MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„The Importance of Names: The Impact of Toponyms and Cartography on the Consolidation of English Colonial Power in Virginia, 1580–1630"

Verfasserin

Julia Kastenhofer, BA

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

How were place names employed to denote colonial control to other European powers and the indigenous population? In this thesis this question was discussed via the case study of early English colonization in Virginia from 1580 until 1630. After the first failed attempt at the establishment of an English colony on Roanoke Island in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, a lasting settlement was finally founded in Chesapeake Bay in 1607. Henceforth the English settlers had to survive in an alien environment and arrange themselves with the indigenous population. The resulting cartographic output of the region's explorers was employed to stake territorial claims in front of the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese who also colonized the Americas. Symbolic ownership could be conveyed when a flag was rammed into the ground or longwinded speeches held in the burning Caribbean sun. Putting new names on maps was another tool to proclaim that the territory was under a new rule. And these new names survived long after the flag had rotted.

Wie wurden Ortsnamen benutzt um koloniale Kontrolle über ein Territorium gegenüber den rivalisierenden europäischen Mächten auf der einen Seite, und der indigenen Bevölkerung auf der anderen Seite zu demonstrieren? In dieser Arbeit wurde diese Frage anhand der Fallstudie der frühen englischen Kolonialisierung in Virginia von 1580 bis 1630 diskutiert. Nach dem ersten misslungenen Versuch eine englische Kolonie auf der Insel Roanoke in dem letzten Viertel des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts zu etablieren, wurde eine bleibende Siedlung schließlich im Jahr 1607 in Chesapeake Bay gegründet. Von nun an mussten die Siedler in einer fremden Umgebung überleben und sich mit der indigenen Bevölkerung arrangieren. Die aus dieser Zeit resultierende Kartographie wurde benutzt um gegenüber den niederländischen, französischen, spanischen und portugiesischen Kolonialmächten Herrschaftsansprüche zu stellen. Wenn Flaggen in den Boden gerammt oder langatmige Reden unter der brennenden karibischen Sonne gehalten wurden, wurde dies als Akt der symbolischen Inbesitznahme verstanden. Neue Namen auf das kartographisch abgebildete Territorium zu schreiben war ebenfalls ein Mittel eine Region kolonial zu vereinnahmen. Jedoch überdauerten diese Namen lange nachdem die Flaggen längst verrottet waren.

Preface

Bilingual place name signs have been heavily disputed in the Austrian province Carinthia since the 1970s. The Slovenian minority which lived in Carinthia's border region demanded these signs, which are also the norm in regions in Germany with a Dutch or Friesian minority. This dispute, which had reached ridiculous proportions in the Austrian Freedom Party's zeal to prevent bilingualism at all costs, had been going on since 1972 and was only resolved in 2011, when an agreement was reached to install bilingual place signs in villages with a 17,5% Slovenian minority. This meant that from April 2011 onwards, 164 bilingual place name signs were installed.

More than five hundred years before the solution to the Austrian place name sign fiasco, Christoph Columbus, who had stumbled upon the Americas during his attempt to find a route to India, wrote a letter to Luis de Sant Angel announcing his perplexing findings:

> "As I know you will be rejoiced at the glorious success that our Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this to tell you how in thirty-three days I sailed to the Indies with the fleet that the illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave me, where I discovered a great many islands, inhabited by numberless people; and of all I have taken possession for their Highnesses by proclamation and display of the Royal Standard without opposition. To the first island I discovered I gave the name of San Salvador, in commemoration of His Divine Majesty, who has wonderfully granted all this. The Indians call it Guanaham. The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion; the third, Fernandina; the fourth, Isabella; the fifth, Juana; and thus to each one I gave a new name. When I came to Juana, I followed the coast of that isle toward the west, and found it so extensive that I thought it might be the mainland, the province of Cathay;"[1]

By renaming the islands he encountered during his first voyage and by transmitting these names to a European audience, Columbus created this to Europeans novel continent and described it in a manner which would be understandable to his addressees. In his attempt to make the unknown known he transplanted the political Spanish order to the Caribbean islands he encountered and initialized a type of colonization which had little regard to the native inhabitant's rights to their own land.[2]

To keep up with the tradition of a fixation on place names, I wrote the following eighty plus pages about the first English colonization attempts in North America and how English

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[1] Christoph Columbus, "The Letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant Angel Announcing His Discovery," accessed April 19, 2013, http://www.ushistory.org/documents/columbus.htm.

[2] Petruta Naidut, "Meta Incognita: Naming as Renaming in the Early Modern Exploration of the New World," *A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics* 1 (2011): 52–53.

cartography and toponyms were used to claim possession of these regions that already had inhabitants.

Introduction

Cartography and Theoretical Background

"Cartography is about representation."[3] With this fairly straightforward statement Alan MacEachren opens his account on the inner workings of maps, an issue which has been much debated over the last forty years. A map is always *of* something. This physical object always has a subject and is made to communicate space. It serves as a mediator between an inner mental and an outer physical world and helps the human mind to make sense of its universe. The map's surface corresponds to the ground in a way that is completely arbitrary. It just claims correspondence with the ground. But it is at the same time completely determined and retains its artificiality, by showing something no one could ever see. A map is a selective representation of spatial knowledge, produced by observation and constructed according to culturally defined semiotic codes.[4]

Because selectiveness is an undisputable necessity of cartography, map-makers have to choose what to show and how to show it. To criticize that a map shows only a part of the world or a certain aspect of it and not another one that the reader would have rather liked to see is irrelevant, because a one-to-one copy of the world-as-it-is is impossible in its overload of information and beside the point of cartography. Thus, if there was no selectivity, a map would be unreadable and completely useless. Conclusively, a map's subject, its scale, projection, title, orientation and symbolization all entail choice. What is shown on the map may be real, or at least claims to be real, but it does not imply completeness.[5]

One way to produce spatial knowledge is through astronomical observation. This measures latitude. The second technique is distance measurement, which is calculated from the travel time. These results are then corrected for deviations from a straight path and were therefore often very inaccurate. The method of triangulation on the other hand was more precise. By measuring a short line on a level ground and extending it by a chain of triangles over the landscape this

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[3] Alan M. MacEachren, *How Maps Work: Representation, Visualization and Design* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2004), 1.

[4] J.B. Harley, "The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography," in *The History of Cartography Volume 1: Cartography in prehistoric, ancient and medieval Europe and the Mediterranean,* ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1; Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999): 378; John Rennie Short, *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States 1600–1900* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001), 11.

[5] Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 11, 17.

method made the exact measurement of horizontal distance and vertical height possible. Thus the laws of surface geometry could be applied to the practice of local land surveying. Distances were then calculated via trigonometry.[6]

All the necessary elements of modern cartography were brought together in renaissance Europe, where the geography of Ptolemy was reinstated in the quest to revive and reevaluate antiquity. Through Ptolemy the basic principles of cartography were introduced, namely latitude and longitude. These concepts made a method of the projection of three-dimensional geographical details onto two-dimensional maps possible. By concentrating on the writings of Ptolemy empirical observation and rational calculation were emphasized.[7] Yet, as Jess Edwards wrote, "the map is never only a design; the subject of cartography never only mathematics. […] A map always has a margin. […] This margin, particularly generous in the early modern period, is the proper location […] for 'matter not forming part of the map itself'."[8]

The invention of printing then furthered the ascent of cartography by making the cheap distribution on a large scale to a wide audience possible. An image of the world as seen from above could now be produced. Therefore, the principles and techniques of cartography had been established in maps which were then replicated via printing by the early sixteenth century.[9]

Cartography, the study of maps, sees space as a pure quantity, "abstracted from the qualities of meaning and experience. […] It objectifies the world as a mundane surface. […] Indeed, cartography is predicated on the differentiation of space and time; it makes an acre a measure of two-dimensional area, no longer as much land as a man can plow in a day."[10] But are maps purely artistic devices, means of communication, tools of power or are they a combination of all these features? Do they accurately depict the world?

Those studying the history of cartography have focused on different facets of the field over the last fifty years, yet map historians have also been divided by ideological controversies. While in the 1960s the technical aspects of mapmaking and its means of communication were

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[6] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 378; Jess Edwards, "'The Doubtful Traveler': Mathematics, Metaphor, and the Cartographic Origins of the American Frontier," in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert and Susan Wiseman (Basingstroke: Macmillan, 1999), 131.

[7] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 378–380; Mark Koch, "Ruling the World: The Cartographic Gaze in Elizabethan Accounts of the New World," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2 (1998): 6; Edwards, "'The Doubtful Traveler'," 131.

[8] Edwards, "'The Doubtful Traveler'," 136.

[9] Koch, "Ruling the World," 6;

[10] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 377–378.

predominantly researched, in the 1970s focus shifted to the study of design and technique. A turn in the study of the history of cartography came with what Matthew H. Edney called "the introduction of theory – […] a distilled statement of how a specific system functions".[11] In his opinion historians of cartography did not have to rely on such theories because the nature of maps was seemingly self-evident. Every member of society knew how to use one and what to expect of it. The map had become naturalized.

One position about the nature of maps can be that maps are understood as objective, detached and neutral. They are statements of geographical fact. Cartography can be exact and accurate and as such is also able to progress towards greater accuracy by mirroring the subject matter. Historians who understand maps to work this way judge them solely by their informational value. These traditional whiggish histories which promoted a cartographic system that was mathematically advanced and more objective in the early modern period were written for example by Lloyd A. Bown in his book *The Story of Maps.*[12] Other proponents of a progressive history of cartography were G.R. Crone and Leo Bragrow[13]. According to Crone, cartography increased ever more in accuracy as time progressed. And while he concedes that maps were made by persons, he nevertheless was sure of map's objective nature.[14] Brian Harley, who takes a diametrical stance on the issue of bias in the map making process, considers most map makers to be such objectivists and cartographic positivists:[15]

> "The usual perception of the nature of maps is that they are a mirror, a graphic representation, of some aspect of the real world. […] Within the constraints of survey techniques, the skill of the cartographer, and the code of a map should offer a conventional signs, the role of a map is to present a factual statement about geographical reality. […] The premise is that a map should offer a transparent window on the world. A good map is an accurate map."[16]

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[11] Harley, "The Map," 34; Matthew H. Edney, "Theory and the History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 186–187.

[12] Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950)

[13] Bagrow, who aimed at a concise history of cartography, mostly wrote about European cartography. He considered Asian and American indigenous cartography in one of his chapters. While he described Chinese cartography at some length, he talked about North American cartography for only one paragraph. There he neglected indigenous contributions to cartography completely and instead saw the beginning of this continents cartography in John Foster's 1677 map of New England.

[14] G.R. Crone, *Maps and their Makers: An Introduction to the History of Cartography* (London: Hutchinson House, 1953), xi–xiv; Leo Bagrow, *Geschichte der Kartographie*, ed. R.A. Skelton (Berlin: Safari Verlag, 1951), 183–198.

[15] J. H. Andrews, "Meaning, Knowledge, and the Power in the Map Philosophy of J. B. Harley," in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 5; Edney, "Theory," 186.

[16] J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, edited by Paul Laxton (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 35.

The aim of certain approaches to the history of cartography in the late 1980s and 1990s was to de-naturalize maps and reveal their objectivity as an illusion. Their most controversial proponent was the aforementioned Brian Harley. According to Harley for whom maps were "social constructions of the world expressed through the medium of cartography"[17] historical printed maps were more than mere geographical representations. In his opinion printed maps could be deconstructed as texts. Maps exhibit textual functions in the world and are a

> "graphic language to be decoded in the post-structural and postmodern sense of Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida. They are a construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can be studied in the societies of their time. Like books, they are also the products of both individual minds and the wider cultural values in particular societies."[18]

Therefore every map is linked to the social order of a particular period and time, because no map is outside society. This way the map becomes a signifying system through which social order is communicated. A map does not simply reproduce the topographical reality, but subjectively interprets it.[19]

The map was and is therefore not value-free despite claims of scientific accuracy. Instead it contains the ideological and political messages of a necessarily biased map maker. Maps re-describe the world in terms of relation of power and cultural practices. Harley drew attention to the map's practical and symbolic role as communications of territorial rights. The aspect of ideology was what he concentrated on most in his studies of map making.[20]

Harley also emphasized the importance of silence in maps. A symbol of a village is silent insofar as it neglects the individuality of particular villages. That fact that village A has a pretty park and village B not might be intriguing for a painter but has little informational content for a cartographer, who reduces geographic entities to their barest form. A map can also be silent if it withholds information that renders it unsuitable for inclusion into the map according to its maker. This is particularly interesting, because settlements of colonial rivals, say the Dutch in the English case, were often left out of the map so as to achieve the image of an anglicized area. Omission or selectivity is therefore an important tool to shape a maps framework. But it is not the same as inaccuracy. The difference between those terms is that maps, like any other texts, are selective. No map can depict the world in its entirety. This would not only be impossible in

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[17] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps,* 35.

[18] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps,* 36, 53.

[19] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps,* 44–45; Black, *Maps and Politics*, 18.

[20] Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576–1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), 148; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 53; Black, *Maps and Politics*, 18.

today's world, but also useless, because the sheer mass of information would overwhelm the reader. Selecting what to insert into a text however does not make the author a liar by failing to give an exhaustive account of the universe. But the selectivity of the map's content and the style in which it was constructed posed different ways of structuring and articulating the human world.[21]

Harley was especially concerned about "the extent to which the cartography and mapping traditions of the imperialist powers had, in his eyes, distorted the historical, and thus present, cartographic treatment and understanding of those who had experienced imperialism."[22] To illustrate his points, he focused on Ireland as a case study and claimed that the naming of places of the colonized Irish had been appropriated. He found that an Irish understanding of territories and boundaries had been severely neglected in previous research. According to him, colonized peoples have been on the one hand dispossessed by European cartography and their own cartographic concepts and traditions been neglected on the other hand.[23]

Harley was a tempting target for criticism. Because even though he based his generalizations on cartographic theories in the context of modern states, he expressed his opinions in a too polemical manner and thus presented them as universal in scope. He was not the first person to acknowledge that maps do not contain the truth, but might actually be misrepresentations in order to achieve a certain goal. Yet he did treat hidden agendas as an integral part of maps as texts, which was why his approach was innovative.[24]

In his book *The Power of Projections: How Maps Reflect Global Politics and History* Arthur Jay Klinghoffer agreed largely with Harley's belief that maps represent power, where he described the ideological aspects of cartography up to the Cold War:[25]

> "Maps therefore may be an accomplice to force as cartography can buttress territorial claims, recognize the renaming of locations, [and] diagram the journeys of 'explorers,'. […] Thus, when Alonso de Santa Cruz served as royal cartographer to Philip II of Spain from 1555 to 1567, the maps he prepared increasingly included territory in conjunction with the expansion of Spain's empire in the New World. Mapmaking was therefore consonant with state power projection."[26]

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[21] Andrews, "Meaning, Knowledge, and the Power," 3–4, 7, 14–18; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*," xiii–xiv.

[22] Black, *Maps and Politics*, 19.

[23] Black, *Maps and Politics*, 19.

[24] Edney, "Theory," 187; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*," xiii–xiv.

[25] Arthur Jay Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections: How Maps Reflect Global Politics and History* (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 27.

[26] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 27–28.

According to his conclusions, maps serve political ends and "are submitted as evidence in litigation over land ownership, boundaries, and laws of the sea."[27] The map portrays state authority by drawing boundaries and administrative subdivisions. The font size of capitals is bigger in order to make them stand out. The method of cartographical representation was used for political ends particularly in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps. The rising expansion of European countries in the fifteenth century was reflected in this development of maps which served as a more or less legal basis as substantiation of territorial claims and also furthered geographical diffusion.[28]

Klinghoffer, like Harley, stressed the importance of cartographic silence. Blank space for example implied that territorial claims could be made there. He concentrated especially on the power of the cartographer. By selecting a fitting scale and frame the map maker could influence what would be included on the map. Societies that lacked traditions of mapmaking and surveying were at a distinct disadvantage when these peoples clashed with Europeans. As their land was claimed as Spanish, French, English, or Dutch, the territory was furthermore Europeanized by renaming the locations.[29]

> "In the case of America, there was a communications barrier between Europeans and the native Indians (in part because the Indian languages were not in written form), so maps were used as a common denominator for the purpose of conveying information. As part of this process, Indians provided maps for the Europeans that were then employed to the recipients' advantage in competition with other European rivals."[30]

Therefore, it was not that Native Americans lacked cartographic traditions in general, but that they were exploited and twisted to the other party's advantage.

Jeremy Black, like Harley and Klinghoffer, considered maps to be a subjective representation of space. He stressed choice in his book *Maps and Politics*:

> "Most map-users see cartography as a science, a skilled, unproblematic exercise in precision, made increasingly accurate by modern technological advances. This approach is misleading, not least because it is based on a limited understanding of science. The limitations of the map-medium are more than 'technical' and non-controversial."[31]

Cartography is to be treated as a discourse of power by understanding space as a reflection of power relationships, not as a "science, with its often misleading claims for objectivity and

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[27] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 28.

[28] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 28–32, 55.

[29] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 40, 75, 79.

[30] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 75–76.

[31] Black, *Maps and Politics*, 17.

progress."[32] Black however cautioned against overly ambitious interpretations of the role of cartography in state building:

> "[…] while it is true that the state does play a major role in map-making, it is less clear that governments actively 'promote' an interpretation of cartography. In addition, the notion that mapmaking was or is integral to hegemony requires careful analysis, and the very notion of hegemony is not always helpful to the understanding of an often more complex and diffuse situation."[33]

Dennis Wood also argued that maps do not reproduce the world in a one-to-one manner but actively construct it. Maps as social constructions bring the world into being "out of the past and into our present."[34] Wood criticized the long cherished view that maps are objectively neutral transmitters of information, which present the world *as it is*. A map is about the world in a way that reveals not only its subject but also its author, the map maker. Thus, Wood argues, "the map does not map locations so much as create ownership at a location […]"[35]. As such, maps are arbitrary and contain all their makers' point of views, prejudices and biases.

> "But no sooner are maps acknowledged as social constructions then their contingent, their conditional, their…arbitrary character is unveiled. Suddenly the things represented by these lines are opened to discussion and debate, the interest in them of owner, state, insurance company is made apparent."[36]

Both Wood and Harley read maps according to Louis Althusser's concept of the problematic, that texts always contain more in their latent than in their manifest form. The world cannot be described in maps without these factors influencing the final outcome. Like with any scientific endeavor, an aura of truth is created. Judith Butler's idea of performativity can be employed to illustrate the idea of the act of place-naming as a performative act. According to Butler, who coined the concept for gender roles, "gender is an 'act', broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own psychological interiority."[37] The place is constituted to have a particular name and is consequently implemented into the colonial sphere. By naming the land, it is made part of the colony's area of influence. Even though no one else may have recognized the name as legit, the speech act constitutes reality for the persons acting.

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[32] Black, *Maps and Politics,* 20.

[33] Black, *Maps and Politics,* 22.

[34] Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993), 22.

[35] Wood, *The Power of Maps*, 21.

[36] Wood, *The Power of Maps*, 19.

[37] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40 (1988): 528.

Thesis

Evidently, the issue whether maps are objective duplicates of the geographic environment they depict, or whether they are ideological tools to outmaneuver a rival has already been debated at some length and with varying levels of aggravation at the other's positions. J.B. Harley in particular infuriated his colleagues with his polemical writing style and his hypotheses which might have verged on conspiracy theories. A topic which has not been researched extensively though is closely connected with the question of how ideology was represented in cartography. The act of naming or renaming a place becomes important to those who want to convey with this act that the named territory is now in the group's or person's possession.

How varying place names have affected the hunt for colonies in the Americas has only been researched very superficially. George R. Stewart analyzed naming practices in North America in his 1945 book *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States*[38]. While this is a comprehensive account of toponymic[39] changes from the early colonization of North America until the 1940s, I hesitated to use it due to the complete absence of bibliographical information. Since the publication of this book English naming practices were mentioned here or there in a cursory manner in discussions of English colonial cartography in general, but the only papers I have found that explicitly cover this topic are Ken MacMillan's *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World*[40], Benjamin Schmidt's *Mapping an Empire: Cartographic Colonial Rivalry in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English North America*[41] and Petruta Naidut's *Meta Incognita: Naming as Renaming in the Early Modern Exploration of the New World*[42]. Naidut thinks that "naming provides a set of […] coordinates that make it signify human experience and endow it with a sense of history. The question of place identity lies at the intersection of politics, history and geography."[43] Because I think that there is more knowledge to be gleaned on this issue, I will construct this master thesis around the issue of ideology in map-making with a special focus on the factor of place-naming.

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[38] George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1945).

[39] Toponyms are place names.

[40] Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576–1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[41] Benjamin Schmidt, "Mapping an Empire: Cartographic and Colonial Rivalry in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997).

[42] Petruta Naidut, "Meta Incognita."

[43] Naidut, "Meta Incognita," 57.

In this master thesis I will present my findings of the impact of toponyms on the implementation of English colonial power in early modern North America. Writing about place-names necessarily entails an analysis of English early-modern maps, which served as the tool with which place-names were disseminated. I will concentrate especially on the first English colony – Virginia – and frame this story from the 1580s, with the spreading of colonial propaganda under the leadership of Richard Hakluyt, to the aftermath of the Indian War at the end of the 1620s.

My main argument is that English maps of North American colonial expansion did not accurately represent the part of the world they wanted to cover, but actively constructed power hierarchies by means of cartography. Maps were distorted not because a lack of English cartographic know-how, but because it was not in the interest of the English colonial power to divulge too accurate geographic information to an European audience, which could be used against the English in the scramble for new colonial land in the Americas. On the other hand maps served as a means to assert authority over land. The English did not have firm control of the area they colonized. This nevertheless did not stop them from claiming political overlordship over these regions. Assuming that place-names indicate authority over a stretch of land and serve as signs that the territory is under the rule of whatever power that wants to hold it, the renaming of a place that has already been named before is an outright political statement that the territory in question is now incorporated into a new regime. By incorporating North American English colonial names in world maps or foreign maps, sovereignty over the terrain in question was implemented.

I argue that a turning point in the policies of English place-naming occurred in the 1610's with a letter from John Smith to the fifteen-year-old Prince Charles in which Smith begs the latter to change "their Barbarous [native] names, for such English, as Posterity may say, Prince Charles war their Godfather."[44] While before Native American geographical names had been recorded on English maps, after that time Native American place names were more and more replaced with English ones, suggesting that English colonial power was more and more asserted, if not factually in North America, then at least on paper to European colonial powers.

It is important to note beforehand that there was neither such thing as an "Indian" nor was there a "European". The North American population was split into numerous peoples who spoke different languages and did not consider themselves part of a homogenous set of people termed "Indian". The period I am covering – from about 1680 until 1730 – was a time of frequent

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[44] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 171.

conflicts between Native American peoples. Homogenizing the major powers colonizing the Americas into a single identity is also problematic. There was no such thing as a common European political picture of colonial rule. Europeans shared a common technological and political platform but not a uniform understanding of the political objectives of the colonial enterprise. Every European legal code defined the meaning of possession and sovereignty differently and symbolic actions for instituting possession differed dramatically. These methods of enacting ownership did not target Native Americans however but their fellow European powers.[45] I argue that amongst other uses maps can also be counted as symbols of possession. They were also not addressed to indigenous principals, but for one to the national sovereign and the political elite back home, and on the other hand to the wider European colonizing audience.

Furthermore, when the first English settlers arrived on the shores of North America, they had not at all "discovered" new uninhabited land, uninfluenced by human hands, just because no other European colonial power had settled there before. Indians had lived on that continent for thousands of years and had shaped the environment accordingly.[46]

Outline

In the first two chapters called "The English Colonization of North America" and "Jamestown and Beyond" I will try to give a brief overview of the colonial history of Virginia in the timeframe I am covering by centering the story around the two most well-known reporters of the English colonial enterprise, Thomas Harriot and John Smith. I will nevertheless start with Richard Hakluyt's attempts to kindle colonial euphoria, and only then cover the failed Roanoke expeditions[47]. By concentrating especially on the figure of Thomas Harriot, the main chronicler of the expeditions who himself lived for nearly a year on Roanoke Island, the disparaging picture of the unfolding Anglo-Indian relations and Harriot's *Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* can be illustrated. After that the focus will be shifted to a more northern part of Virginia and the

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[45] Gesa Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492–1637* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 9; Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3, 10.

[46] William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 13.

[47] The first English colony in North America was founded in 1686 on Roanoke Island in present time North Carolina. Due to conflicts with the indigenous population and a lack of supplies from England the settlers either returned to England or were lost in the American woods.

founding of Jamestown in Chesapeake Bay at the beginning of the seventeenth century. There John Smith's accounts of the struggling relationships with the neighboring Indian tribes will be featured. The section will close with the deteriorating relations with the surrounding tribes, which culminated in the Indian War.

The third chapter "Cartographic Concepts" and the fourth chapter "Maps of Virginia" will outline cartographic concepts and their institutional implementation. The fifth chapter "Naming Territory" will focus on the performative action of naming a section of land and thereby incorporating it into the colonial sphere. In the third chapter I will first outline Native American cartographic concepts. These will be compared with English cartography in the second part. I will also highlight previous cartographic traditions, the relations of mapmakers with their sponsors and their institutional environment and describe the distribution of cartographic knowledge in Europe. This part will close with a comparison of the superior Dutch mapping economy at the time, which even took over the English market in the seventeenth century. In fourth chapter I will portray selected Maps of North America; namely, the de Bry maps of Roanoke Island and its surrounding and John Smith's Map of Virginia.

The fifth chapter will discuss what effects the action of naming a stretch of land had on its implementation as colonial land. I will first situate the English use of toponyms in the context of European colonization of the Americas and discuss the way the Dutch and Spanish renamed the land they colonized. Then I will review the naming of Virginia and subsequently the mentioning of place names in Thomas Harriot's "The Newfound Land of Virginia". From then on I will concentrate on John Smith's description of Native American lands. The section will close on a discussion of names as an assertion of colonial supremacy.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Tsar. My son, what so engrosses you? What's this?

Fyodor. A map of Muscovy; our royal kingdom

   From end to end. Look, father,

   Moscow's here

   Here Novgorod, there Astrakhan.

   The sea there,

   Here is the virgin forestland of Perm,

   And there Siberia.

Tsar. And what might this be,

   A winding pattern tracing?

Fyodor. It's the Volga.

Tsar. How splendid! The delicious fruit of learning!

   Thus at a glance as from a cloud to scan

   Our whole domain: its boundaries, towns, rivers.

<p style="text-align:right">−Alexander Pushkin, Boris Godunov</p>

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

1. The Early English Colonization of North America

In the late fifteenth century Europeans achieved a level of naval technology that let them cross distances on water that had not been possible before. Had the oceans before presented an insurmountable barrier, they now became navigable high ways to new peoples and resources. A combination of science and commerce allowed the partial insubordination of the "discovered" territories. The pathogens that crossed the Atlantic Ocean with their human and animal hosts reduced the indigenous American population more thoroughly in the first hundred years after Columbus' arrival in the Caribbean, than armies would have been able to.[48] The Spanish colonized large parts of South and Central America. The Portuguese founded a colony in Brazil, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and expanded into Asia. Struggling in their wake were the Dutch, the French and the English, who established American settlements in the Caribbean and the East Coast of North America. In order to colonize some part of the Earth, one first had find people willing to take part in these settlement schemes. Furthermore, rich aristocrats and merchants were needed to finance these ventures. Richard Hakluyt was one of those people who dreamed of English colonies and tried to kindle colonial enthusiasm.

1.1. Richard Hakluyt and Colonial Propaganda

The desire to colonize was the combined product of the commitment of individual people who thought that the future success of England lay in the establishment of colonies abroad. Among these individuals, no one promoted the colonial message with more enthusiasm than the younger Richard Hakluyt, a clergyman who collected and published travel narratives in the 1580s and 1590s. These collections were meant to encourage English colonization of America for the greater good of the Commonwealth.[49]

Both the *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America*[50] of 1582 which contained mainly foreign travel accounts and the *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English*

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[48] Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 24–25.

[49] Peter C Mancall, "Introduction," in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 22.

[50] Richard Hakluyt, Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America (Ann Arbor: Universal Microfilms, 1966).

Nation[51] of 1589, which included English narratives of reconnaissance trips to the Caribbean, contributed greatly to the advancement of the Elizabethan colonial project. Yet, there is a surprising lack of actual maps especially in the *Principall Navigations*.[52] The author himself acknowledged that "it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceived of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto."[53] Yet to include maps of the then dreamed of north-west passage to Asia would have acted adversely to his own schemes to establish a permanent English colony in the Americas.[54]

Hakluyt therefore promoted late sixteenth-century colonialism not through actual explorations but by assembling reports of colonizing attempts in the past. In this endeavor he searched for long-forgotten English voyages in order to argue that the English had a legal claim to foreign lands by right of first discovery, yet also included modern English voyages in his accounts. Hakluyt and his successor Samuel Purchas amassed information about America in the form of letters and other private literature, and edited, printed and publicized them for contemporary readers.[55] But why did the English need colonies?

1.1.1. Why Colonies?

The 1580s were a time of acute conflict between England and Spain. There was a severe risk that English imports and exports would be blocked or hindered either in Europe or overseas. Had this been the case, important resources could not have been shipped into England at a sufficient rate or quantity. By settling in North America the English would be able to circumvent this problem

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[51] Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time with in the Compasse of These 1600 Yeares (London: Dent, 1931).

[52] Gesa Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492–1637* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 22; Charles Stanley Ross, "Curious Prose and the History of English Interest in the Americas," *Prose Studies* 32 (2010): 159; Koch, "Ruling the World," 35; Robert C. D. Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography under the Tudor and Early Stuart Monarchies, ca. 1480–ca. 1640," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1761–1762.

[53] Koch, "Ruling the World," 35.

[54] Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1762.

[55] Catherine Armstrong, "The Bookseller and the Pedlar: The Spread of Knowledge of the New World in Early Modern England, 1580–1640," in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution since 1500*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (London: British Library, 2005), 17; Lesley B. Cormack, "Britannia Rules the Waves? Images of Empire in Elizabethan England," in *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 52.

by gaining access to and subsequently exploiting all the resources the new found land had to offer. It was understood by a small group of people that if England ever hoped to compete with Spain financially, militarily and culturally, the English would have to cross the Atlantic Ocean for other reasons than piratical raids and actually settle a colony in the Americas. [56]

However, the Americas would not just be used as a mine for natural resources but could also be a privateering base from which to attack Spanish colonies and shipping. Spain had established itself as the dominant power in the Americas. By settling in Florida they were also about to conquer North America. Because of its colonies it was able to plunder the continent's resources and consequently upset the financial and military balance in Europe, while actively promoting Catholicism in the Americas.[57].

In addition to political reasons, the English supporters of colonization wanted to settle in the Americas because of economic concerns, as the newfound land could also serve as a key market for English products.

> "Europe at the time was mired in a great price revolution that led to an unprecedented inflationary spiral. Grain prices increased eightfold during the 16th century and continued to rise more slowly in the 17th. The price of other goods rose about half as much. As products became dear, standards of living eroded."[58]

As the cries for English colonies in America became louder, a new justification for colonial projects abroad was given by reasoning that the rising English population would be given a means of settling in "new land". The visible increase of the poor due to the price revolution was therefore another reason to colonize. The growing number of poor people depressed the wages the employers had to pay. Inflation in turn shrank real wages. Because of the rising population and the stagnation of the English economy the problem of unemployment became seemingly drastic. Landlords displaced a vast number of rural peasants by enclosing their lands within fences. The enclosure increased agricultural productivity of the wealthy, but rendered thousands of peasants superfluous and homeless. They migrated to the towns where most of them were unable to find work. As a subsequent rise in crimes was feared, the emigration of unemployed and poor people to the new American colonies was a more than welcome opportunity to get rid

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[56] Michael G. Moran, *Inventing Virginia: Sir Walter Raleigh and the Rhetoric of Colonization, 1584–1590* (New York: Peter Lang , 2007), 4–5.

[57] Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 4.

[58] Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 5.

of them.[59] On December 23, 1617, for example, a royal proclamation was issued stating that criminals should be sent to Virginia to serve their country:

> "And We hereby signifie our pleasure to be upon Certificate of the said Commissioners, to send the most notorious ill livers and misbehaved persons of them that shall so be certified, into Virginia, or to some other remote parts to serve in the Warres, or in Colonies, that they may no more infect the places where they abide within this our Realme."[60]

Coupled with resettlements schemes of the English poor were the needs of manpower for the exploitation of American resources. To achieve this, an English presence in mainland-America had to be established before their European competitors used up its natural resources themselves. By exploiting the natural resources abroad, unemployed people in England would conclusively be able to work in the new colonies' export industries. Trade with the indigenous people and access to rich farmland in order to grow commodities would put the dependency on Spanish goods to a rest. It is interesting to note that there seems to have been very little interest in forcing native labor, because as Hakluyt put it, the English had more than enough surplus labor themselves.[61]

Religious calculations also played a part in the conceptions of a possible English colony. Hakluyt argued that along with the establishment of English colonies in North America, the spread of Catholicism promoted by the Spanish could be stopped. On the other hand colonies would serve the wellbeing of England by getting rid of all the unwanted radical Protestants. Therefore all the theological squabbles could be ended too, if only there were such English colonies abroad.[62]

1.1.2. Institutional Support

Elizabeth I supported colonial ventures only cautiously, leaving the responsibility in the hands of others. She for example did not invest much money into Walter Raleigh's first colonializing venture on Roanoke Island, but made a few contributions in providing Raleigh with 2400 pounds

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[59] Gerhard E. Sollbach, *Amerika 1590:Europas Erste Bilder von der Neuen Welt: Der Virginia-Bericht Thomas Harriots mit 25 Kupferstichen Theodor de Brys nach den Bildern John Whites* (Kettwig: Phaidon, 1992), 13–14; Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 5; Alan Taylor, *Colonial America: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 51.

[60] Clarence S. Brigham, ed, *British Royal Proclamations Relating to America 1603–1783* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1911), 7.

[61] Ken MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest: The Ideology of Elizabethan Atlantic Expansion Revisited," *Early American Studies* 9 (2011): 56; Mancall, "Introduction," 22; Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 15.

[62] Mancall, "Introduction," 22; Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 16.

of gunpowder and supplied her ship, the *Tiger*, which became Raleigh's flagship. Concessions were awarded to chartered companies by the crown. These companies in turn sought new investments west of the Atlantic Ocean. Robert Baldwin argues that this hesitation to invest was due to the general impoverishment of the English crown as well as the repercussions of religious and political upheavals. The English state's guarded support of colonializing projects in North America had the effect of limiting public enthusiasm for these schemes.[63]

Actual interest in colonial projects in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century depended on the economic situation on the one hand and the benefits it might bring the crown in terms of European politics. Because of the English state's disputes with Spain after the 1560s, some courtiers were interested in backing colonial enterprises to promote competition with the proponents of Iberian hegemony, even though the queen herself funded these journeys only covertly. With the dynastic change after Elizabeth's death in 1603 and the fledgling peace with the Spanish, peaceful commercial exchange and colonial activities rather than the militaristic schemes of colonization during the Elizabethan era were actively promoted under the early Stuart kings. Because these colonial ventures were not centralized by the state, they were more disorganized than their Spanish or Portuguese counterparts.[64]

The transoceanic voyages of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century were financed mainly by two groups. London merchants on one hand invested the small portion of surplus wealth they had marketed. On the other hand the surplus generated by family lands of the gentry was put to use for colonial endeavors. Then merchants either came together in companies, which were chartered by the crown and held a monopoly in order to get exotic commodities via long-distance trade or to open up new markets for English wool. Or explorers tried to emulate the Spanish and start up colonies in regions that were rich in resources and could therefore be easily exploited. The backing of the crown was essential for both colonizing schemes, as investors needed to be reassured and territorial ambitions legitimized.[65]

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[63] Keith Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Ireland and Virginia," *Environmental History* 16 (2011): 615; Karl Butzer, "The Americas Before and After 1492: An Introduction to Current Geographical Research," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (1992): 357; Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 18; Taylor, *Colonial America,* 51.

[64] Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1755, 1767.

[65] Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1754.

In that sense, royal support of colonizing movements was essential. Even if the English crown did not act as an outright investor, its unambiguous support was nevertheless crucial because it backed these projects and legitimized the claims of explorers to the land they "discovered".

1.2. The Roanoke Expeditions

The Americas were not empty land. William Denevan argues that the Americas at the end of the 1400s supported a population of 43–65 million people.[66] So when Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke expedition first set out to 'discover' and conquer land in the Americas, they found that they were not alone.

1.2.1. Going to the Newfound Land

Before Sir Walter Raleigh set out to conquer what to Europeans was mostly unknown land, he was issued a charter on March 16, 1584, which ordered him to bring about the "subduynge and possessinge" of all land they could "discouer, search, finde out and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, not inhabited by Christian People […]."[67] Raleigh was to be the patent holder of the colony and its main investor. The central motive for the expeditions in 1584 was to gain the talked of riches of America. The colony would also serve as a base for privateering attacks on Spanish colonies and naval convoys.[68]

The first two ships initially took sight of North America on July 4, 1584 and landed on Roanoke Island in modern day North Carolina. During the period of initial contact with the Algonquin-Indian tribe inhabiting the island, the English showed a tentative civility and struggled to overcome communicative barriers. This phase would last for about six weeks. First opportunities to trade goods were taken as English tried to gather information on the land they were trying to settle in.[69] In August the explorers surmised that they had enough information and set sail for

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[66] Butzer, "The Americas Before and After 1492," 347.

[67] MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest," 42; Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 5; W. Keith Kavenagh, *Foundation of Colonial America: A Documentary History, Volume III: Southern Colonies* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973), 1694.

[68] Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 18; Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 162; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 611.

[69] Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 19–23; Mancall, "Introduction,"1; James Horn, "Imperfect Understandings: Rumor, Knowledge, and Uncertainty in Early Virginia," in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C.

England again with two Natives in tow, where they arrived mid-September. Not even one year later, on April 9, 1585 seven ships left Plymouth under the command of Sir Walter Grenville bound for Roanoke. They in turn based their route on the geographical information accumulation on the reconnaissance mission in 1584. On board were over one hundred people, one of whom was the Algonquin[70] Manteo. He had among other reasons come to England to learn English and would serve as a translator in what was now termed "Virginia" after Elizabeth I. On board were also the mathematician and astronomer Thomas Harriot and the painter John White. The latter was supposed to gather more information on the inhabitants and the land.[71]

So, during the first six months the colonists again surveyed the surrounding area and made contact with local peoples. The biggest challenge for the English settlers was to survive the next winter. In this endeavor they depended entirely on the Algonquin-Indian tribe on Roanoke Island, who they had to learn to communicate with more or less effectively via sign languages, jargons or pidgins.[72] The Algonquin on the other hand were hesitant to give away food they themselves needed badly, because they were only able to meet their own demand. Because the English often did not hesitate to use force to get the food they wanted, Algonquin-English relations deteriorated drastically and ended in open fights in which the chief of the neighboring Secotan tribe Wingina was killed. Without the support of the locals the English were unable to survive for a long period of time. In the beginning of April 1586 the situation had worsened considerably. The Amerindians would not supply the English settlers with any more food and had decided to relocate to the main land. Only the arrival of Sir Francis Drake on June 10, 1586 saved the starving settlers from nearly sure death. The settlers decided to return to England, which put an end to the first English colonization attempt in North America.[73]

Another expedition to Roanoke Island, which was also the last one, took place in July 1587 under the leadership of John White. It failed as well, as Algonquin reactions to the English were

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Mancall (Williamsburg: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 518; Armstrong, "The Bookseller and the Pedlar," 16.

[70] The term Algonquin refers to a group of Native American tribes that spoke the Algonquin language. The indigenous peoples speaking Algonquin formed the largest native language group in North America. Lee Sultzman, "Algonkin History," accessed May 2, 2013. http://www.tolatsga.org/alg.html.

[71] Sollbach, *Amerika 1590,* 24–25; Taylor, *Colonial America*, 52. Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1765.

[72] James Axtell, "Babel of Tongues: Communicating with Indians in Eastern North America," in *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 23, 29.

[73] Horn, "Imperfect Understandings," 519–520. Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 26–28.

still hostile. As rations once again ran short White left the remaining 150 settlers and returned to England in August 1587 to get more supplies. Because due to the escalation of the war with Spain no ships could be spared to help the English on Roanoke Island, he could only set out again three years after leaving the conflict striven island. When White finally returned none of the settlers could be found.[74]

1.2.2. Thomas Harriot's "A Brief and True Report of the New Found Lands of Virginia"

As opposed to the last group of unlucky Roanoke settlers, Thomas Harriot, one of the main chroniclers of the Roanoke expedition, lived to tell the tale and was able to return to the motherland. He was born in 1560 in Oxford, England and graduated from the University of Oxford in 1580, where he had matriculated in 1577 at the age of seventeen. He would later be known as a mathematician and astronomer, but when he entered Walter Raleigh's service in 1583 those were not his main duties. Instead he served as Raleigh's accountant, official historian, navigational instructor and had a hand in the selection of the seamen. Furthermore, he took part in the second Roanoke expedition and stayed on Roanoke Island for one year from July 1585 until June 1586.[75]

When he later published his well-known account in 1588, the second wave of settlers was still waiting for supplies from England. All of them had gone missing in the North-American woods and were presumed to be dead when White finally managed to return in 1590. The *Report* was first published by Richard Hakluyt in 1588[76]. In this version White's manuscript maps were omitted to prevent the Spanish from learning too much about the new colony's geographical layout. Harriot's work only reached renown in 1590 with the inclusion of Theodor De Bry's engravings based on John White's paintings. De Bry, a Flemish Huguenot engraver made the *Report* a part of his tetralingual edition of the first volume of the *Great Voyages*. Two of these

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[74] Sollbach, *Amerika 1590,* 29–32; Armstrong, "The Bookseller and the Pedlar," 16.

[75] "Thomas Harriot", accessed Febuary 6, 2013, http://www.history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Harriot.html; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of his Writings* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 13; Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 96.

[76] Five known copies of the *Report's* Quarto edition of 1588 still exist: One belongs to the Bodleian Library, another to the Universiteit Leiden, the third to the British Museum, the fourth now rests in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California and the last existing copy, the "Lenox Copy", belongs to the Newberry Library in Chicago.

paintings were based on White's map of Virginia called *The part of America called Virginia, first discovered by the English*.[77]

The *Brief and True Report of the New Found Lands of Virginia* was written to renew English colonial euphoria, which had considerably decreased when the first colonists abandoned Roanoke in 1586 without having gained any profit at all. With his treatise Harriot aimed at discrediting the promoters of anticolonial sentiment.

> "There haue bin diuers and variable reports with some flaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence. […] If you the aduenturers, fauourers, and welwillers do but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing bin doubtfull renewe your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the wothinesse thereof alreadye found and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisite. […] I haue therefore thought it good being one that haue beene in the discouerie and in dealing with the natural inhabitants specially imloied; and hauing therefore seene and knowne more then the ordinarie: to imparte so much vnto of the fruites of our labours, as that you may knowe howe iniuriously the enterprise is flaundered."[78]

In the *Report* he tried to keep his style dispassionate and objective, yet he was hardly less partial than the critics he attacked.[79] His book is, despite its shortcomings, considered to be one of the most important texts of the early colonial encounter in America. It achieved its fame primarily as a record of Native American lifestyle.[80]

Harriot divided the *Report* into three parts. First he focused on merchantable commodities, secondly he described commodities which the country yielded by itself and the last part entailed a description of nature and its inhabitants. In these descriptions he aimed at maximum recognition of his English target group by comparing the new American commodities to those found in England, and often giving them the same name, which in turn made them less threatening to potential English settlers:[81]

> "There is an herbe which is sowed a part by it selfe & is called by the inhabitants *vppówoc*: In the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to seuerall places & countries where it growth and is vsed: The Spaniards generally call it *Tobacco*."[82]

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[77] Koch, "Ruling the World," 31; MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 163; Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 142.

[78] Thomas Harriot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1588 Quarto with an Introductory Essay by Randolph G. Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1931), A3r–v.

[79] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession,* 146–147.

[80] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession,* 143.

[81] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report*, A4–B; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 617.

[82] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report*, C3.

When Harriot wrote his account of Roanoke Island and its inhabitants, Anglo-Indian relationships had already worsened. Therefore it is interesting to see that this was not reflected in the *Report*. Instead Harriot emphasized the tractability of the inhabitants, making them seem harmless and inferior. With this stance Harriot confirmed the expectations of the Hakluyts about the "passive readiness of America's people and its land for English colonization."[83]

This gets more clarified however when one considers that Harriot wrote his book with the specific goal in mind to promote English colonial endeavors, give potential colonists and investors reasons to invest in these undertakings and secure the settlements with more migration. Newcomers and their supporters at home needed specific reasons to believe that colonization could yield profits. Therefore, he portrayed the North-American landscape as one of potential and future wealth for individuals on the one hand and the homeland as a whole on the other hand to encourage both settlement and investment.[84]

The *Report* was supposed to address all the target groups that could turn out to be potentially beneficial for the foundling colony. The first group was comprised of Aristocrats and gentry families, who could either invest or send younger sons across the sea, who were eager to make their fortune. Merchants and entrepreneurs could invest in the colony in hope of profit to come. And potential colonists would use the *Report* as a way to prepare for their new home. Harriot's account also addressed Queen Elizabeth I and her advisors, as she was the one who ultimately decided if the colony of Virginia would continue to get support or not. Also, Harriot's *Report* was itself a response to tales of starvation on Roanoke Island. The issue of adequate supply itself would remain a problem until well into the 1630s, as Virginia was continuously dependent on a supply of provisions. The *Report* was above all a demonstration of the establishment of English colonial power in North America.[85]

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[83] MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest," 52-56

[84] Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 63; Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 149–150; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 617.

[85] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 149–150; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 611, 617; Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 93; Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 17–19.

1.2.3. <u>Relations with Native Americans</u>

The first dealings of the English with Algonquian Indians were characterized by complete English dependence. The English did not know the land very well as they had not seen much of it at this point. Most of them were busier starving than exploring at that time. During this period, the agendas of the various Algonquian Indian factions who were ruled by the paramount chiefdom of the Powhatans, came closest to being alike. The newcomers were considered as visitors who could be either useful or dangerous because of their weaponry.[86] During the Roanoke colony's expedition to the Chesapeakes, the English were concerned with the indigenous peoples who could help or hinder to achieve the goals they had in mind:

> "It reseteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leauing large discourse thereof vntill time more conuenient hereafter: now only so farre forth as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them."[87]

They seemed to have intended to live as guests of the Algonquian Indians, and would have therefore felt little conflict between their ultimate aim of claiming the area and their dependent status.[88]

Throughout the *Report* Harriot portrayed the native inhabitants as baffled, malleable specimens, hungry to learn more of Christianity and tried to convince the reader of their tractability. They did not have to be feared because they showed great respect for English weapons. He put special emphasis on the Algonquin's powerlessness when compared to the English. The indigenous population was inferior and would have no other option than to accept the English invaders.[89]

The English were thus depicted in a position of superiority due to their instruments, weapons and faith. Harriot nevertheless kept the description fairly positive: Because the Algonquins had ineffective weapons and unsuitable battle strategies, they would not be able to harm the potential colonists. But they were not only found lacking in this respect. One characteristic of the Indian population in general was its absent political cohesiveness. He indicated these cultural limitations by describing the towns and their political organization. By depicting the indigenous

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[86] Helen C. Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 177–178.

[87] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report*, E1v.

[88] Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 180.

[89] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 146.

peoples as hungry for Christianity he blatantly tried to influence the British readers, and especially the clergy, to support Raleigh's colony. Harriot seemed anxious to make the relations with the Algonquin-Indian tribes appear as positive as possible, catering to an English audience while trying to coerce people into sponsoring the colony.[90] His message was that future investors had nothing to fear from the Natives. A worsening of relations was only mentioned in a short passage at the end of the treatise:

> "And although some of our companie towards the ende of the yeare, shewed themselves too fierce, in slaying some of the people, in some towns, upon causes that on our part, might easily enough have been borne withall: yet notwithstanding because it was on their part iustly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally & for the most part concerning us is the lesse to bee doubted. And whatsoever els they may be, by carefulnesse of ourselves neede nothing at all to be feared."[91]

In criticizing the native faith, Harriot catered to English beliefs which recognized a distinction between Christianity and civilization: A people could be civilized without being Christianized, but they could not be made Christian without being first civilized. By declaring the American tribes to be pagan, the English could also make them barbarians.[92] When the English soon despaired of their initial ambition of civilizing the Algonquins and relations between them had grown tense at the beginning of the seventeenth century, emphasis was instead given to the barbaric state of the Native American population.[93] As the optimism in the Elizabethan age waned with the downturn of Anglo-Algonquin relations, it gave way to the cold reality of experience under the early Stuarts.[94]

In contrast to Harriot, many future commentators on North America would later on describe North America as an empty landscape. The perceived emptiness was seen ambiguously. On the one hand it would allow the English to claim the land for themselves. On the other hand it was a source of disappointment for those who had wanted to find a recognizable civilization, which had already established itself previously.[95] But no matter what was written about the land, North America was neither empty, nor without civilizations. By 1492, the indigenous people of North America spoke at least 375 languages. Still that was no barrier for trade, which linked the different tribes over a long distance. In the Midwest for example, shells from the Atlantic and

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[90] Moran, *Inventing Virginia,* 104–106.

[91] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report*, F2.

[92] Nicholas Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," in *Theories of Empire, 1450–1800*, ed. by David Armitage (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), 189–190..

[93] Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization," 200.

[94] MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest," 37.

[95] Armstrong, *Writing North America*, 65.

Pacific coasts were found. Some groups rose to prominence at the beginning of the second millennium. In the American Southwest the Hohokam and Anasazi cultures had risen due to the introduction of horticulture. But when the growing population strained the food supply in the twelfth century and many years of drought set off a chain reaction of crop failure, malnutrition and violent struggles over the dwindling resources, the people abandoned their homes and large scale migration followed.[96]

Another major center of North American culture before Europeans reached American shores was Cahokia in the Mississippi valley. There the Mississippi watershed ensured a temperate and humid climate and fertile grounds. The town, which had developed between 900 and 1100, would reach a population of 10 000 people at its peak. During the twelfth century, Cahokia lost power as well as its inhabitants and was finally abandoned in the middle of the thirteenth century. Similar to the crisis of Anasazi and Hohokam, a growing population had depleted the natural resources, which led to fights and rebellions as conditions further deteriorated. Most of Cahokia's people then dispersed to live in smaller villages.[97]

When Europeans first reached North America, the continent's demographic and political map was in a state of profound change with the collapse of the great centers at Cahokia and Chaco Canyon, which had peaked during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[98] At this point it need not be said that the Americas were far from empty.

1.2.4. The Lost Colony

The first attempt to establish a permanent English settlement in America ended with the probable murder of all surviving colonists.[99] The English were not the only ones who wanted to find out what happened to the abandoned settlers. The Spanish themselves were deeply concerned about English activities along the mid-Atlantic coast as they did not want the coast to fall into the hands of heretics or pirates. In the summer of 1588 an expedition commanded by Vincente González arrived in Chesapeake Bay to look for the lost colonists. Once they had finally figured

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[96] Taylor, *Colonial America,* 11–13; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 12–14.

[97] Taylor, *Colonial America*, 13–14.

[98] Neal Salisbury, "The Indian's Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500–1850,* ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 12–13; Alan Taylor, *Colonial America,* 11.

[99] Armstrong, "The Bookseller and the Pedlar," 16.

out that the English had lived on Roanoke Island they searched for them there, but found only a few objects left behind like barrels placed in the ground to collect rainwater. The settlers themselves were nowhere to be found. There were however rumors of an English settlement on a river from which "there is a passage to the sea".[100]

When John White returned in August 1590 with two supply ships he came to the same conclusion as the Spanish who had searched for the colonists two years earlier. They found the old site deserted and only heavy objects left behind. Due to the bad weather conditions further search trips had to be abandoned and the English returned home none the wiser as to the fate of the settlers. This was the final end of Raleigh's colony on Roanoke Island. The first permanent English settlement would be founded only in 1607 in Chesapeake Bay. Throughout the 1590s rumors abounded of a continued existence of an English settlement. Yet the settlers who White left behind in 1587 were never seen again.[101]

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[100] Horn, "Imperfect Understandings," 521–522.
[101] Sollbach, *Amerika 1590*, 32–33.

2. Jamestown and Beyond

After the first attempts to settle permanently on Roanoke Island and its surroundings had failed, England's colonial policy entered into a period of relative stagnation from 1587 onwards. But then again the dispute with Spain had just peaked with the attack of the Armada, so the focus was somewhere else much closer to home than across the Atlantic Ocean. The colonial euphoria was only renewed in the early 1600s with the foundation of the East India Company in 1600. With the Ascension of James I to the English throne and coupled with the peace with Spain which was accomplished in 1603 English foreign politics took a temporary change for the pacifistic. Emphasis was now put on colonial ventures in North America beyond Spanish interest. Peaceful trade instead of privateering raids was encouraged. There also remained lingering hope to find a Northwest passage, which resulted in three voyages to the Hudson Strait area after *A Company of Merchants of London and Discoverers of the North West Passage* got a royal charter in 1612.[102] And in 1607 a new group of English settlers found its way to North America.

2.1. Renewed Efforts

In the spring of 1607 a group of English colonizers sailed up the Chesapeake[103]. There they established a fortified camp on May 13, 1607, which was called Jamestown. The settlement was built on marshy grounds that were considered to be unsuitable by the Algonquins themselves. The terrain around Chesapeake Bay, which was a two hundred miles long system of complex waterways, nevertheless was better for the foundation of a new town than Roanoke Island, because the area offered better harbors, navigable rivers and more fertile land. However, it was not only chosen as a position for the gradual conquest of North America, but also used as a starting point from where a feasible route to the Indies via the Pacific Ocean should be searched for.[104]

Before any new English settlers set foot on North American soil, the later Virginia Company had been founded as the Royal Council of Virginia by James I, who issued the First Charter of Virginia on April 10, 1606:

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[102] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 193; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1755, 1767.

[103] Chespeake Bay is the largest river mouths in North America, spanning 12,000 km². The estuary borders on the U.S. states Maryland and Virginia.

[104] Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1771.

"[…] We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of out People into that part of *America* commonly called Virginia, and other parts and Territories in *America,* either appertaining to us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince or People […]"[105]

James I intended the charter as tool with which to supervise the exploits of the explorers. The colony had been divided in a Northern and a Southern part, with the Northern part between 38° and 45°N reserved for the Plymouth Company and the South between 34° and 41°N reserved for the London merchants, who had settled Chesapeake Bay.[106] Because the northern settlement of the Plymouth Company failed spectacularly due to internal dissension, the aforementioned new Virginia Company was founded and a new charter issued in 1609, with only London merchants as its members. Southern Virginia became Virginia. With the formation of the Virginia Company previous royal control over the Company's doings had been forfeited. It was now turned into a stock company with all the economic, legislative and juridical authority this move entailed. Before that James I. had founded the Royal Council of Virginia to supervise the achievements of the new settlers.[107]

Pedro de Zúniga, the Spanish ambassador at the court of James I, wrote a letter to Philip III from London on January 24, 1607, describing the latest English colonization project:

"Sir: […] I informed your Majesty that the English were equipping some ships to send to Virginia, […]. The justification they advance is that this King [James I] has given them licence and letters patent for planting their religion there, provided they do not plunder anyone, under pain of losing his protection if they do no obey."[108]

It was presumed that the colonists would be able to survive the time until their first harvest by living as the Natives supposedly did, "off the unplanted bounties of nature"[109]. This notion was most likely more romantic than the harsh reality of the North American seasonal climatic conditions which differed so vastly from those back in England. The indigenous population took

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[105] Kavenagh, *Foundations of Colonial America,* 1698.

[106] Mancall, "Introduction," 1; Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 193; Philip Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith: 1580–1631: In Three Volumes. 1* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), lviii–lix; Taylor, *Colonial America*, 52–53; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1771.

[107] Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1771.

[108] Philip Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter 1606–1609, Volume 1: Documents Relating to the Foundation of Jamestown and the History of the Jamestown Colony up to the Departure of Captain John Smith, Last President of the Council in Virginia Under the First Carter, Early in October, 1609* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 69–70.

[109] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 37.

advantage of these changes by adapting their life style. They had learned to exploit the seasonal diversity of their environment by practicing mobility. Because the English were unused to this nomadic lifestyle and considered it inferior to permanent settlement, they had considerably more problems settling into their new lives than they had anticipated.[110]

2.2. Ceremonies of Possession

When the Europeans first arrived at the East Coast of North America, they came to a region that had been the home to Indian peoples for over 10,000 years. When the English landed and tried to symbolically take possession of the land, they did it differently than their Spanish, French or Dutch rivals who unfurled banners or held speeches. Instead, the English built houses and put fences around their property as an "unmistakable signs of an intention to remain"[111]. By building houses they established a legal right to the terrain upon which they were erected. Every other European legal system required some form of official documentation to acquire title to apparently unused land. In English law the ordinary action of constructing a home for yourself created the right to take possession of the adjacent area. Such a mundane activity like constructing a roof under which shelter could be taken created ownership.[112] The Native population on the other hand did not use the land as Europeans were prone to and their method was consequently considered substandard. The lack of adequate use was a convenient argument to expropriate the Indians.[113] As John Winthrop noted, "the Natives in New England, they inclose noe land neither have any settled habitation nor any tame cattle to improve their land by"[114] and therefore summarized the Indians' way of living as an amassing of deficiencies, because they failed to cultivate the land in a way the English found acceptable.

While the English had resorted to a "belligerent language of conquest"[115] by trying to copy the Spanish during the reign of Elizabeth I., this modus operandi changed in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Now the "res nullius" argument was employed. It said that something becomes the land comes into the possession of the first person that puts it to adequate use. Consequently, only land that had been purposeful settled could be considered as rightfully

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[110] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 37–38.

[111] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 18.

[112] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 16–19.

[113] Cronon, *Changes in the Land,* 33; Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization," 200.

[114] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 39.

[115] MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest," 34.

owned. This exploitation of the land via settlement and cultivation was one of the most central and successful strategies the English employed to expand into the Atlantic world. The process of turning the land from wilderness to a garden indicated the rights of possession according English law.[116] This practice becomes more problematic considering that the Indians were not the only ones that diverged from this way of cultivating the land. Instead, this way of farming was not even contingent to all of Europe but was only systematically practiced by the more privileged farmers.[117]

Even before any actual expeditions to North America had taken place, the role of its native inhabitants had already been fixed. They would fill a passive one by helping the English settle in their new homeland. The indigenous peoples would however not be granted the right to own the land on which they had previously lived.[118] It was claimed by English writers that the Algonquians inhabited the best sites in the area, yet let it go to waste by failing to put it to good use. Consequently the English claimed large parts of that "unoccupied land" as their own, aa the while leaving the indigenous peoples those lands which they had cultivated, if only in theory.[119] Following this line of thinking only the fields planted by Indian women could be considered as Indian property. Because they did not fence their fields and thus failed to symbolize ownership, these cultivations nonetheless failed to create possession. Native American hunting and gathering was another justification for the expropriation of indigenous land.[120]

It was also made considerably easier for Europeans to justify taking Indian lands in general, because so many of them died due to the onslaught of new pathogens. Large stretches of fertile land fell to what was to the English so odious disuse as a consequence of Indian depopulation. The English liked to argue that the indigenous fields were the only thing the Natives had sufficiently improved to consider it owned by them. Once a new disease spread and Indians abandoned their villages to escape, even this modest right was eliminated.[121]

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[116] MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest," 61; Sollbach, *Amerika 1590,* 13–14.

[117] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 42.

[118] Sollbach, *Amerika 1590,* 13–14.

[119] MacMillan, "Benign and Benevolent Conquest," 34–35; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 626.

[120] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 56; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 28, 39.

[121] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 90; James H. Merrell, "The Indians' Old World: The Catawba Experience," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500–1850,* ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2000), 30; Armstrong, *Writing North America,* 67.

This was little more than "an ideology of conquest conveniently available to justify the occupation of another people's lands."[122] Even if they did not handle agriculture in a way and to the extent that the English did, the indigenous peoples hunted all over the country and possessed it by right of first occupancy.[123] Also, the English practiced a culture-specific system of possession that was not used by other European colonializing powers or Native Americans. And as culture-specific as the understanding of these actions was, their absence was used to deny Native Americans possession of their own lands. The wild landscapes could thus be fixed by replacing the indigenous populations with English plantations.[124] As John Winthrop wrote: "That [land] which lies common and hath never been replenished or subdued is free to any that will possesse and improve it."[125]

2.3. Colonial Rivalries in North America

In the sixteenth century the Spanish had established an empire in the Americas that was ten times the size of Spain itself. The American territories were divided into two large blocks: Mexico, the Caribbean and Central America formed New Spain. The domain of Peru included the whole of South America save for the Portuguese Brazil. And the Spanish also expanded into North America,[126] as they had started to colonize Florida during the 1560s under the leadership of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. After extinguishing a settlement of French Protestants, San Augustín was built. It would prove to be the first enduring colonial town on soil that would later become the United States. Because fewer settlers than desired came, the authorities tried to compensate by turning Natives into Spaniards by way of mission.[127]

During the sixteenth century, the French, Dutch and English also sought to gain the riches the Spanish had reached. Piracy was employed to accumulate start capital for new colonies. It was not a way to found lasting settlements. To seize territories from the Spanish on the other hand

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[122] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 57.

[123] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 57.

[124] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 39.

[125] John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal: History of New England Volume 1*, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Barnes & Nobles, 1953), 290; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 626.

[126] Taylor, *American Colonies*, 62

[127] Taylor, *Colonial America*, 28.

was both expensive and dangerous. Instead, those territories of North America the Spanish had not previously penetrated were considered for settlements.[128]

After the Spanish had destroyed the French settlement in Florida, the French considered it to be wiser to colonize more northern parts of the Americas. Yet the long coast north of Florida was deemed too cool for tropical commodities and too hot for the best furs. The mid-Atlantic seaboard therefore remained open to colonization. There the English would settle. Canada compensated its lack of precious metals with furs and fish in abundance. By settling at the St. Lawrence River, the French also had the best access westward into the center of the country. French trading villages began with seasonal fishing and whaling around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. With the arrival of the English and the Dutch, the traders of the different nations plundered and killed one another to control the trade with the Indians. To do that the trading companies built forts to control the most strategic parts of the river and its harbors.[129]

The Dutch had founded the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) in 1602. It was chartered by the States General of the Netherlands, the state assembly, to "conduct a monopoly in trade east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Strait of Magellan".[130] Its counterpart in the Atlantic was the Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie or West India Company (WIC), which was founded in 1621 to take charge of the trade in West Africa and the Americas. Huge profits could be made in Asia and the East Indies, which held spices and other exotic commodities. These goods could be sold for a lot of money in Europe. The Dutch already knew the route to Asia around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern-most peak of Africa. A northeastern passage around North America would perhaps open up a shorter route. So the Dutch, interested in a northeastern route just as much as the English were, settled in North America to search for a less hazardous way to the riches of East Asia. To do that, the Dutch established trading garrisons on the Hudson River, named after Henry Hudson, an English sailor who worked for the Dutch in the 1610s. New Netherlands, a string of settlements alongside the fortified trading posts Fort Orange and New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, was a minor colony of an extremely wealthy Dutch empire. The Netherlands, a decentralized republic dominated by rich merchants, had despite its

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[128] Taylor, *American Colonies*, 64–66.

[129] Taylor, *Colonial America*, 35–36, 51.

[130] Kees Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1433.

size and population of about 1,5 million people become an economic player in the game for colonies, dominating the carrying trade of Northern and Western Europe.[131]

For most of the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic and England fought over the area of America situated between the thirty-eighth and forty-second parallels. This part of North America extended westward from the Atlantic coast and was referred to as New Netherlands, New England and ultimately New York. While these two countries were bitter rivals in North America, they nevertheless at the same time remained allies in Europe against the Habsburg Empire. Both maritime powers plundered Spanish ships and port towns in the Caribbean and South America, yet tried to settle permanently in the more Northern parts of the Americas.[132]

2.4. John Smith

John Smith did not spend more than a few years in North America, but his writing encouraged further English colonization tremendously. He also remains one of the most debated chroniclers of the early English colonial period across the Atlantic Ocean, due to his self-centered style of writing. Nearly everything he wrote was autobiographical. What truly enraged his critics was that he reworked the same material in several books and became more and more insistent on the importance of his own role with each retelling. His books nevertheless belong to the most important sources of that time. He described the founding of Jamestown and the subsequent events that occurred in Virginia and put a special emphasis on the process of settling among the Indians in an alien land.[133]

Born in 1580 in Lincolnshire to a substantial farmer, he received grammar school education. When he was fifteen he was apprenticed to a merchant in the nearby seaport of King's Lynn. After a few months his father died in 1596 and his mother soon remarried. Freed from parental control he quit his occupation and instead joined a group of English volunteers who fought to help the Protestant Dutch free themselves from the Roman Catholic Philip II of Spain. Until his return to London at the age of twenty-six he fought in other European wars and was a seasoned

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[131] Taylor, *Colonial America*, 39, 91–92; Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World," 1433; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 105; Short, *Representing the Republic,* 28.

[132] Schmidt, "Mapping an Empire," 549.

[133] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, v; Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith,* lxi, lxiv; Armstrong, *Writing North America,* 73.

veteran when the Virginia Company was looking for able men to lead its first colonization venture. Colonization meant great opportunities for new men like Smith.[134]

Smith presented his theory of colonization and his model of how a settlement should be led and staffed in various books. The most basic problem as he saw it was the management of the colonists. Smith considered most of his fellow Jamestown settlers unfit for the task of building a colony in the wilderness. During his presidency he made the colonists build houses and dig wells. The enforced activity rendered the people healthier, whereas before they had succumbed to diseases. He also built forts along the James River and dispersed many men to live among the Natives. The settlers in Chesapeake Bay had to face the uncomfortable truth that the presumed superiority of European technology did not help them accomplish much. Furthermore, the colonists had to find a way to adequately supply themselves as the supply chain from England was more than faulty due to the uncertainties of oceans voyages and English domestic concerns.[135]

Smith wrote his accounts within the recognized literary tradition of John Harriot, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas and described his explorations in this manner. His *Map of Virginia* leans heavily unto Harriot's *Report*. Smith believed in the superiority of English culture, yet admitted Native command of the American environment. He understood that relations with the indigenous peoples held the key to English survival.[136]

2.4.1. A True Relation

His first work *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia* was not really a book but a long letter. He wrote it to an unknown correspondent after the Jamestown colony's first disastrous winter with a high mortality rate. Had one hundred colonists arrived before the winter, only thirty-eight still lived after those disastrous months. Because the Roanoke colony had been deserted after a much less disappointing record, it was essential to explain such dramatic failure and to convince the Virginia Company that it could still succeed. The letter was published in London without Smith's consent, supervision or knowledge. Its many errors were not edited. Instead the letter was rushed into print full of errors and its

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[134] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 2–5; Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith,* lvii.

[135] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 5–7.

[136] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 7; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1772.

mostly optimistic content then eagerly consumed. Parts of Smith's account of the early months of Jamestown were also eliminated so as not to worry sponsors.[137]

The letter recounts the journey to Virginia and the founding of James Fort (Jamestown) in honor of King James I. It then describes the dissension among the colonists and the lethal disease environment as an outcome of the heat, bad water and improper diet. The letter's narrative structure then follows Smith on attempts to gather food and his eventual capture by Natives, who brought him to Powhatan, whom he describes as follows:

> "Arriving at Werawocomoco, their Emperor proudly lying upon a Bedstead a foote high upon tenne or terlve Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his neck, and covered with a great Covering of Rahaughcums. [...] [he] with such a grave and Majesticall countenance, as drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage [...] hee welcomed me with good words, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure dayes;"[138]

In mentioning the chief's pearl necklace and the food he supplied, Smith emphasized Powhatan's wealth and affluence while describing his good will at the same time. There he was questioned and apparently subjected to rituals that led to his adoption into the Powhatan tribe. The involvement of Powhatan's twelve-year-old daughter Pocahontas, who according to Smith saved his live, would later spark the Smith-Pocahontas legend that would even make Disney-movie-status. This scene was neglected in the letter, but worked into his later works.[139]

2.4.2. A Map of Virginia

His second work was published in two parts in 1612, and called *A Map of Virginia, With a Description of the Country, by Captain Smith* and *The Proceedings of Those Colonies, Taken Out of the Writings of Doctor Russell and others [...]*. In this book Smith had explored the Virginian landscape further. His writing includes an engraved map, which makes up the most prominent part of the book. Smith also described resources, geographic location and inhabitants of Virginia in an imitation of Thomas Harriot's *Brief Report* and Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. It forms a basic source on the Culture of the Chesapeake Algonquians. In the second part, called *Proceedings*, he retells the story of Jamestown's early months more coherently than in the *True Relation.* He begins at the end of 1606 and prolongs the story up to

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[137] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 5, 25.

[138] Philip Barbour, ed. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith: 1580–1631: In Three Volumes. 1* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 53.

[139] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1,* 7–8; Fuller, *Voyages in Print,* 113.

mid-1610. Even though the *Map of Virginia* and the *Proceedings* are logically two parts of one work, they were published as independent volumes with their own title pages.[140]

2.4.3. The Generall Historie of Virginia

"This plaine History humbly sheweth the truth; that our most royall King James hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient Dominions without wronging any; […] The gaining Provinces adeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to civilitie and true Relgion, bringeth honour to the Kind of Heaven."[141]

In this opening paragraph of Smith's *opus magnus*, the *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, the author already made clear that colonization of North America was to be considered a gift for the heathen inhabitants who would now get the pleasure of converting to Christianity. They would finally become civilized through the English presence alone. Published in 1624, it was written just as the Virginia Company was losing its charter. After that it once again became a royal colony. The work is a compilation of various print sources and is comprised of six books. The first describes the history of English colonization attempts before Jamestown. The second and the third book are retellings of the two parts of the *Map of Virginia*. Book four deals with Virginia after Smith's departure. Book five retells the history of Bermuda and the final book draws on Smith's *Description of New-England*, a book published in 1616.[142]

Though the three narratives differ significantly in form and intention, they are alike in covering the first two years after the founding of Jamestown. All of them cover Smith's capture by Powhatan's brother and his rescue by Pocahontas, though with varying emphasis. When the *True Relation* was printed, Smith was still in Virginia and the colony had only existed for about one year. When the *Map of Virginia* was published in 1612 on the other hand, Smith had already successfully served as President, but had been sent home to England due to a gunpowder wound. From then on Smith wrote from London and never again returned to Jamestown. The winter of 1609/10 following his departure for example was a period of severe starvation. Then the colony was nearly given up. The settlement was not abandoned however because as opposed to the

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[140] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 5, 25; Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 121–124, 193, 200.

[141] Philip Barbour, ed. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith: 1580–1631: In Three Volumes. 2* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 43.

[142] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 26; Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 2,* 30–32.

Roanoke colony's plight in 1587 a supply ship came in time. The *Map* seemed to be an attempt to justify what happened and to vindicate Smith and Virginia.[143]

2.5. Powhatan and Native American Politics

The English were not the first Europeans, who had tried to live in Chesapeake Bay. Forty years before the English founded Jamestown, the Spanish had tried to settle there. They had entered the bay in 1561 and had carried off two Natives, one of whom lived at the court of Philip II of Spain. Again in the 1580s Spanish ships in search for a rumored French fort were seen in Chesapeake Bay.[144]

The Jamestown colonists had intruded on a culture in the process of change. The coastal plain sustained about 34,000 Indians divided into thirty tribes, but all united by an Algonquian language and the rule of a paramount chief called Powhatan.[145] The Powhatans consolidated their control over many tribes in the Chesapeake region. Their ruler Wahunsonacock had inherited six regions located between the upper James and York rivers in the 1570s, "'the Countreys Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamunky, Youghtamond, and Mattapanient' – which together with lands along the lower York River comprised the historic core of his paramount chiefdom. By the time he met John Smith he ruled over about thirty peoples."[146] Henceforth, the Powhatan Indians and the English would coexist in a multifaceted and conflict ridden relationship. The English settlers, who were in such a disadvantageous position during the initial phase of their settlement, may have turned the power balance around so quickly because the devastating European diseases they brought with them killed off a good part of the indigenous population and therefore facilitated the settlement process.

The paramount chiefdom of the Powhatans did not rely on bureaucracy and an army to collect taxes and maintain obedience. Instead, it was an elaborate kinship system that gathered and redistributed tribute. The chief left the subordinate chiefs alone, provided they gave their share of tribute willingly. So both the English and the Powhatans lived in political situations that were

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[143] Fuller, *Voyages in Print,* 110–119.

[144] Horn, "Imperfect Understandings," 515–516.

[145] Taylor, *Colonial America,* 53; Helen C. Rountree, "Who Were the Powhatans and Did They Have a Unified 'Foreign Policy'?" In *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 2.

[146] Horn, "Imperfect Understandings," 523.

somewhat decentralized. This allowed individuals considerable room for dealing with foreigners. The English were usually a centralized society. But poor supply lines and inadequate means of communication with the homeland forced people to be more independent than they were used to. The ignorance of local conditions in London made it difficult for the settlers to obey orders from England and could lead to potential disaster. News from Virginia also only reached London when the events there were already long past. Therefore, prompt reaction was near to impossible.[147] The tribe of the Powhatans on the other hand did not expect that everyone conformed to the emperor Powhatans' orders. Individuals were reasonably free to go about their own business. The leaders in this organization of chiefdoms were primarily powerful when it concerned military matters.[148]

Though not noticeable to the new English settlers, indigenous politics were as complicated as those of the newcomers. For example there were longstanding tensions between the Powhatans, the hegemonic force in the region, and their neighbors in Tsenacommacah. The English had entered into a "fractious world suffering from conflicts produced by the expansionary visions of particular Native Americans. As a result various indigenous groups responded to the English, who needed to make alliances if they were going to survive, with competing expectations and demands."[149] The sadly outnumbered English settlers could gain assistance of those tribes that wanted to remain independent of the Powhatan empire. To get allies, the English first had to figure out how the power relations worked and who controlled whom. Powhatan himself indulged Smith and drew an outline of Algonquin politics during Smith's capture. He retold the story in *A True Relation:*

> "After good deliberation, hee began to describe mee the Countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the rest, confirming what […] Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had beene prisoner to Powhatan had before tolde mee, […] Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had slaine my brother, whose death hee would revenge. Hee described also upon the Sea a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that […] warred with the people of Moyanocer, and Pataromerke, Nations upon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, under his territories, […] Many kingdoms hee described mee to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie River, […] The cloathed at Ocanahonan he also confirmed and the Southerly Countries also, as the rest, that reported us to be within a day and a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes from Chawwonock, 6. From Roanoke […] I requited his discourse, seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were under his Territories."[150]

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[147] Taylor, *Colonial America*, 53; Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 176; Rountree, "Who Were the Powhatans," 3, 7.

[148] Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 176–177.

[149] Mancall, "Introduction," 15.

[150] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1, 54–55.*

Powhatan for his part tried to turn the arrival of the English settlers to his advantage. He hoped to contain them and subject them to his power as subordinate allies in his fights with rival tribes. Those tribes that lived on the fringe of Powhatan's empire in turn, tried to use the English as allies to get leverage to regain their autonomy.[151]

2.5.1. The First Anglo-Powhatan War

The Powhatans were very interested in the armory the English had brought with them. Those weapons posed however the only leverage the outnumbered settlers had over the native population. When the colonists refused to provide weapons, the Powhatans lashed out by killing seventeen colonists. The English retaliated by burning down villages and massacring its inhabitants. The first Anglo-Powhatan conflict was therefore hardly perceived as a war by the English, because the Indian way of small-scale raids conflicted with the massive assaults the English were used to. The Indian relations to the English varied considerably during this period. Those living on the outskirts of Powhatan's realm still wanted to trade with the English since they felt little direct threat from them. The Powhatans who lived much closer to the English saw the matter a bit differently: They still desired English goods, but saw the expanding colonists with their views of land possession as a threat to their traditional way of living. When the English took land that was crucial for the Indians, the Amerindians saw it as unjustified aggression.[152] The English on the other hand wanted to expand their settlements due to economic reasons. The colony was, after much hardship, better supplied, but still geographically concentrated. By spreading up and down the James River valley, the English hoped to be able to use more land for their benefits.[153]

The conflict only abated in 1613 with the capture of Pocahontas. She was married to John Rolfe in 1614 and later changed her name to Rebecca and became Protestant. Powhatan then made peace with the colonists. Pocahontas also visited England 1617, where she quickly died of disease. Her father followed her one year later and power passed to his brother Opechancanough.[154]

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[151] Wayne E Lee, "Using the Natives against the Natives: Indigenes as 'Counterinsurgents' in the British Atlantic," *Defence Studies* 10 (2010): 91; Taylor, *Colonial America*, 53; Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 179; Lee, "Using the Natives against the Natives," 95.

[152] Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 183–184.

[153] Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 184.

[154] Taylor, *Colonial America,* 55–56.

2.5.2. The Second Anglo-Powhatan War

After a period of relative peace and uncertainty at Jamestown following Powhatan's death in 1618, an outbreak of violence started with the late chief's brother Opechancanough's well-coordinated attack on settlers on March 22, 1622. Especially those colonists living on plantations which lay a bit away from the center of Jamestown were attacked. 347 colonists were killed; this was about one fourth of the English settlers. Another fourth died within the same year from indigenous sniping and starvation.[155] After the first onslaught, the remaining survivors gathered in Jamestown and other forts and waited until harvest time. Then they attacked Indian villages and destroyed their crops. Thus a war of attrition and raiding had begun. The Indians were then faced with no substantial amount of food and a dreary outlook for the next winter. Many starved to death.[156]

The war had been preceded not only by a wave of privatization of property, but also by a quickly growing territorial expansion due to the growth of tobacco plantations. English planters had discovered a new source of wealth in Orinoco tobacco in 1616 and were eager to make as much profit with it as possible. James I acknowledged the importance of tobacco for Virginia in his proclamation of December 30, 1619, in which he forbade tobacco plantations in England:

> "[…] Whereas Our Colonies and Plantations in Virginia and the Sommer Islands, (being proper and naturall Climates for that plant, and the truer temper thereof) receive much comfort by the Importation thereof into this Kingdome, (which it is to be respected at east in the Interim, untill Our said Colonies may grow to yeeld better and more solide commodities) […]"[157]

Tobacco as a cashcrop could bear the high cost of transportation because consumers would pay high prices to satisfy their craving for the addictive nicotine. The demand for tobacco in England led to growing profits. In the absence of overt Native resistance, large numbers of settlers swarmed over the land. The attack in 1622 had been an attempt to put a stop to the increasing advance of the English on Indian land.[158]

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[155] Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, 101.

[156] Taylor, *Colonial America,* 56; Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 187–190 .

[157] Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations,* 19.

[158] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 258; Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 12; Horn, "Imperfect Understandings," 538; Taylor, *Colonial America*, 56; Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 184; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1773.

The climax of the war came in 1624 with a battle at Pamunkey which was lost by the Powhatans. They made a temporary peace already with the intention of breaking it. The English however beat them to this feat in 1629.[159]

The defeat of Opechancanough's fighting forces was decisive as ever more English crossed the Atlantic to dispossess the local people. They did not come without reason. The 1620s proved to be a period of hardships for England as a growing population and a rising inflation coincided with poor harvests which were brought about by a Little Ice Age. What followed were famines and the lowest real wages for a century. Virginia's tobacco boom however brought the promise or the illusion of easy money. When faced with the detrimental conditions at home, many English rather emigrated than stayed. Before 1630 there were hardly 5,000 English in North America. For example, there had only been 350 English colonists in Virginia in 1616. By 1650 about 13,000 English would settle in England's first permanent North American colony. The 1630s then saw massive migration with numbers of up to 50,000 moving to the English colonies in America.[160]

Opechancanough made peace only in 1632, when he had to grant many land concessions. In 1644 he attacked anew. In this attack 422 colonists were killed. The settlers retaliated again by destroying the majority of the Indian settlements and forcing the survivors to disperse into the hinterland. The Algonquians of Virginia had counted about 24,000 in 1607. By 1669 only 2,000 remained. Opechancanough himself was executed in the streets of Jamestown. With his death Powhatan's paramount chiefdom disintegrated.[161]

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[159] Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 190.

[160] Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith*, 20; Horn, "Imperfect Understandings," 540; Ross, "Curious Prose," 163; Taylor, *Colonial America,* 56.

[161] Taylor, *Colonial America*, 56; Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 193–194.

3. Cartographic Concepts

Empires are founded with military strength; and in the case of post-Columbian conquests in North and South America with the aid of the smallpox, measles, malaria and other Euro-Asian or African pathogens. To legitimize these land acquisitions, royal banners were unfurled, crosses planted, dirt was picked up and speeches were held. These chapters discuss a different way colonial ventures have been legitimized – by drawing maps.[162]

To those who were interested in building an overseas empire in the Americas, maps served as a decisive instrument to promote territorial claims. Through maps the concept that power can be exercised over space was advocated. Together with other tools the study of geography provided, like globes, atlases, prints, paintings and travel narratives, maps made it possible to construct and project an image of power and possession abroad. Therefore cartographic imagery was heavily relied upon.[163] As J.B. Harley and David Woodward have noted in the *History of Cartography*, mapmaking "was one of the specialized intellectual weapons by which power could be gained, administered, given legitimacy and codified."[164]

Via cartography, sovereignty could be established and transported to a wider European audience. Lands could be sketched and ambitions articulated. Maps made it possible for the investors of the new colony to imagine its dimensions and to comprehend to scope of the territory. Maps based on exploration could also precede actual colonization. Maps were not only used for propaganda, but also for military and broader colonial purposes. However, it is important not to exaggerate the power of maps. No land could have been conquered without armies, settlers and administrators. Without the necessary manpower backing colonial claims, the map would remain entirely fictious. Still, cartography was a useful tool in the drive to colonialize abroad and at the same time convince rivals at home of the legitimacy of those imperial claims. Maps did not form

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[162162] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 1–2; Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (London: Praeger, 2003), 35–58.

[163] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 551; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1779.

[164] J.B. Harley and David Woodward, "Concluding Remarks," in *The History of Cartography Volume 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean,* ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward *History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 506; Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections*, 27.

an empire on their own but were an effective ideological tool for those who had the manpower, weapons and pathogens to do so.[165]

This chapter will first focus on Native American concepts of cartographic representation.

3.1. Native Cartography

It is not easy to establish autonomous Native American maps. It is furthermore not easy to establish what can be counted as a map, as what is considered a North American indigenous map ranges from rock art to maps for Europeans drawn on birchwood. Indigenous maps were mostly based on different assumptions than European maps and created for different purposes.[166]

3.1.1. Periodization of Native American Maps

Three broad stages of Native American cartography are recognized today. This attempt of a periodization is associated with the concept of contact with Europeans. First, there are the maps that were created before Europeans set a foot on North American soil and as such predate even indirect European influence. Evidence of maps made independently from Europeans is scarce, yet a few relicts remain. Maps of that period were rock art and man-made structures, which represented cosmographical subjects. Rock art contains images that have been interpreted as maps and provides important evidence of indigenous cosmographical representation. It constitutes almost the only cases of purely indigenous representation, because other media such as bark was too fragile to preserve pre-contact cartography. Rock art was for the most part created by shamans. It supposedly represented both terrestrial and non-terrestrial worlds. However the actual cartographic viability of rock art has been hotly disputed. It can be found particularly in the subarid West and the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys and were truly indigenous in structure, content and style.[167]

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[165] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 55, 578; Butzer, "The Americas Before and After 1492," 361; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1779.

[166] G. Malcolm Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Maps Use by Native North Americans," in *The History of Cartography Volume 1: Cartography in prehistoric, ancient and medieval Europe and the Mediterranean,* ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 52.

[167] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Maps Use," 51, 57, 63, 175, 180.

Maps that belong to the second stage were made at the time when the indigenous population first made contact with European explorers, traders and missionaries for a variety of economic and political negotiations. This transition period dates from the mid-sixteenth in the northeastern and eastern littoral to the late nineteenth century in the Far West and the Arctic fringe. The classification into pre-, contact- and post-contact stages of indigenous mapmaking is therefore largely dependent on the region. Most of the surviving maps made by Natives were created at the request of Europeans who wanted to satisfy the need for geographical knowledge. Amerindians made extensive contributions to European maps of early North America. As the information the Indians had about the territory they lived in was considerably more extensive than what the Europeans could have found out in the short time they lived there, Europeans had to rely on what information they were able to get.[168] Samuel de Champlain, who founded New France and the city of Quebec in August 1608 and drew one of the first maps of the region, relied heavily on the inhabitants of the area for geographic information. He consulted the indigenous population through an interpreter about the layout of the hinterland. These verbal accounts and indigenous maps enabled him to deduce the presence of Hudson Bay and the way to Lake Eerie.[169] Native aid also proved invaluable for the success of many English expeditions. An example for contact-maps was one John Smith witnessed in 1607. He described a cosmographical map in 1607, which showed the southern Algonquian world, an ocean, Smith's land in that ocean, and the supposed edge of the world. It was scratched in the earth floor of a longhouse and its information content incorporated in the performance of a three-day ceremony.[170]

Smith was also witness to the creation of another map: This piece of cartographic knowledge was made for him in late summer or autumn 1608 by Powhatan, who appeared to have wanted to correct the impression that there was a sea immediately west of the mountains. Powhatan therefore drew cartographic information unto the ground.[171] In the *Proceedings* Smith again describes a situation where Indians imparted their geographic knowledge to the English company who was exploring the area:

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[168] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 51–52, 173, 175; Short, *Representing the Republic*, 35.

[169] Conrad E. Heidenreich, "The Mapping of Samuel de Champlain, 1603–1635," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1539, 1545.

[170] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 51–52, 173; Lee, "Using the Natives against the Natives," 92, 94; Butzer, "The Americas Before and After 1492", 361.

[171] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 69.

"They spake the language of Powhatan wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, Iles, and rivers that often did us exceeding pleasure."[172]

Other European colonists also noted that Natives could produce maps on request, and a few witnessed its actual production. Shortly after Jamestown was founded, a Virginian Algonquian "offred with his foote to describe"[173] the James River upstream from Chesapeake Bay. These maps are still indigenous in style, but with an increasing tendency for content to be influenced by contact with European settlers. Almost all of them are on paper but some are also on skin or hard animal tissue. The main sources are accounts of these maps in early literature on discovery and a few surviving artifacts.[174]

The third period, the "post-contact stage", dates from the first established European settlements and the development of regular trade and communication networks. Maps were made to facilitate communication with Europeans and to satisfy their requests for information about routes and resource locations. Maps made in the context of negotiation over land or trade had better odds of survival than indigenous maps made for other purposes. Sometimes they were even preserved on official records. In any case, their interpretation is still difficult, because Europeans often supplemented them or omitted parts they did not understand. These maps survived from every part of North America. Most of the indigenous maps known of can be subsumed in this category. They were terrestrial maps drawn on paper and range from native drawn maps to European transcripts and printed versions.[175]

To help clarify the distinction between contact and post-contact cartography, three levels of basic mapping activity have been established: In the first level maps were meant as communication tools while the environmental appraisal was in progress. These maps range from outlines in the sand to an arrangement of colored materials on the ground. Their simplicity made them perfect for communicating between local groups and subsumes them into the contact stage. At the second level sketch mapping started with interactions between technicians and practitioners in medicine, hunting and fishing. At this level training as surveyors to gather and map data is sometimes involved. This training process suggests that this stage in mapping activity can be seen as post-contact. In the third level sketch maps were combined with existing topographic

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[172] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 225.

[173] Barbour. *The Jamestown Voyages,* 80–82.

[174] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 51, 67, 173, 175.

[175] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 51–52, 72, 175.

maps. Such maps are recognized as evidence that the land is being used and enhances claims to ownership. The third level is a Europeanized way of mapping and its maps considered primarily as post-contact maps.[176]

3.1.2. <u>Map Mediums and Functions</u>

Native Americans used different mediums for their cartographic representations. Bark was the most distinctive map medium, with a preference of the paper birch. These maps, however short living they were, assisted European explorers in many parts of North America. Although there are some accounts of native use of birchbark for cartographic purposes, very few contain information about how they were actually made. Maps drawn on animal skins were less common than maps drawn in the sand, but when they were made they tended to be large and meant for special occasions. They were of course also more long living than their sandy counterparts. Wooden boards were rarely employed.[177]

The information content of indigenous maps differed considerably from European maps. They made no attempt to consistently represent the mapped area. Terrestrial maps were not intended to be accumulations of information, even though native North Americans were well informed about their surroundings. It is assumed that the geographic knowledge on the maps was supplementary to the information someone already had of the area. Adding to already common information was the dominant role of terrestrial maps, whereas cosmographical maps were used to remind the reader of something which he might forget. Also, small but significant features were often exaggerated on maps.[178]

Maps were used to gather information or plan routes in wartime or during journeys that would take its participants well beyond the area they were familiar with. How much indigenous people added to European maps and helped them expand the limits of their geographical knowledge can be seen from a map made in 1861. It was drawn by Indian guides who wanted to instruct their

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[176] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 172–173.

[177] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 79, 83, 87, 175–176; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "Maps and Exploration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 1*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 744.

[178] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 178–179.

successors about a route to the source of a river, because the new guides were no longer familiar with the area.[179]

The issue of demarcation and boundaries of native North American maps has been disputed and the view that they had no concept of landowning or finite territorial limits was widespread. This has been proven wrong. Native Americans only conceptualized boundaries different to what Europeans were used to. When Natives drew boundaries, they did not intend to prove for posterity where their possessions ended. Instead they drew demarcations while in the process of negotiation. The boundaries were not final, yet they did acknowledge such territorial outlines.[180]

The geometric structure of Native American cartography has received very little attention in scientific research. This is due to the fact that virtually nothing is known of the American culture's underlying concepts of how space is ordered and represented. Virtually all Indian maps were structured topographically in the informal sense and influenced by the shape of the available media. According to Lewis, in North America there was

> "little need for […] regularization of distance and direction. Land and water distances were experiential itinerary measures; […] Without exception, these were relative. Factors influencing them included season of the year, environmental conditions, mode and purpose of travel, physique and skills of the weakest member or horse, and previous experience of the route."[181]

Single-path maps were the most common maps and usually represented routes. They however varied considerably in style, complexity and information content from the indication of a specific route to its enrichment with mythical content and pictographic complexity.[182]

Native Americans constructed and used maps to

> "make sense of the world beyond that of direct experience. […] Like Europeans, they also made and used maps to communicate spatially arranged information about parts and aspects of the terrestrial world. Those who knew by experience–travelers, hunters, war chiefs and guides–communicated with those who needed to know."[183]

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[179] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 180.
[180] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 179.
[181] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 176.
[182] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 177.
[183] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use," 181–182.

It is important to understand that the finished product, the actual map, was not the desired goal. What mattered was the process of making it. Yet, the use of maps differed in that there was no urgent need to divide the land into finite areas comparable to European states and properties. In Lewis opinion, Native American maps were never expressions of secular power.[184]

3.2. English Cartography

The English had different functions for maps. They guaranteed property. They could also be utilized as a promoter of colonialism and to legitimize conquest. And as maps claimed land before it was effectively colonialized, they also anticipated possession. Maps displaying royal coats of arms, ships in the seas bearing the English flag and distinctly Anglicized place names all attested to English sovereignty over the region depicted on the map.[185]

Early English maps of the Americas were often more ideologically loaded and contained more powerful political statements than maps representing the British Isles, because the frontier regions across the Atlantic Ocean were more likely to draw the attention of a European audience and have less clear-cut and undisputable boundaries. Perhaps more than any other medium, maps defined the Americas potential for colonization. Therefore geographic representation of the Americas entailed its claiming in the names of a nation or sovereign.[186]

3.2.1. Traditions

There is preciously little evidence of significant English cartographic presence in the late fifteenth century. Even though William Caxton's T-O map *Myrrour of the World* was published in 1481, this remained an isolated case, because no other map was to be printed for several decades. Yet thirteenth-century Anglo-French maps were still used well into the sixteenth century as iconic backdrops, which spoke of knowledge and power.[187]

A growing awareness in the practical utilities of maps rose in 1520s, which combined with availability of maps from dissolved monasteries, led to an exponential increase in the use of

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[184] Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use, 182.

[185] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 57; MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 149.

[186] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 149–150.

[187] Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1603.

maps. An extensive government-sponsored cartographic survey was commissioned in 1539, because of the imminent danger of an invasion by the Spanish and French. Regional maps were drawn to indicate were fortifications were essential for a successful defense against the feared invaders. The commissioning of new maps continued well into the 1540s when Henry VIII had designs to invade other countries.[188] In the 1540s maps became more and more important for civic administration. Maps were now also used for town planning. When Elizabeth's reign started after the tumultuous regimes of her siblings, maps and their utility were spreading across the educated classes.[189]

3.2.2. World Maps

With the accumulation of new geographic knowledge due to the voyages of "discovery" the world as it had been conceived up to this point had to be expanded. The lay out of the western hemisphere, including the Atlantic Ocean and the Americas, for example, developed in the sixteenth century. A world map could be expanded in three ways. Firstly, by doubling the traditional representation of the hemisphere as a circle; secondly, by geometrically projecting the whole world into a single figure, such as an oval or rectangle; or thirdly, by splitting the world into separate pieces that would make up a globe. By depicting the entire world on a map, the theoretical expansion of the English empire could be envisioned and England's place in the world conceptualized.[190]

Humphrey Gilbert's 1576 map of the world belongs to the earliest published English cartographical representations of the Americas. It is highly optimistic and speculative. Overseas territories the English wanted to claim, like Greenland, Labrador and Canada, were shown as being much nearer to the English coast than they actually were. Michael Lok's map of North America, which was published in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* in 1582, showed the southern part of the Americas in Spanish possession, while sovereignty over the Northern parts was in English

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[188] Peter Barber, "Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470–1650," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1589–1601.

[189] Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1603, 1608.

[190] John P. Snyder, "Map Projections in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 1*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 365; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1757.

hands. By indicating the voyages of Sebastian Cabot and Martin Frobisher, possession was claimed via the precedent of first discovery.[191]

Gilbert and Lok were propagandists, not cartographers. But by the 1570s, more geographic information about the Atlantic and the Americas was available than they put into their maps and English as well as continental cartographers had far more knowledge than was demonstrated in Gilbert's and Lok's maps. In the late sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries cartographic accuracy improved dramatically due to improvements in land surveying and measuring. The inclusion of scales and latitude and longitude lines in maps also benefited cartography.[192] If more accurate geographic information was available, why did Gilbert and Lok not actually use it? This was because the English Crown was concerned about disseminating intelligence that may have been advantageous to other European powers.[193]

3.2.3. Regional Maps

The technical requirements for regional maps, that is maps covering a smaller part of the world, were different from the ones for world maps. At larger scales simplicity was emphasized and the difference between properties like conformity and equivalence may not have been as evident. The most common projection of regional maps in the Renaissance was trapezoidal projection, which used straight parallel parallels and straight converging meridians. This type of projection technique continued to be used well into the eighteenth century.[194] In world maps the Americas were seen as an obstacle in the English quest for a reliable and quick route to the riches of East Asia. When American territory was conceptualized on regional maps, it was for the purpose of promotion of the new colony.[195]

3.2.4. Mapmakers and their Sponsors

The map maker has never been an independent agent, who drew maps for the sake of objectivity. The map maker has only in the rarest cases been a single person. A map is a product of team

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[191] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 151.
[192] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 153.
[193] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 155.
[194] Snyder, "Map Projections in the Renaissance," 378–379, 381.
[195] Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1780.

work.[196] As mapmakers frequently served powerful patrons, behind every mapmaker therefore lies a set of power relations. Knowledge could be reproduced only with material support.[197]

Yet, even though official cartography existed in early modern England, it competed with other cartographic entities. Print-capitalism enabled English mapmakers like their continental counterparts to sell their products to a reading public. It made the distribution of relatively complex maps possible. Those maps could ideally be seen by thousands of people throughout Europe. Most of the maps that circulated on the market did not reach the consumer in distinct maps form, but from inside books. They were part of accounts of the voyages of discovery, histories and chronologies or astronomical treatises. They could also turn to aristocrats for patronage. Interest in maximizing cartographic knowledge became intertwined with an interest in amassing monarchical power. Sovereigns needed knowledge about their territory and the world in general, and cartographers would gain the material support they needed.[198]

The publication of a map was therefore in its broadest sense a political act and reflected current geopolitics. Maps could describe political territory by outlining the land. In order to do that the limits and boundaries would be defined and the region named and identified. The focus of the map could be enlarged or contracted in suit the purpose of the sponsor. All these acts give that piece of paper political meaning. And while boundary lines would only make their way into maps in the mid-seventeenth century, its absence before did not mean that sovereignty wasn't expressed. What a monarch ruled over was not so much the land as it was the people.[199]

3.2.4.1. The Mapmaker

Mapmakers played a vital role in the articulation of the early modern state, because apart from outlining existing realms, they drew a state's design for future expansion. They could exercise significant influence on the maps message by selecting a frame and scale that was fitting for

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[196] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 63; Catherine Delano Smith, "Why Theory in the History of Cartography?" *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 199.

[197] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 63; Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 28; Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 380.

[198] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 380; Richard L. Kagan and Benjamin Schmidt, "Maps and the Early Modern State: Official Cartography," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 1*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 668; James R Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 138.

[199] Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory," 139–141.

what the map was supposed to tell. There is infinitude of possible projections. But once the projection has been chosen, every point on the map is determined by it.[200] The most crucial way in which a mapmaker could claim political territory for his patrons was by what was included or omitted. These silences are especially important when they are not there due to a lack of knowledge about the mapped area, but because of political design, because the reader of the map conceives it as a whole. What is omitted on a map is not considered a part of the area. Maps may therefore be framed according to someone's agenda, so that what was shown created a false illusion of unity, with other factors being left out. Thus if the cartographer did not want to emphasize a certain detail, say the territory of a colonial rival, he could use a smaller scale. This way ethnic minorities or opponents could be disregarded.[201]

Via graphic elements political implications could be conveyed. If a part of country was colored differently for example, it stood out from the mass and seemed disengaged. The mapmaker was able to control labeling, captions and the text. The prominence of added coats-of-arms, or the included portrait of a sovereign carried a lot of ideological weight. The font size of toponyms might have been telling. What toponyms were mentioned? Indigenous place names or only those of colonial powers? Symbols, arrows and the data itself might also be biased.[202]

Cartographical boundaries could also be portrayed in arbitrary ways, by failing to distinguish between those that are de jure, and therefore legally recognized, and those that are de facto and hence borders in practice only. Through the use of geographical methods, the English could craft an imperial worldview, based on the belief that the world could be measured.[203]

3.2.4.2. Sponsors

Sovereigns had an interest in accurate maps of their domain, because it made a more precise administration of the land possible. Therefore kings and queens counted among the group of possible sponsors for map makers. Maps had become an instrument of royal rule only at the end of the fifteenth century. Before that, rulers had rarely commissioned maps. An exception was

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[200] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 378; Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory," 146.

[201] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 40; Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 662; Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory," 151.

[202] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 41.

[203] Klinghoffer, *The Power of Projections,* 43; Cormack, "Britannia Rules the Waves?" 45, 51.

Henry VIII who ordered large-scale maps of the English coastline in the 1530s because he feared an invasion.[204]

Maps were not only used for defensive purposes but also displayed royal magnificence and helped rationalize the activity of ruling a country. Monarchs therefore had more than enough incentive to map the lands over which they claimed to rule. Christopher Saxton was appointed to chart England and Wales on orders of Elizabeth I in 1573. This survey not only supplied the English Crown with geographic information of unprecedented detail and accuracy but also shaped the image of England for the next two hundred years.[205]

As opposed to her father's enthusiasm for maps Elizabeth I did not really share his fervor. Yet she sometimes put herself into the position of a sponsor, e.g. when she assisted Drake and Raleigh's overseas enterprises. And the crown, which was no longer as rich as it had been in the days of Henry VIII still commissioned the mapping of English forts and fortified harbors like Plymouth or Dover. By the granting of pensions, employment, or lands for worthy cartographers, the English sovereign could also act as a sponsor. Edward Wright for example, a mathematician who promoted the use of the Mercator projection, was appointed as the tutor of the eldest son of James I, Prince Henry. The English monarchs also supported private initiatives because direct sponsorship was often impossible due to monetary governmental shortcuts.[206]

One of Elizabeth's primary uses of maps and globes was for propaganda purposes. Cartography and astronomy were used for court pageantry. She also found uses for herself when she wished to create a personal, imperial imagery. In some of her most famous portraits the queen is depicted with maps and globes, which symbolize her protection of the territory under her command. In the "Ditchley" portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger she is shown standing on Saxton's map of England and Wales from 1583.[207]

With the establishment of colonies in North America and the plantations of Ireland new maps had become essential for political maneuvers. The colonial endeavors of the English acted as a stimulus for the production of more accurate maritime maps. By the second half of Elizabeth's

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[204] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 380; Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1610–1611.
[205] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 380–382.
[206] Barber, "England II," 62; Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1610–1611.
[207] Barber, "England II," 77–78.

reign, these were manufactured with some regularity. The foreign and domestic crises in the late sixteenth century continued to generate a need for maps of all geographical areas.[208] The Crown was therefore also interested in the rising production of maps, because through maps the English overseas expansion could be in part planned, supervised and monitored. It is important to understand that English royal support of cartographic endeavors was nothing like the official patronage of cartography found in Spain, Portugal or France or even that of Henry VIII.[209]

Philip II had an interest to make his territories across the Atlantic Ocean visible through maps. Because he also had the fiscal requirements necessary for such cartographic projects, he could patronize cartographers and sponsor mapping projects[210] "on a level nearly unparalleled in the rest of Europe".[211] He created the Academia de Matemáticas, where cosmography was taught, as well as the office of *cosmógrafo-cronista mayor* of the Council of the Indies. A cosmographical department, which had to regulate map production, was created within the Casa de Contratación.[212]

Portuguese conquests were institutionalized and trade and overseas administration regulated within Casa da Índia, which was situated in Lisbon. Map production and nautical science, on the other hand, were the responsibilities of the Armazém da Guiné e Índia which was founded in the late fifteenth century. A school of navigation was established in connection with the Armazém. The position of the grand cosmographer, the *cosmógrafo-mor*, was created in 1547. The *cosmógrafo*'s main tasks included the examination of chartmakers and direction of pilots and chartmakers overseas and in Lisbon. Both the Spanish *cosmógrafo-cronista major* and the *cosmógrafo-mor* were employees of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns.[213]

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[208] Peter Barber, "England II: Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 1550–1620," in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 58.

[209] Barber, "England II," 59, 66.

[210] One of Philip's endeavors was a fifty-item questionnaire, which was circulated in the Spanish realm. The replies from the American territories were called *Relaciones Geográficas* and were evaluated and converted into maps by Spain's most prominent cartographers Alonso de Santa Cruz and Juan López de Velasco.

[211] Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

[212] The Council of the Indies, founded in 1523, was an administrative organ of the Spanish government that oversaw the Spanish colonies in the Americas. The Council of the Indies was given jurisdiction over the Casa de la Contratación (House of Trade), which had been founded in 1503 in Seville. This office was responsible for trade, travel and colonization in the Indies.

[213] Maria Fernanda Alegria et al., "Portuguese Cartography in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 1*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1002–1005; Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings*

In France the position of the *cosmographe du roi* was created in 1560, when André Thevet[214] was elevated to this rank. Patronage by the King of France made it possible to finance expensive printing ventures, such as *La cosmographie universelle*, which was published in 1675.[215] *Ingénieurs du roi,* positions which emerged in the sixteenth century, were at first mainly responsible for plans of fortifications. During the reign of Henri IV their work became more varying, and now included the construction of town plans, city views, as well as the mapping of France as a whole on a large scale.[216]

Even though English cartography was not institutionalized to the extent of its Spanish and Portuguese counterparts or actively patronized by its sovereign, English maps played their part in the discussions between the English Crown, the companies and individual explorers. In order to at least get an inkling of what was going on across the Atlantic Ocean, the English government needed to be kept informed of the environment the colonization took place in to gain a certain informational leverage.[217] When compared to the Spanish and French kings, it can be said the Tudors and Stuarts were rather consumers than producers of maps.[218]

Maps were however not only used by the monarchy but also by its subjects. Through cartography an English citizen could seek to influence royal policy. John Dee's map of parts of the Northern Hemisphere was one example for an attempt to get Elizabeth I to support and finance colonial attempts overseas more actively.[219]

Therefore sovereigns were not the only patrons of cartographers. Ministers, who were often themselves closely involved in the chartered companies, acted as a bridge between the Crown

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and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998), 16–17, 32; Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World"*,* 1434.

[214] André Thevet was a Franciscan cosmographer who took part in expeditions to Brazil. He published a description of the country and its inhabitants in his work *Les singularitez de la France antarctique.*

[215] Frank Lestringant and Monique Pelletier, "Maps and Descriptions of the World in Sixteenth-Century France," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1468.

[216] David Buisseret, "French Cartography: The *ingénieurs du roi,* 1500–1650," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1519–1521.

[217] Barber, "England II," 59, 66.

[218] Barber, "England II," 61; Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 668.

[219] Barber, "England II," 66.

and the city. Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's Secretary of State from 1573 until 1590, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who acted twice as Secretary of State and later as Lord Treasurer from 1572 until his death in 1598, were both active sponsors of cartographers. The surviving set of John White's watercolors of Roanoke Colony, including his map of Virginia, was probably intended for Walsingham. He worked with maps and associated with their makers on a day-to-day basis as can be gleaned from his diary.[220]

William Cecil's associations with the cartographic trade have been researched very well, for example by R. A. Skelton. He incorporated maps into the regular business of state. In his library he amassed Ptolemy's *Geography* and newer books of geography. He also owned Ortelius's atlas in two editions. Cecil's interest in maps was nevertheless motivated by his wish to serve the needs of the state. He was well placed to gather maps of all sorts, also from supplicants vying for his support. He demanded and obtained more accurate maps for military and administrative purposes. Combined with treaties and legal precedents, maps became a powerful administrative instrument and were helpful in the formulation of policy in his hands. As a Secretary of State he was closely involved in most domestic and foreign affairs. As Lord Treasurer he could procure maps produced for the Exchequer and other government departments. Maps, for example several Saxton maps, were used for national defense. They also served as an illustrated index of the government's friends and enemies and helped meet the needs of colonial expansion in Ireland. Maps were furthermore consulted on questions of appropriate taxation, as the distribution of the population could be roughly estimated from the number of people living in those towns.[221]

Burghley's public use of maps becomes increasingly blurred with his private use. He took for example an interest in genealogy, which can be gathered from the genealogies of kings in maps of Denmark in his Ortelius atlas. Because the Cecil's were landowners in Northamptonshire he made use of maps of the county in this respect. The men who pushed cartography and were part of the country's government, like Cecil, Walsingham and Sir Henry Sidney[222], therefore often carried their cartographic inclinations into their private lives. Like other merchants they invested into the voyages of exploration and were closely involved with the trading companies and had an interest in their being successful. To monitor their progress explorers were expected to record

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[220] Barber, "England II," 59, 68; Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 668; Peter Barber, "Was Elizabeth I interested in Maps – And Did it Matter?" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004): 190.

[221] Barber, "England II," 68–75; Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1613.

[222] Henry Sidney (1529–1586) served as Vice Treasurer of Ireland and after 1665 as Lord Deputy of Ireland.

their voyages on and the territory they traveled to on maps. Ministers and courtiers did not just act as patrons. According to Barber, they also compelled administrative officers and other individuals to make more use of cartographic methods.[223]

After 1550 maps were produced for those who could afford them, namely merchants and members of the landed gentry. These maps were produced to help guide merchant ships find new markets. For example John White's maps of Virginia were not financed by the English Crown, but by the merchant William Sanderson, who supported the colonizing efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh. The gentry were less generous financiers, but because it was in their interest to protect the land they owned in courts of law, they very active patrons of surveyors. Those estate maps formed the basis for the decision over a division of an estate following the owner's death. Furthermore, they were often used for drainage schemes. Another motive was the family's honor and pride of possession, which led to the maps being adorned with the heraldic images of the patron. The maps made for representative purposes were often far larger and more splendidly decorated than would have been strictly tnecessary otherwise. They served social and psychological means and reinforced their owner's place in society. Whatever the primary intention for the mapping of an estate may have been, these maps were often reused later for administrative purposes.[224]

Another group that acted increasingly as patrons after Henry VIII reign, were mayors or burgesses of cities and ports. Trading companies like the Muscovy Company also actively promoted cartographic endeavors in order to surpass the Dutch East India Company. The livery companies of the City of London can also be counted amongst the corporate bodies that had an interest in geography: They were involved in the plantation of Ulster and the mapping of their English estates.[225]

Several leading cartographers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were not officially employed. John Dee, Thomas Harriot, John White and William Bourne counted among those mapmakers. Some of them did receive favors from ministers acting privately though. John Dee for example, a mathematician and geographer, who studied at Cambridge and Louvain with

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[223] Barber, "England II," 76; Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1614–1615.
[224] Barber, "England II," 58–59; Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1645, 1661–1663.
[225] Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1615.

Mercator amongst others, became an astrologer to Elizabeth I and advised the Muscovy Company and Humphrey Gilbert.[226]

When discussing the issue of cartographic patronage in sixteenth-century England, one needs to be aware of the seamless continuum from complete direct royal patronage to a few cases of patronage by merchants alone. Over the seventeenth and eighteenth century cartography became more and more institutionalized and was conducted by permanent agencies. Maps implied a rationalization of space because of its properties of demarcation and homogenization. Its usefulness lay in the power to draw non-existential linear boundaries on the ground which did not correspond to the outside world in manifest form, and yet existed because the line was enforced by the government.[227]

With the reign of the Stuart's, beginning under James I, cartographic support continued unhindered. The trading companies and the City of London livery companies[228] started spending more money in connection with the planation in Ulster, the colonizing movements in North America and the Caribbean and trade with Asia. The East India Company had been founded in 1600 and showed active interest in accurate geographic information about the Far East. The monetary input of these patrons is reflected in the maps of the Ulster plantation by Thomas Raven, Richard Norwood's survey of Bermuda in 1616 and of course John Smith's maps of Virginia and New England.[229]

After 1612 however, the speed of British map production lost momentum; between 1612 and 1650 no new English town plans were made. One reason of the deterioration of the English map production has been found in the commercial strength of Dutch map publishers, who by 1630 were more than able to satisfy British cartographic needs. They dominated the market by publishing English text-editions of the most important atlases. After 1612 a decline of governmental manuscript production had also been recorded, due to a lacking enthusiasm for the surveying of royal estates and the absence of a major foreign threat which had stimulated Henry VIII map revolution in the early sixteenth century. This resulted in diminishing royal and official

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[226] Cormack, "Britannia Rules the Waves?" 47.
[227] Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map," 386; Barber, "England II," 59.
[228] The Livery Companies of the City of London are trade associations that had originally developed as guilds in the Middle Ages.
[229] Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1666–1667.

patronage. After 1620 the only booming branches of English cartography were colonial cartography and local surveying.[230]

While England had been one of the centers of map production in the 1580s and 1590s due to direct and indirect patronage, the Low Countries soon outdid the English and asserted their commercial supremacy and even dominated the English map market.[231]

3.3. Dutch Cartography and Its Representation of the American Colonies

Some of the most significant mapmaking of early modern Europe was created in the Low Countries. The Dutch largely dominated the cartographic discourse in the seventeenth century. Contrary to Spanish, Portuguese and French tendencies to centralize map making, cartography in the Netherlands was overwhelmingly in the hands of commercial mapmakers in Antwerp and Amsterdam. Antwerp would be the commercial center for mapmaking until about 1600. It offered the best opportunities for booksellers and mapsellers to exploit the growing market in printed goods. Due to the expeditions to "new" territories, interest in geography rose, which in turn expanded the market for maps and geographical literature.[232]

In the late sixteenth century the role of Antwerp in mapmaking diminished and the production of maps and atlases was concentrated in Amsterdam. The rise of Amsterdam can be attributed to four factors: the war against Spain, the influence of immigrants from the southern Low Countries and the travel for commerce and discovery. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of people who used maps increased dramatically. Administrators, academics, businessmen and seafarers acknowledged the value of maps as sources of information. Furthermore mapmakers in Amsterdam began to specialize and a stricter division between map creators, publishers and sellers took place. This specialization can be attributed to an increasing demand from the public, which had the highest degree of literacy in Europe. The most up-to-date information of geographical developments was turned into wall maps as quickly as possible.[233]

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[230] Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1667.

[231] Barber, "Mapmaking in England," 1669.

[232] Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 667–668; Cornelis Koeman et al., "Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1672," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1298, 1305, 1374.

[233] Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 667–668; Cornelis Koeman et al., "Commercial Cartography and Map Production," 1298, 1305, 1374–1375.

Amsterdam mapmakers made their products for an open market. Hence the cartographic output of the city was characterized by variety, ranging from large atlases and multi-sheet composite wall maps to folios of travel writing.

In order to meet the demand, printing houses were established that primarily specialized in the dissemination of maps and prints. The production of printed maps required better organization of the publishing companies. Map printers and sellers had to look for larger markets for their products.[234]

Gerardus Mercator was the founding father of commercial map production in the Low Countries. Mercator had moved to Antwerp while he was still a student of philosophy and later started to earn his living by trading in maps. The total amount of his cartographic production was not large: it included wall maps of Palestine (1537) and Flanders (1540) as well as a world map in folio (1538). He created the bulk of his cartographic production and his most remarkable works in Duisburg in the German Rhineland. The production of maps had become a primary economic activity during his lifetime. His most ambitious work was to be a comprehensive cosmographic work on the creation and origin of the universe. Yet, only half of the cartographic portion of this cosmography was realized. The first twenty-eight maps were published in his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* of 1578. Seventy-three maps of France, the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and the Balkan Peninsula followed in 1585 and 1589. After Mercator's death in 1594, his son Rumoldus published as much of his father's cosmography as was possible.[235]

Dutch maps both supported and challenged power and presented a means to make a case for or against a state. They could therefore defy those in power just as easily as they could support a regime. Pieter van Beke's map of Flanders from 1538, for example, appeared one year before the City of Ghent revolted against the Habsburg governor. By including heraldic shields of Flemish counts and their genealogies, the mapmakers acknowledged their independence of the Habsburg Empire.[236] Dutch cartography therefore did not operate in a political vacuum but was influenced and affected by current political or economic developments.

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[234] Koeman et al., "Commercial Cartography and Map Production," 1306, 1374.
[235] Koeman et al., "Commercial Cartography and Map Production," 1298–1299, 1323.
[236] Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 674.

Due to its less centralized and institutionalized nature the Dutch map trade was able to produce more maps of higher quality than its competitors in England or France. But the Netherlands' head start did not last. The hegemony of Dutch commercial mapmaking came to an end only around 1675, when French publishers started to dominate the map trade.[237]

3.3.1. Mapping the Dutch World

Cartographers who made maps for oversea companies manufactured them for the "private sector". Contrary to Portugal or Spain, no sovereign exercised control over cartography in the Netherlands. Map making flourished as a commercial enterprise and surpassed other map making enterprises in quality and quantity. For example Hessel Gerritsz, and the Blaeu firm which succeeded him made maps for the VOC but also used the data gleaned from VOC for publicly sold products. They remained active as independent cartographers. Therefore even though the VOC and the WIC took a great interest in the usefulness of maps and charts, they never managed to incorporate this branch of business completely or exclusively.[238]

The cartography of the Dutch overseas possessions was influenced by Spanish and Portuguese cartography, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the late sixteenth century map production of overseas territories centered around Edam, the hometown of many oceanic navigators. When the different companies which had been involved in Asiatic trade merged in 1602 and became the VOC, Amsterdam became the center of map production. Reliable cartographic information was essential for secure voyages to and trade within Asia. New cartographic information seeped into the Low Countries as Dutch ships covered new territory.[239]

The WIC also employed mapmakers, land surveyors and engineers in the Low Countries and abroad. As opposed to the maps of Dutch possessions in Asia, which were rather centralized by the VOC, chart production of the Atlantic outposts remained largely in the private sector and was subject to fierce competition by mapmaking agencies. Prior to 1600 little first-hand knowledge had existed. By 1600 this disadvantage had been overcome because information from outside the

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[237] Koeman et al., "Commercial Cartography and Map Production," 1374.

[238] Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 668; Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World," 1433, 1460; Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money,* 165, 175.

[239] Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World," 1434–1438.

Low Countries had been incorporated into compilations or was translated into Dutch.[240] In 1600 Girolamo Benzoni's book on the New World from 1565 was translated by Carel van Mander and published under the title *Historie van de Nieuwe Werelt*. Bleau put into print a navigation manual of the European seas called *Licht der Zeevart* in 1608. Gerritsz published a chart of the Pacific Ocean in 1622. These maps supplied navigators and merchants with necessary information for efficient trade. According to Zanvliet this information was also supplemented by merchants with information concerning "local history, flora, fauna, […] accessibility, climate and fortification.[241]

Dutch mapmakers of overseas territories compiled maps from other cartographic representations and written descriptions. Indigenous knowledge which gave explicit attention to Native American settlements was for example incorporated in manuscript- and printed maps of Nieuw Nederland. The Dutch companies researched carefully whether an Indian tribe was on friendly terms with the English, French or Spanish and took this knowledge into account when deciding whether to trade with these tribes.[242] Hessel Gerritsz described the incorporation of indigenous geographical information in the legend of a map which was mainly based on Cornelis Hendricksz statements:

> "Of that what Kleyntjen [a Dutch explorer] and his companion have indicated to me about the location of the rivers and the places of the nations which they have found on their outward trip from the Maquaas to the inland along the New River down to the Ogehage [Oglala?], enemies of the above-mentioned Northern nations, I can at this point find only two partly finished drafts of maps. When I speculate how this and the other draft should be combined, I conclude that the locations for the nations of the Sennecas, Gachoos, Capitanasses and Jennecas should be drawn quite a bit further to the west."[243]

The Dutch hence understood the value of accurate geographic knowledge and used it to their advantage in the maneuvering for the ideological upper hand in the scramble for the Americas.

3.4. Distribution of Cartographic Knowledge and European Cartographic Rivalry

The Dutch knew how to use cartographic propaganda very effectively in the seventeenth century when they published maps in multiple languages and circulated them throughout Europe. The colonial expansion to the Americas however did not only stimulate cartographic production in

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[240] Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World," 1449.

[241] Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 164–165.

[242] Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World," 1454.

[243] Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World," 1454.

England or the Netherlands. The first to map sections of the Americas were unsurprisingly the Spanish and the Portuguese who used sea charts and maps to plan their colonial ventures. Both powers centralized map making in special cartographic repositories, the Armazèm in Lisbon and the Casa de la Contratación in Seville. By the seventeenth century, the Dutch had begun to expand. They too used maps to support their colonial projects. Thus cartography became more and more institutionalized on the continent in the late sixteenth century. French monarchs also established official cartographers and Henri IV was assisted by a group of *ingénieurs du roi,* who were responsible for provincial mapping.[244]

The competition between England, France, the Netherlands and Spain over territories in the Americas made it necessary to hide some of the knowledge acquired over the coastline and the hinterland of the area they would like to colonize or where in the process of colonizing. There was a fine line between divulging too cartographic information that could be used against its publishing nation in the quest for resources and land, and staking a claim to the exact same territory via a map. Yet the colonizing powers had to display their "ownership" in the Americas in a way that could gain them international recognition. Therefore, cartographic accuracy was not important. What really counted was what kind of geographic claims were staked via cartography.[245]

The most accurate geographical knowledge about the colonies remained in manuscript form. If the map remained in manuscript form and was not printed, the range of distribution was restricted severely. If the map went into print, it could be multiplied cheaply. To copy a manuscript map by hand on the other hand was a much more taxing work. Leaving maps in manuscript form and refraining to print them was a way to secure that solely the crown and trading companies could actively benefit from this kind of information. For example the earliest known detailed chart of the Chesapeake region of Virginia called *A draught of Virginia*, which was drawn by Robert Tindall in 1607, remained in manuscript form. The necessity of secrecy to prevent foreign nations from learning too much about English activities in the newfound land was apparently understood.[246]

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[244] Kagan, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 666–667.

[245] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 150.

[246] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 158.

However, it was not that no cartographic information at all seeped into continental Europe. The printed maps of the newly claimed regions that were published to a wider European audience on the other hand were just more speculative, optimistic and unrepresentative. Printed maps were an important opportunity for explorers to convince others of the worthiness of their overseas successes. It was a way to inform England and the world of its assertions of sovereignty in oversea territories. Carefully prepared maps could still be disseminated to demonstrate dominion, without divulging information that the crown wanted to monopolize.[247] Those maps could be used as propaganda without compromising secret intelligence. The European audience of English colonial maps made the notion that other Europeans would recognize English dominion over those regions probable. The maps' rhetorical devices demonstrated English sovereignty, effective control and complete territorial possession of the region drawn. Thus, cartographers could claim North American territories more effectively than ceremonies of possession or descriptions of the land in whatever language.[248]

Even with the rise of scientific cartography in the early modern period, the ideological function of maps did not lessen at all:

> "The rediscovery of Ptolemaic charting, the development of Mercator's projection, the broadening empirical knowledge of non-European lands, as well as the improvements in printing, binding, and coloring techniques, all contributed to the stunning progress of the cartographer's craft during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. […] Early modern mapmakers, no less than their medieval predecessors […] deftly directed their cartographic discourse to express a culturally specific geographic *Weltanschauung*. By the seventeenth century, cartographers enjoyed, if anything, better and more sophisticated means to make their case."[249]

MacMillan argued in his paper *Sovereignty and Possession* that the lack of accurate English printed maps was not due to the inefficiency of English map makers, but the English sovereigns reluctance to divulge too accurate information about English overseas possessions. Benjamin Schmidt on the other hand argues that the English had relatively little experience in printing and disseminating maps and could therefore not compete with the prospering cartographic trade of Amsterdam. In his opinion the inaccuracy of English maps of the Americas was due to its lack of technique. According to Schmidt the limitedness of English maps led the English to be in a

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[247] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 159.
[248] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 150–151.
[249] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 554.

disadvantaged position, as maps were crucial for diplomacy, the negotiation of treaties and the settling of border disputes.[250]

However, the existence of many high-quality manuscript maps suggests that printed English representations of North America were not the result of inferior expertise, but of desires of the crown to convey expressions of imperial sovereignty without revealing secret information. In printed maps emphasis was given to communicating territorial limits and alleged permanence and not geographical accuracy. As these maps were increasingly reprinted, its devices to represent sovereignty were also transferred into other maps of the period, where they gave the illusion of English control over these regions.[251]

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[250] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 563.

[251] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 175–177.

4. Maps of Virginia

Cartography can be seen as a record of colonial self-interest. Maps were crucial to English transoceanic ventures because they also reinforced a view of the world and the place England had in it. Thus maps and charts strengthened England's identity as an imperial nation. Every map codified more than one perspective on the world and was directed at more than one user, yet colonial maps tended to give a one-sided view of colonial encounters and supported "Europe's God-given right to territorial appropriation."[252].

The creation of a map could have many different outcomes in mind. They were designed for administrative or jurisdictional purposes, for economic development or defense or as works of topographical reference. Cadastral maps showed the ownership of property. Yet the map became the means by which the population could be more effectively controlled. Boundary lines on papers became a medium of legitimate appropriation.[253] While the Dutch, and the French used surveyors too, no other European power employed them as extensively as the English. By establishing private property, the possession of the land by certain persons was determined. The maps granted assurance to settlers by reproducing the symbolic authority and place-names of the homeland. Regional colonial maps thus served rather as a means of promoting the newly acquired territory than as a way to sufficiently govern the area.[254]

To gather geographical information of the terrain, the Virginia Company of London employed such surveyors. Their principal task was to glean information about the country, and to formally appraise private property boundaries. Yet, due to the low density of settlers in the early sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were relatively few contested boundaries within the English community and conclusively few inducements to undertake surveys. Even though the Virginia Company asked its governor to commission surveys both in 1616 and 1618 due to the beginning tobacco boom, no surveys seem to have been made. For these reasons the oldest survey dates from 1639 and is of little use for this paper.[255] Instead the White maps which were created next

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[252] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 67.

[253] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 39; 60–62; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1754.

[254] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 46; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 24; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1773–1774.

[255] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 46; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 24; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1773–1774.

to Harriot's *Report* and Smith's *Map of Virginia* will be analyzed for their informational content and message.

4.1. The White Maps

Two maps of Virginia by John White were published in de Bry' edition of Harriot's *Report* in 1590. White had made three more manuscript map, of which two can be found in the British Museum and the other one in the National Archives in London. The two maps published by de Bry were the most complete ones. One is entitled *The Arriual of the Englishmen in Virginia* and provides a close-up view of Roanoke Island and its coastline. The second map is called *The Carte of all the Coast of Virginia* and gives a large overview of the region that White and Harriot had surveyed.[256]

There are considerable differences between White's original maps and those published in de Bry's edition of 1590. White drew his map with north at the top. The name *Virginia* and other names were written in a small size. White's manuscript map was generally unobtrusive, neutral and lacking politically motivated illustrations. De Bry's engravings of White's map *The Coast of Virginia* was oriented west-east, which made the land and not the coastline the primary feature. It also placed more emphasis on ideologically loaded symbols, like coats-of-arms. White's map was probably intended for use by naval captains and drawn to assist the crown in planning its politics in the region. All features depicted show relative neutrality. De Bry's map on the other hand was littered with numerous symbols of authority.[257]

Because of their technical accuracy White's maps set a new standard for New World cartography, and were one of the more significant results of the Roanoke expeditions. They were designed to be used by the target groups of the colonization movement. Both maps contained information on the coast line which could be crucial for navigators. When the Portuguese pilot Simon Fernando explored Roanoke in 1587 he was almost shipwrecked because he hit a shallow san bank in the southern part of the island. By making Virginia seem real and desirable they were meant to entice investors.[258]

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[256] Moran, *Inventing Virginia*, 183.

[257] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 163–165.

[258] Moran, *Inventing Virginia,* 181–182, 202.

The Roanoke map depicted the island and its shoreline, thus making it more navigable for ships. The etching emphasized the dangers of shipwreck by showing five sunken ships. The shoals are marked with dots to indicate their danger to shipping. All of these marks of danger suggest that Roanoke Island had less than favorable natural harbors. The map furthermore marked three Indian villages and three distinct cornfields attached to the villages. The corn suggests the availability of food to English colonists. Hunters also hunted deer and men caught fish, which serves the myth of abundance. The map also pointed to an affluence of revenue sources, were potentially valuable commodities to be planted. The different kinds of trees on the map would have represented value to the English, who lacked sources for naval supply at home. While on the one hand the Roanoke map suggested all the possible dangers to shipping and the unsuitability of the coastline for harbors, it also presented the island as a place of abundance and suggests a wealth of commodities readily available to English exploitation.[259]

White's larger map of the Outer Banks, the Virginia map, complemented Harriot's more detailed *Report* by giving an overview of the region. The fact that no other colonial power was in the vicinity can be deducted by the lack of symbols of European ownership except for English ships and formed a statement of English prescriptive use of the region. Its primary purpose also was to inform and persuade by addressing several audiences involved in colonization. Navigators would want to attain information about the coastline, colonists would want to get an idea of the land they would settle and merchants would want to learn about people to trade with. Therefore the map supplied hydrographical information, but not in the extent of the Roanoke map. The mountains depicted on the map connoted the possible existence of valuable metals.[260]

In addition to portraying topography and suggesting potential value of the land, White also tried to convey the contact between the Algonquins and the English on the Virginia map. This would have particularly appealed to merchants, who needed a willing commercial partner. The map also identified tribal regions. It showed symbols of English appropriation, like the royal arms of Elizabeth I, asserting her claim to this section of the New World. The seal implied that she supported the colony and encouraged others to participate as colonists or investors. Furthermore, in the upper right corner there is the drawn depiction of Walter Raleigh's coat of arms. An inscription tells its reader in Latin that the territory was discovered by Raleigh in 1585 under the authority of Queen Elizabeth in her twenty-seventh year of lawful rule. The map also confirmed

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[259] Moran, *Inventing Virginia,* 195–197.

[260] Moran, *Inventing Virginia,* 197–199; MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 165.

this claim by displaying a large Elizabethan coat-of-arms in the upper left corner. The royal arms symbolized the continued authority over the region depicted on the map.[261]

On the mainland, native tribal names are written in block letters. Yet, the name *Virginia* blazes above all the names, giving the impression of English authority over everything drawn on the map. De Bry showed effective control of the land by filling up every inch of space available on the map with pictures that demonstrated English knowledge and use of the territory. Those viewing the map can see manifestations of English sovereignty and power of places and people.[262]

The maps and Harriot's narrative complemented each other in that both serve the same goal. They were crafted to attract more settlers and investors to the fledgling English colony across the Atlantic Ocean. While Harriot wrote for example about the submissiveness of the indigenous population, White drew it on his maps. He showed the Algonquins as subservient and acknowledgeable of rank, age and gender. Villages, civil government and an organized form of religion were portrayed. Neither Harriot, nor White showed the tense relations with the Indians, which increasingly deescalated.[263]

4.2. John Smith's Maps

John Smith's map of Virginia was published into a pamphlet, with the title *A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion*. It was engraved by William Hole, "a well-known artist whom Smith apparently engaged sometime in 1611".[264] Like White's maps, Smith's map is also a propagandist tract, intended to induce colonization. He too portrayed the country as fertile and able to sustain humans, which is also exemplified by the indigenous people drawn unto the map. Whereas White depicted the coast of Virginia, Smith's scope was much smaller, focusing just on the Chesapeake region itself. The large folded map is the central document of the small quarto column, and not the accompanied text. Smith emphasized that everything he had written about was also depicted on the enclosed

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[261] Moran, *Inventing Virginia,* 200–201; MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 163.

[262] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 165.

[263] Naidut, "Meta Incognita," 54.

[264] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 123.

map and thus claimed its authenticity and incontrovertible nature. The map and the text were a whole, functioning as an expression of sovereignty. [265]

Like de Bry, Smith alluded to English dominion and effective power over the territory via symbols and images. An unrolled ribbon proclaims that the territory is called *Virginia*. An English war ship can be seen in the water and royal coat-of-arms is prominently displayed.[266] Two pictures illustrate the indigenous peoples of North America. In the first Powhatan is shown sitting in regal fashion, like when he received Smith as prisoner in 1607. The second illustration portrayed a man, holding a bow in one hand and a club in the other. He was nevertheless careful to minimize any danger from the Natives, by showing them in non-threatening stances.[267]

The map was read by a broad audience throughout the seventeenth century, making it one of the most famous New World maps of the time. Between 1612 and 1625 alone, Smith's map underwent twelve different reprints. It was reproduced in six editions of Smith's own *Generall Historie of Virginia* and also appeared in Purcha's *Pilgrimage* and *Hakluytus Posthumus*. Foreign reprints were made by Jodocus Hondius in 1618, Theodore de Bry's son Johann Theodore de Bry in his *Dreyzehender Theil Americae* from 1628 and various editions of Mercartor's *Atlas Minor* in 1628. This assured a wide multilingual audience for England's claims to possession over Virginia.[268]

Smith's next map showed New England and was published in his 1616 treatise *A Description of New England*. It was based on Smith's explorations of the area in 1614 and on manuscript material that was available to him. Beside the title is a royal coat of arms and in the upper left corner Smith himself is depicted surrounded by images representing English land and naval power. On the sea a flotilla of eight ships all bearing the English ensign can be seen. When compared with the Virginia map, the total absence of indigenous people is most noticeable. There are no images of Natives, nor any native place names.[269]

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[265] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 166; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1772–1773.

[266] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 166.

[267] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 168.

[268] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 168–169.

[269] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 169–170.

5. Naming Territory

Names are not as arbitrary as other words. They are given consciously to create a certain meaning. Bestowing a name on a place is an "act of appropriation [and] with each change in political regime come new names for a given geographical location."[270] Barbara Mundy specified the relevance of toponyms on maps when she noted that "naming is at the heart of mapping, since with a name, a place can be singled out and then represented on and with the map."[271]

Cartographic nomenclature supported English, Dutch, Spanish and French claims to territory as much as illustrations of colonial hegemony on maps. While on the one hand sovereigns and conquerors were celebrated and honored in national place names, on the other hand any indication or recognition of colonial rivals would be carefully excluded on maps. Petruta Naidut adheres considerably importance to the act of renaming:

> "To assign a name is to assign an identity, to write a history and create a cultural context which will stay with a place for a long time, if not forever. However, to rename a site is a little more than that. Apart from the new cultural load, the practice involves an erasure, a silencing of past experiences and, at times, a violent appropriation of land, language and history."[272]

She further argues that, while fifteenth- to seventeenth-century explorers often referred to their acts as naming the places where they intended to settle, they in fact renamed them, because they already had a name. The Americas were full of people who named the sites just as much as European travelers.[273]

The English devoted considerable energy on the issue of geography, names and maps, because these were all geopolitical statements. By giving a place a name that reminded the settlers of their homeland, a new geographical "reality" was projected. By using English toponyms on a map, the territory portrayed there became Anglicized. It marginalized Native Americans from

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[270] Lisa Radding and John Western, "What's in a Name? Linguistics, Geography and Toponyms," *The Geographical Review* 100 (2010): 403.

[271] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain,* 138.

[272] Naidut, "Meta Incognita," 51.

[273] Naidut, "Meta Incognita," 51–52.

what was now seen as English territory. And as the seventeenth century waned, names became more and more politicized.[274]

Yet even though Europeans, the English as much as the Spanish or Dutch, named their newly acquired territories as quickly as possible as a sort of leverage against their rivals, that did not necessarily reflect the actual power relations. For almost the entire period I study in this paper, from the 1580s until the early 1620s, the Native American tribes outnumbered the Europeans by far and ruled the land they lived on accordingly. Most of the time the English were at the brink of starvation. They had to rely on the indigenous people who lived in the area to trade with them and to give them food if the situation was really dire. Thus, names did not necessarily reflect the geopolitical conditions of that time.[275]

Native American naming conventions differed considerable from those of the English, who often created arbitrary place names which connected them to localities in the homeland or gave a place the name of its owner. The indigenous peoples of the east coast of North America chose their place names according to what was on the land. Thus their conception of possession did not include the land as such, but what was on it and what it was used for. Some of the names were agricultural, like Anitaash Pond in Connecticut, which means "rotten corn", or Mittineag, in Massachusetts, which translated to "abandoned fields". Names relating to the location of food were far more common. They pointed to where certain plants could be gathered, or animals could be hunted. Abessah in Maine was for example the "clam bake place" and Eackhonk River the "end of fishing place". Via this naming tradition, the landscape was turned into a map which pointed the people to sustain places where they could sustain themselves.[276]

With the renaming of indigenous nomenclature to English, Spanish, French or Dutch names, a process of appropriation and transfer took place, which, at least on paper and in the minds of those who used these words, signified that the territory now belonged to someone else.[277]

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[274] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 551–553, 575; Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory," 144; Butzer, "The Americas Before and After 1492," 361; Baldwin, "Colonial Cartography," 1780.

[275] Mancall, "Introduction," 8.

[276] Cronon, *Changes in the Land,* 65–66.

[277] Butzer, "The Americas Before and After 1492," 361.

5.1. The Politics of Naming in a European Context

English-oriented place names on maps, similar to coats-of-arms or headings, were an important way to assert sovereignty over the stretch of land they would like to colonize. Elizabeth named *Meta Incognita*; *Nova Albion* was named by Drake. These claims were strengthened over the following years, as the names were reprinted in other European maps. In 1587, Richard Hakluyt published a map of the Americas in his edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*, which was printed in Paris. The map was based on Ortelius' 1570 map of the Americas, yet Hakluyt clearly indicated English possession via place names. By printing the text in Latin and publishing it in continental Europe, Hakluyt assured an international audience. By the 1590s, only a few years after Raleigh's Roanoke expedition, the dissemination of English made maps in continental Europe made certain that at least foreign mapmakers recognized English possessions in the Americas.[278] The English were not the only ones to use toponyms to their advantage in the struggle of universal assertion of colonial property. I will first consider the Dutch use of toponyms because the Dutch competed directly with the English for colonies in seventeenth-century North America. I will then discuss the Spanish use of toponyms in Mexico, because this change of place names added another layer of land appropriation to the study of cartography – a change of the writing system.

5.1.1. Dutch Use of Toponyms

The Dutch tried to show the irrefutable Dutch-ness of the New Netherlands by renaming the territory as well. In the *Grant of Exclusive Trade to New Netherlands by the States-General of the United Netherlands* from October 11, 1614, the States-General claims a part of North America for the Dutch, stating that

> "the above newly discovered lands, situate in America between New France and Virginia, whereof the sea coasts lie between the fortieth and forth-fifth degrees of latitude [are] now named New Netherland, as can be seen by a figurative map hereunto annexed […]"[279]

The logic behind this scheme was that if the land had Dutch names, it must be in Dutch possession. Maps that depicted New Netherlands were, as a result, littered with Dutch place names, like Nieuw Holland, Vlieland, Texel, Nieuw Amsterdam, Willemstad and Fort Nassau.

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[278] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 162.

[279] W. Keith Kavenagh, *Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History, Volume II: Middle Atlantic Colonies* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973), 738–739.

The names of towns in the Netherlands were exported to North America, like Haerlem and Breukelyn. Cape Cod was then called Statenhock al Withoek. The Dutch map makers Dutchified the landscape much the same way Captain John Smith sought to Anglicize the area he called New England.[280]

An example for Dutch toponymic appropriation is Willem Janszoon Blaeu and his son Joan Blaeu's map of New Netherlands called *Nova Belgica et Anglica Nova*, which was published in Blaeu's *Novus Atlas* from 1635. On the map there are two islands called Hendrick Christiaes and Adriaen Blocx East of Long Island. Nieu Amsterdam is inscribed on Manhattan. The map is also full of tribal names, such as Mahikans, Manatthans and Quirepeys. In an acknowledgement of European colonization New Netherlands is situated between Virginia, New England and New France. Yet these names are printed in a bigger font size than the tribal names that fill the map, which gives more weight to European sovereignty.[281]

On Nicholas Visscher's 1655 depiction of New Netherlands on the map *Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae parties Virginiae tabula,* more Dutch toponyms are recorded than on Blaeu's map from 1635. Rivers[282] were Dutchified to Kats Kill, Wappinges Kill and Marquaa Kill. Nieuw Amsterdam and Fort Orange are depicted as urban centers, Long Island is called Lange Eylandt and two more Dutch colonies are recorded: Colonie van Heer neder Horst at the mouth of the Hudson River and Colonye Reselaers Wyck in present-day Albany. Even two English settlements on Long Island called Greenwycjk and Gravesent are depicted. [283]

The English in turn could not completely disregard the well-publicized Dutch maps. This caused a few problems:

> "Sir Dudley Carleton, the irascible English ambassador to the Hague, alerted his patrons on the Privy Council in 1621 that the Dutch had 'entered upon some partes' of what the English called Virginia 'and given new names to the severall portes appertaining to that part of the countrie'. 'After their manner they gave their own names of NEW NETHERLANDS [and] a south & a north sea, a Texel, a Vlieland, & the like.' […]"[284]

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[280] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 551, 557; Short, *Representing the Republic,* 35–36; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 70.

[281] Short, *Representing the Republic,* 40–42.

[282] The Dutch word for river is kill.

[283] Short, *Representing the Republic,* 42–44.

[284] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 573.

The Dutch had bought Manhattan "from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders; 'tis 11,000 morgens in size"[285] and issued a notification on November 6, 1626. The aforementioned Carleton also reported this incident in the Dutch-English fight for toponyms:

> "[…] Certain Hollanders [had] published a Mapp in ye Low Countries of ye sayd sea coaste comp[re]hended betwixt Virginia and Cape Codd, undr ye tytle of New Netherlands, giving ye name of the Prince of Aurange to the countrie and river of Manahata, where the Dutch are now planted […] and gieving other Dutch names to other places."[286]

The colonizing powers took pains to avoid mentioning foreign toponyms or references to a rival's names in their maps. Whenever possible the English therefore used English place names, just as the Dutch, French and Spanish did in their maps. When this proved quite impossible at times, for example when referring to New Amsterdam, the English rather made use of native names than have the hated Dutch names mar their maps.[287] When Oliver Cromwell issued instructions to Major Robart Sedgwicke and Captain John Leverett concerning the conquest of New Amsterdam on Febuary 8, 1653/54 he did not mention any Dutch name save for "the fort of Auranea". Instead when describing the area of New Amsterdam he talks of "Manhattos":

> "If, upon your return […] you find an inclination and readiness in [the governors of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven] to join in the present undertaking for vindicting the English right and extirpating the Dutch […] be prepared […] to address yourselves to the work by ordering the ships for the Mahattos, […] You […] shall endeavor to take in that place in the name of his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the use of the sair commonwealth."[288]

Therefore the Dutch nomenclature was often not only avoided, but the process itself actively questioned "as if it were, in and of itself, an illegitimate undertaking on the part of an upstart republic".[289]

5.1.2. Spanish Use of Toponyms

When the Spanish came to the Americas they did not only introduce a new language but also a novel way of writing. Mesoamericans used a system of writing which was largely logographic. In a logographic writing system the signs are images that represented the word they want to

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[285] Kavenagh, *Foundations of Colonial America II*, 755.
[286] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 574.
[287] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 574.
[288] Kavenagh, *Foundations of Colonial America II*, 768.
[289] Schmidt, *Mapping an Empire*, 575.

denote. In maps the logograms stood for place names. Indigenous mapmakers now had to face the barrier that the alphabetic writing the Spaniards used presented.[290]

Once the Spanish had conquered large parts of South America and established the colony of New Spain, they started a process of renaming by mixing the name of saints to aboriginal toponyms. These toponymic changes can be perceived on the Relación Geográfica maps commissioned by Philip II. The maps were drawn by indigenous artists but arbitrated by Spanish scribes who renamed these villages. The settlements Culhuacan and Texupa became San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan and Santiago Tejúpan respectively.[291] According to Barbara Mundy the "new Spanish and Christian names erased the landscape created by indigenous toponyms"[292] In her opinion the biggest negative effect of this policy was not the act of renaming as such. The Aztecs had done that before the Spanish knew of the Americas: As the Aztecs had expanded in Mesoamerica they had also changed the toponyms written in local languages to Nahuatl[293] toponyms. The most crucial effect in terms of Spanish toponymic changes was the imposition of a different writing system. Alphabetic literacy dramatically limited the number of indigenous people who were able to read toponyms on maps, ensuring that only a select few could make out what the name meant.[294]

When Spanish mapmakers renamed the territory of New Spain, they did so in order to establish a hierarchy among the settlements now under Spanish sovereignty which ensured that these villages now fit into the administration of New Spain. Spanish scribes also introduced an absolutely novel category of information to the indigenous Relación maps – property ownership. Inscriptions such as "cattle ranch of Vincente de Caldivar" were put on maps and complemented with symbols, in Caldivar's case a bull. The essential information, the owner's name, remained in alphabetic form. The Spanish imposed toponyms just as the Dutch.[295]

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[290] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 138–139, 166.

[291] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167–168, Ferdinand Anders and Maarten Jansen, *Schrift und Buch im Alten Mexiko* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988), 192.

[292] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167.

[293] Nahuatl was the language spoken by the Aztecs.

[294] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167–168, 176; Ferdinand Anders and Maarten Jansen, *Schrift und Buch*, 192.

[295] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 175–178

When considering the process of mixing Spanish with indigenous place names, a new facet of the imposition of toponyms comes to light. Europeans might have wanted to retain indigenous place names, but the name itself would be altered when the British, French or Spanish settlers recorded it on paper, as the language was very different from Europe's Indo-European languages. Europeans of different nationalities recorded the place names they heard from Natives according to their own understanding and their own sound system. This recording practice was far from standardized spelling. There was ample scope for corruption in the process of translating and editing indigenous toponyms due to carelessness, misreadings and misunderstandings.[296]

Therefore the Native names were transformed to something that resembled the European sound system, bastardizing the names that had previously not been recorded anyways. For example the Dutch changed Hopoakan to Hoboken.[297] How indigenous names were written down to fit the alphabetic system can be seen in the *Charter of Acadia* of December 18, 1603. In the Charter Henry IV of France expressed his wishes to Pierre du Gast, Lord of Monts:

> "We have […] ordered […] the Lord of Monts […] to people and inhabit the lands, shores and countries of Acadia, and other surrounding areas, stretching from the fortieth parallel to the forty-sixth, and there to establish our authority, […]. We […] command and order you […] to equip any ships and in them to go or to send for the purpose of trading or bartering in skins, and other things with the savages […] from the cape of Rane […], including the entire coast of Arcada, the land, and Cape Breton, the bay of Saint-Cler, of Chaleur, the included islands, Gaspay, Chichedec, Mesamichi, Lesquemin, Tadoussac, and the ricer of Canada […]."[298]

It is crucial to understand that the cartographic renaming of places to demonstrate sovereignty was one of a few useful tools in the fight for colonies that some European powers waged across the Atlantic Ocean. Though imposed European toponyms curbed the sovereignty of the indigenous peoples who lived in the area a map depicted, European maps were not made for Natives. They were not constructed to show Amerindians that what they had previously considered their hunting grounds, was now in fact Virginia, or New England, or Pennsylvania. What mattered was what European rivals considered each other's territory and what not. The English took part in this ideological strive over American territories just as much as the Dutch,

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[296] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 39.

[297] Stewart, *Names on the Land,* 70.

[298] W. Keith Kavenagh, *Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History, Volume I: Northeastern Colonies* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973), 19.

the Spanish or the French. This practice started when Sir Walter Raleigh renamed the forsaken colony he had founded Virginia.

5.2. Virginia

The land Sir Walter Raleigh' expedition arrived at was named *Virginia* by him in honor of Elizabeth I, a supposed virgin. Originally, the land had been named Wingandacoia by the Natives. This incident was described by Lewis Theobald in his 1719 book in the following manner:

> "The Queen was as willing to listen to his Merit, and sent him on a Voyage to Sea, in which he discover'd that Country, which, in Honour of the Queen, has ever since been call'd Virginia."[299]

John Smith, in turn, describes the process of naming the new colony by asserting that "it pleased her Majestie to call this Country of Wingandacoa, Virginia, by which name now you are to understand how it was planted, dissolved, renued, and enlarged […]".[300] By bestowing a new name on a future colony to express the countries indebtedness to queen Elizabeth, Raleigh committed a symbolically powerful act. *Virginia* carried a double meaning of a land that had been left untouched until now, and also of a land that contained much for the settlers to take as their own, just as a husband would take his virgin bride. [301] Richard Hakluyt used this metaphor quite extensively in his Latin dedication to Raleigh, which preceded his translation of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* in 1587:

> "[…] no personal losses of misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia, that fairest of nymphs […] who our most generous sovereign has given you to be your bride? If you preserve only a little longer in your constancy, your bride will shortly bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness. For who has the just title to attach such stigma to your Elizabeth's Virginia, when no one has yet probed the depths of her hidden resources and wealth […]?"[302]

In the passage Raleigh is said to be the future husband of the fertile but untouched Virginia which was given to him by Queen Elizabeth. Whenever the land was described as a virgin, it was

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[299] Fuller, *Voyages in Print,* 55.
[300] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 2*, 68.
[301] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 162; Armstrong, *Writing North America*, 68.
[302] Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 163.

implied that it was ready for the settlers to make use of its commodities.[303] Thomas Morton, for example, also used the virgin motive when he described New England as "like a faire Virgin longing to be sped, And meete her lover in a Nuptiall bed".[304]

5.3. Naming Colonial Land in Thomas Harriot's "The Newfound Land of Virginia"

In the sixteenth century, the best representation of English possession and royal sovereignty was found in Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia,* which had reached acclaim in Theodor de Bry's edition of 1590. His report of the explorations was a list of the flora found in the region, yet Harriot also showed interest in Native names and quoted them extensively when he described local resources. Therefore he accommodated the unfamiliar surroundings of North America by transcribing foreign names:[305]

> "*Agatowr*, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants; the same in the West Indies is called *Mayze*: English men call it *Guinney wheate* or *Turkie wheate*, according to the names of the contreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours."[306]

Harriot compared the commodities with those known in England so as to make those goods more imaginable for the English reader. He suggested that potential settlers could find food that would fit easily into their English diet. Furthermore, Harriot claimed that English plants were nearly the same as the food found in Europe:

> "*Wickonzowr*, called by vs *Peaze*, in respect of the beans for distinctio sake, because they are much lesse; although in forme they little differ; but in goodnesse of tast much & are far better then our English peaze.[307]

This obvious connection conclusively warranted the same name for the new product and in turn naturalized the unknown place of origin. Stripping the plants of their native name rid them of their potential threat and implied that English plants could grow in Virginia.[308] This method of making the potentially hostile environment seem well known and natural by simply renaming the fauna and flora was also taken up by other English writers. John Bereton for example, who was

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[303] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 162; Armstrong, *Writing North America*, 68; Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession*, 163.

[304] Armstrong, *Writing North America*, 68.

[305] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession,* 163; Naidut, "Meta Incognita," 55–56.

[306] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report ,* Cr.

[307] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report ,* Cv.

[308] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report ,* A4–B; Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 617.

part of a 1602 expedition to the north of Virginia, discussed the properties of what he identified as "cherry trees":

> "The leafe, barke and bignesse not differing from ours in England, but the stalke beareth the blossoms of fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch."[309]

While Harriot wrote about connections of European names and Native American names for commodities extensively, the only English toponym Harriot made use of was that of Virginia. He did not write down any other Anglicized place names:

> "Since the first vundertaking by Sr Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discouering of that Countrey which is now called and known by the name of *Virginia*; many voyages hauing bin thither made at sundie times to his great charge;"[310]

This habit changed dramatically during John Smith's stay in Chesapeake Bay.

5.4. John Smith's Description of Native American Lands

In the *True Relation* Smith made extensive use of Native American nomenclature, which he transcribed faithfully:

> "The River of Pamaunke is not past twelve mile from what we dwell on [...] Weraocomoco is upon salt water, in bredth two myles, [...] The Countery of Youghtanand, of no less worth, only it is lower, but all the soyle a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Above Menapacunt, many high sandie Mountaines. [...] The mouth of the River, as I see in the discovery therof with Captain Newport, is halfe a mile broad, and within foure miles not above a Masket shot. [...] Kiskirk the nearest Nation to the entrances."[311]

Yet, even though indigenous names feature often in the *True Relation,* Smith started to mix these names early on with Anglicized geographic descriptions:

> "This is within one daies journey of Chawwonock. The river falleth into the Kings river, within twelve miles of Cape Henrie." [312]

On John Smith's *Map of Virginia* on the other hand, which was published in 1612, thirty-two English place names were fixed to the land. Two capes were called Cape Henry and Cape Charles, named after the sons of King James I, and Jamestown, named after the king himself: [313]

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[309] Pluymers, "Taming the Wilderness," 618.

[310] Harriot, *A Brief and True Report*, A3r.

[311] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 56–57.

[312] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 80 –81; Cape Henry was the landmark where the early Jamestown settlers first embarked.

> "There is but one entraunce by sea into this country that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the Southside is called Cape Henry in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there is a white hilly sand like unto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres. The north Cape is called Cape Charles in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke."[314]

Additionally he coined the toponyms Keale's Hill after Richard Keale and Willowby River after Lord Willowby. These place names demonstrated English presence and offered tribute to the English monarch, who guaranteed the existence of the colonies.[315] Additionally, the native names of ten tribes, 166 villages and sixteen rivers were inscribed:

> "The first and the next the rivers mouth are the Kecoughtans, who beside their women and children, have not past 20. fighting men. The Paspaheghes on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the Bay have not past 40. The river called Chickahamania neere 200. The Weanocks 100. The Arrowhatocks 30.The place called Powhatan, some 40. On the South side this river the Appamatucks have 60 fighting men. […] The Chesapeacks are able to make 100. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name."[316]

These Smith named primarily after the tribes that lived near its shores. Smith's intention to then see the Natives living peacefully and unthreatening within the landscape mirrored John White's maps and Harriot's *Report* more than twenty years earlier. This period of Smith's naming policies might also reflect the period of discord he went through with the other English settlers. All the references to Natives on the map therefore suggest that English and Natives have intermingled. This was an implicit statement of English sovereignty over the land and its people, who had acknowledged English overlordship.[317]

Smith also coined the name *New England*: It is prominently displayed on his second map, which accompanied the treatise *A Description of New England*. By giving the territory this name, Smith was undoubtedly aware that there existed by this time a New France and a New Spain.[318]

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[313] Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 31–32.

[314] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 144; Smith mentions these Anglicized places again in the fifth chapter of the *Proceedings* when he describes the course of one of his expeditions: "[…] leaving the *Phenix* at Cape Henry we crossed the bay to the Easterne shore and fell with the Iles called Smith Iles. The first people we saw were 2 grimme and stout Salvages upon Cape-Charles with long poles like Javelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were and what we would, but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kinde, and directed us to Acawmacke […]"

[315] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 166; Stewart, *Names on the Land,* 32.

[316] Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith 1*, 146.

[317] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 168; Armstrong, *Writing North America*, 73–74.

[318] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 170.

5.5. The Turning Point

Contrary to Smith's map of Virginia in 1612, native place names are completely absent in his map of New England in 1616. According to Ken MacMillan, this change was a deliberate act of Smith who had sent a letter with his map to the fifteen-year-old Prince Charles[319]:

> "My humble suit is […] you would please change their Barbarous [native] names, for such English, as Posterity may say, Prince Charles was their Godfather."[320]

It is probable that Smith enclosed native place names in his manuscript map. Sometime in the process of printing and publishing the first edition of the *Description,* Charles changed the indigenous names still engraved on the manuscript map. Sowocatuck was henceforth called Ipswitch, Accomack was changed to Plymouth. Rivers were called Edinburgh and Forth. The new map, which was placed into the published volume, then contained distinctly English toponyms. He named a Cape Elizabeth after his sister Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662). Cape Tragbigzanda on Smith's map of 1612 was renamed to Cape Anne after Charles' mother. Another cape was now known as Cape James after his father. One of the rivers he named Charles River after himself. In addition to the appellations of the young prince Smith called smaller islands and bays after his patrons and friends.[321]

The process of renaming by the Prince, and making the places of New England mirror those of England, was as effective a symbol of sovereignty and control, as were coats of arms and English ensigns. In a German version, all of the text was translated into German save for the place names, which remained Anglicized. This map was also republished several times.[322]

In his *Generall Historie of Virginia* then, Smith announced very early on that his report would only include accurate names. Naidut argued that this suggests that "this increasing preoccupation with the geographic and historical accuracy of names becomes indicative of an incipient scientific control of the land taken into possession. The land has been "Englished" […]."[323]

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[319] Charles Stuart was the crown prince since the death of his brother Henry Stuart (1594–1612) in 1612. Henry died of typhoid fever.
[320] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 170–171.
[321] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 171; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 38–39.
[322] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 171.
[323] Naidut, "Meta Incognita,"56.

Sovereigns were not the only ones to name the land. The settlers of Virginia and later on of New England gradually named their plantations and the surrounding territory. The plantations Argall's Gift, Chaplin's Choice and New Port Newce were called after the people who lived there. There was no established system of naming save for an apparent inclination towards alliterations.[324]

By defining the American landscape in their own terms coupled with the inclination to view the land via their own cultural concepts, along with a tendency to describe it in a way a reader back in England could understand, the English colonial authors and cartographers slowly made the land their own. Smith's use of toponyms as expressions of sovereignty became a dominant feature of English maps of North America in the 1620s.[325] But the English were not the only ones to actively rename colonial territory. Long before the English set foot on Roanoke Island, the Spanish had changed indigenous names in Mexico. The Dutch and the French too coined Dutch and French place names in North America. Some, like Florida, New Orleans – La Nouvelle Orleans – still remain today. Others like New Amsterdam were renamed when colonial powers changed. The city on and around Manhattan Island is still called New York after the brother of Charles II, the Duke of York and later King James II.

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[324] Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 57–66.
[325] MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession*, 173.

6. Conclusion

"Once, from eastern ocean to western ocean, the land stretched away without names. Nameless headlands split the surf; nameless lakes reflected nameless mountains; and nameless rivers flowed through nameless valleys into nameless bays."[326]

As opposed to George R. Stewart's opinion who wrote a book about American place-naming practices in the United Stated in 1945, naming a place differently might not be that big of a deal to other people. So what if the city that was called New Amsterdam under Dutch rule is now called New York under the English sovereignty? It would still be the same city. Americans call Deutschland Germany without claiming that it has now become U.S. American territory. Yet, I think names become important, because people think they are important. It made a difference for the inhabitants on Manhattan Island whether the city was called New Amsterdam or New York, because the name signified colonial supremacy and presented a different state of colonial rule. As Jacques Derrida noted in his essay *The Battle of Proper Names,* "the battle of proper names follows the arrival of the foreigner and that is not surprising."[327]

In this thesis I tried to give a concise picture of early modern English cartography in Virginia and the impact the politics of naming had on the European relations of colonial struggle on the one hand, and on Native American life on the other hand. To connect the thesis with recent scholarship, I embedded the story in the discourse of the ideology of cartography, where the effect of toponyms has been largely neglected. In this endeavor I discussed whether maps could be a neutral representation of the area depicted. Or if they necessarily included the author's view of the world along with his prejudices and are therefore a biased tool for the consolidation of sovereignty.

Toponyms were used on manuscript maps as much as they were used on printed maps. Place names indicated sovereignty of a certain state just as much as royal coats-of-arms that adorned so many maps. It was a way to allow settlers to feel at home in an unknown environment. It was therefore just another propaganda tool with which to assert one's supremacy over a stretch of land. In this context it is important to understand that maps and the politics of naming were not created for the benefit of the native population. They were not made to persuade the indigenous tribes that they were mistaken in their belief that the land they had considered theirs for as long

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[326] Stewart, *Names on the Land,* 3.

[327] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), 113.

as their people lived there still belonged to them. To do this, weapons were employed. Maps were instead commissioned and distributed for the benefits of a European audience that was to be persuaded that this particular patch of swampy American terrain was now in fact English. Its capes and towns and rivers even had English names. What other prove did one need?

6.1. Research Prospects

This thesis focused almost exclusively on the use of toponyms by the English and described in turn how the way the Native population of the region, the Dutch in New Netherlands and the Spanish in Mexico named their places differed from English usage. However, a comparative approach on a much larger scale could be employed to gain new insights into colonial ideological politics. For one I think it would be very interesting and beneficial for the research on the history of cartography to compare the politics of naming amongst the other European nations who expanded into the Americas. Case studies like this one could be written on the French, Dutch or Spanish colonies in the Americas and compared with one another. Peter Di Gangi from the Algonquin Nation Secretariat for example analyzed toponymical imperialism in Quebec from 1911 until 1928. He argued that following the foundation of Quebec Geographic Names Commission in 1912 aboriginal names were renamed to French ones in an endeavor to reduce evidence of ethnic diversity.[328]

On the other hand, one must not solely concentrate on the European way of naming the environment. As could be surmised from this thesis, the English and the Algonquian named their territory very differently. While the Algonquins used place names to build a comprehensive chart for survival, the English used the names of people much more extensively. Therefore the diverging use of place names amongst the indigenous fractions could be compared to glean whether they are used identically or actually differ. Did the Algonquian Indians name their land in the same manner as did Native American cultures on the West Coast or in the Midwest?

On the other hand the use of toponyms for one colonial power, say the English, could be researched, by comparing English colonies in the British Empire. Did the English use the same policy in its American colonies as it did in India and Australia? Or were different scales used, because the Native population reacted differently or because the colonial rule differed vastly?

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[328] Peter Di Gangi, „Toponymical Imperialism in Quebec, 1911–1928,“ accessed May 31, 2013.
http://www.algonquinnation.ca/toponym/toponymical%20imperialism_english.pdf.

Finally, the research done for this paper would have been much easier if a comprehensive historiography of the history of cartography had been written. While the multi-volume tomes *The History of Cartography* were incredible useful in showing what research on historical cartography could entail, it was of no help in locating historical cartography within the cartographical discourse.

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8.   Appendix

8.1. German Summary/Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Diese Master Arbeit beschäftigte sich grob gesprochen mit der englischen Kolonialisierung von Virginia, beginnend in den 1580er Jahren und endend in den 1620er Jahren mit den Kämpfen der englischen Siedler mit den Algonkin Stämmen, die das Gebiet vor den Engländern bewohnt hatten. Näher bearbeitet die Arbeit das Problem, wie der Akt der Neubenennung von Siedlungen und geographischen Punkten auf Karten von den Engländern dazu benutzt wurde, die Anerkennungen der eroberten Gebiete in einem europäischen Kontext zu fordern. Zudem wurde diese Neubenennung von Orten bewusst eingesetzt um in dem ideologisierten Kampf um die Vorherrschaft der Ostküste Nordamerikas mittels Kartographie die Oberhand zu gewinnen. Dafür wurden auf Karten nicht nur koloniale Rivalen bewusst ausgelassen, sondern auch die Einwohner Nordamerikas einer englischen Herrschaft unterstellt, die der Realität nicht entsprach.

Die englischen Siedler waren den am Algonkin Indianern für den gesamten behandelten Zeitraum zahlenmäßig weit unterlegen und waren folglich von den nach Ansicht der Engländer unzivilisierten Heiden abhängig, wenn sie nicht verhungern wollten. Diese Abhängigkeit führte auch zum Scheitern der ersten Kolonialisierungsversuche auf der Insel Roanoke in den Jahren 1584 bis 1587, die von Thomas Harriot und John White dokumentiert wurden. Aufgrund der eskalierenden Konflikte mit Spanien wurden erneute Versuche erst mit der Thronbesteigung James I. unternommen. Im Jahre 1607 segelte eine Gruppe englischer Siedler, darunter John Smith, in die Chesapeake Bay und gründete auf für die Indigene unbewohnbarem Gebiet die Siedlung Jamestown. Da die Versorgung mit Essen und anderen Gütern aus England unverlässlich und sporadisch war, waren die Siedler wie auch in den 1580er Jahren auf ihre indianischen Nachbarn angewiesen, wenn sie die kommenden Winter überleben wollten.

Die Lage besserte sich erst für die Bewohner Jamestowns, als der Wert des Tabaks am englischen Markt erkannt wurde. Dieser Ausblick auf ein Vermögen löste gemeinsam mit der religiösen Einschränkungen unter Charles I. eine Auswanderungswelle aus, während die Algonkin Indianer an den aus Europa eingeführten Pathogenen starben.

Im zweiten Teil der Arbeit handelte zunächst von nordamerikanischer, englischer und niederländischer Kartographie und ging auf die Beziehungen von Sponsoren und Kartenzeichnern ein. Daraufhin konzentrierte ich mich einerseits auf die von John White

gezeichneten Karten von Roanoke und Virginia, als auch auf John Smiths Karten von Virginia und New England, in den Symbole für englische Herrschaftsansprüche und der Effekt der kartographischen Stille analysiert wurden.

Das letzte Kapitel dokumentierte schließlich die Benutzung von englischer beziehungsweise indigener Nomenklatur in Harriots und Whites *Report* und John Smiths Werken. Dabei lässt sich erkennen, dass in der Mitte der 1610er Jahre ein Wechsel in der Verwendung von indigenen Ortsnamen in diesen englischen Berichten stattfand, und fortan eine gezielte Verdrängung der Namen der Ureinwohner Nordamerikas auf Karten stattfand. Hatte Harriot in den 1580er Jahren nur den Namen *Virginia* benutzt und sonst Orte in der Sprache der Algonkin verzeichnet, wurden ab der Mitte der 1610er Jahre die Namen von dem damals fünfzehn jährigen Charles I bewusst umbenannt um eine Anglisierung der nordamerikanischen Landschaft zu bewirken. Dabei ist anzumerken, dass dies nicht zu Ungunsten der Ureinwohner geschah. Diese wurden durch die steigenden englischen Siedlerzahlen, den verlorenen Kriegen und die Auswirkung von Krankheiten zurückgedrängt. Diese Umbenennung fand stattdessen auf Grund des Kampfes um Nordamerika mit den europäischen Mächten Frankreich, Niederlande und Spanien statt.

8.2. Lebenslauf

Persönliche Daten

Name:	Julia Kastenhofer
Adresse:	Gerasdorfer Straße 61/33/4
PLZ:	1210 Wien
Telefonnummer:	+43 676 9489 154
E-Mail Adresse:	julia.kastenhofer@hotmail.com
Geburtsdatum:	26.06.1989
Geburtsort:	Wien

Aus- und Weiterbildung

Seit 03/2011:	Masterstudien Globalgeschichte und Global Studies & Geschichtsforschung und Archivwissenschaft an der Universität Wien
01/2012–06/2012:	Auslandssemester an der University of Chicago
09/2007–03/2011:	Bachelor Studium Geschichte an der Universität Wien
06/2007:	Matura
09/2003–06/2007:	Oberstufe des BrG/BG Franklinstraße 21, 1210 Wien
09/1999–06/2003:	Unterstufe des BrG/BG Franklinstraße 21, 1210 Wien
09/1994–06/1999:	Volkschule Rittingergasse 2a; 1210 Wien

Berufserfahrung

Seit 12/2012:	Mitarbeiter bei Inlibris Gilhofer Nfg.
09/2010 – 11/2012:	Freier Dienstnehmer im Archiv der Universität Wien
08/2010:	Volontariat Österreichisches Staatsarchiv
07/2005–08/2009:	Ferialpraktikum Kuwopa G.m.b.H, 2100 Korneuburg
09/2008:	Ferialpraktikum OMV

Besondere Kenntnisse

Sprachkenntnisse	Deutsch	Muttersprache
	Englisch	fließend in Wort und Schrift
	Französisch	Maturaniveau (4 Jahre)
	Latein	Maturaniveau (6 Jahre)
IT Kenntnisse	MS Word, Excel, PowerPoint, ScopeArchiv, BookExpert	
Publikationen	„Zur englischen Rechtslage der Piraterie in der Karibik von 1655 bis 1722: Trennlinien und Grauzonen zwischen Piraterie und Kaperei." *Konak* 1 (2011): 24–30.	

8.3. Curriculum Vitae

Personal Details

Name:	Julia Kastenhofer
Home address:	Gerasdorfer Straße 61/33/4
Postal code:	1210 Vienna
Telephone:	+43 676 9489 154
E-Mail address:	julia.kastenhofer@hotmail.com
Date of birth:	June 26, 1989
Nationality:	Austria

Education

since 03/2011:	Graduate studies in Global History and Global Studies & Historical Research and Archive Sciences at the University of Vienna
01/2012–06/2012:	Exchange semester at the University of Chicago
09/2007–03/2011:	Undergraduate studies in history at the University of Vienna
06/2007:	Matura (A-Levels)
09/1999 – 06/2007:	Grammar School BrG/BG Franklinstraße 21; 1210 Vienna
09/1994 – 06/1999:	Primary School Rittingergasse 2a; 1210 Vienna

Work experience

Since 12/2012:	Employee at Inlibris Gilhofer Nfg.; 1010 Vienna
09/2010 – 11/2012:	Freelance worker at the Vienna University Archive
08/2010:	Internship at the Austrian State Archives
07/2009:	Internship Kuwopa G.m.b.H.; 2100 Korneuburg
09/2008:	Internship OMV

07/2005 – 08/2008:   Internships at Kuwopa G.m.b.H. every summer to gain work experience

Skills

Languages: German   First language

English   Twelve years school English; four courses at the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Vienna; TOEFL iBT score 116 (01/2013)

French   Four years school French

Latin   Six years school Latin

IT Skills: MS Word, Excel, PowerPoint, scopeArchiv, BookExpert

Publications   „Zur englischen Rechtslage der Piraterie in der Karibik von 1655 bis 1722: Trennlinien und Grauzonen zwischen Piraterie und Kaperei." *Konak* 1 (2011): 24–30.