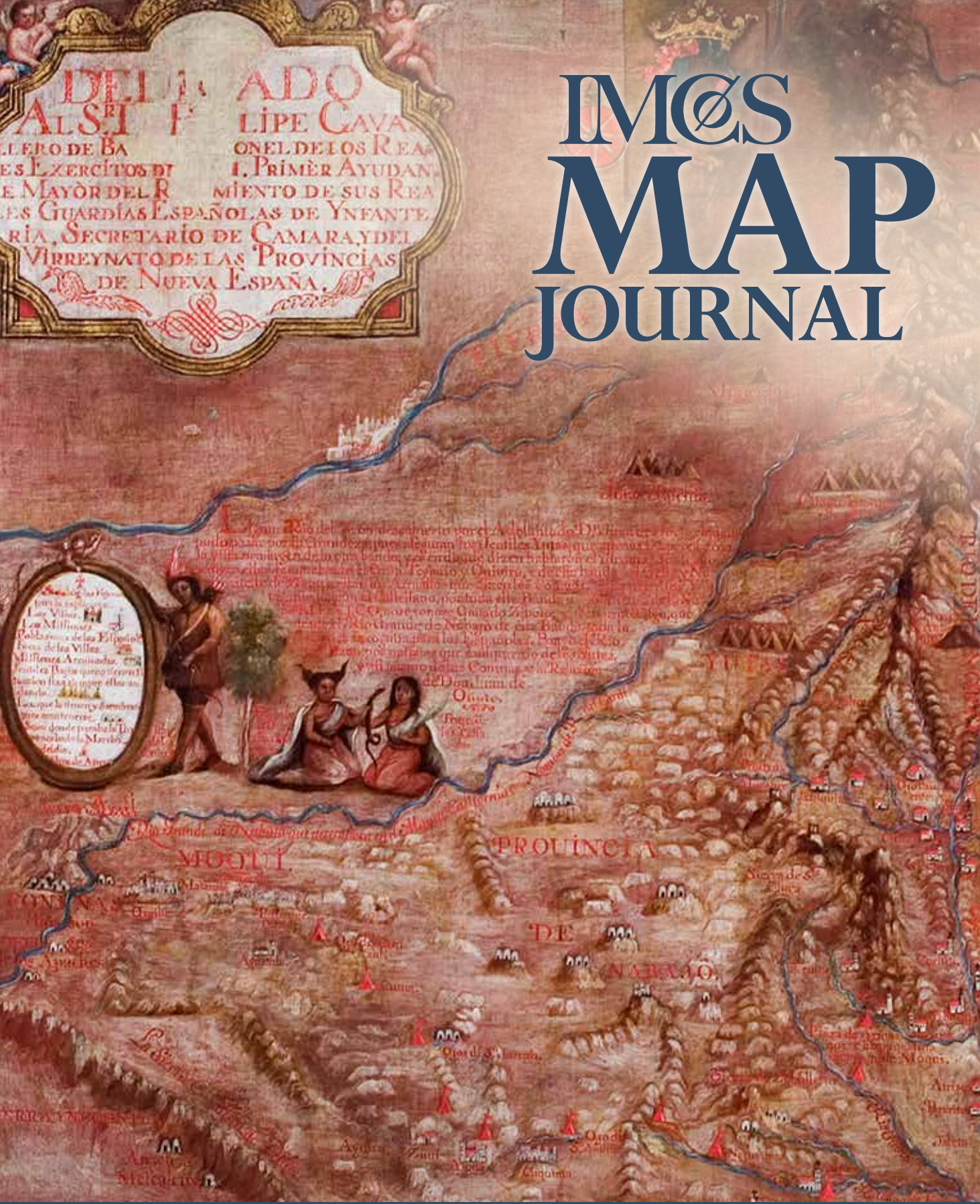


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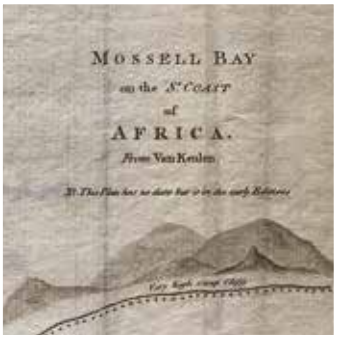
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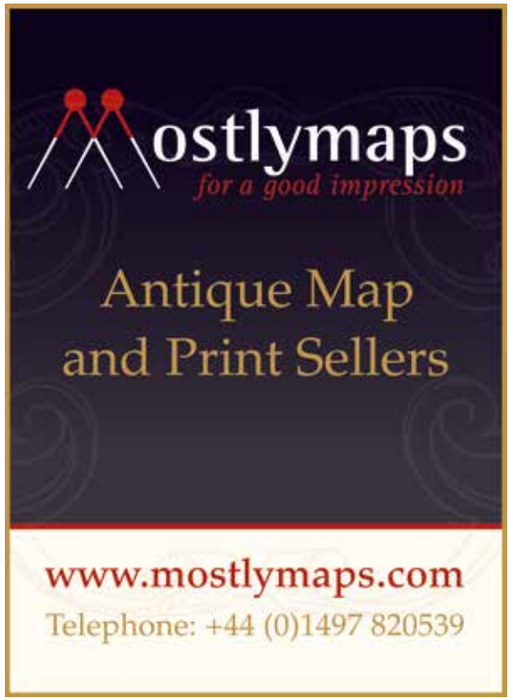


Front cover **Bernardo de Miera y Pacheo, detail from 'Mapa della parte de la Nueba Mexico'. Fray Angélico Chavez History Library/ New Mexico History Museum Santa Fe, NM.78.9.1760.**



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LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Mike Sweeting

Since I last wrote to you, a number of IMCoS members spent a highly worthwhile time together in sunny Finland (yes – sunny – ish!). Helsinki was the venue for our most recent International Symposium. The organisational team did us proud both in terms of content and hospitality.

The event followed the 'normal' pattern of morning presentations, mostly around the mapping of Finland, but widening to matters around Scandinavia the Baltic Sea and even an English mapmaker. The afternoon visits were highly complementary to the morning content - for instance, viewing the National Archive's collection of military maps in the context of presentations on mapping conflict.

However, I do not want to steal from others who are making a fuller report on the Symposium for us in this very same issue of the Journal. What I would like to use this quarterly letter for is to draw your attention to certain principles visible in that Symposium (and any other one) that make our Society such a strong one:

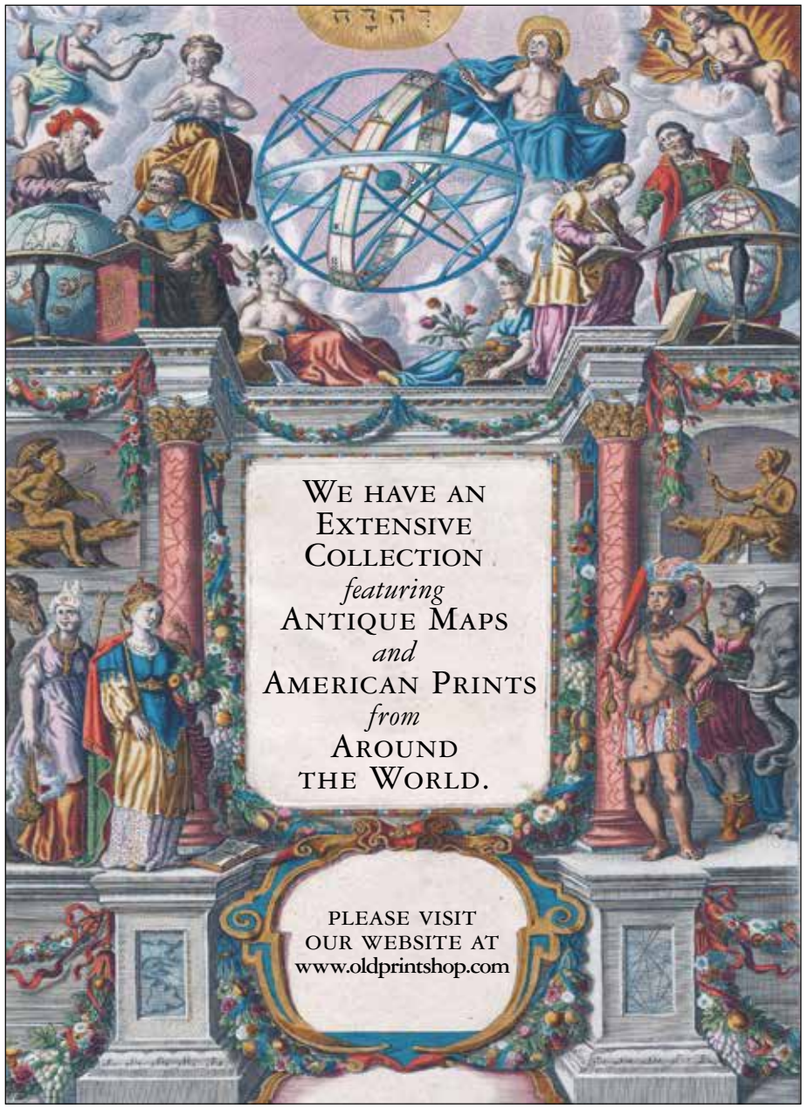
1. We do not operate in isolation from one another but build good relationships wherever possible, despite the challenges of geography and time zones.
2. We promote good scholarship, scholarship that is certainly useful to our members but also to the wider cartographic community.
3. We are interested in helping members at every stage of their 'mapping journey'. At the Symposium, newer collectors and established academics rubbed shoulders not just with each other but with their opposite numbers from other countries.
4. We encourage subject experts to find a voice - through such international events, through our Journal, and through our 'Show & Tells' on Zoom, whatever their background – collector, academic or dealer. (Alert: the next International 'Show & Tell' will take place early next year. Volunteers welcome!)
5. We discover what others are doing to make maps and their story relevant to today's world. In this context, I must mention the work of the Nurminen Foundation, which hosted two receptions for us – at their premises and on Suomenlinna Island. Their work spans preservation of not just old and significant maps but also the very environment depicted on such maps.

The more that we can all do to increase the effect of the five points above, the stronger your Society will be.

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* about a find made by Alex Clausen of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. caught my attention. While browsing the online catalogue of the estate sale of Ann and Gordon Getty, Clausen discovered what he thought could be a misdated portolan chart. The sale, which took place last year, was handled by Christie's; they dated the vellum chart to the early sixteenth century, estimating its value between $100,000 and $150,000.

The chart measures 686 x 1120 mm, including an extension section to accommodate the Atlantic Islands. It extends from the Canaries to the Sea of Azov, from Norway and Iceland to the Nile. There are over 1,200 place-names identified, including the major towns of the Mediterranean and capitals of Northern and Central Europe, surmounted by flags. The area of Norway is decorated with a carefully drawn scene of mountains, seabirds and a castle. Inscriptions appear in northern Africa, Iceland, Norway, the Baltic area and Russia.

Several geopolitical anomalies identified amongst the flags alerted Clausen to the possibility that the chart was older than the date assigned to it by the auction house. The flag over Granada was different from those flying over the other Spanish kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula. That detail is significant because 'Granada was home to the last holdout of the Moorish kingdom before surrendering to Spanish forces in 1492 which would place the map, at latest, in the fifteenth century'. Malta is not decorated with the Cross of the Knights of St John suggesting a date before 1530.

Following Clausen's best-informed deductions Ruderman Inc. made a successful bid of $239,000 on the chart. Thereafter it was subject to careful scientific scrutiny including pigment analysis and carbon dating. Putting the laboratory findings together with the exhaustive research conducted by Clausen and his team it was established that the chart dates to 1360, which concurs with the observations made by Italian scholar Pietro Amat di San Filippo, who records seeing it in the Corsini library in Florence in 1888. He tentatively dated it from 1347 to 1354.

The chart, now fondly named 'Rex Tholomeus' by the Ruderman team pays homage to the second-century geographer Ptolemy who is depicted crowned and holding dividers. By him, in Latin, reads: *In this mountain range, King Ptolemaeus uses a world-compass and through astrology, by longitudes and by latitudes, he constructed a mappa mundi and a cosmography.*

A year on from the purchase 'Rex Tholomeus' is listed on their website, described as 'The Oldest Portolan Chart in America and The Fourth-Oldest Surviving "Complete" Portolan Chart of Europe' and demanding, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, an eye-watering $7.5 million. Clausen's discovery is an exciting one for portolan scholars and enthusiasts and a reminder of the contribution dealers make in advancing map history scholarship.

A lengthy catalogue describing the chart is available on their website.





AN 'ATLAS' IN 90 BLOCKS

A nineteenth-century French educational toy

Thomas O'Loughlin

The 'educational toy' is an ambiguous, almost paradoxical, notion; and certainly, any such toy belongs to a liminal space in our lives. The very mention of a 'toy' links us to feelings of 'the not serious' and fun; while 'education' is the opposite: it is about what is not-fun and about the serious business of work. Toys belong to the child and a child's freedom from responsibility, but schooling is, or was, part of getting ready to leave childhood behind. The problems arise because the toys are what a child – or anyone being playful – wants for themselves, the educational dimension comes from outside: the adult who wants them for the child's 'good'. 'Education may not be fun, but,' cries the educator, 'it is for your own good!' So, if the toy belongs to the world of leisure, freedom and fun, education smacks of the world of work, drabness and grind: polar opposites.

There have been any number of attempts to get over this divide between play and learning, 'to sweeten the pill', and make education fun or, at least, to encourage children to self-engage in activities that are seen to bring them benefits over and above what they derive from 'pure' play. It was the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) who first suggested that having wooden blocks with letters and numbers on them would combine the attraction of playing with blocks with learning letters and basic numeracy. His insight is now stock wisdom among educators: 'the chief art is to make all that … [children being schooled] have to do, sport and play too'.[1] His blocks have now become an ubiquitous element of childhood.

It was around a century later that Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont (1711–1778) in France – where the educational vision of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in *Emile* also added to Locke's notion of school as play – took the idea a stage further, linking play and learning geography with maps. It is claimed that she used some sort of wooden map to teach geography to little girls, but, alas, no physical evidence of this has survived.[2] In England, John Spilsbury (1739-1769) is credited not only with inventing the jigsaw puzzle but the jigsaw map.[3] His 'Dissected Map' of Europe from 1766 – and several others – is the direct antecedent of any number of jigsaw maps that are on sale today, and of the elegant *Etudes Géographiques* that is the focus of this paper.

At first sight, the *Etudes Géographiques* is impressive: in an impressive wooden box (305 x 256 x 183 mm) with metal handles, whose weight (almost exactly 5 kg) and title suggests that it contains some scientific instrument rather than an educational toy (Fig. 1). On opening the box one finds three wooden trays each containing thirty solid wooden cubes (44 x 44 x 44 mm) (Fig. 2). On each face of the cube are pasted sections of a map, so that each tray of blocks can make up six maps (Fig. 3). The whole box (90 blocks) can thus be used to make up eighteen maps. While each tray

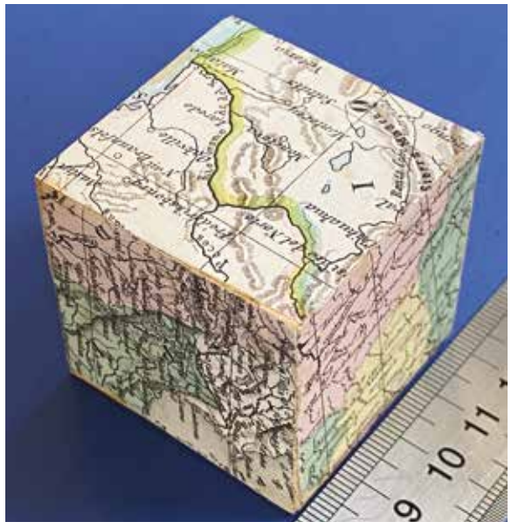


Fig. 1 (*left*) *Etudes Géographiques* weighs 5 kilograms, its weight and solidity indicate that this is a serious endeavour promising real geographical learning.

Fig. 2 (*left*) One of the three trays in the box. Each contains 30 blocks which can make up six different maps. This is the only map of Europe in the box.

Fig. 3 (*right*) One of the 90 cubes in the box. If its entire contents were emptied on to a table, it would be a puzzle of 540 pieces (= 90 cubes x 6 faces per cube) of which 30 were needed for any one map. If played with in this way, it is quite a challenge!

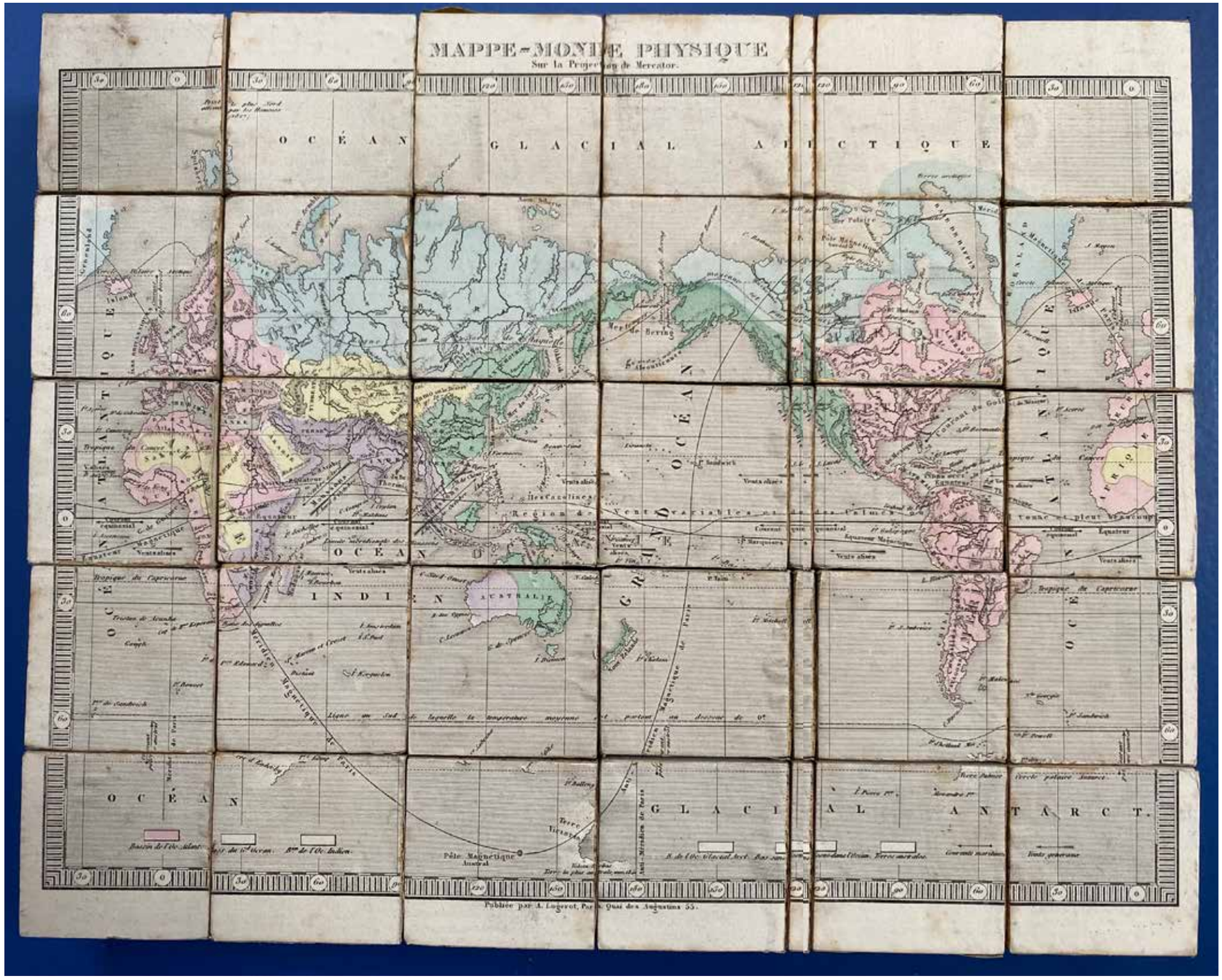


Fig. 4 A world map assembled. There is provision at the bottom of the base map for a colour coding of the oceans, but this was unused in the coloured map. The magnetic equator and meridian of Paris and William Parry's 'furthest north' (1827) are included on this, unusually, Pacific centred map.

makes up six maps (i.e. only one tray needs to be taken out of the box at a time), there is no single relationship between the various sides of the cubes (i.e. one has to puzzle out each new map rather than simply alter which face of a cube is facing upwards having successfully arranged one of the maps). If a complete map is turned up-side-down, then another complete map is revealed. Thus, each tray is a set of six puzzles. This arrangement was probably arrived at for commercial reasons of being able to sell boxes with one, two, or all three trays.[4] The fact that each set of blocks when turned up-side-down produces another complete map was also probably due to commercial reasons: in this case, the convenience in the process of manufacture of working on one side, then flipping it over to work on the other.

In addition to the three trays of blocks, the box also contains eighteen loose maps (most on sturdy paper) which are the guides (equivalent to our jigsaw box covers) to the various maps that can be assembled from the blocks. These guidance maps were not trimmed to a single size, and the pages measure between 287 and 295 mm x 225 and 233 mm .

Origins

The only guidance as to date and origin comes from the box and the maps themselves. The whole production was the work of Mazrand from Cirey-sur-Vezouze in the département of Meurthe-et-Moselle.[5] This printing establishment began work in 1872 and, by the beginning of the First World War, had expanded to having bases in Paris and Blamont (département of Doubs). The firm specialised in commercial colour printing using lithography.[6]

The actual maps (both the guidance maps and those dissected and pasted onto the cubes) were not produced by Mazrand but come from a variety of sources. Fourteen come from the Paris firm of Auguste Logerot, a map publisher in the latter half of the nineteenth century who has left a large body of maps and atlases. Each of these bears his name (*Publiée par Logerot* or *Publiée par A. Logerot*) and this occurs, with one exception, in a cartouche. In every case, the maps have his Paris address at the bottom of the page: *Quai des Augustins, 55.* On two the engraver's name is given:



Fig. 5 The only map of France included – but Alsace and Lorraine are not coloured.

Charles Dyonnet;[7] and on another there is a small heading: *Atlas Elémentaire*.

Of the other four maps, Africa, was prepared by Richard Cortambert and Alexandre Vuillemin, printed by Monrocq in Paris, and Logerot is designated as *éditeur* (publisher). The remaining three (all on more flimsy paper and sharing a different type of border) come without any indication of their origin.

Given that the firm of Logerot seems to have stopped producing maps around 1880, and the fact that all the maps still use the meridian of Paris,[8] suggests a *terminus ante* of 1880 for the appearance of the *Etudes Géographiques* – though the firm of Mazrand could have had stock still in use long after that date. The founding of the firm in 1872, a year after the Franco-Prussian War, along with the exclusion of Alsace and Lorraine, without comment, from the map of France, gives us the *terminus post*. This exclusion was effected by not overprinting the area with colour (Fig. 5). So we can safely say that the *Etudes Géographique*s was a product of the 1870s.[9]

However, if the *Etudes* as an entity can be safely dated to 1872 onwards, that does not mean that the base maps (printed in black) are to be dated to that decade. The map of Italy is a case in point (Fig. 6). The whole of the peninsula is coloured in a single blueish green indicating a single unified country. It has its current borders with France (the only other

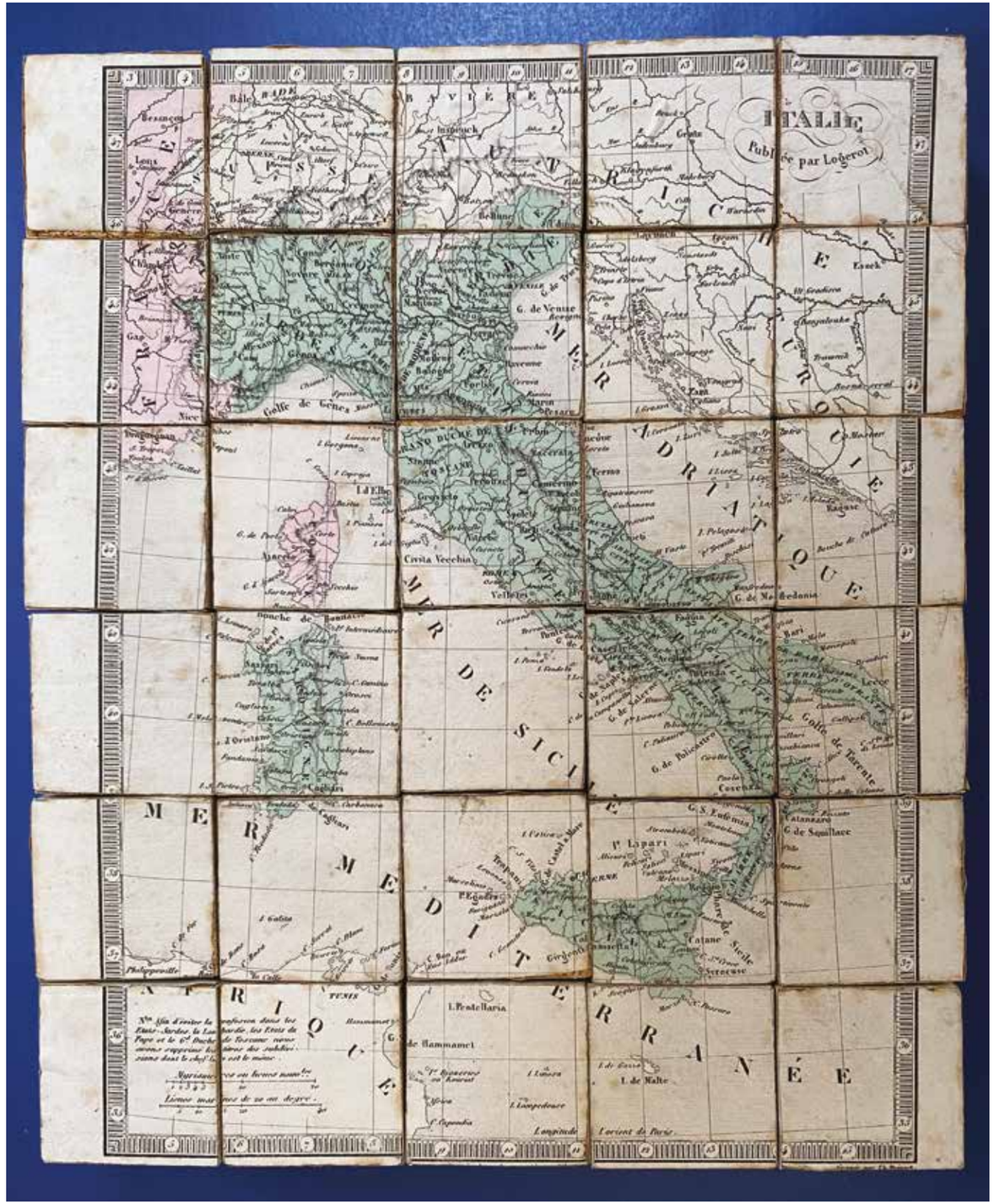


Fig. 6 One map/two states of Italy. The colour (added by Mazrand in the 1870s) is of the unified Kingdom of Italy. The earlier black and white base map is of the 'geographical expression' with its many rulers.



Fig. 7 One of the two maps of the British Isles – this one is not from Logerot. While its box is impressive, the production values of the blocks are not very high as witness to the cropping of the title and map segments not pasted on square.

country coloured) and with Switzerland, and the pre-1919 borders with the Austrian Empire in the north: so, at first sight, this Italy is more than, to use Metternich's phrase, 'a geographical expression'. This map presents us with the unified post-1870 incipient nation-state. Closer examination of the base map reveals that this colour has been overprinted on a map from before 1870 with the *Etats du Pape* reaching from Bologna to Gaeta. Older maps were being given an extended life in the box. Drawing together several clues – such as the Papal States and Lake Victoria on the map of Africa – we can infer that the basic black printed maps were produced in the 1860s in Paris, and then overprinted in colour in Cirey to produce the *Etudes* in the 1870s. There was little concern that several of the maps were now out of date, and, while the box is impressive, the production values were somewhat slipshod (Fig. 7). Even when a more up-to-date map would have reflected on the glory and greatness of France, the opportunity was not taken: in 1869 it was French money and engineers that opened the Suez Canal, but this is not shown on any of the maps showing that region (Fig. 8).

The mapping chosen for the *Etudes* seems to have been driven by the need to find maps that were the correct size for a tray of blocks, with far less concern for the detailed contents of the individual maps. In this case of Italy, the map *looked* contemporary, but its detail when studied was dated. Similar observations can be made about other maps in this 'atlas'. Possibly those who played with the blocks were expected to be so pleased with having arranged them to obtain the overall result, which meant they *glimpsed* Africa or Denmark or Italy complete, that they were not then expected to *read* the details on the assembled blocks. That this was primarily a commercial venture, as distinct from a deliberate attempt to produce an educational resource, can be seen in the fact that there are two different maps of the British Isles (see Fig. 7 for one of these) and yet only one map of France (see Fig. 5) – which, rather than giving towns or departments, gives us river basins and crop information. Moreover, the two maps of the British Isles come from the same tray of blocks – I wonder did anyone feel cheated that with a world of maps from which to choose just eighteen, they got two very similar maps of one region? [10]

Interpreting the *Etudes Géographiques*

'Geographical studies' (*études géographiques*) sounds like a degree programme in a contemporary university rather than a game for children which might simultaneously introduce them to geography. The grandiose title may match the box but not the maps therein. They are, at best, coloured sheets from a very elementary school atlas. On the other hand, it is an interesting and challenging toy. And the wear and tear on the blocks in this particular box show that it was played with often, and so, we assume, enjoyed. This was an expensive toy for the wealthier middle classes, and its survival intact probably indicates that it was used under the supervision of a governess or an involved parent.



Fig. 8 A French map but not a map of French achievements. Ferdinand de Lesseps' canal at the isthmus of Suez was opened in 1869 but is not shown on the map of Egypt.

Would it have been an effective educational product? It is doubtful just how much geography would be absorbed in the actual task of putting each map together – though it may have trained the eye and fostered careful patience as blocks had to be turned and re-turned until the correct face could be placed in the correct position. In a period of nationalistic and imperial fervour it may have presented children with the national allegory and encouraged them to identify within a national community. But this was not the intention of its producers, or they would have supplied several, and more informative, maps of France, and avoided offering two maps of the British Isles. Would it have formed the child, as Norcia has argued, to see their future role as a servant of an empire and to bear the burden of ruling colonies? It does have, as one would expect from a nineteenth-century product, a clear Eurocentrism, and there is a detailed map of Algeria and Tunisia (already important French territories), but if preparing the child for 'the white man's burden' is a result of playing with these *Etudes*, then it is an accident. There seems a general lack of planning in the choice and arrangement of the maps.

What it does foster is that elusive intellectual quality of 'map consciousness' – to be aware of maps, to feel at home with maps, and to see them as friendly and accessible rather that alien and 'other'. I believe it would certainly have, at least, fostered a familiarity and love of maps – maps perceived as 'fun objects' – and, therefore, it may truly have been a valuable (and expensive) first step in geographical studies.

APPENDIX

1. THE CONTENTS OF THE 'ATLAS'

Tray A			
	Title	**Contents**	**Notes**
1.[11]	*Mappe-Monde Physique; sur la Projection de Mercator*	World map	Published by Logerot. This is centred on the Pacific (Grand Océan) with 180° almost in the middle of the map. It also shows the magnetic meridian of Paris, and the magnetic equator (but without dates), Land is shown in 5 colours (presumably based on climate) but there is no key. Some ocean currents and winds are shown. The 'most northerly point reached by man (1827)' is shown north of Svalbard.[12] But since this record held until the 1870s, it does not help date the map.
2.	*Carte Physique de la France*	France, physical, with rivers most clearly shown	Published by Logerot. Coloured by region; but with Alsace and Lorraine left uncoloured as part of Germany. Lines showing the northern/eastern limits of certain crops.
3.	*Angleterre ou Îles Britanniques*	Britain and Ireland; inset of Shetlands	Published by Logerot; engraved by Dyonnet. Channel Islands not shown.
4.	*Royaume-uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande*	Britain and Ireland; insets of Shetlands and Channel Islands	No indication of origin and on a lighter paper and with a brighter printing. This map has a PR: 1:1,720,000.
5.	*Suisse*	Switzerland	Published by Logerot.
6.	*Italie*		Published by Logerot; engraved by Dyonnet. A single colour indicated the unified Italy of 1870; but the base map still reflected the pre-1870 situation.

Tray B			
	Title	**Contents**	**Notes**
7.	*Europe Physique*	Physical map from the Atlantic to the Urals	No indication of origin and on a lighter paper and with a brighter printing. This map has a PR: 1:25,000,000.
8.	*Algérie*	Algeria, Tunisia, part of Morocco; and inset for Algiers	Published by Logerot. In the top left corner is: *Atlas Elémentaire*.
9.	*Hollande*	The Netherlands	Published by Logerot.
10.	*Suede et Danemark*	Scandinavia; insets for Iceland and the Faroe Islands	Published by Logerot. Denmark includes the whole of Schleswig-Holstein (the pre-1864 borders). This may indicate that the map was originally engraved before then. Iceland and the Faroes are implicitly shown as Danish by the use of the same colour.
11.	*Egypte, Nubie, Abissinie et Mer Rouge*	The two Niles from 4° N to the Mediterranean	Published by Logerot. Despite being a French map, no indication of the Suez Canal (in construction from 1859-69).
12.	*Afrique*	Africa	Ascribed to R. Cortambert and A. Vuillemin; published by Logerot; and printed by Monrocq. '*L. Victoria*' is shown, thus giving an absolute *terminus post* of 1858.

Tray C			
	Title	**Contents**	**Notes**
13.	*Espagne et Portugal*	The Iberian Peninsula	Published by Logerot.
14.	*Belgique*	Belgium and Luxembourg	Published by Logerot. The grand Duchy of Luxembourg is treated as merely an administrative unit. Both Belgian Luxembourg and the Grand Duchy are designated with one name: 'Luxembourg'.
15.	*Turquie et Grèce*	The Balkans	Published by Logerot. It shows the pre-1870s divisions (from Moldavia in the north to Crete) in that '*Roumelie*' (Rumelia) is the administrative division west of Constantinople with Bulgaria to its north.
16.	*Asie Occidentale ou Turquie et Perse*	From the Bosporus to India; and the Black Sea to Aden	Published by Logerot. The most easterly coloured division (labelled '*Seiks*') has roughly the same border as the present-day Pakistan. India is labelled '*Hindoustan*'. The Suez canal is not shown.
17.	*Russie et Pologne*	Russia west of Urals to pre-1914 borders	Published by Logerot.
18.	*États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord*	The continental USA	No indication of origin and on a lighter paper and with a brighter printing. This map has a PR: 1:20,000,000. West Virginia (became a state in 1863) is not distinguished from Virginia; Oklahoma (statehood in 1907) is labelled '*Terr. Des Indiens*'.

2. THE CONTENTS OF THE VARIOUS TRAYS

Arrangement of the maps: Tray A

	British Isles		
France	World	Italy	Switzerland
	British Isles		

Arrangement of the maps: Tray B

	Europe		
Algeria	Sweden	Africa	Egypt
	Holland		

Arrangement of the maps: Tray C

	Spain		
W. Asia	Belgium	Turkey	Russia
	USA		

Notes

1 *Thoughts Concerning Education* in John William Adamson ed., *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 157.
2 The cultural backdrop to late nineteenth-century map toys which combined play with preparation for imperial responsibilities is set out in Megan A. Norcia, 'Puzzling Empire: Early Puzzles and Dissected Maps as Imperial Heuristics', *Children's Literature* 37 (2009), pp. 1-32.
3 For an introduction to the cultural reception of these early jigsaw maps among wealthy 'young ladies and gentlemen', see Jill Shefrin, *Neatly Dissected for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography: John Spilsbury and Early Dissected Puzzles*, Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Occasional Press, 1999.
4 Looking on various auction sites on the web I have been able to locate boxes from the same company using the same maps which were made having only one or two trays.
5 The label reads: *Imp. Mazrand & Cie. Cirey S/ Vezouze*. This company also traded as 'Mazerand'.
6 For examples of their work, see http://www.letyrosemiophile.com/images/Imprimeurs/Mazerand-Cirey-54.htm (accessed 6 June 2023).
7 *Gravée par Ch. Dyonnet*.
8 The standardisation on Greenwich, apart from on British maps, began in 1884; though many French and German maps continued to use the meridian of Paris (or even Ferro) long after that date.
9 For other 'geographical games' – mainly maps – produced in France between the Franco-Prussian war and the Great War, see http://www.jeuxanciensdecollection.com/pages/Les_ATLAS_GEOGRAPHIQUES-8312405.html (accessed 6 June 2023).
10 I found an advertisement on an auction website for a single tray version with this description: 'Paris: Logerot & Gaultier, c. 1880. Geographical game, 30 blocks to make 6 maps, coloured engravings laid down on each face of the blocks, with a colour printed copy of each map contained in the original folding box, 240 x 285 mm, box expertly repaired, in fine condition. A fine geographical game, in which six regional maps of the world are applied to the faces of 30 wooden blocks, thus neatly presenting six challenging jigsaw puzzles in the one box. The maps include a chart of Oceania featuring Australia and a "Carte du Tonkin", or map of the French-occupied administrative region of northern Viet Nam.' This indicates that the content of the boxes varied. Unfortunately, this lot was already sold. (https://biblio.co.uk/booketudes-geographiques-logerot-gaultier-j-editeur/d/564402170).
11 There are no numbers on the maps – this numeration is given simply to list them here.
12 This refers to Captain William Edward Parry's expedition. See his *Narrative of an Attempt to Reach the North Pole,* London: John Murray, 1828.

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Johann Gabriel Doppelmayr, *Atlas Coelestis in Quo Mundus Spectabilis et in Eodem Stellarum Omnium Phoenomena Notabilia*, Nuremberg, 1742. Sold June 2022 for $14,300.

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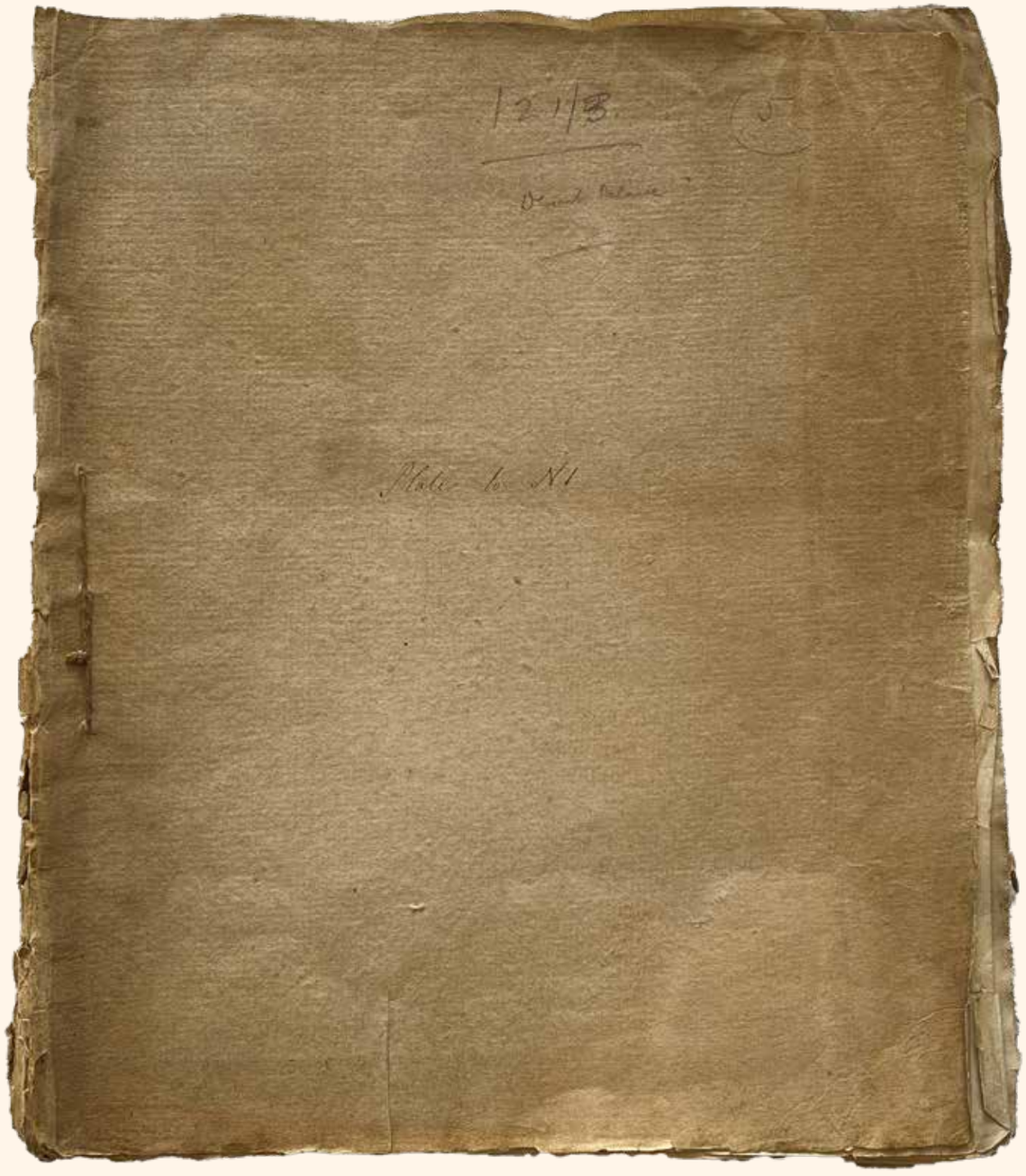


Fig. 1 The plates to Dalrymple's Number 1 are simply bound with drab, thick paper covers. With permission from the Schrire family.

A RARE SET OF CHARTS BY ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE, 1774

Innovative engraving and three southern African bays

Roger Stewart

In the 1960s and '70s David Schrire, a South African collector in London working closely with R.V. ('Mick') Tooley, assembled about 650 Africana maps and charts. It is known as the Schrire Africana Map Collection (SAMC). Tooley recorded many, but not all, of Schrire's Collection in his publications on Africana maps.[1] From among those not described by Tooley I present a rare, possibly unique, unreported bound set of twenty plans of ports, along the route to, and in, the East Indies, which were published in 1774 by Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808).

Apart from their rarity, eight of the twenty charts display a novel copper engraving technique that yields an ink-wash effect on the print. This effect is especially noticeable on the plans of three bays – Flesh or S^{T}. Bras, Mossell [*sic*], and Algoa – along the southern coast.

The bays featured in journals of pioneering Portuguese and Dutch voyagers prior to 1652 when the Dutch established a settlement on the shores of Table Bay. Dalrymple derived his plans of the bays from the Van Keulens; one of these, Flesh Bay, was reproduced in turn, via Pieter Goos, from a 1652 chart by Jodocus Hondius III, in his rare pamphlet *Klare Beskryving van Cabo de Bona Esperança* (A Clear Description of the Cape of Good Hope), published in Amsterdam.

The bays were not prominent on routes to the East Indies; these had aready been established by 1774. Nevertheless, almost identical charts of the three bays were subsequently included in French and English pilots, some with different toponyms: in the second edition of Jean-Baptiste d'Après de Mannevillette's *Le Neptune Oriental* (1775) and in the *Oriental Pilot* by Sayer and Bennett (1778) and their successors Laurie and Whittle (1794).

Dalrymple's *Plans of Ports*, 1774[2]

Before Dalrymple's appointment as Hydrographer to the British Admiralty in 1795 he had been succesfully publishing nautical charts and plans. One project he undertook was a compilation of plans of ports on the route from the Cape of Good Hope towards the East Indian Archipelago, together with navigation instructions and explanations. *A Collection of Plans of Ports &c. in the East Indies. With some Nautical Instructions and Explanations* was published in six parts, issued separately between February 1774 and March 1775 after the East India Company subscribed, in advance, to one hundred copies of instalment Number 1, the first set of plans.

In March 1775 he published all six as an integrated whole, totalling 83 plans and 104 pages of instructions and explanations. Initially, there were few private subscriptions, but *A Collection of Plans* must have been popular because it was reprinted in 1777, 1782 and 1787. It has been republished recently,[3] presumably because very few examples of the complete set and individual numbers have survived; there being only three known copies of Number 1.[4]

Schrire's anomalous Number 1

Two of the known sets of plans in Number 1 comprise nineteen charts of the twenty listed in the table of contents, together with 39 pages of instructions and explanations.[5] SAMC's Number 1 has the full set of twenty plans, all but two are printed on pages with deckled edges (Fig. 1). All have the imprint: 'Publish'd according to Act of Parliament by A. Dalrymple 5th. Feb^{y}. 1774.' The firm paper is not watermarked. The pages are bound in a drab, tatty, thick, grey paper cover (32.5 x 38.4 cm), with a simple knotted cord binding. The hand-written title on the front cover reads: 'Plates to N 1', The bound collection lacks publication imprint, the compiler/owner is not named and there is no letterpress text. The prominent platelines, dark print impressions and clear ink-wash effect on the shading of hills may suggest that the original owner of the Schrire bound set was close to the early printing of Number 1.

The names of three engravers –W[illiam]. Palmer, J[ohn]. Russell, S[tephen]. Pyle – appear below the lower border; five are unsigned. All charts have a compass rose, rhumb lines and scale of nautical miles

below the neatline; there is no latitude scale, but some provide a single latitude and the compass variations. All plans have titles in which the use of upper and lower case, italics, and punctuation is inconsistent. The plans are not numbered but are bound in the following order (bracketed terms in the list below are the current names of the bays):

1. 'FLESH BAY, or BAY S^{T}. BRAS. *From* Van Keulen. *NB. This Plan is in the Old Editions*.' [Vleesbaai, South Africa]; 20.4 x 28 cm; engraved by W. Palmer.
2. 'MOSSELL BAY on the *S^{o}. Coast* of AFRICA. *From* Van Keulen. *NB. This Plan has no date but is in the early Editions*.' [Mosselbaai or Mossel Bay, South Africa]; 25.7 x 28.2 cm; engraved by W. Palmer.
3. 'Bay of ALGOA *on* South Coast *of* AFRICA, *from the late Edition of* Van Keulen.' [Algoa Bay, South Africa]. 25 x 27.8 cm; unsigned.
4. 'Plan of TOLLEAR Bay on MADAGASCAR. *From Van Keulen*.' *NB. This Plan has no date but appears to have been laid down from Observations in ye Ship Schuylenburg 1755.*[Tuléar or Toliara, Madagascar]. 20.7 x 28.3 cm; engraved by W. Palmer.
5. 'Plan of MANUMBAGH on MADAGASCAR. *From* van Keulen.' [Manambao River, Madagascar]. 20.5 x 28.4 cm; engraved by W. Palmer.
6. 'LONG POINT on MADAGASCAR *Lat. 17°. 30'S, Var^{n} 19 30'W. From a M.S. received from Capt. Peter Fea*.' [Fénérive, Madagascar]; 19.7 x 34.3 cm, folded; engraved by J. Russell, signed below left edge of border.
7. 'PLAN of the N.W. part of the Island MAYOTTA, Lat. 12°. 44.S^{o}.' *By* Mr. Watson *in the* Norfolk, 1754. *With some additions by Cap^{t}*. Peter Pigon *of the* British King. 1762'. [Mayotte, Comoro Islands]; 21.1 x 27.4 cm; engraved by S. Pyle.
8. 'Plan *of the W. side of* COMORO or ANGAZECHA, *From a M.S. by Alexander Sibbald*.' [Grand Comoro, Comoro Islands]; 20.8 x 28.1 cm; engraved by S. Pyle.
9. 'Plan of MOHILA *from* Van Keulen N.B. *The* North *appears to be misplaced*.' [Mohile, Comoro Islands]; 25.2 x 27.8 cm; unsigned.
10. 'PLAN of the BAY on the NORTH SIDE of JOHANNA: in 12°. 10' *S. Lat.* by C. Peter Pigou, 1762'. '*Views of the Island* Johanna. *Drawn by* Cap^{t}. John Kempthorne *1689. Engraved by P. Bigbie, 1774*.' [Anjouan, Comoro Islands]; 20.9 x 28 cm; unsigned.
11. 'PLAN of the Road *or* Harbour *of* ZINZINBARA or ZANZEBAR. *From an English M.S*.' [Zanzibar]; 20.4 x 27.6 cm; engraved by S. Pyle.
12. 'PLAN *of the Island* SOCOTRA, in 12°. 25' N, *from a French M.S. 1764: By C.O.F.R*.' [Gulf of Aden, Yemen]; 20.8 x 28 cm; engraved by S. Pyle. Inset: '*Road of* Tameren *(Tamarida)* by *I. BROWNE*, 1615.' [Hadibu, Socotra]; 18.4 x 8.4 cm; unsigned.
13. 'Plan *of KINGS ISLAND* Road, *and View of Kings Town*; MALDIVÉS; *Taken on board the Sloop Columbo,* 1727, *Peter Sandelyn*.' '*From a Dutch M.S*.'[Malé, Maldives Islands]; 25.4 x 27.5 cm; unsigned.
14. 'Chart of ARACKAN River *from an English M.S*.' [Kaladan River, Myanmar]; 20.3 x 36.1 cm, folded; engraved by J. Russell.
15. 'Chart of TAVAY River by Capt.^{n} Palairet 1753.' [Tavoy River, Myanmar]; 20.3 x 36.8 cm, folded; unsigned.
16. 'Sketch of P^{O}. PINANG in the STRAIT of MALACCA *by Capt^{n}*. Walter Alves 1763.' [Penang, Malaysia]; 28.6 x 28.3 cm; engraved by W. Palmer.
17. 'Plan of *ZUTPHEN or HOUNDS* Islands *off the S.E. part of* SUMATRA *From a Dutch M.S*.' [Strait of Sunda]; 20.2 x 27.7 cm; engraved by J. Russell.
18. 'PLAN OF MEW BAY *in the* Strait of Sunda by *Com*. John Watson, 1762.' [Teluk Peucang Bay, Indonesia]; 20.7 x 28.2 cm; engraved by W. Palmer.
19. '*CHART of the STRAIT* between *POINT* ROMANIA *and the ISLANDS off it*, by *Capt: Walter Alves*. 1763.' [Tanjung Sepang, Malaysia]; 20.7 x 28.4 cm; engraved by J. Russell.
20. 'Chart *of the* Harbour, *on the* South-part *of the* Great RYDANGH Island: 1764'. [Redang, Malaysia]; 27.8 x 27.2 cm; engraved by S. Pyle.

High resolution images of the twenty plans are available on the Africana Maps website: https://africanamaps.com/maps/dalrymple

Though dated '5th. Feb^{y}. 1774' and listed in the table of contents, the plan of Johanna Bay (Plan 10) was not included in Dalrymple's 1774 Number 1. The engraving and printing were delayed and the plan appeared in Number 5 or 6, in March 1775.[6] A page with only a compass rose plate was issued separately with Number 1, but not bound; it is not included in the SAMC's Number 1 - nor in the exemplar held by National Maritime Museum in London.[7]

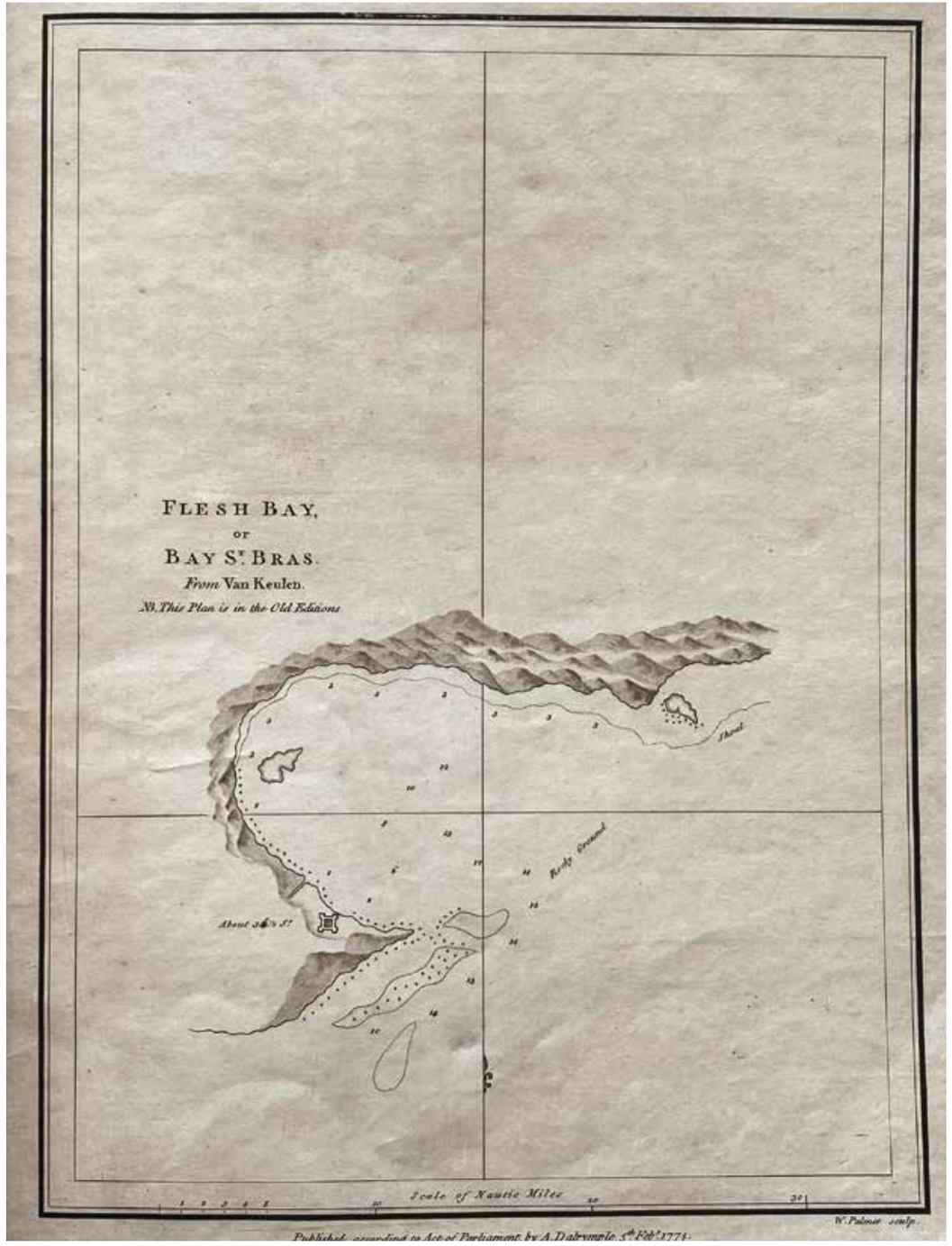


Fig. 2 'Flesh Bay or Bay S$^{t.}$ Bras *From Van Keulen*' is the most westerly bay on the southern African coast included by Dalrymple in Number 1. With permission from the Schrire family.

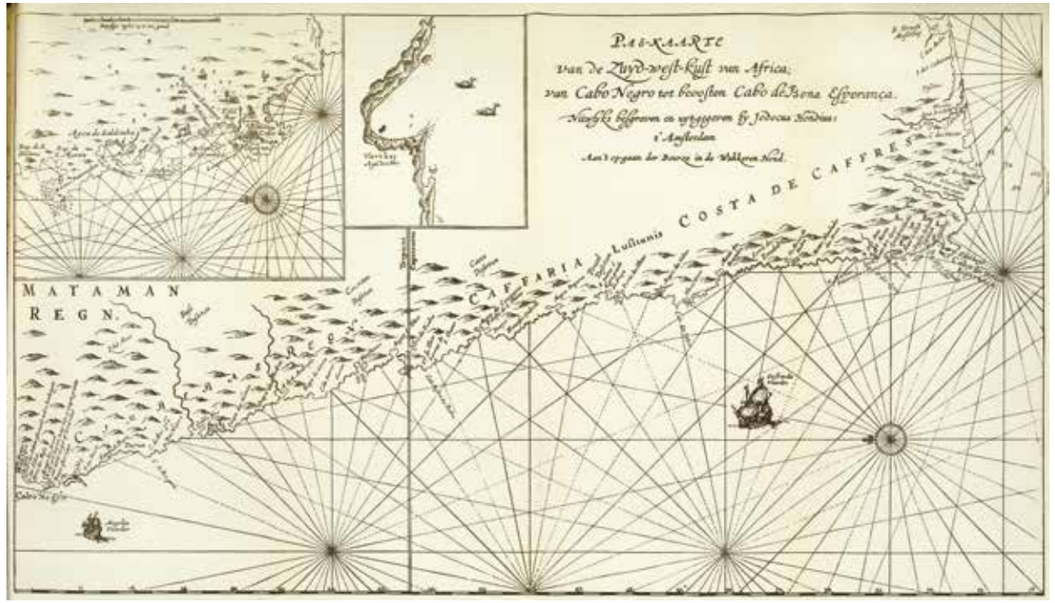


Fig. 3a Jodocus Hondius III included an inset chart of 'Vlees bay *Agoa de S. Bras'* on his 1652 'Pas-kaarte van de Zuyd-west-kust van Africa'. 29.8 x 51.5 cm. University of California Library, Los Angeles.

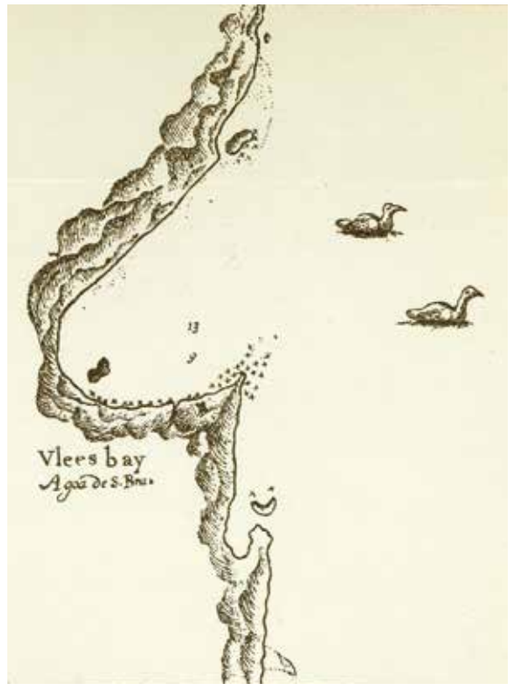


Fig. 3b Inset of 'Vlees bay *Agoa de S. Bras*' from Figure 3a.

Dalrymple's southern African bays; their historical importance

Dalrymple's selection of ports for his Number 1 follows the south and east coast of Africa and then proceeds from Socotra, via the Maldives, coasts of Myanmar and the Malaysia Peninsula, to northern Indonesia. Why did Dalrymple select Flesh, Mossel and Algoa Bays in southern Africa? They were not customary stop-offs on the East Indies route. The VOC used the well-established ports of Table and Simon's Bays on the Cape of Good Hope for replenishment and repairs. Yet, all three bays featured in pre-eighteenth-century texts on the discovery of, or settlement on, the southern Africa coastline and first encounters with the Indigenous people. They had been visited by early seafarers requiring food, water and safety for necessary ship repairs. Current toponyms of the bays are also derived from these texts.[8]

Flesh Bay

Flesh Bay was first known to Portuguese mariners as *Angra* (or *Bahia*) *dos Vacas* – the Bay of Cows.[9] In 1601 Vice Admiral Paulus van Caerden commanded a Dutch fleet of four ships returning from the East Indies. He was one of the 94 survivors of the 248 crew and passengers of the first (1595) Dutch voyage

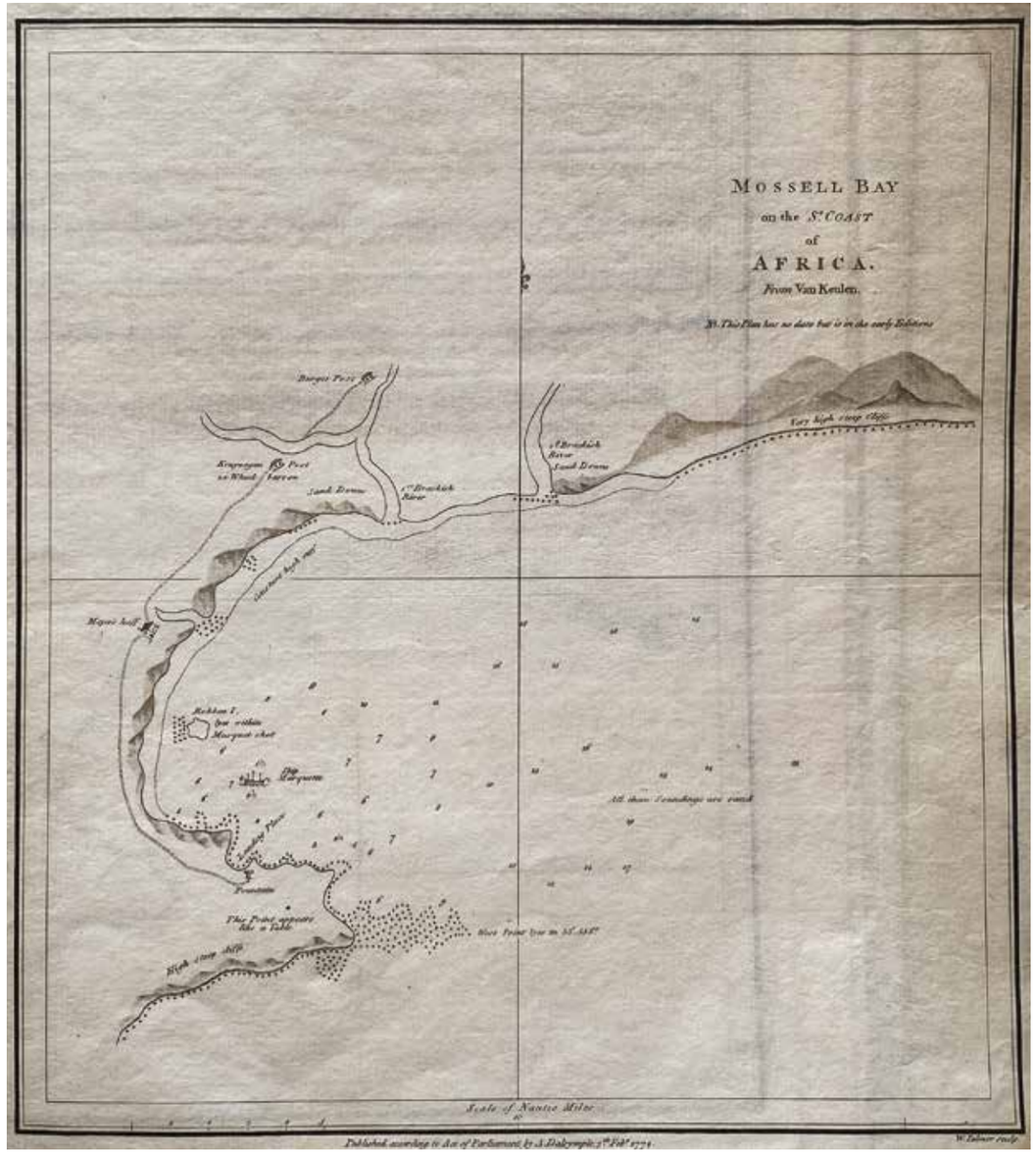


Fig. 4 Dalrymple's plan of Mossel Bay shows Seal Island (Robben I.) in the northwest corner of the bay. With permission from the Schrire family.

to the East Indies.[10] Strong winds forced Van Caerden's fleet to enter Flesh Bay: 'We daily obtained from the natives as many oxen, calves and sheep we could preserve with salt … and gave the name of *Vleesch* i.e., Meat or Flesh Bay'.[11] The bay is now known as *Vleesbaai*. He also named Visch Bay (or Vis, i.e., Fish) Bay, a small bay immediately to the west of Vleesch Bay, after a large catch of fish in the bay'.[12]

Later Dutch cartographers mistakenly interchanged the names of Vleesch and Visch Bays.[13] Dalrymple provided St. Bras as an alternative name of Vleesch Bay; however, St. Bras was the Portuguese name given by

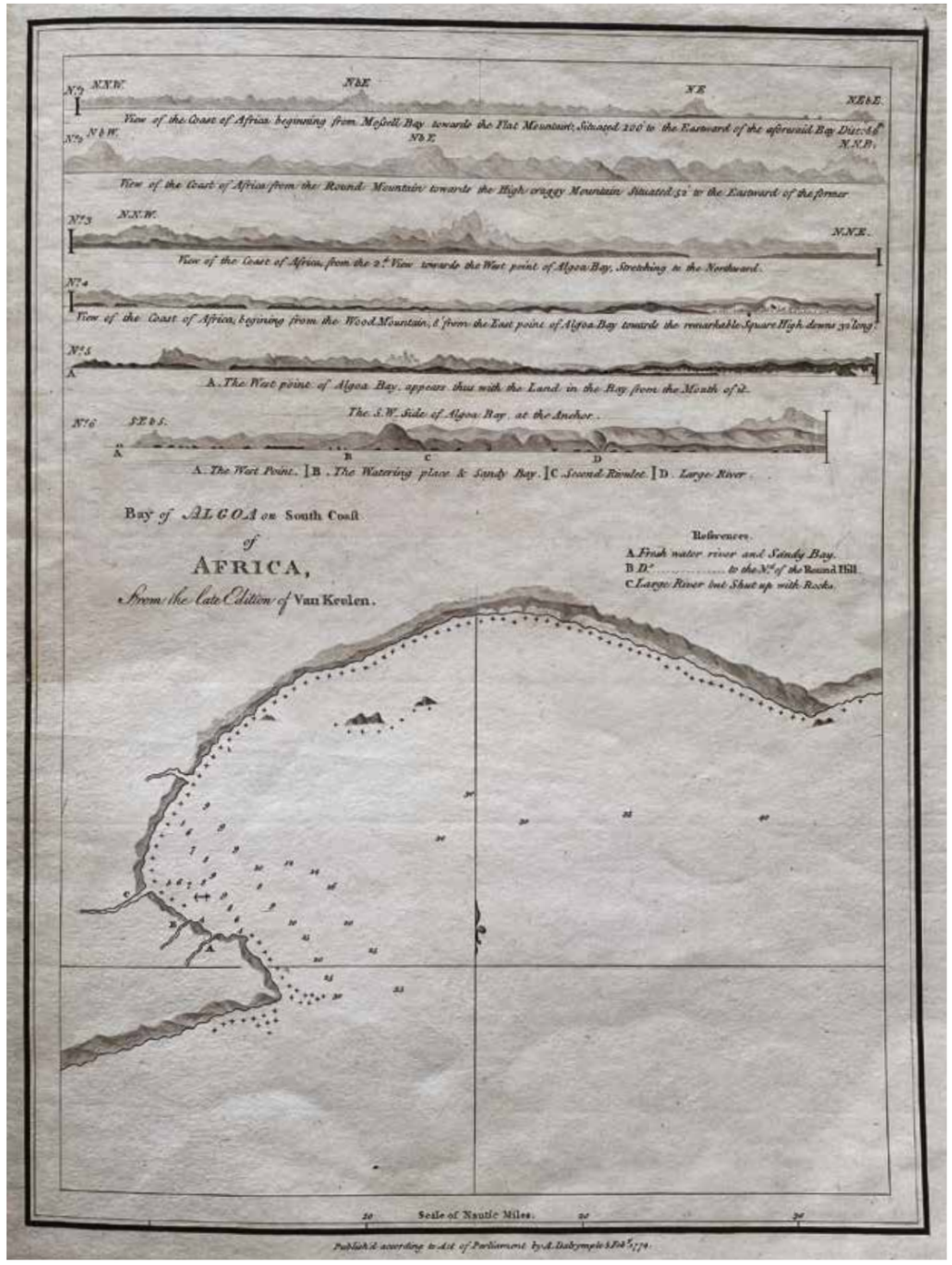


Fig. 5 Dalrymple included coastal views in his depiction of Algoa Bay. With permission from the Schrire family.

Vasco da Gama for Mossel Bay (1497); this error stemmed from an inset on Hondius's 'Pas-kaarte van de Zuyd-west-kust van Africa' (1652) (Fig. 3a).[14]

There are other problems with the depictions of the bay by Dalrymple and Hondius. There is no small island in Flesh Bay (i.e., Vleesbaai) as there is in the adjacent Mossel Bay. Both plans show what seems to be a fortification or *buitepos* [outpost] in the southwestern corner of the bay. No fortification was ever established there by the Portuguese or the Dutch (modest VOC barracks were built at Mossel Bay in 1758) and Hondius does not mention it in his text.[15] It is possible and, more likely, that the symbol in the south represents something which is described in the records of Vasco de Gama's 1497 visit to Mossel Bay, not Vleesch Bay:

> *While we were in this bay of Sam Bras taking in water, we set up a cross and padrâo* [stone pillar] *there: we made the cross out of a mizzen-mast and it was very high. Next day, when we were about to leave the said bay, we saw ten or twelve blacks who threw down both the cross and the padrâo before we sailed…*

Da Gama's Sam Bras Bay was indisputably that which became known as Mossel Bay; it had 'an islet in this bay … and on it are many sea wolves'; this is now Seal Island.[16] The location of the spring at Mossel Bay is also at the southwestern corner of the bay, at today's Bartolomeu Dias Museum Complex. There is now a small, private village at the southwestern corner of Flesh Bay, where the 'fortification' or, perhaps, the padrâo is depicted.

It seems, therefore, that the Portuguese accounts of Mossel and Flesh Bays may have been conflated and found cartographic expression in the 1652 depiction of Vleesch/Flesh Bay, initially by Hondius and innocently repeated for close on 150 years by other cartographers.

In 1488 Bartholomeu Dias named Mossel Bay Angra dos Vaqueiros (after 'the many cows seen there, watched by their herdsmen').[17] Vasco da Gama also spent a fortnight in the bay in 1497. The crew 'dismantled the ship which carried the provisions and loaded these into other vessels'.[18] The bay was renamed Aguada São Brás, apparently dedicated to *São Brás,* the Portuguese for Saint Blasius or Blaise because Dias discovered it on the saint's feast day – 3 February. Hence, today, there is also Cape and Bay St. Blaise/ Blaizse.

In 1595 Cornelis de Houtman's fleet, on the first Dutch maritime expedition to the east, spent a week at Mossel Bay (which he referred to as Aguada de Sambras, i.e., São Bras). They were attending to ship repairs and sourcing food for his scurvy-ridden crew: fifty alone ill on the *Mauritius*, which was just one of four ships in the fleet.[19] Paulus van Caerden, who had been a midshipman and diarist on the *Mauritius,* visited the bay in 1601 when he guided the fleet, then under his command, for repairs on the leaking *Hof van Holland*. He renamed it Mossel Baay because 'apart from water we got little refreshment except mussels'.[20]

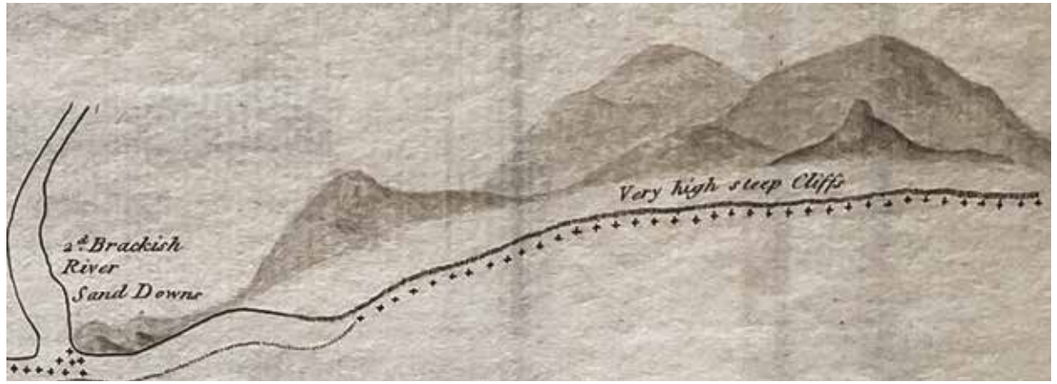
The mussel midden at Cape St Blaise is now an archaeological heritage site. The bay is still named after mussels (Mossel Bay or Mosselbaai, in Afrikaans).

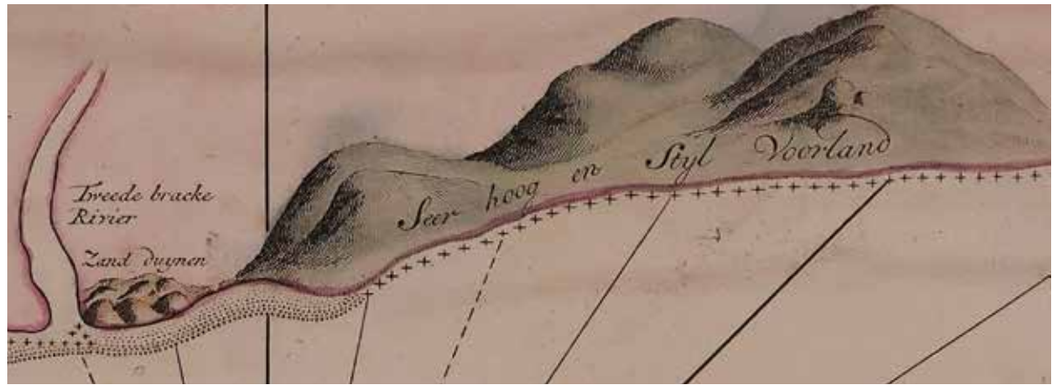
Algoa Bay was named 'Da Lagoa' in 1576 by Portuguese navigator and chart maker Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo (*c.*1510–*c.*1580). The name suggests the presence of a lagoon or, perhaps, a marsh.[21] It is possible that the mouth of the Baakens River, which flows into the Algoa Bay, was blocked at that time giving the appearance of a lagoon. The name may also refer to an area on the west bank near the mouth of the Zwartkops River, which can appear marshy. However, the association remains obscure. 'Da Lagoa' was corrupted to 'Algoa'.

The Bay became widely known when, in 1820, after the Napoleonic wars, the British government, in an effort to address the problem of high unemployment, sent some 6,000 British settlers to Algoa Bay. From there they were taken by ox wagon to settle in the district of Albany on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. The harbour city of Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha) developed on the western shore of Algoa Bay.

Innovative engraving technique

A Collection of Plans of Ports in the East Indies was not only a private publishing experiment for Dalrymple, but also an experiment in copper engraving.[22] Benjamin Henry, a little-known engraver, was responsible for the ink-wash effect that created the shading on the coastal views and hills in eight of the plans in Number 1. He achieved this effect by using a stone tool to create abrasions on the copperplate that were sufficiently deep to retain ink. Dalrymple explained that the areas Henry engraved with stone are identified by 'subtle gradations of flat shading, giving the impression of an ink wash, by the swirling strokes and multiple scratches cause by the impurities in the stone as it worked over the plate'; and explained further that the technique was 'never before used for *Views* of *Land'* and that 'nothing expresses *distant Land* so well'.[23]





Figs. 6a & b The ink-wash effect of the stone engraving is present on the hills in the Dalrymple plans of Mossel Bay (a) but not on the Van Keulen plan (b).

This effect is well demonstrated on the plans of the three bays.

R.V. Tooley noted Dalrymple's three southern African bays In *The Map Collectors' Circle* series, no. 61. He also described the original 1753 plan of 'De Mossel Baay, *In 't ligt gebraght door Joannes Van Keulen*' (brought to light by Joannes van Keulen). This chart is also in the SAMC. [24] While finely engraved, Van Keulen's 'De Mossel Baay' does not display the ink-wash effect in the shadows of the hills obtained by Benjamin Henry (Fig. 6b).

The stone engraving technique as first employed rapidly faded into indistinctness. Dalrymple had to have some of the plates re-worked in March 1775 after which he could say that the technique was effective up to 200 impressions from the copperplate. Despite the re-working, impressions were noticeably different and less effective in imparting an ink-wash appearance, from those produced in the first run of printing. [25]

The three bays in D'Après de Mannevillette's *Le Neptune Oriental*

While Dalrymple was working on his project of *Plans of Ports in the East Indies,* D'Après de Mannevillette was working on the second edition of *Le Neptune Oriental*, first published thirty years earlier. The two men's hydrographic goals had much in common and, apparently, they enjoyed a collegial relationship and exchanged information,[26] including, it would seem, plans of the three southern African bays derived from the Van Keulens. D'Après de Mannevillette released the new edition of *Le Neptune Oriental* in 1775, the same year Dalrymple published his complete *Collection of Plans and Ports*.[27] D'Après de Mannevillette included Dalrymple's three southern African bays as insets in 'Carte Réduite de la Côte Méridionale d'Afrique depuis Ia Baye de Saldagne jusqu'au Cap des Courans' (Fig. 7). This is chart No. 11 (numbered at top right) in the 1775 edition of *Le Neptune Oriental*.[28]

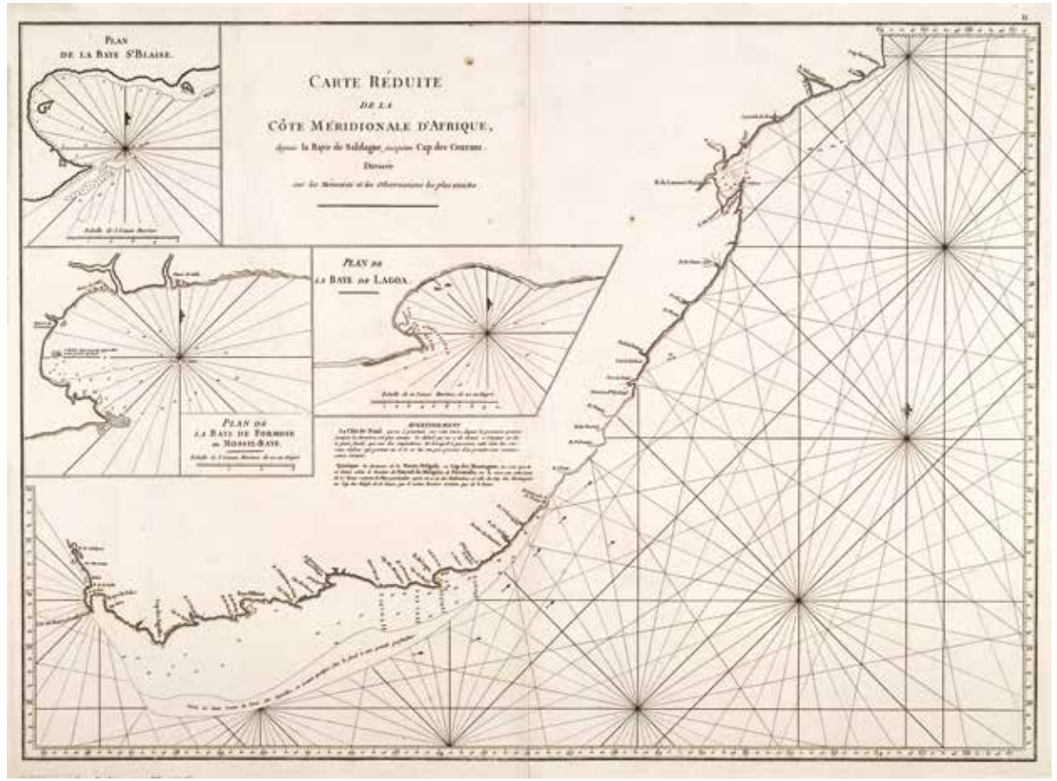


Fig. 7 Jean-Baptiste d'Après de Mannevillette, 'Carte Réduite de la Côte Méridionale d'Afrique, depuis Ia Baye de Saldagne jusqu'au Cap des Courans' (Reduced map of the southern coast of Africa from Saldanha Bay to Cape Courans), with insets of 'Plan de la Baye S.t Blaise', 'Plan de la Baye de Formose ou Mossel-Baye', 'Plan de la Baye de Lagoa'. *Le Neptune Oriental* (1775). With permission from the Schrire family.

D'Après de Mannevillette's inset 'Plan de la Baye S.t Blaise (French for *São Brás,* the name used by Perestrelo), is clearly derived from Dalrymple's Flesh Bay, but D'Après de Mannevillette did not translate the title of Flesh Bay. Similarly, his inset 'Plan de la Baye de Formose ou Mossel-Baye' is derived from Dalrymple's Mossel Bay. Perestrelo named a bay 'Formosa' (Beautiful) Bay, which was some 120 km east-northeast of Mossel Bay. Formosa Bay was the established name until a VOC memorial stone was erected in 1785 to commemorate a visit made by Governor van Plettenberg; thereafter becoming known as Plettenberg Bay.[29]

D'Après de Mannevillette's inset plan of Algoa Bay is also from Dalrymple.[30] However, D'Après de Mannevillette named it La Baye de Lagoa (1,000 km northeast on the Mozambique coast – now named Maputo Bay). The name Delagoa Bay was derived from a *Roteiro* of Perestrelo's text on his 1576–77 voyage.[31] Algoa Bay was originally Bahia da Lagoa, before it was corrupted to Algoa Bay.[32]

The three bays in the Sayer and Bennett *Oriental Pilot*

Chart No. 25 (numbered at the top right) in Sayer and Bennett's 1778 edition of the *Oriental Pilot* has three bays: 'The Bay of Algoa on the South Coast of Africa'; 'Plan of Mossel Bay on the South Coast of Africa'; 'Plan of Flesh Bay or Bay St. Bras on the South Coast of Africa'. All three plans were 'From Van Keulen'. Sayer and Bennet's successors, Laurie and Whittle, included the same page of three charts but erased the number 25 from the top right.

By 1799, the inclusion of charts of the three southern African bays was deemed unecessary and the page was deleted from the *Oriental Pilot*.[33]

Notes

1 R. Stewart. 'An Africana map collection resurfaces', *The Heritage Portal*, https://shrturl.app/yxp0_p (accessed 7 September 2023).
2 A. S. Cook, 'Alexander Dalrymple's "A Collection of Plans of Ports in the East Indies" (1774-1775): A Preliminary Examination'. *Imago Mundi* 33 (1981): pp. 46–64. DOI: 10.1080/03085698108592514.
3 A. Dalrymple, *A Collection of Plans of Ports in the East Indies*. Published by A. Dalrymple in 1774 and 1775, Gale ECCO, 3rd edition, 2010.
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KNOWING WHAT'S THERE

Selected Spanish maps of North America's Greater Southwest through the eighteenth century

Dennis Reinhartz

Introduction

The Greater Southwest of North America is a region defined by historical geographers as stretching from north of Mexico City into the present-day state of Colorado and east from California to the Texas-Louisiana borderlands that has both physical and cultural definition. The primary physical characteristic is aridity, the scarcity of water, which continues to be the regions' most precious commodity. The major cultural factor today is the preponderant impact of Hispanic culture (containing implied Indigenous input). Although today two modern countries comprise the region, prior to the nineteenth century, the Rio Grande was not the boundary between Mexico and the United States, but only a major river of this expanse.

All this is not to say that there has not been a lasting Indigenous imprint in the region as well. To the contrary. Before the coming of the 'Old Worlders', around Mexico City and to the north there rose the Mixtec and Toltec empires, and they were succeeded by that of the Aztec. Their *Nahuatl* ancestors were said to have come from a myth-historical homeland, *Atzlán*, even further to the north, believed by some to be in what is today Arizona and New Mexico, from seven caves in the ground. In this same area, there arose the *Anasazi* 'Ancestral Puebloan' Culture to be followed by its descendant Puebloan Culture. The Aztecs and the Puebloans were among the Indians eventually encountered by the Spanish in this part of the New World. And most of these American Native civilisations, cultures, and other tribes organised their physical and spiritual space mentally and actually on maps. While no discernable original maps from this area, uncontaminated by Old World influences, survive these early Indian mapping traditions have been passed on culturally into the present, to be represented in various forms.

The early Puebloans and some other tribes believed that in their world all existence occurs on the back of a great desert tortoise that works its way through time and space. This cosmographical view, which clearly encompasses both actual and sacred space, has been graphically rendered in an artful modern mural on an exterior wall of the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque. It depicts the tortoise of this world emerging from the previous world through a hole in the earth, here represented by the entrance of a *kiva* (a subterranean circular room used for religious practice).

Having arrived from the northwest about a century before Columbus' first voyage, the Navajo or *Diné* are relative newcomers to the Southwest, but nevertheless continue to have a rich mapping tradition. Many of their famous sand paintings that are part of complex religious ceremonies, for example, are cosmographic, while other works depict their homeland, the *Dinétah*. A contemporary weaving, for which the Navajo are equally renowned, by Keenan King shows the *Dinétah*, bounded by four sacred mountains designated in directional cardinal colours (Fig. 1). Imagined in the centre is the place of the weaver, Hosta Butte, and to the east flows the Rio Grande. Another instance of this cartographic modelling of



Fig. 1 Keenan King, 'Four Sacred Mountains, Hosta Butte in the Center', Navajo weaving, *c.* 2015, 36.8 x 27.9 cm. Collection of the author.



Fig. 2 *Diné* dwelling and ceremonial structure, the *Hooghan* (Hogan), in Monument Valley, Arizona-Utah. https://en.wikipedia.org/wikiHogan#mmediaFile:16_21_2006_monument_valley.jpg

their homeland can be found in the traditional primary *Diné* dwelling and ceremonial structure, the *Hooghan* (Hogan), as seen in Monument Valley, Arizona-Utah (Fig. 2). It is always built with the door facing east to welcome the sun and good fortune. Inside, the four posts holding up the roof again represent the four sacred mountains and cardinal directions, as do windows, if there are any. The fire pit, usually in the centre of the floor, also symbolises the hole through which the *Diné* entered this world from the one below, and the smoke hole in the roof designates the way they will eventually proceed into the next.[1]

When the Spanish arrived in the Greater Southwest, the Aztecs were in decline, the Navajo were in place, and the Pueblos were established. The earliest Spanish map showing any part of this region is from a 1519 expedition under the leadership of Alonso Álvarez de Pineda, and it also is attributed to him. Pineda reconnoitered the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and his rather simple map, which is done in ink on paper, has an almost generic coastline for northern Mexico and Texas, with few distinguishing features and place-names and nothing of the interior. It is housed in the Archive of the Indies in Seville.[2]

The Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire under Hernán Cortés relatedly began in 1519. With the final victory and the conquest of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, in 1521, the Spanish began to move northwards in search of fortune and glory in what they still believed to be Asia.[3] The effort to know and understand what was there in the vast expanses

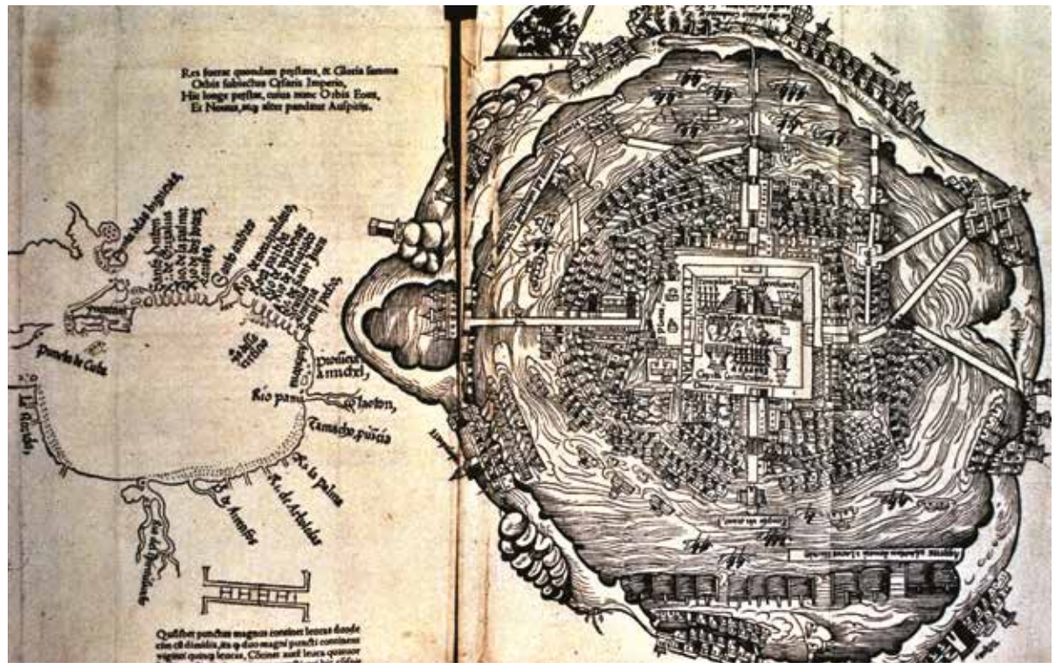


Fig. 3 'Tenochtitlan' from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, published in 1524. https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Tenochtitlan, 1524.jpg

north of Mexico City was a quest that would continue for the Spanish into the early nineteenth century and Mexican independence.

The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, published in 1524, reproduced a number of letters by Cortés and a double map (Fig. 3) consequently associated with him. On the left is an updated rendition of the Gulf of Mexico, with more detail and place-names than Pineda's. To the right is Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) on the first printed New World urban map. While clearly a product of European cartography, this map too might well be based on several earlier Aztec prototypes.[4]

In 1540–42 Francisco Vázquez Coronado, the Governor of *Nueva Galicia* in New Spain, led a failed expedition deep into the interior of the Greater Southwest from Compostela to the north of Mexico City that travelled to the mythic seven cities of Cibola (the Zuni pueblo of *Hawikku* and the pueblo of Acoma), north along the Rio Grande and its pueblos, and from Pecos pueblo in present-day New Mexico east across northern Texas onto the Great Plains to the great bend of the Arkansas River in search of fanciful Quivira, and then back to Compostela. To the west, other parts of his *entrada* also explored the Colorado River and found the Grand Canyon. All along the way, Coronado claimed huge territories for Spain, but alas did not find new Aztec- or Inca-like civilisations or any of the more storied centres of China or India. It has been recorded that some of the progress of the Coronado's journey was documented on a map, drawn on a large (sacred white?) buffalo hide by Indian artists under the direction of Spanish soldiers and friars. Upon Coronado's return, this map supposedly was sent on to Mexico City along with written reports and collected artifacts (e.g., pieces of turquoise), which were then to be forwarded to Spain. But somewhere along the way the purported map must have disappeared, for today there is no evidence of it in the archives in Mexico City or Seville.

Below is a typical map of northern Mexico from the early seventeenth century in the collections of

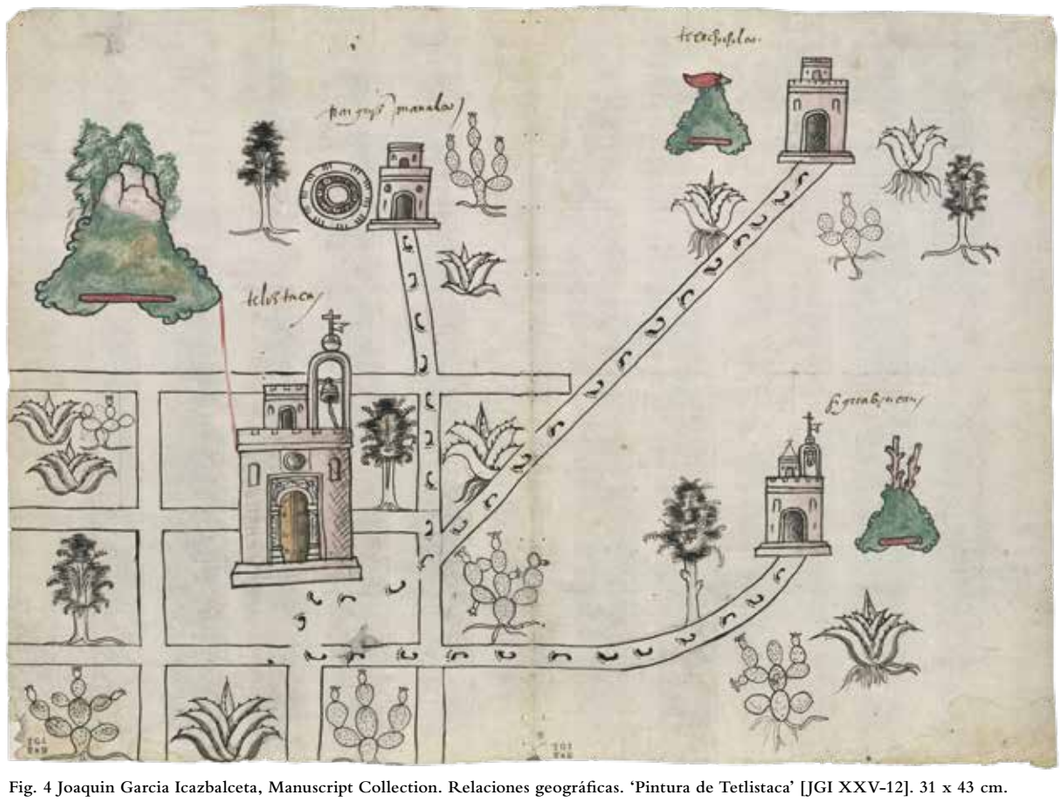


Fig. 4 Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Manuscript Collection. Relaciones geográficas. 'Pintura de Tetlistaca' [JGI XXV-12]. 31 x 43 cm. Benson Latin American Collection, LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections, the University of Texas at Austin.



Fig. 5 *Yucatecuhtli* from the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. Copyright© World Museum, Liverpool.

The University of Texas at Austin. It visibly reflects both the Spanish cartographers who created it and the Native hands employed to carry it out. The entire design and descriptive notation in Spanish are typical of maps of the period; so too are the renderings of the churches, houses, and other structures and of what appear to be agave fields. On the other hand, the depictions of the plants and animals and roads and the palette are mostly Indian, as are a few place-names. Place-names are essential to traditional Indigenous mental mapping. The footprints on the roads also appear on this pre-Columbian glyph of the Aztec god of commerce *Yucatecuhtli*, who is bearing a crossroads on his back marked with them (Fig. 5). Some scholars believe that these tracks function as more than designators of roads (as opposed to streams), but perhaps also as distance markers.[5] This map offers a good early example of European-Native American 'transcultural transference'.

Eventually coming to understand that the Americas were not part of Asia, throughout the second half of the sixteenth century and up through the eighteenth, the Spanish nevertheless established their position in the American West, albeit tentatively, especially in the extensive undefined borderlands of northern New Spain. Santa Fe was founded in *c.* 1608, El Paso in 1659, and San Antonio in 1718. The Spanish continued to reconnoitre, map, and man this frontier as best as they could. But the process was an ever more expensive one, with diminishing returns.

Knowing what's there

The era of the eighteenth century to Mexican independence in 1821 was a dynamic period in the history of Spain, its New World empire, and especially the northern borderlands of the Greater Southwest.[6] Spanish territory was expanding and threatened. Based primarily on the reading of the course of events in Europe, some historians have come to view the eighteenth century as the beginning of the major decline of the Spanish Empire. In the second half of the seventeenth century growing Dutch, French, and English fleets began to challenge Spanish sea power on the world's oceans and to menace its domains in the Americas. Culminating with the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715), France became ascendant over European affairs and in the process embroiled Spain in a series of disastrous and costly wars. The amassed treasures of the Aztec and Inca conquests and Spain's New World silver mines were mostly spent on these failed conflicts. After the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13) and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ending the conflict, the alien, but forceful, French-supported Bourbon Dynasty came to replace the Habsburgs on the Spanish throne.

The Spanish Bourbons sought to reform and 'rationalise' their still expanding empire in the Americas. The Spanish moved up the Pacific Coast to establish a presence in the San Francisco Bay area and on Vancouver Island. They also revived their exploration of the Greater Southwest, connected the California settlements to Santa Fe via the Old Spanish Trail, and moved further into Texas and Louisiana. Louisiana was ceded to Spain at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 under the Treaty of Paris, and with the loss of Canada to Great Britain, effectively marked the end of a major French presence in the Americas.

The new dynasty was desperate to understand its empire and to administer it more efficiently and economically. To that end, it sought a full accounting of its realm at home and abroad. Consequently, reform initiatives concerning the northern frontier of New Spain emanated regularly from Madrid to Mexico City. Contrary to the interpretation of the aforementioned historians, the early Bourbons did not oversee a period of decline, but rather instigated an era of imperial revitalisation that continued largely until the eruption of the American and French inspired revolutions in the Spanish New World dominions.

By 1750 the northern borderlands of Spanish North America still were vaguely defined, poorly organised, and inadequately developed, while at the

same time experiencing population growth, restructuring, and reform. Notwithstanding, Northern New Spain was viewed primarily as a defensive region and not particularly profitable. It was plagued by real and imagined threats of penetration by the French, British, Russians, and later the Americans. Simultaneously, Spain also was occupied with conflicts with various Indigenous American groups such as the Apache, Comanche, Navajo, Ute, and Pawnee, often precipitated by Spanish slaving activities among them or by the incitements of some of the said foreign powers.

An early eighteenth-century picture of the situation on the northern frontier of New Spain can be found in the Segesser Hide Paintings in the Palace of the Governors Collections of the New Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe.[7] Painted on buffalo hides they depict Spanish encounters with Indians on the northern frontier in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is Segesser II that is of bearing here. It portrays a battle in 1720 in the Platte River country of present-day Colorado and Nebraska between the outnumbered Spanish and their Pueblo allies and the French and their excited Pawnee allies during which the Spanish expedition under New Spain's Lieutenant Governor Pedro de Villasur was massacred. The Spanish had first encountered the Pawnee almost two centuries earlier during Coronado's search for Quivira. Segesser II was executed by Indians, carrying on in the tradition of the *tlacuilogue* (painter-scribes) of Central Mexico, under the direction of a Spanish padre survivor sometime before 1750.[8]

To get a better grasp of his empire, the first Spanish Bourbon king, Felipe V, authorised the creation of the Royal Corps of Military Engineers in 1711 under the direction of the Flemish Don Jorge Próspero Marqués de Verboom. That same year he also established the Royal Military Academy of Mathematics in Barcelona. The Royal Corps consisted of 'soldier-engineers' who were either trained engineers attached to the military, or military officers given special training. All were well-schooled in mathematics, field astronomy, surveying and mapmaking. Their cartographic instruction was detailed first in a royal ordinance of 1718. The maps and charts they produced established the standards of scientific cartography for

Fig. 6 Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, 'Mapa d èlla parte interna de la Nueba Mexico'. Oil on canvas. Fray Angélico Chavez History Library/New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM.78.9.1760.

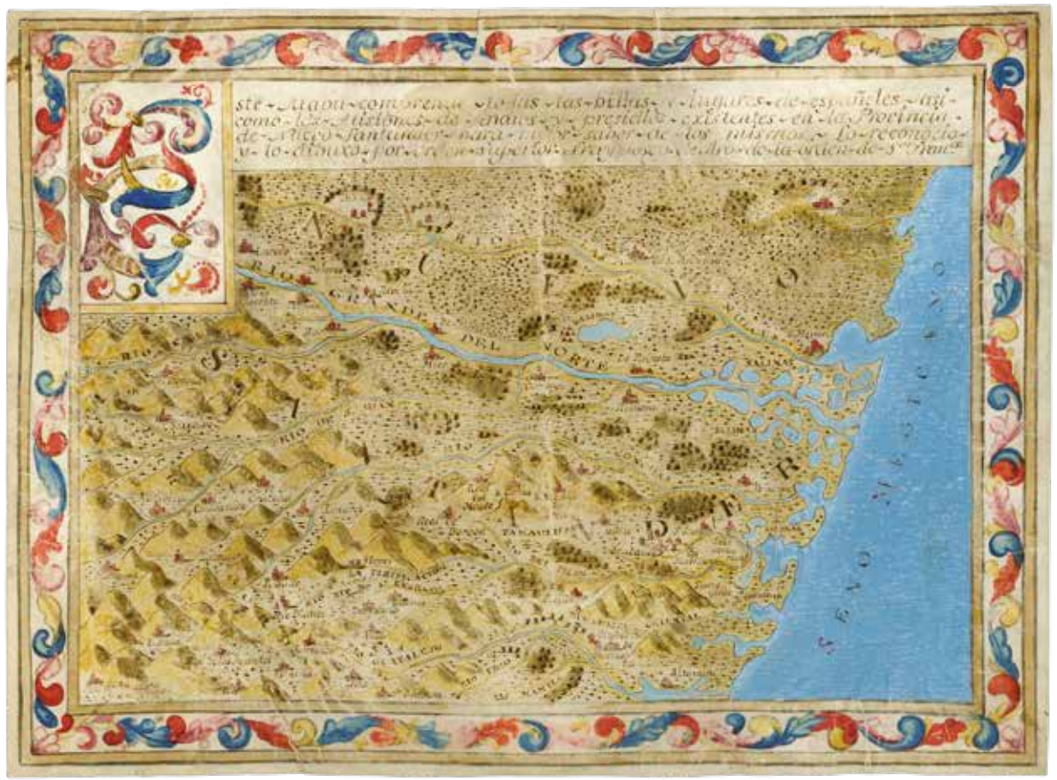


Fig. 7 Francisco José de Haro, 'Este Mapa comprende todas las billas y lugares de Espanoles haci como las Missiones de Indios y Presidios existentes en la Provincia Nuevo Santander'. Watercolour and tempera on vellum. 28.5 x 39 cm. Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library at The University of Texas at Arlington.

the era and were built upon, and advanced by, Mexican and American soldier-engineers in the region throughout the nineteenth century. Their work became especially significant for the Greater Southwest by the end of the Seven Years War.[9]

In view of the foreign and Native American threats, the Spanish crown needed to reaffirm the claims to the northern frontier of New Spain. The king ordered reports on the current military status of the region; consequently, the Royal Engineers participated in numerous tours of inspection and further exploration, yielding extensive narratives with attendant accurate maps that offered valuable data and observations and confirmed Spanish claims.

In the field, to ensure accuracy, the engineers mapped mostly what they could see and thus measure, and relied less on the local hearsay evidence of the Indians. This methodology in turn helped to dilute the Indigenous' claims to the land. As David Weber pointed out, this in part is an example of a European solution to an American problem, for to lay claim to territory you first had to map it correctly for the claim to be recognised internationally. The European powers regularly engaged in a kind of cartographic 'filibustering' throughout the Americas. Since northern New Spain was seen as a less than profitable military frontier, but strategically important as a buffer to foreign threats, the more precise information provided by these soldier-engineers gave the monarchy a better picture of what it had in the region, its worth, and cost to maintain it.[10]

Not uncommonly, the actual drawing of the final maps from later expeditions sometimes was done by the engineers in collaboration with learned churchmen attached to them. Many of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits who came to the frontier to harvest souls had scientific and mathematical training and also interacted more readily with their Indigenous converts than the soldier-engineers.

Captain Bernardo Miera y Pacheco created three important maps that provided insights into colonial New Mexico. Upon his arrival in Santa Fe from the El Paso area in 1756, Miera was called upon by Governor Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle, on behest of Viceroy Agustín de Ahumada, Marqués de Amarillas, to compile an up-to-date map of the Province of New Mexico. In 1758 Miera produced his 'Mapa de esta parte interna de la Nueba Mexico…' (Map of the internal part of New Mexico…) in several copies (Fig. 6). The map is painted in oil on canvas and shows the six northern provinces of New Spain from present-day northern Chihuahua, Mexico, in the south, to above Taos in the north, and from the Hopi mesas in Arizona in the west, to the Pecos River Valley in the east. Aspects of the region's topography, including mountains and canyons, mesas and flatlands, and lakes and rivers are rendered generally and labelled. All Spanish settlements are indicated, as are the lands of various Indigenous tribes. The map is decorated artistically with the Spanish coat-of-arms, three scenes of Indians, an Indian campsite, and buffalo. It also contains supplementary written descriptive discussions about the Spanish citizenry and Indians of New Mexico.

Miera's second New Mexican map, 'Plano geográphico…' (Geographical Map…), was based on information collected as part of the 1776 Domínguez-Escalante expedition west from Santa Fe into parts of present-day Colorado, Utah and Arizona, which pioneered the Old Spanish Trail to California. Between 1777 and 1779, the map appeared in at least six variants. He completed the last of his three maps, 'Plano de la Tierra…de esta Provincia del nuevo Mexico…' (Map of the Land…

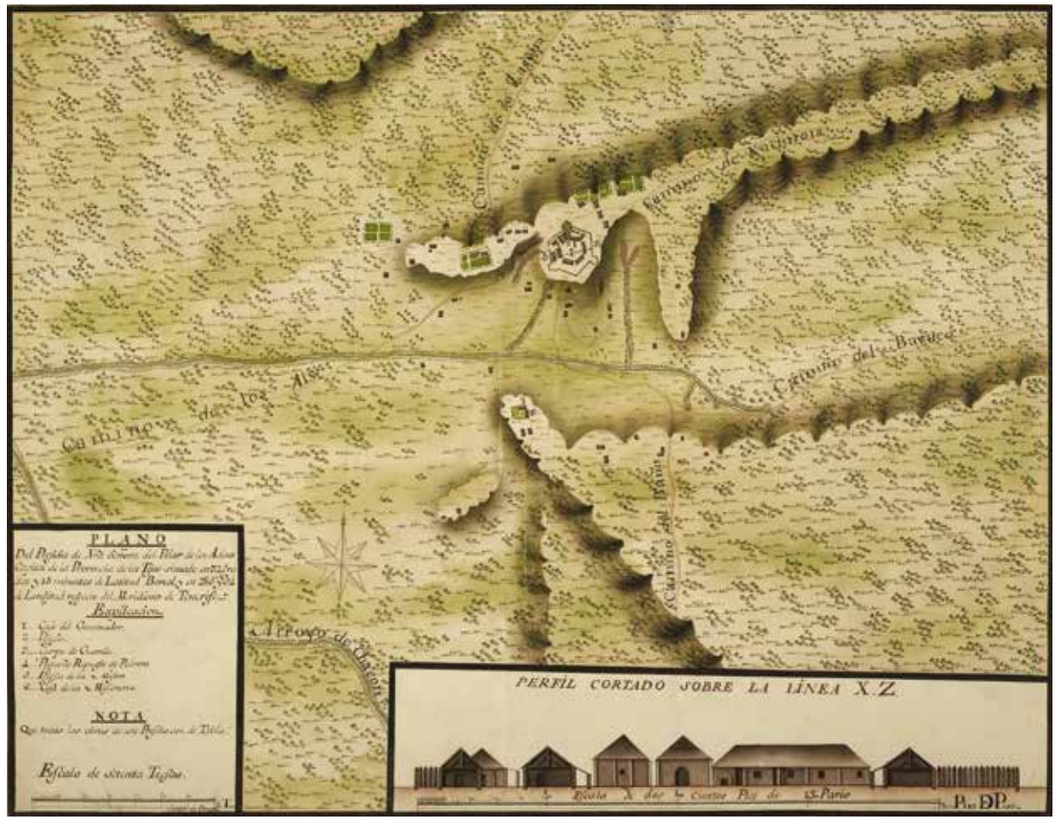


Fig. 8 José Ramón de Urrutia, 'Plano Del Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes…', *c.* 1768. © British Library Board. Add 17662.

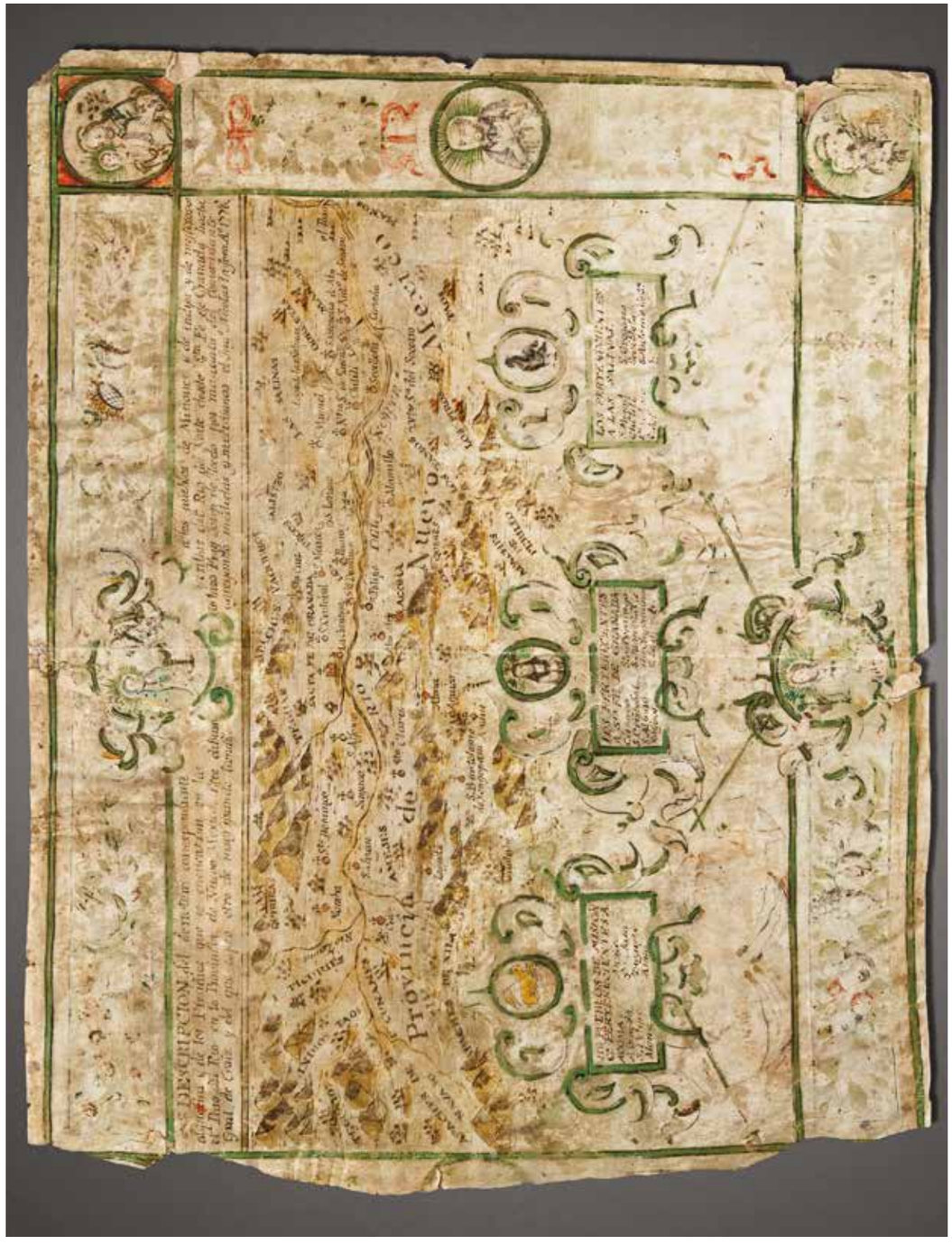


Fig 9 Nicolás de Lafora, 'Provincia de Nuevo Mexico'. Paint and ink on vellum. Fray Angélico Chavez History Library/New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM.78.9.1778.

of this Province of New Mexico…), in 1779. It shows information gained from Governor Juan Bautista de Anza's 1779 campaign against the Comanche, of which Miera was a part. The aggressive Comanche had arrived late (*c.* 1700–1840) in the Greater Southwest, after the Spanish, and posed a threat to them and to the Puebloans, Apaches and Utes alike. All three of Miera's maps remained 'master maps' of the American West for almost half a century.

Continuing Viceroy Alhumada's desire to inspect and map the northern reaches of New Spain, Lieutenant Colonel Agustín López de la Cámara Alta was the engineer on a major inspection tour that reconnoitered 2,393 square leagues of its northeastern portion in 1757–58. The tour yielded the 'Mapa General Ychonographico de la nueba Colonia Santander…' (General Iconographic Map of the New Colony of Santander), prepared by López de la Cámara Alta in collaboration with the Franciscan priest Francisco José de Haro in Mexico City in 1758.

In about 1770 in Mexico City, Haro composed an artistic derivative on vellum and updated presentation piece entitled 'Este Mapa…la Provincia Nuevo Santander…' (This Map…[of] the Province of New Santander…) (Fig. 7). Among other things, this map records some of strategic and organisational changes on this portion of the frontier recommended by the extensive report accompanying the 1758 map.[11]

After the Seven Years War, the crown focused on reforming its defences on the northern frontier, known as the *Provincias Internas* (Interior Provinces). Inspector of frontier presidios, Marqués de Rubí was tasked with a reconnaissance tour that lasted from 1766 to 1768 and traversed approximately 7,600 miles. His efforts eventually yielded the *Reglamentos* of 1772, governing the presidios on the frontier and the realignment of its defences. One of the assigned soldier-engineers was José Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas, who was the author of numerous important cartographic works of the northern frontier such as the 'Plano Del Presidio…de los Adaes' (Plan of the Presidio…of Los Adaes) in *c.* 1768 (Fig. 8). Founded as the Mission of San Miguel de Linares in 1716–17, destroyed by the French in 1719, and rebuilt by the Spanish in 1721, the Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes served as the first capital of Texas in 1729–70. Today, it is the centre of a state park in western Louisiana, and Urrutia's plan was invaluable to scholars and federal and state officials in reconstructing the footprint of the presidio.[12]

Captain Nicolás de Lafora also was attached to the Rubí expedition, and this soldier-engineer's many works too are quite significant for Southwestern cartography. His artful 'Provincia de Nuevo Mexico' ('Province of New Mexico'), completed in Mexico City in 1778, is oriented to the east and focuses on the Rio Grande Valley (Fig. 9). The exemplar at the Chavez Library was specifically made for a particular person and is based on the expedition's much larger map, of which Lafora was a principal maker.

By a decree of Carlos III, in 1776 the northern frontier provinces of New Spain were removed from the direct control of the viceroyalty in Mexico City and recreated as the *Provincias Internas* under a *commandante general*, the first of whom was the French-born Teodoro de Croix of the Teutonic Order and the nephew of a former viceroy of New Spain. In August 1777, to gain a better understanding of the mineral-rich domains under his jurisdiction he initiated a six-month tour of inspection of approximately 2,100 miles from his new capital Durango in the south to the new Texas capital of San Antonio de Béxar in the east, then west to Chihuahua, and finally back south to Durango. The section of the route between Chihuahua and Durango was part of the *Camino Reál* (Royal Road) linking Mexico City in the south to Santa Fe and Taos far to the north. This expedition yielded several maps, among them several interesting and valuable *derroteros*.

Derrotero-type maps were easily the most common forms of cartography accompanying the inspection reports of northern New Spain in the latter half of the eighteenth century. They denoted the real beginning of the scientific mapping of the Greater Southwest, for the engineers mapped mostly what they could see and survey. Their maps were basic, accurate, succinct, and functional. In their way, they were the precursors of the modern road maps of the region. And seemingly almost antithetically, this type of cartography, while largely excluding Indian hearsay information, often for the first time mapped certain pre-existing Indian paths later followed by Spanish, Mexican, and American expeditions. *Derroteros* also often formed the stems and branches from which many composite larger regional maps blossomed.

An example of such a map, 'Derrotero, Hecho por el Commandante General de Croix' (*Derrotero*, Made for Commandante General de Croix), completed by Luis Bertucat and the Franciscan Friar Juan Agustín de Morfí, who in his later years became an historian of Spanish Texas, in Chihuahua in 1778 (Fig. 10). The route and its near environs are simply delineated.

and running across the bottom of the map is a gazetteer of all the settled locations along the way.

The Bertucat-Morfí *derrotero* can be considered fundamental not only to the cartographic history surrounding the creation of the new province of Texas, but also as comprising an invaluable component of the scientific and aesthetic cartographic legacy left behind by the Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers and their ecclesiastic collaborators for future Mexican and American military mapping organisations to build upon in the Greater Southwest.

Legado

Although intended to help the Spanish crown understand its vast North American lands, and therefore regularly treated as secret documents of state, the maps made by these soldier-engineers, padres and Indians proved to have an even more lasting *legado* – a legacy that ultimately contributed to the opening of the American West. Many major maps that followed them such as those by Alexander von Humboldt, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, José Antonio Alzate y Ramiréz, Stephen H. Long, Stephen F. Austin, John C. Frémont, William H. Emory, and others up to the Mexican American War of 1846–48 and beyond, also clearly are obliged to these preceding Spanish maps.

Notes

1 See David Woodward and G. Malcom Lewis (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, Volume Two, Book Three: *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 106–14 and pp. 183–255.

2 'Dibujo de la costa del golfo de México desde la peninsula de Florida hasta Nombre de Dios', Archivo General de Indias MP-MEXCICO.(Pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20//catalogo/show/20184).

3 See Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, *A Most Splendid Company: The Coronado Expedition in Global Perspective*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019; Dennis Reinhartz and Oakah L. Jones, '*Hacia el Norte!*: The Spanish *Entrada* into North America, 1513–1541', *North American Exploration*, Volume 1, *A New World Disclosed*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, pp. 241–91.

Fig. 10 Luis Bertucat and Friar Juan Agustín de Morfi, 'Derrotero, Hecho por el Commandante General Cavallero de Croix por las provincias de su cargo desde la ciudad de Durango hasta la villa de Chihuahua', 1778. Watercolour, ink, gouache and graphite on paper. 54 x 56 cm. Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library at The University of Texas at Arlington.

4 Barbara E. Mundy, 'Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings', *Imago Mundi* 50, 1998, pp. 11-33.
5 For more on this peculiar cartographic fusion, see Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geograficas*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996; Alex Hidalgo, *Trail of Footprints: A History of Indigenous Maps of Viceregal Mexico*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019; Ana Pulido Rull, *Mapping Indigenous Lands: Native Land Grants in Colonial Spain,* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020.
6 Amongst others see Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992; Oakah L. Jones Jr., *Nueva Viscaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988; David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
7 For a detailed online view of the hides visit https://www.hides.nmhistorymuseum.org
8 For more on the Segesser Hides, see Thomas E. Chávez (ed.), *A Moment in Time: The Odyssey of New Mexico's Segesser Hide Paintings*, Los Ranchos, NM: Rio Grande Books, 2012; Gottfried Hotz, *The Segesser Hide Paintings:Masterpieces Depicting Spanish Colonial New Mexico*, Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1999 [1970].
9 For more detailed accounts of the establishment and work of the Royal Corps of Military Engineers, see Janet K. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764 to 1815*, Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1977; José Moncada Maya, *Ingenieneros militares en Nueva España: Inventario de su labor científica y espacial, siglos XVI a XVIII*, Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Méxíco, 1993; Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon (eds.), *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
10 Weber, pp. 204-25.
11 Dennis Reinhartz, 'Two Manuscript Maps of *Nuevo Santander* in Northern New Spain from the Eighteenth Century', in *Images & Icons of the New World: Essays on American Cartography*, ed. by Karen Severud Cook, London: The British Library, 1996, pp. 55-65.
12 After a long and distinguished career as a military engineer in New Spain and Europe, Urrutia had risen through the ranks, attaining the highest rank of captain general and serving on the king's Council of War. In 1797 he was named engineer general and served as the director of the Royal Corps of Engineers. During his tenure he commenced reforms that were adopted a few years later. He died in Madrid in 1803.

Dennis Reinhartz is a PhD graduate from New York University. After a 40-year career in academia and having retired to Santa Fe, he is Emeritus Professor of history and Russian at The University of Texas at Arlington. He is the author and editor of fourteen books and past president of The Society for the History of Discoveries, the Texas Map Society, and others. Email: dprein@uta.edu

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Claudius Ptolemy – Francesco Berlinghieri. Untitled map of the British Isles published in 'Geographia di Francesco Berlinghieri Fiorentino in terza rima...'. Florence 1482.

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IMCoS MATTERS

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

15 February 2024
Nominations for the Helen Wallis Award
The Helen Wallis Award goes to an individual, who in the opinion of the selection sub-committee has been responsible for cartographic contributions of great merit and wide interest to map collectors worldwide.

You can nominate a collector, dealer, librarian or academic. Though the Award is intended to recognise individual merit, in special circumstances a group of people or an organisation could be considered. The nominee should demonstrate their enthusiasm by actively promoting the history of cartography, be that through study, publications, assistance to other categories (for example as benefactors) or in the field of organising societies, visits, symposia, exhibitions, talks, internet activities or the like.

A list of past winners can be viewed on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org/about-us/awards/).

Please send your nominations to the Chairman of the Committee Peter Barber (peter_barber@me.com) or the Editor Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird (editor@gmail.com) by no later than 15 February 2024.

February 2024 (online event)
'Show & Tell'
Members wishing to participate in the next Show & Tell event are invited to email their expression of interest to Mike Sweeting (drsweeting@aol.com) Each presenter is given 5–10 minutes to share a favourite map or cartographic item. If you are interested but unfamiliar as to how it works, you can watch a video of a past event.
There are two ways to see the event:
1) The event is now an exhibition on The Digital Gallery. Please click on the link (**https://www.thedigitalgallery.org/exhibits/194)** and then explore slide-by-slide or jump to your preferred speaker. The video for each speaker is available if you click on the 'Show curated text' icon (which looks like a piece of paper with the corner folded down) in the top left corner of each slide.
2) The videos of the speakers are also available on our IMCoS YouTube channel, which is available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCFXuJDSyASPxll6guQrSX_Q

15 June 2024, London
IMCoS AGM
The meeting will take place at the Royal Geographical Society, Kensington, London SW7. Details will be available closer to the date on the IMCoS website.

15–16 June 2024
London Map Fair
The Fair will take place at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG). It opens on Saturday at 12 noon until 7 pm and on Sunday from 10 am to 6 pm. The Map Fair Lecture will be given by Dr Katherine Parker, RGS Cartographic Collections Manager. She will discuss some of the Society's cartographic treasures. Information: https://www.londonmapfairs.com

16–19 October 2024, Valletta, Malta
IMCoS 41st International Symposium
The programme of events can be found on pages 52–53. If you have any questions please contact our organiser and Malta National Representative Joseph Schiro at Josephschiro60@gmail.com

7 September 2024, Amsterdam
Amsterdam is holding its first ever map fair. It will be a one-day event at the Maritime Museum, a short walk from Amsterdam Central Station. Hans Kok, our past Chairman will be giving the inaugural lecture. Admission is free.

12–14 September 2025, Portland, Maine
IMCoS 42nd International Symposium
The Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education at the University of Southern Maine will be the location for our 42nd International Symposium. The conference title is **Reflections and New Perspectives on Mapping Maine, New England and Maritime Canada**. A three-day post-symposium tour is planned to include Acadia National Park and Mount Desert Island.

Report from the 40th IMCoS

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM: HELSINKI 2023

The Symposium officially started on Tuesday 22 August, however, for most participants it commenced a day earlier with an extensive tour of Helsinki, and an informative presentation of Finland's history given by Hanna Leena Halsas (an enormous help for the following days of lectures). In the evening the National Land Survey of Finland generously hosted a reception with an exhibition of key maps which plotted Finland's cartographic history.

In keeping with the format of IMCoS Symposia, the 40th began with opening remarks by Professor Juha Oksanen Chair of the Cartographic Society of Finland, Maria Erkheikke representing Chartarum Amici, the oldest map club in the world, and IMCoS Chairman Dr Mike Sweeting. The morning lectures, interspersed with coffee breaks and delicious Finnish pastries, were followed with afternoon visits to major map collections.

Conference organiser **Antti Jakobsson** gave the opening lecture: ***Mapping of Finland as part of Sweden and Russia.*** He set out the progress of the surveying of Finland over four hundred years, beginning in the 1600s, during which time it was variously under Swedish or Russian rule.

Our second presenter, author of several books on the history of Finnish mapping, **Martti Helminen** spoke about the city of Helsinki or Helsingfors, as it was originally called by the Swedish, and is still used today. In ***Helsinki on Maps*** he guided us through the city's chequered development and destruction wrought upon it in its many times of conflict.

There can be no discussion of Arctic exploration without mention of Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld who led multiple expeditions throughout the region: between 1858 and 1883 he made ten to Spitzbergen; to Greenland in 1870 and 1883; and the Northeast Passage in 1875, 1876, 1878-80. He was the protagonist of Leena Miekkavaara's lecture: ***Nordenskiöld and his maps***. Leena was a former curator of the Nordenskiöld Collection at the Helsinki University Library (now University of Finland) and compiler of Volumes 1–3 of the collection's catalogue. The volumes list some 24,000 maps and charts printed before 1800. Nordenskiöld was an avid and discerning collector. He planned to assemble the most comprehensive body of cartographical literature which followed the growth of Western geographical knowledge. Nordenskiöld regarded *Geographia tavole moderne di geographia de la maggior parte del mondo* by Antonio Lafreri and his Ptolemy collection of 53 different works in 58 known editions, created between 1475 and 1730, as his most valuable items. The importance of his cartographic legacy was formally recognised in 1997 when it was included on UNESCO's Memory of the World register.

Leena's presentation dovetailed neatly into an afternoon visit to the **National Library of Finland** to see an exhibition drawn from the Nordenskiöld collection. Curated by Anna Vuolanto and the Research Library team, it skilfully illuminated the explorer/collector's intentions. On display was a wonderful selection of loose maps and charts, atlases and maps in books. These included Ptolemy's 1482 Ulm *Geographia*, Jacob Ziegler's *Quae intus continentur*, 1532, Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, 1555, Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarium*, 1570, Mercator's 1595 *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditatione de fabrica mundi et fabricate figura*, to name a few. Other standout items included Domingo Olives' 1568 chart of the Mediterranean Sea on vellum (www.doria.fi/handle/10024/101855), Lafreri's Carta Marina, 1572 (https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/147788), and the mammoth bird's-eye view map of Venice by Lodovico Ughi.

Nordenskiöld's own publications were featured: *Facsimile-Atlas to the early history of Cartography with reproductions of the most important maps printed in the XV and XVI centuries*; *Periplus: an essay on the early history of charts and sailing-directions* (1897); *The voyage of the Vega around Asia and Europe* (1881). That













1 Tour guide Hanna Leena Halsas and Symposium organiser Antti Jakobsson at the pre-Symposium lecture on the history of Finland.
2 Visit to the National Library of Finland to view an exhibition drawn from the Nordenskiöld collection.
3 Jan Strang delivering his lecture on maps of the Gulf of Finland.
4 Reception hosted by the City of Helsinki in the Old Court House.
5 Tour of the National Archives, designed and completed in 1890 by C. G. Nyström.
6 Visit to the National Archives Library to view the exhibition of WWI and II military maps.











7 Reception and exhibition at the John Nurminen Foundation.
8 Peter Geldart and Jan Strang enjoying the display of sea charts.
9 IMCoS International Chairman Wes Brown and his wife Linda on the ferry to the farewell dinner at Suomenlinna.
10 Expressions of thanks to Antii Jakobsson and his team given by Wes Brown at the dinner. Seated are, l–r, Joseph Schiro, 2024 Malta Symposium organiser with Eva and Hans Kok who organised the 2002 Symposium in Amsterdam.
11 A section of the long table of diners in the old officers' mess.

evening the City of Helsinki, a supporter of the Symposium, hosted a reception for us in the elegant Old Court House.

Marjo Nurminen, author of *The Story of the Baltic* (2020), *Sisters of Science* (2008) and *The Mapmakers' World: A Cultural History of the European World Map* (2015), commenced Day 2's lectures with ***Imagining, illustrating and defining the Baltic Sea region on maps – Examples from the Middle Ages to the present***. She examined how the northern sea of Europe and the lands surrounding it have been visualised on maps and reflected on how the maps have communicated geographical and ethnographical information, myths, guided activities like navigation, warfare and nation building and influenced our mental images of the Baltic.

Mikko Huhtamies' lecture ***The Seventh Zone: Northern maritime history*** continued the theme of the Baltic region. According to Ptolemy, the known world was divided into seven climatic zones of which the Baltic region was the seventh. His lecture investigated the cultural history of the Baltic world between 1200–1600, from the Vikings to the end of the early Vasa dynasty in Sweden (1523–1624). He explained that during this period, the Baltic was transformed into early modern nation states.

In his lecture, ***The Gulf of Finland in sea charts and maps***, **Jan Strang** explained that this body of water was, for centuries, the main transport route between Western Europe and Russia, Finland and Estonia and for that reason there are numerous charts of the area. Yet despite the abundance it remained until the eighteenth century the most inaccurately mapped sea route in Europe. Jan presented a selection of charts and maps of the Gulf explaining their merits and shortcomings.

Erkki-Sakari Harju spoke on ***The 18th-century Finnish reconnaissance mapping and its connection to the Central European cabinet maps.*** Between 1766–1805 Sweden conducted an extensive reconnaissance survey of South and Central Finland. It was a part of the defence plan against Russia which included an entire series of military maps in various scales covering an area of 110,000 square kilometres. The maps were intended for the King and the supreme



Some of the Symposium participants outside the King's Gate on Suomenlinna fortress. Built in 1753–54 on the site where the ship carrying King Adolf Frederick of Sweden was anchored while he inspected the construction of the fortress. Photo Paul Lim.

military command only. The Finnish reconnaissance survey was a part of the larger military surveys taking place in Central Europe, an effort which had been triggered by the Seven Years War. Topographic maps were understood as tools for military operations. *Carte de France,* a topographic survey in the scale of 1:86,400 provided a model for the large undertaking. The Finnish survey (1756–63) in turn was based on the Swedish military mapping of Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rügen.

Aleksi Rikkinen presented ***Military cartography of the Second World War in Arctic Fennoscandia.*** He gave a visual overview of rarely seen German maps of their campaigns in Northern Finland and Norway. He focused on the Sturmbock defensive line, in the extreme northwest of Finland; it formed part of a larger defensive line intended to check German access to the vital Norwegian harbours of the Arctic Ocean. Aleksi demonstrated how geospatial source material could be applied to military historical research.

The National Archives was our Day-2 afternoon destination. Here we were introduced to their impressive collection of military maps of the First and Second World Wars. The visit was a well-considered choice to follow Aleksi Rikkinen's lecture. Spread across twelve display tables in the Archive Library was a fascinating selection of maps, with each table dedicated to a different genre: Finnish Topographic maps; aerial maps for military purpose; operative maps; booty maps of war and Russian war maps; Russian propaganda maps, mainly from the Karelian region; and German maps of Finland and Russia.

The **John Nurminen Foundation** hosted a wonderful reception at their headquarters for which the director Juha Nurminen (a member of the IMCoS Advisory Council), CEO Annamari Arrakoski-Engardt, and Publications and Collections Manager Maria Erkheikki must be thanked. In 1992 the Foundation set out, initially, to safeguard the cultural heritage of Finnish seafaring and maritime history and disseminate information on these topics to the general public. Central to this objective is the Foundation's outstanding collection of sea charts and maps. It holds one of the world's most comprehensive collections of nautical maps of the Baltic Sea area; its collection of maps of Scandinavia is also significant; and Juha's personal collection of world maps is the largest private collection of early printed world maps in the Nordic countries. Many of the maps and charts were on view for us to enjoy.

Since 2004 the Foundation has been focusing much of their attention on environmental issues affecting those geographical areas whose history they have been so diligently preserving in cartographic form.

Mapping power and propaganda was the theme of the final conference day. Sadly, our first presenter **Katariina Kosonen** was ill and unable to attend in person. Her physical absence did not diminish the quality of her lecture ***Mapping propaganda***. She examined the political role of Finnish thematic and pictorial maps and their use as tools of propaganda in the Finnish popular press and explained how in the nineteenth century the rise of nationalism and mass literacy gave maps a new political role. The application of chromolithography to popular, mass-market publications allowed caricaturists and publishing houses to produce politically oriented cartographic satires, such as Fred W. Rose's well-known 'serio-comic' maps. In the context of Finland's annexation by Russia, propaganda maps were understandably often aimed against Russia. Satirical maps were also used to mock political opponents and conflicts in domestic politics. Nationalist propaganda as expressed in cartographic satire reached its peak during the Winter War and Continuation War.

Somewhat outside the expected geographic remit was **Johanna Skurnik**'s presentation: ***Maps in the British Empire: John Arrowsmith and the business of mapmaking in mid-nineteenth century Britain***. She discussed the role played by Arrowsmith in the mapping of British settler colonies in the mid-nineteenth century, elaborating on the networks he relied on to produce his maps, and how those depicting the British colonies were exploited. She explained how Arrowsmith's maps facilitated general knowledge of the colonies and assisted the expansion of British colonisation.

The concluding speaker was **Kaisa Rautio Helander**, a professor of sámi onomastics at Sámi University of Applied Sciences in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. The title of her presentation was ***Mapping Indigenous Land: Treatment of Sámi toponymy in the production of topographic maps in Norway.*** The production of topographic maps began in Norway in the nineteenth century, during which time Norwegian authorities decided how Indigenous place-names were to appear on maps of Norway. The prioritising of Norwegian place-names over Sámi names was a powerful strategy to reinforce a written narrative of the nation state's settlement history and territorial image. Professor Helander outlined the strategies of toponymic subjugation and toponymic silencing which were used in the production of topographic maps.

The Farewell Dinner was held at the maritime fortress of Suomenlinna. a short ferry ride away from the city. Built in the second half of the eighteenth century by Sweden on a group of islands located at the entrance of Helsinki's harbour, the fortress was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, acknowledged as an outstanding example of general fortification principles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fortress has served to defend three different sovereign states over the years: the Kingdom of Sweden, the Russian Empire, and the Republic of Finland. After Finland gained independence in 1917, it was renamed Suomenlinna (or Castle of Finland) and served as a garrison and a harbour. Its role as a military installation declined after World War II, and in 1973 the area was converted for civilian purposes. Since then, buildings have been renovated into apartments and workspaces to house private and public services, and for cultural purposes. Our dinner was held in one such converted building – a cavernous stone room in what would have been an officers' mess, large enough to accommodate the one long table at which we all sat. Popular Finnish songs, performed by two talented musicians accompanied the delicious fare of local specialities, after which generous thank-yous were bestowed on our hosts.

Thank you Helsinki!

HELSINKI POST-SYMPOSIUM TOUR 2023

Report by Mark Clark

The morning after the Symposium a group of sixteen of us met outside the Kisama, Helsinki's stunning new Museum of Contemporary Art, to commence our two-day post tour to the east of the country. Our furthest point was to be within 5 kilometres of the Russian border on the road to St Petersburg. There may have been only sixteen of us but we still covered many corners of the world of IMCoS membership including the Far East, Australasia, the USA as well as Europe. We travelled in a very comfortable coach, enjoyed two nights hotel accommodation, and the expertise of local guides. Our tour manager was Ulla Mikkanen. She works with the National Land Survey of Finland and had given up her weekend to make sure our trip was a great success. As the Land Survey had been the symposium's lead organisation and main host she had a very full week. We were ever so grateful for her time and guidance, ensuring we kept on time and thus able to make the most of the two days. If we hadn't known she was with the Land Survey we would have assumed she was a professional guide. The distances between locations were not far so we were able to maximise our time at each.

Friday 25 August

Our first visit was to the Stromfors Ironworks (www.visitkotkahamina.fi/en/stromfors-ironworks), close to Helsinki. It dates back to the seventeenth century. Here we had a guided tour of the complex and many of the buildings which still stand. We were told about the 'iron lady' Virginia af Forselles, a widow who, in the nineteenth century while bringing up her two children, developed the ironworks. Our guide explained that despite its long history, it was during Forselles' thirty-year reign that the works were at their most successful.

A rustic lunch was enjoyed in the Mill café before going onto to visit Langinkoski and the Imperial Fishing Lodge of the Russian Emperor (www.kansallismuseo.fi/en/langinkoski).

We learned that the Russian Emperor Alexander III



Some of the buildings and one of the water sources which drove the mill wheels.

while visiting the scenic Langinkoski rapids and its surroundings fell in love with it. As a result he had a fishing lodge built there and the whole family would visit from St Petersburg in the summer and live a rural life. Very probably he did not fish himself but employed fishermen, who stayed in a nearby cottage, to catch the salmon in the river cataracts outside the lodge. The Royal family did not stay in the lodge overnight, preferring the comfort of their yacht moored a little further down on the river. Finland became part of the Russian Empire after the defeat of Sweden in 1809 and remained so until until 1917 when it gained its independence shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution.



View of the exterior of Alexander III's Fishing Lodge.

After leaving the lodge we went to the city of Kotka, where we overnighted at the Sokos Hotel Seurahuone. Before going to our hotel we visited the Maritime Centre Vellamo and, for those of us who were quick enough, the old Ice Breaker 'Tarmo', located close by. The Centre is in the renewed inner harbour of Kotka.

It is also home to the Finnish Maritime Museum, Kymenlaakso Museum, Coast Guard Museum and Kotka Culture and Event Service. Kotko was witness to the naval battle fought in the Gulf of Finland in 1790 between Sweden and Russia. This event is captured in a multimedia exhibition *Fateful Svensksund* at the museum, which we had time to visit and ponder over. One of the more curious exhibits was a motor vehicle on skis with a propeller on the rear to drive the 'car' across the ice when the Baltic and other waters froze over for many months in the winter. Interestingly they were in use until the turn of the twenty-first century. We concluded the day with an excellent group dinner at Restaurant Vausti

Saturday 26 August

After breakfast we were back on the coach and on our way to visit and explore a little bit of the Salpalinja, (the Salpa line). This took us very near the Russian border and our furthest point from Helsinki on this tour. The Salpa line construction started in 1940 and ended in 1944. It would become the key defensive line between Finland and Russia and was kept in use by the Finnish Defence Forces until the 1980s. On completion the line comprised:

> *728 reinforced concrete bunkers, 3,000 wooden field fortifications, about 225 km of multi-row anti-tank lines and more than 300 km of barbed-wire obstacles. More than 350 kilometres of battle and communication trenches were dug. At the most, the fortification work involved as many as 35,000 hired civilians in addition to army troops. With a total length of 1,200 km, the Salpa Line is one of Europe's strongest and best-preserved World War II fortification lines.*

(Quote from Salpa Line website: www.salpakeskus.fi/en/salpa-line-museum.)

We only covered about 1 kilometre but with our guide were able to walk the trenches, look into the bunkers including 'sleeping quarters' and gun positions and trace the anti-tank lines. This was a poignant visit for us all in the context of the current tension between the West and Russia, and Finland's recent joining of NATO as a result. We concluded our visit with lunch at the Salpa Museum.



An example of the trenches.



An example of the anti-tank lines.

After lunch we continued to Loviisa which included a visit to the town museum. A curator gave us a history of the town which over five centuries was either part of Sweden or Russia. We viewed some large-scale town plans which showed its development over each phase of rule. We then toured this very charming waterfront town with its mix of Swedish, Russian and Finnish buildings. We learned that the family of the twentieth-century Finnish composer Jean Sibelius lived here and the street in which the family home is located is named after him: *Sibeliukenkatu*. We wandered the streets to admire the wooden buildings for which this town is famous and indulged in Finnish ice cream. Before leaving we climbed the Lookout Tower, a Struve Geodetic Arc Station Point, to take in a view over the Baltic. We travelled onto Porvoo where we overnighted at Hotel Sparre and in the evening enjoyed another excellent group dinner at Bistro Gustaf. These group dinners are clearly an IMCoS signature!

Sunday 27 August

After a leisurely breakfast we walked around the wonderful town of Porvoo to browse and shop in the many craft, confectionary and chocolate shops, in particular. We visited the cathedral, which was completed in 1450 but most memorable are Porvoo's lovely streets with their distinctive old domestic Finnish architecture. The weather had been kind to us on the tour so far but as we boarded the coach the rain came and stayed with us on our return to Helsinki. We were dropped off at the Helsinki Railway Station, a fine example of Helsinki Art Nouveau architecture, from where we departed to our hotels, airport and trains. There we concluded an excellent tour after the outstanding 40th IMCoS International Symposium.



Porvoo Cathedral.



Porvoo with its Cathedral in the background.

IMAGO MELITAE 2024

IMCoS 41ST INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM MALTA

DRAFT PROGRAMME

16–19 OCTOBER 2024

Wednesday 16 October 2024
Valletta

8.30 am Assemble in front of Auberge de Castille.
9.00 am – 10.30 am Talk and specially-curated tour at MUŻA (The Malta National Community Art Museum) to see the Albert Ganado Malta Map Collection and other cartographic treasures, given by Bernafine Scicluna.
10.30 am – 11.00 am Talk by Glorianne Mizzi on the background history of the Maltese island at MUŻA.
11.00 am – 11.30 am Coffee break.
12.00 am – 1.30 pm Talk and specially-curated tour at the National Library of Malta, given by Maroma Camillieri.
1.30 pm – 2.00 pm Talk by Wulf Bodenstein at The National Library.
Free Time
4.45pm Assemble in front of The National Library.
5.00 pm – 6.30 pm Walking tour.
6.30 pm – 7.30 pm Visit to the Arts School in Valletta for a talk on printing techniques by Krystle Farrugia. Refreshments.

Thursday 17 October 2024
Rabat and Mdina

8.30 am Pick-up point for coach.
9.15 am – 10.30 am Introductory talk and specially-curated tour by Charles Farrugia at the National Archives of Malta, Rabat.
10.30 am – 11.00 am Talk at Malta National Archives of Malta by Katherine Parker.
11.00 am Walking tour and refreshments in Mdina or Rabat.
12.30 pm – 1.30 pm Specially-curated tour at the Mdina Cathedral Museum, given by Raymond Saliba.
1.30 pm – 2.30 pm Talk and tour of the Mdina Metropolitan Archives by Mario Gauci.
Free Time
Optional: Palazzo Falson Tour.



Valletta. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St_Sebastian_Curtain_(cropped).jpg



Malta Maritime Museum, Vittoriosa.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malta_Maritime_Museum#/media/File:Malta_Maritime_Museum_from_Senglea.jpg



St Paul's Cathedral, Mdina.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mdina#/media/File:Malta

Friday 18 October 2024
Vittoriosa

8.30 am Assemble in front of Auberge de Castille.
9.00 am – 9.15 am Boat crossing to Vittoriosa.
9.30 am – 10.30 am Specially-curated tour at the Malta Maritime Museum, given by Liam Gauci.
10.30 am – 11.30 am Talk at Malta Maritime Museum by Liam Gauci and Joseph Schiro followed with refreshments from a 'Tasting History' menu.
12.00 pm – 1.00 pm Walking tour of Vittoriosa.
1.30 pm – 2.15 pm Talk and specially-curated tour at the Inquisitor's Palace, given by Kenneth Cassar.
2.15 pm – 3.00 pm Talk at the Inquisitor's Palace.
Free Time
Optional: Tour of the Malta Hydrographic Office by the Head Hydrographer, Mr Mark A. Chapelle. (There may be a limited number of places for this tour).

Saturday 19 October 2024
Valletta

8.30 am Assemble in front of Auberge de Castille.
9.00 am – 11.00 am Specially-curated tour at Lascaris War Rooms, Valletta by Mario Farrugia.
11.30 am – 12.30 pm Opening of map exhibition, titled *British Malta Maps*, at MUŻA, followed by a small reception.

Free Time
1.00 pm Assemble in front of the National Library.
Optional 1.30 pm – 2.30 pm Tour of St John's Co-Cathedral and the Caravaggio Museum.
8.00 pm – 8.30 pm Tour of the Palace.
Farewell evening dinner, venue is still to be decided. Dress: smart/casual.

Post-symposium tour to GOZO

Sunday 20 October 2024
9.00 am Departure for a tour to the sister island of Gozo where we will visit the Ggantija Archeological Park, a UNESCO World Heritage site, the Citadel of Rabat, the Hagar Museum and other historical places. Dinner by the seaside in Marsalforn is included in the tour.

Note
We reserve the right to make changes to the programme and schedule. This can mean changing speakers (if they are unavailable due to sickness or any other reason). If a speaker becomes unavailable, we will find a fitting replacement or cancel the event if that is not possible. If changes need to be made to the itinerary, we will inform the participants as soon as is reasonably possible.

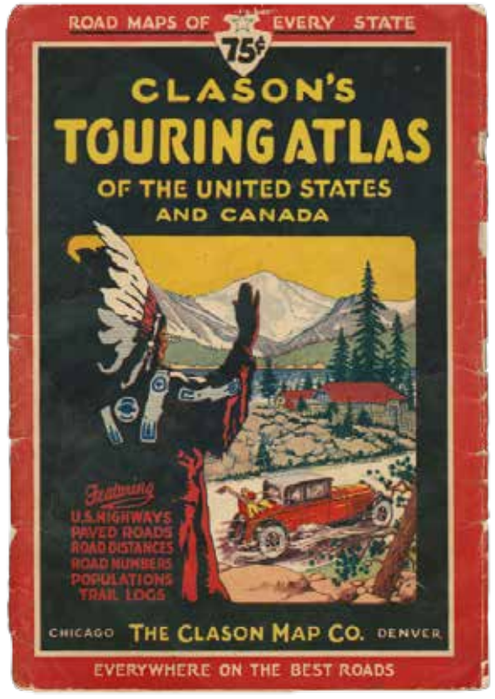
MAPPING MATTERS

ONLINE RESOURCES

Dating Clason road maps and atlases

Collectors of Clason state road maps issued between 1923 and 1931 are presented with challenges around determining map publication dates. Unlike Rand McNally and Gousha, the Clason Map Company typically did not place dates or date codes on its products during this period. A systematic review of the maps contained in Clason state road maps, touring atlases, and Green Guides reveal that the road legends and other map symbols varied over the years in systematic ways. This Clason Map website was developed by Mark Greaves and Carl Liedholm from the Michigan State University Libraries and provides collectors with an invaluable guide to dating these maps.

https://lib.msu.edu/exhibits/clason



The addition of the star above the price and the underline beneath 'Road Maps of Every State' date the atlas to 1931.

Medieval murder maps

Medieval Murder Maps is an interactive digital resource which provides a unique insight into violence and justice in late medieval London, York, and Oxford. The content is based on Coroners' rolls (catalogues of sudden or suspicious deaths as deduced by a jury of local residents) from the early fourteenth century. The incidents were recorded in Latin, and included names, events, locations, and even the value of murder weapons. Using the rolls and early maps the researchers constructed a street atlas of 354 homicide cases across the three cities. A comparison between the three cities reveals that the per capita homicide rate in Oxford to have been 4-5 times higher than in late medieval London or York. To explain this phenomenon Professor Manuel Eisner, lead murder map investigator and Director of Cambridge's Institute of Criminology argues that 'a medieval university city such as Oxford had a deadly mix of conditions' – young males at the peak age for violence and risk-taking away from the constraints of family and in an environment replete with alehouses, sex workers and weapons. Dozens of these cases now have audio versions of the inquests.

https://medievalmurdermap.co.uk/

Welsh tithe maps

The National Library of Wales has catalogued and digitised over a thousand tithe maps of Wales. They were produced between 1838 and 1850 following the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 as a part of the process to ensure that all tithes were paid with money rather than produce. These are the most detailed maps of their period and they cover more than 95 percent of Wales. All tithe maps have associated apportionment documents which list the payable tithes, the names of the landowners and land occupiers, the land use, and in most cases (75 percent) the field names. The maps can be searched by county, parish, land use, occupier, and landowner.

https://places.library.wales/search/52.248-?alt=*%3A*&page=1&sort=score&orderdesc&rows=100&refine=&query=&land_usefacet%5B%5D

New Historic Towns Trust project

The Historic Towns Trust is a charity which investigates the histories of towns in England, Scotland and Wales. Members work in partnership with local historians, geographers and archaeologists, researching how and why settlements developed in the way they did. Their findings are published in volumes of the *British Historic Towns Atlas*, and historical maps in the *Town & City Historical Maps* series.

The Trust is looking for supporters, sponsors and donors for their new project: **'Mapping London on the Eve of the Great Fire of London *c.* 1666'**. This follows two earlier publications of London: folding maps of 'Medieval London *c.* 1300' and 'Tudor London *c.* 1520'. The new project will show how the seven-fold increase in population over the preceding century changed the size and shape of the city. Unlike the previous two maps, the Trust is planning to publish the 1660 map as a bound atlas. Mapping the city at their standard scale of 1:2,500 would not adequately represent the city as it was in 1660. Also, an atlas volume allows for more supporting materials.

If you would like to help realise this project please contact the Trust at https://www.historictownstrust.uk/

Ann Saunders £1,000 essay prize

The London Topographical Society funds a prize in honour of the late Dr Ann Saunders. The prize is offered annually for an original and unpublished research essay on the topography, development or buildings of London in any period.

Submissions should be made by 1 April 2024. They must be no more than 8,000 words (including endnotes) and should include an additional abstract or summary of about 200 words. Further submission details at https://londontopsoc.org/about-us/ann-saunders-essay-prize/

Royal Geographical Society annual conference

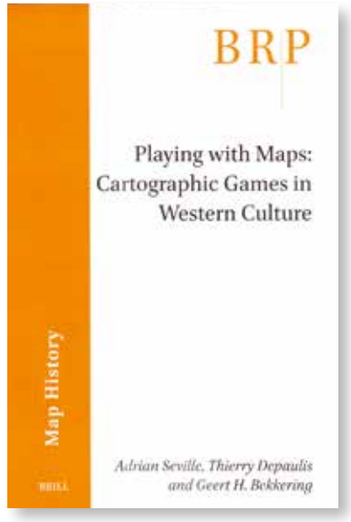
The 2024 Annual International Conference theme is **Mapping** and will explore mapping in all its forms from historical cartography to the newest technologies and digital practices. It will take place in London, at both the Society and Imperial College, and online, from the evening of Tuesday 27 to Friday 30 August 2024. The RGS is calling for papers. The deadline for submissions is Friday 1 March 2024. Information at https://www.rgs.org/research/annual-international-conference/call-for-sessions-papers-and-posters

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BOOK REVIEWS

Playing with Maps: Cartographic Games in Western Culture *by Adrian Seville, Thierry Depaulis and Geert H. Bekkering. Leiden: Brill, 2023. ISBN: 9789004544062 / E-Book 9789004681149. Paperback, ix, 155. Illustrations, some coloured. Both €70.00.*



There are many things to welcome in this pioneering publication—the first academic study to attempt to cover the entire field of games and puzzles based on maps (or at least those produced in Western Europe and America to the beginning of the twentieth century). The most welcome of all is the clarity of its thinking and approach. Too often removed to the margins of earlier research—the games brushed aside as 'cartographical curiosities', or overlooked in formal studies of the history of education as simply toys, they are here, for the first time, placed firmly in the central context of humanist and enlightenment thought on the acquisition of learning.

The study commences with some deft matters of definition as to what might legitimately be included under these headings of 'maps' and 'games', placing them firmly in the overall framework of the study of 'material culture'. Three major categories are soon identified: playing cards, board games, and the dissected maps which mutated into what we now know as jigsaw puzzles.

The book is excellent on where examples of this disparate material can be found, with up-to-date guidelines to the best and most useful online digital representations. It also provides an astute critical overview of the existing studies of individual strands of the wider topic. The brief biographical notes on the authors on the back of the book are perhaps unduly modest in terms of their own major contributions to such studies.

The origins of educational playing cards are traced from the fifteenth century, prior to the first known appearance of specifically cartographic cards in London in 1590. From that point, the known English packs are carefully summarised through to the 1820s. There follow sections on France—dating from a now lost pack described in print in 1622, again through to the 1820s. Five Italian packs from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are carefully considered, followed by six from Germany from 1678 onwards, a few from the Netherlands, a couple from Russia, and two published in the United States in the 1820s. With a few late exceptions, these cartographic playing cards, the maps necessarily small in size, were used simply to play conventional card games, but the osmosis of repetitive use and handling has a well understood place in systems of learning. The authors are right to regard them as 'important tools'.

The second category, that of board games, offers a much broader and more diverse field. Neat, if perhaps slightly forced, distinctions are made between 'race games', 'space games', 'chase games', and 'displace games', while the variety of maps brought (quite literally) into play is as extensive as even the most ardent cartophile might wish for. In terms of methods of play, the major distinction is between games determined by chance and those ruled by strategy. A cogent point is made concerning the little booklets of rules often issued with these games: these are often missing, but can be crucial to a full understanding of the game—where, for example, a player's progress is not in fact wholly a matter of chance, but regulated by the provision of correct answers to explicitly educational quiz questions on geography or allied topics. Where they survive, there is no excuse at all for some libraries' habit of not digitising them alongside the games they govern. Other matters aside, they often provide jewels of insight into social attitudes and lost aspects of popular culture not readily obtainable elsewhere.

The origins of these cartographic games—possibly the first ever avowedly educational games—are traced to the Paris mapmaker Pierre Duval, with his *Jeu du Monde* and other games of the mid-seventeenth century. These were soon followed by an Italian example, but London mapmakers were noticeably slow in following, taking a century or more to do so, but from 1760 onwards English cartographical board games came thick and fast. In increasing variety, such games became popular across Europe, especially in the nineteenth century, with American examples also known from 1806 onwards. The games were often innovative and quick to pick up on new modes of transport as they emerged, with railways, bicycles, and motor cars in turn becoming features, and even aeroplanes by the early twentieth century, while the range of maps extended even to the cartographies of fantasy. That point made, the authors are undoubtedly correct in their view that the educational element of these games weakened over time, even as the games became more elaborate (and probably more fun to play), with the introduction of such props as token money and travellers' passports.

Of the final category—that of dissected maps—the authors are assertive on the educational benefits of 'eye-hand coordination, fitting pieces together, orientation skills, finding borderlines, rivers or mountains', etc. The section opens with the clearest statement yet on the emergence of the dissected map, with references to home-made puzzles in Germany in 1725 and France in 1733, although a point not made is that the practice may initially have been suggested by the map trade practice of dissecting working maps and mounting them on linen (to reinforce the folds). The first commercially produced examples are thought to be those made by John Spilsbury in London in the early 1760s, although some Dutch puzzles from Covens & Mortier may yet prove to be earlier, and there are unverified claims of a French advertisement dating from 1762 which have not wholly been discounted. Whatever the case, a 1783 portrait by Goya of a young Spanish nobleman, puzzle-piece in hand, and an example from Stockholm dated 1795 attest to the rapid spread and popularity of these puzzles. The authors also touch on later examples of more elaborate three-dimensional globe puzzles from France, Germany and England, as well as cartographic puzzle cubes.

Overall, British material perhaps receives slightly more attention than that produced elsewhere, but this is almost certainly no more than a reflection of accessible British material surviving in larger and better documented numbers. The wealth of illustrations, many in colour, are well-chosen and include some outstanding and little-known examples of the various genres. They fully support the authors' contention that 'the game context favours an immersive experience that other maps merely hint at'. The list of references cited is broad and impressive. It is an unalloyed joy to find a modern academic book with the footnotes properly and accessibly placed at the foot of the page. This is an impressive study all round.

Laurence Worms, London

The A to Z of Regency London 1819, *introduction by Paul Laxton, indexes compiled by Roger Cline. London: the London Topographical Society (Publication No. 184), 2023. ISBN: 9780902087743. viii + 160, illus, maps. Price to non-members STG £36.00. Available from the Society (*https://londontopsoc.org/*).*



This volume reproduces, at a reduced scale of about 1:3,600, Richard Horwood's 1:2,376 (one inch to three chains) map of London of 1792-99, as extended in 1807, and as finally updated *c.* 1821. The map, originally on 32 plates and later extended to 40

plates, went through four editions: the third of 1813 was issued, at about 1:4,400, by the London Topographical Society in 1985 (publication number 131: now out of print), again with an introduction by Paul Laxton.

Horwood started his survey of London in about 1789 or 1790: as so often, sanguine expectations of speedy completion proved optimistic, and publication was only completed in 1799. As with most maps, background documentation is sparse, but it is clear that there were finance problems, partly mitigated by a subvention by the Phoenix Fire Office. Although at a comparable scale, the mapping is far more detailed than that of London by John Rocque in the 1740s, which generally shows little behind street frontages: Horwood's survey shows not only 'back-detail', including divisions between properties, but also house-numbers. Having completed his map of London, Horwood went on to map Liverpool in similar detail, but he died shortly after this was published, in 1803, and his next intended project, a plan of Hull, remained unfulfilled. London would not be mapped in comparable detail until after 1860, when the Ordnance Survey began work on their 1:1,056 detailed survey. It represents the high water mark of commercial urban mapping in Britain, in both detail and in sheer size: about 5.25 by 2.3 metres in its final form, when all forty sheets were mounted together.

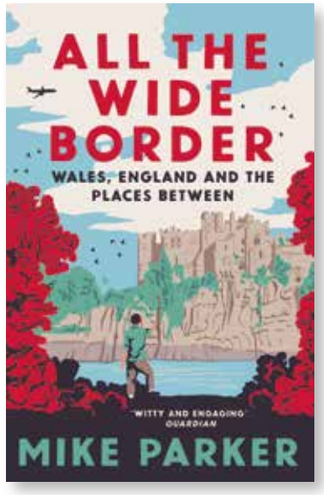
After Horwood's death the plates were acquired by William Faden, who issued three further designated editions, with revisions, in 1807, 1813 and 1819. Shortly after publication eleven plates of the 1819 edition were subject to further revision: this process is likely to have been completed by 1821–22, shortly before Faden's retirement from business. The plates subsequently passed to James Wyld I and II, the latter of whom seems to have contemplated a reissue in the late 1840s for the benefit, whether they liked it or not, of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers. Thereafter they disappear. The present volume thus reproduces the plates in their final state, at any rate before some rather fragmentary updating by James Wyld II for a lithographic issue of the City of London sections in 1842.

Horwood's map is of incomparable importance for students of London's geography in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. If maps are divided into those where the balance of modern-day interest is in the making of the map and its background—definitely a majority of printed 'old maps'—and those where the interest is in map content and what it tells of lost landscapes, then Horwood assuredly falls into the latter category. Attempting to test 'old maps' is often not a straightforward business: planimetric accuracy can be checked fairly easily, but by Horwood's time this is not normally of major importance, when detail is generally 'in sympathy', even if the overall shape appears somewhat distorted. What is of significance for modern-day users is local detail, the checking of which is a much more intricate affair, at any rate where redevelopment prevents straightforward verification on the ground. Paul Laxton's introduction discusses these problems, in vigorous style, and there are illustrations of specimen areas indicating the sort of revision that was carried out, and building patterns that resulted from redevelopment. There are also a few illustrations of areas that were photographed before redevelopment, enabling direct comparison with the map. Altogether, users of Horwood should have no complaints about guidance on how to interpret him: in this respect the introduction is a model of style. It is a pity, though, that more care was not taken with some details and with the endnotes, which betray a sense of haste: thus Thomas Colby, head of the Ordnance Survey from 1820 to 1847, is wrongly named William (p. 24), and the details of your reviewer's doctoral thesis came as something of a surprise to him (note 85), particularly as this was effectively replaced in 2014 by an improved and expanded publication. Admittedly these are small blemishes: the notes are admirably full, and need to be read with the same attention as the main text.

The quality of the reproduction of the map sections leaves nothing to be desired, and the indexes to streets and buildings are self-recommending. Production is good, with discreet but adequate gutters. Altogether then, a thoroughly recommendable volume.

Richard Oliver, Exeter, UK

All the Wide Border, Wales England and the Places Between *by Mike Parker. London: Harper Collins, 2023. ISBN: 9780008499181. HB, 320. STG £20.00.*



At first sight this book about the Anglo-Welsh Borderlands seemed made for me. I had even been there earlier this year, assisting my wife as she walked the first half of the Offa's Dyke Way. I know the area higher up quite well too through early family holidays, since my mother had been evacuated to the Welsh side of the mid-section during the bombing of Liverpool in WW2. However, I found this offering both irritating and interesting in equal measure. I stalled reading it about halfway through and have now managed to finish.

Before you bother to read any more here, I must inform you that, although sent to us for review due, I assume, to past offerings of *Map Addict* and *Mapping the Roads* the book has nothing to do with maps or mapping. It does have quite a lot to say about topography and borders—all from a singular, unsubstantiated point of view, though.

First, I will look at the strengths. It's good that the area gets a modern visit and analysis. The Wye Valley in particular, is very beautiful, beloved of past poets and current outdoor enthusiasts. As we discover, the area was also very popular as a bolthole for the post-War London intelligentsia, who developed a cultural scene there that was far stronger than the obscure locations might suggest. Parker accurately points to the role that Hay-on-Wye played in this, already Britain's 'book town', with many events and book signings.

Parker writes clear effective prose. The places and people he chose to look at may not be the ones I would automatically choose but his personal 'stamp' saves the book from being some bland travel guide.

So, what are the defects? His bias, his harping on about that bias. His intellectual snobbery. His self-centredness. All these are too far forward in the mix. Obviously, he is going to prefer the sections near where he has himself chosen to live, and he has chosen to live well into Wales. He had the freedom to do that—and is the kind of person who is always going to heartily endorse his own decisions!

The grating factor is that Parker is now more Welsh than the Welsh. Although he does refer at times to the half of his life spent in his native English Midlands, nothing east of the border is really any good in his view. Having been there so often, I can safely say that the beauty is equally spread, as is the kindness, wisdom and history. But if he likes a place on the English side its 'Welsh really'. If he dislikes somewhere on the other side its due to English interlopers, written with zero self-awareness. The book also bears the mark of Covid lockdown boredom rather than any real authorial motivation. It just gets draining. Avoid unless you are a committed Parker fan or dislike England.

Mike Sweeting, Lincoln, UK



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CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Lectures & Conferences

7 December 2023, London (hybrid) Maps & Society lecture, Senate House, University of London, 5 pm, followed by refreshments. **Tom Simpson** (Department of History, University of Cambridge) will speak on ***Maps that Made Climate Change, c.1800 to the Present Day***. All meetings are free but anybody wishing to attend must, please, indicate their intention at the Warburg Institute's What's On page, to register. Those attending remotely will be sent a link with guidelines. Information: Catherine Delano-Smith c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk and Philip Jagessar philip.jagessar@kcl.ac.uk

20 December 2023, Boston
Leventhal Map & Education Center, 6 pm. **Jake Berman** will speak about his new book, ***The Lost Subways of North America: A Cartographic Guide to the Past, Present, and What Might Have Been*.** Berman has plotted maps of old train networks covering 23 north American cities, ranging from New York City's Civil War–era plan for a steam-powered subway to the automated Vancouver SkyTrain and the 1000-mile electric railway system of pre-WW II Los Angeles. Information: www.leventhalmap.org

25 January 2024, London (hybrid) Maps & Society lecture, Senate House, University of London, 5 pm, followed by refreshments. **Felix de Montety** (Université Grenoble Alpes, France) will speak on ***The Birth of the Isogloss: Remarks on the Problem of Language Borders in the History of Cartography***. All meetings are free but anybody wishing to attend must, please, indicate their intention at the Warburg Institute's What's On page, to register. Those attending remotely will be sent a link with guidelines. Information: Catherine Delano-Smith c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk and Philip Jagessar philip.jagessar@kcl.ac.uk

February 2024, (online) IMCoS Show & Tell
An evening in which speakers share their favourite cartographic item in a 10-minute presentation. Please contact Mike Sweeting if you are interested in presenting. Information: drsweeting@aol.com

20 February 2024, (online) Cambridge Seminars in the History of Cartography
Isabella Alexander (UTS Sydney) will speak on ***Controlling Copyright before Copyright: A tale of three Britannias.*** Information: events@emma.cam.ac.uk

20 February 2024, (online)
Hosted by the **Washington Map Society**, this Zoom meeting is presented in partnership with the California, Chicago, New York, Philip Lee Phillips, Rocky Mountain, and Texas Map Societies. **Fred Rickey** (Professor Emeritus, United States Military Academy), historian of mathematic will discuss ***George Washington, Surveyor***. Anyone interested in participating in the meeting must RSVP to John Docktor at washmap@gmail.com to receive the meeting ID and passcode. Meeting starts at 7 pm ET, 6 pm CT, 5 pm MT and 4 pm PT.

22 February 2024, London (hybrid) Maps & Society lecture, Senate House, University of London. 5 pm, followed by refreshments. **Matthew Day** (College of Arts, Humanities and Education, University of Derby) will speak on ***For the Benefit of the Nation? Richard Hakluyt's* Principall Navigations (1589, 1598–1600) *and Its Readers***. Hakluyt Society Speaker. All meetings are free but anybody wishing to attend must, please, indicate their intention at the Warburg Institute's What's On page, to register. Those attending remotely will be sent a link with guidelines. Information: Catherine Delano-Smith c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk and Philip Jagessar philip.jagessar@kcl.ac.uk

21 March 2024, London (hybrid) Maps & Society lecture Senate House, University of London, 5 pm, followed by refreshments. **Catherine Gibson** (Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia) will speak about ***Mapmakers in Action: Drawing Borders in the Baltic, 1918–20***. All meetings are free but anybody wishing to attend must, please, indicate their intention at the Warburg Institute's What's On page, to register. Those attending remotely will be sent a link with guidelines. Information: Catherine Delano-Smith c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk and Philip Jagessar philip.jagessar@kcl.ac.uk

24–26 April 2024, Montevideo
The X Ibero-American Symposium on the History of Cartography.
The symposium theme ***Historias de cartografías en Iberoamérica: mapear un campo de estudios*** hopes to foster theoretical-methodological reflection on the history of cartography and historical cartography. Registration is free, official languages are Spanish and Portuguese.
Information: xsiahc@gmail.com

25 April 2024, London (hybrid) Maps & Society lecture at Senate House, University of London 5 pm, followed by refreshments**. Yvonne Lewis** (Assistant National Curator, Libraries, the National Trust) will speak on ***Marking the Miles: some Annotated Maps in the National Trust Collections***. All meetings are free but anybody wishing to attend must, please, indicate their intention at the Warburg Institute's What's On page, to register. Those attending remotely will be sent a link with guidelines.
Information: Catherine Delano-Smith c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk and Philip Jagessar philip.jagessar@kcl.ac.uk

Looking Forward

1–5 July 2024, Lyon
Imago Mundi and the University of Lyon are pleased to invite you to the **30th International Conference on the History of Cartography**. The conference theme is ***Confluences – Interdisciplinarity and new Challenges***

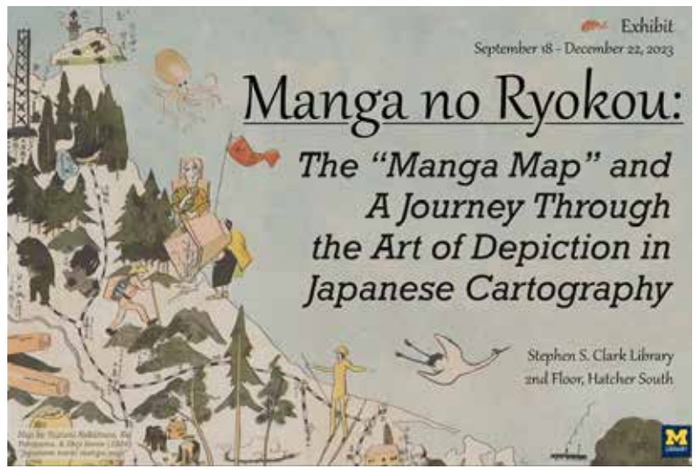
in the History of Cartography. There will be a pre-conference visit to Paris on 29 June and a post-conference tour on 6 July.
Information: ichc2024@univ-lyon3.fr

27–30 August 2024, London
Royal Geographical Society Annual Conference
The conference theme is 'Mapping' and will explore mapping in all its forms from historical cartography to the newest technologies and digital practices. It will take place at the Society, Imperial College and online.
Information: https://www.rgs.org/about-us/our-work/latest-news/theme-announced-for-society-s-2024-annual-conference.

16–19 October 2024, Valletta, Malta
42nd International IMCoS Symposium
See pages 52–53 for the programme of events, including the post-symposium tour of Gozo.

Exhibitions

Until 22 December 2023, Ann Arbor
Manga no Ryokou: The 'Manga Map' and a Journey Through the Art of Depiction in Japanese Cartography examines the intersection between art, narrative, and geography within Japanese cartography. It focuses on the titular 'manga map', a rare Japanese travel map of Japan (*c.*1934) that is densely packed with illustrations detailing local folklore, history, architecture, flora/fauna, and more. The exhibition analyses the dichotomy between artistry and geographic depiction, and how that plays with the definition of a 'map'.
Information: https://lib.umich.edu



Until 31 December 2023, Reading, Pennsylvania
Cartography in the Age of Enlightenment is on at the Reading Public Museum. Made up entirely of works from the Museum's permanent collection, *Cartography in the Age of Enlightenment* explores the art and science of mapmaking during the long 18th century. It features over 30 maps and is supplemented with cartographical instruments and charts.
Information: https://readingpublicmuseum.org/current-exhibits

Until 20 January 2024, Victoria, Republic of Seychelles
The Seychelles: A Journey through the History of Maps (1482-1830)
The exhibition showcases the first maps of the Seychelles compiled from information gathered by explorers navigating the Indian Ocean. Curators have drawn a rich selection of French, Portuguese, Spanish, and British maps and charts of the 15th to the 18th centuries. These have been sourced mainly from French institutions. After the exhibition closes, it will tour neighbouring islands in the Indian Ocean visiting islands such Mauritius and Reunion Island, with whom the Seychellois share a common history.
Information: https://seychellesculturelinstitute.org/

Until 5 January 2024, Minneapolis
Eyes on the World: Cartography in the Age of Sail is on at the James Ford Bell Library and features a wide range of maps and atlases produced by cartographers and printers in the 15th to 18th centuries. These cartographers grappled with reconciling traditional world views with constantly changing information brought back by European travellers.
Information: https://continuum.umn.edu/2023/09/eyes-on-the-world

Until 28 January 2024, Den Bosch, The Netherlands
Mapping Modernity is on at the Design Museum Den Bosch. It tells the story of our world in 250 maps. The exhibition argues that the history of modernity is one of control: over nature, populations and trade flows. Mankind has placed itself at the centre of the universe and used maps in an attempt to dominate a complex, elusive reality. Every map offers a glimpse into the mindset of those who commissioned it and the ways in which they sought to mould the world to suit them. *Mapping Modernity* comes from the collection of John Steegh and Harrie Teunissen which they donated to the University of Leiden.
Information: info@designmuseum.nl

Until 24 February 2024, Haverfordwest
A new exhibition – ***Wales to the World*** – drawn from maps in the National Library of Wales is on at the Riverside Gallery, Haverfordwest. Highlights include Cambriae Typus by Humphrey Llwyd – the earliest printed map specifically of Wales, a Cold War map of Pembroke Dock secretly drawn by the Soviet Union, 17th-century playing cards on a map theme, and a German propaganda map quoting David Lloyd George. New artworks inspired by the map collection will also be on display for the first time in this exhibition, alongside the items that inspired them.
Information: https://www.library.wales

Until 3 March 2024, St Gallen Switzerland
Celestial globes made by clock and instrument maker Jost Bürgi (1552–1632) are displayed in the exhibition ***Key To The Cosmos***.
Information: https://kulturmueum.ch/ausstellungen/Buergi2023.php

Until 17 March 2024, Singapore
Manila Galleon: From Asia to the Americas is on show at the Asian Civilisations Museum. It explores the trade across the Pacific from Manila to Acapulco. Works of art and maps reveal how people, goods and ideas circulated through the Philippines and Mexico to create a distinctive cultural heritage.
Information: https://www.nhb.gov.sgacm/

2 April 2024 – 13 July 2024, Lyon,
Representing the far away: an European view will be held at the Municipal Library of Lyon, as part of the ICHC 2024 conference. The exhibition will focus on documents (cartographic and iconographic) and key figures from Lyon to highlight the city in international information networks over the centuries.
Information: ichc2024@univ-lyon3.fr

Until 27 April 2024, Boston
How do Bostonians get from here to there in a city full of trains, trolleys, ferries, and more? ***Getting Around Town: Four Centuries of Mapping Boston in Transit*** features an extraordinary collection of transit maps dating from the 17th century to the present and invites questions about how people have moved around the city in the past, present, and future. At the Leventhal Map & Education Center.
Information: www.leventhalmap.org

Until May 2024, Boulder, Colorado
Featuring the works of 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 depictions of ourselves in the world. The exhibit will display several 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

Until 7 June 2024, Hong Kong
China in Maps: 500 Years of Evolving Images is jointly presented by the Lee Shau Kee Library and Media Technology and Publishing Center. The HKUST Library has a significant collection of Western printed maps of China, enriched by the generous donation of Dr Ko Pui-Shuen. The exhibition features a curated selection of items from this valuable collection, highlighting how the land and geography of China were portrayed by European and Chinese mapmakers.
Information: https://library.hkust.edu.hk/china-in-maps/exhibits

Map Fairs

20–21 January 2024, Milan
Milan Map Fair
Information: milanomapfair.it

15–16 June 2024, London
London Map Fair
Information: https://www.londonmapfairs.com/

3 July 2024, Lyon
Lyon Map Fair will coincide with the 2024 ICHC conference.
Information: info@loeb-laroque.com

7 September 2024, Amsterdam
Amsterdam Map Fair
Information: celine@celinevanhoorn.com

November, Paris
Paris Map Fair, date not yet confirmed
Information: paris@map-fair.com

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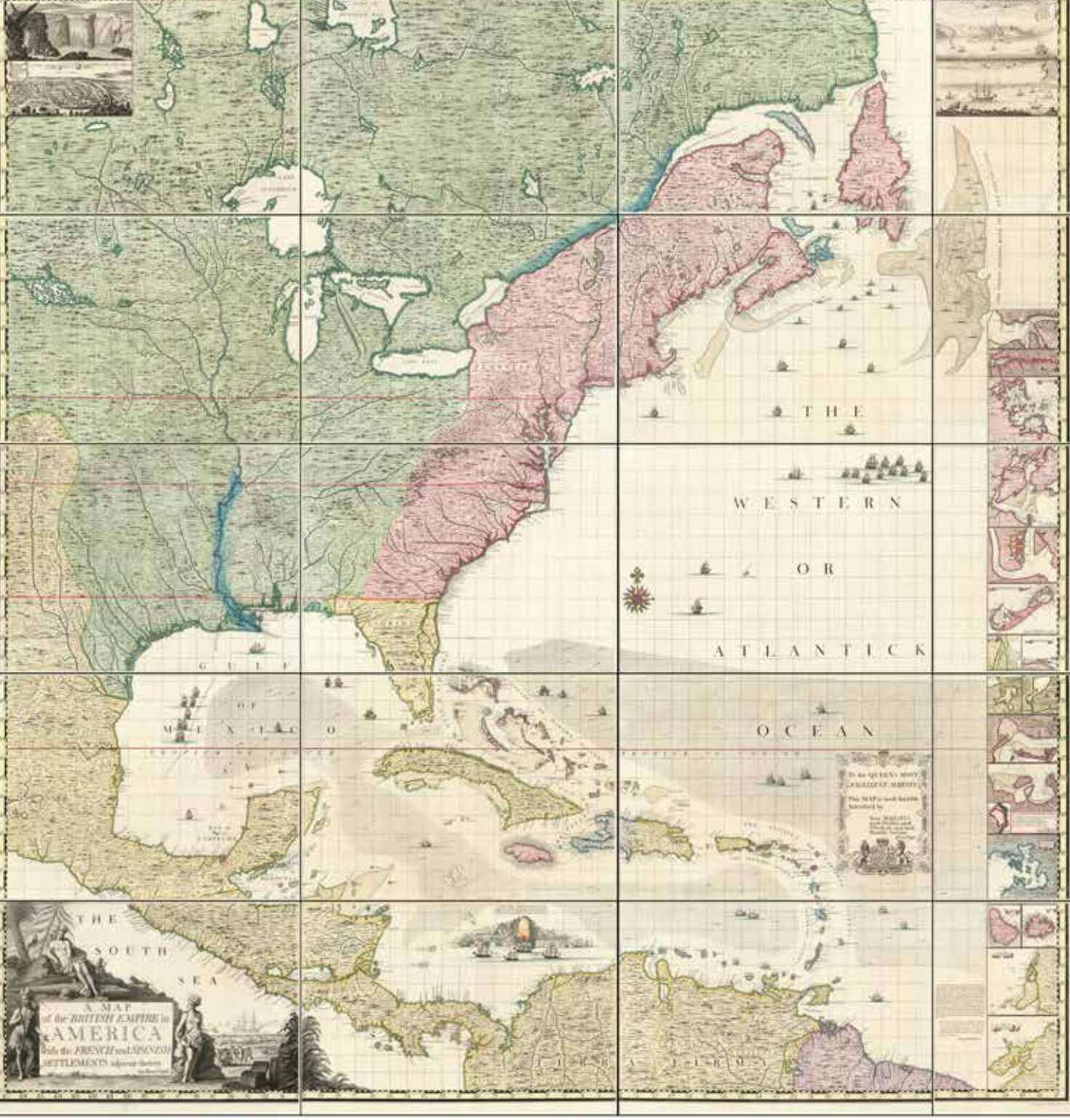




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