

Jean Lattré,
Carte des États-Unis de l'Amérique Suivant
le Traité de Paix
Paris 1784



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A Map for Benjamin Franklin

Paris in 1784 buzzed with the news of the Peace Treaty negotiated between the victorious Americans and the defeated British, as the world watched a powerful nation lose her colonies. One of the chief negotiators of the Treaty was Benjamin Franklin, printer, essayist, scientist, and diplomat, who had arrived in Paris in late 1776 to act as minister plenipotentiary for the fledgling United States, shortly after the official break with Britain had been made via the Declaration of Independence. Franklin was a popular figure in Paris, lionized by salon society, the darling of the urban chatelaines; he also pursued his scientific interests while in the city, using his time to attend meetings of the *Académie des Sciences* and to continue to conduct scientific experiments. One particular interest was his research into the Gulf Stream, that warm ocean current running close to the eastern shore of North America across the Atlantic to northern Europe. Franklin's map of the Gulf Stream was first produced in Paris, engraved and printed by Georges-Louis LeRouge.¹

It is not surprising, therefore, to find another Paris mapmaker paying his respects to Franklin and the young United States of America. In 1784, Jean Lattré, a well known and prolific engraver, printer, and mapseller, published the *Carte des États-Unis | de l'Amérique | Suivant le Traité de Paix de 1783. | Dediée et Présentée | A S.*

¹ E. R. Cohn, Benjamin Franklin, Georges-Louis Le Rouge and the Franklin/Folger Chart of the Gulf Stream, in: *Imago Mundi* 52 (2000), 124-142.

Excellence Mr. Benjamin Franklin / Ministre Plénipotentiaire des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique près la Court de France, / anc[ien]. Présid[ent]. de la conventio[n] de Pensilvanie et de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie. &c &c. / Par son très humble et très obeissant / Serviteur Lattré. | 1784. | avec privilege du Roi.

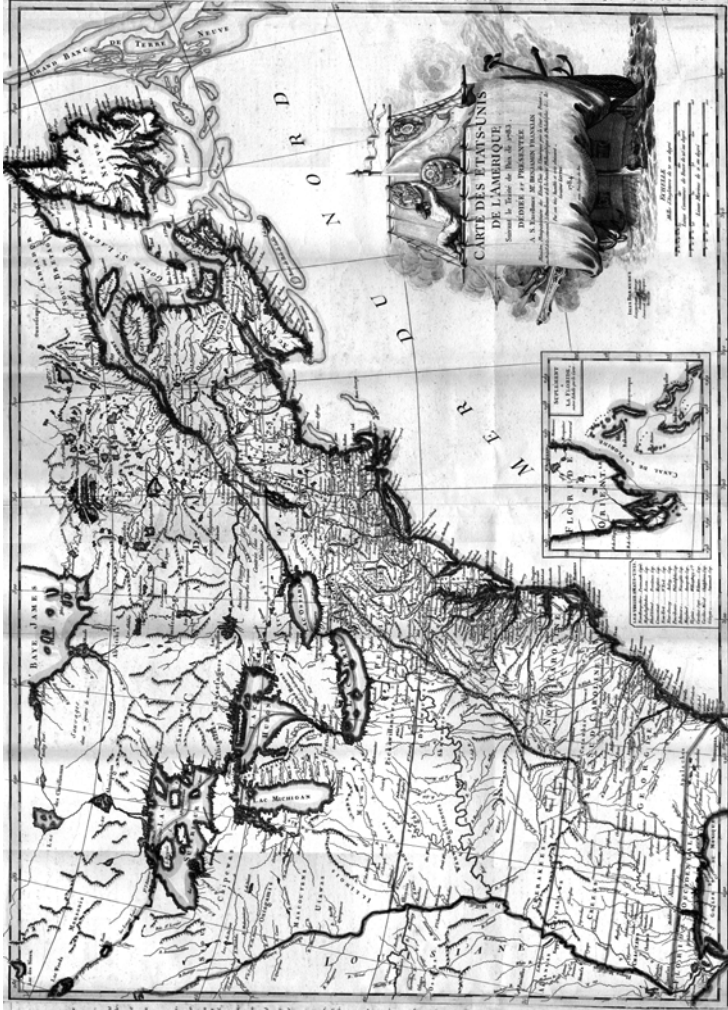


Fig.1: Image of complete map from Woldan collection, K-V(B1) : AM/Nor 171

Lattré's map has been described as *the first French map of the United States of America*. As with so many claims of *first*, this statement misses a more essential purpose of the map, which was to celebrate the connections between France and the United States and to pay homage to Franklin for his services both to his native country and to his hosts in France.²

Geographically, the map covers that part of North America from which the young United States were carved: the eastern seaboard from Newfoundland (*Terre Neuve*) in British Canada to the northern edge of Florida (Ft Moos), westward to the boundary of the Mississippi River, north beyond the Great Lakes to the southern end of Canada's Hudson Bay and south to the Gulf of Mexico. The remainder of *La Floride* is shown in the inset *Supplément*. The large map measures 55.7 cm by 77.5 cm, on a single plate, 58 x 78.5 cm. Its scale is c.1:4 500 000. Three local scales are shown: *Milles d'Angleterre 70 au degré*; *Lieues communes de France 25 au degré*; and *Lieues marines de France 20 au degré*. Some versions of the map are accompanied by two engraved texts, appended to each side of the map, listing the *Principaux Evenemens Militaires entre les Americains et Les Anglois*.

The map's cartouche displays a view of the bow of a ship under full sail. Two seals hang from the sails: on the far right, the seal of the Society of the Cincinnati; in the middle, the seal of the United States of America. On the left, a sailor balances precariously atop the sail's spar in order to hang the seal of Benjamin Franklin onto the sail itself.

The coloring of the map depended entirely on the owner: most copies highlight only the boundaries between the fledgling United States and Canada and between the individual states in watercolor; other copies use a water color wash to distinguish the states from each other and to shade the water.

² A facsimile of this map appeared in 1973 published by R. Donnelly & Co., accompanied by a pamphlet by Lester Cappon: *The First French Map of the United States of America*. Cappon's title is mis-leading, since there were several maps of the *United States* which preceded Lattré's map, including one by Lattré himself, dated 1783. See note 18 below. As this article will show, the significance of this map is not in being a *first* but in its dedication to Benjamin Franklin, and its early use of the Great Seal of the United States in conjunction with the seals of Franklin and the Society of the Cincinnati.

The author of the map is unknown, though it is likely to have been a cartographer associated with workshop of the publisher and engraver, Jean Lattré. Likely candidates might be Jean Janvier or Rigobert Bonne, both of whom produced maps for Lattré, particularly for his *Atlas Moderne* (1762). Lattré's other cartographic colleague, Giovanni Antonio Rizzi-Zannoni had by this time, 1783, left Paris and re-settled in his native Italy.

Jean Lattré

Jean Lattré (c. 1722? – 1788) was a well-known engraver in Paris during the second and third quarter of the eighteenth century. The quality of his work garnered him titles as *graveur ordinaire du roi*, *graveur ordinaire de monseigneur le Dauphin* (1767) and *graveur ordinaire de monseigneur le duc d'Orléans et de la Ville [de Paris]* (1771).³ From early in his career, he specialized in engraving and publishing maps and city plans; he was also an expert engraver of calligraphy.⁴ His fine work is particularly evident in the *Plan de la ville de Nantes* [...] surveyed by François Cacaut, engraved by Lattré, and published in 1759.⁵ On this map, Lattré has carefully differentiated a variety of types of land and land use, using gradations of line and shading in his engraving, without the application of color.

In his early years, Lattré worked for Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (*Terre de Chanaan*, 1743), for A.F. Gervais de Palmeus (*Malta*, 1741) and for the abbé Jean de la Grive, engraving the script for his well known *Plan de Paris* (1744). Later in his career, he worked occasionally for Jacques Nicolas Bellin in the Dépôt de la Marine, engraving some of the charts found in the *Hydrographe Française*.⁶ He seems to

³ Bibliothèque nationale de France (Estampes), Inventaire du fonds français; graveurs du dix-huitième siècle 12, Paris 1973, 430-463.

⁴ F. Glachant, *Nouveau traité de l'écriture*, Paris 1754. The plates are engraved by Aubin, J. Lattré and L. Baillieu. Chicago, Newberry Library, Wing oversize ZW 739.G452.

⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: Ge DD 2987 (1183) B, collection d'Anville. The exceptionally rich cartouches, abundant with putti, were designed by J. A. Volaire and executed by J. N. Tardieu and J. J. Flipart: <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7711344c/f2> [24.7.2009].

⁶ *Mer de l'Inde, l'Archipel au nord de l'Isle de France, Découvertes faites au Nord-Est de l'Isle de France*, Volume I, sheet 95.

have become an independent publisher sometime in the 1750s; he published the *Plan géométral de la ville de Bordeaux*, surveyed by the geographers Santin and Mirail, in 1755.⁷ Lattré engraved the map and employed Paris' foremost engraver and ornament designer, Charles Nicolas Cochin fils, for the cartouche. Lattré's attention to design and fine detail of the aesthetic aspect of his maps would become a defining feature of his work.⁸

The success of Lattré's maps from the 1750s must have encouraged him to launch into the far more complex and financially precarious business of atlas production. Enlisting the aid of well known geographers, Rigobert Bonne and Giovanni Battista Rizzi-Zannoni, his first productions focused on the coasts of France⁹ and Germany, where the recently battles of the Seven Years' War engaged market attention.¹⁰ These efforts may have inspired him to produce the *Atlas moderne ou collection de cartes sur toutes les parties du globe terrestre*, in 1762.¹¹ This atlas comprised maps by Giovanni Antonio Rizzi-Zannoni, Rigobert Bonne, and Jean Janvier. Lattré joined with another bookseller, Jean Thomas Hérissant, to share the costs of production; for a later edition (1771) he shared the publication rights with Nicolas

⁷ Washington D.C., Library of Congress: G5834.B6 1755.

⁸ Lattré's wife, Marie Françoise Vêrard, was an equally gifted engraver, adept in calligraphy and map engraving. Contemporary critics remarked upon her map of the solar eclipse, a fine example of two-color printing, as it showed the map of Europe in sepia or red, with the visibility of the passage of the solar eclipse overprinted in black. The data for the eclipse were based on the astronomical work of Nicole-Reine Lépaute Etable de la Briere, wife of Jean André Lepaute, the royal *horloger*. The ornamental cartouche was engraved by Mme (Elisabeth-Claire) Tardieu, wife of Nicolas Tardieu of the illustrious engraving family. *Passage de l'Ombre de la Lune au travers de l'Europe dans l'Eclipsé de Soleil centrale & annulaire qui doit arriver le premier avril 1764*. See *Mémoires de Trévoux*, juin 1762, 1530-1534, for favorable comment on this map, as an example of what women could produce, if only they were educated.

⁹ *Atlas Maritime, ou cartes réduites de toutes les côtes de France*, 1762, with maps by Rigobert Bonne.

¹⁰ *Atlas géographique et militaire, ou Théâtre de la guerre présente en Allemagne*, 1761, maps by G.A. Rizzi-Zannoni. This Atlas was published along with the book dealer Ballard, minimizing some of the risk for Lattré.

¹¹ While it might seem that this atlas was produced in competition with Rizzi-Zannoni's *Atlas géographique, contenant la mappemonde et les quatre parties, avec les différents états d'Europe, dressés sous les yeux de M. Rizzi-Zannoni*, the latter atlas was published in 12°, while Lattré's atlas was between quarto and folio sized.

Augustin Delalain, bookseller.¹² The following year, 1763, Lattré published the *Petit Neptune Anglois ou Carte Marine des Côtes d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande* with maps by Rigobert Bonne. Twenty years later, his marketing instincts encouraged him to publish a school atlas, the *Petit atlas moderne ou collection de cartes élémentaires dédié à la jeunesse* (1783).

Like other engravers during the latter half of the eighteenth century, Lattré saw economic survival in the diversity of his stock. While his inventory seemed to concentrate on urban plans (e.g., Nantes, Rouen), atlases of general maps, the occasional specialty map such as the eclipse map of 1764, and globes, he also expanded into a more general market with the publication of the *Almanach Iconologique*, published in fascicules from 1765 to 1782. It was completed in 17 small (in 16°) volumes, the images designed and engraved by Charles Nicolas Cochin fils and Hubert Gravelot, brother of Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville. It also was printed in a larger version (in 8°) in four volumes.¹³ In all these productions one discerns Lattré's refined sense of design and carefully tuned engraving hand.

During the period 1774 to 1781, Lattré spotted a particularly eager market in Paris: maps of the war of American Independence being fought between the British and their revolutionary colonists in North America. Lattré advertised English maps, imported *from London, relative to the present war in North America*.¹⁴ The map of the newly minted United States was published very much in this vein: as an *aide-mémoire* for up-to-date journalism.

Advertising for the map

The *Mercure de France* advertised the *Carte des Etats-Unis* in 1784, in the July-August issue (page 91) and again in the November – December issue (page 43), giving the price as two *livres ten sous*, three *livres lavée* (lightly colored).

¹² For a fuller discussion regarding the need for booksellers to join with printsellers in order to publish atlases, see M. Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography*, Chicago 2005, 90-93.

¹³ See announcements in *Mercure de France*, December 1763, 98.

¹⁴ *Journal de Paris* jeudi 15 mars 1777 (no. 135): Lattré [...] avertit le Public qu'il vient de recevoir un assortiment complet de Cartes originales anglaises sur tout ce qui est relatif à la guerre présente dans l'Amérique septentrionale.

Une Carte des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, avec la nouvelle division suivant le Traité de Paix de 1783, dédiée & présentée à M. Franklin Ministre des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique près la Cour de France. Cette Carte est sur une feuille & demie d'Aigle, & est accompagnée d'un Abrégé Historique des Expéditions Militaires. Prix. 2 liv. 10 sols, & tout ce qu'on peut desirer en Géographie; des Ecrans de tous genres proprement faits, & plusieurs objets d'étrennes curieux & Utiles. A similar advertisement was carried in the *Journal de Paris* of 9 July with a similar price.

This price was very much in line with French maps in general published in Paris: one *livre* per sheet was an average price and the addition ten *sous* for simple outline color was an average additional cost. Thus the map fell within the price range for a buyer interested in the outcome of the War for American Independence. Furthermore, the map also did not present any new geographical information about the fledgling United States: it followed the outlines of other English and French maps in its delineation of the North American continent, the Great Lakes, the eastern seaboard, and the Florida peninsula. What gave the map a new dimension was the addition of the advertised *Abrégé historique des Expéditions Militaires*. This *Abrégé* materialized as *Principaux Evenemens militaires entre les Americains et les Anglois*, a chronological list of battles and events of the war printed from engraved plates and glued as long strips to either side of the map, forming a marginal frame for the map itself. Indeed, almost all of the sites of battles and conflicts, however small and obscure, are shown on the map, as are the routes of the American army under Washington, and the French forces who came to his aid.

Sources for the Map

Like most geographical engravers, Lattré probably did not construct this map himself, relying instead on the work of more capable geographers. His earlier maps, beautifully engraved by his workshop, were prepared by skilled geographical compilers, such as Jean Janvier or Rigobert Bonne. Lattré had relied on both these geographers for the compilation of maps in his *Atlas Moderne* of 1762, along with the specialized skills of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi-Zannoni. Yet it is unusual that Lattré did not credit either the map's creator or

the designer of the sumptuous cartouche. In his *Atlas moderne*, most of the cartouches are signed by P.P. Choffard, Arrivet, Morillier and Berthaut. Lattré and his workshop may well have engraved the geographical section of the map, as was done for the map of the Holy Land in the *Atlas moderne*.¹⁵

The general geography of Lattré's map of North America seems to be based upon the landmark map of 1755 by John Mitchell, printed in London by Thomas Kitchen.¹⁶ Mitchell's map served as the archetype for many, if not most, later maps of eastern North America, supplemented by the results of other British surveys conducted during the period of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which provided large scale information to the European community, through the distribution network of London cartographers. The use of the Mitchell map during the boundary negotiations in the 1780s between the British, the Americans, the French and the Spanish is well known.¹⁷ Continental mapmakers sometimes relied upon the 1756 copy of the Mitchell map published in Paris by Georges Le Rouge.

Lattré himself was in touch with London mapmakers; his letters to William Faden during the War of American Independence testify to his interest in up to date information about North America and about the ongoing war. In 1777, he ordered the Mitchell map, maps of the Theatre of war, of Canada, of the province of New York, of the area around Philadelphia, of specific military operations.¹⁸ He

¹⁵ *Terrae Sanctae Tabula* [...], based on the work of Guillaume and Joseph Nicolas Delisle. The map is signed *gravé par Lattré* while the cartouche was signed *Morillier inv[enit]* and *Berthaut sculp[er]*.

¹⁶ M. Edney, John Mitchell's map of North America (1755). A study of the use and publication of official maps in eighteenth century Britain, in: *Imago Mundi* 60 (2008), 63-85.

¹⁷ J. Dunbabin, Red lines on maps: the impact of cartographical errors on the border between the United States and British North America, 1782-1842, in: *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998), 105-125. – The map used in the Course of our Negotiations was Mitchell's; cf. The American Commissioners (i.e., John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens) to Robert R. Livingston, Paris, December 14, 1782, in: E. Cohn (Ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* 38, New Haven 2006.

¹⁸ M. Pedley, The Map trade in the late eighteenth century: Letters to the London map sellers Jefferys and Faden, *SVEC*, 2000:06, Voltaire Foundation, Oxford, Letter I: 24, 84-85. He sold these maps directly in the Paris market, as advertised in the *Journal de Paris* (jeudi 15 mars 1777, no.

himself had published a *Theatre de la guerre en Amérique* compiled by Rigobert Bonne in 1779.¹⁹

Upon the signing of the preliminary draft of the Treaty of Paris in late 1782²⁰ which determined the boundaries of the fledgling United States, mapmakers in London quickly moved into high gear. By April 3, 1783, John Wallis at the Map Warehouse had published his *United States of America [...] Agreeable to the Peace of 1783*. Thomas Kitchin soon followed on May 2nd with *Map of the United States in North America [...] according to the Treat of 1783*. August 6th saw the appearance of John Cary's *Accurate map of the United States of America [...] agreeable to the Treaty of Peace of 1783*. William Faden himself produced *The United States of America [...] according to the Treaty*, which is dated 1783 in the cartouche, but, unusually for Faden, lacks the usual copyright statement and date *As the Act directs* engraved on the map.

Paris mapmakers were not slow to emulate their cross Channel comrades, creating new publications such as Mondhare's edition of the J.B. Eliot *Carte generale des États Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, avec les limites de chacun des dits Etats, convenus par le traité provisional du mois de novembre 1782*. Or they revised old maps with new boundaries: Dezauche/Buache/Delisle, *Carte du Canada qui comprend la partie septentrionale des Etats Unis d'Amérique. [...] Revue et augmentée en 1783, a Paris, Chez Dezauche, successeur des Srs. Del'Isle et Buache*. One of the most elegant was published by Brion de la Tour: *Carte des États-Unis d'Amérique, et du cours du Mississipi*²¹; Even Lattré took his old map of

135): Lattré [...] avertit le Public qu'il vient de recevoir un assortiment complet de Cartes originales anglaises sur tout ce qui est relatif à la guerre présente dans l'Amérique septentrionale.

¹⁹ Dated 1779 on LC G3300 1779. B6 Vault. A copy in the Boston Public Library is dated 1781. The same map may be found with a new title, *Partie de l'Amérique septentrionale qui comprend le Canada, la Louisiane le Labrador le Groenland, les Etats-Unis et la Floride. [...] par Mr Bonne. Chez Lattré [...] revue et corrigée 1783*, cf. <http://www.davidrumsey.com> [24.7.2009].

²⁰ The preliminary draft was agreed November 30th, 1782; formally ratified September 3, 1783; ratification documents exchanged in Paris May 12, 1784.

²¹ [...] rédigée d'après différentes cartes et relations anglaises, et les opérations de la dernière guerre: avec les nouvelles limites générales fixées par les articles préliminaires de paix, signés tant à Paris qu'à Versailles, le 30 9bre., 1782 et le 20 janr. 1783, et confirmées par le traité définitif du 3 7bre. 1783. Cette carte composée par le Sr. Brion de la Tour, ingr. géographe du roi. [Washington, D.C., Library of Congress: G3700, 1787, B7

North America from the *Atlas Moderne* of 1762 and re-titled it *Theatre de la Guerre* in 1779, and a further new title in 1783: *Partie de l'Amérique septentrionale qui comprend [...] les États-Unis*.

The Peace Treaty, finally ratified formally in May of 1784, was available to the French public via the limited number of copies printed at Passy from Franklin's own press, printed by printer, Philippe-Denis Pierres. The boundaries established by the treaty could also be seen in the maps of William Faden and Brion de la Tour, on which the lines of demarcation followed the wording of the pertinent articles on boundaries in the treaty.²² It is surprising that Lattré's *Carte des États-Unis*, dedicated to Franklin, does not follow the boundary lines according to the terms of Article II of the Peace Treaty, which describe the boundary in detail. The northern boundary on the *Carte des États-Unis* follows the treaty line accurately westwards to the Lake of the Woods in Canada whence it disappears off the left edge of the map. Thus the western boundary, running south from the Lake of the Woods along the course of the Mississippi River is initially invisible, only appearing at about the 45th parallel to follow the great river southwards. Similarly, the southern boundary, which according to Article II turns east from the Mississippi at 31 degrees north latitude travels along this parallel to the Apalachicola River. By the terms of the Treaty, the line should turn north to the junction of the Apalochiola with the Flint River, thence turning east to meet the headwaters of the St. Mary's River, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. On Lattré's *Carte des États-Unis*, the St Mary's River is not to be found, and the boundary does follow the prescribed jog in the line, but rather extends due east to the Atlantic.

Clearly Lattré did not intend the *Carte des États-Unis* to be used to examine closely the boundaries established by the Peace Treaty of 1783.

Vault, a unique copy purportedly with the author's annotations made in 1787 on the 1783 map].

22 See M. Edney, *The Mitchell Map, 1755-1782: An Irony of Empire. Part 4: The Mitchell Map in Paris*, available as a web document, <http://www.usm.maine.edu/maps/web-document/2/home/the-mitchell-map-1755-1782-an-irony-of-empire> [22.12.2009] for the exact wording of the treaty.



Fig 2: Detail of the southern boundary

What then was his purpose? The clue is provided by the text pasted on either side the map: *Principaux evenemens militaire entre les Americaines et les Anglois*. This chronological account of the “principal military events” lists the actions of the war grouped geographically, beginning with Massachusetts (1775-1776), Virginia (1775), Canada (1775-1776), New York (1776-1777), Virginia again (1777 though all the place names are in Pennsylvania), York County [Virginia] (1777, but place names that follow are all in New York), Pennsylvania (1778), Georgia (1778), New York (1779), Connecticut, Georgia and South Carolina (1779), South Carolina (1780) Massachusetts (1780), and finally Virginia (1781), ending with the surrender of Cornwallis on the 18th [*sic!*, 19th] of October. Almost all the place names mentioned in the description of the action, with only a few exceptions, may be found on the map, despite its small scale. While relatively obscure scenes of battles, such as Lynch’s Creek and Tugley in South Carolina are shown, other place names, more iconic in American history, such as *Walley* [i.e., Valley] *Forge*, are not labeled, though they appear in the *Principaux Evenemens*. The source of Lattré’s *Principaux Evenemens* is not evident; because of his correspondence with William Faden, one might surmise that he had taken advantage of the printed text accompanying many of Faden’s battle maps published soon after conflicts. The London map publishers Robert Sayer and John Bennett also provided textual summaries of the war to accompany their maps. Nonetheless, Lattré’s succinct chronological and geographical account may be a unique summary of the war’s events.

The choice of several of the “principal events” highlights the role of the French as they assisted the Americans in their insurgency against the British. The marquis de Lafayette plays a large part here: first described as “beating an English detachment larger than his own. (Virginia, October 25, 1777)”. Lafayette takes up considerable space in the description of his efforts with Washington in Philadelphia, including his close escape from capture by the British General Howe, who had boasted to the ladies of Philadelphia that he would bring this young warrior back from battle with him to be their guest at dinner (Pennsylvanie, 1778, juin):

La Fayette prend post à Baren hill à 4 ms. De Philadelphie. L'Armée Angloise marche pour envelopper ce détachement. Howe avoit promis aux Dames de la Ville de les faire souper avec ce jeune Guerrier, la Fayette se retire sans perdre un homme quoiqu'au milieu de l'armée Angloise. Le 18 les Anglois évacuent Philadelphie.

Only Lafayette is given this singular treatment in the list of “Principal Events”. The arrival of the French army with General Rochambeau is mentioned in 1780 only as *Juillet le 15. arrivé des Troupes Françaises à Rode-Island*. Similarly, French naval action along the Virginia coast is remarked, but the only commanders mentioned are Ternay (1781 *Mars: L'escadre de Ternay qui portoit des Troupes de Terre à la Chesapeake rencontre la flotte Angloise. Combat opiniatre*) and d'Estaing (1779, *Septemb.: Le 9 D'Estaing jette l'ancre à l'Isle Tybee, le 16 les troupes son débarquées et les Americ. Se joignent aux François*). De Grasse, who kept the British navy at bay and away from Chesapeake Bay, is nowhere to be found.

The French action and support described in the *Principaux Evenments* provided the necessary support for the Americans to win their independence from Britain. This alliance and bond between the two countries is celebrated in the cartouche, with its rhythmic array of seals.

PRINCIPAUX EVENEMENS
Militaires entre
LES AMERICAINS ET LES ANGLOIS.

Massachusset.

1775. 18. *Avril. Les Anglois tirent sur la Milice Americaine a Lexington, 17 hommes tués ou blessés.*
 19. *les Anglois tirent sur la Milice Americ: à Concord, les Americ: rendent le feu, font des prisonniers et bloquent Boston par terre.*
- Jun. 16. *Les Americains prennent Buicker's hill, et s'y retranchent*
 17. *les Anglois attaquent ce Poste et prennent les retranchements.*
- Mars. 2. *les Americains canonnent et bombardent Boston et*
 1776 *les Vaisseaux Anglois.*
 le 5. *les Anglois abandonnent Boston, se retirent au Fort William.*
 le 17. *partent pour Halifax.*

Virginie.

1775. le 25. *Avril. le Gouvern. Dunmore fait enlever les poudres du Magazin de la province.*
les Americains prennent les armes pour se les faire restituer et forcent un magazin du Roi.
- Jun. *Dunmore se retire sur un Vaisseau et va ravager son Gouvernem: partout ou il peut aborder. Il incendie,*
 le 18. *octobre Palmouth, et Norfolk le 1. Janvier 1776.*

CANADA

1775. le 20. *Allen Americain part de Bennington pour prendre Ticonderago.*
- Avril. 19. *emporte le Fort d'assault. le 21 prend le Fort Crown-point, et celui de Skenesborough.*
- Septemb. *Arnold part de Boston, va s'embarquer à Newbury, est porté à l'embouchure du Kennebec, remonte ce fleuve jusqu'à sa source, traverse les montagnes qui séparent*
- Novemb. *la Nouvelle Angl. du Canada, entre le 3. Novemb. dans les parties habitées du Canada, arrive le 9. devant Quebec et le 15 la Ville est bloquée par terre.*

Fig. 3: Detail of the *Principaux evenemens*

Cartouche

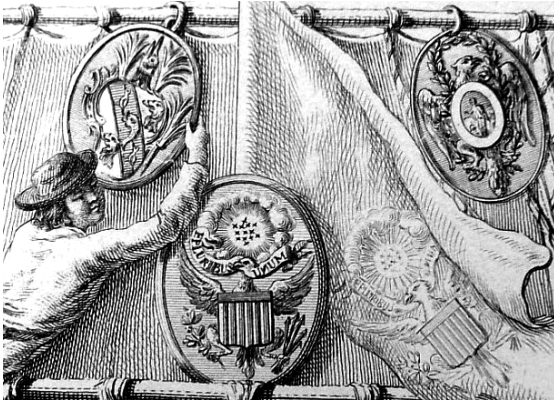


Fig. 4: Detail of the cartouche

The cartouche comprising ship under full sail demonstrates Lattré's economical use of decorative ideas. He had employed a smaller version of the same device on his map of the Northern Netherlands in the *Atlas Moderne* of 1762. He has doubled the size of the ship and sail to fit the much larger *Carte des Etats-Unis* and added a sailor who is busy hanging up the three seals onto the sails.

These three seals connect the subject matter of the map to its dedicatee, Benjamin Franklin, and to the French government. In the center, the seal of the United States commemorates the legitimization of the young country by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, recently signed. The history of the seal's design took root during the deliberations over the signing the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson had worked on a design of an earlier seal, which was not accepted by the Continental Congress. A later design was proposed by the Secretary of the Congress, Charles Thomson assisted by William Barton of Philadelphia. It consists of the eagle grasping the arrows of war and the olive branch of peace in its talons; he holds the Latin motto of the United States in his beak: *e pluribus unum* (out of many, one). Above the eagle, clouds surround the thirteen stars, representing the thirteen original British colonies, now independent states. The design

was adopted in 1782 and a die cut from brass in 1782.²³ Franklin had ordered another block to be cut in Paris for use on the published version of the Treaty of Paris. Franklin's printer, Philippe-Denis Pierres, used the seal on the title pages of both the *Constitutions des Treize Etats-unis de l'Amérique*, and the *Definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States*, both published in 1783 at Passy.²⁴ Franklin also used the seal for other official documents issued by him as Minister Plenipotentiary. On the cartouche ship sail, the seal is repeated in faint outline imprinted on the flag billowing in the wind.



Fig. 5: Further detail of cartouche with three seals

²³ *The Great Seal of the United States*, United States Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, September 1996.

²⁴ E. Cohn, *The Printer at Passy*, in: Page Talbott (Ed.), *Benjamin Franklin: In search of a better world*, New Haven and London 2005, 235-272.

Until he had his own printing block of the official seal of the United States, Franklin had used his own seal for identifying his papers and books and as his official seal of office. This is the seal which the young sailor is hanging onto the sail. Franklin had devised this seal when he was a printer's apprentice in Boston, designing his *blazon* in imitation of a coat of arms he had found associated with an English Franklin family: the arms display a pike's head facing upward, two lion heads facing to their right, and a diagonal cross bar with two martins either side a dolphin. Such crests were usually associated with landed gentry and nobility, not men of the lower social orders, such as Franklin; but he justified the creation of his seal: *The first thing requisite in an almanac-writer is, that he should be descended of a great family and bear a coat of arms, this gives luster and authority to what a man writes, and makes the common people believe, that certainly this is a great man.*²⁵

The third seal on *Carte des Etats-Unis*, to the right, is that of the Society of the Cincinnati, a group which honors the participation of the French army and navy in the War of American Independence. The Society was founded in May 1783, with George Washington as its first president. Named in honor of the ancient Roman farmer and patriot, Cincinnatus, who twice abandoned his plough to take up arms in defense of his country, the society was open to the officers of the Continental (American) army and their French counterparts, in order *to perpetuate the memory of the revolution and their mutual devotion to it by aiding the officers according to the three principles of financial, fraternal, and patriotic support.*²⁶ The society's seal was designed by Pierre Charles l'Enfant (a member of the original society and architect who laid out the city of Washington D.C.); it consists of an eagle with wings slightly spread and a roundel on its chest, in which Cincinnatus is

²⁵ From *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 20, 1737: *The first thing requisite in an almanac-writer is, that he should be descended of a great family and bear a coat of arms, this gives luster and authority to what a man writes, and makes the common people believe, that certainly this is a great man. I have known almanac writers so curious and exact in this particular, that they have been at the expense and charge of a wooden cut in the frontispiece, with their arms emblazoned, and surrounded with a label, expressing the name of the family. This, sir, made a great impression, I confess, upon myself and others, and made those works to go off well.*

²⁶ *L'ordre de Cincinnatus*, in: Benjamin Franklin: un Américain à Paris, [exposition] Paris, Musée Carnavalet, 2008, 226-228.

depicted with his plough and the name of the society written in Latin and its foundation date around the edge of the circle. The seal, also known as an “eagle”, was first manufactured sometime between December 1783 and April 1784 by the Paris goldsmiths Duval and Francastel.²⁷ Lattre’s depiction of the seal on this map must be a very early representation of it in print.

Franklin himself felt certain ambivalence about the Society of Cincinnati, as he was concerned, rightly, that it would become a hereditary society, rather than merely honoring the courage and patriotism of the participants in the war. Critics of the Society accused it of creating an aristocracy in a country which valued liberty and equality. Franklin supported this view privately and in his support of the pamphlet concerning the Society written by the comte de Mirabeau.²⁸

The dedication to Benjamin Franklin

The viewer’s attention is drawn particularly to the sailor attaching the personal seal of Benjamin Franklin onto the spar, reminding the audience that the map was dedicated to Franklin. Benjamin Franklin (1709-1790) was an immensely popular ambassador for the fledgling United States. His presence in Paris elicited the same delirium that certain modern celebrities (sports figures, film and music stars, political or religious leaders) enjoy. He had visited Paris on earlier occasions, but arrived as a minister plenipotentiary in 1777 to do the hard work of encouraging French participation in the war as allies of the young republic and of acting as the foreign face of the new United States. In these roles he succeeded admirably: the French provided integral support both by land and sea to the military operations of the Continental Army and financial support to a county whose trade was cut off from its colonial mother. While Franklin worked tirelessly for the cause of the United States, he also found time and energy to pursue his scientific interests, making presentations to the Académie des Sciences, and doing his own bit of

²⁷ F. Bucher, *American Footprints in Paris*, New York 1921, 97.

²⁸ *L'ordre de Cincinnatus* (note 26), 228: Mirabeau, H.G. de Riqueti, (comte de), *Considérations sur l'ordre de Cincinnatus, ou Imitation d'un pamphlet anglo-américain* [...], Londres, J. Johnson, 1784.

map mapmaking. He refined his ideas about the Gulf Stream and employed the Paris geographer George Le Rouge to visualize the Gulf Stream in a map.²⁹ As a printer himself, Franklin was eager to set up his own press at Passy, where he stayed as the guest of Jacques-Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, a wealthy slave trader and merchant who personally contributed to the American cause by providing the uniforms for the Army of Virginia.

Nothing in the voluminous Benjamin Franklin papers connects him with Jean Lattré, the publisher of the map. Although the title of the map says “dedicated and presented” to Franklin, no record of Lattré’s presentation has been recovered. Nonetheless, Franklin’s acquaintance with the circle of printers in Paris, his interest in mapmaking and acquaintance with Le Rouge could easily have included an introduction to Jean Lattré who, like Le Rouge, had an interest in the current events of the War of American Independence and in placing these events on maps. The map’s publication in 1784, the year before Franklin’s departure (12 July 1785) from France to return to the United States and in the year of the formal ratification of the Peace Treaty between the United States and England, serves as an *homage* to the one man who successfully represented the alliance between France and the young nation. With his dedication to Franklin and the innovative display of the three seals, Lattré summarized and represented the extraordinary victories of the War of American Independence.

Epilogue

I first met Johannes Dörflinger at the International Conference for the History of Cartography in 1983 in Dublin where we shared our mutual interest in eighteenth century cartography and the creation of atlases. We discovered that we both enjoyed the experience of archival research and its potential to reveal the story behind every map. We both have been fascinated by the social and economic background of mapmakers and have understood the importance of the history of the events surrounding a map’s appearance. My correspondence with Johannes Dörflinger has always

²⁹ E. R. Cohn, Benjamin Franklin, in: *Imago Mundi* 52 (2000), 124-142.

been valuable and fruitful and deepens my admiration for his work. His assiduous attention to the historical context of maps continues to be revealed in the contribution of his students to the history of cartography.

About the author

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