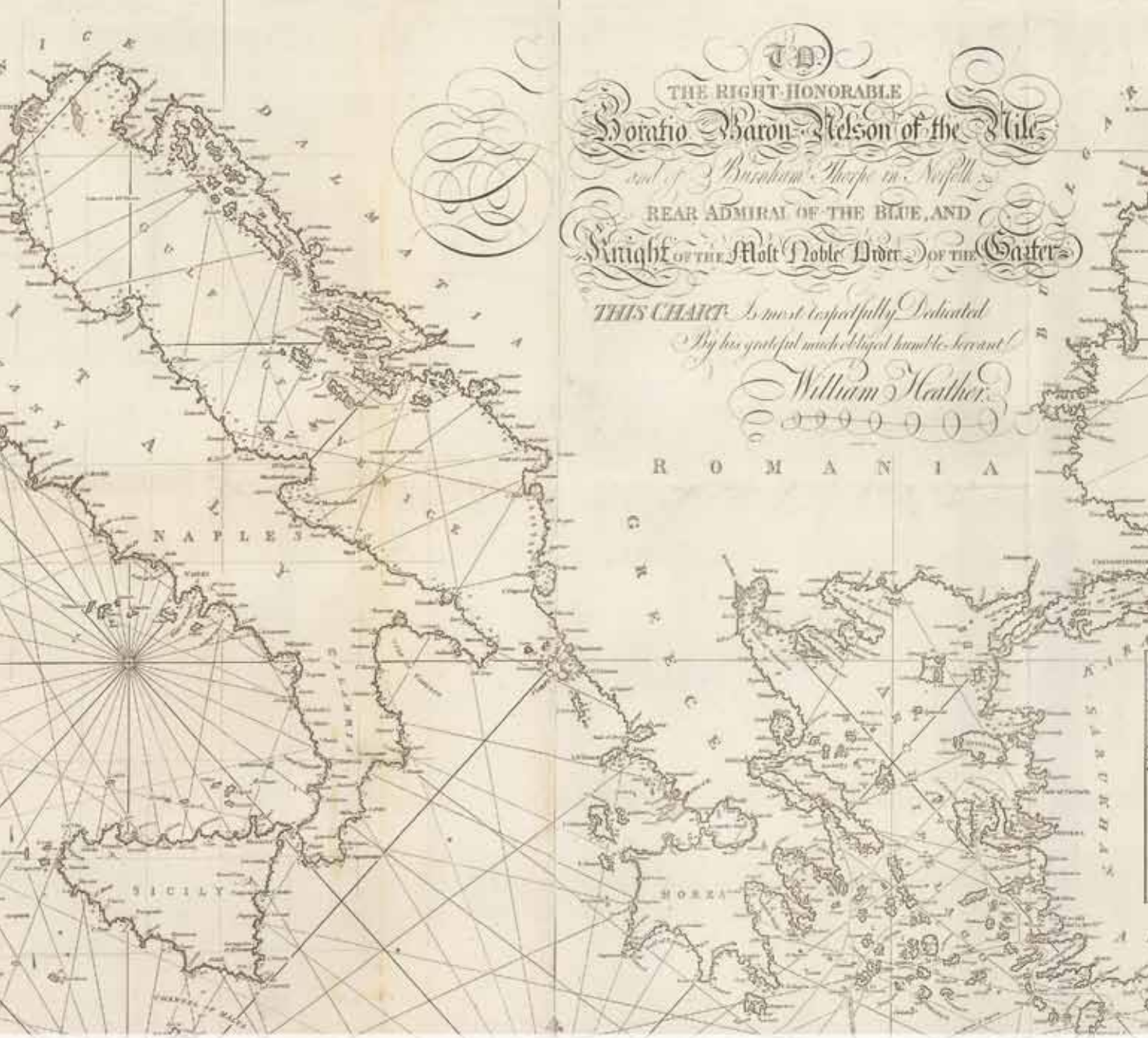
INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

IMCS JOURNAL

AUTUMN 2017 No.150



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Detail of William Heather's spectacular 1802 Chart of the Mediterranean Sea dedicated to Admiral Horatio Nelson.

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Copy and other material for future issues should be submitted to:

Editor Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird, Email **Ljiljana.editor@gmail.com** 14 Hallfield, Quendon, Essex CB11 3XY United Kingdom **Consultant Editor** Valerie Newby **Designer** Catherine French **Advertising Manager** Jenny Harvey, 27 Landford Road, Putney, London SW15 1AQ United Kingdom, Tel +44 (0)20 8789 7358, Email **jeh@harvey27.demon.co.uk**

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Front cover **Abraham Ortelius. Detail of the top right-hand corner of 'Islandia', 1590. Private collection.**

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Juha Nurminen (Helsinki)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE & APPOINTED OFFICERS

Chairman Hans Kok
Poelwaai 15, 2162 HA Lisse,
The Netherlands Tel/Fax +31 25 2415227
Email HEKHolland@gmail.com

Vice Chairman & UK Representative Valerie Newby
Prices Cottage, 57 Quainton Road,
North Marston, Buckingham,
MK18 3PR, UK Tel +44 (0)1296 670001
Email valerie.newby@btopenworld.com

General Secretary David Dare
Fair Ling, Hook Heath Road,
Woking, Surrey, GU22 0DT, UK
Tel +44 (0)1483 764942
Email david.dare1@btopenworld.com

Treasurer Jeremy Edwards
26 Rooksmead Road, Sunbury on Thames,
Middlesex, TW16 6PD, UK
Tel +44 (0)1932 787390
Email jcerooksmead26@talktalk.net

Advertising Manager Jenny Harvey
Email jeh@harvey

Council Member Diana Webster
Email dcfw42@gmail.com

Editor Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird
Email Ljiljana.editor@gmail.com

IMCoS Financial and Membership Administration
Peter Walker, 10 Beck Road, Saffron Walden,
Essex CB11 4EH, UK
Email financialsecretariat@imcos.org

National Representatives Coordinator
Robert Clancy
Email clancy_robert@hotmail.com

Web Coordinators
Jenny Harvey
Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird
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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

Those living in the Northern Hemisphere will realise that once more the daylight hours have been shortening while those south of the equator can look forward to summer with the days lengthening in accordance with the trajectory of our planet around the sun. For all inhabitants of Mother Earth, another calendar year is on its way out, another year disappearing into the mists of history. This may sound like sad news; the good news, however, is that we must have amassed a little more wisdom in the past year and our maps have become a bit more historical in the process.

The London Map Fair took place at the Royal Geographical Society, and 'as always' it was a pleasure to attend. The IMCoS June weekend is also behind us. It was good meeting with many of our members again, some who had travelled to London from faraway places. The AGM draft minutes will be on our website but may not be exciting reading as no dramatic items were on the agenda. Next year's subscription rates remain unchanged, no Brexit effects as yet, if any, ever. Ljiljana, our Journal editor and Peter Walker will continue to beautify our website, amongst which will be new exhibitions of maps in the Gallery section. The next Executive Committee meeting is scheduled for 21 September which will be followed by our map evening. Details are on our website. The Committee will hold its Winter meeting in The Hague, Netherlands to coincide with a visit to a Dutch East India Company exhibition at the National Archives. In case you suspect the Committee of spending your IMCoS money on the trip: don't worry, all travel expenses will be strictly on private account and not taken from the Society's coffers!

On another subject: in 1903 the Wright brothers enabled motorised wings for mankind, and see what has happened in aviation as a result of their efforts! Most collectors seem to define antiques as anything 'over one hundred years' and indeed people have meanwhile started collecting on-board flight maps which, a long time ago, were passed along the cabin to the passengers. We see aviation maps and charts being offered at auction and selling for modest prices – so far – but aviation maps, both military and civil, have become the new collectibles. The various categories are intriguing testimonies to the development of the industry and in accordance with the speed of flight, they have matured much faster than their maritime counterparts in the past. Currently, aviation maps are being prepared, distributed and utilised in digital form with paper maps fast becoming obsolete. You are well advised to grab some while they last. The large prints, used as advertising material in airline and travel agents offices are already 'up-market' collectibles. At the time they were commissioned by airlines from recognised artists for display. They may not be cartographic or geographic in the real sense of the word, but definitely they capture the atmosphere of exploration. As your Chairman has a background in aviation, he is only too glad to see it happen; it's up to you to judge how impartial he has been.

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PALMATARY, J.T. *Chicago*. Chicago: Braunhold & Sonne, 1857. Lithographed bird's-eye view of pre-fire Chicago, depicting the city grid with the Illinois Central Railroad visible in the foreground. To be offered in our September 13 auction.



WELCOME TO OUR NEW MEMBERS

Dona Bainbridge, USA

Dr Stephen Belcher, Germany
Collection interest: World maps up to 1700

Edward Brooke-Hitching, UK

Marion Bukhari, UK
Collection interest: Embroidered tales & woven dreams

Elisabeth Burdon, USA

Duane Clocker, USA
Collection interest: Scandinavia, North America

Stephen Cushing, Australia

Richard Fattorini, UK
Collection interest: Antique world maps & atlases

E. Fiddaman, UK

Michael von Hinden, Germany

Alexander J.C. Johnson, Germany

Stephen Kovacs, USA
Collection interest: pre-1900 world maps, USA, city maps

Karel Krenek, Czech Republic

Rudi Latuske, Germany

Rainer Nagel, Germany

Dasa Pahor, Germany

Oliver Sanders, UK
Collection interest: Holy Land

Yves Servais, Belgium

Adina Sommer, Germany

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Alternatively, send an email to **Peter Walker** at **financialsecretariat @imcos.org** who can update your details for you.



FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

To coincide with the opening of an exhibition at the National Maritime Museum, London about Sir John Franklin's fatal voyage in search of a North-West Passage and the subsequent quests that followed to find him, the Royal Museums Greenwich hosted a conference on mapping the Arctic. 'Mapping the past, exploiting the future: cartographies and understandings of Arctic' provided a platform for polar historians and scientists to outline some of their research of the Arctic narrative.

A paper delivered by Dr Jean de Pomereu on the vertical mapping of the Greenland ice sheet provided the inspiration for the cover of this issue: Ortelius' map 'Islandia'. Appearing in 1590 in the supplement Additamentum IV to *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, it was the first detailed and accurate (by the standards of the time) map of the island, however, the map's charm, especially for cartographic monster hunters, is its menagerie of fantastic marine beasts that inhabit the surrounding waters. Each 'fish' is annotated with a letter corresponding to explanatory text on the verso. In the 1606 English edition Ortelius describes fish 'A' as: *commonly called Nahwal. If any man eat of this fish, he dieth presently. He hath a tooth in the forepart of his head standing out seven cubites. This divers have sold for the Unicornes horne. It is thought to be a good antidote and foueraigne medicine against poison. This Monster is forty elles in length.* These beasts are not of Ortelius' invention; his sources are traceable to Olaus Magnus' *Carta Marina* of 1539 and Munster's *Cosmographia* of 1545.

On the cover is a detail of the top right-hand corner of the map. It shows fifteen polar bears on ice floes in various states of rest and play. Though not native to Iceland, they do, from time to time, arrive on its shores, where today, despite their endangered status, they are *most* unwelcome. There have only been a few hundred recorded sightings of the *Ursus maritimus* on Iceland; the oldest reference dates back to the ninth-century *Landnámabók* [Book of Settlement] and tells of Ingimundr the Old who came across a female bear and her two cubs at a lake now known as Húnavatn or Cub-Lake. He captured the animals alive and brought them to King Haraldr of Norway as a gift. A number of place names on the island are topographical evidence of early polar bear sightings.

Icelandic cartographer and clergyman Gudbrandur Thorláksson's map is believed to have provided Ortelius with the data for 'Islandia'. Whether it included information on polar bears is unknown, but certainly Ortelius was not incorrect in his depiction of them arriving on ice floes, possibly having drifted south from Greenland: *Huge and marveailous great heaps of ice brought hither with the tide from the frozen sea, making a great and terrible noise; some pieces of which oft times are fourty cubites bigge; upon these in some places white beares do sitte closely, watching the silly fish which heere about do play and sport themselves.*

Death in the Ice: The Shocking Story of Franklin's Final Expedition is on at the National Maritime Museum, London until 7 January 2018.

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IMCoS MATTERS

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

21 September 2017
The Collectors' Evening

Bring along your maps to discuss with other members or to have identified by our knowledgeable chairman, Francis Herbert. He has suggested the following themes for the 2017 event:

- **Maps of the world; of the British Isles / Britain / England & Wales; and / or 'Lafreri' items.**
- **Maps of any political / propaganda / satirical cartographic representations.**

If these are not your collecting areas do feel free to bring a map of your choice. We will have the facility of showing large maps on screen (please bring scans of your maps on a USB/memory stick).

A charge of £20 will be made to cover the hire of the room and refreshments. Refreshments will be available from 6pm in the Milner-Barry Room.

The event will be held at the Civil Service Club, 13–15 Great Scotland Yard, Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2HJ. The nearest underground stations are Embankment and Charing Cross.

Due to the rules of the Civil Service Club we do need you to register for this event, so please email IMCoS Secretary David Dare (david.dare1@btopenworld.com) at least 48 hours in advance.

8–12 October 2017
35th IMCoS International Symposium in Hamburg

See page 19 for programme, accommodation and registration details, alternatively visit the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org).

15–20 October 2018

The **36th IMCoS International Symposium** will be a joint destination programme held in the Philippines and Hong Kong. It will commence in Manila on the 14 October until 17 October, then continue in Hong Kong on the 19 October where it will be hosted by the Hong Kong Maritime Museum. Optional tours will be available in the Philippines prior and after the Symposium. The Symposium website is now live at www.imcos-2018-manila.com.

IMCoS London weekend 15–17 June

The 2017 IMCoS annual dinner was an enjoyable and well-attended evening. Our speaker was recently retired Collections Manager at the University of Glasgow Library, John Moore spoke of the changing face of the study of the history of cartography during the forty years that he has been researching maps. An abridged version can be found on page 12 and the full version is available on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org).



Valerie Newby, Ian Harvey and Jenny Harvey manning the IMCoS stand at the 2017 London Map Fair.

IMCoS/Helen Wallis award for 2017

The citation for the IMCoS/Helen Wallis award for 2017 was delivered by Tony Campbell. Sadly, it was his last; after thirteen years he is stepping down from the post of Chairman of the Selection Committee.



IMCoS President Peter Barber presenting Vladimiro Valerio with the IMCoS/Helen Wallis award for 2017.

2017 IMCoS/Helen Wallis award citation

" Our winner was not only an early member of IMCoS but helped found a sister society. He drew his first map as a small child. I'll leave you to ponder on those slender clues for a bit.

Many of us will have had little contact with serious mathematics since we followed Archimedes out of (or was it *into*) his bath, watched Pythagoras squaring his hypotenuse (presumably in the gym), and focused our dislike of geometry on poor Euclid who had done no more than invent it.

But what do we really need to fully decode an early map? Are they no more than cities and ports, coastlines and mountains, roads and rivers, pretty cartouches, mermaids doing their make-up, and so on? Like the visible parts of a building, the elements that are noticeable are merely the superstructure on a carefully contrived foundation. And – in the case of maps – that means the mathematical projection that represented the first choice a cartographer had to make.

Given the *literally* fundamental importance of this element, hidden from those of us who cannot readily tease out a map's projection at a glance, the lack of a mathematical focus in map history literature is surely surprising.

There is, though, *one* person who – above all others – has made the mathematical underpinning of cartography one of his major focuses. He is the *capo di tutti i capi* – and this is my final hint – of this branch of our subject. I refer of course to Professor Vladimiro Valerio.

Born and educated in Naples, Vladimiro went on to teach Architecture, and Analytic Geometry at the university there. He left for Venice in 1999 to teach Descriptive Geometry and History of the Methods of Representation, until his retirement in 2011.

Where, you might ask, do maps come in? Well, when he started drawing maps, at the ripe old age of six. A few of those even survive from his school days. The cartographic urge never left him and he would produce a 14-sheet map of the archaeological site of Pozzuoli in 1980. For our purposes, what matters is when he started collecting. That was some years earlier, in 1974. His most pleasing purchase was the manuscript Stigliola atlas of the Kingdom of Naples, *c.*1595, which led to an article in *The Map Collector*, 'The Neapolitan Saxton and his Survey of the Kingdom of Naples'.

Vladimiro's major collecting target, which was paired with deep research, was the work of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni. Vladimiro has managed to collect all his cartographic productions and used those in compiling his entry on Rizzi Zannoni for the forthcoming Volume 4 of *The History of Cartography*. Vladimiro also spent a year organising a conference and exhibition in 2014 to celebrate the bicentenary of his hero's death.

He signed up early to IMCoS and would later participate in the 2004 symposium in Modena, Verona and Florence. Perhaps he used some of that experience two years later, when he became a co-founder of the Associazione 'Roberto Almagià' – Associazione Italiana Collezionisti di Cartografia Antica (or, more succinctly, 'Italian Map Collectors' Society'). Later, he became its President. The Society has over 70 members, made up of scholars, dealers and collectors. He was responsible for some of their annual publications and regular exhibitions.

Vladimiro has travelled widely in response to invitations to share his expertise. He has received many honours and awards, and has been the recipient of major research grants.

His primary interest has always been in understanding the mathematical basis of the mapping of Italy, particularly Naples and the South, as well as the atlases produced there. As he explained in his interview with Ljiljana, in the *IMCoS Journal* three years ago, he seeks 'to get beneath the map', hence a further interest in paper and watermarks, on which he has published detailed studies.

Over the past 35 years – his first publication in the History of Cartography was in 1980 – Vladimiro has grown in status to become *the* chronicler of Italian cartography, especially for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of his output remains available only in Italian. A notable exception is his chapter in Volume 3 of *The History of Cartography*, on 'Cartography in the Kingdom of Naples during the early Modern Period'. This will undoubtedly remain the defining summary for a long time.

However, a number of his articles did appear in English, some of them in *The Map Collector*. I will mention a few of those, before referring to some of his substantive volumes.

Among his early, wide-ranging articles is 'Means and Aims in Historico-Cartographic Studies in Italy', translated by David Woodward for *Imago Mundi*; and 'Map Collections in Italy', for the Newberry Library's *Maplines*. 'A Mathematical Contribution to the Study of Old Maps', published in the proceedings of the 1981 International Conference on the History of Cartography in Italy,

sets out to educate us about the importance of understanding the geometric structure of the maps we collect or study. I wonder how many of us can put their hands up and say we have learnt his lessons.

Vladimiro kindly provided me with a 14-page listing of his 150 publications, highlighting the large number of books he was written, co-authored or edited.

The first of his ten solely authored, book-length publications, *Atlanti napoletani del XIX secolo (1806–1860),* firmly placed a flag in the ground for what would become a life-long concern. The maps *of* Naples**,** and those made *in it*, feature strongly – particularly the output of the Officina Topografica – as do the city's rich collection of views from the fifteenth century onwards. Whereas most historians concentrate on the cartographer alone, ignoring the skilled artisans who turned their work into publications, Vladimiro has paid close attention to the engravers and lithographers involved.

It is not feasible to summarise here all the topics he has made his own, often by applying geometric principles. To give just a few examples: the influence of Ptolemy on Renaissance mapping; the discovery of curvilinear perspective in Jacopo de Barbari's view of Venice; infinity and horizon in the work of Leonardo da Vinci; cartography in Ariosto; and studies into Piero della Francesca's scientific writings as well as the inclusion of the true sky in his fresco of the Dream of Costantino. The interconnection between nineteenth-century art and cartography, and the representation of mountains, also came under his gaze. As he rightly said: 'time is so short, and there is so much to study'.

Of his books, the one Vladimiro is personally most proud of is *Società Uomini e Istituzioni Cartografiche nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* [Men, society and cartographical institutions in southern Italy]. This is a 750-page history of the Kingdom of Naples seen through its cartography – the only such study of its kind – and includes detailed biographies of hundreds of people involved (mathematicians, artists, engravers, astronomers, land surveyors, etc). Its introductory sections were translated into English by David Woodward.

Also of note are a two-volume study of the printed maps of Sicily (1477–1861), including a long essay, which is repeated in English; as well as a number of exhibition catalogues. These include one in 2011, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the unification of Italy, *L'Italia prima dell'Italia*, another, *Carte geografiche e topografiche dell'Italia dal 1478 al 1861*, and also *L'America vista dall'Italia*.

One of his titles sounds to me as if it just might have a little of the Dan Brown about it: *Amicizie e intrighi nella Napoli del diciottesimo secolo* [Friendship and intrigue in eighteenth-century Naples], but, if so, I am sure the scholarship will be impeccable.

Vladimiro has been closely connected with the History of Cartography Project from its outset and is a contributor to several of its six volumes. In the early days, he exchanged theoretical ideas with Brian Harley, and he was a close personal friend of David Woodward. I would like to bring in here some comments – which I have regrettably had to abbreviate – from Mary Pedley, who has been in regular contact with him over the forthcoming Volume 4, on the European Enlightenment.

"Like his alter-ego Rizzi Zannoni", Mary writes, "Vladimiro functions easily at many levels: the highly technical mathematics of projection and the geometries of surveying, and the aesthetic appreciation of the metaphorical values of decoration on maps and the interplay between maps and art … The range of his scholarship combines the deep excavation skills of the archivist with the topographical skills of the surveyor and the historical skills of an able commentator."

Mary goes on to say – and this clearly resonates with the aims of our own Society: "His indefatigable leadership in Italy to bring together the two worlds of the collector and of academe has enhanced access and understanding of maps and their history."

As explained to me by one of Vladimiro's colleagues, once a Napoletano, always a Napoletano – 'pointing to a big heart and great passion, always generous with help for others'. Vladimiro retired from the IUAV University in Venice so that he could devote time to looking after his twins, Beatrice and Tommaso – now nine-years old – as well as his elder son, who left Naples to join him in Venice. Since Vladimiro claims to be a better father than a researcher, his parenting skills must indeed be exceptional. I am sure the twins and Francesco will be deservedly proud of our 2017 IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award winner, Professor Emeritus Vladimiro Valerio."

Tony Campbell

16 June 2017, IMCoS Annual General Meeting
Chairman's report 2016 (abridged)

" I would like to welcome you all on behalf of our Executive Committee.

We have had our usual four Committee meetings in 2016, necessary to run the Society and come up with solutions when problems pop-up, whatever their nature. Extensive e-mail exchanges between Committee members have occurred as being the quickest reliable way of communicating complemented with telephone conversations when indispensable.

By far the most important accomplishment in 2016 was the introduction of a new IMCoS website with more features than before. The main work was done by Peter Walker and Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird with backup from Jenny Harvey. The selection of the supplier of the website was thankfully fairly straightforward and putting it in operation went also without too many hiccups and delay. As Chairman, I tend to be pessimistic on delivery-dates of digital projects, but I must admit that my worries and wish to have a midsummer delivery, avoiding year-end problems with renewals of membership, were largely superfluous in the end. Peter Walker regrettably is unable to attend our AGM, but I feel a round of applause for the whole web-team, including Peter is very much in order.

Remains to be said that your Chairman is very happy with the cooperation and support he is enjoying in the Executive Committee and from the President. For myself, old age is encroaching quicker than I want to acknowledge and a successor, more acquainted with the digital world would be a blessing for the Society, I feel. There is a difference between tending shop and devising new ways for our Society's future; so suggestions are more than welcome.

The IMCoS Journals have been prepared, as usual, by our editor Ljiljana, including the 2016 Summer Journal with Wesley Brown as USA guest editor in view of our Chicago Symposium in October. The Chairman and the Committee are very happy in this respect and we trust the membership is also. The comments that do reach us are favourable; we realise that the Journal is the only connection between the Society and its members for those living abroad and without any practical access to the proceedings in the United Kingdom.

We feel that the regular June weekend in 2016 was as successful as ever and hope the membership has arrived at the same judgement.

In April 2016, we had a nice outing, organised by Valerie Newby, to Durham with our Helen Wallis Award Winner 2015, Professor Paul Harvey, attending. Jenny and Ian Harvey and Raymond Eddy provided the exhibits for a very nice exposition there.

The 2016 Malcolm Young lecture was given by our President Peter Barber; it was a high quality lecture and delivered in his usual professional and witty way. The IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award for 2016 was presented to Catherine Hofmann of the Bibliothèque national de France in Paris. As Tony Campbell had to attend a conference in Lisbon, our Vice-President Valerie Newby-Scott delivered Tony's laudation in his stead.

The AGM 2016 and the London Map Fair thereafter took place in the building of the Royal Geographical Society again, with the upstairs room being made available by the London Map Fair organisers free of charge, just like today. Moreover, the participating dealers chipped in for a donation to our Society, much appreciated as such, but also proof of the good relation that our Society maintains with the dealers who provide collectors with the items they seek and information on these items.

In the international field, IMCoS participated in the Chicago Symposium, ably organised by James Akerman and his team of the Newberry Library there. Marcy Bidney organised the visit to the American Geographical Society Library at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. The main reason for this Symposium was the fiftieth anniversary of the Nebenzahl lectures, instigated by Kenneth and Jossy Nebenzahl. Kenneth Nebenzahl is the IMCoS National Representative for USA Central and has been a staunch supporter of our Society for many years.

We have been looking for space to house our IMCoS archive on a permanent basis, but so far no suitable home has been found. It may be a matter of recurrent cost also; the Committee, in particular Diana Webster, will be exploring options. Should cost become a significant factor, we will be asking for AGM approval in due time.

In terms of our financial situation, I feel we may be content under the circumstances, and although a website is not a tangible asset, the Committee's decision to spread the website cost over three years is prudent and showed to be acceptable to the scrutineers of the Annual Accounts. More information under Agenda item 4 from our Honorary Treasurer, who is honourable, Honorary and honoured in our Committee, all at the same time, but that applies to all members of the Executive Committee as far as I am concerned.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this concludes the Chairman's report for 2016."

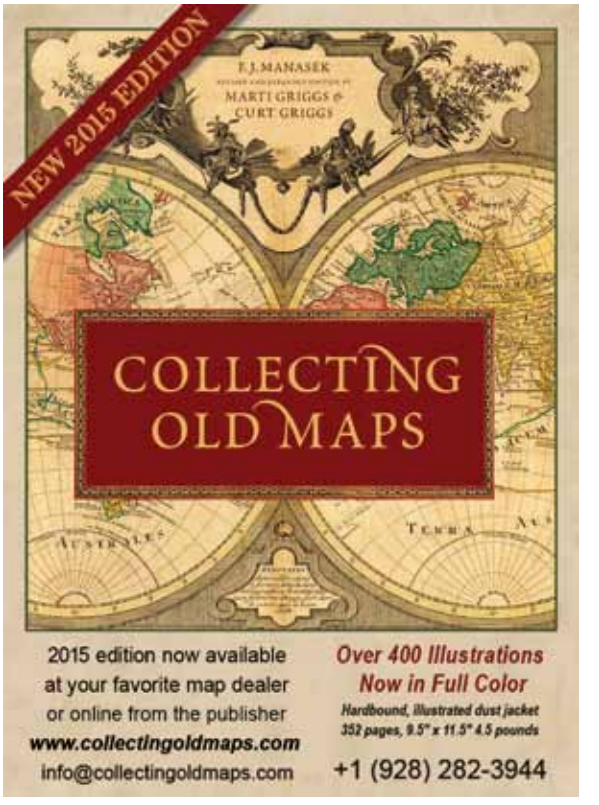
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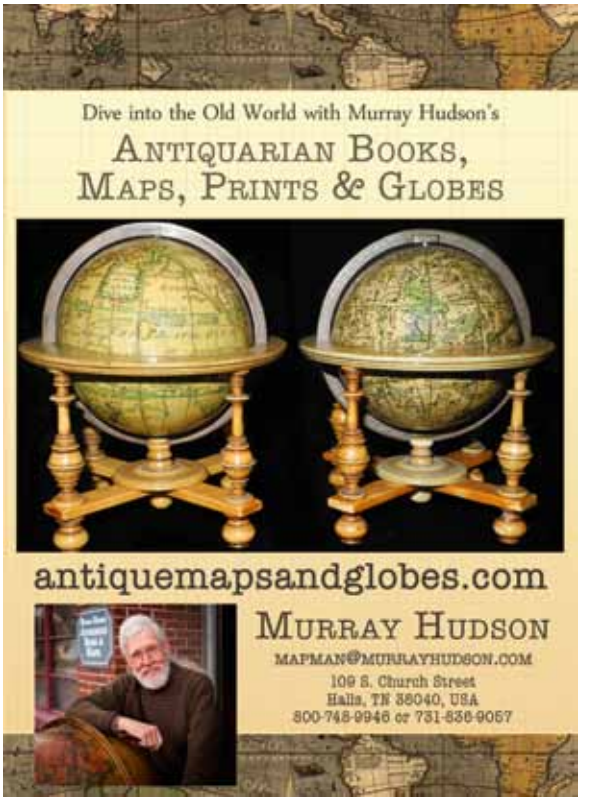
Jeremy Edwards, IMCoS honorary treasure reports: The accounts for the year ended 31 December 2016 have now been passed by the independent examiners (Peter Batchelor and Cyrus Alai) and will be available on the Members' website. Both income and expenditure have been similar to 2015 and the result is a surplus of £391 compared with a deficit of £1,023 in the previous year. Our most significant cost has been the setting up of our new website which has cost a total of £9,887 and which we are writing off over 36 months from 1 July 2016. The charge for amortisation this year is £1,647.

We were fortunate to receive a donation from a member to assist with Members' events currently and in the future. Of this, £100 has been utilised against the visit to the British Library and £900 is still available for allocation at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Summary figures for year ended 31 December 2016

Income	
Subscriptions	£19,072
Journal and web advertisements	17,203
Interest	136
Other income	1,970
	£38,381
Expenditure	
Journal production	£27,561
Administration	984
Sponsorship and presentations	1,657
Bank and collection charges	1,630
General overheads	2,155
Computer and website	4,003
	£37,990
Surplus for the year	£391
Accumulated funds	
Website, less amortisation	£8,237
Bank accounts	69,290
Library (less sales)	500
Other current assets	582
	£78,609
Less Subscriptions for future years	16,528
Other liabilities	1,834
	£18,362
Net funds	£60,247





MALCOLM YOUNG LECTURE, 2017

Reflections on a life with Scottish maps: Forty years as a map librarian and researcher

John Moore

This is an abridged version of the Malcolm Young Lecture delivered by John Moore at the IMCoS annual dinner on 16 June 2017. The full version can be read on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org).

It seems fatuous to say that much has changed since I first began an interest in maps but I hope that you will indulge me for a brief moment in placing my thoughts in context. This is not some sort of cartographic version of 'This is Your Life' but a reflection on a rather haphazard career looking at maps and how they have influenced people. In truth, it is no great surprise that cartography has been part of my life-blood. Its influence was probably there even before I was brought into the world in Easter Road in Edinburgh in 1953, just around the corner from what was once W. & A.K. Johnston's Royal Geographical Establishment's Edina Works, particularly as my father began his career as a temporary civil assistant with the Ordnance Survey in the early 1930s, and, yes, serving with the Royal Engineers throughout the Second World War. Having said that, I must also admit that I signally failed to benefit from such a start when studying at Edinburgh University by NOT taking the Historical Geography course run by Dr Ian Adams, then the leading researcher on Scottish surveyors and their influence on the agricultural changes of the later eighteenth century. Even worse, when I moved to work in Glasgow University Library in 1977, I failed to benefit from sharing my growing interest in maps with the Deputy Librarian, Elizabeth Rodger, author of the union list of large-scale county maps of the British Isles, 1596–1850. As I said haphazard, rather like my progress as a Munroist [One who has climbed all of the Munros (Scottish mountains of more than 3,000 ft / 914 m in height).] walking the hills of Scotland, I never made it easy for myself.

Apart from my Dad, there are two men who inspired my love of maps. The first was D.R. McGregor, who lectured in Cartographic Studies at Edinburgh and who was involved in indexing the black and white photographs of the Military Survey of Scotland which resulted in copies being held in a number of leading Scottish institutional and university libraries as the only means of access in Scotland to what remains one of the most important documents in the history of the mapping of the nation. 'Mac' was a man who combined a passion for maps with a profound sense of history and its relevance to contemporary life. Possibly of greater influence was Jeffrey Stone, still in my mind the leading expert on the Pont manuscripts used subsequently as the basis for the Scottish maps in volume five of the great Blaeu world atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1654.

As a post-graduate librarianship student at the College of Librarianship in Aberystwyth, part of my course was to create a bibliography on a subject of personal interest and I decided to investigate the history of the mapping of Scotland, resulting in my first steps into the world of cartographic publication. Of greater importance was my communicating with Jeff to discover what other work he had written on Pont and Blaeu which resulted in his encouragement of my researches and ultimately led to an O'Dell Memorial Monograph bibliographical guide to the literature of Scottish mapping prior to the Ordnance Survey in 1983.

I mention all of this as a prelude of one person's experience of research in the late-1970s and early-1980s. The questionable joys of my wife and I typing camera-ready copy for that first booklet is still a reminder of how far technological advances at all levels have radically changed the ways in which we communicate with each other. No better personal example of this change could be my recent experience of preparing a new book for the publisher, Birlinn on the mapping of the River Clyde. I began work on this in early November last year with a tight submission schedule for a text of about 60,000 words by the end of June 2017. Without a desktop computer and the access to the Internet which most of us rather take for granted today, I doubt whether such a timetable would be feasible, particularly when my publisher changed tack earlier this year and asked for the text by the end of last month!

Today's researchers have the vast resources of the Web at their fingertips and can produce clear formatted text to be saved to a file for immediate dispatch. They have access to the full text of millions of journal articles through a wide range of electronic surrogates, as well as information from blog pages, twitter feeds, discussion lists, Facebook and other links. Even more valuable are such online resources as the catalogues of major research libraries and, in particular, the union catalogues which are WorldCat and COPAC, which accesses the resources of about 90 major UK and Irish research libraries and, equally significantly, has a map search function. Within my own country's provision is the National Records of Scotland's online facility to search both its own catalogue and that of the National Register of Archives for Scotland which describes those records in private hands. Their catalogues list the tens of thousands of local plans in their care. It is probably true that there has never been a better time for anyone to conduct some form of historical research from the comfort of their own home. Or is there?

The reason I ask this is because my work with students over the last forty years makes me question whether or not access is the all-embracing answer to the questions that so many people pose. I fear that the volume of information out there on the web can create a fearsome challenge to anyone starting out on a voyage of exploration. Earlier this week, I typed into Google a search string for 'history Scottish cartography' and within 0.92 seconds I had about 15 and a half million results! I don't know about your own feelings on this but as I come to terms with having fewer years to enjoy than those already experienced, the prospect of trawling through more than the first two pages of such a search takes the shine of any enthusiasm. My recent experience also makes me question whether or not access is the panacea to all needs when knowledge that a particular institution holds a particular item founders on the ability of staff to be able to trace where exactly that might be! As the number of academic and public libraries under threat from budget cuts grows, the impact on service levels creates a barrier to that access.

Please do not imagine that this is a yearning for a rose-tinted past. It is a far more challenging environment today where the inter-disciplinary nature of much research would not be well supported by the service provision levels of past generations. My concern is more based on the skills which are no longer developed by the lack of immediate contact with the literature of any subject. In the pre-electronic age, library staff and readers would browse the shelves and frequently come across related material by quite serendipitous fortune. More relevant in my mind was the subtle development of skills in evaluating the quality of material by looking at the artefact itself. Such things as the publisher, the quality of the publishing, the currency of the research and the references all were guidelines to help any assessment of a work's value. When information comes to a researcher through a computer screen, those filters are removed and there is a greater uniformity of presentation. To me, it is quite clear that many undergraduates struggle to find a way through the confusion and excess of information in an age when the pressures on their available time has increased with the apparent growth in the facility to find information. As one academic put it to me, post-graduate students in many areas in the humanities are looking for that one pot of archive treasures which no one else has discovered without seeing a wider picture.

This is not a new phenomenon. In 2001 I was involved in what was then described as the book with one of the most boring titles that year from the Stationery Office – namely *Scottish Official Publications: an introduction and guide*. We produced it as a reaction to the pervading mantra which was being fed to those working with government publications that the information being produced by the new Scottish Parliament and Executive would be available on the Web *without* any indication of where to find it and how the structure could be navigated.

In a roundabout way, what I am concerned about are two key issues:

- A growing lack of placing much of what is available in context for new researchers
- The resultant confusion of evidence for those interested in a new subject

Information is *not* knowledge. My profession has slowly walked away from providing that context and researchers struggling with a more restricted post-graduate supervision regime may be left to their own devices to elucidate the meaning behind the map. To me, this is a vital area for understanding and I believe firmly that *you*, as collectors, have a very significant role to play as others 'exit stage left'.

For those in the world of map libraries, much of this disengagement from the users has been exacerbated by the phenomenal success of digital imagery in providing access to maps online. If I return briefly to the work of Jeffrey Stone, I remember the launch of his book *The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland: sixteenth century origins of a Blaeu atlas*, produced by Map Collector Publications in 1989. Despite the technical difficulties and the high



Fig. 1 A detail of Timothy Pont's manuscript map of the 'Baronee of Renfrew' showing Glasgow and its surrounding area. Pont's sixteenth-century surveys were the source of the maps later produced by Joan Blaeu for his 1654 *Atlas of Scotland*. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

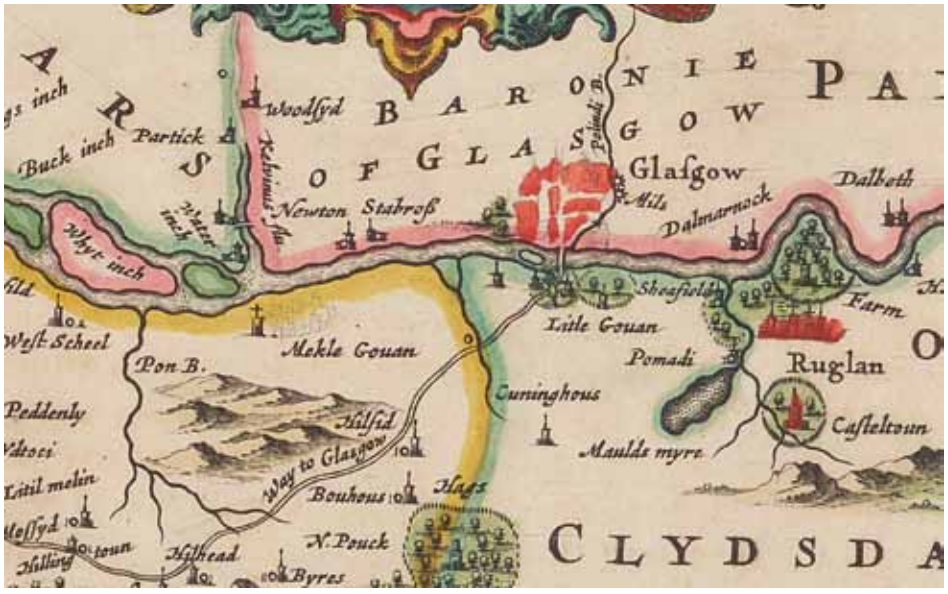


Fig. 2 Depiction of Glasgow, a detail from 'Praefectura Renfroana' from the Blaeu *Atlas of Scotland*, 1654. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

cost of obtaining quality negatives from which prints could be made, the surviving manuscripts were made available to the general reader for the first time, along with an interpretation of the information on each document. Only seven years later, the NLS inaugurated Project Pont, a five-year programme which resulted in the digital scanning of the maps, the launch of the Pont Maps website and the publication of a comprehensive sequence of essays studying various aspects of life in sixteenth-century Scotland as displayed on the manuscripts, namely *The Nation Survey'd: essays on late sixteenth-century Scotland as depicted by Timothy Pont*. Without in any way demeaning the earlier book, this gave a far wider readership the ability to see the minute detail on each map without any material damage to the original.

This can be well seen in the images for the only Pont manuscript which bears a date, namely that covering Clydesdale from late 1596. Pont locates almost 1400 places on this document which in itself emphasises the enormity of the task which he set himself in attempting to cover all Scotland almost singlehandedly. With the ability to zoom in on a specific area, much of the confusion in detail falls away and the reader can see the true value of his work as a chorographer, as emphasised by the late Charles McKean who realised that many of Pont's building sketches aimed to provide a true replication of the size and structure of important country houses. By understanding that Pont sought to describe localities along similar lines to William Camden, in other words, chorography, it is now argued that Pont was not attempting to record the religious establishment of his day, despite being a minister and the son of an early moderator of the Reformed Church. Equally importantly, such work indicates an awareness of what was happening on the European continent where statesmen and administrators were increasingly relying on cartography as a tool in government.

Returning to Scotland, much has been made of the differences between Pont's original surveys and the resultant maps which appear in the Blaeu atlas, largely as a result of the difficulties faced by the Dutch engravers in the interpretation of what was a very mixed bag of documents and the problems of transcribing the complexities of the place-names from the original sheets (Figs. 1 & 2). This can be seen on the example from Renfrewshire where Nether Pollock has been changed to N. Pouck and the Molendinar Burn has become the Polindi B. On the other hand, Blaeu clearly shows those mills on the burn which formed part of the service economy of the medieval city. The importance of looking at the Pont originals as a better source of information has been much stressed but it is only recently when using an image of the Blaeu map of Renfrewshire that I realised something which may (or may not) have a significance for local historians in the Glasgow area. If you look carefully at the depiction of Glasgow itself, none of the detail seems to be clearly engraved – at best, tentatively pencilled in. In a similar fashion, there is a pencil sketch lying to the east of Meikle Govan, which seems to reproduce detail from the Pont manuscript of the county, indicating that there was a considerable settlement on a site which has a long history as an early religious site and major centre of the kingdom of Strathclyde. What does this mean? I suppose this is a timely caution to be wary of those who stand before you and *appear* to speak with authority on certain topics!

Careful scrutiny of documents and an understanding of place are very important in the interpretation of all material to hand. This contrast between manuscript and printed sources has, surprisingly, not carried through to the other major survey of Scotland scanned and made available to the wider public through the NLS's maps website – namely the Military Survey of Scotland, 1747–55, frequently referred to as the Roy Map, after William Roy, the man most associated with the surveying work and now regarded as the 'father of the Ordnance Survey'. While the individual sheets of what was then described as The Great Map form part of King George III's Topographical Collection at the British Library, it is well known that the map itself has a somewhat complicated history. In particular, the coverage of northern Scotland resulted in what has been called an Original Protraction and a Fair Copy. As long ago as 1986 two St Andrews University academics made a detailed study of the reliability of this historical source, looking at settlement, land-use and place-names. They discovered differences between the protracted and fair copy sheets which was taken to suggest that the map was not entirely the product of original survey, that the fair copy has a more symbolic indication of features and may be based on yet unknown sources of information. Although my example is from the limited area where the fair copy depiction of northern Scotland overlaps that of the south around Leith, then the port for Edinburgh, it is clear that there are considerable differences between the two versions and I am not sure that the many people who refer to the Fair Copy images of the north of Scotland are aware of this discrepancy.

Of slightly more significance to me is the suggestion that the surveying teams used unknown sources of information. Although there is no evidence for any alternative source for the illustration of Glasgow on this map, two other pre-1750 plans are mentioned in the burgh records, namely one prepared by John Watt in 1732 of 'the sixteen mark land within the royalty' of the burgh 'which has cost him great pains and trouble and taken a long time in the doing thereof' and the other, a map of the royalty drawn in the 1740s by James Barry, who was subsequently appointed city surveyor and measurer in March 1773. Neither of these plans appears to have survived but, given the Watt family's retention of many of the mathematician's

surveys, there is an outside possibility that, as may have been the case in other areas, these earlier depictions were used as sources. What is slightly more interesting is the dearth of place names around both Glasgow and Edinburgh in comparison with detail provided for the area close to Roy's birthplace at Miltonhead near the River Clyde, now marked by an Ordnance Survey triangulation station.

These may appear small points of contention which, unfortunately, can be a national characteristic of the Scottish psyche but it reflects a concern about how we present and interpret our past cartographic heritage, particularly in a time when there is pressure to promote what are described as 'unique and distinctive collections' by senior management teams in several institutions. When preparing the text for this lecture, I was listening to the historical novelist Hilary Mantel's first Reith lecture for 2017 entitled 'The Day is for the Living'. In her thoughtful and cogent presentation, she made some striking points about our methods of organising our ignorance of the past – what she describes as what is left in the sieve when the centuries have run through it. In our world of maps and their history, I am increasingly concerned that the best we seem able to do falls far too short of what we could do, can be flawed and confused, lacks rigour or integrity and is increasingly affected by short-term necessity or expediency. We seem to be treating the little and partial surviving evidence with an active ignoring of what is there for our interpretation.

Let me explain this a little more fully. Project Pont was a notable success because it digitised what was very much a complete collection of 'unique and distinctive' maps but since then many digitisation projects have had slightly more questionable logic behind them. When I was Secretary of what was the LIBER special interest Groupe des Cartothecaires, I remember Carme Montaner making the comment that if she saw another digital image of a Blaeu map she would be sick! I am a little uncertain about the impetus behind, and the appropriateness of, loading scanned images on websites as some sort of visual 'pick and mix' selection of goodies. The success of the Glasgow maps book seemed to engender some rather crack-brained schemes to have digital images of what are regarded as the Library's treasures more for their promotional potential than for any inherent value that the individual map may have.

This resulted in the production of a vintage tote bag bearing an image of the 1828 map of Glasgow and its environs by David Smith, possibly as a forerunner to a range of cushion covers to include the Sulman panoramic view of the city from the *Illustrated London News* in 1864. Certainly, I am not against what Margaret Wilkes has described as cartographic ephemera, especially when it can raise awareness of local material and taps in to what appears to be an increasingly receptive audience's appetite for maps of a local area. What I found really upsetting was this focus of resources on such promotion to the exclusion of creating a proper web presence for such images and the signal lack of resources to conserve these items. To me, there needs to be a far more integrated and cooperative approach to how we present this heritage to future generations.

A good example of the dichotomy between beauty and relative importance can be seen in the small map of what became the Royal Botanic Garden in Glasgow. It may not be overly striking in comparison to its more colourful relations but the story behind it is one which placed the city at the centre of international botanical research. Laid out under the guidance of Thomas Hopkirk, a pioneer local botanist, the garden was funded by public subscription, including £2,000 from the university on the understanding that the Professor of Botany would deliver a series of lectures each summer in a purpose built hall seating 200. A Royal Charter was issued in 1818 and the Crown paid £2,000 towards its foundation. Two years later, a certain William Jackson Hooker was appointed to the Regius Chair of Botany at Glasgow. Hooker, as you may know, subsequently became the first director of Kew Gardens but he was knighted for his services to botany at Glasgow and his pupils included his son, Joseph Hooker and David Douglas. More significantly, this design was strongly influential in the subsequent layout of the Glasgow Necropolis, Scotland's first garden cemetery.

I want to extrapolate these observations further by looking at the NLS's undoubted success in promoting its map collection. At present, there are some 160,000 high-resolution zoomable images of maps on its maps web pages. In a press release from March 2014, the Library announced that detailed maps of every town in England and Wales 'immensely valuable for local and family history' were now available online from this site. This is all pretty impressive stuff and, like others in Scotland, I take a great deal of pride in the fact that our own deposit library bats way above its weight internationally when it comes to providing access to

digital images to as wide an audience as possible. Those who know me well will already have been waiting for the all-too-obvious *but* and it would be churlish not to disappoint them.

So here goes. The difficulty I have with this richness of provision is that it has put the NLS rather in the position of being perceived as the proverbial one-stop shop for images of Scottish maps. They are, after all, the National Library and most folk in Scotland take for granted that this is the first and (potentially) only port of call for their map requirements. Where else do they need to look? Well, in 1996, my post-graduate research on Glasgow maps listed 91 maps which covered the city at a detailed scale in the period between 1764 and 1865. If you look at the current NLS website for the available images of Glasgow for the same period, it provides access to only seventeen equivalent maps. You can argue whether or not certain maps appearing in books are relevant for inclusion but the signal failure to provide images of key maps relating to Scotland's largest city is, at the very least, regrettable. These omissions include James Barry's plan of the city from about 1782, the first to indicate truly the nascent grid plan of the Merchant City; David Smith's six-sheet map dating from 1821 and based on Peter Fleming's original plates from 1807, his single sheet reduction of 1828; and, most importantly, the impressive map by George Martin dating from 1842. My argument is that it is perhaps time for such an institution to focus on the provision of images of its national cartographic heritage regardless of its present location. After all, the images of the Military Survey of Scotland come from the British Library.

If we fail to provide such comprehensive access, we fail to provide the broader picture of our unique and distinctive cultural heritage. More importantly, this reliance on the resources only of one institution, albeit the most significant, is based on selectivity and the quality of the original. This can result in a very false impression of what was produced in the past. To push this further, I would invite members of the audience to look at the website's list of town plans for other Scottish burghs, such as Alloa, Burntisland, Falkirk, Hamilton, Huntly, Kinross, Paisley and Rothesay and challenge them not to conclude that there was no relevant urban cartography prior to the work of John Wood in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, it also results in some rather dire images being loaded, such as this of William Forrest's map of the county of Lanark from 1816, which looks like green sludge has been poured over sections of it.

Of more significance than what may appear to be rather carping observations is the impact of a web presence on the map libraries themselves. With a greater availability of online maps, the reader numbers visiting map libraries have declined drastically and, in the case of the NLS Map Room, has resulted in the reduction of opening to three days a week. A similar decline has taken place in British academic libraries since the introduction of the EDINA Digimap service which provides a variety of Ordnance Survey and other providers' digital geospatial information to higher education institutions. This very quickly became the envy of many of our European colleagues and caused endless fun trying to explain to overseas students that there just was not the same access to similar cartography for other parts of the world. Initially intended to provide support to map librarians by the provision of a greater range of material than any collection outside the copyright deposit libraries could hold, it has in many ways completely destroyed their position in several major British academic research institutions. When I retired in April, I was the last Scottish university librarian to have specific responsibility (as part of my remit) for a map collection and the last ten years has seen the depressing breaking-up of several significant collections.

When I gave a talk at the 10th birthday of the service in 2010, I made the specific point that one of the serious flaws in what was happening was the failure of many in map libraries to promote what Bob Parry of Reading University then described as their expertise 'in the handling of spatially related datasets' in whatever format. The striking success and early adaptability of Digimap to what was a markedly changing set of challenges has underlined that the service provider frequently rose to meet user needs in a more effective way than the librarian. This is not surprising where support staff faced demands for levels of technical skills in the use of equipment and data which were frequently beyond their traditional experience. Because of the fragmented nature of map collections throughout the country, there was little attempt to co-ordinate an effective response in which the map librarian could rise to the challenges of such a pivotal role.

Change is always with us but I have never subscribed to the view expressed by Henry Francis Lyte that its inevitable partner is decay and it is my hope that, paraphrasing the words of his most famous hymn, that love of maps which has been with me for so long will 'abide with me' – and, of course, with you.

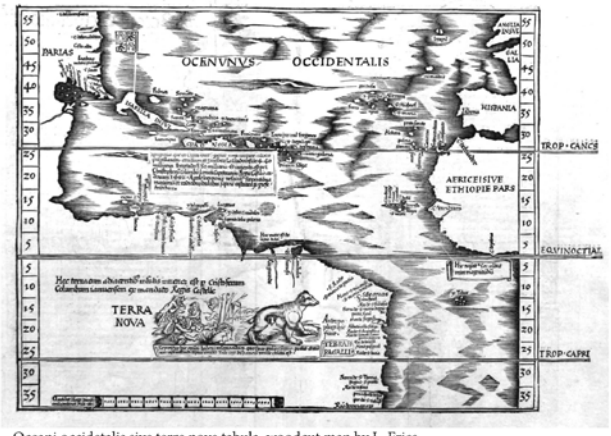
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Oceani occidetalis sive terre nove tabula, woodcut map by L. Fries from the Ptolemaeus edition by J. Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1525

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INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

IMCoS

HAMBURG SYMPOSIUM

8–12 October 2017



Programme

Sun 8 October
Welcome reception at Dr Götze Land und Karte

Mon 9 October 8.30am at the Commerzbibliothek

Welcome and opening remarks
Wolfgang Sarges: 'A brief introduction to German history'
Wolfram Dolz: 'Mapping Saxony in the sixteenth – eighteenth centuries'
Dr Michael Bischoff: 'How to represent mapmaking: the iconography of geography'
Michiel van Groesen: 'Claes Janz Visscher and the making of Dutch Brazil'
Dr Stefaan Missine: 'Leonardo's Globe: New Findings'

Lunch at leisure

6pm Excursion to Hamburg Planetarium with lecture on celestial maps by Robert van Gendt and a special event conducted by Planetarium Director Thomas Kraupe

Tue 10 October 8.30am at the Commerzbibliothek
Stephan Homes: 'Lübeck'
Professor Burghart Schmidt: TBC
David Goldthorpe (Sotheby's): 'Developments in the Map Market'

Lunch at leisure

3pm Excursion to the State archives of Hamburg

Evening at leisure

Wed 11 October 8.30am at the Commerzbibliothek
Professor Ulrike Gehring: TBC
Dr Angela Huang: 'On the Hanseatic League'
Dr Jens Ahlers: 'Cartography in Northern Germany'

Lunch at leisure

1pm Excursion to the International Maritime Museum (IMMH)

6.30pm Farewell dinner at the Überseeclub

Thu 12 October 8.30am–8pm Excursion to Eutin, the Eutiner Library, the Dreyer-Eimbcke collection and Lübeck

Fri 13–Sun 15 October Optional tour to Berlin
This is now fully booked

Registration fee €460
This includes the pre-Symposium reception, morning coffee/tea on Symposium days, entry to afternoon visits and the farewell dinner.

Accommodation in Hamburg

Hamburg offers accommodation options to suit all pockets. As centrally located hotels book up quickly, participants are advised to make their reservations early. **IMCoS Symposium registrants will receive special rates** for single or double rooms at these hotels:

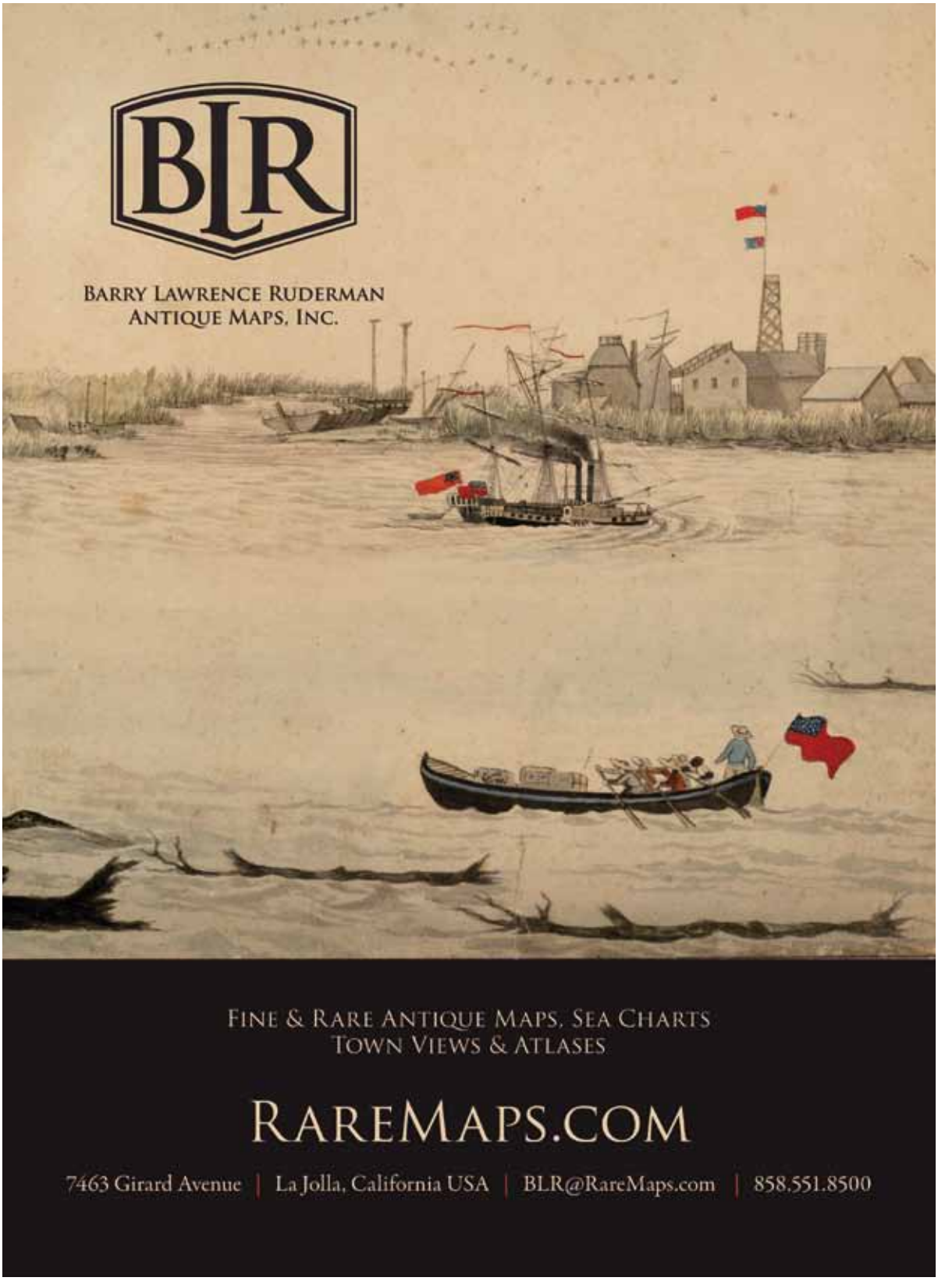
Hotel ibis Alster Centrum ★★ www.ibis.com/gb/hotel-1395-ibis-hamburg-alster-centrum/index.shtml (€89 per night for single rooms or €112 per night for double rooms. Breakfast is included).

Hotel Barceló ★★★★ www.barcelo.com/en-gb/hotels/germany/hamburg/hotel-barcelo-hamburg (single rooms and double rooms cost €145 and €165 per night respectively between 8–9 Oct, thereafter (10–12 Oct) €160 or €180. Breakfast is included. Nightly tourist tax of €2.14–€3.21).

Hotel Four Seasons ★★★★★ www.hvj.de/en/index.php (€260 per night for double rooms or €235 for double rooms with single use. Breakfast is included).

These special rates only apply from 8 Oct until 12 Oct 2017 and for reservations made before 10 Sept 2017.

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TACTILE SEMIOTICS

Design in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maps by, and for, the blind

Leah M. Thomas

This article is rooted in presentations on the history of tactile maps by, and for, the blind delivered at the North American Cartographic Information Society and the Virginia Special Libraries Association in 2008. Both presentations highlighted maps from The Library of Virginia's map collection, including those made by Joseph W. Wiedel (1928–2017). The latter presentation also featured maps from the Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind in Staunton, Virginia.

A man is isolated by everything which renders the acquisition of knowledge difficult and tedious, and his isolation is diminished by everything which facilitates his power of self-education.[1]

Prior to the eighteenth century there does not appear to be any documentation of maps for the blind, although this dearth does not preclude their existence. The construction of tactile maps during the eighteenth century shows that some consistency persisted, according to contemporaneous and later accounts, because the educated blind shared their writing and tactile maps with one another. Yvonne Eriksson recognises, 'The modern design of tactile maps developed at a very early date'.[2] She suggests that standards in tactile map design in Europe were not an issue because of the 'limited number of symbols that can be used in tactile images'.[3] As with any text, signs are subject to readers' interpretations situated within context and readers' previous experiences with them. Signs, including language, represent content, and they function, like signs on maps, keying into 'the unspoken habits of thought, of what lies hidden in a people's mind; it accumulates an ineluctable memory which does not even know itself as memory'.[4] The 'signified', read through this memory, is structured within a 'degree of "reality"; … the signified is not "a thing" but a mental representation of the "thing"'.[5] Based upon sets of signs that revert to symbols and designs used in the past, tactile maps constructed a semiotics that emerged with the education of, and printing for, the blind in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

With the publication of *Lettre sur les aveugles à l'usage de ceux qui voient* (*A Londres*, 1749) by Denis Diderot, followed by *Essai sur l'éducation des aveugles* (*A Paris: Imprimé par les enfans-aveugles … en leur maison d'éducation*, 1786) by philanthropist and educator Valentin Haüy (1745–1822), founder of *L'Institut national des jeunes aveugles* in 1785, a change in the conception of knowledge and use of language in the case of the blind occurred related to philosophical and medical developments. The latter, Haüy's *Essai*, was printed in raised Roman type for the blind.[6] Epistemological philosophy and empirical knowledge precipitated this move toward support for educating the blind. Experiments in eye surgery, particularly cataract removal, or 'couching', created the possibility of enabling the blind to see, which seemed almost miraculous, for humanity was transforming what had previously been thought to be a sensational sacredness of the blind. William R. Paulson clarifies, 'To say that blindness was linked to the sacred is not to imply that the blind were considered part of religion. It is rather to observe that the difference of the blind – their otherness – was assumed to be radical, was attributed to some transcendent cause or mystery beyond the reach of human knowledge or of social control'.[7] For the most part, few blind people were made to see; many more died from operations and experiments. However, the idea of this transformation changed public perception of the blind, offering the possibility of an improved quality of life for them.

Tactile maps like other eighteenth-century texts by, and for, the blind reflect that some blind had access to education. These maps reveal the importance of knowing and understanding geography as a component of education. To communicate this knowledge so that it was understood, tactile maps used symbols the way that any language is comprised of symbols. Tactile maps functioned as tactile language in their use of the symbolic, a kind of pictorial language. Maps by, and for, the blind in the eighteenth century were embroidered and made from yarn, pinheads, beads, drops of wax, and glass to create a text through representation. Michel Foucault's description of language applies to this representation, for he articulates 'language as a thing inscribed in the fabric of the world were dissolved in the functioning of representation'.[8] He further explains, 'The art of language was a way of

"making a sign" – of simultaneously signifying something and arranging signs around that thing'.[9] Hence, the representative becomes symbolic in eighteenth-century tactile maps 'arranging signs around that thing' to create another sign as exemplified in the maps of the blind Mélanie de Salignac (1741–1763). These maps were 'embroidered on an ordinary map in silk or wool; the stitching marked the borders of each country and their provinces. Rivers and mountains were indicated by rows of pin-heads, and the towns were marked with drops of wax of different sizes, according to their population'.[10] De Salignac's maps were similar to those of the blind pianist and composer Maria Theresia von Paradis (1733–1808), a contemporary of the blind geographer and mathematician R. Weissenburg (b. 1756).[11] According to Eriksson, 'Before her tours, Von Paradis had maps made in relief. These maps were made from ordinary, printed maps on which the borders and rivers were embroidered in satin stitch. The stitching for the rivers was narrower than that representing national borders, and towns and cities were marked with buttons of different sizes'.[12] Letters between Von Paradis and Weissenburg reveal that her maps were also similar to, if not the same as, those of Weissenburg. Eriksson describes one of Von Paradis' 'maps, ordered by Weissenburg', dated 1800 and located at the *Bundes-Blindenerziehungsinstitut* in Vienna: 'It is an ordinary map, embroidered in silk chain stitch then can be folded. The embroidered lines are different thickness depending on their significance. By using silk of different colours, maps like this could be used by the partially sighted'.[13] This use of signs laid the foundation for their use in later tactile maps for the blind. As prominent individuals, Von Paradis and Weissenburg impacted the development of tactile maps and education for the blind. They influenced Haüy,[14] a pioneer of institutionalised instruction of the blind. Their innovation paved the way for Louis Braille (1809–1852), who would later be educated at *L'Institut national des jeunes aveugles* and devise his system of writing (*c.*1824) based upon 'écriture nocturne', or 'night writing',[15] of cryptographer Charles Barbier (1767–1841).

Weissenburg's maps: tactile materiality

Because of Weissenburg's influence on Von Paradis and education for the blind, the descriptions of Weissenburg's maps are necessary to provide insight into the later process and design of tactile maps. Weissenburg initially attempted to make tactile maps that could be printed. Sébastien Guillié, Haüy's successor at the institute, outlines this effort: 'He [Weissenburg] began by having the principal divisions of Europe engraved in relief, on a board of the size of ordinary maps, in the hope of being able to get such maps printed as books are; but the too-large hollow spaces destroyed the effect of the projections, and this defective plan was abandoned almost as soon as formed'.[16] Although Weissenburg jettisoned this endeavour, he continued to experiment with other methods. Guillié delineates Weissenburg's 'second attempt': 'The second attempt consisted in spreading over all the illuminated lines glass beads of the same colour as the illumination, and in fixing them by means of a thread, which went through them, and which was sewed on the map; but these beads broke, or else did not keep their relation with the subjacent lines'.[17] Weissenburg then modified these maps to make them more durable. Although they sparked attention for their materials and details, they were expensive:

> *For the glass beads he* [Weissenburg] *afterwards substituted* chenille*, which he pasted before he sewed it. He also made maps, at a great expense, which excited more curiosity than interest, and were much spoken of at the time: the seas and rivers were represented on them by pieces of glass, cut with great art, and the different countries were distinguished by sand of different granulations; the towns were known by copper nails with round heads of different sizes: but the rubbing soon made the sand disappear and these maps were considerably damaged by the least handling; they were of no use to those who had their sight, who could not even guess the purpose of them unless informed of it.*[18]

Guillié acknowledges that what a blind person may understand in a tactile map a sighted person may not comprehend without an explanation. Yet, Weissenburg's maps illustrate how he constructed meaning from signs through not only their positions but also their materials. Hence, the pictorial representation operates with the semiotics of a language through touch to create a cognitive image of space and what is within that space. Unlike maps for the sighted, tactile maps for the blind depict terrain so that it can be understood through touch. The surface aesthetics of the tactile map that are visible to a sighted user only matter for the touch of a blind user, for it is through touch that content and meaning are communicated. While a tactile map has a visible surface, space and terrain have to be textured to be effective for a blind reader.

For pedagogical purposes, the blind and sighted had to be able to read tactile maps for the blind. Realising the insufficiency of his maps for the sighted, Weissenburg devised a technique readable for both:

> *He had common maps pasted on strong gummed linen, as is done for folding maps that are shut up in portable cases; these were embroidered with little chains, and by employing silks of different sizes, he could make all the divisions that he judged necessary, much better than with the sand, which could only serve to indicate great parts. By making use of coloured silk, he could even make these maps useful to those who had their sight: nevertheless, this plan, though much preferable to the other, was still defective, as the embroidering, after having served some time, got loose, and, tearing the paper, lost the connection which it had with the illuminated lines.*[19]

He then altered his maps to the following process for durability:

> *The map is pasted on a very thick pasteboard, and then on all the parts that are to be made apparent, is pasted iron-wire, well seasoned, easily bent, and folded in silk-paper, like that which the milliners use for ladies' hats: this pasting is easily done by means of a small hair-pencil, like those that are used for colouring with Indian ink, and the agglutination of the wire on the map is very solid, by means of the paper with which it is surrounded. As to the circumvolutions which this wire requires, they are done very exactly with very fine crane-beaked pincers, taking care to put it often on the illuminated lines, in order to be certain of the exactness of the different parts; this wire is cut in shorter or longer pieces, according as the work requires; nevertheless, too frequent cuttings are avoided, because the ends of them come over and tear the map laid upon them, or if the student hits his fingers against them, he might hurt them. The towns and islands are indicated by nails with demi-spherical heads of different sizes, which are nailed into the pasteboard, which ought to be thick enough for the points not to go through.*[20]

In Guillié's above description of Weissenburg's maps, the students' wellbeing is taken into consideration in making the maps. Guillié also provides a sense of tactile and visual aesthetics in Weissenburg's maps as suggested in his description of the kinds of glass: 'glass beads of the same colour as the illumination' and 'pieces of glass, cut with great art'. Weissenburg's use of fabrics such as '*chenille*', 'silks of different sizes', and 'coloured silk', as well as metals like 'copper nails' and the 'pasted iron-wire … folded in silk-paper, like that which the milliners use for ladies' hats' demonstrate his experimentation with colour, texture, and durability to make tactile maps that both the blind and sighted could read.

The maps that Weissenburg constructed for Von Paradis may have also influenced J. W. Klein (1765–1848), founder of the *Bundes-Blindenerziehungsinstitut* in Vienna, because Von Paradis and Klein were contemporaries and both lived in Vienna.[21] Klein's map of Europe made for his blind student Jacob Braun (1795–1839) between 1804 and 1805 could offer some insight into the combination of textile techniques for tactility that Weissenburg and Von Paradis may have applied to their maps as well as their repurposing of printed maps for the sighted into maps for the blind (Fig. 1). In Klein's map of Europe, wire outlines boundaries, and buttons designate capitals. The map has an aesthetic appeal in its materiality, textuality and colour. Semiotically, the map functions as a communication and pedagogical medium between the blind and the sighted. The blind may 'read' the tactile cues: of the wires and buttons. The sighted may read the visual cues: colour, words, lines and buttons. The map allows the blind and the sighted to communicate to each other what they read. The map reveals that the blind reader has to learn and to remember geography through shapes and proximities; blind readers may not rely on the toponyms provided as visual cues for the sighted unless differentiated as raised text, which would later drive concerns about creating texts that the blind could read independently.

Dissected maps: reading 'divisions'

Dissected maps, or jigsaw puzzles, were also used to teach geography to the blind as well as sighted children. It is unclear when the blind began to use these maps, but they have been traced to the French writer and educator Madame Le Prince de Beaumont (1711–1780) and were popularised by mapmaker John Spilsbury (1739–1769).[22] Descriptions of Von Paradis and Weissenburg's maps along with Klein's map of Europe hint at how they may have been dissected, and how they might have been made and used by the blind during the eighteenth century. According to Eriksson, 'Klein had already used maps which could be taken apart and put together in his teaching of blind pupils, to facilitate their perception of the maps as well as other games with pieces which must be assembled, for sighted children too'.[23]



Fig. 1 'Karte von J. W. Klein beim ersten Unterrichte Brauns 1804/05 verwendet'. J. W. Klein constructed this map for his student Jacob Braun. It may have been similar to those made by R. Weissenburg. Image courtesy of the *Bundes-Blindenerziehungsinstitut*, Vienna.

Dissected maps could be useful as pedagogical tools for the blind and the sighted because they could be dissected along administrative and territorial boundaries as Robert Sayer's dissected map 'The Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, Divided into Their Great Provinces' (London: Printed for Robert Sayer, map and printseller, 1772) reveals (Fig. 2). Sayer's map dissects Spain and Portugal according to their provinces, as the map's title indicates. The shapes are representative of the locations. Much of the learning would occur through memorisation of the shapes with their corresponding province names. Similar to other tactile symbols, the puzzle pieces perform semiotically. Such maps likely had an earlier origin as suggested in an obituary, dated 16 March 1866, of an eighteen-year-old blind law student. He lost his sight at the age of three: 'At that early age he read well, and could put dissected maps of any country together quickly and correctly'.[24] The documented use of dissected maps by Klein and the prevalence of dissected maps for the blind during the nineteenth century pose an eminent possibility that dissected maps were used by the blind during the eighteenth century.[25]

Nineteenth-century dissected maps for the blind generally get mentioned in reference to education and educational institutions for the blind. In his second edition of *The Education and Employment of the Blind: What It Has Been, Is, and Ought To Be* (London, 1886), British physician and founder of the Royal National Institute of Blind People T.R. Armitage (1824-1890), who was blind, acknowledges, 'The best [wall maps] are wooden dissecting maps made at the American Printing-House at Louisville, Kentucky, and at the Perkins Institution, Boston, United States. These are, however, necessarily very expensive, and moreover are not well suited to class teaching'.[26] Armitage's *The Education and Employment of the Blind* documents the prevalence of dissected maps at institutions for the blind during the nineteenth century. He remarks that the institute in Nashville,

Tennessee had 'large dissected wall-maps, made at Louisville',[27] presumably by the American Printing House. At the Louisville Institute for the Blind, he explains, 'No hand-maps are used, but very beautiful wooden dissected wall-maps…. Mr. Huntoon, the Director, spends much of his leisure time in carving and gluing up these wall-maps'.[28] In Brantford, Ontario in Canada, 'The only maps used are rough, homemade, dissected wall-maps'.[29] Not only were these maps manufactured outside these institutions they were also produced by members of them.

As Armitage shows in his own accounts of dissected maps, descriptions of these maps varied. An 1890 *New York Times* article captures the manufacture and use of dissected maps for the 'eyeless'. The maps are described as 'wood – really carved blocks'.[30] Joseph Stadelman,[31] founder of Xavier Society for the Blind in New York in 1900, remarks on dissected maps for educating the blind but does not provide a temporal context:

> *Most of the detailed teaching of geography, however, must be from raised maps… . The best thus far made are the wooden dissected maps, in which the divisions of a country are represented by a moveable section, bodies of water by a depression in the wood, hills and mountains by a slight elevation, towns and cities by brass-headed nails. When all moveable sections are fitted together they form a complete map. The main objection to the dissected maps is that they are very expensive and better suited to individual than to class teaching.*[32]

While these wooden dissected maps are well made and compellingly constructed with 'bodies of water' represented 'by a depression in the wood, hills and mountains by a slight elevation', this critique of dissected maps for the blind echoes previous critiques of maps by, and for, the blind. As early as Weissenburg, the goal was to accomplish less expensive reproducible tactile maps, preferably printed, for classroom instruction.

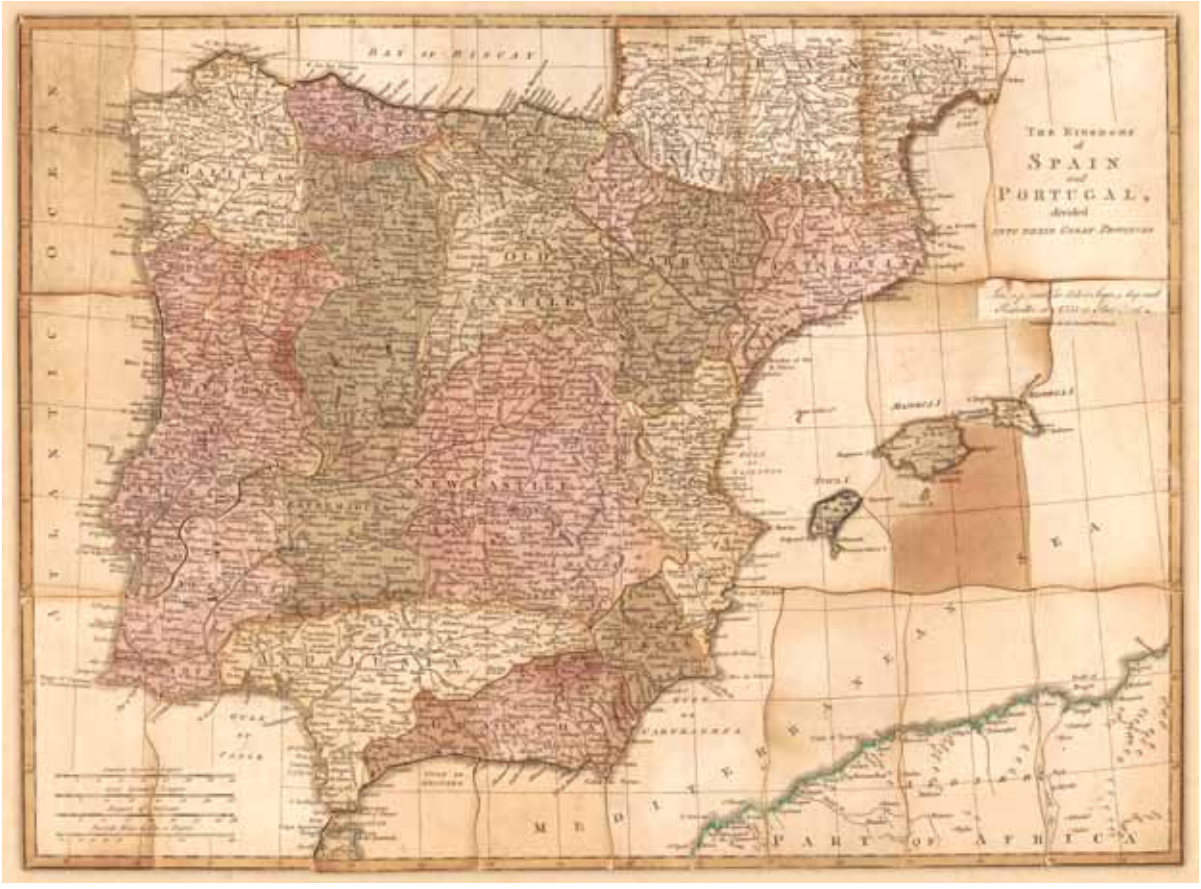


Fig. 2 Robert Sayer, 'The Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, Divided into Their Great Provinces', 1772. This hand-coloured paper map was mounted on wood and dissected into forty-four pieces to teach children geography. Dissected maps were ubiquitous in schools for the blind during the nineteenth century. Image courtesy of Library of Congress Map and Geography Division, Washington, DC.

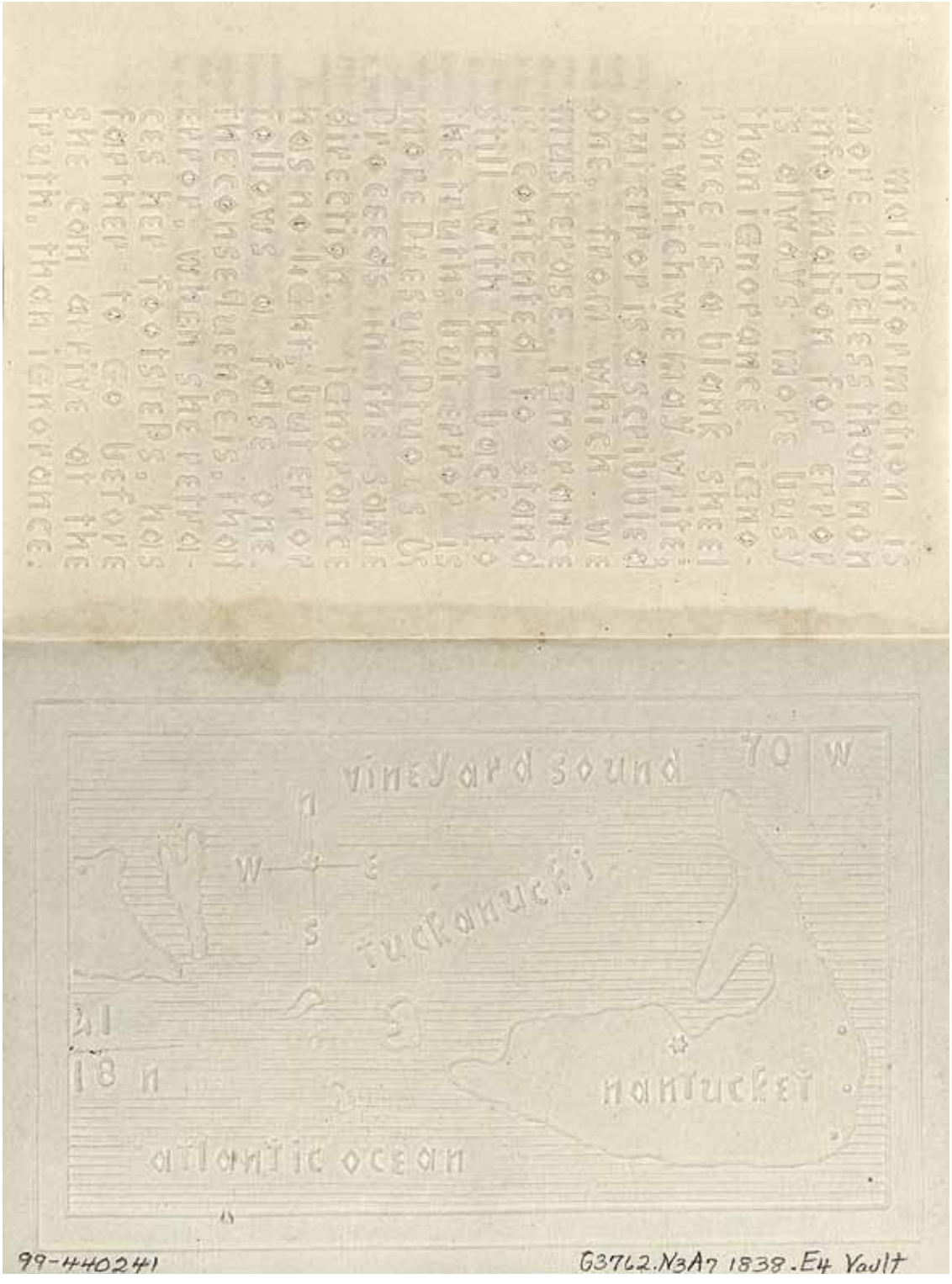


Fig. 3 New England Institution for the Education of the Blind, ['Embossed Map of Nantucket Island and Vicinity'], 1838. This map, accompanied by the *Sixth Annual Report of the Trustees of the New-England Institution for the Education of the Blind, to the Corporation*, exemplifies Samuel Gridley Howe's embossed maps for the blind and his Boston Line Type. Image courtesy of Library of Congress Map and Geography Division, Washington, DC.

Printed tactile maps: the 'power of self-education'

To educate the blind to be self-sufficient, the blind and their educators knew they had to be able to read for themselves and thus the significance of printing in relief. Printing for the blind, including tactile maps, was not isolated to pedagogy but also served philanthropic purposes, initiated by Haüy's *Essai sur l'éducation des aveugles*. Haüy published his *Essai* for both the sighted and blind to demonstrate to the public and potential benefactors that the blind could read and that the institute was an educational organisation capable of producing knowledge. Likewise, Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876), director of the Perkins School for the Blind in Boston, Massachusetts, and William Moon (1818–1894), founder of the Moon Society for the Blind in Brighton, Sussex, issued publications that included tactile maps to promote education for the blind. The New England Institution for the Education of the Blind published Howe's embossed map of Nantucket Island and vicinity with the *Sixth Annual Report of the Trustees of the New-England Institution for the Education of the Blind, to the Corporation* in Boston in 1838 (Fig. 3).[33] This map delineates the Nantucket region of Massachusetts and identifies Vineyard Sound, Tuckanucki and the Atlantic Ocean to situate Nantucket within the larger area. Landmasses are smooth, while raised horizontal lines designate waters. Capitals and places on the islands are raised stars and dots, respectively. Latitudinal and longitudinal points along with a compass for orientation are printed in raised text. The accompanying text facing the map is in Boston Line Type and bespeaks the importance of knowledge, or arriving 'at the truth':

> *Mal-information is more hopeless than non information for error is always more busy than ignorance. Ignorance is a blank sheet on which we may write; but error is a scribbled one, from which we must erase. Ignorance is contented to stand still with her back to the truth; but error is more presumptuous and proceeds in the same direction. Ignorance has no light, but error follows a false one. The consequence is, that error, when she retraces her footsteps, has farther to go before she can arrive at the truth, than ignorance.*[34]

The relationship between this text and the map, although not necessarily self-evident, arises in the juxtaposition of this perspective and the map to correlate the importance of knowledge with that of geography. This report implies the significance of offering the blind a quality education, not misinformation.

The year prior, Howe had published his *Atlas of the United States Printed for Use of the Blind*, also notable for its elaborate text. Howe claims that his predecessors' maps did not facilitate independent reading by the blind: 'There was no lettering, and no printed explanations, so that the blind could not tell by themselves, whether the portion they placed the finger upon was to represent one part of the globe or another; they required to be taught upon each map, by a seeing person'.[35] He introduces the idea that his embossed maps were a first attempt: 'The first attempt at embossing maps, was made at this institution [the Perkins School for the Blind]'.[36] He reinforces this initiative: 'After many expensive experiments a method of printing them was devised: and an atlas, the first of the kind was published'.[37] He reiterates the importance of the blind reading independently: 'It [the atlas] has been found a source of great pleasure and useful knowledge to the blind, who can study it unassisted by a seeing person'.[38] The raised text in Haüy and Howe's publications was intended for both the blind and sighted to read, and, in turn, served a persuasive semiotic, pedagogic and philanthropic tactic.

As previously stated, Moon published texts to promote the education of the blind as well as to promote his system of writing, known as Moon Type, and production of texts, including maps. Haüy and Howe's publications may not have directly impacted Moon's work, but the embossed printing of all three opened possibilities for ways of printing for the blind that had to be communicated to the sighted for financial and cultural support. Because Moon was completely blind by 1840, his pedagogy and philanthropy differed from those of Haüy and Howe, who were sighted. Moon's *Light for the Blind: A History of the Origins and Success of Moon's System of Reading (Embossed in Various Languages) for the Blind* (London: Longmans & Co., 1873) is an historical account of print, education and philanthropy for the blind as well as his experience learning to read embossed texts and inventing his embossed print system.[39] In his preface he discloses his purpose for publishing *Light for the Blind*:

> *'The following pages have been prepared with a twofold object. Firstly, that the kind Contributors to the "Embossing Fund" may know how greatly the Lord has blessed our united efforts on behalf of the Blind; and secondly, that others, when they*

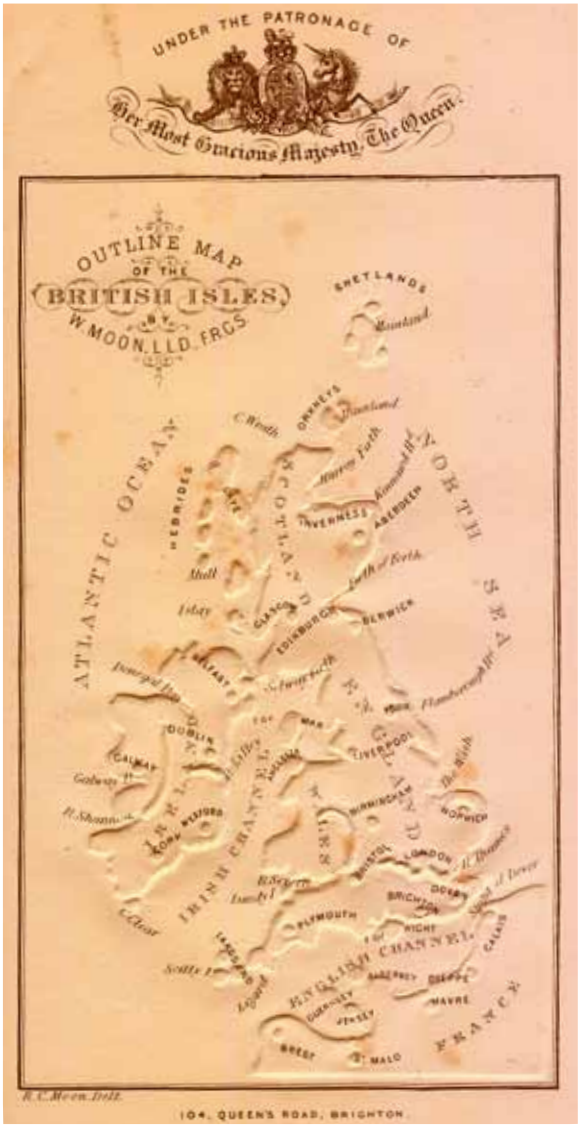


Fig. 4 William Moon, 'Outline Map of the British Isles', published in his *Light for the Blind: A History of the Origins and Success of Moon's System of Reading (Embossed in Various Languages) for the Blind*, 1873, shows a debossed map printed in Brighton by Moon's Society. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

> *learn the blessing that has been vouchsafed to our labours, may be induced to co-operate with us in this Christian Work'.*[40]

His memoir reported his accomplishments to those who had contributed money to his printing efforts and raised awareness about education for the blind. Moon augmented his memoir with examples of embossed and debossed texts for the blind with corresponding print. In later editions he inserted a debossed *Outline Map of the British Isles* (Fig. 4). While this map does not employ his Moon Type, it unusually reverses the topography by outlining the landmasses through depressions so that the water is raised above the land. This particular map conveys the experimentation in pedagogical and printing techniques in geographic representation that was occurring during the nineteenth century. Concurrently, the blind were having to learn multiple languages and methodologies apparent in raised Roman print, debossed and embossed print, Boston Line Type, Moon Type, Braille, among other print systems.

Moon's experience evidenced this conundrum. The texts to which Moon had access when he became blind were embossed texts for the blind that had been introduced into Great Britain in the 1820s.[41] Moon's system evolved from his difficulties with these texts:

> *In 1840, when I became blind, it was with much regret I discovered that the arduous labours of my good and zealous predecessors had failed to realise fully the object to which they were directed; but by God's blessing on my endeavours, I was enabled to project a Plan embracing very Simple Characters for the Alphabet, which is composed principally of the Roman Letters in their original or in slightly-modified forms, combined with* full orthography*, and suitable to the Blind of all ages and capacities.*[42]

He reduced the alphabet to accommodate his reading: 'Where I could not alter to advantage some of the more complex letters of the Roman Alphabet, I removed them altogether, and placed new characters in their stead; and when the alphabet was completed, I found that it consisted of only *nine* characters of the simplest formation placed in various positions'.[43] His elaboration of the history of tactile print for the blind in his *Light for the Blind* overlooks Howe as well as prominent tactile printing organisations like the American Printing House for the Blind in Louisville, Kentucky, possibly because Howe and the APH were in the United States. Moon's memoir divulges an understanding of the historical trajectory of tactile print for the blind and his experience in Europe.

Adaptation and translation: a changing semiotics

Tactile printing for the blind was instrumental in making the production of tactile print more feasible in maps for the blind as demonstrated in Howe's use of Boston Line Type and the use of Moon Type in John Fiske's *A History of the United States* (Brighton, Sussex:



Fig. 5 An embossed adaption in Moon Type of a map of North America in John Fiske's *A History of the United States*, Brighton, UK: Moon's Society, 1894, an adaption of Fiske's *A History of the United States* for Schools, Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1894. Image courtesy of The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Moon's Society, 1894) (Fig. 5). In this map, raised lines demarcate degrees of civilisation that get normalised rather than designating geographic locations. The northwest is labelled 'savage', while the United States is 'barbarous', and the southwest is 'half civilized'. These categories articulate an historical perspective and context within Fiske's text that gets translated into geographic location. To clarify, the embossed map in Moon Type is an adaptation of a map published in Fiske's *A History of the United States for Schools* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894).[44] Fiske's *History*, as his map demonstrates, categorises 'Indians' as 'savage', 'barbarous', and 'half-civilized'.[45] His epithet 'savage' refers to 'the savage Indians [who] lived to the west of Hudson Bay, and southwardly between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast, as far as the northern parts of Mexico'.[46] He classifies them as 'savage' because 'They had little or no agriculture, but lived by catching fish or shooting birds or such game as antelope and buffaloes'.[47] He also refers to them as 'savage' because 'They were not settled in villages, but moved about from place to place with very rude tent-like wigwams … [and] did not make pottery'.[48] His second epithet, 'barbarous', pertains to 'All of North America east of the Rocky Mountains … inhabited by the barbarous Indians, who had found out how to scratch the soil with a stone hoe and raise certain vegetables, so as not to be wholly dependent upon hunting and fishing'.[49] He positions 'the half-civilized Indians' in 'chiefly mountainous country' that 'extends from New Mexico southward as far as Chile'.[50] He places them in this category because of their crop irrigation, road and building construction, and their militarisation, which more closely resemble Fiske's idea of civilisation, thus perpetuating and reinforcing stereotypes about 'Indians' during the late nineteenth century. Despite these dehumanising adjectives and value judgments that get affixed to geographic locations, this map is similar to techniques used by Howe in his map of Nantucket, although without the raised lines to indicate water. On the map in Fiske's book only the outlines of the landmasses differentiate the land from the water, a technique popularly used by other makers of tactile maps for the blind at the end of the nineteenth century.

Tactile maps are maps in another language. The tactility is another experience of language in which the narrative of the map is translated through touch.

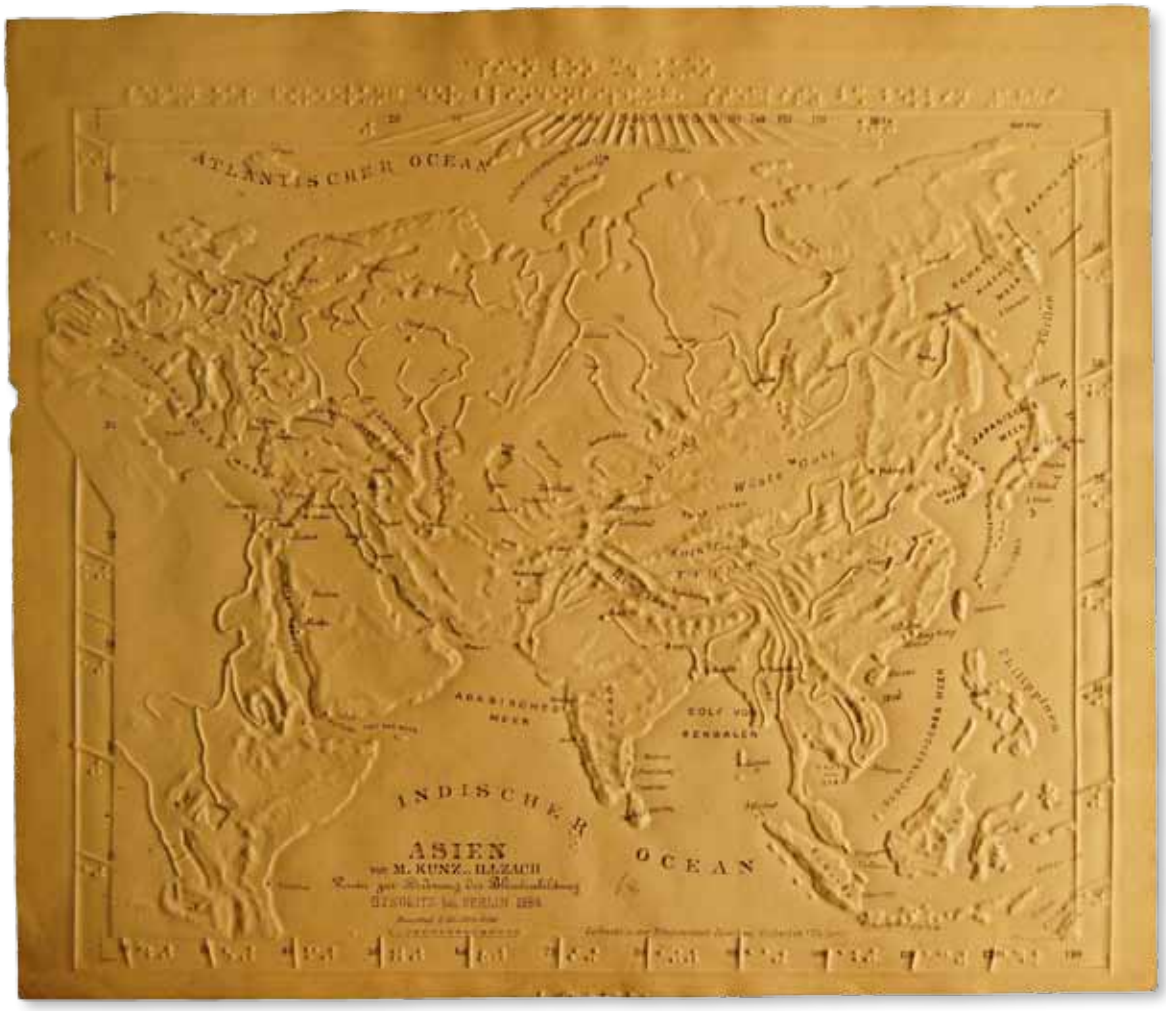


Fig. 6 Martin Kunz, '*Asien*', 1886 or 1889. Kunz was director of the Illzach bei Mülhausen Institute for the Blind. In his maps, he used both raised Roman letters and Braille. Braille had been adopted in France and Germany, but not in England or the United States. The print dates the map 1886, but the Braille dates the map 1889. Image courtesy of Museum of the American Printing House for the Blind, Louisville, Kentucky.

Howe and Moon's maps have elements that became standard features in tactile maps for the blind, especially in their representation of topographic and outline relief. What to represent and how to represent it without confusion were at times difficult to determine.[51] No longer were bodies of water, such as seas and oceans, represented by lines, as previously mentioned: instead, land was differentiated in relief with topographic features, including rivers, marked by raised lines as displayed in *Asien* (Berlin, 1886 or 1889) by Martin Kunz (1847–1923), director of the Illzach bei Mülhausen Institute for the Blind (Fig. 6). This map is from a series produced by the *Verein zur Förderung der Blindenbildung*.[52] The relief highlights topography, and latitude and longitude are in Braille.[53] Although raised dots denote major cities, toponyms are in print for the sighted; in this way the map may be used as a pedagogical tool between the blind and the sighted. The impracticability of tactile printing and of reading tactile maps with raised toponyms in addition to the topographic relief made this hybrid – a combination of topography in relief, minimal text in Braille, and toponymy in print – more feasible.[54] The map is in both German print and German Braille. The text that identifies the map is in Braille above the top neatline: '*Asien von Kunz* … 1889'. Toward the bottom left on the map the title, *Asien*, and the date 1886 are also printed. This discrepancy would not be readily apparent to the blind or sighted reader. Print, in relief and ink, like other aesthetics, determines the information in the map, as well as its look and feel.

Kunz also displays this multilingual component in

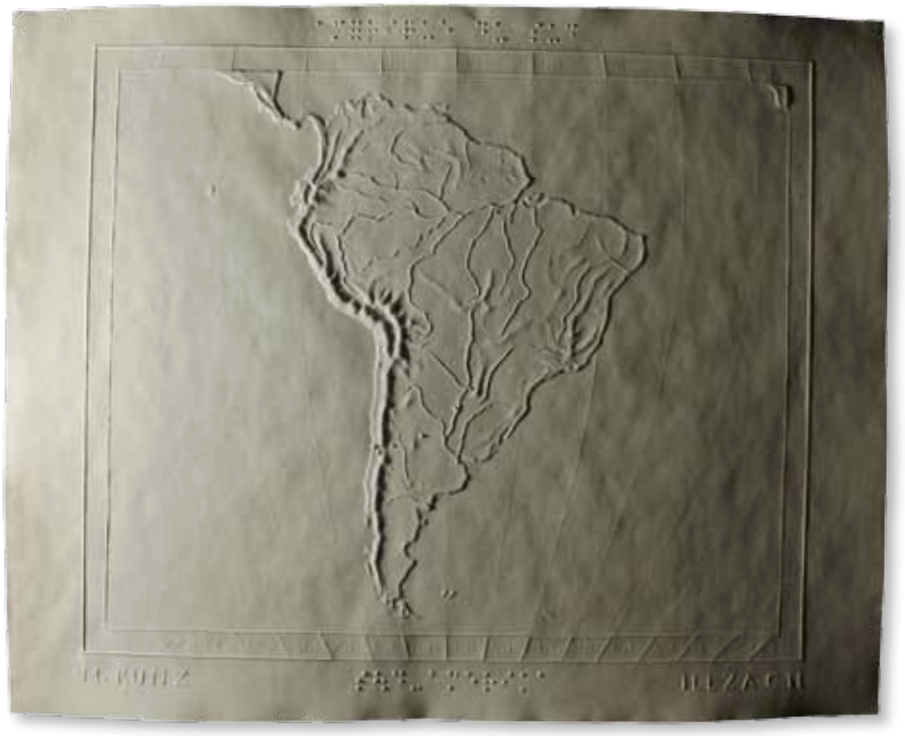


Fig. 7 Martin Kunz, 'Amérique du Sud = Süd-Amerik', *c.*1900. Kunz's map of South America has the title in both French and German Braille. Kunz's name and location are in raised Roman letters. Image courtesy of Perkins School for the Blind Archives, Watertown, MA.

his map of South America (Berlin, *c.*1900) (Fig. 7) which has parallel titles in Braille: in the upper margin, the French title is *Amérique du Sud* and in the lower margin, the German title *Süd-Amerika*. Printing the title in both French and German 'promoted a cohesive sense of regional togetherness' in the culturally French and German region of Alsace.[55] 'M. KUNZ' and 'ILLZACH' are in raised Roman letters in the lower margin. The map features numeric values for latitude and longitude in Braille, and corresponding raised lines create the map's grid. The continent rests above the water, and relief demarcates topographic features. Raised dotted lines highlight administrative boundaries. No toponyms other than the previously identified one – the title – are provided. The tactile semiotics of this map are legible to both the blind and the sighted, but the map more readily lends itself to independent reading by the blind because of its comprehensive tactility. Having become one of the major map producers in Europe during the 1890s along with his maps circulating in the United States,[56] Kunz, like his predecessors Weissenburg, Haüy, Klein, Howe and Moon, played a prominent role in furthering the accessibility of geographic knowledge for the blind by producing tactile maps.

These pioneers represent a select few who transformed, and contributed to, the conventions and standards for tactile maps for the blind. The maps that have been preserved in Europe and the United States, either through descriptions or as material objects from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reflect an engagement with the tradition of Western cartography in an interchange between the sighted and the blind that influenced pedagogy in geography and the intertextuality of maps as texts and maps as narratives in their semiotics. These maps elucidate the importance of knowledge and how the blind and the sighted created texts to produce, facilitate and replicate knowledge among a population who largely had been denied access to education. The semiotics that evolved in tactile maps for the blind during the eighteenth century grew out of a desire not only to educate but also to promote 'self-education' by providing tools to enable independent reading.

Notes

1 T. R. Armitage, *The Education and Employment of the Blind: What It Has Been, Is, and Ought To Be*, 2nd ed., London: Harrison and Sons, 1886, p. 41.

2 Yvonne Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures: Pictorial Representations for the Blind 1784–1940*, Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1998, p. 252.

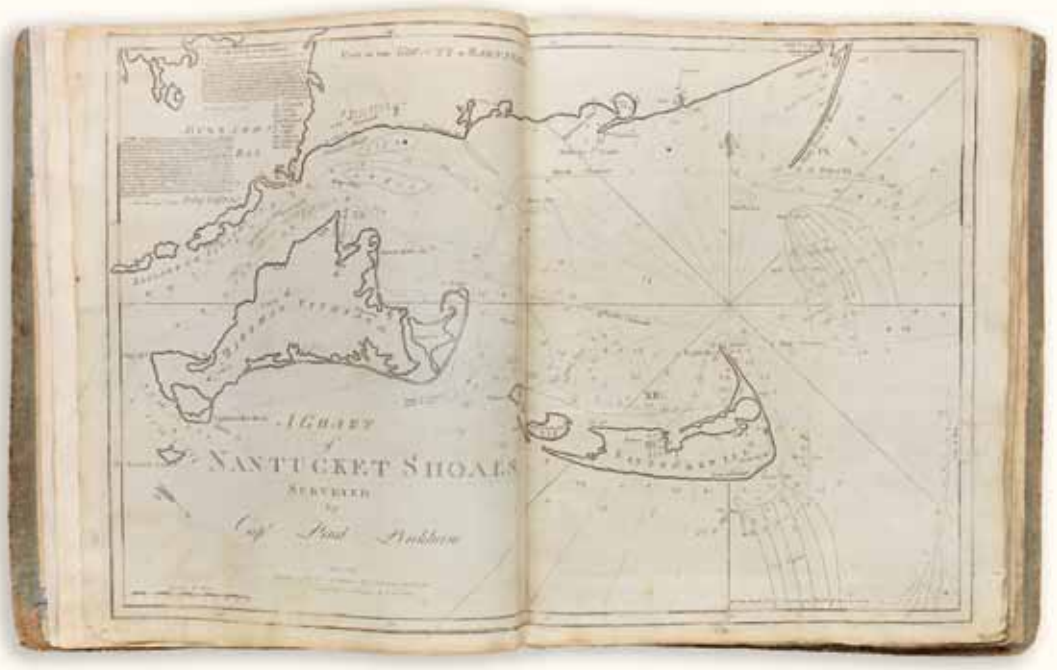
3 Yvonne Eriksson, 'How To Make Tactile Pictures Understandable to the Blind Reader', *65th IFLA Council and General Conference*, Bangkok, Thailand, 20–28 August 1999, para. 11.

4 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York: Vintage Books, 1994, p. 297.

5 Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, translated by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith, New York: Hill and Wang, 1967, p. 42.
6 Unless specified as printed for the blind, embossed print, raised print, or tactile print, 'print' generally applies to non-tactile text.
7 William R. Paulson, *Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Blind in France*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 5.
8 Foucault, p. 43.
9 Ibid.
10 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, p. 37. Although she does not mention embroidered maps by and for the blind, for a history of embroidered maps, see Judith A. Tyner, *Stitching the World: Embroidered Maps and Women's Geographical Education*, New York: Routledge, 2015. W. Hanks Levy notes that maps at the Bruges Institute for the Blind 'are made of needlework'. See his *Blindness and the Blind: or, A Treatise on the Science of Typhlology*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1872, p. 395.
11 The spelling of Weissenburg's name varies.
12 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, pp. 37, 38.
13 Ibid., p. 163.
14 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, pp. 32–33. See also Levy, pp. 317–18.
15 '*Écriture nocturne*', or night writing, was a system based upon a series of raised dots so that the French military could read at night without the use of light. Charles Barbier presented his system to blind students in France in 1821. One of these students, Louis Braille, modified Barbier's system from the twelve to six dots in a cell and continued to modify it into what is now known as Braille. See C. Michael Mellor, *Louis Braille: A Touch of Genius*, Boston MA: National Braille Press, 2006, pp. 56–57, 60–65.
16 Sébastien Guillié, *An Essay on the Instruction and Amusements of the Blind*, London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1819, reprinted London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1894, p. 101.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., pp. 101–02, emphasis in original.
19 Ibid., pp. 102–03.
20 Ibid., pp. 103–04.
21 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, p. 164.
22 See Jill Shefrin, *Such Constant Affectionate Care: Lady Charlotte Finch, Royal Governess to the Children of George III*, Los Angeles: Cotsen Occasional Press, 2003, pp. 5, 81. See also Martin Norgate, 'Cutting Borders: Dissected Maps and the Origins of the Jigsaw Puzzle', *The Cartographic Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 2007, pp. 342–50; Megan A. Norcia argues that dissected maps constructed narratives, and she also discusses Beaumont, Spilsbury, and the origins of these maps in her 'Puzzling Empire: Early Puzzles and Dissected Maps as Imperial Heuristics', *Children's Literature*, Vol. 37, 2009, pp. 1–32, especially pp. 5, 7, 26n10.
23 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, p. 165.
24 Levy, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 299.
25 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, pp. 165–66.
26 Armitage, *The Education and Employment of the Blind,* p. 34.
27 Ibid., p. 191.
28 'Hand-maps' refer to tactile maps for individual use. Armitage explains, 'He [Mr. Huntoon] showed me some small hand-maps on which he was experimenting, but as soon as he saw our maps he at once recognized their great superiority'. Ibid., p. 194.
29 Ibid., p. 204.
30 'Maps for the Blind: How They Are Manufactured and How Used', *New York Times*, 10 August 1890, p. 16.
31 See Joseph Stadelman's biographical entry in *The Catholic Encyclopedia and Its Makers,* New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1917, p. 165.
32 Joseph Stadelman, 'Education of the Blind', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5, New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1909, p. 15.
33 The New England Institution for the Education of the Blind is now the Perkins School for the Blind. Francis J. Manasek features this map in his *Collecting Old Maps*, Norwich VT: Terra Nova Press, 1998, pp. 63–64, fig. 4.14. See also Francis J. Manasek, Marti Griggs, and Curt Griggs, *Collecting Old Maps*, rev. ed., Clarkdale AZ: Old Maps Press, 2015, p. 62, fig. 3.34.
34 Text is in Boston Line Type on the page adjacent to the tactile map [*Embossed Map of Nantucket Island and Vicinity*], Boston: New-England Institution for the Education of the Blind, 1838.
35 Samuel Gridley Howe, 'Introduction', *Atlas of the United States for the Use of the Blind at the Expense of John C. Cray under the Direction of S. G. Howe at the N. E. Institution for the Education of the Blind*, Boston, 1837, p. [1]. Images and text are available on the David Rumsey Map Collection website. See 'Atlas for the Blind 1837', *David Rumsey Map Collection*, 21 May 2012, http://www.davidrumsey.com/blog/2012/5/21/atlas-for-the-blind-1837.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 See also John Rutherfurd, *William Moon and His Work for the Blind*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898, pp. 19–37 and Robert C. Moon, 'The Embossing Establishment of the "Moon" Society for the Blind', *The New Outlook for the Blind* 7, 1914, pp. 97–103.
40 William Moon, *Light for the Blind: A History of the Origin and Success of Moon's System of Reading (Embossed in Various Languages) for the Blind*, London: Longmans & Co., 1873, p. [iv].
41 Ibid., p. 5.
42 Ibid., p. 7, emphasis in original.
43 Ibid., emphasis in original.
44 John Fiske, *A History of the United States for Schools*, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894, p. 4.
45 Ibid., p. 3.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid. Fiske may be referring to proghorns that were native to North America rather than to antelope.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid., p. 4.
50 Ibid., p. 10.
51 Armitage and Levy survey the history of, and critique, maps and globes used in the education for the blind. See Armitage, pp. 33–35 and Levy, pp. 138–41.
52 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, pp. 176, 279n43. See also Catherine Tatiana Dunlop, *Cartophilia: Maps and the Search for Identity in the French-German Borderland*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2015, pp. 108–09.
53 For the adoption of Braille in Germany, see Armitage, pp. 10–11, 46–47.
54 Twentieth- and twenty-first-century tactile maps for the blind became predominately Braille with outlines. Notable examples include those by R. F. Tunley (1878–1968), John C. Sherman (1916–1996), and Joseph W. Wiedel (1928–2017).
55 Dunlop, p. 110. See also chapter four, 'Finding the Center', pp. 93–130, 221n7. For her discussion of Kunz, see pp. 107–09.
56 Eriksson, *Tactile Pictures*, p. 175.

Leah M. Thomas, PhD *is an assistant professor of English at Virginia State University. After returning from teaching English in Kwang-Myeung, South Korea from 2003–2004, she served as a volunteer reader at Central Kentucky Radio Eye (CKRE) in Lexington, Kentucky from 2005–2006 before moving to Richmond, Virginia to work as a senior maps cataloguing librarian at The Library of Virginia (LVA), where she was introduced to early tactile maps for the blind. Her 'Printed Tactile Maps' in* Nineteenth-Century Disability: Cultures and Contexts *showcases L. R. Klemm's relief map of the Roman Empire (1894) from LVA. Her research explores the geographic imagination in cartography and narrative of the long eighteenth century.*

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THE CHANGING AMERICAN WEST

Mapping nineteenth-century political transformations in the Trans-Mississippi West

Christopher W. Lane

The history of Europeans in North America is one not only of settlement and expansion, but also of drawing borders. Part of this was simply for political control and part for economic gain. For land to have value it has to be turned into 'property', and property needs borders. The story of how the demands of politics and economics determined the borders of the United States of America is fascinating.

After the War of Independence the United States consisted only of territory to the east of the Mississippi River; France held dominion over the Colony of Louisiana; Spain claimed the Viceroyalty of New Spain; and Britain the Columbia District in the Pacific Northwest. By the end of the nineteenth century the continental United States stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and was divided into 23 political units. The process of creating these political entities had three main phases. After the acquisition of the new territory into the United States; the newly acquired 'unorganised' lands were organised into territories; the large territories were subdivided into smaller ones and, finally, into states. The desire for defining borders was driven by settlers who were bent on having a government which was accessible geographically and would reflect their particular needs and wants.

1803–1840: dividing the Louisiana Purchase

The first expansion of the United States west of the Mississippi River came with the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Under financial pressure to fund ongoing wars in Europe, Napoleon sold the French Louisiana Territory, which consisted of the Mississippi River drainage basin west of the Mississippi, to the United States for 15 million dollars, or about 220 million dollars today. This one transaction doubled the size of the United States.

The first division of the Louisiana Purchase was in 1804, when the lands south of the 33rd parallel became the Territory of Orleans. This area had for years been settled by a significant and sophisticated population of Spanish, French and now American citizens. They had little connection with the vast, undeveloped northern parts of the Louisiana Purchase and felt that they should have their own government. When Orleans separated, the remainder of the Purchase lands to the north became the Louisiana Territory (Fig. 1).

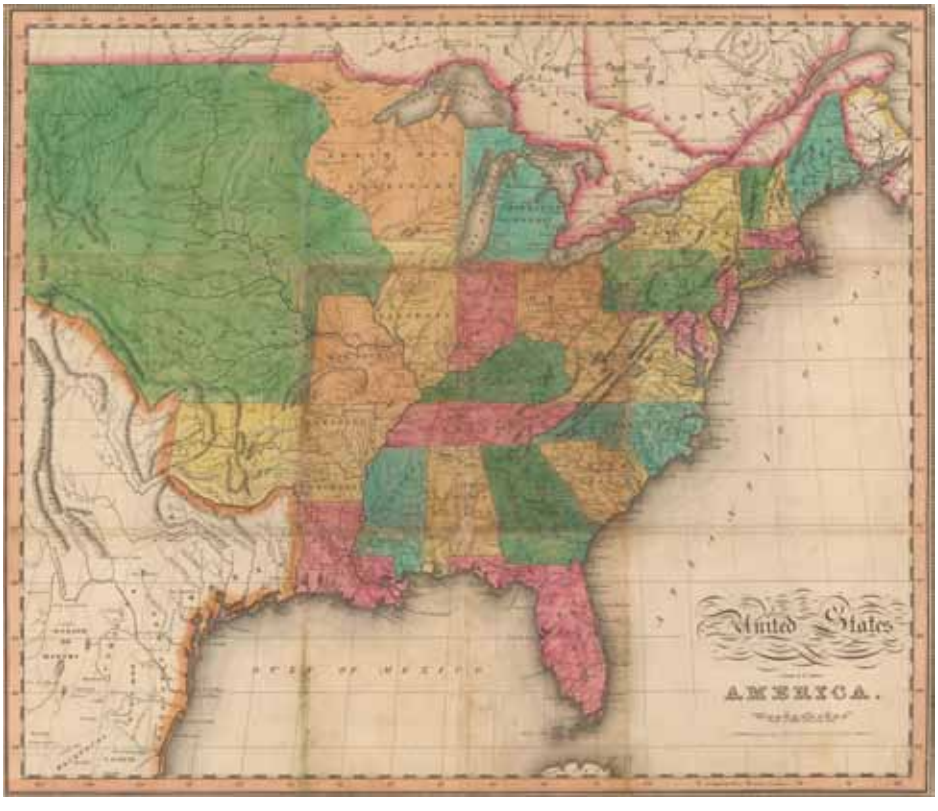
Once a territory had a sufficient population, and was considered economically and politically stable enough, Congress admitted it as a new state. In 1812 the Territory of Orleans became the state of Louisiana; the territory to the north now being renamed the Missouri Territory. The creation of Louisiana was not achieved simply as a result of its political and economic development; there was another powerful force involved, one which would be central to the political development in the expansion of the American West for much of the century: slavery.

Since the founding of the nation there had been a relatively even balance between the number of slave and non-slave states represented in Congress. This was thrown off-kilter with the admission of the free-state Ohio in 1803. Southerners were unhappy about this, especially as other non-slave states would soon be created from the Northwest Territory, and they were keen to redress the balance. They got their wish in 1812 with the creation of Louisiana.

While the issue of slavery sometimes accelerated the creation of new political units, in other cases it delayed the process. For instance, the locals in the area around St. Louis further north along the Mississippi, which had become quite settled by the second decade, demanded the creation of a new state to be called 'Missouri'. It would encompass land north and south of St. Louis and westward along the lower Missouri River, with a southern border that would be a continuation of the Tennessee–Kentucky border at 36°30' latitude.

Most of the settlers along the rich bottomlands of the lower Missouri River were Southerners who brought their farming methods, including slaves, into what became known as 'Little Dixie'. This meant that inevitably Missouri would become a new slave-state, which would upset the balance in Congress, in favour of the pro-slavery faction. Additionally, many Northerners loathed the idea of allowing the





Above
Fig. 1 'A Map of the United States', P.M. Lapie, Paris: P.A.F. Tardieu, 1806. This map shows the United States just after the Louisiana Purchase. Courtesy of The MacLean Collection.

Left
Fig. 2
'United States of America', J. Warr Jr., Philadelphia, 1822. The United States after the states of Missouri and Louisiana, and the territory of Arkansas were established. The rest of the original Louisiana Purchase is now Missouri Territory. Courtesy of The MacLean Collection.

westerly spread of slavery into the recently acquired lands. For these reasons the petition for a new state of Missouri initially made no progress in Congress.

However, there was a sense that the state would eventually be created and that would leave an unorganised area lying between the to-be-created state and Louisiana. At the time there was considerable immigration into this area, so it seemed prudent to organise it into a new territory. Thus, in 1819, the Territory of Arkansas was established from the American lands west of the Mississippi that lay south of 36°30' and north of Louisiana.

The issue of the proposed state of Missouri was finally resolved with the 1820 Missouri Compromise. Missouri would be admitted to the Union as a new slave-state, but, in return, the North was granted the admittance of Maine as a free-state, thus maintaining the balance in Congress and the assurance that, with the exception of Missouri, no new slave-states could be carved out of the original Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30' parallel – the line separating Virginia from North Carolina, Kentucky from Tennessee, and now Arkansas from Missouri (Fig. 2).

When the state of Missouri was created in 1821 the rest of the old Missouri Territory officially became unorganised US Territory. This large area was seen as useless to 'civilised' whites, but good enough for the numerous 'savage' Indian tribes which lived there. Indeed, at this time, the US Government was actively trying to move eastern Indian tribes to west of the Mississippi, climaxing with the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

In order to try to protect Native Americans in this region, and also, of course, to keep them contained therein, an Indian Intercourse Act was passed in 1834, setting aside for the Indians 'all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas'. That is, all the original Louisiana Purchase beyond the states of Missouri and Louisiana and the territory of Arkansas were set aside for Native Americans. It covered a vast area, but over time, as the land was discovered not to be so useless after all, the area reserved for Indians was steadily reduced in size (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 'Map of the United States of North America With parts of the Adjacent Countries', David H. Burr, 1839, Washington. This map shows the United States with its claim encompassing not only the Missouri Territory but the 'Oregon Country' well north of the present border. Courtesy of The MacLean Collection.

1840–1850: expansion of the United States

By 1840 the original Louisiana Purchase consisted of three states and one territory – Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa – lined up south to north along the Mississippi River, and a large, unorganised Indian territory situated between these entities and the Continental divide. Over the next decade Trans-Mississippi United States would not only admit new states but would almost double its size.

A treaty in 1818 had set the northern border between the United States and British North America as mostly following the 49th parallel from the Great Lakes to the crest of the Rocky Mountains. However, the two countries could not agree on a border west of the Continental Divide. Britain claimed the region down to the Columbia River because of its early explorations along the coast, and some distance inland because of the activities by the Hudson Bay Company men. The United States claimed the lands both south and well north of the Columbia River because of Robert Gray's discovery of it in 1792 and the Lewis & Clark expedition which had reached the Oregon Country in 1805. It was agreed that the lands west of the Rockies – called by the Americans the Oregon Country and by the British the Columbia District – would be jointly administered by the two countries. This 'solution' could not, of course, work in the long run, and tensions over sovereignty in the region escalated in the 1840s.

In June 1846 a compromise was reached to continue the 49th parallel border to the Pacific, excepting the area around Vancouver Island. The United States gained the northwest corner of the continent encompassing today's states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and those parts of Montana and Wyoming west of the Continental Divide. It was organised as the Oregon Territory in 1853.

In the same decade the southwestern corner of the country – today's California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, Utah and parts of Colorado and Wyoming – was added by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

After gaining independence from Spain in 1821 Mexico allowed American settlers into its province of Texas, hoping they would provide a buffer between it and the expansionist United States. This was letting the wolf guard the hen house, and by the 1830s tensions escalated into an open revolt by the Americans in Texas, resulting in the establishment of the Republic of Texas (1836–45).

Texas was self-governing for about a decade, even though Mexico never recognised its independence. There was considerable pressure for Texas to become part of the United States. This was because of the strong ties between the Anglo-Texans and the United States, and because of the desire of Southerners to add more slave-states to the country – then limited by the 1820 Missouri Compromise to lands south of 36°30'. At the end of 1845 Texas was officially annexed to the United States as the 28th state.

The Mexican–American War (1846–48) followed in the wake of the annexation of Texas. The Mexicans were swiftly defeated and forced to sue for peace. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on 2 February 1848 it was agreed that, in exchange for just over $18 million, Mexico would acknowledge undisputed control of Texas by the United States, as well as ceding all the lands which had been part of the Mexican provinces of Alta (Upper) California, the northern part of Sonora, and New Mexico.

With this Treaty, combined with the official acquisition of the Oregon Territory in 1846, the United States had in two years increased in size by about 50 percent over what it had been in 1840. By 1850 the United States had achieved essentially the overall shape of today's 48 continental states, all except for slightly over 29,000 square miles / 75,110 sq. km in what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico, which would be added in the following decade through the Gadsden Purchase (Fig. 4).

1850–1860: ante-bellum political divisions in the West

The lands of the Mexican Cession had no defined, internal political organisation and it was clear that this vast area needed to be divided into smaller entities. A number of political issues of the day, however, made the question of how to do this complicated.

The flood of new immigrants into California after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848 created a need for local organisation and governance, and its citizens petitioned Congress to be admitted as a state. However, the enduring issue of slavery raised its head again; California's admission as a free-state, would wreck the equilibrium in Congress of fifteen free and fifteen slave-states. Moreover, because the Missouri Compromise of 1820 prohibited slavery north of 36°30' degrees most of the remaining area of the Mexican Cession would have to be non-slave. This was unacceptable to many Southerners.

Concurrently, the Mormons were pressing for a substantial share of the Mexican Cession to be admitted as a state which they would dominate. The Mormons

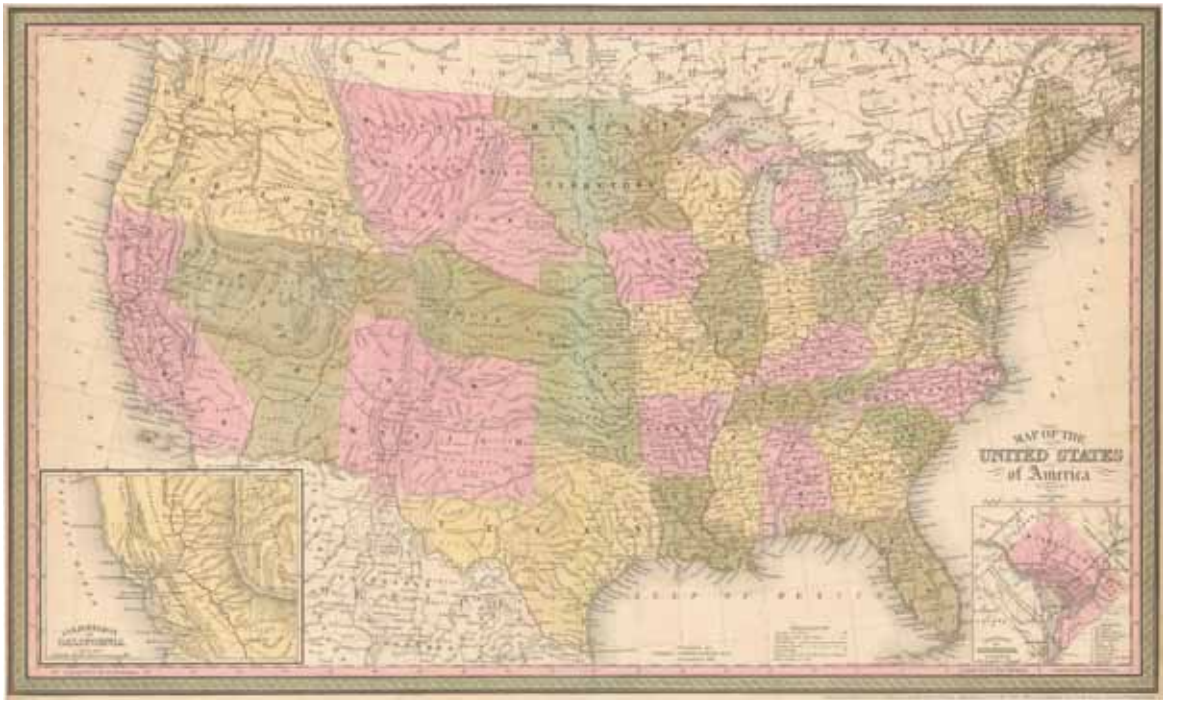


Fig. 4 'Map of the United States of America', J.H. Young, Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1850. The United States after the settlement of the 'Oregon Question' and also the 'Mexican Cession', but before the Compromise of 1850. This map shows the Mormon Territory of Deseret, even though the Federal Government never approved it. Courtesy of The MacLean Collection.

had settled in the Great Basin, around the Great Salt Lake in early 1847. Brigham Young, who had led the Mormons to this distant place to escape persecution, intended his followers to establish dominion over the vast lands lying between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Hearing that California was petitioning for statehood, Young sent his representatives to Congress to ask that the Great Basin area be admitted as a state of Deseret. Congress held strongly anti-Mormon views at the time and refused Young's request.

Senator Henry Clay came up with a plan which, in theory, would solve both these problems: the Compromise of 1850, which was passed by Congress in September. California was admitted as a state, while Texas gave up its claims to the Mexican province of New Mexico and established its northern border at the 36°30' parallel. Its previous border had extended much further north into today's Colorado, but with the new border the entire state would lie below the Missouri Compromise line and Texas, a slave state, would not thus contravene that law's slave clause. In return, Texas was relieved of its huge public debt.

The lands of the Mexican Cession outside California were divided into two large territories, separated at the 37° parallel, with Utah to the north and New Mexico to the south. To compensate the Southerners for the admittance of the free state of California, these two new territories were brought in under principle of 'popular sovereignty', meaning that the citizens would be able to vote on whether or not to allow slavery in their own territories. Some of the New Mexico Territory and all Utah Territory was north of the Missouri Compromise line; but as these lands lay beyond of the original Louisiana Purchase, it was argued that that compromise did not apply to them.

The acquisition by the United States of the Oregon Territory and the Mexican Cession, and the subsequent large emigration of Americans to that region, fundamentally changed the way in which the area between the new territories and the older, settled part of the country was viewed. The area which previously had been at the western edge of the country and much of which was thought to be a 'Great American Desert', had been considered useless for whites, but good enough for Native Americans, so it had been set aside as Indian Territory. However, with the stream of emigrants passing through, the region needed a military presence for protection; a formal government structure for laws; new settlements to help feed and house the emigrants; and ultimately a trans-continental

railroad. It was evident that a new territory to bridge the Indian Territory separating the eastern states from the far West was necessary.

As early as the 1840s several proposals were put forward to create a Nebraska Territory to bridge the gap, but these inevitably failed because of the sectional differences between the North and the South. Further efforts in the 1850s to create a Nebraska Territory were stonewalled by Southerners, for any such territory would, by the Missouri Compromise, have to be a free territory. The pressure to politically organise this region continued and was finally resolved by Stephen Douglas' Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854.

By this act, the Indian Territory was dramatically reduced in size so it extended north of Texas only as far as the 37th parallel. What had been Indian Territory north to the Canadian border was now divided into two large territories: Kansas and Nebraska. The former comprised essentially the lands running west of Missouri to the Continental Divide and the latter encompassed the rest of the old Indian Territory. The organisation of this area was economically beneficial to the nation, but what convinced the Southerners to accept the new territories was much more controversial: 'popular sovereignty'. This meant that the citizens of the Kansas and Nebraska would be able to vote on whether their territories would be free or slave. Since both were part of the original Louisiana Purchase, and both lay north of 36°30', this clause was in direct contravention to the Missouri Compromise. It was because of this clause that the Kansas–Nebraska Act infuriated many Northerners; this not only led to the formation of the 'free soil' Republican Party, but it was also one of the primary causes of the outbreak of the Civil War six years later (Fig. 5).

The Kansas–Nebraska Act was the climactic event of the 1850s in the American West: though there were a few other political changes in the decade, almost all development ground to a halt, despite demands for new territories. The 1850s saw an increasing number of emigrants settling in the once sparsely populated spaces between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, prompted in part by gold and silver discoveries. This created pressure for the establishment of new, smaller political bodies to serve these new populations. The *New York Times* reported on 11 January 1859 that

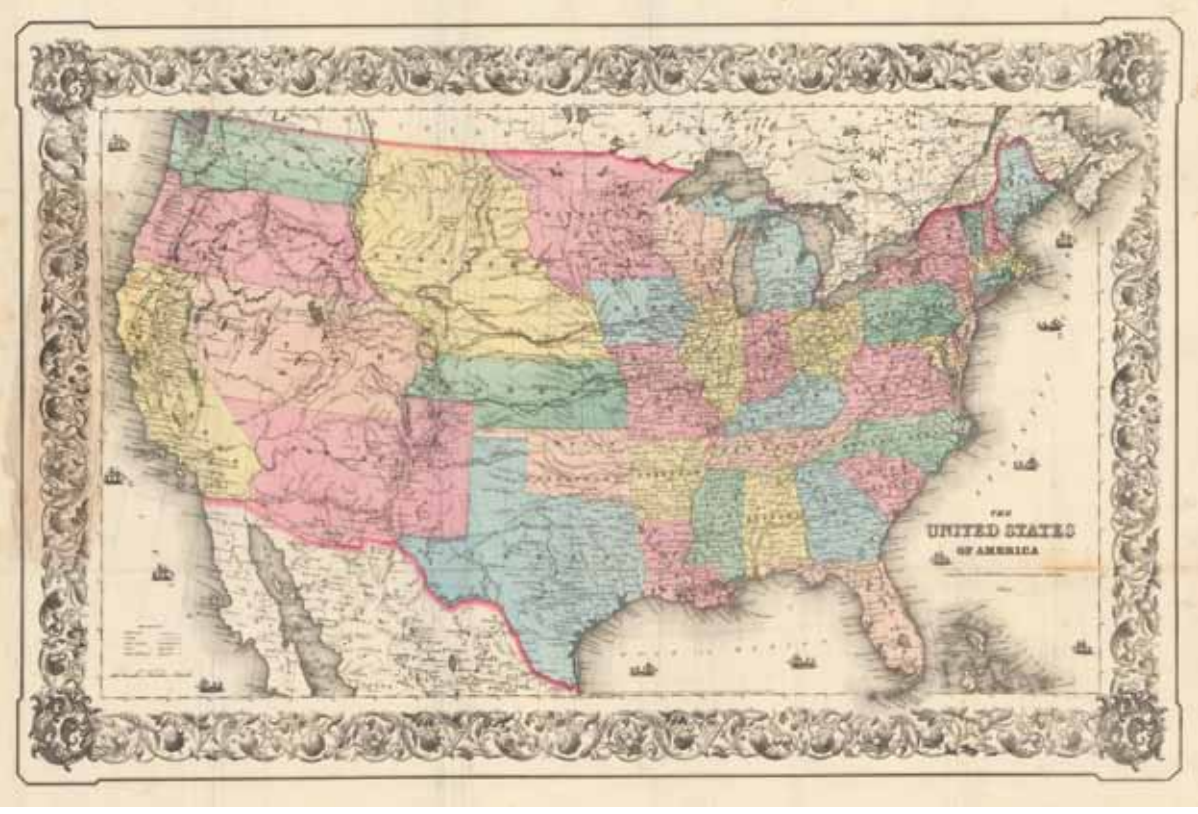


Fig. 5 'The United States of America', New York: J.H. Colton & Co., 1856. This map shows the United States after the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854 and before the changes starting in 1861. Courtesy of The MacLean Collection.

there were six applications for new territories before Congress, of which five were in the Trans-Mississippi West. Despite these, and other petitions Congress did not act – not surprisingly this was because of the simmering issue of slavery.

1860s, the Civil War years: political divisions in the West

Congressional inaction abruptly ended when, starting in December 1860, eleven slave states declared that they were seceding from the United States, with all their representatives leaving the US Congress. Suddenly, the Northern states controlled the Federal Government and could create territories as they wished. Within the first three months of 1861, three new, free soil territories were created and Kansas had become a new state.

In 1858 the eastern part of a very large Minnesota Territory had been established as the state of Minnesota, with the remainder left as unorganised territory. Though it had no formal status this area was called Dakota and a provisional government was set up. In 1861 Dakota was officially created as a territory, but significantly expanded to include all of what had been Nebraska Territory north of the 43rd parallel.

That same year, prompted by gold seekers who had poured into the foothills of the Rockies as part of the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1858–59, another new territory was created. The Pikes Peak gold region mostly lay in the extreme western part of the Kansas Territory, well away from its capital and power centre. The new settlers in Denver City and nearby communities wanted their own local government to look after their interests, which were quite different from those of the Kansas farmers and ranchers in the east.

In 1859 a bill was introduced to organise Colona, a territory along the foothills of the Rockies, but this ran into the slavery-related gridlock, as did a subsequent petition for a new territory in essentially the same area, this time to be called Jefferson, despite the fact that a provisional government had been set up, complete with constitution, governor and legislature. With the secession of the Confederate States, Congress was finally able to create a new territory in the Pikes Peak gold region in 1861, which was named Colorado, not Jefferson, as Southern names then were definitely out of favour.

Colorado was created out of the western part of Kansas (the eastern part of Kansas Territory having just been admitted as the new state of Kansas), the southwestern part of Nebraska, the northeastern part of New Mexico, and a large chunk out of that part of Utah east of 109° longitude. This was the first occasion of many when the Utah Territory, dominated by Mormons, had its size reduced by Congress. Congress was suspicious of their religion and hostile to their practice of polygamy; this negative attitude was further compounded by the Mormon War of 1857–58. There was little hesitation in taking land away from Utah whenever it was convenient (Fig. 6).

In 1861 Utah lost all the area west of 116 degrees. At the time gold was discovered in the Pikes Peak region, the great Comstock silver lode was unearthed on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, leading to a huge influx of prospectors into western Utah. Like the Pikes Peakers, those in the Comstock region wanted their own territory. This suited Congress, as they could further diminish the Mormons' influence in Utah and at the same time gain more control of the new mineral wealth. Thus a third new territory was created in 1861, when Nevada was carved out of what had been western Utah. In 1863 Nevada extended its boundary east from the 116th to the 115th meridian, taking with it a chunk of Utah. It happened again at the beginning of 1865 when rumour spread about a new mineral source located in either eastern Nevada or western Utah. To ensure that the Mormons did not profit from these riches, Congress, in 1866, once again shifted Nevada's border one degree further east, to 114 degrees.

Nevada continued to increase its domain: in the following year its citizens wanted an outlet on the Colorado River which lay well south of Nevada's border at the 37th parallel. In 1867 Congress awarded it 18,000 square miles / 46,620 sq km extending down to the Colorado River. This land grab came at the expense of Arizona, which perhaps paid for its association with the fleeting Confederate territory of the same name.

According to those who argued for it to be admitted as a state, Arizona made its appearance in 1861. This territory had its genesis in the vast and varied character of New Mexico. Its capital Santa Fe was located in its northeastern part, a region settled mostly by an Hispanic population. After New Mexico was acquired by the United States, there was an influx of settlers into the southern section of the territory, mostly from the southern part of the United States. In the 1850s these settlers demanded their own government, as they felt separated by culture, religious beliefs and distance from the rest of New Mexico.

Like the other potential territories before the Civil

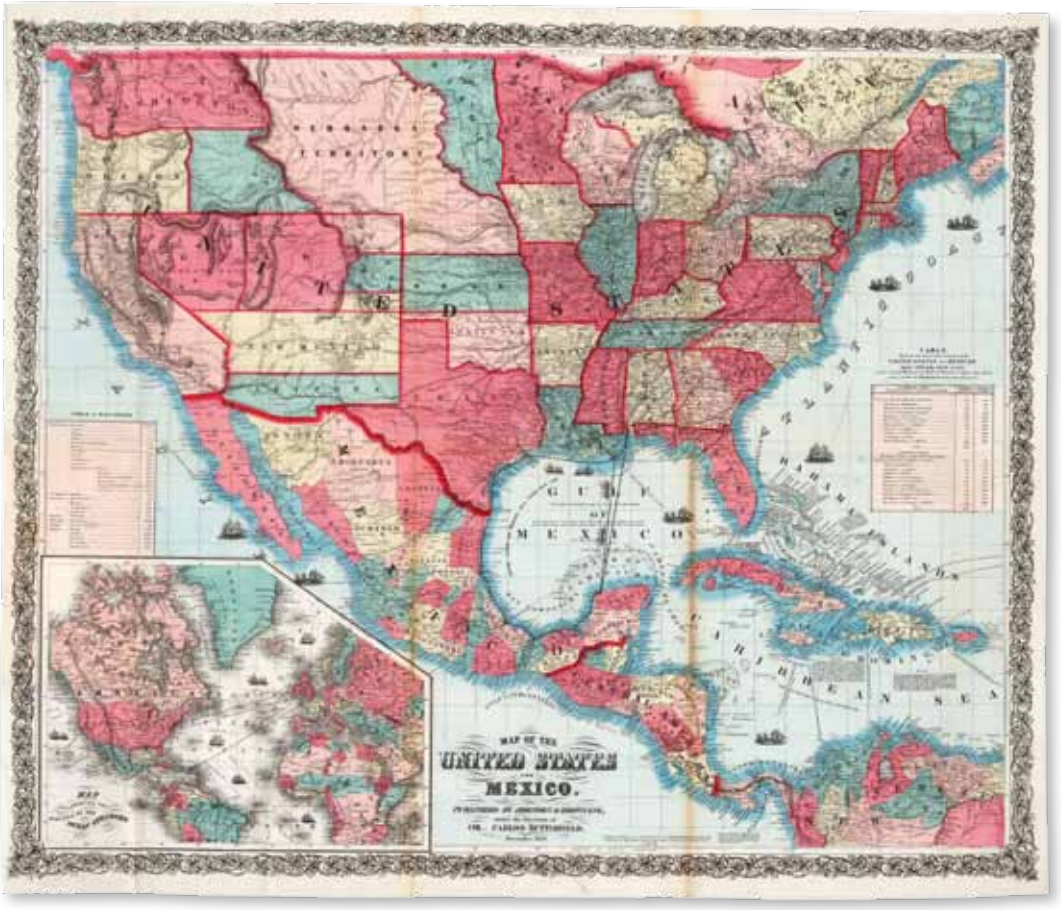


Fig. 6 'Map of the United States and Mexico', Carlos Butterfield, New York: Johnson & Browning, 1859. This map shows the proposed territory of Colona and Jefferson, the newly formed territory of Utah, and the proposed, but never created territory of Arizona from the southern half of New Mexico. Courtesy of the David Rumsey Map Collection, www.davidrumsey.com.

War the movement to create a new territory out of southern New Mexico was hindered over the issue of slavery. In 1861 when the southern states formed the Confederacy, Arizonians saw this as an opportunity to act on their own. A convention was held and a vote taken to secede from the Union and to join the Confederate States. The new Confederate Territory of Arizona was declared in 1861 and accepted into the Confederacy the next year.

Early in the Civil War, this nascent territory was supported by troops from Texas; but, after the Battle of Glorieta Pass in March 1861, the Confederate army was forced to retreat into Texas. The Confederacy never again wielded any control within the borders of its purported territory of Arizona, nevertheless it continued to be represented in the Confederate Congress and troops fought under its banner until the end of the War.

The United States Congress did not recognise the Confederate Territory of Arizona, but the New Mexico Territory was too large and needed to be divided. Thus in 1863, Congress did create Arizona, but out of the western half of New Mexico, not the southern part, with a border which ran north-south, rather than east-west.

The political fallout for the American West with the absence of Southerners in Congress continued after 1861. Two more territories were created in the latter years of the Civil War. The first had its origins in the same gold rush forces which led to the creation of Colorado and Nevada. In 1860 gold had been discovered in the eastern part of Washington Territory and in the following years prospectors swarmed into the region, even crossing the Continental Divide to mine in the Dakota Territory. The miners in these areas felt isolated from the Washington Territorial government in Olympia, which was far west. When this was combined with the desire of the citizens in the Puget Sound region not to end up being outvoted by

all the voting-age miners flooding in to the eastern parts of Washington territory, it was a popular decision all round to create a new territory from the new gold regions. Thus in 1863, the eastern part of Washington Territory was separated and joined with the western part of Dakota Territory to create the very large Territory of Idaho, which for good measure, got a bit of western Nebraska and, in another land grab from the Mormons, part of the northeast corner of Utah. It was too large to be sustained, especially as the mining towns east of the Continental Divide were separated by rugged mountains from the western mining towns and the territorial capital of Lewiston. Almost as soon as the Idaho Territory was created, the miners to the east of the Bitterroot Range demanded their own new territory, with a more accessible seat of government. In 1864 they got their wish with the creation of the Montana Territory.

1866 onwards, the postbellum years: the final political divisions of the West

The Dakota Territory, which was populated primarily by Native Americans, was a catch-all territory. Initially the name applied to the unorganised lands remaining from the territory of Minnesota when the state was created in 1858. The Dakota Territory was first formally organised from land left over when Nebraska Territory was reduced to a more manageable size in 1861. When the Idaho Territory was created for the miners in 1863, about half of Dakota was given to that new territory, but when Montana was created just a year later, the orphaned section of Idaho south of Montana was returned to Dakota, creating an odd butterfly shape.

This peculiar configuration, not to mention Dakota's huge size, was not at all practical. In 1868 the southwestern part of Dakota was reformed as the new territory of Wyoming which was equal in size to its southern neighbour, Colorado. In its creation, Congress made its last land grab from the Mormons, appropriating yet more of Utah's northeast corner. The remaining Dakota Territory, now with its fairly standard rectangular shape, remained as a territory for two decades until in 1889 when it was divided in half, with the two sections made into the states of North and South Dakota. So that neither state would be able to claim precedence, the order in which the documents of statehood were signed was kept secret.

The last political border change in the American West concerned the much ill-treated Indian Territory. Created with the 1834 Indian Intercourse Act, the Indian lands encompassed all of the original Louisiana Purchase outside Missouri and Louisiana, and the territory of Arkansas. Parts of the Indian Territory were found to be quite fecund; so, bit by bit, pieces were taken away from the Native Americans, sometimes by treaty and often by force. With the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854, the Indian Territory was reduced dramatically to a small area south of Kansas, west of Arkansas and north of Texas. Many Native Americans were discontented with the United States government and chose to support the Confederacy during the Civil War. Predictably, this led to a further loss of land, for in 1866 the US took back more of the Native American lands, creating an 'unassigned territory' out of about half of what had been previously granted to them. In 1890 this was turned into the Oklahoma Territory, with the last remnant of Indian Territory reduced to a small area of land to the west of Arkansas.

Native Americans in this rump Indian Territory realised that even this was likely to be taken away from them, so in 1905 they petitioned for admission as a state of Sequoyah. Congress thought that this proposed state was too small, but, even more shocking, members were not inclined to create a state which would be dominated by Native Americans. Instead, in 1907 the two territories – Oklahoma and Indian – were combined to create the new state of Oklahoma.

This was the last border change in the American West, the only other change afterwards being the statehood of the two remaining territories, New Mexico and Arizona. The political alterations in the years between 1800 and 1900 had followed a tortuous path, changing the region from one which consisted of three political entities under the sovereignty of France, Spain and Great Britain, to one made up of nineteen American states and four territories. The United States in the nineteenth century cannot be fully understood without at least a basic understanding of the convoluted story of the changing political borders of the American West, for the forces which shaped that narrative – population movements, desire for local control, and prejudices related to slavery, the Indians and Mormons – are the central themes of the country's history.

Christopher W. Lane *is owner of The Philadelphia Print Shop West in Denver, Colorado, and has been in the business since 1982. Christopher has authored articles and a book, and lectures widely. Since 1997 he has been an appraiser on the US* Antiques Roadshow.



How can we imagine what our lives should be without the illumination of the lives of others?
James Salter

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THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MAP

Additions, inscriptions and annotations

Simon Morris

This article is based on the 2017 London Map Fair Lecture given by the author at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

A map is complete in itself. Even if only a single sheet from a larger series or a page torn from an atlas, it represents the mapmaker's or commissioning author's entire intention with respect to what it covers. Nothing more is needed, beyond perhaps a gazetteer and a handy magnifying glass, for you to study the map to its fullest extent, consider all its different features and extract such information you may require. If there is anything to add, then a new edition is called for.

The story, however, certainly doesn't end there. Many maps, perhaps the great majority, may fall within this description, and will never be subjected to any alteration, addition or marking between leaving the printing press and landing on their present owner's library shelf. But a good number will acquire additional information, ranging from a bookseller's label and an owner's signature to the record of a journey or detailed annotations to reflect an administrative or commercial use. I use the word 'annotation' as shorthand for all of these additions, and this article sets out to review the different types of annotation that maps can attract, to consider why this happens, and what this can tell us about the market for maps, their owners and their uses.

In writing this article I have sought to attain two objectives, and possibly a third. First, I have attempted to identify the different types of inscription found on a map, and I consider that there are (depending on how you chose to approach them) half a dozen different types. Next, I ask what these tell us about the market for maps, the purchaser of the map and how they (or a later owner) used it. In other words, do annotations add to our understanding of maps and their users? I believe they do, and so my final objective is to draw attention to the importance of inscriptions as a potentially significant and largely untapped source of information on the relationship between users and their maps.

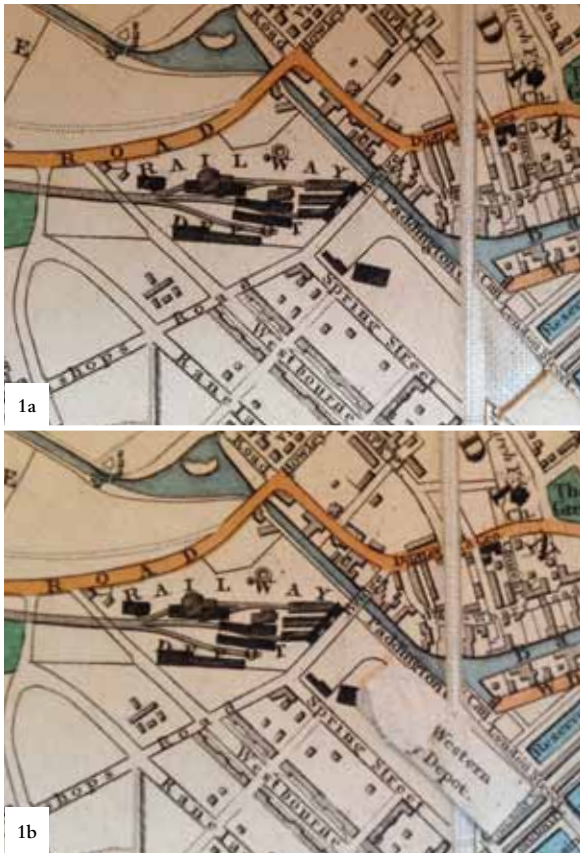
I have drawn on my own collection of eighteenth- to twentieth-century folding maps and atlases to illustrate the different types of annotations. On working through them I was surprised to note that many hundreds contained annotations of one kind or another: if this sample is representative then it suggests that there are a significant number of annotated maps in collections awaiting identification and analysis.

The mapmaker's own annotations

The first category of annotations includes those made by the mapmakers before the map is even published. These are corrections, made when a mapmaker spots an error and seeks to put it right by amending the map; they are, perforce, errors that are susceptible to neat correction, because a gross mistake such as misplacing a town would require such a major correction as to disfigure the entire map, leaving the mapmaker with little alternative than to reprint the offending sheet.

Examples of mapmakers' corrections show what they consider the public was prepared to accept. These are errors that have arisen from the passage of time when an item of information has become obsolete. This might be because of some intervening development, for instance the rapid development of a new road or railway station in nineteenth-century London. Two striking examples of this are Joseph 'Cross's London Guide', 1837, where a short extension to Farringdon Street north of Holborn Hill has been shown by scratching out the former buildings and colouring the road ochre; and R.H. Laurie's 'Plan of London, Westminster & Southwark', 1844, where he needed to show the new site of Paddington Station, which had moved half-a-mile (*c.*1 km) south-east to its present position. He did this by printing the station buildings on a slip of paper 1 x $^{1}/_{2}$ inch (25 x 13 mm) attached to a hinge so that, once the map was opened up, it would fold down to show the new station (Fig. 1, overleaf).

Other instances are straightforward corrections. James Wyld the younger issued his 'New Cycling Road Map of South Eastern England Eighty Miles Around London' in 1888, printing this date prominently beneath the title. It was still on sale two years later, and not wishing his map to be so clearly labelled as out of date, he stuck a neat '1890' over the earlier date. Pablo Ludwig's 'Plano Topografico Catastral de la Provincia de Santa Fe' was printed in 1895 and dedicated to the



Figs 1a & 1b In order to prolong the map's shelf life when Paddington Station was moved a small slip of paper marked 'Western Depot' was printed and attached to the map. It was hinged so that, once the map was opened up, it would fold down to show the new station.

then Governor and Deputy Governor of this Argentine province; eight years later with new politicians in office, Ludwig updated the map by covering the old dedication with one to the new incumbents. These examples show the mapmaker using annotations in order to preserve the market for his map by maintaining its currency in a way that the user would either not notice or would find acceptable.

The mapmaker might occasionally find it necessary to offer some form of authentication, which could be achieved in a number of ways. Francisco Coello's *Atlas de España* maps, *c.*1850 were, when separately issued, impressed with a die stamp in a bottom corner and accompanied by words stating that the map without the stamp was not genuine; surprisingly for a protection against falsification, many copies do not bear this stamp. A surveyor might sign his map, particularly one specially commissioned and with a small print run. Edmund Daw personally signed copies of his 'Map of the Parish of St Pancras', 1876 and George Lucas his 'Plan of the Borough of St Marylebone' 1864. In each case the map was undertaken by order of local officials, and the surveyor's signature can be understood as confirmation that he has faithfully discharged his duty by preparing an accurate and reliable map. In a similar vein the Chief Municipal Engineer put his signature to the 1848 'Carte Statistique des Egouts de la Ville de Paris'.

Another form of mapmakers' annotation could be the inscription added to a presentation copy of a map, sometimes accompanied by a fulsome dedication, in order to bestow a present, return a favour, or in the hope of securing future patronage. James Wyld the younger inscribed a copy of his 'Abyssinia, Egypt & the Red Sea', 1867 with the pencil dedication of 'with Mr. Wyld's compliments', apparently to the French explorer Baron de Cosson whose Red Sea explorations are entered on the map in a contemporary hand. A map might also be a family gift, and Monsieur Reynard dedicated a copy of his 'Carte Topographique du Departement du Puy-de-Dome', 1892 to his cousin, Madame Françoise Way née Reynard, in 'hommage et souvenir de l'Auteur'.

The map for sale

Once the mapmaker had completed the map, it entered the commercial market and needed to jostle for place on the purchaser's shelf. The mapmaker sought to achieve this through a number of means, including not only the quality and appearance of the map and competitive pricing, but also by offering it in an attractive binding. This, though, was only the beginning, and a map would typically pass through a number of distributors, each of whom would seek to extract some marketing advantage before offering it to the public.

The mapmaker might take the first step by listing his product range inside the covers, adding his catalogue to an index, or sticking it on the back of the map. This form of annotation not only shows how a mapmaker recognised the marketing opportunity that this presented, but also provides valuable information about the mapmaker's output. While Edward Stanford issued regular catalogues that comprehensively detailed his output, many other prominent mapmakers did not, and we need these pasted-on lists to appreciate the wide range of their publications. Publisher G.F. Cruchley promoted his range of maps, atlases and books on the back of his maps, as did publishers such as Artaria & Co. in Vienna, Andriveau-Goujon from Paris and J.H. Colton in New York.

A map sold by John Cary, Stanford or Wyld would bear their own label and nothing more. But what if they were selling another publisher's map, perhaps filling a gap in their own range? This presented another unmissable marketing opportunity, and the seller's own label might be stuck to the cover or margins of the map before it was put on sale. A mapmaker's approach might reflect their confidence in the market, and perhaps their desire to disguise the map's true origin in the hope of securing some repeat business. Stanford, the leading London mapmaker of the later nineteenth century, felt no need to do this and was content to affix a discrete 'Edward Stanford, Geographer to the Queen' plus his address to a blank margin of another firm's map. His own catalogue was so extensive that these labels are usually only found on the British government and overseas publishers' maps that he distributed. Wyld, equally well established, usually did likewise but newer firms like Mason & Payne, James Reynolds and the mapseller Sifton, Praed & Co. Ltd. often sought to obscure the publisher's name wherever it appeared on the body of the map, in its margins and on the cover (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 To promote their business, mapseller Sifton, Praed & Co. Ltd overpasted the publisher's name (Edward Stanford) with their own label.

The clumsiness of their labelling, which rarely matched the style of the map and often did not fully obscure the publisher's name, confirms that this was an attempt to secure retail business rather than to pass the map off as their own publication. By covering Stanford's name and address, they hoped that the purchaser would return to them, rather than to Stanford, for their next map. Exceptionally, a bookseller might append his own catalogue to the back of the map. W.H.J. Carter stuck a catalogue of female fashion prints to the rear of Edward 'Mogg's Postal-District & Cab Fare Map', 1880, offering a range of racy plates bearing suggestive titles such as 'Crinoline – what are you looking at, Puppy?' and 'Unexpected ascent of Crinoline', a rare example of a map being used to market titillation rather than topography.

Some booksellers' labels

While one mapmaker might want to claim credit for another's map, a bookseller had no such ambition and was satisfied by attaching a discrete label to the map's inside front cover. It was common practice for nineteenth-century booksellers and binders to design small but brightly coloured labels containing their name and address, and those affixed to the bindings of maps provide a clue as to who sold them, and where this took place. A label will often correspond to the subject of the map, such as a map of Cardiff sold by Lennox of Cardiff, a map of Florence from Edward Goodban, English bookseller there, and a map of Tokyo bought at M. Yamatoya of Tokio. In each case, the bookseller's label records how a visitor or resident purchased a map in order to navigate the streets in that city. Alternatively, the label may simply reflect where the purchaser lived, such as a copy of Stanford's 'General Map of the Channel Islands', 1858 bought from E. Elfick of 22 Leinster Terrace, Bayswater, London by a neighbour who noted his name and address on the map. Other labels evidence a wider distribution network. The sale of Stanford's 'Mineral Map of Matabeleland', 1898 in Bulawayo, probably to a mineral prospector, and of W. & A.K. 'Johnston's Special Map of South Africa', 1902 in Bloemfontein to a British army officer, show how local booksellers would acquire a stock of topical London- or Edinburgh-made maps of interest to the local market. Taken together, this suggests that while some maps were bought in anticipation of a visit, many were only purchased on arrival, which is surprising in view of the expense of a map, and its importance in planning a journey.

The map in ownership

The map at last reaches the owner's hands, and his or her first act of establishing proprietorship is often to sign the map on the cover, the face or, on occasion, all over. In the same way that an owner might autograph the flyleaf of a book, there was a frequent urge to record ownership of the new map. This might be done unobtrusively; Viscount Powis neatly signed his name in a corner of James Wyld's (Jnr) 'Plan of the City of

London', 1842, adding the noble initial 'P' to the front cover label. One W.A. Willington, on the other hand, was so concerned that somebody else (perhaps another Council official) might make off with his copy of G.W. Bacon's 'Map of the Willesden Urban District as supplied to the Willesden Education Committee', 1920 that he used bold blue crayon to sign his name no fewer than twenty times on the back of the map.

The owner might affix his bookplate to map. This entailed more formality than mere signature, and was an act of accession to an established personal library for which the owner had prepared bookplates to mark his property. A significant, possibly disproportionate, number of maps contain aristocratic bookplates. This may reflect the size of the families' collections, secure preservation within a curated library, and the owners' interest in travel for pleasure aided by ample funds or through holding official positions requiring overseas residence. The Duke of Northumberland had an extensive map collection assembled from the 1770s, many with both case and folded sheet marked with name and title in bold ink capitals, such as 'Lord Percy, County of Essex, N.W. quarter'. Around the same time the Duke of Cambridge, son of King George III, affixed a label with the manuscript initials 'A.F.D of Cambridge' to the covers of his map of Sussex. Nineteenth-century families favoured bookplates, such as the Fox family of Holland Park in London whose bookplate comprised, most appropriately, a coroneted fox atop a barons' cap. Their map, James Wyld the younger's 'New Map of the Province of Lower Canada', 1842 is scorched, bearing witness to the library surviving the destruction of the house in a bombing raid in September 1940. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Duke of Bedford affixed an armorial bookplate to his map of the Franco-Prussian war, while Sir David Salomons, the first Jewish Lord Mayor of London, did likewise to his maps of Rouen and Rome. This was a common practice across Europe; the Marquis de Wignacourt affixed his plate to his copies of Cassini's multi-sheet mid-eighteenth century of France while the Duque of San Carlos placed his on sumptuously cased copies of Aaron Arrowsmith's (Snr) maps of Mexico, the West Indies and India published between 1804 and 1810. By being able to associate a map with an identifiable individual, we can speculate why they bought it; Sir David probably bought his maps for a grand European tour; the Marquis most likely held land, or travelled around the French countryside accurately mapped for the first time. The Duque, who was Secretary of State to the Spanish King Fernando VII during the Napoleonic wars, had an official interest in obtaining the most up-to-date maps of His Majesty's worldwide dominions.

Purchasers would sometimes not only sign a map but also further personalise it by adding the date and place of purchase. One William Dalziel signed his copy of Charles Smith's 'Physical & Topographical Map of France', 1837, adding 'Liverpool 23rd April 1841', conceivably recording a purchase while *en route* to the ship that would carry him to France. An American visitor who attended the great military review held near London in Queen Victoria's presence wrote 'Mrs Carvill, New York, 30 July 1853, purchased at Windsor' on her copy of James Wyld's 'Encampment on Chobham Common'. In so doing she recorded not only the date and place of acquisition but also, as if to emphasise the exoticness of the occasion, her distant city of residence. Henry Wasey Kindersley signed the front label of his copy of Stanford's 'Map of the Island of Ceylon', 1863 on 29 May 1863, possibly shortly before he set sail for the island. J.J. Chapman wrote his name, together with 'Plymouth 7/1/96' on the cover of Stanford's 'Map of the Witwatersrand Goldfields', 1896, perhaps before departing for the South African goldfields. By signing, dating and adding place of purchase, the owner was using the map to commemorate the moment of its acquisition, quite possibly, as these examples may suggest, an occasion of great personal significance (Fig. 3).

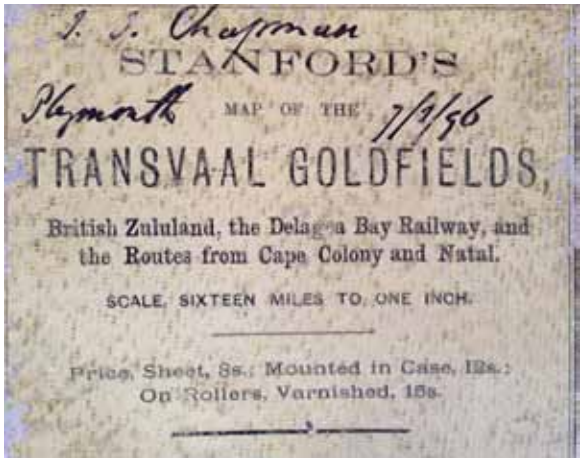


Fig. 3 J.J. Chapman signed and dated his map of the Transvaal Goldfields, adding where he either lived or bought it.

The map as diary

A traveller might purchase a map in preparation for a journey; the map could also be used to record that journey, a series of journeys or even prolonged

residence away from home. The practice of using a map to record travel was not confined to faraway places, and a city dweller might make use of a map to record an event as routine as the journey to work.

Mr R. Taylor, who lived in Essex Road, Islington, North London in the 1850s, purchased a copy of H.G. Collins' *Illustrated Atlas of London,* 1854 and marked on successive pages the journeys that he made. These include what appears to be the journey from his home by two alternative routes to work at a counting house in Aldermanbury, some two miles distant near the Guildhall in the City. Other maps record journeys less mundane. One individual, possibly a merchant visiting customers or suppliers, marked many hundreds of miles travelled during summer 1813 from London as far as Wetherby in Yorkshire, Birmingham, Bristol and Brighton on Laurie & Whittle's 'New Map of England & Wales', 1811. He certainly thought these were sufficiently momentous to merit preservation as 'John Wetherell's Journey 1813'. Sixty years later Edward Joynson of Liverpool spent a month in America in 1873 using George Philip's 'Travelling Map of the United States', 1870. While not touching the map itself, he noted on its reverse the details of his outward journey on SS *Scotia* (6–17 September) and the return on SS *Java* (15–26 October). A map could record multiple journeys; an unknown Londoner purchased a copy of James Gardner's 'New Post Map of Central Europe', 1839 on which was marked extensive continental travel to Sicily in 1824–25, to Moscow in 1830 as well as further trips in 1835–36 and 1840. The owner of this map was sufficiently wealthy to be able to undertake long distance trips when leisure travel was the preserve of the rich; the timing and pattern of travel does not suggest these were business trips. Beyond this we know nothing about the individual save that, after the 1840 trip, he or she decided retrospectively to record the three earlier trips. Perhaps this was elegiac, the owner realising their travelling days were over and wanting to show their lifetime's explorations on a single document; the absence of name or address suggests that this was done for personal interest and reference.

A map might find use in the wars, and many maps were purchased for use during Britain's ceaseless nineteenth-century wars of colonial expansion. Lieutenant Ronald Cotton served during the Anglo-Boer war in the City Imperial Yeomanry, a volunteer regiment raised in the City of London. He purchased half a dozen sheets of Wood & Ortlepp's 'Imperial Map of South Africa', 1900, one of a number of commercial publications issued to fill the need for rough but adequate field surveys of the disputed territories. Some sheets bear a daily record of his movements such as when, stationed in Vrede in the occupied Orange River Republic over a period of three weeks in May 1901, he undertook frequent trips – or raids – into the surrounding veldt.

More peaceful was daily life in tsarist Moscow, and an unknown Englishman bought a copy of P. Grossmann & J. Knobel's 'Plan von Moskau', 1882 to record his family's daily routine. He (or she) used different colours plus a detailed key to explain the weekday journey to 'Z' on foot or by tram, and the Sunday trip from home to Church, also recording where their friends Marie Strauss and the Stanleys lived. This is intriguing and tantalising in equal measure. The map provides an insight into the life of a late nineteenth-century expatriate (he is not a visitor as he has a 'home'), and we learn that he and his family (presumably at least a married couple as they are 'we') are regular churchgoers and have made some friends whom they periodically visit. They have worked out the best routes by foot or, perhaps when icy, using the tram. We can surmise that 'Z' is his workplace, but it is frustrating to glean such a partial picture, as we are unlikely ever to know this family's identity or the duration or purpose of their residence. We also do not know why the map owner created such a meticulous record of his daily routine; by describing the 'bit we go on foot' and 'where Marie Strauss lives' it is clearly a record of present rather than past life. Perhaps it is best understood as a vestigial precursor to the present Facebook Timeline, a simple record of daily life created for the interest of the subject to be shared among friends (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 A map of Moscow has been personalised with a legend indicating local journeys, on foot and by tram, made to visit friends and to Church.

There are countless travel diaries, from Graham Greene's *The Lawless Roads* to Patrick Leigh Fermor's three-volume record of his 1930s journey on foot to Constantinople. A traveller might instead choose to mark his or her journey on a map, providing a visual rather than written record of the trip. Mr W.H. Brinckman of Llanberis in North Wales purchased a copy of Philip's 'Mediterranean Sea', 1907 and used it as a diary for a four-week cruise from Liverpool to Naples, Trieste and back in February and March 1907. He fastidiously recorded each detail, from the hotels in which he stayed and the restaurants in which he dined (The Pilsner in Naples was to be recommended) to the time the ship passed Gibraltar and Stromboli (Fig. 5).

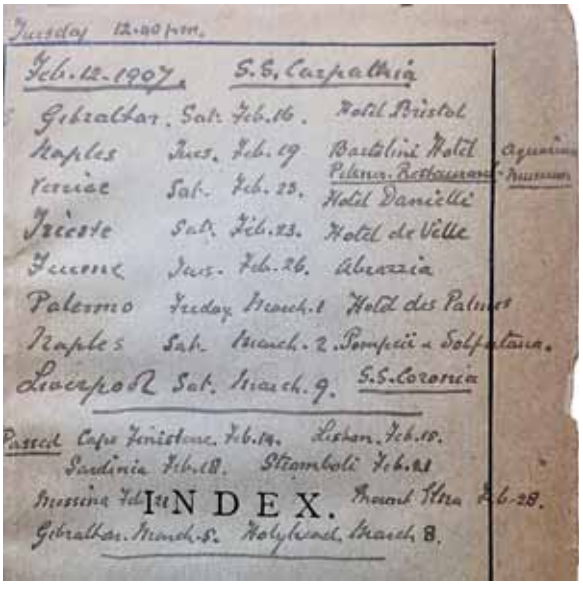


Fig. 5 On the back of this map is written a passenger's itinerary aboard the SS *Carpathia*, travelling between Gibraltar and Liverpool.

The map at work

For every map that was an accompaniment to leisure, travel or battle there was another in use in the counting house, office or factory. Maps have a natural affinity with commerce, and lend themselves to use in recording markets and territories as well as, on a more detailed scale, developments to what would now be termed infrastructure – roads and rails, docks and drains.

The map might record the current provision of a public service, or proposals for its enhancement. An unknown but industrious hand took a copy of Cary's 'New Plan of London & Its Vicinity', 1841 and carefully recorded the precise location of each of the fire stations maintained by the different authorities and noting the number of fire engines available at each of them, which totalled 481 for the metropolis. It is unclear whether this is the output of an official census or compiled by an interested citizen, and also whether its purpose was to establish the extent of present coverage or to campaign for improvements. Clearer in intent are the annotations to J. Allen's 'England & Wales with the Principal Roads', 1806, which show postal routes between the main commercial centres and indicate how some unstated improvement (most likely frequency of delivery) would double the postal service for the belt of great commercial cities stretching from Liverpool to Hull between 160 and 230 miles from London. The map comes from the Gladstone family's Fasque House library in Aberdeenshire, suggesting a possible connection with an early nineteenth-century Gladstone with an interest in reforming the postal service a generation before Rowland Hill's penny post (Fig. 6, opposite).

More official are the water supply maps created by the late nineteenth-century municipalities seeking Parliamentary authority to flood distant valleys to create reservoirs to secure a constant source. One example is an Ordnance Survey 1-inch map used by Sheffield District Waterworks to indicate the site of several proposed reservoirs in the Yorkshire moors. Railways were another distinctly nineteenth-century enterprise, and Z.P. Maruya's 'New Century Map of Tokyo', 1902 was used to record Tokyo electric railways sanctioned, under construction and in operation at that time, together with the location of every electricity station and substation. The map and the manuscript key to the hand coloured lines and power stations is in English. This suggests that it may have been prepared for use by an English or American contractor, or presented to a member of a delegation interested in the operation of electric railways visiting from another city, although in either case one would expect that the map would have been purposely printed rather than comprise hand-drawn additions to an ordinary visitor's map.

A smaller business might use a map when recording a business deal, prospecting a territory, or simply keeping an eye on the neighbourhood's commerce. When the Silicate Paint Company entered into an agency agreement with John Line & Sons on 21 March 1900, it recorded the assigned territory on Bacon's 'England & Wales Reduced from the Ordnance Survey', around 1900, which was stamped



Fig. 6 The handwritten legend added to this 1806 map indicates the boundaries of 'postage communication'; the blue circles 'mark all the material points of commercial interest in the kingdom'.

and signed, like a formal legal document, by two directors and its company secretary. An English business, possibly a supplier of agricultural machinery, used a copy of 'Spain & Portugal' *c.*1910 in the Philip's *Authentic Imperial Maps for Tourists and Travellers* series to record its prospects in Catalonia. Pickings, it seems, were thin. They had no agent in Gerona despite the presence of cork factories; nothing was to be had from the olive oil factories of Barcelona or from the entire province of Tarragona, while adjacent Castellon had only produced business worth 3,198 pesetas. A Chicago realtor (estate agent) used a copy of Olcott's 'Land Value Maps of Chicago & Suburbs', 1916 to record property sales in the local market, covering each page with press cuttings and annotations of land sold, plot sizes and calculations of value. Each of these three disparate businesses used a map to visualise their dealings, illustrating how commerce and a map went hand in hand. How better to show an agent's territory than to mark it on a map, leaving no room for disputes over what the words might mean? Selling goods to Spain had enough challenges, so why not make the task comprehensible by plotting progress – or lack of it – on a map to clarify which areas were promising, and which were not? And what could be clearer for a land dealer than to plot transactions on a map, enabling them swiftly to note trends, identify comparables, and make sound valuations?

The map as mystery

So far, the thrust of this article has been that every annotation makes sense; it is rational and capable of being understood even if its full context or purpose is no longer entirely clear. Furthermore, the annotation never detracts from the map's latent cartographic value, and invariably adds an additional layer of meaning to the map.

If only this were true! Not every annotation is constructive, well informed or even well intended, and some are downright malicious. We have all come across maps deliberately defaced, used as children's doodling pads or enhanced in an amateur hand, such as a copy of James Wyld the younger's 'Map of the World', 1900 on which a former owner helpfully decided to enhance the depiction of the coastline with clumsy



Fig. 7 A cycling map of England to which has been added alphabetised and coloured concentric circles. 'Each ring has an identifying letter: 'A' designates Scotland the Isle of Man; England and Wales are divided into multiple rings of Bs, Cs and Ds. The area of London is not coloured.

application a thick blue crayon, only to tire of the effort when the task was half completed.

Other annotations are clear and purposeful but with meaning obscure. Was Robert Rowe's 'Map of the Country Twenty-One Miles Round London', 1803 marked with the route of a canal circling London like an aquatic M25, with a neat marginal note that the River Lea was to be flooded as far as Ware and a waterworks built on Shooters Hill, an amateur's proposal to protect London against Napoleonic invasion? Why was a copy of Gall & Inglis' 'Complete "Safety" Cycling Map of England & Wales', *c.*1900 carefully marked in bold coloured concentric circles centred for no apparent reason on Newport, Hartlepool and Mansfield? We can only admire the draughtsman's skill while grappling with his meaning (Fig. 7).

Conclusion

Maps have many meanings beyond the principal intended message and, excepting incomprehensible markings, there is a range of nuances that can be derived from annotations. Mapmaker's corrections show attempts to manage the risk of delayed publication or prolonged shelf life, while attempts to conceal a map's origins hint at the fiercely competitive nature of the map market. Shop labels tell something of the distribution networks for maps, as well as the shopkeepers' hope that the customer would return for further purchases. A buyer signed his new acquisition to denote possession of a prized and often expensive purchase, and might record date and place to emphasise the significance of the occasion. A map has many uses, including at a personal level to record one or more journeys, or as a diary noting daily routine or progress. Lastly, maps were suitable for a wide range of public and business uses, recording large infrastructure projects alongside small-scale commercial ventures. Annotations on maps can provide a wealth of information about the maps themselves, their market, their owners and the uses to which they were put; I hope this article will inspire collectors to have another look at their maps.

Simon Morris *has collected eighteenth- and nineteenth-century folding maps of London and most other parts of the world for many years as light relief from practising as a partner in a City of London law firm, where he specialises in the regulation of financial institutions.*

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RHINE MAPS ON-LINE

IMCoS members may be aware I have a good collection of Rhine leporello maps from 1825-1900. These are the basis of a new web site cataloguing all Rhine leporellos I could find. Visit my new blogspot!

I am in the process of selling these and other maps from my personal collection: these are all listed at my new **Maps-For-Sale** web site. I have recently posted fifty World War One German propaganda postcards (with maps) – well worth a look – and there will be more to follow!

This web site has a selection of maps from my personal collection – I am not dealing commercially.

www.kitthemaps-rhine-panoramas.blogspot.de
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JOHN MONTRESOR. *A Plan of the City of New-York & its Environs to Greenwich, on the North or Hudsons River, and to Crown Point, on the East or Sound River, shewing the several Streets, Publick Buildings, Docks, Fort & Battery, with the true Form & Course of the Commanding Town. Survey'd in the Winter, 1766.* [London: Mary Ann Rocque, 1767]. The rare first edition of the Montresor Plan - produced in secret during the Stamp Act Riots and preceding the Ratzer Plan. The first copy at auction since 1991. Estimate: $8,000-12,000

MAPPING MATTERS

News from the world of maps

The JB Harley Fellowships celebrates 25 years

The Map House of London hosted a gathering for Trustees and friends of The JB Harley Research Fellowships Trust to celebrate its 25th year. Geographer, explorer, broadcaster and President of the Royal Geographical Society, Nicolas Crane opened the proceedings with a short introduction to the work of the Trust. To date, 74 Harley Fellows from eighteen countries have been supported. Applications are invited from anyone pursuing advanced research in the history of cartography, irrespective of nationality, discipline or profession, who wishes to work in London and other parts of the United Kingdom. The Trust was set up in London in 1992 in memory of Brian Harley (1932–91) who was founding co-editor of the History of Cartography Project. Information: www.maphistory.info/harleytrust.html.



Trust Chairman Sarah Tyacke and Director of The Map House Philip Curtis.

Seventh Biennial *Imago Mundi* Prize

The seventh *Imago Mundi* Prize has been awarded to Federico Ferretti for 'A New Map of the Franco-Brazilian Border Dispute (1900)', which appeared in *Imago Mundi* 67:2**,** 2015. Dr Federico Ferretti is a lecturer at the School of Geography, University College, Dublin. Based on the newly discovered maps and archives of the explorer Henri Coudreau (1859–1899) and the geographer Élisée Reclus (1830–1905), the author, in his article, reveals the political usefulness of the maps and shows them in a more subversive role rather than the more usual one exemplifying the power of the state. The article is available free of charge at www.tandfonline.com/imagomundi.

Charles Booth's London

Charles Booth's London poverty map is now available online in a new, interactive version (https://booth.lse.ac.uk). The maps were created between 1886 and 1903, as part of Booth's ground-breaking study 'Inquiry Into the Life and Labour of the People in London'. The work identified the city's residents according to their financial situation. Booth identified seven categories of wealth and coloured the streets of the capital accordingly: black for the 'lowest class, vicious, semi-criminal'; dark blue for those in 'chronic want' moving through shades of blue, red and yellow to indicate the 'poor on 18 to 21 shillings a week', the 'fairly comfortable', the 'well-to-do' and the 'wealthy'. The online material includes 450 original survey notebooks recording information about households, as well as notebooks of observations and interviews carried out on police 'walks' in 47 districts of the capital. In 2016 LSE Library's Archive of Charles Booth's *Inquiry into the Life and Labour of the People in London* (1886–1903) was inscribed into UNESCO's Memory of the World Register.

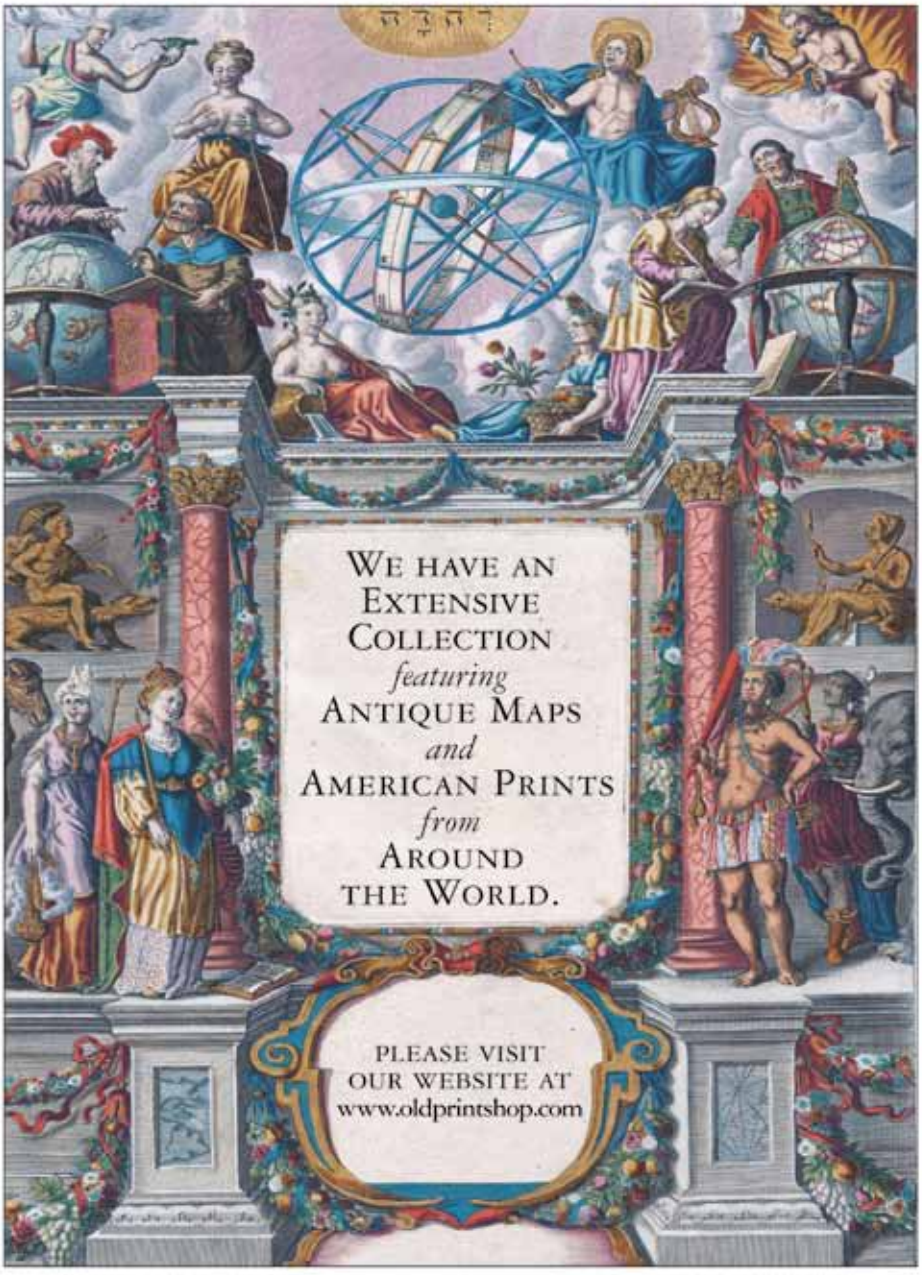


Detail of Charles Booth's poverty map showing Islington. From *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 1902. Wellcome Library, London. Wellcome Images images@wellcome.ac.uk http://wellcomeimages.org. Creative Commons Attribution only licence CC BY 4.0 http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

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CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Exhibitions

Until 29 September 2017, Niskayuna, New York
Kelly Adirondack Center of Union College
Parts But Little Known: Maps of the Adirondacks from 1556
This exhibition is curated by IMCoS member Cal Welch. It looks at the growing awareness of the region and what the mapmakers thought about the potential of the Adirondacks. On display are the Verplanck Colvin's reports accompanied by illustrations documenting the trials of the surveying crews and more than a century's worth of maps of the area. Information: Margie Amodeo, Tel + 1 518 280 5951.

Until 28 October 2017, Portland Maine
Osher Map Library
To Conquer or Submit? America Views the Great War
This exhibition commemorates American participation in the Great War with a sample of informative and propagandistic posters, maps and atlases drawn from the collections of Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education.
Information: www.oshermaps.org/exhibitions/great-war

Until 30 November 2017, Prague
Faculty of Science of Charles University, Albertov
J. Felkl & Son, Globe Factory
This year is the 200th anniversary of the birth of Jan Felkel, the founder and owner of the largest Austro-Hungarian globe company, producing globes in eight sizes and seventeen languages and exported both to Europe and overseas.
Information: Eva Novotná at novotn48@natur.cuni.cz

Until 31 December 2017, Amsterdam
National Maritime Museum
The world according to Joan Blaeu: Master cartographer of the Golden Age
Information: www.hetscheepvaartmuseum.nl/discover/exhibitions/the-world-according-to-blaeu

Until 7 January 2018, The Hague
The National Archives
No Business without Battle: The world of the Dutch East India Company
This exhibition marks the digitisation of the archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).
Information: www.gahetna.nl

Until 9 October 2017, Marseille
Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations (MuCEM)
Ocean Explorers from Sindbad to Marco Polo
The exhibition follows the progress of geographers, explorers and mariners from the beginning of Islam to the dawn of the seventeenth century.
Information: www.imarabe.org/en/exhibitions/ocean-explorers

Until 7 January 2018, London
National Maritime Museum
Death in the Ice: The Shocking Story Of Franklin's Final Expedition
The exhibition explores the unsolved mystery of John Franklin's last journey to the Arctic.
Information: www.rmg.co.uk

14 September 2017–16 January 2018, Leiden
University Library Leiden
Mapping Asia
Asia is home to many different cultures which share important characteristics. The exhibition investigates the most conspicuous features, such as language, education, urbanisation and natural resources. Politics and especially migration have been instrumental in shaping some of these features. These issues are explored in this exhibition using cartography and GIS mapping tool.
Information: www.blogs.library.leiden.edu/mappingasia/

3 November 2017–11 March 2018, New York
New York Historical Society
We are One: Mapping the Road to American Independence
The exhibition was developed by the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of Britain's 1765 Stamp Act. The New York Historical Society has added rarely seen manuscript and printed maps from its collection to exhibition.
Information: www. nyhistory.org

17 November 2017–24 February 2018, Cork
Crawford Art Gallery
Stones, Slabs and Seascapes: George Noyer's Images of Ireland
To commemorate the bi-centenary of Noyer's birth a major exhibition, featuring over one hundred and fifty watercolours and drawing will open in Cork before moving to the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin.
Information: www.crawfordartgallery.ie/Du-Noyer.html

Lectures and conferences

15–16 September 2017, Leiden
Leiden University Library
Mapping Asia – Cartographic Encounters between East and West
Information: Martijn Storms
m.storms@library.leidenuniv.nl8

22 September 2017, Oxford
Bodleian Library
Enlightening Maps: A Celebration of 25 Years of TOSCA – The Oxford Seminars in Cartography
TOSCA will be celebrating 25 years of cartographic explorations with an all-day symposium and map display calling attention to the enlightening power of maps.
Information: Nick Millea
nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

8–12 October 2017, Hamburg
Thirty-fifth International Map Collectors' Society Symposium
Information: www.imcos.org

12 October 2017, London
Royal Geographical Society

The E.G.R. Taylor Lecture for 2017, ***'Compassing the Vaste Globe': Hydrographic Practitioners of the Late Georgian Royal Navy*** will be delivered by Captain M.K. Barritt RN, immediate past President of the Hakluyt Society.
Information: www.rgs.org

19–21 October 2017, Stanford
David Rumsey Map Center
Barry Lawrence Ruderman Conference on Cartography (BLRCC)
The conference, the first of its kind, is designed to encourage cartographic scholarship and shed light to areas that have otherwise been ignored. This particular conference focuses on emerging scholars and gives a broad overview of work around the world, organised by time periods. The conference will look at ways to expand the field and draw from experts outside traditional historical cartography.
Information: library.stanford.edu/rumsey/programs/barry-lawrence-ruderman-conference-cartography

27–29 October 2017, Manteo, North Carolina
First Colony Foundation
Roanoke! The Map! Westward Ho! X marks the Spot!
Speakers include Peter Barber, 'John White's Maps and Tudor Cartography'; Dr Kim Sloan, 'Paper Patches: An Analysis of La Virginea Pars map in the British Museum'; Dr Eric Klingelhofer, 'Images and Absences: Interpreting John White's Picture-Maps'.
Information: Phil Evans, pevans151@nc.rr.com

21 November 2017, Cambridge UK
Emmanuel College
Cambridge Seminars in the History of Cartography
In Everest's Footsteps: Surveying the Legacies of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in India by Keith Lilley.
Information: sarahbendall@emma.cam.ac.uk

9 December 2017, Brussels
The Brussels Map Circle International Conference, ***Mapping Indonesia***, will be held at Royal Library of Belgium.
Information: info@bimcc.org

'Maps and Society' lectures 2017–2018, the 27th series

Warburg Institute, London, 5pm
Sponsored by The Antiquarian Booksellers' Association, The International Map Collectors' Society, and Jonathan Potter of Jonathan Potter Ltd.
Information: Catherine Delano-Smith (c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk) or Tony Campbell (tony@tonycampbell.info).

30 November 2017 Roderick Baron (Independent scholar and map dealer), ***Fred W. Rose & His Serio-Comic Maps, 1877–1900***

18 January 2018 Giles Darkes (Cartographic editor, British Historic Towns Atlas), ***Maps and Miasma: Henry Acland's Maps of Cholera in Oxford in the 1850s***

15 February 2018 Dr Emma Perkins (Affiliate scholar, Dep. of History and Philosophy of Science, Uni. of Cambridge), ***Early English Globe Making: A Social Study of a Terrestrial Globe by Morden, Berry and Lea, c.1685***

15 March 2018 Dr Thomas Horst (Post-doctoral Fellow at CIUHCT, Lisbon), ***Putting Saxton into Context: State Surveys in Early Modern Europe with Particular Reference to Palatinate-Neuburg (Bavaria), Saxony and England***

26 April 2018 Prof. Dr Ferdinand Opll (Honorary Prof. of Medieval History and Historical Auxiliary Sciences, Uni. of Vienna), ***Early Modern Town Plans and Views of Vienna and Their Importance in an International Context***

17 May 2018 Prof. Susan Schulten (Dep. of History, Uni. of Denver, USA), ***Map Drawing in Nineteenth-Century Education***

26th series

Due to a shortage of space in this issue Pamela Purdey's annual round-up of the Maps and Society lecture series has been published on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org)

Map and Book Fairs

15–17 September 2017, San Francisco
The ***San Francisco Map Fair***, sponsored by History in your Hands Foundation
Information: www.hiyhf.org/san-francisco-map-fair-2017

3–4 November 2017, Paris
Hotel Ambassador
The ***16th Paris Map Fair*** will take place at 16 Bd Haussmann, 75009 with the Loeb-Larocque map auction in Drouot on 3 November, and a cocktail reception in the evening (Free entry, by reservation only, to IMCoS members www.map-fair.com/cockt). There will be a special exhibition ***Navigating the World before GPS***. The ease with which we make our way through the world today is in contrast, to the long and painstaking history of how we have found out way across the seas, in the sky, and on land, and it is largely a story of failure. The exhibition shows some of the most important early instruments for global positioning, mapmaking, navigation on the sea and finally the results, more or lesser accurate globes and maps.
Information: www.map-fair.com



26–28 January 2018, Stuttgart
Württembergischer Kunstverein (Schlossplatz 2),
Stuttgart Antiquarian Bookfair 2018
Information: www.stuttgarter-antiquariatsmesse.de

2–4 February 2018, Miami
The 25th Annual ***Miami International Map Fair***, the oldest event of its kind in the Western Hemisphere, will be held at the HistoryMiami Museum,
Information: Map Fair Manager Hilda Masip, HMasip@historymiami.org



Septentrionalium Terrarum Descriptio
G. Mercator / J. Cloppenburgh, Amsterdam, c 1630



Magnae Britanniae Et Hiberniae Tabula G. Blaeu, Amsterdam, 1630

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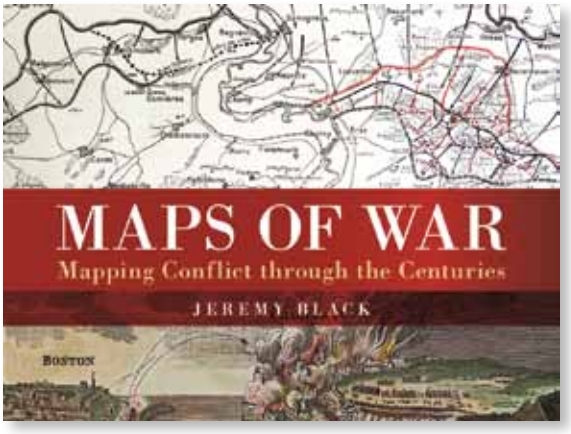
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BOOK REVIEWS

Maps of War: Mapping conflict through the centuries *by Jeremy Black. London: Bloomsbury, 2016. ISBN 9781844863440. HB, 224, 150 maps. STG £30.*



Military maps have always had two distinct strands. Military professionals need maps to do their duty. Their employers, whether state or public, want maps to help them engage with the struggle.

Early military maps of both types tended to be highly pictorial. The pageantry of armies was more significant to both producer and audience than the ground itself. Then as the age of gunpowder developed, sieges became a major interest of conflict. The ground over which troops marched became more of a focus. This shift changed mapping. Instead of seeing what *had* happened, in a sense an audience were now seeing what was *still* happening. It resulted in the development of campaign maps which satisfied the demands of ever better educated audiences – and subsequent historians. The Battle of Balaclava was still of interest to a nineteenth-century reader, but it was the Crimean campaign as a whole that was engaging that same reader. Military maps became two more things: a tool for review and an aid to decision-making. And, of course, in more recent centuries, the birth of citizen armies meant that parents, friends and lovers now *needed* to feel they knew what was happening.

This book is unusual. Superficially, it shares a format with many other 'map primers'. Each chapter is an essay. Each essay is illustrated copiously with maps and each map is accompanied by a box containing a commentary. More significant maps get more page space and more written attention. Nothing new in that department. However, the commentary and the discursive sections are particularly rich in insight, and sharply defined. Professor Black knows what he wants to say, how to say it and which maps to choose. A rare combination! He thus avoids the two main traps of such books, often sadly written off as 'coffee table' offerings. Firstly, I could not find a single banal comment. But neither could I point to abstruse point-scoring off an ignorant audience. The format may be 'lite', but academic expertise adds focus, saving us from enthusiasm alone.

Each chapter advances us a century, and each section within that chapter advances conceptually too. The twentieth century is, however, given three chapters – to accommodate our species' burgeoning abilities in applying science to conflict. Naturally some kind of topical choice had to be exercised. I was impressed that the criteria for selection seems to be for maps from which the greatest insight can be gained, rather than the most obvious map. I take as an example the section on the seventeenth century, a period as pivotal for military mapping as for other cartographical concerns. Rather than dwelling on the familiar, we are enlightened concerning Swedish and Russian activity in the field, concerning siege maps, French State maps, etc. A happy consequence is that you will have seen few of the chosen images before. The nineteenth-century section is particularly well illustrated. I appreciate the way in which famous imperial episodes are covered. The Boxer Rebellion is represented, for instance, by a captured Chinese map, rather than a European one. The Third Boer War is represented by several fresh images, including one from the US War Department, then a neutral party. The only ground that could be remotely regarded as over-familiar is the coverage of the American Civil War.

Jeremy Black is writing as a respected historian – of both cartography and military history. He is as grounded in one as the other. My only concern might be for a reader who is very well versed in maps, but less secure with the history of warfare. (The educated general reader may have heard of less than half the wars and battles referred to.)

For me, the topical progression of the book peaks

at the start of the World War 1 chapter, when geopolitics starts to be mentioned. Instead of rushing in the easy way, to a discussion of oh-so-iconic trench maps, due space is given to the earlier wars of the century. The erroneous lessons learnt from the Russo-Japanese War and the Second Balkan War were of particular interest. I have walked a few Balkan battlefields. However, I can assure you that I got far more from this book's pre-WW1 maps and commentary than I did from any of my own in-country bumblings!

I am sure that we all have our favourite wars, but the tendency to omit mapping of independence wars is the only fault in content I can point to. Such Italian, Greek and South American wars are all neglected. The short section on the General Staff System had me expecting more than a single 'Germanic' map, (of the Battle of Sadowa, the defining 'super-battle' of what we usually call the Seven Week's War in 1866). I anticipated golden nuggets on 1864 in Denmark, the Franco-Prussian War, etc. It was the Prussians who proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the guys with the best maps win the war. This lesson took a long time to percolate through to wider acceptance though. However, a British Army that entered France in 1914 with only two relevant staff – one mapmaker and an assistant – marched out in 1918 with over 5,000. War always generates maps at much the speed it generates new technology. Thankfully, maps do not often generate war. However they can rationalise it, justify it, demand it, elucidate it, glorify it and facilitate it. There are excellent examples of each in *Maps of War.*

Mike Sweeting, North Yorkshire

Reviewers needed

If you would like to review books for the *IMCoS Journal*, or you have come across a good new book on historical cartography that you think should be reviewed, contact the Editor on tel +44 (0)1799 540765 or by email ljiljana.editor@gmail.com



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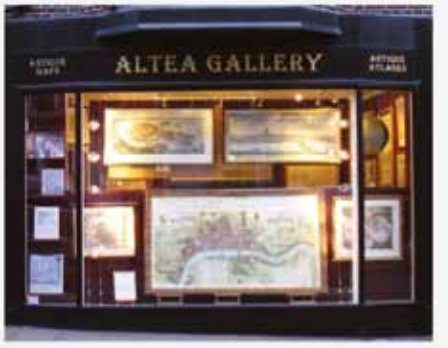
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