One of the most difficult chapters of Florida history is historical cartography of Florida or the story of the mapping of all or parts of Florida. As a matter of fact, most trained historians, anthropologists or archaeologists of the Florida scene gladly shy away when it comes to old Florida maps. This is not because old maps from the Spanish periods and the English interlude are scarce; they are plentiful. After spending a whole month working full-time with Florida maps I came to the conclusion that it is easy to accumulate as many as five hundred or more different maps made during the two Spanish and the English periods. These maps are not only Spanish or English charts but there are also many in French, especially in French archives. The early sixteenth century maps came mostly from Portugal, Italy and even Germany. In the early seventeenth century one must also look to the great Dutch map makers who produced gorgeous atlases. We have an abundance of maps, charts, diagrams, etc. dealing with Florida. But the “historico-cartographical research” (to use the expression of the great explorer and cartographer Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld) of Florida has been neglected. There is no doubt that the Atlas of Florida recently published by the University of Florida Press is of value but it is more for the layman and its historical value is only a brief summary. It never intended to be anything else. After all, history is only one of over twenty parts and it is more “a pictorial presentation of Florida’s present” than the past. The atlas is of no value for important and detailed research in historical cartography of Florida.

The difficulty lies in the dispersion of sources—all over the world—of the key Florida depositories. The libraries on the state university campuses,

*This Florida map research was undertaken thanks to a summer grant in August, 1963 from the William Clements Library of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. This grant was financed by the Lilly Endowment Foundation. I wish to express my thanks to the Clements Library and the Lilly Foundation for their generous support. No footnotes have been provided as the reader can easily detect the sources mentioned from the bibliography.
state libraries in Tallahassee, places in St. Augustine and private college libraries all have copies of many maps, but they are thrown into folders or drawers, or are lying in corners. Not a single Florida librarian is a true map expert or has dedicated himself to a systematic study of Florida maps. A few men, including Mr. David True from Miami, have undertaken map studies but their writings are highly technical and generally argumentative—trying to show that the other fellow was wrong in his interpretation of this or that map, as exemplified by the Caracci article. We lack good descriptive guides such as the one done in 1912 by the great cartographer Phillip Lee Phillips when he annotated the Woodbury Lowery collection of American maps which has a wealth of Florida charts. We need to classify the maps, keep them in order, make them available, and we need to understand them and then discuss them. None of this has been done and therefore the historian and the anthropologist avoid this pile of confusion which in reality should be one of his most important accessory tools.

I have a 140-page typed study of Sixteenth Century maps which I have selected as important to the mapping of the peninsula of Florida. The second part of the study gives biographical data of several cartographers whose studies I consider important to Florida cartography and Florida history. And in the third part I single out a man and his important cartographic contribution to the Florida scene. This is Dr. Louis C. Karpinski (1878-1956) who as Professor of Mathematics of the University of Michigan was an avid student and collector of early maps dealing with North America. He took many trips to various European archives in search for maps. His collection of photostats contains over seven hundred maps, mostly unpublished, known as the Karpinski Collection. These photostats are available in a few university libraries, but not in Florida (except a few isolated parts). I consulted the University of Michigan Karpinski Collection located at the William Clements Library of Rare Americana. I made a list of all maps dealing with Florida, exclusive of Pensacola, and copied the Karpinski annotations and I hope to publish the list in the third and last part of my above mentioned map study. My study is not technical, but is an attempt to bring some order into a confusing picture. Its purpose is also to bring an awareness of the availability of maps and their importance to Florida history. I have limited myself to the Sixteenth Century because much that has been written deals with this period and it is highly technical and arguable, therefore of limited comprehension and use as a secondary source. Then I decided to acquaint the Florida audience
with cartographers who have written about Florida, and finally I list the Florida maps of the Karpinski Collection for further studies of the mapping of Florida during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

In doing my research at the delightful and respected William Clements Library I ran into many interesting maps depicting various areas of Florida. One thing became obvious in studying the maps of the first Spanish period. The Spaniards mapped the Florida coast very well but they were deficient with regard to the interior. On the coast certain areas were far better mapped than others. The coastline from the Cape to Charleston was the best studied and recorded. The tip of the peninsula—the roundout from about Miami to Fort Myers—was the worst mapped. But the Keys were well studied and the Karpinski Collection has some exciting maps of the Keys. The Gulf coast of the panhandle was well mapped only with the permanent establishment of Pensacola in the Eighteenth century.

The same is true of the Gulf coast of the peninsula and especially its central section with Tampa Bay as the heart of this coastal area. The whole history of Tampa Bay—when it was first discovered, its subsequent importance to the Spaniards and the inability of the Spaniards to properly record the Bay—has not been studied. But I believe Spanish documentation is abundantly available. One would have to go through the rich collection of Spanish documents reaching far over one hundred thousand sheets of documents (most of them at the P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida) to locate data on Tampa Bay. There is no doubt the Spanish knew the Bay. But there also is no doubt in my mind that regardless of the Sixteenth century landings at or nearby the Bay and its appearance, erroneous as it may be, on Sixteenth century maps, exact knowledge of the Bay was always questionable and indeed it was forgotten for long intervals. As a matter of fact, there does not seem to exist—at least not located so far—a fairly detailed map of the Tampa Bay area done during the Sixteenth or Seventeenth century. Apparently the first maps we have come from the second half of the Eighteenth century—all within a short period of time. Indeed three unrelated maps of Tampa Bay have been located. Their dates are 1757, 1783, and the third is undated, but must go back to the Spanish period. This means that the first map dates back to the very end of the First Spanish Period and the 1783 map falls into the Second Spanish Period.
The 1757 map (no. 1) is probably the most detailed chart of the three here described and we know its author and we have a definite date. The adorned inscription says that it is a "chart of the great bay of Tampa, and again [named] San Fernando." It states that this bay is located at Latitude 29° west of Tenerife. It says that this chart was drawn by the order of the General Commander of the Royal naval forces in Habana, Blas de Barreda, and the Inspector of the Naval Ministry in Habana, Lorenzo de Montalva. The actual charting expedition of an unknown number of ships was under the command of the Spanish "pilot", Francisco Maria Celi. I have not searched for biographical data about Maria Celi, but I am sure that tedious efforts in the documents would result in positive data such as found about the man who composed the 1873 map. Looking for information on such a man is a long affair of trial and error but often leads to interesting new facts. This Tampa Bay map—to my mind the best of the Spanish maps—should encourage more background information which would include a search for Maria Celi.

This map is according to my experience the earliest detailed map of Tampa Bay. The map was known to the late Clarence Simpson who in his excellent Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation under the entry writes that "the first careful hydrographic survey of the present Tampa Bay appears to have been made in 1787 by Don Francisco Maria Celi, pilot of the Royal Spanish Navy, who although recognizing the then current name of Tampa, renamed it San Fernando...." Neither Simpson nor Dr. Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee, who edited the Simpson compilation, tell where they located the map or information of the map. But other historians who have written about Tampa and the Southwest coast apparently were unaware of the vital Maria Celi map. The able archaeologist, Ripley P. Bullen of the Florida State Museum in Gainesville, told this author that he was aware of the maps thanks to the courtesy of Dr. Boyd.

My copy comes from the Karpinski Collection and is listed number 193 in the William Clements Library Karpinski classification. Karpinski found the original in the Spanish Naval Museum in Madrid under the Classification 9a-2a,43 and the original is 66.4 to 47 centimeters in size. Karpinski does not tell us if it is in color but because of its exquisite drawings I assume that it must be in color. Some municipal, educational or cultural organization in the Tampa Bay area should get an exact copy of this map and display it in a conspicuous place to the public. I think it is a key document and it is an
artistic work. I am not qualified to judge the geographical or nautical accuracy of this map or the others. But I find the drawings and the names highly interesting. First of all, the map shows only one native inhabited area, where today’s Highway 41 runs between Gibsonton and Ruskin. At the same time, the map does not have the Alafia and Little Manatee Rivers in this area.

The map shows no Indian settlements in what are today the urban areas of Tampa, Clearwater and St. Petersburg. The animals depicted do not reveal any novelty. Interesting is the vegetation, and the huge tall palm clusters certainly meant that there were large palms. The name given to various spots and to the bays and rivers make a fascinating story. For example, the map proves beyond any doubt that the word Pinellas comes from the Spanish word pinal and today’s Pinellas Point has the same name as in the 1757 map where it is identified as Punta de Pinal de Ximenez. Most of the other names mentioned in the map, with some exceptions as Boca Ziega, have not survived. Only the Hillsborough and Palm Rivers were given names by Maria Celi and they were called San Julián Arriaga, and Franco respectively. Old Tampa Bay and Hillsborough Bay were named Estero Grande de Girior and Ensenada de Aguirre. All the other names should entice interesting comparisons with a modern map. I assume that the soundings and the tide lines and the coastal configurations are of great interest to cartographic and nautical experts. Naturally all kinds of implications and deductions can be made in the game of names. There are today such names as Palma Ceia and Terra Ceia and Terra Ceia Island. What does Ceia mean or from what does it derive? Attorney William Goza of the Florida Historical Society in conversation thinks that it is a derivation from the Spanish word “ceja” which usually means eyebrow but can also mean projecting part or bridge. This certainly makes much sense. But it can also be a derivative of Celi (the pilot who chartered the Tampa Bay area in 1757)—the author of this map. His name was given on this map to a small cape in Hillsborough Bay near today’s Davis Island.

There exists another version of the Celi map (no. 2) which has slight variations in the content but not in the delineation. The inscription makes it certain that this is the same Celi map first drawn in 1757. But the inscription on the upper right side of this map is somewhat different in the wording and also spoiled in one margin by the adorning frame. This inscription lacks a date but states that the vessel used by Celi was the “Xebex”
named San Francisco. A xebex is a small, three-master ship having an overhanging bow and stern and both square and lateen sails. This inscription also identifies a Lieutenant [?] Ximénez as the commander of the xebex San Francisco. It is not known if this version (no. 2) or the other version which has the date of the Celi expedition (no. 1) is the original. Apparently the No. 2 map in the heavily adorned lower left scale (not adorned in the No. 1 map) has on the very edge a date which is so tiny that every effort with all the modern means available has failed to make the date legible. The best guess is 1763. Everyone consulted, including Dr. Bullen, seems to think that no. 2 is the reproduction and no. 1 the original. The No. 2 map lacks much of the drawing of the animals and the vegetation. Only the scale box is more adorned. This No. 2 version, which we think is the reproduction, is available. It is shown in the book by Arthur P. Whitaker, Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas, p. 156. Dr. Whitaker fails to cite the date of the map and only identifies it as “Map of Tampa Bay (Eighteenth Century.)”

Our next map (no. 3) is far less detailed and is the undated map. We have no record of an author. Two versions have been located—one with English words and the other in Spanish. It obviously is a Spanish map which was used during the English Period. I feel positive that the map was done in the last decades of the First Spanish Period. This map comes from a series of maps sketching the area from St. Augustine and Jacksonville through Gainesville to Tampa Bay. These sectional maps are available in the English Crown Collection of Maps of North America: Section Three, the originals of which are in the Public Record Office in London, but have been made available as photostats in a multivolume edition by Archer Butler Hulbert. This collection is available in Florida in the library of the Florida State University in Tallahassee. This Tampa Bay chart is plate 131 of Series III of the Crown Collection and the FSU lists 1785 as the date. This to my mind is erroneous. The related maps of the St. Augustine-Gainesville area have been published by Dr. James C. Covington in his 1961 Seminole study. Covington has the more neatly drawn English version. The original Spanish maps were reproduced by me in my 1961 cattle study. But Covington reproduced the Tampa Bay section in its English version. The map presented here (no. 3) is the more detailed original Spanish version. Covington located his maps in the legal claims of Messrs. Gordon and Fish and he was unaware of their existence as originals in the Crown collection.
No. 3 — Undated Map (Original Spanish Version)
As one can see, the Spanish version has sounds in the Bay. The map is quite crude and the configuration very primitive with hardly any names. One can see that in the original version two points in the Bay are identified as Los Trabajos and El Quemado (not on the English version.) The same names in the same places are given on the 1757 map. I think that this map antedates the 1757 map. It is also interesting to note that in the Spanish version the name Zarazote is listed more or less where Sarasota is today. The English version has the name copied as Zararote. This map has its value.

Maybe the third chart* (no. 4)—the one of 1783, the first year of the second Spanish occupation—should not be included here, since the English period produced excellent maps especially by such men as Romans and Jeffreys. There is especially the often quoted Romans map of Tampa Bay of 1774 (no. 5). This is the one which all researchers know and which is continually cited when the history of Tampa Bay is discussed. Consequently it is not described here as I was interested in presenting new maps with new information. But I must say that all the three maps described here should be compared with the English charts, especially the Romans Tampa Bay map. It must also be said that both Romans and especially Andrew Ellicott in his important journal published in 1802 (republished 1962), speak of a careful survey done at a very early date—before Maria Celi—of Tampa Bay by Captain Braddock. The vital Ellicott Journal first published in 1802 was apparently unknown to Simpson, Ellicott wrote, “On the West side of East Florida it affords two remarkable fine harbors: One is known by the name of Hillsborough Bay (Bay Tampa [sic] or Spirito Santo). The latitude is 27° 36’ N. and the longitude 83° West from Greenwich. It is very spacious, and will admit any vessel over the bar not drawing more than twenty-four feet water. The first Englishman who explored, and gave an account of this bay was a Capt. Braddock who commanded a privateer from Virginia and cruised on the west coast of East Florida, in the years 1744 and 1745: his survey is yet considered as good as any extant (p. 27).” No Braddock map has been located—apparently the survey and map are lost. The Maria Celi map still remains the earliest known map of Tampa.

The 1783 Spanish chart (no. 4) is the Tampa map of José de Evia which I stated might not totally fit into our scheme because it belongs to the Second Spanish Period. I located my copy in the Karpinski Collection and the Clements Library classification is Map No. 164. Karpinski found the original

*See page 98
in the archives of the Spanish Ministry of War at Madrid. Evia had other maps of great interest to Florida. This one (no. 4) is a chart of Tampa Bay. It covers a much wider area than the Celi map. It remains for a trained cartographer to determine which of these two maps has the most correct measurements. In my inexpert opinion the Evia map has not been influenced by Celi or Romans.

At the same time that I was working with Spanish maps Professor Jack D. L. Holmes of the University of Alabama, Birmingham Center, and a friend of mine was unearthing much data about Evia in Spain. He composed an article entitled "Two Spanish Expeditions to Southwest Florida, 1783-1793" which is the story of the Evia sailing to the Florida coast in 1783 and that of another Spaniard, Vicente Folche y Juan in 1793. At my suggestion Dr. Holmes submitted the article to Tequesta where it will see print in this issue. The Folch report of Tampa Bay—a vital document—was published by Kinnaird. Folch attached a map to the report which was not located by me and no reference is made to the map by Kinnaird or Holmes. The Folch and Braddock charts should be searched as they will add to and complete the story of important maps of Tampa Bay.

The Evia map contains names that are marked with numbers in the appropriate places. These names and their corresponding numbers are: 1) Cape of the Pasaje; 2) Cape of the Cruz; 3) Aguada, watering station of the Toneles; 4) Cape of the Aguada; 5) Ranch of Juaquin; 6) Cape of the Sabalos; 7) Point of the Pinal; 8) The point of Piedra; 9) The inlet of the point of Piedra; 10) a river of sweet water; 11) Point and inlet of Siboro. Evia in his map lists Tampa as being located at latitude 27° and 36' and longitude 29° West of Tenerife. The small boats drawn on the map mean that these are places where Evia stopped to take measurements and soundings. The original map is in color and portrays the various tide limits. I have not found what the three A's mean. Evia has a report of the Bay which is in the possession of Professor Holmes who will publish it in a forthcoming book. But some information of the life of Evia is provided in the Holmes article.

I have discussed briefly three different Spanish maps which I think are basic for the study of Tampa Bay—these three maps are little known. They should be added to the Romans map which is the best known. I repeat, in order to complete the story we must look for the early Braddock chart and the later Folch map. The historian and anthropologist should also become acquainted with the written Evia report of Tampa Bay which Professor
Holmes will publish in his book and the Folch report published by Kin-
naird. I am sure that true and dedicated research will produce additional
sources. The early story of the chartering, exploration and settlement of
Tampa Bay has not yet been told with accuracy. I think it can be done by
tedious but rewarding research.

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