

Early maps often include partially delineated floating strips of land, apparently seen by explorers navigating the seas. Some of these sightings of land turned out to be islands, others continents, and some were complete myths due to false reports and inaccurate coordinates. There is always a story behind who discovered these strips of land and how they first came to appear on maps. And there is often a separate, sometimes convoluted story about how they were depicted by cartographers and mapmakers over time. In this monograph I will share the stories behind the mapping of three adjacent landmasses northeast of Japan: *Staten Island, Compagnies Land* and *Da Gama's Land.*

At the beginning of the 18th century the waters and lands of the North Pacific were among the least-known areas of the inhabited globe. This remote region presented baffling problems to the geographers of Europe, and central to the mystery was the relationship of Asia and America. Were the two continents connected by a land-bridge, or separated by water-and, if the latter, by a narrow strait or a sea? Explorers of North America coming from the east could throw no light on the puzzle, for the course of overland exploration had not yet proceeded far beyond the line of the Mississippi and Lake Superior. On the Pacific coast the Spaniards from their Mexican ports had by the early 17th century carried out sketchy surveys of the shoreline as far north as Cape Blanco near latitude 43°N., but beyond that stretched the longest unexplored coastline in the world. The next known point of land was Asiatic Kamchatka, and what lay between was a matter of speculation and rumor. Dean Swift could place the mythical *Brobdingnag* there without fear of contradiction, and professional geographers sketched in the *Strait of Anian*, De Fuca's inlet, *Aguilar's River*, and the hazy stretches of *Yedso, Company Land* and *Gama Land* on evidence little stronger than that for Gulliver's *Land of Giants*. On the opposite brinks of this great void in Europe's knowledge stood two peninsulas, California and Kamchatka, 5,000 miles apart, the one hot and arid, the other snow-covered and fogbound for much of the year. The physical contrast was indication enough of the immensity of the task attempted in the eighteenth century, which can be best visualized as a giant, if hesitant, pincer movement. The Russians in the far north, and the Spaniards from their bases in New Spain, slowly groped their way towards each other, although the final leap across the gap that still lay between them in the 1770s was made by an Englishman, James Cook.

Throughout the 17th century Lower or Baja California lay on the most northerly frontier of Spain's immense American empire. What was known of it from earlier coasting voyages, the most important of which was that of Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602-3, held out few attractions for settlement. There was no sign either of precious metals or of populous Indian nations. Mountains and deserts on one side and a forbidding shoreline with few harbors on the other provided deterrents stronger than reports that farther north in Upper or Alta California Vizcaino had found at Monterey a harbor which might serve as a port of call for the Manila galleon on its long annual voyage from the Philippines to Acapulco. Although during the course of the century missionaries slowly moved north up the Mexican mainland into the Sonora Valley, and efforts were made to cross the gusty waters of the Gulf of California to establish settlements on the western shore, not until the beginning of the 18th century was it discovered that California was

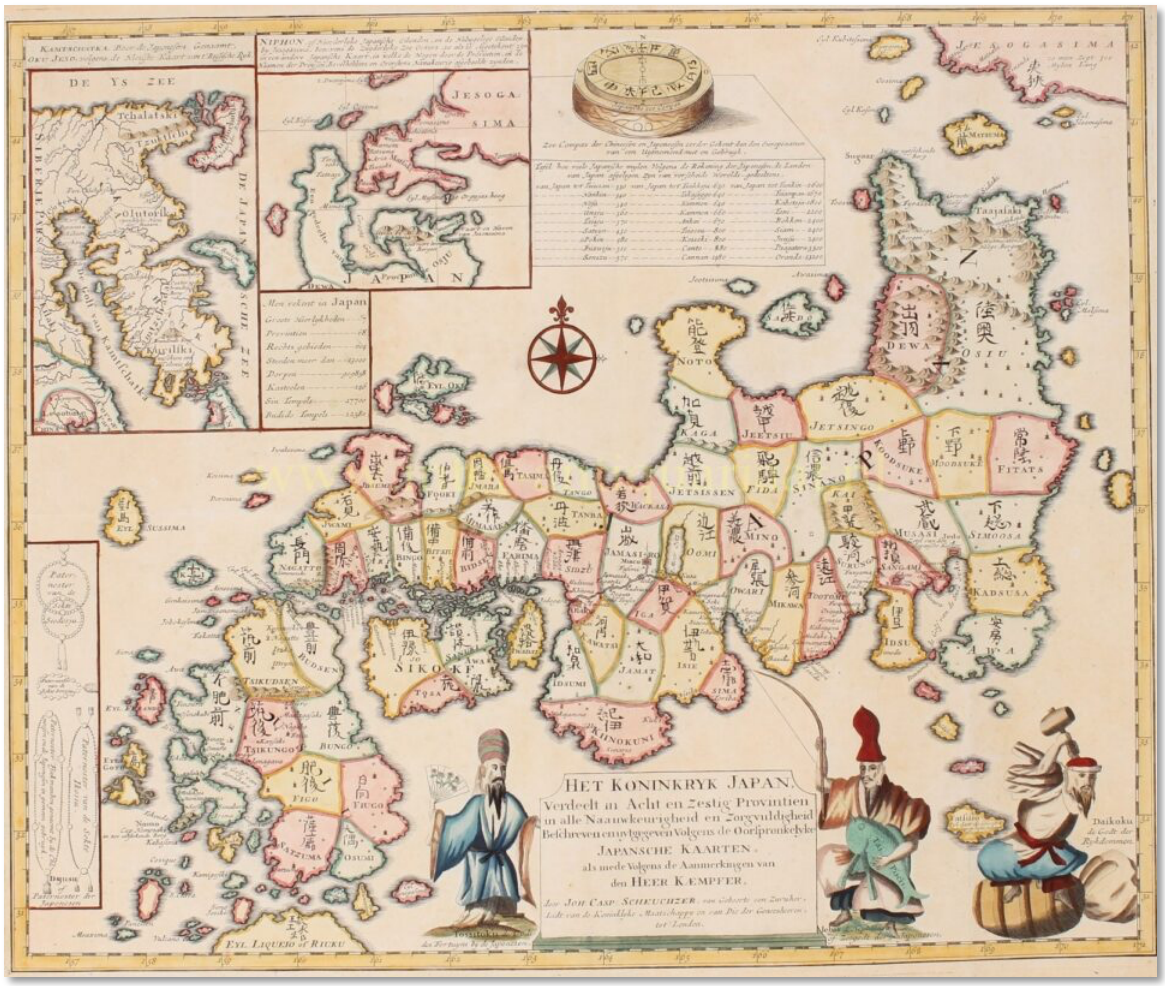
not an island but a peninsula. This was the individual achievement of yet another in the long line of Jesuit missionary explorers, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who from his mission post at Dolores on the San Miguel River pushed north to the Colorado and Gila Rivers, and during the course of more than fifty journeys on horseback and foot carried out the first interior exploration of Pimeria Alta (northern Sonora and southern Arizona). By the late 1690s Kino was absorbed in the quest for a land route to California, and by 1702 he had shown that one existed, although he himself never made the journey from Sonora across the head of the Gulf and on to the Pacific coast. Not until 1746 did Father Consag sail right round the Gulf of California, and so enable Ferdinand VII of Spain to issue a decree the next year proclaiming that '*California is not an Island*'. Kino's pioneering journeys were followed by other Jesuits, who by the middle of the century had established a dozen or so mission posts on the peninsula. Even so, Lower California remained isolated, thinly-held and always vulnerable to revolt by the Indians whose characteristics were sketched in such unflattering colors in the Jesuit *Noticia de la California of 1757*.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767-8 might have marked the end of the Californian mission, but they were eagerly replaced by the Franciscans who arrived as the region was about to become a springboard for a new expansion to the north, brought about by external factors, and above all by the menace posed to Spain's preemptive rights over the coast to the north by the Russians. Since the days of Drake Spain had been sensitive about English seaborne forays along the Pacific shores of its American empire; and Anson's depredations along the coasts of Chile, Peru and Mexico in 1741-2 revived Spanish fears, more particularly since Anson was no buccaneer but the commander of an official British naval expedition. French thrusts from the Mississippi Valley towards Texas and New Mexico were another source of concern, though calmed by the Bourbon Family Compact of 1761. Now this third threat directed Spanish attention to the far north and to the Russians.

Hardly had Japan been correctly located upon the maps when curiosity as to the components of the island group began to be expressed by voyagers and cartographers. For nearly two centuries thereafter, a state of confusion existed as to the distinction between the northern island of the group and the neighboring Asiatic mainland with its unexplored Kamchatkan peninsula and the North American mainland. A number of circumstances combined to bring about this condition of uncertainty. As early as 1565 it began to be said that north of the main island of the group laid an island called *Jesso*. Today we identify this island without hesitation as the important Japanese island of Yezo, but for a long time its position and nature were the standing enigma of the geographers, who gave the name indiscriminately to an island, to the peninsula of Kamchatka, to the mainland north of Kamchatka and to an east-running coast which existed only in the confusion of their thoughts. The Japanese themselves distinguished this island from the peninsula of Kamchatka, calling the one *Jeso Gasima* [the Island Ieso] and the other, *Oku Jeso* [Upper Ieso]. This distinction seems first to have come to European knowledge in the map constructed by Johan Gaspar Scheuchzer for his publication in 1727 of Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*. In the meantime for nearly two centuries the cartographers exercised their choice of delineating Yezo now in one and now in another of the several positions and categories.

This complexity in the delineation of the Pacific arose from the myth-making tendencies of mankind. Very soon after the first return voyage by the northern route from the Philippines to Mexico it began to be rumored that certain rich islands lay in the

Pacific to the east of Japan. On a voyage from Manila, or rather from Macao to Acapulco, undertaken in 1584, Francisco Gali, the commander, encouraged by the stories of his Chinese pilot, sought and claimed to have found northeast of Japan four islands of great richness in the precious metals and other esteemed products. The existence of these *Islas Armenicao*, or *Isles of the Armenian*, was testified to also by a circumstantial story of an earlier Portuguese visit to these islands in which an Armenian trader of Malacca played a leading part. It was popularly supposed that in the general neighborhood of the *Isles of the Armenian* lay others of equal wealth, the *Rica de Oro* and the *Rica de Plata*. In 1586 the viceroy of New Spain, dreaming of another Peru, lying conveniently on the route from the Philippines to Mexico, sent out Pedro de Unamuno in search of the Armenian's islands with their stone-built cities and well-mannered, well-dressed, friendly, white inhabitants. Unamuno sailed to the designated area upon his chart where, at about 450 leagues east of the Philippines between 29° and 34° north latitude, the rich islands were supposed to lie, but after exploring that area for a long time concluded that neither the *Armenian* islands nor the *Rica de Oro* and the *Rica de Plata* had actual existence.



Imperium Japonicum in Sexaginta et Octo Provincias Divisum , Johan Gaspar Scheuchz, 1727
In the top left is a map oF the Russian Kamchatka Peninsula with "Kurllsky" (Kuril Islands) in the south, Even in the 18th century, there was uncertainty about which country the Kuril Islands belonged to, as is apparent from the cartographer's caption: "perhaps a colony of the

Japanese". In the upper right corner is a portion of Jesogasima, or Jesso, a representation of Hokkaido, which remained quite mysterious at this time. Some maps show it as a small island, while others show it as a near-continent sized landmass that, together with other chimeras like Compagnies Land and Staten Land, practically covered the North Pacific.

The Unamuno report was soon forgotten, but not the dream of wealth. In 1611 another viceroy commissioned Sebastian Vizcaino to discover and settle either the existence of *Rica de Oro* or the *Rica de Plata*, but this merchant-mariner became involved in affairs in Japan and neglected to search for the islands. We hear no more thereafter of Spanish efforts to discover the islands, but the torch they dropped was soon to be taken up and carried by the Dutch with their customary zeal and thoroughness.

So persistent was the rumor of the existence of the *Rica de Oro* and its sister island that the Dutch East India Company felt it could not afford to let the chance of finding them go by. In 1639 the Company sent out an expedition of discovery under Mathijs Quast and Abel Janszoon Tasman, and, not discouraged by the lack of result from this voyage, equipped and in 1643 dispatched another under the command of Maarten Gerritszoon Vries. Naturally enough Vries, too, was unable to report upon islands which had no existence, but in the course of his thorough search for them he accomplished many other things, sighting the east coast of the Japanese island of Yezo [a.k.a. Ezo, Hokkaido], visiting Sakhalin, Russia farther north, and sailing southward to Taiwan. One hears little more in literature or cartography of *Rica de Oro* and *Rica de Plata* after the Vries voyage, but evidently they were hard to forget. As late as 1753 they are named and located in the Pacific east of Japan in John Green's *Chart of North and South America*, in most features a realistic work of cartography.

The Vries voyage seems to have been the most thorough exploration of the Japanese seas yet made by any European expedition, but its effect in the long run was to deepen the confusion that already existed concerning that area. His voyage was plagued with fog, making both sighting land and making landfall difficult. His ship was required to stay well away from the coastline as it continued northeast of Yezo. Vries reached the southern Kuril Islands, which were unknown to Europeans at the time. Cruising northeast, Vries passed between two of the nearer Kurile Islands by a strait that afterwards bore his name. He designated the island to the west of the strait *Staten Eylandt* [now known as Iturup] after the Dutch States General and the one to the east *Compagnies Landt* [now Urup] after the Dutch East India Company. Vries did not attempt to circumnavigate the island, but instead sailed north between *Staten Eyland* and *Compagnies Landt* along a strait named after him: *Vries Strait*. He believed that *Compagnies Landt* was not an island but continental land, a part of the northwest coast of America. There is found in the Rijks Archief at The Hague an anonymous manuscript chart of the voyage of Vries upon which these discoveries are laid down. Here is the beginning of the confusion that was to plague mariners and cartographers for a century. Upon that chart only the curving western coastline of *Compagnies Landt* is shown. No indication is given of its shape or area, but the delineation implies an indefinite extension to the eastward. An account of Vries' voyage was published in 1646, however his discoveries did not regularly appear on maps until more than a decade later. To date, the first known printed appearance of *Staten Eyland* and *Compagnies Landt*, the latter of which was only partially delineated, is on Willem and Joan Blaeu's wall map of the world from 1645-46, of which only one known example exists. Joan Blaeu also included the islands on his world map of 1648, which is also very scarce. Afterwards this

imaginary feature of the northern Pacific was accepted by most professional cartographers. It also appeared on a printed map when in 1650 Jansson constructed, upon the basis of an anonymous chart, or one very much like it, his *Nova et Accurata Iaponiae*, in which, separating *Staten Eylandt* from *Compagnies Landt*, appears *Straet de Vries*. The error of Vries was thus perpetuated by the highest cartographical authority of the times. That was bad enough but soon a further confusion was to find record upon the best maps of the period.

Below is Joan Blaeu's *Nova et Accuratissima Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula,* 1658. Blaeu's folio-sized world map that closely follows the cartography of his 1648 wall map, showing only the western coastline of *Compagnis Landt* separated from an unnamed *Staten Eyland* by *Straet Fries* (Vries Strait)



Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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A more detailed depiction of the islands was included on Jan Jansson's small map of Japan, *Iaponia et Terra Eso*, which Jansson had newly engraved for the final two editions of his *Atlas Minor* in 1648 and 1651, due to a break in the previous plate of Japan. While Jansson's map follows the same outlines of the islands as on Blaeu's maps of 1645-46 and 1648, it adds several place names, including two capes and a mountain on *Compagnies Landt* and a cape on *Staten Eyl*. Jansson subsequently created a folio-sized edition of this map for his *Novus Atlas*, first published in 1658, adding a few more place names to *Staten Eylant* and extending the coastlines of *Companies Landt* further east, making it significantly larger.



Jan Jansson, Iaponia et Terra Eso, 1648. The Atlas Minor edition of this map shows a smaller Compagnies Landt.



Asiae Nova Delineatio, 1657, Nicolas Visscher

Japan and Hokkaido (*Yedso*) are mapped according to the 1643 discoveries of Dutchmen Maerten de Vries and Cornelis Jansz Coen, Vries and Coen were in search of gold and silver islands supposedly discovered early by a mysterious Spanish or Portuguese navigator, Juan de Gama, They sailed up the east coast of Japan and continued northward into the bay separating Honshu from Hokkaido, They skirted the east coast of this bay before discovering Kunashir, here Staten Land, the most westerly of the Japanese Kuril Island, They also sighted Iturup or Etorofu, the second Kuril Island. This island they only tenuously explored and named *Compagnie*, after the VQC, their sponsors, Subsequent maps assigned great mass to *Compagnie* on little more than speculation. These islands were not mete properly mapped until the explorations of Vitus Behring. Korea appears with minimal detail, but correctly indicated as a peninsula rather than the insular depiction common on maps from the late 16th and early 17th century.

The etymology of the idiom *Yesso* (*Eso, Yeco, Jesso, Yedso*) is most likely the Japanese *Ezo-chi*; a term used for the lands north of the island of Honshu. During the Edō period (1600-1886), it came to represent the 'foreigners' on the Kuril and Sakhalin islands. As European traders came into contact with the Japanese in the seventeenth century, the term was transferred onto European maps, where it was often associated

with the island of Hokkaido. It varies on maps from a small island to a near-continent sized mass that stretches from Asia to Alaska.

The toponym held interest for Europeans because the island was supposedly tied to mythic riches. Father Francis Xavier (1506-1552), an early Jesuit missionary to Japan and China, related stories that immense silver mines were to be found on a secluded Japanese island; these stories were echoed in Spanish reports. The rumors became so tenacious and tantalizing that Abraham Ortelius included an island of silver north of Japan on his 1589 map of the Pacific.

Yesso is often tied to two other mythical North Pacific lands, *Gamaland* and *Compagnies Land*. As mentioned earlier, Juan de Gama, the grandson of Vasco de Gama, was a Portuguese navigator who was accused of illegal trading with the Spanish in the East Indies. Gama fled and sailed from Macau to Japan in the later 16th century. He then struck out east, across the Pacific, and supposedly saw lands in the North Pacific. These lands were initially shown as small islands on Portuguese charts, but ballooned into a continent-sized landmass in later representations.

Several voyagers sought out these chimerical islands, including the Dutchmen Matthijs Hendrickszoon Quast in 1639 and Maarten Gerritszoon Vries in 1643. *Compagnies Land*, often shown along with *Staten Land*, were islands sighted by Vries on his 1643 voyage. He named the islands for the Dutch States General (*Staten Land*) and for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (*Compagnies*, or Company's Land). In reality, he had re-discovered two of the Kuril Islands. However, other mapmakers latched onto *Compagnies Land* in particular, enlarging and merging it with *Yesso* and/or *Gamaland*.

In the mid-18th century, Vitus Bering, a Danish explorer in Russian employ, and later James Cook would both check the area and find nothing. La Perouse also sought the huge islands, but found only the Kurils, putting to rest the myth of the continent-sized dream lands.



Mappe-Monde Geo-Hydrographique, ou Description Generale du Globe Terrestre et Aquatique en Deux Plans-Hemispheres . . . Suivant les Relations Les Plus Nouvelles . . . et Principalement sur la Carte que Monsieur N. Witzen Bourgemaistre . . .

This rare and highly detailed double-hemisphere map of the World is one of the greatest historical works of theoretical cartography and the earliest obtainable printed map to depict the '*Mer de l'Ouest*' [Sea of the West], one of history's most consequential cartographic myths. The map is also noteworthy for its extraordinary treatment of New Zealand, Australia, Baja California, the Northwest Passage and the supposed land bridge between North America and Asia. Present here is one of the two early states of Mortier's map which is cartographically based on the highly controversial wall map of the world by Jean-Baptiste Nolin.

The two large hemispheres are set aloft amidst highly elegant cartouches and diagrams, and above a picturesque maritime scene. The most cartographically important aspect of the map is its bold depiction of an enormous '*Mer de l'Ouest*' entering deep into the western portion of the North American mainland. This recently-conceived cartographic misconception was to have a prominent role in geography for the next three generations. It was also of practical consequence, as it posited that the North American landmass was much narrower than otherwise thought, and could perhaps be traversed overland without great hardship.

The map also includes an especially clear depiction of the '*Strait of Anian*', or the Northwest Passage, shown as a wide open channel flowing nearly due northwest from the *Mer de l'Ouest* to the upper part of Hudson Bay. This was a most welcome feature to mariners, and while first conceived in the 1560s, the concept of the strait had recently been revived with great vigor.

To the west of the Northwest Passage, is a vast, yet ambiguous, landmass, '*Terres Inconnues ou Terres de Jesso*', which represents a virtually unbroken land bridge between Asia and North America. Broken only by narrow straits, it seems to connect North

America with the '*Terre de La Compagnie*' (the Kurile Islands of Japan) and the Asian mainland.

Further south in North America, one observes two distinct peninsulas, which appear to be an oversized projection of Baja California along with a second smaller example of Baja California to the North. We know of no other map that includes this curious anomaly.

Crossing to Oceania, the map depicts the outlines of the western two-thirds of Australia, based on the discoveries of explorers working for the Dutch East India Company (the VOC). These include Willem Jansz's discoveries in the Gulf of Carpentaria, in 1606; the encounters of Dirk Hartog, in 1616, the crew of the *Leeuwin*, in 1622 and Pieter Nuyts, in 1627, in Western Australia; Jan Cartensz and Willem van Colster discoveries in North Australia, in 1623, as well as Abel Tasman's encounters in Tasmania and New Zealand, in 1642-44. Most interestingly, the map presents a bulging conjectural eastern coastline for Australia, an area not explored by Europeans until Cook's First Voyage (1768-1771).

Another curious feature is the treatment of New Zealand, with its northernmost coastline nearly attaching itself to a massive unknown southern continent, '*Terres Australes et Inconnues ou Antarctiques*', suggesting that New Zealand was either part of Antarctica or separated from it only by a narrow strait.

The Indonesian Archipelago is a well-formed base on VOC knowledge, except that the shape of New Guinea still remains ambiguous. Notably, the map features the discoveries of the pirate-circumnavigator William Dampier, above New Guinea, after his voyages conducted during the 1690s.

The Philippines assume their shape prior to the publication of Padre Pedro Murillo Velarde's map, in 1744. Continental southeast Asia assumes a refined form, and includes the intelligence gathered by the French embassy to Siam, made shortly before Western contact with the kingdom was cut-off in 1688.

Further north in Asia, the coasts of China are relatively well formed, based on the surveys conducted by the Jesuit Martino Martini, in the 1640s and 1650s. Korea is correctly shown as a peninsula, albeit of a somewhat nebulous form. The southern main islands of Japan are relatively well formed, based on the charting of VOC mariners operating out of Nagasaki.

The southern main islands of Japan are relatively well formed, however Hokkaido ('*Terre de Jeço*') and the Kurile Islands ('*Terre de la Compagnie*'), are vaguely and only partially delineated, after the discoveries of Maarten de Vries, in 1643. A related annotation on the chart questions whether '*Yedso*' is an island or part of Mainland Asia, a query that would not be answered until the voyages of the Comte de la Perouse, in 1787. Further to the northwest is the mysterious '*Mer de Tartarie*' and the near land bridge to North America, taking the observer full circle.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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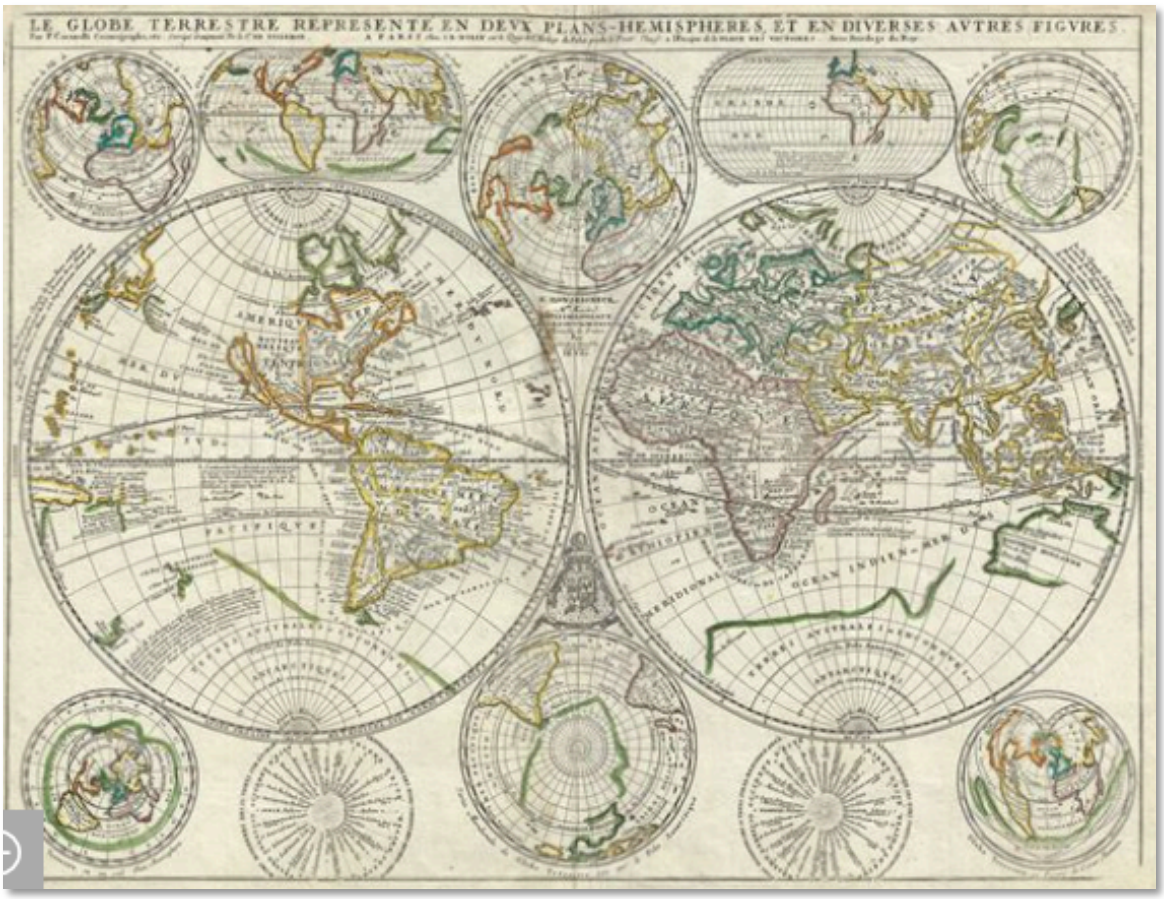
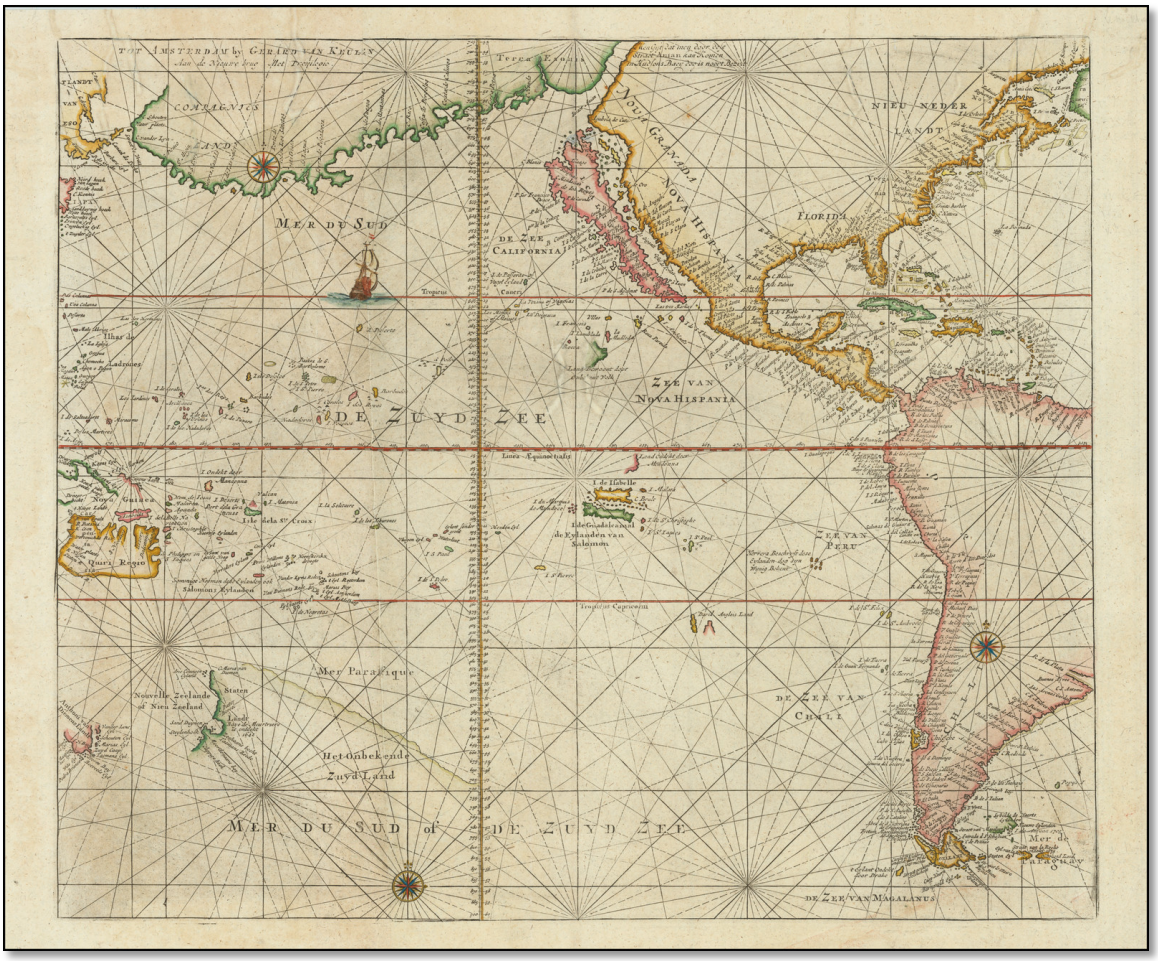


1742 Nolin map





De Zuyd Zee [The South Seas] by Van Keulen, 1720

A untitled c. 1720 Gerard van Keulen map of the Pacific and the Americas. This map reflects the degree to which the Pacific remained a terra incognita well into the 18th century. Points of interest include California as an Island, a vast landmass named 'Terre de Compagnie' between America and Asia, and the mapping of the discoveries of Alvaro de Mendana y Neira (Solomon Islands) and Pedro Ferdinand de Quiros (Quiri Regio).

In the north, coverage is bounded by Compagnie's Land, a speculative landmass associated with early Dutch landings on the Kuril Islands. In the south, it is bounded by Terre Australis, another speculative landmass with origins dating to the theoretical writings of Aristotle. A bold Antimeridian runs through the center of the map at 228º North America features a wealth of coastal detail, but little inland content. The transition from Dutch to English to Spanish place names suggests a variety of different sources. (#520.2)



The northern Pacific by Van Keulen, 1720

An unusual landmass identified as Het Compagnie's Land here stretches from the Strait of Anian westward from northwestern North America to Hokkaido (t'Landt van Eso). Compagnie's Land dates to the exploration of Vries and Coen, who skirted the eastern coast of Japan and Hokkaido (then known as Yedo or Yeco) and sighted the Japanese Kuril islands of Kunashir and Iturup. They sailed fully around Kunashir, but only sighted the western shore of the larger Iturup before claiming both islands for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and naming them Compagnies Land. Cartographers began mapping Compagnies Land as a near continent-sized landmass stretching all the way to America. While based upon actual sightings of the Aleutian and Kuril Islands, limited exploration led explorers to believe they were seeing not a chain of small islands, but rather a part of an expansive mainland. These conclusions would be mirrored later in the 18th century by cartographers like Gerhard Friedrich Müller, who rendered the area as a great peninsula, until the meticulous mapping of Captain James Cook finally shed scientific light on the region.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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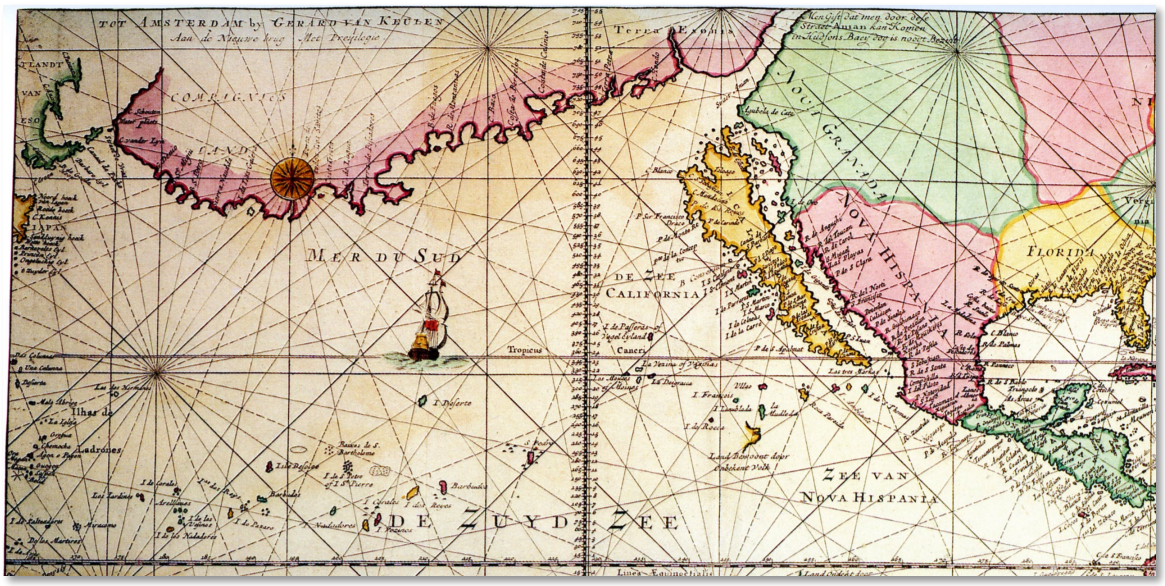

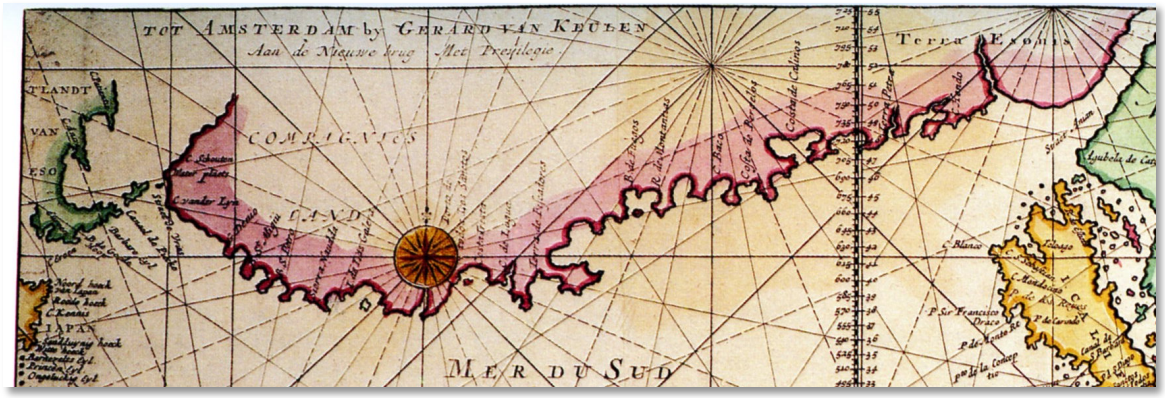

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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Nova et Accurata Iaponiae Terrae Esonis ac Insularum Adjacentium ex Novissima detectione descriptio [New and Accurate Description of Japan and Adjacent Islands Recently Discovered] Maerten Vries and Johannes Janssonius, 1658 , 45 x 55 cm

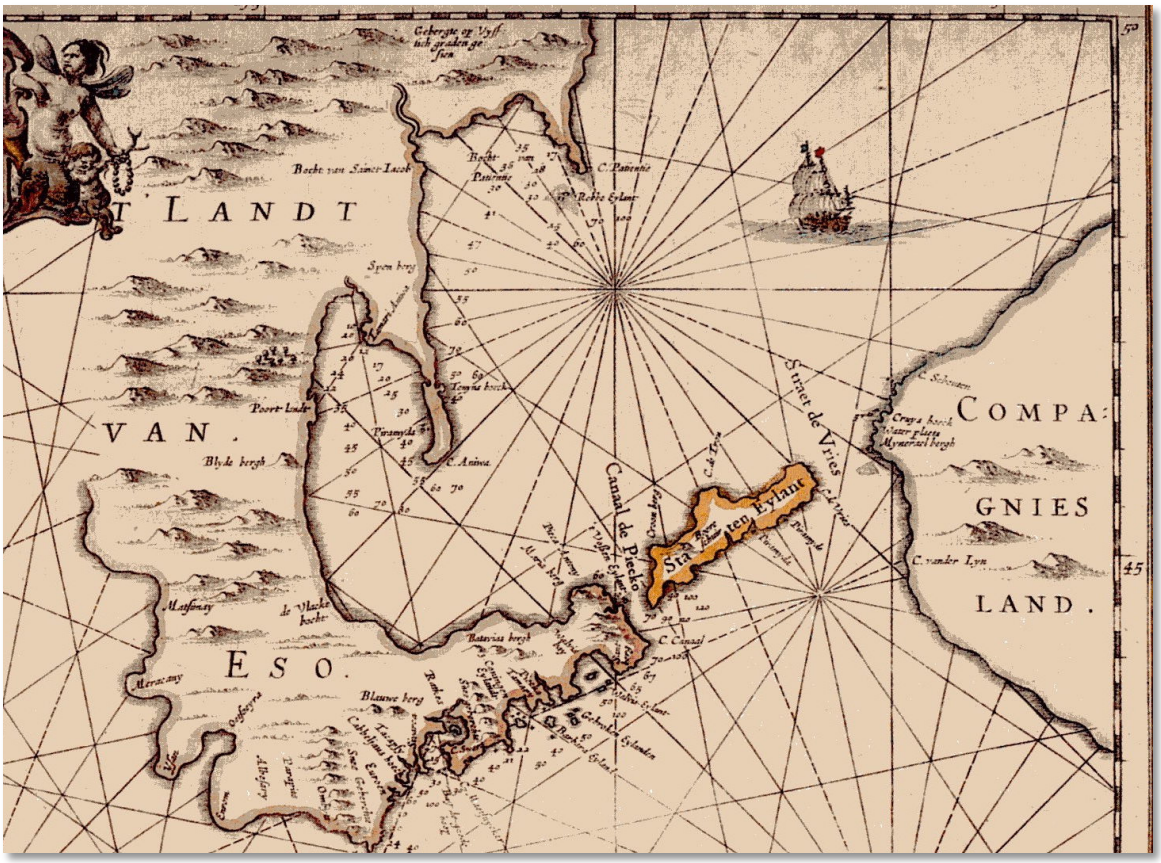
Johannes Janssonius' chart of Japan, Korea, and the northern islands in his enlarged world atlas shows both progress and regression in the mapping of the territory. It included new data from discoveries made by the Dutch explorer Maerten Vries on a historic voyage he led from Batavia (Jakarta), Java, to make a reconnaissance of Japan in 1643. Vries contributed significant information on parts of Japan's main island of Honshu that had not previously been seen by Westerners, enabling Janssonius to refine the shape and add new place-names. Vries also explored farther north, but his ensuing charts of that region showed mixed results.

This early attempt to map the complex area north of Japan widened the strait berween Honshu (bottom center) and "*Eso*" (Hokkaido) and inadvertently joined *Eso* with both Sakhalin Island to the north and the southern Kuril Islands to the east (upper right). Vries is considered the discoverer of the volcanic Kurils, some with mountains 2,200 meters high, that run 1,200 kilometers north and south between Kamchatka and Hokkaido. Being the first European to chart the coastlines surrounding these northern seas, Vries sailed between unknown islands in foggy conditions, improving but not perfecting the mapping of northeast Asia. He introduced an imaginary landmass of continental proportions, naming it *Compagnies Land* (after the Dutch East India Company, upper right), and called the nonexistent strait dividing it from Hokkaido,

Straet de Vries. This land became a geographical feature that would vex cartographers well into the 18th century. While he improved the shape of Korea from Teixeira's carrot-like insular form by widening its south coast, Vries continued to consider it an island.

The diagram within the cartouche at the top explains the distortion that occurs as the Mercator projection chart proceeds toward the Arctic. While spacing of longitude was equal, latitude intervals increased as the distance from the equator was extended. This allowed navigation along the straight lines known as rhumbs that radiate from the compass roses. Since the rectangular format of the Mercator projection effectively stretches the North or South Pole across 360 degrees of longitude, all landmasses are progressively widened as the map proceeds north or south of the equator.

More exploration was necessary to enable correct charting of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk. The most problematic was the latter, enclosed by Hokkaido, the Kurils, Kamchatka, the Siberian coast, and Sakhalin Island. It would be many generations before Western navigators could solve this cartographic mystery, making the configuration of this remote region one of the last on earth to be understood.



Jan Jansson, Nova et Accurata Iaponiae, Terrae Esonis. Ac Insularum Adjacentium, 1658. Jansson's folio map extends the coastline of Compagnies Land to the east.

The islands began to appear more regularly on maps by other Dutch cartographers around 1660, with those of the world and Asia copying the coastlines from Blaeu's world maps. Maps that focused on northern Asia and the North Pacific Ocean tended to follow Jansson's more detailed depiction of the islands with an enlarged *Compagnies Land.* However in 1663, Jansson made a change to Henricus

Hondius' world map that launched a new vision for *Compagnies Land*. Jansson merged the concepts of a westward bulging North America with Vries' discovery of *Compagnies Land*, thereby extending *Compagnies Land* across the entire North Pacific Ocean and connecting it with North America. It was a bold, misguided decision that Jansson would never again repeat on any other map, but one that would confuse cartographers for the next century.



A map of the Land of Eso {Hokkaidol, which appeared in Vander Aa's GalerieAgreable du Monde. The map illustrates the northern tip of Japan, Hokkaido and the neighboring Compagnie's Land. Pieter van der Aa
Le Pais d'Eso Avec ses Baies, Banes de Sables, etc. Suivant las nouvelles Observations des plus Celebres Geographes. 1725 circa



Henricus Hondius, Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula, 1630. Showing the northwest coast of North America



Jan Jansson, Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica ac Hydrographica Tabula, 1663. Jansson replaces "Nova Albion" and "C. Mendocino" with "Compagnies Land." Also shown is an unnamed Staten Island and "Straet de Vries."

Another compounding factor in the mapping of *Compagnies Land* was the report by explorer João da Gama. In 1589-90. Da Gama sighted land northeast of Japan while traversing the Pacific Ocean on his way to Mexico. It is unknown exactly where De Gama sighted the land and how long the coastline was, thereby becoming a point of speculation for cartographers. The "discoveries" by Da Gama and Vries were sometimes merged together as one island or landmass, and sometimes they appeared adjacent to one another. Interestingly, although Da Gama's voyage was over 50 years prior to Vries' expedition, the land discovered by Da Gama did not appear on maps until around 1700, well after *Compagnies Land* was a common addition on Dutch maps. Although it is unclear why Da Gama was suddenly introduced on maps more than a century after his voyage, his name first appeared on French maps by Delisle and Jaillot. In fact, notations regarding Da Gama are almost exclusively found on French, English and German maps, while Dutch maps continued to focus on Vries' discoveries.

In the year 1590 a Portuguese merchant of Macao in China had made his way to Mexico by the northern route, then become the customary course in that navigation. Reaching Acapulco he was arrested by the government and his papers seized. No more than that is known today of the voyage of this João da Gama. But though nothing is found concerning it in Mexican or Spanish archives, it seems clear that a report of Gama's voyage, perhaps a chart of it, somehow made its way to Portugal and the custody of the government. In the year 1649 João Teixeira, royal cosmographer of

Portugal, constructed a large map, most interesting in many particulars, of India and eastern Asia. Upon the map as first constructed by Teixeira there appears at about 45° north an extension of the Asiatic continent in the form of a long coast line running eastward without interruption towards the North American shores. The accompanying legend describes this coast as land seen by Don João da Gama in the course of a voyage from China to New Spain. It is supposed that Teixeira drew that feature of his map upon the basis of a report or chart of the Gama voyage of sixty years earlier to which as royal cosmographer of Portugal he would have had access.

The Teixeira map has an interesting history. It has been said that it was first engraved and printed at Lisbon in 1649, but no copy of that place and year has been discovered. In his *Nouoelles Cartes des Decouvertes de l' Amiral de Fonte*, J. N. Delisle tell us that a copy of the map was taken by the French from a captured Portuguese carrack and, having been brought to France, was turned over to Melchisedek Thevenot, who had it engraved for the second part of his *Relations de divers Voyages*, published in Paris in 1664. One assumes that the captured map was in manuscript form.

It is clear from its configurations that when Teixeira constructed his map of 1649 he had not learned of the voyage of Vries in 1643. Nor does Thevenot seem to have known of the Vries voyage when at an uncertain date after 1649 he caused to be engraved what we know as the first issue of the captured Portuguese map. Soon thereafter, however, knowledge of the Vries discoveries came to him. The new information so outmoded the northeastern portion of the Teixeira map that he changed his mind about its use for the illustration of his book and caused the whole eastern section of the map to be re-engraved. In this second state, the issue found normally with the Thevenot *Relations* of 1664, the coastline of *Gama Land* is shown as a pricked line of indefinite contour instead of the firmly drawn coast of the original Teixeira production. In this second state also the island of *Iezo*, shown in the first as the northernmost island of the Japanese group, has become a peninsula from the Asiatic mainland, and eastward of it appear, unnamed, Vries's *Staten Eylandt* and *Compagnies Landt* separated by a *Straet de Vries*. *Compagnies Landt* is shown as of indefinite extent. Here is the beginning of the confusion through which in certain later maps *Compagnies Landt* and *Gama Land* become indistinguishable. In fact, Thevenot seems in this revision of the Teixeira chart to be on the point of erasing *Gama Land* from the map and from his mind in favor of the land that Vries had named after the Compagnie which had sent him forth.

With all these elements of uncertainty in their minds, one is prepared for the weird results achieved by the cartographers of the next century in their delineations of the northern Pacific. Perhaps the most extravagant portrayal of the area in any of the well-known maps to be named is found in a group of four sectional charts in Dudley's *Arcana del Mare*, first published in 1646, too soon, it seems, for the cartographer to have learned of the voyage of Vries. Dudley's maps were sea charts intended for the use of the practical mariner, a circumstance which makes the grossness of error found in some of them all but incomprehensible. In these maps, almost identical but for a difference in size and for alterations in longitude, Japan is shown, as in the Ortelius map of 1595 and its Portuguese prototype, with its longer axis running east and west, but unlike Ortelius, or any other, Dudley carries the island from the Korean coast to points one-third or one-quarter of the way across the Pacific. North of Japan is displayed one of the longest of the world's coast lines, an unbroken reach of shore running east from the northern tip of the "island" of Korea virtually all the way across the Pacific. This is Dudley's *Iezo*. In one of his maps, the *Carta Terza Generale del' Asia*, the eastern extremity of *Iezo* is separated

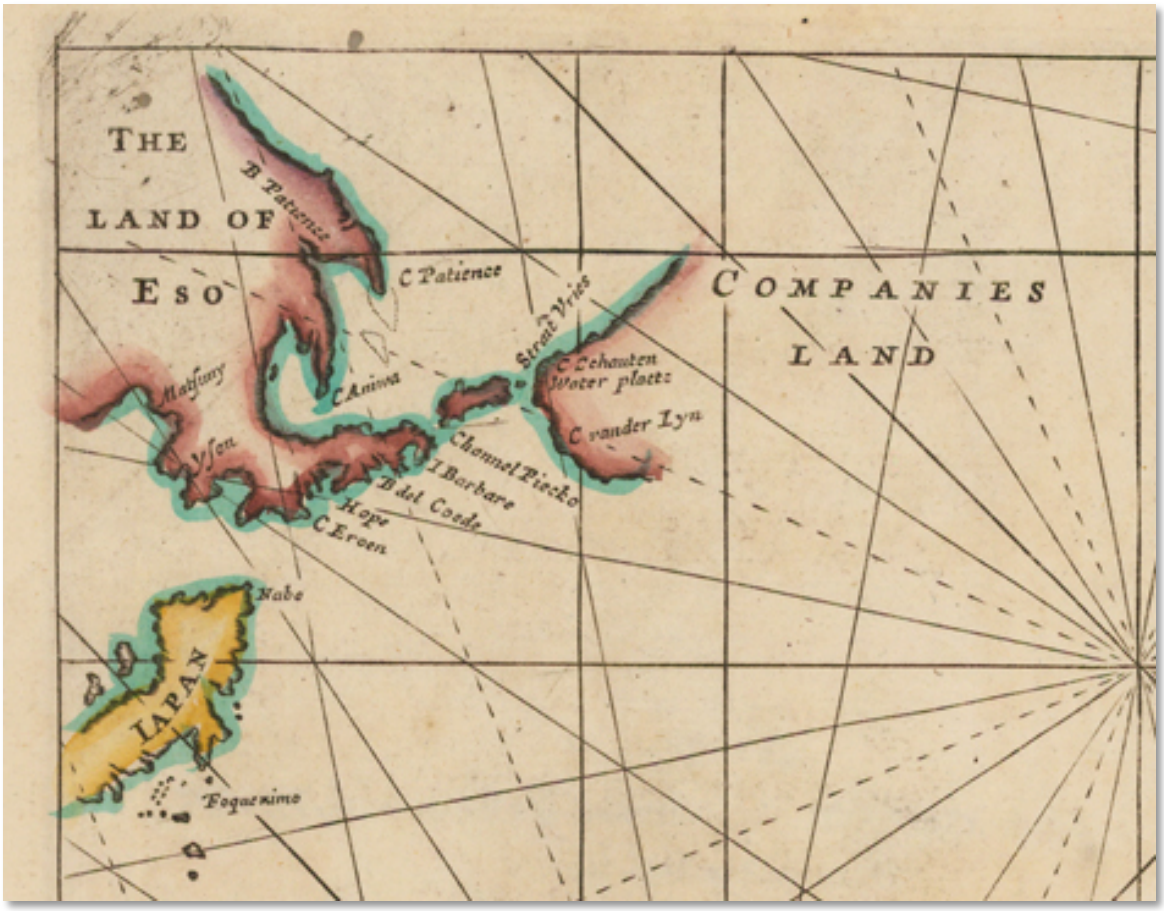
from California by the *Stretto di Iezo* of some three hundred leagues in width. In another of them, the *Carta particolare della parte Orientale del' Isola di Iezo*, this strait, beginning at some 5° north of Cape Mendocino on the California coast, has been narrowed to about six hundred miles. Dudley's *Iezo* displays many legends of a geographical nature upon its coast line, and, conveniently situated about halfway of its length, a port called *Matzumai*, probably a confusion arising from the existence of such a port on a small island between Hondu and the true Yezo of the Japanese group.



A Chart of the South Sea [1st English Map of the Pacific Ocean], John Seller, 1675
John Seller's map of the Pacific Ocean is the first English map of the Pacific.

This is a map of exceptional importance for the region. Abel Tasman's discovery of States Land (New Zealand) in 1642 is noted, with nine place names, including three: Kings Island, Sand Hills and Steep Point. To the West, Anthony Van Diemen's Land is shown with eight place names. Japan, the Land of Eso and Companies Land are shown, as are the Ladrones and a projection of Nova Guinea which foretells its being shown as attached to Australia. The islands discovered by Hernand Galego in 1576 appear, as do many other islands in the South Pacific. Detail is shown along the west coast, from Fretum Anian to the Straits of Magellan. California is shown as an island, with San Diego, P. Sir Francis Drake, Santa Barbara, Catalina, Mendocino and Monte Rey all named. The Gulf Coast, and the southeastern US are also shown, extending to Port Royal and naming C May, C Francis, Augustin B, Florida, B. Tompa (Tampa)

and B. Joseph, etc. While Seller was known to have based some of his work on Goos, this map appears to loosely derive from Jansson's map of 1650, although many features (California, Companies Land, Tierra Del Fuego) are substantially updated and revised, and Jansson had no coverage of the Gulf Coast or East Coast, making the map unique in its coverage.





L'Amerique Suivant les dernieres Relations, avec les Routes que l'on tient pour Les Indes Occidentales par P. Du-val Geographe Ordinaire du Roy. . . 1679. **(#486)**

Pierre Du Val's map, extending from Japan to New Mexico and south to Mindanao, etc. tracking the route of the Spanish galleons across the Pacific Ocean, including the southerly route to Manila and the more northerly route up past Japan and down the California coastline upon return.The second title for the map, which describes this sheet, is *Le Nouveau Mexique et Le Terre de Iesso.* Du Val's map provide a remarkably clear version of California as an island. Du Val's particular California configuration is taken from the Luke Foxe form introduced on a map in 1664.

The rest of the American southwest is rendered with some detail, and the usual speculative inclusions, such as the mythical land of *Quivira* and *Anian*. In the southwest, Du Val labels several Apaches: "*Apaches de Navaio*", "*Apaches de Xila*", "*Apaches de Perillo*", and "*Apaches Vaqueros*". The *Rio del Nort* is shown with its source in a large and fictional *lac de Conibas*, emptying into the Gulf of California.

This map seems to have been intended as a rhetorical device promoting the idea of a discovered Northwest Passage. Duval makes the case clearly by stating *that On croit qu'en cet endroit il y a communication entre les Mers de Nort et de Sud* [It is believed that this strait communicates between the Seas of the North and the South.]

Galleon routes between Mexico and the Philippines are depicted. A large *Terre de Iesso al Eso* is situated off the northwest coast of California.





Monde Geo-Hydrographique on Description Generale du Globe Terrestre et Aquatique, 1686

This map combines the aesthetics of the Dutch Golden Age with the superior French cartography of Nicolas Sanson. Valk's work, aesthetically, fits squarely in the Dutch school of mapmaking with its artistry and decorative themes. The four vignettes depict the seasons and Zodiacal symbols. In a unique turn, each composition includes seasonal produce: Spring bursts with green garlands and flowers; Summer features grain in

abundance; Autumn overflows with grapes; and Winter displays a wealth of root vegetables. The cusps of the hemispheres contain figures representing the continents: Asia, Africa, and America appear in the lower cusp; Europe is represented in the upper cusp by the classical elements of Venus, Cupid, and Apollo.

Valck's map geographically draws on the work of the French Nicolas Sanson as interpreted by Hubert Jaillot's cartography of 1674. The subordinate polar projections, for example, reflect the Dutch maps of Nicolas Visscher, but geographically reference Sanson.

Although the notion first appears in print in the early 16th century, the first maps showing California as an island were published in England and the Netherlands in the 1620s. Sanson's wholehearted adoption of the myth in the middle of the 1600s entrenched the idea for the rest of the 17th century and beyond Fr. Kino's 1710 debunking. By the time Valk's map was produced, insular California was geographical cannon.

East of the sea separating California from the mainland is *Nouveau Mexique*. Santa Fe is named on the banks of the Rio Norte, itself a conflation of the Rio Grande with the Colorado - the river is shown running from Santa Fe to the southwest rather than to the Gulf of Mexico. The river has its source in a gigantic (and imaginary) lake near lands associated with the Apache. This lake may result from reports of the Great Salt Lake from Onate and Coronado expeditions.

The French geography of the northeastern portions of North America was more authoritative and accurate than that of contemporaneous Dutch mapmakers. Hudson's Bay appears in recognizable form, albeit with openings to the west, suggestive of hoped-for connections with the Pacific. Sanson's mapping of the Great Lakes was the first to show all five lakes, although lakes Superior and Michigan are shown with their western reaches left unfinished, again suggesting the possibility of a navigable water route to the Pacific. Labrador bears the place-name *Estotiland*, the only holdover on this map of Nicolo Zeno's geographical fraud of the 16th century.

Although the Northeast is dominated by '*Canada ou Nouvelle France*,' the claims of France's European rivals are grudgingly acknowledged. *Nouvelle Angleterre* [New England], *Nouveau Pays Bas* [New Netherland/New York], and *Nouveffe Suede* [New Sweden/New Jersey] are shown - though squeezed down to the coastline, with the place names relegated to the ocean. Virginia is also named.

In Spanish Florida, which extends north to include most of the American Southeast, Lake Apalache or the '*Great Freshwater Lake of the American Southeast*' is noted. This lake, first mapped by De Bry and Le Moyne in the mid-to-16th-centurv, is a mis-mapping of Florida's Lake George. While De Bry correctly mapped the lake as part of the River Mayor St. John's River, cartographers in Europe erroneously associated it with the Savannah River, which instead of flowing from the south to the Atlantic (like the May), flowed almost directly from the Northwest. Lake Apalache was subsequently relocated somewhere in Carolina or Georgia, where it appears here.

The Caribbean is well understood and relatively detailed given the scale of the map. Southwards, despite the South American coastlands being well-mapped, the interior was largely unknown, giving rise to rampant speculation. Explorers throughout the late 16th and early 17th century, enthralled by Pizarro's conquests in Peru and tales of other gold-rich empires in the interior, were actively seeking EI Dorado - which Sir Walter Raleigh placed in the mythical city of *Manoa*, which in turn was shown by Sanson on the shores of the Lake Parima, near modern-day Guyana.

Further south, a large and prominent *Laguna de Xarayes* forms the northern terminus of the Paraguay River. *Xarayes* was often considered to be a gateway to the Amazon and the Kingdom of EI Dorado.

The 17th century mapping of Africa is similar to that of the New World, in that geographers were well informed of the coastline but for the most part ignorant of the interior. The present work follows the Ptolemaic *two-lakes-at-the-base-of-the-Montes-de-Lune* theory, as did every other mapmaker of this era. Just south of Sanson's Lake Zaire lies the *Kingdom of Monomatapa*. This region of Africa held a particular fascination for Europeans since the Portuguese first encountered it in the 16th century. At the time, this was the empire of *Mutapa* or *Monomotapa*, which maintained a trading network with faraway partners in India and Asia.

The mapping of Asia Minor, Persia, and India is fairly accurate. The Caspian Sea is corrected to a north-south axis, though its form is still poorly understood. Numerous Silk Route cities are named throughout Central Asia, including Samarkand, Tashkirgit, Bukhara, and Kashgar. Far to the north, he associates *Tartaria*, Mongolia, and Siberia with the Biblical lands of *Gog and Magog* - a common error related to European terror of the Mongol Invasions.

The apocryphal *Lake of Chiamay* appears roughly in modern-day Assam, India. Early cartographers postulated that such a lake must exist to source the four important Southeast Asian river systems: the Irrawaddy, the Dharla, the Chao Phraya, and the Brahmaputra. This lake began to appear in maps of Asia as early as the 16th century and persisted well into the mid-18th-century.

Korea appears here correctly as a peninsula, though the narrow form derives from it having been rudimentary connection to the mainland - the peninsula otherwise resembles its insular depiction on earlier 17th century maps. Split between the two hemispheres of this map, the southern Japanese islands are shown with some accuracy: for example, Edo or Tokyo Bay is recognizable, and several Japanese cities are noted. Hokkaido is shown attached to the continent. The Japanese Kuril islands extend eastward to a massive *Terre de la Compagnie*, also named *Terre de Jesso*. Although these are names usually associated with Hokkaido, the land mass presented here is more commonly called *Gama* or *Gamaland*. *Gama* was supposedly discovered in the 17th century by a mysterious figure known as Jean de Gama. Several subsequent navigators claim to have seen this land, and it appeared on maps well into the late 18th century. At times it was associated with Hokkaido in Japan, and at other times with fictitious islands, and occasionally with the mainland of North America.

Australia, New Zealand, and the South Pacific were virtually unknown to European explorers. The depiction of these lands on all maps from the middle of the 17th century until Cook's voyages is based on the 1642 mapping of Abel Tazman. For over a century only a portion of the west coasts of Australia and New Zealand, and the southern reaches of Tasmania, were to appear on maps. A mysterious '*Terre de Quir*' is shown as well: a great landmass supposedly discovered by the 16th century Spanish navigator and religious zealot Pedro Fernandez de Quiros (1565 - 1615). Quiros set sail in search of the speculative *Terre Australis* and likely discovered several important South Seas islands. Nonetheless, Quiros turned back just shy of glory shortly before sighting New Zealand. Even so, Quiros was a voracious self-promoter, and descriptions of his findings were circulated throughout Europe. *Terre de Quir* or *Terre de Quiros* appears on various maps of the region until put to rest by the 18th century explorations of Captain Cook.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ Muller Peninsula

5.40

On most 16th century maps, the Southern Hemisphere was dominated by a great continent typically named '*Terre Australe Incognita*,' or some variation. Despite the tenacity of geographical authorities on the matter, cartographers of the 17th and 18th centuries would gradually whittle away the coastline as one expedition after another failed to discover it. The depiction of Antarctica here, dating from the 1660s, shows the coastline pared away from '*Nouvelle Holland*' and *Magellanica*. By the end of the century, most maps dispensed with '*Terre Australe*' entirely as geographers came to admit the extent to it was '*incognita*'. Antarctica itself was not truly discovered until Edward Bransfield and William Smith sighted the Antarctic Peninsula in 1820.

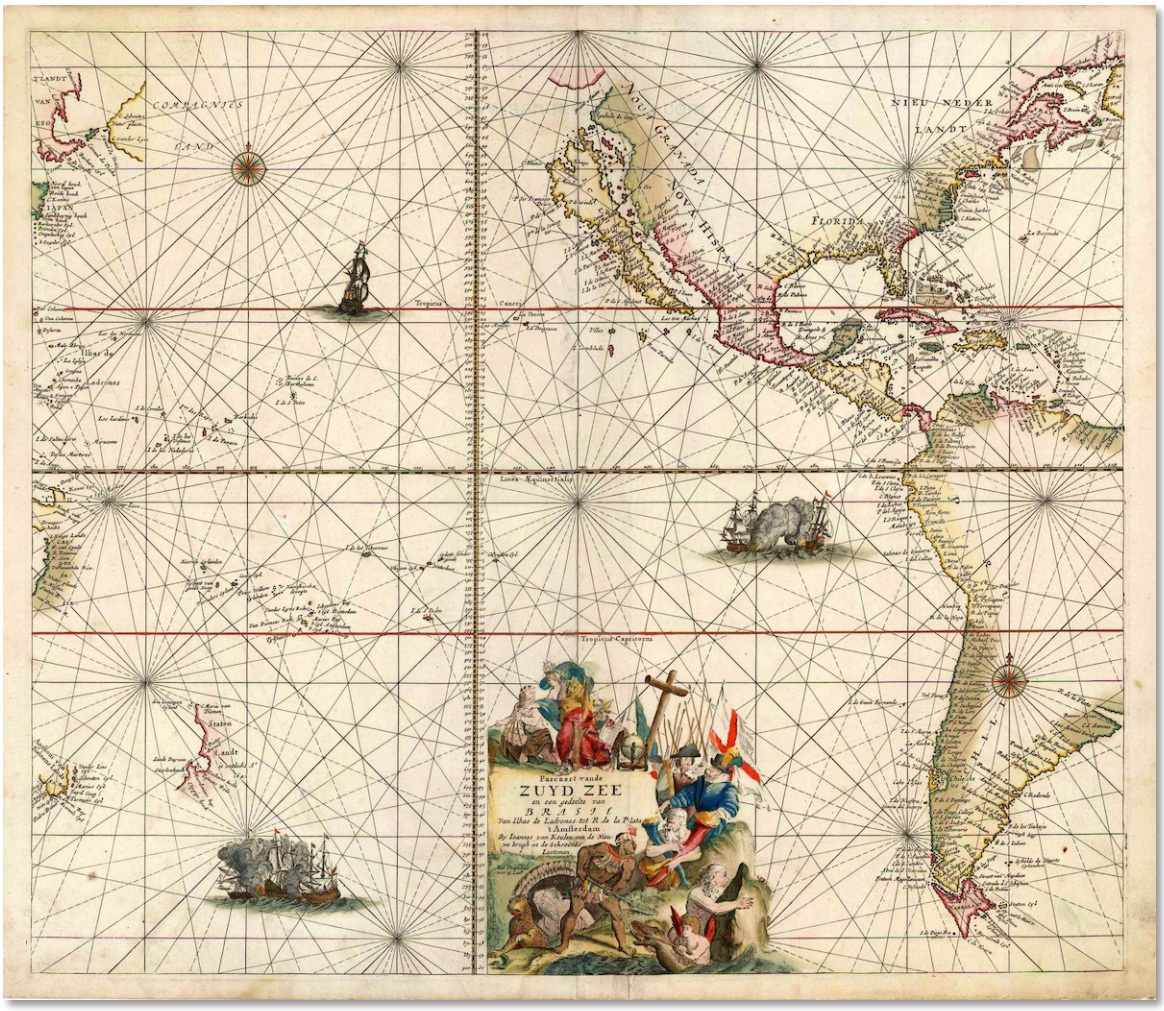


Terre de la Compagnie and Terre de Jesso on Monde Geo-Hydrographique on Description Generale du Globe Terrestre et Aquatique, 1686

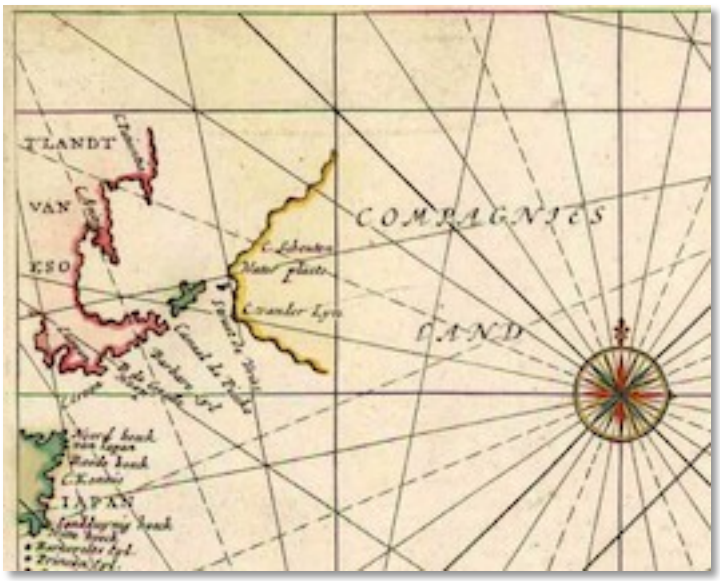
Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40





Johannes van Keulen, the South Sea from Nieuwe Lichtende Zee-Fakkel, 1681- 1684.



Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ Muller Peninsula

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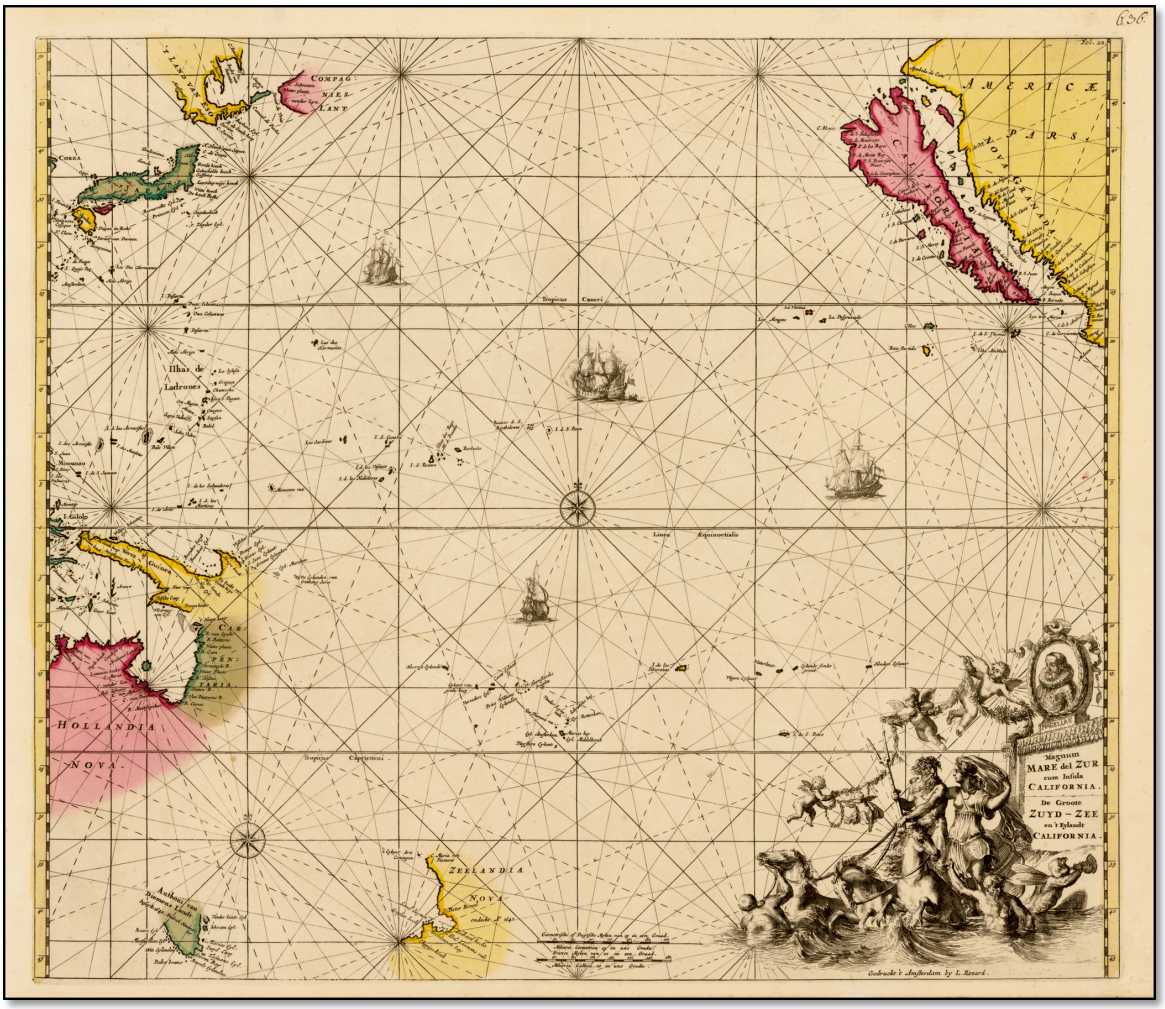

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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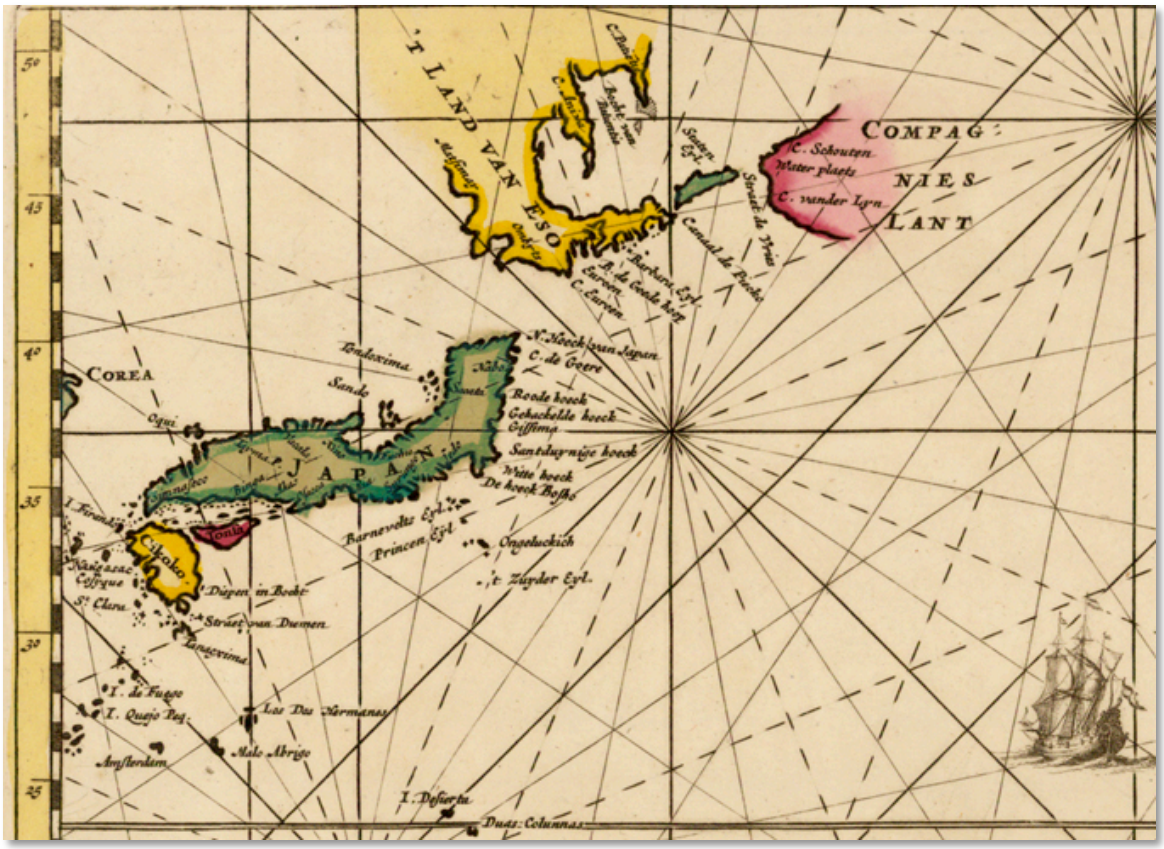

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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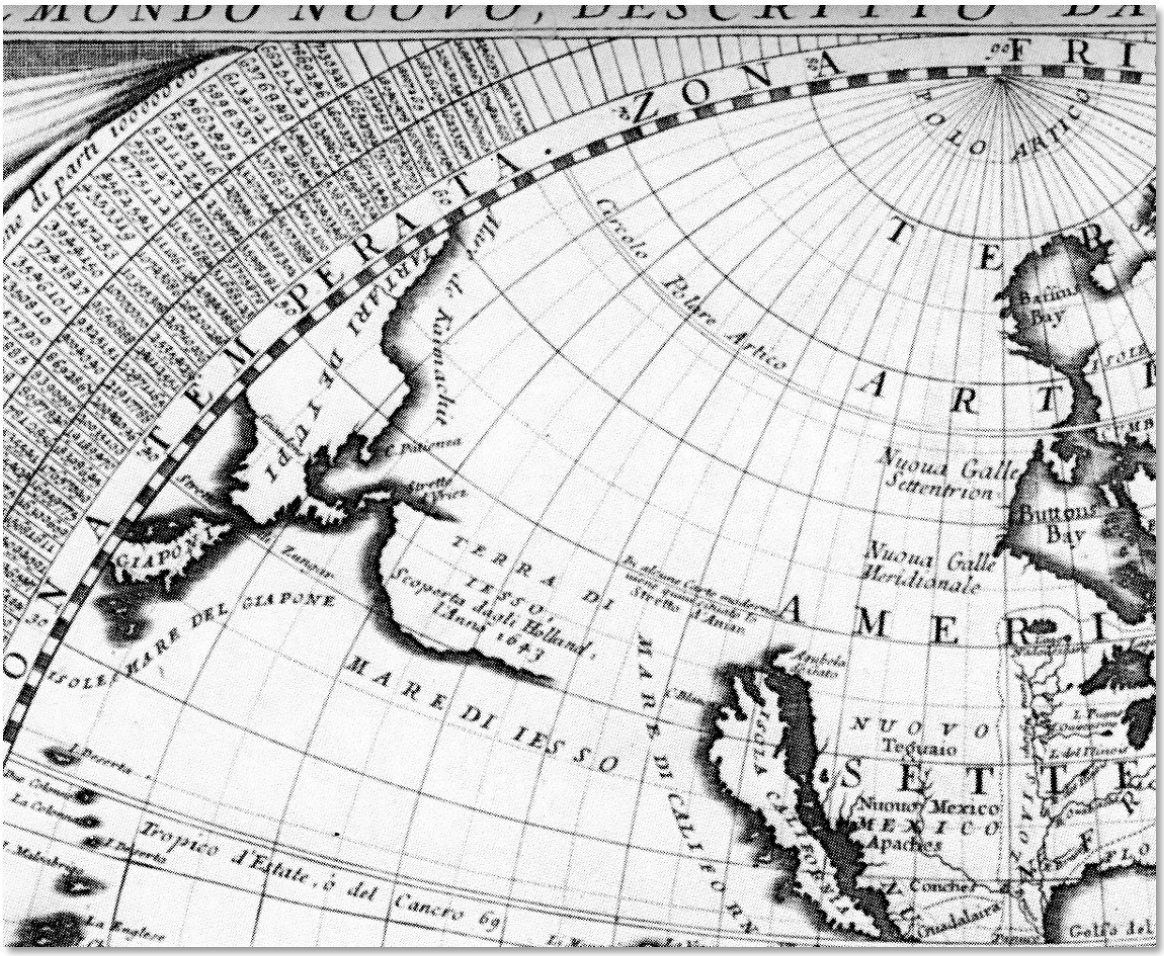




La Gran Tartaria., Cantelli da Vignola, 1693 (#487)

This is Cantelli da Vignola's 1693 map of central and northeastern Asia. It embraces Asia from the Caspian Sea eastwards to the Kuril Islands, and from the Mogul Empire of Northern India to the Arctic. It focuses primarily on Tartar lands, spanning from the Russian frontier to the Great Wall of China. In the east, not only are Martini's China, Japan, and Korea included, but also *Staten Island* and *Van Compagnies' Land* (here named *Terra di Jesso*). These derive from the 1643 explorations of Maerten de Vries and Cornel is Jansz Coen, who explored the coast of Sakhalin - here attached to the Yupi peninsula. The islands extending to the northeast likely represent Vries and Coen's discovery of the Japanese Kuril Islands of Kunashir and Iturop (*Terra di Jesso*). The Asian Pacific coast north of the Yupi Peninsula appears to be drawn largely from Jaillot's 1674 map of Asia (which indeed may be the channel by which the Martini geography came to the present work.)

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40


Lago Baikaco
Cangamar
DI NIVLHAN
YVPI.
Berma
VCHE
Cape de Patience
Cape d'Arnoult
Cape de Diable
Cape de Victoire
Cape de Gardafui
Cape de Bonne Esperance
Cape de Diemen
Cape de Leuwin
Cape de Nuyts
Cape de Leeuwin
Cape de Diemen



Louis Hennepin, 1698





Guillaume Delisle, L'Asie Dressee sur les Observations de l'Academie Royale des Sciences..., 1700. Delisle's map is one of the first to mention Da Gama, who is noted adjacent to "Terre de la Compagnie," with Vries Strait completely omitted. Staten Island is translated into French as "I. des Etats."

The Guillaume Delisle maps of the first quarter of the century were not precisely agencies of clarification. In the Jaillot *Atlas Francois* of 1695-1720, Delisle shows in his map *L'Asi*e, of 1700, the *Terre de Yeco* as a peninsula of the Asiatic mainland, separated from *Niphon* by an almost imperceptible water passage. In his *Carte des Indes et de la Chine* of 1705 Terre *d'Yeco au d'Eso* is similarly drawn and beside it is a legend which reads "on ne scait si la Terre d'Y eco tient au Japon au non." In his *Hemisphere Septentrional* of 1714 *Terre d'Yeco*, separated from the Asiatic coast by the strait called *Tessoi*, joins with *Niphon* to form a single large island. In his hemispheres of 1720 *Terre d'Yeco* is shown as a peninsular projection from the Asiatic continent while from this nonexistent peninsula Japan itself projects southward in peninsular form. All these different interpretations by this distinguished cartographer are found in the same atlas. Upon all of them appear the *Terre de la Compagnie*, the *Isle des Etats*, and, where the bounds of the map permit, an indication of *Gama Land*. Delisle made no bones of the fact that he was guessing in his delineations of Japan and Yezo. He admits that his conjectures have no positive foundation. The force of bad example is a characteristic in the lives of maps as of men. In the curious Turkish book, the *Ta'rikh al-Hind al-Gharbi* of

Constantinople, 1730, the world map reveals *De Gama Land*, unnamed, running from a point northeast of Japan across the Pacific almost to the northern point of Lower California, drawn here as an island.

With the Strait of Anian still a conjectural feature of the geography of the northern Pacific, with most maps showing a land mass under one name or another stretching from Japan eastward to North America, with uncertainty as to whether Yezo was an island, a peninsula from the Asiatic coast north of Japan, or the Asiatic mainland itself, and with a great gulf indenting the northwestern coast of America and providing a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, the state of knowledge of the northern Pacific was little more advanced in 1725 than it had been a century earlier.





L'Asie selon les nouvelles Observations de Messrs. de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, etc./ Asia in praecipuas ipsius partes distributa, ad observationes academiae regiae scientiarum, et exquisitissimas tabulas, quae nunquam antehac lucem viderunt, Excusa A Francisco Halma, cum privilegio ordinum Hollandiae et westfrisiae, 1700

This is the rare first state of François Halma's c. 1699 separately-issued map of Asia. It dramatically presents some of the most notable geographic innovations of its era, including early theories of the nature of the strait separating Asia and America, the growing European understanding of Siberian geography, and developments in the continued European confusion regarding the nature of Korea, Japan, and the eastern coasts of Asia. The two inset maps in the upper right, showing alternative theories of northeast Chinese and Siberian geography are based On the Jesuit reports of Martini and Verbiest, are also derived (in reduced and simplified form) from the De Fer.

Francois Halma diverges sharply from De Fer in his treatment of the Far East from the Equator to the 55th parallel north: Japan, Korea and the region later be identified as the Kuril Islands. The De Fer wall map shows a peninsular Korea, and extends the coastline from Korea sharply to the east-north-east, accompanied with the note that 'all this coast as well as Japan are drawn from Portuguese maps very different from ours,' De Fer's map shows a peculiarly elongated Japan with an island of 'Ieso' roughly corresponding with Hokkaido. Halma replaces all of this: in lieu of the long, speculative coastline with a tentative depiction of a *Terra de Yesso*, *Staten Island* [Kunashir], and *Compagnies Land* [Iturup]. *Yesso*, here a proto-Sakhalin Island, was often shown as a peninsula attached to mainland Asia, but here is depicted as an incomplete island separated from Asia by a '*Fret. Esoni*' [Strait of Yesso] *Yesso* is separated from the inflated *Compagnies Land* by *Staten Island,* and the *Strait of De Vries*, The first inset in the

upper right shows this same region, but depicting *Yesso* in its more conventional peninsular form. De Fer himself appears to have been uncertain enough of his own geography to provide the inset.





Pieter van der Aa, Planisphere Terrestre Suivant les nouvelle Observations des Astronomes Dressee et presente Roy Tres Chretien par Mr. Cassini le Fils ... 1713
Van der Aa's planisphere, which is based on Cassini's famed, massive 8-meter, astronomically-rendered world map, originally constructed on the floor of the Paris Observatory at the end of the 17th century.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40



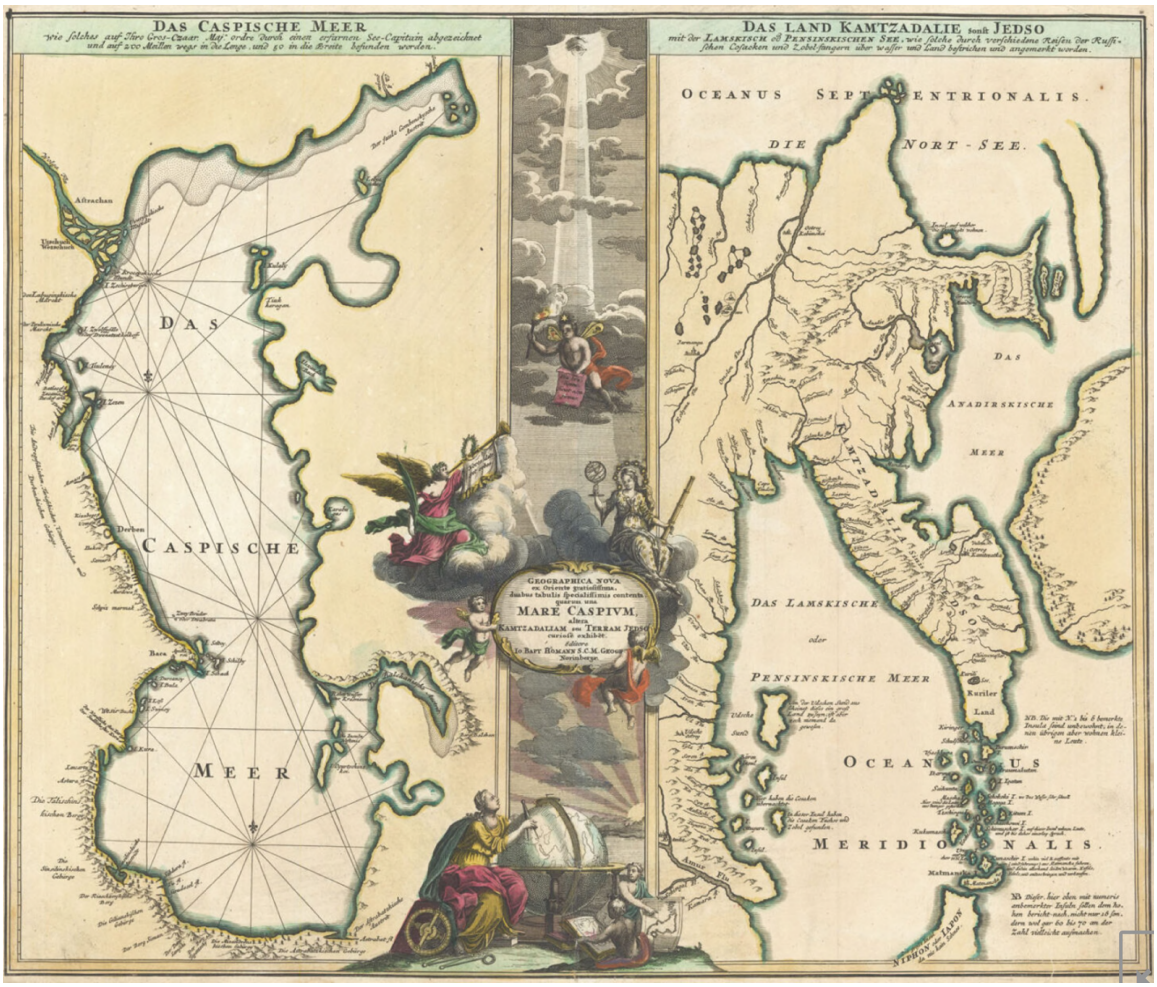


Carte très curieuse de la Mer du Sud, contenant des Remarques Nouvelles et très utiles non seulement sur des Ports et Îles de cette Mer, mais aussy sur les principaux Pays de l'Amerique tant Septentrionale que Méridionale en a été faite, 1719, Henri Abraham Chatelain

Chatelain's rendering of the Pacific is of considerable interest. As shown below in detail, Hokkaido [*Terre de Jesso ou Eso*] is attached to the Asian mainland. Just to the northeast of Japan, separated from the mainland by the *Detroit d'Vries*, we *find Terre de La Compagnie*, or, as it is sometimes known, *Terre de Gama*. Often mapped together, these lands (*Gama* and *Terre de la Compagnie*) appear here according to the explorations of Maerten de Vries and Comelis Jansz Coen, who explored this land in 1643 in search of the gold and silver rich islands mentioned in Spanish legends of a mysterious navigator named Juan de Gama. They discovered the Japanese Kurile Islands and mapped the strait, *Detroit d'Vries*, between the actual islands of Kunashir (unnamed) and Iturup [*Compagnie*]. Vries and Coen were also the first European navigators to discover Sakhalin and map its southern coastline. Apparently, their ship, the *Casteicum*, was mired in a heavy fog as it attempted to explore these seas, thus they failed to notice the strait separating *Edo* [Hokkaido] from Sakhalin, initiating a cartographic error that would persist well into the 18th century. In 1729, Bering spent three days in the region looking for Juan de Gama's island but never found it. Even so, these curious islands remained on maps for about 50 years following Bering's voyages until the explorations of Cook confirmed the Bering findings.



Detail: Terre de Jesso ou Eso, the Detroit d' Vries and Terre de Compagnie



Geographica Nova ex Oriente gratiosissima, duabus tebulis specialissimis contenta, qua ram una Mare Caspium. maps of the Caspian Sea and Kamchatka, published by Johann Baptist Homann, 1720

The two maps surround a decorative central image with allegorical figures and putti in a cloud background. The map of the Caspian Sea is drawn from Karl van Verden's 1722 survey of the Caspian, the first accurate map of the sea the region. Van Verden (fl.1718-1730) was a Dutch seaman who worked for the Russian navy. He produced an important map of the Caspian Sea between 1719-1721, which was used by Peter the Great in his invasion of Baku and Derbent in 1722. The second map covers the *Jedso* as part of the Kamchatka Peninsula with a huge unnamed landmass (reminiscent of the *Compagnies Land* on earlier maps) to the east. The image is drawn from a Russian expedition in 1697 that encountered a shipwrecked Japanese in Kamchatka. The sailor told the Russians that Japan was not far from Kamchatka and that the sea between was strewn with islands.

Kamchatka was still an unknown entity at the time of the map's production: a preliminary Russian expedition in 1697 under Vladimir Alassov had nominally taken control of the peninsula, finding a colony of Japanese shipwreck survivors in the process. This discovery led to the ongoing misconception that Kamchatka was part of *Jedo* (also known as *Jedso* or *Yedso*, now Hokkaido), a northern island in the Japanese archipelago, as shown here. It also provided a spurious basis for Russian imperial ambitions in the area. The map also includes the imaginary island Matsumai (named *Matmanska* here). The two unmarked bodies

of land to the left represent the lands supposedly seen by Jean de Gama, known variously as *Compagnie Land, Terre de Compagnie, Gamaland*, or just *Gama*.

The large allegorical cartouche dividing the two maps shows divine light shining down on to a globe studied by a cartographer. The globe is turned to show Asia. The two boys next to the globe hold an atlas and a map of Japan: in the map, the Noto Peninsula is incorrectly shown facing west, a mistake which appeared subsequently on several maps.

When Vitus Bering returned to St. Petersburg in 1730 after his first voyage to the strait that bears his name, there was disagreement in some circles as to the certainty of his discovery. The naval and scientific communities agreed to advance a second Kamchatka exploration proposed by Bering. The targets of this venture, known popularly as the *Great Northern Expedition*, were to confirm Bering's maritime division between Asia and America, explore east of Kamchatka, report on unknown lands, and investigate the northwest coast of America.

With increased interest on the part of the Russian government, the second program was conceived on a grander scale than the first; it was planned as an elaborate scientific exploration of the territories and seas of the northern Pacific. In addition to Bering as captain-commander and his two lieutenants, Captains Martin Spanberg and Aleksei Il'ich Chirikov, members of the Academy of Sciences who specialized in natural history were also included. After interminably frustrating logistical delays, they were finally under way in 1733. Saint Petersburg attempted to ease Bering's burden by detaching from his command a north-coast party that was to sail from Archangel along the Arctic Coast to Kamchatka to reconfirm that the two continents were separate. This was unsuccessful, although several small parties sailed sectors of the route without reaching the Pacific.

Despite its outstanding discoveries, the long and tragic saga of the Great Northern Expedition was fraught with difficulties from the beginning. After 1731, when an officer was sent east to supervise the shipbuilding for the voyage, it was two years before Bering and his party set out for Siberia, not arriving at the east coast until 1737, where they were greeted by no advance party and no ships. By July 1738 Spanberg was sent in command of three small, hastily built ships to sail south and untangle the geography of the Kuril Islands and Hokkaido, Japan. During three voyages Spanberg and Walton, his lieutenant, successfully mapped the Kurils and sailed coastal Japan. Their maps were not published at once but edited and incorporated into a work by Gerhard Friedrich Müller, a well-known German traveler and historian in Russian service.

Bering and Chirikov's object was to locate the "continents" called *Gama Land* and *Compagnies Land*. Earlier reports by Portuguese, Dutch, and Jesuit navigators and mapmakers had produced accounts that were so vague they merely implied that continent-size masses existed north and northeast of Japan. It was not known whether these were attached to Asia or America, whose North Pacific coast configurations were unknown, or whether they were giant islands or new continents. It was 1740 before Bering and Chirikov could build and provision two small ships, the St. Peter and the St. Paul, and embark on their voyage. Their plan was to sail in tandem with elaborate precautions and procedures should they become separated. Nevertheless, after searching for the reputed location of the fictitious landmasses, they lost sight of each other in the open ocean. Both Bering's *St. Peter* and Chirikov's *St. Paul* continued on to the Alaskan coast independently, along the tracks indicated on Gerhard Müller's map.

Neither crew sighted the other again and both suffered terribly from lack of food, water, and the early mariner's nemesis, scurvy.

Among the academics on the expedition were Louis Delisle de la Croyere and Müller. Delisle de la Croyere, an astronomer, was a brother of the famous Parisian mapmaker Guillaume Delisle and of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, astronomer and cartographer of map. Joseph and Louis had taken service with the czar in 1726, Joseph being responsible for the growth of the Imperial Academy of Science. Louis served as official astronomer on the *Great Northern Expedition*, but he developed scurvy aboard Chirikovs *St. Paul* and did not survive the voyage. Captain-Commander Bering suffered the same fate-even though he was within a relatively short sail of the food and warmth he desperately needed - dying as the ship put in for water at the island that now bears his name. Unfortunately, the crew was unable to muster enough able-bodied men to sail the ship onward, and it was smashed against the shore. After a cold and miserable winter, they built a small boat from the wreckage and sailed to Kamchatka, bearing the sad news of their leader's death.

By the 1740s Russians became suspicious that Westerners brought in at the time of Peter the Great were exploiting their positions, and Russian attitudes toward them began to change. The highly respected Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, feeling out of favor in Saint Petersburg, returned to Paris in 1747 after an absence of two decades. He addressed the Royal Academy of Science with his report of the Russian expedition accompanied by a map. His data was inaccurate, possibly because he had been placed beyond the clique of insiders receiving information at Saint Petersburg. Delisle reported incorrectly that Bering had died on the outward leg of the voyage, on the island now named for him, rather than at the end of the cruise, after his discoveries. Bering had sailed along the Alaskan panhandle and named Mount Saint Elias before coasting the Aleutian Islands.



Recentissima Novi Orbis sive Americae Septentrionalis et Meridionalis tabula; C. Allard, engraved by G. van Gouwen, with Covens and Mortier's imprint, 1730

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40





Planisphaerium Terrestre sive Terrarum Orbis [title repeated in Dutch], world map in twin hemispheres; Carel Allard, with Covens and Mortier's imprint, 1730



Carte Des Nouvelles Decouvertes Au Nord de la Mer de Sud, Tant a l'Est de la Siberie et du Kamtchatcka, Qu'a l'Ouest de la Nouvelle France, Dressee sur les Memoires . . . 1750

The map Delisle produced in 1750/52 with Philippe Buache, First Geographer to the King of France, did little to clear up the confusion regarding the mythic great islands between eastern Asia and Alaska. They contributed further to the misunderstanding of American northwest coast cartography by relating the pretense of discoveries attributed to a legendary Spaniard, Admiral Bartholome de Fonte, in 1640 and the apocryphal voyage in 1592 of Juan de la Fuca, a Greek-born navigator in Spanish service. Delisle revealed to the credulous, a purported passage discovered by de Fonte north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca through which one could sail to Baffin Bay and on to the Atlantic. He showed de la Fucas strait leading to an enormous (and imaginary) "*Sea of the West*." Delisle and Buache's map is adorned with a vignette on each side picturing a native warrior of Kamchatka and "*Northwest Louisiana*," respectively.

Müller's account of the expedition and his map were the more reliable. Shortly after the Delisle-Busche map appeared, Müller published his greatly improved delineation of the area that disposed of the fictitious landmasses north and east of Japan and indicated the Russian discoveries in Alaska. On the American coast, north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, he indicated with two short dotted lines the site of the "*pretended River of the Kings of Admiral de Fonte in 1640 after Mr. Delisle*". Müller clearly shows the routes of Bering and Chirikov and the regions of the Alaskan coast that each explored. But even the scrupulous Müller is not innocent of conjecture, as revealed by his inclusion of an extraordinary "*River of the West*" (lower right, map), which is probably the Columbia but incorrectly originates in Lake Winnipeg. Through inland rivers his

waterway emerged into the Nelson River, emptying into Hudson's Bay (upper right), as if it were a northwest passage.

Considering the position of the Delisle family in Louis XV's Paris (Buache had married Guillaume Delisle's daughter), it is understandable why Müller's map was printed in Holland. It appeared in a French translation published in Amsterdam that was bought by Thomas Jefferson for his library at Monticello. Thirty-seven years after its publication, Jefferson dispatched Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on an overland expedition to establish the United States claim to the Northwest.

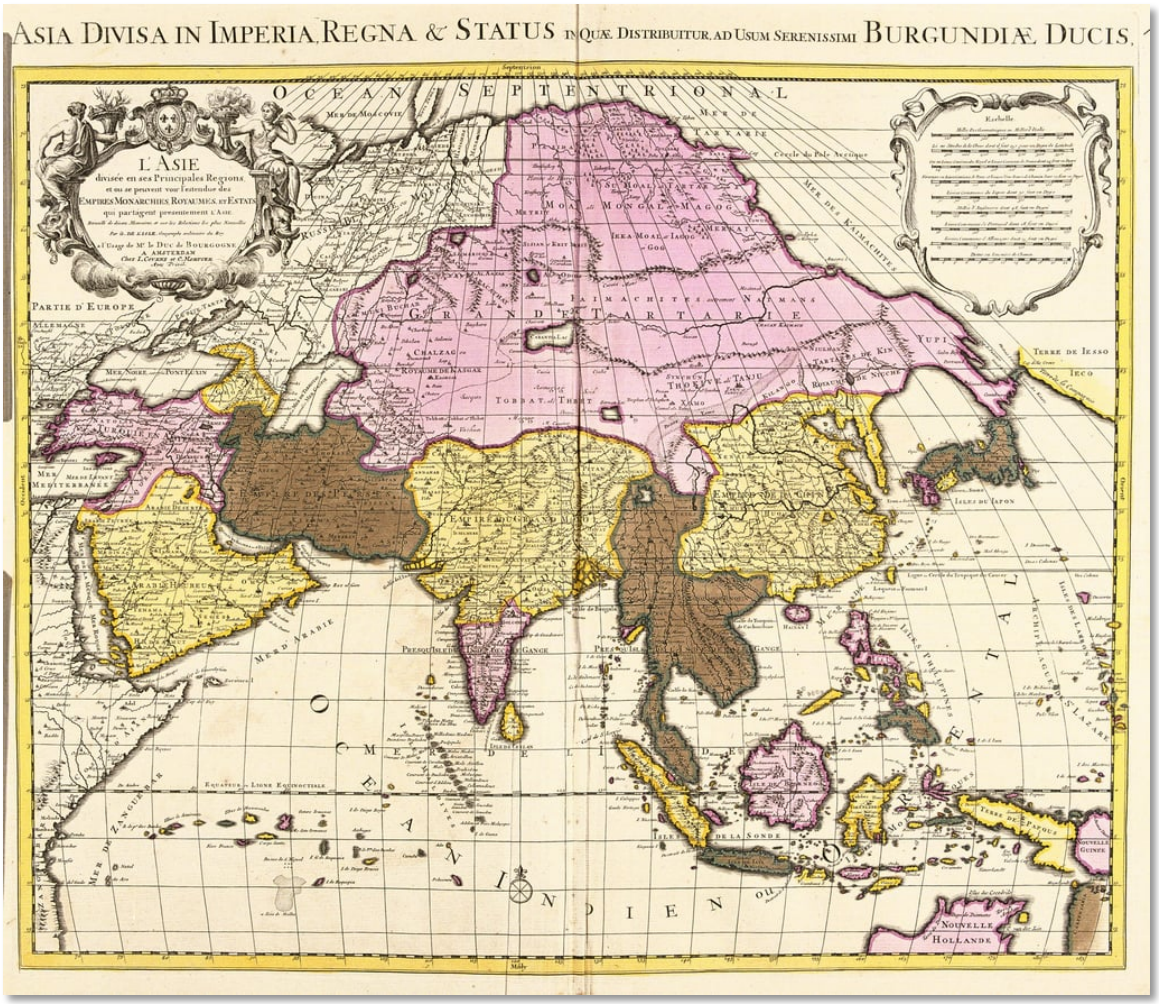
While researching his book and map, Müller uncovered in the archives of Yakutsk, the provincial capital of eastern Siberia, an account of the long-forgotten 1648 voyage of three Russian vessels from the Arctic coast, around the northeastern peninsula of the continent, and south to Kamchatka. Led by Fedor Alexeev and Semen Dezhnev in three small ships, the ninety-man party rounded Asia's East Cape, becoming the first Europeans to pass through and discover what became known as Bering Strait. Soon after reaching the Pacific the ships separated. Alexeev's fate remains unknown, while Dezhnev and his crew sailed through the Diomede Islands and landed on the Pacific Coast near the Anadyr River. He made a report of the voyage, but it never went farther than the provincial archives in Yakutsk.

Russians did not begin traveling to Kamchatka until 1690, and the fate of the men who made the early expedition remains a mystery, although the saga was passed down orally in the region. It is clear that both Peter the Great and Virus Bering were unaware of the Alexeev-Dezhnev voyage. Müller's map is the first to announce their discovery of the strait, show the route, and provide details. It is also the first published map of the North Pacific that begins to convey correctly the continental configurations where Asia and North America face one another.



Nouvelle Carte des Decouvertes Faites par des Vaisseaux Russsiens aux cotes inconnues de l'Amerique Septentrionale (New Map of Discoveries Made by Russian Vessels to the Unknown Coasts of North America), Gerhard Friedrich Müller, 1766, 45 x 62 cm

First constructed in 1754, Muller's map of the Russian explorations was published by the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences four years later. Now the tracks of both Bering's and Chirikov's vessels in 1741 were shown; the Shumagin, Aleutian and Kurile islands were indicated, and a whole range of imaginary lands such as Yedso eliminated. The map illustrates the official Russian viewpoint that not only was the land sighted by the Russians at their farthest east part of the American mainland, but most of the coastline glimpsed on the return voyage, as well as the land seen by Gwosdev in 1732 opposite the eastern tip of Asia. This conviction led to the bloated Alaskan peninsula of the map. Although MülIer warned against placing too much trust in the accuracy of the map- '*My work herein has been no more than to connect together, according to probability, by points, the coasts that had been separated in various places*' – it remained for many years a standard representation of the region.





Delisle/Buache, Carte des Nouvelles Decouvertes au Nord de la Mer du Sud, 1752. This map shows three separate islands: "I. des Etats," "Terre de la Compagnie" and "Terres vues par Jean de Gama," which is only partially delineated.



Asia, Nicolas Sanson, 1617

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40



An interesting label here, instead of "Compagnies Landt", here it is "Atlantis Insula"



L'asie Par P. Duval Geographe ord du Roy, 1664

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40





Pierre Mortier. Carte Nouvelle de la Grande Tartarie. 1700

A detailed Map of Tartary by Dutch Statesman and Russian Specialist Nicolaas Witsen with details from the Travels of Verbiest in China and De Vries in the North Pacific. Also an example of Pierre Mortier's decorative and detailed map showing Central Asia and Tartary published in Amsterdam. The map extends from the Caspian Sea in the west and Nova Zemla in the northwest towards northern China, Korea and the islands of Japan in the southeast of the map. It was one of the most detailed regional maps to date.

The title emphasizes the area known as *Grand Tartarie*, or Great Tartary, a geographic entity referred to by cartographers from the Middle Ages to the early 20th century. It stretched from the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains all the way east to the northern Pacific Ocean. The region was often split further into more local designations, as this map shows with *Tartares Circasses* and *Tartarie Oreintaux*.

Local towns and settlements are marked throughout the map with circles or small building symbols. Additionally, the area's impressive geographic features are evident, especially the many mountains of the northeast, the forests of the north, and the deserts in southeast *Grand Tartarie*.

Korea is shown as a peninsula, while Japan is depicted as horizontal, a convention common to early modern maps. Interestingly, north of Japan is *Terre de Jedso*, connected as a peninsula *to Tartarie Orientaux*. Historically, *Jedso* (*Eso, Yedso, Yesso*) refers to the island of Hokkaido. It varies on maps from a small island to a near-continent sized mass that stretches from Asia to Alaska, but the peninsula form shown here is a rare construction of the feature.

Nicolaas Witsen, a specialist on Russia and its cartography.The map's title explains that Nicolas Sanson set the map to degrees (although the attribution to Sanson is likely a ruse to get around the French privilege of Alexis Hubert Jaillot of Paris), but attributes the cartography to a Monsieur N. Witsen, Bourgemaistre. This refers to Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717), a Dutch statesman and mayor of Amsterdam from 1682 to 1706. He was named ambassador extraordinary to the English court in 1689, where he

became a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was also administrator to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) from 1693.

As his occupations suggest, Witsen was keenly interested in maritime affairs and he practiced cartography as part of his larger studies. He was also an expert in Russian affairs, having traveled there in the 1670s, which explains how he had the skill and knowledge to compile this map and others. In 1690, he published the first map of Siberia—a south-oriented map, as many Russian maps were at that time. Two years later, he produced a book called *Noord en Oost Tartarye* to accompany an earlier version of this map, first published in the late 1680s. After the privilege expired, it was reissued by Mortier. Areas still to be discovered and *Terre de la Compagnie*. Several areas on the map are left blank or include notes suggesting they require further discovery. The northwest of *Lapponie*, or Lapland, is unfinished. Similarly, in the far northwest, *Cap de Glaces* is left open to the west, with a note explaining it, "has not yet been discovered."

The map also includes the latest in geographic updates. Recent discoveries are marked with the tracks of voyages of discovery, including that of Martiniere in northern waters. This refers to Pierre Martin de la Martiniere, who published his account of travels in the far north as a ship's surgeon in 1671.

To the far east, beyond the peculiar peninsular *Terre de Jedso,* is an especially interesting feature reflecting contemporary exploration, speculative geography, and the role of Witsen in studies of the far north. A large, blank landmass looms out of the right frame of the map labeled *Terre de la Compagnie*. A note along the southern coast explains that this coast was discovered by a Don Juan de Gama, and that the island ranges from China to New Spain. Separating the huge landmass from *Jedso* is a smaller island, *Isle de Etats,* and the *Detroit de Vries*. These place names suggest that Witsen has combined two popular tales of northern Pacific land sightings into a cohesive whole.

As mentioned above, Juan, the grandson of Vasco de Gama, was a Portuguese navigator who was accused of illegal trading with the Spanish in the East Indies. De Gama fled and sailed from Macau to Japan in the later 16th century. He then struck out east, across the Pacific, and supposedly saw lands in the North Pacific. These lands were initially shown as small islands on Portuguese charts but they ballooned into a continent-sized landmass in later representations.

Several voyagers sought out de Gama's lands, including the Dutchmen Matthijs Hendrickszoon Quast in 1639 and Maarten Gerritszoon de Vries in 1643. In the century after this map's publication, Vitus Bering, a Danish explorer in Russian employ, and James Cook would both check the area and find nothing, finally putting to rest the myth of these land bridge islands. Witsen, however, was convinced the island existed, perhaps especially because he was given de Vries' original expedition journal in 1692; it has not been seen since.

Here, Witsen mentions de Gama in a note, but the land is called *Terre de Compagnie. Compagnies Land* was one of two islands supposedly sighted by de Vries on his 1643 voyage. He named one island for the Dutch States General (*Staten Land*) and another for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (*Compagnies*, or *Company's Land*). In reality, he had re-discovered two of the Kuril Islands. However, other mapmakers latched onto *Compagnies Land* in particular. It is clear Witsen had de Vries and his voyage in mind, as a strait to the east of *Compagnies Land* is named *Detroit de Vries*.

Like Witsen, Verbiest also practiced cartography as part of his intellectual agenda, in addition to writing over thirty books. He accompanied the Kangxi Emperor on many official trips around the empire, allowing him to more accurately know the

geography of the region than any other European at the time. Verbiest's best known cartographic work is the *Kunyu Quantu* world map of 1674.

The lower inset shows and discusses the possibility of new geographic configurations near Spitsbergen. Next to it is a comparative scale depicting twelve measurements from various countries and disciplines. Details like these mark this map as a highly intellectual product based on the latest and ongoing research. It was a product tied to several leading thinkers of the day from across Europe and was the most accurate depiction of the region to date.





Inset of Northern China and Ferdinand Verbiest. The map includes two insets in the upper right corner. The top inset offers a larger-scale look at the lands of Northeast China, near Peking. The details for this inset came from the voyage of P. Verbiest. Father, or Pere, Ferdinand Verbiest was a Jesuit missionary who served in China during the seventeenth century. A skilled astronomer, Verbiest demonstrated European astronomical methods to his Chinese hosts. Later, he was asked to rebuild and head the Beijing Ancient Observatory.



Unusual World map on a North Polar projection, Heinrich Scherer, 1700. **(#492)**



Campagnie Land



Heinrich Scherer, 1700



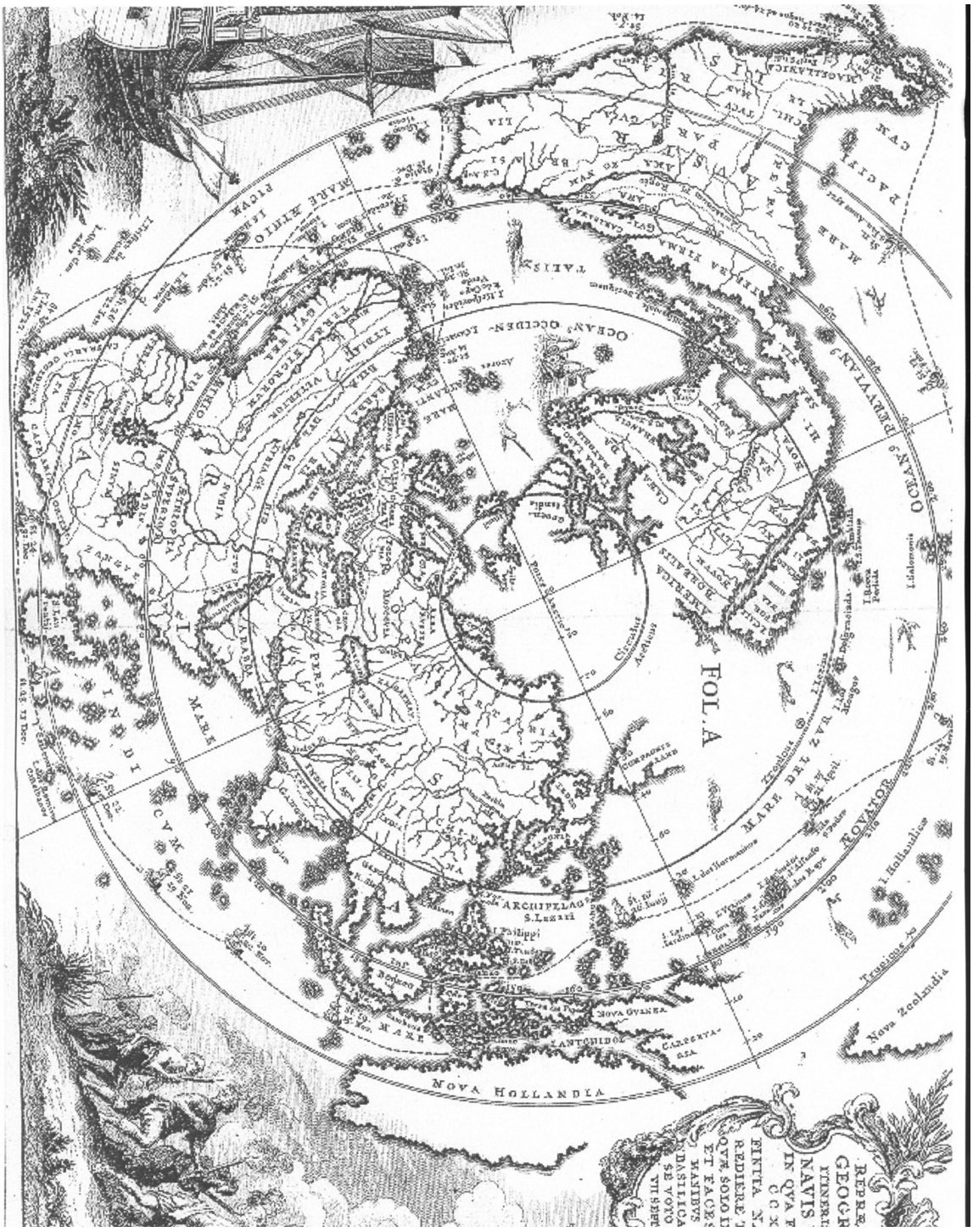


Heinrich Scherer, 1700



Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40



Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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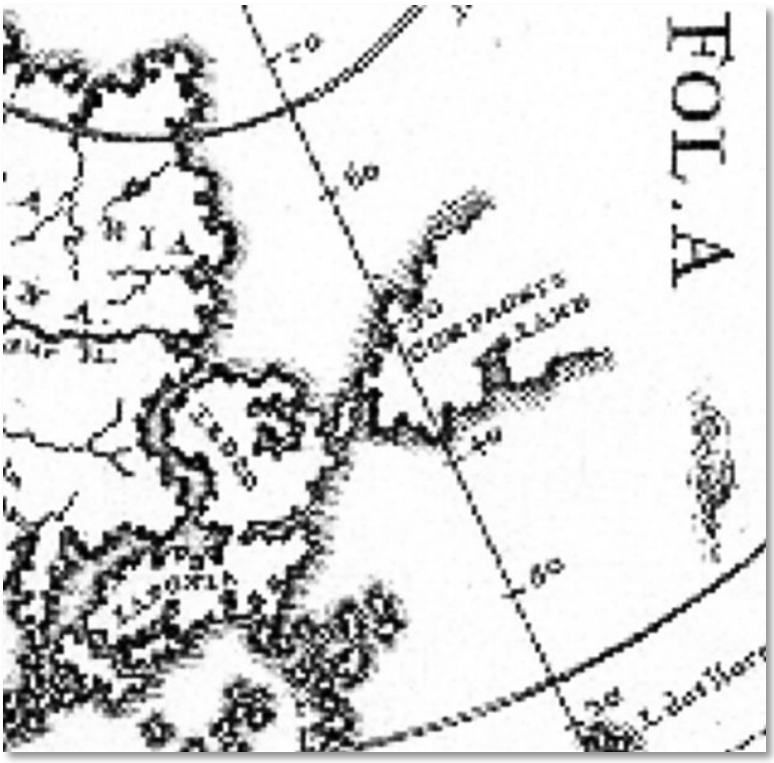



Van der Aa's planisphere, which is based on Cassini's famed, massive 8-meter, astronomically-rendered world map, originally constructed on the floor of the Paris Observatory at the end of the 17th century.

Pieter van der Aa

Planisphere Terrestre Suivant les nouvelle Observations des Astronomes Dressee et presente Roy Tres Chretien par Mr. Cassini Ie Fils ... 1713

The etymology of the idiom *Yesso* (*Eso, Yeco, Jesso, Yedso*) is most likely the Japanese *Ezo-chi*; a term used for the lands north of the island of Honshu. During the Edō period (1600-1886), it came to represent the 'foreigners' on the Kuril and Sakhalin islands. As European traders came into contact with the Japanese in the 17th century, the term was transferred onto European maps, where it was often associated with the island of Hokkaido. It varies on maps from a small island to a near-continent sized mass that stretches from Asia to Alaska.

The toponym held interest for Europeans because the island was supposedly tied to mythic riches. Father Francis Xavier (1506-1552), an early Jesuit missionary to Japan and China, related stories that immense silver mines were to be found on a secluded Japanese island; these stories were echoed in Spanish reports. The rumors became so tenacious and tantalizing that Abraham Ortelius included an island of silver north of Japan on his 1589 map of the Pacific.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40



Yesso is often tied to two other mythical North Pacific lands, *Gamaland* and *Compagnies Land*. Juan de Gama, the grandson of Vasco de Gama, was a Portuguese navigator who was accused of illegal trading with the Spanish in the East Indies. Gama fled and sailed from Macau to Japan in the later 16th century. He then struck out east, across the Pacific, and supposedly saw lands in the North Pacific. These lands were initially shown as small islands on Portuguese charts, but ballooned into a continent-sized landmass in later representations.

Several voyagers sought out these chimerical islands, including the Dutchmen Matthijs Hendrickszoon Quast in 1639 and Maarten Gerritszoon Vries in 1643. *Compagnies Land*, often shown along with Staten Land, were islands sighted by Vries on his 1643 voyage. He named the islands for the Dutch States General (Staten Land) and for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (*Compagnies*, or *Company's Land*). In reality, he had re-discovered two of the Kuril Islands. However, other mapmakers latched onto *Compagnies Land* in particular, enlarging and merging it with *Yesso* and/or *Gamaland.*

In the mid-18th century, Vitus Bering, a Danish explorer in Russian employ, and later James Cook would both check the area and find nothing. La Perouse also sought the huge islands, but found only the Kurils, putting to rest the myth of the continent-sized dream lands.

Strait of Anian. This strait, believed to separate northwestern America from northeastern Asia, was related to the centuries-long quest to find a Northwest Passage connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. The rumor of this strait and a Northwest Passage in general inspired many voyages of discovery, including those of John Cabot, Sir Francis Drake, Gaspar Corte-Real, Jacques Cartier, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

The term *Anian* itself comes from Marco Polo's 13th century accounts of his travels. Polo used the term to refer to the Gulf of Tonkin, but cartographers thought it could refer to this supposed strait between Asia and North America. The *Strait of Anian*, so named, first appeared in a 1562 map by Giacomo Gastaldi, and was later adopted by Bolognini Zaltieri and Gerard Mercator.



Anonymous 1720





Homann, Johann Baptist. Recentissima Asiae Delineatio. Nuremburg, 1730.

An example of Homann's first map of Asia, extending from the Mediterranean to the Pacific and including parts of *Nova Hollandia, Carpentaria, Nova Britannia* and the Marianas, along with a nice incomplete version of the mythical *Compagnie Land*, north of Japan. Dampier's passage north of Carpentaria is noted, along with *Arnham's Land* and

Vay van Diemen on the continent of *Nova Hollandia*. *Nova Britannia* appears as having been detected by William Dampier in 1700. Several place names appear in *Carpentaria*. Interesting projections of Japan and *Corea,* which appears as a long thin peninsula. Some Incognita (unknown) lands still appear in the Arctic Circle.





Emanuel Bowen, A New & Accurate Map of Asia Drawn from Actual Surveys, 1752. A large, undefined "De Gama's Land" stretches eastward off the map. One of the adjacent islands is named "Company's L.d." Staten Island is not named, but "Str. Of Vries" is labeled.
Emanual Bowen

This map includes a mythical *De Gama's Land*, east of Yeso [Hokkaido, Ezo], with a note that the land was discovered by John de Gama on a voyage from China to New Spain.

De Gama Land seems to be a part of the pre-history of the Northeast Coast of America, which would soon be laid to rest by the voyages of Bering, Cook and others in the region. In the early 17th century rumors began to circulate that a Spanish ship, traveling east from the Philippines to Mexico, had been blown off course and discovered a land ill the north rich in gold and silver as all unreachable lands were. In later versions, the ship became Portuguese with a captain named Juan de Gama. In some geographer's minds, *De Gama's Land* end *Ezo* [a.k.a. Hokkaido, Yeso] were one and the same. In others, Ezo was a part of the Asian mainland and *de Gama's land* was a separate land in the North Pacific.

In the 1730s and 1740s, *De Gama Lend* was a source of intellectual debate, not as to its existence, but its exact location, with such important explorers as De L'lsle, de la Croyere and Tchirikow each opininq as to its location.



A New & Accurate Map of Asia drawn from actual surveys…, 1747, E. Bowen with a small Compagnies Land and a vaguely defined De Gama's Land

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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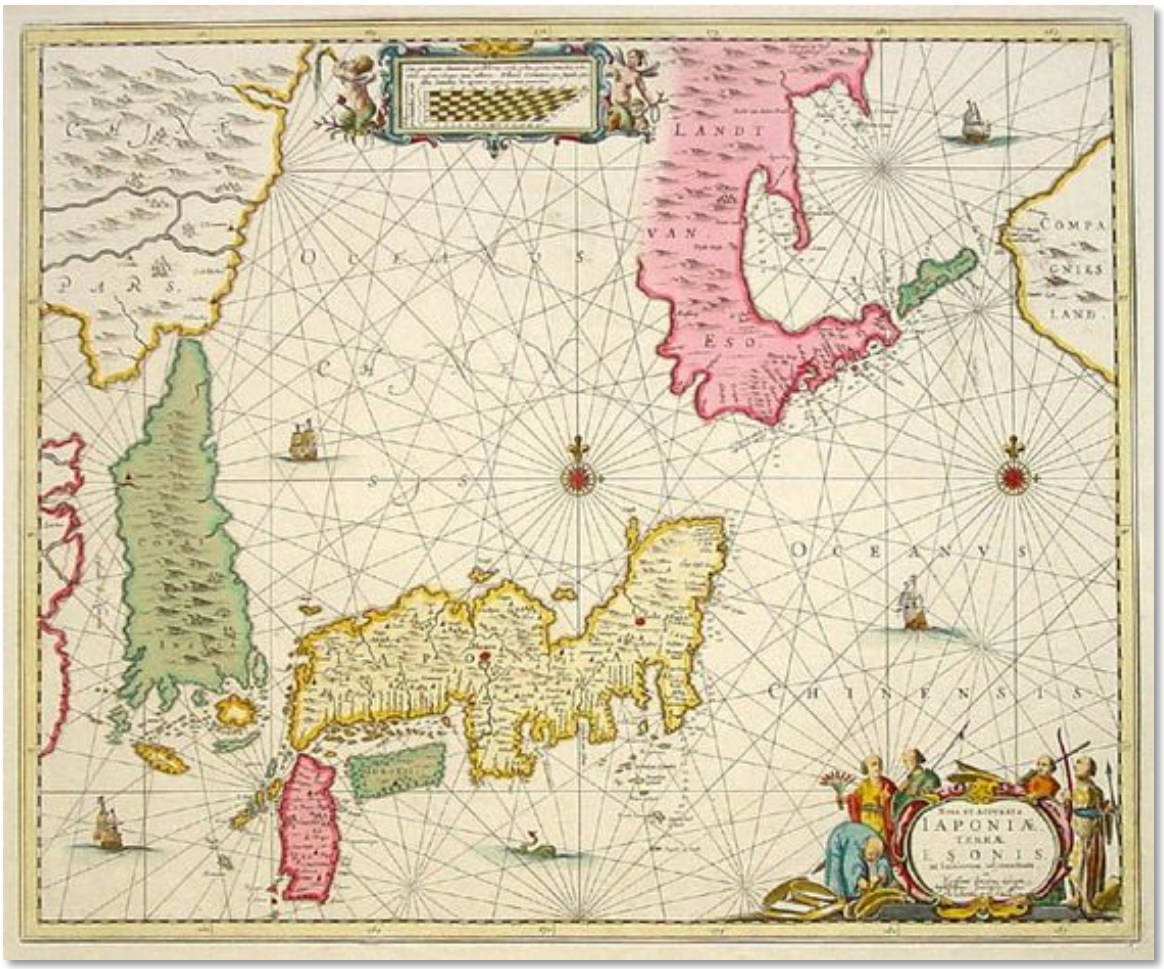




Johann Baptist Homann, Totius Americae Septentrionalis et Meridionalis Novissima Repraesentatio quam ex Singulis Recentium Geographorum Tabulis, 1730.



The western coastline of North America stretches from California to Asia with a note that the "unknown" coast was detected by Da Gama.

The map, *Mare del Sud*, found in Coronelli's atlas, the *Atlante Veneto* of 1691, shows the influence of the Vries voyage and, further, an ill-defined but extensive land mass in the northern Pacific bearing a legend which permits the observer a wide choice in the naming of it, that is, *Terre de Iesso, o'Ieco, yedeo Esso, et Sesso Scoperta Dagli Hollandesi L'an 1643*. In the same cartographer's *Asia Dioisa nelle sue Parti* (second sheet) found also in his *Atlante Veneto*, this land is further designate: *Terra della Compagnia*." In his *Planisjero del Mondo Nuova* Iesso is shown as a huge island separated from *Staten Eylandt* by *Vries Strait* and from California by the *Strait of Anian*. Here, obviously, *Iesso* has been identified in the cartographer's mind with the *Compagnies Landt* of Maarten Vries. An identification of another sort is observable in the Sanson hemisphere of about 1695, found in his *Atlas Nouveau* of 1696-1720, entitled *Mappemonde Geo-Hydrographiqtte*. In this map the *Terre de la Compagnie* shown at 45° in the eastern hemisphere becomes in the western, *Gama Land*, and stretches across the Pacific to the *Strait of Anian*. Just to make confusion more confounded this vast stretch bears the legend *Terres Inconnues au*

Terres de Jesso. Still further to complicate matters the Asiatic mainland north of Kamchatka is named *Terre de Jeço*. The American continent is indented north of California by a vast and imaginary *Mer del l'Ouest* from which the *Strait of Anian* runs not northward to the Arctic but provides instead a northeast passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic by way of Hudson's Bay. Sanson showed himself the most credulous and most inexact of geographers in these and many other features of this map, but it was a very handsome production and undoubtedly one of wide circulation. It must have helped considerably in the dissemination and maintenance of incorrect notions of the northern Pacific area.



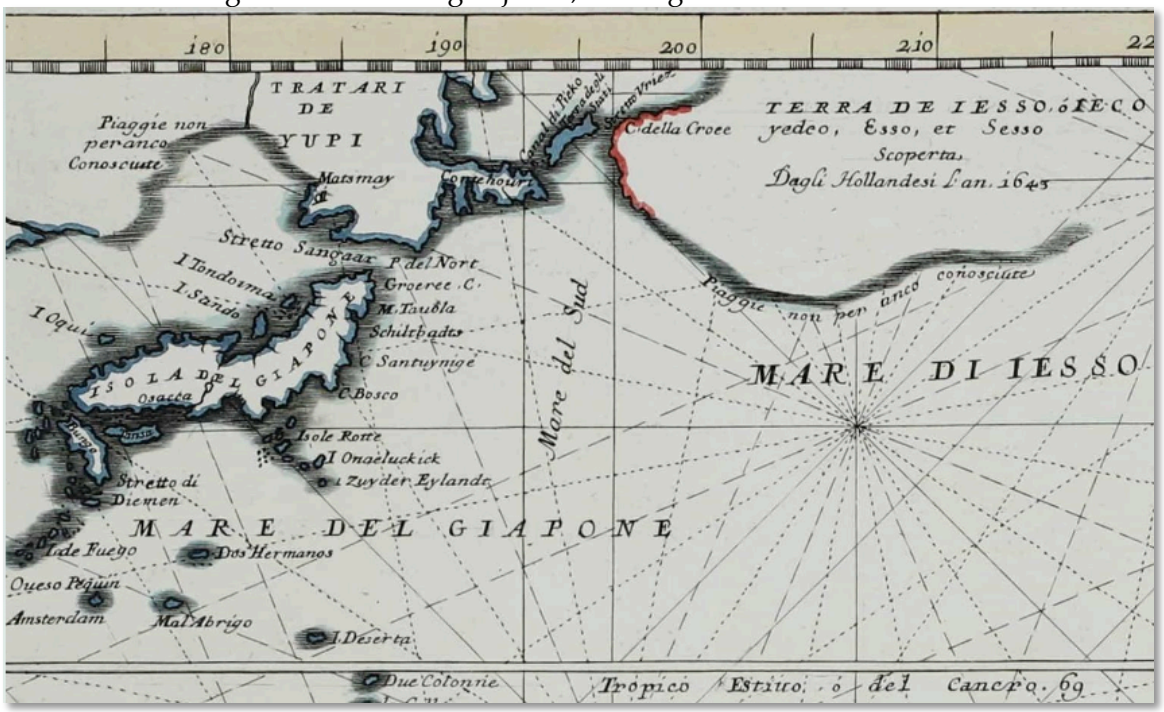
Mare del Sud, delta altrimenti Mare Pacifico, Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, 1691

This ornate map of the Pacific Ocean by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650-1718) includes the entire west coast of the American continent northwards to beyond California which is depicted as an island. The island depiction took hold following its first inclusion on a map in 1622. It would not be refuted for another decade or so and still take several more to die completely. It is entitled '*Mare del Sud*' or South Sea, the name deriving from Vasco Núñez Balboa's first view of it looking south, having crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1513.

This map of the Pacific Ocean depicts the route of Jacob Le Maire and Willem Cornelisz Schouten through the Pacific in 1615-17. This was one of the more crucial voyages as it proved by sailing around Cape Horn that Tierra del Fuego was an island and not part of the southern continent. Legends refer to voyages of the Dutch to *TERRA DE IESSO* in 1643, Australia in 1642, and unlike the *PLANISFERO* Coronelli dates the

discovery of *NUOVA ZELANDA* to 1654. In a further legend just south of the equator Coronelli states that the Spanish crossed the central Pacific from New Mexico to the Philippines in sixty days." (Burden).

In the east or western Pacific Tartary, Japan, the Ladrones, and New Guinea are featured. South of that is New Holland, yet to be mapped fully, with van Dieman's land to the south, and to the east New Zealand. The legend in the Pacific details the trade winds and the length of the crossing at just 1,650 leagues. oronelli



The Guillaume Delisle maps of the first quarter of the century were not precisely agencies of clarification. In the Jaillot *Atlas Francois* of 1695-1720, Delisle shows in his map *L' Asie*, of 1700, the *Terre de Yeco* as a peninsula of the Asiatic mainland, separated from *Niphon* by an almost imperceptible water passage. In his *Carte des Indes et de la Chine* of 1705 *Terre d'Yeco ou d'Eso* is similarly drawn and beside it is a legend which reads *on ne scait si la Terre d'Yeco tient au Japon au non* [we do not know if the Land of Yeco is in Japan or not]. In his *Hemisphere Septentrional* of 1714 *Terre d'Yeco*, separated from the Asiatic coast by the strait called *Tessoi*, joins with *Niphon* to form a single large island. In his hemispheres of 1720 *Terre d'Yeco* is shown as a peninsular projection from the Asiatic continent while from this non-existent peninsula Japan itself projects southward in peninsular form. All these different interpretations by this distinguished cartographer are found in the same atlas. Upon all of them appeal the *Terre de la Compagnie*, the *Isle des Etats*, and, where the bounds of the map permit, an indication of *Gama Land*. Delisle made no bones of the fact that he was guessing in his delineation Of Japan and Yezo. He admits in his *Leure… sur la question: si le Japan est Ilne Ile*, that his conjectures have no positive foundation. The force of bad example is a characteristic in the lives of maps as of men. In the curious Turkish book, the *Ta'rikh al-Hind al-Gharbi* of Constantinople, 1730, the world map reveals *Gama Land*, unnamed, running from a point northeast of Japan across the Pacific almost to the northern point of Lower California, drawn here as an island.

With the *Strait of Anian* still a conjectural feature of the geography of the northern Pacific, with most maps showing a land mass under one name or another stretching from Japan eastward to North America, with uncertainty as to whether Yezo was an island, a peninsula from the Asiatic coast north of Japan, or the Asiatic mainland itself, and with a great gulf indenting the northwestern coast of America and providing a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, the state of knowledge of the northern Pacific was little more advanced in 1725 than it had been a century earlier..

Despite new information on the mapping of the Kuril Islands and North Pacific Ocean during the early 18th century, depictions of *Compagnies Land* and *Gama Land* persisted on European maps through the 1780s. *Staten Land,* on the other hand, was not necessarily poorly depicted, but simply mis-named. Maps of the Kuril Islands based on Russian explorations reached Europe as early as the 1720s, as evidenced by Johann Baptist Homann's map of the Kamchatka Peninsula and Kuril Islands published circa 1725 (*Geographica Nova ex Oriente Gratiosissima, Duabus Tabulis Specialissimis Contenta...*). Vitus Bering's expeditions in the North Pacific between 1727-41 provided further confirmation that a large landmass didn't exist in the region. Yet even maps that showed and properly named many of the Kuril Islands, thereby incorporating the latest geographical information, still held on to the inaccuracies of Vries' and Da Gama's reports. The original story of Vries' discovery and naming of Staten Island and Compagnies Land was relatively straight-forward, but it allowed for open-ended and conjectural cartography. The fog that prevented the Vries expedition from circumnavigating Compagnies Land forced mapmakers to guess the size and shape of the island. Cartographers then conflated the reports by Vries and Da Gama, while mixing in other misconceptions about the North American continent to create exaggerated landmasses in the North Pacific. It all started with a few brief sightings of land, and ended up with mysterious islands and stretches of land that persisted on maps for over a century.

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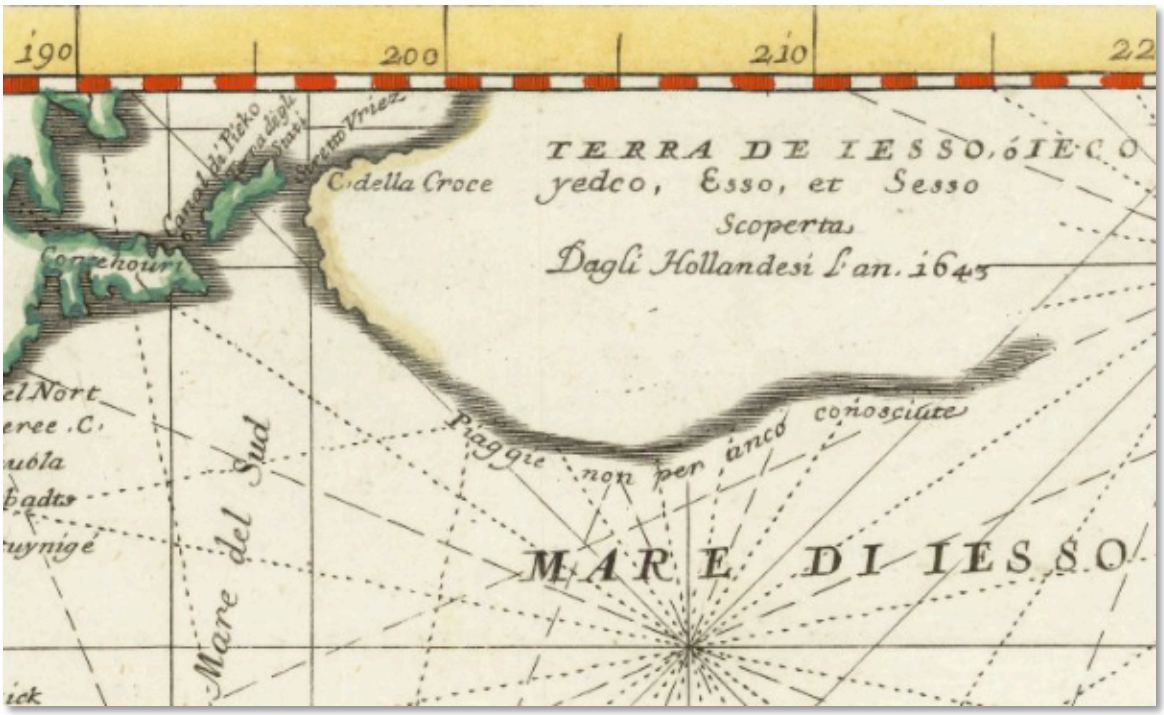
Carte Universelle de Monde, Pierre Du Val, 1679





Mare Del Sud Detto Altrimente Mare Pacifico, 1691, Vincenzo Coronelli





Planisphero Del Mondo Nuovo, Vincenzo Coronelli, 1691

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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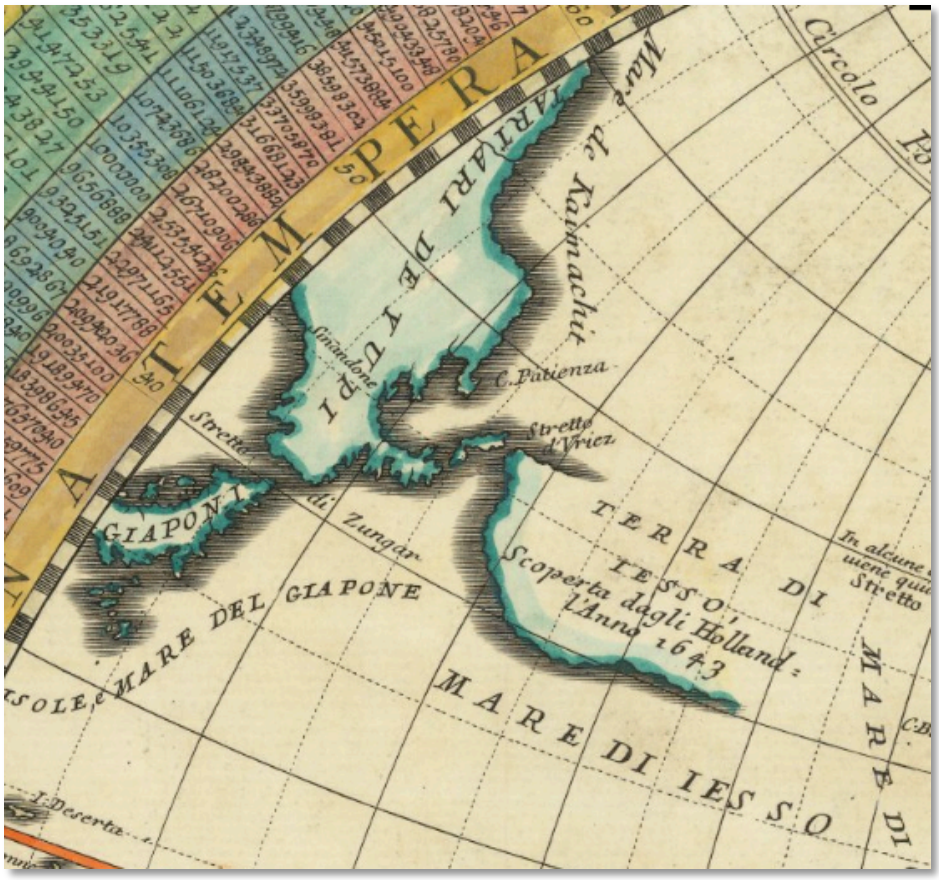
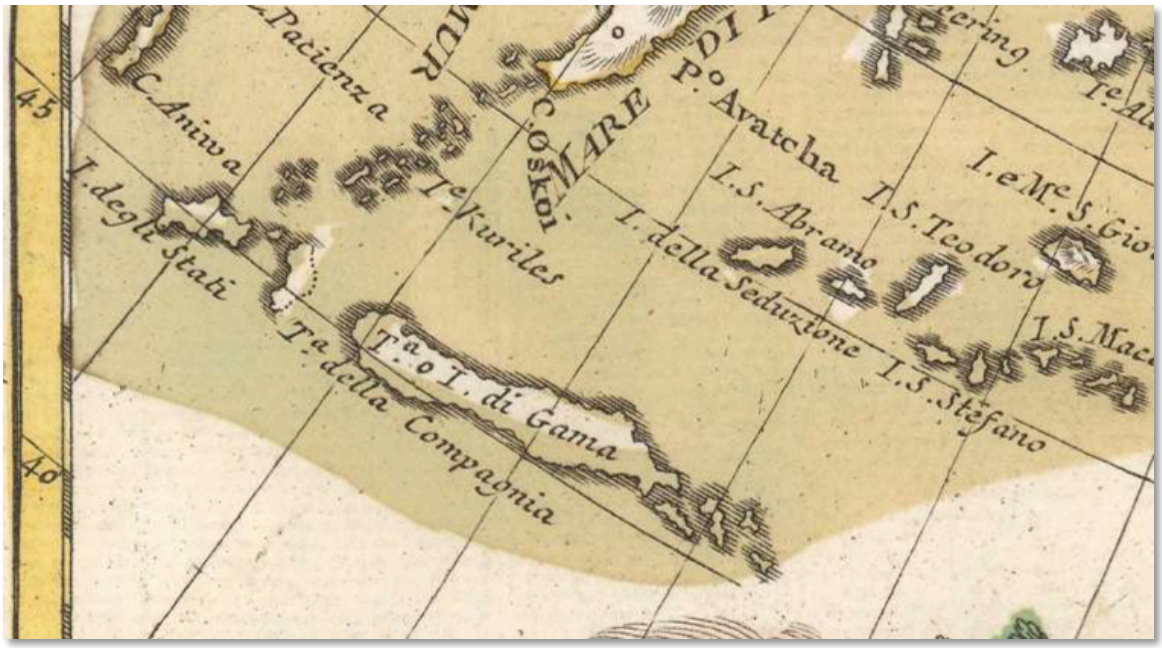




An example of Antonio Zatta's 1776 map of the northwestern parts of America and the northeastern parts of Asia. This map is one of the most sought after and decorative 18th century pre-Cook maps of the Pacific Northwest. The map covers the region from the Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes westward as far as Siberia and Japan, north well into the Arctic, and southwards as far as Cabo San Lucas in Baja California. In this stunning map, Zatta, combining almost every 17th and 18th century myth and fact of the American west into a single map, offers up a veritable smorgasbord of speculative geography.



South of Kamtschatka, near the edge of the map, Zatta notes the *Island di Gama*. *Gama* or *Gamaland* was supposedly discovered in the 17th century by Jean de Gama, a descendent of Vasco da Gama. Various subsequent navigators claim to have seen this land, but it was left to Bering to finally debunk the myth. In 1729 he sailed for three days looking for *Gamaland* but never found it. *Gamaland* remained on maps for about 50 years following Bering's explorations until the explorations of Cook confirmed the Bering findings.



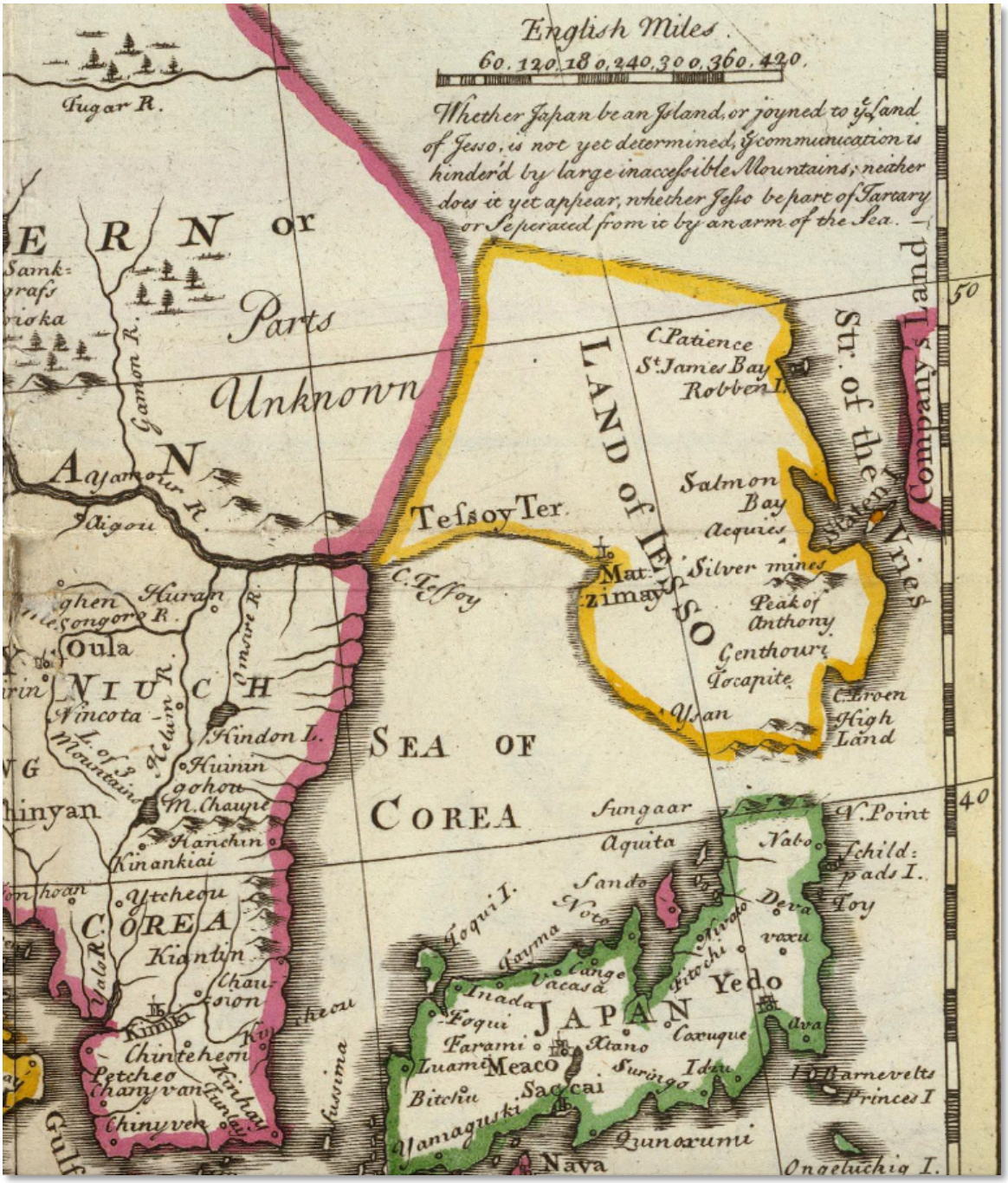
Asia Cum Omnibus Imperils Provinciis…, 1783, George Matthaus Seutter



Asia Cum Omnibus Imperils Provinciis…, 1783, George Matthaus Seutter
With the Vries Strait, Compagnies Land and a note about de Gama



1732, The Empire of China and Island of Japan, Herman Moll showing the Str. of the Vries, Staten I. and Companys Land


English Miles.
60. 120. 180. 240. 300. 360. 420.
Whether Japan be an Island, or joyned to y^e Land of Jesso, is not yet determined, ye communication is hinder'd by large inaccessible Mountains; neither does it yet appear, whether Jesso be part of Tartary or Seperated from it by an arm of the Sea.
Tugar R.
Parts Unknown
Gamon R.
Ayamour R.
Aigou
Tefsoy Ter.
C. Tefsoy
LAND of IESSO
Matzimay
C. Patience
St. James Bay
Robben I.
Str. of the Vries
Company's Land
Salmon Bay
Acquies
Silver mines
Peak of Anthony
Genthoury
Tocapite
Uchan
C. Iroen
High Land
50
40
Huran
Oula
NIUCHE
Amore R.
Kincota
Kelum R.
Hindon I.
SEA OF COREA
Hiunin
gohon
M. Chaune
Hanchin
Kinankiai
Ytcheou
COREA
Kiantin
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cion
Kima
Chintchem
Letcheo
Chanyvan
Kirihau
Chinyven
Gulf
Sungaar
Aquita
V. Point
Nabo
Tchild: pads I.
Toy
Deva
vaxu
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Voto
Toqui I.
Yedo
JAPAN
Inada
Vacasa
Fogui
Farami
Xano
Coxuque
Ava
Luami
Meaco
Suringa
Idzu
Barnevelts Princes I
Bitchu
Saccai
Yamaguski
Qunoxumi
Nava
Onoeluchio I.



Tom I. No. C. Nouvelle Carte De L'Asia, 1718. Henri Chatelain

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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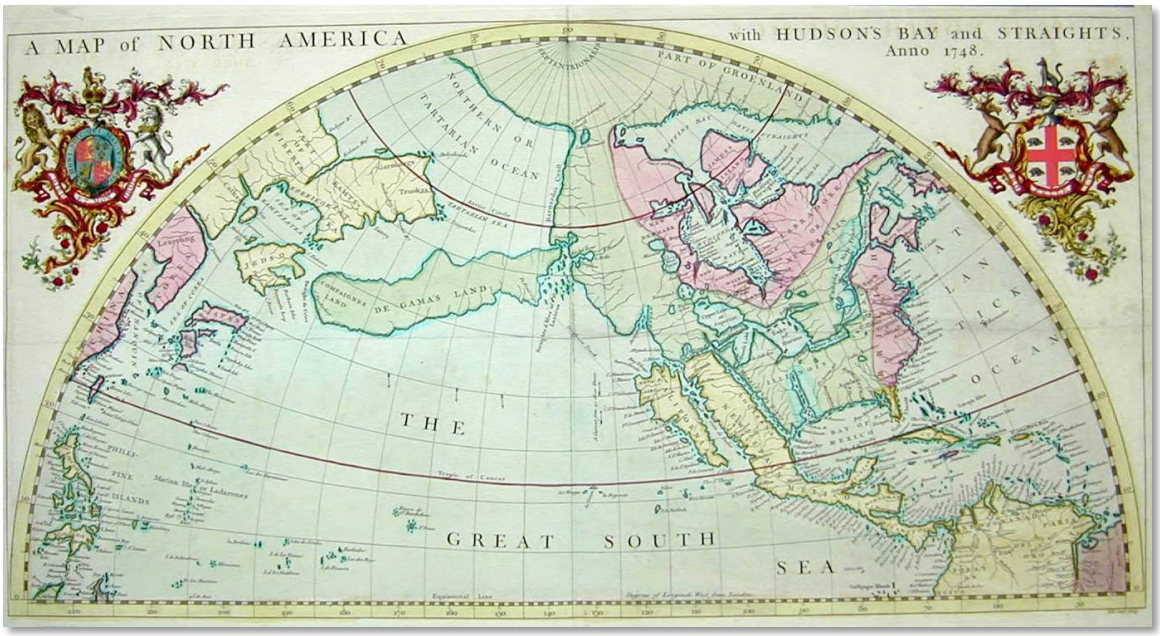
Mappe-Monde Geo-Hydrographique, 1708, Alexis Hubert Jallot, Nicolas Sanson



A Map of North America with Hudson's Bay and Straights, 1748
Showing an exaggerated De Gama's Land





A Map of the Discoveries made by the Russians on the North West Coast of America. Bowles (Carington) Published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Petersburg. London, 1771.

This unusual map of the Northwest had its origins in a map published at St Petersburg in 1758 by Georg Friedrich Müller. It shows the results of the Bering and Chirikov explorations in 1741: the Shumagin, Aleutian and Kurile Islands, for example. The map demonstrates that there was still considerable uncertainty about the nature of the Northwest, for it neither proved nor disproved the existence of a Northwest Passage. But as an exercise in connecting disjointed portions of a coastline, the map remained the standard cartographic picture of the region for many years. Müller himself noted that his work had been "no more than to connect together, according to probability, the coasts that had been separated in various places".

Nevertheless, the map provided the best view of the Alaskan coastline and the far northern reaches of California between the Drake and Vizcaino voyages of the late 16th century and those of Captain James Cook in the North Pacific some two hundred years later. From time to time, the Spanish had attempted to put down settlements this far north, but without success, and even almost going to war with Britain in the mid 18th century over fur-trading settlements, most activity being confined to the occasional Russian fur-trading sorties along the coastal region, rather to the cost of the native seal population.

This map is virtually identical to *Nouvelle Carte Des Decouvertes Faites Par Des Vaisseaux Russiens Aux Cotes Inconnues de l' Amerique Septentrionale avec les Pais Adiacents. Dressee sur des memoires authentiques de ceux qui ont assiste a ces decouvertes, et sur d'autres connoissances dont on rend raison dans un memoire separe. A St. Peters bourg a l' Academie Imperiale des Sciences. 1758.* (In C. G. F. Dumas, "*Voyages et Decouvertes Faites par les*

Russes le long des Cotes de la Mer Glaciale & sur l'Ocean Oriental, tant oers le Japon que uers d' Amerique." Ouorages traduite de l' Allemand de Mr. G. P. Muller. Amsterdam, I766.) except for the language employed.

Here are set forth the unfolding story of the discovery of the Pacific in the history of America in the 18th century, and the many theories and problems thereby raised among geographers. Gerhard Friedrich Muller was a young German, who went to St. Petersburg when Peter the Great founded the Imperial Academy of Sciences there in 1725, and devoted the next fifty years of his life to research work in Russian history. His books were translated into French, and into English under the direction of Thomas Jefferys. Both the French and the English translations give Muller's name incorrectly, and both give the same map. The French reproduction is the better of the two maps.

It is not plain who is the author of the map, but from the fact that it bears the imprint of the Russian Imperial Academy it may be inferred that it is Russian in origin. The map's title makes the direct claim that it is based on the reports of those who accompanied the first Russian expeditions to America.

Officials in St. Petersburg gave out little information concerning the new discoveries in America, and except for a few scattered references in the newspapers the world knew nothing of what had been accomplished until April 8, 1750, when Joseph Nicholas Delisle (1688-1768), a French astronomer who had gone to St. Petersburg at the invitation of Peter the Great in 1725, returned to France and read a Memoir on the recent explorations before the Royal Academy in Paris.

Vitus Bering, the Dane, as appears from Delisle's *Memoir*, undertook his first voyage by the appointment of Peter the Great, though after that monarch's death. On this voyage of 1728, in which he ran close to the coast of Siberia, he proved the existence of a sea to the east of Asia far in the north, the present Bering Sea; and from the nature of the waves of the North Pacific, from the floating trees found there, all strange to Asia, from the nature of the floating ice, and from the regular arrival on the Asiatic shore of flocks of birds every year from over the sea in the east, he came to the conclusion that the coast of a new continental mass was not far off.

The map has the following, leading northeast from *Kamtschatka, Voyage du Capt. Bering en I728 jusqu'au 66 Degres 30 min.* The turning point of the expedition was approximately the most eastern point of the continent of Asia, where the intervening strait between the two continents was narrowest. The map's inscription, *Cote decouverte par le Geodesiste Gwosdew en I730*, on the American side of this narrow strait, probably refers to a later Russian voyage, of which several followed that by Bering into the region.

Bering and his associate, Tschirikow, found the suspected land in the east on the second voyage straight east in the open sea, in the year 1741, as indicated on the map. Delisle's *Memoir* does not make Bering reach America at any point, but awards this honor to Tschirikow alone, probably through Delisle's desire to exalt the expedition which was accompanied by one of his own kinsmen, his half brother, Louis Delisle de la Croyere; but this palpable fraud was soon corrected by a Russian officer.

The point on the continent of America first seen by Bering was the present Mount Saint Elias, though this name was first given by him to a neighboring island. Says the original account, the island was called Cape St. Elias, "because we dropped anchor under the lee of it on St. Elias' day." Tschirikow reached the continent on a separate ship a day or so before his commander, and about three degrees farther south.

From Isle de Bering, in *Mer de Kamtschatka*, the map traces the two routes to America, *Route du Vaisseau St. Pierre commande par le Capitaine Commandeur Bering*, and *Route du Vaisseau St. Paul comrnande par le Capt. Tschirikow*.

Louis Delisle de la Croyere, who was with Tschirikow as a scientist, had served seventeen years with the French troops in Canada before going to Russia; and he easily persuaded the leaders of the expedition in the North Pacific that the natives of the new coast very much resembled the native inhabitants of Canada, and that America had in truth been reached.



Nouvelle Carte Des Decouvertes Faites Par Des Vaisseaux Russien, *Guillaume Delisle, 1758*

French influence on the inception of the Russian voyages was strong. Guillaume Delisle, 1675-1726, the leading geographer of the day, the author of a celebrated 18th century map of Louisiana,' and the popularizer of the work of Father Kino in California, had an interview with Peter the Great, when the latter was in Paris; and his brother, Joseph Nicholas Delisle, the popularizer of the achievements of the Russian voyagers on the Alaskan coasts, and Louis Delisle de la Croyere, who accompanied Tschirikow, resided in St. Petersburg for long periods at the invitation of the Russian monarch. In the year 1731, Joseph Nicholas drew a map of the North Pacific and its eastern and western shores, accompanying it by a long report; and both the map and the report were with Bering on his second voyage.

Catherine the Great of Russia, who reigned 1762-1796, sent out an expedition in 1764 which explored the new coasts from 400 to 750 north latitude; and this was quickly

followed by a Russian settlement in America at 640, north latitude, which initiated the European fur trade on the northwest coast of America. Spanish advance north from Mexico along the same coasts followed almost immediately, as a necessary act of self defense. The English and the French in turn soon followed the Russians and the Spaniards on the same coasts.

One of the leading results of Bering's discoveries was to push the old *Strait of Anian*, which had characterized the maps of the North Atlantic for so long a time, into its true position in the far north, where it was soon to receive the new name of *Bering*. The latter was undoubtedly influenced by the prevailing Russian belief that three Russian vessels had gone through the strait in 1648 from the northern coast of Siberia to Kamtschatka. The inscription on this coast reads, *Route par Mer anciennement fort [requentee. Voyage fait par mer en I648 par trois vaisseaux Russiens dont un est pervenue Jusqu a la Kamtschatka.*

Bering must also have believed in the story of Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, and from him received inspiration. According to the latter's alleged *Memoir*, delivered to the Council of the Indies in 1609, that traveler passed by sea from Spain to the Philippines via the north of North America and through the *Strait of Anian* in 1588, and returned to Spain by way of Mexico. One of the alleged original manuscripts of the voyage, traces of which go far back, was printed in 1788; another was found by Amoretti in 1811. The tale is a fiction, probably invented to reinforce Spain's claims to the northwest coast of America in the decade, 1780-90, when other nations were beginning to dispute the Spanish hold on the coasts north of Mexico. The alleged manuscript makes Maldonado say that he went to *Frisland* to fit out his expedition with clothes, a reliance on the Zeno story that is enough to condemn the whole tale. The passage north of America was easy, he says, the water there not freezing! Maldonado's map is an enlarged copy of that by Zalterius *(#391)*.

On the face of the map, south of the landing place of Tschirikow, is the following: *Pretendue R. de los Reyes de I' Amiral de Fonte en I640 suivant Mr. Delisle*. Bering may have been versed in the story of De Fonte, another of the mysterious fables touching the Pacific coast of America. Certainly his French advisers knew the tale.

According to the story, the Spanish admiral, Bartholeme de Fonte, left Callao on the Pacific coast of South America, April 3, 1640, and sailing to 53°N latitude, discovered an elaborate network of rivers and bays, where he found an entrance that led him far inland. Here he fell in with a ship that had come west from Boston on the Atlantic. The owner of the unexpected ship, Major Gibbons of Boston, was on board, while the ship was in command of one Shapley. Details of the story place various geographical names on the map of the northwestern part of America, among which are the following: Velasco, applied both to a bay and a river; St. Lazarus, Rio de los Reyes, R. de Parmentier, and R. Bernarda. The whole has been shown to have been the invention of James Petiner, who, in 1708, communicated it to a London weekly, *The Monthly Miscellany or Memoirs for the Curious.*

When Joseph Nicholas Delisle was preparing the map to accompany his *Memoir* in Paris in 1750 on the Russian discoveries, the tale of De Fonte had just come to him from England, and he embodied it in his map. Thus associated with the Russian discoveries, which were then occupying the attention of the world, and accredited by the great name of Delisle, and later by those of Buache and Jefferys, all men of weight in geographical matters, the alleged discoveries of De Fonte secured a place on the maps of the 18th century, which they succeeded in maintaining for almost fifty years.

Thomas Jefferys' work on the subject, *The Great Probability of a Northwest Passage*: *deduced from observations on the letter of Admiral de Fonte ... London, 1768*, was followed within less than a decade and a half by the publication of the journal of the Spaniard, Francisco Antonio Maurelle, who traveled along the northwest coast in 1775 without finding the least shred of evidence to substantiate De Fonte's story. The latter was thoroughly discredited. Says Maurelle: "*We now attempted to find out the straits of Admiral Fonte, though, as yet, we had not discovered the archipelago of St. Lazarus, through which he is said to have sailed. With this intent we searched every bay and recess of the coast and sailed round every headland, lying to in the night, that we might not lose sight of the entrance. After these pains taken, and being favored by a northwest wind, it may be pronounced that no such straits are to be found.*"

The French scholars in St. Petersburg, in common with scientific men in general, were also acquainted with the alleged geographical fame of Juan de Fuca, and must have passed this along to Bering.

Samuel Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes* prints *A Note made by me, Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest Passage of Meta Incognita*, which probably did more to perpetuate the mythical story of the *Strait of Juan de Fuca* than any maps.

According to this note, dated Venice, 1596, an old man, commonly called Juan de Fuca, but more properly known by his Greek name, Apostolos Valerianos, claimed to Lok that in 1592 he had sailed north from Mexico in the service of Spain and had discovered on "*the coast of Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America, ... a broad inlet of the sea ... betweene 47 and 48 degrees of Latitude; hee entred there into, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometimes Northwest and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by divers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinnacle, or Spired Rocke, like a pillar thereupon ... And he also said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where he entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe; and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Salvage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards Nova Spania, where he arrived at Acapulco, Anno 1592.*"

The King of Spain refused to reward De Fuca; and, in revenge, the latter offered to find the strait for the King of England, if only a ship were provided him. Lok wrote to Lord Treasurer Cecil, to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, asking for money to bring De Fuca to England. The requests were refused. That De Fuca found the entrance to a strait at the point indicated may well be believed, for the present *Strait of Juan de Fuca*, named in his honor, is in the location specified in the story; but that he found the inland sea and the Atlantic Ocean (the North Sea) by sailing through this strait from the Pacific is an invention which was exploded by the Spaniards in the last part of the 18th century. The map places *Entree decouverte par lean de Fuca en I592* near 48° north latitude.

Where was the river that the Spaniard, Martin Aguilar, said that he approached in 1603, but did not enter because of the force of the current? The map places the river near 45°N latitude, the present day Columbia River. Conjectures of the Columbia, which were common on the maps after the report of Aguilar, on down to the time of the

discovery of that river by Gray in 1792, are a part of the story of the later history of this coast.

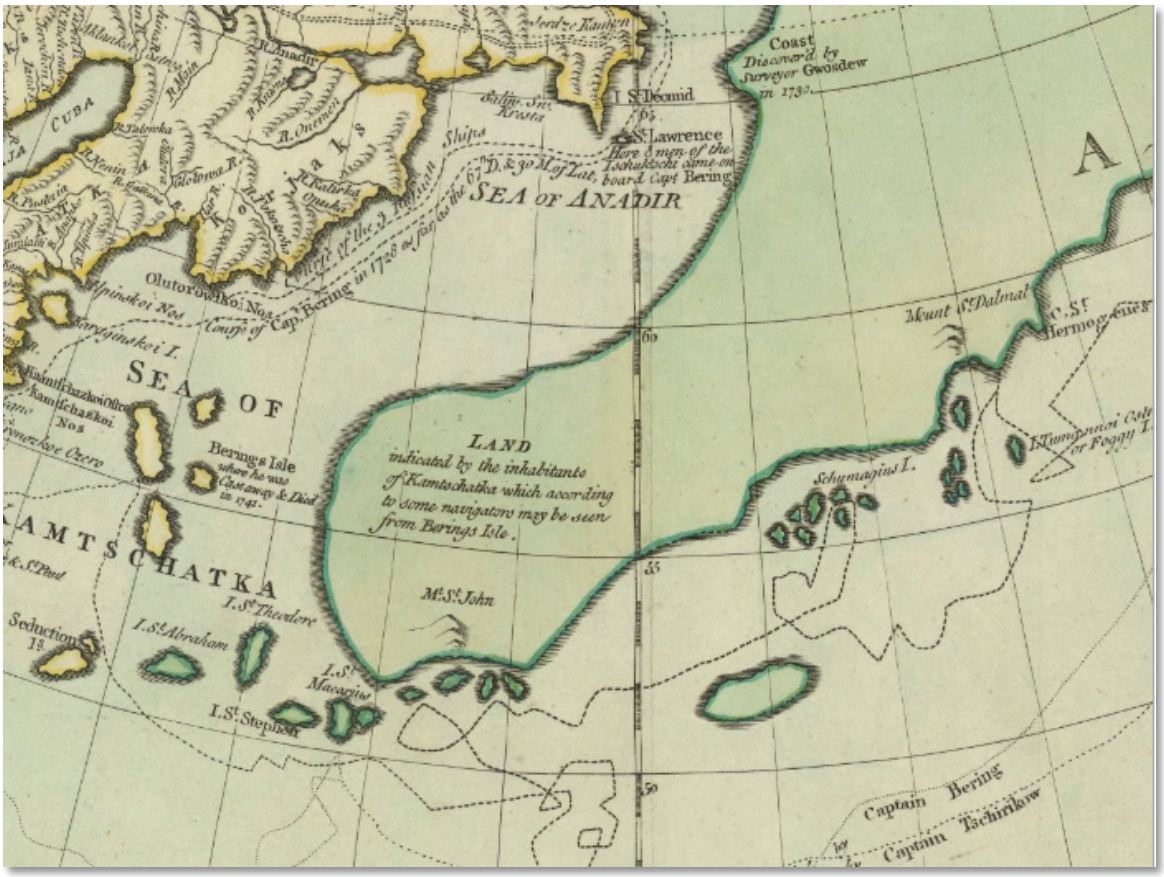
The *R. de l'Ouest*, extending on the map between Lake Winnipeg and the Pacific, was another invention of Europeans attempting to find geographical realities to correspond to the Indian tales of the great stream in the west. R. G. Thwaites, in his edition of the voyages of Lahontan, reproduces Lahontan's map of "Long River" which the latter in his 18th letter claims to have discovered on a journey to the interior, west from the valley of the Mississippi. The story was popular in Europe, like the inventions of Father Hennepin, and helped to fix the myth for a number of years.

References to the same Indian tale of the western river, but without the embellishments of Lahontan, occur frequently in the *Jesuit Relations*.

The *R. de l'Ouest* is but another name for the Long River, Origan or Oregon still another. Sometimes the mysterious river was made to flow westward from the Mississippi, sometimes from bodies of water farther in the north.

It will be noticed that the map vaguely traces a second river leading eastward from the Pacific to the interior of the continent. The early map-makers did not know that mountains prevented the rivers, which flow into the Pacific, from having an extended east and west course from the far interior.





The text on the "De Gama Land" reads: LAND indicated by the inhabitants of Kamtschatka which according to some navigators may be seen from Berings Isle. Mt. St, John
Captain Bering's ship St Paul's 1728 route is displayed



A New Map of the North East Coast of Asia, and the North West Coast of America, with the Late Russian Discoveries, London Magazine, 1764, 17 x 23 cm.

Interesting map of the Northern Pacific, showing the tracks of Captains Behring and Tschirkows Voyages of Exploration on the St. Peter and St. Paul, from Kamtschatka to the NW Coast of America and into the North East Passage, from 1728 to 1741. Bering was required to cross Siberia and actually construct his own ships. The Voyage was the first contact with the Alaskan Archipelago, which is shown in a very exaggerated format. There are several annotations and notes of discoveries along the Alaskan and NW Coast. This is one of the earliest obtainable maps to report the contacts, having appeared in the London Magazine in 1764.

This map falls in to the rich vain that is the De L'Isle - Buache De Fonte controversy. Their cartography was refuted by the important Muller map of 1754 which incorporated the new discoveries of Bering and Tschirikow. This would be the model for the region until Cook updated the cartography. Despite this he still included the mythical *Sea of the West*. This version published in the '*London Magazine*' in May 1764 was more probably derived from the Thomas Jefferys version of 1761. It shows the tracks of the explorers.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

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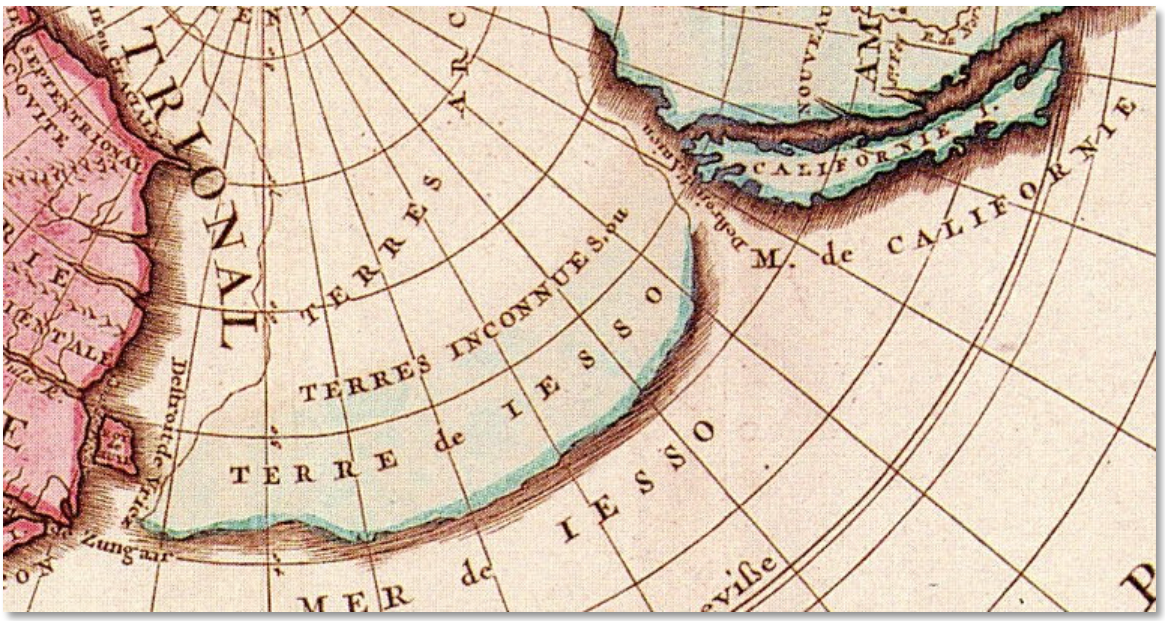
Planispherium Terreste, 1729, Reiner Otten





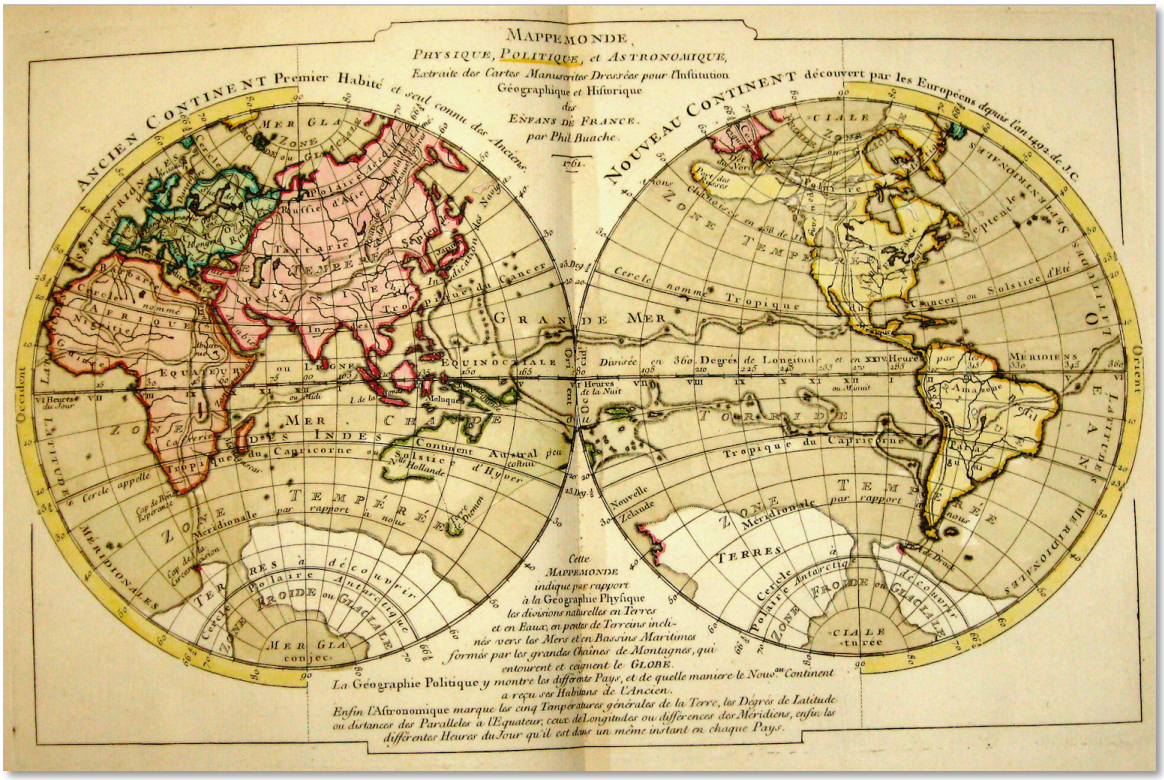
Carte des Terres Nouvellement Connues au Nord de la Mer du Sud, 1762, Philippe Buache

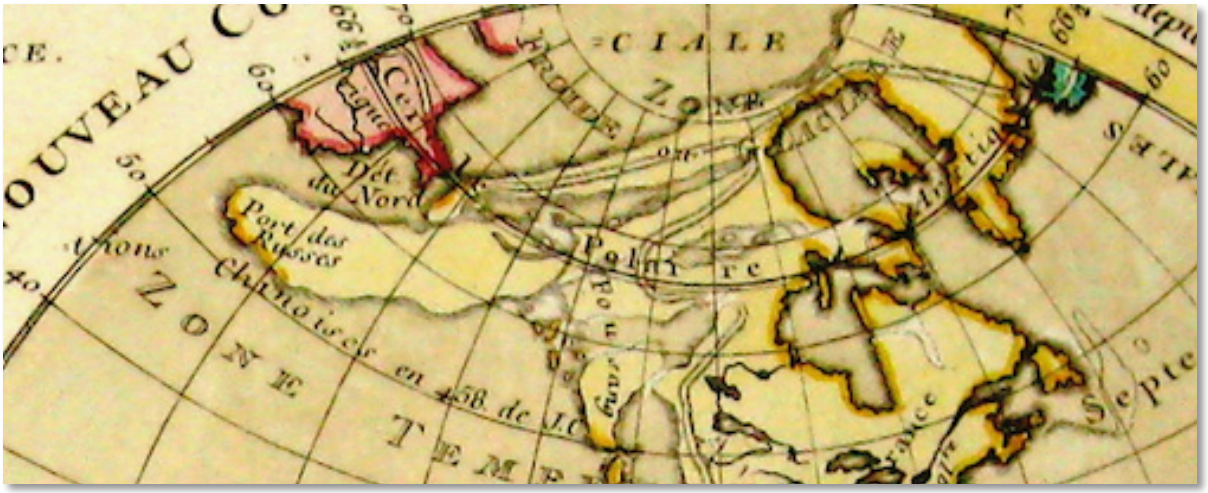


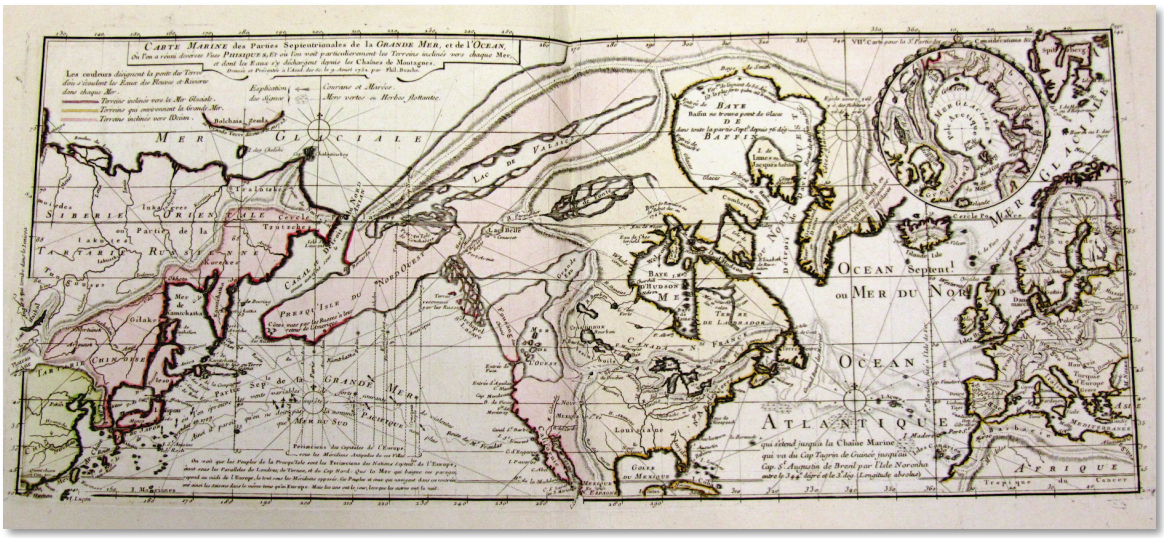
Philippe Buache, (born Feb. 7, 1700, Paris, Fr.—died Jan. 27, 1773, Paris), French geographer and cartographer who contributed to the theory of physical geography. Buache worked for his father-in-law, the cartographer Guillaume Delisle, and became royal geographer in 1729. He was elected to the Academy of Sciences the next year. His physiographic system divided the Earth's surface into four basins, separated by a scaffolding of mountain ranges overland and beneath the oceans. He applied this theory particularly to interpreting the geography of North America and the Pacific Ocean. From Russian discoveries in the Bering Strait he deduced the existence of Alaska and the Aleutians. Buache was also a pioneer in the use of contour lines to express relief on maps. Buache was a cartographer and map publisher, as well as the "foremost theoretical geographer of his generation." Buache began his career as a workshop assistant and apprentice of Guillaume de L'Isle, who was also an important and prolific cartographer. When de L'Isle died in 1726, his publishing firm was taken over by Buache, who had also married his mentor's daughter so that he was part of the family. In 1729, Buache was appointed as the *Premier Geographe du Roi*, roughly translated as the

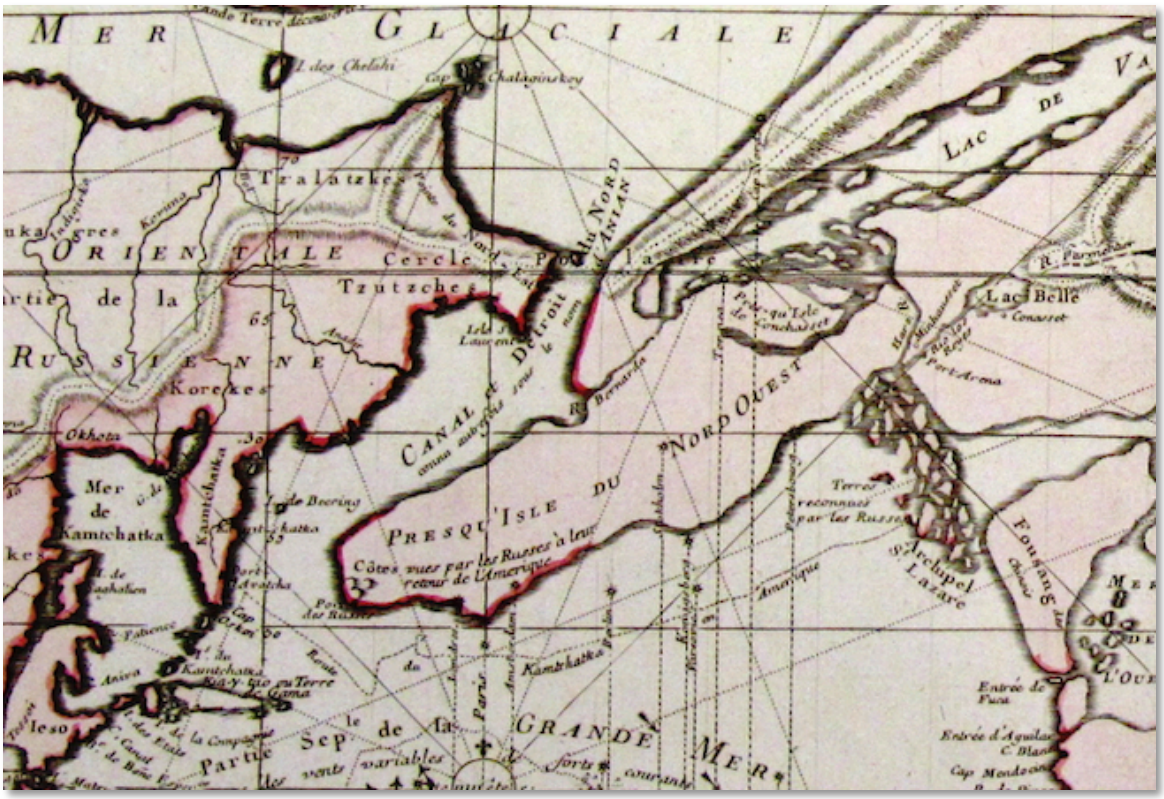
'first / principal geographer of the king.' In the following year, Buache entered the Académie des sciences as the successor of Guillaume de L'Isle.

Three more examples of Philippe Buache's interpretation.









De Gama's Land labeled "Northwest Peninsula"


CARTE DES NOUVELLES DÉCOUVERTES
entre la partie Orient.le de l'ASIE et l'Occid.le de l'AMERIQUE
Avec des Vues sur la Gde Terre reconnue par les Russes en 1741.
et sur la Mer de l'Ouest et autres communications de Mers.
Dressée par Phil. Buache Pr. Geographe du Roi,
Présentée à l'Acad. des Sciences le 9 Août 1752
et approuvée dans son Assemblée
du 6 Septembre suivant.
TERRES ARCTIQUES
PARTIE DU NORD DE LA MER DU SUD
ou DE LA GRANDE MER
Puchochotskes
selon Strahlenberg
TERRE habitée ou PRESQU'ISLE
que je suppose joindre les découvertes
des Russes avec celles de l'Am.e de Bonte
Terre vue par les Russes en 1741.
Route des Russes au NE.d en 1728
Terre de Gama
ou Isle d'Ieso
Japon
Kamtchatka
Tartarie Chinoise
Tartarie Russienne
Sibérie
Mer de Kamtchatka
Terre de Labrador
Nouvelle France
Canada
Nouveau Mexique
Mexique ou Nouvelle Espagne
Echelles
Publiée sous le Privilege de l'Acad. des Sciences
A Paris sur le Quay de l'Horloge du Palais

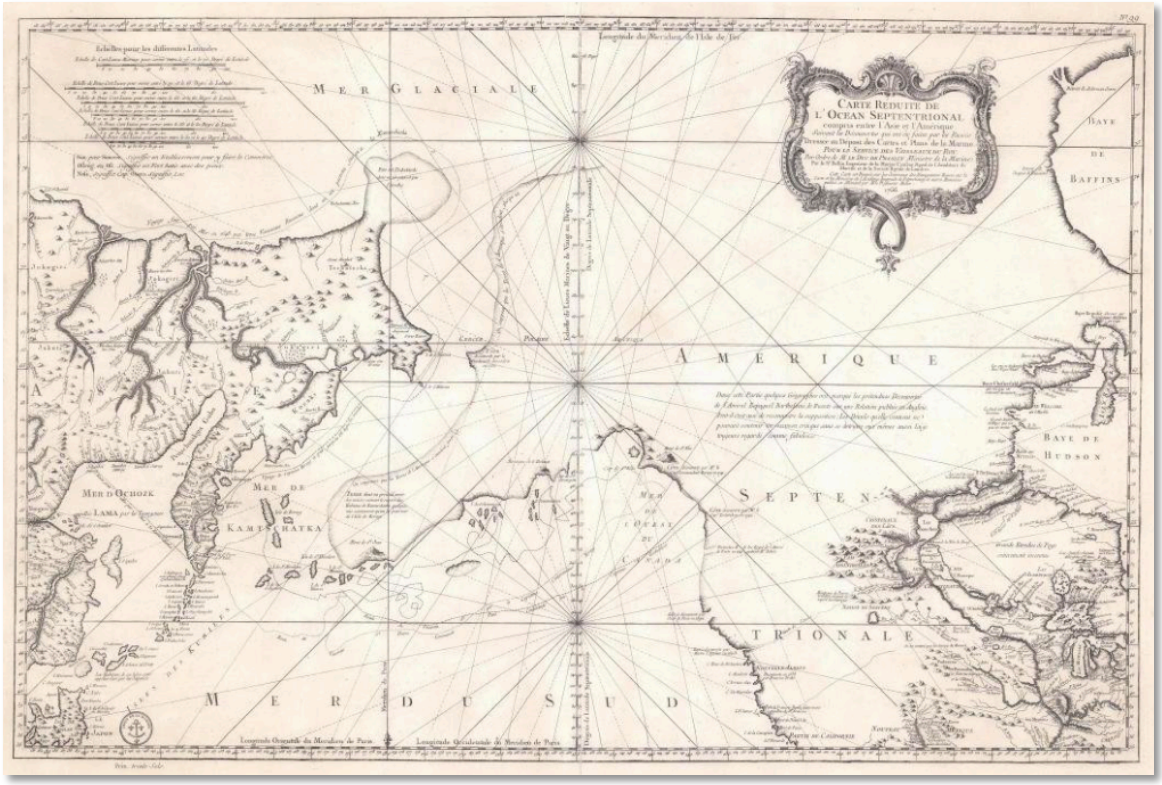

Terre de Gama ou Isle d'Ieso
Japon
Kamtchatka
Puchochotskes
selon Strahlenberg
TERRE habitée ou PRESQU'ISLE
que je suppose joindre les découvertes
des Russes avec celles de l'Am.e de Bonte
Terre vue par les Russes en 1741.
Route des Russes au NE.d en 1728
Kamtchatka
1741



Hemisphere Septenrional dresse en 1754.., 1762, Sigismund Ehrenreich Redem



De Gama Land labeled "Northwest Peninsula, plus Fusang and the Mer de Ouest [Sea of the West]



Remarques sur la Carte reduite de l'ocean septentrional, compris entre l'Asie et l'Amerique, suivant les de□couvertes qui ontete faites par les Russes; dressee au Depot des cartes et plans de la Marine, pour le service des vaisseaux du roi, par ordre de M. le duc de Praslin, ministre d'etat, ayant le departement de la Marine. 1766

A beautiful example of Bellin's engraved 1766 map of the Pacific northwest, Alaska, the Bering Strait and Siberia, This map is significant as a reactionary piece to the waves of cartographic speculation about the American Pacific northwest that defined the first half of the 18th century. Bellin, the premier hydrographer of his generation, here attempts make sense of it all, bringing together the speculations of the previous generation, his own geographical expertise, and issuing, for the first time on a French map, Frederick Mulier's revolutionary cartography relating to the discoveries of Vitus Bering and Aleksei Chirikov.

This map is a smorgasbord of cartographic speculation. It was issued after the seminal explorations of Vitus Bering (1733 - 1743) on the Asia side of his namesake strait, but before the voyages of Captain James Cook mapped the American side of the Bering Strait. Centered on the Bering Strait, the map covers from the Sea of Okhotsk (*Ochozk*) to the Hudson Bay, and from the high Arctic south as far as New Mexico, and Honshu, Japan.

In the middle part of the 18th century there were few paces on Earth as remote or as little known as the American northwest and the Siberian northeast in the vicinity of the modern-day Bering Strait. The first major scientific incursion into this region was the 1733 - 1743 Great Northern Expedition led by Vitus Bering and Aleksei Chirikov. The expedition was widely discussed in European scientific circles, but Bering and Chirikov's actual discoveries were suppressed by the Russian Academy of Sciences until 1747 when Joseph-Nicholas De L'Isle, younger brother of the famous French

cartographer Guillaume De L'Isle, who was then working in Russia for the Tzar, fled Russia and published a preliminary interpretation of the Bering-Chirikov discoveries in partnership with Philippe Buache. Buache incorporated some of the unpublished cartographic musings of Guillaume De L'Isle, who was by then deceased, to fill in the then largely unknown northeastern parts of America.

The Delisle-Buache map was sharply challenged by the Russian historian Gerhard Friedrich Müller, who in 1753 published anonymously a pamphlet entitled *Lettre d'un O.fficier de la Marine Russienne* in which the significance of the voyages of Bering and Spanberg is made clear upon the basis of what they actually saw and reported, while the fantastic delineation of the North American coast given by Delisle and Buache is criticized, particularly the route of the De Fonte voyage and the vast *Mer de l'Ouest* which were prominent features of their map of 1752. Replying to Müller in his *Considerations* of 1754, Buache clung to the possibility of the existence of *Gama Land* in both his text and his maps, basing his faith, as already said, upon the 1649 map of Teixeira, and upon evidence that the Chinese and Japanese located in that area a large island called *Kia-y-tao*. The most conclusive factor in this controversy was the publication in 1754 of Müller's map, *Nouvelle Carte des Decouvertes faites par des Vaisseaux Russes*. Here for the first time was the full delineation of the Bering and Chirikov voyages with their destruction of the *Gama Land* tradition. Here, too, was an elimination from the picture of the legendary *Yezo*, a correct portrayal of the Kurile Islands, the delineation without the De Fonte fable of the North American coast, and a suggested outline of Alaska and the Aleutian chain. Despite defects arising from the still incomplete exploration of the area, the northern Pacific and its shores are set down upon the Müller map in such fashion as to give that production a respectable position in the history of cartography. In 1761 this map was reproduced by Jefferys to accompany his *Voyages from Asia to America*, translated from the third volume of Müller's *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* of 1758. In that form it has been well known to English and American students of Pacific cartography. One point in which it is definitely superior to its prototype is the presence upon it of a legend relating to the Spanberg explorations. Müller describes Spanberg's discoveries in his *Lettre* and because of what they revealed corrects the current delineation of the area north of Japan even though he fails to record the name of the explorer upon his map.

While this controversy was going on between the Delisle-Buache faction and the Russian, or Russian-German, Müller's attention was called to the significance of the Russian discoveries by the Englishman, Bradock Mead, who, under the name of John Green, issued in 1753 *A Chart of North and South America, including the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans* and who in explanation of this chart published in London in 1753 a pamphlet entitled *Remarks in Support of the new Chart of North and South America; in Six Sheets*. Like Delisle, Green omitted the Bering route of 1741. He was not entirely free from the tyranny of tradition in other particulars. Upon the northern Pacific section of the map appear the *Rica de Oro* and the *Rica de Plata*, the fabulous islands that some two centuries earlier had begun the confusion which he was now helping to dispel. But likewise upon this map there is found a record of Spanberg's explorations and, replacing *Gama Land*, a legend which suggests that it was the Kurile Islands which Gama had seen and mistaken for a long-extended east-and-west-running coast. Another contribution by Green to the history of the area is his designation of the strait between Asia and America, called for some two centuries the *Strait of Anian*, by the name *Behring's Straits* " ... as it owes its Discovery to the above-mentioned Captain Behring," wrote Green, "I have made no

Scruple to denominate it from him." In the postscript to his pamphlet Green makes it clear that his imperfect knowledge of Bering's second expedition was derived from the Delisle-Buache map of 1752.

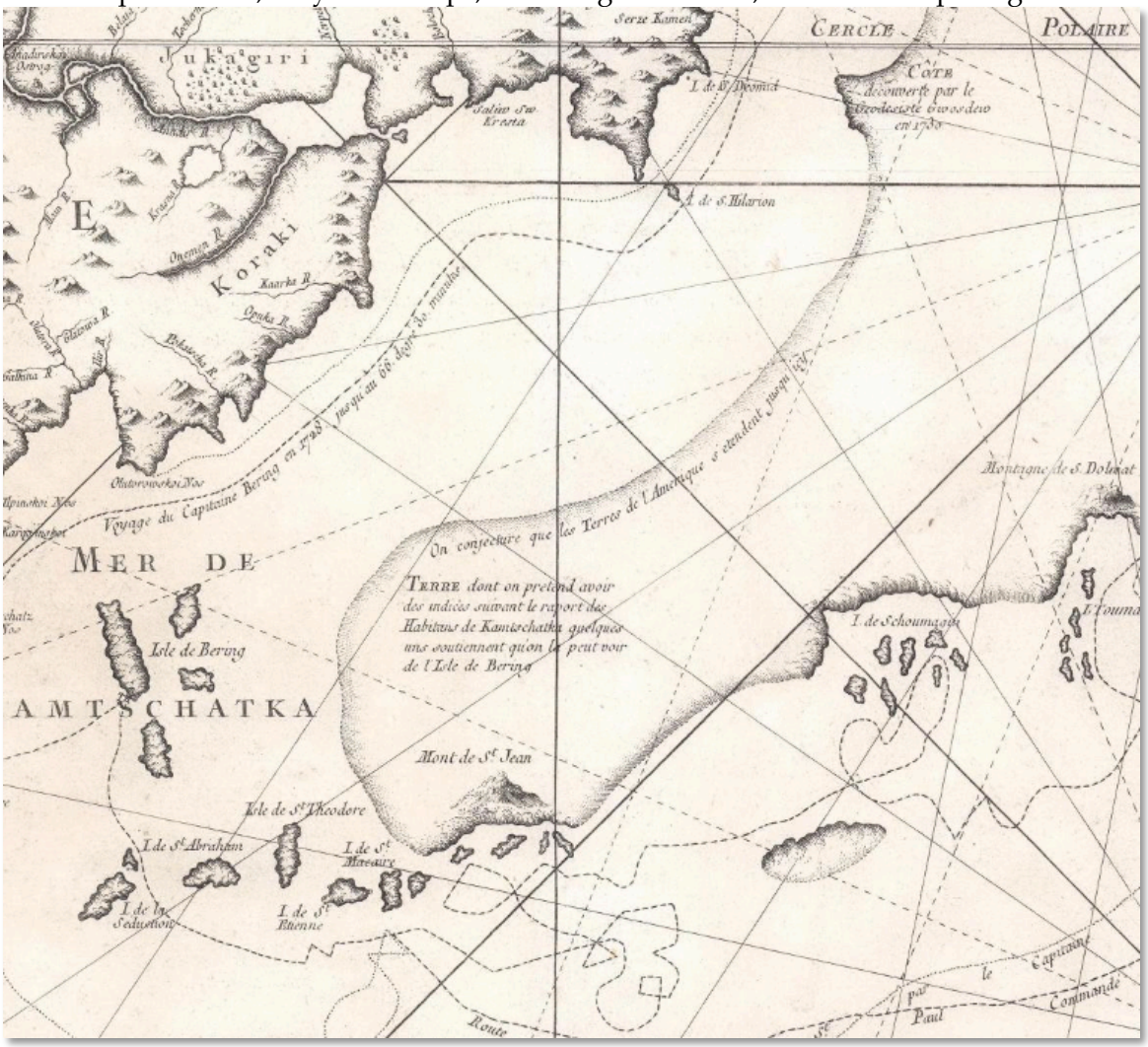
Here the question of the north Pacific remained for a good many years, that is, in the state in which it was left after the second Bering expedition. One section of that expedition, it will be remembered, had been assigned the task of determining the possibility of sailing from the river Kolyma on the Siberian shore of the Arctic to the mouth of the Anadyr on the shores of the Bering Sea. Complete failure marked that exploration, so that as Mr. Golder writes, "The same questions were asked after the second expedition as at the end of the first expedition ... In 1778, however, Captain Cook passed through Bering Strait, rounded East Cape, and sailed westward along the northern Siberian coast to North Cape. In 1823, Baron Wrangell walked along the Siberian shore from the Kolyma River to Kolyuchin Island, over-lapping from west to east Cook's voyage from east to west of nearly half a century earlier. Thus through the efforts of many men over a century of time was answered the question which Peter the Great had posed in 1725. It was now certain that America and Asia were separate continents and that between them lay a strait connecting the Pacific and Arctic Oceans.

The St, Petersburg Academy of Sciences was understandably offended by the unofficial leak of knowledge from the Great Northern Expedition and sponsored the German cartographer Gerhard Freidrich Müller to issue an official response map to De L'Isle/Buache. That map, which was published in 1754, was the first to contain substantial accurate information with regard to Russian discoveries in the Pacific northwest and is the basis for much of the cartography seen here, including the Muller's most significant innovation, the so-called *Muller Peninsula*,

The *Muller Peninsula* is a large speculative peninsula that bears a vague resemblance to Alaska. It was postulated by Muller based upon his reading of the Bering-Chirikov reports. As shown here on Bellin's map, we can follow the track of the expedition as Bering and Chirikov skirt the Aleutian Islands, sighting land on numerous occasions, before reaching the North American mainland and sighting Mount Saint Elias (*Mont de St. Elie*). One has no difficulty understanding how, by drawing a line between Bering's sightings of the Aleutian Islands, Muller presumed them connected in the form of a vast Aleutian peninsula. Despite the exaggerated westward proportions of *Muller's Peninsula*, his mapping, as seen here, is significant in that it confirmed the existence of a body of water between Asia and America, the subject of much dispute during the previous two hundred years. It also showed the Kurile Islands correctly and suggested the outline of Alaska and the Aleutian chain. Though the Russian discoveries had been shown on the De L'Isle map published in 1752, this is the first map to give an approximate picture of what is now Alaska.

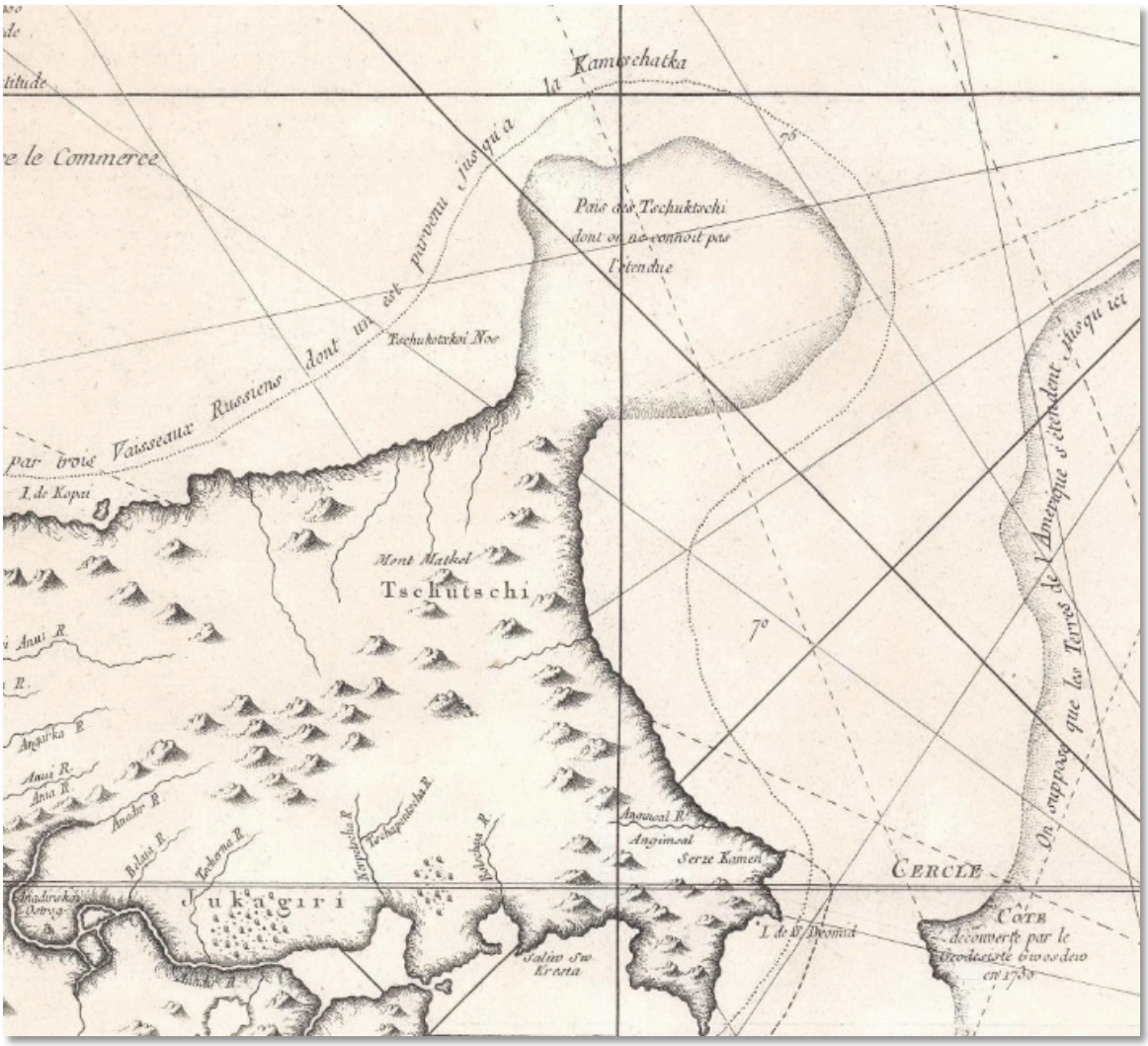
Another feature of extreme interest is the ghosted bulbous peninsula identified as *Tschuktschi* in northeastern Siberia. Earlier versions of this were known as *Witsen's Peninsula*. This oddity appears in various forms on numerous maps dating from the late 17th and early 19th century. It is a legacy of Peter the Great's obsession over the search for a Northeast Passage. Around 1648, the Cossack Semen lvanovich Dezhnyov (1605 - 1673) put together a rough and ready expedition to explore the region. His company consisted of Fedot Alekseyev, traveling with the merchants Andreev and Afstaf'iev (representing the Guselnikov merchant house), who provided their own ship, and Gerasim Ankudinov, an experienced sea captain with his own ship and some 30 men. Dezhnev, along with Mikhail Stadukhin, recruited some 19 men of their own and

procured a traditional *kocha* ship. Including escort vessels, a total seven ships sailed from the mouth the Kolyma River, along the Siberian Arctic, to the Anadyr River north of Kamchatka, and in doing so became the first Europeans to sail through the Bering Strait some 80 years before Vitus Bering. Dezhnyov described rounding a large mountainous promontory identified as *Chukchi, Tschuktschi*, or *Chukotka Peninsula*. Of the seven vessels and multiple leaders, only three ships, including Dezhnev's, survived the passage.



Detail: the Muller Peninsula

Dezhnyov ultimately proved that there was indeed a nautical route from Russia to East Asia, but at the same time confirmed that it was exceedingly impractical for trade. Nonetheless, his promontory was subsequently embraced by European cartographers who, lacking serious scientific data from the Dezhnyov expedition, surmised the form. The first of these was Dutchman Nicholaas Witsen, who prepared a map in 1687 based upon Dezhnyov's records that he discovered on a 1665 trip to Moscow - hence the term *Witsen's Peninsula*. Many cartographers followed suit, and some even went so far as to suggest that this landmass may actually be connected to America. Dezhnyov's actual reports were rediscovered by Gerhardt Friedrich Muller who published them in 1758 and incorporated them into his own influential map of the Siberian Arctic.



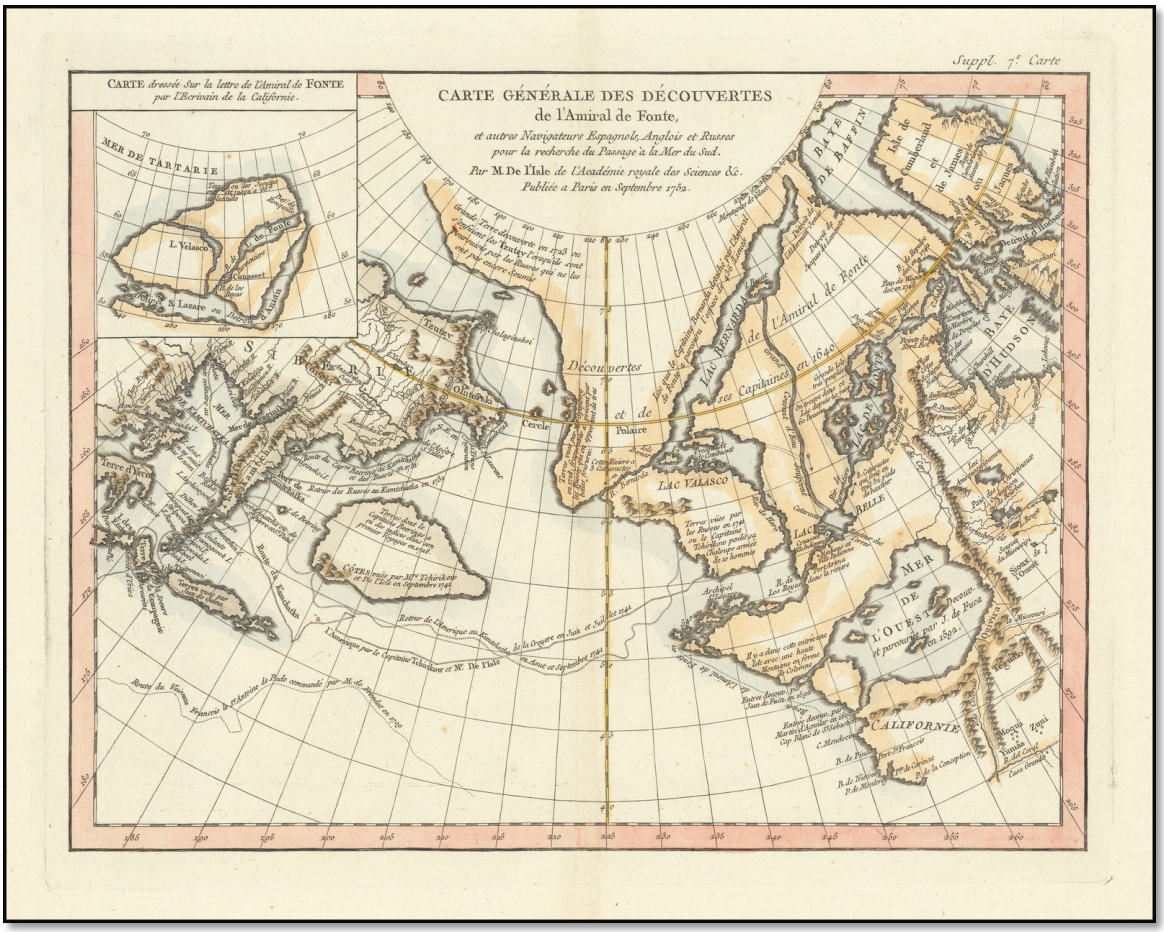
Detail: the Tschuktschi Peninsula

Beyond the discovery of Mount Saint Elias, much of the Pacific northwest is notably blank. Along the west coast, the map notes the speculative *River of the West*, supposedly discovered by Martin D' Aguilar in 1603, the factual Strait of Juan de Fuca falsely attributed to Jean de Fuca (1592), and further north the supposed river entrance discovered of De Fonte, to which Bellin clearly gives little credit. All of these are present to suggest that Bellin has not yet given up hope that an inland river route might exist between the Hudson Bay and the Pacific. Nevertheless, between these discoveries and Lake Winnipeg (*Ouinipigon*) there is little content.

Some of the river systems around Lake Winnipeg have been added and updated considerably over the Muller map based upon the discoveries of French Jesuit missionaries and fur traders active in the early 18th century. Among areas of note are the headwaters of the Missouri (which are not connected to the Missouri), the Lake of the Woods, Fort Maurepas, and an interesting mapping of the Red River connecting it to the lake of the Woods.



Detail: River system



Carte General Des Decouvertes De L'Amiral de Fonte Et autres Navigateurs Espagnols, Anglois, et Russes, pour la recherche du Passage a la Mer du Sud, 1752

A fascinating map of the Northwest Coast, showing De L'Isle's conjectural northwest coast, based upon De Font and Russian Discoverers, including the Bay of the West. The map is part of the great mid-18th century debate, spurred by the reports of Joseph Nicholas De L'Isle, of the Russian discoveries in the region prior to 1750, which he obtained during his time working in St. Petersburg. The debate was fed by the maps of Buache and Jefferys, which provided radically different accounts of the coast.

Ultimately, the discoveries during Cook's first voyage put an end to the debate, illustrating that the myths and legends synthesized in these maps were not at all accurate. Reproduced here for Denis Diderot's monumental *Encyclopedie*, the map is drawn from De L'Isle's map of September 1752, the foundational map for major debate over the mythical *Sea of the West*.

The map depicts the apocryphal '*Mer de l'Ouest*' and the *Strait of Anian*, which were at the center of one of history's most heated cartographic debates about the existence of the Northwest Passage. Prepared by the prominent, yet controversial cartographer Joseph-Nicholas De L'Isle, and published in his rare pamphlet, *Nouvelles cartes des decouvertes de l'Amiral de Fonte, et autres navigateurs espagnols, portugais, anglois, hollandois, françois et russes, dans les mers septentrionales* (Paris, 1753), this provocative work would become highly infuential in the depiction of the region for the next 30 years.

Meticulously compiled by De L'Isle from the work of his older brother, Guillaume De L'Isle, and information obtained by Joseph Nicholas during his time in Russia at the Royal Academy in St. Petersburg, the map synthesizes the information of Russian explorers in the first half of the 18th century, including Spanberg, Tchirkow, Berhing and others to resurrect the myths of De Fonte and Aguilar and present the information as suggestive of both the Sea of the West and a very direct Northwest Passage reported by De Fonte immediately north of the *Sea of the West* and a nearly complete transit even further north via the so-called *Lac Bernarda*.

The map depicts the late Guillaume De L'Isle's conception of the *Mer de l'Ouest*, the great apocryphal sea that occupied much of western North America, which Guillaume had sketched in manuscript on several maps, but had never reduced to print, taking the form of a massive round sea, which opens to the Pacific around the place of modern day Oregon. The map further depicts the Northwest Passage, as claimed to have been discovered by the Admiral Bartholomew Fonte, an apocryphal Spanish naval officer. A letter supposedly by Fonte, dated 1640, was first published in London in the *Memoirs of the Curious* (1706). In this letter, Fonte claimed that he was ordered by his king to sail from Callao, Peru, northwards up the coast. Upon his journey, he claimed that he encountered a ship from Boston that had traversed the Northwest Passage, sailing through the *'Detroit d'Anian'*, as shown on the map. While Fonte's letter is now universally considered to have been a hoax, the story it told proved to be highly influential throughout much of the 18th century.



Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40





Jacob von Stählin's Map of the Early Russian Exploration of the North Pacific 1773

A Russian edition of Jacob von Stählin's map of Kamchatka and the Bering Strait, with Alaska shown as an island separated from mainland North America by a strait.This rare Russian edition of the map appeared in *Geographischer Calender auf das Jahr Christi* 1774, published by the Imperatorskaâ Sankt-Peterburgskaâ Akademìâ [Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences] in 1773. It is a reduced version of a map Stählin produced for the Academy in the same year.

Thereafter, Stählin produced a German edition in Stuttgart in 1774, with the map re-engraved by Jonathan Lenz. The German text and map caught the eye of Fellow of the Royal Society of London Michael Maty, who saw it translated to English, with the map engraved by Thomas Kitchin. The map, which later proved controversial when tested by James Cook, depicts the parts of the North Pacific which Russian explorers probed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It illustrates several routes, including:

Three Russian ships which arrived at Kamchatka in 1648, led by Semen Dezhnev. He led the group from the Kolyma River south of the Anadyr River. He described having sailed around a rocky promontory, which was most likely the Chukotskiy Peninsula. This was the first time Europeans has sailed around the eastern tip of Asia. However, Dezhnev's reports remained unused and his achievement only vaguely understood until found by Gerhard Friedrich Müller of the Russian Academy of Sciences in archives in Yakutsk in the early-18th century.

The route of Captain Vitas Bering on his two North Pacific expeditions (1725-30, 1733-43). Bering was a Danish sailor who served in the Russian Navy. The First Kamchatka Expedition, which began in 1725, aimed to explore the extent of Siberia and to determine a route to America. The voyage was long and difficult; the crew traveled nineteen months overland from St. Petersburg before even reaching the Pacific coast at Okhotsk. From there, they sailed northeast along the coast of Kamchatka until they reached what would later be known as the Bering Strait.

Bering and his crew sailed around East Cape (today known as Cape Dezhnev) and saw that the coast turned back west toward Russia. He concluded that Asia and America were not connected and, although the expedition would spend another winter at Kamchatka, Bering was unable to locate any land to the east of the East Cape. The crew returned to St. Petersburg in 1730, after five years away.

After criticism for not making contact with America, Bering proposed the Second Kamchatka Expedition. However, during the voyage his ships were separated, weather was poor, and the crew became exhausted and sick. Bering himself became ill and eventually died on what is now known as Bering Island, near the coast of Kamchatka. Despite the deaths of nearly half of the crew, the expedition did eventually return to St. Petersburg with scientific and geographic information. They had traced the panhandle of Alaska, the Aleutian archipelago, opening the North Pacific to further Russian exploration.

The route of Lieutenant Ivan Synd (here Sindo) in 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, and 1768. Synd, who has sailed on the Second Kamchatka Expedition, was in search of the Northwest Passage, but he also hoped to clarify to what extent western Alaska was a peninsula or an archipelago. The depiction of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians differs greatly from Müller's map of 1758, then the most-widely referenced map of the region. Rather than the vague outline of the North American mainland trailing out into the Aleutians, Stählin shows a blunt North America with several large islands, the primary of which is named "*I. Alaschka*." All of these islands are closer to Asia than America.

The title cartouche is inscribed on a massive iceberg; a contemporary hand has added in Stählin's name in ink. In the lower right corner there is a vignette of an Inuit family fishing. There is a volcano, a finely-built house, some drying platforms, a caribou, and a kayak in the background.

The Bering Strait, Stachtan Nitada, and the Northwest Passage

The first maps to include the findings of the Bering expeditions appeared in France in the early 1750s, followed by a German map by Gerhard Müller, academician and member of the second Kamchatka Expedition, first published in 1754 and distributed more widely in a 1758 edition. These maps, though they differed in many respects, show the strait between the continents and the westward thrust of the Alaskan mainland.

In the 1760s, Russian fur traders discovered more and more of the Aleutian Islands, some of which are shown here. In 1764, Lieutenant Ivan Synd led his own voyage to the Bering Sea in search of a navigable passage from the Pacific through the Arctic. He produced several maps, all but one of which have been lost. The map that does survive shows a series of islands nearly touching Kamchatka, not a peninsula.

As a result of Synd's findings, Jacob von Stählin, secretary to the Russian Academy of Sciences, created a modified 1773 Russian edition of Müller's chart which converted Müller's large peninsula to a string of islands. This was then reduced for inclusion in the Academy's calendar, as shown here. It then appeared in a German

edition and an English edition in 1774; the latter was entitled, "*A Map of the New Northern Archipelago discover'd by the Russians.*"

One of the most enduring, and controversial, details of the Stählin map is the toponym *Stachtan Nitada* on the North American mainland. This appears to the be the second use of the name; the first was a little-known 1767 map by midshipman Filip Vertyuglov which includes *Stachtan Nitada* where Cape Gvozdev would be, just as in the Stählin map.

Stachtan Nitada is supposedly a place at which Synd landed and is near the sighting of the Alaskan mainland by the Russians in 1730. Stählin's book and map excited members of the Royal Society of London, who ensured that the German language publication was translated into English by the end of 1774. It also interested a wider audience, as the map was reproduced in the London Magazine in 1775.

However, *Stachtan Nitada's* precise location and importance remained unclear to explorers, none more so than James Cook. Cook carried the English translation of Stählin's map with him on this third voyage, which was focused on finding the Northwest Passage. What interested Cook was the strait between *Stachtan Nitada* and the nearest island to the west. It seemed to Cook and others planning his third voyage that this could be an entrance to a Northwest Passage.When Cook arrived in search of the islands and passage in 1778, he found no such place. As J.C. Beaglehole, Cook's 20th century editor, explains:

> …no one could be too hard on Stählin. He had thrown the name Alaska on to an arbitrary island in the north; the other name *Stachtan Nitada* was unknown to either Russian or Aleut…As a cartographer he was naïve, even infantile; and he was unwise enough to speak slightingly of seamen. (*Journals of Captain Cook*, cxxxvii-cxxxviii)

Cook himself had choice words about Stählin and *Stachtan Nitada*. In his journal of October 1778, he wrote: "*Stachtan Nitada* as it is called in the Modern maps, is a name quite unknown to these people, Indians as well as Russians, but both know it by the name of America." Of Stählin's map, Cook wrote later in October 1778:

> If Mr. Stählin was not greatly imposed upon what could induce him to publish so erroneous a Map? in which many of these islands are jumbled in in [sic] regular confusion, without the least regard to truth and yet he is pleased to call it a very accurate little Map? A Map that the most illiterate Seafaring men would have been ashamed to put his name to.

The map reveals the conjectural, and contentious, nature of mapmaking in the late-eighteenth century, especially when those maps depicted a still unknown—but possibly lucrative—area like Alaska.



A Map of the New Northern Archipelago', from Von Stahlin, Account of the New Northern Archipelago, London. 1774.

Originally published in German in 1773, Stahlin's book and map purported to describe the discoveries of Russian merchants trading east of Kamchatka in the 1760s under the protection of Lieutenant Synd. Clusters of islands are scattered around the map in random fashion, but its most striking and misleading feature is the representation of Alaska as an island. Stahlin's depiction of another strait through to the polar sea 15 degrees east of Bering Strait was to have a decisive effect on the instructions given to Cook in 1776. There is no indication of the Alaskan peninsula, and Unalaska, Kodiak and other major islands are wildly misplaced. A comparison with the Russian manuscript map of Synd's explorations shows how unfounded were Stahlin's claims to have produced 'a very accurate little Map'

Summary: As early as 1609 the Dutch explorers had established a trading base in Japan, and the seas north and east of Japan were rumored to hold further islands, promontories of Cathay or Tartary, as well as the long-cherished dream of a strait to the Atlantic. Tasman himself had made one attempt to chart these waters in 1639, without any clear result, and in 1643 the Dutch authorities in Java dispatched a second expedition under Maarten Vries whose results were to confuse the geography of the northern Pacific for the next hundred years. Vries sailed along the eastern coast of *Yezo* (the modern Hokkaido, the north island of Japan), and then between the largest of the Kuril Islands,

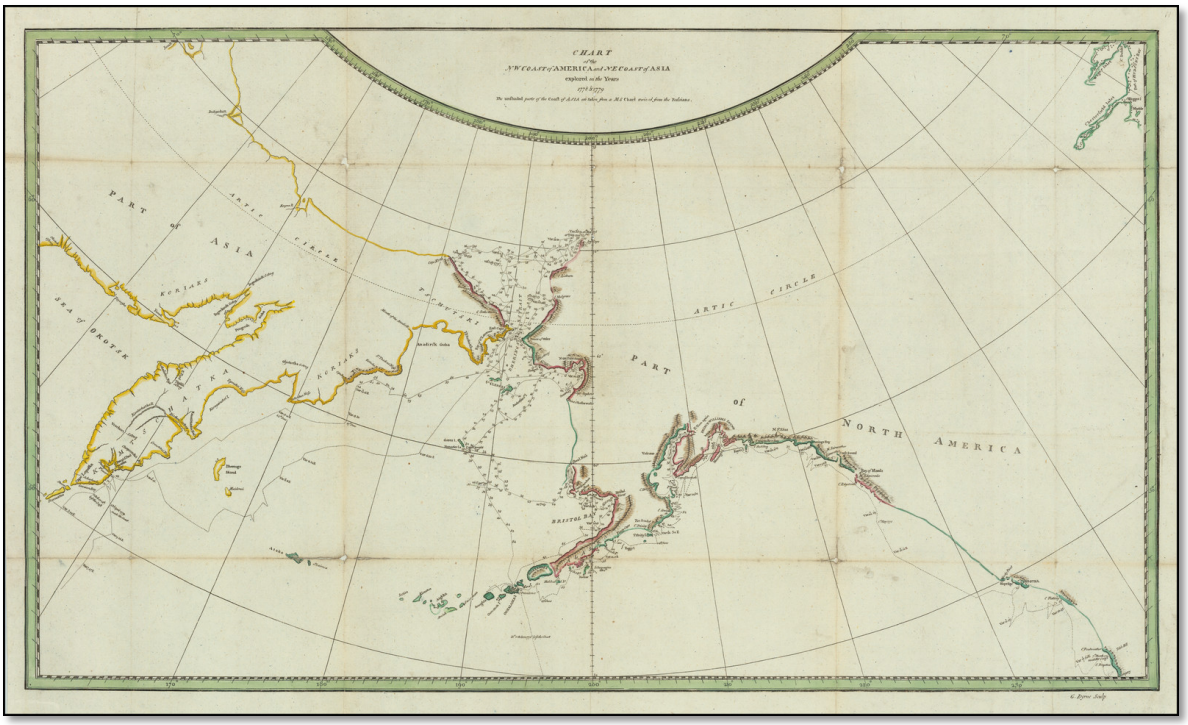
Iturup and Urup, before turning west to Sakhalin Island. Vries portrayed *Yezo* as a promontory of mainland Asia, failed to discern that Sakhalin was an island, and formed a highly exaggerated impression of the size of the Kurils, which he named '*Staten Land*' and '*Compagnie Land*'. These two lands and the distorted form of *Yezo*, together with yet another mysterious coast thought to have been sighted by a Spaniard named Joan de Gama, haunted all maps of the region, sometimes extending to the coast of North America, a vast phantom Dutch empire. These incomplete coastal surveys produced totally misleading results, and the haste to establish a claim to sovereignty seems to have overridden all else. It is a striking fact that no Europeans with knowledge of Japan, traders or Jesuits, were able to confirm from Japanese sources the true geography of its northern regions, and that it was always represented on maps as two islands rather than three. It was the Russians who dispelled these fantasies, in the course of their eastward expansion inaugurated by Peter the Great. By 1710 they had occupied the whole of the Kamchatka Peninsula and began the process of establishing the true geography of the northern Pacific, in which a major part was played by Vitus Bering, a Dane in the service of the Russian navy. The Russians were deeply interested in the possible existence of a northern sea route to the Pacific and the countries of the east, and also in the relationship between Russia's eastern territories and the Americas. In July 1728 Bering sailed from southern Kamchatka, with instructions to follow 'the shore which bears northerly and which, since its limits are unknown, seems to be part of America and to determine where it joined America. In August Bering passed the East Cape of Asia, and beyond to latitude 67° north and saw the coast now trending away northwest. Bad weather prevented his sighting the opposite coast of Alaska, but he had passed through the strait that now bears his name, located where the long-fabled *Strait of Anian* had been placed by mapmakers in the 16th century. In June 1741 Bering sailed again from Kamchatka to explore the eastern or American side of the strait. He rounded the Alaskan Peninsula, passed Kodiak Island and sighted Mount St. Elias, before turning back, but the return voyage was a nightmare of cold, hunger and disease that Bering failed to survive. But he and the Russians who had explored south from Kamchatka had shown Vries' lands to be illusory, and had opened the Russians' way to Alaska,



Nouvelle Carte de la Partie Septentrionale du Globe, comprise entre le Kamtchatka et la Californie, 1781, Jean-Nicholas Buache de Neuville

Here the forms of present-day Alaska and the Aleutian Islands are more recognizable compared to his earlier interpretations. Prince William Sound, Cook Inlet, the Aleutian Islands and the Bering Strait are clearly represented





Cook's Discoveries in Russian America] Chart of the NW Coast of America and the NE Coast of Asia explored in the Years 1778 & 1779 ...

An example of the map of the Northern Pacific and contiguous coasts of America and Asia, from the official account of Captain James Cook's third voyage, published in London in 1784. The map, on a curved projection, centers on the Bering Strait, showing how close Asia and North America are at high latitudes. Kamchatka is to the east, with a remarkable outline of Alaska to the west. The North American coast continues to the southeast, but the interior of North America is left empty.

For the first time on a printed map the coastline of Alaska and the northwest coast of North America are accurately portrayed. The map displays Cook and his crew's great contribution to the mapping of the area, particularly along the coast of what is today Alaska (especially near Prince William Sound), in the Aleutians, and in the Bering Strait. Cook's route in 1778, and Clerke's route in 1779, after Cook's death in Hawai'i, are shown in detail. As noted in the map's legend below the title, the map is also drawn in part from a Russian manuscript map. The Russians had explored the area during the Kamchatka Expeditions led by Vitus Bering (1725-30, 1733-43), and continued to sail along the northeast coast of Asia.

During the warm months (in the northern hemisphere) of 1778, Cook and his crew charted the northwestern coast of North America, calling at Nootka Sound and Prince William Sound. They went up the Cook Inlet, which they thought could be a Northwest Passage, but it proved to be a false start. Heading west, they skirted the Aleutians and sighted the Asian coast. In January 1779, they returned to Hawai'i to resupply and rest. In Kealakekua Bay, Cook was greeted warmly by the Hawaiians. They stayed for three weeks, enjoying the considerable hospitality of the people. In early February, the ships set out for another northern tour, but only a few days from Hawai'i the *Resolution's* mast was damaged, forcing their return. This time, they were not welcomed by crowds. During a dispute over a stolen boat, a scuffle broke out. When it was over, sixteen Hawaiians, four marines, and Cook were dead. Clerke took command. He forced the Hawaiians to give him Cook's remains, which were buried at sea. He then led the ships north, passing through the Bering Strait before turning back due to ice. In August of 1779, Clerke too died, of consumption, while near Kamchatka. A third commander, John Gore, then had to lead the ships home. The ships sighted Japan on their southward journey before calling at Macao. There, they made sizeable profits by selling sea otter pelts, kick-starting a new industry. By April 1780, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* were back at the Cape of Good Hope. They returned to Britain via the Orkneys, anchoring in the Thames on October 7, 1780.

This chart is of tremendous importance, providing a highly important advance in the mapping of the coastlines depicted here. It is also a map of great controversy, having been the subject of an internal struggle among the editors of Cook's official account of his third voyage and those who actually accompanied Cook on his final voyage and were present at the time the observations were taken.

This chart was one of two competing charts; this one appeared in the official account of the voyage, the other was suppressed and then published separately by William Faden, also in 1784. Both charts had been prepared by Cook's primary cartographic assistant on his third voyage, Lieutenant Henry Roberts. Roberts served as the Master's Mate on the *HMS Resolution*. However, because of disputes among the editors, Roberts ceased work on the chart, leaving T. Harmar to finish the plate. Roberts worked with James King, another officer on the voyage, to prepare the charts and other materials for publication. Upon the return of the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, a team of prominent individuals, including Dr. John Douglas, editor, Alexander Dalrymple, Cook's longtime rival, Sir Joseph Banks, and Lord Keppel, became involved. The production process was highly contentious. As noted by Hellen Wallis:

> The maps and engravings were a major source of disagreement between the editors and the committee whose proceedings seem to have become more arbitrary with the succession of Keppel as First Lord. Banks and Webber [the voyage artist] supervised the engraving of the drawings while Alexander Dalrymple (none other) "at Lord Sandwich's desire, " had direction of the charts and coastal views, with the exception of the general chart. Under the sole direction of the Admiralty this was being prepared by Lieutenant Henry Roberts, who had served as master's mate in the Resolution under William Bligh.

Roberts objected to suggested changes to the general chart of the voyage by Dalrymple, including the omission of Samuel Hearn's findings in the interior of North America, from his important overland expedition of 1770-1772. His chart was replaced by this one.

Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40



Compagnies Landt / De Gama Land/ **Muller Peninsula**

5.40

