



When Maps Become the World

By Rasmus Grønfeldt Winther. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2020. ISBN 978-0-226-66967-0 (cloth); ISBN 978-0-226-67472-8 (paper). Pp. xviii, 318, illus. US \$112.50 (cloth); \$37.50 (paper).

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producing his charts, surveys and journals. As a result, the information sent to his superiors in London was just as much shaped by Indigenous knowledge as it was by European cartography.

In her introduction, Belyea notes that Fidler operated in the context of fur-trade rivalry. The HBC was founded by Royal Charter in 1670 and granted a monopoly of all the trade within the Hudson's Bay watershed, the region known at the time as Rupert's Land (present-day northern Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, Canada). By the 1780s a serious challenge to that monopoly was mounted by the Northwest Company (NWC), founded in 1789 by fur traders based in Montreal. The HBC governors in London realized that accurate cartographic and scientific knowledge of their territories was needed in order to stave off NWC encroachment and preserve their position as a trading monopoly. As a result, making detailed maps became the key to business success in the fur trade and political power in Rupert's Land. Compounding the HBC's increasingly perilous situation was the depletion of the fur supply, which forced traders to search further inland into territory that was mostly uncharted by Europeans.

Belyea argues that Fidler's reliance on Indigenous knowledge also shaped the cartographic information he conveyed in his journals. She observes that Fidler's journal entries were often accompanied by small sketch maps, which he said either were drawn by quick visual observation or were copies of Indigenous maps provided to him. Belyea notes that to European eyes the maps were not scientific since they were neither drawn to scale nor oriented, and thus rendered useless on their own. To Fidler, they were crucial to illustrating what he conveyed in his journals, and to historians of the fur trade they represent a clear indication that surveyors and cartographers relied on Indigenous knowledge of the spaces the trading companies sought to control.

Fidler's journals are also significant because they provide the earliest ethnographic study of the Indigenous societies living on the western plains and across the continental divide. Prior to Fidler's work, Europeans were only vaguely aware of these people, and the few references to their existence were found in nebulous descriptions produced by explorers fifty years before Fidler arrived in the region. Belyea notes that Fidler's detailed descriptions of Indigenous nations such as the Piikani remain to this day the most reliable documentation of a western-plains people's seasonal movements and the buffalo hunts that sustained their way of life. Belyea also argues that much of Fidler's observations from his time spent with the Piikani hints at a considerable appreciation and understanding of their culture. As his use of Indigenous maps demonstrates, Fidler understood that his endeavour to provide scientific surveys and records depended on Indigenous cooperation and their willingness to share geographical knowledge assembled over generations.

The journals reproduced in this book give the reader insight into how the wider fur trade relied on the respect for Indigenous knowledge of the territories they had inhabited for centuries, and that the Hudson's Bay Company wanted to scientifically map and govern.

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Defining what a map is and how it works is a centuries-old exercise. Winther boldly goes where many have gone before and, after settling on a definition that allows for new directions, he explores how 'map thinking' operates to organize scientific knowledge and guide social change. Not only do maps represent the world we live in, but they also suggest multiple ways to remake it and, hopefully, improve it.

Winther presents his argument in two stages, first defining the map, then seeing how it operates in the world. He begins the work of definition by citing three fictions: the 1:1 map in Jorge Luis Borges's famous short story, Italo Calvino's uncertain map of the universe, and Mark Twain's conflation of map and territory as his boy heroes float in a balloon over Indiana. The absurdity of these fictions points to the problematic nature of representation, which Winther names as the key process linking maps to the world. He is also attentive to social practices involved in map making and map use—practices that can be as critical as technical considerations of projection, scale and inclusion or exclusion of certain features. After reviewing a number of previous definitions, Winther proposes an interesting definition of his own: 'For me, mapping is a representational strategy for imagining and controlling different kinds of space'.

This definition suggests a nice balance of creative and conservative energies, a dynamic ordering of 'multifaceted' space. Winther is aware of representational limits and ambiguities. Long sections of his book are devoted to explaining just how a map can be 'a tool with which to understand how things are connected'. Essentially, he says, maps operate by analogy. Features and characteristics present in a source domain are matched up selectively with features and characteristics of a target domain. Simpler than the world it depicts and composed of conventional signs, a map abstracts certain aspects of the world at the expense of others. A map operates as a model and guide; the world is understood by indirection.

The process of analogy also works in the opposite direction, from map to world. Winther maintains that the map can be 'ontologized', that is, made 'real by living and acting according to it'. This sort of map reading involves a kind of double think: although 'sharply distinguishing map from territory', the map user actively responds to the conception of the territory promoted by the map. 'The ontological layer coded into the map by the maker eventually becomes the layer of use and application'.

Winther sees this capacity to 'ontologize' as creative and innovative. It can just as easily be thoughtless and destructive. An example: last week the house next to mine was demolished and the thirty mature, healthy trees surrounding it were hacked down. The property line between the now-bare lot and mine was surveyed and 'ontologized'; it became a line on the ground. On my side my trees are still standing. The 'political and social context' of the town and province where I live allow for the 'spatialized knowledge' of land ownership and the

'representational practice' of the surveyor's plan, all of which enabled my neighbour's destructive action. 'When maps become the world' is an everyday occurrence, thanks to the power of maps to impose their value-laden visions on the territory.

Winther's answer to such arbitrary power lies in 'multiple points of view on multiple maps of the same territory'. 'Each map needs to be accepted and negotiated', he argues. And so it would be, in an ideal world. But Winther also admits that 'a map exercises a kind of existential authority. We deem whatever has been eliminated from the map as less real, even non-existent'. The map's capacity for representation—its link to the world, what makes it a map—can be eroded. Winther quotes Jean Baudrillard, who posits the paradox of a map without a reference, without the territory, 'a hyperreal'. To which we can add Wallace Stevens's 'final belief': 'to believe in a fiction which you know to be a fiction, there being nothing else'.

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Women in Cartography: An Invisible Social History. By Judith Tyner. Lanham, MD, and London: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman and Littlefield, 2020. ISBN 978-1-4985-4829-8. Pp. xvii, 131, illus. US \$85.00; STG £65.00 (cloth).

Women in Cartography: An Invisible Social History, by Judith Tyner, is an engaging and timely contribution to the history of cartography and the culmination of a career spent making women's contributions to map making more visible. Tyner clearly notes that her work is intended to tell the story of women in cartography in the United States and is neither an evaluation of various map types nor a critique of women's cartography. Despite Tyner's claim that her work is less about the maps themselves, she nonetheless emphasizes the importance of broadening our collective acceptance of the types of maps most often evaluated by scholars, arguing throughout that one of the reasons women's contributions have been overlooked is due to the types of maps many women made. To this end, maps created for teaching and training purposes, maps born of social science and scientific research, and more illustrative pictorial maps dominate this work.

Spanning from the late-eighteenth century until the late-twentieth century (intentionally stopping at the transitional time before GIS gained wide prominence), Tyner's book is organized in six chapters, her research guided by a series of specific questions, including: 'What were the roles of women in American cartography? What kinds of maps did they make? How did women fit into the overall history of American cartography? How did individual women learn to make maps or get involved in the field? These driving questions shape the overall structure of the book, particularly the thematic categorization of the types of women cartographers in the United States, with attention to chronology.

Chapter one describes the many women educators who made maps and atlases for their classrooms and taught map drawing, as well as schoolgirls who produced maps as part of their studies. In chapter two, Tyner recognizes reformers and activists who made

maps to encourage social change—including map campaigns for woman's suffrage, anti-lynching maps and Settlement House maps—and women travellers and explorers who made maps. Chapter three highlights the work of pictorial mapmakers and women who produced maps as illustrations for books, including Ruth Taylor White, Louise Jefferson, Ruth Rhoads Lepper Gardner and Alva Scott Gardner.

Chapter four delves into the cartographic work of American women during the Second World War, where Tyner coins the term 'Millie the Mapper' to refer to the prolific work of female mapmakers employed by the U.S. Government and Armed Forces in the 1940s. Chapter five illuminates the important and heretofore understudied roles of women professors and researchers like Marie Tharp in the mid- to late-twentieth century and includes the author's own gendered experiences in the early days of academic cartography. Chapter six, 'Government Girls and Company Women', is a wide-ranging exploration of women who worked for commercial mapping companies, map publishers and independent drafting and surveying firms, with an emphasis on the twentieth century.

Tyner's rich introduction provides a useful review of literature outlining the evolution of the recognition of women in the fields of cartography and map history, as well as a litany of reasons why the roles of women in the history of cartography have been frequently overlooked by both scholars and collectors. Tyner suggests one of the key reasons women cartographers have been rendered invisible is that scholars spent decades focusing on 'maps not chaps', and, as a result, there is less work on the people who made the maps, as opposed to the maps themselves. She also emphasizes a key issue that many historians and scholars of women and gender are familiar with; before you can write a history of women in cartography in the United States, you first have to find the women. Tyner's recovery work to this end, born partially of her own experiences as a woman in cartography for more than fifty years, is undoubtedly the true success of this volume.

Tyner mentions the work of more than fifty women in her book and, in bringing their stories, experiences, challenges and cartographical work to light, ensures the history of women in cartography will no longer remain invisible to future generations. It is this reviewer's expectation that young and emerging scholars will take up Tyner's concluding hope that 'others will take a more detailed looking into some of the women's lives and careers that I have mentioned and that the role of women in GIS will be explored to carry this story forward'.

Tyner's book serves as a model for other scholars aiming to expand upon the role of women in cartography on a more global scale, and there is much work to be done in illuminating roles played by women of colour in this field in the United States and around the world. This volume is an essential reference for libraries and other institutions with collections of cartographical materials and will undoubtedly appeal to those interested in the history of cartography as well as American women's history. It will inspire a number of fascinating topics for future dissertations, articles and monographs.

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