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or cell in which refractory pupils were formerly confined. No recollection of Shepard was found among the people.

Mr. SALISBURY and Dr. DEANE spoke of the monument to John Smith in St. Sepulchre's, London.

Dr. DEANE exhibited an early map of New England, known as Hubbard's map, and submitted some notes respecting it.

Notes on Hubbard's Map of New England.

MR. PRESIDENT, — Dr. Green showed me the other day a copy of Hubbard's map of New England, which he had recently purchased at a bookshop in town, and asked me if it was an original impression, as some fac-similes had been made of the map. I was able to assure him that it was a genuine impression and a perfect example of the edition of the map known as the "Wine Hills" map. Hubbard's map, which is a wood-cut twelve by fifteen inches in size, was made for his "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, . . . Boston: Printed by John Foster in the year 1677." Under the letter-press title of the map, in the upper right-hand corner of it, we read: "A Map of New England, Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places." The map was drawn to illustrate the history of King Philip's War, and with particular reference to a table of explanations at page 133 *et seq.* of the book, where the map is mentioned. And here I would refer to a valuable note of Judge Davis in the Appendix (pp. 463-466) of his edition of "Morton's Memorial," published in 1826, where a full description is given of the several settlements which were ravaged by the enemy during this conflict. Judge Davis has prefixed to his volume a copy of Hubbard's map.

Two editions of this map were issued from two separate wood-cuts, and impressions from each are described as the "Wine Hills" map and the "White Hills" map, — all the copies of one edition containing the error of "Wine Hills," for "White Hills," as applied to a representation of our well-known New Hampshire mountains. The "White Hills" edition is a trifle larger than the other.

The question as to which edition of this map was first issued seems to have found no trustworthy answer ; at least I have seen no good reason given for an opinion. I should mention here that Hubbard's book, the "Narrative of the Troubles," was reprinted in London the same year, with corrections, and with a slight change in the titlepage;¹ and the opinion is held that a new edition of the map — one of the two mentioned above — was cut anew in London for that edition of the book. If that opinion is correct, and if a certain number of copies of the London edition and of the Boston edition of Hubbard's book, with the maps, could be found, showing from their appearance and their places of deposit that they were as intact as when they came from the hands of the original binder, some light might be thrown upon the question as to which of the two maps was originally placed in each. But it is very difficult to find such volumes in this instance as in that of other books. For if they escape the contingencies of careless usage and the blight of time, they do not escape the hand of the spoiler, — I mean the book-dealer, — who often robs Peter to pay Paul, in filling orders for his customers ; and the work of mutilation goes on. Books are robbed of their integrity, and those volumes for which the robbery is made, owing to ignorance or indifference, are often supplied with illustrations — maps and plates — which do not belong to them. This is an evil greatly to be deplored, for historical investigation is often thwarted by the existence of such books. Some thirty or more years ago Mr. James Lenox instituted an inquiry to find out what particular maps, in their several editions, belonged to, or were originally inserted in, the different books or tracts of Captain John Smith. I assisted him in the inquiry. He had all of Smith's books in their several editions, and all of the maps, though not all of the several issues of the maps, in his own library. But probably few if any one of the maps belonged to the volume which contained it, and the information sought for was obtained only by extensive research, — by comparison and analysis. Smith's map of New England was found to exist in nine different conditions ; and the only example we could find of the map in its original state as inserted in the "Description of New England," in 1616, was in a copy of that tract in the Prince Library belonging to the Old South

¹ "The Present State of New England, being a Narrative of the Troubles," etc. London, 1677.

Church in Boston. Prince bought this tract in London in the early part of the last century. The circumstances of its history were favorable to its preservation, and it had escaped the hands of the spoiler.

As regards the question we are considering, it seems improbable that any trustworthy facts exist, of the nature here indicated, to enable us to answer it with certainty, and we must proceed with other evidence. But I wish here to state one fact which I think is not without its weight. More than forty years ago I bought of Henry Stevens, before he went to London, a copy of Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles," published in Boston, with a copy of the map, and with the sermon at the end. The book was apparently in its original condition, just as it came from the hands of the binder. The map was the "Wine Hills" map. I have it now. Afterward I procured a fine copy of the London edition of the book, which had no map.

The two editions of Hubbard's map are briefly described by Thomas W. Field in a catalogue of books entitled "An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography," New York, 1873, on pages 178 and 179. After expressing the opinion that beyond a doubt there were two editions of the map, and thence inferring that one of them must have been executed for the London edition of the text, he proceeds to say that "no bibliographer would hesitate to declare that the one executed in the best manner is the one engraved in London. It is evident on the slightest inspection," he proceeds, "that this is the one having 'Wine Hills' engraved below the title in place of 'White Hills,' as in the other more rudely executed one. In the first, the letters are more perfectly formed, the shading is finer, and the lines representing the ocean sharper, clearer, and more than twice the number of the other."

The superiority here claimed for the execution of the "Wine Hills" map may perhaps hold good as to the lines representing the ocean, and possibly in other respects. But if Mr. Field had instituted a closer and more extended comparison of the two maps, particularly as to the *legends* or names of towns and places delineated on them, it could not have escaped his attention that the "Wine Hills" map was the ruder, — that is, the more imperfect, as I shall proceed to show. And here I may be permitted to mention that I had an opportunity several years

ago — I find by some memoranda it was in 1872 — to examine and compare copies of the two editions of the map, and in some notes which I then made, after speaking of my own copy, a "Wine Hills" copy, I say: "I have noticed another map of Hubbard, a *corrected one*, evidently struck from a new wood-cut; the former one, or at least that from which my copy was struck, being very imperfect. Mr. Lenox has a copy of each, both inserted in Boston editions of this work. One map has 'Wine Hills;' the other, 'White Hills.'" Mr. Lenox had sent me these to examine.

I will here give the result of an examination of the two maps, or the two editions, as regards the legends placed upon them, in two lists. The same names placed under the "Wine Hills" map are given as corrected on the "White Hills" map.

Wine Hills Map.

The Wine Hills
Newhauen¹
Stonttoai
Pequid Cauntry
Prouidene¹
Newper
Mount : hope
Tauton
Sandw::
Wajusei Hill
Lancasten
Haueril¹
Piscatequa
Winte^r Harbor
Waburn
Billeriea
Brodford
Newbari
Portsin
Merimaek
Ipswieh

White Hills Map.

The White Hills
Newhaven
Stoniton
Pequid Country
Providenc²
Newport
Mount : hope
Tanton
Sandwic³
Wajuset Hill.
Lancaster
Haveril
Piscatequa
Winter Harbor
Woburn
Billerica
Bradford
Newbury
Portsm
Merimack
Ipswich.

¹ This use of the letter u for v had been obsolete in all printing-offices for many years before the time this map was cut, hence the correction in the next list. The custom lingered later in manuscripts, and Hubbard may have so written it.

² The e is imperfect, and there was no space on the map for the final e.

³ There was no space for the final letter; and "Portsmouth," below, was abbreviated into "Portsm" for want of room.

Is it too much to say that these two lists of names show, to a demonstration, that the "Wine Hills" map was first cut, and that the errors on that map were corrected on the "White Hills" map? It is true that some of the names in the corrected list need further correction, and a few other names were still overlooked; but there is certainly a nearer approach to accuracy than is attained in the other list.

It is difficult to account for these errors on the "Wine Hills" map, for we should naturally expect to find as good spelling there as in the text of the book, which was set up in John Foster's printing-office. But it is quite likely that the map was drawn under the direction of Mr. Hubbard, and that he supplied the names to be cut, and that his handwriting, which was not plain, could not be easily read by the graver, who made witchwork with part at least of the copy. And the whole edition may have been struck off and prepared for distribution before the reverend author was aware of the errors it contained. "The author's long and necessary absence from the press, together with the difficulty of reading his hand," was the excuse given by Foster for numerous errors in the text of the book, which contained two tables of Errata.

After part of the edition of the Narrative was sent out, several pages of the text in signature M were cancelled, and other pages, partly unnumbered, substituted for the remaining unissued sheets; so that it may be said that there were two separate issues of the Boston edition of the book.¹ The London edition conformed to the later issue, and most of the errors in the two tables were corrected. Mr. Lenox had one of each of these Boston issues, which I collated; and each had a copy of the map,—one of the "Wine Hills" edition, and the other of the "White Hills" edition. His copy of the second issue was the Ternaux copy, which came to him through Rich, and had the "Wine Hills" map, which Mr. Lenox thought might have been a later insertion. His copy of the London edition had no map.

It is not improbable that the second edition of the map, correcting the errors of the first edition in the only way in which they could be corrected, was also "here cut," as its title reads. It seems evident that both editions were cut by the same

¹ See a further collation by Mr. Field in his book cited above, p. 179.

graver, and neither has an English look. Besides, Parkhurst, the publisher of the London edition of the book, would scarcely prepare and issue a map with such a misleading title, and with no explanation, though he might be willing to give to purchasers of the book a copy of the map if he had been furnished with copies by the Boston proprietor for this purpose. The London edition as well as the Boston edition of the book requires the map to illustrate the table mentioned above, yet it is often said that copies of the London edition seldom have the map.

"The author's long and necessary absence from the press" must mean, one would think, something more than the inconveniences of a residence twenty-five miles from Boston, where the printing was going on. He may have been confined by illness. Mr. Felt says¹ that "Mr. Hubbard was on a visit to England in 1678, and was probably there to superintend the publishing of this work," and that "he returned from this voyage by October, to the great satisfaction of his parishioners." This implies that he was in England sometime during the year 1677. Perhaps he was; but he must have been here at home during the first half of this year, engaged in preparing his book for the press, and then in tabulating the errors discovered in the text, and in revising the cancels for the reissue, a copy of which was used, as we have seen, in printing the London edition.²

¹ History of Ipswich, pp. 228, 229.

² In Hubbard's Preface to his History of New England, written in 1682 or 1688, he says: "The compiler of this History was first carried into the country of New England about forty-eight years since, all which time he hath spent in that part of the world, save two or three years when he was absent in his native country." He came over with his father in 1635. (See Savage's Genealogical Dictionary) I do not find that Mr. Felt gives any further information as to Hubbard's absences in England, neither is he very definite as to the time of his going and returning at the period we are now upon. He preached the Election Sermon in Boston, May 8, 1676; and the narrative of events which he is here drawing up covers the whole of that year, and comes down to April, 1677. — below even the date of the dedication of his book, "From my study 16th. 12th, 1676" (that is, 16 Feb., 1677, N. S.), or of the date of the colonial license, which is "March 29, 1677." It has been conjectured that the author sailed for England about May (Drake's reprint of Hubbard's Narrative, I. xxii.); and if he was at home by October, 1678, he was absent but about seventeen months. But could he have sailed in May with the printed volume of his Narrative in hand? Let us see. After the book was written, and the colonial license of March 29th obtained, it had to be set up in Foster's office in Boston, and printed. It is certain that by Sept. 14, 1677, — we do not know how long before, — the book had come from

The map of Hubbard was a rude affair, and reminds one of the old wood-cuts of the previous century. Wood's map in the "New Englands Prospect," 1634, is the nearest approach to it of a more recent date that I have noticed. The author of the map says that it was "done by the best pattern that could be had." I am not aware of any published map that could have afforded him any assistance.¹

Hubbard's map is now rare in both editions; but, so far as my experience goes, the "White Hills" is far rarer than the other. I have never seen but two copies of it. One of these was presented to the Historical Society in 1801, pasted on a thin sheet of wood which, becoming split, has now been rebacked; but portions of it are wanting.²

Both these maps had become so rare and desirable that the late Henry Stevens, the eminent bibliographer and book-dealer of London, who used to advertise himself as from his "Nug-

the press, as Increase Mather mentions it under that date in the preface to his "Relation of the Troubles." After the printing came the detection of errors, the cancelling of sheets, and the substitution of newly written matter for the text, also to be set up and printed, as we have seen, while copies had to be bound to be sent or taken to England in preparation for the London edition. In view of all these facts and dates is it reasonable to suppose that the author and printer could accomplish all this in time for the former to start on a voyage to his native shores, or for him to send a copy of his book thither, much before the middle of the autumn of that year? For it will be remembered that it was not the first issue from Foster's press that was sent, but a copy with several leaves revised, which it took time to prepare, rendering quite improbable the suggestion I have somewhere seen, that the Boston and the London editions, or parts of them, were set up simultaneously from manuscript copies. The tabulated errors in the Boston copies, not all of which are typographical, and which run through the book from page 1 onward in both parts, were principally corrected in the London edition; yet the errors for the second part, in the first table, seem to have escaped notice, and a few others in the first part. But then L'Estrange's license on the back of the titlepage of the London imprint, "The Present State of New England," etc., reads "June 27, 1677;" and that is the true date of the license, as the work was entered at Stationer's Hall by Thomas Parkhurst, July 2, 1677, being stated as licensed by Roger L'Estrange. This was probably done on the exhibition of a titlepage merely, and before the London edition was printed.

¹ Some complimentary verses prefixed to Hubbard's volume—signed "B. T." and attributed to Benjamin Thompson, of Braintree, born 1642, died 1714—end with the following lines:—

"Moxon, who drew two Globes, or whosoever,
Must make a third, or else the old ones tear,
To find a Room for thy new Map, by which
Thy Friends and Country all thou dost enrich."

² Dodd, Mead, & Co., of New York, advertised in a catalogue of Americana issued in October, 1887, a fine copy of the "Narrative of the Troubles," which contained, as they wrote me, an original "White Hills" map, for \$400; and they have since sold it.

getory, 4 Trafalgar Square," in 1872 procured fac-similes of each to be made by Harris. One each of these he advertised in a catalogue of books to be sold at auction by Puttick & Simpson in November of that year (Nos. 1959 and 1960), and he describes them as being so well done, on old paper, as to be with difficulty distinguished from the original. He says that the *Wine Hills* is the London edition. In a note to me calling my attention to this statement of Mr. Stevens, Mr. Lenox says: "It only proves what Mr. Stevens's opinion is, but he has means at hand of deciding in what volumes the different maps are found. . . . I shall order the two maps from Mr. Stevens's catalogue as a curiosity, yet perhaps some one may outbid me." Have I not shown that Mr. Stevens was in error?

Mr. Stevens continued to furnish these fac-similes to book-buyers for many years. They were almost as good as originals. The Brinley sale reveals a copy of each inserted in a volume of the "Narrative." The Barlow catalogue reveals one; and in the Cooke sale, four years ago, a copy of the "White Hills" map was inserted in a good example of the "Narrative of the Troubles" as an original. And it was bought by Harvard College as an original, and of course exhibited as an original; but a few moments' examination recently convinced both the Librarian and myself that it was one of Stevens's fac-similes.¹ A number of what are called fac-similes of the map have been made in Boston, but all from the "Wine Hills" map. Judge Davis's copy was made from one accompanying the "Narrative of the Troubles;" that is, the Boston edition. It was a lithograph by Pendleton, and was not a good fac-simile. It was published for an historical, not a bibliographical purpose, and some of the errors were corrected. The late William B. Fowle published a copy of the map on a sheet with another map, in 1846, from a "Wine Hills" exemplar; as did Samuel G. Drake, in 1865, in his new edition of Hubbard's book; and Dr. Palfrey inserted a rude photograph of the same in a reduced form in the third volume of his "History of New England," 1864, from a copy in my possession. Mr. Field, whose book I have cited

¹ I was afterwards confirmed in this opinion by seeing, within the border of the map, on the lower side, these words: "Fac Sim. by I. Harris, Junr." I have also procured a copy of this map myself. They were probably produced by the lithographic process.

above, had seen a copy of each of these two maps or editions, and caused a photolithographic copy of one of them — he does not say which — to be made for comparison.

Mr. JOHN C. ROPES communicated a memoir which he had prepared of the late Hon. John C. Gray ; and Dr. GREEN presented, on behalf of the Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, who was travelling in the East, memoirs of the late Hon. Charles Hudson and Mr. John C. Phillips, which he had written during his absence from the country.