The Price of Manifest Destiny
Maps Relating to Wars in the Southwest Borderlands, 1800-1866

An Exhibit in Conjunction with the
Ninth Biennial Virginia Garrett Lectures on the History of Cartography

October 1, 2014 through February 7, 2015
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Sixth Floor • Special Collections
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Gallery Guide by Ben W. Huseman
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Introduction

Many generations of historians and scholars have addressed the theme of America’s “Manifest Destiny,” and over the years map exhibits have touched upon this theme as well. So why return to it? The theme impacts such a variety of maps created in the nineteenth century that further study affords new perspectives on familiar maps and allows the incorporation of other maps that until now have remained outside the standard "canon." Further reason is the opportunity to approach these maps from a cross-cultural "Borderlands" perspective to Western History, long advocated by historians such as David J. Weber. Our location in the U.S. Southwest demands that we know much more about our southern neighbor and our shared heritage. "Manifest Destiny" came at a price, and the fruits of it may be seen in maps of both nations, particularly maps relating to the numerous wars and conflicts that occurred during roughly the first half of the nineteenth century – a time when the United States' republic was still quite "young" and the neighboring Mexican republic, to use a similar metaphor, was just beginning life.

Geography shapes wars and wars shape geography. Cartography, being directly concerned with geography, is often affected by wars through direct association. Military planners use maps and create maps. Some maps have obvious military purposes or origins, while other maps less so. Many maps show political boundaries that were determined by treaties between nations that conclude wars, so even these could be considered war-related. By concentrating upon nineteenth-century maps of the area that became the United States Southwest as well as parts of Mexico, this exhibit and the lecture series that accompanies it hope to explore some ways in which maps and wars interact.

Acknowledgments

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- Ben W. Huseman
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Maps and “Manifest Destiny”

Historians generally agree that the phrase “Manifest Destiny” dates from the summer of 1845 when a New York newspaper editor named John L. O’Sullivan wrote an editorial contending that it was the United States’ “manifest destiny to overspread the continent…” The idea was not new, just the phrasing of it. As early as 1783, Thomas Jefferson, while studying his collection of maps and books, envisioned the United States spreading all the way across the wilderness to the Pacific coast. Many others in the east began to share this vision despite the presence of native peoples and the prior claims of Spain and other European powers. The United States’ purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 made much of Jefferson’s vision a reality, but Britain and Russia in the northwest and Spain in the southwest still retained claim to a large portion of the continent. The difficulty of exploration and travel limited geographic knowledge of these areas, so early maps were either speculative or, if scientifically-inclined, left many areas blank. Another problem lay in agreeing what actually constituted the new borders. With time, perilous travels and arduous surveys by explorers and others helped cartographers construct maps that slowly revealed to people back east the true geography of the lands west of the Mississippi River.

Henry S. Tanner (1768-1858)

A Map of North America

Engraving with etching, stipple, roulette and hand coloring on paper, 106 x 144 cm., on 4 sheets, each 53 x 72 cm. Printed by Wm. Duffee, 1822, for Tanner, A New American Atlas (Philadelphia: Tanner, 1823).

When mapmaker and publisher Henry S. Tanner released his masterpiece map of North America in 1822, Mexico had just won official Spanish recognition of its independence the year before, and the catch-phrase “Manifest Destiny” as applied to United States’ westward expansion had not yet been coined. The map visually documented the former Spanish lands and British territories contiguous to the United States’ new western territories. This offered suggestive areas for U.S. expansion to imaginations so inclined. Due to the lack of geographic knowledge available, vast stretches of Oregon, Texas, northern California, the northern borderlands of Mexico, and other parts of western North America appear completely blank or minimally marked by topographical features.

Tanner’s map incorporated material compiled from the most recent and critically-acclaimed sources of his time. In a lengthy Geographical Memoir, Tanner stated that for this map he had consulted works by Humboldt, Lewis and Clark, Pike, Stephen Long, Alexander Mackenzie, Aaron Arrowsmith, George Vancouver, Juan Pedro Walker, and others, noting how he selected information from each source for various portions of his map and why he believed the sources should be trusted and to what extent. Nevertheless, it exhibits problems in the trans-Mississippi western regions resulting from discrepancies in these sources that dogged cartographers for years.

Tanner’s rendering of what became the American Southwest served as a base map for his own 1825 map of Mexico which in turn influenced White, Gallaher, & White’s 1828 map of Mexico and, ultimately, the more famous Disturnell maps of Mexico of the 1840s. The majestic cartouche with its depiction of the Natural Bridge of Virginia, Niagara Falls, Indians, and various native plants and animals adds considerable aesthetic beauty.

Re-drawing Political Boundaries with Maps

Wars often necessitate the re-drawing of political boundaries, and such endeavors require new maps. In many cases, mapmakers employ minimal effort by simply taking older maps and updating them with new boundaries and inscriptions.

If treaty negotiators use faulty maps, however, serious problems result. People on site try to locate the new boundaries based upon these faulty maps and learn that reality is far different, and this can lead to diplomatic and other problems.

This was the case in 1828 and in 1846-1848 when New York mapmakers simply copied and updated a base map which can be traced back to Philadelphia printmaker Henry S. Tanner's *Map of North America* of 1822. Unfortunately, Tanner's map, while innovative for 1822, had serious errors that the later maps merely perpetuated. This led to a series of problems between the United States and Mexico following their war of 1846-1848 when the negotiators of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo used Disturnell's map of 1847 to describe the location of the new boundaries. Representatives of both nations in the field soon learned that the map was quite distorted since it placed one of the boundary's reference points, the city of Paso del Norte, miles to the east and north of its actual location. Eight years of diplomacy and boundary surveys, culminating in the Gadsden Purchase, addressed many outstanding issues, but minor boundary disputes over the boundary's location continued until the conclusion of the Chamizal Convention of 1963.

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**2**

White, Gallaher, and White

*Mapa de los Estados Unidos de México....*

Engraving (with hand-colored outlines), 75 x 105 cm. (sheet), by Balch & Stiles (New York: White, Gallaher and White, May 21, 1828). 41/17:00440

Mexican independence from Spain in 1821 meant that the United States government had to negotiate and sign new treaties with the new neighboring republic. On April 28, 1828, the U.S. Senate ratified an agreement with the Mexican government, basically recognizing the boundary that had existed between the United States and New Spain. Already by 1828, U.S. citizens had conducted multiple incursions into the borderlands involving both legal and illicit trade and military posturing. As early as 1822, hundreds of Anglo-American colonists had moved into Mexican Texas, some invited by the Mexican government, others not.

On May 21, 1828, less than a month after the new agreement between the U.S. and Mexico, the New York publishing firm of White, Gallaher and White issued this Spanish-language map of Mexico printed by the engraving firm of Vistus Balch and Samuel Stiles. The map simply copied and translated into Spanish Henry S. Tanner's *Map of the United States of Mexico*, which in turn was based on the southwest portion of Tanner's *Map of North America* of 1822. White, Gallaher, and White's map was issued again sixteen years later, in 1844, to coincide with the growing interest in Texas annexation.

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**3**

John Disturnell (1801-1877)

*Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico*

Engraving (hand colored), 76 x 105 cm. (New York: J. Disturnell, 1847). 102/10 310448

Recognizing the growing interest in Texas and the ongoing tensions with Mexico in 1845, New York publisher John Disturnell bought the copper plates of the White, Gallaher and White map and reissued it beginning the next year with his own name on it. This 1847 edition, while actually the 7th edition, was the first of seven variants that year. The variations were so minor that negotiators were probably not aware that the "7th edition" from 1847 was attached to the U.S. treaty, while the "12th edition" bearing the same year was attached to the Mexican copy.

One of the most glaring errors of Disturnell's maps and their predecessors was the distortion of the location of El Paso del Norte (today's Juarez, Mexico). The maps show it miles north and east of its actual location, and, thus by the treaty, the boundary would run miles north of what the U.S. had thought they had agreed upon. The two countries appointed a joint boundary commission that spent the next several years properly surveying the boundary lines, during which time they corrected the errors.


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John Disturnell (1801-1877) and Georg Schroeter
Map Illustrating the Disputed Boundary
between the United States and Mexico
Lithograph (with hand-colored outlines), 22.5 x 40 cm.
(New York: Disturnell & Schroeter, 1853).

John Disturnell, the New York publisher of the original Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty map, later issued this map to correct the earlier errors on his maps and to illustrate the disputed boundary lines that had resulted (the red for the U.S. claim and the blue for Mexico’s). Also, as shown, Americans had learned that even with the corrections in latitude, one of the best routes to California – Cooke’s Wagon Road – actually lay south of the new border, and a large lobby of U.S. citizens wanted the land to construct a railroad from El Paso to the Pacific. Given the Mexican government’s need for cash, on December 30, 1853, U.S. and Mexican diplomats signed the Gadsden Purchase treaty whereby the United States paid Mexico $10 million for 29,142,400 acres of a wedge of land within the present states of New Mexico and Arizona.

Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 3, pp. 236, 325, no. 779;
UT Arlington Libraries Cartographic Connections,
The Napoleonic Wars Impact the United States’ “Manifest Destiny”

The Napoleonic Wars in Europe created a power vacuum and “domino effect” in Southwestern North America that laid the background for United States expansion. In 1800, the secret Treaty of Tilsit between France and Spain called for the retrocession (return) of Louisiana to France after its loss to Spain many years earlier in the Seven Years’ War. Learning of this, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson soon approached Napoleon with an offer to buy New Orleans, and, by 1803, Napoleon was ready to sell the entire Louisiana territory. The Louisiana Purchase that year once again made the United States New Spain’s immediate neighbor to the north and east. Conflicting boundary claims arose almost immediately.

In 1808, Napoleon invaded Spain, and the resulting Peninsular War devastated that country and weakened its hold on its overseas empire. Wars of Independence flared in Spain’s Latin American colonies, including Mexico, where Father Miguel Hidalgo issued his famous call for independence in 1810. Violence and war quickly spread to New Spain’s northern borderlands areas including what would eventually become the U.S. Southwest. There, unauthorized military expeditions or “ filibustering” became common as a broad array of opportunists took advantage of Spanish weakness.

In 1812, the United States went to war against Great Britain in large part over the latter’s heavy-handed attempts to enforce a sea blockade against Napoleon’s forces on the European continent. The war resulted in a draw, but the British decision at the 1814 Treaty of Ghent to abandon forts in the Ohio River Valley and a final British defeat at New Orleans emboldened United States expansionists’ dreams along the western border.

5

François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois (1745-1837)
Carte Générale des États-Unis Pour servir à l’Histoire de la Louisiane

Simplicity of color and graphic design makes this lightly hand-colored, lithographed map one of the best early maps to illustrate the territory that the United States acquired by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Author Barbé-Marbois served Napoleon I as minister of the French treasury and represented France during the final stages of the negotiations with the United States over the Louisiana Purchase.

6

Amos Doolittle (1754-1832)
An Improved Map of the United States
Engraving, 48 x 56 cm., (Cheshire, Connecticut: Shelton & Rensett, 1813), 1:277,784

In a map brimming with patriotism, engraver and silversmith Amos Doolittle of New Haven Connecticut depicted the United States as it appeared during the War of 1812. Note the inclusion of small vignettes heralding U.S. Naval victories over British warships in the Atlantic.

Maps from the Official Atlas of the Civil War

The original chromolithographed maps in this case appeared in the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1891-1895. The compilers of the atlas utilized the very best military maps available including many hitherto unpublished military campaign and reconnaissance manuscript maps produced during the 1861-1865 conflict by the Union and Confederate forces and pre-war maps produced by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers and the U.S. Coast Survey. The chromolithography was by Julius Bien & Co. of New York, the most important lithography firm in the country, whose work already included Civil War-related maps issued during the war as well as the Coast Survey maps of the 1850s and a brilliant chromolithographed edition of Audubon’s Birds of America.
Independent Mexico and U.S. “Manifest Destiny”

Mexico’s War for Independence greatly impacted the borderlands, weakening the northern defenses of New Spain as royalists and republicans fought one another. Many U.S. citizens supported the Mexican cause. As former British colonists, they were sympathetic to those who had overthrown an older and corrupt European colonial power. This support ranged from expressions of sympathy to participation in the republican army and to unsanctioned filibustering expeditions into Mexican territory.

As the American experiment with self-government survived and matured in the United States, people in both countries hoped that Mexico could do the same. Unfortunately, Mexicans inherited a collapsing system with vast expanses of territory often peopled by “Indios Barbaros” that they could not control. Moreover, Mexicans could not agree on how to govern themselves. Meanwhile, the United States, with its population and power steadily increasing, often proved to be a meddling and aggressive neighbor.

8

L. Garcés after an unknown artist
*Miguel Hidalgo Captan. Genl. de America*

Miguel Hidalgo, a Jesuit-trained priest of the town of Dolores, Guanajuato, was one of the main leaders of the Mexican independence movement against Spain. This fine lithograph is one of dozens of portraits of Mexico’s rulers and leaders throughout history appearing in this two-volume book by engineer, scientist, and author Rivera Cambas, published during the presidency of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada. According to the inscriptions, L. Garcés of the lithography firm of the Widow Muguía & Sons copied it from a portrait hanging in the reception hall of the National Palace in Mexico City.

9

Cartographer Unknown
*Plano de la Alhondiga de Granaditas en Guanajuato y de sus Inmediaciones Relative al Ataque del 28 de Septiembre de 1810*

Published long after the event, the map depicts the public granary of the town of Granaditas in Guanajuato where, in one of the early battles in the Mexican War for Independence from Spain, Hidalgo’s forces cornered and slaughtered Spaniards and royalists.

10

Cartographer Unknown
*Plano de la batalla de Calderón*

Alamán’s history of Mexico (1849) included several maps of battles during the Mexican War of Independence. At Calderón Bridge, located east of Guadalajara in present-day Zapotlanejo, Jalisco, on January 17, 1811, the Royalists defeated the Insurgents. Soon after, Hidalgo was captured and executed.

11

Cartographer Unknown
*Plano del Puerto de Vera-Cruz*
*Levantado en 1807, Publicado por orden del Escmo. Señor Dn. Guadalupe Victoria Primer Presidente de la República Mexico año 1825*
Engraving, 49 x 62 cm. (Mexico: [La Republica], 1825).

By the time of Mexico’s War of Independence, the Spanish Navy had produced excellent charts of Mexico’s coastal waters. The new Mexican republic soon acquired the copper plates for these and reissued them in 1825 with the stamp “MM” (*Marina de Mexico or Mexican Navy*). Later, during the U.S. War with Mexico, U.S. Army topographical engineers used this map or one similar as a base map for their plans of the Veracruz landing and siege.
Exploring and Mapping the Western Louisiana Territory

As President Thomas Jefferson contemplated his strategic purchase of the Louisiana Territory, he consulted every book and map that he had assembled in his impressive personal library that might give information about the geography of the western portions of the continent. There was very little information available for much of it. The borders of the new territory were vague because the border between French Louisiana and New Spain had never been surveyed and competing claims never settled. To obtain more information, he sent into the new territory, in addition to Lewis and Clark, three other expeditions including that of U.S. Army Lieutenant Zebulon Pike. His official report contained two printed maps of the Southwestern borderlands. Subsequently, private traders, adventurers, land speculators, and commercial mapmakers also made significant contributions. Other U.S. Army officers, particularly the Topographical Engineers, increasingly played a leading role in exploring the new territory. Congress had first authorized these specially trained officers during the War of 1812, but they got off to a slow start in Southwestern exploration, being assigned initially to survey fortifications and roads in the east. Finally in 1820, the War Department authorized U.S. Army Topographical Engineer Major Stephen H. Long to determine the sources of the Platte, Arkansas, and Red Rivers. His expedition set a new precedent by including, in addition to civilian scientists, trained artists to make topographical views. Prints from their sketches as well as maps illustrated the expedition’s published report.

Antoine Nau after Zebulon M. Pike (1779-1813)
A Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana, Including All the Hitherto Unexplored Countries
Engraving, 44 x 39 cm., from Pike, An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana... during the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807. And a Tour through the Interior Parts of New Spain... in the Year 1807 (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co.; Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1810).

Zebulon Pike and his men were among the first foreigners to visit the Spanish Borderlands. His two maps, as printed by Anthony Nau and possibly Nicholas King, represent an improvement in the geographical knowledge of the area, but they are far from satisfactory as Pike had little scientific training and had worked under terrible conditions. He apparently mistook the Canadian fork of the Arkansas River for the Red River and became lost in the maze of mountains in present central Colorado. His route along the upper Arkansas and a portion of the Rocky Mountains of Colorado as well as the route taken by his Spanish captors (who also confiscated his field map) appear on this map from the 1810 edition of his account. Pike’s “Highest Peak” — later renamed for the explorer by his companion Dr. Robinson — is in the upper-left portion of the map. The map was overly simplified, and, by placing the “Yellow Stone River, Branch of the Missouri,” “La Platte,” and “Sources of the Arkan saw” [(sic) in the upper-left corner, it perpetuated a mistaken geographical theory that all the rivers flowing east to the Mississippi and west to the Pacific originated from a small area in the Rockies.

Nicholas King or Anthony Nau after Zebulon Pike (1779-1813)

A Map of the Internal Provinces of New Spain

Engraving, 46 x 47.5 cm., from Zebulon M. Pike, An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana... during the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807. And a Tour through the Interior Parts of New Spain... in the Year 1807 (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co., 1810).

Pike's 1810 account also included this map of New Spain as well as a map of the Mississippi River. The New Spain map became the center of controversy upon its publication when Alexander von Humboldt wrote Jefferson that he believed Pike had copied it without credit from the manuscript map that Humboldt had left with Jefferson in 1804. This was in part true, but an oversimplification. The printed map in Pike's account borrowed from Humboldt's map – even poorly translating word for word some of Humboldt's French inscriptions such as (near the wilderness known as the Bolson de Mapimi): "d'ici sortent les Indiens pour attaquer la N. Biscaye et Coahuila"("[From Here the Indians sailed forth to attack New Biscaye and Colvahwilla [sic]."") But Pike's map also added more precise information on areas he had traversed. Moreover, some speculate that Pike left his manuscript map with his engravers, and they may have been responsible for not acknowledging Humboldt's map. At any rate, the map looks, unfortunately, very similar to Humboldt's map although there are some important differences. Pike recorded the approximate population numbers for the New Mexican pueblos he passed through along the upper Rio Grande, and he noted abandoned villages. Unlike the German scientist, Pike also recorded "fortified towns or forts garrisoned." And in his report Pike described the character and personalities of the Spanish military leaders and the type, size, and disposition of their various forces.

Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 2, pp. 24, 212, no. 298; Cohen, Mapping the West, pp. 97-99.

14

After Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827)

Lieut. Z. M. Pike

Engraving and etching with aquatint and stipple, 22.5 x 13 cm., Engraved by Edwin, in Pike, An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana... during the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807. And a Tour through the Interior Parts of New Spain... in the Year 1807 (Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co., 1810), frontispiece.

John H. Robinson (1782-1819)

A Map of Mexico, Louisiana, and the Missouri Territory: Including Also the State of Mississippi, Alabama Territory, East and West Florida, Georgia, South Carolina & Part of the Island of Cuba

Engraving and etching with hand-colored outlines on paper mounted on linen, 171 x 171 cm., printed and colored by J. L. Narstine (Philadelphia, 1819).

Dr. John Hamilton Robinson (1782-1819) saw no contradiction in his simultaneous support for both the United States' extensive territorial claims on the western portion of the continent and the Mexican Republican struggle for independence against Spain. His map politically embraces both these ideals, and, while not particularly accurate or innovative geographically, at the same time it serves as a testament to his personal revolutionary zeal and as a record of his extensive personal travels. It also includes some interesting and historical military content.

Robinson determined to create and print copies of his large wall map as early as 1818 after he had virtually ruined his health in the service of Mexican Independence and U.S. expansion. While Robinson was working on the map, the boundary negotiations between the United States and Spain known as the Adams-Onis Treaty were finalized in February 1819. Robinson's map shows two boundaries between the countries: the maximum territory claimed by the United States (the green border following the Rio Grande west and north and then heading straight west to the Pacific) and the boundary according to the treaty (the pink boundary following the Red River to the 100th Meridian "west of London," thence north and along the Arkansas River, and, finally, due west along the 42nd parallel of Latitude to the Pacific). Robinson no doubt intended to call attention to and protest against the large amount of land conceded to Spain. In addition to these boundaries, Robinson also shows the borders of the Internal Provinces on his map; this district included several northern provinces which at various times were not under the immediate control of the Viceroy of New Spain in Mexico City due to inefficiencies of administration caused by distance.

Thirteen years earlier, Robinson had served as the medical officer on the expedition led by Zebulon Pike to explore the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase for the United States government in 1806. Like Pike, Robinson was arrested by the Spanish, taken for questioning to Chihuahua, and then escorted to the Louisiana border where he was released in July 1807. Robinson's map shows the route of the Pike's expedition, noting, for example, where they "first saw the Rocky Mountains" and "Pikes Stokade [sic.]" and where they were "met by the Spaniards" (same inscription on Pike's map). Instead of the "Highest Mountain" noted by Pike, Robinson calls it "Pikes Mountain" for the first time. Near Paso del Norte, Robinson notes: "Excellent wines made here."

The importance of Dr. Robinson and his map does not end with their relation to the Pike expedition. While in Mexico, Robinson, on at least one later occasion, associated again with Juan Pedro Walker, a U.S.-born surveyor working for the Spanish government whom he met with Pike. Drawing freely from Walker's information, Robinson's map credits a portion of the California coast "as laid down from a map made by don Juan Pedro Walker by order of the Captain General in 1810." In 1812, U.S. Secretary of State James Monroe sent Robinson...
back to Chihuahua as envoy to the Spanish commandant-general of the Internal Provinces of New Spain. On his way to and from this assignment, Robinson again passed through Texas where he observed the “Republican Army of the North” made up of Mexican rebels and U.S. adventurers led by Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara and Augustus Magee shortly before Magee’s death and before the “army’s” crushing defeat by Spanish royalists at the Battle of Medina on August 18, 1813. Robinson notes the location of this important battle on his map, one of the only printed maps of the period to do so.

Robinson increasingly developed a strong dislike for Spanish rule and gained sympathy for the Mexican Republican (or insurgent) cause. Back in the U.S., he actively recruited soldiers for the Mexican independence struggle, and soon Monroe took measures to distance the U.S. government from this adventurer who was violating official U.S. neutrality. Although fully aware of the dangers of filibustering (like Pike’s, Robinson’s map also shows where the U.S. citizen Philip Nolan met his end), Robinson in 1815 returned to Mexico by way of New Orleans, landing at Veracruz. He petitioned for and received a commission in the Mexican Republican Army and served their cause well during a time of serious military reversals. His map echoes this cause, noting near Bajan south of Monclova: “Republican Officers taken in 1811” – a reference to the capture of Mexican revolutionaries, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, General Ignacio Allende y Unzaga, and others, before their execution in Chihuahua later that year.

After Stephen H. Long (1784-1864)

Geographical, Statistical and Historical Map of Arkansas Territory

Engraving (hand colored), 44 x 55.2 cm. (sheet), Engraved by Young & Dellecker, first appearing in Henry C. Carey and Isaac Lea, comp. A Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas... to the Year 1822 (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822).

This uncolored version of the western portion of Long's manuscript map was also engraved by Young & Dellecker for Philadelphia publisher Carey & Lea and appeared in the account of expedition member Edwin James. It includes an elevation profile of the country between the Ozarks in the east and the Rockies in the West. Camp numbers along the various routes emphasize the map's connection with the narrative. The second or eastern portion of Long's map follows this one and displays the "Country drained by the Mississippi" and includes an inset of the new state of Louisiana. Its elevation profile ranges from "the tidewater of the Rapahannock" in the east to the Ozarks in the west.

Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 2, pp. 77-81, 226, no. 353.
Cartographic Responses to “Frontier” Defense

The mid-1830s witnessed an expanding need for accurate maps of the Southwestern territories and the border with Mexico. Simultaneously, the small U.S. Army struggled to accomplish a variety of tasks. As the spirit of “Manifest Destiny” swept the nation, American citizens were beginning to head west in large numbers to Texas, Oregon, Santa Fe, and California, and the U.S. Army was expected to protect them as long as they remained in U.S. territory. In addition, the army was needed for the continuing Seminole Wars in Florida and to serve as “escorts” in the tragic forced relocations of displaced eastern tribes. These relocations upset western tribes and required the establishment of new boundaries and forts as the Anglo-American “frontier” advanced westward. Recognizing the great need for topographical mapping of the nation’s territories to aid these projects, Congress in 1838 finally created the Corps of Topographical Engineers as a separate and independent unit within the Army.

18

Enoch Steen (1800-1888)

[Map of the Western Territory of the United States]

Engraving (with hand-colored outlines), 51 x 89.5 cm., from Gaines P. Kingsbury, Journal of the Expedition of Dragoons, Under the Command of Colonel Henry P. Dodge, to the Rocky Mountains, During the Summer of 1835. [Washington, D.C., 1836] 1 in. = 20 miles. 78/3 83-791

Depicting the territory between the western boundaries of Arkansas and Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, the map is the work of Lieutenant Enoch Steen who served in the U.S. Dragoons under Colonel Henry M. Dodge. Steen’s map shows the route of Dodge’s Dragoons in 1835 when they made a reconnaissance in force to the Rocky Mountains.

Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 2, pp. 150, 245, no. 421.

19

Attributed to Washington Hood (1808-1840)

Map Showing the Lands assigned to Emigrant Indians West of Arkansas & Missouri

Engraving (with hand-colored outlines), 48.5 x 46 cm., from G. P. Kingsbury, Journal of the Expedition of Dragoons, Under the Command of Colonel Henry P. Dodge, to the Rocky Mountains, During the Summer of 1835. (Washington, D.C., 1836). 1 in. = 40 miles. 18/3 80062

Another map from Kingsbury’s journal is attributed to U.S. Army topographical engineer Washington Hood. It shows the treaty-designated boundaries of western lands assigned by the U.S. government to eastern Indians. In addition to a facsimile note and signature at the lower right: “Prepared at the Topographical[.] Bureau. Feb'y. 23d 1836 R. Jones Adj.”, the special copy shown here has contemporary handwritten notes in oxidized ink. These show locations of “intended” forts along the Red, Canadian (north fork), Arkansas, and Platte Rivers. Whoever wrote these also wrote notes for relocating eastern tribes not listed on the printed map: “Menomenies”, “Winnebagoes”, “Ojibwas of Ohio”, “Miamis”, “Wyandottes”, “New England & New York Indians”, “Apalachicolas”, and “Chickasaws.” Farther west they noted locations of others, including “Blackfeet”, “Gros Ventres a band of Blackfeet”, “United nation of Chiennes[sic.] & Arapahos…”, “Camanches”, “Kioways”, and “Camanches of Red River.”

Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 2, pp. 150, 244, no. 418.

20

Washington Hood (1808-1840)

Map Illustrating the Plan of the Defenses of the Western and North-Western Frontier, as Proposed by Charles Gratiot, in His Report of Oct. 31, 1837


Brevet Brigadier General Charles Gratiot was Chief Engineer at the time of this report. An early West Point graduate, he had served as William Henry Harrison’s chief engineer during the War of 1812.

Cartography in Mexico and the Borderlands

After the final expulsion of the Spanish in 1821, the Mexican government had many problems of its own to address. Despite a pressing need for new maps and surveys, shifts in Mexican governments in the early years made long-term projects difficult or impossible, and Mexicans continued to rely upon older cartographic sources. For example, the government of President Guadalupe Victoria – the first Mexican President and the only one to complete his full term of office (1824-1829) for the next thirty years – republished the Spanish Admiralty’s fine coastal charts first issued in the late 18th century and Napoleonic Wars. Also, Alexander von Humboldt’s 1809 map and 1811 atlas of New Spain reappeared in an 1825 edition, and for many years it remained the most authoritative geographic work on Mexico. Unfortunately, Humboldt’s depiction of the northern borderlands had many errors since he had not personally examined these areas and there had to rely upon the reports of older Spanish explorers with considerably less scientific training.

In Texas, generous Mexican government contracts authorizing Stephen F. Austin and other empresarios to bring Anglo colonists from the United States necessitated maps, some of which Austin himself compiled. Austin received assistance in 1827 when Mexican President Guadalupe Victoria authorized General Manuel Mier y Terán to lead a military, scientific, and boundary expedition into Texas. This comisión de límites assessed resources and overall conditions in Texas and employed naturalist Jean Louis Berlandier who also possessed skills as an artist and mapmaker. In the expedition’s report, Mier y Teran sounded the alarm about United States’ designs upon Texas. He advocated posting additional garrisons and recommended changes that resulted in the Law of April 6, 1830, which advocated the abolition of slavery and closing the Texas border to additional U.S. immigrants.

Auguste-Henri Dufour (1798-1865)
République Fédérative des états-unis Méxicanos
Engraving (with hand-colored outlines), 76 x 53 cm.
(Paris: Chez Basset, 1835).

Interestingly, the short-lived Fredonian Rebellion of 1826-1827 – a precursor to the Texas War of Independence – had a longer life in popular culture than in reality, in part thanks to outdated European maps depicting the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. This 1835 map by Dufour bears the following notation in French: “Republic of Fredonia formed by the Province of Texas and established December 16, 1826” This Fredonian Rebellion grew out of a land dispute between the Mexican government and the two Anglo-Texan empresarios Haden Edwards and his brother Benjamin. Their 1825 land grant included areas that had already been settled, creating chaos between older colonists, the Edwards brothers, and their “new” colonists. As Mexican government officials attempted to clear up the problem, the Edwards brothers and their supporters holed up in an old stone fort at Nacogdoches and, on December 16, 1826, declared an independent state they called “Fredonia.” Mexican authorities, aided by other Anglo colonists, quickly crushed the rebellion and forced the Edwards brothers and their supporters to flee across the border to Louisiana by February 1827. Interestingly, prominently located on the map in Fredonia (or southeast Texas) is the site of Champ d’Asile (“Field of Asylum”) a reference to a failed colony of French Napoleonic veterans dating back to 1818. The map lists numerous Indian groups in Texas, New Mexico, and beyond, all spelled phonetically in French.

William Hooker (active 1804-1846) after Mary Austin Holley et al.

**Map of the State of Coahuila and Texas**

Engraving (hand colored), 27 x 34 cm., from Mary Austin Holley, Texas (Lexington, Kentucky: J. Clarke & Co., 1836; first published in 1833). 27x9 310159

William Hooker was a Philadelphia engraver, printer, map publisher, and instrument maker. His *Map of Coahuila and Texas* first appeared in an 1833 promotional book on Texas by Mary Austin Holley (1784-1846), a first cousin of the famous Texas colonizer Stephen F. Austin. Holley and her first publisher, Armstrong & Plaskitt of Baltimore, substituted Hooker’s map when Henry S. Tanner, the publisher of Stephen F. Austin’s large map of Texas, refused to allow the latter to be used in the book. The map here is a later state of Hooker’s map for a later edition of Holley’s book published in the year 1836 when Texas fought and won its war with Mexico for Independence. The map updates some of the earlier land grants and even includes some of these names as handwritten notations in ink. Incidentally, Hooker’s map also appeared in the anonymous book *A Visit to Texas*, published in New York by Goodrich & Wiley in 1834.


**Military Applications for Stephen F. Austin’s Maps**

Stephen F. Austin (1793-1836), the famed Anglo colonizer of Mexican Texas, was a mapmaker and military leader as well as real estate agent and land promoter, peoples’ representative, and diplomatic negotiator. Requirements for Austin’s varied roles often conflicted. As a Mexican *empresario* under contract with the Mexican government to bring in a certain number of colonists to settle the territory, he had been assigned by a certain date, he needed to promote the availability and security of these lands. He was also obligated to produce a map for the government. As a leader of a frontier militia, he needed to know about the strength of his adversaries and where they were located. Not surprisingly then, on several occasions, Austin’s famed map of Texas, printed and published between 1830 and 1845, served military purposes in addition to its principal role as emigrant guide and advertisement for Texas. Whether the enemy was hostile Indians and, in later years, the Mexican Army, Austin’s maps of Texas were the first to show a large portion of the territory of what became the U.S. West on a large scale in such detail and therefore had considerable military value.

Comparisons of the various printed editions of Stephen F. Austin’s famous map of Texas, with some of his extant manuscript maps of Texas dating from about 1829, reveal some differences. The content of these maps varied depending upon Austin’s intended audience and the date of production. For the general public Austin and Tanner deliberately omitted some of the information Austin had gathered about the Native Americans known to inhabit these spaces. Obviously, potential settlers might be more reluctant to move to a place that was already inhabited. Also, as time passed, wars of extermination or forcible moves pushed many of these Indians out of Texas, and their tribal names dropped off the map.

**Stephen F. Austin (1793-1836)**

*Mapa Original de Texas, 1829*

Reproduction, ca. 1970s. 46/7 94-70

**Stephen F. Austin (1793-1836) and Henry S. Tanner (1786-1858)**

*Map of Texas with Parts of the Adjoining States*


Stephen F. Austin and Philadelphia mapmaker/publisher Henry S. Tanner first published this important and influential map of Texas as a folding pocket map in 1830. At that time, it was the first map to show a significant portion of the trans-Mississippi West on such a large scale and in such detail. It improved upon earlier maps by its depiction of Texas’ rivers, Indian villages, the distinct woodland area of north central Texas known as the Cross Timbers, and prairies where a traveler or colonist was likely to encounter “immense herds of buffalos,” “immense droves of wild horses,” and the nomadic Comanche Indians. In all, Tanner published seven editions of the map. The first six, published from 1830 until 1839, had a title cartouche with the national symbol of Mexico (eagle with serpent perched upon a cactus) and bore the title “Map of Texas with Parts of the Adjoining States.” After the 1840 edition, Tanner changed the title to “Genl. Austin’s Map of Texas with Parts of the Adjoining States.” All editions have a lengthy note crediting the geographic reference points of latitude and longitude established in 1827-1829 by the Boundary Commission led by Mexican General Manuel Mier y Terán for the towns of Saltillo, Monterey, Laredo, [San Antonio de] Bexar, Nacogdoches, and “the point where the [United States-Mexico] boundary line leaves the Sabine [River].” The later editions include the...
boundaries not only of lands granted to empresarios (or colonizers) but also add additional subdivisions for new counties and locations for new towns. They also refer to more recent military sites such as “Fort Alamo” at S. Antonio de Bexar and “Battle 21 April 1836” located between Harrisburg and Lynchburg.


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Rosa (active ca. 1822-1851)

*Mapa de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos Arreglado a la Distribucion que en Diversos decretos ha hecho del Territorio el Congreso General Mejicano*

Engraved transfer lithograph (hand colored), 58 x 72.5 cm., mounted on linen (Paris: Rosa, 1837).

International interest in Mexico often followed wars and treaties. Parisian publisher Rosa issued this map of Mexico in 1837, following the Texas War for Independence. It has been called a plagiarism of Tanner’s map of Mexico from 1834. Of Rosa little is known. He (or she?) first issued a map of Mexico to accompany a French edition of Humboldt’s Political Essay in 1822 following Mexico’s Independence from Spain. After this map of 1837, Rosa issued an update in 1851 following the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Incidentally, the French possibly used Rosa’s map the next year (1838) during the so-called “Pastry War” when French forces invaded Veracruz to force Mexico to repay loans and damages.


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After C. Edwards Lester (?)

*Battle Ground of San Jacinto*


One of the first maps to depict the San Jacinto battlefield appeared in one of the first biographies of Sam Houston.

Texas Independence
Created Cartographic Opportunities

Following the Texas War for Independence of 1835-1836, mapmakers in the United States and Europe issued maps showing the new republic. Map publisher Henry S. Tanner, for example, updated Austin's map of Texas and retitled it Genl. Austin's Map..., emphasizing the late colonizer's military role and the violent birth of the new republic. The Texas Congress authorized a General Land Office in December 1836 to preserve older records and oversee the distribution of public lands. These often required new surveys and maps as did the boundary along the border with the United States. Civilian shippers and the Texas Navy used rolled commercially-produced coastal charts (often called "bluebacks" for the blue color of the stiff canvas backing attached to the paper) to navigate the waters of the Gulf. Yet despite the desperate need for maps, the Republic of Texas often found itself short-handed, and the lack of a good map was a major contributing factor to the disastrous Santa Fe expedition of 1841 which ended ignominiously as the Texans lost their way and were captured and imprisoned rather than welcomed by New Mexican authorities.

W. Kemble (active 1844-1866)
Texas and Part of Mexico & the United States
Showing the Route of the First Santa Fe Expedition
Engraving, 41.5 x 30.2 cm. (irreg.), from George Wilkins Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844).

The Republic of Texas' expedition to Santa Fe was, for the most part, a disastrous failure due to lack of adequate preparation. They brought no maps or scientific instruments to guide them or to record measurements for later work. One positive result was this map – one of the first of many to focus on Texas and New Mexico together with a considerable portion of Mexico as far south as Mexico City and Veracruz. Apparently with little first-hand cartographic material available, the map's draftsman and engraver Kemble did an admirable job for publishers Harper & Bros. of New York, compiling it as an illustration to New Orleans Picayune correspondent George Wilkins Kendall's account of the expedition and his captivity in Mexico. It delineates the expedition's route north from Austin into the Cross Timbers and westward, crossing the Chihuahua and Santa Fe trails used by earlier traders. From Santa Fe it documents the route of the prisoners southward, deep into Mexico before their release at the port of Veracruz.

Josiah Gregg (1806-1850)
A Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas and New Mexico Showing the Great Western Prairies
Color cerograph, 33 x 40 cm. (New York: Sidney E. Morse and Samuel Breese, 1844).

An excellent example of a civilian map that was often carried on military expeditions, Santa Fe trader Josiah Gregg's map was the best in its time for the depiction of the southwestern prairies. It shows various routes of the Santa Fe and Chihuahua traders, including Gregg's own treks, between and through Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Indian Territory. The map carefully denotes towns, settlements, pueblos, forts, trading posts, camps, springs, rivers, creeks, wooded areas such as the Cross Timbers, sandy regions including parts of the Canadian River valley, mountains and escarpments such as the "Wichita Mts" and the edges of the "Llano Estacado or Staked Plains." The map depicts the ranges and hunting grounds of Indians such as the Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Kanza, Oto, and other peoples. But it also shows lands allotted to more agriculturally settled tribes recently removed from the east such as the Seminole, Cherokee, Osage, Shawnee, Delaware, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Waco. Even lands allotted to "Half Breeds" turn up on this map, which was printed in two colors by cerography, a new wax engraving transfer process, by the firm of Morse and Breese. The map and Gregg's book went through multiple editions, both in English and German.

William H. Emory (1811-1887)

Map of Texas and the Countries Adjacent

Lithograph (hand colored) on paper, 53 x 83 cm., mounted on linen, 60 x 87 cm. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. State Department, 1844).

U.S. Army Topographical Engineer Lieutenant William H. Emory’s map was instrumental in the negotiations between the representatives of the U.S. government and representatives of the Republic of Texas when they met in Washington, D.C., to discuss possible U.S. annexation of Texas. It shows Texas and its position relative to the U.S. and Mexico, which at that time still included all of what became the U.S. Southwest. Emory had not yet visited Texas (although he would later accompany General Stephen F. Kearny’s expedition to San Diego during the U.S.-War with Mexico and also head the U.S.-Mexican boundary survey of the 1850s). Emory used the best sources available, including maps by Humboldt, Pike, Long, Fremont, the U.S. Boundary Commission Survey of 1825, Austin, Arrowsmith, Kennedy, and Mitchell. This also meant that he placed “Passo del Norte” too far east (by one-and-a-half degrees of longitude), thus making the area of present far west Texas much too compressed. Emory acknowledged the dearth of information by delineating two sites for “Presidio de Rio Grande” and noting that “of the two positions given ... no information can be obtained to decide which is correct.” The map shows routes of American military and civilian pathfinders in the west including Pike (1806), Long (1819-1821), Gregg (1839), and Fremont (1842). It also indicates topographical features and numerous early settlements in eastern and southeastern Texas.

Martin & Martin, Maps of Texas and the Southwest, p. 129; Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 2, no. 478.
Maps of the U.S. War with Mexico, 1846-1848

The United States War with Mexico greatly stimulated demand for maps of Mexico. Before the war, much of Mexico was virtually unknown to people in the United States and, to some extent, to many Mexicans. Army campaigns and naval operations highlighted the need for better maps for the military but also generated public interest in maps so that people could follow, understand, and later interpret the events of the war. A total of twenty-six of the forty-six officers of the U.S. Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers served in Mexico or the Southwestern borderlands, and several were killed or wounded in combat. Some, like Brevet Captain John C. Frémont, had a significant impact on the war well beyond their intended role.

A variety of maps resulted, from field sketches, reconnaissances, and surveys to maps accompanying official reports and maps in newspapers. Widespread use of technological innovations in printing, such as lithography, cerography, and steam presses, made maps faster and cheaper to produce than before, and innovations in steam transportation speeded up research, production, and distribution.

30

Joseph Warren Revere (1812-1880)

After Frederick William Beechey (1796–1856) et al.

Harbour of San Francisco, California

Lithograph, 35 x 26.5 cm., by Endicott & Co. in Joseph Warren Revere, 

At the outset of the U.S. war with Mexico, U.S. forces on sea and land moved quickly to capture harbors and ports on Mexico’s Upper California coast. U.S. leaders had long feared that the British would beat them to the most strategic of these, the grand harbor of San Francisco. Already in 1826 and 1827, Royal Navy Captain Frederick Beechey had charted the harbor. At that time Mexican government authorities, short on their own resources for conducting such a survey, had granted Beechey unprecedented access. From 1833, when the British Admiralty published Beechey’s charts, until sometime after the U.S.-Mexico War, Beechey’s survey map remained the most scientific work on the harbor. U.S. Navy Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere, a grandson of the famed Paul Revere and participant in the U.S. campaign to seize California, included this map based upon Beechey’s survey in his own account of this effort.


31

John LaTourrette (active ca. 1838-1846)

Correct Map of the Seat of War and Adjacent Country

Lithograph, 27 x 22 cm., by Charles Risso (New Orleans, 1846) 6/4/2010-861

New Orleans’ geographical proximity to Texas made it one of the first places to receive news about the War with Mexico. This extremely rare map by southern cartographer John LaTourrette focuses upon the Rio Grande campaign of General Taylor and may possibly be one of the earliest lithographed maps of the war. Lithographer Charles Risso worked in New Orleans from 1837 to 1846 when he returned to New York.


32

J. Schedler (active 1847-1879) after Joseph Dana Webster (1811-1876), assisted by T. E. Mullowny

Map of the Country Adjacent to the Left Bank of the Rio Grande below Matamoros

Engraved transfer lithograph,66.5 x 50 cm., by Ackerman’s Lithography firm, New York, from Sen. Ex. Doc. 1 sess. 31st Congress, No. 65 78/1 500028

In the months following the Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, Second Lieutenant Joseph Dana Webster of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers produced two maps that were combined to form this comprehensive map of the left bank of the Rio Grande below Matamoros. The resulting map, oriented with west at the top, offers an excellent overview of General Zachary Taylor’s campaign at the mouth of the Rio Grande. However, the map originally accompanied a report by Webster to consider alternative routes of supply from the gulf to the city of Matamoros and Fort Brown, so the primary purpose of the map was not historical. Padre Island is in the lower right corner with the pass of Brazos Santiago and the village of Point Isabel. The shallow depth soundings behind the islands indicate the tenuous nature of the supply port, while the soundings along the river itself at left indicate deeper waters all the way up to the town of Matamoros in the far upper left. The road from Point Isabel, by which the bulk of Taylor’s army marched on May 8 and 9, 1846, to relieve Fort Texas (Fort Brown), stretches along the right and upper portions of the map. The battle sites of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma are indicated by crossed swords, while the star-shaped Fort Brown is at upper left in close proximity to Mexican fortifications at Fort Paredes and just across the river.
Joseph Goldsborough Bruff (1804-1889)

A Correct Map of the Seat of War in Mexico.
Being a Copy of Genl. Arista's Map, taken at Resaca de la Palma

Lithograph, drawn on stone by J. Probst, printed by E. Jones & G. W. Newman (New York: J. Disturnell for J. G. Bruff, 1847) 25/4 270024

When troops from General Taylor's Army on the Rio Grande broke through Mexican General Mariano Arista's forces at the Battle of Resaca de la Palma near present-day Brownsville on May 9, 1846, they captured his tent and baggage. Among the latter was a hand-drawn military topographic map of the Eastern Interior Department of Mexico. U.S. Army Lieutenants George Meade, Joseph Horace Eaton, and others made hand-drawn copies for distribution among Taylor's forces before Taylor had several copies and the original sent back to the states. Apparently, J. Goldsborough Bruff, a government draftsman employed by the Corps of Topographical Engineers in Washington, D.C., "leaked" the map to the New York Herald and approached New York map publisher John Disturnell who issued this printed version in 1847. The capture of Arista's map greatly benefited Taylor since, for the first time, the Americans had a detailed map of southern Mexico south of the Rio Grande. Bruff's printed copy includes plans of Monterrey, the lower Rio Grande area, Tampico and its environs, and the Bay of Veracruz copied from French Admiral Baudin's chart. An American eagle with flags and banner adorns the top. The vignette at left depicts what was undoubtedly intended as "the gallant charge" of Captain C. A. May of the U.S. Army dragoons upon a Mexican cannon battery at the Battle of Resaca de la Palma. It is also significant that Disturnell updated his 1847 general Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico with information from the Arista map.


34

Cartographer Unknown

Plano de la Ciudad de Matamoras

Lithograph, 19.8 x 27.7 cm., by Placido Blanco, in Ramón Alcaraz, Guillermo Prieto et al., Apuntes para la Historia de la Guerra entre Mexico y los Estados Unidos (Mexico: Tipografia de Manuel Payno, 1848), opp. p. 31.

Compiled from some of the best contemporary sources, this plan of the city of Matamoras is one of several lithographed maps by the Mexican lithography firm of Placido Blanco that appeared in what is widely considered to be one of the best books about the war ever published. The book was a cooperative effort of a group of fifteen contributing Mexican authors. Several were members of Mexico's congress who had fled to Queretaro following the U.S. occupation of Mexico City. Meeting at the home of Guillermo Prieto, a representative from Jalisco, they frankly discussed what had gone wrong with Mexico's defense. The resulting work, which they all decided to put their names on so that each would share responsibility, was highly critical of Santa Anna. In 1850, an English translation appeared titled The Other Side. Then, in 1854, during one of Santa Anna's final terms in power, the Mexican dictator ordered the authors banned from holding public office and imprisoned. He also ordered that all copies of the book be collected together and burned. However, copies, including this one, miraculously survived, and it has remained through multiple reprints one of the most popular books about the war.


35

Possibly Samuel P. Avery (1822-1904)

[Map of Central Mexico]

Engraving, 18 x 23 cm. on sheet 37 x 25 cm., probably from [New York] The Daily Herald, Wednesday Morning, June 24, 1846, p. 1. 25/4 270001

This newspaper map of central Mexico published in New York City during the war shows a section of Mexico extending from the city of Coahuila to Colima and Alvarado in the south. Places recently in the news included the pass at Brazos de Santiago, Ft. Polk or Point Isabel, Ft. Brown, Matamoras, and Camargo. By coincidence or design, many places soon to be attacked or to play a prominent role in the war are shown, including Monterrey, Saltillo, Tampico, Lobos Island, and cities along the National Road between Veracruz and Mexico City. Accompanying the map is an article titled "Geographical Memoranda" reprinted from the New Orleans Bulletin that gives a wealth of detail about the speculative route of the U.S. Army advance.

The map is probably from the New York Herald which was one of the first newspapers in the United States to regularly publish engraved illustrations. Throughout the U.S. War with Mexico they published on their front pages maps and views — many of the images being based upon drawings by eyewitnesses — to inform their readers as events unfolded in Mexico. Although cruder than lithographs, the quick integration of images with text was popular enough to merit reprinting them together on a special sheet marketed as an "Illustrated History of the Mexican War."


36

Charles R. Norman

Plan of Monterey

Lithograph, by Silver & Rowse (Cincinnati: F. Schwegman, 1846). 64/8 2008-06

The cartographer of this crude plan of the city of Monterey, Mexico, was apparently Private Charles R. Norman of Company E, First Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry. This unit served twelve months, from June 1846 to June 1847, and participated in the attack on Monterey, one of the key objectives in Major General Zachary Taylor's northern campaign. The plan, oriented with south at the top, shows the city heavily fortified as Taylor's troops had approached it from the north on September 20th. By means of interrupted lines, the plan shows the various routes taken by Brigadier General Quitman's Mississippi and Tennessee Volunteers (at far left), the Ohio Regiment
(center), and by Brigadier General Worth's Division (veering off to the west, or right, before returning eastward, or from right to left, just south of the river that runs along the top of the map). An extensive "Explanation" or key at right lists multiple sites, most of which served Mexican defensive purposes. For example, near the bottom of the plan is the star-shaped "Big Black Fort" (A) that guarded the northern approaches. Among the three vignette views in the center of the composition is a view of this fort (at right, labeled A), ruins of a church (G, in the center), and an "old nunnery and church" which the U.S. soldiers later used as a theatre (F). At far right is Independence Hill and the Bishop's Palace (D).

Cincinnati was a publishing center at the time of the war, and the lithography firm of Silver & Rowse produced at least three views of Monterrey by Ohio Volunteer Stephen G. Hill of Company K. Together with Norman's plan, they offer vivid graphic impressions of the battle.

Sandweiss, Stewart and Huseman, Eyewitness to War, pp. 115-121. The publisher of Norman's map may be Francis Schwengman, a young immigrant from Oldenburg in northwestern Germany; Schwengman is listed in the 1850 Census for Cincinnati. M653, roll 971, p. 458.

37

S. Augustus Mitchell, Sr. (1790-1868)

Map of the Seat of War: Gen Taylor's Field Operations in Mexico

Cerograph or lithograph, 42 x 62 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1846), 49/2 86-256

As news of the war spread rapidly in the United States through faster communications, commercial mapmakers in the United States rushed to fulfill public demand for maps of the affected areas in Mexico. The firm of Samuel Augustus Mitchell, one of the leading U.S. mapmakers, produced this highly informative but specialized map showing the territory of General Taylor's advance following the initial battles along the Rio Grande. The map stretches from the U.S.-occupied bases in the towns of Camargo and Mier near the Rio Grande southwest to the city of Monterrey and the town of Saltillo. Insets show the general location of this area between Texas and Mexico and a plan of the battlefield at Monterrey, recently taken by Taylor's troops on September 24, 1846.

38

S. Augustus Mitchell, Sr. (1790-1868)

Map of Mexico, Including Yucatan and Upper California, exhibiting the Chief Cities and Towns, the Principal Travelling Routes & c.

Engraved transfer color lithograph, 43 x 64 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1847). 90 00481

Anticipating further public demand for maps of the U.S. War with Mexico, Mitchell and his firm prepared a new map of Mexico in early 1847 that showed all of its states and territories as well as the newly-annexed neighboring U.S. state of Texas. An inset in the upper left offers a plan of "the late battlefield" at the northern Mexican city of Monterrey, which had been assaulted by U.S. troops from September 20-24, 1846. Mitchell depicted the full boundaries of Texas as claimed by that republic as it was admitted into the Union. These boundary claims and a robust interpretation of the territory of "Upper or New California" reduced the Mexican territory of New Mexico to a tiny strip west of the upper Rio Grande. In addition to Upper California, Mitchell's general map emphasizes the semi-autonomous Mexican state of Yucatan. There in December 1846, citizens of the city of Campeche had declared their independence from both the administration of nearby Merida and from Mexico, calling for a fully independent Yucatan that would remain unconditionally neutral in the war against the United States.

Details on Mitchell's map help pinpoint the date of publication further. Besides flag symbols for battles at the Alamo, San Jacinto, Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterrey, there is one at Buena Vista (fought on February 22-23, 1847) establishing the date of publication of this map sometime afterward. Sites in Upper California include San Diego, Los Angeles, Monterrey, San Francisco, and "New Helvetia" – a reference to Swiss-Mexican Johann Sutter's fiefdom on the Sacramento River where Brevet Captain John C. Fremont had arrived from an overland trek in December 1845.

39

Cartographer Unknown

Sketch of the River Tabasco: From Devil's Bend to St. Juan Battista. Showing the Landing and March of Commander Perry's Forces, June 16th, 1847

Lithograph, 26 x 19 cm. [Washington, D.C., 1848], from 30th U.S. Congress, 1st Sess. Ex. Doc. no. 1, Message from the President...at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirtieth Congress 1848, pl. 21, opp. p. 1088 (Serial 537). In upper right corner: 21.

On two separate occasions during the U.S. War with Mexico, Commodore Matthew C. Perry led U.S. Navy expeditions (both with contingents of U.S. Marines) up the Grijalva River whose mouth is located below the port town of Frontera in the Mexican state of Tabasco. The state held significance for nineteenth-century Americans as the first spot where Cortes first put foot on Mexican soil, so, in addition to stopping contraband trading and bringing the war home to a different sector of Mexico, the raids were seen as opportunities to gain recognition for the Navy and Marines and to show off the amphibious strike capabilities of new steam-powered warships. Perry's first expedition ascended as far as San Juan Bautista (today's state capital of Villahermosa) in October 1846. The map relates to the second expedition of June 1847, when Mexican forces opposed the U.S. forces by sheltering behind newly prepared defenses just below...
the city. In just ten minutes Perry and 1,172 men embarked at a place
called “Seven Palms,” located just beyond “Devil’s Bend” on the map.
Perry personally led assaults that carried the Mexican breastworks
and forts and removed obstacles while the ships continued their
uprivaer ascent. U.S. forces occupied the city, withdrawing completely
by July 22.

See Spencer C. Tucker, “Tabasco River Expedition,” in Frazier, ed. United States and
Mexico at War, pp. 397-399.

40

Manuel Hernandez
Prontuario para la Formación de Cartas
Corográficas, Memorias, Descriptivas y Militares
1846. 1 vol. gas

This highly detailed instruction manual for drafting military charts
and maps is written in Spanish in neat script. The work was created
in 1846 and dedicated to Mexican Minister of War, Juan N. Almonte.
A folded map delineating triangulation points for mapping the Jalapa
and Puebla, Mexico, area is included in the back of the volume. The
cover of red morocco leather binding bears an Almonte bookplate.
Almonte (1803-1869) was a prominent, long-serving Mexican Army
officer and political figure. He was veteran of the Alamo Siege and
the Battle of San Jacinto where he was captured along with Santa
Anna. A supporter of the royalist side during the French Intervention,
Almonte spent his later years in exile from Mexico.

41

Cartographer Unknown
Signos convencionales [Standard Symbols]
Ink on paper [manuscript map], 21.5 x 35 cm. on sheet 26 x 38 cm.,
Mexico[?], ca. 1840s-1850s. 25/2 27016

Possibly an instructor or cadet at the Colegio Militar or Mexican
Military College (today the Heroico Colegio Militar) produced this
imaginary map to illustrate various standard symbols for use on
military maps. Crossed sabers indicate a battle: if turned up, a victory;
if turned down, a defeat. Diamonds represent cavalry units; rectangles,
infantry. There are symbols for artillery, roads, canals, various bridges,
ford, ferries, bridgeheads, forts, redoubts, small villages — even water
mills, windmills of wood, and windmills of stone. As in most maps of
this time, hachures indicate elevations, and the depictions of rivers,
creeks, woods, and swamps are fairly common.

42

George Wurtz Hughes (1806-1870), Lorenzo Sitgreaves
(1810-1888), and William B. Franklin (1823-1903)
Map Showing the Line of March of the Centre
Division, Army of Mexico, under the Command
of Brigr. Genl. John E. Wool, from San Antonio de
Bexar, Texas, to Saltillo, Mexico

Engraved transfer lithograph, 49 x 46.5 cm., in Hughes, Memoir Descriptive
of the March of a Division of the United States Army under the Command
of Brigadier General John E. Wool from San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas,
to Saltillo, in Mexico 31st Cong. 1st Sess. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 32
(Washington, D.C., 1846 [1847]), following p. 67.

In the early months of the U.S.-Mexico War, Brigadier General John
E. Wool assembled a force in San Antonio, Texas, comprised largely
of volunteers from Illinois, Arkansas, and Texas, along with some U.S.
Army regulars that included engineer Robert E. Lee, topographical
engineers George Wurtz Hughes, Lorenzo Sitgreaves, and William B.
Franklin. Beginning in late September 1846, this “Centre Division”
executed an epic march from San Antonio by way of Monclova and
Parras to Saltillo where they reinforced General Taylor’s forces just
in time for most of them to participate in the Battle of Buena Vista.
The three topographical engineers compiled this map based upon
the reconnaissances they made along the route. Although Hughes’
final report has the printed publication date of 1846, it appeared early
in 1847 shortly after the February 22-23 battle which is signified by
crossed sabers on the map. Hughes’ report, incidentally, contains
important cultural information, including lithographs of the San
Antonio missions based upon watercolors by Illinois Volunteer
Sergeant Edward Everett.

See David J. Coles, “Wool’s March,” in Frazier, ed. The United States and Mexico at
War, pp. 483-484; Harwood P. Hinton, “The Military Career of John Ellis Wool,
1812-1863,” Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1960; Richard Eighmée Ahlborn,
The San Antonio Missions: Edward Everett and the American Occupation, 1847
(Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum in cooperation with Los Compadres de San
Antonio Missions National Historical Park, 1985).

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Thomas B. Linnard (1811-1851), John Pope (1822-1892)
and William B. Franklin (1823-1903)
Plan of the Battle of Buena Vista,
Fought Feb. 22nd & 23rd 1847

Lithograph, 41.5 x 52 cm., by P.S. Duval, Philadelphia, from Zachary
Taylor’s Report from Agua Nueva, March 6, 1847, in 30th U.S.
Congress, 1st Sess. Ex. Doc. no. 1, Message from the President...at the
Commencement of the First Session of the Thirtyith Congress

24/4 81-169

The few U.S. Army Topographical Engineers — present before, during,
and following the Battle of Buena Vista — played a critical role in
the U.S. occupation of northern Mexico. After the capture of Monterrey,
President Polk and his staff left Taylor to hold northern Mexico with
mostly untested volunteers. As Santa Anna’s near breakthrough at
Buena Vista showed, Taylor had just enough regulars in the right
places to help him make good choices. Undoubtedly, without a good
knowledge of the surrounding terrain, Taylor and his volunteers could
not have held off Santa Anna’s numerous forces. While the choice of
an excellent defensive position for the battle was credited to Taylor’s
The U.S.-Mexico War Maps of Henry Washington Benham (1813-1884)

U.S. Army Topographical Engineer

One of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers working for General Taylor in northern Mexico before, during, and after the Battle of Buena Vista was Henry W. Benham. Graduating first in the West Point class of 1837, Benham made first lieutenant the following year. When the U.S.-Mexico War began, he was working in the east and was not assigned to join Taylor's army until late 1846. Arriving in Texas in late January 1847, Benham soon headed south and brought up the last wagon train of supplies for Taylor's Army encamped south of Saltillo before the Battle of Buena Vista.

Benham was among the engineers who reconnoitered the area around Saltillo before the battle, giving Taylor's second-in-command Brigadier General John E. Wool valuable information about the surrounding terrain. With this knowledge, Wool recommended the excellent defensive position to which Taylor withdrew his troops just in time to meet Santa Anna's army on February 22, 1847. During the battle, Benham commanded an advanced observation post, ran messages to and from Taylor to commanders in various parts of the field, helped shore up U.S. defenses by razing and positioning troops, and received a slight wound from a ricocheting musketball.

Following the battle, Benham served eighteen more months in Mexico under General Wool. Benham made detailed reconnaissances of the area around and well in advance of the U.S. positions of occupation. He kept personal copies of some of the maps he made at this time, and many of these were passed down through his descendants until they were acquired by UT Arlington in 1995.


On May 3, 1847, following the Battle of Buena Vista, Benham copied this old-format "itinerary" or strip map from his superior officer on General Taylor's staff, Brevet Major Joseph K. F. Mansfield of the U.S. Army Engineers. It records a march of approximately 233 miles from Victoria in Tamaulipas to Agua Nueva in Coahuila that Taylor's forces made in December 1846 before the battle. Not at all concerned with accurate cardinal directions, it depicts cities, towns, and villages, and some hills and landmarks, and records mileage between streams and creeks. Benham notes he extended the itinerary further southeast from Saltillo to Hedionda; however, graphite notations on the lower left of Benham's ink-traced copy extend the itinerary as far south as Mazapil.
The U.S.-Mexican War Maps of Henry Washington Benham (1813-1884)
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Henry Washington Benham (1813-1884)
Reconnaissance of the Route from Monterrey to Saltillo and Mazapil. With the diverging route to Encarnacion

Benham made surveys for this large map beginning in February 1847 (around the time of the Battle of Buena Vista), and he completed it in May, sending his original to the Engineer Department in Washington.

On March 5, 1847, following the Battle of Buena Vista, Benham copied this old-format "itinerary" or strip map from his superior officer on General Taylor's staff, Brevet Major Joseph K. F. Mansfield of the U.S. Army Engineers. It records a march of approximately 233 miles from Victoria in Tamaulipas to Agua Nueva in Coahuila that Taylor's forces made in December 1846 before the battle. Not at all concerned with accurate cardinal directions, it depicts cities, towns, and villages, and some hills and landmarks, and records mileage between streams and creeks. Benham notes he extended the itinerary further southeast from Saltillo to Hedionda; however, graphite notations on the lower left of Benham's ink-traced copy extend the itinerary as far south as Mazapil.
D.C. The map records topographical features such as hills, mountains, ravines, water courses, springs, cities, towns, villages, and roads. Benham noted that "courses were taken by a prismatic compass and the distances estimated by the width of a horse in going and returning." For latitude and longitude readings Benham credited Santa Fe trader Josiah Gregg, who had accompanied him to the Saltillo area. Tables at left record place names, their "probable population," and the products associated with them along with the distances between them. A key at right helps identify battle sites. Four of these relate to the U.S. War with Mexico: Monterey (0), Buena Vista (3), "Fight between U.S. Texans and Comanche Indians July 1847" (4); and the skirmish at Encantada (7) "where advance parties under Major Gaines and Borland were made prisoners" prior to Buena Vista. Interestingly, two locations relate to Mexico’s War for Independence from Spain, while another (2) refers to a "fight between Mexicans and Indians in 1841," and another (4) to a "fight between Col. [Samuel W.] Jordan’s Texans with the Mexicans in 1842 [sic., 1840]." The map further illustrates the Battle of Buena Vista by showing routes taken by Santa Anna’s Army and his cavalry under Brigadier General José Vicente Míjón.


47

Henry Washington Benham (1813-1884) after Abner Doubleday (1813-1893)

Saltillo, Mexico

Ink and graphite on tracing paper, December 1847.
Scale: 1 inch = 160 yards. Benham Family Papers AR388-7-6 108/1

Benham traced this plan of the northern Mexican town of Saltillo from an original "minutely detailed map" surveyed and drawn by Lieutenant Abner Doubleday, the legendary inventor of baseball. The nearby Buena Vista battlefield is off the map just to the south (at top), suggesting again the U.S. perspective of their southward advance into Mexico. A key at bottom lists the various defenses south of town (on hills near the top of the map). These include a "building prepared for defense Feb. 1847" and "work laid out in March 1847," both of which were "by Lieut. B[enham] Engrs." Also noted are the churches, cemeteries, fountains, tanks, and the spring supplying the town’s water — important information for defense and orientation.

Lieutenant Doubleday, Company E, First Artillery, arrived in the vicinity of Saltillo on February 24 (the day following the Battle of Buena Vista) and remained there on garrison duty roughly until the end of the American occupation there in May 1848. There are surviving daguerreotypes taken in Saltillo at this time, one of which shows Doubleday surrounded by Mexican children.


48

William H. Warner (1812-1849) after Herman Ehrenberg (1816-1866)

La Paz (Lower California) and Its Environ, showing the positions occupied by the U.S. Troops and the Mexicans, during the attacks in November & December 1847


U.S. naval forces occupied La Paz, the small village capital of the Mexican territory of Baja California, as early as September 1846. Later, in November and December 1847, an occupation force there consisting of two companies of New York volunteers successfully repelled an attack by Mexican forces under Captain Manuel Pineda. U.S. Army topographical engineer William Warner, who accompanied General Kearny to California and was wounded with him in the Battle of San Pascal, copied this map from a survey by Herman Ehrenberg, a civil engineer, surveyor, and cartographer with an improbable past who at this time served in Baja California alongside the New York volunteers. A native of Prussia, Ehrenberg was a survivor of the Goliad massacre during the Texas Revolution. He had returned to Prussia where he wrote and published about Texas and studied mining before heading back to the United States. By the time of the war, he had arrived in California by way of St. Louis, Oregon, and Hawaii. Following his war adventure in Baja California, he worked as a mining and civil engineer in California and the Arizona Territory where he was murdered in 1866. Among his later cartographic accomplishments was an 1854 map of the Gadsden Purchase area.

John McClellan (active 1822-1854) et al.

Siege of Vera Cruz, by the U.S. Troops under Major General Scott, in March 1847

Lithograph, 41 x 65 cm., (Washington, D.C., 1847). 25/3 270017

By November 1846, President Polk realized that an invasion of central Mexico afforded a better chance of bringing the Mexican government to negotiating a peace settlement. He therefore directed Major General Winfield Scott to plan an amphibious attack upon the principal Mexican port of Veracruz and then, if necessary, to strike inland and seize the nation's capital, Mexico City. The map shows the location of the U.S. forces' unopposed amphibious landing on a beach just southeast of Veracruz on March 9, 1847, as well as their fortified line of investment encircling the city on its landward side, not completed until several days later. U.S. Army batteries, with mortars and howitzers, appear just to the southeast of the city walls which are outlined in blue-gray. Just to the east of these batteries are the U.S. Navy's guns including three sixty-eight-pounder (eight-inch shell guns of the Paixhans type) that were also unloaded from ships and dragged overland at considerable effort; these were not in place until March 24. Other details include the locations of the headquarters of the invading army's various divisional commanders.

According to its inscriptions, the map was a collaborative effort of several of the U.S. Army's Topographical Engineers. Drawn by Captain John McClellan (not to be confused with the younger Lieutenant George B. McClellan), the map was based upon surveys by Major William Turnbull (1800-1857), chief Topographical Engineer on Scott's staff, Captains George Wurtz Hughes (who had just joined Scott after service in Texas and northern Mexico under General Wool), Joseph E. Johnston (who conveyed Scott's invitation to spare the city to the Mexican governor at the beginning of the siege), and Lieutenants George H. Derby and Edmund Hardcastle. Not acknowledged is the fact that the topographical engineers probably had plenty of older Mexican and Spanish coastal charts upon which to base their base map.

S. Augustus Mitchell, Sr. (1790-1868) George Stealey, et al.

Map of Mexico, Including Yucatan and Upper California, Exhibiting the Chief Cities and Towns, the Principal Travelling Routes & c.

Engraved color transfer lithograph, sheet, 83 x 64 cm. (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1847). 77/11 270003

Commercial mapmaker Samuel Augustus Mitchell, Sr., published several editions of his map of Mexico during the war, including this folding pocket map which also features a "Map of the Principal Roads from Vera Cruz and Alvarado to the City of Mexico" that was "compiled by Geo. Stealey, Civil Engineer" and an elevation "Profile of the Road between Mexico [City] and Vera Cruz." Stealey's inset map, adorned with a Mexican eagle, shows the invasion routes of Scott (in red) and that of Cortez from 1519-1520. Small flags denote recent battle sites for Churubusco, Contreras, and Chapultepec. This copy has hand-written notes possibly written by a participant in the U.S. occupation, including the observation that from near Jalapa one "can see the Gulf from here."

Compare UT Arlington map nos. 00481, 00585; David Rumsey Map Collection, nos. 4594.001, 3119.001, 4652.000; Stealey 3868, 3869.
Henry Coppée (1821-1895) after surveys by William Turnbull (1800-1857) and John McClellan (active 1822-1854)

Survey of the Mexican lines of defence at Cerro Gordo, and the Lines of Attack of the American Army under Major General Scott, on the 17th and 18th of April 1847

Lithograph, 32 x 48 cm., by P.S. Duval, Philadelphia, from Winfield Scott's Report from Plan del Rio, 50 miles from Vera Cruz, April 19, 1847, in 30th U.S. Congress, 1st Sess. Ex. Doc. no. 1, Message from the President...at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirtieth Congress (Washington, D.C., 1847), opp. p. 256.

U.S. forces under General Scott used difficult terrain to their advantage to achieve a complete rout of Mexican forces under Santa Anna at the Battle of Cerro Gordo as illustrated by this post-battle map by Lieutenant Henry Coppée of the U.S. Army's Topographical Engineers. As in other maps of the period, hachures indicate relief. Oriented with north at the top, Coppée's map shows the deep canyon of the Rio del Plan running from left to right in a southeasterly direction.

Originally, Santa Anna had selected what he considered a formidable defensive site on Cerro Gordo (the round volcanic at left), the road below, and along the finger-like escarpments (to Cerro Gordo's right) to prevent Scott's forces from ascending the National Road from the town of Plan del Rio (located at lower right on the map). This had two purposes: to block Scott from advancing to Mexico City and to trap the invaders along the Mexican coast long enough to allow yellow fever to wreak its toll among them. Instead, U.S. Army Engineers Pierre G. T. Beauregard and Robert E. Lee helped Scott exploit weaknesses in the Mexican left. Sappers widened a trail to the right of the road that allowed the main U.S. attack to completely flank the Mexican defense by capturing the unfortified hill "El Atalaya" (located on the map just to the right of Cerro Gordo) and also by surprising the Mexican camp (at far left).


Cartographer Unknown

Map Showing Col. A. W. Doniphan's Route through the States of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Coahuila

Lithograph, 40 x 33 cm., by Thomas Sinclair, Philadelphia, in Frank S. Edwards, A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1847), opp. p. xvi.

Geographical discovery and/or accurate mapping were not objectives of the 5,500-mile trek into northern Mexico made from June 1846 to June 1847 by Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan and his First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers. The somewhat crude and simple maps published in the accounts of the expedition make this clear. At the beginning of the war they accompanied Kearny's "Army of the West" along the Santa Fe trail to New Mexico where they remained behind to garrison the newly conquered territory. In December, Doniphan and his men advanced down the Rio Grande through the dry Jornada del Muerto (Journey of Death) to El Paso del Norte, defeating a Mexican force along their way at Brazito. In February 1847, they continued south into Chihuahua and fought another battle at Sacramento before taking Chihuahua City on March 2. From there they continued southeast to Parras and Saatillo before heading back north along the route Taylor's army had earlier taken into northern Mexico. From the port of Matamoros they returned to Missouri by water. The map in Edward's book here shows X's where the Missourians fought Mexicans or Indians.


After Friedrich Adolph Wislizenus (1810-1889)

Profile of Elevations above the Level of the Sea. Route from Independence to Santa Fe. Route from Santa Fe to Chihuahua. Route from Chihuahua to Reynosa on the Rio Grande


Wislizenus was a German-educated physician-scientist from St. Louis who had accompanied the last wagon train of Santa Fe/Chihuahua traders into Mexico before the war. He had been arrested and detained in the state of Chihuahua and was there when Doniphan's band freed him. Like Humboldt, Wislizenus was traveling with scientific interests in mind, and he had recorded barometric readings all along his route, which roughly coincided with Doniphan's as seen by the elevation chart he created. In addition, his memoir contains a geological sketch, a botanical appendix by his friend George Englemann, meteorological tables, and a map.

John McClellan (active 1822-1854)

**Battles of Mexico: Survey of the Line of Operations of the U.S. Army, under command of Major General Winfield Scott, on the 19th & 20th August & on the 8th, 12th & 13th September, 1847**


Scale: 1 in. = ½ mile

77/12 310027

In the weeks and months following the U.S. entry into Mexico City on September 14, 1847, Captain John McClellan of the Topographical Engineers compiled this excellent, highly-detailed, large-scale summary map of the battles for Mexico City from surveys made by Major William Turnbull, himself, Lieutenant Edmund Hardcastle, and such other sources as the older maps by Alexander von Humboldt. McClellan's original manuscript for the map was then sent to Washington, D.C., where, according to an inscription at lower left, it was examined and approved by the head of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, Colonel John James Abert on March 3, 1848, and lithographed by the firm of C. B. Graham.

Besides a central map, the composition includes tables showing the content, strength, and losses of troops engaged at the main battles and an inset map at lower right. The latter illustrates how Scott and his army, beginning around August 16, 1847, took an indirect route around Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco to avoid what might have been a more costly direct assault along the National Road past Santa Anna's heavily fortified headquarters at El Peñón ("the craggy rock"), also seen at right on the main map. On August 19, Scott's troops again avoided other Mexican defenses by cutting their way through a large field of cooled volcanic lava known as the "Pedregal" (seen at the bottom of the main map). On the morning of August 20, they enveloped and routed a Mexican force under General Gabriel Valencia at Contreras (seen to the left or west of the Pedregal). Later that day, Scott's forces converged in a bloody but successful assault on the convent and tête du pont (bridgehead) at Churubusco (a short distance above or northeast of the Pedregal). Although U.S. forces continued to probe Mexican defenses almost to the gates of the city, Scott decided to halt.

On the west or left side of the central map are the buildings and defenses where the final battles for the city took place. Following a controversial truce, U.S. troops on September 8th attacked a group of nearby buildings known as "el Molino del Rey" or "the King's Mill" (thought to be the site of a cannon foundry) and another building known as the "Casa Mata" (which was thought to be a powder magazine). The battle resulted in some of the worst U.S. casualties of the war, and, ironically, the intelligence about the structures proved false. On September 13th, Scott launched an all-out assault on the Castle of Chapultepec, an old structure that during peacetime served as a military college and which was located on a high promontory just to the east or right of the Molino. Despite a heroic Mexican defense that included some 50 young cadets, Scott's forces quickly overran the position and later that day fought their way along two causeways past the fortified gates or "Garitas" of Belén and San Cosmé, located to the northeast of Chapultepec on the western side of the city. The next morning, September 14th, Scott received the unconditional surrender of the capital, and his forces marched into the main square of Plaza Mayor, occupying the Palace and the Cathedral located in the city's center.


James W. Abert (1820-1897) and William G. Peck (1820-1892)

**Map of the territory of New Mexico...,**

Lithograph, 63 x 49 cm., from James William Abert, *Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating, in Answer to a Resolution of the Senate, a Report and Map of the Examination of New Mexico...,* bound with William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance [sic.]... 30th Congress, 1st Sess. Ex. Doc. (Washington, D.C. Wendell and Van Benthuysen, Printers, 1848). 1 in. = 10 miles. 66/8 99-357 from P786 U571 Bay D

At the beginning of the U.S. War with Mexico, General Stephen W. Kearny's "Army of the West" easily conquered New Mexico. While Kearny soon continued on to California, he left occupation forces behind. Of his original compliment of four topographical engineers, Kearny took with him two (Lieutenants William H. Emory and William H. Warner) and left behind two who were sick (Lieutenants James W. Abert at Bent's Fort and William G. Peck at Santa Fe). He directed that after the latter two recovered, they should survey New Mexico and, together, produce a map.

The resulting map shows the valley of the Rio del Norte from the junction with the Rio Colorado or Red River to the north of Taos to the northern edge of the Fra Cristobal range and the Jornada del Muerto in the south. Abert and Peck plotted many of the river's tributaries, surrounding mountains, existing roads and trails, pueblos, and mines. Crossed sabres at Canada, Embuda, and the Pueblo de Taos indicate sites where – following the assassination of the new U.S. Territorial Governor Charles Bent by a mob of New Mexicans and Indians on January 19, 1847 – U.S. forces under Colonel Sterling Price clashed with and brutally suppressed members of the Taos Rebellion.


**Sketch of the Actions fought at San Pascal in Upper California between the Americans and the Mexicans**


As Kearny's "Army of the West" arrived in present southern California following their exhausting overland trek from New Mexico, they ran into a force of Californios under Captain Andrés Pico at the village of San Pasqual near San Diego on December 6, 1846. This village may be seen in the upper right of this map from Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnaissance. After a failed U.S. charge, the Californios counter-attacked and nearly overwhelmed Kearny and his men who
had retreated to a position called “Mule Hill.” This hill, denoted by crossed sabers, may be seen just to the left of center in the map. A U.S. relief force sent by Commodore Stockton of the U.S. Navy finally arrived on December 11th. Among the U.S. casualties were Kearny and Lieutenant Warner of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, both of whom were severely wounded. Both Lieutenants Emory (who saved Kearny’s life) and Warner received the brevet rank of captain for their efforts in the battle.


After William H. Emory (1811-1887)

Sketch of the Battle of Los Angeles, Upper California, fought between the Americans and the Mexicans Jan. 9th. 1847

Lithograph, 15 x 21 cm., from General Kearny’s Report, Ciudad de Los Angeles, Upper California, Jan. 12, 1847, in 30th Congress, 1st Sess. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1, Message from the President…at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirtieth Congress (Washington, D.C., 1847), opp. p. 517.

Oriented with west at the top, this map documents the battle often called “La Mesa,” fought just southeast of the pueblo of Los Angeles, California, during the U.S. War with Mexico. It is based upon a sketch by U.S. Army Topographical Engineer Brevet Captain Emory, a participant who advanced to the rank of major for his conduct in this battle and the passage of the Rio San Gabriel the day before. Combined U.S. forces under the command of Commodore Robert F. Stockton and General Kearny were advancing (at the bottom of the map) on the pueblo (at upper right) when a force of Californios, led by Mexican General José María Flores, opened fire on their right. The U.S. force formed a square and repulsed the Mexican cavalry. Flores turned over his command to Major Andrés Pico and fled to Mexico with some of his followers, ending the fighting in California. Pico surrendered at nearby Cahuenga Pass on January 13.

Ron Hinrichs, “La Mesa, Battle of” in Frazier, ed., The United States and Mexico at War, pp. 218-219; Heitman, Military Register, pp. 405-406.

Franz Hassendeubel (1817-1863)

Plan of Santa-Cruz de Rosales & the Operations of the U.S. Troops, under Command of Brig. Gen. S. Price, during the Siege and Storming of the Place on the 16th of March 1848.

Lithograph, 31 x 33 cm., by P. S. Duval, Philadelphia (Washington, D.C., 1848).

Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ending the war between the United States and Mexico had been formally signed on February 2, 1848, the news did not reach Brigadier General Sterling Price, commander of U.S. forces in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He pursued a rumored Mexican force deep into neighboring Chihuahua, whose capital city he occupied on March 7. Despite protests from Mexican Governor Angel Trias that a treaty had already been signed, Price’s force continued their pursuit of Trias’ small force as the latter withdrew to the town of Santa Cruz de Rosales located sixty miles southeast.

Beginning on March 9, Price spent several days consolidating his forces around Governor Trias’ forces in the town, seen in this highly-detailed plan by Franz Hassendeubel, captain of one of Price’s volunteer artillery units. With no confirmation of the war’s status, on the morning of March 16, Price ordered an artillery bombardment (see cannons noted by symbols denoted by key at upper right), and that afternoon he launched a three-pronged assault (as seen by the dotted lines and arrows on the map). Trias surrendered around dusk after Price’s men had fought their way to the Main Plaza (letter b). Casualty reports varied widely for this unnecessary battle.

Mark L. Gardner, “Santa Cruz de Rosales, Battle of” in Frazier, ed., The United Stated and Mexico at War, p. 337.
Western Exploration

Following the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the discovery of gold in California in 1848, the U.S. government expended considerable effort exploring and mapping the new territories acquired from Mexico. Despite maps produced in the recent conflict and years of Spanish and Mexican occupation, the territories were still virtually terra incognita to the U.S. government. The U.S. Army needed maps to help establish new communication routes across the continent, locate and guard the new borders, and protect travelers and settlers in the newly acquired lands. Further, the government had the added responsibility for former Mexican citizens and various Native American tribes living within its borders. Army personnel, often accompanied by civilian scientists, conducted explorations and scientific surveys which the government often published in printed reports with maps and illustrations. The maps shown here comprise a very small portion of these efforts.

James H. Simpson (1813-1883), Edward M. Kern (1823-1863), Thomas A.P. Champlin (1829-after 1849), et al. Map of Route Pursued by U.S. Troops from Fort Smith Arkansas to Santa Fe, New Mexico, via the South Side of the Canadian River in the Year 1849...

Map No. 2. Showing a Continuation of Details of Fort Smith and Santa Fe Route from Old Fort Colmes to Mounds Near 100-1/2 degree Longitude.

Map No. 3. Showing Continuation of Details of Fort Smith and Santa Fe Route, From Mounds Near 100-1/2 degree of Longitude to Tucumcari Creek

Map No. 4. Showing Continuation of Fort Smith and Santa Fe Route, From Tucumcari Creek to Santa Fe

Lithographs each approx. 28 x 50 cm., lithographed by E. Weber & Co., Baltimore, from 31st Congress, 1st Session, Senate Ex. Doc. 12 (Washington, D.C., 1849). All four maps with scale 1 in. = 10 miles.

These four maps constitute a somewhat typical western route map produced by the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers in the years between the U.S. War with Mexico and the U.S. Civil War. They include natural features such as rivers, creeks, springs, ponds, hills, escarpments, canyons, mounds, the presence or absence of water, wood, and grass for animals. They also note trails, towns, forts, and the presence of Indians, either living in settlements or wandering. Tables give distances between camps and settlements, and there are notes advising which trails are better.

The map was compiled in Santa Fe, New Mexico, from June 28 to July 28, 1849, from trail sketches and observations made by Topographical Engineer Lieutenant James Hervey Simpson. He was part of a larger escort for Santa Fe and California-bound emigrants and a reconnaissance in force commanded by Infantry Captain Randolph Barnes Marcy out of Fort Smith, Arkansas. Since much of the route corresponded exactly with that in Lieutenant James W. Abert's 1845 report, Simpson was able to double check his findings. Simpson's original map was drawn by Edward M. Kern, a civilian artist who had accompanied Fremont's third and fourth expeditions and was recuperating from the latter in Santa Fe when he met Simpson.

James H. Simpson (1813-1883) and Edward M. Kern (1823-1863)

Map of the Route Pursued in 1849 by the U.S. Troops under the Command of Brev. Col. Jno. M. Washington, Governor of New Mexico, in an Expedition Against the Navajo Indians


Again in 1849, Lieutenant Simpson and civilian Edward Kern together employed their cartographic talents to produce another important military map. Soon after his arrival with Marcy in Santa Fe, Simpson had received orders to accompany the military governor of New Mexico, Lieutenant Colonel John M. Washington, on a punitive expedition against the Navajo Indians. The expedition left Santa Fe on August 15, and this time Simpson had three topographic assistants: Thomas A. P. Champlin, Edward Kern, and his younger brother Richard Kern. The resulting map shows the route of the expedition as a red line, first heading west past the pueblos of Santo Domingo and Jemez into Chaco Canyon, then on to the peaks of the Ojo Calientes and to "Pass Washington" in the Tune-cha Mountains. Near the latter (marked by crossed sabers) they made a short military demonstration by firing a cannon and killing six Navahos and then made a complete circuit of Canyon de Chelly, the Navaho stronghold (seen at upper left in the map). They then headed south to Zuni and, from thence, east past Pueblo Laguna and Albuquerque back to Santa Fe.

Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 3, pp. 6, 287, no. 641; Goetzmann, Army Exploration, pp. 239-244.

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Joseph E. Johnston (1807-1891), et al.


In Texas as elsewhere in the Southwest following the U.S. War with Mexico, the Army made reconnaissances, located and established trails, and conducted scientific surveys in order to defend and consolidate the new state and facilitate travel and communications. This large, minutely-detailed, lithographed folding map is a compilation of several surveys made in 1849 at the orders of General William Jenkins Worth. Gen. Worth briefly commanded the Eighth Military District, comprising Texas, before dying of cholera in San Antonio later in 1849. The surveys were led by U.S. Army Topographical Engineers Brevet Colonel Joseph E. Johnston (the future Confederate General) and Lieutenants W. F. Smith, F. T. Bryan, N. H. Michler, and W.H.C. Whiting.

The map stretches from Corpus Christi, Matagorda Bay, to Preston and Fort Washita in present Oklahoma and from the Rio Grande valley in western Texas and New Mexico east to Matagorda Bay. The routes explored and indicated on the map correspond roughly with many present highways and roads. Of particular interest to the military was the so-called "Upper Road" first blazed earlier that year by the federal Indian Agent for Texas, Robert S. Neighbors, and former Ranger, John S. "Rip" Ford. This led from the head of the Concho River (near present San Angelo and located at the center of the map) west across the Pecos at Horsehead Crossing, up that river to Delaware Creek, then past the Guadalupe Mountains and Hueco Tanks to El Paso. Another route of interest was the "Lower Road," discovered by Whiting and Smith, leading from San Antonio past the Rio Frío west to the San Pedro then up the Pecos near Horsehead Crossing and then over the present Fort Davis area and along the Rio Grande to El Paso. A blue line stretches from the Rio Grande in the south to Preston on the Red River in the north connecting newly-established Forts Duncan, Inge, Lincoln (camp), Martin Scott, Croghan, Gates, and Worth. These protected the settlements along the north-south road just to the east.

Robert S. Martin, "United States Army Mapping in Texas, 1848-50" in Dennis Reinhardt and Charles C. Colley, eds., The Mapping of the American Southwest (College Station: Texas A&M, 1987), pp. 37-56. The Texas map is likely the first to show the location of Fort Worth (see Crossroads of Empire Amon Carter Museum exhibit June 12-July 26, 1981); Goetzmann, Army Exploration, pp. 223-239; Wheat, Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, vol. 3, pp. 6, 296, no. 677; Davis et al., Going to Texas, pp. 60-61, plate 37.

65

Randolph B. Marcy (1812-1887) and George B. McClellan (1826-1885)

Map of the Country upon Upper Red River Explored in 1852...


14060.05948 from F377 .R3 U3 1853 Map RM

Detailing the first scientific survey of significant portions of southwestern Oklahoma and northern Texas, this map was based upon explorations conducted in 1852 by Captain Marcy and Lieutenant George B. McClellan, his second in command (and future Union General and U.S. Presidential candidate). The map shows the upper reaches of the Red River – then frequented by the feared Comanches and Kiowas – where Marcy and his men were among the first white...
men to record its sources, among the first documented white men to enter Palo Duro and Tule canyons, and among the first to provide extensive documentation on the Wichita Indians. The map notation “Extensive Dog town” along the edge of the Llano Estacado at left alludes to a 400,000 acre prairie dog town that they recorded. Marcy and McClellan’s map would prove useful during the later Indian Wars.


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**Artist Unknown**

*View Near Head of Red River*


This lithograph is one of the earliest known images of Palo Duro Canyon near present Amarillo, Texas. It is based upon an eyewitness sketch, location unknown.

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*Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean*

Lithograph with hand coloring on paper mounted on canvas, 111 x 121 cm., folds to 28 x 20.5 cm. within marbled green cardboard case, 28.5 x 21 cm., (Washington, D.C. United States War Department, 1857). 1st ed. 1857, 1st ed. 1860, 1st ed. 1860.

Various editions of U.S. Army Topographical Engineer Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren’s maps of the trans-Mississippi West constitute some of the most important cartographic efforts of the nineteenth century. A synthesis of the most important maps of the area from about 1810 to 1857, this example is hand-colored in delicate shades of yellow, pink, and blue to show vast stretches of territory still largely dominated by specific Native American tribes. Military planners could have used it to plot their next campaigns or to determine possible locations for new forts.

According to the approximately 100-page “Memoir” that Warren wrote to accompany the map, he was, by order of U.S. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, “to carefully read every report and examine every map of survey, reconnaissance, and travel which could be obtained, to ascertain their several values, and to embody the authentic information in the map.” Warren noted that the geographical positions were "rarely determined absolutely, or even relatively, with certainty” and that new surveys were “constantly making slight changes necessary.” He constructed the map over a period of four years, and noted that “for the beautiful execution of the topography” he was "mainly indebted to Mr. E. Freyhold and Mr. F. W. Egloffstein."

While Warren’s researches stretched back to the maps of Lewis and Clark, Pike, Humboldt, and Long, much of his material derived from numerous survey maps produced by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, particularly those to explore several possible routes for the United States Pacific Railroad. Warren later achieved fame as the Union Brigadier General who recognized the importance of the hill known as Little Round Top during a critical moment in the Battle of Gettysburg.


68-69

**F. W. von Egloffstein (1824-1885) and Joseph C. Ives (1829-1868)**


Photolithograph, 16-1/4 x 36-3/4 in., Ruling by Samuel Sartain, Lettering by F. Courtenay.

**F. W. von Egloffstein, Joseph C. Ives, and John Strong Newberry (1822-1892)**

*Geological Map No. 2 / Map No. 2 Map No. 2 Rio Colorado of the West / explored by 1st Lieut. Joseph C. Ives, Topl. Engrs.*

Photolithograph (hand colored), 18 x 36 in., Ruling by Samuel Sartain, Lettering by F. Courtenay.


The U.S. Army’s need to determine the navigability of the Colorado River of the West as a possible supply route during the so-called “Mormon War” or “Utah War” of 1856-1858 led to the creation of two of the most innovative topographical maps constructed in the United States during the nineteenth century. Largely responsible was “Baron” Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein, a German-American civilian topographer who served with Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives and several other U.S. Army-led exploring expeditions. Back in Washington, D.C., Egloffstein developed plaster terrain models for study and reproduced these shaded relief maps photomechanically with the help and advice of master engraver Samuel Sartain.
The first map, split into four sections, traces the course of the river from its mouth in the Gulf of California to what Ives called "Fortification Rock" or "Head of Navigation" - actually located just below present Hoover Dam. (This includes the river border between the present Mexican states of Baja California and Sonora, the entire length of the present western Arizona border with California, and part of the Arizona border with Nevada). Ives and his men accomplished this exploration from December 1857 until March 1858 largely by means of a small steamboat by which they ascended the river as far as "Explorer's Rock" located at the mouth of Black Canyon.

The second map, seen here in an exceedingly rare "geological" version specially-colored from the instructions of Ives' expedition geologist Dr. John Strong Newberry, attempts to depict for the first time a portion of the Grand Canyon. The map not only again shows the middle (roughly north-south) portion of the river at left explored by steamboat but also documents the overland route of the expedition (accomplished by mule train from March 23 through late May 1858) across the northern part of the present state of Arizona to the New Mexico border. During this time, Egloffstein and Ives became the first recorded white explorers to walk on the floor of the Grand Canyon and also the first to visit the Hopi villages.

Over the years these maps received mixed reviews - praise for their innovative approach to shaded relief, but criticism for their inaccuracies (particularly from fans of John Wesley Powell). However, the criticism is seldom qualified as it should be. The first map is, notwithstanding its association with the other one, highly accurate. So too is the second map, if judged only for the areas actually traversed by Ives' expedition (as seen by the broken line ruled on the map) and not for the areas beyond where Egloffstein speculated about the character and courses of the canyons which he could only view from great distances - not unlike Humboldt had done earlier when viewing Texas from the great distance of the archives in Mexico City. Perhaps the traditional criticisms were not based upon the merits of the maps at all but rather on their association with "rotund" Germans with funny names (Humboldt-protégé naturalist, artist, and writer Baldwin Möllhausen was also on this expedition) and a commander who grossly misjudged the future popularity of the Grand Canyon and later served the "dark side" as Jefferson Davis' aide-de-camp!

The U.S. Coast Surveys

One of the fruits of “Manifest Destiny” was the extension of the United States' coastline for thousands of miles—first by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, then by the annexation of Texas in 1845, and finally as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. In 1807, President Thomas Jefferson established a systematic coastal survey under the Department of the Treasury, but the surveys of the newer waters did not commence until much later with surveys of the coasts of Oregon and Texas (beginning in the late 1840s) and California (beginning in 1850). Many of the better Coast Survey charts did not begin appearing until the 1850s when the office began publishing regular annual reports. These would help navigators, both military and civilian, deal with the uncertainties of the natural environment for many years to come. The charts were based upon thousands of painstaking and precise observations by dedicated surveyors braving weeks of loneliness in weather that was not always ideal. From 1842, the civilian-run office was headed by Alexander Dallas Bache who successfully fought attempts to place the survey under the Department of the Navy.

Robert Henry Fauntleroy (1806-1849), Richard D. Cutts (1817-1883), J. Morris Wampler (ca. 1830-1863), et al.

Preliminary Chart of Galveston Bay, Texas

Engraved transfer lithograph (hand colored), 50 x 42 cm., 1855 (4th Edition), from Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Showing the Progress of the Survey During the Year 1855 (Washington, D.C., 1856), no. 41.

In many ways the U.S. Coast Survey charts represent humanity’s constant struggle with nature. Early on, explorers found the flat, almost endless Texas coasts confusing, and the weather along them could turn quite dangerous almost instantly. An accurate knowledge of the shoals, inlets, bays, barrier islands, and harbors, along with exact latitude and longitude readings, was therefore essential to mariners. Lengthy sailing directions, hundreds of depth soundings, and many topographical features appear on this chart of Galveston Bay, site of Texas' largest port during the nineteenth century. Coastal improvements noted here include a securely anchored “Lt. Boat” (light boat) which had been placed at the entrance of Galveston Bay as early as 1849 and “L.Hs” (light houses) at Bolivar Point completed in 1853, Morgan’s Point, and opposite Edward’s Point. The insets detail two shallow obstructions in the Bay: Clobber’s Bar – at the mouth of the San Jacinto River (near the site of the 1836 battle) – and Red Fish Bar.

The U.S. Coast Survey, under its second superintendent Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-1867), began work on the Texas coast in 1847 during the U.S. War with Mexico. By 1852, the office published an annual report in which these charts of the Texas coast first appeared. Interestingly, Bache was a great grandson of Benjamin Franklin and the father-in-law of William H. Emory of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. Bache's field workers along the Texas coast included Assistants Robert Fauntleroy, Richard D. Cutts, and J. Morris Wampler. Unfortunately, Fauntleroy died of cholera in Galveston before he could complete triangulations, so the various tasks fell to Cutts, Wampler, and others who toiled along the coast near Galveston in the winter and spring of 1849-1850 and winter of 1850-1851, most of the time on board the schooner Nymph.


M. J. McClerly (active 1851-1869) after H. S. Stellwagen (active 1853-1862)

(Sketch 1 No. 5) Reconnaissance of Aransas Pass, Texas by the hydrographic party under the command of Lieut. H.S. Stellwagen U.S.N. Asst.


By means of relief shown by soundings and isolines, the map records channel details for Aransas Pass between Mustang Island and San Jose Island, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Corpus Christi and Aransas Bays. It includes sailing directions, notes, and a compass rose.

The Price of Manifest Destiny 35
San Luis Pass is located at the southwest end of Galveston Island. A small town of up to 2,000 people thrived at San Luis during the Texas Republic, but by 1853—the year of this Coast Survey chart—only 400 to 500 people remained following a financial depression related to the silting of the harbor from tides and storms. Man-made structures appearing on the chart include: a hotel (possibly the "Halfway House," operated since 1836 by the Follet family who also operated "Follet's Ferry"); a warehouse (perhaps related to wealthy Brazoria merchant and plantation owner Robert Mills who had owned a cotton compress at San Luis); a triangulation station; "Burr's House"; and "West End Ferry House." Like many other coast charts, this includes triangulations, a topographical survey, a hydrographic survey including sounding depths, sailing directions, and "tidal remarks." Coast Survey Assistant James Williams, who headed the triangulation crew around Galveston for the year 1851, wrote that "The climate of this region... is singularly unfavorable for extended geodetic operations. The stormy winter, the short twilight, and intense heat of cloudless summer; the frequent, almost constant, high winds; the hazy, misty air, — all battle against progress; indeed, the air may be said to be clear only during a norther, when it is impossible to make an instrument steady on its high tripod."

**James S. Williams, J. Morris Wampler (ca. 1830-1863), et al.** *Preliminary Chart of San Luis Pass, Texas*

Engraved transfer lithograph (hand colored), 34 x 43 cm., Engraved by E. Yeager & J. J. Knight, reduced drawing by E. Freyhold, 1853, from Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey during the Year 1853 (Washington, D.C., 1854), no. 40.

This 1853 chart of Sabine Pass, located between the southeast tip of Texas and the southwest tip of Louisiana, shows a "Proposed Site for a Light House" (not completed until 1857), soundings, and areas of "Mud Flats" and "very soft Mud." Within a few years the Texas coast would resound to the sound of cannon as the Union Navy conducted operations against the Texas Confederates. On September 8, 1863, at Sabine Pass, a small Confederate force defeated a much larger Union invasion flotilla consisting of four gunboats and seven troop transports.


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**A. Balbach, A. Schoepf & W. Wagner** after J.E. Hilgard, J.S. Williams et al. *Preliminary Chart of the Sea Coast of Texas in the Vicinity of Galveston*

Mexican Mapping in the 1850s

The results of the U.S.-Mexico War intensified Mexico's internal political struggles. Santa Anna and the conservatives had discredited themselves. A strong desire for sweeping institutional changes gave Mexico's liberal faction the impetus they needed to attempt to curb the privileges of the Catholic Church and military. Liberals forced Santa Anna from office for the last time in 1855, and, soon, Benito Juárez became president, introducing many political, social, and military reforms that so angered conservatives and polarized Mexican society that a civil war in Mexico broke out from 1855 to 1860, known as the War of the Reform.

Mexican mapmakers and geographers during this period responded to the need for new maps of a greatly altered national geography caused by the loss of over half of Mexico's territory. The best of them saw cartography and geography as integral to constructing a modern nation's identity. Antonio García Cubas, a young civil servant at the Secretaría de Fomento (Ministry of Development), observed the deficiencies of the Disturnell map and the trouble it had caused resulting from its use in the negotiations for the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. He also lamented the deplorable state of Mexican geographic knowledge and determined to learn how to construct a new map of Mexico and introduce a kind of geographical and cartographic reform on his own. Other mapmakers in Mexico produced quality maps documenting recent events of their civil war.

Antonio García y Cubas (1832-1912)
Carta General de la República Mexicana
Engraved transfer lithograph, 41 x 62.5 cm. on sheet 55.4 x 71.5 cm., by Salazar, in García y Cubas, Atlas Geográfico, Estadístico e Histórico de la República Mexicana (Mexico City: Imprenta de José Mariano Fernandez de Lara, 1858), plate 1, 1858

In 1856, Mexican cartographer García y Cubas produced a large map of Mexico that became, with occasional updates, the official map of the nation for the remainder of the nineteenth century. He reduced that map for the general map of Mexico, seen here in his 1858 Mexican atlas — not only the first atlas of Mexico, but also the first atlas produced in Mexico. In addition to this map, it included maps of twenty-eight states, one district, and six territories, another general map and two historical charts of Aztec pictorial glyphs. This was a production that could inspire Mexicans of all political persuasions and serve as a planning and educational tool. Acknowledging the importance of international scientific standards, García y Cubas positioned Mexico in relation to the Greenwich prime meridian rather than in relation to the Cathedral in Mexico City, as had earlier Mexican maps. Using a composition similar to earlier "geographical, statistical, and historical" maps common in the nineteenth century, García y Cubas surrounded his general map with a fine title cartouche with Mexican eagle, perspective views of Mexican scenery and historical antiquities, and charts showing the comparative lengths of rivers and the comparative heights of mountains.

Much of the imagery paid homage to a long tradition of exquisite, atlas-size travel books depicting Mexico, going back to Alexander von Humboldt's Vues de Cordillères (Paris, 1810).

J. N. Villegas after D. José Justo Álvarez (1821-1897)

*Carta de la ciudad y sitio de Puebla*

Color lithograph, 34 x 46 cm. on sheet 49 x 61 cm., Litog. de Decaen, Mexico City, from Anselmo de la Portilla, *Historia de la Revolución de México contra la dictadura del General Santa-Anna. 1853-1855* (Mexico City: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1856). 66/9 2008-124

The Mexican City of Puebla, possessing dozens of old fortified churches and convents and located strategically along the National Road between Mexico City and Veracruz, was a favorite objective and target during Mexico's numerous nineteenth-century wars. Between February 1821 and October 1856, it endured ten sieges that damaged buildings and neighborhoods, to not mention killing civilians. Mexican Army officer José Justo Álvarez's map recorded this action in the city of March 10, 1856, when the Mexican Army and National Guard led by President Ignacio Comonfort crushed the insurrection of Mexican clergy and their supporters led by Antonio Haro y Tamariz. The map uses a scale of 1 cm. = 200 varas, with various letters of the alphabet in multiple fonts and Roman numerals denoting forces engaged for the government (in blue) and for the rebels (in red). A numeric key at left denotes numerous religious and public structures and establishments. This very complex and sophisticated system also illuminated the text and a lithographed view of the battle, also in the same book.

The U.S. Civil War in the Southwest: A Cartographic Perspective

The expansion of the United States during the 1840s merely postponed tensions over the issue of slavery which increased during the next decade such that Civil War erupted by 1861. The war generated an enormous amount of cartographic material, but not so much in the Southwest. At the beginning of the war there was an intense scramble by the military and by civilians to find, update, and reproduce the latest maps and surveys of areas, particularly in the South where the forces might clash. Since the majority of the fighting took place east of the Mississippi, cartographic interest in the West suddenly became secondary.

The Army's Topographical Engineers were split by conflicting loyalties and needed by both armies back east. On March 3, 1863, the U.S. Congress disbanded the Topographical Corps and merged its command function with the Corps of Engineers. But the Confederates had to start their Corps of Engineers from scratch. Eventually the armies and navies of both sides produced manuscript maps in quantities according to their needs, abilities, and available supplies.

Most of the nation's commercial map publishers and printers were in the North, and, consequently, most of the printed maps of the period reflect a Union perspective. As a result of the Union Blockade, stocks of paper and other materials needed for printing became increasingly scarce in the South so new commercial maps and even stocks of old ones likewise declined there.

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Artist Unknown

Surrender of Ex-General Twiggs, Late of the United States Army, to Texan Troops in the Gran Plaza, San Antonio, Texas, February 16, 1861


By popular delegate vote at a state convention held in Austin on February 1, 1861, Texas seceded from the Union. Fifteen days later in San Antonio, General David E. Twiggs, the chief commanding officer of U.S. Army forces in Texas (and a former division commander during the U.S. War with Mexico), formally delivered his entire command along with Federal-owned weapons and property over to the state and the Confederate cause. Dismissed from the U.S. Army for treason, he joined the Confederate Army as its oldest general. Harper's Weekly editors described their image as taken "from drawings by a Government draughtsman."

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Artists Unknown, possibly after Helmuth Holtz (1833-1915)

Daring and Desperate Attack—Surprise and Capture of the United States Gunboat "Harriet Lane" by the Confederates under General Magruder, and Destruction of the Flagship "Westfield," in Galveston Harbor, Tex., January 1st, 1863

Engraving (hand colored), 40.5 x 56 cm., from Frank Leslie's Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War (New York: Mrs. Frank Leslie, 1898), pp. 328-329.

Galveston was Texas' largest city and seaport at the beginning of the Civil War, and strategists on both sides recognized its commercial importance for the Confederate war effort. The Union Navy imposed a blockade beginning in July 1861 and occupied the city in October 1862 with virtually no opposition. However, on January 1, 1863, Confederate naval and land forces led by John Bankhead Magruder overwhelmed the Federal garrison, captured four ships, while a fifth, the U.S.S. Westfield, ran aground and was sunk by her crew. The city remained in Confederate hands for the rest of the war. The view here was possibly inspired by a similar view done for rival Harper's Weekly by Union sailor and artist Helmuth Holtz who served on the Westfield and later drew maps for the Engineer Office, Military Department of the Gulf, in New Orleans.


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Thomas Nast (1840-1902) after an Unknown Artist or Photographer

A Sketch Showing the Streets of Indianola, Texas, Where Union Troops Were Being Concentrated

Engraving (hand colored), 29 x 41 cm., from Pictorial War Record: Battles of the Late Civil War (New York: Stearnes & Co., 1881-1884), p. 238.

On October 26, 1862, following the Federal capture of Galveston, the Federal fleet commander, Captain William B. Renshaw, demanded the surrender of Indianola, Texas' second largest port. After a brief bombardment, Federal troops occupied and looted the city before withdrawing. Federal forces returned in December 1863, and the port remained under their control for the rest of the war.
Tarrant County Two Dollars and Fifty Cents
Treasury Warrant
Issued in Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, C.S.A., December 31, 1861.

Tarrant County Two Dollars and Fifty Cents
Treasury Warrant
Issued in Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, C.S.A., May 10, 1863.

Tarrant County Fifty Cents Treasury Warrant
Issued in Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, C.S.A., March 1, 1864. Each 6 x 14 cm.
B. B. Barr and John N. Rowe III Collection of Texas Currency, DeGolyer Library, SMU, Dallas

Telling examples of the Union blockade's effectiveness in Texas include these three examples of paper currency issued in Fort Worth that were printed on the backs of Colton maps. All three notes are signed by Tarrant County Clerk Gideon Nance and Chief Justice Stephen Terry.

James T. Lloyd (active 1859-1867)
Lloyd's Map of the Southern States Showing all the Railroads, their Stations & Distances also the Counties, Towns, Villages, Harbors, Rivers, and Forts
Engraved transfer photolithograph (hand colored), 95 x 130 cm.
Henry W. Benham Family Collection, AR388-7-14.

The vast majority of war-related maps of the United States produced during the Civil War did not reference the West. At least some, like this commercial "military map," included part of Texas, which, after all, was one of the seceding states, although not often acknowledged as an important potential battleground.

In the first year of the war, James T. Lloyd of London and New York published an update of his 1859 railroad map of the United States, a large "$100,000 Topographical Map of the State of Virginia," and this one, which, according to his own text on the back, had been already "...started one year ago, long before the present troubles began. It was drawn from actual surveys made by southern surveyors, and the only reliable Map of the Southern States now offered to the people...."

While Lloyd claimed that he and his firm had used all the latest information (railroad surveys, the recent 1860 census, historical works on Virginia and Missouri, and the official reports of the Coast Surveys), at least some of his information on Texas was of poor quality and already out of date. For example, he located two forts in the southern panhandle (Forts McKavett and Terrett) when they were actually hundreds of miles south and had been abandoned in 1859 and 1854, respectively. The county configurations, which here are hand colored and supposedly up-to-date for Virginia and Missouri, do not include the Texas counties created in 1860. Lloyd's map does, nonetheless, accurately show the completed and projected railroads for the state as of 1861. The only battle sites noted in Texas are "Fort Alamo" at San Antonio and, surprisingly, "Kings" with crossed sabers in Refugio County – the latter a reference to the Battle of Refugio and the capture of Amon B. King's command in 1836 during the Texas War for Independence. It is notable that Lloyd had a tendency to fill much of the available spaces on his maps – both front and back – with hyperbolic text to enhance and promote his own maps, criticize his competitors, and, on occasion, to record irrelevant commentary.

Maps from the Official Atlas of the Civil War

The original chromolithographed maps in this case appeared in the *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1891-1895. The compilers of the atlas utilized the very best military maps available including many hitherto unpublished military campaign and reconnaissance manuscript maps produced during the 1861-1865 conflict by the Union and Confederate forces and pre-war maps produced by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers and the U.S. Coast Survey. The chromolithography was by Julius Bien & Co. of New York, the most important lithography firm in the country, whose work already included Civil War-related maps issued during the war as well as the Coast Survey maps of the 1850s and a brilliant chromolithographed edition of Audubon’s *Birds of America*.

**Cartographer Unknown**

*Galveston, Tex. and its Fortifications*

Chromolithograph, 29.5 x 41 cm., on sheet 47 x 75 cm., from the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895), plate XXXVIII.

The map on this sheet showing Galveston and its fortifications accompanied a report by Major J. P. Johnson, Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General of the Confederate Army. Confederate defenses are shown in red while civilian railroads, buildings, and natural topographical features such as ravines, ditches, and hills are in black. At the upper left of the map, a list notes exact heavy ordinance involved in the armament of the various Confederate forts and batteries which are all listed by name: for example, Fort Magruder has three “10-inch Columbiads” and two “9-inch Dahlgren” cannon. Confederate engineers Colonel Valery Sulakowski and Major Julius G. Kellersberger designed most of these structures which were constructed by hundreds of Texas slaves often at considerable cost to their health. Sounding depths for Galveston harbor, probably derived from the earlier Coast Surveys, are also indicated on the map.
85-87

Cartographer Unknown

*Engagement at Valverde, N. Mex. February 21, 1862. 12 o’cl. M.*

*Engagement at Valverde, N. Mex. February 21, 1862. 4 o’cl. P.M.*

*Operations near Fort Craig, N. Mex. February, 1862.*


The maps of Operations near Fort Craig, New Mexico, and of various stages of the engagements at Valverde, New Mexico, depict a portion of the battles fought between Union forces under Colonel Edward R. Canby, whose report they accompany, and Confederate forces under Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley. Canby’s forces turned back the Confederate invasion of New Mexico at this battle in February and at nearby Glorieta Pass the next month.

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*Map of Texas and Part of New Mexico, 1857, compiled in the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, chiefly for Military Purposes* 


Although not published until 1891-1895, this map of Texas and New Mexico was based upon information compiled by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers by 1857. From 1862 in manuscript form, Union General N. P. Banks, commander of the Union Department of the Gulf, utilized it for planning and military operations. Not surprisingly, there is a wealth of militarily important information here: forts and military camp locations, river crossings, and navigation notes, local crops, and water. Exploration, survey routes, and travel problems are identified along with two inset battleplans.


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P. Helferich after Tipton Walker

*Coast of Texas and its Defenses... 1864* 


This map from the Atlas shows Confederate defenses along the coast of Texas from the mouth of the Sabine River in the east to the Rio Grande in the south. It lists and identifies fourteen Confederate forts, all indicated in red ink, of which ten are part of the defenses of Galveston. A special inset depicts simple plans of the fourteen fortifications. The original for this map, today in the Manuscripts Department of the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina, was compiled by Captain Tipton Walker, Chief of the Topographical Bureau of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, for the Confederate Army and drawn by his Assistant Engineer Lieutenant P. Helferich in 1864. It is among the papers once belonging to Confederate Major General Jeremy Francis Gilmer, former Chief of the Engineer Bureau in Richmond, Virginia.


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George Washington Bacon (1830-1922)

*Map of the United States Showing Territory in the Possession of the Federal Union, January, 1864* 

Chromolithograph on paper, 49 x 72 cm., (London: Bacon & Co.,1864). 18/1 8003574

Prominent London map publisher George Washington Bacon issued this map of the United States in 1864 as part of his company’s extensive “Shilling Series of Maps of War” begun in 1862. With purple, green, and yellow denoting “territory claimed by the Confederates in 1861,” green and yellow denoting “military possession
of the Confederates in 1861," green denoting "territory reclaimed from Rebellion by the Federal Union," and yellow denoting territory "remaining in the possession of the Rebels as of January 1864," the map gives an excellent overview of the course of the war and the ultimately successful Union strategy of dividing the Confederacy and gradually strangling the rebellion by imposing a blockade, controlling the coasts, and cutting off trade. Thus, the map accurately shows the Southwest was isolated from the rest of the Confederacy by 1864, and only Texas, with the exception of its southern coast from Indianola south, remained under Confederate military control along with western Louisiana and southwestern Arkansas.

Davis et al., Going to Texas, pp. 78-79.

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After Anthony (Anton) R. Roessler (1826-1893)


Diazotype or blueline cyanotype on paper, 97.5 x 61 cm., ca. 1927. Originally drawn on stone by Helmut Holtz (1833-1915) and Baron Ludwig von Reizenstein (1826-1885).

This is a "modern" copy of a lithographed U.S. Army map from April 1865 "compiled & drawn by A. R. Roessler... drawn on stone by B[aron Ludwig] von Reizenstein & H[elmuth] Holtz" and "printed by W. Probert." No original copy of this map has been found, but it must have been part of the series of maps prepared in the U.S. Army's Engineer's Office, Department of the Gulf in New Orleans. The only apparent addition to the copy map since 1865 is the note at the lower right: "This is the original map used by General George A. Custer during his tour of duty in Texas." A better description might be "A Union Invasion Map of Texas."

During the war, federal forces sorely needed up-to-date information about Texas should they eventually conquer or re-occupy it. In February 1865, they received a windfall when Hungarian-born civil engineer Anthony (Anton) R. Roessler mysteriously arrived behind federal lines in Louisiana. Up to this time he had been working for the Confederates in Texas as a draftsman and clerk in charge of the Texas State Military Board's unsuccessful cannon foundry in Austin. Before the war he had worked as an assistant and draftsman on the first Geological and Agricultural Survey of Texas under chief geologist Benjamin F. Shumard. In short, Roessler had the knowledge and capability to divulge considerable information about Texas' conditions, geography, and strategic resources. He was soon working in New Orleans as an assistant engineer alongside Reizenstein, who was another former Confederate, and Helmut Holtz, a Union Navy veteran who had earlier survived the destruction of the U.S gunboat Westfield in the Battle of Galveston.

Their map here gives many more details about roads, road conditions, and availability of horse fodder, timber, and other strategic resources than were available on commercial maps of the time. For examples, east of Austin is a "Sandy Road, difficult for artillery" and around the "ordnance depot" at Marshall the "Country rolling, Supplies plentiful, Corn, Cotton" although "Beef Scarce." The information is not just the sort that could be found in a guide to Texas. Much of it is very specific. For example, "San Antonio city is surrounded North and East by hills of a uniform height from 60 to 70'; its fortifications are worthless. San Antonio Riv. is in the City fordable below Kud Lew's[illeg.] Mill, depth 3 ft. and in the Rears of Mrs. Schmidts and Hufmeyers residences and Galaghers Garden – depth one ft.; whereby the Main and the Military Plazas are accessible by way of Vance's Residence." Such is intelligence and advice for Union military planners: "Columbia, Harrisburg and Sabine Pass are important and favorable localities to hold, excellent places to direct Military operations. Houston the key of Texas is easily accessible from either of these points. Mouth of Brazos River is weakly defended."

The map may indeed have served Union forces occupying Texas following the war. The perplexing scarcity of extant copies could be due to a number of reasons. Perhaps it remained "secret," or, possibly, Roessler had copies destroyed to prevent his fellow Texans not of the Republican persuasion from knowing the extent of his federal service.
War Maps of Texas & Mexico. Designed as a Guide in the Impending Struggle for Our Union & Against French Aggression

Chromolithograph, 71 x 56 cm. (Boston: Louis Prang & Co., ca. 1862-1863). DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas.

This extremely rare map by one of the nation's finest chromolithographers apparently never went into full production. Apparently, it was originally intended as part of a series of maps relating both to a planned Union invasion of Texas and U.S. efforts, both diplomatic and military, to thwart French Emperor Napoleon III's intervention in Mexico's affairs and prevent a possible military alliance between the Confederates in Texas and the French in Mexico under Emperor Maximilian. A portrait of Union Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, Commander of the Department of the Gulf, appears at the top left of the map. Banks was first assigned to the Gulf in November 1862 when he was ordered to organize an expedition in the New England states to reinforce General Benjamin Butler in New Orleans. Banks replaced Butler as Commander of the Department of the Gulf, which included Texas, on December 17, 1862.

Boston lithographer Louis Prang & Co. probably prepared the map at this time or shortly afterward. Concentric circles surround the Texas state capitol, a hotbed of secession.

The map became largely irrelevant when Confederate forces turned back Banks' planned invasion at the Battle of Mansfield on April 8, 1864, during the Red River Campaign in western Louisiana. Nevertheless, Union troops occupied Corpus Christi, Mustang Island, and Brazos Santiago, and Union ships maintained a fairly effective blockade of the Texas coast for much of the war. The last battle of the war occurred in Texas at Palmito Ranch near Brownsville on May 13, 1865, more than a month after Lee's surrender. Finally, on June 19, 1865, Union general Gordon Granger arrived in Galveston with an occupation force and read the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves in Texas who had not received word earlier. Interestingly, the French began their withdrawal from Mexico in May 1866, and Mexican patriots executed Maximilian on June 19, 1867.

See Stephen A. Dupree, Planting the Union Flag in Texas: The Campaigns of Major General Nathaniel P. Banks in the West (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2008); Ralph A. Wooster, Texas and Texans in the Civil War (Austin, Texas: Eakin Press, 1995).
The French Intervention in Mexico, 1861-1867

The Battle of Puebla

Expenses incurred during Mexico's War of Reform prompted Mexican president Benito Juárez's government to suspend payment on Mexico's debts in July 1861. With the United States engaged in its own civil war and unable to intervene, the European powers of France, Britain, and Spain sent a joint fleet to Mexico to pressure loan repayment. With new assurances of repayment from Juárez, Britain and Spain decided to withdraw. However, the French, encouraged by Mexican royalist conservatives and the continued preoccupation of the United States with its own troubles, decided to invade Mexico and install Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico. Expecting an easy victory and hoping to link up with Confederate forces in Texas, the French were quite surprised when their plans began to unravel.

On May 5, 1862, outnumbered Mexican troops led by General Ignacio Zaragoza occupying the fortified city of Puebla defeated an attacking French Army of 6,000. Although French troops later took the city on May 17, 1863, the first battle had demonstrated that the Mexicans could offer fierce resistance to foreign invaders. Eventually, the French lost interest in Mexico and left Emperor Maximilian behind to face a Mexican firing squad.

Interestingly, Cinco de Mayo celebrations today originated with President Juárez' commemoration of the first battle of Puebla, which for many years remained a Mexican national holiday.

Eugène Andriveau-Goujon (1832-1897) et al.
Plan de la Puebla et de ses environs: Reproduction du plan publié à Mexico
Engraved transfer color lithograph, 34 x 47 cm. on sheet 48 x 59 cm., printed by (Paris: printed by Lemercier, ca. 1862-1876).

The War of the Second French Intervention in Mexico of 1861-1867 inspired this French map based upon a map published in Mexico on a scale of one centimeter equals 500 varas. With a key to fortifications, town squares, churches, and prominent buildings, it is similar to the earlier 1856 Mexican map of Puebla relating to the siege of the city during the War of the Reform, although details of individual units engaged in this battle are omitted.

José Carrasco
5 de Mayo de 1862: Periodico Ilustrado
(Mexico City, 1898), lithograph cover.

This patriotic, illustrated periodical, dating from one of the seven terms of Mexican President and dictator Porfirio Díaz, commemorates the first battle of Puebla during the War of the Second French Intervention in Mexico, also known as "the Maximilian Affair." In addition to this title page, it includes a map of the battle and immortalizes the heroes of the battle with fine lithographed portraits. These include General Ignacio Zaragoza, Diaz himself, and others.
Conclusion

A study of the maps of the United States and Mexico reveals ways in which their histories are intertwined. The popularity of the notion of “America’s Manifest Destiny” impacted two nations, both of whom – by existing on the same continent by that name – consider themselves “Americans.” And just as many historical documents reflect the importance of certain ideas and events in a certain time and place, maps from, and depicting both sides of, what is today’s U.S.-Mexico border reflect the fruits of a Manifest Destiny that came at a terrible price.
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