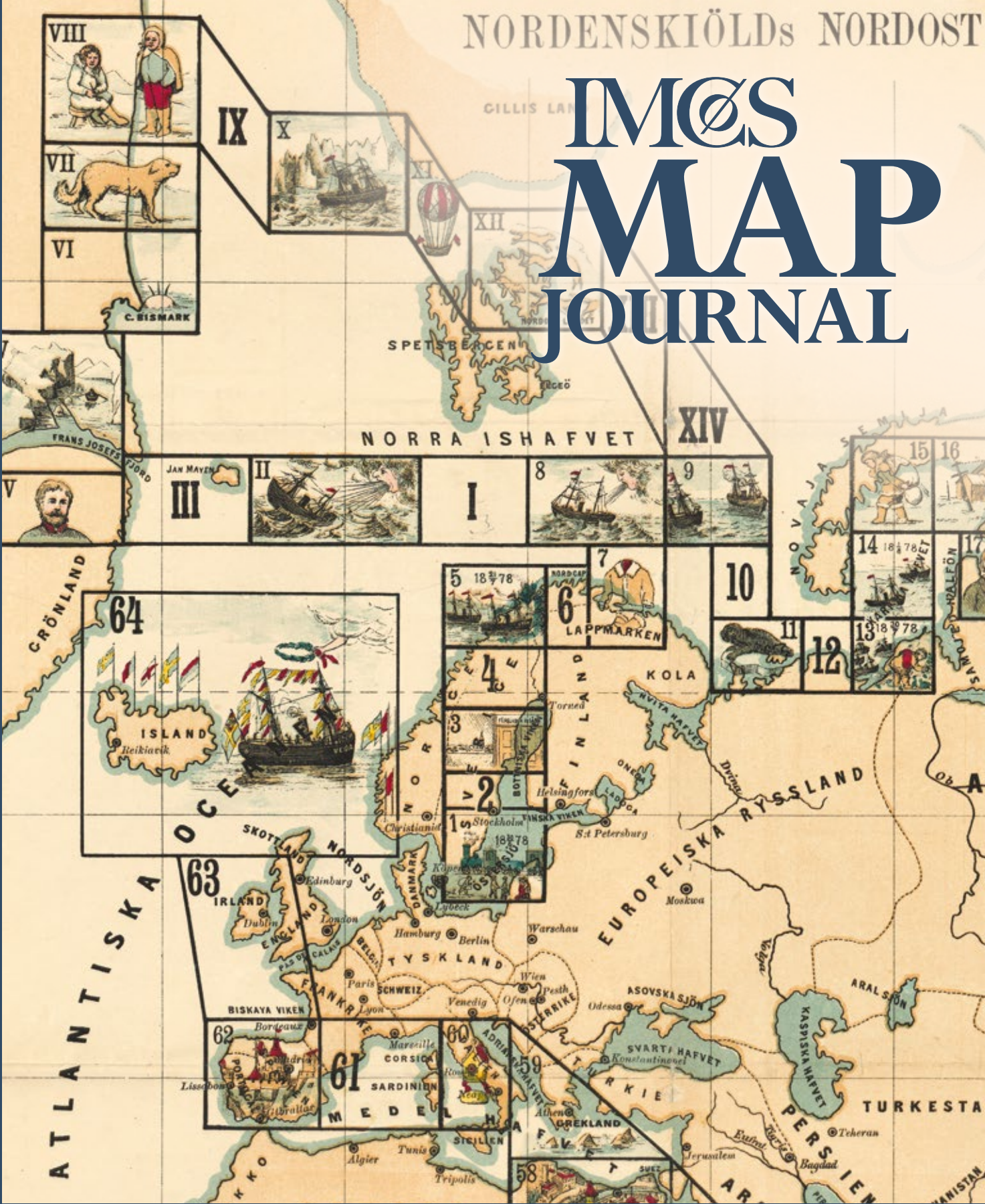
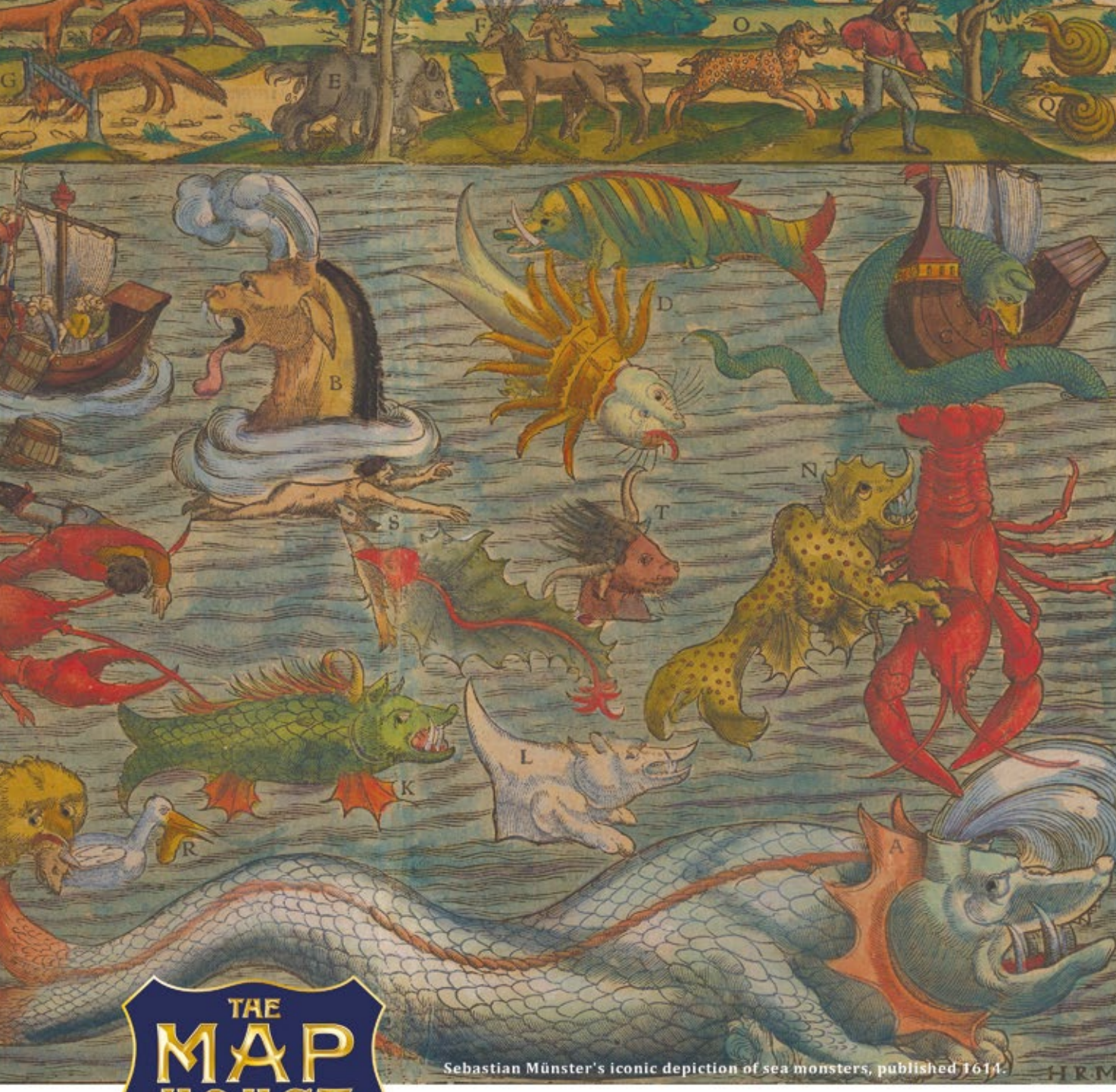


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INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY DECEMBER 2022 | No.171



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Front cover Unknown author, detail from the game board of *Nordenskiölds Nordost-Passage 1878–1879, 1879.* In the game players follow the journey of Finnish explorer A.E. Nordenskiöld in his attempt to traverse the Northeast Passage to Scandinavia. Scan provided by the National Library of Finland.



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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Mike Sweeting

I trust that you have each enjoyed a pleasant and relaxing summer. The UK has basked in the best one for many decades. In our September issue, Valerie Newby reported on our late June visit to Hereford. Why Hereford? Because of the Mappa Mundi of course! The Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were our hosts. Our very own Peter Barber has been helping them with the curation of that most significant of maps, so it was great to hear him speak to us about that on-site. Their Chained Library was kindly opened for us, and guides provided for a tour of their wonderful building. The following day my wife and I traversed the ridge of the Malvern Hills in spectacular weather. (A route beloved of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkein, AND Sir Edward Elgar has to be good!) This made me consider how much we all need food for body, mind and spirit.

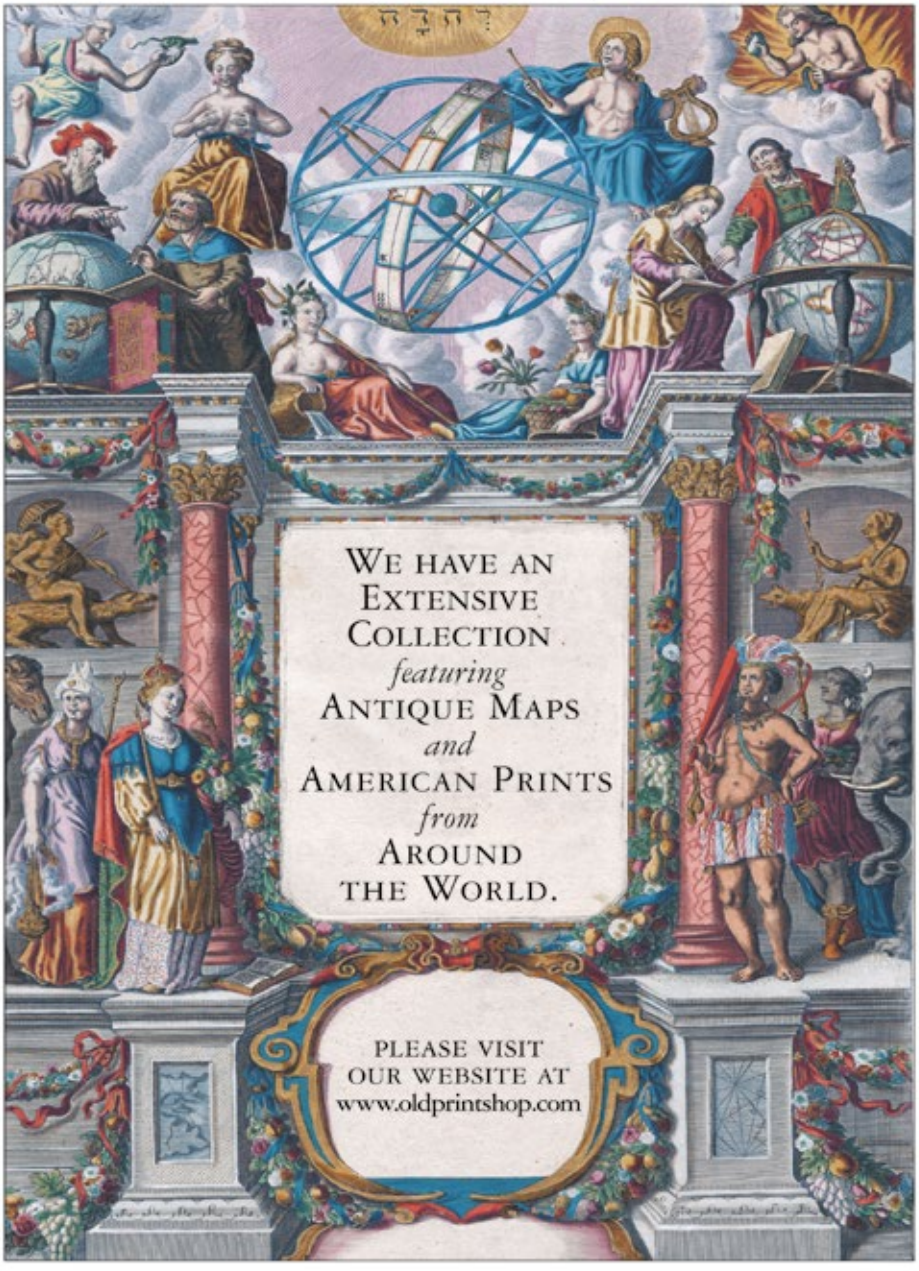
I very much trust that the International Symposium in Texas has contributed on all three fronts. We do not enjoy maps in isolation. We benefit from the fruits of past scholars, the mapmakers themselves, their patrons and their cultures. Map appreciation as well as map creation are very much more communal activities than it may look at first sight. We benefit from sharing our knowledge with others – and by learning from them too. We benefit from making the effort to gather with others, through 'good-fellowship' and through the osmosis of wide-ranging conversation, as well as from the maps as texts. By the time I write, new friendships will have formed, old ones have been renewed and fresh initiatives purposed.

In past letters, I have encouraged members to seek out fairs and events so that post-Covid momentum can be built up. Now, I would like to suggest two further ways forward. The first is to consider who you know that may themselves benefit from membership of IMCoS. A growing Society is good for all. If you ever find yourself thinking "I wish 'so-and-so' could gain from membership in the way I am gaining", then do urge so-and-so to become a member. The second suggestion is that you consider how to engage with connecting disciplines and interests. If you have ability in public speaking, offer yourself to other societies as a speaker on maps. If you have ability in writing, offer a map-themed article to a more general platform. I recently participated in an online event put on by the Battlefields Trust on the mapping of the English Civil Wars. Some of you will be familiar with railway mapping or disease control mapping or sociological mapping or whatever. Do give thought in coming weeks to how YOU can contribute towards the health of map studies, our own Society and share this inspiring world of maps with others.

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

This issue brings news of several exciting face-to-face events scheduled for 2023: a three-day excursion to Scotland in May has been confirmed, as too has our 40th International Symposium which will take place in Helsinki in August. See page 34 for the full programme. There will also be several online events in which all members can participate, commencing in February with a 'Show and Tell' at which speakers are invited to present, in just five minute, a favourite map or other cartographic item of interest. It's a great exercise in sticking to the point and an opportunity to meet members from all corners of the world. Please contact Chairman Mike Sweeting if you are interested in participating. Our annual Malcolm Young Lecture will morph into two lectures. Our speaker is Dr Dennis Reinhartz who, with a plethora of maps, will discuss 'Misconceptions: Russia and the West'. The lectures will be held over two consecutive weeks in June. Please follow the Society's website for the most up-to-date information on our activities.

As we know, maps do not always function as wayfinders. Hiekke Jungman, Niklas Nyland and Jaakko Stenros demonstrate this in their article 'Ludic Geography, Finnish Game Maps'. The maps they examine are designed for play. They include traditional board games in which the map is the gaming board or is central to the playing of the game as well as maps designed for the digital gaming world. While your editor is familiar with board games in which maps are a component, she is very much less familiar with those used in the digital gaming industry. Their article has been a fascinating read.

Maps as visual encapsulations used to help in the understanding of long and complex texts is the subject of our two other contributions. Martin van Brauman looks at Joseph Moxon's two world maps of 1671 and 1681, showing the division of the World after the Flood. These maps were intended to be included in Protestant bibles to aid the faithful in their reading of the Scripture.

The 'Worth a Look' feature on page 44 introduces the Renaissance mathematician Antonio di Tucci Manetti who wrestled with Dante's description of Hell in the *Divine Comedy* in a bid to reconstruct its shape, size and location. Manetti neither drew maps nor published his research. Later publishers of the *Comedy* realised the value of maps to help guide readers through Dante's complex vision of Hell's topography. Maps can be exceptionally succinct visual explicators of dense, difficult and lengthy text. Even Galileo admitted, when giving his lecture on the nature of Dante's *Inferno,* that difficult subjects such as this are not easily expressed with words, reinforcing the old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words.

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LUDIC GEOGRAPHY

Finnish game maps 1885–2021

Heikki Jungman, Niklas Nylund, Jaakko Stenros

Introduction

Maps are an efficient tool for ordering, understanding and imagining data. They can be used to visualise and measure distant and unknown areas. However, not all maps are utilitarian, nor do they necessarily deal with the real world. Maps also portray make-believe places. Indeed, fictional maps do not mediate and portray the real world but construct and help create fantastic worlds.

While maps of fictional worlds in literature and film are well-known, the make-believe maps of games have received less attention. This article offers an overview of Finnish game maps, which were the subject of an exhibition – *Imaginary Geography* – recently mounted in Tampere by the Finnish Museum of Games.

The article, too, presents an overview of the scholarship on the intersection of games and maps. It is positioned as map research but also as research on the museum and exhibition process itself. In this manner, it is of interest for map researchers dealing with maps of imaginary places and maps in games but is also of concern for heritage studies and museology. The researchers aimed to engage in a reflexive meta-analysis of the exhibition.[1] This means that researchers were also concerned with the power structures leading up to the exhibition, and where and how the curatorial choices of the exhibition were made.

Background

Maps and games have been mostly studied separately[2] with surprisingly little research on how maps and games overlap. That said, however there are areas of research in which their interrelatedness is examined: the *Game of Goose*;[3] 'mapping' as a concept and an activity;[4] postcolonialist critique of imperialist discourses in games;[5] and studies of fantasy maps outside of games.[6]

When writing about the *Game of Goose* or *Jeu de l'Oie*, Adrian notes that chase or dice games in the vein of *Game of Goose* often utilise maps, either as the playing field as a whole or in connection with individual playing spaces. He adds that 'The cartography itself may be interesting, especially in a historic context. [...] The games may have distinctive iconographies and are often attractive objects in their own right. Both the social milieu and the commercial market for these games may influence their design and theme. Their effect may be, wittingly or unwittingly, to convey interesting, amusing, or disturbing messages about their time and place'.[7] Game maps, whether fictional or based on real geographical places, are thus a very interesting, although underused, subject for academic scrutiny.

The International Cartographic Association defines a map as a 'symbolized representation of geographical reality, representing selected features or characteristics, resulting from the creative effort of its author's execution of choices, and is designed for use when spatial relationships are of primary relevance'.[8] In that sense, a fictional map is a contradiction in terms, since maps represent what is already there, but fantasy maps create the world.[9] Following Gérard Genette,[10] fantasy maps can further be theorised as paratexts explaining and supporting the text itself, but also as thresholds between the real and the imaginary, i.e. liminal spaces.

Mapping, on the other hand, is a form of play.[11] Play and mapping are activities which are tied to exploration and spatial navigation, which means they can produce narratives when their spatial-temporal relations are engaged with, for example interpreting the movements of a game piece on the board as actual movement in the space the map represents. There is also an increasing number of games where players are merging with playing pieces, themselves becoming the pawns in the game.[12] *Pokémon Go* [13] and other pervasive games, where the gaming experience is extended out in the real world or blends with it, are making use of topographical maps which are turned into 'semi-landscapes' through the power of augmented reality (AR).[14] They use a bird's-eye perspective, situating the avatar of the player on the digital game board. These semi-landscapes are a technological equivalent for daydreaming with maps and letting one's imagination travel over the world, but within a digital game.

Another thread of research into where maps and games overlap is in postcolonial studies which focus

on the history and legacy of Western colonialism. In this context, the imperialistic urge to explore new lands and to rule those areas on the map is turned into the driving force of various games.[15] In these games, the player is, by controlling territory in the game's representation of the world, asserting ownership akin to the 'red marking the stretch of the British Empire on Victorian world maps'.[16] While some strategy games address 'Empire directly in [...] title and content',[17] others are not as open about their colonialist worldview. Still, games which utilise maps for controlling game spaces are based on, and reflected by, the player's will, which is imprinted on the map. In numerous digital strategy games the player is tasked with filling out a partially discovered land, 'reshaping it from vague to precise' which echoes the mission of the African Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa.[18]

Further, as game maps do not necessarily reference any real territory behind the map, so the games transform maps into ways to control the game space, and in many cases exoticising areas outside of the scope of mainstream Western narratives.[19] Maps thus become keys to success. Like Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* map, many game maps are similarly 'blueprints leading to treasure, fame and fortune'.[20]

Method and process of the exhibition

Imaginary Geography was produced by the Finnish Museum of Games and ran from 9 June to 18 September 2022. Co-curated by museum researchers Heikki Jungman and Niklas Nylund and university researcher Jaakko Stenros from the Center of Excellence in Game Culture Studies at Tampere University, it was staged in a small temporary exhibition space of roughly 25 square metres.

The exhibition featured 26 maps from various Finnish games created over the last 150 years; they included analogue games which comprise traditional printed board games, tabletop role-playing, and live-action role-playing games (larp) and digital games. It featured both commercially released games and maps made by players as part of, or inspired by, the gaming process. In connection with the exhibition, a 26-page booklet in Finnish was also released, containing an extended curatorial text;[21] an interview with tabletop role-playing game map artist Miska Fredman,[22] and a theoretical article about the functions of maps in games by Hanna-Riikka Roine.[23]

The exhibition was realised in a semi-structured way, with researchers first familiarising themselves with map research dealing with imaginary places. Under the banner of 'imaginary places' real locations were also included, for in the context of play they become imaginary game spaces. From this starting point the exhibition themes were selected and then, the games to illustrate them. From a list of six preliminary topics arising from the literature review, curator preferences and exhibition space affordances,[24] but also the interests of the potential audience, which was perceived to consist of both 'hard core players and map enthusiasts' as well as a general audience. The final themes were narrowed down to: game maps as catalysts for the imagination; game maps that question the fluidity of the map and terrain and map and game boards; game maps as instruments of power; and game maps as created, extended and changed by players during game play.

Not all the maps in the exhibition portray fictional places. Almost half reference the real world in one way or another, but in most cases the fictional elements of those game boards are more dominant. The final map selections were further influenced by the availability of maps, as not all were possible to get for the exhibition. Seven were on loan from the National Library of Finland, others were either loaned or donated by private individuals, and some are in the Finnish Museum of Games collections.

The thrill of the map

The first theme explored how maps in games are used as a catalyst for the imagination. It was given the most prominent place in the exhibition, one that visitors would see first when arriving or walking through the exhibition space. The curators chose maps that were both obscure and recognisable; obscure to pique curiosity and recognisable to draw them in. Another consideration in selecting items for this section was to demonstrate its scope in time and variety. An aesthetic consideration which had more impact on the curation of this section than on the others and played an important part in the selection process was the curators' own experience of what makes a game map engaging.

Although representing different eras, formats and functions in terms of gameplay, the maps had a common factor. They are all used as a tool for immersion to help players form an imaginary construct necessary for the game to take place. Game maps explain how the imaginary world is laid out. But in addition to modelling the terrain (imaginary or concrete), they guide the reader's imagination.



Fig. 1 Mikko Ryytty and Ira Nykänen, *Täällä kirjokannen alla* (Here beneath the multi-coloured sky), 2011. Original digital art.

Game maps also serve different purposes. In some the functionality of a map to help movement or determining distances is important. For example, in the PC-game *Doom* (1993), the computer draws the map automatically with single colour lines as the player's character moves. A resulting map has a minimalistic wireframe structure which is optimised to navigate the three-dimensional maze of the game environment. Other maps have little or no use for navigation and are mainly meant to fuel the imagination. A good example of this is the map produced for the game *Täällä kirjokannen alla* (Here beneath the multi-coloured sky, 2011, Fig. 1), which was showcased in the exhibition. It is a larp (live action


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role-playing game) in which players physically embody the role of the game character, similar to improvised theatre. *Täällä kirjokannen alla* is set in a world that is loosely based on Finnish folklore and national epic *Kalevala*. It is based on popular poems and songs collected during the nineteenth century, describing heroic and tragic exploits and adventures of several human and semi-divine heroes. It is commonly understood to be set in Iron Age Finland. The game's map refers to the game's characters' understanding of the universe: it contains a pillar which supports the heavens and the river of the land of the dead, Tuonela, which lies at the edge of the world. The map doesn't follow the conventions of directions or projection used in traditional maps and is reminiscent of a medieval mappae mundi. Its relation to real terrain is vague: one can distinguish a rough tilted outline of Scandinavia, which hints at the game's characters' cultural environment. Although *Täällä kirjokannen alla,* like all larps, was played in real terrain, its map is useless as regards movement or determining distances. Instead, the map's purpose is to serve as a guide to the mindscapes of the game's characters.

Another example of a map with a strong emphasis on helping players to imagine, is the game board of *Muumipeli* (Moomin Game, 1957, Fig. 2). The game is based on the popular Finnish *Moomin* books and comics. Its map resembles an illustration from a children's book – it does not appear to be an exact simulation of the imaginary environment, but more of an inspirational drawing designed to feed the imagination. The map's purpose is to help turn the relatively simple rules of the game into imaginary adventures in a Moominvalley. The author of *Moomins*, Tove Jansson (1914–2001), drew several maps of Moominvalley, among them the map for *Muumipeli*. These maps are probably the best-known Finnish maps of a location that does not exist. Over the decades the Moomin characters have grown to become, Finland's national symbol and a lucrative international brand that every Finn has some familiarity with. For this reason, the *Muumipeli* map was the first and most obvious map that the curators chose to be showcased in the exhibition. *Muumipeli* underlined the prominence of maps of imaginary places in our culture.

Fig. 2 Tove and Lars Jansson, *Muumipeli* (Moomin Game), 1957. 67 x 48 cm. Photo by Saarni Säilynoja.

Map, game board and terrain

What is a map, what is a game board, and what is a terrain? In games, the boundary between these three can be flexible. According to Sybille Lammes and Clancy Wilmott, when used in location-aware games, which use GPS- and cellphone technology to track player's movement over physical terrain a common map software such as Google Maps or Open Street Map becomes 'a game board that retains the original elements of their functional cartographical visual design while doubling as a playful surface'.[25] It is quite justified to ask whether the representation of the game world on the screen of a cell phone or game console is a map or a space. The boundary between the map and terrain may be as unclear in the context of analogue game formats as well. For example, miniature wargames are played across a three-dimensional space which is model of a battlefield where sightlines between locations may be significant in terms of the gameplay. For instance, a player will be undecided whether to fire at a character who is not in a line of sight of their character.

The exhibition's second theme introduced six examples to encourage the visitor to consider the fluidity of map and terrain on the one hand, and map and game board on the other. According to Lammes and Chris Perkins, board games such as mahjong and chess 'deploy the map quite literally as a game-board'.[26] In more thematic games, game boards are increasingly merging with maps, so that it is simultaneously a representational map and a game element. In the exhibition the fluidity between map and game board was showcased by *Japanilainen sotapeli* (Japanese war game, 1905, Fig. 3). The game is a variant of the Chinese game *Xiangqi*. [27] Like chess, the abstract game board of *Xiangqi* does not contain elements that viewers would normally associate with maps. However, even the chessboard describes the mutual relationships of the concepts in the game, and thus they can be seen as a symbolic representation of places in the game world. This means that they, too, can be interpreted as maps.

In the case of *Japanilainen sotapeli,* the board, consisting solely of rectangles, has a more direct relationship to geographic elements. The four large rectangles in the middle of the board represent a river, crossed by three bridges. Similar element in the *Xiangqi* game board has been traditionally referred to as 'boundary river' or 'Yellow River'.[28] Furthermore, it is often marked by four Chinese characters printed into the river area that roughly translates as 'River of the Chu, Border of the Han'. The text is a reference to a conflict between the Chu and Han nations during

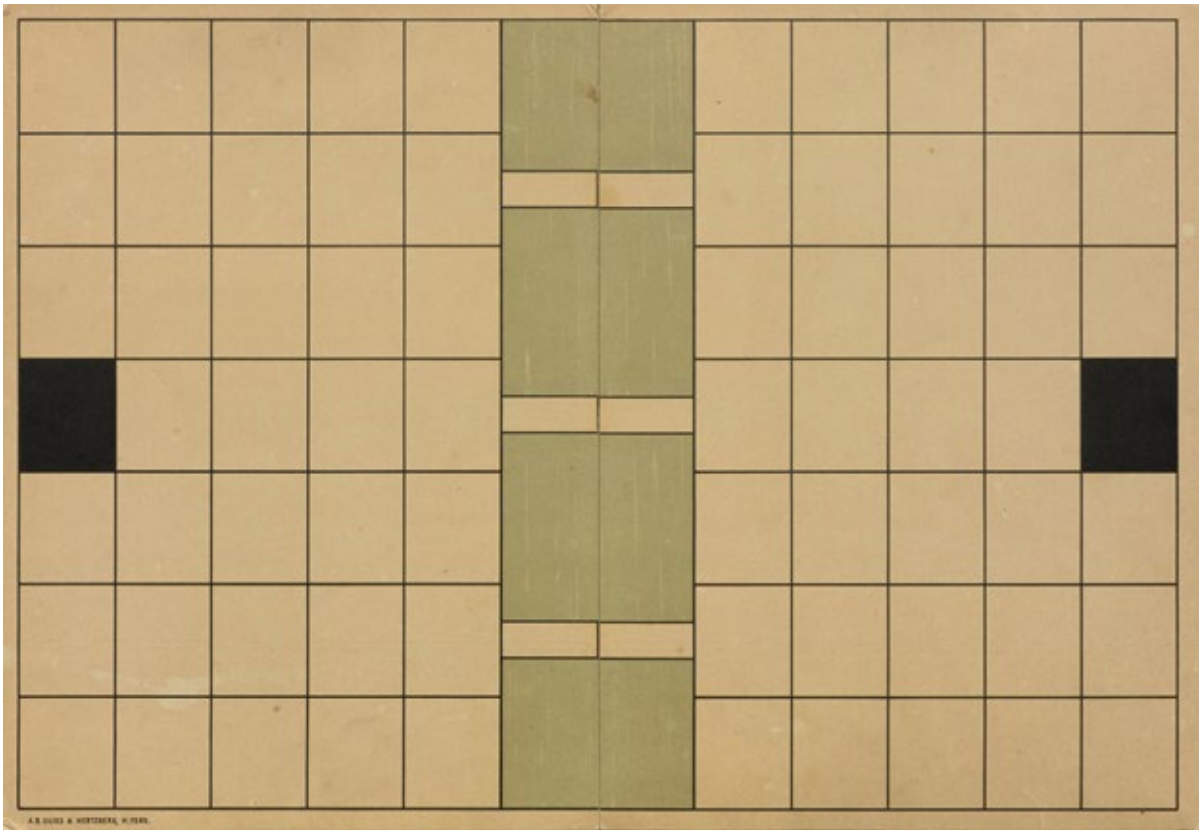


Fig. 3 Unknown author, *Japanilainen sotapeli* (Japanese war game), 1905. 43 x 30 cm. Scan provided by the National Library of Finland.

their war in 206–202 BCE. The exact history of *Xiangqi* is unclear, and it is not known if the game board originally meant to depict the war between Chu and Han.[29] In any case, players of *Xiangqi* have projected the geographical information of the conflict into the board. These geographical undercurrents are still present in the Finnish version of the game. Although not mentioned in the rules or on the game board of *Japanilainen sotapeli*, they are coded into the board, like on a map, and readable for the person who is familiar with the *Xiangqi*.

In board games like *Japanilainen sotapeli* players move their pawns on a printed map to play out a game. On the other hand, larps are played across real terrain and may use edited real-world maps as a tool for immersion. The players become the pawn/characters in the game's landscape. An example of this was showcased by maps used in *Danakar: Räjähdysherkkä* (Danakar: Explosion hazard, 2018, Fig. 4). *Danakar* was set in the Star Wars universe. Like in most larps, each player character had their own goals and motives in the game through which the story and outcome of the game unfolds in the manner of improvised theatre. Its play area was Bengtsår, an island on the southern coast of Finland. The maps distributed to the players were based on an actual orienteering map for the island, so the players could use them to find their way across the terrain.

Each player was provided with a different version of the map. The terrain was erased from some maps, turning most of it into a terra incognita. Other players received a fully detailed map of the island. By providing maps with different amounts of geographical information, the game's organisers could influence the player's environmental awareness. The original inhabitants of planet Danakar, who knew their surroundings better than the intruders or characters who had crash landed on the planet, had more detailed maps. At the beginning of the game, the information on the map was all that the player knew about the game's landscape. This also affected the game experience and tactics. A player with little information of the game's (real world) landscape, probably invested more time into exploring the island of Bengtsår than a player who started with a map providing a detailed description of that landscape.

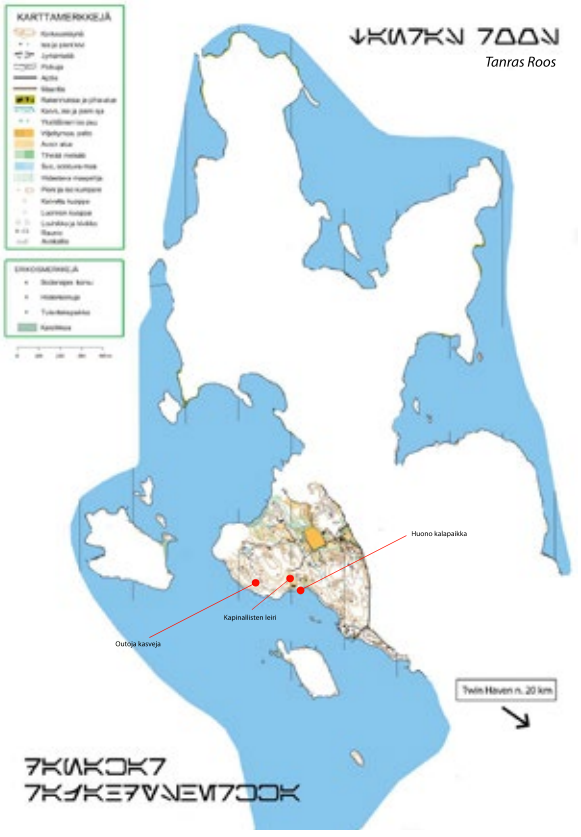


Fig. 4 Kaisa Mikkola, *Danakar: Räjähdysherkkä* (Danakar: Explosion hazard), 2018. Original digital art.

Power of the map

The third theme discussed maps as instruments of power. A map offers only a simplified projection of reality. This of course means that many things are omitted. The map's author chooses what is relevant to their purpose and what is not. A map can be used to focus attention, omit things considered unnecessary, reinforce the author's or viewer's opinions and even tell outright lies. Therefore, a map is not only a depiction of reality or imagination. As a result of the choices made, it will always also be an instrument to influence the map's readers with the values and biases of the mapmaker whether intentional or not. From this perspective, what is being described in a map is at least as important as that which is omitted.

As Seville points out, maps often reproduce views prevalent during the time of their making.[30] In Finland much of the discussion of maps as media reproducing hegemonic power structures has been centered on the board game *Afrikan Tähti* (Star of Africa, 1951).[31] Published originally in 1951, and with numerous reprints, *Afrikan Tähti* is one of the most well-known and widely played games in Finland. The game's artwork is now an iconic part of Finnish popular culture and the game's board is probably the best-known and most controversial Finnish map ever produced. Since the 1990s the game board has been increasingly criticised for replicating European colonialism, distorting African geography and portraying the continent's inhabitants in a racist manner. The game's publisher tried to address these issues in 2021 by introducing totally new artwork for the 70th anniversary printing. In the new version Africa is populated only by animals with no trace of humans. The object of the revised edition remains the same as the original: after finding the world's largest diamond, the Cullinan, the player has to transport it back to Cairo or Tangier, the starting points of the game in order to win.

The case of *Afrikan Tähti* and its reprint demonstrate the potency of maps as instruments reproducing power structures, as well as Finland's problematic relationship with its colonial connections. Despite this, *Afrikan Tähti* was not on display and was only mentioned briefly in the introductory text to this section of the exhibition. This decision was made because the game is already featured in the permanent exhibition at the Finnish Museum of Games and had appeared in at least two previous exhibitions which scrutinised its colonial view.

Instead of showcasing the familiar game, the curators presented a new angle to the discussion around *Afrikan Tähti* by featuring a board game largely unknown to the general public – *Lapin hippu* ('Lapland's Nugget', 2020). The game adopts *Afrikan Tähti's* gameplay and style of artwork but moves the setting to Finnish Lapland. By underlining the colonial themes of *Afrikan Tähti*, *Lapin Hippu* challenges players to think about their relationship with Lapland, its Indigenous peoples and the exploitation of natural resources in the area. Both games are examples of the power that maps have as tools of imagination; the *Afrikan Tähti* map has become so entrenched in the mental geography of the Finnish mindscape that its elements can be invoked to criticise the very structures it portrays.

One map which recurs again and again in Finland's *c.* 160-year history of publishing games is the area of Finland. This is hardly surprising, however, during research into board games, the curators noticed that the way Finland, its neighbours and their borders are portrayed on game maps can clearly demonstrate how game maps pass on political messages and the social



Fig. 5 Unknown author, *Englantilaisen matka Suomessa* (The Journey of an Englishman in Finland), 1885. 68 x 51 cm. Scan provided by the National Library of Finland.

mood of the time in which they were created. This realisation led the curators to choose three games from different eras which depicted a map of Finland as a central element in the game board. All three belong to the same sub-genre of board games, so-called travel games. In travel games, players follow simple rules to 'travel' in a map, enjoying pictures or reading descriptions of cities they move their pawn to.

Englantilaisen matka Suomessa (The Journey of an Englishman in Finland, Fig. 5.) was published during the Finnish national revival in 1885. In the game players join the imaginary John Bull on a tour of the country. As it was still a part of the Russian Empire at the time, the map highlights the position of autonomous Finland as its own area. The borders with neighbouring Sweden and the motherland Russia are delineated in the same way affirming the country's importance. Clear lines demarcating Finnish borders have also been drawn on the waterways. By comparison, in the second game, *Rintamaretkeily* (Trekking on the front, 1942, Fig. 6), the Finnish borders are amorphous. *Rintamaretkeily* is a travel game which was published during the Continuation War (1941–44) against the Soviet Union. The area of Karelia, ceded to the Soviet Union during the Winter War (1939–40), has been returned to Finland in the game's map. The game also visits towns in the newly conquered Finnish territories, beyond the former eastern border. In fact, the game board displays the maximum territorial gains made by Finland during the Continuation War. Its intention probably was to represent the Finnish Army's successes during the war's attack phase.

The third game which uses a map of Finland as its game board was *Tatun ja Patun Suomipeli* (Tatu's and Patu's Game of Finland, 2008, Fig. 7). Tatu and Patu are popular characters in a long-running children's book series and the game is targeted at children of seven years or older. Its simple mechanics and theme are similar to those of the two aforementioned games, consisting of a tour around Finland played by throwing dice and moving one's pawn that many spaces on the board. All three games depict stereotypical Finnish national elements and symbols in their map. In *Englantilaisen matka Suomessa* the crests of the Grand Duchy of Finland, its provinces and municipalities have a central role in the game board, reinforcing the message of Finland as an independent region. *Rintamaretkeily's* board shows a Finnish flag, soldiers in Finnish uniform and photographs of the country's famous landmarks and landscapes and conquered areas. In *Tatun ja Patun Suomipeli* the national symbols are playful, however the humorous characters who populate the map – one in national costumes, an ice hockey player, girl with basket of strawberries, and a high-tech businessman speaking on a cell phone – are all part of the modern mythology of the Finnish national spirit. Displayed side by side, the three games thus portrayed how different maps of the same area can communicate very different messages concerning that area. The display allowed the observer to find similarities between the games as well as realise that the genre and themes of modern games such as *Tatun ja Patu* are part of a gaming tradition that stretches back to the nineteenth century. It is also curious that the borders of Finland are different each time.

Fig. 6 Unknown author, *Rintamaretkeily* (Trekking on the front), 1942. 48 x 33 cm. Scan provided by the National Library of Finland.

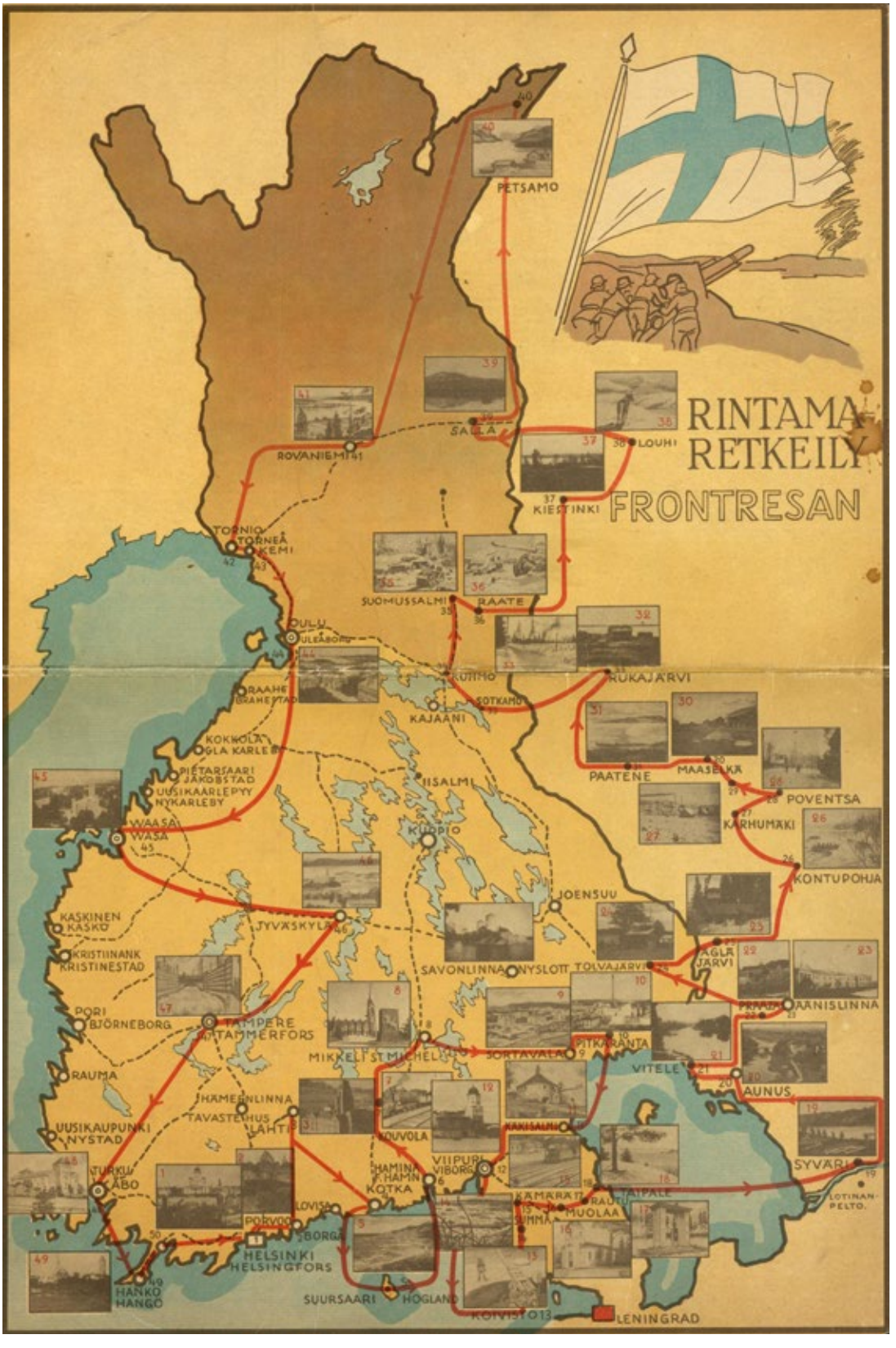

RINTAMA
RETKEILY
FRONTRESAN
PETSAMO
SALLA
LOUHI
KIESTINKI
ROVANIEMI
TORNIO
TORNEÅ
KEMI
SUOMUSSALMI
RAATE
OULU
ULEÅBORG
KUHMO
RUKAJÄRVI
RAAHE
BRAHESTAD
KAJAANI
SOTKAMO
PAATENE
MAASELKÄ
POVENTSA
KOKKOLA
GAMLA KARLEBY
PIETARSAARI
JAKOBSTAD
UUSIKAARLEPYY
NYKARLEBY
IISALMI
KARHUMÄKI
KONTUPOHJA
WAASA
WASA
KUOPIO
JOENSUU
KASKINEN
KASKÖ
JYVÄSKYLÄ
KRISTIINANK
KRISTINESTAD
SAVONLINNA
NYSLOTT
TOLVAJÄRVI
PORI
BJÖRNEBORG
TAMPERE
TAMMERFORS
MIKKELI
ST MICHEL
SORTAVALA
PITKÄRANTA
VITELE
AANISLINNA
RAUMA
HÄMEENLINNA
TAVASTEHUS
LAHTI
UUSIKAUPUNKI
NYSTAD
KOUVOLA
KAKISALMI
SYVÄRI
TURKU
ÅBO
HAMINA
FREDRIKSHAMN
KOTKA
VIIPURI
VIBORG
KAMARA
RAUTU
MUOLAA
TAIPALE
LOTINAN-PELTO
LOVISA
PORVOO
BORGÅ
HELSINKI
HELSINGFORS
HANKO
HANGÖ
SUURSAARI
HOGLAND
KOIVISTO
LENINGRAD



Fig. 7 Aino Havukainen and Sami Toivonen, *Tatun ja Patun Suomipeli* (Tatu and Patu's Game of Finland), 2008. 68 x 45 cm. Photo by Saarni Säilynoja.

Mapping the imaginary

Players are not always passive users of maps that have been provided for them by the game designers. Instead, they will often create their own maps while engaged in the game. The fourth theme explored was maps created, extended, or changed during play. In such cases a map is the outcome of the play. For example, the maps created during the game are commonly related to surveying the unknown, when solving various puzzles. In *Battleship*, players try to locate each other's ships on the map and sink them. Other games that use mapping are tabletop fantasy role-playing games (RPGs), where it is common for players to create collaborative maps of the worlds and places they are exploring. Particularly in *Dungeons & Dragons* type games the game master may prepare a map of the dungeon for their personal use before the game. The players, on the other hand, draw their own maps while playing, as it helps them to visualise the space they are exploring. These player-created maps, often drawn on grid paper, use symbols similar to those used in topographical maps – but instead of symbols for sinkholes and boulders, for instance, the RPG map may feature secret doors and altars.

Similar to participants in tabletop RPGs, digital RPG players can draw maps to solve the riddles and puzzles they encounter. This was common for the



Fig. 8 Unknown author, *Varkaiden kaupunki*, (*City of Thieves*), 1988. 30 x 30 cm. Photo by Saarni Säilynoja.

players of digital RPGs and adventure games in the 1980s and 1990s as the games did not have an automatic mapping feature. Nowadays, in many digital games, player movement in the game area automatically opens access to a map. This development has marginalised the player's mapmaking role. Interestingly, as the digital saved game files of decade-old games are mostly long gone by now, the hand drawn maps might be the only trace of a game session of the past. Maps drawn while playing are documents of players' experiences, which, like diaries, many players save for years. The curators had no difficulty in finding large numbers of such maps, two of which were selected for the exhibition to represent this category.

While the player-made maps are most common in the RPG games, players can create maps for other genres and different media. This was showcased in the exhibition by the third player-drawn map, drawn for the book *Varkaiden kaupunki* (1988, originally published in English as *City of Thieves*, 1983, Fig. 8). *Varkaiden kaupunki* is a so-called 'Choose Your Own Adventure' gamebook. This genre, in which the reader assumes the role of the protagonist was especially popular in the 1980s. It combines aspects from games and adventure novels in which the story advances according to the choices made by the player. Figure 8 was the only exemplar of a map drawn for this genre found by the curators. In fact, they stumbled upon it by accident in a flea market. *Varkaiden kaupunki* was chosen for the exhibition for the opposite reason of the two RPG maps: while the RPG maps represent widespread and well documented practices of mapping, the map drawn for *Varkaiden kaupunki* represents a rare case of a niche practice. However, the reason behind the mapping in this case is like many other player-created maps. The unknown reader of the book drew the map to make better sense of their adventure and considered it so important that they crafted a self-made storage pocket for it on the book cover.

In some tabletop games, such as *Honshū* and *Carcassonne,* the game board is a map that is constructed during the course of the game. The final board layout will display both the outcome and the progress of the game. In the digital realm too, a map can be something players constantly change during the gameplay. City building games are good examples, of which the best-known example is *SimCity* series. In these games the goal is to build as efficient a city as possible on a terrain that usually, at the beginning of the game, is wild and uninhabited. The exhibition featured a Finnish version of this genre, *City of Rauma* (2007, Fig. 9). In the game the player builds a specific



Fig. 9 Juho Ruohola, *City of Rauma*, 2007. Original digital art. Photo by Saarni Säilynoja.

city, in this case, Rauma which is located in Western Finland. The waterways in the game are based on actual geographic data and the buildings are based on actual buildings in the city. During the game, the player creates a layer of infrastructure on top of the topographical layer. The result is a unique and imaginary map of Rauma.

City of Rauma was one of three digital games displayed in the exhibition. In comparison, 23 analogic games were displayed. Considering the number and importance of maps and mapping practices in digital games in the game culture, this was a clear distortion in favour of analogue forms of play. The space and especially resource affordances set limits to the digital content that could be exhibited, and complex digital games require numerous considerations in regard to presentation and technical requirements of each exhibit. Furthermore, the curators decided that the maps, whether analogue or digital, would make the most impact if showcased in their original format which ruled out using screenshots or videos of digital games. On the other hand, although the exhibition featured only three maps from digital games, two were playable by the visitors.[32]

Unfortunately, because of these limitations and choices made about the general presentation of the exhibits, several interesting examples of map usage in digital games were omitted. They ranged from how the map in the PC-game *East India Company* (2009) portrays lands colonised by Europeans as production centres of raw materials for the colonisers to how player communities use self-made algorithms to construct maps, or even atlases, of digital games which do not feature a map. Similarly, location-aware mobile games were omitted, even though they present a breakthrough in map usage in gaming; in these games the game's events are portrayed on a map shown on the phone screen which reacts to the player's physical movements in actual terrain.

Conclusions

Imaginary Geography showed the wide range of maps used in games. While many of the maps in the exhibition depicted imaginary places, others created a fictional version of the real world for use in games. The interplay between real and fictional follows Genette's idea of 'threshold' meaning that even if game maps depict the real world, they do not reference it, but instead exist as, and play with, cultural meanings associated with space and place. In this way, through the magic of an imaginary map, the island of Bengtsår becomes the planet of Danakar in the eponymous series of larps.

Maps used in games are related to those frequently used in fantasy literature: many game maps portray imaginary landscapes or add imaginary elements on top of representations of geographical reality. As in fantasy literature maps, game maps help to imagine a non-existent world, to facilitate understanding it, to build its consistency and deepen it.[33] David Eckman, after his survey of maps in fantasy literature, concluded that fantasy 'especially high fantasy, offers a chance to break with the conventions of the actual world and invent new rules for mapmaking (or return to previous ones), but such inventiveness is actually very rare'.[34]

This is hardly the case with maps used in games. During the last 150 years games have used, adopted, and created maps in countless novel and innovative ways. The *Täällä kirjokannen alla* map uses a mythological perspective to portray its game world, larps make players into playing pieces, and games such as *Afrikan Tähti* and *Lapin hippu* engage in building and criticising our understanding of the world. Maps also make their players into at least implicit but often even explicit cartographers, using a mental or physical map as a way to make sense of the game's narrative space. Playing on, and with, maps is also a play with the technologies of mapping, changing their utilitarian function into one which explores and maps the imagination of its players.

Imaginary Geography demonstrated the plurality and versatility of game maps. While the exhibition was fairly small, the topic could have been expanded to occupy a much larger space, displaying the extent and change in game mapping in a more systematic and comprehensive manner. There are great opportunities in the future to build such an exhibition and to further explore the liminal spaces where imagination, games, and geography meet.

Notes

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9 Ekman, 2013: 19.
10 G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*, No. 20, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1997.
11 Lammes & C. Perkins. (2016). Institute of Network Cultures.
12 Lammes & Perkins, 2016.
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14 S. Lammes & C. Wilmott, 'The map as playground: Location-based games as cartographical practices', *Convergence*, 24(6), 2018, pp. 648–65.
15 Mukherjee, 2015.
16 Mukherjee, 2015: p. 299.
17 Mukherjee, 2015: p. 304.
18 T. Majkowski. King Solomon's Mines (cleared): cartography in digital games and imperial imagination', 2016.
19 Majkowski, 2016. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/322849065
20 Y. Mathison, 'Maps, Pirates and Treasure: The Commodification of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Boys Adventure Fiction', in Dennis Denisoff (ed.), *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, p. 179 and pp. 173–85.
21 J. Stenros, H. Jungman, N. Nylund, 'Mielikuvituksen maantied'. *Imaginary Geography* exhibition booklet published by the Finnish Museum of Games, 2022.
22 M. Fredman, 'Ammattina roolipelikartturi'. *Imaginary Geography* exhibition booklet published by the Finnish Museum of Games, 2022.
23 H-R Roine, 'Kuvitellut ja käsiteltävät ympäristöt: Pelikartat omituisina työkaluina'. *Imaginary Geography* exhibition booklet published by the Finnish Museum of Games, 2022.
24 For a discussion of exhibition affordances and curatorial choices, see *Game Heritage: Digital Games in Museum Collections and Exhibitions* [PhD Thesis]. Tampere University, 2020.
25 Lammes & Wilmott, 2018: pp. 44-45.
26 Lammes & Perkins, 2016: p. 14.
27 The reference to Japan in the game's Finnish name is probably due to the Russo-Japanese War that was ongoing at the time of publication. At the time Finland was part of the Russian Empire.
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30 Seville, 2008, p. 14.
31 Colonialist and racist undertones of *Afrikan Tähti* under scrutiny in the media, see Yle News 2021 'Student racism row ignites colonial board game debate'. Cited Sep. 27th, 2022. https://yle.fi/news/3-12151820; For academic analysis see S. Nuuttila, S. (2022). 'Ghosts of Colonialism: Discursive struggles over memory and identity in Finland', Masters Thesis, University of Helsinki, 2022.
32 The third map from a digital game was of the fictional municipality of Peräjärvi from the PC-game *My Summer Car* (2016). In the game the map is a static object that the player can pick up and examine, much like a real municipality map. As the game offers very little interaction with the map, other than to look at it, the curators decided to present the map in the exhibition as a physical copy without *My Summer Car's* digital space playable.
33 Ekman, 2013, pp. 14–22.
34 Ekman, 2013, p. 42.

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Joseph Moxon.

Born at Wakefeild August the 8th Anno 1627.

‘A MAP OF ALL THE EARTH’

Joseph Moxon’s world maps 1671 and 1681

Martin M. van Brauman

Joseph Moxon (1627–1691) published six Biblical maps in 1671.[1] Priced at 40 shillings [£2.00], they were intended to be bound in large folio Bibles.[2] To accompany the maps, Moxon printed and published a separate explanatory booklet, *Sacred Geographie, Or Scriptural Mapps* at one shilling and sixpence [07.5p]. The work was originally published in Dutch and deemed by the Dutch Protestant Ministry as necessary for Protestants to better understand the Bible. Moxon, who had spent his early years in Holland, translated it.[3]

Five of the set of six maps were copied from Nicolaus Visscher I (1618–1679) and his father Claes Janszoon (1587–1652). The sixth map, and subject of this essay – ‘A Map of all the Earth and how after the Flood it was Divided among the Sons of Noah’ – was designed by Moxon. Moxon revised only this one which he published a decade later in 1681.

Joseph Moxon

Joseph Moxon was a map, globe, and mathematical instrument maker, as well as a printer, publisher and engraver. He was born at Wakefield, Yorkshire. The years of the English Civil War, from 1642 to 1651, were spent in Delft and Rotterdam where he learned the basics of printing from his father who, at the time, was printing English Bibles. Returning to London after the First English Civil War, Joseph set up a printing business with his older brother James, mainly publishing material by Puritan authors. In 1652 he travelled to Amsterdam to commission the engraving of printing plates for large celestial and terrestrial globes. These he printed and sold from his London shop at the sign of the Atlas at Cornhill.

He was an early compiler of sea charts, publishing his *Book of Sea Plats* in 1657, when he republished Wright’s treatise on navigation and the rare world map on Mercator’s projection. He was appointed Hydrographer to Charles II in 1662 after the Restoration of the Monarchy and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1678. Between 1677 and 1684, Moxon published *Mechanick Exercises* in two volumes with the first volume, *Mechanick Exercises: or the Doctrine of Handy-Works,* providing instructions on metalworking, woodworking, bricklaying and sundial construction. The second volume, *Mechanik Exercises on the Art of Printing, 1683–4,* gives detailed instructions on the art of printing, covering type founding, composition and presswork. This seminal work was the first detailed instructional manual in English for printers. *Mechanik Exercises* represent just two of Moxon’s busy publishing career.

Fig. 1 Portrait of Joseph Moxon engraved by F. H. van Hove, 1692. The panel running across the top of the portrait lists books published by Moxon.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph_Moxon._Line_engraving_by_F._H._van_Hove,_1692._Wellcome_V0004151.jpg

The two maps

‘A Map of all the Earth’, 1671 and 1681, offer a window on a worldview as defined by the Protestant faith in seventeenth-century Europe which classified nations and people based upon the division of the world by the sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. It promoted the idea that all people were descended from Noah, symbolically indicating the unity of humanity. *Genesis 10* describes the seventy nations or families of Shem, Ham and Japheth. Following the description of the nations in *Genesis,* the maps locate the migrations of the families and the land they occupied. For Protestant Europe a map, representing all the known world after the Flood and how it was divided between the sons, was important in understanding the world and justifying the notions of the supremecy of one nation or people over others.

1671 World map

‘A Map of all the Earth…’ measures 32 x 46 cm (i.e., whole printed area, vignettes included). Under the coat of arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the lower left is a dedication to Gilbert Sheldon (1598–1677), who was Archbishop from 1663 to 1677 and Fellow of the Royal Society and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Printed at the bottom of the map, above the lower vignettes, is ‘At Amsterdam by Nicolaus Visscher’, acknowledging his role as the map’s printer. It is an oval world map following


JA-
PHET.
THE-
GREAT-
OCE-
AN.
EDEN
Nod.
Riphat.
Thira.
Elisha.
Lud.
Tharsis.
Gether.
Aram.
Ela.
Ashur.
Heber.
Phut.
Lehabim.
Anammim.
Mitraim.
The Great Sea.
Seba.
Sabbe-
thas.
Havila.
OCE
To the most Reverend Father in God GILBERT
Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury, Primate
of all England and Metropolitan
This Map is humbly Dedicated
By Joseph Moxon
At Amsterdam by Nicolaus Visscher
with Previledge of y H.M. Lords y States Gen



Fig. 2 Joseph Moxon, 'A Map of all of the Earth and how after the Flood it was Divided among the sons of Noah', 1671. Engraving, 32 x 46 cm. Author's collection.



Fig. 3 Detail of 1671 World map showing the area with greatest concentration of identified locations.

Ortelius's 'Typus Orbis Terrarum' (1570) which was popular with mapmakers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Fourteen vignettes of Biblical scenes from Creation to the New Jerusalem surround the map.

The 1671 map focuses exclusively on Biblical locations. It was 'intended primarily to provide a visual narrative of Christian history cast in a geographical framework, not to communicate geographical or cosmographical facts'.[4] Moxon identifies only thirty locations which are clustered in the Middle East and around the northern coast of Africa. At the centre of the World is Paradise, the Garden of Eden. It is represented by a fenced grove of nine trees. Moxon used toponyms from ancient and Byzantine history and the scriptures, drawing mainly from the Book of Genesis. Despite the ancient subject matter, the map is current for its time, incorporating geographic information about the coastline of Australia obtained from Tasman's voyages (1642–43 and 1644).

The map provides limited information and requires to be read with Moxon's accompanying explanatory booklet, *Sacred Geographie, Or Scriptural Mapps*. From it, rather than from the map, we learn that:

> The children of *Japhet* inhabited *Europe,* the Northern part of *Asia* and *America,* as we may gather from *Ezeck*. 38. 6. 15. and 39. 2. *Shem* spread himself over the South part of *Asia* and *America.* And *Ham* possessed the Land of *Canaan, Arabia,* and all *Africa.* Yet the Posterity of *Shem* drove out the *Canaanites* and possessed themselves of *Canaan* and most parts of *Arabia*.[5]

It continues in detail to itemise how the world was divided between the offspring of Noah and their descendants. Gether, shown by Gihon River, is the land of the sons of Aram, who were the sons of Shem. Lud represents the sons of Shem; Madia, shown northwest of the Garden of Eden, represents the territory of the third son of Japheth. Marked are the lands of Nod where Cain settled after he slew Abel;[6] Havila and Enoch are adjacent. The four rivers issuing forth from the Garden – the Euphrates, Gihon, Pison and Hiddeke (Tigris) – are shown, and the Mediterranean is labelled 'The Great Sea' (*Yam gadol*) so named by the Jews. By locating the Garden of Eden, Canaan and other places and rivers mentioned in *Genesis* and *Exodus,* the world map connects with Biblical history and the surrounding vignettes.

The map shows Uz, near the Euphrates River, which takes its name from its presumed founder, the grandson of Shem. From here Abraham was directed by God to travel from his birthplace, Ur of the Chaldees,[7] through Haran and on to Canaan.[8] The land which today comprises Syria, Lebanon, Jordan,

Israel and Palestine is labelled Canaan where Abraham was told to found a new nation.[9] The Land of Ripath, named after Noah's great grandson, is marked in northern Scandinavia. Further south on the coast is the settlement of his brother Togarma and, in what is today's France, is the home of a third brother Asskenas. Thubal on the Black Sea and by the Hiddeke River indicates the settlement of the descendants of Japheth, son of Noah. The area of Tartaria is labelled as the land of Magog where the descendants of Japheth's sons settled. North America is marked as belonging to 'Japhet'.

Vignettes

The fourteen vignettes surrounding the world are common to both maps. The seven days of Creation are illustrated above the map. From left to right, the first vignette shows the Word of God, represented in Hebrew text (הוהי), creating the heavens and earth and light and darkness; the second, the creation of the firmament and the separation of the waters; the third, the earth and the sea; the fourth, the separation of night and day; the fifth, the creation of the waters teeming with creatures and fowl that fly; the sixth, the creation of living creatures on land and man and woman;[10] the seventh Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.[11]

The seven illustrations beneath the map illustrate the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise;[12] the Flood;[13] the building of the Tower of Babel (Figs. 4 & 5).[14] Abram [Abraham] receiving the Word of God (הוהי) to leave his country and go to another the land;[15] Moses receiving the 10 Commandments shown with people below dancing around the golden calf;[16] the Crucifixion showing Jesus looking down from the cross at Mary and his disciple John.[17] The most remarkable and fascinating is the last vignette which shows John on a high mountain with the angel Gabriel who points to the New Jerusalem. It closely follows the description in *Revelation* 21: 9-22 of the New Jerusalem.[18]

1681 World map

With the exception of the deletion of the reference to Visscher's role in printing the 1671 map the two states are almost identical. The geography between the two remains the same. The continents of Africa, Europe, Asia and Americas and New Holland with delineation of rivers and mountains are unchanged. All the Biblical locations are retained. The dedication to Sheldon did not change despite the appointment of a new archbishop – William Sancroft – to the position in 1677. The fourteen vignettes have not altered, however a comparison of the detail and definition between the two states (see Figs 4 & 5) indicates that the copperplate used for the 1681 version is extremely worn. To cover those 'lost' areas they have been re-engraved with crude hatching. What makes this state different from the 1671 state is the addition of a legend in which Moxon lists eighty-three geographical locations, including countries, rivers and seas. Many are recent discoveries and some new colonies settled by the Europeans since the making of the first map. Seen through the lens of the Bible, these new discoveries were stretching the Noah worldview. New locations are identified by numbers and symbols rather than by toponyms which is an effective way of reducing engraving time.

The legend commences with Europe (# 1–25), Norway appears to be an afterthought and is identified



Fig. 4 Vignette from the 1671 map showing the building of the Tower of Babel.



Fig. 5 Vignette from the 1681 map showing how much detail has been lost.


JA-
PHET.
THE-
GREAT-
OCE-
AN.
EDEN
Nod
HAVILA
OCEAN.



with three crosses. This causes a break in the numbering; then Asia (# 26–44), again with later additions of Suratt, marked with an asterisk, and Spitsberg with two crosses. Under Africa (# 45– 55), Socotora [island off Yemen] is denoted with a small square and Tunis with a cross. The final continent listed is America (# 56–78) which receives the most attention in number of locations identified. This reflects the active pursuit by European powers to establish new colonies in North America.

At the time of printing this map, Charles II of England had granted William Penn a charter to establish the Province of Pennsylvania [# 57 Pensilvania] in return for debts owed to his father Admiral Sir William Penn. Other colonies established earlier are indicated: Verginia (1606) (# 58); New England (# 56) comprising the colonies of Plymouth (1620), Province of Maine (1622), New Hampshire (1623); Massachusetts Bay (1630), Connecticut (1636), Rhode Island (1636), and New Haven (1638) which was absorbed in 1664 into the Connecticut Colony.

Near the mouth of the Churchill River in Canada, there is a designation for New Denmark (# 78) which at the time was a trading station. During the seventeenth century Denmark was in pursuit of new colonies and having established the Danish West Indies was eager for others. Explorer and navigator Jans Munk attempted to realise Denmark's ambition but failed.

New Spain under the Viceroyalty of the Spanish Empire is marked as # 61, Mexico # 66 and Florida in the lower portion of North America and extending to the northwest, is identified as # 70. Off the northwestern coast of New Spain is California, incorrectly depicted as an island, a popular misconception which resurfaced on seventeenth-century English and Dutch maps.[19]

The division of the world between the sons of Noah has had a lingering influence on how the world has been perceived over many centuries. It gave rise to determining the superiority of some people and nations over others. Moxon's maps reinforced the Scripture that we are all descended from Noah and extended the racial division to new lands and people as they were discovered.

Fig. 6 Joseph Moxon, 'A Map of all the Earth and how after the Flood it was Divided among the Sons of Noah', 1681. Engraving, 32 x 46 cm. Author's collection.

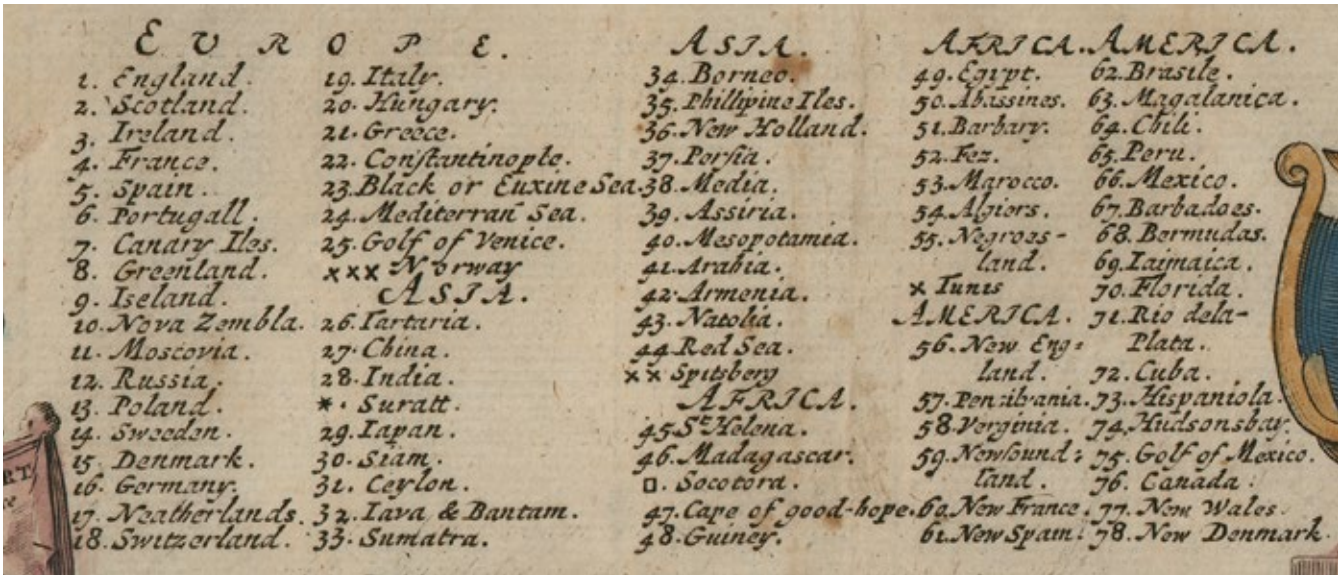


Fig. 7 Detail of the list of identified locations which Moxon added to the 1681 revision.

Notes

1 'A Map of all of the Earth and how after the Flood it was Divided among the Sons of Noah'; 'Paradise, or the Garden of Eden with countries circumjacent inhabited by the Patriarchs'; 'Israel's peregrination, or the forty years travels of the Children of Israel out of Egypt through the Red Sea, and the wilderness into Canaan, or the Land of Promise; 'Canaan or the Land of promise. Possessed by the Children of Israel and travelled through by our Saviour Jesus Christ; and his apostles'; 'The travels of St Paul and other Apostles or a geographical description of those lands and countries where in the Gospel of Christ was first propagated being a great help in the reading of the New Testament: newly corrected by Joseph Moxon; 'Jerusalem, a detailed town plan'.

2 Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, eds., *Mechanick Exercises On the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4) By Joseph Moxon*, London: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed. 1962, pp. 431–32.

3 Joseph Moxon, *Sacred Geographie. Or Scriptural mapps*, London 1671.

4 David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 75, No. 4, Dec., 1985, pp. 510–521.

5 Joseph Moxon, *Sacred Geographie,* 1671.

6 *Genesis* 4:16.

7 See P.R.S. Moorey, *UR 'Of the Chaldees', A Revised and Updated Edition of Sir Leonard Woolley's Excavations at Ur,* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1st ed., 1982, pp. 8–9.

8 *Genesis* 11: 31.

9 Ian Barnes, *The Historical Atlas of The Bible*, New York, Chartwell Books, 1st ed., 2014, pp. 2–9.

10 *Genesis* 1: 1-31.

11 *Genesis* 2: 1-3; 8-9; 21-25.

12 *Genesis* 2: 9; 3: 1-3.

13 *Genesis* 7: 12-24.

14 *Genesis* 11: 1-9.

15 *Genesis* 12: 1.

16 *Exodus* 20: 4-17; 32: 1-6.

17 *John* 19: 25-27. "When Jesus saw his mother there, and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to his mother, 'Dear woman, here is your son,' and to the disciple, 'Here is your mother.' From that time on, this disciple took her into his home."

18 Then one of the seven angels…carried me [John] away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God…has a great, high wall with twelve gates…inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of the Israelites; on the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates…The city lies foursquare, its length the same as its width; and he measured the city with his rod, fifteen hundred miles; its length and width and height are equal…its wall, one hundred forty-four cubits…each of the gates is a single pearl, and the street of the city is pure gold… I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb.

19 From the travel account of Sebastian Vizcaino, exploring the north shore of California in 1602, the Carmelite friar, Fra Antonio de la Ascension, described the land as an island and sketched maps around 1620 during the trip. The manuscript maps were captured by the Dutch in the Atlantic, who circulated the maps in Amsterdam.

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Martin M. van Brauman is a collector of early editions of Holy Land and Jerusalem maps. He enjoys making comparative studies of their similarities and differences. As an Executive Officer and Director of Zion Oil & Gas, Inc., he makes frequent trips to the offices in Israel.

Email: Martin.VanBrauman@zionoil.com

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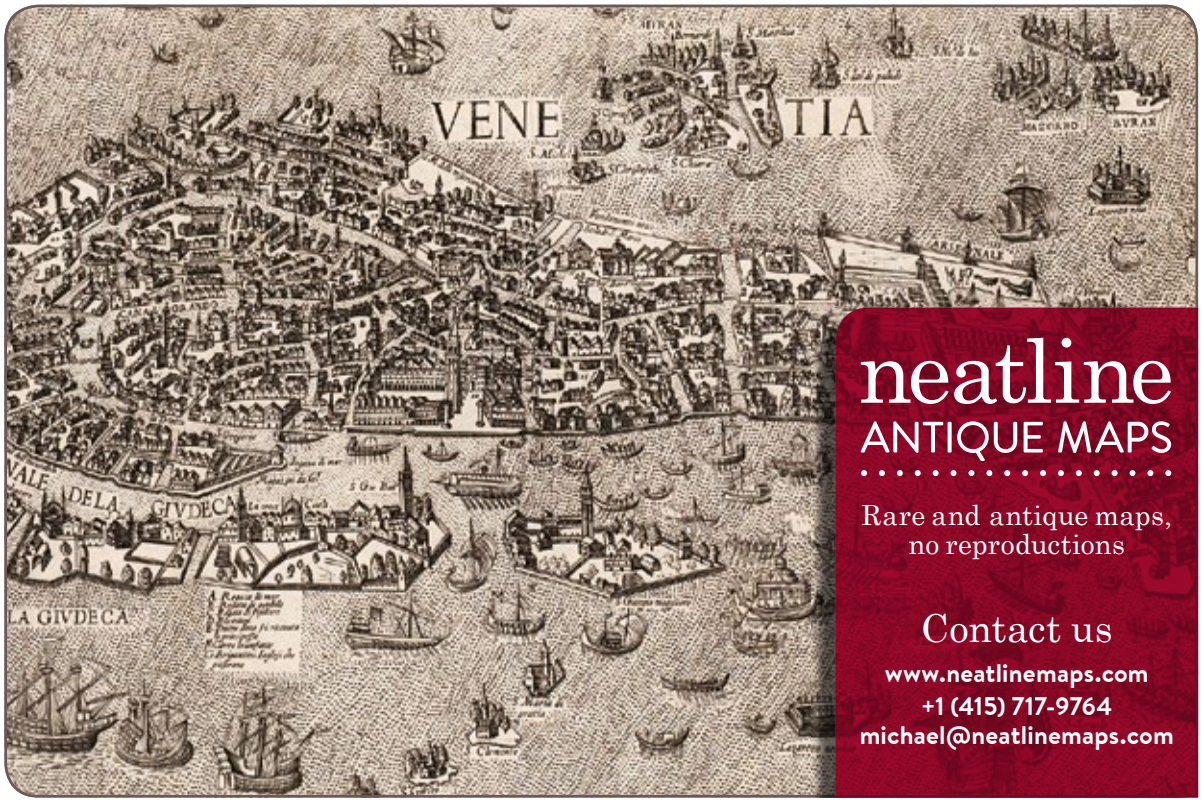
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IMCoS MATTERS

New committee members

We welcome Christine Rafalko, our newest committee member. Christine divides her time between New York and Dallas. She is a map enthusiast and will be known to those members who attended our visit to Oxford in 2019 and most recently the symposium in Texas. Christine will attend our quarterly meeting remotely via Zoom, just as our International Chairman Wes Brown does from Colorado.

The committee is always in need of fresh faces and new ideas, so please step forward if you are interested in contributing to the Society. The commitment is not onerous or too demanding of your time, and many tasks are to provide another pair of hands in organising Society events. And distance is no longer an issue as our meeting are now hybrid.

Please contact any of the committee members should you be interested. Our individual contact details can be found on page 5 of the journal.

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

February 2023 (online)
'Show and Tell'

Last year we held two very enjoyable 'Show and Tell' events online at which members presented, in just five minutes, a map which was of particular interest to them. We will be holding our next one in February and invite members interested in presenting to contact Mike Sweeting (drsweeting@aol.com). For those who have never presented this is a great opportunity to share your favourite map or any other cartographic item. The five-minute time limit ensures that we keep on point and that everyone has a chance to present.

The date in February is still to be decided but we will inform you by email as soon as it has been fixed.

16–19 May 2023
Excursion to Leith, Scotland

Details of the trip are on page 32.

6 & 13 June 2023
Malcolm Young Lecture

The Malcom Young Lecture, which is traditionally given at the Society's annual dinner on the evening



before the London Map Fair will next year be two lectures delivered over two evenings. As the speaker, Dr Dennis Reinhartz Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Texas in Arlington, is based in the USA, the lectures will be given online. He is the author of numerous books on map history. One which many of us will be familiar with is *The Cartographer and the Literati: Herman Moll and his Intellectual Circle.*

The title of the pair of lectures is ***Misconceptions: Russia and the West***. Lecture 1, ***Taking a step back – misconceptions of the past*** will be held on the 6 June and Lecture 2, ***To move forward – mutual persistence of misconception*** will take place on the 13 June.

10–11 June 2023, London

The London Map Fair will take place at the Royal Geographical Society in Kensington. Information: www. london mapfairs.com

22–14 August 2023, Helsinki, Finland
IMCoS 40th International Symposium

Details of the symposium are on pages 34–35.

16–19 October 2024, Valetta, Malta
IMCoS 41st International Symposium

The 2024 Symposium is being hosted by the Malta Map Society and planning is well underway. If you have any questions regarding the event please contact our Malta National Representative Joseph Schiro at joseph.schiro@onvol.net.

16-19 May 2023
IMCoS EXCURSION TO LEITH (EDINBURGH)

IMCoS event organisers were unusually prescient when they planned an excursion to Leith in May 2020, as *Time Out* magazine has recently declared Leith as the fourth coolest place to visit in the world, and they were not referring to the weather! Unfortunately that event had to be cancelled because of Covid-19, but a new programme is in preparation for 16-19 May 2023. IMCoS has visited Edinburgh before, but the base in Leith will reveal another side to the city. Participants may meet about 6.00 pm on 16 May for a short walking tour of Leith, led by Diana Webster, followed by an optional meal.

As Leith is Edinburgh's port and seaside, there is a maritime thread running through the activities, which will include a visit to the **National Library of Scotland Map Room** on 17 May, where Paula Williams will introduce a display of three types of collections: business (Stevenson: lighthouse, railway and harbour engineers), private (the recently acquired Smith collection) and country house (Newhailes), the home of Alexander Dalrymple, first Hydrographer of the Admiralty, after working for the East India Company. Dalrymple was born in **Newhailes**, a Palladian mansion just outside Edinburgh, which we will visit in the afternoon. The house is now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland.

On the following day, 18 May, we start with a tour of **Trinity House of Leith**, a small architectural gem built in 1816, although the Incorporation of Mariners and Shipmasters can be traced to 1380, founded to support injured and retired seamen and their dependents. This has an eclectic collection of maritime memorabilia, including navigation instruments, donated by its merchant seamen members.

On previous Scottish excursions IMCoS has visited the Highlands, so this time, in the afternoon and evening, there will be a trip south to the Borders, This programme is in preparation, but it is hoped to include **Abbotsford**, the home of Sir Walter Scott, followed by the **Great Tapestry of Scotland** and the outdoor relief **Polish Map of Scotland**. Thursday evening will conclude with a dinner at the Barony Castle Hotel, a mansion built around a sixteenth-century tower house.

This will conclude the IMCoS events, but before leaving on 19 May, participants may wish to book a tour of the Royal Yacht Britannia which is moored at Leith.

Booking information and prices will be available later this year on the IMCoS website, when the arrangements are finalised, but do 'Save the Date'.

Suggested hotels are:

***Premier Inn**, 51-53 Newhaven Place, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 4TX.* This budget hotel has a quiet scenic location on the seafront beside the old fishing harbour of Newhaven, with wonderful views across the Forth Estuary. About 15-20 minutes walk to Leith with regular bus services. The Skylink 200 bus from the airport passes nearby at Newhaven harbour. Free car parking. Breakfast is not included.
https://www.premierinn.com/gb/en/hotels/scotland/lothian/edinburgh/edinburgh-leith-waterfront.html

***Holiday Inn Express**, Britannia Way, Ocean Drive, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 6JJ.* This mid-price hotel has a noisier and less scenic location than Premier Inn but offers more services and is closer to Leith meeting places. It is at the terminus of Skylink 200 bus from the airport (about 45 minutes), near Royal Yacht Britannia.
https://www.ihg.com/holidayinnexpress/hotels/gb/en/edinburgh/edblh/hoteldetail#scmisc=nav_hoteldetail_ex

***Malmaison**, 1 Tower Place, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 7BZ*
This 4-star 'boutique' hotel is in an imposing building overlooking Leith Harbour, renovated from the former Seamen's Mission. Closest to Leith meeting places. Near to bus routes from city centre, but not on a convenient airport link (the 300 Skylink bus passes nearby but takes around two hour).
https://www.malmaison.com/locations/edinburgh/rooms-suites/

There are plans that the much delayed Edinburgh tram extension to Leith and Newhaven will open in Spring 2023, but whether in time for the IMCoS event is uncertain. This will connect the airport, Waverley railway, the airport and all three hotels.

From top
Fig. 1 Leith shore.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LeithView.JPG
Fig. 2 Newhailes. Photo: Diana Webster.
Fig. 3 The Great Polish Map of Scotland with Barony Castle Hotel. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/The_Great_Polish_Map_of_Scotland.JPG







HELSINKI, FINLAND

Invites you to the 40th IMCoS International Symposium

22–24 August 2023

Organised by the Cartographic Society of Finland and Chartarum amici.
Sponsored by the National Land Survey of Finland, City of Helsinki and the John Nurminen Foundation.

THE PROGRAMME

Monday 21 August
Morning: Optional pre-conference tour of Helsinki

17.00–19.00 Registration
Presentation on the history of Finland
Map exhibition and reception hosted by the National Land Survey of Finland

Tuesday 22 August
Theme: Mapping of Finland and the Baltic region

09.30–10.00 Registration

10.00–10.30 Opening ceremony

Morning lectures:
- ***Mapping of Finland as part of Sweden and Russia*** (Antii Jakobsson)

11.00–11.30 Coffee break

- ***Helsinki on maps*** (Martii Helminen)

Afternoon lecture:
- ***Nordenskiöld and his maps*** (Leena Miekkavaara & Anna Vuolanto)

12.30–14.00 Lunch (at own cost)

14.00–1600 Visit to the National Library and the Nordenskiöld collection (Anna Vuolanto)

19.00 Reception given by the City of Helsinki

Wednesday 23 August
Theme: Mapping of Finland and the Baltic region 2

Morning lectures:
- ***Imagining, illustrating and defining the Baltic Sea region – Examples from the Middle Ages to the present*** (Marjo Nurminen)
- ***The Seventh Zone – Northern maritime history*** (Mikko Huhtamies)

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

- ***The eighteenth-century Reconnaissance Mapping and its connection to the Central European cabinet maps*** (Erkki-Sakari Harju)
- ***Russian mapping of Finland*** (Jan Strang)

12.30–14.00 Lunch (at own cost)

13.30–16.00 Visit to the National Archives, war maps (Ville Vuole & Erkki-Sakari Harju)

18.00 Reception given by the John Nurminen Foundation

Thursday 24 August
Theme: Mapping Power and Propaganda

Morning lectures:
- ***Mapping the Arctic War*** (Aleksi Rikkinen)
- ***Maps in the British Empire: John Arrowsmith and the business of mapmaking in mid-nineteenth Britain*** (Johanna Skurnik)

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

- ***Mapping Indigenous Land: treatment of Sámi toponomy in the prodcution of topographic maps in Norway as an example*** (Kaisa Rautio Helander)
- ***Mapping propaganda*** (Katariina Kosonen)

12.30–13.30 Lunch (at own cost)

13.30–15.30 Visit to the Helsinki City Museum

18.00 Ferry to Suomenlinna fortress, Kauppatori, Helsinki

19.00 Closing dinner at Suomenlinna

Friday 25-27 August
Optional post-conference tour

Updates will be available online at
www.kartogra.fi/imcoshelsinki


SCRIOFINIA
BIARMIA
LAPPIA ORIENTALIS
MARE BOTNICV
BOTNIA ORIENTALIS
CARELIA
TAVASTIA VEL TAVESTHIA
FINLANDIA VEL FENNINGIA OLIM REGNVM
MARE SVETICVM
MARE FINONICVM SIVE SINVS VENEDICVS
MOSCOVIE PARS
LIVONIA AQVILONARIS
RVSSIA ALBA
LACVS ALBVS
STARCATERVS PVGIL SVETICVS
TENGILL'S REX SCRIOFINOR
ARGRIMVS REX HELSINGORVM
LAPPIA OCCIDENTALES
NORDMARCHIA
LACVS PIENTE
HOLELA LACVS
PIET MADO
MAGNVS PRINCEPS MOSCOVITAR

Report from the 39th IMCoS
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM, ARLINGTON TEXAS

This year IMCoS members travelled to Texas for their 39th International Symposium. It was held in conjunction with the Virginia Garrett Lectures, hosted by the University of Texas, Arlington (UTA). The University has been generously endowed by the Garrett family who, amongst their many gifts, made provisions for a lecture programme designed to foster an appreciation of maps and cartography as important sources in understanding the past. The lectures are dedicated to Virginia Garrett who bequeathed her extensive personal collection of maps, geography textbooks and atlases to UTA in 1997.

The three-day programme of morning lectures was enhanced by the excellent exhibition – *The Shifting Shapes of Early Texas* – curated by Ben W. Huseman (UTA Special Collections) who also wrote the accompanying illustrated Gallery Guide. Additionally, there were visits to the libraries of prominent Texan private collectors: businessman and philanthropist Trevor Reese-Jones who, with guidance from Rick Stein, formerly Director of the Amon Carter Museum, has amassed a magnificent collection of maps and books covering the American Southwest, and Dallas realtor Harlan Crow whose collection of rare books, manuscripts, paintings, statues, and other artistic treasures concentrates on the history of the United States with particular focus on European colonial settlements, the American Revolution, the Civil War, the Presidency, the Supreme Court, and the development of the United States west of the Mississippi River in the nineteenth century. There was a visit to the Amon Carter Museum to enjoy two of America's leading painters specialising in depictions of the Old American West: Frederic Sackrider Remington (1861–1909) and Charles M. Russell (1864–1926), familiarly known as the 'Cowboy Artist'. We were introduced to a sampling of nineteenth-century diaries and travel accounts from overseas visitors including those of David Constable, shopkeeper from Horley in the UK and his brother William. The pair travelled some 7,000 miles on foot, visiting fourteen of the seventeen states in existence at the time. Lighter moments came with a visit to view the parade of longhorn cattle at the Fort Worth Stockyards, the centre of the early cattle drives and the ranching industry, gaining its moniker 'Cowtown'.

The lectures

Dr Charles Travis, Associate Professor of Geography with the Department of History at UTA presented ***'Big Tex': The Literary, Historical, Cultural & Natural Geographies of the Lone Star State***. In this introductory lecture Dr Travis explored the 'big' geographies of Texas, drawing on works in geography, literature, cinema, cartography, and natural history, and much through the lens of the novels of Pulitzer Prize winning author Larry McMurty. In particular, Dr Travis singled out *Lonesome Dove*, using the novel about two retired Texas Rangers who drive a herd of stolen cattle from the Rio Grande to Montana in the 1870s to sketch out the history and geography of Texas.

Dennis Reinhartz Emeritus Professor of History and Russian at UTA spoke on ***Some Spanish Manuscript Cartography: Hernán Cortés to Juan Pedro Walker***, outlining the progress of mapping the North American Greater Southwest from the earliest known Spanish maps created with the expeditions of Alonso Álvarez de Pineda in 1519 and Hernán Cortés in 1519–1521. This cartographic process continued as the Spanish moved northward from Mexico City (Aztec *Tenochtitlan*) to cross the Rio Grande and culminated in the eighteenth century with the scientific mapping of New Spain by the newly created (1711) Royal Corps of Military Engineers. The Corps was instigated by King Felipe V who wanting to make Spain's holdings in the New World more efficient and deter encroachment by other European nations. The actual defining maps were made by trained soldier-engineers who were often assisted by learned churchmen directing Indigenous artists. These maps therefore also indirectly still reflect the Christian and pre-contact Indigenous traditions. The presentation focused on the impact the Royal Engineers' 'master maps' had on the subsequent American and Mexican cartography of the Greater Southwest.

From top left, clockwise

Fig. 1 Snapshot of the exhibition *The Shifting Shapes of Early Texas* in Special Collections, University of Texas, Arlington. Photo: LOB.
Fig. 2 Library and map curator Rick Stein at Cook Canyon Ranch discussing one of the many maps that had been prepared for our visit. Photo: LOB.
Fig. 3 Reception room at Cook Canyon Ranch. Photo: Paul Lim.
Fig. 4 Dr Dennis Reinhartz at the podium. Photo: Paul Lim.



















From top left, clockwise

Fig. 5 Entrance to the home and library of Harlan Crow in Dallas. Photo: Paul Lim.
Fig. 6 Nineteenth-century diaries and letters on display at the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth. Photo: LOB.
Fig. 7 The Harlan Crow Library from above. Photo: Paul Lim.
Fig. 8 Presentation and thank you to one of the conferences lead organisers Brenda McClurkin. Photo: Paul Lim.
Fig. 9 Closing banquet. Left to right: Paul Lim, Marja Jakobsson, Antti Jakobsson (organiser of the IMCoS 2023 Symposium), Cinzia Viviani and Anthony Mullan. Photo: Jenny Harvey.

Dr Gerald Saxon Associate Professor of History at UTA presented ***The Shape of Texas: Mexican Texas to Early Statehood, 1835-1850***. Of the American states Texas is instantly recognisable. Its uniqueness, Dr Saxon explained, was a consequence of its history beginning with the Texas Revolution in 1835 until the Compromise of 1850, during which time its boundaries were set. Its history gave it its iconic shape and Dr Saxon illustrated the degree to which its uniqueness is celebrated with examples of all manner of objects cut in the shape of the state: waffles, swimming pools, ice cube trays, sunglasses, bottle openers, grills, sinks, wall clocks, pasta noodles, keychains and tortilla chips, are just a few.

Professional archaeologist and Commissioner for the Texas Historical Commission **Dr Jim Bruseth** presented ***How Maps Doomed La Salle's 1684 Attempt to Colonize the Northern Gulf of Mexico.*** He discussed how archaeologists used maps and other historic documents to locate and excavate the wreck of *La Belle*, the last of the four ships sent out with La Salle to establish a colony for the French along the Gulf of Mexico. Above all it was a 1689 map drawn by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora whose map shows discoveries made by the De León expedition, one of nearly a dozen major expeditions mounted by the Spanish by land and sea to find the French 'intruder', La Salle. It clearly marks the wreck of *La Belle* ('Navío Quebrado', or broken ship) in what was then known as San Bernardo Bay (now Matagorda Bay).

Professor of History at UTA **Dr Sam Haynes** presented ***Monument and Memory in Texas History: From Sacred Site to Martial Symbol.*** Since the late nineteenth century, monuments have helped Texans celebrate their state's past. But like any cultural artefact historical monuments can be seen in different ways. The lecture examined the gendered dimensions of commemoration and memory, focusing on the ways in which women's organisations, such as the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and male business leaders used the Alamo and the San Jacinto Monument to create their own distinct interpretations of the state's heritage.

Dr Debbie Liles who is an Associate Professor and the W.K. Gordon Endowed Chair of Texas History at Tarleton State University shared her research on ***Mapping Cattle Transactions in Antebellum Texas***. She explained that Antebellum and Civil War livestock transactions recorded in bills of sales offer a snapshot of who was buying and selling and what, exactly, exchanged hands when it came to paying for the goods. In an era when the livestock industry supposedly held little to no value, these transactions demonstrate how much of the groundwork for the post-war industry was alive and operational long before the end of the war.

Dr Bruce Winders who served as historian and curator at the Alamo for 23 years presented ***Piquet Post, Key to Texas, Doorway to the Interior of Texas: Understanding the Alamo Role in the Texas Revolution***. He explained that to many observers, the Texas Revolution seems to have been a collection of random incidents played out over the vast Texas landscape. The conflict traditionally has been framed as the defiant cannon shot at Gonzales, the heroic but somewhat pointless stand at the Alamo, and Texas' glorious victory over Santa Anna at San Jacinto. While this mantra has guided generations of Texas school children's understanding of the Texas Revolution, this simplistic progression of events has shielded the conflict from the serious analysis it deserved. Many die-hard Texans still consider any changes to the traditional story as blasphemy while virulent critics write off the Texas Revolution as yet another example of Anglo oppression. In Dr Winders' estimation, one of the keys to expanding the interpretation of this historic event has been to consider the role that geography played in shaping the goals of both the rebels and the Mexican Government during the Texas Revolution. For years historians have largely overlooked the strategic role played by the San Antonio River Valley. His lecture demonstrated a new way to look at the Texas Revolution and the Alamo's role in it.

The final lecture – ***The View from Above: Mapping our Borderless World*** – was given by **Dr Abbud-Madrid**, Director of the Center for Space Resources at the Colorado School of Mines. This was a breathtaking journey through history looking at humanity's relentless quest to view our world from above and to accurately map our entire planet. Beginning with the 'thinkers' – Ptolemy, Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo – who imagined the space above; then the 'do-ers' who took themselves into the skies in hot air balloons, and aerial photographers who used pigeons, kites and aeroplanes to record the earth below; and finally the rocket scientist who in 1946 took the first photograph from space. And within this historical trajectory he drew the audience's attention to the important role that Texas has played in this endeavour and in the mapping of worlds beyond our own.

TEXAS POST- SYMPOSIUM TOUR

Report by Wes Brown

Following the closing banquet, a group of IMCoS members left Arlington for Austin on Sunday 9 October, stopping in the small town of West for a snack at a Czech bakery representing the local immigrant population and loved by our principal guide, Professor Imre Demhardt. Adequately fortified we carried on to the state capital, where we visited the Bullock State History Museum (https://www.thestoryoftexas.com/).

A highlight of the museum was the remains of the shipwreck, *La Belle*, one of four vessels from France that were part of the failed 1685 La Salle expedition seeking to found a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Two days before in the conference, we had heard a lecture from Dr Jim Bruseth of the Texas Historical Commission, about excavating this relic. Also of interest was a large wall covered with colourful postcards about places and scenes from Texas from the Jenkins Garrett collection in Arlington.

The group was fortunate to spend its first night at the Driskill, a grand old hotel built by cattleman Col. Jesse Driskill in the heart of Austin near the state capital. It has been the scene of important events and grand balls since its founding in 1886.

The next day began with a tour of the state capital grounds. The group's other guide, Ben Huseman, Curator of the Special Collections at the University of Texas at Arlington, regularly entertained the group with stories from six generations of his Texan family. One such tale was about his great grandfather who served in General John Hood's Texas Brigade, famed as the 'shock troops' of the Confederate Army. The grounds are filled with many monuments erected to commemorate the dead in the Civil War. Several of these are involved in current controversy as part of the nation's greater sensitivity to political correctness. For example, a nearby US Army base, Fort Hood, named for a Confederate General, has recently had its named changed to Fort Cavazos, after a hero of the Vietnam War.

The thorny question of monuments and commemoration was discussed by Dr Sam Haynes at the symposium, giving the example of the schism between the Daughters of the Republic of Texas over the preservation of the Alamo, which they argued out in 1908 at the Driskill Hotel.

On the capital grounds is an old fireproof structure built of steel and stone in 1854 to house the offices of the Texas General Land Office. During our tour, we learned that Texas is the only State outside of the original thirteen colonies that took all the land appropriated from the Indigenous population into state ownership. This wealth gave the Texas General Land Office and related Railroad Commission immense power for they controlled the land and flow of income it brought to the State. It also enabled great investment into educational facilities throughout the State since 1850.

We toured the state capital building which was erected at great expense and funded through the sale of land equivalent in size to the state of Connecticut. Here we were regaled with a story about John Picket, (another of Ben's relatives), wounded in the Battle of Gaines' Mill (1862) in Hanover County, Virginia. He retired to Texas to convalesce, then returned to fight other battles for the Confederacy. Until near his death at age 93 he attended Confederate reunions and reenactments bringing a different grandchild to each one including Ben's grandmother. She described how he, as an 'unreconstructed southerner', would rise and march around the kitchen table whenever the tune Dixie was played on the radio.

Later we attended the Archives and Records Office of the General Land Office. Director, James Harkins, also the incoming President of the Texas Map Society and contributor to the planning of the symposium, arranged for us to be treated to a wonderful display of the State's cartographic treasures. Five members of his staff presented some of their important and rare maps. Before Texas declared itself a republic, separate from Mexico, one-sixth of its land had been granted to various

Fig. 1 Franciscan mission of San José in San Antonio. Photo: Jenny Harvey.
Fig. 2 Relief sculpture at the base of the Alamo Cenotaph in San Antonio showing images of the garrison leaders and names of the known defenders. Photo: Jenny Harvey.
Fig. 3 Alex Chiba and James Harkins from the Archives and Records Office of the Texas General Land Office with IMCoS attendees Ben Huseman, Ian Harvey, Tom Touchton, Jenny Harvey, Christine Clancy and Imre Demhardt. Photo: Wes Brown.




TRAVIS
CROCKETT



*empresario*s such as Stephen Fuller Austin, in exchange for a promise to establish thriving communities. Mexico was hoping that its remote northeastern lands would form a buffer from the encroaching American States in the east. The existing landholders who formed the aristocracy of the new Texas Republic had no desire to disturb this system; as a result, the Texas land grant and patent system is substantially based on Spanish and Mexican principals including using the Spanish Vara as the unit of measure in Texas surveying. Map Vault Information Specialist, Julia Bordelon presented and explained the significance of one the Archives' treasures: a huge manuscript survey of the Sabine River which acts as an important border with the State of Louisiana.

A highlight of the trip was our visit to the home of San Antonio residents Dianne and Boone Powell who introduced us to their map collection and an assortment of exotic art objects from their many world travels. We were wined and dined in their beautiful home and enjoyed the specially made feature dish of Spanish paella.

The following day we began our tour of San Antonio, the state's early capital, with a visit to the Mission San José, one of five founded by Franciscans stringing south along the San Antonio River. After French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's failed attempt at establishing a colony along the Texas coast, and the building of French forts along the Mississippi, Spain felt it needed to re-establish its presence in the area. In the early decades



Fig. 5 Guides Imre Demhardt and Ben Huseman beside Henry Arthur McArdle's (1836–1908) vast depiction of the Battle of San Jacinto. Completed in 1898, it measures 2.4 x 4.3 m and hangs in the Texas Senate chamber of the Texas State Capitol in Austin. Photo: Jenny Harvey.

of the eighteenth century, these missions were intended to transform the hunter-gatherer natives into 'productive' farming Spanish settlers.

The happy IMCoS crew then explored the famous 'River Walk' system in downtown San Antonio with walkways below street level next to the urban canals of the San Antonio River which is lined with restaurants and shops. Attendee Cinzia Viviani was reminded of her hometown of Venice. A boat ride provided a tour of downtown from a watery perspective.

No trip to San Antonio would be complete without a visit to the Alamo, and ours enjoyed an extensive guided tour supplemented with comments from Dr Bruce Winders, former Director of the Alamo site. This fortified mission was the scene of the American and Tejano settlers in Texas trying to break away from Mexican control. The battle was a victory for Mexico with all the revolutionaries killed, including David Crockett, Jim Bowie and the battle's commander William Travis. Although the Texans lost that battle, the Battle of San Jacinto would decide the outcome of the conflict.

Our fourth day was spent with a memorable trip to NASA space agency headquarters in Houston. The group spent several hours learning about the space programme, seeing rockets, space capsules, and the mission training centre. To cap off the day the group joined another ten friends to tour the extraordinary map collection of Frank and Carol Holcomb which focuses on Texas and earlier maps of the southwest and Gulf of Mexico. Half of the 96 maps were viewed at Frank's office after which we moved to their beautiful home which is filled with early American antique furniture, fine paintings, and maps, primarily hung in a special map room. Carol was a most gracious host arranging a sumptuous dinner for the guests.

Our final day featured a tour of the San Jacinto Battleground outside of Houston. This is the key battle in which the Texans, in April 1836, routed the larger Mexican force and captured General Santa Anna, who was also President of Mexico. In captivity, he was forced to sign a treaty ceding the lands of Texas from Mexico allowing Texans to declare a separate Republic. Although Mexico never accepted this treaty, signed by their President at gun point, it allowed the Texans time to fortify their ranks with American settlers from the eastern United States, and eventually led to the Mexican–American War, begun in 1846 and concluded with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on 2 February 1848. There, our happy journey came to an end with IMCoS members travelling home to destinations in four different countries.



WORTH A LOOK

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

Manetti's infernal cartography

Since the first printed edition in 1472 of Dante's epic narrative poem *La Divina Commedia* (The Divine Comedy), written between *c.* 1308 and 1320, a year before his death, scholars and artists have debated the topography of Hell, Purgatory and Heaven described in his allegorical journey through the afterlife.

In the first of the three books, *Inferno* (Hell), Dante's description of the underworld as a vast funnel-shaped pit under the city of Jerusalem, made up of nine concentric circles, and his references to cities, countries, mountains, monuments and bodies of water sparked an ongoing dialogue among Italy's most illustrious thinkers about the underworld's geography.

Florentine mathematician and architect Antonio di Tuccio Manetti (1423–1497) is generally considered the first in a long line of commentators who wrestled with the location, shape and dimensions of Dante's Hell. In Manetti's reconstruction, the vast abyss to which Dante and Virgil travel is situated near Cuma and Lake Avernus in the region of Campania west of Naples. The huge underground cavity stretched from Sicily to Persia, and from Ethiopia to the Caspian Sea. Manetti determined its widest opening on the Earth's surface by plotting a circle with a radius of 1,700 miles on a nautical map. He determined that Hell was cone shaped with a vertex angle of 60° and the cone section was an equilateral triangle with the arc of the Earth's surface forming the base of the cone. Having established this geometric shape, and using 20,400 miles as the measure of the Earth's circumference, Manetti calculated that the meridian arc forming the base of the cone was equal to 3,400 miles. He further established that the diameter of Hell was 6,490 miles and its depth 3,245 miles.[1]

Manetti never published his research, though a synopsis of his calculations was included by humanist scholar Cristoforo Landino in his book *Commentary of Cristoforo Landino, Florentine, on the Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Florentine Poet* (1481). Manetti's findings were more fully expressed in 1506 in *Dialogo di Antonio Manetti: Cittadino fiorentino circa al sito, forma, & misure del lo inferno di Dante Alighieri poeta excellentissimo* [Dialogue of Antonio Manetti, Florentine Citizen, Concerning the Site, Form and Measurements of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri, Most Excellent Poet] by Florentine poet Girolamo Benivieni. In it he included seven woodcuts of cross-sections and maps illustrating the position, structure and dimensions of Hell based on Manetti's calculations. In the same year, Florentine printer Filippo di Giunta used the illustrations in the appendix of his publication of the *Commedia*. Benivieni and others recognised that maps could help readers in their understanding and appreciation of the complex moral and philosophical ideas posited by Dante in the *Inferno*. Conceived as aids for readers, they also encouraged a period of debate on infernal cartography, particularly in the sixteenth century.

The publication of a synopsis of Manetti's research in Landini's 1481 commentary was likely to have influenced fellow Florentine Sandro Botticelli's pictorial reconstruction of Dante's descent into the underworld. 'Chart of Hell' (Fig. 3) is one of ninety illustrations commissioned by Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici for a luxurious codex of the *Commedia*. Measuring only 32.5 x 47.5 cm and working in miniature, with figures less than one centimetre, Botticelli captures in a panoptic sweep the extraordinary detail of Dante's journey through Hell and his numerous encounters with the 'wretched' who populate its nine circles.[2] It is drawn on parchment with a metal stylus, the lines then overdrawn with brown iron gall ink. 'Chart of Hell' was one of only of a few which received the final stage of colouring.

Manetti did not go unchallenged by contemporary and later commentators on the *Commedia*. Alessandro Vellutello (fl.1515–1550) from the Republic of Lucca, a long time rival of Florence, argued in his 1544 commentary that Hell was much smaller than described by Manetti, reaching only 295 miles in depth and unlike Manetti's rendering of a smooth-

Continues on page 47

Fig. 1 Artist unknown, *Overview of Hell*, Filippo di Giunta, Florence, 1506. Illustration based on Antonio di Tuccio Manetti's research. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Manetti_Overview_of_Hell_1506_Cornell_CUL_PJM_1004_03.jpg

Fig. 2 Artist unknown, *The Chamber of Hell*, Filippo di Giunta, Florence, 1506. Illustration based on Antonio di Tuccio Manetti's research. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Manetti_The_Chamber_of_Hell_1506_Cornell_CUL_PJM_1004_02.jpg

Fig. 3 Sandro Botticelli, 'Chart of Hell', mid-1480–mid-1490. Ink and tempera pigment on parchment, 32.5 x 47.5 cm. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divine_Comedy_Illustrated_by_Botticelli#/media/File:Sandro_Botticelli_-_La_Carte_de_l'Enfer.jpg



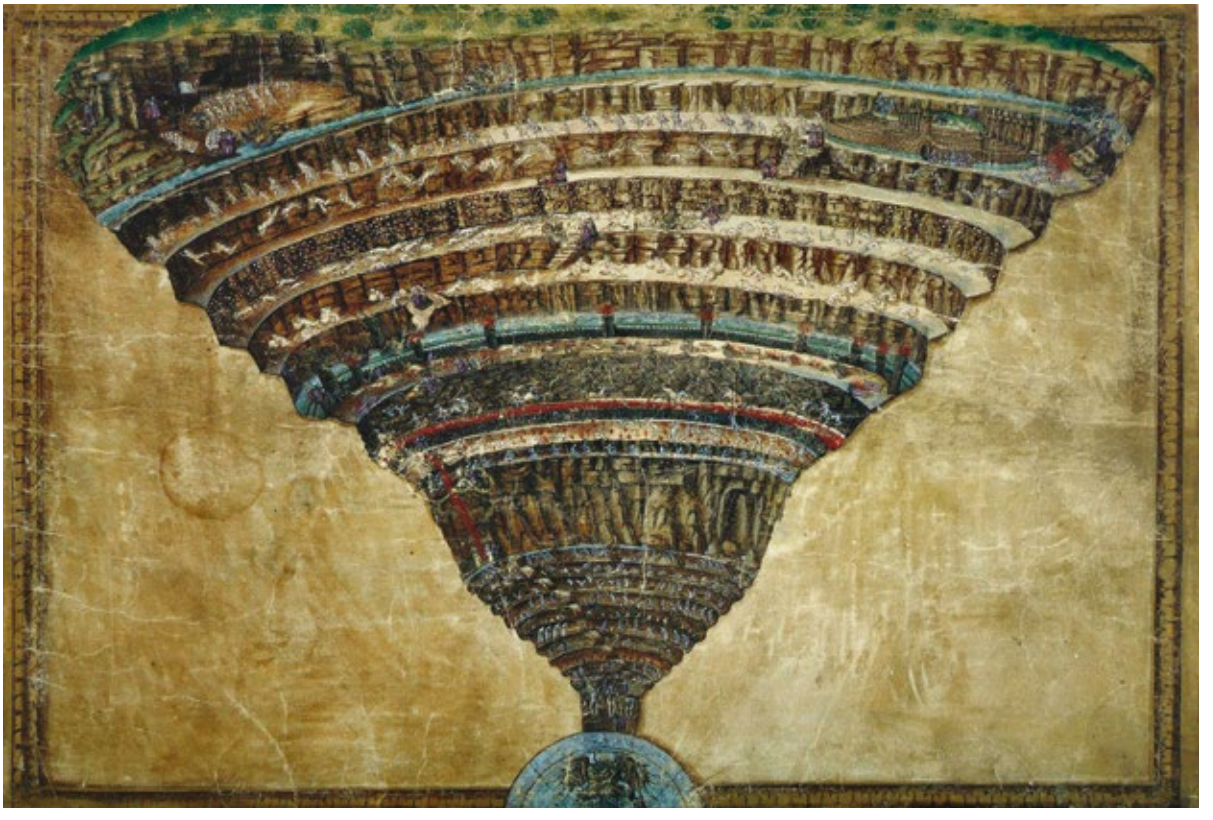
Per questo secondo disegno si monstra (come uoi potete uedere) la meta depso uano ò uero concauita di questo inferno & qualche cosa piu che si uede nel girare de lati, che è fatto, perche detto uano apparisca incatuo cosi come egli ha essere in uerita. In questa figura sono (come uoi uedete) distinchi nutti e suo cerchi & paumēti bēche quanto alle loro distantie & misure quasi ogni cosa ci sia falsa & fuori di proportione rispetto al

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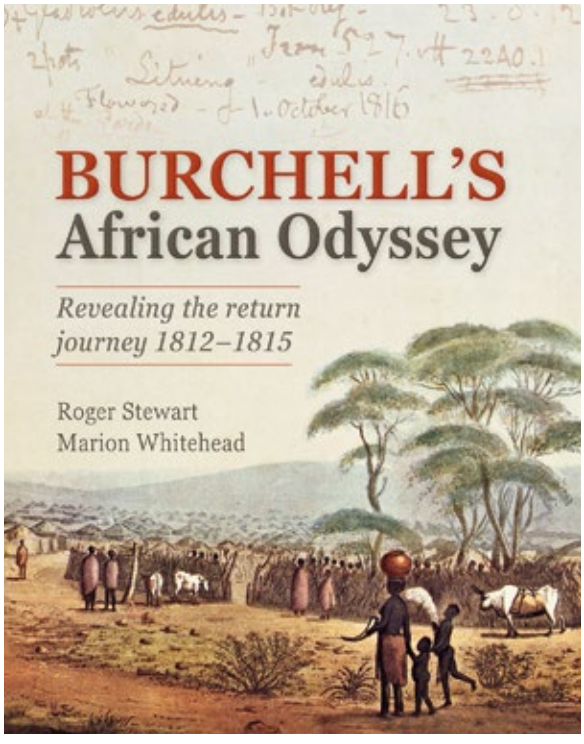


MAPPING MATTERS

Dr Roger Stewart on YouTube

IMCoS National Representative for South Africa Roger Stewart recently published his long-time research on William Burchell. Authored together with Marion Whitehead, *Burchell's African Odyssey, Revealing the Return Journey 1812–1815* describes the return journey made by the English naturalist from the Kalahari to Cape Town via the Great Fish River Mouth. Only one journal covering a single month of travel has survived. Sifting through widely dispersed primary sources, the authors have meticulously reconstructed and illustrated the most complete account possible of Burchell's three lost years during which time he amassed some 63,000 specimens of plants, insects, reptiles and mammals and made an astonishingly detailed map of his journey. You can read about the map in Roger's article 'A Meticulous Cartographer: William Burchell's map Of South Africa' published in the *IMCoS Journal* (2011, No. 125).

Drawing from his book, Roger gives a fascinating account of Burchell's journey on YouTube: https://burchellsodyssey.com #KirstenboschWednesdayTalk



2023 Ristow prize in the history of cartography

This prize, offered by the Washington Map Society since 1994, recognises academic achievement in the history of cartography and honours the late Dr Walter W. Ristow, former chief of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress.

The award

$1500 cash award, a one-year membership in the Washington Map Society, and publication of the winning paper in *The Portolan* journal.

Eligibility

Full or part-time undergraduate, graduate, and first-year postdoctoral students attending accredited U.S. or foreign colleges and universities are welcome to apply.

Entry criteria

The competition seeks research papers in the field of the history of cartography, completed in fulfillment of coursework requirements or based on original research. All papers must be in English, documented in a style selected by the author, and not in excess of 7,500 words. Inclusion of clear graphics (maps) supporting the paper is encouraged. Papers entered for the Prize may have been previously presented at academic symposia or entered in other competitions. They must not, however, have been published, selected for publication, or in consideration for publication at the time of entry.

Format

Papers should be converted to a PDF document and submitted to Anthony Mullan by 12:59 PM EST on the date of the submission deadline. Please ensure that the PDF includes a cover sheet including the entrant's name, address, telephone number, email address, and school, department, and academic status. ***Please do not include your name on any page except the cover page.***

Judging criteria

1) Importance of research (e.g., originality, sources used), 2) quality of research (e.g., accuracy, source reliability), 3) writing quality (e.g., clarity, organization, command of cartographic terms).

Deadline

Email to Anthony Mullan, Chair of the Ristow Prize at cubaj2020@gmail.com no later than 1 June 2023. More information is available at http://www.washmapsociety.org/Ristow-Prize.htm, or contact Anthony Mullan.

Pre-1900 maps of Southeast Asia

The online platform **Historical Maps of Southeast Asia** provides access to over 1,400 pre-1900 digitised maps of Southeast Asia from the collections of the National Library Board Singapore, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford and Leiden University Libraries (UBL).

Maps can be selected by period and collection. Historical maps can be viewed as a projection on a contemporary map of the same area. Users can also search and filter by language, country and region, land use and buildings in the area, such as forts, villages, towns, palaces, trade and industry in the form of factories, markets, shopping areas, and agriculture, etc. They can be consulted for cultural and political regions, environmental and landscape features. The maps are searchable for technical aspects such as scale, latitude and longitude, compass roses and annotations. Furthermore, the maps have been made searchable by mapmaker, publisher and place of publication.

Access the maps at www. historicalmaps.yale-nus.edu.sg

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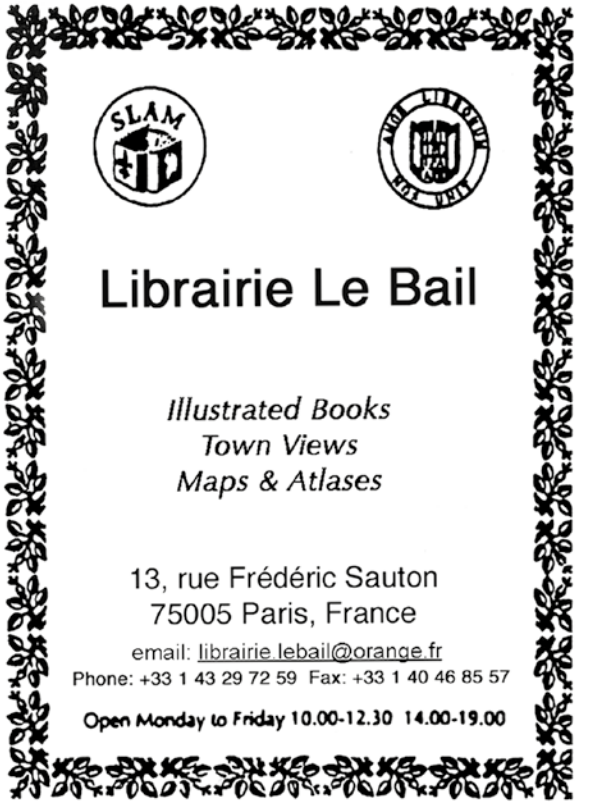
shaped cone, Vellutello contended it was made up of a series of cylinders and truncated cones. To help solve the controversy, the Florentine Academy in 1588 invited the young Galileo to give two lectures 'On the Shape, Location, and Size of Dante's *Inferno*'. He discussed the two architectural models presented by Manetti and Vellutello, but in the end argued in defence of Manetti's claims: 'For many reasons I feel myself most obligated; and having showed, with what little ingenuity I possess, how much subtler is the invention of Manetti'.[3]

Dante's imagery of the afterlife has pervaded popular culture from the Renaissance to the present and the reconstruction of Manetti's calculations into maps by Benivieni and Giunta inspired a visual tradition which continues to be upheld by modern editions of the *Commedia*.

Notes

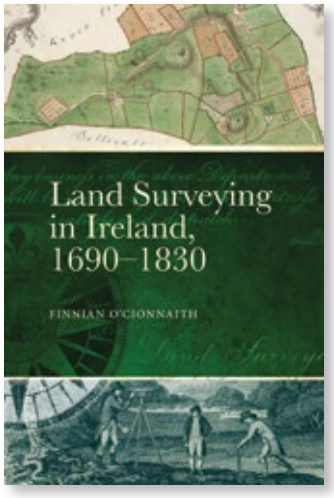
1 https://mostre.museogalileo.it/dante/en/the-underworld/43-location-of-hell.html, accessed 13 November 2022.
2 Deborah Parker, 'Illuminating Botticelli's Chart of Hell', *MLN*, 128, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013, p. 84.
3 Mark A. Peterson, *Galileo's Muse: Renaissance Mathematics and the Arts*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, p. 227.





BOOK REVIEWS

Land Surveying in Ireland, 1690-1830
by Finnian Ó Cionnaith. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022. ISBN 9781801510141. HB, 256, colour illus. STG £30.00.



In the surveying and mapping of their landed estates, Britain and Ireland have much in common: developments in technique and map design, changing emphases in landowner requirements, and the movement of individual surveyors between the two islands, as evidenced by the fact that the map researcher's 'bible', the *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Mapmakers* (1997) covers both. Finnian Ó Cionnaith's new assessment of Irish land surveying is then very welcome on both sides of the Irish Sea, not least because studies encompassing one or other of the two islands in their entirety are far from common.

Across what might be termed the long eighteenth century, a transformative era in Irish land surveying, Ó Cionnaith considers successive phases of estate surveying in Ireland: the 'forfeiture surveys' of the mid-sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century; the emergence of commercial surveyors and the underdeveloped mapping of the first half of the eighteenth century termed here the Irish school; the impact of the arrival of the London-based Huguenot, John Rocque in the 1750s initiating a French-influenced school of mapping, the two running in parallel into the early nineteenth century; then an era of scientific mapping which commenced with the plans of the Bogs Commission of 1809, a response to the food shortages of the Napoleonic Wars to turn unproductive wetlands, the bogs of central Ireland, into productive farmland; and from 1824 the government's funding of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland.

An extensive literature already exists, of course, on mapping in Ireland and the author's comprehensive footnotes reveal the sources for much of his information, chief amongst them the writings of the doyen of Irish map studies, John Andrews, who died in 2019 and to whose memory the book is in part dedicated. But take note of Ó Cionnaith's title. He is a qualified land surveyor and the story here is not just about the maps themselves for as he points out in the Preface they were simply the main product of a 'significantly larger process'. Early chapters, one on 'surveying and the mathematical instrument trade', others on 'surveying education: training, teachers and apprenticeships', and on changing standards in surveying, reflect his personal interest in eighteenth-century practices and underpin a departure from a traditional analysis of a country's mapping history. These themes are fashioned around the careers of three particularly well-documented land surveyors, two of them – Gabriel Stokes and Robert Gibson – resorting to alternative means of earning a living. Stokes was a pre-eminent manufacturer of surveying instruments and from 1715 saw this as his primary profession. Gibson was an educator, ran a private academy in Dublin, prepared almanacs and wrote the earliest practical textbook for surveyors in Ireland. The third, John Longford, left a vast map collection now held in the National Library of Ireland.

Other surveyors also feature such as Brandon Meade whose 'written work [a treatise on map design] stands in contrast to his turbulent and at time bizarre private life', while John Rocque is afforded special attention. For reasons that are obscure (at least to this reviewer) Rocque's activities closer to home in England and Wales have received much less attention than his time in Ireland which lasted only from 1752 to 1760. Ó Cionnaith here reserves his most penetrating language for Rocque, a 'market disruptor capable of exploiting existing weaknesses, namely the lack of options available to high-end clients seeking more sophisticated cartographic products'. And in competing with Roger Kendrick, surveyor to Dublin

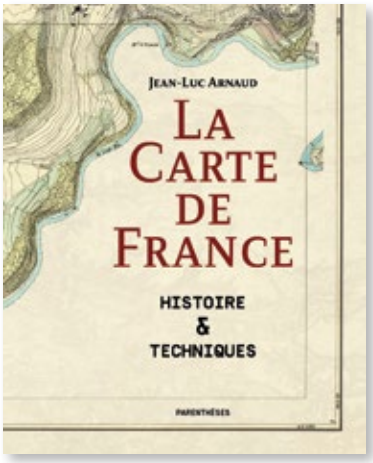
Corporation to produce an up-to-date map of that city, both gentlemen avoided smearing the efforts of the other, but 'Rocque consistently displayed greater project management, measurement and advertising skill than his rival, keeping the public aware of his progress through an upbeat, media-friendly marketing campaign'. These word pictures will remain in the memory far longer than any of the achievements of Stokes and Gibson.

Ó Cionnaith wisely avoids more than the occasional passing reference to parallel trends in Britain, yet in analysing Irish estate surveys, his text in incidental fashion raises intriguing issues, as pertinent to British estate mapping as to Ireland. Were the secondary specialisms/careers of estate surveyors adopted through choice or through necessity? Did the most talented surveyors really attract the wealthiest clients? Did the emergence of corporate surveying, i.e., 'firms', make an appearance at much the same time in the two islands? Was the overriding purpose of an atlas, conventionally seen as the high end of the mapping market, simply to 'signify status and impress the observer'? Do the chronological gaps in a surveyor's output reflect the fact that his maps have not survived, that they are lurking undetected in uncatalogued archives and muniments, or that like an actor the surveyor was 'resting' because no commissions had come his way? Even minor mapping characteristics such as the use and abuse of blank space on maps are considered. There are too intriguing generalities where examples would have been of interest: thus, for example the suggestion, regrettably not substantiated by example, of corrupt land agents hiring amateur or dishonest surveyors and in consequence over-charging landowners or altering land values for their own benefit, with the add-on that a landowner might then have to pay an experienced professional surveyor to check the result. Aware of one instance in the 1770s where a Welsh landowner did refer an invoice for an extensive land survey to a well-known surveyor for confirmation that he wasn't being 'ripped off', your reviewer now wonders whether there was more to the landowner's concern than he had previously appreciated.

Finnian Ó Cionnaith has produced a book which is a pleasure to read, one that is both instructive and thought-provoking. And Four Courts Press are to be congratulated for producing an attractive work at a reasonable price.

Bob Silvester, Meifod, Powys, Wales

La Carte de France – Histoire & Techniques *by Jean-Luc Arnaud. Marseille: Editions Parenthèses, 2022. ISBN 9782863643303. Soft cover, 446, 600 plus illus. € 56.*



This book is a comprehensive record of maps of the French territory produced since the mid-eighteenth century, initially by the descendants of the royal astronomer Jean-Dominique Cassini (Cassini I, 1625–1712), and later by national cartographic establishments such as the *Dépôt de la Guerre* (as of 1793), the *Service Géographique de l'Armée* (1887) or the *Institut Géographique National* (IGN, 1940). The census covers sequences of multi-sheet maps designed to be joined so as to represent a given part or the whole of the country. Maps of France as a national entity therefore remain outside the scope of this study.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part entitled 'Two centuries of production' contains seven chapters offering some basic considerations about mapmaking and map use. To begin with, the author recounts the successive stages leading to the final product, from geodetic survey and triangulation to the processes of drafting, engraving and printing. He then discusses the transitory character of maps, their obsolescence with time requiring constant updating, at least of variables such as man-made topographical details (development of urban areas, construction of bridges and highways, etc.). Data processing techniques now offer a way out of this dilemma to the point that, according to Arnaud, printed maps have tended to become a curiosity for the geometers, topographers and cartographers of today.

Of particular interest I found the observations on the mapping of other parts of the world by French

military surveyors. Following Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign (1798–1801) which yielded an impressive 47-sheet map of the Nile valley, the French geodetic framework was extended to countries in southern, central and eastern Europe before interest shifted to French colonies in Africa and in Indochina. The two World Wars inevitably led to renewed surveys of distant lands involved in the hostilities. Although some of those maps are illustrated, they do not form part of the main map record.

The next three chapters deal with technical aspects of map production. The transition from copper plate engraving to lithography and zincography permitted maps to be prepared and printed on an ever-larger scale so that on the eve of WW I, for example, more than 300,000 sheets were issued per month. At the end of the war, an estimated fifty-five million maps had been produced in France, most of which were lost in the trenches or destroyed. There follows a discussion of the problems involved in measuring elevations and representing them in the form of relief, a task much facilitated first by colour printing, as of 1841, and later by aerial photography introduced in the early 1920s. Finally, we learn about the role of conventional signs in map legends, providing a key to an increasingly varied range of symbols.

Part 2, the main part of the book, is entitled 'Series, special editions and variants'. It is a register of map series depicting French territory in successive official editions and subsequent versions published from the mid-eighteenth to the twenty-first century, up to 2017. Also included are some external border regions and French atlases.

The inventory begins with the *Carte de Cassini*, certainly familiar to anyone interested in the mapping of France. A total of 181 sheets covered the kingdom of France at the rather large scale of 1:86 400, each sheet of 56 x 90 cm representing an area of 49 x 78 km. Shortly after the creation of the *Académie des sciences* in 1666 by Colbert, Louis XIV's minister, Jean Picard prepared the ground for this project by developing a pattern of triangulations based on the Paris meridian. Jean-Dominique Cassini (Cassini I), Italian astronomer and resident at the Paris Observatory founded in 1667, continued Picard's geodetic measurements and laid the foundations for the first comprehensive national survey undertaken on a scientific basis. The following three generations of Cassini astronomers all had their share in advancing this ambitious enterprise. César-François Cassini de Thury (Cassini III), after whom this map is named, was the most profiled member of the clan, in terms of cartographic history. Charged by Louis XV in 1747 to terminate the project, he issued the first sheet, *Paris*, in 1756. However, the king's finances, depleted during the Seven Years' War, could no longer sustain the project. Cassini III therefore engaged private funding for its continuation. By 1790 his son Jean-Dominique (Cassini IV) had finished the survey, but sixteen maps remained to be published.

In the course of the French Revolution, the National Convention decided to nationalise, one might say confiscate, the Cassini map. In 1793 the *Dépôt de la Guerre* was tasked with its completion, eventually leading to its conversion into the *Carte d'état-major*, the French Ordnance Survey Map. This became the most important French map project in the nineteenth century. Ultimately composed of 258 sheets on the scale of 1:80 000 it was produced, with its variants, until 1958. The register closes with tourist and road maps published by the IGN, well-known to those travelling in France.

Entries are arranged chronologically according to the year of the first publication of a map or map series. The sort code therefore starts with the four digits of the year plus a marker for variants, followed by the identification of the area covered, scale of the map and details of production such as print run (number of years), number of sheets, and printing technique. Each of the 200 records contains a bibliographical notice of varying length, illustrated by one or several map details in colour, from about 10 x 10 cm to full page, 27 x 22 cm. Index maps, especially constructed by the author, accompany most of the entries. Their absence in map libraries is regretted, as they are rightly considered to be an indispensable expedient not only for organising collections, but also for convenient retrieval of particular sheets.

Three appendices provide a chronology of significant map-related events of the period in question, a bibliography with 268 entries, and a list of catalogues pertinent to the mapping of France, with archival sources. Indexes of maps by scale, by region, by type of publication (such as military, administrative, geological), plus an index of personal names complete this work.

Readers outside France might have appreciated a few more details about Cassini de Thury's extension of the French geodetic pattern to Flanders first, and then across Germany to Vienna in 1763, in the vain hope of achieving its prolongation across the whole of Europe. About twenty years later, his son Cassini IV was in contact with the English surveyor William

Roy on a project of geodetically connecting the French triangulation across the Channel with what was to become the British Ordnance Survey, in order to ascertain the relative positions of the Royal Observatories in Paris and Greenwich. This, however, would probably have stretched the scope of the work too far beyond its essentially French agenda.

Years of rigorous research have resulted in this remarkable documentation now before us. Based on the author's meticulous survey of several thousands of manuscript and printed maps held in major French map collections, this book is primarily intended to assist map librarians in organising and documenting, possibly completing, their collections. However, map historians and collectors with an interest in the mapping of France of the past two and a half centuries will value this work as a new model of a carto-bibliography with a most impressive coverage. Although dense in its presentation of text and illustrations, it is easy and really quite fascinating to read. Highly recommended.

Jean-Luc Arnaud is a historian of contemporary cartography and researcher at the university of Aix-en-Provence. The website *CartoMundi* which he created and maintains at that university offers access to 'modern' maps from around the world, including a good part of the ones described in this book.

Wulf Bodenstein, Brussels

Star Territory: Printing the Universe in Nineteenth-Century America *by Gordon Fraser. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021. ISBN 9780812252927. HB, First edition, 264, 11 illus., 7 tables. US $40.*



This is a book steeped in metaphors. In the dust jacket, we read that 'the United States has always treated the cosmos as a territory available for exploitation', and on page 2 we learn that 'Congress ordered a flag with stars because it hoped that the thirteen colonies would form a "new constellation" in the firmament of nations'. Even the title suggests that this country is linked to the stars as an extension of the universe through its printed works (which in this book primarily consist of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century almanacs and newspapers). Heady stuff, indeed.

But in essence, Gordon Fraser has written a political book that attempts to reframe American colonialism in more expansive, cosmic terms, and he counters this with examples of minority groups presenting alternative, more culturally-specific points of view.

The main arguments begin in Chapter 1, where we see that through eighteenth-century almanacs Americans are exposed to the heavens via regional publications that also deal with weather forecasting, agricultural advice, homilies, and poetry, etc. But in Chapter 4, we learn that these evolved into a national publication entitled the *American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac* that is less homey, more instrumental, and consists primarily of numbers and figures to support navigational and military activities. This allowed pre-Civil War America to be seen as a major expansive power that aimed at dominating not only its own land mass but also extend its influence beyond into the Pacific as well as into 'cosmic space'. The Epilogue in a sense brings us back to Earth by pointing out that contemporary America indeed has ventured into real space and has created a Space Force to protect its interests.

Countering these tendencies, Fraser presents us with alternative world views. In Chapter 2, we learn about two newspapers published by free Blacks from 1827–1829 that were aimed at a Black readership. Although they did not overtly preach emancipation and equality, the newspaper content covertly suggested these themes by publishing free Black-generated poetry, scientific work, and other participation in newsworthy activities. These publications followed upon the excellent and influential almanac produced by the self-taught free Black American Benjamin Banneker at the end of the previous century, as well as through his participation in the survey of the new Washington, D.C. In Chapter 3, we learn about the *Cherokee Almanac*,

which took a less instrumental view of the heavens and included content on Cherokee cosmology and culture, as well as subtle references to American colonialism. And in Chapter 5, Fraser presents the efforts of the last Queen of Hawaii to regain her kingdom from American annexation and commercial exploitation through her lobbying efforts in Washington and her two books describing her life and Hawaiian traditional cosmology and culture.

In general, Fraser's book is an academically-sound treatise, with copious notes and extensive bibliography. What is presented is presented convincingly with great scholarship. But a major omission in my view is the book's failure to mention issues related to the cultural roots of American astronomy, stemming from classical Greek writings and continuing through British and other European efforts that took hold in the pre-United States colonies. These issues later were articulated in several books that influenced American scholars and students and guided the course of American science and learning going forward.[1] A case in point was Elijah Burritt's *The Geography of the Heavens*, which went through several editions from 1833 to 1856 and produced some 300,000 copies of its accompanying star/constellation *Atlas* by 1876, including images from Greek mythology. In addition, the books and lectures of O.M. Mitchel describing his observational work at the Cincinnati Observatory (which housed the largest refracting telescope in the Western Hemisphere from 1845 to 1847) focused primarily on education and science. He even wrote a book on religion entitled *The Astronomy of the Bible*. In a sense, these efforts were themselves mainstream American cultural counters to the military expansion and political exploitation assisted by the numbers in the *American Ephemeris*.

In terms of publication quality, Fraser's book is very well done, with clear type, solid binding, and few editorial errors (a prominent exception is an erroneous reference to Figure 9 on page 79). The tables are interesting and serve the text, as do the illustrations. Notably, Figure 1 shows what is possibly the first accurate-to-scale representation of the solar system published in North America (*c*.1789), and Figure 5 shows a map of the path of a solar eclipse that took place in February 1831. Sadly, there are no other maps shown and only nine other images, too few in my view for a book dealing with spatial themes.

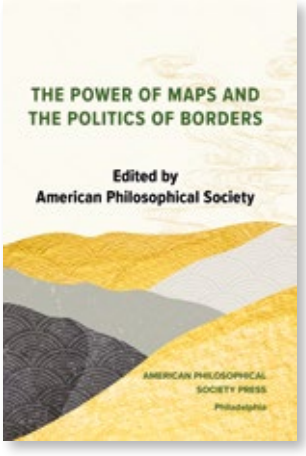
In summary, this book is a scholarly treatise that will be of value to politically oriented readers interested in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century America. In particular, the chapters on Black, Cherokee, and Hawaiian cosmologies contain hard to find information of important culture-specific issues. I also was happy to see some material on American astronomer Maria Mitchell. Metaphorically-speaking, however, although some important trees are displayed in the sunlight, the larger forest of mainstream Euro-American cultural astronomy was culled, producing a kind of tail-wagging-the-dog effect (to mix way too many metaphors of my own!). Perhaps in a second edition, another chapter dealing with these issues could be added for the sake of breadth and perspective.

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1 N. Kanas, Chapter 9. 'Mapping the stars in early America' in *Star Maps: History, Artistry, and Cartography,* 3rd ed., Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2019, pp. 358–82.

Nick Kanas, San Francisco, California

The Power of Maps and the Politics of Borders *edited by American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Press, 2021, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, Vol. 110, Part 4. ISBN 9781606181041. Soft cover, 242, maps. US $37.*



Located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania next to Independence Hall where the United States Declaration of Independence and Constitution were debated and signed, the American Philosophical Society was founded in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin for the purpose of 'promoting useful knowledge' and is said to be the oldest learned society in the United

States. This 242-page anthology from the Society's 2019 'Mapping a Nation' exhibition and conference contains intensively annotated essays by twelve scholars and a consolidated index and provides a variety of perspectives on the role of maps and mapping in the early American Republic.

Katie McKinney's article on 'The Legacy of Major Sebastian Bauman's Map of the Siege of Yorktown' focuses on the power maps have to commemorate events and discusses financial and production issues confronting American mapmakers early in the Republic. George Gallwey's essay on Geneva-born Albert Gallatin, United States Secretary of the Treasury 1801 to 1814, among other offices held in the new Republic, explores 'how Gallatin's biography was redolent of the politics and economics of borders', and details his role in promoting the western expansion of the Republic.

Julie L. Reed's essay, 'Thinking Multidimensionally: Cherokee Boundaries Above, Below and Beyond', says that during early phases of European settlement Indigenous people conceptionalised and mapped their world in different ways than Europeans, and asserts that mapping of Indigenous peoples would provide a more textured understanding of their places and relationships if it used the multidimensional pictographic imagery they used to map their world.

Austin Stewart's 'Wielding the Power of Mapping' describes how early eighteenth-century Cherokees and Indigenous neighbours had traditionally used pictographic maps and structured their space based on social and political relationships and control of trading routes rather than on fixed borders. But European encroachment pressures changed Cherokees' notions of territoriality, such that they adopted scientific Anglo-American surveying and border-making practices to advance their territorial interests.

'Clear Boundaries or Shared Territory: Chickasaw and Cherokee Resistance to American Colonization, 1785–1816', by Lucas P. Kelley, explores Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians' conflicting territorial claims in the American Southeast and their use of traditional legal and territorial concepts to resist American encroachment. Like Austin Stewart's essay, Kelley includes the image of a hand-written map of river tributaries by Cherokee headman Onitositah (Old Tassel), showing how that headman marked Cherokee land claims in negotiations with United States officials.

'Finding the History of the World at the Bottom of the Ocean: Hydrography, Natural History, and the Sea in the Nineteenth Century', by Penelope K. Hardy, describes how nineteenth-century naturalists and sailors developed techniques and tools to study ocean plants, animals and geology and chart the ocean floor. Hardy focuses on the scientific three-and-a-half-year circumnavigation of the world by the Royal Navy's HMS *Challenger* that began in late 1872, writing that '(w)hat emerged was a visualization, a map of the bottom as a knowable, even colorful territory – with its gray and blue and red clay, green sands, and oozes like chocolate – delineated by depth and distance from shore'.

Agnès Trouillet's 'Elusive Henlopen, or the Cape's Role in Protracting the Boundary Dispute Between Pennsylvania and Maryland' delves into disputes spanning 1681 to 1768 between two aristocratic English families: William Penn and his descendants versus the 3rd Lord Baltimore John Calvert and his descendants, vying as proprietors respectively of the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland to establish a line separating those provinces as well as the province of Delaware. Trouillet describes how competing territorial claims combined with inconsistent land grants and maps resulted in years of costly disputes before various tribunals, including Privy Council, Queen in Council, Board of Trade and Chancery Court. Disputes resolved only after the two sides agreed to hire English astronomers and surveyors Charles Mason and Jerimiah Dixon, who established a boundary that became known as the 'Mason and Dixon Line', which in years leading up to the American Civil War became the symbolic dividing line between Northern states and Southern states.

Jackson Pearson's essay on 'William Darby's *A Map of the State of Louisiana* and the Extension of American Sovereignty over the "Neutral Ground" in the Louisiana-Texas Borderland, 1806-1819', tells how Darby's map, published in 1816 after his 1812 surveying expedition through a contested borderland area subject to a Neutral Ground Agreement between Spain and the United States, was instrumental in the annexation of the area by the United States pursuant to its 1819 treaty with Spain. Pearson notes how Darby's 1816 map, published in Philadelphia by John Melish, showed homes, villages and other detail that filled in the blank spaces of previous maps, including one where empty space was disguised by placement of a large cartouche, and notes how Melish and others incorporated Darby's work in their own maps of Louisiana without crediting him.

The 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolutionary War and state of conflict between the United States and Great Britain poorly defined the United States-New Brunswick border, resulting in boundary disputes that strained relations between the two until the line was settled by the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty. 'Archival Lines, Historical Practice, and the Atlantic Geopolitics behind the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty', by Derek Kane O'Leary, discusses the impact of John Mitchell's 1755 map of North America, and the exploits of United States historian Jared Sparks who obtained the map from the official Archives of France, a map on which Benjamin Franklin was said to have traced in red ink a boundary between colonial New Brunswick and the United States when he was negotiating the 1783 Treaty. O'Leary's paper describes how the red lines attributed to Franklin influenced negotiations leading to the 1842 Treaty and discusses the access that scholars and diplomats of that period had to other nations' archival materials.

The 1814 Treaty of Ghent between the United States and Great Britain ended the War of 1812 and created a joint commission to delineate the international border through the Great Lakes, a border poorly defined by the 1783 Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolutionary War. 'Putting Science to the Test: Initiating the World's Longest Unfortified Boundary', by David I. Spanagel, describes the efforts of the commission's bi-national 'scientific' survey teams in demarcating an agreed border across islands and bodies of water large and small.

'Mapping Inequality, Resistance, and Solutions in Early National Philadelphia', by Billy G. Smith, creates an imaginary July 1797 eight-block walk in the new nation's capital city by First Lady Martha Washington and Ona Judge, a household servant who was one of many African Americans enslaved by President and Mrs Washington. Using as a base John Hills' 1796 map, 'The Plan of the City of Philadelphia and its Environs', Smith employed computer technology to map racial, gender, occupational and health disparities in areas traversed in their imaginary walk. The hypothetical walk is a vehicle for insights on the history of the city and region, including resistance to slavery by enslaved and free African Americans and their, at times, heroic actions caring for victims of the 1793 yellow fever epidemic.

In closing, this collection of copiously footnoted essays on a wide variety of map-related subjects is an interesting read and useful resource on the impacts of maps and borders in the development and expansion of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America and will appeal to a broad audience.

Edward E. Poliakoff, Columbia, SC, USA

BOOKS RECEIVED

North Sea Crossings: The Literary Heritage of Anglo-Dutch Relations 1066–1688 *by Sjoerd Levelt & Ad Putter, Oxford: Bodleian Library Publishing, 2021. ISBN 9781851245543. HB, 256, multiple illus and maps. STG £40.*

This richly illustrated book tells the story of cultural exchange between the people of the Low Countries and England in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period and reveals how Anglo-Dutch connections changed the literary landscape on both sides of the North Sea.

Ranging from the Norman Conquest of 1066 to the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, it examines how Dutch-speaking immigrants transformed English culture, and it uncovers the lasting impact of contacts and collaborations between Dutch and English speakers on historical writing, mapmaking, manuscript production and early printing.

The literary heritage of Anglo-Dutch relations is explored and lavishly illustrated through the unique collection of manuscripts, early prints, maps and other treasures from the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

The Southernmost End of South America: Tierra del Fuego, the South Atlantic Ocean and Antarctica from the 16th to 19th Century *by Luis Ignacio & Maria Teresa Luiz. The Latin American Studies Series. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2021. ISBN 9783030658793 (ebook), 978303065881-6 (soft cover), viii, 180, 61 col. illus. STG £95.50 (e-book), STG £119.99 (soft cover).*

De Lasa and Luiz are concerned with how Argentinian Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego have been mapped between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, although they also focus on the Antarctic and the Malvinas. They analyse issues of imperial dominion, national place-making, regionality, and Indigenous territoriality from an interdisciplinary and largely Argentinian perspective to underline the political nature of maps.

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Frederik de Wit, 1660

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Sir Robert Dudley. 1648-[61]. 'Islandia e Frislandia'

CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Lectures & conferences

8 December 2022, London (in-person) 32nd series Maps & Society lecture programme.Warburg Institute at 5 pm (admission free). **Šima Krtalic** (PhD candidate in the History and Philosophy of Sciences and researcher in the MEDEA-Chart ERC project, University of Lisbon). ***Rethinking accuracy: the graphical language and geometric aesthetics of late medieval nautical charts.*** Meetings are followed by refreshment. Enquiries: c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk

14 December 2022 USA (online) The California, Chicago, New York, Philip Lee Phillips, Rocky Mountain, Texas, and Washington Map Societies are offering a virtual lecture via Zoom. Francis (Frank) Manasek (retired professor, Dartmouth Medical School; former antiquarian map dealer; author of *Collecting Old Maps* and *A Treatise on Moon Maps* will speak about ***The Birth of Moon Maps: Looking Through the Telescope, 1610–1696***. With fifteen Moon maps from 1610 to 1696, Manasek explores some different visual languages used to portray the lunar surface, and implicitly ask if there are any defining elements that link Moon maps to the historiography of terrestrial maps. RSVP to John Docktor at washmap@gmail.com to receive the meeting ID and passcode. Meeting will start at 7 pm EST, 6 pm CST, 5 pm MST, 4 pm PST.

5 January 2023 USA (online) The California, Chicago, New York, Philip Lee Phillips, Rocky Mountain, Texas, and Washington Map Societies are offering a virtual lecture via Zoom. **Andrew Kapochunas** (Secretary of New York Map Society, member of Lithuanian Cartographic Society) will be talking about ***The Struggle of Mapmakers to Keep Up with Changing Post-WWI Boundaries Between Lithuania and Poland***. RSVP to John Docktor at washmap@gmail.com to receive the meeting ID and passcode. Meeting will start at 7 pm EST, 6 pm CST, 5 pm MST 4 pm PST.

26 January 2022, London (online) 32nd series Maps & Society lecture programme. **Dr Anne-Rieke van Schaik** (Research assistant, Explokart Research Program, University of Amsterdam). ***Old News? Time, Memory and Conflict in Story Maps of the Dutch Revolt (c.1630–1640) Made in Amsterdam and Antwerp.*** Enquiries: c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk

21 February 2023, Cambridge, UK (online) Cambridge Seminars in the History of Cartography **Alan Marcus** (University of Aberdeen) ***Remapping and place naming in 'Beautiful Dachau'*** 5.30 pm UK time via Zoom. Information: Sarah Bendall at sarah.bendall@emma.cam.ac.uk or tel. 01223 330476.

2 March 2023, London (online) 32nd series Maps & Society lecture programme. **Dr Bertie Mandelblatt** (George S. Parker II '52 Curator of Maps and Prints, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island). ***Mapping Revolution, Mapping Slavery: The Vicomte de Rochambeau and Cartographic Dreams of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in the Caribbean***. Speaker from the Hakluyt Society. Enquiries: c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk.

27 April 2023, London (in-person) 32nd Maps & Society lectures programme. Warburg Institute at 5 pm (admission free) **Laura Lee Brott** (PhD Candidate in Art History, University of Wisconsin-Madison) will discuss ***The graphics of knowledge in the twelfth-century Tournai maps of Asia and Palestine.*** Meetings are followed by refreshment. All are welcome. Enquiries: c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk.

Exhibitions

Until 9 December 2022, College Station, Texas
Among the Cushing Library's collection is Stephen F. Austin's 1830 Map of Texas, a landmark piece of Texas and cartographic history as it was the first map of Texas to be printed in the United States by H.S. Tanner and the second map of Texas ever to be printed – the first being printed in Mexico City. This map, among others, will be on display as part of the exhibition ***Charting Texas – A History of the State Through Maps***. Information: https://cushing.library.tamu.edu/programs/current.html

Until 20 December 2022, Macau
The Macau University of Science and Technology Library opened its ***Macau exhibition of ancient maps***, showcasing historical records that contribute to the study of Macau history. The exhibition is divided into six parts, including Chinese maps of Macau, early Portuguese maps of Macau, Macau maps drawn in the Netherlands in the 17th century, Macau maps drawn by Western countries in the 18th century, Macau maps made before and after the Opium War, and a modern map of Macau. Information: www.lib.must.edu.mo

Until 28 December 2022, Boston
More or Less in Common: Environment and Justice in the Human Landscape is on at the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library. The exhibition explores how maps and geography provide a way of understanding how the control of nature has intertwined with struggles for justice. Some of these stories date from a period far earlier than modern environmentalism, like the 1684 deed in which white settlers officialised their taking of what is now East Boston as private property, or the 1878 map of 'offensive odours' which shows how Boston began filling in estuaries in order to please the senses of elite neighbourhoods like the Back Bay. Information: https://www.leventhalmap.org/exhibitions/

Until 31 December 2022, Nazareth, Pennsylvania
Moravian Historical Society's exhibition ***Charting the Unknown: Early Moravian Maps*** explores surveying techniques, the conflicts between Indigenous communities and Europeans, and the Moravian contributions to surveying, early cartography, and town planning. Through archival documents, historic maps, and objects from the collection of the Moravian Historical Society, visitors

will be taken on a journey through the fertile lands of the Pennsylvanian frontier. Information: https://www.moravianhistory.org/exhibitions.

Until 8 January 2023, New Haven
The World in Maps, 1400–1600 is on at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. It presents many of the most historically significant manuscript maps from the late medieval and early modern period, focusing on portolan charts from the Library's vast collection of maps. Information: https://beinecke.library.yale.edu.

Until 14 January 2023, Arlington
The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections presents an exciting and provocative exhibit titled ***The Shifting Shapes of Early Texas*** which will feature some highlights from its extensive collections of maps, prints, and manuscripts. Beginning with the earliest European and Indigenous contacts in the land that became Texas, the exhibition will use some iconic pieces of paper Texana to explore how concepts of the environment and its people were in constant flux over time. Information: https://libraries.uta.edu/collections/special-collections

Until January 2023, Eastsound, Washington
How do you get to Orcas Island? How did the early explorers find their way before they even knew what was there to be found? The Orcas Island Historical Society's new exhibition ***Mapping Orcas: The Way Home*** features an extraordinary collection of maps, most of which were assembled and restored by Peter C. Fisher of Orcas Island. Also featured in the museum are exquisite, hand-drawn, original maps by the late Jean Putnam. Maps include the township section map (1888-1895) by J.J. Gilbert, a variety of geological and navigational charts. Information:https://www.orcasmuseums.org/mapping-orcas.html

Until 4 February 2023, Nelson, British Columbia, Canada
From the copper mines of the Boundary District through to the coalfields of the Crowsnest, railways shaped the development of social, political, and economic life in the Kootenays. As the various and competing rail lines created a vast transportation network that connected east to west, it also brought calamity – cutting through Indigenous territories, causing environmental distress, and exploiting First Nations people and Chinese immigrants in work camps. ***Back on Track***, the latest history exhibition at the Touchstones Nelson Museum explores both the vast opportunities and the detrimental practices that accompanied the expansion of the railways in the west. The exhibition features artifacts, photographs, maps, and other documents from museums, archives, and individuals around the region and beyond. Information: https://touchstonesnelson.ca/

Until 12 February 2023, Oakland, CA
We all use maps in our everyday lives – to navigate public transportation, find places to eat, and visualise big data like weather patterns or political opinions. But have you ever considered the deeper stories maps tell us? In ***You Are Here: California Stories on the Map***, you'll discover there's more to maps than meets the eye. Showcasing a diverse range of maps from Oakland, the Bay Area, and California – from environmental surroundings and health conditions to community perspectives and creative artwork – experience how maps can be a powerful tool to share unique points of view and imagine a better future. Information: https://museumca.org/

Until February 2023, Oxford
Bodleian Libraries, partnered with the Museum of Colour and Fusion Arts, has curated ***These Things Matter: Empire, Exploitation and Everyday-Racism***, a new exhibition exploring the 'devastating and long term effects' of the British Empire. *These Things Matter* will showcase how maps, letters and the Bible were edited deliberately to manipulate millions of people and to justify the Transatlantic Slave Trade. It runs in Blackwell Hall at the Weston Library and online through the Museum of Colour. Information:www.visit.bodleian.ox.uk

Until 26 February 2023, Melbourne
Handmade Universe: From craft to code and the spaces between is on at the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne. One of its highlights is 'Stargazing: A Knitted Tapestry'. It is a fusion of craft, technology, art and science created by Australian software engineer and artist Sarah Spencer. She spent years hacking and programming a 1980s domestic knitting machine turning it into a network printer which enabled her to create this stunning work. The equatorial star chart shows all 88 constellations as seen from Earth, across both Northern and Southern hemispheres, the Milky Way, and the celestial equator along which the constellations of the Zodiac are shown. As a nod to the map's origin the constellation Crux is identified also as the Southern Cross; it is the brightest constellation for those living south of the Equator. The sun, moon and planets



of our solar system are lined up to a specified date and time when the map was first exhibited at the Electromagnetic Field Tech Festival in Hereford, UK on the 31 August 2018. Information: https://www.slv.vic.gov.au

Until 26 February 2023, Chawton House, Alton, UK
Trailblazers, Women travel writers and the exchange of knowledge highlights the travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Mary Wollstonecraft, Helen Maria Williams, Lady Hester Stanhope and Maria Graham. Information: www.chawtonhouse.org

Until 16 April 2023, Bruges
In 1561 the 'Liberty of Bruges', the largest and richest castellany in the county of Flanders, commissioned Pieter Pourbus to paint a map of its entire territory. Ten years later, the artist-cartographer delivered his completed magnum opus to his patrons. It is on view in a new exhibition – ***Pieter Pourbus. Master of Maps*** at the Groeninge Museum.
A work that straddles the boundary between art and cartography, Pourbus' detailed map depicts the harbour landscape of Bruges at the end of the 16th century in a unique manner. With the aid of a number of remarkable landscape-archaeological finds and the use of magnifying glasses and digital screens, this unique map and the lost medieval landscape it depicts will be brought back to life.
Information: www.museabrugge.be/kalender/tentoonstellingen/pieterpourbus



Sarah Spencer, Stargazing Map 2018. Knitted wool tapestry. 2.8 x 4.6 m (9 x 15 ft). It is on show at the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo © State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

Until 16 April 2023, Miami
Plotting Power: Maps and the Modern Age is on at the The Wolfsonian–Florida International University. Drawing from the Wolfsonian's renowned collection of art and design, the exhibition uses paintings, prints, posters, industrial design, and graphic materials to examine the exploitation of geography in the early 20th century through the lens of maps, globes, and political propaganda. Information: https://wolfsonian.org/whats-on/exhibitions+installations/2022/10/plotting-power.html

Until 23 June 2023, Berkeley
Containing items ranging from handmade Indigenous maps to works based on fiction, Bancroft Library's exhibition brings a rich variety of its treasures for public display. ***Visualizing Place: Maps from the Bancroft Library*** will be on display in the Bancroft Gallery. One of the exhibition's highlights is a hand-drawn 1776 watercolour map of San Francisco, one of the earliest maps of its kind. Information: www.lib.berkeley.edu

Until 24 June 2023, Montpelier, Vermont
The Vermont Historical Society's exhibition ***A New American Globe: Geography, Identity, and Craft in Early Vermont*** is about Vermont cartographer James Wilson. With new scholarship led by the Vermont Historical Society the exhibition provides a new look at Wilson and his impact on the field of cartography in the United States and re-examines his life and career. It will feature three of Wilson's globes: one 16-inch terrestrial globe manufactured between 1810 and 1818 in Bradford, Vermont and two 13-inch globes from 1831, manufactured in Albany, New York. Information: https://vermonthistory.org/exhibit-a-new-american-globe.

Until 30 June 2023, Portland, Maine
A new exhibition at The Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education: ***Industry, Wealth, and Labor: Mapping New England's Textile Industry***. Inspired by the map library's recent acquisition of a collection of textile mill insurance plans and historic maps from the American Textile History Museum, this exhibition addresses the temporal, geographic, and demographic components of New England's cotton textile industry from the early 19th century until the middle of the 20th century.
Information: www.oshermaps.org

Until 29 October 2023, Leiden,
Are maps really that truthful or is there sometimes a different message than you initially perceive? A map is always a simplification of reality, where it is reduced, distorted and selected. Leiden University Libraries and the Museum of Ethnology are jointly organising the exhibition ***Maps: Navigating and Manipulating.*** The exhibition shows maps from all over the world, in combination with works by contemporary artists. Information: www.universiteitleiden.nl



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Title	Author	Date	Publisher	£
Ogilby's Road Maps of England and Wales (facsimile)	Roger Cleeve (intro)	1971	Osprey Publications	100
Atlas de Barcelona – XVI-XX Centuries	Galera, Roca, Tarragó	1986	Collegi Oficial d'ArquitectesCatalynya	20
British Channel Pilot, from the Downs to Bristol etc., 1859	J.S. Hobbs	1972	D. Bradford Barton Ltd	5
Dictionary of New Zealand Map-Makers	B. Hooker	2002	Orewa, DelZur Research	50
Panoramania! The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-embracing' View	R. Hyde	1988	Barbican Art Gallery/ Trefoil Publns	5
Historical Atlas of South-West England	Roger Kain & William Ravenhill	1999	University of Exeter Press	40
Catalog of the Ryhiner Collection, Volumes 1–4	Ed. Thomas Klöti	2003	Staat/ Universitätsbibliothek, Berne	60
Collecting Antique Maps (New edition with Price Record)	Jonathan Potter	2001	Jonathan Potter	10
L'Italia nei Manoscritti Dell'Officina Topografica Conservati nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli	V. Valerio	1985	Instituo di Matematica-Facòlta di Architettura Napoli	10
Bibliography of the Works Written and Published by David Steel and his Successors	Ed. Mario M. Witt	1991	A. & S. Simmonds	10
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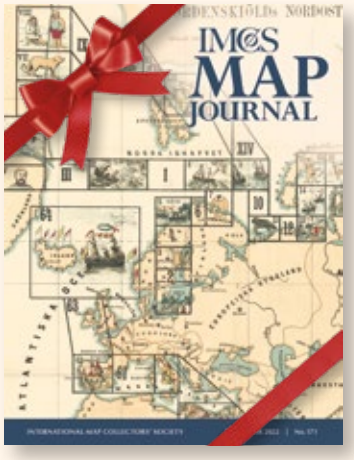
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