mouth, partly by his *Mappe* there of in print, and more fully by a manuscript which hee courtiously communicated to mee . . ." and : "Captaine Smith's *Mappe* may somewhat satisfie the desirous, and his books when it shall be printed, further". This, a small quarto pamphlet *A Map of Virginia . . .*, was intended to supplement and explain the map and the country it depicts. On page ten Smith notes with respect to the Indians: "Their several habitations are more plainly described by this annexed *mappe*, which will present to the eye the way of the mountains and current of the rivers, with their several turnings, bays, shoules, isles, inlets and creeks, the breadth of the waters, the distances of the places and such like".

After its use with this pamphlet, the map was not used again until Smith published his *History . . .* in 1624 and thereafter. This subsequent use of the map is discussed more fully below.

The plate for the map was engraved by William Hole who was at work in London from about 1607 to his death around 1624. He engaged in all types of

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engraving on copper including title pages as well as maps. He is particularly noted as the first in England to engrave music on copper in, among other works, Byrd's *Parthenia*. He also engraved Martin Billingsley's *Pens Excellencie* in 1618 which Hind describes as "... the most important as well as one of the earliest, of English engraved copy-books". Among engravers of the period Hole has a distinct place apart. Hind describes his work as "... more congenially allied to the French..." rather than to the Dutch and Flemish engravers who were exerting a strong influence on others working in England at the time.¹

The printed map is distinguished by two illustrations that were frequently copied on later versions of the map. Along the right border is a large figure of an Indian holding a bow in his right hand with a pig slung at his hip. This figure is most certainly copied from PLATE 3 of the De Bry engravings which was after White's drawing of "Weroan or great Lorde of Virginia". The Smith illustration follows the engraving rather than the original drawing for De Bry has the bow in the right hand rather than the left as does White. The left hand is holding an arrow on De Bry not included by White and a "bracer" on the right wrist which White placed on the left. While the Smith figure follows De Bry with respect to the bow, arrow and bracer, it adds details not on either. The suspended tail of the animal skin loincloth has been omitted; the necklace is rope rather than beads; the upper part of the body is partially covered by animal skin rather than naked; an animal head hangs from the right hip with arrows in a quiver showing beyond the left hip; and the left arm is extended to hold a club resting on the ground rather than placed on the hip as it is in both White and De Bry. McCary² notes that this figure is designed to correspond with the description of the Indian which Smith gives in the pamphlet: "The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the mappe . . . his haire, to one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrows were five quarters of a yard long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a wolves skinne at his back for a quiver, his bow in one hand and his clubbe in the other . . ."

The second illustration is in the upper left corner of the map. This depicts an Indian hut which is described as the residence of Powhatan. The prototype of this drawing is not clearly discernible as it is not similar to any of the surviving White drawings or the De Bry engravings. This illustration has certain features similar to De Bry's PLATE 22 "The Tomb of the Weroans" with respect to the background which shows the internal construction of the hut but the figures in the Smith picture are unlike any in De Bry. In all probability this is a composite drawing formed from specific bits and pieces of numerous De Bry pictures.

¹ Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England . . . Part II*, (Cambridge, 1955).

² Ben C. McCary, *John Smith's Map of Virginia with A Brief Account of Its History*. (Williamsburg, 1957).

III

GEOGRAPHICAL CONTENT

PRIOR to the settlement at Jamestown the Chesapeake Bay had been depicted by a vague and indefinite indentation on the coast. On Spanish maps and their derivatives this bay was usually designated "B. de St Marie" without any accurate suggestion of its shape or size. The White and De Bry maps depicted it as a somewhat rectangular shape north of the main area which they described. The information they had about the bay was obviously from the Indians and, interestingly enough, showed four major rivers and some lesser ones emptying into it. The De Bry map is the first to attach the name Chesopioc Sinus to the Bay.

In his delineation of the bay, Captain John Smith achieved a factual and amazingly accurate representation of its shape, proportions and orientation. This map, therefore, is the *basic prototype* map of the Chesapeake Bay. In addition to providing the first accurate representation of the bay area, Smith also introduced some distinctive characteristics that were perpetuated and often accentuated on derivative maps. The most conspicuous of these include the overall shape and alignment of the bay, the Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula, the James-York Peninsula, and the Potomac River.

In presenting the Chesapeake Bay Smith drew it on a rather straight line from north to south with a slight angle from southeast to northwest. In the bay toward the north end are a number of large islands and the adjacent shore line is indefinitely drawn to indicate his lack of exploration of that section. The single most conspicuous characteristic of the Smith delineation of the bay is the pronounced turn to the east at the head of the bay. Each of these characteristics of the bay as a whole are perpetuated on the derivatives with varying degrees of deviation. Some maps, like the Visscher, accentuate the slant to the west; while others shorten or lengthen it disproportionately or alter the straight north-south line.

The distinctive shape of the Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula as presented on many derivative maps is due as much to what Smith did not draw as to what he did. He apparently did not explore and map any of the eastern or Atlantic side of this peninsula and stopped his delineation of it at Cape Charles. He, in engraving the plate, represented this unknown territory by a vague stippled area leading off indistinctly in a general northeasterly direction which suggested a gradual widening of the peninsula. Subsequent maps made this widening of the peninsula a permanent feature as they joined Cape Charles to the Delaware Bay. A subsidiary characteristic of this peninsula is the shape of the southern tip which Smith depicts with two points that become increasingly exaggerated on many derivative maps.

The peninsula between the James and York Rivers is presented by Smith with two distinctive characteristics: the breadth of the peninsula at the end (i.e., north to south) is greater than in reality, and the northeast end of the peninsula has a

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large semicircular bay containing five fairly large islands (Gosnold's Bay). This latter representation is found also on the Tindall and Zuniga charts and implied on the Velasco manuscript. The former two of these three charts contain a westward hook at Point Comfort which is not on Smith.

In his delineation of the Potomac River Smith introduced a decided pattern similar to a large Z. From the mouth, the river has a northwest course then turns northeast and finally northwest again. This is found only on the Velasco chart as none of the earlier manuscripts had included a representation of the Potomac based on actual surveys.

Some of the names Smith attached to geographical features have survived while others have been abandoned or replaced. Smith himself claims credit for naming Capes Henry and Charles after the 'princes of the day': George Percy in his *Discourse* also mentions the naming of Cape Henry but he neither assumes credit nor assigns it to anyone else.¹ He does, however, relate substantially the same story as Smith with respect to the naming of Point Comfort as it, in Smith's words, "... gave great comfort to his men upon landing at Cape Henry to know there was land across the way". Smith named the four major rivers Powhatan (James), Pamunk (York), Tappahonock (Rappahannock) and Patowmec and of these, only the last name has survived. Other features were assigned the names of members of Smith's surveying party such as *Fetherstone's Baye* after Master Richard Fetherstone who died on the second expedition in August, 1608. Many names of this sort were not on the original plate and may have been added later by Smith or the printer to favour or honour those after whom features were named.

There are black crosses at various points on the map which Smith explains: "... as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountains, or other places, have been discovered the rest was had by information of the savages and are set down according to their instructions".

Last, but by no means least, is the information which Smith provides on his map about the location of Indian Tribes. Major Jed Hotchkiss, in a letter dated October 5, 1883, published in Arber,² notes: "I am sorry to say that about the only information we have concerning the location of Indian Tribes at the time of the settlement of Virginia is to be found on Smith's map". He remarks further that the map is "... a marvel of results in representation of outline compared with the time occupied in procuring information. Smith had all the important features of our wonderfully developed coast well shown".

¹ Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, (Boston, 1890), p. 158.

² Edward Arber and A. C. Bradley, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*. (Edinburgh, 1910)

IV

TOPONOMY

SINCE it is the first printed map of the Chesapeake Bay, the Smith map is the first to assign names to topographical features. The original map which can be observed in impressions of *State 1* of the plate assigns thirty-two English names to features and seventeen names to rivers. Later states of the plate contain an additional thirteen names. Only very few of these original names have survived to identify the features named. The map also identifies and names ten Indian tribes and some 166 Indian villages.

The names on the Smith map are transcribed below. In making this transcription the map was enlarged to a size five times that of the original but some of the engraved letters were still difficult to decipher so that error may exist. Those which are most doubtful are indicated by a question mark.

In the list which follows the names are arranged according to geographical area with the rivers acting as boundaries for the areas. The names of Indian tribes are provided first followed by the names of the rivers with the modern equivalent name provided. These are listed in a clockwise direction, beginning with the James River (Powhatan).

Names of Indian Tribes

- Powhatan—for the nation or confederation in Virginia
- Mangoags—South of the James
- Chawons—South of the James
- Monocans—Southwest
- Mannahoaks—West
- Massawomecks—Northwest
- Sasquesahanough—North
- Atquanachukes—Northeast
- Tockwoghs—Eastern Shore
- Kuskarawacks—Eastern Shore

Names of Rivers

- Powhatan flu—James
- Chickahamama flu—Chickahominy
- Pamaunk flu—York
- Youghtanund flu—Pamunkey
- Mattapament flu—Mattaponi
- Tappahanock flu—Rappahannock
- Payankatank flu—Piankatank
- Patawomeck flu—Potomac
- Quiyough flu—either Occoquan or Potomac Creek
- Pawtuxunt flu—Patuxent

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Bolus flu—either the Severn or the Patapsco
 Willowbyes flu—either the Gunpowder or the Bush
 Sasquahanough flu—Susquehanna
 Tockwogh flu—Sassafras
 Rapahanock flu—Wye East River
 Kus flu—probably the Choptank
 Wighco flu—Pocomoke

Names between Powhatan flu and Pamaunk flu

<i>Indian</i>	Moysonee	Orapaks
Kecoughtan	Mamanahunt	Powhatan
Kiskiack	Potaucat	Monasukapanough
Mattapanient	Attamtuck	Paspanegh
Ozenick	Wean-ock	<i>English</i>
Matehut	Paspanegh	Poynt Comfort
Werawahon	Righkahauk	Poynt Hope
Askakep	Pammcoroy (?)	Gosnolds Baye
Acconoc	Nechanicok	Ceader Ile
Memascestc (?)	Appcant	James town

Names between Pamaunk flu and Payankatank flu

<i>Indian</i>	Cinquateck	Passawikack
Capahowasick	Menampucun	Cattachiptico
Cantaunkack	Vttamussak	<i>English</i>
Werowocomoco	Kupkicock	Poynt Warde
Mattacock	Accoswinck	Wifins Poynt
Poruptanck	Matchutt	Tindals Poynt
Pasaughtacock	Quackcohowan (?)	
Mamanassy	Myghtuckpassu	

Names between Payankatank flu and Toppahanock flu

<i>Indian</i>	Muttanmussinsack	Checkaconia
Paranka-tank	Anaskenoans	Stegara
Opisco-pank	Martoughquaimk	<i>English</i>
Anrcuapeugh	Secobeck	Stingra Ile
Nandtaughtacund	Accoqueck	
Checonissowo	Uteustank	

Names between Toppahanock flu and Patawomeck flu

<i>Indian</i>	Noraughtacun	Wingeck (?)
Cinquack	Oquornock	Vttamussamacoma (?)
Wighcocomoco	Pawcomonet	Quawmament
Cuttatawomek	Auhonesk	Acquack
Chesakawon	Menaskunt	Cawwontell (?)
Ottuachugh	Povektaunk	Passacoack
Kapawnich	Toppahanock	Matchipick
Nepawtacum	Nawnautaug (?)	Wecuppom
Pawcocomo (?)	Poykemkack	Mangoraca
Cekakawwon	Tinoicquack (?)	Nawacaten

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Pissaseck	Sockobeck	Mattacunt
Kerahacak	Massawoteck	Ozaiawomen (?)
Papiscone	Mahaskahod	Quawmament
Assaweska	Hassiuga	<i>Added Later</i>
Monanask	Tanxintania	Boolers Bush
Waconiask	Quiyough	Fetherstones Baye
Cuttatawomen	Patawomeck	Sparkes Vaylley

Names between Quiyough flu and Patawomeck flu

<i>Indian</i>	Namoraughquend
Pamacocack	<i>Added later</i>
Tauxenent	Democrites Tree
Namassingakent	Burtens Mount
Assaomeck	

Names between Patawomeck flu and Bolus flu

<i>Indian</i>	Petapaco	Quotough
Opament	Nushemouck	Pocatamaough
Quomocac	Mataughqument (?)	Macocunaco
Pawtusiint (?)	Nussamek	Wasapokent
Onacack (?)	Pamacocack	Aquaskack
Wascocup (?)	Cinquaetock	<i>English</i>
Tauskus	Moyaons (?)	Richard Cliffes
Wepanawomen	Tessamatuck	<i>Added later</i>
Quactataugh	Wosameus	Sparkes Poynt
Monanauk	Nacotchganck	Tauerners Roade
Acquintanacsuck	Mattpament	
Cecomocomoco		

Names between Bolus flu and Sasquasahanough flu

<i>Indian</i>	Powels Iles
Attaock	Smals Poynt
Utchowig	<i>Added later</i>
Cepowig	Blands C
<i>English</i>	Downes Dale
Smyths Falls	

Names between Sasquasahanough flu and Cape Charles

<i>Indian</i>	Sasquesahanough	Borhes poynt
Accowmack	Quadroque	Poynt Pesinge
Accohanock	Tesinigh	Peregryns mount
Wighcocomoco	<i>English</i>	Russels Iles
Nause	Cape Charles	Limbo
Nantaquack	Smyths Iles	Sandersos Poynt
Kuskawawack	Cage harbour	<i>Added later</i>
Ozines	Keales hill	Washeborne C
Chickahokin	Reades Poynt	Winstons Iles
Macocks	Watkin's poynt	Brookes Forest
Atquanachuke	Momford's poynt	Gunters Harbour

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V

THE MAP

PLATE I	1612
Title	VIRGINIA
Imprint	<i>Discovered and Described by Captayn John Smith / Grauen by William Hole /</i> The imprint appears within the secondary cartouche containing the scale in the bottom centre of the map.
Engraver	<i>Grauen by William Hole.</i> The plate is signed in the imprint.
PLATE I	
Source	Smith, John. <i>A Map of Virginia . . .</i> At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes, 1612.
Copy Examined	ICN
Copies	BM; CSMH; MH; MdBj-G; MiU-C; MWIW-C; N; NN; NjP; RPJCB; ViU The locations of copies are those holding the volume
Size	<i>Plate</i> NS 41.4 EW 32.9 <i>Map</i> NS 40.6 EW 32.2
Orientation	West
Latitude	37-41
Longitude	310-307 (Added in a later state)
Scale	<i>Scale of Leagues and halfe Leagues</i> 15=6.8 cm R.F. 1:1,280,000 The scale is located in a separate cartouche in the centre of the map along the bottom border. This houses the scale, the imprint, and the name of the engraver. The scale bar is surmounted by a pair of dividers through which runs a double banner containing the wording of the scale. Beneath the scale is a horizontal rectangle 6.6 by 1 cm. containing the imprint and engraver. This is framed in simple strapwork.
Cartouche	The title is contained on a banner or ribbon cartouche along the top border of the plate extending to the right from the centre. This banner is furled at the left and extending to split ends on the right. The portion containing the title measures 14.0 cm. by 2.2 cm. from the roll to the split.
Border	Incomplete geographical functional on the bottom (east) only with the degree figures outside the border (i.e. no final neat line). The other borders are made of three parallel lines with a greater space between the second and third than between the first and second. The condition of the border is altered in later states. (See Carto-bibliographical note below).
References	Baer 1; Church 359; JCB II, I, 88; Sabin 82832; EBM p. 333; Swen 15; Hind p. 339; Verner, <i>Va. Mag.</i> p. 10; Clark I: 149.
Reproductions	The Smith map is one of the most frequently reproduced maps of Virginia. Various reproductions are noted in the Carto-bibliographical Note below for the different states of the plate.
Description	This map is a beautiful example of the engraver's art. The geographical features are clearly drawn yet the illustrative features tend to overpower the geographical representation although they are so placed that they do not

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obscure the content of the map itself. At the top centre is the large decorative banner cartouche containing the single word title. Immediately below this to the right of centre is a replica of the Royal Arms surmounted by a crown and circled by the Garter. This measures 8.0 by 4.1 cm. In the upper left corner is an illustration showing Powhatan inside his hut. This measures about 7.8 by 10.0 cm. It depicts the chief and two others on a bench at the end above two double rows of natives beside a fire built in the centre of the hut. Below this picture is the legend: *POWHATAN | Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith | was delivered to him prisoner. | In a later state the date 1607 is added on a third line.*

Along the right side of the map above centre is a large standing figure of an Indian approximately 13.0 cm. long. At the feet of this figure is the note: *The Sasques=ahanougs | are a Gyant like peo-ple & | thus a-tired |.* In the upper right corner immediately above the figure is a legend: *Signification of these markes, | To the crosses hath bin discovered | what beyond is by relation (cross) | Kings houses (rule-figure of a house) | Ordinary howses (rule-period enclosed in a small circle).*

A large compass rose is in the bottom left corner. This is about 5.0 cm. in diameter and has thirty-two points with rhumb lines radiating over the water areas. To the right and below this rose is a ship with sails furled. A small boat such as Smith might have used for his exploration is depicted in the upper end of the bay.

On the bottom border slightly to right of centre is the scale cartouche. This is a very decorative example of strap-work design.

The lettering is quite decorative while at the same time consistent in style and clarity. The major words are in large Roman capitals; the names of Indian tribes in upper case italic; the names of villages and geographical features in regular italic; and the principal features in Roman. The major water areas are stippled. Shallow water is indicated by fine lines overlaid on the stippling creating a hatched effect. Mountains are carefully drawn and trees are depicted by different styles of representation to suggest differing species. On the Atlantic Coast north of Cape Charles a black cross indicates the extent of Smith's exploration of the coastline. Beyond this point the coast is not drawn by line, however, the stippling of the ocean area stops abruptly and suggests a delineation of the coast. With this technique the Delaware Bay is also suggested as is another body of water north of that and a lake in the northwest section.

In a later state of the map a small replica of Smith's arms is added to the right of the scale cartouche.

VI

CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHY

One of the principal tasks encountered in the detailed carto-bibliographical analysis of early printed maps is that of identifying the changes which may have been made to the plate during the time it was in use. In addition, there is the problem of determining the use which was made of each state identified. This problem is particularly complex when reviewing the Smith map and its derivatives.

The publishing sequence of Smith's map has plagued scholars for a century. In 1854, *Norton's Literary Gazette*¹ published an identification of two states of the plate which was followed by Charles Deane's identification of four states in another issue.² In 1907, the Church catalogue contained Cole's identification of eight states,³ Eames,⁴ in 1927, listed ten states which were re-examined and extended to eleven by Verner in 1950.⁵ In 1955, Hind⁶ re-examined the Verner list and settled on nine states. The present re-study of the map isolates twelve distinct states. Although this study does not alter the sequence originally identified by Eames, it does add two additional states at the end. This necessitates a re-examination of all copies heretofore identified as Eames (i.e., Sabin) State 10.

The relationship among these seven studies of this map is identified in the following table. The column on the left contains the plate changes with the state notation of each as recorded in the seven studies.

	Norton's March 1854	Deane May 1854	Church 1907	Eames 1927	Eames- Verner 1950	Hind 1955	Verner 1961
Proof	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
Original Plate ..	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
1606, 1607	-	2	2	2	2	2	2
Smith's Arms ..	1	-	-	3	3	3	3
Motto	2	-	-	4	4	4	4
Lat. & Long. ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taverners Roade ..	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Winstons Isle ..	-	3	-	5	5	-	5
Brookes forest ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gunters Harbour ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

¹ "Curiosities of American Literature . . . Smith's General History . . ." *Norton's Literary Gazette* NS 1:134-135, 218 (March, 1854)

² *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219 (May, 1854)

³ G. W. Cole, *A Catalogue of Books . . . Library of E. D. Church* (New York, 1907), item 359

⁴ Wilberforce Eames, *A Bibliography of Captain John Smith* (New York, 1927) Also Sabin 82823

⁵ Coolie Verner, "The First Maps of Virginia, 1590-1673" *Virginia Magazine* 58: 3-15 (January 1950)

⁶ Hind, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

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	Norton's March 1854	Deane May 1854	Church 1907	Eames 1927	Eames- Verner 1950	Hind 1955	Verner 1961
Sparkes content ..	-					5	
Democrites tree ..	-		4	6	6	-	6
Burtons mount ..	-					-	
1692-1693 ..	-	-	5	7	7	8	7
Sparkes vaylley ..	-					7	
Page 41 / Smith ..	2		6	8	8		8
Sparkes Poynt ..	-	-				-	
Fetherstones Baye ..	-					-	
Boilers Bush ..	-	4				-	
Blands C; ..	-					-	
Downes Dale ..	-		7	9	9	-	9
Washborne C. ..	-	-				-	
Booilers Bush ..	-					-	
1690 & 1691 ..	2	3	8	10	10	9	10
Indian Hair ..	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Crack ..	-	-	-	10a	11	(9)	12

THE STATES OF PLATE I

In preparing the following delineation of states a minimum of two copies of each state was studied with a total of sixty copies of the map examined. This re-study has resulted in the identification of a hypothetical preliminary proof copy of the plate, the verification of the original ten states determined by Eames, and two supplemental states—one of which Eames noted but had not examined and an additional state not heretofore recorded.

Proof State A

The existence of this state has not been verified by the examination of a copy, therefore it is listed here as a preliminary state preceding those identified by the examination of specific copies. The possible existence of this state is assumed from evidence on later impressions.

The left arm of the large standing Indian figure along the right border of the map is draped with an animal skin which terminates in a claw lying at the elbow. In this preliminary state the claw was engraved so as to stand apart from the arm but this was later removed and the claw engraved to lie against the inner side of the elbow. The ghost print of this prior form of the claw is clearly visible on most subsequent impressions.

This proof state is not identified by any previous study.

State 1

This state of the plate is readily identified by the absence of dates, of longitude figures, and of Smith's Arms in the lower right corner.

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The plate is bordered by three parallel lines with the centre line closer to the inner line. The east or bottom border has been segmented for latitude with the inner space divided into twelve segments and the outer space into four. The latitude figures reading from 37 to 41 are engraved outside the final border line.

Copy Described	BM (G7121) <i>A True Relation</i> —1608 CSmH (18537) <i>History</i> . . . 1624
Copies Reported	MiU-C <i>A Map</i> . . . 1612 NN (2) <i>A Map</i> . . . 1612 MH <i>A Map</i> . . . 1612 ICN <i>A Map</i> . . . 1612 NjP Strachey manuscript 1612 (coloured) BM Separate (Maps C.7.c.18.)
Reproduction	A coloured reproduction of the NjP copy is published in Sotheby's <i>Catalogue of Exceedingly Rare and Valuable Americana</i> , London, 1928, pp. 68-69; and by Rand McNally & Co., as its 1961 Christmas card. See also: Brown, A. <i>Genesis</i> . . . Vol. 2, p. 596 Winsor, J. <i>Narrative</i> . . . Vol. 3, p. 167 Mathews, <i>Maps</i> . . . Vol. 2, Plate LIII Hind, <i>Engraving</i> . . . Plate 209
Note	Hind assigns this state to <i>A True Relation</i> . . . 1608. This is in error as the map could not have been issued originally with that volume although it may have been added later to late gathered copies. The <i>True Relation</i> . . . was entered in Stationers' Hall on August 13, 1608. The original manuscript had been brought from Virginia by Captain Nelson commanding the <i>Phoenix</i> which left Virginia in June and arrived in London in July 1608. The book does not mention the existence or presence of a map. Since the map includes information that was collected by Smith during his three-month exploration of the Chesapeake Bay, from which he returned to Jamestown on September 7, 1608, it could not have been in London in time to be included with the <i>Relation</i> . . . This is identified as <i>State 1</i> by Deane, Church, Eames, Eames-Verner, and Hind.

State 2

The changes to the plate introduced in this state are bibliographical. The date 1606 has been added to the imprint in the scale cartouche and the date 1607 has been added as a third line to the legend beneath the picture of Powhatan in the upper left corner.

At this state an accidental change occurs which appears on all later impressions. The plate is scratched in the curve formed by the elaborate engraved ending to the letter S in the lower right corner.

Copy Described	CSmH (19883) <i>A Map</i> . . . 1612 MdBjG <i>A Map</i> . . . 1612
Copy Reported	MH— <i>Purchas</i> , 1625
Reproduction	<i>The World Encompassed</i> , Plate LIII

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Note Hind says: "Probably belonged . . . to *A True Relation*, 1608, and later in *A Map of Virginia . . .*" (See note under *State 1*)
This state is identified by Eames, Eames-Verner, and Hind. Deane and Church combine this with *State 3*.

State 3

The change is bibliographical with the addition of Smith's arms without the motto in the lower right corner. In adding the arms some of the stippling and one tree have been removed. After cutting the arms the stippling was replaced so that it now covers a somewhat larger area and is of coarser grain.

Copy Described CSmH (17934) *A Map . . .* 1612
BM (679.h.14) *Purchas . . .* 1625
NjP (Ex 1230,862.5) *A Map . . .* 1612
NjP (Kane, copy 1) *History . . .* 1624

Copy Reported NN *History . . .* 1624; *History . . .* 1627
NNP *A Map . . .* 1612

Note This state is identified by Eames, Eames-Verner, and Hind. It is combined with *State 2* by Deane and Church.

State 4

Changes introduced in this state are both geographical and bibliographical.

Bibliographical The motto has been added underneath Smith's arms without removing the stippling.

Geographical Longitude has been added. The north (right) and south (left) borders have been segmented and longitude figures have been added outside the final line of the border. On the south these figures read from 310 to 307, while on the north they read from 311 to 307.

The west (top) border has been segmented and latitude figures added outside the final line. In adding these figures which read from 37 to 41, the figure for 40 degrees has been reversed.

Copy Described MWiC-C *A Map . . .* 1612
NNP *History . . .* 1624

Note For a second MWiW-C copy usually reported as *State 4*, see the note under *State 11*. This state is included in the identification of *State 3* by Church and Deane. It is identified as *State 4* by Eames and Eames-Verner. Hind's *State 4* identified only the motto but not the border changes.

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State 5

All of the changes introduced in this state are geographical. The following names have been added:

Gunters Harbour—at the easternmost tip of the northern end of the Chesapeake Bay.

Taverners road—just above the word BAY in the centre of the map.

Winstone Iles—immediately below the large islands in the centre of the Chesapeake Bay.

Brookes Forest—immediately below the preceding name.

Copy Described	CsmH (1947)	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
	NjP (Kane, copy 3)	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
Copies Reported	NjP (Kane)	<i>History</i> . . . 1626
	CsmH (69259)	<i>A Map</i> . . . 1612
	(69269)	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
	NN (James I)	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
Note	This state is identified by Eames, and Eames-Verner. It is not listed by Hind and it is included in the <i>State 3</i> identified by Deane and Church.	

State 6

The changes in this state are again solely geographical with the addition of the following three new names:

Sparkes / content—at the centre of the map to the left of the large Royal Arms.

Democrites / tree—to the left and slightly below the large Royal Arms.

Burttons Mount—immediately below the preceding name.

Copy Described	CsmH (3341)	<i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
	NjP (Kane-Huth copy)	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
Copies Reported	MH	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
	MiU-C	<i>History</i> . . . 1624
Reproduction	The facsimile reproduction issued by the Library of Congress is of this state, and is, without question, the finest reproduction that has been made of this map to date.	
Note	This state has been identified by Eames and Eames-Verner. It is partially identified by Hind as <i>State 5</i> . It is listed as <i>State 4</i> by Church and included in <i>State 3</i> by Deane.	

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State 7

The Purchas page numbers 1692 and 1693 have been added in the upper left and right corners.

Copy Described	NjP (Kane copy) <i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
Copies Reported	PPL <i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
	NhD <i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
	MH <i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
Reproduction	Fite and Freeman, p. 116.
Note	This state is identified by Eames and Eames-Verner. It is <i>State 8</i> of Hind and <i>State 5</i> of Church. It is included in his <i>State 3</i> by Deane.

State 8

Many extensive changes have been introduced on the plate in this state. These are both geographical and bibliographical.

Geographical	Three new names have been added: <i>Featherstones / Baye</i> —below and to the left of Sparkes Vaylley. <i>Bollers bush</i> —immediately below the preceding name. <i>Sparkes Poynt</i> —on the peninsula formed by the junction of the Potomac River with the Chesapeake Bay. (The present St. Mary's Point).
Bibliographical	<i>Page 41 / Smith</i> has been added in the lower right corner. <i>Sparkes / Content</i> added in <i>State 6</i> has been altered to <i>Sparkes / Vaylley</i> . Numerous mountains on the right half of the map have been re-engraved so that the shading on the north side is now formed by closely parallel diagonal lines rather than finely sculptured shading as found in earlier states. Some of the trees in the cluster immediately above Smith's arms have been re-engraved with heavy shading on the north side. The scale cartouche has been re-engraved in spots particularly around the scale bar and the frame immediately adjacent to it.
Copy Described	CSmH (99578) <i>History</i> . . . 1627
Copies Reported	ICN <i>History</i> . . . 1624
	ViHi <i>History</i> . . . 1626
	ViHi <i>History</i> . . . 1632
	MH <i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
	ICN <i>Purchas</i> . . . 1625
Note	This state is identified as such by Eames and Eames-Verner. It is noted as <i>State 6</i> by Church and part of the changes listed as <i>State 7</i> by Hind. Deane notes this as <i>State 4</i> . None of the previous studies has noted the re-engraving of portions of the plate.

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State 9

The changes introduced in this state are again both geographical and bibliographical.

- Geographical Three new place names have been added:
Washeborne / C:—near the tip of the Cape Charles peninsula, immediately over the ship.
Blands / C:—above and to the right of Bolus flu on a line and to the left of the feet of the large standing Indian figure.
Downes dale—immediately below the preceding name.
- Bibliographical *Bollers bush*—added in State 8 has been altered to read *Boolers bush*.

Numerous mountains and trees have been re-engraved in the manner described under *State 8*. These are largely in the top centre of the map to the left of the large Royal Arms with a few others scattered elsewhere on the map.

Further re-cutting has been made around the scale bar and the initial A in *Appamatuck* at the bottom right corner of the Powhatan illustration has been extended. The face of the large standing Indian figure has been touched up so that the features are now more pronounced—particularly the eyes, and it now has definite eyebrows which were missing earlier. This has resulted in a more “pleasing”, less “worried” expression than previously.

- Copy Described CSmH (3349) *History* . . . 1625
 NjP (Ex 1230.862.6q) *History* . . . 1624
- Copies Reported NjP *A Map* . . . 1612
 RPICB *A Map* . . . 1612
 NN (2) *History* . . . 1624
 CSmH *History* . . . 1625
 ICN *History* . . . 1627
 NN *History* . . . 1632
 ICN *History* . . . 1632
 CyY *History* . . . 1632
 NNP; NjP; MWiW-C; MiU; NN (3); MH; CyY (3) — *Purchas* . . . 1625

Note This state is identified by Eames and Eames-Verner but not by Hind. It is included in *State 4* by Deane and it is listed as *State 7* by Church. None of these studies has noted the re-engraving made to certain portions of the plate.

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State 10

The changes to the plate in this state are wholly bibliographical with the alteration of the Purchas page numbers added in *State 7*. These are now "corrected" to read 1690 on the left rather than 1692, and 1691 on the right instead of 1693.

Copy Described CSmH (3346) *History* . . . 1626
 Copies Reported *History* . . . 1624 PPL; NeD; NNP; CtY; ViU; BM; RPJCB; ViNN; WW; InW.
History . . . 1626 CSmH; NN; RPJCB.
History . . . 1627 NNP; NjP(2); NN(2); ViWW; ViU; InU; MB.
History . . . 1631 RPJCB.
History . . . 1632 NjP; MWiW-C; RPJCB; MiU-C; NN(3); CSmH(2).
Purchas . . . 1625 MdB-P; PPL; MiU-C; NN(2); InU; RPJCB; MdBj-G; ViU; NeU; MB.

Reproduction McCary, *Smith* . . .
Geographical Review 14 (1924-25) pp. 434-435.

Note This state is identified by Eames and Eames-Verner. It is listed as *State 9* by Hind and as *State 8* by Church. Deane notes the change in his *State 3*. The copies reported above are those which have been identified by the reporting institution as being in *State 10* (Eames). The following two states are certainly found among some of these copies but the various institutions were not re-circularized for a more specific identification of *States 10, 11 and 12*.

State 11

The change in this state is bibliographical and quite minor. The hair of the standing Indian figure has been re-engraved so that the top-knot is now cross hatched rather messily and the flowing tresses have been extended slightly.

Copy Described BM (G7120) *A Map* . . . 1612
 MWiW-C (Calthorpe copy) *History* . . . 1624

Note None of the earlier studies noted any re-engraving of the illustrative features of the plate, therefore, this state was overlooked. A copy of this state is in MWiW-C. This is ordinarily reported as being a copy of *State 4* as almost all of the identifying data added subsequent to *State 4* has been erased from the impression. The re-engraving of illustrative features, however, was not disturbed so that the copy is easily recognized as being originally from this state. Obviously some one sought to fake a copy of *State 4* by removing the recognized identifying features. They failed to remove the name *Burtons mount* added in *State 6* and did not notice the re-engraved features. This has created an anomaly which Eames studied in 1926 and concluded then that the names had been erased from the copy. Mr. H. Richard Archer of the Chaplin Library has been very helpful in clearing up the problem created by the existence of this bastard impression.

State 12

The change occurring in this state is an accidental bibliographical change. Such "accidental" changes to a plate are normally not recorded as a separate state; however, it is significant in identifying the sequence of publication of this plate and is reported here as a separate state.

The accidental change is a conspicuous heavy crack in the plate. It begins at the 38° latitude figure in the bottom border running to the rudder of the ship, thence due west to pass between the E and the continuation marks in CHE (sapeake Bay). From here the crack continues to divide the large O in Powhatan thence to the small r in the name of the Indian town *Orapak*s just above the O. At this point the crack turns sharply to the northeast for a short distance, terminating at the end of a tributary stream at the name *Myghtuckpassu*.

PLATE II

Copy Described FTaSU *Purchas* . . . 1625

Note

The crack in the plate was listed by Eames who notes:

"A later impression of the tenth state, printed after the plate had become cracked, and which may be called 10a, was noted by Mr. Henry N. Stevens in 1922. As described by him in a letter of March 1926, the crack extends from the letter "t" in the place-name *Powhatan*, nearly two inches to the right of the picture of the king, downward to the rudder of the ship, and then to the lower border of 38° latitude".

The Eames-Verner list identified this as *State 11* and Hind noted it in his *State 9*. Neither Deane nor Church mention the crack.

DISTRIBUTION OF STATES

In conducting this re-study of the Smith map the major collections were circularized with the request that they identify the various states of the map (as delineated by Eames) found in each of the appropriate volumes in their collection. From this enquiry reports on 111 copies of the map were received.

These states are found to be distributed among the several volumes as indicated on the following table.

State	Map		History					1625		Total	Separates
	1612	1624	1625	1626	1627	1631	1632	<i>Purchas</i>			
I	5	1							6	2	
II	2							1	3		
III	3	2			1			1	7		
IV	1	1							2		
V	1	4		1					6		
VI		3						1	4		
VII								4	4		
VIII		1		1	1		1	2	6		
IX	2	3	1		1		3	12	22		
X	3	10		3	10	1	9	11	47	1	
XI		1						2	3		
XII								1	1		
Total	17	26	1	5	13	1	13	35	111	3	

As Hind notes: ". . . the distinction of states, and the books to which the several impressions properly belonged is, in certain cases, difficult to define . . . The maps must frequently have been detached and impressions misplaced, especially if inserted later, so that confusion is difficult to avoid".¹

The nature of the changes to the plate reported earlier are quixotic. The printer and/or engraver seem almost to have toyed with the plate—pulling several

¹ Hind., *op. cit.*, p. 340

impressions, making an alteration or addition to the plate, and then pulling several more.

An attempt to test the statistical significance of the frequency distribution of the states proved inconclusive; therefore, any analysis of the distribution must be purely hypothetical. By comparing the nature of the plate changes with the frequency chart certain hypotheses appear justified:

1. *States 1 to 6* are the equivalent of proof copies and belong properly with *A Map of Virginia . . . 1612*. Other states with that volume or other volumes with these states are probably sophisticated copies.
2. *State 7* belongs only to the earliest gathered copies of *Purchas . . . 1625*, which probably appeared in late 1624 or early 1625. The page numbers 1692 and 1693 are probably "typographical errors". This state has been found only with copies of *Purchas*. A collation of the textual material of this volume may provide an effective test of this hypothesis.
3. *States 8 to 10* inclusive belong properly both to *Purchas . . .* and to the *History . . .*; however, plate changes are made "in press". According to Baer¹ all editions of the *History . . .* are from the same sheets with cancelled title pages and corrected engraved title plates. Thus, one may assume that some impressions were pulled from the plate in *State 8* and distributed among the sheets, the plate was altered to *State 9*, more impressions were pulled and distributed among the sheets for the *History . . .* but most of them were used for another gathering of *Purchas . . .* This was probably done in late 1624 and early 1625. After this, the plate was altered to *State 10* with the corrected *Purchas* numbers and more copies were pulled for use with both the *History* and *Purchas*.
4. *States 11 and 12* belong to the latest gathered copies of *Purchas*.

Since *States 8 and 9* contain the principal re-engraving of portions of the plate this would seem to indicate that numerous copies were pulled from the plate in *States 1 to 7* for use in *A Map . . .* the first gathering of *Purchas* and the *History . . . 1624*, and probably for sale as separates. At the time the printer was preparing to make his major printing from the plate for the *History . . .* he found it advisable to touch-up certain worn parts of the plate. He made his impressions through *State 10* and then was finished with the plate; however, some remaining sheets of *Purchas . . .* lacked the map so he touched it up again in *State 11*, and pulled a few more impressions during which time the plate cracked and he managed just a few impressions from *State 12* before abandoning the plate entirely.

On the basis of the frequency distribution of this plate alone it appears that most of the copies for the sheets of the *History* were pulled at about the same time with the earliest copies using impressions remaining from the first pulls from the

¹ Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland*. (Baltimore, 1949).

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plate (*States 1-6*), and most of the copies of all editions using impressions from *States 9* and *10*.

Purchas . . . on the other hand was gathered at least three different times with impressions pulled as needed. The first gathered copies using *State 7* impressions from the plate. The main gathering of the sheets used impressions from *States 9* and *10*, while late gathered copies used *States 11* and *12*. It is quite likely that this use of the plate occurred from late 1624 to early 1625 when copies were pulled intermittently for both *Purchas* and the *History* simultaneously.

There is very little logic to the alterations made in the plate throughout the twelve states. The introduction of place names probably resulted from whimsey. Discounting these, the functional changes were the dates, the completion of the border, the *Purchas* and Smith page numbers, and the corrected *Purchas* numbers. States with *A Map* . . . 1612

Copies of *A Map of Virginia* . . . 1612 are found with states of the map other than *State I*. These are noted as follows:

- State 2* CSmH (19883)
MdBj-G
- State 3* NNW
NjP (Ex 1230,862.5)
CSmH (17934)
- State 4* MWiW-C (Chaplin-Huth copy)
- State 5* CSmH (69259)
- State 9* NjP (Kane)
RPJCB
- State 10* NN (Arents)
InU (Lilly)
BM

PLATE II 1819

A reproduction of the map was published in Richmond, Virginia, in 1819 to accompany an edition of Smith's *History* . . . This was copied from *State 10* and printed from an engraved plate. This map measures NS 40.7 cm. and EW 31.7 cm. The style of engraving is conspicuously different and the name of William Hole has been omitted from the imprint.

In the 1873 *Report of the Commissioners on the Boundary* . . . The Smith map is included among the maps reproduced with the note:

Smith's map is printed from an engraved copper plate, which is the property of a gentleman of this city, who obtained it from a town in Pennsylvania when it was found in a lot of old metal imported from England. An examination of it proves that it is the one which was engraved for and used in the publications of the reprint of Smith's *History* . . . the . . . maps were printed . . . by order of the Senate, by resolution adopted February 28th, 1873.

The reprint edition was produced by Francis Waller Gilmer and John Holt Rice who were both members of the William Wirt Literary Circle in Richmond. It was reviewed in the *North American Review*, April, 1832.

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VII

DERIVATIVES

Smith's map of the Chesapeake Bay was the basic prototype until it was supplanted by the large four-sheet map prepared by Augustine Herman and published in London in 1673. There were nine major copies of the Smith map but only one of these was important in the diffusion of the Smith data. The principal derivative maps are as follows:

Derivative 1

1618 HONDIUS-BLAEU

State 1

Title NOVA VIRGINIÆ TABVLA

Imprint *Ex officina Judoci Hondij*

Engraver *D. Grijp. Sculpt*

PLATE III

The engraver's name is located in the bottom left corner of the scale cartouche.

Source Separate

Copy Examined DLC(2), BM

Size *Plate* NS 48.2 EW 38.0
Map NS 47.6 EW 37.5

Orientation West

Scale *Milliaria Germanica Communia 15 pro Uno gradu* 12=7.9 R.F. 1:1,120,000
The scale is with the imprint in a secondary cartouche in the bottom centre. The scale bar is graduated. This cartouche is framed in stylized strapwork.

Cartouche The title is in a single line along the top centre of the map with the border of the map forming the top frame of the cartouche. The remaining portions of the frame are of simple strapwork.

Border Geographically functional for latitude only. The entire plate is enclosed by a decorative border composed of a stylized pattern of a dart and two reels.

Description This plate is copied from *State 1* of Smith's map lacking longitude and the various names added at various times in the later states of Smith's map. These missing names include: *Blands C., Sparkes Vaylley, Fetherstones Baye, Downes dale, Burtons Mount, Boolers bush, Sparkes Poynt, Washeborne C., Demacrites tree, Gunters Harbour, Taverners roade, Winstons Isles, and Brookes Forest.* The inset *Status Regis Powhatan* is in the upper left corner and undated as on the first state of Smith's map. The large standing figure of the Indian is along the right border at the centre. Above this is a tertiary cartouche framed in strapwork containing the *Notarum explicatio*. The royal arms as on Smith is present but the garter belt surrounding it lacks the motto which is present on Smith. This map is larger than its prototype and is a somewhat finer engraving. It was copied, in turn, by Hondius-Jansson in 1633 and by Montanus-Ogilby in 1671.

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Note Jodocus Hondius was the eldest son of the J. Hondius who published Mercator's *Atlas sive Cosmographicae* . . . beginning in 1606 and the *Atlas Minor* . . . beginning in 1607. For many years he was a "phantom", since the firm continued to publish under his father's imprint following the elder Hondius' death in 1612. J. Hondius, Jr., was establishing his own business in addition to continuing his work with the family firm. Among other things he was preparing a new set of folio plates either to augment the family atlas or with the intention of entering into competition with it. Hondius Jr. died in 1629 and Blaeu acquired his plates at that time.

CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

There are two states of this plate.

State 1 (1618-1629) The map described above with the Hondius imprint. This is known only by the separate copies as indicated above.

State 2 (1630-c. 1761) The copper plates for a number of maps made originally by Jodocus Hondius Jr. were purchased by Blaeu in 1629 and the imprints were altered to reflect the new ownership. Blaeu used this map first in his *Atlantic Appendix* (1630) and thereafter in virtually all editions of the atlas. The imprint was altered to read: *Ex officina Guiljelmi Blaeuw*.

PLATE IV

The associated letterpress text printed on the reverse of the map can serve as an aid in identifying the proper edition of the atlas to which a copy belongs:

Date	Language	Sig.	Catchword	Page No.	Folio No.
1630	Latin	Blank			
1631	Latin	Nnn			
1631A		C ⁷			
1634	German	B			
1635	French	C ⁸	<i>canards</i>		
1635	Latin	D			
1635	German	B	<i>chamins</i>		
1635	Dutch	F	<i>defe</i>		
1640	French	I	<i>cons</i>		
1640	Latin				
1642	Dutch				
1642	German	G		7	
1644	French	I	<i>naux</i>		9
1645	French	Blank			
1650	Latin	H	<i>parte</i>		9
1650	Dutch				
1658	Dutch	G	<i>ooft</i>		8
1662	Latin	N	<i>nor</i>	39, 40	
1663	French, Dutch, Latin?				
1665	Dutch	G	<i>ooft</i>		8
1667	French	H	<i>hom-</i>	21	
(1680?)	DeWit	Blank			
(1717?)	Visscher	Blank			
(1761?)	Covens & Mortier	Blank			

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Derivative 2

- 1628 MINOR-MERCATOR
 Title NOVA / VIRGINIÆ / TABVLA / Petrus Kœrius / Cœlavit. /
 PLATE V
 [Letterpress above plate: VIRGINIA & FLORIDA. 643]
 Source Mercator, G. *Atlas Minor Gerardi a I. Hondio plurimus aeneis tabulis auctus et illustratus: denuo recognit^o, additilique novis delineationibus emendatus. Amsterodami, ex officina Ioannis Ianssonii, 1628, p. 643.*
 Note For a detailed carto-bibliographical description of this map see: Coolie Verner, "Maps of Virginia in Mercator's Lesser Atlases". *Imago Mundi* XVII (1963): 45-61.

CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The plate used in this second series of the *Atlas Minor* . . . was unchanged during its use in some twelve editions from 1628 to 1636. The identification of the edition from which a free copy was removed can be facilitated by the associated letterpress on the reverse.

Date	Text	Catchword	Page No.
1628	Latin	<i>nes</i>	644
1628	French	unknown	
1629	Dutch	unknown	
1629	German	unknown	
1630	French	<i>& cruels</i>	632
1630	Dutch	<i>doende /</i>	750
1631	German	<i>Ca ien</i>	590
1631	Latin	unknown	
1632	Latin	unknown	
1633	German	unknown	
1634	Latin	<i>pavo</i>	640
1636	Dutch	unknown	

Derivative 3

- 1628 DE BRY
 Title VIRGINIA
 Imprint Erforschet und beschriben durch Capitain Iohan Schmidt.
 The imprint is along the bottom below the scale.
 PLATE VI
 Source De Bry, T. *Dreyzehender Theil Americae* . . . Franckfurt, Bay Casper Rotel, 1628.

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Copy Examined	CsmH
Size	Plate NS 36.6 EW 29.2 Map NS 35.9 EW 28.5
Orientation	West
Latitude	37-40
Longitude	307-310
Scale	Meylen und halbe Meylen 15=6.8 cm. R.F. 1:1,300,000 The graduated bar scale is located along the bottom of the map to the right of centre unframed.
Cartouche	None, the title is in the top centre.
Border	Modified geographically functional with final outside neat line wanting.
Description	This copy is from <i>State 6</i> and is somewhat simplified in details and style of engraving. The Smith view of Powhatan is in the upper left with the standing figure and legend on the right.
Note	The map measurements provided above do not include the figures which are outside the final line. The volume in which this map is found is De Bry's <i>German America</i> , Part XIII, sole edition, first issue.
1634	The map also appeared in 1634 in De Bry's <i>Decima Tertia Pars Historia Americanae . . .</i> , Francforti, Merioni, 1634.
1655	In this year it was used in Gottfreidt's <i>Neue Welt und Americanische Historien . . .</i> Franckfort, Merianischen Erben, 1655.

Derivative 4

1630	OBLONG-MERCATOR
Title	NOVA / VIRGINÆ / TABVLA / <i>Miliaria Germanica com = / unia 15 pro uno gradu.</i> [graduated scale bar] /
Engraver	Petrus Kœrius / Caelavit. The plate is signed in large letters immediately below the cartouche.
Source	Mercator, G. <i>Atlas Sive Cosmographicae . . .</i> Amsterdami, Sumptibus Iohannis Cloppenburgij, 1630.
Note	For a detailed description of this map see: Coolie Verner, "Maps of Virginia in Mercator's Lesser Atlases". <i>Imago Mundi</i> XVII (1963): 45-61.

CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The several states of this plate can be differentiated as follows:

<i>State 1</i>	
1630-1636	As described above.
1630	The French edition of the atlas. This map is in an appendix. Above the plate is the letterpress headings: DESCRIPTION DE LA NOUVELLE VIRGIN. 47. On the reverse are two poems with the first headed: AV LECTEVR.
1632	The Latin edition. The letterpress heading above the plate is: NOVÆ VIRGINIÆ DESCRIPTIO 729. On the reverse of the map is a double column Latin text.

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- 1636 This is precisely like the edition of 1630.
- State 2
1673-1734 In this state the shot-silk or moire effect used to depict the water area on State 1 has been deleted.
- 1673, 1676 This state is found in editions of the Atlas published under these dates by Jan. Jansson von Waesberge. No reverse material.
- 1734 The plate was taken over by Du Sauzet and used by him in his *Atlas Portatif* . . . along with a number of other plates. The reverse is blank.
- State 3
1734 The plate number 263 has been added within the border in the upper right corner. This is found in an edition of Du Sauzet with the imprint date of 1734.

PLATE VII

Derivative 5

- 1633 MERCATOR-HONDIUS
Title NOVA VIRGINIÆ TABVLA
Imprint Amstelodami, ex officina Henrici Hondii. The imprint is in the scale cartouche in the bottom centre of the map.

PLATE VIII

- Source Mercator, G. *L'Appendice de l'Atlas* . . . A Amsterdam, chez Henry Hondius . . . A.D. 1633.
- Copy Examined BM
Size Plate NS 49.5 EW 39.1
Map NS 49.9 EW 38.3
- Orientation West
Latitude (36°) 40'-41°
Scale *Millaria Germanica Communa* 12=7.8 cm. R.F. 1:1,140,000.
The graduated scale bar is located in a scale cartouche which also contains the imprint on the bottom of the plate to right of centre. This is framed in plasterwork.
- Cartouche The title is in a long horizontal rectangle in the top centre of the plate. The border of the plate forms the top frame of the cartouche and the other three sides are framed in plasterwork.
- Border Geographically functional for latitude only. An incomplete functional border at longitude.
- Description This is a copy of the Hondius-Blaeu plate of 1629. In the upper left corner is a large view of the interior of an Indian house with the legend below "Status Regis Powhatan". On the right border at centre is a standing figure of an Indian holding a bow in the left hand and a club in the right. Above this near the upper right corner is a large coat of arms surmounted by a crown and circled by the symbol of the Garter. To the left of this is a small cartouche containing a "Notar explicatio". This is a beautifully engraved and decorative map.

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CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

State 1
1633-1666 The copy described above. This state was used in all editions of the Mercator-Hondius atlas published after 1633. The various impressions can be identified as follows:

Date	Language	Sig.	Page	Catchword
1633	French App.	0*2	697	<i>peu</i>
1633*	Latin			
1633	French	0*2	697	<i>peu</i>
1633	German	8G	669	<i>auch</i>
1634	Dutch	Not present		
1635*	French			
✓1636	English	9.Q	437	<i>hurt</i>
1636	German App.	Not present		
1636*	German			
✓1638	English	9.Q	437	<i>hurt</i>
1638	Latin	R 4		<i>fluvio</i>
1638*	Dutch			
1638*	German			
1639	French	f 5		<i>n'en</i>
1640	French	f 5		<i>n'en</i>
1641*	German App.	Not present		
1641	French	f 5		<i>n'en</i>
1642	French	f 5		<i>n'en</i>
1642	Dutch	E		<i>is</i>
1644*	Dutch			
1645*	Dutch			
1647*	Dutch			
1647	Latin	D 3		<i>nient</i>
1649	German	D 3		<i>grosser</i>
1649	Latin	D 3		<i>nient</i>
1649	French	e		<i>ses</i>
1652	Dutch	D 2		<i>riviere</i>
1652	French	F 5, E		<i>n'en, ses</i>
1653	Spanish	G		<i>nave-</i>
1657	Latin	Blank		
1657*	Dutch			
1657	German	D 3		<i>grosser</i>
1658	French	E		<i>ses</i>
1658*	German		229	
1658	Latin	D 3	230	<i>nient</i>
1666	Latin		256	<i>Maxime</i>
1666*	Spanish			

* Copy not examined.

State 2
(1680-1710)

The original imprint has been changed to read: Amstelodami, ex officina apud (brace) PET: Schenk, et / Ger: Valk. C. Priv: In addition, longitude and latitude lines crossing the map have been added as well as a dotted line indicating the boundary of Virginia.

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Derivative 6

1635 HALL
 Title VIRG (arms) INIA
 Engraver *Ralph Hall, Sculpsit.* 1636
 The plate is signed below the scale on the bottom.

PLATE IX

Source *Historia Mundi: or Mercator's Atlas . . .* Englished by W. S. (Wye Saltenstall) London, Printed by T. Coates for Michael Sparke and Samuel Cartwright, 1635.

Copy Examined DLC; MdBj-G; NN; RPJCB.

Size *Plate* NS 24.1 EW 17.1
Map NS 23.3 EW 16.5

Orientation West

Latitude 37-41

Longitude 307-310

Scale *Scale of Leagues* 19=2.3 cm. R.F. 1:2,300,000
 The graduated bar scale is along the bottom to the right of centre. The bar is surmounted by a fleur-de-lis and dividers.

Cartouche The title is on a banner with both ends split along the top centre of the plate. There is a large coat of arms surmounted by a crown which interrupts the title.

Border A modified geographically functional border containing the graduated inner scale but without an outside line so that the longitude and latitude figures are outside the border.

Description This absurd little map is one of the curiosities of Virginia cartography. It is a copy of the John Smith map, but represents the whim of the engraver rather than any concern for geographical accuracy or even care and attention in copying.
 There are three illustrations that are bad copies of those found in De Bry. In the upper left corner is the scene of the Indians sitting around a fire before a chief. In the upper right corner is a view of the interior of an Indian hut showing bodies lying side by side. In the bottom right corner is a bird's-eye view of a stockaded village.
 Animals, Indians, boats, canoes and monsters inhabit the map at will, and houses, huts and castles are shown.

Note This map was intended for this volume but was not actually ready when the volume was printed.
 On the errata leaf at the end of the volume is the following note: "In page 905 for the Description of New Spaine read New Virginia, but there is no Map of Virginia in regard there is a more exact map drawing in that Country, whose Platforme is not yet come over, but when it comes, every buyer of the Books shall have it given him gratis".
 The Hall map may be found in all editions of the atlas published in 1635, 1637 and 1639.

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Derivative 7

1648 MINOR-MERCATOR

Title VIRGI / NIA

PLATE X

Source [Mercator, G.] *Atlas Minor, das ist: Eine Kurtze jedoch gruendliche Beschreibung der gantzen Welt in zwey Theile abgetheilt . . .* Amstelodami, Ex officina Ioannis Ianssonii.

Note For a detailed description of this map see: Coolie Verner, "Maps of Virginia in Mercator's Lesser Atlases". *Imago Mundi* XVII (1963): 45-61.

CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The plate was not altered during its period of use. Associated letterpress identification is as follows:

Date	Language	Catchword	Page No.
1648	German	<i>auff</i>	390
1648	Latin*		
1651	German	<i>auff</i>	390
1656	Dutch*		
1656	Latin*		

*Copy not examined.

Derivative 8

1671 MONTANUS-OGILBY

Title NOVA / VIRGINÆ / TABULA

PLATE XI

Source Montanus, A. *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld . . . t'Amsterdam*, J. Meurs, 1671.

Copy Examined DLC; ICN; MiU-C; NN; RPJCB.

Size *Plate* NS 35.8 EW 29.4
Map NS 35.2 EW 29.0

Orientation West

Latitude 37-41

Scale *Milliaria Germanica communia*. 12=6.4 cm. R.F. 1:1,400,000
The scale is on the bottom to the right of centre. The scale bar is on a pedestal slab with a single Greek column standing at one end. Three cherubs with tape and dividers are on and around the slab.

Cartouche The title is in the upper left corner on a drapery measuring 3.5 by 5.0 cm. This is held up by cherubs.

Border Geographically functional for latitude only.

Description This is a careful copy of the Hondius-Blaeu version of the Smith map but smaller in size and somewhat more decorative. In the upper right corner is a "Notarum" on a small panel surrounded by figures of animals including a llama and goats and two Indian figures one of which holds a bow.

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Note This plate was prepared by Meurs for the Dutch edition of Montanus and printed on paper watermarked with a jester. The plate was then printed for Ogilby's *America . . .* of 1671 on paper watermarked with a cockatrice. It is not known whether the plate was printed in Amsterdam with the maps sent to London or whether the plate was sent to and printed in London. In 1673 the plate was used in the High German edition of Montanus which is attributed to Olfert Dapper. These copies of the map are also on paper watermarked with a jester. The plates later came into possession of Vander Aa who altered them so thoroughly that they are not normally identified as the original Meurs' plates. These copies of the map were published in 1729 on unwatermarked paper. After Aa's use, the plates passed to Covens and Mortier who added their imprint to the plate after deleting part of the Aa imprint.

State 1 The copy described herein. Impression 1 for Montanus 1671 — jester.
1671-1673 Impression 2 for Ogilby 1671 — cockatrice.
 Impression 3 for Montanus 1673 — jester.

State 2 The Vander Aa version. All of the original cartouches — scale, title, and "Notarum"— were deleted and replaced by a single cartouche. A newscale of German and French leagues is provided. Longitude figures have been added. Some new names — including three counties in eastern Maryland — have been added. In this new form the map description is as follows:
1729 VIRGINIE, | Grande Region del' | AMERIQUE | SEPTENTRIONALE, | avec tous ses Bourges, Hameaux, Rivieres | et Bayes, suivant les recherches exactes | de ceux qui l'ont decouverte, et nouvellement | mise au jour par | PIERRE VAN DER AA, | Marchand Libraire A'LEIDE. |

PLATE XII

Source Aa, P. vander, *La Galerie Agreeable du Monde . . .* A Liede, Pierre Vander Aa, 1729 Vol. 63-64.

Copy Examined DLC; ICN; NN.

Size Plate NS 35.7 EW 29.3
 Map NS 35.4 EW 28.9

Orientation West

Latitude 37-41

Longitude 300-302

Scale Lieues d'Allemagne de 15 au Degre 30=6.1 cm.
 Lieues de France de 20 au Degre 40=6.1 cm.
 R.F. 1:1,430,000
 The graduated scale bars are in the base of the cartouche.

Cartouche The title is transcribed on the face of a monument which is surrounded by a geographically descriptive scene.

State 3 The Van der Aa imprint has been deleted and replaced with the following:
1761 *a Amsterdam chez I Covens et C. Mortier.*

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Derivative 9

1676 SPEED
Title A MAP OF / VIRGINIA / AND / MARYLAND. / Sold by
 Thomas Baffet in Fleet street, / and Richard Chifwell in St. Pauls /
 Church yard.
Engraver F. Lamb Sculp.

PLATES XIII & XIV

Source Speed, John *The Theatre of the Empire* . . . London, Printed for
 Thomas Basset . . . and Richard Chiswell . . . 1676.
Copy Examined DLC; ICN; MdBP; MdBj-G; RPJCB; ViU.
Size Plate NS 50.6 EW 38.7
 Map NS 49.4 EW 37.7
Orientation West
Latitude 37-41
Scale A Scale of English Miles 40=6.5 R.F. 1:1,140,000
 The graduated scale bar is located in the upper left corner and framed by
 slightly decorated plasterwork. This is surmounted by the arms of England.
Cartouche The large title cartouche is in the upper right corner. It is a modified vertical
 oval measuring 7.8 by 6.9, framed in an elaborately decorated plasterwork
 with garlands and mythological figures on each side.
Border A geographically functional border is provided for latitude while the two
 sides are not completed with respect to degree markings and sub-degree
 divisions.
Watermark The primary mark is a small fleur-de-lis and the countermark is an illegible
 name.
Note This is the last major derivative of the Smith map and it is unique as an
 example of the transition from one basic prototype map to another. The
 delineation of the land area follows Smith while the toponymic prototype
 was the Herman map of 1673.

CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Three states of this map have been identified:

- State 1 1676 The copy described here.
State 2 c. 1680 The Basset and Chiswell imprint has been deleted.
State 3 c. 1685 The imprint of Christopher Browne has been added as follows:
 Printed & / Sold by Christopher Browne at the Globe / near the West end of
 S Pauls Church / London. /

PLATE XIV

VIII

The manuscript draughts sent to England at the time of the initial explorations of the Chesapeake Bay did not get into the stream of geographical knowledge. The first printed map to picture the bay correctly appears to have been Blaeu's first *Paskaart*, published around 1617. It is probable that Blaeu got his information about the bay from the manuscript which John Smith is known to have sent to Henry Hudson since it showed the Chesapeake Bay as part of the east coast in much the same way as Blaeu used it on his chart. The Smith map itself could have been in Blaeu's hands at the time but there is too little evidence on the *Paskaart* to determine the source precisely.

Although published separately in 1612, the Smith map made no noticeable impact on the cartography of the east coast until several years had elapsed. Jodocus Hondius Jr. made his copy of Smith around 1618 and used the first state of Smith as his model indicating that he had at hand a copy of the map as issued with the pamphlet. This Hondius plate was not widely circulated until after Blaeu acquired the plate in 1629 and published it first in 1630. The reduced version published with the *Atlas Minor* in 1628 was actually the map that first released the Smith delineation of the Bay and it was obviously a reduced copy of the larger Hondius plate. The De Bry plate of 1628 was copied from *State 6* of Smith and probably got into De Bry's hands through either Purchas or Smith's *History*. Even though it was used until 1655, this version was not copied by others.

The main instrument for the diffusion of the Smith data initially was the Hondius-Blaeu copy which was itself copied by Henricus Hondius. Either of these two folio copies served as the primary source of information about the Chesapeake Bay for all subsequent uses of the data. The Hall map of 1636 and the Farrer map of 1651 were copies of the Smith delineation and in maps of larger areas of the east coast, such as those by Visscher, the Smith data is found. Many of the maps that utilized the Smith delineation added variations of their own that would tend to suggest some other basic source. The Dudley map is such a case in point. Even Hondius and Blaeu themselves were not careful adherents to their own maps. Their maps which relate Virginia to Florida show a distortion of the Del-Mar-Va. peninsula not characteristic of Smith's representation. Blaeu is guilty of a strange anomaly that was obviously an error made by an apprentice, for his world map of 1648 shows the Chesapeake Bay running east to west rather than north to south.¹

Even though Smith's map was the prototype for the delineation of the Chesapeake Bay, his toponomy did not survive beyond the copies of the map itself. Among the great rivers around the bay, only the name Potomac survives from among those names attached to these features by Smith. The names currently

¹ This is reproduced in F. C. Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographia*, Vol. III.

No. 45 SMITH'S VIRGINIA AND ITS DERIVATIVES

in use are first found on a map published in 1635 with *A Relation to Maryland . . .* by Lord Baltimore. This particular map presents a delineation of the Chesapeake Bay that differs from Smith materially so that it cannot be considered to have copied the Smith map yet there is enough similarity to suggest that they both have some ancestry in common. The Baltimore map does not appear to have exerted any material influence on the representation of the Chesapeake Bay comparable to that which resulted from Smith's map. It was copied precisely by John Ogilby for his *America . . .* in 1671 with some additions.

Although carto-bibliographers attach great importance to place names on maps in the analysis of derivatives, this may be misleading evidence. In the case of the Virginia rivers, the name James appeared first on the Tindall manuscript and in the Baltimore map in printed form. Smith attached the name Rappahannock to a small river on the Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula while the Baltimore attached it properly to the river which now bears that name. The survival of place names may depend more upon local usage than in cartographical designation.

In spite of the Baltimore map, the Smith representation of the Chesapeake Bay dominated the cartographical representation of the east coast for much of the seventeenth century. After the publication of the Herman map in 1673, the Smith data is not again used to any extent except that the Hondius and Blaeu firms continued to print copies from their plates. The original Smith map disappeared into obscurity. In 1780, when he was preparing his *Notes on Virginia* for publication, Thomas Jefferson was unsuccessful in his efforts to find a copy of the original Smith map which he wanted to reproduce and include with the book.

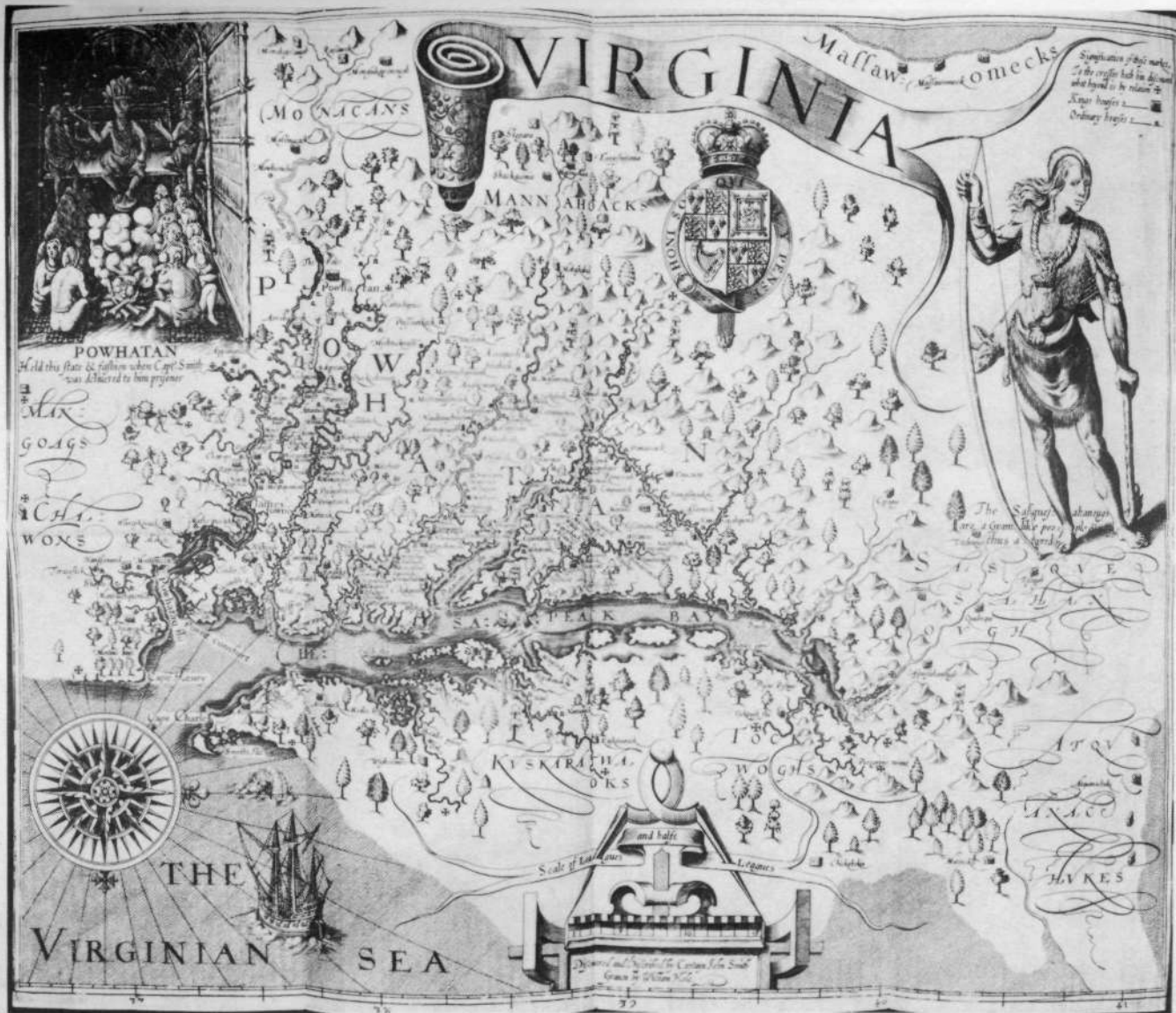


PLATE I. Page 16. Smith [1612] (state 1)



PLATE III. Page 29. J. Hondius [1618] derivative 1, state 1



PLATE IV. Page 30. Blaeu [1630] derivative 1, state 2



PLATE VI. Page 31. De Bry [1628] derivative 3



PLATE VIII. Page 33. H. Hondius [1633] derivative 5, state 1

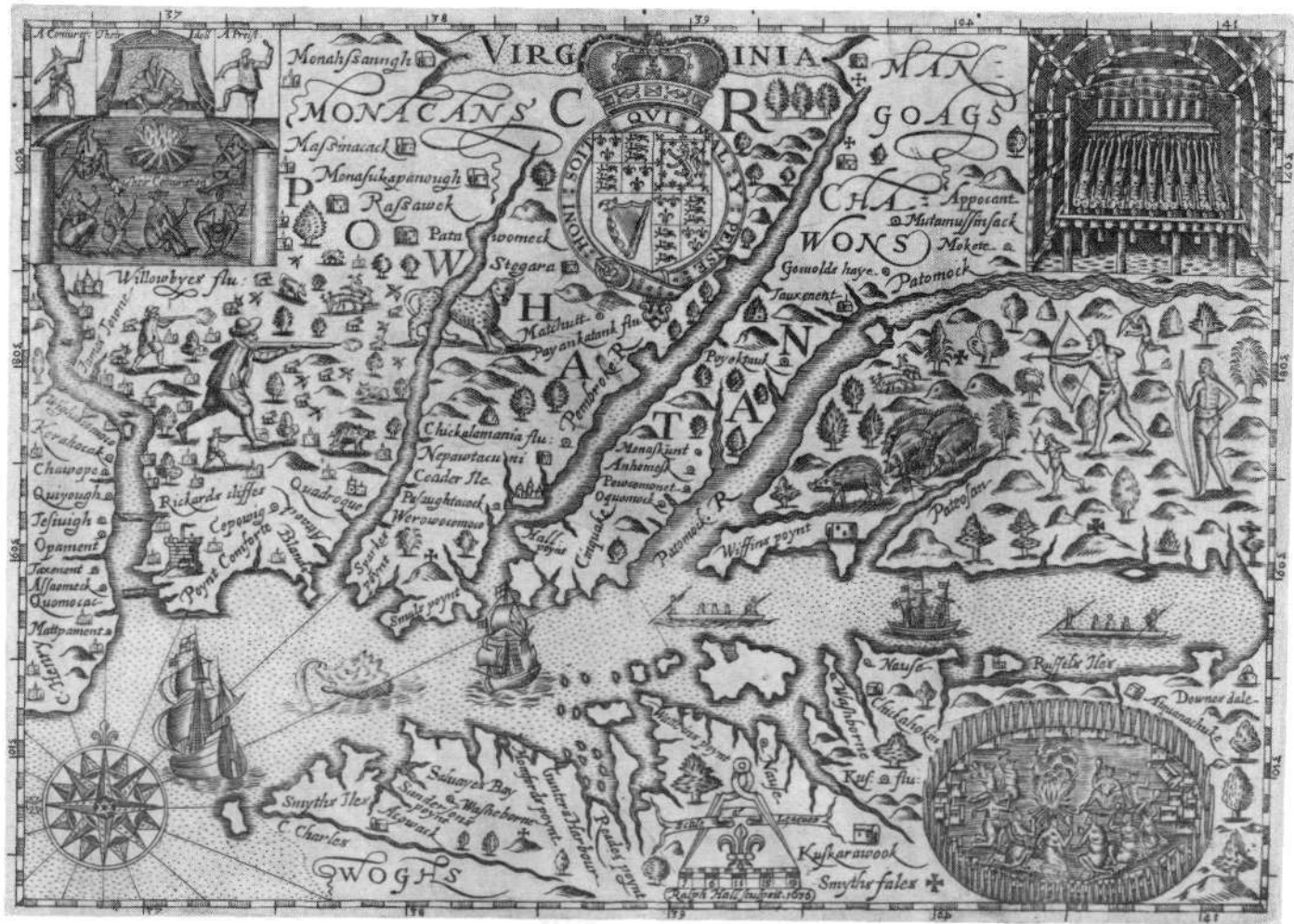


PLATE IX. Page 35. Hall, 1636, derivative 6



PLATE X. Page 36. Minor-Mercator [1648] derivative 7



PLATE XI. Page 36. Montanus-Ogilby [1671] derivative 8, state 1



PLATE XII. Page 37. Vander Aa [1729] derivative 8, state 2



PLATE XIII. Page 38. Speed [1676] derivative 9, state 1



Basset & Chiswell [1676] *state 1*



Browne [c. 1685] *state 3*

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