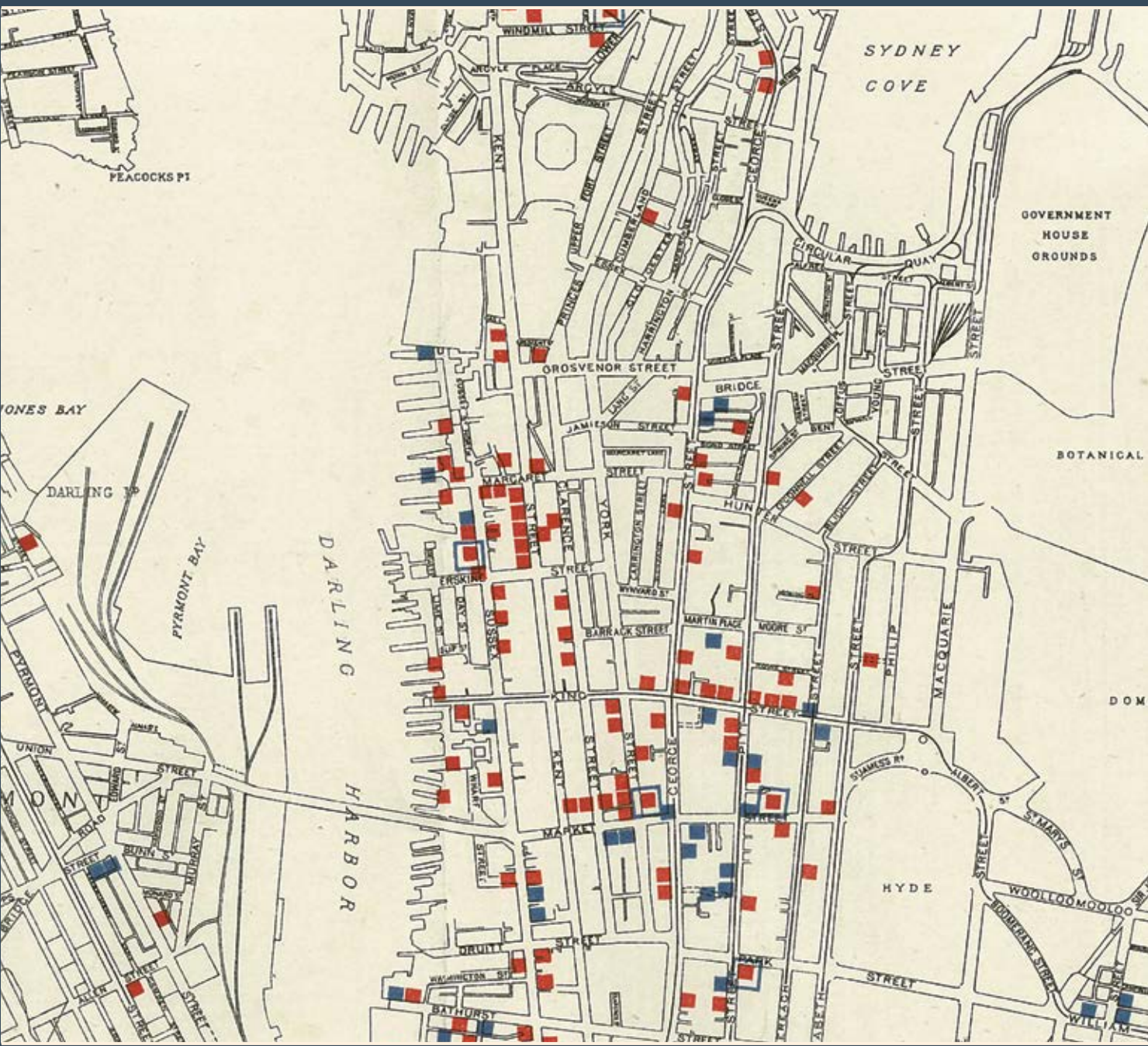
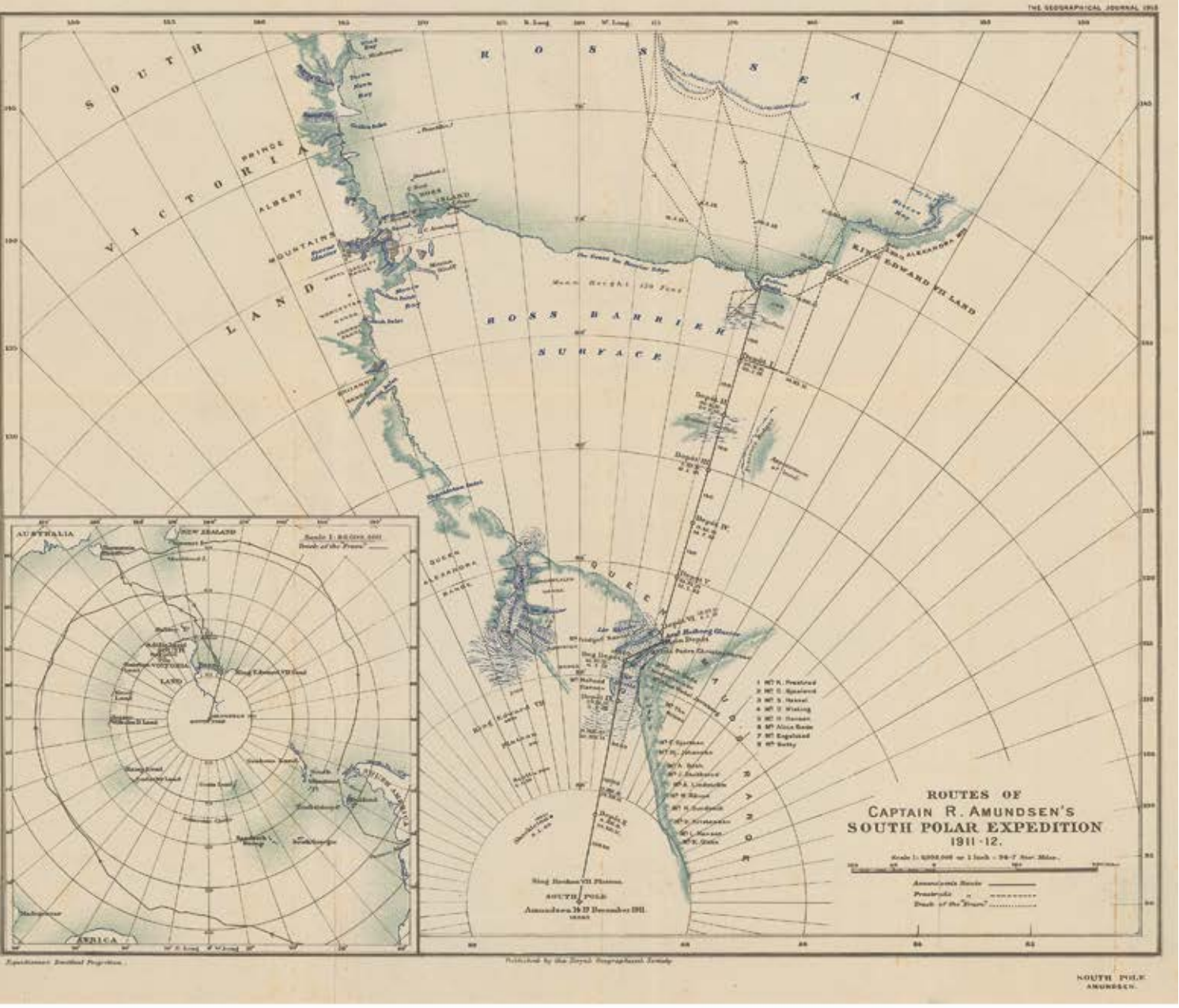
INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

IMCS JOURNAL

DECEMBER 2020 No. 163



FOR PEOPLE WHO LOVE MAPS



Antarctica, mapping the record breaking route of Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen to the South Pole (1913). Featured in The Map House's book "The Mapping of Antarctica" by Philip Curtis and Jakob Søndergård Pedersen, published for the Scott Centenary in 2012.

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Front cover J.A. Thompson, detail from 'Map of Sydney and Adjacent Municipalities', (1903) comparing places of plague infection in 1900 (blue) with those in 1902 (red). Private collection.

IMCoS is looking for a NEW HONORARY TREASURER

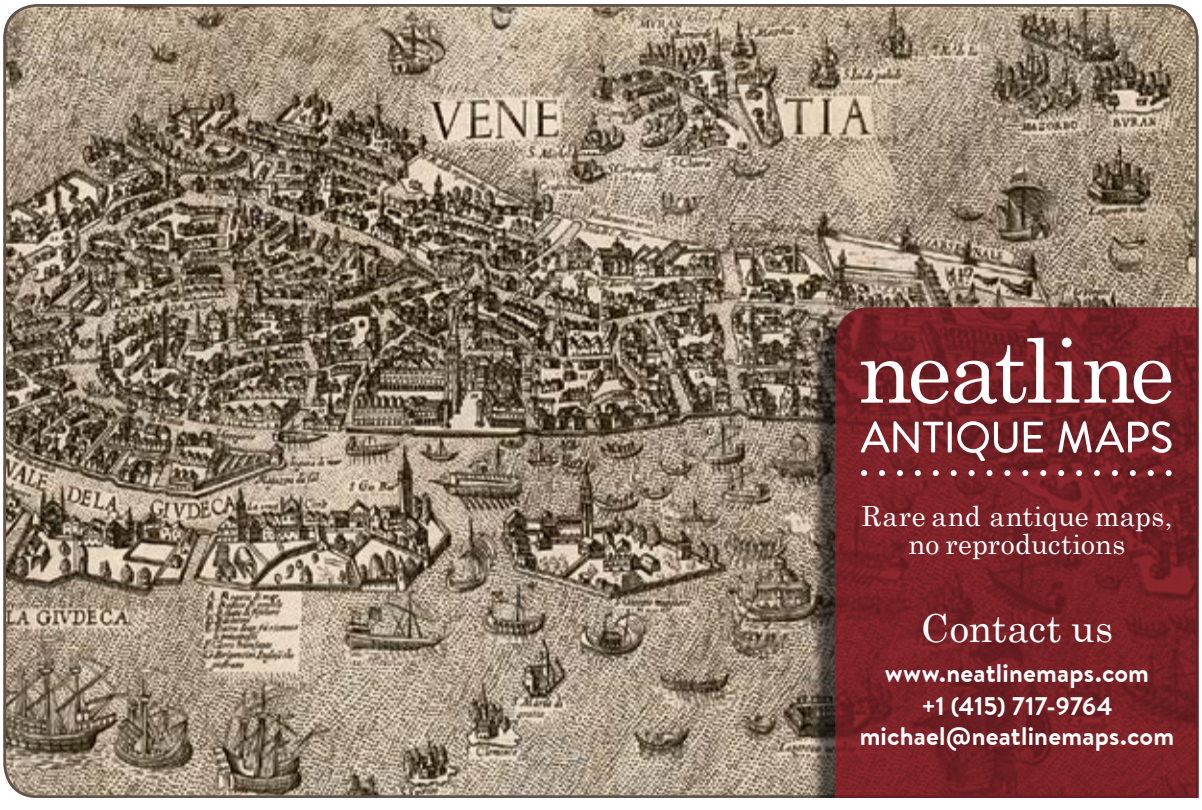
Jeremy Edwards has been IMCoS treasurer for ten years and will be retiring with effect from 31 December 2020.

The Executive committee would like to hear from a member who would be willing to take up this post and join the committee. An accountancy qualification is not necessary, just an ability to be careful with money.

The regular duties involve paying the Society's suppliers and expenses, by cheque or transfer as appropriate. The treasurer prepares financial reports for the Executive Committee, which meets four times per year, and the annual accounts to 31 December. Draft figures are supplied by Peter Walker, who is Membership Secretary and Financial Administrator. His duties include collection of subscriptions, advertising revenue and ad hoc receipts for Dinners and Members' events.

Jeremy will be happy to discuss the position with anyone interested; please contact him in the first instance on jcerooksmead@gmail.com.

In any event, please contact our Chairman Hans Kok at Hekholland@gmail.com.



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Peter Walker



A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

Almost 15 years ago, I took over as Chairman of the IMCoS Executive Committee. At the 2019 June AGM I announced that I intended to step down by the end of 2020, at the age of 80. My view then, as it is today, is that the Society needs a younger leader with a more modern approach, capable of exploiting the possibilities of today's digital world. Little did I expect that the COVID-19 virus would be among us, even less that it would stay around for so long. The 2020 June AGM had to be postponed and the Executive Committee resorted to ZOOM meetings. The AGM has since taken place with an online agenda and voting for those members whom we could reach by email. Maybe not quite 'legal' under our Constitution, but also not 'illegal' as our 2007 Constitution never addressed the possibility of virtual meetings. Running our belated 2020 AGM in November meant that the Society's activities of 2019 were discussed in conditions materially different from normal. It drove the point home that indeed the time for a new and younger chairman has come, though it feels a little like the captain cowardly abandoning his ship in the middle of a storm.

Funnily, I needed the November AGM to agree on a new term of office, although my resignation is just around the corner. My tenure officially ran out in June 2020, causing a constitutional requirement for the period thereafter. Without a suitable candidate in the wings, an item on the agenda of the 25 November Committee meeting was whether a new chairman could take over immediately; join later in 2021 when the pandemic is under control; whether the Executive Committee could work for a limited period without a chairman (yes, it can, but what then is 'limited'?); or whether the current chairman should stay on for a few more months. The result of that discussion will be promulgated in the Journal or by email. Whatever the outcome, it has been an honour to be your Chairman, it has been fun and I have enjoyed the support of the other Officers. Some things worked out nicely, others less so or are 'under construction' still. Many thanks to our more than loyal members and to all the cartographic friends made over the last decade and a half. May IMCoS flourish in the world of historical cartography, may our members enjoy their collections in whatever shape or size, may the International Symposiums be back to stay, may map friends meet more map friends, and may local be evermore international in maps, in meetings, in atmosphere, in articles and books. May 2021 be a Happy (New) Year for all of you. These are my heartfelt wishes, sentiments that any new chairman will support without feeling that he or she needs to implement someone else's philosophies of old. Under the circumstances: stay positive, remain 'negative'!! And I look forward to meeting you all somewhere (Brussels maybe?), sometime, somehow!

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Coll. interests: The Americas & Europe with unique artistic integrity

Gautam Hazarika, Singapore

Robert Promisel, USA
Coll. interests: Varied, eclectic

Brian Mazure, New Zealand
Coll. interests: Africa, New Zealand

Ermilio Molina, USA
USA, Australia, New Zealand maps, sea charts

Shanel Pouatcha, USA
Coll. interests: Antique maps USA

Lorenzo Lo Monte, USA
Coll. interests: Willem Janszoon Blaeu, World maps

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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

Robert Clancy's timely article on the bubonic plague that struck Sydney in 1900 and the maps that were produced in the bid to combat the disease clearly demonstrates their efficacy in distilling and communicating large amounts of data in a single, easily comprehensible image. The large-scale maps, which identified the presence of plague infections, were instrumental in confirming the view of the then Chief Medical Officer of NSW John Ashburton Thompson that 'to quarantine the rat, not the patient' was the best method by which the infection could be contained. It was with these maps that he was able to convince the state government to address the parlous state of housing and sanitation in the Darling Harbour area and to nationalise the poorly managed wharves whose neglect was largely responsible for the spread of the plague. Clancy argues that Thompson's maps, produced to accompany the reports of the 1902 and 1904 outbreaks, were as significant in combatting the plague in Sydney as John Snow's 1854 map was in the understanding and prevention of cholera. Maps continue to be a vital tool in public health administration and never more so than today during the Covid-19 crisis. Governments and policymakers are guided by them not only to control the spread of the virus and manage resources but to better understand and alleviate its many wide-ranging impacts.

While restrictions imposed on our daily life have dampened the spirits of many, they have equally emboldened creative thought in others. In November I joined rare book dealers Laurence Worms and Tim Bryars, and map consultant Ashley Baynton-Williams on a virtual bibliophilic walking tour through London. Starting at the Royal Exchange and, travelling on an east–west axis as far as Charing Cross, they traced the history of the city's globemakers. The 'three lovely tour guides' (as they describe themselves) explained that along this route almost all the major globemakers were to be found at one time or another: Robert Morden worked from the Sign of the Atlas on Cornhill (just beyond the Exchange); John Senex, who also traded in Cornhill from 'the shop next to Fleece Tavern', later moving to Fleet Street; Philip Lea and his wife Anne occupied the Sign of the Atlas & Hercules in Cheapside; Joseph Moxon and George Willdey worked on Ludgate Street; George Frederick Cruchley and the Adams family in Fleet Street; the Carey family on The Strand; and finally to Charing Cross home to Edward Mogg and Thomas Tuttel. I mention only a handful of the long list discussed on the tour. To discover the rest of London's rich history of globemakers go to https://londonbibliophiles.com/2020/11/15/our-first-bibliophilic-virtual-walking-tour/.

MAPPING A PANDEMIC

Australian plague maps, 1902 and 1904

Robert Clancy

On the 19 January 1900 Arthur Paine, a carman employed on the wharves at Sydney Harbour, was seized with headache, fever and severe pain in his left groin. Diagnosis of his condition using the 'new bacteriology' identified the plague bacillus. Six years earlier it had been independently described by bacteriologists Alexandre Yersin and Kitasato Shibasaburō, both who were in Hong Kong investigating the plague outbreak there. The third great plague pandemic had arrived in Australia! Over the next twenty-two years six hundred cases of bubonic plague with 196 deaths would be recorded in Sydney. Between 1900 and 1909 Government reports by the Chief Medical Officer John Ashburton Thompson described ground-breaking observations that gave a clearer understanding of the disease's natural history and pathogenesis. This new knowledge underpinned major changes in the management of the plague and resulted in a significant reduction in deaths, cost to the economy and social disruption. The data on which these discoveries were made are presented in a series of maps that, from an epidemiological viewpoint, stand second only to John Snow's famous cholera map which he presented to the London Epidemiological Society on 4 December 1854. On that map Snow had plotted the sites of water pumps in the Soho area of London and the distribution of fatal cholera cases, and from the data was able identify the Broad Street water pump as the source of the infection. The importance of Thompson's maps can be understood in the context of the three 'great' plague pandemics, with their impact on history and the confusion that persisted regarding the manner by which the infection developed up to the time of the Sydney outbreak in 1900.

Earlier plague pandemics

There have been three pandemics of plague over the last 2,000 years. The first, or the Plague of Justinian (540–750 CE) arrived in the Mediterranean from the east via Egypt and is credited as a major influence on the decline of the Roman Empire and the breakup of Europe that followed. The second, the Black Death (1347–1671), spread along the Silk Road to Kaffa (today Feodosiya) in the Crimea where the Mongols had the Genoese traders under siege causing some anxiety by catapulting plague infected bodies over the walls; then (very quickly) by boat to Messina, Genoa, Venice, Pisa and Marseilles, before travelling for twelve months along the trade routes to England and northern Europe. The initial wave (1347–51) killed one third of Europe's population, signalling the end of feudalism and the beginning of the Renaissance. The third pandemic began in the province of Yunnan in southwestern China (by extraordinary coincidence, the same region where Covid-19 began) in 1855. Though it would spread to most parts of the world by the international maritime trade routes, its major impact was in India where 10 million deaths were recorded. It was the first plague pandemic to involve America and Australia where it presented in twelve outbreaks between 1900 and 1925. It wasn't until the mid-twentieth century when plague numbers fell below an annual number of 200 that the World Health Organisation (WHO) considered it 'inactive'. Sporadic cases continue to be reported across many countries as the bacteria remains in a latent form in the native rodent populations of all continents except Australia. It remains in the news as one of the most feared forms of potential germ warfare in an aerosol form, as inhaled plague bacillus causes untreatable fatal pneumonic plague which cannot be prevented by current vaccines. To date and counting, plague has caused 200 million deaths – more than any pandemic disease.

John Ashburton Thompson (1846–1915)

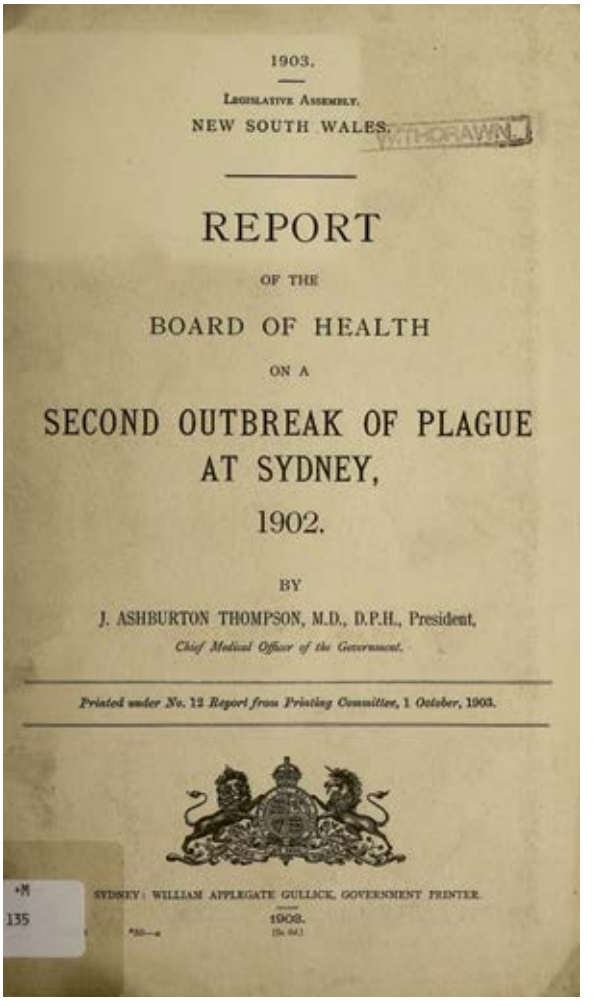
The two maps which are the focus of this discussion, present data which John Ashburton Thompson obtained from the first four waves of infection that gripped Sydney between 1900 and 1905. Thompson was an English physician with training in public health and epidemiology, who visited New Zealand and Australia 'for his health' (which in those times usually meant he had tuberculosis). He migrated to Australia in 1883, and the following year joined the

New South Wales Board of Health, of which he became Chief Medical Officer and its President in 1896. His record at tracing disease and enforcing change through government regulation (helped anonymously by his journalist brother) was nothing short of amazing, gaining him an international reputation and respect for his contributions to public health initiatives.

Thompson was waiting for plague to arrive on Australia's shores, and was prepared for it. The most recent thinking and public health practice advanced by the English and French who were working in India at the time of the crisis, was that it involved person-to-person transmission, and the response was to quarantine the source patient together with all their contacts, and institute massive cleaning programmes based on the idea of 'place infection'. Thompson was aware of 'best practice' but had noted a number of inconsistencies such as Paul-Louis Simond's hypothesis that an insect (such as a flea) may be transmitting disease from rats to humans, and that rats became sick alongside humans with plague (called an epizootic). Simond's concept was poorly supported, and the appearance of sick rats was thought simply to indicate that both humans and rats were targets of infection. Thompson deduced that the rat carried a latent form of infection which, under certain conditions, became overt with positive cultures and was sick (or epizootic): fleas could transmit infection from this 'plague rat' to man. He logically stated that the total focus on management should be to isolate the rat, not quarantine the patient. He summarised his views in *Report of the Board of Health on a second outbreak of plague at Sydney, 1902* (published in 1903), and explained the accepted contemporary thinking thus:

> *the maintenance and spread of plague are ascribed to human intercourse directly with the sick or indirectly through articles which have been infected by them … the share which may be played by the rat … has been left a doubtful matter … as all that has been ascertained is that man and the rat are susceptible of an identical infection.*

Thompson's vigorous promotion of his own thesis was to no avail; it was rejected by government, press and colleagues, and following the medical practices of the day, the sick, their household and their contacts were transported to the North Head Quarantine Station some 10 km from Sydney city centre. When the capacity there of 2,000 persons was reached, the overflow filled transports moored alongside the Quarantine Station. Streets were barricaded and literally awash with disinfectant, which drained into the harbour killing hundreds of fish (which some then blamed as a cause of the plague). The government of Victoria blocked the border with NSW, and quacks extended their imagination to bizarre therapeutic concoctions. It was chaos!


1903.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

WITHDRAWN

REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF HEALTH

ON A

SECOND OUTBREAK OF PLAGUE AT SYDNEY,

1902.

BY

J. ASHBURTON THOMPSON, M.D., D.P.H., President,

Chief Medical Officer of the Government.

Printed under No. 12 Report from Printing Committee, 1 October, 1903.

SYDNEY: WILLIAM APPLEGATE GULLICK, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

1903.

135

Fig. 1 J. Ashburton Thompson, *Report of the Board of Health on a Second Outbreak of Plague at Sydney, 1902*. (1903). Public Domain Mark.

At the onset of the second wave of infection Thompson's views prevailed. In his report of a second outbreak in 1902 the microbiologist Frank Tidswell, with whom Thompson worked closely, documented compelling evidence which endorsed the view that fleas transmitted the infection from rats to humans,

an idea which previously had been poorly supported in contemporary literature.

The maps

The first map accompanying the 1902 report compares the incidence of infections in the 1900 and 1902 outbreaks and dramatically illustrates Thompson's idea that the plague rat is the only source of infection. In the map 208 places of infection are identified as occuring in 1900 compared with 86 in 1902.

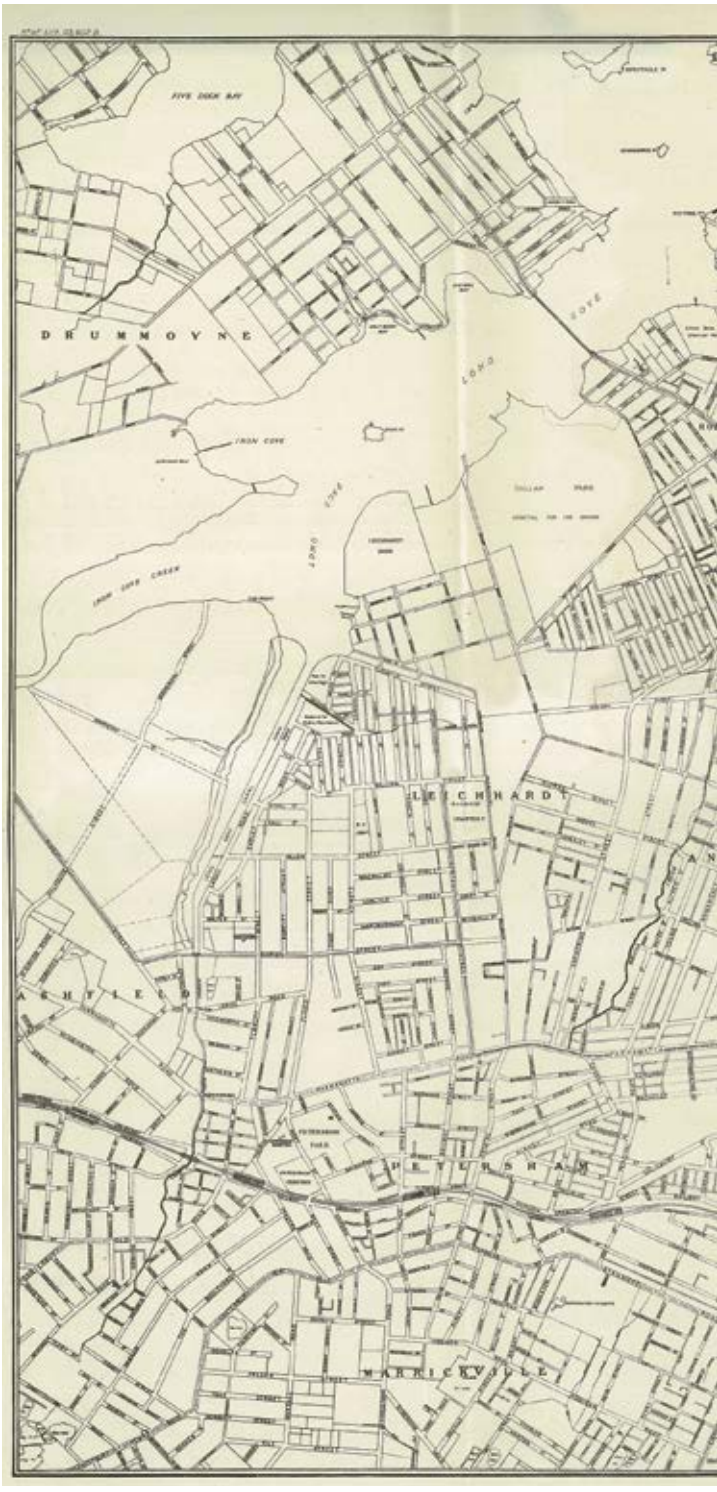
Thompson's maxim 'quarantine the rat not the patient' was realised by 'habitually excluding rats from habituated premises'. Following this guideline, the practices of mass quarantining and excessive community cleansing were abandoned and community disruption was reduced.

Thompson initiated a surveillance programme of collecting and culturing rats, and the appearance of 'plague infected rats' correlated with incidences of infection in the human population. There was now both medical and economic evidence of improved outcomes using Thompson's approach: the number of patients in 1900 was 303, compared to 139 in 1902 (a 55 percent reduction in incidence of infection). The fatality rate was a little different between the two groups. The cost of the two waves differed significantly: £176,000 in 1900 compared to £24,000 in 1902 (an 85 percent reduction in costs) which was powerful quantitative data for the government to support Thompson's approach of isolating the rat.

Thompson's second map (of the 1904 outbreak) includes the data Thompson found when testing his hypothesis, based on the preliminary observations of linking the appearance of an epizootic with risk of human disease, and that such a finding would lead to a targeted elimination of rats from all areas of human habitation.

Thompson had established an extraordinary and meticulous surveillance system based on culturing upwards of 50,000 rats that had been collected from the wharves by professional and trained rat catchers (Hygiene Officers). Nothing of this scale had ever been done before. Not only did he develop the idea of mass screening to detect an infection source, but he enacted procedures to ensure that infection in humans was curtailed.

Summarising the data before, during and after the fourth outbreak, human infections occurred over a nine-month period. During that time of the 43,822 rats collected, and cultures established,



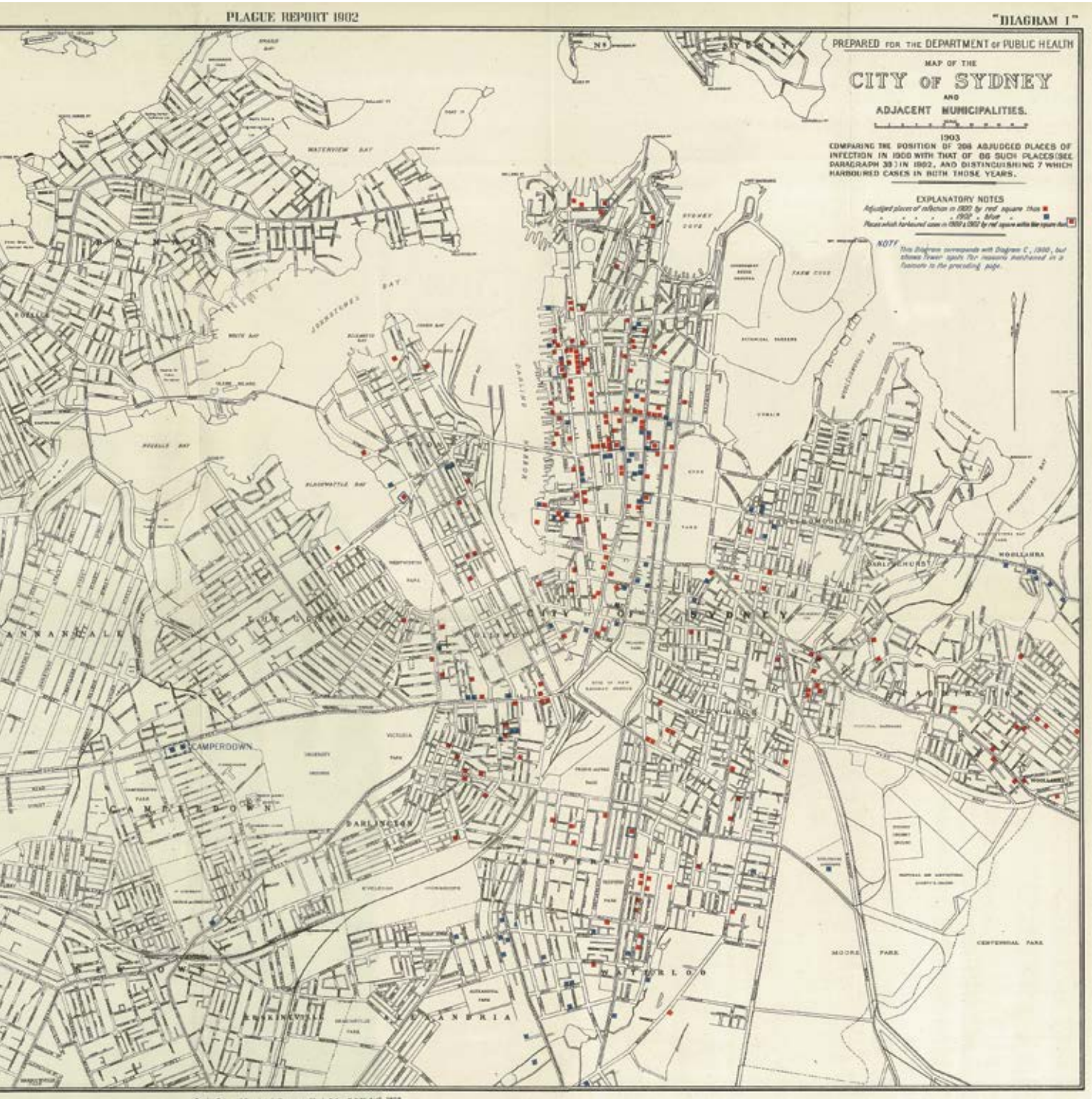


Fig. 2 J. Ashburton Thompson, 'Map of the City of Sydney and Adjacent Municipalities', 1903, 50 x 74.5 cm. The map accompanied the report of the 1902 outbreak of bubonic plague in Sydney. It focusses on Darling Harbour area. It contrasts the number of sites where humans contracted the plague in 1900 compared to the number of infections in 1902 (when public health measures concentrated on eradication of 'plague rats' rather than exhaustive quarantining of human contacts). Note the substantially fewer infected sites in 1902. Private collection.

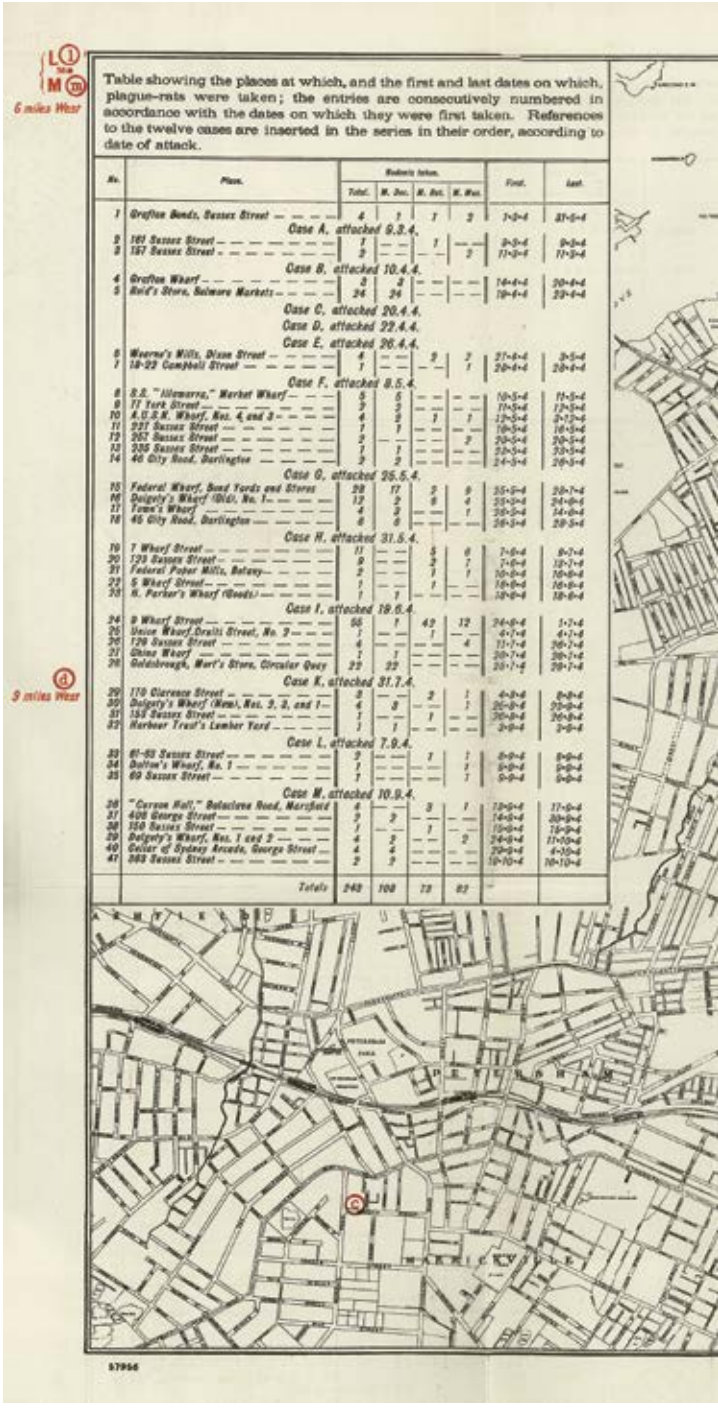
243 (0.55 percent) were plague rats. Yet no plague rats were identified in the six months before the outbreak (18,456 rats studied), or the month after it (3,145 rats studied). The intensive exclusion of rats from places of habitation during the period when plague rats were present, was associated with only twelve clinical cases of plague diagnosed during the epizootic period. This 'test and exclude' policy established the basic ground rules of pandemic management, with variations to fit the pathogen and circumstances. Thompson's strategy was validated at the Second Indian Plague Commission in 1905 and is seen in operation today in the of management of Covid-19. The public health principals remain those of testing large sections of the population, to 'exclude' culture positive subjects as sources of infection.

Outcomes of the Sydney plague

What were the outcomes of the plague in Sydney in the early 1900s? Certainly, public health was a beneficiary. Thompson and his team in the NSW Board of Health established a governance system of Public Health second to none, that involved attention to detail; training; care of health workers; tracing and isolation; through to clinical care that was maintained as an example of Public Health excellence across Australia. That standard placed Australia in a better position to cope nationally with the next pandemic – the 1919 influenza – that killed 12,000 per unit of population; but half the number of fatalities which occurred in Britain and New Zealand. Thompson's legacy continues in the management of the current Covid-19 crisis: of the total number of cases in Australia (27,633) only 13 percent were in NSW, with a mortality of 1.4 percent – less than half that of the national average. No staff working in the hospital system in Sydney contracted the disease, and there were no Covid deaths in the two main referral hospitals.

The more immediate impact was on the city's civic, maritime and social structures. The government rapidly moved to nationalise the largely private wharves whose mismanagement and negligent disease control of Sydney's shoreline were contributing factors to the severity of the disease. In November 1900 the Sydney Harbour Trust was formed with immediate plans to restructure Darling Harbour which had been the centre of the plague epidemic.

A new Pyrmont Bridge was built across Darling Harbour in 1902. The events brought an even bigger blight into focus – the congested, unsanitary slum


Table showing the places at which, and the first and last dates on which, plague-rats were taken; the entries are consecutively numbered in accordance with the dates on which they were first taken. References to the twelve cases are inserted in the series in their order, according to date of attack.

No.	Place.	Rodents taken. Total.	M. Sus.	M. Rat.	M. Mus.	First.	Last.
1	Grafton Bonds, Sussex Street	4	1	1	2	1-5-4	21-5-4
	Case A, attacked 9.5.4.						
2	161 Sussex Street	1	—	1	—	9-5-4	9-5-4
3	157 Sussex Street	2	—	—	2	11-5-4	17-5-4
	Case B, attacked 10.5.4.						
4	Grafton Wharf	3	3	—	—	14-5-4	20-5-4
5	Reid's Store, Belmore Markets	24	24	—	—	19-5-4	23-5-4
	Case C, attacked 20.5.4.						
	Case D, attacked 22.5.4.						
	Case E, attacked 26.5.4.						
6	Weerne's Mills, Dixon Street	4	—	2	2	27-5-4	2-6-4
7	19-22 Campbell Street	2	—	1	1	28-5-4	28-5-4
	Case F, attacked 31.5.4.						
8	S.S. "Illawarra," Market Wharf	5	5	—	—	10-5-4	11-5-4
9	77 York Street	2	2	—	—	11-5-4	13-5-4
10	A.U.S.N. Wharf, Nos. 4 and 3	4	2	1	1	12-5-4	31-12-4
11	227 Sussex Street	1	1	—	—	13-5-4	16-5-4
12	267 Sussex Street	2	—	—	2	23-5-4	25-5-4
13	235 Sussex Street	1	1	—	—	23-5-4	31-5-4
14	46 City Road, Darlington	2	2	—	—	24-5-4	26-5-4
	Case G, attacked 25.5.4.						
15	Federal Wharf, Sand Yards and Stores	28	17	3	8	25-5-4	28-7-4
16	Dalgety's Wharf (Old), No. 1	13	3	6	4	25-5-4	24-6-4
17	Towns's Wharf	4	3	—	1	26-5-4	14-6-4
18	45 City Road, Darlington	6	6	—	—	28-5-4	29-5-4
	Case H, attacked 31.5.4.						
19	7 Wharf Street	11	—	5	6	7-6-4	8-7-4
20	133 Sussex Street	9	—	2	7	7-6-4	12-7-4
21	Federal Paper Mills, Botany	2	—	1	1	10-6-4	10-6-4
22	5 Wharf Street	1	—	1	—	16-6-4	16-6-4
23	R. Parker's Wharf (Goods)	1	1	—	—	18-6-4	18-6-4
	Case I, attacked 19.6.4.						
24	9 Wharf Street	56	1	43	12	24-6-4	1-7-4
25	Union Wharf, Druitt Street, No. 2	1	—	1	—	4-7-4	4-7-4
26	129 Sussex Street	4	—	—	4	11-7-4	26-7-4
27	Glebe Wharf	1	1	—	—	20-7-4	20-7-4
28	Goldsbrough, Mort's Store, Circular Quay	22	22	—	—	23-7-4	28-7-4
	Case K, attacked 31.7.4.						
29	119 Clarence Street	3	—	2	1	6-8-4	8-8-4
30	Dalgety's Wharf (New), Nos. 2, 3, and 1	4	2	—	2	26-8-4	29-8-4
31	153 Sussex Street	1	—	1	—	30-8-4	30-8-4
32	Harbour Trust's Lumber Yard	1	1	—	—	3-9-4	3-9-4
	Case L, attacked 7.9.4.						
33	61-63 Sussex Street	2	—	1	1	8-9-4	8-9-4
34	Dalton's Wharf, No. 1	1	—	—	1	9-9-4	9-9-4
35	69 Sussex Street	1	—	—	1	9-9-4	9-9-4
	Case M, attacked 10.9.4.						
36	"Carson Hall," Balaclava Road, Marrickville	4	—	3	1	12-9-4	17-9-4
37	408 George Street	2	2	—	—	14-9-4	30-9-4
38	150 Sussex Street	1	—	1	—	15-9-4	15-9-4
39	Dalgety's Wharf, Nos. 1 and 2	4	2	—	2	24-9-4	11-10-4
40	Cellar of Sydney Arcade, George Street	4	4	—	—	29-9-4	4-10-4
41	383 Sussex Street	2	2	—	—	10-10-4	10-10-4
	Totals	243	108	73	62		

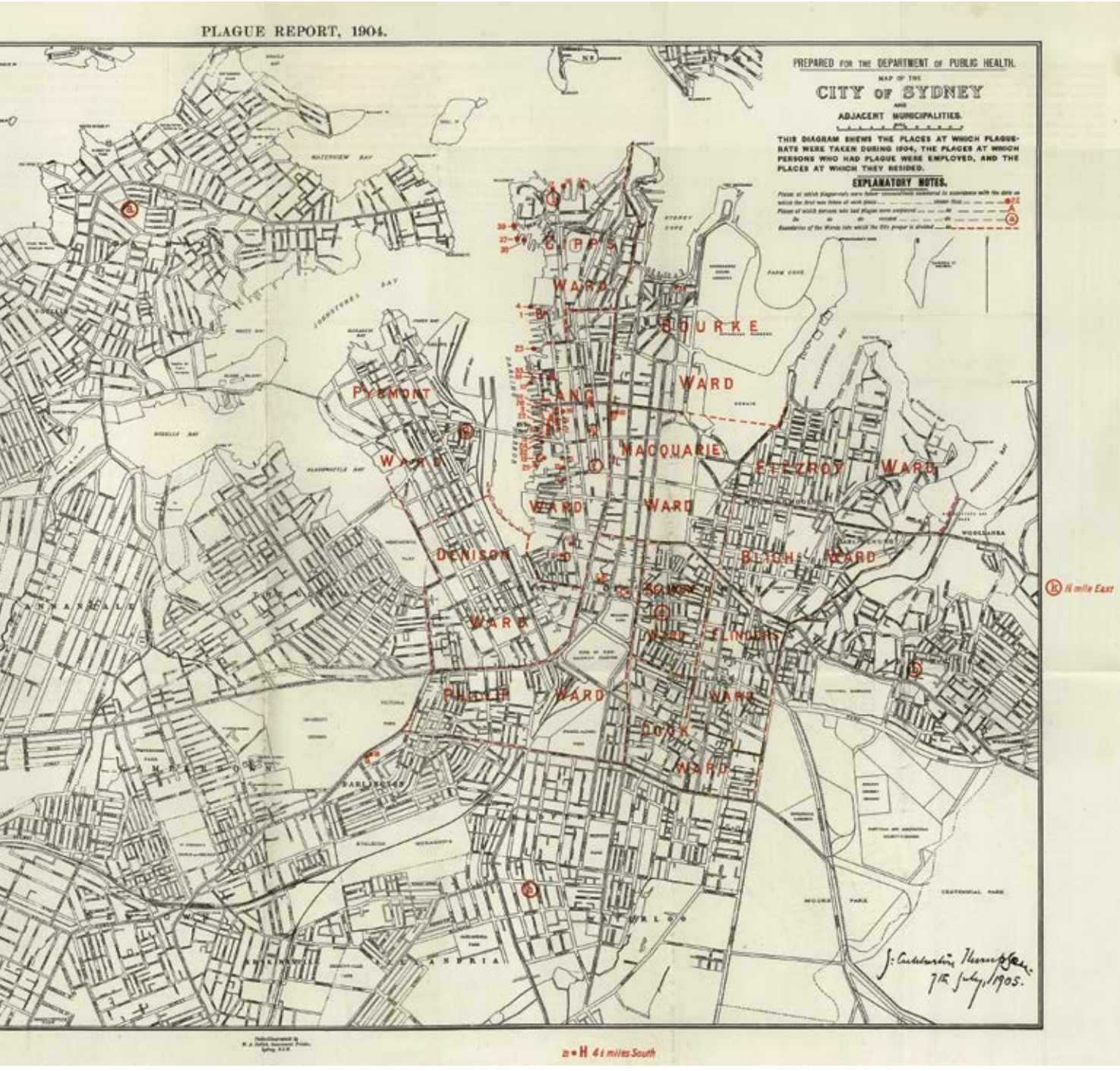


Fig. 3 J. Ashburton Thompson, 'Map of the City of Sydney and Adjacent Municipalities', July 1905, 50 x 74.5 cm. The data covering the 1904 outbreak of the plague in the Darling Harbour area demonstrates the close relationship in time and place between the detection of 'plague rats' through screening and the appearance of clinical plague in humans. Private collection.


SWAIN'S BAY
BALLAST POINT
GOAT ISLAND
WATERVIEW BAY
NORTH BAY
MILLERS POINT
BALMAIN
BALMAIN
JOHNSTON'S BAY
WHITE BAY
GLEBE ISLAND
ROZELLE BAY
BLACKWATTLE BAY
THE GLEBE
DARLING HARBOUR
JOHNSTON ST
RAILWAY



Fig. 4 'Map of the Wharf Accommodation of the Port of Sydney', 1926, 43 x 66 cm. The Sydney Harbour Trust moved quickly following its creation in the year of the first outbreak of plague in 1900 to renovate dilapidated wharves and improve harbour infrastructure, including building a new bridge across Darling Harbour. This map of Sydney wharves was included in the Trust's 1926 annual report to propose a vastly improved maritime transport system which at that time had only just been cleared of plague bacillus from the local rat population. Private collection.

dwellings where most of the victims of plague lived. In the first decade of the twentieth century 35 percent of dwellings were unfit for human habitation. The problem was not new, evolving from the time Sydney was a 'walking city' with workers living close to their place of employment. A Royal Commission was called in 1909 and, inspired by Daniel Burnham's and Edward H. Bennett's work on the Plan of Chicago, it aimed to improve the city's living conditions, sanitation and infrastructure.

The arrival of bubonic plague in Sydney in early 1900 with the infection of Arthur Paine, was expected but occasioned enormous chaos and community anxiety to a population sensitised by the knowledge of the devastation and death linked to bubonic plague over the previous 1,500 years. Maps constructed from reports written by the Chief Medical Officer, John Ashburton Thompson, showed data that confirmed the efficacy of a new approach to managing a plague pandemic. These heralded a sea change in medical management by identifying a critical methodological approach for testing populations to identify infectious sources of pandemics, that can then be isolated to interrupt the infection cycle. The role of historic maps in portraying geographic distribution of disease and factors which can radically modify its impact began with John Snow's 1854 map of cholera, and here is continued with Thompson's clarification of critical steps in the natural history of plagues.

Acknowledgement
Many thanks to Kylie Maxwell (kylie@eprintdesign.com.au) for her work in scanning the maps.

Robert Clancy is a retired professor, pathologist and immunologist as well as a collector and curator of maps of Australia and Antarctica, about which he has authored four books and numerous articles. In 2005 he was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia for services to cartography and to the field of immunology.

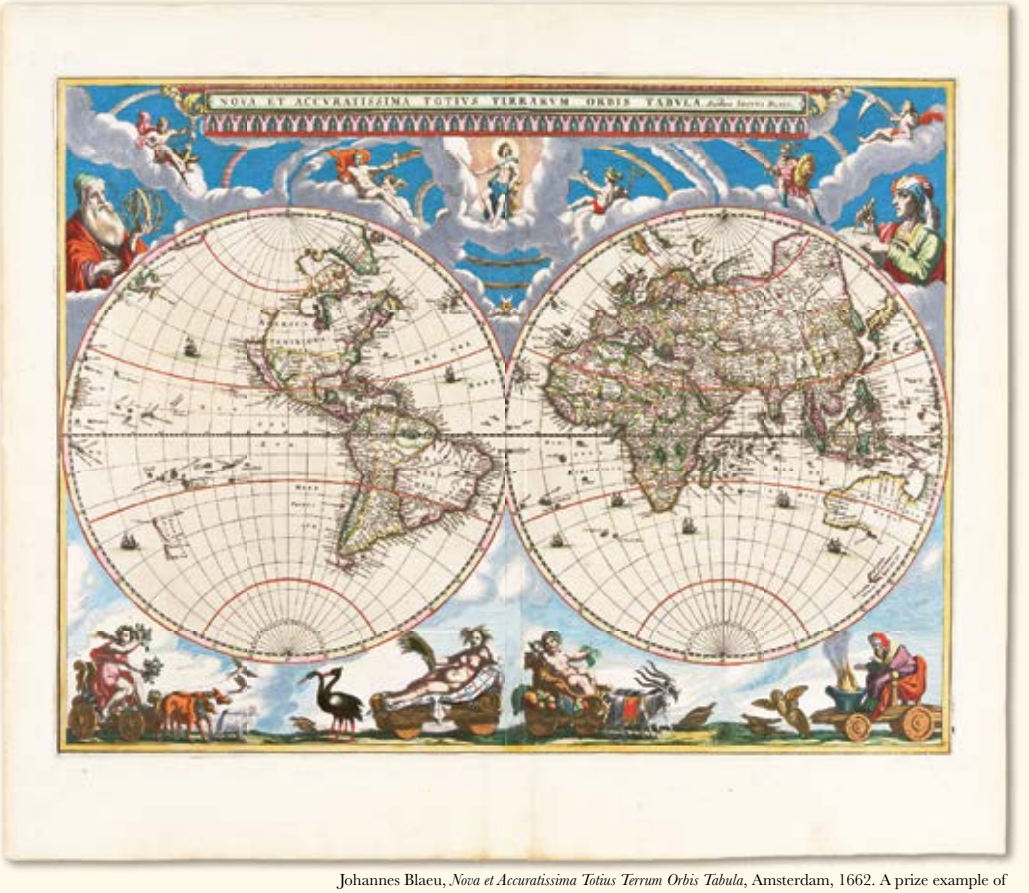
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‘NEUE CARTE DER INSEL MALTA’, 1798

An unrecorded map published by Joseph Eder of the Maltese archipelago

Joseph Schirò

In the map and plan collection of the Archives of the Slovak National Museum in Martin (Zbierka máp a plánov z archívu Slovenského národného múzea v Martine) there is a small map of Malta (i.e. the archipelago) with the call-mark ZM-49 which is particularly rare (Fig. 1).[1]

The map’s title, found at the top right-hand corner, is ‘Neue Carte | der Insel | MALTA | nach den besten geographischen | Nachrichten gezeichnet / 1798.’ (New map of the Island of Malta drawn according to the best geographical information, 1798.). The date is particularly interesting because in June that year the French occupied the island, after having ousted the Order of St John. The event must have caused quite a stir in Europe and there were several reports written disseminating the news which most likely explains Eder’s decision to publish the map.

Oriented north to the top, the copper-engraved map, measuring 14 x 17 cm, depicts the archipelago of Malta, Gozo, Comino and Cominotto, with Gozo and Malta’s road network and – for Malta – its (unnamed) springs and watercourse coming from west of Cit[t]à Vec[c]hia to Valletta. It has ‘*N: 1*’ at the top right corner outside the border. There is a scale of 4 *Meilen* measuring *c.* 40 mm; the imprint, below the bottom right border, reads: *In Wien bei Jos[eph] Eder.* The surrounding border is graduated at 2-minute intervals; the coordinates of 12 degrees east from the meridian of Paris [?] and latitude of 36 degrees north situate the archipelago.[2]

There is a short description (‘Beschreibung’) of Malta in the bottom left quarter which translates as:

> *The island of MALTA is located in the Mediterranean Sea between Italy and Africa. Grand Masters. It is very*



Fig. 1 Joseph Eder, ‘Neue Carte der Insel Malta...’, 1798, 14 x 17 cm. Courtesy of the Slovak National Museum.


N:1
12
Neue Carte
der Insel
MALTA
nach den besten geographischen
Nachrichten gezeichnet
1798.
Nadur
Ins: Cumino
S. Marcus
Pt. Maggiaro
Salinen
Thurn
S.t Agata
Port S.t Paul
Salinen
C.S. Marco
la Magdelaine
C.S. Julien
Melina
INSEL
MALTA
Aintofra
Casal Garg
Naicia
S. Elmo
VALLETTA
Città Nuova
Mahsa
Moustà
Nauna
Bircarcara
Bocca di Vento
Pinto
Zabbar
Città vechia
Dingil
Kideri
Zebugi
Tarscien
Marsa Scala
C.t Luca
Laringi
Zeitone
Verdal
C.t Rendi
Gudia
Siggene
Curcop
Sali
T. Hamra
Zurrico
Pt. Marsa Sirocco
MITTELLÆNDISCHES MEER
36
12
In Wien bei Jos Eder.



Fig. 2 Joseph Eder, 'Karte von denen Inseln Malta...', 1796, 25.5 x 34 cm. Courtesy of the National Library of Malta.



rocky, but well-cultivated, producing some grain, much tree fruit and cotton, fishing and coral harvesting [?]. Its inhabitants total 130,000. Emperor Charles V gave it to the Knights of the Order of St John in 1529. Valetta is the capital and seat of the Grand Masters It has two harbours, and the strong Castle S. Elmo lies at the headland. It registers an annual income of about 76,000 Scudi.

Joseph Jakob Martin Eder (1759–1835) was a Viennese art and music publisher based on the street 'am Graben'. In 1789 he had founded the so-called 'Edersche Kunsthandlung' (Eder's Art Shop) located in a building called 'Zum schwarzen Elephanten' (The Black Elephant). Eder was mainly occupied with producing and marketing visiting cards, images of saints and historical events, maps and almanacs, however in the year he set up his Kunsthandlung he also published Ludwig van Beethoven's three piano sonatas op. 10.[3]

Beyond the two exemplars held by the Slovak National Museum Archives none further has been recorded, and even the Austrian National Library collection does not hold one. After various email communications with Dr Jan Mokre, head of the Map Department at the Austrian National Library, he found an advertisement in the Viennese newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*, of 25 July 1798, page 2233,[4] which, translated, is the following:

In the art shop of Mr. Jos. Eder you can get a new map of the island of Malta for 15 kreuzer.[5] This special map has been drawn according to the best geographical information and has been properly engraved in copper. If, as we hope, it is successful with geographers and newspaper readers, more such maps will follow from time to time.

That the advertisement refers to this map can be evinced, besides the dating of 1798, from two clues. The first is the phrase *nach den besten geographischen Nachrichten*, which is identical to the map's title, and the second is the statement that this is the first of a possible series of maps to be appearing later – which would explain '*N: 1*' (number 1) on the map. However, no further maps by Joseph Eder in this format are found at the Austrian National Library and no further advertisements appear in the *Wiener Zeitung* announcing another in the planned series. The venture must have been a complete failure.[6]

Possible reasons for failure

The failure of the venture may have been due to the small dimensions of the map which would have been more appropriate for use by school children rather than for the general public that Eder was hoping for. Then there is the fact that Eder had published another map of the archipelago in 1796 which had much more detail and was more decorative (Fig. 2).

The copper-engraved map is titled 'Karte | *von denen* | INSELN MALTA, | COMINO | *und* | GOZO. | XX. | *1796.*' found at the top right corner inside a cartouche composed of military symbols: cannon, lances, stone shot, a mortar, trumpet and drum, musket, sword, helmet and a shield with the Maltese cross. To the right is a stone urn.

Measuring 25.5 x 34 cm, it depicts the islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominotto with two inset maps. Its graticulated border is marked at 1-minute intervals and longitude of 32° is based on the Ferro island meridian. The two scale bars are of 11 Italian miles, *Gemeine Italianische Meilen 60 a. 1. G.*, and of 3 German miles, *Deutsche Meilen 15 auf einen Grad.*, measuring 65 and 70 cms respectively. Oriented north, the compass rose with four cardinal points is found at the top centre. The inset of Filfla (*Insel Falfola*), at the bottom centre, measures 3.3 x 3.3 cm and, within a decorative frame at the bottom left corner is a 12.5 x 13.5 cm plan of the Grand Harbour at 'La Valetta' which includes a list (a-i and k-w) as a key to fully identify features. Opposite Valletta are the three cities of Vittoriosa, Senglea and Cospicua surrounded by the projected all-embracing Cottonera Lines, fortifications which began in August 1670, but were never completed due to lack of funds. In fact, the parts which had not yet been built are specified in the key of places in the inset of the Grand Harbour, for example, *Die Mauren von Eseguirsi*. The place-names are written partly in German and partly in Italian.

The map is the twentieth (of 21) in the rare *ATLAS | VON | ITALIEN | mit einem da zu gehoerigen | nach A. F. Büschings grossen Erdbeschreibung | GEOGRAPHISCHEN ANHANGE, | neu gezeichnet und herausgegeben | von einer Gesellschaft Geographen* published in 1796 by Eder (*Zu finden in der Joseph Ederischen Kunsthandlung am Graben Atlas von Italien von J. Eder*).[7] It was based on the work of Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724–1793), a German geographer, historian, educator and theologian. Ignaz Albrecht is mentioned on the title page as the engraver, however, he is not named on the maps themselves (see note 2).

It has detailed place-names and depicts also the aqueduct ('Wasserleitung') which brought water to Valletta from Rabat. Beneath the cartouche is a list of conventional signs for forts, castles, large villages, lighthouses, monasteries or churches and small settlements.

Dr Ganado, the foremost internationally-recognised authority on the study of Malta maps, says that there is never the final word in Maltese cartography. New maps of Malta keep cropping up from the most varied of sources.

Notes

1 I thank Emanuel Chetcuti, a member of the Malta Map Society, who brought this map to my attention. I also thank Jedert Vodopivec, who in turn contacted Michal Ďurovič who brought me into contact with Alena Maková of the Slovak National Museum. It later turned out that the Archives have not one but two exemplars.

2 Although there is no indication anywhere on the map, it is not unreasonable to assume that the engraver was Ignaz Albrecht (born 1759), the same engraver of the 1796 map by Eder being shown (Fig. 2). See Vladimiro Valerio and Santo Spagnolo, *Sicilia 1477-1861, La collezione Spagnolo-Patermo in quattro secoli di cartografia,* Naples: Paparo edizioni, 2014, vol. II, p. 523. Dörflinger in his 1984 edition of volume 1 of *Atlantes Austriaci*, p. 123 writes that the maps in *Atlas von Italien* do not indicate either publisher or engraver.

3 Peter Weibel, *Die Sammlung Werner Nekes*, exhibition catalogue, Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, 2003.

4 The date of the advert is barely two months after the French had captured Malta on 12 June 1798.

5 The Kreuzer is a small currency unit.

6 I thank Dr Jan Mokre for being so generous to me with his time.

7 The maps are: I. 'General Karte von Italien', II. 'Karte von dem Herzogthum Savoyen', III. 'Karte von dem Fürstenthum Piemont', IV. 'Karte von der Insel und dem Königreiche Sardinien', V. 'Karte von dem Herzogthum Mailand Oesterreichisch- und Savoyenschen Antheils', VI. 'Karte von dem Herzogthum Mantua', VII. 'Karte von dem Herzogthum Parma, Piacenza und Guastalla', VIII. 'Karte von dem Herzogthum Modena', IX. 'Karte von der Republick Venedig oestlicher Theil', X. 'Karte von der Republick Venedig westlicher Theil', XI. 'Karte von der Republick Genua', XII. 'Karte dem Grossherzogthum Toskana mit der Republick Lucca', XIII. 'Karte von dem nördwestlichen Theil des Kirchenstaates', XIV. 'Karte von dem nordöstlichen Theil des Kirchenstaates', XV. 'Karte von dem südwestlichen Theil des Kirchenstaates', XVI. 'Karte von dem nordwestlichen Theil des Königreiches Neapel', XVII. 'Karte von dem nordöstlichen Theil des Königreiches Neapel', XVIII. 'Karte von dem südlichen Theil des Königreiches Neapel', XIX. 'Karte von dem Königreich Sicilien', XX 'Karte von denem Inseln Malta, Comino und Gozo', XXI. 'Karte von der Insel Korsika'. Johannes Dörflinger, *Volume 1 of Atlantes Austriaci: Kommentierter Katalog der österreichischen Atlanten von 1561 bis 1994*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1995, pp. 122–23.

Joseph Schirò is the head emeritus of the Conservation Division within Heritage Malta. He is the President of ICOM Malta and Honorary Secretary of the Malta Map Society and editor of the *Malta Map Society Journal*. He has written several articles on conservation and cartography with particular reference to Malta. He co-edited the first Festchrift in Malta, *Liber Amicorum Dr. Albert Ganado* in 1994, and *Malta 1796–1797 Thorvaldsen's Visit* in 1997. He co-authored *Andersen and Malta* (1991), *Fine Bookbindings* (1999), *German Malta Maps* (2011), *The Brocktorff Mapmakers* (2012) and *The Pre-Siege Maps of Malta – second century AD–1564* in 2016. In 2017 he edited and wrote the introduction to the English translation of the Russian book *The Island of Malta and the Order of St John* by Grigory Krayevski.

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A POINT OF VIEW, PART 2

Lt L.G. Heath's panoramic watercolours of the harbour at Hong Kong and their transformation into Sheet 1696

Stephen Davies

In this successor article to Part 1, published in the *IMCoS Journal* in December 2019,[1] the intention is to go backwards in time to consider the original finished watercolours from which Sheet 1696 was made, Lt Heath's inspiration, and how his paintings became the Hydrographic Office's three engraved views. Much will be conjecture since no specifically relevant record has survived.

The issues addressed are two. A comparatively straightforward look at how a set of artistic watercolours was turned into a set of views. And the more puzzling question of why since, purely navigationally speaking, they would not have been of much use in the actual business of navigating.[2]

The context of the views in Sheet 1696

A review of the larger context of interest in, and depictions of, Hong Kong in the mid-1840s will highlight four points helpful for understanding how Lt Heath's elegant paintings came to be published as views by the Hydrographic Office.

First, depictions of Hong Kong and books about the recently ended First Opium War were prominent at the time HMS *Iris*, on which Heath served and from where he made the watercolours, left London in 1844, as was a more general interest in China. This was still the case in 1847 when the ship returned to Britain. It follows that there will have been a climate of opinion that encouraged anyone with the relevant gifts to deploy them in sharing their knowledge of Hong Kong, whether or not with an eye to supplementing an income.

Second, happenstance resulted in a congeries of gifted amateur artists all being in Hong Kong at more or less the same time. The key players were from different sectors of the new colony's western community: the Royal Navy (Lt Heath), the Regular Army (Lt T.B. Collinson RE), the Government (Murdoch Bruce) and the commercial world (George West). From the evidence, they either certainly or very likely knew, knew of or served with each other. Given how very small that community in Hong Kong was in 1844/5 it is possible to conjecture some sort of friendly rivalry.[3]

Third, was the probable interest in the Hydrographic Office in being seen to be 'keeping up with the Joneses' of the Army. Influence and interest still played an important role in mid-nineteenth-century British government and how departmental budgets were determined. If, as we shall see, the Army was taking a lead in informing the public about Britain's new acquisition in China, the Admiralty could not be seen to be lagging behind. We cannot know for certain, but such considerations are likely to have played a role, albeit possibly a small one, in the Hydrographer's decision making.[4]

Fourth, in the work of the Hydrographic Office in the mid-nineteenth century, the publication of generally illustrative rather than strictly navigational views of interesting – and usually exotic – places was quite common. Quite why is uncertain, but a general commitment to public education probably played a role. Influencing this practice would be Captain Francis Beaufort, the Hydrographer, and his role as a founding member of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1826–48), and the head of its Map Committee as of its establishment in 1828, for which informative illustrations were understood as an important accompaniment to maps.[5] That attitude blended readily with the wider public interest in China. Books about the China War and about China from any number of aspects appeared by the score in the 1840s.[6] China was prominent in newspapers and periodicals and, as early as March 1847, there was news of the impending arrival in London of the Chinese junk *Keying*, that had set out from Hong Kong in December 1846.[7] Meanwhile, Nathan Dunn's Chinese Exhibition had run in London from 1842–44 and was to visit again in 1851.[8]

Opening to the public in March 1844 in Robert Burford's The Panorama, Leicester Square, was an enormous painted panorama by Burford and Henry Courtney Selous,[9] based on 'drawings' made in 1843 by Lt Frederick John White, Royal Marines (1814–

1854) (Fig. 1).[10] It ran for a year, closing in March 1845. In September 1844 a similar exhibition, by Mr Marshall's Panorama, had appeared in Edinburgh and ran for a year before moving to Dundee in November 1845, Sheffield in December, Leeds in April 1846, and Glasgow in May 1846, with perhaps other locations as yet undiscovered.[11] Marshall's images were attributed jointly to Lt White and a Captain Melias of the 26th (Cameronians) Regiment. 'Melias' was almost certainly a mistaken rendering for Captain George Frederick Anne Mylius (1803–1861), who briefly had been Hong Kong's first Land Officer from August 1841 to May 1842, but was back in Edinburgh with his regiment in August 1843.[12] The scenes exhibited across the panorama varied from six initially shown in Edinburgh – including some of Ningbo – rising to twenty in Sheffield and declining to five again by Glasgow.[13]

White was a gifted watercolourist whose depictions of Hong Kong became well known in Thomas Allom's *China Illustrated*. One illustrates the 26th Regiment assaulting the [Chusan] heights in the capture of Ting Hai which suggests that White and Mylius may have been acquainted.[14]

Probably in 1847, twelve views of Hong Kong by the new colony's Inspector of Buildings, and later Inspector (or Overseer) of Roads and Superintendent of Convict Labour, Murdoch Bruce (1816–1848?), had been lithographed by Andrew McClure and published by McClure, Macdonald, MacGregor & Co.[15] Bruce's illustrations are dated as having been drawn in three batches in August, September and November 1846. How well known they will have been at the time when the Hydrographic Office was making its decision on Lt Heath's panorama is moot, though the views include some of the same subjects as appear in the annotated toponymy of Sheet 1696.

In early 1847 – and this is significant – the British Army could be thought to have mounted the bandwagon when they advertised for sale in London

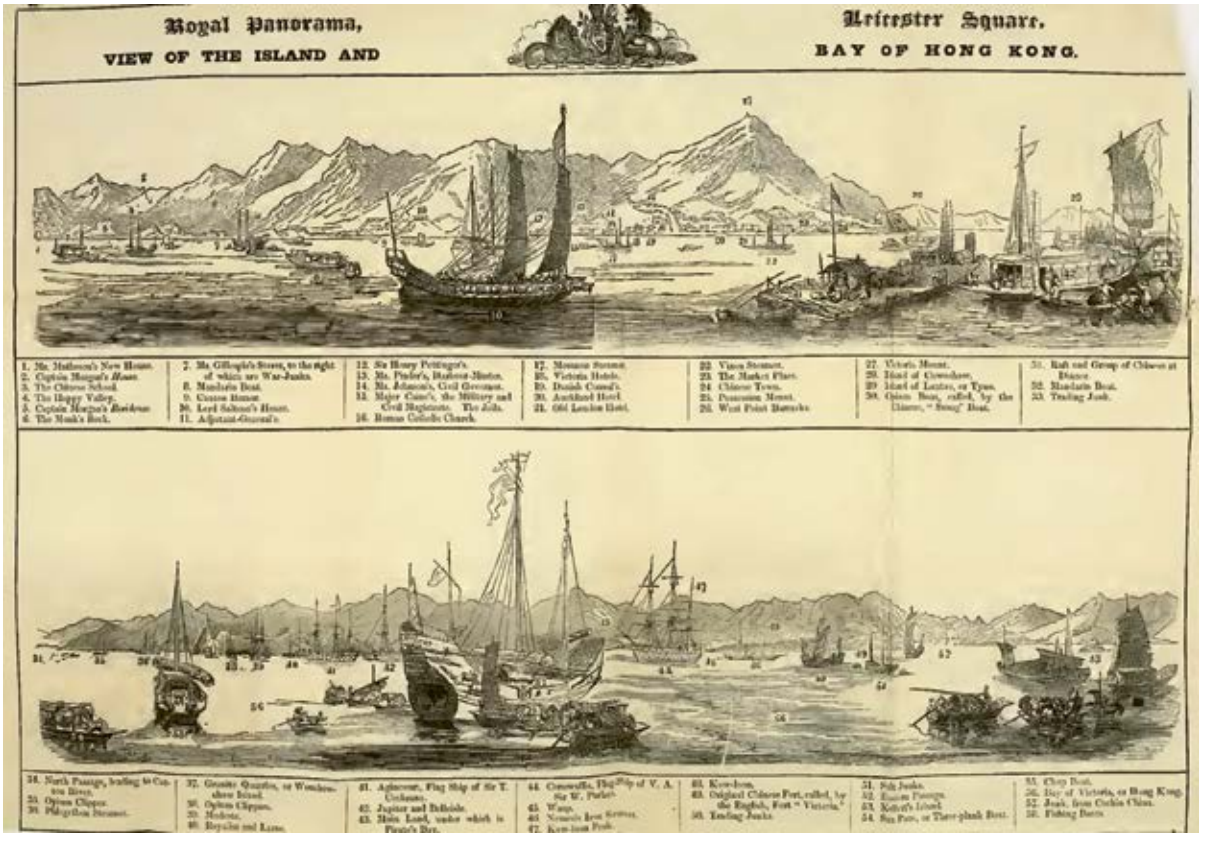


Fig. 1 Illustration made from drawings by Lt F.J. White in *Description of a View of the Island and Bay of Hong Kong now exhibiting at The Panorama, Leicester Square*, London: J. Mitchell, 1844.

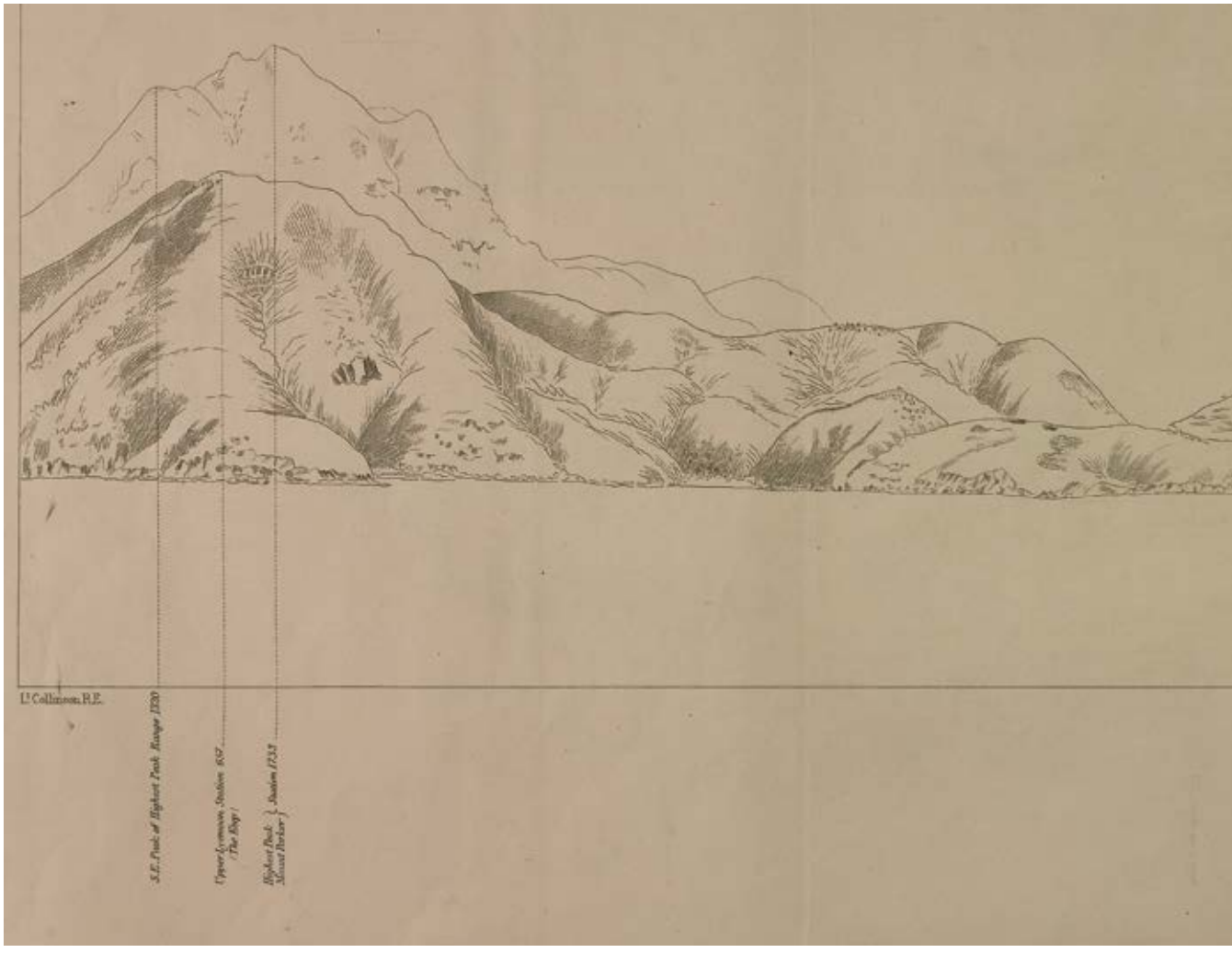
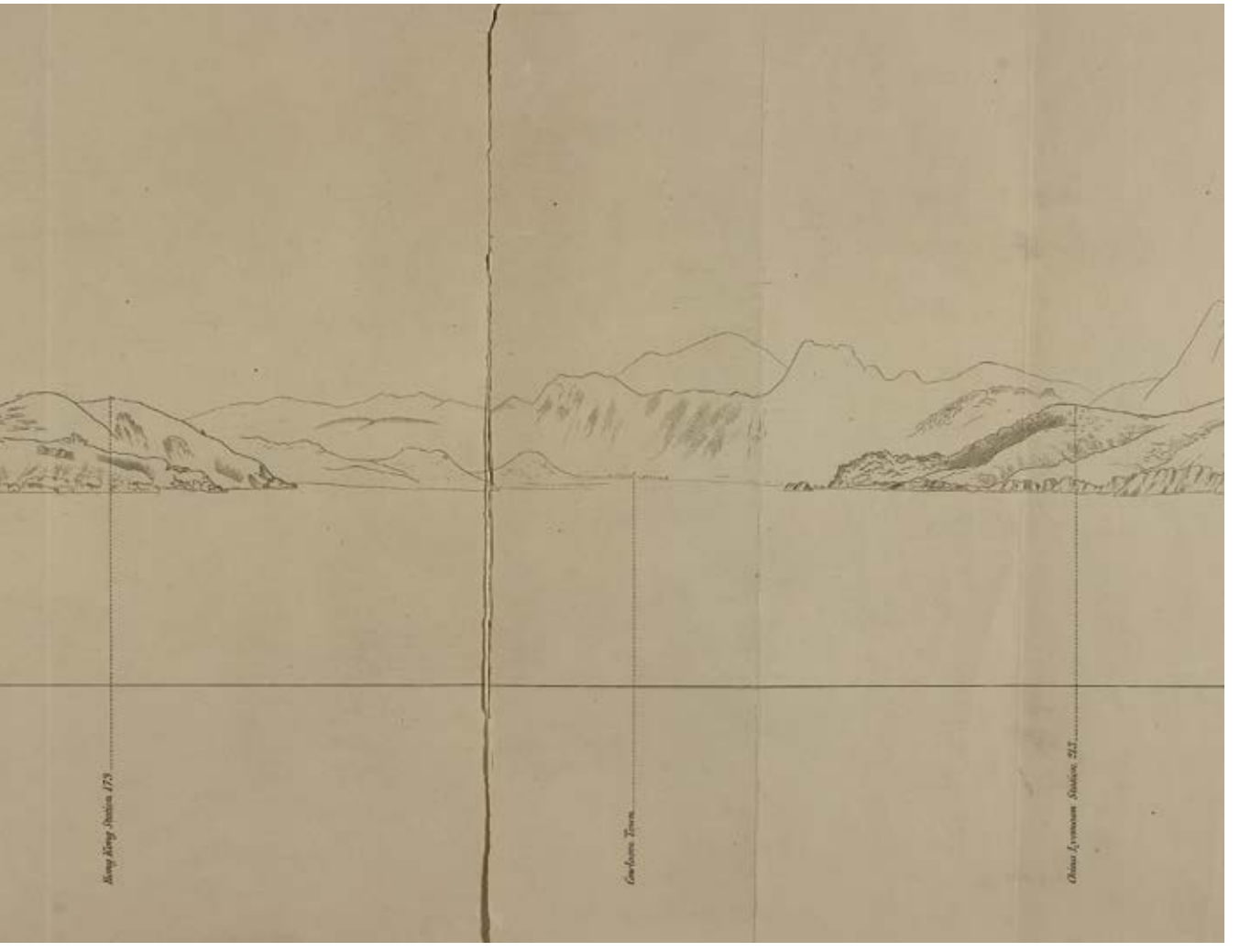


Fig. 2 Lithograph of detail of Lt T.B. Collinson RE's sketch, 'The Lyeemoon from the Outside'. Courtesy UKHO Archives.

newspapers the publication of four sheet maps and booklet of ten lithographed views of Hong Kong by Lt Thomas Bernard Collinson R.E.[16] Lt Collinson, whose Royal Navy brother, Captain Richard Collinson RN, had taken over the survey of Hong Kong and the China coast from Edward Belcher in 1842, arrived in Hong Kong in autumn 1843 and left for New Zealand in June 1846.[17] His main task in Hong Kong was supervising the territory's first complete topographical survey.[18] As part of the survey, which would seem mainly to have been conducted in 1845, Collinson also drew ten 'outline sketches', which are classic military panoramas of the coastline of Hong Kong Island.

Looked at in the light of the requirements set out in the Royal Navy's guidelines for Views, Collinson's work is exemplary, except his viewpoints are mostly not the sea-level perspective generally required for maritime use.[19] One exception is 'The Lyeemoon from the Outside' (Fig. 2), an excellent instantiation of a navigationally useful view lacking only compass bearings, which Collinson's index map shows to have been made from a boat. A set of these views is listed in the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive holdings, indicating that at some stage, exactly when is not known, the Hydrographic Office had acquired a set of the views the Army had been advertising for sale in early 1847.[20]

A less well-known artist was also in Hong Kong during this period; the American, George Robert



West (*c.*1825–1859), who would seem to have been the first commercial photographer in Hong Kong, and a gifted watercolourist. We know West was there from December 1844 through until 1846, initially selling daguerrotypes but also sketching. When he left in 1851 he had 'a portfolio of three hundred and fifty sketches, including scenery, religious festivals and social life, which pictures have formed the basis of Mr West's Panorama, now open to the New York public'.[21] West thus offers an interesting parallel to Robert Burford and Frederick White. Clearly landscapes of Hong Kong in the mid-1840s had a market in Hong Kong and elsewhere, and a ready supply of people providing them.

Finally, we have the man who produced the panorama at the centre of this enquiry, Leopold George Heath (1817–1907), a young lieutenant on the China Station in the mid-1840s, serving in HMS *Iris* (26, 6th rate, Captain George Rodney Mundy RN). He had joined the ship as its gunnery officer in 1843 in Sheerness and was to leave it, on promotion to Commander, when it paid off back in the United Kingdom in 1847. From a reconstruction of the movements of the *Iris* before she was permanently moved to operate out of Singapore, the amount of time Heath actually spent in Hong Kong in that period was not great. Although Sheet 1696, published on 5 May 1847, states that the views were made in 1846, the probabilities are that the watercolours were done, though perhaps not finished, in 1844 or more likely 1845.[22]

Before moving on to deal with the technicalities of turning Heath's sketches into Hydrographic Office views, we can summarise the context. George











Fig. 3 L.G. Heath, The original four double-sheet watercolour sketches of Hong Kong, as mounted on cards by the Hydrographic Office. Courtesy J.J. Heath Caldwell.

Fig. 3a Sheet 1696, the three engraved views of Hong Kong harbour adapted by the Hydrographic Office from L.G. Heath's four watercolours opposite. Library of Congress.

Mylius and Frederick White in 1841–43 will have overlapped with Murdoch Bruce from 1843–48, during which period Lt Collinson (1844–46), Leopold Heath (1844–46) and George West (1844–46) were at work. White's work was firmly amateur art, rather than utilitarian military sketching. He knew Collinson. Bruce's work is art plain and simple and, given the close relations between the Royal Engineers and the office of Hong Kong's Surveyor-General, Bruce and Collinson will certainly have known each other. Collinson's outline sketches were out and out examples of utilitarian military work, though he was also a watercolourist and made at least two sketches of Hong Kong during his stay.[23] Painting and sketching Britain's new acquisition in China was in the air. Heath, who came from a family of artists,[24] was in good company and there is circumstantial evidence he may have met Lt Collinson in either Hong Kong, Guangzhou, or Xiamen, all of which we know the *Iris* and Collinson visited in 1845.[25]

The painting of the watercolour panorama

It was during one of the *Iris*'s few stays in Hong Kong, almost certainly in February or March 1845, that Heath will have made the four, double-sheet watercolour sketches (Fig. 3). The reasoning for that choice of season rests on the general treatment: the uniformly dull, cloudy grey sky characteristic of that time of year, along with all the nautical evidence – run of the short seas, direction of the ships swinging to their anchors, points of sail and sail trim of vessels underway, and angles of flags and pennants. Heath shows typical January through March, north-east Monsoon weather, towards the end of one of the week to ten-day cycles as the strong wind that heralds the arrival of a 'push' and blows freshly for three days or so bringing in a dry, continental airstream gradually easing to the quieter, overcast conditions, with ships at anchor, sails airing and drying with tacks and clews hauled up.

As shown in Figures 3, 5 and 6, Heath's four watercolours conform to the clockwise sequence of

the published sheet of views. However, there is a key difference. Heath's full panorama begins and ends two to three degrees north of east. Sheet 1696, rearranged to three views, begins and ends roughly north by north east. The decision by the Hydrographic Office to rearrange Heath's sequence would seem to have had two rationales. One was to ensure that Sheet 1696 was in the landscape format preferred for charts. The other would seem to have been presentational aimed at making the new settlement of the City of Victoria the central image.

In principle each of Heath's views represented one of the four quadrants of a 360° panorama in two equal, forty-five degree parts with no overlaps; each quadrant shifted anti-clockwise by two to three degrees. Thus, the left and right edges of each half of one of the four views indicate the cardinal and ordinal points of the compass. The inference is that when painting – rather fittingly given Hong Kong's geographical location – Heath started in the east. The intention, one has to assume, was to finish the first of his images close to south, the second close to west and so on all the way back round to east.

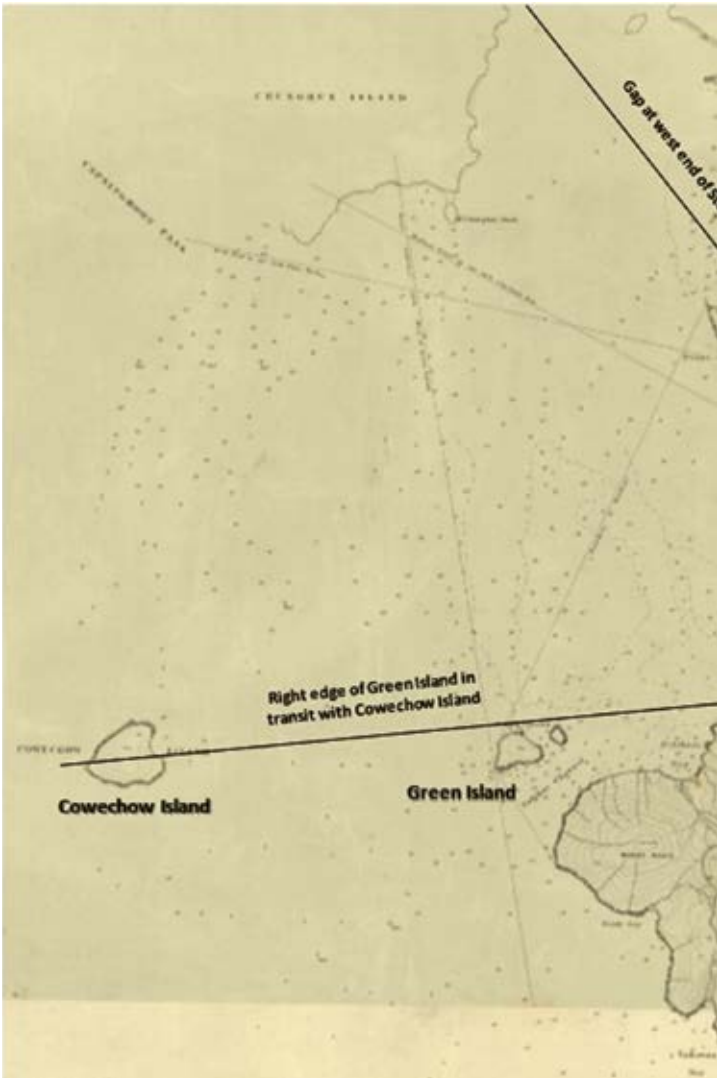
No. in sequence from East	Required bearings	Heath's bearings (implied from compass bearings from images on the edge of the paintings)	Degrees
1	087-177	087-167	80
2	177-267	167-260	93
3	267-357	260-357	97
4	357-087	357-087	90

Table 1: Approximate arcs of each of Heath's images compared to the ideal coverage of 90°.

A reasonable supposition is that whilst notionally Heath's work was controlled by an intention to be representationally accurate, his artistic sense was the main driver of how he went about things. As Table 1 shows, he ended his first pair about ten degrees short, probably due to the level of detail of the Island shore he wanted to include, and thus had to overshoot in the next two views to compensate. He finally got back to three degrees west of north at the end of his third view, and the final pair covered exactly what it should have done.

The general location of the *Iris* can be derived using six transits that can be seen in the paintings (two visible objects lined up one behind the other, called a 'range' in US navigational language, Fig. 4). This simultaneously gives a useful sense of where Lt Heath was when sketching and, when the arcs covered by his four paintings are tabulated, how artistic bravura trumped navigational precision of the kind adjured in the UKHO's guidelines.

Given the absence of any annotated bearings on Heath's watercolours and the vagueness of the annotated bearings that resulted in creating Sheet 1696, it is possible to see this as exactly the sort of problem the Hydrographic Office guidelines on sketches aimed to deal with: an awareness that those sketching would not necessarily get everything in



proportion. So, they specified the need to focus on clearly depicting all salient features and annotating them in ways that show accurately how everything was orientated. In Rear-Admiral Sir William J.L. Wharton's discussion a few years later, admittedly for hydrographic surveyors rather than ordinary ships' navigating officers, the ideal is spelled out and illustrated.[27] It follows that Heath was not sketching a navigational view.[28]

From landscape watercolour to view

We do not know whether Heath's paintings were accompanied by notes. Certainly nothing now remains in the archives.[29] However, if the paintings were not intended as a navigational view for the Hydrographic Office, how and why did they get there?

Naval ships sent hydrographically useful information to the Hydrographic Office usually via Remark Books. However, the *Iris* did not submit any Remark Books during her service on the China coast and in Singapore.[30] There is a complete set of Captains' logs in The National Archives at Kew but these do not necessarily contain much navigational detail since it was the ship's Master who was responsible for navigation.[31] The amount of

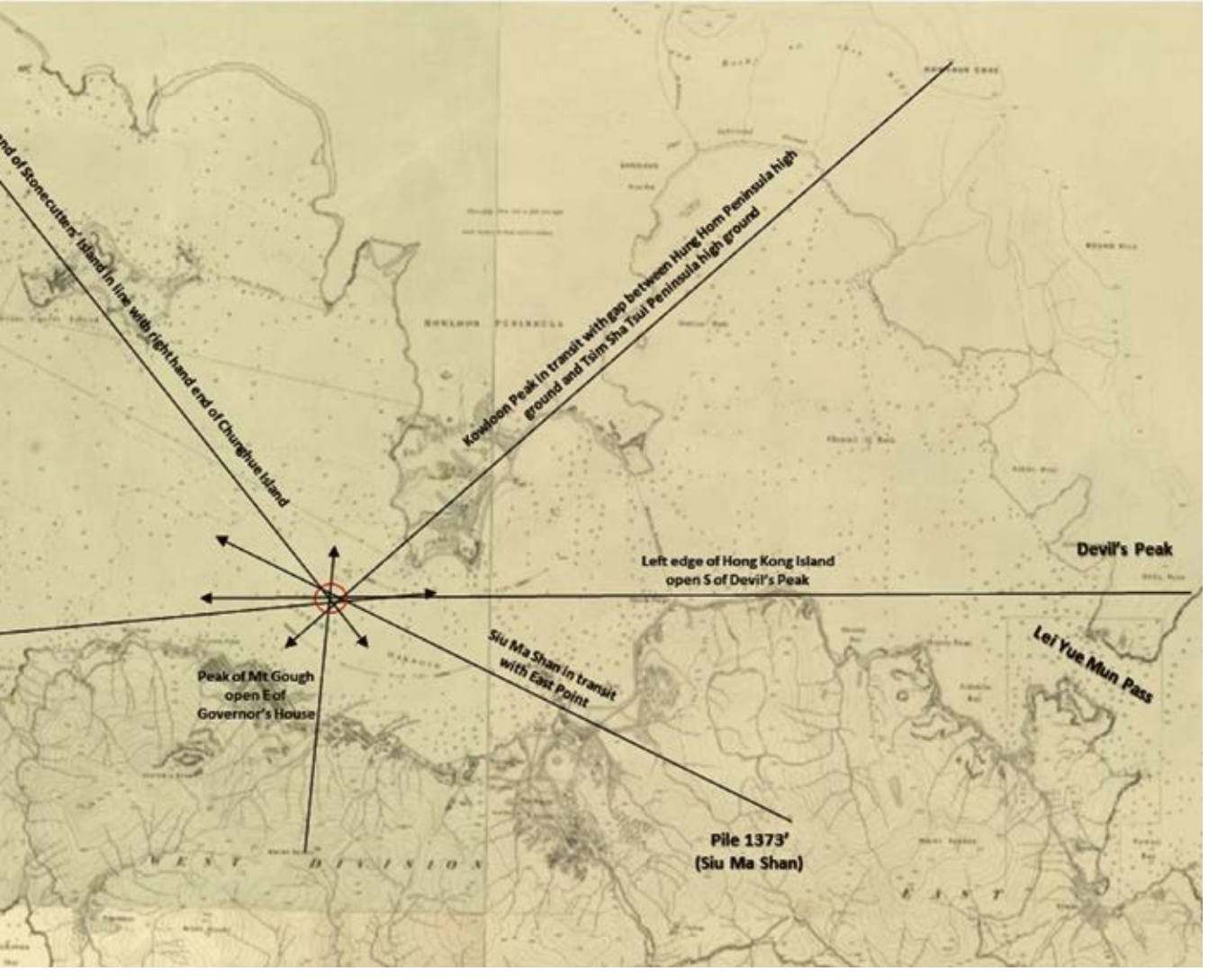


Fig. 4 HMS *Iris*'s position using the implied bearings in the panorama on Lt T.B. Collinson's Ordnance Map of 1845.[26]

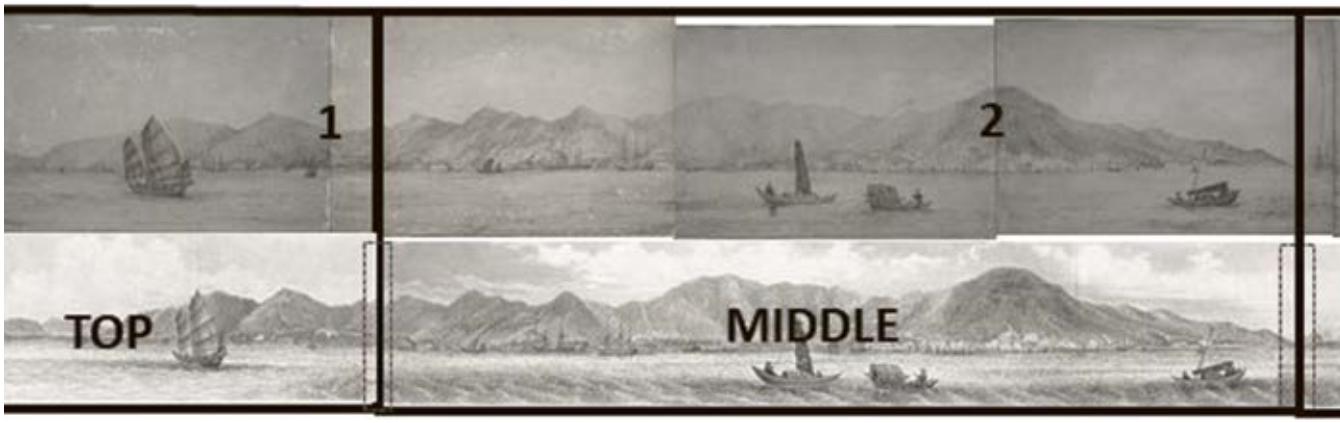


Fig. 5 How Lt Heath's views (top row) were partitioned to create the three published (bottom row) – note the extensions and compressions needed to get three, equal views, including the reduction of the amount of sky. The small, vertical boxes shown by dashed lines represent the overlaps between the three published sheets. The originals have no overlaps.

hydrographically useful information the *Iris* gathered was thus probably small. In any event, during this period the Surveying Service had HMS *Plover* and HMS *Young Hebe* on station, under Captain Richard Collinson and Lt William Thornton Bate, making a comprehensive survey of the China Coast.[32]

In either late 1844 or 1845 Captain Mundy made a coastal view, with remarks, of an island near Wenzhou: Nanki Shan (today Nanji Dao), of which Lt A.P. Greene of HMS *Plover* had already submitted a sketch in 1844.[33] Perhaps, anxious to have something to send to the Hydrographic Office, and conscious of the work on Hong Kong by the Army and others during *Iris*'s time there, when the ship got to Singapore, Captain Mundy sent off his log books to date, his own sketch and Heath's elegant – but navigationally unimportant – watercolour panorama, with a promise that he would see the Hydrographic Office returned it.[34]

The issues here are three. The first, quickly despatched, is how and why four images became three. The second is why Captain Francis Beaufort RN, the Hydrographer, chose to use Heath's painting to make a navigationally largely useless set of views of Victoria Harbour in Hong Kong. The last is how an apparently completely unannotated panorama gained the information – the toponymy – that, under instruction from the Hydrographic Office, was added by the engravers.

The first question is answered by the simple logic of the production process in the Hydrographic Office given that the views were not being produced as a navigational aid. The considerations would have been two. One would have been the double elephant (DE, 673.1 x 1,016 mm / 26 ½ x 40 in) sheet used to reproduce the views and the landscape format that was generally favoured, as anyone who has actually used a chart at sea can readily understand.[35] As argued in the previous section, Heath's four images, stacked, argued a portrait format and so to suit the DE in landscape orientation, they had to be re-ordered to create the three printed views (Fig. 5). The other was what we might style presentational. Francis Beaufort, perhaps with an eye to the informational and instructive value of the views, with their focus on the new settlement of Hong Kong, would have wanted an uninterrupted waterfront, not one split, as in the first and second of Heath's images, which he could then highlight by making it the central view with the title colophon below it.

For the second question, it seems plausible that the Hydrographic Office had some reason to want to be seen sharing in the popular interest in Hong Kong. The Board of Ordnance, just round the corner at Cumberland House in Pall Mall, had got in first with Lt Collinson's map and his ten outline sketches, though at ten shillings each, they were quite expensive.[36] Beaufort would have known of the general buzz of interest in Hong Kong and things Chinese. In any case, as we have noted, publishing informative illustrations was something in which he saw value. Heath's panorama, with its careful depiction of Chinese shipping large and small, and the 'exotic' locale that was in the news, would have suited established practice, and been a heaven sent chance to show that the Hydrographic Office was 'on message', as we might put it today.

The puzzle of the toponyms is trickier. The printed



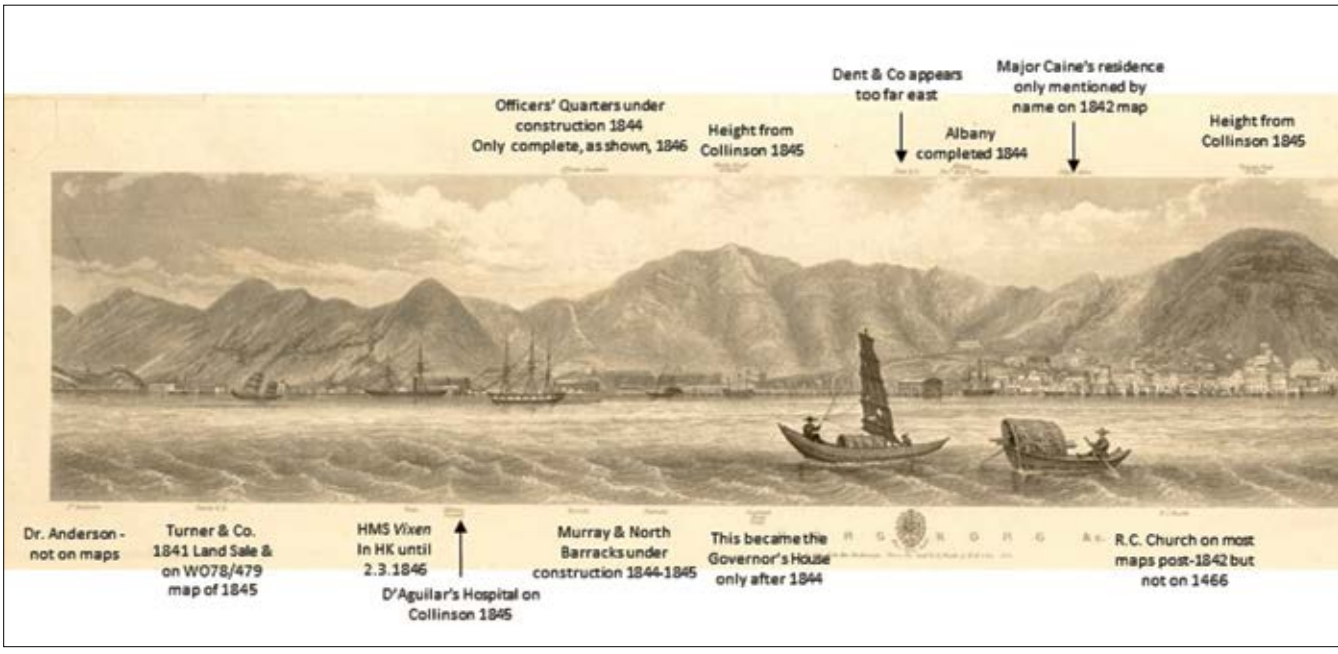
sheet has thirty-nine in total. Most (53 percent) are almost touristically descriptive – the names of buildings and or their occupants – and whilst historically informative, navigationally irrelevant. Eleven name geographical features. Only seven could be generously argued to be navigationally useful with three heights of mountains, Mt Parker (1,733 ft), Mt Gough (1,568 ft) and Victoria Peak (1,774 ft), and four cardinal bearings. Understanding where this information came from and how the cardinal points were translated will help us form some conjectures – they can be no more than this – as to how Heath's watercolours became Sheet 1696.

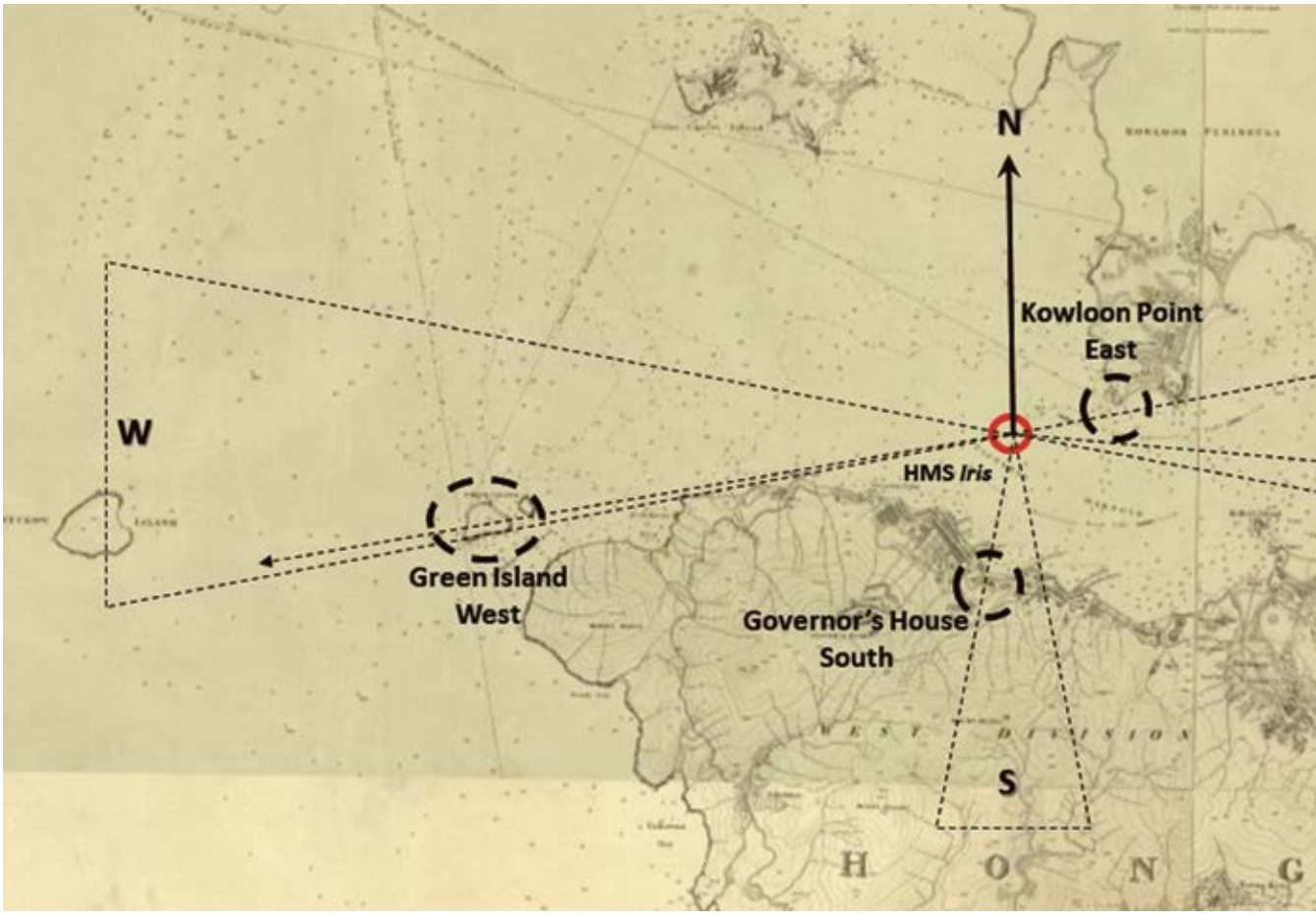
So, where did the toponymy used by the Hydrographic Office come from if not from Heath himself? Some simple elimination is indicative. The first indicator that sources other than the Hydrographic Office's own were in play comes from the spot heights of three mountains. None of these is the same as those in Hydrographic Office sources, for example Chart 1466, Hong Kong, which in 1843 gave 2,000 ft (called Highest Peak), 1,700 ft (Mt Gough) and 1,800 ft (Mount Possession). By the 1845 update with toponyms agreed after Hong Kong's first Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, had left office in May 1844, the chart had 1,711 ft (Mt Parker), 1,575 ft (Mt Gough) and 1,825 ft (Victoria Peak).[37] So where did the heights on Sheet 1696 come from? The indication is that they came from Lt Collinson's recently completed ordnance survey map and the ten 'outline sketches' that accompanied it, since the heights and names on Sheet 1696 are identical to those used by Collinson in both sources.

At that point the relationship to Lt Collinson's map becomes more tenuous. Of the thirty-nine toponyms, fifteen appear on no other contemporary source so far tracked down. Another fifteen appear elsewhere, though in a variety of sources. Their ready availability to the Hydrographic Office is unknown but, given that they are Colonial Office or Board of Ordnance manuscript maps, it is unlikely they would have been readily available to Captain Beaufort.[38] Nine of the toponyms are variants in the same variety of sources, though not direct transcriptions.

The majority of the toponyms relate to Hong Kong as it was in 1844 or 1845, with one or two from 1843 and at least one dating from 1846. Beaufort, necessarily in the dark as to Hong Kong's rapid development, will have got the data from any source he had to hand, including from anyone, either at the Hydrographic Office or elsewhere, who knew Hong Kong. Given that the views were not navigational aids, the object seems to have been to gather enough toponyms to flesh out the views and give useful basic information.

One plausible source could have been Frederick White who returned to Britain from Hong Kong in mid-1843. He was serving in Woolwich Barracks in 1844, so would have been available in late 1846 or early 1847.[39] By the latter date, there will also have been officers from the *Iris* as well as officers from HMS *Vixen*, which appears in Heath's view and on Sheet 1696, which had arrived back in Portsmouth on 30 June 1846.[40] Possibly, and more important, there was Captain Henry Kellett RN, who had assisted both Captain Belcher RN and his replacement Captain Richard Collinson, with their surveys of Hong Kong waters between 1840 and 1843. Kellett got permission to leave HMS *Starling* and Hong Kong in August 1843. He was back attending balls in County Tipperary by December that year.[41] In December 1844 rumour had him initially slated for command of HMS *Crocodile* on the China Station, but


Officers' Quarters under construction 1844
Only complete, as shown, 1846
Height from Collinson 1845
Dent & Co appears too far east
Albany completed 1844
Major Caine's residence only mentioned by name on 1842 map
Height from Collinson 1845
Dr. Anderson - not on maps
Turner & Co. 1841 Land Sale & on WO78/479 map of 1845
HMS Vixen In HK until 2.3.1846
D'Aguilar's Hospital on Collinson 1845
Murray & North Barracks under construction 1844-1845
This became the Governor's House only after 1844
R.C. Church on most maps post-1842 but not on 1466


N
Kowloon Point East
W
HMS Iris
Green Island West
Governor's House South
S
H O N G

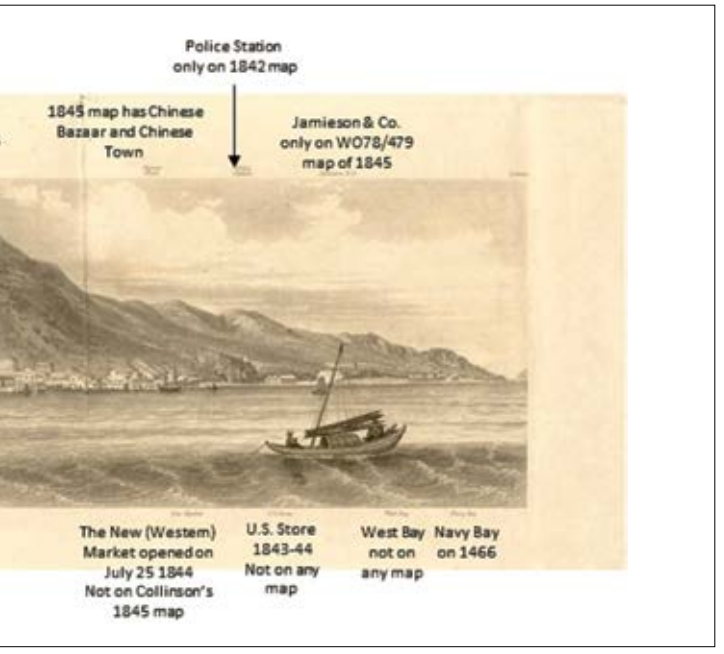


Fig. 6 The toponymy of the central view of Sheet 1696 covers a time period of 1842–46, though the state of development of the island is of 1844/45.

he took command of the *Herald* for her survey mission in January 1845, which would have entailed planning a meeting with Beaufort.[42]

The argument in favour of some 1843 or early 1844 recollections lies in two toponyms on the 1696 sheet; one only on an 1842 manuscript map of Hong Kong,[43] and the other on the central view on Sheet 1696 (Fig. 6), focussing only on the main, Hong Kong Island view.[44] Both are at the west end of Hong Kong Island. One is a police station, identified by 1696 as close to Possession Point, conforming to the location of a 'police station for 12 men' on the 1842 map which seems to have ceased to exist before 1845. The other is the label 'U.S. Store', just west of Possession Point where the 'Naval Stores' are located on Lt Collinson's 1845 Ordnance Map.

How to understand the second is uncertain. It might mean something like 'United Services Stores', although well-attested inter-service rivalry makes that improbable. However, in July 1843 Thomas Westbrook Waldron became the first US Consul to Hong Kong. He is noted as being appointed US Navy Storekeeper in June 1843.[45] Waldron was a junior US Navy employee in what was called the 'Civil Branch', and his store was on Queen's Road in today's Sai Ying Pun, so reasonably close to where 1696 shows the U.S. Store. Waldron died in Macau in 1844, so here again may be an echo of White's final days, or the *Iris*'s first in the new British colony.

Most of the other evidence argues for an intention to show Hong Kong as it was in 1844 or 1845, particularly the part-completed state of the Murray and North Barracks, which do not match the descriptions of them as completed 'permanent' buildings in a review of the health of the British troops in Hong Kong in 1846.[46] The avoidance of Lt Collinson's 'D'Aguilar's Hospital' by the use of the more anonymous 'Military Hospital' is possibly a typical inter-service snub – Major General Charles D'Aguilar served as commander of the British Garrison and Lieutenant-Governor from 1843 to 1848.[47]

The cardinal directions on Sheet 1696 are something of an anomaly (Fig. 7). The north

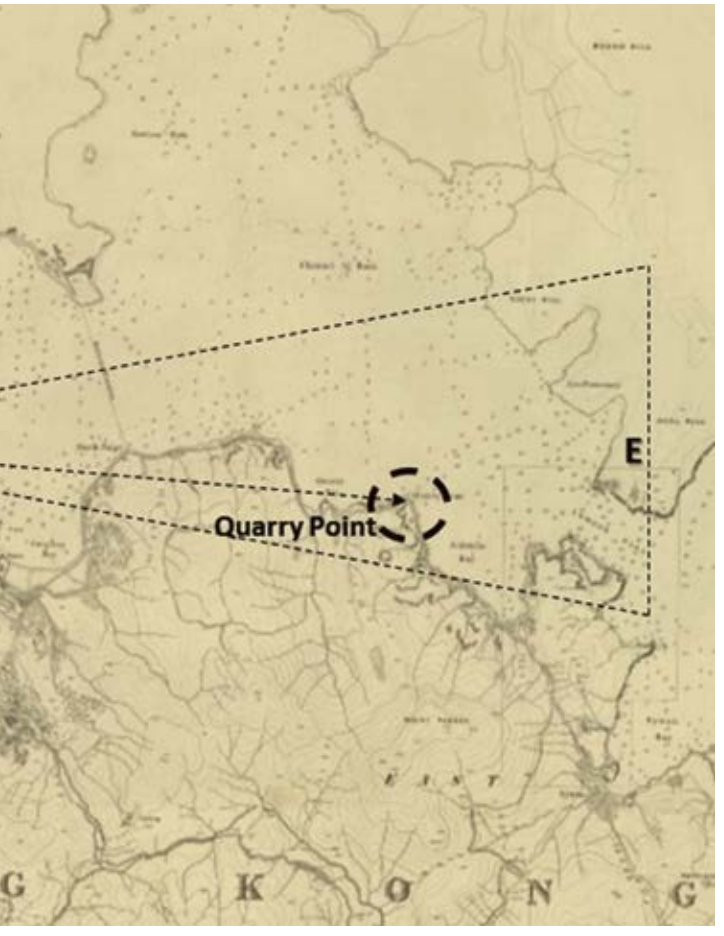


Fig. 7 With the exception of North, the directional markers on Sheet 1696 are not precise – the dashed circles show the features labelled, respectively 'East', 'South' and 'West', none of which is exactly in the direction given.

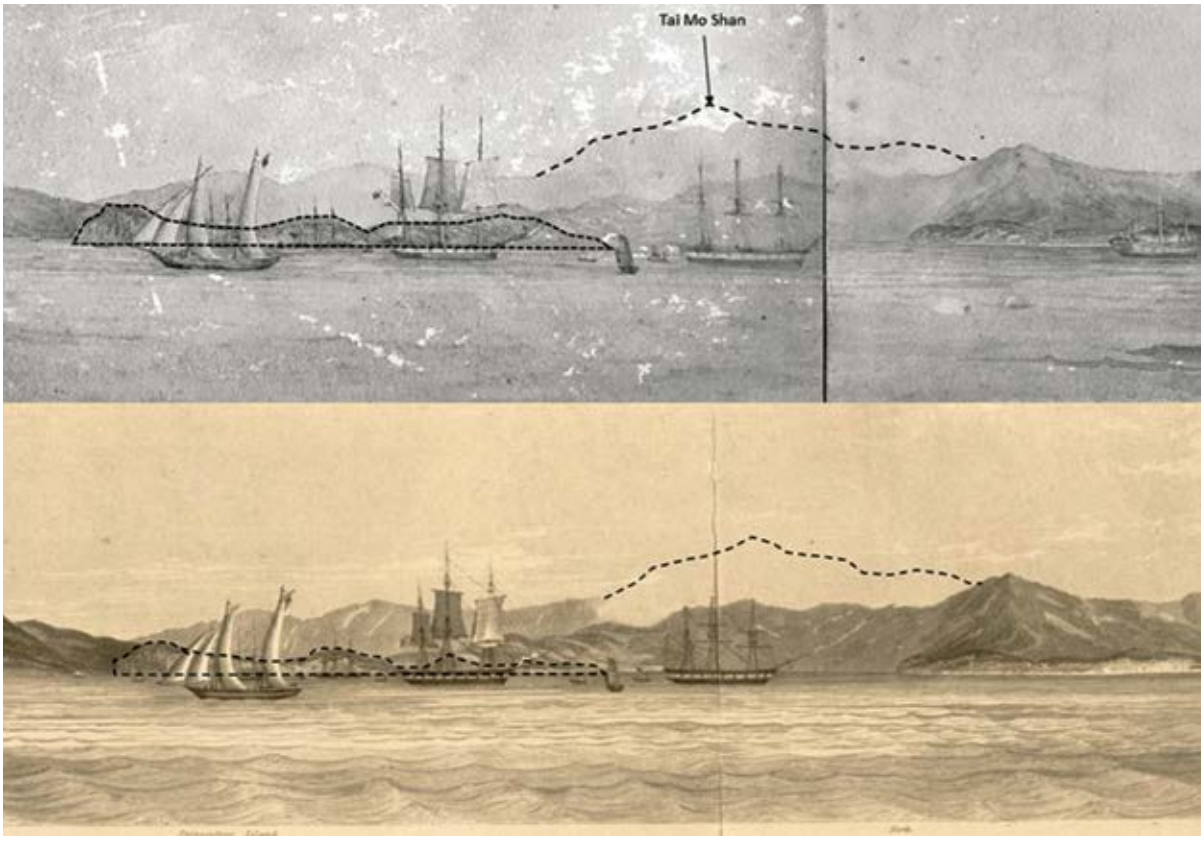


Fig. 8 Details from the third of Heath's watercolours, looking north from HMS *Iris,* and the rendering of it on the bottom view on Sheet 1696. The dashed lines show the outlines of Stonecutter's Island on the left with Tai Mo Shan rising from behind its eastward end.

indicator plots true. However, the east, south and west marks can only be understood as general indicators. Were Green Island, beneath the label for which 'West' appears, due west from the anchorage, it would not be visible. Were Kowloon Point, beneath the label for which 'East' appears, due east, the *Iris* would have been anchored two cables (*c.*400m) further north than she was. The Governor's House, beneath which the 'South' label appears, is not due south but at about 190°. Andrew Cook has plausibly suggested that for an informative illustration Beaufort would have considered a general indication adequate and that the placing of the directions beneath a toponym may have been the engraver's work to improve the look of things.

The comparative indifference to navigational precision is also illustrated by the labelling of 'Quarry Point'. Both Chart 1466 and Lt Collinson's map show that Quarry Point is invisible from where the *Iris* was anchored, lying on the far side of a *c.* 200 m high hill mass, as would Green Island have been looking westwards from the ship. Here again, a toponym is taken from the Army source, not from the Hydrographic Office's chart, which had no names for features in that direction.[48]

The final anomaly present in Heath's painting, to someone who knew Hong Kong, illustrates the general problem created by sketches that were not comprehensively annotated. It also shows the difference between techniques used for a sketch intended for navigational use and those by a landscape artist.

What is missing from Sheet 1696 is Hong Kong's highest mountain and also the tallest peak in coastal Southern China, Tai Mo Shan (957 m, Fig. 8). In reasonable visibility the mountain dominates the view to the north from the harbour. It does so even when, as its name hints, it is wearing one of its common caps of cloud, a point made in the annotations to Sheet 1696 about Lantau Peak and also shown in relation to Castle Peak.[49]

Heath's background would have made him familiar with the use of aerial perspective by English landscape

artists of the revolutionary period in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, inspired by what Alison Smith identifies as 'a new emotional response to landscape first developed in the work of Romantic painters'.[50] He would certainly have known the work of the master practitioner, J.M.W. Turner (1775–1851), who would surely have been discussed by the artists in the family during Heath's youth.[51] John Ruskin's path-breaking *Modern Painters*, with its vigorous defence of Turner, had been published in May 1843, seven months before Heath had left Britain for China.[52]

In the four sketches Heath uses aerial perspective to great, but navigationally misleading, effect. To see features in the outer area beyond Victoria Harbour limits, like Kau Yi Chau or, beyond, Peng Chau (called Beang on Chart 1466), one needs to know they are there. Thus, in Figure 8 top, if one knows Tai Mo Shan is there, it is possible to see its faint blue outline and – the painting is damaged – possibly its cloud cap against the sky. If not, not. Hence its absence from Sheet 1696, the lower image in Figure 8. This also supports the supposition that Heath's accompanying notes were slight. No other source could have helped, since none covered anywhere north of the outskirts of North Kowloon and the peak was no longer seen as sufficiently navigationally important to be mentioned in the *China Sea Directory* or on the chart *China South Coast: Entrance to the Chou Kiäng, or Canton River from the Outer Islands to Lintin* of 1840.[53]

There is much other historical detail in Heath's watercolours that, whilst faithfully shown, gets transmuted in translation to the engraved views in Sheet 1696. A ship shown on port tack, working its way up to Hong Kong from the west against the wind by Heath, appears, improbably, running free. Ships at anchor, inconveniently placed, get picked up and plonked elsewhere to suit the demands of three views not four paintings. A pennant blown athwartships by a north easterly wind becomes one blown fore and aft. A sampan boatman with a cloth turban head covering and his crew on the foredeck with probably a Danjia rattan hat both get 'Chinese-ified' with 'proper Chinamen's' conical hats. What looks a like a child on the sampan shelter roof is deleted. Heath's passably accurate depiction of the complex sheeting arrangement of the sampan's sail gets tidied, but wrongly (Fig. 9)![54]

Yet in general the engraver has respected Heath's attention to detail and the information conveyed about maritime activity in 1845 Hong Kong, from hospital ships to opium hulks, through dispatch vessels, opium clippers, and both Hoklo and Danjia type sampans, to the declining Royal Navy presence.[55] Nearly two hundred small Chinese and Western craft are shown on the island's shoreline, but no large trading junks and only a handful of Western shipping. This reflects the outcome of clause XIII of the 1843 Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue, the effect of which had been to frustrate the use of Hong Kong by Chinese coastal traders and gravely to threaten the prospects and prosperity of the fledgling port. It was a problem that wasn't sorted out, to British satisfaction



Fig. 9 The watercolour (above) is 'corrected' in Sheet 1696 (below) to suit western ideas of 'Chineseness'.

at least, until the treaty that ended the Second Opium War in 1860. Being historically informative, visually entertaining and aesthetically pleasing, if navigationally irrelevant, is exactly what we might expect of an illustration that would keep the Hydrographic Office's end up in a China-fascinated, information-hungry late 1840s Britain.

This short essay has only touched the surface of the detail in Leopold Heath's charming paintings and only sketched what they reveal. What we have seen, however, are the difficulties presented to the Hydrographic Office and its engravers in taking works of art created thousands of miles away and in another world, that did not have navigational concerns as their primary motivation.

Notes

1 Stephen Davies, 'A point of view: the incarnations of Sheet 1696, "Hong Kong &c. As seen from the Anchorage", 1846', *IMCoS Journal*, December 2019, No. 159, pp. 29-41. I am indebted to correspondence with Dr Andrew Cook, who drew my attention to the probable source of some of the UKHO's topographical data, thereby focusing my mind on the whole issue of mid-1840s depictions of and interest in Hong Kong and helpfully critiqued earlier drafts of this paper. See also Dr Cook's 'Observations On heath's Panorama of Hong Kong Harbour, *IMCoS Journal*, March 2020, No. 160, pp. 69 & 63.

2 Any ship in a position to consult the views already knew where it was and would be routinely visited by the Harbour Master or his officers, who would answer any specific questions. Adrian Webb, *Guide to the views in the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive Collection*, version 3, Taunton: UK Hydrographic Office, 2019, Appendix 1.

3 The western population in 1845 was 595, Fan Shuh Ching, *The population of Hong Kong*, Paris: CICRED, 1974, p. 1, fn.2.

4 Megan Barford argues persuasively that the Hydrographic Office's support for the *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle* was for 'a publication demonstrating (that) both the work of the Hydrographic Office, and its utility, should be seen in part as an intervention in support of a branch of public administration'. Megan Barford, 'Fugitive Hydrography: The Nautical Magazine and the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, *c.*1832–1850', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 27.2, 2015, p. 212.

5 See https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2016/07/maps-for-the-masses-geography-in-the-society-for-the-diffusion-of-useful-knowledge/ and Mead T. Cain, 'The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: A Publishing History', *Imago Mundi* , vol. 46 (1994), pp. 151–67. Andrew Cook has pointed out to me that publishing informative illustrations as 'views' was established Hydrographic Office practice during Francis Beaufort's long tenure as Hydrographer.

6 John Lust, *Western Books on China published up to 1850, in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. A descriptive catalogue, with author, title and supplementary subject indexes*, London: Bamboo Publishing Ltd., 1987, identifies 274 titles, in English and other European languages, published between 1842 and 1848.

7 Stephen Davies, *East sails West: the voyage of the Keying 1846–1855*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014.

8 William Langdon, *Ten thousand things relating to China and the Chinese; an epitome of the genius, government, history, literature. Agriculture, arts, trade, manners, customs, and social life of the people of the Celestial Empire*, London: G. M'Kewan, 1842. Also, John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776–1876*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, Ch. 4.

9 Simon Cooke, 'Henry Courtney Selous (1803–90): Illustrator of the Heroic' at http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/selous/bio.html, accessed 20 July 2020. By this stage in Burford's enterprise, how much was Burford's work and how much that of Selous is moot, Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 138.

10 The originals are lost, so how many sketches comprised the whole we do not know. Frederick White had arrived in Hong Kong as a 2nd Lieutenant on HMS *Wellesley* in 1840 and was invalided home in the chartered trooper *Apollo* in 1843. *London Evening Standard*, 31 August 1843, p. 2.

11 J. Plunkett, 'Moving Panoramas c. 1800 to 1840: The Spaces of Nineteenth-Century Picture-Going', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2013. doi: https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.674. Ralph Hyde and others, *Dictionary of Panoramists of the English-Speaking World*, pp. 305–07 at http://www.bdcmuseum.org.uk/uploads/uploads/biographical_dictionary_of_panoramists2.pdf.

12 E.J. Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882*, Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1895, p. 189; Henry George Hart, *The new army list*, London: John Murray, 1849, p. 77.

13 For the exhibition in Marshall's The Rotunda, *The Scotsman*, 21 October 1844, p. 3 and at The Theatre, Castle Street, Dundee *Northern Warder and General Advertiser for the Counties of Fife, Perth and Forfar*, 20 February 1845, p. 4. Its later travelling variant as Marshall's Music Hall see *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 12 December 1845, p. 5; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 11 April 1846, p. 4; *Glasgow Herald*, 22 May 1846, p. 4.

14 Thomas Allom, *The Chinese empire illustrated: being a series of views from original sketches displaying the scenery, architecture, social habits, &c., of that ancient and exclusive nation*, London: London Printing and Publishing Company, 1858, facing p. 75.

15 Little is known about Murdoch Bruce save that he had been born in 1816 in Cromdale, Morayshire, and was appointed Inspector of Buildings in Hong Kong in June 1843 (E.J. Eitel, *ibid*.). He is variously described as an architect and engineer. He is no longer listed in the Surveyor-General's Office in 1849 or as a Hong Kong resident, or as a resident in Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy (Xiamen), Shanghai, Macao or Manila. *The Hongkong almanack, and directory for the year of our Lord 1850, and of the reign of her majesty Queen Victoria the fourteenth*, Hong Kong: Noronha, 1849. Exactly when the views were published is not known.

16 *Morning Advertiser*, 18 & 20 February 1847; *Shipping & Mercantile Gazette*, 20 & 22 February 1847; *The Daily News* (London), 20 & 26 February 1847; *The Sun*, 18 & 24 February, p. 1 & p. 5.

17 For the arrival, *The Friend of China*, Supplement, 12 October 1843. The departure, in the *Emily Jane*, was on 11 June 1846, see https://ghgraham.org/thomascollinson1821.html. By 1848 Frederick White was in New Zealand, where he served with Lt T.B. Collinson and painted with him. See National Library of New Zealand at https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22606666 accessed on 21 July 2020.

18 Lt Collinson was in Guangzhou, Xiamen, and Nanjing and in the company of another sketching military man, Lt Charles J. (or T.)

Collingwood of the Madras Artillery. See the list of 102 objects, including a number of unknown views of Hong Kong and of his work with Frederick White, at https://natlib.govt.nz/items?i%5Bname_authority_id%5D=-80694. For Charles Collingwood as Barrack Master at Kulangsu (today Gulangyu), Xiamen, in 1845 see *The Chinese Repository*, vol. XIV, Jan-Dec 1845, Canton: Printed for the Proprietors, 1845, p. 16.

19 WO 78/115, Lt T.B. Collinson, R.E, 'Ten Outline Sketches of the Island of Hong Kong. To accompany the Ordnance map of Hong Kong': 12 sheets, comprising a cover sheet, ten views, and an index map showing the extent of each view. Compass indicator to the index map. lithographed by Dickinson and Co, Bond Street, Royal Engineers' Office, Hong Kong, 27 August 1846.

20 The album of views is listed as 4D★ The Island of Hong Kong by Lt Collinson R.E., 1846, see Adrian Webb, *Guide to the views in the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive Collection*, Taunton: UKHydrographic Office, 2019, p. 97. I am most grateful to Dr Cook for drawing this entry to my attention.

21 Terry Bennett, *History of Photography in China, 1842–1860*, London: Bernard Quaritch, 2009, Ch. 2. Among the scenes in West's portfolio was 'Victoria, from a point about two miles to the Westward', one of at least four lithographed by McClure, Macdonald, MacGregor & Co. in 1847, around the same time as the production of Murdoch Bruce's set. Copies of the lithographs, of Canton, Hong Kong, Macao and the Macau Passage, are in the National Maritime Museum, Royal Museums Greenwich (PAH2790, PAH2764, PAH2768, PAH2767).

22 In the notice of the new publication in the *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, June 1847, p. 332, we read, 'Views of Hong Kong, Lieut. S.G. Heath (sic), H.M.S. *Iris*, 1845 (sic), Price 3s'.

23 For Lt Collinson's work see https://natlib.govt.nz/items?i%5Bname_authority_id%5D=-80694. For his involvement with White, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23070258, which is one of White's watercolours with its title written on by Collinson. Hong Kong Government Records Service, HKMS140, Correspondence of Lt Collinson, includes 'a colour photocopy of a watercolour sketch of Aberdeen/Ap Lei Chau in 1840s'.

24 Grandfather: James Heath ARA (1757-1834), Historical Engraver to George III. Uncle: Charles Heath (1788–1848) involved in engraving J.M.W. Turner's work. Cousins: Frederick Heath (1810–1878) and Alfred Heath (1812–1895) professional engravers; Henry Charles Heath (1829–1898), miniature painter to Queen Victoria; Fanny Heath (1813–1850) married to minor artist Edward Henry Corbould (1815–1905). Heath also contributed seven of the twenty-eight images in the quirky J.A. St. John, *Views in the Eastern Archipelago: Borneo, Sarawak, Labuan &C &C, from drawings made on the spot by Capt Drinkwater Bethune, R.N., C.B., Commander L.G. Heath, R.N., and others*; *The Descriptive Letter-press by James Augustus St. John Esq.*, London: Thomas McLean, 1847.

25 In Austin Baukier's journal (ADM 1010/105/2, Folios 53 to 59), he mentions the presence aboard the *Iris* in Xiamen in April 1845 of members of the Madras Artillery, with whom Lt Collinson's friend Charles Collingwood served.

26 The Ordnance Map of Hong Kong. Surveyed by Lt T.B. Collinson, R.E., 1845. 4 inches to 1 mile. Southampton: War Office, 1846.

27 For an illustration see William J.L. Wharton, *Hydrographical surveying: a description of means and methods employed in constructing marine charts*, 4th edition revised and enlarged, A. Mostyn Field, London: John Murray, 1920, pp. 93–95. The sketch and detailed instructions had first appeared in the first edition in Wharton's, *Hydrographical surveying*, London: J. Murray, 1882, pp. 77–79.

28 It was almost *de rigueur* for the thoughtful officer in China in the 1840s to practice the art of painting, including Surgeon Edward Cree RN, Surgeon John Hammet Collins of the Madras Infantry, Lt Col Harry Francis Colville Darell of the 7th Dragoon Guards, Capt. Peter William Hamilton RN, Lt John Ouchterlony of the Madras Engineers, Capt. James Stoddart RN, and Cdr Rundle Burgess Watson RN.

29 Webb (2019), p. 17.

30 *Iris'*s last remark book before her China commission was in 1843. The next recorded is in 1861. A.C.F. David, *A Provisional Catalogue of Logs, Journals, Documents, Letters, Record Copies of Books and Pamphlets published by the Hydrographic Department and held in its Archives at The Hydrographic Department, Ministry of Defence, Taunton, Somerset*, Taunton: Hydrographic Office, 1974, p. D3-D8.

31 ADM 51/3617, *Iris*, captain's logs from 21 October 1843 to 5 August 1847. For reasons of distance these have not yet been consulted.

32 L.S. Dawson, *Memoirs of Hydrography including Brief Biographies of the Principal Officers who have Served in H.M. Naval Surveying Service between the Years 1750 and 1885*, Eastbourne: Henry W. Keay, The 'Imperial Library', 1995, Part II, 1830–1885, pp. 9, 30–31 & 48–50.

33 ADM 344/1515, China, E Coast: San-tu Ao (Sandu Ao) to Wenzhou Wan: Nanjishan (Nan-chia Shan), vicinity; two items on one sheet: item 1, 'Tae Shan Group (Taishan Liedao or T'ai-shan Lieh-tao)' and 'Intensity or Namke Shan Group (Namki Islands)' showing 'Castellated Rock' and 'Observatory Island', (A.P. Greene, HMS *Plover,* Capt. R. Collinson, *c.* 1844?); item 2, 'Namki Shan Island', (Capt. Mundy, HMS *Iris*?) with remarks.

34 As Adrian Webb points out in his *Guide to the views in the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office Archive Collection*, it was normal practice for the original sketches submitted to the Hydrographic Office to remain there. This was not an iron rule and many views can be found in other collections. Leopold Heath's images were returned to him and, happily, they have survived with his descendents.

35 The point is simple. To consult what is on the top part of a chart means leaning over the chart table. The average human upper body being what it is, the 'stretch' required to inspect the top a portrait DE is uncomfortable to maintain, especially in a seaway.

36 For the price, *Morning Advertiser*, 18 February 1847, p. 1. A decade later an artisan in London earned £1/16/- a week and a seafarer 15 shillings a week, D.H. Porter, *The Thames Embankment: Environment, Technology, and Society in Victorian London*, Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 1998, p. 176.

37 Pottinger had been very hesitant about agreeing toponyms, see The National Archives, CO 129/2, p. 178 and Stephen Davies and Ken S.T. Ching, 'Saiwan Redoubt Part II: Hong Kong's oldest property boundary marker stone and triangulation station', *Surveying and Built Environment*, vol. 25.1, 2016, p. 64. Collinson explicitly notes of the names he uses: 'The orthography is given by His Excellency Sir John Francis Davis, Bart. Governor of Hong Kong'. This is perhaps a small dig at the Hydrographic Office whose orthography of Hong Kong toponyms is eccentric to the point of incomprehensibility, as well as often wrong.

38 The possible sources can be found on the excellent Gwulo.com and HKMaps.hk websites and include: Chart 1466, Hong Kong, 1843 & 1845; The National Archives FO 925/2427, Plan of Hong Kong. MS. In Sir H. Pottinger's 'Superintendent' no 8 of 1842; FO 925/2387 Survey of the northern face of the Island of Hong Kong; MPHH 1/465, Board of Ordnance Map of Hong Kong cantonment, *c.*1844; WO 78/479, Plan of Victoria, Hong Kong, Copied from the Surveyor General's Dept., 1845; WO 78/435 Hong Kong. 'Contoured Survey of the Cantonment and Victoria Hong Kong 1844' Lt T. B.

Collinson, Royal Engineers; Ordnance Map of Hong Kong, Lt T.B. Collinson R.E, 1846; WO 78/115, Lt T.B. Collinson, R.E, 'Ten Outline Sketches of the Island of Hong Kong. To accompany the Ordnance Map of Hong Kong', 1846.

39 *Kentish Independent*, 28 September 1844, p. 5.

40 *Vixen's* arrival, *The Hull Packet & East Riding Times*, 3 July 1846, p. 3. Some of the *Iris*'s officers may have been required to attend a Court of Enquiry aboard HMS *Poictiers* at Chatham Dockyard that seems to have been convened to enquire into how one of the chests of silver for the indemnity had turned out to be filled with lead – the story, often specifically mentioning the *Iris*, appeared in several provincial newspapers between August & October 1847, for example *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 11 September 1847, p. 4.

41 *Saunders's News-Letter*, 19 December 1843, p. 2.

42 *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 4 December 1844, p. 2; *Hampshire Independent*, 7 December 1844, p. 3 for the *Crocodile*; *Morning Advertiser*, 20 January 1845, p. 3 and *Naval & Military Gazette and Weekly Chronicle of the United Service*, 15 February 1845, p. 2 for the *Herald* and her task to 'complete the survey of the N.W. coast of America'.

43 The National Archives, FO 925/2427, Plan of Hong Kong. MS. In Sir H. Pottinger's 'Superintendent' no 8 of 1842.

44 *Hampshire Advertiser*, 7 October 1843, p. 4.

45 *Department of State, Register of All Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, In The Service Of The United States, from the Thirtieth September, 1841, to the Thirtieth September, 1843, with the Names, Force, and Condition of all Ships and Vessels Belonging to the United States, and when and where Built; Together with the Names and Compensation of all Printers in Any Way Employed by Congress, or Any Department or Officer of the Government*, Washington DC: J & G.S. Gideon, 1853, p. 242. *Friend of China*, 3 February 1844. There is no Hong Kong US Naval Store establishment listed in the 1845 Register.

46 John Kinnis, M. D., 'Contributions to the Military Medical Statistics of China', in *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay for the Years M.DCCC.XLVII and XLVIII*, Bombay: American Mission Press, 1849, pp. 7–15.

47 In the late 1880s the Army renamed Mount Wanchai, Mount Cameron after the then head of the garrison, Major General William Gordon Cameron. Not to be outdone, following a new survey in 1901–02, the Hydrographic Office's charts labelled a hitherto anonymous hill Mt Hamilton, after Lord George Francis Hamilton GCSI PC JP (1845–1927), First Lord of the Admiralty 1885–86 and 1886–92, author of the famous, 1889 'two power standard' for the R.N.

48 It was the early 20th century before the toponymy of Chart 1466 began fairly comprehensively to reflect the actual names in use in Hong Kong and their agreed orthography.

49 Tai Mo Shan (**大帽山**) translates as Big Hat Mountain, probably the cloud cap, possibly its shape. On early charts it is called, from the Portuguese, Lantau Falso. Lantau (**爛頭**) (the name of the tallest mountain on Hong Kong's largest island) very roughly means 'Rotten Top' probably in the sense of 'unreliable' (i.e. too often obscured by cloud).

50 Alison Smith, 'The Sublime in Crisis: Landscape Painting after Turner', in Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding (eds.), *The Art of the Sublime*, Tate Research Publication, January 2013, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/alison-smith-the-sublime-in-crisis-landscape-painting-after-turner-r1109220, accessed 29 May 2020.

51 Judith L. Fisher, 'Magnificent or Mad? Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and the Paintings of Joseph Mallord William Turner', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 29.3, 1996, pp. 242–60.

52 John Ruskin, *Modern Painters: their superiority in the art of landscape painting to all the ancient masters proved by examples of the true, the beautiful and the intellectual from the works of modern artists, especially those of J.M.W. Turner, Esq., R.A.,* London: Smith Elder, 1843, advertised in *The Atlas*, 27 May 1843, p. 16. For Turner and aerial perspective see Section IV, 'Of Truth of Earth', Ch. II 'Of the Central Mountains' and Ch. III 'Of the Inferior Mountains'. Heath was appointed to the *Iris* in October 1843, *Hampshire Advertiser*, 21 October 1843, p. 3.

53 https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/55321/entrance-to-the-chou-kiang-or-canton-river-from-the-outer-is-british-admiralty.

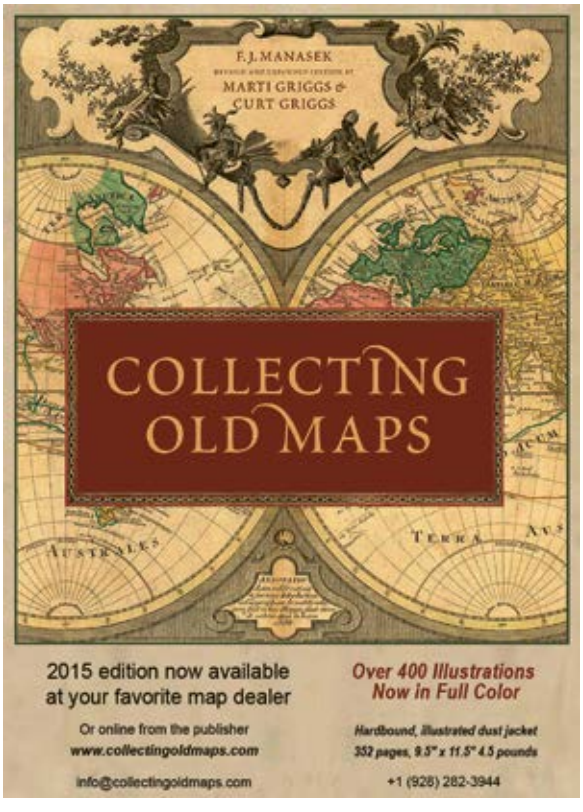
54 Danjia (following the Wade-Giles Romanization usually written Tanka, **蜑家**) is a pejorative Cantonese colloquialism for Southern China's traditional floating population, who call themselves 'On the Water People' (Shui Sheung Yan/Shui Shang Ren, **水上人**) or 'Southern Seas People' (Nam Hoi Yan/Nan Hai Ren, **南海人**).

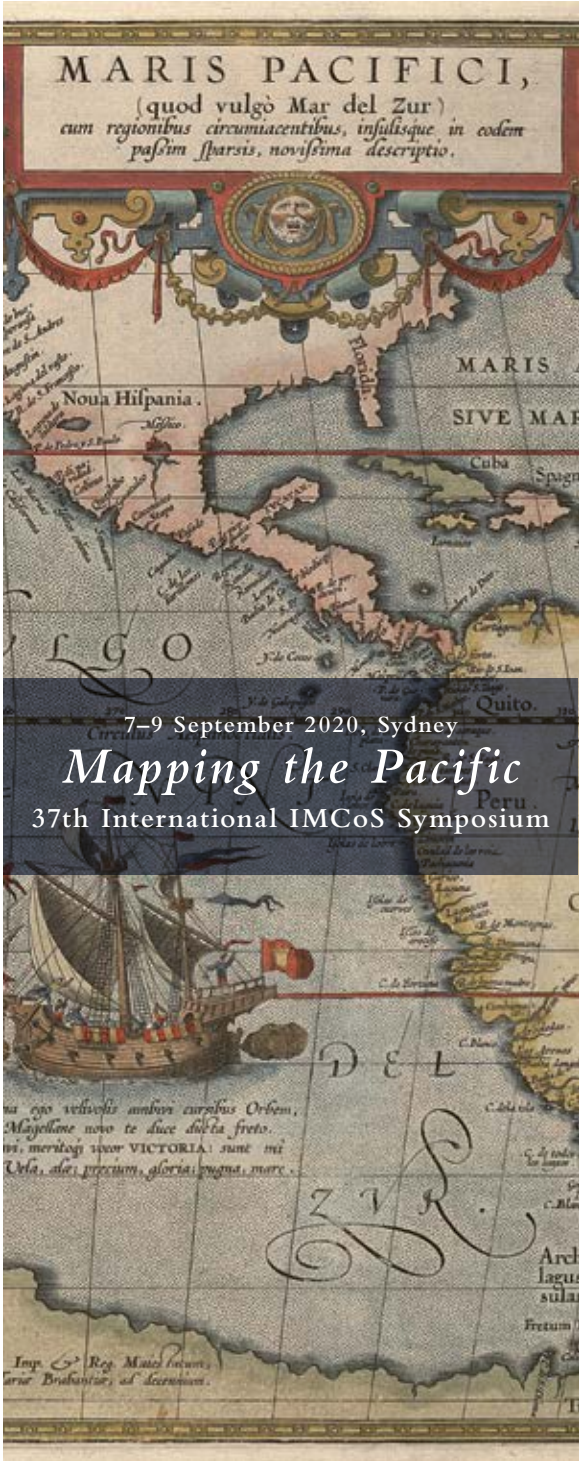
55 By late 1845, of the 30 ships on the East Indies and China Station, seventeen formed the China Squadron. By March 1846 this was down to thirteen, including a stores-cum-hospital ship, the hulked 3rd rate ship of the line *Minden*. By May 1846, the China based ships were down to five and, by October 1846, to four.

Acknowledgement

My thanks to J.J. Heath-Caldwell who put the images of Leopold's four watercolours online on his family's web page and made high resolution images available to me.

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.





25 – 27 August 2021
Mapping the Pacific
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney

The State Library of New South Wales's 2020 conference *Mapping the Pacific*, which had to be cancelled because of the Covid-19 pandemic, will be going ahead in 2021 from 25–27 August. It was to have been the 37th IMCoS International Symposium. At the time of the cancellation, it was uncertain when and even whether the conference could take place. Planning for the 38th Symposium in Brussels was already well underway as these events are quite complex and need to be arranged several years in advance. IMCoS had to keep its commitment to the Brussels organisers, focussing its attention on the 2021 38th Symposium taking place there, and for which preparations are in full swing. Now that the Sydney team has managed to reinstate the event – which is no mean feat – IMCoS will, of course, continue to support it. Details for Sydney follow below.

The conference is planned as a three-day event with presentations from international scholars who will examine the traditional wayfinding knowledge of the Pacific community, European exploration and the mapping of the Pacific from the early modern era through to the nineteenth century. An optional trip to Canberra for a special event at the National Library of Australia, including two nights' accommodation after the conference is being planned.

Considering the impact of Covid-19, the current programme will be reviewed with the expectation that many of the planned international speakers will be able to attend in person or virtually. The conference website is currently under review, but information is available on the venue, accommodation, and Sydney attractions. Registration for the conference will open in early 2021. The conference website is: https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/research-and-collections/research-and-engagement/mapping-pacific-conference

Enquiries: Maggie Patton, Manager, Research & Discovery, State Library of NSW
maggie.patton@sl.nsw.gov.au

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

PRELIMINARY NOTICE FOR



38TH IMCOS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

Mapping the World, the Belgian contribution

11 – 14 October 2021, Brussels, Belgium

Hosted by the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR)
and the Brussels Map Circle (BIMCC)

THE 38TH IMCOS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM will highlight the early Belgian contributions to the development of cartography worldwide, such as the introduction of triangulation techniques (Frisius, van Deventer), first world atlases (Ortelius, Mercator) and the first navigation charts using the Mercator projection.

This extraordinary history will include the Golden Age of Flemish cartography as well as masterpieces of the later periods, from Michael van Langren's selenography (17th century), Count Ferraris's Austrian mapping activities (18th century) to Vandermaelen's map library (19th century). The visits to Belgian collections will also reveal cartographic works from Dutch, Italian, French and English origin.

The symposium logo of the Pythagorean tetrad stems from an early ninth-century manuscript in the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) which contains amongst other texts, Isidore's *De natura rerum*. It summarises all the topics which will be explored during the conference: the earth element stands for land cartography; the air for celestial cartography; the water for the portolans and sea charts and the fire for maps related to warfare and fortifications plans.

This symposium is planned as a three-day event, commencing with an opening reception on the evening of 11 October 2021 at the Royal Library, morning presentations on 12–14 October at the KBR and afternoon visits to collections/institutions with remarkable map collections. These may include the State Archives of Belgium, the Art & History Museum, and the Royal Military Museum. An official dinner will close the conference on 14 October 2021.

A three-day optional trip is being planned to key cities and World War I memorial locations in Belgium.

Further details on the conference programme, the optional tour and registration will be available at http://imcos2021brussels.org and at http://www.bimcc.org, and http://www.kbr.be.

Mapping the World, the Belgian contribution

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Monday 11 Oct. 2021

17:00		KBR	Registration
18:00– 19:00		KBR	Reception

Tuesday 12 Oct. 2021

09:00	KBR	Registration
09:30	KBR	Opening
10:00	KBR	*Where are you? Introduction to Belgium* by Prof. Wouter Bracke, KBR/ULB
10:30	KBR	Coffee
11:00	KBR	*Intersections of military architecture and cartography in the Low Countries (1540–1625), from Jacob van Deventer to Pierre Le Poivre* by Prof. Pieter Martens, VUB
11:30	KBR	*Ortelius: the man and his world* by Joost Depuydt, Curator at the Museum Plantin Moretus
12:00	free*	Lunch at leisure*
13:30	KBR	Guided visit to the 'Dukes of Burgundy' museum (in KBR)
15:30	KBR	Viewing of KBR map collections
17:00	KBR	Close of day's events

Wednesday 13 Oct. 2021

09:00	KBR	*Scientific instruments of the sixteenth century* by Prof. Koenraad van Cleempoel, Univ. Hasselt
09:30	KBR	*Between Heaven and Earth. Michiel Florent van Langren and his map of the Moon* by Prof. Geert van Paemel, KU Leuven
10:00	KBR	Coffee
10:30	KBR	*Congo at the time of Leopold II* by Dr Jan Vandersmissen, Royal Academy for Overseas Sciences
11:00	KBR	*Austrian empire mapping (including Ferraris)* (to be confirmed) by Prof. G. Timár Eötvös University (Hungary)
12:00	free*	Lunch at leisure*
14:00		Visit to the scientific section of the Art & History Museum
15:30		Visit to the Map room of the Royal Army Museum
17:00		End of day's programme

Thursday 14 Oct. 2021

09:00	KBR	*Northern Europe in sixteenth-century nautical cartography: a comprehensive review* by Luis Robles (PhD candidate), ULB
09:30	KBR	*Oostende East India Company 1722–1742* by Dr Jan Parmentier, Museum aan de Stroom
10:30	KBR	Coffee
11:00	KBR	*The Mapping of the Antarctic Peninsula by European Nations around 1900* by Robert Clancy (to be confirmed)
11:30	KBR	*Darkness there and nothing more? Medieval cartography and the Liber Floridus* by Dr Karen De Coene, Arenberg Auctions
12:00	free*	Lunch at leisure*
14:30		Visit to the Map room of the State Archives of Belgium collection
16:30		Close of day's events
18:30		Reception at the Cercle Gaulois
19:00		Official dinner at the Cercle Gaulois
21:30		Speeches

Friday–Sunday 15–17 Oct. 2021

Optional touristic excursion by bus to Antwerp, Ghent and World War I memorial locations.

* Lunch not included in registration fee.

WORTH A LOOK

Free online map and globe websites

With the persistence of the pandemic and access restricted to many of those institutions on which we have relied for information, inspiration and intellectual stimulation, online resources have never been more precious. The list is long of libraries that have uploaded, for public access, those parts of their collections that have been digitised. I mention a few that I have been viewing recently that you may find interesting:

Persuasive cartography, the PJ Mode Collection

If you missed PJ Mode's talk on 22 October 'Persuasive Cartography: Art, Science and Deception' (the first in the 2020/2021 Maps and Society Lecture series), may I direct you to his fascinating collection of 'persuasive cartography'– those maps which he describes as 'intended to influence opinions rather than provide geographic information'. The collection of some 800 maps ranges in date from the fifteenth century to the twentieth and demonstrate the methods mapmakers have employed to express their message. Part of Cornell University Library's Division of Rare & Manuscript Collections, this collection can be viewed at http://persuasivemaps.library.cornell.edu.

Kalakriti Archives – Prashant Lahoti Collection (https://artsandculture.google.com/partner/kalakriti-archives)

The archive is one of the largest private archives of maps and photographs in India. There are over ten thousand historic maps and plans with a chronological spread of five hundred years, and a further nine thousand vintage photographs from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The collection offers a remarkable pictorial and cartographic record of the history of major Indian cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras, princely states and the Himalayan regions of Kashmir, Ladakh and Darjeeling. In addition to the several curated digital exhibitions, there are more than 800 maps to view online, and most are supported with extensive explanatory information.

British Library Globes

Sadly, due to the fragile nature of early globes many of us will never have the opportunity to handle and examine them closely. The British Library has come to the rescue. Over the past several years it has been developing bespoke equipment to photograph and digitise its globe collection. Since March this year ten seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European globes can be viewed and manipulated 'virtually'. The viewing platform enables you to move the globes in every which way, allowing you to see those details of the southern hemisphere that have in the past been so inaccessible. The experience is breathtaking. Online to date are terrestrial globes by Charles Price, Thomas Tuttell and Richard Cushee, pairs of celestial and terrestrial globes by Blaeu, Doppelmayer and Wright & Bardin, and a pocket globe by Joseph Moxon. https://www.bl.uk/maps/articles/european-globes-of-the-17th-and-18th-centuries

Tooley Archives of Australian maps

In 1973 the National Library of Australia purchased from antiquarian bookseller Nico Israel R.V. Tooley's collection of 1,277 published charts and maps. Tooley had sold this collection some years earlier to the Amsterdam dealer, nearly all of which are described in his book *The Mapping of Australia* (1979). Dating from the sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century, they include maps of the Pacific and New Zealand, as well as Australia. The strength of the collection is in its maritime maps and general maps, including maps of explorers' routes. The collection is online on the Library's website. https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Search/Home?lookfor=tooley+collection&submit=Submit+search+query&filter[]=series-cluster:%22R.V.%20Tooley%20map%20collection%22&page=1

John Phillips (under pseudonym: A. Sharpshooter), 'An eclipse lately discovered in the Georgium Sidus, and quite unexpected by any of the Astronomers', 1829. England is obscured while Ireland basks in the light after the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act by the then Prime Minister the Duke of Wellington. Cornell University – PJ Mode Collections of Persuasive Cartography.


A. Sharpshooter fec.
London: Pub. by J.W. Fores, 41, Piccadilly, 1829
AN ECLIPSE
Lately discoverd in the Georgium Sidus, and quite unexpected by any of the Astronomers.
Ireland

EXHIBITION REVIEW

Krieg und Frieden

(War and Peace: Illustrated Chronicles of the Old Swiss Confederacy)

Zentralbibliothek Zürich
Until 12 December 2020

The turbulent story of the pursuit of a federal identity – the subject of the exhibition *Krieg und Frieden* at the Zürich Central Library – is told from the pages of several of Switzerland's most treasured chronicles. From the late fifteenth century, these richly illustrated manuscripts emerged as a way of recording regional history. Initially it was authors of individual cities who proudly recorded, in word and image, their hometown's past but as these works proliferated they increasingly took on the character of nationwide chronicles, incorporating political issues and conflicts from beyond their immediate locality.

The oldest preserved Swiss picture chronicle, the Tschachtlanchronik by Bendicht Tschachtlan and Heinrich Dittlinger (*c.*1470), describes the history of Bern from its legendary beginnings. The 1,104-page manuscript contains 230 washed pen drawings, primarily depicting the city's various armed conflicts. Their detail provides readers today with an excellent insight into the art of warfare in the fifteenth century. Further expanding the narrative are the Great Burgundian Chronicle by Diebold Schilling the Elder (1478–83), the Zürich Edlibach Chronicle (1482–1532) and the Federal Chronicle by Werner Schodoler (1514–32), the last of the illustrated Swiss chronicles of the late Middle Ages.

Supporting the exhibition are two highly prized cartographic items: the first printed Swiss atlas 'Landtafeln' by Johannnes Stumpf and a manuscript map drawn by Zürich physician Conrad Türst (1450–1503). Intended to accompany his book *De situ confoederatorum descriptio*n, it is considered the earliest map (created in 1495–97) of the old confederacy, and is a milestone in the cartographic depiction of Switzerland.

Türst compiled the map from his own travels. He noted the distance covered in the number of paces



Conrad Türst, Map of the old Swiss Confederacy in *De situ confoederatorum descriptio*. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms Z XI 307a.


Alpes Leopont
Alpes Grec
Augusta
Sanctus
Blanne



Fig. 1 A page from the Bern Chronicle depicting the Battle of Morgarten in 1315, a pivotal battle in Swiss history when a 1,500-strong force from the Swiss Confederacy defeated a Habsburg army. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms A 120. Public Domain Mark.



between places he visited and made astronomical observations to determine geographical positions.[1] Drawn loosely with ink and watercolour on vellum, and measuring 42 x 57 cm, the map shows most of the territory of modern Switzerland (but excludes Basel and Geneva). The topography is indicated with washes of green, rivers are marked by thin blue lines which curl and loop their way across the landscapes to one of the many lakes shown. The map is south-oriented with Lake Constance on the left and parts of southern Germany at the bottom of the map, the mouth of the Rhone river meets Lake Geneva on the far right. The map is scattered with settlements; their size clearly distinguished: Zürich is depicted with multiple lofty church spires towering above the city walls; St Gallen has fewer and lower church towers; smaller towns are shown with a single church; and villages by one or two squat buildings. Different tree species are noted: pointy sawtooth rows washed in green represent conifers, circles on stems mark the broadleaf varieties. Incorporating this level of detail, it comes as no surprise that the map served as the basis for the first printed map of Switzerland in the 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

Türst's map can be view in detail at https://www.e-manuscripta.ch/doi/10.7891/e-manuscripta-17854.

The chronicles can be viewed in full online at:

Tschachtlanchronik (The Bern Chronicle)
https://www.e-manuscripta.ch/zuz/content/titleinfo/2402234

Grosse Burgunderchronik (Great Burgundian Chronicle)
https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/Mss-hh-I0001

Eidgenössische Chronik (The Federal Chronicle)
https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/stab/0002

Zürcher Edilbachchronik (Zürich Edilbach Chronicle)
https://www.e-manuscripta.ch/doi/10.7891/e-manuscripta-1008

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

Notes

1 Peter H. Meurer, 'Cartography in the German Lands, 1450–1650', *History of Cartography*, Volume 3, Part 2, p. 1201.

Fig. 2 Illustration of the Battle of Murten in 1476 at which the Swiss defeated the invading army of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Great Burgundian Chronicle. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms A 5. Public Domain Mark.

MAPPING MATTERS

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

MAPS and SOCIETY Lectures
Thirtieth series 2020–2021
The Warburg Institute, London

Lectures in the history of cartography convened by Catherine Delano-Smith (Institute of Historical Research), Tony Campbell (formerly Map Library, British Library), Peter Barber (Visiting Fellow, History, King's College, formerly Map Library, British Library) and Alessandro Scafi (Warburg Institute). Meetings are normally held on selected Thursdays at the Warburg Institute at 5.00 pm. Admission is free. Meetings are followed by refreshment. All are welcome. Enquiries: tony@tonycampbell.info or c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk.

Under present circumstances, however, all will be virtual meetings (ZOOM) unless otherwise informed (times are uncertain and not every meeting can be guaranteed as described). Those wishing to attend should go to https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/whats-on/maps-and-society-lecture-series to register (there is no charge), after which you will be sent a registration link with guidelines.

2020

October 22 PJ Mode (Collector and Researcher, Curator of the Persuasive Maps Collection, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY, USA; http://persuasivemaps.library.cornell.edu). 'Persuasive Cartography: Art, Science and Deception'.

December 10 Dr Ronald Grim (formerly Curator of Maps, Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center, Boston Public Library, USA). 'Annotated Atlases: Unravelling Stories of Personal Provenance'.

2021

January 21 Dr Radu Leca (Postdoctoral Research Associate, Heidelberg University, Germany). 'Bathymetric Maps of Tokyo Bay: A Transnational History'.

February 18 Dr Megan Barford (Curator of Cartography, Royal Museums Greenwich, London. Hakluyt Society Speaker). 'Map Collecting at the National Maritime Museum: Histories and Futures'.

April 29 Dr Djoeke van Netten (Department of History, University of Amsterdam). 'The Landscape and the Ship: Mapping Seventeenth-Century Naval Battles'.

May 27 Dr Angelo Cattaneo (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome). 'What Is a Map? The Case of Fra Mauro's *Mappamundi*: Author's Intentions, Modern Receptions'.

Meetings in London, when these are physically possible, are generously supported by the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association's Educational Trust and the International Map Collectors' Society (IMCoS).

29th International Conference on the History of Cartography 2021
4–9 July 2021
Bucharest, Romania

The 2021 ICHC conference is being organised by the National Museum of Maps and Old Books in Bucharest and the University of Bucharest, in collaboration with Imago Mundi Ltd. The main venue will be Aula Magna of the Central University Library 'Carol I' of Bucharest, which is close to Bucharest's historical centre. The conferences will be accompanied by several map exhibitions showcasing the collections of several Bucharest institutions.

The main conference theme – 'Conflict and Cartography' – will explore the intricate and conflicting content of mapping and mapmaking in fields such as war, politics, ideology, cultural or intellectual history. The topics will include: (1) *Imperial and Anti-Imperial Cartographies*, (2) *Frontier Cartographies,* (3) *Cartographies of Nostalgia and Imagination*, (4) *Cartographies of Difference and Map Consumption*.

The registration fee will be approximately 300 euros, plus optional charges for the farewell dinner and post-conference tour. Reduced fees will be announced at a later date.

Information: https://ichc2021.com/contact/

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

NORMAN J.W. THROWER

100 not out – a cartographic life

Professor Norman Thrower (1919–2020) died on 2 September at his home in Pacific Palisades, California. He was renowned for his research on maps and mapmakers, especially English ones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and also for his great teaching strengths at the prestigious University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) where he spent his entire academic career. He was also a good friend to many map lovers and historians of maps across the world.

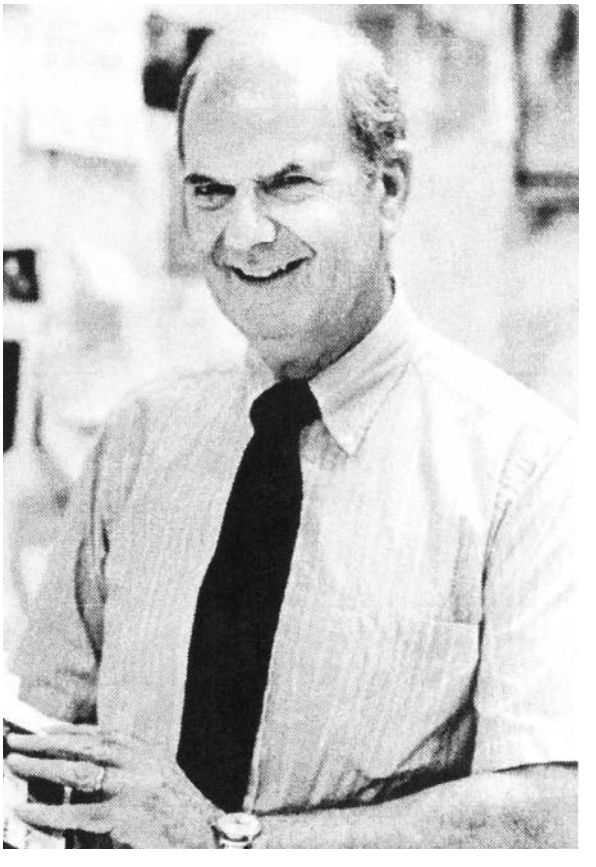
His most well-known work was *Maps and Man* first published in 1972 and then much enlarged as *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society* (1996); a concise and readable history of cartography from ancient to modern times, and now in its third revised edition.

When I first met Norman in the 1970s, he was on his sabbatical to research and edit, amongst other things, *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1978); *The Three Voyages of Edmond Halley in the 'Paramore', 1698–1701*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1981; *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyages, 1577–1580* (1984); *A Leaf From the 1619 French Edition of the Mercator-Hondius World Atlas* (1985); *Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: A Longer View of Newton and Halley* (1990); and *A Buccaneer's Atlas: Basil Ringrose's South Seas Waggoner* (with Derek Howse) (1992). The early modern period continued to be of interest to him and he contributed an entry on Halley for *The History of Cartography,* Volume 4 edited by Matthew H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley, published in 2019.

His most famous public duties were perhaps being President of the Sir Francis Drake Commission of the State of California (1975–81) of which he was rightly proud, and from 1989 to 1992, Director of the (Columbus) Quincentenary Program at UCLA. He also served as Director of the Clark Library at UCLA (1981–87), and during that time the Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies was founded. On his retirement, Norman collected many awards for his work, including the Helen Wallis / International Map Collectors' Society (IMCoS) Award and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Association of America Geographers.

Norman's early life was also very eventful. His talents lay in art, but during the Second World he was sent to India, destination Burma but, as he recounts, as luck would have it, he fell ill and was left behind only to be snapped up by the Survey of India. On the wall at his home are his drawings of his time in Simla, where he trained to be a cartographer and thus after the war joined the Directorate of Overseas Surveys (UK) where he met his wife Elizabeth (known as Betty to us all) who was with the US Army Nurses Corp. He emigrated to the USA and, having obtained a degree in geography at the University of Virginia, where he was initially employed as a cartographer, he then gained a doctorate at Wisconsin in the company of another famous cartographer Arthur Robinson and so to his own illustrious career in California.

Sarah Tyacke, London, October 2020



YOU WRITE TO US

Lost maps of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa

I am Alfredo Prieto, an archaeologist, working on the towns settled by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in the Straits of Magellan in the sixteenth century. I am looking for information about the plans and maps that reached England after the capture of Sarmiento by Captain Jacob Whiddon who was in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh. We believe that these maps and plans of the straits were with Sarmiento at the time of his capture and that Raleigh saw them. After that, as far as we know, they were lost. Just one of the plans of Puerto del Hambre (Port Famine) was discovered in France some years ago, but another, the plan of the town of Nombre de Jesús on Cape Virgin Mary, at the eastern entrance of the strait is unaccounted for, as is Sarmiento's first map.

I hope some members of your society may be familiar with the period and the men involved in this affair, and could advise me on where to find more information. It would be of great help in our research.

Alfredo Prieto
Universidad de Magallanes, Punta Arenas, Chile.
Email: alfredo.prieto@umag.cl

A sixth small map of Africa with panels

I read with interest an article in the March 2020, No. 160 issue of the *IMCoS Journal* in which the author Roger Stewart described a group of five small maps of the continent of Africa which have panels of shields down both sides. I have found a sixth map (which I am referring to as Map 6) that fits into this group. It is most similar to the Gleditsch map (1697) with sixteen shields (which I am referring to as Map 3), ten of which are left empty. It is blank on the verso and has threefold lines. It has some distinct differences when comparing it with the Gleditsch map:

1. Map 3 measures 130 (high) x 155 mm (wide). Map 6 is 140 x 168 mm.

2. The text in Map 3 is written in Latin. In Map 6 the text is in Italian (see Fig. 1).

3. The printer's instructions in the top right-hand corner in Map 3 are in German, the page number is 142. In Map 6 the printer's instructions are in the top left-hand corner and the page number is 554.

4. There are a number of islands drawn on Map 6 that do not appear on Map 3, including Tenerife and an unnamed neighbouring island, Ascension Island, New St Helena, and an unnamed island in the Red Sea between Yemen and Eritrea.

5. There are a number of place-names on Map 6 that do not appear on Map 3: Cape St. Lucia appears on the West coast of Africa near the tropic of Capricorn. Sofala, Mongala, Mozambico, Quiloa, Momaza and Melinda are depicted on the East coast. Alexandria is named north of the Nile delta in the Mediterranean Sea.

6. The title of Map 3 is *Africa* and that of Map 6 is *L'Africa*.

7. The vignettes in the maps are different. In Map 3 the antelope has straight horns, there is one pipe bowl depicted and the character on the far right has one peak on his headwear. In Map 6 the antelope's horns are curved, there are two pipe bowls and the character on the far right has two peaks on his headdress.

When I bought the map, it was sold to me with a date of *c.*1730, but no other information about its source. The clear differences between the two maps compared and the other four Roger Stewart has described means that a sixth map in this group has been identified, although its source is unknown. If anyone has more information on this map I would be pleased to hear from them.

Deidre Boys
Email: boysdeirdre@yahoo.co.uk

A message from Susan Gole, *IMCoS Journal* Editor (1991–2006)

Diana Young, widow of IMCoS co-founder Malcolm Young, died on 25 October at the age of 98. She took an active interest in all Malcolm did for IMCoS and accompanied him to all the Society's symposia and gatherings. She was in a care home in Marlborough for several years, but remained interesting to talk with till the end, and had just spoken on the phone to her son Peter in Australia, who used to visit her regularly.

Fig. 1 Unknown author, 'L'Africa', *c.* 1730. Private collection.
Fig. 2 Johann Ludwig Gleditsch (publisher), 'Africa' in Allgemeine Weltbeschreibung 1697, translated from de La Croix's La geographie universelle, 1693. Private collection.


Tom. I. Pag. 554.
Barbaria
Marocco
Egitto
Abissinia
Tramontana
L. AFRICA
MARE MEDITERRANEO
BILEDULGERID
SAARA overo IL DESERTO
NIGRITIA
LA GUINEA
ETIOPIA
OCEANO
MAR DI GUINEA
I. S. Tomaso
Linea Equinoziale
Mobila Luna
IMPERO DI MONOMUGI
IMPERO DI MONOMUGI
Tropico di Capricorno
ETIOPICO
MARE DELLI CAFRI
Levante

Fig. 1

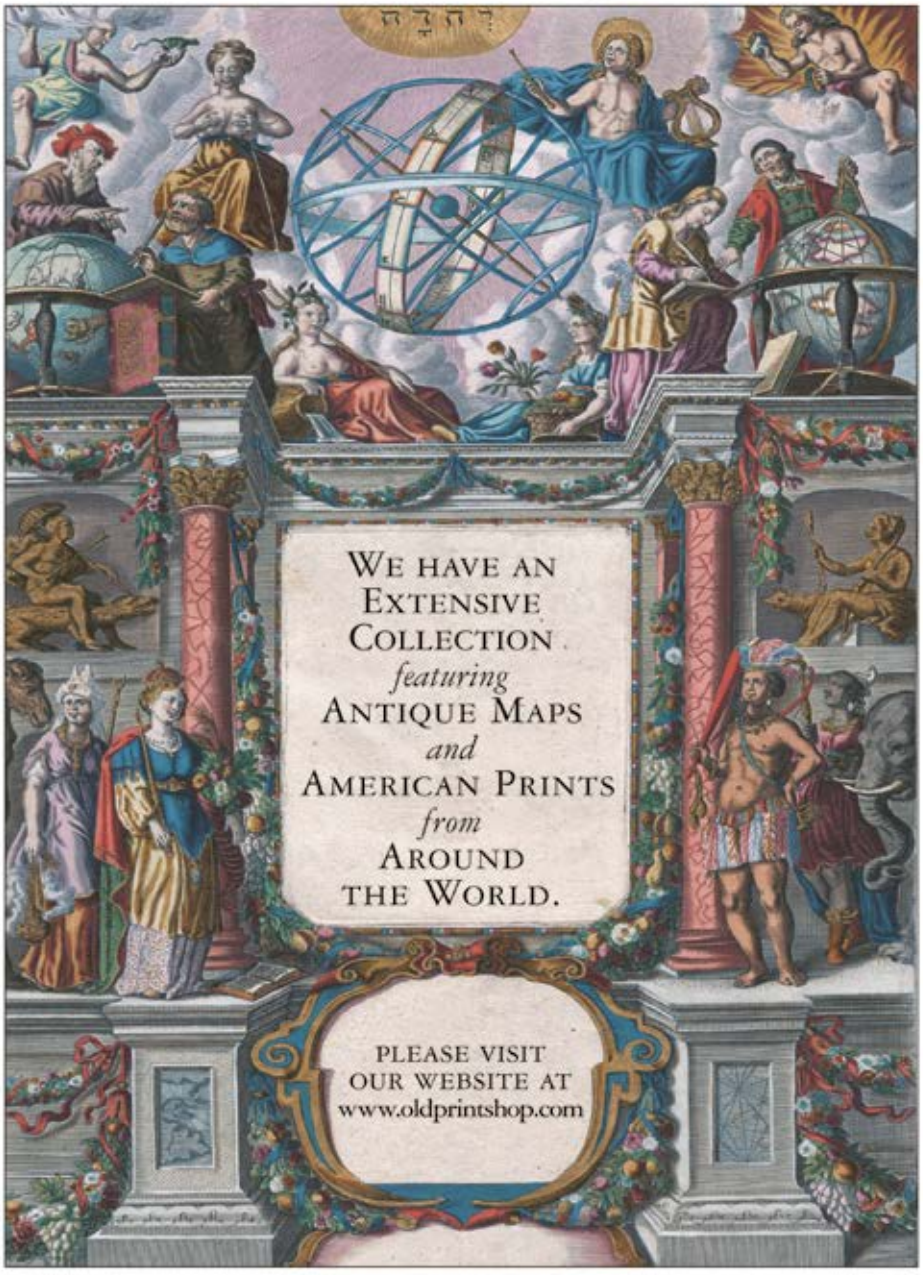

Vierdter Theil. Pag. 144.
AFRICA
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
BILEDULGERID
SAARA DESERTUM
NIGRITIA
GUINEA
ETHIOPIA
OCEAN
REGNUM MONOMUGI
REGNUM MONOMUGI
ETHIOPIA
MARE CAFFARORUM

Fig. 2

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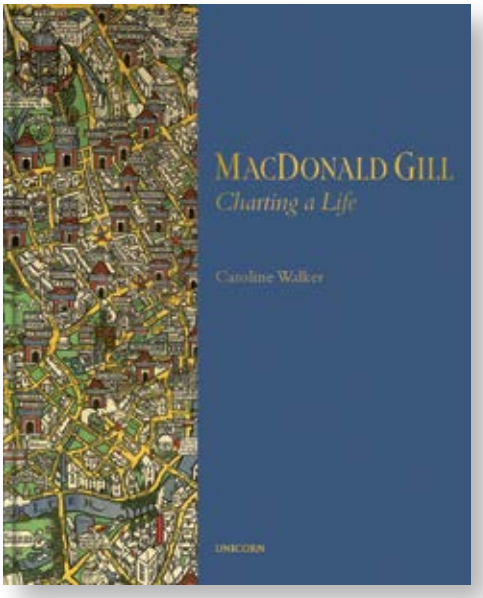
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BOOK REVIEWS

MacDonald Gill Charting A Life
by Caroline Walker. London: Unicorn, 2020. ISBN 9781912690893. HB, 336, 250 illus. STG £30.



This 2020 publication, the first biography of British artist, mapmaker, letterer, illustrator, architect, mural painter and prominent figure in the Arts and Crafts movement, Leslie MacDonald 'Max' Gill (1884–1947), weaves together the many aspects of his life and career in the arts world in pre-World War II era Britain. As such, the biography provides a fascinating study for a wide range of reader interests, notably map enthusiasts and historians, and those with an interest in the changing definition of 'art' in society.

Owing to a fortuitous 2007 connection between the author of this biography, Caroline Walker, a great-niece of MacDonald Gill, and Andrew Johnston, the nephew of Gill's second wife Priscilla Johnston, Walker had access to a trove of Gill's artwork and memorabilia that were present in the home of Gill and his wife. With the aid of this unique material Walker has produced a detailed and wide-ranging documentation of Gill's life and career, fluently written and profusely illustrated in colour throughout its 336 pages. Walker's biography provides new information on the life and work of Gill (the younger brother of the more renowned British artist Eric Gill) helping to rehabilitate his important position in the numerous spheres of the art world in which he worked.

In the enthusiastic foreword to this book, Tom Harper (Curator for Antiquarian Mapping, The British Library) notes 'Today Leslie MacDonald Gill is regarded as one of the most original British map-makers working in the twentieth century…but his stock has not always been so high…Gill's absence from the cartographic canon was an unfortunate by-product of a narrow perception of maps that downgraded art in favour of science'. We might also note that Gill's body of work did not fare well in the post-war years, as the schism between 'art' and 'craft' widened.

Walker interweaves Gill's private life with documentation of the enormous range of his output both for private and public projects. Summing up a particularly productive era in the artist's life, Walker writes: 'In the early 1920s he was designing an extraordinarily wide variety of items, ranging from a cottage for Francis Meynell and a manuscript for the architect Sydney Tatchell, to a sundial for Charles St John Hornby, director of the high street stationer W.H. Smith & Son, and maps of all kinds for both company and private clients'.

This tale of the rediscovery and recognition of Gill's place in the history of mapmaking is particularly gratifying to this reviewer. My interest in Gill's maps was first piqued in the early 2000s but I realised that from the United States I had little chance of investigating in any depth his career in cartography because of the few resources available on the Web or in print. Instead, I was able to document the obvious impact his work had on the worldwide twentieth-century revival of the pictorial map, which had been largely displaced by the nineteenth-century cartographic emphasis on exactitude and science with few if any decorative features (see *IMCoS Journal* Spring 2009: 'MacDonald Gill the Wonderground Map of 1913 and its influence'). Gill's map for the London Underground of 1913–14 was to provide the first of many popular maps to counterweight that balance. In a chapter dedicated to that map, Walker explains in fascinating detail the historical and social forces at play in its publication and enthusiastic reception.

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Many other notable maps he produced throughout his career, in various formats and sizes, are discussed by Walker. While clearly beyond the purview of this biography, the appetite of the map lover for a listing of all maps produced by Gill is whetted by Walker who provides a sense of their diversity and volume, including one-of-a-kind items and those held in private collections.

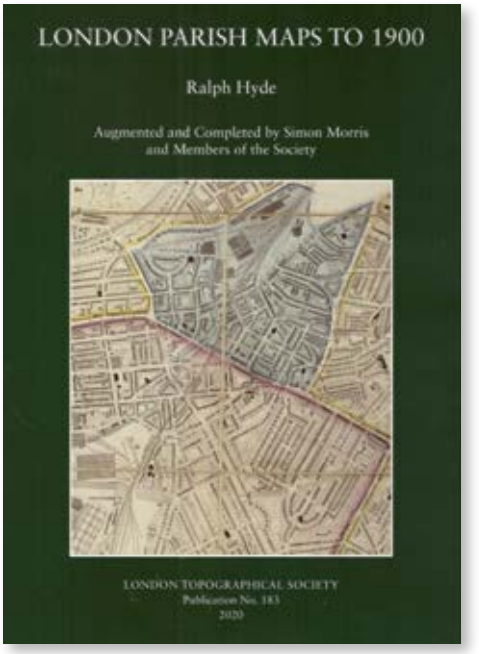
Gill was a working artist, with flush and lean years, harnessing his talent to a variety of genres from book covers to architecture. However, a casual browse through Walker's book makes clear his enormous output of maps throughout his career from his early work with Frank Pick, the commercial manager of the Underground Electric Railways of London, to the several huge maps produced for the Empire Marketing Board.

Also working as a through line in his career was his talent as a letterer, to which Walker devotes a chapter. Gill was elected to join the Headstone Committee of the Imperial War Graves Commission 1918–19 to choose and design the lettering for the inscriptions. 'Max's lettering was distinctive, a hallmark of his work, so he alone lettered his maps, important graphic work and manuscripts' she observes.

The book is beautifully produced; and while a heavy volume it is of a size that can be held in one hand (making bedtime reading possible, with a ribbon bookmarker provided). The volume is richly illustrated with full and part page colour images, while the wide page gutters are well used for snapshot images. Although the images are not numbered, in almost all cases they are well placed for immediate association with the text to which they refer. The expansive size of so much of Gill's work obviously impacts on the reader's ability to savour its full beauty and intricacies when reproduced in a book; to counter this, in many instances both the complete map and a detail of the same are shown, giving the fullest sense of Gill's exceptional skills. Extensive endnotes, index and acknowledgements complete this fine testament to the life and work of an artist who left a stunning variety of beautiful creations for future generations. We are indebted to Caroline Walker for chronicling his life and work in such a comprehensive and engaging manner.

Elisabeth Burdon, Oregon, USA
Oldimprints.com

London Parish Maps to 1900 *by Ralph Hyde, augmented and completed by Simon Morris and members of the Society. London: London Topographical Society, Publication No. 183, 2020. ISBN 9780902087705. HB, 470, 355 illus. Non-LTS members £48 + postage.*



Subtitled *A Catalogue of Maps of the London Parishes of the Area within the Original London County Council Area*, this latest publication of the London Topographical Society (LTS) is impressive. You do not need to be a London specialist to enjoy its fabulous assemblage of history, data and illustrations. But if you are indeed a lover of London maps, this is an essential addition to your library, even at the non-LTS members' price. For the shrewd members of LTS, this is a long-in-the-making and eagerly-awaited free perk.

Covering the period from the late seventeenth century until around 1900, the catalogue was started and progressed before his death in 2015 by Ralph Hyde, former Keeper of Maps, Views and Prints at the Guildhall Library. Fortunately, he had planned his succession, and Simon Morris and a team of a dozen LTS researchers visited archives all over London, and beyond, to complete the task. The 'London' they examined was that of the 1889 London County Council, today what we would usually call inner London, and so excluding outermost boroughs then in Middlesex.



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The statistics and scale of the task are impressive. The work covers manuscript and printed maps, whether separately produced or published in books and reports, with 477 maps catalogued, from 125 separate parishes. As well as maps of the City of London (123 of them, from 68 parishes), there are a further 354 from 57 parishes, today making up the areas of twelve modern London boroughs. Three-quarters of these are illustrated, in full on the generous-A4 pages, or for the biggest maps a detail thereof. The illustrations are commendably legible, given the age and condition of some of the rarer specimens. Each is described in comprehensive detail in a standardised layout which makes quick reference easy.

A wealth of information comes to light from the excellent introductory essays by Peter Barber, Simon Morris and Laurence Worms. Firstly, and fortuitously, a lunch with Ralph Hyde just two weeks before he died, convened by Peter with Simon at the British Library, helped to ensure that the massive volume of Ralph's research from the 1970s onwards was safeguarded, augmented and eventually published.

From those essays – 'Parish Maps of London' (Peter Barber), 'The Catalogue' (Simon Morris) and 'Principal Names' and notes on historic prices, traditional units of measurements, and maps in John Stow's *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (Laurence Worms) – come many fascinating facts and explanations. The tangled history of how manors and ecclesiastical parishes became civil local government bodies is made clear, for this reviewer a revelation in itself. Some sixty different mapmakers had been engaged in producing parish maps over the three hundred year period, many of them new to the task, but some later established mapmakers like Bartholomew, Cary, Cruchley, Letts, Mogg and Reynolds are notably missing from this work.

It seems that the then increased demand for 'parish' maps still had a limited market, and many parish governors were not exactly generous in their support. To balance this, some administrative bodies showed off their civic pride and commissioned impressive and elaborate maps of their area, and later on, the rapid development of their responsibilities, including water and sewerage, electricity supplies, railways, and so on. Plotting of health issues, and planning for new highways and housing followed as social conditions progressed, particularly in the late Victorian era.

It is surprising to discover that Ordnance Survey, even when producing large enough scales (25 in and 60 in to a mile) from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, got very little business from this 'market', which today it possibly expects and relies on. OS mapping was used in just 28 parish maps, and for only two of them was OS expressly commissioned. Incidentally, one of the two Baker brothers who had so beautifully engraved and produced the 1790s maps of Islington was to become the chief engraver to the new Ordnance Survey.

Each main chapter starts with a key map for each of the modern boroughs covered, showing the constituent parts and parishes with a summary of the maps found for each, followed by map entries in chronological order with full description and history, mostly with illustration(s). The catalogue begins with the City of London parishes which before the 1907 union comprised some 110, 68 with maps extant, all are treated very sensibly as one continuous chronological series. Thereafter, each modern borough has its constituent parishes listed in alphabetical order, from Camden (33 entries) to City of Westminster (70 entries), each part chronologically listed. Tracing what interests you is thereby rendered simple, as long as it is a map that has been found! 'Lost' maps, but where a record exists, are indicated.

As the superb index indicates this voluminous work is not just about boundaries. The index for 'Mapmakers' includes surveyors, publishers, engravers and lithographers. The 'Subject' index shows relevant entries for predominant thematic characteristics: drainage, land use/ownership, railways, ecclesiastical, medical, soil type, and a range of municipal services are all covered.

One hesitates to say that this magnificent work is indispensable, but it comes pretty close, whether or not you're a collector of London maps. Congratulations to the London Topographical Society, and to Peter Barber, Laurence Worms, Simon Morris and his team of twelve for a wonderful result. Most of all, let's remember to thank Ralph Hyde for his inspiration and hard work.

Gerry Zierler, London
Chairman, The Charles Close Society

Bvda, Ofen, Pesto, Buda, Pest. The earliest views of Budapest: 15th and 16th century woodcuts, copperplates and paintings depicting Buda, Pest and Óbuda / Budapest legkorábbi látképei: A XV. és XVI. századi Budát, Pestet és Óbudát ábrázoló fametszetek, réznyomatok és festmények *by Andrew Alchin. Szombathely: Yellow Design Ltd., 2019. ISBN: 9786150071077. HB, 154, illus., bilingual (English & Hungarian), Ft 18000.*



The development of European town views in the sixteenth century moved from schematic woodcuts in early printed books to realistic, mostly engraved town portraits in the 1600s. Early highlights were the large-scale views of Florence probably by Francesco Rosselli (*c.* 1471/82) and of Venice by Erhard Reuwich (1486) and Jacopo de' Barbari (1500). Early books with town views were for the most part inspired by the illustrations in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel (1493), many of which are rather fanciful. While in some instances the same woodcut was used to represent different cities, other views are more faithful to reality and remain recognisable today. Two important sixteenth-century milestones of urban iconography are the woodcut vedutas in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544–1628) and the etchings in Georg Braun's and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1617).

Author Andrew Alchin brings these exciting developments to life with his examination of the cities Buda and Óbuda), both on the west bank of the Danube, and Pest on the east. In 1873 these three separate cities were united to form the new metropolis of Budapest. Starting with the earliest documented views, dating from the late fifteenth century, Alchin meticulously compiled 23 views, woodcuts and engravings, unique miniatures and drawings to trace the image of the city over the next one hundred years. Of particular interest is the author's decision not to focus only on the European gaze but to include some splendid Ottoman book illustrations of the city; these document an alternative way of describing urban landscapes. Not obliged to follow European conventions of perspective with one clearly defined beholder, these examples combine characteristics of a city map with representations of architecture seen from different points of view. The views were produced on site, as well as in Nuremberg, Rome or Istanbul/ Constantinople. The breathtaking story of the city's changing alliances, sieges and battles with the Hungarians, the Habsburgs, and the Turks is explained in the introduction and in several excursuses.

Alchin's starting point is the magnificent two-block woodcut of Buda in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* which provides a depiction of the castle, the Royal Palace, churches and residential area. In a thorough analysis of Schedel's view Alchin reveals that many of the buildings have been depicted with astonishing accuracy and are clearly identifiable today. Another highlight is Erhard Schön's large-scale woodcut of the siege of Buda in 1541 which portrays the confrontation between the Holy League under the Habsburg emperor and the Ottomans. An interesting juxtaposition is the related miniature by the Ottoman artist Nakkas Osman. It describes the obeisance of Isabella Jagiellon and her one-year-old son John Sigismund Zápolya to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and is set against a schematical view of the Royal Palace of Buda. The siege of Pest (1542) is the subject of two views, one of which is attributed to Schön or Virgil Solis, the other is by the Italian Enea Vico. Münster's woodcut of Buda's Royal Palace in *Cosmographia* (1550) draws on Schön's view and adds some interesting inscriptions with contemporary names of the palace's buildings and surroundings. The view of Buda in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (vol. 1, 1572) is a copy from a section of Schön's 1541 woodcut, however all references to military activity have been removed. A more dramatic view of the city is provided by Nuremberg artist Leonhard Heussler with his

woodcut of the lightning strike of 1578 which caused an explosion in the city.

The views by Giovanni Maggi, Giacomo Franco, Ahasver Rotenberger and Philipp Uffenbach, which date from the epoch of the Fifteen Years' War between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire (1591–1606), are all dedicated to the 1598 siege of Buda. Wilhelm Dilich's *Ungarische Chronica* (1600) contains two portraits of Ofen (Buda) and one of 'Alt Ofen' (Óbuda). Though Dilich had probably never been to Hungary, he must have had reliable sources, for his delicate etchings with their harmonious combination of architecture and landscape give a realistic picture of the cities. The two views of Buda reveal his ability to describe a topographical situation from different viewpoints. One could have added the battle plan with the siege of Buda and Pest (1602), which Dilich included in the extended second edition of the *Ungarische Chronica* and which gives bird's-eye views of the two cities. Among the additional vedutas, though outside the timespan of the book, are Joris Hoefnagel's view of Buda and Pest under Turkish rule, indicated by the presence of mosques, and John Speed's 'Mape of Hungari' (1626). Buda, depicted in the border, is a late revamp of Schön's work transmitted via Hogenberg's view in the first volume of *Civitates*.

The book concludes with a list of all the discussed views, a timeline containing the most important events, and the original texts which accompany Schedel's and Schön's views (the latter written by the German poet Hans Sachs).

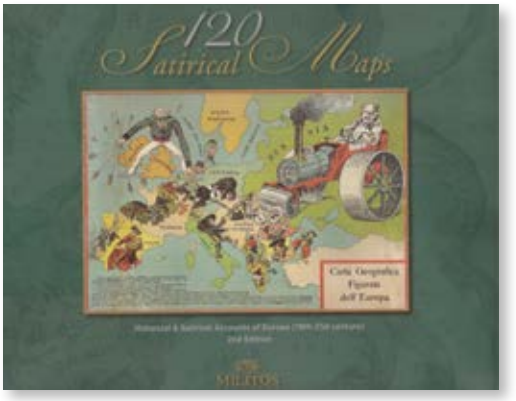
Alchin's excellent study, which emerged from his lecture delivered in 2014 at the Hungarian Cultural Centre in London, reconstructs the technical, intellectual and historical background of the views, which provide unique sources to the history of Budapest, as well as to the contemporary perception of the city. These pictorial sources are of particular interest, when they show urban situations which were later modified or destroyed. Beside questions of authorship and publication media, he draws attention to contemporary events. The author not only discusses the accuracy of the views, their relation to the geography of present-day Budapest, but also their authenticity: Which vedutas are drawn *ad vivum* (according to the 'living' model) and which were borrowed from authentic town portraits.

Using Budapest as an example, the reader is offered an overview of a European city in the early modern period. The tension between idealisation and topographical precision reveals an important artistic strategy which we experience as a kind of selective realism: Artists did not document reality like a camera. They chose the buildings which they found worthy of recording and highlighted them using scale and perspective. On the other hand, they omitted other less important ones. Focussing on one geographical place and on one special historical period Andrew Alchin's study is a valuable supplement to Béla Szalai's standard work on Hungarian views of castles, towns and villages (*Magyar várak, városok, falvak metszeteken*, 6 vols., Budapest: Múzeum Antikvárium, 2006–18). Last but not least, the reader will appreciate the production values of Alchin's book, the fresh typography and book design by Ferenc Kassai, the brilliant quality of the colour reproductions and the opulent fold-out plates.

Michael Bischoff, Lemgo/Berlin, Germany

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120 Satirical Maps: Historical & Satirical Accounts of Europe (19th–21st century), 2nd edition *by Panayotis N. Soucacos, M.D., FACS (Hon.). Athens: Militos Editions, 2019. ISBN 9786185438104. HB. 441, 120 illus. 81.00 €.*



If one observes a map that presents Russia as a giant octopus with its tentacles choking the Baltics, Poland and Central Asia; England as a smartly dressed gentleman leaping across the Channel; Germany as the pickle-helmed Kaiser Wilhelm pushing back Russia with one hand and heavily leaning into France with the opposite shoulder, he or she is likely seeing a satirical map from the nineteenth or early twentieth century. In this case, the map is titled *Serio-comic war*

map for the year 1877 by Frederick Rose of London that was created amidst the Russo-Turkish War. The map and others like it are part of a unique brand of cartography that were intended to direct one's thoughts towards a political position or ideology.

To help navigate the peculiar world of political-satirical maps, Dr Panayotis N. Soucacos has written *120 Satirical Maps: Historical & Satirical Accounts of Europe (19th–21st century).* A medical doctor by profession and an avid map collector, the author presents specimens of this unique genre in a handsomely illustrated volume. This bilingual work contains side-by-side Greek and English text; additionally, all map titles have been translated from their publication language into Greek and English. Dr Soucacos originally published this work in 2015 with 57 illustrations; however, his latest edition has been expanded to include 120 maps. The bulk of the maps are from the 1850s through to the First World War – the apex of the genre. Most of the well-known maps of the style are included, such as 'Hark! Hark! The dogs do bark!' (1914) by G.W. Bacon & Company of London. The map's title was borrowed from a popular British nursery rhyme. The author goes beyond the First World War and includes several noteworthy maps from World War II and the Cold War that adds to the experience. Take 'The world according to Ronald Reagan' (1982) by David Horsey that divides the globe into simplistic geographic zones like 'Their China' (The People's Republic of China) and 'Our China' (Taiwan). The American president Ronald Reagan is a cowboy armed with missiles instead of pistols on his hips and his opposite the Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev is equally armed. Both leaders' fingers hover above their weapons, itching to draw. These maps, like an auto-accident seen on the side of the road, have a certain freakish appeal that transfixes one's eyes upon them.

More than just a feast for the eyes, however, the book opens with essays by the author and European scholars who address curious topics such as depictions of the Ottomans, the *Eastern Question*, semiotics, animal fables, matters of war, among others. The essays inform the reader how satirical mapmakers frequently borrowed from competitors, yet added their own variations, a fact that makes comparing and contrasting these maps an interesting pursuit. Take for example the Ottoman Empire that was represented with great variety, such as an old man, sick man, odalisque, bloodthirsty sultan, puppet of Germany, and a fat turkey ready for slaughter. While those casually interested may perhaps skip the essays and move to examine the maps, students of the genre and collectors alike will likely appreciate the insights.

The main attraction is the immense gallery of 120 maps, most of which depict power struggles in Europe. Paging through one marvels at the variations that illustrate the proverbial us versus them. Enemies were depicted as giant monsters or evil humanoids, whereas self and allies were represented majestically and heroically. The point of view, of course, depended on the place of publication. Consider the German map 'What would remain of the Entente if it took seriously the self-determination right of its own nations and let go of the leash!' (1918) by F. Klimesch. The map presented the Kaiser's empire is all that stood between British and Russian domination of the world. It contrasts with the French map 'The Appetite of the Octopus', (1918) by Albert Rodiba, which illustrates Germany as a hybrid eagle and octopus nested atop a blood-stained world that it is preparing to devour.

Overall, Dr Soucacos's presentation of the maps is effective. On the left page he includes a description and commentary and on the right is the map. Appreciating the details is made possible by ample 24 x 29 cm (9.5 x 11.5 in) pages. Following the map gallery is information about the artists, publications and firms, which is quite useful for further research. The book, however, fails to include a complete list or index of the maps. Although this omission does not make it unusable as a reference source, it does limit its use as a quick-reference guide. Nonetheless, for a person with the time to investigate its contents, he or she will be rewarded with valuable details and be treated to a finely curated collection of maps. Dr Soucacos has done well to help the reader see the world as those of the era saw it – a compass rose with arrows of stereotypes, grievances, self-congratulations, inspirations, hopes, fears, and to the north: satire.

Ryan Moore, Washington D.C., USA
Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress
(The views expressed here are of the reviewer and not those of the Library of Congress)

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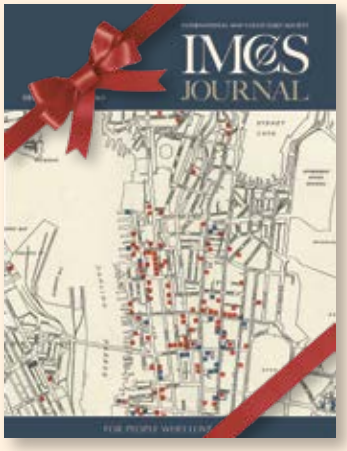
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