

The Spectacle of Maps in America, 1750-1800

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When in February 1770, after a three year subscription campaign, John Henry finally published *A New and Accurate Map of Virginia* his first and only map invited public notice (**Figure 1**). Consisting of four sheets, the map measured when fully assembled an eye-catching 38 by 52 inches. Minute graphic symbols marking mountains, rivers, and habitations asked for the closer reading of Virginia's geography. At the same time, the map's neo-classical title cartouche appealed to the discerning viewer versed in eighteenth-century graphic design and pictorial allegory. Blending cartographic and artistic representation, the Henry map competed with an older generation of large maps put on display in the British colonies, including Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson's rococo-styled *Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia* (**Figure 2**).¹



Figure 1. John Henry, *A New and Accurate Map of Virginia* (London, 1770)



Figure 2. Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina* (1751. London 1755)

The public took notice, but not in a way that was much to Henry's liking. As with all conspicuous objects funded by private or public subscription, the map invited scrutiny and comment by the media. Thus, between September 1770 and January 1771 the *Virginia Gazette* published a series of reviews, which, in a two punch approach, demolished the map's reputation and that of John Henry as a map-maker. The first critique accused Henry of gross omissions and mistakes. As a review written under the pseudonym of "Geographus" observes, "he is mistaken in the breadth and courses of... Chesapeak, Potowmack, Rappahannock, York and James [rivers]... [N]one of the roads are laid down... Winchester, Fort Cumberland and Dumfries, are not in the map... Norfolk is placed in Princess Anne... James Town north of Williamsburg... and a few other such trifling mistakes." The second critique Henry himself sought to preempt when he acknowledged "inaccuracies... which regard... the situation of Gentlemens seats." As much as critics complained that rivers were mismeasured and whole towns misplaced, they were equally irked by the fact that Henry had failed to sufficiently document the manors and plantations of Virginia's propertied classes. This omission prompted one critic to sardonically suggest that the map was less the product of Henry's cartographic knowledge but more the result of "good Taste which directed [him] to a better Disposition of Gentlemens Seats, and to assign

more beautiful Dimensions and Courses to the Rivers, than those which Nature had allotted them.”²

In reviews like these, Henry’s critics applied some of the same evaluative principles that have been at the core of modern and post-modern responses to early American maps. In the first critique, maps are reviewed according to the utilitarian expectation that maps were at once scientific records and mimetic representations of physical and cultural landscapes. This expectation was raised by one of the more pervasive definitions of the term “map”—and this definition has not varied much between the mid-eighteenth- and late twentieth-centuries—according to which, and I quote from *A Pocket Dictionary or Complete English Expósito* (1753) a map is “a representation of the whole, or a part of the earth, upon a plane superficies, describing the situation and form of countries &c.” From the moment maps were recognized as failing to describe a country because they lacked, misrepresented, and ultimately misguided the “situation” or “form” of any given geographic location, critics both challenged a map’s cartographic integrity and dismissed its use value.³

Turning to the second critique, since much of the map’s usefulness was riding on its ability to let readers find their place in both the material and the social world, Virginia reviewers objected to Henry’s map and its omission of “Gentlemens Seats” because the map had not fulfilled certain ideological expectations. As recent post-modern definitions and approaches to maps have shown, maps were as much representations of places as they were “refracted images contributing to dialogue in a socially constructed world.” As the dialogue surrounding the Henry map indicates, eighteenth-century Virginia writers and reader understood maps to be full of cultural value judgments that had less to do with the map-maker’s accurate reproduction of the material world but more with the organization of the map users’ social world. Thus defined, the Henry map rankled Virginia patrons because it was insufficiently political: by omitting country estates of the Virginia gentry, it not only misrepresented Virginia’s social topography but the spatial relationships linking kinship to political networks of power.⁴

Yet, before we dismiss the Henry map as the quintessential bad map, it is important to note that the barrage of criticism published in the *Virginia Gazette* ended on a surprisingly conciliatory note. In a final review, the critic—after quipping yet again about the map-maker’s “Ignorance” and “Mistakes”—undercuts most of his complaints by reminding readers that he “ha[d] often seen [their] Maps hung up in Houses, not because they were reckoned useful, but

ornamental.”⁵ By juxtaposing the terms “useful” and “ornamental,” the author unexpectedly broadened the scope of map evaluation, blurring—if not inverting—the judgments about the functional value of maps. The Henry map might be useless for finding geographical places, but it was considered quite useful when placed as an ornamental object inside Virginia houses.

By pointing to the map’s ornamental function, the map critic recalled two non-cartographic definitions, associating maps with pictures and decorative objects. First, pictorial definitions of maps, while by and large ignored by scientific or political evaluations today, were not only popular but dominant especially during the second half of the eighteenth century. Lexicographers from Samuel Johnson to Thomas Sheridan to William Perry considered maps to be first and foremost “geographical pictures.”⁶ Secondary terms such as “description,” “delineation,” and “projection” fused the term “map” semantically to perspective theories and graphic practices. Be it textbooks, encyclopedias, or technical treatises, discussions associated maps less with the tools of empirical science but more with materials emerging from the studios and shops of painters, engravers, and print-makers. Indeed, variously called a “View,” a “Prospect,” or a “Portraiture” maps were not only categorized along with the visual arts in general but, as demonstrated by William Guthrie’s 1770 textbook analogy, with the fine arts in particular: “Maps differ from the globe in the same manner as a picture does from a statue.”⁷

In the second definition, eighteenth-century Virginians would have applied an evaluative framework grounded not just in visual aesthetics but in material culture: having seen “ornamental” maps “often... hung up in houses,” they would have tapped into a discourse of the decorative arts that considered maps as decorative objects. According to English map-maker Christopher Packe, a map was a picture because it showed “the beautiful Distinctions... and the exact Harmony of the whole Country... *not as a Map*, but as in a *Landskip*.” At the same time, Packe also distinguished a cartographic map from a topographical survey by comparing the map to “a compleat House, adorn’d with all its Furniture” and the survey to the unfinished “frame of any Building.”⁸ At the same time that Packe categorized maps with two-dimensional pictures showing landscapes, his “House” analogy associated maps with three-dimensional household goods. Conceived as a “Landskip,” a map would be treated like other decorative objects hanging on house walls, such as picture frames, mirrors, and curtains. In the capacity of “Furniture,” ornamental maps like the Henry map would not only “adorn” the house but serve to establish, if not “the exact Harmony of the whole Country,” at least the harmony of the “compleat house.”

In eighteenth-century definitions, then, we discover that the distinction between “useful” and “ornamental” maps evoked a cultural understanding in which a map’s cartographic and aesthetic function were valued equally and as mutually constitutive. Modern and post-modern critical studies, by contrast, have until very recently dismissed the map’s “ornamental” uses.⁹ Since the 1950s, when critical attention settled squarely on reading maps as products of empirical science, a map’s affinity with the visual arts was immediately cause for the hasty dismissal of pictorial qualities from further analytical discussion. According to Arthur Robinson’s *The Look of Maps*, “fancy borders, ornamental cartouches [and] curvaceous lettering,” may be considered a “source of pleasure” but were not expected to “add to the functional quality of a map.”¹⁰ During the 1980s, after map historians like Leo Bagrow and David Woodward reevaluated early modern maps as “works of art,” but the ensuing decade’s shift towards a textual analysis of maps generated only a limited engagement with the “subtle relationship between the scientific and the decorative.”¹¹ Indeed, if scholar’s re-evaluated a map’s decorative form and function, they tended to favor maps from before the eighteenth century. Both the anti- and pro-ornamental schools of interpretation have persistently ignored eighteenth-century maps because the critical consensus is that sometime by mid-century, and in the wake of what has been called the “cartographic reformation,” “maps ceased to be works of art, the products of individual minds, and craftsmanship was finally superseded by specialized science and the machine.”¹²

Taking its cue from the Virginia map review of 1771, this essay seeks to revive the prematurely dismissed “ornamental” understanding of maps. It asks two basic questions: what are “ornamental” maps, and what kind of work do they perform in eighteenth-century America? To answer these, the essay steps outside conventional map criticism and approaches maps similar to the way in which W. J. T. Mitchell has proposed we ought to be “addressing media,” examining maps “not as if they were logical systems or structures but as if they were environments where images live, or personas and avatars that address us and can be addressed in turn.”¹³ In contrast to past approaches, which if they explored the ornamental meaning of maps did so from *within* the map, this media approach is environmental; it opens up the map for analysis from the *outside*. In this approach, maps are not defined by what they represent. Rather, as Christian Jacob has argued, the map’s meaning is contingent on the materiality surrounding its presentation; a map’s content hinges as much on its internal composition as on the conditions of

external display, its materiality and material surroundings, and by the way this shapes our ways of looking at maps. Or to put this differently, in order for us to understand the ornamental use of maps like the Henry map, instead of looking at it exclusively as a complex text we must look at it more broadly as a “thing” whose meaning is “entangled with the world beyond its edges.”¹⁴

In order to examine the spectacle of maps in America between 1750 and 1800 this essay pursues two lines of inquiry. The first line of inquiry is economic and statistical; its goal is to recover the genre of “display” maps, in particular monumental or immobile maps, in the marketplace during the first American consumer revolution. The second line of inquiry recovers the staging of maps as decorative objects, exploring the way in which maps were embedded—real and symbolically—in relation to the space of map displays (architecture), the decorative arts (ornaments), and the material culture of everyday life (furniture). Ultimately, this essay explores the spatial work of open-faced sheet maps (as opposed to bound and closed book maps) in order to re-examine the way in which maps carto-coded visual culture, sense perception, and social life in eighteenth-century America.

Conspicuous Consumer Goods

What is fascinating about the hubbub surrounding the Henry map is that when it went up for sale in 1771 its publication coincided less with the historical shift when maps had changed their internal designs, but more with the moment in American history when maps had established themselves externally as popular consumer goods. It is important to note that Henry’s map entered the Virginia marketplace at the height of the first North American consumer revolution.¹⁵ Before the 1750s, maps and especially large maps had not been widely available artifacts. It was only during the second half of the eighteenth century that a fledgling American map trade developed into a lucrative business. This business was increasingly driven simultaneously by individual map-makers and local governments, as well as by an intricate import-export network consisting of American retailers and overseas wholesalers, printers, engravers, binders, publishers, and booksellers.¹⁶ Political events, such as the first siege of Louisbourg in 1745, the onset of Anglo-French hostilities in 1755, or the defeat of the French in 1760, had triggered periodic increases in topical map production and consumption.¹⁷ By the early 1770s, however, the number of maps circulating in America—and these included reprints of antiquated maps and new maps promising the most accurate and latest information—had reached an unprecedented

high mark, suggesting that American map demand and supply had become consistent with a burgeoning marketplace that was flush with consumer goods.

Eighteenth-century advertisements document the ascent of display maps as consumer goods. They reveal three advertising strategies that not only demonstrate the commercialization of maps but also the acceptance of maps as decorative goods. In the first strategy, maps were advertized as household objects appealing to consumers that were both affluent and of lesser means. On the one hand, maps were listed along with conspicuous luxury items: “neat jappann’d tea tables and corner cupboards, newest fashion’d silver snuf boxes, fine christal and garnet sleeve buttons set in silver and gold, best Hill’s silver watches, maps of Canaan, England, London and Pennsylvania, fine long whale bone, etc.”¹⁸ On the other hand, maps were offered along with everyday household objects: “Irish linen and Lancaster sheeting; variety of maps and fishing tackle, English RED CLOVER SEED, with sundry other goods, too tedious to mention.”¹⁹ Ads like these show maps to be considered a general retail good; conversely, they also indicate that the consumption of maps began in venues that had little to do with printed goods. Or, as David Bosse writes, “in the colonies and the early republic, one might as readily purchase a map from an apothecary or hardware merchant as from a book- or print-seller.”²⁰

In the second strategy, advertisements published by vendors specializing in printed goods pointedly linked maps to engravings and picture prints.²¹ As early as 1721 American shopkeepers, like William Price in Boston, placed ads selling maps along with prints as belonging to the same line of products, either by simply listing “Prints & Maps” (1721) or by using more descriptive terms: “a great Variety of all Sorts and Sizes of the newest Maps and Prints by the best Masters, in Frames and Glass or without” (1733).²² Ads like these imitated the classification of maps as picture prints practiced by overseas wholesalers. Sales catalogs produced by the most prominent prints sellers of the eighteenth century—ranging from the Bowles dynasty to start-up entrepreneurs like Robert Sayer and John Benett—headlined “prints” and “maps” as commercially and conceptually compatible goods.²³ Trade cards, such as the one introducing Fenwick Bull’s print shop (1753; **Figure 3**), went one step further. Using the short-hand effect of the *trompe l’oeil*, the card not only explicitly classified maps along with pictures but with pictorial contents that were deemed either morally edifying or subversively entertaining. Included next to architectural or figural drawings showing classical design patterns (monumental columns) or romance fiction (“The Spell”), historical allegories or dramatic actors (in particular

Shakespearean actors) and so forth, maps were identified as products originating from the very image-making industry that served a visually informed audience, the consumers and the connoisseurs of pictures.²⁴



Figure 3. Fenwick Bull, tradecard “Maps, Prints, Copy Books” (London, 1753)

The third strategy involved the material finish and packaging of maps. By mid-century, small single sheet maps were regularly tipped into bound volumes such as geography books, histories, and travel narratives.²⁵ American shops sold not only hefty folio imports containing large folded maps such as Thomas Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (1775), but offered a variety of less weighty paper genres bearing map imprints, such as pamphlets, magazines, and almanacs.²⁶ As map sellers stressed the similarity of pictures and maps, they advertized smaller maps as loose sheet prints along with books, pictures, and stationary paper. By contrast, large maps, as commercial ads indicated, were tipped into altogether different materials. Consider the following examples:

Maps and Prospects. A newly engraved draft of the River Canada; also a new map of the British Empire in North-America... with a great variety of maps and prints

of all sorts in Frames or without, to be had of William Price, at the Picture Shop in Cornhill, Boston. (1746)²⁷

A very fine Assortment of Glass Pictures, Paintings on Glass, prospects, History, Sea Skips and Land Skips, A large Assortment of Entry and Stair Case Pieces ready framed, With the Maps of the World: And in four Parts, *London* all on Rollers. (1750)²⁸

A new and correct Map of the World... printed on 8 sheets of Royal Paper, and measuring 3 feet 2 Inches in Depth, 6 Feet wide, Price 8s in Sheets; on Canvas, with Rollers and Coloured, 16s;... *The World...* in two large Hemispheres... This Map is decorated all round with 20 small Maps... Printed on 28 Sheets of Royal Paper, and measures 9 Feet in Width, 6 Feet 4 Inches in Depth, and is very useful and entertaining, for large Rooms and Screens. Price 15s. in Sheets, uncoloured; on Canvas, with Rollers, and Coloured, £1 15s. (1775)²⁹

A few material additions—involving cloth, wood, glass, or paints—resulted in a categorical slippage that allowed maps to jump consumer scales. In the case of large multi-sheet maps, cartographic “pictures” turned into over-sized wall furniture. Measuring anywhere from fourteen (Henry map) to fifty-four square feet (the map of “*The World*”), mounted on cloth and attached to hanging rollers, these maps resembled material formats that were usually associated with rich tapestries or window treatments. A similar material redefinition took place for smaller single-sheet maps, be they printed in limited editions on “Imperial” paper (30 x 22 inches) or on the more common “Demy”-sized (22.5 by 17.5 inches) and “Royal”-sized paper (20 x 25 inches) used for atlases such as Emanuel Bowen’s *A Complete Atlas... in Sixty-Eight Maps* (London, 1752; **Figure 4**).³⁰

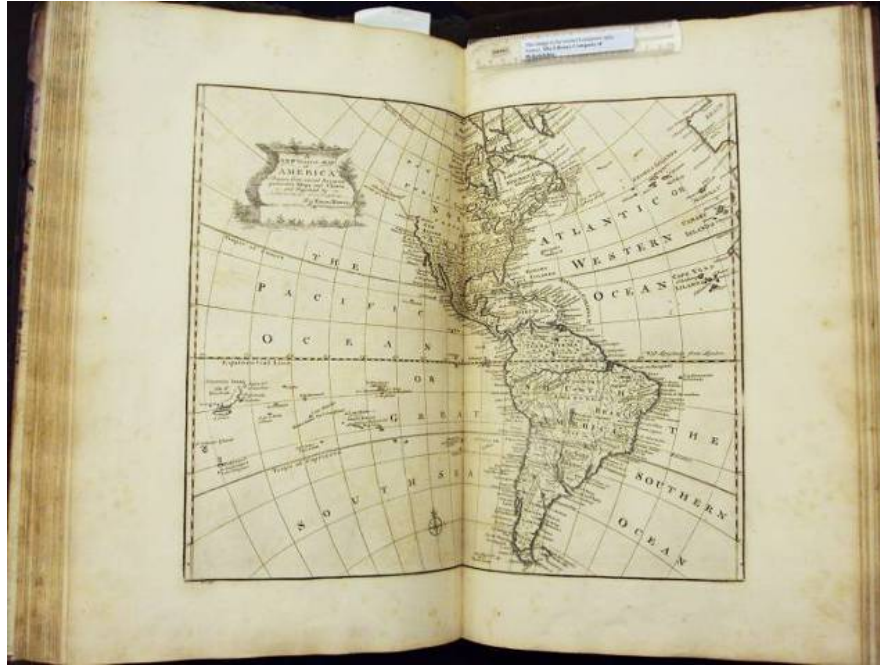


Figure 4. Emanuel Bowen, *A Complete Atlas...in Sixty-Eight Maps* (London, 1752)

These maps were sold separately “glazed,” “framed,” or “varnished.”³¹ Such material additions transformed the sales strategy of maps. Regardless if the map was super-sized or regular-sized, or whether it was sold at “the picture shop” or at the general retail store, by selling maps along with prints and picture frames the ads steered audiences towards a decorative turn in map consumption.

But before material finishes were used to recommodify large and small maps into ornamental maps, sales catalogues reveal that the commodity status of maps as such—significant in its own right—also hinged on the commercial affinity between plain maps, picture prints, and decorative wall hangings. Throughout the eighteenth century, map producers and consumers treated maps as commodities in the conventional materialist sense of the term, that is, as things produced for sale.³² As goods of commercial value maps were given specific monetary value. Published map prices, combined with prices printed in shop ads and inventories, indicate that map-buyers purchased maps with a general sense of price structure. A 1766 broadside advertizing a map sale held by Philip Freeman in Boston shows that map prices were arranged by map size (“4 Sheets”), by content (“Europe”), and by material add-ons, such as canvas, rollers, or book-binding.³³

MAPS and PRINTS

| | |
|--|---------|
| Map of the Globe, 4 Sheets -- ----- | £ 0 7 6 |
| ----- Europe, Do ----- | 0 7 6 |
| ----- Asia, Do ----- | 0 3 8 |
| ----- Africa, Do ----- | 0 3 8 |
| ----- North America, Do ----- | 0 5 0 |
| ----- Globe and Quarters, 2 Sheets ----- | 0 6 8 |
| Ditto, a better Edition, North And South America separate ----- | 0 13 4 |
| ----- Goble, 4 Sheets, on Cloth and Rollers, ----- | 0 13 0 |
| ----- Europe, 4 Sheets, on Cloth and Rollers, ----- | 0 13 0 |
| ----- Asia, Do Do | 0 10 4 |
| ----- Africa, Do Do | 0 10 4 |
| ----- No. America, Do Do | 0 10 4 |
| ----- West-Indies, ----- | 0 2 5 |
| ----- Mediterranean, ----- | 0 6 0 |
| ----- Coast of New-England, ----- | 0 2 2 |
| ----- Antigallican North America, ----- With Forts | 0 2 6 |
| ----- Land of Canaan, Cloth and Rollers, 13 Sheets, ----- | 1 7 8 |
| Senex's Atlas, 34 Maps, bound together | 3 6 8 |
| Plan of London, ----- | 0 0 8 |
| Ditto by Gibson, ----- | 0 1 4 |
| Prints of the Landing at Quebec ----- | 0 1 4 |

The broadside's price structure is representative of prices charged between 1750 and 1800. During this period overall map prices fluctuated considerably, but adhered to a fairly predictable classification scheme. A survey of price lists reveals a pricing policy in which

physical size rather than content dictates a map's value (see also **Appendix 1**).³⁴ Extra large multi-sheet maps, involving twenty and more sheets, were sold for anywhere between £3 and 10 ½s.³⁵ The more conventional four-sheet maps, measuring around five by four feet, were offered between 10s and 2s (**Figure 5**. Bowen/Gibson, *A New and Accurate Map of North America*).³⁶ Two-sheet maps went from anywhere between 6s 8d and a mere 6d (**Figure 6**. Senex, "A New Map of America" in his *New General Atlas*).³⁷ One-sheet display maps, printed on paper ranging from elephant and imperial to demi size, were sold at 3s to 6d (**Figure 7**. Reprint of Evans, *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies*).



Figure 5. Four-sheet map by Emanuel Bowen and John Gibson, *An Accurate Map of North America* (1755. London, 1775)

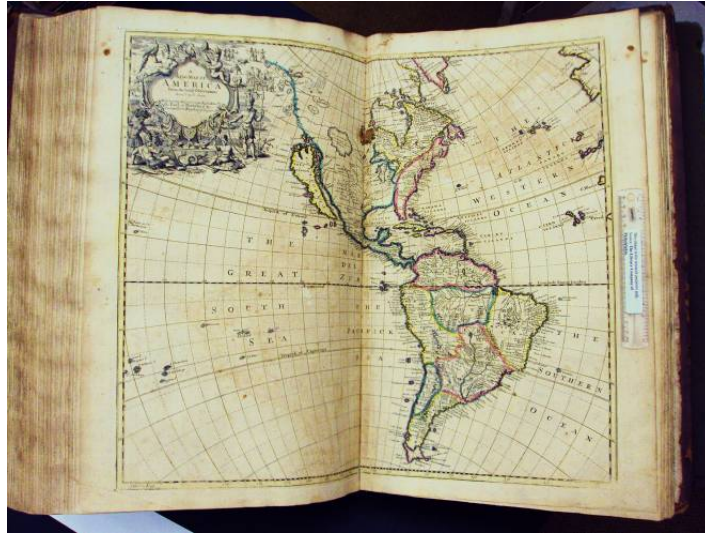


Figure 6. Two-sheet map by John Senex, *A New General Atlas* (London, 1721)



Figure 7. One-sheet map by Carington Bowles [Lewis Evans], *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies* (1755, London, 1771)

When considering the nexus of maps, prints, and decorative arts, the upshot of these price patterns is threefold. First, and this is in answer to the question “what are ornamental maps?,” sales adds and price lists indicate that because maps were associated with pictures they invariably were sold along with decorative prints as domestic ornaments. Some wall maps, especially multi-sheet wall maps, were by design meant to be more decorative than the others. Formally conceived as ornamental wall maps they contained unique features ranging from added

map inserts along the margins, intricate border designs, and elaborate cartouches. But as the frequent references to framing and glazing of maps illustrate, material practices turned maps of much less ornate designs into decorative show pieces.

Second, map prices reveal that map sellers marketed maps as a highly diversified commercial product, and as one that was easily adapted to match different buyers' purses. As maps were sold plain, colored, or on rollers, their price easily could double or triple within the range of specific map sizes. But while the sales tag for the largest maps identified them as luxury goods, the majority of maps sold at prices that appealed to a broader spectrum of consumers—a spectrum that included not just the well-heeled but also the significantly less affluent. Few belonged to the wealthy cohort of Virginia plantation owners who could (or would), like George Washington, pony up the enormous sum of £1 10s for the Henry map.³⁸ But many more consumers could afford sizable two-sheet or one-sheet maps, such as the Evans map, selling for 1s or a mere 6d (and thus at a much better price when compared to lending and late fees charged by American library companies in Philadelphia, Redwood, Burlington, or Hatborough).³⁹ Once maps sold for one to two shillings, catalogues systematically located maps back to back with “prints and views,” and when we compare prices we discover that two- or single-sheet maps often sold for the same price as picture prints.⁴⁰

Third, and this comes somewhat as a surprise given our current penchant for reading maps as either mathematical or ideological representations, price lists rarely used “content” as a classification or marketing scheme. With the exception of Jefferys' 1763 catalogue (*Maps, Charts, Plans*) in which he timed the sale of maps showing North America to coincide with the end of Anglo-French hostilities, the majority of price lists showed neither a geo-topical preference, nor a particular focus on the maps' date of production. Freeman's 1766 catalogue classifies maps along the lines of continents and regions (“Europe,” “Coast of New-England”), with the occasional propaganda map (“Antigallican North America”) and thematic map (“Land of Canaan”) thrown into the mix. But the logic of organization is that of the geography textbook in which knowledge, chapters, and maps are arranged either along cardinal points from north to south, or along the lines of European imperial ideologies, listing Europe first and America last (until Jedidiah Morse switches the latter sequence).⁴¹ In fact, neither geographic topic, nor publication time provided organizational order in the sale of maps. Freeman's map titles—as were those published by Bowles or Sayer—were too generic for assigning a proper publication

date. The one title listed by the map-maker's name ("Senex's Atlas") refers to an atlas published in 1721. This implies that the maps showing the Globe, Asia, Africa, or North America could be just as old or older.

If selling maps of indeterminate date was common in eighteenth-century America, so was the constant supply of old maps. On the extreme end of the spectrum, new maps vied with century-old ones, as documented by cases such as the 1783 sale of Pieter Goos's "atlas of sea charts" (1666) or the 1751 ad by the *Virginia Gazette* for Moses Pitt's "English Atlas" (1680).⁴² More commonly, catalogues and map sellers offered old maps lagging two or three decades behind the date of the map sale; this pattern persisted throughout the eighteenth century and affected especially maps that were of topical interest as documented by the periodic revival of Lewis Evans's *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies* (1755) or John Mitchell's *A Map of the British and French dominions in North America* (1755) during the 1760s and 1770s. Often disguised by new titles and names of authorship, old maps had surprisingly long lives in the marketplace of prints, thus undercutting our modern expectation that map sellers eagerly offered (and that map buyers eagerly demanded) "useful" rather than "ornamental" maps, always assuming the former were more up-to-date and therefore more accurate and better maps.

I wouldn't go as far as Tony Campbell's suggestion that map sellers purposely "fobbed-off" audiences with out-of-date land and sea maps. Instead I would argue that the sale of out-dated maps was a concomitant to the maps' categorical association with the decorative arts and the maps' "ornamental" valuation.⁴³ By the same token that the similarity in price and size classified maps along with picture prints, it was the relentless repetition of this classification by advertisings—like the ones published in the *Virginia Gazette* or the *Pennsylvania Gazette* between 1750 and 1800—that redefined maps less in terms of conventional cartographic use value but rather, following the logic of commodity exchange, as objects imbued with surplus value extending beyond the commodity price index. Reading through the catalogues and ads, it becomes evident that a map's surplus value didn't lie in its accuracy, newness, or for that matter, its actual capacity to help us with navigating the physical world. Instead, a map's surplus value appeared to hinge on its functional adaptability. As consumer goods, decorative maps embodied the important semantic slippage inherent to the word "commodity," which, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, defines a map not only as "a thing produced for sale" but also an experiential concept ("the quality of being commodious"). Applied to the map's material value,

as Catherine Delano-Smith has suggested, we can say that a map's surplus value depended on its "commodiousness," that is, on its capacity to accommodate multiple perceptions and ideas about representations of spatial relationships.⁴⁴

Classified as a picture, the ornamental map's "commodious" function is that of turning its mode of spatial representation into a conspicuous consumer good. It was the unspoken assumption of ads like the ones cited at length above that if a map is for sale it was also available for inspection. At the same time, it was the ads' outspoken assumption that once a map was purchased its new use function had little to do with the "useful" sciences. Rather, sales catalogues persistently associated "picture" maps with the array of ornamental artifacts representing genteel refinement and interior decoration; more specifically, given the material enhancements of maps as wall-hangings, sales catalogues give the important clue that eighteenth-century map sellers and buyers associated the display of ornamental maps in relation to architectural designs, and thus in relation to the production of public and private spaces.

Map Giants and Public Buildings

That the decorative function of maps was not only well recognized but actively sought out by eighteenth-century Americans is suggested by actual map placements in architectural spaces ranging from public buildings, taverns and coffee houses, to semi-public mansions, shops, and offices, to private houses in the country and the city. To illustrate the active pursuit of ornamental maps by Americans, I turn first to an example of public map consumption. In 1747, Benjamin Franklin, acting as the secretary of the Pennsylvania Assembly, enthusiastically placed a repeat order for Henry Popple's *A Map of the British Empire in America* (1733; **Figure 8**).⁴⁵ He writes:

I must desire you to send me per first Opportunity the Maps [I] formerly wrote for, viz. Popple's large One of North America pasted on Rollers; Ditto bound in a Book: 8 or 10 other Maps of equal Size if to be had; they are for the Long Gallery and the Assembly Room in the Statehouse. If none so large are to be got, let Prospects of Cities, Buildings, &c. be pasted round them, to make them as large.⁴⁶



Figure 8. Henry Popple, *A Map of the British Empire in America* (London, 1733)

As it was the case with the Henry map, by the time Franklin ordered the Popple map he selected a cartographic work that had already been widely recognized as a faulty product. A generation behind in its display of North American geography, this map had been repudiated by its initial sponsor, the Board of Trade, for misrepresenting British territorial claims. As with many older maps dating from the seventeenth century, Popple's map makes generous use of pictorial placeholders, showing, for example, imaginary settlements along Lake Michigan or mountains in the Great Plains. To some, the use of pictographic symbols covered up geographical ignorance; to others, it invoked Jonathan Swift's satirical commentary on early eighteenth-century

cartography: “So Geographers in Afric maps, / with Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps; /And o’er uninhabitable Downs / Place Elephants for want of Towns.”⁴⁷

A closer look at Franklin’s map order reveals that the Assembly’s motivations had more to do with cartographic “Pictures” than geographic knowledge. Instead of demanding maps that were better known for scientific accuracy or historic currency, the Assembly went out of its way to order maps that were decorative elephants. In fact, the Assembly had ordered the single-largest map printed during the eighteenth century. Consisting of twenty sheets, the Popple map measured roughly 100 x 100 inches when fully assembled. Or, as John Adams would write to his wife, Abigail, on August 13, 1776: “It is the largest I ever saw, and the most distinct, not very accurate. It is Eight foot square.”⁴⁸ By making the Popple map the material standard for customizing an additional “8 or 10 Maps of equal Size,” Franklin’s insistence on enlarging smaller maps with “Prospects of Cities, Buildings, &c.” indicates that the Assembly was less concerned with map content but more with acquiring super-sized maps to cover empty wall space in the public rooms of the State House.⁴⁹

The Pennsylvania Assembly’s desire for large display maps recalls the material tradition of early modern “map galleries” that had been maintained for public and semi-public functions since the sixteenth century, first by European courts and later by institutions such as observatories and civic governments. In that tradition, special rooms contained multiple forms of map giants, ranging from murals and wall paintings (the Vatican in Rome or Schloss Bürrsheim in Mayen, Germany), to large canvas-mounted wall maps and atlases measuring “neere 4 yards large” (Whitehall in London), to marble and tile floor maps (the observatory in Paris and the “Burger Zaal” in Amsterdam’s former “Stadt Huys,” today’s Paleis op de Dam).⁵⁰ According to Peter Barber, official map galleries had fallen out of favor by the late seventeenth century. But as Franklin’s map order suggests, the map gallery as a decorative concept had migrated to America where it continued to appeal to audiences in modified formats.

Despite the fact that giant maps like the Popple map were rare objects in North America, colonial and early national records reveal they were integrated in strategic public settings like Philadelphia’s Assembly Room and thus were located in places that maximized the map’s visibility. Hanging in a space reserved for the making of public policy, the Popple map also hung in a room that was one floor below the high traffic areas of the armory, the council chamber and the Long Room, a multi-purpose room serving as gallery or banquet hall, and thus in close

proximity to the other large maps ordered by Franklin, not to mention busts and portraits of the Penn family, allegorical prints, assorted firearms, and gift objects such as Native American ceremonial blankets.⁵¹ At least one other civic display of the Popple map has been known. It was “fram[ed] & hanging on Trucks” in Boston’s state house in 1751.⁵² Given the fact that the map was sent by the Board of Trade to all governors, it was likely that there had been other formal displays of the Popple map; but their records are lost today.

Much more common during the period between 1750 and 1800 were public displays of large wall maps, such as John Mitchell’s *A Map of the British and French Dominions* (1755; **Figure 9**). Consisting of eight sheets and measuring 53 x 76 inches, this map hung framed in the Boston State House’s “Council Chamber” in 1760. As Matthew Edney has shown, it was possibly put on display along with at least six other large-sized wall maps.⁵³ Further to the south, the Mitchell map was owned by the Pennsylvania Assembly where, if we follow Edward Savage’s portrayal of *The Congress Voting Independence* (1788-95; **Figure 10**), it is shown to hang above the Assembly’s side entrance (on the left), having either replaced or supplemented the Popple map (and where it would stay at least until the Peace of 1783).⁵⁴ A variety of sizable “American” maps—showing the continent, political regions, or specific local places—can be traced to a few other formal spaces of public relevance, including governor mansions, library companies, and civic spaces such as office rooms of magistrates.⁵⁵ But the majority of public map displays happened in the multitude of informal rather than formal public spaces. Inventories indicate that maps frequently hung on the walls of taverns, coffee houses, and clubs, not to mention counting rooms, print shops, and general stores (I am curious to learn if maps were used as stage props in American theaters). In these places it was mostly single-sheet maps like the Evans map, and thus the inexpensive kind of ornamental map, that was put on display along with newspapers, almanacs, books, satirical prints, and folkloristic objects. According to David Bosse, patrons of shops, taverns, and coffee-houses would have most likely seen only one map on display; but in several instances they could be seen in multiples when, for example, a dozen maps were hanging on the walls of a York County tavern in Virginia.⁵⁶

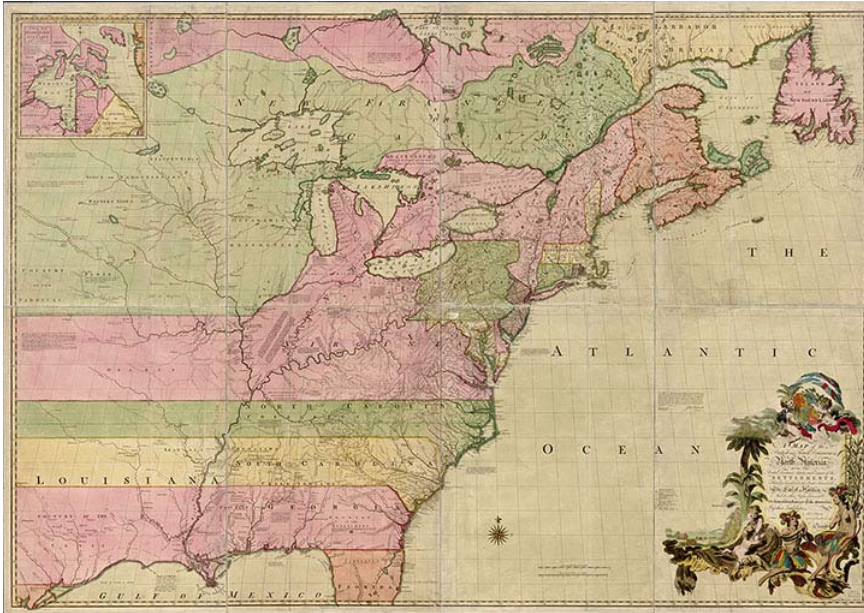


Figure 9. John Mitchell's *A Map of the British and French Dominions* (1755)



Figure 10. Edward Savage, *The Congress Voting Independence* (1788-95)

Domestic Map Galleries

The story of colonial map displays changes significantly when we look at the interior spaces of private buildings. Long before ornamental maps were absorbed into the décor of public

spaces, records ranging from probate inventories, furnishing plans, and wills reveal that British Americans had been regularly hanging maps on their walls.⁵⁷ Historically, they were tapping into a display tradition that since the fifteenth century had used maps as wall hangings in domestic spaces occupied by nobility. During the seventeenth century the display of wall maps became a much more common feature, moving from palaces of the political elite not only into the homes of the Italian, Dutch, and English nouveau riches but also into the homes of the emergent middling sorts.⁵⁸ Paintings, such as Jan Vermeer's *Officer and Laughing Girl* (1658) and *The Art of Painting* (1666), illustrate in great detail how over-sized wall maps were integrated into the material and decorative design of middle class homes. Shown next to tapestries, mirrors, and framed paintings, canvas-backed maps suspended on rollers were the only printed material to join decorative objects specifically intended for the vertical display afforded by tall architectural spaces.

By the mid eighteenth-century British Americans had also become partial to large map displays in their homes. The *Virginia Gazette* captured the domestic appeal of wall maps in ads like this: "a very large Map (being Five Feet long, and Four Feet broad on Two Sheets of Elephant Paper), it's not only Useful, but Ornamental, for Gentleman's Halls, Parlours, or Staircases."⁵⁹ Regardless if framed, glazed, or put on rollers, once hung on walls large maps would now have to compete with picture prints in addition to window treatments, mirrors, etc. In sheer numbers of sales, picture prints—showing, for example, the four seasons, architectural views, or portraits—outsold maps handily.⁶⁰ But on the walls of American homes these prints hardly threatened a wall map's optical sway over eighteenth-century American interiors. Even when facing the ultimate big print medium, the "hanging" or wall paper, large maps still managed to eclipse the latest newcomer of domestic print furniture.⁶¹ As suggested by a 1787 fictional sketch called "Frettana," maps asserted their control over the walls in American homes in ways that no other print genre could: writing about her bookish husband, the female narrator complains that "The pretty flower'd paper in the hall is all cover'd over with nothing but maps, and drafts, and carts."⁶²

Wall maps hung in a variety of domestic settings, including entryways and halls, front and back parlors, dining rooms and studies, bedrooms and servant rooms. And they were hung rarely in isolation. In 1743, the house of the Salem merchant, Samuel Browne, displayed twenty-nine maps in the "lower entry room" and another sixteen in the "Chamber entry."⁶³ Lord

Botetourt, the principal patron of the Henry map, had at least thirteen large maps on display throughout his mansion, including three in the parlor, five in the “Little middle room,” and three in the pantry.⁶⁴ These numbers are exceptionally high, but indicative of a distribution pattern. The *Philadelphia Register of Wills* shows that while on the average single maps were owned by more decedents, those who did possess maps tended to do so in multiples. For example, “John Fox’s Will... Carpenter,” recorded 20 Nov. 1749, lists “5 Mapps.” The “*Inventory of the Moneys Goods & Chattels Late the Estate of Richard Brockdeu*” (July 21, 1756) is more specific: “In Back Parlor: Looking Glass 3—15—0/ Ten Glas’d Pictures 3—0—0/ Two Maps Fram’d 0—15—0” And so is the *Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Charles Jenkins* (22 March 1768), where in the “Middle Chamber” were found “Looking Glass, 3 Maps, 2 Glazed Pictures, and Window Curtains 1/2/6”; ditto, the *Inventory of .. the Estate of Samuel Bryan* (1775), which lists on the “First Story, Back Parlour... 3 Maps 1/1/0.”⁶⁵

When we examine records of map-ownership and map distribution in domestic settings four distinct patterns emerge. First, statistically speaking—and after making allowances to the numerical uncertainties that haunt our analysis of probate records of any sort—wall maps appear to have been fairly widespread as decorative objects.⁶⁶ My research indicates that they were not owned as frequently as a “looking glass” or “pictures” (ie. prints). But in contrast to Carole Shammas’ rule of ten percent, according to which during the 1770s only 10% of the wealthiest population owned “fine wood pieces, upholstered leather chairs, window curtains, and even floor coverings,” the distribution of maps in relatively less affluent homes undercuts the verdict that “the vast majority of owners of rural English and American houses... just did not decorate rooms.”⁶⁷ Looking at the quantitative distribution of “maps” (excluding atlases and geography books) in Philadelphia wills, and these are wills that include mostly household inventories of the “relative affluent” (as opposed to the wealthiest 10%), maps are listed at annual ratios that range between only 1 listing per 100 wills in some years to an astonishing ratio of 1 map listing per 15 wills in specific years such as 1750, 1765, 1768, or 1775 (these numbers don’t reflect the inventory of multiple maps per estate). Without adjusting these numbers to, say, the city’s high immigration population traveling with maps or the number of uninventorized estates, they suggest that those maps that did catch the eyes of the assessors were perhaps not a mass produced good, but they certainly were goods frequently consumed in American households.

Second, unlike portraits, paintings, or window treatments that were displayed in the socially most important spaces of the first-floor front rooms, wall maps occupied American homes in a much more indiscriminate fashion. The majority of map displays did concentrate in those spaces of the home that were considered the most public. They were listed in the entrance way, passage way, hall, and front parlor, and thus in social spaces hosting members of the family, servants, and visitors who entered the house on formal business or as informal guests. But they were listed with equal frequency in the dining room or library, and thus in semi-public spaces reserved for a variety of ritual acts of sociability that included the family meal, the mixed-gender visit, or gender-segregated acts of reading and polite conversation. Finally, wall maps even ended up hanging in the home's back rooms, in upstairs bedrooms, and in garrets (ie. servant quarters), and thus in spaces considered private, feminine, and overall off-limits to the general public.⁶⁸

Third, by the same token that the spatial distribution of wall maps appears to follow no particular gender code, it also didn't seem to follow a particular class code. Indeed, while we expect to find maps in affluent households pressing the advantage of their educational capital, it may come as a surprise to discover that the wills of much less affluent households also listed maps. The number of wall maps listed in inventories tends to be proportional to the assessed household value. Estates assessed at higher value often list more than one map; conversely, estates assessed at a low value still may list at least one map. The distribution of wall maps as decorative objects then appeared to cut across class boundaries, reaching consumers that included not only gentleman farmers occupying mansions on the Schuylkill River or wealthy merchants living in Georgian townhouses, but also carpenters living above their shops or widows renting rooms.

Finally, records of map-ownership show a surprising lack of topical preference when it comes to map content. Establishing what specific maps were owned is made extremely difficult because the vast majority of inventories list maps only by count: "4 Maps" (1730), "Four old Char[t]s," "4 old Maps" (1768), "Three maps" (1779), etc.⁶⁹ The few records that do list maps by content reveal map-owners to be interested in a wide variety of topical maps. Consider the following entries gleaned from the Philadelphia wills: "1 Large Map of England/ 4 Maps, Asia, Africa, Europe & America" (1750); "One Large Mapp of Egypt" (1750); "The map of the first Christian people" (1760); "1 Map of the River St Lawrence" (1765); "1 Map of England"

(1765); “two Chinese Maps” (1770); “Two Maps Asia and Africa” (1770); “1 Map of Philadelphia” (1775); “A Map of Pennsylvania” (1775); “A Map of America” (1780); “Maps: North America... Connecticut... England & Wales... Vermont... Newjersey...Globe” (1796).⁷⁰

Going by map titles alone we get the sense that map displays were mostly informed by the owner’s personal passions and interests, ranging from piety and Anglophilia to local pride and geographic curiosity. What the topical entries don’t suggest is a widespread movement towards any particular map content. Topical maps owned by Philadelphia’s decedents don’t seem to reflect historical events—such as the Peace of 1760 or the Peace of 1783 or the subsequent onset of nation-building—all of which caused a massive redrawing of political boundaries on maps, and all of which triggered well-documented increases in map production. Indeed, the entries listing maps by title show a surprising lack of “American” maps.

This assessment changes, however, when we concentrate on inventories of private libraries. We know from the consumer habits of American notables, such as Benjamin Franklin and James Logan in the 1740s, or Lord Botetourt and Thomas Jefferson in the decades between 1770 and 1800, that maps showing North America as a whole or in sections were staple objects in libraries, entrance halls, and other spaces. The same preference can be found in inventories itemizing private libraries of lesser known Americans, like Thomas Whiting (1768), Isaac Chapman (1770), Peter Olive (1777) Thomas Wilcox (1780), or Nathan Webb (1796).⁷¹ These numbers suggest that maps showing America were the preferred cartographic wall hanging in private homes, and that the thematic spread described earlier was perhaps the result of inventories listing the extraordinary map rather than the ordinary one. If we apply etiological models of explanation—for example, that lower-classes mimicked consumer behaviors of their more affluent peers, or that estate assessors often lumped maps together with books because they counted as printed objects—it is probable that many of the untitled map entries were maps showing some version of North America. If this were the case then we can say that by the same token that Americans cataloged maps along with decorative prints, the cartographic picture of America was in all likelihood one of the more popular images displayed in private settings.

Public Spectacles

As they were absorbed into various architectural spaces, ornamental maps entered into a new competitive field, the material world of wall hangings, interior design, and the attending

rules of decoration in domestic architecture. Regardless if maps were hanging in public or private spaces, their placement—and thus their visual exposure as display objects—was subject to architectural handbooks which were quite clear about decorative do's and don'ts. Beginning with the semantic coding of a complete building as a “fabrick,” all visual features of the building, whether they are structural or ornamental, had to obey the logic of “DÉCOR.” “Decorum” according to Richard Neve’s *The City and Country Purchaser’s and Builder’s Dictionary* (1736), meant “the keeping of a due Respect between the Inhabitant and Habitation.” “Decorations,” however, signified simultaneously the notion of “due Respect” and “those Things in Architecture that enrich or adorn a Building.” Samuel Johnson’s *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) turns the architectural definitions into something slightly different. “Decorum” means “Decency; behaviours contrary to licentiousness, contrary to levity; seemliness,” while “Decoration” means simply “Ornament; embellishment; added beauty.”⁷² When taken together, these definitions suggest that if they wanted to be perceived as tasteful and fashionable, architects, decorators, and consumers of decorative wall hangings had to perform a tricky balancing act involving, on the one hand, designs harmonizing the relationship between inhabitants and habitation, while, on the other hand, trying to reconcile this design with those behavioral codes that command respect, that is, inspire emotions of gravity rather than levity. As print catalogues and newspaper ads have shown earlier, maps could hardly be mistaken for pictures offering light or licentious entertainment. Maps were categorized separately, located between serious prints and heavy books as well as cartoonish satire and light reading. They were thus earmarked as morally “safe” pictures, the perfect aesthetic source for performing the decorative work of balancing people in relation to their spaces while also upholding moral codes of conduct.

Turning first to displays in public spaces, such as the Assembly Room of Philadelphia’s State House or Boston’s “Council Chamber,” we can see how large wall maps like the Popple or the Mitchell map performed the decorative work of visual and spatial balance. In the case of the Assembly Room both maps would have immediately attracted every visitors’ eyes because they were the only wall hangings in a space that was reportedly rather plain in contrast to its architectural neighbor, the “Supreme Court,” which was “ornamented with a breast-work and a cornish supported by fluted pilasters of the Doric order.”⁷³ Until 1776 the Popple map hung beside the main entrance to the Assembly Room; shortly after, as the Savage painting shows

(**Figure 10**), the new Congress saw the Mitchell map hanging above the left side entrance. In these placements, both maps were placed on the wall opposite of the assembly speaker's seat and thus in balance to the room's central locus of authority. The maps were always visible to the speaker and everyone else who took the time to look at them. But with the assembly seated facing towards the east, towards the speaker's seat (and by extension towards England), the maps' role inside the visual field of the Assembly Room would have hardly been referential; if we tried piecing together vectors of the assembly men's sight-lines, both maps would have eluded close inspection (especially, the Mitchell map). Instead, given their rather anamorphic placement on the margins of the assembly men's field of vision the maps' spatial work was purely symbolic.⁷⁴

Both wall maps operated as strategic props for the public staging of state power. They responded to a symbolically choreographed "politics of size" in which the maps' material size was intended to visually illustrate not only particular geo-political demands but also to visually assert authority over the territories shown on the maps.⁷⁵ In their capacity as giant wall hanging they provided a sense of empirical reality and evidentiary gravitas during debates and declarations. Conversely, in the capacity of the theatrical prop both maps provided as dramatic background for impressing local politicians and foreign diplomats. As the only pictures in the room, both maps invariably became the focus of the assembly's collective gaze, attracting the eyes of the sophisticated map connoisseur and those of the plainly curious. But just as the maps were objects that submitted passively to the viewer's gaze, they also were self-reflexive objects structuring their viewership. Given the fact that by title and design both maps projected sheer political power, their status as decorative pictures turned even a skeptical gaze, like the one of John Adams, into one that was respectful and admiring.⁷⁶

Respect, admiration, and the implicit submission to the map as agents of political domination have been identified by modern map critics as the core modalities shaping the reception of cartographic representation.⁷⁷ Both the Popple and the Mitchell maps wooed audiences by turning the overt celebration of British (and later American) imperialism into spectacles of silence. Variouslly called a schema, a matrix, or an analog, maps inherently invoke the rhetorical conceit of being silent signifiers: from the linguists' perspective maps are ultimately ideographic signs, and thus are unpronounceable (there are no sounds or utterances that can imitate or express cartographic symbols).⁷⁸ Applying this rationale to the Popple and the Mitchell maps, the most suggestive ideographic image is the maps' title cartouches (**Figure 8**,

lower left; **Figure 9**, lower right)—or the “*pictura loquens* of maps”⁷⁹—in which the pictorial rendition of Native American figures mimics the act of speaking while at the same time rendering them mute.⁸⁰ In both instances, by the same token that the maps show the “British Empire” or “British Dominion,” the cartouches educates us on how we ought to see and look at the imperial domain: not as a map, but as a theatrical tableau describing symbolic gestures of reverence and submission.

For American consumers it was a familiar sight to see maps enter into pictures containing ritual acts of submission. For literate audiences, there was Bernard Roman’s generic frontispiece for his *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1775; **Figure 11**), in which a Native American figure kneels before Britannia who, seated in a neo-classical architectural setting, receives the map instead of weapons at her feet.⁸¹ In 1760, illiterate and literate Bostonians walking in the streets watched public “Illuminations” in the wake of the military victory over the French that showed “the following Designs. On the Front, facing King street, in the Middle, Britannia sitting; on the Left hand, Fortitude; on the Right, Minerva: Behind, Neptune and Mars in Attendance. At a little Distance, Victory introducing Peace. Britannia, a Female Figure, representing France, prostrate, her Sword broken, and subjecting a Map of Canada at the Feet of Britannia.”⁸²



Figure 11. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775)

If applied to the spatial arrangement of the Philadelphia Assembly Room, the Popple and the Mitchell map could be viewed as participating in similar acts of silent symbolic submission. But instead of placing America at the feet of either the British or American state authority, the maps' abstract representation of British America was held up for all to see.

Yet, if large decorative maps were intended to foster political harmony through dramatic acts of reverence, their very display location would have invited opposite acts of irreverence.⁸³ All we have to remember is that the Popple and Evans maps were hung in a room that was as theatrically overdetermined as it was constantly open to public inspection. The Assembly Room provided the formal setting for civic affairs, including parliamentary-style meetings and court room dramas. One flight of stairs above, the Long Gallery was a space in which local officials and patrons of the arts enacted communal rites of sociability: it witnessed sociable meetings in the European tradition as well as more rustic Native American powwows; it was the stage for lectures on the arts and sciences, musical and theatrical performances, and last but not least, formal and informal banquets.⁸⁴ Considering these settings, the super-sized maps sponsored by Franklin were not only intended for public display but invariably would have become subjects of public debate. Franklin's initial map order was paid for by the tax-paying public; the subsequent map displays would have attracted citizens who were eager to inspect the community's cartographic investment in a setting notorious for noise rather than silence.

Political cartoons riff on the public's vocal interaction with display maps and show the maps' decorative function and potential for failure if they were intended to ensure civic behavior that was decorous. In the crudely drawn cartoon, *An Extraordinary Gazette, or the Disappointed Politicians* (1778; **Figure 12**) a giant wall map on the left provides the pictorial backdrop for a group caught in the act of debating current affairs in the mid-Atlantic provinces. The regional map is a replacement for the missing map at the center of the debate (middle top); by only showing the title "A Map of America belonging to the English in 1778," the cartoon suggests that any map showing America would suffice to break the silence. By contrast, the professionally drawn print, *The Council of the Rulers, & the Elders against the Tribe of ye Americanites* (1775; **Figure 13**), does not rely on regional maps for causing vociferous mayhem. As a giant wall map entitled "North America" explodes into flames it signals more than impending geo-political hostilities; rather, in its prominent display inside a distinctly architectural space the map becomes the cause for pushing map-viewers to the brink of losing their studied polite behavior. As far as

theories of decoration go, public map displays certainly would have not lent themselves for creating settings promising social harmony. On the contrary. If it had been the intent that spectacular maps were to awe audiences into silent consent, the very maps that were put on display in public spaces like assembly rooms and coffee houses would have turned this silence into noisy face-to-face debates, if not outright expostulations of dissent.



Figure 12. *An Extraordinary Gazette, or the Disappointed Politicians* (1778)

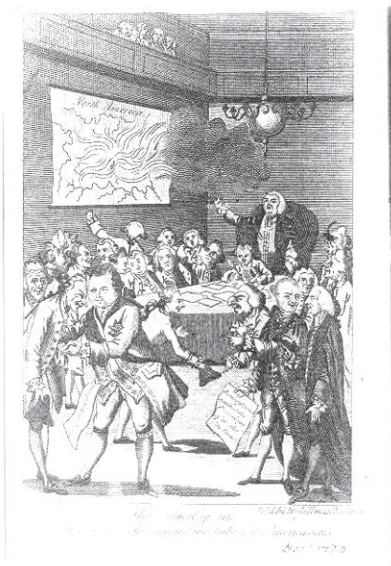


Figure 13. *The Council of the Rulers* (1775)

Domestic Visions

Wall maps in American homes had a different spectatorial impact in both decorative theory and display practice. Following architectural design books, such as Isaac Ware's magisterial volume *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756)—and books like his were eagerly bought by affluent Americans as well as borrowed by the less affluent from circulating libraries—wall maps would have been considered an implied option for “the decoration of the inside of rooms,” in particular adorning “sides” and “chimneys.” In English interior spaces, in which according to Ware “Paper has, in great measure, taken the place of sculpture,” designers had the choice of three kinds of decoration: “first, those in which the wall itself is properly finished for elegance...; secondly, where the walls are covered with wainscot; and thirdly, where they are hung; this last article comprehending paper, silk, tapestry and every other decoration of this kind.”⁸⁵ That maps along with picture prints fell into the third category of “other decoration” intended for papering over empty walls, we already have seen above in newspaper advertisements and print catalogues. What architectural designers like Ware clarify is the optional placement of large wall maps.

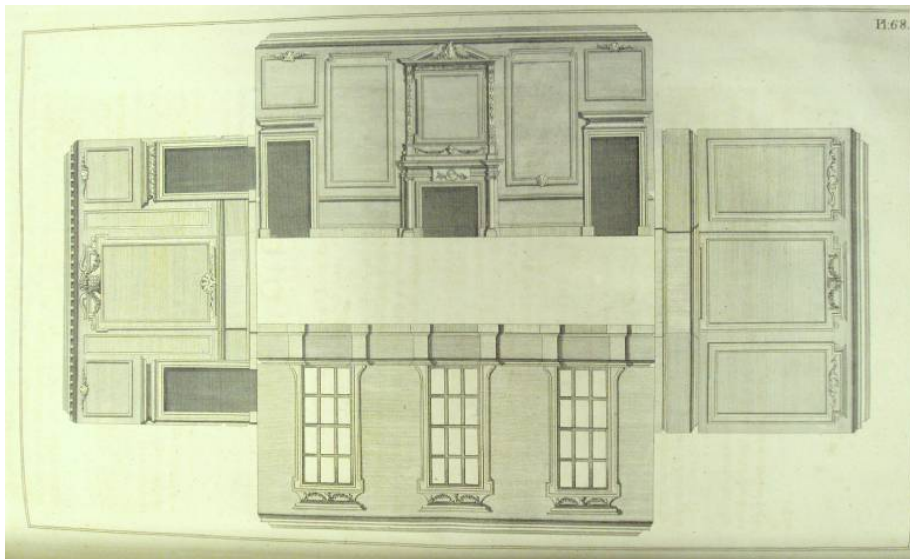


Figure 14. Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756) Plate 68.

When looking at the floor plan in Ware's chapter "Of Inside Decorations" (**Figure 14**), we realize that in his designs map owners who didn't have large floor furniture would have had ample space for hanging large wall objects.⁸⁶ Whether framed or canvas-backed and on rollers, wall maps would have hung suspended on exposed cords running from nails close to the ceiling. Thus suspended they would have most likely hung on walls containing neither windows nor a fireplace. But in many cases they were also found hanging above the fireplace as a form of overmantel decoration.⁸⁷ In order to understand the visual work performed by the domestic spectacle of maps it is important to note that rooms appointed in the Queen Anne, Chippendale, or the Federalist styles would have had maps hanging fairly high up in relation to those seated or standing. In rooms with high ceilings, maps would have been displayed significantly above chair rails, at or above shoulder height, and thus at a substantial remove from the map viewer.⁸⁸ In rooms with low ceilings, wall maps would have also been hanging at elevated levels but at a closer proximity to the viewer, at eye-level in parlors and at shoulder height in more cramped traffic areas such as hallways and staircases.⁸⁹

Depending on size and number of map displays, the spatial placement of wall maps potentially usurped decorative concepts such as "*Eurythmia*... the agreeable Harmony between the Breadth, Length, and Height of all the Rooms of the Fabrick [ie. "building"], which from a secret Power in Proportion is very pleasing to all Beholders." It also would have easily disrupted "*Symmetry*... a due Proportion of each Part in respect of the whole; whereby a great Fabrick should have great Apartments or Rooms, great Lights or Windows, great Entrances or Doors." But even encyclopedic handbooks such as Neve's *City and Country Purchaser's and Builder's Dictionary* made provisions for decorative choices that distorted or disrupted the golden rule of proportion and symmetry. By the same token that "*Decorations*" are supposed to maintain "a due Respect between the Inhabitant and Habitation," disproportionate decorations, such as over-sized wall maps hanging above the inhabitants' heads were excusable offences because classical designers, "for Instance, *Palladio* concluded, That the principal Entrance was not to be regulated by any certain Dimensions, but by the Dignity of the Master."⁹⁰ Similar to a disproportionate doorway or a grotesque window treatment, a giant map put on display—for example, in the dining rooms of the Virginia governor, Lord Botetourt, or the Philadelphia citizen, John Peters⁹¹—would have disrupted the symmetry of architectural lines in the eyes of the aesthete (**Figure 15**). But it would have been precisely the giant map's mal-apportioned display that

would have turned it into the kind of visual décor representing the owner's "Dignity" and his social, economic, or educational status. After all, to quote Thomas Sheraton, author of several architectural handbooks, "Such prints as are hung in the walls ought to be memorials of learning."⁹²



Figure 15. Dining Room, Governor's Mansion, Colonial Williamsburg.

While the elevated placement of wall maps as visual centerpiece is similar to their placement in public structures, the visual effect in private spaces is rather dissimilar. In the unique context of domestic decorations the look of maps became transposed into a decorative field driven by visual quotation. If we turn to the insides of maps published between 1750 and 1800, we can trace a genealogy of design patterns borrowed from wood and metal designs. In particular map cartouches and the occasional border surrounding the map served as a visual bridge linking the maps' cartographically inscribed interiors to the material designs surrounding maps in domestic spaces. In particular, cartouche designs imitated designs used in materials

framing pictures and mirrors. For example, if we compare the cartouche of Robert de Vaugondy's map *Partie de l'Amérique septentrionale* (1755; **Figure 16**) to the frame designs published in Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (1754; **Figure 17**), map engravers evidently borrowed from the same scrolled and lapping-leaf patterns.⁹³ Over the decades, this formal overlap between map decoration and wall furniture adjusted to changing tastes, and map cartouches shifted from the baroque auricular frame with its paired volutes, scrolls, foliage, and floral buds to the more neo-classical designs emphasizing geometric lines and architectural structures.⁹⁴

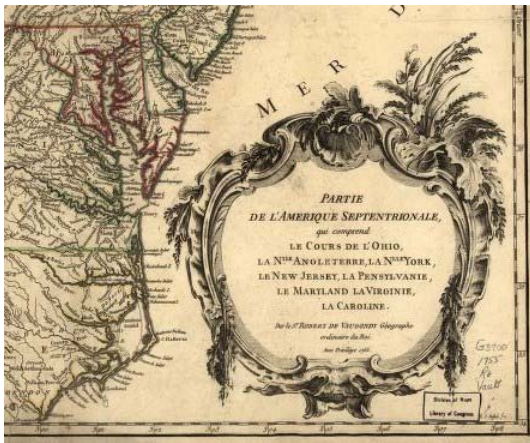


Figure 16. Robert de Vaugondy, *Partie de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris?, 1755)

Figure 17. Thomas Chippendale, "Pier Glass frames," *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (London, 1754) Plate CXLVI

The formal overlap between internal map decoration and frame designs became amplified by the use of mirrors. Beginning with baroque interiors, as John Crowley has shown, design patterns "concentrated on the arrangement of windows, mirrors, and fireplaces" as access to light became increasingly a function of interior design and style. By the mid eighteenth century,

mirrors were rapidly becoming a common household good in America even without the influence of architectural manuals, and were present in more than 75% of rural and urban homes. Once placed inside American homes, Crowley argues, “looking glasses became the most specialized type of furniture in rooms intended to receive outsiders. The ideal location for a looking glass was in axial opposition to a fireplace, either above it as a chimney glass or opposite as pier glass. Such arrangements were too expensive for most propertied households... Most households that had looking glasses used them as pieces of furniture in locations chosen for display, rather than personal grooming—in parlors rather than chambers.”⁹⁵ In the context of map displays, mirrors amplified the visual impact of maps. At the same time that mirrors were added to provide more light and luster for interior decorations, the very sheen of glazed or varnished wall and chimney maps would have doubled their visibility when positioned opposite of a large mirror. For households that couldn’t afford the props and space for amplifying light or map displays, savvy sellers of maps and prints, such as John Bowles, offered the “*Diagonal Mirrour*, in which method of looking at them, they appear with surprising beauty, and in size but little inferior to the real places.”⁹⁶

Even if optical gadgets like this were not used for map displays proper—they were intended for magnifying “Perspective Views”—we get a keen sense of the way in which the visual experience of maps was a product of visual triangulation. As if caught in a mirror cabinet consisting of surfaces including map glazing, looking glasses, and window panes, the map viewer would experience the map’s image as a product of multiple reflections. And not just visual reflection, but also refraction. Placed on walls along with a mirror and a window, the map’s visual experience would be informed by a) the viewer catching his or her own mug in the looking glass, b) the map’s mirror image magnified “in size but little inferior to the real places,” and c) the view of “real places” when looking out of the window into the grounds or street surrounding the room. Inside a single room, then, the decorative map becomes the “transposed map,” shifting its optical function from being a picture containing symbolic signs or narrative motifs to becoming part of an inter-visual matrix in which image, eye-sight, and spatial perception converge.⁹⁷

This visual experience of domestic maps is further refracted by the diverse ways in which maps were actually looked at. As suggested by the satirical cartoons, maps were viewed intensively. Because map content was the matter, it invited the focused gaze as map viewers

inspected and read maps when looking for specific places, military movements, and contested boundaries. Inside the home, we can speculate that maps hanging in studies, libraries, and parlors were subject to such intensive gazing. Conversely, maps that were hanging high up above fireplaces in dining rooms or in entrance halls would have attracted a passing glance rather than concentrated stare. This would certainly be true for maps hanging in traffic areas such as hallways and staircases; walking up and down dim-lit stairs, viewers would have seen maps anamorphically, through side-long glances that distorted the perception of images and things. We don't need to marshal literary theories of reading or empirical studies of visual cognition to realize that decorative maps were subject to a double-vision consisting of intensive gazes and extensive glances. Because viewers had the telescopic experience of simultaneously espying geodetic particulars close-up while also seeing absurdly shaped gestalts from afar, this visual experience would have kept the meaning of maps in constant flux.⁹⁸

Such a phenomenological interpretation of the visual work of display maps is supported by the material diffusion of maps that through their association with pictures had become transferred to all kinds of decorative household goods during the second half of the eighteenth century. Moving from the gigantic to the miniature, from placements on walls to placements on furniture and people's bodies, the spectacle of maps included an array of "cartifacts."⁹⁹ Instead of hanging wall maps made of paper, Americans decorated rooms with textile maps printed on leather, cotton, or silk, such as Lewis Evans *A General Map of the British Middle Colonies* (1755) or James Smithers and John Reed's *Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia* (1774; **Figure 18**).¹⁰⁰ Standing along walls, windows, or fireplaces, Americans could have found "most curious SCREENS, adorned with a Map of the Globe, Orbs, the Countries of Europe, &c." or "firescreens with maps on both sides."¹⁰¹ Hefty folio atlases (called "book of maps"), such as Emanuel Bowen's *A Complete Atlas* or Thomas Jefferys' *American Atlas*, required ample table space for the viewing of large fold-outs such as the Fry-Jefferson map or the Bowen-Gibson map (**Figure 19**). Found on or next to the bodies of male and female inhabitants of American domestic spaces were assorted map handkerchiefs made for pockets, showing military campaigns since the late 1750s, including for example "A Map of the Present Seat of War in North America" (1776; **Figure 20**).¹⁰² For women, a subset of "map fans useful and entertaining" were showing campaign maps as well as maps of Germany, the English and French Coasts, and French encroachments in America.¹⁰³ For the cartophile man of the house, special "watch

papers,” to be inserted into pocket watches, showed maps rather than royal phizzes or family portraits.¹⁰⁴ At tables, visitors to American homes would have discovered “geographical” playing-cards for the entertainment of adults, and for children geographic study cards, board games, and map puzzles.¹⁰⁵ School-aged children in American households would put on display map drawings and map needlework samplers.¹⁰⁶ And then there were map vignettes, which were transfer-printed on curtains, bed-hangings, and seat covers.¹⁰⁷ Even cupboards and sideboards were not immune to map displays; enterprising English printers transferred map cartouches to jugs and plates, selling them to American citizens beginning in the 1790s (**Figure 21**).¹⁰⁸ The only object missing in the American records of cartifactual goods is the British-made porcelain figurine called the “Map Seller” (produced between c. 1745-1769; **Figure 22**).¹⁰⁹

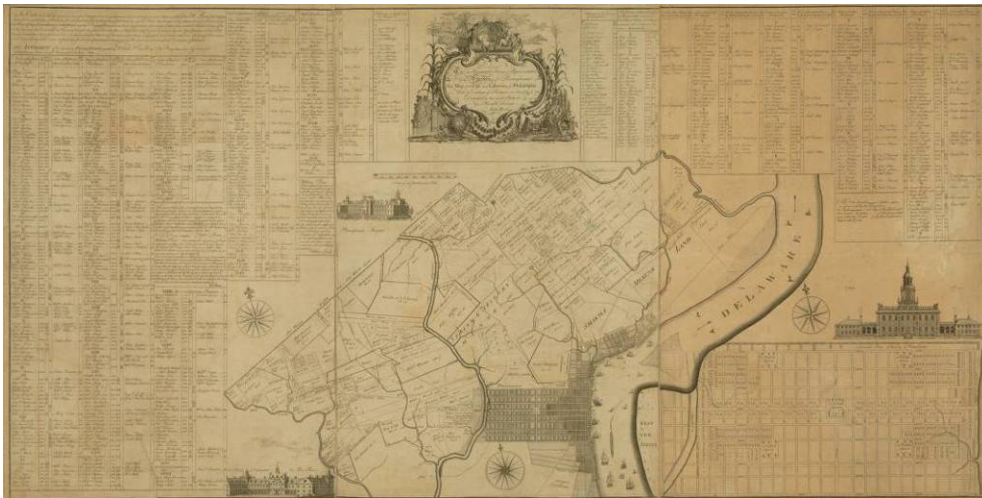


Figure 18. James Smithers and John Reed’s *Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1774)



Figure 19. Two sheets of Bowen-Gibson's *An Accurate Map of North America* (1775. London, 1775)

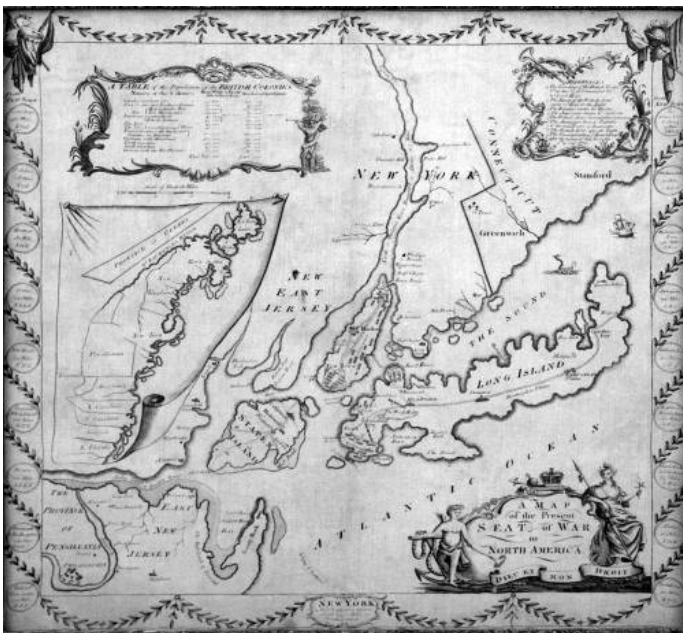


Figure 20. "A Map of the Present Seat of War in North America" (1776; Winterthur)



Figure 21. Plate (1800?, Winterthur)



Figure 22. “The Map Seller,” Meissen (c.1748-1758)

Of course, American households would have rarely displayed the whole gamut of map things all at once. But given their circulation in the marketplace and in American homes, we get a good idea how the visual experience of maps was further refracted and modified by the material presence of map-like objects. In addition to the refined gaze or cursory glance, the sensory experience of maps now combines sight, touch, and perhaps even taste. Once removed from elevated wall placements, maps made of paper, cloth, leather, ceramics, cardboard, etc. would be subject not only to eyes but to fingers tracing roads and borders. Seeing maps is no longer exclusively predicated on the map being a picture; rather, the tactile interaction with the map’s materiality would have complemented the visual, and invariably would have included the map’s staging grounds, that is, the map-bearing furniture such as table tops, bookshelves, and sartorial accessories. As to tasting maps, we don’t have evidence of edible maps, but when George Washington returned from a ball on February 15, 1760, he comments in his diary on the use of pocket handkerchiefs as a substitute for “Table Cloths & Napkins.”¹¹⁰ Chances were good that given the aftermath of the 1758 siege of Louisbourg, one of the ball-goers would have wiped his mouth and chin with a map handkerchief bearing the cartographic imprint of the fortress (which was a widely published image circulating in almanacs and newspapers during the time).

Put on display in American domestic spaces of high and low significance, decorative maps now must be considered as spatial agents that actively structured interior spaces and American perceptions of interiority. In American homes the decorative map’s function went beyond the picture; they were curiosity objects, conversation pieces, and toys. Processed through

aesthetic appreciation, convivial conversation, or ludic activities, the decorative map's multi-form presence triangulated personal relations into spatial representations. By affecting sensory perception, they affected personal sensibilities in domestic settings. As a spectacle, maps had entered into the performative field of sociability and social rituals defining and regulating personal and communal relations.

Lost in the Map House: A Few Thoughts Towards a Conclusion

I am not ready for a conclusion yet, but I'd like to offer the following working points.

1. Because of their status as pictures and decorative display objects, maps were much more widely available than previously assumed. A challenge from three years ago by a reader from the journal *Imago Mundi* asserted that map's would have been rare in the colonies and the early nation because of limited production numbers and subsequent high cost. This assessment I find is misleading because it doesn't take into account maps as consumer goods and the variable modes of map consumption. Just as Americans didn't have to own a map to see one, they also didn't necessarily engage with maps the way we critics do today, or estate or military planners did then. Similar to the often contested argument by Rolf Engelsing regarding the reading revolution, the display of maps would have generated many more extensive map viewings than intensive map readings.

2. In discussions that do address maps as consumer goods, and here I invoke Mukerji, Pritchard, Pedley, and Bosse, the consensus is that display maps are symbolic objects signifying the map owner's economic status. Regardless whether you are royalty or simply a land owner, display maps function like estate surveys showing off landed property and a commodified landscape; if we apply Bourdieu's notion of *Distinction* the same logic applies the landless map owner who uses maps to demonstrate educational rather than landed capital. That I find on the whole to be a good assumption, especially in light of the fact that maps were quickly absorbed into education-conscious modes of entertainment across different social groups. But this assessment doesn't sit easy with me because of the fact that so many maps were put on display in rooms rarely frequented by the public (thus forfeiting their role as classy spectacle) and that map-owners were retaining maps, perhaps even clinging to them, long after having proven their social worth to friends and neighbors (does the race towards cultural acceptance slow down in old age?). Nor, does this take into account the fact maps were often owned passively rather than

actively. Walking by a display map, servants and slaves would have not only seen but memorized a map's rough outline and specific contents; these could have been reproduced at will on paper, wood, or sand. What was an immobile monumental decorative map in the dining room of a Virginia governor, could easily have become an ephemeral miniature navigational map in a shed of the slave quarters.

3. The elephant in the map room, of course, is the question about what kind of work was performed by "American" maps, that is, by maps showing North America in its various aspects? A whole industry of scholarship has come to rest on Edmundo O'Gorman's famous speculation that America was invented by a map, and that the same is true, as Benedict Anderson and many others have shown (including myself), for the invention of the modern nation state. As long as we consider topical maps (from the Popple map to the Mitchell map to the first generation of US-made national maps by Amos Doolittle, Abel Buel, or William McMurray) and their display in strategic locations (such as the State House in Philadelphia or the school rooms of Susanna Rowson's female academy), the argument for map images as tools of nation-building stands firm. But what the range and numbers of topical maps illustrated above show is that the spatial work of American maps was not reserved just for exciting national sentiments; rather, as national maps (or maps of nationalistic importance) became a decorative motif they adorned counter-cartographic objects sold the larger world of consumer goods (call them "baubles" if you will). In this media transfer the decorative map tapped a different range of emotions produced by self-interest, faddish fashions, and economic speculation. Add to this the hold-over of antiquated maps showing what must have come across as increasingly fantastic configurations of the world where California is an island, North America an archipelago, and the England, France, or Spain proprietors of vast but empty lands.

4. In fact, it is in view of the longevity of out-dated maps hanging in American domestic settings that I find myself entering the deep end of the map room. In my analysis of maps as a form of visual spectacle I find that the varied placement of maps begs the question, what did people actually see when looking at maps? Many of our critical assumptions about modernity hinge on the map's unique form and capacity of using simple geometric grid lines for collapsing the world into a two-dimensional image. If we follow Henri Lefebvre and Michel DeCerteau (philosophy), Immanuel Wallerstein (History), Edward Soja and David Harvey (cartography and geography), and many, many others, it is the map's unique geometric organization—the

graticule—that was responsible for European theories and constructions of space. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, the argument goes, the geometric map emerged as a common spatial code for organizing everything from high culture to everyday life.¹¹¹ As this form of cartography was accepted as this code's basic representation, it transformed conceptions of space defining it in purely visual, geometric, and fundamentally isotropic terms (the producers of this space were “geometers,” the land surveyors, map-makers, and city planners).¹¹² But when we apply this to the decorative display of maps that were consumed as pictures in taverns or parlors, assembly halls or bedrooms, etc., the epistemology of a gridded world quickly falters for the simple reason that the grid itself is surprisingly invisible. What map gazers and glancers see most easily are the thickly drawn lines and shapes marking features of both the land and the cartouche. Looking at these lines I am struck by the map's visual chaos rather than geometric order. A trained land-surveyor or a traveler experienced in map reading may feel comfortable looking at a representation of space that looks like this. But all told, the visual effect is jarring when compared to the stark angular lines of American interior designs, be it in ceremonial public spaces or in the homes of high or low income. It is jarring when compared to the use of lines in paintings and prints in which imitation of the real was highly prized. And it would still be jarring when compared to what we see in mirrors or when looking out of windows. From an aesthetic as well as cognitive standpoint, then, the visual experience of a map's curvilinear representation of terrestrial landforms consisting of nothing but dots, strokes, and squiggly markings resembles more the visual code of baroque design patterns than the optical theories of the age of reason. I have no idea where this will lead me, but I am sure of this -- since so much in our interpretive culture depends on the rather immutable theory of a cartographically conceived space, it is the practice surrounding material maps that points us to a potentially very different, perhaps altogether counter-cartographic sensibility of space.

Appendix 1. Price Table—Maps and their Sales Prices, 1750 and 1800 (for sources, see Note 34)

| Maps | >4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | Map title |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------|------------------------|--------|--|
| Date of Sale | sheet | sheets | sheets | sheet | |
| 1733 | £1/11/6 | | | | <u>>4-sheet</u> : 20 sheet Popple's <i>Map of British Empire</i> |
| Colored/rollers | £2/12/6 | | | | |
| 1753 | | £ -/2/6 | £ -/1/6 | £-/-/6 | <u>2-sheet</u> : Moll's "The British Dominions" <u>1-sheet</u> : Moll's "Sea Coasts of America" |
| 1755 | | | | £-/1/- | Evans, <i>Middle British Colonies</i> |
| Colored | | | | £-/2/- | |
| 1766 | | £-/7/6 | £-/6/4 to £-/2/6 | | <u>4-sheet</u> : "North America" (-/5/-) <u>2-sheet</u> : "America" |
| Cloth/Rollers | | £-/13/- | £-/7/8 | | <u>4-sheet</u> : "No. America" (-/10/4) <u>2-sheet</u> : "better Edition, North America" |
| 1768 | | £-/15/- | | | Henry's <i>Map of Virginia</i> |
| Colored/rollers | | £1/10/- | | | |
| 1775 | £-/10/6 to £ -/15/- | £-/5/- | | -/1/6 | <u>>4-sheet</u> : 28 Sheet map <i>The World</i> <u>4-sheet</u> : Bowen/Gibson, <i>A New and accurate Map of North America</i> <u>1-sheet</u> : repr of Evans <i>Middle Brit Col</i> |
| Colored/rollers | £1/15/- to £ 3/3/- | £-/9/- | | | |
| 1777 | | £-/8/- | | | 4-sheet?: ??, "A new Map of the State of Connecticut" |
| Colored/rollers | | £-/18/- | | | |
| 1783 | | | \$ 3.33 | | <u>2-sheet</u> : McMurray, <i>Map of the US</i> |
| 1785 | £-/14/- | | | | <i>Map of the Four New-England States</i> |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|--|-------|---------------------------------|--------|--|
| 1786 | | | £-/-/6 Whole Sale only | | 2-Sheet: “Common Two Sheet Maps and Prints for Country Dealer...on Elephant paper, 3 by 2 feet”; in <i>Sayer’s Catalogue of New...Prints</i> |
| Colored | | | £-/1/6 | | |
| 1795 | | | \$ 2 | \$0.37 | 1-sheet: <i>Carey’s Catalogue of Books</i> 2-sheet: S. Lewis, <i>Map of the US</i> |
| 1796 | | \$ 3½ | | | 4-sheet: Bradley, <i>Map of the United States</i> |
| colored/rollers | | \$5 | | | |

¹ On the history of the Henry map see Margaret Beck Pritchard and Henry G. Taliaferro, *Degrees of Latitude. Mapping Colonial America* (New York: Abrams, 2002) 200-203; also David Bosse, “Maps in the Marketplace: Cartographic Vendors and Their Customers in Eighteenth-Century America,” *Cartographica* 42, 1 (2007): 17. In 1770 Virginia audiences would have been able to purchase the 1768 edition of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson’s *Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia* (1751; 31 x 49 inches). Other large maps that were owned and displayed in 1770 included third or fourth editions of Thomas Jeffreys and Braddock Mead’s *A Map of the Most Inhabited part of New England* (1755; 41 x 39 inches), Emmanuel Bowen and John Gibson’s *An Accurate Map of North America* (1755; 40 x 46 inches), or John Mitchell’s *A Map of the British and French Dominions* (1755; 53 x 76 inches). On particular map states see Pritchard and Taliaferro 154, 168, 177, 180.

² *Virginia Gazette*, September 6, 1770 and Jan 31, 1771; Cited in Pritchard and Taliaferro, *Degrees*, 200-203.

³ Compare the 1753 definition of map given by *A Pocket Dictionary* to the 1996 definition: “A representation, usually on a plane surface, of all or part of the earth or some other body showing a group of features in terms of their relative size and position” in Norman J.W. Thrower’s textbook, *Maps and civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 254. Definitions like these evaluate maps through an empiricist paradigm applying modalities such as mathematical accuracy, proportional verisimilitude, etc. It continues to be the dominant paradigm to be found in textbooks, encyclopedias, and popular histories. See also Helen Wallis and Arthur H. Robinson, *Cartographical Innovations: An International Handbook of Mapping Terms to 1900* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collector Publications for the International Cartographic Association, 1987); John Noble Wilford, *The Mapmakers: The Story of the Great Pioneers in Cartography from Antiquity to the Space Age* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982; reprinted 2001).

⁴ John Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 53. Harley’s work, influenced by Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, launched a paradigm shift in the way in which maps are today defined and analyzed. Concentrating on the textual/discursive nature of maps and how maps as texts shape social and political power relations, Harley has not only reshaped cartographic history but critical studies on both trans-Atlantic and indigenous history, art history, cultural studies, and literature.

⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, Jan 31, 1771. My emphasis.

⁶ In 1755 Samuel Johnson declares a map to be “A geographical picture on which lands and seas are delineated according to the latitude and longitude” [see his *A dictionary of the English language* (London, 1755)]. This picture definition was used in dictionaries by William Rider (1759), D. Fenning (1761), Frederick Barton (1772), Thomas Harrington (1775), William Kenrick (1783), Thomas Sheridan (1789), and finally by William Perry, who defines a map as “A geographical picture upon which lands and seas are delineated according to the longitude and latitude, a chart” in *The Synonymous, Etymological and Pronouncing English Dictionary* (London, 1805). On this definition see J. H. Andrews, “What was a Map? The Lexicographers Reply.” *Cartographica* 33, 4 (Winter, 1996): 1-11; and his 321 entry catalogue, “Definitions of the Word ‘Map,’ 1649-1996,” published online.

⁷ William Guthrie, *A New Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar* (1770. Montrose, 1799) 29. Also quoted in Alan Downes, "The bibliographic dinosaurs of Georgian geography (1714-1830)," *Geographical Journal* 137, 3 (September 1971): 383.

⁸ Christopher Packe, *Ankographia, sive, Convallium descriptio: in which are briefly but fully expounded the origin, course and insertion, extent, elevation and congruity of all the valleys and hills, brooks and rivers (as an explanation of a new philosophico-chorographical chart) of East-Kent* (Canterbury, Kent: J. Abree, 1743) 3. Cited in Matthew H. Edney, "Reconsidering Enlightenment Geography and Map Making," in *Geography and Enlightenment*, eds. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 173; original emphasis.

⁹ For an excellent survey of eighteenth-century map history and criticism see Matthew H. Edney, "Cartography Without 'Progress': Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking," *Cartographica* 30, 2 and 3 (1993) 54-68.

¹⁰ A. H. Robinson, *The Look of Maps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952) 17.

¹¹ On reconnecting cartography to art see Leo Bagrow, *The History of Cartography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985) 20-25 and David Woodward, ed., *Art and Cartography. Six Historical Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), which includes an extended version of Svetlana Alper's influential "The Mapping Impulse of Dutch Art" (51-96); and Ronald Rees, "Historical Links between Cartography and Art," *Geographical Review* 70 (1980): 60-78.

Over-shadowed by the textual turn, students tended to focus on maps as text rather than decorative object. Only a few scholars focused on what the previous generation of critics had rejected, namely on the design of map elements such as title cartouches (the "visual register in which a map's cultural meaning is suggested"), "visual calligraphy" (the lettering, color, thickness of lines, symbols), and, last but not least, the map's cognitive *gestalt* (iconology, logo). For example, on cartouches and map calligraphy, see G. N. G. Clarke, "Taking Possession: the cartouche as cultural text in eighteenth-century American maps," *Word & Image* 4, 2 (1988): 471, 455. On the map as logo, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991). What has gone virtually unexamined is the fact that maps as text or picture were ultimately material objects.

¹² Bagrow, 22. Or, as Woodward sums it up, both the anti- and pro-ornament school of interpretation perpetuate a general bias against ornamental maps by dividing the history of cartography into "a decorative phase, in which geographical information was usually portrayed inaccurately, and a scientific phase, in which decoration gave way to scientific accuracy" (Woodward, *Art and Cartography*, 2). For unintended applications of this self-imposed periodization, see Peter Barber, "Necessary and Ornamental: Map Use in England under the Later Stuarts, 1660-1714," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 14 (1990): 1-28; and his "Maps and Monarchs in Europe 1550-1800," in: *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 75-124.

¹³ W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) 203.

¹⁴ Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map. Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, trans. Tom Conley, ed. Edward H. Dahl (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 2006) 76-77. Robert Blair, St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) 5. The question of what is "ornamental" about maps is informed by recent critical work now summarily called "thing studies" which places objects at the center of inquiries that track, for example, the biography of things, their status as cargo, or the literary adaptation of things as "It-narratives." For an introduction to this mode of criticism see recent work in anthropology, critical theory, and visual and literary studies: Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in cultural perspectives* (Cambridge: CUP 1986); Bill Brown, "Introduction" in his edited volume *Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) and his *A Sense of Things. The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Jennifer L. Roberts, "Copley's Cargo. Boy with as Squirrel and the Dilemma of Transit," *American Art* 21, 2 (2007): 21-41; Mark Blackwell, ed., *The Secret Life of Things* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007); and Cynthia Wall, *The Prose of Things. Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

¹⁵ T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 25, 4 (October 1986) 467-499 and his *The Marketplace of Revolution. How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, *Of Consuming Interests. The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1994); and for the trans-Atlantic world, see Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a*

Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

¹⁶ American map production was very low until the 1790s. See Bosse, “Marketplace,” 1-9.

¹⁷ For example, business advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (cited *PG* hereafter) document periods of a cartographic boom coinciding with political events. During the 1740s, ads posted by bookstores, print shops, and general stores carried the word “map” in about three ads per year. After 1750, however, the average number per year doubled and even tripled, showing two distinct peaks in cartographic advertising: twenty-two ads were published in 1754/1755 and twenty-five ads in 1760/1761.

¹⁸ *PG*, 20 February 1750.

¹⁹ *PG*, 25 April 1754.

²⁰ Bosse, “Marketplace,” 10.

²¹ Historians of prints (not to be confused with print) frequently mention the affinities that link the production of picture prints and maps. See Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 105, 150, 220. Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1996) 144; Richard L. Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488-1988. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1988) 48, 79; E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America 1680-1880* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1987) 276-283.

²² *Boston Gazette*, **CHECK** 1721 and Jan. 1/8, 1733. Price continued ads in this vein until 1750; see Clayton, 12.

²³ See John Bowles, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. from off copper-plates* (London, 1731); *Robert Sayer's new and enlarged catalogue for the year MDCCLXVI of new, useful, and correct maps* (London, 1766); or *Sayer and Bennett's enlarged Catalogue of new and valuable Prints, in sets, or single; also useful and correct Maps and Charts* (London, 1775).

²⁴ For other examples using the map image as visual backdrops see the frontispieces introducing Bowles, *A Catalogue of Maps* (1731) or the trade card of Peter Griffin (1747), stating: “All sorts of Maps both Foreign & English,—Fine French, Italian, Dutch, and English Prints.” Reproduced in Clayton 105, 110.

²⁵ See Jim Walsh, *Maps Contained in the Publications of the American Bibliography, 1639-1819: An Index and Checklist* (Metuchen, NJ.: Scarecrow Press, 1988).

²⁶ See Christopher M. Klein, *Maps in Eighteenth-Century British Magazines* (Chicago: n.p., 1989); David C. Jolly, *Maps of America in Periodicals Before 1800* (Brookline, MA: David C. Jolly, 1989).

²⁷ *Boston News-Letter*, Aug 15, 1746.

²⁸ *New-York Weekly Journal*, Issue 117 (March 18, 1750) 4.

²⁹ Robert Sayer and John Bennett, *Sayer and Bennett's enlarged Catalogue of new and valuable Prints, in sets, or single; also useful and correct Maps and Charts...* (London, 1775) 25. Maps were catalogued by size: “Large Maps” like the *World Map* were followed by “Maps on Four Sheets” such as “A New and accurate Map of North America, describing and distinguishing the British, Spanish, and French Dominions...according to the... Treaty...1763... by Emmanuel Bowen and John Gibson, Geographers. Price 5 s. On Canvas, with Rollers, 9s” (34); and “One Sheet Maps,” like Lewis Evans’ “A general Map of the Middle British Colonies... corrected by Thomas Jefferys (57), sold for 1s 6d.

³⁰ During the eighteenth century quality maps were printed on soft-sized laid paper using pulp containing linen rags so that maps would be “absorbent without being too soft or spongy; was smooth in texture, of regular thickness, and free from roughness, lumpiness, and specks of foreign matter; and was of a suppleness that resisted crumpling.” See Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print. The Nineteenth-Century Engraving Trade* (London: Farrand, 1984) 165; and Pedley, 66. On paper in colonial America see John Bidwell, “Printers’ Supplies and Capitalization,” in *A History of the Book in America* Vol. 1, eds. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (Cambridge: CUP, 2000) 163-183; and Dard Hunter, *Papermaking. The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Knopf, 1967) esp. 136-137. Also Richard L. Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488-1988. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1988).

³¹ A search of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for the period between 1730 and 1760 reveals that advertisements by shopkeepers and booksellers consistently list entries for “maps” next to “pictures,” “prints,” or “cuts.” For a representative example see *PG* issues for Jan. 18, 1743; Jan. 19, 1744; Nov. 1, 1744; Oct. 17 and 19, 1745; Apr. 24, 1746; etc.

³² The commodification of maps begins long before the eighteenth century. For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see David Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography, Vol. 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Leo Bagrow, “A Page from the History of the Distribution of Maps,” *Imago Mundi* 5 (1948): 53-62; Chandra Mukerji, *From the Graven Image: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) 79-130. For the eighteenth century see J. B. Harley, “The Bankruptcy

of Thomas Jefferys: An Episode in the Economic History of Eighteenth Century Map-Making,” *Imago Mundi* 20,1 (1996): 27-48; David Bosse, “The Boston Map Trade of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Mapping Boston*, eds. Krieger, Alex and David Cobb (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999) 36-55; and Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). On the conceptual repositioning of maps as commodities in map criticism see Catherine Delano-Smith, “The Map as Commodity,” in *Plantejaments i objectius d’una historia universal de la cartografia/Approaches and challenges in a worldwide history of cartography* (Barcelona: Institut Cartografic de Catalunya, 2001) 91-109; and Barbara Bartz Petchenik, “Maps, Markets and Money: A Look at the Economic Underpinnings of Cartography,” *Cartographica* 22, 3 (1985): 7-19.

³³ Philip Freeman, broadside “Sale at a Store... of Books, a Variety of Maps and Prints” (Boston, 1766); also cited by Bosse, “Boston.”

³⁴ The following prices reflect source materials, listed here in chronological order, that reference maps advertized in commercial catalogs but not in personal or institutional inventories: John Bowles, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books* (London, 1753); William and Cluer Dicey, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books* (London, 1754); Lewis Evans’s prices, *PG*, November 2, 1755; Thomas Jefferys, *Maps, Charts, Plans* (London, 1763); Philip Freeman, broadside “Sale at a Store... of Books, a Variety of Maps and Prints” (Boston, 1766); Robert Sayer, *Robert Sayer’s new and enlarged catalogue for the year MDCCLXVI of new, useful, and correct maps* (London, 1766); Robert Bell, *A Catalogue of New and Old Books* (Philadelphia, 1770); Garrat Noel and Ebenezer Hazard, *Catalogue of Books* (New York, 1771); William Faden and Thomas Jefferys, *A Catalogue of Modern and Correct Maps* (London, 1774); Robert Sayer and John Bennett, *Sayer and Bennett’s Enlarged Catalogue of New and Valuable Prints* (London, 1775); Robert Bell, *A Catalogue of a Large Collection* (Philadelphia, 1783); McMurray’s “Map of the United States,” advertized in *Pennsylvania Packet* August 14, 1783; Robert Sayer, *Sayer’s Catalogue of New and Interesting Prints* (London, 1786); Mathew Carey, *Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Maps, and Prints* (Philadelphia, 1795). For individual maps, see the records reproduced by Harley, “Bankruptcy,” Bosse, “Boston” and “Marketplace,” and Pedley, Appendix 5.

³⁵ *Sayer and Bennett’s Enlarged Catalogue* (1775) 25.

³⁶ *Sayer and Bennett’s Enlarged Catalogue* (1775) 34. The Bowen-Gibson map is listed as a two sheet map but was sold in four sheets after being fitted for Thomas Jefferys’ *American Atlas* (1771).

³⁷ *Sayer and Bennett’s Enlarged Catalogue* (1775), 88.

³⁸ While George Washington paid £1 10s for the Henry map, Thomas Jefferson, one of the early subscribers, paid this sum in two installments at 15s each. See Bosse “Marketplace,” 17.

³⁹ Lending and/or late fees for non-members of circulating libraries were for folio editions, including atlases such as Emanuel Bowen’s *A New Complete Atlas* (1752) or “Sanson’s large Collection of Maps,” between 5s and 8d. See *The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books, of the Library Company of Burlington* (Philadelphia, 1758); *Laws of the Redwood Library Company* (Newport, 1764); John Mein, *A Catalogue of Mein’s Circulating Library* (Boston, 1765); *The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books of the Library Company* (Philadelphia, 1770); and *The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books of the Union Library Company, Hatborough* (Philadelphia, 1788).

⁴⁰ In 1753 Bowles’s *Catalogue* sold two-sheet picture prints for £-1/- plain to £-2/6 colored, and thus in the same price range as two-sheet maps (24); ditto in 1783, when *Sayer’s Catalogue* offered two-sheet prints from -1/- plain to -5/- colored (85-88). [[HELP!—where do I find price comparators, such as “what does 1s buy in the 18th c? What are specific examples, like 1s = 1 day of labor? Or, 1s = 1pound of coffee; McCusker’s price index is no help here]]

⁴¹ See Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America. Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) 164.

⁴² Cited by Bosse, “Marketplace,” 8.

⁴³ Tony Campbell, “Cutting Costs,” in *Tales from the Map Room. Fact and Fiction about Maps and Their Makers*, eds. Peter Barber and Christopher Board (London: BBC Book, 1993) 35. Bosse attributes the consistent sale of old maps to the economics of map-making (sale of overstock) and a flourishing second-hand map business. But I part with his interpretation that old maps “would presumably have appealed to a collector [rather] than to a consumer needing maps for some utilitarian purpose” (“Marketplace” 8).

⁴⁴ Delano-Smith, 93.

⁴⁵ This was November 28, 1747, the second time that Franklin ordered the Popple map. His first order is recorded on May 22, 1746. See Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* Vol. III (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-) 77. Franklin ordered the Popple map at least once more on June 20, 1752 (Labaree, IV, 323).

⁴⁶ Labaree, III, 321.

⁴⁷ See William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) 233; his *British Maps of Colonial America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) 12; and Mark Babinski, *Henry Popple's 1733 Map of the British Empire in North America* (Garwood, N.J.: Krinder Peak Publishing, 1998). The same commissioners then "agreed to allow the expense of one of Mr. Henry Popple's maps for each Government in America to be charged in the incidents of this office." Cited in the introduction of William P. Cumming and Helen Wallis, *Henry Popple: A Map of the British Empire in America* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1972). Jonathan Swift, *On Poetry, A Rapsody* (Dublin, 1733) 12.

⁴⁸ *Adams Family Correspondence*, Vol. 2, eds. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963) 90.

⁴⁹ They also seemed unconcerned about the costs. Given that the Popple map's price was "in Sheets 1£:11s:6d / Bound 1£:16s:6d / On Rollers & Colour'd 2£:12s:6d," ordering a dozen map giants would have been an expensive decoration to be paid for by Pennsylvania taxpayers. Popple published the price list in the lower left corner of his map.

⁵⁰ On the early history of map galleries see Juergen Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance," in *Art and Cartography*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 97-122; Peter Barber, "Maps and Monarchs in Europe 1550-1800," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) esp. 110-116; and Barber, *The Map Book* (New York: Leventhal Press, 2005) 164. On floor maps in Paris see Jacob, 94; for Amsterdam's "Burger Zaal," see <http://www.paleisamsterdam.nl/> and the prints in Jacob van Campen, *Af Beelding van 't Stadt Huys van Amsterdam, In dartigh Coopere Plaaten* (Amsterdam: Frederick de Widt, c.1665-1668).

⁵¹ I would like to thank Robert L. Giannini for showing me Independence Hall and for sharing his unpublished report "Furnishing Review. Second Floor, Independence Hall," Cultural Resource Management Division, National Park Service, Independence National Historical Park (Philadelphia, 1995).

⁵² Harold F. Nutzhorn, *The Old State House in Boston, Mass.* (Boston: Mass. State Library, 1938) 1751, Note 360. Under "Furnishings in the town house, 1748-1776" is the entry for a 1751 invoice: "to framing & hanging on Trucks Popple's map of America 20 sheets £ 3-5-4." I would like to thank Holly Smith, librarian at The Bostonian Society, for this record.

⁵³ Nutzhorn, 1760, Note 455, "to framing one of Mitchel's Mapps for ye Council Chamber to Stephen Whitney £ 1/10/- ." Matthew Edney discovered that according to the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* [32.2: 342 (18 February 1756)], legislators ordered seven maps which, judging by their vague titles, included the Mitchell map, Lewis Evans's *Map of the Middle British Colonies* (1755), John Green's and Thomas Jefferys' *Map of the most Inhabited Part of New England* (1755), and Thomas Jefferys's *North America From the French of Mr D'Anville* (1755). See Matthew H. Edney, "John Mitchell's Map of North America (1755): A Study of the Use and Publication of Official Maps in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Imago Mundi* 60, 1 (2008) 81, note 23.

⁵⁴ A map of proportions similar to the Mitchell map is outlined above the left door frame. This has gone virtually unnoticed in critical discussions of the painting. Savage's painting is said to be based on a sketch by Robert Edge Pine. On painters and dates see Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence. Views of Philadelphia before 1800* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975) 164. On the historical significance of the Mitchell map see Edney, "John Mitchell's Map," 70; Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (New York: Abrams, 1980) 159-160; Cumming, *The Southeast* 25-26, 274-75; and Walter Ristow and Richard Stephenson, *A La Carte: Selected Papers on Maps and Atlases* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1972) 102-113.

⁵⁵ The Mitchell map, for example, is recorded as early as 1757 in *The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books of the Library Company* (Philadelphia, 1757) 22. By May of 1770, the Henry map's principal patron, Lord Botetourt, displayed a copy over the mantelpiece in the dining room of the governor's mansion. Hanging in this location, the Henry map overlooked the symbolic center of the governor's personal space where he also conducted his daily business. By contrast, the widely celebrated Fry-Jefferson map was put on display in the adjacent, and socially more public, parlor room. See Pritchard and Taliaferro, 200-203; and Graham Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Williamsburg, VA.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991) 159-161.

⁵⁶ For records documenting the presence of maps in colonial public spaces see Margaret Beck Pritchard, "Maps as Object of Material Culture," *The Magazine Antiques* (January 2001) 212-220; Pritchard and Taliaferro 43-56; Kym S. Rice, *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway in association with Faunces Tavern Museum, 1983) 24 and appendices; Bosse, "Marketplace," 20.

⁵⁷ The following interpretation is based on data gleaned from a range of sources that include: [Office of the Register of Wills,] *Wills, County of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1682-1875* (Philadelphia: Register of Wills, 1970) microfilms 1750-1800; Jane Baldwin, ed., *The Maryland Calendar of Wills*, Vol. IX-XIII (Westminster, Md.:

Family Line Publications, 1988-1994); wills and estate inventories in the Downs Collection of Manuscripts, Winterthur Museum and Library; furnishing and floor plans, such as George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian. The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of its Eighteenth-century Neighbors* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1976) or Doris Devine Fanelli, *Furnishings Plan for Graff House, Philadelphia, Pa.* (Philadelphia: Independence National Historical Park, 1988); and the ground-breaking survey of map sales and ownership offered in Bosse's "Marketplace," passim, Pritchard's "Objects." Maps have cropped up regularly but without further development in descriptions of early American interiors. Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America. Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1992); Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, *At Home: The American Family, 1750-1870* (New York: Abrams, 1990); Edgar De N. Mayhew and Minor Myers, *A Documentary History of American Interiors* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1980); Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Inside the Massachusetts House," in *Common Places. Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986) 219-239; and Jane C. Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fire Side: Images of the New England Home, 1760-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1993).

⁵⁸ See Mukerji, 129-130; Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing. Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors, and Consumers* (London: British Library, 1996) 79-87.

⁵⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, Sept 9-16, 1737.

⁶⁰ Clayton, 3-12; 25, 33, 105-128, 220.

⁶¹ Catherine Lynn, *Wallpaper in America. From the Seventeenth Century to World War I* (New York: Barra Foundation Cooper-Hewitt Book, 1980) 17-30, 156-158.

⁶² "Frettana" *Columbian Magazine*, Vol. 1 (1787): 594. Also cited in Pritchard, "Maps as Objects," 217.

⁶³ Cited in Bosse, "Marketplace" 20.

⁶⁴ According to the inventory of Lord Botetourt's estate, maps were on display in the governor's mansion in the parlor ("Fry Jefferson's Map of Virg./ Bowen's & Mitchell's Map of N. America"); in the dining room ("Henry's Map of Virg."); in the little middle room "5 Maps," in the pantry "2 Maps" (next to "14 prints") and a "Map of England"; in the library a "Map of N. & S. America" (next to "20 prints"). See Hood, Appendix 1, 287-295.

⁶⁵ See the following microfilms of the *Philadelphia Register of Wills*: Fox 1749/W FIND; Brockdeu 1756/W CHECK; Jenkins 1768/W161; Bryan 1775/W 163. → **HELP!** How do I document my findings without boring the reader to death??

⁶⁶ Listings of maps in wills, inventories, and furnishing plans tend to come in sequence to listings of wall hangings, such as mirrors and pictures. This suggests that the maps listed were on display rather than rolled up or folded into books. On the problem of statistical biases embedded in probate records, such as gender or professional occupation, see Gloria L. Main, "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 32 (1975): 89-99; and the essays collected in Peter Benes, ed., *Early American Probate Inventories* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1989), esp. his "Unlocking the Semantic and Quantitative Doors," 5-16. To this I add that because maps were valuable commodities they were possibly sold off during the owner's lifetime and thus would frequently fail to register at the time of inventory. That maps were openly displayed

⁶⁷ Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 172. Her findings inform studies of early American interior decoration, in this case John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort. Sensibility and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 102.

⁶⁸ The 1754 estate inventory of Sarah Logan's estate (widow of James Logan), the Stenton House in Germantown, PA, lists a total of 10 maps on display on her second-floor and thus in her private lodgings "3 maps, 0.7.6" in the Blue Chamber; "An old chest of drawers, a Rush bottom chair, 3 maps and a dressing glass for 0.17.6" in the Green Chamber; and "a servants feather bed and bedstead and 4 Latin maps, 2.10.0" in the south back garret. Thanks go to Laura Keim, curator at Stenton, for providing this information. As Jessica Kross has shown, because a woman's bedroom was never totally private maps on display in bedrooms would have been seen by select visitors and, of course, servants or slaves. See Jessica Kross, "Mansions, Men, Women, and the Creation of Multiple Publics in Eighteenth-Century British North America," *Journal of Social History* 33, 2 (1999): 399-400.

⁶⁹ "Inventory of the Goods and Chatels of Austin Paris," *Philadelphia Wills* 1730/W 146; "Inventory of Sundry House Hold Goods... Peter Wager," *Philadelphia Wills* 1750/W 166+ CHECK; "An Inventory of the Real and Personal Estate of William Davis... House Carpenter," *Philadelphia Wills* 1750/W 161-206CHECK; "Inventory of the Goods... of John Paschall...Darby, County of Chester [1779]," Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 25/PH 553.

⁷⁰ “Inventory of the... Effects of Thomas Burgess... May 26, 1750,” *Philadelphia Wills* 1750/W166; “Inventory ... James Morris... Dec 7, 1750... in Back Room (1st floor),” *Philadelphia Wills* 1750/W166+FIND; “An Inventory of... Henry Funck,” *Philadelphia Wills* 1760/W 274; “Inventory of the Goods and Chattels... of Ferdinando Bowd,” *Philadelphia Wills* 1765/W FIND; “Inventory of all and simpler the Goods and Chattels... of William McCalla,” *Philadelphia Wills* 1765/W FIND; “Inventory of... Henry Steel,” 1770/ W FIND; Anonymous will [1770], Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 10/ 55.526; “Inventory of... Estate of Henry Robinson,” *Philadelphia Wills* 1775/ W 113; “Inventory... of Christian Lehman,” *Philadelphia Wills* 1775/ W 168; “Inventory of ... Thomas Wilcox... Concord, County of Chester [1780],” Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 25/ PH 554; “A true and perfect Inventory... of Nathan Webb... Apothecary [1796],” Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 2/54.37.86.

⁷¹ “Inventory of sundry Goods... Estate of Thomas Whiting... Merchant (Oct 10, 1768), *Philadelphia Register* 1768/W ADD; “Inventory of ... Isaac Chapman,” *Philadelphia Register* 1770/ W4; “Inventory of... Estate of Peter Oliver, Esq... Middleborough [1777],” Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 24/PH 437; “Inventory of ... Thomas Wilcox... Concord, County of Chester [1780],” Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 25/ PH 554; “A true and perfect Inventory... of Nathan Webb... Apothecary... June 15, 1796,” Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 2/54.37.86.

⁷² See “Décor” and “Decorations” in Richard Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser’s and Builder’s Dictionary* (London, 1736) and in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol. 1 and 2 (London, 1755).

⁷³ Compare the description of the “Supreme Court” to “The Assembly room is finished in a neat but not an elegant manner.” In John Jordan, “A Description of the State-House, Philadelphia, in 1774” *PMHB* XXIII, 4 (1899): 418. He cites the manuscript school gazette, called “The Universal Magazine and Literary Museum,” edited in 1774 by Samuel L. Wharton.

⁷⁴ According to Charles Dorman, there were flags hanging in the Assembly Room. While there is certain evidence for the presence of flags captured during the Canada campaigns, it is not clear if national colors were on display. See his *Furnishing Plan of the Assembly Room, Independence Hall* (Philadelphia: Independence National Historical Park, 1970).

⁷⁵ I borrow the phrase from Rosemarie Zagari, *The Politics of Size. Representation in the United States, 1776-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

⁷⁶ Louis Marin, *On Representation*, trans. Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) 247.

⁷⁷ On the cartographic gaze see Harley, 51-81; Jacob ADD; Cosgrove ADD.

⁷⁸ Karl Popper, *Unended Quest: An Intellectual Autobiography* (1976) 77; Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) 90; Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1976), and “Silences and Secrecy. The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe” in the posthumously published collection of John Brian Harley’s work, *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 83-108.

⁷⁹ Harley, *New Nature of Maps*, 136.

⁸⁰ Brückner, *Geographic Revolution*, 63-74.

⁸¹ Brückner, *Geographic Revolution*, 71-73; Pedley 63.

⁸² *PG*, October 9, 1760.

⁸³ On the theatrical nature of maps in eighteenth-century America see Martin Brückner, “Addressing Maps in British America: Print, Performance, and the Cartographic Reformation,” in *Cultural Narratives: Textuality and Performance in American Culture before 1900*, eds. Sandra M. Gustafson and Caroline Sloat (University of Notre Dame Press, 2010) 62-67.

⁸⁴ On the State House as a stage for cultural events see Giannini; Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Diary of Independence Hall* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1948); and Frank Etting, *An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1891).

⁸⁵ Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture. Adorned with Plans and Elevations, from Original Designs* (London, 1756) 468-469.

⁸⁶ Floor plans that show space for wall hangings implicitly and explicitly can also be found in Abraham Swan, *The British Architect: or, The Builder’s Treasury of Stair-Cases* (London, 1750) and his *British Architect* (Philadelphia, 1775); Thomas Sheraton, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer’s Drawing Book* (London, 1793); and George Hepplewhite, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer’s Guide* (London, 1794).

⁸⁷ Many estate inventories list maps in the same entry with fireplace equipment. For example, “Three Maps, Andiron fire Shovel & Tongs 7/5/0” in the “Inventory of the Goods... of John Paschall...Darby, County of Chester...[1779],” Winterthur, Downs Collection 61, Box 25/PH 553. For overmantel displays see also Anna O’Day

Marley's dissertation, "Rooms with a view: Landscape representation in the early national and late colonial domestic interior" (University of Delaware, 2009).

⁸⁸ Mayhew and Myers, 88, 132.

⁸⁹ Ceiling height is conspicuously absent in many interpretations but can be deduced from Shammas, 157-169; and floor plans and house profiles shown in Bernard Herman, *Town House. Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005) and essays by Dell Upton and Damie Stillman in Catherine E. Hutchins, *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (Winterthur, DE.: Winterthur Museum, 1995).

⁹⁰ Neve, "Buildings," entry VIII, "Of Censuring Buildings."

⁹¹ Hood, Appendix 1, 287; "Inventory of ... John Peters....," *Philadelphia Register 1770/W* post395.

⁹² Thomas Sheraton, *Cabinet Dictionary Vol. 2* (London, 1803) 216.

⁹³ The same can be found in Thomas Johnson's *One Hundred and Fifty New Designs* (London, 1758). On baroque picture frames see Jacob Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Portraits, and the Framing of Portraits in Britain* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996) 51-54; and Paul Mitchell and Lynn Roberts, *A History of European Picture Frames* (London: Merrell, 1996).

⁹⁴ Compare the cartouches of the Fry-Jefferson or Bowen-Gibson maps (Figure 2 and 5) to the cartouche of the Henry map (Figure 1).

⁹⁵ Crowley, 124, 129. On a micro-analysis of mirrors in mid to late eighteenth-century households, see Kevin Sweeney, "Furniture and the Domestic Environment in Wethersfield, Connecticut, 1639-1800," in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988) 286-288.

⁹⁶ Bowles, *A Catalogue of Maps* (1753) 39. Also, in Sayer's *Catalogue of New and Interesting Prints* (1786), Sayer advertizes "DIAGONAL MIRRORS for shewing these views, neatly fitted up in Mahogany, with Looking glass, &c. One Guinea each" (49).

⁹⁷ I borrow the term from Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image. An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 173-174. Stoichita examines a visual field consisting of painting, map, and mirror.

⁹⁸ The literature on the map gaze is rich, especially in relation to interpretations of imperial power. For a survey of recent studies see Denis Cosgrove, *Geography & Vision Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (New York: Tauris, 2008) and his *Appollo's Eye. A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); also see Jacob, 66, 77, 114, and passim. On the glance see Edward S. Casey, *The World at a Glance* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Lyle Massey, *Picturing Space, Displacing Bodies. Anamorphosis in Early Modern Theories of Perspective* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University, 2007); Jen Boyle, Diss., "The Anamorphic Imagination: embodying perspective in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature and science" (UC Irvine, 2003).

⁹⁹ A "cartifact" is defined as "an object that uses a cartographic motif primarily as a design rather than to convey information. An ashtray with a map of the London Underground would be an example: you might use it to get around, but the purpose of the object is to take ash." See www.allwords.com/word-cartifact.html; accessed January 25, 2009. To date the *Oxford English Dictionary* does not recognize the term.

¹⁰⁰ A copy of the Evans map on silk is shown in Schwartz and Ehrenberg, 165. A copy on cotton of the Smithers-Reed map is at the Winterthur Museum.

¹⁰¹ Screen, see *PG*, January 28, 1768. Fire-screen, see is Botetourt Papers cited in Hood, 324 n59.

¹⁰² See the ad "map and field work purple and white superfine linen handkerchief" in *PG*, April 14, 1773. On the phenomenon of map handkerchiefs in general, see Mary Schoeser, *Printed Handkerchiefs* (London: Museum of London, 1988). Map handkerchiefs were apparently worn for show as suggested by an ad published in *PG* June 9, 1773: "SIX DOLLARS Reward. RUN away from the subscriber,... an English servant man, named JOHN CLARK, about 5 feet 4 inches high, of a pale complexion, sandy hair, lisps when he talks, is lame of his left foot, which is crooked and turns out,... had on and took with him,... three handkerchiefs, one black silk, one red and white map, and the other check, white thread and stockings, and good shoes."

¹⁰³ Clayton, 150. He cites ads such as the *Public Advertiser* 16 August 1759. For later examples that include map gloves see Diane Dillon, "Consuming Maps," in *Maps: Finding Our Place in the World*. Eds. James Akerman and Robert Karrow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁴ Sayer's *Catalogue of Prints* offered "Designs in Miniature for watch cases" that included a map (London, 1774). See also "map roundels" in Geoffrey L. King, *Miniature Antique Maps* ([London]: Map Collector Publ., 1996) 152.

¹⁰⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 17, 1773. On maps and gaming cards, see Edward T. Joy, *Gaming. The Arts and Living* (London: Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982). In particular the 1768 publication of a deck of cards in

which “each of the four suits dealt with a continent and the court cards bore portraits of contemporary rulers. The Joker was a cannibal set against the background of the West Indies, described as Cannibal Islands; the suit of America was clubs, the king being John IV of Portugal with a description of Brazil on his card” (Joy, 12). Also, Robert Tilley, *Playing Cards* (New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1967). On study cards and board games see Brückner, *Geographic Revolution*, 181-183. On puzzles see Anne D. Williams, *The Jig Saw Puzzle: Piecing Together a History* (New York: Berkley Books, 2004) and Linda Hannas, *The English Jigsaw Puzzle, 1760 to 1890* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1972).

¹⁰⁶ Brückner, *Geographic Revolution*, 135-139; Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand & Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁷ See Florence M. Montgomery and Linda Eaton, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: Norton, 2007).

¹⁰⁸ For more examples, see Patricia Halfpenny, *Success to America: Creamware for the American Market* (New York: Antique Collector’s Club, 2010).

¹⁰⁹ We know that Americans were buying Meissen figures, but I have yet to trace the “Map Seller’s” presence in North America.

¹¹⁰ “Friday Feby. 15th [1760] ... Went to a Ball at Alexandria--where Musick and Dancing was the chief Entertainment. However in a convenient Room detachd for the purpose abounded great plenty of Bread and Butter, some Biscuets with Tea, & Coffee which the Drinkers of coud not Distinguish from Hot water sweetned. Be it remembered that pocket handkerchiefs servd the purposes of Table Cloths & Napkins and that no Apologies were made for either. I shall therefore distinguish this Ball by the Stile & title of the Bread & Butter Ball.” *The Diaries of George Washington. Vol. 1, The Papers of George Washington*, ed. Donald Jackson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976) 238. Thanks to Matthew Keagle, WPAMC fellow at Winterthur, for this reference.

¹¹¹ See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991) esp.229-291.

¹¹² Lefebvre’s cartographic sense inherent to spatial production is manifest in studies beginning in the 1990s and across academic disciplines by James C. Scott, *Seeing Like A State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1998); Louis Marin, *On Representation*, trans. Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); or Roger J. P. Kain and Elizabeth Baigent, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).