

# The PORTOLAN

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## 100<sup>th</sup> ISSUE OF *The* PORTOLAN

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### “Not Maps At All” – What Is Persuasive Cartography? And Why Does It Matter?

by PJ Mode

GET-READY  
NUMBER

Life

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"MY COUNTRY, 'TIS OF THEE"

"New Prussia. 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee,'" *Life*, "Get-Ready Number," February 10, 1916.

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## From the Editor

Who would have thought back in 1984, when they saw eight mimeographed pages stapled in one corner, and called issue 1 of *The Portolan*, that it would grow to the product in your hands (or viewing online) today? As the longest serving Editor of this journal, I must say that I could not be doing this without the willingness and cooperation of so many members, and non-member contributors too. You write book reviews, biographic notes and articles. Others present talks and then agree to write some of the articles you read, in that way connecting distant members with the Society. Editorial Advisory Board members review select articles to insure they meet quality standards.

I am proud to say that *The Portolan* has been published on-time and consistently since 1984. It is received at MANY noted institutions and libraries and by readers throughout North America and over 20 countries across the seas. The reach is great, and I am heartened by the many people I have encountered worldwide who are immediately familiar with this journal and its content.

Available now to all members is online access to all current and past issues, and we are improving the quality of the digital product. If you wish you can download an issue to your tablet and view it with enlarged font and great color clarity.

This current issue starts with one of my favorite cartographic items—persuasive cartography—I have some in my collection and never tire of examining these *maps with a message*. Look above and you will see the magnificent feast that awaits in this issue.

Enjoy the holiday season. You will be receiving the next issue in March.

*Tom*

## Letter from the President



Dear WMS Members,

This milestone 100th issue of *The Portolan* comes to you 33 years after the journal began. Consistently during those many years, the dedicated work of the journal's editors and the contributions of many WMS members have resulted in the respected publication of which we are very proud, and which reaches readers in over twenty countries. The journal, and now the advances of electronic media (see our website), keep all WMS members connected. I commend to you Leigh Lockwood's article beginning on page 71, a tribute to our journal.

As 2017 draws to a close and fall turns to winter, the Washington Map Society is preparing for its last two program meetings of the year.

On Thursday, November 9, 2017 at 5:00 PM, the Washington Map Society will host Dr. Donald McGuirk, a member of the Executive Steering Committee of the Philip Lee Phillips Society (and a WMS member), for a talk entitled *A Survey of the Stars and Stripes on Early Maps, 1777-1795*. Several of the maps that Don will be discussing will be on display in the Geography and Map Division Reading Room. Earlier that same day, the Philip Lee Phillips Society Steering Committee will be meeting in the Geography and Map Division, and Phillips Society members are invited to attend the WMS talk.

On Thursday, December 7 at 5:00 PM, Washington Map Society member Leslie Trager will present a talk entitled *Henry Hudson: Cree History and Ancient Maps*. The talk will be largely based on his online book of the same title. It will also deal with the Cree interaction with Hudson, as conveyed in their oral history.

Washington Map Society programs for the Spring of 2018 are currently being planned and there are several interesting topics and speakers under consideration.

On behalf of the entire Washington Map Society Board, I would like to express my thanks you for your continued interest and support of the Washington Map Society. We look forward to seeing you at future presentations. Should you be unable to come to a meeting, note that a new membership benefit is the online posting of our presentations at the WMS website. While not all sessions are able to be recorded (due to speaker desires), we have several posted already, with more to come.

Best wishes for the Holidays,

*Ed Redmond*

President 2016–2018

### 2017 RISTOW PRIZE WINNERS ANNOUNCED

Each year the Washington Map Society offers the Ristow Prize in honor of the late Dr. Walter W. Ristow, one of the nation's premier map librarians and cartographic authors. Dr. Ristow was for many years head of the Geography and Map Division at the Library of Congress and was the founding president of the Washington Map Society.

**The winner of the 2017 Ristow Prize is Lauren Bouchard Killingsworth**, an undergraduate studying History and Biology at Stanford University, for her paper entitled "Mapping Public Health in Nineteenth-Century Oxford." Ms. Killingsworth's winning entry will be published in a future issue of *The Portolan*. She will receive a cash award of \$1,000 and a complimentary membership in the Washington Map Society for the coming year. "*Navigating the British Empire through Geographical Board Games in the Nineteenth Century*" by **Koca Mehmet Kentel** was selected for Honorable Mention. A Ph.D candidate, he is an urban and environmental historian of the late Ottoman Istanbul, writing his dissertation at the University of Washington. A complimentary membership in the Washington Map Society will be awarded to him for the coming year.

## Washington Map Society Meetings

Program sessions will be held in the Reading Room, Geography and Map Division, B level, Library of Congress, Madison Building, 101 Independence Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. Please allow adequate time to pass through the security checkpoint at the Library's entrance in time to be seated for the start of the meeting. The Library is one block from METRO's Capital South Station (Blue, Orange and Silver Lines). The Chairperson of the WMS Program Committee is Eliane Dotson at 804-290-8090 or eliane@oldworldauctions.com. The WMS Program Committee welcomes any comments or suggestions for future programs.

The WMS follows the closing decisions of the Federal Government. If the Federal Government is closed on a meeting day, our meeting will also be canceled. In the event bad weather or incident occurs during the day, we may be forced to cancel the evening meeting. We will attempt to send out an all-member e-mail in that case. Please check your email account for a WMS notice before coming to a meeting when bad weather is predicted or an incident has occurred.

**TRAVEL ADVISORY:** The DC Metro system will be shutting down some stations and reducing service to others for necessary maintenance. A graphic on the single-tracking and closures is at [www.view-tific.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/DC-Metro-Shutdown\\_051916\\_1000.png](http://www.view-tific.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/DC-Metro-Shutdown_051916_1000.png). If traveling by METRO, please factor these events in your trip timing.

On Thursday, November 9, 2017 at 5:00pm, Dr. Donald L. McGuirk, a retired physician with a keen interest in early world maps and cartographic myths, will discuss "A Survey of the Stars and Stripes on Early Maps, 1777-1795." The first official definition of the United States flag reads: "Resolved, that the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new Constellation." The purpose of this survey is to identify, illustrate, and discuss maps that depict, in part or in whole, a flag meeting that definition. Several

of the maps that Don will be discussing will be on display in the Geography and Map Division Reading Room. Dr. McGuirk is a member of the Executive Steering Committee of the Philip Lee Phillips Society and a WMS member.

On Thursday, December 7 at 5:00pm, Leslie Trager will present "*Henry Hudson: Cree History and Ancient Maps.*" The talk will be largely based on Trager's on-line book of the same title which deals with evidence that Hudson had maps from surveys made about 5000 years ago, or around 3000 BC. It will also deal with the Cree interaction with Hudson, as conveyed in their oral history.

The WMS Program Year 2017-2018 will continue in January 2018 and conclude with the Annual Dinner in May. That Dinner will tentatively be held Friday May 4, and have S. Max Edelson as the guest speaker. Dr. Edelson, Associate Professor of History at the University of Virginia, is the author of the new book *The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America before Independence*, reviewed in this issue of *The Portolan* on pages 76-77. On March 28, 2013 he spoke to the WMS on *The Course and Mapping of the Line Established by the Proclamation of 1763*. His article "[MapScholar: A New Digital Tool for Displaying Map Collections Online](#)" appeared in *The Portolan* issue 94 (Winter 2015).

Notices of dates/speakers/topics will appear on the Washington Map Society website and in the monthly Latitudes e-newsletter. Details of the Spring program will also appear in the Spring 2018 issue of *The Portolan*, to be mailed in early March.



Visit [www.WashMapSociety.org](http://www.WashMapSociety.org) for up-to-date program information.

## Exhibitions and Meetings

This section is drawn heavily from [www.docktor.com](http://www.docktor.com), maintained by John W. Docktor. For expanded information, easy web links, and even more events on the constantly changing calendars listing of exhibitions and events, see [www.docktor.com](http://www.docktor.com)

# 2017

### ONGOING

**Rotating Exhibition.** Washington, DC. *Exploring the Early Americas*, features the 1507 Waldseemüller world map plus rare books, manuscripts, historic documents, maps and art of the Americas from the Jay I. Kislak Collection. 10am to 5pm, Monday through Saturday, Thomas Jefferson Building, Library of Congress, 10 First St. SE. See [www.loc.gov/exhibits/earlyamericas](http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/earlyamericas).

### ONGOING

**Exhibition.** Washington, DC. *Mapping a New Nation: Abel Buell's Map of the United States, 1784* features the first map of the newly independent United States that was compiled, printed and published in America by an American. Also four early maps of North America by John Mitchell, Carington Bowles, Thomas Hutchins and William Faden, which were created from 1755 to 1778, and a 1784 map of the United States by William McMurray, which was published nine months after Buell's map. 8:30am to 4:30pm Monday through Saturday. Great Hall, North Gallery, Thomas Jefferson Building, Library of Congress, 10 First St. S.E.

### ONGOING

**Exhibition.** Washington. *A Collector's Vision: Creating the Albert H. Small Washingtoniana Collection*. In 2011, Albert H. Small donated to George Washington University his collection of 1,000 maps and prints, rare letters, photographs, and drawings that document the history of Washington, D.C. This exhibition presents highlights of the Albert H. Small Washingtoniana Collection, including Mr. Small's first acquisition and other items that explore what motivates individuals to collect. The George Washington University Museum/The Textile Museum, 701 21<sup>st</sup> Street, NW. See <http://museum.gwu.edu/collectors-vision>.

### ONGOING

**Rotating Exhibition.** Boston. *Exhibits from the collection*. Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library, 700 Boylston Street Boston, MA 02116. Phone: 617-859-2387. See [www.leventhalmap.org/content/current-exhibitions](http://www.leventhalmap.org/content/current-exhibitions).

### ONGOING

**Rotating Exhibits.** La Jolla, California. The Museum is open Wednesday and Thursday 11–4 and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Saturday

also 11–4, or by appointment for groups of four or more. The Map & Atlas Museum of La Jolla, 7825 Fay Ave, Suite LL-A. Contact Richard Cloward ([richard@lajollamapmuseum.org](mailto:richard@lajollamapmuseum.org)) or Roz Gibson ([roz@lajollamapmuseum.org](mailto:roz@lajollamapmuseum.org)) at 855-653-6277. See <http://lajollamapmuseum.org/>.

### UNTIL MARCH 11, 2018

**Exhibition.** New York City. *We are One: Mapping the Road to American Independence* commemorates the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Britain's 1765 Stamp Act. This pivotal moment sparked American opposition to Britain's restrictive colonial policies, particularly taxation without representation, which was established to help pay for troops stationed in the colonies during the French and Indian War (1756–1763). The New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West. See [www.nyhistory.org/](http://www.nyhistory.org/) and <http://maps.bpl.org/content/tour-we-are-one> and [www.history.org/history/museums/dewitt\\_gallery\\_current.cfm](http://www.history.org/history/museums/dewitt_gallery_current.cfm).

### UNTIL JANUARY 28, 2018

**Exhibition.** Tampa. There are a few different dates that may be mentioned concerning the beginning of communications between Florida and Cuba: the 1850's when the McKay family began shipping cattle from Tampa's Ballast Point to Havana, 1886 with the arrival of the cigar industry and the founding of Ybor City or in 1959 with Fidel Castro's takeover. But the history reaches back further. *Gateways to the Caribbean: Mapping the Florida-Cuba Connection*, the new exhibit shows definite threads between the Sunshine State and the island for over the last 500 years with over 50 maps, both rare and original, lithographs and other documents. One map, published 1511, shows a crude representation of the "isla de beimini," the native Indian name for Florida, by Peter Martyr, a Spaniard who had traveled with Christopher Columbus. Other maps depict fifteenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish and British occupations of Cuba and Florida, nineteenth- and twentieth-century development of rail and steamship lines and Cuban tourist maps from the thirties and today. Tampa Bay History Center, 801 Old Water Street. See <http://tampabayhistorycenter.org/exhibits/temporary-exhibits/>.

### UNTIL JANUARY 7, 2018

**Exhibition.** The Hague. *The world of the Dutch East India Company* marks the digitization of the archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The archives are spread across various countries around the world and a large portion is preserved in the National Archives. Visitors are taken on a voyage

past two hundred years of history of unique maps, ships' logs, letters and drawings. Fifty unique maps and charts are on display. The National Archives, Prins Willem-Alexanderhof 20. See [www.gahetna.nl/en](http://www.gahetna.nl/en) and [www.gahetna.nl/en/actueel/nieuws/2017/the-world-of-the-dutch-east-india-company](http://www.gahetna.nl/en/actueel/nieuws/2017/the-world-of-the-dutch-east-india-company).

## DECEMBER 9

**Brussels Map Circle International Conference.** Brussels. *Mapping Indonesia* will be held at Royal Library of Belgium, Mont des Arts | Kunstberg, from 9:30am–16:00pm. Admission is free for members, non-members pay EUR 10.00 at entrance. Additional information at [www.bimcc.org](http://www.bimcc.org) and from [info@bimcc.org](mailto:info@bimcc.org).

# 2018

## JAN 18, FEB 15, MAR 15, APR 26, MAY 17

**'Maps and Society' Lectures.** London, England. University of London, Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London at 5pm. On January 18, 2018, Giles Darkes (Cartographic Editor, British Historic Towns Atlas) will present *Maps, and Miasma: Henry Acland's maps of Cholera in Oxford in the 1850s*. On February 15, Dr Emma Perkins (Affiliate Scholar, Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge) will present *Early English Globe Making: A Social Study of a Terrestrial Globe by Morden, Berry and Lea, c.1685*. On March 15, Dr Thomas Horst (Post-doctoral Fellow at the Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia (CIUHCT), Lisbon) will present *Putting Saxton into Context: State Surveys in Early Modern Europe with Particular Reference to Palatinate-Neuburg (Bavaria), Saxony and England*. On April 26, Professor Dr Ferdinand Oppl (formerly Director, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv; now Honorary Professor of Medieval History and Historical Auxiliary Sciences, University of Vienna) will present *Early Modern Town Plans and Views of Vienna and Their Importance in an International Context*. On May 17, Professor Susan Schulten (Department of History, University of Denver, USA) will present *Map Drawing in Nineteenth-Century Education*. Contact (+44) 020 8346 5112 (Catherine Delano Smith), or Tony Campbell at [tony@tony-campbell.info](mailto:tony@tony-campbell.info). See the coming year's programs at [www.maphistory.info/warburgprog.html](http://www.maphistory.info/warburgprog.html).

## FEBRUARY 2–4

**International Map Fair.** Miami. The Twenty-fifth Annual Miami International Map Fair. HistoryMiami, 101 West Flagler Street. Visit [www.historymiami.org/visit/map-fair/](http://www.historymiami.org/visit/map-fair/). Contact Hilda Masip ([HMasip@historymiami.org](mailto:HMasip@historymiami.org)), Phone 305-375-1618. See ad on page 90.

## FEBRUARY 27, MAY 1

**Cambridge Seminars in the History of Cartography.** Cambridge, England. On February 27, Paul Laxton (formerly University of Liverpool) will present *Michael*

*Alexander Gage and the mapping of Liverpool, 1828–1836*. On May 1, Eric Wolever (University of York) will present *The cardinal points and the structure of geographical knowledge in the early twelfth century*. 5:30pm. Gardner Room, Emmanuel College, St Andrew's Street, Cambridge CB2 3AP. Contact Sarah Bendall at [sarah.bendall@emma.cam.ac.uk](mailto:sarah.bendall@emma.cam.ac.uk), phone (+44) 1223-330476. See [www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/maps/camsem1516.html](http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/maps/camsem1516.html).

## MARCH 8, JUNE 14

**Oxford Seminars in Cartography.** Oxford, England. On March 8, Charles Withers (Univ of Edinburgh) will present *Maps and map makers on trial: moments in the social history of cartography in nineteenth-century Britain*. On June 14, Nigel Clifford (Chief Executive Officer, Ordnance Survey) will speak on a topic to be announced. 4:30pm to 6:00pm in the Weston Library Lecture Theatre, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG. Contact Nick Millea ([nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk](mailto:nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk)), Map Librarian, Bodleian Library, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG; Tel: (+44) 01865 287119.

## APRIL 10–14

**AAG Annual Meeting.** New Orleans. The American Association of Geographers event will feature presentations, posters, workshops, and field trips by leading scholars, experts, and researchers. See [www.aag.org/cs/annual-meeting](http://www.aag.org/cs/annual-meeting). See ad on page 90.

## APRIL 26

**29<sup>th</sup> Holzheimer "Maps and America" Lecture.** Milwaukee. Carme Montaner will present *Franciscan Cartography of the Peruvian Amazon in the second half of the Eighteenth Century*. 6:00pm. American Geographical Society Library, UWM Golda Meir Library building, third floor, east wing, 2311 E. Hartford Ave. Call 414-229-6282 or email [agsl@uwm.edu](mailto:agsl@uwm.edu).

## APRIL 28

**15<sup>th</sup> Annual Alan M. and Nathalie P. Voorhees Lectures on the History of Cartography.** Richmond, Virginia. Speakers and topics to be announced. Special map exhibition 11:00am to 4:00pm. Lectures begin at 1pm. Lectures and exhibition free. Free parking available under the Library. See [www.lva.virginia.gov/maps](http://www.lva.virginia.gov/maps) or call 804-692-3561. Library of Virginia. 800 E Broad Street.

## SEPTEMBER 20–23

**SHD Annual Meeting.** Golden, Colorado. The Society for the History of Discoveries 59<sup>th</sup> annual meeting, hosted by the Rocky Mountain Map Society at the Colorado School of Mines. See [www.sochistdisc.org](http://www.sochistdisc.org).

## OCTOBER 13–20

**36<sup>th</sup> IMCoS International Symposium.** Manila and Hong Kong. Early details at <http://imcos-2018-manila.com/>.





## The 2018 Dr. Walter W. Ristow Prize For an Academic Paper in the History of Cartography

The prize, offered since 1994, recognizes academic achievement in the History of Cartography and honors the legacy of the late Dr. Walter W. Ristow, former chief of the Geography & Map Division, Library of Congress, and co-founder and first president of the Washington Map Society.

### ● THE AWARD

\$1000 cash award, a one-year membership in the Washington Map Society, and publication of the paper in *The Portolan – Journal of the Washington Map Society*. Honorable Mention may be awarded for a paper or papers at the judges' discretion.

### ● WHO MAY APPLY

Full or part-time undergraduate, graduate, and first year post-doctoral students attending accredited U. S. or foreign colleges and universities.

### ● ENTRY CRITERIA

Research papers related to cartographic history and completed in fulfillment of course work requirements. The text, in English, and documented in a style selected by the author, may not exceed 7,500 words. Papers entered in the competition may have been previously presented at academic symposia. They may have been entered in other competitions. They must not, however, have been published, selected for publication, or in contention for publication at the time of entry into the Ristow Prize competition. This criterion is not circumvented by a change of title and/or wording to what is essentially the same article that has appeared in another publication. Serious copyright implications make this necessary.

### ● FORMAT

Four unbound copies with a title page and cover sheet including the entrant's name, address, telephone number and e-mail address, and department and academic status.

### ● JUDGING CRITERIA

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

### ● DEADLINE

Postmarked no later than 1 June 2018 and mailed to Dr. Evelyn Edson, Ristow Prize Chair, 268 Springtree Lane, Scottsville, VA 24590-9511, USA. Complete and comprehensive information is available on the Washington Map Society's web site: [www.WashMapSociety.org](http://www.WashMapSociety.org). Contact [eedson@pvcc.edu](mailto:eedson@pvcc.edu).



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# “Not Maps At All” – What Is Persuasive Cartography? And Why Does It Matter?

by PJ Mode

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The maps discussed and illustrated here are part of “Persuasive Cartography – The PJ Mode Collection” at Cornell University, [persuasivemaps.library.cornell.edu](http://persuasivemaps.library.cornell.edu). References in the form “#nnnn” are ID numbers of maps in the Collection. Readers are encouraged to visit the online Collection to view high-resolution images of the maps and for additional reference information.

**H**enry Luce, the young media baron of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* magazines, was increasingly concerned in the late 1930s about American isolationism and the nation’s lack of military preparedness. In September 1940, *Fortune* published an extensive article raising this issue, including an “Atlas for the U.S. Citizen” with maps by Richard Edes Harrison. Harrison’s “Three Approaches to the U.S.” (Figure 1, #1290) presented three views of American vulnerabilities: to a German attack over the Pole, through Canada; to a Japanese attack from the Northern Pacific; and to an attack on the East Coast from Latin America. Each map viewed the earth from a different point and direction. The detailed text emphasized the preparedness concern; for example, it noted that the U.S. transportation system “could put a fully equipped army of half a million men into Seattle in a matter of days—if we had the army.” And by presenting the three views on a single page, Harrison powerfully conveyed the extent of the nation’s potential exposure. “Together, the three maps made it . . . nearly impossible to maintain a sense of geographical isolation. Instead, Harrison’s work encouraged Americans to embrace an internationalist destiny and prepared them for a total commitment to the Allied cause.”<sup>1</sup>

No doubt because Harrison had trained in architecture and illustration rather than as a cartographer, his maps defied existing conventions. They were “both visually

appealing and politically charged, reflecting the urgency of the war while also maintaining an elegant artistic dimension.” His work is today widely acclaimed; as Susan Schulten concluded, “Technically and stylistically innovative, ideologically potent and enormously popular with the American public, Harrison’s maps are pivotal to the history of American cartography.”<sup>2</sup>

At the time, however, while many cartographic professionals applauded Harrison’s work, others were sharply critical. Wellman Chamberlin of the National Geographic Society faulted him for sacrificing accuracy and precision to achieve artistic drama. He contrasted his own “objective” maps with Nazi “propaganda” maps, “implicitly questioning the morality” of Harrison’s work. Charles Colby, Chairman of the Department of Geography at the University of Chicago, told Harrison that his departure from standard projections, scales and orientations was improper; his choices of colors and gradations not “agreeable;” his maps often “messy in appearance and confused in detail.” In short, he concluded, “Most of the exhibits which you call maps are not maps at all.”<sup>3</sup>

It’s difficult to imagine a more damning insult to a mapmaker, a more thorough condemnation of a professional’s work, particularly coming from such a normally staid community. What was behind this remarkable hostility? The answer turns on the relationship between Harrison’s work and the broader world of maps and mapping.

In the years before World War II (indeed, until 1974), the Anglo-American world of cartography didn’t have a name for what Harrison was producing. But now we do: “persuasive cartography,” maps intended primarily to influence opinions or beliefs—to send a message—rather than to communicate geographical information.<sup>4</sup> These maps have also been called suggestive, or rhetorical or didactic cartography, and sometimes propaganda mapping (a less useful term because “propaganda” has become a pejorative).

The soft word, of course, is “primarily.” In fact, no map provides an entirely objective view of reality. Even the

**Figure 1.** Richard Edes Harrison, "Three Approaches to the U.S.," *Fortune*, September 1940.



**Figure 2.** Zonal and "T-O" maps, Philippus Jacobus, *Novissime hystoriarum omnium repercussionis* (1503).

best-intended cartographer must decide what projection to use, what features to include and exclude, what colors, what shading, what text, what images—all of which shape the message communicated by the finished product. Every map falls somewhere along a spectrum from "objective" to "subjective," from "science" to "art." We deal here with a set of maps that are—in the admittedly subjective view of the collector—intended primarily to send some non-geographic message.

It is useful to consider persuasive maps along two "dimensions" as it were: the techniques or *methods* of the mapmaker and the intended subject matter or *messages*. The tools of the persuasive cartographer are vast, including allegorical, satirical and pictorial mapping; selective inclusion and exclusion; unusual use of projections, perspective, color, graphics and text; and intentional deception. As to messages, it is difficult to imagine an area of serious controversy—religious, political, military, commercial, moral or social—that has *not* been the subject of persuasive mapping. The Collection (see Editor's Note above) identifies eighteen specific issues—along with more than a dozen military conflicts—that have been widely addressed by mapmakers. While time and space preclude an examination of all, a look at a handful illustrates both the extent of subjects and the range of tools found in persuasive cartography.

## THE SCOPE OF PERSUASIVE CARTOGRAPHY

The persuasive mapping of *Religion* has been around for more than a millennium. It dates at least to the medieval *mappaemundi*, first to the schematic "T-O" maps derived from Isidorus of Seville and known in copies from as early as the eighth century. **Figure 2** (#1003), from a work published in 1503, shows two of the most common maps from the Middle Ages side-by-side. On the left is a zonal or climatic map of the kind derived from Macrobius, communicating geographical information. It is oriented with north at the top and devoid of obvious religious meaning. On the right is an example of the well-known medieval T-O map. On these maps, east is always at the top, reflecting the biblical location of Paradise ("eastward, in Eden," Gen. 2:8). At least in its later forms, the T-O map is explicitly centered on Jerusalem ("in the midst of the nations," Eze. 5:5). The legs of the "T" that separate Asia, Europe and Africa have also been described as a symbol of the cross. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there are larger, pictorial versions, such as the Ebsorf and Hereford maps, dense with religious and historical illustrations. As David Woodward concluded, these medieval *mappaemundi* were intended "to instruct the faithful about the significant events in Christian history rather than to record their precise locations;" their function "was primarily didactic and moralizing and lay not in the communication of geographical facts."<sup>5</sup>

Certain elements of the *mappaemundi* were reflected in some of the earliest printed maps, such as the 1491 *Mer Des Hystoires* world map (#1001) and Heinrich Bunting's 1581 cloverleaf map of the world (#1008). But even as the design of later maps moved away from medieval tradition, mapmakers found new ways to reflect religious values. For example, the Heaven and Hell of Dante were carefully mapped, from crude woodcuts at the end of the fifteenth century (##1004.01-.07) to beautiful chromolithographs in the nineteenth century (##1071.01-.07). As the publication of printed bibles became more common, persuasive maps were often bound in. For example, Joseph Moxon's 1681 world map (**Figure 3**, #1012) provided a reasonably accurate view of geography as known at the time, but the lesson of this map is in the biblical illustrations surrounding it. And by centering the world not on England, but on Eden, Moxon, like many of his time, responded to the demands of believers that Christian theologians identify the precise location of Paradise. The Collection includes a number of other examples, most in the Near East, but one locating Eden in northern Florida (#1383) and another in what is today the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China (#2254).

Over time, virtually all of the tools of persuasive cartography have been employed on religious maps. Allegorical mapping has for centuries illustrated John Bunyan's uplifting story of the Pilgrim's Progress ("Plan of the Road From the City of Destruction to the Celestial City," ##1038, 1055), and more foreboding warnings of eternal damnation dominate the ephemeral 1825 "Les 3 Chemins de l'Eternite" (**Figure 4**, #1040). Satirical mapping attacked the Catholic Church's alleged influence on public education at the end of the nineteenth century ("The American Pope," #1118). A variety of pictorial and other techniques are found on maps encouraging and supporting missionary work, and a large Shaker teaching chart from 1887 is a riot of religious maps, timelines, genealogy, illustrations and text (#2085). In short, persuasive mapping has been used to communicate and reinforce religious values and beliefs throughout the 500-year history of printing, and before.

*Imperial Geopolitics.* "As much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism,"<sup>6</sup> the late Brian Harley wrote, illustrating his point with an iconic Victorian map of the British Empire dominated by symbols and images of imperial wealth and power. **Figure 5**, #1095. During the French and Indian War, for example, competing British and French colonial American ambitions were reflected in a protracted "war of the maps." The Collection includes two examples, two dramatically different maps of North America produced at almost exactly the same time at the outset of the War in 1754.

**Figure 3.** Joseph Moxon, "A Map of the Earth and how after the Flood it was Divided among the Sons of Noah" (1681).



**Figure 4.** François Georin, "Les 3 Chemins de l'Eternité" (1825).

**Figure 5.** Walter Crane, "Imperial Federation Map of the World Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886," *The Graphic*, July 24, 1886.



The "Map of the British American Plantations," **Figure 6** (ID #2247), by Emanuel Bowen ("Geographer to His Majesty" George II) sets out British colonial claims to essentially all the land east of the Mississippi—including six sites explicitly labeled "French Fort," two as far west as modern Illinois and Missouri! Jean Palairét's contrasting "Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale 1754," **Figure 7** (ID #2248), boldly marks the French view of North American colonization: the "Possessions Angloises" are narrowly cabined to the East Coast, while the entire area west of the Appalachians is "Nouvelle France" and "Louisiane."<sup>7</sup>

**Slavery and American Politics.** "Reynolds's Political Map of the United States" (**Figure 8**, #2132), supporting the Republican candidate in the 1856 Presidential election John C. Fremont and his opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, is one of the most important American maps of the nineteenth century. Its central message is stated in the legend below Texas: "By the Democratic (?) legislation of 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise, the institution of slavery *may be carried* into ALL the Territories—the area of which is greater than that of all the States combined."

The map uses a number of persuasive mapping techniques. The green of the western territories differs dramatically from the pink of the free states, giving the impression of impending slavery in the west. The map employed a projection that reduces the relative size of the northern states compared to the south (note the meridians converging to the north). The extensive text on the map "relentlessly documented the disproportionate power of slaveholders over the national economy."<sup>8</sup> Inexpensive versions of this map were an iconic feature of Fremont's literature throughout the campaign, appearing on posters, handbills, pamphlets and the candidate's official campaign biography (##1058, 1059, 2101, 2199, 2264).

**British Politics and International Conflict.** Frederick Rose's dramatic "Serio-Comic War Map for the Year 1877" (**Figure 9**, #2272) arose out of the Russo-Turkish war. The Liberal minority in the British Parliament had long been hostile to the Ottoman Empire, and after the massacre of Bulgarian Slavs by Turkish troops in 1876, Gladstone—with much public support—called for their removal from the Balkans "bag and baggage." When Russia invaded Turkey the following year, however, the Conservatives under Prime Minister Disraeli were



**Figure 6.** The British View: Emanuel Bowen, "A Map of the British American Plantations, extending from Boston in New England to Georgia; including all the back Settlements in the respective Provinces, as far as the Mississippi," *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, July 1754.



**Figure 7.** The French View [Detail]: Jean Palairt, "Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale 1754," from the *Atlas Methodique* (1754).



**Figure 8.** “Reynolds’s Political Map of the United States Designed to Exhibit the Comparative Area of the Free and Slave States and the Territory open to Slavery or Freedom by the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise with a Comparison of the Principal Statistics of the Free and Slave States, from the Census of 1850” (1856).



**Figure 9.** Fred W. Rose, “Serio-Comic War Map For The Year 1877. Revised Edition” (1877).



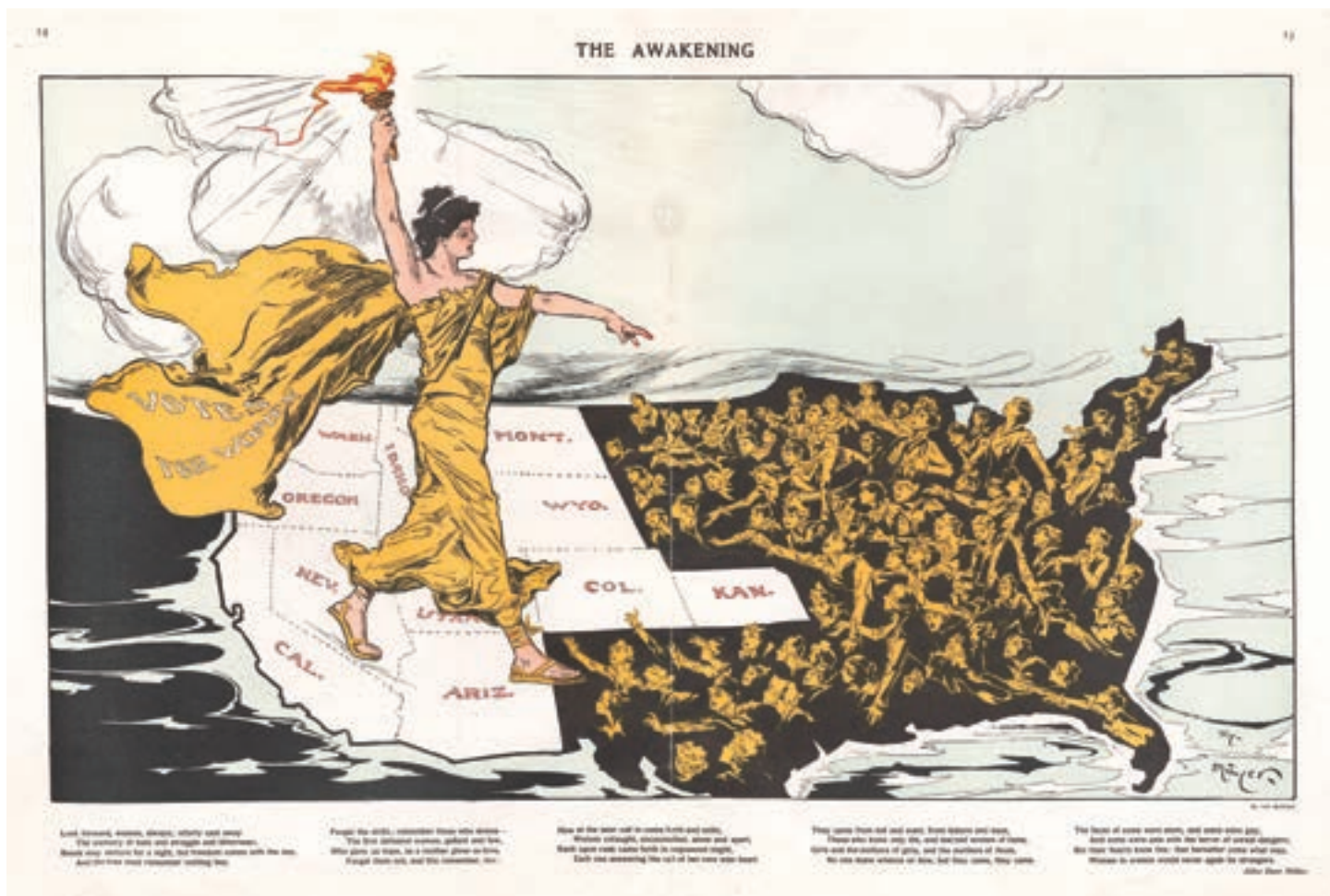


Figure 10. Hy Mayer, "The Awakening," *Puck*, February 20, 1915.

concerned; they saw the Turks as an important counterweight to Russian territorial expansion. In particular, they feared the capture of Constantinople, which would have given Russia a warm-water port on the Mediterranean uncomfortably close to the new Suez Canal.<sup>9</sup>

Rose was a longtime British civil servant who supplemented his income by contributing caricatures to newspapers and journals. A dedicated Tory from his teenage years, he was active in local Conservative organizations and politics. His map quietly acknowledges the slaughter (the "Turkish Empire" figure holds a gun to a "Bulgarian" skull), but it is dominated by a giant Russian octopus whose tentacles threaten the world from Finland and Poland to the Balkans and Persia. Detailed legends on the map explain the positions of the great powers and affected countries. This map was a runaway success, published in many editions not only in Britain but across Europe and in the U.S. Although

the Russians won the war and achieved gains in the Balkans, the threatened intervention of British warships kept Constantinople out of Russian hands, and Britain gained control of Cyprus to strengthen its hand in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Octopus map (as it quickly became known) combined pictorial and satirical illustration with extensive text and bold use of color. The cartographic octopus as a symbol of evil grasping—now "an internationally recognized visual propagandist trope"<sup>10</sup>—has been used in many satirical maps of territorial expansion and war, including the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 (#1145), British imperialism in the North Indian Ocean (#2149), World War I (##1185, 2286), World War II (##1318, 2123, 2169) and the Cold War (#1388). It has also been used on maps attacking a wide range of social and political targets, including a "reactionary" journalist (#1253), the Standard Oil Monopoly (#2140), "Landlordism" (#2285), and world Jewry (#2111).

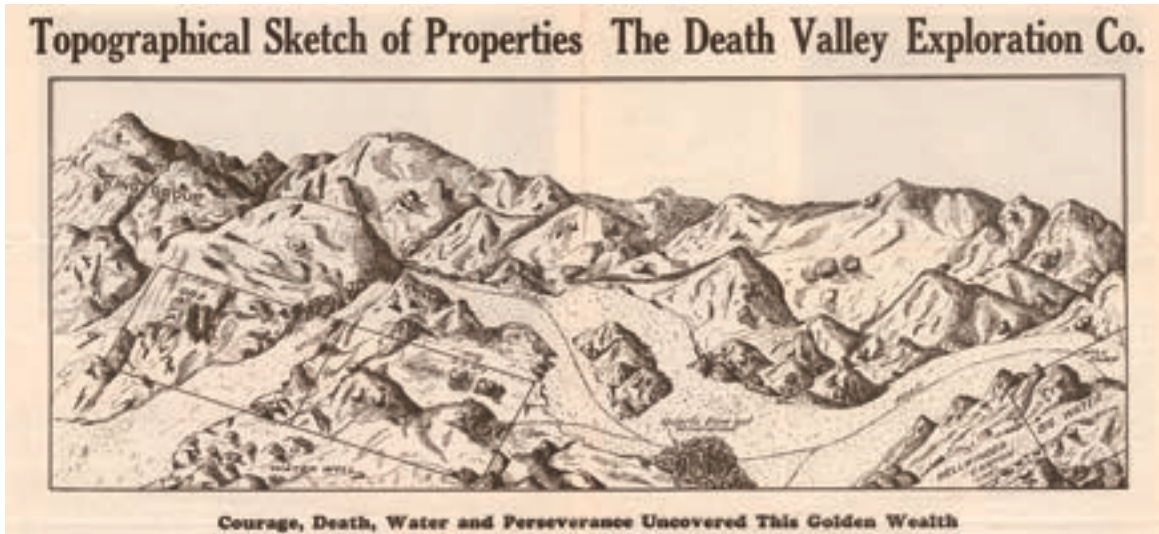


Figure 11. Walter Knox & Co., "Topographical Sketch of Properties The Death Valley Exploration Co. Courage, Death, Water and Perseverance Uncovered This Golden Wealth" (1929).



Figure 12. [Portion of broadside] [Statement by comrade Mao Zedong, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in support of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression. April 16, 1968. Unprecedented Wave of Afro-American Struggle Against Violence.]

**Social Movements.** American social causes have employed persuasive cartography for nearly two centuries, from early maps supporting abolition (##1051, 1053.01-.02, 2058) and temperance (##1049, 1052). Perhaps the most successful example is the "Suffrage Map," which showed the steadily growing number of states that had granted voting rights for women: "Votes for Women a Success—The Map Proves It."<sup>11</sup> From 1908 to ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, countless versions of this map appeared everywhere: in parade floats, pageants and silent films, on billboards, posters, window cards, newspaper ads and articles, paper fans and calendars. The Collection includes more than a dozen examples. Indeed, the suffrage map was so successful that the cost of reprinting it created serious financial problems for the movement, because every time any state granted additional voting rights for women, supporters demanded updated versions. It has been called "the most extensive use of a single iconic map image for persuasive purposes in the United States."<sup>12</sup>

One of the most vivid of these maps is "The Awakening" (#1176), shown in **Figure 10**. It appeared in *Puck Magazine* during a hard-fought referendum in 1915 on a proposed suffrage amendment to the New York State constitution. Lady Liberty, wearing a cape labeled "Votes for Women," stands astride the states (colored white) that had adopted some form of suffrage. She holds aloft her torch, bringing "enlightenment" to women in those Eastern states still in the dark, their faces turned up to the light, their hands reaching out in hope. The mapmaker here uses bold color, exclusion of all detail not essential to his message, and the striking pictorial allegory of Lady Liberty as a symbol of American freedom.

**Advertising and Promotion.** While all persuasive maps are in a sense "promotional," they have been widely used for commercial advertising purposes in general. Among some of the most interesting are maps promoting investments, such as **Figure 11** (#1228), "Topographical Sketch of Properties The Death Valley Exploration Co. – Courage, Death, Water and Perseverance Uncovered This Golden Wealth." This birds-eye view is the centerpiece of a 1929 brochure promoting the sale of shares in a gold mine. The map pinpoints the location of the company's property in Death Valley and the accompanying text describes the mine's "high grade" gold ore, "a very strong vein" that had "been prospected and tested its entire length." It urges immediate investment in the company because the one obstacle facing it—the "lack of water sufficient for a mill and camp"—had been overcome. The prospectors had suddenly discovered "copious and valuable water supplies," a "large stream of water running, a waterfall pouring over the rocks" and extending "along the canyon for nearly half

a mile." This happy find is featured at the lower right of the map: "HELLWINDER CANYON BIG WATER."

I have found no record of such a canyon, or of any such water in Death Valley. As to the Company, we know only that in May 1931, further sale of its stock was barred in California, in part because its promotional literature then claimed that the mine "actually is turning out gold bars."<sup>13</sup> Outright fraud, of course, is another tool of the persuasive cartographer.

**Protest.** The power and simplicity of persuasive cartography make it ideally suited as a medium of protest. Examples in the Collection include maps opposing genocide (#2155.07), nuclear war or accident (##1369, 1393, 2155.01-.05), childhood poverty (##2155.06, .08-.09), unlimited working hours for women (##2183.01-.05), extermination of the bison (#1102), the war in Vietnam (##1382, 2278), American military expansion (#1347) and Bulgarian repression (#2113). One of the most extraordinary of these is **Figure 12** (#2182), a Chinese propaganda broadside exploiting the urban riots in the United States following the assassination of Martin Luther King. It was published on April 16, 1968, just days after the riots ended.

At the top of the broadside, in bright red characters, is a lengthy "Statement by comrade Mao Zedong, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in support of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression." The map below illustrates the "Unprecedented Wave of Afro-American Struggle Against Violence." A red torch marks each of the 50-some U.S. cities where riots occurred, the "major cities of African American resistance struggle," with text balloons providing details. Mao's statement argues that King's murder "by the U.S. imperialists" was an act of counter-revolutionary violence and the "storm" that followed "shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million Black Americans." He expresses "resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States" and concludes "with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."<sup>14</sup>

## WAR AND THE GREAT WAR

No subject addressed by persuasive cartography is more significant than war. Threats to the existence of a state give rise to the most determined efforts not only to weaken the morale of its enemy, but to reassure and strengthen the resolve of its own people and to influence neutral parties. The Collection includes many examples, from the eighteenth century to Vietnam and the Cold War.



Figure 13. "New Prussia. 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee,'" Life, "Get-Ready Number," February 10, 1916.

**Figure 14.** Stanford's Geographical Establishment, "What Germany Wants. Her Claims As Set Forth by Leaders of German Thought" (1917).



World War I has a special place in this evolution. It followed a period of marked progress in cartography, including dramatic improvements in lithography and other inexpensive printing technology, and important conceptual advances, for example, in thematic mapping. For the first time, four great nations were competing in the production of persuasive maps on the same subject, some of them through newly established state propaganda agencies. The result was a marked increase in both the amount of persuasive cartography and its quality.

In the *United States*, maps were used most effectively in the effort to persuade its citizens to join and sustain the fight. Until April 1917, America was officially neutral. Pacifists and isolationists argued forcefully against intervention. German-Americans were reluctant to fight against the Kaiser and Irish-Americans to fight alongside the British. At the same time, Theodore Roosevelt and others supported an aggressive military preparedness movement, including tens of thousands who marched up Fifth Avenue in a "Preparedness Parade."

This effort is reflected on the cover of the 1916 "Get-Ready Number" of *Life* magazine, **Figure 13**, #2160. The former U.S. is "New Prussia," and most American cities have become German, e.g., New Berlin (Washington), Schlauterhaus (Chicago), Kulturplatz (Boston), Salzlagenburg (Salt Lake

City). Florida is Turconia, California is Japonica, and the northwest is dominated by Nagaseattle and New Kobe. New Mexico is an "American Reservation." This satirical work was reproduced as a handbill by the American Rights Committee, a group of distinguished New Yorkers opposing German aggression, probably in connection with a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on March 13, 1916. See #2009.

After America entered the War, President Wilson created for the first time a formal government "Committee on Public Information," led by the public relations innovator George Creel, to mastermind all U.S. propaganda. These efforts included, for example, "The Prussian Blot" (#1192), a dramatic map poster intended to increase American support for the war effort.

*France* was no less active in the persuasive cartography of the War, particularly in broadsides and other maps aimed at strengthening the resolve of its people. "Le Respect des Droits de L'Homme" (#1186), for example, shows Prussian and German conquests since 1870, and "Le Plan Pangermaniste" (##1178, 1179) shows German territorial ambitions worldwide. The map of the "Etats-Unis" published immediately after the U.S. entry into the war (#2275) reassures the beleaguered French people with a quote from Wilson, "We are all brothers in the same cause." It lists the vast "provisions"

**Figure 15.** Militärische Stelle des Auswärtigen Amtes (MAA) [Military Authority of the Foreign Office], "Die brennende Wunde Frankreichs" [The Burning Wound of France] (1918).



soon to be on their way from "the richest country in the world," including soldiers, ammunition, food and raw material.

One of the most powerful and best-known French poster maps of the time, "La Guerre est l'Industrie Nationale de la Prusse" (#1185), shows Germany as an octopus with tentacles extending not only west to France and England, but east to Russia and south to the Balkans and Turkey. Figures chart the growth in German armies, color codes show the country's territorial expansion, and a variety of legends emphasize the message. The map was published in 1917 by La Conference au Village contre la Propagande Ennemie en France, an organization formed expressly to

strengthen the morale of the small-town and rural French population suffering under the costs of war.

Many of the *British* maps of the War focus on the Kaiser's intended expansion to the southeast, "The German Dream 'Berlin to Bushrah'" (#1190). A number of maps show the areas and populations between the North Sea and the Ottoman Empire "subject to Germany and her Allies," a total of some 47 million people (##1188, 1189, 1198). As peace negotiations gathered momentum, British maps were increasingly hostile to German initiatives (##1196.01-.03). One of the most forceful of these was a world map showing "What Germany Wants" in bright red, **Figure 14**, #1199. (For another version, see #1198.01.)



**Figure 16.** Admiralstab der Marine [Naval General Staff], "Englands Not" [England's Torment] (1918).

Each area in red is one of "Her Claims as Set Forth by Leaders of German Thought," detailed in 36 numbered statements, some by quite obscure figures. This map employs a number of the techniques of the persuasive cartographer: bold red color; selective exclusion of virtually all information other than the relevant national borders; use of an oversized legend positioned to cover the vast area of Siberia which would otherwise have reduced the ratio of red (aggressive German intent) to white on the map.

The *German* persuasive cartography of the Great War was also impressive in quality, quantity and variety. For example, after President Wilson presented the Fourteen Points as the basis for peace, a German poster mocked the

self-determination Point with a world map showing the leaders of the U.S., Britain, France and Russia as puppet masters holding the strings to their vast colonial empires (#1197). Wilson's freedom of navigation Point provoked a world map poster depicting Britain as an octopus threatening the "Freedom of the Seas" (#2286), with tentacles to some 27 places allegedly colonized or attacked by the Empire from 1609 to 1917. "What France has stolen from Germany" (#1204) used three maps to recall alleged French aggression dating to 1547! Some of the nation's persuasive maps were aimed not at the German population, but the enemy. The dramatic "L'Entente Cordiale" (#2097), in French, suggested that the longstanding

Anglo-French alliance was responsible for the war; it portrays Britain as a huge spider devouring the French army while her legs and web surround all of Europe and the Mediterranean, extending as far as the U.S. and Turkey.

Two powerful German maps were plainly intended not to mock the allies or to influence the French public but to reassure the nation's domestic population. In the spring of 1918, the Germans mounted an offensive that failed and resulted in massive casualties—230,000 in the months of March and April alone. **Figure 15**, "Die brennende Wunde Frankreichs" (The Burning Wound of France, #2231), presents a stark view of the battlefields of France, from Verdun to Dunkirk, as a sea of flame. The text begins, "A broad strip of destroyed territory extends like an enormous wound across Northeast France. Widespread collections of ruins, formerly flowering cities and villages, dead industrial plants, fields riven with iron, in which the plough can no longer make a furrow!" And it concludes—in bold face for emphasis—that the German public should "thank our Boys" because by fighting the war on French territory, "they protect you and your homes from the same fate."<sup>15</sup>

The large poster "Englands Not" (England's Torment, #1202), **Figure 16**, was produced at about the same time. It shows Britain and the North Sea with hundreds of tiny symbols, each representing one ship "sunken by our submarines" during a single "12 months of unrestricted submarine warfare." The point is supported by a quote from Winston Churchill—then British Minister of Munitions—lamenting the lack of ships to transport badly needed armaments. These two maps illustrate some of the most powerful techniques of persuasive cartography: bold choice of color; disciplined exclusion of all geographic features not essential to the core message; and careful use of text to emphasize the intended message.

In sum, the extent and effectiveness of persuasive cartography reached new levels in the Great War. It is interesting, therefore, to consider the post-War reaction of the mapping establishment: mapmakers and publishers, collectors and dealers, map librarians and archivists, scholars and teachers of geography and cartography, historians and other social scientists who work with maps.

### THE MAPPING ESTABLISHMENT AND THE "EMPIRICIST PARADIGM"

It is fair to say that, until recent years, the study of maps and mapping has been somewhat a scholarly stepchild, "an antiquarian backwater with relatively limited academic significance."<sup>16</sup> In their Preface to *The History of Cartography*, Harley and Woodward found that "treatment of maps on their own terms is sketchy. Theoretical studies of the nature and historical importance of maps are relatively few. Even basic definitions have not been clearly formulated."<sup>17</sup> I am aware of only one paper before World War I that arguably

addressed the issues we now recognize in persuasive cartography, "On the Nature of Maps and Map Logic" by the German geographer and cartographer Max Eckert. Eckert explored subjective choices in mapmaking that affect "cartographic perception"—content, projection, scale, symbols and particularly color—as well as the relationship between art and science. He noted disapprovingly that "an artistic appearance . . . can deceive in regard to the scientific accuracy of a map." In almost every circumstance, he concluded, "illusion on maps should be eschewed," and firm adherence to "the dictates of science" must be maintained to assure that maps retain their "fundamentally objective character in spite of all subjective impulses."<sup>18</sup>

Eckert's conclusion nicely demonstrates what Matthew Edney has called "the empiricist paradigm of cartography"—that "cartography's only ethic was to be accurate, precise, and complete."<sup>19</sup> Within the mapping community, there was a shared "faith in the progressive increase over time in the quality and quantity of [map] content and in the eventual fulfillment of cartography's potential as a science." This conceptual foundation was thoroughly settled; it had "prevailed within academic and lay circles alike since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."<sup>20</sup>

Of course the level of artistic skill and dedication in cartographic presentation had grown dramatically over the years. And as the Collection itself demonstrates, some maps were produced with the intent to persuade in almost every time period (often by cartographic outsiders). But on the rare occasions when the academic community considered such maps at all, it disdained them. At the end of the nineteenth century, for example, the distinguished historian Raymond Beazley dismissed maps of the later Middle Ages as a "complete futility" for their want of new geographic learning, and called the Hereford and Ebstorf *mappaemundi* "monstrosities."<sup>21</sup> For the mapping establishment, the proper role of the mapmaker was simply "to impart geographical information . . . in as effective and as correct a manner as possible."<sup>22</sup>

This history helps explain the reaction to the dramatic growth in persuasive mapping during the Great War. Remarkably, and with one important exception, the cartographic community seems not to have noticed. I am unaware of a single English-language paper published in the years following the War analyzing the issues or techniques of propaganda mapping. The same is true of the larger studies on the use of propaganda in the War. The definitive work is Harold Lasswell's 1927 *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. Lasswell discusses booklets, tours, articles, conferences speeches, posters, exhibits, but the word "map" appears nowhere in this work. George Creel published his own book, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public*



*Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (1920). One map is listed, in an appendix. The leading work on British propaganda during the War, Campbell Stuart's *Secrets of Crewe House* (1920) includes some description of mapping, but apparently not enough to provoke any continuing interest from the cartography establishment.

Not so in Germany. Convinced that more effective propaganda mapping by the British had played a major role in their defeat, and eager to find ways to push back against the impact of the Treaty of Versailles, a group of German academic geographers in the early 1920s developed what they called *Geopolitik*. The cartographic product they promoted took its name from a 1922 paper by the group's leader, Karl Haushofer: "Die Suggestive Karte."<sup>23</sup> The goal of suggestive mapping was to achieve political objectives (while avoiding lies, which could be easily exposed) by appealing to emotions and rigorously excluding anything that didn't support the desired message. Its maps were intended specifically to engage support from the general population, and they were often "shamelessly explicit."<sup>24</sup> The movement produced "striking" results: by the early 1930s "there was a 'virtual flood' of suggestive maps" in Germany; entire atlases were devoted to them, and they appeared in "every public lecture, every newspaper, and in countless books."<sup>25</sup>

Although German "suggestive" cartography developed separately from—and earlier than—the growth of National Socialism, several of its leading figures became Nazis, including Arnold Hillen Ziegfeld and Friedrich Lange. In part through their efforts (see ##1257.01–.02, 1264, 1286, 2040), German persuasive mapping between the wars was widespread and effective. It was targeted principally at the criticism of Versailles; the common heritage of German peoples everywhere (particularly in Eastern Europe); and the argument for German rearmament in the face of military threats. A good example of the latter is **Figure 17**, the 1936 "The Air Raid Threat" (Die Fliegergefahr, #1251.05), showing the entire country at risk of attacks from Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Maps like this one appeared in numerous magazines and newspapers, as well as virtually all contemporary school atlases.

From the late 1930s until 1941, the "German Library of Information" in New York aggressively distributed English-language propaganda materials intended to discourage U.S. confrontation with Germany. Its output included a map of a fake Anglo-French plan to invade the Ruhr before the war (##2059, 2063) and a booklet of maps extolling German military successes (##1302.01–.07). In fact, the publications of the German Library figured prominently in the first American academic paper addressing persuasive cartography. In a forceful article published three months before Pearl Harbor, the German-born American sociologist Hans Speier attacked

Germany and its "Library" for exploiting and manipulating cartography, turning "geography into a kind of magic." Propaganda mapping, he concluded, "borrows the prestige of science and at the same time violates its spirit."<sup>26</sup> Others agreed with Speier and condemned these products as willful efforts "to distort, exaggerate, or deny facts"<sup>27</sup> and more broadly as "cartohypnosis"—"perverse" and "socially poisonous."<sup>28</sup>

While much of this criticism was a reaction to Nazism, the cartographic establishment was reaffirming long-standing norms. The preeminent John Kirtland Wright, in his 1942 "Map Makers Are Human, Comments on the Subjective in Maps," asserted that the most "fundamental" quality required of the mapmaker was "scientific integrity: devotion to the truth and a will to record it as accurately as possible." For Wright, avoiding the dangerously subjective was a matter of the cartographer's "moral qualities."<sup>29</sup> Arthur Robinson's influential postwar *The Look of Maps* was the most substantial exploration of cartographic design since Eckert. It dealt expressly with "propaganda mapping" and discussed the role of "art" in a balanced way. But Robinson feared that most mapmakers were not sufficiently "subjectively gifted," and therefore concluded that "the 'art' in cartography should be considerably more objective than it has been in the past."<sup>30</sup>

This history helps explain the harsh criticism of Richard Edes Harrison's work as "not maps at all." In a world committed to the "empiricist paradigm," persuasive maps were "marginalized from the cartographic canon." The "propaganda cartographer" was "banished from the halls of science,"<sup>31</sup> exiled to "not cartography land."<sup>32</sup>

## DECONSTRUCTING THE MAP

The empiricist paradigm began to develop cracks in the 1970s. New ideas in information theory and other areas, along with technological change, impacted cartographic thought and practice, and Anglo-American geography was "radicalized" by "younger, Marxist geographers."<sup>33</sup> But what finally brought fundamental change to the world of map scholarship was a series of "intellectually vibrant essays" in the late 1980s in which the late Brian Harley "advanced a more specifically conceptual view of cartography and launched a powerful critique of modern cartographic and academic practices."<sup>34</sup>

In Harley's best-known paper, "Deconstructing the Map," he applied poststructuralist analysis—his own "deliberately eclectic" mix of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault—to treat cartography as graphic text, to "read between the lines of the map" and "discover the silences and contradictions that challenge the apparent honesty of the image." He rejected the "illusory distinction" between objective and subjective or scientific and artistic, seeking instead to understand "the social purposes as well as the



Figure 17. “Die Fliegergefahr” [The Air Raid Threat], F.W. Putzgers historischer Schul-atlas (1936).



Figure 18. Vincent Laurensz van der Vinne, “Zo gaat men veilig” [Thus Men Go Safely], in Adrienne Spinniker, *Leerzame Zinnebeelden* (Haarlem: Izaak vander Vinne, 1714).

content of maps."<sup>35</sup> In Harley's view, the "social purposes between the lines" were typically the goals of the authoritarian elite, who used maps to legitimate their power and manipulate the weak.

Harley was not alone. Other scholars working in the same period sounded similar notes, including Mark Monmonier (*How to Lie with Maps*, 1991) and Denis Wood (whose 1992 *The Power of Maps* became a Book-of-the-Month-Club selection and a successful exhibition at the Cooper-Hewitt in New York and the Smithsonian in Washington). But something about Harley's work—not only the force of his ideas, but his longstanding reputation, his leftist, anti-authoritarian bent, his vivid polemic language—established him as "the standard bearer of the critical reconfiguration of map studies."<sup>36</sup>

Over time, Harley has been accused of everything from misunderstanding and misapplying poststructuralist theory to failing to provide practical guidance for mapmakers. Aspects of his work have been attacked as overbroad, intellectually faddish, excessively political and darkly conspiratorial. One scholar recently wrote that while most of Harley's work is today "as relevant as ever," many of his "rhetorical acrobatics . . . have long passed their expiry date."<sup>37</sup>

But for our purposes, postmortems on Brian Harley's work are largely beside the point: there is today a vibrant new paradigm for the study of maps and mapping. "A quarter century later, it is clear that . . . we read, interpret, and theorize maps differently," with "deep and thoughtful questioning, critique, and genealogical investigation of how particular maps came to be, or what they represent (and do not represent)." We "subject cartography to increasing scrutiny, rather than accepting it as objective, scientific, or apart from social and political influences."<sup>38</sup>

## WHY DOES IT MATTER?

Finally, why does it matter whether persuasive cartography is or isn't part of an academic canon of mapping? And why the particular fuss about maps? Why not paintings or prints or posters or other persuasive visual images, or for that matter, persuasion by the written word alone? Are the messages communicated by *Guernica* or *To Kill a Mockingbird* somehow less persuasive than those embodied in maps?

The answer, I suggest, is that maps are a uniquely effective medium of communication because they are uniquely *presumed* to be the source of honest, objective information. This is not a new phenomenon; we see it in **Figure 18** (#1016), a 300-year-old portrait of a mapmaker looking up from his charts. This is a plate entitled "Thus Men Go Safely" from a Dutch emblem book, chosen to illustrate the biblical passage, "I am the way, the truth and the life." More than two centuries later, Beryl

Markham wrote in *West With the Night* that a map "is not like a printed page that bears mere words, ambiguous and artful . . . . A map says to you, 'Read me carefully, follow me closely, doubt me not.'"<sup>39</sup>

From our earliest memories of a parent following a road map to reach an unfamiliar destination, through our schooling and practical experience, we are conditioned today to believe the map. We instinctively see it as a trusted means of presenting "the way, the truth." That very presumption makes the map a uniquely effective persuasive tool. It can provide a marginal edge, great or small, in communicating the intended message: religious or political, military or commercial, moral or social. Particularly in these times of "alternative facts," we all benefit from a world in which the motives and interests and techniques behind *all* maps are rightly subject to more rigorous—and more skeptical—analysis.

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## ENDNOTES

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- 2 *Ibid.*, 174.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 185.
- 4 See generally Judith A. Tyner, "Persuasive Cartography," in *Cartography in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Mark S. Monmonier, vol. 6 of *The History of Cartography* [HoC 6] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 1087-95.
- 5 David Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds. J. B. Harley & David Woodward, vol. 1 of *The History of Cartography* [HoC 1] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 286, 342.
- 6 J. B. Harley, "Maps, knowledge, and power," in *The Iconography of Landscape*, eds. Denis Cosgrove & Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University

- Press, 1988), 282. The leftist Harley would have much enjoyed knowing, as we do now, that the map's socialist creator subtly undermined its imperialist message. See <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:3293793>.
- 7 Although Palairt was born in France, he was working in England and serving as a tutor to the children of George II. Not surprisingly, he revised this map very soon after its publication, to conform to the British view expressed in the iconic Mitchell Map published in February 1755. See <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:19343651>.
  - 8 Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 132.
  - 9 See generally Peter Barber, ed., *The Map Book* (New York: Walker & Co., 2005), 284; Roderick Barron, "Mistaken Attribution: Identifying the works of Fred W. Rose," *IMCoS Journal* 146 (2016): 15–26.
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  - 11 See generally Christina Elizabeth Dando, "'The Map Proves It': Map Use by the American Woman Suffrage Movement," *Cartographica* 45, no. 4 (2010): 221–240.
  - 12 *Ibid.*, 222.
  - 13 *The Bakersfield Californian*, May 15, 1931, p. 8. <http://newspaperarchive.com/us/california/bakersfield/bakersfield-californian/1931/05-15/>.
  - 14 Translation courtesy Michael Buehler, Boston Rare Maps.
  - 15 Translation from <http://www.barronmaps.com/products/die-brennende-wunde-frankreichs/>.
  - 16 Matthew H. Edney, "Putting 'Cartography' into the History of Cartography," *Cartographic Perspectives* 51 (2005): 14, reprinted in *Critical Geographies: A Collection of Readings*, eds. Harald Bauder & Salvatore Engel-Di Mauro, [http://www.praxis-epress.org/CGR/CG\\_Whole.pdf](http://www.praxis-epress.org/CGR/CG_Whole.pdf) (2008), 711.
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  - 18 Max Eckert, "On the Nature of Maps and Map Logic," trans. W. Joerg, *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 40 (1908): 347, 348.
  - 19 Matthew H. Edney, "The Origins and Development of J.B. Harley's Cartographic Theories," *Cartographica* 40, nos. 1–2 (2005): Monograph 54, esp. 107.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, 113.
  - 21 C. Raymond Beasley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897–1906), 3:528.
  - 22 Edney "Origins and Development," 38.
  - 23 Karl Haushofer, "Die Suggestive Karte," *Grenzboten* 81 (1922): 17–19, reprinted in Karl Haushofer et al., *Bausteine zur Geopolitik* (Berlin-Grunewald: Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, 1928): 343–348.
  - 24 Edoardo Boria, "Geopolitical Maps: A Sketch History of a Neglected Trend in Cartography," *Geopolitics* 13 (2008): 303–304.
  - 25 Guntram Henrik Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and propaganda, 1918–1945* (London: Routledge, 1997), 91. See generally *ibid.*, chap. 6; Herb, "Geopolitics and Cartography," in HoC 6 (2015): 539–42; Boria "Geopolitical Maps," 282–86; David T. Murphy, *The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918–1933* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997), chap. 7.
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  - 31 John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic reason, mapping and the geo-coded world* (London: Routledge, 2004), 37, 46.
  - 32 J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26, no. 2 (1989), 4.
  - 33 Edney "Origins and Development," 14.
  - 34 *Ibid.*, 1. Harley's most important papers are collected in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). Detailed analysis of Harley's work is well beyond the scope of this paper, and it is widely available elsewhere. The single most thorough and scholarly assessment is Edney, "Origins and Development." See also Reuben Rose-Redwood, ed., "Deconstructing the Map: 25 Years On," *Cartographica* 50, no. 1 (2015): 1–57, essays by twelve scholars on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Harley's paper.
  - 35 Harley "Deconstructing," 2, 3, 11.
  - 36 Edney "Origins and Development," 1.
  - 37 Reuben Rose-Redwood, "Looking 'Beyond' Power? J.B. Harley's Legacy and the Powers of Cartographic World-Making," *Cartographica* 50, no. 1 (2015): 54. See, e.g., Edney "Origins and Development," 3–5, 106–07; Martin Dodge & Chris Perkins, "Reflecting on J.B. Harley's Influence and What He Missed in 'Deconstructing the Map,'" *Cartographica* 50, no. 1 (2015): 37–40.
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# Beauty and Commerce: Central Africa and Virginia in Sir Robert Dudley's *Arcano del mare*

by Leah M. Thomas

[A]nd if we think, after all, that the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that . . . it goes as far as the colonies in search of the most precious treasures they conceal in their gardens, you will understand why the boat has not only been for our civilization, from the sixteenth century until the present, the great instrument of economic development . . ., but has been simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination.<sup>1</sup>

**D**ell'*Arcano del mare* (Florence, 1646–47, reprinted 1661) by Sir Robert Dudley (1574–1649) and engraved by Antonio Francesco Lucini (b. c. 1610)<sup>2</sup> relates specialized knowledge that was considered esoteric, or arcane, even mysterious and secretive during the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> The *Arcano del mare* consists of information on navigation, shipbuilding, and astronomy, thus conveying Dudley's expertise in nautical navigation and architecture as well as mathematics. The final book of the *Arcano del mare*, Book VI, is a nautical atlas to which Dudley applied Mercator's projection to aid navigation.<sup>4</sup> The charts in the atlas exhibit the Italian baroque flourish and elegance of their engraver Lucini, who had been a protégé of Stephano della Bella and Jean Jacques Callot.<sup>5</sup> Lucini was known for his engraving of a popular series of prints, dated 1631, that portrayed the Siege of Malta based upon Matthieu Perez di Alesio's tapestries in the Palazzo de Malta.<sup>6</sup> In the 1661 edition of the *Arcano del mare*, Lucini states that he devoted twelve years and estimates "no less than 5000 lbs., of copper in engravings to illustrate it."<sup>7</sup> His signature AF: *Lucini Fece* on the charts in the *Arcano del mare* may be understood as follows: AF is for *aquaforti fecit*, translated as "made with strong water," referring to nitric acid, and may also refer to etching another's manuscript.<sup>8</sup> *Fece*. is an abbreviated form of *faciebat* for "made" to credit Lucini with creating the etching surface. Such terms were used vaguely and interchangeably.<sup>9</sup> Lucini's inclusion of both terms demonstrates that he was responsible for the printed production and could be understood to mean that he both etched (*aquafortis*) and engraved (*facere*) the plates to produce the charts.<sup>10</sup> The flourish in map lettering combined with the minimal decorative elements and the delineated coastal lines

reverberates a refined beauty that echoes a robust commerce in Dudley's charts. Similar to this refined beauty and robust commerce that have contributed to the charts' value and dissemination as commodities, the relationship among these charts correlates narratives of travel and trade as can be demonstrated between Africa and America.

*Carta particolare che comincia con l'Isola di S:Tomaso ò Tome è c:d'S:Clara è finisce con il c:d'Aldeas la longitudne. comica. da l'Isola di Pico d'Asores d'Aff[r]ica Carta. VIII* (Florence, 1646–1647) (**Figure 1**) and *Carta particolare della Virginia vecchia è nuoua la longitudne. comica: da l'Isola di Pico di Asores: D'America Carta. III* (Florence, 1661)<sup>11</sup> (**Figure 2**) from the different editions of the atlas of *Arcano del mare* illustrate Dudley and Lucini's expertise in creating artifacts with such an aestheticized utility. This utility may be seen by comparing these two charts to uncover Central Africa and Virginia's roles in the atlas and how Dudley situated these geographic locations within the theater of European commerce. For, these charts contain a *matryoshka* effect in commerce: Virginia as part of the Chesapeake participated in the larger transatlantic exploration and trade. Within the Chesapeake, trade occurred between the colonists and Native Americans that drove commerce in Britain, especially the fur trade. Later, trade developed among Britain, the Chesapeake, and West and Central Africa. While Dudley does not directly address this relationship between *Affrica Carta VIII* and *America Carta III*, trade and commerce resonated within these charts as secrets of the sea and the atlas's commodification as an object of trade and commerce as both a navigational tool and a beautiful set of charts that can be seen in the motif of the boat that connects lands, bodies, and imaginations.

## ARCANO DEL MARE / SECRETS OF THE SEA: THE BOAT AS MOTIF

The entity that drove this commerce was the boat. On the charts throughout the atlas lone ships jostle on the seas. Visually the ships distinguish the water from the land. The intricately designed ships nationalized by their Italian flags, while decorative, orient the charts' readers to navigate their way through the seas. An example is Dudley's own ship, the *Bear*, that he places on his chart of Guiana (*America Carta XIII*).<sup>12</sup> A visual motif, the ship engages readers' imaginations, inviting them to participate in the sublime beauty and treacherous commerce of the capricious waters that connect and sever the masses of land, *terrae cognitae* and *terrae incognitae*. In this space between what is known and what is unknown, the ship "as the greatest reserve of the imagination"<sup>13</sup> functions as a conduit between people and place upon the blank space of the chart. This boat is later epitomized as this conduit in Marlowe's fascination with blank spaces on maps in Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, originally serialized in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1899: "Now when I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration."<sup>14</sup> He recognizes that he will need a boat:

But there was in it one river especially, a mighty big river, that you could see on the map, resembling an immense snake uncoiled . . . And as I looked at the map of it in a shop-window . . . Then I remembered there was a big concern, a Company for trade on that river. Dash it all! I thought to myself, they can't trade without using some kind of craft on that lot of fresh water—steamboats!<sup>15</sup>

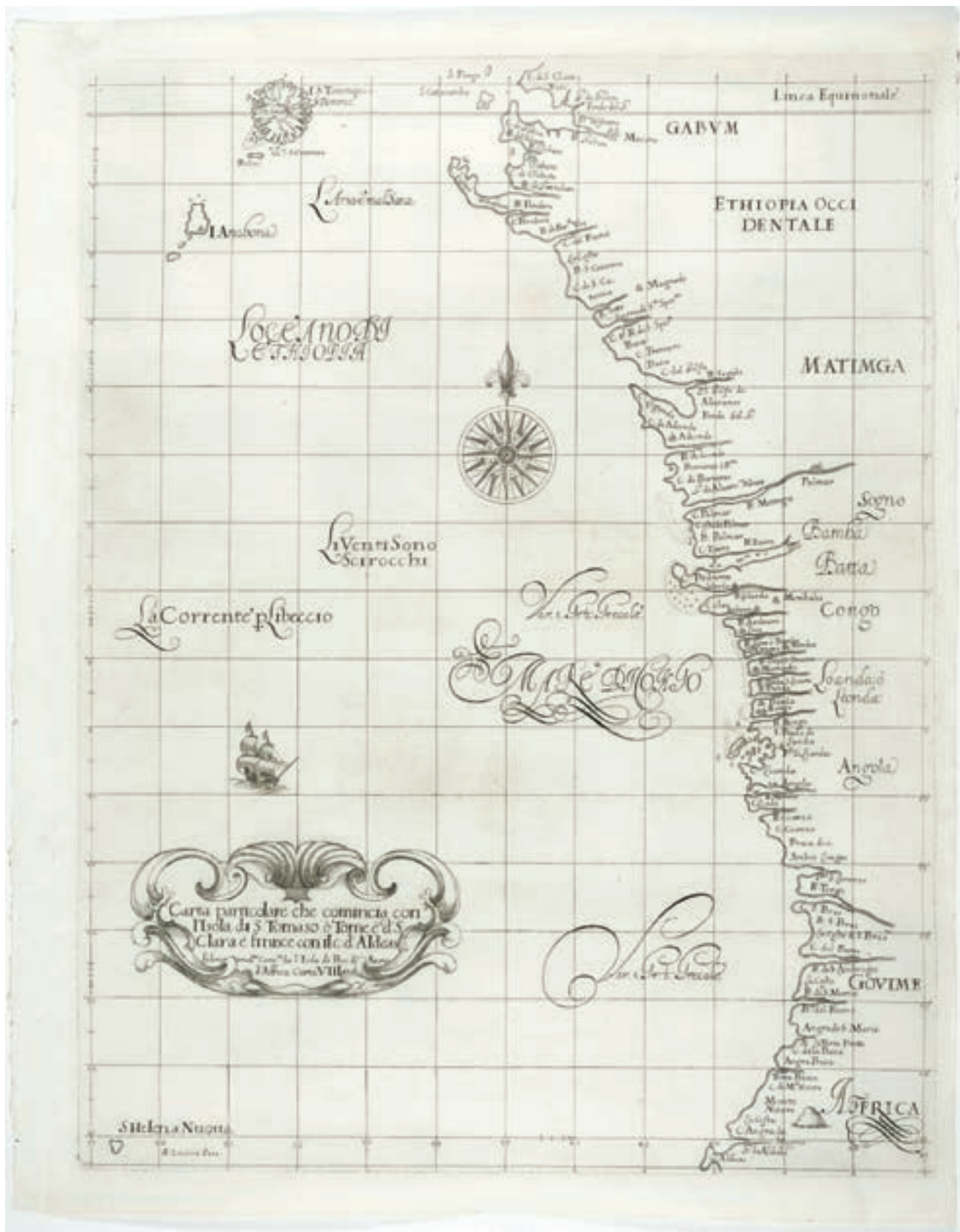
The boat is both metaphor and real as a "home" that is "always with them," the sailors.<sup>16</sup> A different time, but not a different place,<sup>17</sup> for Marlowe goes to the Congo, shown on Dudley's chart of Central Africa (*Affrica Carta VIII*). Conrad's imaginative literature engages the same imagination existent in Dudley's atlas that only the boat could make real.

The boat, or ship, in Dudley's atlas can be a navigational tool to interpret the relationship among the charts beyond the coordinates and places mapped, for Dudley organized the atlas according to continents: Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. The order of the charts within the atlas is not in a linear eastward direction. The section on Europe includes a chart of the northern region of North America, while the section on America contains a chart that displays the western coast of Africa and another chart that shows part of Asia along with a portion of America. Organizing the charts in this way routes the ships to circumnavigate the world from Europe through the Mediterranean all the way

to the Pacific to arrive between America and Asia, concluding the atlas and thus the route.<sup>18</sup> Following this ship through some of the charts in the Africa and America sections using the charts *Affrica Carta VIII* and *America Carta III* suggests a direction of a route. In *Affrica Carta VIII* the ship is heading toward the African coast. The preceding chart, *Affrica Carta VII*, which shows the coast of Benin and includes an ancillary map of St. Thomas, renders the ship heading toward the coast. The chart before this one, *Affrica Carta VI*, displays the coast of Brazil in the lower left and the coast of Guinea in the upper right with the ship between the continents approaching the coast of Africa. Therefore, in the charts before *Affrica Carta VIII* the ship can be read as coming from Brazil and going toward Africa. The chart *Affrica Carta VIII* that follows *Affrica Carta VIII* features the coasts of Congo and Angola. St. Helena and St. Helena Nuova are shown on this chart along with two ships. One ship is mid-north of these islands heading southwest toward the Americas, while the other is southeast of St. Helena and is heading east toward the African coast. These ships reflect the direction of routes as well as commerce, St. Helena having been a replenishing and trading point for the British at the end of the seventeenth century and later.

## ST. HELENA: "THE STORE-HOUSE OF THE SEA"

St. Helena Nuova, although obscured in the lower left corner, is shown on *Affrica Carta VIII*. St. Helena is not shown at all on this chart, while St. Thomas is clearly delineated with toponyms.<sup>19</sup> The nonexistent St. Helena Nuova may have materialized out of naming this "new" island for the Galician explorer João da Nova (c. 1460–1509), who was in the service of the Portuguese, conflating Nova and Nuova. Although Dudley's *Arcano del mare* targets an Italian audience, Dudley would have been aware of the significance of St. Helena for the British and that it had been a contested location among the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and British. Small in size, the island receives prominent attention in the narratives by Thomas Herbert (1606–1682) and William Dampier (1651–1715) as well as maps by Herman Moll (1654?–1732) because of the island's pivotal role in British commerce and trade.<sup>20</sup> In Moll's *System of Geography* (London, 1701), he calls the island "*The Store-house of the Sea*" and claims that "most Ships in passing to the East Indies touch upon the Coast, and all that are homeward bound continue there several Days, to be refitted and supply'd with necessary Provisions."<sup>21</sup> He provides distances from the following locations: "It is distant 1550 Spanish Leagues Westward from *Goa*, 520 from the Cape of Good Hope, 370 from *Angola*, 1000 from *Lisbon*, and 540 Eastward from the Coasts of *Brasil* in *America*."<sup>22</sup> Thus, Moll demonstrates the strategic location of St. Helena by providing these distances.



**Figure 1.** Sir Robert Dudley, *Carta particolare che comincia con l'Isola di S. Tomaso à Tome è c:d'S: Clara è finisce con il c:d'Aldeas la longitudne. comica. da l'Isola di Pico d'Asores d'Aff[r]ica Carta. VIII* (Firenze, 1646–1647), The Library of Virginia Map Collection, G8737.C6 1646 .D8.

Prior to Moll, Herbert and Dampier reveal the role of St. Helena as “*The Store-house of the Sea*” in their travels and narratives. For Herbert, the boat has multiple meanings and is the vehicle that represents himself and his imagination, his travel, and his narrative, *Some Yeares Travels into Africa and Asia* (London, 1638). Of course, it is the boat that gets him to St. Helena. More specifically, Herbert mixes his metaphors: he is both a boat and a laborer in his narrative. But, he also employs the boat as a metaphor for his narrative by suggesting that the book is a vehicle: “Let my errors therefore reflect on them [my friends], and impale me in your favour, for peradventure I may give boldnesse to your Factors, to fetch exotique rarities in a new division of the world, and in assuring their Barques to bring you home, what may prove worthy your sight and mony.”<sup>23</sup> In his book, one of these “exotique rarities” on which he focuses is St. Helena. He exoticizes the island in his animation of it: “The Ile is small; it exceeds not thirty English miles in circumference: excessive high; it wraps its head for the most part in the clouds, where it opens its wide mouth, and gulps down sufficient moisture to coole its heat, and fatten it.”<sup>24</sup> Although he personifies the island as a gulping organism, he erases the indigenous inhabitants:

The Ile is desolate of reasonable Inhabitants: Hoggs and Goats dwell there: they agree well-favouredly, and multiply in mighty numbers; happy in their ease and safety, till ships arrive there to banish hunger: wee got also other good refreshment; Pheasants, Powts, Quailles, Henns, Partich; and (which were as acceptable) divers sorts of grasse & roots, Wood-sorrell, three-leav'd-grasse, Basil, Parsly, Mints, Spinage, Fennel, Annys, Radish, Mustard-seed, Tobacco, and some others, which by a willing hand, directed by an ingenious eye, may soone be gathered: brought hither, and here sowne by *Fernandus Lupius* an honest Portugall, in the year of our Lord 1509.<sup>25</sup>

Through this commerce, the island's indigenous plants have been supplanted, for the island previously produced “Lemmons, Orenge, Pomgranads, Pomcitrons, Figgs, Dates &c. but now none of these fruits [are] growing there that I [Herbert] could see or heare of, a Lemmon tree excepted.”<sup>26</sup> The island's serving as a provisional host for the ships transformed the island into a microcosm of transatlantic and Levantine commerce evident in the animals and plants that displaced highly valued citrus and other fruits indigenous to and once prevalent on the island.

According to Herbert's account, St. Helena was in a deplorable state. He attributes this change to European trade:

There are but two rivolets in that Ile . . . They take their names frō a Lemon tree whence it arises, and an old Chappell built at the very bottome by the Spaniard Anno 1571, and delapidated by the Dutch; a place once intended for Gods glory, but by malice of rude man made ruinous and a prophane nest of uncleane avarice. . . . Some say the Spanish King subverted it, in that it became an unlawfull Magazein of Sea-mens Traffick, turning and returning out of both the Indydes: thereby losing his tribute in too apparent measure.<sup>27</sup>

He does not elaborate on the “unclean avarice” and how the chapel was used as “an unlawfull Magazein of Sea-mens Traffick, turning and returning out of both the Indydes.” As stated in his narrative, Herbert has participated in this traffic between the East, coming from China and Mauritius before arriving at St. Helena, and then going West; for he goes to America after leaving St. Helena, having remained on the island for six days. The kinds of traffic on the island can be gleaned from other narratives and sources such as Dampier's narrative elaborated on below.

In *A New Voyage Round the World* (London, 1697), Dampier recounts the European contest for the island and the British claim of it. Related to St. Helena's role in British commerce, he writes of his experience as well as that of his companion Jeoly on the island:

My stay ashore here [St. Helena] was but two days, to get refreshments for my self and *Jeoly*, whom I carryed ashore with me: and he was very diligent to pick up such things as the Islands afforded, carrying ashore with him a Bag, which the People of the Isle filled with Roots for him . . . But to proceed, our Water being fill'd, and the Ships all stockt with fresh Provision, we sailed from hence in Company of the *Princess Ann*, the *James and Mary*, and the *Josiah*, July the 2d, 1691. directing our course towards *England*, and designing to touch no where by the way.<sup>28</sup>

His two-day stop on the island is not for rest and recreation, although he does elaborate on this aspect on the island in a general sense, but is to restock the ship. Dampier situates Jeoly within the indigeniety of the island's vegetation and culture in Jeoly's diligence to acquire “such things as the Islands afforded,” which Jeoly likely could not get in England. Jeoly's participation in this trade reveals that he, like Dampier, played a role in commerce on the island and with the island's people. Through his description of this interaction, Dampier sheds light on the island's indigeniety that Herbert obfuscates.



Dampier hints at the slave trade through sharing information about his relationship with Jeoly, although he does not mention St. Helena as a slave-trading location: "This was the last place where I had him [Jeoly] at my own disposal, for the Mate of the Ship, who had Mr. *Moodie's* share in him, left him entirely to my management, I being to bring him to *England*."<sup>29</sup> Dampier discloses how his role and his ownership situate him as a passive agent: "But I was no sooner arrived in the *Thames*, but he [Jeoly] was sent ashore to be seen by some eminent persons; and I being in want of Money, was prevailed upon to sell first, part of my share in him, and by degrees all of it. After this I heard he was carried about to be shown as a Sight, and that he died of the Small-pox at *Oxford*."<sup>30</sup> Dampier's having kept abreast of Jeoly's whereabouts and wellbeing acknowledges Dampier's subjective interest in Jeoly as a person, not a commodity, despite Jeoly's having been relegated to an object of commerce. Dampier recognizes the role that he played in Jeoly's demise because of his own precarious financial circumstances that implicated him within this commerce.

Herbert and Dampier's accounts illuminate that St. Helena was central to transatlantic commerce during the seventeenth century, especially for transatlantic slave trade in the Caribbean.<sup>31</sup> Predating the escalation of the British transatlantic slave trade in 1688,<sup>32</sup> enslaved African transport locations from West Central Africa and St. Helena included New York in 1655 and 1664 and Virginia in 1663.<sup>33</sup> According to historian Lorena S. Walsh, "Between 13,000 and 20,000 slaves were brought into Virginia and Maryland between 1619 and 1697, and approximately 96,000 arrived from 1698 (when colonial records of slave imports are more complete) to 1774 when the transatlantic slave trade into the Chesapeake ended."<sup>34</sup> Walsh discovered that many of the enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake "arrived directly from Africa or were reshipped from the West Indies after only a brief period of recuperation from their Middle Passage."<sup>35</sup> She further explains, "until the mid-1760s . . . Africans from the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa predominated in southern Virginia, while people from Upper Guinea and the Gold Coast predominated in the northern Chesapeake."<sup>36</sup> Contemporaneous travel narratives, maps and atlases, and ships' records convey that islands like St. Helena and St. Thomas were key in the purchase and transport of enslaved Africans and commodities from the East to be transported West and in legs of the triangular trade.

### TRACKING COMMERCE: FROM CENTRAL AFRICA TO VIRGINIA

A connection between Dudley's chart of Central Africa, *Affrica Carta VIII*, and Virginia, *America Carta III*, is the arrival of the first Africans from Virginia in 1619, because they were directly from Luonda, Angola,<sup>37</sup> shown on Dudley's *Affrica Carta VIII* as *Loanda ò Leonda*. Although

Virginia was not the intended destination of the *São João Bautista*, historian John Thornton speculates,

[The Angolans] were more likely from an urban or at least urbanized area (though they probably knew how to raise crops and domestic animals), and they had learned the rudiments of Christianity. It is probable that, in the decades that followed, those who survived the first year in Virginia eventually encountered more Angolans from their homeland or from the nearby Kongo, brought especially to New York by Dutch traders and resold to Virginia colonists.<sup>38</sup>

The influence of the transatlantic slave trade was multi-layered: Europeans brought their cultures to Africa; Europeans absorbed African cultural traditions; Europeans and Africans traded various commodities, goods, and textiles; and Africans brought their cultural traditions and entangled European influences with them to the Americas. Even though these two charts, *Affrica Carta VIII* and *America Carta III*, are not adjacent to each other in the atlas, they are conceptually conjoined through this commerce and history that developed between Africa and the Chesapeake after the publication of Dudley's *Arcano del mare*. Hence, the charts disclosed secrets of extant navigational routes that foretold trade in other regions at a later time.

A vehicle of this commerce, the chart of Virginia, *America Carta III*, shows another vehicle of this commerce, the ship, moving away from the coast. The chart in the sequence before this one, *America Carta II* of New England, displays a ship heading toward the coast. *America Carta III* that follows the Virginia chart again renders the ship away from the coast. The ship in the successive chart, *America Carta V*, is located between the Yucatan Peninsula and Cuba. The ship then appears to have approached New England and is traveling southward into the Caribbean. Other instances reveal more clearly the ship's direction as is the case with a chart of Brazil, *America Carta XVII*. The ship is moving east, and the next chart, *America Carta XVIII*, exhibits Africa. This chart has two ships—one going east, the other west. The atlas returns to Brazil in the next chart, *America Carta XVIII*. The path of this ship is again located in the lower left, heading east, away from the coast, but not to Africa, for the ensuing charts in the atlas map the Caribbean and South American coastlines. The atlas concludes with *America Carta XXXIII* that includes Asia in the upper left and North America on the right. Delineating direction, the ship is heading toward the California coast. Latitudinal and longitudinal points along with the geographical places order the charts, although geographical locations that do not fit within this order are inserted, as previously stated. To reiterate, the ship functions as a narrative motif, offering a route by which to read the charts. The ship, heavy with its

own social and economic commerce, supplies an imaginative force that sails through the atlas.

Toponyms offer another connection between *Affrica Carta VIII* and *America Carta III*. In Dudley's mapping of the Central African coast, he identifies toponyms that were loci for the transatlantic slave trade as noted in *Loanda ò Leonda* and the islands St. Thomas and St. Helena Nuova. In his mapping of Virginia, he applies Indian names that also morph into toponyms:<sup>39</sup> Massawomecks, Tockwoghs, and Ruskarawaoks in the northern region, and the Mangoags and Chawons in the southern region, among other Indian names less prominently displayed on the chart. He derives these Indian names from John Smith's map of Virginia (London, 1624, orig. pub. 1612).<sup>40</sup> (Figure 3) Dudley inscribes the northern region, designated *Il Regno di Powhatan* as *Virginia Nuova*, with "*La Virginia nouva habitata da Inglesi*" and across the Chesapeake with "*La Costa Orientale di Virginia Nuova*." Dudley's term *Virginia Vecchia* comes from Smith's designation of "ould" Virginia in Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624).<sup>41</sup> A remnant of "ould" Virginia, "*Windandicoia*" translates to "You have fine clothes," an echo of Abraham Ortelius's 1587 map of Virginia.<sup>42</sup> This portion of Virginia reflects John White's *Americae Pars, Nunc Virginia Dicta* (London, 1590).<sup>43</sup> Dudley nods to Smith in his toponym "*I. di Smyth, Inglese*" and to Raleigh in his inscription "*La Virginia scopta, da Inglesi: nel' 1584. à spese del' Sigr. Caure. Gualtre. Rawley.*"<sup>44</sup> Unlike Smith and White's maps, which are oriented with west at the top, Dudley's chart is oriented with north at the top. Although Dudley synthesizes details from Smith and White's maps, he creates his own map.<sup>45</sup> Dudley retained Indian names and referenced Smith, Raleigh, and the English on his chart to reflect a cognizance of commerce and trade between Indians and the English. The Indians were crucial to European survival and trade in the Americas, because goods were being traded and bartered wherever sailors, thus the boat, went.

### "THE VEINES OF A MANS BODY": MAPPING VIRGINIA, MAPPING COMMERCE

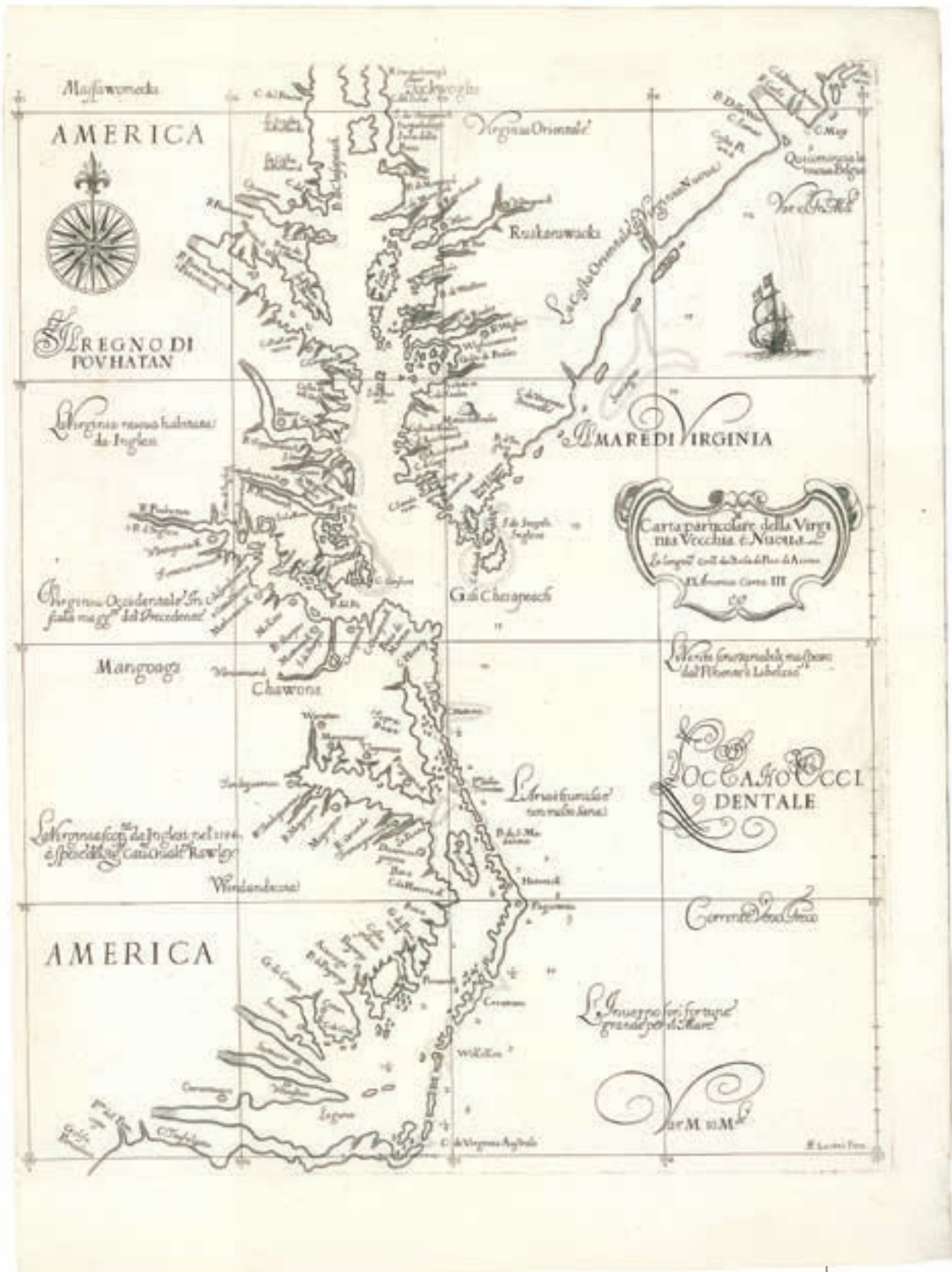
This trade and imagination are embodied in the motif of the boat, a vehicle for bodies, transporting sailors, explorers, Africans, and Indians. The boat is also ascribed to the body as metaphor in this context just as Herbert incorporates the boat as a metaphor for his body and his narrative. As a parallel, the landscape gets animated as human in Herbert's description of St. Helena, mentioned above, and in Smith's description and map of Virginia. More subtly, Dudley's *Affrica Carta VIII* references human bodies implicit in the slave trade in the toponym *Loanda ò Leonda* and the names of Indians on his *America Carta III* in addition to the toponym

*Windandicoia* derived from a misunderstood greeting that refers to European human bodies by virtue of their clothing, as stated previously. This geographic imagination in Dudley's chart that correlates landscape with human bodies is implicit; whereas, for Smith this correlation is explicit and an intentional rhetorical device that he incorporates in his *Generall Historie* and his iconic map of Virginia with its vein-like-river apparatus that pervades the landscape that Smith himself identifies in his description of Powhatan River: "It is called Powhatan, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth upon it . . . Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs, that disperse themselves for best service, as do the veines of a mans body."<sup>46</sup> Further substantiating this metaphor of a bodyscape,<sup>47</sup> Smith demarcates the landscape with Indians he has to navigate physically and socially:

Southward we [Smith and his men] went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags . . . Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ Powhatans Territories . . . Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mapped [of Virginia], which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creeks the breadth of the waters, the distances of places, and such like.<sup>48</sup>

Unlike in his narrative, Smith provides little topographic detail around the Indian groups Mangoags and Chawons on his map, readily illuminating these groups through the map's typography. Moreover, the size of typography is proportionate to the significance of the Indian group. He represents the Kuskarawaoks, Tockwoghs, and Atquanachukes similarly on the eastern side of the Chesapeake Bay with the exception of his inclusion of hills, trees, and houses. These toponyms stretch beyond the crosses that indicate information Smith received from Indians.<sup>49</sup> Smith's mapping of the Indians as part of the landscape connotes that the landscape is their territory of which he is part.

Although Smith's mapping of Virginia may have effected an erasure of Indians through his identification and objectification of them to mobilize British colonization,<sup>50</sup> his application of Indian appellations was a European convention that acknowledged Indian ownership; whereas, Virginia and The Virginia Sea were clearly British claims. His acknowledgement of Indian ownership demonstrates hierarchies of tribute in addition to Indians' group relationships and loyalties, which also aligns with his route and tributary descriptions through which one group is linked to a larger or multiple groups:



**Figure 2.** Sir Robert Dudley, *Carta particolare della Virginia vecchia è nuoua la longitune. comica: da l'Isola di Pico di Asores: D'America Carta. III* (Firenze, 1661), second state, The Library of Virginia Map Collection, G3842.C5 1661. D8 Voorhees collection.



**Figure 3.** John Smith, *Virginia discovered and described by Captayn John Smith 1606*, graven by William Hole (London, 1624), eighth state, The Library of Virginia Map Collection, G3880 1624 .S5 Voorhees collection.

Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Rasauwak, unto whom the Mowhemenchughes, and Massinnacacks, the Monahassanughs, the Monasickapanoughs, and other nations pay tributes. Upon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributors the Tauxanias, the Shackaconias, the Ontponeas, the Tegninateos, the Whonkenteaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassianungaes, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language.<sup>51</sup>

Smith delineates Indian tribute as he maps the tributaries of the rivers. For Smith, the Indians, while individual groups, also contribute to a larger body of people through alliances and demarcate the landscape through these relationships.

Above the end of the Virginia banner and near the map's legend and the vignette of the Susquehannock is another example of prominent typography, Massawomecks. Smith's demarcation of this group is simultaneously conspicuous and subtle. The typography is conspicuous in size but is subtle in its placement in the upper left and in relation to the toponym Virginia and the bold presence of the Susquehannock. The water that borders the Massawomecks serves as a reminder of the search for the Northwest Passage as well as a reason the Massawomecks are mapped: "Beyond the mountaines from when is the head of the river Patawomeke, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the Massawomekes, upon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of Canada, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the south sea. These Massawomecks are a great nation and very populous."<sup>52</sup> Smith learns about the Massawomecks from other Indians, outside of his own brief encounter with them. His description of this encounter conveys the sophistication of the Massawomecks:

Seven boats full of these Massawomekes wee encountered at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobacco pipes, Platters, Bowes, and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees, sowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated upon some great water.<sup>53</sup>

What Smith witnessed reinforced what he heard. Also of importance is Smith's sense of his own integration with the landscape and specific Indian groups when he specifies in "our parts." Smith, like the Indians he names and depicts, becomes part of his own map. The prominence of Indian typography and the sparse representation outside

of their designation alone exists on Smith's map and Dudley's chart to show the social and physical prominence of the Indians. Furthermore, this typography surrounds Powhatan territory to indicate invisible boundaries to the European eye. For, while these boundaries are there, the European eye cannot determine where they begin and end.

As previously mentioned, Dudley's *America Carta III* shows the Massawomecks but on the Potomac River; whereas, Smith's map features them near Lake Erie, meaning that Dudley may have incorporated additional sources.<sup>54</sup> The Massawomecks were highly sought-after fur traders in the Chesapeake Region and in Canada. They appear in Virginia in 1632, the Cumberland Gap in 1634, and Quebec from 1629–1632 in accounts by Smith, Henry Fleet, and Leonard Calvert, respectively.<sup>55</sup> The Massawomecks' changes in location demonstrate the difficulty in determining Indian territories on European maps. Furthering this difficulty is the naming of Indian groups. The Massawomecks may have been the Antouhonorons near Lake Erie about whom Samuel de Champlain wrote and located on his 1616 map that accompanied his *Les Voyages* (1619) and his *Carte de la Nouvelle France* (1632).<sup>56</sup> The Massawomecks may have been the primary fur traders between the Chesapeake and Canada. Calvert wrote of the "large quantities of furs" that "the Massawomecks had directed . . . to [Sir David] Kirke and the English at Quebec."<sup>57</sup> The Massawomecks were agents of trade and commerce in the Chesapeake and therefore get featured distinctively on Dudley's chart as they do on Smith's map but in different locations so that the maps display the territories the Massawomecks occupied for trade with Europeans.

Smith maps the Indian groups as part of a landscape and socialscape that he has to navigate and negotiate because he is part of that landscape that he relates in his narrative. Dudley's chart is for sea and coastal navigation to facilitate trade and commerce. Dudley's chart concentrates on the Chesapeake Bay, shortening the lengths and, thereby, bodies of the rivers. On the north side of the river he designates it as *R. Powhatan*; the south side of it he attributes it to *R. d'Inglesi* so that the river is identified as both or either. His chart does not exhibit the Indian population density that Smith's map does. Also influenced by Smith's map, Augustine Herrman's map, *Virginia and Maryland as it is Planted and Inhabited* (London, 1673), a tool of colonialism like Smith's map is one of commerce like Dudley's, according to historian Christian Koot. (Figure 4) Koot asserts that, like Dudley, Herrman left "much of the continent's interior blank, labeling only the colonies and countries and haphazardly indicating some Native American settlements."<sup>58</sup> Because British trade with Indians was necessary for British survival and heightened by European demand for furs, Koot's claim that Herrman "haphazardly" identified Indian groups is



**Figure 4.** Augustine Herrman, *Virginia and Maryland as it is Planted and Inhabited This Present Year 1670* (London, 1673), Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, G3880 1670 .H4 Vault, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002623131/>.



**Figure 5.** A. F. McKay, *The Man of Commerce: A Chart Showing the Resemblance between the Arteries of Commerce, as Represented by Railroads, and the Arterial System of Man; also, the Resemblance between the Great Vital Organs of Man and the Commercial System of the Great Lakes* (Land and River Improvement Company; Rand McNally & Co., 1889), American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, AGS RARE FOL 800 M-1889.

dubious. However, Koot does recognize that the detailed waterways and coastlines were “areas that as a trader he [Herrman] had great familiarity with and that would best aid him and other merchants.”<sup>59</sup> Herrman’s identification of Indian groups and his meticulous delineation of waterways as well as “distances between plantations scattered along many rivers”<sup>60</sup> would have likely been just as informed as those of Smith and Dudley. As Koot suggests Herrman envisioned his map as a guide to navigate waterways for trade,<sup>61</sup> and as in Dudley’s chart the boat is an invitation and vehicle into the rhizomatic Chesapeake.

These maps manifest a relationship among landscape, the human body, and commerce in European cartography at least since the sixteenth century that continued in American cartography as depicted in the late nineteenth-century *The Man of Commerce: A Chart Showing the Resemblance between the Arteries of Commerce, as Represented by Railroads, and the Arterial System of Man; also, the Resemblance between the Great Vital Organs of Man and the Commercial System of the Great Lakes* (Rand McNally & Co., 1889) by A. F. McKay. (Figure 5) This map demonstrates the metaphor of the body as landscape and landscape as body explicitly, only the mode of transportation changes from the boat to the train. While Dudley’s chart and Hermann’s map imply human bodies, Smith and McKay’s maps articulate visual imagery of the human body within the landscape. The “Explanatory Notes” on McKay’s map, like Smith’s narrative, explicate this relationship:

A careful study of this chart will convince the student that there is a most wonderful analogous resemblance between the development of commerce in North America and the anatomical development of man. It is an interesting fact that in no other portion of the known world can any such analogy be found between the natural and artificial channels of commerce and circulatory and digestive apparatus of man.

This latter point, of course, is false, for such a connection can be made elsewhere and has been made for centuries. At the same time, McKay’s map may be perceived as a novelty, or curiosity, his map brings to the forefront the underlying human body that gets obscured in the objectification of humans in commerce, for the railroad’s history is not only in the transport of resources but also in the transport of people.

Within Dudley’s charts and Smith’s map persist multiple bodies. McKay’s map, on the other hand, unifies the landscape and seascape (the transatlantic) into one body that is segmented and ordered according to the body’s organs. The “Explanatory Notes” elaborate on the organs and arteries in relation to the railroad and importantly the “resemblance of the human head”:

Thus the Canadian Pacific occupies the position of the left external carotid artery, the Great Northern the left internal, the Northern Pacific the right internal, and the Union Pacific in part the right external; thus representing the four principal arteries of the head, and their geographical position forming a very close resemblance to the human head. This coincident resemblance is found to exist between all the main lines of railroad and the main arteries of man. As brain power moves man, so the precious metals are the basis of commercial movement, and they are found located in the head.

The precious metals located in the “head” of the map are gold and silver. While this map may seem disparate from Smith’s map and especially Dudley’s chart, these maps and charts serve similar purposes in their rendering place and people as commodities through the commerce of cartography, the maps and charts themselves emerging as commodities.

### “IN A SHOP-WINDOW”: DUDLEY’S *ARCANO DEL MARE* AS COMMODITY

Dudley’s *America Carta III* and his other charts in the atlas layer a palimpsest of earlier maps and accounts. Edward E. Hale suggests that Dudley may have had Thomas Cavendish’s charts, which would have given Dudley first-hand sources on California. He speculates that Dudley may have drawn Hudson Bay based upon “Hudson’s own [maps], because there was no other authority possible.”<sup>62</sup> Hale compares Dudley’s printed atlas of the *Arcano* to Dudley’s manuscript and explains that many of the manuscript charts are not included in the *Arcano* such as “[t]he most important of the large maps of Hudson’s Bay are omitted.”<sup>63</sup> He arrives at the same conclusion on Dudley’s section on America: “The Atlas in the *Arcano* contains thirty-three maps of America. My notes on the Munich Atlas show that that contains forty-six maps in manuscript.”<sup>64</sup> The layers between the printed and manuscript charts uncover the knowledge that Dudley continued to pursue to create his *Arcano*. In another comparison, J. F. Schütte analyzes Dudley’s printed charts of Japan in the *Arcano* with his manuscript charts of the same area to illuminate Dudley’s process and epistemology especially “the wholly new design for the Yezo drawing (the map of Hokkaido) which was maintained in all stages of his map of Japan.”<sup>65</sup> Dudley’s *Arcano* culminates his lifetime of experience and knowledge,<sup>66</sup> not only his but also his era.

A man of skill and knowledge, Dudley may have had more influence in both England and Italy than has been apparent, possibly inspiring the character Prospero in William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1610–11)<sup>67</sup> and contributing to the nineteenth-century geographic imagination that



informed Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness* and the continuing embodiment of commerce in McKay's *The Man of Commerce*. Even though Dudley's *Arcano* represents this knowledge, his *Arcano* has been influential because it is a commodity especially for its dedicatee and in its precious rarity and craftsmanship as an object. The 1646–47 edition was dedicated to Grand Duke Ferdinand II who may "have promoted the work . . . for making handsome presents to foreign rulers."<sup>68</sup> At the same time, the *Arcano* fits within the "scientific and geographical interests of Ferdinand" as well as Italy's overall scientific and geographic heritage.<sup>69</sup> The 1661 edition is dedicated "to the Venetian Republic."<sup>70</sup> Perhaps it is this larger perspective in the reprint of the *Arcano* through which Lucini's voice emerges that readers may learn more about Lucini, the *Arcano*, and Dudley, for Lucini writes,

the same nature which gave laws to man, shall receive them back. Thus by the benefit of nautical science, many islands thrown by nature far away in the boundless sea, are now united in reciprocal commerce, and the two hemispheres parted by a vast ocean are now one single world, the one part being ameliorated, the other enriched. In this worthy enterprise, Only Serene Lords, if one man is more signally eminent than others, it is the Duke of Northumberland, who, to make himself master of marine science, tore himself away from a great house, in which he had princely birth; and sacrificed full forty years of his life in unveiling, for the good of humanity at large, the mighty secrets of the sea.<sup>71</sup>

The lengthy quotation may serve as a dedication to Dudley and as a recognition of Dudley's service and knowledge reflected in the *Arcano* through his cartographic erudition, maritime skill, and Italian vernacular. Dudley died in 1649, so Lucini's tribute to Dudley may demonstrate Lucini's admiration for Dudley for his knowledge. Lucini's tribute and reprint unite a divided world that also divided Dudley through Dudley's memory to keep imagination, the boat, afloat, "a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that . . . is given over to the infinity of the sea."<sup>72</sup> Through a minimalist elegance, Lucini unanchored what Dudley knew of the secrets of the sea, this infinity.

Much has been written about Dudley's life but considerably less scholarship has been produced on the culmination of his life work, *Dell'Arcano del mare*. His atlas in its quiet detail attempts to unite the world through the atlas's uniformity that obscured difference in its sameness yet heightened this difference in its toponyms and the order of its charts.<sup>73</sup> When examined closely, the atlas reveals these more obvious differences exhibited in

Dudley's Guiana in *America Carta XIII* and *America Carta XIIIII* and the more subtle ones in Virginia *America Carta III* and *Affrica Carta VIII*. While Dudley's atlas does not exoticize places, outside of Guiana, his atlas consciously participates in the commerce of places, people, and commodities as much as the atlas performs as a commodity in and of itself.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Bill Wooldridge's unpublished manuscript "Robert Dudley's Map of Old and New Virginia" generated the idea to feature Dudley's map of Virginia. His manuscript also informed bibliographic details on Dudley's *Arcano del mare* and Dudley's *Carta particolare della Virginia Vecchia è Nuova . . . D'America Carta III* (Florence, 1661) for this article. The portion of this article on John Smith's map is based on the presentation "Reading John Smith's 1606 Map of Virginia as a Native American Text" that I gave at the conference 1619: *The Making of America* in September 2014.

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## EDITOR'S NOTE:

This is part of an occasional series of articles The Portolan is publishing that focus on aspects of mapping of Virginia and neighboring colonies during the British colonial period.

## APPENDIX. REFERENCED MAPS FROM ROBERT DUDLEY'S ARCANO DEL MARE (1646–47 AND 1661)

### Africa

*Affrica Carta VI. Carta particolare dell mare Oceano fra la costa di Guinea è la Brasilia*

*Affrica Carta VII. Carta particolare che comincia con il fiume Juntas nella Guinea è finisce con il capo di S. Dara è con l'Isola d'S. Tomosa*

*Affrica Carta VIII. Carta particolare che comincia con l'Isola di S. Tomaso è Tome è c. d'S. Clara è finisce con il c. d'Aldeas*

*Affrica Carta VIII. Carta particolare del mare di Ethiopia con l'Isola di S. Elena è parte della Costa*

### America

*America Carta II. Carta particolare della nuova Belgia è parte della nuova Anglia*

*America Carta III. Carta particolare della Virginia Vecchia è Nuova*

*America Carta III. Carta particolare della costa di Florida è di Virginia*

*America Carta V. Carta particolare del Isola di Cuba è di Jamaica con il Capo della Florida è l'Isola Intorno*

*Ameri[c]a [Carta] XIII. [Untitled]*

*America [Carta] XIII. [Untitled]*

*America Carta XVII. Carta particolare della Brasilia che comincia con il capo S. Antonio et finisce con il porto del Spirito Sancto*

*America Carta XVIII. Carta particolare che mostra il Capo buona Speranza con il mare verso ponte è con l'isola di Tristan d'Acunha è di Martn. Vaz*

*America Carta XVIII. Carta particolare della Brasilia australe che comincia dal' Poro. del' Spirto. Santo è finisce con il capo Bianco*

*America Carta XXXIII. Carta particolare dello stretto Lezo fra l'America è l'isola Lezo*

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," *Architecture / Mouvement / Continuité* (October 1984): 1–9, 9; originally entitled "Des espace autres," translated from the French by Jay Miskowic.
- 2 Dates for Lucini vary.
- 3 Although he does not specifically mention Dudley, William Eamon explores this idea in his "Court, Academy, and Printing House: Patronage and Scientific Careers in Late Renaissance Italy," in *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine in the European Court 1500–1750*, ed. Bruce T. Moran (New York: Boydell Press, 1991), 25–50, 26–29.
- 4 For discussion of Dudley's *Arcano del mare* including his use of Mercator's projection, see Lord Wardington, "Sir Robert Dudley and the *Arcano del Mare*, 1646–8 and 1661," *The Book Collector* 52, no. 2 (2003): 202–03. For more information about Mercator's projection, its evolution and analysis, see Joaquim Alves Gaspar and Henrique Leitão, "Squaring the Circle: How Mercator Constructed His Projection in 1569," *Imago Mundi* 66, pt. 1 (2014): 1–24.
- 5 Wardington, 204.
- 6 Ibid. Lord Wardington suggests a connection between Lucini's Siege-of-Malta engravings through "the view of the Arno and Dudley's *Arcano*" but is not sure what to conclude from their relationship.
- 7 Qtd. in John Temple Leader, *Life of Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland* (Florence: Printed by G. Barbèra, 1895) 122.
- 8 The manuscripts to which Lucini's signature likely refers are Dudley's manuscripts for *Dell'Arcano del mare* housed in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich that have been digitized and made available online at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/>, accessed 13 July 2017.
- 9 For general reference on print terms, see Bamber Gascoigne, *How To Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004) 48a. Gascoigne acknowledges, "Printmakers were often careless about these words . . . so they should never be relied on as gospel in relation to the print they adorn" (48a). For a more comprehensive reference on engraving and etching, see Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching 1400–2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (London: Archetype Publications; Houten, NL: HES and De Graaf, 2012), 48–75.
- 10 Gascoigne differentiates etching from engraving through the granularity of detail: "A useful analogy is to imagine the surface of the paper as a thin layer of snow on a frozen pond. The engraver is limited to making lines with the edge of a skate; the etcher can draw with a pointed stick" (55e). David Woodward specifically explores map lettering and suggests "further investigation" regarding "precise specifications." See Woodward, "The Manuscript, Engraved, and Typographic Traditions of Map Lettering," in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, edited by David Woodward (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1987) 174–212, 190. Although Woodward does not mention Lucini, who apparently engraved the charts and did the lettering for Dudley's *Arcano del mare*, Woodward provides an example similar in style to that of Lucini by the Van Coetecum brothers (Ibid., 190, fig. 6.18).
- 11 Hereafter, I will refer to the Africa map as *Affrica Carta VIII* and to the America map as *America Carta III*. The 1661 printing is a second state of *America Carta III*. The cartouche includes *L<sup>o</sup>.6<sup>o</sup>. for Libro 6*, the location of the map in Book VI.
- 12 George F. Warner describes charts *America Carta XIII* and *XVIII* in the appendix of *The Voyage of Robert Dudley, Afterwards Styled Earl of Warwick and Leicester and Duke of Northumberland, to the West Indies, 1594–1595* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1899) 93–97. See Neil Ritchie, "Sir Robert Dudley: Expatriate in Tuscan Service," *History Today* 26, no. 6 (1976): 385–92, 386, image on 387. Ritchie points out that Book VI of the *Arcano del mare* reviews at least thirty-four kinds of vessels (392). According to Leader, Dudley referred to shipbuilding as "military and naval Architecture" and "wrote or began to write his first book" on this topic in about 1610 (60). For Leader's section on "Dudley As Ship-Builder," see 53–64.
- 13 Foucault, 9.
- 14 Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Leonard F. Dean (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960), 5.

- 15 Ibid., 5–6.
- 16 Ibid., 3.
- 17 Conrad's description of the river in the Congo mirrors the Amazon, for the Amazon's river was depicted in this way on early maps. The expedition in the Congo in his *Heart of Darkness* is "the Eldorado Exploring Expedition" (Ibid., 25). For more information on the continued popularity of the El Dorado myth into the nineteenth century, see D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 40.
- 18 Woodward asserts the following about the emergence of atlases, particularly composite atlases, as well as disparages the "disbanding" of these atlases: "Designed to preserve loose maps for the collector, the atlases have been the primary means by which the printed maps of Renaissance Italy have come down to us. In view of this, the widespread practice of disbanding and dispersing the maps in the modern antiquarian market is deplorable." See his "The Italian Map Trade, 1480–1650," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) 773–803, 795. Dudley's atlas conveys his navigational routes through the order of the maps in his atlas; therefore, he constructed them strategically, the order informing the reading of the charts, thus, rendering the "practice of disbanding and dispersing the maps" all the more egregious. For further insight into how the order of maps in atlases informs the reading of maps, see James R. Akerman, "From Books with Maps to Books as Maps: The Editor in the Creation of the Atlas Idea," in *Editing Early and Historical Atlases*, edited by Joan Winearls (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 3–48, especially 3–4, 15–18, 20, 32. John E. Crowley argues that Herman Moll's *The World Described* (London, 1720) prioritized global interests rather than imperial ones by analyzing the order of the maps in Moll's atlas. See John E. Crowley, "Herman Moll's *The World Described* (1720): Mapping Britain's Global and Imperial Interests," *Imago Mundi* 68, pt. 1 (2016): 16–34, especially 17–18, 23–24.
- 19 St. Thomas, or São Tomé, was a Portuguese colony that served as a military base for the Portuguese. See John Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421–34, 424.
- 20 Herman Moll describes the European colonization of St. Helena and its use by British ships for provisions, and, like Dudley, he includes both the old and new St. Helena in his section on Ethiopia in his *A System of Geography* (London, 1701) 118. See Moll's map *St. Helena; Bay of Agoa de Saldanha* in his *Atlas Minor*, 3rd ed. (London: Thos. Bowles and John Bowles, 1736) available through the *David Rumsey Map Collection*, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/w88c60>, accessed 10 Aug. 2017. In the title cartouche on Moll's map of St. Helena, he notes that the island "belongs to ye English East India Company whose Ships usually touch here for a recruit of fresh Water and Provisions."
- 21 Moll, *A System of Geography*, 118, emphasis in original.
- 22 Ibid., emphasis in original.
- 23 Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels into Africa and Asia* (London, 1638) 2.
- 24 Ibid., 353.
- 25 Ibid., 354, emphasis in original.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., emphasis in original.
- 28 William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (London, 1697) 549, *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*, accessed 16 July 2017, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A36106.0001.001>; emphasis in original.
- 29 Ibid., emphasis in original.
- 30 Ibid., emphasis in original.
- 31 For Central Africa and St. Helena as a collective principal region of slave purchase from 1514–1700, see "Voyages Database," 2013, *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://slavevoyages.org/voyages/yl-zjhY03>, accessed 6 July 2017.
- 32 See William A. Pettigrew, "Free to Enslave: Politics and the Escalation of Britain's Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1688–1714," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 64, no. 1 (2007): 3–28. 1688 is also the year that British writer Aphra Behn's novella *Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave*, which focuses on the enslavement of Africans on a British plantation in Surinam, was published. For discussion of the growth of the transport of enslaved Africans to the Chesapeake, dated at 1680, see David Richardson, "The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1660–1807," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. II: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P. J. Marshall (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 440–64, 456–57.
- 33 For Mainland North America as the principal region of slave landing from 1514–1700, see "Voyages Database," 2013, *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, <http://slavevoyages.org/voyages/mO-q2n1R7>, accessed 6 July 2017.
- 34 Lorena S. Walsh, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Colonial Chesapeake Slavery," *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 3 (2003): 11–15, 11.
- 35 Ibid., 12.
- 36 Ibid., 14. For elaboration on cultural influences of Africans in the Chesapeake, see Walsh's earlier article,


- "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 139–70.
- 37 See Engel Sluiter, "New Light on the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 395–98. See also Thornton, 434.
- 38 Thornton, 434.
- 39 I employ the term "Indian" because it was the term used at this time and is also commonly used in American Indian studies.
- 40 William C. Wooldridge, "Robert Dudley's Map of Old and New Virginia," unpublished ms., 2015, 1–10, 6. See William Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia: From the Age of Exploration to the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012) 81.
- 41 Wooldridge, "Robert Dudley's Map," 3.
- 42 Ibid., 2–3. William C. Wooldridge, "Ortelius's Chesapeake," *The Portolan* 61 (Winter 2004–5): 37–40, 37. See also Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia*, 7.
- 43 Wooldridge, "Robert Dudley's Map," 3. See also Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia*, 9–15.
- 44 Dudley's nod to Raleigh is also a recognition of his own connection to England and involvement in this commerce. The significance of Dudley's 1594 voyage to the West Indies is that it "is the earliest recorded English attempt to occupy Trinidad and ascend the Orinoco." See O. A. W. Dilke and Margaret S. Dilke, "Sir Robert Dudley's Contributions to Cartography," *The Map Collector* 19 (1982): 10–14, 10. Dilke and Dilke observe that Dudley's chart of this region differs "from most of the others in the atlas, in that it contains sketches of natives and animals" (10). See also Warner, 66–79 and the appendix, 92–97. Although Dudley received neither the notoriety nor the credit that Raleigh received for his exploration of this area, Dudley's voyage paved the way for Raleigh's venture.
- 45 Wooldridge surmises, "Most of Dudley's landform data, then, is not original, but his synthesis, his symmetrical presentation of old and new Virginia as co-equal halves of this part of eastern America, is unique. There is no close predecessor of or successor to this particular conception of Virginia" ("Robert Dudley's Map," 3).
- 46 John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virgin[i]a, New England, and the Summer Isles*, vol. 1, reprint (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2006) 47.
- 47 For a similar discussion of this conflation of Indians and the Virginia landscape, see Leah Thomas, "Seeking the Northwest Passage: Rhetoric and Allegory in Henry Briggs's *The North Part of America*," *The Portolan* 93 (Fall 2015): 40–51, 51n30.
- 48 Smith, 52.
- 49 See J. B. Harley, "New England Cartography and the Native Americans," in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 169–95, 172–73. For elaboration on the areas of the Chesapeake Smith actually explored, see Helen C. Rountree, Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford, *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607–1609* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).
- 50 Harley refers to these erasures as "silences." See his "Deconstructing the Map," in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 149–68, 167.
- 51 Smith, 68.
- 52 Ibid., 68.
- 53 Ibid., 69.
- 54 James F. Pendergast shows that Fleet (1632) and Guillaume Delisle (1700) situate the Massawomecks on the Potomac River and that Smith (1608, 1612), John Farrer (1651), and John Lederer (1672) position them near Lake Erie (58). See Pendergast, "The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81, no. 2 (1991): i–vii, 1–101, 58.
- 55 Ibid., 14–18, 14n10.
- 56 Ibid., 53, 54.
- 57 Ibid., 14n10. According to Pendergast, "In 1633 so much cloth was diverted from the Virginia settlers to the fur trade, and so many skins were leaving the colony, much to the detriment of the colonists, that an act was passed to regulate the trade and protect the settlers['] interests" (Ibid.).
- 58 Christian J. Koot, "The Merchant, the Map, and Empire: Augustine Herrman's Chesapeake and Interimperial Trade, 1644–73," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2010): 603–44, 619.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Koot writes, "Each of its [Herrman's map] features invites the viewer to envision moving along the bay and its rivers, their waters serving to knit together an otherwise isolated Atlantic community. Herrman's is a map of access, not of repulsion, and it indicates that colonists in the mid-seventeenth century sometimes saw rival settlements not as foreign outposts they must contest but instead as markets they could exploit" (631).
- 62 Edward E. Hale, *Early Maps of America; and a Note on Robert Dudley and the Arcano del mare, Read before the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1873* (Worcester, MA: Printed by Charles Hamilton, 1874) 12.

- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid., 15.
- 65 J. F. Schütte, "Japanese Cartography at the Court of Florence: Robert Dudley's Maps of Japan, 1606-1636," *Imago Mundi* 23 (1969): 29-58, 58.
- 66 Leader, 63.
- 67 Richard Wilson, "Voyage to Tunis: New History and the Old World of 'The Tempest,'" *ELH* 64, no. 2 (1997): 333-57, 341-42, 344, 346, 350.
- 68 Dilke and Dilke, 11.
- 69 Filippo Camerota, "The Science of Navigation," in *Museo Galileo: Masterpieces of Science*, ed. Filippo Camerota (Florence: Giunti, 2010): 119-36, 124-25.
- 70 Leader, 121.
- 71 Qtd. in Leader, 122.
- 72 Foucault, 9.
- 73 Dudley's atlas was created during the lavish Dutch market of cartography. For a discussion of this market of Dutch cartography and the commodification of

place through sameness and difference, see Benjamin Schmidt's *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) 9-18, 227-32.




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# Air Age News Journal Maps as Historical Sources

by Jeffrey P. Stone

While researching back issues of *The Map Collector* I came across a rather obscure 1994 obituary in the “News” section of the journal. The obituary was for the recently departed cartographer, Richard Edes Harrison (1902–1994), whose prolific career was summarized in four paragraphs by noted cartographic historian Walter W. Ristow. The entry included details about Harrison’s early education; his unconventional training in science, architecture and design; his cartographic work for *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* magazines in the 1930s and 1940s; and his postwar atlas work for several federal agencies and private presses. Ristow noted awards earned by Harrison from the American Geographical Society, the Association of American Geographers, the American Congress on Surveying, and other organizations. Ristow correctly observed that Harrison’s influence was the stated inspiration for Mark Monmonier’s 1989 book concerning the development of American news cartography. But Ristow’s omission of Harrison’s winning the 1968 Osborn Maitland Miller Medal for “outstanding contributions in the field of cartography or geodesy” and his erroneous listing of Monmonier’s book—stated as “Maps in the News” while the actual title is *Maps with the News*—gave the obituary a hasty feel. More disappointing for admirers of Harrison—and I count myself among the many—was that his obituary, buried as it was midway through the journal, garnered scarcely more print space than a nearby blurb about a contemporary failed robbery of an obscure Dutch map dealer.<sup>1</sup>

Modern admirers of Harrison’s prolific and innovative career may forgive Ristow’s panegyric short shrift with the knowledge that in 1994, the field of journalistic cartography remained largely unappreciated by cartographic historians even though Ristow had himself noted the influence of Harrison, and of journalistic cartography, in the pages of *Surveying and Mapping* in 1957.<sup>2</sup> After all, Harrison’s obituary predated by seven years Susan Schulten’s important volume finally acknowledging Harrison’s contributions through his Air Age perspective maps appearing in the aforementioned national news journals and in popular atlases, to the geographical awakening in America.<sup>3</sup> Less

forgivable, however, is that modern neglect of Harrison’s particular influence (the works of Monmonier, Schulten and a few others notwithstanding) exposes a continued larger academic ignorance of Air Age journalistic maps as historical sources. For admirers of Harrison and of Air Age journalistic cartography, this simply will not do.

Consider the fact that before the advent of television, and focusing on the period from the 1930s to the 1950s—the period of Harrison’s greatest influence in what may be termed the “golden age” of news journals and journalistic cartography—maps and cartographic ads appearing in national news journals constituted the primary visual medium for familiarizing Americans with foreign places, geopolitics and world geography. This golden age reached its peak during World War II as evidenced by the huge increases in weekly national news journal circulation from 1940 to 1945. During this period *U.S. News and World Report* boasted increased weekly circulation from 86,523 to 207,257; *Newsweek* rose from 327,838 to 585,897; and most impressively, *Time* magazine circulation increased from 759,520 to 1.18 million.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as Schulten has argued, maps published in national news journals in the first half of the twentieth century, along with contemporary maps featured in commercial atlases, those employed by the National Geographic Society, and those used in public schools and universities comprised an influential vehicle for showcasing innovatively new, or in some cases old and forgotten, map projections that better described the roundness of the earth in the new Air Age of powered flight. Noted among this generation are J. Paul Goode and Edwin Raiz whose works appearing in atlases and academic journals are best known.<sup>5</sup> Lesser known are the publications of their works in the *Christian Science Monitor* the *Boston Sunday Globe*, respectively.<sup>6</sup> Even lesser known are the new map projections proposed by Irving Fisher, C.B. Fawcett and F.V. Botley.<sup>7</sup> But in this era of map projection experimentation—what Schulten calls “the challenge to American cartography”—Harrison was by far the most widely read.<sup>8</sup> So if Harrison’s terse, inconspicuous, and hurried obituary conveyed a lack of

academic appreciation for journalistic cartography in the mid 1990s, and I believe it did, what accounts for the continued neglect of news journal maps as historical documents today even by cartographic historians?

A partial answer is that cartographic historians classify news journal maps as ephemeral artifacts. As Dennis Reinhartz has argued, the term “ephemeral maps” describes maps not made for long term use, but for “transient use,” and includes maps in news journals, travel brochures, political cartoons, advertisements, postcards and stamps. However, Reinhartz rightly pointed out that the temporary status of ephemeral maps belies their potential to shape public perception of foreign places over long periods of time.<sup>9</sup> Monmonier argued that news maps did this by putting news items in a geographical framework and by packaging news in an informative and decorative manner.<sup>10</sup> Patricia Gilmartin, another rare examiner of news cartography, in 1985 lamented the dearth of academic studies of news maps especially given their power to shape public opinion. Gilmartin attributed to news maps the triple purpose of relating the location of news events, the relationship of one location to another, and most importantly, pertinent geospatial factors that bear upon the news.<sup>11</sup> In this regard, news journals maps have been especially influential due to their function of illustrating the news in areas of international politics, travel, war, and other pressing issues. And given the sheer volume of news journal circulation in the mid twentieth century, again before the age of television, Gilmartin reminded us that maps appearing in weekly news journals received far more readership than any other contemporary cartographic sources. An irony follows that cartographic studies of the Air Age, both World Wars, and the early Cold War era (and these are relatively few compared to map studies of older periods) have relegated news journal maps to the periphery—unduly eclipsed by the far greater attention given to maps published in commercial and government atlases. I use the term “unduly” not only in view of the higher readership of news maps but also because, given the immediacy and popularity of news journal publications, news maps frequently were the first cartographic medium to depict developing ideas of global geopolitics that only later became standard in commercial atlases, government publications, and by extension, the public mind. Alan K. Henrikson noted the importance of news journal maps in this regard (*italics added*):

“During the war, the avid interest of armchair generals called forth a spate of inexpensive but informative world atlases, many of them originating as supplements in *newspapers* and *magazines*...The maps and charts they produced are *documents of the first importance* in the intellectual history of the war and of postwar diplomacy.”<sup>12</sup>

He then cited Harrison as “foremost among these influential cartographers” through his maps appearing in *Fortune* and *Life* magazines. Henrikson not only highlighted the important role news journal cartography has played in shaping Air Age cartography, he also touched upon my quarrel with cartographic historians—their problematic (I submit, inappropriate) nomenclature of sources. While atlases, especially “historic” atlases such as Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, and more recently Erwin Raisz’s 1944 *Atlas of Global Geography*, are regularly cited as primary source examples of innovative cartography, modern news cartography as an incubator for Air Age atlas projections, and news journals in general, still generally suffer a neglected status.<sup>13</sup>

To better argue the qualitative value of news cartography as a primary historical source, I will detour around the specifics of Air Age projections already examined by Monmonier, Schulten, Henrikson, and others, and focus instead on contemporary but less developed exemplifications of news maps as vehicles for new geopolitical clarity. For example, American-made maps have traditionally disinclined to acknowledge anything resembling an American Empire—even though the nation has claimed the entire Western Hemisphere as its domain (with the Monroe Doctrine) since the early 1820s, and despite the nation’s expansive overseas colonies acquired as a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898. Here one could cite the numerous cartographic cartoons dating back to the Gilded Age found in the Granger Collection that depict the U.S.-controlled Western Hemisphere as simply a pragmatic barrier to European colonization. This collective denial of empire is partly due to a historical and enduring national self-labeling as an anti-imperial power dating from the American Revolution and independence from the British Empire. Maps depicting an expanding American presence overseas after the 1820s were careful to delineate the new American domain as un-imperial—as a safeguard against the destabilizing and undemocratic effects of a true overseas empire—a continuation of the hypocritical wording of the Monroe Doctrine itself. A rare exception to this would be *The Atlas of World Affairs*, published in 1946, which depicted a “United States Empire” extending from the Caribbean Ocean across the Pacific Rim.<sup>14</sup>

The first and most widely viewed examples of a historical and expanding American Empire on maps appeared not in any commercial atlas or government publication but in news journal maps published by *U.S. News and World Report* during the early years of World War II. In early April 1941, eight months before official American entry into the war, the Netherlands negotiated a deal with the United States to establish American military naval bases on the southern tip of Greenland to better protect Allied shipping against Nazi attacks in the North Atlantic.

That same week *U.S. News and World Report* published a map depicting an official extension of the Monroe Doctrine area eastward to now include Greenland (Figure 1).<sup>15</sup> The unknown mapmaker's employment of the Mercator projection ensured that an exaggerated representation of Greenland (also colored green) relayed an equally exaggerated sense of new American power in the North Atlantic. A martial quality to that power was symbolized by a large black warship and white airplane (both facing eastward) indicated at Godthaab along with the text "U.S. Defense Base?" A contemporary statement by Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle that "for the first time, the Monroe Doctrine has to be implemented militarily on a frontier" answered that question.<sup>16</sup> This early characterization of American military expansion outside the Western Hemisphere, and the new inclusion of Greenland in the American domain, presaged later Cold War era maps that characterized the American-led western capitalist "free world" against the communist world of the East.

Another example of a new geopolitical concept debuting in news journal maps is seen in the case of the Iron Curtain. Although the first cartographic depiction of that iconic barrier between the communist Soviet Union and capitalist Western Europe may be found on the front cover of P.E. Brusewitz's 1920 book titled *Bakom Rysslands Järnridå*, the first mapped depiction of it in the post World War II era—the period when the Iron Curtain caught on as an international concept—is found in the pages of *Time* magazine. It was Winston Churchill's "Sinews of Peace" speech, delivered in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946 that first popularized the term "Iron Curtain" as an imagined barrier between the Eastern Bloc of communist nations and the capitalist West. While Churchill's provocative rhetoric received negative criticism from more liberal voices on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, all major American weekly news journals (all politically conservative in ownership) quickly embraced the Iron Curtain both as a catchy, anti-communistic headline and as a powerful cartographic symbol of an increasingly polarized Cold War world.<sup>17</sup> Scarcely two weeks after Churchill's speech, *Time* magazine published the first known Cold War era map to feature the Iron Curtain.<sup>18</sup> (Figure 2) Designed by Robert M. Chapin, Jr., a former protégé of Richard Edes Harrison, the map's "airman's view" perspective and its unorthodox western orientation clearly displayed Harrison's influence.<sup>19</sup> Titled "Behind the Iron Curtain," Chapin's map dutifully configured the Iron Curtain as Churchill had recently described it, stretching "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic." Yet whereas Churchill's actual conception would theoretically follow a circuitous path along the westernmost national borders of the Soviet Bloc and include the Soviet-controlled zones of Germany (including Berlin)

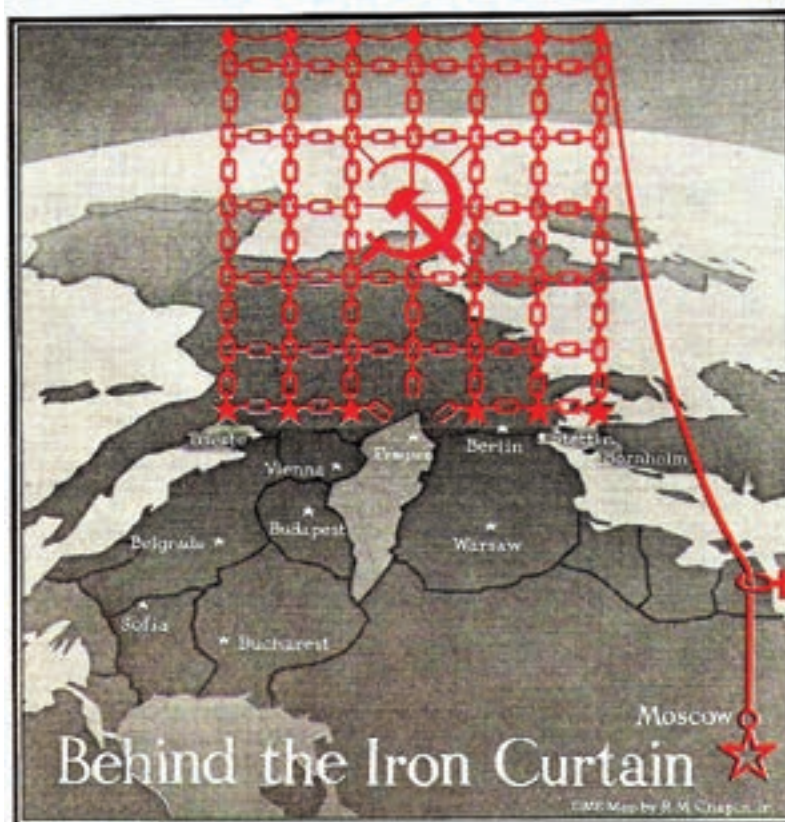
and Austria (including Vienna), Chapin's barrier was an oversimplified straight line between the two endpoint cities, misrepresenting Churchill's intent. As a result, most of the Soviet zone of Germany and a large section of Soviet-controlled Czechoslovakia were now erroneously located on the capitalist side of the Iron Curtain. Moreover, the actual location of Berlin, if depicted accurately on Chapin's map, would have also appeared in the capitalist West. To remedy this, Chapin relocated the city 50 miles eastward—now on the Polish border—so that it appeared behind the Iron Curtain as Churchill had described it. Apparently, Chapin chose to sacrifice cartographic accuracy for propagandistic appeal. His stylized Iron Curtain, imagined as a massive chain-linked barrier tethered in Moscow and colored a menacing red, ran straight across Europe as a powerful symbol of the new Soviet threat.

Reinhartz's labeling of "ephemeral maps," a term derived equally from their temporary status and their cheaply made, high volume production, obscures a unique and long-term source quality of news maps available to historians. Given the serial nature of news journal publications, news maps offer historians a *progressive* visual record of how established geopolitical concepts changed over time, sometimes on a week-to-week basis, in a way not available in the vaunted study of historical atlases. News cartographers usually were (and are) the first agents to re-package geopolitical imagery for public consumption in light of unfolding international events. To continue the case of the Iron Curtain, after the barrier was established as a symbol of a new Cold War bipolarity in early 1946, its representation on news maps changed rapidly and significantly as Cold War tensions rose. Later that year the *New York Times* printed an article summarizing the results of the first popular elections held in Europe since the end of World War II. The June 9 article included an anonymous map, titled "How the Communist Vote has Varied in Europe's Elections," which depicted the continent bisected by a vertical wall labeled "The 'Iron Curtain'."<sup>20</sup> (Figure 3) On this map, unlike Chapin's map, the Iron Curtain followed national borders as Churchill's had visualized. But unlike Churchill's concept, the *Times* map was careful to place the "U.S.S.R" zones of Germany and Austria outside (or west of) the Soviet Bloc. While the map's accompanying article did not discuss the Iron Curtain specifically, a lingering post-war American optimism for Allied cooperation coupled with a fleeting popular isolationism may account for the map's downplaying of Soviet intentions in Germany and Austria. In short, most Americans were not yet convinced to answer Churchill's call to arms against the new Soviet threat in far off Europe. The American Congress was still unconvinced as well, as they continued debating the merits of a massive loan to England to help fight the communist threat in the British-controlled areas of Greece and Iran.<sup>21</sup>





Figure 1. A 1941 U.S. News and World Report map showing an expanding national military presence overseas.



**Figure 2.** An early *Time* map depicting the Iron Curtain, published in March 1946 just two weeks after Winston Churchill's "Sinews of Peace" speech.

Further evidence of a less alarmist American take on early Cold War Europe is apparent in how the *Times* mapmaker chose to represent the election results. Whereas Churchill had described Eastern and Central Europe as having fallen completely to communism—that is, a completely polarized continent whereby all Soviet-controlled regions were by occupation wholly communist—the *Times* map instead depicted Europe as a political gradation, five layers deep, of communist influence based on Communist Party popularity in the recent elections.

The following year and a half saw a heating up of Cold War tensions in the Middle East, Europe, and specifically in Germany. The continued intransigence of Soviet troops in Iran threatened the future availability of oil to the West. The first communist governments were installed in Eastern Europe. The "containment" of communism advocated by U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union George F. Kennan in his "Long Telegram" of February 1946 was beginning to take root. Newly conceived American Marshall Plan aid to Western Europe (Stalin denied it to Eastern Europe) promised further polarization of the continent by 1948 when

funding would begin. And in Germany, the 1946 popular election rejection of communism in the Soviet zone coupled with moves to combine the western capitalist zones occupied by the U.S., England and France foreshadowed the Berlin Blockade of 1948–1949. In early November 1947, the *New York Times* again published a map of Cold War Europe featuring the Iron Curtain, but by this time the American mood had changed.<sup>22</sup> (Figure 4) With its telling title, "The Split In Europe Between East And West," and using the same base map employed in its previous 1946 map, the November map's depiction of the Iron Curtain described an ominous advance of Soviet influence westward since mid 1946. The Iron Curtain had migrated! Now the Soviet zones of Germany and Austria were located firmly within the "Areas Under Russian Control." And gone was the five-grade portrayal of communist influence on the continent. European geopolitics was now reduced to three classifications (not counting North Africa and neutral Spain): the Soviet Union, its Eastern European satellites including the aforementioned zones in Germany and Austria, and the western "Countries in the Marshall Plan."





**Figure 4.** A November 1947 *New York Times* map depicting a more polarized Europe and a westward migrating Iron Curtain.

journals was, of course, a continuation of world mapping that extended back to the European *mappae mundi*, or *mappaemundi* (world maps) of the medieval period. Yet no modern cartographic historians, even those few who have discussed journalistic cartography, have dared to label modern news maps of the world as “journalistic *mappae mundi*” (*mappe mundi ephemerides?*). Here we return to an issue of nomenclature. The very fact that the term *mappae mundi* has been reserved for medieval era maps of the world itself reveals yet another traditional academic bias against modern maps in general, and specifically against modern news journal maps. According to noted cartographic historian Jeremy Black, *mappae mundi* are characterized by their conveyance of “historical and other

information in a geographical framework” and their “medieval narrative pictures that present events that occurred at different moments in the same scene.”<sup>23</sup> Quoting George H. T. Kimble’s 1938 study, titled *Geography in the Middle Ages*, John Noble Wilford agreed that modern maps stand apart from *mappae mundi* in the following way:

“[I]t is probably true to say that the great majority of these *mappaemundi* are to be regarded as works of art and not information. Their authors were creating something very different from the modern cartographic sheet that stands on its own merits as an essentially utilitarian document, scientific in its construction. They would have branded any man

a fool who might have supposed that he could determine the distance from London to Jerusalem by putting a ruler across a map."<sup>24</sup>

Wilford and others have also noted that the Latin term *mappae*, as it describes the cloth material used to construct medieval maps, has traditionally limited the term *mappae mundi* to that period. But he later acknowledged that "the term came to apply to any map of the world." But has it? Any academic resistance to my coining of the phrase "journalistic *mappae mundi*" is probably founded on Kimble's 1938 assumption, still held by modern cartographic historians, that all modern maps are "utilitarian document[s]" that are "scientific in [their] construction." But is this inelaborate characterization true of Air Age news journal maps?<sup>25</sup>

Even a cursory examination of Air Age news maps reveals that almost none of them were utilitarian in purpose. The Air Age cartographic trend of discarding the Mercator projection in favor of azimuthal (or zenithal) projections alone rendered impossible any use of them for traditional straight line navigation. Or to paraphrase Kimble, Air Age map projections rendered any man a fool who might suppose he could determine the distance from London to Jerusalem by putting a ruler across an azimuthal map. And while Air Age azimuthal news maps did allow for the mapping of straight line air travel in higher latitudes not afforded by Mercator projections, that was not their primary purpose, they were most often employed as *unscientific* propaganda tools for warning Americans of the closeness of Nazis during World War II, and later of the Soviets in the Cold War, or as commercial tools for promoting air travel and American trade abroad. In other words, Air Age news journal maps highlighted the shrinking of the globe as either a war threat or a commercial opportunity—both jingoistic uses that fell far short of objective science. And to return to Black's characterization of *mappae mundi* as conveyors of "historical and other information in a geographical framework" and "medieval narrative[s] [of] pictures that present events that occurred at different moments in the same scene," one need only remove the word "medieval" to accurately describe most Air Age news maps. Rare were such maps that did not summarize a history of Axis belligerence, Allied military victory, communist aggression, or postwar commercial airline or trade expansion.<sup>26</sup>

Critics of the term "journalistic *mappae mundi*" may also cringe at the association of those tediously hand-made, unique and costly medieval maps with the polished, mass produced and cheaply bought news maps of the Air Age. This argument was finely made in C. Koeman's 1975 criticism of twentieth century mapmaking techniques found in David Woodward's edited work, titled *Five Centuries of Map Printing*, which argued that the development of modern

multi-color offset printing, celluloid and acetate layering, strip-masking methods for creating color gradients, prefabricated lettering and icons, and photocomposition have "lower[ed] the standard of map drawing" and caused "the decline of cartography." But Koeman's summary judgment that in the resulting era of "automated cartography... there [is] little room for human aspects of the mapmaker's craft" betrays a traditional bias against new mapmaking techniques that is already changing.<sup>27</sup> Koeman's critique is reminiscent of the negative reviews by traditional art critics of works by Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Jasper Johns and other 1960s "pop artists" who sought to minimize the hand of the artist in their innovatively sleek, commercial and cheaply reproduced painting prints. Yet few art critics would deny the legitimacy of the pop art movement today. Similarly, a visitor to *Time* magazine's graphic design offices in New York City will find a carefully curated collection of post-World War II era prefabricated icons, acetate layers and base maps that, although they were indeed repeatedly recycled for over two decades, are valued by modern computerized mapmakers for their old school, *hand-crafted* appearance. Whatever traditional craftsmanship was lost in Koeman's "second revolution" in cartography (the "first revolution" was the advent of photography in the mid-1800s) was more than made up for with innovative Air Age projections, stylistic iconography, provocative lettering and coloring, and popular appeal. And of course, to devalue these modern mapmaking techniques is to devalue the works of Harrison himself and those who were influenced by him.

Journalistic *mappae mundi* published in the early years of the Cold War chronicled an awareness that the post-World War II multilateral world dominated by the Five Policemen of the United Nations (the United States, England, France, the Soviet Union and China) was surely evolving into a bipolar Cold War world where the United States and its capitalist allies squared off against the Soviet Union, its communist satellites, and other communist nations that arose over time. These maps illuminated an inexorable process of geopolitical change that progressed from a postwar multilateral world from which the United States was more than willing to retreat, to a bipolar Cold War world where the nation led the entire capitalist world.

Walter Lippmann's wartime speculation of postwar global power, represented with a map published in *Newsweek* in July 1944, characterized the then popular American desire for a multilateral peaceful world where the United States would have a reduced profile.<sup>28</sup> (Figure 5) His "five worlds" was dominated by the "Atlantic Community" comprising the Americas, Africa, Western Europe, Australia and selected South Pacific islands. The idea of five geopolitical worlds in journalistic *mappae mundae* lasted at least until early 1947 albeit in

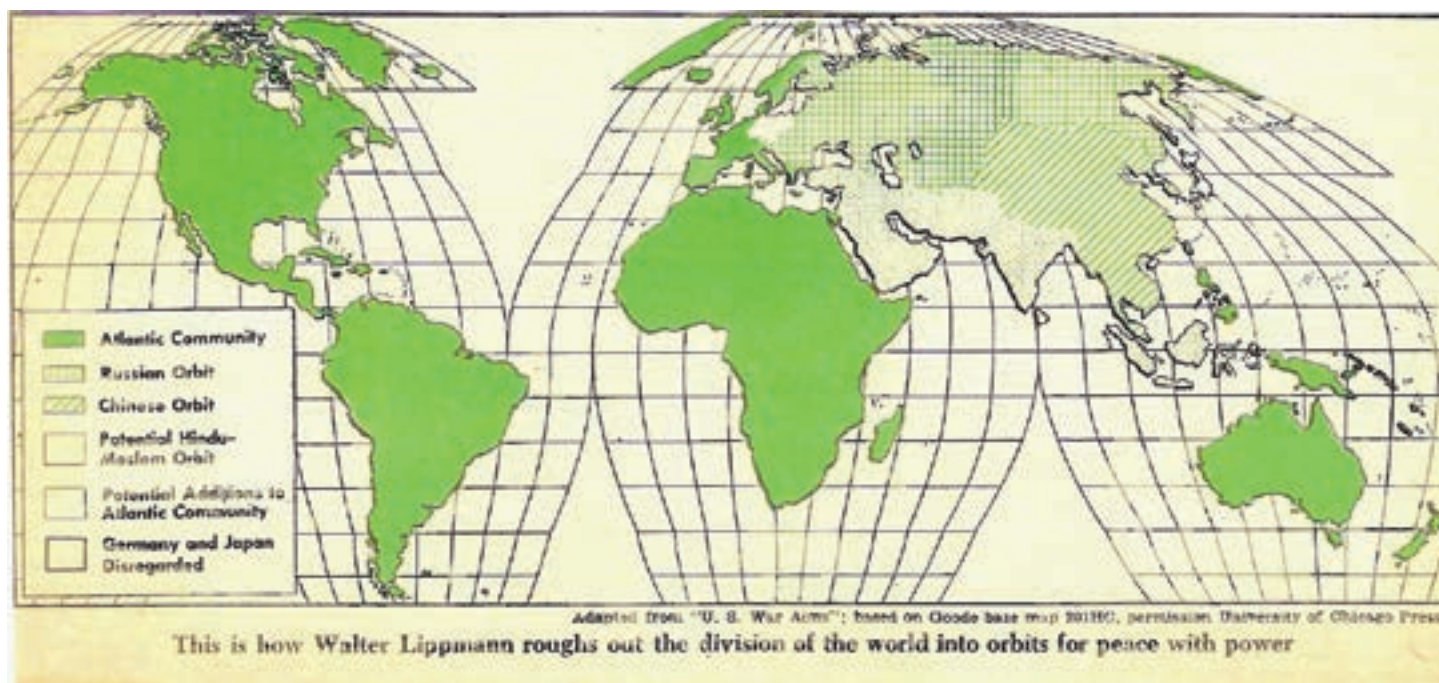


Figure 5. 1944 Map by Walter Lippmann.

different forms. In March of that year, a map published by the *New York Times* saw the "world map" divided between "spheres of influence" controlled by the United States, Russia, France, England and the Netherlands.<sup>29</sup> (Figure 6).

Exactly two weeks later the *New York Times* published another world map with a far more interventionist and less multilateral feel. (Figure 7) Unlike earlier maps which had positioned the United States to the periphery or omitted it altogether, this map centered on Washington, D.C. and connected the national capital via ten enumerated horizontal lines to "areas of importance for the U.S." in the western Pacific Rim, Europe and the Middle East. Moreover, the world was now reduced to three "spheres of influence"—Russian, American and British. The centrality and interconnectedness of the U.S. graphically supported the map's title—"As We Move Into A Larger Role In World Affairs." Meanwhile, the relegation of the French Empire to an unnamed bloc including Central and South America and China laid bare a direction toward power politics distilled greatly from the "Five Policemen" concept popularized through the United Nations. The shift toward Cold War bipolarity on maps had begun.

Despite the obvious contribution of news journal maps to our grasp of history, I unfortunately do not expect even cartographic historians to embrace them in the near

future for what may be considered an abstruse reason—they are not *collectible*. These maps are a unique victim in their "ephemeral" grouping unlike cartographic stamps, postcards, and cartoons which have all been examined, albeit rarely, by academics and enthusiasts in *The Map Collector*.<sup>30</sup> There are no framed news journal maps gracing anyone's walls. People do not cut out maps as they often do colorful advertisements and photos from 1940s and 1950s news journals. And no one is debating the commercial value of journalistic *mappae mundi*. As a result, cartographic journals including *Cartographica*, *Imago Mundi*, *Mercator's World*, *Terrae Incognitae*, *The Portolan*, and (with no lost irony) *The Map Collector* and the *Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society* have, either by design or experience, focused on rare and collectible maps and atlases from the Age of Exploration. Meanwhile, the most widely read journalistic works of Richard Edes Harrison and other Air Age cartographers are rapidly being degraded from hardcopy form, sometimes losing color and image quality altogether, as libraries continue to digitize older journals. The potential loss of these news maps brings to mind German cartographer Johann Georg Kohl's 1856 prescient appeal to the Smithsonian Institution for creating a National Map Archive. As summarized by Schulten, Kohl argued that maps as "documents were valued only so long as they were *current*. Once outdated, they were either discarded or hidden...[italics original]" for security



Figure 6. The last known journalistic map to portray five spheres of influence, published in the *New York Times* in March 1947.

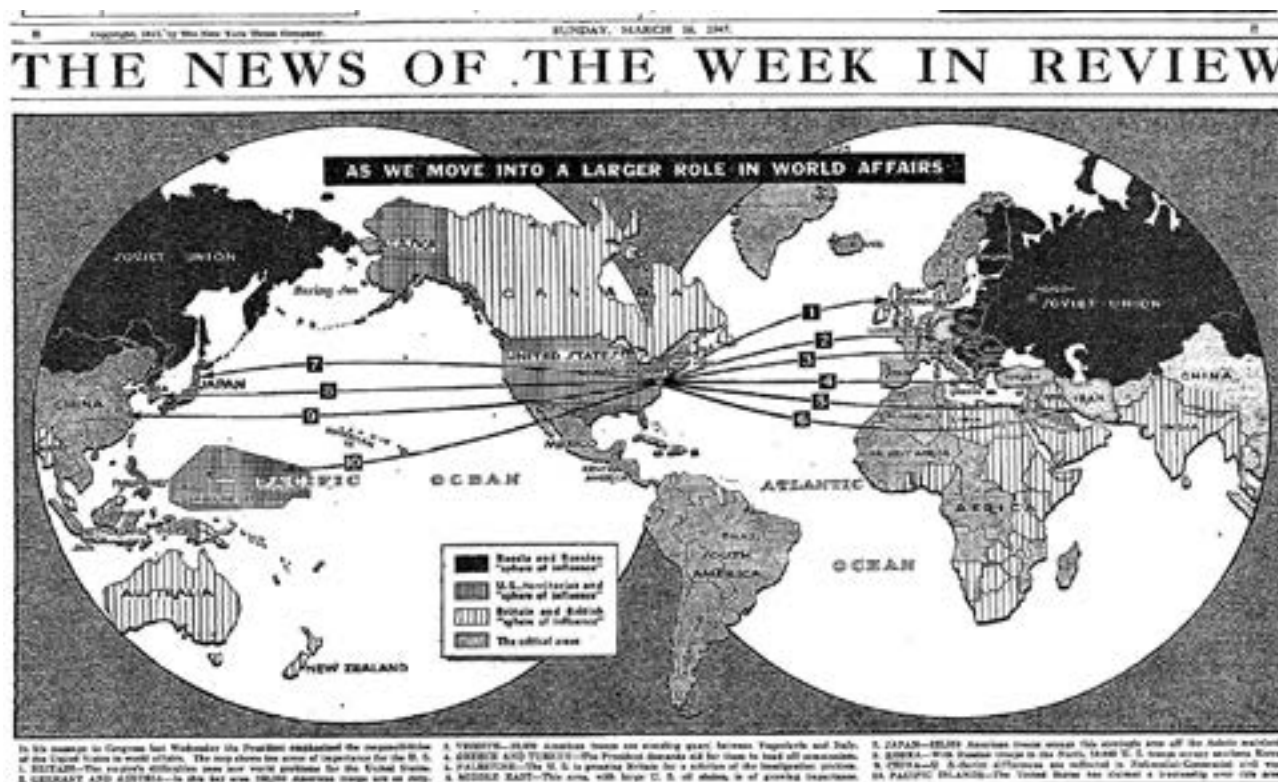


Figure 7. *New York Times* map, 1947.

reasons.<sup>31</sup> While the argument for a national archive of news maps is not being made here, Kohl's effort to raise maps "to the dignity of historical documents" presages this essay's campaign to recognize Air Age news journal cartography as a historical source.

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WMS member Jeffrey P. Stone holds a PhD in Transatlantic History from the University of Texas at Arlington and specializes in the history of cartography. His study, *Mapping the "Red Menace": British and American News Maps in the Early Cold War Period, 1945–1955*, won the 2008 Wolfskill Prize for outstanding dissertation. He has published articles in *The History of Cartography series*, the *Encyclopedia of Transatlantic Relations*, the journal *Kansas History*, and the online journal *Geschichte Transnational*. He currently teaches history at Texas Wesleyan University in Fort Worth, Texas. : All images are courtesy of the author.

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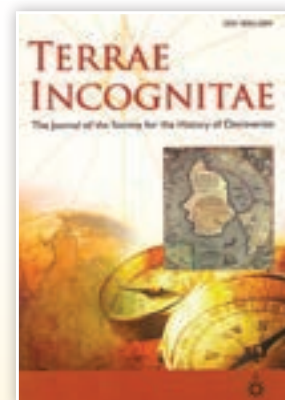
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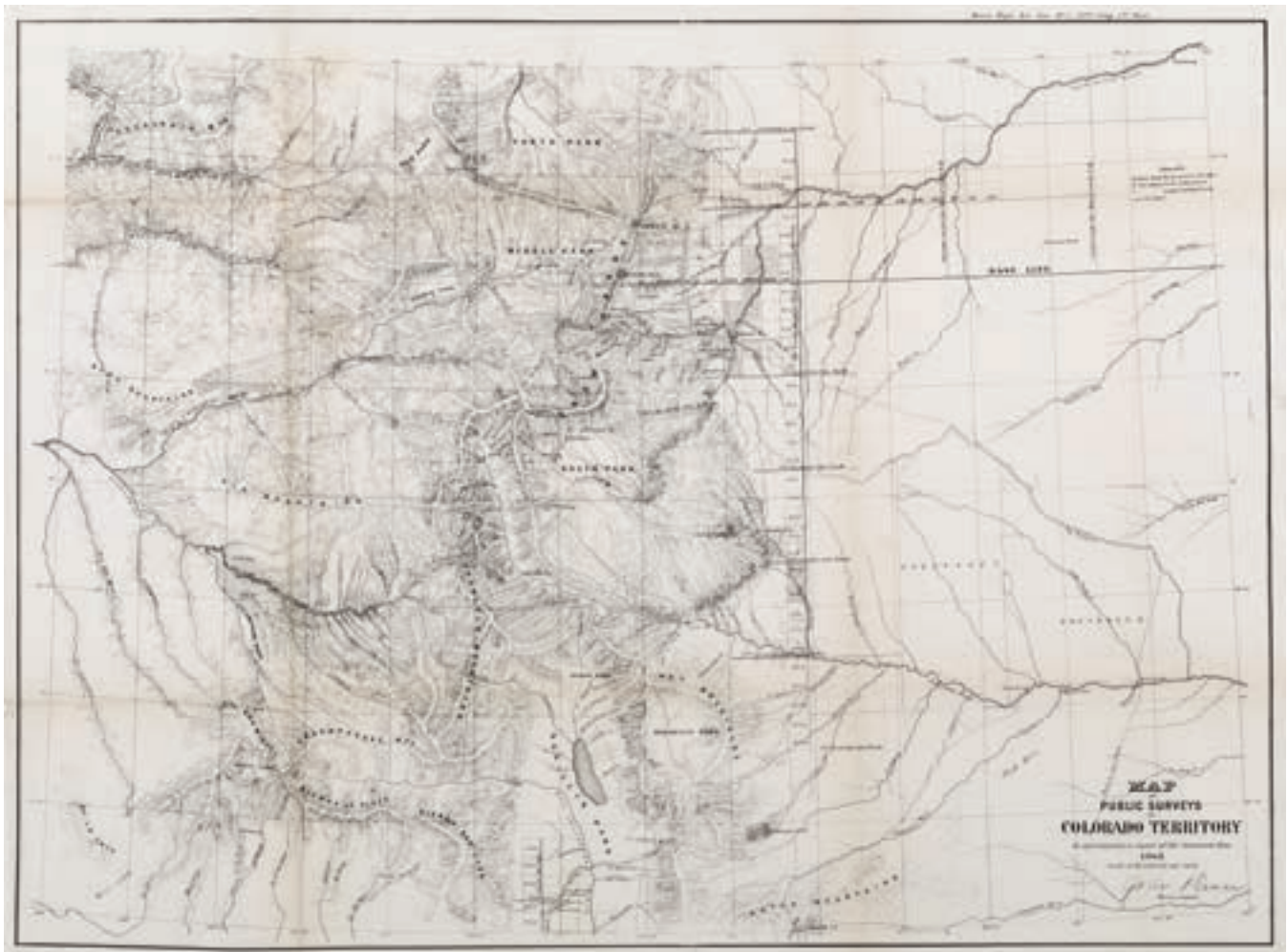
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# A Mystery Lake in Southern Colorado

by Wesley A. Brown

On the General Land Office map of Colorado for the year 1863, commonly known as the third territorial map, a large lake is shown in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado. (Image 1). At 21 miles long by 6 miles wide, the lake is gargantuan compared with Grand Lake, Colorado's largest natural lake, which

measures a mere 1.5 miles by .75 miles. (Image 2). From this date onward, many maps, although not all, show the monster. By the 1880's, the huge lake had disappeared; in its place are small ponds like those shown on modern maps. How did the great San Luis Lake come to appear on the map? Was it a mirage or could it have been a massive



**Image 1.** *Map of Public Surveys in Colorado Territory*, General Land Office, John Pierce, Surveyor General Colorado Territory, 1863, House Repts. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 38<sup>th</sup> Cong. 1<sup>st</sup> Sess.

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**Image 2.** (Detail) *Map of Public Surveys in Colorado Territory*, General Land Office, John Pierce, Surveyor General Colorado Territory, 1863, House Reps. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 38<sup>th</sup> Cong. 1<sup>st</sup> Sess.

body of water now much reduced? This paper attempts to answer these questions.

Let us begin with a description of the area as we know it today. (**Image 3**). The San Luis Valley is surrounded by several mountain ranges, the two most imposing being the Sangre de Cristo range to the north and east and the San Juans to the west. Between all the mountain ranges is the largest park in the state, a flat opening in the mountains

running at its greatest extension 80 miles north from the New Mexico border and up to 40 miles wide. Our focus is on the northern portion of the valley.

In the late Tertiary, great convulsions and folds created the mountains; sometime later, downward thrusts formed a vast interior void that was filled with an ancient lake; the evidence can be seen as the Great Sand Dunes National Park. Over eons, the sediment from the surrounding



**Image 3.** *Colorado*, U.S. Geological Survey, 2000.



**Image 4.** (Detail) *Colorado, U.S. Geological Survey, 2000.*

mountains filled the valley, so that today it is extremely level. (Image 4). The northern half of the valley forms a closed basin with its lowest point at San Luis Lake, Head Lake, and several small ponds. The valley is very arid for Colorado, with average rainfall between 6 and 10 inches per year. However, the mountains that surround the valley gather considerable precipitation that descends in numerous streams. In an unusual phenomenon, these strong flows from the upper reaches “disappear” into the porous sandy alluvium in the valley; the streams simply seem to vanish. Here standing groundwater a few inches in depth is common, resulting in large marshes. Water not only stands on the surface but is found below. At shallow depths, there are impermeable sediments under which exist significant water reservoirs, now tapped by many artesian wells.

Let us focus our attention on how the valley was mapped in the nineteenth century. The earliest detailed mapping of the San Luis Valley was by Captain John W. Gunnison of the Topographical Engineers in 1855. His map shows many streams from the north and east flowing down from the mountains and disappearing in the valley which has no lakes at all. The renowned map drawn by Baron F.W. Von Egloffstein to illustrate the careful surveys of Captain John N. Macomb in 1860 shows a similar view. (Image 5).

In 1861, shortly after signing legislation to form the Colorado Territory, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Francis Case to serve as Colorado’s first surveyor general. Case produced the first map of the territory by November of the same year. (Image 6). This map shows streams descending into the upper San Luis Valley, little tufts that may

represent marshes, and the legend Bay of San Luis. When Case created his second territorial map on September 1, 1862, he removed the reference to the Bay of San Luis and reverted to the “empty” valley image of the earlier period. In 1863, the work of the new surveyor general, John Pierce, was published, and it introduced the monster San Luis Lake. (Image 2) This new portrayal, containing the giant lake, was reproduced in the next General Land Office Map of Colorado, issued in 1866. (Image 7). A comparison of this close-up image with that of a modern Google Earth Satellite close-up image (Image 8). of the same area and scale reveals how enormous the lake shown in the General Land Office map is compared with its actual size today.

During the next few years, the huge lake appeared on several works by commercial mapmakers, including the map by J.H. Bonsall and E.H. Kellogg from 1872. (Image 9). And why not? The monster lake appeared on no less an authority than the official government map of Colorado. Frank H. Gray shows the monster in his popular atlas of 1873. H. L. Thayer shows the huge lake in his 1871 map of Colorado. However, New York publisher J.H. Colton must have had doubts about the size of the lake because his map of 1871 shows three smaller lakes in a large marshy area; the largest of the three is only 7 miles across (down from 21 miles in 1863). Even so, it was still an exaggeration of today’s lake, which is slightly less than 1 mile across.

How did the giant lake first appear on the third territorial map of 1863? While doing research in the Library of Congress, I happened across two versions of Frederick



**Image 5.** *Map of exploration and Surveys in New Mexico and Utah, Captain J. N. Macomb, 1860. Drawn by Baron F.W. Von Egloffstein.*



Ebert's map of Colorado printed by Jacob Monk in 1862. The published map, the first detailed one of Colorado, shows no San Luis Lake. (Image 10). Also in the library was a second copy of the map with many hand-written additions of towns. (Image 11). This map, which had nail holes in the corners, was used by the early Post Office in the 1860's to record routes and new post offices. It was deposited by the Post Office into the Library of Congress on July 5, 1900. On it, various streams flowing from the mountains are shown in print vanishing into the center of the San Luis Valley and then are extended in ink by hand to empty into a giant hand-drawn lake. When I compared this map with the third territorial map, I noted a remarkable resemblance. (Image 12). Because the office of the Surveyor General and the Post Office were both at 14th and Larimer streets in Denver and very possibly in the same building, it seems reasonable to assume that John Pierce consulted the Post Office's manuscript (Image 11). for up-to-date information and lifted the new aquatic feature. I believe that the manuscript emendations made on the Post Office map in late 1862 or early 1863 were the source of the grandest of Colorado lakes. The

widely distributed 1863 General Land Office map (Image 12) that showed the mythical lake became the model for many other map-makers.<sup>1</sup>

How might rainfall relate to the mystery? There are over 100 precipitation measuring stations in Colorado, but only one has records from the period in question. The records from Fort Garland, situated a few miles southeast of the mythical lake, show an unusual period of annual precipitation: between 11 and 14 inches in each of the six years from 1854 to 1859. This rainfall is almost double the normal, and such high figures for more than even two years in a row have not appeared since. After six years of excessive precipitation, could the unusually flat basin in the upper San Luis Valley have filled to a sufficient depth to give the impression of lake water? Might a spectator looking west from Mosca Pass on the Sangre de Cristo range have observed the reflection of the setting sun on the broad marshlands below and formed the impression of a giant lake, which he subsequently placed on the Post Office map?

In the 1870s, a period of great governmental surveys across the West, high standards were the norm. Three of



**Image 9.** (Detail) *Map of Colorado with Plans of its Principal Towns*, J.H. Bonsall and E.H. Kellogg, 1872.



**Image 10.** (Detail) *Map of Colorado Territory, Embracing the Central Gold Region*. Drawn by Frederick J. Ebert under direction of Governor William Gilpin. Published by Jacob Monk, Philadelphia, 1862.



**Image 11.** (Detail) *Map of Colorado Territory, Embracing the Central Gold Region*. Drawn by Frederick J. Ebert under direction of Governor William Gilpin. Published by Jacob Monk, Philadelphia, 1862. With extensive manuscript additions deposited into the Library of Congress by the U.S. Post Office on July 5, 1900.



**Image 12.** (Detail) *Map of Public Surveys in Colorado Territory*, General Land Office, John Pierce, Surveyor General Colorado Territory, 1863, House Reps. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 38<sup>th</sup> Cong. 1<sup>st</sup> Sess.

these surveys covered the San Luis Valley, and they all fail to show evidence of the giant lake. First Lieutenant E. H. Ruffner's survey of the south-central mountains of Colorado published in 1873 shows only marshy land with tiny lakes. (Image 13). First Lieutenant George M. Wheeler's survey sheet 61(D), issued in 1878, shows an image much like that on the modern map. Finally, the Hayden Survey (Image 14). of Colorado published in 1877 shows a similar modern view. After the release of these surveys, maps begin to change and by 1880, when high volumes of Colorado maps began to be printed by the likes of Louis Nell, G.F. Cram, and Rand McNally, the San Luis Lakes take their modern small form and the giant lake is seldom seen.

We cannot leave this story without evaluating the role that Colorado's first governor William Gilpin might have had in the mythical lake (Image 15). The

West Point graduate had distinguished himself on Lieutenant John Frémont's 1853 expedition to survey the South Pass route across the Rockies and as a major during the Mexican-American War. He was a renowned orator and writer, who used maps to illustrate his belief that Colorado's natural attributes would spur many across the nation to flock to Denver, which would then become a principal transportation hub. His knowledge of the terrain and fervent belief in its potential in concert with pre-Civil War politics prompted President Lincoln to appoint Gilpin as Colorado's first governor. Yet, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported in 1862 that Gilpin was not much of a scientist or scholar "but simply a man who drew beautiful maps and had a large vocabulary."<sup>2</sup>

When Gilpin examined Ebert's draft of his great territorial map created "Under direction of the Governor



**Image 13.** (Detail) Preliminary Map of the Surveys in Colorado made on Reconnaissance in the Ute Country, First Lieut. E.H. Ruffner, Chief Engineer Department of the Missouri, by Assistant H.G. Prout C.E., 1873.



**Image 14.** (Detail) *Southern Central Colorado and Part of New Mexico*, from *Geological and Geographical Atlas of Colorado*, F.V. Hayden, 1877.

William Gilpin," the huge lake was not present and Gilpin probably did not care.<sup>3</sup> His view, however, was about to change. Gilpin, who fell in love with the valley in 1844, had secured an option for 100,000 acres of land in the upper San Luis Valley shortly before leaving office. By early 1863, he had secured options on five-sixths of the ownership of the Sangre de Cristo estate, a Mexican land grant of one million acres just southeast of the mystery lake. The publication of the 1863 General Land Office map showing the huge San Luis Lake near his property must have been a boon. His principal activity in the years that followed was raising money to pay for and then selling off interests in this massive property including partnering with English promoter William Blackmore, who produced the splendid promotional book *Colorado: Its Resources, Parks and Prospects* in 1869.<sup>4</sup> Thus Gilpin, with vast land holdings adjacent to the mythical lake, had a great incentive to believe in its existence.

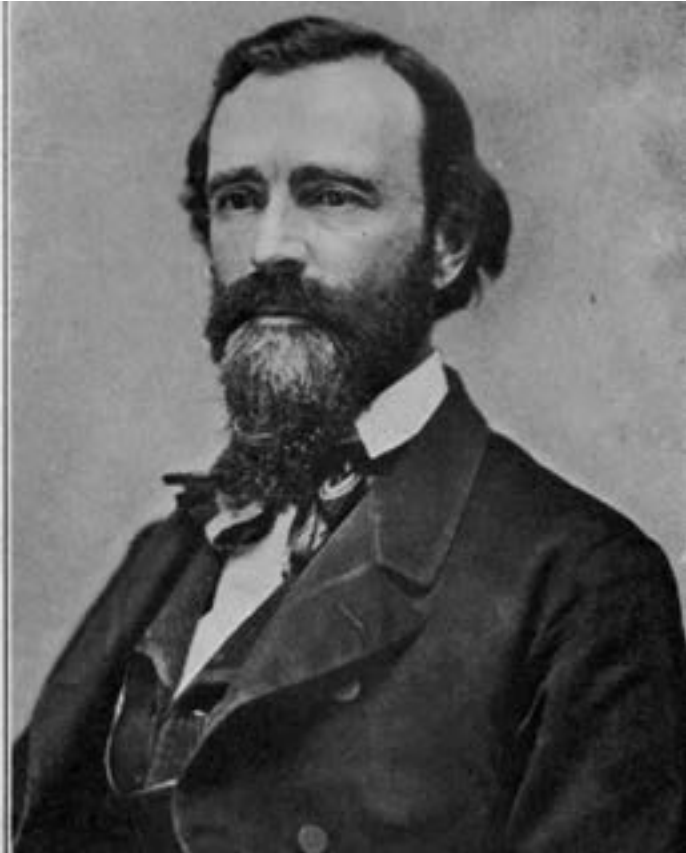
The first written account I uncovered describing the enormous lake comes from a published writing of Governor

Gilpin on July 5, 1866.<sup>5</sup> Gilpin reports, "The San Luis Lake, extending south from the point of the foothills, occupies the centre of the park for 60 miles, forming a bowl without any outlet to its waters....The confluent streams thus converging into the San Luis Lake are thus 19 in number."<sup>6</sup> Gilpin's huge San Luis Lake would appear on several of his maps during the period through 1874. My favorite, published in the *Colorado Chieftain* newspaper in 1870 and pictured here, is typical of Gilpin's conception of the mighty body of water.<sup>7</sup> (Image 16). Perhaps we have Governor Gilpin to thank for a fascinating mythical lake that lingered on maps years after government surveyors had removed it from official reports.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WMS member **Wes Brown** co-founded the Rocky Mountain Map Society in 1981. He has been an avid map collector for 40 years specializing in early world maps and maps of the exploration and development of Colorado and the west. He resides in Denver, Colorado and uses topo maps weekly as a Field Active member of Alpine Rescue Team.





**Image 15.** William Gilpin (1813–1894). First Governor of the Territory of Colorado, in office 1861–1862. Source: Denver Public Library.



**Image 16.** (Detail) *Map of the San Luis Parc "Colorado Territory" and Northern Portion of New Mexico.* 1870<sup>7</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Many other topographical features first shown on the published Ebert map are also reproduced on the third territorial map further supporting the belief that John Pierce used the Ebert map as a source document.
- 2 Thomas L. Karnes. *William Gilpin, Western Nationalist*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1969, p. 300.
- 3 The map must have been completed very early in 1862 if not late 1861 because it was published "Under the direction of Governor William Gilpin" who was removed from office in April 1862.
- 4 Although the 1865 and 1866 editions of the 1862 Ebert map did not show the great San Luis Lake, it suddenly appeared on the 1869 reprinting of the 1862 map showing the properties for sale in the Blackmore promotional book associated with Gilpin.
- 5 Another reference to the huge lake in Blackmore, 1869, is a reprint of an undated essay by Edward Bliss in *Gold Fields of Colorado* (date unknown), which is

probably a summary of Gilpin's account. He reports, "Near the centre of the park is the Sahwatch, or San Luis Lake, a body of water some 60 miles in extent, into which flow nineteen streams. This lake has no visible outlet, but is supposed to discharge its surplus water through subterranean channels." During his career, Bliss (1822–1877) was an editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, and wrote several essays promoting the mineral wealth of Colorado.

- 6 In *The Parks of Colorado*. p.1, William Gilpin, signed "San Luis di Calebra, July 5, 1866," held in the Denver Public Library. This may be a reprinting of an earlier writing by Gilpin.
- 7 *Map of the San Luis Parc of Colorado Territory and Northern Portion of New Mexico*. Printed on verso of "Supplement to the *Colorado Chieftain*. Pueblo, Colorado, May 19, 1870" by Governor William Gilpin.





## ICHC 2017 in Belo Horizonte – An After-Action Report

By Bert Johnson, et al.<sup>1</sup>

There were twelve Washington Map Society (WMS) members among the 156 registrants at the 27<sup>th</sup> International Conference on the History of Cartography (ICHC) 9–14 July 2017. The event was held in the Cultural Centre of the Minas Tennis Club in Belo Horizonte (BH), Minas Gerais Province, Brazil. The center has a very modern, well equipped auditorium with room for 600 people, and two smaller halls, each with space for 60 persons. Six WMS members traveled from the United States, one from Canada, four from Europe, and one from Australia. Several WMS members who usually attend ICHC were absent for various reasons. Nonetheless, six WMS members gave papers; one chaired a session; one took part in a panel discussion; one briefed the conference on the History of Cartography Project's progress. Four members shared their experiences for this report.<sup>1</sup> (Verbatim comments are placed in italics.)

Conferees from 33 nations attended this ICHC. Patterns of attendance were slightly different from those conferences held in Europe. As often happens, the bulk of the conferees came from the host nation Brazil (46), the US (30), and the UK (12). A majority (93) were from the Americas: Argentina (3), Brazil (46), Canada (2), Chile (2), Columbia (3), Ecuador (1), Mexico (3), and the USA (30). Most other attendees were European, plus six from Asia, three from Africa, and two from the Antipodes.

The organizer of ICHC 2017 was a committee of Brazilian scholars led by Dr. Junia Ferreira Furtado, Professor of Modern History, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG). Other members were Thais Pimentel, Professor of Brazilian History, UFMG; Rene Lommez, Professor of Museology, UFMG; Maria do Carmo Andrade Gomes, History Researcher, Fundação João Pinheiro; Iris Kantor, Professor of Modern History, Universidade de São Paulo; and Andrea Dore, Professor of Modern History, Universidade Federal do Paraná. This group worked in collaboration with Imago Mundi, Ltd.

Sponsors of the conference included the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG); the UFMG Graduate History Program; the Minas Gerais' Institute for Historical and Artistic Heritage (IEPHA); Liberty Square—Cultural Circuit of Arts and Knowledge; the State of Minas Gerais Government; the Cultural Municipal Foundation of the Belo Horizonte Town Hall; the City of Belo Horizonte Public Archives; Pampulha Modern Set; and the Minas Tennis Club Cultural Space.

The overall impression ICHC 2017 made on participants were varied but positive. **Manuel Knight:** *well organized in a very attractive, well-chosen venue.* **Kris Butler:** *the sheer force of the woman that is Junia Furtado, who seemed to make everything work by the strength of her will alone.* **Mirela Altić:** *overall a good and useful experience, professionally and socially.* **John Docktor:** *well organized.*

Asked to name one aspect of the conference they particularly enjoyed, some respondents had difficulty narrowing it down. **Kris Butler:** *(1) unexpectedly falling in love with Belo Horizonte; (2) the camaraderie of the attendees; (3) one other to be addressed at the end of this article.* **Manuel Knight:** *the focus on the exploration and settlement of South America...much content relating to...facets of conquest and empire-building.* **John Docktor:** *Junia Furtado's leadership.*

The theme of ICHC 27 was *The Cartographic Challenge of the New* and five specific foci were identified.

- *Mapping Practices in New Worlds*
- *Mapping Cities: Recording Growth or Creating Vision*
- *Indigenous Mapping*
- *Mapping Nationhood*

<sup>1</sup> WMS attendees were Mirela Altić\*, Kris Butler\*, Ed Dahl, John Docktor\*, Matthew Edney\*, Robert King, Manuel Knight\*, Benjamin Olshin, Katherine Parker, Dan Shelley, Catherine Delano Smith, and Petra Svatek. Asterisk indicates those who shared their views for this article.

- *Mapping Natural Resources*
- and any other aspect of the history of cartography.

ICHC 2017 offered 79 papers in 24 sessions of three or four papers each, the largest number in over a decade. This was achieved by holding 14 simultaneous sessions in two of the facility's rooms. This forced the conferee to choose between competing sessions on seven occasions. While this is not an uncommon practice at academic conferences, it always gives rise to mixed feelings. "Inevitably most attendees will face at least one point where they can attend only one of two sessions, both of which they want to hear. This causes a certain amount of vexation, but attendees also realize that without the double sessions, there would have been significantly fewer papers to be heard.

As in past ICHCs, young inexperienced speakers were cited as a source of problems. Many spoke too fast to be understood, did not know how to use a microphone, and tried to pack too much information into the allotted time. Those who failed to finish on time sometimes ignored the signal to stop, throwing the schedule into disarray. This is not a new problem, but the number of young, inexperienced speakers at this ICHC may have magnified it.

As always, exhibits were a large part of this ICHC. The first was *Mapping Brazil*, which had three parts: *Experience and Fantasy* featured maps from Portuguese and Brazilian institutions that depicted the nation's evolution from colony to republic. *Mapping, Painting and Delineating Minas Gerais* did the same for Belo's home province, which was one of the last areas of Brazil settled due to its rugged nature. *Seeding Utopias—Maps of the Planned Brazilian Colonial Cities* focused on urban Luso-Brazilian cartography, between the 16th and 19th centuries. Brazil more than most nations has used planned cities to guide its growth. The second exhibit was *Looking Over the Globe—The New Cartographic Challenge*. When Dom (King) João VI of Portugal fled to Brazil (then a Portuguese colony) as Napoleon's troops over-ran his homeland, he brought a fine collection of maps from the Portuguese National Library with him. When he returned home, the collection did not; it later became the foundation for the National Library of Brazil. The exhibit contained a representative sample of precious and little-known items from that collection. The exhibits which resonated the most with WMS members was *Belo Horizonte—a Planned City in the Tropics* which featured visual and cartographic representations (maps, panoramas, and blueprints of public and private constructions) from the period of the creation of the city of Belo Horizonte. This was in part because they could see the exhibit reflected in the living city around them. There was also the fact that Belo was a planned city in much the same vein as Washington, DC, was, and it was interesting to compare the two experiences. **Kris Butler:** *I had not realized that BH*

*was truly a planned from the ground up city with only one building remaining of the original settlement. Manuel Knight: ... by living it for a week, we could get an appreciation of the early planning... John Docktor: It was interesting to see how the development of Belo Horizonte shared some aspects of the development of DC.* Conferees received a book, *The Cartographic Challenge of the New*, edited by Junia Ferreira Furtado and Valquiria Ferreira da Silva, containing eight essays and lists of the maps and documents in the three exhibits.

At the closing, the conferees expressed their gratitude to Dr. Junia Furtado and her team for all their hard work on producing a successful and enjoyable conference, the first ICHC in South America. This triumph was the result of much work and determination by the organizers. Since the selection of Belo Horizonte as the 2017 site four years ago, Brazil has endured severe upheavals in its economy and political system. Some persons wondered if it would be possible to hold ICHC at all. Furtado and company gave a clear answer to that question, showing that dedication and hard work could overcome the obstacles. **Mirela Altić:** *Bearing in mind such a context, the organizers have done a tremendous job and deserve our deepest respect.*

Eyes then turned to the future. ICHC 2019 will return to Amsterdam, which was also the site of the thirteenth ICHC in 1989. The Special Collections Department of the University of Amsterdam and the Explokart Research Group will host this event. Amsterdam was the 17th-century mapping capital of the world, and its cultural institutions abound with cartographic treasures almost beyond measure. Details will emerge on the conference web site, which is already on line at <http://ichc2019.amsterdam/>.

**What WMS Members Contributed:** (Names listed alphabetically within categories) **Opening Ceremonies:** Matthew Edney – Reported on the work of the American Friends of J.B. Harley at helping defray travel expenses of some parties to attend ICHC. **Papers:** Mirela Altić—*Dalmatia and the Southern Ottoman Borderland in the Eyes of Jan Janssonius*; Matthew Edney – *A Game of Snakes and Ladders: The Elusive History of "Map Scale"*; Benjamin Olshin – *Indigenous Mapping: Culture Creates Cartography*; Katherine Parker – *Visualizing the Voyage: Cartographic Print and Material Culture of the Anson Expedition (1740–44) from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*; Daniel Shelley – *The Taino Portolan: Pre-Columbian Cartography of the Caribbean*; Petra Svatek – *The Cartographic Construction of Europe During World War I at the University of Vienna*; **Session Chairs:** Mirela Altić – Session M4: *Collecting War*; Matthew Edney – Session B10 – *Illusions, Accuracy, and dimensions*; Ed Dahl – Session B20: *Theoretical Aspects of the History of Cartography: Twenty Years Later*; **Special Briefing:** Matthew Edney, *Director, History of Cartography Project*; Session B14; **Panel Participant:** Matthew Edney – Session B21: *Prospects*


for the History of Cartography. **Note:** WMS member Anthony Mullan was unable to give his paper, *Creating Urban Spaces on the Frontier of the Spanish Empire: Galveztown, Louisiana (1779) and Nueva Orán, Argentina (1794)*, when he was injured shortly before the conference and unable to travel.

**Ristow Prize Winners:** While not now WMS members, two past winners of the Ristow Prize for Academic Achievement in the History of Cartography also played roles at the 27<sup>th</sup> ICHC. Neil Safier, 1999 RP winner, is an associate professor at Brown University and head of the John Carter Brown Library there. He chaired Session B12 - *Early Modern Cartography: People, Lands and Aeter*. Ruth Watson, 2005 RP winner, delivered a paper during that same session titled *Apocalypse Redux: The Toponym of Enclosed Jews in Early Modern Cartography*. Ruth is a faculty member at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, and a very successful working artist.

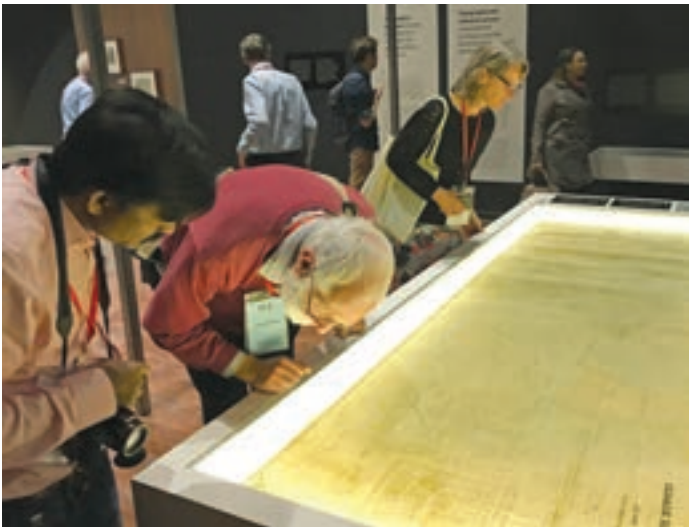
**Special Recognition:** WMS member Kris Butler has participated in most ICHCs from Budapest (2005) forward. Although she loves maps, her first love is beer. Kris is an internationally accredited judge of brewing competitions. She has also organized many evening trips to brew pubs in the ICHC host cities. In his closing remarks, Imago Mundi Chair Tony Campbell recognized her for this, and named her Permanent Craft Beer Advisor to Imago Mundi. Well done, Kris! You make us proud!

**What Interested WMS Members? Two Votes Each:** *Ancient History, Papal Politics, and Pirro Ligoró's Vision: Mapping Rome's Isola Tiberina*, by Jeremy Brown; *19<sup>th</sup> Century Travelers' Maps: From Sketch to Publication*, by Jordana Dym; and *Indigenous Mapping: Culture Creates Cartography*, by Benjamin Olshin (WMS member). **One Vote Each:**

*Sowing Utopias*, by Beatriz Piccolotto Siquiera Bueno; *The Measure of the World: 'Comarca' as a Category of Special Representation in the Early Modern Ibero-American World*, by Caio Figueiredo Fernandes Adan; *The Cartographic Demarcation of the Frontiers and the Consolidation of the Portuguese America Territory*, by Antonio Gilberto Costa; *A Game of Snakes and Ladders: The Elusive History of "Map Scale,"* by Matthew Edney (WMS Member); *Mapping Amazonia: The Cartographic Work of the Explorers Henri and Octavie Coudrea and their Collaboration with Elisee Reclus (188–1906)*, by Federico Ferretti; *A Commercial Plan of Porto Allegro, Brazil*, by Daniela Marzola Fialho; *Where Was Asia in the Early Modern Period? Perspectives from Northern Europe*, by Charlotta Forss; *Renewing the Debate About Theoretical Frameworks, Conceptual Networks, and Methodological Approaches in Maps and Mapping History*, by Carla Lois; *Visualizing the Voyage: Cartographic Print and Material Culture of the Anson Expedition (1740–44) from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, by Katherine Parker; *From Sea Voyages to Global Wards: The Iconography of Movement in European and American Atlases*, by Zef Segal; *The Taino Portolan: Pre-Columbian Cartography of the Caribbean*, by Daniel Shelley; *Maps as Commodities: The Economic History of Heinrich Berghaus' "Chart of the World,"* by Alexander Sievers; *Collecting from Cutting to Copying: Brazil in the Model Nijenhuis Collection*, by Martijn Storms; *Look but Don't Touch: Eighteenth Century Cartographic Illusions of Tactility*, by David Weimer. (Names listed alphabetically within categories) Three sessions were cited for their excellence: *Missionary Maps and Sacred Places (B6)*; *Mapping the Waters: Rivers and Hydrography (B10)*; and *Where Was Asia in the Modern Period? (B13)*.

—Bert Johnson has compiled reports on the last eleven ICHCs. Photos by the ICHC 2017 organizing committee. 





# Social Media and Digital Communication for Map Wonks

By Leigh Lockwood

(Members who have registered on [www.washmapsociety.org](http://www.washmapsociety.org) can download this edition of *The Portolan* and click on links listed in this and any article).

While I am fascinated with the newest tech and the internet (as reported in previous articles, my wife continues to state my mental development stalled at age 12), there is nothing like my smile caused when the latest printed version of *The Portolan* arrives in my PO box. Speaking of mental development, the July 9, 2017 Wall Street Journal article "How to Get Old Brain to Think Like Young Ones" reported, "So an adult brain not only loses its flexibility, but suppresses it. This process may reflect the different agendas of adults and children. Children explore; adults exploit." Fellow adults, welcome back to your second childhood.

Faced with the plethora of internet based map sites and sources of information, I will describe a few channels for open-ended research and contact along with commentary about each channel for us map wonks. Regardless of my detail, sometimes the best way to learn is just to dive right in—ONCE you are aware of security measures and tracking.

Even to the least internet aware of us, websites are easily explored. We go to the home page, select a menu item, and cruise to our destination. For those of you who like to explore, most websites, including your very own [www.washmapsociety.org](http://www.washmapsociety.org), have many useful functions made clear when one mines the many options. Further to our website, your Society offers information through several all-volunteer driven channels: Websites, social media, and email. I will wrap up this article with a short description of each WMS channel.

About writing: Has the internet been a positive or negative influence on good writing? While the internet gives a worldwide forum to cantankerous, long-winded, un-edited blogs, in many cases authors realize they only enjoy the reader's eyeballs for a few seconds so they better get to the point. The fleeting attention a reader gives to a particular screen requires the writer communicate his/her

point NOW with precision, clarity, and strong writing. To attain this goal, the traditional syntax and grammar rules have been flexed, bent, and broken. Consider this, "...the only relevant standard by which to judge any straightforward piece of prose is the ease with which it conveys its full intended sense, rather than its correctness by the laws of formal English grammar inherited from Alexandrian Greek." (source: Evans, Harold. *Do I Make Myself Clear*. Little, Brown and Company. 2017)

Your author is guilty, even in this very sentence, of overusing prepositions, adverbs, and the passive voice. But he keeps trying.

While I base much of the following on my own experience, I need to give special mention to "*My Social Media for Seniors*, Michael Miller, Pearson Education. 2016" which I quote often. A second edition will be available by the time you read this.

For the moment let me try to describe some types informational and social networking sites. The difference between these sites and normal networking sites, is, for the most part,

- Blogs
- Social Networks
- Media Sharing networks
- Microblogs

## **BLOGS.**

Short for "web-log", blogs contain ongoing discussions about topics and come in single or multiple author varieties. As you might imagine, blogs' content range from wild speculation and opinion to empirically based conclusions. For those who are not following blogs or those who have missed it, my favorite is the Library of Congress blog, "Worlds Revealed: Geography & Maps at the Library of Congress". From "Ancient Mappe of Fairyland" to

"Alphago, Neural Networks and Tobler's First Law" this blog is organized by topic and date. Without disrespecting all the other good blogs, let me say that <http://blogs.loc.gov/maps/> is the one to which I most frequently return as it constantly adds new material and is a trove of interesting older articles.

Blogs tend to come and go according to an author's interest and energy, but the LOC blog is here forever. Go to <http://www.maphistory.info/topics.html#weblogs> for links to dozens of blogs, and let me add special mention of <http://www.maproomblog.com/>.

## **SOCIAL NETWORKS.**

The starkest definition might be: Interactive platforms through which information can be shared. While most sites blur the lines between categorization, examples are Facebook, LinkedIn, WhatsApp, Tumblr, Instagram, Snapchat, Skype, Twitter, and many others. Facebook has 2 billion users of which two thirds return each day. Messaging apps such as WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, QQ, and WeChat each have or are approaching 1 billion users each. Many blur the line between social media site, micro-blog site, etc.

**Facebook** deserves much more detail than is here as the Washington Map Society's dynamic presence (hosted by WMS member Bert Johnson who also writes our monthly newsletter and has contributed over 80 articles to *The Portolan*) delivers to us many fun and serious topics—I'm not keeping statistics, but it seems like he and the group add a new post daily, every one of them relevant and targeted to us. Any group member can contribute a post, a recent one from a new WMS member being, "The Land Nearest Nowhere." That's a teaser in hopes you will look it up if you haven't already. And who knew there was something called cartophilately?

One does not need to be a member of the WMS to join our page.

Facebook offers so many services (apps) including contact with friends, membership in SIG's (special interest groups such as WMS), instant messaging, media games, photo and video sharing, etc., that it can seem overwhelming. Take it in small chunks and you might find it great fun. Covering all the offerings of Facebook would require an entire article, or book.

**LinkedIn** is a social media site for professionals. Hence, I will not cover it.

**Google+** competes with Facebook adding the benefit of being integrated with all the Google services such as Google photos. Like Facebook, we could write a book about all the offerings, but let me mention Collections

and Communities. With a Gmail account (and maybe others, I am not sure) one can create a Collection of posts the worlds needs to see. The search term "Map Collecting" brought many suggestions such as "Maps of Interest" with the moderator based in Germany. Why add Collections to your daily surfing? Well, "Maps of Interest" has almost 22,000 followers, the content is interesting, and the author states he does not post on Facebook.

Google Communities connects one with others with similar interests. One joins a Community but follows a Collection. Anyone can create either.

## **MEDIA SHARING NETWORKS**

**Pinterest** defines itself as, "...a visual bookmarking tool that helps you discover and save creative ideas." It is free and quickly turns into one of those delightful time-wasters where you can wend your way through seemingly endless topics. Think of it like being able to attach thousands of image post-it notes to your refrigerator with magnets.

So, open your free account and begin exploring. Click on the compass needle and you will be taken to a list of topics. Click a topic and you will be taken to sub-topics. Then just scroll down, click on something you might like, click on the pin to save it to your saved folder (you can create innumerable folders to organize your on-line treasures). Once saved, you can return to that item.

Or use the Search field. Search on Cartography to page through results such as "Smell Map: Summer Aromas of Newport, RI showing the exact relative positions of the points of origin of the scents of The Ocean, Beach Roses, Suntan Oil, Beer Bars....." and "New York's Smelliest Block." The same website, [www.sensorymaps.com](http://www.sensorymaps.com), has a hilarious page, "Taste Map, Edinburgh" complete with a Scottish Diet Elevation Map. Another example of a pinned item is, "The World Map with Place Names Swapped Out for Their Original Meanings." As you meander around Pinterest, pin each irresistible item so you can return (and find the best place to be upwind of Beer Bars in Newport).

Late breaking, irresistible news: Look for the pin "The UK's Oddest Place Names" and find colorful locales such as Crapstone, Catbrain, Brokenwind, Lost, Dull, Pity Me, and the most enticing of all, Horrid Hill.

Pinterest allows you to add a browser extension to Firefox so when you move your cursor across any image, click the Pinterest icon and save the image into one of your Pinterest boards.

Beware, even this jaded author was side-tracked for an hour on Pinterest.

**Instagram** is a multi-platform photo and video sharing service. Sharing can be public or private, and there are photo editing tools online. Instagram is hugely successful

and useful for sharing images from mobile platforms, but for me it is somewhat limited in terms of map wonking.

**Youtube.com** Talk about getting distracted, YouTube is the mother of all time-traps. Search for cartography to see a seven-minute video, "A Brief History of Cartography and Maps" and dozens more about history of maps, cartography, map-making, and general information. YouTube is an incredible resource for tech support, fun videos, music, the friendly faces of Parris Island, and, at another extreme, deeply emotional reporting the return home of those fallen in battle.

**Vimeo:** Washington Map Society hosts its meeting videos on Vimeo. While similar to YouTube, Vimeo arguably offers higher quality for a smaller community. You don't need to join to see many videos, so as usual, use the search term Cartography.

**Shutterfly, Flickr, Google Photos** could also be considered media sharing as individuals upload their images and then share them selectively or generally.

## MICRO-BLOGS

**Twitter** is an online *news* and *social networking* service where users post and interact with messages, "tweets," restricted to 140 *characters*. I vaguely recall reading that the original size of messages was determined as a metaphor for the physical postcard and the number of characters that could be handwritten into the left half. Who would want to say more? I know there are other theories, but true or not, I like mine, so here it is.

Twitter has become even more famous during 2016–2017—I don't think any further comment is necessary. One joins (as in all the above, it is free), searches for followers and follows the suggestions Twitter gives, then begins sending Tweets.

I suggest following @LOCmaps (where, while writing this, I see Ed Redmond, President of the Washington Map Society, posted one hour ago, "New on our blog: Carto. Specialist Ed Redmond discusses maps of the First Battle of Bull Run!" followed by a link to the LOC blog I mention above.), @cartogeek (professional cartographer, amateur tweeter. maps and meanderings.), and more.

## WASHINGTON MAP SOCIETY

WMS offers [www.washmapsociety.org](http://www.washmapsociety.org) covering various genres as it is informational, provides secure messaging between members, member profiles, access to all 100 digital editions of the *Portolans*, links to videos of past meetings, exclusive content such as the almost 40 articles created by Old World Auctions, member directory, index and contents of all *Portolans*, and some original pages such as

Member Map Sightings. It takes some exploring to appreciate fully the opportunities to obtain information and have fun.

WMS has another volunteer driven site (John Docktor) linked from the home page of the WMS website. As far as I know, John's site [www.docktor.com](http://www.docktor.com) is the most comprehensive compilation of meetings and exhibitions in our field.

Bert Johnson, in addition to piloting the WMS Facebook page, pens the monthly WMS newsletter, *Lattitudes*.


And to end where I began, I will always think of the printed *Portolan* as the highest standard of volunteer driven work and look forward to receiving each issue.

## ADDITIONAL COMMENTS


There are hundreds of additional resources to explore, such as Reddit, Tumblr. Again, be aware of tracking, security, and discretion. But just jump in.

End note: On July 20, 2017 Bert Johnson, host of the Washington Map Society Facebook page, reported that the 500th follower signed on. By October 21, 2017, the number had risen to 516.

—Leigh Lockwood is Webmaster of the Washington Map Society.



**SAVE THE DATE**  
**VOORHEES LECTURE**  
**ON THE HISTORY**  
**OF CARTOGRAPHY**  
Library of Virginia  
Richmond  
Sat April 28, 2018





# The Portolan Issue #100 and the Washington Map Society

By Leigh W. Lockwood



One refers to an organization's mission statement about once a decade, so in preparation for the 100th issue of *The Portolan*, we looked at it: "The Washington Map Society supports and promotes map collecting, cartography, and study of cartographic history."

The Board ensures the mission is attained, and at our last Board meeting and by unanimous "aye" votes (hardly motivated at all by self-interest), the Board congratulated itself on its success and adjourned to the nearby Hunan Dynasty Restaurant for a celebratory dinner. (At each person's individual expense, of course!)

Don't be fooled by previous lighthearted paragraph: Successful management of the Washington Map Society is far more complicated and thoughtful than one might first imagine. Almost 40 years ago a group of map enthusiasts decided to form a group of like-minded people and define itself clearly in the mission statement. The new group, The Washington Map Society, then defined and followed a series of written and unwritten rules, policies and standards starting with the Constitution and bylaws. Devoted, behind-the-scenes volunteers undertook activities that became the report card for success or failure in fulfilling the mission statement. Volunteers have kept up the momentum for nearly 40 years.

(All this may seem like a bit of a bore, but one must risk the self-analysis and live with the inevitable conclusions).

There are two real purposes to this essay for the 100th issue of *The Portolan*: How does *The Portolan* support the overall goals of the Washington Map Society? How has *The Portolan* developed into the present respected journal?

Upon publication of the 100th issue, it is appropriate and timely to recognize and celebrate the contributions of *Portolan* editors over the last several decades:

Dr. Jonathan T. Lanman, Founding Editor (1984–1987)  
Nancy Goddin Miller, Editor (1988)

Nancy Goddin Miller and Charles A. Burroughs, Co-Editors (1989)

Charles A. Burroughs, Editor (1989–1996)

Marianne McKee, Associate Editor (1990–1991)

Jeanne Young, Associate Editor (1992–1996)

Jeanne Young, Editor (1996–1997)

Thomas F. Sander, Editor (1997–present)

For a complete story of the development of *The Portolan* over its first 50 issues, members are referred to "The Portolan at 50" in Issue 50 (spring 2001), pages 19–23. (Current members can access the issue (and all issues) online via the Members Only pages of the WMS website. The article is also available under the "Portolan" tab of our website.)

While the editor is assisted by a loyal and interested membership, he or she must be a self-starting, independent worker with deep insight into WMS interests. For many members who have never attended a meeting at the Library of Congress Geography & Map Division, *the Portolan* is the "face" of the Washington Map Society. [While this writer is an early adopting, gadget happy techie who attends meetings, I smile broadly when I open my post box and see my latest ink on paper *Portolan* has arrived.]

What is the purpose of *The Portolan*? *The Portolan* keeps us informed, gives us information about topics of interest, and opens new areas of interest through its letters from the President and Editor, content, book reviews, meeting reports, interviews, Cartographic Notes, announcements, and Recent Publications.

Is *The Portolan* important? While *The Portolan* is simply physical paper and ink (also available in digital format since 2017), its content gives life and adds so much more Washington Map Society. In fact, it is the ONLY common denominator binding all members together, hence its critical importance to the success and momentum of the Society.

Our Editor's concentration on quality has resulted in *The Portolan* being the only substantial publication on this topic in the United States. Indeed, dozens very prominent US and international institutions subscribe. Besides US subscribers such as Yale, Harvard, Huntington Library, New York Public Library, the Newberry, etc., libraries and institutions in 15 other countries subscribe, including The British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Zentralbibliothek of Zurich, National Tsing Library in Taiwan, etc. You can see the complete list by navigating to [www.washmapsociety.org](http://www.washmapsociety.org), The Portolan Journal/Where to Read the Portolan.

Fortunately, *The Portolan* has full support of the Board and since issue number 1 has been "staffed" by brilliant editors, all volunteers.

Three times a year the editor starts with a blank piece of paper. Months later, he or she receives several boxes of *Portolans* that must be mailed and the excess stored for back issue sales. An incredible amount of work goes into each issue resulting in about 80 pages of diverse material:

- Choose relevant, engaging topics, choose authors, and follow up. I am certain this is much more challenging than it sounds.
- Edit each article to include fact checking, permissions to reproduce images, writing style (English is a second language for some authors), copyright, etc.
- Submit select articles to the Editorial Advisory Board; quarterback all suggestions.
- Work with Treasurer to ensure paid advertising appears as contracted. Follow up with advertisers to supply art (which must meet *Portolan* standards).
- Choose books to be reviewed, identify and solicit reviewers, then make sure reviews are submitted by deadline.
- Compile and edit the Cartographic Notes page. (This is like authoring an article for every issue).
- Compile the "Spotlight on Membership" page, after choosing three members for each issue; 146 members have contributed thus far.
- Select cover image and text.
- Filter to two pages the very extensive calendar of exhibitions and meetings from John Docktor's *worldwide events website*; edit "Map Site Seeing" column.
- Submit the raw input to the Layout Team, proof and manage resulting PDF through multiple proofing cycles, close the issue and go to press (place yourself in the mental mode of the editor—making the decision there will be NO MORE changes to a journal to be read by tyros,

finicky and demanding readers, academics, professionals, institutions, etc.) Work with printer to ensure timely delivery and excellent quality.

- Ensure that mail packaging conforms with postal regulations (after having learned and kept up with the regulations) to obtain the balance between cost savings and timely delivery.
- Ship over 400 copies every four months.
- Store and ship special order back issues.
- Write the editor's letter and answer letters to the editor.
- Write thank you letters to authors, contributors, book reviewers, and publishers of reviewed books.
- Prepare for the next issue by setting and enforcing deadlines—a diplomatic challenge as no contributor is remunerated.
- Provide information for website: Cover art, cumulative table of contents, index (now over 150 pages), and additional relevant information.
- Update webmaster and Treasurer for advertising rates and deadlines.

Tom Sander has been Editor since 1997, for more than half of the 100 issues—please get the oldest issue in your collection and compare it to this issue 100—marvel at how the presentation and content improved over the years. *The Portolan* evolved from what was basically a Xeroxed and stapled issue number 1 to a full color, perfect bound, highly respected journal very comparable to any other journal or commercial publication in our field.

Countless members have been mailed books by the Editor with the note, "I request your finished review by such-and-such a date!" Well, your author is speculating on that last part, but I venture that from time to time some gentle cajoling is required.

Let us also acknowledge the Editorial Advisory Board, six members who diligently work in total obscurity but contribute immeasurably to the quality of *The Portolan*. They evaluate many submitted articles to ensure article quality is up to *Portolan* standards by bringing to bear the experience and broad knowledge of six experts in diverse fields who can fact check, suggest changes or additional research, tighten up writing, add references, and much more. Your author can only imagine the time and work involved in reviewing material, and I am grateful.

Speaking of member/contributors (No matter how many I mention, dozens of equally important contributors will not be mentioned), Bert Johnson has steadfastly and generously contributed well over 50 articles. Bill Stanley has written milestone essays about the society. Joel Kovarsky and predecessors have reliably compiled the "Recent Publications" column which, in Joel's ten-year tenure, now runs to well

over 200 pages. I only mention a few and have full respect for every contributor, but will add a few of my favorite articles: John Rennie Short's "The Modern National Atlas" brought inquiries from at least two other countries; James Goode's fascinating series on the Albert H. Small collection; Chas Langelan's "The 1890's Surveyor, Soldier, and Mapmaker Who Transformed Washington DC"; JC McElveen's "The Use of Maps in Legal Proceedings" (one of my favorites as he cites a 1540 map of Oztoticpac, not far from where I grew up); Hal Meinheit's wonderfully researched and written articles on the Far East, particularly "The Consul's Maps, Diplomacy, Cartography, and Japan's 1874 Formosa Expedition." Lest we think only "old" maps are considered, Issue 93 carried the 2014 Ristow Prize Award winning, "Mapping Armageddon: The Cartography of Ruin in Occupied Japan".

Indeed, EVERY contributor, whether authoring a letter to the editor or a multi-issue series, needs to feel pride in supporting our esteemed editors and adding immeasurably to the quality and interest of *The Portolan*.

In closing, let me quote from the page 1, Volume 1, number 1 article dated October 10, 1984 written by then President (and prescient) Janet Green: "A major new undertaking is the launching of a Society publication that will keep the membership informed on up-coming Society and other meetings, exhibitions, forums, articles written by our members; reviews of speakers, lectures and other information of specific

interest to our membership..... We begin publication on a modest scale, with plans to expand and enrich the contents as interest and funding allow. We must rely upon input of material for the publication not only from our volunteer editorial staff, but from the entire membership. We need YOUR help—we solicit your support and suggestions to assure success of this new "voice" in the cartographic field."

What a remarkable achievement that a journal led and staffed solely by devoted volunteers has become such an important, respected and vital, "voice" in our field.

I will now answer my two questions. How does *The Portolan* support the overall goals of the Washington Map Society? It is the "glue", the information channel, and the common denominator for all members.

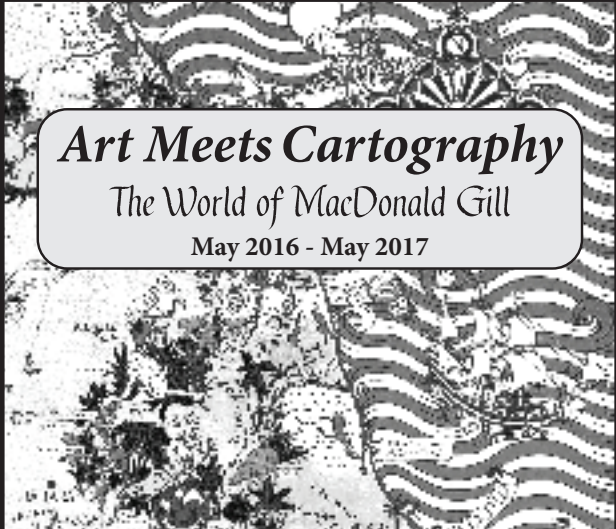
How has *The Portolan* developed into the respected journal that it is? Hard work. Loyalty. Vision. Fortitude. Pride. Dedication. Knowledge. High standards. Focus on continuing evolution.

Upon publication of this 100th issue, I believe I join every member in thanking all our past and current editors for their steadfast and very successful work. We hope they sit back for a few moments to enjoy having made a great and positive contribution to our world.

—Leigh Lockwood is Webmaster of the Washington Map Society.



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## Book Reviews

Schilder, Günther. **Early Dutch Maritime Cartography – The North Holland School of Cartography (c. 1580–c. 1620)**. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill | Hes & De Graaf NV, 2017. Hardbound, 9.7 x 13.7 inches, xxiv, 692 pages, 820 illus, English, ISBN13: 9789004338029. € 175.00

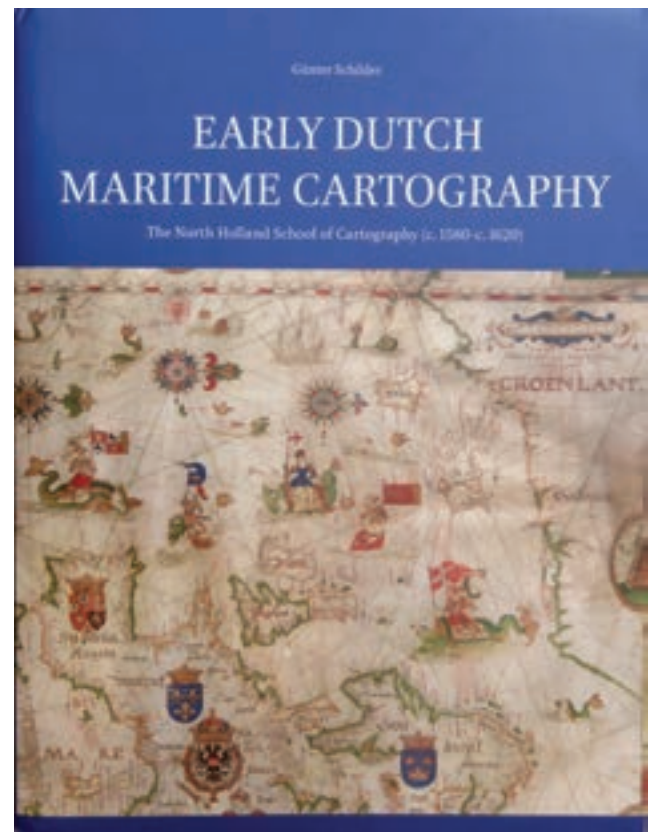
*Reviewed by Richard Pflederer*

This masterwork, subtitled “The North Holland School of Cartography”, is Volume 17 of the series *Explorokart Studies in the History of Cartography*. This project was initially housed at the Utrecht University but recently relocated to the University of Amsterdam, Special Collections Department. Professor Schilder is ideally positioned to present this work. He has devoted much of the past four decades to the study of all aspects of this subject, and his works on Dutch cartography are very well known. Although the chronological focus is ca. 1580–ca. 1620, the introductory material actually begins in the 1530’s and some material from the 1630’s is presented, thus covering about one hundred years of Dutch contributions to the lore of the sea. For many scholars, this is considered the golden age of Dutch seamanship. In the East, 1580 can be seen at the beginning of the decline of what Professor Charles Boxer has called ‘The Portuguese Seaborne Empire’, and the Dutch were only too happy to speed up the process of decline and displace the Portuguese in many places from Ceylon to Malacca and the Malay Peninsula to the Moluccas.

If the scope of production points on the North Holland School of Cartography is limited mostly to the ports of the Zuyder Zee such as Enkhuizen, Hoorn and Edam, the geography of the coverage is broad indeed, touching the seas and oceans that wash the shores of Europe, the Americas, and virtually every corner of the globe where Dutch ships piled their trade.

A book of most generous scale is required for such a task, and this work is not lacking in the regard of comprehensiveness and the scale of the book itself. Its large format is the perfect size for displaying in good detail images of these precious charts and maps, of which there are almost 1,000 reproduced. Its 700 pages, which includes seven appendices spread across 130 pages, should be sufficient for even the most serious scholar-reader. There is also a very complete bibliography of over 400 references.

The book is divided into sixteen chapters, ranging from functional subjects to the works of individual cartographers and authors, to specific geographical coverage areas. The functional chapters include, for example,



printed rutters, commercial considerations of the maritime chart trade and books on navigational techniques which are mostly of foreign origin translated and published in Holland. The individual cartographers cover the gamut of the giants of the period. And while the scope of world areas covered is very broad, the Mediterranean Sea, Atlantic Ocean, New Netherlands and Dutch possessions in the Far East get special attention.

The reader feels that Professor Schilder has developed a quite personal relationship with the cartographers he covers in this book. He calls them by the name of their profession they gave themselves—‘*caert-schrijvers*’ or ‘map-scribes’. The list of cartographers is long and quite complete, including Cornelis Doesdszoon, Evert Gijbetszoon,

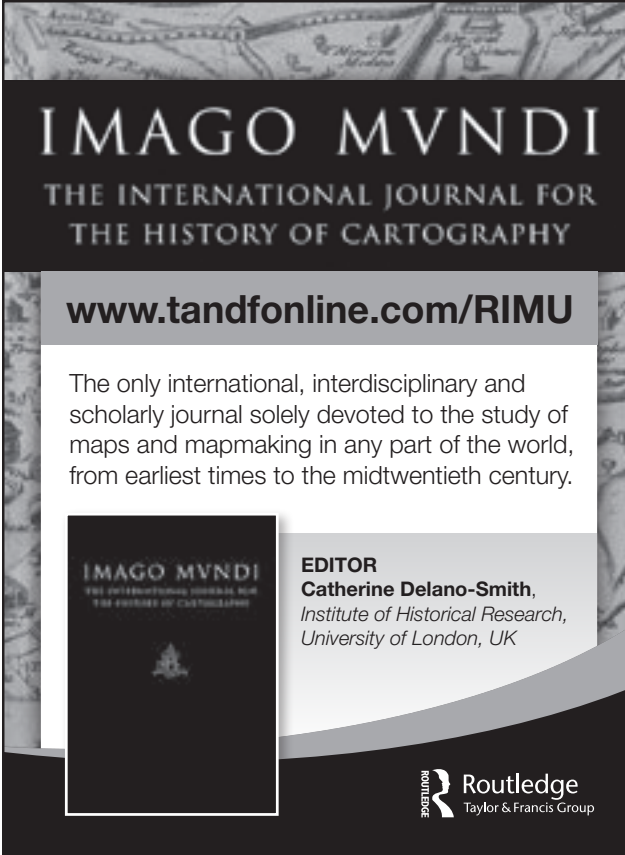
Jan Dirkszoon, Rickemans Pieterszoon, Claes Pieterszoon, Hamen Janszoon, Martin Janszoon, Joris Carolus. But two giants stand out: Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer and Jan Hugo van Linschoten. They worked in the sixteenth century and published important printed books that helped establish Holland as one of the heading centers of marine supremacy. Nonetheless the works of these two authors were quite different. The focus of Waghenaer's work, *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt*, (published in 1584 and 1585) was the coastline of European countries. His charts were beautiful and generally accurate, but represented the much-travelled trading routes, well known to European mariners. Van Linschoten actually lived in India for some years, and his work covered Portuguese Asia and the routes East, including the route down the South Atlantic, through the Indian Ocean and via the South China Sea as far as the 'island of Corea' and Japan. His *Itinerario* (published 1595 and 1596) literally opened Asia to northern Europeans, leading to the breaking of the Portuguese monopoly of these rich markets. It was different from Waghenaer in that it included extensive text as well as view of the local people and even the economic aspects of agricultural and mineral products of Asia. An English edition (1598) soon followed the Dutch edition and was used, for example, by Captain John Saris on the first British voyage to Japan in 1611–1614. There were several other editions in Latin, French and German through 1638.

The impact of the role of the Dutch in the maritime history of European expansion is hard to overstate. Today, the artifacts of this chapter of the "The North Holland School of Cartography" can be found in libraries and museums spread across the entire globe, from Amsterdam to Tokyo, from Washington to São Paulo.

Unlike many other books on maritime charts, Professor Schilder's work is quite inclusive of other related maritime production. It covers manuscript charts and printed charts, both individual charts and atlases, but it also treats printed rutters, coastal elevations and books on navigational principles. It reports on voyages of trade, voyages of exploration and scientific voyages.

Like his 2010 book co-authored with Hans Kok on sea charts of the VOC (Dutch East India Company), *Sailing for the East: History and Catalogue of Manuscript Charts on Vellum of the Dutch East India Company*, this work is comprehensive, well organized, profusely illustrated and enjoyable to read. It is an absolute must for the reference shelves of any map library as well as for anyone interested in the lore of the sea.

—Richard Pfloderer is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *The Portolan*. He is the author of *Finding their Way at Sea*, the Commentary accompanying the recent facsimile edition of the *Andrea Benincasa Atlas of 1476* and several reference books on the subject of portolan charts.







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Edelson, S. Max. ***The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America before Independence***. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2017. Hardcover, 6-1/8 x 9-1/4 inches, 480 pages, 8 maps. Online visualizations of more than 250 original maps, plans, and charts. ISBN 9780674972117. \$ 35.00

*Reviewed by Richard H. Brown*

One of the issues in producing a well-illustrated map book is the maps themselves. They are often large, detailed, and difficult to adequately reproduce. And then there is the simple matter of cost. It's expensive to print large numbers of maps in color and on a large scale.

Max Edelson has come up with a solution to these problems that represents an important advancement in studying and analyzing history. Edelson has linked his book to a high resolution digital website created with the help of the National Endowment for the Humanities: [MapScholar.org/Empire](http://MapScholar.org/Empire). The payoff: Edelson associates over 250 maps with his text, many times the number incorporated in a standard book. And by geo-referencing to Google Earth, and identifying details through zoom technology, the importance and relevance of each map can be explored in detail. While some may be uncomfortable reading a book with one hand on a computer mouse, those interested in the influence of maps on history will be well rewarded.

*The New Map of Empire* focuses on the British mapping of North America from the Treaty of Paris, which ended the French and Indian War in 1763 to the inception of Revolutionary War hostilities in 1775. It is an extremely fertile and underexplored period in American history, particularly when viewed from the British perspective.

At the Treaty of Paris, Britain gained full title to immense territories in North America and the Caribbean. And His Majesty's government was not about to leave the development and spoils of this acquisition to expansionist colonial Americans. Thomas Pownall, a former governor of Massachusetts and American sympathizer, expressed the British view that "unchecked growth of the colonies threatened to destroy the equilibrium of empire." Under the banner of the Board of Trade, the Royal Navy and Army set out to produce detailed maps of the coastlines and interior of the Continent. This highly organized effort sought to control and direct Colonial settlement.

Edelson organizes his book into seven chapters. The first, *A Vision for America*, highlights some of the better-known maps through the year 1755. The next five chapters form the heart of his book, exploring British mapmaking following the French and Indian War. Organized primarily by geographic region, they include: *Commanding Space*



## The New Map of Empire

HOW BRITAIN IMAGINED AMERICA BEFORE INDEPENDENCE



S. Max Edelson

*after the Seven Years War, Securing the Maritime Northeast, Marking the Indian Boundary, Charting Contested Caribbean Space, and Defining East Florida.* These chapters are brimming with important cartographic and historical insights. Edelson's final chapter, *Atlases of Empire*, highlights the many engraved atlases that consolidated the work undertaken during these crucial years.

Edelson's foundation map for *The New Map of Empire* is Emanuel Bowen's *An Accurate Map of North America* first printed in 1755. Like numerous other maps created during that year, it is derived from John Mitchell's, A

*Map of the British and French Dominions in North America.* But, the Bowen clearly serves Edelson's purpose better, having been updated in 1763 for King George's proclamation line, the establishment of Quebec as the 14<sup>th</sup> colony, and the Caribbean islands ceded by France to Britain. A further reprint in 1771 incorporates the extensive British contribution to the surveying of East Florida, which had been virtually unmapped under Spanish ownership.

Bowen's North American map serves as a template for Britain's colonization initiatives, but it is the trove of local and regional maps that bring these endeavors to life. Many are manuscripts, painstakingly drawn in sufficient scale to allow colonial settlement to be micro managed from London. Most of the maps are relatively unknown and available here for the first time in an online format. They work hand-in-hand with the thoroughly researched text (as evidenced by the extensive bibliography) that gains momentum and inspiration from the skillful use of period quotations.

Edelson's material comes from a wide range of institutions including the extensive collections of the UK Archives at Kew, a modern depository of many of the maps ordered up by the Board of Trade. The work reveals the depth of talented British mapmakers in addition to such eminent names as Gerald De Brahm, Samuel Holland, and J.F.W. Des Barres.

The British effort to restore order over America's vast geography ran headlong into the freedom to migrate that colonials assumed as their right. One example of this is the establishment of George III's Proclamation Line of 1763 running from Canada to Florida through the Allegheny Mountains. Colonials were prohibited from settling west of this line. This would pin the existing population to the eastern seaboard while Britain would control the western territories through a series of Indian nations and the introduction of a vast new 14<sup>th</sup> colony, Quebec. These actions would maintain Britain's lucrative trade relationship that sent finished goods to the colonies in exchange for raw materials. The proclamation line is dramatically indicated on Daniel Paterson's *Cantonment of His Majesty's forces in North America* [1767, Library of Congress] along with military garrisons placed in the colonies to reinforce these edicts. James Madison would later describe George III's Proclamation of 1763 as the immediate prelude to the "wicked and oppressive measures which gave birth to the Revolution."

While British engineers were on the ground mapping the detail of the proclamation line and the adjacent western territory, others were at sea mapping the Gulf coast and interior of West Florida. One striking example is George Gauld's *A Survey of the Coast of west Florida from Pensacola to Cape Blaise* [1766, UK Hydrographic Office, Taunton].

Another is David Taitt's *A plan of part of the rivers Tombecke, Alabama, Tensa, Peridido, and Scambia in the province of West florida.* Taitt was a Deputy Indian Superintendent and his map not only defined areas for new settlement but also established the boundaries of proposed Indian nations.

In East Florida (encompassing the modern Florida peninsula) extensive mapping took place under William De Brahm, the talented surveyor general for the Southern District. Among the maps in this chapter were a number by James Moncrief including *Map of part of East Florida from St. John's River to Bay of Mosquitos* [1764, The National Archives of the UK, Kew]. Moncrief would go on to become an important British engineer/mapmaker during the Revolution. In the Caribbean, John Byers magisterial printed maps of the Ceded Caribbean Islands—Dominica, Bequia, St. Vincent and Tobago [1776, Library of Congress] are remarkable for their detailed depiction with existing and planned settlements.

The American Revolution put an end to British mapmaking directed at colonization and many of the engineers turned their attention to military mapmaking. Ironically, the extraordinary sums of money spent on this great endeavor created "Geographic knowledge that could only whet the appetites of provincial governments." In the end, the Americans were the beneficiaries of this fabulous body of work. And thanks to Max Edelson, so are we.

*Richard H. Brown is a collector of maps and views of the French and Indian War and American Revolution. He is vice chairman of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library and a councilor of the American Antiquarian Society. In 2015, he co-authored with Paul E. Cohen Revolution: Mapping the Road to American Independence 1755–1783.*



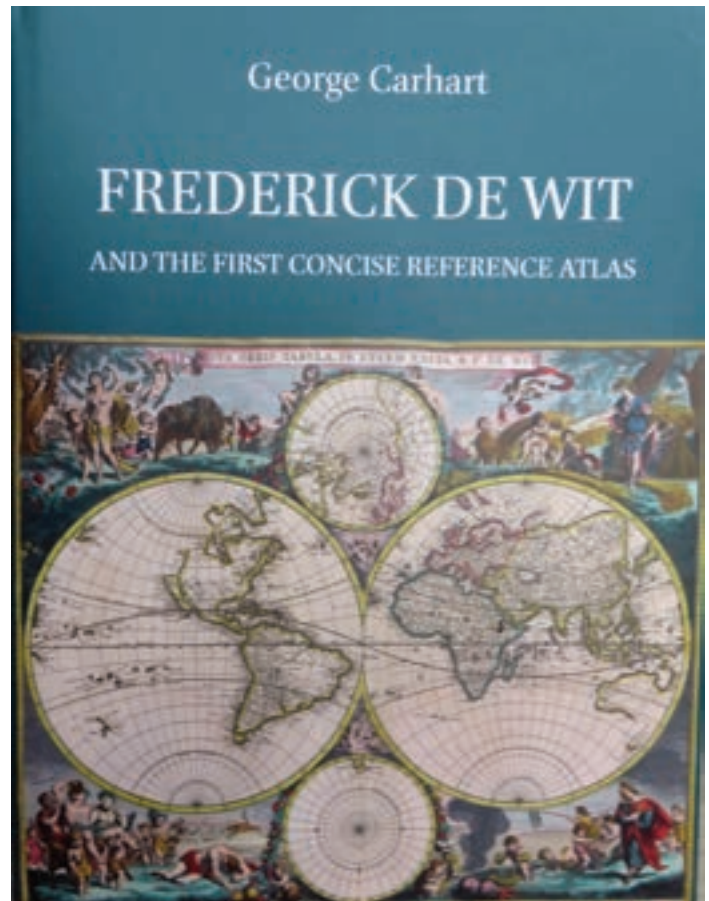
Carhart, George S. **Frederick De Wit and the First Concise Reference Atlas**. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill | Hes & De Graaf NV, 2016. Hardbound, 9.50 x 12.75 inches, 589 pages, 736 color illus, English, bibliography, appendices, index. ISBN13: 9789004239030. € 125.00. \$162.00

*Reviewed by Edward Kirsch*

Dr. Carhart's book is substantially based upon his original research conducted over fifteen years into the atlas production of Frederick De Wit. By his own account, the author has examined at least 72 of De Wit's atlases, over 1,000 of his loose maps and a further 30 composite atlases from all over the world. Further, he has performed extensive research in archival records in the Netherlands that support his conclusions regarding De Wit's life, work and influence. The book is beautifully illustrated throughout with a plethora of color illustrations of maps, prints, archival records and portions of maps that are ably used to support the author's main themes and thesis. In addition, pages 174 to 565 consist principally of a collection high quality color images of De Wit's maps and states of specific maps. The book also includes an approximately 40-page cartobibliography of De Wit's work which can support further research regarding De Wit and 17th century Dutch cartography.

One of the author's main thesis (reflected in the title of the book) is that De Wit produced and successfully marketed "the first concise reference atlas." By "first concise reference atlas," Dr. Carhart means that de Wit by 1660 was publishing a folio atlas without text which the author characterizes as a new form of atlas. Dr. Carhart maintains that De Wit's atlases conformed to standards of uniformity in order to distinguish these atlases from contemporaneous composite atlases which are generally regarded as a collection comprised of an inconsistent number of maps that are compiled and bound to the wishes of the consumer at the time of the order. To support this assertion Dr. Carhart conducts a detailed analysis of De Wit's maps and map indexes across time. Dr. Carhart argues that De Wit has been historically underappreciated because prior scholars have categorized his atlases as composite atlases. However, his research demonstrates persuasively that the content of De Wit's atlases follows the indexes that were printed in volume; rather than the indexes being printed to follow the content of his atlases.

Dr. Carhart maintains that the Bleau family's multi-volume atlases and other leading Dutch atlases had become prohibitively expensive for all but the wealthiest at upwards of 450 Guilders for a complete colored atlas (an estimated 4,200€ today). The author speculates



that De Wit sensed an opportunity, beginning in about 1660, and filled a need for a more affordable atlas with a new compact reference atlas that sold for about seven to twenty Guilders (an estimated €65 to €187 today). With the introduction of his atlas, the author argues that De Wit changed the form in which atlases were consumed in the second half of the seventeenth century. Dr. Carhart maintains, and provides strong evidence, that De Wit actively and continually updated the content of his maps which he notes supports his position that De Wit's atlases were not wholly custom as is the case for a composite atlas.

The author's first chapter provides a biography of de Wit and a description of his business. He reviews the work of prior authors on De Wit to reveal some



misconceptions regarding De Wit by prior authors. Dr. Carhart's biographical information is based substantially on his own research using primary archival records. Although he does canvass and rely on the work of other researchers and has detailed knowledge of their work. Dr. Carhart maintains that his examination of both established and newly-identified archival evidence demonstrates that "there was only one art, print and map seller named Frederick de Wit working in Amsterdam" at this time as opposed to a family dynasty as inferred (or most often merely repeated) by prior authorities. Moreover, Dr. Carhart's thorough research enables him to paint a fuller and more accurate portrait of De Wit's life.

For example, Dr. Carhart concludes that de Wit was likely a Lutheran and not a Roman Catholic as previously believed by many other authors. Dr. Carhart uncovers newly found documents that indicate that Frederick De Wit's parents were both Lutheran. He explains that although other documents show that De Wit's first wife, Maria van der Way, whom he married on July 30, 1661, was from a wealthy Catholic family and his children were baptized Catholic this does not establish that he was a Catholic in light of community practices of the time. In Amsterdam Catholicism was tolerated at the time and it was not unheard of for a Lutheran to marry a Catholic. Further, he maintains it was normal at the time for children of a mixed faith marriage to be baptized in the mother's faith. In addition, he persuasively argues against the long-standing supposition that there was a dynasty of De Wit print and map publishers. He demonstrates instead that De Wit's father was a maker of knife handles and his only surviving son took little interest in the map and print business of his father. Taken together, the author provides a more complete biography of De Wit that is based on archival records and documents that are provided in illustrations in the book.

Dr. Carhart examines property tax records and deeds from the period to show that De Wit was a relatively affluent member of the city who had the means to speculate in real estate. For example, he notes that Frederick De Wit paid 12,000 Guilders for a large house with a prime business location on the Kalverstraat in 1678 at a time when the annual income of a skilled worker was about 145 Guilders. The author establishes that by 1662 De Wit had the means to speculate in real estate and bought and sold at least ten properties. The author notes that De Wit also acquired a property in the affluent community of Loenersloot.

Dr. Carhart also shows that De Wit was more than a successful map, art and print seller in his home of Amsterdam and had market contacts and sold

throughout Europe. He argues that De Wit's new, inexpensive, and concise reference atlas became "the reference atlas of choice across Europe." Further, he argues that De Wit was a "household name" into the early eighteenth century and demonstrates that his maps were sold under his name into the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In sum, the book provides detailed support for its propositions and is an invaluable resource for academic researchers, map dealers, and map aficionados whom have a strong interest in the work of Frederick De Wit and 17th century Dutch cartography. The reader is forewarned, however, that the book is a somewhat dense and difficult read due to the wealth of documentation and perhaps because its origins lie in a doctoral dissertation.

*Mr. Kirsch is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy and a former nuclear submarine officer. He has an M.B.A. in finance from American University. He also has a J.D. degree from George Washington University Law School and practices Government contracts law. He is a collector of 16th century maps and reads as much on the subject as his law practice will allow. His review of A World of Innovation—Cartography in the Time of Gerhard Mercator appeared in this journal's Issue 95 (Spring 2016).*



(Title Page) *Atlas Tot Amsterdam* By Frederick de Wit in de Calverstraat bij den Dam inde Witte Paskaert. Image courtesy the David Rumsey Map Collection.

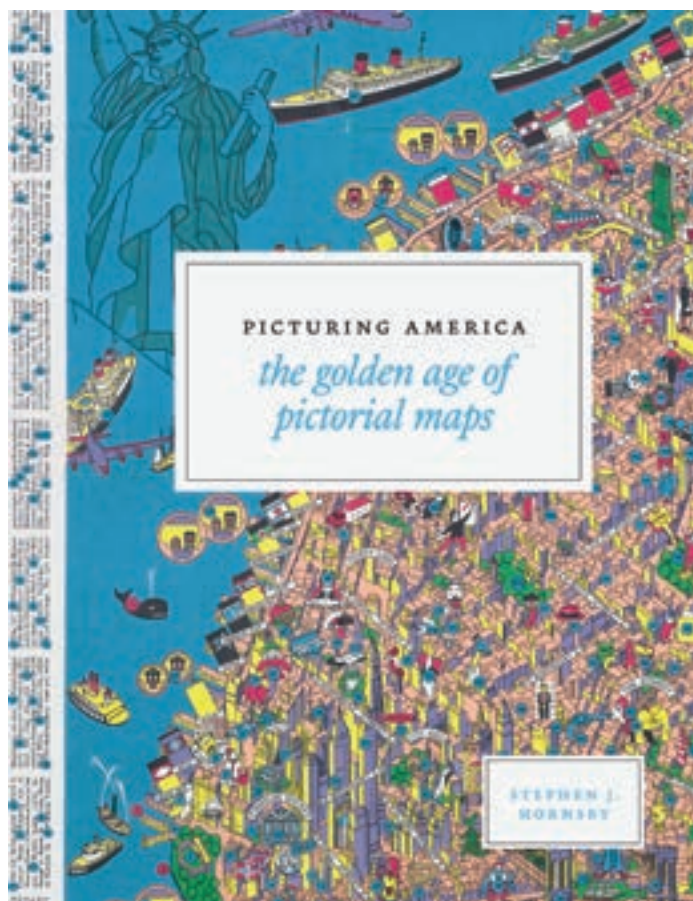
Hornsby, Stephen J. **Picturing America: The Golden Age of Pictorial Maps**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press and the Library of Congress, 2017. Hardbound, 8.5 x 11 inches, 153 color plates, ISBN 9780226386041 (also available as e-book) \$45.00

Reviewed by Cassandra Britt Farrell

Although not sought after by American map libraries, a distinctly American map, the pictographic map, was very popular in the twentieth century, reaching its greatest heights of appeal in the years following the First World War through the 1950s. Graphic and commercial artists who worked for advertising agencies, mainstream publications, and designed images for cartoons and movies, drafted pictorial maps that depicted through art, map and text American industrial advancement, American history and architecture, and distinctly American places and peoples. Today, pictorial maps are experiencing a “renaissance” as map collectors, librarians and scholars are realizing their dynamic role in twentieth century American cartographic history.

In *Picturing America* the content is divided into seven chapters that arrange the maps by genre and focuses on those that were published as individual sheets or posters. *Portolan* readers will be interested in the artists introduced and the collectors discussed as well as learn how these maps were published. Most of the maps included are from the Library of Congress’s Geography and Map Collection, specifically from the Muriel H. Parry and Ethel M. Fair collections. The Library of Congress is one of the few libraries to collect pictorial maps and their rich collection is due to United States copyright laws that require publishers to deposit two copies of each map to the Library of Congress that they submit for copyright protection.

Each chapter includes a brief introduction about the maps therein, and each map is identified by title, author, a brief description and its home institution; if it is a part of a private collection this is noted. Pictorial maps oftentimes used humor to promote traveling through the United States and there were maps published that displayed Disney characters “gamboling” their way across the United States. And, humor was used to respond to the issues of the day. The reviewer found of interest Edward McCandlish’s *Bootleggers Map of the United States*, whose map locates distilleries, speakeasies, and where hops and corn used for distillation were grown. H.J. Lawrence’s *Map Showing the Isles of Pleasure* illustrates the dangers of drinking too much alcohol! As the revival of Colonial Williamsburg coincided with the heyday of pictorial maps, Colonial Williamsburg and other like institutions used pictorial maps to educate and instruct the country about



its colonial and federalist periods. The Great War was still at the forefront of American memory and in 1932 the historical map *American Expeditionary Force* was published, showing the front from Belgium to Italy. The American Junior Red Cross even published a map instructing students how they can help out at home and at school in a border that surrounded a map illustrating settlement in the New World.

Maps of places are included like a *Map of Chicago's Gangland*. Utility companies, bus and airline companies and other American industries supported the publication of pictorial maps to advertise their businesses, to promote tourism and promote public works. Examples of each are

(continued page 82)

Fleet, Christopher, Margaret Wilkes, and Charles W. J. Withers. ***Scotland – Mapping the Islands***. Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., in association with The National Library of Scotland, 2016. Hardbound, 9.8 x 10 inches, 288 pages, 160 color maps, guide to sources, index. ISBN 978–1780273518. £ 30.00, \$ 42.99 .

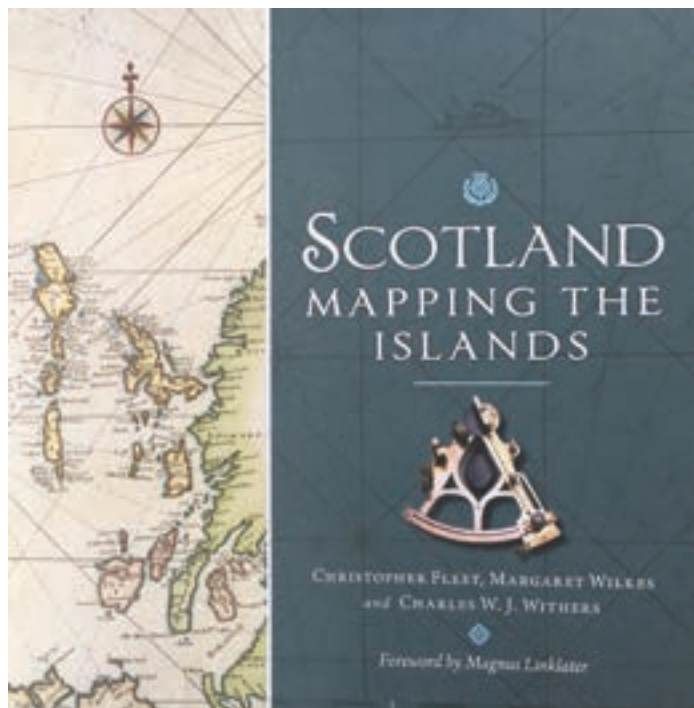
*Reviewed by Marianne M. McKee*

In 1993, after a chance encounter on the island of Iona in the Scottish Hebrides, I was invited to visit the National Library of Scotland and had a special tour of the map collection with Margaret Wilkes, then Head of the Map Room. I found that besides maps, we were also enthusiastic about islands. So, when I was alerted to the forthcoming publication of a work addressing maps of the islands around Scotland in *Cairt: Newsletter of the Scottish Maps Forum*, I couldn't wait to order a copy. And I was not disappointed. For someone who has visited many of those islands several times, attempted to learn the Scottish Gaelic language, and found a true soul place there, *Scotland: Mapping the Islands* complemented and expanded my understanding and knowledge of a very special part of the world.

The authors, Christopher Fleet, Map Curator at the National Library of Scotland, Margaret Wilkes, now Chair of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society's Collections Committee, and Charles W. J. Withers, Ogilvie Chair of Geography at the University of Edinburgh and Geographer Royal for Scotland, previously collaborated on the award-winning 2011 publication *Scotland: Mapping the Nation*. This earlier book is also arranged thematically—with a chapter on "Islands"—and is a companion to the book under discussion. Both utilized the rich collections of the National Library of Scotland.

The word "island" conjures up many images. Land surrounded by water, remote, mysterious, and unknown. And Scotland is surrounded by islands, including the Inner and Outer Hebrides off the northwest coast and the Northern Isles, which include Orkney and Shetland, north of the east coast. What this book does is bring the Scottish islands to life, layer by layer, like a geological formation, and into the full context of their history, geography, and culture.

Following a foreword by Magnus Linklater, a prominent journalist and writer born in Orkney, and the preface and acknowledgements, nine chapters organize the book by themes. The Introduction (Chapter 1) lays the ground, defining islands and their mapping and explaining the arrangement of the book. The full-color illustrations are interwoven with the text, and suggestions are made on ways to read the book—from front to back or reading the text and then the captions. One can even use the index to read island by island. I found reading the text first and then the captions was best for me.



The book progresses through eight more chapters. Individuals involved in the history and development of island map making are discussed throughout, and the following is just a sample of what is included in each section. Peopling (Chapter 2), relates to the movement of populations and the very early settlements and archaeological structures, such as Skara Brae and the standing stones on Orkney and at Callanish on Lewis, noting that these ancient features were not documented on maps until the 1800s; then Naming (Chapter 3), its importance as well as the development of a naming authority for the Norse, Scottish Gaelic, and English languages used; and Navigating (Chapter 4), so integral to maneuvering around islands and leading to the regular usage and development of marine charts and lighthouses. Three following chapters—Defending (Chapter 5), Improving (Chapter 6), and Exploiting (Chapter 7)—address the issues of a settled population and land use, including defenses and warfare; for example, Scapa Flow in Orkney during the World Wars, and Gruinard Island as a test island for anthrax, and more scientifically based maps

showing influences of soil and agriculture, natural resources, and urban planning.

Picturing (Chapter 8) depicts the developing science and technology related to map making as well as the art, including the cartouche, views, and use of color, and extends to prose and poetry. It shows the tidal island of Erraid off the coast of Mull, where David Balfour is “trapped” for four days in Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Kidnapped*, and poetry and “word pictures” are expressed by writers such as George Mackay Brown. The last section, Escaping (Chapter 9), speaks for itself—spiritual and literary retreats such as Iona and St. Columba, Barnhill on Jura where George Orwell wrote *1984*, the flight of Bonnie Prince Charlie in the islands, and Sir Compton Mackenzie, author of *Whiskey Galore*, buried on Barra where he lived for some time. Then, finally, tourism, focusing on the natural world and its inhabitants, travel, and islands as just a place to be.

The book is nicely designed, about 10 x 10 inches, a little heavy (as most map books are!), and the coated paper presents the maps clearly. The few comments I have in this regard is that some detail is lost in maps that cross to the facing page, page numbers are omitted on full page maps, which can be confusing, and although most of the maps are easily read, a small magnifying glass might be useful in some cases. The “Guide to Sources and Further Reading” is, in essence, an annotated bibliography and is extremely useful.

It’s a lovely book, full of extraordinary maps and stories. Islands are not just geologic land forms. Thanks to this book they are living and breathing entities with long and layered histories. As a person interested in maps, I have collected many good tourist and Ordnance Survey maps of these islands, some 30 years old now, but I really wish I had had access to *Scotland: Mapping the Islands* before I made my trips.

As Magnus Linklater put it, “Scotland’s islands were made for maps.” And here they are.

Marianne McKee, the co-editor of *Virginia in Maps*, is a past President of the Washington Map Society and a Portolan contributor. Her “Expanding a Child’s World: Map Books for Children and Young Readers,” was in issue 81 (Fall 2011); she co-authored “Trouble In Mapland: The Absconder, The Debtor, And The Affabulateur (Frederick Bossler, Samuel Lewis, And John Francis Renault) in issue 88 (Winter 2013).” Ms. McKee served for a number of years as the Map Specialist at the Library of Virginia.



(continued from page 80)

## PICTURING AMERICA: THE GOLDEN AGE OF PICTORIAL MAPS

included in *Picturing America*. This reviewer was particularly interested in the discussion regarding six large wall maps illustrating the American naval war effort during the Second World War. Pictorial map publication began to wane in the years following World War Two, in part, by the retirement of its mapmakers and the increasing use of photography in advertising. Yet, the maps presented are very striking and are examples of American postwar prosperity.

Since this is the first publication to focus on this genre, libraries and collectors alike are encouraged to add this to their holdings. *Picturing America* is a nifty reference tool and readers will find of value the biographies provided of the graphic artists who made pictorial maps.

WMS member Cassandra Britt Farrell is Senior Map Archivist at the Library of Virginia in Richmond. Her article “The Library of Virginia’s Civil War Map Collection” appeared in issue 85 (Winter 2012) of this journal. Her review of *Map: Exploring the World* appeared in issue 95 (Spring 2016) and of *Treasures from the Map Room: A Journey through the Bodleian Collections* in issue 99 (Fall 2017). The viewpoints in this review are the author’s and do not reflect those of the Library of Virginia. Dr. Hornsby spoke on this subject at the WMS 2017 Annual Dinner.



*A Night-club Map of Harlem*. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1933. Courtesy Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. Call number G3804. N4:2H3E622 1932 .C3. Digital ID – <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3804n.ct007809>



## Spotlight on the Membership

A recurring profile feature to help members know each other and appreciate the talent and diversity that are distinguishing characteristics of the Washington Map Society.

**JOCELYN COULON:** *Cartographic interests:* Africa and atlases. *Professional background:* BA, Political Science, University of Montreal, 1984; Journalist and researcher on peacekeeping and international affairs; former senior policy advisor to the Canadian Minister of Foreign affairs; research fellow at University of Montreal since 2017. *Member:* Washington Map Society, International Map Collectors' Society, The Brussels Map Circle and The Hakluyt Society. *Comments:* Since I was a young boy, I've always been interested in maps and globes. Early on I was especially fascinated by the exploration and mapping of Africa. I've started collecting fifteen years ago acquiring maps, atlases, views and globes in French. My collection of African maps start from 1575 up to the beginning of the twentieth century. And to make sure that I understand what is on a map or a globe, I have built up a library of books on cartography, maps, exploration.

**BENJAMIN B. OLSHIN:** *Cartographic interests:* Atlantic & Pacific Ocean; Latin America; East Asia; urban mapping; history of cartography; imaginary cartography; cartography in art and design. *Professional background:* B.A. in Classics, Williams College; M.A. and Ph.D. in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, University of Toronto. I am an academic, teaching and doing research in a wide range of areas including design, history, history of science, and philosophy. *Comments:* My interest in maps was inspired by two wonderful professors at the U of Toronto, who noted my disparate interests in history, science, fine art, and design; maps are a way to combine all of these. My graduate thesis was on medieval and early Renaissance exploration and mapping of the Atlantic Ocean. Working in Taiwan led to an engagement with East Asian maps and mapping, and access to a collection of privately held maps led to my 2014 book, *The Mystery of the Marco Polo Maps*. Through the development of a course on cities, I have become interested in urban mapping, and the design of cities, comparing various cities in which I have lived (Philadelphia, Lisbon, São Paulo, Tokyo, Taipei, and so on). *Other interests:* As part of my work in the history and philosophy of science, I have written on the philosophy of physics (my new book is entitled *Deciphering Reality: Simulations, Tests, and Designs* (Leiden: Brill, 2017) and concerns views of reality from the perspectives of physics, art, and Eastern and Western philosophy). I also

am currently seeking to merge my work in physics and cartography with research into the structure of spacetime, looking at selected mapping models of space and time, based on the work of Einstein, Minkowski, and others.

**DONALD PERKINS:** *Cartographic Interests:* Maps of areas where I have traveled and know the terrain from hiking, for example Western Pennsylvania and Central Italy (Tuscany). I have a 1759 London map and the account of General Braddock's ill-fated attempt to capture Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh); it describes Braddock's route along the Laurel Highlands. A related map from 1756 shows the boundaries of the Colony of Pennsylvania and the Penn family acquisitions and Indian agreements. My deFer 1702 map of the Church Lands of Central Italy and Tuscany shows many towns and areas where I have hiked. Virginia, my home state, is shown on my 1862 West and Johnson map; this is one of the last full-state maps (i.e. including now West Virginia) issued by the Confederacy. A treasure inherited from my late wife, Alice Rechlin Perkins, is the Plan of the City of New York in North American, published in 1776; this map notes the routes of the British and American forces going to and from the 1775 Battle of Long Island. *Professional background:* Dartmouth College BA, Tuck School of Business and Thayer School of Engineering (MBA & Engineering) at Dartmouth. Westinghouse Oceanic Division and National Academies (National Academy of Engineering, Marine Board). *Comments:* In my early years I collected maps of all sorts, mostly petroleum company road maps, but my map-related work, in later years, was with the Marine Board of the National Academies. Some projects involved engineering studies about the Arctic coasts and national coastline changes; this work required both shoreline and inland data, sometimes involving historical cartography. The greatest influence on my cartographic interests was my wife who I met during an annual meeting of the WMS—an incredibly remote probability, but a wonderful miracle for us. She had a doctorate in Geography (University of Michigan) and was "The Geographer" at the National Geographic Society before we were married. Her interests in geographic and surface physical geology influenced our life and travels, including observations from the air of western U.S. terrain and glaciers in Alaska.





## **THIS PAGE IS AT THE WMS WEB SITE FOR EASY 'LINKING'**

By popular request, this page and similar ones back to the Spring 2013 issue, are now posted to the WMS website for easy linking to the websites cited below. Go to [www.washmapsociety.org/CN.htm](http://www.washmapsociety.org/CN.htm).

## **A REMINDER FOR ALL MEMBERS: DIGITAL ACCESS TO PAST ISSUES OF THE PORTOLAN**

A new membership benefit has been added for members of the Washington Map Society. Past issues of *The Portolan* have been digitized and are now available for reading by all paid members via the *For WMS Members Only* tab at the [www.washmapsociety.org](http://www.washmapsociety.org).

## **GINSBERG COLLECTION GIFTED TO NORWAY**

*From a Press Release by the National Library of Norway:*  
"The world's largest private collection of maps of Norway and the northern areas has been purchased by the Sparebankstiftelsen DNB foundation and [is being] transferred to the National Library of Norway [by the end of 2017]. At the same time, the Government will allocate funds for a new map centre in the National Library. William B. Ginsberg's map collection is the most valuable donation the library has ever received.... "A national cultural treasure is now coming home to Norway," says Aslak Sira Myhre, director general of the National Library. "When this amazing donation is combined with our existing map collection, the National Library will have the world's largest and most systematically compiled collection of maps of Norway and the northern regions, which will constitute one of the most important map collections for research in Europe." .... "This is one of the largest public-private partnerships in Norway ever and the first for a library of this magnitude. We are very happy and grateful to the Sparebankstiftelsen foundation, the Government and William Ginsberg who together have made it all possible," says Myhre.

*About the Ginsberg Collection:* American collector (and Washington Map Society member) William B. Ginsberg has spent 30 years building his collection of maps of Norway and the northern regions. The collection consists

of atlases and loose map sheets totalling several thousands of maps divided into around a thousand units. The value of the collection is around NOK 60 million [USD 7.7 million]. Among the maps in the collection is the first printed map of the Nordic region from 1482 and the first printed world map on which Norway is drawn from the same year. Ginsberg acquired the maps from all over the world, and has kept the collection primarily in the United States.

## **CORRECTION TO CORONELLI REVIEW**

In the review of *Vincenzo Coronelli Cosmographer (1650–1718)*, *The Portolan* issue 99, page 62, the town of the publisher Brepols should have read Turnhout, Belgium. We regret the error.

## **NEW MAP JOURNAL – CALAFIA**

California Map Society (CMS) President Susan Caughey has announced a printed copy of the current issue (September 2017) of *Calafia*, the new journal that has replaced the CMS newsletter. This issue is 28 pages created by its editor Juliet Rothman, publisher Fred DeJarlais and twenty contributors. Although many in the CMS elected to receive the newsletter electronically, the CMS Board of Directors decided that *Calafia* is so impressive that members would enjoy a printed copy. It will be issued twice a year and the CMS plans to also mail a printed copy of the next issue to all CMS members. The CMS may then revert to the cost-saving electronic distribution (unless they hear a great outcry for the printed version!).

## **MORE ON LAMPEDUSA**

*Portolan* issue 99 (Fall 2017), page 87, contained mention of an active Society on that Italian island promoting its history and cartography. Should any readers want to pursue that further, your contact is the group's President Antonino Taranto, at [tarantonino@libero.it](mailto:tarantonino@libero.it). He is especially interested in hearing from anyone who has or has seen an old map of Lampedusa or Linosa. One of their best finds thus far is the map accompanying this article. It was drawn ca. 1775 by the Knights of Malta who were intending to use Lampedusa as a refuge in case of naval battles and bad weather in the Mediterranean. The map



Melodia, Domenico. Map of Lampedusa, ca. 1775.

was found in the State Archives of Palermo and shows a little inhabited island full of trees. Unfortunately these numerous trees were cut down and used in shipbuilding or to make fires to cook food. Today the inhabitants and the Italian Government are trying to reverse this disaster and have planted trees wherever possible—mostly umbrella pines. The map was drawn ca. 1775 by Domenico Melodia following the observations of Giovanni Battista Ghiott, pilot for the Order of Malta at the time of Grand Master Emanuele De Rohan (1775–1797).

### CAERT-THRESOOR

This Dutch journal focuses on antique maps/cartography pertinent to the Netherlands, and other places as well. *Caert-Thresoor* is published mainly in Dutch, but the primary articles contain an English summary at the end of the article. See their web site at [www.caert-thresoor.nl](http://www.caert-thresoor.nl) or write to mr. G.G.J. Boink, secretary to the editorial committee of *Caert-Thresoor*, c/o Nationaal Archief, PO Box 90520, 2509LM The Hague, The Netherlands.

### LISTING OF CONTENTS AND INDEX TO THE PORTOLAN

A full listing of the contents of all past *Portolans* is at the *Portolan* website, as is an index to those contents. With

those features you can see the wide breadth of topics that has been covered in all past issues. The lists may downloaded if you would like a paper copy. Visit [www.washmap-society.org/TPJ2.htm](http://www.washmap-society.org/TPJ2.htm)

### CORRESPONDENCE OR ADDRESS/E-MAIL CHANGES TO THE WASHINGTON MAP SOCIETY

The Society may be contacted in two ways.

- For any *Portolan*-related correspondence, please send your inquiries directly to the Editor, Tom Sander, at 9501 Burke Road, # 10793, Burke, VA 22009-8036 USA. Or by e-mail at [sanderva@erols.com](mailto:sanderva@erols.com).
- For membership-related and other non-*Portolan* correspondence, to include changes in your mailing and/or e-mail address, send the information to John Docktor at 3100 N. Highway A1A, PH A1, Ft. Pierce FL 34949-8831 USA. Or by e-mail to [washmap@gmail.com](mailto:washmap@gmail.com). Please note mailing address change as of March 1, 2018: Mr. John W. Docktor, 3158 Gracefield Rd Apt 103, Silver Spring MD 20904-0817 USA



# Tributes and Thanks to Joel Kovarsky Compiler, Recent Publications, 2007–2017

*After 10 years Joel is stepping down, but not without some thanks  
from several people who really appreciate his work.*

## **FROM BERT JOHNSON, PAST PRESIDENT, WASHINGTON MAP SOCIETY**

When Eric Wolfe died, the Washington Map Society suddenly faced with the challenge of finding someone quickly to take over the *Recent Publications* column in the *Portolan*. The only person I could think of was Joel Kovarsky. Joel had published four articles and several book reviews in the *Portolan* on various facets of cartobibliography and been part of a discussion panel on the same topic at the 2007 ICHC in Bern. I think the same idea was hovering in the back of the *Portolan* Editor's mind, so both of us were delighted (and relieved) when Joel accepted the invitation. The column missed only one edition of the *Portolan*, a gap I have come to regard as an informal memorial to Eric's diligence.

Joel began his stewardship in the September 2007 issue (No. 69) and has never faltered. I would sometime come across a book or article that I thought had been missed and would send him an email about it. In most cases, either I had just missed it, or it was in the draft of his upcoming column. I felt a rare sense of contribution when I could actually contribute one, or apprise him of a foreign journal that might prove useful. (Joel said I was the only member who sent him contributions on a continuing basis.) Joel did not work in a vacuum; he and his counterparts at other institutions (notably Ron Grim and Nick Millea, the *Imago Mundi* book review and recent pubs editors) exchanged notes to ensure coverage. On receiving a new *Portolan*, one of the first things I do is run my eyes down the *Recent Publications* column. I am looking for topics of interest, but also noting names of interest, since I know so many persons who are now the frequent authors of such items. It's one of those little things that holds together the small but intensely focused community of cartographic scholars around the world.

Amidst all this other writing, Joel was able to write and publish his own well received book, *The True Geography of Our Country: Jefferson's Cartographic Vision* in 2014, and to speak to the Washington Map Society and several other audiences on this topic.

I am delighted that Leah Thomas has consented to take stewardship of the Recent Publications column. Her


background as both academic and map librarian specialist at the Library of Virginia should serve her well, and I'm certain that Joel will do all he can to make the transition a smooth one. My thanks to Joel for all his hard work, and my best wishes to Leah for the future.

## **FROM NICK MILLEA, MAP LIBRARIAN, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD:**

I'm not sure who else Joel reached out to, but he assiduously supplied me, in my capacity as Bibliographer for *Imago Mundi* [the International Journal for the History of Cartography], with copies of his bibliography compiled for *The Portolan*. Joel's leads were particularly helpful for North American publications, which often seem to slip the European net, and would have otherwise gone unnoticed.

I only ever met Joel once—at an ICHC—I can't remember which one—Bern or Copenhagen, I suspect. It was useful to put a face to an invaluable email correspondent, and I have always been hugely appreciative of his willingness to share the fruits of his research, and as a result, the *Imago Mundi* Bibliography became a much stronger and comprehensive publication as a direct consequence of Joel's contribution. I am convinced that he will be missed way beyond the reach of *The Portolan*, and wish him a well-deserved breather!

## **FROM MARY PEDLEY, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, IMAGO MUNDI**

Looking at the cumulative list for the past ten years, it is a very impressive list, especially for its intended, largely anglophone, audience. I don't know how much of it is replicated in the *Imago Mundi* bibliography, which of course includes many more foreign language titles and full referencing. *The Portolan* "Recent Publications" seems to draw from a wide range of journals, newspapers, web sites, and other digital publications, so I hope Leah can keep casting that broad net. I know as an associate editor of *Imago Mundi*, part of my remit is to alert Nick to recent publications I come across, and perhaps you editors of the *Portolan* and at large members of the WMS do the same for the "recent publications" editor. I wish Leah every success in maintaining such a useful aid for research and map appreciation. 



## Recent Publications

Compiled by Joel Kovarsky

This is a listing of recent publications (articles and books) about maps, cartography, geography and related fields. Besides the latest information below, a complete and searchable listing of the past ten years of these columns is accessible FREE at [www.washmapsociety.org/Recent-Publications.htm](http://www.washmapsociety.org/Recent-Publications.htm). Click on that link to open in Adobe Reader or similar programs, and you can search or browse. To search, as you would on any browser page or .pdf document, hit ctrl-F, look for the dialog box, and enter the text for which you wish to search.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This is Joel's final compilation. Leah Thomas, to be introduced in the next issue, is the next compiler. In the future, please supply materials for this column directly to Leah at [leah848@gmail.com](mailto:leah848@gmail.com) or by mail to Leah Thomas, 244 N. Sycamore St., Apt. 1, Petersburg, VA 23803-3247 USA.

### ARTICLES

Ahrens, M.O. (2017). The impact of Captain Johnathan Carver's maps and journals on the 1782-1783 British-American peace agreement. *Imago Mundi* 69(2): 216–32. ill.

Allen, David (2017). Mapping in Humboldt's shadow: Aaron Arrowsmith and the cartography of Mexico, 1803–1825. *Terrae Incognitae* 49(1): 50–67. ill.

Brentjes, Sonja (2015). Fourteenth-century portolan charts: challenges to our understanding of cross-cultural relationships in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions and of (knowledge?) practices of chart-makers. *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2(1): 79–122. ill., 68 footnotes plus bibliography.

Brown, Elizabeth (2017). 'A community gets the delinquents it deserves': crime mapping, race and the juvenile court. *British Journal of Criminology* 57(5): 1249–69.

Cams, Mario (2017). Not just a Jesuit atlas of China: Qing imperial cartography and its European connections. *Imago Mundi* 69(2): 188–201. ill.

Cronier, Marie and Dalché, Patrick Gautier (2017). A map of Cyprus in two fourteenth-century Byzantine manuscripts. *Imago Mundi* 69(2): 176–87. ill.

Davis, Gary A. (2017). Mapping the middle ground: exploratory surveying as distributed cognition. *Terrae Incognitae* 49(1): 21–36. ill.

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Gaspar, Joaquim Alves (2017). The planisphere of Juan de la Cosa (1500): the first Padrón Real or the last of its kind? *Terrae Incognitae* 49(1): 68–88. ill.

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Kawamura, Hirotada (2017). The national map of Japan in the Tokugawa Shogunate (1633–1725): misunderstanding corrected. *Imago Mundi* 69(2): 248–54. ill.

Kozica, Kazimierz (2017). Different states of the sea chart of the Gulf of Riga by Lucas Janszoon Waghenauer (1534-1606) from his first sea atlas Spiegel der Zeevaert (1583/1585) in the Niewodniczański Collection *Imago Poloniae* at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. *e-Perimetron* 12(2): 75-83. ill., 4 footnotes, 4 refs. Accessible at [http://www.e-perimetron.org/Vol\\_12\\_2/Kozica.pdf](http://www.e-perimetron.org/Vol_12_2/Kozica.pdf).

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Lockwood, Leigh (2017). Did my GPS wither my brain? *The Portolan* 99(fall): 61.

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Murrieta-Flores, Patricia and Howell, Naomi (2017). Towards the spatial analysis of vague and imaginary place and space: evolving spatial humanities through medieval romance. *Journal of Map & Geography Libraries* 13(1): 29-57.

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