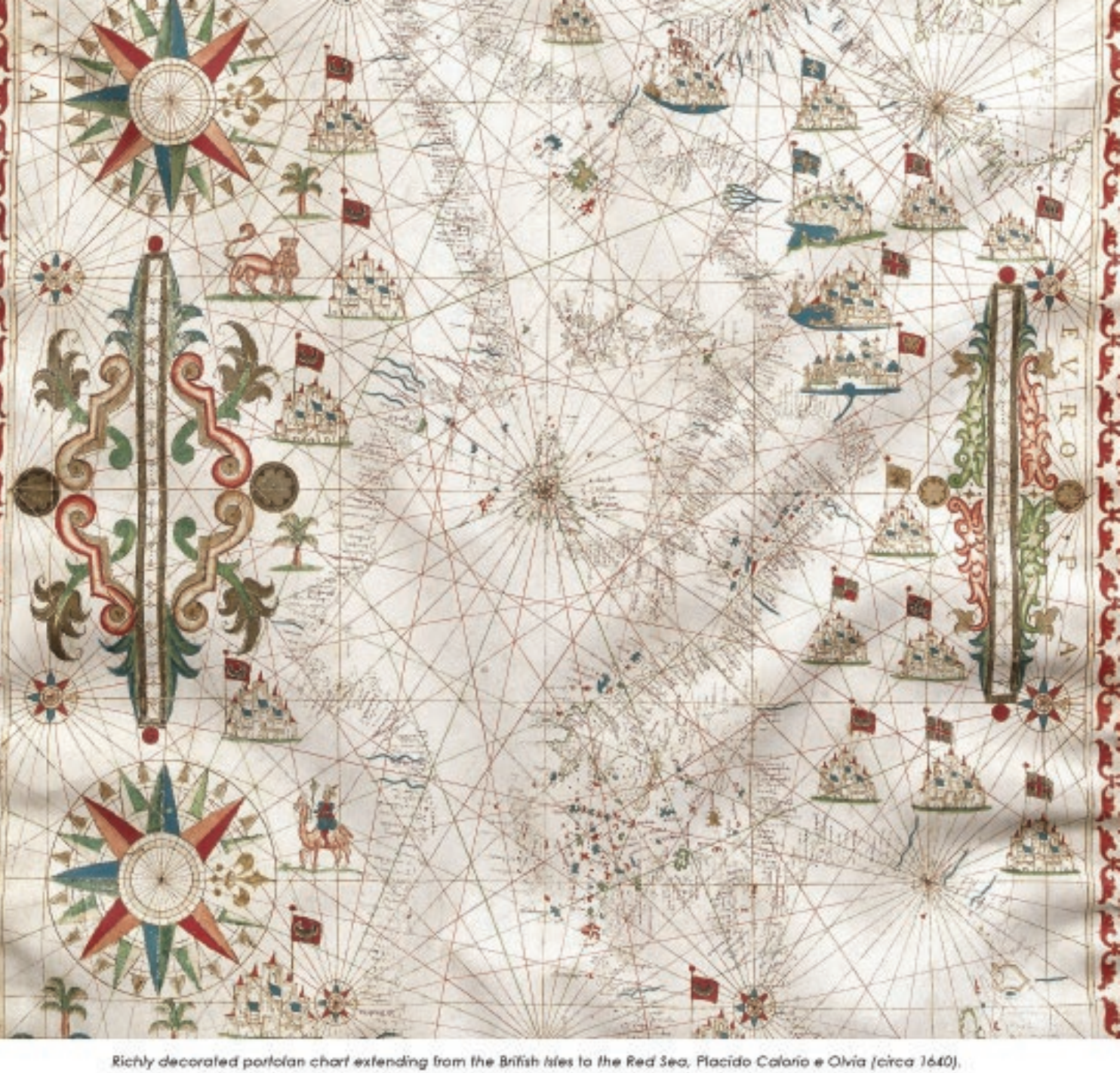
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IMCS JOURNAL

MARCH 2019 No.156



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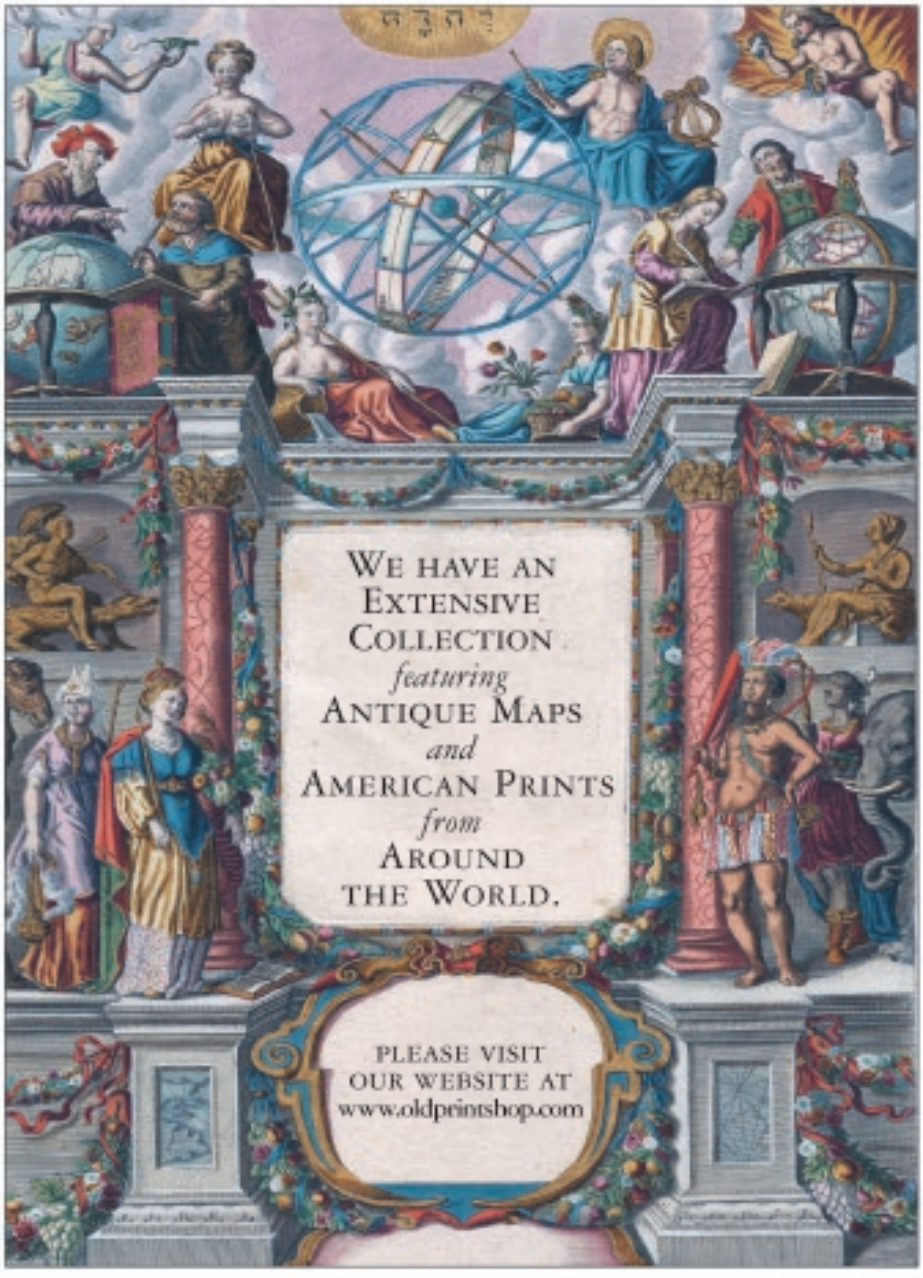
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Front cover **Anonymous Mexican artist. Portrait of José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez, Eighteenth century. Col. Patrimonio Universitario, UNAM fotografía: Enrique Macías, Courtesy of Palacio de la Escuela de Medicina, UNAM.**

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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

Composing the chairman's letter is dependent on the editor's schedule, which, even, he must adhere to. Subjects to choose from are legion but some come with difficulty. Today is no exception, and important information is harder to promulgate when its nature is not pleasing or goes against the chairman's grain. IMCoS has been organising annual international symposia since its inception in 1980/81. Only once did we miss one and that was because of scheduling difficulties with the reversed seasons of the southern hemisphere, creating a time lapse between symposia that was either too short or too long. Over the years we have always had local organisers willing to do most of the work and assume the financial risk of such an undertaking. The Society has been both happy and lucky in this respect and our loyal participants have enjoyed the subjects of the lectures given and the touristic tours that accompanied them. Although membership has been stable, we recognise that few of our younger members, for reasons of interest, time or money, are attending our symposia, while at the same time older members have decided that with creeping old age the effort is beyond them, particularly, if long-haul flights are involved.

Finding an organiser to follow our last very successful symposium in Manila and Hong Kong has proven impossible to date, and time has run out for the fall of 2019. The Executive Committee therefore has reluctantly decided that 2019 will be a year without a dedicated symposium. An alternative is available: the ICHC Symposium which will take place in Amsterdam in July this year. Please see the announcement and registration details on page 7. Details on the Amsterdam schedule, programme and registration may be accessed via the relevant website. The ICHC is a biennial conference; the last one took place in 2017 in Belo Horizonte/Brazil.

The Executive Committee is unhappy with the situation and continues its efforts to remedy the situation. For 2020 we will support the Sydney conference scheduled for September of that year celebrating the 250th anniversary of Cook's discovery of the east coast of Australia. We realise that an IMCoS Symposium is definitely part of our reputation and internationally a 'must' as a way of meeting new and old map friends. Aimed at knowledgeable collectors in combination with academics, these conferences link us and expose us to maps and culture from countries that we might otherwise not have visited.

Let me close with a more cheerful announcement: IMCoS member Philip Burden, well-known UK dealer and author of the 2-volume *The Mapping of North America*, which has become the standard reference on the subject, has once more updated his book, adding some 30 pages of additional and corrected information and newly discovered maps. An 'after-sales service' that is much appreciated and testimony to the author's commitment.

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

A conversation among friends about a suitable gift for a newborn elicited a broad range of ideas, but perhaps the standout suggestion was a gift of an atlas printed in the year of the baby's birth. To raised eyebrows at the mental images of babies tearing their way through the atlas pages the contributor explained that the atlas enabled the recipient, at any time in their life, to view the world as it was when she or he was born. On reflection, what had, at first, appeared as a thoroughly inappropriate gift now made sense, was even applauded, and conversation shifted to the state of the world at the time of the group's various birthdates and how much, and what, had changed.

In the decades since your editor entered this world atlases have undergone multiple revisions to reflect the immense changes in world geo-politics. With the break-up of the USSR and the demise of colonial governments in Africa there are, today, many more countries than could be identified in the Oxford Atlas of the fifties. From French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa a host of independent nations surfaced. Nearly two dozen new nations emerged from colonial rule in the Caribbean and Oceania. Other nations in the intervening years have merged with, or annexed, a neighbour. New boundaries have been drawn, contested, and others slowly nibbled away in ongoing conflict. Country names have changed: Formosa and Burma are identified as Taiwan and Myanmar. Toponyms have changed: Calcutta and Bombay have transformed into Kolkata and Mumbai, and Saigon to Ho Chi Minh City; name changes often reflecting the departure of a foreign presence. A small island in the Korea Strait appears on Robert Morden's 1680 map of Japan as Quelpaerts. On subsequent Western maps it became Quelparts Island until its annexation by the Japanese in 1910, who named it Saishū. Today it is marked as Cheju-do reflecting its Korean sovereignty. In a bid to acknowledge the cultural rights of local indigenous people some countries such as New Zealand introduced a dual-naming policy. The practice, adopted in the 1920s, printed the English place name followed by the Māori name in brackets. More recently, the NZ Geographic Board responsible for naming geographic features has reversed the hierarchy. Toponym changes are due too to the romanisation of names from non-Latin alphabets. Thousands of place names in China have received different treatment, first by the Wade-Giles romanisation system then by Hanyu Pinyin in the late 1970s. The city of Fuzhou variously appeared as Foochow, Fuchow, Fūtsu, Fuh-Chow, Hock Chew and Hokchew.

The spin-off from the 'what-to-buy-baby' conversation has been several enjoyable hours poring over out-of-date atlases but with the realisation that atlas gifts of the future are unlikely to be static paper products, revised every five or so years, but digital, dynamic and perpetually self-updating apps that reflect our fast-changing world.

WELCOME TO OUR NEW MEMBERS

Robert Bezuijen, Australia.
Collection interest: Asia, VOC

Zachary J Boettcher, USA

Michael Buehler, USA.
Collection interest: America

Courtney Ahlstrom Christy, USA.
Collection interest: American southeast

James Conley, USA

Robert David, USA

Geoffrey Edwards, Malaysia.
Collection interest: Southeast Asia & China

M**icah Evans**, USA. Collection interest: US, Nebraska, Boston, colonial United States

Jose Mabilangan, The Philippines.
Collection interest: Southeast Asia & the Philippines

Chris McCarthy, USA

Cindy Mohns, Massmann Internationale Buchhandlung GmbH, Germany

Sarah Pedersen, UK

Elena Pizzolitto, Italy

Audrius Vengalis, Lithuania.
Collection interest: Poland & Lithuania

PHOTOGRAPHERS

The Society has been well served for decades with an excellent and dedicated photographer in David Webb, a long-time member of IMCoS. David has attended almost all IMCoS events and his photographs are testament to the enthusiasm that he brings to the Society.

Are there any members, handy with a camera, who would like to support David at upcoming IMCoS functions?



If so please contact me on tel: **+44 (0)1799 540 765** or email: **ljiljana.editor@gmail.com**

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Oceani occidentalis sive terre nove tabula, woodcut map by L. Fries from the Ptolemaeus edition by J. Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1525

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

7 June 2018
IMCoS annual dinner
Helen Wallis/IMCoS award
Malcolm Young Lecture



The speaker for this year's annual dinner will be Mario Cams Assistant Professor at the University of Macau's Department of History who is working on Eurasian connections during Ming-Qing dynasties in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The title of his lecture is '*Novus Atlas Sinensis* (1655): The Story Behind Europe's First Atlas of East Asia'.

This event will be held at the Civil Service Club, 13-15 Great Scotland Yard, London SW1A 2HJ, commencing with a reception at 6.20 pm. Dinner will be followed by the presentation of the Helen Wallis–IMCoS award. The charge for the evening is £50. Bookings can be made by filling in the leaflet accompanying this issue of the journal or by the online facility which you will find on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org).

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8 June 2018
IMCoS Annual general meeting

9.30 for 10 am start (Doors will be open at 9.30 am) in the Lowther Room, the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR. RGS security requires advanced knowledge of all those attending the meeting. If you are planning to come please contact Peter Walker (financialsecretariat@imcos.org).

8–9 June 2018
London map fair

Will be held at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR. Saturday from 12 pm to 7pm / Sunday from 10 am to 6 pm. Admission is free.

6–9 June 2019
Four days of fairs

In June 2019 there are four map and book fairs within four days in central London.
6–7 June – PBFA at the IBIS Hotel, Lille Road
7–9 June – Firsts London Rare Book Fair, Battersea Park
8–9 June – London Map Fair, RGS (with IBG)
9 June – Bloomsbury Book Fair
Only the London Map Fair is exclusively dedicated to maps, but the others generally have some maps and/or atlases.

14–19 July 2019
28th International Conference on the History of Cartography
Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Sadly, there will be no IMCoS Symposium this year, however, for those in need of an annual immersion in the history of maps and mapmaking, there is the ICHC conference in Amsterdam in July. There has always been a good sprinkling of IMCoS attendees at past ICHC conferences and we hope that in the absence of a dedicated IMCoS Symposium you will pencil this event in your diary.

ICHC 2019 is organised and hosted by the Special Collections department of the University of Amsterdam and the Explokart Research Group, in close collaboration with Imago Mundi Ltd and with several Dutch academic institutions, museums and libraries. This is a biennial event, each conference taking place in a different city; the next, in 2021, is in Bucharest.

The conference offers a packed programme of illustrated lectures, presentations and exhibitions. A post-conference tour of Enkhuisen (one of the VOC harbour towns) is also available to book. The event starts on Sunday and finishes on Friday and, with some fifteen speakers per day you will be assuredly bursting with new discoveries in the realm of map history. A detailed conference programme (online and hard copy) listing all the lecture titles with their abstracts will be available, so you can pick and choose which events to



attend and which to miss in favour of some general sightseeing. And Amsterdam for map aficionados has so much to offer. Additionally, **day passes** are available once the programme has been finalised. Please check the website regularly for updates.

The conference title is **Old Maps, New Perspectives. Studying the History of Cartography in the 21st Century**. Speakers will address some of the following themes: the production and circulation of maps in the past; multifunctional and multimedia maps; maps in the digital world; maps and water.

Complementing the conference there will be several specially curated map exhibitions at the Stadsarchief Amsterdam (the City Archives); Koninklijk Paleis (the Royal Palace); and at Het Scheepvaartmuseum (National Maritime Museum).

The main venue for the conference is the *KIT* Royal Tropical Institute, Mauritskade 63 1092 AD Amsterdam which is a 15-minute walk from the Central station. It is also well served by city trams.

Conference fees:
Regular conference fee: **370 euros**
Student rate: **120 euros**
Accompanying persons: **150 euros**
Farewell dinner Friday 19 July: **100 euros**
Post-conference tour to Enkhuizen
20 July: **120 euros**
To register, please go to
https://ichc2019.amsterdam/registration

5–6 September 2019
IMCoS goes to Oxford

Plans are afoot for a two-day mapping event in the historic city of Oxford. This is open to all members of the society. Bookings and payment can be made on the IMCoS website (www.imcos.org) or by contacting Peter Walker (financialsecretariat@imcos.org). Event organisers are Val Newby (valerie.newby4441@gmail.com) and Jenny Harvey (jeh@harvey27.demon.co.uk).

Johannes Blaeu, Detail of 'Amstelodami Celeberrimi Hollandiæ Emporii Delineatio Nova', 1649. Blaeu produced this map for the *Groot Tooneel der Stedenvan van de Vereenighde Nederlanded* (Town Atlas of the Low Countries) to commemorate Dutch independence from Spain. Private collection.



Georg Braun & Frans Hogenberg, after Georg Hoefnagel, 'Oxonium' and 'Vindsorium', 1597. Courtesy of Antiquariaat Sanderus, www.sanderusmaps.com

2 pm Thursday 5 September

Meet at Christ Church Library (the big tower), St Aldgates, Oxford. This is an exclusive visit to view the amazing building with its spectacular interior and inspect a selection of their maps and atlases. Their treasures include Martin Llewellyn's 1598 *Atlas of the East* (a volume unknown to map historians for over three and a half centuries, it constitutes the earliest sea atlas by an Englishman).

5 pm Thursday 5 September

Reception at Sanders of Oxford one of Britain's leading print sellers.

10 am Friday 6 September

A visit to the **Talking Maps** exhibition at the Weston Library, Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BG. Our guides will be co-curators Nick Millea, the Map Librarian, and Jerry Brotton, Professor of Renaissance studies at Queen Mary University of London who will show us a wide range of different maps including the famous Gough Map, the Marshall Island stick chart, maps of Oxford, Islamic cartography and much more.

After the exhibition a sandwich lunch (included) will be available at Wadham College and will be followed by our annual **Collectors' Meeting** in the Moser Theatre hosted by Francis Herbert, retired Curator of Maps of the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

You will need to arrange your own accommodation but as it is vacation time there should be availability in one of the colleges or you may prefer to stay in one of the city hotels. Information and booking for college accommodation can be found at www.universityrooms.com.

Please be aware that parking in Oxford is extremely limited, however, dotted at the perimeters of the city are several Park and Ride facilities where cars may be left for up to 72 hours.

We look forward to seeing you there.

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'NUEVO MAPA GEOGRÁFICO DE LA AMÉRICA SEPTENTRIONAL'

José Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez's remarkable map of New Spain

Wesley Brown

In 1768, Don José Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez (1737–1799), a Mexican renaissance man (See front cover), created a large manuscript map of New Spain (defined at the time as those portions of North America controlled by Spain). This he sent to the French Royal Academy of Sciences hoping that the learned society would publish it. It was titled 'Nuevo Mapa Geographico de la America Septentrional' and bore the date of 1768, although it was printed sometime later. Because Spain jealously guarded its geographic knowledge about the New World and rarely allowed information to be published, this map (and its derivatives) is the only one printed of New Spain that appeared during the eighteenth century that uses Spanish information![1] Regions to the north, in what would become the western United States, are rich with previously unprinted information and Alzate is distinguished as the first to apply the name Texas to the geographic region (Provincia de los Texas) to a printed map.

Questions about this map abound. When he created the map he sent to France, Alzate made critical changes from an earlier manuscript that he made for Spanish authorities in 1767. Why did he make those changes? And why send such valuable secrets to the French, rivals of the Spanish? Of the two printed editions of the map, the French was made by Philippe Buache, Royal Geographer to Louis XV, or by his successors (Fig. 1). The Spanish edition was made by Spain's foremost mapmaker at the time, Tomás López (Fig. 2). When were these two editions printed and which came first? And why was such valuable information, which was in the possession of two of Europe's most prolific map publishers, not disseminated more broadly? Fifteen known examples are extant; it seems odd that a map with keenly sought-after intelligence and printed in two different editions has so few surviving copies.[2] This brief essay, will explore the mapmaker's life and his fascinating map and try to unravel these mysteries.

José Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez

Don Antonio was born in 1737 near Mexico City in the town of Ozumba (subsequently renamed Ozumba de Alzate in his honour) to wealthy parents. Educated in a prestigious Jesuit school, he later attended the Royal Pontifical University in Mexico City receiving a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1756. Shortly after, he joined the priesthood and then embarked on a wide range of scientific investigations, publishing on weather observation, archeological ruins, volcanos, psychedelic properties of plants, and astronomical observations during the transit of Venus. He launched *Gaceta de Literatura*, a successful gazetteer of scientific literature, which thrived between 1788 and 1795. Many of his scholarly papers were published by the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, perhaps then the most respected scientific body in the world. In fact, his printed map (the subject of this article) was dedicated to this august body. He became a leading advocate of enlightenment principles of scientific investigation in the New World and was elected to the Academy in 1771 becoming its New World correspondent, a great honour for a colonial. So well respected was he that in 1884, when Mexicans created a scientific group, it was called the Antonio Alzate Scientific Society, which later became the Mexican National Academy of Sciences. His name graces the title of its journal to this day: *Memorias de las Academia Nacional de Ciencias Antonio Alzate*.

Alzate's surviving maps

Alzate was not a trained cartographer, but he supplemented his geographic and astronomical evaluations with the study of official manuscript maps stored in Mexico City. However, it does not seem that he had access to the most recent records of expeditions dispatched by Spanish authorities to the north.[3] Even so, he was resolved to produce maps of the entirety of New Spain, a vast largely unknown area.

His first surviving manuscript map is titled 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional Española, dividida en Obispados y provincias', dated 1767 (Fig. 3). This very large map (155 x 189 cm) is bound by vignettes of wondrous animals, birds and native peoples, it has tables and descriptive text boxes



Fig. 1 Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geographico de la America Septentrional', 1768. Printed map of New Spain. French edition. 54 x 67 cm. MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.

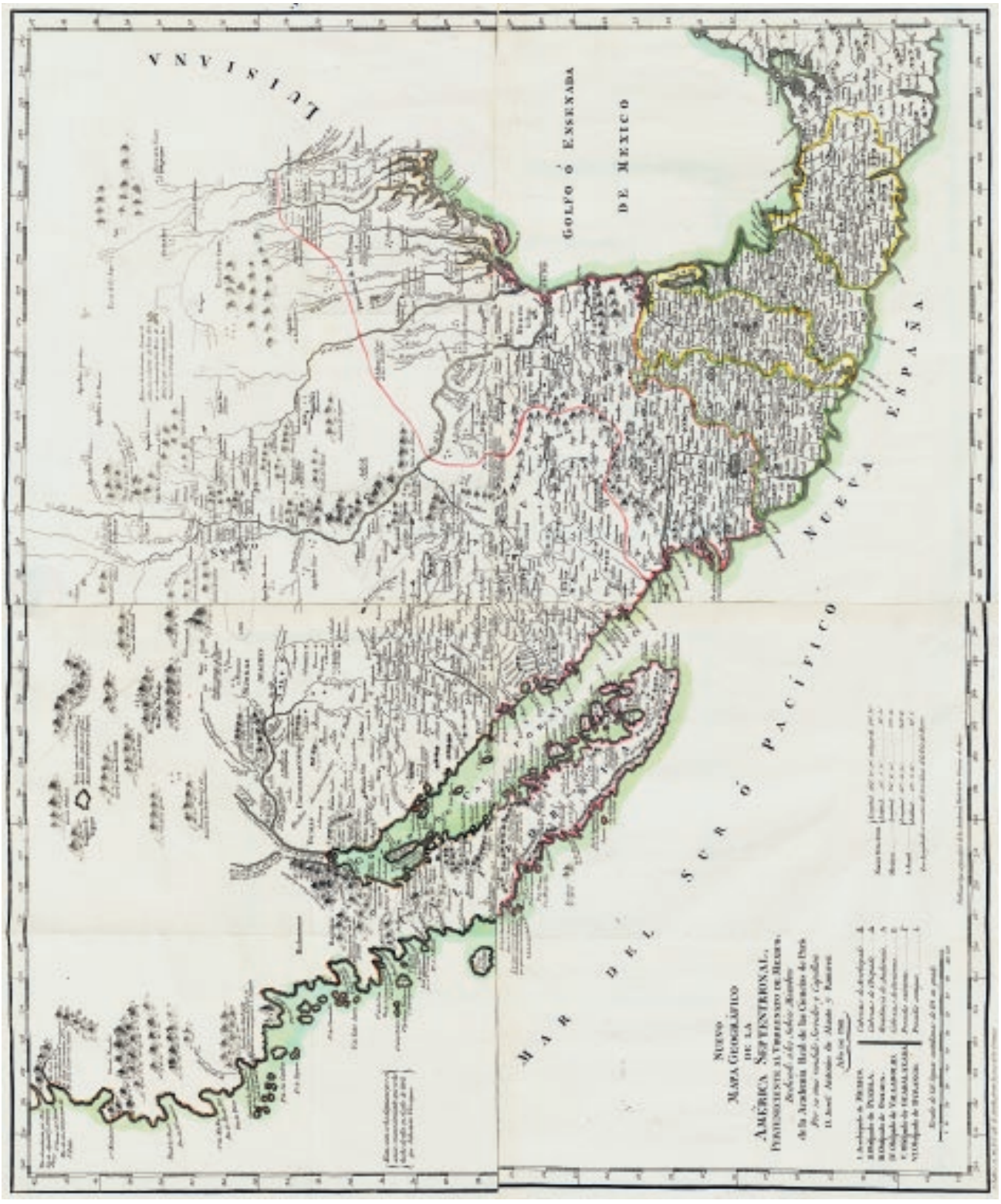


Fig. 2 Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional', 1768. Printed map of New Spain. Spanish edition. 53 x 64 cm. Collection of Wesley Brown.


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and covers a vast area of North America north to the 44th parallel and east to Florida.

A second manuscript map that has survived is titled 'Plano Geográfico de la mayor parte de la América Septentrional Española' bears the date 1772. Though smaller, 88 x 107 cm, it covers the same area as the earlier manuscript but includes significant changes, especially in the upper Rio Grande Valley and Texas.

Finally, a third manuscript, dated 1775, held by the British Library, bears the title 'Plano Geográfico de la mayor parte de la América Septentrional Española'. It is very similar to the 1772 manuscript.

In addition to the printed map of 1768, Alzate produced a second printed map in 1769, 'Plano de la Nueva España', to accompany a history of New Spain by Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, Mexico City's archbishop, published in 1770. This version shows virtually no place names in the north and eliminates California and land north of the 34th parallel.[4]

The two editions of the 1768 printed map

Early in 1768 Alzate sent a manuscript map of New Spain to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris (different from the surviving 1767 manuscript). Although this manuscript has been lost, a manuscript copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fig. 4). Attached to this map is a handwritten note in French (translation follows):

> *Copy of the new written map of New Mexico, etc., dedicated to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris by Mr. Joseph Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez, received in June 1768 and carried out under the supervision of Mr. Buache, First Geographer of the King, according to the deliberation of the Academy on September 6 of the above-mentioned year, to be transmitted to the Abbot Chappe d'Auteroche, who must pass constantly through this part of America. [signed] Grandjean de Fouchy, permanent secretary of the Royal Science Academy* (Fig. 5).

Philippe Buache made at least two copies of this manuscript, which are referred to as the Buache Manuscript. One, as mentioned, is at the BnF, the other was transmitted to Abbot Chappe, and will be discussed later.[5] The Buache Manuscript served as the basis for both a French and Spanish edition; these were printed and sold some years later. Careful comparison of the Bauche Manuscript to the final printed maps shows similarities in most of

Fig. 3 Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional Española, dividida en Obispadas y Provincias', 1767. Manuscript map. 155 x 189 cm. Museo Naval, 7-A-8, Madrid.

the cartographic details. The differences are primarily decorative: such as the removal of the handsome compass from the Buache Manuscript and the simplification of the decorative frame around the title block.[6]

Each edition uses its respective language for major titles and the tables around the map. The geography, legends and place names are virtually identical and are printed in Spanish in both editions. The primary differences between the two are: The French edition is printed from one plate while the Spanish edition was printed from four, the separate map sheets being joined. The French title contains the word *Geographico* spelled with 'ph' while the Spanish edition uses 'f'. The name of the ocean is spelled *Pazifico* on the French edition and *Pacifico* on the Spanish. The box around the title in the French edition is not present on the Spanish.[7]

The French edition was published by the successors to Philippe Buache in two states, one of which includes the Dezauche imprint, contained in two text lines at the bottom centre, below the neat line.[8] A second state lacks this imprint. The Spanish edition, published by Tomás López, is also produced in two states.[9] One includes the imprint 'Se hallará en Madrid, calle de Atocha, frente las casa de los Gremios' in the bottom left, below the neat line; this is not present in the other.

The northern geography of the printed map

Henceforth, unless specifically noted, the two editions will be referred to as one map. The map is large, detailed, clearly engraved, and most of the known examples have outline hand-colouring. It shows all the area then controlled by Spain in North America, which is divided into six bishoprics. Unlike Alazate's manuscript maps, the printed version has no decoration. It is surrounded by both latitudinal and longitude scales. The longitudinal scale uses the island of El Hierro (Ferro), the most western of the Canary Islands, as the prime meridian.

The map is unusual in that it covers the whole of New Spain, a vast area, whereas most Spanish maps made at that time focused on smaller land areas.[10] Most of the detail of the map is concentrated on central Mexico, which is generally accurate. In contrast, information in the map's northern portion is sparse. There is a great deal of blank space and most of the information is erroneous. Of course, there was so little known of the northern areas that even these details were considered a great improvement by contemporary users of maps and are today fascinating and worthy of study. Accordingly, this article concentrates on this region, which is today the western United States.

Texas

The map shows four active presidios (garrisoned fortresses) in Texas, including San Antonio de Bejar, with five missions. The town of Adaes, east of the Sabine River, is shown as the regional capital (before it was moved to San Antonio in 1772). Although Guillaume Delisle's 1718 'Carte De La Louisiane' is the first to mention 'Mission de Los Tejas' on a printed map, Alzate is the first to use Texas to describe the region on a printed map, which it does with the bold legend 'Provincia de los Texas' spread across the area.[11] Prior to Alzate, the best printed image of Texas was Delisle's from 1718. Unfortunately, even fifty years later, Alzate's illustration of its rivers is not much improved (Fig. 6). From west to east, the Pecos River is not shown and the Nueces (perhaps confused with the Pecos) flows into the Rio Grande rather than emptying into the Gulf, as it should. The Medina is spectacularly enlarged, coursing a full 10 degrees south to the Gulf, beginning northeast of Santa Fe. The Colorado and Brazos are combined into one. Finally, the Trinity begins its flow in what would be today's state of Kansas. An overall impression of Alzate's rivers is that they flow north to south, rather than in the correct southeasterly direction.[12]

If the geography on the final published map is almost identical to the Buache Manuscript, presuming it is identical to the manuscript sent to France by Alzate in 1768, we would expect its geography to be very similar to Alzate's first surviving manuscript drawn just one year earlier for Spanish authorities. And this is true in many areas; for example, the region of the west coast of Alta California and the Colorado River/Gila River area are nearly identical. However, in two regions – Texas and around the upper Rio Grande of New Mexico – the manuscript sent to France was significantly modified from the 1767 manuscript. As a result, although the Texas rivers have a peculiar north-south orientation on the printed map, they have a more accurate southeastern drainage on the 1767 manuscript. How do we explain this discrepancy, and why, in Texas, does Alzate seem to have regressed?

The answer may come from Alzate's use of Francisco Álvarez Barreiro of the Spanish military as a key source for the 1768 map. Barreiro, appointed military engineer on General Martin de Alarcón's exploration, made first-hand observations of the region of Texas during his involvement between 1717 and 1720. He was also in charge of cartography on Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera's inspection across the Texas prairies through New Mexico and to Texas in 1724. Barreiro produced



Fig. 4 'Nuevo Mapa Geographico de la America Septentrional', 1768. Phillipe Bauche's copy of Alzate manuscript sent to Paris in June 1768. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE B-1187 Gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France.

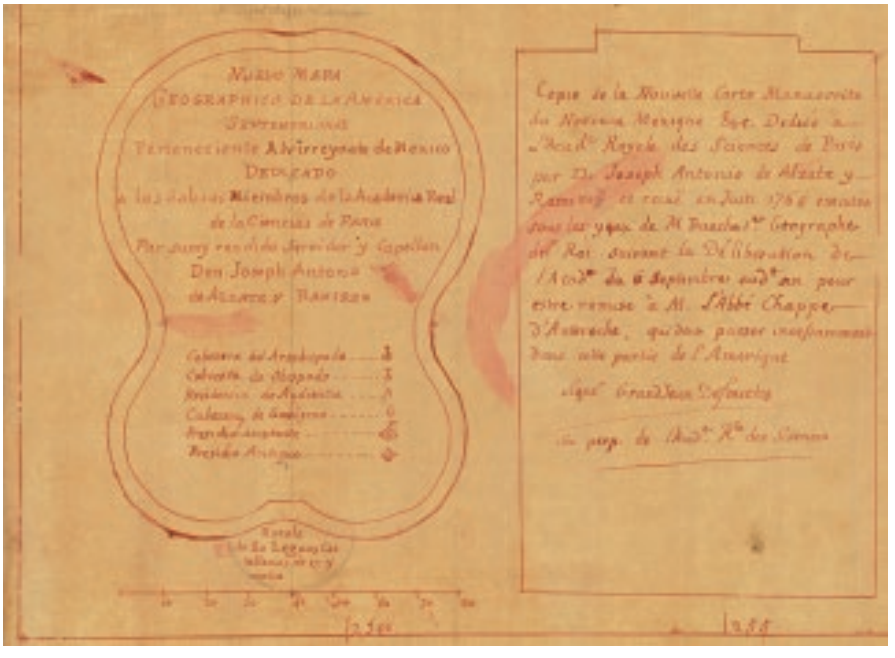


Fig. 5 Label attached to the back of Bauche's copy of Alzate's manuscript, June 1768. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE B-1187 Gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 6 Detail of the area of Texas. Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional', 1768. Spanish edition. Collection of Wesley Brown.

five regional maps and one general map of all the northern provinces in 1729; the general map was printed in 1803 (Fig. 7). Alzate credits Barreiro as a source on his 1772 and 1775 manuscripts; presumably he was a source for the 1768 map as well.

Careful examination reveals that the Texas region on the printed Alzate map is a word-for-word reproduction of Barreiro's general manuscript map of the area, except for a few cases of new information, such as the addition of several missions near San Antonio de Bejar.[13] The rivers flow in a north-south direction, and the eastern edge of the maps (Alzate and Barreiro) end in the same place, just east of the Sabine River. In contrast, the Texas region shown on Alzate's 1767 manuscript is very unlike that of the printed map in which the rivers flow southeast and other features and names generally follow the French model illustrated in Delisle's 1718 map. One could postulate that, seeking to show the French Royal Society something different, Alzate did not want the Texas region to look like the familiar Texas depicted by Delisle that had become the standard on most European maps published during the forty years following its original publication. By illustrating Texas according to Barreiro, Alzate could show the members of the French Academy something wholly Spanish and previously unknown to them.

California and the northwest

The mapmaker's confusions about Texas are minor compared to his depiction of the far north and west where geographic uncertainty manifests (Fig. 8). Alta California shows detail only along the coast, and much of that is incorrect. No missions are shown. The term 'Sierras Nevadas' is applied to mountains indiscriminately placed inland. Describing Alzate's treatment of the northwest coast Henry Wagner writes: 'Although Alzate was at this time one of the most learned men in Mexico,

Fig. 7 Francisco Álvarez Barreiro, 'Mapa Geográfico De Las Provincias Al N. De Nueva España', 1803. Printed for Juan Lopez. Henry Taliaferro image collection.


MAR
DEL
CANAL
DE LA
CALIFORNIA
MAPA GEOGRÁFICO
DE LAS PROVINCIAS AL N.
DE NUEVA ESPAÑA
SENO MEXICANO



Fig. 8 Detail of the northwest area. Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional', 1768. Spanish edition. Collection of Wesley Brown.

his map is certainly the poorest of the northwest coast ever published, whatever may be said of its value in other parts'.[14]

Alzate's manuscript maps of 1767 and 1772 depict a large inland body of water from the Pacific coast eastward a full 10 degrees. This 'Sea of the West' does not appear on the printed map as its northern boundary only extends to 42 degrees, just south of this sea on Alzate's manuscript maps. Only the strait that leads to the 'Sea of the West' is shown on the printed map as it moves inland to the upper border. Similar to the two manuscript maps, this strait is labeled 'Rio descubierto por Martin de Aguilar y Antonio Flores'. Philippe Buache, who oversaw the preparation of the manuscript copy from which the printed map derives, was one of the most ardent advocates of the mythical 'Sea of the West'. With both Alzate and his French publisher believing in the myth, it is surprising to see Alzate's restraint in establishing 42 degrees as the map's upper limit, and thus not showing the 'Sea of the West'. However, doubt about this myth was growing by 1768.[15] Perhaps Alzate did not want to gamble on this controversy with the map he submitted to the French Academy of Sciences.

The geographical feature just below this strait is a river entering the Pacific Ocean, noted in translation as 'River Tison, which it is said to have been discovered by Juan de Oñate, as well as the Port of Saint Paul's Conversion'. The placement of this text constitutes one of the most remarkable 'travels' of a toponym on any map. A look at the history of the river's nomenclature might help. In 1604 Juan de Oñate led an expedition from New Mexico to the Colorado River area where it joins with the Gila and then south to the river's outlet into the Gulf of Mexico, the outlet which he named Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo. Sixty-five years earlier Melchior Diaz named it Rio de Tizón (Firebrand). Oñate believed the Rio de Tizón (Colorado River) may have been the fabled 'River of the West' which reportedly flowed into the Gulf and ultimately the Pacific Ocean. These ideas later became confused with notions that California was an island and perhaps led to the belief that the waters of the Tizón emptied into the Pacific near the north coast of the fictitious island of California. This notion, in turn, became associated with another candidate for the famed 'River of the West', the Columbia River, and hence the place name Rio de Tizón, and the legend relating to Oñate, were transferred to the northwest coast and associated with the Puerto del Conversion of San Pablo named by Alzate. But this is not the end of the saga. After the acclaimed 1776 expedition of Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, Bernardo de Miera produced his famous manuscript map of the expedition in 1777 and inserted in the northwest corner, next to the toponym Laguna de Los Timpanogos (Great Salt Lake), a large

river flowing due west to the map's border. Here Miera added the legend in translation 'this has to be the Rio del Tizón discovered long ago by the adelantado don Juan de Oñate, the one he could not cross because of its great width and depth'.[16] In sum, Oñate's discovery is celebrated on maps in what would become Arizona, Washington, and Utah!

Teguyo and the Rio Grande Valley

Examining the map further inland from the Pacific coast at the 42nd parallel, there is little but fiction and open space along the northern portion as it spans to the east. Far to the north on Alzate's map is a lake named 'Laguna de Teguyo' and a legend that he copied from Barreiro that translates as 'From the environs of this lake they say the Mexican Indians set out to found their empire'.[17] Barreiro's map shows this lake far to the west and draining to the Pacific. Curiously, Alzate has moved it and the legend a good bit eastward, so that it is in approximately the state of Utah today. This is the same location that Miera would locate Laguna de Los Timpanogos (Great Salt Lake) on his influential 1777 manuscript map. Decades later, Alexander von Humboldt would use this information on his renowned map of New Spain, dated 1804 but not published until 1810. Humboldt copied Miera's Laguna de Los Timpanogos adding the following text next to it: 'This Lake … is perhaps the Teguayo Lake, from the borders of which, according to some historians, the Azteques removed to the River Gila'.[18] Thus, Humboldt takes the legend from Barreiro, the lake's location from Alzate and its name and shape from Miera.

Various notations to lands occupied by the Comanche, Apache and Ute Indians are placed throughout the region that would become Colorado (Fig. 9). A legend created by Alzate northeast of Taos translates as 'Pass of Don Fernando by which the Comanches penetrate into New Mexico'. Don Fernando de Chavez was a leading settler at the Taos Pueblo. In late summer of 1760 an estimated 3,000 Comanches descended on the Taos Valley



Fig. 9 Detail of the upper Rio Grande (Rio del Norte on map). Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional', 1768. Spanish edition. Collection of Wesley Brown.



Fig. 10 Detail of the northwest area. Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geográfico de la América Septentrional', 1768. Spanish edition. Collection of Wesley Brown.

(identified by a red circle on Fig. 9), via this pass, intent on destroying the Pueblo Indians. They carried away fifty-six women and children who were never seen again.[19 & 20]

The upper Rio Grande Valley is solidly mapped with long-familiar place names as far north as Taos; but unlike other contemporary printed maps, Alzate's map provides details further north, many of which are fantasy.[21] The main body of the Rio Grande (Rio del Norte) goes directly north reaching today's state of Wyoming (rather than bending west as it should, just after entering southern Colorado). The Chama River splits from the Rio Grande to the northwest at the appropriate location and thereafter contains various imaginary river branches as it rises in the north. In the region of the upper Rio Grande and its tributaries, Alzate abandoned his depiction shown on his 1767 manuscript and instead mimics Barreiro's treatment.[22] However, when it comes to the details of villages, pueblos and other place names near these waterways, Alzate adds considerable detail with updated information from his 1767 manuscript and significantly improves Barreiro's model. By showing the waterways according to Barreiro and adding new land details, Alzate produced a Rio Grande area that was very different and greatly enhanced from Delisle's model. Thus, as he had done with the region of Texas, Alzate is trying to show the Academy in Paris something unorthodox and original. Having committed to this new rendering of Texas and the upper Rio Grande on his 1768 map sent to France, Alzate substantially stayed with this new rendering on his subsequent 1772 and 1775 manuscripts, with relatively minor changes occurring on these.[23]

Gila and Colorado River area

The region of the Gila River is solidly mapped for the time, ignoring Barreiro and, instead, faithfully following the information from Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (famed missionary-explorer who confirmed California was not an island) with several additions (Fig. 10). North of the junction of the Gila with the Colorado is the San Dionisio with the legend 'descubierto por el Pe. Kino año 1700'.

Importance of key geographical coordinates

It was difficult during the eighteenth century to ascertain the correct coordinates of longitude for locations distant from Europe. Alzate was profoundly interested in this subject, which he discussed in an article regarding Mexican geography in 1772 and again on his 1775 manuscript map. In New Spain, three locations received the greatest interest from scientists: Vera Cruz on the east coast, Mexico City in the centre, and Cabo San Lucas at the tip of Baja California ('S. Josef' in the table on the printed map). Indeed, Alzate states on his 1775 manuscript: 'Thus, from these three calculations alone the true geographical position [of New Spain] can be considered certain'.[24]

Precise observations of the transit of Venus across the sun allow astronomers to determine the longitude of various locations. These rare transits occurred only twice during the eighteenth century: in 1761 and 1769. The Abbot Jean-Baptiste Chappe d'Auteroche (1722–1769), a gifted French astronomer, had learned on his celebrated 1761 trip to Russia to observe the transit of Venus that the selection of a warmer and drier climate would increase the probability of success. Cabo San Lucas was perfectly placed in the path of the much-anticipated 1769 transit and had these other desired features. After difficult negotiations, Charles III of Spain agreed to a joint French–Spanish expedition to Cabo San Lucas. The arrival, in June 1768, of a memoir on several natural phenomena, as well as a new manuscript map from an aspiring Mexican scientist was a stroke of good luck for France and the Royal Academy of Sciences. This rare and presumed accurate geographical information about New Spain contained in the map would be of great use to Chappe. Philippe Buache, the Royal Geographer and a leading member of the society, hurriedly prepared a manuscript copy based on Alzate's manuscript for Chappe's expedition before it left Paris on 18 September 1768.[25] Thus prepared, Chappe travelled to Cabo San Lucas where he was joined by Spanish and Mexican astronomers to make vital observations on 3 June 1769

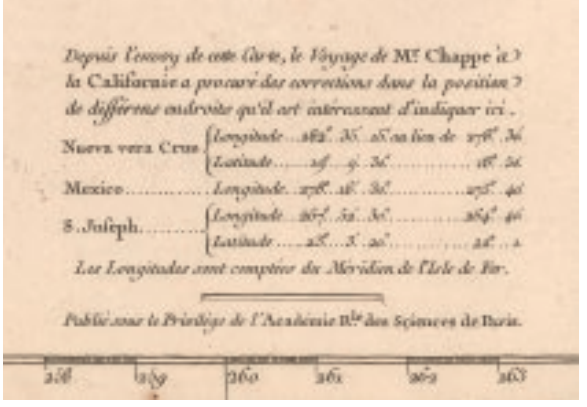


Fig. 11 Detail of table of critical coordinates. Alzate y Ramirez, 'Nuevo Mapa Geographico de la America Septentrional', 1768. French edition. McLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.

Although successful in its observations, the trip proved disastrous for the French and Spanish scientists; Chappe and most of his companions died of a local epidemic. This resulted in a delay in preparing the results, which were not completed until 1772 in France. Once Alzate's manuscript had been copied for Chappe, its actual publication occurred on a more relaxed schedule. When it was finally published, both editions contained a new table (not on the Buache Manuscript) correcting Alzate's coordinates for the three critical locations with the new figures (Fig. 11).[26] The French edition also acknowledges Abbot Chappe's expedition to California to make these measurements; the Spanish edition fails to mention him. In his later writings, Alzate approves of these corrections to his calculations which he had used to create the 1768 manuscript.

With all Alzate's efforts for accuracy in these coordinates, he failed to impress Alexander von Humboldt who, more than forty years later, in his Geographical Introduction to his *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, provides an assessment of the various calculations made by prior astronomers and geographers. There he states: 'This Mexican ecclesiastic, whom the academy of Paris named one of their correspondents, displayed more zeal than solidity in his researches; he embraced too many things at once'.[27] But in Alzate's defence, his calculations using inferior equipment and incorrect tables were much earlier than Humboldt's.

When was the map printed and which edition came first?

Both the French and Spanish editions of Alzate's printed map contain the added table of coordinate corrections; thus, the printing dates could be no earlier than 1772 when this information was available.[28] Philippe Buache, who had produced the manuscript in 1768, was active in cartography until his death in 1773. His nephew, Jean-Nicolas Buache de la Neuville, purchased his uncle's map plates in 1773 and published maps until his death in 1780. His stock was, in turn, purchased by prolific French publisher J.A. Dezauche. Therefore the printed French state without Dezauche's imprint was most likely published between 1772 and 1780. The French state

referencing 'A Paris Chez DEZAUCHE' below the neat line was published sometime after 1780.

But when, within the span of 1772 and 1780, was the first French state printed? Recall that Alzate published the *Gaceta de Literatura*, a gazetteer of scientific literature from 1788 to 1795. In a January 1793 issue, he states in translation, 'I arranged for this map of America, which I conveyed in 1768 to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris; in 1775, by order of the same academy, the famous geographer Buache published it'.[29] We can conclude the first French state was published by Jean-Nicolas Buache in 1775.

What of the two states of the Spanish edition? One state bears the imprint 'Se hallará en Madrid, calle de Atacha, frente la casa de los Gremios'. Tomás López began using this address in 1783. So the Gremios state was printed after 1783.[30] Presumably, the state without the imprint was published sometime before 1783. Because of the rarity and importance of the map, there has been considerable interest in whether the French or Spanish edition came first.[31] There are several factors to consider. (1) Both French and Spanish editions state that they are published with the privilege of the Academy of Sciences of Paris. This would argue for the French edition being first. (2) The note attached to the Buache Manuscript clearly states it was 'received in June 1768 and carried out under the supervision of Mr. Buache, by September 6th of that year'. Would not Buache or his successors, who possessed it, have been the first to publish it? (3) There are six differences between the French and Spanish printed editions. How do these differences compare to the Buache Manuscript which was the original copy of Alzate's manuscript? In five of the cases where they vary, it is the French version that is the same as the Buache Manuscript; in one case, it is the Spanish.[32] (4) Finally, Alzate himself states the map was first published in 1775 by Buache, from which can be concluded that the French edition was first.

The Spanish state without the Gremios imprint was probably published between 1775 and 1783 and the state with the imprint after 1783. We know that the Spanish edition was in print a long time. Most interestingly, Agustin Hernando Rico reports that Alzate's map was still listed for sale by Juan López, Tomás's son, in Madrid in 1808.[33] In the *Gaceta* Alzate complains that the French never sent a copy of the printed map to Mexico until 1792 when Don Diego de Agreda, filled with 'patriotic devotion', arranged for fifty copies of the map to be printed and sent to Mexico's leading professionals.[34] Presumably these were the Spanish edition. Unfortunately, not a single surviving copy of the printed map has, to date, been located in Mexico.

When the Spanish edition was finally made by Tomás López, with his reputation for precise work, facility with the language and familiarity with the place names, he cleaned up the errors on the French edition and produced an even finer engraving. An intriguing mistake can illustrate the sequence of the maps. Alzate on his Spanish manuscript map sent to France labeled the Colorado River, 'Rio Colorado, ó del Norte, cuyo origen se ignora', following Father Eusebio Kino's example who remarked that the upper reaches of the Colorado River above the Gila were unknown. When received by the French Society, it was copied by Buache, at which time certain spelling errors were introduced. Accordingly, the Buache Manuscript has the erroneous label 'Rio Colorado, ô del Nortecuio Origen **Seignora**'. Jean-Nicolas Buache printed the French edition and reproduced the same erroneous label. A few years later, when Tomás Lopéz made the Spanish edition of the map, he corrected the obvious typographical errors, and, in the case of the Colorado River, the label was revised to 'Rio Colorado, ó del Norte, cuyo origen se ignora'.

Impact of the map

During the eighteenth century Alzate's would be the only detailed printed Spanish map of New Spain and, on publication, it would have been expected that other mapmakers would, as was the common custom, copy information from such a noted and local authority as Alzate. Yet overall, it seems to have had little impact on maps published by the major European printing houses of the time. It was copied by Pierre-Marie François de Pagès to illustrate his *Voyages Autour du Monde…* (1782) and it was used as a base map for a series of regional maps of New Spain published by Juan López in 1803.[35] Humboldt reported that he also utilised the 1768 printed map during his investigation in the archives of Mexico City in 1803.[36] These are the only uses of Alzate's map by other mapmakers that have been located by the present author.

There are at least two explanations for this lack of impact. First, the map might not have been seen. The information, without approval of the Spanish authorities, might have been narrowly distributed. According to Alzate, not a single example reached Mexico until 1792. As discussed, very few of the maps survive and perhaps the print runs were too small to have an impact. An additional explanation concerns the actual date the map was printed; although it was

dated 1768, the first state was not printed until 1775, and the others much later. By the 1780s mapmakers with access to Spanish manuscripts would have been far more impressed with Nicolás de Lafora's maps of 1771 (which reflected the great northern inspection of Marqués de Rubí), Miera y Pacheco's 1777 map of the Escalante–Dominguez expedition, and the maps of Manuel Agustín Mascaró around 1782. Of course, this restricted Spanish information was not available to the European map trade. Beginning in the 1790s, important information was emerging from French and English explorations in the northwest that would be revealed in print by Aaron Arrowsmith and Victor Collot that same decade. Thus, by the time Alzate's map was finally printed, its information was no longer the best available.

A question remains as to why, in view of Spain's long tradition of secrecy, Alzate dared to send such confidential geographical information about New Spain to the French in 1768. Eager to publish his scientific papers with the prestigious French society, did he hope to impress them by including a detailed manuscript map dedicated to them? (He became a corresponding member three years later). Was this a treasonous or reckless move? The following four points explain why it was not. (1) At this time, the Bourbon King Charles III also dominated the Spanish court (as Carlos III), enabling greater cooperation between previously hostile neighbours. For example, young Spaniard Tomás López studied mapmaking in Paris under the French expert cartographer J.B.B. d'Anville. (2) Charles III, an intellectual liberal, also expanded academic and commercial freedom in France and Spain. (3) Following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which concluded the French and Indian War, France had ceded all territory west of the Mississippi River to Spain, so the French were no longer a threat to Spain. (4) Finally, as discussed above, the information to the north was not that accurate, reflecting Spain's own lack of knowledge just before the great discoveries of the 1770s.

The inadequacies of Alzate's map are clear: the details of the northwest coast are poor, the drainage of the rivers of Texas are confused, and although the valley of the Rio Grande is well mapped, the lands north of Taos are conjecture. With the benefit of today's knowledge it is tempting to judge this map a failure. But at the time the area was essentially unknown. Alzate, who did not have formal training in cartography, used great ingenuity to piece together scraps of information for an otherwise blank canvas. Expressing humility in his 1772 geographical memoir when praising his sources, he states: 'I am not so arrogant that among them I would number the general map of the kingdom … which I have executed; I lack that which is most essential to give them the perfection possible'.[37]

No other map that survives before this date attempts to illustrate all of New Spain, and no other Mexican dared to share information that would be published in Europe. In risking the wrath of Spanish authorities, Alzate stated that 'moved by the good of the nation, [he] might try to serve it [by] reducing its geography to a better state'.[38] He was a scientist seeking to understand his surroundings and to bravely share this knowledge with others. With its many faults, the map was still the best information about this vast unknown land to be printed until the last decade of the eighteenth century. It is a landmark in the history of North America's southwestern cartography.

Notes

1 Exceptions are Alzate's Lorenzana map published in 1770 and a map to accompany the adventures of Pierre Marie François de Pagès in 1772, both simplified copies of Alzate's 1768 printed map, and the map focusing only on California to accompany *Californias: Antigua y Nueva* by Francisco Palou in 1787.

2 There are six copies of this very rare map known to have been sold by dealers in the past 50 years. My research has located 15 examples: French edition (no imprint): Bibliothèque Nationale de France, British Library, Frank Holcomb, Texas (Ruderman 30212). French edition (Dezauche): University of Michigan (Clements), Library of Virginia (John Carter Brown) (Streeter copy), Maclean Collection, Baylor University (Texas Collection). Spanish edition (no imprint): University of Michigan (Clements), Library of Congress, William Talbot, New Mexico (Ruderman 31332rg), Ted Lusher, Texas (Ruderman 49361). Spanish edition (Gremios): Yale, Library of Congress, Wesley Brown, Colorado, Private collector, Spain.

3 For example, he does not seem to have consulted Miera y Pacheco's map produced in 1758 (the most advanced map of the upper Rio Grande to then) or had access to findings of the northern inspection of Marqués de Rubí who returned February 1768.

4 For more on the 1769 map see Ben W. Huseman, *Enlightenment Mapmakers and the Southwest Borderlands*, University of Texas at Arlington, 2016, pp 28– 29.

5 Jack Jackson notes the manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but was apparently unaware of the attached hand-written label. Jack Jackson, *Shooting the Sun: Cartographic Results of Military Activity in Texas, 1689-1829*, Book Club of Texas, 1998, p. 134.

6 Differences from the Buache Manuscript to the French printed edition are (1) removal of decorative compass, (2) decorative border around title simplified, (3) typo of date in legend about Sebastian Viscayano corrected from '16' to '1602,' (4) Title of Ocean changed from 'Grande Merr appellee Vulgairement Paciphique' to 'Mar Del Sur O Pacific', (5) 'Kadasiyac' added to small river flowing into Pacific, (6) list of six bishoprics added, (7) at 30th parallel, 'Angrim' and 'Ajava' changed to 'An' and 'Ajavaiamin', (8) scale bar modified, (9) east of Taos 'Sierra de Nambe' changed to 'Sierra de Namhe', (10) large text across southern Texas 'Guadalaxara' has been removed, (11) 'Nova Espana' has been added in the ocean, and (12) the table of longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates for Nueva Vera Cruz, Mexico, and St. Joseph has been added.

7 Another minor difference is that to the legend for Cabo St. Lucas is added the text 'Cabo de Ballenas' (referring to the whales present) on the Spanish edition, but not on the French.
8 '*A Paris Chez DEZAUCHE Géographe Sucesseur et Processeur du Fond Géographique des Srs. De Isle of Buache Géographer du Roi, Rue des Noyers prés selle des Anglois*'.
9 The mountains, coastal outlines, and script are all in the style of López style who was the only active map publisher in Spain at that time; the Gremios state describes López's known work location, and the map was listed in Juan López' inventory in 1808.
10 A general map of New Spain had been produced in the late 17th century by Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora whom Alzate credits as a source in his article about the 1772 manuscript; this map has not survived. Michael Frederick Weber, *Tierra Incognita: The Spanish Cartography of the American Southwest 1540-1803*. Dissertation, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1986, pp. 306–07.
11 Barreiro's 1729 map has the title 'Prova. de los Tejas', likely the first such manuscript map to ascribe a regional area to the word Texas.
12 For a more detailed discussion of Alzate's mapping of Texas see Jack Jackson, *Shooting the Sun: Cartographic Results of Military Activity in Texas, 1689-1829*, Book Club of Texas, 1998, pp. 131–35.
13 In the region of Texas, another text on the 1768 printed map not found on Barreiro include the addition on the 1768 printed map under the general title Provincia de los Texas of the mission 'Nra. Sra. de los Delores de Cenis ó Texas', probably taken from Delisle. Another is an addition on the 1768 printed map of the four additional missions of San Antonio: Concepcion, la Espada, San Jose, and San Juan de Capistrano.
14 Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, Amsterdam: N. Israel Press, 1968, p. 153.
15 The remarkable voyages of Captain Cook along the northwest coast concluded in 1779 proving the 'Sea of the West' a fraud. Even Buache had to admit there was no such sea in this location. Jean-Nicolas Buache's map 'Nouvelle Carte de la Partie Septentrionale du Globe comprise entre le Kamtchatka et la Californie', completely removed it in 1782.
16 John L. Kessell, *Whither the Waters*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017, p. 38.
17 Kessell, p. 57.
18 Alexander von Humboldt, 'A Map of New Spain',London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown Oct. 25, 1810.
19 Thanks to Angel Abbud-Madrid for this information and translation.
20 Another legend located east of the Rockies about where the Colorado-New Mexico border would be today states: *Llanos de trescientas leguas de extension cubiertos de heno donde se alimentan las Reses de Sibola de que se mantienen las Naciones de Gentiles circunvecinos* (Meadows of 300 leagues of extension covered with grass where the cattle of Sibola pasture that feed the Nations of neighboring Gentiles.) The term 'Gentiles' used throughout the Alzate map can be translated as 'Indians'.
21 Way to the north on the map is 'Sierra Azul tan decantada' (The much-praised Sierra Azul) referring to an area of rich silver mines far west of Santa Fe.
22 Specific examples of features from Barreiro include the addition of the small rivers Vermejo and Antonio, as tributaries to the Chama River and the legends at the top of the map just west of the Rio del Norte (Grande) 'Tierra de los Camanches ó Padoucas' and the legend just below Tierra de los Yutas'.
23 Although Alzate manages to incorrectly move the Trinity to the east of the combined Colorado and Brazos river on the 1772 and 1775 manuscripts.
24 Jackson, p. 138.
25 Xavier López Medellín, et al. 'The 2012 Transit of Venus Observed at Real de Santa Ana, Baja California Sur, Mexico', *Journal of San Diego History*, 2012, Vol. 58-4, pp. 275–77.
26 The translated French text is: 'Since the sending of this map, the voyage of Mr. Chappe to California has provided corrections in the position of different places which it is worthwhile to set forth below'.
27 Alexander de Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, 1811, translated from French by John Black in 1811, p. xxviii.
28 The British Library that has a French edition without the Dezauche imprint, has catalogued this map as being by Phillippe Buache, printed in Paris on March 21, 1772 without explanation. Robert Sherwood states that the French edition was published in 1775 without explanation. *The Cartography of Alexander von Humboldt*, *Images of Enlightenment in America*, Saarbrücken: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, 2008, p. 97.
29 I thank Martine Chomel Harent, former curator of maps at Museo Nacional de History, Mexico City, for drawing my attention to this quote in José Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, *Gaceta de Literatura de Mexico*, Puebla: 1831, Vol. 3, p. 59.
30 A. López Gómez, 'Los domicilios en Madrid y el éxito del geógrafo Tomás López (1731–1802)', in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (BRAH), CXCVII, 2000, pp. 377–89.
31 Henry R. Wagner states the French edition was first because both French and Spanish editions state they were published under the privilege of the French Academy of Sciences. *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, Vol. I, N. Amsterdam: Israel Press, 1968, p. 339. Both Carl Wheat and Barry Ruderman (have argued for the primacy of the Spanish edition, primarily because of the spelling errors on the French. Carl Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Vol. 1, San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957, p. 218. Barry Lawrence Ruderman catalogue description 49361 for sale of Spanish edition of Alzate map, 2017, p. 5.
32 (1) In title, 'Geographico' in French and Buache Manuscript, 'Geografico' in Spanish, (2) 'Cabo de San Lucas' on French and Buache Manuscript, 'Cabo de S. Lucas o'Co. Bellanas' on Spanish, (3) box around title on French and Buache Manuscript, no box on Spanish, (4) in the language about Viscayno's voyage, 'dispuerto' (a misspelling) on French and 'dispuesto' on Buache Manuscript and Spanish, (5) in 'Pueblos rebelles de moquis', 'rebelles' in French and Buache Manuscript and 'rebeldes' in Spanish, (6) 'Rio Colorado, ô del Nortecuio Origen Seignora' on the French and Buache Manuscipt and 'Rio Colorado, ó del Norte, cuyo origen se ignora' on the Spanish. Ruderman has enumerated several differences between the editions in his catalogue description, pp 34.
33 Agustin Hernando Rico reports that the catalogue of maps for sale by Juan López, Tomás's son, in Madrid 1808, includes 'Virreynato de Mexico, por Don Josef Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez, in four sheets at a price is 14 reales'. Agustin Hernando Rico, *El geógrafo Juan Lopez (1765-1825) y el comercio de mapas en España*, Madrid, 2008, p 5.
34 Alzate, Vol. 3, p. 59.
35 This is sensible since López had published Alzate's map. Weber, p. 312. Alzate's map was reproduced in John Howell's 1972 edition of Pedro Alonzo O'Crouley's 1774 manuscript, *The Kingdom of New Spain*, because O'Crouley's original map was lost.
36 Humboldt, p. xxvix. Thanks to Angel Abbud Madrid for pointing this out.
37 Jackson, p. 137.
38 Jackson, p. 137.

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‘BAHRIYYE-I BAHR-I SIYAH’, 1724–1725

Ibrahim Müteferrika’s map of the Black Sea and its copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France [1]

Kaan Ucsu

Giambattista Toderini (1728–1799), a Jesuit abbot, came to Istanbul in the autumn of 1781 to tutor the son of the Venetian ambassador. During his six-year stay he set himself the task to study the whole of Turkish literature and, on his return to Venice in 1787, he published his findings in a three-volume book called *Letteratura Turchesca*.[2] Toderini’s text gives some precious information about Ibrahim Müteferrika [d. 1747] and the maps he produced. He notes that Ibrahim’s map of the Black Sea was copied and translated into French by a dragoman in Istanbul in 1768.[3] This information remained neglected for more than 130 years until the great Ottomanist Franz Babinger published his book *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrundert* in 1919.[4] In it he mentions Toderini’s note about Ibrahim’s map and its translation, and encouraged a detailed study of it. However, despite the extensive research dedicated to Ibrahim Müteferrika Babinger’s recommendation was not acted on for a long time.

Until recently Ibrahim’s reputation as the founder of the first Turkish publishing house has overshadowed his many other activities. In 1990 Ulla Ehrensvärd discovered two of his maps – the Black Sea and Iran – at Lund University, Sweden. Her subsequent article about these maps has contributed immensely to our understanding of Ibrahim’s cartographic endeavours.[5] Since then, Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, who presented a paper on the map of the Black Sea in 2008, has furthered Ehrensvärd’s work.[6] However, neither Ehrensvärd nor Sarıcaoğlu were able to find the map mentioned by Toderini. In his 2012 paper about the research opportunities in Ottoman cartography, the late Thomas D. Goodrich, highlighted the need for further research on Ibrahim’s maps.[7] This contribution, thus, aims to take the research one step further and analyse the French copy that Toderini indicated, and other copies that the present author discovered at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Ibrahim Müteferrika

As the founder of the first Muslim publishing house in the Ottoman Empire, Ibrahim Müteferrika has drawn a considerable attention from academics. The list of studies published on his life and career would fill pages, yet details of his early life are still unclear.

He was born in Kolozsvar (today’s Cluj-Napoca) some time between 1670 and 1673. It is very likely that he took part in the Ottoman supported Transylvanian rebellion led by Imre Thököly in 1690–91. During this effort to restore their independence from Austrian occupation the young Ibrahim was either captured by Ottoman troops or converted to Islam voluntarily. We have no clue as to his name before his conversion.[8] Establishing his religious identity has been cause for long and lasting debate. Niyazi Berkes, claims that he received a Unitarian education, and more recently, Orlin Sabev’s article persuasively argues that he was educated as a Unitarian/Socinian.[9]

Almost twenty years following his arrival in Istanbul, Ibrahim, now as a Muslim, appears in Ottoman intellectual life with a unique, untitled and unsigned, albeit commonly ascribed to him, treatise on Islam (*Risâle-i Islâmiye*, 1710), in which he defends Islam against the Papacy and its doctrine.[10] He gains the title Müteferrika in 1716 with which he becomes universally known. In 1717 he becomes Prince Ferenc Rákóczi’s (1676–1735) liaison officer, retaining the position until Rákóczi’s death while in exile in Turkey.[11] Two years after commencing his commission he embarked on his first publishing endeavour: a map of the Sea of Marmara. No print is known to exist but the wood block survives today in Istanbul.[12] After an almost five-year hiatus, in 1724–25, he resumed his publishing activities with the support of Mehmed Said Pasha, son of the statesman and ambassador to Paris. In 1720–21 Mehmed Said Pasha (d. 1761) had accompanied his father Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi (d. 1732) to Paris[13] where he participated in ambassadorial excursions to various institutions such as the observatory, library and publishing houses. Here he collected several maps by French cartographer Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726) with the intention of having them published.[14] Ibrahim’s second publishing attempt was another printed map, the subject of this article – ‘Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyah’ – the map of the



Fig. 1 Ibrahim Müteferrika, 'Bahriyye-i Bahr-i Siyah' (Map of the Black Sea), 1724–25, Istanbul, 66 x 96 cm. Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript, Library, Yale University, 492 1723.



Black Sea. In 1727 Ibrahim received formal permission from Sultan Ahmet III for the establishment of his publishing house, and published his first book two years later.[15] From then, until his death in 1747, he managed his publishing house alongside occasional diplomatic missions ordered by the Palace. In 1741, due to the shortage of paper and the high prices of imported stock, he set up a paper mill in Yalova.[16]

Even though he was widely known as a publisher on several occasions he defines himself as a geographer.[17] He devoted one of three chapters of his book *Essentials of Rule in the Order of Nations* (Usulu'l Hikem fî Nizâmü'l Ümem) to the science of geography, in which he emphasises how important it is for rulers to be knowledgable about the frontiers, rivers, mountains and fortifications of their territory.[18] His interest in geography and cartography is convincingly demonstrated by the large number of atlases, maps and books on geography in Middle Eastern and European languages that are listed in his probate inventory.[19]

The map of the Black Sea

Ibrahim's map of the Black Sea was engraved on four copperplates. Its total size measures 67 x 100 cm and is decorated with five galleys; two compass roses, one surrounded with the names of the winds; a cartouche in the top-right corner; a box to its left with information on the Sea of Azov; a legend in the top-left corner with a box beside explaining its importance; a scale bar at the bottom; and a box beside which gives the distances between the various ports around the Bosporus (Fig. 1).

There are four extant exemplars of the map. One is in the Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul.[20] This was hand-coloured after it was printed; the sea is blue, the castles are red, the frames of the cartouche and legend are red, and the frames of the other boxes are yellow. The ships and the compass roses are also painted blue, yellow and red; the land is left uncoloured. The second example, discovered by Ulla Ehrensvärd, is held in the library of Lund University. It had been presented to Edvar Carleson, the Swedish ambassador to Istanbul, in 1736 by Ibrahim himself. Its colouring is identical to that in the Topkapı Palace.[21] Harvard University owns the third.[22] This map was in the personal collection of the Austrian general and cartographer Franz von Hauslab (1798–1883).[23] He had been a diplomatic envoy in Istanbul between 1827 and 1829 as well as engaged in espionage activity.[24] It is assumed that he procured the map during this period. It is less colourful than the previous two examples. Only the compass roses, the frames of the map, cartouche, legend and the other boxes are coloured yellow. The fourth belongs to the Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library of Yale University.[25] It was purchased in 1959 from the New York auction house H.P. Kraus.[26] This is the most richly coloured example: the sea is painted blue, the castles are red, the coastlines of the Black Sea, the Crimean and Taman Peninsulas are red, blue and green respectively, the frame of the map is orange, the cartouche frame is greenish-brown and each symbol in the legend is coloured as well.

The Black Sea

Historically, the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, along with the Bosporus and the Dardanelles constituted an integral geographical unit which the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires were anxious to control. Dominance in this area was vital for food production security and commerce. Therefore, at the conquest of Istanbul Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) swiftly set about consolidating his power over this area. His project was realised in the late 1530s by his great grandson Suleyman I (r. 1520–1566), effectively making the Black Sea an Ottoman lake.[27] Ottoman dominance of the Black Sea lasted, almost without interruption, until the end of the seventeenth century. Over the course of this period, they succeeded in preventing European warships from entering the Black Sea. Exception was granted to commercial ships from certain countries which had procured the prerogative of access. Their absolute control over the Black Sea and their knowledge of it affected also the production of maps. Up until the late seventeenth century there were only three known maps of the Black Sea. These maps are incorporated in atlases called *The Ali Macar Reis Atlas* (1567), *Atlas-ı Hümayun* and *Walters Sea Atlas*. Even though only the date of The *Ali Macar Reis Atlas* is known, Svat Soucek and Thomas D. Goodrich suggest that the three atlases were most likely produced in the same workshop within two decades at most.[28]

In the seventeenth century Ottoman rule over the Black Sea was challenged by both Poland and emerging Russian ambitions. They supported nomadic Kazakh tribes living in the northern Black Sea region by encouraging hostility with the Ottomans and the Crimean Khanate. In response to the ongoing attacks from these tribes, mainly in the second half of the century, the Ottomans declared war on Poland and Russia. The conflict was a burden on the Empire and contributed to its failure in the Vienna Campaign of 1683. Taking advantage of its weakened situation, Russia attended the Holy League in 1686 (established by Pope Innocent XI to

oppose the Ottoman State in the Great Turkish War (1683–99) in a bid to realise her ambitions over the Black Sea. From then on, Ottoman–Russian rivalry continued intermittently till the First World War.[29]

This rivalry in which European countries such as France, Poland, Britain, Austria, Sweden participated on various occasions started a new era of cartographic production. During the reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687), Seyyid Nuh prepared an isolario based on Piri Reis's *Book of Navigation*. However, his book incorporated several charts of the Black Sea which Piri Reis's lacked.[30] Abu Bakr b. Bahram al-Dimashqî (d. 1691), an Ottoman geographer, included a chart of the Black Sea in his abridged translation of Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maio*r which Blaeu had not included.[31] There are also a number of maps made by the Russians following their capture of the Sea of Azov in 1696.[32]

Ibrahim's map came into existence against this background. His aim, as indicated in the cartouche, was to help believers navigate the Black Sea with ease. He adds some remarks on the skills and knowledge necessary to draw charts and notes its production date as 1137 of hegira (20 September 1724–28 September 1725) and the place of publication as Constantinople. The cartouche does not give the names of either mapmaker or engraver. However two contemporary sources can be consulted to verify that Ibrahim is indeed the mapmaker. The first dates from 1726/7; it is an unnamed and unsigned petition to the Sultan requesting a permit to launch a publishing house. In it the petitioner stresses that he has already been engaged in printing activities for the last two years with the financial support of Mehmed Said Pasha.[33] Most studies accept that the entrepreneur is Ibrahim and that the petition was written by him. In addition, given that he had been actively printing for two years and the date of the map corresponds with the information given in the petition, it is again widely assumed that the map was made by Ibrahim Müteferrika. The second source is a testimony of the then Swedish ambassador to Constantinople, Edvard Carleson (1704–1767), who met Ibrahim in Istanbul in 1734 or 1735 during his mission. He writes in a report to Sweden that Ibrahim presented him books he had had published at the time and the maps of the Black Sea and Iran.[34]

There is no clear information about the engravers. However, Toderini's text names two engravers: Ahmed el-Kırımî (Ahmed of Crimea) and Mıgırdiç Galatavî (Mıgırdiç of Galata).[35] Their names are not strange to researchers who are familiar with Ibrahim's works. They appear on a few maps which Ibrahim added to the printed version of Katip Çelebi's (1609-1657) atlas *Cihannüma*. Even though they were not on the payroll of the publishing house, Sabev reasonably suggests that if required they must have engraved for Ibrahim.[36]

The map's sources

Ehrensvärd and Sarıcaoğlu think that Ibrahim used Seyyid Nuh's charts of the Black Sea.[37] Indeed, a comparison of the two shows that Seyyid Nuh's charts were among the sources Ibrahim utilised. Sarıcaoğlu also suggests that he must have used the Black Sea map in the *Ali Macar Reis* atlas.[38] Neither Ehrensvärd or Sarıcaoğlu mention Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi from whose work Ibrahim must have benefitted. Their similarities and the fact that he consulted Abu Bakr's translation of *Atlas Maior* while supplementing the printed version of *Cihannüma* confirm this assertion. Ibrahim seems to have used only Ottoman sources despite the availability of Russian maps: Tsar Peter the Great (1672-1725) summoned Christian Rugell to Russia to survey the Sea of Azov, which he completed in 1699. Adrian Schonbeck, whom also the Tsar invited from Amsterdam in 1701, published it.[39]

Ibrahim made few contributions to the map of the Black Sea. Ehrensvärd thinks that he made important progress in depicting the shape of the Crimean Peninsula by drawing it as diamond shape, which in the 1680s, due to a misconception, French engineer Le Vasseur de Beauplan and Russian cartographers had depicted as round.[40] Yet, as Ibrahim had not used any European sources and as Ottoman maps consistently showed the Peninsula as diamond shaped, his work cannot be described as progress. His most important contribution is the inclusion of all the fortresses that existed at the time across the region. Other than that, his treatment of the delta of the Danube River is different from how it was customarily shown. In most maps the delta has five branches whereas he gives only four, detaching the southernmost branch, Karahirman, and directs it to the southwest.

It is not known how many copies of the map were published or its sale price. Of the sixteen titles published by Ibrahim it is known that ten had print runs of 500 copies each. From such consistency one might assume that he printed 500 copies of the map, too. However, as it was published before Ibrahim received official imperial support for his publishing house, it is possible that he more cautiously printed fewer copies. There is no information on the price of the map of the Black Sea; however the accounts of theologian Christoph Wilhelm Lüdeke reveal that in 1764 he bought three of

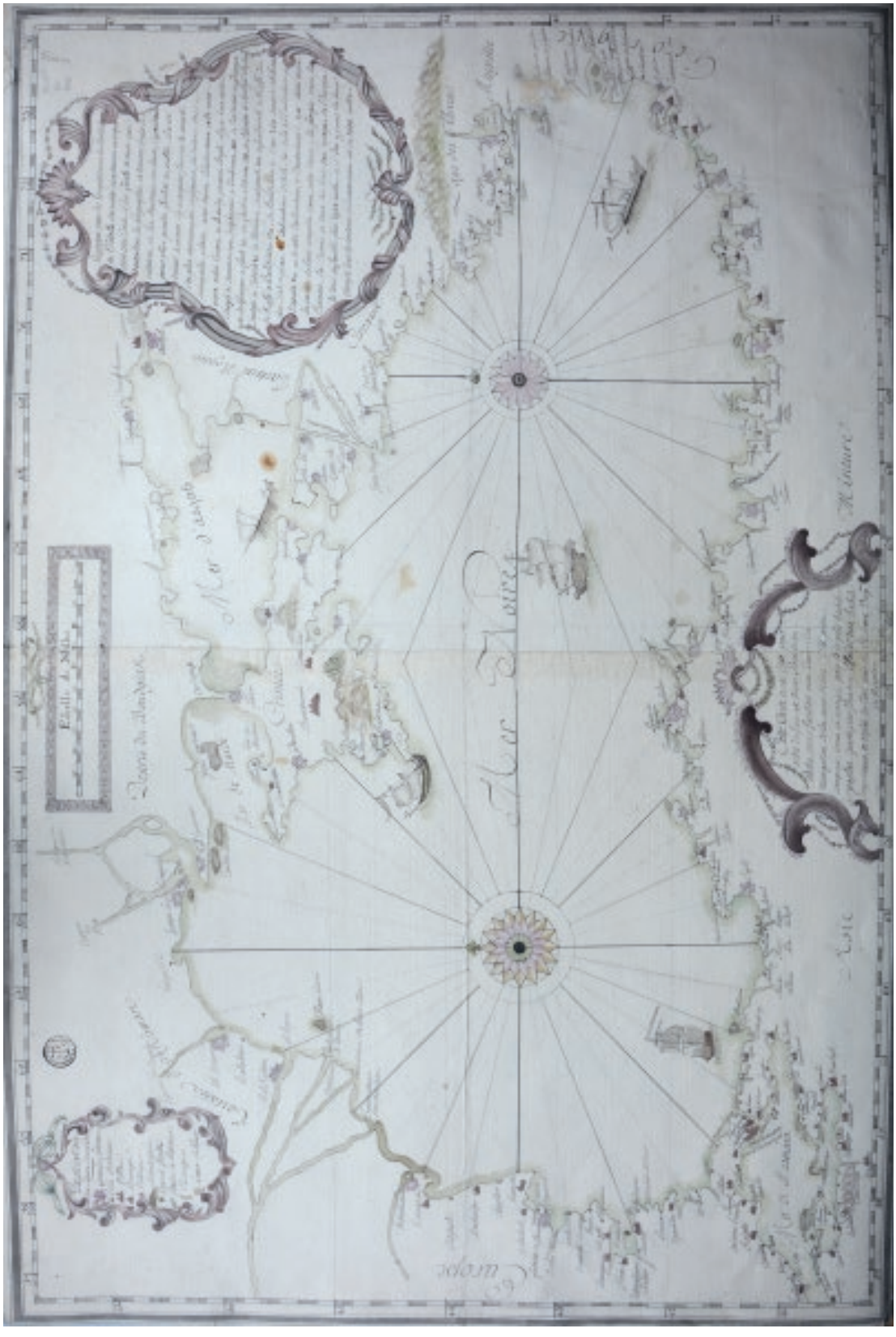


Fig. 2 Jean-Joseph Chabert, 'Carte de la Mer Noire', 1768, Istanbul, 28 x 42 cm. BnF, GE SH 18 P 99 Div 0 P 3.

Ibrahim's maps – the Black Sea, Iran and Egypt – for 130 piastres. He adds that this price is twice as much as the first price.[41]

The BnF copies

Toderini in his mention of Ibrahim stressed the considerable effort he made to acquire Ibrahim's map of the Black Sea. He also notes that the map was copied by hand and translated into French by the dragoman of Kingdom of Two Sicilies, M[onsieur]. Scaber in 1768. Scaber was, in fact, Jean-Joseph Chabert (1727–1789) who came from a long line of dragomen. After serving Stanislas Lubomirski (1704–1793) in Poland Chabert returned to Istanbul and entered the embassy of Two Sicilies' service as the head dragoman.[42]

The present author discovered Chabert's manuscript copy along with several more at the BnF in 2015. They are registered in Portfolio 99 Division 0 and Portfolio 100 Division 7 of Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Cartes et Plans, BnF. The first and only completed map is registered as GE SH 18 P 99 D 0 P(ièce) 3 (Fig. 2).

While Chabert made an exact copy of the geographical features of Ibrahim's map there are differences in the cartouche, legend, scale bar, compass rose which is no longer surrounded by the names of the winds, and other components. The copied map does not include the map's title, and the cartouche, now moved to the bottom centre, includes completely different text: *Cette Carte a été faite par ordre du fameux Visir Ibrahim Pacha pour faciliter aux Turcs la navigation de la mer Noire. Elle a été composée, revue et corrigée par les plus habiles Geographes, gravée par Ibrahim Effendi tres habile Imprimeur, et copiée du Turc par M. Chabert Drog[m]an de Naples*. The upper-right cartouche is similar in appearance to the original but now contains the information of distances between various ports that was presented in a box on the original map. The scale bar has been moved to the top and indicates only miles, whereas the original has three different measurement systems. The placement of the legend remains the same but is lacking one symbol: rocks in the sea which have also been omitted from the map. Chabert's copy is more lavishly decorated than Ibrahim's map.

Study of the toponyms on Chabert's copy is helpful in determining whether the other copies of Ibrahim's map at the BnF have been similarly copied and whether Chabert translated them according to Latin equivalents of Arabic letters as given in *Grammaire Turque* by Jesuit priest Jean Baptiste Holdermann and which had been published by Ibrahim to teach Turkish to French dragomans in 1730. It was probably the first book providing Latin equivalent of Arabic letters.[43] To establish whether Chabert used Holdermann it is useful to compare toponyms with letters that do not exist in French. For instance, the 'Ç' sound as in 'Chair' is translated for variously: Çardak = **Tch**ardak, Mihaliç = Mihali**tsch**, Çakroz = **Tci**akros. Another example is the 'G' sound as in 'Geography': Edincik = Edin**gi**k, Çınarcık = Tchinar**dg**ik, İnceburun = In**dj**ebouroun. Chabert uses several ways to transliterate each sound, whereas there is only one equivalent to each sound in *Grammaire Turque*: 'dg' for 'g' sound and 'tch' for 'ç' sound. Chabert seems not to have consulted *Grammaire Turque* for his translation.

The BnF has no information about the provenance of its copies of Ibrahim's map. All one can say is that it did not reach France immediately. Toderini's notes on Ibrahim offer a clue. He writes that he had read the following on Chabert's copy : *'l'illustre Visir Ibrahim Bacha a fait faire cette carte, pour la commodité des musulmans qui naviguent sur la mere noire. Elle a été composée, revue & corrigée par les meilleurs géographes; c'est l'imprimeur Ibrahim qui en a fait le dessin & l'impression, l'an 1136'*. This note does not appear on Ibrahim's map, but does, almost exactly, in Chabert copy, except the date which is not indicated. It would appear that Toderini had seen Chabert map in Istanbul during his visit in the first half of 1780s.

In portfolio 100 there is what appears to be a sketch map of the southern parts of the Black Sea: 'Partie Meridionale de la Mer Noire copie d'une carte Turque publiée par Ibrahim Effendy'. Comparing its place names with those on the others shows that it must have been copied either by Chabert or copied from Chabert's map (Fig. 3).

There are two other maps of the Black Sea in portfolio 99 registered as GE SH 18 P 99 Div 0 P 7 and GE SH 18 P 99 Div 0 P 7/2. Neither has been completed. However, the former is considerably more advanced (Fig. 4). The copyist appears to have intended to make an exact copy. Every geographic component of Ibrahim's map is in the same place with the exception of toponyms of the northern part. Details such as the boats and wind names surrounding the compass rose are missing. But this is most likely because the map is not finished. Nor did the copyist add anything to the map that might help identify him. However by examining the toponyms, we can infer that it was not Chabert. For example Chabert writes Capandgia, Schille and Tciakros, the anonymous copyist version of these is Cabantché, Chelé, Tchicrez. There are many more names that are transliterated differently. Neither does this map follow the rules set out


Partie Meridionale
de la Mer Noire

Fig. 3


DESERT DE BUDJAK
Carte Marine
de la Mer Noire
MER NOIRE

Fig. 4



Fig. 3 Unknown, 'Partie Meridionale de la Mer Noire', 37 x 97 cm. BnF, GE SH 18 P 100 Div 7 P 6.

Fig. 4 Unknown, 'Carte Marine de la Mer Noire'. BnF, GE SH 18 P 99 Div 0 P 7.

Fig. 5 Unknown, untitled. BnF, GE SH 18 P 99 Div 0 P 7/2.

in *Grammaire Turque*. All of these facts suggest that there must have been another copyist that saw the original map. GE SH 18 P 99 Div 0 P 7/2 has only outlines, fortresses, geographical formations and one of the compass roses (Fig. 5). It seems to have started as a copy of the former.

Nor do we know how and where Figs 4 and 5 were made. In response to Louis XV's librarian abbot Bignon's request in 1730 for copies of books published in Istanbul, Mehmed Said Pasha promised that Ibrahim's publishing house would send him one or two copies of each book published. They also, probably, sent some objects as diplomatic gifts[44] but given that each book published by Ibrahim is today in the BnF it is most likely that his map of the Black Sea, was not among those books and objects sent. Was its absence



Fig. 5

the reason Chabert was asked to make a copy?

To conclude, it seems that Ibrahim's map and its copies did not circulate well through Europe. There might be, of course, many reasons for this: the map had become rare within a short time after its printing; the Ottomans may not have wanted their rivals to obtain it; the Europeans might not have trusted Ottoman cartographers, just as happened almost 130 years later in the Crimean War;[45] moreover they may have also wanted to survey the Black Sea themselves. Following the defeat of the Ottomans in the 1768–1774 wars with Russia, the State was no longer capable of preventing the Europeans from sailing and surveying the Black Sea. However, they did manage to keep them away from the southern part of the Black Sea until the middle of the nineteenth century, which led British churchman and dean of Wells Edmund Goodenough (1786–1845) to write in 1831: 'Of all the waters of the deep which have been penetrated by the enterprise of British sailors, there are none so little known to us, by actual observation, as the Black Sea'.[46] Ibrahim's map could have been a useful guide for those in need of detailed knowledge of the Black Sea.

Notes

1 I dedicate this contribution to the memory of Jean-Yves Sarazin (1967–2016). I would also like to thank Catherine Hofmann and Emmanuel Pavy of the BnF for their great assistance.
2 Giambattista Toderini, *Lettaratura Turchesca*, Venezia: Presso Giacomo Storti, 1787. It was translated into French very soon after it was published. Here I am using French edition. Giambattista Toderini, *De la Littérature des Turcs,* Trans. M. l'Abbé de Cournand, Paris: Poinçot, 1789.
3 Giambattista Toderini, *De la Littérature des Turcs,* p. 131.
4 Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert,* Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, 1919. Here, I am using its Turkish translation, Franz Babinger, '18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat', *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası,* trans. Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004, pp. 1–62.
5 Ulla Ehrensvärd, 'Two Maps Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1724/5 and 1729/30,' *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul Meddelanden,* Vol. 15, 1990, pp. 46–66.
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CHRISTIE'S

IRRELEVANT AND UNWANTED

Early Hong Kong through the lens of cartography

Gordian Gaeta

The depiction of geographic relations is a foundation for power politics, multi-lateral relationships, be they trade, investment or politics, and progress in human settlements.[1]

The history of charting early Hong Kong has a twist. Its initial purpose was exclusively strategic and largely kept secret. Yet it shaped the history not only of Hong Kong Island and, by inference, Kowloon, but the region and the British Empire. Accurate charts (and a few gunships) were all it took for the British Empire (and the Navy) and its chartered or friendly organisations (the trading houses) to discover and claim Hong Kong Island, defeat enemies on the way, and lay the foundation of its early development.

The irrelevance of early Hong Kong

Hong Kong as an island or a port remained uncharted because Hong Kong had no sea trade relevance up to the early/mid eighteenth century. It was a sparsely-inhabited island although its natural typhoon shelter, Victoria Harbour and some other bays attracted fishermen, local traders and pirates alike. Local traders clearly had comprehensive knowledge of the waterways as Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808), the first hydrographer of the British East India Company (from 1779) and the Admiralty Hydrographic Office (from 1795) and his captain Walter Alves learned in 1760 through the local pilot Yasou: he had a chart of Hong Kong waters[2] but this information remained unpublished until the memoirs of Dalrymple.[3] Hong Kong was essentially a well-kept secret, not intentionally at first but simply for lack of relevance to those who could afford to chart new waters.

On the other hand, the lack of any mapping or charting is surprising since Hong Kong sits geographically at the entrance of the Pearl River Delta leading to Canton and across the river delta from Macao. Macao and Canton have been of great overseas interest since centuries – thus Macao (Portuguese from 1557–1999) has been mapped on a small scale at least since the Georgio map of China in the Ortelius atlas starting in 1595 (albeit on the wrong side of the Pearl estuary).[4] Robert Dudley's chart 'Carta particolare del mare di Cocincina con la parte Australe della China ... d'Asia' of 1646 includes only a general perspective of the entrance. Given the secrecy commanded by the trading companies or simply the lack of printed material there are few if any public Canton access charts, or maps, before 1720/25 (Fig.1).

Canton itself and the river delta surrounded by a seemingly random set of islands can be found on nearly all maps of the region but not with any accurate details of the Pearl River estuary.

The political background

Trade dominated the China–foreign relationship from the early eighteenth century onwards. For more than fifty years, albeit with many quarrels to resolve, the initial trade relationship through Canton offered China a supply of silver and Britain a supply of tea. The silver payment constituted a growing and soon unsustainable drain on His Majesty's Treasury.

Around the end of the century, merchants looked for an alternative to this initial trading pattern and found it in opium: this created the illegal, triangular (through India) and infamous Opium Trade. By the 1820s the Canton trade was effectively reversed from only thirty years earlier. China was exporting large amounts of silver to pay for the illegal import of opium that vastly exceeded tea exports in value, creating an untenable burden on her treasuries. Thus, by the later eighteenth century, change pressures mounted and quarrels intensified.

Eventually, following numerous interventions and, finally, the British success in the First Opium War (1839–42), the Canton trade system collapsed. In the critical period from around 1780/90 (when the export/import of silver reversed) to 1840 with intensified hostilities and battles, charts played a dominant part in fostering Britain's role in the China Seas and the birth of Hong Kong as a British colony.

Early Pearl River charts

During the initial Canton trade period Hong Kong

Fig. 1 Robert Dudley, 'Carta particolare del mare di Cocincina con la parte Australe della China ... d'Asia', Carta VII, 1646. Size 48 x 37 cm. Private collection. A detail of the Pearl River entrance has been superimposed over the chart in the bottom right-hand corner.


ASIA
IMPERIO DELLA CHINA
CHINCHEO
CANJAN
Qvansai
Il Tropico di Cancer
Canton
MARE DELLA CHINA
PARTE PIV. AVS
TRALE DELLA CHINA
OCINA
I Tinconi
Saccagia
Cocincina
Var. Rotta
Corrono per Ausle
Carta particolare del mare di Cocincina con la parte Australe della China
ISIOPA
anton
R. di Canton
C. Lantaon
Lantaon
C. di Macao
Lampacao
Cas di Gesuiti
I. di Metao
Pulo Caocos
C. Camanta
Caima
I. Bran
I. dos Viad
Pulo Bal

Island and Hong Kong waters remained largely insider knowledge. Nobody seemed to care about it except the locals and the independent traders. Even the Chinese largely ignored it although it had been fortified much earlier and used as an outer defence. Hong Kong (as hideout and holding position) received no prominence in published materials and certainly not on charts.

After the Emperor of China declared in 1757 Canton the only port for foreign trade, it became the central trade focus for most except the Portuguese who operated out of Macao. Suddenly, knowledge of the Pearl River Delta and its surroundings had increased commercial value. This justified investment in surveys and charts by the British and French. Commercial requirements of the British and Dutch East India Companies of the ships supplying the Canton factories and independent merchants, and of the various navies/trade supervision/trading houses simply required better information.

The Canton Factories, called the 'Thirteen Factories' but which eventually grew to seventeen or eighteen in 1856, were the warehouses, stores and sole legal site of most Western trade located along the Pearl River from about the 1680s to 1856. The principal national factories were Dutch, British, Swedish, Austrian, American (eventually), French, Spanish and Danish. The volume of trade was very significant despite the tight regulation and onerous fees exacted by the Chinese (Fig. 2).

Manuscript charts were insufficient given the volume of shipping traffic. Hundreds of ships could hardly rely on a few manuscript charts. Without charts, trade and the protection thereof (both from pirates and from other nations' ships) could not flourish as rapidly.

There was another major reason to press ahead with charts. Piracy had been endemic in the South China and surrounding seas for centuries.[5] Of course, ships laden with silver (inwards or outwards) were prime targets; they typically unloaded around the island of Lintin. The pirates had inside knowledge of the waters and foreign ships needed to know where to anchor, to unload onto smaller vessels, to hide or how to escape. Despite being heavily armed and despite the presence of the Navy, pirates attacked these ships regularly.

Early Hong Kong charts

The efforts to include Hong Kong waters started in earnest with Dalrymple. His survey of the entrance to the Pearl River Delta took place in 1759/60, and a second in 1764 resulting in a much more detailed and accurate depiction of Hong Kong waters, soundings of the harbour and the Pearl River entrance (Fig. 3).

From the soundings we can see that the ship did not go very far into the Pearl River. Hong Kong is labelled Fanchin Chow and is an afterthought. Dalrymple's memoirs[6] dispute the notion held by Alves that Hong Kong was an island and called Heong Kong by the locals.[7]



Fig. 2 Unknown artist. Oil painting of the *Thirteen Factories in Guangzhou*. c. 1850. Flags of Denmark, the Netherlands and the United States fly in front of their respective trading houses. Courtesy of Wattis Fine Art.

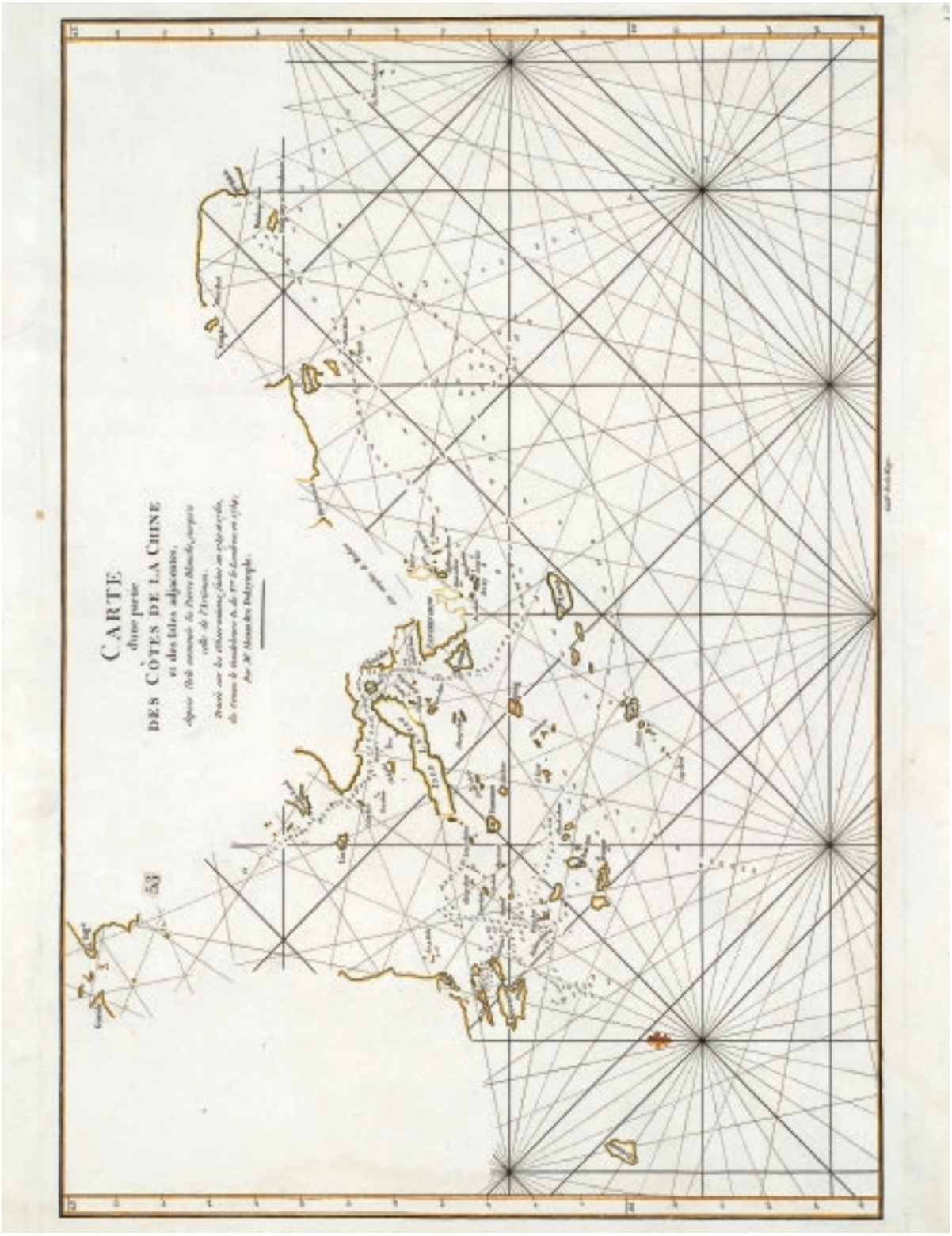


Fig. 3 D'Après de Mannevillette after Alexander Dalrymple's 'A chart of part of the coast of China and the adjacent islands from Pedro Blanco to the Mizen, laid down from observations made in 1759 and 1760 in the Schooner Cuddalore and in the ship London, 1764'. Courtesy Wattis Fine Art.

In fact, this first large-scale chart of the east side of the Pearl River Delta to include the initial contours of the south side of Hong Kong Island seems more of an exercise in completeness than a targeted effort to chart Hong Kong. The charting of the harbour or passage/harbour between Hong Kong Island and the mainland, although documented by Capt. Alves, as well as the name of Hong Kong, was omitted by Dalrymple in his 1771 chart and remained so, or incorrectly sketched until Sayer and Bennet's 1778 chart of the 'China Sea from the Island of Sanciam to Pedra Branca with the course of the river Tigris from Canton to Macao'. Such was the insignificance of Hong Kong.

It is thus hard to argue that either the East India Company or Britain had any notion of developing Hong Kong or using its harbour for anything else than anchorage.

Following the Dalrymple surveys a number of important events took place with regard to the Canton trade. The shift in the Canton trade and the increasing demands and troubles of the trade system with consequential diplomatic impasses between China and Britain required an alternative place to protect British subjects, vessels and activities. Numerous captains, trade superintendents and diplomats issued reports and comments to this effect.

Hong Kong was not among the contenders as an alternative simply because it had not yet been fully 'discovered'. We do however assume that much better knowledge existed than is shown on the Dalrymple chart. The Macartney embassy in 1793 surely took advantage of all extant knowledge within the Company and the British Admiralty. An authentic report of the mission by Sir George Staunton in 1797/98[8] shows a much-improved picture with Hong Kong as an indicative island. However, this map was not of chart quality. It indicates however the knowledge residing in various repositories, predominantly the Company. Continued secrecy requirements may, or would, have prevented a more detailed publication.

First Hong Kong charts

The quantum leap in published information came only in 1807 and published in 1810, when Hong Kong waters were properly (not fully accurately) charted. Lieutenants Daniel Ross and Philip Maughan from the Bombay Marine issued a chart 'of the different passages leading to Macao Roads' for the affairs of the United East India Company. [9]

'The East India Company … had its own navy, operating out of India, called the Bombay Marine. Ships were sent to the Canton River to carry out marine surveys, and the hydrographers of the Bombay Marine, notably Daniel Ross and James Horsburgh, were largely responsible for producing up-to-date charts of the coast of China and what was then called the China Sea'[10] that included Hong Kong.

The depiction of Hong Kong remains inaccurate in many respects. The island of Ap Lei Chau is missing, the shapes of Tytam (Tai Tam peninsula) and Victoria Harbour do not match reality and the eastern coastline with Shau Kei Wan and Deep Water/Repulse Bay are inaccurate. The whole of Hong Kong is somewhat wrong in proportions and directions with East Point being further north than North Point (sic!). Equally the east side of Lantao is left blank. [11]

Ross's chart with all it deficiencies remained copied until well into the 1900s despite the much better surveys by the British Admiralty in 1842 (Belcher) and the Ordnance Survey of 1845 (Collinson).

Many charts and maps of the region follow Ross. However, the fact that a peaceful dis-engagement from the Canton trade system seemed increasingly unlikely caused Britain to have a vested interest in even better charts. The British Navy required good charts to safely lead their interventions. On 10 March 1840 the British Hydrographic Office published its chart of the Hong Kong area, based on the Ross surveys of 1815: 'Entrance to the Chou-Kïang or Canton River from the Outer Islands to Linten Surveyed by Capt. D. Ross Bombay Marine' (Fig. 4). Such late publication was in the interest of keeping select knowledge secret. The Amherst embassy (1815/16) to China had these charts, as evidenced by the mission reports from Henry Ellis in 1817, and C. Abel in 1819[12] with the first publication of a dedicated Hong Kong map albeit as an inset and in outline.

Until the early nineteenth century most British officials who were concerned with the idea of an alternative trade centre with China were adamantly opposed to Hong Kong. There was little support for it, or its waters, for anything other than a hideout, transshipment or anchorage. However, quite suddenly Hong Kong started to figure among the contenders as an escape location for the Canton trade. All relevant factors seemed to align in its favour. There were charts of Hong Kong waters, although restricted; the East India Company and the large traders such as Jardine, Matheson & Co. had first-hand knowledge of the quality of the harbour; and there were commercial and military needs to have a point of abode within reach of Canton. Yet the discussion about the role of Hong Kong



Fig. 4 British Hydrographic Office, 'Entrance to the Chou-Kïang or Canton River From The Outer Islands To Lintin Surveyed By Capt. D. Ross Bombay Marine', 1815. 49.5 x 59.2 cm. Courtesy Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antiques Inc. www.raremaps.com



Fig. 5 Captain Edward Belcher R.N., 'China, Hong Kong, Surveyed by Captn Edward Belcher in H.M.S. Sulphur, 1841'. 61 x 91.5 cm. Courtesy of Wattis Fine Art.

as a British colonial presence in South China was still confused. Some saw a great opportunity to have an independent harbour and some saw the island as a (potential) concession by the Chinese that deliberately gave Britain an insignificant outpost.

The Convention of Chuenpi was a tentative agreement between British Plenipotentiary Charles Elliot and Chinese Imperial Commissioner Qishan. The terms were published on 20 January 1841, but both governments rejected them. On 21 April Lord Palmerston dismissed Elliot, considering the concessions to be inadequate. He felt that Elliot treated his instructions as 'waste paper' and dismissed Hong Kong as 'a barren island with hardly a house upon it'.

In fact, when Captain Edward Belcher (1799–1877)



was ordered to survey Hong Kong Island in January 1841, he took bona fide possession of it. The treaty of Nanking in 1842 confirmed the cession of Hong Kong as a crown colony to Britain (Fig. 5).

Had Hong Kong not been charted in time, the Canton and opium trades may have been severely burdened and certainly the British Navy may not have succeeded as they have. Hong Kong was at the time an afterthought and, at best, a compromise enabled by good information and practical considerations of companies and private traders.

Hong Kong is an example of how maps are instrumental in enabling the development of an area and a port thereto known only to insiders and of no apparent relevance beyond a storm protected anchorage under constant pirate threat. The step from an anchorage to the role of Hong Kong today as a global free port is in no small measure aligned with the efforts of hydrographers and cartographers of the time.

Cartography has its own twists and turns. Hong Kong was discovered by hydrographers out of necessity. It was a mostly unwanted but a practical alternative to Canton when required. It became the starting point of Hong Kong as we have it today and, on the way, surely became Britain's most successful colony.

Notes

1 This article is extensively based on a paper 'Origins of Mapping and Charting Early Hong Kong' given by the author at the 36th IMCoS Symposium in Hong Kong in 2018.
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G. Mercator / J. Cloppenburgh, Amsterdam, c 1630



Magnae Britanniae Et Hiberniae Tabula G. Blaeu, Amsterdam, 1630

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CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Continuing exhibitions

Until March 2019, Lewisburg, West Virginia
North House Museum
James Wilson, America's First Terrestrial and Celestial Globe Maker
Wilson was a self-taught globe maker from New Hampshire. He and his three sons operated two manufacturing plants in Bradford, Vermont and in Albany, New York. After just a few years they were able to outsell the European globe makers who had dominated the American market. Information: www.greenbrierhistorical.org

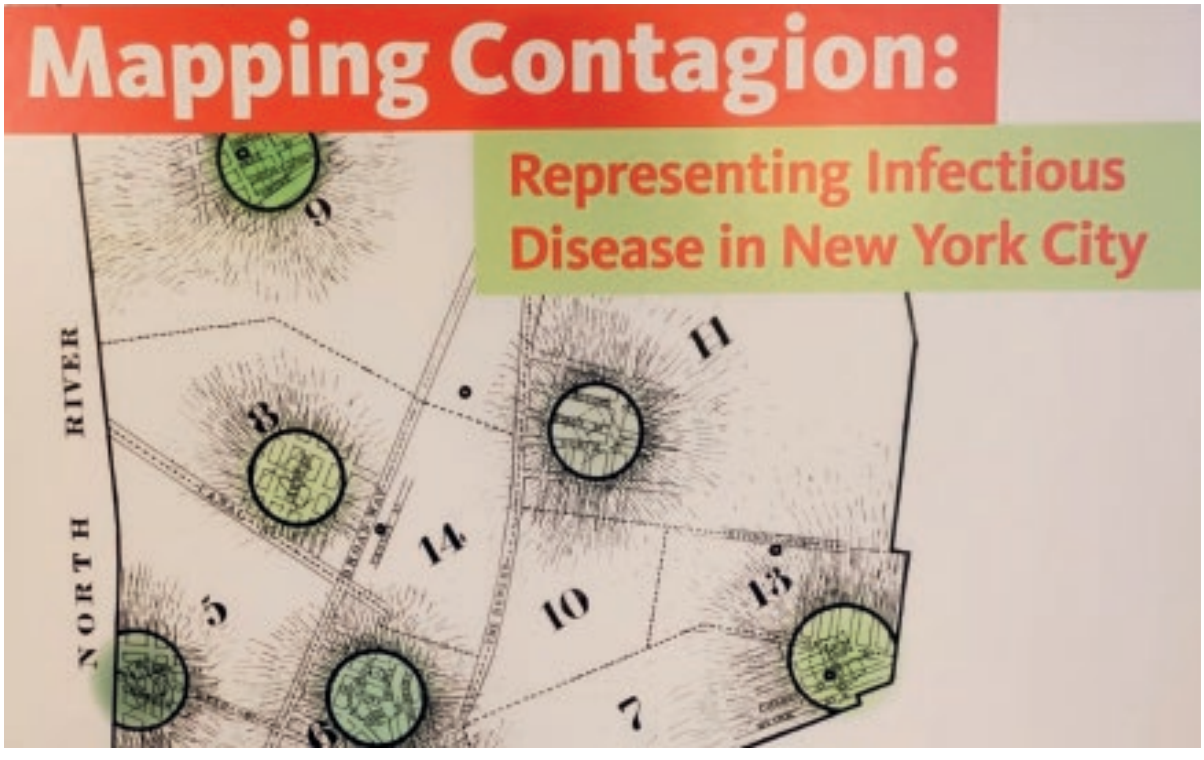
Until 20 April, Madrid
Instituto Geográfico Nacional
De Iberia a España a través de los mapas
This exhibition covers cartographic representations of Spain throughout its history: the Iberia of the Greeks, Roman Hispania, the scientific cartography of Claudius Ptolemy, religious and nautical charts of the Middle Ages, the Golden Age of cartography in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the cartography of the eighteenth century. Information: http://www.ign.es/web/ign/portal/ic-salas-expo-madrid-2018

Until 20 April 2019, Boston
Norman B. Leventhal Map Center
Crossing Boundaries: Art // Maps
The exhibition compares contemporary works of art with maps spanning six centuries. These juxtapositions aim to create a dialogue that can illuminate the crossing of the traditional boundaries of art and maps, and stimulate fresh appreciation of both media. Information: https://www.leventhalmap.org/

Until 28 April 2019, Ditchling, East Sussex
Ditchling Museum of Art + Craft
Max Gill: Wonderground Man
celebrates the forgotten work of Brighton-born illustrator and pictorial mapmaker MacDonald (Max) Gill. He was commissioned to create promotional transport maps, including an early version of the London Underground system map (1922), the 'London Underground Bus Services Map' (1928), as well as 'Theatreland', the 'Peter Pan Map of Kensington Gardens' and the 'Wonderground Map of London Town' (1914). Information: http://www.ditchlingmuseumartcraft.org.uk

Until 27 May 2019, Washington
National Postal Museum
Postmen of the Skies celebrates the 100th anniversary of the first regularly scheduled airmail flights. Information: https://postalmuseum.si.edu/exhibits/current/postmen-of-the-skies/index.html

Until 19 May 2019, New York
New York Public Library
Mapping Contagion: Representing Infectious Disease in New York City
The exhibition explores the city's attempt to both quantify and identify



through cartography the locations and causes of epidemics by showcasing over one hundred years of mapping contagion in the city of New York. The maps from the Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division are supplemented by posters, photos, books and ephemera from the Library's Print Collection, General Research Division, and the Picture Collection.
Information: www.nypl.org

Until 12 May 2019, New York
Morgan Library & Museum
Tolkien: Maker of Middle Earth
Tolkien family photos and memorabilia are paired alongside his original illustrations, maps and designs for *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *The Similarillon*. Together with annotated manuscripts and maps, the illustrations provide a full picture of an artist immersed in his creative process.
Information: www.themorgan.org

Exhibitions opening

12 April – 29 December 2019, Philadelphia
American Philosophical Society
Mapping a Nation: Shaping the Early American Republic
The exhibition traces the creation and use of maps from the mid-18th century through to 1816 to investigate the way maps, as both artworks and practical tools, had political and social meaning.
Information. www.amphilsoc.org

4 May – 10 November 2019, Boston
The Norman B. Leventhal Map Center
***America Transformed: Mapping the 19th Century,* Part I.** Information: www.leventhalmap.org

5 July 2019 – 1 March 2020, Oxford
Weston Library
Talking Maps is the summer exhibition at Weston Library. It brings together an extraordinary collection of ancient, pre-modern and contemporary maps in a range of media as well as showcasing fascinating imaginary, fictional and war maps. Information: nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

Lectures and conferences

21 March 2019, London
Warburg Institute
Professor Martin Brueckner (English Department and Center for Material Culture Studies, University of Delaware, USA). ***The Rise of Monumental Maps in America: Aesthetics, Technology, and Material Culture***. Information: Tony Campbell (info@tonycampbell.info) & Catherine Delano-Smith (c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk).

21 March 2019, Washington
Library of Congress
Dr Matthew Edney, (Univ. of Southern Maine; Osher Map Library; Dir. History of Cartography Project), ***The History of Cartography Project: Its Past, Future, and Lasting Importance.*** Information: Bert Johnson at mandraki@verizon.net

2 May 2019, London
Warburg Institute
Jeremy Brown (PhD student, Dept. of Geography, Royal Holloway, Univ. of London & the British Library).
Democratising the Grand Tour: Self-reliant Travel and the First Italian Road Atlases in the 1770s. Information: Tony Campbell (info@tonycampbell.info) & Catherine Delano-Smith (c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk).

7 May 2019, Cambridge, UK
Emmanuel College
Cambridge Seminars in the History of Cartography
Natasha Pairaudeau (Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge) & **Marie de Rugy** (Wolfson College, Cambridge) will discuss ***Burmese cloth maps and itineraries in Cambridge University collections.*** Information: sarah.bendall@emma.cam.ac.uk

16 May 2019, Chicago
The Newberry Library
Michael Conzen will discuss ***Chicago Diagrammed: Frank Glossop and the Mapping of Business Before and After the Fire.*** This talk will review Glossop's life and assess the role that his unusual mapping ultimately played in life. Information: www.newberry.org

17 May 2019, Mclean, Virginia
The Washington Map Society annual dinner and lecture
The title of **J. C. McElveen's** talk is ***A Romp Through 19th-Century Westward Expansion: From Lewis & Clark to Custer's Last Stand***.
Information: www.washmapsociety.org

6 June 2019, Oxford
Weston Library
The 26th Annual Series Oxford Seminars in Cartography
Charlotta Forss (Bodleian Libraries and Stockholm University). ***Rivers and ice: Early modern maps in the far north***
Information: nick.millea@bodleian.ox.ac.uk

7 June 2019, London
The International Map Collectors' Society Annual Dinner & Malcolm Young Lecture. This year's speaker **Prof. Mario Cams** (History Dept. Univ. of Macau) will speak on ***Novus Atlas Sinensis* (1655): *The Story Behind Europe's First Atlas of East Asia.*** See page 7 for further details.
Information: www.imcos.org

1– 4 July 2019, Leeds
University of Leeds
The twenty-fifth International Medieval Congress
Panel and roundtable discussions on the IMC theme of 'Materialities'.
Information: felicitas.schmieder@fernuni-hagen.de or terkla@iwu.edu

12 July 2019, Utrecht
Workshop of the ICA Commission on the History of Cartography
Controlling the Waters: Seas, Lakes and Rivers on Historic Maps and Charts, co-organised with the Map Collection of Utrecht University.
Information: https://history.icaci.org/utrecht-2019

14–19 July 2019, Amsterdam
The 28th International Conference on the History of Cartography
Old Maps, New Perspectives, Studying the History of Cartography in the 21st Century. Information: https://ichc2019.amsterdam/ See page 7 for further details.

15–20 July 2019, Tokyo
National Museum of Emerging Science and Innovation and Tokyo International Exchange Center (TIEC)
ICC2019 29th International Cartographic Conference. Information: http://icc2019.jpn.org/

2–7 September 2019, Bucharest
The Association internationale d'études du sud-est européen
Between the Imperial Eye and the Local Gaze, Cartographies of Southeast Europe. Information: http://www.congresaiesee2019.acadsudest.ro/

6–7 September 2019, Oxford
The International Map Collectors' Society visit to the exhibition ***Talking Maps*** at the Bodleian Library, guided by co-curators Nick Millea and Jerry Brotton, followed by the annual Collectors' Meeting at Wadham College. Information: www.imcos.org

Into the future

6–9 September 2020, Sydney
State Library of New South Wales
38th International Map Collectors' Society Symposium will celebrate the 250th anniversary of Cook's discovery of the east coast of Australia. A post-conference trip to the National Library of Australia in Canberra is planned. Information: maggie.patton@sl.nsw.gov.au

4–9 July 2021, Bucharest, Romania
The 29th International Conference on the History of Cartography (ICHC).

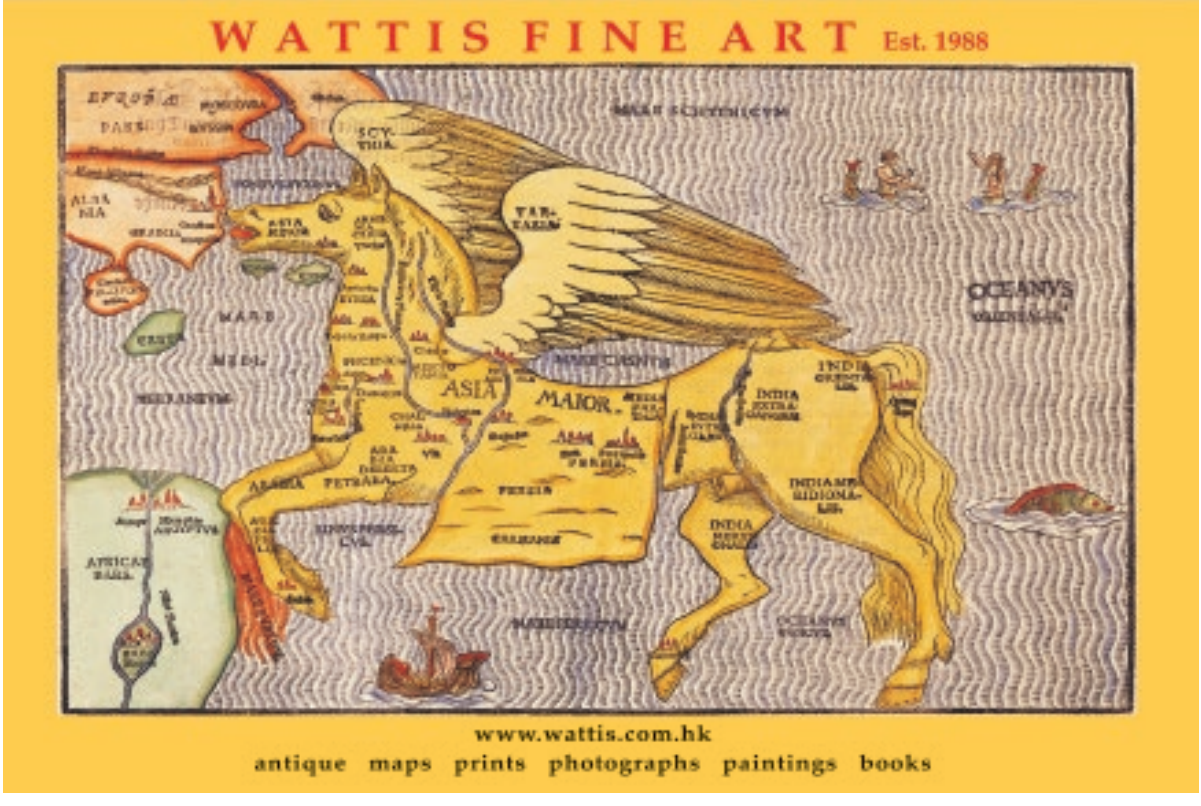
Map and book fairs

21–24 March 2019, Leipzig
Leipzig Antiquarian Book Fair
Information http://www.abooks.de/abooks/index_1600.html

3–5 May 2019, Chicago
5th Chicago International Map Fair
at the Newberry Library, sponsored by the History in Your Hands Foundation (HIYHF), with lectures sponsored by the Chicago Map Society.
Information: www.chicagomapfair.com

7–9 June 2019, London
Firsts London's Rare Book Fair
With more than 150 exhibitors from around the world showcasing rare, unique and unusual works Firsts is one of the largest and most prestigious rare book fairs in the world. As well as tours, talks and demonstrations by experts, Firsts will stage an exhibition with charity partner Shakespeare's Globe of highlights from the John Wolfson Rare Book Collection. Battersea Evolution, Queenstown Road London SW8 4NW. Information and complimentary tickets: www.firstslondon.com

8–9 June 2019, London
London Map Fair, the largest antique map fair in Europe will take place at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AR. The Saturday Map Fair lecture will be given by J. Kent: *Cold War Cartography: Unravelling the Secret Soviet Military Mapping Programme*.
Information: www.londonmapfairs.com



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BOOK REVIEWS

Manchester: Mapping the City *by Terry Wyke, Brian Robson and Martin Dodge. Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2018. ISBN 9781780275307. HB, xv, 256, generously illustrated. STG £30.00.*



Manchester: Mapping the City brings together a wealth of cartographic delights which tell the story of Manchester. I had the pleasure to be involved in sourcing some of the material for this book for which I am credited in the acknowledgements, however, I will endeavour to remain objective. This will be especially difficult, being a Mancunian, born and bred, and having a love of maps.

The idea of producing a book about maps of Manchester was conceived during a high-profile exhibition at the John Rylands Library in 2009. The exhibition 'Mapping Manchester: cartographic stories of the city' was curated by Chris Perkins and Martin Dodge and was one of the Library's most successful exhibitions to date, exploring themes such as industry, transport, wealth and poverty, leisure and Utopian city planning.

Material for the book was drawn from the City's public libraries and archives: the University of Manchester Library, Chetham's Library in Manchester, the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the private collections of the authors. Historic maps, unpublished plans, supplements to magazines and contemporary schematic plans appear throughout the impressive 250-page hardback volume. The book is lavishly illustrated and well produced, including full-page illustrations and detailed extracts of many of the maps featured, making it easy to relate details in the text to the appropriate area of the map discussed.

Authors Terry Wyke, Brian Robson and Martin Dodge tell the story of Manchester's dramatic urban development from its emergence as an important provincial town at the beginning of the eighteenth century to a twenty-first-century city region. The maps selected demonstrate how Manchester grew rich on the cotton trade and of its transformation into the world's first industrial city. They give an insight into people's health, their moral behaviour and leisure pursuits, and they bear witness to how innovation has impacted upon the city's landscape and has helped realise its reconstruction. The maps also portray some of the events which have shaped Manchester and celebrate its iconic places and landmarks.

The book is arranged chronologically with each date relating to a specific map, beginning with early panoramic views of the city and the town's first street map. The city's most significant mapmakers are featured throughout the book: William Green and Charles Laurent who were responsible for the first large-scale plans of the city; James Pigot who continually revised plans for nineteenth-century street directories; the exquisite but flawed Victorian masterpiece by Joseph Adshead; and the ingenious modern city centre plans by Andrew Taylor. What strikes me about this book is the depth of investigation made into the maps and their makers; credit for this is due to the extensive research carried out by its authors who have all published works on aspects of Manchester's history, urban planning and cartography.

The historical, political and social context surrounding the production of the maps is also well researched and key themes, events and places are explored. An example is a detail of Castlefield Canal Basin by J. Howgrewe, which demonstrates how technological innovation drove the city's industrial development. The canal allowed the transportation of coal from the Duke of Bridgewater's colliery in Worsley to Manchester and later, sugar from the West Indies and, most notably, cotton from the southern

states of America. In regard to the trade of raw materials, reference is also made to Manchester's role in the anti-slave movement.

The maps which depict the area of St Peter's Field refer to the Peterloo Massacre of 1819. The events of that tragic day were well documented by maps and plans, and the authors discuss several which were published in contemporary newspapers. However, it is made very clear that these are far from neutral records created by an impartial hand, but produced, in most cases, for use by lawyers fighting the cause of the radicals in ensuing courtroom battles.

Numerous transport maps appear throughout the volume, alongside handsome plans of revolutionary projects such as the Manchester Ship Canal and the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Manchester's original electric tram system and the 1906 tiled wall map of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway on permanent display in Victoria Station are also welcome additions.

The regeneration of the city and visionary urban planning is a recurring theme throughout the book and is accompanied by maps and plans of those projects which were successful as well as those unrealised. Two schemes which never came to pass were a rooftop heliport on Victoria Railway Station and an underground railway. However, the reconstruction of the city centre following a bomb attack by the IRA in 1996 was triumphant and developments such as Salford Quays and Media City are thriving.

Over one hundred street maps, land surveys, architectural and engineering plans and birds-eye views appear in the book. Besides maps which show outbreaks of cholera and the dark satanic mills of Victorian Manchester, garden cities, theatres and theme parks, there are maps of the long-running television series 'Coronation Street', Old Trafford Football Ground and the Manchester music scene. All of them equally enticing and providing a fascinating insight into the history and nature of the city and its people.

This is a highly enjoyable book. It is presented in a clear and concise way, and is an accessible and informative resource for all those interested in Manchester's local history, town planning, urban development, transport, and, of course, maps. The 'further reading' section at the end of the book provides a useful list of references for those who wish to explore some of the themes or maps featured in more detail.

The first large-scale plans of Manchester published by Laurent and Green at the end of the eighteenth century were long overdue and this book too has been a long time in the making. However, just like Green's magnificent map of the city, it has been well worth the wait!

Donna Sherman, Special Collections Librarian,
University of Manchester Library

Mapping the Airways *by Paul Jarvis, in association with British Airways. The Hill, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2016. ISBN 978144565465; E-book 978445654652. PB, 160, multiple illustrations. STG £17.99.*



In 1903 the Wright Brothers performed the first flight in a machine heavier than air. Disregarding the barnstorming days, World War I was responsible for development in the design, construction and use of flying machines. Thereafter it was realised that controlling air space was of prime importance politically, and in its wake, civil aviation came about, although it did take some time before its potential to become a mass transportation industry was understood.

After the Great War, a large number of airlines were founded but almost all of them have disappeared into historical oblivion. A few have survived, although most can only point to predecessors whose names no longer exist and who merged and combined into their current companies. The book under consideration relates the story of Imperial Airways (1924), BSSA (British South American Airways), BOAC (British Overseas Airways Corporation) and BEA (British European Airways) as parent companies of British Airways (1987). The story not so much describes the maps and charts used by pilots, as this would have become a very technical statement, but





Map produced by the firm of Cook, Hammond and Kell for Imperial Airways showing flight paths from London to Amsterdam, Brussels and Cologne, 1926. Private collection.

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Frederik de Wit, 1660

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looks at aviation history as delivered to passengers by way of the industry's marketing and advertising departments. Only Chapter 3 comes closer to addressing the cartographical demands needed for the expansion of civil aviation. In doing so, it overlooks, on purpose, the demands on the system from governments and military institutions in creating the infrastructure required. However, in doing so it makes for a much more readable story, helped along with plenty of images that will ring a bell with the older readers.

The story relates how aviation develops into a mature transport system, showing how the need to communicate with all parts of the far-flung Empire helped generate the number of passengers required for profitable operations; the expansion into business travel; and later still into the field of tourism that today is fast becoming the backbone of the business. The expansion came as a result of developments in aircraft manufacture: numbers and types of aircrafts increased rapidly, aircrafts got larger and the propeller-driven machine gave way to the jet aircraft.

Art historians will be happy to note how the posters reflect the development of graphic art as well. Initially, the public was presented a picture advocating the use of increased speed and a luxurious service to reach a planned destination while later campaigns promoted the urge to see the wide world with one's own eyes. The latter concept lies at the root of the ever-expanding networks. Where earlier a required service was offered, later services offered needed to be promoted in order to lure passengers to such far-away destinations for pleasure rather than for commercial reasons. It also shows how the business models moved away from planning a flight and trying to sell seats on it to researching the market, discovering passenger preferences and scheduling airplanes accordingly. This has seriously impacted the planning of timetables. The map material provided serves to show, in a simplified manner, the actual routes taken and the network available to potential customers.

Having to find a negative remark about this book is a difficult undertaking, however there is one: page numbers have been deleted on many pages because the illustrations are bled to the page edge, which makes it difficult for the reader to get back to the desired page. Your reviewer enjoyed the book, which he therefore recommends to others as an interesting reading of an industry that materialised in less than one hundred years. Its development is still in full swing, suggesting that a companion book may be expected as a follow-up in due time.

Hans D. Kok, Lisse, The Netherlands

Victorian maps of England: the county and city maps of Thomas Moule, *edited and introduced by John Lee. London: Batsford, 2018. ISBN 9781849944977. 160, illus. STG £30.*



Thomas Moule (1784–1851) was a writer and antiquarian, with a sideline as an interpreter of badly-addressed letters for the Post Office. *The English Counties Delineated* (1830-37) was only one of a number of his bulky compilations, but it is that by which he is best remembered, and for the maps rather than the text. The work was originally issued in monthly parts, each of sixteen pages (32 pages for London), in a run of 10,000 copies, with the maps available either plain or, for those willing to pay half as much again, hand-coloured. As well as county maps there were a number of larger-scale district and urban maps. The maps were distinguished by coats of arms of counties, bishoprics and nobility, and a good deal of 'pre-archaeological' Gothic decoration. When part-publication was complete the work was issued in two hefty volumes, totalling 1,066 pages, including an 88-page index. It does not seem to have been reprinted in this form, but the maps were reused for several editions of Barclay's *English Dictionary* (1842–52) and were reissued again in the 1870s.

This is not the first time that the maps have been reissued in volume form: Pavilion Books produced one in 1990, and groups or individual maps have been included in both volumes and as individual sheets,



LINSCHOTEN, Jan Huygen van [Amsterdam, 1601] *Vera delineatio Maris Insularum Toxar per fretum Nassoviacum seu Arcticum in mare Tartaricum ultra flumen Obi pretense eo quo anno 94. . .*

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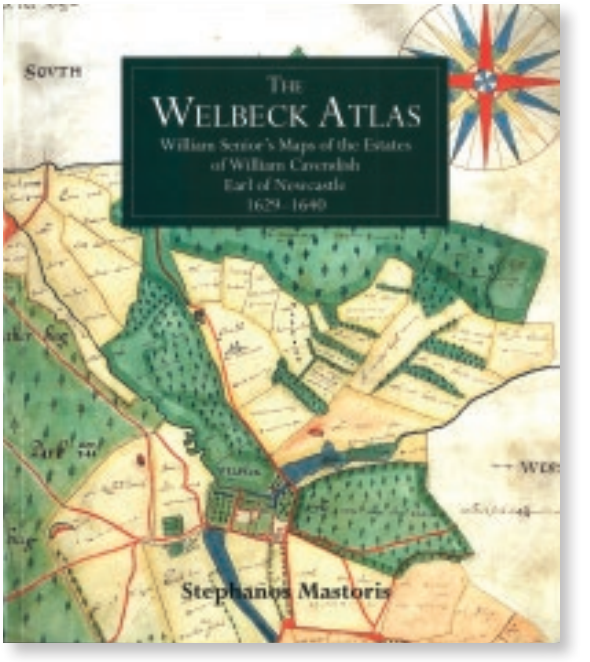
sometimes framed, through newspaper offers. They are therefore hardly obscure, but perhaps the popularity of these earlier issues, together with a vogue for volumes of colourful map reissues, has prompted the present enterprise. Its claim to attention is that whereas previous reissues of 'Moule' have concentrated on the maps, here we are offered some of Moule's text: that for counties and those places for which there are district or town maps.

How does this issue compare with that from Pavilion? Well, there is the text – but only some of it, and it does not particularly whet the appetite for the rest, which described towns and villages. As with the Pavilion Books issue, the maps have been enlarged, to about 150 per cent of the original, which either makes for clarity, or introduces coarsening. It also draws attention to the shortcomings of the maps: for these are the sort of map where the balance of interest lies in the circumstances of its production, and the non-cartographic elements, rather than in information as to the landscape purportedly depicted. Enlargement merely draws attention to their sloppy original compilation: this would have been from the Ordnance Survey where available, and otherwise from county maps, notably by Greenwood and Bryant. The main roads are copied adequately, but lesser roads are sometimes topographically illiterate: selected for an aesthetic density rather than as any guide to travellers, or to a later student of transport networks. The hachuring, such as it is, says less about the relief than the economics of hill-engraving. Added to this, most of the maps seem to have been reproduced from the 1848 edition of the *Dictionary*, with railways added, with all the lack of subtlety of a purple situation-overprint on a twentieth-century military map.

It will be gathered that I am not enthusiastic about this latest revival of Moule. The faults would be more bearable were it not for the unwieldy format. The original publication and the Pavilion Books issue were in portrait format: Batsford have used a landscape style, and the A3 page size is extremely cumbersome when opened out horizontally, and unbearable when, as for counties with a north-size axis, the volume has to be turned.

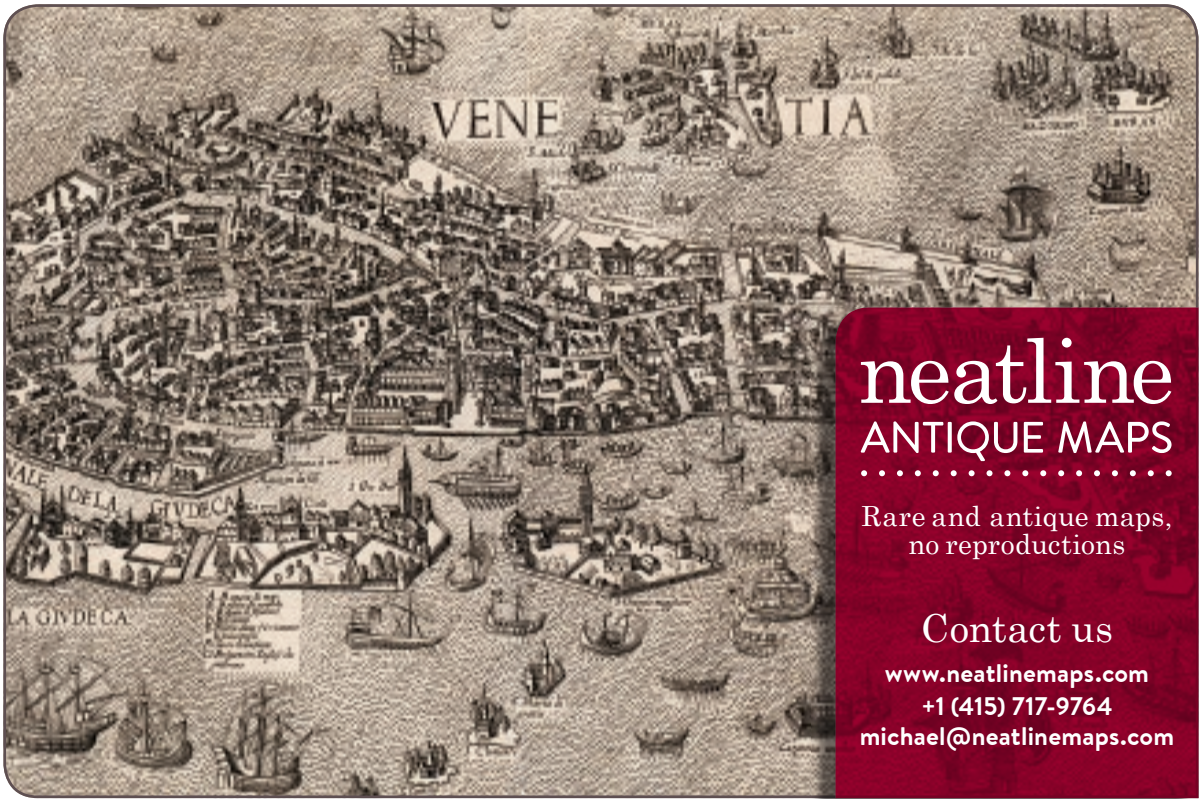
Richard Oliver, Exeter, UK

The Welbeck Atlas: William Senior's maps of the estates of William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, 1629–1640 *edited by Stephanos Mastoris with an interactive digital flashcard edited by Andrew Nicholson. Thoroton Society Record Series, Volume 47 (2017). ISBN 9780902719255. SB, 304, 67 illustrations. STG £29.50 plus post and packing. Copies can be obtained from sales@thorotonsociety.org.uk*



Publishing a complete facsimile volume of maps is not dissimilar to running the 110m hurdles. Before the starting pistol is raised it is crucial to get the support and confidence of an enthusiastic custodian. Once underway a positive publications committee and committed publisher is indispensable. Mid-way, funding looms-high as an immediate concern, as do the perils and pitfalls of conservation photography and quality of reproduction. As costs of printing become a worry, so too do anxieties over content – in particular how much context and commentary to include. Heading towards the finish line we get doubters questioning how marketable and profitable such a niche volume of maps might be which, alongside the time-consuming detail of proof-reading, cross referencing and indexing, contributors could well do without.

There is no doubt that after negotiating these 'hurdles' the result is an extremely handsome volume of which the team should be proud. *The Welbeck Atlas* is a soft-covered, beautifully presented book set out in



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three parts: first, a scholarly introduction by Stephanos Mastoris which perfectly sets the social history and production of the source material into perspective; second, a catalogue entry for each map and third, plenty of contextual materials including detailed appendices, a bibliography and thorough indexing. A full set of maps is presented in digital format.

The Atlas is mostly the work of the enigmatic William Senior who had previously mapped the Hardwick and Chatsworth estates for the 1st and 2nd Earls of Devonshire, cousins of William Cavendish, Earl (later Duke) of Newcastle, of Welbeck Abbey and Bolsover Castle in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire respectively. Newcastle was one of the largest English landowners of his day and between 1629 and 1640 he commissioned the surveying and mapping of his Welbeck estate which spread itself across 106,000 acres in seven counties. Through this new book we have access to all 81 maps, executed on 66 vellum pages (measuring on average 686 x 401 mm) which show 130 settlements across Nottinghamshire (19 maps), Derbyshire (27), Staffordshire (9), Northumberland (20), Gloucestershire (3) and Somerset (3).

As a set they are outstanding examples of the mapmaker's art and showcase Senior as a skilful surveyor; indeed, one of the earliest to produce maps and surveys professionally. The orthomorphic-style maps are incredibly vibrant showing grouped tenements and isolated pockets of land in remarkable topographical detail surrounded by towns and villages; roads and rivers; buildings and gardens; and a whole range of landscape features. Surrounding each map are wonderful decorative features such as compass roses, highly coloured text blocks and borders, and ornate scale bars.

It does not take long to see that the catalogue has been painstakingly produced with each entry detailing title, location, date, acreage, authorship, historic and modern map referencing, significant features, annotations, scale and topographical and personal names. Overlays with present-day county maps are very helpful as are 67 accompanying plates from the Atlas scattered throughout the printed text. If that were not enough detailed appendices explain the structure and pagination of the Atlas, give us a résumé of William Senior's known works and a full account of Newcastle's pre-civil war property and surviving fragments of a seventeenth-century survey which cover some 40 pages apiece. To end, three meticulous indices help the reader navigate principal places, personal names and topographical features.

This attention to detail is striking and not surprisingly this quality continues onto the accompanying USB flash drive. On opening, the contents page gives clear user instructions followed by some duplication of the published text along with some fresh content. The accompanying high-resolution maps are indeed a wonder however, for this reader the decision to publish the catalogue in print and not the facsimile maps is mildly regrettable. Using two mediums in tandem is clumsy and, for me, digital display removes some of the tangibility and refinement of these beautiful artworks.

Before being labelled a 'Luddite' there are undoubtedly benefits to be had from digital content. Interrogation is easy and the expanded details of the maps are useful. A handy link at the end of each county section takes the viewer to the next, a feature that benefits further with easy links to location maps and individual county indexes. Maps are fully searchable by several methods including from the location maps. Perhaps the most important benefit of the USB is the compact nature of the published book which, undoubtedly, made it a more realistic proposition and cost effective production.

A special mention should go to the late Eric Coddington, a long-time member and benefactor of the Thoroton Society, to whom this volume is dedicated and in which a memoir is included, and the Thoroton Society who has succeeded in bringing an important resource to our attention that a major publisher would have very probably rejected out-of-hand. This volume, and others like it, act as a staunch reminder that if it wasn't for generous benefactors and courageous enthusiasts maps like these would be lost to those who most appreciate them.

In his preface Stephanos Mastoris makes the point that he '[spent] longer studying the Atlas than William Senior took to survey and create the original volume'. For me, this was time well spent. Now the finish line has been crossed and (hopefully) all the trials and tribulations are over, the victors will, I am sure, be notably wiser yet exhausted by the whole experience. Rest assured, this volume is a welcome addition to the canon and deserves great success.

Paul Holden FSA, Cornwall

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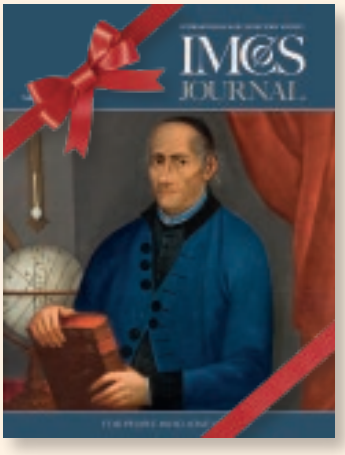
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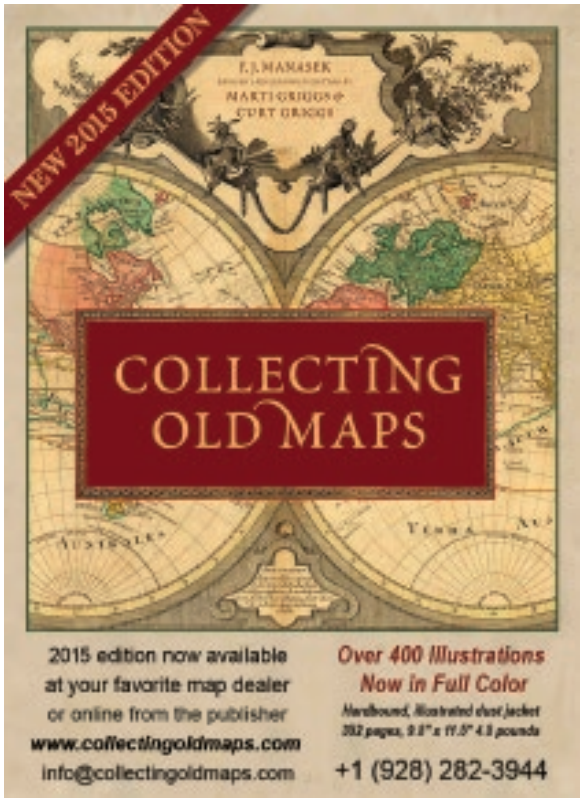
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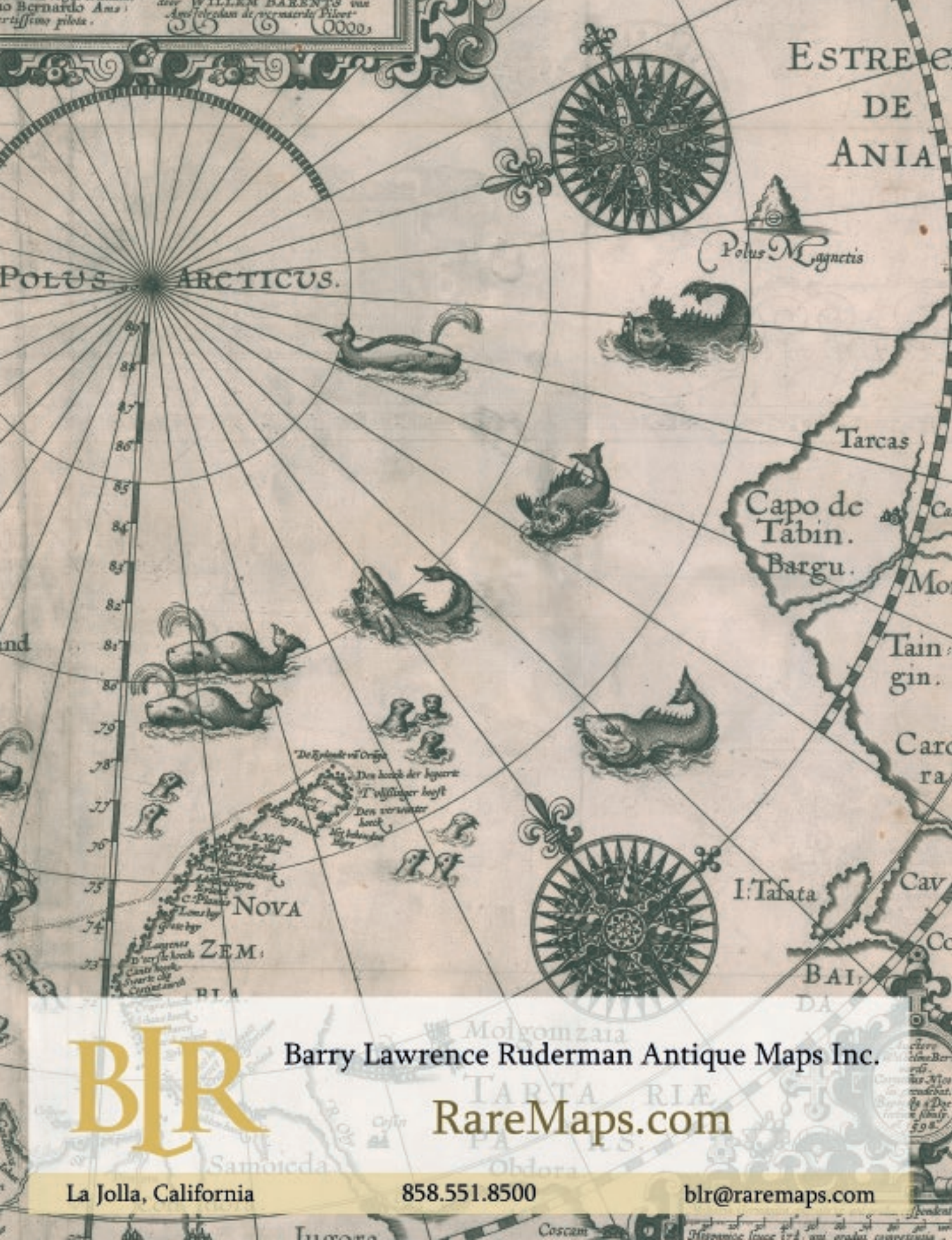
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