WINTER 2005 ISSUE No. 103

IMCoS

JOURNAL



Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society

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Cover map: A Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana (detail), by Zebulon Pike, 1810. *Courtesy:* Wesley Brown.

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From the Editor's Desk

What a very successful and pleasant symposium it was in Denver! The number of participants was fewer than at previous US meetings, but they more than made up for this with their enthusiasm. As expected, the programme was meticulously planned, with many different tastes catered for, from anthropology of the region, through early exploration, local history, Indian arts and crafts, and modern American paintings. There were plenty of exhibitions and visits to enjoy, and the papers were of a very high standard and well presented. Row of them are included in this issue, and it is hoped that others will come very soon.

With this issue is enclosed an update of the activities of IMCoS since the *History* was published five years ago. It forms a quick reference as to where we have been, who has enlightened us with a talk, and who has been managed the adminsitration of the society. It is sent out in this format, so that memebrs who already have the History can tuck this in the front. The *History* itself was sent free to all those who were members when it was published in 2000; more copies are available with the journal editor.

With sadness we record the death on 9 September of Gimpel Wajntraub. With his wife Eva, who is our representative for Israel, he organised the very enjoyable 5th International Symposium in Jerusalem in October 1987. Together they have been also publishing th magazine for the local map society, and an important book on the maps of Israel, as well, of course, as contributing regularly to our own journal, and attending many IMCoS events. Our sympathy goes out to Eva now.

Looking ahead, members will also receive with this issue the registration form for the visit to Dublin. This has been timed to coincide with a big exhibition at Trinity College of maps of Ireland, and we are grateful to Paul Ferguson, the Map Librarian, for making special arrangements for IMCoS members to view it. Dublin is a lovely city, and in early spring it should be delightful there. Those planning to register should make their own accommodation arrangements, and perhaps stay longer to enjoy the town and surrounding countryside.

Registration forms for the June weekend in London and the Guatemala International Symposium in February 2007 will be sent out with the Spring journal.

Despite some dire prognostications at the start, IMCoS has not only survived tweny-five years, but grown from strength to strength during that time. The committee has been deliberating how this might be celebrated. At the 10th anniversary, David Web prepared a birthday cake for the Annual Dinner, decorated with images of all the committee of the day. The *History* was published on the 20th anniversary. If anyone has an idea about how all our members might be part of a celebration for 25 years, they should get in touch with the Secretary, Stepehn Williams. He leads a sub-committee to look into this, and will welcome being in touch with members. His new address is given on page 1.

I wish all our members a very happy 2007 and may it bring exciting new cartographic finds, and joy to all.

SUSAN GOLE

Forthcoming Events in 2006

Jan 19. Warburg Lecture: Alessandro Scafi et al, 'Medieval and Modern, the Hereford Mappa Mundi in display'
Feb 16. Warburg Lecture: Bruce Lenman, 'Cartographic and the French navy in the Caribbean'
Feb 23. Oxford Lecture: Maja Kominko, 'Science of the flat earth'
Feb 27. IMCoS London Collectors' Evening
Mar 9. Warburg Lecture: Ashley Baynton-Williams, 'Coaxing the Buyer'
Mar 24–25. IMCoS Visit to Dublin
Apr 6. Warburg Lecture: Veronica Delle Dora, 'Mapping Mount Athos'
May 4. Warburg Lecture: Anne Bush, 'Inscribing the City'
May 18. Oxford Lecture: Jeremy Black, 'Maps and history'
May 25. Warburg Lecture: Camille Serchuk, Picturing France in the 15th century
Jun 9. IMCoS Visit to Royal Geographic Society, AGM and Annual Dinner
Jun 9–10. London Map Fair
Jun 15. 'TOSCA' Field trip to Oxfordshire Record Office

Letter from IMCoS Chairman

Dear IMCoS Members

Since the Annual General Meeting in June this year, we have been busy indeed identifying where the Society needs to implement changes for a better and more transparent administration. The last Executive Committee Meeting in September was probably one with the longest agenda ever.

Just to keep you informed of progress (and lack thereof where applicable), I would like to report that the Sub-committee to review the Constitution is in place; our Treasurer, Tim Whitten was the first to put in a draft, identifying where our current Constitution is being ignored as impractical, a situation we need to redress. We plan to present an improved Constitution to the Membershipfor approval during the 2006 AGM.

Our Website also needs to be worked on for several reasons, not the least being its planned use for faster communication with our Members and Members-to-be. The medium term goals of the Society need to be newly defined without changing our overall objectives.

The preparation for the regular Farmers' Club meeting is underway, so is an attempt to organize a trip to Dublin/Ireland. More details are available elsewhere in this Journal. The upcoming 25th Anniversary of your Society might call for a celebration of sorts, provided your Committee can come up with a flash of affordable inspiration.

After a most enjoyable Denver Symposium we may be running a bit late, but at least we are running!

Yours sincerely,

HANS D. KOK

* * * * *

What can IMCoS do to deter map thieves? A message from IMCoS President

The very extensive publicity given to the alleged thefts of rare maps from many of our greatest libraries cannot have failed to attract the attention of map collectors throughout the world. We are and should be concerned about this subject for many reasons.

I hope that the most obvious is that we collectors should especially value the printed image and the printed word, their history and their manuscript antecedents. Maps are among the most important records of our civilization, and our libraries are the primary repositories of those records. The world's research libraries are not only our fellow collectors, but constitute the primary sources of information about maps and the history of cartography. All serious collectors depend upon the curatorship, cataloguing and bibliography supported by our libraries or based upon their collections.

In fact, map collectors are a central part of a community comprising scholars, curators and other librarians, dealers, collectors, and even mere map enthusiasts. Each part of this community contributes significantly and regularly to the body of knowledge about maps and their history, which knowledge is indispensable to other scholars, to collectors, and to the literate public. And all parts of the community must necessarily have an interest in the integrity of the market for maps and books with maps.

Clearly there are practical, legal, and financial reasons why collectors should not wish to buy stolen maps. Many of these have been discussed in connection with the current publicity. Certainly, in most jurisdictions, even an innocent purchaser for value cannot acquire good title to a map when claimed by a party from whom it has been stolen. The complications of this are manifold. A map stolen from a library may be sold to another dealer, or a third, then to a collector, who in turn may sell it at auction or give it to another library (or even the victimized library itself). Running the stolen map back up the chain may or may not work— is each party willing and solvent? Does the refund bear interest? The successive prices may be higher or even lower. Commissions are paid by auction buyers and sellers. Donors, especially in America, have claimed tax benefits. The suggestion sometimes made to secure a mitigating tax benefit by giving it back to the victimized library is at least problematical when the donor does not have good title.

I would urge also that there are significant ethical reasons why collectors should be actively involved in preventing map theft, reasons which extend beyond the criminal law and the eighth of the Ten Commandments. The first reason is also a practical one: if there were no efficient market for stolen maps, maps would seldom be stolen. Collectors themselves are likely to have occasionally stolen maps, but most maps certainly were taken to sell to collectors. But another reason, at least as compelling to my mind, is to preserve the integrity of our cultural, intellectual, and bibliographical heritage.

With respect to the thefts recently described, most of the maps were reportedly cut out of rare books. In many cases there had been only one map in the book. It should not be difficult to persuade map lovers and map collectors how essential that map was to the integrity of that book. The maiming of such a book is a grievous offense against the library that had committed to protect it, the donor or dealer who put it into the library's care, and all subsequent generations who will not have the opportunity to see and study it intact.

Collectors must support the rest of our community in its efforts to prevent map thefts. In the case of libraries, we must support all security measures that they can afford. It is not reasonable to object to restrictions on coats, briefcases, and luggage, or to metal detectors, cameras, and close supervision. Such restrictions have in all events become part of our daily lives, and will make it practical for libraries to let scholars and collectors continue to have access to rare maps and books. I would urge libraries to place indelible ownership stamps on the verso of all rare maps; it is not reasonable for them to protest that this reduces the map's market value when that value is more likely to be realized only upon the map's theft. Obviously, collectors should look for such stamps.

Collectors should support, including financially when possible, the libraries' need to identify and protect the most vulnerable maps. The maps in atlases and other books should be collated, and very valuable maps described in the catalogue record. Many of the maps recently found missing were in rare books, often in departments not under the supervision of map librarians who would perhaps have been more likely to have been aware of them. Identifying and cataloguing these rare maps will be of interest to our entire community. Some of them should be scanned and made accessible on the internet, which incidentally will further protect them. Tony Campbell has proposed a very comprehensive and thoughtful program to locate and protect these maps, and we should encourage all special collections librarians, especially those who are less map-aware, to read it at
<http://www.maphistory.info/thefts.html>.

In our relationship with dealers, we should ourselves introduce questions of provenance. Even after the present case is over, dealers should be encouraged to feel that an essential part of their description of a map is where it came from, and when, as far as he or she can determine. And this requirement should encourage dealers to ask the same questions of their sources. When for competitive or privacy reasons a dealer is unwilling to identify his source by name, it is still not unreasonable for a collector to request as much detail as possible about the character and location of the source. Dealers should consider invoices that carry a legend guaranteeing a full refund if valid title was not delivered, although that is probably the law in any event.

The entire community would benefit from a comprehensive internet list of maps that have gone missing. Such a public list would not have to identify from whom the map is missing, but would be an effective warning to look more carefully into a proposed major purchase of a valuable map that resembles one on the list. And it might actually restore a stolen map to its owner! More than three years ago, Tony set out a detailed program to accomplish this.

These issues will not end at the conclusion of the present suspect's case, any more than they began in New Haven in June. If anything, the publicity surrounding the value of old maps will attract more thieves. I hope that map collectors will be seen to have been meeting their share of responsibility to our community to help protect both those artifacts and values which should be most important to us.

ROGER BASKES

The Role of Native American Maps in the Discovery and Exploration of North America

by Louis De Vorsey

Indian maps and geographic information were so important a factor in the European development of knowledge of the North American continent that it is impossible to gain an adequate idea of the process without taking them into account.

Patricia Galloway, 1998

The story of Native American maps begins with Christopher Columbus in 1492.[1] Upon his first landfall on San Salvador in the Bahamas, the Admiral was impressed by the dug-out canoes possessed by the Indians he met. He described them as being 'fashioned like a long boat from the trunk of a tree … and wonderfully made … being so big that in some came 40 or 50 men, and others smaller, down to some in which but a single man came.'[2] Columbus lost no time in taking captive some of the friendly but awe-struck Indians to serve as guides. In Columbus's words they 'made signs to me that there were so many [other islands] that they could not be counted, and they called by their names more than a hundred [islands].'[3] While Columbus didn't explicitly credit Indian maps for his safe progress through the Bahamas to Cuba and Hispaniola, what is certain is that he was guided on his way by captured Indian canoe pilots.

On the homeward voyage a vicious winter storm forced Columbus to seek a safe harbour in Lisbon. A few days later the king of Portugal summoned him to visit at a monastery in the country where he was in residence. Eager to demonstrate that he had not been poaching in waters claimed by Portugal Columbus brought with him the Indians kidnapped in the Bahamas. During their interview he took pains to assure the king concerning the intelligence and quick-wittedness of the Indians as well as the location of the islands where they were captured. In an effort to test the Admiral's truthfulness the king had a bowl of beans brought to the table. He scattered them and ordered a designated Indian to arrange them in the form of a map of his homeland. The native cartographer deftly complied by grouping clusters of beans to represent Hispaniola and Cuba and single beans to represent the smaller islands of the Bahamas and Lesser Antilles.[4] The king, observing this geographical game with a gloomy countenance, as if by inadvertence disarranged what the man had set forth, and commanded another Indian to play map-maker with the scrambled beans. The second Indian reassembled the bean chart and 'added many more islands and lands, giving us an explanation of all he had depicted and indicated in his own tongue, although nobody understood it.'[5] Realizing that Columbus's discovery lay outside any legitimate claim Portugal could advance the king, wrote Bartolome de Las Casas, 'in a wave of passion smote his breast and cried in a loud voice, O man of little comprehension! Why did I let slip an enterprise of so great importance?'[6] The king was regretting not backing Columbus when that opportunity had been his in 1484. Regaining his composure the king rewarded the Indian cartographers with 'some scarlet clothes.'

Regrettably no original maps or charts, be they Indian or European, have survived from Columbus's early voyages. But it has been suggested that the woodblock 'Map of the Indies', printed in Seville in1511, evidences Indian geographical intelligence among its sources. It appeared in Peter Martyr's book *Oceani Decas* (Fig. 1) and has intrigued scholars for centuries because it seems to portray coastlines and configurations that were thought to be still unvisited by Europeans at the time of its preparation and publication. Early map expert Kenneth Nebenzahl, wrote that he found Peter Martyr's 'credentials for producing the first historical account of America … unusually strong.'[7] While Martyr never visited the Indies himself, he was a member of Spain's courtly innermost circle and a confidant of the Pope. Martyr exerted himself to form strong personal friendships with the leading explorers of the day including Columbus, Vespucci,

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Louis De Vorsey holds a Ph.D. in Historical Geography from the University of London. He is currently Professor Emeritus of Geography at the University of Georgia in the United States. Among his many books are the revised and enlarged edition of Cumming's *The Southeast in Early Maps* and the Library of Congress Resource Guide for the Study of the Age of Discovery, *Keys to the Encounter*.



Fig. 1. This map printed from a woodcut appeared in the 1511 edition of Peter Martyr's Oceani Decas, published in Seville. It is the first Spanish printed map to show the locale of the Spanish discoveries in and around the Caribbean.

Cabot, Magellan, Vasco da Gama, Cortez and Lucas de Ayllon. In addition, Martyr frequently made room at his table for the Indian informants accompanying these voyagers home from the New World.[8] It remains for further research to unravel the extent to which Indian geographical intelligence and cartographic capability contributed to what Nebenzahl terms the 'mystifying elements [of] this ... best map of the New World from the period.'

The 1511 Martyr map of the Indies is, however, considered qualified as a 'silent witness' to the cartographic genius of the Native Americans who encountered and guided Europeans — those Europeans who fashioned themselves as 'discoverers' and 'explorers.'[9] For our purpose a 'silent witness' is a map drawn by a European that, after careful and sensitive analysis, is shown to incorporate Native American geographical and cartographical intelligence.

Coronado and De Soto

It is an amazing fact of synchronicity that both the Southwest and the Southeast of North America were first explored by Europeans at the same historical moment. That moment came in 1539–40, when Hernando De Soto and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado led large, well-equipped, entradas from Cuba and Mexico into land now known as the United States. Both expeditions relied on Indian guides and informants, some of whom were capable and, as we will see, challenging cartographers.

Coronado led an entrada that was termed by contemporaries the most brilliant company ever assembled in the Indies to go in search of new lands. The expedition was reviewed by the Viceroy who wished godspeed to Coronado and his 230 mounted and 62 foot soldiers accompanied by a group of friars and a large throng of camp followers, bearers and Indian guides. In all, about



Fig. 2. This unsigned manuscript map of the Southeast was found among the papers of the Spanish royal cartographer, Alonzo de Santa Cruz, who died in 1572. Known as the De Soto Map it is usually dated ca. 1544.

a thousand people made up Coronado's entrada into the Southwest. Led by Indian guides the expedition began its northward march to find fabled Cibola and the Seven Cities on 23 February 1540.

One of the most beguiling accounts of Indian cartographic capability is found in the journal of Hernando Alarcon. Although not part of Coronado's land entrada, Alarcon was in command of a naval force sailing with supply ships in the Gulf of California and under orders to assist the expedition. Although he failed to make contact, Alarcon discovered the Colorado River which he ascended by boat. Alarcon told of encountering an informative older Indian who, 'proceeded to tell me of many other peoples and countries of which he knew.' As night approached Alarcon invited his informant to join him on his boat but the Indian refused saying, 'that he would not come as I would tire him out with questions about so many things.' Alarcon promised to query him no more if he would 'draw on a piece of paper what he knew of that river, and what people lived on both its banks.' To Alarcon's obvious satisfaction the Indian 'accepted with pleasure.' When he had finished his map, the Indian turned the table on him and, as Alarcon wrote, 'asked me to describe my country in the same way he had done his.' 'In order to please him,' the Spaniard concluded, 'I ordered a picture drawn of a few things.'[10] Nothing was said of the Indian's reaction. Nor is his map or the Spanish drawings known to exist. Alarcon is best remembered for his charts and observations which, when combined with those of Francisco de Ulloa, proved that California was not an island.

Hernando De Soto was already exceedingly wealthy and influential when he returned to Spain from a career as a conquistador in Peru. Turning his attention toward the interior of the American Southeast, De Soto won royal permission to recruit and lead an expedition of more than 700 treasure seekers to go there from Spain. When they landed in Tampa Bay, the expedition resembled an invading army rather than a party of explorers. Some 600 soldiers, more than 100 servants, camp followers, priests and captured Indian guides, along with 200 horses, 300 pigs and an impressive baggage train headed north up the coast of Florida in the Spring of 1539 The record of their rambling progress over the next four years forms one of the best sources of information on the contact-era Native American cultures found in portions of the modern states of Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Missouri. De Soto's decision to live off the land by plundering Indian villages of their food stores forced the large expedition to keep moving and helps explain the vast territory covered.



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One of the lesser studied and understood items in the De Soto record is an anonymous map of the Southeast usually known simply as the 'De Soto Map.'[11] Experts who have studied the map (Fig. 2) feel that it was in part drawn from data provided by the memory of a person or persons who survived the long march and returned to Mexico. A quill and ink drawing, the De Soto Map is undated. An inscription on the back of the map states that it was found among papers belonging to Spain's royal cartographer Alonzo de Santa Cruz. Usually dated c. 1544, the De Soto Map deserves to be considered as a 'silent witness' containing considerable Indian input. This can be most clearly seen when attention is directed to the depictions of the many streams and rivers included. In searching European maps for traces of unacknowledged Indian input it is useful to think in terms of Indian cartographic traits.[12] These are map traits or diagnostics employed by Indian cartographers and often copied by Europeans and incorporated into their own maps without clear attribution or understanding. When such diagnostics are found they can form an intellectual bridge between the modern user of early European maps and the Indian informants and map makers who contributed their knowledge and cartographic expertise to their creation so long ago.

In nature and at a macro scale, river systems are dendritic: that is, small streams join to form larger streams like branches on a tree. River systems thus formed can be seen to drain discrete basins and, in humid regions, flow into an ocean, lake, or some other water body. On the De Soto Map, however, this is not always the case. Some of the rivers appear to be anastomosed, i.e. connected to one another and vein like, a condition almost never found in nature. Notice also that one large drainage system flows from the mountains to empty into both the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico.

The reason for these 'unnatural' looking rivers on the De Soto Map is rooted in the basic difference in the ways Europeans and Native Americans treated networks in their mapping traditions. In European maps, asymmetrical or mixed networks tended to retain their individual characteristics to the extent that a particular map would allow. European cartographers showed roads, trails or portages as different and distinct from rivers in the same region. On the other hand, with Native American cartographers such systems were often simplified and shown as combined and undifferentiated. To the Indians what mattered was the overall travel system — not whether one segment had to be walked while another required a canoe for passage. Thus what the European author of the De Soto Map depicted as anastomosed and weirdly forking rivers resulted from a misunderstanding of the Indian route maps he incorporated. What at first glance appears unnatural is the product of the cultural gulf existing between the Europeans and the Native Americans. The survivor who contributed to the creation of the De Soto Map misunderstood the meaning of the Indian maps he had retained or remembered.

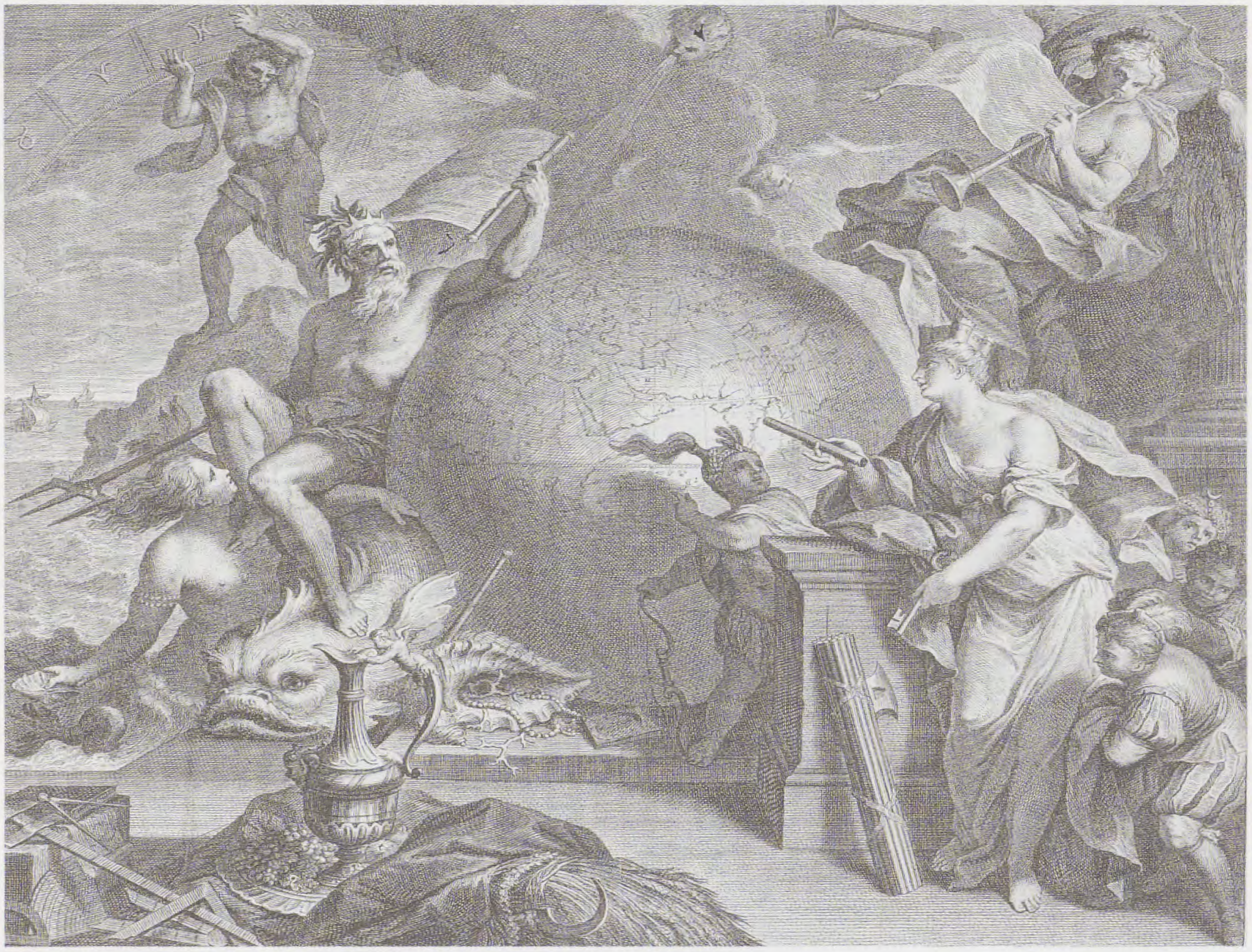
Samuel de Champlain

But don't think that all European explorer-cartographers remained mute concerning their debts to the Indians who guided and informed them as they undertook the early mapping of America. In the following paragraph, the founder of New France, Samuel de Champlain, wrote of how comprehensive and helpful Indian geographical intelligence and mapping skills were in his exploratory efforts up the St. Lawrence River valley in the early years of the 17th century:

> I had much conversation with them regarding the source of the great river and regarding their country, about which they told me many things, both of rivers, the falls, lakes, and lands, and of the tribes living there, and whatever is found in those parts. Four of them assured me that they had seen a sea, far from their country, but that the way to it was difficult, both on account of enemies and of the wild stretches to be crossed in order to reach it. … In short they spoke to me of these things in great detail, **showing me by drawings all the places they had visited,** taking pleasure in telling me about them. And as for myself I was not weary of listening to them, because some things were cleared up about which I had been in doubt until they had enlightened me about them.[13] [emphasis added]

Champlain's depiction of an anastomosed upper St. Lawrence River system is clear evidence that his map published in1613,[14] like the De Soto map, qualifies as a silent witness to the Native American geographic and cartographic contributions he described in the paragraph above.

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On another expedition surveying the coast of the Bay of Fundy and Gulf of Maine by small boat, Champlain told of how a group of coastal Indians aided in the survey for the magnificent manuscript on vellum chart he personally executed (Fig. 3). Ranking as 'one of the great cartographical treasures of America' the chart covers southern Nova Scotia and the New Brunswick and New England coast.[15] In his journal Champlain described how, as his survey party neared Cape Ann, he caught sight of a group of Indians in a canoe. After looking over the Frenchmen in their pinnace, the Indians landed on the nearby Cape and, in Champlain's words 'they began to dance.'

Going ashore Champlain gave each Indian a knife and some biscuit, which he wrote, 'caused them to dance better than ever.' After establishing friendship Champlain 'made them understand, as well as I could, that they should show me how the coast ahead trended.' To make his meaning clear to the Indians Champlain used charcoal to draw the local bay and cape for them. Understanding his desire an Indian took the charcoal and, as Champlain wrote 'pictured for me … another bay which they represented as very large.' Within their map of Massachusetts Bay the Indians, he went on, 'placed six pebbles at equal intervals, giving me thereby to understand that each one of these marks represented that number of chiefs and tribes.' The flow of Indian geographical intelligence did not end with their artfully crafted map. They went on to tell Champlain 'that all those who lived in this region cultivated the land and sowed seeds like the others we previously had seen.' As the Indians departed for home they indicated to Champlain the direction of their village and upon arriving there they 'made signal-smokes to show us the site of their settlement.'

As Champlain continued his reconnaissance of

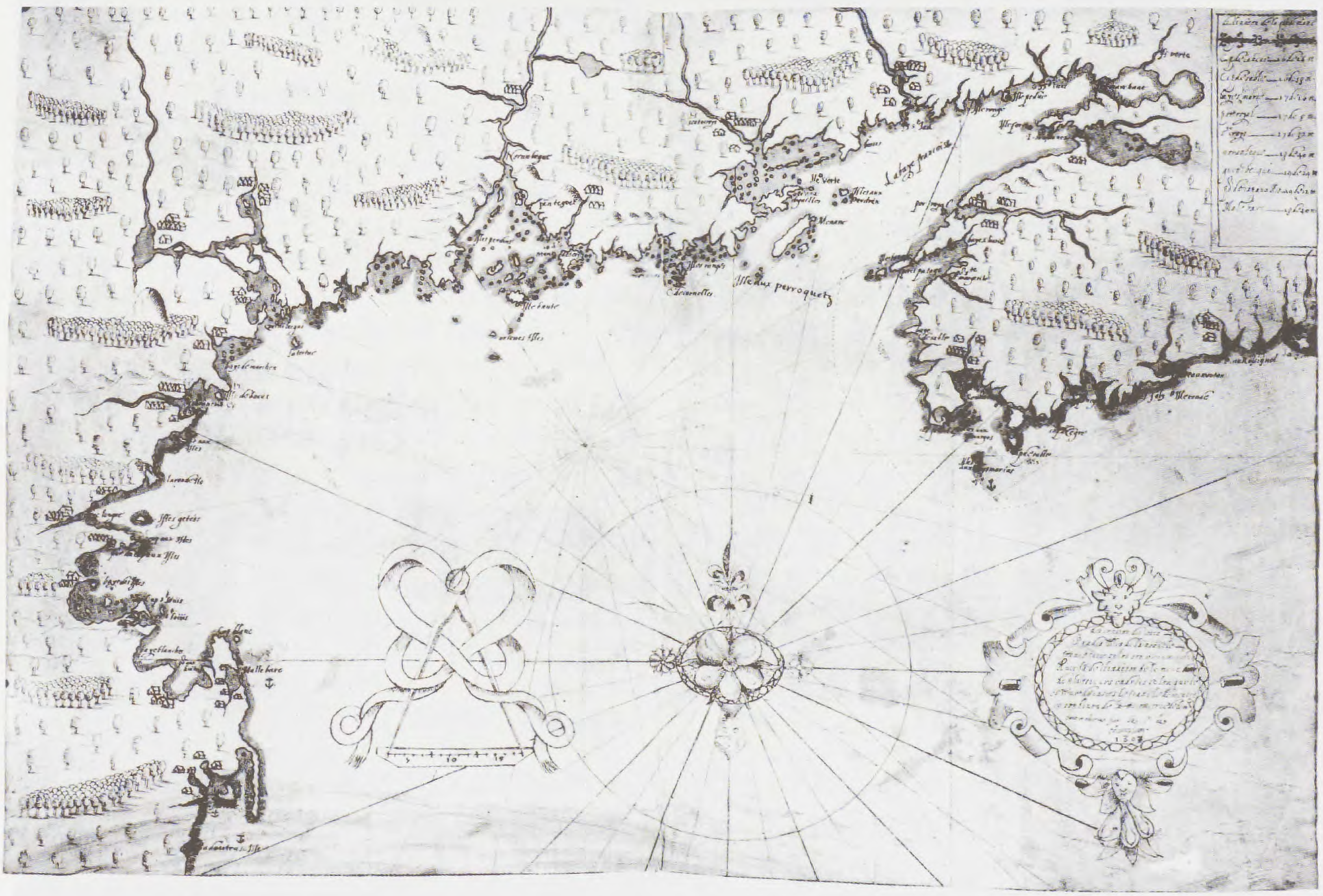


Fig. 3. The founder of New France, Samuel de Champlain, personally drew this elegant chart of the coasts of the Bay of Fundy and Gulf of Maine for presentation to King Henry IV. During his small boat survey here in 1605 Champlain encountered Native Americans who drew maps of the shores ahead at his request.

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Fig. 4. Captain John Smith published this map of Virginia in 1612. In it Smith was generous in his crediting the contributions of Native American informants and sources in extending the map to areas he had not personally surveyed.

Massachusetts Bay he wrote that he 'recognized in this bay everything that the Indians at Island Cape [Cape Ann] had drawn for me.' It would be hard to imagine a more favourable judgment and appreciation of Native American cartographic capability than this one from the pen of Samuel de Champlain, explore-cartographer extraordinaire and founder of New France.

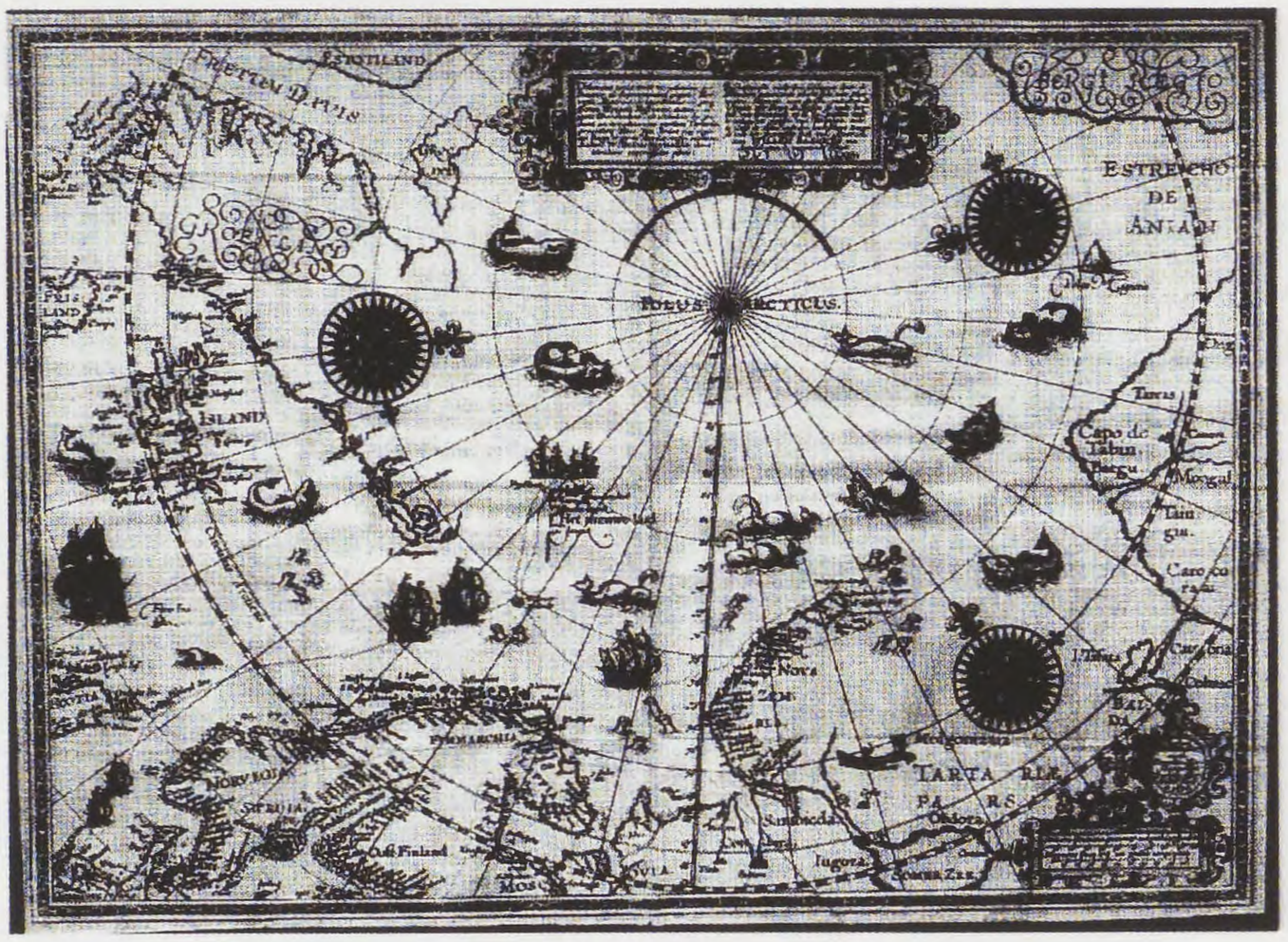
Captain John Smith

Another great explorer-cartographer who freely admitted his debts to Indian mapmakers, informants and guides was a contemporary of Champlain's, the Englishman Captain John Smith He was a member of the expedition that founded Virginia and served as the colony's governor in 1608 and 1609. Smith is best remembered today as Virginia's chief explorer and first historian as well as author of the first detailed printed map to show Virginia (Fig. 4). Scholars are unstinting in their praise of this outstanding map, often acclaimed as the most influential in American history.[16]

In producing this map Smith was carrying out one of the most important instructions issued by the colony's promoters, the Virginia Company of London. He and his fellows were under orders to employ a number of their party, 'in the discovery of the river above you and the country about you.'[17] The overriding motive behind this programme of exploration is revealed in the further order to determine, 'whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes.' If they found that the headwaters of the James River issued from a lake they were told, 'the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and it is like enough that out of the same lake you shall find some spring that runs the contrary way towards the East India Sea.'[18] It is clear that the promoters of the Virginia scheme thought that the Atlantic was close to the Pacific in these latitudes — a belief that had prevailed since 1526 when Giovani da Verrazano reported the Carolina Outer Banks to be a narrow isthmus across which he could see the 'oriental sea'.

Shortly after landing at Jamestown Smith was a member of an exploring party travelling up the James River by boat. After rowing about 18 miles upstream, they encountered '8 salvages in a canoa' and proceeded to make friendly contact with them. Employing mime and sign language, the English party interrogated the Indians to learn something of the river and country ahead. One of the Indians, they wrote, 'seemed to understand our intention and offered with his foote to describe the river to us.' No mere sign language this — but a map sketched in the river's sandy shore by an Indian cartographer. Seizing the opportunity to preserve this vital geographical intelligence, the party's leader 'gave him a pen and paper (shewing first ye use) and he layd out the whole river from Chesseian bay to the end of it so far as passadge was for boats.'[19] The cartographically talented Indian went

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on to tell the explorers 'of two islets in the river we should pass by … and then come to an overfall of water, [and] beyond that of two kyngdomes which the river runs by, then a great distance off, the mountains Quirank as he named them.' The account of this episode ended with the cryptic observation that beyond the mountains, 'is that which we expected.' This was the western sea that they hoped was in easy reach and would carry them to the Orient.

The English did not rest content and when the opportunity presented itself they sought to test the reliability of what the Indians had told them. Such an opportunity arose when the Virginians were being entertained at a village located just below the site of present day Richmond. In the presence of the local chief they had the Indian cartographer repeat his drawing of the river's course and were delighted when, as they wrote, the chief, 'in everything consented to his draught, and it agreed with his first relation.' Their pleasure at this outcome is revealed in the conclusion of the account, 'this we found a faithfull fellow, he was the one that was appointed guyde for us.'[20]

This was only the first of many opportunities in which Smith benefited from the expertise of Indian guides and map makers. By the autumn of 1608 he had completed his 3,000-mile-long small boat survey of the Virginia Tidewater. No easy route to the 'East Indian Sea' was found but he kept the hope alive by showing a large unnamed water body in the northwest corner of his map. Even a cursory glance at his map will reveal how freely Smith recognized the considerable Indian contribution to the map he published. Notice for example the legend, 'Signification of these markes' in the space to the right of the water body. Here Smith included a small cross symbol, the significance of which is explained: 'To the crosses hath been discovered — what beyond is by relation.' In a 1978 article published in *Imago Mundi*, I drew attention to the significance of this statement as representing Smith's acknowledgment of the important role played by Indian cartographers and informants in making it possible for him to include interior regions in his map — interior regions he had not personally penetrated.[21] By connecting the small crosses I attempted to show how large an area of terrain mapped was attributable to Indian sources. As impressive as this graphic was at the time further research by Anthropologist Gregory Waselkov has determined that, in addition to the area I showed, 'we can also attribute to Indian informants considerable data on village locations, place- names, and chief's habitations' in the areas well downstream of where Smith placed crosses on his printed map.[22]

We are fortunate that Smith had lost no time in carrying out his exploration of the Virginia Tidewater for as James Mooney wrote, 'before the colony was two years old the principal Indian settlements had been seized by the white men, Chief Powhatan had withdrawn from his place within easy reach of Jamestown to a remote town on the Chickahominy River, and the killings and burnings had become so frequent that no Englishman was safe alone outside the stockade of the fort.'[23]

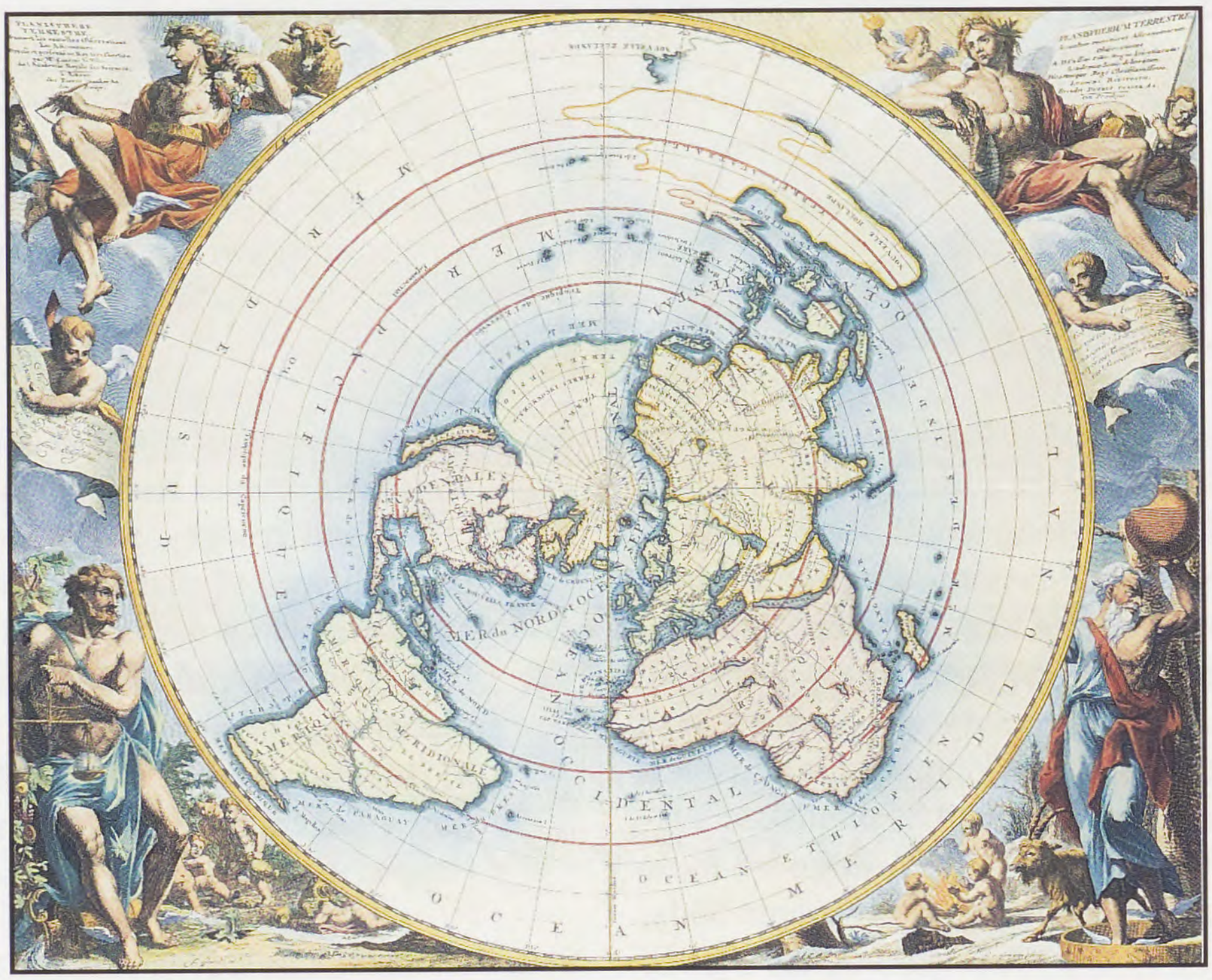
Clearly the window of opportunity for the initial exploration of Britain's first viable American mainland colony was a narrow one. Only someone as courageous, talented and determined as Captain John Smith, working in concert with Virginia's Indians while he was able, could have completed the surveys necessary for the map he personally described in the following paragraph:

> This annexed mappe will present to the eie, the way of the mountains and current of the rivers, with their several turnings, bays, shoules, isles, inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and the like. In which Mappe observe ths, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountains or other places have been discovered, **the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set down according to their instructions.**[24] [emphasis added]

Some General Considerations

The Indian maps discussed thus far have all been concerned with the transmission of information that was eagerly sought but sometimes imperfectly understood by Europeans. The indigenous maps gave information on such things as island groups, river courses, coastlines, travel routes, village locations and military intelligence, all of which could and did benefit their European readers. Occasionally there were misunderstandings. Exploring the Carolina Piedmont in 1670 John Lederer, for example, queried Indian informants who told him of other Indians 'who dwell not far to the westward of the Apalatacean Mountains, [and] are seated upon a land … of great waves.'[25] We don't

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Pieter van der Aa's spectacular version of Cassini's planisphere, published in Leiden, in *Nouveau Théâtre du Monde ...*, *c.*1713

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know whether the Indians informed Lederer, verbally or by means of a performance map of hand gestures, but he shared the Virginians' dream of an easily reached Pacific shore and he concluded that the Indians must have meant their neighbours lived, as he wrote, 'on the Sea-shore.'[26] Lederer's eagerness to find confirmation for the theory that placed the Atlantic and Pacific in close proximity in the latitude of Virginia and the Carolinas, as John Farrer had shown them to be twenty years before, caused him to misinterpret the Indians. They were in fact telling him of the Ridge and Valley physiographic province of the Southern Appalachians. The Indians' 'land of great waves,' in truth was an excellent description of this rugged area of closely paralleling steep ridges and deep valleys.

Other gestural maps such as that performed by a Chickasaw Indian for Georgia's founder General James Edward Oglethorpe at Savannah in 1736 were clearly understood.

On that occasion the Indians were informing the Georgians concerning the powerful French presence in the interior to the west of Georgia. In the Journal of the formal meeting it was recorded that the Indian spokesman told Oglethorpe and the assembled colonists the following:

> We are but so big [making a small circle with his Fingers]. You English are so big [making a larger]. But the French are quite round us all [stretching out his arms]; and kill us like hogs or fowls.[27]

Oglethorpe responded by giving the Indians the gunpowder and lead they requested to defend themselves against the threatening French and their Indian allies.

But there was another genre of Indian maps that by

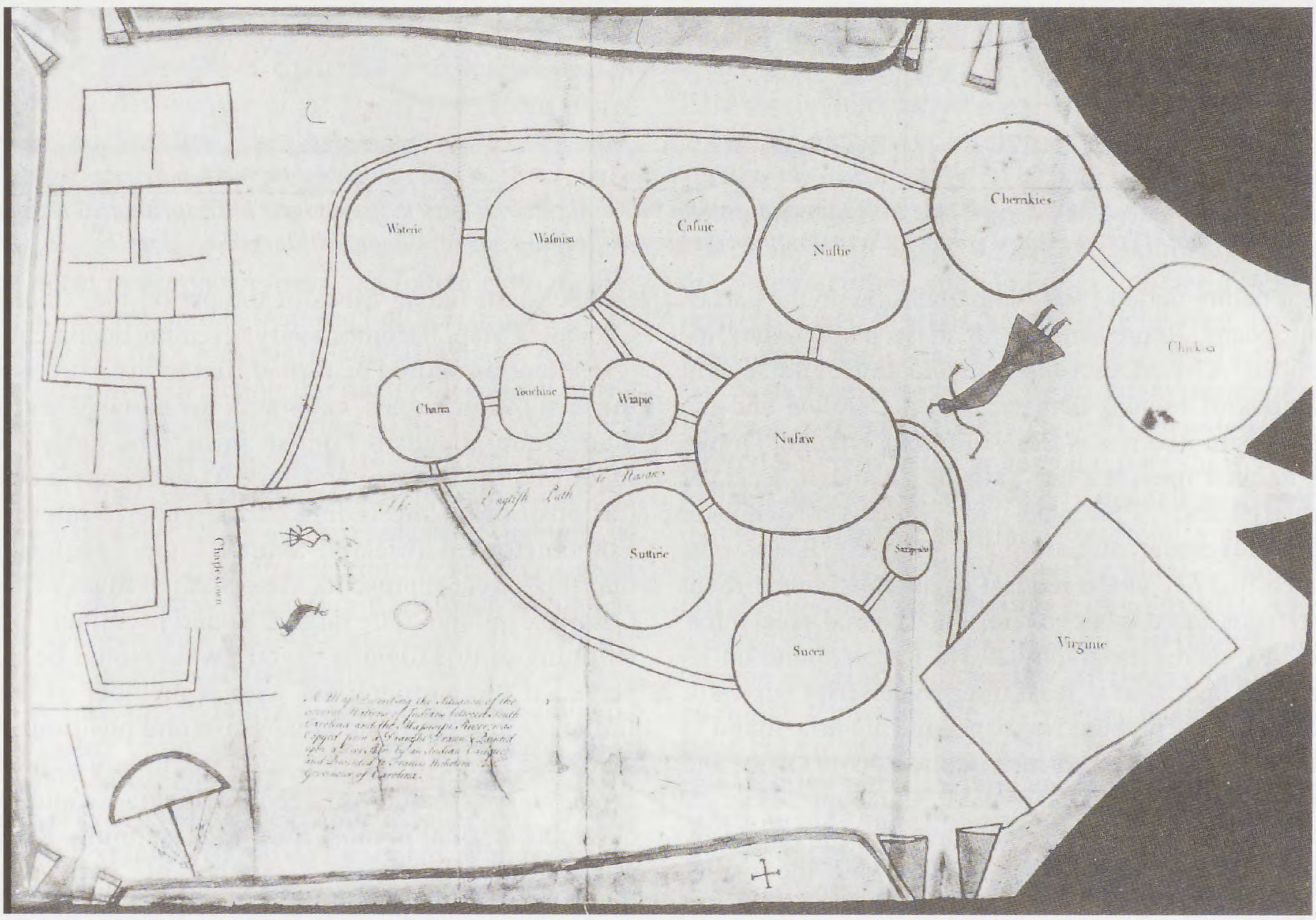


Fig. 5. South Carolina's royal governor Francis Nicholson brought this Indian-drawn map to England when he returned in 1724. Originally drawn on a deer hide by a Catawba 'Cacique' or chief it lays out the geopolitical realities of the region as the Indians knew them to be.

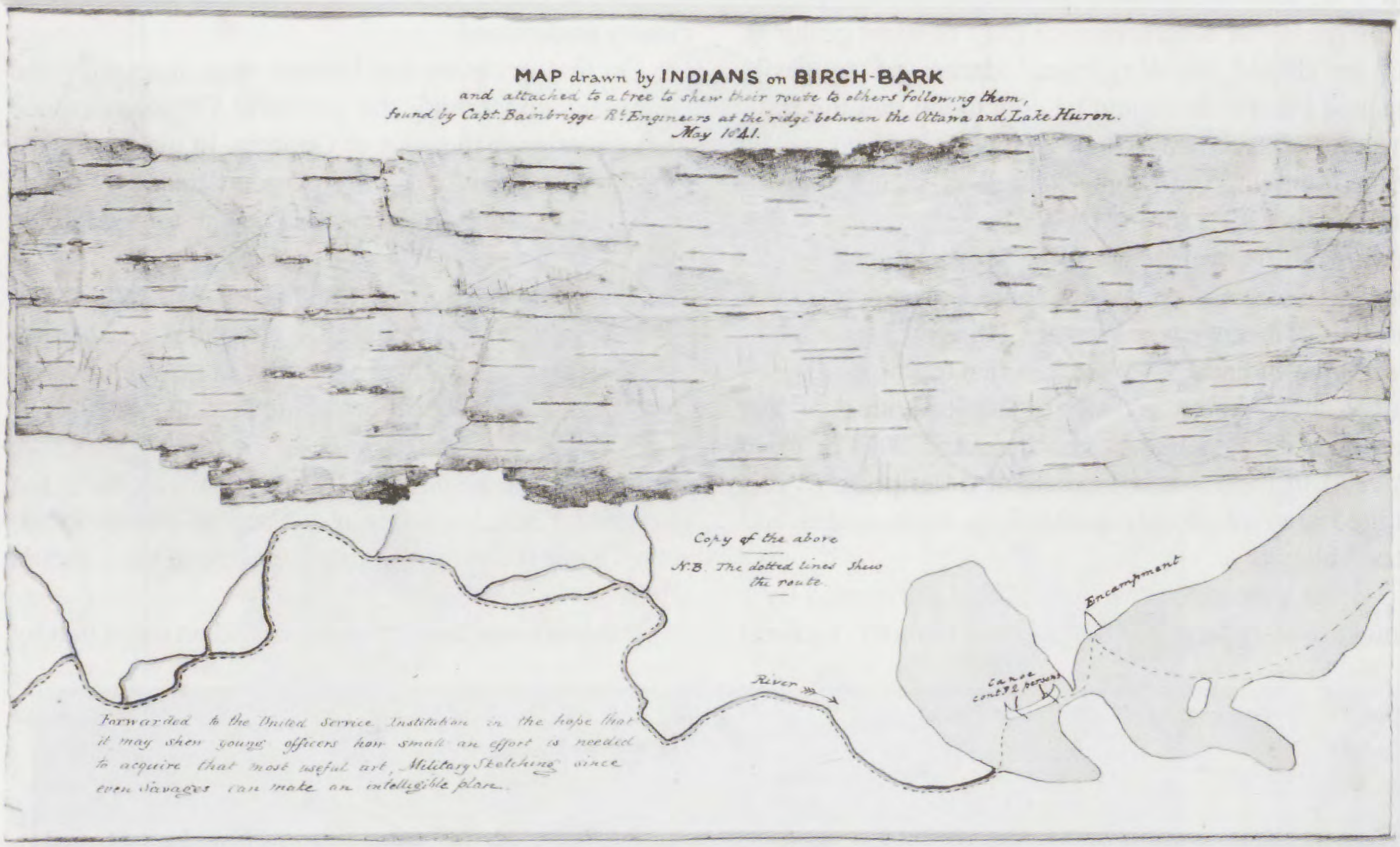


Fig. 6. An English Officer took time to mount and explain this Indian birch bark map he found in Ontario in 1841 so that it could inspire young military engineer student-officers to improve their 'Military Sketching.'

their nature defied easy comprehension on the part of Europeans. Representative of these maps is one inscribed 'A Map Describing the Situation of the several Nations of Indians between South Carolina and the Massissipi River, was Copyed from a Draught Drawn & Painted upon a Deer Skin by an Indian Cacique [chief] and Presented to Francis Nicholson Esqr.Governour of Carolina.'[28] (Fig. 5). It was prepared in 1721 at the request of an enlightened royal governor, Francis Nicholson, who showed a real interest in Indian cartography.29 No longer found on its original deer skin at least three manuscript copies of the map were prepared on paper and are now found in the collections of the British Public Record Office and the British Library. One of the P.R.O. copies is larger than the other two and may have been prepared by Nicholson for forwarding to London while the smaller copies were made from it there. When analyzed in light of what is known of Indian cartographic technique buttressed by a good understanding of the geographic distribution and political alignments of the Southeastern Indian tribes of the period the, 'Indian Cacique's Map' becomes a very revealing document.

Attention should be turned first to the pattern of thirteen rough circles, each with the name of an Indian group added in English print. The largest is identified as 'Nasaw,' and appears to occupy a central position in the Indian cartographer's interest. Ethnohistorical research supports the conclusion that this circle represents the principal town of the Catawba Indians. The large size and prominent positioning of this town is exactly what would be expected if the cartographer were a member of that Indian group. On Indian maps size and position often relate more to position and rank in hierarchical arrangements than to true geographical size and location as is usual in most European mapping. Radiating from 'Nasaw' is a number of 'pathways' drawn as closely parallel lines. Several form linkages with the twelve other named Indian towns as well as two large rectangular areas. These are identified as 'Virginie' or Virginia and 'Charlestown' or

Charleston. Here another diagnostic trait found on Indian maps is revealed: whereas European mapmakers showed great attention to boundary details, Native American cartographers usually employed simple enclosing shapes. Circles or ovals thus identified 'us' or 'the People,' while rectangles often bound 'Them' or 'The Europeans.' Charleston is further articulated in a manner suggesting a maze. This is explained by the Indian author's response to the impact made on him by passing through the gridiron pattern of streets, straight-walled buildings and fence lines making up the fabric of the planned town. With a large scale map of the colonial city in hand, one can almost visualize the route followed by the Catawba Indian cartographer as he made his way down the peninsula to the busy port city's waterfront. The parachute-like feature in the lower left is the Indian's impression of a vessel lying by a wharf with her sails furled.

An anthropologist equipped with knowledge of the spatial distribution of the places and groups represented might at first find the Cacique's map confusing. This is because it incorporates what has been termed a 'variable scale' within the map.[30]

By not being confined to a consistent scale as is the norm in European maps, the Indian cartographer could include on one map such distant groups as the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and Virginians, while at the same time depicting the relative locations of his close-at-hand neighbouring towns. Gregory Waselkov, expert on Indian maps of the Southeast observed, 'the mapmaker accurately conveyed the proper spatial ordering of map elements by manipulating distance, which permitted him to provide a great deal of information regarding the Siouan groups as well as providing a regional perspective, all within the irregular confines of a deerskin.'[31]

A final question to ask concerning Indian maps is whether or not the Native Americans used maps in their daily lives and away from Europeans? An answer is offered by the colourful and controversial French explorer, Baron de Lahontan, who travelled extensively through the heart of the continent in the late-seventeenth-century. He wrote:

> They are as ignorant of Geography as of other Sciences, yet they draw the most exact Maps imaginable of the Countries they're acquainted with, for there is nothing wanting in them but the Longitude and Latitude of Places; They set down the True North according to the Pole Star; The Ports, Harbors, Rivers, Creeks and Coasts of the Lakes; the Roads, Mountains, Woods, Marshes, Meadows, etc. counting the distances by Journeys and Half-Journeys of the Warriors and allowing to every Journey Five Leagues. These chorographical Maps are drawn upon the rind of your Birch Tree and when the Old Men hold a Council about War or Hunting, they're always sure to consult them.'[32]

Indian maps were most often ephemeral – they were drawn in the sand of a river shore, or on the ground, they were sketched with chalk on a ship's hatch cover, in the snow or ashes of a camp fire and sometimes built of pebbles and sticks to represent natural and human settlement features. Clearly, ephemeral or not, they were vital in efforts to facilitate spatial understanding. Few survived but many drawn or etched on birch bark have proven to be survivors. Fortunately an officer of the Royal Engineers posted on the frontier between Ottawa and Lake Huron in 1841, a Captain Bainbridge, took the time to collect and mount an Indian birch bark map on a large sheet of paper where he drew a more easily read rendition of the map (Fig. 6). The Captain's motive is revealed in an engaging caption where he wrote that the map was, 'Forwarded to the United Services in the hope that it may shew young officers how small an effort is needed to acquire that most useful art, Military Sketching, since even Savages can make an intelligible plan.'[33] Captain Bainbridge demonstrated no lack of British nineteenth-century condescension in his remark, but we can conclude our review of Indian maps and mapping secure in the knowledge that his annotated map made it back to England where it served as a training aid for young engineer officers, some of whom may have gone on to serve in Canada. It is now counted among the cartographic treasures in the Map Room of the British Library.

NOTES

1. There are countless definitions of the word 'map', almost as many as there are cartographers and lexicographers. In this essay a map is a representation that facilitates a spatial understanding of things, concepts,

conditions, beliefs, processes, or events in the human milieu.

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7. Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus and The Great Discoveries*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990, pp. 60–61.
8. Martyr wrote that while Lucas de Ayllon visited, 'he brought wth him a native of Chicorana as his servant.' Having been Baptised Francisco Chicorana Ayllon's Indian, Martyr assured, 'is not devoid of intelligence,' and fluent in Spanish.' See, David B. Quinn (ed.), *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979. Vol. I, p. 266. When informing officials of the *capitulation* he had given to Juan de Agramonte in 1511, King Ferdinand wrote, 'According to two Indians he brought with him, it is a very profitable land, where gold and other things are found.' See L.A. Vigneras, 'The Projected Voyage of Juan de Agramonte to the Carolinas, 1511.' *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. XI (1979) p. 68.
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10. George P. Hammond and Agapita Rey (eds.), *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940, p.153.
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12. See the table 'Native American Map Diagnostics,' in *The Southeast In Early Maps*, pp.95–96.
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25. William P. Cumming (ed.), *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1958, p. 26.
26. In a letter to President Thomas Jefferson dated St. Louis, 23 December 1805, Governor James Wilkinson wrote about the performance mapping talent of an Indian then en-route to Washington. The Governor wrote that Chief Riccari was 'a great traveler, a warrior & geographer, ... [who] has been so much in the Habit of Dumb Expression, that in conveying his Ideas, you will perceive He is more indebted to His Fingers than His tongue ... .'
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33. Rainer Vollmar, *Indianische Karten Nordamerikas*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1981, p. 120.

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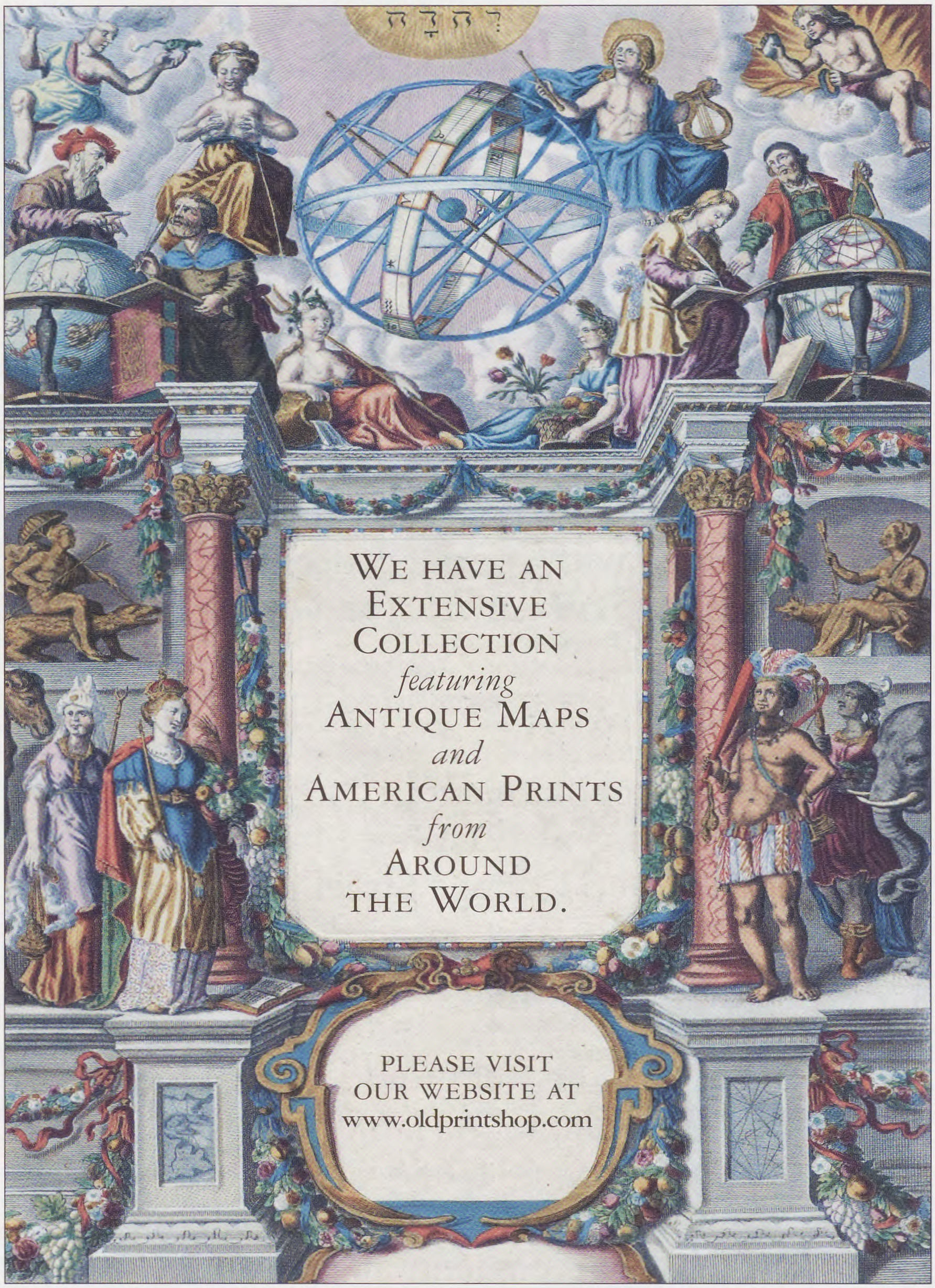


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The Mail Coach Service

by Tom Lewis-Reynier

Origins and the first mail coach

When a public postal service was first introduced in England in 1635, letters were carried between 'posts' by mounted post-boys and delivered to the local postmaster. The postmaster would then take out the letters for his area and hand the rest to another post-boy to carry them on to the next 'post'. This was a slow process and the unprotected post-boys were an easy target for robbers, but the system remained unchanged for almost 150 years.

John Palmer, a theatre owner from Bath, had already organised a rapid carriage service to transport actors and props between theatres, and he believed that a similar scheme could improve the postal service. In 1782, Palmer sold his theatre interests, and went to London to lobby the Post Office. Despite resistance from senior Post Office staff, who believed the speed of the mail could not be improved, William Pitt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, accepted the idea. An experimental mail coach journey, undertaken at Palmer's expense, started from Bristol on 2 August 1784, at 4pm. It reached London at 8am the next day, exactly on schedule. A journey that had taken up to 38 hours now took just 16.

Extension of the service

The success of the trial led Pitt to authorise other mail coach routes, and by spring 1785 coaches from London served Norwich, Liverpool and Leeds. By the end of 1785 there were services to Dover, Portsmouth, Poole, Exeter, Gloucester, Worcester, Holyhead and Carlisle, and by 1786 the service had also reached Edinburgh. That same year, Palmer was made Surveyor and Comptroller General of the Post Office.

Method of operation

The mail coach, horses, and the driver were all provided by contractors. Competition for the contracts was fierce, because it meant status and a regular income in addition to passenger fares. The first mail coaches were poorly built, but an improved patented coach, designed by John Besant, was adopted by the Post Office in 1787. Besant, later in partnership with John Vidler of Millbank, enjoyed the monopoly of supplying the coaches. Every morning, when coaches reached London, they were taken to a constructors' works, usually Vidler's, to be cleaned and oiled. In the afternoon, they were returned to the coaching inns, where horses were hitched up for journeys to all parts of the country. Outside of London, coaches also made journeys between the main post towns. The average speed of the coaches was usually 7–8 mph in summer and about 5 mph in winter, but with improvements to the quality of the roads, it had risen to 10 mph by the time Queen Victoria came to the throne.

Mail coach guards

The only Post Office employee aboard the mail coach was the guard. He was heavily armed, carrying two pistols and a blunderbuss, and wore an official uniform of a black hat with a gold band and a scarlet coat with blue lapels and gold braid. He also had a timepiece, regulated in London to keep pace with the differences in local time, and recorded the coach's arrival and departure times at each stage of the journey. The guard sounded a horn, to warn other road users to keep out of the way and to warn toll-keepers to let the coach through. As the coach travelled through towns or villages where it was not due to stop, the guard would throw out the bags of letters to the Letter Receiver or Postmaster. At the same time, the guard would snatch from him the outgoing bags of mail. One guard, Mosses Nobbs, served for 55 years (1836–91) on coaches and later on trains.

Mail coach livery

From the establishment of Besant's patent coach in 1787, the livery remained the same. The upper part of the coach was painted black while the door and lower panels were maroon in colour. The wheels were what is now known as Post Office red. The Royal Coat of Arms appeared on the doors along with the title 'Royal Mail' and the name of the town at either end of the coach's route. The stars of the four principal orders of knighthood; the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, and St. Patrick appeared on the upper panels of the body. The cipher of the reigning monarch was on the front boot, and the number of the coach on the back boot.

Travelling on the coaches

Initially, four passengers were carried inside the mail coach, then another was allowed to sit outside next to the driver shortly afterwards. The number of external passengers was increased to three with the introduction of a double seat behind the driver. No one was permitted to sit at the back near the guard or the mail box. The mail coach travelled faster than the stage coach, but whereas the stage stopped for meals where convenient for its passengers, the mail coach stopped only where necessary for postal business. The journey could get quite rough in places, and the passengers even had to get out and walk if the coach was going up a steep hill in order to save straining the horses. The contractors organised fresh horses at stages along the route,

usually every 10 miles. It was reckoned that a horse was needed for every mile.

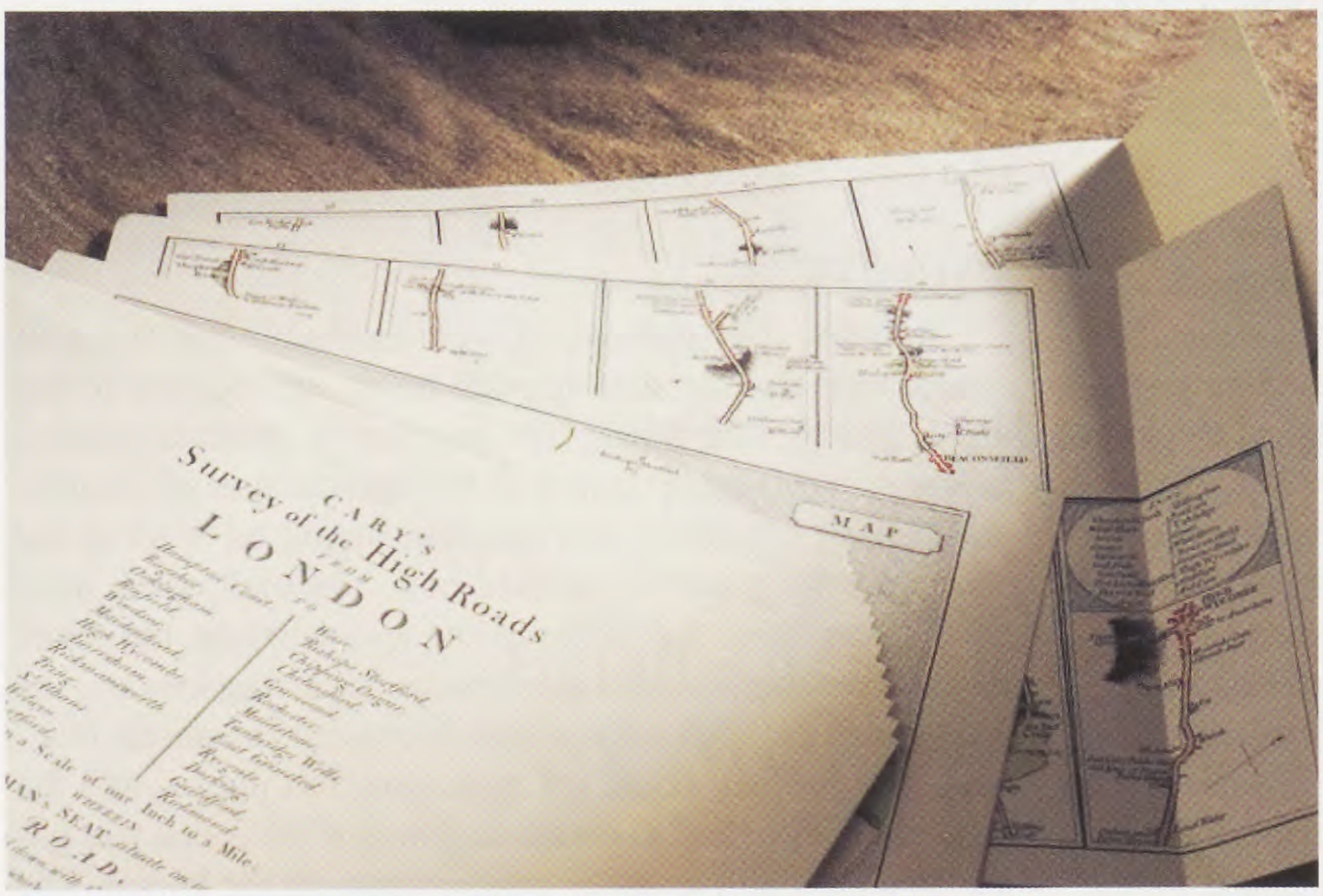
An unusual event occurred in October 1816 when the Exeter mail coach, whilst on its way to London, drew into the Pheasant Inn on Salisbury Plain. The leading horses were attacked by a lioness which had escaped from a travelling managerie. The lioness then turned her attentions onto a large dog which had proceeded to attack her, and the dog was chased and killed. The lioness's owner eventually recovered her from underneath a granary. The passengers had taken refuge inside the Inn, bolting the door and stopping anyone else from entering.

Demise of the service

The development of the railways led to the end of the mail coaches, with railways first carrying mail on 11 November 1830, between Liverpool and Manchester. Other rail lines developed, and by the early 1840s many London-based mail coaches were being withdrawn from service. The last regular London-based coach service was the London to Norwich, via Newmarket, which ended on 6 January 1846. However, mail coaches survived on services between some provincial towns until the 1850s. Many mail coach guards found continuing Post Office employment as mail guards on the trains.

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[*Note from the Editor:* This article has been prepared to accompany the offer to IMCoS members of a set of Cary road map reproductions at a special introductory rate of £4.00 per set]

This month we look at the map-related holdings of the British Postal Museum & Archive—who look after the Royal Mail Archive—a source of information on postal history and how the postal service has influenced the development of such defining themes as communication and transport in Britain. The Archive contains many richly illustrated maps, arguably the outstanding ones being the postal route maps published by the famous cartographer John Cary in 1790—which are the subject a special Members' Offer..

These maps were critical to the development of the mail coach delivery method—one of the first attempts to transport mail around the country in a more efficient manner. The article featured explains how this process happened.

John Cary was born in 1754, and died in 1835. He produced many maps for the General Post Office—not least of which were the postal route maps published in 1790 as a result of his being commissioned by the Postmaster General of the time to survey the postal routes in and around London. The resulting maps are as accurate in their detail as they are pleasing to the eye, and were so useful to the Post Office that they were even updated in later years to include railways and parliamentary divisions.

The cartographic historian Sir H. G. Fordham described Cary as the 'most representative, able and prolific of English cartographers'. The British Postal Museum & Archive hold the originals of these maps in their London-based Royal Mail Archive, and have recently reprinted them in order to make them available at a modest rate to the map-appreciating public.

These and other relevant items of merchandise can be seen at the British Postal Museum & Archive's shop: www.postalheritage.org.uk/shop, but the BPMA have agreed to make these map packs available to IMCoS members at the specially discounted price of £4.00 per pack (includes P&P; regular price £5.00 per pack. There are two packs, South and North, which each contain around 30 strip maps..

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Ambition and Enterprise
Zebulon Pike's Maps Relating to the Exploration of the Southern Louisiana Purchase[1]

by **Dennis Reinhartz**

Although the 'tour of discovery' into the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase led by Lieutenant Zebulon Pike in 1806–07 was not as grandiose and is perhaps less well known (especially as measured by the current bicentennial commemorations) than that of captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark across the northern reaches of the newly acquired territory in 1804–06, it is nevertheless as significant for its geographic and cartographic contributions and additionally is surrounded by more controversy. Taken together, the results of the Lewis and Clark and Pike 'tours' (as the Jeffersonians referred to the expeditions) presented the first clear description of the vast western lands bought from France by the new United States in 1803. These crucial explorations not only reflected some of President Jefferson's aspirations for his country,[2] but they also provided 'the first glimmer of the American imperialist drive later known as Manifest Destiny'[3] and the expansion of the United States across North America and beyond in the century that followed.

Like his young nation, Zebulon Montgomery Pike possessed the 'ambition and enterprise' needed to face the challenges of the Louisiana-New Spain frontier. He was born into a military family on a farm in Somerset County, New Jersey near Trenton on 5 January 1779, the son of a veteran of the American Revolution and the grandson of a veteran of the French and Indian War. His family soon moved across the Delaware River to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where Pike grew up. He was poorly educated, but in compensation he was an avid reader throughout his life. He eventually read French as well as English and primarily on military subjects. At fifteen, he enlisted in the army, served under General Anthony Wayne in the Ohio River country, and was commissioned a lieutenant in 1799. After his return from the Greater Southwest in 1807, Pike was promoted to captain, and he made major before the account of his tour was published in 1810.[4] He was a brigadier general during the War of 1812 when he was killed by flying debris at the Battle of York (Toronto) on 27 April 1813.



Fig. 1 John Zebulon Pike.

Pike's growing leadership role in exploration was greatly facilitated by his relationship with General James Wilkinson, the military governor of Louisiana appointed by President Thomas Jefferson. Wilkinson's own ambition and enterprise has earned him the status of a rogue in American history. Early in his career, he was a paid agent of the Spanish, and later he was associated with Vice President Aaron Burr. He conspired with Burr perhaps to form an independent republic in the Spanish Greater Southwest and then informed on him and his plot to save himself. Their secessionist plans could have been greatly facilitated by

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Dennis Reinhartz is Professor of History and Russian at The University of Texas at Arlington; he offers graduate and undergraduate courses in the history of cartography. His books include *The Mapping of the American Southwest*, *The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest*, *The Cartography and the Literati: Herman Moll and his intellectual Circle*, and *Cartography and Empire: The Military Mapping of the Greater Southwest*.

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Samuel de Champlain - Pierre Duval c.1616 - [53].
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Fig. 2. Pike's map of the Mississippi River, Philadelphia 1810.
Courtesy Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, The University of Texas at Arlington.

an American war with Spain that Spain had been provoked into starting. Through Wilkinson, Pike became falsely associated with the Burr scheme as well. Upon his return from Louisiana and New Spain in 1807, Pike was wrongly thought by some to have been sent to spy on the Spanish for Burr and Wilkinson rather than for the United States.

Between 9 August 1805 and 30 April 1806, under orders from Wilkinson, Pike led an important scouting expedition from St Louis to the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Beyond basic exploration, his specific instructions were to reconnoitre future fort sites and to negotiate with the Indians for them. He also was to invite certain Indian chiefs for talks in St Louis. But with regard to these particular goals, he was only moderately successful. He succeeded only in purchasing one site, where the future cities of Minneapolis and St Paul would grow up, and some chiefs eventually made it down river to St Louis. Pike did however bring back much new geographical information, which became the basis for several maps drawn by him.[5]

Obviously, Wilkinson was not displeased with Pike. Less than three months after his return from the upper Mississippi, on 15 July 1806 Pike left St Louis again, this time to explore the southern reaches of the Louisiana Purchase. While the expedition clearly was to complement that of Lewis and Clark to the north, which was already returning at the time of Pike's departure, its objectives were less clear and its outcomes more controversial. To begin with, Jefferson personally had commissioned Lewis and Clark, but Wilkinson probably did not consult him on the appointment of Pike. Pike's promotions and an exchange of letters between Jefferson and Pike after his return on 2 July 1807 nonetheless attest to Jefferson's pleasure with Pike's results.[6]

Jefferson was very much attracted to the Red River, 'next to the Missouri, the most interesting water of the Mississippi,'[7] as the gateway into the Spanish Greater Southwest from the Mississippi.[8] Prior to the Lewis and Clark and Pike tours, he sent a party led by Drs William Dunbar and George Hunter up the Ouachita River, a tributary of the Red, in 1803–04. They brought back the first American scientific information from the Louisiana Purchase, some of which provide the basis for Nicholas King's map of 1806.[9] Perhaps with an eye to Santa Fe, in 1806 Jefferson also commissioned an expedition led by the civilian engineer-surveyor Thomas Freeman and naturalist Peter Custis into the southern Louisiana Purchase to explore up the Red to its source, but it failed to reach its objective due to Spanish intervention.[10]

Pike's specific orders were to transport safely some Osage Indians from St Louis back to Grand Osage on the Osage River, make peace between the Osage and Kansas Indians, open up relations with the Comanche and explore the possibility of a future alliance against the Spanish, and to survey the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers. These rivers helped to form the vaguely defined boundary between the American Louisiana Purchase and the northern borderlands of New Spain.

The Louisiana Purchase ushered in a risky period in Spanish-American relations, and war was a real prospect. Wilkinson thus probably gave Pike secret commands to spy on the Spanish and to reconnoitre

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Fig. 3. Detail from Pike's 'A Chart of the Internatl Part of Lousiana', Philadelphia 1810. Courtesy Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, The University of Texas at Arlington.

the approaches to the important trading centre of Santa Fe. Although both later publicly denied on several occasions that these orders existed, in the original Preface to his published account, while still disavowing any 'sinister designs' of either of his expeditions, Pike admitted that he readily served as 'astronomer, surveyor, commanding officer, clerk, *spy* [italics mine], guide, and hunter' on them.[11] Wilkinson also was most probably behind the failed effort of a somewhat shadowy former captain of artillery, John McClallen, who encountered Lewis and Clark on their return journey, to find the quickest overland route, utilizing a reputed 'backdoor' between the Yellowstone River and the Spanish rivers, between St Louis and Santa Fe in 1806.[12] As well-known historian of the American West James P. Ronda has ventured, 'Pike had always supported an American invasion of the Southwest as a means to spread republican light and liberty. Perhaps he saw his mission in such imperial terms.'[13] In any case, his tour was a military reconnaissance, and the journals and maps resulting from it contained information necessary to the military.

Pike started out on his tour from St Louis with twenty-three men, many of them veterans of his Mississippi expedition, and a party of almost 100 Indians (Osages and others). After concluding his mission there and leaving the Osage-Kansas country behind and most of his Indians as well, he headed for the Arkansas and intersected it near present-day Great Bend, Kansas, an area first visited by the Coronado *entrada* in 1542. From there he sent five men under Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, the general's son, to follow the river to its mouth.

Pike meanwhile proceeded up the river, believing it to be the Red, with the rest of his force, eventually reaching the site of present-day Pueblo, Colorado near the future location of Bent's Fort, an Anglo trading post established in 1833. He explored the immediate environs of Pike's Peak—the mountain in the Rockies that today bears his name—but he identified it on his published map of 1810 only as 'Highest Peak'.[14] Thereafter, his expedition crossed the headwaters of the Rio Grande and during the rough winter was taken into custody by Spanish troops in February 1807. Pike had built a small winter fort at the Rio Conejos, and his men were suffering from exposure and gangrene. They presumably were lost when they were captured and were then escorted south to Chihuahua through Santa Fe down the El Camino Real. The extreme interpretation of Pike as a spy here offers that he was not lost and actually sought contact with the Spanish.[15]

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Fig. 4. John Hamilton Robinson.

Nemesio Salcedo, Commandant General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain and the brother of the last Spanish governor of Louisiana in 1801–03, Juan Manuel Salcedo,[16] probably honestly believed that the territory of the Louisiana Purchase in his area was much more restricted than did the French and the Americans or than it later proved to be. He therefore undoubtedly felt that it was his duty to resist this new phase of American westward expansion and hence had Pike and his people intercepted. Salcedo previously had failed to accomplish the same with Lewis and Clark. He at the same time was seeking allies among the Indians of the region, such as the Pawnee, against the United States.

Pike was quartered with the New Orleans-born Juan Pedro Walker, an engineer and cartographer in the Spanish army. Pike spoke no Spanish and had no Spanish interpreter for much of his tour of discovery, but Walker spoke English and was cordial with the Americans. He transcribed all of Pike's documents and notes, which had been confiscated, into Spanish and served as the translator during official meetings. On his maps, Walker indicated the site of Pike's capture as the 'American fort'. In turn, Pike probably got to view and secretly copy some of Walker's maps.[17] Pike soon made new notes and sketches to be smuggled out of Spanish territory, rolled up in the barrels of the guns he was permitted to keep. The original confiscated Pike documents were not returned to the United States by Mexico until 1910.

John Hamilton Robinson, a medical officer on Pike's expedition who may have had ties to Burr and General Wilkinson,[18] who published a now quite rare large wall map—'A Map of Mexico, Louisiana, and the Missouri Territory…' (Philadelphia, 1819)—also may have gathered some information from the Walker maps at a later time. The flamboyant Robinson may have been a later ghostwriter for Pike and even claimed effectively to have been the leader of the Tour. While Robinson's map was based on and was inferior to those of Pike, it was the first to show the named 'Pike's Peak.'[19]

Eventually, after some serious negotiations between Wilkinson and Salcedo Pike and his men were escorted out of Spanish territory across Texas to Natchitoches, Louisiana. Along the way they were treated as guests and even entertained in San Antonio de Bexar and elsewhere by the Spanish. In due course, from Natchitoches they proceeded back to St Louis.

In about a year, Pike's second expedition had extensively explored the future states of Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, treated with their Indian populations — most notably the Comanche, Kansas, Osage, Pawnee, and Tetau — and travelled the valleys of the Arkansas and Red Rivers. The tour also brought back useful general intelligence on the current state of northern New Spain to the American government. A great deal of these data was first made public in Pike's combined account of his expeditions, published in 1810 by C & A Conrad and Co. of Philadelphia. The maps by Pike that were part of these volumes also displayed much of this new information.

Pike's original sketch maps were of noticeably poor quality. This was in large part due to his lack of real scientific and engineering training and the conditions in the field and captivity under which they were created. But the finished fine copperplate engravings published in 1810, though carrying over some of the longitude-latitude and other inaccuracies, were scientific documents, which quickly became 'master maps', that influenced significantly the cartography of the American West at least until the Civil War era.



Fig. 5. 'A Map of Mexico, Louisiana and the Missouri Territrory...' by John Robinson, Philadelphia 1810. Courtesy Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, The University of Texas at Arlington.

There were three major maps included in Pike's account, two dealing with Louisiana and one with New Spain. The two most important of these are his second Louisiana map, 'A Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana…'[20] and his New Spain Map, 'A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain.'[21] All three encompass the territory that would become the southwestern United States from the Mississippi River to the Colorado River and the Gulf of California.

The two Louisiana maps reflect the two parts of Pike's 1806–07 tour and together depict the territory between the Mississippi River and Santa Fe. Pike's first Louisiana map, 'The First Part of Captn. Pike's Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana',[22] covers the journey through the Kansas and the Osage country, and 'A Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana…' registers the territory of the Arkansas and Red rivers that was largely unknown to everyone, including the Spanish, but the Indians of the area.





Fig. 6 (left). 'The First Part of Captn. Pike's Chart of the Internal part of Lousiana ...' Philadelphia 1810.
Fig. 7 (right). Pike's 'A Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana ...' Courtesy Virginia Garrett Cartographic History

On the second map, 'compiled [from Pike's smuggled-out data] by Sergeant Antoine Nau, a French draftsman who apparently served as [General] Wilkinson's personal clerk in New Orleans,'[23] Pike traced his route up the Arkansas to the headwaters of the Rio Grande, showing his and Spanish campsites. In the white space mostly just to the south of the Arkansas River Valley, there are various comments by Pike about the environment of the itinerary. For example, along the eastern Arkansas it is noted, 'The whole of this stretch is dominated on both sides of the River by extensive prairies, not a stick of timber except a few clumps of Cotton Wood.' Just on the north side of the river is found, 'Innumerable Herds of Buffalo &ct.' And somewhat further to the west appears, 'Here the Mountains [Rockies] are first seen.' As previously mentioned, Pike's Peak is clearly illustrated, but labelled merely as 'Highest Peak.'

Almost due south of the mountain on the 'Rio de la Culebra' (Conjeos) is indicated, 'Stockade, met by Spaniards.' From the site of the capture to Santa Fe, Pike's route in Spanish captivity also is shown. The area between Pike's winter 'stockade' and Santa Fe is one of the most detailed on the map. Two routes used by the Spanish to travel east of Santa Fe along the Red River and north to the Arkansas are revealed as well.

In the lower left-hand corner, under 'Reference' is located the key to the relatively basic symbols employed on the map. Also found there are the credits to who surveyed what particular location along the journey, for example, 'The Arkansaw from C. to its mouth. by Lieut. Wilkinson, U.S. Inf'y.'

The story of the Pike tour after Santa Fe was recorded on the New Spain map. The routes from the Colorado encampment to Santa Fe and from Santa Fe via 'Passo del Norte' (El Paso) to Chihuahua as well as from Chihuahua via 'Sn Antonio,' 'Nacogdoches,' and 'Adayes' (the first Spanish capital of Texas) to Natchitoches are clearly specified. 'Adaye,' is also shown and marked by a fort to the southeast of 'Natchitoches' on 'The First Part of Captn. Pike's Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana.' Natchitoches, the oldest European town in the Louisiana Purchase, was now in American hands, and on the New Spain map the border is marked with a small American flag. But unlike on the Louisiana maps, on this map a great deal more detail about the provinces of New Spain than was experienced directly by Pike and his men is represented.



Fig. 8 (right). Pike's 'A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain', Philadelphia, 1810.
Fig. 9 (below). 'Mexico' by Alexander von Humboldt.
Courtesy Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, The University of Texas at Arlington.



As with the maps of Pike's forerunners, the first scientific cartographers on the northern frontier of New Spain, the Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers (founded in 1711), the absence of Native American information from Pike's maps is notable. Due to the peculiarities of the Native American's psychological organization of space, vagaries, and unintentional and intentional inaccuracies, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the modern military mappers of the Greater Southwest quickly came to disregard geographical data supplied by the Indians for official Spanish, Mexican, and American maps. Helpful as this information had been to the conquistadors and others earlier, simply put, the military preferred to map that which was observed directly and could be measured.

For Spain, surveying was one of the tools for building and solidifying its empire in the region, whereas for the United States, it was not only a means of imperialism, but also one for constructing a national identity.[24] The lessening of Indian contributions (information, place names, etc.) to mapping and presence on maps also was part of the processes of structuring the Euro-American empires at the time. So too was the relative sparcity of Spanish place names on Pike's maps.

What then were the other major sources for the extensive landscape portrayed but not traversed by the Pike expedition? As it turned out, the answer to this question became important to Pike and his readers soon after his published account appeared. Certainly, U.S. War Department copyist Nicholas King's 'Map of the Red River in Louisiana' (Philadelphia, 1806) and 'Map of the Washita River in Louisiana from the Hot Springs to the Confluence of the Red River with the Mississippi' (Philadelphia, 1806), recording information from the expeditions of Dr George Hunter and William Dunbar up the Ouachita River in the autumn and winter of 1804–05 and Thomas Freeman, Peter Custis, and Captain Richard Sparks partially up the Red River to present-day New Boston, Texas where they were stopped by the Spanish in the spring of 1806, undoubtedly were used.[25] But it was Alexander von Humboldt, the notable German scientist, traveller, author, and diplomat, who completed in 1809 and published as part of his Essai Politique sur le Royaume de Nouvelle Espagne (Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain) in 1810 his own map of New Spain within months of Pike, who immediately accused him of massive plagiarism.

Supported in part by the Spanish crown, in 1799–1804 von Humboldt had undertaken a major exploration of the Americas, the last year of which was spent in New Spain, researching in archives and carrying out extensive fieldwork. On his way back to Europe from New Spain, he travelled through the United States and left a detailed copy of his eventually to be published map with President Jefferson. Understandably, von Humboldt and Jefferson admired each other and had struck up a friendship. Straightforwardly, von Humboldt claimed that Pike's map was a copy of his left behind with Jefferson. But had Pike merely imitated von Humboldt?

In general appearance and content, the maps are similar. However, a map like that of Pike at this time usually would have been a mixture of cartographic duplications and unique data. Vice President Burr and Secretary of State James Madison had copies of von Humboldt's map made, and although he admitted to having a few reference materials with him and fervently denied the accusation of plagiarism, Pike had access to a copy as well. In the upper left-hand quadrant of Pike's map, the Yellowstone River wrongly appears and probably was really the North Platte River. When questioned about this mistake, Pike stated that it was based on conjecture and von Humboldt, who also had got it wrong. Pike also may have seen an early map of Clark's sent to Washington through St Louis in 1805.

Based on an awareness of the Spaniard Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco's exploration and 1779 maps of New Mexico, General Wilkinson knew correctly that and where the Red River branched off of the Arkansas River. According to his own published map, von Humboldt did not. Especially if he were spying for the United States or Wilkinson and Burr, Pike would have known this information too. Then why is it not on his maps either? Was the von Humboldt error merely perpetuated? But by whom? The sources of the Rio Grande, Arkansas, Red, and Yellowstone were still misunderstood after Pike's exploration and cartography.

Pike was not present in Philadelphia during the final preparation of his book and maps. In fact, once he sent the final versions off to his publisher he did not see them again until they came out in print. His pub-

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lisher unbeknownst to Pike at least could have committed some of the errors and plagiarism, if that is what it was.

Pike too is more correct on Texas and especially its rivers than is von Humboldt. This doubtless is due to the incorporation of his direct observations and the material gleaned from Walker's maps. But von Humboldt is better on the Texas coast because he used Spanish archival materials from Mexico City and perhaps even Seville. Pike on the other hand used Thomas Jeffreys' badly dated map of 'The Western Coast of Louisiana and New Leon' (London, 1775). Both Jeffreys and Pike misappoint the headwaters of the Canadian River to the Red River.

The plagiarism question has persisted unanswered satisfactorily since 1810. The simple solution would be to compare the von Humboldt manuscript map of 1804 with Pike's published map of 1810. But sadly, the Jefferson, Burr, and Madison copies of von Humboldt's map have all been lost

Despite the controversies surrounding them, Zebulon Montgomery Pike's contributions to the history of North American discovery, exploration, and cartography are noteworthy. Along with Lewis and Clark, Pike carried out the initial investigation and mapping of the Louisiana Purchase and in so doing added substantially to the geographic knowledge of the American West, above all of Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Pike's cartography helped to fill in the white space on the map of the expanding American frontier. And successive American military explorers, including Stephen H. Long, William H. Emory, and John C. Frémont, in their tours of discovery of the West, followed Pike's trails and maps (and also von Humboldt's map) for more than a quarter of a century. In his multivolume Mapping of the Transmississippi West, the historian of cartography Carl I. Wheat perhaps summarizes Pike's achievements succinctly:

> Pike offered the American people a new and fascinating picture of the great Southwest across which the Santa Fe Trail would run for many years as well as important parts of the central mountain region still dominated by the great peak that bears the young Lieutenant's name.[26]

Pike brought back much more pertinent information on the Spanish territory and activity adjacent to the Louisiana Purchase — which was of increasing importance to the expanding United States — than did Lewis and Clark.

NOTES

1 .The work for this presentation was originally begun as part of a Louisiana Purchase commemorative book venture to be underwritten by the late Stanley Marcus of Dallas, Texas. Sadly, Mr. Marcus passed away before the project could be brought to a successful conclusion. In friendship, I dedicate this presentation to him.

2 See: John L. Allen, 'Thomas Jefferson and the Mountain of Salt: A Presidential Image of the Louisiana Territory,' *Historical Geography* 31 (2003), 7–20.

3. Dan L. Flores (ed.), *The Southern Counterpart to Lewis and Clark: The Freeman and Custis Expedition of 1806* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002 [1994]), 24.

4. For an excellent edition of Pike material, see: *Zebulon Montgomery Pike, The Journals of Zebulon Pike with Letters and Related Documents*, ed. by Donald Jackson, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966 [1810]).

5. Ibid., I, 36–37, 68-69, and 196–97.

6. Ibid., II, 275–92.

7. Quoted in Flores, xv.

8. Ibid., 9–24.

9. Ibid., 39–45.

10. Ibid., 99–279.

11. Pike, I, xxiii-xxvi.

12. See: John C. Jackson, 'The Error of the Southwest: The Myth of the Fountain of Waters and the Accidental Completion of President Jefferson's Continental Portage,' paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Society for the History of Discoveries in Cody, WY on 9–11 September 2004.

13. James P. Ronda, 'Exploring the American West in the Age of Jefferson,' in *North American Exploration, Vol. III, A Continent Comprehended*, ed. by John Logan Allen (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 43.

14. Pike, I, 388–89.

15. For example, see: Stuart Bryan, 'Pike's "Peek": To Spy or Not to Spy—Was Zebulon Pike Lost on the Rio Grande in 1807?,' paper presented at the 44th Annual Meeting of the Society for the History of Discoveries in New Orleans, LA on 23–26 October 2003.

16. José Montero de Pedro, Marqués de Casa Mena, *The Spanish in New Orleans and Louisiana*. (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2000), 81–93.

17. See: Elizabeth A.H. John, 'The Riddle of Mapmaker Juan Pedro Walker,' in *Essays on the History of North American Discovery and Exploration*, ed. by Stanley H. Palmer and Dennis Reinhartz (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988), 102–32.

18. Ronda, 44.

19. James C. Martin and Robert Sydney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513–1900* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1999 [1984]), 51 and 116–17.

20. Pike, I, 388–89.

21. Ibid., II, 178–79.

22. Ibid., I, 325-324.

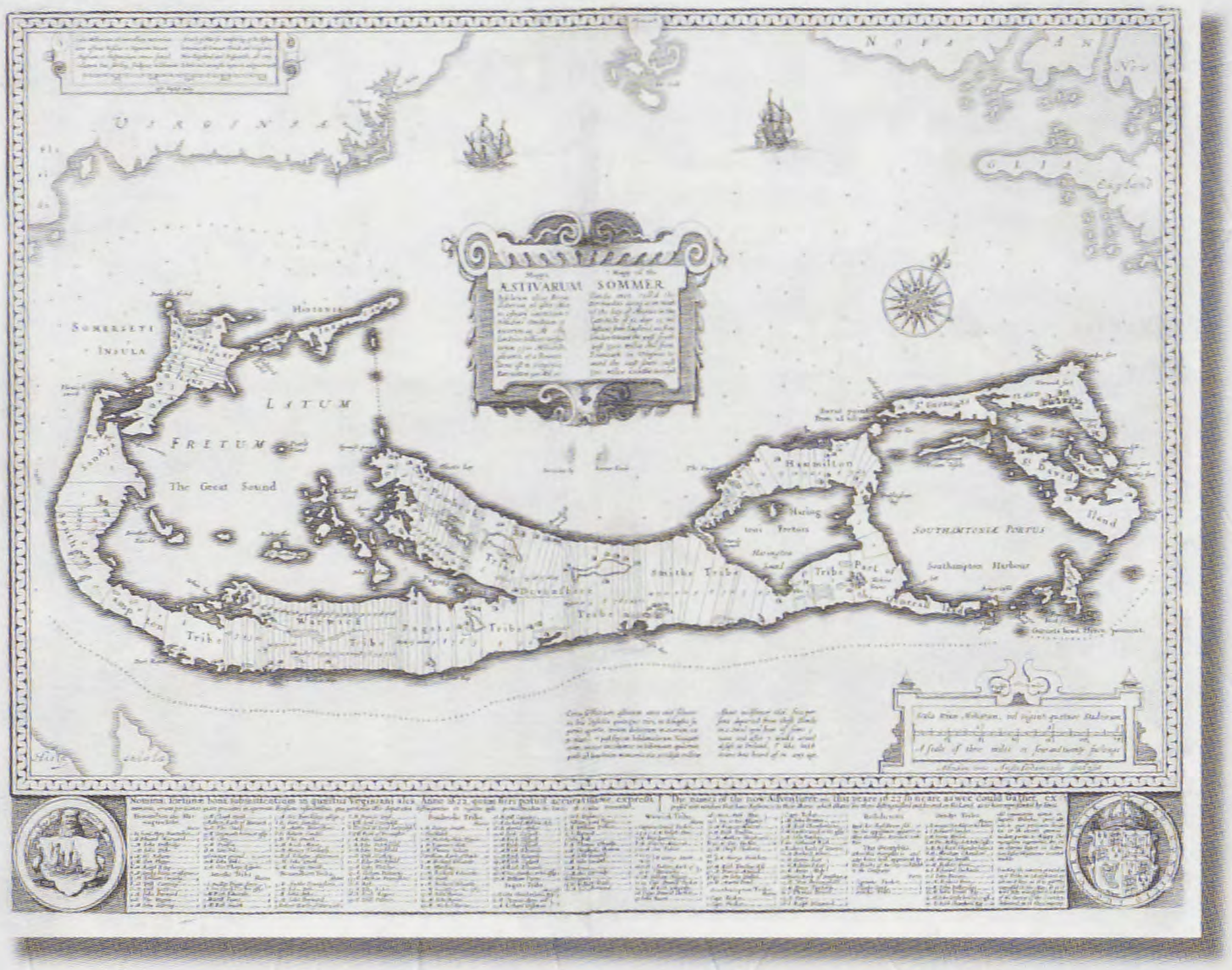
23. Ralph E. Ehrenberg, 'U.S. Army Mapping of the American Southwest during the Nineteenth Century,' in *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*, eds. Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 82.

24. See: Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

25. Ehrenberg, 81–82.

26. Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping of the Transmississippi West 1540-1861. Volume Two. From Lewis and Clark to Frémont 1804-1845* (San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958), 27.

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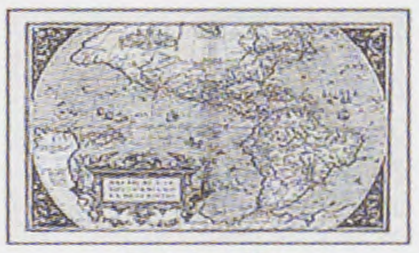
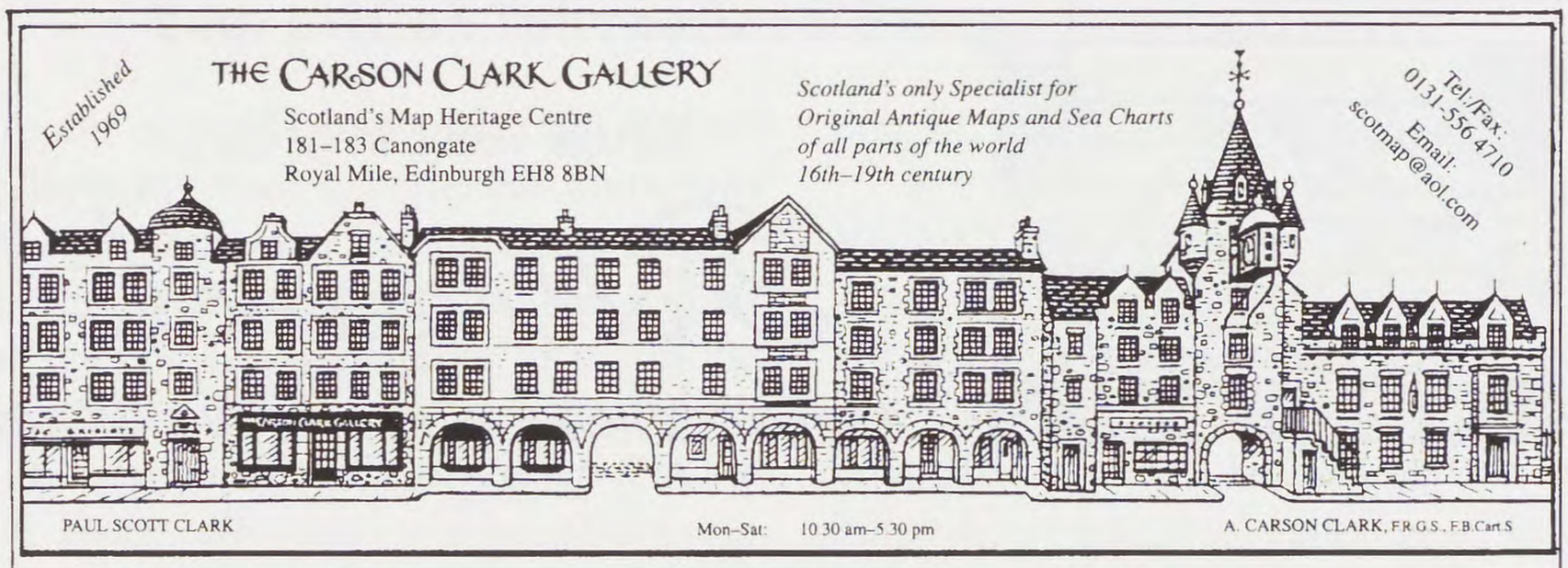


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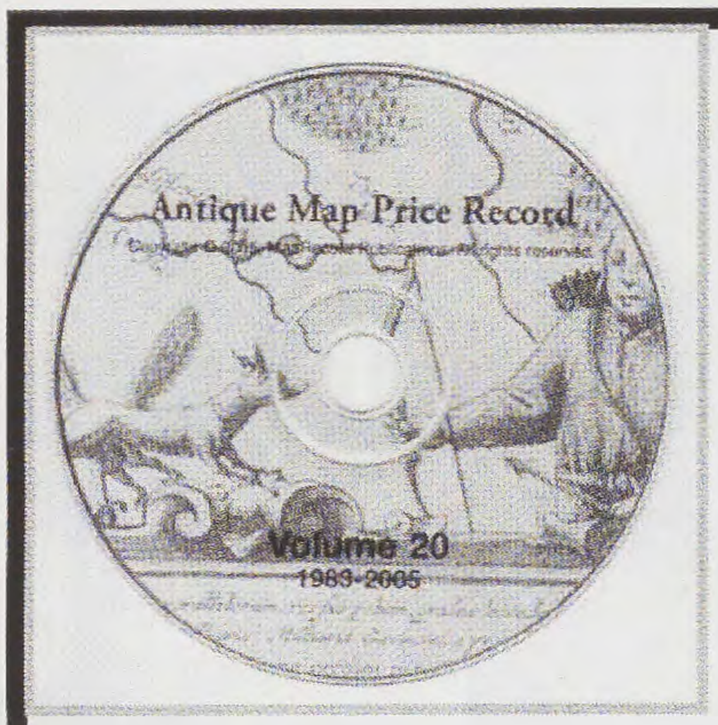
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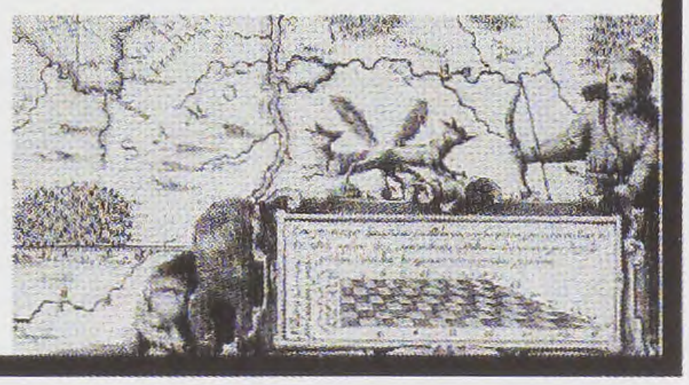
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24th IMCoS International Symposium in Denver

Although this report of the 24th International IMCoS Symposium reflects my own experiences and opinions, I believe that all participants would agree that the organization, programme, and hospitality set a standard for future symposia. My remarks focus on the parts of the programme other than the formal presentations, as most of those papers will be reprinted in the *IMCoS Journal*. These reflections will hopefully create a flavour of what non-attendees missed and serve as a pleasant reminder to the participants of good times shared with fellow map enthusiasts and friends.

For forty IMCoS members and spouses, the first event took place on Sunday before the official Symposium opening. The optional full-day trip to Rocky Mountain National Park departed at 8:00 am and returned at 5:00 pm. In the company of our outstanding guide, Jeff Bennett, and excellent driver, Glenn Blazer, the time passed too quickly.

The weather was fantastic — bright sun, blue skies, and comfortable temperatures. We were told that Denver enjoys 300 days a year of sun, a statistic that was repeated by proud Denverites regularly over the following days.

After about an hour and half of driving, we stopped at the Fall River Visitor Centre. At 8240 feet altitude (2511 meters), we had already climbed almost 3000 feet from Denver, the 'Mile-High' city (5280 feet). Jeff suggested that we purchase bottled water to help with the altitude (the water is supposed to carry more oxygen in the blood) and the low humidity. Eric Wolf bought, appropriately enough, a mock-wolf hat.

We continued on Trail Ridge Road to the Alpine Visitor Centre, altitude 11,796 feet (3595 meters). Along the way, while enjoying the marvellous scenery, we learned about geology, botany, weather zones, and history from Jeff. Just after leaving the Park boundary, we saw a bull elk and his harem of close to 30 cows. It was the beginning of the rutting season, and this male was getting an early start.

We stopped for lunch outside Estes Park at a restaurant called Fusion 451. (We tried to figure out the significance of the '451'; the answer: there was none, it was just the number in the street address.) We had pre-ordered, and the food was very decent for a group meal (well, that really doesn't apply to the dessert!).

An after-lunch stroll in Estes Park gave us a chance to stretch our legs before the journey back to Denver. We drove through Nederland (no relation to the country of a similar name) and began a 3000-foot



An unusual opening to an IMCoS Symposium: four actors dressed as inhabitants of a past era recount their experiences during the penetration into the Western Interior.



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descent following Boulder Creek to Boulder. Along the way, we saw several groups of rock climbers.

From the outskirts of Denver, Jeff pointed out Pike's Peak through the haze in the distance. And it was a substantial distance — at least 80 miles. Glenn got us back at 5:00 pm, in time to catch our breath before the IMCoS Reception and Official Opening.

The venue for both was the Denver Public Library (DPL), one of the hosts of the Symposium. The reception was held on the seventh floor, and from the terrace we could look down on hundreds if not thousands of people in the surrounding park who were celebrating Mexican Independence Day.

The opening meeting was held in the large basement room that the Denver Map Fair had occupied on Friday and Saturday. Jim Kroll, the Manager of the Western History and Genealogy Department, welcomed us on behalf of the DPL and invited us to visit the Library's map holdings. He thanked and complimented Wes Brown for his efforts spanning several years that were instrumental in bringing the IMCoS Symposium to Denver and that were so important to its being a success.

John Hébert, the Chief of the Geography and Map (G & M) Division of the Library of Congress, spoke next. John recognized Wes's contribution. He also thanked the Philip Lee Phillips Society (the de facto 'Friends of the G & M Division' support group) for its role as a host of the IMCoS Symposium (and of Tuesday's reception). John extended an invitation to come and see — and use — the Library of Congress and its extraordinary collections.

Roger Baskes, the President of IMCoS and a very early member and chair of the Phillips Society, began his remarks on a sad note. He had been notified of the recent death of Gimpel Wajntraub, the husband of Eva, who is the IMCoS representative for Israel. Following the Jewish tradition of celebrating life — even in the face of death — Roger noted that Gimpel, an obstetrician by profession, had delivered over 20,000 babies in his long career. Roger also touched briefly on the responsibility of collectors in the context of the recent serious and well-publicized map thefts from major institutions.

The new chairman of IMCoS, Hans Kok, next took the podium. He complimented 'Denver' and praised the symposium program. Hans noted that 36 countries are represented among the members of the Society. He concluded by officially declaring the 24th International Symposium open.

Fittingly, the first speaker of the Symposium was Wes Brown. He explained the development and structure of the three-day program. The organizing group had determined the topics, and then sought the best speakers for them. Each morning session would consist of three talks, two primarily cartographic and one more general or historical.

Wes noted that the Symposium embodied a great deal of work from many people, especially members of the Rocky Mountain Map Society. Their enthusiasm derived from their desire to reciprocate for the corresponding effort that has gone into the arranging and hosting of previous IMCoS symposia. They also wanted to welcome us to Denver, their home in which they take great and, based on our exposure to some of its attractions, deserved pride.

The finale of the evening's program was the surprise visit of four visitors from the past. An Indian (please note, we learned in one of the subsequent museum tours that this designation is preferred to Native American by those who are the subject of the appellation), a Spanish cartographer, an American explorer, and an American frontierswoman provided some background and historical context for the Symposium talks and tours on the following three days. Each spoke for 10–15 minutes about his or her personal relationship to Denver and its surrounding area.

Touch the Clouds, a Lakota Sioux, reminisced about a different, better time before the Spanish and the Americans came into their lives and territories. They lived in harmony with nature and for the most part also with other peoples (tribes).

Don Miera y Pacheco, the cartographer of the Dominguez Escalate expedition (mid-1776 to January 1777) brushed off contemporary accusations of arrogance while repeatedly reminding us of his noble background. Don Miera, noting his superior cartographic achievements, acclaimed his own exploratory achievements, in part by belittling those of Lewis and Clark.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike spoke to us from Santa Fe, where he was taken prisoner by the Spanish in 1807, having accidentally strayed into their territory while tracking the southern border of the United States along the Red River. He stressed his commitment and responsibility to serve his country and expressed his



At the opening session in Denver Public Library.

disdain for both the 'savages' and the Spaniards. In a bit of an anachronism or dramatic license, he handed over a notebook he had secretly kept to Jeremy Pool for delivery back to the US authorities.

The final visitor was Julia Archibald from Boston. She married John Holmes, and they homesteaded to Leavenworth, Kansas. Seeking gold, they later travelled west to Pike's Peak territory. In July 1858, this feisty, 'liberated' frontierswoman reached the summit of the eponymous landmark.

The morning programs and afternoon tours began on Monday, 19 September. Although my emphasis will be on the extra-curricular afternoon and evening events, let me start with some general thoughts about the programme.

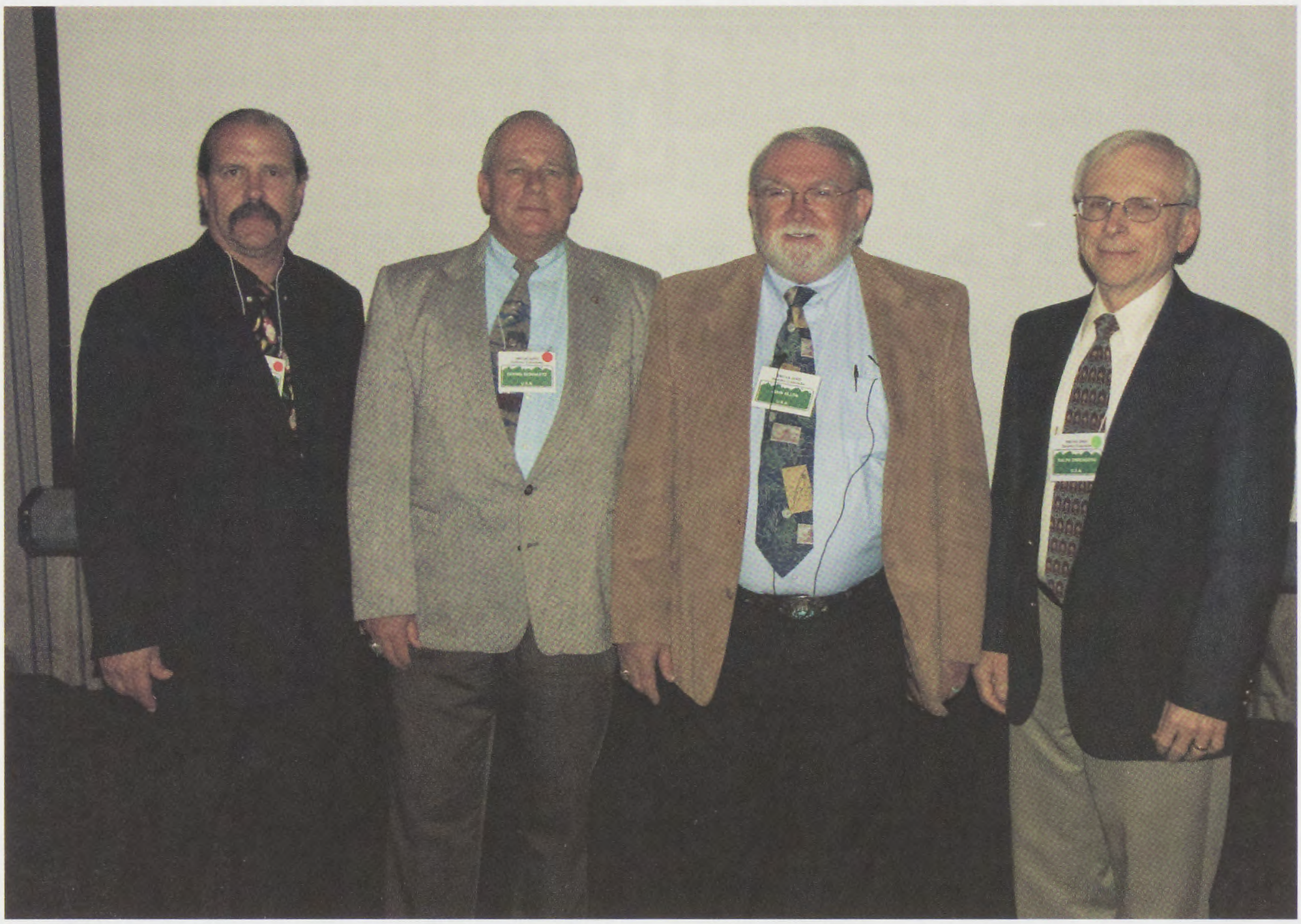
All of the presenters did an excellent job in terms of preparation, including having a wealth of visual material to enhance and explain their talks. This was critical for, as Wes Brown had noted the previous evening, the organizers knew that most of the attendees would have limited knowledge and interest in the central and southwestern United States. By making their lectures appealing and informative, the presenters kept our interest as they broadened our knowledge. The style of the presentations themselves ranged from better than merely pedestrian to superb. An opinion freely offered to anyone who is involved in similar organizing activities is to recommend computer-driven images rather than 35 mm slides.

Dr Tammy Stone's talk on 'Indigenous Peoples and the Landscape of the Intermountain West' traced human developments in the region from pre-history to around the 1700s. She explained how much of that history could be explained by the basic struggle for survival (e.g. the location of water, plants, animals, and raw materials for tools) and the constraints imposed by geology (and its resultant topography). In response to a question from Ron Grim, Dr Stone informed us that the only cartographic representations among the Fremont rock art depict animal movements, but that there were some astrological images and sky mapping in the southwest.

Dr Louis DeVorsey, in 'The Role of Native American Maps in the Discovery and Exploration of North America,' presented evidence of the influence of Native American geographic and cartographical intelli-



Speakers on the first day (from the left): John Hébert, Louis De Vorsey, Tammy Stone and the session leader, Paul Mathias.

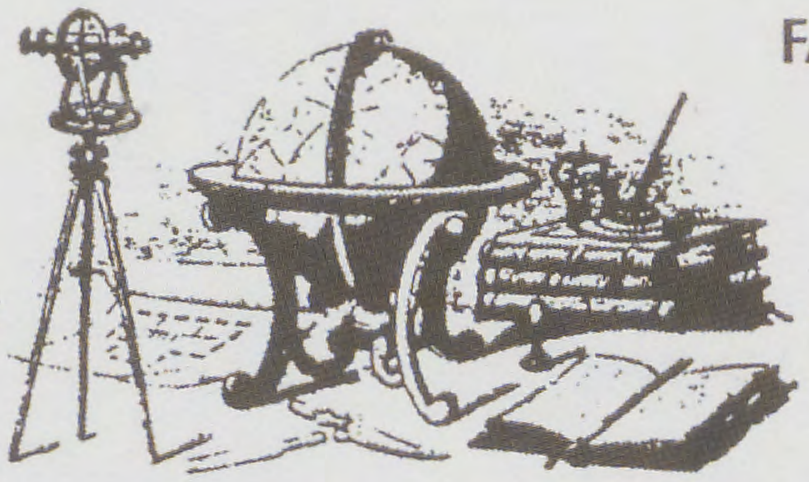


Speakers on the second day (from the left): Session leader Myron West, Dennis Reinhartz, John Allen, and Ralph Ehrenberg.

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gence (and techniques) in the maps and mappings of the European and American explorers. He quoted from several contemporary accounts wherein the journalist recounted receiving such information from Indian sources. Dr DeVorsey used images of actual maps to show how the different spatial concepts of the Indians reveal themselves in maps prepared by the explorers, one example being the unnatural depiction of river systems as anastomose rather than dendritic.

In the final paper of the first morning, Dr John Hébert gave a thorough review — verbally and visually — of 'Spanish Exploration of the Southwest.' He noted that there were two flows of travellers. One, originating in Cuba, was active in the area between the Atlantic Coast and the Sabine River. The second journeyed north from New Spain (i.e. Mexico). According to Dr Hébert, these were generally separate paths of discovery, and only de Soto (or his people) were active in both of them.

Buses took us to the Denver Museum of Nature and Science, where we ate our box lunches while listening to singer/song writer/flute player Calvin Standing Bear. His songs and soothing, meditative music were rooted in American Indian traditions. Within the museum, we could choose among three guided tours (Prehistoric Journey, Gems and Minerals, and North American Indian Culture), an IMAX film about the Lewis and Clark expedition, or independent viewing. Regardless of one's choices, the excellence of the museum and the expertise of its staff impressed all of us.

Dinner that evening comprised the first of several special treats. Wes and Linda Brown welcomed the non-US visitors to dinner at their home, while Don and Diana McGuirk hosted some of the participants from America. At the latter, a buffet offered tasty chicken, pork, and beef BBQ with all the trimmings. Afterwards, and this was the 'price' of the dinner according to Diana, Don presented a slide show on the 'Mer de l'Ouest.' We all happily paid the price. This is Don's collecting specialty, and he revealed to us a little known or studied aspect of maps of America. As frosting on the cake, Don had several pieces from his own collection on display.

Tuesday morning opened with Dr Dennis Reinhartz's talk on the 'Expedition of Zebulon Pike.' Dr Reinhartz noted that although Pike was well known in the 19th century and died a hero in the War of 1812, today his accomplishments have been overshadowed by those of Lewis and Clark. Part of the reason might be the controversies surrounding Pike, both with respect to his life (was he a spy?) and his maps (was he a plagiarist?). The 'Highest Peak' indicated on his map of 1810 is the one now known by his name, and the image was reproduced on the cover of the Symposium program and on the souvenir tote bag.

Dr John Allen's lecture on 'Mountain Men and Mountain Mystery' was subtitled 'Core Drainage: A Persistent Myth in the Exploration of Western North America.' Because of my own ignorance of the topic, a few introductory slides like those shown by Wes Brown the following day would have been immensely helpful. Nonetheless, Dr Allen conveyed the importance of the idea as a driver for so much of the exploration of the area.

In his paper on 'Expeditions of John Charles Frémont,' Ralph Ehrenberg reviewed the fascinating and active life of this explorer who, among other accomplishments, named San Francisco's Golden Gate (in analogy to the entrance to Constantinople). Mr. Ehrenberg made excellent use of images, many of which came from the U.S. National Archives, where he had earlier served as director of the Cartographic Archives Division. Perhaps this source of material deserves greater attention from researchers more accustomed to seeking cartographic material housed in libraries.

The afternoon program introduced three more of Denver's impressive cultural offerings. We toured the Colorado Historical Museum, map exhibitions at the Denver Public Library, and the extensive holdings of American Indian Art at the Denver Art Museum. At the Historical Museum, strategically located docents told us about the various exhibits.

At the DPL, Phil Panum, Curator, guided us through the exhibition of the 'Mapping of the West.' He was assisted by Jim Walker and Wes Brown. Curator Nancy Blomberg informed us that the Art Museum has about 20,000 objects of Indian art (representing about half the total objects in the Museum), only 700 of which are on display at any one time.

The second special treat was Tuesday evening's reception, hosted by the Philip Lee Phillips Society in the historical Navarre Building. The building serves as the private museum for the outstanding collection of Western American art assembled and owned by Philip Anschutz. The Phillips Society deserves special thanks



Speakers on the third day (from the left):Session leader Don McGuirk, Wesley Brown, Stephen Leonard, and Richard Quartaroli.

and appreciation, as the collection is not open to the public, and even private viewing is strictly limited. Since the event also served as the Annual Meeting of the Phillips Society, I, as co-chair of the Steering Committee, and John Hébert, Chief of the G & M Division, gave brief remarks concerning the role and activities of the Society. Darlene Dueck, Curator of the Anschutz collection, told us about the collection and pointed out some highlights before setting us off wandering among the three floors of art that covered virtually all of the available walls.

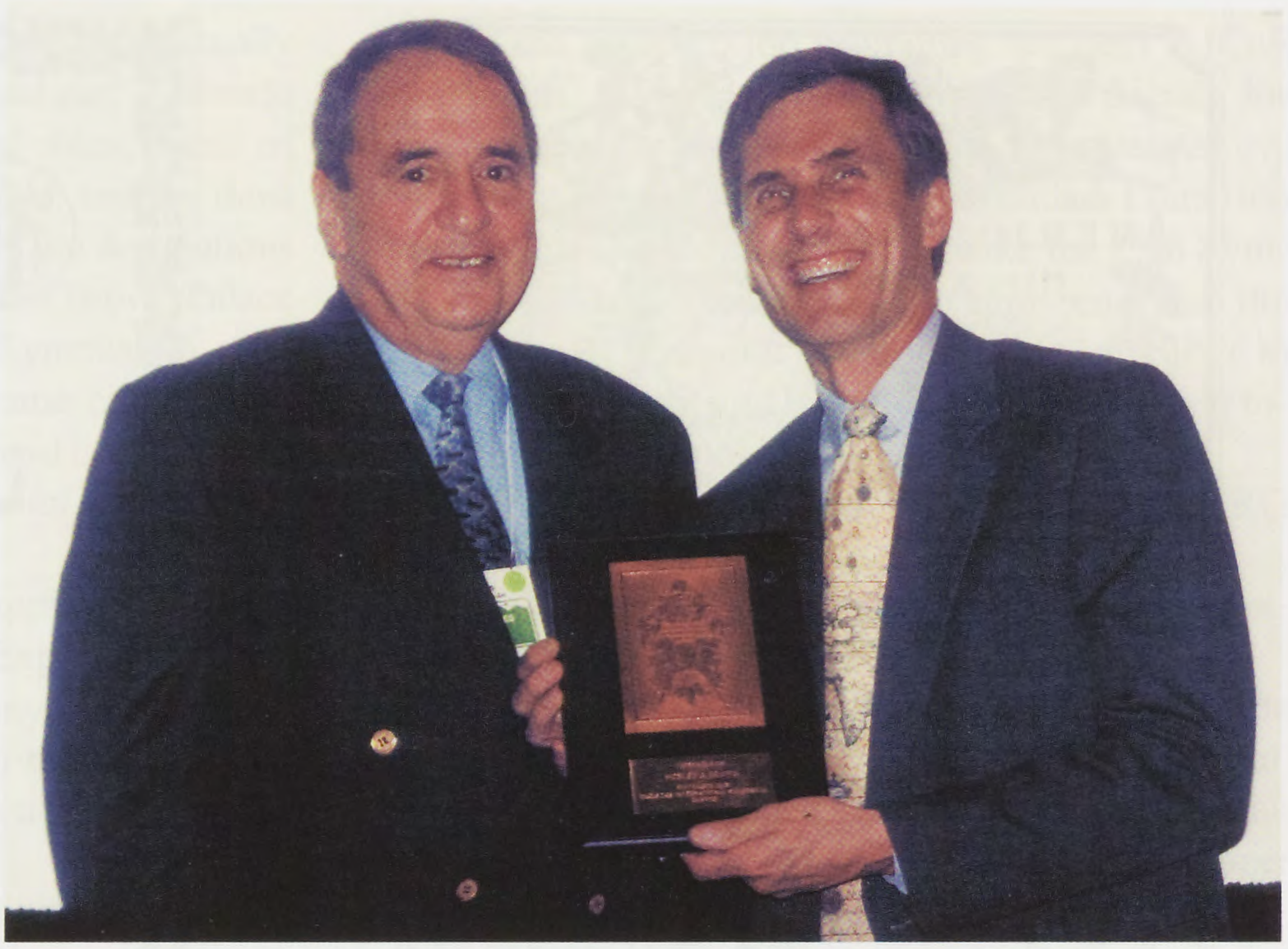
Wes Brown opened the final morning of papers with a discussion of 'Mapping the 1859 Colorado Gold Rush.' The period in question only lasted about one and a half years, and the corresponding cartographic output is now exceedingly rare. A large holding is on the order of 10–12 pieces. As an example of their present-day scarcity, Wes told of an 'Emigrant's Guide' costing 10¢ per 100 copies when issued, obviously to be used as a freebie hand-out, that was sold at Christies this past summer for $84,000! These publications were short on hard information and long on imagination and marketing hype. They were prepared for strictly commercial purposes — the objective was not to help you find the way to the mines, but to get you to the towns and stores selling the supplies you would need.

Dr Stephen J. Leonard gave one of the more entertaining lectures on 'Early Days in Denver.' He traced the city's history from its geologic formation to the early



At the breakfast session, Robert Clancy explains what it's all about.

Right: Roger Baskes presents the plaque to Wes Brown, in recognition of his organisation of an excellent symposium. In reply, Wes thanked all his team who had put in so much effort over several years to make the meeting a success.The plaque is a copper plate engraving of the IMCoS bookmark, but not in reverse as a map plate would be. They were made in Bombay some years ago, and each year one is mounted and presented to the organiser of the International symposium.



Below: Hans Kok thanks Phil Panum of the Denver Public Library for his assistance in guiding us around the collections, and the displays of maps put up for our enjoyment..





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dig at Texas, he pointed out that Colorado is actually bigger than Texas — it just isn't ironed out! Colorado has more than 50,000 archaeological sites, most of which are in the western part of the state, and the most famous of which is Mesa Verde (one of the destinations of the optional post-Symposium trip). The Brown Palace Hotel, one of the official hotels for the Symposium, used what was then an innovative steel-frame construction when it was built in the 1890s. Dr Leonard is a co-author of *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, which was just released in its fourth edition.

The final presentation was 'Mapping the Great Unknown: John Wesley Powell's Explorations and Cartography of the Greater Grand Canyon Region' by Richard Quartaroli. He quoted from numerous contemporary journals as he traced his own research in the history of Powell's explorations.

The afternoon program was a short trip west of Denver past Georgetown to Silver Plume, where we boarded the steam-powered narrow gauge Georgetown Loop Railroad for a short ride to the site of the Lebanon Silver Mine. A fascinating walk of a couple of hundred yards into the third level of this former mine brought to life the courage, stamina, and miserable working conditions of those who laboured ten hours a day to extract the precious mineral.

We returned to our hotels in time to freshen up before the IMCoS Symposium Gala Closing Banquet. The menu featured regional specialties — Clearwater Creek trout and High Plains buffalo. Wes Brown, the first speaker, thanked his colleagues for their tremendous work in arranging the Symposium and all of us for participating. He encouraged us to attend the next symposium in Guatemala, noting from his own experience the special spirit of such meetings held in smaller countries. Hans Kok added remarks as Chairman of IMCoS, and then its President, Roger Baskes, awarded an IMCoS plaque to Wes Brown in appreciation for his role as the main person responsible for the wonderful days we had just enjoyed.

Jens Bornholt, the IMCoS representative for Guatemala, gave a witty and persuasive slide show about the attractions of his country and the events planned for the 25th Annual IMCoS Symposium scheduled for February 5–7, 2007, in Guatemala City. Erika Bornholt played a starring role in Jens's presentation, rising on several occasions so that we could all see her beautiful textile jacket that is a trademark handicraft of Guatemala.

Jens did a superb job promoting the next IMCoS Symposium. He complimented Wes and friends for raising the bar for IMCoS symposia; Jens assured everyone that he and the host Universidad Francisco Marroquín would do their best to make the 25th Symposium equally successful. The evening ended as the participants went around the room saying good-bye to old and new friends, and looking forward to getting together again in 18 months in Guatemala.

BILL GINSBERG

Mountains, mountains everywhere...IMCoS post-symposium tour 18–21 September 2005.

It was difficult for someone from England to imagine there could be so many diverse mountain ranges — glacial, volcanic, sandstone, granite, name it and they have it — all contained in the one state of Colorado. Round every corner there was a new range of some kind and it set us all thinking about the daunting challenge crossing these mountains must have presented to immigrants from European countries when they first set foot in the area.

The mountains are as diverse as the countries we came from: England, Germany, Japan, The Netherlands, Guatamala and the USA, but all with a common interest and love of early maps. We set out from Denver after the very successful symposium in a luxury coach with an expert guide and an expert lady driver named Sherri (no prize for guessing the jokes about the alcoholic *sherry* from our photographer, David Webb). The chairman of the organising committee of the symposium, Wesley Brown and his wife Linda, came with us and even they were introduced to some new mountain ranges although Wesley is an experienced mountain climber and has scaled most of the peaks in the Denver region. They were particularly surprised by the Black Canyon of the Gunnison which I thought was just as awe-inspiring as the Grand Canyon. This area has been only recently designated a national park so is not particularly well known.

Mesa Verde National Park was one of the highlights of the tour and took us back over 1,000 years, long before any European had set foot in the area, to a time when primitive peoples lived in homes built out of stone in the sheltered alcoves of the canyon walls. Archaeologists have called these people the Anasazi or Puebloans, and have been able to piece together quite a lot about their culture and lives from the items excavated at the site.

Another highlight was a reception and exhibition given to us in the town of Durango by an IMCoS member, Dirk de Pagter. He lives two hours' drive away in Telluride and is in friendly competition with Wesley Brown for early maps of Colorado.

It was in Durango where we climbed aboard a real Wild West steam train which was to take us to the mining town of Silverton. Several IMCoS members who were standing on the platform had their silver hair turned jet black by soot (aficionados of steam trains take note). This railroad is a living, steam-breathing, reminder of the incredible strength and determination it took to build the American west. The route is part of the old Denver & Rio Grande founded in 1870 to connect Denver and Mexico by rail. At some points the train goes through canyons and passes of the San Juan mountains which are so narrow that passengers could touch the rocks.

The first hopeful gold and silver miners arrived in the Silverton area in 1874 earning the town the title 'Queen of the Silver Land'. Some made vast fortunes but many found the conditions in winter and in the mines very harsh and died of lung diseases. As the train eases to a stop in the town centre you feel as if you have arrived in an earlier era. The wide dusty streets, the saloons and the colourfully painted timber-frame store fronts make it a truly western town. The notorious red-light district is just as it was with the lights beckoning from the Shady Lady Saloon and the House of Horizontal Pleasure.

The four-day tour covering more than 700 miles gave us all a wonderful overview of the area and much laughter and companionship on the way. Now we are looking forward to the next post-symposium tour at Guatemala in February 2007.

VALERIE G. NEWBY



Relaxing among the mountains! Participants enjoy the scenery during the post-symposium tour.

Letter to the Editor

I read with interest Gimpel and Eva Waintraub's article on Jacob Ziegler (Issue 100, pp. 49–54).

In their excellent article they mention that 'Ziegler, an enlightened man from a dark period', who had been 'a constant traveller', accepted a teaching position at the University of Vienna 'after a lengthy stay in Hungary' — without elaborating on the purpose of his visit to that country. In fact Ziegler was engaged on no lesser work than the survey and mapping of Hungary with Lazarus Secretarius, then in the service of Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom.

We know that in 1512 Lazarus had been a student at Vienna university and a pupil of Tanstetter and indeed it was here that he came under the enlightened influence of the Vienna School and its top scholars. It was here, in Vienna too, that he became acquainted with Ziegler and the two soon embarked upon the monumental task of mapping the Kingdom of Hungary. The time of their survey coincided with Dózsa's rebellion (1514), the fact which Ziegler mentions in his letter to Georgius Tanstetter, professor at the University of Vienna, writing that they were working at a time when peasants and herdsmen were rioting ('*coloni et pastores tumultuabantur*'). The fruit of their labour and collaboration was one of the most detailed maps of Hungary not surpassed until more modern cartography succeeded it in the 18th century. Until then, very few settlements were shown on maps of the area, varying between a few and at most a few hundred, whereas on Lazarus's map it's over 1,300! The hydrography of the map too is incredibly close to that of modern surveys. Their map, however, was not published until 1528 — two years after the Battle of Mohács, in which Sultan Suleiman's vast army defeated and annihilated King Loius II's Hungarian defending forces. The very survival of the manuscripts is a mystery, as Lazarus himself was dead by the publication of the map (we certainly do not see him mentioned anywhere after Mohács) and it is a matter of conjecture just how it reached Vienna. It is suggested that is was Johannes Cuspinianus, the noted historian and geographer, who between 1510 and 1526 on a number of occasions travelled on diplomatic missions to Hungary, took them to Vienna, or was it Ziegler who saved the fruit of their labour and toil from destruction?

The map, according to its cartouche, had been revised and enlarged by Georgius Collimitius Tanstetter (Lazarus's former professor) and was published by Johannes Cuspinianus, dean and rector of Vienna university (the Court envoy), who succeeded Conrad Celtes at the Sodalitas Literaria Danubiana. The printing was undertaken by Petrus Apianus of Ingolstadt (another 'Ziegler connection'?) and, indeed, it could have been one of the first maps printed on the Apian-press, which was established only a year earlier in 1527.

It is worth noting that Lazarus's (and indeed Ziegler's) map of Hungary had preceded Olaus Magnus's map of Scandinavia by more than a decade and Lily's map of England by nearly two decades. The map survived only in a single example and was only discovered at the end of the 19th century. It was purchased by the well-known art collector Count Apponyi and later donated to the nation. Today it is kept at the National Széchényi Library, in the former royal palace of Buda.

LÁSZLÓ GRÓF
Oxford



'The Tabula Hungariae . . .', Ingolstadt, 1528.

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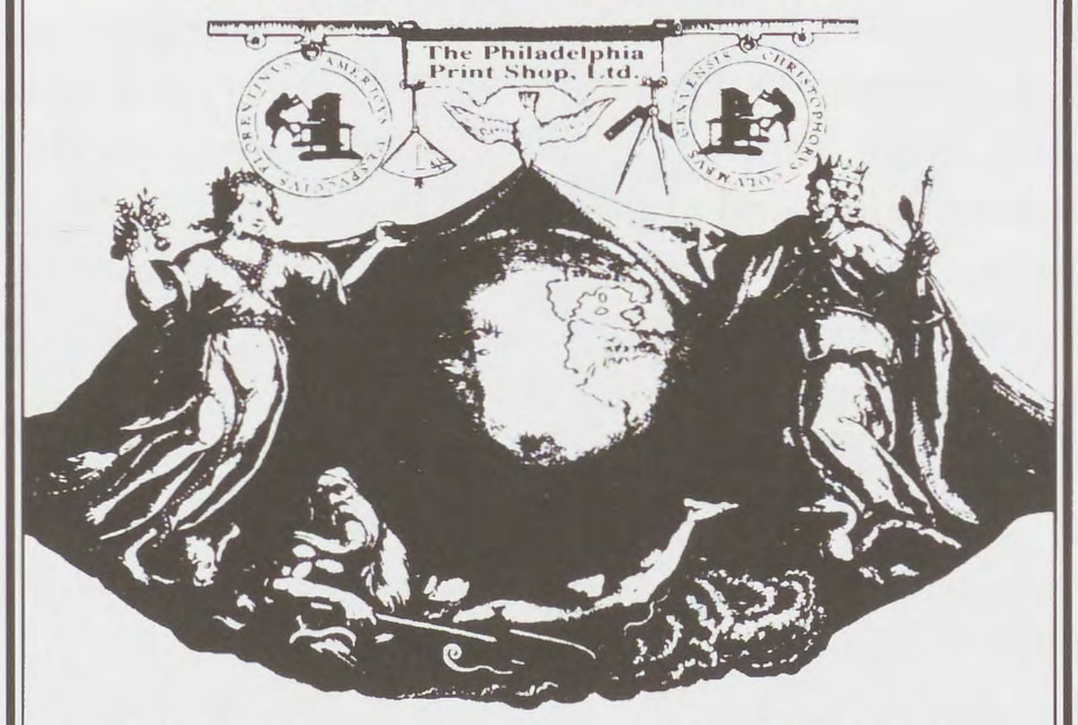
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International News & Events

2006/7 25th International Symposium
5–7 February 2007, Guatemala
with optional tours 8–11 Feb
Symposium Organisers: Jens & Erica Bornholt
Contact: borncafe@terra.com.gt
P.O. Box 1376, Guatemala City

2007 26th International Symposium
Russia: Moscow, with optional tour to
St Petersburg. Likely date: late September

2008 27th International Symposium
New Zealand

2009 28th International Symposium
Norway: Oslo and Tromsø

Guatemala February 2007

The decision by Jens and Erica to change from our usual season for the International Symposium to the following spring has been fully justified by the appalling news of the landslides there recently. By spring the weather should be much better and a good time will surely be enjoyed by the many members who expressed their intention to participate when we were in Denver. This was partly as a result of the very enthusiastic invitation given to us all by Jens during the Dinner on the final evening. He had brought along an illustrated presentation so that we could all whet our appetites by looking at the beautiful scenery, the comfortable hotels, and the very rich cultural heritage to be found there. For a recent account after the damage caused by Hurrican Stan, look at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/artsandliving/travel/?nav=toc

Dublin March 2006

Valerie Newby has prepared an exciting weekend next March in Dublin. The registration form has now gone out to members with this issue of the Journal. Numbers are limited, so an early response is recommended.

Programme

Friday 24 March 2.00 pm. Visit to National Library of Ireland to see a full range of maps of Ireland including manuscript estate maps, 16th century regional maps, battle plans, etc.

6.00 pm. Reception in the Long Room of the Old Library, Trinity College with viewing of 'Hibernia Depicta: an exhibition of printed maps of Ireland to 1700', presented by Map Librarian Paul Ferguson.

Saturday 25th March 9.45–12.15. Visit to The Glucksman Map Library, Trinity College Library, to view a display of printed maps of Ireland. Also an opportunity to see the famous Book of Kells, an illuminate medieval manuscript.

London Collectors' Evening

This annual event will be held on Monday 27 February 2006 at The Farmers' Club, 3 Whitehall Court, Westminster, London SW1A 2EL, 6.00–8.30 pm. Refreshments will be served, and a small charge made at the entrance. It will once more be chaired by Rodney Shirley. Contact Caroline Batchelor on 01372 731 208 if you wish to attend.

This is an ideal time to bring along a friend or relation and introduce them to the joys of early maps, and the friends they will make by joining IMCoS. Members bring along something they have acquired recently, something that particularly interests them, something they seek information on, and discuss it for a few mintues in turn.

June in London

Caroline Batchelor is preparing an afternoon at the Royal Geographic Society on Friday 9 June 2006. This will be followed by the AGM, also to be held there. The IMCoS Dinner will again take place at the East India Club, that evening. The map fair will take place as usual at Olympia on 9 and 10 June.

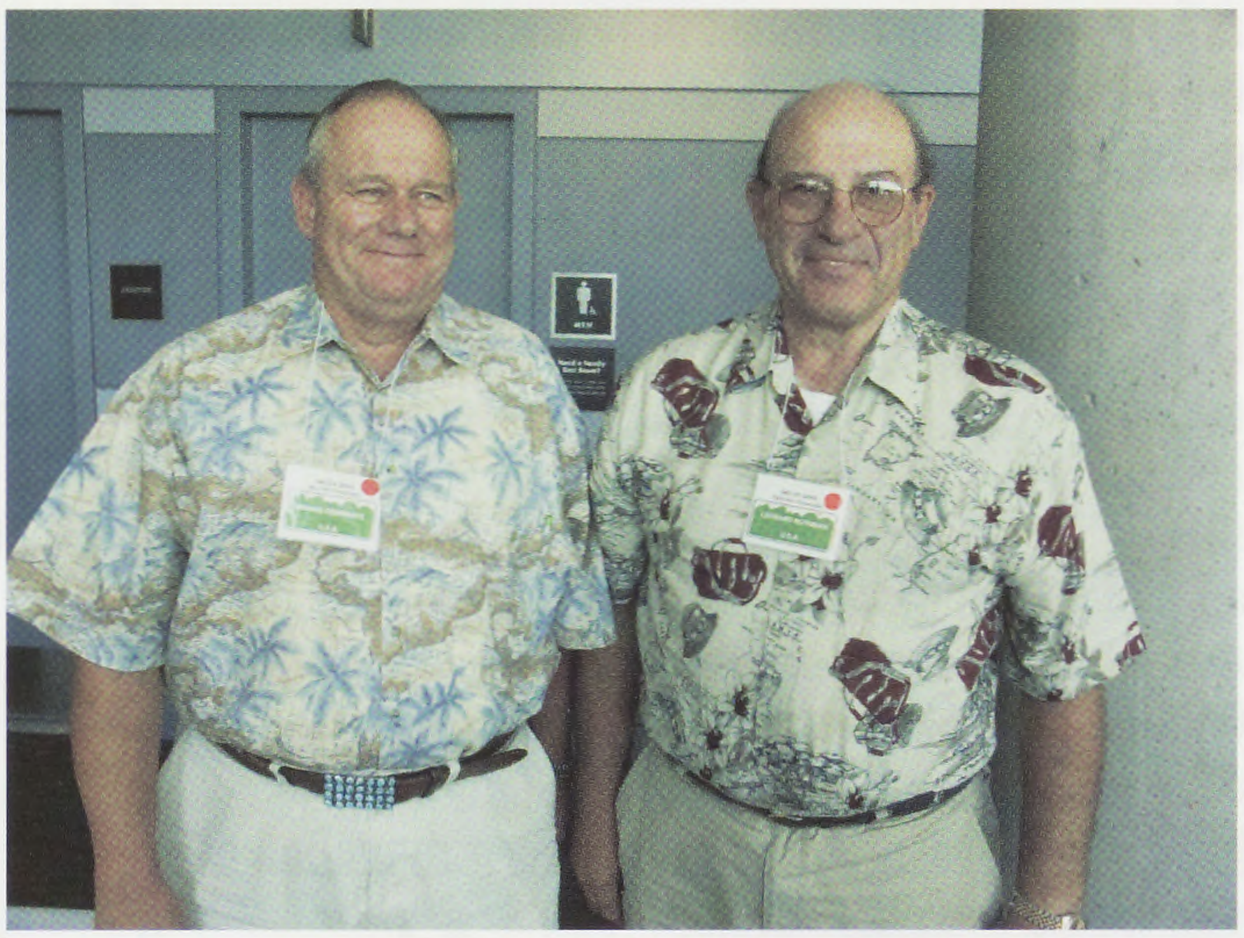
The Sotheby's sale of Lord Wardington's Atlases, October 2005

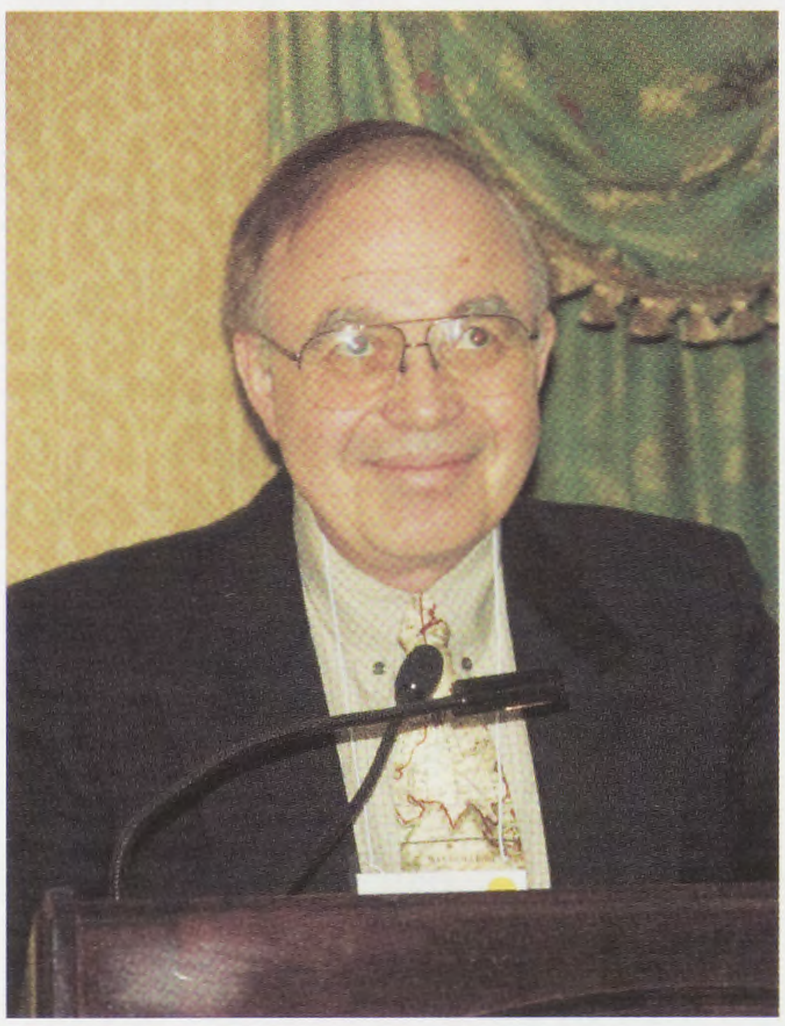
There was close to a full house at Sotheby's, London, for the first part of the sale last October of the splendid collection of atlases once belonging to Lord Wardington. The second part of the sale (titles L–Z) is expected in October 2006.

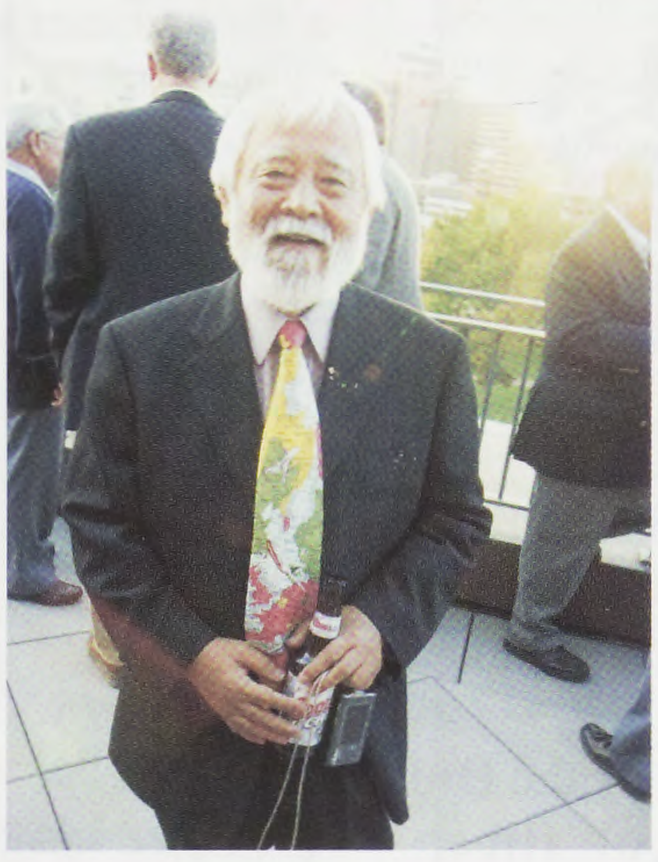














Participants at the Denver symposium (from top left): Wes and Linda Brown; David Web and Ray Eddy on top of a mountain! Leonard Rothman and Dennis Reinhartz; Donald and Margaret Brown (Wes's parents); Kasumasa Yamashita; Don McGuirk; Erica and Jens Bornholt.

tioneer Roger Griffiths rattling through 240 items in just over two hours. Most dealers were arrayed as usual at the back of the sale room, or round the edges, the better to keep an eye on the bidding of their competitors or those bids signalled from the floor. Ten external telephones, and their attendants, were kept busy as well.

As most IMCoS members will know, the top price realised was for the famed *Doria Atlas*, a composite 'Lafreri' atlas from Italy dating from c.1570 and composed of 186 maps, prints and views. Last time in the sale rooms, in 1988 ex the British Rail Pension Fund, it fetched £247,500 and this time it was secured by the London dealer Shapero at a closing bid of £1,300,000 to which should be added the buyer's premium. At a total price of £1,464,000 this represents the world auction record for a printed atlas.

Other exceptional items reflected one or more of the four characteristics of many of the Wardington Collection items—good condition, contemporary colouring, fine binding, and distinguished provenance. For instance a complete six-volume set of Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (estimated at £120,000–180,000) realised £235,000* and a five-part set of Van Keulen's *Zee-Fackel* (under-estimated at £40,000–60,000) fetched £130,000. It was interesting to note that a number of eighteenth-century French atlases—by D'Anville, Bellin, Delisle and others—fetched well above their estimates, perhaps because of their noble or royal provenances and presentational-standard bindings.

Lots with special national characteristics also sold well. An early 3-volume Des Barres *Atlantic Neptune* with many large North American charts (estimate £90,000–120,000) realised £270,000 and an 1842 [1854] *London Atlas* of John Arrowsmith (estimate £2,500–3,000) realised £15,000 almost certainly because it included a rare map of Texas showing Texas' claim to regions of the upper Rio Grande. Two Russian items also exceeded expectations: Joseph Nicolas Delisle's *Atlas Russicus* (estimate £3,000–4,000) was bid up to £19,000 and Cornelis Cruys' atlas of the River Don (estimate £3,500–4,500) was sold for £15,000.

There were some contrasts in the sales of fine atlases by Blaeu and his competitor Janssonius. Both produced rare atlas 'Appendices' in the early 1630s, as did Henricus Hondius. Blaeu's uncoloured *Appendix* of 1631 was unsold at £26,000 (although an earlier richly coloured one of his reached £85,000); Janssonius' uncoloured one of 1630 sold for £55,000 while Hondius' *Appendix*, also uncoloured, came in more modestly at £28,000. Both Blaeu and Janssonius were further represented by superbly coloured examples of their complete multi-volume atlas sets. Blaeu's 11-volume *Atlas Major* sold for £100,000, £20,000 below the top estimate whereas Janssonius' 12-volume set (including the Cellarius *Atlas Coelestis*) sold for £260,000, well above the top estimate of £150,000. I just wonder if my own remark in the Introduction to the catalogue, that in my view Janssonius' maps had the edge on those by Blaeu for decorative engraving, influenced the buyers in these two cases.

Not all lots fetched such dizzy heights. Eleven early 20th century George Bartholomew atlases went for £420 and I myself wished I had bid £300 for George Bevan's interesting 1882 *Statistical Atlas of England, Scotland and Ireland* with 45 chromo-lithographed maps, many thematic in content. Two Adam and Charles Black atlases of the 1840s were unsold at £400 against top estimates of £1200 and £900 respectively.

At Sotheby's, Cathy Slowther—well-known to many IMCoS members—was the specialist in charge of the sale. She and her colleagues are to be congratulated on the informative catalogue entries, and the photographic quality of the reproductions. The 344-page Part I catalogue, pre-sale price £30, is currently being offered by Sotheby's at a post-sale price of £10. As Sotheby's post-sale press release said:

'The Wardington Library is the greatest collection of atlases ever to have come to the market and the sum realised [£6,453,464] represents the highest total for any single session sale in the 250 year history of Sotheby's Book department in London... We look forward to the final part of the sale, which will take place in the autumn next year.'

RODNEY SHIRLEY

Editor's note: 'Rodney Shirley also wrote the Introduction (pages 11–18) to Sotheby's catalogue for this sale.' * Unless otherwise stated, realisations are hammer prices to which the buyer's premium (sometimes known as the auctioneer's commission) needs to be added.

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Book Reviews

Joan Blaeu: Atlas Maior of 1665, edited by Peter van der Krogt. Osterreicherbiliotek, Vienna. Hardcover, XXL format 29 x 44cm, (11.4 x 17.3in) c.600pp. Price £99; €150; $200.

This latest facsimile of Joan Blaeu's 1665 Atlas Maior, Latin edition, is a massive volume packed full of delights. The brilliant colours project the opulence and optimism of mercantile Europe in the 17th century. The choice of a superbly coloured and gold highlighted master copy gives this book an overpowering visual impact.

Any anthology of maps is a particular personal choice. Joan Blaeu made plates of practically every map he could get his hands on, as well as using and altering old plates that came his way. Only this could satisfy his clients, who demanded the most comprehensive atlas he could produce. So the result was a record-breaking eleven volume edition containing 596 maps. This was not only the apex of atlas production in the 17th century, but also resulted in the most complex book manufacturing in that century, anywhere in the world.

Peter van der Krogt has selected around 300 maps from the 596 in the Latin edition. This is of course much more than the 100 selected by John Goss for the Royal Geographical Society's widely sold publication of 1990, that was largely based on their 1662 Dutch text edition. It would be fair to say that the layout of the commentary on individual maps in the RGS publication was both more readily accessible, and more visually intrusive than in this 2005 book, which reserves much information for the appendix at the end of the volume.

The compiler does not disclose the criteria for his selection, but like Joan Blaeu, the interests of his readers must have influenced his decisions. Unfortunately for practical reasons about half of the maps are reproduced slightly less than half size, which makes them more difficult to appreciate and even to read in many instances. However this is more than compensated by the inclusion of magnificent enlargements of the frontispieces, and many cartouches, scale bars, and buildings. Of these enlargements which are well selected, my favourites are the Arctica frontispiece: Cyprus with Venus in a scallop drawn by swans; and the Ethiopian cartouche celebrating the land of Prester John. The enlargements comprise about one tenth of this volume and make a tremendous impact with their powerful colours, cherubs, goddesses and other rococo images. There is seldom a hint here of the anaemic colouring that is so often seen on those 17th century maps that have survived.

It is sad that so often specialists are unable to express their knowledge for others to assimilate readily. This is definitely not the case with Peter van der Krogt, who has been studying atlases published in the Netherlands at the University of Utrecht for 15 years. Although he is not writing in his mother tongue, his English text is a superb example of clarity; it is lucid and direct and one is soon infected with his enthusiasm. All the text is also printed in German and French. Blaeu's original Latin introduction is also translated into modern English, French and German. The author explains in detail the techniques used by Blaeu and the logistical complications of combining printing with loose type in four languages (Latin, Dutch, French and Spanish), with the slow printing from copper plates. Of course he also covers the well known history of how competition drove Joan Blaeu onward to produce the greatest printing achievement of his century — his Atlas Maior.

The inclusion of plates from the Ortelius Atlas and others as far back as 1570 inevitably leads to obvious geographical anomalies, which could tease the reader's knowledge of the original sources. For any with serious interests in Dutch atlases, this volume is essential; the majority of our members would be happy and proud to possess such a well crafted volume, with its high quality art paper and many fold-out sheets, and which even weighs 5 kg. The selling price is remarkably modest, when you have considered the complexity and quality of its production: this generosity may be because this book has been published by Taschen Gmbh of Cologne especially to celebrate their 25th anniversary. I believe that our members will obtain pleasure and enduring delight if they have a copy of this brilliant rococo extravaganza, whether to puzzle over, or merely to browse and admire.

GEOFFREY F. BUDENBERG

Exploring Geovisualization, edited by J. Dykes, Department of Information Science, City University, London, A.M. MacEachren, Department of Geography, Pennsylvania State University, and M.-J. Kraak, International Institute of GeoInformation Science and Earth Observation (ITC), Enschede, The Netherlands, published 2005 on behalf of the International Cartographic Association.

Hardbound: ISBN 0-08-04453I-4, 732 pages. Imprint: PERGAMON. CD-Rom: ISBN 0-08-0445330-0. Price: £II4; US$ I82; €I65 This book is available in Europe, the Middle East and Africa from Elsevier, Customer Service Department, Linacre House, Jordan Hill, Oxford 0X2 8DP, UK,. And in USA/Canada from Elsevier, Customer Service Department, II930 Westline Industrial Drive, St. Louis, MO 63I46, USA.

This is a formidable volume. Elsevier advises us it is a 'review and exploration of the current and future status of geovisualization, produced by key researchers and practitioners from around the world in various cognate fields of study'. 'Sophisticated interactive maps are increasingly used to explore information — guiding us through data landscapes to provide information and prompt insight and

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understanding'. 'Geovisualization is an emerging domain that draws upon disciplines such as computer science, human-computer interaction design, cognitive sciences, graphical statistics, data visualization, information visualization, geographic information science and cartography to discuss, develop and evaluate interactive cartography'.

I have quoted extensively from Elsevier's own description of the book and its enclosed CD-Rom, since I am, at heart, an antique map collector along traditional lines, albeit with a wide interest in roads, transport and postal history. This new jargon is, at first, difficult to comprehend fully. But it speaks to cartography today. It is already in place in ordinary every day organizations like Local Authorities overseeing roads, bridges, rights of way and strategic planning. Joe Soap may stick with and love his Land Ranger and Explorer O.S. maps, but County Hall simply calls up computerized images, exact to countless decimal points.

I confess I have found this well set-out, academically rigorous account very satisfying, and have been seriously educated by it. The book comes in five sections.

The list of contributors has 45 names on it, 33 of them from Europe, from Finland via the U.K. and Germany to Portugal. The other 12 are from the USA. The 45 names are multiplied many times when one counts up the lists of contributors tabled at the end of each chapter. These give a good clue to the breadth and depth of the research which is going on at this time, round the globe, on modernising mapping.

The five sections are each divided into chapters, 35 in all, and the temptation is to name and describe the subjects. Easily resisted by me, since they did not help me at all. But the text certainly did, as did the illustrations, 50 pages of coloured pages in the book, and more than 250 colour images on the enclosed CD-Rom.

The text is surprisingly easy to read and comprehend. The contents are well ordered and flow logically from 'Exploring geovisualization' in the first chapter to 'Advancing geovisualization' in the final chapter.

Each of us will find our own favourite sections in this comprehensive book. I personally find the passages describing 'interactive approaches to contouring and isosurfacing for geovisualization' particularly enlightening. The word triangulation is not forgotten, the traditional methodology of mapping from the earliest days of (relatively) accurate mapping, so well displayed in the several volumes of triangulation data to be found in the account of the trigonometric survey of England and Wales, carried out by Captain William Mudge FRS between I784 and I796, published for W. Faden, geographer to the king in 1799.

If you want a book which drags you from the wall maps of Ogilby via Mudge to the state of the art cartography of the 21st century, this is the kindest and (I believe) most authoritative way of achieving it.

If you wish for expert and exhaustive information about present trends you need look no further. I was hugely diverted by the unlikely section on 'grid computing', page 431.

We read, 'In the late 1940s the British government came to the conclusion that two or three computers would be sufficient for the UK. Since then computing power has increased exponentially by a factor of ten every five years — and still the needs are never satisfied! . . .'

The multiple dots hide nearly a page full of bigger and better numbers of faster, stronger computers, with the internet adding 'a new dimension to high-performance computing.' It would seem that the excitement is in the foregoing nuggets within the book. For sure the nuggets are there and abundant. It is undeniable, however, that there is a lot of computer jargon to read and to learn.

It is inevitable.

I bet Ogilby made Charles the Second's head reel!

GEOFFREY TAPPER

Mapping and Empire, Soldier-Engineers on the South-western Frontier, edited by Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon. University of Texas Press, 2005, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819. ISBN 0-292-70659-6 (cloth: alk. Paper) no price stated.

This book is an account of the roles of the Spanish, Mexican and U.S. militaries in mapping 'the Great South-west of North America'. This area comprises Texas in the east across to California and the Pacific Ocean to the west, with Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico to the south. Historically, it takes us from the earliest years of the 16th century, featuring my favourite Spaniard, captain general of New Spain, Fernando Cortes.

> Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
> He star'd at the Pacific — and all his men
> Look'd at each other with a wild surmise —
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien. (Keats)

Darien is, actually, in present-day Colombia. Cartographically, the text and bountiful illustrations start with the earliest manuscript chart, drawn in 1519 by Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, of the Gulf of Mexico. We are then taken, in seven separate chapters, by seven different lecturers, from the earliest Spanish maritime charting, via the Spanish military engineers pre- and post-1750, and U.S. military mapping of this vast area in the 19th century, pressing through a U.S. engineer's view of the U.S.-Mexican war of 1847–8, into (to me at least) a most rewarding discourse about 'unknown works and forgotten engineers of the Mexican boundary commission' in the 1850s, and on to the shortest, fascinating five-page account of the soldier-engineers in 'the geographical understanding of the south-western frontier: an afterthought'.



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There are eight major contributors, comprising the seven lecturers who have converted their lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) skilfully into essays, complete with illustrations, 52 in black and white, 12 in colour. The latter are particularly enchanting. The essays are, therefore, illuminating in more ways than one. Two of the essayists are also the editors of this work. They are Dennis Reinhartz, Professor of History and Russian at UTA, and Gerald D. Saxon, Dean of Libraries at UTA.

This book may be North American in origin, but it will resonate across the Atlantic and beyond.

The story of mapping in this area spans three centuries of huge change. The first surveys of Mexico, Louisiana, Arizona, California, Texas and New Mexico as we now know them (and adjacent territory to be safe) were made for the Spanish invaders, not by Spanish cartographers, but largely by Italians. As the authors tell us, this is not surprising, in that Christopher Columbus was an Italian in the service of Spain. Besides, the renaissance belongs to Italy rather than Spain. In addition, Spain was challenged by English, French, Russian and, finally, United States expansion. We cannot forget that the surge of East Coast North American pioneers to the west was vigorous and colonising, however dirty a word colonisation has come to be.

The early mapping in the 16th century quoted and illustrated in this book is exciting and admirable. There are many map makers cited from 1500 on, significantly annotated and amply illustrated within the text, up to the early 19th century, by the likes of Dudley, Gastaldi, Delisle, Vaugondy and the inevitable 'anon' (twice). But the watersheds in this volume lie between the Spanish hegemony of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the confused succession of Spanish and Mexican rule in what they regarded as the 'south-west of the north', followed by the capture of' the high ground' by the fiercely colonising field parties from the eastern states of the U.S.A.

There is much for the historically minded, therefore. Christopher Columbus avoided the Gulf of Mexico in his voyage of 1494. There are 3,000 miles of coastline round the gulf, stretching from Cape Sable at the southern tip of Florida to Cabo Catoche at the north-western end of the Yucatan peninsula. This enormous circle of water is called a 'cul de sac in the Caribbean' in this book!

There is much researched history in this volume of the 16th century Spanish pioneering expeditions, and the armies which conquered vast tracts of South America and the south-western regions of the northern continent. Their rivals, mainly French Huguenots and English pirates as they were then, John Hawkins and his nephew (or cousin as Fisher's *History of Europe* has it) Francis Drake and succeeding generations, added to a giddy mix of skirmishes, evictions and exploitation of the indigenous population and natural resources, right through to the l9th century.

But one cannot help feeling that Spain, a country only recently put together as a single nation, was unusually warlike and aggressive, even when one remembers the competition Spain attracted from other European countries. Charles V, the Spanish emperor, ruled from 1516 to 1556. His empire included modem Spain, Bohemia, the Netherlands, Austria and the southern half of Italy (the kingdom of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia). The Italians provided the greater number of engineers and map makers like the Antonelli family. From the heterogeneity of the Spanish empire, as described above, it will come as no surprise that Abraham Ortel et al are involved. This is highly diverting, but the chapters to follow are just as engaging.

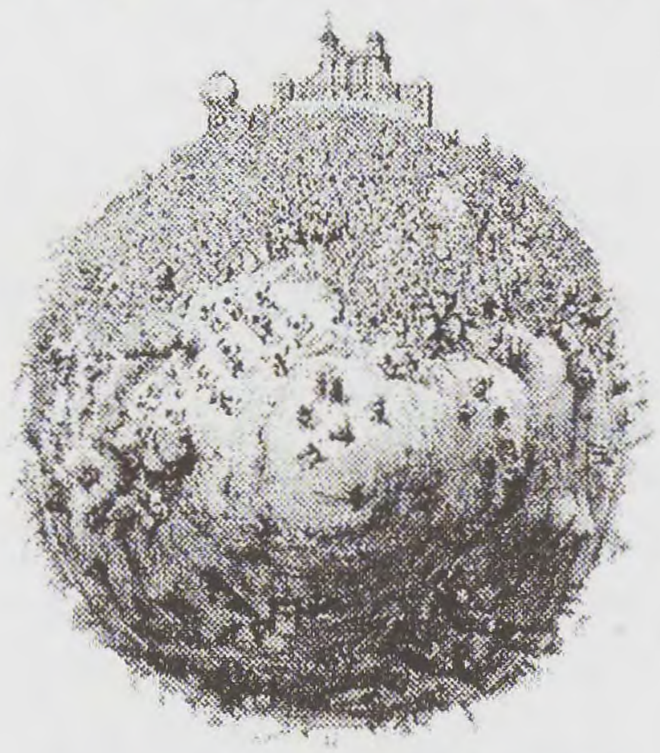
These lecturers, turned essayists, are good at their jobs. For those of us whose interests stop geographically at Lands End and time-wise at Norden or Morden our horizons are lifted unbelievably. The 17th and 18th centuries have as many stories to tell. And comparing the 19th century U.S. Army military engineer map makers with Mudge and his merry men in the Tower of London makes it clear that the Yankees had nothing to learn from us Brits.

In this book there is not a word wasted. I have learned new facts about this restless part of the new world with every paragraph. I commend the work wholeheartedly.

G.W. TAPPER

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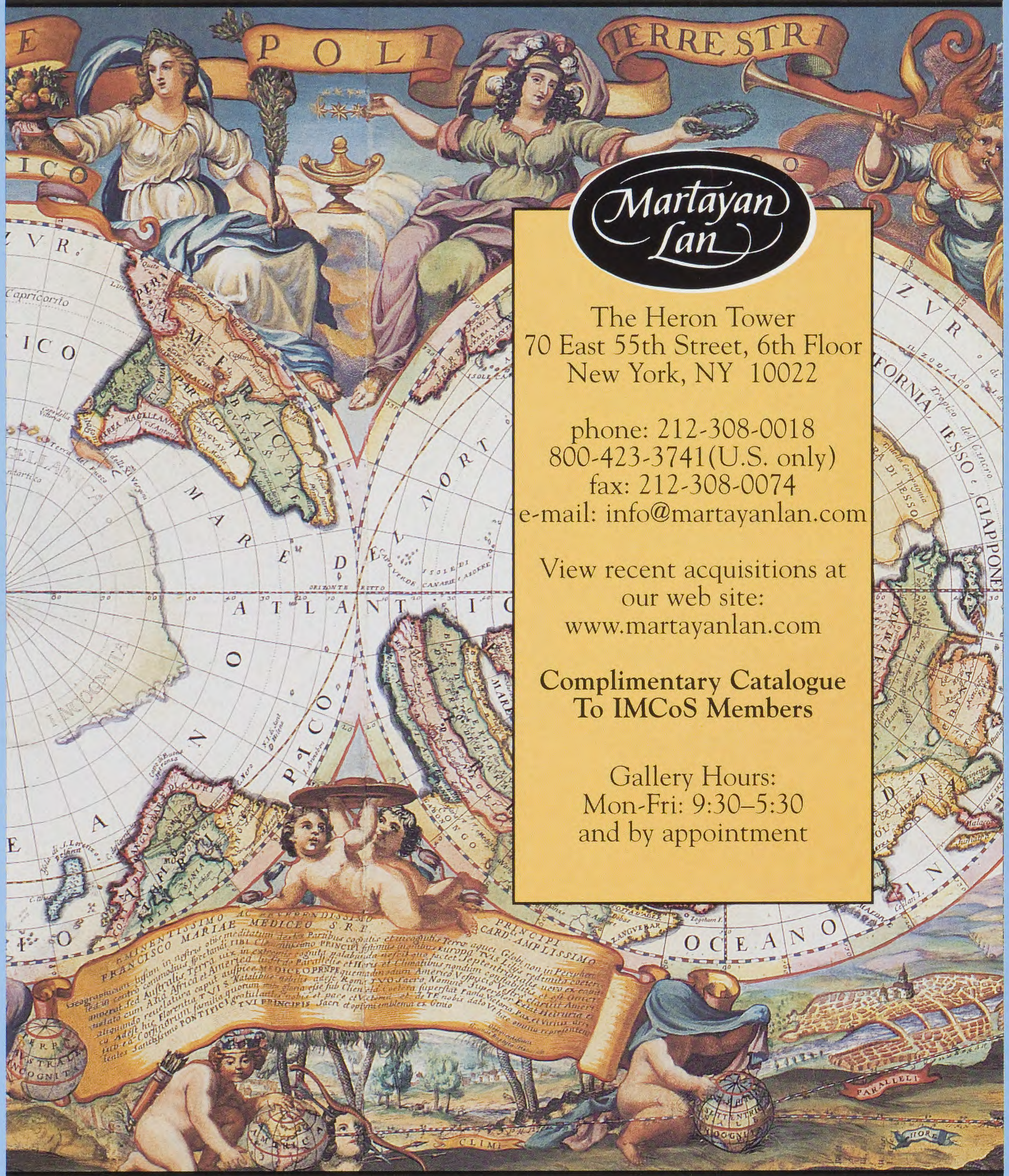


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