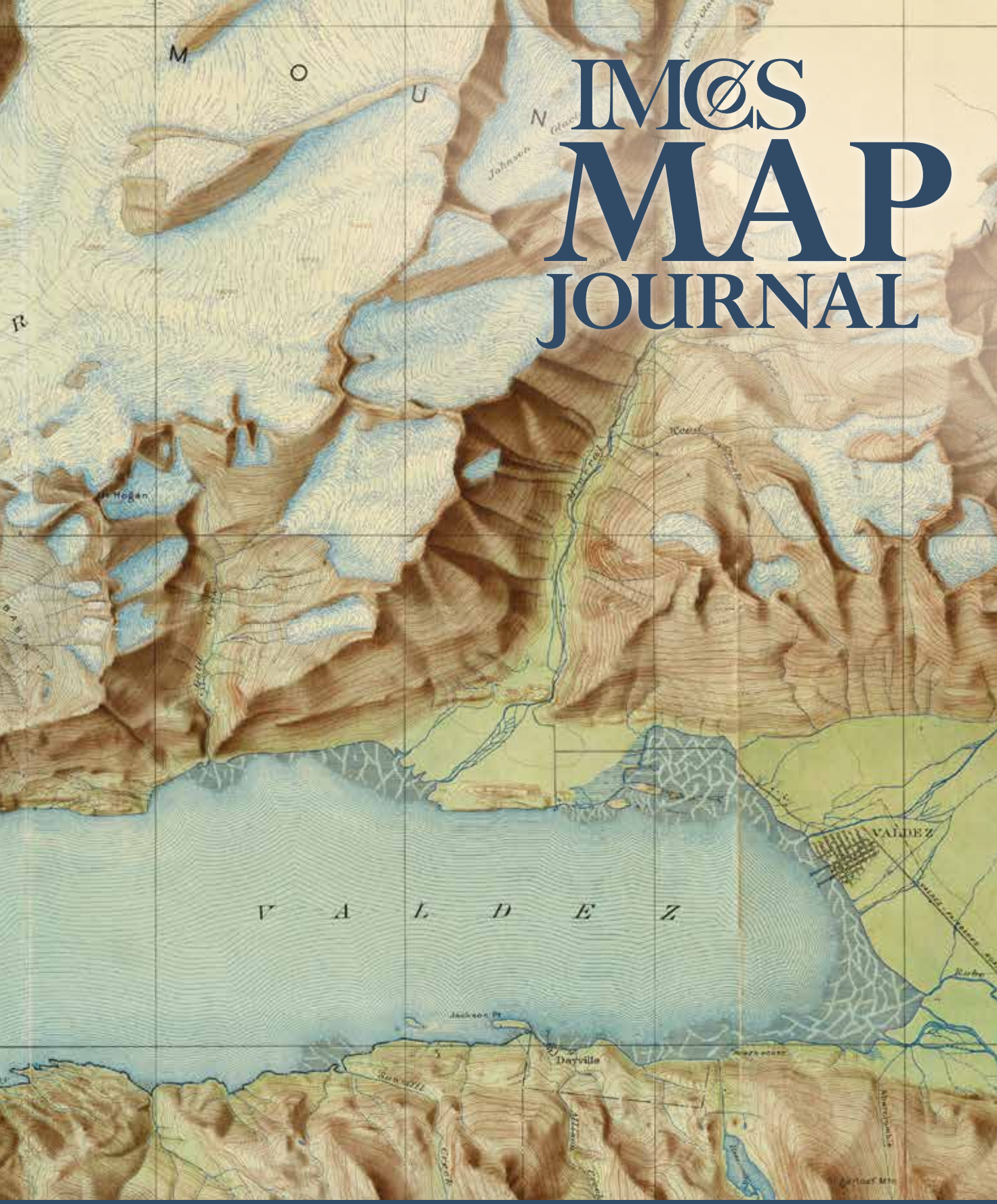


IMCS MAP JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY JUNE 2023 | No.173



Abraham Ortelius' extraordinary map of the North Atlantic, 1592

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JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

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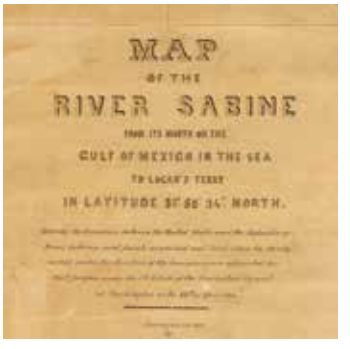
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Front cover **Hal Shelton, detail from 'Valdez and Vicinity', 1948. Private collection.**



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LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Mike Sweeting

As I sit here in my study I can see a beautiful but cool evening settling onto the fields nearby. The daffodils are out, and the tulips are catching them up. Spring has definitely arrived! This is extremely fortunate, because, by the time that you read this letter, an intrepid IMCoS party will have returned from a visit to map-related destinations around Leith, near Edinburgh in Scotland. (A report on this will follow in our September issue.)

Delegates, mainly from the UK and USA will be exploring Scotland together but an even more representative gathering will take place in Helsinki in August. All members on email will recently have been alerted by myself to the full agenda and registration process for that International Symposium.

Personally, I try and use springtime to travel, especially in the first flush of retirement. Partly that is because my responsibilities and public duties as IMCoS Chairman increase steadily during the year. Partly it's because I love to remind myself how much maps are not just reflections of places, but of people. In March, my wife and I spent a brief time in Central America, mainly visiting ancient Mayan sites. Next week I go with a friend to Namibia on safari. Certainly, the things we see are in themselves memorable whether architectural or animal. However, as I pass middle age, I find that what is most memorable is human context.

While poring over your map collections provides great enjoyment, try also to find opportunities to use maps for their core purpose – getting somewhere. Despite what I have claimed about a British Spring, my map of the Welsh Borders is still recovering from getting soaked by Storm Noa as we plodded along Offa's Dyke. This is the western equivalent of Hadrian's Wall, rather less known though, and much later. It was built to defend England from Welsh raids in the eighth century AD by the eponymous King Offa of Mercia. Only as one traverses the majestic ridges do the contours on the map really make sense. Only as one looks down on later castles, almost always in loops of the River Wye, does one really grasp how they controlled the landscape so fully.

The dyke is an earth fortification built with volunteer labour by the Saxons of the adjacent English counties. There were two major incentives – exemption from military service if one became a digger instead; and the knowledge that the better the dyke, the safer one's home was. 'Digging for peace'! The physical effort, the characters we met, the marvel of the Ordnance Survey and the land before our eyes all combined were definitely more than just the sum of all the parts.



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First Printed Topographical World Map
From: Rudimentum Novitiorum, 1475

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

On Saturday 6 May, in a day of sunshine and showers, of well-wishers and protestors, London was witness to the coronation of the nation's sixty-second monarch – King Charles III. Following tradition, the ceremony took place in Westminster Abbey where, on Christmas Day in 1066, William the Conqueror set the precedence for future coronations. In a service echoing that devised by St Dunstan for the crowning of King Edgar in 973, Charles was formally invested with his regal powers by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby. Crowned and consecrated, the new King left through the Abbey's Great West Door wearing the regalia of supreme governor of the Church of England, as well as monarch of the United Kingdom and the other fourteen Commonwealth realms.

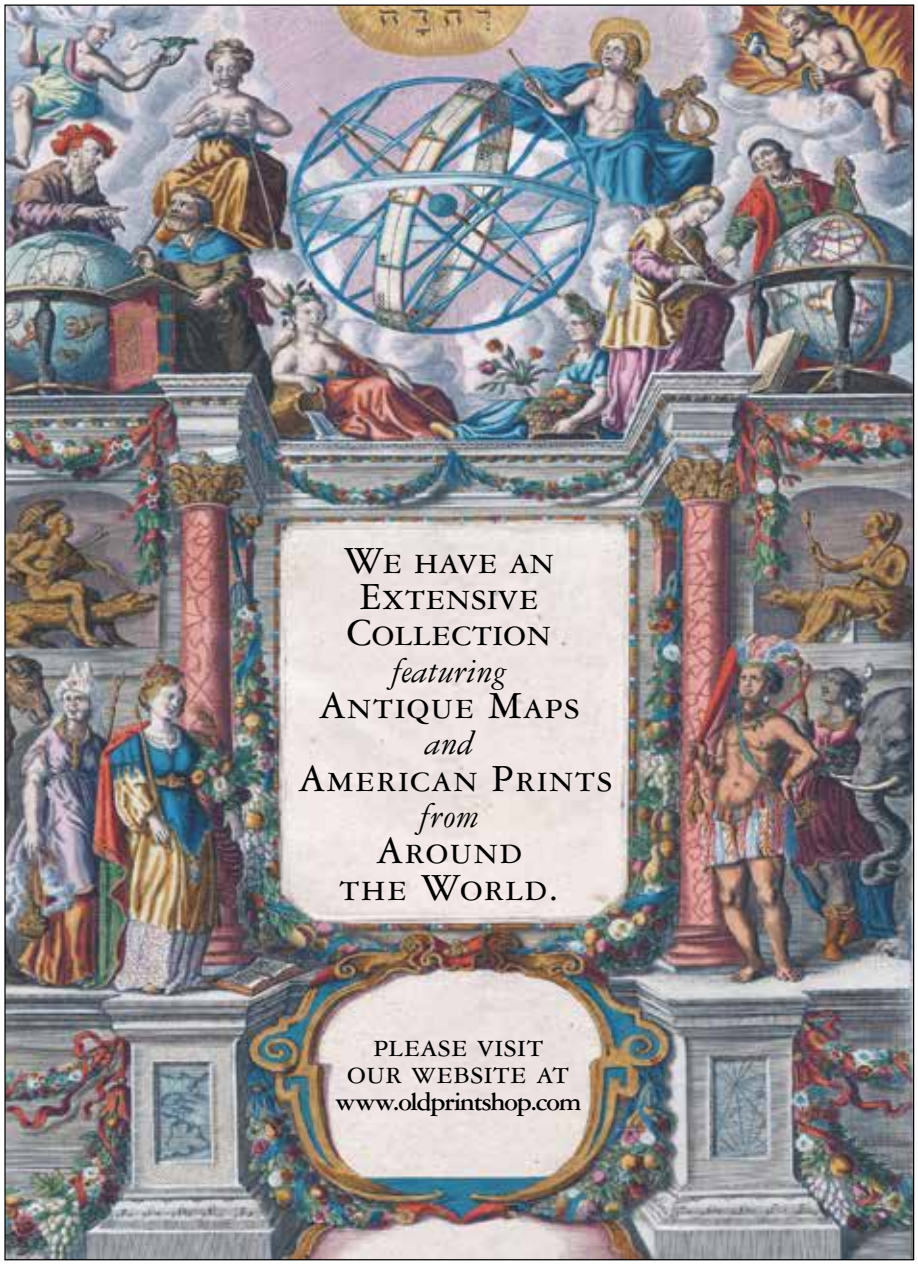
The royal couple travelled the 1.3-mile route back to Buckingham Palace in the Gold State Carriage along streets festooned in red, white and blue. Interspersed amongst the sea of Union Jacks were the flags of the realms – those sovereign states where Charles III remains as monarch and head of state. Flags of the fifty-six member states of the Commonwealth of Nations, of which the new king is also the Head, were present, flying along Horse Guard Road, fifty-two of which were formerly part of the British Empire. Marching alongside British troops, and flanking the State Carriage, were members of the military representing the realms. For some, the scene will affirm the bond between Britain and its former colonies. But for many others in the Commonwealth, the coronation reignites critical conversations about the monarchy, its future and its legacy in today's society. It is a period of uncertainty and transition; it galvanises change.

I grew up in Australia at a time when swathes of the world map were coloured in pink and countries were awash with placenames drawn from *Burke's Peerage*. In school I learned about the kings and queens of Britain and their triumphs across the globe, as did my peers in South Africa and Canada and all the other pink-coloured countries. We pledged our allegiance and sang 'God Save our Queen'. Seventy years have passed since Elizabeth II's coronation, when Australians last expressed their excitement for the monarchy. In the intervening years the curriculum has shifted away from a British-driven narrative, support for the monarchy is in decline, and probably, within my lifetime, the country, like many of the past colonies, will proclaim itself a Republic.

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A CENTENNIAL REMEMBRANCE OF THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN PLANISPHERE

The Contarini-Roselli[1] *World map of 1506*

Don McGuirk

> *As announced a few days ago* [25 September 1923] *in the* Times, *the British Museum has been so fortunate as to acquire by purchase a hitherto unknown map, of a date which in itself is bound to attract to it considerable attention, since it places it among the first examples known in which an attempt has been made to set out in printed form, and thus make accessible to the public at large, the great discoveries of Columbus and other contemporary navigators.*[2]

With these words, Edward Heawood, at that time Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society (London), introduced a wider world to this map. This 'slightly damaged' map was purchased in 1922,[3] and over the last one hundred years no other copy has been found. It remains the earliest printed map to document discoveries in the New World.[4]

The authors and date of this map are documented in a notation on the lower right: 'Made known by the industry of Giovanni Matteo Contarini and ingenuity of Francesco Roselli, of Florence, in 1506' (Fig. 1).[5]

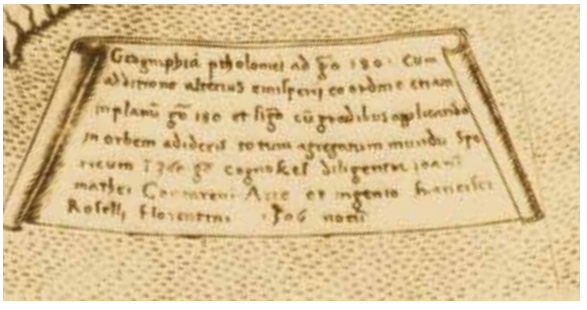


Fig. 1 Notation on the 1506 Contarini-Roselli World map mentioning the names of the authors.

They summarise the information within another entry on the far left of the map (Fig. 2).

> *The world and all its seas on a flat map, Europe, Lybia [sic],*[6] *Asia, and the Antipodes, the poles*[7] *and zones and sites of places, the parallels, for the climes of the mighty globe, Lo! Giovanni Matteo Contarini, famed in Ptolemaean art, has compiled, and marked out.*[8]

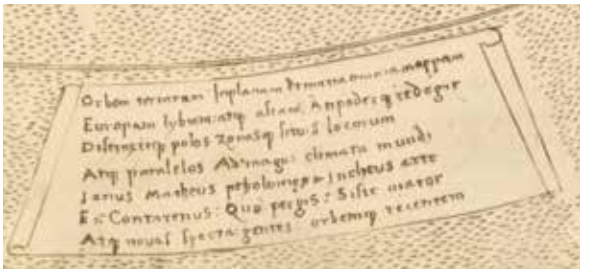


Fig. 2 Notation reiterating Contarini as the map's author.

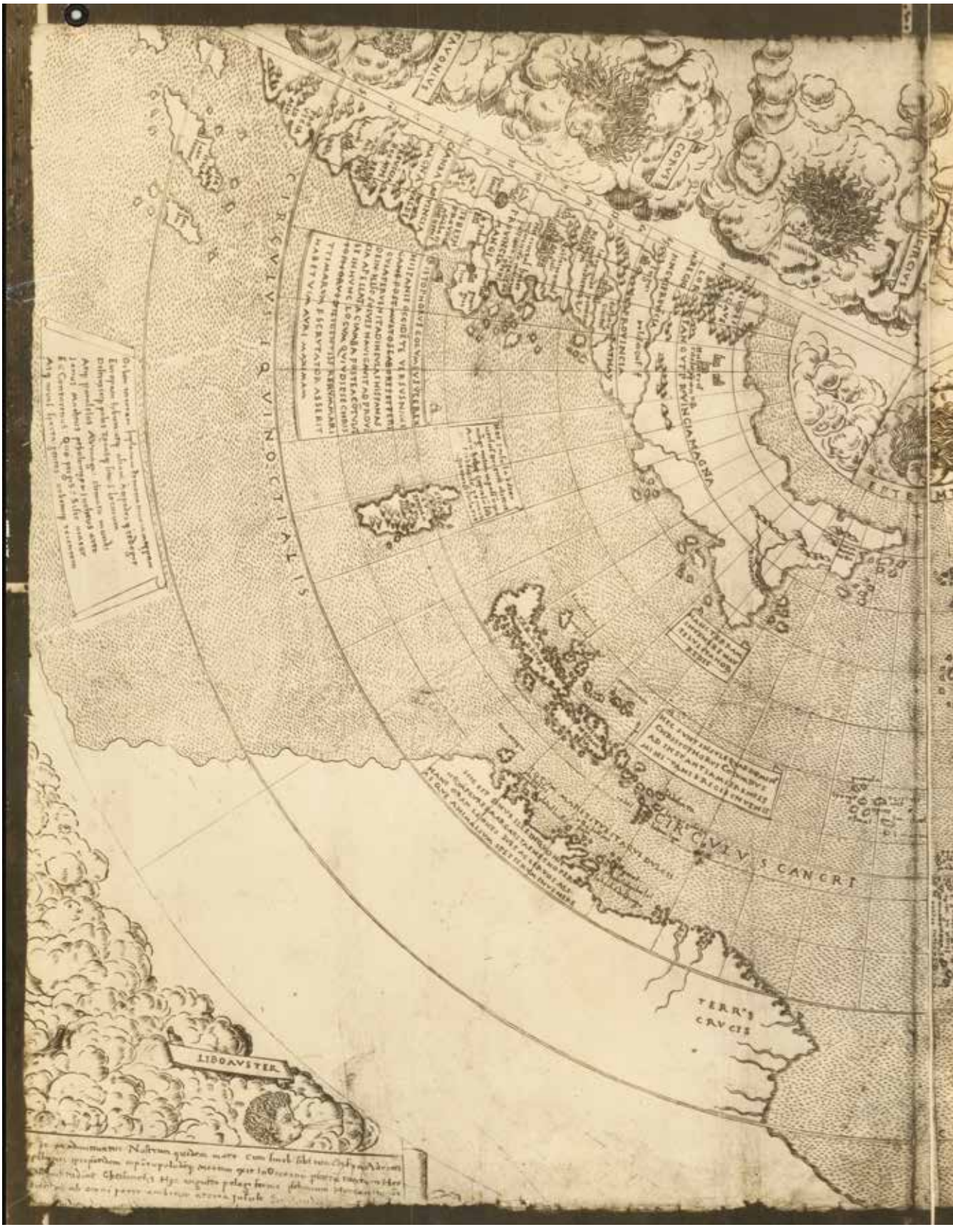
Although the first statement may be slightly ambiguous as to the author of this map, the specific mention of Contarini within this second entry convinced Heawood that the author of this map was Contarini, and the engraver was Rosselli. A year later, Roberto Almagià agreed, 'the author [is] Gian. Matteo Contarini, and the executor, the Florentine Francesco Rosselli'.[9] A full presentation of all the legends and placenames on this map are provided by F. P. Sprent, Keeper and Superintendent of the Map Room, British Museum (1924).[10] All translations from the map in this essay are his.

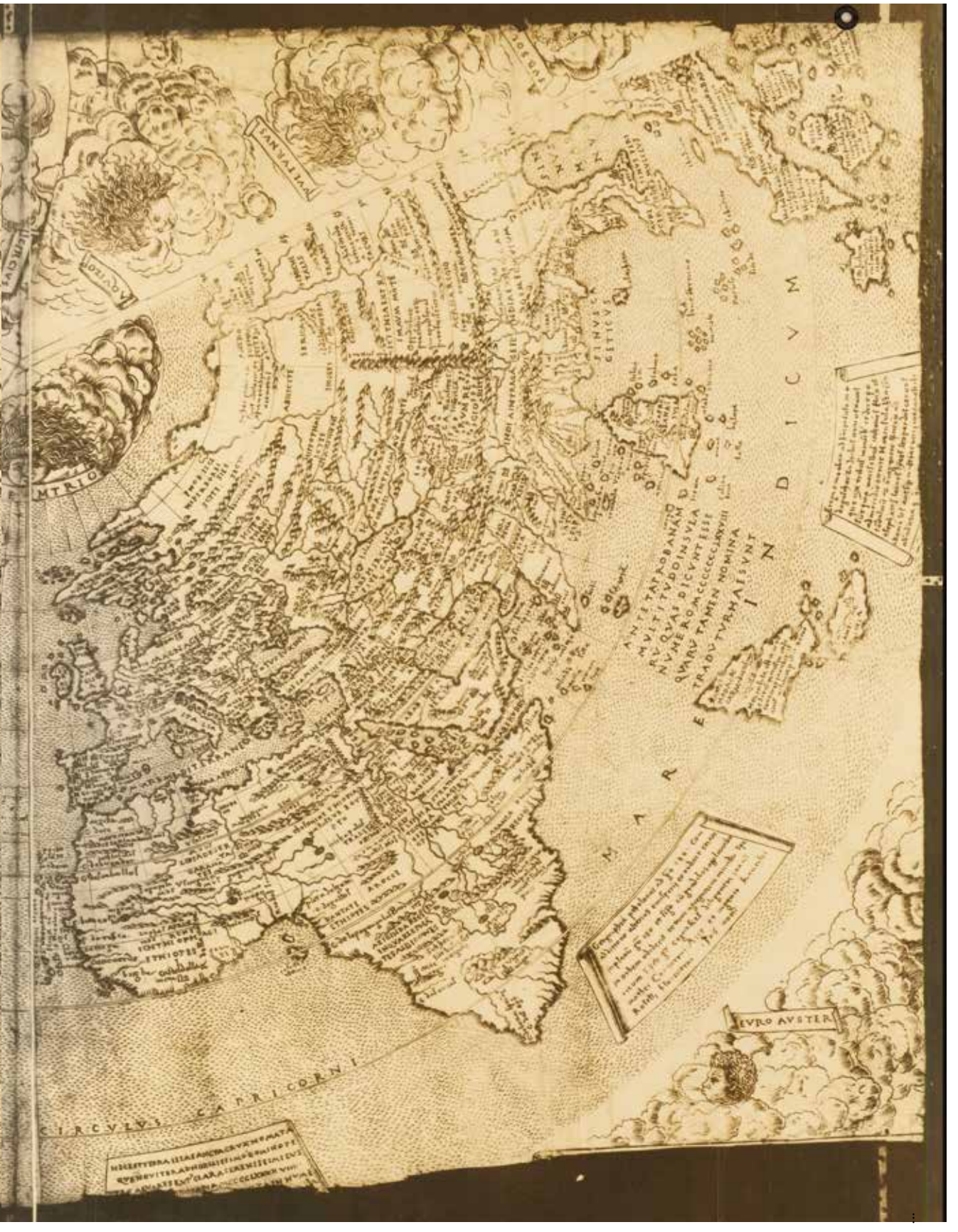
The projection of the map

The projection of this map is conical. Some have used the terms fan shaped or fanlike. We know of two other Roselli world maps, both on different projections.[11] Within an entry on this map, is the following description of its information:

> *The Geography of Ptolemy to 180 degrees with the addition of the other hemisphere in the same order also*

Fig. 3 *Overleaf.* **Giovanni Matteo Contarini and Francesco Roselli 'World Map', 1506. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1506_Contarini-Roselli_World_Map.jpg**


CIRCVLVS CANCRI
TERR'S CRVCIS
LIBOAVSTER


INDICVM
MARE
EVRO AVSTER
CIRCVLVS CAPRICORNI

> *on a plane of 180 degrees and if by folding together the two sets of degrees you form them into a circle you will perceive the whole spherical world combined into 360 degrees.*[12]

Stated another way, and with some manipulation, the map's information could be transformed into a north polar projection. The Ruysch map, printed about two years later, also used a conical projection. Further discussion regarding the relationship of these two maps is presented below.

The geography depicted

Both Heawood and Almagià give masterful descriptions of the geography shown.[13] Here, we will focus on a few points regarding the New World. Contarini had the same struggle as all other cartographers of his time: 'how do I graft the conflicting information of new discoveries to the west onto the well ploughed information of the standard Ptolemy world map?'.

His map shows that he rejected the large continuous barrier of land obstructing a direct voyage to Cathay as shown on the Juan La Cosa (1500?), on many early Portuguese manuscripts, and most famously repeated on the Waldseemüller World map of 1507. However, his depiction of South America is in full support of a large, yet to be fully explored, continent.

In comparison to the rest of the map, the nomenclature of the New World is scant, and mostly confined to the West Indies and the coast of South America. Two toponyms are found to the far north: Rio de Rosas and Terra de Caramella.[14] Sprent renders the legend on the Asiatic coast below these toponyms as, 'This land the seaman of the King of Portugal discovered', likely referring to the 1500 and 1501 voyages of the Portuguese explorer Gaspar Cortreal.

Much further down this same coast Roselli has engraved a legend that translates to:

> *Christopher Columbus Viceroy of Spain, sailing westward reached the Spanish islands after many hardships and dangers. Weighing anchor, thence he sailed to the province called Ciamba.*[15] *Afterwards he betook himself to this place, which as Christopher himself, that most diligent investigator of maritime things, asserts, holds a great store of gold.*[16]

Not surprisingly, this legend is placed next to the coastal toponym 'Cianba [p]rovincia magna valde' (Fig. 4).[17]

The mainland of South America bears only one toponym, Terra S Crucis.[18] (It should be noted that the three toponyms mentioned all represent Portuguese explorations). It is somewhat surprising that the toponym Mundus Novus does not appear on



Fig. 4 Notation off the coast of South America marking Christopher Columbus' visit to the Province of Ciamba where he confirmed there were great quantities of gold.

this map as it does on another Roselli map (1508) and the Ruysch map of 1508.[19] Along its north shore, a legend notifies us that 'This is the gulf in which the Spanish found very many pearls, and along this coast lions, swine, stags, and other kinds of animals'.[20] Slightly north, there is a second notation that translates to 'The whole of this sea is fresh water'.[21] This phenomenon occurs at the mouth of great rivers. Sprent assigns this phrase to the Caribbean Sea. It likely refers to the discharge of fresh water from the Orinoco River, in current day Venezuela, discovered by Christopher Columbus on 1 August 1498, during his third voyage.[22] Both these notations are near to several named Caribbean Islands.

In reference to Terra S Crucis, at the lower margin and centre of the map, a damaged and thus incomplete legend reads: 'This is the land named Santa Cruz which was lately [discovered] by the most noble lord Pedro Alvares [Cabral] of the illustrious stock of the most serene King of [Portugal] in 1499…'.[23] The location of this information suggests that previously there once existed an eastward extension of the coastline of Santa Cruz, mimicking the coastlines on contemporary Portuguese manuscript maps and most famously noted on the Piri Reis map of 1513 (Fig. 6).[24]

Terra de Cuba, Insula Hespaniola, and Iamaica are noted in their appropriate places. To the east of these is found a legend, 'These are islands which Master Christopher Columbus discovered at the instance of the most serene King of Spain'.[25] Several islands of the Bahamas and Caribbean are named.[26]

Found within the open ocean, 20 degrees of longitude west of Cuba, is the island of Japan which is labelled twice: 'ZIPAGU' and 'zinpangu' the former possibly the island name and latter its chief city (Fig. 4). A notation next to it translates as 'This island lies 1,500 miles east-ward from the coast of Mangi. It has gold in abundance, but this is not easily allowed to be removed'.[27] The shores of Asia are found an additional 40 degrees of longitude west.

About the authors

As to Contarini, he is only known to us through this map.[28] His assumed residence was Venice as this name is associated with other cartographic and artistic works from that city.

Much more is known of Roselli, the map's engraver and publisher. A brief history of his early life is summarised by Roberto Almagià.[29] Roselli is principally known as an engraver but has also been called a painter, miniaturist, printer, and cartographer. His primary residency was Florence, (although he did spend some time in Venice),[30] and for many years he had a shop (*bottega*) there, specialising in the printing and sale of engravings, primarily of maps and town plans.[31] Heawood notes that his son, Alessandro di Francesco Roselli, also had a shop [presumably the same] in Florence for the sale of books, maps, globes, engravings, etc. Three years after his death in 1525,[32] an inventory of its contents was taken. The information regarding the maps in the inventory was reprinted in 1894.[33] Heawood muses on whether this map may have still been for sale in 1525.

Where was the map published?

There is debate as to whether this map was the product of Venetian (Contarini) or Florentine (Roselli) origin. The map's watermark (a pear-shaped fruit with leaves and stalk) supports Florence, as it most resembles a watermark found on works from that city, dated *c.* 1507 (Fig. 5).[34] However, Florence is not noted on the map while the city of Venice clearly is, suggesting input from Contarini.[35] Heawood provides the reasonable suggestion that the map design may have been created in Venice but then sent to Florence for engraving and publishing.[36] Almagià also adds that, 'There is no doubt that the map, even if printed in Florence, was composed by Contarini in Venice and that Roselli added nothing to it'.[37]

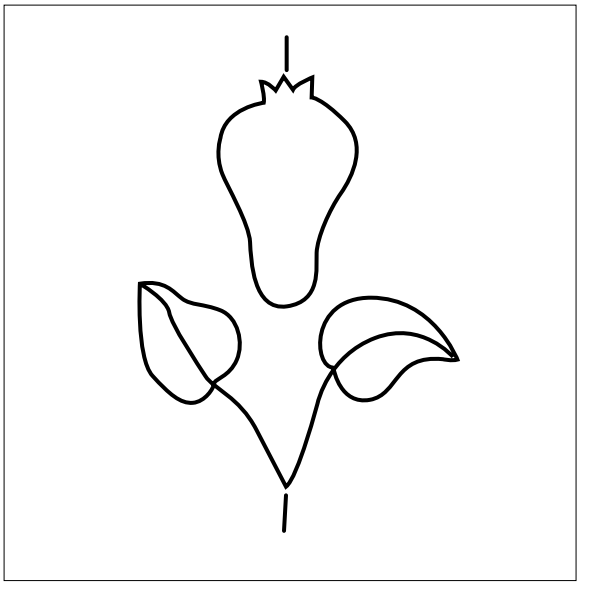


Fig. 5 Illustration of 'pear with stem and leaves' watermark on the 1506 Contarini–Roselli map. See Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly 17th and 18th Centuries*, (Reprint edition, 2016).



A physical description of the map

This copper engraved map is printed on two sheets, left and right. Rodney Shirley notes that the size of the map is 420 x 630 mm. These very accurate dimensions belie the fact that all four sides have experienced loss, the worst of which is at its base. To demonstrate, the length of the left side of the map measures about 415 mm, the right about 390 mm. What is interesting about these two measurements is that at 390 mm from the top of the left side one finds the upper demarcation line of the inscription found there. Returning to the right side, a similar line of demarcation is found at the lowest extent, strongly suggesting that a previous inscription had once resided there. Varying loss of engraving is also noted in two additional legends at the map's base.

To the far lower left:

(. . .) *our Sea [Mediterranean] with the bays joined to it runs out into the Adriatic Sea, the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov, but into the Ocean only by the Strait of Hercules [the Strait of Gibraltar] in the likeness of a peninsula. This narrow channel is almost an isthmus of sea. But the Sea called Hyrcanian [Caspian] is surrounded on all sides* (. . .).[38]

We have already mentioned the reference to Cabral, lower centre. There is at least one and perhaps more lines of text lost there.

Depiction of the seas

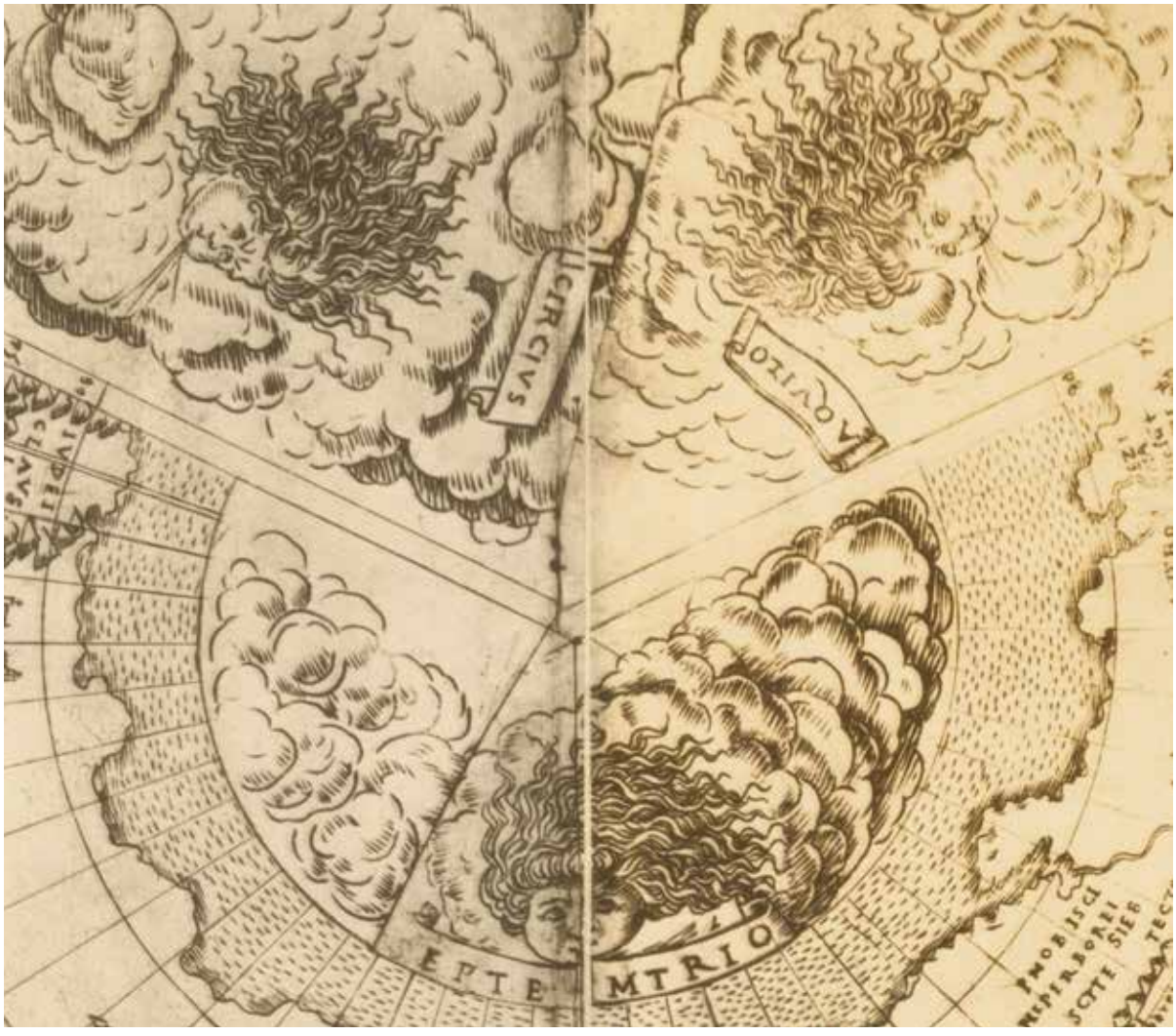
A mention should be made of Roselli's depiction of the oceans and seas. He uses hundreds of short dashes. This technique is seen on three other contemporary maps. The first of these is the Francesco Berlinghieri World map (Florence, 1482) (Fig. 7a).[39] The engraver of this map is unknown, but some have suggested it was Francesco Roselli.[40] Not surprisingly, the second map to use this technique is the Roselli World map (Florence, 1492–93).[41] The third is the Ruysch World map (Rome 1508) (Fig. 7b).[42]





Fig. 6 *Left.* **Surviving segment of the Piri Reis map of 1513. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Piri_reis_world_map_01jpg**

Figs 7a & 7b Details from world maps of Berlinghieri (1482) and Ruysch (1508) showing the similarity in the rendering of water with the Contarini-Roselli map.


CIRCIVS
AQVILO
EPTE
MTRIO


LIBOAVSTER


EVRO AVSTER

Headwinds

Loss to the upper margin of the map is demonstrated by the lack of the letter 'Z' for [Z]eavonius, the west wind, and the abbreviated spelling of the east wind Subsol[anus]. Additionally, the depictions of the heads for both these winds are damaged/incomplete.

The map depicts nine of the twelve classic headwinds. That the south headwind (Auster) was not included (assuming it unlikely that it was there and now lost) appears appropriate as the southernmost geography of this world map is not depicted. However, a slightly puzzling finding is that Roselli chose to illustrate the SSE (Euro Auster) and SSW (Libo Auster) headwinds but excludes the SE and SW headwinds.[43] Perhaps this design was chosen to allow more space for the shown geography.

Notably, the north wind (Septemtrio) is enclosed within a demarcated north polar region (Fig. 8a). The first letter 'S' appears to be of a different font and much less visible, perhaps suggesting a later manipulation. Additionally, there appears to be an erased letter between the 'E and 'M', likely an 'N', as Septentrio is the more common spelling for north. Perhaps this change was applied to promote better aesthetic spacing.

There is another curiosity regarding the headwinds. Typically, the style of the heads pictured for headwinds is consistent. On this map there are two different presentations. The headwinds of N, NNE, NE, NW, and NNW have flowing hair. The headwinds E, SSE, SSW, and W have much shorter curly hair (Figs 8b and 8c). Interestingly, these same two styles are found on the Roselli World map of *c.* 1492–93.[44] Chet Van Duzer explains that Classical literature describes Libo and Euro as being black, suggested by the dark clouds and rain they bring.[45]

Association between the Contarini–Roselli map and 1508 Ruysch world map

As we have briefly discussed, the two maps have much in common. Those similarities include the following:

1. They both have conical projections.
2. Both are created from two sheets and two separate engraved copperplates.
3. Both use a common presentation of oceans and seas.
4. Both were engraved in Italy, less than 531 km (330 miles) apart and within two years of each other.
5. Both have relatively similar presentations of the New World.
6. Both lean heavily on Marco Polo and Ptolemy for information regarding the Old World.[46]

That said, one is not a copy of the other (Fig. 9). For example, the presentation of Africa on the Ruysch is much improved over the Contarini–Roselli and the Arctic islands of the Ruysch map are replaced by the North Headwind on the Contarini–Roselli. The illustrations are taken from George Dunn's *Roselli Oval World Map* (1928).[47] Further differences are noted by Heawood.[48] That said, Heawood does suggest that these maps may have used a common source for their geographical information.[49] The current author suggests that this does not preclude the possibility that the Contarini–Roselli map itself had a significant role in the creation of the Ruysch World map.

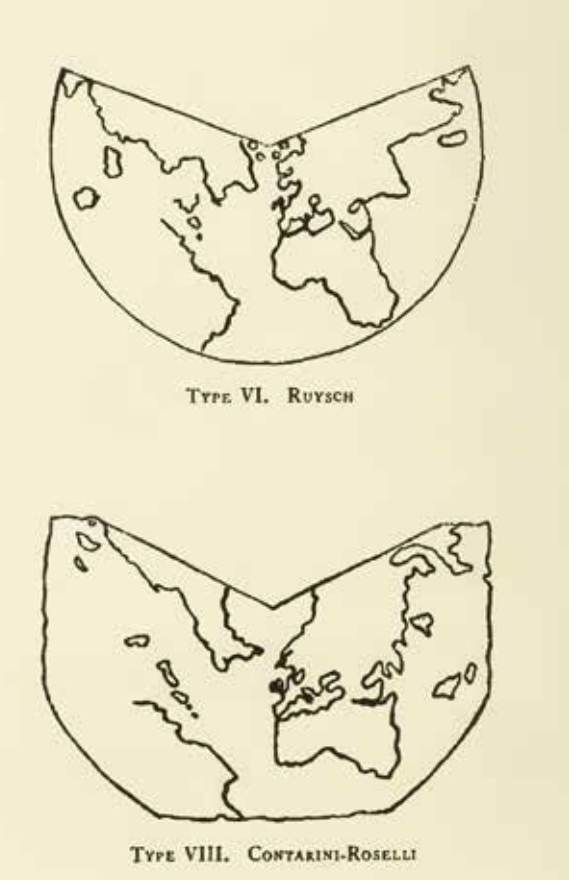


Fig. 9 Illustrations showing the geographical differences between the maps by Contarini–Roselli (1506) and Ruysch (1508). From George Dunn, *Roselli Oval World Map*, 1928, p. 26.

Fig. 8a 'Flowing hair' headwinds in the polar region.

Figs 8b & 8c Liboauster and Euroauster, headwinds with short curly hair,

Hopefully, this short article will refocus attention on this often overlooked and commonly under-appreciated map. It provides us with some of the very earliest glimpses of an unfolding New World. A New World that will consume the energies of Europe's nations in their search for territory and wealth.

Notes

1 His family name was Rosselli but Francesco chose to sign his works as Roselli or Rosello. Both spellings will be used in this work.
2 Edward Heawood, 'A Hitherto Unknown World Map of A.D. 1506', *The Geographical Journal*, Oct. 1923, Vol. 62, No. 4, pp. 279– 91.
3 Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World*, London: The Holland Press, 1983, map 24, pp. 23–24, plate 28; Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America*, *A list of printed maps 1511–1670*, Rickmansworth, Herts: Raleigh Publications, 1996, pp. xxii – xxiii, plate IX & 4th ed., Riverside CT, 2001 where there is an update: 'unconfirmed reports have reached me of another example in a private collection in Italy'.
4 Some would argue that a Waldseemüller map held by the John Carter Brown Library (Providence, RI) merits this distinction. See Stevens-Brown map, Call number: Shelf A513 /1. [1513?].
5 This translation, and all additional translations from this map are those of F. P. Sprent and J. A. J. de Villiers, *A Map of the World*, London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1924, p. 6. A second edition by Sprent alone was published in 1926 with a different introduction.
6 The known northern portions of Africa.
7 The use of the plural here is inappropriate, unless the very unlikely possibility that there exists a second Contarini map that emanates from the South Pole.
8 Sprent and Villiers (1924).
9 Roberto Almagià, 'Un planisfero italiano del 1506', *Rivista Geografica Italiana, anata* XXXI, April 1924, 68, pp. 67–76.
10 Sprent, p. 6.
11 Shirley, p. 32, pp. 75–76.
12 Sprent, p. 8.
13 Heawood, pp. 285–90 and Almagià, 'Un planisfero', pp. 67–72.
14 Rio de Rosas appears earlier on the third Kunstmann chart but fades quickly from later maps. Terra de Caramella is rendered by both Heawood and Sprent. (A close examination of the map suggests there may be more letters between the 'c' and the 'm'). Heawood states that Henry Harrisse (*Discovery of North America*, 1892) 'somewhat unconvincibly' ascribes this to mean 'land of icebergs (glacons), through the meaning "ice-creams" attached to the Portuguese term'. (Heawood p. 293). Sprent adds, 'i.e., Labrador'.
15 A province of China.
16 Sprent, p. 16.
17 Sprent, p. 11, adds 'Indochina. The Champa of Marco Polo'.
18 Sprent, p. 15, adds 'Santa Cruz, Land of the Holy Cross, the name given to Brazil on its discovery'.
19 This is the name given to it by Amerigo Vespucci.
20 Sprent, p. 14.
21 Sprent, p. 14.
22 Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discoveries of America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 133.
23 Sprent notes that the date of discovery was 1 April 1500, but perhaps 1499 represents the date of departure or sail. Heawood also comments on this date, p. 292.
24 Gregory C. McIntosh, *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*, Athens GA and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2000, pp. 45–46.
25 Sprent, p. 14.
26 Sprent, p. 14, suggests that the island named Macubica is Crooked Island. It is more likely that the island shown is Long Island, and Soment(o) is Crooked. Donald Leon McGuirk, 'New Research Supports a Modification of Samuel Eliot Morison's Theory Concerning Columbus's Inter-Island Route Through the Bahamas', *Terrae Incognitae,* 2017, Sept., Vol. 49, No. 2, 201s; 'Toponymy of the Lucayan Archipelago', typescript (Providenciales, Turks and Caicos Islands, British West Indies, 1988), that 'Macubica' would be Macubiza, the toponym for West Caicos.
27 Sprent, p. 12.
28 Valerie Scott et. al. *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers* (revised edition), Riverside CT: Early World Press, 2004. 'A – D', p. 293.
29 Roberto Almagià, 'On the Cartographic Works of Francesco Rosselli', *Imago Mundi*, 1951, Vol. 8, p. 27.
30 Heawood, p. 280.
31 Almagià, *Imago Mundi,* p. 27.
32 Heawood suggests that the inventory was done in 1528, while Almagià states 1527, *Imago Mundi*, p. 27, fn 2. One could speculate that the later appearance of two Roselli maps may be tied to this event.
33 Heawood, p. 281. Almagià, *Imago Mundi*, pp. 27–28. Shirley documents four apocryphal world maps by Roselli, p. 647.
34 Heawood, p. 282.
35 Sprent was 'inclined' to Venice, 1926 edition, p. 4.
36 Heawood, p. 282.
37 Almagià, *Imago Mundi*, pp. 27–34.
38 Sprent, p. 7.
39 Shirley, map 18, plate 24, p. 17.
40 Suzanne Boorsch, 'The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri's Geographia', *Imago Mundi,* 2001, Vol. 56, part 2, p.156; Lilian Armstrong, 'Benedetto Bordon, Miniator and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice', *Imago Mundi*, 1996, Vol. 48, pp. 65–92. For a differing opinion see Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps. 1472–1500,* London: The British Library; Berkeley and Los Angeles CA: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 126–27; Sean Roberts, 'Francesco Rosselli and Berlinghieri's "Geographia" Re-examined', *Print Quarterly*, XXVIII, 2011, pp. 4–17.
41 Shirley, map 9, plate 1, p. 9.
42 Shirley, map 25, plate 29, pp. 25–27.
43 It is possible, but unlikely, that they were present but now lost by damage to the map.
44 East and West with short hair, six others with flowing long hair.
45 Chet Van Duzer, *Imago Mundi,* 2008, Vol. 60, part 2, pp. 197–98.
46 Heawood, pp. 284–86, lists similarities with the Waldseemüller map of 1507.
47 George Dunn, *Roselli Oval World Map*, Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1928.
48 Heawood, pp. 283–84.
49 Heawood, p. 283.

Don McGuirk is a retired pediatrician with a keen interest in early exploration and maps of the New World. His published works on these subjects may be found in *Imago Mundi*, *The Portolan*, *Terrae Incognitae*, and the *IMCoS Map Journal.*

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John Melish, *Map of the United States with the Contiguous British & Spanish Possessions*, Philadelphia, 1818. Sold December 2022 for $50,000.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY CARTOGRAPHY OF HAL SHELTON

Shaded relief, natural colour, and ski area mapping

Wesley A. Brown

In 1952 Richard Edes Harrison (1901–1994), one of the twentieth century's most renowned cartographers, described the work of artist and mapmaker Hal Shelton as 'magnificent in execution and conception'.[1] Forty-five years later, in 1997, Hal Shelton (1916–2004) was honoured by the Geography and Map Division at the Library of Congress as one of 'the four greatest living American mapmakers' along with Harrison, Arthur Robinson (1915–2004) and Marie Tharp (1920–2006).[2] I had admired Shelton's maps for years and had added several to my collection, so I was excited to attend this special event. After the programme, a small dinner was held for the honorees at which I was seated next to Hal and his wife. Among the crowd of easterners, we happened to live only twenty miles apart in Colorado and struck up a friendship.

As I had researched Hal's cartographic work, including having made several visits to his home in the town of Golden, just on the edge of the Rocky Mountains, it became clear why the Library of Congress was so keen to honour him. Shelton had done groundbreaking work in three different genres of cartography: shaded relief, natural colour, and ski area maps. This paper describes his career and the different types of maps he produced.

After earning a degree in scientific illustration from Pomona College in California, and unable to find a job as an artist during the Great Depression, in 1938 Shelton obtained a position as a surveyor with the United States Geological Survey (USGS). Although he spent most of his time creating maps in the field and at the drafting table, his artistic talents were soon discovered, and he was assigned to several special art projects for the USGS including a painting (Fig. 1) which still hangs in the regional office in California.

Fig 1. Hal Shelton, *Cartographers in the Field*, 1940. The oil painting depicts mapping techniques used early in the 20th century, including an alidade and stadia rod for determining distances and elevations, and a plane-table for sketching contour lines. 8 x 1.2 m (6 x 4 ft). USGS office in Menlo Park, California.

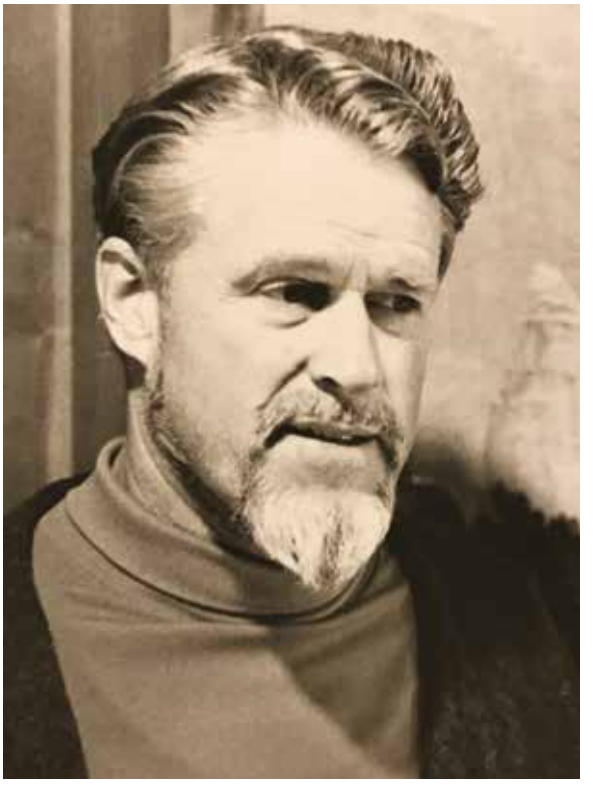


Fig. 2 Hal Shelton (1916–2004) pictured at prime working age. Library of Congress.

Shaded relief maps

Mapmakers who create shaded relief maps use special printing techniques and occasionally add colour to emphasise mountain slopes to create 'the effect of the third dimension for the map and rendering its larger features more understandable'.[3] The technique is most successful for mapping mountainous areas where the terrain has considerable altitude differences. The idea for using shading to indicate slopes had been around since the 1800s; however, putting it into practice proved difficult. Baron Fredrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein (1824–1885), a brilliant German-trained cartographer working for the United States Army



Fig. 2 Frederick von Egloffstein, detail from 'Geological Map No 2, Rio Colorado of the West', 1861. 37 x 87 cm (15 x 34 in). The area was explored by 1st Lieut. Joseph C. Ives, Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1857–58. Author's collection.

Corps of Topographical Engineers was a forerunner of the technique. He accompanied 1st Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives on his 1857–58 expedition to explore the Colorado River and Grand Canyon area and produced a striking shaded relief map of the Grand Canyon. It was published in 1861 (Fig. 2). To demonstrate differences in altitude Egloffstein developed a technique to show topographic features from an oblique angle by illuminating one side and leaving the other dark. This was accomplished using a time-consuming process of etching extremely fine parallel lines (impossible to see with the naked eye) to the printing plate which created different intensities of grey rather than the traditional black ink on white paper. This approach had never been done, at least not by mapmakers in the United States. But it was prohibitively expensive and Egloffstein used the technique only once more for a map of expeditions and surveys of New Mexico and Utah.[4]

Early in the twentieth century, the US Secretary of the Interior requested a more artistic technique be employed for a special map series of the western national parks. John Renshawe (1852–1834), inspector of maps and accomplished watercolourist, adapted existing topographic maps of the area by replacing the contour lines with gradations of colour to indicate relief. In 1913 the USGS began publishing Renshawe's maps which included Crater Lake (1913), Yosemite (1914), Glacier (1914), and Yellowstone (1915) along with one or two a year thereafter. The practice was discontinued in 1928 when it too was deemed too expensive (Fig. 3).[5]

In Europe, Eduard Imhof (1895–1986), Professor of Cartography at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, began developing these techniques in the 1930s; but in the United States, shaded relief maps were no longer produced. And this is where Hal Shelton comes into the story. How did Shelton get the idea for shaded relief maps? He described the momentous event to me: In the early 1940s, after preparing a draft quadrangle map[6] in a remote part of Nevada, he went into town to ask the locals for the names of the various geographic features in their area. As was standard for USGS, the map he had created

Fig. 3 John H. Renshawe, USGS, 'Panoramic View of the Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming-Montana-Idaho', 1915. 53 x 46 cm (21 x 18 in). Scale: 1:187 500. Author's collection.


DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY
YELLOWSTONE LAKE
PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, WYOMING-MONTANA-IDAHO

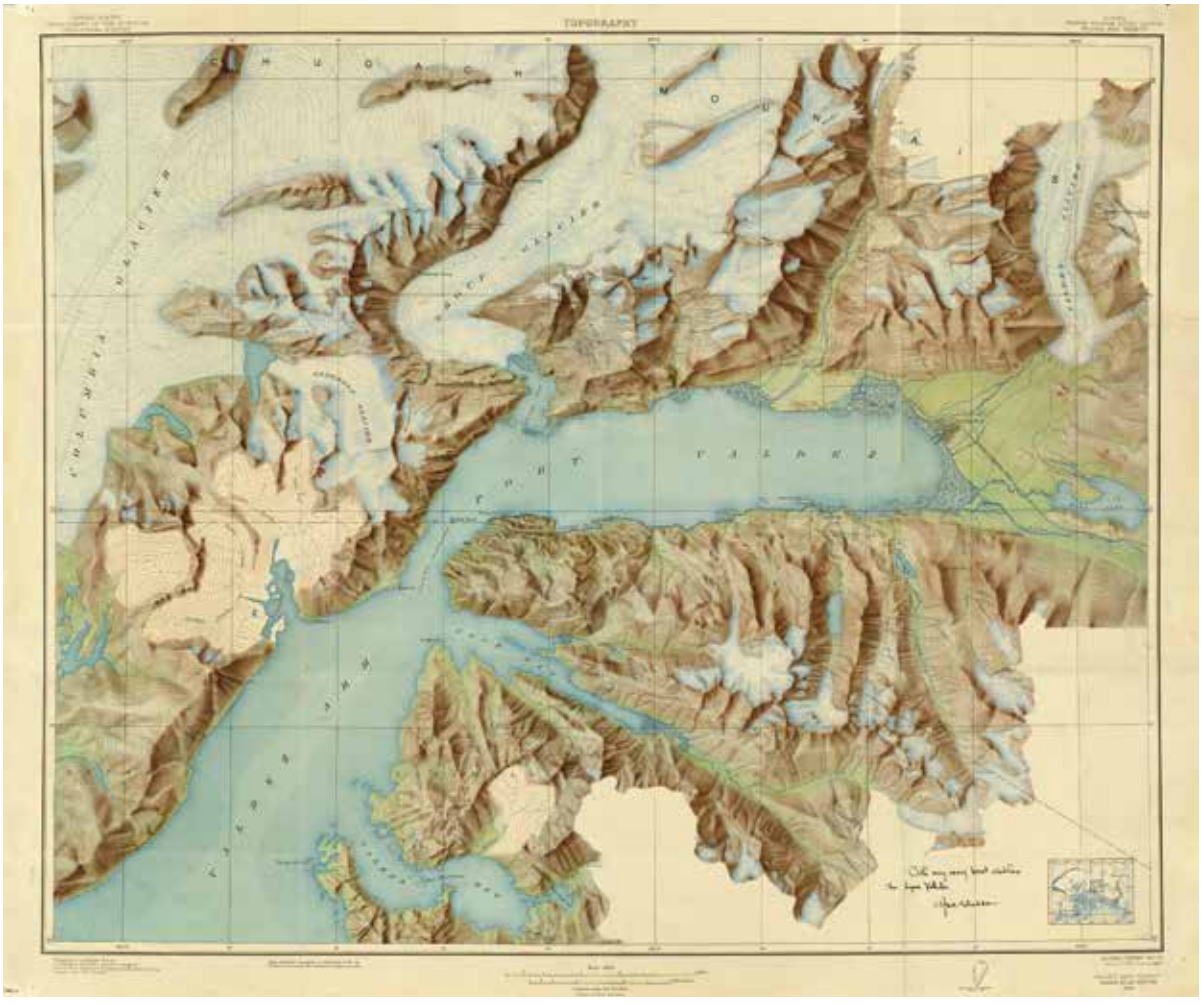


Fig. 4 Hal Shelton, shaded relief map of the Prince William Sound region, Alaska, titled 'Valdez and Vicinity', 1948. 63 x 75 cm (25 x 30 cm). Scale: 1:62 500. USGS. Author's collection.

used contour lines to illustrate the topography. When he asked residents to tell him the name of a mountain he had pointed to on the map, they did not recognise the narrowing lines as a mountain because they did not understand contour lines. However, when Hal pulled out a pencil and started shading in the mountain's features, the group immediately declared, "Oh, that's Deer Mountain". The experience prompted him to urge USGS senior management in Washington to create a new kind of map that could be easily understood by the average user. His request benefitted from recent events. During World War II, the War Department had made some shaded relief maps for a few key military objectives. These proved very popular with the troops, so it was agreed to try and produce similar maps for civilian use. Hal was assigned to start the project in 1946.

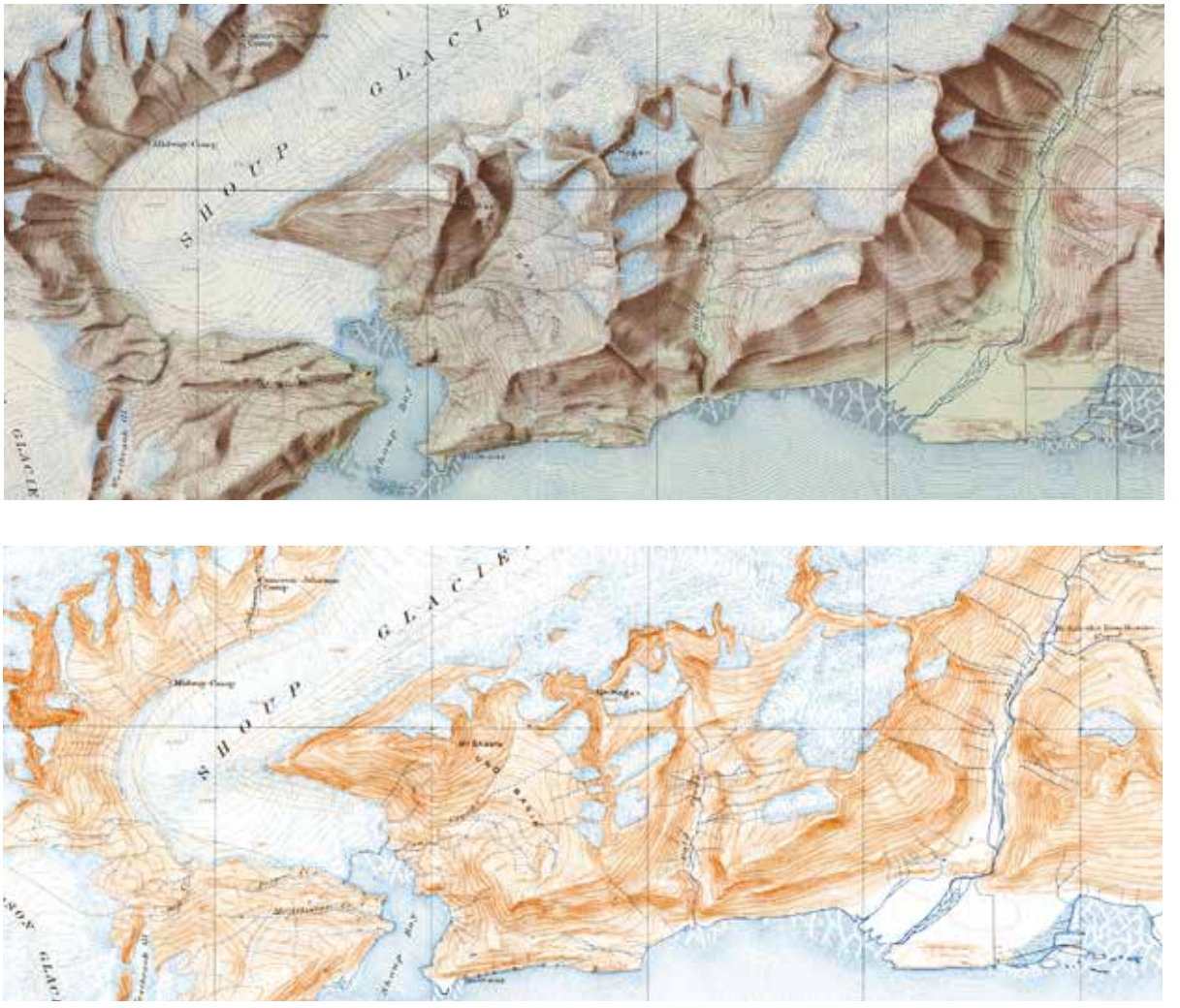
It is no surprise that for one of his earliest efforts he chose the dramatic landscape of the Prince William Sound in Alaska. Its spectacular topography is noted for its mountains which tower to elevations of over 1,524 m (5,000 ft) and plunge to sea level in less than 3 km (2 miles) and glaciers that scour valleys in their slow descent to the sea (Fig. 4). 'Valdez and Vicinity' was published in 1948. It is based on a traditional 1930s 1:62 500 scale topographical map with standard contours at 15 m (50 ft) intervals. Figures 5a and 5b are details taken from Shelton's 1948 map and from the 1930 map. Most observers find that Shelton's map better illustrates the dramatic topography even though some technical information is lost. For the untrained eye the technique produces a map that is much easier to understand.

Shelton was immensely proud of this map and kept

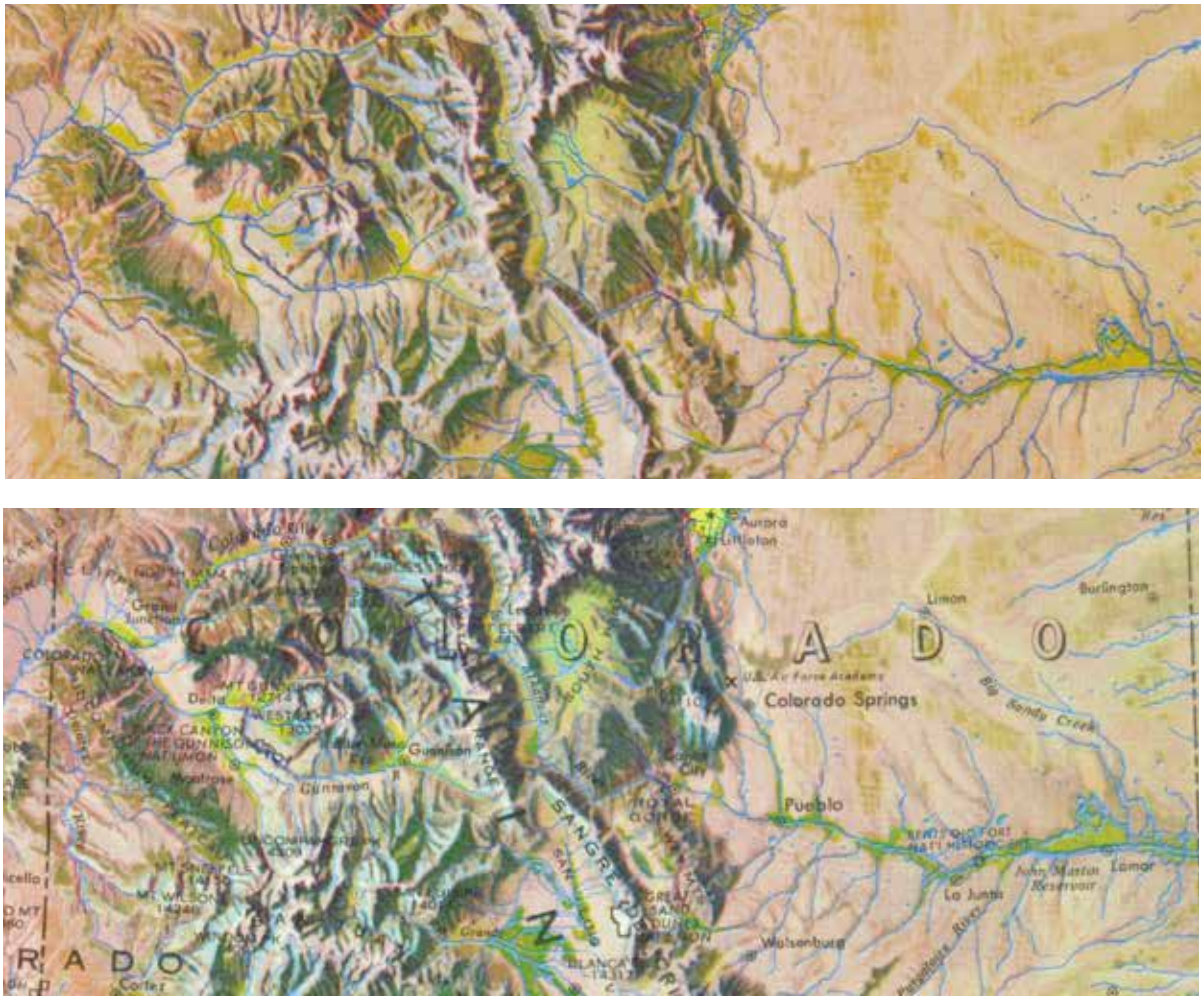
it as a trophy for decades. Near the end of his life he signed the map and gave it to his close friend and colleague at the USGS, Lynn Yehle (1929–2019), a specialist in glaciation who worked in the Denver office.

Although the expense of printing shaded relief maps was only marginally more than printing traditional USGS maps, the cost of creating them was high. The techniques Shelton used at the time required months of work to produce a single map. Of the thousands of USGS quadrangle maps published using contour lines, only a very few were prepared using this elaborate method. For example, of the hundreds of individual USGS produced topographical map sheets of Colorado, only four employed shaded relief. In addition to one map of the entire state (1957), the other quadrangles were of the Rocky Mountain National Park (1963), Pikes Peak and Vicinity (1956), and Denver Mountain Area (1948). The costly technique was reserved for those mountainous landscapes which made the best use of shaded relief.

As noted earlier, Shelton was not the first to use shaded relief, but he deserves credit for refining the technique and restarting the USGS shaded relief mapping programme. It would continue beyond his leadership, producing about ten such maps per year. As a result of greatly improved production processes, they were still being made by the USGS into the twenty-first century.



Figs 5a and 5b Details of the Valdez quadrangle in the Prince William Sound area showing the difference between Shelton's 1948 shaded relief map (Fig. 5a) and the standard contour map (Fig. 5b) on which he based it. Author's collection.



Figs 6a and 6b The top image is a detail of a natural colour relief map of Colorado (1968) painted by Hal Shelton. The lower image is a detail of the same geographical area showing the additions of toponyms made by the publisher The H. M. Gousha Company to Shelton's painted landscape. Original proof in author's collection.

Natural colour maps

A few years after establishing the shaded relief operation Shelton started experimenting with classical landscape painting techniques in an attempt to represent the land in its natural colour. He tried various media and found that zinc plates were the most successful. After the painting of the terrain was complete, the publisher added features such as roads and toponyms in black or coloured ink (Fig. 6b). With special maps in mind Shelton proposed this new painting approach to the USGS management in Washington, but it was rejected. He resigned in 1949.

After a chance meeting with Denver-based pioneer pilot and aviation map and chart publisher Captain Elrey B. Jeppesen (nickname Jepp), Hal joined Jeppesen & Co.

Jeppesen knew that aviators needed to better understand the apparently flat terrain and invited Shelton to the firm's commercial art studio. Shelton recounted his visit:, "There were two or three artists trying to make a map. Jepp said he wanted passengers to enjoy their flight and part of that was to be able to recognise the terrain they were flying over; the artists were attempting to do that." After the two men left the building, Jepp asked Shelton what he thought about the illustrators' work. He replied, "They are very good commercial artists, but they are not equipped to do this particular thing." Jepp then asked Shelton if he would produce a few sample drawings

Fig. 7 Hal Shelton, natural colour relief map of North America, *c.* 1968. 79 x 60 cm (31 x 24 in). Signed by Shelton. Author's collection.



– strip charts – of the route between Denver and the West Coast that realistically depicted the hills, rivers, forests, mountains, highways and cities as they would look from the air. Shelton agreed and captured Jepp's brief perfectly.[7]

Unlike Imhof, who used colour to emphasise elevation differences, 'Shelton felt that whatever existed on the ground mattered as much as its altitude and [therefore he] adjusted the colour of the terrain to reflect the nature of the surface'.[8] He used various shades of green for vegetation and brown for drier landscapes (Fig. 7). To make natural colour maps, Shelton etched faint guidelines of the topography on zinc plates which he overpainted with acrylic paint using an airbrush and very fine paint brushes (Nos 00 and 000).[9] Using this technique was extraordinarily time-consuming. Writing about the Jeppesen Company, *Airlift* magazine (April 1960) noted, 'A skilled artist, faced with the job of getting mountains, rivers and highways shaded exactly right, does well if he completes one square inch per hour. Original artwork on the map of California took 1,500 man-hours'[10] (Fig. 8).

Recognising in Hal Shelton an artist with an exceptional sense of terrain, cartographic skills and strong artistic talent, Captain Jepp showed his work to the president of United Airlines who thought Shelton's maps were far better than those publisher Rand McNally were supplying, and he gave Jeppesen an order. The technique took off. Airlines clamoured to buy Shelton's painted landscapes. From these they could print their own route maps. According to aviation map historian Ralph Ehrenberg, 'Shelton and Jeppesen dominated the American airline market for nearly three decades with about twenty airlines under contract'.[11] Rand McNally and arch competitor, The H. M. Gousha Company, were soon engaging the Jeppesen Company to have Hal produce natural colour topographic paintings for maps to be used in their atlases and for general non-aviation purposes.

Tom Patterson and Nathaniel Kelso point out that 'although made before the advent of satellites, the Jeppesen series proved so detailed and realistic that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) used them to index photographs of the earth taken on early space missions'.[12]



Fig. 8 Hal Shelton, 'California', 1959, painted for Jeppesen & Co. Acrylic on paper-covered zinc. 168 x 66 cm (66 x 26 in). Shelton Collection, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

Ski area maps

Although skiing gained some popularity during the 1930s (particularly in the eastern United States with Ivy League college kids), in the West, its roots were deep. In the late 1800s, in the high mining towns of Colorado and California, skiing was essential mountain transportation. The sport became modestly popular at dozens of minor ski hills during the 1930s. My father described using a make-shift rope tow hooked up to an automobile during this decade to ski the Berthoud Pass in Colorado.

World War II profoundly changed the sport when the military decided to create a unique force for combat in winter in harsh terrain – the 10th Mountain Division, based at Camp Hale in the central Colorado Rockies at 2,834 m (9,300 ft). The Army's only mountain division saw brief but brilliant action in Italy in the spring of 1945. After the War, the Division was deactivated, releasing thousands of ambitious young men who, with their training and love for the mountains, created new ski areas across the country and launched the industry.[13] Early resorts like Aspen in Colorado and Mammoth Mountain in California, joined Sun Valley, Idaho, America's first destination ski area which had been created in 1936. From the late 1940s to the early 1960s, dozens of ski areas were established across the country.

An early example painted by Shelton in about 1963 is the Alta Ski area in Utah, (Fig. 9). Founded in 1938, Alta was one of the earliest ski areas in western United States. Only 45 minutes from Salt Lake City and located on the eastern flank of the Wasatch Mountains, Alta collects massive volumes of snow as the eastward flowing moisture hits the uplifting mountains. If we look closely at Shelton's image, we can see that he painted every tree and used shadows to give the sense of slope. Ski runs on multiple aspects of the mountain were artistically situated so the skier could understand their connection in one glance. The stunning display was depicted under a blue sky with wispy white clouds.

In 1960 one of the Jeppesen natural colour images of Colorado painted by Shelton was adapted for use by Continental Airlines to show its routes to the major ski destinations. But Colorado Ski Country

Fig. 9 Hal Shelton, 'Alta [Ski Area] Utah', *c.* 1963. 40 x 58 cm (16 x 23 in). Author's collection.



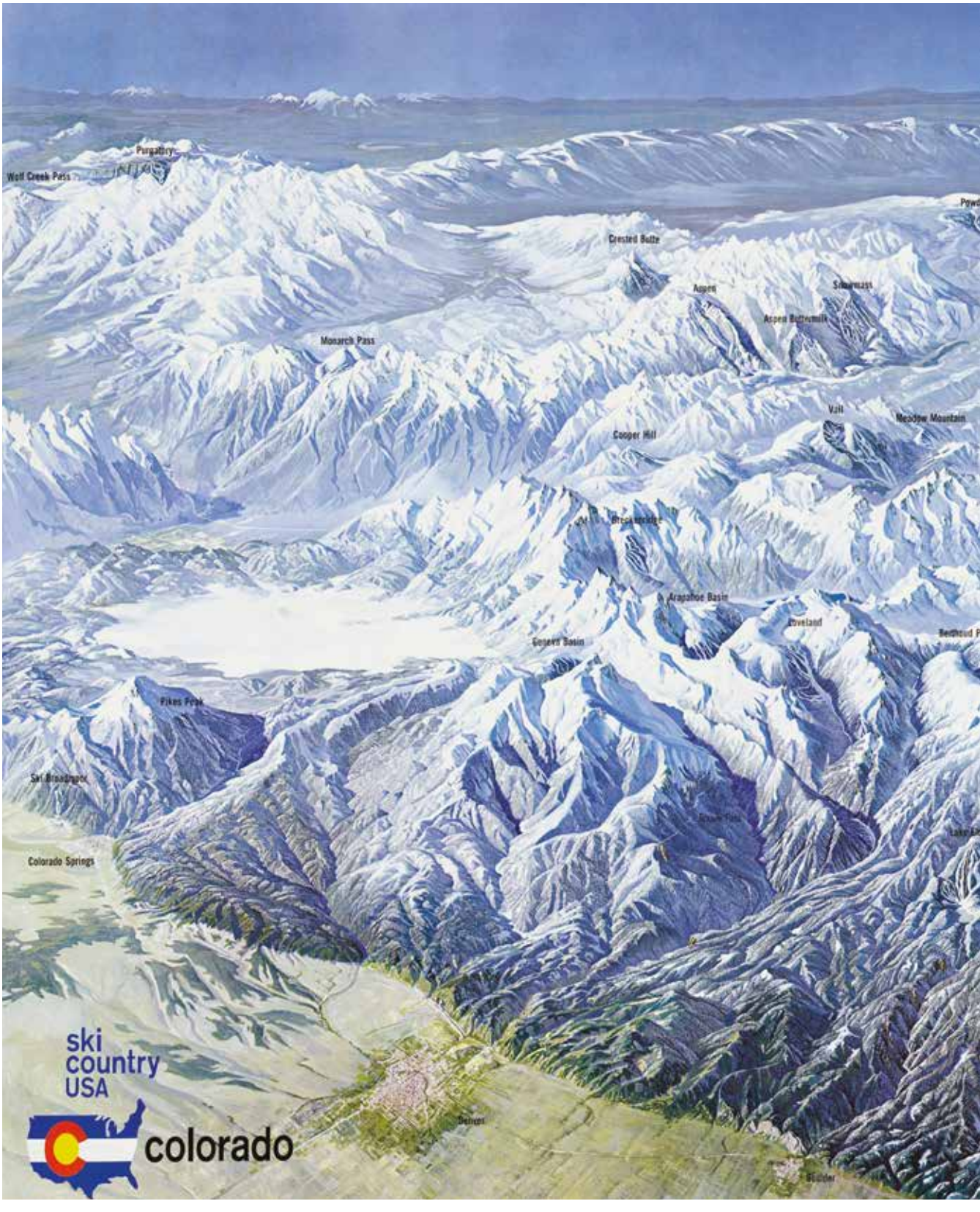

Purgatory
Wolf Creek Pass
Crested Butte
Aspen
Snowmass
Aspen Highlands
Monarch Pass
Vail
Meadow Mountain
Cooper Hill
Arapahoe Basin
Loveland
Geyers Basin
Pikes Peak
Colorado Springs
Denver
Boulder
ski
country
USA
colorado



Fig. 10 Hal Shelton, 'Colorado Ski Country USA', *c.* 1968. 73 x 100 cm (29 x 39 in). Shelton's ability to depict complex mountain chains spread over hundreds of miles featuring the ski areas of Colorado is evident in this image. It was used for years in posters, magazines and advertisements. Author's collection.

USA, the industry's trade association, needed something more appealing that would feature each of its members. Shelton, who always engaged in freelance work apart from Jeppesen, was commissioned to paint a large panoramic map highlighting each of its member ski areas. But how to highlight such a vast area spread over hundreds of miles and numerous mountain ranges? Studying dozens of USGS topographic maps, Shelton converted this information into a bird's-eye view image that was instantly applauded by the industry (Fig. 10). Colorado Ski Country USA used Shelton's painting for large posters which were distributed throughout the country. It was printed repeatedly in various magazines and displayed in bars as large, framed posters by the Coors Beer Company. Ralph Ehrenberg hung a print of it in his office while he was serving as Chief of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress.

Shelton's mountainscape are reminiscent of the famous and beautiful panoramas of the Alps created by Austrian cartographer and artist Heinrich C. Berann (1915–1999). Shelton knew of Berann's work but chose a different colour palette and style.[14] Panoramic views of large areas were necessary to promote the ski industry and to attract tourists to take ski vacations. They appeared in trade magazines and airline advertisements as well. What Berann did for the European ski industry, Shelton did for the North American.

Although maps showing hiking trails had been published since the late 1800s, only a few ski-route maps had made their way into print by the early 1900s in Europe. In the United States, maps of ski runs were first painted on large wooden signs located around the ski area as guides. As resorts became larger and more complex, the idea of small, cheap and disposable trail maps was developed. But how best to depict a complex multifaceted mountain topography, with various slopes, ridges, bowls, valleys, and ski runs all observed from one viewpoint? Shelton, with his feel for mountain terrain, demonstrated his expertise in painting this topography; and as a resident of Colorado, a cradle of the industry, he received some early commissions to try his hand at painting close-up images of mountains with gaps where the ski runs



Fig. 11 Hal Shelton, detail from the poster for the Vail Ski Area, Colorado. Published by Colorado Ski Country USA, *c.* 1965. 72 x 51 m (28 x 20 in). Author's collection.

could be superimposed. This was a task in which he excelled, and by the early 1960s, Shelton became the first ski area artist in the country.

His paintings were used not only for trail maps but also for promotional posters and keepsakes such as a 1965 poster of the Vail Ski area in Colorado (Fig. 11). Vail opened in late 1962. It had been founded by Pete Siebert, veteran of the 10th Mountain Division, who started work in the fledgling Aspen Ski area in 1946. His partner was Earl Eaton, an amateur prospector whose adventures through the mountains led him to discover Vail's ideal location. They brought in one hundred initial investors. Each received a *very* generous deal: $10,000 not only bought an equity interest but the right to buy a lot at the base of the ski hill for $250 plus four lifetime ski passes. At the time the last lot was exercised in 1986, it sold for $675,000![15] Shelton also got a lifetime ski pass in addition to cash for his artwork.

As the young industry exploded in popularity owners and operators of other ski areas who admired Shelton's work ordered his paintings. The owner of the ski area would commission a painting, to which, on completion, they would add symbols for chairlifts and trail names. As owners of the rights to the artwork, they would make changes to the map to reflect developments in their area.

Shelton's maps were produced for ski areas around the country including Jackson Hole, Aspen, Mammoth Mountain, Winter Park, Sun Valley, and Purgatory. Having produced scores of paintings in the 1960s and 1970s, he eventually passed the torch on to other artists: the first was Bill Brown, who was followed by James Niehues, and most recently by Kevin Masten; all of them had worked in Colorado. According to Niehues, "Hal was such a good artist… One thing that really stayed with me from Hal: he said paint the trees and shadows as if you were down skiing [amongst] them; paint the colors [as if you were] on the ground, not as if you were in the plane."[16]

Conclusion

Shelton will be remembered for his impressive contribution to mapmaking. He made maps for the USGS in the late 1930s and 1940s where he led the department in the creation of shaded relief maps. From the 1950s through the 1970s, he worked with the Jeppesen Company (later owned by Times Mirror Company), where he painted natural colour maps. These were used for flight crews, airline flight guides, atlases and individual wall maps for the general public, and even NASA investigations. They were licensed to numerous airlines, The H. M. Gousha Company and Rand McNally & Co. During the 1960s and 1970s he freelanced as an artist making ski area maps for dozens of resorts. In addition, throughout his career and especially during his retirement, he was engaged as a fine art painter. Many of his landscapes won awards including *Study of Erosion-Navaho Creek* which won Best of Show in a regional art exhibition.

During his tenure as Chief of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, Ralph Ehrenberg became a serious fan of Shelton and his work. He understood his considerable contribution to cartography and ensured that Hal was recognised at the 1997 conference – 'Four Greatest Living American Mapmakers'. The Division's association with Shelton began in 1985 when it was donated 32 of Shelton's original acrylic-painted zinc plates by the Times Mirror Company (which had acquired the Jeppesen Company in 1961) and its subsidiary The H.M. Gousha Co.[17] Other related items have been added, including Shelton's *Canyonland*s, a painted triptych of Millard Canyon, Utah.

Hal Shelton brought artistic talent, a keen sense of terrain, sophisticated cartographic understanding, and an inventive spirit to the business of mapmaking that has enriched the field. He had enormous feeling for the land and stated that a successful map allowed a person to 'smell the mountain and hear the wind'.[18] His ability in painting the earth's topography with the detail and realism of satellite images requires our continued admiration.

Notes

1 Thank you to Professor Susan Schulten for bringing to my attention this correspondence from Richard Edes Harrison to renowned cartographer Erwin Raisz following a 1952 conference on surveying and mapping. (Richard Edes Harrison Collection, General Correspondence, Box 14, 9 August 1952, letter from Harrison to Raisz, Map and Geography Division, Library of Congress).
2 Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress centennial celebration held 20 and 21 November 1997 in the Library's Jefferson Building in Washington, D.C.
3 Richard T. Evans and Helen M. Frye, 'Shaded Relief Maps, History of the Topographic Branch (Division)', U S Geological Survey Circular 1341, p. 73.
4 The other map is titled 'Map of Exploration and Surveys in New Mexico and Utah made under the direction of the Secretary of War by Capt. J.N. Macomb Topl. Engrs. assisted by C.H. Dimmock, C Engr.'. Egloffstein produced this map during 1861 and it was finally published in 1876. The Civil War delayed the publication for fifteen years. This delay had a benefit as the striking chromolithography of the plates would not have been possible in 1861. For Egloffstein see I.J Demhardt, 'Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein, the Ives-expedition to the Grand Canyon (1857-58), and the first relief shaded maps of a portion of the United States'. https://icaci.org/files/documents/ICC_proceedings/ICC2011/Oral%20Presentations%20PDF/E2-History%20of%20cartography%20and%20GI%20science/CO-453.pdf--
5 Evans and Frye, p. 73.
6 A quadrangle map covers a rectangle space in a specific scale to a specified number of degrees of longitude and latitude. A common US Geological Survey map quadrangle spans 7.5 degrees of longitude and 7.5 degrees of latitude.
7 Terry Barnhart, *Capt. Jepp and the Little Black Book*, Superior, Wisconsin: Savage Press, 2007, pp. 153–54.
8 Alastair W. Pearson, 'Relief Shading', *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 6:2, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, pp. 1268–69.
9 Tom Patterson and Nathaniel Vaughn Kelso 'Hal Shelton Revisited: Designing and Producing Natural Color-Maps with Satellite Land Cover Data', *Cartographic Perspectives*, No. 47, Winter 2004, p. 5.
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11 Ralph Ehrenberg, 'Airline Maps', *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 6:1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, p. 37.
12 Tom Patterson, 'Hal Shelton', *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 6:2, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, p. 1396.
13 H. Benjamin Duke, Jr., 'Skiing Soldiers to Skiing Entrepreneurs: Development of the Western Ski Industry'. Unpublished manuscript. Denver Public Library, 1989, pp. 6–8.
14 Patterson and Kelso, p. 8.
15 Duke, p. 12.
16 Jasen Blevins, *The Man Behind the Maps: Legendary Ski Artist James Niehues*, Greater Seattle Area, Washington: Open Road Ski Company, 2019, p. 17.
17 Hal Shelton Manuscript Map Collection. Spans 1949 to 1966. Call number G3201.B7 coll S5. Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See: 'Times Mirror Company Gives the Library Innovative Maps Painted by Hal Shelton', *Library of Congress Informational Bulletin*, 44.23 (10 June 1985), p. 121, pp. 123–24.
18 Patterson and Kelso, p. 4.

Wes Brown has been a collector of old maps for forty years with special interest in the exploration and settlement of the West and Colorado from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. A Denver resident, he co-founded the Rocky Mountain Map Society in 1991, has served as the Co-Chairman of the National Map and Geography Society of the Library of Congress and is currently the International Chairman of IMCoS, responsible for organising the annual international symposiums. He is a frequent speaker at map and history conferences and has published many papers on maps. Wes fell in love with maps at age sixteen when using US Geological Survey maps for climbing mountains.

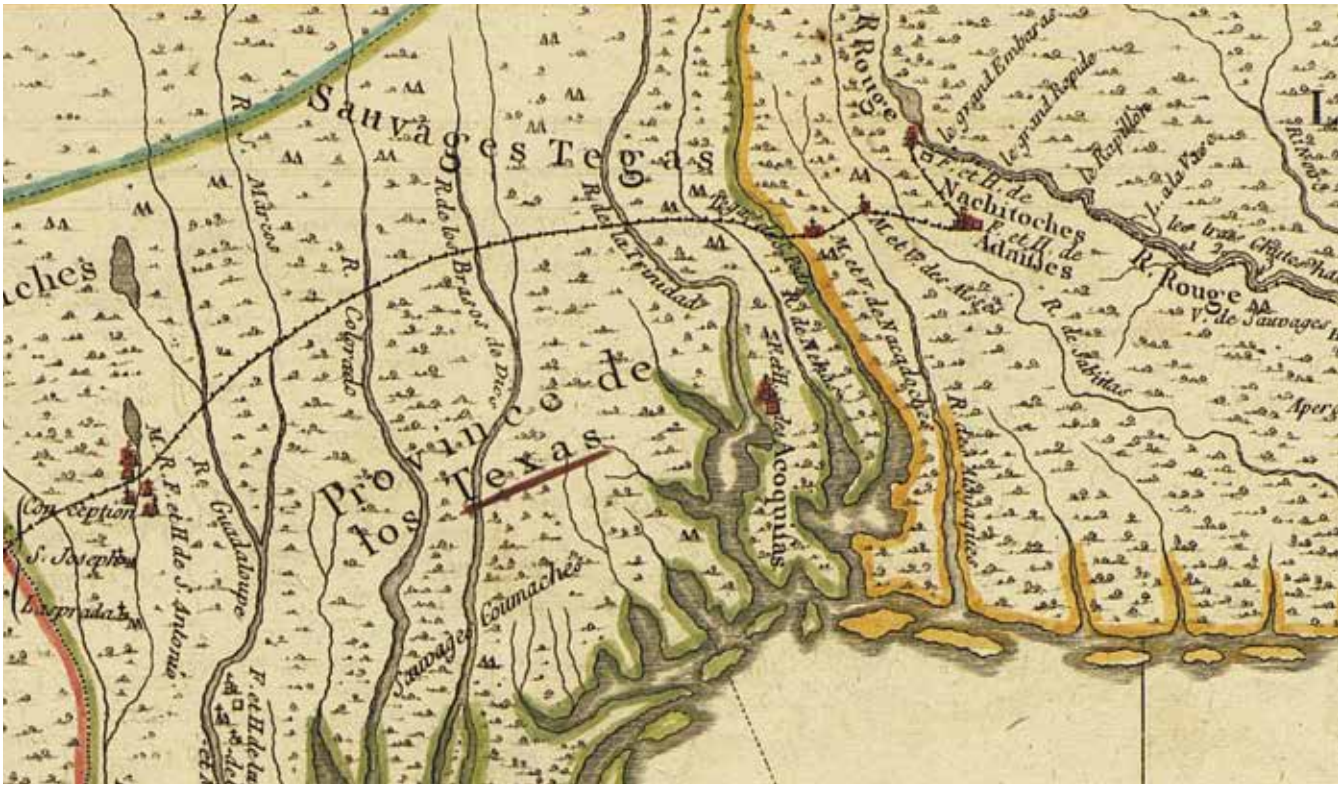
OF MAPS AND MEN

Shaping Texas' Sabine River Boundary, 1803–1841

Julia Bordelon

By 1840 James Taylor Gaines had operated his ferry on the Texas side of the Sabine River for nearly thirty years. A signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence in 1836, and senator in the early days of the Republic, he was one of many colonists who settled in East Texas. Gaines' Ferry was said to be the point of entry for an estimated 80 percent of the colonists immigrating from the United States to Texas but, on 28 May 1840, it encountered a different type of visitor.[1] Members of the Joint Boundary Commission between the Republic of Texas and the United States were one week into the on-the-ground surveying that would finally settle the nebulous eastern boundary of Texas. From this work, the Commission produced the 'Map of the River Sabine from its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico in the Sea to Logan's Ferry in Latitude 31°58'24" North' (hereafter, 'Map of the River Sabine') as cartographic evidence of this boundary.

The 'Map of the River Sabine' represents one of the Republic of Texas' first official boundaries. Although this border had taken shape by the late eighteenth century as Spanish, French, and Indigenous powers vied for influence over the lands between what are now Texas and Louisiana, it took numerous treaties and imperial mapping projects to settle the question officially. In turn, this resulting manuscript boundary map, which resides in the Texas General Land Office's (GLO) archives in Austin, serves as a road map to the history of this survey.[2] This article's objectives are twofold. First, it positions the 'Map of the River Sabine' as the product of three earlier agreements about Texas' easterly boundary: the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty, and the 1838 Convention of Limits. Second, it analyses the map itself to explore the varied types of data that the parties observed and marked as important to the survey. Taken together,



these lines of analysis chart how borders are formed, while remaining fundamentally shaped by people.

Background: Imperial rivalries in the Mississippi River Valley

Indigenous groups including the Caddo, Karankawa, and Coahuiltecan called the area of present-day Texas home at the time Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his crew shipwrecked near Galveston in 1528.[3] Additional Spanish expeditions through the 1500s extended European knowledge of the region but failed to develop permanent settlements. Without a strong Spanish presence France gained a foothold in Texas, albeit briefly, with René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle's 1685 landing around Matagorda Bay. Although this French settlement fell to disease and attacks within a few years, France by this time was consolidating control over much of the Mississippi Valley. These events convinced the Spanish Crown of the importance of a permanent colonial presence in Texas, and they established the Los Adaes Mission as the capital of Spanish Texas in 1721. A geopolitical counterweight to the nearby fort of French Natchitoches, Los Adaes was named after nearby Adai Caddo Indigenous villages, and was east of the Sabine River at the terminus of the Camino Real, the network of trails connecting New Spain's far northern outposts to the mineral-rich cities at its core (Fig. 1).

At this time the Arroyo Hondo[4] and Calcasieu River, located east of the Sabine River, served as the boundary between French and Spanish territories. The boundary, however, was rather porous. Far from the centre of Spanish power in Mexico City, the Spaniards at the remote Adaes Mission and Presidio often depended on Indigenous peoples in the overlapping Caddo lands and on French Natchitoches for provisions routed through New Orleans. Further, bonds forged across the border through trade and marriage strengthened regional ties.[5] Rather than a sharp division, the border at this time might be better understood as a zone connecting these different powers.

Three agreements take shape

(i) THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803

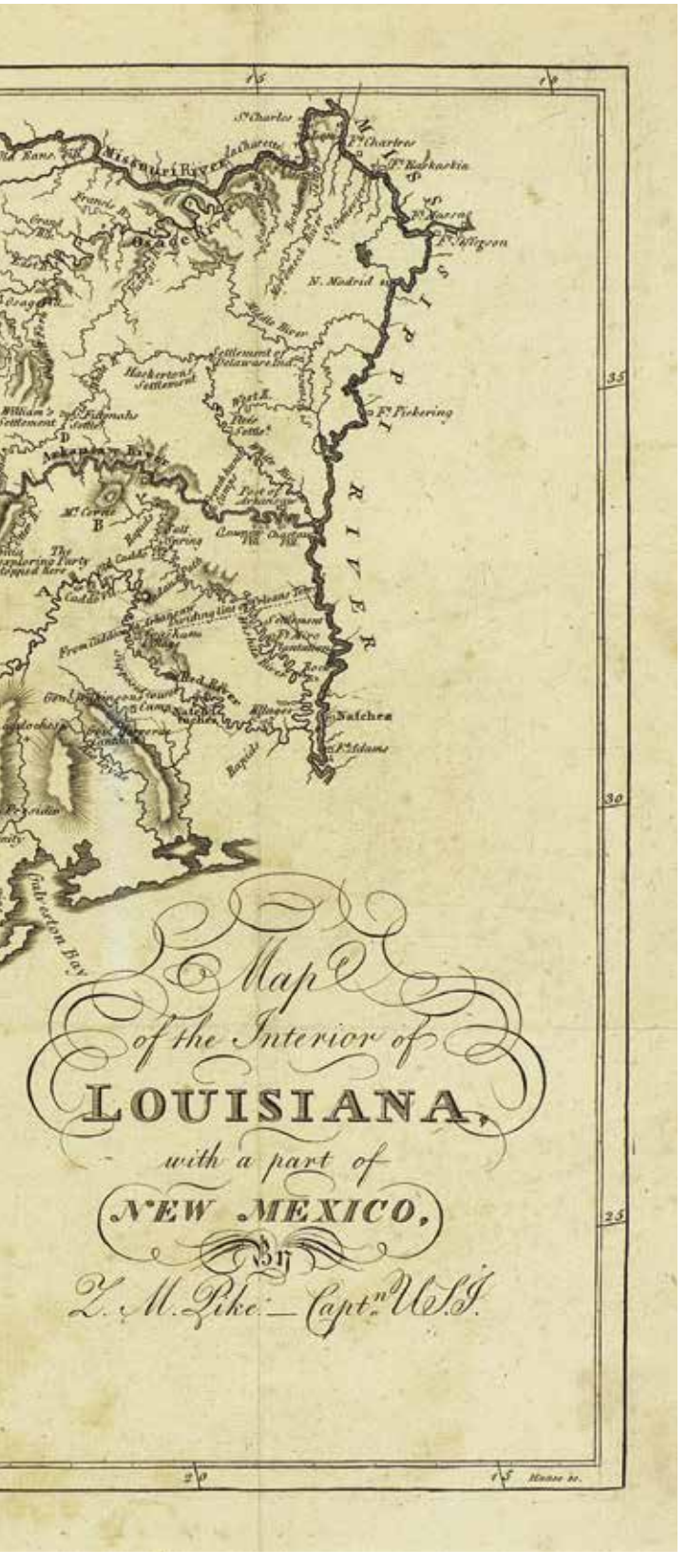
To understand the origins of the 'Map of the River Sabine' we must start with the Louisiana Purchase, which raised urgent questions about the boundary of Spanish Texas. Between 1762 and 1800, France passed its Louisiana territory to Spain to prevent British claims to the territory after the latter's victory in the Seven Years' War. France reassumed a short-lived control over Louisiana in 1800. The 1803 agreement between France and the United States transferred 530,000,000 acres (828,000 square miles) of land to the United States, thus extending its reach to the edge of Spain's North American empire. However, the exact boundary was not clear; none of the various treaties that exchanged Louisiana between different European powers over the 1700s had made the territory's borders explicit. The Purchase itself vaguely describes the area of Louisiana as 'the extent that it [... had] in the hand of Spain, & that it had when France possessed it'.[6]

Such vagueness left plenty of room for conflict, especially as the expansionist United States continued to march west.[7] Beyond the well-known Lewis and



Fig. 1 Detail from 'Carte d'une partie de l'Amérique Séptentrionale, qui contient partie de la Nle. Espagne, et de la Louisiane', 1782. The map shows the route of French Navy captain M. de Pages as he travelled across Texas on horseback from New Orleans through Texas ending in Acapulco. Fort Adaisses [Adaes] and Fort Nachitoches [Natchitoches] are shown east of R. de Sabines [Sabine River]. 35.8 x 47 cm (14.1 x 18.5 in). To view the full map see: https://historictexasmaps.com/object/94096 General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin, TX.


REFERENCES
Route of the Exploring Party
Route pursued by the Spaniards
Excursions made by Capt Pike
American Camps
Spanish Camps
Limits of actual Surveys
At the mouth of the Canadian on the Arkansaw River the Ensigns armorial of France were buried in a leaden Box at the foot of a great Oak in 1742
The Red River to A was surveyed by T. Freeman Esq
The Washita to B by Wm Dunbar Esq
The Arkansaw from C to its Mouth by Lt Wilkinson
The White River To D by Capt Many
SCALE.
NEW MEXICO
NEW BISCAY
PROVINCE OF COAHUILA
PROVINCE OF NUEVO LEON
PROVINCE OF NEW SANTANDER
GULF OF MEXICO
Red River
Arkansaw River
Rio del Norte
Passo
Chihuahua
BOLSON DE MAPINI
Montelovez
Monterey
Durango
DURANGO
Rio del Norte
Sa Antonio



Clark expeditions (1804–1806), Americans, including US army officer Zebulon Montgomery Pike, also toured this new territory, producing maps like Figure 2 that, alarmingly for Spain, seemed to depict the area of Texas as part of Louisiana. The Louisiana Purchase, therefore, heightened the stakes of boundary-making for Spain, obligating them to dispense with largely informal agreements and identify a clear boundary to Spanish Texas. Spain responded by recruiting scholars to comb through archives and conduct interviews to clarify the boundaries of New Spain. Spanish priest José Antonio Pichardo made an influential case on Spain's claims to Texas in his 3,000-page treatise, *On the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, issued shortly before his death in 1812. The eventual line between Texas and Louisiana closely paralleled Pichardo's recommendation, a testament to Spain's scholarly historical approach to the question.[8]

(II) THE ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY, 1819–21

Pichardo's efforts prepared Spain for the negotiations of the Adams-Onís Treaty, the second agreement crucial to the development of the 'Map of the River Sabine'. Named for its signers John Quincy Adams, the US Secretary of State, and Luis de Onís, Minister of Spain to the United States, this 1819 Treaty formalised the boundary between their respective territories. According to the Treaty's terms, the boundary would 'begin on the Gulph of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine in the Sea, continuing North along the Western Bank of the River, to the 32nd degree of Latitude; thence by a Line due North to the degree of Latitude, where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River, … all the islands in the Sabine … to belong to the United States'. The Treaty further stipulated that 'Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the first of January, 1818' would serve as the cartographic reference for this international boundary, standing in for a survey until one could be performed (Fig. 3).[9] Finally, a boundary was formally agreed upon between the neighbouring powers.

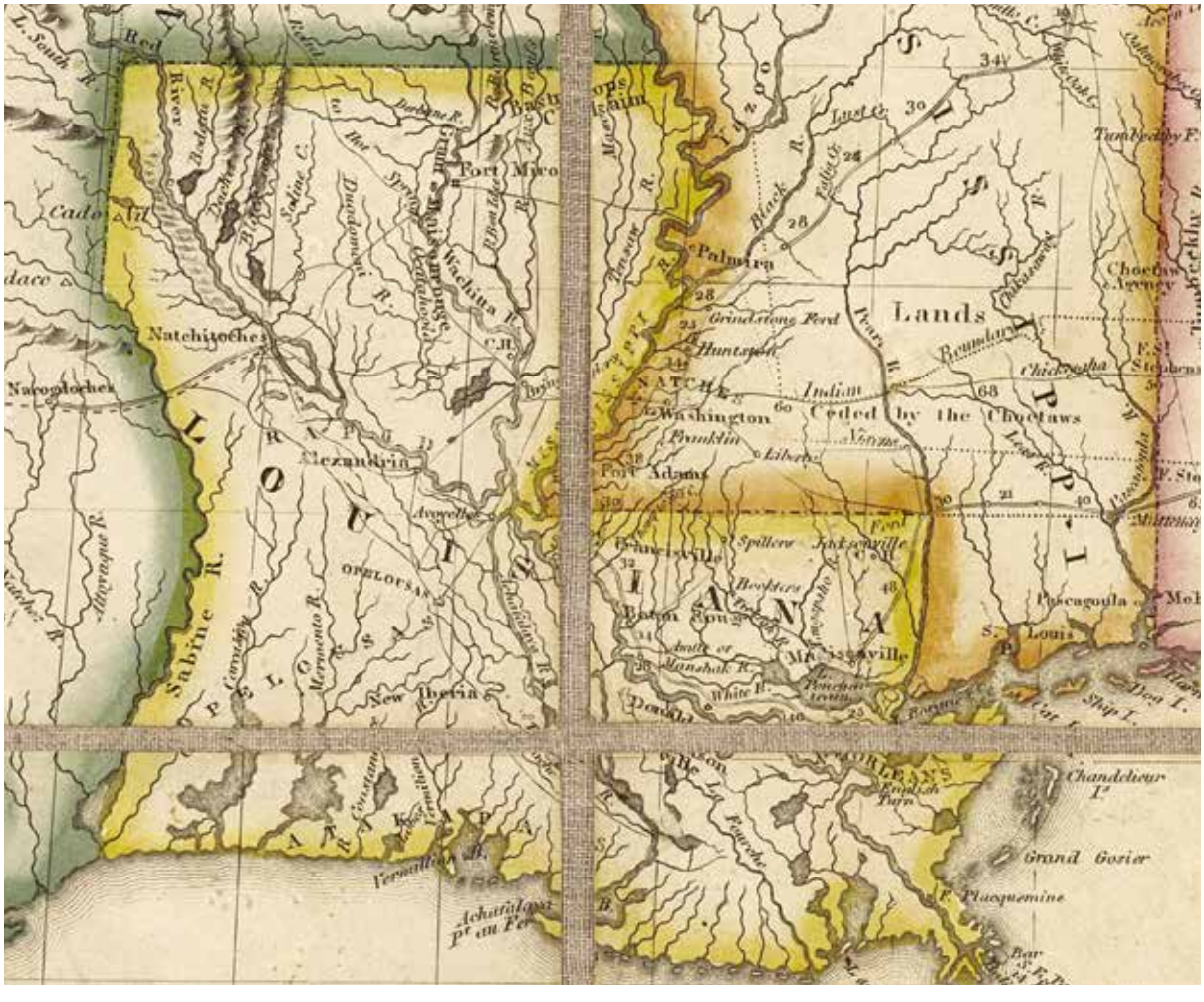
The two parties ratified the Treaty in early 1821,

Fig. 2 Z. M. Pike, 'Map of the Interior of Louisiana with a part of New Mexico', [1813]. By leaving Texas unnamed, it appears to be subsumed as part of Louisiana. This challenges Spain's authority over the territory. 30.2 x 39.9 cm (11.9 x 15.7 in). Map https://historictexasmaps.com/object/94460. General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX.

but Mexico's declaration of independence from Spain that same year hindered surveying. In the meantime, the United States leveraged the unstable political situation in the new nation by trying to expand its territory, challenging the terms of the Treaty over the course of the 1820s by proposing alternative boundaries along Texas rivers further west.[10] The US's clear expansionist ambitions pushed Mexico to initiate their own boundary survey of Texas. The commission's leader, General Manuel de Mier y Terán, observed the waning influence of the Mexican government in the far reaches of the territory as well as the animosities between Mexicans and Anglo colonists, and made an ominous prediction: "Tejas will pull down the entire federation."[11]

Despite these years of behind-the-scenes political manoeuvers to redefine the border, Mexico and the United States ultimately agreed upon the boundary established by the Adams-Onís Treaty via the Treaty of Limits, signed on 12 January 1828. However, General Mier y Terán's fears about revolution were realised in 1836 with Texas' declaration of independence from Mexico. The subsequent Texian victory at the Battle of San Jacinto in April 1836 raised the fourth flag over Texas, and legislators moved quickly to outline the new Republic of Texas' boundaries.[12] An organising act passed on 19 December 1836 stated that the boundary would follow 'the boundary line, as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain'.[13] This preserved the Sabine River as the Republic's easterly border, but surveying was still to come.

Fig. 3 John Melish, detail from 'Map of the United States with the contiguous British & Spanish Possessions compiled from the latest & best authorities', Philadelphia, 1818. 93.7 x 151.1 cm (36.9 x 59.5 in). To see full image: https://historictexasmaps.com/object/93843 Holcomb Digital Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX.



(III) THE CONVENTION OF LIMITS, 1838

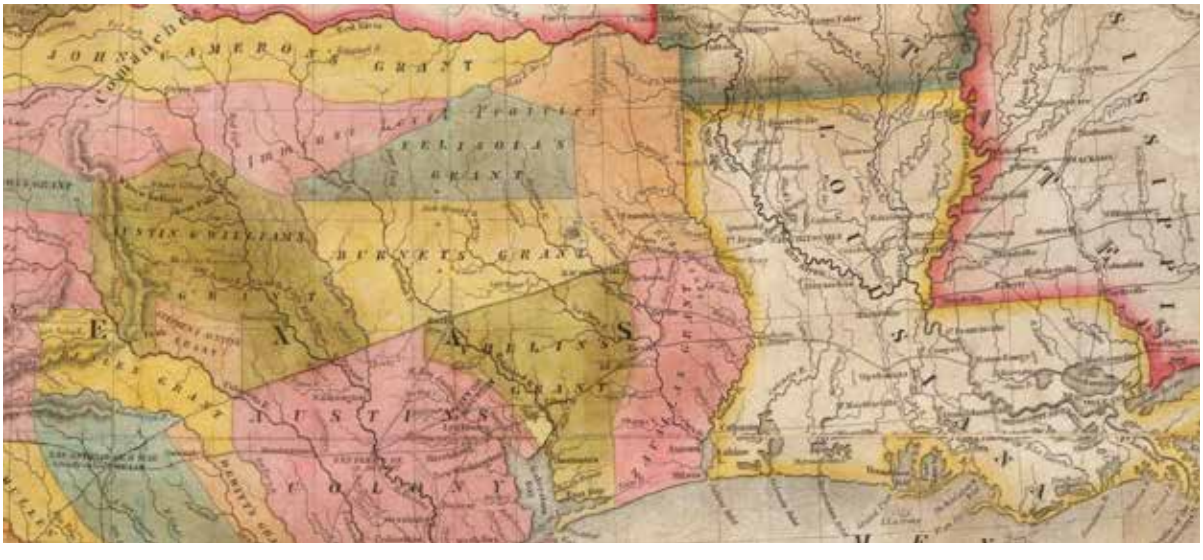
Texas' independence paved the way for the third key agreement shaping the development of the 'Map of the River Sabine'. Although Texas had reasonable claims up to the Sabine River, the United States continued its attempts to push its boundaries westward.[14] With surveying still pending, the United States authorised General Edmund P. Gaines (the first cousin of the ferry operator mentioned earlier) to march as far as 'Old Fort Nacogdoches' in April 1836. Ostensibly deployed to defend US interests in the midst of the Texian Revolution, the US troops eventually withdrew at the end of the year without any action.[15] Regardless, the episode showed the continued expansionist aims of the Republic's neighbour and made a survey agreement of paramount importance. The Republic of Texas and the United States ultimately reached an agreement at the Texas–American Boundary Convention on 25 April 1838. The pact, known as the Convention of Limits, reasserted the Adams–Onís Treaty line and established the Joint Boundary Commission to survey the boundary. The Convention of Limits finally paved the way for the surveying of Texas' eastern border.

Map of the River Sabine

The Joint Boundary Commission met in New Orleans on 7 August 1839. However, various communication delays, weather ('the peculiar unhealthiness of the season', as the parties wrote), and lack of appropriate supplies ultimately pushed the project's commencement to May of the following year.[16] Led by John H. Overton for the United States and Memucan Hunt (later replaced by George W. Smyth) for Texas, surveying took place in 1840 and 1841, and the details of this laborious process were recorded in the Commission's Journal, a copy of which resides in the GLO's archives. The resulting 'Map of the River Sabine' represents the Republic of Texas' copy of the joint boundary survey. Drawn by A. B. Gray, the noted surveyor for the Republic, the map stretches 14 ft/4.3 m long over three sheets (Figs 5 and 6). For issues of space and readability only the first two sheets have been depicted in this article. The third and most northerly sheet can be viewed at https://historictexasmaps.com/object/87150. Scaled to 1 inch per mile (*c.* 1:63 360), it traverses sinuous channels, rapids, and rafts as the parties proceeded from the Gulf of Mexico northward to Logan's Ferry and the 32nd parallel.

The following tour of the map, read in tandem with the Journal, traces some of the thorny geographical questions that surveying finally addressed; charts the data used to correctly position and orient this survey; and describes some of the unique observations that made their way onto the map. This analysis reveals that, rather than a straightforward application of geographical data to a discrete line, border making

Fig. 4 J. H. Young, detail of 'A New Map of Texas with the contiguous American and Mexican States', Philadelphia, 1839. This map of Texas includes the notation 'Boundary of 1819' along Texas' border with Louisiana. The Sabine River is indicated at the southern border. 33 x 39.1 cm (13 x 15.4 in). To see full image: https://historictexasmaps.com/object/96513, General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX.



is a process involving continual negotiations among people and environments.

Complicated geographies

The survey first resolved fundamental questions that had dogged the countries on either side of the Sabine since the signing of the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1819. Although both parties agreed that the boundary line was to begin at the mouth of the Sabine, they disagreed about where exactly the mouth was located. In order to gain access to half of both the Sabine Lake and the Sabine Pass (the outlet of the lake into the Gulf of Mexico), Texas initially asserted that the boundary would follow the middle of the Pass and Lake, and then proceed along the western bank of the Sabine River as specified in the Treaty. In this interpretation, the 'mouth' referenced in the Treaty would lay at the north end of Sabine Lake. Threatened by US merchant ships skirting Texas custom duties in these waters, Texas hoped a claim would allow customs agents to better enforce tariffs for goods entering the country.[17] Memucan Hunt, acting on behalf of the Republic, set forth a claim to the centres of the Pass and Lake.[18]

Awaiting decisions from both countries, surveying was delayed for two months. The United States pointed to the following language in the Adams-Onís Treaty: 'The boundary-line between the two countries, […] shall begin on the *Gulph of Mexico*, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea' (emphasis added), and argued that Texas had no grounds on which to challenge the location of the mouth of the river. To prevent further delays Texas ultimately agreed to rescind its claim.[19] The map shows that United States won out: above the block lettering labeling the Gulf of Mexico is smaller, fainter script that reads 'Mouth of the River Sabine in the Sea'. From that point, the map shades the western bank of the Sabine Pass, Lake, and River in red to delineate Texas' side of the boundary. With these issues resolved the parties constructed a mound measuring 50 feet across and 7 feet in height (15.2 x 2.1 m) as the starting point of the survey. Mound A and its coordinates are labelled on the western bank of the Sabine River where the Sabine Pass meets the Gulf of Mexico.

Another issue presented itself along the westerly side of Sabine Lake, where the Neches River extends from the Texas side of the boundary. Was the border to follow the Neches or the Sabine? The United States could not locate the correct edition of the 1818 Melish map. Taking advantage of this confusion, it speculated that the river in the Treaty more correctly referred to the Neches, and representatives were given instructions to examine this possibility during surveying. Here, Texas' position won out. The teams found that the Neches ran roughly northwest, and not due north as stated in the treaty, nor did it appear to be navigable to the 32nd parallel.[20] The map's 'River Neches' fades out after about 4 miles, a cartographic choice that reflects its tributary status.

While the distillation of these complex processes into the 'Map of the River Sabine' might seem to support the fixity of this boundary, the resolution of these issues begins to illuminate the necessary human role in constructing borders. Even with an ostensibly clear physical feature delineating the boundary, and language that had been subject to numerous ratifications between different countries for two decades, the actual placement of the boundary was mediated through negotiations and on-the-ground study. These decisions, and the ensuing analysis of other features on the map, peel back further layers of human influence on this boundary's construction.

Observations of the Joint Boundary Commission

With these initial issues settled, the surveying parties proceeded northward. The map highlights environmental features in the first few miles along the Sabine; offshoots of bayous, creeks, and smaller rivers mark the line of the river. 'Timbered Country' coincides with the area of 'The Narrows', with the corresponding note in the Journal that at that location on the map, 'the river winds in a continued succession of abrupt sinuosities.'[21] Besides environmental features, political sites and settlements also situate the lower part of the boundary survey map. The Texas Customs House south of the City of Sabine, and its counterpart on the eastern shore of Sabine Lake, frame the line as an international boundary near the map's outset and emphasise the importance of trade management in setting the line. Beyond the customs houses, the map also names settlements and embellishes them with small building structures. Larger centres like Belgrade and Sabine Town, where the parties stopped for astronomical measurements and to replenish supplies, are identified with the observed coordinates. This blending of environmental, political, and astronomical data on the map all serve to anchor the boundary's location and orientation.

These features are arguably more expected from a map of a boundary survey. However, the map layers

these data with more unique types of information. Different crossings track in east-west directions at various points along the Sabine River on the map. For example, a road to Opelousas, Louisiana runs through the town of Salem at the north end of Sheet 1 (Fig. 5). The inclusion of these transit routes serves to both indicate important towns and trade routes in the area – Zavalla, Jasper, and Nacogdoches in Texas, and Opelousas, Alexandria, Fort Jessup, and Natchitoches on the Louisiana side – as well as important groups making the crossings. In another example, Sheet 2 (Fig. 6), 'Coshatta Crossing' near New Columbia shows a route used by Coushatta Indians between Texas and Louisiana.[22] This route indicates the continued overlap of Indigenous lands in this area and complicates the boundary as a divide between only two nations. With these details the Texas-Louisiana boundary can also be understood as a relational space; in other words, not merely a line on its own, but a place that derives meaning from its connections to other places. In this vein, the map also plots numerous ferry stops. While these ferry stops can be read as orientational points, as the key links between independent nations (and with Gaines' Ferry in the introduction, a key access point for immigrants to Texas), in the context of this map they also serve to position the border as not just a line, but also as points of connection between people and goods. Further, some of the ferry sites on the Texas side of the border tie into General Land Office land grant records, sedimenting the map with another layer of historical data.[23]

In addition to transit routes, the map's unique features include more ephemeral encounters. On Sheet 1 (Fig. 5), a structure drawn on a bluff near Hanley's Point is labelled simply as 'Deserted'. A bit north of the town of Belgrade on the second map sheet (Fig. 6) is drawn the first of several rafts. These encounters with downed trees and brush occasionally obstructed passage, holding up the parties for as many as seven hours.[24] Other details point to significant events that traversed this boundary. On the first sheet a notation on the US side of the river reads 'Steam Boat Putnam sunk Jany. 1840', marking the site where the Rufus Putnam Steamboat 'struck a snag and sunk'.[25] The second sheet (Fig. 6) marks an event with an even more dramatic flourish. A large arrow bearing in a northeasterly direction is accompanied by the text 'Direction of Hurricane of May 7th 1840'. The Journal, in turn, supplements this observation, noting, 'We crossed to-day the path of a recent tornado, which had prostrated the trees and cane on the river banks'.[26] This was in fact the Natchez Tornado, which still ranks as the second deadliest tornado in US history. That these events would make it onto the boundary survey reiterate that boundaries cannot be understood as absolute lines. They are spaces constantly interacting with their surroundings, and even with more precise locational data to anchor the boundary, the survey on the map cannot be more than a snapshot in time.

The surveying parties reached the area of the 32nd parallel on 2 June 1840, decamping around Logan's Ferry before beginning efforts to triangulate the precise intersection point between the parallel and the Sabine River. They remained in the area for nearly two weeks, making astronomical observations by night, but ultimately adjourned without locating the point. The advance of the 'unhealthy period', delays in funding, and, upon reconvening, difficult conditions for astronomical observation meant that it was not until 23 April 1841 that the parties installed a granite block on the western bank of the Sabine River to mark the divide between the Republic of Texas and the United States.[27]

At this point, the mapping proceeds past the three-sheet boundary survey. The parties trudged north from the 32nd parallel as spring progressed. Along this stretch of land, surveying parsed overlapping land claims between settlers of Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The Joint Commission's work found that parts of Caddo Parish in Louisiana, and the entirety of Miller County in Arkansas, were actually located within the bounds of Texas. After surveying for 106 miles north of the 32nd parallel, on 24 June 1841, the Commission established the boundary's end point and concluded surveying.

Conclusion

Without maps of the Louisiana Purchase territory, the United States asserted claims far into Texas. The Melish map of the Adams-Onís Treaty, serving as a mere stand-in for a boundary survey, left numerous geographical questions for parties to untangle. And even the meticulous work of the Joint Boundary Commission was challenged a century later. Soon after the Joint Commission finished its work, Texas became the United States' 28th State and, in 1848, this admission changed Texas' easterly boundary once again: the United States Congress voted to allow Texas to shift its boundary east to the middle of the Sabine River, aligning its boundary with Louisiana's. However, in 1941 emergent oil and gas claims in this area refocused Louisiana's attention to this decision,

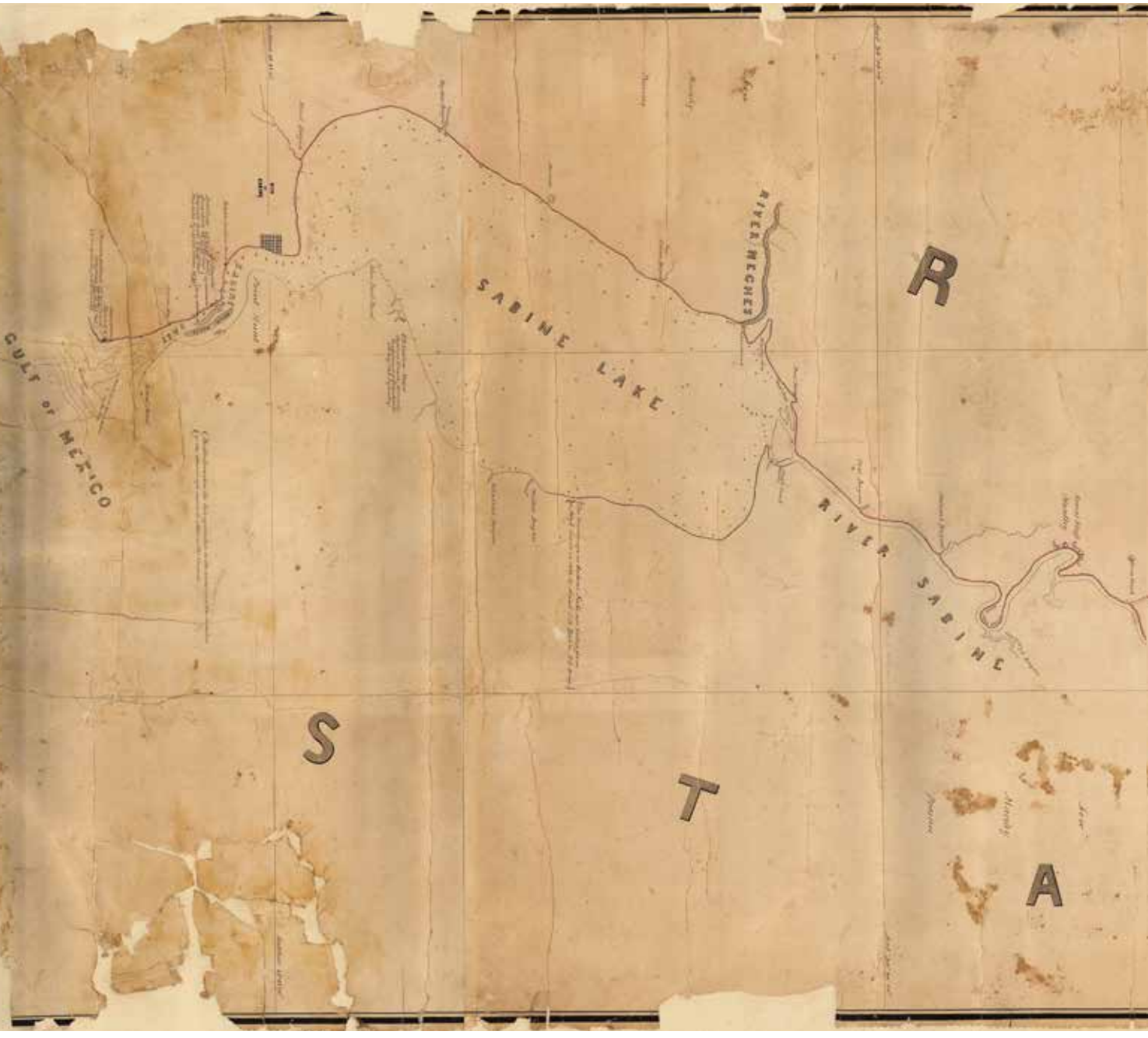
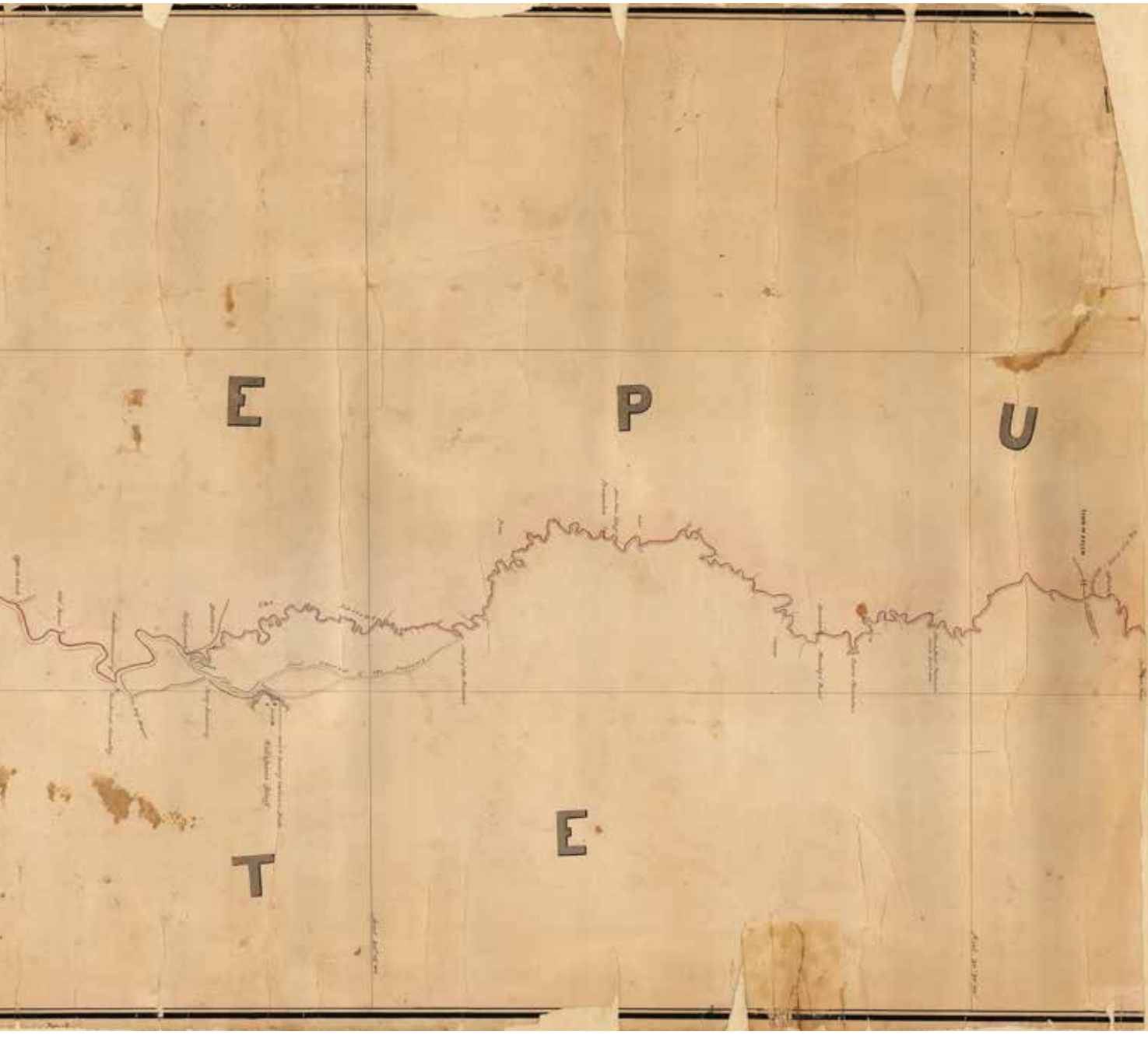


Fig. 5 Sheet 1. The southerly third of the boundary survey from the Gulf of Mexico to the town of Salem. Joint Boundary Commission, 'Map of the River Sabine [...]' [Sheet 1], 1842. 171.7 x 77.7 cm (67.6 x 30.6 in). See: https://historictexasmaps.com/object/87152, General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX.


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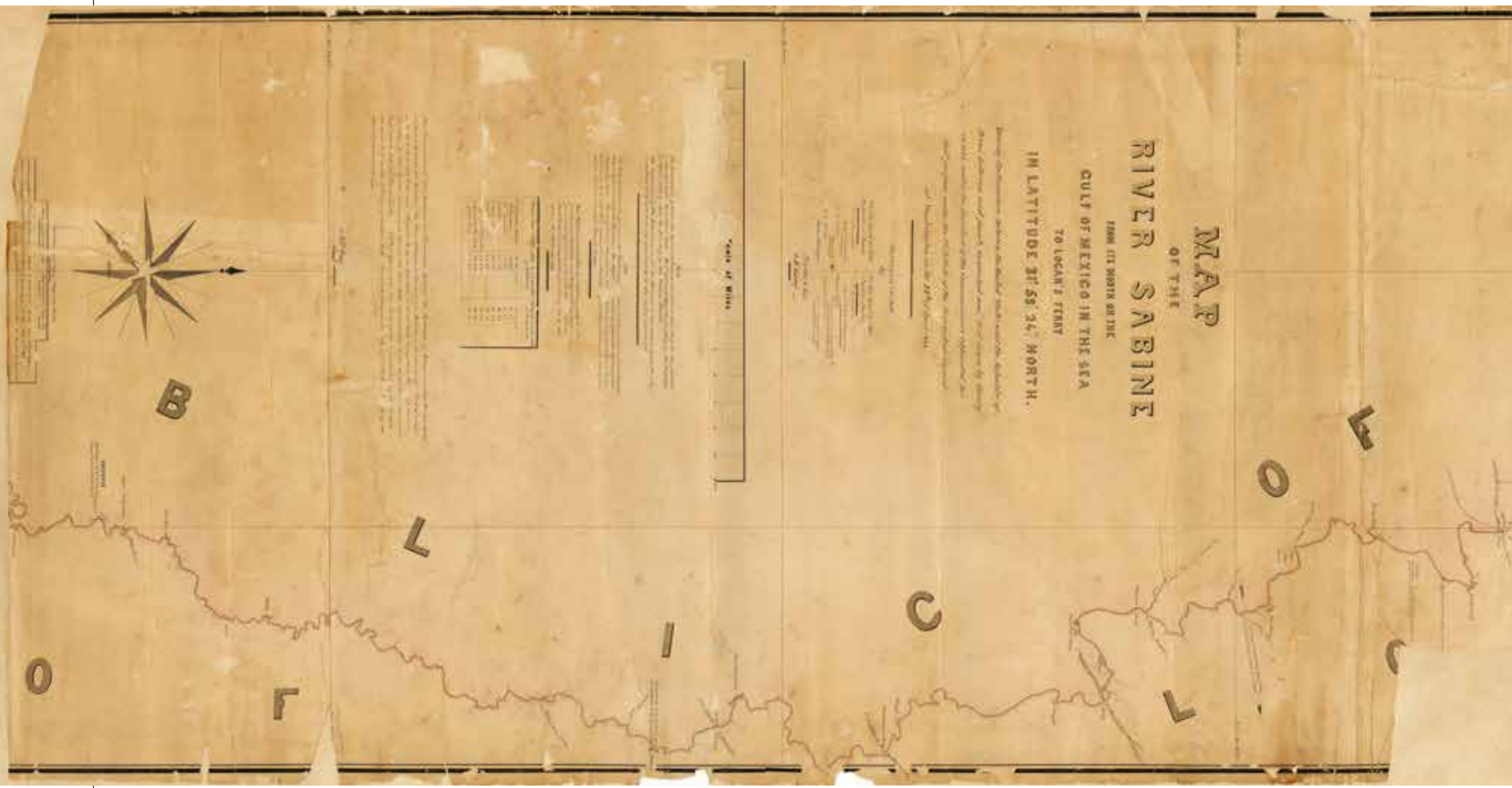


Fig. 6 Sheet 2. The middle third of the boundary survey from the town of Belgrade to Low's Ferry. Joint Boundary Commission, 'Map of the River Sabine [...]' [Sheet 2], 1842. 153.7 x 77.7 cm (60.5 x 30.6 in). See: https://historictexasmaps.com/object/87151, General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX.

and the State asserted claims to the western half of the Sabine. Legal manoeuvers over several decades were ultimately resolved in 1973, when the United States Supreme Court settled the case in favour of Texas.[28] The negotiations that shaped this boundary over time underscore that boundaries are more than simple geographical lines: they are also, necessarily, complex negotiations of power.

Maps, in turn, were (and still are) key tools used to establish, assert and define this power. Although the striking detail of the 'Map of the River Sabine' reflects the scientific measurement and recording of the division between the Republic of Texas and the United States, this obscures the human hands that shaped this border. The above analysis contextualises the Sabine River boundary. Beyond an assemblage of lines drawn across three brittle sheets of paper, the context of this boundary making effort shows years of negotiations, concessions and challenges between people, governments and the environment until the survey was completed (and even then, the court cases around the border in the 1900s show that boundaries are never truly settled). The details of the map itself, with notations not just for coordinates and customs houses, but also the path of a hurricane and Indigenous trails, further emphasises the human observations that shaped the official record of this border. This case study demonstrates that although boundaries demarcate physical territory, they are fundamentally shaped by people, and subject to their motivations, contests and politics.

Notes

1 Ingrid Broughton Morris and Deolece M. Parmelee, 'Gaines, James Taylor.' Handbook of Texas. Texas State Historical Association, published 1976, last modified 9 June 2020. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/gaines-james-taylor

2 The Joint Boundary Commission produced the definitive

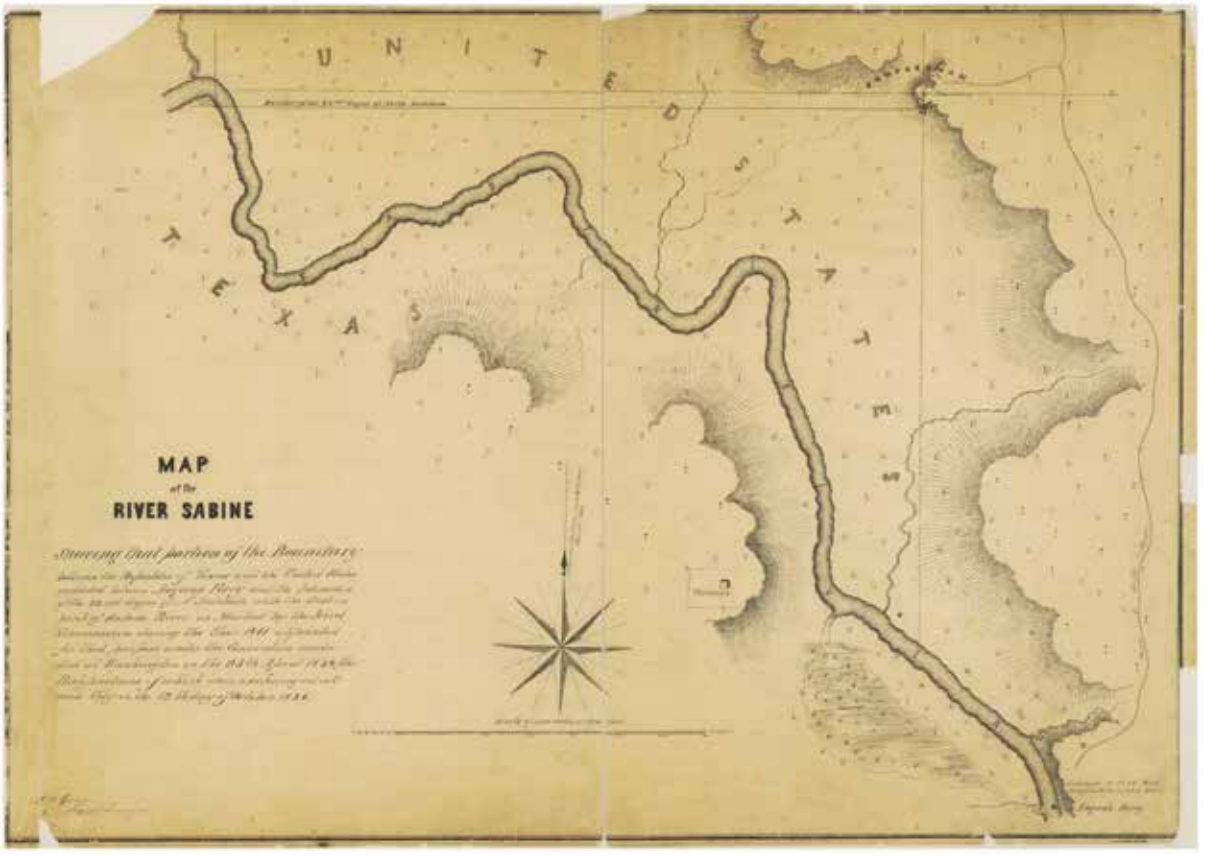


Fig. 7 A. B. Gray, 'Map of the River Sabine shewing that portion of the Boundary between the Republic of Texas and the United States included between Logan's Ferry and the Intersection of the 32nd degree of N. Latitude with the Western bank of Sabine 1842. 48.8 x 69.3 cm (19.2 x 27.3 in). Map https://historictexasmaps.com/object/65410, General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX.

cartographic representation of Texas' eastern border with the United States. Each nation received a set of original manuscript maps of the Commission's work, with Texas' copies, drawn by surveyor for the Republic of Texas A. B. Gray, sent to the GLO's archives.

3 Donald E. Chipman and Harriett Denise Joseph, *Spanish Texas: 1519–1821*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010, pp. 12–17.

4 Also known as the Rio Hondo, this stream extended in a northwesterly direction from Sibley Lake, which borders Natchitoches to the west. US Geological Survey (USGS) maps from 2020 now classify this waterbody as an intermittent stream.

5 Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands,* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007; Francis X. Galán, *Los Adaes, the First Capital of Spanish Texas*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2020.

6 'The Louisiana Purchase', National Archives. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, last modified February 1996. https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals/louistxt.html.

7 Thomas Maitland Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819–1841*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914, pp. 9–16.

8 Felix Calleja and Philip Coolidge Brooks, 'Pichardo's Treatise and the Adams-Onís Treaty', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 15, no. 1 (1935), pp. 94–99. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2506243; Jack Jackson, 'Father José María de Jesús Puelles and the Maps of Pichardo's Document 74', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 3 (1988), pp. 317–47. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30237036; Marion A. Habig and José María de Jesús Puelles, 'Puelles' Report of 1827 on the Texas-Louisiana Boundary', translated by Benedict Leutenegger, *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 19, no. 2 (1978), pp. 133–81, p. 134, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4231773.

9 'Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits Between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty. 1819', The Avalon Project, Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, last modified 2008. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sp1819.asp.

10 Eugene C. Barker, 'President Jackson and the Texas Revolution', *The American Historical Review* 12, no. 4 (1907), pp. 788-809. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1839188; Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War,* New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2008, pp. 1-9; William R. Manning, 'Texas and the Boundary Issue, 1822–1829' *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (1914), pp. 217–61. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30234600; Richard R. Stenberg and Richard S. Stenberg, 'Jackson, Anthony Butler, and Texas', *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1932), pp. 264–86. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42864814.

11 Manuel de Mier y Terán, Texas by Terán: The Diary Kept by General Manuel de Mier y Terán on his 1828 Inspection of Texas, edited by Jack Jackson, translated by John Wheat, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000, p. 98.

12 'Texian' is used to refer to Anglo-American settlers of Texas prior to the Republic of Texas' annexation to the United States. See Herbert Fletcher, 'Texian', *Handbook of Texas*, Texas State Historical Association, published 1952, last modified July 30, 2020. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texian. The expression 'Six Flags Over Texas' refers to the six sovereignties that have ruled the area of Texas: France, Spain, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and the United States. See Charles A. Spain, Jr, 'Flags of Texas', *Handbook of Texas*. Texas State Historical Association, published 1952, last modified July 24, 2018. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/flags-of-texas

13 Texas (Republic). Secretary of State, 'An Act To define the Boundaries of the Republic of Texas', Laws of the Republic of Texas 1 (1838), pp. 133–34. Accessed from The Portal to Texas History, University of North Texas Libraries.

14 Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

15 Robert L. Jones and Pauline Jones, 'Occupation of Nacogdoches.' *East Texas Historical Journal* 4, no. 1 (1966): pp. 23-43.

16 Joint Boundary Commission, Journal of the Joint Commission, 1838, Map #65515, General Map Collection, Archives and Records Program, Texas General Land Office, Austin TX, p. 57.

17 Steven W. Hooper, 'Dashiell, William Collier Vauness', *Handbook of Texas,* Texas State Historical Association, published 4 October 2019. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dashiell-william-collier-vauness

18 Joint Boundary Commission, p. 59.

19 Marshall, pp. 229–35.

20 Joint Boundary Commission, pp. 60–1.

21 Joint Boundary Commission, p. 61.

22 Howard N. Martin, 'Coushatta Trace', *Handbook of Texa*s, Texas State Historical Association, published 1952, last modified 1 December 1994. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/coushatta-trace

23 Ballew's Ferry on Sheet 1 of the map ties into Richard Ballieu's Mexican-era land grant (SC 000058:61), and Hickman's Ferry was part of the lands patented to Theophilus Hickman in present-day Newton County (JAS-1-000076).

24 Joint Boundary Commission, p. 63.

25 'Houston, Thursday, Feb. 6, 1840', *The Morning Star* 1, no. 248, ed. 1 (1840, Houston TX). Accessed from The Portal to Texas History, University of North Texas Libraries on 16 March 2023. https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth1482437/m1/2/?q=steamboat+putnam

26 Joint Boundary Commission, p. 62.

27 Joint Boundary Commission, pp. 64–7.

28 Alona E. Evans, 'State of Texas v. State of Louisiana. 93 S. Ct. 1215', *The American Journal of International Law* 67, no. 4 (1973), pp. 784–85. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2198576; Daniel Price, 'Observation: The Sabine River Boundary Between Texas and Louisiana', *SMU Law Review* 29, no. 4 (1975), pp. 876–83. https://scholar.smu.edu/smulr/vol29/iss4/4.

Julia Bordelon received her Master's degree in Geography from the University of Texas at Austin. Her research and professional work have spanned political discourse, urbanism, and border making, and she currently works in the archives of the Texas General Land Office.
Email julia.bordelon@glo.texas.gov

STOP PRESS

MESSAGE FROM PHILIP BURDEN

The latest updated version of the **'Addenda'** for both volumes of ***The Mapping of North America*** is now online and free to download. It now amounts to forty-five pages and updates the previous version from 2021. This makes available all new information since it was published in 2007. It can be found at the following publications page of his website:
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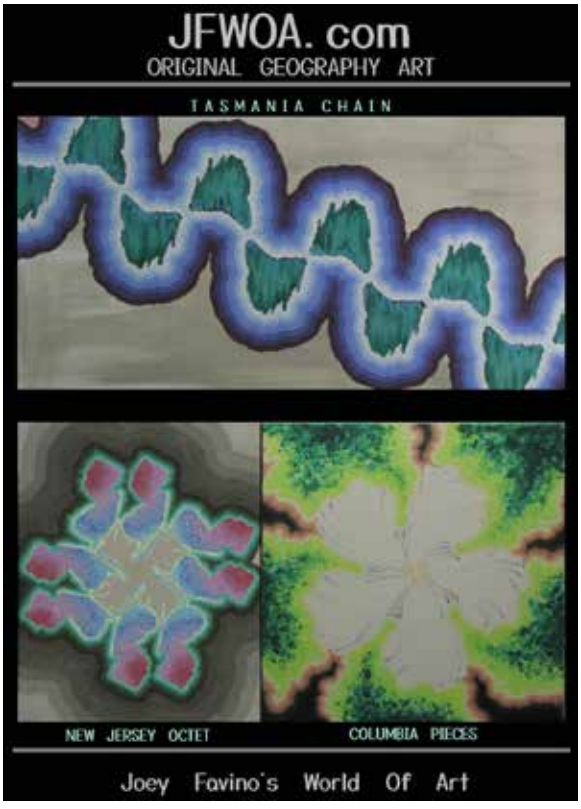
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IMCoS MATTERS

Helen Wallis/IMCoS award

There will be no award made this year, and therefore no award dinner on the evening before the Map Fair. The reasons are separate yet related. As many will recall, as Covid restrictions came to an end, the Society 'shook things up' last year with a greatly appreciated – but heavily subsidised – reception at the Rembrandt Hotel in Kensington. Your Executive Committee felt able to do this not just because of the Award but because of our 50th Anniversary and the desire to honour your previous Chairman. However, it was already clear that obtaining London venues at a price that stimulated attendance was becoming impossible. We are also very aware of the need to be truly international when making the Award. Put bluntly, UK members were not coming to dinners in sufficient numbers because of the cost, and overseas members were not coming because the dinners were always in London. The Helen Wallis/IMCoS award will continue, although not always annually, as will Society meals. They merely alter to reflect today's world.

In line with the above, as you will have seen in the Journal, the Malcolm Young Lecture is a two-parter on Zoom, specifically to ensure that ALL members have access to world class material. All members can therefore now access for free, as part of their membership, content that previously only some members could access at a substantial charge.

Map Collector's Circle

The editor has been contacted by the daughter of a past member offering for sale 75 volumes of the *Map Collector's Circle*. If you are interested please contact the editor at Ljiljana.editor@gmail.com

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

6 & 13 June 2023
The Malcolm Young Lecture

This year's annual lecture will in fact be two lectures: the first on Tuesday 6 June and the second on the following Tuesday. The topic of the lectures is **Misconceptions: Russia and the West.** The first will address misconceptions of the past and the second will consider 'mutual persistence of misconception'.

Our speaker is Dr Dennis Reinhartz, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Texas in Arlington who, in addition to his distinguished academic career, is also a great map enthusiast. His map history books include *Mapping and Empire: Soldier Engineers of the Southwestern Front* (2005), *The Cartographer and the Literati: Herman Moll and his Intellectual Circle* (1997), *The Art of the Map*: *An Illustrated History of Map Elements and Embellishments* (2012), and *The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest* (1999).

The lectures will be presented online at 18.00. Members will receive an invitation to register by email.

10 June 2023, London

The **IMCoS AGM** will commence at 10.30 and take place at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG) at 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7. For security purposes, please contact Peter Walker at **financialsecretariat@imcos.org** if you will be attending. **All IMCoS members are welcome**.

10–11 June 2023, London
London Map Fair

The Fair will take place at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG) at 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7. Opening times: Saturday at noon until 19.00; Sunday 10.00–18.00. Please use the Exhibition Road entrance. **Admission is free.**

Fine artist and cartographer Adam Dant will be presenting the 2023 London Map Fair Lecture – 'You are not here' – on Saturday at 14.30.

Ashley Baynton-Williams will be giving talks on map collecting for beginners throughout the weekend.

21–24 August 2023, Helsinki
IMCoS 40th International Symposium

Details of the Symposium are on page 51. Updates are available at **www.kartogra.fi/imcoshelsinki**

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

The programme is being finalised and will be published in the September issue of the journal. If you have any questions, please contact Joseph Schiro at **josephschiro60@gmail.com**

NEW NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

We welcome our most recent National Representatives: Julian Candiah, Toshikazu Kaida, Steve Hanon and Tom Paper.

Our Representatives are map enthusiasts who, as their title suggests, promote the interests of IMCoS in their local map community, whether that is a city, country, or world region. They serve interested local collectors and foreign visitors through answering questions and providing contacts with experts. Frequently they are actively involved in hosting one of our annual symposia. Their job is vital in keeping us in touch with map related activities in their part of the world. If you are member and would be interested in representing your country, should there be no sitting representative, please contact our National Representative Coordinator Robert Clancy. He can be reached by email at clancy_robert@hotmail.com.

A list of representatives can be found on page 5 of the journal.

Toshikazu Kaida (Japan) is a doctor specialising in cardiology. He studied and worked in the Tokyo University Hospital. For the past twenty-five years he has been collecting old master Dutch and Flemish paintings and prints as well as maps and astronomical charts of Western and Japanese origin. He is Imago Mundi's National Representative and a member of the Japan Cartographers Association. His major work is ***World Maps Published in Tokugawa Japan: An Illustrated Catalog*** which was published in Japanese in 2019 and translated into English in 2022. A review of his book can be read on page 58 of this issue.



Steve Hanon (USA East) is a map and history enthusiast with cartographic interests spanning the Age of Discovery, maps of Spain (where he lived for five years), Colonial America, and early New York City. He is President of the New York Map Society and Chief Campus Operations Officer at Avenues: The World School, an organisation that is developing a system of premium, private schools emphasising language fluency and global preparedness in the world's great cities. He holds a B.S. in Management from the Krannert School of Management at Purdue University and an MBA from the Olin School of Business at Washington University in St. Louis. Steve is a devout Don Quijote aficionado and studied Spanish literature at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid during his undergraduate studies.



A selection from Steve's map collection can be seen at **www.themapmaven.com**

Tom Paper (USA West) is the Managing Partner of Webster Pacific and the Founder of The Digital Gallery, a website Tom created to house his digital map and art collections, as well those of his friends. It now has over 250 exhibits and 10,000 images of maps and art. **(www.the digitalgallery.org)**



Originally from Minnesota, Tom spent his summers on wilderness canoeing expeditions where he was always the navigator. He attended Williams College and was a consultant with Bain & Company before attending the Graduate School of Business at Stanford. In 2003 he established Webster Pacific, now a ten-person consulting firm helping companies make better decisions using data, geospatial analytics, a lot of common sense and a little bit of wisdom. Tom is the Vice President of the California Map Society (CMS).

Julian Candiah (Malaysia and Singapore) Julian is a collector of maps of Malaysia (Johor and Penang), Singapore and Hong Kong and has a particular interest in British Admiralty sea charts of the area. After graduating from Magdalene College, Cambridge University in engineering he entered the world of international banking. He has worked with Credit Suisse Financial Products, Bear Stearns, JP Morgan and BNP Paribas in London. Since 2009 he has served on a pro-bono basis as special advisor to the Chief Minister of Penang. He is currently working on a series of short articles about the history of Johor from the early nineteenth century.



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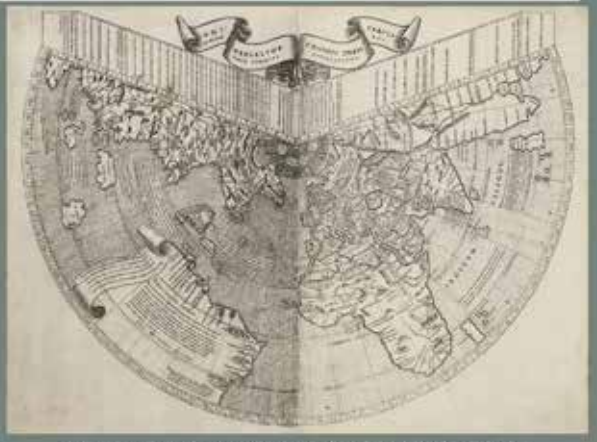
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HELSINKI, FINLAND

Invites you to the 40th IMCoS International Symposium

21–24 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

Optional pre-conference tour

A guided bus tour of Helsinki – the 'Pearl of the Baltic' – will depart from the bus stop outside the Museum of Contemporary Art, Kiasma at 12.00 noon. The duration of the tour is about two hours, and you will see the city's most important sites and hear the story of Helsinki and Finland from the past to the present.

Register your interest at https://www.kartogra.fi/imcoshelsinki/registration/

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 & the Baltic region, Prt I

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)

14.00–16.00 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 & the Baltic region, Prt 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 production 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

19.00 Closing dinner at Suomenlinna

Friday 25–27 August
Optional tour
On this post-conference tour to the eastern part of Finland you will experience the atmosphere of the old wooden cities and their architecture, explore Salpa Line (a bunker line on the eastern border of Finland) and visit the magnificent Maritime Centre Vellamo and its exhibitions. You will also get to know some lovely places like Langinkoski, the old imperial fishing lodge and Strömfors Ironworks, which today is a popular attraction for visitors. Experienced guides will provide detailed information and stories to ensure that you will be entertained at all times.

The tour leaves Helsinki on Friday morning at 9.00 and returns to Helsinki on Sunday by 13.00. The cost is 798 euros per person for two sharing a double room and 931 euros for accommodation in a single room. The prices include accommodation, two meals per day (no drinks), bus tour and all exhibition fees and guides.
Register your interest at https://www.kartogra.fi/imcoshelsinki/registration/

Please note there is further information on the dedicated symposium website:
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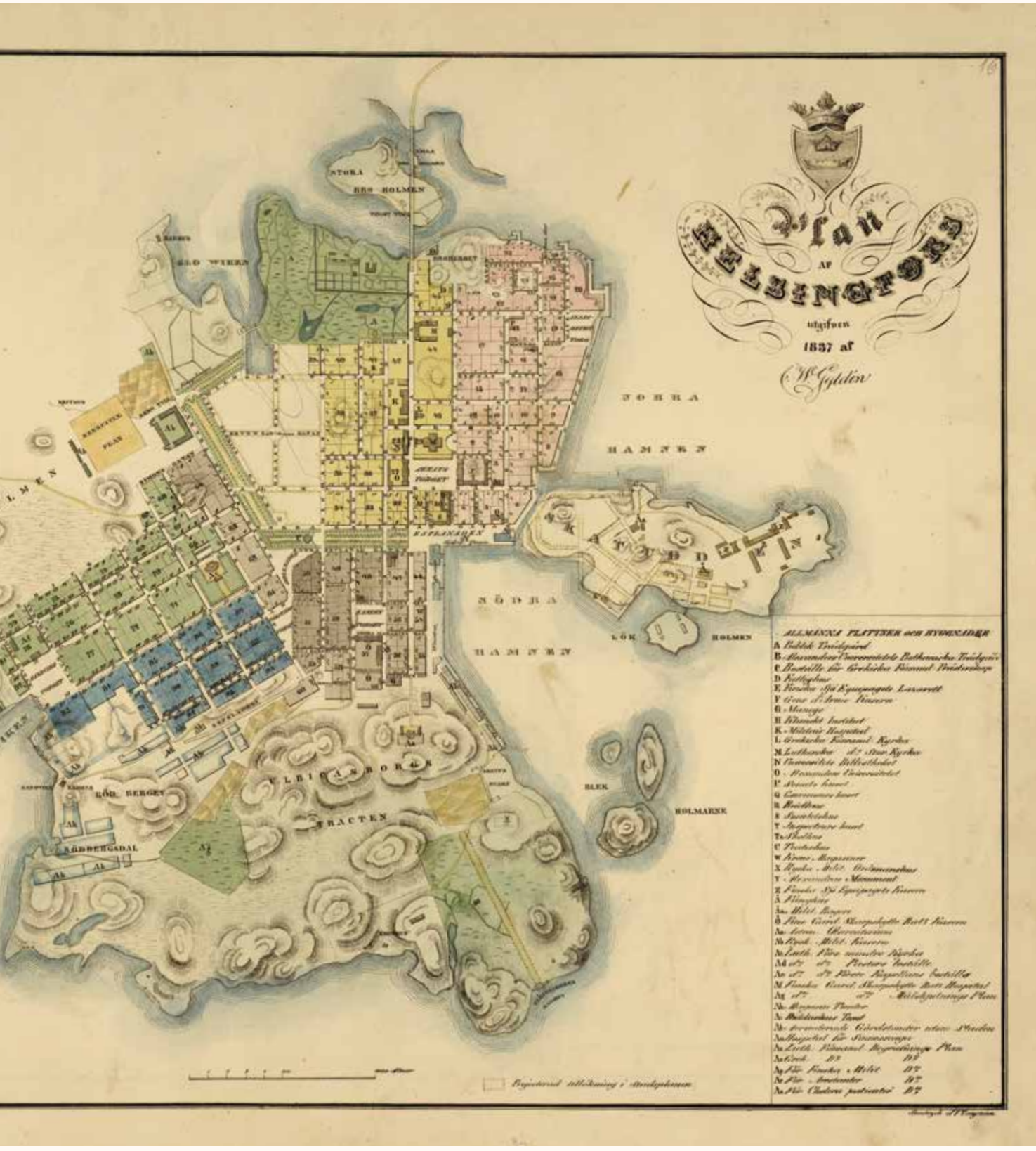
REGISTRATION

Registration must be done online at **https://www.kartogra.fi/imcoshelsinki/registration/**
Registration after 6 May 2023 or later: 550€
Accompanying Person: 220€
Registration includes:
All the presentations in the House of Science and Letters
- Optional presentation on the History of Finland
- Visits to National Library, National Archives and Helsinki City Museum
- Receptions by National Land Survey of Finland, City of Helsinki & John Nurminen Foundation
- Closing Dinner in Suomenlinna

Registration for Accompanying Person includes:
- Visits to National Library, National Archives and Helsinki City Museum
- Optional presentation on the History of Finland
- Receptions by National Land Survey of Finland, City of Helsinki and John Nurminen Foundation
- Closing Dinner in Suomenlinna



Right: Claes Wilhelm Gyldén, Map of Helsinki, 1837.
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HOTELS

Pre-booked allocations have been made for the following hotels. The map below indicates the location of all the hotels and their proximity to the various sites we will be visiting.

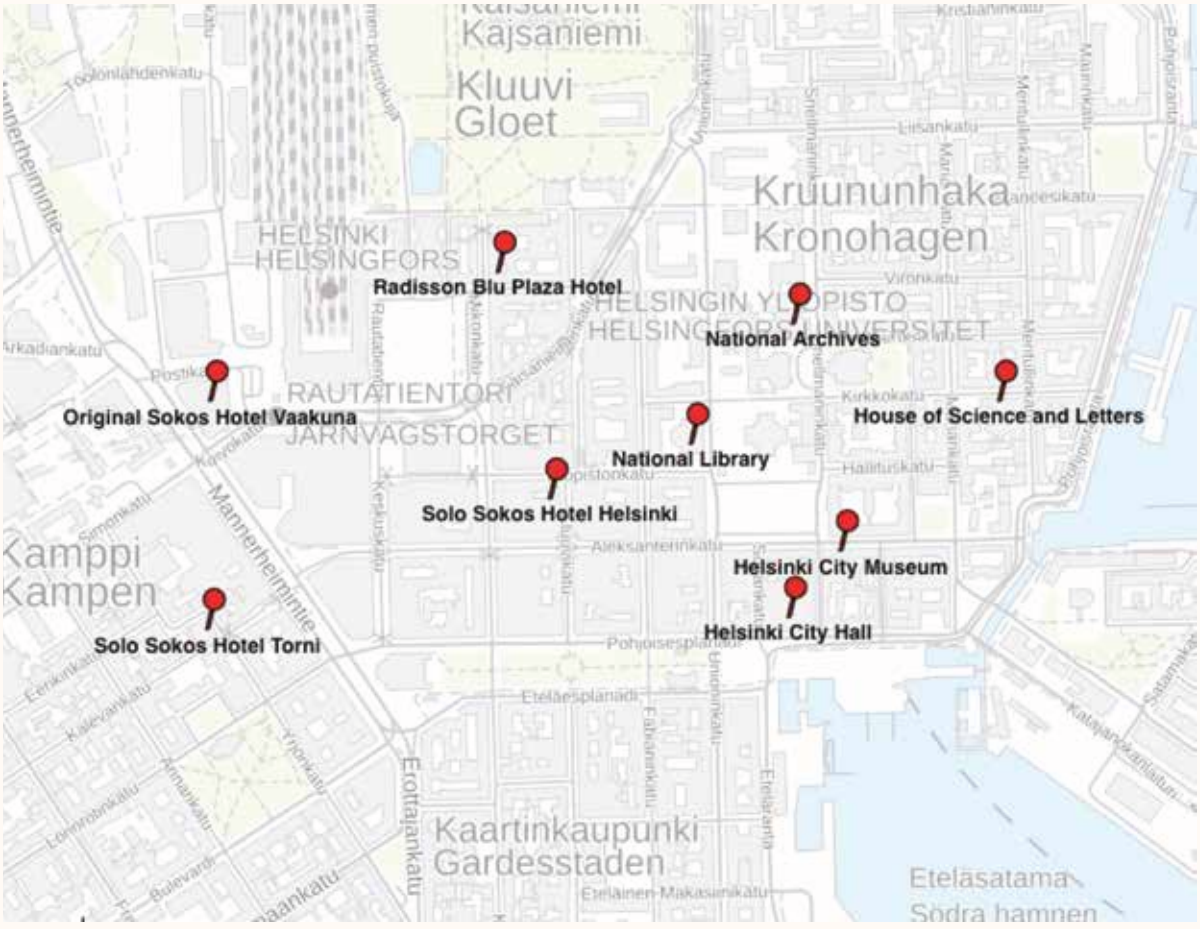
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For prices and further information see https://www.kartogra.fi/imcoshelsinki/hotels/

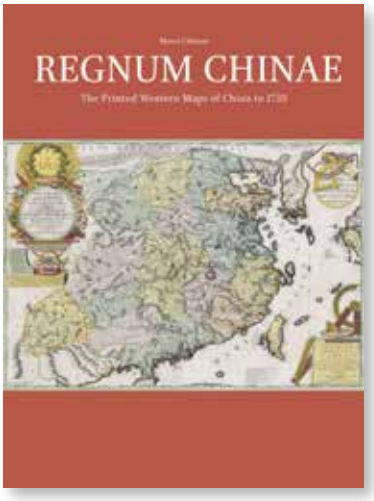
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BOOK REVIEWS

Regnum Chinae: The printed Western maps of China to 1735 *by Marco Caboara. Leiden and Boston: Brill/Hes & De Graaf, 2022. ISBN: HB 9789004382039 / PDF 9789004530904. 520, over 400 maps and plates in full colour. €150.*



Regnum Chinae, Volume 21 of the University of Amsterdam's Explokart Studies in the History of Cartography, is a handsome tome authored by Dr Marco Caboara, Archives and Special Collections Manager at the Lee Shau Kee Library, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST). The book starts with an introduction in which the author explains the work's development and structure and discusses how European maps of China were first produced in a series of waves between the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the second quarter of the eighteenth century. These developments are illustrated with a series of helpful tree diagrams that show the relationships between the most important Western maps of China and the many copies of those seminal works made by other cartographers.

The introduction is followed by eight academic monographs added to flesh out the book's main cartobibliography with a discussion of related topics that explain the emergence of China as a visible entity for a European audience. Li Xiaocong provides a detailed account of Chinese 'maps of the whole realm' (*zongtu*) from the Ming and Qing dynasties. Angelo Cattaneo discusses how overland and maritime routes to China and East Asia are recorded on early European manuscript maps. Marica Milanesi covers the appearance of China under the names Cathay and Mangi (from Marco Polo) on early European printed maps of the world. Francisco Roque de Oliveira describes how the coasts of China are shown in the many sixteenth-century Portuguese manuscript charts of the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia, and Jin Guoping writes about the depiction of the coast of Guangdong and the Pearl River Delta on Chinese and Western maps of that period. Emanuele Raini explains the different systems used for the Romanisation of Chinese toponyms.

Until the mid-seventeenth century European maps of China were divided between those produced for the market by Dutch cartographers (often from charts obtained from Portuguese sources) and those produced by Jesuit missionaries, for example the *c.*1590 map by Fr Michele Ruggieri, S.J. 'Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum et insularum illi adiacentium descriptio', of which there are only two known copies – one in Rome and the other in the HKUST's collection. The cartographic contributions of the Jesuits, who were active in China from the 1580s onwards, and could read and understand Chinese maps, are assessed in two of the introductory essays. Lin Hong analyses the atlases produced by Ruggieri, Michal Piotr Boym, S.J. and Martino Martini, S.J.; published in 1655, Martini's *Novus atlas sinensis* immediately made all previous maps of China obsolete. Mario Cams writes about the early eighteenth-century European maps of East Asia that culminated in Jean-Baptiste Bourguinon d'Anville's 41 maps published in *c.*1735 in the four-volume work on China by the Parisian Jesuit Jean-Baptiste du Halde.

The core of *Regnum Chinae* consists of a detailed list and descriptions of 127 maps of China published in Europe from 1584 to 1735. This cartobibliography follows the structure used in *Japoniæ Insulæ: The Mapping of Japan, A Historical Introduction and Cartobibliography of European Printed Maps of Japan before 1800* by the late Jason C. Hubbard, published in 2012 as Volume 14 of the Explokart Studies. As Caboara explains, the genesis of his book was when he was shown Hubbard's book by the Hong Kong map dealer Jonathan Wattis and realised the need for a similar work on Western maps of China. As well as

providing a template for the contents and layout, Hubbard's book was also a resource for information on the maps of China published in conjunction with maps of Japan, notably those by Pierre Duval and Nicolas de Fer. Another source of inspiration was a dinner I hosted in 2017 to introduce Caboara to David Kim, who owns the largest private collection of printed maps of China.

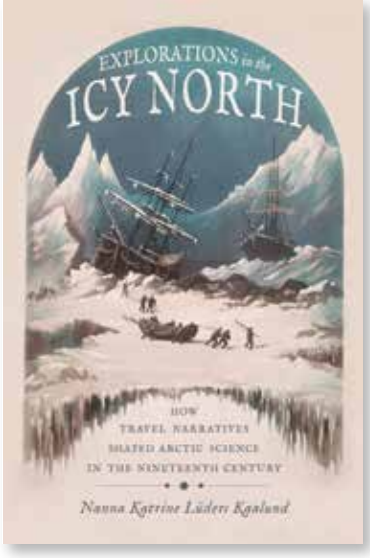
Many readers will be familiar with the landmark maps of China produced by Abraham Ortelius, Jodocus Hondius, Samuel Purchas, Willem Jansz. Blaeu, Nicolas Sanson, Martino Martini and Joan Blaeu, but the detailed entries for these maps include not only all of their various states and editions, but also valuable comments on the topography and toponyms depicted, and how each map builds upon – and differs from – the cartography shown in its predecessors. Separate entries are given for the many maps subsequently derived from these seminal works. Information is provided on where and how the mapmakers found the sources for their creations, and (to quote from the publisher's flyer) each entry 'tells the unique story that made possible these visions from another world, stories marked by scholarly breakthroughs, obsession, missionary zeal, commercial sagacity, and greed'. Every entry concludes with references and a list of the locations where the map can be found.

Perhaps of even greater interest are the maps which have not been widely covered in cartographic literature, for which the author's enthusiasm at having discovered largely unrecorded rarities is evident. Notable examples include the map of 'Il Gran Regno Della China' published by Juan González de Mendoza in 1589; the tiny, untitled maps of China that appear on the title pages of the various editions of *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas suscepta* by the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault; the only known copy of the 1642 map 'Nova et Exactissima Sinar. Monarchiæ Descriptio' by Carlo Giangolini De' Scacchi; the maps of China printed on playing cards, especially the *c.*1696 card by Johann Hoffmann which was believed to have been lost; and the first Islamic map of China, made by the Ottoman geographer Kâtip Çelebi in 1732.

Regnum Chinae is lavishly illustrated with full-page images and many smaller details of maps from the HKUST's Antique Maps of China Special Collection (largely acquired by Min-min Chang, its first librarian, from the English map dealer Roderick Barron), the Allard Pierson collection at the University of Amsterdam, and other institutions across Europe and the United States. It was made possible through the support of HKUST President Prof. Wei Shyy and of Dr Ko Pui Shuen, and the extensive text is a testament to the hard work and scholarship of Marco Caboara and his team of researchers at HKUST, Jason Hubbard, Julian Stargardt, the guest authors, the Explokart editors, the advisory committee, and the publishers. This book will be an indispensable addition to the library of all institutional and private collectors of maps of China and will also appeal to anyone interested in the cartography of East and Southeast Asia.

Peter Geldart, Manila

Explorations in the Icy North: How travel narratives shaped Arctic science in the nineteenth century *by Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021. ISBN: 9780822946595. HB, 240. US $40.*



With *Explorations in the Icy North*, Nanna Kaalund endeavours to expand and set straight the conventional history of Arctic narratives in the nineteenth century. She's quite right to do so, as the more common versions of this history have been around long enough to become quite thoroughly 'potted'. It's nearly always an Anglocentric story, and touches upon the usual names almost as though each were a rosary bead: 'Ross, Parry, Ross, Franklin, McClintock, Nares' – so goes the chant.

Kaalund complicates this story on a number of levels: first by including Danish explorers such as William Augustus Graab, secondly by referencing missionary narratives such as that of Johan Christian Wilhelm Funch, and thirdly by treating Indigenous figures such as Suersaq (better known as Hans Hendrik) as explorer-narrators in their own right. Beyond that, she offers a critique of the kind of 'scientific work' undertaken in many of the canonical expeditions, contrasting science simply done in the Arctic with fully 'Arctic science'. Each of these corrections and critiques is invaluable in itself; taken together, they effectively explode the traditional canon, leaving in its wake a more complex, more 'hummocky' history.

It should be clear, of course, to anyone who has read the primary texts of the British Arctic canon that a good deal of what their narratives aim to underpin is the sense that the Arctic was a specifically *British* zone of influence; there might well be more northerly nations, but none so uniquely capable of dispatching shiploads of explorer-scientists to that remote region. Sir John Barrow, in his final, all-encompassing exegesis, spoke of the Northwest Passage as a sort of corridor, and of the shame that would ensue should Britain, having opened the door at one end, fail to traverse this predestined thoroughfare. The efforts of other nations, peoples, or entities were hardly worth mentioning.

Kaalund has found a strong candidate in Graab, who though he was not seeking either the Passage or the Pole, had a no-less mythic goal in mind: the discovery of a lost Norse settlement which would, by its sheer presence, establish a sort of natural Nordic foundation to the Danish settlements in Greenland. In a sense, as Kaalund suggests, he was searching for the unknown amidst the known, rather than the other way about. And, unlike those who sought the Arctic grail of the Passage, Graab found what he was seeking, although a fuller archaeological understanding of the Eastern and Western settlements of the Norse in Greenland would have to wait until the work of Paul Norland and others in the 1920s. Kaalund also shows how Graab's more positive view of the Inuit of Greenland, along with their far more naturalistic depiction in the plates (many in full colour) made for his narrative, shaped a very different notion of the Indigenous north (the plates, alas, were omitted in the English edition).

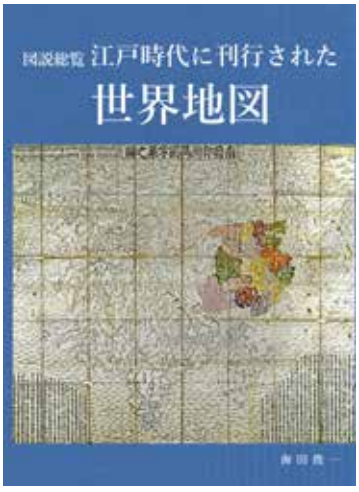
In terms of the missionary narratives, there is certainly something to be said for regarding their work as a deeper kind of colonisation, one claiming not only the body but the spirit of those it sought to chronicle and contain. This ostensibly 'civilizing' notion of the mission settlements, indeed, was taken up transnationally by everyone from the Moravians through to Sir John Franklin, who remarked in an 1845 letter from Greenland that 'there are several Missionary stations in Greenland for the instruction of the Esquimaux, many of them under the Moravians whom I consider the best adapted to each uncivilized men ... they instruct them in the all-important duties of religion'. And yet, unlike expedition or travel narratives, those by missionaries such as Funch are so comfortable within their sense of superiority that their descriptions of Indigenous peoples seem almost incurious in tone.

A welcome highlight of Kaalund's book, though, is her recounting of Suersaq's Arctic journeys. Not only did Suersaq serve in four English and one Danish expeditions, but he was the only Inuk of his day to write an autobiography. Originally published in serial form in the Greenlandic newspaper *Atuagagdliutit*, it was later collected and translated into English by Heinrich Rink and published in 1878. Kaulund gives a fulsome account of the cultural politics surrounding Rink's translation which, although doubtless imperfect, formed a crucial early instance of valuing the narratives of Indigenous figures. In cases where his narrative differs from those of his commanders such as Nares, Rink defended Suersaq, noting that he had an 'excellent memory'. Reading of the debates surrounding the publication of the English edition, it's hard not to think both of the debate over Dr John Rae's informants over the issue of cannibalism among Franklin's men, along with the longstanding doubts cast on the larger Inuit oral traditions which eventually were vindicated by scientific studies and the discovery in 2014 of HMS *Erebus*.

In this, as in its careful dissection of the purposes and politics of Arctic science, Kaalund's book constitutes an outstanding example of how vital it is today to re-evaluate all the received narratives of Arctic exploration, and to regard this history in a more multivocal and transnational manner. As Emerson once noted wryly, a great deal remains to be discovered precisely among that body of information we've come to believe we already know. It's to be hoped that this book is but one of many more to come.

Russell A. Potter, Rhode Island College

Zusetsu zōran: Edo jidai ni kankō sareta sekai chizu 図説総覧: 江戸時代に刊行された世界地図 **(Illustrated Catalogue of Maps of the World published in Japan in [the] Edo Period)** *by Kaida Toshikazu* 海田俊一. *Tokyo: Arsmedica Ltd, 2019. ISBN: 9784866931531. HB, 359, 386 colour maps plus details. 13,500 JPY.*



Kaida Toshikazu's *Zusetsu zōran: Edo jidai ni kankō sareta sekai chizu,* with the English title as given on the back cover, *Illustrated Catalogue of Maps of the World Published in Japan in Edo Period*, is an extensive reference work for the history of Japanese maps. As the title reveals, the book deals with world maps printed and published during the Edo period (1603–1867). In eight chapters, Kaida Toshikazu reproduces and describes 386 maps of that period collected mainly from libraries in Japan (most importantly the Kobe City Museum and the Yokohama City University Library), but also from libraries outside Japan such as the University of British Columbia. The chapters are arranged by the projection of the maps, with some further sub-categories, roughly organised chronologically.

In the first chapter, Kaida deals with world maps of the so-called *sangoku* 三国 (three countries) world view, i.e. Buddhist world maps. The three countries refer to Japan, China and India and the world view of *sangoku* is usually juxtaposed to the *bankoku* 万国 (10,000 countries/all countries) world view depicting the whole globe. However, as the maps in this chapter show, by the nineteenth century Buddhist world maps expanded to show a wider world as well.

Chapters two to five deal with maps in an oval projection. Chapter two collects the editions of the *Bankoku sōzu* 萬國總圖 (Complete map of all countries), of which the first edition of 1645 is considered the first printed world map in Japan. The chapter concludes with a short overview of the extant copies of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (J: *Konyo bankoku zenzu*, Complete map of all countries on earth) by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630), and others printed in Beijing in 1602. Chapter three collects world maps in an oval projection made after the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, including Nagakubo Sekisui's 長久保赤水 (1717–1801) *Sankai yochi zenzu* 山海輿地全圖 (Complete geographical map of the earth, *c.* 1785), while Chapter four brings together the popular, small size maps in an oval projection modelled after Sekisui's world map. In Chapter five, Kaida introduces late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century world maps in an oval projection, which incorporate knowledge from what is known as 'European studies'. Compared to the maps introduced in Chapters two to four which followed mainly the outlines of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, the maps in Chapter five incorporated geographic knowledge from the late seventeenth century onward and show, for example, the outlines of Australia.

Chapters six and seven deal with world maps in two hemispheres separated into maps made before and after Takahashi Kageyasu's 高橋景保 (1785–1829) mapmaking endeavours. In these two chapters, Kaida also shows the European (mainly French, Dutch and English) world maps Japanese mapmakers had at their disposal. Chapter eight introduces maps in a rectangular projection which were made in the final decades of the Edo period, ranging from maps that used a version of Sekisui's *Sankai yochi zenzu* and changed the projection into a rectangular one, to maps translating the latest English world maps.

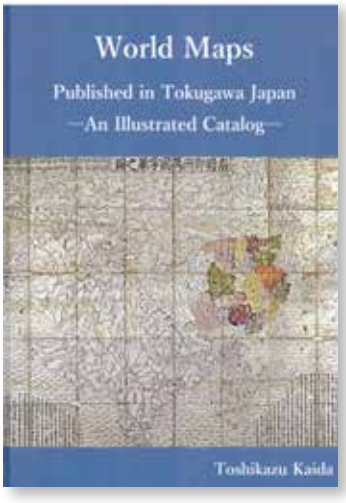
The appendix provides a handy overview of all the maps described in the book. Kaida lists their title (including alternative titles), date, mapmaker(s), publisher(s), rarity, size, and information on which collections hold prints (including the maps' call numbers in the most important collections), making it convenient to locate copies of maps one might wish to study.

For all the maps introduced in the *Illustrated Catalogue*, Kaida provides a reproduction of at least one example, printed fully in colour. He carefully distinguishes different editions and includes reproductions of map details to illustrate these differences. The accompanying text provides a short description of the maps, their editions, publishers, and

makers. Kaida not only shows the maps themselves, but in many cases also the covers, an often neglected but important aspect, as they can give clues, among other things, about alternative titles, the production process, or consumption practices. In two instances, Kaida also discusses and illustrates the woodblocks and the boxes used to store them (pp. 235, 243).

There are limitations the reader should be conscious of: The book only introduces printed world maps that were created as stand-alone maps. Manuscript maps and maps in books are not included. This is in no way intended as a criticism of Kaida's work, as compiling manuscript world maps and maps in books would be two further extensive projects. However, this excellent reference work should not tempt us to neglect these other formats of mapping the world out of convenience. Overall, the *Illustrated Catalogue* is a reliable and extremely detailed reference work, which should be the first to consult when dealing with a printed Edo period world map. A must have for everyone working on Japanese maps.

In 2022 Kaida published an English edition titled ***World Maps Published in Tokugawa Japan: An Illustrated Catalog***. This edition has been expanded by over 200 pages, the inclusion of over thirty world maps and revision of some entries. A chapter on the processes of making Japanese woodblock maps has also been added. (ISBN: 9784866935898. HB, 601 pages. It can be ordered from the publisher at **arsmed2001@yahoo.co.jp**)



This review is based on the 2019 Japanese edition.

Elke Papelitzky, KU Leuven

New book by IMCoS member

Agustín Hernando's latest book ***La imagen cartográfica de Aragón a lo largo de su historia*** (Images of maps of Aragon throughout its history) will soon be available as a free open access publication.

During the pandemic years, the 400th anniversary of the first map of Aragon by Portguese cosmographer J.B. Lavanha (1655–1624) was commemorated. The event was to be celebrated with an exhibition and the publication of a book. Ensuing circumstances meant that only the latter has been realised.

The book follows the structure devised for the exhibition, the book is made up of five sections. The first is dedicated to show how Aragon was contemplated on maps of Hispania, the first being produced in 1482. It is followed by a study of the map of Labaña (1621) and all its epigones published during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The third is dedicated to the twelve maps of the region's episcopal dioceses which were incorporated by Janssonius (1653) and Blaeu (1666) in their respective atlases. The fourth focuses on other maps of Aragon, such as those which include the neighbouring territories of Catalonia and Valencia. The fifth lists the twelve provincial maps that appeared over the course of the nineteenth century, after the approval of a new organisation of the territory by the liberal government of Spain which attempted to eradicate historical sovereignties. In the same century the new national topographic map was approved and the first sheets of the Aragonese territory were printed.



CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Lectures & Conferences

6 & 13 June 2023, London (online) The International Map Collectors' Society annual **Malcolm Young Lecture** will this year be delivered in a slightly different format. There will be two online lectures, rather than a single physical one which is traditionally held during the London Map Fair weekend. **Dennis Reinhartz**, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Texas in Arlington, will present two lectures on the topic ***Misconceptions: Russia and the West***. Information and booking at: www.imos.org.

11–16 June 2023, Charlottesville Matthew Edney will be teaching ***Material Foundations of Map History, 1450–1900*** at the Rare Book School. The course will meet on the University of Virginia campus. Information: https://rarebookschool.org/courses/history/h65/

14 June 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. **Rodney Kite-Powell** (Director, Touchton Map Center, Tampa Bay History Center) will present ***Key West and the Florida Keys: Mapping the history of the Conch Republic.*** Meeting will start at 19.00 ET, 18.00 CT, 17.00 MT,16.00 PT. Information: John Docktor at washmap@gmail.com for meeting ID and passcode.

10–14 July 2023, Berlin The International Society for the History of the Map (ISHMap) will hold its 'VII Symposium' at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science. The symposium theme, ***Intersections in Map History***, invites consideration of the impact of seemingly contradictory perspectives such as insider and outsider knowledge, art and science, and mapmaking and use. The first two days will be devoted to a Workshop for early career professionals (scholars, curators, archivists, and librarians) working in the history of cartography, and the symposium will follow. Information: Diana Lange diana.lange@uni-hamburg.de or Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann vera.dorofeeva-lichtmann@ehess.fr.

21–24 August 2023, Helsinki The International Map Collectors' Society **40th International Symposium** is organised by Cartographic Society of Finland and Chartarum Amici. Sponsored by National Land Survey of Finland, City of Helsinki and John Nurminen Foundation. There will be an optional post-conference tour on 25-27 August. **For the conference programme and post conference activities see pages 51–54**. Information: www. kartogra.fiimcoshelsinki.com

29–31 August 2023, London The three-day Royal Geographical Society-IBG Annual International Conference will be chaired by Professor Harriet Bulkeley (Durham University, UK). The conference theme is ***Climate changed Geographies***. Information: https://www.rgs.org/research/annual-international-conference/

12 September 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. **Richard Francaviglia** (Professor Emeritus, University of Texas at Arlington; currently Associated Scholar, Willamette University, Salem, Oregon) will discuss ***The Role of Maps in Films about Exploration and Discovery: Some Latin American Examples.*** He will explore the varied ways that films depicting the process of exploration and discovery in South America employ maps. RSVP to John Docktor at washmap@gmail.com to receive the meeting ID and passcode. Meeting will start at 19.00 ET, 18.00 CT, 17.00 MT, and 16.00 PT.

20 September 2023, Cambridge UK The Map Curators' Group of the British Cartographic Society will hold its Annual Workshop in person at the British Antarctic Survey. The Group is for anyone interested in using and sharing maps, bound together by a shared interest in curating, maintaining, and sharing our map collections. This workshop is part of the British Cartographic Society's 60th anniversary conference. The MCG workshop theme will be: ***Exploring Maps***. Information: Paula Williams (P.Williams@NLS.UK).

20 September 2023, Rochester, Massachusetts Charlie Rowley will present ***Mapping Rochester*** at the monthly meeting of the Rochester Historical Society. Meeting is at 19.00. Information: https://www.rochesterhistorical.org/

21–24 September 2023, Minneapolis The Annual Conference 2023 of the Society for the History of Discoveries is titled ***Worlds of Exploration***. The conference will be hosted by the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota. There will be a Thursday evening reception and a post-conference excursion in Minneapolis. Information: https://discoveryhistory.org/

28–30 September 2023, Berlin The International Coronelli Society will hold its ***XV International Symposium About Globes*** in the Humboldt Hall of the Staatsbibliothek. Researchers of globe studies and all interested parties are invited to this symposium. It will address all aspects of globe studies, in particular the history of globes and their position in the socio-economic context, but also contributions to globe-related instruments such as armillary spheres, planetariums, telluriums and lunariums. Conference languages are German and English (no translation). Information: https://coronellidotorg.wpcomstaging.com/symposium-of-globe-studies/

18–20 October 2023, Stanford The David Rumsey Map Center, along with sponsor Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, Inc., is excited to announce dates for the Fourth Biennial Barry Lawrence Ruderman Maps Conference on Cartography to be held on *Data*

Visualization. Details to be announced later in the year.

Exhibitions

Until 23 June 2023, Berkeley
Containing items ranging from handmade Indigenous maps to those based on works of fiction, Bancroft Library's latest map exhibition brings together a rich collections of its treasures. ***Visualizing Place: Maps from the Bancroft Library*** is on display in the Bancroft Gallery. While the exhibition includes maps from around the world, there are many of the Bay Area and Mexico. One of the exhibition's highlights is a hand-drawn 1776 watercolour map of San Francisco. It is one of the earliest maps of its kind. Information: https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/about/news/visualizing-place-exhibit

Until 24 June 2023, Montpelier, Vermont
The Vermont Historical Society's exhibition ***A New American Globe: Geography, identity, and craft in early Vermont*** focuses on Vermont cartographer James Wilson. It 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, drawing on new scholarship led by the Vermont Historical Society. The exhibition features 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. Additionally, displayed are several items from the Society's collection related to cartography.
Information: https://vermonthistory.org/exhibit-a-new-american-globe.

Until 30 June 2023, Portland, Maine
The Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education latest exhibition, ***Industry, Wealth, and Labor: Mapping New England's Textile Industry*** was 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. The 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 7 July 2023, Seville
The first circumnavigation of the world, which began in 1519 and ended in 1522, is considered one of the greatest explorations in history and can be compared with more recent milestones such as the Moon landing. ***Maps and the First Circumnavigation of the World: The expedition of Magellan and Elcano*** explores the background, preparations, development and consequences of this momentous voyage. The exhibition considers the unexpected discovery of the American continent, the Tordesillas Treaty by which Spain and Portugal shared the world, the cartographic espionage between the two Iberian powers, the spice trade as a real objective of the expedition, the first maps of the Strait of Magellan and the Moluccas Islands. The exhibition is on view at the Museo Casa de la Ciencia, Av. de María Luisa.
Information: https://www.casadelaciencia.csic.es/en/exposicion/maps-and-first-round-world-voyage

Until 16 July 2023, Amsterdam
Maps Unfolded: From atlas to street map, at Allard Pierson Museum, shows seven centuries of cartography in the Netherlands including maps of the future. It displays an enormous diversity of maps starting with examples from the 15th century and the stories behind them. All maps, including work by Blaeu, Ortelius, Ptolemy and Bos, belong to the Allard Pierson collection, considered one of the most important in Europe. A large part is on loan from the Royal Dutch Geographical Society (KNAG), which celebrated its 150th anniversary in March.
Information: www.allardpierson.com

Until 19 August 2023, Boston
The Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library exhibition – ***Building Blocks: Boston Stories from Urban Atlases –*** shows small-scale stories of urban change. Visitors will discover how the atlas collections opens up a world of fascinating stories, with vignettes including the country's first African Meeting House in the heart of Beacon Hill, landmarks of leisure like the 'Derby Racer' and 'Giant Safety Thriller' amusement rides in Revere, public health infrastructure on Gallops Island in the former South Bay, and many more. Information: https://www.leventhalmap.org.

Until 3 September 2023, Rochester, Massachusetts
The Rochester Historical Society's exhibition – ***Maps, Signs and Celebrations*** – displays some of the signs and maps from their collection. Included is a prized pull-down 1856 Walling map of Rochester which probably graced a classroom wall in that era. Well-respected mapmaker H.F. Walling was born in Burriville, Rhode Island. Information:rochestermahistoricalsociety@gmail.com.

Until 22 October 2023, The Hague
The National Archives of The Netherlands manages a collection of 300,000 maps and drawings, and 400 atlases and map books. The exhibition ***On the Map*** explores the ideas and intentions of clients and mapmakers. Interviewees talk about historical maps that have a personal meaning for them. Visitors are encouraged to give their personal response to the maps by compiling their own travel journal.
Information: https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/en/beleven/tentoonstelling/on-the-map
Information: www.nationaalarcchief.nl

Until 29 October 2023, Leiden
Are maps really that truthful? Are they what they seem? A map is always a simplification of reality, whether it be reduced, distorted or reflect only the information the mapmaker wishes to reveal. The exhibition is a joint project between Leiden University Libraries and the Museum of Ethnology. ***Maps: Navigating and Manipulating*** displays maps from all over the world in combination with works by contemporary artists. The exhibition is on at the Museum of Ethnology.
Information: https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/news/2022/10/exhibition-maps-navigation-and-manipulation

Until 29 October 2023, Cartersville, Georgia
Treasures of NOAA's Ark will explore the history of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and how this federal agency has impacted people across the nation and the world. As the organisation has evolved and grown over the years, NOAA has become an international leader on scientific and environmental issues. *Treasures of NOAA's Ark* will feature 18th-century maps and charts and early scientific instruments and

highlight NOAA's legacy of science, service, and stewardship and explore how we are all connected to the environment. The exhibition can be seen at the Tellus Science Museum. Information:www.floridakeys.noaa.gov

Until 29 October 2023, Shepherdstown, West Virginia
Some 20 maps of Shepherdstown, Jefferson County and the surrounding area will be on display at the Historic Shepherdstown Museum. ***Great Dreams: Maps of Shepherdstown and Jefferson County from the 17th through the 21st Century*** includes several original maps owned by the Museum, including what is believed to be Thomas Shepherd's original plat map of Mecklenburg, both an 1852 and an 1883 Map of Jefferson County by S. Howell Brown, an 1890 plat map of Shepherdstown by S.E. Humrickhouse, and a Shaw and Whitmer map of Jefferson County. In addition, the exhibition includes maps that trace the evolution of Jefferson County, several Civil War-era maps and an aerial map that outlines the Historic District of Shepherdstown. Information:www.historicshepherdstown.com

Until May 2024, Boulder, Colorado
Featuring the works of two contemporary women artists, Charlotte Bassin and Deborah Cole, and maps from the Earth Sciences & Map Library collection; ***No Boundaries: Women Transforming the World*** highlights how using maps in art-making prompts us to re-evaluate what we know about space, place and the depiction of ourselves in the world. The exhibit will also a display maps by women cartographers from the collection, highlighting the historic and current role of women in cartography, exploration and geographic representation. Information: https://www.colorado.edu/libraries/libraries-collections/earth-sciences-map-library

Map Fairs

10–11 June 2023, London
The **London Map Fair** is the largest Antique Map Fair in Europe. It will be held at the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR on Saturday between 12 noon and 19.00 and on Sunday from 10.00 – 18.00. **Admission is free**. Information: https://www.londonmapfairs.com/

4 November 2023, Paris
The **Paris Map Fair** will be held at the Paris Ambassador Hotel, 16 Boulevard Haussmann, 75009 between 11.00 and 18.00 on Saturday. **Entrance to the Fair is free.** There will be a cocktail reception on the Friday evening at 19.00 to which IMCoS members are invited. The Fair is organised by Librairie Loeb-Larocque and Le Zograscope. Information: Librairie Loeb-Larocque at www.paris@map-faircom.

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Maps of the Mediterranean Regions published in the British Parliamentary papers, 1801–1921 (2 copies)	S. Gole	1996	Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation	30
Euscal Herria Museum Map Collection (in Basque, English, French & Spanish)	Ramon de Oleaga	2010	Euscal Herria Museoa	15
Collections des Bibliothèques de la région Centre, Cartes et Plans imprimés de 1564 à 1815	B. Pasha & L. Miran	1996	Bibliothèques National de Paris	15
Fire Insurance Maps, their History and Applications	D.L. Oswald	1997	Bryan, Texas, Newman Printing	10
No Day too Long: An Hydrographer's Tale	G.S. Ritchie	1967	London, Hollis & Carter	10
Five Centuries of Maps and Charts of Croatia	Novak, Lapaine & Mlinarić, Eds	2005	Školska knjiga, Zagreb	15
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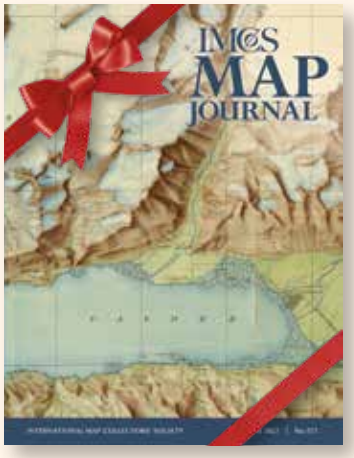
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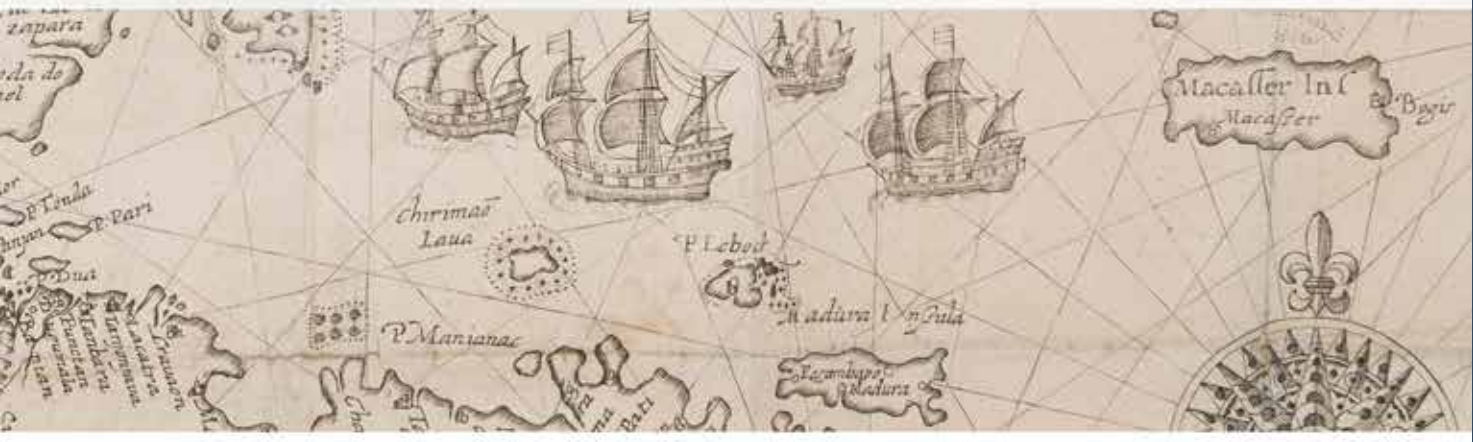
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