

A Publishing History of John Mitchell's Map of North America, 1755-1775

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John Mitchell's *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America* (London, 1755) is a prominent feature of the history of cartography of the British colonies in North America. A close examination of the history of the publication of its seven identified variants (1755-1775) indicates, however, that the map is properly understood in terms of the British, and more specifically London, market for maps and geographical information. There, it contributed to public discussions about the nature of the British empire and the British nation. This study also demonstrates the validity and necessity of applying the established bibliographical scheme of edition, printing, issue, and state to maps.

Keywords: John Mitchell, Thomas Kitchin, William Faden, map trade, colonial cartography, wall map, cartobibliography

INTRODUCTION

"... Mitchell's map has consistently been studied solely from the inward-looking perspective of American exceptionalism."

Lawrence Martin (1934) called John Mitchell's imposing, eight-sheet *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America* (Figure 1), "the most important map in American history," because British, Spanish, and American negotiators used several versions of the map to conceptualize the boundaries of the new United States of America in Paris in 1782-83. Martin had represented the U.S. government in several international and interstate boundary settlements between 1917 and 1935 (Williams 1956, 359-60), so it is perhaps understandable that he should have emphasized this particular aspect of the map. But even before Martin, scholars were drawn to the map because of its role in the Treaty of Paris and subsequent Anglo-American boundary negotiations. In particular, B. F. Stevens, a U.S. diplomat based in Britain in the 1890s, set out to collect as many variants as he could precisely because of the map's association with diplomatic affairs.¹ After Mitchell, almost every historian who has considered the map has repeated Martin's accolade. In other words, Mitchell's map has consistently been studied solely from the inward-looking perspective of American exceptionalism. This applies to the study of the map's origins in 1750-1755 (see Edney 2008a) and to the history of the seven variants of the map published in London between 1755 and 1775. Each variant is taken to have been prompted by events and surveys that occurred in North America.² However, Mitchell's map was prepared and published in London and it was read primarily in London and Britain. My purpose in this paper is therefore to reexamine the publication history of Mitchell's map in terms of the British public and its views of empire, rather than through the lens of colonial concerns.

This argument is grounded in the ongoing reevaluation of the nature and history of maps. Traditionally, map studies have emphasized the production of maps. In this respect, the history of the mapping of Britain's North American colonies has overwhelmingly been told as the history of how the colonies were progressively explored and surveyed, generat-

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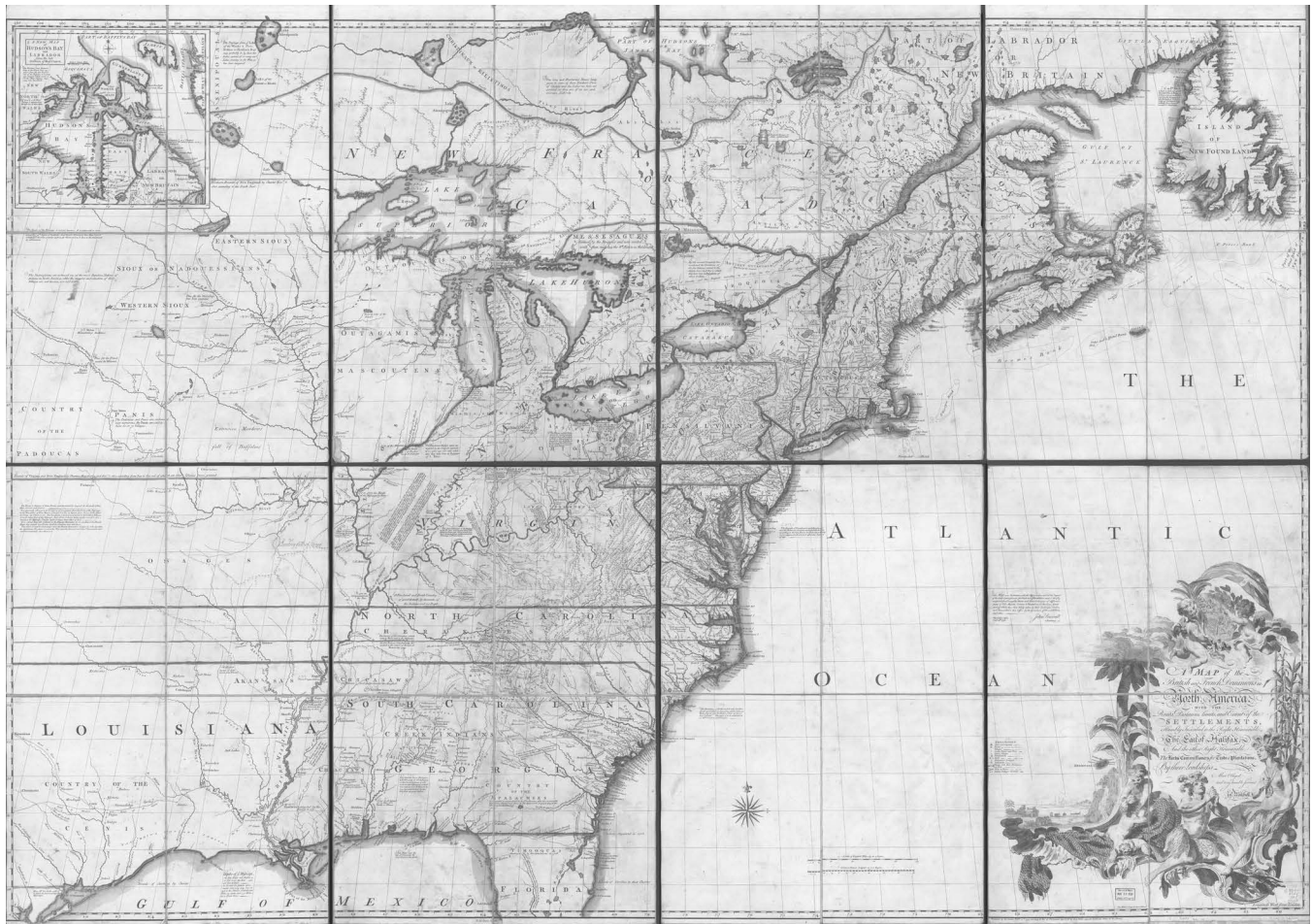


Figure 1. John Mitchell, A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America with the Roads, Distances, Limits and Extent of the Settlements, Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable The Earl of Halifax, And the other Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, engraved by Thomas Kitchin (London: Andrew Millar, 1755). Variant 1. 136cm x 195cm. Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress (G3300 1755 M5 Vault). (see page 71 for color version)

ing new information and so new maps. Critical approaches, exemplified by Harley (2001), Jacob (2006), and Wood and Fels (1992), have however demonstrated that the relationship of the map to the territory has never been as simple as was once presumed. By extension, the burden of explanation in map studies has moved away from the territories depicted and to the contexts in which maps were produced and consumed (see Edney 2007). By examining the geographical and social patterns of the circulation of maps from makers to users, we can say something about the kinds of people who read each kind of map and why they did so. In other words, the study of maps as artifacts—as things made to be physically moved through space, housed, and used—has little immediate connection to the territories being mapped but has everything to do with the people who created and read them (see McKenzie 1999, 43-48).

In remembering that Mitchell's map was a geographical work published in London, we must appreciate that all of its seven variants were intended first and foremost for the British public, and more particularly for that wealthy segment of the public who could afford it. The map was treated just like any other product of the London printing presses. London publishers did ship their books and other printed works to the provinces, but only in a limited manner. The distance from London to the North American colonies meant that London publishers generally shipped few

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copies of any one work to the colonies, although if books did not sell well they did dump the unsold stock onto the colonial markets with the hope of recouping at least some of their expenses (Botein 1983; Raven 2002). Mitchell's map did not suffer such an ignoble fate, and it seems to have been available in the colonies only in very small numbers. Certainly, almost all impressions of the map found in U.S. libraries were acquired only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries via British dealers from private collections in Britain. We need therefore to look to the London market if we are to understand properly the map's history. Despite its unusual size, careful compilation, and historical significance, Mitchell's map was in this respect no different from the many other maps published in London in the same period, even the small and sketchy maps published within monthly "magazines" (Figure 2).

When we look carefully at the public market for geographical maps and books in eighteenth-century London, we find little sustained interest

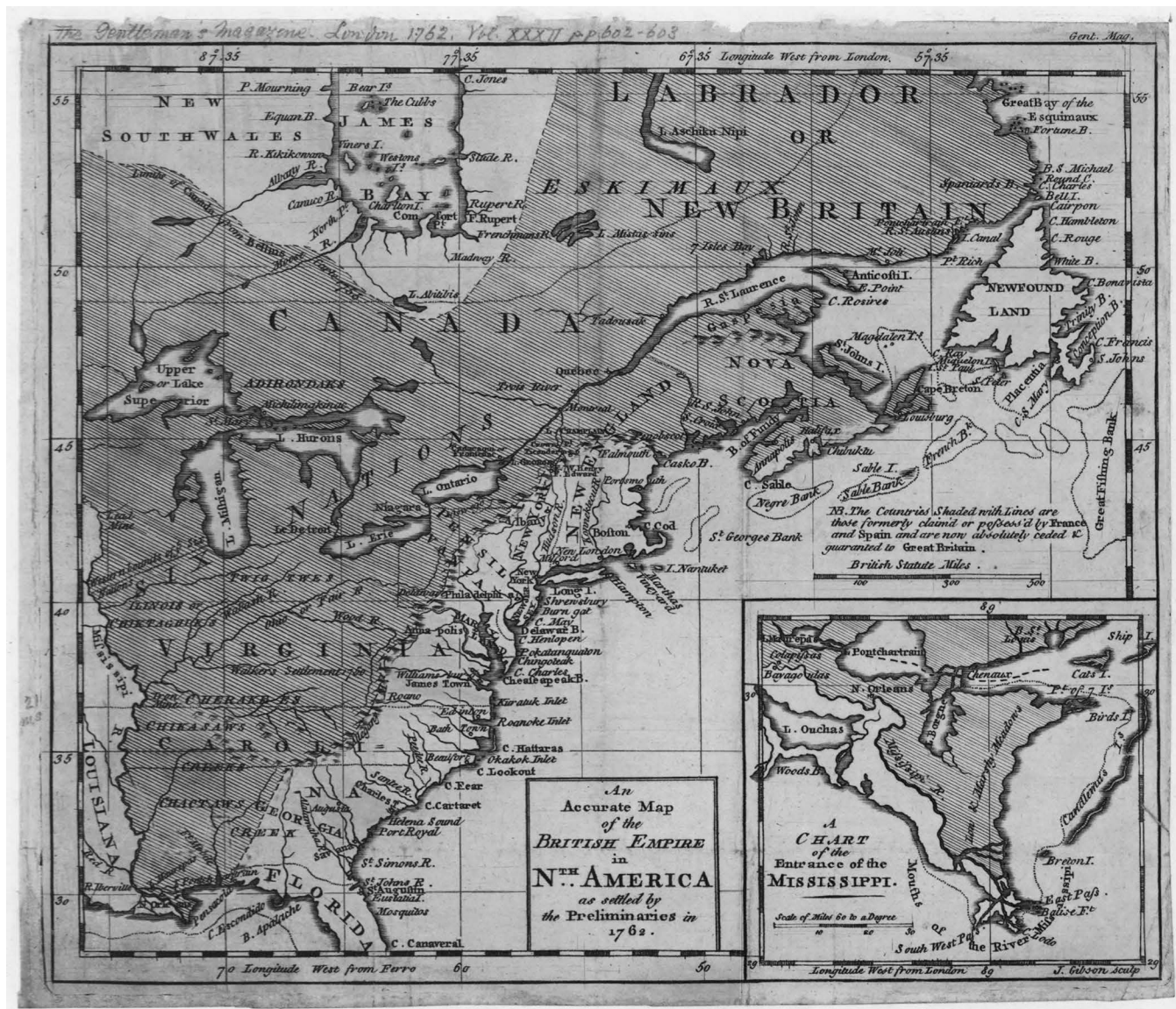


Figure 2. An Accurate Map of the British Empire in Nth. America as Settled by the Preliminaries in 1762, engraved by John Gibson, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 32 (1762): 602-603. The shaded territory was that to be ceded by France and Spain to Great Britain. 21cm x 26cm. Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress (G3300 1762 .G5 Vault / Lowery no. 457). (see page 72 for color version)

in the colonies. This can be seen in the pattern of maps printed within the monthly periodicals, such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* or the *London Magazine*. These magazines were interested in current affairs, just like the daily and weekly newspapers, but their longer production cycle and greater price permitted their publishers to invest the necessary time and money to include maps in many issues (e.g., Figure 2). The publishers sought to meet the current interests of the reading public, so it is logical to presume that they incurred the extra cost of having maps prepared and printed only when they thought their readers would be interested in them. The appearance of maps in monthly periodicals thus serves as a surrogate for the public's geographical interests. A simple review of the maps in these magazines (as listed by Klein 1989 and Jolly 1990–91) reveals that maps of North America and the West Indies featured in the magazines only during times of colonial conflict or diplomacy: in 1748–49, 1755–64, and 1774–83 (see Carlson 1938; Reitan 1985 and 1986). So, what does the later publication history of Mitchell's map tell us about public interest within the imperial metropol about the North American colonies?

This study of the publication history of Mitchell's map also has the benefit of refining cartobibliographic analyses of the map. The several bibliographic schemes developed between the 1890s and 1920s are explained in the Appendix. They are all misleading, especially in their careless and colloquial use of the term "edition." By distinguishing up to five editions, cartobibliographers have suggested that the map's publication history featured as many distinct publication events, but the evidence adduced here suggests that there were probably only three distinct publication episodes. I therefore take the opportunity to advance a new, although still necessarily preliminary, classification according to the precise bibliographical hierarchy of edition, printing, issue, and state (see Karrow 1985, 4).

John Mitchell Makes His Map

We are fortunate in having a definitive biography of John Mitchell (Berkeley and Berkeley 1974). Born in Virginia in 1711, his family was sufficiently well off to send him to Scotland for his education. He received his M.A. in 1729 from the University of Edinburgh and he then studied medicine there until late 1731. Returning to Virginia, he engaged in a successful career as a physician and pursued an active scholarly interest in botany and zoology. But he fell ill in 1745 and he was forced to quit the colonies. He returned, with his wife, to London. There, his botanical skills brought him to the attention of a circle of aristocratic gardeners. One of these, George Montague Dunk, second earl of Halifax, was in 1748 appointed president of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the government office in London that coordinated communications between the colonial governors and the royal Privy Council. With tensions growing once more with the French over competing territorial claims in North America—and so with rising official and public interest in the colonies—Halifax prevailed upon Mitchell to share his first-hand geographical knowledge of the colonies. Halifax ultimately commissioned Mitchell to make his large map (Edney 2008a; see Figure 1).

The map's purpose was to educate other administrators and politicians, as well as the general public through its published version, about the threat posed by the French in North America. To this end, the Board of Trade's secretary certified the map's status as an official and geographically correct document. What the map presented was the inherent Britishness of the large swathe of territory from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River, to which

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the French also laid claim and on which they were building many forts. The map's many annotations and its allegorical title cartouche laid out the legal superiority and historical priority of Britain's claims to this extensive territory, and portrayed the French as interlopers who aggressively and illegally encroached on British lands (see the detailed discussion in Edney 2008a). The map was very much a product of a particular moment in English politics and Anglo-French imperial rivalry.

First Printing (1755)

To publish the map, Halifax and Mitchell contracted with two well-established London tradesmen, the engraver Thomas Kitchin and the book and print seller Andrew Millar. The copyright statement in the map's lower margin, just below the cartouche, bears the date of 13 February 1755, which was probably several weeks before the map was actually made public. Millar did not actually advertise the map until the very end of March. The time delay was perhaps caused by the need to print and color enough copies of all eight sheets to build up a sufficient stock to meet anticipated demand. It was probably during this period of printing the map that small errors in the printing plates were caught and corrected. The first error to be corrected was the misspelling of Millar's name and address in the copyright statement. Someone then realized that the town of Worcester in Massachusetts was wrongly labeled "Leicester," giving two towns by that name; correction of this error produced the map's third distinct variant (see Appendix for details).

Mitchell's *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America* is a very large map that measures 136 cm (4'5") high by 195 cm (6'5") wide when its eight sheets are assembled. As with other maps of this size and complexity, it was expensive and Millar sought to maximize sales by offering the map in several different formats. It was made available in no less than nine formats. When first advertised in the *Public Advertiser* on 28 March 1755 (repeated 2 and 4 April 1755), it was offered for sale in three formats:

- a-b) as eight separate sheets, either colored or uncolored, and suitable for binding as an atlas, priced at one guinea (£1/1); and
- c) the first impressions pulled from the plates "on superfine double Elephant Paper," for one and a half guineas (£1/11/6).³

That Millar had the printer use "superfine" paper for the first impressions pulled from the printing plates—when the image would have been sharpest and blackest—indicates his intention to sell the map to those high-end print collectors who sought the most perfect examples of the engravers' art. Millar again advertised the map in the *Public Advertiser* one month later, on 29 April 1755, when he specified the availability of the map in another three formats:

- d) the eight sheets assembled into two halves, each of four sheets, for £1/5;
- e) the same, but bound "so as to represent the whole," for £1/15; and
- f) the eight sheets assembled into one map and backed onto canvas for strength, ready for mounting on the wall, for £1/11/6.

After two more weeks—on 14, 15, and 16 May 1755—Millar advertised the assembled map (format f) as now being ready equipped with rollers for

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wall display. He also specified new formats:

- g-i) all eight sheets assembled, colored, and then dissected and backed onto cloth for folding at three different size (folio, quarto, and octavo) into cases suitable for the library or the traveling trunk, for £1/11/6.

Finally, all of these different formats were advertised together, starting on 26 August and continuing until 13 September 1755.

This list of the map's formats is actually incomplete. Most of the impressions of the map that I have examined were dissected and backed onto cloth, so they could be readily folded without damaging the paper. Several impressions survive in which the entire map was dissected into thirty-two sections and then mounted onto a single sheet of cloth, which could then be folded up and stored in a folio-sized case (formats g-i). But still more impressions survive in which each of the eight sheets was divided into four, eight, sixteen, or even twenty sections and mounted on cloth; doing so permitted the individual sheets to be folded and stored together in small, but thick, cases. This format was much more manageable because the user could extract individual sheets from the case, perhaps using small leather tabs fixed to the cloth, without having to open out the full map.⁴ Maps in each of these dissected formats could be stored in its case just like a small book, which meant that the purchaser did not have to possess special furniture for holding flat sheets or sufficient free wall space to display the whole map. (Special cases could easily be made that looked like books when placed on a shelf.) I know of no surviving impressions of Mitchell's map that were hung on a wall for display (format f): the act of hanging is seriously destructive, with maps fading from long exposure to light and perhaps tearing under their own weight.⁵ However, the map was certainly intended to be hung on the wall in a manner akin to a painting or mirror: the ornate cartouche, prepared by delicate etching of the copper printing plate as well as by strong engraving, is of a style commonly found on English wall maps of the eighteenth century. (By comparison, maps for books were positively austere in their aesthetic, as in Figure 2).

Like any other printed map from the period, Mitchell's was printed in black ink on creamy white, hand-laid paper. Any color that appears on the map was applied with watercolors by hand. That the separate sheets were sold with or without color for the same price (formats a-b) suggests that this particular coloring was not sophisticated and probably entailed the addition only of simple outline color of the sort evident in Figure 1. The more expensive versions of the map were perhaps colored more intensely; some impressions have full, bright color covering the entire map, and some of the advertisements refer to the map being "curiously illuminated" rather than being merely "colored." I have been able to examine a number of impressions from this first printing, and it is clear that Mitchell intended a consistent scheme for coloring the maps and he meant this scheme to have political effect. The outline color was applied to emphasize Britain's territorial claims — or rather Halifax and Mitchell's interpretation of them — and full wash applied within the same boundaries of outline color. Virginia and New York, for example, both greatly swollen by the inclusion of supposedly Iroquois lands, were consistently outlined in red and, when filled with a wash, were filled with pink (Edney 2008a, pl.9).⁶

Just how expensive was the map? In its several formats, it ranged from £1/1 to £1/15. Through the comparison of retail indices, these values are roughly equivalent to £87-144 in 1991 (McCusker 1992, app. B) or £125-207 in 2005 (Officer and Williamson 2006). In terms of purchasing power in

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the mid-eighteenth century, these prices were truly significant sums. In its cheapest formats, the map cost one guinea, the gold coinage then circulating in Britain. The symbolism was clear: this is a map for the elites, for people who might actually handle gold. In terms of estimates of contemporary wages in southern England, one guinea represented approximately sixteen days' income for a laborer (ca. 16d per diem), ten to eleven days' for a skilled craftsman (ca. 24d per diem), four days' for a clergyman (ca. £92 per annum), or just over one day's for a lawyer (ca. £231 per annum) (Brown and Hopkins 1955, 205; Williamson 1982, 48; see also Pedley 2005). The more expensive formats of the map would have represented still more labor; those that sold for £1/15, for example, would have required almost three days' income for the average lawyer. Mitchell's map could therefore never have been a casual purchase. It was a luxury item intended for sale to members of London's elites who actively debated English policy for the North American colonies both in the halls of power and in the public sphere of coffee houses and printed discourse.

Second Printing, or Mitchell's "Second Edition" ([1757])

Several of Mitchell's contemporaries in Great Britain praised Mitchell's political image (Berkeley and Berkeley 1974, 201-10). John Huske (1755, 27), for example, wrote in 1755 that

"it must give every Briton great Pleasure to see our Countryman Dr. Mitchel, F.R.S. detecting their Mistakes and designed Encroachments, and almost wholly restoring us to our just Rights and Possessions, as far as Paper will admit of it, in his most elaborate and excellent Map of North-America just published; which deserves the warmest Thanks and Countenance from every good Subject in his Majesty's Dominions."

The map itself was subsequently copied and reused in much simplified form, for example in the map, also engraved by Thomas Kitchin, included with Huske's book (Figure 3). But once the English and French started fighting in North America during the summer of 1755 and formally declared themselves to be at war in 1756, the moment that had generated Mitchell's map had passed. The map itself was expensive, but it had generated a flood of cheaper derivatives that were widely available in London. Why then was a new printing of Mitchell's map undertaken?

The "second edition" — as Mitchell himself called this new variant in one of the large blocks of text that he had added to the map — has hitherto been explained solely in terms of the improvement of geographical knowledge. Among all the contemporaries who praised Mitchell's map, one leveled a significant criticism: the infamous John Green, gambler, womanizer, sometime jailbird, and critical geographer, who worked in the 1750s for the prominent London map seller Thomas Jefferys (Crone 1949 and 1951; Harley 1966; Worms 2004a). Jefferys published Green's *New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Britain* in May 1755, together with Green's memoir explaining how he had constructed that map. Green took Mitchell to task for giving Nova Scotia and the adjacent portions of New England an erroneous coastline. After listing Mitchell's errors, and giving a table of differences, Green observed that his own map was indeed better than Mitchell's because he had used not only the recent observations for latitude and longitude made by the marquis de Chabert but also Nathaniel Blackmore's surveyed map of Nova Scotia (see Robinson 1976). In contrast, Mitchell had apparently used only a few spotty observations. Green further complained that Mitchell had provided no memoir or other document that

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Figure 3. A New and Accurate Map of North America . . . Humbly Inscribed to the Honorable Charles Townshend one of the Right Honorable Lords Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain &c By his Most Obligated, most Obedient and Very Humble Servant Huske, engraved by Thomas Kitchin, in John Huske, present State of North America (London: R. & I. Dodsley, 1755). 39cm x 49cm. Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress (G3300 1755 H8 Vault). (see page 73 for color version)

explained how he had made his map (Green 1755, 8 and 12).

Mitchell evidently took this criticism to heart, because in his new variant he corrected his map's outline of Nova Scotia by shifting the positions of two key headlands: Cape Race by twenty minutes of latitude southward, Cape Sable by one degree of longitude eastward. He also added, set in the Atlantic Ocean, two lengthy textual statements to vouch for the quality of his work (transcribed by Edney 1997). The lower text block defined all of Mitchell's original sources: published accounts, direct observations, and most interestingly the logbooks of British men-o'-war to which he had access through the Board of Trade and Plantations. In conjunction with this information, Mitchell now added observations of magnetic variations off the Atlantic coast of North America, labeled with large Roman numerals. Unfortunately, Mitchell's explanations of his sources are rather abbreviated and are by no means as clear as those of other eighteenth-century geographers. The upper text block is more discursive and under-

"This was not a war to which the British could apply their usual games of party politics. Indeed, the abiding message was that the war was actually the result of disunity among the British in the colonies: had the colonies been able to overlook their petty differences, they could have united to keep the French from establishing any forts on British territory. What the British needed to do, the pamphlet argued, was to adopt a larger geographical perspective on the colonies, which is precisely what the map provided."

standable. In it, Mitchell summarized the alterations he had made to the New England and Nova Scotia coastline in reaction to Green's criticism. He apologized for not having used Chabert's work, for the simple reason that he had not known of it, but he had now made the necessary changes. However, Mitchell's access to the Board's documents meant that he had to dismiss Blakemore's survey out of hand: Blackmore had indeed been a lieutenant in HMS *Dragon* off Nova Scotia in 1711 but he did not draw his coastal chart until 1715, and Mitchell found it to be as rough and as inexact as any other work depending on memory. Mitchell also observed that in publishing the map, the map seller Herman Moll had falsely claimed for Blackmore the appointment of "surveyor general," so that Blackmore's map was not at all deserving of the authority given to it by Green. Mitchell also dismissed all of the English maps and charts that had been based on Blackmore's work.

It is difficult to be certain when Mitchell made his additions to create this fourth variant. Neither title nor imprint date were updated. Did Mitchell reconstruct the Nova Scotia coastline and get the map re-engraved before the end of 1755, or did the process take longer? However long the revisions took to be made, it seems likely that the fourth variant was not actually published until 1757. This assessment is based upon a comment in the otherwise anonymous⁷ *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), that

Upon [the] occasion of the last war [i.e., Seven Years' War, 1756-1763] Dr. Mitchel was employed by the ministry [i.e., government] to take an accurate survey of all the back countries of North America, most of them being then but little known except to the French . . . This was the origin of his map of North America, the best general one we have had; at the time it was published, it was accompanied by a bulky pamphlet, written by the Doctor and entitled, *The Contest in America*, in which he enters into a full elucidation of the importance of the back countries . . . (Carmen 1939, 205)

The anonymous *Contest in America* was indeed published in 1757, makes no mention of a map but it does possess the same underlying political ideals as Mitchell's map.

Like the many inscriptions on the map, the pamphlet's purpose was to explain why it was so important for the British to keep the French out of the "back country" between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River, and the valley of the Ohio River in particular. Its author claimed to have had access to a great deal of privileged, governmental information, which he nonetheless omitted to keep simple his argument about why this war required unity among the British. This was not a war, he wrote, to which the British could apply their usual games of party politics. Indeed, his abiding message was that the war was actually the result of disunity among the British in the colonies: had the colonies been able to overlook their petty differences, they could have united to keep the French from establishing any forts on British territory. What the British needed to do, the pamphlet argued, was to adopt a larger geographical perspective on the colonies, which is precisely what the map provided (Mitchell 1757, xli and 17-84). These points strongly suggest that Mitchell did indeed write the pamphlet.

If the anonymous author of *American Husbandry* was correct, then the pamphlet and the map which was associated with it—the second printing of Mitchell's map—were published in order to continue the education of the British public about the nature of the imperial prize in North America.

The distaste shown by Mitchell in the preface to the *Contest in America* for party politics manifested a common rhetoric of public discourse in eighteenth-century Britain; it was part of the manner in which writers could claim to be disinterested, to be above the fray of dirty politics, and to be writing only in the interest of the entire nation. But given the political wrangling that is endemic to any declaration of war, I have to wonder how much both the pamphlet and the “second edition” of the map were once again motivated by the earl of Halifax and his imperial vision.

With the fall of Québec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760, and the end of the North American theater of the Seven Years’ War, the British public’s interest in the geography of the continent declined. There would certainly have been no further need for Halifax to keep the French threat in North America in the public eye. Halifax himself stepped down as president of the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1761, after which he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and a secretary of state, while Mitchell died in 1768. Before his death, Mitchell published a second pamphlet on Britain’s empire in North America, but this was more of a commentary on the economic relations between Britain and its colonies (Mitchell 1767). It made no reference to his map, nor does it seem to have been an occasion for a new publication of the map.

During these years, Andrew Millar seems to have kept John Mitchell’s map in print, pulling enough impressions from the copper plates to keep up with whatever demand for the map that there might have been, but without making any further alterations to the plates. This is indicated by a much smaller, folio-sized map of North America—*A New and Accurate Map of the British Dominions in America, according to the Treaty of 1763; Divided into the several Provinces and Jurisdictions*—engraved by Kitchin and published by Millar sometime in or after 1763. The imprint for this map included the advertisement, “Where may be had on Eight Imperial Sheets A Map of the British & French Dominions in Nth. America; with the Roads, Directions, Limits, & Extent of the Settlements. Price 1 Guinea in Sheets. 1£ 11s 6d on Canvas & Rollers.” Note the price for Mitchell’s map had not been reduced.⁸

While it is impossible to say how many times, or when, the map was issued during this period of the map’s second printing, at least from the evidence of the engraved map alone, it is nonetheless possible to identify to a distinct issue from a particular variation in coloring. A royal proclamation in October 1763 set new bounds for the province of Canada. To the north of the St. Lawrence River, these bounds comprised long straight lines between key geographical features to form a distinctive lozenge-shaped territory; these boundaries are evident in many maps (e.g., Calloway 2006, 115). I have encountered one impression of this variant of Mitchell’s map in which this distinctive area is in outline color only, and undefined by engraved lines; the remainder of the map is in full wash color in accordance with other boundaries defined in the same proclamation. The implication is that this map was at least colored, if not printed, after 1763.⁹

Third Printing ([1774-1775])

Andrew Millar also died in 1768. It is uncertain what then happened to the map’s eight printing plates, until William Faden eventually acquired them. William Faden senior, a wealthy printer, had bought his then sixteen-year-old son a partnership with Thomas Jefferys in 1767 or 1768. (Jefferys had bankrupted himself in November 1766 with an overly ambitious scheme to make large-scale topographical surveys of several English counties and desperately needed new capital.) On Jefferys’s death in 1771, Faden briefly

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continued to publish under Jefferys' name. Starting in 1773, he worked under the name of "Jefferys and Faden," before he finally began to trade under his own name in 1775 (Harley 1966, 47; Pedley 2000; Worms 2004b).

Faden published the third printing of Mitchell's map under the imprint of "Jefferys and Faden." We can be sure, therefore, that all three states within the printing appeared between 1773 and 1775. We can in fact be more precise, because Faden (1774, 15) listed Mitchell's map in a catalogue in the following manner:

The British and French Dominions in North America, with the roads, distances, limits and extent of their settlements, 8 sheets, 1755; *scarce* | *Mitchell*

Unlike most other entries in the catalogue, Faden did not specify a price for the map. Together with his description of the map as "scarce," this silence strongly suggests that he did not at this point own the printing plates, nor had he sold any impressions of the map that might have come his way. Rather, he only knew of the map. Indeed, the map had occasionally appeared after 1768 in the sales catalogues of London book dealers, where they fetched consistently high prices:

"We might conclude that Faden saw some continuing demand for a high-priced, large wall map of North America. Sometime in 1774-1775, therefore, he acquired the plates for Mitchell's map, modified them by abbreviating the existing imprint and adding his own imprint, and then printed three new variants in short order."

"finely coloured," and folded in portable case	£1/1	(Davies 1768, 3)
colored, "half-bound" (format e?)	£0/12	(Payne 1768, 31; Payne 1769a, 33; Payne 1769b, 33)
on large paper, "neatly coloured"	£0/15	(Payne 1768, 31; Payne 1769a, 33; Payne 1769b, 33) ¹⁰
colored, pasted on cloth, and on rollers	£1/5	(Robson 1770, 13)
"finely coloured"	£0/10/6	(Davies 1771, 2)
colored, on cloth, and in a case	£0/12/6	(Todd 1776, 6)
colored	£1/1	(White 1776, 8)
colored, on cloth, and on rollers	£0/18	(Sotheran 1777, 8)

The maps might not in fact have sold quickly: the dealers seem to have offered for sale more copies of Henry Popple and Clement Lempriere's great 1733 map of North and Central America (in twenty sheets; see Babinski 1998 and Edney 2008a) than they did copies of Mitchell's map. We might therefore conclude that Faden saw some continuing demand for a high-priced, large wall map of North America. Sometime in 1774-1775, therefore, he acquired the plates for Mitchell's map, modified them by abbreviating the existing imprint and adding his own imprint, and then printed three new variants in short order.

The occasion for Faden's republishing of the map would seem to have been the passage of the Québec Act, 22 June 1774 (14 Geo. III c. 83). Martin (1934) thought that a copy of the map could well have been used during the parliamentary debate on the bill, a debate which turned repeatedly to the issue of the large size granted to Canada and which even included some detailed redefinition of particular boundaries (Anonymous 1806-20,

17:1357-400 and 1402-07, esp. 1391-92). However, there is no reference to the map in the surviving parliamentary record and we should not be as certain as Brown (1959, 96) that the map was indeed consulted. The act's purpose was to reconfigure the government of Canada. At the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, in 1763, the French recouped only their North American colonies of Cape Breton and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Britain kept France's extensive continental colony of Canada. The royal proclamation in October 1763 established preliminary boundaries between Canada and the Atlantic colonies; those limits were now finalized in 1774.

Faden's alterations to Mitchell's map included several changes in the boundaries of the northern colonies that seem to reflect the Act, with further changes being made in a sixth variant; the two variants manifested different stages in a single process of reworking the boundaries on the map. Perhaps the most important change in the map's details at this time featured the replacement of a straight boundary line running roughly east-west to the north of Lake Ontario—labeled "Limits of Canada and the Iroquois according to De L'Isle and other Geographers" and prominent on the first two editions—with a boundary line passing through Lake Ontario (Figure 4a). Several of the boundary lines delimiting territorial claims by

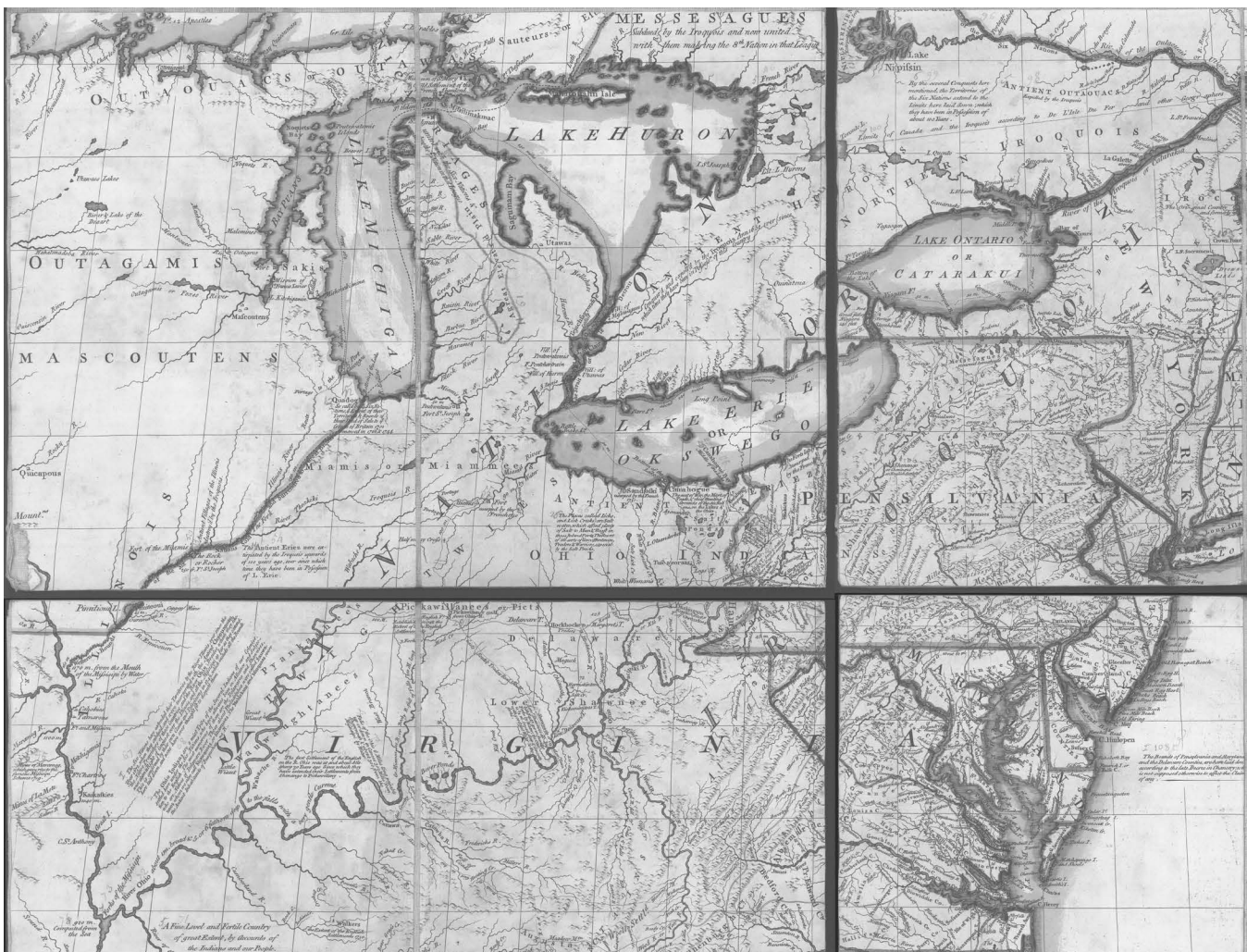


Figure 4a. Detail of the area of Lake Ontario and of political boundaries from first variant. Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress (G3300 1755 M5 Vault and G3300 1774 .M5 Vault). (see page 74 for color version)

both New York and New Jersey were also deleted. Faden was not, however, completely consistent in his alterations and corrections. The colony of Massachusetts Bay had long claimed all the territory reaching up to the St. Lawrence River, so Mitchell had depicted the New England/Nova Scotia line accordingly, in order to bolster British territorial arguments before the war; although the colony's claim was negated by both the 1763 proclamation and the 1774 act, Faden did not update the map by engraving Canada's newly affirmed boundary running to the south of the St. Lawrence.

The new boundaries established between New England, Nova Scotia, and Canada were, however, properly delineated by the color applied to the map. Faden seems to have imposed a standardized color scheme onto the map, or at least onto those impressions that were sold colored. Referring to an impression of the sixth variant owned by John Jay that was used in the Anglo-American treaty negotiations in Paris in 1782, the early nineteenth-century U.S. statesman Albert Gallatin described this color scheme as follows: "Nova Scotia is designated by a red border, the ground not being colored. New England is colored yellow, New York blue, &c., and Canada green." Gallatin further noted that the green for Canada reached south past the Great Lakes all the way to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers (see Figure 4b), depicting Canada in accordance with its

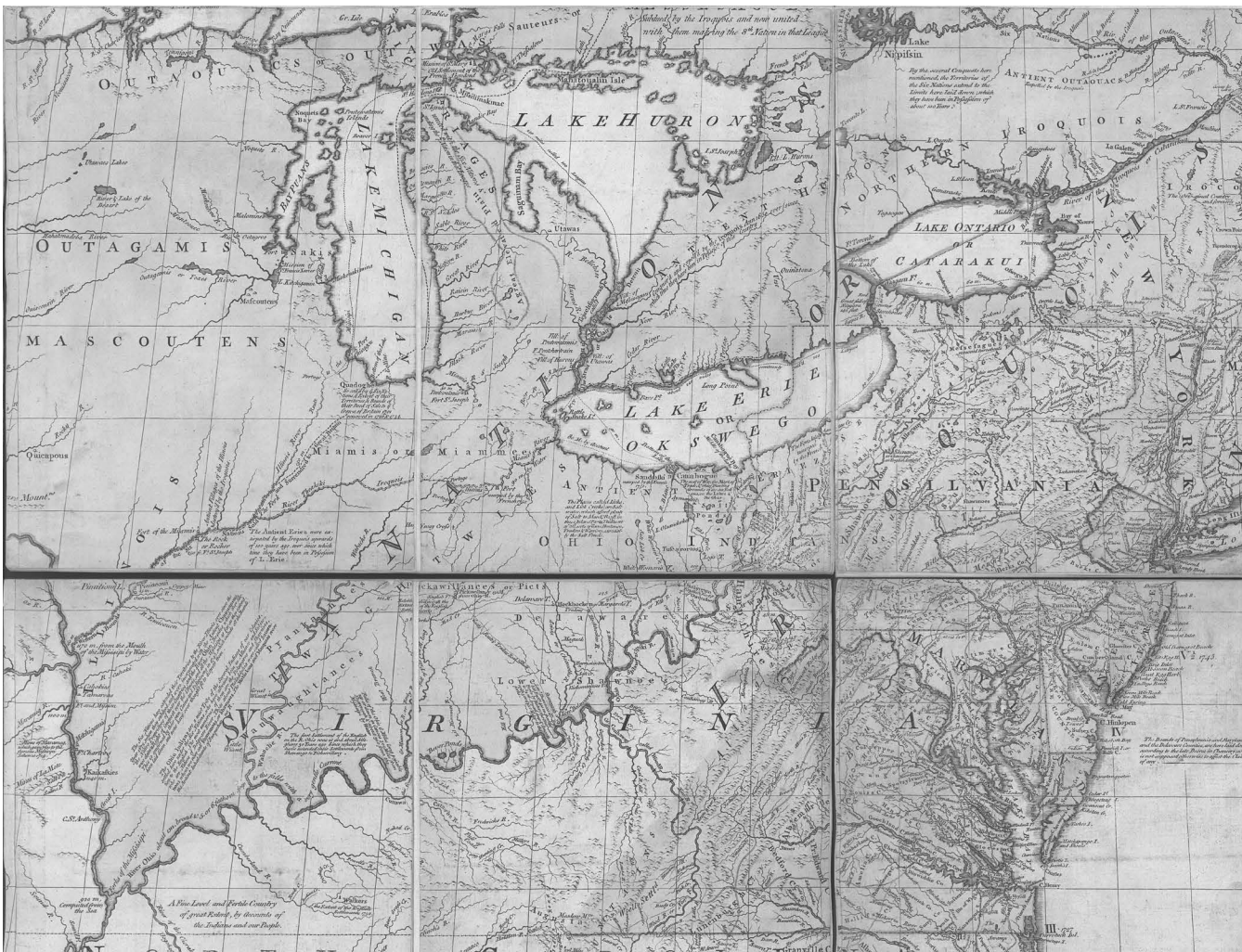


Figure 4b. Detail of the area of Lake Ontario and of political boundaries from sixth variant. Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress (G3300 1755 M5 Vault and G3300 1774 .M5 Vault). (see page 75 for color version)

boundaries as set by the Québec Act (Gallatin and Webster 1843, 20).¹¹

Thereafter Faden brought out a seventh variant, marked solely by an alteration to the map's title. He re-engraved the line in the title reading "British and French Dominions" to read just "British Colonies." The new title was thus, *A Map of the British Colonies in North America*. This change clearly recognized that France no longer had a significant colonial presence in North America and so reflected the culmination of British assertions of imperial power in the continent, especially at a time of increasing civil unrest within the British colonies. It is significant that the seventh variant had no alterations to its geographical detail: the only change is in the title. Moreover, impressions of this variant in original color adhere to the same general color scheme as colored impressions of the fifth and sixth variants (reproduced by Goss 1990, 130; Edney 1997). I should note that I have yet to see sufficient copies of these later variants to be able to say, with any confidence, whether the slight variations in color indicate distinct issues of the map.¹² Indeed, it is evident that Faden made this final alteration in 1775, shortly after producing the fifth and sixth variants: in his 1778 catalog, he identified the map as "A Map of the British Colonies in North America . . . on 8 sheets, 1775, Mitchell" Stephenson (1972, 109-13).

The overall implication is that these three variants of the map represent small alterations made during the course of a single publication event, which can be dated to between later 1774 and earlier 1775, before Faden ceased publishing as "Jefferys and Faden." If so, it makes sense to consider all three variants as being produced to meet the growing interest of the Britain public in North America because of the rising colonial unrest. We can presume that Faden kept the map in print, as the American Revolution developed, but we cannot presume that it was one of his best sellers.

John Mitchell's map of North America was a large work. It was costly to prepare and print, and it was made for those members of London's elites who were interested in geography and who could afford to spend a guinea or more on it. It seems to have been in print only sporadically, and then only when the London public turned its attention to the affairs of North America. We cannot presume that it was kept in print continuously, although an active second-hand market did make it available should someone want such a map when it was out of print. We certainly must cease to consider it as being solely of colonial interest, or as having its principal meaning in a colonial context. The patterns of its production and consumption strongly indicate that it is more profitably understood within the context of the imperial conceptions held in Britain. It was part of Europe's ironic discourses of imperialism, in which Europeans discussed and created concepts of their imperial territories with little actual regard for those territories or their inhabitants (see Edney 2008b).

This essay accordingly suggests that some of the concepts underlying traditional approaches to the history of cartography need to be extensively and actively rethought. In particular, we must organize our historical narratives and cartobibliographies around not the regions and places mapped, but rather the contexts within which maps were made and used (Edney 2008c). After all, the goal of the "new history of cartography" championed by the late Brian Harley and David Woodward, among others, is to situate maps within their appropriate contexts of making and usage. In this way, we can be clear about colonial maps of colonies, imperial maps of empires, and their contingent intersections. We can then see how imperial-era maps were selectively appropriated to serve as nationalist and anti-colonial icons. And we can see with precision how maps were

CONCLUSIONS

"John Mitchell's map of North America was a large work. It was costly to prepare and print, and it was made for those members of London's elites who were interested in geography and who could afford to spend a guinea or more on it. It seems to have been in print only sporadically, and then only when the London public turned its attention to the affairs of North America."

deployed as tools of state authorities, or as instruments of resistance. Most importantly, in this way, maps cease to be understood as reflections of the societies and cultures that produced them, but can be clearly seen as contributing to the constitution of those societies and cultures.

Appendix: Cartobibliographical Information

Cartobibliographical analyses of Mitchell's map have fallen into two groups. First, Benjamin Franklin Stevens (ca. 1897) and then the Library of Congress's Lawrence Martin, working in the later 1920s (Martin 1927, nos. 102-8; Martin and Egli 1929, nos. 92-99; Martin and Egli 1930, nos. 77-81; Martin 1933; Martin 1944), were both motivated by the use made of the map at the Treaty of Paris and subsequent international and interstate boundary negotiations and litigation. Second, Emerson Fite and Archibald Freeman, who discussed the map on the occasion of both its first publication and the use of the final variant by British negotiators in Paris (Fite & Freeman 1926, nos. 47 and 74), and the dealers Henry Stevens and Roland Tree (1951) featured the map in their analyses of the progressive growth of geographical knowledge about North America. Stevens and Tree's work rested on notes first made in the 1880s and their classification scheme had probably been developed well before the 1920s.¹³ Unfortunately, these schemes have not agreed on terminology or the precise identification of variants according to the changes made to the printing plates. Martin's work is definitive and has been repeated in subsequent publications of the Library of Congress (Stephenson 1972; Sellers and Van Ee 1981, nos. 37-53). The schemas are related as follows:

	Mitchell	B.F. Stevens	Stevens & Tree	Fite & Freeman	Martin
Variant 1	[1st edition]	collation A	1st edition 1st issue	1st edition	1st edition 1st impression
Variant 2			1st edition 2nd issue		1st edition 2nd impression
Variant 3					1st edition 3rd impression
Variant 4	2nd edition	collation B	2nd edition		2nd edition
---			3rd edition ¹⁴		
Variant 5		collation C		2nd edition ¹⁵	3rd edition 1st impression
Variant 6		collation D	4th edition		3rd edition 2nd impression
Variant 7		collation E	5th edition	2nd edition	4th edition

The proliferation of terms that is evident here requires comment. These uses of "edition," "impression," and "issue" do not follow the strict terms developed by bibliographers; rather they rely more colloquially on "edition" as a somehow separate thing; as this essay argues, this is inappropriate. "Impression" is also a problem in that it can mean both a set of printed materials produced in an act of printing (as in bibliographical usage) and the print/map produced by a single pull on a printing press

(as in art historical usage); in a late essay, Tanselle (1982, 9-10) suggested that we restrict "impression" to the second meaning and use "printing" instead for the bibliographical set.

In a system advanced by Coolie Verner (1974), it has become common to refer to versions of maps in terms of the "state" of the printing plate and therefore of impressions pulled from that plate. But this terminology is not easily applied to a multi-sheet map such as Mitchell's. We would have to make a matrix of the states of each plate, along the lines of:

States of each plate, 1 thru 8

variant 1	1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1
variant 2	1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 2
variant 3	1 - 1 - 2 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 2
variant 4	1 - 1 - 3 - 2 - 1 - 2 - 2 - 3
variant 5	1 - 2 - 4 - 2 - 1 - 2 - 2 - 4
variant 6	1 - 3 - 5 - 2 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 4
variant 7	1 - 3 - 5 - 2 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 5

Note that the values in this matrix are defined by the usual criteria discussed about each variant of the map and are not based upon a detailed search for each and every content change in the interior of the map, so I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this table.

But drawing on Tanselle's (1982) and Cook's (1989) argument that we can, and should, apply the concepts of bibliographers to maps, then it is possible to describe in *preliminary* terms the several variants in terms of the hierarchy of edition—printing—issue—state (see also Karrow 1985, 4; Edney 2008c). All of the map's variants constitute a single edition, because they were all created from a single printing surface, or set of surfaces. It is the French, Dutch, and Italian derivatives of Mitchell's map (detailed by Stephenson 1972) that formed distinct editions. According to the information adduced in the body of this essay, the variants likely formed three printings (the act of taking copies from a printing surface, or set of surfaces)—variants 1-3 in 1755, variant 4 in ca.1757, and variants 5-7 in 1774-1775—defined by several states (marked by alterations to the printing surface[s]). It is probable that there were distinct issues within each printing of the map (acts of publishing printed copies), but the evidence to determine these remains unclear.

1st [i.e., English] Edition

1st Printing (1755)

1st State [variant 1]

[title] A Map of the | British and French Dominions in | North
America | with the | Roads, Distances, Limits, and Extent of the |
Settlements, | Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable | The Earl
of Halifax, | And the other Right Honourable | The Lords Commis-
sioners for Trade & Plantations, | By their Lordships | Most Obliged, |
and very humble Servant | Jn^o. Mitchell.

[inside bottom margin] Tho: Kitchin Sculp. Clerkenwell Green.

[outside bottom margin] Publish'd by the Author Feb^{ry}. 13th. 1755 ac-
cording to Act of Parliament, and Sold by And: Miller opposite Kather-
ine Street in the Strand.

2nd State [variant 2]

[title: as 1st state]

[inside bottom margin: as 1st state]

[outside bottom margin] Publish'd by the Author Feb^{ry}. 13th. 1755 according to Act of Parliament, and Sold by And: Millar opposite Katharine Street in the Strand.

3rd State [variant 3]

[title: as 1st state]

[inside bottom margin: as 1st state]

[outside bottom margin: as 2nd state]

One minor change of content: one of the two towns labeled Leicester in Massachusetts Bay is now properly labeled as Worcester.

*2nd Printing ([1757])***1st (and only) State [variant 4]**

[title: as 1st printing, 1st state]

[inside bottom margin: as 1st printing, 1st state]

[outside bottom margin: as 1st printing, 2nd state]

Significant changes to sheet 7, with the addition of two large text blocks in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, in the seventh sheet. (The two scale bars in the Atlantic on the first edition were re-engraved — as four bars — above the cartouche on sheet 8.) Observations of magnetic variations are added along the Atlantic coast, labeled with Roman numerals. Finally, Mitchell redrew the northeastern coast because he redefined the positions of two key headlands: Cape Race was shifted in latitude from 46°55' to 46°35'; Cape Sable was shifted in longitude from 66°35' to 65°35'. A Maine-related detail: "Sagadahook" was respelled "Sagadahock."

*3rd Printing (1774-1775)***1st State [variant 5]**

[title: as 1st printing, 1st state]

[inside bottom margin 1] Tho: Kitchen Sculp.

[inside bottom margin 2] Printed for Jefferys and Faden Geographers to the King at the Corner of St. Martins Lane Charing Cross London
[outside bottom margin] Publish'd by the Author Febry 13th 1755 according to Act of Parliament

There are also some changes in the content in the interior around the Great Lakes, with some boundaries being altered and new place-names added.

2nd State [variant 6]

[title: as 1st printing, 1st state]

[inside bottom margin 1: as 3rd printing, 1st state]

[inside bottom margin 2: as 3rd printing, 1st state]

[outside bottom margin: as 3rd printing, 1st state]

Numerous content changes include the deletion from sheet 3 of the straight line labeled as the boundary between Canada and the Iroquois

(running roughly east-west, north of Lake Ontario) and the addition of a straight-line boundary through Lake Ontario.

3rd State [variant 7]

[title] A Map of the | British Colonies in | North America | with the | Roads, Distances, Limits, and Extent of the | Settlements, | Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable | The Earl of Halifax, | And the other Right Honourable | The Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, | By their Lordships | Most Obliged, | and very humble Servant | Jn^o. Mitchell.

[inside bottom margin 1: as 3rd printing, 1st state]

[inside bottom margin 2: as 3rd printing, 1st state]

[outside bottom margin] as 3rd printing, 1st state]

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1. See Stevens’ correspondence preserved in “Collected Copies of Correspondence and Other Memoranda Relating to Col. Lawrence Martin’s Studies of the Mitchell Maps, ca.1925-35,” National Archives Records Administration, Record Group 76, Records Relating to International Boundaries, Cartographic Series 28. On Stevens’ historical interests and manuscript collecting, see Griffin (1946).

NOTES

2. High-resolution scans of the seven British variants of Mitchell’s map are freely available at the Library of Congress’s “American Memory Network” «memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html». Browse in the “Creator Index” for “Mitchell, John, 1711-1768.” Reference should be made to this resource to consult particular details of the map.

3. One pound sterling (£ or *l*) contained twenty shillings (*s*), each shilling containing 12 pennies (*d*); £1/11/6 therefore indicates one pound, eleven shillings, and six pennies. The guinea was the gold coin then in circulation in Britain, valued at one pound, one shilling (or £1/1).

4. E.g., the sheets of U.S. National Archives, Record Group 76, Cartographic Series 27, Map 3 (Goggin 1968, no. 18), were dissected into twenty sections and mounted separately; small leather tags on the back of the sheets indicate that they were once all folded and placed into a small case, the tags being used to pull out particular sheets from the tight mass.

5. The three copies of the map in George III’s collections — British Library K.Top.118.49.a–c — are all assembled, as if for hanging on walls, but they were probably stored as rolls: ‘a’ shows extensive creasing and damage (now repaired) suggesting that it had once been squashed when kept rolled up; ‘b’ was actually assembled from sheets that were originally dissected into quarters and well-used in that format before eventually being assembled for the king; ‘c’ was assembled from sheets that had originally been separately bound into an atlas.

6. Full-colour maps examined are Colonial Williamsburg (variant 3), as reproduced by Pritchard (2002, 169); Library of Congress G3300 1755 .M51 Vault Shelf (variant 2); British Library maps K.Top.118.49.a (variant 3), reproduced by Goss (1990, 130), which was overlain c.1774 by some other colour patches; Newberry Library Ayer *133 M66 1755 (variant 3); and Bibliothèque Nationale Française Ge DD 2987 (variant 3). Outline-colour maps examined are British Library maps C.27.f.9 and K.Top.118.49.c (both variant 1); New York Historical Society X3.3.30 (map 9508) (variant 1) and L4.4.18 (map 8616) (variant 3); and Library of Congress G3300 1755 .M5 Vault Shelf (variant 1) and G3300 1755 .M53 Vault (variant 3). There remains the possibility that color was applied by a later hand, as in the impression of variant 1 held by the Hungarian National Library, which was given outline color in a quite inappropriate, vibrant blue-green.

7. Carman (1939, xxxix-lxi) refuted Carrier's (1918) argument that Mitchell had himself written this anonymous work.

8. The particular impression examined — British Library maps CC.5.a.242 — is marked up as an index to the larger Mitchell map.

9. Ayer *133 M66 1755, Newberry Library, Chicago.

10. It should be noted, however, that Payne (1768, 1769a, and 1769b) advertised the same two impressions of Mitchell's map; a third impression listed by Payne (1768, 31) did not reappear in the later catalogues.

11. This map is New York Historical Society M32.2.1a (map 11051). The same coloring is found on an impression of the sixth variant in the U.S. National Archives Record Group 76, Cartographic Series 27, Map 3 (Goggin 1968, no. 18).

12. I have examined the following copies. Variant 5: BL maps CC.5.a.270 (full color, w/ 1763 and 1774 boundaries for Québec); LC G3300 1773 .M5 Vault (outline). Variant 6: New York Historical Society M32.2.1a (map 11051) and LC G3300 1774 .M5 Vault (both full color, with only 1774 boundaries). Variant 7: BL maps C.11.b.17 (outline color); BL maps K.Top.118.49.b (full color, with more color applied later, showing 1765 and 1774 boundaries, but the 1765 could have been added later); LC G3300 1775 .M5 Vault (late color); and Osher Map Library OS-1755-1 (full color, 1774 boundary only, but this might have been applied late).

13. Stevens and Tree's classification had certainly been worked out by 1930, when a catalogue (Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, ca. 1930, no. 310) listed a putative "third edition" of the map, and probably had been worked out by Henry Stevens's grandfather and father, both prominent antiquarian dealers in their own right. Note also that Stevens and Tree (1951) paid attention only to map titles, imprints, and gross geographical changes and so did not notice variant 3.

14. Stevens and Tree (1951, no. 54) specified the existence of a "third edition" with the imprint "Publish'd by the Author, Feb. 13th, 1755. Printed by Jefferys and Faden, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, London." Yet this imprint lacked the copyright formula ("according to Act of Parliament") found on all other variants of the map. Significantly, Stevens and Tree did not record variant 5; conversely, neither B. F. Stevens nor Lawrence Martin recorded Stevens and Tree's "third edition." That is, I am unconvinced

that such a state ever existed; I suggest instead that it was the result of an incorrect transcription of variant 5. Stevens and Tree's mistake has been recently repeated by McCorkle (2001, no. 755.31), who further confused the "third edition" with variant 4.

15. Fite and Freeman (1926, 182 and 290-91) were rather confused as to the meaning of "second edition" when they variously noted that it was marked by the change in imprint to Jefferys and Faden but also by the retitling of the map.

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