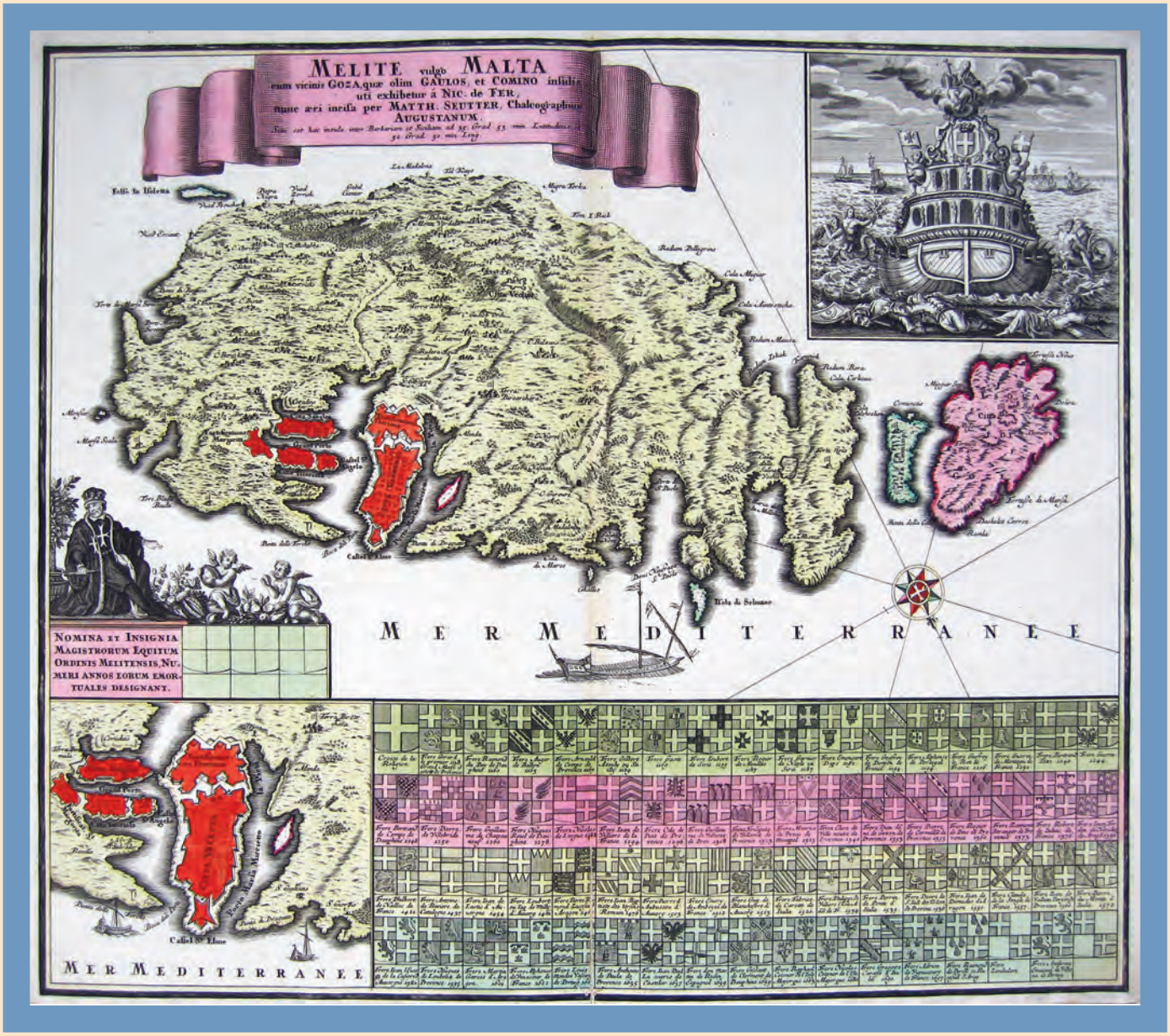
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Winter 2011 *Number 127*



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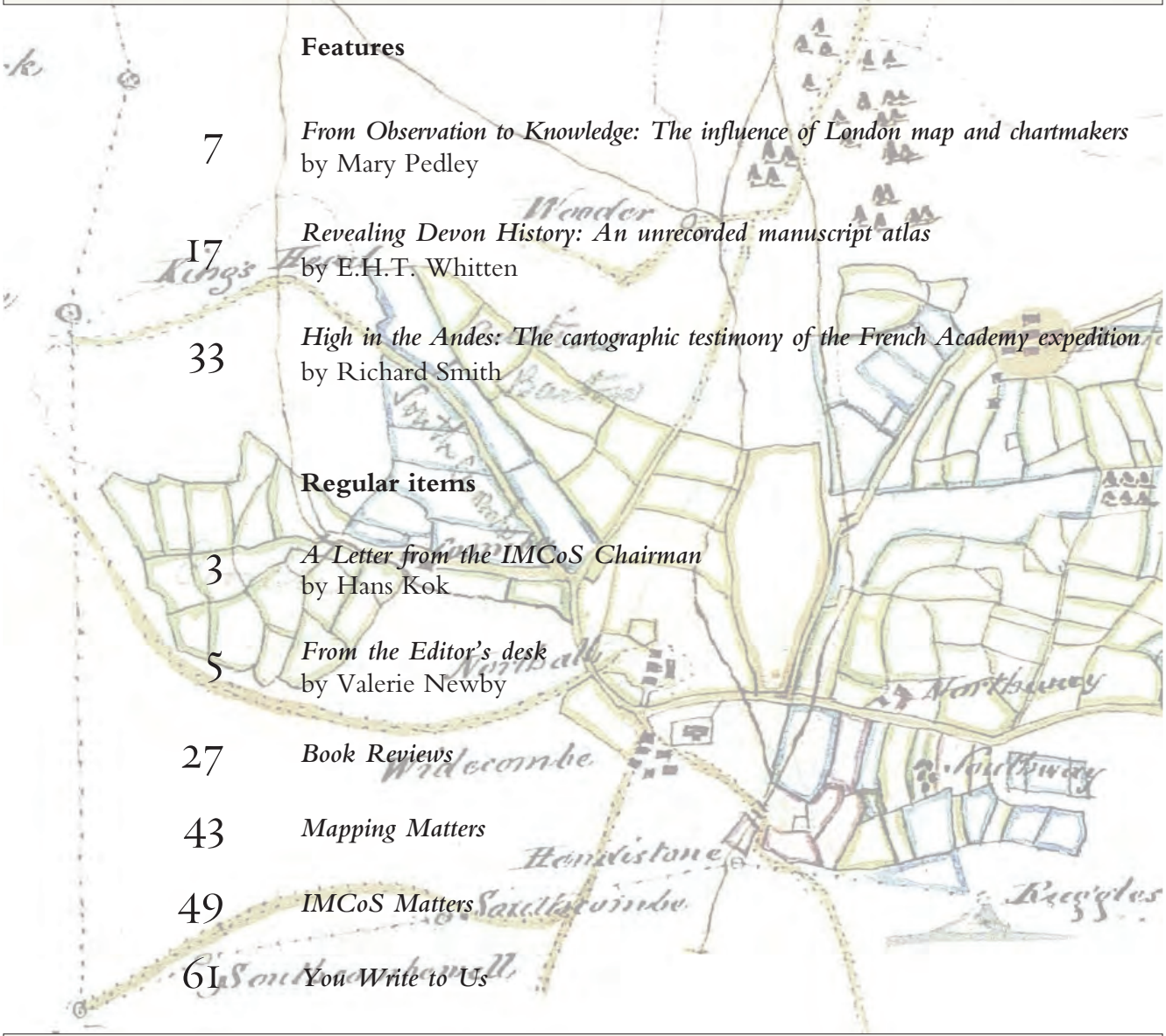
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Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society

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Having just returned from the Symposium in Malta, I find the weather here much cooler and I sorely miss the splendid view from the hotel terrace where we had breakfast each day. That Malta, and in particular Valletta, is steeped in history is not really news, but looking at their fortresses and ramparts close up and touring the beautiful harbours of the city makes one wonder what might have happened to European history had the Great Siege by the Turks (which began in 1565) ended otherwise. Not to mention Malta's later contribution as a forward Naval and Air Force base in the Mediterranean Sea. More news on the Malta Symposium elsewhere in the *Journal* but 'thank you' to the young (formed two years ago) Malta Map Society for organising such a rewarding symposium in such a short time, and for your hospitality! We hope to meet you all again next year in Vienna for the 2012 International Symposium.

One thing I particularly noticed and thought worth mentioning was the 'Kid's Corner' at the exhibition on German maps of Malta held in the Malta Maritime Museum. It introduced youngsters to cartography in a playful way, asking them to perform various requests on the computer like drawing a compass rose and colour it in different ways, thus bringing cartography closer without really trying. Perhaps this is an approach that might be applied by the organisers of other exhibitions.

Our new website is nearing completion and we all look forward to seeing it active online. Valerie is eager to get some more information on the website into this *Journal* and I do hope we will manage something before the stop-press date. There will be a subtle change to the well known IMCoS logo; we will be keeping the logo intact as far as the general appearance is concerned (as it has branding value after so many years of use). However, a small alteration was due as the logo was not directly expressing a relation to maps and cartography at first sight. The semi-globe ø in IMCoS, fostered I believe by Yasha Beresiner, will be replaced by a compass rose 'O' with protruding compass points which we hope will make the cartographic implication clearer. The colours of magenta and black will remain unchanged.

The season for auctions and exhibitions is on us once more whilst the internet is also full of information and even maps maybe. Digitizing archives and maps may be the way for better conservation (which is in our IMCoS statutes as well) but feeling and smelling the old paper of a map is in itself much more rewarding to the cartophile collector than reading a digital file. On the other hand, the digital magnification that a high resolution image will allow is also something that has great merit for the collector. Maybe a matter of generation gap: not everything new is an improvement, not everything old is obsolete by virtue of being old. Or vice versa, neither is everything new superfluous, nor is everything old to be kept forever unchanged. Drawing a compass rose on the computer is fun; listening to history tales related to maps is both intriguing and rewarding. I wish you a season of intriguing maps and lots of fun in exploring them. Also, on behalf of your Executive Committee I wish all IMCoS members and their families Happy Holidays and an even Happier New Year wherever you may be.

Hans Kok

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From the Editor's Desk

by Valerie Newby

This autumn saw around 50 members of IMCoS in Malta at a wonderful international symposium organised by the Malta Map Society. Not only did the Mediterranean sun warm us through all day, every day, but the committee of the MMS were on hand at every turn to assist and advise. It will be a long time before I forget the sight of Claude Micallef Attard, their treasurer, running around looking after everyone and making sure no-one got left behind. On one occasion Kitty Liebrich was late but without making any fuss the bus turned round and went back for her. Another abiding memory will be their wonderful President, Dr Ganado, who acts more like a 40-year-old than an octogenarian. He attended all the events and stood for long periods without any complaint. He showed us round his historic house (see *IMCoS Journal* 126 pp.41-45 'The House that Maps Built: a very special family home in Valletta.') which contains several flights of marble stairs which may hold the clue to his longevity! Also, the powerhouse of all the organisation was the Secretary, Joseph Schirò, who had attended to every detail. This despite having a full time job as head of the conservation division within Heritage Malta, the national agency entrusted with the management of museums, sites and their collections. The memory of those 4 days will stay with me for a very long time. See reports in IMCoS Matters.

Now we must move on to this issue of the Journal. I am honoured that Mary Pedley has found time in her busy schedule to write an article for us based on the talk she gave last year at the London IMCoS symposium about the commercial power and influence of London map and chartmakers in the 18th century. There are fewer people who collect maps of the 18th century than of earlier eras probably because, as somebody told Mary, cartographers "begin to get things right" and collectors prefer 17th century maps with their geographic 'errors'. Mary is a busy lady who not only acts as an Associate Editor to *Imago Mundi* but is currently Editor (with Matthew Edney) of Volume IV of the *History of Cartography*; a very time consuming project. Then we stay in the 18th century with an article by Richard Smith about an expedition to South America to measure the



meridian and the maps that resulted. It is difficult to grasp the fact that at that time scientists were not certain about the true size and shape of the earth and expeditions to resolve this question encountered untold difficulties and dangers. No first class hotels and airliners in those days!

In complete contrast geologist and an ex-treasurer of IMCoS, Tim Whitten, describes the discovery of previously unrecorded old maps, a "special thrill" which all map collectors feel when that happens. Excitement is enhanced when the map is one of 47 bound into an atlas found in a small country book dealer's topography stock. See Tim's article on page 17.

All this plus all your usual sections: IMCoS Matters and Mapping Matters, readers' letters, book reviews etc. Please keep sending in your contributions because this is your journal to pore over and enjoy and we want to involve as many of you as we can.

Season's Greetings to every one of you.

PS. PLEASE DO NOT FORGET TO PAY YOUR MEMBERSHIP FOR 2012 PROMPTLY. A RENEWAL NOTICE IS ENCLOSED WITH THIS JOURNAL.

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From Observation to Knowledge

The commercial power and influence of London map and chartmakers

by Mary Pedley

A map collecting friend of mine once commented that he did not like maps from the 18th century because "they begin to get things right." For him, the geographic 'errors' found in maps of earlier periods gave him that satisfying pleasure of recognizing the benighted earlier map. But such a neglect of maps from the age of the Enlightenment misses a chance to witness how maps absorbed and displayed the changed mind set brought about by the new scientific thinking and technical advances during that long period.

The connection between science and mapping forms the heart of Volume Four of the *History of Cartography* (The University of Chicago Press), which I edit with Matthew Edney. *Cartography in the European Enlightenment* explores the relationship between maps, technology, and scientific inquiry during the period from *c.*1650 to *c.*1800. While it is always dangerous to ascribe any single cause to major change, there was one development that altered the course of mapmaking forever: a simple piece of ground glass ~ the lens.



Fig.1
Galileo Galilei,* Sidereus Nuncius,** ***Venice 1610. (By courtesy of the Special Collections Library, The University of Michigan: QB 41 .G158si). Galileo's images of the moon show the results of his observations with a telescope.

Fig.2 J.F.W. DesBarres, surveyor with telescope from Six views of Cape Breton Island (L4377 © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London). The telescope aided accurate sighting and angle measurement, even in the precarious circumstances shown here. J.F.W. Des Barres, the Swiss born British surveyor, was in charge of coastal surveys of North America in the latter half of the 18th century. In this illustration from his* Atlantic Neptune, *the doughty surveyor takes measurements of the Gut of Canso near Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St Lawrence.

The magnifying lens as used in the telescope and microscope boosted *observation* as the means to understanding the earth, its relationship to the sun and other planets, its rotation and gravity, even its shape [Fig.1]. On the ground surveyors found that the telescope allowed them to see more distant objects and to measure the angles between objects more accurately than ever before. Maps were the graphic device best suited to record these observations, both celestial and terrestrial [Fig.2].

Observation and repeated observation became part of the process that was now called the 'scientific method,' which presumes that in order to understand a phenomenon observed in nature, a hypothesis is created about the event, further observations are made of similar events or the event itself is recreated (the experiment) in various circumstances. The simulated or similar event is observed and measured carefully, and the results of those observations either confirm or refute the hypothesis. If confirmed, the hypothesis is accepted as *true*. This acceptance of an observed and tested 'truth', as opposed to a god-given or divinely revealed truth, marked the way for a secular age, one in which we still live (and whose value we still debate)

The emphasis on observation, or 'seeing is believing,' meant that mapping and map-making became part of a larger movement in which visualising phenomena, whether terrestrial or celestial, was an integral part of understanding the world and how it functions. Cartography's quest for accuracy mirrored the scientific method of the laboratory: maps could record observations and allow the map user to test those observations by verifying or correcting earlier maps. While not always successful, the map increasingly assumed the role, rightly or wrongly, of truth-giver.

London, too, played a large role in this scientific revolution. As the telescope and microscope opened a world of observation to the inquisitive amateur scientist, like-minded observers gathered informally in salons and libraries to compare their observations and to correspond with the similarly inclined throughout Europe. Informal gatherings gradually formalised into scientific societies. The learned Society at Gresham College, formed in 1660, became the Royal Society in 1662; its early members included Isaac Newton, Robert Hooke, and Edmond Halley, making London an intellectual centre for science in Europe. The Royal Society's



foundation coincided with the restoration of Charles II to the throne, inaugurating a period of peace and growth for Britain. With the Dutch wars over, the Civil War passed and a constitutional monarchy at hand, England was poised to prosper.

Peace-time travel, the spread of scientific academies, and the increased formal and informal exchange of ideas among the scientifically minded, were tied together by the world of print. The book, print, and map trade flourished in three cities particularly: London, Amsterdam, and Paris. All three shared the four characteristics required for a vibrant map trade: capital, the 'can-do' of a skilled workforce, consumers, and cartographic content.

Location provided a singular source of London's cartographic power. The river Thames gave her access to the sea and a port protected by the long mouth of the tidal river, a safe and successful trade route, accompanied by information and money. London not only enjoyed the capital of trade, it was also the capital of a constitutional monarchy, the shared power between Parliament and the Crown. With shared power, wealth and capital were also shared not just within the aristocracy and the traditional land-owning class but also further down the social ladder. Wealth diffused from one centre of society to many, through the inextricable link between government influence and trade, both at home and through the British colonies overseas.

Another source of capital came from London's growing population, rapidly expanding from half a million in the 1670s to just over a million in 1800. Not only were country folk moving to town but foreigners were also swelling the streets. London's Protestant identity attracted particular immigrant communities, such as the Huguenots from France, forced to leave by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Their ranks comprised a skilled workforce of engravers, instrument makers, and surveyors, who settled in London in Spitalfields and Soho, close to centres of the map trade.

In this climate of growth and prosperity, the map trade flourished, aided by weak if any government control. There were few or no 'secrecy' sanctions on geographic information, as found in nations with either strong monarchies or highly centralised bureaucracies around a royal house.

Can-do: skilled labour

Skilled labour in a relatively open market backed London's claim as a premier centre for printed cartography. A decrease in guild regulation allowed wider social access to the printing profession, once the preserve of the Stationers Company. The copperplate print trade, using the roller press, was freer still from guild regulation. There were ample numbers of copper plate founders, copper plate engravers, paper makers, ink manufacturers, and copperplate printers, and room for expansion. As Laurence Worms has shown, many of those associated with the London map trade began their careers as apprentice engravers, gradually becoming map publishers, as opportunity and capital allowed[1]. Map printers and publishers benefited from the growth in opportunities for education, particularly in the backbone subject of mapmaking: mathematics.

Practical mathematics was not part of the Classical curriculum pursued by the privileged classes; applied mathematics was for tradesmen. But the trades were expanding, and maths was always needed for administration (taxation, duties,



Fig.3
Jonas Moore* A new Systeme of Mathematicks... designed for the use of the Royal foundation of the mathematical school in Christ-Hospital, *London 1681. (By courtesy of the Special Collections Library, The University of Michigan: QA 33 M83.)

Fig. 4 Hermann Moll,* A New and Exact Map of France, *London 1710. The cartouche shows the Paris and Greenwich observatories. (By courtesy of the Map Library, The University of Michigan)

exchange rates) and for science (especially in astronomy and for navigation). King Charles II appreciated these needs; to train mathematicians and navigators he founded the Royal Mathematical School with a second Royal Charter (1673) granted to Christ's Hospital, the private school founded for the poor of London by King Edward VI (1553). His Naval Secretary, Samuel Pepys, was Vice President of Christ's Hospital, and members of the Royal Society such as Isaac Newton, Jonas Moore, John Flamsteed, and Edmund Halley helped to design the curriculum [Fig.3]. In its wake, many other schools proliferated throughout the city. Surveyors and instrument makers advertised courses on mathematics and navigation in daily newspapers and broadsheets. Student handbooks recommended the purchase of maps and globes for understanding the application of maths to geography.



As mathematical training increased, so did the trade for mathematical instrument makers, for whom telescopes and other instruments incorporating magnifying lenses were the bread and butter. They benefited from England being richly endowed with flint glass which made the best achromatic lens (the lens with no colour and no aberration), a natural resource insuring her position as a European centre of instrument production. The early establishment of the Royal Observatory (1675) at Greenwich, in parallel with the Royal Observatory in Paris (1667), emphasized the importance of the telescope and observation [Fig.4].

Instrument makers moved beyond the circle of tradesmen by their participation in scientific debate which helped several become Fellows of the Royal Society: George Graham (as a physicist), James Short (astronomer), Edward Nairne, and John Dolland and his son George, and their most famous protégé, Jesse Ramsden. Their instruments were not just reliable and accurate equipment for expeditions of exploration; they were prestige items as well. Jesse Ramsden's sextant was used on the round the world expedition of Jean François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse (1785-1788); a Ramsden quadrant was provided to Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni's survey of the Kingdom of Naples (published 1787-1812). His theodolites were used in the great triangulation connection between Paris and Greenwich observatories in 1787.

Consumers

Private capital from all sections of society supported cartography. Aristocracy, lower peerage, landed gentry, and the merchant class all bought maps, adding them to their personal libraries. They also hired surveyors to make maps of their estates and gardens. The spread of education and increased literacy created a demand for maps for children (dissected maps; map games and playing cards), for ladies (fans), for home decoration (on screens, on walls, on porcelain), and for popular newspapers and weekly magazines [Fig.5].

The social profile of consumers is revealed in subscriptions for map enterprises, whereby capital was provided before the venture, a financing process almost unheard of in countries like Spain or Portugal where the reading public was much smaller and available disposable income was restricted to the few. When published, the subscription list established a map's credentials by displaying the names of the rich and famous among its numbers. To the modern reader, the list reveals the wide social range of map users in English society, from aristocrat to apothecary, from governor to goldsmith [Fig.6].

The military relied on the private market for their cartographic supplies. Neither the Navy nor the army consistently maintained a central mapping agency until the end of the 18th century with the establishment of the Hydrographic Office (1795) and the Ordnance Survey (1790). Even with the establishment of the Army's engineering corps, its

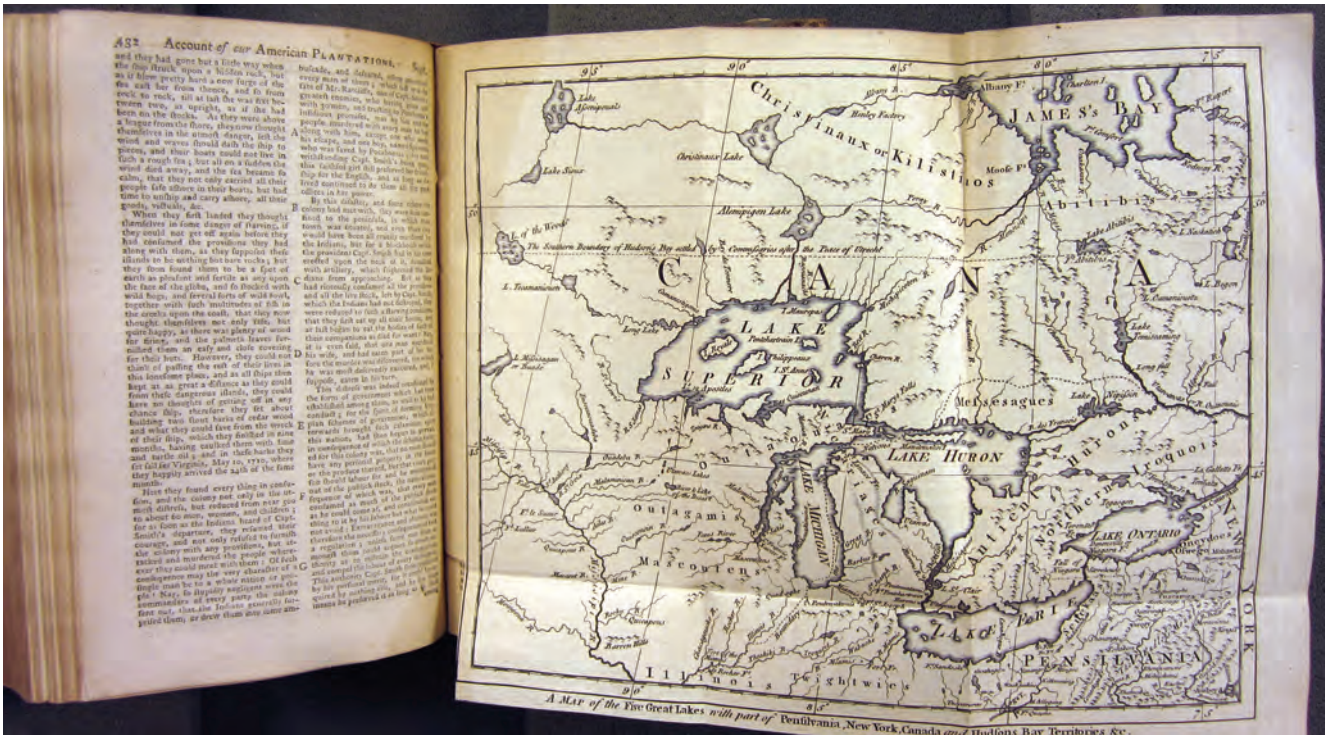


Fig.5
A map from the* London Magazine *Vol.24, 1755 opposite page 432. (By courtesy of the William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan). Maps were common features in magazines such as this, a compendium of news, opinion, reviews, social and financial information. This map of the North American Great Lakes accompanies an 'Account of our American Plantations' and copies the work of French mapmaker J.N. Bellin.

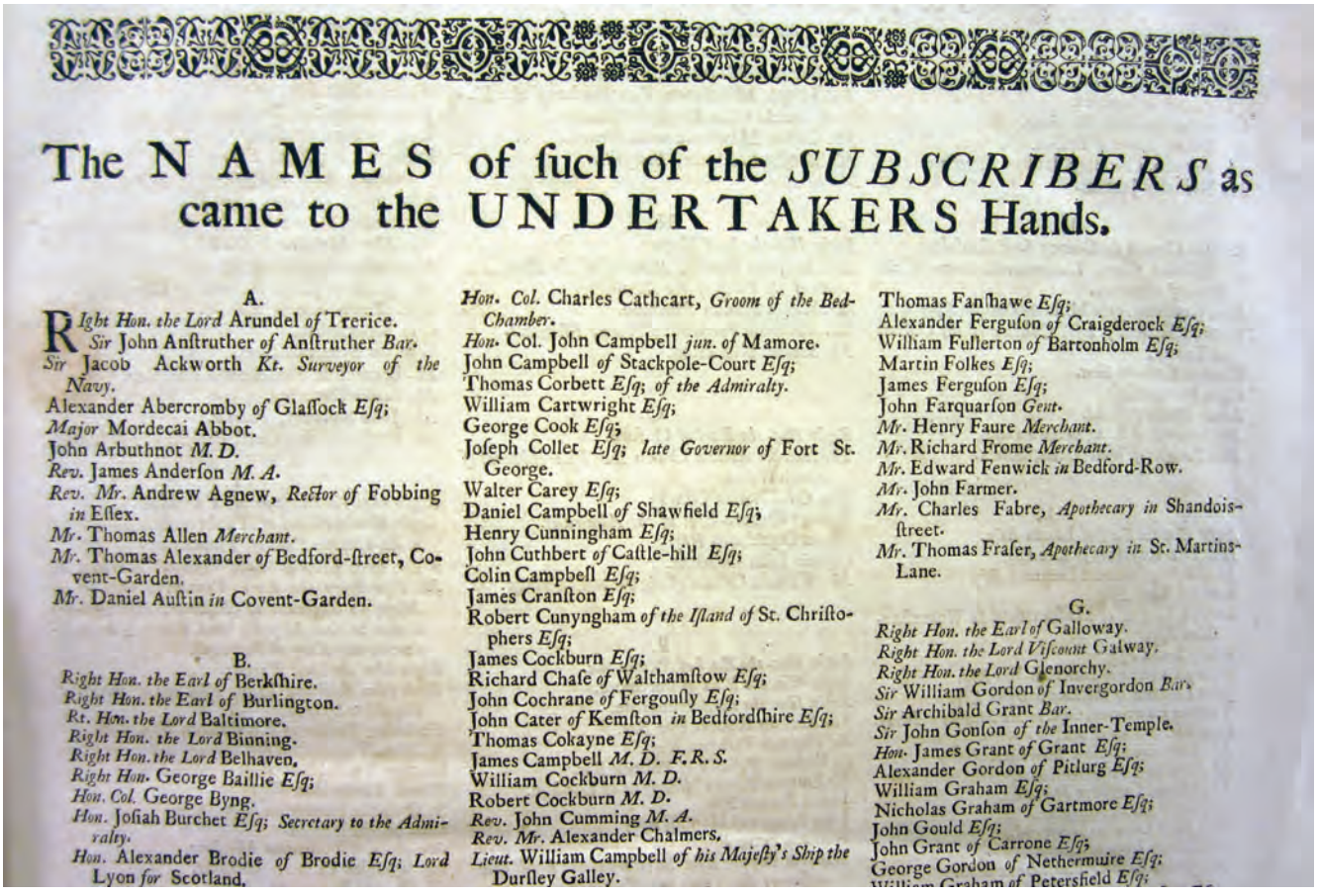
officers found a profitable outlet for their work with London engravers and publishers, eager for new and topical sources of content for their maps.

Contents

The map trade relied on up-to-date contents or the semblance of up-to-date, to be competitive with maps from the Continent. London's map trade could rely on military reconnaissance and colonial surveyors for overseas information and on local surveyors for first hand mapping within the British Isles. Maps based on personal observation and measurement were usually intended for a limited audience and remained in manuscript. However, several types of large-scale map created from observation appealed to the London market: the city plan, the garden plan (usually of a stately home or aristocratic residence), the news map, the battle plan (particularly during the war of American independence), the fortification plan, and finally, the county survey. County surveys were encouraged by the Society of Arts for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, founded in 1754. The Society (later to become the Royal Society of Arts) offered handsome prizes (£100 to begin with, later increased to 100 guineas) for the 'accurate survey of any county, on a scale of one-inch-to-a- mile'. This incentive by a primarily private body encouraged a continued improvement in instruments and in surveying techniques. Such features served as advertising slogans, as by Thomas Jefferys on his map of Bedfordshire (1765): 'the great angles taken by theodolite, Roads measured by Chain and transcribed on the Plain Table in the Field'.

When the public demand could not be satisfied by local London production, London mapmakers and print sellers bought material from abroad, using continental sources as much as possible, from Dutch publishing houses, German publishers like Homann in Nuremburg or Seutter in Augsburg; Paris geographer-publishers like Delisle, Buache, d'Anville, Robert de Vaugondy and Le Rouge. The process of compilation might involve actually reading various travel accounts and comparing different maps and reports; or it might simply involve copying a map and adding the imprimatur 'based on the latest and most accurate observations.' [Fig.7]

Since most London map publishers came out of the print and graphic arts community, they had little claim to be scientific themselves. Their role, as they seemed to have seen it, was to disseminate and profit from geographical or scientific work initiated by others. They packaged "science" in attractive



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Fig.6 Subscription list, John Senex:* Atlas Maritimus, *1728 (By courtesy of William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan: W-1-C) Subscriptions were popular and useful ways of raising capital for mapping and atlas projects. When printed, they reveal much about the society which consumed maps. As this portion of the subscription list shows, the range of map users included the high aristocracy (Lord Arundel, Lord Burlington) as well as apothecaries and merchants.

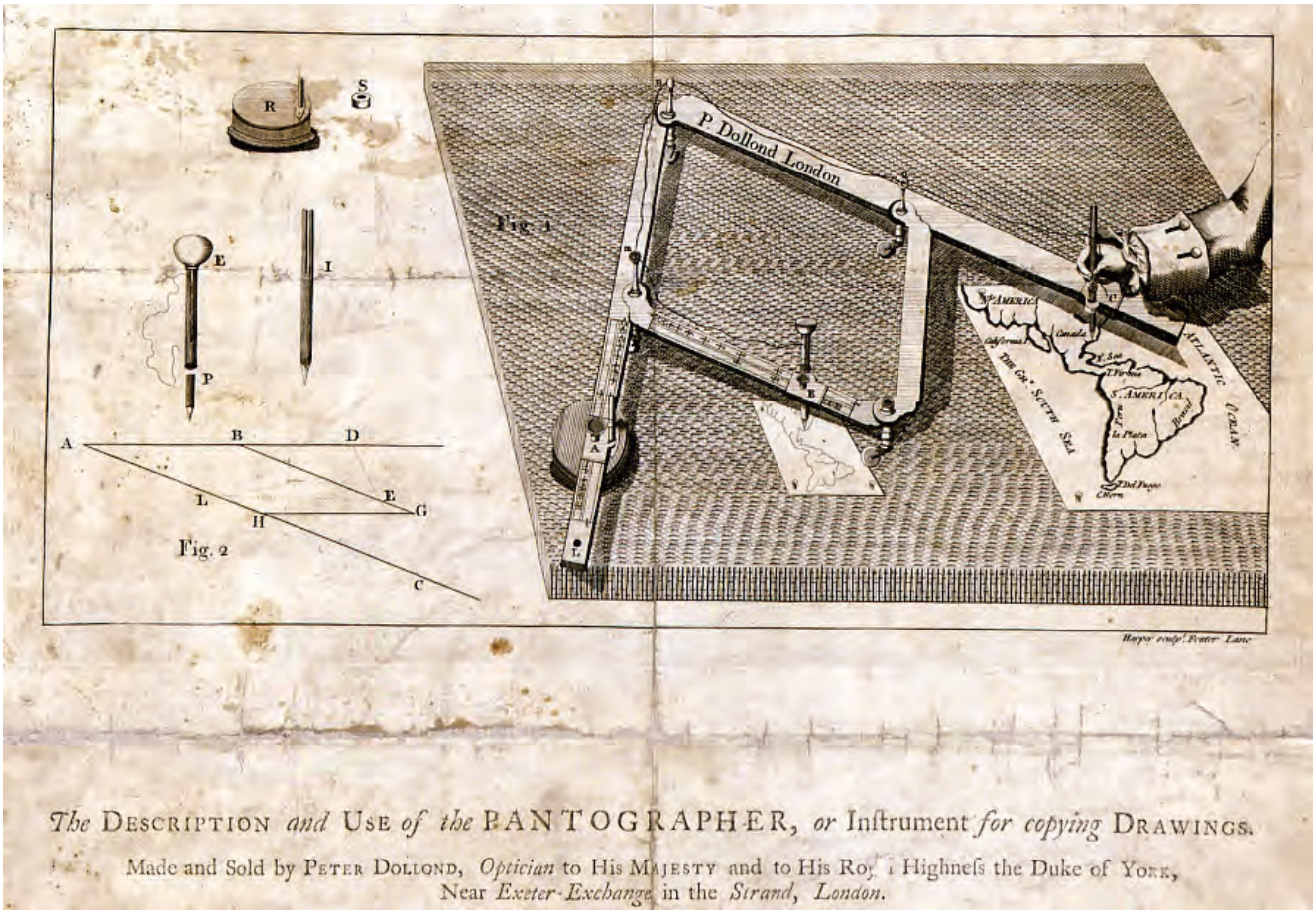
ways at affordable prices. It was the challenge to the mapmaker and publisher to try to incorporate the science in an attractive way. Emblematic of this effort is the large four-sheet world map of Samuel Dunn, 'Scientia Terrarum et Coelorum'.

Dunn himself is typical of what Enlightenment London could offer. From obscure background in Devon, with some training in mathematics, by the age of 19 he was keeping his own school, teaching writing, accounts, navigation, and other mathematical sciences. In 1751 he was in London, teaching and giving private lessons, and inventing 'universal planispheres to teach spherical geometry without the expense of purchasing actual globes.' His stream of textbooks covered various aspects of mathematics and navigation, and by 1758 he was master of an academy at Ormond House, Paradise Row, Chelsea, where there was a good observatory from which he observed a comet in 1760 and the transit of Venus in 1761. He was involved with the East India Company as a recognized teacher, prepared charts for this same company and was authorised by the Board of Longitude to sign certificates of competence for ships' masters. He invented different instruments for measuring angles and improved upon the design for the pantographer. He was held in high enough regard that the Astronomer Royal invited him to observe the 1769 transit of Venus from the Royal Observatory in Greenwich. Though never a member of the Royal Society, he submitted papers and projects to that august body.

In this map, published in 1772 [Fig.8], Dunn has derived his two hemispheres from the French geographer d'Anville (as he tells us in a later edition of the map). He has added a compendium of all the phenomena of the nature that the telescope could provide: the map of the moon (based on the observations of Riccioli), the solar system, the planets and the analemma (which traces the relationship between the path of earth and that of the sun). He also created a scientific encyclopedia on four sheets. His Latin title evokes both the language of science – for Latin remained an international *lingua franca* even at this time – and renames the world map as the "knowledge of the lands and heavens," drawing upon the root of 'scientia' from the verb 'to know.'

From observation to knowledge, the power of London's map trade succeeded in making knowledge both beautiful and accessible by means of the map.

Fig. 7
Peter Dollond. The Description and use of the pantographer, or instrument for copying drawings, 1766 (By courtesy of Jonathan Potter Ltd.) Copying maps was time and cost saving for many map publishers. The instrument shown here, the 'pantographer' (literally the 'everything writer') could copy and, with adjustments to the mechanism, reduce or expand the size of the image, allowing maps to be reproduced at a variety of scales.



The DESCRIPTION *and* USE *of the* PANTOGRAPHER, *or* Inſtrument *for copying* DRAWINGS.

Made and Sold by PETER DOLLOND, *Optician* to His MAJESTY and to His Roy[illegible] Highneſs the Duke of YORK,
Near *Exeter-Exchange* in the *Strand*, *London*.

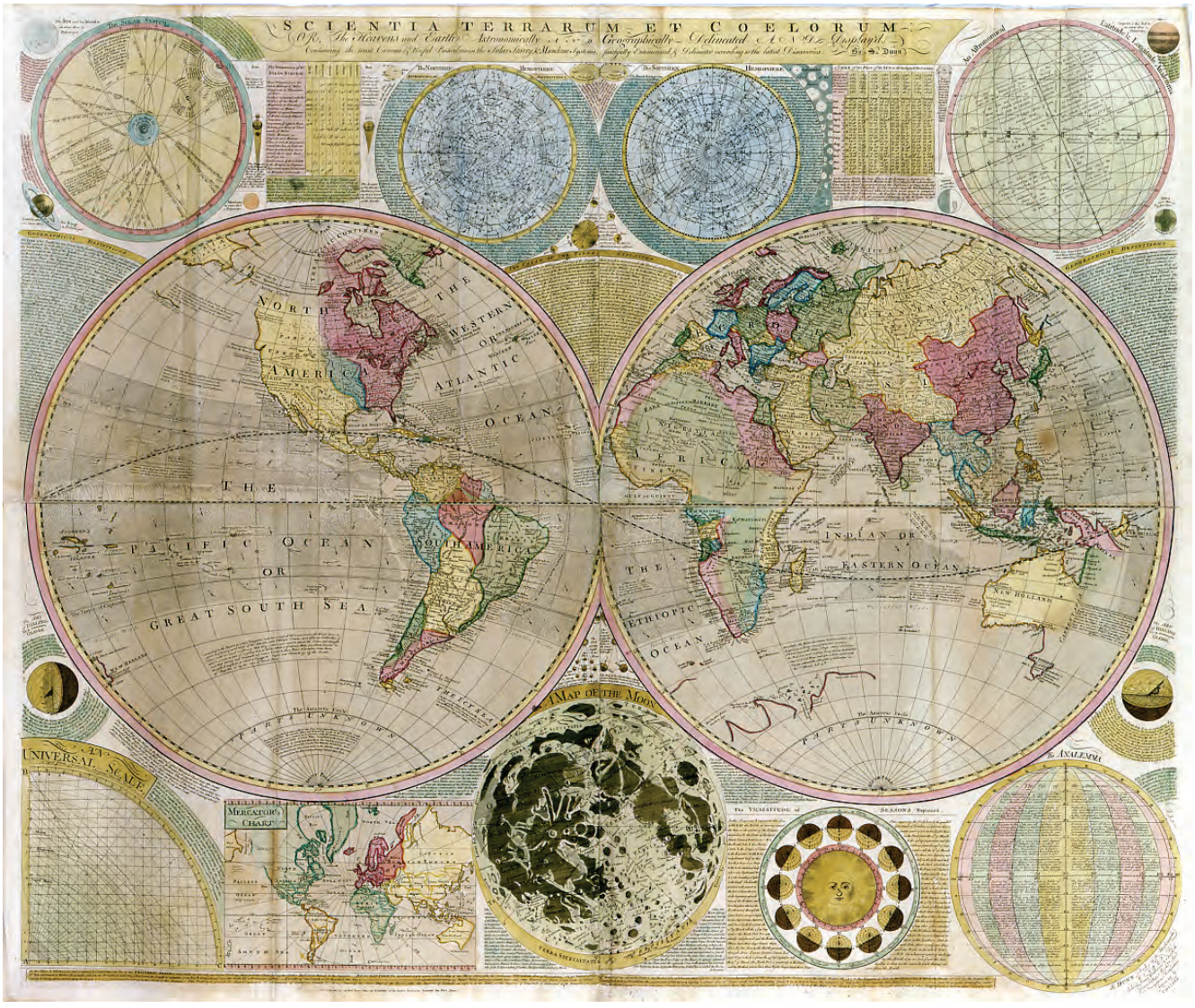


Fig.8 Samuel Dunn's* Scientia Terrarum et Coelorum, *1772. (By courtesy of Jonathan Potter Ltd.) Dunn's encyclopedia of a world map, printed on four sheets, was very large and suitable for hanging on a wall. When coloured, as in this issue, it made a magnificent display of information from astronomical to terrestrial.

Notes

1. Laurence Worms and Ashley Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers: a dictionary of engravers, lithographers and their principal employers to 1850*, London 2011

This article is based on a talk given by Mary Pedley during the IMCoS International Symposium held in London last year. Mary is assistant curator at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, USA, and is currently editor (with Matthew Edney) of Volume Four of the monumental *History of Cartography*. She is also Associate Editor of *Imago Mundi*. Her research interest focuses on map production in 18th-century France, with published work including *Bel et Utile: The work of the Robert de Vaugondy family of mapmakers* (1992).



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Revealing Devon History

An unrecorded manuscript atlas

by E.H.T. Whitten

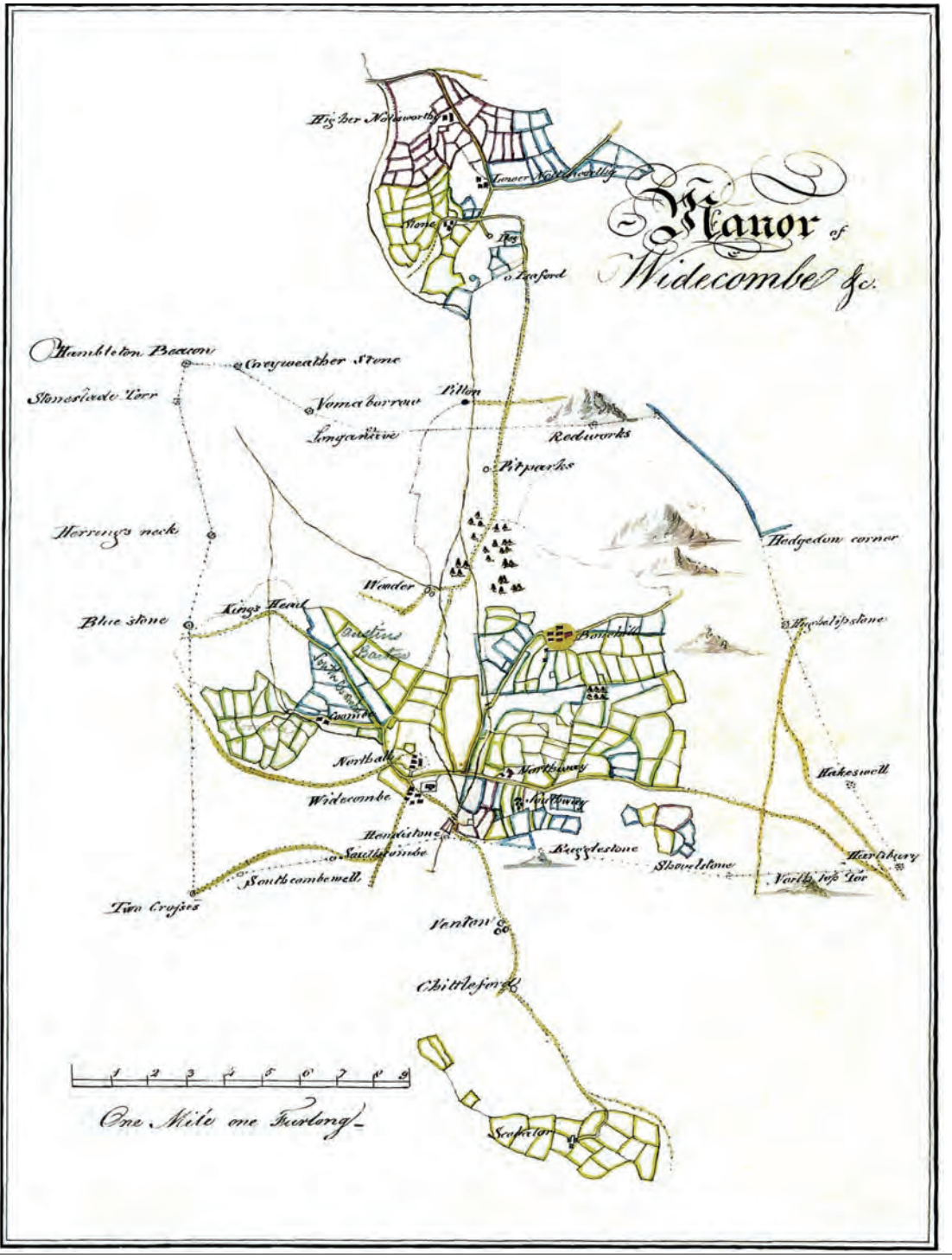


Fig.1
Lord Ashburton's Manor of Widecombe &c.

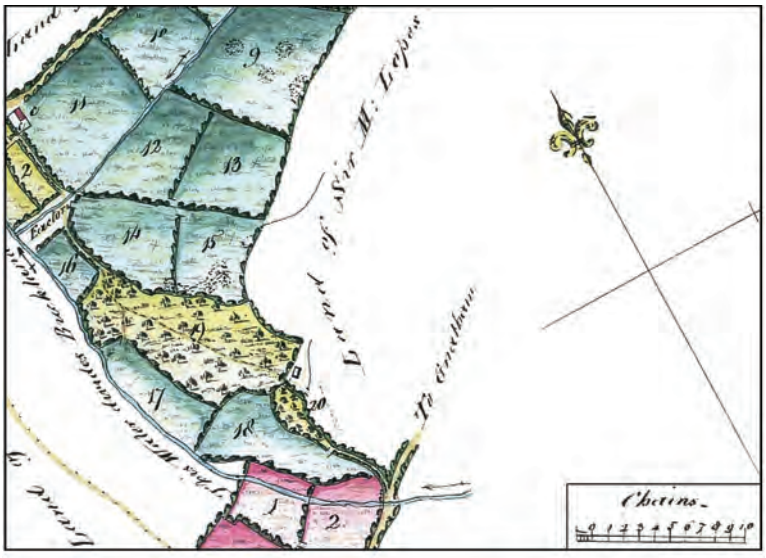


Fig.2 Small part of penultimate map (Walkhampton and Buckland Monachorum) showing hedges, vegetation, gates, neighbouring property ownership, etc

There is a special thrill associated with discovering previously unrecorded old maps, especially if containing new historical information about much-studied areas. Excitement is enhanced when they are in a bound atlas of 47 maps found, four or five years ago, in a small country book-dealer's topography stock. Specific examples will illustrate the historical significance of the maps found.

Ravenhill and Rowe described all known pre-1840 Devon manuscript maps[1]. In a 2010 supplement, they highlighted the arbitrary way new finds (including two atlases) came to light[2]. With the steadily increasing interest in local history, new maps are bound to be located.

A black and white image of a handsome 1772-1804 manuscript map of the Barton of Sandridge, Stoke Gabriel, was later published by Yallop[3]. The back cover of the journal containing that paper showed a small colour reproduction of this map, which is from an unrecorded atlas of Lord Ashburton's numerous Dartmoor and South Hams estates.

The two Lords Ashburton

Upon Rev. John Wotton's death in 1746, most of his extensive Devon estates were devised under his Will to three trustees for 99 years for them to raise £2,000 for his only child, Anna Maria, an infant. Proceedings in Chancery soon ensued to resolve multiple complications during the trustees' administration; eventually, the Court decreed the residual term of the 99-year trust for the estates be sold at auction.

These estates included the manors and lordships of Widecombe-in-the-Moor and Spitchwick, both on Dartmoor within the River Dart catchment area of Devon. At auction in 1769, the residual term (some 76 years) under the trust was bought for £4,700 by John Dunning (Solicitor General and MP for Calne, Wiltshire); the properties were to revert to Wotton's heirs in 1845. Dunning built a fine house at Spitchwick

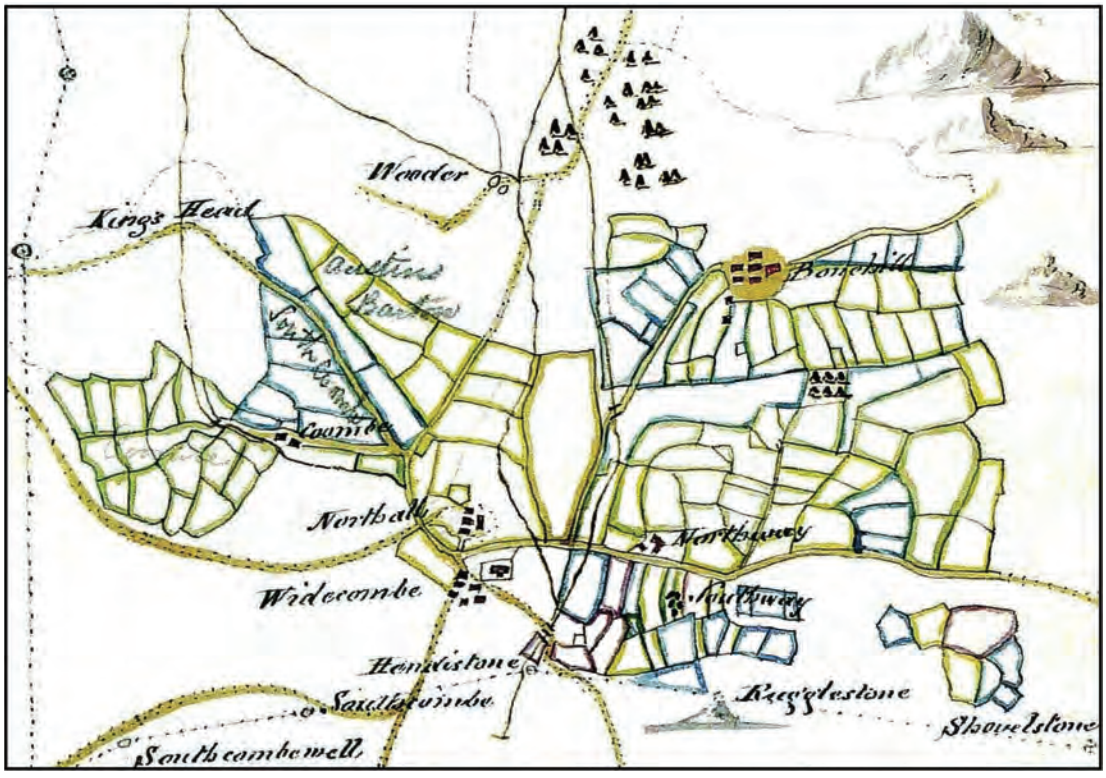


Fig. 3 Centre of Widecombe-in-the-Moor (detail from Fig.1); the T-shaped building is the church with Northall Manor to its north.

dated 1778. King George III created him Baron Ashburton of Ashburton in 1782, but he died in 1783 aged 51; his infant son, Richard Barré Dunning inherited the title, estates, and fortune, but died without issue in 1823.

In addition to extensive common land, these two manors comprised numerous farmsteads and tenements which the manorial lord leased profitably to local farmers, many of whom were yeomen[4]. Details of 13 such leases signed between 1803 and 1818 (preserved in the Devon Record Office) were listed by Whitten[5].

The Spitchwick manuscript Atlas

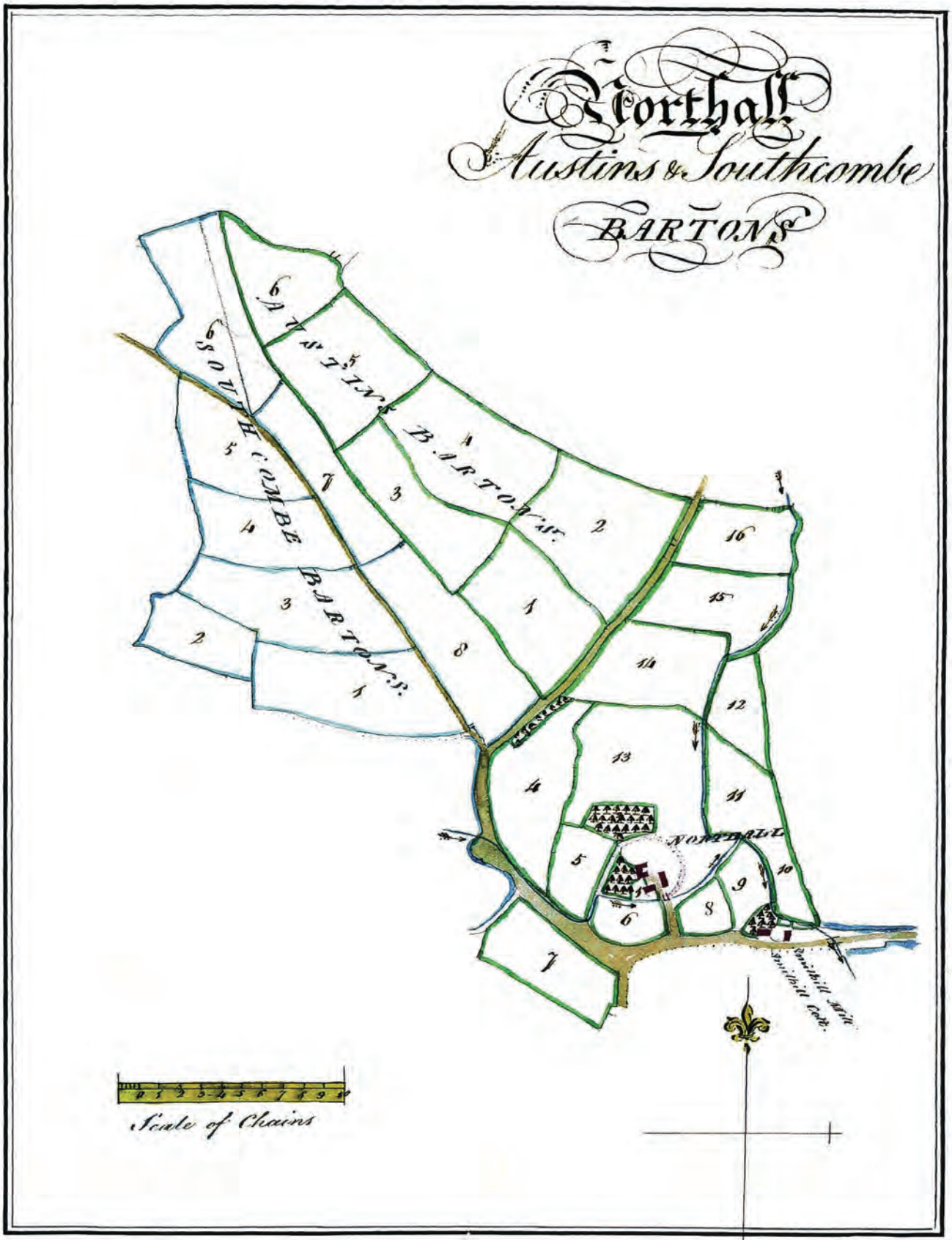
The unrecorded atlas belongs to a private collector who kindly gave permission for this publication. It is rebound in tooled tan half-calf with marbled boards; a pencil note on the back paste-down states *Rebound 4.1.97*. The front cover bears a red skiver with hand-tooled gold-leaf border and the title, *Manor of Spitchweek &c.*; this label may be from a previous binding. The manuscript maps are mostly in excellent condition and probably represent all the Second Lord Ashburton's estates within Devon. The large Quarto 390 x 330 mm [15.4 x 13 ins] volume (with an unnumbered flyleaf at front and back) comprises 66 numbered heavy wove-paper leaves cut to 380 x 310 mm (15 x 12.2 ins). There is no title page or evidence of provenance.

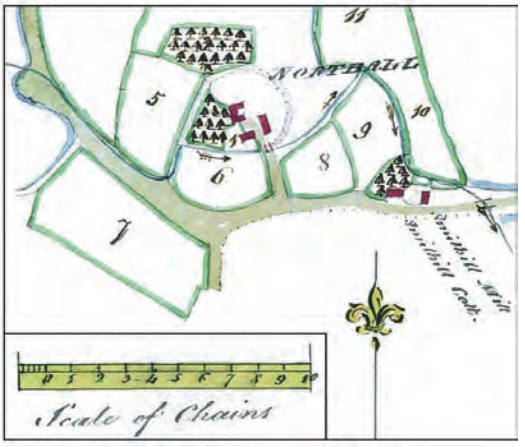
At least four different watermarks, or their fragments, occur on several leaves: *Whatman 1794*, *Whatman 1801*, *Russell & Co 1799*, and *E&P* (no date). Caution is needed in using these dates because moulds were expensive to change and paper stock, even if made in the year stated, could be stored before sale or use. Also, Whatman paper was occasionally counterfeited or, if a mill was sold, the new owner might have continued using old moulds. Balston[6] noted the *Whatman 1794* watermark seems to have been used for several years, because it is very common in books and letters dated 1794 to 1800, while other watermark dates are rare; the correct date usually seems to have been employed after 1801. The sequence of watermarks throughout the atlas seems arbitrary, so the paper gives no conclusive evidence of whether the maps were all drafted at one time, or over a period.

Maps occupy a whole right-hand page although, in 10 cases, a page bears two maps and one bears three. Each left-hand page (except between pp.57-9) opposite a map, lists component manorial farmsteads or the numbered and named fields of the tenement (farmstead) with the precise area (in acres, roods, and perches); one acre = 4 roods = 160 perches = 0.4047 ha. A few arithmetical anomalies occur in the field-size tabulations, probably reflecting



Fig.4
Bonehill hamlet clustered on the valley side (middle left); Northall Manor was just left of Widecombe-in-the-Moor church


Torthall
Austins & Southcombe
BARTONS
SOUTH COMBE
BARTONS
AUSTINS
BARTONS
NORTHALL
Scale of Chains



post-survey, clerical-transcription, errors in preparing the atlas. Several maps and listings bear later hand-written notes (possibly by an estate factor) noting tenants, or questionable field sizes (p.49) or scale bars (p.128).

The maps appear to be fair copies compiled between 1794 (earliest paper watermark) and, say, 1804 (date Hannaford's and Lightfoot's tenements in Widecombe were leased as a single farmstead and the new Sandridge house was commenced). One certain date is the first Lord Ashburton's acquisition of Sandridge Estate in 1772, when he was already proprietor of many of the Dartmoor estates in the atlas. He had hoped to build a replacement house for his own occupation at Sandridge, but his widow commenced building in *c.*1804 and the map (p.91) predates the new house. It seems certain the maps were all prepared for the Ashburton family, with the detailed accurate surveying probably undertaken during the last few years of the 18th century.

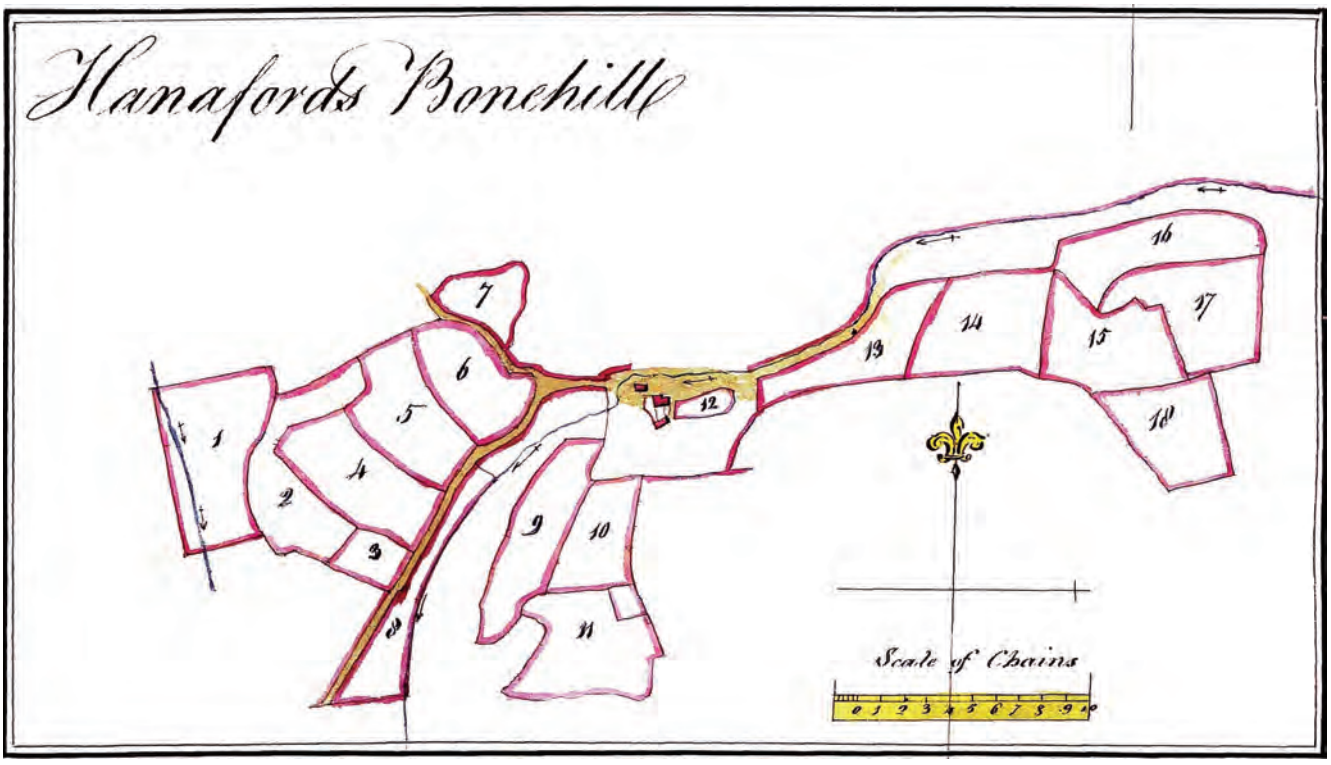
The maps are clean and simple in style. Thin black lines denote field boundaries, which are highlighted by a different colour for each tenement, etc.; exceptionally, stylised hedges and field vegetation are shown on the last two maps, which may reflect the most recent surveying. Fields are numbered on tenement maps as in the list on the opposite page. Streams are blue (sometimes also defined by a very thin black line) with fletched arrows indicating flow direction. Orchards and woods are differentiated by tree symbols.

The position and orientation of buildings (shown in black) are somewhat generalised on manorial maps to accommodate them in available space. By contrast, on the larger-scale individual-farmstead maps, footprint shapes (usually rectangular), location, and orientation of buildings are accurate in all cases so far examined in detail, although the size on the maps does not always reflect the actual size accurately. Buildings on each farmstead are a distinctive colour. Occasionally, some prominent topographic features are sketched very dramatically (Fig.1). Tantalisingly, freehold estates and farmsteads within and beyond manorial bounds, but not owned by Lord Ashburton, are

Fig.5 (opposite) Northall Manor house, orchards, and fields. Scale shows 11 chains; one chain is 66 feet (ca. 20.1m).

Fig.6 (left) Northall Manor's three buildings (red) encircled by stream-fed moat, with bridge southward to lane (detail from Fig.5). Arrows show stream flow.

Fig.7 (below) The fields of Hannaford's Bonehill farmstead (three red buildings); lane (brown) from open moorland commons (to east) to Widecombe village (to west).



wholly omitted, except on the last two maps; analogous omissions occur in several south Devon estate maps[1].

The first numbered page is the *Manor of Spitchweek* (now Spitchwick) map showing individual farmsteads comprising the manor. The index (Table 1) is correct although actual pagination is defective in the last few pages. Succeeding maps portray each manorial farmstead in more detail. A similar arrangement follows (pp.25, *et seq*.) for Blagdon Pipard (now Blackaton) and Widecombe-in-the-Moor Manors (pp.41, *et seq*.). These three manors occupy just over half the atlas; an ink line (inserted later) on the index separates them from succeeding maps, which appear to be in an arbitrary sequence.

First is the Manor of Bagtor, lying to the south. Next is Sandridge, near Dartmouth - the first Lord Ashburton's most significant estate off Dartmoor. Then follow (pp.95, *et seq*.) various manors and properties on and south of Dartmoor. The concluding maps of Buckland Monachorum and Walkhampton (p.125) and Lake (p.128) are distinguished by stylised hedges along lanes and field boundaries (with numerous gates shown) and grass-like symbols on fields owned by Lord Ashburton; owners of contiguous properties are indicated (Fig.2). This more elaborate draftsmanship may reflect later work but not more recent incorporation within Ashburton's estates; lands in Buckland Monachorum and Walkhampton were granted under a 1,000-year lease to Willmotte Dunning in 1650 and passed by descent to Lord Ashburton. Decorative flourishes around captions to acreage listings for Higher Coombe Meadow (p.66), Scobator (p.68), and Leightor (p.110) tenements are uncharacteristic; they are similar to, but less florid than, those around titles shown in Figures 1 and 5.

Like many contemporary Devon estate maps[1], the surveyor/s is unknown. Most maps have an extremely simple compass rose with *Fleur de Lys* indicating north (to the top of the page, except p.125); the unusual tick on every compass rose's eastern arm could be a clue to the surveyor's identity.

Table 1. - Transcription of Index page

Index	Page
Manor of Spitchweek	1
Park Barton……	5
House Parks……Town……	9
Fernhill……Tor……	13
Caunters & Meads Rowbrook……	17
Lower Common….Hannafords……	21
Summary……	23
Manor of Blagdon Pipard	25
Caunters Tenement……	29
Meads & Stidsons Tenements……	33
Wilcocks Tenement……	37
Summary……	39
Manor of Widdecombe	41
Town place……	45
Northall.....Austins & Southcombe Bartons……	49
Hannaford & Hamblyns Southway…….	53
Whites Southway & Hamblyns Northway……...	57
Lightfoots Bonehill & Nosworthys Northway……	59
Coombe & Hannafords Bonehill……	63
Higher & Lower Coombe Meadow…..Lower Barton….	67
Scobator…….	69
Lower Nottisworthy……...	73
Higher D° …… Stone……	75
Summary……	77
[A later rough line drawn across the listing here]	
Manor of Bagtor	79
Barton……	83
Emsworthy & Westabrook…….	87
Summary……	89
Barton of Sandridge…….	91
Manor of Pridhamsleigh……...	95
Pridhamsleigh…….	99
Furzeleigh……...	103
Blackwood, Shearwood & Warmstall……..	107
Leightor in Widdecombe……..	111
Broadaford, East Shollaford & Rowdens in D°……	115
Brambleby……	119
Oldaport & Cling…….	123
Summary of Pridhamsleigh Leightor etc……...	
Lands in Walkhampton……	125
Lake……..	128

Manor of Widecombe

The fine map *Manor of Widecombe &c.* (Fig.1) highlights 19 individual farmsteads and tenements owned by Lord Ashburton; the name and acreage of each is listed on the opposite page. The bounds of Widecombe Town Manor are shown (somewhat diagrammatically) by dotted lines joining most of the (named) historical boundary stones/markers. In the mid-18th century, the manor comprised 1,575 acres [715ha.], of which over 45% was open commons. Each enclosed farmstead owned by the lord is differentiated by colour, and individual buildings and field boundaries are shown accurately; many of these

features still exist almost unchanged. The several freehold farmsteads within the manor are omitted, being undifferentiated from open common land; for example, the freehold farmstead in Bonehill held for decades by successive John Smerdons.

The *&c.* in the title is significant. Properties owned by Lord Ashburton within adjacent historical manors are included – Scobitor farmstead to the south and several farmsteads within Natsworthy to the north. Unlike Widecombe Town Manor, Natsworthy Manor (with its considerable commons) and Scobitor were recorded in the 11th century Domesday Book; possibly, Lord Ashburton bought these farmsteads but not the Lordship of Natsworthy.

Rugged peaks drawn to the east represent granite tors (410-440m; 1350-1450 ft) on open moors; their elevation is less than Hameldown to the west, where manor bounds cross the moors - Hameldown Beacon is 517m (1696 ft.; Fig.1). The scale bar is 9 furlongs; eight furlongs comprise one mile (1.609km.); the map scale is 1:20,365. Although not indicated, north is to the top.

Figure 3 shows the centre of Widecombe village and its large church with axis aligned slightly S of E (actually 93.5 degrees E of N). Northall Manor lies immediately north of the church. The lane to Bonehill hamlet (600m = 656 yds northeast of the church) is shown correctly, whereas it was omitted from the 1809 O.S. Sheet XXV 1:63,360 map; unlike the O.S. map, the stream crossed by this lane is correctly shown flowing from the north, not the northeast. However, 16th century granite buildings comprising Bonehill are only those of today's Lower Bonehill; Middle and Higher Bonehill farmsteads were omitted and undifferentiated from open moorland (owned by the lord), not being part of the manorial lord's property (Fig.4).

Northall Manor

The *Northall Austin's & Southcombe Bartons* map (Fig. 5) is significant historically because this earliest recorded manor at the centre of Widecombe no longer exists and, for over a decade, considerable archæological and historical effort has been devoted to it (e.g., Rennells[7]). Although four manors (Spitchwick, Dunstone, Natsworthy, and Jordan) and Scobitor tenement within what is now Widecombe-in-the-Moor Parish were identified in the Domesday Book (1086), no manorial estate or church was recorded near the present village centre. However, a Widecombe church was documented in 1260, and documents dated 1283 reflect a substantial North Hall manor house just north of that church. Sir Ralph de Rous, the earliest recorded lord of this manor, transferred an acre (0.4ha) of manorial land, with the advowson of the Church of St. Pancras, to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter (*cf.*, Whitten[5]).

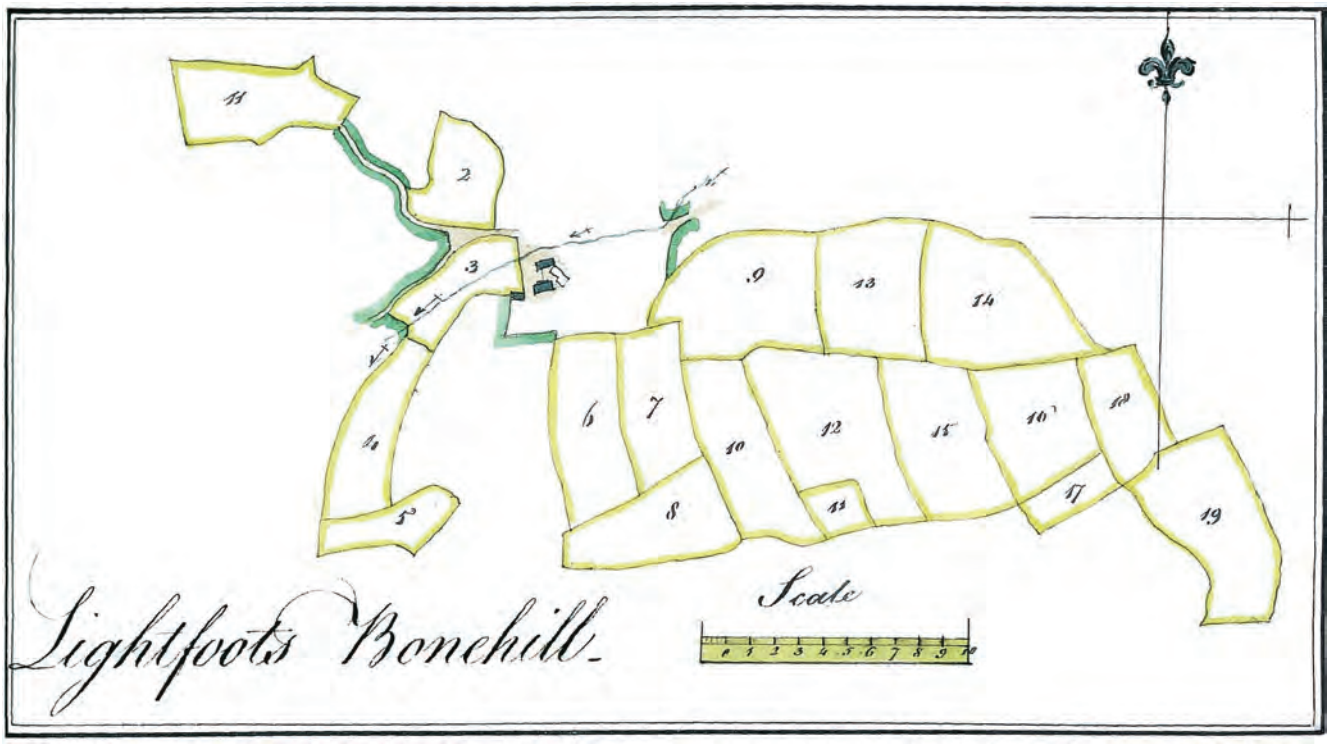


Fig.8
Lightfoot's Bonehill farmstead which is contiguous and intertwined with the tenement shown in Figure 7.



Fig.9 (above) Hannaford's Bonehill farmhouse in 2011.

A 16-line 1638 poem, attributed to then Widecombe schoolmaster, began:

> *The messuage there, which anciently was chief or capital,*
> *Tho' much decayed, remaining still is called yet North-hall:*
> *Whereas the houses, courtlages, with orchards, gardens, and*
> *A stately grove of trees within that place did sometime stand,*
> *Were all enclosed round about with moats of standing water,*

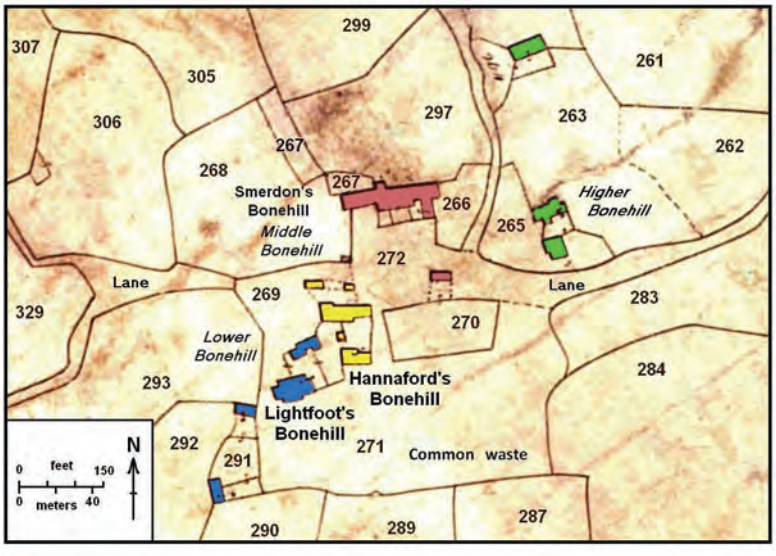


Fig.10 Part of 1843 Widecombe-in-the-Moor Tithe Map (digitised by Devon Record Office) labelled to show the four pre-1800 farmsteads' buildings (differentiated by colour; current names in italics).

This map is the only known record of the location and footprint of the 13th century Northall Manor house, apart from possible subsurface archæological remains[7]. The most easterly Northall building was shown on the 1906 Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 (6″/mile) map, but the two main buildings were indicated only by an archæological cross, noted as *North Hall (Site of)*; that easterly building has since been replaced. The so-called moat is shown clearly around the eastern and northern sides of the manor house and the smaller orchard to its west (Fig.6); it was fed by the stream (tributary to East Webburn River) which served Smithill grist mill. According to the atlas, the dwelling house, out-houses, courts &c., orchard, and garden plot within the moat comprised 1.33 acres [0.54ha], though this is one of the lists containing transcription (arithmetic) errors.

Lower Bonehill Farm

The history of farmsteads in Bonehill hamlet has been traced back through several centuries. In the early 20th century, there were three farmsteads, Lower, Middle, and Higher Bonehill. It has long been thought Lower Bonehill Farm comprised two separate farms before the 19th century (*e.g.*, Gawne and Sanders[8]). An 1803 lease (Devon Record Office 18/14/43/6) recorded both messuages being leased to Thomas Hannaford (yeoman[4]) for 14

years from Lady Day 1804; it indicated Thomas Hannaford already occupied both properties. Hannaford was a common Widecombe name in 1800, Thomas being mentioned in many documents. In 17th century legal documents, both farms were merely referred to as Bonehill prefixed by the tenant's name.

This atlas provides the first known detail about the original two farms that were amalgamated. The six extant ancient granite buildings are shown clearly; three in each original farmstead (Figs.7 and 8). The middle building of Hannaford's Bonehill is present-day Lower Bonehill house (Fig.9). Figure 8 shows Lightfoot's Bonehill immediately west of Hannaford's farm; Lightfoot's full name has not been traced. The curved field boundaries reflect medieval husbandry controlled by hillside contours[5]; almost all field boundaries remain the same today, as do many field names.

Figure 10 shows Bonehill hamlet based on the 1843 parish Tithe Map. The three granite buildings (farmhouse and outbuildings) – of Hannaford's and of Lightfoot's properties are coloured yellow and blue. In 1843, Middle Bonehill was Smerdon's Bonehill because John Smerdon held the freehold and worked the farm. Higher Bonehill was not owned by Lord Ashburton and its tenant is uncertain. Hannaford's and Smerdon's Bonehill farmhouses were erected before 1550, but the farmsteads are probably much older. A fourth building (in field 291) is coloured blue as part of Lightfoot's farmstead; it shows on the Tithe Map, but not *Spitchweek Atlas*; only part of its south wall survives today.

Acknowledgement
Grateful thanks are expressed to Rosemary Yallop for considerable assistance in preparing this paper – in particular, with photography of the atlas, information relating to watermarks and the Ashburton family.

Notes

1. M. R. Ravenhill, & M. M. Rowe (edit.), *Devon maps and mapmakers: manuscript maps before 1840* (2 vols.): Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2002, v. 43 N.S. (for 2000), 433 pp.

2. M. R. Ravenhill, & M. M. Rowe, (edit.), *Devon maps and map-makers: manuscript maps before 1840, Supplement*: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Extra Series, 2010, v. 3, 32 pp.

3. R.Yallop, A history of Sandridge Park: 'An house more worthy of the situation': *Report & Trans. Devon Assoc. Advancement Science*, 2010, v.141 (for 2009), pp. 181-218.

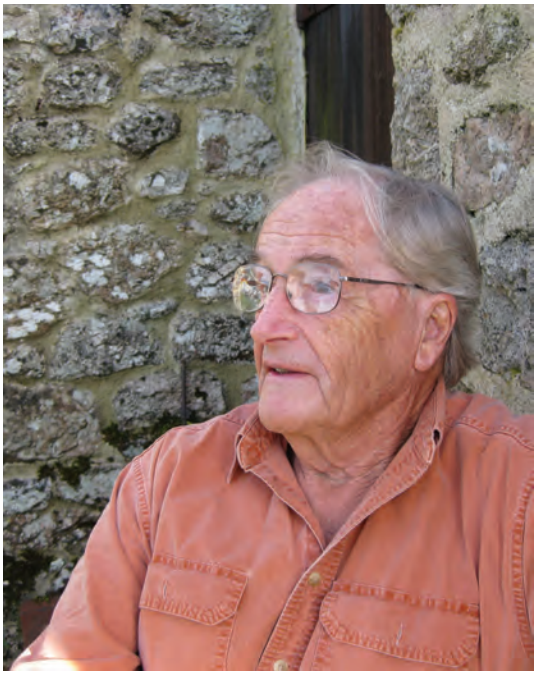
4. Yeomen comprised a substantial rural middle class (between knights and gentry above, and husbandmen and labourers below) - a social rank carrying onerous obligations to serve in parish life and administration. No particular type of land tenure was essential, but the fact yeomen's lands were their own, or directly under their control, bred a sense of pride, personal interest, and responsibility. Anyone in trade or business which became more important than farming was no longer termed yeoman.

5. E. H. T. Whitten, *Bonehill: evolution of a Dartmoor hamlet*: Ryelands (Halsgrove), 2009, 128 pp.

6. T. Balston, *William Balston: Paper-maker 1759-1849*: Methuen, 1954, 171 pp.

7. P. Rennells, North Hall 1998-2008: http//:widecombe-in-the-moor.com/history/minutes/2008/north_hall2008.php

8. E. Gawne & J. Sanders, *Early Dartmoor Farmhouses: longhouses in Widecombe and some surrounding parishes*: Orchard Publications., 1998, 98 pp.



Tim Whitten, Chartered Geologist, earned his two doctorates at the University of London and was a member of that university's academic staff (Queen Mary College) for 10 years. He spent 23 years at Northwestern University (near Chicago), spending many years as Professor and Chair of Geological Sciences. Later he was appointed Provost and Vice-President for Academic Affairs at Michigan Technological University before retiring to live in the middle of Dartmoor National Park, Devon, some 22 years ago. In the course of a very active retirement, Tim served as IMCoS Treasurer from early 1999 to Spring 2008 and continues as President of the well-known Widecombe Fair (along with Uncle Tom Cobley and all). As a geologist, it has been difficult to be far away from maps since time out of mind.

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Book Reviews

A look at recent publications about maps

The Printed Maps of Exeter City Maps 1587-1901: 300 Years of Exeter History by Francis Bennett & Kit Batten. Privately published by Little Silver Publications, Exeter, 2011. 112 pp., illustrated throughout. ISBN: 0-95444472-6-7 (Available from Westcountry Studies Library, Castle Street, Exeter EX4 2PQ westcountry.library@devon.gov.uk). Price £10 + postage and packing.

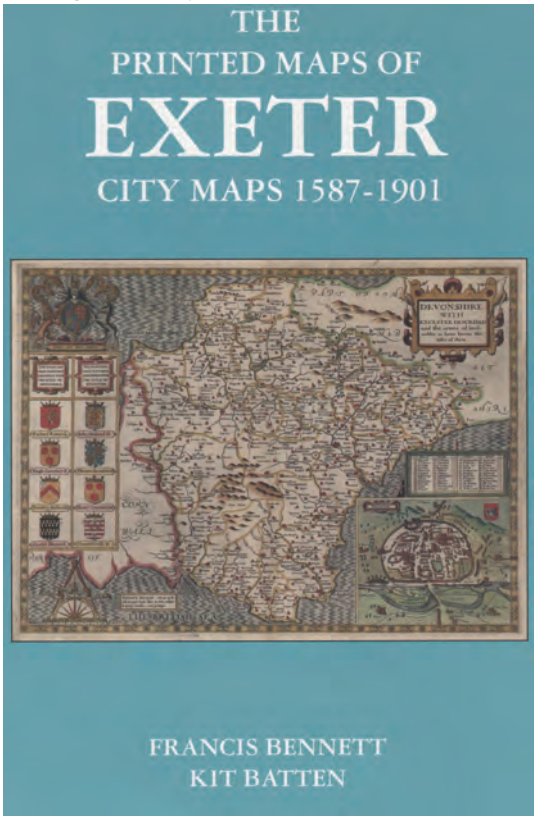
This soft-cover volume, well produced on good quality 21 x 29.6 mm paper, will be valued by a wide audience. Besides many Devonians, it will appeal to those worldwide who cherish old maps and to the ever-growing number interested in local history and evolution of our built environment. It is a fine companion and supplement to the authors' two earlier cartobibliographies of 182 Devon maps printed between 1575-1901 (published: 1996 and 2000; reviewed: *IMCoS Journal* No. 66, pp. 43-46 & No. 85, p. 69).

As suggested by the cover title [The Printed Maps of Exeter: City Maps 1587-1901], this catalogue emphasises the city's evolution. As an introduction, the succinct 12-page history of Exeter by Dick Passmore will be particularly useful for those unfamiliar with the historical and commercial importance of Devon's county town over the centuries. Following the impact of societal changes on the mapped city is fascinating. Obvious examples include the Roman walls (much remaining today) with gates long affecting access routes; the woollen industry (huge areas designated for drying racks) and docks for ocean-going vessels (*via* River Exe); changes to religious establishments and ecclestiastical parishes; population migrations following cholera epidemics in 1832-4 (*cf.*, Shapter's pestilential-cholera map with burial and burning sites); impact on map production of 19th century mobility and tourism; appearance of hachure hill-shading to show topography in 1882. The language and terminology are unencumbered by formal map collectors' terminology, although occasional unexplained technicalities appear (*e.g.*, John Speed's 1610 plan is 'from Bassett and Chiswell county map, *c.*1676'; the 1603 inventory of Mayor Bevys' estate cited from DA/XLI/1909 - possibly a DRO reference number).

Throughout the catalogue, most of the 63 maps are described on the left and illustrated on the right-hand page; no colour is shown. Each entry begins with biographical information about the surveyor, draftsman, and/or publisher. This is often extensive and interesting, even where not wholly relevant (*e.g.*, history of printer Pollard through World War II to the present). Appendix B expands on John Richard's (1600-1788) surveying, as Appendix C does on Henry Besley and the many versions of his map between 1845 and 1901.

Then, after the formal descriptive details, each map is described with emphasis on specific and fascinating details of noteworthy new buildings, roads, service facilities, etc. Almost all the maps, commonly on a full page, are crisp and clear, despite considerable size reduction in some cases. A good magnifying lens is needed to spot the many street names, buildings and other features highlighted in the text (*e.g.*, dividers on Hooker's 1587 map; erroneous 'Exchange' on Rocque's 1764 map; the replicated '12' (Jew's synagogue) on Donn's famous 1765 map – the latter are below print resolution and, to be fair, are unclear on the original).

Successive states are described briefly although, wisely, most are not tabulated;



appendix A details the states and derivatives of Hooker's (1587) map. Disentangling states, reproduced with and without modification, in successive editions of travel guides, timetables, meeting literature etc., developed for the expanding 19th century tourist trade, was obviously very challenging (*cf*. Appendix C).

Only 22 illustrations are based on originals in cited Exeter libraries; reproductions of the remaining 41 maps are from the authors' collections. Apart from rarities like Hooker's first state (one British Library copy), it is difficult to know how readily these maps could be found for further study or collection. The locations of any accessible copies would have been helpful.

The scale of some maps is difficult to determine. Over 41% of those illustrated had no scale. The length (in mm) of all scale bars printed on the maps is given, except for Wood's (1840) important map; in 14 cases, the authors also expressed the scale as mm on the map that represented 1 mile; for six maps, readers must calculate scale from the length (in mm) of scale bars calibrated in chains. Ichabod Fairlove's 1709 map (see below) is the earliest with a scale bar (1,000 feet), which was measured to be 102 mm, yielding 1 mile = 540 mm; this is 1: 2988, and some readers might be more comfortable with scale expressed thus. On Tozer's (1792) beautiful map, the engraved error that 80 poles = 1 furlong (should be 2 furlongs) unfortunately led to calculating 1 mile = 272 mm (actually the scale is 1 mile = 544 mm); also, the scale of Hayman's (1805) map is 1 mile = 158 mm, not 174 mm.

All the maps were printed originally on a single sheet, except for Rocque's two-sheet 1744 map which is embellished with elaborate cartouches and vignettes of the city. The one-sheet theme may account for late 19th century Ordnance Survey sheets (four 1:10,560 and 41 1:500 sheets) and Goad's insurance plans being mentioned only in nine lines of text.

Overall, in providing this useful book, the authors have done a magnificent job, not only in collating and describing the maps and data, but in copy preparation for direct printing (Short Run Press, Exeter). There is a useful index. An important and inexpensive book for your collection.

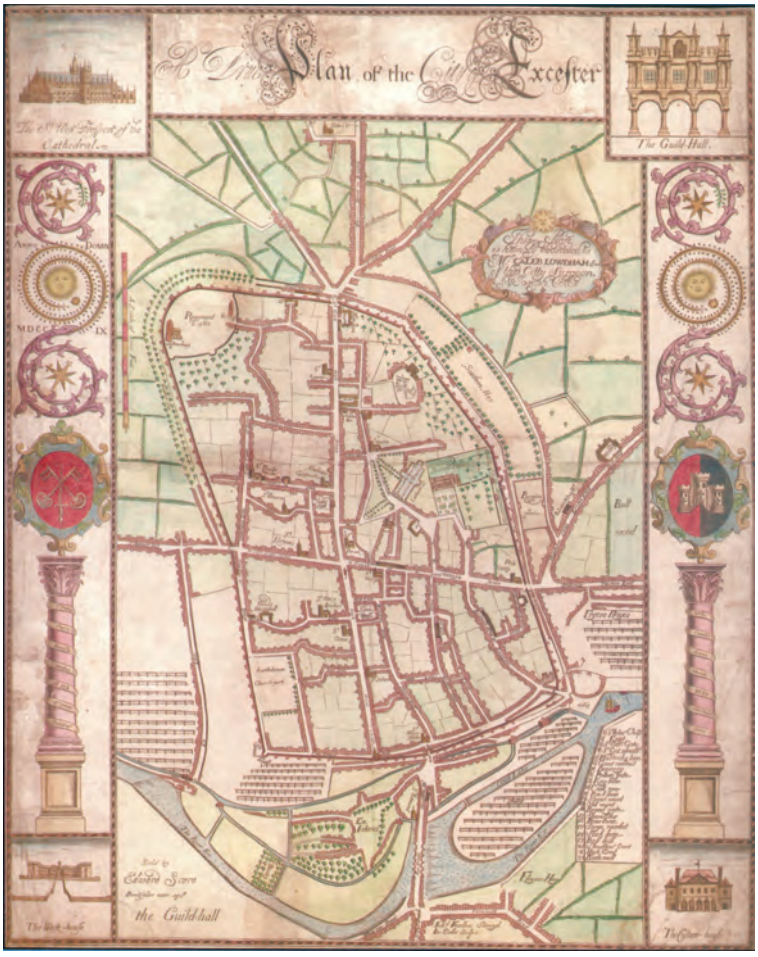
E.H.T. Whitten, Devon, England

The Printed Maps of Norfolk 1574-1840 by Raymond Frostick. Published privately by the author. Paperback. 230 pages, 136 illustrations (84 in full colour) including at least one from each of the 121 maps described. ISBN 978-0-9542471-1-9. 2011. Available from booksellers or from the author at raymond.frostick@btinternet.com. Price £25.

There is great pleasure to be had from the reading of a good carto-bibliography, and this is certainly an excellent example of the new genre of extensively illustrated English county map bibliographies.

This book updates Thomas Chubb's study (*A Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Norfolk 1574 – 1916*) published in 1928. One feature of this new work is the cross-referencing to Chubb that shows the extensive amount of new information contained here. However, David Kingsley (*Printed Maps of Sussex 1575 – 1900*) writing in 1982 stated that '… it is hoped that future compilers [of county carto-bibliographies] will, in the interests of uniformity, adhere to 1900 as their terminal date', and later compilers have done so. It is disappointing, therefore, that this new work has chosen 1840 as the finishing date, thus avoiding the complexities of lithographic alterations, railway developments, directory maps and other manifestations of the Victorian period. Moreover,

The back cover of the book shows Ichabod Fairlove's 1709* Plan of the City of Excester *(north to the left)



no road strip maps, regional maps or maps of the fens are included. One advantage of restricting the book to cover only 121 county maps is that it permits the volume to be printed on the good quality heavy paper required to display many of the maps in full colour without putting an excessive strain on the binding that a substantially thicker book covering maps to 1900 would need.

The maps, all of which are illustrated, are arranged in chronological order and are accompanied by standard information on size, scale, notes of origin, a list of variants and descriptive notes relating to each illustration. The listings and descriptions have been carried out with great care and attention and are clearly the work of a knowledgeable historian and great enthusiast. As would be expected, the great bulk of entries relate to maps published in county atlases or topographical works containing full sets of county maps. As such maps generally followed a 'house style' within any publication, the volume would be useful to collectors of maps from other counties attempting to identify a map from their own collection.

To the more experienced collector, however, the information and illustrations on the non-atlas maps will be of particular interest. For example, there is a fascinating group of five maps produced in just eleven years between 1730 (Corbridge) and 1740 (Goddard and Goodman), three of which are at a large scale and all issued before the awards of The Royal Society of Arts stimulated new surveys of counties at a large scale. Faden's map of 1797 and its reduced form of 1803 are similarly maps any county map collector would love to see, let alone possess. Also included are examples of the rarely illustrated playing and geographical card maps of W.Bowes, Morden, Redmayne, Lenthall, Fairburn, Allen/ Rowe and Crabb as well as maps for which only single examples are known to be extant (Fitt (1824) and Ives (1839)).

The importance of this book lies not only in the revised information for a particular county, but also for the example it sets as to what can now be achieved with modern printing. This book is easy to handle, a delight to consult and represents wonderful value for money. Surely now is an ideal time for collectors of county maps of individual counties to update the classic studies of Fordham, Chubb and Whitaker and, even more importantly, for collectors of maps of counties still lacking a substantial carto-bibliography to delight other collectors with information on the treasures of their own areas.

Derek Deadman, Leicester, England. [Author, with Colin Brooks of *An Illustrated Guide to the Printed Maps of Leicestershire 1576 – 1900*].

The Last Vikings. The epic story of the great Norse voyages by Kirsten A. Seaver. Published by I.B.Tauris, 6 Salem Rd., London W2 4BU and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010. 2010 (www.ibtauris.com) 6 pp. xx, 277 illus 15. ISBN 978 1 84511 869 3. Price in UK £18 99

This is a gripping and very informative book about a 15th century mystery, unsolved even today, although there are indicative clues as Kirsten Seaver reveals. She is a medievalist and is also, critically for this study, able to read Old Norse, Icelandic and Norwegian. The lost Greenland colony story has been more about myth than record, since there is very little evidence at all, leaving the way for speculation of all sorts to be promulgated in texts and maps from the 15th century onwards, many purporting to be authentic but fabrications in reality. This aspect of the story is of great interest to map historians and is exemplified by the concoctions of the Zeno brothers and by the strange case of the Vinland map, which from the evidence of chemical analysis, was drawn in the middle of the last century. All these misconstructions are dissected in the Postscript to the Greenland story which is well worth us all reading as it is a good summary of the scholarly misapprehensions, and sometimes nationalism and hubris, involved in many of the discussions.

We now know far more than we did about the Greenlanders and their lives at least up until the mid-15th century. The two Greenlanders' settlements have been excavated; their presence on



Kirsten Seaver at the launch of her book.

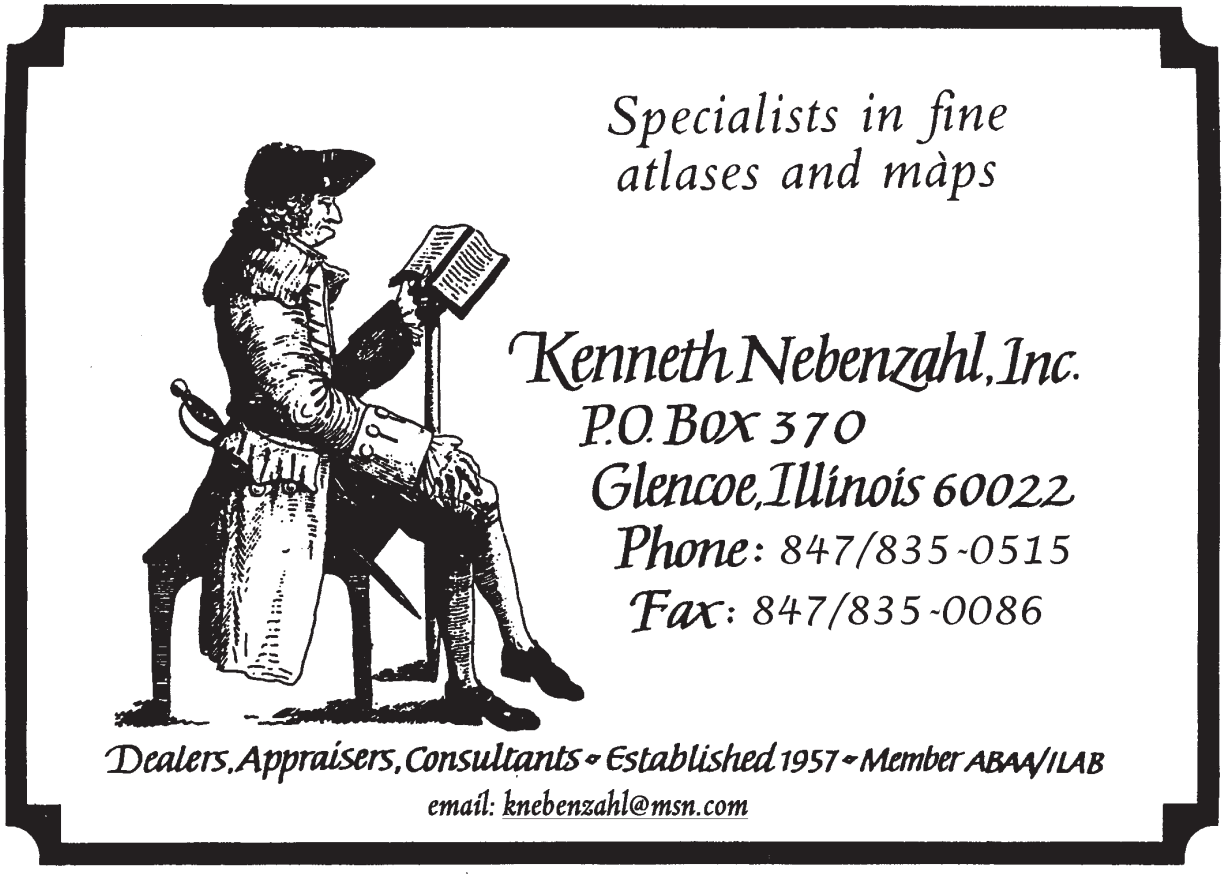
Baffin Island and what they called Markland (part of Labrador), which was well-forested, has been discovered as well as their famous settlement about 1000 AD at L'Anse aux Meadows (the Vinland story) at the northern tip of New Foundland opposite Belle Isle.

In particular, Seaver weaves a story out of this new information clearly and convincingly placing, for example, the Greenland colony's later history, in so far as it can be established, in the context of English, Portuguese and Azorean activity in fishing, trading and raiding Iceland and its western waters and then even further to the west via Newfoundland into the Davis Strait during the fifteenth century.

At the height of their settlements the Greenlanders probably numbered some three to five thousand inhabitants. But over time the numbers contracted and they finally disappeared, apparently without trace, at some point between 1450 and 1500. Most of them seem to have left rather than living out their lives on their farms. There is no record from Icelandic or Norwegian sources as to where they went; not to Iceland or to Norway. Indeed the Norwegians thought they were still living in Greenland in 1514-6!

Where did they go? Seaver proposes they may have been encouraged to leave by the new presence of Azorean-Portuguese and English traders and fishermen in the mouth of the Davis Strait who went there from about the 1480s, or maybe before, from the New Foundland fisheries. There is evidence of probable direct contact between them through the finds of knives and a pendant cross which are of English origin. In any case it was already common for the Iberians and English (and later the Hanse) to be found in Icelandic waters, not always welcomed since cod was (and is) a perennial issue between Iceland and England. The English also used to buy or take captive youngsters for their own use, (shortage of manpower remained an issue for ships' crews), and for work in the colonies. Perhaps the Greenlanders left on promises of a better life or worse befell them? More archaeological investigations may yet solve the riddle, but until then Kirsten Seaver has given us a very good and riveting read as well as turning archival and cartographic sleuth in the manner of Ruth Rendell.

Sarah Tyacke, London, England



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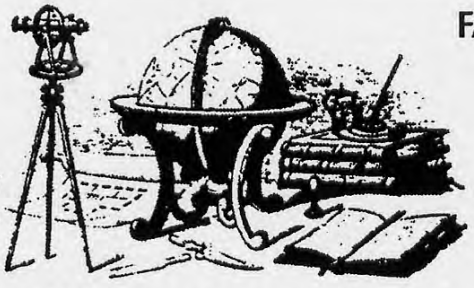
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High in the Andes

The cartographic testimony of the French Academy expedition to South America

by Richard Smith

In the early 18th century a major international scientific debate concerned the true size and shape of the earth. On the one hand Sir Isaac Newton and Christian Huygens held the theory that the earth was an oblate spheroid whilst the Astronomer Royal to the French court, Jacques Cassini, postulated the opposite. This was no idle coffee shop discussion, but a subject of great importance for the development of the astronomical and physical sciences and not least its implication for the production of accurate maps and charts

In order to resolve this and other scientific questions, the *Académie Royale des Sciences* in Paris organised three independent expeditions in the 1730s to make geodesic measurements in different latitudes: one to Lapland led by Pierre-Luis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698 - 1759), one to South Africa led by Abbé Nicolas – Louis de La Caille which started late and its 1752 findings were both contested and found to be irrelevant in view of the conclusions of the other two expeditions[1]. The third expedition was to Peru and is discussed here.

The French were not the sole participants for when Louis XV sought permission to enter the *Audiencia of Quito*, an administrative region within the Viceroyalty of Peru, his cousin Philip V of Spain not only agreed but offered to pay part of the cost on the condition that two Spanish scientists should also participate to help in organisation and gain scientific experience. The overall activities and conclusions of this expedition were wide ranging in their scientific content and achieved through a number of exciting adventures. However, this article is limited to commenting on the cartography related to measuring the meridian.

The participants

The French team was led by Louis Godin (1704-1760), a young but excellent astronomer, accompanied by the brilliant mathematician, Pierre Bouguer (1698-1758) and Charles-Marie, Marquis de La Condamine (1701-1774) a soldier-explorer cum scientist. Although Godin had proposed and planned the expedition, once in Peru Bouguer argued persuasively for technical changes in the arc measurement, whilst the strong character of La Condamine undermined the authority of the timid Godin. His antagonism may have been influenced by the *Académie* rejection of his own proposal to make the measurement in French Guyana rather than in Spanish America. The French team also included a clock maker in charge of instruments, a botanist, several military engineer assistants and a surgeon.

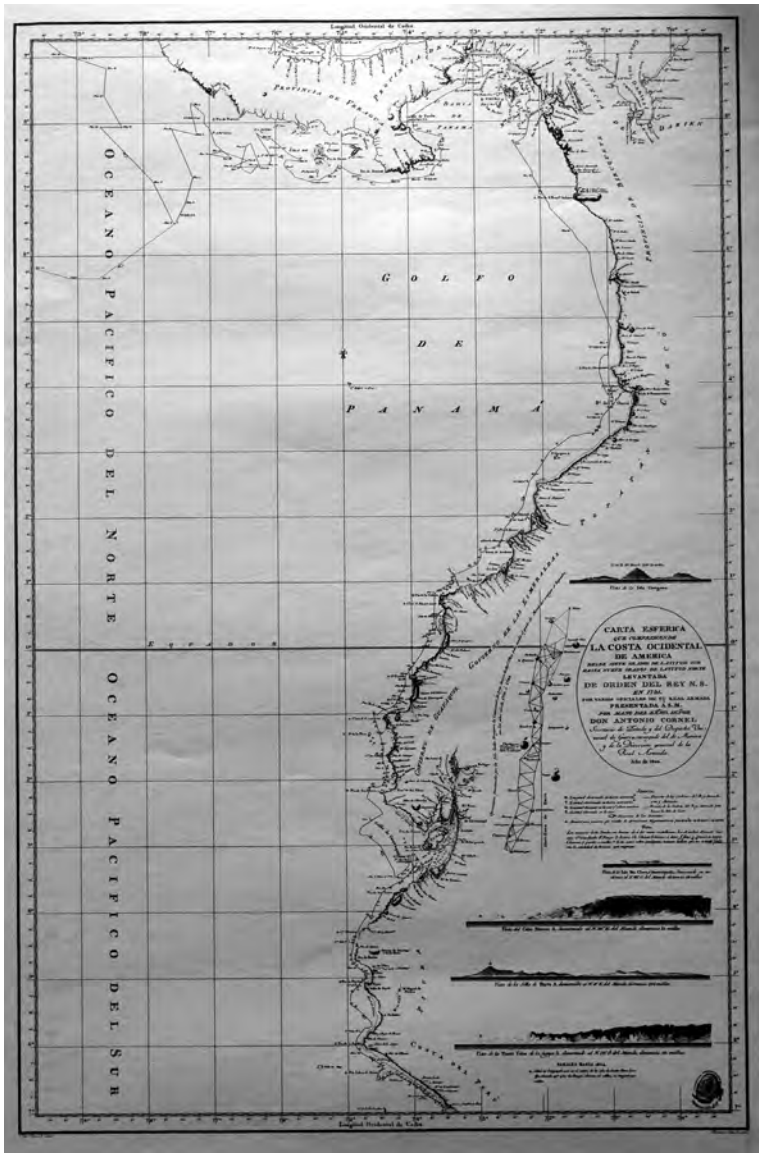


Fig.1
'Costa Occidental de América' by Felipe Bauzá, published in 1800.The area extends from parallel 9º 15' N (Panama) to 7º S (just north of Trujillo, Peru). Off- shore indicates the routes of the two Malaspina expedition survey ships,* Atrevida *and* Descubierta. *(By courtesy of the Instituto Hidrográfico de la Marina).



Charles-Marie de La Condamine

The two chosen Spaniards were young officers from the Naval Academy in Cadiz where the mathematical sciences formed a substantial part of the curriculum and in which they excelled. Jorge Juan y Santacilia (1713-1773) already had an exotic career behind him, having become page boy to the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta at the age of 12 and earning his own knighthood as *Comendador* [Commander] *de Aliaga* for his involvement in naval actions against Mediterranean pirates. Antonio de Ulloa y de la Torre-Guirial (1716-1795), despite his noble birth, had already sailed with a merchant adventurer to the Americas before entering the Academy.

Once in Peru, the expedition received occasional assistance from Pedro Vicente Maldonado y Sotomayor (1704-1748), a Creole nobleman from Riobamba in Ecuador, who was educated at Quito University and spoke Quechua, the local Indian language. His main interest was in geography and exploration with a passionate desire to improve internal communications. At an early age he had found a new route from Cuenca to the headwaters of the river Marañon, and produced a map for the Jesuit missionaries in the Amazon. After several minor administrative positions he was promoted to governor of the underdeveloped Esmeraldas province where, at his own cost, he opened a new route linking Quito with the port of Esmeraldas. This offered a considerable saving over the traditional land/sea connections with Panama and on to Spain.

Measuring the Meridian

By May 1736 the teams had assembled in Quito with measurement work starting in August. The scientists divided themselves into two groups: poor Godin took refuge from his French compatriots by teaming up with Jorge Juan while Ulloa worked with Bouguer and La Condamine .

A base line was measured north of Quito between Oyanburo and Caraburú using 20 feet [6.096 metres]-long hangers with metal tips suspended from tripods. The lengths of these hangers were compared several times a day with an iron 'toise' rod bought from Paris and kept in the shade. Godin and Juan made an estimate of 6,272 toises, 4 feet, 2 inches and 2 lines, only five inches less than that of the La Condamine team. This appears to be a remarkable level of comparative accuracy for the measurement of a distance of over 12 kms [7.45 miles], but both Jorge Juan and La Condamine confirm each other's result in their published accounts.

The teams then created a triangulation network of 48 stations running over 400 kilometres [248.5 miles] from Mira to the north of Quito to the city of Cuenca in the south. Sometimes they spent weeks on snow covered volcanoes such as Pinchincha (4,784 m [14,586 ft] altitude) in the parallel Occidental and Oriental cordilleras waiting for the clouds to lift in order to make sightings across the valley, whilst on other occasions great gales blew down their wooden markers. They had constant problems trying to persuade the Indian porters to transport their instruments and supplies, and understandably occasional illness forced them to return to Quito. To these problems were added bitter technical debates among the French team, the constant condescension of Condamine and Bouguer towards the young Spaniards, and a row between Ulloa and a newly appointed Governor who refused to advance wages and transport costs despite the clear instructions in the King's commission.

The triangulation, including the establishment of a second base line for verification, took 28 months and finished initially in December 1739. There then followed a series of astronomical observations over a period of several years and a small extension of the triangulation chain by Juan and Ulloa only finalised in February 1743. In their

published results, the final estimates of a degree of meridian arc at the Equator at sea level equivalent were:

Juan and Ulloa	56,768 toises
La Condamine	56,747
Bouguer	56,746

This gives an average value of approximately 110.1 kms [68.72 miles] (against modern estimates of approximately 110.6 kms [68.41 miles]). When compared with the 57,433 toises measured by Maupertuis in Lapland and completed in May 1737, the Newton-Huygens theory was confirmed.

Diffusion of Results

Bouguer was the first to return to Europe and announce the results in a speech to the *Académie* on the 14th November, 1744. However, it was not until 1749 he put pen to paper and published his own account under the title *La Figure de la Terre* [The Shape of the Earth].

Condamine published three books about his American adventures. The scientific results are contained in *Mésure des trois premiers degrés du meridien en l'Hémisphere Austral* [Measure of the three first degrees of the meridian in the Austral hemisphere] and a more extended account of his stay in Quito is included in his *Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi à l'Ecuateur* [Journal of a voyage made by order of the King to the Equator], both published in 1751. The book about his return via the Amazon in company with Maldonado, *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'interieur de l'Amerique méridionale* [Summary of a voyage made in the interior of South America], in which he includes an important new map of the course of the river, was published earlier, in 1744.

Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa were the first to publish results in two books, both in 1748. *Observaciones Astronomicas* [Astronomical observations] contains all the scientific data and conclusions relating to the meridian measurement whilst *Relación historica del viaje a America Meridional* [Historical account of a voyage to South America] is a four volume account of their travels. Although both books indicate joint authorship it is understood that Jorge Juan was responsible for drafting the former, and Ulloa the latter. Behind these publications was the Government policy to impress in European circles the ascent of Spanish science and the Crown's dominance over its American Empire, which was susceptible to foreign pressures. There was no lack of money to produce quality editions which were distributed far and wide, and later translated into other languages.

Maps of the Meridian Arc Measurement

The first map shown in this article (Figs. 1 & 2) was drawn about 50 years after the expedition but is included to illustrate the geographic location of the meridian measurement within the South American continent. It is a chart of the northwest coast of South America with the title 'Costa Occidental de America' [Western Coast of America] drawn by Felipe Bauzá, the chief hydrographer on the 1789–1794 Malaspina expedition. Published in 1800, Bauzá pays tribute to the *Académie* expedition by showing the triangulation chain astride the meridian of Quito. The tremendous clarity in the draftsmanship of this chart is an excellent example of Bauzá's skills in marine cartography which later led to his appointment as head of the Spanish Hydrographical Department.



Fig. 2
A detail of Bauzá's chart showing the French Académie triangulation chain. (By courtesy of the Instituto Hidrográfico de la Marina).

(opposite above) Sculpture of Pierre Bouguer at his birthplace of Le Croisic, Loire Atlantique, France. Sculpture by Jean Fréour, photo by Alain Goffin.

Condamine drew three graphics of the meridian measurement. Fig. 3 is taken from *Journal d'une voyage…* and shows a 180º profile of the northern part of the triangulation from a position behind the base line facing south west with a detailed legend indicating twelve triangulation stations and main geographical features. In *Mésure des premiers trois degrés…*[Measure of the first three degrees] he includes a scale diagram of the triangulation titled 'Carte de la Meridienne de Quito' (Fig. 4) which shows the 30 triangles of the Condamine team in Roman numeration with the station names and the base lines superimposed over the meridian and the parallels of latitude. Underneath this he shows the triangulation in profile form indicating the altitude of the stations. His topographic map of the 'Audiencia of Quito' with the triangulation superimposed on it is also included in the *Journal d'une voyage…* but a discussion of this document is left until later in the article.

Fig.4 (opposite below) A plan of the triangulation by Condamine with a profile of the same below giving altitudes of the stations. (By courtesy of the Museo Naval de Madrid)

The most detailed topographical map of the triangulation was produced by Antonio Ulloa. This map is included in the first edition of *Relación historica del viaje…* and is also reproduced in the 1773 second edition of *Observaciones Astronomicas…* (Fig.5). The map is drawn at a scale of approximately 1: 205,000 and printed on two pages each 100 x 22 cms [39.4 x 8.7 ins]. The only meridian is that of Cuenca and no parallel is shown. The cartouche, which illustrates volcanoes, indians and llamas, describes the map as 'Carta de la Meridiana medida en el Reyno de Quito de orden del rey Nuestro Señor para el conocimiento de los valores de Grados Terrestres y la figura de la Tierra por Don Jorge Juan y Don Antonio de Ulloa concluida el año de 1744.' Although Ulloa's book correctly describes the initiative and role of the French Academy in the expedition, the map itself makes no mention of the French, and possibly reflects the Government hand in editing. The stations are not indicated by the numbers assigned by Ulloa in paragraph 562 of his book, but identified instead by the names of the nearest habitation or mountain summit. No altitudes are given but relief is depicted through hachures, still a relatively unusual technique in the first half of the 18th century[2]. Also shown are the courses of rivers (unnamed), forest areas, towns and villages and the roads connecting them. The map has sufficient detail to differentiate between stations on mountain tops (such as Pinchincha) and those located on lower slopes, such as Cotapaxi. Although no masterpiece, the map is neatly drawn and an example of the undoubted cartographic skills of Ulloa in both surveying and draftsmanship.

Fig.3 A view of the Andes mountain range by Condamine. It shows the area from behind the triangulation baseline looking southwest. The highest point in the centre is the summit of the volcano named Pinchincha. (By courtesy of the Museo Naval de Madrid)

Bouguer produces a similar map in his book, but drawn at a smaller scale (Fig.6). Because of its smaller size on one page it is easier to visualise the whole of the triangulation activity than in the case of Ulloa's map even though some detail is lacking. His cartouche recognises the work of both Verguin, one of the French engineers, and Ulloa besides the three French scientists, but does not name Jorge Juan.

Other activities by expedition members

When the main part of the triangulation finished in 1739 the expedition members all undertook various other activities as well as the important astronomical observations related to the meridian measurement. Juan and Ulloa were temporarily returned to military activities for Spain and



England had again broken the peace. This time it was on account of the so-called 'War of Jenkins Ear' due to their mutual failure to implement the trade arrangements established in the Treaty of Utrecht. Frightened by the threat of a British naval squadron under Admiral George Anson, the Viceroy of Peru ordered Juan and Ulloa to organise and strengthen the naval defences along the Pacific coast thus causing an almost three-year interruption in their scientific endeavours. During this period the two officers made plans of six harbours and Juan also produced an improved map of the Pacific coast from Acapulco to Tierra del Fuego. All are included in *Relación historica*. Juan and Ulloa are also said to have produced a map of Maldonado's route from Quito to Esmeraldas though the author has not been able to locate a copy.

La Condamine became a guest of Maldonado and together they made various explorations in northern Peru before travelling together to Europe via the Amazon.

Bouguer and Godin made astronomical observations and other scientific investigations, the latter also becoming a professor of astronomy and mathematics at Lima University during which period he produced a plan of the fortifications of Callao[3].



Maps of Quito by Maldonado and La Condamine

Combining the invaluable geodesic data from the meridian measurement with his own extensive geographical knowledge of his homeland, Maldonado drew a beautiful detailed map titled 'Carta de la Provincia de Quito y sus adjecentes'

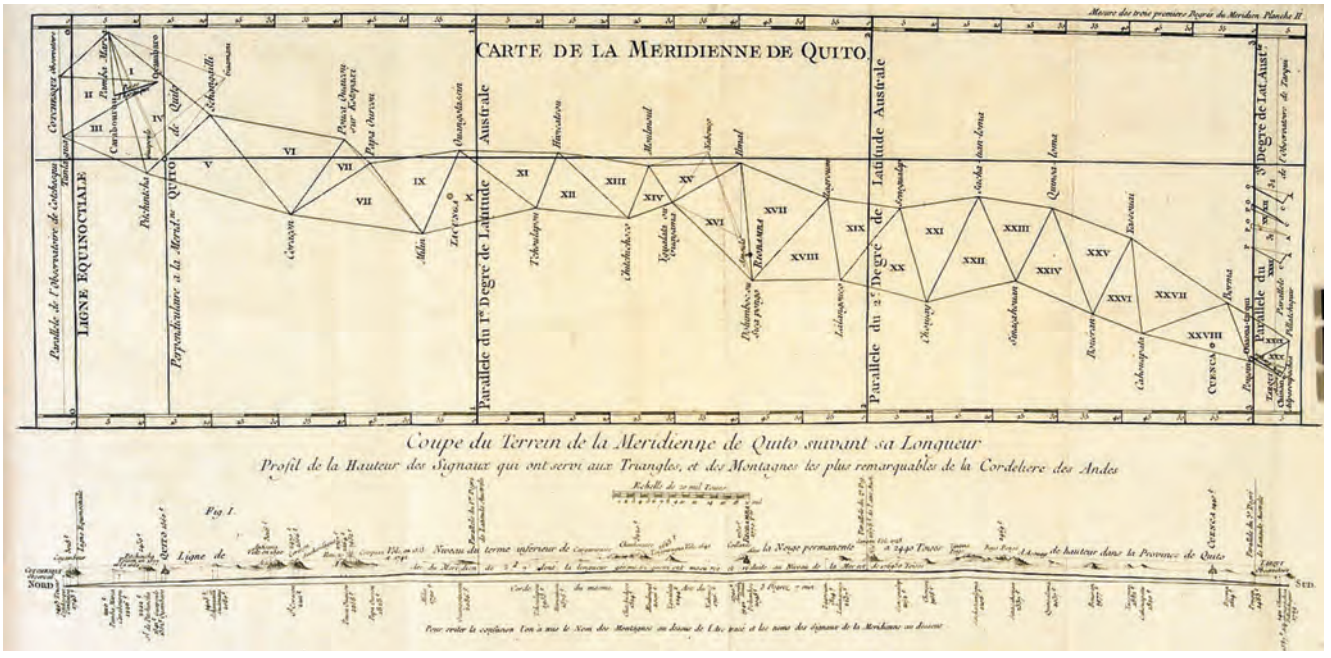




Fig.5 The central portion of Ulloa's 2-metre-long map of the triangulation, together with the cartouche. The triangulation stations under the two Indian figures are on Cotapaxi volcano and as can be seen are well below the summit (nearly 6,000 metres high) because of adverse weather conditions. (By courtesy of the Museo Naval de Madrid).

[Map of the Province of Quito and surroundings] (Fig.7). Drawn at a scale of approximately 1:814,000 on four sheets measuring in total 114 x 78 cms [44.88 ins], it shows mountain profiles on a graded yellow/brown wash and forest/jungle areas in green. The map contains the main population centres and their road/track connections while river courses are shown in great detail. Numerous commentaries are included such as: 'navigable up to here'; 'site of Logroño, destroyed by the Xibaros a century ago'; 'wild jungle, little known'; 'route followed by M. Bouguer'.

On arrival in Paris, La Condamine presented Maldonado to Bourguignon d'Anville for the engraving and printing of his map, which was to be financed by the Spanish crown. Meanwhile Maldonado continued his European tour. Unfortunately, he died suddenly whilst in London aged only 44. In what at first appears to be an act of posthumous friendship, La Condamine took charge of the completion of the Maldonado map. But behind this activity were sinister interests and Condamine saw to it that virtually none of the numerous corrections made by Maldonado on a proof before leaving for London were incorporated into the final production. This included the Spanish Crown instruction that mineral locations be eliminated. The map was printed and sent to Spain with a cartouche giving the authorship as that of Maldonado and recognising both the contribution of the *Académie* and the *Guardias Reales*, and the patronage of Fernando VI. But this was not the only map printed from the same plates. Condamine delayed the return of the plates to Spain, as had been agreed[4] and printed a second version without reference to the Spanish monarchy and substituting the names of 'Sr. D'Anville' and 'D.C.D.L.C' (Don Carlos de la Condamine) for distribution to the *Académie des Sciences* and *The Royal Society*. Although only minor, these changes are indicative of the easy manipulation of copper plates to support underlying political and commercial forces.

Not only did Condamine conspire in changing the final representation of Peru as Maldonado wished, but he also blatantly copied the map on a smaller scale (58 x 34 cms [22.83 x 13.38 ins]) for publication in *Journal d'une voyage…* in which he covers himself with authorial credit, relegating Maldonado to the role of a collaborator. It is on this map that Condamine shows the triangulation stations from which he made his meridian measurements[5].

Epilogue

Both La Condamine and Bouguer attained fame and continued making important contributions to science for the remainder of their lives, though they also involved themselves in a bitter public squabble over minor details of the arc measurement. No such bright future awaited Godin who was the last to return to Europe, only to be accused of mismanaging the expedition and its funds with the result that he was expelled from the Academy.

Juan and Ulloa returned in separate ships with the latter captured by the British and taken to London where his papers were confiscated. Fortunately these found their way into the hands of Martin Folkes, the president of the Royal Society who promptly realised their value and named Ulloa as a member of the institution. He also recommended to the authorities that Ulloa should be returned to Spain with all his documentation! Both officers went on to important naval and government careers and became reference points for Spain's attempts to achieve a European scientific status. Among his many activities, Jorge Juan became 'Captain' (director) of the naval academy and successfully proposed the construction of the Cadiz observatory and who better to be responsible for it than Juan's destitute colleague, Luis Godin, who accepted the offer which also included teaching at the Marine Guards academy. He made a considerable contribution to both institutions and a few years before his death was reinstated in the French Academy as a '*veteran – pensionaire*' [veteran-pensioner].

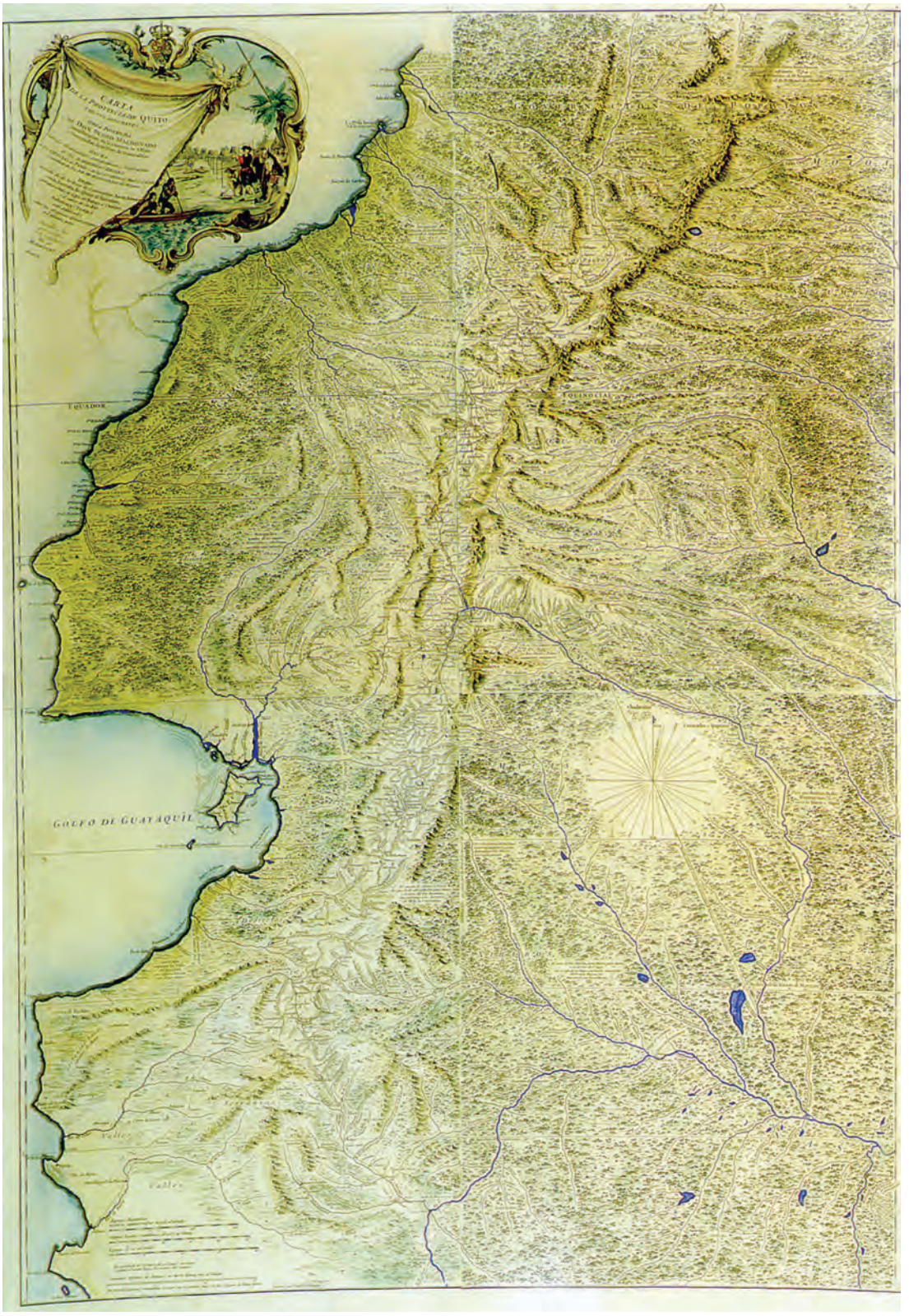


Fig. 7
"Carta de la Provincia de Quito con sus adyacentes" by Pedro Maldonado (By courtesy of the Museo Naval de Madrid)

Notes

1. See Roger Stewart 'A Mystery resolved: Lacaille's map of the Cape of Good Hope', *IMCOS Journal* Winter 2009, pp. 7–11

2. Apparently first experimented with in 1671 (Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps*)

3. Now held in the *Centro Geográfico del Ejército*, Madrid

4. These plates were finally donated by Spain to the government of Ecuador.

5. For an exhaustive piece of research into the Maldonado/ Condamine maps of Quito see Safier pp. 123-165

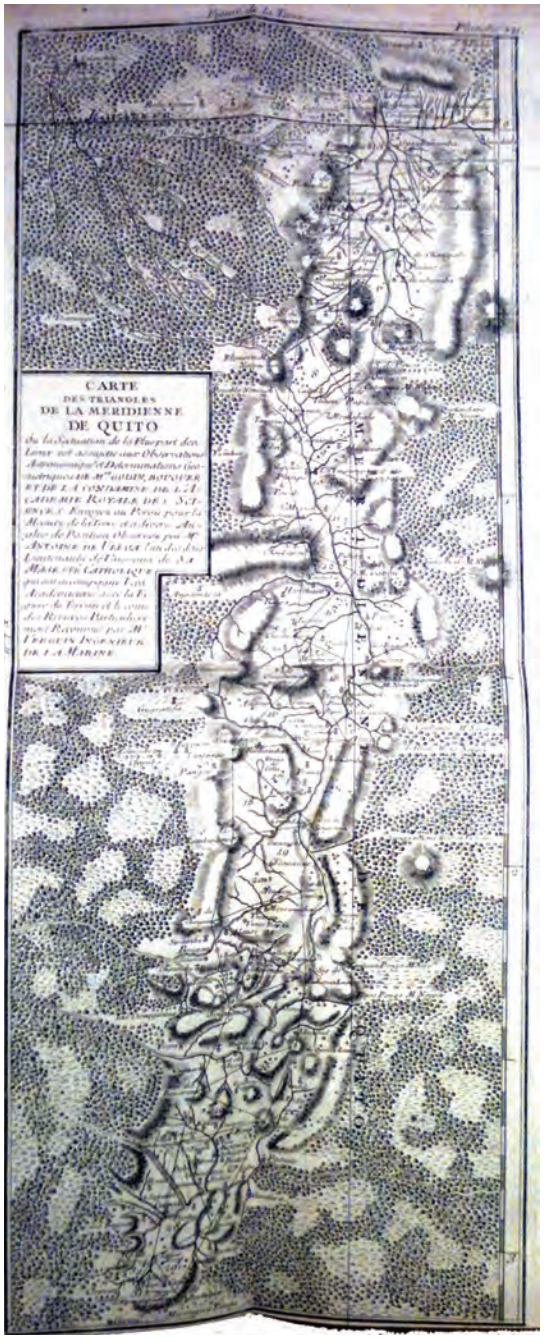


Fig.6 Map of the triangulation by Pierre Bouguer. (By courtesy of the British Library)

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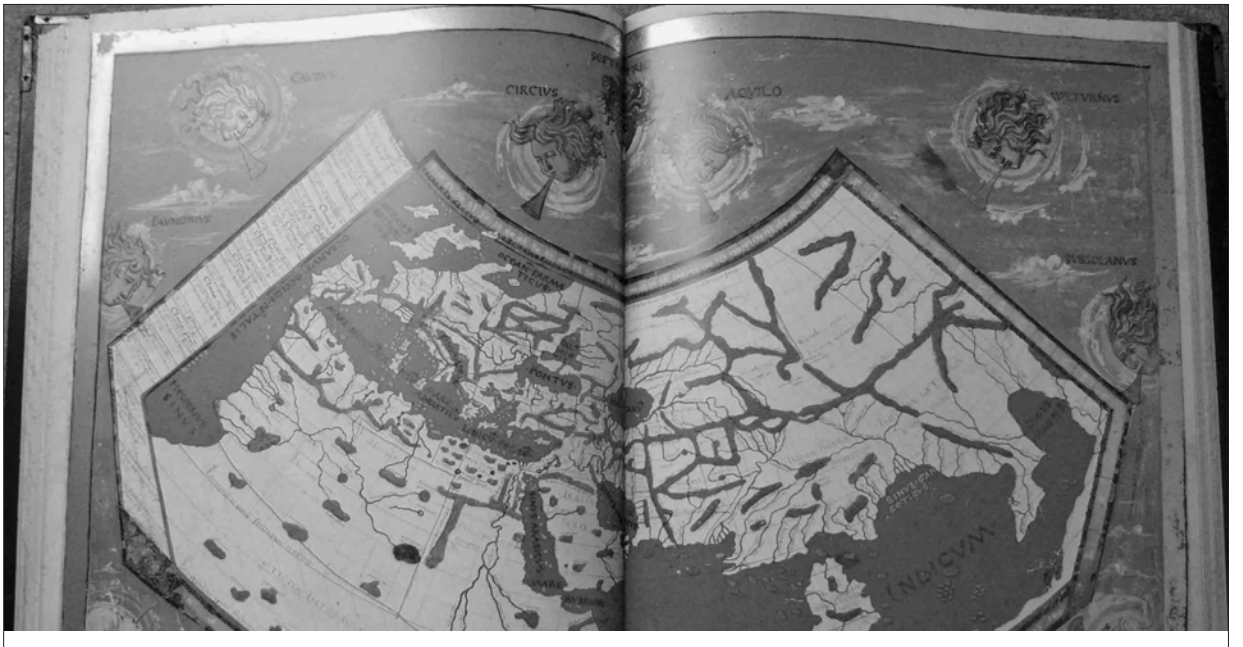
Acknowledgements

The author appreciates the kind help of the following and their staff: Nieves Rodriguez, Museo Naval, Madrid, Tom Harper, British Library and Inmaculada Benitez, Instituto Hidrografico de la Marina, Cadiz and also children Anna and Chris for preparing the illustrations.

The author

Richard Smith was born and brought up in Lytham St Anne's, Lancashire, and educated at the local grammar school before studying marketing and business management in London. After working for several multinational companies in the UK and various parts of the world he is now retired and lives with his wife Josefina in Spain. Frequent cycling and climbing visits to the nearby Lake District and Yorkshire Dales as a youth led to a lifetime interest in cartography and has now blossomed into investigation and writing articles on the history of maps.





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Mapping Matters

News from the world of maps

Forthcoming map fairs

4th-5th February, 2012 The Miami International Map Fair at the History Museum, 101 West Flagler Street. Miami, Florida, USA. www.history.miami.org/visit/miami-international-map-fair

12th-15th April, 2012 The New York Antiquarian Book Fair at the Park Avenue Armory, 643 Park Avenue at 67th Street, New York. www.nybookfair.com

16th-17th June, 2012 The London Map Fair at the Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7. Opening hours Sat: 12pm – 7pm, Sun. 10am – 5pm. Admission free. www.londonmapfairs.com

28th-29th July, 2012 Joint Conference of Rocky Mountain Map Society with Texas Map Society. 'The Mapping of North America: the western expansion' at the University of Denver. Followed by a two-day map fair in Denver Public Library.

The Churchill Globe

At Christmas in 1942 George C. Marshall, the US Army Chief of Staff, presented terrestrial globes as gifts to the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and to the US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt[1]. These were large globes - 50 inch [127 cms] diameter - and were seen as a symbol of the co-operation and friendship between two nations at a difficult period of the second world war. Roosevelt's globe is now housed in the Roosevelt Presidential Library and Churchill's globe remains at Chartwell in Kent. This was his home from 1924 until the end of his life and the globe is kept in the studio in the garden where he did much of his painting.

Bellerby Globemakers, an English company based in London, is owned by Peter Bellerby. The company is in the process of making a new 50-inch globe inspired by the globes made in the war. It will sit in a base with hidden roller bearings so that it can be moved easily by hand and the company intend to make about 40 altogether over a period of years. The first ten will be priced at a mere £25,000 each!

"The original globes were clearly made in a bit of a rush as they are not especially detailed but they must have played a remarkable role in 20th century history," Peter Bellerby said. "It is easy to imagine the two great leaders talking to one another by telephone as they planned strategies while looking at matching globes in their respective command centres. www.bellerbyandco.com

Ref. 'The President's Globe' by Arthur H. Robinson, in *Imago Mundi*, 1997, Vol.49, pp.143-152.

Rare revolutionary map for the Library of Congress

David M. Rubenstein, co-founder and Managing Director of the Carlyle Group, has given the Library of Congress in Washington DC stewardship of the first map printed in North America. It depicts the boundaries of the new American nation and displays the 'stars and stripes' for the first time. The map, which was printed in 1784, is considered the best preserved of the few copies still remaining and has been in the custody of the New Jersey Historical Society since 1862. It was sold at Christies last December.

The Library of Congress has a massive 5.2 million maps, 80,000 atlases, 6,000 reference works and numerous globes but this map was seen as the single most important American cartographic document missing from the collection according to John Hébert, the recently retired chief of the Geography and Map Division. It will be on display at the LOC for the next 5 years.



The 50-inch diameter globe based on those made for Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II.

New virtual map exhibition
Michael Buehler of Boston Rare Maps, Southampton, Massachusetts, has announced the launch of a new virtual exhibition of American maps from the late 18th century. It is based on an exhibition that he curated in early 2011 - 'Toward a National Cartography' - which traces the evolution of mapmaking during the formative years after the American Revolution. Included are maps by Abraham Bradley, Osgood Carleton, Christopher Colles, Andrew Ellicott, John Fitch, John Norman, Jonathan Price and others. The exhibition can be viewed at www.americanmapmaking.com

A new web book available
David Allen, retired Map Librarian at Stony Brook University, has announced a new Web book 'The Mapping of New York State: a study in the history of cartography'. It is designed primarily to provide an overview of the subject for librarians and other researchers. Can be seen at www.dyasites.com/maps/nysbook/Title.htm

Death of Howard Lange
Antique map collector and President of Washington Map Society from 2008 to 2010, Howard Lange, died on 15th September after a long illness. After serving 8 years in the Air Force he entered the US Foreign Service in 1969 and served in many different countries including Vietnam, The Philippines, China, Poland and Malta. He is survived by his wife and son.

Brussels International Map Collectors' Circle (BIMCC)
10th December, 2011 9.30-16.30
BIMCC is holding its annual conference at the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels (4, Boulevard de l'Empereur/Keizerslaan 4, level 2). The subject of this conference is Brazil and the speakers will include Dra Iris Kantor from the Departamento de Historia, University of São Paulo, Brazil who will discuss the first maps made after the arrival of the Europeans in the New World, and Professor Dr Raymond Buve from Leiden University who will talk about a journey through Dutch Brazil from the attack by Piet Heijn on Salvador in 1624 to the siege of Mauritsstad by the Portuguese.
To register e-mail president@bimcc.org

La Jolla Map & Atlas Museum
by Bill Warren
It was a typically lovely day in La Jolla with bright sunshine and a cooling breeze from the waterfront as we entered this San Diego County village. La Jolla is the home of the University of California, San Diego campus but perhaps better known as one of the playgrounds of Southern California's rich and famous and as I am sure you know, it is pronounced 'La Hoya.'

Right in the middle of town is the new La Jolla Map and Atlas Museum, located in an office building at the corner of Silverado and Fay Sts. As we arrived on a Saturday this busy office complex was quiet. We walked past the street level fitness centre, ogling the perfect young bodies in perpetual motion and descended to the lower floor of the building's atrium.

There we received a warm welcome from co-curators, Roz Gibson and Captain Richard Cloward, USNRet. Richard was about to explain the layout when in walked Mike Stone, the man who made all of this possible. Mike explained how he and his wife started collecting maps some twenty years ago. When the collection became too large for a vault they decided to put it on exhibit if they could just find a suitable space. Lo and behold, the space materialized right in their home town of La Jolla. Finding Curator Richard Cloward, a local map dealer in his own right, was easy. A very talented space designer was also available, so off they went on a quest to make this the perfect space for exhibiting maps and atlases.

Many of the maps in the Stone collection are early printed engravings or woodcuts. Of special interest to Californians is a collection of a dozen or more maps depicting California as an island. From 1622 onward, inveterate plagiarist mapmakers believed that to be the case. This theory was exploded in 1705 with the printing of Eusebio Francisco Kino's map of the upper Gulf of California. Kino made extensive explorations through this Pimeria Region as a Jesuit priest and a copy of Kino's map, in volume, is displayed in an adjoining case.

Maps are grouped to show the progression through time of man's perception of his environment. As we know, political boundaries can change at the whim of the politicians who often were the mapmaker's client. A map showing the United States extending north to 54°40' stands next to a map of Texas extending north of Pike's Peak, both perfectly acceptable to the people for whom they were drawn. Another, from the hand of Benjamin Franklin, shows the first depiction of the Gulf Stream as those warm waters flow north along North America's east coast.

Mike Stone's interest has recently turned towards atlases with a fine selection on display. Celestial atlases, such as that of Cellarius, are grouped together and a fine copy of Ortelius' 1598 rendition of the 'Tabula Itineraria', an engraved version of the 'Peutinger Map' is also there. This is probably the earliest known depiction of Roman roads linking their European outposts with headquarters, for as we know, "all roads lead to Rome."

Modern era mapping is not overlooked. Maps of California's wine appellation regions vie with wonderfully pictorial Jo Mora maps and views of real estate developments, some of which actually flourished. A map of Coronado, as an example, shows the completed Hotel Del Coronado and bustling streets lined with houses and businesses - years before actual construction. Real estate developers often dream as grandly as early explorers, and in Technicolor.

Roaming and exploring, we enjoyed several hours of discovering and especially appreciated the opportunity to discuss collecting with Mike Stone. A John Thornton manuscript map of New England and New France is prominently displayed in one section of the Museum. If you read the Autumn 2011 issue of *IMCoS Journal* you might remember the Hudson's Bay Archives lamented the sale of this map earlier this year. We can now assure them it has returned to the North American continent where it can be examined, up close and personal, by anyone visiting Southern California. If you do, do not miss this jewel of a museum which makes a trip to this seaside resort village very worthwhile for a map collector.

Michael Stone is a local business man and philanthropist on the Board of the San Diego Museum of Art and an advisory board member for the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library. The Museum website is www.mamlj.org

Cambridge Seminars in the HOC

28th February, 2012, 5.30 pm. Lucy Donkin, 'Mapping consecration in 12th-century Italy and beyond'. Held in the Gardner Room, Emmanuel College, St Andrew's Street, Cambridge CB2 3AP
Contact: Anne Taylor aemt2@cam.ac.uk

'Maps and Society' Lectures

Held at the Warburg Institute, University of London, Woburn Square, London WC1H 0AB at 5pm. Admission is free and each meeting is followed by refreshments. All are welcome.

26th January, 2012 Nils Petter Hellström (Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, and School of Gender, Culture and History, Södertörn University, Sweden). 'White Maps of Africa: the making of blank spaces 1700-1800.'

16th February, 2012 Francis Herbert (former Curator of Maps, Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), 'Maps for The Hakluyt Society, 1847-2010: or, from Cosmas to Cook and Computers.'

1st March, 2012 Dr Hilde De Weerdt (Institute for Chinese Studies, University of Oxford) 'Reasoning with Maps: Amateur Mapmakers in Imperial China (1100-1300).'

Globe symposium in Jena

Report by Francis Herbert

The 12th International Symposium for the Study of Globes of the Internationale Coronelli-Gesellschaft für Globenkunde (founded in Vienna in 1952) (www.coronelli.org) took place in the former German Democratic Republic's city of Jena from 29th September to 1st October. Thanks to its local organiser, Dr Andreas Christoph, the host institution was the Friedrich Schiller University's 'Ernst-Haeckel-Haus' Institut für Geschichte der Medizin, Naturwissenschaft und Technik; the sessions were held in the Rosensäle (or 'Rose Rooms'). Local flavour was provided by one personality and by one publisher: the Jena professor Eberhard Weigel (1625-99), and by the 'Geographisches Institut' with its later 'Landes-Industrie-Comptoir' in Weimar, respectively.

Illness took its toll of expected speakers.[1] The Society's President, Peter E. Allmayer-Beck, had his 'Welcome' speech read by Wolfram Dolz (Dresden) whilst Society's officer Jan Mokre (Vienna) closed the Symposium; and Kurt Brunner (Munich) was unable to give a foretaste of 'Mercator-Year' 2012 in his paper 'Mercator and the loxodrome'. Thomas Horst (also Munich), however, was present to read his 'Gerhard Mercator (1512-1594) and his influence on 16th-century globes', benefitting from his discovery in the State Library (Berlin) of an astronomical/astrological disc, dated May 1551, at the foot of Mercator's celestial globe. Most of his presentation was a demonstration of the influence of Mercator's famous 1569 world map on Philipp Apian's 1576 terrestrial globe. Rudolf Schmidt (Hon. President), replacing a missing speaker, spoke on 'Zur Arbeitsweise von Vincenzo Coronelli: eine Ergänzung zum Bericht in *Der Globusfreund* Nr. 43/44' ('On Vincenzo Coronelli's work methods...') – an addendum to his Coronelli Symposium (Prague, September 1994) paper [2].

Several aspects of globes – whether as 'stand alone' items or as components of related scientific instruments or metallic drinking cups - were well covered throughout: identifying information sources (including star maps); connections with art, science and politics; conservation (and/or substitution of damaged parts); digitisation (a spinning globe as counterfoil to the more well-known 'turning pages' technology); and a good selection of 'mysteries' and 'new discoveries'. The latter included 'A globe contradicting Newton and Einstein' by Markus Heinz (Berlin), on Aurel Anderssohn's 'Patent theilbarer Globus' (patented on 10th July 1877) that was able to be disassembled and whose purpose was to challenge gravity and relativity theories. An unresolved maker, date and intended dedicatee was presented by Stefaan

Missinne (Vienna) in his 'Description and dating of a silver and gold-gilt celestial globe with the English royal coat of arms' in the form of a ciborium; its constellations were taken from Hevelius' 1690 *Uranographia*, its cartouche was blank, has a secret message (quotation from Ovid's *Elegia VIII*), and shows the order of the Garter: his conclusion was, that the item was intended as a personal or diplomatic gift for the Catholic – and exiled - James II or James III.

Other 'mysteries' revealed – but not yet answered – were 'A pair of unrecorded 16th century globes' presented by owner James/Jim Sykes (East Hampton, NY, USA). The celestial very closely copies that of Caspar Vopel (1536); the terrestrial was compared to Mercator's 1541 globe, but shows post-1541 Spanish explorations in America, textual similarities to Gastaldi's 1561 world map, and other information matching a globe in Rome's Museo Copernicano. His current suggestion is that the pair is of northern Italy manufacture and of 1550-65 dating. Marica Milanesi (Pavia) spoke on an anonymous coloured manuscript 32 cm-diameter celestial globe with strong similarities to Coronelli's celestial charts and his 3.5' concave globe of 1691-92; perhaps a preliminary sketch or draft for an unfulfilled commission?

In Weimar, too, participants may have had difficulty in deciding which of two relevant visits was the more rewarding. The morning guided tour was to the disastrous post-2004 fire-damaged, but since finely restored, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (see: www.anna-amalia-bibliothek.de [click for English version]; includes 'Help for Anna Amalia'/'Hilfe für Anna Amalia')[3]. There, 22 globes plus an armillary sphere and a globe clock were displayed in four rooms. 15 globes formed a private display for the Society in the Library's Sonderlesesaal ('Special Reading Room'), including one of two original Johannes Schöner terrestrial globes of 1515.[4] The Library's Dr Jürgen Weber (head of Conservation and of Special Collections) took charge of an English-language group while Annett Carius-Kiehne (with her special interest in maps and globes) took charge of the German.

The afternoon tour in the City Museum's Bertuchhaus was of a wider-ranging exhibition that had been organised by Jena University's Andreas Christoph, who talked us through 'Die Welt aus Weimar: zur Geschichte des Geographischen Instituts' or 'The world [as seen] from Weimar: the history of the Geographical Institute'.[5] From its 1804 foundation to its closure in *c.*1907 were displayed original documents, map-drawing instruments, a lithographic stone, an annotated proof, correspondence, samples of geographic and cartographic publications, and the (becoming) famous 'Earth Cube' or 6-sided square globe of 1803 (a product of the Bertuch publishing firm).

Notes

1. The Symposium's 58-page programme and abstracts is bilingual (German & English).

2. *Der Globusfreund*, 1995, 43/44, pp.151-88 (German & English versions): 'Zur Arbeitsweise Vincenzo Coronellis'/'P. Vincenzo Coronelli's methods of work' ("In Memoriam Helen M. Wallis")

3. *Reise in die Bücherwelt: Drucke der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, with a 50-item 'Katalog' edited by Michael Knoche (Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau, 2011). 148p.: ill., maps (some col.); 24 cm, ISBN 978-3-412-20692-5. Of interest to IMCoS members are described and illustrated fine coloured examples of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* in its scarce German translation by Georg Alt (Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1493); the very rare Ortelius *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* - but the version arranged, translated into German, and text printed by Johan Koler of Nürnberg in 1572; volume 1 of Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* with German text (Köln: Kempen, 1593); and J.G. Dopplemayr's *Atlas Novus Coelestis* (Nürnberg: Homannische Erben, 1742). German and English versions of the related exhibition guide, *Journey into the world of books: prints from the past seven centuries at the Anna Amalia Bibliothek*, is free to visitors; the 16 items displayed include the Ortelius/Koler and the Doppelmayr atlases (see: info@klassik-stiftung.de).

4. *Johann Schöner's globe of 1515: transcription and study*, by Chet van Duzer (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2010) ISBN 978-1-60618-005-1

5. *Die Welt aus Weimar: zur Geschichte des Geographischen Instituts: Katalog zur Ausstellung, Stadtmuseum Weimar, 29. Juli – 16. Oktober 2011*, edited by Andreas Christoph and Olaf Breidbach, and published by Ernst-Haeckel-Haus, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, 2011 (165p., ill. (some col.) ; 21 x 30 cm), ISBN 978-3-9814576-0-5 (soft covers) is in German. A limited print-run of an English-language *Exhibition Guide* by Niklas-Johann Brede, Andreas Christoph, Francis Herbert, & Claudia Meissner (21p. : col. ill. ; 21 x 30 cm), was also produced.

SHD meeting in Maine

Report by Francis Herbert (a former SHD President)

The Society for the History of Discoveries ('SHD'), whose own history includes choosing meeting venues in Canada, Mexico, USA, Jamaica, and 'Olde Englande' (see: http://www.sochist.disc.org ; 'Past & Future Meetings'), met for its 52nd Annual Meeting in the maritime-based city of Portland, Maine. The Society's first visit there was in 1996; but, over 22nd-24th September 2011, it was especially good to experience the newly-refurbished University of

Southern Maine's Osher Map Library and the Smith Center for Cartographic Education's much-improved facilities – and to meet with Dr Harold Osher himself once again. The SHD's invaluable and indefatigable local organizer, as in 1996, was again the Map Curator, Yolanda Theunissen (now also Director of Education); the added value of Dr Matthew Edney's presence and knowledge (for example, leading group tours of the current exhibition 'Travel and Tourism 1600-1900') meant members and guests were better served than ever. (See: http://usm.maine.edu/maps)

Although the paper sessions suffered from the absence of three advertised presenters, two replacements proved themselves worthy. Dr Carol Delaney (currently from the Department of Religious Studies, Brown University, Providence RI) spoke most interestingly on her just-published book, *Columbus and the quest for Jerusalem* (Simon & Schuster), dealing with Columbus' spiritual thoughts and inspiration as musing and motivation for his exploring quests. Local resident Holly Hurd expanded on her publication (a copy was in participants' Meeting packet), *From map to mind: Maine Studies Lessons for School Children* – an 'outreach' project book (illustrated by her daughter) based on the life and works of a local, but internationally-known, map maker, Moses Greenleaf (see, e.g., entry in *Tooley's dictionary of mapmakers*, rev. ed., E – J, 2001).

Advertised speakers present included Chet van Duzer, the very recent author of a book published by the American Philosophical Society on Johann Schöner's 1515 terrestrial globe, who spoke on 'Sea monsters, darkness, and Paradise Islands: the Atlantic as mythic space prior to the discovery of the New World'. Post-paper comments included whether some portolan charts appeared to warn off potential ships from attempting to venture further west of the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) in order that those 'in the know' could continue to reap benefits from earlier trade/commercial explorations; and that, from a land-based perspective, dense woodlands and high mountains, too, were causes of fear in medieval times.

The veteran historian of geography, boundaries, and cartography, Louis De Vorsey continued to educate and entertain with his 'The Gulf Stream: from early charts to seaward boundary'. Not just more of Benjamin Franklin's epoch-making – and rare – chart printed and published in Paris, but on the alternative explanations by President Jefferson that considerably widened early post-Independence Americans' interpretations of what was the Gulf Stream's 'boundary' and thus provided a broader-width protective 'line of defence' from would-be intruding British ships.

From the Atlantic's seaward boundaries to the (mostly) landward Canada/US boundary and the presentation by Frances L. Pollitt on 'David and Samuel Thompson's exploration and survey work for the International Boundary Commission along the Great Lakes westward to Lake of the Woods, 1817-1827'. Based mostly on manuscript material re-discovered in the Maine State Archives she told the story of father and son. The speaker was pleasantly surprised to hear the comment from this report writer that the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG) held mapping by the Thompsons related to the same boundary work (according to the Treaty of Ghent). This is in the form of MS copies (on tracing paper) authorised, certified, and signed by the Boundary Commission's British Secretary, John J. Bigsby MD, and presented by him to the RGS in February 1850.

The Annual Banquet witnessed the conferring of SHD's Honorary Fellowship upon Dennis Reinhartz (formerly University of Texas at Arlington): organizer of last year's memorable Meeting in his retirement town of Santa Fe NM, former SHD President, and indefatigable 'mapaholic' (notably of Herman Moll).

The Rocky Mountain Map Society & Texas Map Society

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IMCoS Matters

IMCoS Events in 2012

Tuesday, March 13th 2012 6pm Collectors' Evening at The Farmers' Club, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1Q 2E1. The theme is Gerard Mercator to tie in with the celebrations for the 500th anniversary of his birth. Chairman Francis Herbert. All welcome. Small charge for refreshments.

June 15th - 16th 2012 Annual dinner on Friday 15th with the Malcolm Young Lecture (lecturer to be announced) followed by the AGM on Saturday, 16th at the Royal Geographical Society. This is timed to coincide with the London Map Fair also at the RGS on Saturday 16th and Sunday 17th. Further details in the Spring issue.

September 9th - September 12th 2012 IMCoS International Symposium in Vienna, Austria. This promises to be an excellent event with lectures and visits slanted towards the life and work of Gerard Mercator as we will be celebrating the 500th centenary of his birth. We will also be exploring the influence he had in the Habsburg Empire which flourished at that time. The mornings will be devoted to lectures and in the afternoons there will be visits to places like the Globe Museum, the Monastery of Melk and the Woldan Collection of maps at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The organisers are Dr Stefaan Missinne, Dr Petra Svatek, Mag.Gerhard Holzer and Dr Georg Zotti. Full details at: http://www.imcos.org/International_Symposium austria.asp To register go to: http://mercator-500.hosting-schultz.ch

Canterbury 2012 An IMCoS visit to Canterbury to view maps and possibly the cathedral is planned for 2012. Members will receive details later.

IMCoS/Helen Wallis award 2012 Nominations should be sent to Tony Campbell by 15th February 2011: t.campbell@ockendon.clara.co.uk

IMCoS Malta Map Symposium, 2011.

Report By Gerry Zierler

For four days in late September, about 50 members of IMCoS were guests of the Malta Map Society, and enjoyed the most splendid mix of Maltese maps, culture and hospitality.

In what was to be a full programme of events,



The participants of the symposium together with members of the Malta Map Sociaety pictured at the Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta.



Hans Kok thanking the committee of the Malta Map Society at the farewell dinner. (Photo by Joseph Schirò)

day one started with a visit to the Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta, and a welcome to Malta by the President of Malta Map Society (MMS), Dr Albert Ganado, who was this year's recipient of the IMCoS/Helen Wallis award.

Dr Ganado is well known for his outstanding research into and collection of maps of Malta, recently donated to the state of Malta, and now curated at the Museum of Fine Arts by Bernadine Scicluna, with MMS secretary Joseph Schirò in charge of conservation of the maps there, totalling some 700 of the Maltese islands.

Early that morning we saw the wonderful 1551 Lafreri pre-Siege map of Valletta. And just in case visitors weren't sated by all that was on show, at 11 o'clock the whole exhibition was changed and a fresh, equally breathtaking, selection was displayed for us. A personal favourite was the 1643 map of Valletta by Rabel & Briot which, with a minimum of distortion, showed the hills of Valletta underlying the grid of the city's streets, a subtle bird's-eye view.

A huge open-air lunch at a restaurant by the spectacular St John's Co-Cathedral was only partly worked off by a walk through history to Dr Ganado's 16th century house in M A Vassalli Street, named after the father of the Maltese language, and ably guided by Dr G himself. Five storeys of this remarkable house (exchanged for the Ganado map collection by the state) and its stairs were filled with treasures and lined by many more maps and paintings, many of men-of-war



Inspecting maps in the National Library of Malta (Photo by Joseph Schirò)

but including a pre-1792 oil-painted bird's-eye view map of Malta, an unusual Swiss view/map of Malta from the northwest by Merian, and two long watercolours of Malta dating from 1694, the second oldest known. In Dr G's 'Sanctorum' we saw his favourite map, a 1558 manuscript by Bartolomeo Genga (see *IMCoS Journal* 123, Winter 2010 'My Favourite Map') with very hummocky hills. At length the roof was reached: this provided the most spectacular view over Valletta and its harbours, from this near-highest spot in Valletta.[1]

Day two saw members gathered at one of the three main hotels used by IMCoS, for a walk to the National Library, or 'Biblioteca'. Curator Ms Maroma Camilleri welcomed us to the last building to be built by the Knights of St John in 1785 by the Polish architect Ittari. Books here date from as early as 1555 thanks to the decree that all Knights leave their books to St John's cathedral library, transferred here in the 18th century, and to the 'new' building in 1812. The archives of the Knights are here and date from 1107 to 1798: fortunately nothing was lost in WW2. The whole map collection is being digitised. The height of the bookstacks, right up to the coffered ceiling, was awe-inspiring, surpassed only by the wonderful display of Maltese maps and other historic documents. From 1113 on parchment, the foundation document of St John – the Pope approved a hospital here; six letters signed by Henry VIII of England; from 1426 a French painting of monks; from 1553 some German jousters and a book tooled with the coat of arms of the founder of the library. Here also is the 'holograph' letter (i.e. totally handwritten himself) from King George VI in 1942, awarding war torn Malta the George Cross, the highest civil decoration of the UK, for their services.

Among the wonderful maps seen was one of the Maltese Islands by Palmeus, 1752 (the biggest); Homann's 'Insularum Maltae et Gozae', 3rd state *c.*1740, which has it all: a splendid map with insets of town plan and prospect, and a cartouche complete with cherubs and ship. The 'Lafreri' atlas was by Pietro di Nobili, 1579, with Africa on show. The manuscript 18th century map of Gozo by Antonino Borg caught the eye for its sheer elegance. For detail, the winner could be Lucini's 1631 'La Nuova Citta e Fortezza di Malta Chiamata Valletta'. (Seeing all these Maltese map treasures together impressed upon me how much Malta looks like a piranha fish being followed by a minnow, Gozo, which is about to swallow an even smaller Comino!).

Still more treasures and beauty awaited us at the Grand Master's Palace, where MMS host Antonio Espinosa Rodriguez expertly guided us round and related the history of Malta, Valletta and the Order of St John, of which the current President is British – and a Knight! The most astounding paintings in the Tapestry Chamber were gasping-out-loud quality, as were the huge tapestries in the former (until the 1970s) house of parliament. The Grand Council Chamber, now the ballroom, has eight enormous frescos of the 1565 Siege of Malta by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio which date to 1576 and the original cartoons of which are at Greenwich. First in the sequence is a painted map of the islands some five metres square.

Friday evening saw the opening of the German Maps of Malta exhibition at the Maritime Museum



(left)
Larisa and Andrey Kusakin from Russia, pictured in Malta.
(Photo by Valerie Newby)



(below)
Inga and Gunnar Skoog, long term members of IMCoS.
(Photo by David Webb)



Lunch at the Chop House in Tigne overlooking the harbour (Photo by David Webb)

in Vittoriosa on the other side of the Grand Harbour from Valletta. This exciting exhibition is reported by Rolph Langlais in these pages.

On Saturday morning IMCoS members were treated to a private boat tour of the famous Marsamxett and Grand harbours, their creeks and dockyards, followed by an enjoyable lunch on Tigne point which overlooks Valletta. A tour of the 16th century Casa Rocca Piccola in the centre of Valletta, once the property of Don Pietro La Rocca, a Knight and Admiral of Malta, followed in the afternoon. Today the house is the home of the Marquis and Marchioness de Piro and they charmingly guided members round the house and explained its treasures. A delicious tea with Maltese cakes followed in the garden also hosted by the owners. Dinner was not necessary that evening!



Our hosts pictured in Mdina (Photo by David Webb)

The final day of the IMCoS visit was to the ancient capital, Mdina, and another visit to a splendid house, the *Palazzo Falson*, dating from 1240 and restored in 2000. Among the many collections were several Siege maps and an 1831 globe. At the Wignacourt Museum also in Mdina we saw Lucini's map of the Great Siege from 1631 and a mappa mundi, the original of which is in bronze. Sight of a Waghenaer-style Sicily and an 1833 manuscript map of the Maltese Islands by Don Felice Cutajar kept members alert in the heat.

Back in Valletta that evening we had a lecture by Dr William Zammit on the Order of St John and its Caribbean possessions, 1653-65. St Christopher (St Kitts), St Martin/Maarten and St Barthélemy were all controlled by the Knights of St John on and off during this period, and the Knight-Governor De Poincy built himself a substantial auberge-cum-sugarmill-cum-fortress at St Croix, shown in detailed plans researched and displayed electronically by Dr Zammit. The originals were sent from Malta to Italy in the 17th century and are now in the Vatican.

On the Sunday evening, IMCoS members gathered with their Malta Map Society hosts for a splendid farewell buffet dinner in the grounds of the Hotel Excelsior. The setting by the waterside was magnificent, not to mention the array of food presented to us. Our president Hans Kok thanked MMS chairman Dr Ganado and his colleagues, in

particular Joseph Schirò and treasurer Claude Micallef Attard, for arranging a wonderful symposium and stimulating insight into Malta and its history and for offering us such a wide range of its historic maps. Dr Ganado thanked IMCoS for choosing Malta as a venue and said it had been an honour to receive guests from so many different countries of the world including Great Britain, Russia and the USA.

NB: To commemorate this event, MaltaPost used a special cancellation stamp at the philatelic counter of the Central Post Office in Valletta on the opening day of the symposium.

Notes

1. See 'The house that maps built' in *IMCoS Journal* 126, June 2011.

An exhibition of German Maps of Malta

Report by Rolph Langlais

The opening of the exhibition 'German Malta Maps' took place at the Malta National Maritime Museum on 23rd September during the IMCoS International Symposium. The idea stemmed from a lecture which President, Dr Ganado, had delivered on German cartographers in Mainz 18 years ago.

With the visit of IMCoS the opportunity finally arose to arrange an exhibition around this theme. It was held in the building which had been occupied previously by the Arsenal built by the Order of St. John at the beginning of the 17*th* century and restored between 1690 and 1697. The building was torn down in 1842 and was replaced by a new building designed by the British architect and engineer William Scamp. It was to be a bakery for the Royal Navy, supplying the Mediterranean fleet with some 30,000 lbs of bread and biscuits a day! It ran from 1845 until the 1950s when it was converted into offices and stores.

It was into this building that the Maritime Museum moved in the late 1980s and early 1990s; the official opening was in July 1992. It was here in Vittoriosa that the invited guests were greeted to visit the exhibition of German maps of Malta prepared by Albert Ganado and Joseph Schirò of the MMS.[1]

The official opening was held in the presence of the Hon. Dr. De Marco Parliamentary Secretary for Tourism and Culture, the President of the MMS Dr. Albert Ganado and other officials. Some 50 IMCoS members attended, supported by a large number of interested representatives from Malta.

In his introduction welcoming all those present, Joseph Schirò outlined the background of the map exhibition based on Dr Ganado's collection of maps, which was donated to Heritage Malta and is housed at the National Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta.

The decision having been taken to host an exhibition of maps of Malta and to limit it to those produced in the largest sense by German nationals, the question arose as to whether or not there would be enough maps available to meet the criteria. Eventually about 80 German maps of Malta were found including some very rare items.

In conjunction with the exhibition it is well worth mentioning that the organisers had the splendid idea to create a children's map corner with



Robert and Barbara Bremner with IMCoS Committee member, Clare Terrell. (Photo by Valerie Newby)

games having a cartographic theme. Daring map collectors could even bring a map to be coloured!

The display of maps is arranged roughly according to the centuries during which they were published, all mounted and framed in a uniform manner, which made it easy to study them. The 16th century is represented by, amongst others, a map by Battista Agnese, published in 1554, one of the oldest maps of Malta produced. Other 16th century maps are three by Braun and Hogenberg including a bird's-eye view of Valletta which also shows Cagliari in Sardinia, Rhodes harbour and Famagusta in Cyprus. This composite sheet is State 1 and appeared in the first volume of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in 1572.

The siege of Malta by the Turks 1565 gave rise to the publication of a relatively large number of so-called siege maps. More than 50 were published in Italy, but only three in Germany. One of those maps was probably issued about 1565 and is by Matthäus Frank, who died in 1569. It is accompanied by a long text joined to the map but printed separately and is an early exercise in journalism.

Maps of Malta became more abundant in the 17th century. The work of the Streitberg brothers Georg Wilhelm and Georg Friedrich, and their publisher Johann Friederich Breithaupt produced a rare map of Malta dated 1632 which forms part of a travel account which was published in Frankfurt/Main. It described the route taken by Breithaupt, the brothers von Streitberg, and the Marschalek von Ebeneth who travelled together to Malta in 1624.

The 18th century was dominated by the decorative maps of Homann and his heirs and the Seutter family, also Blaeu, Jansson, Visscher, Du Val and De Wit. As Joseph Schirò writes in the catalogue, 'One of the most beautiful German maps of Malta is certainly the one engraved and published by Matthäus Seutter the elder in 1725.' Three known states of this map are recorded.

Pride of place for originality must be given to a Prussian Colonel of Engineers who was sent to Malta with the specific assignment of drawing up 'spy' maps of the island and its fortifications and who resided on the island for several years. His name was Lieutenant Colonel Baron de Behrend and he prepared a large map of the Maltese islands and a plan of the harbour fortifications which was presented to the Malta Garrison Library.

The exhibition of Malta maps by German cartographers, engravers, editors and printers was



Pictured at the opening of the German Maps of Malta exhibition are, from left, Joseph Schirò (Secretary of MMS), Dr Ivan Fsadni (Vice President), Dr Ganado (President) and Dr Mario De Marco, Minister for Tourism. (Photo by David Webb)

the highlight of the IMCoS symposium in terms of the number of maps displayed, the expertise in presentation and time it must have taken to choose which ones to display.

It was interesting to note that many IMCoS members, who are well informed and know their maps, came across the names of German cartographers which were completely unfamiliar. A review of the accompanying catalogue, *German Malta Maps* by Albert Ganado and Joseph Schirò will appear in the next issue of the *IMCoS Journal*.

A huge vote of thanks goes to Dr. Ganado and all the committee of the MMS but especially to Joseph Schirò, their secretary, and Claude Micallef Attard for their organisational expertise, hospitality and kindness to all the visitors.

Notes

1. *The Malta Maritime Museum, Vittoriosa*, by E.M. Conti, Insight Heritage Guide, 48 pages, ISBN 99932-7-075-X

The One Show

By Tom Harper, Map Curator

The map collection, Reading Room and staff of the British Library featured in three short films broadcast as part of BBC's 'The One Show' during October.

Collectively (and rather wearily) entitled 'ye olde sat nav,' the films introduced historical maps, which were then taken by the presenter to navigate parts of 21st Century England. Thankfully, the programme resisted the temptation to lose the presenter down non-existent roads due to the inaccuracy of the maps, instead focusing more upon the historical significance of the landscape, and changes made to it over intervening years.

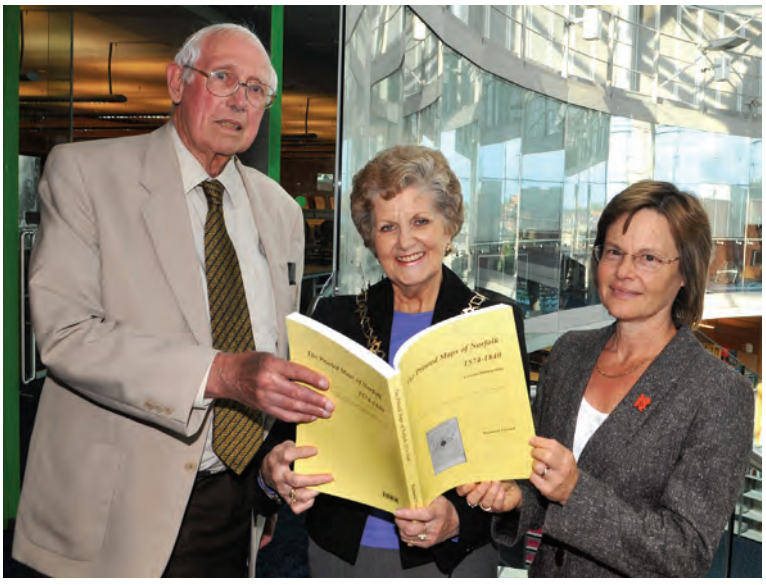
The first programme featured the map of Kent by William Mudge of 1801, and focused on the military, defensive motivations for its making (and included the insightful line 'Kent is quite close to France'. Indeed!). The second film detailed a strip map of the road from Bristol to Wells, from Owen and Bowen's *Britannia Illustrata* of 1724. Finally, the map of Newcastle included in John Speed's county map of Northumberland of 1612 offered a profile of the much changed northern city.

Diamond wedding anniversary

IMCoS photographer, David Webb (famous for his home made t-shirts which he makes to accompany each of our international symposia), and his wife Joan celebrated their Diamond (60th) Wedding anniversary on 5th September. They had a party for 50 members of their family which included a game of rounders and a delicious tea. The couple have lived in Atworth, Wiltshire, all their married life.



David and Joan Webb (centre) pictured at their Diamond Wedding Anniversary party. Also in the picture are their two bridesmaids, Mary (on the left) and Muriel (right)



Raymond Frostick at the presentation. (By courtesy of Simon Finlay, Eastern Daily Press)

Raymond's labour of love

IMCoS member, Raymond Frostick of Norwich, Norfolk, recently completed his book *The Printed Maps of Norfolk 1574-1840: a cartobibliography* and he is pictured here presenting a copy to the Chairman of Norfolk County Council, Shelagh Hutson and head of libraries, Jennifer Holland. In fact Raymond himself was Chairman of the Council from 1983 to 1984 and also a former Lord Mayor of Norwich. This picture first appeared in the Eastern Daily Press and Raymond explained that the book was the culmination of an interest in early maps which goes back to his university days.

He started collecting maps when they were available for 'very little money' and he decided to write this cartobibliography when he retired. The last listing of maps of Norfolk was published in 1928 so he felt a new work was very much overdue. Read more about it on p.28 in 'Book Reviews'.

Welcome to the following new members

We are very pleased to welcome the following people who have joined IMCoS in the last few months. They come from many different parts of the World, illustrating the diversity of our membership.

Martin Clarke, Buckinghamshire, UK
Dr Karin Sixi-Daniell, Hall bei Admont, Austria
Yarema Gribowske, Mississauga, Ontario, Canada
Mrs Krystyna Pleszewska, Beaconsfield, QC, Canada
Stanislas De Peuter, Tervuren, Belgium
Gary Nevin, Tokyo, Japan
P.J. Mode, New York, USA who tells us that he collects maps intended primarily to communicate messages other than geographic information. This includes, for example, allegorical and satirical maps; political and polemic maps; propaganda maps; and certain thematic, pictorial and advertising maps.

Joining IMCoS

Would all members encourage their friends and colleagues to join our Society. They will be part of a happy bunch of people who both love to collect and study early maps. Every year we hold an international symposium and other events including our Collectors' Evening when members can bring along their maps for discussion or identification. We also have an annual dinner and lecture and visits to map exhibitions.

Membership prices for 2012 are:- Annual £45 Three Years £120

Junior members pay 50% of the full subscription (a junior member must be under 25 and/or in full time education).

NB. *Because of the fluctuation in exchange rates between the dollar and the pound in combination with excessive bank charges for non-UK cheques, we will no longer be able to accept dollar cheques. Would members in the USA please pay by credit card.*

To apply for membership contact the financial and membership administrator, Sue Booty financialsecretariat@imcos.org or write to her at Rogues Roost, Poundsgate, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ13 7PS or check with our website www.imcos.org



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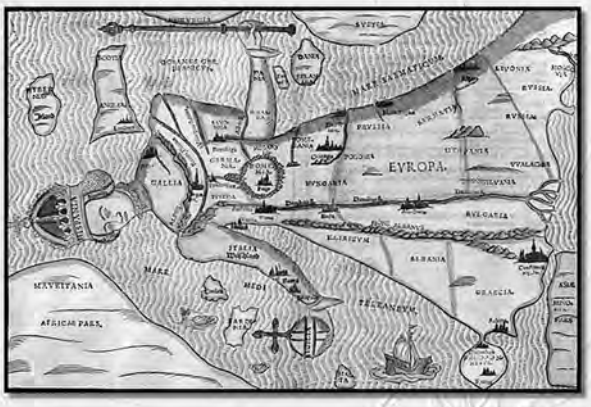
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The Malta Map Symposium
Back home and I wanted to express my gratitude for all the pleasure I received from attending the symposium organised by the Malta Map Society recently (22nd–25th September 2011). As a newcomer I felt warmly welcome and it was like being part of a family. Although my knowledge of maps is limited I learned a great deal from all the more experienced members while at the same time having fun!

Philippe Leger, Nyon, Vaud, Switzerland

Another accolade
I would just like to say that I enjoyed the symposium in Malta very much. It was really lovely and very well organised and I thoroughly enjoyed learning all about Malta. My only criticism is that we had too much food and I had to do a lot of swimming to allow for the next meal! Please convey my heartiest thanks to Dr Ganado, Joseph Schirò, Claude Micallef Attard and all the other people who helped to make this a very special and beautiful event.

Kitty Liebreich, London

NB. And that goes for all of us who attended. A wonderful time was had by all and we wish to send our thanks and gratitude to all the committee members of the Malta Map Society who were so welcoming. **Ed**

Similar maps-different stories
In the *IMCoS Journal* (No. 123 Winter 2010) I wrote about the territory of the Principality of Monaco before and after 1860. The article featured the now famous ex-principality map published in 1848 by Abel Rendu of Paris, a map based solely on the strong desire of the Mentonnais and Roquebrunois people to break away from the principality – a loss of 23km2, leaving Monaco with only 1.5km2 (today 2.02km2 due to land reclamation from the sea). This loss eventually happened, but some 12 years later!

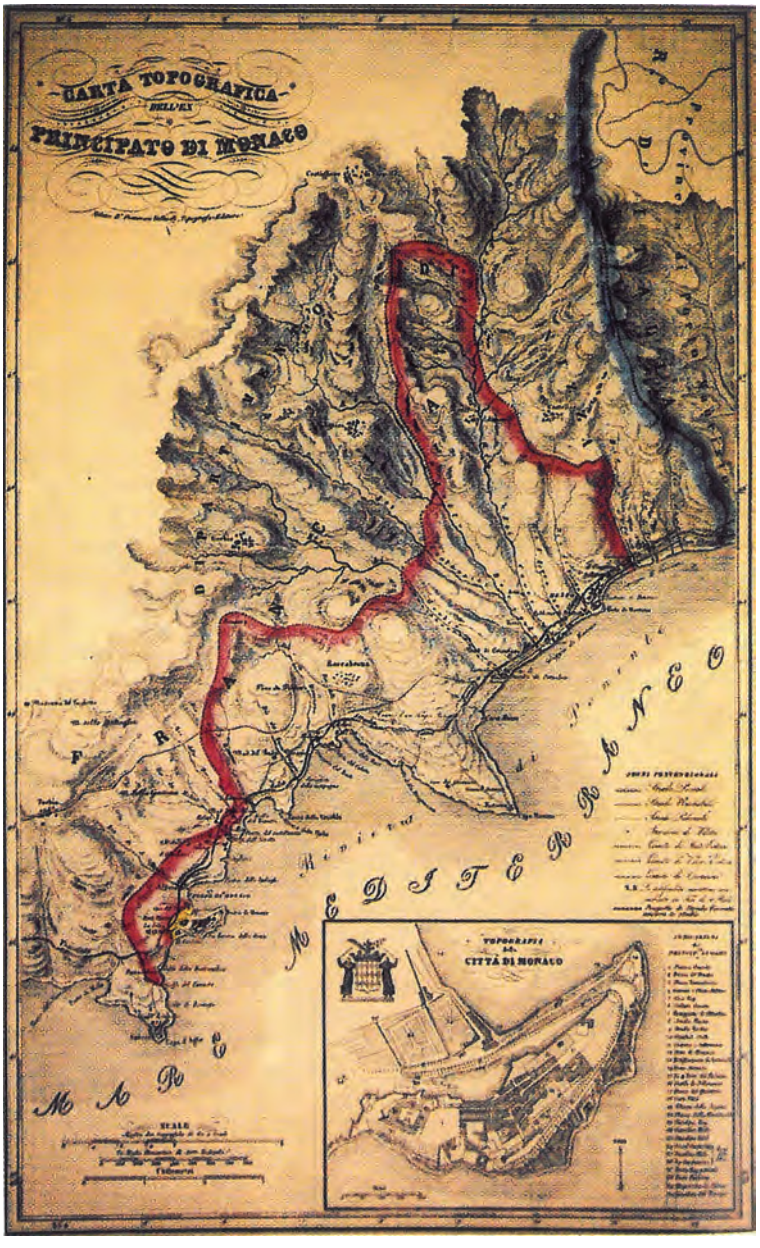
At the end of my article I mentioned the important maps of the principality published in *Atlante Geografico Degli Stati Italiani* by Attilio Zuccagni-Orlandini. These depict the principality before and after the break up of the territory. Zuccagni-Orlandini (1784-1872) published a number of detailed atlases between the 1830s and the 1860s and these show the new unified Italy that was emerging/emerged and are much sought after by Italian collectors because they are very detailed showing small villages and points of interest that are significant for collectors of specific regions and places.

Map No.1



Map number 1 shows Monaco as it existed from 1815 to 2nd February 1861 'Carta Topografica del principato di Monaco'. After the fall of Napoleon, the territory was put under the protection of the Realm of Sardinia and this is clearly shown by the words *Stati Sardi* (State of Sardinia). Above the old contour of the principality is shown *Provincia di Nizza* (Province of Nice) which encompasses and finishes with the village of Castellar (this picturesque village perches on an outcrop in the mountains above Menton but was never part of Monaco although it is a stone's throw away from Menton). It was administered by the Princes of Savoy who were to become the rulers of Italy. On this map the border line to Italy is below the crest of the mountains on the side of what is France today. The border does not follow the mountain tops to the sea but deviates one kilometre away from them to follow the bed of the stream Garavant or sometimes written as Garavent. On the side which is Italy today is written *Stati Sardi, Provincia di San Remo*.

Map No.2



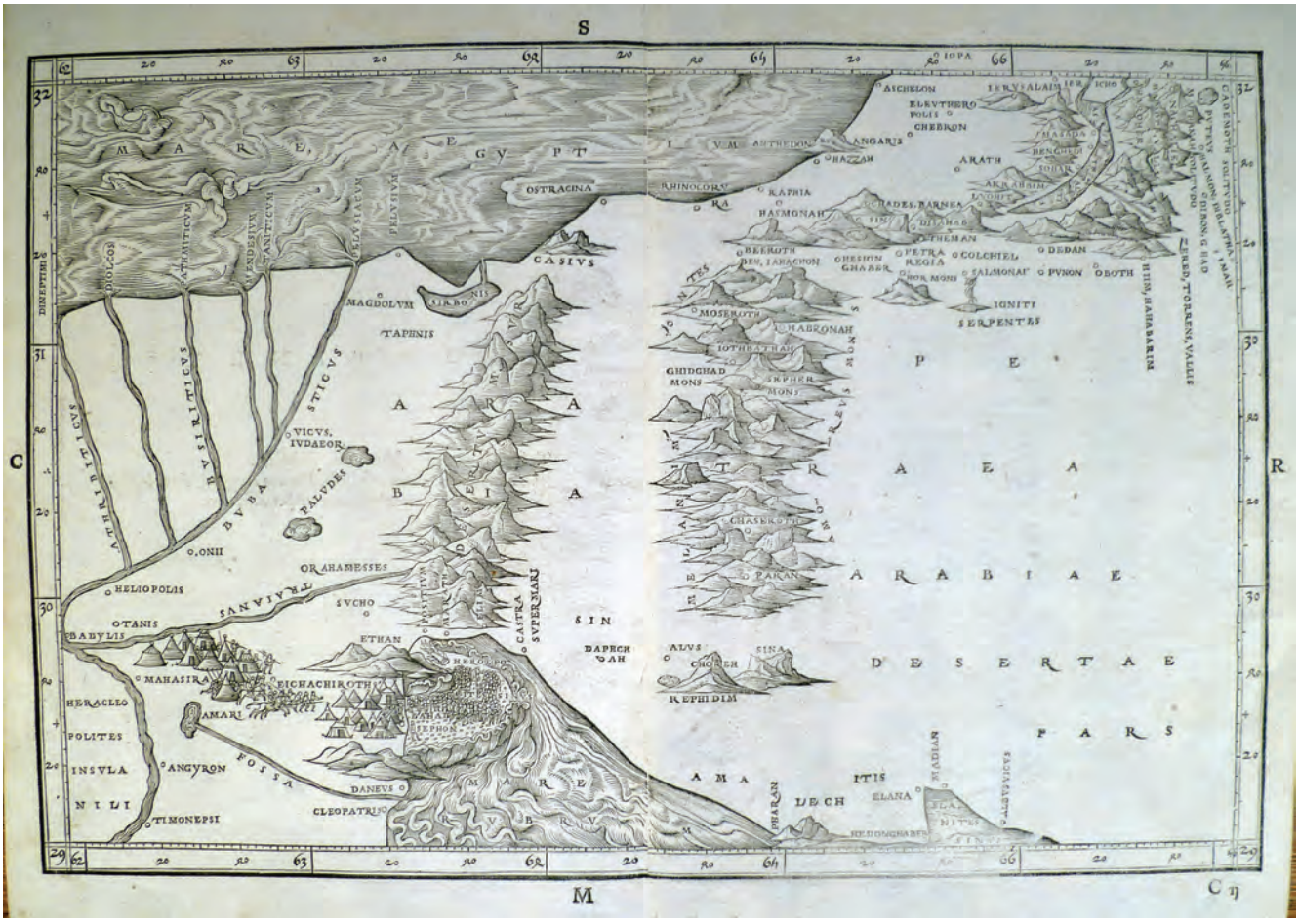
Map number 2 is titled 'Carta Topografica dell Ex-Principato di Monaco' and bears the name of Dr Vallardi of Milan under the title. He apparently updated the map in 1860/61. The railway line is included and the border is clearly shown in blue following exactly the mountains down to the sea and the words Regno D'Italia (Realm of Italy) appear after the mountains. The border is now 1 km further east. The new country name 'France' cuts over the old principality contour. The outline in red watercolour follows the old contour but shows both the old territory and the tiny new principality surrounding the rocky promontory and castle. The new reduced area runs from Cap D'Ail to St Roman. Beyond the French-Italian frontier the area is given a new name 'Provincia di Porto Maurizio'. In the sea area is added the name 'Riviera di Ponente' (Riviera of the West). The referendum which brought about the changes to the second map was held in April 1860 and resulted in Menton and Roquebrune becoming part of France. In Menton 833 inhabitants voted for and 54 against. The Prince of Monaco (Charles III) received 4 million francs in compensation for this loss of land.
Both maps measure 525x340mm.

Rod Lyon, Mosta, Malta

Did Jacob Ziegler lose his bearings?

It is well recognised that John Speed's engravers lost their bearings on occasion. For example, the compass rose on his 1610 county map of Surrey bears a poorly erased 'W' before 'East' and a seemingly altered 'West' with an unidentifiable, poorly erased, '0' before it. Also, the marginal indication of South in his 1610 county map of Middlesex is the curious 'Zouth' (possibly betraying Flemish or similar influence) in maps with otherwise English text (and some Latin inscriptions). However, he seems at first sight not to have been the only one.

Jacob Ziegler[1] (Zigler, Cigler, Jacobus Lateranus) was born in Bavaria in *c.*1471, and died in 1549. He was educated in a Cistercian



The recto of 'Septima Tabula' 1532 (23 x 35cm excluding marginal text). From the author's collection

abbey, and spent nine years at university, coming into contact with Conrad Celtis, who discovered the Peutinger map. He wrote on astronomical instruments and perspective, and constructed astronomical tables, and took a master's degree at Ingolstadt, but was obviously also independently minded, and his first published work was one denouncing heresy. In 1511 he moved to Leipzig where he met Martin Richter, who was to become his *amanuensis* and the draftsman of his maps. He at one time planned an annotated edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* in both Greek and Latin (never completed), and was particularly interested in the new mapping of Scandinavia, Palestine and elsewhere.

Arguably, his publication in 1532 *Quae intus continentur* ... is perhaps the one of greatest interest to cartographers. It contained eight woodcut maps, seven of Palestine and the adjacent lands, including Syria, Arabia and Egypt (Karrow entries 86/11-17), and one of Scandinavia ('Octava Tabula ...', Karrow entry 86/18), which was to be of great influence, showing a tremendous advance in the mapping of Scandinavia. They were reprinted, unchanged, in 1536 under the title 'Terrae Sanctae, quam Palaestinam ...'.

However, the current issue centres not on this map alone, but on all eight (slightly cropped images) which can be found on searching the integrated British Library (BL) catalogue for 'Ziegler, Jacob' as author, accessed 18th July 2011 - inaccessible by providing a link, because each viewing of an image requires acceptance online of conditions on each occasion. Whereas it had normally been the custom either to indicate orientation by a compass rose, or by marginal words in parallel to the axis of each side of the frame - albeit the direction was sometimes upward, sometimes downward, on the left and the right - with the cardinal points indicated in the text language of the map, or in Latin, or by the initial letters (or abbreviations) thereof, Ziegler seems to have chosen not to do this. The

text of his maps is in Latin (see images), and of the map of Scandinavia (Nordenskiöld's[2] Fig. 31, p. 57, and Ginsberg's[3] Fig. 8.0, p. 37), and of Palestine (Nebenzahl's[4] Plate 23, p.71), but the cardinal compass points are represented, printed in all cases horizontally outside the frame, by the single letters M above the North side, S below the South, C to the left of the West, and R to the right of the East, with the same convention in the inset compass rose in the map of Palestine ['Quinta ...']. (Only one of the four BL images of this map - whose catalogue entry already notes that there are manuscript additional marginalia - shows, at least, 'Meridies', which has presumably been added later by hand.)

By contrast, two manuscript drafts of Ziegler's maps held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France[5] use the full Latin names of the cardinal points within or inside, and parallel to, the four sides of the frame. I have not seen this convention in use elsewhere; they do not theoretically match the candidate initial letters in languages which would seem to be likely to be relevant to this work; they are not remarked upon, let alone explained, in any of the texts associated with the images quoted above, nor in Burden[6], nor in Laor[7],[8], nor in the many other general texts which I have consulted - but these may just be manifestations of my deficiencies!

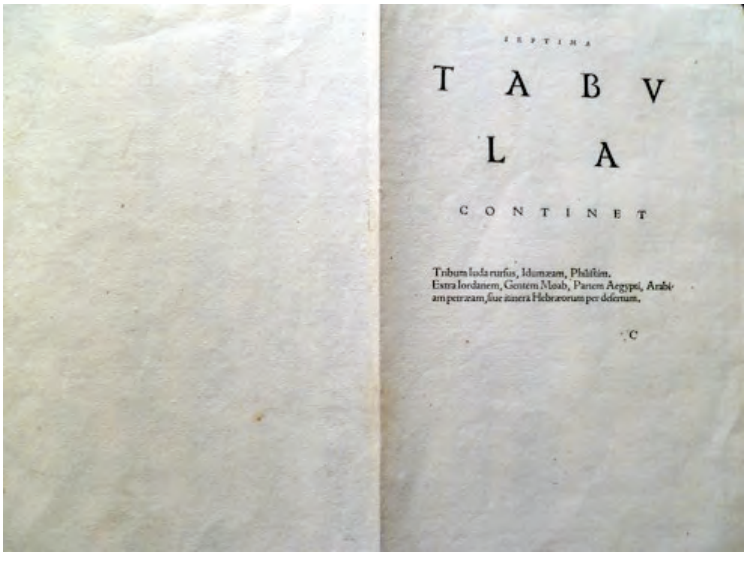
If this is a hitherto unexplained - and at first sight opaque - convention, why was it used by Ziegler for his printed maps (but not the manuscript versions quoted in Paris), and is the meaning buried with the author?

If we pass over the why, assuming that this was simply an unconventional whim, wishing to place all the points horizontally outwith the frame, and, being constrained by space, to use only initials, and if we assume - which seems not unreasonable, like all assumptions do at first - that the expression of this would require to be couched in Latin, no difficulty arises from the use of S and M for North and South, but those for East and West would both require to be 'O', and so differentiation would instead require use of abbreviations at least as long as 'Oc' and 'Or'.

The plot thickens. These constraints might well have gone against the grain (as the present author can testily testify). If the writer was a literate, knowledgeable and lateral-thinking individual, who granted that his audience were all similarly endowed, and if he was determined to use single letters alone for each of the four cardinal points, why not - when faced with a need for absolute clarity - forget the initial letter in affected points, and grace the second letter of each of these with upper case standing, namely 'C' for 'Occidens' and 'R' for 'Oriens'?

The best solution is naturally likely to be that my betters (whether or not my senior) have already known of this, and the true explanation, or have themselves explained it, whether in this manner or by even better means, and that all of these gyrations are wasted effort. Or are there even more learned, and better, solutions to this apparently opaque symbolism?

The verso of 'Septima Tabula' 1532 (From the author's collection)



Notes

1. Robert W. Karrow *Jr. Mapmakers of the sixteenth century and their maps*, 1993, pp.603-611

2. A.E. Nordenskiöld (translated by Johan A. Ekelöf and Clements R. Markham, 1973), *Facsimile atlas to the early history of cartography*

3. William B. Ginsberg, *Printed Maps of Scandinavia and the Arctic 1482-1601*, 2006

4. K. Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Bible Lands*, 1986

5. BnF website image bank searched using 'Jacob Ziegler'. http://images.bnf.fr/jsp/index.jsp?destination=afficherListeCliches.jsp&origine=rechercherListeCliches.jsp&contexte=resultatRechercheSimple) accessed 18th July 2011.

6. Philip Burden, *The Mapping of North America; a list of printed maps 1511-1670*, entry 9 (with the illustration from reference 3 above), 1996

7. Eran Laor, *Maps of the Holy Land*, 1986, entries 866-870A

8. Catalogue of a cartographic exhibition from the Eran Laor collection at the Jewish National and University Library (1976), entry 93 (the 1536 edition)

Neil Davidson, Grange, Edinburgh
Neild99@hotmail.co.uk

British towns on military maps

Some readers of the *Journal* may know that I have been researching and writing the mapping history of British towns for the last 20 years. The most recent aspect of this history to be studied has been town mapping for military purposes. This proved surprisingly complex and extensive, and has taken many years to complete. The written-up research is much too long for even a series of articles despite being divided into nine sections, with the largest section (England 1689-*c.*1805), in turn, divided into two parts. Unfortunately, the portrayal of British towns on military maps is such a specialised topic within cartographic history that it seems pointless to try to publish it as a complete work as the potential market is so small – and yet it will be invaluable to urban historians seeking to trace the development and growth of settlements, to military historians interested in the use of maps for military purposes and to map historians interested in this genre of maps.

Consequently, the full research, in ten parts each indexed, has been placed on deposit in the Map Library of the British Library at MAPS.235.b.83. The conclusions of the study have been published in *The Bulletin of the Society of Cartographers*, Vol.44, Issues 1 and 2, pp.53-59.

David Smith, Joydens Wood, Kent, UK

Thornton map recrosses the 'pond'

The autumn 2011 issue of the *Journal* arrived in my mailbox and on opening it I was pleased to see Lisa Friesen's article on the Thornton map ('John Thornton's Map of 1669: a lost part of Canadian history now found' *IMCoS Journal* 126 pp. 7-18). She was disappointed that the Hudson's Bay Company Archive was not able to acquire this manuscript map. The article stated it was bought by a London map dealer, Daniel Crouch. I am pleased to tell you that Ms. Friesen and others do not have to journey to London to see this map. She does not even have to leave North America. The map is on display at the new La Jolla Map and Atlas Museum in La Jolla, a suburb of San Diego, California. Attached is a photo of the map with its owner Michael Stone (shown below), as published in the May 2011 California Map Society *Newsletter*. Mr Stone's wonderful map collection is beautifully displayed in this free to the public museum.

Bill Warren, Pasadena, CA, USA

NB. See p.44 in 'Mapping Matters' for more details of the La Jolla Map & Atlas Museum.



Mike Stone, owner of the map and atlas museum in La Jolla, San Diego, standing in front of the John Thornton map.

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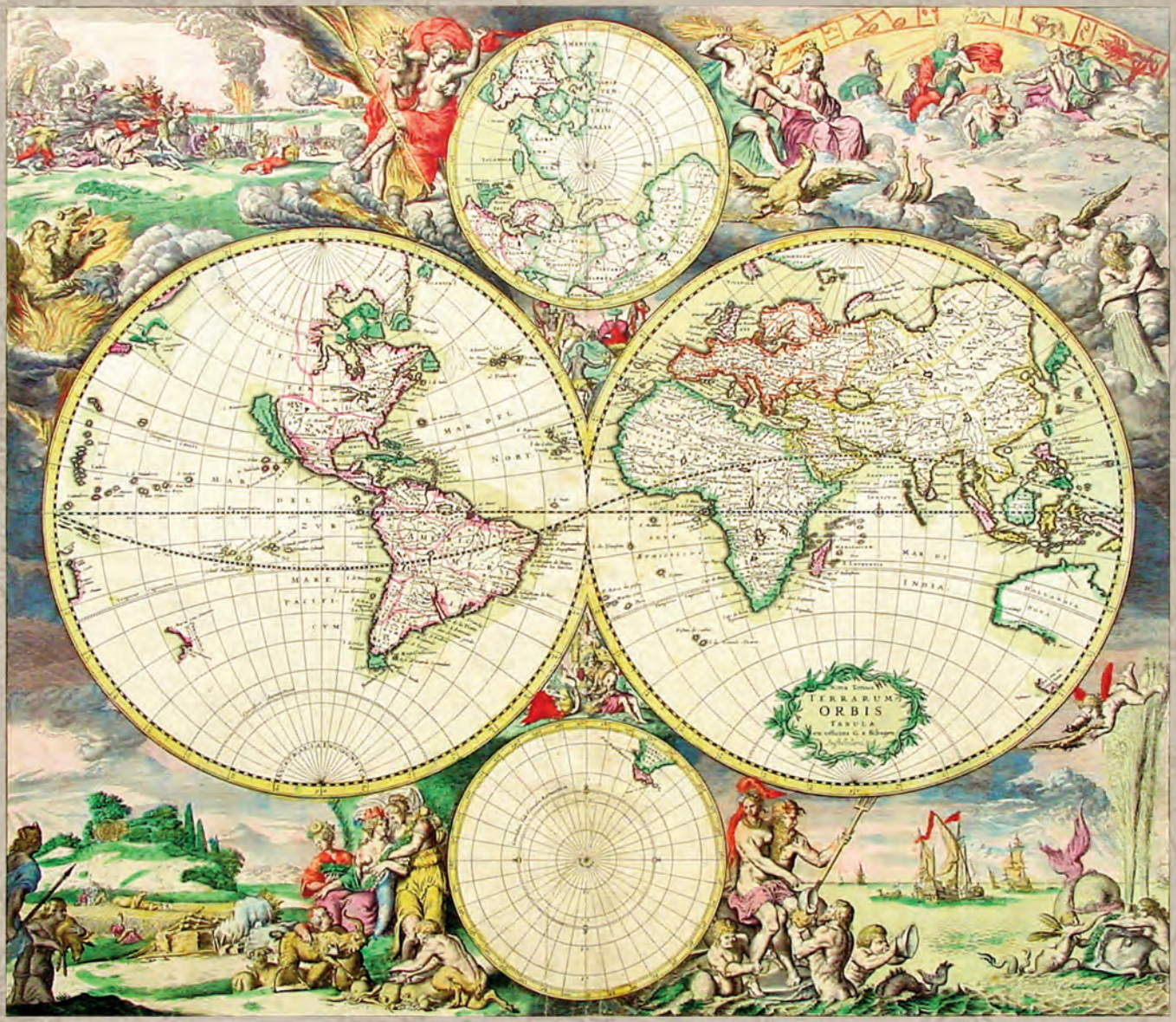
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