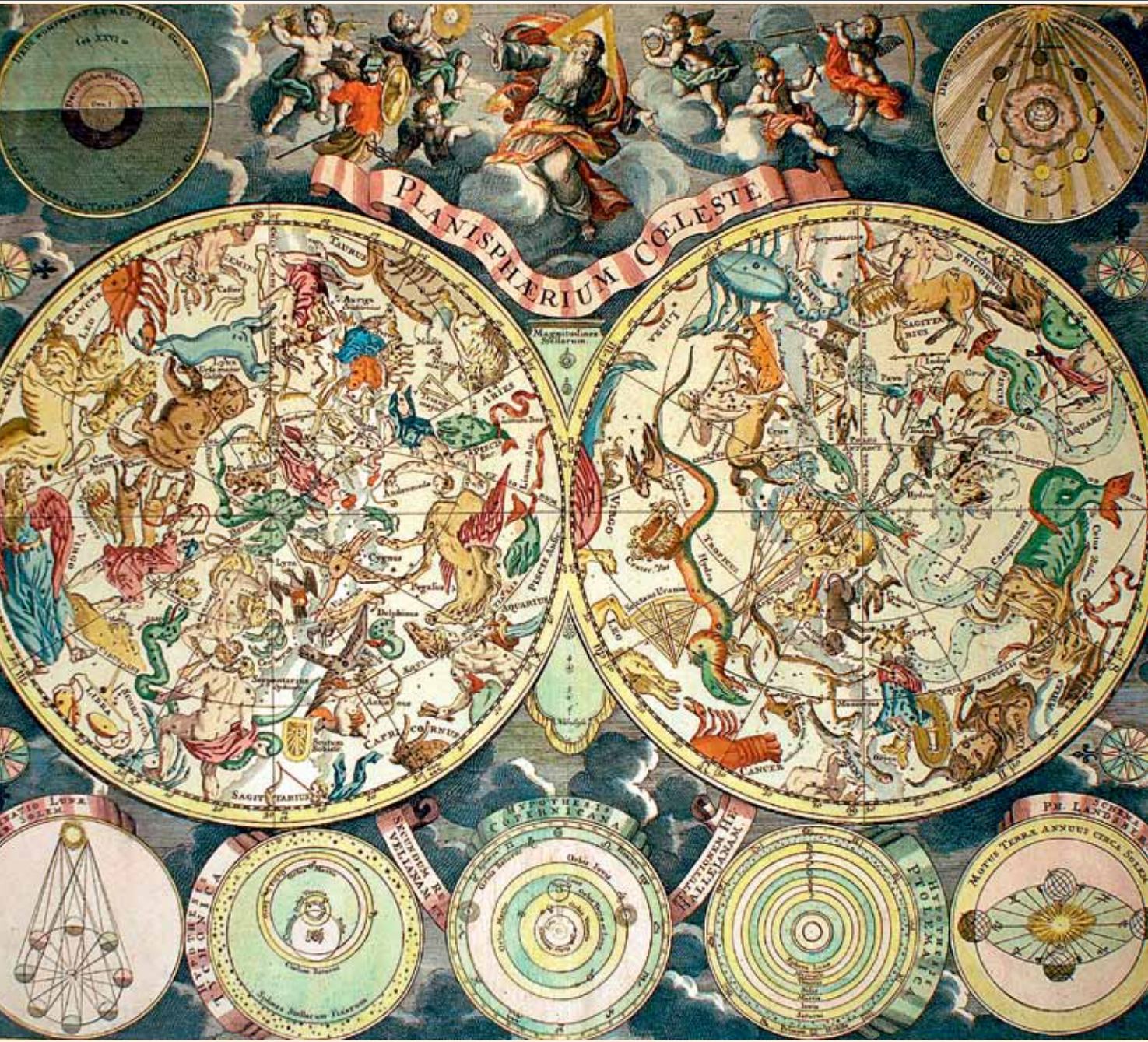


INTERNATIONAL MAP COLLECTORS' SOCIETY

IMCS JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 2018 No.154



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Detail of Andreas Cellarius's spectacular 1660 celestial chart from *Harmonia Macrocosmica* with portrait of Tycho Brahe

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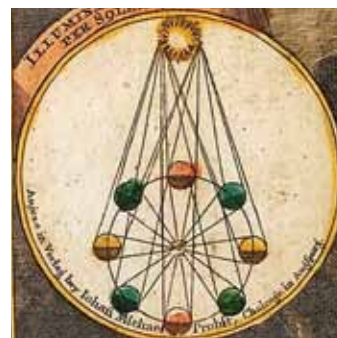
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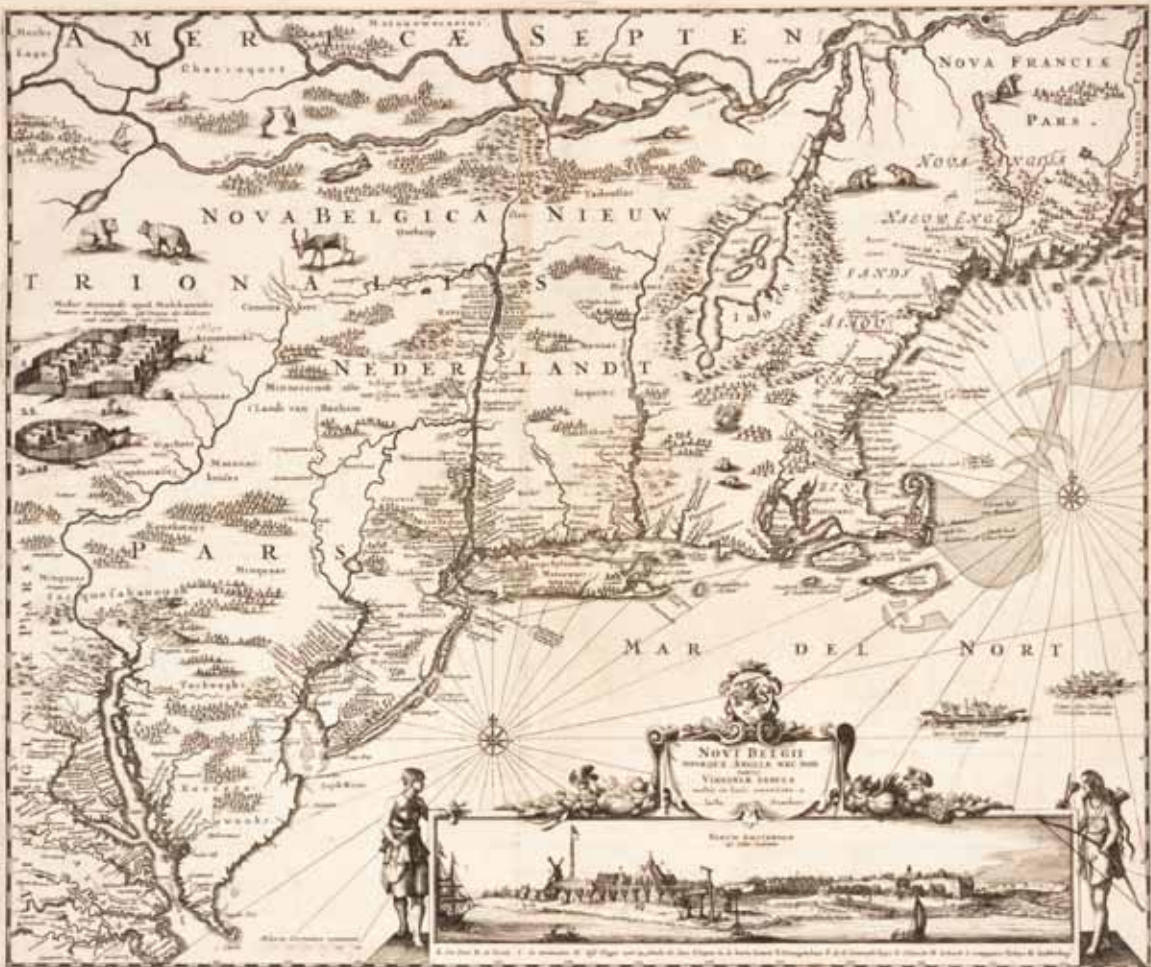
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A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Hans Kok

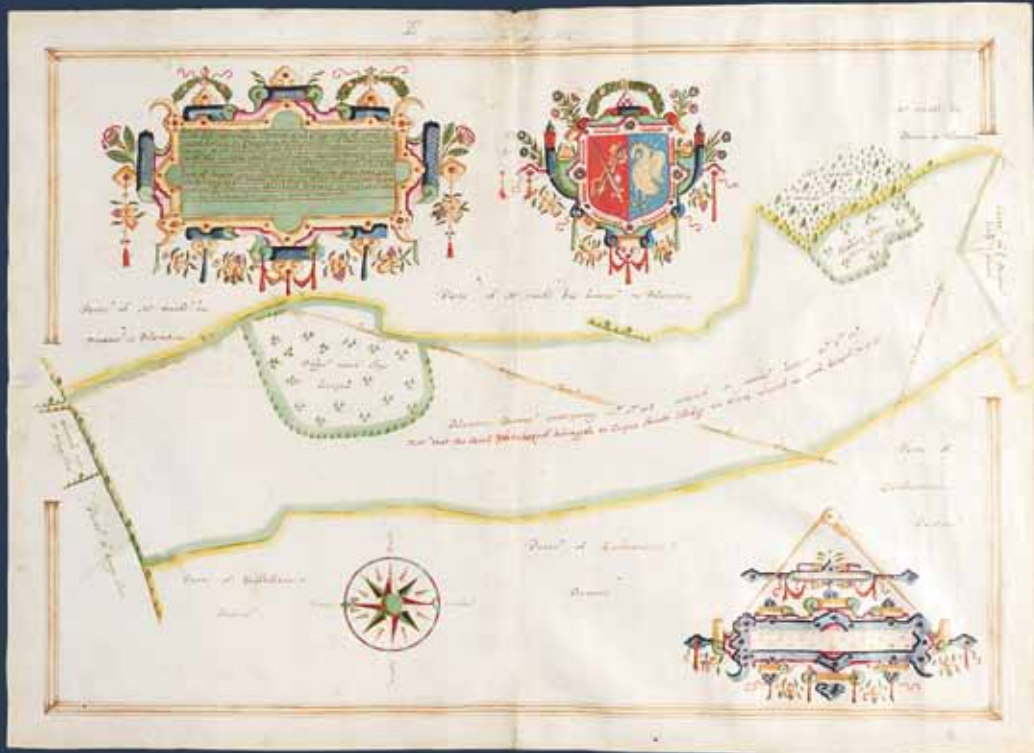
As the span of historic attention or retention of map collectors seems to have shortened from 'early' history and thus 'early' maps to include more recent maps, we have subtly removed 'early' from the Journal's tagline. We had received a number of comments that there are more maps than just early ones and that there were collectors who felt that they were not welcome in a Society that seemed to exclude more current cartography. Of course, IMCoS is a society for all map lovers, including map collectors whose interest is in 'later' maps, as these also may have an intriguing history, recording part of mankind's history in the process. We do realise that the interest in collecting may have shifted to include nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps, nevertheless we will take care that 'early' maps continue to be addressed amidst the expanse of historic cartography.

The change in the collector's focus may have been caused by changes in the way history is taught in schools, the sky-high prices that were charged for the real 'early' maps, or perhaps it is just a passing fashion. Maybe it is the result of our faster access to digital resources, a shift which is potentially of a more permanent nature. More recent maps are still available in higher numbers and will therefore be offered at lower prices, but an increase in the number of collectors might quickly negate the advantage. Newer maps may not have the aura and secrets of exploration and may seem dull to those interested in how the shape of the world was figured out. Our more recent history may lack discoveries to a certain extent but the number of wars fought over whatever was considered worthwhile at the time, is also a source of historical cartography to be heeded. Another type of map collectable has been generated because of it; political strife and de-colonisation have given rise to cartoon and poster type maps, where the political situation is visualised for a quick overview.

On a previous occasion, I mentioned that aviation maps have become collectable, mostly as posters created by established artists, addressing our desire to travel and meet cultures other than our own. Other types of aviation maps such as long-range navigation are both rare and interesting also. Professional flight navigators only came on board in 1940, serving on trans-oceanic routes and routes into remote areas. After 1957 emphasis shifted by necessity to airline polar navigation from Europe across the Pole to Anchorage and on to Tokyo. The area of unreliable magnetic compass indications forced the industry to provide some complicated solutions to navigate with free gyroscopes, which were not subject to magnetic signal processing. These techniques quickly became obsolete when inertial navigation and GPS became available, greatly simplifying navigation procedures. Still, these maps are rare as they were mostly destroyed after use and were never around in big numbers to start-off with. Consider yourself lucky, if some should show up in auction!

Sotheby's EST. 1744
Collectors gather here.

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James Canton, USA
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EDITORIAL

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

A curious painting by an unknown artist – *The Paston Treasure* – is the subject of an intriguing exhibition jointly curated by the Yale Center of British Art and the Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery.

The large canvas, commissioned in the 1660s, is a record of the lost collection of art, rarities and curiosities which furnished Oxnead Hall in Norfolk, the home of the Paston family. Amongst precious nautilus cups, gold and silverware, musical instruments, porcelain and paintings, clocks, carved coconut shells and exotic animals is a beautiful terrestrial globe. The painter has turned it to present the Pacific Ocean flanked by the western coast of North America on one side and East Asia on the other – areas of considerable interest to collectors of curios in the mid-seventeenth century. Globes are a familiar addition to Dutch still life and interior paintings, their frequency reflecting the nation's seafaring and map publishing pre-eminence. Few, however, can be so clearly identified as the one in this painting. Peter van der Krogt, a contributor to the extensive publication that accompanies the exhibition, identifies it from the cartouches visible in the southern hemisphere. He attributes it to the engraver Pieter van den Keere, executed between 1612 and 1614 for Petrus Plancius in Amsterdam. Surviving inventories of the Paston estate reveal that there were several more globes in the family house: '5 Globes on Frames' under the great staircase and '2 gloab balls in the study'. Their number is testament to the passion with which Sir William Paston (1610–1662) and his son, Sir Robert (1631–1683) travelled the world to augment their collection.

The painting, with its carefully curated choice of objects, serves as a celebration – a *vanitas* – of the magnificence of the collection and stature of the family who could assemble it. However, the inclusion of timekeepers and an extinguished candle are stern reminders of the transience of life and luxury and foreshadow the fate of the collection which had earned the Paston's such admiration. Just fifty years after commissioning the painting, overwhelmed by debt, the family sold off Oxnead and its acclaimed contents.



The Paston Treasure: Riches and Rarities of the Known World is on display at the Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery until 23 September 2018. www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/norwich-castle/whats-on/exhibitions/the-paston-treasure.

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John Speed. *A Mapp of the Sommer Ilands once called the Bermudas...* London: George Humble, circa 1626. Hand-colored engraved map with English text on verso from Speed's *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, one of only two maps of the New World in that atlas. Estimate: \$1,500-2,500

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36th IMCoS Symposium Manila/Hong Kong

See pages 19 and 20 for details.

6–9 September 2020

38th IMCoS Symposium Sydney

The event, in honour of the 250th anniversary of James Cook's discovery of the east coast of Australia, will be held at the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney. The broad theme of the conference will be the exploration and mapping of the Pacific. In addition to the lectures, a post-conference trip to Canberra with a visit to the wonderful collection of the National Library of Australia is being planned. Information will be available on the website as details are confirmed.

8–10 June 2018

IMCoS London weekend

The annual dinner was an enjoyable and well-attended evening. Our speaker was filmmaker and author Alan Ereira who spoke on the intriguing life of John Ogilby, based on his recent book on Britain's first road atlas maker. A transcript of his talk can be found on page 11.

IMCoS/Helen Wallis award for 2018

The award for 2018 was made in absentia to Roger Baskes. IMCoS President Peter Barber made the presentation and the citation for the award (see next column) was delivered by Valerie Newby.



President Peter Barber awards in absentia the IMCoS/Helen Wallis award to the 2018 winner Roger Baskes. Photo David Webb.

Citation for 2018 IMCoS/Helen Wallis award

“ We are very pleased to announce that the winner of this year's Helen Wallis/IMCos award is someone who was the Past President of our Society from 2002 to 2007. Yes, it is Roger Baskes. Sadly, he and his wife Julie were not able to attend tonight to receive the award in person but our current President, Peter Barber will be presenting the award in absentia. Both Roger and his wife have lived all their lives in Chicago and I well remember meeting them whilst I was editor of *The Map Collector*. It must have been the year when IMCoS held its symposium in the Windy City and the Chicago Bulls won their repeat (whatever that is). The whole city went mad with people driving around leaning out of their cars and shouting. I was with Caroline Batchelor walking back to our hotel at the time and we were absolutely terrified.

Whilst we were there I visited Roger and he showed me the shelves and shelves of school atlases and other books which he had amassed. I was so impressed that he hadn't gone for the Mercators or the Blaeus as his collecting theme as nineteenth-century geographies and school atlases were badly in need of preservation. Both Roger and Julie, who is described in an article I read about them as 'formidable', are part of a philanthropic family and have a joint passion for opera, classical music and the arts in general. They have made generous donations to many organisations, and Roger has now donated a large part of his enormous cartographic collection to the Newberry Library in Chicago. He also gave money for it to be catalogued.

Apparently on retirement he was actively looking for something else to do. By turning in the wrong direction in a Chicago hotel in 1984 he walked into a book fair and for some reason bought an especially ugly – his words not mine – mid-nineteenth-century German school atlas. He had never collected anything before that, but then began, and has continued for thirty-four years the obsessive activity with which most of us are personally afflicted or at least familiar. He collected more than 7,000 travel guides and 12,000 books with maps. To quote Peter Barber, 'these are not usually spectacular items but are precisely the sort that are of great research value in an area more valuable than gold dust'.

In 2014 the Newberry Library bestowed its most

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prestigious award on Roger. In the words of James Akerman, Director of the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry: 'Roger has been a generous supporter of the arts and an ardent champion of the Newberry where he has been a trustee and collector. The sheer diversity of the Baskes Collection has the capacity to change the way scholars and other readers think about maps, their history and use in different fields of study'. He explained that Roger had assembled more than 19,000 volumes relating to cartography including guidebooks and geographies.

Apart from serving as our IMCoS President, Roger is a member of the Phillips Society, a support club for the Library of Congress in Washington DC. What is less well known is that he has been a great friend of the British Library serving as a leading executive member of the American Friends of the BL and has gone out of his way to identify atlases and books in his collection which were not in the BL, and donating them.

Roger was a 1959 graduate of Harvard Law School and practised law for twenty-five years. He has also served as President of the Chicago Map Society. He and Julie have been married for sixty years and have three children and six grandchildren.

I am sure you would all like to wish him congratulations in his absence and drink a toast."

Valerie Newby

9 June 2018, IMCoS AGM

Chairman's report for 2017 (abridged)

"I have, like most other years, prepared a statement to present as the Chairman's report in order to ensure that the information provided on our website will be the same as delivered here during the official meeting. The Executive Committee has attended our usual four face-to-face meetings in London; three dedicated meetings and one in combination with the annual map evening in September. The agenda items have become kind of standard over the years, but some unexpected or non-standard problems tend to pop-up for action as well. Email exchanges between Committee members have occurred frequently, being, of course, the quickest reliable way of communicating, complemented with telephone conversations when indispensable. Every once in a while, Spam messages are received, but so far we have been able to avoid falling into these traps, mostly they are concerning fake bills, addressed to our Honorary Treasurer Jeremy.

Our IMCoS website now has more features and seems stable in its operation. We have recently added a feature allowing direct registration and payment for IMCoS events that are organised by our Society; formally this ought to come in the 2018 Annual Report, however. Peter Walker and Ljiljana Ortoljaba-Baird carried most of the load. The Executive Committee is almost complete with the addition of Katie Parker and Mike Sweeting who joined in 2017 and they are up for AGM approval today for you to make it official. The Chairman is happy to report that the Committee's members are all knowledgeable, effective and very nice to work with. The Executive Committee is now almost complete again, only lacking an Officer for International Matters. This position has been filled for some years now by the Chairman.

The IMCoS journals have been prepared, as usual, by our editor Ljiljana; the journal's quality is much appreciated and as such remains a respected link with our membership, in the UK and abroad.

We feel that the regular June weekend in 2017 was as successful as ever and hope the membership has arrived at the same judgement. The 2017 Malcolm Young lecture was delivered by John Moore, retired Collection Manager of the University of Glasgow Library and well-known for researching the history of Scottish cartography, a topic which went down well with the audience.

In March 2017 an IMCoS local event was organised by Valerie; a visit to Manchester, duly reported in the Journal and one that your Chairman regrets to have missed because of earlier obligations.

The IMCoS/Helen Wallis Award 2017 was presented to Vladimiro Valerio from Venice; he was present in person at last year's Annual Dinner to accept the Award. Since Tony Campbell has stepped down from the Award Committee, we have taken a closer look at the procedure and changed the rules only marginally. The new rules will become effective on 1 July this year and our President Peter Barber has agreed to chair the Award Committee together with Valerie Newby-Scott and a third member to ensure input from outside IMCoS.

Just as today, the 2017 AGM and the London Map Fair thereafter took place at the Royal Geographical Society.

In the international field, IMCoS had their 35th annual Symposium in Hamburg, ably organised by Dr Farhad Vladi and his team, for which we are grateful. It is ever more difficult to find organisers, causing 2019 to be a year without an IMCoS Symposium;

the Committee recommends attending the bi-annual ICHC Conference which is taking place in Amsterdam in July 2019. We expect to provide a direct link to the ICHC website in due course.

In terms of our financial situation, I feel we may be content under the circumstances. The membership is slightly higher than in the preceding year, due to Peter Walker's efforts, both in chasing members when they forgot to renew and in keeping in touch when members have problems joining or renewing their subscription.

IMCoS has continued its support of the Maps & Society Lectures at the Warburg Institute as in previous years. Hardly any interest accrues on the IMCoS funds nowadays, as you all will be aware of, but our financial situation is stable nevertheless. More information under Agenda item 4 will be given by our Honorary Treasurer Jeremy Edwards.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this concludes the Chairman's report for 2017. The sheets on the screen were put up by our General Secretary David Dare, who also prepared the AGM minutes. Comments or questions are welcome of course; questions of a specific nature are maybe better addressed to the IMCoS Officers, when their specific field comes up on the agenda."

Treasurer Jeremy Edwards' report

Accounts for the year 2017 were approved at the AGM, held at the Royal Geographical Society immediately before the London Map Fair. Full details are now available to members on the website.

The good news is that the figures are very similar to 2016, with minor changes.

Our income was £39,398, up by £1,017, of which the principal item was a windfall royalty payment from the Publishers Licensing Service of £816.

On the expenditure side, we saved just over £1,000 over the whole range of expenses from printing costs to general administration. This left us with a surplus of £2,555 compared with £391 for 2016.

Paradoxically, our balance sheet shows a strengthened position, with net assets improved by £5,800 mainly due to the depreciation charge on our website over a term of three years.

The committee were happy to recommend that subscription rates for 2019 will be unchanged.

As always, I am grateful for the advice and comments by our independent examiners, Cyrus Alai and Peter Batchelor who have seen the details of these account on your behalf and confirmed their correctness.

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IMCS



MALCOLM YOUNG LECTURE, 2018

John Ogilby, his Nine Lives

Alan Ereira

Back in 2007 I made a series for BBC Wales in which I followed Terry Jones on a merry dance across Wales following some of the roads depicted in John Ogilby's *Britannia*, Vol. 1 of 1675. It turned out to be a very puzzling journey. The dedication to Charles II says that the book was created to 'Improve Our Commerce and Correspondency at Home, by Registering and Illustrating Your Majesty's High-Ways', but the roads we were following were often byways of no commercial use at all; the book begins with a road across Wales to Aberystwyth which was a drove road and which, as the text warned, went through a morass of mud to a community with less than a hundred houses and a ruined castle. Ogilby had been commissioned to set out the distances, stage to stage, on the post roads but he ignored the post road to Cardigan Bay, which went to Aberdyfi, preferring to open his hugely expensive and prestigious volume with this obscure track, carefully measured and immaculately drawn.

The book is a mystery. To understand it we need to know more about its creator, which is not easy. He was a man who held no political post but who danced Charles II onto the throne. He had no place in English society (he was Master of the Revels in Ireland), but he created the shape of the country we inhabit. He had no power at court, but silently provided the administrative machinery to reduce the House of Commons to impotence. And no one had ever found out who he was, where he came from or what he was doing, until I started digging.

Britannia, Vol. 1, is a fabulous book; Ogilby was childless, and this was his baby. It weighs 8 kilos, and in modern terms, cost hundreds of millions of pounds. And all that, to tell you how to get to Aberystwyth? What was this book really for?

The answer has always seemed obvious until you start to examine the actual routes. Up to then, maps did not show roads. They were not made to help plan journeys. They were created to show boundaries; who owned the land, which would be shown with coats of arms. The lines on Speed's map of Surrey are rivers and boundaries. If you wanted to make a journey through Surrey, say from London to Portsmouth, there was

no map to use. You would get hold of an itinerary, probably from the back of an almanac, which listed the towns you had to go through, such as Cobham and Ripley, and estimated the distances between them. There was a road, but you would have to find it. At every crossroads, you might take the wrong turn. So wherever you stopped for the night you would hire a guide for the next day.

John Ogilby changed the world by creating the equivalent of a national satnav showing almost every important road, carefully measured and beautifully drawn at one inch to the mile. It showed every turning, every bridge, every hill, every landmark. He organised the precise measurement of over 20,000 miles of highways. This was astonishing in itself. Even more astonishing was that it was the first map he had created in his life. And most astonishing of all he became Cosmographer Royal to Charles II, publishing the greatest work of his life when he was 74 years old. But everything about John Ogilby was astonishing.

He kept his biography secret. He is almost completely missing from diaries, letters and official records. When John Aubrey made a note of a clue to Ogilby's birth, someone used a different ink to blot it out and make it unreadable. I had to reconstruct the early part of his life from notes written in cipher by his astrologer, Elias Ashmole. Here are the secrets of his birth and early life.

Ogilby survived devastating wars, plagues, rebellions, explosion, shipwreck, fires and ruin after ruin, each time embarking on a new life with unquenched vigour. He had careers as a soldier, impresario, secret agent, poet and translator, publisher and pageant master, and at last, in his seventies, came his ninth life, as a creator and publisher of geographical encyclopaedias, and shaper of modernity.

But before all of these he had been a dancer, apprenticed to a dancing master teaching lawyers at Grays Inn. Then, dancing was compulsory for lawyers. It was at the heart of the law and social order. The whole cosmos was seen as a single living system, whose laws passed down from heaven to earth through divinely appointed rulers. And those were the same laws that governed the movement of the moon and the planets.

The ritual of dancing, called the Old Measures, was



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Below the text box, the address 'RODERICK M BARRON | P.O. BOX 67 SEVENOAKS KENT TN133WW UK' is printed. The background of the advertisement is a colorful, stylized map of a town, likely Sevenoaks, with various streets and landmarks labeled, such as 'ON TO WEMBLE', 'WESTBOURN PARK', 'WARWICK AVENUE', and 'ROYAL OAK'. The map is rendered in a vibrant, illustrative style with yellow roads and green spaces.

said to be how lawyers physically participated in the inner law of the world which governed men and nature. The Common Law, they were taught, was not invented by kings or parliaments. It was the law inherent in the world from time immemorial, which lawyers learned to understand and interpret. The same laws that kept the stars in their courses gave power to Princes and meaning to agreements. The Commonwealth and common sense, the common man and the Commons of England, formed a harmony with the heavens themselves. The Royal Court and Courts of Justice stepped together to the tune of the music of the spheres.

John Ogilby's apprenticeship to the dance of the law began in 1612, when he was 11 years old. He was the adopted son of a Scottish tailor who had followed King James' court to London six years earlier. Unable to make a living, he was imprisoned for debt. At the end of June 1612 there had been a lottery to fund the Virginia Company. Apparently young John, begging and selling his father's clothing decoration, somehow got hold of a ticket, and won a small fortune, enough to release his father and to buy his apprenticeship. Apparently.

He would have started in October, Michaelmas term when in the entire history of the law, there had never been such a demand for dancing lawyers. There was no time to learn or practise the law: everyone had to learn and practise their dancing. King James' daughter, Elizabeth, was to wed Frederick V, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. This marriage of the Thames and the Rhine, to be celebrated on Valentine's Day, would be marked by the Inns of Court with two great masques. With a budget for each of around £2,000 – that's 2 million to us – they employed the most stellar musicians and composers in a golden age of English music. If you were a member of an Inn, and you did not mean to dance, you needed a heck of a story.

Ogilby's apprenticeship was at Gray's Inn, to one of only three licensed dance teachers in London. John Ogilby turned out to be a major talent. In fact, when he was 16, and his master inherited money and became a lawyer himself, Ogilby took over his school. Through dance, he had learned and was teaching the cosmological underpinning on which the Law had been built. The lawyer could learn, through the dance, to understand the mind of God. Nature, God and humanity were bound by the same law, and while humans had the power to disrupt it, it would always prevail in the end. This was the understanding of law and polity which young Ogilby imbibed at Gray's Inn and it remained with him for

the rest of his life. In truth, this was his religion and it would be the lifeblood of Ogilby's great atlas.

For a few years he danced himself – not in revels, because he was not a gentleman, but in plays. Plays needed dancers. Dancers performed before plays, after plays and in the course of plays. We don't know which plays or theatres Ogilby appeared in but we can be sure that he did because his closest friends for the rest of his life were theatrical people.

And somehow the sight of his performances, his physical beauty and his evidently growing reputation meant that by 1619 John Ogilby was dancing for the most courtly of all courtiers, the Marquis of Buckingham, in front of the King. To have captured his attention was a huge achievement. He was in the world of the richest and most powerful people in Britain, great aristocrats and royalty where dancing was more admired than any intellectual or artistic gift. It was associated with beauty, and also with morality and with being in harmony with the world. The intimate connection between dancing, morality and law meant that it also provided a foundation for political authority.

The court masque was a ritualised dance-drama, visually brilliant, extravagant and spectacular, whose narrative demonstrated that the King was the fount of order and well-being on a cosmic scale. Although this narrative was expounded in a spoken text (for which professional actors were employed), what was being carried out was a musical dance spectacle. At the end the whole court would dance and become participants in this world of imagined perfection. And now Ogilby was part of it.

The 1619 *Twelfth Night* masque was performed in the Banqueting House. Ogilby played the part of Prognostication, the capering teller of the year's fortune. He was the manifestation of an astronomical phenomenon that was the talk of the season, a comet that had appeared in November and taken over the sky in a most alarming way. It had hung over Britain for a month, visible even by day, its tail extending until it reached across more than half the sky.

England had been filled with prognostications, few of them encouraging. James certainly disliked doom-laden prophecies, and wrote a poem to say that since no one had the faintest idea how to interpret the portent they would do better to say nothing. In private, he said it was 'Venus with a firebrand in her arse'. Prognostications were not what he enjoyed. He did not much like this masque.

Ogilby's moment was disappearing! He had to

rescue it with something spectacular, and he must have turned to excel himself with an astonishing leap into the dark. He needed to twist in the air. His ligament popped. Crash! At that moment, the musicians started up, the curtain at the back dropped, and a torch-lit scene appeared in mid-air with the lords and ladies of the masque – including Buckingham and Prince Charles – all in position. As the audience gasped and clapped, Ogilby crawled off un-noticed.

Permanently crippled, this was his last dance. But the king was a happy man. Ogilby had done his job well and Buckingham would take care to repay the debt. There were now men at the highest level who trusted Ogilby as a delightful and capable teacher and would recommend him. He had learned how to survive in the company of kings, princes and dukes, and even earn their confidence. He could still work as a dance teacher, and his court connections found him a place as dance master to the most celebrated young warrior in the land, Ralph Hopton who had personally rescued James' daughter Elizabeth, by then Queen of Bohemia, after the Battle of the White Mountain. Ogilby was hired to train Hopton's sisters to dance at his wedding.

But it was Ogilby who learned most: Hopton trained him as a trooper. He took like a natural to the dance of pike and musket. And Hopton carried him off to the Thirty Years War, in the company of other military gentlemen who had danced with him in royal masques and simply adored Elizabeth of Bohemia.

He had found a new career in the company of agreeable and well connected men. Unfortunately, two thirds of them died of plague without ever being allowed to land. Ogilby escaped, but became a prisoner of war in Dunkirk. When he was eventually ransomed, he joined Buckingham on an even more doomed expedition. It was a seaborne siege of the Île de Ré where even more men died than had perished with Hopton. But Ogilby survived, ending up captaining a ship and getting it home. What did he know about sailing? Never mind.

And then the new Lord Deputy of Ireland, Wentworth hired him to ride in his entourage as a trooper and to teach his new wife and children how to dance. That was when he decided to set up the first theatre in Dublin. Why not? He borrowed £2,000 and imported actors, his friend the playwright, James Shirley, and plays from England. That was easy because London theatres were closed by the plague and provincial ones by the rising tide of Puritanism. Wentworth made him Master of the Revels, with the

idea that the Irish would be so delighted by English theatre (which had been in a golden age, of course) that they would be happy to become more English. But there were not many takers. They came to the theatre for bear-baiting and wrestling and not to see English plays. So Ogilby commissioned an Irish play from an Irish nobleman, and he suddenly had a hit. Wentworth returned to England and was executed, and Ireland erupted in a vicious insurrection. The theatre was turned into a cowshed and Ogilby was ruined. Again.

Ashmole's cipher reveals that he was then employed by the next Lord Deputy of Ireland, Ormond. Why, is a mystery. Not as a dance teacher, that's for sure. There was civil war in England and insurrection in Ireland. Ormond was there to raise troops from the Catholics in the south and deliver them to Charles' commander in the west, who just happened to be Hopton. Ogilby was, I believe, the secret go-between. His loyalty to Charles was unquestioning; he believed in the law of the dance; it gave proper authority to kings, which included the dance of pike and musket.

But that old cosmology of natural law and the dance was dead and buried. As early as 1632, William Prynne of Grays Inn denounced mixed-sex dancing from a Puritan perspective, as unlawful to Christians: 'The way to heaven is too steep, too narrow for men to dance in and keep revel rout. That broad, beaten, pleasant road leads to HELL'. By 1635 the revels had become solemn, and the measures would be danced at Lincoln's Inn by just four couples.

But the most fundamental blow to the cosmology and a dance-based universe of law had been delivered by Galileo in 1610, before Ogilby's apprenticeship even began. Once it was clear that the planetary order had been overthrown, the steps of the dance lost their footing. In 1611 John Donne wrote *An Anatomie of the World: the first Anniversarie*.

...new Philosophy calls all in doubt,
The Element of fire is quite put out;
The Sun is lost, and th'earth, and no man's wit
Can well direct him where to looke for it.
...'Tis all in peeces, all cohaerence gone;
All just supply, and all Relation:
Prince, Subject, Father, Sonne, are things forgot,
For every man alone thinks he hath got
To be a Phoenix, and that there can bee
None of that kinde, of which he is, but he.

Prince and subject did become 'things forgot'. As the world turned upside down, the Banqueting House,

built for royal masques, became the stage for the execution of the king. Later that year, Parliament banned dancing at the Inns of Court. And John Ogilby learned to think he had got to be a Phoenix, and that there could be ‘None of that kinde, of which he is, but he’. So he rediscovered and reinvented himself over and over again.

While savage lawlessness swept Ireland, he was shown the ancient Latin narratives of civil war and destruction, which resolved in the triumph of law and proper authority. In a spirit of hope, he plunged into the epic poetry of Virgil, trying to learn Latin in order to translate all the poet’s work into English. For the first time. Who wouldn’t?

Living with ancient and modern heroism and disaster, he fled from the collapse of Royalist Ireland, was shipwrecked and captured at Holyhead. He was with other Royalist agents, but no one found out who he was and after he was brought to London in chains he was set free, penniless. Meanwhile the king had been executed, his sponsors were all dead

or fled abroad, but never mind. Ogilby knew how to look on the bright side, and he had managed to keep hold of his manuscript translation of Virgil. So he walked, limping, to Cambridge and found scholars who had been thrown out by the revolution and would correct his work.

That is how John Ogilby, poet and classical translator, was born. And, since he had done something new and extraordinary, he was soon acclaimed for it. He was John Donne’s human phoenix, who supposed that there could be ‘None of that kind, of which he is, but he’. He put his portrait on the frontispiece. In 1649 he was a respectable scholar (Fig. 1). But when he produced his next book, in 1654, he would have a very different portrait (Fig. 2). He had found his true self, as a royalist gentleman with his own heraldic device, which indicated that he was the younger brother of the Earl of Airlie, the seventh Lord Ogilvie.

The Earl of Arlie was one of the staunchest defenders of the Stuarts, a position that had cost him his lands and castles. Like Ogilby, he would do all he could to restore



Fig. 1 Portrait of John Ogilby, the scholar as it appeared in the frontispiece of his 1649 translation of Virgil.



Fig. 2 Portrait of John Ogilby as he appeared in the illustrated 1654 edition of Virgil with the addition of a badge from his coat of arms declaring his aristocratic lineage.

the monarchy. Around 1653 he seems to have revealed to John that he had been born in Airlie Castle at Kirriemuir, and given as a baby to the tailor for adoption when the clan was in crisis. Ogilby would eventually put the Earl's coronet on his coat of arms, evidently with Royal approval. But he kept the connection secret. It was only spelt out in Ashmole's coded horoscope. Airlie and Ogilby evidently felt that they could be a more effective partnership working, as Ogilby always worked, in the shadows.

The new connection linked Ogilby into the conspiracies of Royalist aristocracy. He became a kind of literary guru, advising secret machination rather than the danger of open rebellion against Cromwell. They had time and natural law on their side. He demonstrated that Virgil contained their message of hope, and that they could be bound together by owning a copy of the text in a huge and beautiful, heavily illustrated translation for which he had hired the best graphic artists. He imported the finest paper from France and set up his own press to control the whole process. To finance it, he married an elderly widow and employed her step-grandson as his assistant. What did he know about printing, publishing, bookbinding, and marketing? Who cares, he made a fortune. Again.

Ogilby now decided to write his own epic poem about the great events of his own time, with Charles as the hero, but first he really ought to make a proper translation of Homer. Of course he didn't know any Greek, but that was no obstacle. That was when he asked Ashmole for a horoscope, to check that he was dancing in step with the heavens. It was fine. He was only 52, so sat down and learned the language, and then produced his massive translation. Each illustration was dedicated to an oppressed royalist supporter. He presented the *Iliad* as an essay on the authority of kings and the wickedness of rebellion. Ogilby's Homer believed in the divine right of kings.

Which helps to explain why he was asked to organise Charles II's coronation procession at his restoration in 1660. He built four one-hundred-foot high arches that were stages for actors and musicians to display the majesty of majesty as the King and his entourage wound their way to Westminster. The master of poetry and theatre was given a free hand to create a processional masque that took over the entire city. He was conjuring an unforgettable dazzling statement that made it extremely hard, perhaps impossible, to believe that civil war could ever return. It never did.

Charles re-appointed him Master of the Revels in Ireland, and Ogilby built a new theatre in Dublin. He put on the first play by an English female author in any professional theatre, with two remarkable female lead actors. It transferred to London and so did he, returning to his London printing house and offering his stupendously expensive books as lottery prizes.

His career peaked in 1666. And like the whole of London, it went up in smoke.

His home, his press and his entire stock were consumed. A fire is just what a phoenix needs. He still had five pounds left. He was still only 65, and his other leg was perfectly okay. Reborn, John Ogilby, man of mystery, talent and energy, rose from the ashes for what he called the conquest of the whole world.

All London was rising from the ashes intent on the commercial conquest of the whole world. Ogilby set up in the new Royal Exchange, among the aristocracy of commerce, to create the great fat illustrated books that would guide them through overseas market opportunities. The best sources came from Amsterdam, and by a happy chance Ogilby had learned Dutch when he was a prisoner of war in Dunkirk. He did a deal with a Dutch publisher and produced, at breakneck speed, his own translations of a multi-volume description of the world. The phoenix was flying.

But then came *The English Atlas*. And that's when it all changed. In a world of secrets, Ogilby was about to be part of the biggest secret of his life. A plot so utterly incredible that for many years, no one believed it could have existed. The Secret Treaty of Dover was signed in May 1670 by Charles, and in June by Louis XIV. Incredibly, Charles agreed to convert to Catholicism, and Louis agreed to provide him with the income to run Britain, enabling Charles to change the result of the Civil War and get rid of Parliament completely. And if the English should rise up against their new absolute ruler, Louis would send a French army to crush them.

This took massive planning. The King needed an atlas of Britain, and it wasn't to be translated from the Dutch. Where could foreign troops be landed? How could they move from one place to another? That meant a new kind of map, with roads. What was the political and economic structure of all the towns and corporations that Charles would have to control? That needed something like a new Domesday Book.

Who could invent such a thing, and who could execute it? Who was loyal beyond any imagining, and who could keep secrets that would remain hidden for centuries?

That explains the mystery of Ogilby's last and greatest work. The road maps are a completely new kind of scientific geography, using a rolling measuring device. The waywiser was a wheel with a wooden handle to be pushed along and a clock face that counted the revolutions. Three hundred and twenty revolutions made a mile. Exactly. But why Aberystwyth? Partly because it's a possible landing place for the French. And it shows the lead mines which were also Charles I's silver mines, minting his currency during the Civil War.

But this purpose was secret. The cover story was that *Britannia* was commercially useful, but no one went on his road from St Davids to Holywell except for Catholic pilgrims. And pilgrimage was illegal, unless the country was made Catholic.

Ogilby gave clues to what was up. The surveyors at the bottom of the frontispiece are looking at a globe which shows east and west reversed. Europe and Africa are on the wrong side of the Atlantic! The Puritans had turned the world upside down. Now King Charles was putting it the other way around.





Fig. 3 Detail from the frontispiece of *Britannia* Vol. 1. A surveyor viewing a globe where the world (but not the words) is reversed.

Ogilby gave him such an effective weapon that the invasion was never needed. Charles did not convert, but did receive a huge annual income from Louis and was able to rule without Parliament. *Britannia* identified how every town was governed, and Charles put his own people in place, so there would be no rebellion. It was such a silent revolution that no one really noticed.

Constantly consulting with members of the Royal Society, Ogilby used his waywiser as an instrument for observing and measuring the world, and exposing it to the scientific gaze of government. What was hidden in the land was laid bare, like what was hidden in the sky or in the stomach of a flea. This was science in the service of the mystical authority of sovereign power.

Do you know a better definition of modernity?

All images courtesy of the author.

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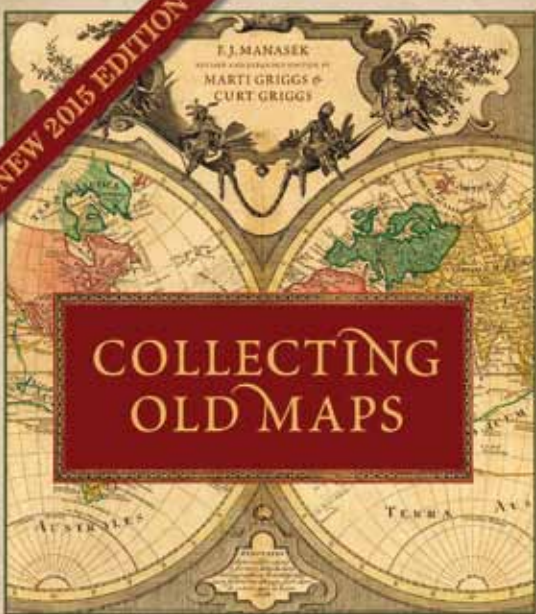
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36th International IMCoS Symposium 2018

The 36th International IMCoS Symposium 2018 is a two-part event. It will open in Manila on 14 October and continue until 17 October. The Hong Kong part runs from 19th to 20th. 18th has been assigned as a travel day. Each destination has its own registration and registration fee.

14–17 October, Manila 'Insulae Indiae Orientalis'

Sunday 14 October

Welcome reception cocktails

Monday 15 October

Lectures:

Maps and the Emergence of the Filipino Nation
by Ambeth R. Ocampo, Philippines, Professor,
Department of History, Ateneo de Manila University

**The Philippine Map of Fr Murillo Velarde:
The Current Relevance of a Classic Master**
by Dr. Carlos Madrid, Philippines, Director,
Instituto Cervantes de Manila

**The Maggiolo Mystery: A Failed Proposal for Peace
in a 1531 Portolan** by Daniel Crouch, UK,
Daniel Crouch Rare Books

Afternoon excursion to the Ayala Museum for a viewing of the exhibition 'Insulae Indiae Orientalis'.
Early evening visit to the Gallery of Prints.

Tuesday 16 October

Lectures:

**Anna D'Almeida (1836–1866), a Modern Tourist in
the Far East** by Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird, UK, Editor,
IMCoS Journal

**The Berghaus Maps of the Philippines and his
Unfinished 'Atlas of Asia'** by Rudolf J. H. Lietz,
Philippines, Curator, Gallery of Prints

**Rhubarb and Martini: A Strangely Sinister
Relationship** by Dr Richard Jackson, UK,
Emeritus Professor, James Cook University,
Australia

**Local Exploration Highlights in the Days of the
Dutch East India (VOC) Company** by Hans D.
Kok, Netherlands, Chairman, IMCoS Executive
Committee

Afternoon excursion to the Lopez Museum Map
Collection and Ortigas Foundation: Map Collection.

Wednesday 17 October

Lectures:

**The Trade between New Spain and Manila and
Vice-versa** by Martine Chomel Harent, Former
Curator, Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City
**One Step Too Far: The Spanish Lake, the Moluccas,
and Terra Australis** by Robert Clancy, Emeritus
Professor AM FRS(N)

Chinese Maps, Trade Networks and the Philippines
by Dr Richard A. Pegg, Director and Curator of
Asian Art, MacLean Collection, Chicago

Ancient Maps in the South China Sea Dispute by
Justice Antonio T. Carpio, Justice of the Supreme
Court, Philippines

Afternoon excursion to the University of Sto. Tomas
Miguel de Benavides Library.

IMCoS Gala Dinner

Thursday 18 October

Optional transfer to Hong Kong

Registration for Manila only www.imcos-2018-manila.com

1 Reception cocktails, Gala farewell dinner and three-day
Symposium with excursions **US \$450**

Option 1 includes pre-Symposium Sunday Reception and
Registration, morning coffee/tea on the 3 days of Symposium,
full-colour catalogue of Symposium Map Exhibition in Ayala
Museum and entry to its other Museum exhibits, and afternoon
Excursions, Tuesday and Wednesday transportation to and from
all afternoon venues including Gala Dinner.

2 Reception cocktails and Gala farewell dinner **ONLY US \$125**

Hotels

Preferential rates for participants have been obtained at Hotel
Fairmont Makati and the Makati Diamond Residences Hotel.
Please visit www.imcos-2018-manila.com/hotels/ for further
information.

Optional Tours

Wayfair Tours, Inc. has organised a one half-day tour for Sunday 14
October and two options for a full-day tour on Saturday 13 October.
Visit www.imcos-2018-manila.com/optional-tours/ for more
information and booking.

18–20 October, Hong Kong
‘Cultural Encounters in Maps of China’

Thursday 18 October 2018

Welcome drinks and preview of exhibition

Friday 19 October

Opening addresses by Richard Wesley,
Museum Director, HKMM and Hans D. Kok,
IMCoS Chairman

***Foreign Influence in Chinese Shipping and
Evolution of Chinese Sea Charts in the 17th
Century*** by K.L. Tam, Managing Director,
Kingstar Shipping Limited and Director, HKMM
***Maps, the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean
and Science*** by Professor Fung Kam-Wing,
University of Hong Kong

Morning coffee break

***The First Encounter of European and East Asian
Cartographies*** by Dr Mario Cams, Assistant
Professor, University of Macau, Department
of History

***Mapping Hong Kong – from Documenting
Bandit Hideouts to a Global Destination*** by
Dr Gordian Gaeta, Collector of the long-term loan
The Gordian Gaeta Collection at HKMM

Lunch break

***Charting the Life of Captain Daniel Ross of the
Bombay Marine*** by Dr Stephen Davies, Honorary
Professor, University of Hong Kong

***Cross-reference on Maps and Literature, and
the Methodology of Researching China Maps***
by Dr Lin Jeng-yi, Director, Southern Branch
of the National Palace Museum, Taipei

Afternoon coffee break

***Jansson’s Xuntien alias Quinzay – City Map or
Chimera*** by Dr Marco Caboara, Digital Scholarship
and Archives Manager, Lee Shau Kee Library,
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Panel discussion: ***Current Trends in Collecting
Antique Maps and Charts of Asia***

Symposium dinner

Saturday 20 October 2018

Map Gallery tour at Hong Kong University of
Science and Technology
Presentation by Dr Marco Caboara on the past,

present and future of the HKUST map collection
Wattis Fine Art Gallery exhibition: ***Early Maps
and Charts of Hong Kong and the Pearl River
c.1775–1975***

Farewell Reception at Wattis Fine Art Gallery

Information and registration for Hong Kong
<https://tinyurl.com/imcos-2018-hk>

1 Delegate fees: **US \$280**

Option 1 includes welcome drinks on 18 October; café lunch,
coffee breaks and Symposium dinner on 19 October, materials
and papers of the Symposium, entrance fees for the Museum;
transportation to and from the Hong Kong University of
Science and Technology on the 20 October.

2 Welcome drinks and Symposium Dinner ONLY: **US \$125**

Hotels

Booking can be done on the website

<https://tinyurl.com/imcos-2018-hk>

Hong Kong Island (Museum side)

Mandarin Oriental (10 min. walk)

iClub Sheung Wan Hotel (30 min., incl. Metro + walk)

Special rate has been offered to participants

Holiday Inn Express Hong Kong SoHo Hotel by IHG (20 min. walk)

Tsim Sha Tsui (Opposite side of harbour from the Museum)

Sheraton Hong Kong Hotel & Towers (10 min. walk + 10 min. ferry)

The Salisbury – YMCA Hong Kong (10 min. walk + 10 min. ferry)





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PLANISPHERIUM CŒLESTE

The publishing history of Seutter's star chart

Krisztina Oláh

Born in Augsburg, Matthäus Seutter (1678–1757) was one of Germany's outstanding atlas and map publishers of the eighteenth century. On completing his apprenticeship as a brewer in Nuremberg he studied engraving and mapmaking with Johann Baptist Homann (1664–1724).¹ Initially, he worked for various map publishers until he founded his own publishing company in Augsburg around 1707. Seutter engraved almost all of his maps and, from 1740, his son-in-law Tobias Conrad Lotter (1717–1777) helped him.

Seutter's *Planisphaerium Cæleste* appears very similar to celestial charts of his contemporaries Georg Christoph Eimmart (1638–1705) and Petrus Schenk (1660–1711).² The starry sky is depicted in two hemispheres of 26.5 cm in diameter, using a polar-stereographic projection with an eccentric perspective. The picture of the heavens is complemented by seven mathematical-astronomical figures. The top of the sheet is decorated with allegorical figures, in the centre the Creator is surrounded with putti representing the heavenly bodies: Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Mercury on the left, and the Moon, Venus and Saturn (carrying a scythe) opposite.³

The peculiarity of this chart is that it does not include any imprint details, and without knowledge of its engraver or publisher it is difficult to establish its publication date. The only published literature on the subject is D. Warner's book which identifies two states:⁴

1. 'Planisphaerium Coeleste'¹'Secundum restitutionem hevelianam et hallejanam', signed by 'Sc. Melchior Rein aquaforti'. Warner dates it to 1730 from the *Atlas Novus Sive Tabulae Geographicae* and identifies it as the first state.

1a. The second state she estimates a release date of 1745. The content is the same as State 1, the only difference is that 'Sc. Melchior Rein aquaforti' has been replaced by the 'Cum Gratia et Privil. S. R. I. Vicariatg, in partib, Rhem, Sveviae, et Juris Franconici' privilege.

Based on a comparative examination of the chart's content, several additional printing plates and states can be identified beyond those described by Warner. Events in Seutter's life and alterations in the allegorical elements of the charts have also been used to help date and identify different states.

Key events in Seutter's life

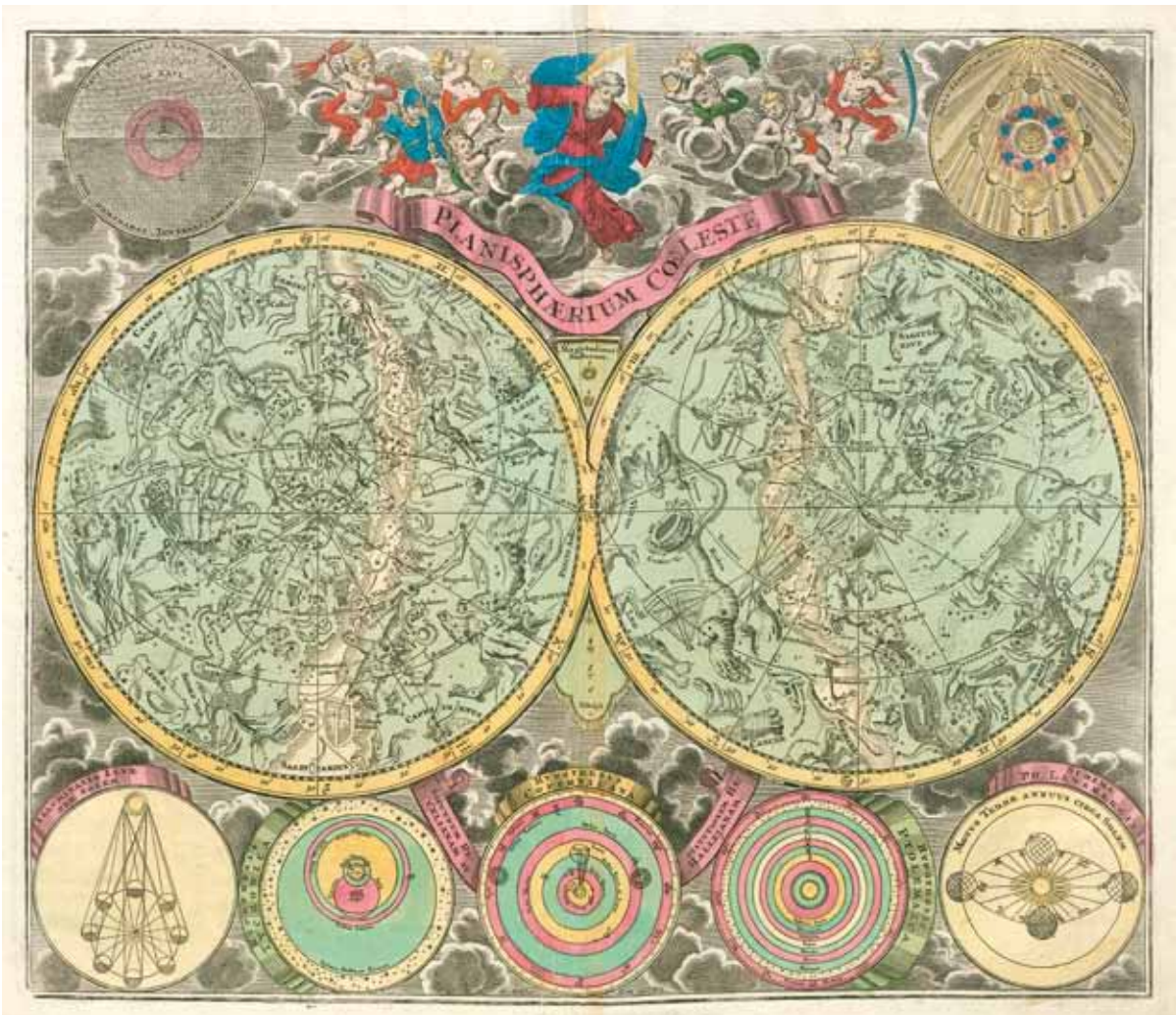
There are several details from Seutter's life which are useful in dating his geographical maps, which can also be beneficial in dating the plates of *Planisphaerium Cæleste* and their states.

Seutter was honoured with the title 'Imperial Geographer'⁵ in 1731. On his early geographical maps, Seutter used the term 'Calcographus' with his own name, until 1731. After his appointment, he replaced 'Calcographus' with 'Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Geographus' (S.C.M.G.). However as his name does not appear on the star chart, this detail is not immediately helpful. It is useful, however in dating his original atlases, because the exact dates of publishing are required to determine the release of each map sheet.

On 31 July 1741⁶ Seutter was granted the printing privilege for the sole release of his own charts and maps, after which he used the following inscription: 'Cum Gratia et Privilegio Sacri Romani Imperii Vicariatus in partibus Rheni, Sueviae et Juris Franconici'.

Two dates are helpful in dating the charts: Seutter's death in 1757, when his printing plates were inherited by his son Albrecht Carl Seutter (b.1722), and Albrecht's death five years later in 1762. As Albrecht's widow was not interested in continuing the business, half of Seutter's printing plates were inherited by Tobias Conrad Lotter, who continued Seutter's business but under his own name. The other half of Seutter's stock, including probably the plate of the star chart, went to another son-in-law, Georg Balthasar Probst (1732–1801). Probst, in turn, gave the plates to his brother Johann Michael Probst (1730–1777) who, when reissuing Seutter's maps left the original inscriptions on the plate, but added his own name as follows 'Anjetzo in Verlag bey Iohann Michael Probst'.

For a more accurate dating of each state, the publishing dates of Seutter's original atlases which include this celestial chart, are invaluable, however the date appearing on the typographic title page is insufficient and unreliable for determining the exact publishing date of the whole atlas as publishers



Above Fig. 1.2-a *Planisphaerium Cæleste*, the second state of the first plate. 48.8 x 56 cm. National Széchényi Library, Map Department TA 283.



Left Fig. 1.2-b Detail of Fig. 1.2-a showing the engraver's name Melchior Rein at the centre of the lower edge of the chart.



Fig. 1.3-a Details from States 2 and 3 showing the appearance of the compass roses on the sides of the chart.

frequently bound in a title page from an earlier printing. The publication date of Seutter's original atlases was arrived at by establishing the date of each map sheet and index pages.

Identifying the plates and their states

Plate 1 – State 1

This state has neither publishing imprint nor names of either mapmaker or engraver. However, it is easily identified by the position of the allegorical Saturn who faces forward towards the viewer (see Fig. 4), and the absence of compass roses which are typical of later states. There are no known examples of this state in public collections. A single copy was found in the auction records of Dumont Books.⁷

Plate 1 – State 2

The second state (Fig. 1.2-a) has been modified by the addition of 'Sc. Melchior Rein aquaforti' (etched by Melchior Rein) placed at the bottom-centre of the chart (Fig. 1.2-b). At present we have rather scant information on Melchior Rein other than that he worked for Seutter as an engraver and was active between 1715 and 1730.⁸

Plate 1 – State 3

The engraver's inscription on the previous state can also be observed on the third. A new feature is the introduction of two compass roses at the two outer edges of the central hemispheres of the constellations: on the left side from top to bottom with orientation to east and south, and on the right side to north and west (Fig. 1.3-a). This addition was continued throughout the lifetime of the chart and copied to later printing plates.

Table 1.2 Known copies of the second state of the first plate

Collection	Reference number	Atlas and page number	Date of the typographical title page	Date of publication
Harvard Library	MAP-LC G1015. S48 1720 f ⁹	AG ¹⁰ 46	1720	1720
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	OCLC-Nr. 643103754	AG 100(?)	1725	1725
OSzK, Térképtár ¹¹	TA 283	AN ¹² 24	1728	1728
PEK TGYO, Klimo Könyvtár ¹³	HH. I. 6.	AN 24	1728	1728
Univerzita Karlova	1472371 ¹⁴	fol.	-	-
Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg	CARTE 91299-53 ¹⁵	fol.	-	-
Stanford University Libraries, The Barry Lawrence Ruderman Collection	55424 ¹⁶	fol.	-	-

The atlases are consistent: each sheet has the same style, numbering, and release date. The publishing dates of the atlases and their typographical title pages correspond. Separately published charts are marked by the abbreviation 'fol.'

Table 1.3 Known copies of the third state of the first plate

Collection	Reference number	Atlas and page number	Date of the typographical title page	Date of publication
Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka	VUB01_000501582 ¹⁷	AN 24	1728	[1730!] ¹⁸
The British Library	T-SEU-1a	AN 50	1730	[1731!] ¹⁹
David Rumsey Map Collection	12041.003 ²⁰	AN 50	1730	[1731!] ²¹
OSzK, Térképtár	TA 223 A-0.	coll.	-	-
Repozytorium Cyfrowe Instytutów Naukowych	oai:rcin.org.pl:45231 ²²	coll.	-	-
Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu	2777-IV. B. ²³	coll.	-	-

'Coll.' refers to late composite atlases. Unfortunately, these atlases are not suitable for determining publishing dates because neither the date of compilation nor the release date of the single sheet charts can be ascertained.

Plate 2 – State 1

The second printing plate (see front cover)²⁴ is distinguished from the first by a number of differences. The allegorical representation was completely redrawn and, despite a faithful copying, there are a few small differences in the details. The most striking change is Saturn, who now turns to the left, but a number of smaller changes can also be observed in other images in the heavens. The change of position and direction of the heads of Jupiter, Mars and the Sun are also noticeable, and the hand in which Mercury holds his attribute, the *caduceus*. Although there has been no change in the content of the astronomical subject and its depiction, there is a slight change in the placement of the nomenclature. On the northern hemisphere a difference in the segmentation of the ‘Colurus Solstitium’ inscription in the centre is observable (see Fig. 4).

Similar to State 1 of Plate 1, this state omits the author and any publishing information. There are no known examples in public collections. Charles Edwin Puckett has kindly given permission to illustrate his copy, one of the three which have appeared for sale.²⁵

Plate 2 – State 2

The second state of the second plate is easily identifiable by the Imperial Vicariate Privilege which was granted to Seutter on 31 July 1741 as described above. The abbreviated text ‘Cum Gratia et Privil. S. R. I. Vicariatus in partibus Rheni, Sueviæ et Juris Franconici’ appears centred at the bottom of the chart (Fig. 2.2-a).

Plate 3 – State 1

There are changes in the physiognomy of the putti. Although there is no modification in the astronomical content, there are clear differences in the placement of the nomenclature (location of the name GEMINI), which makes it easy to distinguish this plate from others (see Fig. 4). Identification is further helped by the fact that the privilege inscription has been moved to outside the chart’s frame on the bottom left (Fig. 3.1-b).

Plate 3 – State 2

The second state of the third plate is the last known state. It was published after Matthäus Seutter’s death. This is confirmed by the text added to the circle illustrating the phases of the moon in the bottom left of the chart. Johann Michael Probst’s name as

the publisher has been engraved over the worn privilege-inscription (Fig. 3.2-a). Changes to the content cannot be found on the sheet.

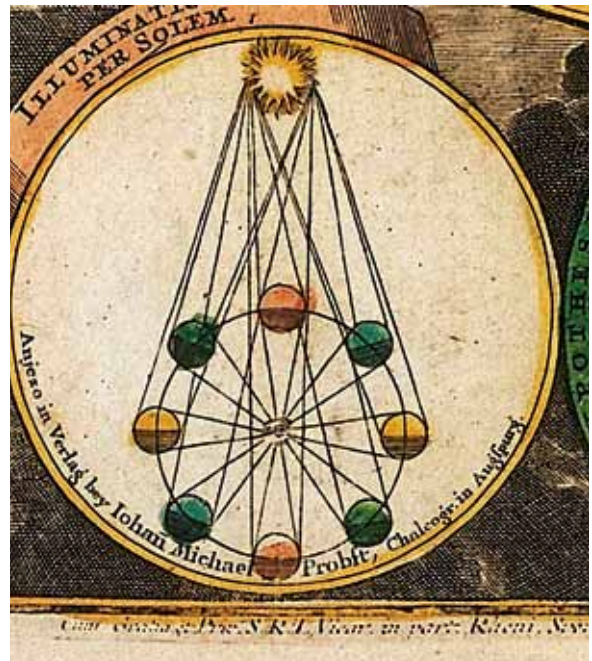


Fig. 3.2-a The last state is clearly identified by the imprint of Johann Michael Probst. University Library Bern, shelfmark MUE Ryh 1003:15.

It can clearly be seen from above results that seven different states of Seutter’s celestial chart can be identified. State 1, identified by Warner, matches states 2 or 3⁴⁰ of the first plate according to our research. Warner’s dating of 1730 is confirmed by our research results. Warner’s state 1.a matches State 2 of Plate 2, dating it to 1745, which also concurs with the estimated publication date.

Based on our present knowledge, three different plates with the total of seven states of *Planisphaerium Cæleste* produced and issued by the Seutter’s publishing house and its heirs can be clearly differentiated. The most important indicator has been the differences of the allegorical representation of the upper part of the chart, which was supported by the specificity of the nomenclature’s elements of each (Fig. 4).

The states of Matthäus Seutter’s *Planisphaerium Cæleste* and its dates are summarised in Table 4 on page 29. Further research into Melchior Rein’s engraving activity and the study of additional original Seutter atlases will certainly provide more information on the production and publishing history of this important celestial chart.



Fig. 2.2-a The appearance of the Vicariate Privilege on the second state of the second plate.

Table 2.2 Known copies of the second state of the second plate

Collection	Reference number	Atlas and page number	Date of the typographical title page	Date of publication
Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek	Nr.: VD 18 12657204 ²⁶	AN 50	1736	[1745! ²⁷]
Brno MZK ²⁸	Sign. ST5-0096.424 ²⁹	AN 50	1736	[1744! ³⁰]
Wardington Library (former)	472	coll.	-	-
Muzeum Brnenska	inv. R-DCCCCV (E.II.a) ³¹	coll.	-	-
University Library Bern, Ryhiner Coll.	Ryh 1003 13 ³²	fol.	-	-
OSzK, Térképtár	TR 2 397	fol.	-	-

Table 3.1 Known copies of the first state of the third plate

Collection	Reference number	Atlas and page number	Date of the typographical title page	Date of publication
Budapest, Korányi G. T. private coll.	-	AN 50	1736	[1744 ³³]
Brno MZK	Sign. ST5-0050.355 ³⁴	coll.	-	-
University of Debrecen	-	fol.	-	-
Stanford University Libraries, The Barry Lawrence Ruderman Collection (2 copies)	33451 ³⁵ 35070 ³⁶	fol.	-	-



Fig. 3.1-b The most important alteration is the moving of the privilege from the chart proper to outside the frame in the lower corner of the chart. University of Debrecen.

Table 3.2 Known copies of the second state of the third plate

Collection	Reference number	Atlas and page number	Date of the typographical title page	Date of publication
University Library Bern, Ryhiner Coll.	MUE Ryh 1003:15 ³⁷	fol.	-	-
Stanford University Libraries, The Barry Lawrence Ruderman Collection (2 copies)	38294 ³⁸ 37646 ³⁹	fol.	-	-

Plate 3



Plate 2



Plate 1



Fig. 4 Details from Plates 1, 2 and 3 showing the differences in the allegorical representations and nomenclature.

Table 4 *Planisphaerium Cœleste*: states and the estimated release date

Plate	State	Engraving – publishing data	Privilege	Date of the typographical title page	Date of publication	Estimated release and use
1	1	-	-	fol.	-	1715 ⁴¹ –1720
	2	Melchior Rein	-	1720	1720	1720–1730
				1725	1725	
				1728	1728	
				1728	1730	
3	Melchior Rein	-	1730	1731	1730–1731	
2	1	-	-	fol.	-	1730–1741
	2	-	in the middle at the bottom of the map	1736	1744	1741–1745
				1736	1745	
1	-	outside	1736	1744	1741–1762	
3	1	-	outside	1736	1744	1741–1762
	2	Johann Michael Probst	outside	fol.	1758-	1762 ⁴² -

Notes

- 1 Ingrid Kretschmer, Johannes Dörfflinger, Franz Wawrik (eds.), *Enzyklopädie der Kartographie – Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie*. Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1986, p. 738; Christian Sandler, *Johann Baptist Homann, Matthäus Seutter und ihre Landkarten*, Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing Co., 1965, p. 5.
- 2 Nick Kanas, *Star Maps*, London: Springer, 2012, p. 171.
- 3 The planetary symbols above the heads of the putti were inversely engraved in the case of Jupiter and Saturn.
- 4 Deborah J. Warner, *The sky explored – Celestial Cartography 1500–1800*. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1979, p. 245.
- 5 Markus Heinz, 'Die Atlanten der süddeutschen Verlage Homann und Seutter (18. Jahrhundert)', *Vierhundert Jahre Mercator Vierhundert Jahre Atlas*. Weißhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1995, p. 83.
- 6 Peter H. Meurer, 'Das Druckprivileg für Matthäus Seutter', *Cartographica Helvetica* No. 7–8, 1993, p. 34.
- 7 <https://www.dumontbooks.com/cgi-bin/dumont/26526.html> - 2018.06.19.
- 8 Michael Ritter, 'Seutter, Probst and Lotter, An eighteenth-century map publishing house in Germany', *Imago Mundi*, No. 53, 2001, p. 130.
- 9 [https://iiflib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:50672614\\$1i](https://iiflib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:50672614$1i) - 2018.06.19.
- 10 Atlas Geographicus, oder Accurate Vortsellung der ganzen Welt...
- 11 National Széchényi Library – Map Department, Budapest.
- 12 Atlas Novus Indicibus Instructus, Oder Neuer mit Wort-Registern versehenen Atlas.
- 13 University Library of Pécs and Centre for Learning, Department of Historical Collections, Klimo Library.
- 14 [http://en.esbirky.cz/subject/12278107#googtrans\(en\)](http://en.esbirky.cz/subject/12278107#googtrans(en)) - 2018.06.19.
- 15 <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10100390s.r=planisphaerium?rk=85837;2> - 2018.06.19.
- 16 <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/55424/planisphaerium-coeleste-rein> - 2018.06.19.
- 17 http://www.atmintis.mb.vu.lt/en/collections/VUB01_000501582-00012 - 2018.06.19.
- 18 Based on the publishing date of the index pages of America and Africa.
- 19 Rodney Shirley, *Maps in the atlases of British Library*, London: The British Library, 2004, p. 949.
- 20 https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~283521~90056099:Planisphere-Coeleste-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:seutter%20atlas;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=137&trs=485 - 2018.06.19.
- 21 Based on the publishing time of the index page of Circulus Franconicus.
- 22 http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=45231&from=&dirids=1&er_id=&lp=6&QI=- - 2018.06.19.
- 23 http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=ULW__BUW__2777_IV_B__3ZCWZ39-pl#search - 2018.06.19.
- 24 https://cepuckett.com/inventory/index.php?no_cache=20180514051637&main_page=product_info&products_id=1714&zenid=ta2e5bim2gu8ufiobu7o02gni3 - 2018.06.19.
- 25 <https://cepuckett.com> - 2018.06.19.

26 <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/seutter1736/0001/thumbs> - 2018.06.19.

27 Based on the publishing date of the index pages of Europa and Poloniae Regnum.

28 Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna

29 <http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:844c421a-82e0-11e0-bc9f0050569d679d?page=uuid:86b1d06e-82e0-1e0-bc9f-0050569d679d> - 2018.06.19.

30 Based on publishing time of the index page of Status Ecclesiae.

31 <http://chartae-antiquae.cz/en/atlas/41#10> - 2018.06.19.

32 http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV01&func=findb&find_code=SYS&con_lng=ENG&request=965701 - 2018.06.19.

33 Based on publishing date of the index pages of Asia and Status Ecclesiasticus.

34 <http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:2f71ff7a-82e0-11e0-bc9f-0050569d679d?page=uuid:32e5a26f-82e0-11e0-bc9f-0050569d679d> - 2018.06.19.

35 <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/33451> - 2018.06.19.

36 <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/35070> - 2018.06.19.

37 http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV01&func=findb&find_code=SYS&con_lng=ENG&request=965743 - 2018.06.19.

38 <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/38294> - 2018.06.19.

39 <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/37646> - 2018.06.19.

40 Since Warner's note about the state does not mention compass roses, we do not know which one she refers to.

41 The date used to estimate the production time of the first state is the beginning of the career of Melchior Rein (1715).

42 Michael Ritter, 'Seutter, Probst and Lotter, An eighteenth-century map publishing house in Germany', *Imago Mundi*, No. 53, 2001 p.132.

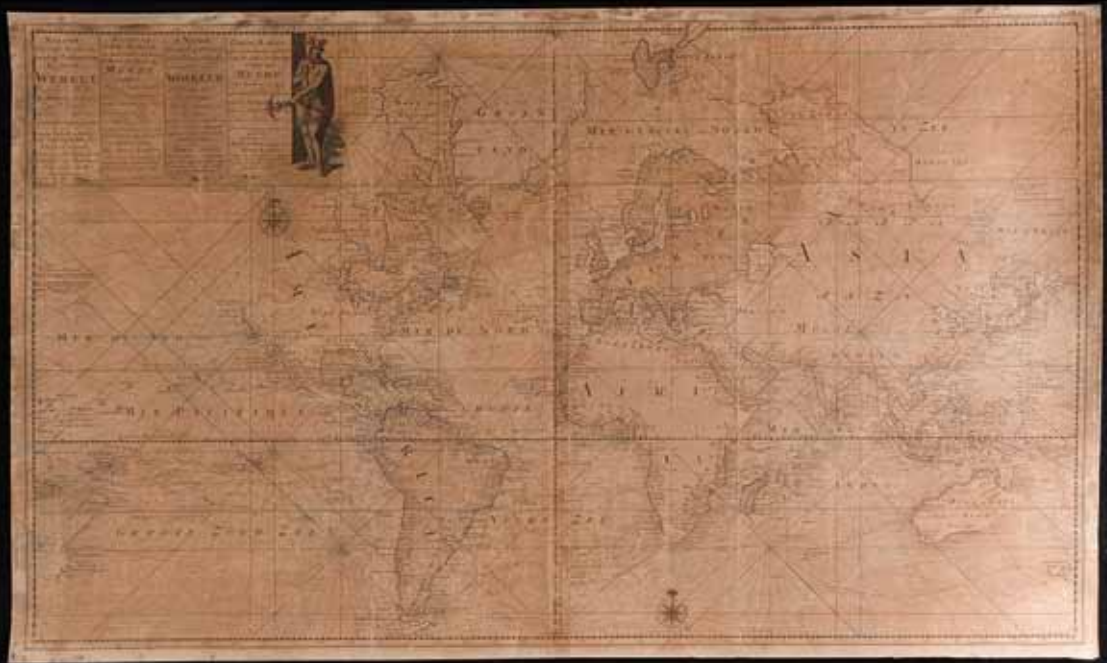
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**Unrecorded Dutch Nautical Chart of the World.
Johannes Loots, ca. 1709.**

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MAPPING EZO

Representing the extent of Japan prior to the modern era

Edward Boyle

2018 is the 150th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration, conventionally understood to mark the emergence of modern Japan. In 1868 the authority of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had formally ruled the country since 1603, was overthrown, and a military coalition dominated by lower-ranking samurai from the southwest of Japan proclaimed the 'restoration' of the emperor to supreme political power. Commemorations of the anniversary have emphasised the role of the new Meiji government in taking direct control of the country and ruling the entirety of Japan as a modern sovereign state. These national celebrations, though, have had an interesting local counterpoint, as 2018 also celebrates the 150th anniversary of the creation of Hokkaido, the most northerly of Japan's four main islands. The juxtaposition of these two celebrations serves to emphasise how recent this status is, for Hokkaido was only decisively incorporated into Japan in 1868.¹ Prior to this date, it was called Ezo, after the term used by the Japanese to refer to the land's indigenous inhabitants.² Today Ezo is a derogatory designation for the indigenous Ainu people left dispossessed by this expansion of the Japanese nation. This does not mean that there had been no relation between the Japanese and this land prior to that date, of course. On the contrary, trade between the two dates back to at least the tenth century, and by the mid-fifteenth century, a series of Japanese forts had been permanently established along the southern shore of the island. When the Tokugawa Shogunate came to power, it was represented in Ezo by the Matsumae family, who were officially granted a monopoly over trade relations with the Ezo. Administered from the town of the same name on the southern coast of the island, the area over which the Matsumae exercised authority appeared on official cartography from the 1640s, although it had been absent from the earliest 'national' maps made by the Tokugawa regime.³ With the production of probably the third national map of the Tokugawa era, in 1651, the islands of Ezo were shown to be situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu. These official maps provided a distorted and severely truncated representation of the area associated with the Ezo. This area consisted of the

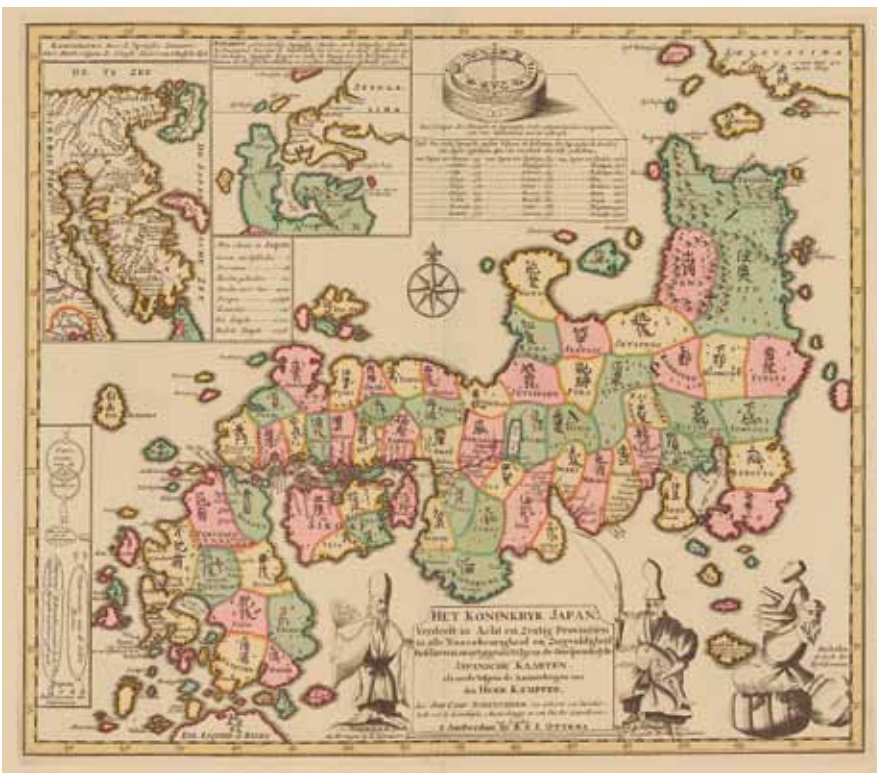
main island of Ezo, Hokkaido today, with the island of Karafuto, now Sakhalin, to its north and a cluster of islands labelled Kurumise, identifiable with the Kuril Islands, to the east.

Commercial cartography provides a better indication of how this area was generally thought of by the Japanese during the years of Tokugawa rule. Beyond the surveys demanded or conducted by the Tokugawa administration, the creation and consumption of maps remained the preserve of the more prosperous members of society. Maps for the commercial market did not emerge entirely independent of the state's cartography, as they were made by the same mapmakers, but nor did they entirely overlap. The historian Mary Elizabeth Berry has argued that commercial map publishers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by following the Tokugawa mapping convention of representing Japan as divided by imperial provinces, imposed the state's vision of political space on the populace.⁴ This may overemphasise the ability of state institutions to shape cultural production, however, as both state and commercial cartography were drawing on an extant understanding of Japan, as being divided into '66 provinces and 2 islands'.⁵ This vision of state space equated Japan with a series of provinces located on the three islands of Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu, together with some outlying islands. Ezo, however, lay beyond the administrative claims of this system, and therefore, according to the traditional map, outside the bounds of the nation. While the government's official maps of the realm sporadically sought to represent Ezo as within the Tokugawa's sphere of governance, mentally mapping it as part of Japan was a much longer process.

Ezo is shown on decorative maps of Japan made for sale in the seventeenth century. An early example, dating from 1662, is the *Fusō kuni no zu* (Map of an eastern country) (Fig. 1). The expression *Fusō* refers to the lands east of China, and thus appears to place this map within a wider geographical context, but the map offers the traditional understanding of Japan as being made up of provinces primarily distributed across the three islands of Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku, with the imperial capital of what is now Kyoto occupying



Above Fig. 1 *Fusō kuni no zu* (Map of an eastern country). Traditional representation of Japan as made up of its provincial components and centred on Kyoto. The large orange island in the top right of the map is labelled Matsumae and 'Teshiofuro' (Ainu for west), the red land beneath it is labelled with 'Menashifuro' (Ainu for east) and Ezo-no-chishima, 1662. Fushimiya. Hand-drawn and coloured. 60 x 88 cm. Courtesy of the National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.



Left Fig. 2 *Het Koninkryk Japan, verdeelt in acht en zestig provincien in alle Naauwkeurigheid en Zorgvuldigheid Beschreven enuytgegeven Volgens de Oorspronkelyke Japansche kaarten als mede Volgens de Aanmerkingen van den Heer Kaempfer* (A map of the Empire of Japan... made by Dr Kaempfer), 1740. Reiner and Joshua Ottens, Amsterdam. Hand-coloured engraved map. 47 x 55 cm. Reproduced with permission from the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.

the centre of the map. This focus left little room for Matsumae and Ezo, the partial representations of which are squeezed along the right-hand edge. This reflects an absence of geographic understanding, and indeed interest, in the region, for while Matsumae is actually located at the southern point of the main island of Ezo, here they are shown as two distinct islands, the more northerly labelled ‘Matsumae’, with an ‘Ezo-no-chishima’ (thousand isles of Ezo) located beneath. The role of Matsumae and Ezo on these maps was to ‘frame’ the rest of the nation,⁶ together with the lands of Korea (in the top left), Ryukyu (in the bottom left), as well as the fabulous islands of geese (top) and women (bottom), mythical – yet well-attested places – in Chinese and Buddhist literature.⁷

This mixture of actual and mythical geography used to define Japan’s boundaries is demonstrated two decades later, in the work of Tokugawa Japan’s pre-eminent playwright. In his 1685 play, *Wise Woman’s Penmanship and the New Calendar*, Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1725) noted that:

*This so-called Ezo island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses a great natural power. Their hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like a golden morning sun. Their angry shouting frightens the animals. They hunt and eat animals of the mountains and fields as well as fish. They indulge in fine wines and beautiful women and live lavishly. It is a strange country of no law and dissolute habits.*⁸

As this quotation indicates, for Chikamatsu and the literate, urban merchant class of the Kansai region around Osaka and Kyoto for whom he wrote, Ezo was in many respects a very distant place, one not only ‘more than one thousand ri away’ (about 4,000 km, a considerable exaggeration), but inhabited by a strange, barbarian population. This assumed distance accounts for Ezo’s marginality on the map, and located it very much on the edges of Tokugawa Japan.

Although the Tokugawa capital of Edo (modern Tokyo) was closer to Ezo in spatial terms, culturally the distance was as great as from Chikamatsu’s Osaka. This is visible in the work of the most famous mapmaker of seventeenth-century Japan, Ishikawa Ryūsen (active c. 1685–1715). In addition to being a prolific author and poet, Ryūsen was the creator of a series of maps which defined how Japan was envisaged for at least a century. As with Chikamatsu’s plays, Ryūsen’s work emerged as part of the great late seventeenth-century flowering

of cultural production known as Genroku culture, specifically associated with the Genroku era (1688–1703), a period characterised by conspicuous urban consumption. Marcia Yonemoto has noted how the form Ryūsen’s maps took represented ‘the knowledge and interests of the social group to which [he] belonged: the literate, fairly prosperous, most likely urbane city dwellers.’⁹ The depiction of Ezo on these maps therefore provides us with an insight into how this barbarian space was situated in relation to the society for whom Ryūsen’s works were made.

Ryūsen’s maps of Japan, of which at least six variations were produced in his lifetime, sought to connect the nation’s individual provincial spaces by linking them together with a profusion of roads and maritime routes. On the first of these to emerge, *Honchō zukan kōmoku* (Detailed map of the realm), first published by the Sagamiyatahee booksellers of Edo in the fourth year of the Jōkyō era (1687), Ryūsen noted a small island of Matsumae as separate from the main body of the land of the Ezo, positioned between Honshu and Ezo, and reflecting the continuing uncertainty that existed in the capital over its northern geography. This representation of Matsumae as a small island was communicated to Europe in the maps the young Swiss scholar, Johann Caspar Scheuchzer, drafted to accompany his translation of Engelbert Kaempfer’s famous work on Japan, *The History of Japan, Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690–92* (Fig. 2). It was first published in London in 1727.¹⁰

In later maps Ryūsen corrected his errant understanding of Matsumae being a separate island, but the Ezo region continued to exist as apart from the main body of Japan. In the *Nihon Sankaizu Do Taizen* (Complete route map for the mountains and seas of Japan) (Fig. 3), for instance, which was first published in 1697 and repeatedly reissued, Matsumae is tucked away in the top right-hand corner, jutting out of an island and reached by a solitary maritime route. Next to Matsumae is a further cartouche labelled as *i-teki*, another term for barbarian that shares one of its Chinese characters with Ezo.

The realm of Japan shown on these maps is constituted by both individual places and the roads and sea routes that connect them. The two lists along the bottom of *Nihon Sankaizu Do Taizen* note the individual districts that make up each of the 66 provinces. A further list at the top, to the right of centre, provides distances by road and sea from the major cities of Edo and Osaka, with the final list in the top left giving the distances to various foreign destinations: Nanjing,

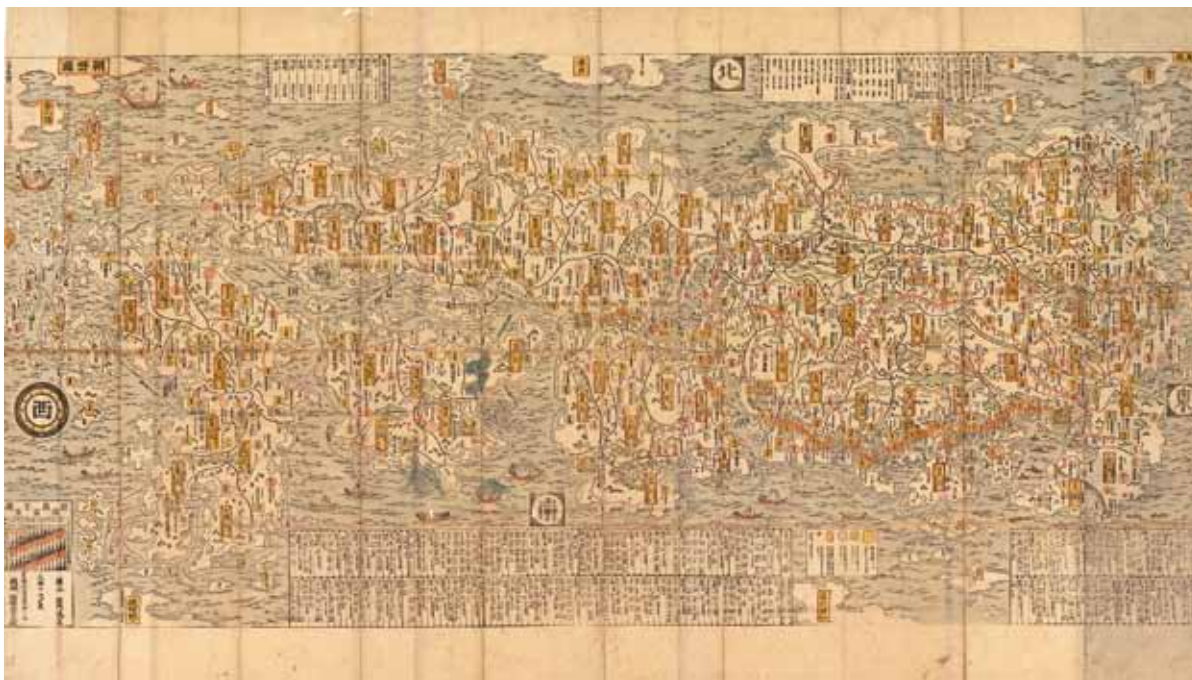


Fig. 3 *Nihon Sankaizu Do Taizen* (Complete route map for the mountains and seas of Japan), Ishikawa Ryūsen, 1701. Woodblock print. Hand-coloured. 100 x 173 cm. Reproduced with permission from the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.

Luzon, Tonkin, Siam and the land of the ‘red-hairs’ (Dutch/Europeans). This map continues to emphasise that Japan was understood to be composed of the three islands of Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku. While Ezo was a place on this map, it remained a very marginal one, and its role in ‘framing’ Japan remained characteristic of how it was understood.

The maps of the country made around a century later, under the guidance of Japan’s next great mapmaker, the Confucian scholar and geographer Nagakubo Sekisui (1717–1801), reasserted the distinction between the three islands of Japan proper and their surrounding territories. Starting in 1779, Sekisui published numerous editions of a map entitled the *Kaisei Nihon yochi rotei zenzu* (Revised map of the roads and territory of Japan) (Fig. 4), on which he sought to update the representation of Japan and assert its scientific accuracy by situating it on a grid of latitude and longitude. Sekisui’s decision to consistently scale his representation of the space of the nation, as well as employ devices such as compass roses, makes his work more comprehensible to the European viewer. Like Ryūsen, however, he focused much of his attention on roads network that linked the country; some versions of the map also incorporated maritime routes around Japan’s coast. Together with his predecessor he defined

Japan’s geographic area as made up of the 66 provinces, and as a result the mapping of areas north of Honshu remained marginal, generally consisting of a partial representations of coastline and a few towns. These settlements remained unconnected to either each other or the rest of the nation on the map, and the extent of the island on which they were located remained a mystery.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century commercial map sales continued to be dominated by editions of maps made by either Sekisui or Ryūsen, despite a considerable expansion in cartographic knowledge, and of Ezo in particular, that occurred in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The popularity of these maps with public and publishers restricted the degree to which the position of Ezo was altered. In 1857, for example, a group of seven publishers in Edo, Osaka and Kyoto released the *Dai-Nihon Kōtei ōezu* (Complete route map of Great Japan) (Fig. 5), a revised version of a map which had first appeared in 1843, and which was clearly based upon Ryūsen’s model, although with certain details updated. The town of Matsumae is now noted in a manner that suggests its incorporation into the Tokugawa’s political structure, giving the name of the current ruler, their tax obligation of 30,000 *koku* (theoretically the amount

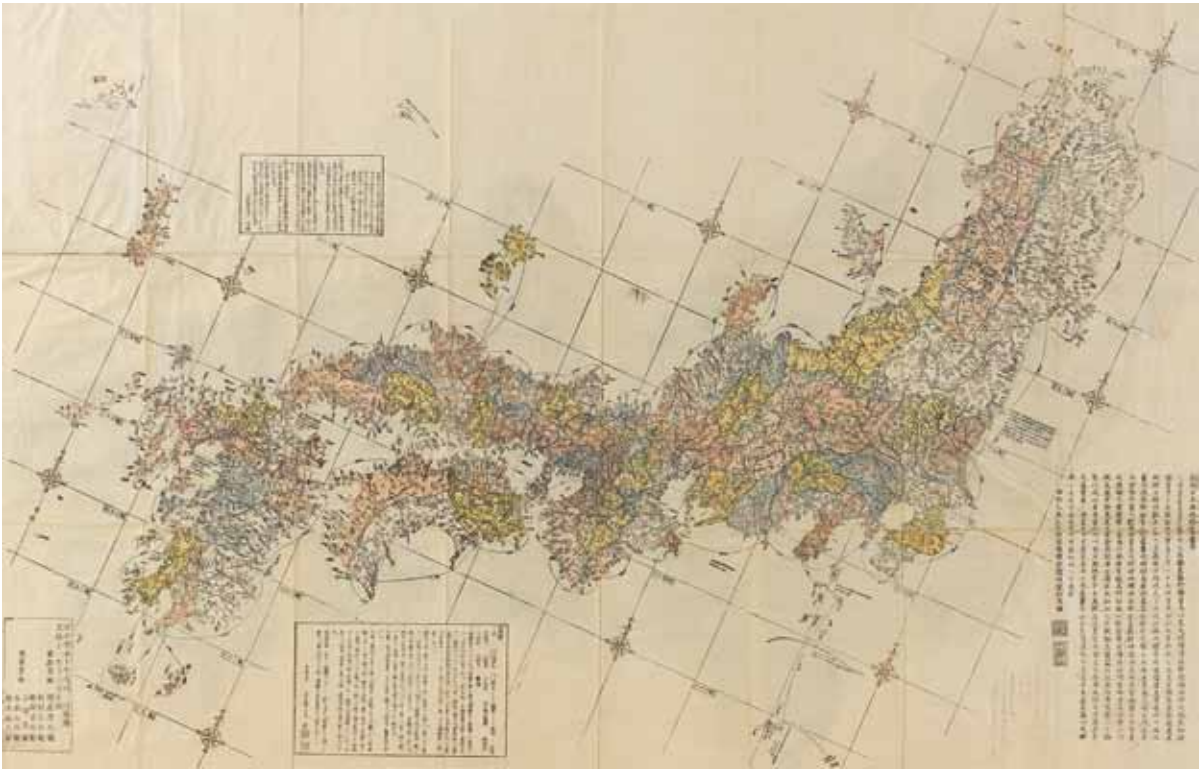


Fig. 4 *Kaisei Nihon yochi rotei zenzu* (Revised map of the roads and territory of Japan), Nagakubo Sekisui, 1840 (fifth reprint, 1779 original). Woodblock print. Hand-coloured. 106 x 151 cm. Reproduced with permission from the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.



Fig. 5 Detail of *Dai-Nihon Kōtei ōezu* (Complete route map of Great Japan), 1857 (reprint, 1840 original). Close-up on northeastern Japan, with Matsumae/Ezo granted a partial representation in the extreme upper-right corner of the map. Woodblock print. Block- and hand-coloured. 38 x 293 cm. Reproduced with permission from the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.



Fig. 6 Detail of *Zotei dainihon kokugun yochi rotei zenzu* (Revised complete administrative and route map of Great Japan), 1852. Close-up on the same area as in Fig. 5. The towns of Matsumae and Hakodate are now connected by maritime routes to the northern Honshu, but the geography of Ezo remains a mystery. Woodblock print. Block-coloured. 105 x 185 cm. Reproduced with permission from the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.

of tax levied, but here just a means of ranking the status of the Matsumae; above 10,000 was sufficient to qualify as a *daimyo*, or great name [lord], of whom there were about 250 or so nationally during the Tokugawa era), and the distance of Matsumae from Edo (a greatly exaggerated 290 *ri*, or 1160 km from Edo). The other two primary ports of Matsumae – Esashi and Hakodate – are indicated on either side of Matsumae, and although a maritime route is marked between Hakodate and northern Honshu, there are no roads between these towns, while most of the island of Ezo continues to be unrepresented, literally off the map.

Sekisui's maps of Japan similarly continued to be both re-issued and reworked until well into the 1850s. The *Zotei dainihon kokugun yochi rotei zenzu* (Revised complete administrative and route map of Great Japan) (Fig. 6), for instance, was an 1852 reissue of Sekisui's 1791 original by a Kyoto publisher, Izumoji Bunjiro. It too now acknowledges the shipping route between northern Honshu and Hakodate, as well as Matsumae; these maritime routes were added to those on Sekisui's original map, seemingly in two stages. The routes are indicated by black dots or in red ink, which suggests that the original print blocks were altered on two separate occasions in response to the increase in maritime traffic passing between northern Honshu and the island of Ezo. As with updates of Ryūsen's maps, although this attempt reflects the greater communication with Ezo at the time, it does not reflect the increased knowledge about the region's geography. Ezo is left decidedly on the margins of Japan's map.

The arrival of the American and Russian expeditions to Japan in 1853 signalled the end of Tokugawa Japan's policy of national isolation and offered renewed impetus to print all types of publications, which for the previous two decades had been constrained by the government. This increased output included maps of the remote Ezo region, and in that same year two maps of Ezo were published for the first time. Both note their year of publication and have survived in relatively large numbers. They offer competing visions of the region, representing the ambiguity of Japan's relationship with this distant northern realm. The first is a woodblock print entitled 'Ezo no chi Ryakuzu' (Outline map of the lands of Ezo) (Fig. 7). It consists of a map at its centre, surrounded by thirteen informative vignettes illustrating life in Ezo. The map, which is known to have circulated widely in manuscript form, is based on one made by the Matsumae official Katō Kengo towards the end

of the eighteenth century.¹¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, its representation of Ezo territory was hopelessly outdated. The vignettes, moving clockwise from the top left, display: Ezo hunting, tributary exchanges with Japanese officials at a trading station, the port of Matsumae, the coordinates, size and distances between places on Ezo, family life, dog sleds on Karafuto (Sakhalin), an assimilated Ainu on Etorofu Island, a lower-class Ainu woman (with blue mouth tattoo), items of personal decoration, the view of Kunashiri island from Etorofu, another Ainu in Japanese clothing, Ainu man and boy, flora and fauna, clothing traditionally made from tree bark, and finally, a small list of Ezo products. The information for the text and accompanying images was drawn from a variety of other works. The print provided a 'one-stop shop' for those wishing to know about the Ezo region. Significantly, it demonstrates the metaphorical distance between this land and Japan, despite the representation of a couple of assimilated Ainu. While this land was known to the Japanese, and indeed their dominance of it is obvious from the second picture, in particular, it is depicted as being very different from the rest of the realm. Its marginal status is emphasised by the choice of map which makes little pretence of serving as an accurate geographic representation, irrespective of the presence of a compass rose (inaccurately) indicating cardinal directions.

In contrast, the second map, entitled the *Ezo Kōkyō Yochi Zenzu* (Complete map of the full extent of Ezo) (Fig. 8), provides a very different impression of the region. Also initially printed in 1853, the first edition had two cartouches in the bottom right. The largest of these is a 'preface' by Fujita Ryō (Junsai), about whom little is known. The smaller box to the left provides the key and offers a list of sixteen Ainu words for geographical features (mountain, river, etc.). Finally, in the bottom-left corner of the cartouche is the mapmaker's name: Hashimoto Ransai. Hashimoto used over a dozen names in his career, but he is best known in the West as Utagawa Sadahide, a famous *ukiyo-e* artist who turned his attention to maps in the 1850s, and later became a keen illustrator of Westerners in Yokohama and elsewhere. The map's second printing the following year (reproduced here) added a third box which provided a publication date: the fourth month of Kan'ei 7 (1854), and notes that it was printed by Harimaya Katsugorō of Nihonbashi, a member of the Edo booksellers' guild.



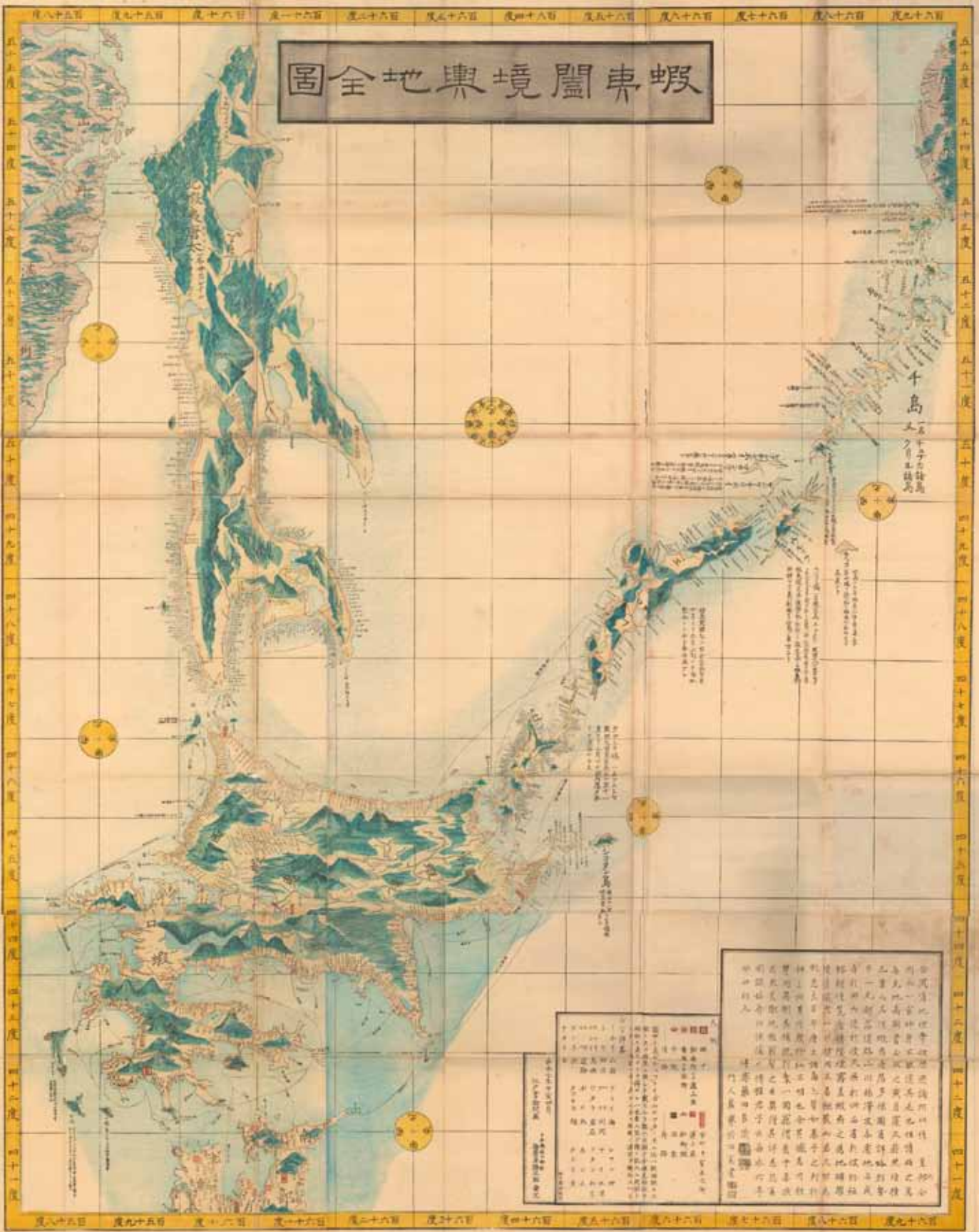
Fig. 7 *Ezo no chi Ryakuzu* (Outline map of the lands of Ezo), 1856 (1853 original). A series of vignettes on Ezo life based on a version of Kato Kengo's late-eighteenth century map. Woodblock print. Hand-coloured. 37 x 51 cm (folded 19 x 13 cm). Reproduced with permission from the Sapporo Municipal Central Library.

The map shows the entirety of the main island of Ezo, together with North Ezo – Karafuto and the Kuril Islands. Karafuto had been officially referred to as North Ezo since 1809; the map notes that the same island is also known as Sakhalin and Taraika. Ezo is distinguished from the Asian continent, in the upper left, and from Kamchatka in its upper right. Both are coloured in such a way as to highlight their separation; additionally, there are no maritime routes shown between Ezo and either of these locations. By contrast, the northern end of Japan is shown in a manner consistent with the rest of Ezo, and with maritime routes between Honshu and the main island of Ezo clearly marked. This is in accord with the map's title, which implies that the Ezo it represents is a 'land within our borders'.

Japan's claim to Ezo is emphasised by the level of detail on the map. There are numerous toponyms, although these are located almost entirely around

the coasts of the islands. Later that decade, C. Pemberton Hodgson the first British Consul of the Treaty Port of Hakodate, on the southern coast of the main island of Ezo, confirmed that: "Yezo is a nutshell, rich in the interior, I believe, but not known even to the Japanese outside. All round the coast are innumerable fishing villages, but I do not believe there is in the island a city, town, or village of importance five miles from the coast".¹² On Ransai's map, though, these coastal settlements are generally linked by roads, and shipping lanes litter the map. The focus on maritime travel in the region expresses the geographical reality captured in Hodgson's quote; that for the Japanese, Ezo was primarily a land defined by its access to the sea. Many of the shipping routes shown provide distances, with some specifying the season in which they run: 'spring and autumn route', 'not running in the two winter months', etc. The Kuril Islands,

蝦夷境輿地全圖



此圖係由各國通商口岸... 凡屬蝦夷境內之島嶼... 均經詳細繪出... 且將各島之名稱... 以及其地勢之險要... 一一標明... 俾閱者一目了然... 且此圖之繪製... 實係由各國通商口岸... 之各國領事官... 共同商定... 故其地勢之險要... 以及其地勢之險要... 一一標明... 俾閱者一目了然...

一、	二、	三、	四、	五、
六、	七、	八、	九、	十、
十一、	十二、	十三、	十四、	十五、
十六、	十七、	十八、	十九、	二十、
二十一、	二十二、	二十三、	二十四、	二十五、
二十六、	二十七、	二十八、	二十九、	三十、
三十一、	三十二、	三十三、	三十四、	三十五、
三十六、	三十七、	三十八、	三十九、	四十、
四十一、	四十二、	四十三、	四十四、	四十五、
四十六、	四十七、	四十八、	四十九、	五十、

closest to the main island of Ezo, are particularly rich in detail, for example Shikotan Island (to the east of the main island, south-west of the compass rose) has ‘a circumference of 18 *ri* [about 72 kilometres], is administered from Nemuro (on Ezo’s main island), and has many black foxes’, while Kunashiri (the larger island to its north) is ‘also called “Omusha”, has a circumference of about 100 *ri* [400 km], and is unable to be reached from November to March because of the ice’. These notes indicate the level of Japanese knowledge regarding the region; the information provided and manner of its presentation resemble numerous manuscript charts of the region which had been made since the 1820s. These were created for those trading with and travelling to Ezo, and, given the number that have survived to today, they presumably circulated in quite large numbers in the period prior to 1852.¹³ Their circulation reflected the continuing expansion of Japanese commercial exploitation of Ezo, most significantly of its fisheries for the fertiliser that supported the nation’s agriculture in the nineteenth century, in the Kanto region around Edo in particular.

Ransai’s map also appears to place Ezo on a global grid, fixing its position in relation to the rest of Japan. The margins note latitude and longitude values of between 41° and 55° North, and from 158° to 169° East. In its use of the graticule, the map appears to mirror the earlier work of Sekisui, but now extending the application of this universal spatial grid over the entirety of the Ezo region. The use of this grid suggests Ransai’s adoption of with nineteenth-century Western cartographic practices, an impression strengthened by the compass roses that dot the map. Six of these indicate the cardinal directions, while the seventh, closest to the map’s centre, surrounds the cardinal directions with the traditional Chinese system of the Twelve Branches, which associated each of the twelve directions with an animal and whose characters make up the surrounding wheel.

While such elements suggest a map in which different cartographic traditions are being brought together, and indicate Japan’s adoption of the spatial conventions associated with nineteenth-century

Western maps, this impression needs to be qualified. The presence of such familiar elements needs to be considered as the result of a changed understanding of what a map looks like, rather than how it is made. Compass roses do not only appear on the 1853 *Ezo no chi Ryakuzu* noted above, but also on the maps of Sekisui and even the *Dai-Nihon Kōtei ōezu*, the 1857 reissue of Ryūsen’s highly stylised map of Japan which is singularly unsuited for ascribing cardinal directions. It is clear that these compass roses have been adopted as aesthetic elements that serve to make a claim to accuracy, rather than indicate anything about the map’s actual production. In a similar way, the graticule on Ransai’s map should also be considered an aesthetic rather than scientific device, as its apparent claim to position the Ezo region upon a universalised spatial grid is undercut by the map freely admitting it is not drawn to scale. The second cartouche in the bottom left, in addition to providing the key, notes that the Kuril Islands from Uruppu northwards have been compressed in order to fit them in.

While the presence of such devices conforms to Western conventions of what a map should look like, this is in contrast to the representation of the land itself. This has been drawn utilising an inconsistent bird’s-eye perspective in which the direction the topography is viewed from changes as we move across the map. This was not done because Ransai was unaware of the convention for representing land flat upon the page, for the shape of Karafuto and the many toponyms listed around the various coastlines of the region indicate he was almost certainly familiar with official survey material produced at the turn of the century. Komeie Shinobu comments that, in contrast to these earlier efforts to survey the territory in line with a particular, European-derived vision of space, Ransai’s map is one on which the ‘flat landscape has been warped, with its capes and cliffs accentuated’.¹⁴ Ransai’s choice to depict the landscape using a bird’s-eye view, from multiple perspectives, should be understood as a vision of Ezo as seen from the shoreline. It was thus part of his means of laying claim to this land of Ezo for Japan, a land which he, like the vast majority of the map’s purchasers, had never seen.

It was the network of maritime routes around, and to, Ezo rather than its position on a global grid of latitude and longitude, which tied this gnarled landscape to Japan. The representation of these routes reflected the increasing trade between Japan

Opposite Fig. 8 *Ezo Kōkyō Yochi Zenzu* (Complete map of the full extent of Ezo), Hashimoto Ransai, 1854. Woodblock print. Block-coloured. 92 x 115 cm (folded 19 x 26 cm). Reproduced with permission from the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois.

and its Ezo periphery, and particularly the extraction of various natural resources – fish, fur and lumber – which would only intensify in the aftermath of the land’s transformation into Hokkaido. Earlier concerns regarding this region’s connections with both the Qing Empire, on the Asian continent, and the Russian Empire, through Kamchatka, are completely ignored by Ransai. Russia’s possession of the majority of the Kuril Islands is not marked on the map, and the absence of any maritime routes running to either the continent or Kamchatka serves to sever Ezo from these places and reinforce its link as an integrated region to Japan.

In 1868 the new Meiji state reformulated its relationship with the Ezo areas under its authority by renaming this region Hokkaido. Fifteen years earlier, at a time when the ambiguity of Japan’s relationship with its northern reaches was accentuated by its forced opening up to the outside world, it was the knowledge about, and connections to, this ‘land within our borders’ that provided the basis for declaring Ezo as a Japanese space. It was information regarding these connections which Ransai sought to emphasise on his beautifully drawn map.

Notes

- 1 I am particularly indebted to Professor Noell Wilson for highlighting this discrepancy in her paper on ‘Japan’s Border History through the Lens of Meiji/Hokkaido 150th Commemorations’ which she presented at the Hokkaido Workshop on Immigration Policy and Border Security in Japan, held at Hokkaido University, Sapporo on 21 April 2018.
- 2 Modern histories often refer to this people as Ezo and the places they inhabited as the Ezochi, meaning ‘land of the Ezo’. However, this is a largely anachronistic distinction, as previously both land and people were generally referred to as Ezo. This is shown by the way the word was adopted into European languages as a geographical designation prior to the modern era (as Yesso, Jedzo, Yezo, etc.).
- 3 For the production of these first national maps, see Kawamura Hirota, ‘The National Map of Japan in the Tokugawa Shogunate (1633–1725): Misunderstandings Corrected’. *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 69, No. 2, 2017, pp. 248–54. For Ezo’s appearance on this official cartography, see Edward Boyle, ‘The Tenpō-Era (1830–1844) Map of Matsumae-no-shima and the Institutionalization of Tokugawa Cartography’, *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 70, No. 2, 2018, pp. 183–98.
- 4 Mary E. Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, p. 26. Berry views this union of the state’s vision with commercial publishing as creating the notion of a ‘public’, see *ibid.*, p. 18.
- 5 This is one of several geographical shorthands referring to the space of Japan in this period, alternatives included ‘68 provinces or the ‘five central provinces and seven circuits’.
- 6 This notion of ‘framing’ is drawn from Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: space, place, and culture in the Tokugawa period, 1603–1868*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p. 34.
- 7 On the latter in particular, see D. Max Moerman, ‘Demonology and Eroticism: Islands of Women in the Japanese Buddhist Imagination’, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2009, pp. 351–80.

- 8 Chikamatsu Monzaemon, ‘Kenjō no tenarai narabi ni Shin goyomi’, in *Chikamatsu Meisakushū*, Vol. 1, Tokyo: Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, 1926, pp. 37–58; 55.
- 9 Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: space, place, and culture in the Tokugawa period, 1603–1868*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p. 18.
- 10 Kaempfer had served as physician for the Dutch East India Company on the artificial island of Deshima in Nagasaki for the years 1690–1692. While he published several tracts on Japan in Latin during his lifetime, the publication of his complete work on Japan occurred after his death, translated into English from the original German.
- 11 Over 70 manuscripts are known to survive. For more information on Katō Kengo and his cartographic exchanges with foreign arrivals on Ezo’s shores, including both the Russian Adam Laxman and British Robert Broughton, please see Edward Boyle, ‘Cartographic Exchange and Territorial Creation: Rewriting Northern Japan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’ in Mirela Altic, Josef Demhardt & Soetkin Verwilt (eds.), *Dissemination of Cartographic Knowledge*, Berlin: Springer, 2018, pp. 75–98.
- 12 C. Pemberton Hodgson, *A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859–1860, with an Account of Japan Generally*. London: Richard Bentley, 1861, p. 48.
- 13 See for example plates 132–59 (incl.) in Narita Shūichi (ed.), *Ezo chizu shō [Compendium of Ezo Maps]*. Tokyo: Sara Shobo, 1989.
- 14 Komeie Shinobu, ‘Kinsei Nihon ni okeru shōmin no “ezochi” zō – kankōzu to Setsuyōshū shosai no chizu wo chūshin to shite’ [The Representation of Ezochi in Privately Printed Japanese Maps during the Edo Period], *Hōsei Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō*, Vol. 72, 2015, pp. 131–46; 134.

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Edward Boyle is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law, Kyushu University, Japan. He holds a BA from SOAS and an MA and PhD from Hokkaido University. His doctoral research concentrated upon the incorporation of Japan’s north into the space of the state during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, looking at the history of the region’s cartography as well as the concept of territory underpinning it. More recently, he has been looking at contemporary practices of bordering and the multi-scalar nature of borders under globalisation in projects on Japan, Georgia and Northeast India. His work intersects with political science, geography, history, and scholarship on international relations.



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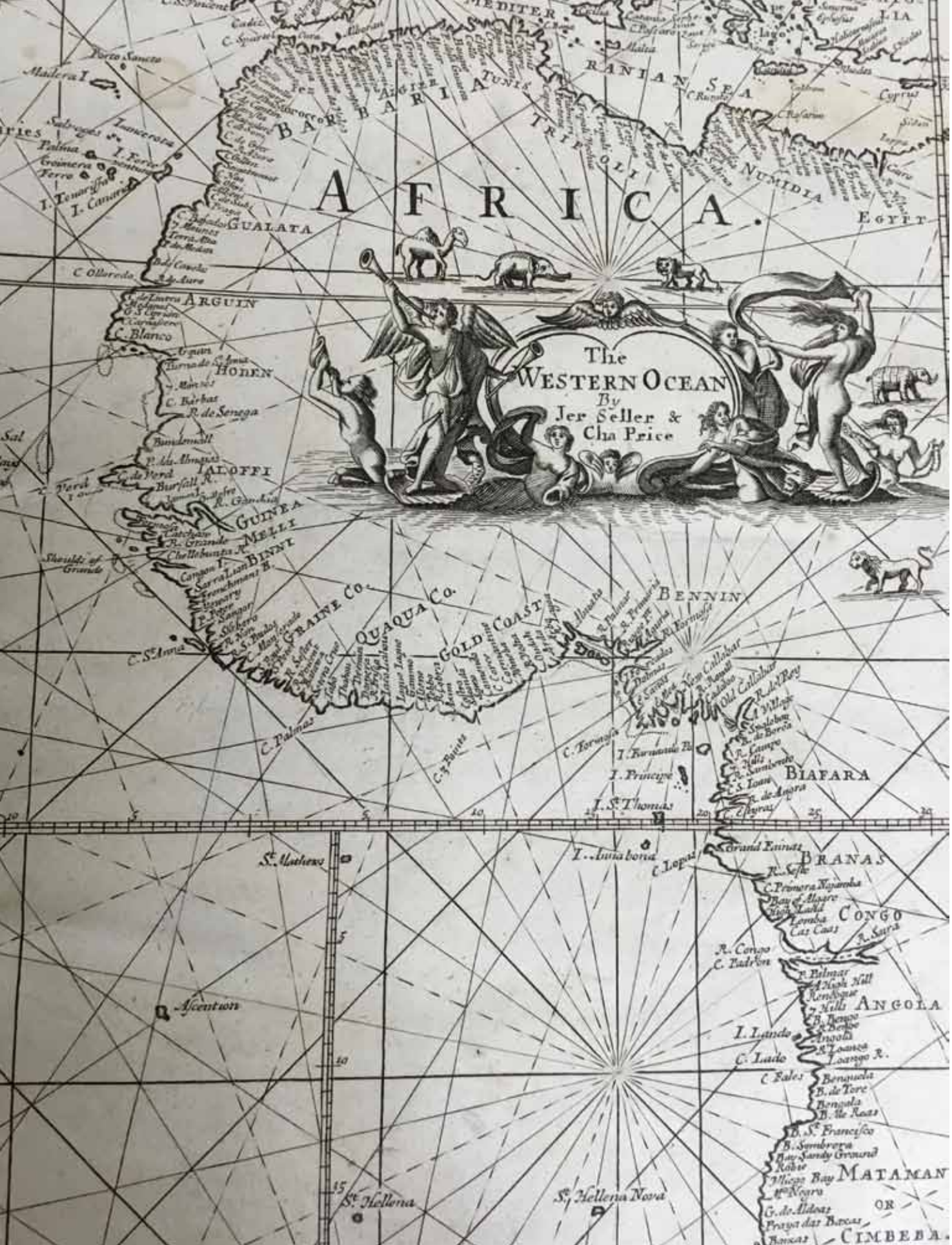
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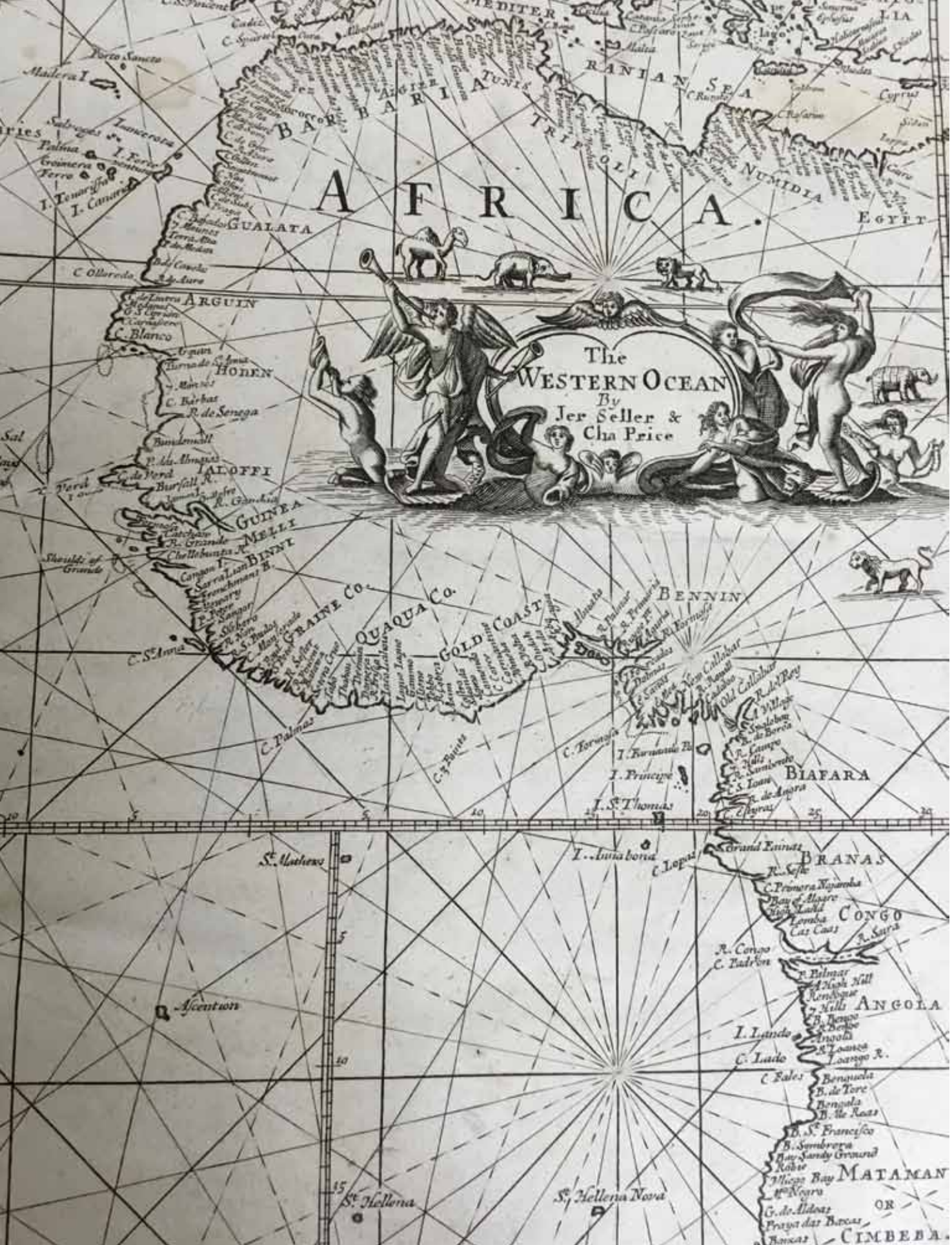
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THE ENGLISH PILOT THE FIFTH BOOK, AFRICA, 1701–1792

A census

Ljiljana Ortolja-Baird

The International Map Collectors' Society was gifted a 1780 copy of The English Pilot, The Fifth Book Describing... the West-Coast of AFRICA. This article is the result of research undertaken in order to better understand its publishing history and its value in the light of recorded surviving examples.

The fifth title of *The English Pilot* charts the west coast of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. It was first published in 1701 by Jeremiah Seller (fl.1698–1705), son of John Seller, in partnership with Charles Price (1679?–1733), who described it as ‘a Work never before attempted in our Language’. Like other titles in the series, ‘Africa’ had a long shelf life with multiple editions, reaching into 1792, the year of its last known printing. Yet, despite its longevity there are few surviving copies. In 1949 R.V. Tooley, in what may be viewed as the first census of the fifth book, listed ten;¹ in 1973 Coolie Verner in the introduction to a facsimile publication of the first edition identified another three;² and in 1995 Adams and Waters noted a further six, all in US libraries.³ This research has subsequently located an additional nine examples (see Table on pages 54–56).

The English Pilot

In the postscript of *Practical Navigation*, published in 1669 by John Seller (bap. 1632–1697), he announced that he was preparing a ‘Sea-Waggoner for the whole World, with *Charts and Draughts*’. His *Sea-Waggoner* would, he claimed, ‘be a work [as] was never yet performed by any’ and he called on all men of the sea to supply him with their knowledge and experience. Their participation would demonstrate the up-to-date geographical knowledge of his books,⁴ unlike Joseph Moxon’s modest atlas *A Book of Sea-Platts* (1657) which, though boasting, ‘newly Corrected’ charts, clearly relied on Dutch sources.⁵ Printed navigational knowledge available to English seamen was largely by

way of Dutch waggoners, some translated into English. At the time of Seller’s announcement, according to Sarah Tyacke, there were nineteen English text editions of Dutch atlases.⁶ Publisher Richard Mount’s advertisement in Nathaniel Colson’s *The Mariners New Kalendar* (1701) announcing that he sold ‘all sorts of Mathematical and Sea-books in English’ confirms the persistent presence of untranslated Dutch books on navigation in the English market.⁷ Seller’s endeavour was intended to break the monopoly held by the Dutch in the production of sea charts which, he argued, was an ‘impoverishment’ of the English economy and reputation as a seafaring nation. In light of the continued tensions between the Dutch and the English the promise of a new set of charts of the English coastline, and beyond, not dependent on Dutch sources, was probably welcome news. In France, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Minister of Finance to Louis XIV, also frustrated by the domination of Dutch maritime publishers, agitated for superior French charts of the European coastline. His efforts culminated in 1693 with the publication of *Le Neptune François* (1693), a collection of charts of the European Atlantic coast from Norway to Gibraltar.

Seller fleshed out his ambitious project in the preface to *The English Pilot, Part I, Northern Navigation*. He explained: ‘the whole Work’ would be divided into ‘four Books’. The first would contain ‘the whole Northern Navigation’; the second the passage from the Channel to the Cape of Good Hope and include the Mediterranean Sea and its islands; the third book ‘the whole of Oriental Navigation’; and the fourth book ‘the Coast of America’.⁸

Seller’s project did not go exactly to plan. The first book was published in 1671, the same year he was conferred the title of ‘King’s Hydrographer’, and despite being granted royal protection – ‘forbidding any person to print any work, under any title, reprinting

Fig. 1 Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price, detail of ‘The Western Ocean’. This chart first appeared in c.1716 in the rogue first edition from which Seller and Price’s names were erased. It continued to be used throughout the lifetime of the pilot. This example is from their version of *The Fourth Part of the General English Pilot Describing ... the East Coast of America...*, 1703 which had been published originally in 1689 by Fisher and Thornton. 46 x 57.5cm. Reproduced with the permission of the President and Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford.

or counterfeiting, for thirty years, the works of John Seller, the English Pilot and the Sea Atlas...; also forbidding the import from beyond seas of any such books or maps, under names of the Dutch Waggoner or Lightning Column, or any other name'⁹ – it is popularly claimed that he had financially over-extended himself.¹⁰ Samuel Pepys as Secretary to the Navy Board, recognising the immense difficulty for a sole trader to underwrite the financial outlay for such a large project, argued for a state body to undertake large-scale surveying and chartmaking: 'Tis fit to consider the unreasonableness that any but a Prince should ever bear the charge which is necessary for the taking good description of Places, and making true Sea Charts'.¹¹ Whether to avoid insolvency, or otherwise, Seller embarked on restructuring his business. Thus, in 1677, he announced to readers of *The English Pilot*, *The Second Book*, *Mediterranean Sea*:

that for better Management of my so Chargeable and Difficult an Undertaking, I have accepted the Assistance of my worthy Friends, Mr. William Fisher, Mr. John Thornton, Mr. John Colson, and Mr. James Atkinson, as my Copartners in the English Pilot, Sea Atlas, and in all Sea-Charts'.¹²

Although his name remains prominently placed on the title page of this new venture, the cartouches in this, and subsequent joint publications, reflect Seller's new business arrangement. The consortium, largely comprising his competitors, was made up of printer/bookseller (Fisher), chartmakers (Seller and Thornton) and teachers of mathematics and navigation (Colson and Atkinson). The group disbanded after just two years and their shared capital of plates and stock was distributed among the five members. Seller lost the rights to a substantial part of his catalogue, the lion's share of the dispersal going to William Fisher who, with his apprentice Richard Mount, would over a relatively short time, become the sole publishers of all the books of *The English Pilot*. Seller's name continues to be erroneously associated with the series but, from this point forward, his involvement with it declined and he did not live to see his vision of a 'Sea-Waggoner for the 'whole world' realised. Thornton and Fisher completed *The English Pilot*, *West Indies* (1689). The lucrative trade offered by the American colonies made it a bestseller. In 1703 John Thornton produced a larger version of Seller's 1675 *The English Pilot*, *Oriental Navigation* using some of Seller's plates. However, it would be his younger son Jeremiah, in

partnership with Charles Price, a former apprentice and employee of Seller senior, who would publish the closing book of the series.

The publishers

Jeremiah Seller was the youngest of four children and was apprenticed to his father in 1687. An early mention of him as a publisher and bookseller appears in 1696, the year before Seller senior's death. The title page of *A moderate computation of the expenses in provisions spent in the city of London and Westminster* announces: 'Printed for and are to be sold by Jeremiah Seller near the Hermitage Stairs', suggesting that he had established himself independently of his father. Unlike his older brother John, who left the maritime community of Wapping to set up shop in the City, first in Cheapside,¹³ then later by St Paul's, Jeremiah remained closer to home.¹⁴

The Hermitage was a small harbour on the north bank of the Thames, east of Tower Hill. It was 'the centre...for over fifty ship chandlers together with dozens of slop sellers, mast makers, timber merchants and suppliers of anchors, sails, ropes, beer and biscuits', as well as master mariners.¹⁵ Instrument makers Benjamin Macy and John and Walter Henshaw worked here. John Colson, an examiner at the Christ's Hospital Mathematical School, who had been part of the unsuccessful publishing consortium ran a school for students of mathematics and made his measurements of the 1689 lunar eclipse in his quest to determine longitude from the Hermitage area. It was, potentially, a promising location for the young publishing partnership.

Charles and Jeremiah joined forces after Seller senior's death in 1697, initially advertising themselves as 'Hydrographers', and on Queen Anne's accession to the throne in 1702 elevating their status to 'Hydrographers to the Queen'. Their trade card describes their business interest as 'Globes, Spheres, Mathematical books and Instruments for Sea and Land: with many other Curiosities in Gold, Silver, Steel, Brass, Ivory and Wood. And ye best Sea Plats, Charts & Prints, are Made and Sold'.¹⁶ In small print, and squeezed in at the bottom of the text, is reference to an additional outlet: 'thire [their] Shopp next Door to the Fleece Tavern in Cornhill, London'. This was also the address of the premises of mapmaker John Senex between 1703 and 1706, with whom Price would later team up (Fig. 2).

Their catalogues reveal that as well as continuing to reissue works written, or initiated by John Seller, they published a number of books useful for navigation.



Fig. 2 Trade card for Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price, c. 1702, pasted in as the frontispiece to *The Description and use of An Instrument called the Double Scale of Proportion* by Seth Partridge, and published by Richard Mount in 1692. ©British Library, Maps.21.b.22.

In their 1702 issue of *A New Compendium of the whole Art of Practical Navigation* they list for sale some dozen titles and almanacs in addition to *The English Pilot for the Northern Navigation, Southern Navigation, Streights, Coasts of Barbary and Guinea, West-Indies and East-Indies*. They appear to have authored few of their own titles, but three sea atlases stand out, produced during their most active period between 1701 and 1704: *The English Pilot, The Fifth Part* (1701); *The English Pilot, The Fourth Part* (1703) and the *English Neptune or, a New Sea Atlas* (1704). William Fisher and John Thornton had already successfully published the fourth book of *The English Pilot Describing The West India Navigation, from Hudson's Bay to the River Amazonas* some fourteen years earlier. Nevertheless Seller and Price published their own version, altering the title to read *The Fourth Part of the General English Pilot Describing ... the East Coast of America: From Greenland to the River Amazonas, viz. ...*¹⁷ They used a different set of charts: some from Seller senior with his name still intact, others altered to accommodate their names as the new publishers, some newly prepared and one from the consortium years. In 1704 they published the little known and rare *English Neptune or, a New Sea Atlas*.¹⁸ It is advertised in their 1705 catalogue as being available to buy with one hundred charts,¹⁹ and Liverpool bookseller Joseph Eaton includes it in a 1707 sale catalogue of the library of William Stanley, the ninth Earl of Derby, but with no reference to the number of charts. One was sold at Bonhams in 2007 with twenty-nine charts.

Their partnership did not last. However, there appears to be no clear date when they ceased trading. It

seems that their business was wound-down over several years, slipping in and out of different joint stockholdings. As the publisher was responsible for the upfront costs – content, paper and printing – the financial risks were considerable and seeking additional stockholders to share the cost was commonplace. As early as 1703 John Senex appears as a contributing publisher to the third edition of John Seller's *A New System of Geography*, first published in 1685 and again in 1690 with his son John junior. Senex is listed on several more titles with the Hermitage pair, and indeed his Cornhill address is on the aforementioned trade card, suggesting that either they were using his premises as a trade counter and/or their business depended on Senex's involvement. In *Miscellanea Curiosa*, Vol. II (1706), in which Price and Senex are joint publishers, Senex advertises what would have been three bread-and-butter titles of the Seller and Price catalogue.²⁰ An advertisement in *The London Gazette* (25 June 1705) lists Charles Price as selling *A New Treatise of Arithmetick* from the Hermitage at Wapping with no mention of Seller. The latest publication in which Seller and Price appear as joint publishers is a 1708 edition of *Practical Navigation*; Richard Mount is, however, also listed, and as his name appears first it would suggest that he held the majority interest.

The pair's contract to supply the Navy with compasses, a contract inherited from Seller senior, was jeopardised by complaints about the inferior standard of their instruments. Seller senior also had to defend himself against a similar criticism in 1693. He successfully remonstrated that his reputation was being tarnished by sailors who were untrained in handling

the instruments correctly and by the dishonesty of an ‘unskillful repairer in Portsmouth that pretends to repair them’.²¹ Jeremiah and Charles, in contrast, did not succeed in convincing the Navy to renew their contract, losing it in 1707. The loss of this secure income may have precipitated the final breakdown of the partnership.

Charles Price went on to form a partnership with John Senex, which lasted between 1705 and 1710, and then later with George Willdey and Timothy Brandreth. He was sent to Fleet Prison the debtors prison in Farringdon in 1731 and died two years later. The fate of Jeremiah is yet to be discovered.

The fifth book, *Africa*, 1701

The first edition contains forty-three pages of sailing instructions with over one hundred coastal profiles and fifteen charts (see Table), the first commencing at Cape Spartell on the Straits of Gibraltar and the last following the coastal stretch between Mt Negro [Angolan–Namibian border] and the Cape of Good Hope. The charts provide a visual counterpart to the sections of coastline discussed in the text. Of the twelve charts by Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price, five are signed by the engraver by F. Lamb. The remaining three are older, previously published, works by Seller senior: ‘A Draught of Cape Bona Esperanca’; ‘A Chart of the Coast of Guinea from Cape de Verd to Cape Bona Esperanca’; and ‘A Chart of the Sea Coast of Barbary from the Straits Mouth to the Cape of Verd’.

The first edition is distinguished by its two title pages: the first is an engraved decorative plate with portrait busts of Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish flanking a crowned globe (Fig. 3).²² It was made by Seller senior in 1678 and used in editions of *The Coasting Pilot*, *Atlas Maritimus*, *Atlas Terrestris*, *The English Pilot* and *Atlas Anglicanus*. The plate remained with the Sellers after the break-up of the consortium, and was used once again by Seller and Price for a c.1703 reissue of Seller senior’s *The Coasting Pilot*. They modified it by filling the empty panel between the two columns with an advertisement for their business. The engraved page reads: *The English Pilot, The Fifth Book Describing y^e Sea Coasts, Bay’s, Cap’s, Gulfs, Harbours, Rivers, Islands, Rocks and Dangers on the West-Coast of AFRICA from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope Africa....*

The second is a letterpress page printed in red and black (Fig. 4). The title is marginally different: *The Fifth Part of the General English Pilot Describing The Sea-Coasts, Capes, Head-Lands, Bays, Roads, Harbours,*

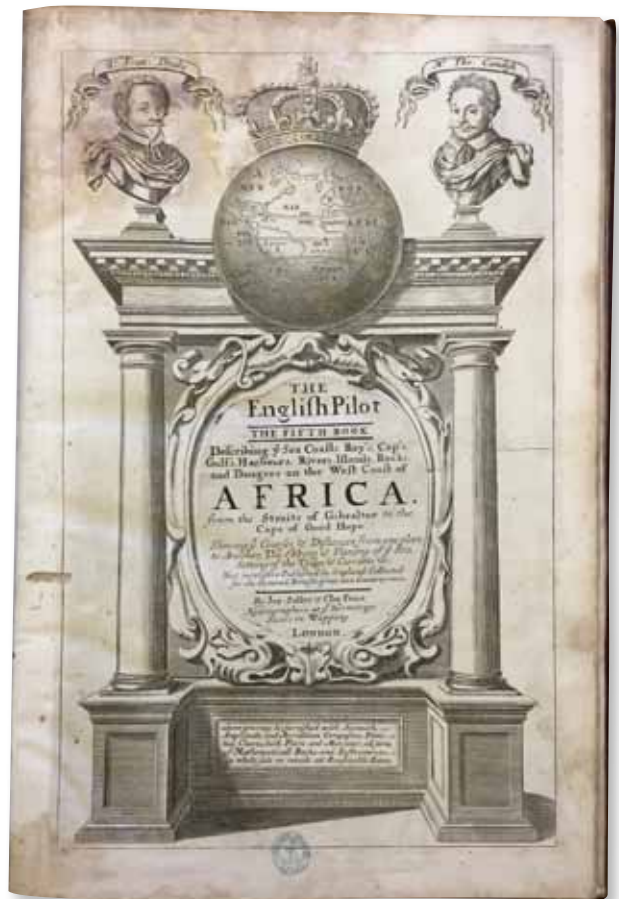


Fig. 3 Engraved title page of *The English Pilot, The Fifth Book* published by Seller and Price in 1701. This is the only known example in which it appears. MoD Admiralty Library, Portsmouth, UK.

Rivers, Ports; with the Exact Appearances and Representations of the most Principal Marks, Lands, &c. Together with the Soundings, Sands, Shoals, Rocks & Dangers On the West-Coast of AFRICA: From the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, viz.... and is followed by a more comprehensive account of its content. It carries an image of a sailing ship, engraved by Thomas Catlett. Seller and Price adopted this page design for their other atlases, and subsequent publishers of the fifth book chose the letterpress title page over the engraved one.

The ‘Africa’ pilot is dedicated to the Royal African Company (RAC). The inclusion of a dedication to interested parties was not uncommon amongst mapmakers but it did not necessarily mean that those authorities commissioned or even approved of the map, and there is no information as to whether the pair had any contact with the company; nonetheless it was intended to give the maker’s work greater credibility in the eyes of the purchaser. At the time of its new charter,

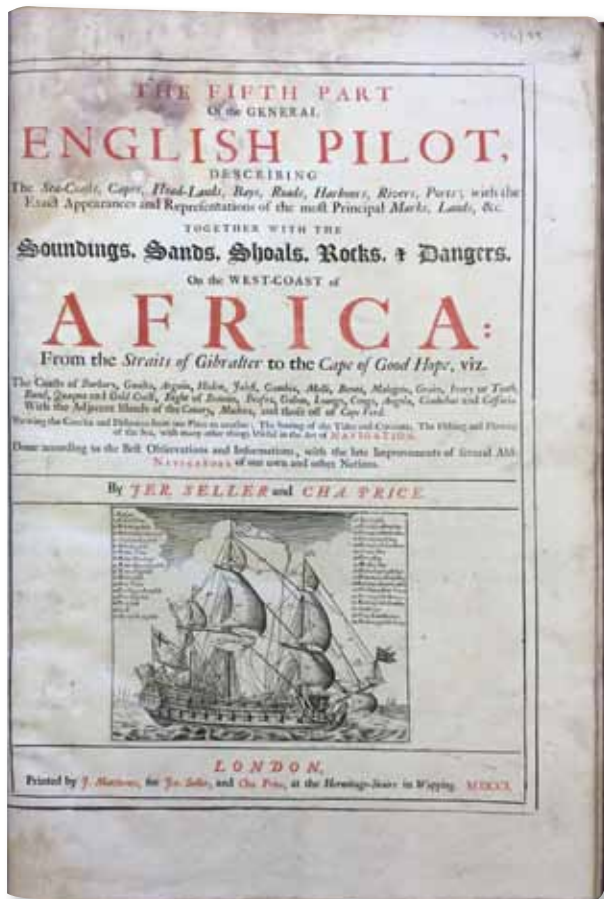


Fig. 4 Letterpress title page. This title page, without alteration to the date, was used in the c. 1716 reissue of the pilot. MoD Admiralty Library, Portsmouth, UK.

in 1672, the RAC was granted rights for ‘the whole entire and only trade from Salée [Salé, Morocco] to the Cape of Good Hope and the adjacent islands’,²³ which is the geographic scope of the fifth book. During its first seven years, following the new charter, the company flourished and shareholder dividends were very favourable. It is not surprising therefore that those engaged in publishing charts of coastlines of countries visited as part of the transatlantic slave trade may have been eager to profit from the company’s success. Seller senior dedicated the ‘Seacoasts from the Landsend of England to Cape Bona Esperanca’ (1675) to the RAC. However, by 1701 the company was in disarray, its monopoly weakened by the 1698 Africa Trade Act which had opened the slave trade to all English citizens for a period of thirteen years. By the first decade of the eighteenth century its trade was only one-thirteenth of that of its competitors.²⁴ If it had been the pair’s intention to take advantage of the company’s

success, then they misjudged their timing. The dedication was dropped from all subsequent editions.

The only known example of the fifth book with two title pages is in the Admiralty Library in Portsmouth UK. Adams and Waters misidentified a copy in the New York Public Library collection as one of Seller and Price’s printing. It is in fact a later reissue with only one title page. The unique copy in Portsmouth is not a handsome production. The paper stock is inferior, and several charts have been pasted over obsolete ones to strengthen the pages. The show-through is obvious, and Seller senior’s map of the ‘Royall City of Tangier in Africa’ (1675) is the easiest to decipher beneath. The chart of the coast of Biafra has been bound upside down. The final page is an advertisement ‘for all manner of mathematical instruction by Samuel Heynes a reader of mathematics to the King’s engineers’ whose book *A Treatise of Trigonometry* Seller and Price also published in 1701.

Possible source

While Seller and Price advertised the innovative nature of their product the pair also acknowledged that they had ‘Collected from the best Authors, the Latest Discoveries and Accounts Extant’. They had a range of sources to call on – from the houses of Blaeu, Janssonius, Colom and Van Keulen, many available in English – to complete their most significant publishing project. However, the most compelling source is the Second Part of Arent Roggeveen’s *Het brandende vien* (The Burning Fen), published in 1685 by Jacobus Robijn.²⁵ An English translation by Ericus Walten appeared in 1687 under the title of *The Fourth Part of the new Great Sea-Mirrou: discovering the West-Coasts of Africa*.²⁶

The fifth book of *The English Pilot...Describing the West-Coast of Africa* bears several striking similarities to Robijn’s 1687 reissue of Roggeveen’s work. *The Fourth Part of the new Great Sea-Mirrou* comprises fourteen chapters of sailing instructions, with coastal profiles, and fifteen accompanying charts of sections of the West African coastline. The folio publication runs to thirty-nine pages of text. Seller and Price’s pilot is organised in the same manner, and has just four extra pages. This coincidence is not surprising, and a closer inspection of the text reveals a high level of plagiarism. A side-by-side, page-by-page reading of the two texts demonstrates how closely the 1701 pilot followed Walten’s translation of Roggeveen’s work. Overleaf is a typical example:

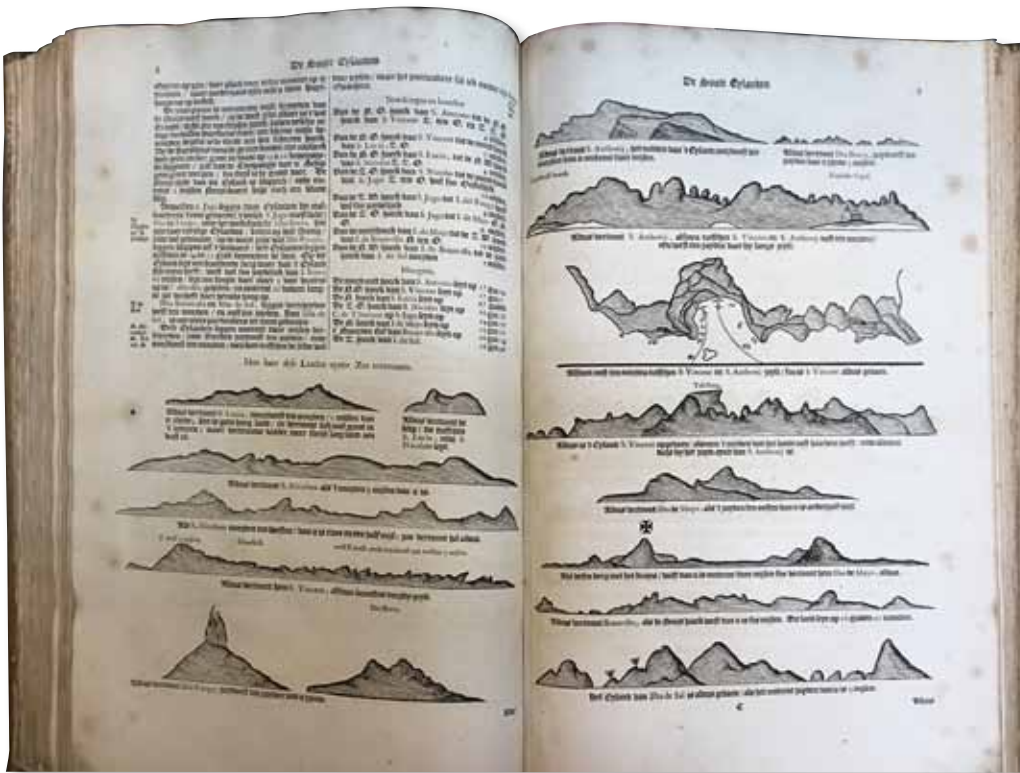


Fig. 5a Arent Roggeveen, coastal profiles of the Cape de Verde Islands, from 'T Vierde Deel Van de Nieuwe groote Zee-Spiegel; zijnde het tweede deelvan't Brandende Veen, verlichtende de West-Kust van Africa ... Amsterdam: J. Robijn, 1675. ©British Library Maps C.8.c.16.(2.).

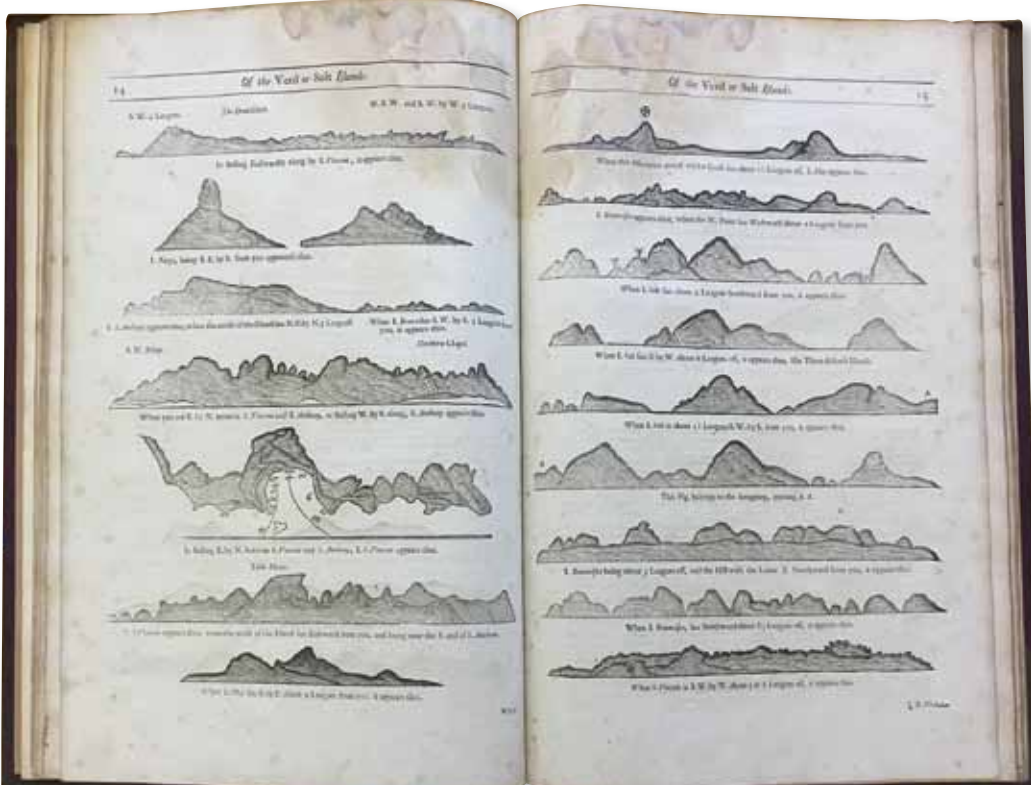


Fig. 5b Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price, *The English Pilot, The Fifth Book*, 1701. The coastal profiles accompanying the sailing instructions for the Cape Verde Islands bear a striking similarity to those of Roggeveen. MoD Admiralty Library, Portsmouth, UK.

On this Road you must allways be careful to keep your Anchors in readynesse fore your smal bower must allways stand before the land wind, and the other Anchors to seawards; the sheat Anchor must allways be ready and brought out on the S.W. against te [the] Tempest, (which you can perceive a forehead, by the waving and whelming of the sea.) It is also requisit to keep the fore topsail on the yard, for to make a shift withall, if in case your Anchor should Chance to be unreeved, and winde out of the hawie. In this Bay is good store of fish to begot, them that lieth here in Road they go out a fishing, by quarters.

1687, Roggeveen, from 'The first Demonstration Containing the Coasts of Barbaria tending from C. de Geer to Bajador', p. 3.

You must be very careful in this Road, to have your Anchors ready; your Smallest Bower must allways be laid out before the Land wind.

And the Anchors to the Seaward; The Sheet-Anchor must also be in readiness, and brought out to the South-west against a Storm, (which is soon perceiv'd by the swelling and rising of the Sea.)

It is also necessary that you should keep your Fore-sail to the Yard, whereby you may defend your selves the better, if it should happen that you were forced from your Anchors.

There is a good store of Fish to be got in this Bay; and they that lie this Road, go out Fishing by turns.

1701, Seller and Price, from Chap. II 'Shewing the Coasts from Cape Geer to Cape Bajador', p. 5.

Seller and Price liberally illustrated their text with coastal profiles. A comparison with Roggeveen reveals that the pair lifted unreservedly from his work, in fact all his profiles appear in 'Africa'. They closely replicated the profiles in style of execution and in choice and placement of symbols and detail; the accompanying captions are remarkably similar too (Figs. 5a & 5b). Roggeveen's work does not include the areas of the Canaries or the most northerly section of the Barbary coast. In their absence, it would appear that Seller and Price adopted the profiles from W.J. Blaeu's *Sixth Booke of the Sea-Beacon*.²⁷ That is not to say that in a climate in which wholesale plagiarism was commonplace, Roggeveen did not also copy from earlier and contemporary sources. Indeed, writing on the market for pilot guides in Holland after the 1660s, Günter Schilder and Marco van Egmond state that 'Goos, the Lootsman brothers and Doncker all used the same text but added their own charts'.²⁸

Eleven of Seller and Price's fifteen charts appear to be obvious copies of Roggeveen's. Placing a tracing of one chart over the other and following the

coastal outlines and placement of symbols and other graphic details demonstrates their similitude (Figs. 6a & 6b, overleaf).

Rogue 1701 examples

Tooley listed an example at the British Museum with only one title page and twenty-one charts, believing it to be the first edition; there is one in the New York Public Library; and this research has located another at The National Archives, UK (TNA). The three examples each have one title page, forty-three pages of text and include Samuel Heynes' advertisements which appeared in the original 1701 example. The charts, however, differ in number and content from Seller and Price's original (see Table). Approximately half the original charts appear in each pilot, unchanged except for the chart of the *Coasts of CIMBEBAS and CAFFARIA From M^l. Negro to y^e C. of Good Hope*. The inset of Tafel Bay has been anglicised to read Table Bay, which is not the case in the TNA example that retains the Dutch spelling. The three Seller senior charts have been replaced, two of which do not reappear in any later printing of the pilot while *A Chart of the Coast of Guinea from Cape de Verd to Cape Bona Esperanca. Drawn with Squares, the side of each Square Containing 100 English Leagues* appears intermittently between 1720 and 1761.

Although the names of Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price persist on the title page as the publishers, the crude erasures of their names from the chart cartouches, bar two,²⁹ clearly indicate the contrary. As noted earlier, Mount and Page are likely to have acquired Seller and Price's stock and plates sometime between 1706 and 1707 but the presence of six charts signed 'Sam Thornton', one dated to 1714 confirms that these are reissues. Samuel Thornton, who had inherited his father John's business, died in 1715 after which Mount and Page would have obtained his plates and assembled these examples. By 1716 Mount and Page had gained complete control of all the books of *The English Pilot*.³⁰ The use of the inaccurate title page is most probably because there was stock remaining of the text pages from the Seller and Price 1701 printing, and the new publishers, eager to turn a profit from their acquisition and heedful of the cost of paper and printing, used existing stock.

1720 (2nd edition)

By 1720 the new owners, Richard and William Mount with partner Thomas Page, considered that *Africa* was in need of re-printing with a branding that would reflect the firm. A simple one-colour design replaced



Fig. 6a Arent Roggeveen, 'Paskaert van de Gout Cust en Boght Van Benin', 'T Vierde Deel van de Nieuwe groote Zee-Spiegel; zijnde het tweede deelvan 't Brandende Veen, verlichtende de West-Kust van Africa ... Door Wylen Arent Roggeveen ... en verbeterd door J. van Loon. Amsterdam: J. Robijn, [1675]. ©British Library, Maps.C.8.c.16.

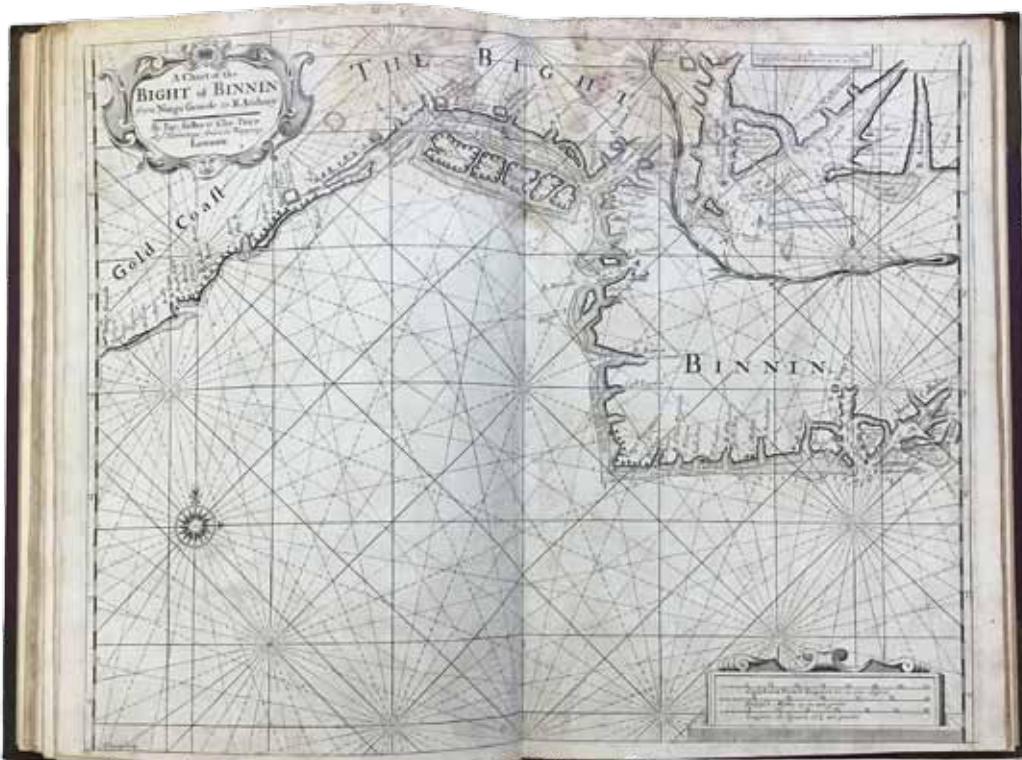


Fig. 6b Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price, 'A Chart of the Bight of Bininin from Ningo Grande to R. Andony' in *The English Pilot, The Fifth Book*, 1701. MoD Admiralty Library, Portsmouth, UK.

the original red and black letterpress title page and Catlett's illustration was substituted with a colophon of the royal coat of arms. The title was modified from *The Fifth Part of the General English Pilot* to read *The English Pilot Part V*. All the remaining descriptive title page text endured the pilot's lifetime. The type was reset, the page count increased by two pages and the dedication to the RAC and Heynes' advertisement were discarded. There is no acknowledgment of the printer, which may suggest that the firm had their own printing facilities which concurs with Verner's claim that 'They [Mount and Page] maintained a complete establishment capable of producing everything from letterpress to engraved plates including the final binding of the finished product'.³¹

The new title page declares that it is 'The Second Edition, with new Additions'. While there are some minor text changes, the claim, which appears on all subsequent editions is probably better understood as a marketing ploy used to convince potential buyers of the currency of their purchase; it is also a way to move 'slow' stock, especially in a trade dogged by financial insecurities.³²

Subsequent printings, 1731–1792

Particular to 'Africa', after its sale to Mount and Page, is the distinction of editions. The other pilots provide only the year of publication. The surviving title pages indicate that there are eight editions, and the sample includes an example of each. There are, however, irregularities, in the continuity of the editions. A third edition was published in 1739, however the 1744 example is described as a second edition; similarly the two 1780 examples are described as seventh editions while a 1772 copy is labelled as an eighth edition as is the 1792 example. Presumably these errors were made by the printers at the time of typesetting. While the publishers ascribe eight editions of the fifth book, the sample studied indicates there are twelve within the twenty-six known examples. This has been deduced from the text pages only as the charts are inconsistent between copies.

The number of charts in each example varies between fifteen and twenty-one with a high proportion of the original 1701 charts remaining constant throughout the pilot's lifetime. In fact, each example inspected contains the final eight charts from Seller and Price's pilot, and are bound in the same order. A further eighteen charts appear variously in different copies, some more frequently than others

(see Appendix). As the text and charts required different methods of printing, they were printed separately and not bound at the time of publication. Copies may only have been assembled on demand, in which case each pilot would be gathered from available sheets or bound according to the client's demand. Furthermore, as map publishers and print sellers sold their stock also as loose sheets, an atlas may have been put together from what was in stock at the time.

By the third edition (1739) the selection of charts and the order in which they were bound became more standardised. All vestiges of the original publishers have been erased from the cartouches, but, in places, the incomplete erasure enables their names to still be made out. There are additional coastal profiles in Chapters 10, 11 and 14 describing the Grain and Ivory coasts, the Gold coast of Guinea and the coast of Gabon, Loango and Congo. These are continued in all subsequent editions. Stylistically they are noticeably different from those in the original 1701 printing and further study is needed to ascertain their source.

In 1780 there is a further title change: no longer is there any reference to the Fifth Part, Part V or the Fifth Book, it is quite simply *The English Pilot. Describing... West-Coast of AFRICA*. The resulting empty space has been filled by enlarging the descriptive text.

The intervals between printings made by Mount and Page, as evidenced from of our sample, vary between four and twelve years (see Table); the shortest is between 1757 and 1761, the longest between 1780 and 1792, and the period of most printings appears to be between 1739 and 1772. While the increase coincides with Britain's increased engagement in the transatlantic slave trade there is insufficient information on the pilot's readership to draw any conclusion from the concurrence.³³

1792, last known example

The British Library holds an example of this last known edition of the fifth title. Overlooked by Verner and Adams & Waters in their publications, Rodney W. Shirley noted it in 'The maritime maps and atlases of Seller, Thornton, and Mount & Page', (1995).³⁴

Eleven of the original fifteen charts produced by Jeremiah Seller and Charles Price for the first edition appear in this final printing. Although the title page has been refreshed by losing its heavy outer borders, the content has barely changed over its ninety-one years: there are differences in typesetting, paragraphing

and capitalisation, the running head has been abandoned and the folios repositioned. However, little effort was made by the then publishers – William Mount and James Davidson II – to update either text or charts. A neglect that Pepys had complained about in the seventeenth century, and a century later Capt. James Cook, and others, railed against ‘Compilers and Publishers [who] publish to the world the rude sketches of the Navigator as accurate surveys’.³⁵

The cost of engraving new plates was a significant consideration for publishers, and not infrequently an attitude of make-do prevailed amongst those scraping by, or those less scrupulous. Aaron Arrowsmith writing on his four-sheet map of Scotland noted in his memoir: ‘Before I was in possession of the first impression I had expended in Copper, Engraving, Paper, Printing and Colouring £2,050’.³⁶ However, one of the great advantages of copperplate printing is the ease with which data can be amended. By scraping back incorrect or outdated content from the surface of the plate, then hammering the back of that area to create a smooth surface which can be re-incised, a publisher could keep the content current and give truth to the claim ‘with new additions’.

As the firm’s business records from the eighteenth century appear to have been lost in a fire at their premises in 1886 it is impossible to ascertain the number of copies printed of any edition or of any of the charts that appear in the fifth book. However, as the house of Mount and Page was at the centre of maritime publishing at a period in British history when its maritime community was expanding rapidly, many of whom would be in need of sea charts and sailing directions, if not directly for navigation but for administration of transatlantic trade, one might expect that their print runs would reflect their position.

The print quality of many of the charts in later examples of the fifth book is inconsistent, some remarkably poor with the impression so faint to be, in parts, illegible. It casts doubts on whether new plates were re-engraved or the original plates refreshed, except for erasures of past authors and to make necessary imprint changes. The various incarnations of the firm of Mount and Page exploited the text and plates prepared by Seller and Price to their limit, and no longer fit for purpose, and unwilling to meet the challenge of competitors Sayer and Bennett, W. Faden, J.F.W. Des Barres and T. Jeffreys, who were producing better quality and more up-to-date charts, *Africa* fell by the wayside.

The survival rate of English maritime literature is

notoriously low, in particular sea atlases which, also victims of market forces, have been broken up for sale as individual charts. The current census of examples of the fifth book stands at twenty-five. Additionally, there are two incomplete copies: one text only example and one with charts only. Others may yet be discovered as more library collections are catalogued and their content made available online, and those in private hands return to the sales rooms.

Appendix

Charts that have appeared in editions subsequent to Seller and Price’s 1701 printing.

- A** *A Chart of the Channell, By Rich.d Mount & Tho. Page* [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]
- B** *A New Correct Chart of Ireland* (Sam Thornton)
- C** *A Chart of the Sea Coast from England to the Streights* (Sam Thornton), 1714
- D** *A Chart of the Coast of Barbaria with the Western, Canaria, & Cape de Verd, Isles* (Sam Thornton)
- E** *The Western Ocean* [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]
- F** *A Chart of the Isles off Cape-Verd. Sold by Rich^d Mount at the Postern on Tower Hill* [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]
- G** *A large chart of the North Coast of Guinea From Cape Verd to Sherbro* (Sam Thornton)
- H** *A Draught of Cape Bona Esperanca* (Sam Thornton)
- I** *A Large Chart of the Coast of Guinea From Sherbro to Cape Lopas* (Sam Thornton)
- J** *A New Mapp of ye Coast of Guinea from Cape de Verde to Cape Bona Esperanca* (Sam Thornton)
- K** *A Large Chart of the Channell Describing the Sands, Shoals, depth of water and anchorage on the coasts of England & France* (John Thornton)
- L** *A Chart from England to the Straits* (John Thornton)
- M** *A Chart of the Coasts of Ireland and Part of England* (anon.)
- N** *A Chart of the Sea Coast from England to the Streights. With inset of Cadiz Harbour* (H. Moll, Sold by Ric: Mount & Tho: Page at Postern Row Tower Hill)
- O** [3 charts on one sheet] i. *An exact map of the River Sierra-Leone and ye coast from thence to Sherbro*; ii. *An exact map of the River Sherbro*; iii. *Kingdom of Barra* (Smith; Gray Sculp.)
- P** *A Chart of the Coast of Africa from Cape Virde to Cape Bona Esperansa* (Sold by Rich^d Mount and Tho. Page at the Postern on Great Tower Hill London)
- Q** *A Correct Chart of the Coast of Portugal & Barbaria*

from C. Finesterra to C. Bajador With the Canarie Isles. Humbly Dedicated to Robert Godscall of Weston Esq'. by his obliged Servant C. Price. Sold by Will^m Mount & Tho^s Page on Tower Hill, London. Inset maps of Lisbon Harbour & Cap Finesterra. (Charles Price)

R A New Draught of the Coast of Guinea and Brasile according to M^r Edu^d Wrights Projection Vulgarly Called Mercator Chart. Inset A Draught of the Island of Trinidada taken by Edm^d Halley (Sam Thornton)

Notes

- 1 R.V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-makers*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1949.
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- 36 A. Arrowsmith, *Memoir Relative to the Construction of Map of Scotland*, 1809, in Verner, 'Copperplate Printing', p. 65.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Jennifer Anielski, Librarian, Technical Services, The Mariners' Museum and Park; Dolores Colón, Library Service Assistant, Access Services, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University; Kate Cordes and Eric Robinson, New York Public Library; Daniel Crouch, Daniel Crouch Rare Books; Sharon Cure, Trinity College, Oxford University; Melanie Geustyn, Senior Librarian Special Collections, National Library of South Africa; Jennifer Hornsby, Reference Librarian, Phillips Library, Peabody, Essex Museum; Heather Johnson, Archives Collection Officer, National Museum of the Royal Navy; Francis Lapke, Yale Center for British Art; Ed Redmond, Geography & Map Reference Specialist, Library of Congress; Alice Rocques, Hertford College, Oxford University; Jonathan Rosenwasser, Cartographic Reference Assistant, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University; Anneke Schaafsma, Stellenbosch University, South Africa; Cynthia Smith, Reference Specialist, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress; Roger Stewart; Hazel Tubman, Maggs Brothers Ltd.; Sarah Tyacke; Jennifer Wraight, Admiralty Librarian, Royal Navy.

Table *The English Pilot, the Fifth Book* recorded exemplars

Date	Title	Contents <i>The charts are listed in order of their binding</i>
<p>1701</p> <p>Folio TPS 47 x 30 cm</p>	<p>First title page: <i>The English Pilot, The Fifth Book</i> <i>Describing y^e Sea Coasts, Bay's, Cap's, Gulfs, Harbours, Rivers, Islands, Rocks and Dangers on the West Coast of AFRICA. from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope Shewing the Courses & Distances from one place to Another, The Ebbing & Flowing of y^e Sea. Setting of the Tydes & Currants &c. Not Heretofore Published in England Collected for the Generall Benefit of our own Countrey-men.</i></p> <p>By Jer: Seller and Cha: Price Hydrographers at y^e Hermitage Stairs in Wapping, London</p> <p>Second title page: <i>The Fifth Part of the General ENGLISH PILOT, Describing The Sea-Coast, Capes, Head-Lands, Bays, Roads, Harbours, Rivers, Ports, with the Exact Appearance and Representations of the most Principal Marks, Lands &c. Together with Soundings, Sands, Shoals, Rocks & Dangers. On the West-Coast of AFRICA: From the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, viz....</i></p> <p>By Jer. Seller and Cha. Price London. Printed by J. Matthews, for Jer. Seller, and Cha. Price, at the Hermitage-Stairs in Wapping. MDCCI</p>	<p>Admiralty Library, Portsmouth, UK: 43 pp / 2 title pages / 15 charts</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 <i>A Chart of the Sea Coastes of Barbary from the Straits Mouth to Cape de Verd, Note that the Side of Each Square containeth 40 English Leagues</i> (John Seller, Hydrographer to the King) 2 <i>A Chart of the Coast of Barbary from C. Spartell to C. Cantin.</i> With inset of <i>The Coast of Barbary from Cape Cantin to Cape Geer</i> (Seller & Price) 3 <i>A Chart of y^e Coast of Barbary from C. Bajadore to the Golfe of St Anne and A Chart of y^e Coast of Barbary from Cape Geer to Cape Bajadore</i> (Seller & Price) [two charts on one sheet] 4 <i>Chart of the Canarie & Madera Islands</i> (Seller & Price) 5 <i>A New Chart of the Sea Coast of Arguin from y^e Gulf of S' Anne to the Sand bank of Tindel</i> (Seller & Price) 6 <i>A Chart of the Coast of Guinea from Cape de Verd to Cape Bona Esperanca. Drawn with Squares, the side of each Square Containing 100 English Leagues</i> (John Seller, Hydrographer to the King) 7 <i>A Chart of the Shoulds & Rivers of Gambia</i> (Seller & Price) 8 <i>A Chart of the Grain Ivory & Quaqua Coasts in GUINEA from Cape S' Anne to Teen Pequene.</i> With inset chart of <i>Band and Quaqua Coast</i> (Seller & Price) 9 <i>A Chart of the Gold Coast in Guinea from the River S. John to the River Volta</i> (Seller & Price; F. Lamb sculp.) 10 <i>A Chart of the Bight of Binnin from Ningo Grande to R. Andony.</i> With inset approaches to <i>Kings town, R. Royall & R. Andony</i> (Seller & Price; F. Lamb sculp.) 11 <i>A Chart of y^e Coast of BLAFRA from Foché Island to Corisco Island together with the Islands of FERNANDO POO & PRINCES</i> (Seller & Price; F. Lamb sculp.) [bound upside down] 12 <i>A Chart of y^e Coasts of Gabon, Loango, and Congo from C. S' John to the River Ambris</i> (Seller & Price) 13 <i>A Chart of y^e Coast of ANGOLA from y^e R Ambris to Mount Negro</i> (Seller & Price; F. Lamb sculp.) 14 <i>A Chart of y^e Coasts of CIMBEBAS and CAFFARIA From M. Negro to y^e C. of Good Hope.</i> With inset of <i>Tafel Bay</i> (Seller & Price; F. Lamb sculp.) 15 <i>A Draught of Cape Bona Esperance</i> (John Seller) <p>Dedication to the Royal African Company</p> <p>Advertisement for Samuel Heynes' mathematical instruction</p>
<p>Rogue 1701</p>	<p><i>The Fifth Part of the General ENGLISH PILOT. Describing The Sea-Coast, Capes, Head-Lands, Bays, Roads, Harbours, Rivers, Ports, with the Exact Appearance and Representations of the most Principal Marks, Lands &c. Together with Soundings, Sands, Shoals, Rocks & Dangers. On the West-Coast of AFRICA: From the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, viz.</i></p> <p>By Jer. Seller and Cha. Price</p> <p>London, Printed by J. Matthews, for Jer. Seller and Cha. Price, at the Hermitage-Stairs in Wapping. MDCCI.</p>	<p>New charts added in blue and denoted by bold letters. Original charts denoted by numbers. Locations in red indicate additional copies to those identified by Tooley, Verner and Adams & Waters.</p> <p>British Library: 43 pp / 21 charts A <i>A Chart of the Channell, By Rich.^d Mount & Tho. Page</i> [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; B <i>A New Correct Chart of Ireland</i> (Sam Thornton); C <i>A Chart of the Sea Coast from England to the Straights</i> (Sam Thornton), 1714; D <i>A Chart of the Coast of Barbaria with the Western, Canaria, & Cape de Verd, Isles</i> (Sam Thornton); 2 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 3 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased, but not erased from <i>Chart of y^e Coast of Barbary from Cape Geer to Cape Bajadore</i>]; E <i>The Western Ocean</i> [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 5 [Jer. Seller & C. Price]; F <i>A Chart of the Islands of Cape de Verd</i> [Jer. Seller & C. Price]; G <i>A Large Chart of the North Coast of Guinea From Cape Verd to Sherbro</i> (Sam Thornton); 6 [John Seller erased]; H <i>A Draught of Cape Bona Esperanca</i> (Sam Thornton); 7 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; I <i>A Large Chart of the Coast of Guinea From Sherbro to Cape Lopas</i> (Sam Thornton); 8 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 9 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 10 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 11 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 12 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 13 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased]; 14 [Jer. Seller & C. Price erased. Inset of <i>Tafel Bay</i> changed to <i>Table Bay</i>]. Advertisement for Samuel Heynes' mathematical instruction</p> <p>The National Archives, UK: 43 pp / 19 charts A, C, E, D, 2, 3, 4, 5, F; J <i>A New Mapp of ye Coast of Guinea from Cape Verde to Cape Bona Esperanca</i> (Sam Thornton); 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. [<i>Tafel Bay</i> not changed to <i>Table Bay</i>] Advertisement for Samuel Heynes' mathematical instruction</p> <p>New York Public Library: 43 pp / 20 charts B, C, D, 2, 3, 5, E, F, J, G, H, 7, 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Advertisement for Samuel Heynes' mathematical instruction</p>

Date	Title	Contents <i>The charts are listed in order of their binding</i>
1720	<p><i>THE ENGLISH PILOT: PART V. DESCRIBING The Sea-Coast... On the West-Coast of AFRICA...</i></p> <p>The Second Edition, with New Additions London: Printed for R. and W. Mount, and T. Page, in Postern-Row on Tower-Hill, MDCCXX.</p>	<p>National Maritime Museum, London: 44 pp / 20 charts K <i>A Large Chart of the Channell Describing the Sands, Shoals, depth of water and anchorage on the coasts of England and France</i> (John Thornton); L <i>A Chart from England to the Straits</i> (John Thornton); D, 2, 3, E, 5, 6, F, H, G, 7, I, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.</p> <p>Hertford College, Oxford: 44 pp / 19 charts A; M <i>A Chart of the Coasts of Ireland and Part of England</i> (anon.); C, E, 2, 3, 5, 7, G, 6, H, I, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.</p> <p>Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia: 44 pp / 21 charts A, C, M, D, 2, 3, E, 5, F, G, 6, H, 7, I, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.</p> <p>Harvard Library, Cambridge, Mass.: 44 pp / 21 charts K; N <i>A Chart of the Sea Coast from England to the Streights. With inset of Cadiz Harbour</i> (H. Moll, Sold by Ric: Mount & Tho: Page at Postern Row Tower Hill); L, D, 2, 3, E, 5, 6; O [3 charts on one sheet] i. <i>An exact map of the River Sierra-Leone and ye coast from thence to Sherbro</i>, ii. <i>An exact map of the River Sherbro</i>, iii. <i>Kingdom of Barra</i> (Smith; Gray Sculp); G, 7, I, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.</p>
1731	<p><i>THE ENGLISH PILOT: PART V. DESCRIBING The Sea-Coast... On the West-Coast of AFRICA...</i></p> <p>The Second Edition, with New Additions London: Printed for Thomas Page and William Mount, on Tower-Hill, MDCCXXXI.</p>	<p>Stellenbosch University, Cape Town: 42 pp / 20 charts A, N, E, 2, 3, D, 5, 6; P <i>A Chart of the Coast of Africa from Cape Virde to Cape Bona Esperansa</i> (Sold by Rich^d Mount and Tho. Page at the Postern on Great Tower Hill London); O, G, I, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.</p>
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Undated	Possibly after 1720 as the presence of chart 'O' first appears in the Harvard exemplar dated 1720.	British Library: 19 charts only A, E, 2, 3, 5, J, O, 7, G, I, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; R <i>A New Draught of the Coast of Guinea and Brasile according to M^r Edu^d Wrights Projection Vulgarly Called Mercator Chart. Inset A Draught of the Island of Trinidad taken by Edm^d Halley (Sam Thornton); P.</i>

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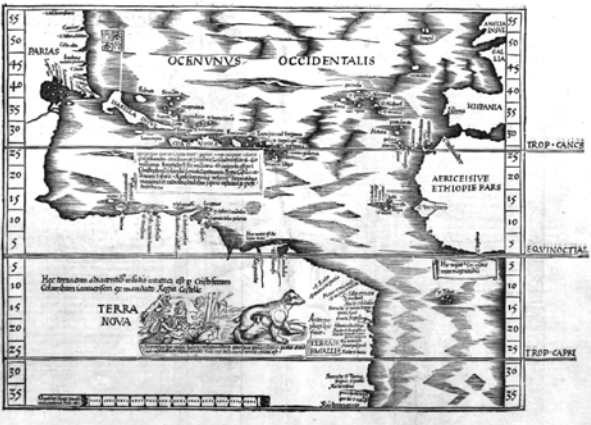
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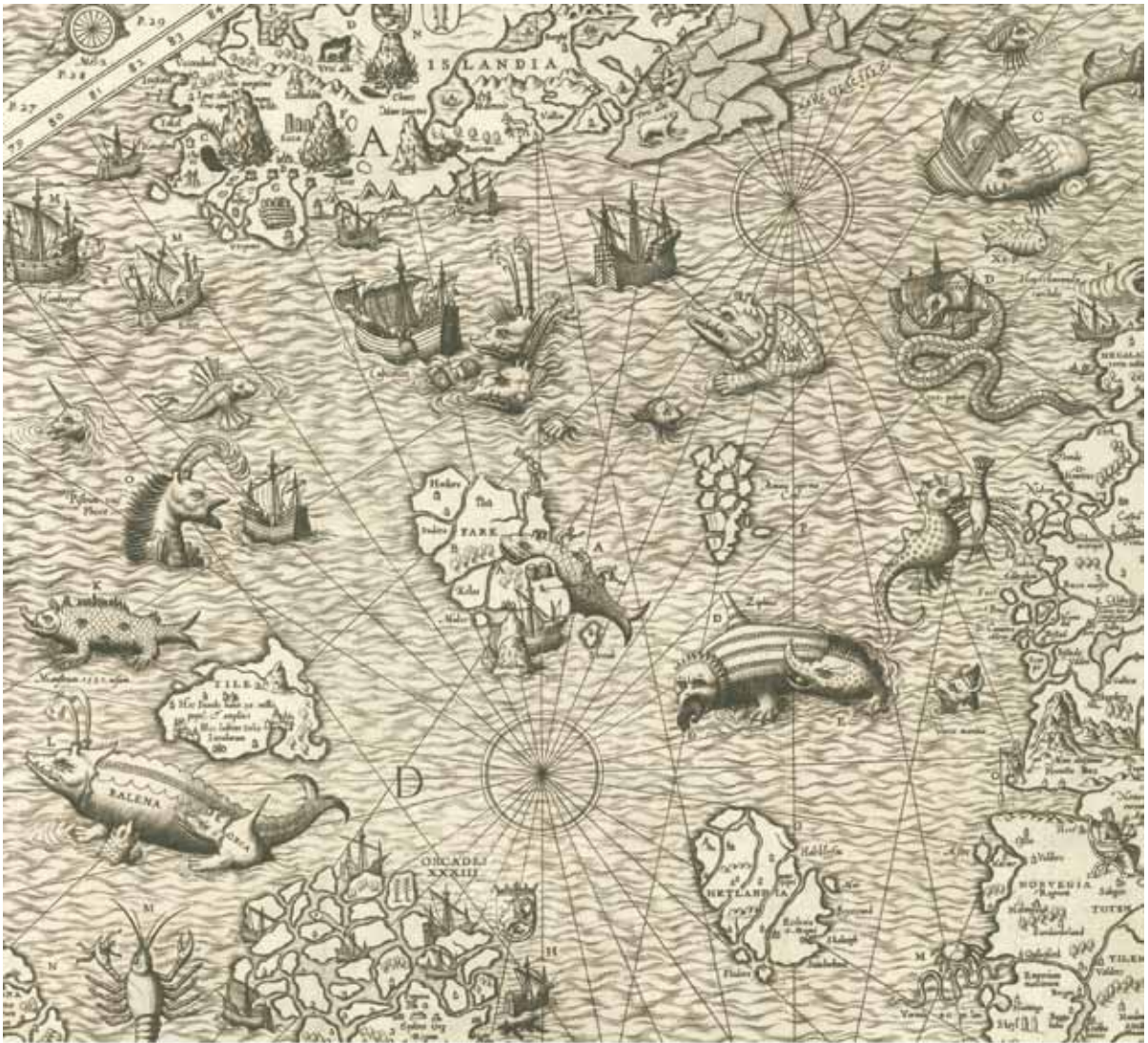
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Oceani occidentalis sive terre nove tabula, woodcut map by L. Fries from the Ptolemaeus edition by J. Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1525



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in the Strand. The first Rose map depicting Russia
as an octopus with tentacles reaching towards Europe
appeared in 1877, and was published shortly after the
outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in March 1877.
The Liberals opposed Disraeli’s current foreign policy
based on support for a weak and morally questionable
Turkey. The Conservatives regarded Turkey as a
buffer against Russian territorial ambitions. In the first
edition of this map, Gladstone is pictured on the
outline of the British Isles but in a later edition that
year, the figure was altered into the profile of a ‘typical’
English gentleman, whilst the reach of the ‘octopus’
was increased. A second edition later that year also
carried the key in German, in which Rose was fluent,
and pirated copies appeared around the world. Rose
played an active part in support of the grassroots
Conservative party, and as early as 1864 was approved
as a member of the Junior Carlton Club. He joined the
Primrose League when it was formed in 1883. He was
always a political satirist and his later serio-comic
maps, such as ‘England on Guard’ (1878) and ‘Angling
in Troubled Waters’ (1899) reflected the current
political situations. The ‘octopus’ theme depicting
Russia has continued to be used as a propaganda
image into the twenty-first century.

A detailed description of the Rose cartoons appeared
in the *IMCoS Journal* No. 146, Autumn 2016.

18 January 2018 **Giles Darkes** (Cartographic
Editor, British Historic Towns Atlas), **Maps and
Miasma: Henry Acland’s Maps of Cholera in
Oxford in the 1850s.**

By the time Acland plotted the cases of cholera in Oxford, the practice of making maps showing diseases was well established, both in this country and abroad. For some diseases the means of transmission was recognised but the causes of cholera outbreaks remained the subject of debate. Whilst it was known that the poor and insanitary conditions associated with open drains and foul water contributed to outbreaks, it was still widely believed that miasma was the main cause. When the General Register Office for Births & Deaths was set up in 1838 followed by the Public Health Act of 1848, the collection of this information drew attention to public health and on the causes of death and diseases. William Farr (1807–1883) collected data and statistics on the causes of death and suggested that there were fewer cases of cholera when dwellings were at a higher elevation. Further mapping and analysis later disproved this theory. John Snow, in 1849, demonstrated that cholera was waterborne when he disconnected the pump in London's Broad Street. However, unlike Snow, Acland plotted his maps both spatially and sequentially. He noted the clusters of cholera cases occurring near riverbanks, which could add credence to the miasma theory. In addition he recorded the incidence of cases at the church sponsored camp in Christ Church Meadow where large numbers of people were gathered and there was poor sanitation. This changed the focus away from topography. He also observed that there were no cases of cholera in the City gaol. There had, however, been twenty cases in the County gaol, which took its water supply from below the discharge point of the street sewers into the Cherwell River.

During the nineteenth century, there were four factors which came together: 1. data collection; 2. availability of good maps; 3. the development of scientific analysis; 4. the distribution of results.

As Acland's approach to his work was both scientific and analytical, he was in the forefront of these developments. Whilst the miasma theory of disease transmission was not entirely disproved at the time, his rigorous scientific methods undoubtedly led to a more serious approach to public health.

15 February 2018 Dr Emma Perkins (Affiliate Scholar, Dept. of History & Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge), *Early English Globe Making – A Social Study of a Terrestrial Globe by Morden, Berry and Lea, c.1685.*

The terrestrial globe in the Whipple museum in Cambridge was made by the well-known map and instrument makers Robert Morden, William Berry and Philip Lea. This terrestrial globe was paired with a celestial globe, for sale in their London shops. The English globe makers had always experienced fierce competition from Flemish and other foreign manufacturers. Furthermore, by the seventeenth century, globes as a navigational instrument were of little practical use at sea. Therefore, the English globe makers had to find a new approach for the home market. The Whipple globe incorporated nautical information such as rhumb lines and compass points to appeal to prospective buyers. The globes were often purchased as educational aids, but most were bought by gentlemen as an addition to their libraries to display their intellectual interests. The language used on the Whipple globe is English. By using the vernacular, it made the globe more commercial. The two cartouches address the reader and claim that it differs from others as it shows the 'latest discoveries'. This emphasised that the makers had made the cartography as accurate as possible. If there was a blank space, it was not filled with guesses or fanciful artwork. By the seventeenth century, the authority of ancient texts was being questioned as the result of the new geographic knowledge. The Whipple globe shows the routes taken by the national heroes Cavendish and Drake in their exploration of the world. There is only one coastline accredited to 'Dutch explorers', and that is not named. They made their globe a celebration of all the great English navigators and contributed to the emerging identity in English globe making and appealed to the prevailing social and intellectual conditions of the time.

15 March 2018 Dr Thomas Horst (Post-doctoral Fellow at CIUHCT, Lisbon), *Putting Saxton into Context: State Surveys in Early Modern Europe with Particular Reference to the Neuburg Palatinate (Bavaria), Saxony and England.*

Based on the fact that the 'father of the English cartography', Christopher Saxton (c.1540–1610), played a major role in the first state survey in England, the paper compared his cartographic activity with contemporary activities in Germany. While the first state survey in the Electorate of Saxony (mapped between 1586–1633 by the cartographers Georg and Matthias Öder and Balthasar Zimmermann) is well-known in the history of cartography, less known are the 400 manuscript maps and sketch maps of the Palatinate

Neuburg in Bavaria created by the Lutheran priest Christoph Vogel (1554–1608) and his assistant Mattaeus Stang (fl. 1597–1640). Executed between 1579 and 1605 these maps are characterised by their distinct style. The whole of the Palatinate was surveyed and described in 1,400 manuscript pages of text. A detailed analysis of these unique early modern maps is now possible thanks to the full transcription of the text of this state survey (<http://www.heimatforschung-regensburg.de/97/>) and the ongoing digitisation of the maps.

26 April 2018 Prof. Dr Ferdinand Opll (Prof. of Medieval History & Historical Auxiliary Sciences, Univ. of Vienna), *Early Modern Town Plans & Views of Vienna and their Importance in International Context*. The layout of cities such as Jerusalem and Rome were recorded on early maps, but this information was not exact and only intended to aid worship. The earliest map with a scale is considered to be the Albertina town plan of Vienna from 1420–22 which includes the fortifications. It became fashionable to include cityscapes as backgrounds to religious paintings and an early example is a rudimentary view of Padua depicted in a fresco dating from 1382–3 in the Capella Bellucci S. Antonio. There are numerous examples from Austria, Italy and the Low Countries of a religious context in a real setting, albeit altered for artistic effect, as it was prestigious for the town to be represented.

With the advancement in surveying techniques, more realistic geographical innovations were introduced in the fifteenth century. The first modern town map is considered to be of Modena by Leonardo da Vinci in 1502. In 1544 Augustin Hirschvogel was employed to survey and map Vienna as part of the plans to improve defences after the Ottoman siege in 1529. His town plan showed the projected fortifications. An anonymous fresco of the siege with the fortifications is in the Palazzo Nantiere and dated around 1550. Jacob Hoefnagel made a bird's-eye view of Vienna which showed St Stephen's viewed from the Danube, but excluded the mountains. Bonifaz Wolmuet's circular map of Vienna made in 1547 showed the suburbs outside the fortifications. Maps were made of other cities and Charles V commissioned plans of Cologne in 1531 and of Amsterdam in 1538. A three-dimensional model was made of Nuremberg in 1540, but the Council considered it unwise to publicise the city's defences. Accurate surveys were essential not only to plan for future defence, especially for a fortress city like Vienna, but also to settle disputes and establish boundaries.

17 May 2018 Prof. Susan Schulten (Dept. of History, University of Denver, USA), *Map Drawing in Nineteenth-century Education*.

In the UK from about the 1780s, producing maps had traditionally been part of the education of the daughters of well-to-do families. These were mostly embroidered, which taught needlework skills in addition to basic geography. Maps of the world were usually in the form of double hemispheres and were extremely decorative. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the tradition was taken to the United States, it evolved somewhat differently. Following the Revolution, small academies for the education of girls were established in Connecticut and Massachusetts and then later in New Hampshire and Vermont. The education of girls was beginning to be seen as desirable as notions of a national identity were being formed. It was necessary for young women to be educated in order to raise sons. Many girls from the academies would become teachers in the furthest reaches of the ever-expanding United States. The curriculum was limited to subjects considered 'suitable' for young ladies. Geography and penmanship were appropriate and the emphasis was on drawing maps with beautiful calligraphy, using examples from books.

Recently, there has been interest in these maps, many of which are in private collections. Some maps are extremely detailed; one example shows all the river systems of the States, carefully named, which would have been a very laborious task. Other maps were made showing the exploration of the east coast of North America by Spain and France and another example traces the movement of indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, much of the mapmaking was copied in a purely mechanical way, with the emphasis on calligraphy and pretty effects rather than ensuring geographical accuracy and correct spelling. With the limited curriculum, perhaps drawing maps was used as a means of keeping the girls occupied rather than teaching geography. Notes from the diary kept by Caroline Chester at Litchfield Academy in 1816 shows she spent from June to September drawing just one map. Map drawing in the academies was at its height between 1820 and 1830. However, between 1840 and 1850, developments in printing meant that commercial maps became more freely available and there was no longer a need for hand-drawn maps.

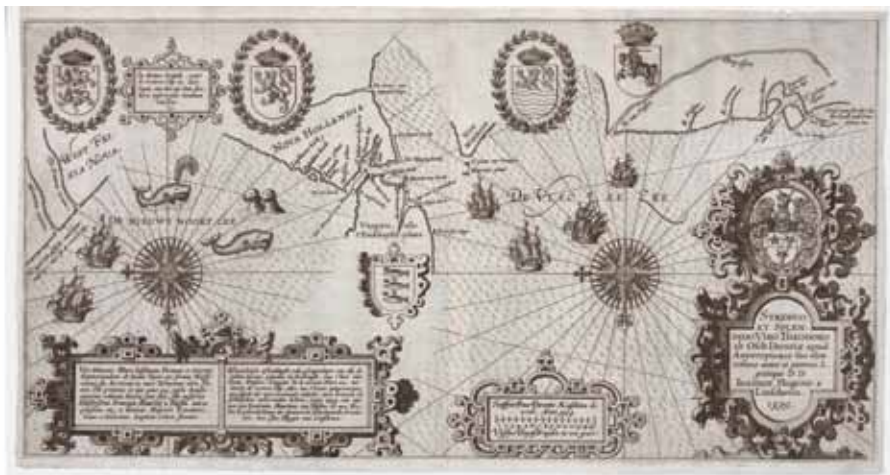
Pamela Purdy

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CARTOGRAPHY CALENDAR

Exhibitions

Until 23 September 2018, New York

The Morgan Library & Museum
Medieval Monsters: Terrors, Aliens, Wonders

Drawing on the Morgan's superb collection of illuminated manuscripts, this major exhibition, the first of its kind in North America, will explore the complex social role of monsters in the Middle Ages.

Information: www.themorgan.org/exhibitions/medieval-monsters

Until 30 September 2018, Mystic, Connecticut

Mystic Seaport, The Museum of America and the Sea

The Vikings Begin: Treasures from Uppsala University, Sweden

This exhibition will feature the Vinland map, the controversial document purporting to show that the Vikings reached and mapped a portion of the New World long before Christopher Columbus. Experts concluded it is not legitimate, but it still has much to tell us about issues of authenticity and the origins of modern America.

Information: www.mysticseaport.org

Until 28 October 2018, Oxford

Weston Library, Bodleian

Tolkien: Maker of Middle-earth

The exhibition will feature manuscripts, artwork, maps and letters from the Bodleian's Tolkien Archive, artifacts from the Tolkien Collection at Marquette University and private collections.

Information: www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk

Until 27 October 2018, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Pusey Library

Follow the Map: The Harvard Map Collection at 200

explores the growth of the Map Collection since its beginnings in 1818 with a gift from Israel Thorndike of over 5,000 maps and atlases. The exhibition traces the network of donors, collectors and curators who have defined the size and scope of the collection.

Information: harvardmaps200.org

Until 31 December 2018, Prague

Geographical Institute of the Faculty of Science of Charles University
Mikuláš Kladyán: first map of Bohemia 1518

This is the first separate detailed map of Bohemia, published in Nuremberg in 1518. It is argued that the Czech states ordered it to display the conditions in the country after the Saint-Wenceslas Treaty of 1517.

Information: www.natur.cuni.cz/geography/map-collection/aktuality/exhibition-mikulas-kladyan-first-map-of-bohemia-1518

New exhibitions

8 September–9 November 2018, Janville, Eure-et-Loir, France

Médiathèque Etude

Horizons de la Beauce – Cartes géographiques de l'ancien Grenier de la France [*Horizons of the Beauce – Ancient Maps of the former Granary of France*]

brings together, for the first time, about fifty maps of Beauce and surrounding provinces from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. The maps document the historical evolution of this little known area in terms of topography and human environment.

Information: www.janville.fr/mediatheque

Lectures and conferences

13–15 September 2018, Oxford

Weston Library, Bodleian

The 7th International Symposium on the History of Cartography is co-hosted by the ICA Commissions on the History of Cartography and Topographic Mapping and the Bodleian Library. **Mapping Empires: Colonial Cartographies of Land and Sea** will investigate the cartography of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas as influenced by cosmopolitan exploration and imperialistic activity during the long nineteenth century.

Information: www.mappingempires.icaci.org

20–23 September 2018, Golden, Colorado

Colorado School of Mines

Golden Quest: Mapping the

Stampedes (RMMS pre-conference)

Great Mountains of the American West (SHD conference)

The 2018 Society for the History of Discoveries meeting is in partnership with the Rocky Mountain Map Society. The Exhibition of the Colorado Gold Rush History, a world-famous collection of rocks as well as maps of the West will be exhibited in the Geology Museum.

The conference will be followed by tours of original gold-rush towns in the mountains near Golden, an underground gold mine and nearby geological interests. Information: www.rmmmaps.org and www.sochistdisc.org

4–6 October 2018, Arlington, Texas

University of Texas at Arlington Library

The 11th Biennial Virginia Garrett Lectures on the History of Cartography

Information: www.uta-ir.tdl.org

10–13 October 2018, Gotha

Gotha Perthes Collection, University

and Research Library Erfurt/Gotha

19. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium

Information: petra.weigel@uni-erfurt.de, or Markus Heinz at kartographiegeschichte@sbb.spk-berlin.de

14–21 October 2018, Manila & Hong Kong

36th International Map Collectors' Society Symposium

See pages 19–20 for details.

14–17 October Manila: **'Insulae**

Indiae Orientalis'. Information:

www.imcos-2018-manila.com

19–20 October Hong Kong: **'Cultural Encounters in Maps of China'**.

Information: <https://tinyurl.com/imcos-2018-hk>

25 October 2018, Washington

Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress

Dr Evelyn Edson (Professor Emeritus, Virginia Piedmont Community College)

will speak about *Sailing the Aegean Sea: A Renaissance Journey in Maps*. Information: Bert Johnson at mandraki@verizon.net

8 November 2018, London

Warburg Institute
Professor Bill Sherman (Director, The Warburg Institute), and Dr Edward Wilson-Lee (Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge) will speak about *Hernando Colón: Mapping the World of Books*. Information: Tony Campbell at tony@tonycampbell.info or Catherine Delano-Smith at c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk

20 November 2018, Cambridge

Emmanuel College
Andrew Doll will talk on *Polish maps*. Information: Sarah Bendall at sarah.bendall@emma.cam.ac.uk

29 November 2018, London

Warburg Institute
Professor Dr Vanessa Collingridge (Independent Researcher, Glasgow) *It's All Fake News! James Cook and the Death of the Great Southern*

Continent (1760–1777).

Information: Tony Campbell at tony@tonycampbell.info or Catherine Delano-Smith at c.delano-smith@qmul.ac.uk

6 December 2018, Washington

Library of Congress
Ralph Ehrenberg (past Chief, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress), *Flying by the Seat of Your Pants: Rand McNally, and Post Office Belt Maps – The U.S. Post Office Airmail Service Air Navigation, 1918–1926*. Mr Ehrenberg will trace the history of map use by the Airmail Service and its own efforts in developing a basic aeronautical chart. Information: Bert Johnson at mandraki@verizon.net

Into the future

The second *Barry Lawrence Ruderman Conference on Cartography* will be held on **10, 11 & 12 October 2019**. The conference theme is *gender and cartography*.

Map and Book Fairs

21–23 September 2018, San Francisco

The San Francisco Map Fair will take place in the Lodge at the Regency Center. The lecture series is sponsored by the California Map Society. Information: www.sanfrancisco-mapfair.com

28–29 September 2018, Rome

Rome Map, Atlas & Travel Book Fair will take place at 80 Piazza Santi Apostoli, Rome. Information: <http://map-fair.com/Roma-mapfair.html>

3 November 2018, Paris

The 17th Paris Map Fair will take place at 16 Bd Haussmann, Paris. Information: www.map-fair.com

1–3 February 2019, Miami

26th annual Miami International Map Fair at 101 West Flagler Street, Miami. Information: www.historymiami.org/visit/map-fair/

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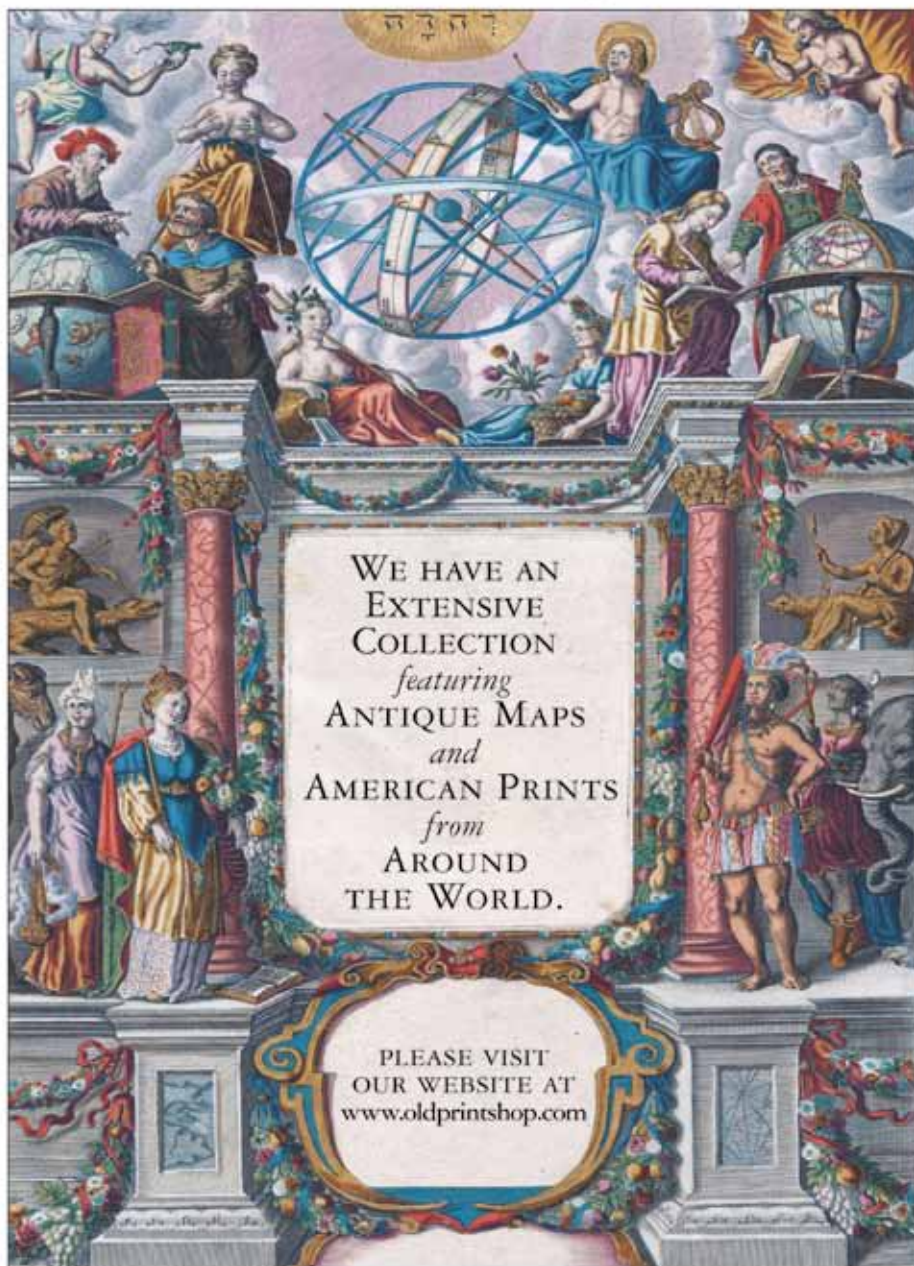
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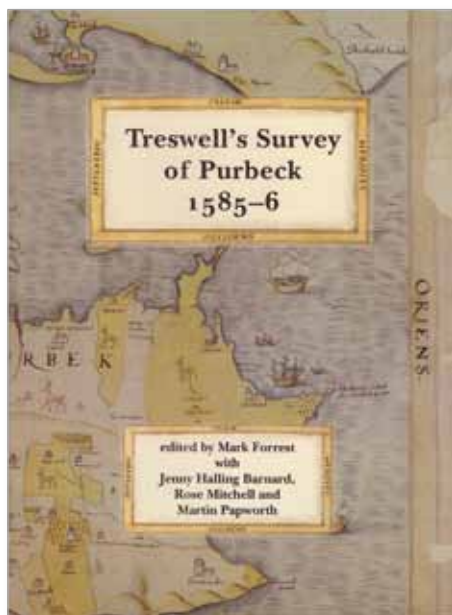
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BOOK REVIEWS

Treswell's Survey of Sir Christopher Hatton's Lands in Purbeck 1585–6 edited by Mark Forrest, with contributions by Jenny Halling Barnard, Rose Mitchell, Martin Papworth. Dorchester: Dorset Record Society, 2017. ISBN 9780900339226. HB, ix, 190. £19.95 STG. It can be ordered from the Dorset Record Society <http://dorsethistorynetwork.org/dorset-record-society>.



The publishing by county record societies of editions of local maps is extremely welcome, providing much useful and helpful information for researchers. Later publications benefit from their predecessors, as they build on experience of editing and reproducing documents that are often not straightforward to scan or photograph and reprint. Occasionally, editions of maps can even take forward the story of a particular mapmaker. This is the case in the volume under review, where the editors have benefited from John Schofield's *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, published by the London Topographical Society in 1987.

Mark Forrest and his colleagues have produced a fine volume. The first third contains introductory materials; the second part is a reproduction of the survey itself; this is followed by a transcript of the written survey. An introduction puts the survey in context: drawn partly to show the lands of Sir Christopher Hatton, one of the most important

courtiers of Queen Elizabeth I, it dates from shortly before the Spanish Armada and thus also played a role in thinking about national defences. There is a brief biography of Sir Christopher, discussion of his role in Dorset, which was not the location of his principal properties, and suggestions of why the atlas and survey were commissioned. The authors examine the later history of the survey volume. Martin Papworth, archaeologist for the National Trust, then discusses the archaeology and historic landscape evidence within all of Treswell's maps, not just those of Dorset.

Perhaps the most valuable section of the introduction then follows: a 20-page analysis by Rose Mitchell (map specialist at The National Archives) of the maps and cartographers. Ralph Treswell's maps are accompanied by Christopher Saxton's printed map of Dorset and by an early seventeenth-century map of Corfe manor by John Hawsted. Rose Mitchell's chapter deserves to be read widely as she makes several noteworthy observations. For example, she places Treswell's maps of Purbeck in their chronological context with a table of the earliest known English estate maps; she compares Treswell's stylistic features, such as scale bars and cardinal points, with those of his contemporaries; she discusses the use of local, customary measures; she points out absences from the maps, for no one commissioning a splendid piece for display will want it to show local eyesores; and she discusses depiction of buildings, topography and land use. She also looks at the decoration on the maps and suggests that some at least might have been drawn from a pattern book: swans in Poole Harbour, for instance, are drawn in a remarkably similar way to those on a map of Sturmer Mere in Essex (1571).

Archive conservator at Dorset History Centre, Jenny Halling Barnard, then gives a useful analysis of the archaeology of the volume itself. She shows how an examination of the materials from which it was made, and the way in which it was bound, adds to the story. She demonstrates the value of disbinding the volume, to reveal the central fold of maps that had been hidden in tight stitching when the volume was rebaked at some point later than the mid-nineteenth century.

Before the reproduction of the survey and maps themselves, Mark Forrest then gives the context of the written survey. This is another chapter that could help many researchers, as he explains many of the terms

common to the period: types of tenancy, courts, customs, jurisdictions and payments. Unusually, he is able to compare the accuracy of Treswell's survey with that of an earlier one of 1546. He also suggests how the survey was compiled, probably from written records and by scribes not familiar with the area.

The survey itself then follows, along with reproductions of the maps. The size has been reduced to about 60 per cent, but the pages are still reasonably legible and clear. If finances had run to producing a CD of the volume as well, the edition would have been even more useful.

The Dorset Record Society should be pleased with this volume. It has been carefully and well put together, and should be useful to researchers beyond the county boundary. There are a few areas where the discussions could have been clearer, it would have benefited from a modern map of the area, and in places it would have been helpful to have numbered the illustrations in the introductory chapters, to help the reader. But these are details: overall, this is a publication that others would do well to emulate.

Sarah Bendall, Cambridge

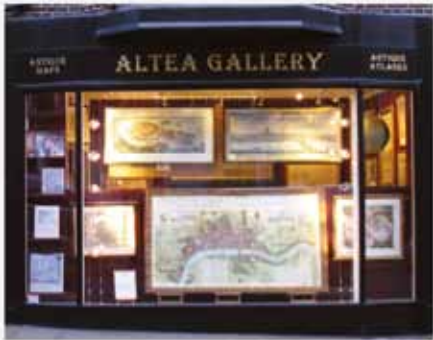
Raymond Frostick (1931–2018)

One of the founder members of IMCoS Raymond Frostick (member no. 27) has died aged 87. He was a collector of maps of Norfolk and author of: *The Dutch Connection – Some Norfolk Maps and Their Makers*, (1988), *The Printed Plans of Norwich 1558–1840*, (2002) and *The Printed Maps of Norfolk 1574–1840: A Carto-Bibliography*, (2011).

He donated his collection to the Norfolk Record Office in 2013. It contained more than 150 maps dating from 1574 to 1840; the earliest from Christopher Saxton in 1574. This is believed to be the first map of any English county. Through his collection, which includes some extremely rare maps, advances in mapping techniques can be seen.

Raymond was a solicitor in Norwich and was Lord Mayor of the city in 1976–7 and Chairman of Norfolk County Council from 1983 to 1984. He was also Chairman of the Council of the University of Norwich. He and his wife Clare travelled to several IMCoS symposiums including Singapore and Australia. He leaves his wife, four children and eleven grandchildren.


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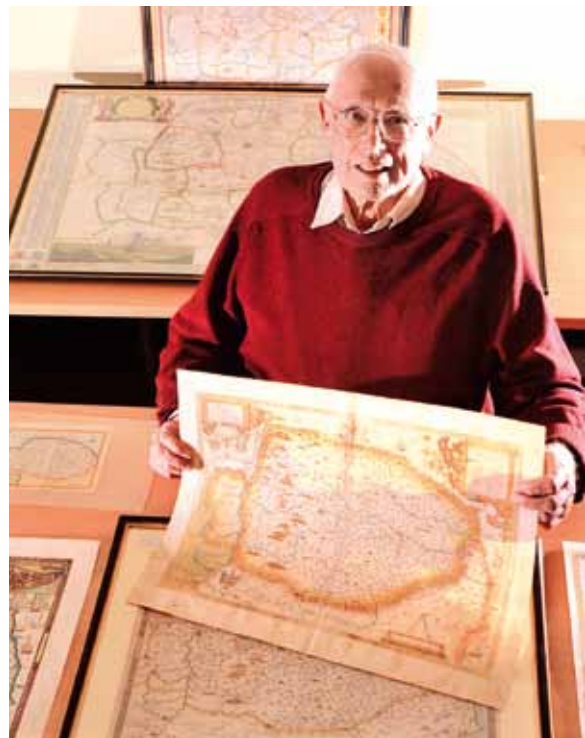


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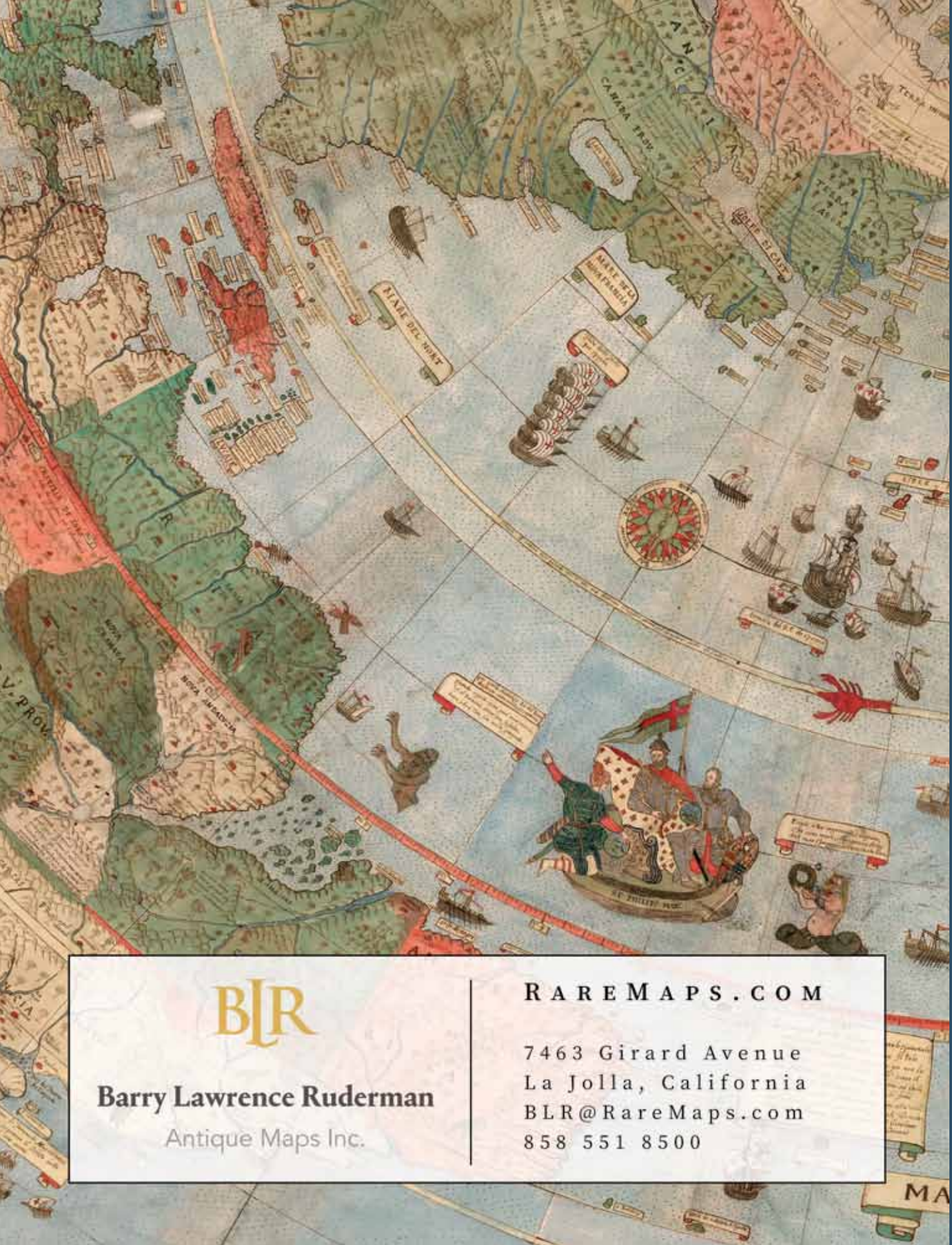
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