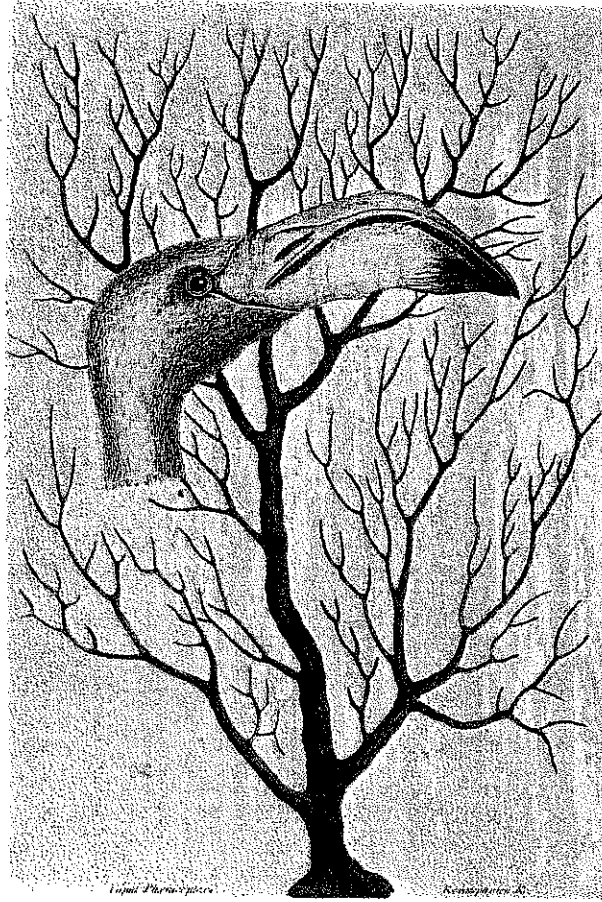


# **A Story of Florida in Period Maps and Prints**

**By Michael W. Fisher**



**Illustrated by the Michael and Linda Fisher**

*Collection of Florida Maps & Prints*

**September 28, 2005**

**© 2004 - Michael W. Fisher  
One Independent Drive, Suite 2600  
Jacksonville, FL 32202  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED**

## Introduction

“Passion, though a bad regulator, is a powerful spring.”

- Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Conduct of Life*

For 30 years, I have found safe excitement in a hobby which, if I permitted it, would be all consuming. The Michael and Linda Fisher collection of period prints and maps of Florida is a world inhabited by Walter Mitty – an armchair world adventurer, scholar, and art collector. Linda has accused me of being more familiar with the rare book room of the New York Public Library than our own living room. Travel to Europe and other cities in the United States is never complete without rummaging through bins of old rag paper and seeking out the obscure print dealer.

Period prints and maps combine the artistry of a craftsman, who can draw the image in reverse, with a contemporaneous depiction of a historical place, event, or person. The subject of the print can, at times, also involve mystery – Why is Florida shown on a map before Ponce de Leon’s discovery? Because of my preference for the skill required to replicate the subject by hand, photographic techniques are excluded from the collection.

A principle objective of the collection is to portray contemporaneously an individual, event, or place. Be it accurate or not, the portrait is how the world perceived the subject. Sometimes the objective is fully achieved, for example in the Harpers’ Winslow Homer print of Abraham Lincoln which was published during the Lincoln presidency. Other times, the objective is all but ignored. For example, De Soto’s landing is a wood engraved romantic scene for a 19<sup>th</sup> century viewer. I like them both and, in some convoluted way of thinking, I know they both belong in our collection. (I believe it was Emerson who said, “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.”)

The heart of the Michael and Linda Fisher collection is the history of Florida. Through attention and luck, we have collected prints crafted by woodcuts, engravings, etchings, and stone lithographs. When pieced together, like a 12-sheet map, a story of La Florida emerges. It is a story of Florida that Linda and I will continue to illustrate by discovering more images which we will add to our collection, probably as long as I breathe.

When looking at the exhibit, you may wonder, in some cases, the exact source of a particular print. So do I. Unfortunately, some prints are difficult to specifically identify as to the artist, engraver, and publisher. My experience tells me, even if I were a full-time librarian in the Library of Congress, a few of the prints in our collection would not be accurately sourced. This worrisome state is grudgingly accepted as an avocational shortcoming.

One last admonishment to the viewer. If you are fond of history, mystery, art, and fine craftsmanship, do not linger too long – you may become as impassioned as Michael Fisher.

## Chapter I Who's Right -- Ptolemy or Columbus?

"Name the greatest of all the inventors: Accident."

- Mark Twain, *Notebooks*

Our story begins in Nuremberg, Germany, with a leading scholar of world history. The year is 1493, and Dr. Hartmann Schedel has published his momentous undertaking, *The Nuremberg Chronicle*, a volume containing over 1,000 woodcuts of the known world. This publication was accomplished less than 40 years after Gutenberg produced the first results of moveable type in the West. Though Dr. Schedel is literally a Renaissance man, and his technique modern, his viewpoint is a combination of the classical and medieval. The world map<sup>1</sup> he produces draws its origin from the second century Greek cartographer: Claudius Ptolemy. On the margins and verso are imaginary beings which were, at that time, believed to exist. Among them are a cyclops, a centaur, a man having four eyes, and others having six fingers, the head of a dog, and a leg providing shade.

But Dr. Schedel, who is untroubled by what we, as moderns, see as more incredible than Spiderman, has another problem. Several months before his publication, reports are circulated that a certain Genoese adventurer has found the eastern extremity of the Euro-Asian land mass by sailing west from Europe.<sup>2</sup> This sailor<sup>3</sup> has convinced the monarchs of Castile and Aragon that the world is smaller, and Asia more elongated than classical and medieval scholarship can accept. We do not know whether our illustrious Nuremberger agonized over his decision; however, we do know the *Chronicle* was published without mention of the West Indies.

But others are believers. While Isabella of Spain might have been willing to finance three caravels on a speculation, a more conservative, and some would say penurious, ruler to the North would calculate the risk of venturing funds on one small ship for another Italian navigator: Henry Cabot, an envious onlooker at the triumphal return of Columbus to Spain. Henry VII<sup>4</sup> of England may well be the monarch who sent the first Europeans to explore the coast of Florida. Henry Cabot never returned from his second voyage to the New World, possibly meeting his end off the coast of South America at the hands of the 29-year-old Spanish Admiral, Alonzo Hojeda<sup>5</sup>

Our story continues back in Germany. Here another cartographer, Martin Waldseemueller, has gathered all the narratives and data of western expeditions he can access. He produces a new map showing continents between Europe and Asia, labeling the southern half of the Western Hemisphere after a third Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci.<sup>6</sup> The year is 1507; the map he produces, consisting of 12 different woodblock sheets measuring over 4 by 7 feet, is reproduced in at least 1,000 copies. Almost 500 years hence, the only known surviving copy of the map will find its way across the Atlantic to become the most prized possession of the Library of Congress for the bargain price of ten million dollars. The southernmost extremity of the North American coastline in this seminal map strangely resembles our peninsula. This projection of the continent is derived from a Portuguese map<sup>7</sup> inked 11 years before Ponce de Leon sets foot in La Florida. Could this be the legacy of Cabot's last voyage, the return of his New World mappings to Europe by Spanish or Portuguese mariners? A later recreation of a pre-Ponce de Leon map, the so-called Admiral's Map also crafted by Waldseemueller,<sup>8</sup> demonstrated Dr. Schedel's reliance on the classical geographers to be right, and Columbus's calculations deficient: Europe is more than 8,000 miles farther away from China than the discoverer of the New World calculated.

The geographic truths in this and other maps also provoke the religious zeal of Jean Calvin who would not only burn the heretical atlas containing the Admiral's May but also its publisher, Michael Sevetus. But if there is doubt as to whether the Waldseemüller map shows Florida, there is no doubt that Petrius Martyr,<sup>9</sup> another Italian, tutor to the children of Ferdinand and Isabella, would publish a map in 1511, specifically providing details of Florida's coast, two years before Ponce de Leon's discovery.

### Prints and Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>*Secundo etas mundi*

Woodcut  
*Nuremberg Chronicle*  
Hartmann Schedel  
Strasbourg, 1493

<sup>2</sup>*Columbus primus inuentor Indiae Occidentalis VI*

Copper Engraving  
*Grand Voyages*  
Theodore de Bry  
Frankfurt, 1594

<sup>3</sup>*Christofel Colonus*

Engraving  
Arnoldus Montanus  
Circa, 1670

<sup>4</sup>*King Henry VII*

Engraving  
G. Vertue  
Mid-17<sup>th</sup> Century

<sup>5</sup>Rodney Broome, *The True Story of How America Got Its Name*, MJF Books, New York, New York, 2001, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup>*Americus Vesputius*

Engraving  
Arnoldus Montanus  
Circa, 1670

<sup>7</sup>*World Map* by Alberto Cantino, 1502. Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America*, Raleigh Publications, England, 1996, p. XIX.

<sup>8</sup>*E Tabula Terre Nova F.D.W.*

Woodcut  
Laurent Fries  
Strasbourg, 1522

<sup>9</sup>*D. Petrius Martyr Florentinus*

Engraving  
Unknown Artist  
Late 17<sup>th</sup> Century

## Chapter II Another Heart of Darkness

“There’s dignity in suffering--  
Nobility in pain--  
But failure is a salted wound  
That burns and burns again.”

- Margery Eldredge Howell, *Wormwood*

Fifty years after the New World discovery, Europeans are still idealizing the natives of America. Sebastian Munster,<sup>1</sup> a noted cosmographer of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, would publish woodcuts displaying a comely indigenous population in comparison to their European counterparts.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Battista Ramusio, another significant geographer of the same time, would show the guileless New Worlder with a plantain leaf.<sup>3</sup> But the hostilities of the natives to each other would be revealed as nothing less than horrific and unspeakably barbaric. What they would do to each other was equaled by their treatment of their bearded, pale-skinned, would-be conquerors. Andre Thevet, a 16<sup>th</sup> century priest, illustrated this grisly treatment by engraving a portrait of a ferocious South American, Quoniambec,<sup>4</sup> and the torture of a European captive.<sup>5</sup> No doubt, some of this cruelty would be brought on by the insatiable quest of the conquistadores for filthy lucre. Ramusio depicts the enslavement of Native Americans panning for gold.<sup>6</sup>

Florida would be no exception. The cruelty of her natives parallels her Southern counterparts, as the French artist Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues<sup>7, 8, 9</sup> would record; his renderings being published in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, engravings of Theodore de Bry. So too, the Spanish invaders, one after another, would fall victim to the incivilities of the natives of Florida. Indeed, the discoverer of Florida would die of arrow wounds shot by the first Floridians. Afterwards, the explorers Panfilo De Narvaez, Tristan De Luna Arellano, Dominican Friar, and Louis Cancer De Barbastor, would all die or fail in their attempt to settle, explore, or convert Florida. The famous Hernando de Soto, in his celebrated landing<sup>10</sup> and march through Florida and the Southeast,<sup>11</sup> dies without finding success in his obsession for gold and fame. Florida is so inhospitable, and the search for the precious metal so unproductive, the King of Spain declares the east coast of the peninsula off limits in 1561.<sup>12</sup>

### Prints and Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>*S.M. Annoaetatsis*

Woodcut

From *Della Cosmographia*

Sebastian Munster

Basele, Circa 1550

<sup>2</sup>*Le Premiere Voyage...*

Woodcut

From his *Della Cosmographia*

Sebastian Munster

Basele, 1550

<sup>3</sup>*Dell'indie Occidentali*

Woodcut

Native with Plantain Leaf

Giovanni Battista Ramusio

Venice, 1556

<sup>4</sup>*Quoniambec*

Engraving  
From *Portraits and Lives of Illustrious Men*  
Andre Thevet  
Paris, 1584

<sup>5</sup>*Cosmographia Uniuerselle*

Engraving  
Based upon a Woodcut by Hans Staden and from Thevet's *La Cosmographia*  
Andre Thevet  
Paris, 1575

<sup>6</sup>*Dell'indie Libro VI*

Woodcut  
Natives Panning for Gold  
Giovanni Battista Ramusio  
Venice, 1556

<sup>7</sup>*How Outina's Men Treated the Enemy Dead*

Engraving  
From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XV  
Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues  
Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>8</sup>*Murder of the Frenchman Pierre Gambie*

Engraving  
From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XLII  
Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues  
Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>9</sup>*The Sacrifice of First-Born Children*

Engraving  
From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXXIV  
Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues  
Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>10</sup>*Landing of De Soto in Florida*

Wood Engraving  
*Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*  
1856

<sup>11</sup>*De Soto and Conquistador Battle*

Engraving  
*Grand et Petit Voyages*  
De Bry Family  
Circa, 1631

<sup>12</sup>Stefan Lorant, *The New World - The First Pictures of America*, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, New York, New York, 1946, p. 5.

### Chapter III The Contest to Control the Flow of Gold

“Thieves respect property. They merely wish the property to become their property that they may more perfectly respect it.”

- G. K. Chesterton, *The Man who was Thursday*

By the mid-1500s, Spanish galleons were plying the Atlantic with the aid of the Gulf Stream flowing between Florida and the Bahamas to speed them to Seville. The Florida Straits had become the preferred route for the annual treasure fleet.<sup>1</sup> If Spain could extract gold from its dominions through subjugation of its newly-acquired subjects, certainly England and France could pirate their fair share of precious cargo on the high seas. Thus, the land inhabited by the red miscreants became strategically important in a three-corner chess game of nations. Catherine de Medici,<sup>2</sup> under the guidance of her astute Calvinist advisor, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny,<sup>3</sup> would direct France to move first, exploiting some of that country's troublesome Huguenots to settle and establish Ft. Caroline, Florida. England's Elizabeth<sup>4</sup> would give assistance to the fledgling colony through John Hawkins, her able sea captain. But Phillip II,<sup>5</sup> though he had been married to Elizabeth's half sister, Mary, and later to de Medici's daughter, Elizabeth of Valois, could not let these upstart heretics challenge the flow of wealth upon which the devout mother country Spain so depended. The conflict to protect the gold route, indeed, has other familial and religious dimensions. Elizabeth I of England stubbornly would not return to the true faith and dared to execute her devout cousin, Mary Queen of Scots,<sup>6</sup> who was Catherine de Medici's daughter-in-law.

#### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*A New and Accurate Chart of the West Indies with the Adjacent Coasts of North and South America*

Engraving

Emanuel Bowen

London, Circa 1750

<sup>2</sup>*Catharine of Medici*

Engraving

James Stewart

Unknown Date

<sup>3</sup>*Gaspard de Coligny*

Engraving

Unknown Artist

Circa, 1680

<sup>4</sup>*Elisabetha*

Engraving

Henrikus VerBruggen

Antwerp, Circa 1670

<sup>5</sup>*Philips de Tweede*

Engraving

H. de Groot

Dutch, 1681

<sup>6</sup>*Marie Stuwaert Conninginne*

Engraving

Henrikus VerBruggen

Antwerp, Circa 1670

## Chapter IV Florida's Timucuan

“When we were settled there, I studied the form of the natives of the land. The men are straight and well proportioned, of a somewhat ruddy color. To me they seemed kind and gentle. I learned that in every village they have a king. What little clothing they wear is of leather, strangely decorated. Neither the men nor the women dress in any other garb... They are neither flat-nosed nor big-lipped, but their faces are round and full, their eyes clear and timid. Their hair is very long, and they bind it very neatly around their heads. This trussing of their hair serves as a quiver to carry their arrows when they go to war. It is marvelous to see how swiftly they can take arrows into their hands and shoot them unbelievably straight and far.”

- Nicholas Le Challeux, *Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride*

Florida's Timucuan are the first North Americans to be seriously studied by an ethnographer and cultural artist. Jacques Le Moyne lived in the French colony of Ft. Caroline on the St. Johns River from June 1564 to September 1565. He escaped the Spanish massacre of the French, and 25 years later his widow sold his work to Theodore de Bry, a Flemish engraver-publisher. Since none of Le Moyne's original work of Florida is known,<sup>1</sup> scholars cannot be certain what is Le Moyne and what is De Bry. The Le Moyne/De Bry illustrations show many of the aspects of the native American life, including hunting,<sup>2</sup> planting,<sup>3</sup> harvesting,<sup>4</sup> food preparation,<sup>5</sup> marriage,<sup>6</sup> ceremony,<sup>7</sup> war,<sup>8</sup> councils of state,<sup>9</sup> play,<sup>10</sup> tending the sick,<sup>11</sup> and training of youth.<sup>12</sup> In judging these images, the viewer should keep in mind that Theodore de Bry was an entrepreneur interested in the commercial success of his work for himself and his family.

De Bry's *Grand Voyages*, of which the Florida illustrations are a part, was a considerable achievement. By using copper engravings, De Bry was able to considerably refine illustrations from the source of his pictures, many of which were first published in crude woodcuts by others. In the Timucuan plates, executed in a somewhat mannerist and classical style, the Indians tower over their European counterparts and are represented as a handsome people. These 16<sup>th</sup> century depictions of Timucuan would be reproduced for Europeans into the early 1800s. Even to our 21<sup>st</sup> century eyes, the aboriginal community appears organized and productive.

### Prints and Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>A Florida painting attributed to Le Moyne (now in the New York Public Library) is of questionable origin. See W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, Antique Atlas Publications, West Sussex, England, 1992, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup>*Killing Alligators*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXVI

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>3</sup>*How They Till the Soil and Plant*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Place XXI

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591



<sup>4</sup>*Storing Their Crops in the Public Granary*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXII

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>5</sup>*Preparing for a Feast*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXVIII

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>6</sup>*The Procession of the Bride*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXXVII

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>7</sup>*Ceremonial Dancing of the Women*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXXVIII

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>8</sup>*How the Indians Declare War on their Enemy*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXXIII

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>9</sup>*A Council of State*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXIX

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>10</sup>*Floridians Crossing over to an Island on a Pleasure Trip*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXVII

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>11</sup>*The Way in Which the Indians Treated their Sick*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XX

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

<sup>12</sup>*How the Young Men were Trained*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages* Plate XXXVI

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

## Chapter V A Fateful Decision

“Men, at times are masters of their fates:  
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,  
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.”

- Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*

Far to the north, the French were establishing New France and recording their involvement with Hochelaga, the Indian village on the banks of the Saint Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> Now with Ft. Caroline<sup>2</sup> in Florida on the St. Johns River, France made her bid to deprive Spain of her inheritance afforded by the licentious Borgia Pope, Alexander VII, who had divided the New World discoveries between Spain and Portugal. Enter indomitable Pedro Menendez de Aviles,<sup>3</sup> the captain general of the Spanish fleet. While Floridians may know this man to be the founder of St. Augustine, he is, in fact, an international heavyweight, having reformed Spain's naval strategy and being pivotal in protecting Phillip's empire. With an inferior naval force, he now challenges his enemy in Florida. De Aviles's French counterpart, Jean Ribaut, makes a fateful decision to attack St. Augustine by sea. As every Florida schoolgirl knows, natural forces decide the fate of the French. The ships are scattered and broken by a hurricane before the fleet can seriously confront the newly-founded Spanish colony. Ribaut's forlorn remnants are slaughtered on the banks of Matanzas Inlet,<sup>4</sup> and the remainder of his countrymen are put to the sword in Ft. Caroline.<sup>5</sup> However, this Florida French-Spanish conflict is not over yet. The righteously avenging French patriot, Dominic de Gourges, massacres the Spanish who occupied Ft. Caroline.<sup>6</sup> De Gourges does not delay; his purpose of revenge was accomplished, and the French are finished in Florida. The Spanish town of St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement within the present-day United States,<sup>7</sup> survives but suffers the rapine of Sir Francis Drake (El Dragon "the Dragon"),<sup>8</sup> who stunts the progress of the fledgling Spanish outpost before he goes on to defeat Phillip's mighty armada in the English Channel.

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*La Terra de Hochelaga Nella Nova Francia*

Woodcut

From *Navigazioni et Viaggi*

Giovanni Battista Ramusio

Venice, 1556

<sup>2</sup>*Arx Carolina*

Engraving

Based on the Drawings of Le Moyne

Pierre Vander AA

Leiden, 1720

<sup>3</sup>*Pedro Menendez de Aviles*

Engraving

From *Retratos de los Espanoles Ilustres*

Franco de Paula Marti

Madrid, 1791

<sup>4</sup>*Jean Ribaut at St. Augustine, Pleading on Knee before Pedro Menendez*

Engraving

Published by J. Gohfriedt

De Bry Family

Frankfurt, Circa 1631

<sup>5</sup>*Fort Caroline Under Attack by the Spanish*

Engraving

Based on the Drawings of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Mattheus Merian & Family of Theodore de Bry

Frankfurt, Circa 1630

<sup>6</sup>*Surprise of the Spanish Fort on the St. John's River by Dominic De Gourges*

Chromolithograph

From the Publication *America Before Columbus*

Gebbie and Co. Publishers

1893

<sup>7</sup>*Pagus Hispanorum*

Engraving

Arnoldus Montanus

Circa, 1671

<sup>8</sup>*Francis Drake*

Engraving

T. Houbraken

English, Circa 1730

## Chapter VI The Shaping of Florida

“An error is the more dangerous in proportion to the degree of truth which it contains.”  
- Henri-Frederic Amiel, *Journal intime*

Even with the GPS showing the position of my sailboat to within several feet, I can still find myself from time-to-time feeling uncertain of my bearings when off the coast of Florida. It's hard for us to imagine navigation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the first maps of Florida were produced. While the magnetic compass, invented by the Chinese long before the Renaissance, was in common use in Europe, and latitude could be determined worldwide through astrological means since ancient times, longitude would elude accuracy until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Imagine trying to determine your east-west position based upon an eclipse of the moon or the position of Jupiter's moons. By the time a workable astrological system for determining longitude was established, the chronometer had been perfected to allow mariners a straightforward and simpler means of finding their location. With this state of navigation, the degree of accuracy demonstrated in the 16th century maps of Florida is amazing. By the 1540s, the Western Hemisphere had been established in the woodcuts of Sebastian Munster. Florida is shown as the peninsula we know it today.<sup>1</sup> But up to almost 1800, no standard shape of Florida was accepted. In the early years, one would expect the first printed map to exclusively depict Florida<sup>2</sup> to vary significantly from the detailed map drawn by Le Moyne<sup>3</sup> and the more generalized *Florida et Apalche* by Cornelius van Wytfliet<sup>4</sup> of the same period. Surprisingly, however, is the fact that the shape does not become more uniform as the centuries pass. Most compelling is a comparison of the Florida map by the naturalist Mark Catesby,<sup>5</sup> published in 1754, with the Florida depiction by the Italian geographer Antonio Zatta in 1778,<sup>6</sup> and the peninsula of islands by the French geographer Bellin in 1764.<sup>7</sup>

There are several well-known cartographic mistakes in early Western Hemisphere maps. Most notable are California, shown as an island, the bulge of the West coast of South America, and the sea of Verrazano making North Carolina a mere isthmus. Florida also has its cartographic eccentricities not limited to its shape. The interior details of the Le Moyne map shows the St. Johns River flowing from a lake north of the river's mouth. This egregious error not only remains uncorrected for over 100 years, as can be seen in the Blaeu map of 1640 and later maps based on Blaeu become even more egregious. However in 1776, the defining coastal map of Florida was published by Bernard Romans.<sup>8</sup> This cartographer, who surveyed for King George III, would later become the engineer/designer of West Point on the Hudson supporting the colonials against his former sovereign.

Our early visions of “La Florida” of romance and legend can be credited to the artistry, tenacity, and entrepreneurship of such cartographic luminaries as Ortelius, Munster, and Blaeu. Without these signal men, Florida would have remained a lesser-known region of the West.

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*Die Neuwen Inseln...*

Woodcut

Taken from his *Geographia Universalis*

Sebastian Munster

Basele, (1540) 1558

<sup>2</sup>*La Florida*

Engraving

From the Third Supplement or *Additamentum* to Ortelius' Atlas

Geronimo de Chaves and Abraham Ortelius

Antwerp, 1584

<sup>3</sup>*Floridae Americae Provinciae*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry's Second Volume of *Grand Voyages*

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

1591

<sup>4</sup>*Florida et Apalche*

Engraving

From his *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Avgmentum*

Cornelis van Wytfliet

Lovanii, 1597

<sup>5</sup>*A Map of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*

Engraving

From an Edition of his *Natural History*, First Published in 1731

Mark Catesby

London, 1754

<sup>6</sup>*IL Canada' Le Colonie Inglesi con La Luiglanæ Florida*

Engraving

Antonio Zatta

Venice, 1778

<sup>7</sup>*Carte Reduite Des Costes de la Louisiane et de la Florida*

Engraving

S. Bellin

France, 1764

<sup>8</sup>*A General Map of the Southern British Colonies in America*

Bernard Romans

London, 1776

## Chapter VII The Golden Age of Maps

“What is now proved was once only imagin’d.”  
- William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

The 17<sup>th</sup> century record of Florida’s historical prints is not as profuse as the preceding or succeeding eras. Spain, in large part until late in the 1600s, is unchallenged in its possession while disease continues to thin the indigenous population of the region. The illustrated world histories of the age, if they discuss Florida at all, refer back to the prints and narratives of the Le Moyne era, as can be seen in engravings of Arnoldus Montanus<sup>1</sup> and Nicolas Picart of the late 17<sup>th</sup> early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Original depictions of the native Floridians from this era become even more inaccurate and more European-like, as can be seen by the engraving *Le Roy de la Florida* by Phillip Bertrand.<sup>2</sup> Spain’s religious zeal to convert is more subdued, as is its quest for gold. The English begin to circumscribe Spanish La Florida in the North and the French in the West. St. Augustine remains a poor Spanish outpost existing to protect the gold fleet’s passage through the Florida Straits.

This era, however, is the “Golden Age” for Dutch cartography. Girolamo Benzoni’s<sup>3</sup> map engraved by De Bry, W. J. Blaeu’s 1640 Virginia et Florida,<sup>4</sup> and Pierre Vander AA’s<sup>5</sup> map of Florida are examples of the cartographic artistry of the age.

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*The King of Florida*

Engraving

From *America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World*

Arnoldus Montanus

Dutch, 1671

<sup>2</sup>*Le Roy de la Florida*

Engraving

Phillip Bertrand

Paris, 1661/64

<sup>3</sup>*Occidentalis Americae partes*

Engraving

From the Fourth Part of De Bry’s *Grand Voyages*

Girolamo Benzoni

Frankfurt, 1594

<sup>4</sup>*Virginiae partis australis, et Floridae partis orientalis*

From his *Le Theatre du Monde, ou Novvel Atlas*

W. J. Blaeu

Amsterdam, 1640

<sup>5</sup>*La Floride Suivant les Nouvelles Observations...*

Engraving

From *Le Nouveau Theatre du Monde*

Pierre Vander AA

Leiden, 1713

## Chapter VIII The Colonies that didn't Rebel

“For men are willing enough to change their prince,  
thinking that they will thereby better their condition,  
and that induces them to rebel,  
but they find themselves mistaken for experience often proves  
that they have changed for the worse.”

- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince and the Discourses*

Florida was a prize for King George III being victorious in the French and Indian War (1754-1763). While Boston and the 13 ungrateful progenies north of Florida celebrated their tea party, St. Augustine burns John Hancock in effigy. The 14th and 15th colonies, East and West Florida<sup>1</sup> believed life under monarchy was preferable to that under democracy. Florida would have its way, even though by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783, Spain's King would be its returning sovereign.

At least one cartographer would get it wrong, showing West Florida being ceded to the French.<sup>2</sup> The second Spanish rule would be almost as short as the British control of Florida, for manifest destiny could not be contained. Yankee ingenuity, even in a mosquito-ridden swampland, contemplates the most enterprising of commercial schemes, including cross peninsular canals.<sup>3</sup>

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*The Coast of West Florida and Louisiana*

Engraving

T. Jefferys

London, 1775

<sup>2</sup>*A New Map of North America with the West India Islands*

Engraving

Robert Sayer

London, 1786

<sup>3</sup>*Map of the Territory of Florida*

Engraving

W. H. Swift

1828

## Chapter IX A Naturalists' Paradise

"If you get simple beauty and nought else,  
You get about the best thing God invents."  
- Robert Browning, *Fra Lippo Lippi*

Florida may have been a disappointment to its first explorers: hostile Indians, no gold, and no passage to the East. Two thousand Europeans died attempting to settle this land before a permanent settlement was finally established. But 200 years later, Florida's real wealth was unveiled to those who valued the beauty of our subtropical Eden. The English artist naturalist Mark Catesby would capture an image of a sea fowl 40 leagues from the coast of Florida. His rendering of animal and plant life of the Southeast in the *Natural History of Carolina; Florida, and the Bahama Islands* revealed the pull of our verdant paradise for generations to come.<sup>1</sup> While we can find no record of him actually setting foot in Florida, the map he produced of this region is a minor masterpiece sought after by collectors for its vivid color and quirky archaic geography. William Bartram would be entranced by Catesby's subjects. Bartram was introduced to Florida by his father, John, in the 1760s, and he returned in the 1770s, recording his experience in his classic *Travels*, an 18th century best seller. These travels describe not only Bartram's encounter with natural life but also with Florida's Seminole Indians. A ten-day bacchanal of Long Warrior, King of the Seminoles,<sup>2</sup> and this chief's negotiations with an agent at a trading outpost close to present-day Palatka, make interesting and entertaining reading. In turn, Bartram would influence Alexander Wilson, the father of American Ornithology. Wilson's seminal work has been overshadowed by John S. Audubon, but his compilation was, in fact, the precursor for Audubon's *Birds of America*. It is doubtful that Wilson crossed the Saint Marys in his quest to illustrate every American bird, but his etchings include several Florida water fowl.<sup>3</sup>

John J. Audubon's *Birds of America* is undoubtedly the masterpiece of 19th century engraving of natural history.<sup>4</sup> His penetrating work, published from 1827-1838, includes 435 plates; over 30 have been identified as Florida birds. Several have engraved titles placing the subject in a Florida landscape, such as the Greenshank with a background of St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marco.<sup>5</sup> Other subjects, such as the Booby Gannet<sup>6</sup> have Florida-like settings without any specific identification but can be placed in our state from Audubon's Ornithological Biography. Unlike Catesby, Audubon did not engrave his own images, and unlike Wilson, he could not find an American engraver for his work. The first engravings were made in Edinburgh, the Athens of the North, but most were produced in London and were hand colored there. In 1860, Audubon's son, John H. Audubon, an artist in his own right, authorized a chromolithography edition of his father's work, resulting, however, in only 130 images being produced and with varying artistic success. Among the best are the *American Flamingo*<sup>7</sup> and the *Mocking Bird*.<sup>8</sup> In 1986, the Museum of Natural History in New York produced six images from the original plates -- one is the Great White Heron with Key West in the background.<sup>9</sup>

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*Der Schnabel* Tab. XLVIII  
Copper Engraving  
Seligmann/Catesby  
Nuremberg, 1753



- <sup>2</sup>*Mico Chlucco the Long Warrior, or King of the Seminoles*  
Engraving  
From *Travels*, William Bartram  
Philadelphia, 1791
- <sup>3</sup>1. *Green Heron* with 2. *Night H* 3. *Young* and 4. *Great White H*  
Hand Colored Engraving  
Alexander Wilson  
From his *American Ornithology* and Engraved by F. G. Warnicke  
Philadelphia, 1815
- <sup>4</sup>*John J. Audubon*  
Engraving  
Painted by J. Cruickshank  
Engraved by C. Turner ARA  
London, 1835
- <sup>5</sup>*Greenshank*  
Plate CCLXIX  
Hand-Colored Engraving with Aquatint and Etching  
Havell Edition  
John James Audubon, 1835
- <sup>6</sup>*Booby Gannet*  
Plate CCVII  
Hand-Colored Engraving with Aquatint and Etching  
Havell Edition  
John James Audubon, 1834
- <sup>7</sup>*American Flamingo*  
Plate 375  
Chromolithograph  
Bien Edition  
John James Audubon, 1860
- <sup>8</sup>*Mocking Bird*  
Plate 138  
Chromolithograph  
Bien Edition  
John James Audubon, 1860
- <sup>9</sup>*Great White Heron*  
Plate CCLXXXI  
Restrike of Havell Plate  
American Museum of Natural History  
John James Audubon, 1985

## Chapter X A Stain on Honor

“I never wonder to see men wicked, but I often wonder to see them not ashamed.”

- Johnathan Swift, *Thoughts on Various Subjects*

Spain might have been an ally in our country's War of Independence, but this support would not restrain Americans from extending their covetous grasp for their neighbor's land. Andrew Jackson<sup>1</sup> would lead his countrymen to contain the contentious Seminoles, without regard to invading another country's territory. Florida would become U.S. soil in 1819,<sup>2</sup> purchased for less than 12 cents per acre. The price of extending our country's boundaries would increase exponentially in dollars and mortality with the decades of conflict required to remove the redoubtable Seminoles from their homes in central and south Florida.<sup>3</sup> The battles would be fierce and paid in Southern blood and Yankee cash -- a horrendous price for the removal of a mere 5,000 Native Americans.<sup>4</sup> Prior to the intensity of the Seminole Indian wars, nine Florida chiefs would have their portraits painted in Washington, which were the basis for hand-colored lithographs published by McKenny and Hall in 1835. One of these engravings was of Osceola<sup>5</sup> who had inflicted stinging defeats on his white adversaries by his guerilla warfare tactics. Sick and infirm, he offered an easy prey for treacherous blue coats who assured him that he was exposing himself only for the purpose of negotiating with his pale-faced foes. Zachary Taylor's *Seat of the War in Florida* map<sup>6</sup> shows why our nation's undesirables, reduced to only a remnant, would be able to retreat to the swampy Everglades rather than surrender.

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*Andrew Jackson*

Engraving

Asher Durand

New York, 1828

<sup>2</sup>*Map of Florida*

Engraving

From *A New American Atlas*

H. S. Tanner, 1823

<sup>3</sup>*Billy Bowlegs, Chief of the Seminoles*

Wood Engraving

From a Photograph taken by Clark of New Orleans for *Harper's Weekly*

Published June 12, 1858

<sup>4</sup>*Col. Taylor at the Battle of Okechobee*

Colored Engraving

By J. R. Chapin, Engraved by S. S. Swith

Published in New York by Virtue & Yorston

<sup>5</sup>*Asceola*

Hand-Colored Lithograph

J. T. Bowen

Philadelphia, 1842

<sup>6</sup>*Seat of the War in Florida*

Engraving

Capt. John MacKay and Lt. J. E. Blake

Washington, 1839

## Chapter XI Confederate Florida

“Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suites them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right – a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world.”

- Abraham Lincoln, *Congressional Globe* Vol. XIX

Florida seceded from the Union, joining several of her sister states in 1861. However, Mr. Lincoln<sup>1</sup> had other ideas for Florida. Part of his strategy to preserve the Union was to cut off Florida from Jacksonville to Tallahassee. The Union and Confederate armies clashed at Olustee, a battle memorialized by a Kurz and Allison chromolithograph<sup>2</sup> and reenacted annually to this day. Several mid-19th century illustrated weeklies also showed Florida's participation in the War Between the States. One Jacksonville citizen, the illustrious Columbus Drew, after publishing the first Florida map in our state,<sup>3</sup> would leave home to join the embattled Confederate administration in Richmond.

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*Hon. Abraham Lincoln*

From *Harper's Weekly*

Winslow Homer, Published November 10, 1860

<sup>2</sup>*The Battle of Olustee*

Chromolithograph

Kurz & Allison

Chicago, 1894

<sup>3</sup>*Map of the State of Florida*

Colored Lithograph

Columbus Drew

Jacksonville, 1848

## Chapter XII Surviving Reconstruction

“The most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war.”  
- Erasmus, *Adagia*

The Sunshine State’s electoral votes were not only decisive in the 2000 Presidential election, they were also critical in the election of 1876, which ended the punishing era of Reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> President Grant also visits Florida.<sup>2</sup> Hunting, fishing and exploring the Everglades becomes a part of our 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3,4,5</sup> Agriculture flourishes, especially citrus,<sup>6</sup> and tourism comes into its own with the advent of grand hotels, such as the St. James in Jacksonville, advertised in New England to Yankees wishing to escape their harsh Northern winter.<sup>7</sup> Visionary Henry Flagler would complete his railroad down the Florida east coast all the way to Key West.<sup>8</sup>

But all was not wonderful for our Florida antecedents, yellow fever epidemics and great fires also plagued our state.<sup>9,10</sup>

### Prints

<sup>1</sup>*Counting the Electoral Vote*  
*Harper’s Weekly*  
1877

<sup>2</sup>*General Grant in Florida*  
*Harper’s Weekly*  
1880

<sup>3</sup>*Florida Manatee*  
*Scientific American*  
1888

<sup>4</sup>*Pushing Through the Everglades*  
*Harper’s Weekly*  
1887

<sup>5</sup>*The Everglades of Florida*  
*Harper’s Weekly*  
1887

<sup>6</sup>*Florida Oranges*  
*Harper’s Weekly*  
1880

<sup>7</sup>*St. James Hotel*  
Lithograph  
Forbes Company  
Boston, 1870

<sup>8</sup>*Map of the Peninsula of Florida and Adjacent Islands*  
Lithograph  
Florida East Coast Railway Flagler System  
Buffalo, NY, 1914

<sup>9</sup>*To the Rescue*

*Harper's Weekly*

1888

<sup>10</sup>*The Yellow Fever Scourge in Florida*

*Frank Leslie's Illustrated*

1888

## Chapter XIII River of Cormorants

“During several weeks which I spent on the St. John’s River, while on board the U.S. Schooner-of-War the Spark, I was surprised to see the number of these cormorants already returning towards the Keys, so much so had I been the discoverer of that stream under similar circumstances, I should have called it Cormorant River.”<sup>1</sup>

- John James Audubon, *Ornithological Biography*

The River May was the French name; San Mateo and San Juan, the Spanish; and the St. Johns the English. Since the doomed French settlement, Ft. Caroline, was near the mouth of the noble river, many of Le Moyne’s scenes are actually on the St. Johns.<sup>2</sup> Bartram would explore and live on the St. Johns, and the river’s aquatic life would make a significant contribution to Audubon’s *Birds of America*.

Although the St. Johns was explored a half century before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth, the course of this majestic Florida river appears to be unimportant to Europeans for almost a century and a half after its discovery. This oddity is exemplified in d’Anville’s 1731 map detailing the port of St. Augustine, including depth markings, and depicting the river “St. Mathau’s” course from the Northeast.<sup>3</sup> But the beauty of our river cannot be denied and has been enjoyed by many through various etchings and engravings and interesting charts.<sup>4,5,6,7</sup> Both flowing north, as “Egypt was the gift of the Nile,” Florida is the gift of the St. Johns.

### Prints

#### <sup>1</sup>*The Florida Cormorant*

Plate CCLII

Hand-Colored Engraving with Aquatint and Etching

Havell Edition

J. J. Audubon, 1834

#### <sup>2</sup>*Sailing to the River May*

Engraving

From Theodore de Bry’s Second Volume of *Grand Voyages?* Plate II

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

Frankfurt, 1591

#### <sup>3</sup>*Carte des Isles de l’Amerique*

Engraving

J. B. d’Anville

Paris, 1731

#### <sup>4</sup>*Mouth of the St. John’s River-Looking Out*

Hand-Colored Wood Engraving

From *Picturesque America*

John Harley after Harry Fenn

1874

#### <sup>5</sup>*Morning on the St. John’s*

Etching on Japan Paper

Thomas Moran, 1881

Signed in pencil

<sup>6</sup>*U.S. Coast Survey Preliminary Chart of the St. John's River, Florida*

Engraving

From Brown's Creek to Jacksonville

A. D. Bache, 1856

<sup>7</sup>*Improvements of Saint John's River, Florida*

Engraving

W. M. Black, 1888

## Chapter XIV Paradise Lost (You Can't Go Home Again)

“Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part; Do thou but thine.”  
- John Milton, *Paradise Lost*

With over 1,000 people moving to Florida every day, the land of the Seminole is long past. But there are still many of us who can remember a recent past -- before air conditioning and television -- when the pace of existence was slower.<sup>1,2,3</sup>

### Prints

#### <sup>1</sup>*Point Isabel*

Etching

Mary Nimmo Moran, 1887

Signed in Pencil

#### <sup>2</sup>*Florida Pines*

Etching

W. R. Locke, 1943

Signed in Pencil

#### <sup>3</sup>*Glorious Eucalyptus*

Etching

W. R. Locke, 1938

Signed in Pencil



## Bibliography (Partial)

- Bartram, William, *Travels and Other Writings (Thomas P. Slaughter Selections and Notes)*, Princeton University Press, New York, New York, 1996.
- Broome, Rodney, *The True Story of How America Got Its Name*, M J F Books, New York, 2001.
- Burden, Philip D., *The Mapping of North America*, Raleigh Publications, England, 1996.
- Cantwell, Robert, *Alexander Wilson, Naturalist and Pioneer*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1961.
- Cumming, William P., *The Southeast in Early Maps*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 1986.
- Faupel, W. John, *A Foothold in Florida*, Antique Atlas Publications, West Sussex, England, 1992.
- Feduccia, Alan, *Catesby's Birds of Colonial America*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1985.
- Gannon, Michael, *The New History of Florida*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 1996.
- Grafton, Anthony, *New Worlds Ancient Texts*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992.
- Lorant, Stefan, *The New World - The First Pictures of America*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, New York, 1946.
- Manucy, Albert, *Menendez - Pedro Menendez De Aviles Captain General of the Ocean Sea*, Pineapple Press, Inc., Sarasota, Florida, 1992.
- McCready, Stuart, (Editor), *The Discovery of Time*, Source Books, Inc., Naperville, Illinois, 2001.
- Plate, Robert, *Alexander Wilson, Wanderer in the Wilderness*, David McKay Company, Inc., New York, 1966.
- Proby, Kathryn Hall, *Audubon in Florida*, University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1974.
- Sanger, Marjory Bartlett, *Billy Bartram and his Green World*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, New York, 1972.
- Shirley, Rodney W., *The Mapping of the World*, The Holland Press Ltd., London, 1984.
- Slaughter, Thomas P., *The Natures of John and William Bartram*, Alfred A. Knoph, Inc., New York, 1996.
- Ste.Claire, Dana, (Editor), *A History of Florida through New World Maps, Borders of Paradise*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1997.
- Sutton, Ann and Myron, *Exploring with the Bartrams*, Rand McNally & Company, Chicago, 1963.