

Discovering Revolutionary War Maps

By Richard H. Brown

In early 1990, a business merger frequently brought me to Philadelphia from New York. During the breaks from negotiations, I wandered the city's streets many of which still reflected a colonial past. Standing in a modern environment and visualizing that space during an earlier era was an idle passion of mine. Constitution Hall and other buildings provided a glimpse, albeit just the façade, of the city where Washington, Jefferson, and other founding fathers labored to form an independent nation.

One day while browsing through the Philadelphia Print Shop in Germantown, I came across two extraordinary maps depicting the military situation around Philadelphia during the American Revolution. Printed in London in 1779 by William Faden, these documents were loaded with topographical and historical information that helped fill out a vision of that city during our founding era. They were literally a window into the past. [Image 1].

Shortly after my initial purchases, I obtained a copy of Ken Nebenzahl's *Bibliography of Printed Battle Plans of the American Revolution* detailing maps that captured the wartime geography from Quebec to the West Indies.¹ Armed with this 18th-century "travel guide," I set out to collect and explore the world they depicted.

Printed battle plans pinpointed specific engagements and theatres of action in the Revolution, but there were other maps that also needed to be considered. Many foundational maps of the colonies created around 1755 at the onset of the French and Indian War were still the best available at the dawn of the Revolution. These included John Mitchell's *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America*, Lewis Evans' *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies*, and Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson's *A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia*, to name just a few.² I certainly needed excellent examples of these maps to provide the broad (perceived) geography of the emerging nation.

Many maps of the era were published separately, but others appeared within books and pamphlets. Additionally, the military engineers and artillery officers who produced most maps were trained to create perspective views, often of the same geography. Was it important to collect all this material? It was not easy to find guidance on this topic. Top dealers primarily specialized in maps,

rare books, or prints. Major research libraries departmentalized their material along similar lines. This seemed to be a handicap to researchers trying to integrate the visual and written history of the Revolution. In the end, I decided that my collection could distinguish itself by containing all these interrelated primary source documents.

DIFFERENTIATING THE PRINTED COLLECTION

During the early years of collecting, I focused on printed as opposed to manuscript maps. Printed maps were produced from meticulously engraved copperplates, and only several hundred copies could be made from a given plate. Over the years many copies have been lost or reside in institutional collections creating varying degrees of rarity. I sought to collect the most important works of British, French, and German mapmakers. There are few printed American maps due to a lack of skilled cartographers, engravers, and wartime printing facilities. Nevertheless, I managed to acquire some important examples including two rare maps by Bernard Romans – the only ones to have come on the market in the last 100 years and known in only four or five institutional copies.³

My criteria for collecting printed maps and views included relevance, rarity, color, provenance, and condition. For many acquisitions, not all criteria met my standards, and tradeoffs had to be made. But there were happy exceptions, including a piece in the collection relating to Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston is a city that retains its Revolutionary War character both topographically and historically. Standing on the Charleston Battery, you can see Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island across the inner harbor (Rebellion Road). The fort was made famous during a stunning June 1776 American victory over British naval forces. The collection has several maps that record the engagement, including the most widely-known map, drawn by British Lt. Col. Thomas James who commanded the bomb vessel *Thunder*, which fired continuously on the fort until its guns burst from overheating.⁴

William Faden in London printed James' map as well as three of his perspective views, memorializing this humiliating defeat for the world's greatest navy. Each of the views is rarer than the map. Virtually all known copies are uncolored and printed separately, but the example in my collection has the three views together, elegantly colored,

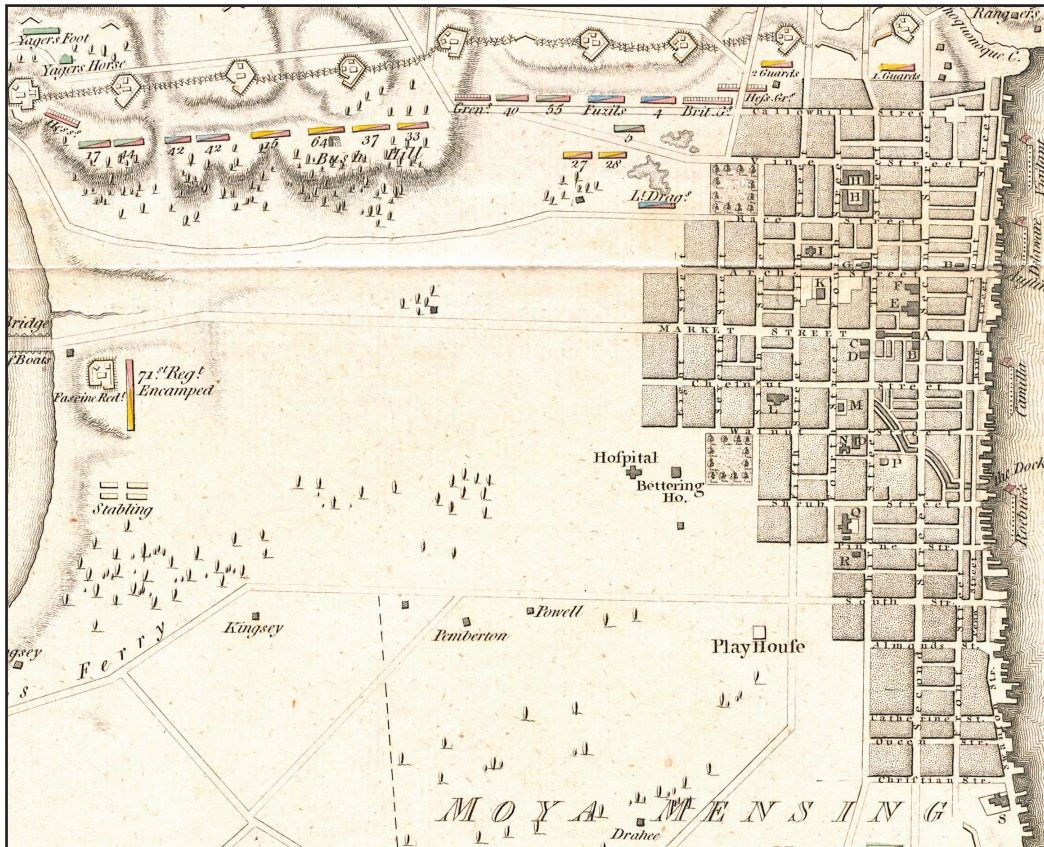


Image 1. A detail from William Faden's *A Plan of the City and Environs of Philadelphia* (1779). It was one of two Philadelphia map purchases that launched the collection. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vs189>).

dissected onto French linen and folded for easy use by an officer in the field. [Image 2] The special treatment of the piece is directly related to its provenance. The views were originally owned by Capitaine du Chesnoy, who accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette during his military engagements throughout America.⁵ The Richard H. Brown collection contains 18 of the maps owned by Capitaine.

MAKING THE COLLECTION AVAILABLE FOR EDUCATION

I was captivated by the historical and artistic qualities of the maps and views, but during the early years of collecting, it seemed that I was the only one admiring them. Other than a few maps on our walls, they remained in cases and cabinets. I wanted to keep expanding and refining the collection but also wanted to make it available to others.

Thankfully, an institution in Boston was thinking along the same lines, and I joined the board of the newly-formed Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library. Established by the Boston real estate scion, map collector, and philanthropist, Norman Leventhal, the Map Center assumed the responsibility of conserving and cataloging both Norman's and the BPL's maps. Importantly, they had also begun the process of digitizing them for online educational use. As a member of the Executive

Committee, one of our early initiatives was to put together a strategic plan that would emphasize key collection areas of the Leventhal/BPL. The American Revolution sounded like the perfect place to start, and we chose to proceed by establishing leadership in digital images. To jump start this process, I agreed to fund the digitization and cataloging of my collection on the Leventhal/BPL website. Subsequently, we added a dozen additional partners, including the Library of Congress, British Library, and Harvard University. Today the Leventhal Map and Education Center website is the best single source to explore Revolutionary War maps with high-resolution images and complete cataloging.⁶

While in Boston, I pursued my pastime of visualizing the past through maps and views. Boston abounds in historic buildings, but its land mass and surface topography have been dramatically altered. In 1775, Boston was a hilly peninsula of less than 800 acres connected to the mainland by a small isthmus—a virtual chokepoint for anyone attempting to enter or leave by land. Fenway Park, the Boston Public Library, and Logan Airport stand on reclaimed marshland, much of it filled by leveling the town's original hills.

The collection contains 20 maps and views of Boston, most of which detail the tumultuous onset of the

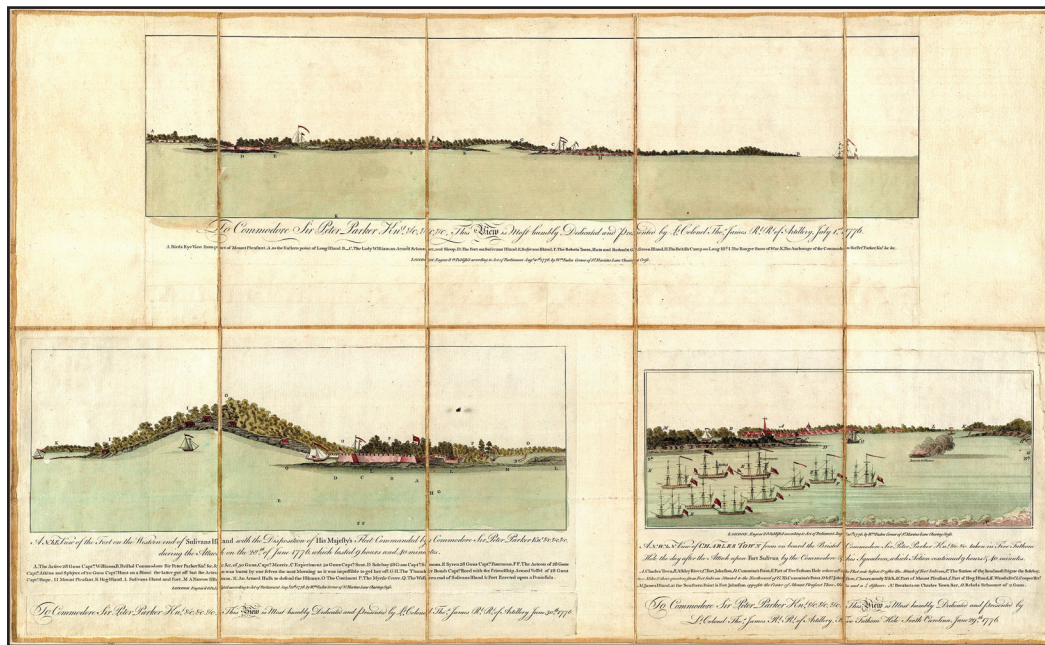


Image 2. *Three Views of the Action at Charleston South Carolina* were drafted by Thomas James and printed by William Faden in London (1776). Marquis de Lafayette's mapmaker, Capitaine du Chesnoy, had these views segmented, backed on folding linen, hand colored, and then efficiently reassembled as a single piece. It was one of a large grouping of maps that Capitaine carried for use by him and Lafayette. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:dz010v12f>).

Revolution from June to December 1775. My favorite Boston map was printed in London on March 12, 1776, by Andrew Dury, from a manuscript map drawn by British Lt. Richard Williams in October 1775. [Image 3] Williams' stay in Boston was brief, but his work was prolific. In addition to his mapmaking, he was a skilled landscape painter and kept an informative diary. On June 12, 1775, Williams notes going to Beacon Hill and painting five watercolors, constituting a 360-degree view of Boston and the surrounding environs. [Image 4] They were the last and best views we would have of prewar Boston. Five days later came the Battle of Bunker Hill, and Williams the painter quickly recopied his views as reconnaissance drawings, specifically identifying landmarks, roadways, and Rebel positions. In July he sent these drawings to London where they were promptly claimed by King George III for his Topographical Collection. Sadly, Richard Williams became gravely ill while in Boston. He returned to England and died in his native Cornwall in April 1776 at the age of 26.⁷ For 230 years, the reconnaissance copies were thought to be the only set of these views. Then in 2005, Williams' personal portfolio of works surfaced at auction, including the five original views from Beacon Hill. The auction house broke the sale into a number of lots, but a major New York art dealer considered the works so important that he cast the

winning bid for each lot. I stayed in touch with the dealer for eight years as he exhibited the collection at the New York Winter Antiques Show. To his credit, he never sold the pieces off individually, and when he eventually found other uses for his money, I bought the entire portfolio, which is now one of the centerpieces of the collection.

MAPS I COULDN'T ACQUIRE

Map collectors, like anglers, often bemoan the one that got away. For me, that was *A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston Shewing the Place of the Late Engagement between the King's Troops and the Provincials*. This map details the events of the Battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775, the opening engagement of the Revolutionary War. In 1991, I underbid this map at a rare book auction. The issue was not so much price as the fact that the map in question was published December 6, 1775, by J. Hand, Oxford Street, rather than on July 29, 1775, by J. De Costa, Red Cross Street, Southwark.⁸ It seemed that the first printing was the one to own, and being early days in my collecting life, I expected another copy would eventually come up for sale. But I never saw another, either in the first or second state. The De Costa remained the most significant omission from a printed map collection that ultimately rivaled the holdings of major institutions.

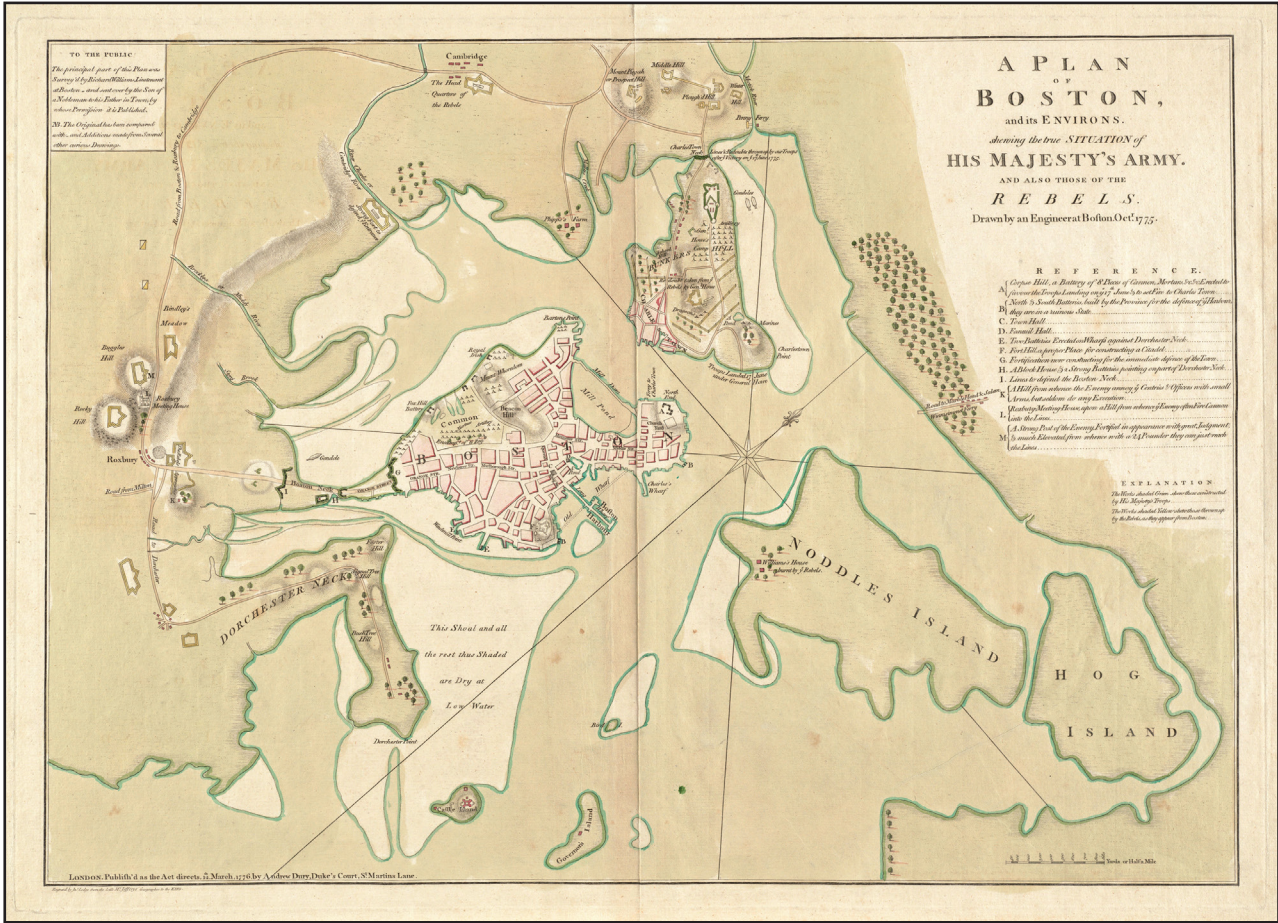


Image 3. *A Plan of Boston and its Environs*, published by Andrew Dury in London (1776) from a manuscript by Richard Williams. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524mv224>).

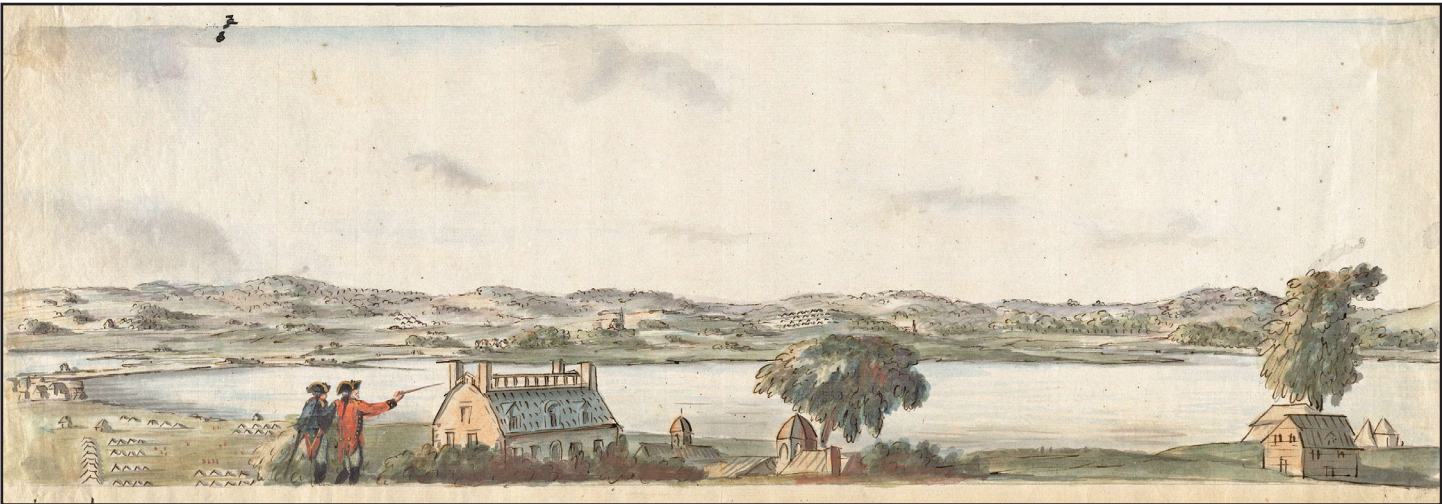


Image 4. Watercolor view by Richard Williams, depicting John Hancock's House, British troops on the Common, Boston Neck, and Rebel positions in Roxbury (across a tidal basin subsequently filled in). Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:dz010v603>).

My pursuit of the elusive De Costa was not to go entirely unrewarded. In 2012, Paul Cohen and I traveled to England to research maps for our book *Revolution: Mapping the Road to American Independence*. After several days at the British Library and National Archives, we set out for Northumberland, England's northernmost county. The drive in Northumberland took us through rocky highlands and sparsely inhabited moorland, until virtually out of nowhere loomed Alnwick, the second largest inhabited castle in England. This 14th-century Gothic behemoth was showcased as Hogwarts Castle in the Harry Potter films, but more relevant to our quest, it was the ancestral home of Lord Hugh Percy, a leading British general in the early years of the Revolution. Percy was credited with rescuing, rallying, and guiding the tattered British troops from Lexington and Concord back to Boston. It was a great and valiant retreat that saved the British forces from almost total annihilation. "Too much praise cannot be given Lord Percy," declared Commanding General, Sir Thomas Gage.⁹ In 1778, Percy sailed back to England and returned to Alnwick with a trove of North American maps executed by the best military engineers.

Paul, my wife Mary Jo, and I examined the map collection that was fittingly housed in the Castle's dungeon. We were the first guests recorded since 1968 when the renowned map historian William Cumming made a preliminary listing of the treasures stored in the crypt. And there among them, was the manuscript for the De Costa. Literally, the first map of the Revolutionary War. We immediately requested and received permission to publish the map in *Revolution*.¹⁰ As it turned out, the adventure of uncovering, examining, and showcasing other people's maps was almost as much fun as acquiring my own.

The absence of a De Costa map was regrettable but missing out on another map had a surprisingly positive outcome. By 2010, I began to sense that the collection, although deep in printed maps of the Revolution, lacked chronological breadth and truly unique pieces. My first instinct was to expand into maps of the Federal Period (1783–1800). I had been in discussions with The New Jersey Historical Society to purchase their copy of Abel Buell's *New and Correct Map of the United States*, a 1784 map known in only a few printed copies and widely viewed as the earliest and most important map printed in the United States.¹¹ Ultimately, the society decided to auction the map. There was spirited bidding, but as the flurry died down, it looked like I owned the Buell. And then, the auctioneer paused and instead of hammering the lot down, he made a telephone call. The price was already high, and when the bid came back, I sensed having walked into a collecting genre where I could not compete.¹² This seeming setback turned out to be the most fortuitous of events, as I was able to reevaluate my collecting philosophy and arrive at a recipe to create a truly exceptional collection.

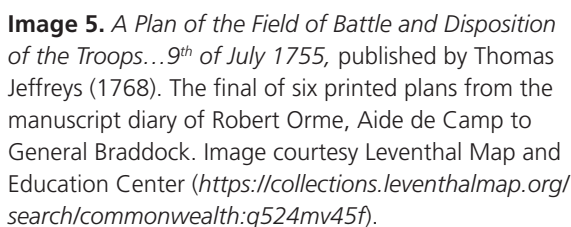
EXPANDING INTO THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The collecting opportunity for me lay not in the ensuing Federal Period but in the previous one—The French and Indian War. It was a much less understood period with fewer collectors. The seeds of the American Revolution were sown in 1755, the moment British Gen. Edward Braddock arrived to confront the French at Fort Duquesne. Many prominent military, political, and cartographic figures including George Washington were involved in both wars as well as the tumultuous years in between. Including in my collection items from 1755 to 1783 created a continuous narrative of the struggle to control the territory and ideology of North America.

Maps created during the early years of the French and Indian War (1755–1758) documented battles on the untamed interior of the continent. The English and other European colonists fared poorly in these early conflicts, and contemporary maps illustrate this vividly. Robert Orme, an Aide de Camp to Gen. Edward Braddock, kept a diary of the four-and-a-half-month march in 1755 from Hampton, Virginia, to Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg). The diary, including six manuscript maps, resides in the British Library but the collection contains a rare set of the maps printed in 1768 by Thomas Jeffreys. These maps give life to the grinding march across the Alleghenies, made particularly onerous by miscalculations regarding distances and topography. Orme's last map documents the ambush on July 9, 1755, where Braddock's disciplined army was slaughtered by an inferior force of French and Native Americans hidden in the woods. [Image 5] On that fateful day, Col. Thomas Gage led the British advance corps, and a young George Washington, Aide de Camp, had shown great courage in retreat with Braddock's dying body in tow. In just 20 years, Gage and Washington would face off in Boston as commanding generals of two belligerent armies.

Things fared a bit better for the British and Colonial allies at the Battle of Lake George on September 8, 1755. Here the inexperienced leader of the colonists, William Johnson, was able to hold off an invading force of French, Canadian, and Native Americans and succeed in capturing their Commanding General, Baron de Dieskau. Thomas Jeffreys quickly printed a map in London heralding it as "the only piece that exhibits the American method of bush fighting."¹³ [Image 6] The map also shows an early view of Fort William Henry, which replaced the crude stockade that Johnson was defending. In 1757 it became the sight of a brutal massacre immortalized in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. In recent years, Fort William Henry has been restored according to the original plans.

One of my favorite "map" trips was to Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia. I was following up on two spectacular March 1758 manuscript maps that I had acquired



door is open to France.”¹⁴ His strategy was to capitalize on England’s naval superiority, and he readied a powerful invasion fleet. After a 54-day siege, Louisbourg capitulated. Many argue that it was the pivotal battle of the French and Indian War, allowing the next year for the successful capture of Quebec. The entire siege was witnessed and recorded by Lartigue. **[Image 7]** The importance of the battle and the fact that the maps were executed on the spot by a French Canadian 33 years before the first small printed map appeared in Canada, qualify Lartigue’s documents as seminal in the history of North America. In 1760 the British dug 50 tunnels, filled them with explosives, and demolished the fortress. Lawrence Gipson, the preeminent historian of the era, observed, “this once flourishing city, void of inhabitants and wrecked beyond repair, took its place among other great ruins of the past.”¹⁵

My visit to Louisbourg allowed me to easily reimagine the scene imbedded in Lartigue's maps. Situated on one of the remotest parts of the North Atlantic coast, Louisbourg's exceptional harbor has changed little over time, and much of the fortress and town have been restored by the Canadian Government. My wife, father in law, and I visited there on a cold, windswept day in June. Standing outside the fortress, you could see why Commanding General Jeffrey Amherst chose not to attack directly but opted to send James Wolfe to land several miles up the rocky Cape Breton coast. It was a horrifying experience for Wolfe and his men as they catapulted out of whaleboats into 40-degree (Fahrenheit) water. Many could not swim and drowned before reaching shore, but eventually a beachhead was established, and the siege was underway. When we finally entered the fortress, one of the first buildings we encountered was the ancestral home of Lartigue, the mapmaker. Our hosts suggested that for a totally authentic experience we sleep there overnight, but we demurred. Perhaps, I will be gamer when I return to fully explore the Louisbourg archives.

In Canada, we also visited Quebec City. This “Gibraltar of America” as Charles Dicken’s described it, perches atop a 300-foot precipice rising from the banks of the St. Lawrence River.¹⁶ The 1759 Battle of Quebec effectively ended the French and Indian War and is captured in a perspective view created by British army officer Hervey Smyth. [Image 8] Today, one can visualize the drama of the long siege and culminating battle by first observing a panorama of Quebec from nearby Île d’Orléans and then walking the Lower and Upper Towns—take the funicular between them to conserve energy.

Quebec also figured prominently during the American Revolution. Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin thought it was imperative for that colony to join the Union as the 14th state. In late 1775 two armies were dispatched to



Image 6. A Prospective View of the Battle Fought near Lake George, on the 8th of Sept. 1755, published in London (1756). Thomas Jeffreys printed this map from one created at the scene of action by Samuel Blodget. This is the only example known in original color, suggesting it may be a presentation copy. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524mv34x>).

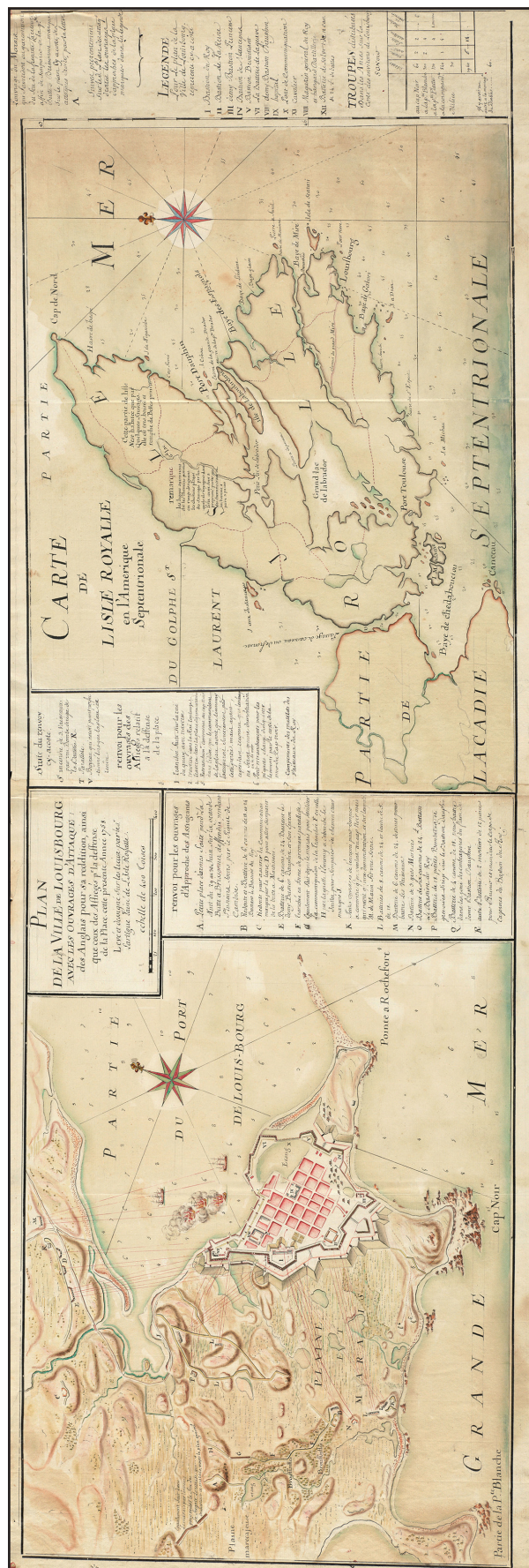


Image 7. The collection contains two works by Jerome Pierre Lartigue drawn during the Siege of Louisbourg (1758) in ink and watercolor. The work illustrated here incorporates two maps on a single sheet, one depicting Louisbourg and the other L'Isle Royale, modern Cape Breton Island. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vw08p>).



Image 8. Hervey Smyth's *A View of the Landing Place above the Town of Quebec... Sepr. 13th 1759*, published by Robert Sayer (1760). Smyth was Aide de Camp to Gen. James Wolfe, who was famously martyred in the British victory over the French on the Plains of Abraham. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:dz010v10w>).

capture Quebec: one up Lake Champlain under Richard Montgomery and another through Maine under Benedict Arnold. On a snowy New Year's Eve, Arnold and Montgomery stormed the Lower Town but were repulsed attempting to scale the walls of the Upper Town. Montgomery was killed, and Arnold was seriously wounded. A detailed 1776 map by William Faden in the collection shows the positions and movements of Arnold and Montgomery on that fateful last night of 1775.¹⁷ Those who were not killed or captured suffered the bitter winter outside the walled town and retreated southward when British reinforcements arrived in the spring. Had things gone differently, Quebec would likely be immortalized along with Boston and Yorktown in the founding narrative of our country.

NEW YORK CITY – MANUSCRIPT MAPS

The collection has extensive holdings of New York, including approximately 40 items, counting both single-sheet maps and maps in atlases. In 1765 British Capt. John Montresor created a map of New York City, which then encompassed

the present-day area between the Battery and City Hall. The map, drawn during the Stamp Act riots, was surveyed under extreme duress. An excellent colored copy resides in the collection.¹⁸ Several years later the nexus of colonial discontent had shifted to Boston, and Bernard Ratzer was able to produce a more detailed map, which is also in the collection.¹⁹ There are numerous maps relating to the 1776 Battle of Brooklyn, but three unique manuscript maps are arguably the most significant produced of New York during the Revolution. The most visually spectacular of these is the large six-sheet map drawn in 1776–77 by British Capt. Charles Blaskowitz. Comparable to no previous example in its detailed topographical view of the city and environs, it also documents the Battle of Brooklyn and many engagements of the region, including the Battle of White Plains. The map was executed for Sir William Erskine, one of the commanding British generals, and remained at his ancestral Scottish estate until 2012. [Image 9].

From the time that General Washington lost New York City in 1776, he was obsessed with retaking it. But, as he



Image 9. Detail from Charles Blaskowitz's manuscript *A Plan of New York Island and Part of Long Island with the Circumjacent Country* (1777). Shown at the top left is Spiting Devil (Spuyten Duyvil) inlet from the Hudson into the Harlem River. At upper right is the Negro Fort located next to Fort Independence. It is the only known depiction of this somewhat mysterious and controversial fort. Image courtesy Leventhal Map and Education Center (<https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vw04k>).

pondered an invasion, he had few maps, and certainly nothing like the Blaskowitz to guide him. Fortunately, Comte de Rochambeau had arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, with a French army in 1780, and by July 1781 the French and American forces were encamped in close proximity in Westchester County. From there, Rochambeau dispatched Louis-Alexandre Berthier, an artistic Aide de Camp who would later serve as Napoleon's chief of staff, to map the entire theatre of potential conflict both land and sea.²⁰

The path of Berthier's map to my collection is a curious story. Most of Rochambeau's maps, books, and manuscripts were sold in the 19th century to the Library of Congress. But the Berthier manuscript remained with his private papers at the Chateau de Rochambeau on the banks of the Loire. In 2005, the map and rare book world descended on a small auction house near Tours where the map was featured. At the last moment, the French government stopped the auction to evaluate the patrimony of the items offered for sale. Ten years later, an export license was finally issued for Rochambeau's prized map. The auction house had waited a long time, so it was not a complete surprise when a French history professor spoke for 20 minutes before the

bidding began. But it seemed highly improper when they asked him to speak for another five minutes in the midst of the bidding. Fortunately, I left this to my wife, Mary Jo, who wrangled with the sales rep and auctioneer in French. It was exhausting, but I had acquired one of the greatest French cartographic treasures of the Revolution.

While Berthier created a map of the entire New York theatre of operation, Washington and Rochambeau needed a detailed map and plan of how they could invade and defeat the British in Manhattan. In August 1781, at considerable personal risk, the two commanding generals accompanied by their engineers (Washington's were also French.) probed the British defensive lines. From these sorties, two detailed reconnaissance maps on a single sheet were created. [Image 10].

New York City today bears little resemblance to the Revolutionary-era town at the tip of Manhattan Island, but the critical waterways and land masses remain fundamentally unchanged. The northern land approach to Manhattan across the Harlem River is rocky and uneven. New York Harbor is only accessible from Long Island Sound through treacherous Hell's Gate or the Verrazano Narrows. And



Image 10. The two maps on a single sheet belonged to French General Marquis de Chastellux. They detail a reconnaissance undertaken by Generals Washington and Rochambeau and their staff during the 21st and 22nd of July 1781. The upper map focuses on the prospect of attacking New York by land, while the bottom map contemplates an attack by water. There is no single mapmaker identified, but both Washington and Rochambeau had excellent French mapmakers at their disposal and this map may well be a collaboration. Image courtesy of Richard Brown (not currently in LMEC or Mount Vernon digital collection).

this is what the two reconnaissance maps show. The upper map details how difficult it would be to attack the British fortifications by ground across the Harlem River. The bottom map shows the even greater difficulty of a sea invasion where ships must enter New York Harbor single file subject to shoreline batteries and an established fleet in waiting. Based on the reconnaissance maps and an accompanying written analysis, even Washington was beginning to view the British position as impregnable. Fortunately, as French and American generals agonized over the efficacy of an attack, word arrived that the Comte de Grasse would bring his fleet only as far north as the Chesapeake. Unnoticed to the British in New York, Washington and Rochambeau began their march to Yorktown.

CHASTELLUX AND THE PATH TO MOUNT VERNON

In 2017, I acquired the reconnaissance map(s) from the Marquis de Chastellux collection. Chastellux, Rochambeau's third in command, had brought the manuscript back to his Burgundian chateau at war's end. Chastellux developed a lifelong friendship and correspondence with Washington, and this was an important area of scholarship at the Washington Library at Mount Vernon. In 2018, the Library asked to borrow the *Reflexions Sur L'attaque de Newyork*. I had purchased this 37-page companion piece to the map, which detailed the opportunities and serious challenges involved in wresting New York from the British. In arranging the loan, I visited Mount Vernon and was immediately struck by the Library's extraordinary vision to recreate George Washington's map and book collection. I had not given much thought to where my collection should ultimately reside, but I sensed during the visit that this might be its permanent home. The Library was state of the art, and the staff were young, knowledgeable, and enthusiastic. My focus from 1755 to 1783 neatly parallels Washington's military career. Most importantly, all involved agreed that the collection would be transformative for scholars at the library, students at the learning center, and exhibitions at the museum. And so, the collection is our gift to Mount Vernon and Washington's legacy.²¹

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Richard H. Brown is a collector of maps and views of the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. He is Vice Chairman of the Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center at the Boston Public Library. At the Leventhal, he was instrumental in creating a digital portal for institutional holdings of American Revolutionary era maps and contributing to *We Are One*, a Revolutionary War Map exhibition. Richard is also a member of the Mount Vernon Cabinet, The Library Committee of the New-York Historical Society, and the Washington Map

Society. He is coauthor of *Revolution: Mapping the Road to American Independence 1755–1783* and has lectured at venues throughout the United States, England, and France. The author thanks Ronald Grim, Ph. D., Curator of Maps (retired), at the Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center for his editorial and proofing assistance.

ABOUT THE IMAGES: Images in the captions above and endnotes below are from the Richard H. Brown Collection and are available on both the Mount Vernon website: <http://catalog.mountvernon.org/digital/collection/p16829coll42> and the Leventhal Map and Education Center website: <https://collections.leventhalmap.org>.

The physical maps reside at the Washington Library, and research inquiries should be directed to: fwslibrary@mountvernon.org.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Bibliography of Printed Battle Plans of the American Revolution, 1775–1795* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975).
- 2 John Mitchell, *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America with the roads, distances, limits, and extent of the settlements ...*, first edition, 3rd impression (London, 1755), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vt33m>; Lewis Evans, *A General Map of the Middle British Colonies, in America: viz Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pensilvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island ...* (London, 1755), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524mt73d>; and Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina* (London, [1768]), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524mt68j>.
- 3 Bernard Romans, *To the Hone. Jno. Hancock, Esqre. President of ye Continental Congress, this Map of the Seat of Civil War in America ...* (Philadelphia, [1775]), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vw10q>; and *Connecticut and Parts Adjacent* (New Haven, 1777), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vt665>.
- 4 *A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sullivan, near Charles Town in South Carolina: by a squadron of His Majesty's ships ...* (London, 1776), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vr65g>.
- 5 Paul Cohen, "Michel Capitaine de Chesnoy, the Marquis de Lafayettes's Cartographer," *Antiques* 153 (January 1998): 170–177.
- 6 The Leventhal Map and Education Center's portal to American Revolutionary War-Era Maps, which includes a list of partner collections, is available at

- <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/collections/commonwealth:dn39z222j>.
- 7 Allison K. Lange, "Richard Williams Maps Boston," *Journal of the American Revolution* (October 5, 2015), online at <https://allthingsliberty.com/2015/10/richard-williams-maps-the-siege-of-boston/>. Many British mapmakers were trained as engineers and artillery officers at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Their coursework included architecture, mapmaking, and topographical views, the latter taught by Paul Sandby who served as the Academy's Drawing Master from 1768 until 1799. At age 21, Sandby had been instrumental in creating the seminal 38-sheet Roy Map of Scotland, the prototype for English military mapping throughout the 18th century (<https://maps.nls.uk/roy/originals.html>). Sandby subsequently became a renowned painter of topographical views and was credited with founding the English School of Watercolor. The painter Thomas Gainsborough observed, "If one wanted 'real Views from Nature in this Country', [. . .] there was no better artist than Sandby" (Linda Colley, "Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain: Linda Colley on the Neglected 18th-Century Landscape Painter, Paul Sandby," *The Guardian* (6 Nov. 2009). See also John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels, eds., *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009) and Stephen Daniels and John Bonehill, "Landscape, Maps, and Aesthetics," in *History of Cartography*, ed. Matthew H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020), 4:723–726.
 - 8 J. De Costa, *A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston: And the country adjacent with the road from Boston to Concord shewing the place of the late engagement between the King's troops & the provincials, together with the several encampments of both armies in & about Boston* (London, 1775). Copies of the latter edition are found in the holdings of the Library of Congress and the American Antiquarian Society; see online images at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vj169> and <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vg86k>.
 - 9 Letter from Thomas Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, April 1775, reproduced online by *Teaching American History* at <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/report-on-the-battles-of-lexington-and-concord-in-an-excerpt-of-a-letter-to-the-earl-of-dartmouth/>.
 - 10 Richard H. Brown and Paul Cohen, *Revolution: Mapping the Road to American Independence 1755–1783* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), 62–67.
 - 11 The various known copies of the Abel Buell map are described in Paul E. Cohen, "Abel Buell, of Connecticut, Prints America's First Map of the United States, 1784," *New England Quarterly* 86 (September 2013): 357–397.
 - 12 The copy of the Buell map sold at this auction is now on deposit at the Library of Congress and is displayed as part of the current exhibition, *Mapping a Growing Nation from Independence to Statehood*, also online as a virtual tour: <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/mapping-a-growing-nation/overview.html>.
 - 13 Thomas Jeffreys, *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies* (London 1768). See Table of Contents, entry 27, online at <https://www.loc.gov/item/74175046/>.
 - 14 George Bancroft, *The American Revolution* (New York, 1870), 290.
 - 15 Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, Vol. 7, *The Victorious Years, 1758–1760* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), 207.
 - 16 Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London, 1842), 201.
 - 17 William Faden, *Plan of the City and Environs of Quebec, with its siege and blockade by the Americans, from the 8th of December 1775 to the 13th of May 1776* (London, 1776), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vr92c>.
 - 18 John Montrésor, *A Plan of the City of New-York & Its Environs to Greenwich, on the North or Hudsons River, and to Crown Point, on the East or Sound River, shewing the several streets, publick buildings, docks, fort & battery, with the true form & course of the commanding grounds, with and without the town : survey'd in the winter ... [1765]* (London, 1775), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vs082>. Montrésor's account of his activities in North America are found in *The Montresor Journals*, ed. G. D. Scull, Collections of the New York Historical Society for 1881 (New York, 1882).
 - 19 Bernard Ratzer, *To His Excellency Sr. Henry Moore, Bart., captain general and governour in chief in & over the province of New York & the territories depending thereon in America, chancellor & vice admiral of the same, this plan of the city of New York is most humbly inscribed* (London, 1769?), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vt74v>.
 - 20 Louis-Alexandre Berthier, *Plan des environs de New York (manuscrit) – Position du camp de l'armée combinée à Philippsburg du 6 juillet au 19 août – double* (1781), online at <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524mv49j>.
 - 21 An introductory description announcing the donation of my collection to the Fred W. Smith Library for the Study of George Washington at Mount Vernon is provided in Richard H. Brown, "Cartography of Revolution: Exploring Washington's World in Maps," *Mount Vernon Magazine* (Winter 2019): 20–29. 