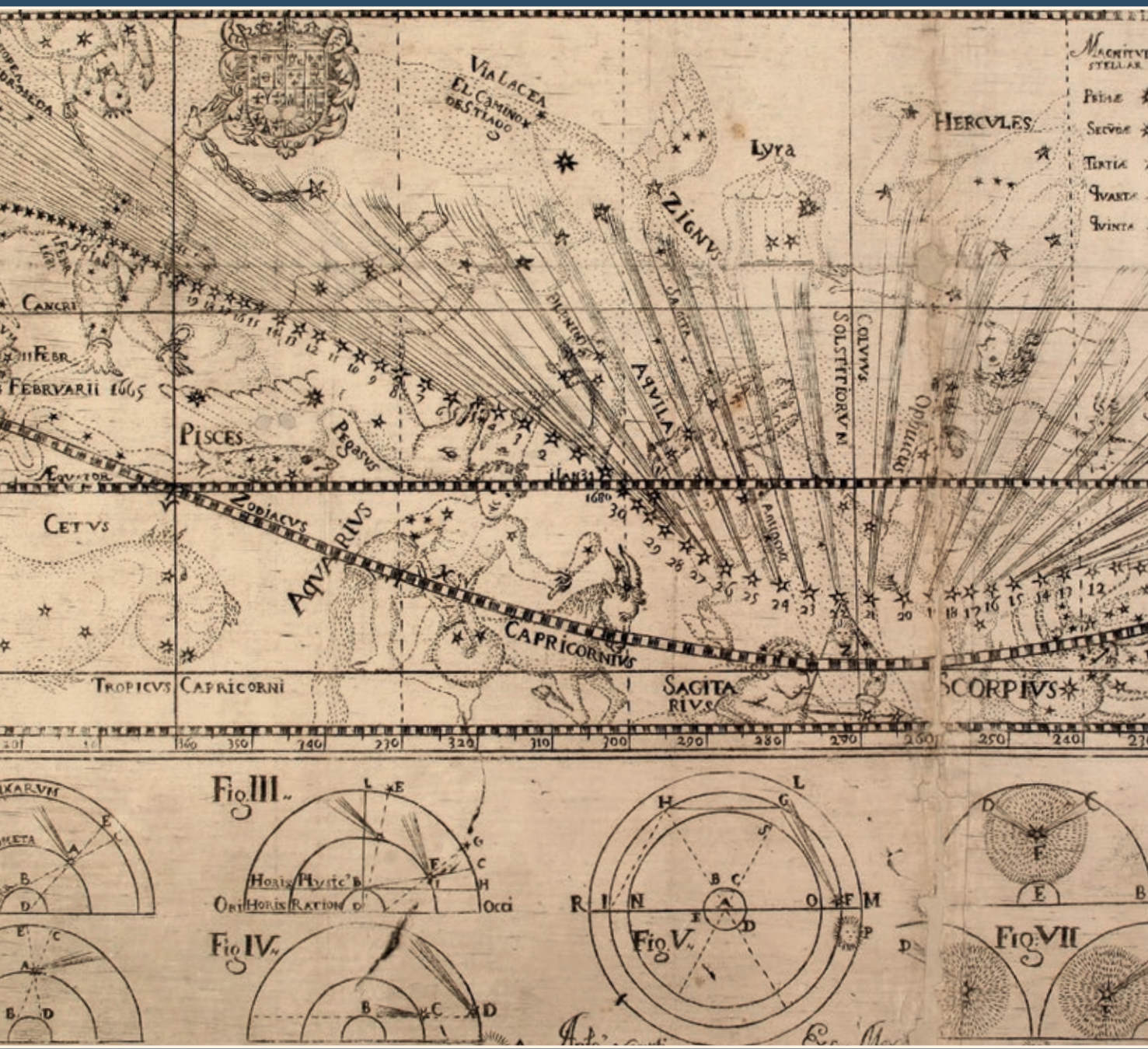
INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

IMCS JOURNAL

DECEMBER 2019 No.159



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Detail of Romeyn de Hooghe's map of the Mediterranean, published circa 1721 by J. Covens & C. Mortier

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JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

DECEMBER 2019 No.159 ISSN 0956-5728

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Front cover **Eusebio Kino, detail from 'Delineacion y dibujo de las constelaciones y partes del cielo por donde discurrio el grandioso cometa que el Año de 1680 por los Meses de Noviembre y Diciembre el de 1681...', Mexico, 1681. Courtesy John Carter Library.**

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Antonio Lafreri [Carta Marina] Olavs Got. Benigno Lectori... 1572.

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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

Some time ago, when I addressed the problem of finding new venues for the annual IMCoS Symposia, I concluded that organisers seem to shy away from the possible financial risks involved and are apt to mention lack of manpower to execute the tasks of preparation for such an event. No great wonder in an ever-busier world!

My remarks were triggered by the fact that our 'stock' of symposium venues was running low and that all efforts to replenish the 'supply' proved to no avail. A subject which weighs heavily on your chairman's mind, as I am very well aware that our international members who they live far away from London look forward to those gatherings as being their only chance to attend an IMCoS event. Sometimes a little bit of luck does come in handy. The July ICHC meeting in Amsterdam provided a good opportunity to ask potential people and institutions for their cooperation. The current status has since much improved: we have Sydney to look forward to in 2020; are close to agreement on a symposium in a well-known European capital; have a Texas meeting in the making for 2022; and a firm commitment for a Helsinki/Finland meeting in 2023.

This is a good opportunity to say 'Thank you' to all those persons and institutions willing to accommodate our request. The staff organising the symposia do so as volunteers or employees of an institution and in both cases they go the extra mile during a year or more in order to provide IMCoS participants with an enjoyable and rewarding experience. Often they provide access to rare cartographical treasures from the vaults of their country's collections. The effort in organising these symposia is easily underestimated, as I know full well after organising the 2002 IMCoS Symposium in Amsterdam myself. The registration fees may vary depending on the duration and the venue for the event but they always come out rather lower because of local support, either financially or by offering free services.

I would like to point out that an IMCoS symposium is much fun to attend for a couple of days, visiting a country which we would like to learn about cartographically and/or touristically, but without such an incentive we might never have considered going there. IMCoS appreciates that as we get older, we become less inclined to travel long distances but it is well worth the effort.

Reporting on Executive Committee matters, I am very pleased to announce that we will again be having an International Representative on the Committee to take care of symposia and other matters by 01.01 2021 on the condition that we find a new chairman to take care of the normal organisational and administrative matters in London.

Soon it will be 2020 and season's greetings come with this journal. Your Dutch chairman wishes you all *Gelukkig Nieuw Jaar*; of course my good wishes are inclusive of all of your family, relatives and friends.

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Membership Rate Increase
Membership rates membership will increase to £55 (annual) and £150 (for three years) as of 8 January 2020.



EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

On the 11 November between 12.35 and 18.04 GMT Mercury, the smallest and nearest planet to the Sun, crossed directly between the Sun and the Earth, blocking out a small part of the Sun's rays. Transits of Mercury are rare events, only occurring when the Earth is aligned with a node of Mercury's orbit. They take place thirteen or fourteen times in a century, occurring in May or November. So small is Mercury relative to the Sun that it is not possible to observe the transit without the use of a telescope. During its 5½-hour transit, watched by your editor on an online transmission from NASA's Solar Dynamics Observatory satellite, Mercury presented as a tiny black dot moving apace like its mythological namesake across the Sun's glowing disc.

A transit by both Mercury and Venus had been predicted by Johannes Kepler in 1629 on the basis of his new *Rudolphine Tables* of planetary motions. He declared that Mercury would transit the Sun on 7 November 1631, followed by Venus a month later and issued a notice to fellow astronomers urging them to observe the phenomenon by projecting the image of the Sun on paper by means of a telescope, or using a simple *camera obscura*. Pierre Gassendi was one of a few who successfully recorded the transit on 7 November 1631 just as Kepler had anticipated, but could not observe. He died on 15 November 1630, almost a year to the day before the transit. Gassendi wrote to the German astronomer Wilhelm Schickard: 'I have been more fortunate than those hunters after Mercury who have sought the cunning god in the sun. I found him out, and saw him, where no one else had hitherto seen'. Gassendi's success marked a watershed moment for astronomy, his observation was critical to the reassement of Mercury's apparent diameter and the implications this had for establishing the sizes of the other planets.[1]

Future observations of the transit would prove just as important in the history of astronomy. Edmond Halley, who had set up an observatory on St Helena in the South Atlantic to catalogue the southern stars, watched the 1677 transit of Mercury from there. He later realised that the variation in Mercury's apparent position against the disc of the Sun, as seen by observers at distant points on Earth, could be used to accurately measure the distance between the Sun and Earth. Today, radar with its greater precision is used to measure that distance, but observation of Mercury's transits continues, providing data important for the investigation of planets outside our Solar System.

This latest transit was the fourth of the fourteen that are due to occur in this century. The date of the next transit to enter on your forward planner is 13 November 2032. Just thirteen years to wait, but not as long as the wait for Venus's next transit — that will be in ninety-eight years.

1 Albert Van Helden, 'The Importance of the Transit of Mercury of 1631', JHA, vii, 1976.


A CHART
of the
ISLAND of NEWFOUNDLAND
with the
COAST of LABRADOR
Inscribed
to the
Right Honble JOHN Earl of SANDWICH
Baron Hinchingbrook of the County of Huntingdon
Chief Ranger, Keeper and Warden of the Forests, Chases, Parks and Woods
in the County of Huntingdon
Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Huntingdon
Governor of Portsmouth and Isle of Portsea
Vice Admiral of the County of Huntingdon
one of the Lords of the Admiralty
and one of His Majesty's most Honble Privy Council
This CHART is respectfully dedicated
by His Lordship's most obliged
and most obedient Servant
JAMES Cook
A CHART of the ISLAND of NEWFOUNDLAND
ST LAWRENCE
BAY
PLACENTIA
St Mary's
BAY

NORTH ATLANTIC VISION

The depiction of Inuit people on William Parker's eighteenth-century chart of Newfoundland

Daphne Joynes

In 2012 IMCoS published my article 'The Path to Promotion: An eighteenth-century chart of Newfoundland'.[1] In it I discussed a previously unpublished 1771 manuscript chart prepared by the then Lieutenant William Parker RN (1742–1802) (Fig. 1).[2] I maintained that the young naval officer's chart was his means of securing promotion to the command of a vessel in Newfoundland waters. It was in effect Parker's *curriculum vitae*, providing proof to the Admiralty of his detailed knowledge of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador acquired when he was assistant surveyor to James Cook, charting those perilous waters in the 1760s.[3]

In this article I will be concentrating on the significance of the chart's central cartouche and Parker's depiction of the Inuit people he encountered on the coasts of Labrador and northern Newfoundland. I will be suggesting that this depiction reflected contemporary Royal Naval political concerns about the native peoples in the territory of Labrador and Newfoundland. These concerns may well have contained an element of 'paternalism', and certainly reflected successive Newfoundland Governors' realisation that the welfare of native peoples in their territory was directly linked with matters of strategic security.

By the time he presented his chart to the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, in 1771, William Parker had been based in Newfoundland waters for six years. From 1764 he was Master's Mate and Assistant Surveyor to James Cook aboard the schooner *Grenville*. From 1767 to 1770 he was 1st Lieutenant aboard *Niger* and then *Aldborough*; both vessels were assigned to the Royal Navy's Newfoundland squadron.

Commodore Thomas Graves, the then naval Governor was dissatisfied with the accuracy of earlier English and French charts of Newfoundland, and in 1763 initiated a survey of the territory. He urged the Admiralty to commission a comprehensive survey of the island by a skilled surveyor and, impressed by James Cook's cartographic work in the Gulf of St Lawrence, he recommended him as the best man for the job.[4] In that first season of surveying Cook's orders were to begin by charting the small island of St Pierre just off the south coast of Newfoundland (which, along with the island of Miquelon, was about to be returned to the French under a provision of the Treaty of Paris); then to survey harbours and bays of the Northern Peninsula where the French were permitted to fish, and the Labrador coast which was now under British control.

The meticulous survey work led by Cook was consistent with British determination to assert sovereignty over those parts of Newfoundland and Labrador which the government in London had virtually ignored until then.[5] But in order for Cook to carry out this crucial work it became obvious at the end of his first surveying season that he would require an assistant who was also an experienced seaman. In 1764 Commodore Hugh Palliser replaced Thomas Graves as Governor of Newfoundland, and wrote to the Admiralty about the urgent need for an assistant surveyor:[6] '[he] should be a seaman with some knowledge of surveying and drawing, and be a mate of the vessel, paid as master's mate … I apprehend the best assistant the surveyor can have is such a person …. and I flatter myself that their Lordships will think that such a person, who has been brought up in the Navy, is better intitled [*sic*] to encouragem't [*sic*] than any young man that is meerly [*sic*] a draftsman, no seaman, and without knowledge of either land or sea surveying'.[7] The young man who fulfilled Palliser's requirements – who had indeed 'been brought up in the Navy',[8] had experience of surveying and drawing and knowledge of the coasts that were to be surveyed – was William Parker. Palliser was to play an important part in Parker's early naval career. He was in effect the young man's

Fig. 1 William Parker, 'A Chart of the Island of Newfoundland with part of the Coast of Labradore including the Island of St Paul and Cape North', 1771. 79 x 69 cm. The National Archives UK, ADM 352/54.

patron at this key time and subsequently at the time of Parker's request for promotion (accompanied by the presentation of his manuscript chart) in 1771.

Throughout these surveying years Cook and his crew overwintered in England, and in May 1764 he sailed back to Newfoundland to prepare for his second surveying season. William Parker arrived in St John's with the new Governor Palliser on 3 July aboard *Guernsey*. He transferred immediately to *Grenville,* the schooner which Governor Graves had previously assigned to Cook to use for the surveying work. The next day they sailed out of St John's and 'stood to the northward'[9] to continue the survey where Cook had left off the previous season.

When Palliser took command as Governor he was faced with a politically complicated situation. Under the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War between Britain and France in 1763, the French were granted the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon in compensation for the loss of Cape Breton. They were also permitted to fish in season on what was known as The French/Treaty Shore of Newfoundland, between Cape Bonavista on the Atlantic coast and Point Riche on the Straits of Belle Isle facing Labrador. By this time there were significant numbers of British settlers and fishermen in Newfoundland, but the French claimed sole right to fish on the French Shore during the season. The British countered that this right was concurrent and that fishermen from both countries could use the Shore which was, after all, now British territory.[10] Inevitably there were regular reports of French fishing infringements, conflict between French and English fishing fleets and between fishermen and settlers. It was the responsibility of the Governor to resolve these conflicts, and accurate charting of the territory from Labrador in the north to the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon to the south of the island of Newfoundland became even more urgent. This was the work which Cook and his assistant surveyor William Parker were to carry out together over the next three seasons.[11]

Significantly, there were also reports of violent clashes between indigenous people and European fishermen. These conflicts raised strategic concerns: Palliser after all would have been aware of the military use made by the British and French of native auxiliaries during the Seven Years' War. The reports also gave rise to a more general concern for the welfare of the Inuit people, who inhabited the shores of Labrador and who crossed to the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland for seasonal hunting. The mysterious Beothuk people of the island's interior, about whom very little was known, were also the subject of concern to Governor Palliser (in 1768 he despatched an expedition to the interior to try to make contact with them). Furthermore, he had strategic and political concerns about France's former aboriginal allies, the Mi'kmaq, and was forced to take measures to restrict their presence in the region.[12]

Palliser, it seems, was horrified by the treatment of Inuit at the hands of Europeans,[13] and reported 'murthers [*sic*], robberies and other disorders committed on the Indian inhabitants on the coast of Labrador'[14] and consequent violent retaliation by the native peoples. Palliser made the first official attempts to establish friendly relations both with the Inuit people on the Labrador and northern Newfoundland coasts and with the Beothuk.[15] He determined to improve relations with the Inuit in particular by increasing the British seasonal trading presence and by enlisting the help of Moravian missionaries, who were keen to establish a permanent presence on the coast of Labrador.[16] The Moravians were a Protestant church based in northern Europe committed to the propagation of the Gospel around the world. An earlier Moravian mission to Labrador in 1752 had been unsuccessful largely because none of the missionaries at that time were able to speak the Inuit language. This prompted the Moravian Jens Haven, based at the Greenland Inuit mission and thus familiar with the Inuit language, to take the gospel from Greenland to Labrador.[17]

In early 1764 before he sailed for Newfoundland as the new Governor, Hugh Palliser had been introduced to Jens Haven in London so that they could discuss Haven's proposals for a Labrador mission.[18] There is debate among historians as to whether Palliser was adopting an 'over paternalistic' attitude to native peoples out of formal policy concerns, or out of personal, humanitarian instincts.[19] What is certain is that during his first summer in Newfoundland Palliser actively encouraged Haven to meet the people he called 'Esquimeaux' in the Northern Peninsula where Cook and Parker were surveying Quirpon Bay.

Parker was on board *Grenville* when the Moravian missionary arrived to solicit Cook's assistance in making contact with Inuit before going on to Labrador.[20] Haven says that Cook, who was still recovering from a near fatal accident,[21] received him 'very kindly',[22] and it is likely that Parker would have been involved in the discussions at this stage.

Palliser's own transcription of Haven's diary details the missionary's meeting with Inuit people in Quirpon



Fig. 2 Central cartouche on William Parker's chart of Newfoundland. The National Archives UK, ADM 352/54.

Bay, his time on board *Grenville* with Cook, and his subsequent visit to Labrador.[23] The success of Haven's mission that year depended entirely on the help given him by Palliser and Cook. Whilst on board *Grenville* Haven would have studied and discussed with Cook and Parker their latest charts of Labrador.[24]

Haven reported that the Inuit he encountered in Quirpon spoke the same language as the Greenlanders with whom he was familiar, and that they had received him in friendship during the reconnaissance made under the Governor's patronage.[25] Palliser advised that friendly relations with the Inuit should be encouraged, and lengthy negotiations with the Moravians over their mission settlement rights began in earnest. Official interest in Inuit welfare grew along with hopes of developing commercial links.

Jens Haven's successful meeting with the Inuit and Cook at Quirpon is of great interest.[26] It would have made a profound impression on Cook's young assistant William Parker, not least because Haven could speak to the Inuit in their own language as a consequence of his earlier half-decade in Greenland. Moreover, during Haven's time in Greenland the Moravian chronicler David Crantz had also been there preparing his history of the territory and an account of the Moravian church's work in Greenland.[27] Crantz's *History of Greenland*, with illustrated observations on the country, its people and their way of life, was first published in German in 1765. Moravians in London hastened to use a newly printed English translation of the book in their lobbying efforts on behalf of the Labrador project.[28] In the last days of December 1766, just a few days ahead of publication, they hand-delivered copies of the *History* to many influential people: Lord Egmont the recent First Lord of the Admiralty was presented with a copy, as was Lord Dartmouth the future Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies,[29] and it is likely that Hugh Palliser would also have received a copy before it became generally available.[30] In 1767 the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Critical Review* both published long articles about *The History of Greenland*. The native people of the North Atlantic, their culture and way of life, were fast becoming a subject of fashionable interest in London society.[31]

Throughout his service with James Cook, William Parker would have been aware of successive Governors' developing policy towards Newfoundland's native peoples, and when he subsequently became 1st Lieutenant in *Niger* he would have been involved in its application as more Europeans settled in Newfoundland and as seasonal European fishing fleets increased in number. It was therefore appropriate that when he prepared his chart for presentation to the 'The Right Hon the Earl of Sandwich' in support of his request for advancement 'To command a brigg on Newfnd.

Station',[32] Parker chose to include an image of Inuit people, a man and a woman with a child, hunting and gathering food, and to render that image as accurately as he could (Fig. 2). The figures stand at the centre of the manuscript, on either side of the chart's description and above the dedication to the Earl of Sandwich. They are depicted as if they are tutelary figures in a classical tradition, protecting and symbolising their native land.

Parker's depiction of Inuit people on his chart demonstrates a concern for accuracy by someone who had not only seen Inuit but met them and possibly talked with them as part of his duties (as indeed he had with other indigenous peoples in Newfoundland).[33] Although he was a talented cartographer he was not an artist, and in order to achieve the realistic images he required to substantiate his first-hand knowledge of what he calls 'Canadian Indians', he turned to the Moravian *History of Greenland* by David Crantz (Fig. 3). As we have seen, the publication of this book in English had coincided with the development of official policy towards the native peoples of the North Atlantic.

The images of Inuit that Crantz included in his *History* and which, in due course, were copied by William Parker, must be regarded as authentic and based on first-hand observation (although, of course, the engraver and/or printer may have made alterations to the original drawing).[34] The Inuit man stands in front of one of the houses that the Moravians had built for them at their Greenland settlement. He holds a spear or harpoon in his left hand and his canoe is supported by his right arm. The Inuit woman with a baby on her back stands in front of a tent, holding a coopered bucket in one hand and an *ulu* (knife) in the other.

Parker has copied these images carefully, but has transposed the figures so that the man stands in front of the tent. The woman in both images wears a sealskin *amauti* garment with a hood to protect her and to carry the baby in. The *amauti* is tied with a belt to support the baby, and is similar to a contemporary example in the British Museum which has comparable light and dark stripes of sealskin and fur decoration.[35] Unlike in Crantz's image, Parker's *amauti* has a long back flap which would be used by the woman when sitting on a sled or on the ground, and is characteristic of the costumes worn by Inuit in Labrador. Her knee-length shorts would also have been made of sealskin, and her *kamik* (boots) made of caribou or sealskin. In her right hand she carries the *ulu*, an all-purpose knife, traditionally (and to some extent ceremonially) used by Inuit women; given to a girl child for use throughout her life and often buried with her. In her left hand is a coopered bucket. This would have been a prized object, which might have been obtained from fishermen or scavenged from items left behind by European fishing fleets at the end of the season.

The man in both images wears a *parka* that looks as if it is made of caribou skin, with a sealskin *kayak* skirt to protect the wearer sitting in a *kayak* from water entering the vessel.[36] He clutches a slender spear or harpoon with a double arrowhead. Both the *kayak* and the tent in Parker's drawing are identical with Crantz's illustration. The *kayak* looks as if it is made of panels of skin, sewn together and stretched over a frame, and the tent or *tupiq,* also appears to be of stitched skin.[37]

From his earliest years in Newfoundland aboard *Grenville* and later aboard *Niger,* Parker would have observed such family groups. His relatively small (8 x 13 cm) central cartouche is a well-executed piece of work, in which he has copied Crantz's figures closely or may even have traced them. The only marked difference between Parker's drawing and Crantz's illustration is in the heads of the figures and their hairstyles, and the addition of the back flap on the woman's *amauti*.[38] Parker may well have altered these details to reflect his own first-hand observations.

This was not the first time that native figures had been included in charts of Newfoundland, but it was possibly the first time a cartographer had made a serious effort to represent Inuit people accurately. On his 1764 manuscript chart of the 'Coasts, Bays and Harbours of Newfoundland',[39] a chart with which Parker would have been familiar (Fig. 4), Cook included two 'native' figures. But they were not intended to be accurate depictions of Inuit people. Cook's near-naked figures are classically inspired: one carries a bow, the other gazes into the distance. Above the cartouche are animals which could be an Arctic fox and a beaver, both highly valued for their pelts. Cook's image, which evokes both 'native' people and the source of the valuable fur trading commodities of these newly acquired territories, brings additional import to his chart. But this particular image did not originate with Cook. It had been copied directly from John Thornton's 1748 'New and Correct Chart of the North Part of America from New Found Land to Hudsons Bay' (Fig. 5), published in *The English Pilot, Fourth Book,*[40] a book of charts and sailing directions

Fig. 3 David Crantz, *History of Greenland*, 'A Greenlander, and A Greenland Woman'. Reprinted with the permission of Moravian Church, British Province.

A Greenlander *as he comes from the Sea, with his Kaiak on his Arm; with a Greenland House & a Seal.* III.



A Greenland Woman, *a Child at her Back within her Garment, in her Right-Hand a Womans Knife, in her left a Water pail; a Tent & some Sea Fowl.*



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Fig. 4 James Cook, The cartouche on 'A Chart of the Coasts, Bays and Harbours in Newfoundland between Griguet and Pt Ferolle, Survey'd by Order of Hugh Palliser Esq", 1764. Reprinted with the permission of the UK Hydrographic Office, Taunton.



Fig. 5 John Thornton, The cartouche on 'A New and Correct Chart of the North Part of America from New Found Land to Hudsons Bay', 1748. Courtesy of the Digital Archives Initiative, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

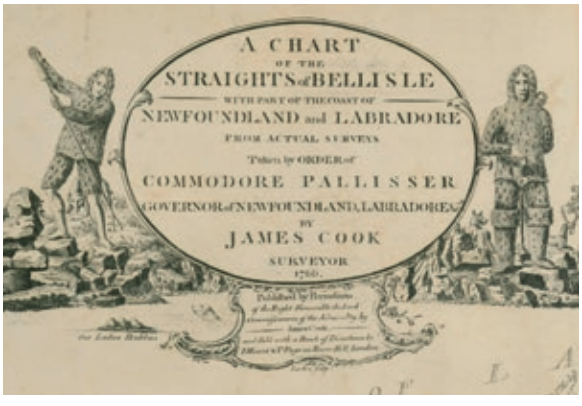


Fig. 6 James Cook, The cartouche on 'A Chart of the Straights of Bellisle with Part of the Coast of Newfoundland and Labradore from Actual Surveys, Taken by order of Commodore Pallisser [*sic*]', 1766. ©British Library Maps K.MAR.VII (14).

which would have been familiar to seamen working in North Atlantic waters, and indeed it is probably the volume that Parker cites as 'the Waggoner' in annotations on his own chart.[41]

When Cook's 1764 chart was printed in 1766,[42] the printer clothed the European-looking figures in what must have been thought to be appropriate fur costumes (Fig. 6). The image on this chart appears to have been drawn by someone who had never actually seen Inuit people and who relied on the descriptions of others. Figures of native people were also included in a *c.*1765 chart, by either Michael Lane or Lieutenant Francis Lucas,[43] where one figure is depicted paddling a kayak and another using a bow and arrow. The arrow and the part of the kayak that are visible look reasonably accurate, but neither figure has been drawn wearing authentic-looking or detailed Inuit clothing.[44]

Throughout Parker's time in Newfoundland the welfare of indigenous people was of great concern to the naval Governors of the territory. In 1765, following their successful meeting with Inuit the previous year, a group of Moravian missionaries including Jens Haven sailed for Chateau Bay in Labrador, and in June that year Governor Palliser left St John's to rendezvous with them. En route for his historic meeting with an estimated 500 Inuit,[45] Palliser met Cook on the south coast of Newfoundland. Cook had surveyed Chateau Bay in 1763 so was probably consulted about the positioning of jetties and landing stages in that area.[46] In Labrador, Palliser heard further disturbing accounts of the treatment of Inuit at the hands of Europeans.[47] The meetings at Chateau Bay resulted in the drawing up of plans for a permanent British military blockhouse in order to protect the indigenous peoples as well as national trading interests, and the Moravians were encouraged to apply for grants of land for the establishment of their permanent mission.[48]

In 1766 the plans for a blockhouse at Chateau Bay (York Fort)[49] came to fruition with construction materials being carried there by *Niger.* On board this naval vessel was the most celebrated natural philosopher of his age, Joseph Banks[50] (who would in due course accompany James Cook in *Endeavour* on the historic first Pacific voyage supported by Hugh Palliser.[51]). Banks was anxious to encounter what he called 'Newfoundland Indians' [52] during the time he was in Labrador collecting flora and fauna specimens. This was an early example of Banks's interest in aboriginal peoples, which of course continued and developed throughout his journey across the South Seas with Cook.

But Banks was to be disappointed in that he never actually met Inuit people in Labrador.[53] Even so, after his return home he maintained his interest in the native culture of these North Atlantic territories.[54] In 1767 Hugh Palliser secured Inuit costumes for him, and Captain Andrew Wilkinson of *Niger* acquired a canoe which he sent home to Banks with Cook. Parker, now 1st Lieutenant aboard *Niger*,[55] would have been involved in the acquisition and transfer of this precious object to Cook's *Grenville*. Sadly Banks was never to receive the canoe because it was washed overboard, or jettisoned, during a violent storm in home waters off Sheerness.[56]

Palliser's preoccupation with the Inuit continued. In 1767 three Inuit women and six children were captured on the coast of Labrador following an Inuit attack and retaliation.[57] They were taken to Chateau Bay where they remained for the winter. During that time one of the women, Mikak, began to learn English and Captain Francis Lucas, second in command of the fort at Chateau Bay,[58] studied Inuktitut, the Inuit language. In the autumn of 1768 the small Inuit group was taken to St John's where Palliser ordered that Captain Lucas should take some of them to England.[59] Palliser wrote that Mikak proved to be very intelligent.[60] He hoped that by introducing her to the marvels of life in London she would act as a sort of advocate for British values, a cultural mediator, on her return home. By encouraging her compatriots to engage in peaceful communication with the British, it was hoped there would be, over time, an increase in the trade of oil and whalebone.[61]

The social background to Mikak's stay in London and her return to Labrador is well documented.[62] While she was in England she met her 'old friends' Jens Haven and Hugh Palliser once more, and was presented to many eminent people including the Duke of Gloucester and Earl Bathurst. At Carlton House the Princess of Wales was said to be enthralled by Mikak, and had fine clothes made for her in the Inuit style. Joseph Banks, now on board *Endeavour* with Cook, en route for the Pacific and the wonders of the South Seas, was disappointed yet again to have missed meeting an Inuit.[63] In his absence he commissioned John Russell to paint a portrait of Mikak with her son, wearing the clothes given to her by the Princess of Wales (Fig. 7).[64] Mikak returned to Labrador in the summer of 1769 after an eventful and much publicised stay in London. William Parker, overwintering in home waters and in contact with his patron Hugh Palliser, would undoubtedly have been aware of her high-profile visit to London.

By 1768, the year Mikak visited London, Governor Palliser was becoming increasingly concerned for the welfare of the other indigenous people, the elusive Beothuk of Newfoundland's interior. He sent a party under the leadership of Lieutenant John Cartwright to explore the course of the Exploits River and to search for evidence of them.[65] Parker, who knew Cartwright from his own time aboard *Guernsey,* includes details of the Exploits River expedition on his chart: 'This river has been travelled up by some gentlemen belonging to Guernsey, quite to the lake, who were twelve days upon their journey'.

During his time on board *Niger* Parker would have begun preparing his manuscript chart for presentation to the First Lord of the Admiralty in support of his request for promotion. The chart gave an accurate rendering of the Newfoundland coastline, sea depths and hazards, and included details of the lakes, rivers and topography of the interior of the island. Parker's annotations describe contact with 'Canadian Indians' and European furriers, and give scrupulous details of those elements on the chart which he had drawn from personal experience and those which he laid down from information received. He also spelled out what more could be achieved if he returned to Newfoundland. And as the final embellishment to this detailed presentation of his overall suitability for promotion, Parker added the evocative central cartouche with its accurately drawn figures of an Inuit family.

In August 1770 Hugh Palliser, who had known Parker from his earliest days in Newfoundland aboard *Guernsey*, returned to London and was appointed as Comptroller of the Navy just before the Earl of Sandwich became First Lord of the Admiralty. This meant that Palliser was in effect the administrative 'door-keeper' to Sandwich when his protégé William Parker presented his chart to the First Lord. It is almost certain therefore that it was Palliser himself who was the guiding influence behind Parker's preparation of his chart and its timely presentation.

Parker's application for promotion was successful, as no doubt his patron Hugh Palliser knew it would be. In April 1771 newspapers reported that 'Lieut. William Parker is appointed by the Lords of the Admiralty, to command of the Egmont Schooner, employed to cruize [*sic*] off the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon near Newfoundland'.[66]

Given a developing policy concern for the welfare of the Labrador Inuit at precisely the time when William



Parker was petitioning for promotion, and given too that negotiations with the Moravians for their first mission settlement in Labrador were reaching a conclusion at this time,[67] it was entirely appropriate for Parker to depict an Inuit family in a cartouche image derived from a Moravian source which would have been well known in Admiralty circles. In this way he was demonstrating not only his expertise as a cartographer/surveyor and his intimate knowledge of the terrain of Newfoundland, but was also indicating his awareness of the policy of protecting indigenous peoples and enlisting the help of the Moravians in this endeavour.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my debt to the invaluable online, and freely available, resource provided for researchers by the Municipal University of Newfoundland's Digital Archives Initiative. I would also like to express my thanks to John Mason, author of *The Moravian Church and the missionary awakening in England 1760–1800* and Lorraine Parsons, Archivist at the Moravian Church, British Province, for their generous support.



Fig. 8 Unknown artist, *Vice Admiral Sir William Parker*, c.1799 (copy of a family miniature).

Endnotes

1 Daphne Joynes 'The Path to Promotion: An eighteenth-century chart of Newfoundland', *IMCoS Journal*, Winter 2012, No. 13.
2 ADM 352/54: 'A Chart of the Island of Newfoundland, with part of the Coast of Labradore: including the Island of S‹ Paul and Cape North'. Coloured MS by Lieutenant William Parker, dedicated to Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty'.
3 This was before Cook's first Pacific voyage in *Endeavour* in 1768, a command which Cook secured on the basis of the valuable surveying work he carried out in Newfoundland.
4 Dr Olaf Janzen, 'James Cook in Newfoundland, 1763–1767', p. 1 *(2018;<http://jamescook250.org/ch-1-eastern-canada/newfoundland-surveys-1763-1767/>).*
5 Ibid., p. 2.
6 J.C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook,* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1974, p. 78.
7 Hugh Palliser to Admiralty, 4 April 1764, NMM GRV/106, MSS 9365.
8 Augustine Parker, William's father, was Master of the Admiralty Yacht *Queenborough,* and William entered the navy with the rank of Midshipman at the age of 12.
9 *Grenville* Log, 4th July 1764, ADM 52/1263.
10 H.K. Hiller, 'The French Treaty Shore', The Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage website (2001). https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/exploration/french-shore.php (2019).
11 Cook surveyed in Newfoundland from 1763–67, and William Parker for three seasons from 1764.
12 When France lost most of her territorial empire in North America, including Cape Breton Island, she was left with the small islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon just off the south coast of Newfoundland. This enabled the French to maintain a small permanent fishery and a base from which to support their offshore banks fishery. For the French, the preservation of a good French–British relationship in Newfoundland was essential if they were to maintain their lucrative North Atlantic fishing rights. Therefore, it was a great concern to both the French and British authorities in Newfoundland when a significant number of Mi'kmaq native peoples – former allies of the French in the Seven Years' War – attempted to maintain contact with the French by moving into an area on the south coast of Newfoundland close to the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. See Olaf Janzen, 'The Royal Navy and the Interdiction of Aboriginal Migration to Newfoundland, 1763-1766', *International Journal of Naval History*, Aug. 2008, Vol. 7, No. 2.
13 Marianne P. Stopp, 'Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit in England', *The Arctic Institute of North America,* Vol. 62, No. 1 (Mar. 2009), p. 45.
14 CO 194/27 f.178, accessed through Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) Digital Archives.
15 Ingeborg Marshall, 'An unpublished map made by John Cartwright between 1768 and 1773 showing Beothuk Indian settlements and artefacts and allowing a new population estimate', 1996. Accessed in *Ethnohistory* 24/3 (Summer 1977) Duke University Press, pp. 223–49, p. 226.
16 J.C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the missionary awakening in England 1760-1800,* The Royal Historical Society, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001, pp. 28–58.
17 The conclusion in 1763 of the Treaty of Paris enabled Moravians (the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen – the SPG) to consider a new mission in Labrador.
18 Mason, p. 29.
19 A.M. Lysaght, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766*, London: Faber and Faber, 1971, p. 65.
20 The Log of *Grenville* records that on 19 August 1764 Parker supervised the scraping and cleaning of *Grenville* and the brewing of Spruce Beer, and that on 21 August he supervised punishment for drunkenness and mutiny. From 20 to 23 August Cook, still at Noddy Harbour, was visited by Jens Haven. John Robson, *Captain Cook's War and Peace: The Royal Navy Years 1755–1768,* Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, Pen and Sword Books, 2009, pp. 152–53.

Fig. 7 John Russell, *Mikak and her son Tautek*, 1769. © Ethnologische Sammlung der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (Bikat 26), Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology of the University of Göttingen. Photographer: Harry Haase.

21 On 5 August Parker writes in the log that while surveying 'the Master … had a large powder horn blown up and burnt his hand which shattered it in a terrible manner'. Robson, p. 152.
22 Lysaght, pp. 187–92, *Jens Haven's Diary, 1764 from the transcript by Palliser,* TNA CO194/16, ff.59–62.
23 Lysaght, pp. 187–92.
24 MS chart of Chateau Bay (York Harbour), Labrador, believed to be Cook's original chart of 1763. B193, UKHO, Taunton. MS *Chart of the Coasts, Bays and Harbours in Newfoundland between Griguet and Pt. Ferolle, Surveyed by order of Hugh Palliser by James Cook*. 1764.
25 Mason, pp. 29–30.
26 Lysaght, p.182
27 Mason, Crantz spent twelve months in Greenland from the summer of 1761. p. 17.
28 Ibid., p. 41
29 Ibid., pp. 41 and 42.
30 In conversation with John Mason.
31 *Gentleman's Magazine* (1767), pp. 60–6, 209–10, 193–7, including an illustration of Inuit hunting. *The Critical Review* (1767), p. 22.
32 SAN/1: Ledger (Vol. 1) of Officers' appointments, Lieutenants, p. 59, starting Jan. 1771.
33 Parker writes on his chart: 'This River is laid down from the information of the Canadian Indians who say its navigable for canoes into the Northern Lake'; and 'Grand Lake is laid down from the account of the Canadian Indians who greatly frequent the interior parts of the Island on account of furring matters'. Parker's 'Canadian Indians' may have been Mi'kmaq who by 1770 had settled on Newfoundland's west coast, as well as Inuit.
34 David Crantz, *The History of Greenland*, 1767, Vol. 1, p. 36. (The Moravian Archives in Herrnhut, Germany have told me that they do not have the original manuscript drawing of Inuit people, as printed in Crantz's *History of Greenland*.)
35 Museum No. Am1972,Q.4. Coat made of fur (seal?) 'Amauti of this style were used by the Inuit of Labrador until their costume changed through the influence of missionaries in the eighteenth century. Thus, it is possible that the amauti dates to the very first years of contact. It may have been worn by one of the Inuit women brought to England by British explorers'. www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=525610&partId=1
36 Similar to a contemporary parka in the British Museum collection. British Museum No. Am1990,12.1. '*Parka, made of brown and white caribou skin, part painted red. Found/Acquired: Greenland (west)*'.
37 Jonathan C.H. King and Marianne Stopp both suggested to me that the tent, *kayak* and spear are standardised rather than realistic.
38 Parker's figures have larger faces than Crantz's, and his man and woman both have long hair, with the man's loosely tied back. Crantz's figures have smaller heads, the man has short hair and the woman's hair is tied up in a double top-knot.
39 MS chart of the northern coast of Newfoundland by James Cook, 1764m C54/7, UKHO, Taunton.
40 John Thornton (1641–1708), chartmaker and publisher, Official Cartographer to the English East India Company (EIC) and cartographer in ordinary to the Hudson's Bay Company. Thornton issued several groundbreaking maps of North America and published *The English Pilot, Fourth Book*, the first English sea atlas dedicated to Americas. Accessed through MUN Digital Archive.
41 The first printed atlas of nautical charts (*De Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* or T*he Mirror of Navigation/The Mariner's Mirror*) was produced by Lucas Waghenaer 1584. The English translation of Waghenaer's work was published in 1588 and became so popular that any volume of sea charts soon became known as a 'Waggoner' (an atlas book of engraved nautical charts with accompanying printed sailing directions). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_cartography#Lucas_Waghenaer_and_the_rise_of_Dutch_maritime_cartography.
42 British Library, 'A Chart of the Straights of Belle Isle from actual survey. Taken by order of Commodore Palliser by James Cook'. K. MAR.VII.(14).
43 Lysaght, p. 25.
44 MS chart X50, UKHO, Taunton.
45 Greg Mitchell, 'Labrador Inuit and their arrow shafts', *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, 2015, 39(1): pp. 165–88, p. 170
46 Robson, p.160.
47 Stopp, 'Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit in England', *The Arctic Institute of North America*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Mar. 2009), pp. 45–64.
48 Lysaght, p. 66,
49 Marianne P. Stopp, 'Chateau Bay, Labrador and William Richardson's 1769 Sketch of York Fort', *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 29,2, (2014), pp. 244–71.
50 Banks's presence in Newfoundland had a great deal to do with his friendship with Lord Sandwich. See Patrick O'Brian, *Joseph Banks*, London: The Harvill Press, 1997, p. 40.
51 Palliser had encouraged Cook to take his Master's examination in 1757, and in 1768 when Philip Stephens, the Admiralty secretary, put forward Cook's name to the Lords as the right person to lead the first Pacific voyage, he referred them to Palliser for endorsement. See Beaglehole, p. 127.
52 Lysaght, p. 132. Diary entry 52.
53 O'Brian, p. 51: In St Peter's Bay Banks found the wreck of a birch bark canoe: 'a sign Probably that some of the Nfland Indians Live not Very far … tho as Yet we Know nothing of them'.
54 Beaglehole, p. 94.
55 Muster Book, *Niger,* February 1767, ADM 36/7447.
56 Lysaght, p. 230, and Robson, p. 181.
57 CO 194.28:25.
58 Stopp, (Mar. 2009), p. 48.
59 CO 194/28. Fo. 25.
60 CO 194/25.
61 Lysaght, p. 48.
62 See for instance: Ann Savours, 'Early Eskimo Visitors to Britain', *The Geographical Magazine*, Oct. 1983, pp. 336–43; Stopp, (Mar. 2009), pp. 46–64.
63 Stopp, (Mar. 2009) p. 49.
64 *Mikak and her son Tutauk*, painted by John Russell, 1769 for Joseph Banks, The Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, George-August University of Göttingen, Germany.
65 John Cartwright did not make contact with the Beothuk, but wrote an account of the expedition and made drawings of artefacts that he found. http:www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/exploration/newfoundland-interior.php. And see Ingeborg Marshall, *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk*, Chapt. 6, 'Lieut. John Cartwright explores Beothuk Country'. And, 'An unpublished map made by John Cartwright between 1768 and 1773 showing Beothuk Indian settlements and artefacts and allowing a new population estimate', *Ethnohistory* 24/3 Summer 1978, pp. 223–49.
66 British Library website: British Newspapers 1600–1800. *Middlesex Journal*.
67 Marshall. The first proclamation to protect the Moravian mission issued to the Governors of Newfoundland at the beginning of each season was in 1770.

Daphne Joynes is a freelance art historian with a personal interest in the naval history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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DELINEACION Y DIBVJO DE LAS CONSTELACIONES Y PARTES DEL CIELO POR DONDE DISCVRRIO EL CANDIOSO COMETA

que el Año de 1680. por los Meses de Noviembre y diciembre y el de 1681 por los Meses de Henero y Febre fe ha visto en todo el Mundo Con la DESCRIPCION del Curso y Movimiento Proprio que este COMETA tuvo cada uno de los dias que duro



Figura I.
Parallaxis



Fig. II



Fig. III.



Fig. IV.



Fig. V.



Fig. VII



Fig. VIII

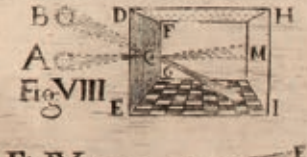


Fig. IX

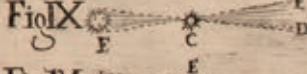
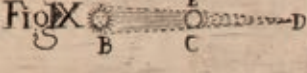


Fig. X



A. Anto. Ysarti Exc. Mex.

A COMETOGRAPHY PRINTED IN NEW SPAIN

The recreation of a genre in the colonial Americas

Nydia Pineda de Ávila[1]

In 1681 the Jesuit father Eusebio Kino (1640–1711) set sail from the port of Cadiz for New Spain, now Mexico.[2] This was his second attempt to cross the Atlantic. Two years previously, his ship had been wrecked before leaving the Bay of Cadiz and he was obliged to stay in Seville for two years. Before his successful departure in late January 1681, he saw a comet in the sky – an ill omen according to the contemporary understanding of the celestial event – and he observed it with interest.[3] The Jesuit described it in his letters to his patron, María Guadalupe de Lancastre y Cárdenas (1630–1715), Duchess of Aveiro:

> I calculated that the comet's head on the 24th of this month appeared to us in Cadiz from the occiput of Sagittarius, on the 27th I ascertained that the comet's head had reached the foot of Antinous, so that is seems most likely that in five or six more days it will have ascended to the Dolphin and Aequiculus; and, thus, for several weeks yet, it will enter on a much higher course. We have established that the train of the comet covered some fifty or more degrees, and hence was one of the largest ever seen, extending as it did from the head of Sagittarius to the wing of Cygnus, and hence from the tropic of Capricorn and beyond. Concerning the distance of this comet from the earth, its size, its exact position and for what regions (especially European) it seems to presage and threaten disasters, I shall strive to make clear on proximate and better occasions. Our lot is in the hands of the Lord.[4]

Fig. 1 Eusebio Kino, 'Delineacion y dibujo de las constelaciones y partes del cielo por donde discurrio el grandioso cometa que el Año de 1680 por los Meses de Noviembre y Diciembre y el de 1681 por los Meses de Henero y Febrero se ha visto en todo el Mundo Con la Descripcion del Curso y Movimiento Proprio que este Cometa tuvo cada uno de los días que duro', Antonio Ysarti excudit, Mexico, 1681. The first celestial map in New Spain is printed within a composite image where mathematical, cartographic and devotional elements converge into a political reading of the comet. Courtesy John Carter Library.

Kino reported on the appearance of the comet on two other occasions before his ocean voyage. His correspondent Duchess of Aveiro, who resided at Madrid, was a learned woman, a collector of books, relics and oriental art, and one of the main financial supporters of the Catholic missions in China, the Philippines, the Mariana Islands and the Iberian Americas in the late seventeenth century. As such, she acted as a nodal point in an extended information network.[5] Her support was crucial for Jesuits like Kino who, trained in mathematics, astronomy and cartography, wished to carry out their apostolate in the Far East. The Spanish-Portuguese patron was also the owner of a distinguished library and a great collector of mathematical works. This would also help explain why Kino published a treatise illustrated with a celestial map.[6]

Kino arrived in Mexico City, heart of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, in June 1681 when the comet was no longer visible. During his short stay in the urban centre – barely four months – Kino made efforts to be promoted to the Philippine mission, from where he hoped he could advance to China. He gave mass at the most important Marian sanctuary, met with academics at the Real y Pontificia Universidad (founded in 1553) and, using his connexions with the Spanish duchess, was introduced to the viceregal court. Notably, he made the acquaintance of the erudite bibliophile and royal cosmographer, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, who introduced him to his library and, according to the account of the latter, allowed him to borrow indigenous maps of the northern regions of the Viceroyalty.[7] The sharing of these documents was timely: despite Kino's efforts, local interests in reviving the struggling missions of the north west of New Spain and the need for a skilled cosmographer in that project, led to his appointment to the Californian mission. Eusebio Kino, as is well known, became a key figure in the establishment of missions in California and Arizona and the thirty-two regional maps produced by him are relevant to the history of cartography of these


EXPOSICION
ASTRONOMICA
DE EL COMETA,
Que el Año de 1680. por los meſes de
Noviembre, y Diziembre, y eſte Año de 1681. por los meſes
de Enero y Febrero, ſe ha viſto en todo el mundo,
y le ha obſervado en la Ciudad de Cadiz,
EL P. EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO
De la Compañia de Jesvs.
Con Licencia, en Mexico por Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1681.

Fig. 2 Eusebio Kino, *Exposicion astronomica de el cometa*, Mexico: Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1681. Source: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Dirección de Museos de Puebla, Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Mexico. The chart is explained in an astronomical-astrological treatise about the nature, the movement and the meaning of the comet.

regions.[8] However, I wish to focus on a little-known map produced by Kino during his brief stay in Mexico City: it is a celestial chart that represents the transit of the comet he observed and described before his voyage to the Americas.

This copperplate engraving (30 x 41 cm) is the first and only known example of a cometography printed in New Spain (Fig. 1).[9] It is also the first instance of an astronomical chart in the history of the Americas.[10] The following heading describes its features: *Outline and drawing of the constellations and parts of the sky over which ran the great comet seen through the world during the year 1680 in the months of November and December and that of 1681 in the months of January and February, with the description of the proper trajectory and movement of the comet for each of its lasting days*.[11] The chart plots the trajectory of a comet over a grid of anthropomorphic figures and a coat of arms. Overlooking the cosmic scene, at the top-right corner, is the Virgin of Guadalupe within a frame of roses. Below the cometography are a set of diagrams in the style of geometric line-engraving which represent different methods for determining the place and the position of the comet's tail. This is the first documented work of the engraver Antonio Ysarti (dates unknown), who inscribed his name at the bottom of the plate.[12] The juxtaposition of devotional, mathematical and cartographic visual content speaks, on the one hand, of the economy of print; that is, of the convenience of depicting in one single legible space a set of features that effectively conveys different textual arguments. On the other hand, the engraving must also be seen within an early modern Jesuit visual culture addressed to readers in both New Spain and Europe.

Kino's chart was published in *Exposicion Astronomica,* a quarto volume of sixty-nine pages (Fig. 2). It was printed in Mexico City in 1681 by one of the city's most active stationers Rodríguez Lupercio.[13] This brief treatise echoed contemporary arguments about the nature of the comet. Kino argued – as did Tycho Brahe and other sixteenth and seventeenth-century astronomers and astrologers – that the comet moved beyond the sublunary sphere. In it he discussed the distance between the celestial body and the Earth, the comet's atmosphere and the size and position of its tail. He then focused on its astrological interpretation and, reiterating beliefs disseminated through printed works from the beginning of the sixteenth century that continued in vogue, he adhered to the belief that the comet was a portent of mischief. It was a signal and a reminder of God's wrath. Associating the celestial sign with the Virgin of Guadalupe, patron of Mexico and symbol of local identity, the Jesuit father concluded his work by invoking this holy figure and entrusting his readers to her protection. These astronomical, astrological and political discourses were conveyed in Kino's chart which will be discussed below.

Circulation of practices between Europe and the Americas

Discussion of the first celestial map and cometography printed in the Americas cannot be dissociated from *historiae* of comets, a genre that was born in the mid-sixteenth century in Europe. These publications collected reports of cometary events by differently located observers and were conceived as historical works. Their main claim was that past observation allowed the prediction of future events. Ultimately, these works held that comets were signs of important or ill omens.[14] By the end of the seventeenth century,

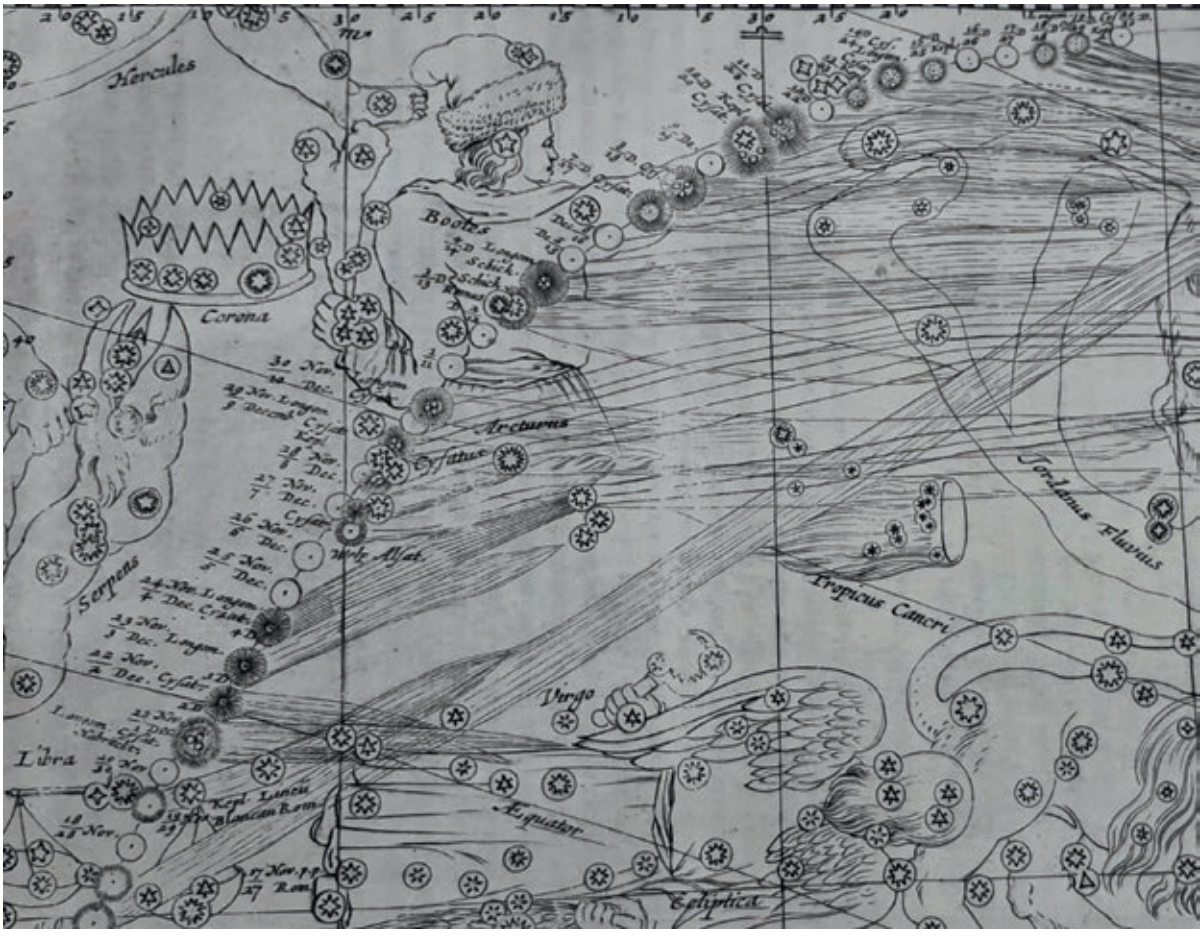


Fig. 3 Detail of 'Figura exhibens facies et motum cometae illius maxime insignis et memorabilis AC 1618 et 1619 cuius hi ex tabula Kepleri delineata adjunctis item aliorum ut Cysati', in Stanisław Lubieniecki, *Historia Universalis Omnium cometarum [...] ac Theatrum Cometicum exitus*, Leiden: Petri vander Meersche, 1681. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico. A detail of a cometography representing a transit through collected data from Lubieniecki's second edition of *Theatrum Cometicum*. This copy belonged to the Mexican cosmographer Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, whom Kino met upon his arrival in New Spain.

trajectories of comets were reconstructed through collected data and visualised over maps of constellations by skilled engravers. Important examples are Johannes Hevelius's *Cometographia* (Gdańsk, 1668) and Stanisław Lubieniecki's *Theatrum Cometicum* (1st edition Leiden, 1668 and 2nd augmented edition 1681) (Fig. 3). These works represent synthetic mapping strategies; they did not intend to portray the appearance of a comet as seen at one specific point in time. Instead, they were abstract models of the phenomena made possible through the comparison of data obtained by direct witnessing and reports of observers in different places and times. These monumental works were made possible by the painstaking compilation of evidence from antiquarian and contemporary sources. They were at the same time philological, astronomical, astrological and artistic projects. Kino participated in the circulation of this genre with his map of the comet.

Kino had been educated and trained in a context where these works were valued and produced. After a year as a novice in Landsberg in 1665, he studied philosophy and theology in Ingolstadt. This Bavarian city was a centre of Jesuit learning where renowned intellectuals such as Peter Apian in the sixteenth century, and Christophe Scheiner and Johannes Baptist Cysat in the seventeenth century had produced important astronomical and astrological work. At the University of Ingolstadt, Kino acquired technical observational and cartographic skills through his professors of mathematics and astronomy. Notably, his mentor and later correspondent, Wolfgang Leinberer, published a short treatise *Theoria cometae* (Ingolstadt,

1666) which included a copperplate engraving representing his observations of the comet that had been visible, and controversial, in Europe in 1665–66. Also in the context of this Jesuit institution, Andreas Waybel, Leinberer's successor in the chair of mathematics, published *Judicium mathematicum de cometa anni 1677* (Ingolstadt, 1677) which included an engraving of the comet's transit. Kino cited both these treatises in his text, and even included Leinberer and Waybel's observational data in his cometography. Notably, the style of the constellations, the inclusion of a coat of arms in the celestial backdrop and the scale of stars in five magnitudes seem to have been inspired by Leinberer's map.

Kino's chart presents the motion of not only one but three comets in space and time. Besides the transit of 1680–1681, he inscribed the position of the comets observed in 1665 and 1677 by his teachers in Ingolstadt. It is thus both a conflation of personal observations and a historical comparison with credited reports published within his intellectual community. The objective of the historical perspective reflected in this cartography was not merely to visualise positional data gathered through observation but to make a case for the astrological interpretation of the comet that Kino discussed in the accompanying text. The chart functions at the same time as proof of astronomical empirical observation and as an astrological argument.[15]

The engraved plate presents a hemispheric view of the transit of the comet that requires being read from right to left. As found on late seventeenth-century European charts of comets, Kino's depicts the equatorial line, the ecliptic, and the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Latitudinal and longitudinal degrees are inscribed at the edge of the grid to help the reader position the comet at different times. This line, by the trajectory of the comet, is represented from east to west, from Virgo to Aries. The earliest observation is dated 25 November 1680, and the chart records the movement of the celestial body until the 1 February 1681. The mapped trajectory is textually explicated in Chapter 2 of Kino's treatise: in early December the comet crossed Spica and then ascended towards Libra and crossed the ecliptic. It then entered Capricorn and, passing through the constellation of Antinous (in current nomenclature merged into Aquila), the Dolphin's tail, the head of Aequiculus (the small horse), Pegasus's breast, and Andromeda's head it reached the line of the equator in Aries, where it went out of sight.[16]

The Jesuit father's intention was not only to represent the movement of the comet through the constellations. His objective was even more technically challenging: Kino aimed to map the changes in size, intensity and direction of the comet's tail along the recorded transit. These elements would be crucial to his interpretation of the celestial event. The objective of representing these transformations in the comet's tail is prominently rendered by the lines irradiating from the curve of asterisk shapes, which are supposed to convey both speed and luminosity. The parallactic methods by which Kino attempted to apprehend this phenomena, albeit inconclusively, are explained in the bottom section of the chart by a set of diagrams and discussed thoroughly in the text.

Although the cometography bears evidence of the use of empirical methods that can be associated with astronomy and optics, the observation of this celestial event needs also to be understood, as stipulated by the genre, alongside the interpretative framework of historical astrology. The plotting of the transit of the comet was ultimately designed to support a prognostication expressed in the text. After discussing the natural aspects of the celestial body, the Jesuit author proceeded to its interpretation. First, he addressed the divided contemporary opinions regarding the general meaning of the phenomenon and identified two opposing parties: the sceptics who argued that comets were not portents of ill, and those who defended the contrary. Kino acknowledged that he was inclined towards the latter, as were the majority of his contemporaries. His argument was based on historical reasoning: authorised inventories of events, such as the death of sovereigns, famine, plagues and natural disasters provided empirical evidence to conclude that disasters coincide with the appearance of comets. Kino explicitly stated that he understood the appearance of these luminosities as signs of divine providence that did not act as independent natural phenomena. These were portents warning humanity of the coming of the Final Judgement. This belief was widespread across both Catholic and Protestant communities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[17]

The attitude latent in the cometography was not only historical but partly judiciary: while the Jesuit father did not judge the effects of the comets based on their proximity to a zodiac sign, he did believe that the size and direction of the comet's tail could be read as an indicator of the location and dimension of a calamity. In this respect, he followed the established reading of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, a basic text for medieval and

Renaissance astrologers. Notably, the practice of prognostication based on establishing the direction of the comet's tail through observational astronomy was inaugurated in 1532 by Peter Apian, precisely in Ingolstadt, where Kino was trained.[18] At the end of his work, Kino announced his reading of the comet:

> Since this comet is so unusually large (I do not think the world has seen any larger) it most likely indicates and signifies and threatens many great calamities in many kingdoms and provinces, especially in three or four of Europe, the somewhat northernmost, for the more you see it the more the foliage of its tail expands towards that part, and it seems to be perpendicular over its vertical point. Comets most frequently indicate the death of Princes. However, this comet being so big and having lasted this long, appears to signify more universal disgraces such as: infertilities, scarcity of supplies, floods, and in some parts earthquakes and storms, cold and heat waves, notable alterations in bodily humours, and, in consequence (but without damaging human free will) conflicts and wars between nations.[19]

Kino's interpretation thus allegedly depended on his own chronological records of the changing appearance of the comet's tail. Supported by observational data he warned his readers of contagious diseases and innumerable deaths, which would last the longer the comet was seen: it must not be forgotten that this explicit astrological discourse was construed from information also used to plot the comet's trajectory on the map. Thus, the celestial map is not just the visualisation of a synthesis of astronomical observations but a didactic instrument that serves an astrological argument. More than tension between astrology and astronomy in this instance, what can be seen here is a set of coextensive practices that speak of the intellectual context in which this map was produced. This cometography was produced in New Spain by a newly arrived missionary who needed to build his reputation as an astronomer trained in a Jesuit and Germanic astronomical culture. The chart thus implies colonial politics.

Shifting geographies in the interpretation of the comet

The representation of the Virgin of Guadalupe, located at the top left corner of the map, is a profitable starting place to shift this discussion towards the political reading of Kino's cometography. In the seventeenth century both Catholic and Protestant astronomers attempted to integrate biblical images into maps as a statement of their belief in the relationship between divine providence and celestial phenomena. For instance, in 1623 Wilhelm Schickard, a Lutheran theologian, mathematician, astronomer and oriental linguist at the University of Tübingen, who was also a skilled engraver, compared in his *Astroscopium pro facillima stellarum cognitione noviter excogitatum,* biblical figures from the Old and New Testament with the classical Ptolemaic constellations. Also in that same year, Julius Schiller, a Catholic jurist in Augsburg printed a celestial atlas, the *Coelum Stellatum Christianum*, which represented the twelve apostles in the northern celestial hemisphere and located Noah's Ark, alongside other images from the Old Testament in the southern counterpart. Some of Schiller's biblical constellations were reproduced in Andreas Cellarius's *Harmonia macrocosmica* printed in 1660 by Johannes Jansonius in Amsterdam.[20] With the inclusion of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Kino's celestial map, this practice extended to the Americas.

The image of the Virgin Mary was not usually included in celestial cartographies. Instead, this holy symbol was appropriated in the mapping of sanctuaries and religious provinces produced especially in Jesuit communities throughout the seventeenth century. One of the most representative examples of this phenomenon in print was the *Atlas Marianus* by the Jesuit Wilhelm Gumppenberg, which first appeared in 1657 in both Latin and German in Munich and Ingolstadt. Olivier Christin has shown that this work was a dialogue between hagiography and topography that resulted in a textual mapping of the presence of Mary throughout the world.[21] The iconography produced for the frontispiece of the first edition of this publication placed the Virgin Mary, seated on a flying house, between the celestial and the terrestrial globes. In this way, the Virgin was held to be a physical force that united devoted worshippers across the cosmic space (Fig. 4).[22] Kino had been trained in the Jesuit intellectual context in which the *Atlas Marianus* was published and the Marian promotion of his religious community can also be seen in the cometography he produced in New Spain. In Kino's work, the Virgin Mary is also a sign and a connecting force between the celestial and terrestrial realms.

Kino's cometography is evidence of the transfer of an iconographical project between Europe and the



Fig. 4 Frontispiece in Wilhelm Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianvs Sive De Imaginibvs Deiparae Per Orbem Christianvm Miracvlosis, 1 Editio Secvnda*, Ingolstadii: Haenlin, 1657. University Library Eichstätt-Ingolstadt 041/1 AÖ 7527-1/2. The Virgin Mary is seen as a symbol of the force connecting Catholics with the celestial and terrestrial realms in Jesuit publications.

Americas. However, it also needs to be understood within local and international Jesuit patronage politics, for which the production of devotional images of the Virgin of Guadalupe were key elements. The visual strategy of placing an image of the Mexican Virgin in the celestial scene was apt because the advocation of this figure was at one of its highest points since the first theological defence of its apparition, published in 1648 by the Mercedarian Miguel Sánchez.[23] In Mexico City, Kino was surrounded by fervent devotees of this holy symbol. For instance, the rector of the Jesuit college where Kino lodged during his stay in Mexico City, and also one of the censors who allowed the publication of his work, Father Francisco de Florencia, had not only travelled to the principal Marian sanctuaries in Spain and Italy handing out copies of an image made by an indigenous painter, but was also in the process of writing his own Guadalupian treatises.[24] In New Spain this Virgin was associated with ideas of a New Jerusalem and was a symbol of criollo identity.[25] Kino thus accommodated his discourse to local contemporary visual and theological discourses. In his text, the Virgin of Guadalupe is repeatedly compared with the Woman of the Apocalyse who brings news of the coming of the Final Judgement and a new era. Her presence on the chart symbolises both the comet as a sign and the protection that will come to her people in their devotion to her.

Kino's chart addressed not only Mexican patronage politics. His main interlocutor in the interpretation of the comet, the aforementioned Duchess of Aveiro, was devoted to images of the Virgin Mary. Moreover, the dissemination of these images was integral to her actions as a patron and a political, scientific and financial informant of Jesuit missionaries. For instance, in Cadiz, before leaving Spain, Kino received from her a picture of the Nursing Madonna. Alongside this devotional image the Duchess forwarded a circular letter from the Jesuit father Ferdinand Verbiest, who solicited missionaries trained in astronomy and cartography to join him in the Chinese imperial court.[26] Kino was reassured by the gifts and once in the Jesuit headquarters in Mexico City, while awaiting news regarding his mission destination, he responded to the Duchess with a similar token. On the 4 July 1681, only one month after his arrival, he wrote to her that he gave weekly masses at the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe (after whom the Duchess was named). On his way to the temple in previous days, he had bought five images of the holy lady and blessed them on the altar during the consecration. Since Kino, as a Jesuit, conceived Marian images as physical vehicles of faith and sacred protection, he sent one to each member of the Duchess' family.[27]

The image of the Virgin of Guadalupe printed in the map is thus not an ornamental icon but an element that reflects allegiance between the author and his local readers and international patrons. Ultimately, Kino dedicates his work to the Viceroy of New Spain, Thomás de la Cerda y Aragón (1638–1692), who had arrived in the viceregal court in 1680. In the preface to

Exposicion Astronomica, he assured his royal patron that both the comet and Mexican Virgin, presented as related celestial signs, were benign omens for the New World.[28] This interpretation did not contradict the cometary discussion since his prognostication specified that the comet would only affect the north of Europe. Kino's work shows that astronomical observation and astrological prognostication, and the mapping strategies that entailed from these practices could be tied to specific geographies. By displacing the comet's influence towards a region distant from New Spain, the author of this celestial map liberated a colonial territory, its church and its viceroy from evil portents.

Comets from the margins

The multiple layers that can be read in Kino's chart are a reminder that in the late seventeenth century celestial mapping was not devoid of astrological, religious and political implications. Historiography has diverted the attention of scholars, collectors and other interested audiences towards the idea of a separation between belief and empirically obtained knowledge by championing the development of different forms of instruments and technologies; yet by looking closely at little-known sources a different story emerges. Kino's cometography, based on observational practices for prognostication, was a cartographic image laden with astrological and devotional beliefs which, in turn, were used within strategies of political advancement.

Finally, this instance allows us to question ideas of the circulation of conventions in the making of celestial maps: Kino did not just transfer conventions into New Spain but appropriated the genre of cometography with local elements. By sending one hundred copies of *Exposicion Astronomica* to Spain, Rome and the Jesuit Upper Germanic Province by way of his patron the Duchess of Aveiro, Kino participated in the circulation of the genre of data, devotional imagery and colonial politics through European knowledge networks.[29]

Endnotes

1 This research is part of a postdoctoral project supervised by Dr. Linda Báez Rubí at the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Two extended articles in collaboration with Omar Rodriguez (doctoral candidate in the History and Philosophy of Science Programme, UNAM) are currently in progress. This piece was written during a research residency with the Early Modern Cosmology project at Università Ca' Foscari, Venice, under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (GA n. 725883 EarlyModernCosmology).

2 The classical works on Eusebio Kino are: Herbert Eugene Bolton, and John L. Kessell, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1984. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1dfnt3v; Ernest J. Burrus (ed. and transl.), *Kino Reports to Headquarters. Correspondence of Eusebio F. Kino from New Spain with Rome. Original Spanish Text of Fourteen Unpublished Letters and Reports with English Translations*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1954; Burrus (ed. and transl.), *Kino writes to the Duchess. Letters of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. to the Duchess of Aveiro*, Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1965.

3 This comet is known as the Great Comet of 1680, the Kirch Comet or the Newton Comet. Its earliest recorded observation is attributed to Gottfried Kirch in 14 November 1680.

4 Burrus, *Kino Reports to Headquarters*, pp. 97.

5 Manuel Antonio Ramos Suárez, 'Doña María Guadalupe de Lancastre, duquesa de Aveiro, y su devoción a los mártires de Japón', Anjhara Gómez Aragón (ed.), *Japón y occidente. El patrimonio cultural como punto de encuentro*, Sevilla: Aconcagua Libros, 2016, pp. 543–46.

6 Luís de Moura Sobral, '*De la librería, contemplando al Cielo*. Imágenes e cultura visual em libros de ciências e técnicas da Biblioteca de D. Maria Guadalupe de Lencastre (1630-1715), Duquesa de Aveiro', *Agora. Estudios Clássicos em Debate* 14.1, 2012, pp. 169–201.

7 Sigüenza's conflictive relationship with Kino was made explicit by the Mexican erudite in his cometary treatise the *Libra astronomica y filosofica* (Mexico, 1690), and has attracted much scholarly attention. See, notably: Victor Navarro Brottons, '*La Libra Asrtonomica y Filosófica de Sigüenza y Góngora: la polémica sobre el cometa de 1680*', in Alicia Mayer (ed.), *Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora Homenaje 1700–2000. I*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000, pp. 145–86; Anna More, 'Cosmopolitanism and Scientific Reason in New Spain: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Dispute over the 1680 Comet' in Bleichmar et al. (eds.) *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, pp. 115–31.

8 Ernest Burrus, *La obra cartográfica de la provincia mexicana de la compañía de Jesús,* Madrid: Ediciones José Porrua Turanzas, I, pp. 15–25.

9 The earliest recorded use of cometographia in books printed in Britain is *Cometographia quaedam Lampadis aeriae 10 die Nouemb. apparauit, anno a virgine o partu*. 1577.

10 For a study of the history of engraving in New Spain: Donahue Wallace, *Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City, 1600–1800*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2000.

11 Antonio Ysarti (excudit), *Delineacion y dibujo de las constelaciones y partes del cielo por donde discurrio el grandioso cometa que el Año de 1680 por los Meses de Noviembre y Diciembre el de 1681 por los Meses de Henero y Febrero se ha visto en todo el Mundo Con la Descripcion del Curso y Movimiento Proprio que este Cometa tuvo cada uno de los días que duro*, Mexico, [1681]: https://archive.org/details/delineacionydibv00ysar This document was kindly digitised and put online by the John Carter Brown Library on the occasion of the international and interdisciplinary workshop *Diálogos sobre imágenes astronómicas en America. Siglos XVI– XIX*, a collaboration between the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), the programme Arte, Ciencia y Tecnologías (UNAM-Mexican Secretaria de Cultura) and the John Carter Brown Library.

12 In 1682 Ysarti signed the frontispiece of the *Chronical of the Saintly Province of Saint Diego of Mexico* by the Barefooted Franciscan Baltasar de Medina, a work that included a map of the Province of San Diego (now Central Mexico), which has been considered the first copper engraved terrestrial maps in Viceregal Mexico. Wallace, *Prints and Printmakers*, pp. 484–9.

13 Eusebio Kino, *Exposicion astronomica de el cometa*, Mexico: Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1681.

14 Adam Mosley, 'Past Portents Predict: Cometary Historiae and Catalogues in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Celestial Novelties on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution 1540–1630*, Bibliotheca di Galilaeana, III, 2013, pp. 1-32.

15 Stefan Zieme, 'The Astrology of Comets: Earthly Signs and Celestial Signifiers'. I thank the author for allowing me to read the manuscript of this article in progress.

16 Kino, *Exposicion Astronomica*, 4v–5r.

17 Kino, *Exposicion Astronomica*, 18v–25r; See also Mosely, 'Past Portents Predict', p. 32.

18 Zieman, 'The Astrology of Comets: Earthly Signs and Celestial Signifiers'.
19 Kino, *Exposicion Astronomica*, 25v.
20 Deborah J. Warner, *The Sky Explored. Celestial Cartography 1500–1800*, New York/Amsterdam: Theatrum Obris Terrarum, 1979, pp. 224–32; Nick Kansas, *Star Maps. History, Artistry and Cartography*, Berlin: Springer; Chichester; Praxis: 2007, pp. 156–57.
21 For details of these editions, see: Olivier Christin, 'Qui porte le monde? Christophe, Atlas, Hercule et Marie (1570–1650)', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* [online] uploaded 1 June 2018, consulted 19 April 2019. http://journals.openedition.org/rhr/8395 DOI : 10.4000/rhr.8395.
22 Christin, 'Qui porte le monde?', p. 195.
23 Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen María Madre de Dios de Guadalupe, milagrosamente aparecida en la ciudad de Mexico*: Imprenta de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1648.
24 Antonio Rubial, 'Religiosos viajeros en el mundo hispánico en la época de los Austrias (el caso de la Nueva España)', *Historia Mexicana* 61, 3, 2012, pp. 813–45.
25 Jaime Cuadriello, *Zodiaco mariano. 250 años de la declaración pontificia de María de Guadalupe como patrona de México*, México: Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, 2004; Antonio Rubial, 'Civitas Dei et novus orbis. La Jerusalén celeste en la pintura de Nueva España', *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 72, 1998, pp. 5–37.
26 Burrus, *Kino Reports*, p. 87–88.
27 Burrus, *Kino Reports,* p. 110–111.
28 Kino, *Exposicion Astronomica*, [5-6].
29 For the dissemination of Kino's work in Europe: Burrus (ed.), Kino escribe a la Duquesa. Correspondencia del P. Eusebio Kino con la Duquesa de Aveiro y otros documentos, Madrid: Ediciones José Porrua Turanzas, 1964, pp.79–81. Kino's observations were included in Johann Christophe Wagner, *Cometa disparens, das ist, Gründlicher Bericht von dem fernern Lauff dess Komet-Sterns, biss zu dessen völliger Verlöschung*, Augspurg : Gedruckt bey Jacob Koppmayr, 1681. Online: https://archive.org/details/cometadisparensd00wagn/page/n4

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Robert Dudley. *The Earliest Printed Chart of the Northeast.* [1647 / 1661]

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A POINT OF VIEW

The incarnations of Sheet 1696, 'Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage', 1846

Stephen Davies

In 1846 – or more probably 1845 – a young Royal Navy Lieutenant, Leopold George Heath (1817-1907), painted a set of views that formed a panorama of the harbour of the new British colony of Hong Kong.[1] He sent them to the Hydrographic Office, as officers were encouraged to do, and they were swiftly turned into a set of engraved views that were added to the *Catalogue of Admiralty Charts* as a complement to another relative newcomer to the inventory, Chart 1466, *China – Hong Kong*, that had been surveyed by Commander Sir Edward Belcher in 1841 and first published in 1843.

The sheet of views that resulted is intriguing for the interesting puzzles it throws up for the map collector.[2] In what follows these puzzles are sketched and, as far as possible, the various states and variant forms in which the views were published are outlined. Few of the puzzles have been resolved and, indeed, they are unlikely to be until a fuller and better dated set of samples can help with more clearly establishing the various published states of the sheet, and on what dates and by what printing processes they were produced. It is probable, according to the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive (UKHO Archive) that beyond the first pulls, the 1991 souvenir re-issue and any identifiable lithographs, precisely dating any examples may in fact be impossible although a basic chronology of states is possible (see Appendix 2). 'After the views were withdrawn from the catalogue they were still in demand. Right up until the 1990s it was possible to obtain pulls from the plates … Another difficulty in dating these views when compared to charts, is simply the lack of revision.'[3]

The main purpose of what follows is therefore to try to identify as clearly as possible the distinct states of the views and put them in some sort of rough temporal order.

What do we know of Sheet 1696?

We know that the sheet was produced for sale in 1847 from a set of watercolours made by Lieutenant Heath, at the time gunnery lieutenant on the 26 gun, 6th rate frigate HMS *Iris*, captained by George Rodney Mundy (1805–1884) serving on the East Indies and China Station. As noted, it is fairly certain that the original watercolours were not done in 1846, though they were possibly sent to the Hydrographic Office that year.[4]

We can trace the fairly brief history of Sheet 1696: 'Views – Hong Kong Island and Vicinity' (as listed in the *Catalogue of Admiralty Charts*), though as we shall see without a great deal of clarity, in successive Admiralty chart catalogues (see Appendix 1). This takes us to until the sheet was withdrawn from sale – though if Adrian Webb (UKHO Head of Archive) is right, possibly not from production – at some time after sending the 1883 catalogue to print.

In the catalogue the sheet is described only as double elephant in size, that is as a single sheet.[5] The largest known example of a single sheet, probably the first state of the views, is the Library of Congress example measuring 660 x 840 mm, just over three-quarters of the area of a full double elephant but unquestionably requiring a full double elephant to print from, with cropping to size before or after printing (Fig. 1).[6] The second example, owned by Wattis Fine Arts of Hong Kong, is 560 x 705 mm. It is possible the latter has at some stage been trimmed to eliminate unattractive torn or damaged edges.

The price is given as 3 shillings in all catalogues except in 1860 when, for some reason, it went up to 5 shillings before returning to 3 shillings for the rest of the sheet's time as a listed Hydrographic Office product. There is a possible explanation for this price change in a known production of part of the sheet by lithography to which we shall return. The explanation is that, at least when first introduced, sheets produced by lithography seem to have been differently and more highly priced. Adrian Webb notes that in 1826, when Engelmann & Co. of 66 St Martin's Lane, London started printing Admiralty charts, they produced an 'inferior quality' chart by lithography, which was sold for 2/6d instead of the 1/6d it would have sold for had it been produced from an engraved copperplate.[7]





Whether this price differential became standard is not clear but, if it did, then if a lithograph of Sheet 1696 was produced, the price rise to five shillings in the 1860 catalogue may have reflected this. Webb noted in his study up to 1829, however, that after the 1826 experiment, it was decided '[that lithography] be employed only for temporary or less important objects, all other surveys being engraved on copper'.[8] I shall dilate more on this below.

That compilation errors did occur in the catalogue, however, is shown by other catalogue errors relating to Sheet 1696. In the 1860 catalogue the price hike appears and an error appears: the wrong initials for Lt Heath – he had become Lt G.P. Heath. By 1864 the price had reverted to three shillings but the mistake over Lt Heath's initials remained and was in subsequent catalogues until, by the 1880 catalogue, his initials were dropped altogether and remained dropped until the sheet was withdrawn in 1883.

The sheet was printed by impressions from three copperplates as well as, in one known but non-Hydrographic Office example, by lithography. In its earliest form the sheet of views seems to have been produced as a single sheet without sub-lettering at the bottom right of each image. Instead, in common with all other Admiralty charts by this date, a single number, 1696, appears at the bottom right of the sheet.[9] Although in its second state, the date of the first examples of which is unknown, the three parts of the chart each gained a qualifying sub-lettering, at no time in the sheet's thirty-six year life in the catalogues is there any mention of this.

The title colophon with the detail about Lt Heath producing the panorama from HMS *Iris* in 1846 appears below the middle section (later numbered as 1696b). The Admiralty seal in the colophon indicates that the sheet was produced during the period 1829–55 when Francis Beaufort was the Hydrographer to the Admiralty Board. This remains constant in all versions seen by the author (Fig. 2) and is consistent with Webb's advice that, once sub-numbering had been added, the copperplates were never changed although, as we shall see, this turns out not to be exactly correct.

Nonetheless, given that the chart was listed for sale through the incumbencies of Rear Admiral John Washington (1855–63), Vice Admiral Sir George Richards (1863–74) and Captain Sir Frederick Evans

Fig. 1 The original, single sheet with the sheet number 1696 at the lower right and the Admiralty authorisation and chart agent details at the centre bottom. (Library of Congress)[10]

(1874–84), and that the relevant copperplate was never changed after Admiral Beaufort's retirement suggests that no significant production took place after that date, stocks perhaps being deemed sufficient to meet probable demand. This fits with the other detail that stayed constant, the name of the Admiralty chart agent, on which more later.

The Admiralty's statutory authorisation as publisher and the chart agent's details appeared at centre bottom, slightly higher than the sheet number.[11] No indication is given of an outside engraver, so the engraving work was almost certainly done via the Hydrographic Office's main draughtsman, J. & C. Walker. The firm sub-contracted all engraving work to London engravers whose work on Admiralty charts was always under the J. & C. Walker name. On normal navigational charts their name was placed outside the border but on this sheet of views, there is neither border nor any engraver's name (see Fig. 1).[12]

An interesting feature of this early state is the placement of the images on the sheet. The comparative heights of the images in relation to each other can be seen in Figure. 3. They are not perfectly symmetrical around the horizontal midline. The space between the top image and the centre image is 170.5 percent of the space between the centre image and the bottom image (Fig 3).

This odd vertical placement on the sheet is despite the centre image having to accommodate the sheet colophon in the narrower space. There is a similarly clumsy large blank space below the bottom image that, as an imagined reconstruction in Figure 4 shows would normally have been taken up by a border. More interesting, the sheet of views is not vertically symmetrical, because the top image was placed marginally further to the right than the other two as shown in Figure 3.



Fig. 2 The Hydrographic Office official crest or seal, Beaufort's initials 'FB' are at the bottom of the surround.

The result is a curiously awkward looking and unbalanced sheet of views. It lacks the formal elegance characteristic of British Admiralty charts of the period. It would seem, looking at the balance of the image placements, that the initial intention with respect to the sheet's layout may have been quite different from the final, printed version. It could have been, we do not know, that the initial plan had ignored Lt Heath's idea of a panorama and had instead intended to place what became 1696b at the top of the sheet, with what later became 1696a in the middle, leaving the bottom image, the later 1696c, as it appears (see Fig. 4). The result would have been given a border, as with standard charts and, as Figure 4 shows, would have resulted in a chart as elegantly laid out as was customary. However, to have printed the chart thus, whilst it would have placed the most important view – the north coast of Hong Kong Island – first, would have vitiated the presentation of a panorama that could be viewed sequentially from just east of north around the compass.

At some unknown point, although the catalogue does not record this, the copperplates were modified by adding, below each image in the views, a sub-letter beginning at the top. It can be seen in Figure 5 (see page 34) that when this was done, the original sheet number, 1696, was kept in its initial position and a 'c' simply added to the end. The result was Sheet 1696a, 1696b and 1696c. However, as Appendix 1 shows, at no stage does the chart catalogue suggest that there was any other than a single sheet 1696 sold as a unit, which is not easily reconciled with the UKHO Archive's holdings of only sets of three separate sheets.[13]

However, whether a single sheet with the separate image numbering was ever produced is moot. To the author's knowledge no example of a sub-lettered single sheet has been identified and the known single sheet examples seem only to have the plain 1696 number below the bottom-right edge. As we shall see, the final version of Lt Heath's views argues the sub-lettered views were printed separately and not in a single sheet that was subsequently cut up.[14]

The one set of three sheets that appears intermediate between the single sheet example and the most commonly known, individually numbered three sheets is the set, in poor condition, in the G.E. Morrison Collection in the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) in



Fig. 3 The misaligned left edge and uneven vertical spacing. (Library of Congress)

Tokyo. The online images are very low resolution but sufficient to see that although there are three separate sheets, only the bottom sheet has a number and this is the simple 1696 we see on what appear to be the earlier single sheet examples. In the Toyo Bunko example the irregularities in the margin and height noted above are also present.[15] This could be argued to be a second variant of the sheet of views if the state in which they now are is one produced by the Hydrographic Office. However, between the time G.E. Morrison began collecting in 1897 and when he bought the views, the sheet or sheets, which are now framed, could have been changed from their original state, as is the case with the Chater Collection examples in the Hong Kong Museum of Art, so whether this is an intermediate state is moot.[16]

It seems probable that the idea of the sheet being separable into three may have been present from the outset as an option that users might choose to take. That would explain, for example, the decision not to print the sheet with a border since, after cutting the sheet into three, each would have had incomplete parts of the old whole sheet border, which would have been unacceptable.

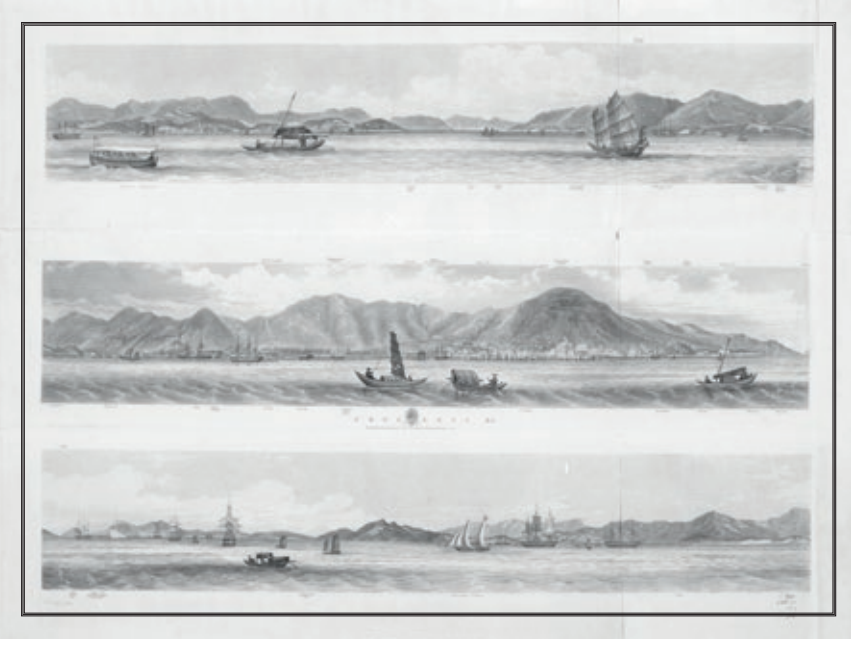
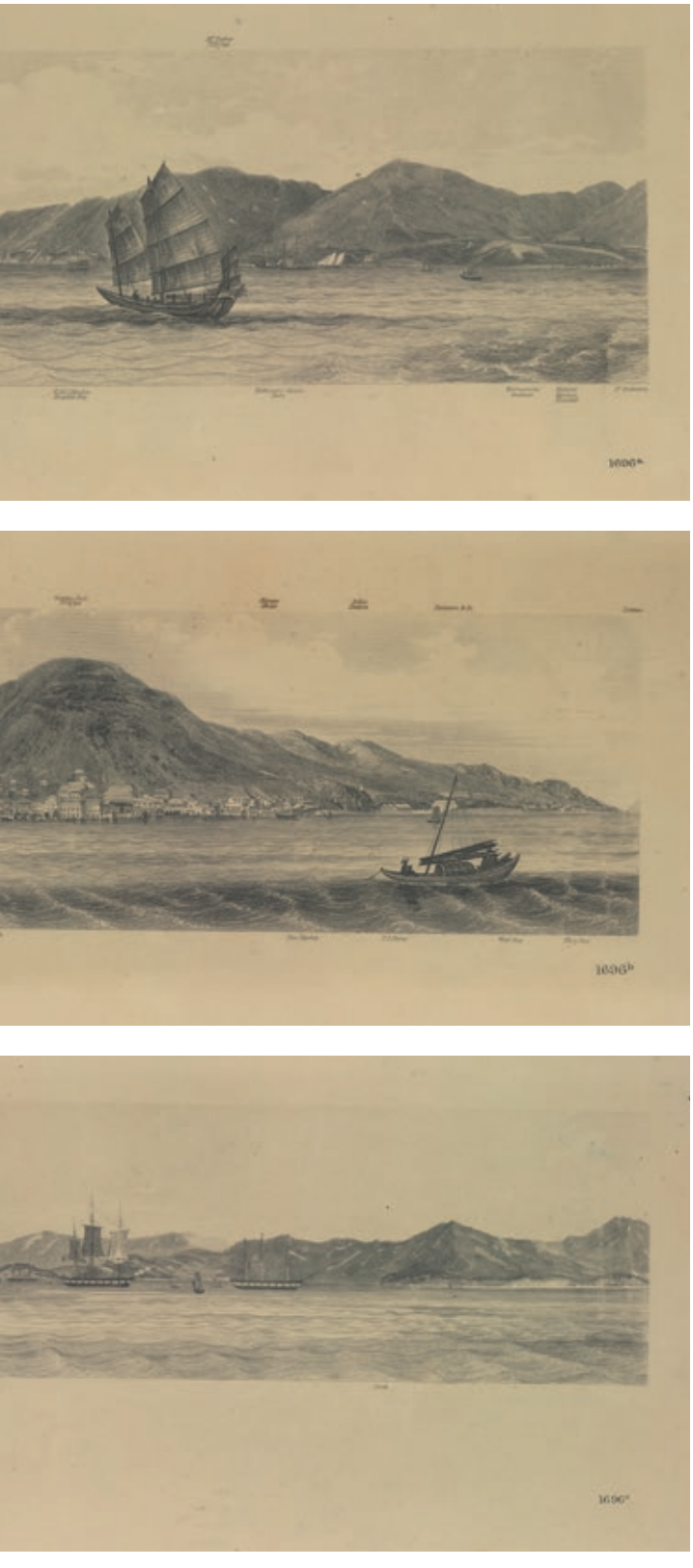


Fig. 4 Perhaps the original intended design with what became 1696b at the top (contrived and recoloured by the author from the Library of Congress example).

It can be seen from Figure 5 that splitting sheet 1696 into three in its first layout results in three almost identically sized images on three very different sized pieces of paper. However, as a close inspection shows, the slightly rightwards displacement of the first image, 1696a, remained a consistent feature of the sheet during its thirty-six-year lifetime with resulting uneven left and right margins. The sheets' final appearance in 1991, on which more below, was interestingly different.

At this point we need to return to the curious variation in price in the 1860 catalogue. It is quite likely this was a graphic error, but the possibility that a more



expensive version produced by lithography was introduced for a period should not be discounted. Certainly, it is known that a lithographic version was produced. In 2011 Mr Jonathan Wattis, of Wattis Fine Arts in Hong Kong, had in his possession a lithographed version of 1696b (Fig. 6). Only the central image was acquired and Mr Wattis avers he has never seen lithograph examples of either of the other two. The example is printed on very much thinner paper than was the Admiralty's practice. He is of the opinion, because of fold marks, that the image may have been a fold-out tipped in to a book, or placed in an endpaper slip cover that has been separated from its proper context. A reconstruction of a possible fold pattern argues the probability of a quarto sized publication.

The example in question was produced by Malby & Sons, who began working for the Hydrographic Office as printers in 1855.[17] Four signal features seem to suggest the lithographed view may have been an unofficial product with, so far, no clue as to its date of production.

One of these features is that the title has been changed, the '&c.' of the original having been dropped for plain 'Hong Kong'. A second is that in between the two parts of the title name there is no Hydrographic Office seal or price, suggesting both that this was not an official product and had not been for sale.[18] The third signal feature, which confirms the visual evidence that the image is a lithograph, is the appearance of the lithographer's name below the right-hand bottom edge of the image.

What is as yet not known, because no examples bar this single sheet, which is manifestly not a Hydrographic Office product, have been identified, is whether Malby & Sons produced lithographic versions of 1696. As Adrian Webb notes, had there been a need to issue large numbers of 1696 quickly, it may have been lithographed and perhaps 'also, because view plates were not corrected they were thought of as dispensable and printed on inferior paper'.

At present the answer as to whether any such issue was made is uncertain. There is one likely moment when a sudden, large demand for a set of views that was verging on the obsolete but which, with the exception of the shore of Hong Kong Island proper, would still have served. It would have been the years 1856–60: the period of the Second Opium, or Anglo–Chinese War at the height of which, in early 1860, over twenty Royal Navy and eight French warships, an American squadron

Fig. 5 Details of the right-hand sides of the three separate sheets now identified 1696a, 1696b and 1686c. (Univ. of Cambridge/ Royal Commonwealth Society. Reproduced by kind permisssion of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)



Fig. 6 The lithographed central view (1696b) by Malby & Sons with superimposed dotted red lines to show fold lines. (Wattis Fine Arts)

of four ships and scores of transports totalling 173 vessels assembled in Hong Kong.[19] This may have been an occasion of a surge of demand for copies of 1696.

Three sets of images, which belong respectively to the Hong Kong Maritime Museum (HKMM), the Marine Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and were in a London auction catalogue in 2015,[20] suggest that there may have existed a subsequent state of this sheet during its brief life.[21] The sets show an attempt to try to balance up the three sheets of paper by printing them from three equal sized plates. This was done by printing the central image on a slightly larger piece and by moving the Admiralty authorisation and distributor details, and the 1696c number closer to the lowest image. In short, these two sets suggest modifications to the copperplates. The lot notes in the Charles Miller catalogue formally specify that this was a 're-issue', though without giving any further detail.[22]

At this point it is necessary to note that in the UKHO Archive there are two sets of plates. These are PRR 3/1/56a, which is an underused set, possibly copy plates. The other is PRR 3/1/56b, which is a heavily used set, considered possibly to be the original plates from 1846 (Fig. 7).

The dimensions of the plates are: PRR 3/1/56a: plate 1696a – 803 x 183 mm; plate 1696b – 806 x 183 mm; plate 1696c – 804 x 183 mm. PRR 3/1/56b: plate 1696a – 795 x 227 mm; plate 1696b – 803 x 190 mm; plate 1696c – 792 x 253 mm.[23] It can be seen that the newer, little used set has plates each of almost exactly the same dimensions, most specifically the identical height of each plate at 183 mm with the lengths varying only by 4 mm. By contrast the older, heavily used set's plates vary by between 3 and 11 mm in length and, as is evident from most of the known printed examples, by 26 to 63 mm in height.

Barring some other explanation, therefore,[24] it would seem the Malby & Sons lithographic exercise was probably a one-off and the Hong Kong Maritime Museum (HKMM), Hong Kong Marine Department and Charles Miller auction examples are rare instances of the little used PR 3/1/56a.

An inspection of the three sets, shown in the HKMM version in Figure 8, reveals that all of the layout defects we have so far identified have been eliminated. 1696a is symmetrically placed on its sheet. There is a lower extension to the margin of 1696b, ensuring it is on an equal sized sheet to 1696a. And 1696c is brought into harmony with the other two



Fig. 7 The two sets of UKHO Archive plates, PRR 3/1/56a on the left in the photograph and PRR 3/1/56b on the right. (Photo: John Williams and Dr Adrian Webb)



Fig. 8 The Hong Kong Maritime Museum set, all nicely balanced.

sheets by having the number, Admiralty authorisation and chart distributor details all realigned. The result is three closely identical sheets.

The only difficulty with this line of thinking is that a close comparison of known states of these sheets of views, focusing on blemishes on each plate to see if they are reproduced on other examples, reveals that evident blemishes on each of the three views in the Royal Commonwealth Society, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and the 1991 souvenir re-issue examples are clearly reproduced on the HKMM and Marine Department examples. The resolution of the image of the Charles Miller example is too low for certainty, although 1696a does seem to have the same blemishes.[25] Unless the copy plates were reproduced by a process like photogravure, this is hard to explain. Research continues.

One reason for a second set of plates, apart from the imbalanced appearance of the original sheet, its rapid obsolescence and rather minor importance navigationally, may be that the original copperplates were not lasting well. The consensus seems to be that copperplates began to lose fine detail after 'several hundred' impressions and it is possible that by some unknown, but arguably quite early date, the plates were suffering.[26] One hint that this might be the case would be that on 1696a in the HKMM example all the engraving detail of the sky would appear to have been lost and it is poor, compared to the first pulls, in 1696b and 1696c as well.

If indeed the HKMM set is a product of the second set of plates, the loss of engraving definition of the sky also argues for a comparatively late date in the life of the first set of plates for the new set's date of creation. Any second set will have been engraved or reproduced from whatever originals were available for the engraver to copy. If they were products of relatively late in the life of the original plates, then the engraver may have had little detail to copy and so opted for the blank sky that we see.

Some support for such a hypothesis comes from the examples of the second state images, which show a steady decrease in the quality of engraved detail for the sky sections of 1696a and 1696c. Comparing sets 5 to 10 listed in Appendix 2 reveals a steady loss of detail between the Royal Commonwealth Society examples at each end. The last of these, from 1991 when the Admiralty decided to reprint Sheet 1696 from PR 3/1/56b in a limited, hand-coloured edition for the collector's market, have almost no detail.

All the examples of Sheet 1696 the author has seen have R.B. Bate as the chart agent.[27] Following his death in 1847 his wife continued to act as agent until, on 20 April 1850, the agency was taken over by J.D. Potter, who had been Bate's foreman. It has not been exactly determined when Potter's imprint as Admiralty chart agent replaced that of Bate, but the first examples were at the latest by 1851 and all charts, bar perhaps extant stock, would have probably been corrected by the mid-1850s.[28] The absence of any Potter examples of sheets 1696a, 1696b and 1696c, and the fact that the collectible issue in 1991 also had R.B. Bate as the agent, suggests that the sheet was not printed for sale much after 1850 and that extant stocks were simply run down.[29] This does, of course, pose something of a puzzle as to the reasoning behind the creation of the second set of copperplates, although a rushed job for the Second Opium War (1856–60) may be the explanation.

To pick up on a doubt expressed in the first paragraph, a final point is to nail the doubt about the year in which Lieutenant Heath sketched his panorama. The chart states that it was done in 1846. This is almost certainly wrong. We have the movements of the *Iris*. She left Hong Kong for Singapore in late October 1845 arriving in Singapore on 6 November for Captain Mundy to take over as 'Senior Naval Officer in command at the Straits' and where it was intended she be 'stationed until her return to England' and in all references in the *Naval and Military Gazette* as of March 1846, she is assigned to the East Indies, not the China Station.[30] In January and February 1846 she was in Malacca, Penang and Aceh and on 7 March 1846 left Penang for Singapore, where she arrived around 18 March. By early April she was in Trincomalee with bullion, arriving in Madras on 19 April and in Calcutta on 24 April, not leaving for the Straits Settlements until 8 May. She arrived in Singapore from Malacca on 17 June, whence she departed on 19 June for anti-piracy operations in Borneo where she stayed, occasionally visiting Singapore, for the rest of the year. The only unaccounted for period is twenty-three days between 18 March to *c.*10 April.[31] A voyage from Singapore to Hong Kong to Trincomalee would have taken not less than around twenty days, so even had the *Iris* visited Hong Kong on that occasion, it is unlikely to have offered long enough, or enough time off for a busy lieutenant, for the paintings to have been completed.[32]

On the other hand we also know that the *Iris* was in Hong Kong frequently during 1845, including enough time in June for Lt Heath to compose the lengthy letter on Sumner's Method for the *Nautical Magazine*.[33] The record shows she was in Hong Kong for most, if not all of January–March, June and some of July and again in September–October.[34] One possibility, therefore, is that in the way of matters bureaucratic, the paintings were done in 1845 but were not dated and the package of material for the Hydrographic Office was sent off from Singapore in 1846, which ended up giving the paintings their errant date. That is unless, of course, Lt Heath had made a number of detailed sketches whilst the *Iris* was in Hong Kong in 1845, but only worked them up into paintings during some down time in 1846. We shall never know.

Sheet 1696 is something of a conundrum and more work needs to be done, looking at an increased number of examples, to resolve as fully as possible the matters of states and variants and whether there was ever an edition printed lithographically.

Endnotes

1 Although 1846 is the date given on the chart, HMS *Iris* was not in Hong Kong during that year bar, possibly, for a few days in late March or early April because Captain Mundy had been made senor naval officer to the Straits Settlements. By contrast she was in Hong Kong in January to March, June to July and September to October in 1845. In June Lt Heath wrote a letter to the *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle* from the ship in Hong Kong, 'The Ship's position by the Sun's altitude – Sumner's Method'. See *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1846*, London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1846, pp. 23–25.
2 For an excellent introduction to the topic of views, Adrian Webb, *Guide to the views in the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive Collection*, version 3, Taunton: UK Hydrographic Office Archive, 2019, available as an electronic publication from the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive. See especially pp. 4–7 and Appendix 1.

3 Dr Adrian Webb, Head of Archive, UKHO Archive, personal communication.
4 For the dating, see Stephen Davies, 'A point of view – Part 2 – turning eight watercolours into three views', *IMCoS Journal*, forthcoming.
5 The double elephant, the largest standard paper size in the 19th century was the largest normally produced by Thomas Whatman, the Hydrographic Office's principle paper supplier. It was approximately 40 x 27 in (or 1020 x 690 mm). Whatman did produce an Antiquarian paper as a special order, which measured 53 x 31in (1350 x 790mm). Richard Leslie Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488–1988: A Short History*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015, pp. 72–73.
6 The author knows of only two or possibly three examples of the single sheet; one held in the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, call no. G7823.H45A35 1847.H4; another in the collection of Mr Jonathan Wattis of Wattis Fine Arts Ltd., 2/f, 20 Hollywood Rd., Hong Kong; and also (although not available online) at the National Library of Australia: 20917735.
7 Adrian Webb, *The Expansion of British Naval Hydrographic Administration, 1808–1829*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter 2010, p. 253.
8 Webb (2010), p. 253 citing UKHO, MB1 fos 109–110, Lord High Admiral's minute on office reforms, 7 June 1827.
9 A numbering system was introduced in 1839 – see Webb (2010), p. 38, fn 130. It was much later that the practice of having a number 'correct' in the bottom-right corner and a number 'inverse' in the top left corner was introduced.
10 See endnote 6.
11 The authorisation reads, 'London Published according to Act of Parliament at the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty May 4th 1857'.
12 Webb (2010), pp. 242–43, noting recollections by Admiral Richards, Hydrographer in the 1860s. J. & C. Walker (fl. 1820–95); John Walker, Alexander Walker and Charles Walker, known collectively as J.& C. Walker were engravers, draughtsmen and publishers working through the 19th century. They had several offices 47 Bernard St, Russell Square (1830–36); 3 Burleigh St, Strand (1837–40); 9 Castle St, Holborn (1841–47); and 37 Castle St. Holborn (1848–75). The firm is best known for its work in conjunction with the maps issued by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (S.D.U.K.). However, they also engraved a large corpus of work for the British Admiralty. Their association with charts goes back to John Walker Senior (*c.*1755-1831), Alexander Dalrymple's engraver at the East India Company and the Assistant Hydrographer to the first two Hydrographers to the Admiralty, Captains Hurd and Parry. His earliest known work on charts dates to 1779. John Walker Senior had four sons, John, Michael, Thomas, and Charles all of whom worked as engravers for the Admiralty. John Jr, was trained by and worked for James Horsburgh, succeeding him as East India Company Hydrographer in 1836. John Jr and his brother Charles formed J. & C. Walker, which was the premier engraver to the Hydrographic Office until the 1870s.
13 In a private communication Dr Adrian Webb has noted that the absence a copy of the first state of 1696 in the UKHO Archive is explained by the fact that records of printed charts only began in 1879. That was only four years before Sheet 1696 was withdrawn but 22 years after its first issue, so only copies of the later state are held.
14 The remaining two images from the Chater Collection in Hong Kong, No. 23 in Appendix 2, point to the fate of some of the single sheet, first states – being cut up into three for display in frames.
15 E-1-A-30, G.E. Morrison Collection, Toyo Bunko – no size data, 3 sheets. http://124.33.215.236/gazou/Honkon_dohanga.html
16 George Ernest Morrison (1862-1920), his collecting period is derived from Kazuo Enoki, *Dr G E Morrison and the Toyo Bunko: in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the transfer of Dr. G. E. Morrison Library to Baron Hisaya Iwasaki (1917-1967)*, Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1967, for the start of Morrison's collecting in 1897, see p. 21
17 Andrew David & Tony Campbell, Bibliographical notes on 'Nineteenth century British Admiralty charts', *The Map Collector*, No. 26, 1984, p. 12. Thomas Malby (fl. 1810) was a prominent British engraver, printer, and globemaker active in London during the middle to late 19th century and early 20th century. The firm was founded by Thomas Malby in 1810. Later Thomas's son, Thomas Malby Jr. joined the firm and it was renamed Malby and Son and relocated to Parker Street, London.
18 There are charts known from the early period of the Hydrographic Office's public sale of charts where the seal did not have an engraved price but these seem to have had a hand-written price on them instead. Webb (2010), p. 329.
19 W.L. Clowes, *The Royal navy: a history from the earliest times to the death of Queen Victoria*, London: Samson Low, Marston & Co., Vol VII, 1903, Ch. XLVII, pp. 132–36; *Report on the North-eastern Portions of the Provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung, Nanking and Its Approaches, Canton and Its Approaches: Together with an Account of the Chinese Civil, Naval and Military Administrations, and a Narrative of the Wars Between Great Britain and China*, Calcutta: Quarter Master General's Department. Intelligence Branch, Government Central Branch Press, 1884.
20 Lot 129 in Sale 015 of Charles Miller Ltd on 12 May 2015.
21 I am grateful to Ms Katherine Chu, an Assistant Curator at the HKMM, for drawing the Marine Department set to my attention. The set is in fact a set of reproductions, the originals having apparently been sent back to the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office some years ago.
22 Catalogue, *Maritime and Scientific Models, Instruments & Art (Sandwich)*, Tuesday 12 May 2015, Lot 129, p. 38.
23 Information courtesy of Dr Adrian Webb, United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive.
24 The author can recall being told – by whom and when are lost in an ageing memory – that at some stage in the later 19th century or possibly early 20th century, editions of chart 1696 were produced somewhere in the Straits Settlements, either Penang or Singapore, though whether they were authorised or some touristic business venture is unclear.
25 It should be noted that none of the blemishes appears on the Library of Congress 1696 sheet of views.
26 Coolie Verner, 'Copper-plate printing'. In: David Woodward (ed.) *Five centuries of map printing*, London & Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1975, p. 72.
27 Robert Brettell Bate (1782–1847) ran an optical and scientific instrument shop, which he opened in 1804. In 1829 he became Admiralty Chart agent, which agency ceased shortly after his death – see http://microscopist.net/BateR.B.html accessed on 12.08.2019.
28 A. David & T. Campbell (1984), loc. cit.
29 Making the issue of dating even more difficult, the author was informed by the UKHO Archive that occasional examples of 1696 were pulled on demand from one or other set of plates, by those with the requisite 'in', until as late as 1990. It follows that the appearance of the Admiralty Seal with Beaufort's initials and R.B. Bate as the chart agent are no guide at all to date of production. Only a forensic analysis of the paper might offer enlightenment.
30 *London Daily News* 3 February 1846, p. 7; *Straits Times* 4 November 1845, p. 131; *Naval and Military Gazette*, 'Stations of H.M.'s ships in commission with the year when built, and the dates of commission of the officers in command' that usually appeared two to three times a month.
31 The references for this pattern of movements includes data from the *Straits Times, Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, Lloyd's List, Edinburgh Evening Post and Scottish Standard, London Daily News, London Evening Standard* and *Naval and Military Gazette* for the years 1845 and 1846.
32 It is a point worth noting that when she sailed from Hong Kong to Singapore in late 1845, carrying some two million dollars in silver bullion, part of China's First Opium War 'indemnity', the *Iris* had taken from 14 October to 10 November, twenty-seven days, to make the passage, *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 20th January 1846, p. 2.
33 See endnote 1.
34 See endnotes 29 and 30 above for newspapers referenced.

Stephen Davies has been in Hong Kong on and off since 1947. His fascination with navigation and its history began with service in the Royal Navy in the early 1960s. He teaches at the University of Hong Kong.

Appendix 1: Sheet 1696 – A Record in the *Catalogues of Admiralty Charts* and the variants of the sheet [1]

Year	Page	Chart No	Size	Description	Price (shillings)
1849	p.89	1696	DE	Views—Hong-Kong Island and Vicinity—*Lieut. L.G. Heath,* R.N. H.M.S. Iris, 1846	3 0
1857	p.113	1696	DE	Views—Hong-Kong Island—*Lieut. L.G. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1860	p.123	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	5 0
1864	p.123	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1868	p.136	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1869	p.136	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1870	p.136	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1875	p.136	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1877	p.136	1696	DE	……———Views—*Lieut. G.P. Heath,* R.N. 1846	3 0
1880	p.127	1696	DE	….views. *Lieut. Heath,* 1846	3 0
1882	p.127	} no other data			
1883	p.127	} no other data			
1884		not in catalogue			

1 Chart catalogues are known for 1821 (no copy yet found), 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1832, 1839, 1841, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1852, 1855, 1857, 1860, 1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887 when after annually through until today, with a combined 1934-35 and no 1944. A. David & T. Campbell (1984), p. 14.

Appendix 2: Examples and their sizes considered in research for this paper and their probable sequence

The state of the older, possibly original plates makes it clear that there will likely have been hundreds of copies printed over the thirty-six years the sheet was on sale. Most will probably have perished, but many will be in private hands or in public or private repositories the catalogues of which have not yet been digitised and hence are not available for assessment. An example would be a set known to the author (from private information) in the hands of the Survey & Mapping Office of the Hong Kong SAR Government Lands Department, no trace of which is available in public sources, and which the Lands Department today denies possessing.[1]

More interestingly, although some dimensions below do not include plate mark dimensions or, where they do, have either not been checked or have been derived from a necessarily inexact, scaled measurement on a computer screen, it can be seen that the actual plate dimensions and the assessed dimensions below argue for a far more exact and exhaustive survey so that the data can help determine whether the dimensions of the two surviving sets of plates match all known printed examples of the view.

In all the following lists some attempt is made to put the variants in a rough time sequence with what seem to be earlier pulls before later ones.

Old plates, First state, single sheet

1. Library of Congress

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(G7823.H45A35 1847 .H4): Three views 130 x 700 mm on sheet 660 x 840 mm – the measurement of the views would appear to be of the images, not the plate marks.

2. Wattis Fine Arts, Hong Kong [2]

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(P5443), three views 130 x 705 mm on sheet 560 x 705 mm – the measurement of the views would appear to be of the image, not the plate mark.

3. National Library of Australia

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
20917735, three views; 130 x 700 mm on sheet 660 x 840 mm – the measurement of the views would appear to be of the image, not the plate mark. This is possibly an early, single sheet example because the National Library of Australia directs online users to the Library of Congress site for a free, high-resolution image.

Old plates, First state, three sheets

4. G.E. Morrison Collection, Toyo Bunko

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by

Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
E-1-A-30 – no size data, three sheets. These are both badly stained and have edge damage. Although the online images are extremely low resolution, it would appear that this is a very early state of the three sheets in which ONLY the bottom sheet has a number: 1696

Old plates, Second state, three sheets

5. Royal Commonwealth Society/University of Cambridge
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(RCMS 385/2) – no size data, three sheets conjoined 127 x 2310 mm (the catalogue entry appears to be erroneous) approximate measurements 1696a: sheet –340 x 839 mm, plate 223 x 783 mm; 1696b: sheet – 331.25 x 822 mm, plate 175 x 778 mm; 1696c: sheet – 331 x 822 mm, plate 237.5 x 762.5 mm. Fairly clearly a product of PRR 3/1/56b. None of the plate dimensions exactly fits – but are within tolerances given shrinkage and the method of measurement.[3] The sky in 1696a is still clear and distinct.

6. Charles Miller, Maritime & Scientific Models, Instruments & Art, London, 30 Oct 2013
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
Lot 0023. Three panoramic views of Hong Kong, published by the Hydrographic Office and retailed by R.B. Bate, London 1846-7, Plate size 18.5 x 79.5 cm, all same sizes though images show clearly this is a product of PRR 3/1/56b. These are quite early pulls, with good sky detail in both 1696a and 1696c.

7. Shapero Rare Books
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
Stock ID: 92060, three-sheet steel-engraved panorama, each sheet approximately 13 x 71 cm, framed and glazed. This is on the present Shapero website at https://shapero.com/shop/heath-leopold-views-of-hong-kong-island-and-vicinity-1847-92060/ accessed on 2nd September 2019. The engraving of the sky in both 1696a and 1696c is quite well defined. Clearly a product of PRR 3/1/56b.

8. Hong Kong University of Science & Technology
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(由停泊處所見之香港等島嶼), Antique Maps of China Collection, G7941.A35 1846 .H4, three views; 13 x 70 cm. on sheet 660 x 840 mm[4] – the measurement of the views would appear to be of the image, not the plate mark. Clearly a product of PRR 3/1/56b. Engraving marks of the sky in 1696a can still be seen, but they are faint.

9. Shapero Rare Books, Catalogue for Travel 2013, item 88. pp. 84-85
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
Each sheet approximately 130 x 710 mm and described (mistakenly) as 'steel-engraved panorama'. Quite late pulls with poor sky detail in 1696a and 1696c. Images show three quite different plate sizes as in PRR 3/1/56b

10. Bonham's, Travel & Exploration Auction, 6 Feb 2019, London
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
Lot 45 After Lieutenant L.G. Heath, RN, 'Hong Kong & c. As seen from the Anchorage', 3 engravings printed by the Hydrographic Office, London 1847. Each 17.5 x 76cm (6 ⅞ x 29 15⁄16in). A set of late pulls with no apparent engraving detail of the sky in sheets 1696a and 1696c.

11. Royal Commonwealth Society/University of Cambridge
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(RCMS 385/1) – three sheets conjoined 127 x 2310 mm (the catalogue entry appears to be erroneous) approximate measurements 1696a: sheet - 464.5 x 1121 mm, plate 227 x 792 mm; 1696b: sheet – 462.5 x 1117 mm, plate 181.25 x 798 mm; 1696c: sheet – 462.5 x 1117 mm, plate 250 x 792 mm. One of 400 limited editions, hand-coloured reprints produced by Admiralty Charts and Publications, Marketing Departmentin 1991 – no limited edition number given in catalogue. These are known to have been produced from PRR 3/1/56b and the measured dimensions are within tolerances given the method of measurement. The clouds and shading in the sky in 1696a cannot be distinguished.

New plates first state, three sheets

12. Hong Kong Maritime Museum
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(HKMM 2011.0127.0001-0003) – sheets 185 x 800 mm, plates *c.*179 x 796 mm – by appearance most probably products of PRR 3/1/56a.

13. Marine Department, Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
No reference number. Example is a reproduction copy of an original sent back to the United Kingdom many years ago – no size data but by inspection identical to No. 10.

14. Charles Miller, Maritime & Scientific Models, Instruments & Art (Sandwich), Tuesday 12 May 2015, Sale 015
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
Lot 129. 18.5 x 79.5 cm, framed and glazed. Little sky detail in 1696a but some visible in 1696c. 1696b sky blemishes visible. Notes these are a 're-issue'. Clearly a copy plate first state example and identical to No. 11.

Lithographic variant (probably only of 1696b but unnumbered and unofficial)

15. Wattis Fine Arts, Hong Kong (now in a private collection)
Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.
(HKPan1846) – bottom right corner of image 'Malby & Sons, Lith'. No Hydrographic Office seal or price. Possibly once a fold-out book plate.

Old plates, states uncertain

Other museum sets and sets that occasionally come up at auction either have only one view, show only one view in an online access or show no view at all. The following have been noted and available images reviewed, mostly at low resolution:

16. National Maritime Museum, London

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

(PAI6747) - Sheet: 201 x 792 mm; Plate: 182 x 770 mm – this would appear to be just one sheet of 1696b – no image is shown in the online catalogue. The plate dimension is a curious hybrid of PRR 3/1/56a and PRR 3/1/56b.

17. British Library

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

System number: 004859868, Shelf Mark: (Maps SEC.13. (1696.) – no size data and no image shown in the catalogue.

18. Christie's, Sale 5506, Travel, Science & Natural History, London, 8 Oct 2014

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

Lot 141, each 17.6 x 72.3 cm. Only image of 1696b but this has blemishes on the left end of the sky common to many middle to late pulls. Uncertain whether second or third state.

19. Altea Gallery, Catalogue No 3 Summer 2016

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

Item 53, S/N: 16460 size given as 180 x 770 mm. This was only 1696b and resolution was too low to review sky blemishes.

20. Hong Kong Museum of Art[5]

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

AH1964.0361.001: No sizes given – a set that was trimmed and taped together to form a continuous horizontal panorama, removing all plate marks and numbering and subsequently folded. Crisp sky detail in 1696a, arguing an early pull from either the first or second state.

21. Hong Kong Museum of Art

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

AH1964.0361.002: No sizes given – a set also trimmed and taped together to form a continuous horizontal panorama, removing all plate marks and numbering. The sea and unclouded parts of the sky have been hand-tinted with a blue wash. Crisp sky detail in 1696a, arguing an early pull from either the first or second state.

22. Hong Kong Museum of Art

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

AH1964.0399: No sizes given – no high resolution image available but the image provided suggests another set that has been trimmed to remove all plate marks and numbering. It can be seen that there are three separate sheets that, from the crisp sky detail in 1696a and 1696b, suggest an early period pull from the first (if originally a single sheet) or second state. The set was purchased from Mr G.R. Sayer in 1952.

23. Hong Kong Museum of Art

Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage. Drawn by Lieut[t] L.G. Heath of H.M.S. Iris 1846.

AH1964.0131: No sizes given, however the original Chater Collection catalogue gives the size as 5 x 27½ in for each but with the further intelligence 'in three plates on one sheet'.[6] Only two of the three views remain, those that in the second state became 1696a and 1696c. It follows these are examples of the first state that was cut into three. Part of the bequest by Sir Paul Catchick Chater to the Hong Kong Government in 1926.

Endnotes

1 Email to author from Ng Chi-bun (for Senior Cartographer/HQ), 4 September 2019.

2 This is identical to and probably the same as Lot 185 in the Sotheby's sale, Travel, Atlases, Maps & Natural History, 29 April 2014, and described as 3 engraved views on one double-page sheet, the image of each approx. 130 x 705 mm, the sheet 560 x 705 mm.

3 For shrinkage see Tony Campbell, 'Understanding Engraved Maps', *The Map Collector*, 46, 1989, pp. 2–10.

4 This statement of the overall size for what are clearly three separate sheets appears in more than one catalogue entry and is extremely misleading.

5 I am most grateful to Ms Hilda Mak Wing-man, Assistant Curator (1), of the Hong Kong Museum of Art for access to data and images of all the HK Museum of Art examples.

6 Sir Catchick Paul Chater, *The Chater Collection Pictures Relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655-1860/ with Historical and Descriptive Letterpress by James Orange*, London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1924, p. 361.

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DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

Leith (Edinburgh) Scotland, May 2020

The next IMCoS UK visit will be based in Leith, Edinburgh's historic port which over the last twenty years has undergone considerable regeneration. Because of the capacity of the venues, numbers are limited to 30, so early booking is advised (booking is open at www.imcos.org). For more information please visit the website.

PROGRAMME

Tues. 12 May Travel to Leith.

Meet in a local pub at 17.30–18.00 for a walk around old Leith. This will finish at a restaurant at 19.30 (this meal is not included in price).

Wed. 13 May

Morning: Visit to ***Trinity House of Leith***, originally founded in the fourteenth century by mariners. This small architectural gem, built in 1816, holds nautical memorabilia contributed by its members, portraits, ship models, navigation instruments and some sea charts, although the bulk of the chart collection is now held in the archives of Historic Environment Scotland, who took over care of the property in 2001.

Afternoon: Visit the ***Maps Reading Room, National Library of Scotland.*** The focus of the display will be examples from several different collections – private, institutional and business, introduced by map curator Paula Williams.

Evening: free time.

Thurs. 14 May

Morning: There is an early start about 8.15–8.45 to drive through the Scottish Borders to Dumfriesshire in southwest Scotland, to visit ***Drumlanrig***, a seat of the Dukes of Buccleuch & Queensberry. On the way we shall stop for a couple of hours at ***Wanlockhead Lead Mining Museum*** (tea/coffee and cakes on arrival). This is the highest village in Scotland and the site of mining for several centuries (lead, copper, silver and gold). There will be an optional ***mine*** visit underground plus a guided tour of ***cottages***, fitted out as they would have been in past centuries. Another cottage houses the second oldest subscription ***library*** in Britain, founded in 1756 (the oldest is a mile down the road in the aptly named village of Leadhills); in spite of the remoteness of the location and appalling working conditions the miners were highly literate. For those less able to walk or to go underground, there is an excellent ***museum***, which covers the social history of the village and also a display of mining equipment.

Walking shoes or robust trainers will be needed as there is rough terrain in the mine. Waterproof clothing is desirable in case of bad weather, or drips within the mine.

Afternoon: There will be a short time for a soup and sandwiches lunch at ***Drumlanrig***, before splitting into two groups. Prof. David Munro has been researching the Drumlanrig estate plans for many years and will introduce us to the map collections, assisted by the Duke's archivist. Professor Munro was formerly a lecturer at Glasgow University, then Director-Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

Evening: On the return journey we shall stop at the Barony Castle Hotel, for a reception and dinner. This is in a striking building, dating from 1715, and the ***Great Polish Map of Scotland*** is in the grounds of the hotel. The map is claimed to be 'the world's largest 3-D terrain relief model of a complete nation'.

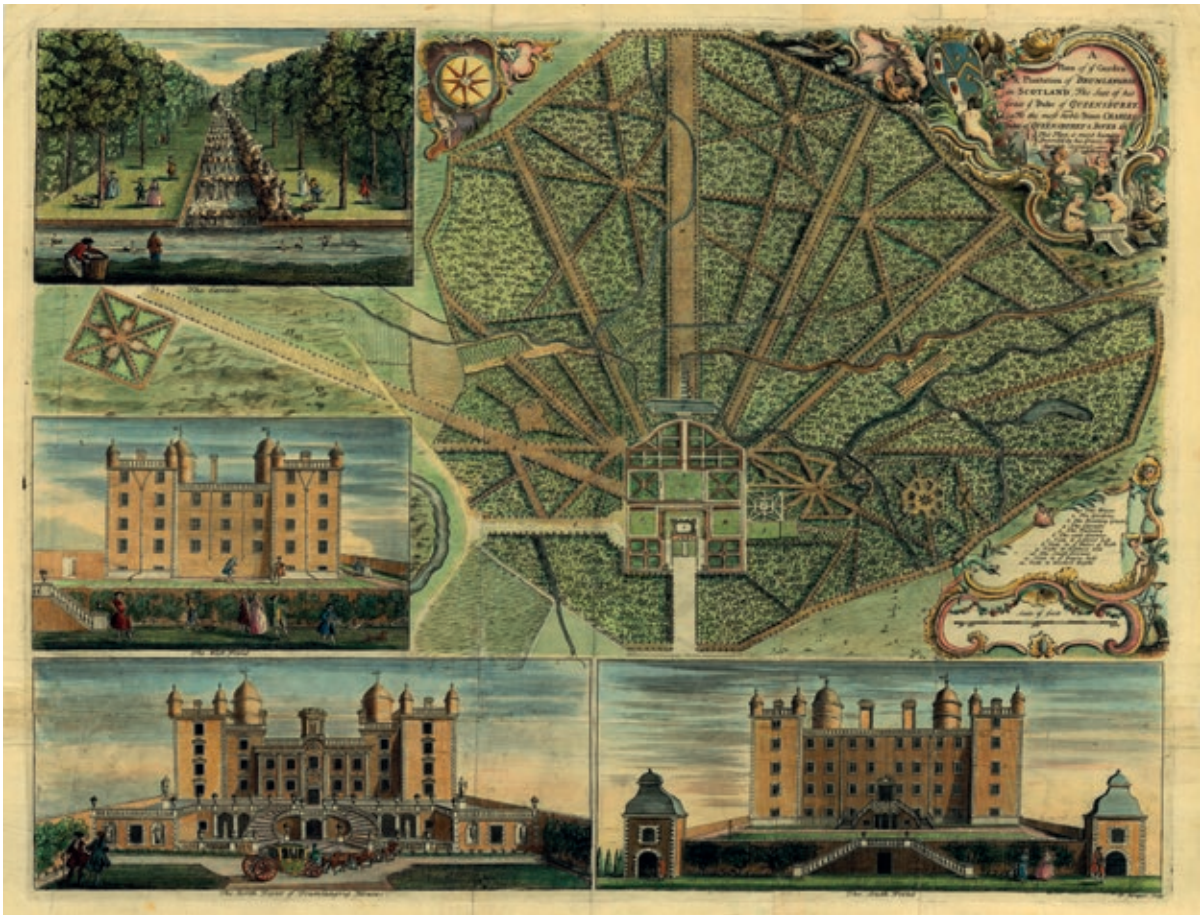
Fri. 15 May

Although the organised IMCoS programme finishes on Thursday, you may wish to visit the *Royal Yacht Britannia*. The visit may take about 2-3 hours, but this could still allow time to return south by train in the afternoon. (www.royalyachtbritannia.co.uk/)

SUGGESTED HOTELS

Coach pick-up for the excursion on Thursday is from these three hotels: ***Premier Inn***.This budget hotel has a scenic location on the seafront beside the old fishing harbour of Newhaven, 15–20 mins walk to Leith, but with regular bus services. The Skylink 200 bus from Edinburgh airport passes nearby at Newhaven harbour. Prices from about £52 per room, without breakfast.

Holiday Inn Express, this mid-price hotel has a noisier and less scenic location than Premier Inn but offers more services and is closer to Leith meeting places. It is at the terminus of the Skylink 200 bus from Edinburgh airport (about 45 mins), near *Royal Yacht Britannia* and Ocean Terminal shopping mall.



John Rocque, 'A Plan of ye garden and Plantation of Drumlangrig [*sic*] in Scotland ...', 1739. Since this plan was made, the grounds have changed from the fashion for formal gardens to a more 'natural' landscape. Sadly the cascade is no more, but the late 17th-century castle remains. By kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Prices cost about £100+ per room including breakfast. ***Malmaison.*** This 4-star 'boutique' hotel overlookings Leith Harbour, renovated from the former Seamen's Mission. Closest to Leith meeting places. Near to bus routes from the city centre, but not on an airport link. Prices from £100+ per room.

TRAVEL

RAIL: Waverley station. There are regular buses from Princes Street to Leith (about 15–20 mins). The London-Edinburgh train takes 4–5 hours. **AIR**: The Premier Inn and Holiday Inn are on the Skylink 200 bus route from Edinburgh Airport (half hourly service, taking about 45 mins). For Malmaison take the tram or Skylink 100 bus into the city centre, then a local bus, but a taxi is easier. **BUSES**: Skylink services: (www.lothianbuses.com/our-services/airport-buses). Exact fare is required in cash, but some buses now have card payment. **TAXIS**: Cost about £10+ from the station, or about £25 from the airport.

RESTAURANTS

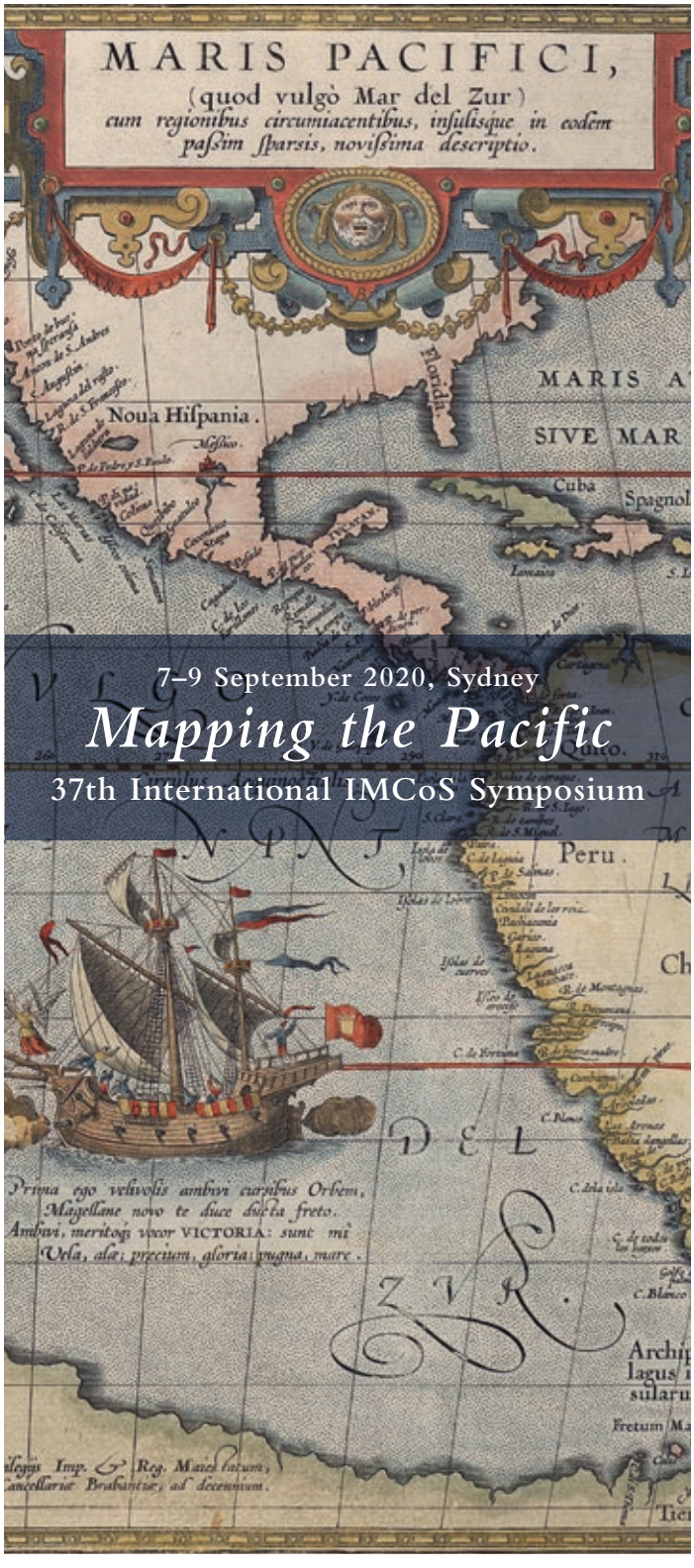
To enjoy Leith's Michelin star restaurants, book in advance. ***Restaurant Martin Wishart*** has held a Michelin star since 2001, offering French-style cuisine. Various menu prices from £35 for lunch. ***The Kitchin*** (chef Tom Kitchin) has a more relaxed atmosphere, concentrates on local seasonal produce, and offers various prices, from lunch (around £36) to tasting menu (£170). Opened in 2006, a Michelin star was awarded in 2007. (www.restaurantmartinwishart.co.uk) (www.thekitchin.com)

COST & BOOKING

Cost: £115 per person. This includes:

- All entry fees on Wednesday and Thursday
- Coach travel on Thursday in an executive coach with on-board toilet
- Food on Thursday: morning coffee/tea & cake; soup & sandwich lunch; wine reception and dinner

A booking form is available online at www.imcos.org



Detail from Ortelius's, 'Maris Pacifici', 1589. Private collection.

7–9 September 2020
37th IMCoS Symposium, Sydney
Mapping the Pacific

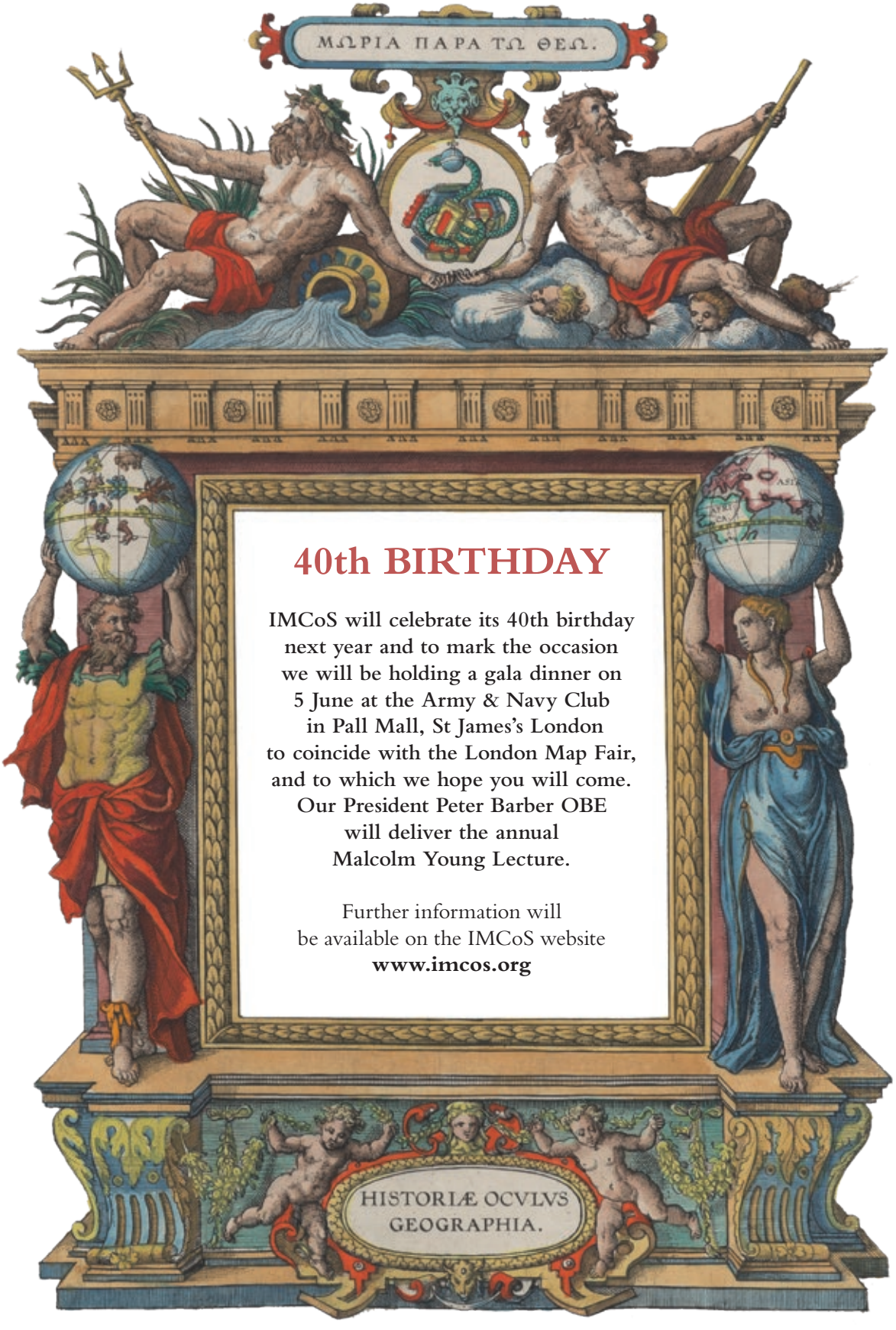
The 37th IMCoS Symposium will be held in conjunction with a major cartographic conference organised by the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney. The conference will consider the traditional way-finding knowledge of the Pacific community and the European exploration and mapping of the Pacific from the early modern era through to the nineteenth century, including the cartography of James Cook.

The conference is planned as a three-day event, commencing with an opening reception at the State Library on the evening of Sunday 6 September. Keynote presentations and lectures will take place over Monday 7 and Tuesday 8 September. On the third day, a post-conference trip to Canberra with a visit to the National Library of Australia, and its wonderful collection will be offered. The Library is also planning a major exhibition to reflect the themes of the conference while also highlighting the Library's international cartographic collections.

The venue for the conference is the State Library of New South Wales, Australia's oldest library, located in the centre of Sydney, opposite the Royal Botanic Garden. It is located a short distance from a wide range of accommodation options, from backpacker hostels to five-star hotels, as well as numerous bars, cafés and restaurants. Sydney is famed for its natural beauty, beaches and cultural life. September is the driest month of the year with an average temperature of 20°C.

The conference is supported by the Australian and New Zealand Map Society (ANZMapS), the International Map Collectors' Society (IMCoS) and the Society for the History of Discoveries (SHD).

Visit www.sl.nsw.gov.au or www.imcos.org to keep abreast with developments. The conference convener is Maggie Patton (maggie.patton@sl.nsw.gov.au).



40th BIRTHDAY

IMCoS will celebrate its 40th birthday next year and to mark the occasion we will be holding a gala dinner on 5 June at the Army & Navy Club in Pall Mall, St James's London to coincide with the London Map Fair, and to which we hope you will come. Our President Peter Barber OBE will deliver the annual Malcolm Young Lecture.

Further information will be available on the IMCoS website **www.imcos.org**

EXHIBITION REVIEW

Cartographica: Sydney on the Map

Alice Tonkinson

Cartographica: Sydney on the Map was on exhibition at Customs House, Sydney between December 2018 and September 2019. Curated by City of Sydney Civic Collection curator Margaret Betteridge, *Cartographica* featured over fifty maps, sourced from a number of public collections which document the city from the eighteenth century to the present. Spanning across three floors, the exhibition was presented in four main sections, with a number of complimentary panels. Upon entering the ground floor atrium of Customs House the visitor was introduced to the concept of dual naming. In Australia there are two systems of place naming: the first originating from indigenous languages, and the second, and now dominant system, established with colonial settlement from 1788 onwards. The City of Sydney recently adopted a dual naming policy to use both names simultaneously to promote reconciliation and encourage the revitalisation of indigenous languages. For example, the place name for Sydney Cove now incorporates the traditional Gadigal name Warrane, becoming Sydney Cove/Warrane.

To illustrate this concept, three graphic representations were featured. There was a recent visualisation titled 'Map of Warrane 1787' which shows the cultural sites, place names and topography of Sydney prior to the establishment of a British colony in the following year. James Meehan's 1807 survey, 'Plan of the town of Sydney in New South Wales' which includes both indigenous and colonial placenames, a rarity in maps of the period was also displayed. The exhibition made use of one of Customs House's most popular permanent attractions, a scale model of the city centre, housed under a glass floor in the atrium. The model, which gives visitors a bird's-eye view of the city, is updated yearly to reflect the ever-evolving dynamic of Sydney and has now incorporated dual naming. It was a powerful start for the exhibition, inspiring reflection on the role of cartography as an inherently culturally dependent process that can perpetuate the suppression of knowledge, whilst also affirming that maps can play a role in fostering positive social change.

Also on the ground floor, the first main section of the exhibition, 'From Cove to Quay' orientated the visitor to the immediate surroundings of Customs House. Before becoming the multi-purpose cultural space it is today, Customs House, which opened in 1845, served as the headquarters of the customs service, overseeing exports, imports and immigration control for a burgeoning colony dependent on maritime trade. The city's shoreline transformed considerably and various contemporary plans were used to illustrate this 200-year evolution.

Adjacent to this section, were a series of monitors which showcased the application of contemporary cartographic techniques, providing a counterpoint to the display of predominantly historic content in the exhibition. In one data projection, the flow of cyclists in and around Sydney throughout the day was shown – a useful tool for making and assessing planning decisions regarding the creation of cycling paths. Another particularly enthralling video displayed a visualisation of the movement of bull sharks around Sydney Harbour by overlaying shark-tracking data on a map.

On Level 1, the section 'Latitude 33.51 S, Longitude 151.2 E', named for the coordinates of the colony recorded by surveyor and astronomer William Dawes (1762–1836), featured a chronological survey of maps from the period between 1788 and 1845. Many of the iconic maps of the early settlement were featured here, such as 'Sketch of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson in the County of Cumberland, New South Wales, July 1888' published by John Stockdale in 1789, which is regarded as a blueprint for the town; and Charles Lesueur's atmospheric 'Plan de la ville de Sydney' (1802), recorded on his visit to Sydney with Nicolas Baudin's expedition which had been tasked to map the coast of New Holland. This section of the exhibition, which concludes shortly after Sydney became incorporated as a city in 1842, illustrated the small settlement's need for cadastral and administrative maps.

'The Indicator Map of Sydney, copyright and fully protected by patent number 6930/18', 1925, Mitchell Map Collection, State Library of NSW.


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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INDEX—Al, Alexandria, An, Annandale, Ba, Balmain, Ca, Camperdown, Ch, Chippendale, Da, Darlinghurst, Do, Darlington, Er, Erskineville, Gl, Glebe, Ke, Kensington, Ne, Newtown, Pa, Paddington, Py, Pyrmont, Ra, Randwick, Re, Redfern, Su, Surry Hills, Ul, Ultimo, Wa, Waterloo, Wh, Woollahra, Wo, Woolloomooloo.
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The section 'Birds-Eye View' featured a number of resplendent views and pictorial maps spanning from the 1880s to 1940s. Echoing trends seen in America and Europe, the bird's-eye view became popular in Australia in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was something of a forerunner to the pictorial map genre which blossomed here in the 1930s. Customs House can be seen on a number of these maps including Roderick Shaw's 'Map of Sydney & Inhabitants, 1948' published by the Grahame Book Company. This cheerful map utilises a bird's-eye perspective to create a sense of dynamism and vibrancy. This section of the exhibition demonstrated a new purpose for the city's maps – as decorative objects – with many created as souvenirs intended to amuse and delight readers.

Nearby a series of cabinet displays explored maps as both works of science and as an art form, featuring a variety of surveying and drafting instruments, artworks from the Civic Collection inspired by mapping and commercial products that utilise map imagery. Although this was more of a standalone part of the exhibition, deviating from the otherwise tight focus on the city of Sydney to look at cartography more generally, it still underscored the ideas examined in other sections such as the idea of maps having a value beyond serving as direction finders.

The final section of the exhibition, 'Shaping our City', concentrated on Sydney from the period of its incorporation as a city to the present day. Through the use of more specialist maps for wayfinding and navigation, this section examined concepts of place identity. For example, McCarron, Stewart & Co.'s 'Map of Sydney & Suburbs showing tramway lines and stopping places', 1894, was used to highlight that Sydney was once a 'tram city,' with one of the largest tram networks in the world before being dismantled by the early 1960s. The system is now being partially restored so we will no doubt see a resurgence in tram maps. 'The Indicator Map of Sydney', 1925 (see previous page) presents a 'pedestrian city'. This patent protected circular map features a pivot arm to help users determine walking distances in an area encompassing 1,300 streets, parks and buildings, and a link was drawn to the contemporary use of mobile app maps to calculate walking distances. Indeed, the way in which technology underpins the creation of maps was a motif running through the exhibition. For example, a nineteenth-century hydrographic chart was accompanied by an explanation of how bathymetric soundings were made prior to sonar equipment.

Cartographica didn't simply provide a history of Sydney, told through its cartographic record, or present a history of cartographic development through the case study of a single city. Rather, the exhibition revelled in the intersection of these two narrative streams, exploring how as a city expands, evolves and becomes increasingly cosmopolitan, it generates demands and opportunities for new graphic representations.

More serious cartophiles may have been disappointed by the use of reproductions instead of original materials. This was a necessity as Customs House lacks the environmental controls required for exhibiting original material. Despite this, it was a tremendously engaging exhibition. The captions were crafted to encourage visitors to search for particular details and points of interest within the maps. There were also delightfully nostalgic elements such as the recreation of a timber holder with pull-down maps – the mode by which many of us were first introduced to maps while still in the schoolroom. On leaving the exhibition, one could not help but marvel at the ability of maps to encapsulate the intangible spirit of a city.

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An Atlas of England and Wales, c. 1579.
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World Map by P.Kaerius / J. Janssonius, 1632

WHAT TO COLLECT?

Baedeker travel guides

Jeremy Edwards

I didn't start by collecting guidebooks. When my wife and I settled in Sunbury on Thames, which was then in Middlesex, I started a collection of local interest including copper- and early steel-plate engravings of local mansions and gardens and maps of Middlesex and Buckinghamshire.

On a visit to the Edinburgh Festival in the 1990s we visited a book fair and found Goadby's *A New Display of the Beauties of England and Wales,* Vol. 2, published in 1776 with nearly one hundred copperplate engravings covering from Northamptonshire to the Scottish border. I had to find Volume 1! This is when I became a serious book hunter and spotted the little red Baedeker guides, usually then priced around £5.00. As a boy, our family had accumulated guidebooks from travels and visits intended to keep schoolboys occupied. We invented our own term for these: Goofus Books, named after a mythical bird which flew backwards because it was more interested in where it had been, rather than where it was going!

The original Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) was a publisher and bookseller in Coblenz and his first guidebook was for the Rhine, published in 1828, followed a year later by a French edition. Gradually, these octavo-sized guides appeared for parts of Germany, Austria and other European countries. The first English language Baedeker (to Switzerland) was published in 1863. The guides were constantly revised and updated. The German language guide to Berlin (and surroundings) reached its 21st edition for the Olympic Games in 1936. Guides to Switzerland were constantly updated as new railways were being constructed into the country's remoter valleys. The 20th French edition was published in 1896 and the 25th English version in 1913. The number of editions is awesome. A.W Hinrichsen has compiled a bibliography of Baedeker's publications between 1828 and 1944.[1] There are over 1,000 volumes in German, French and English and a few oddments such as phrase books for travellers to Russia or Arabic-speaking countries. The Baedeker publishing house became, over a relatively short period, immensely successful and the name today has become synonymous with travel guides in general.

Baedeker even has a place in the Oxford dictionary and in English literature. In *A Room with a View* by E.M. Forster, a chapter is headed 'In Santa Croce with No Baedeker'. The heroine, Lucy Honeychurch wants to start her exploration of Florence with a visit to this church; but this is 1908 and she must have a chaperone. She is escorted by Miss Lavish, 'a clever lady' who turns the wrong way out of their pensione beside the Arno and even when 'lost' outside the Ospedale del Innocenti takes Lucy's *Baedeker* away, claiming that the

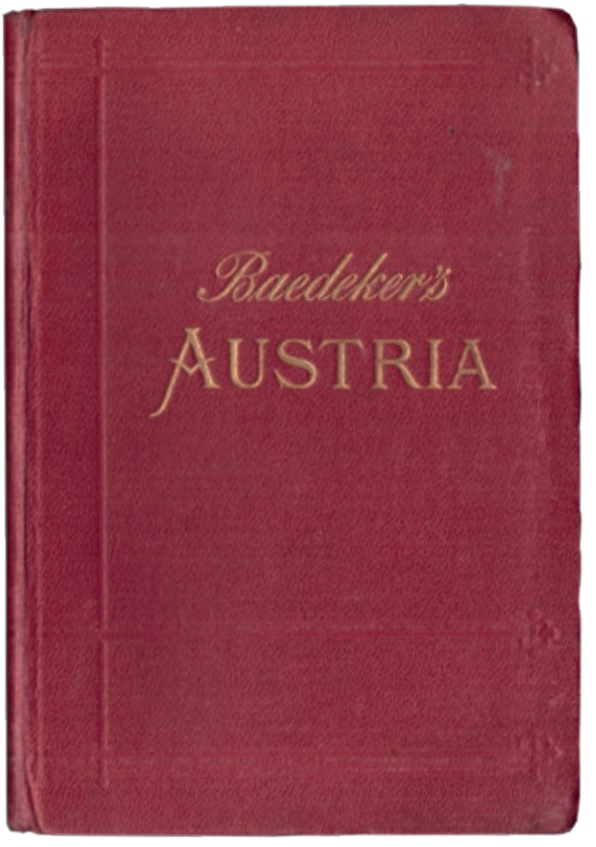


Fig. 1 ***Baedeker's Austria*** **(1900) with its distinctive red cover, its branding which continues to this day. Private collection.**



Fig 2 *Baedeker La Suisse*, 1896. The title page of this 20th French edition informs readers that the guide contains 47 maps, 12 town plans and 12 panoramas. The adjacent map of the area which the guide covers measures, when fully opened, 29 x 39 cm. Private collection.

real Italy could never be understood through a guidebook. Once in the church and having been abandoned by Miss Lavish, Lucy is confused: having done her homework, she knows that Baedeker has allocated fifteen separate stars to frescoes and monuments but does not know where to start. Help is at hand. An English gentleman and his son have the necessary book and the novel can proceed!

The layout of all the guides follows the railways with distances from the start point, such as the capital or chief provincial city. Hotels and restaurants are listed, occasionally with stars and their prices. The editors encouraged their readers to write in with their comments and they regularly travelled incognito to ensure that hotels were up to standard. Woe betide any establishment which fell foul of the anonymous inspectors as they might be omitted from the next edition.

Travellers were expected to be interested in art and their surroundings. Each entry has a section on local history, whether a battle or a distinguished resident. Plans are supplied of the major galleries and churches. Walks and excursions in the surrounding countryside are described with suggested times or the costs of hiring carriages or boats (with one or two rowers). Important information was given if the hotel had an omnibus to meet travellers at the station or whether they would have to bargain for a cab. In the 1890s, not all Swiss villages were connected to the rail network and they might have to get the 'Diligence'. To get from Thun to Lenk (where I learnt to ski) this would have cost 9 francs or 11 francs 80 centimes to ride inside. If you were impatient, or rich enough, a private carriage would have cost you 35 francs with one horse or 60 francs for a pair. On reaching your destination, Baedeker could give you the names of guides for mountain walks or serious climbing.

Fresh air and exercise were to be recommended. In the 7th edition of *Great Britain* (1910) the traveller was

given details of boat hire from the firm Salters of Oxford for between £2 and £4 per week to travel to Kingston or Richmond, and the boat would be returned by the company's steamer (they are still in business). The reader is warned that there are thirty-three locks and he/she will be charged 3d or 6d at each, depending on the number of oars. On the way they could have stopped in our home, Sunbury on Thames at either the Magpie or Flowerpot Hotels, both which offered lunch for 2 shillings (and both are still trading).

Volumes entitled *Austria* are fascinating as the power and borders of Austria and Hungary varied over the years. We learn from the 9th edition of 1900 that Ragusa (Slav: Dubrovnik, Turk: Paprownik) was an independent republic until 1805 when Napoleon annexed it to the Kingdom of Illyria. It became Austrian in 1814 and next we are told: 'The interesting costumes of the natives are best seen on Sunday mornings'[!]. Names come and go too. Pressburg (on the Danube) was once the capital of Hungary and the coronation of Hapsburg kings took place here. Its Hungarian name is Pozsony. We will look in vain on modern maps for where it is now. Today it is Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia.

For German readers, a guide to the spas of Carlsbad and Marienbad was originally issued separately. These were later incorporated into the 1929 edition of *Austria* as an afterthought with fourteen pages following after Prague and Budapest. Visitors were encouraged to take walks in the vicinity ranging from 20 minutes to two and a half hours. Marienbad had forty cold springs which were especially beneficial for digestive ailments. King Edward VII came every autumn between 1899 and 1908 and is commemorated in the English Church there. (The Privy Council must have squabbled endlessly over a chance to meet there rather than Balmoral.)

From 1936 Baedeker began to issue *Autoguides* in a new larger format (225 x 125 mm), originally for members of the German Automobile Club to Germany and Austria and then in English after the war. My copy for Switzerland (1957) has been 'disposed of by the authority of the House of Commons Library'.

Among the rarer volumes are two wartime guides for travellers to *Das Elsass, Strassburg und die Vogesen* (1942) and also to Poland, called *Das Generalgouvernement* (1943). These were published for propaganda purposes and accentuated German influences. I did once see a copy of the latter at a book fair, but baulked at the price.

And the maps: the title page will boast the number of maps, town plans and, if appropriate, panoramas of mountain ranges or cityscapes. They were produced by Wagner & Debes of Leipzig. A variety of scales were used, it being more important to keep to the page size with double spreads and fewer folds. Maps of provinces and countries were of scales between 1: 600,000 and 1: 250,000 and these were printed in three colours: black, blue (water) and brown with hachure for uplands. Often these had several folds which, with use, become



Fig. 3 *Baedeker's Central Italy*, 1904, 14th revised edition. Pictured above are the centre four folds of twelve depicting the panorama of Rome and its environs. Private collection.

very frail. Town plans are printed in black and red only with appropriate shading for rivers in scales between 1:26,000 and 1:7,500. A plan of Budapest is nine times the size of the book page and shows a large area of proposed development without any street names.

Baedeker did not give his readers much in the way of pictures to remind travellers of buildings and natural features after their return home. The only exceptions were panoramas usually of mountain ranges and were impressive given the page dimensions of 15.7 x 11 cm. The view from the Rigi overlooking the Lake of Lucerne is 50 cm wide on six folds. Rome warrants a double spread with twelve folds and extends to 90 centimetres. Occasionally, additional blue was used as in a panorama of the Lauberhorn in the 1896 edition of *La Suisse*.

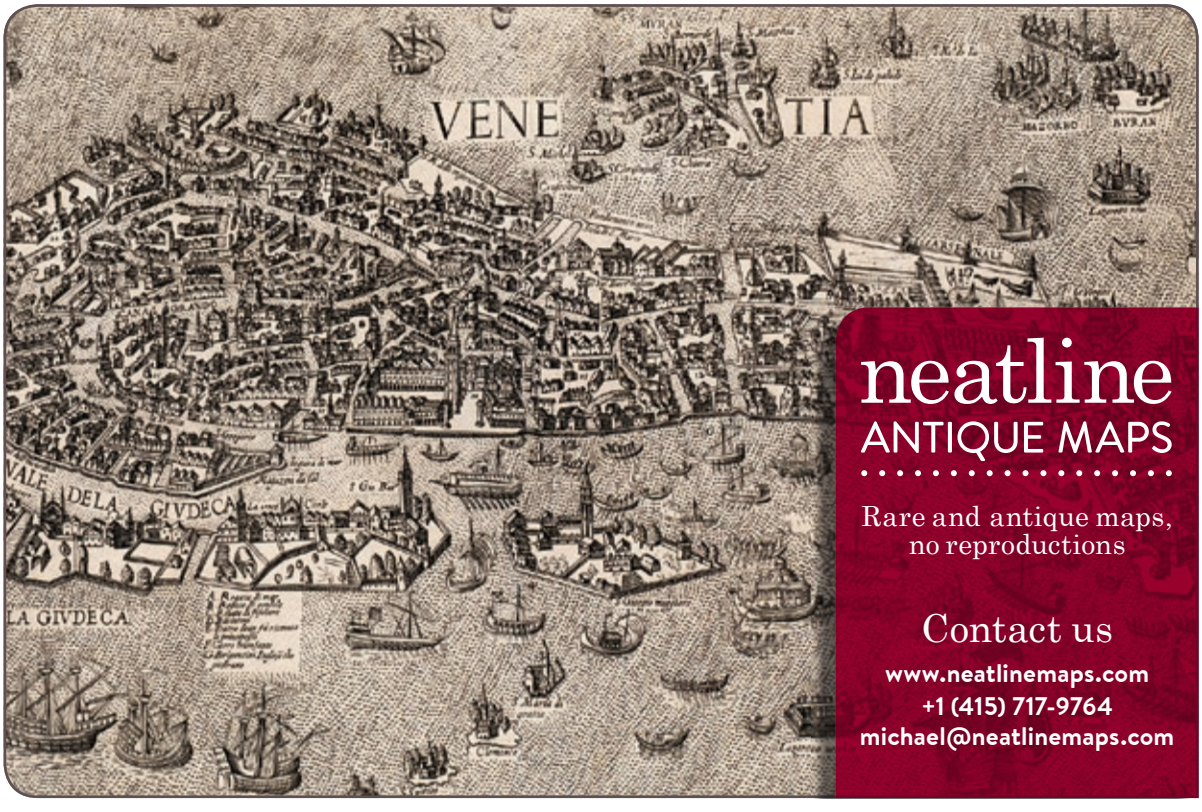
The joy of collecting is finding copies in odd places: jammed between shelves of Victorian poetry which also favours the octavo format. The Baedeker format and design was much copied: my collection of little red books includes Keim's 1880 *Illustrated Hand-Book of Washington and its Environs*, H.V. Morton's 1926 guide to *London*, an author best known for his series *In the Steps of...* and social comment in *I saw two Englands,* and several English districts from the publisher Ward Lock & Co. Thomas Cook chose a brown cover for their series!

The collector in a hurry or anxious for a particular edition can resort to the Web. At the cheaper end of Abebooks' selection are many recent guides to popular destinations from Barcelona to Bali for a few pounds. At the top end I saw recently *Rheinreise von Strassburg bis Rotterdam*, 2nd edition issued in 1835 for US $28,000 (plus shipping). Many more will be available between £100 and £1,000. Maybe there is a spot for starting a collection of guidebooks from the 1980s. In London, the best selection for browsing is with Shapero Rare Books, who also publish an annual catalogue (https://shapero.com/). For incidental stories about the Baedeker family and out of the ordinary editions I recommend *Baedekeriana, an Anthology* by Michael Wild.[2]

Endnotes

1 A.W. Hinrichsen, *Baedekers Reisehandbücher 1828-1945, Vollständiges Verzeichnis der deutschen, englischen und französischen Ausgaben mit chronologischen,* Holzminden: Hinrichsen, 1979.

2 Michael Wild, *Baedekeriana, an Anthology*, The Red Scar Press, 2010.



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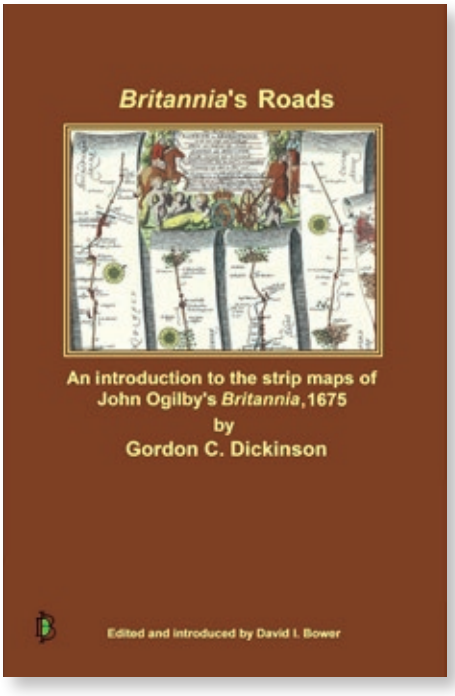
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BOOK REVIEWS

Britannia's Roads. An introduction to the strip maps of John Ogilby's Britannia, 1675

by Gordon C. Dickinson, edited and introduced by David I. Bower. Leeds: David I. Bower, 2019. ISBN 9780993406249. Softback, xv, 146, illustrated. STG £30.00 plus postage (available from the publisher at 2 Welburn Avenue, Leeds LS16 5HJ).



John Ogilby's *Britannia* of 1675 is one of the great moments in British mapmaking. It is a volume of one hundred plates of strip maps of roads, mostly in England and Wales but touching southern Scotland. It is also an impressive, tantalising fragment, relic of an ambitious atlas project that would display Britain in its world context. The domestic volumes would include the mapping of roads, of counties in impressive and unprecedented detail, and of towns and cities on scales hitherto almost unimaginable. And what was there to show for it? Two or three each of the county maps and town plans (admittedly one was of London) – and strip maps of some 7,000 miles of roads, perhaps less than a third of what had actually been surveyed, and none of which unpublished material survives.

Never mind: Ogilby would have an honourable place simply for organising the published strip maps, which, at a scale of one inch to one mile (1:63,360) depicted all the main routes from London and many of those joining provincial centres. The detail that he offered along each road would often not be equalled on published maps for a century or more; in a journey back from the present into lost landscapes, Ogilby often seems the last stop before the mists of antiquity.

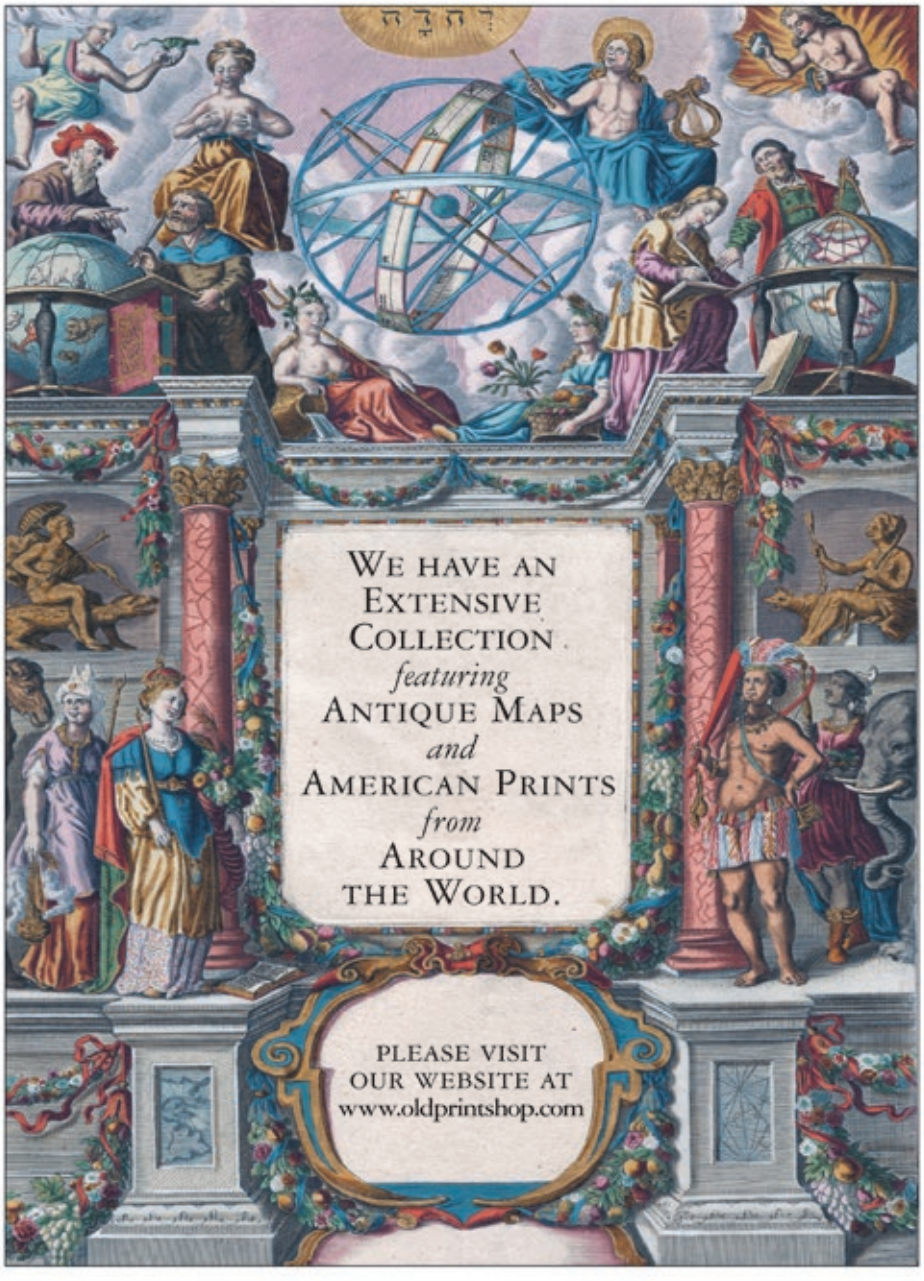
It is natural to ask, first, what the background was to the creation of *Britannia* and, second, whether it really fulfils its apparent promise. Ogilby has recently been the subject of a biography by Alan Ereira, *The Nine Lives of John Ogilby* (2016) which considered the background. This was written after Gordon Dickinson had completed the work under review, and investigated the reliability and content of *Britannia*. The maps, like many others, pose as many questions as they answer: an important one is how representative they really are of the trunk route system of the time, given that *Britannia* includes far more than the official post roads, yet does not correspond very closely in some districts to the turnpike system which developed in the eighteenth century and still underlies much of the British main road network. Some of Ogilby's routes are today scarcely even paths across fields: are they deserted trunk roads, or did the surveyors include routes that were intended to make up a neat complement of strips within plates in the published book? And if Ogilby tells you that you are coming to a group of houses by the road followed by a dip, as the road bears north-north-west, running pretty straight, can you believe him? If more recent mapping indicates that he is in error, why is this – is it errors of surveying, or editing, or in the engraving? For *Britannia* is of extremely variable quality, sometimes fitting very well to later mapping, and sometimes hopelessly at odds with it: often the surveyors or draughtsmen made the crooked way straight in a way that present-day motorists are still waiting for, and showed villages away from the route much closer than they really were. The weaknesses at each stage of the production process are examined, and possible explanations suggested.

The relatively exiguous documentation of the background to *Britannia* means that these questions have to be answered by reconstruction and inference, and this is what Gordon Dickinson did: here are guidelines for

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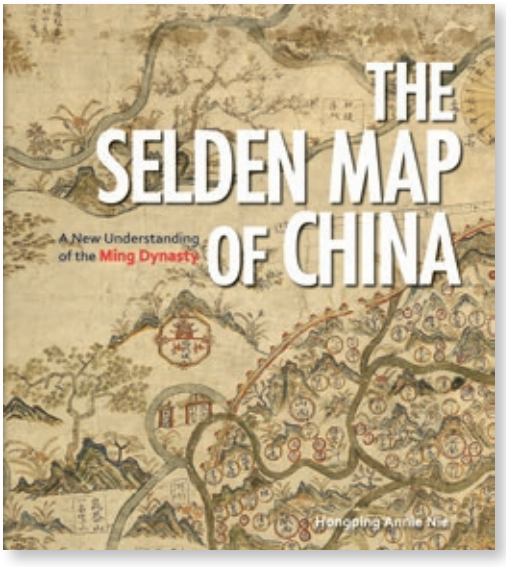
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future researchers. His comparison of *Britannia* with more recent mapping has been assisted by two doctoral theses, by Andrew K. Jones (1981) and Donald Hodson (2001), both of which are available online.

Dickinson seems to have completed the book in 2006, but was unable to find a publisher for it before his death, aged 90, in 2017. David Bower, whose studies of aspects of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English mapping will be known to readers of *The Cartographic Journal* and *Imago Mundi*, has performed a valuable rescue operation. At the same time one must express regret that he has been so faithful to the text, and that there has not been more copy editing: it would be useful if the National Grid references were full ones, with their prefatory letters, and there are irritating slips, for example 'in the that area' on page 56, and '1772' when '1672' is obviously meant on page 73. I understand that the book has been produced in a limited edition, and hope that such infelicities can be attended to if it is reprinted. Otherwise, it is a valuable resource for those who wish to disentangle Ogilby's message about the English and Welsh roadside of the 1670s.

Richard Oliver, Exeter, UK

The Selden Map of China – A New Understanding of the Ming Dynasty *by Hongping Annie Nie. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019. ISBN 9781851245246. HB without dust jacket, 74, 43 maps & images in full colour. STG £20 / US $30.*



The Selden map of China (known in China as the 'Nautical Chart of the Eastern and Western Seas') is an extraordinary item of cartography, described by Hongping Annie Nie as 'a nautical chart [which] can also be appreciated as a beautiful landscape painting'. The earliest large Chinese nautical chart to have survived from the Ming dynasty, the manuscript map (which measures 158 x 96 cm) covers an area from Siberia and Japan in the north to Sumatra and Java in the south. Atypically, the Chinese mainland is placed in the upper left portion of the map, which is centred on the South China Sea. Even more unusual, and noteworthy, is the network of black lines depicting the maritime trade routes in the Ming dynasty.

In 2014 Nie's monograph was released online as a PDF file, and it is fitting that it has now been lightly revised and published by the Bodleian Library as a slim, elegant and well-illustrated hardback book. In five chapters, Nie gives an overview of the map itself, discusses its importance as a synthesis of Chinese and Western cartography, and places it in the historical context of Ming dynasty maritime trade.

The first chapter relates how the map, bequeathed to the Bodleian by the lawyer and scholar John Selden in 1659 and rediscovered by the American historian Robert Batchelor only in 2008, required extensive restoration over a period of two years. Stabilised, relined and infilled with dyed Chinese paper, the map has since featured in two important exhibitions at the library (*Treasures of the Bodleian* in 2011 and *Talking Maps* in 2019); was displayed in Hong Kong in 2014; and will soon be on show in Singapore.

The second chapter discusses the map as a cartographic work of art, including its painting of landscapes, topographical features and flora in six colours, and compares it with other Chinese maps including the Zheng He nautical chart. Particularly interesting features are the Chinese compass rose, scale ruler and orientating map frame at the top of the map, which mark the first Chinese cartographic attempt to show geographical relationships including direction and distance. The chapter concludes with a description of the sixteen eastern and two western shipping routes shown on the map, running from Fujian to Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Timor, and beyond.

The origins of the Selden map are still a mystery; there is no consensus among scholars as to exactly when, where, by whom or for whom it was made, or how it came to be acquired by Selden. In the third chapter Nie

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expounds a number of theories of the origins and history of the map, and relates how it was catalogued by Thomas Hyde, the then librarian-in-chief at the Bodleian, with the help of the visiting Chinese Catholic Shen Fuzong. The following section looks at the development of Chinese maritime trade throughout the Ming dynasty, including navigational and shipbuilding technology, the imperial tribute system, private foreign trade, piracy, smuggling, and the galleon trade in silk, porcelain and silver via Manila.

Nie concludes her book with 'A New Understanding of the Ming Dynasty', in which she states that 'the rediscovery of the Selden map has overturned hitherto popular misconceptions about the Ming dynasty and urges us to see China in a very different light'. During the dynasty social attitudes in China changed, Western science and technology penetrated the country (alongside Catholicism), blue-and-white porcelain became a major export, new foods were introduced from the New World, a Chinese diaspora spread across Southeast Asia, powerful sea merchants began to engage in court politics, and China entered the global economy. The Selden map is evidence that in the seventeenth century Chinese seafarers and merchants were active traders in the vibrant maritime economy of the Orient, and enabled China to participate in the emergence of world trade.

The book's only significant flaw is the inaccuracy of some of the captions, perhaps introduced because the images to which they relate were amended or replaced after the captions were written. For example, image no. 12 is said to depict a wood, but the detail of the Selden map shown has been cropped so that the wood (in what is now Thailand) is missing. Caption no. 15 reads 'map … engraved by Robert Beckit for John Wolfe's English translation of Linschoten's *Itinerario*', but the accompanying photograph is of the original Dutch map, engraved by Hendrik and Arnold van Langren. And caption no. 17 'Dutch population described on the Selden map of China' is opposite a detail of the map showing Luzon, where there was no Dutch presence; in fact the map does show the 'Dutch place', but this is in Ternate, well to the south of the captioned image.

The Selden map has generated a substantial amount of literature. In *Mr Selden's Map of China: The Spice Trade, a Lost Chart & the South China Sea* (Profile Books, 2013) Timothy Brook gives a vivid account of John Selden, his map, and the world it depicts; *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City* (University of Chicago Press, 2014) by Robert K. Batchelor uses the map's shipping routes to underpin an academic analysis of how changes in East Asia made London into a global city; and the weightiest publication, *Mapping Ming China's Maritime World: The Selden Map and Other Treasures from the University of Oxford* (Hong Kong Maritime Museum, 2015), contains the bilingual proceedings of an international symposium on the subject. Scholarly articles include 'The Construction of the Selden Map: Some Conjectures' by Stephen Davies (*Imago Mundi*, Vol. 65, no. 1, 2013) and 'The origins of the Selden map of China: scientific analysis of the painting materials and techniques using a holistic approach' by Sotiria Kogou *et al.* (*Heritage Science*, 2016).

Anyone interested in Asian cartography but unfamiliar with the Selden map should, however, start with Hongping Annie Nie's book. Not only is the text both informative and easy to read, but the numerous images and elegant graphics make this attractive volume the perfect introduction to a highly-important map. I also recommend the book as a worthy and desirable addition to the library of any serious sinologist or enthusiastic cartophile.

Peter Geldart, Manila

Das Geheimnis des Kartenwunders: und anderer bemerkenswerter Geräte zur Orientierung und Navigation zu Lande, zu Wasser und in der Luft *by Jürgen Espenhorst. Schwerte: Pangaea Verlag, 2017. ISBN 9783930401512. HB without dust jacket, 158, multiple illustrations. €24.50.*



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The main subject of this book is a device which was intended to solve the problems confronting a motorist trying to navigate using large size road maps. Instead of folding a map to an A4 page or smaller to show the initial area required and getting in to trouble when one had travelled beyond this section, the invention described in this book displayed the required map section in a flat plastic box in which different map sections could quickly be called up by moving tabs on both sides of the frame. The 'Kartenwunder' (map miracle), which later was known under the name of 'Auto-Mapic', was in production between 1939 and 1965. For modern motorists, being used to satellite navigation and to map displays on high-resolution flat screens, such out-dated problems and solutions may now look somewhat bizarre.

The history and background of the invention, its commercialisation, the patents, the persons involved, the difficulties faced by the firm during the Nazi-regime in Germany and Austria, and the development and production after World War II of these map devices for different countries are described in detail. The book gives a good insight to the manifold problems which had to be mastered in such challenging times from invention to production and marketing. In this respect, the book contains a very interesting piece of contemporary history.

The product 'Kartenwunder' / 'Auto-Mapic' was advertised as a 'fully automatic road map'. This of course was not true, as each new map section had to be put in place manually. Each map section to be displayed was cut into seven strips which were attached on each small side to a cardboard frame. This frame had a tab on both sides sticking out of the plastic box. The mechanical arrangement was such that the map strips were held in a stack and came into view by sliding the frame up or down by means of the tabs. The detailed functioning of the device is unfortunately explained only by a few patent drawings, which for many readers will be difficult to understand.

The maps of the different countries used in this device were based on available road maps and were custom printed for the 'Kartenwunder' / 'Auto-Mapic' company. However, sometimes they were printed at different scales. Maps were produced for Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, USA and New Zealand and later also for the Benelux countries.

In 1966 the company Interpa, which had produced the 'Auto-Mapic' devices since 1956, had to close its doors, ending production and the sales of this cartographic novelty.

The book very briefly also describes scrolling paper maps. It does not discuss, however, early solutions of such maps for car navigation, which had already been invented and used in the first half of the twentieth century. Only a product called 'Roll-O-Mapic', which was produced by Interpa in the early 1960s, is described.

An odd duck in this book is the description of the world's first fully automatic navigation system. This device was developed in Germany during World War II for fighter aircraft. With the known starting position, it computed the present position by dead reckoning with inputs of the actual velocity from the airspeed indicator and of the direction from a remote compass. Analog integrators were used to derive the position from the airspeed and compass direction and from a manual input of wind speed and direction. The resulting position was displayed on a map display by moving crosshairs. This navigation system had no relation whatsoever with the 'Kartenwunder' / 'Auto-Mapic' or with car navigation generally, and appears somewhat out of place in this book.

Readers interested in the development of navigation technology will nevertheless be grateful for the information provided, as this is probably the first description of such a navigation system in a book that is accessible to the general public. This type of navigation system was further developed after the Second World War in Germany and in other countries entirely for military purposes, e.g. for tanks and helicopters, and about which not much has been published. With the general availability of satellite navigation systems (GPS) in the 1990s this technology became obsolete.

Wigbert Fehse, Nideggen, Germany

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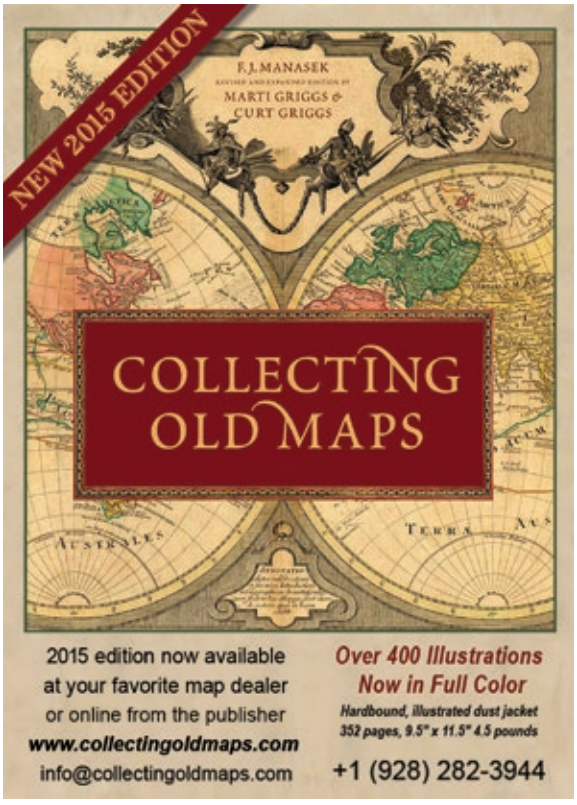
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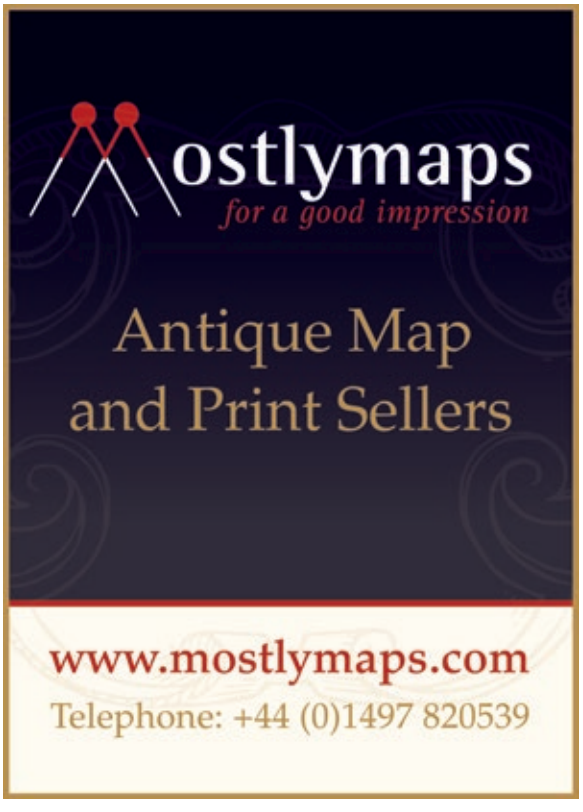
Membership rates
Annual: £50
Three years: £135
Junior members, under 25 or in full time education pay 50 % of the full subscription rate.
Please note: as of 8 January 2020 membership rates will increase to £55 (annual) and £150 (for three years).

Subscribe online at **www.imcos.org**
or email, or post your payment to
Peter Walker, IMCoS Secretariat,
10 Beck Road, Saffron Walden,
Essex, CB11 4EH, UK
Email financialsecretariat@imcos.org

BACK COPIES OF THE JOURNAL

Back copies of the *IMCoS Journal* can be obtained from Jenny Harvey (jeh@harvey27.demon.co.uk) at £3–£5 per copy plus postage.





IMCoS JOURNAL ADVERTISING

4 issues per year	Colour	BW
Full page (same copy)	£950	-
Half page (same copy)	£630	-
Quarter page (same copy)	£365	-
For a single issue		
Full page	£380	-
Half page	£255	-
Quarter page	£150	-
Flyer insert (A5 double-sided)	£325	£300

Advertisement formats for print

We can accept advertisements as print ready CMYK artwork saved as tiff, high quality jpegs or pdf files.

It is important to be aware that artwork and files that have been prepared for the web are not of sufficient quality for print. Full artwork specifications are available on request.

Advertisement sizes

Please note recommended image dimensions below:

Full page advertisements should be 216 mm high x 158 mm wide and 300–400 ppi at this size.

Half page advertisements are landscape and 105 mm high x 158 mm wide and 300–400 ppi at this size.

Quarter page advertisements are portrait and are 105 mm high x 76 mm wide and 300–400 ppi at this size.

IMCoS website Web banner

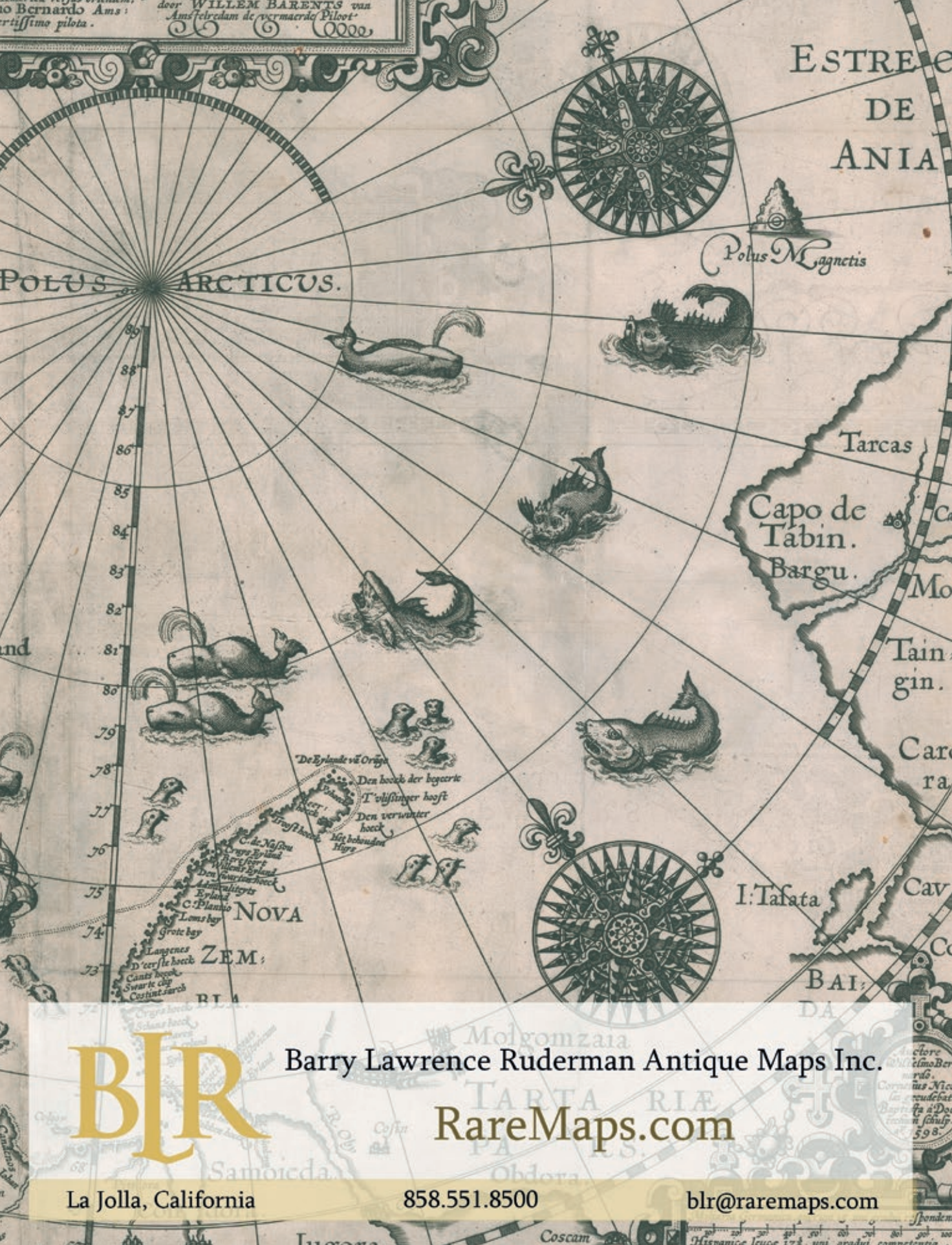
Those who advertise in our Journal have priority in taking a web banner also. The cost for them is £160 per annum. If you wish to have a web banner and are not a Journal advertiser, then the cost is £260 per annum. The dimensions of the banner should be 340 pixels wide x 140 pixels high and should be provided as an RGB jpg image file.

To advertise, please contact Jenny Harvey, Advertising Manager, 27 Landford Road, Putney, London, SW15 1AQ, UK Tel +44 (0)20 8789 7358 Email jeh@harvey27.demon.co.uk

Please note that it is a requirement to be a member of IMCoS to advertise in the *IMCoS Journal*.

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RareMaps.com
La Jolla, California 858.551.8500 blr@raremaps.com