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“Khrushchev preferred Bartholomew's
maps”

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The Charles Close Society was founded in 1980 to bring together all those with an interest in the maps and history of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain and its counterparts in the island of Ireland. The Society takes its name from Colonel Sir Charles Arden-Close, OS Director General from 1911 to 1922, and initiator of many of the maps now sought after by collectors.

The Society publishes a wide range of books and booklets on historic OS map series and its journal, *Sheetlines*, is recognised internationally for its specialist articles on Ordnance Survey-related topics.

Khrushchev preferred Bartholomew's maps

John L Cruickshank

The Ordnance Survey is often considered (not least by itself) to be the exclusive producer of official maps of Britain. Nevertheless, to the irritation of the OS, maps produced by Bartholomew in Edinburgh have on many occasions been used by Britain's armed forces and by civilian government bodies. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century the commissioning of a military edition of Bartholomew's half-inch maps of southern England was to lead to the creation by the Ordnance Survey of its own half-inch maps of all three kingdoms. And during the Second World War the fabric maps issued to servicemen for escape and evasion were initially all Bartholomew maps, not British official ones.

The OS claim, asserted in 1997, to the copyright of all Soviet mapping of Britain was very much based on the opening proposition of this paper. John Davies and others have however shown that the Soviet large-scale plans of British cities include material derived from many non-OS sources, and where OS material was used it was generally well over fifty years old.¹ The sources used for the small-scale Warsaw-pact mapping of Britain have not hitherto been considered in detail. An examination of some of these maps now indicates that the OS claim to their copyright is also open to question.

It is worth reviewing the historical development of the Soviet and Warsaw-pact mapping of this country. This has been sequential, and has depended on the evolving military and political priorities of the times. Latterly it was also linked to the development of remote sensing technology. In addition a complex interaction between organisations in different Warsaw-pact countries was involved, and because of this the actual originator of a particular sheet may not always be apparent from its imprint.²

The initial stage began shortly before the Second World War. Amongst the many brakes on the forced industrial and economic development of the USSR, which was being driven by the successive Five-Year Plans, was a lack of any complete mapping of the country. Underlying this was a lack of large-scale surveys, but strenuous efforts were made to compile complete coverage of the country at 1:1,000,000, using whatever material was available, and using the projection and sheet lines of the International Map of the World (IMW) and similar drawing specifications.³ At the same time maps were also compiled at that scale of other countries, including those of Western Europe and Asia Minor, using a variety of published sources including existing IMW sheets. Because of the range of sources, these sheets were not always fully compatible with each other. The Second World War⁴ added impetus to this programme, and by the end of the war western Europe and North Africa were covered not only by 1:1M sheets on the IMW projection, but also by two rectangular-sheet series, one at 1:1M and another at 1:2.5M. All these

¹ John Davies, 'Uncle Joe knew where you lived', *Sheetlines* 72, 26, *Sheetlines* 73, 6; David Watt, 'Soviet military mapping', *Sheetlines* 74, 9; John Davies, 'Soviet military mapping study day', *Sheetlines* 74, 13.

² JL Cruickshank, 'Mapping for a multi-lingual military alliance; the case of East Germany', *The Ranger* 2(20), 33.

³ The standard account of these developments is AM Komkov, 'Razvitie i sovershenstvovanie sovetskikh topograficheskikh kart', *50 Let Sovetskoy Geodezii i Kartografii*, Moscow, Nedra, 1967, 254-267.

⁴ Generally known to Russians as 'The Great Patriotic War'.

early sheets are notable for the prominent italic Cyrillic scripts used for the names of water features and landforms.⁵

Almost immediately after the end of the Second World War the intense rivalry known as the Cold War began, while at the same time there was a fundamental rethinking and redesign of all Soviet mapping in the light of wartime experience and the new global political order. Much of the rivalry was expressed as one-upmanship; each side would claim to the other that they had achieved some impressive goal, even if the reality was often rather less impressive. Both sides expressed this one-upmanship cartographically, as in every other field. The production by the USSR of individual map-sheets covering western countries, which when revealed would suggest that many others that had not been revealed might also exist, was one quite simple way of ‘magnifying’ Soviet achievements. Thus in 1947 an isolated Soviet 1:500,000 sheet (M-30-B) was produced covering London, and three sheets of the west of Scotland were produced in the 1950s. It seems however that completion of the coverage of Britain at this scale had to wait until the 1960s.

By the 1960s the Warsaw-pact system had matured. Each of the Warsaw-pact nations had established its own Soviet-pattern mapping services, and each of these acted as a sub-contractor to the Soviet Union, producing defined mapping tasks within an overall plan for the alliance as a whole. Maps would be produced to the standard Soviet specification, with names and marginal information in the language and alphabet of the originating country, but separated in the reproduction material so that a duplicate Russian-language version could be produced. A limited system of exchange of reproduction material between the Warsaw-pact nations was also implemented, although only the Soviet Union had access to all the available material.⁶

Nikita Khrushchev led the Soviet Union for a decade (1954-1964). Particularly during the later part of this period there was significant decentralisation and some encouragement of local initiative, and it was at this time that the completing and updating of the 1:500,000 coverage of Europe was initiated and substantially carried out. Much of this work was thus delegated to the East German military-cartographic service. Those East-German sheets covering Britain, France and the Low Countries carry very specific compilation notes which identify the precise sources used for the sheet.

These East-German sheets fall into two groups. One group was directly derived from an existing Russian-language map of a specified date. Such sheets give no information about the ultimate source material. The other group were compiled, or (for some sheets) revised, from specified non-Russian material. For Britain this source-material was not produced by the OS. The maps of almost all of Britain were derived from Bartholomew’s half-inch maps dating from the 1950s. One sheet, that of Glasgow (N-30-A), was derived from a 1956 Russian sheet and revised from Bartholomew’s sixth-inch series. The London sheet (M-30-B) was based on the Russian map of 1947, with revision from

⁵ Part of one of these early IMW-projection sheets is illustrated in *Sheetlines* 72, 32.

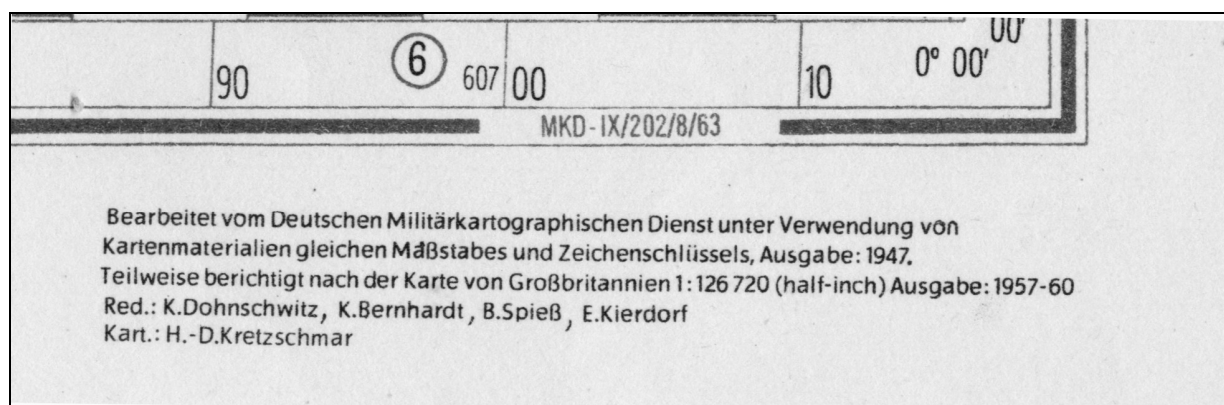
⁶ See Gerhardt Fasching (ed.), *Militärisches Geowesen der DDR von den Anfängen bis zur Wiedervereinigung*, Wien: Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung, 2006, for details of how this applied to East Germany in the later stages of the Cold War. For some Hungarian aspects of this see Hegedüs Ábel, ‘Hidegháború a Térképeken 1’, *Tájoló* (2008/3), 30-31 (I am grateful to Peter Collier for bringing this short but interesting paper to my attention).

Bartholomew's half-inch maps of 1956-1960. Only two British sheets were not stated to incorporate Bartholomew material: those of Stornoway and Tobermory (O-28-B, O-29-D). These are stated to derive from second edition Russian maps dated 1956 and 1955, of unknown ultimate source. A curious sub-group of five sheets cover no land, but only parts of the North Sea. All of these are stated to derive from East-German sea-charts of unspecified date or provenance. Of the known sheets covering Britain, only one, Kirkcaldy (O-30-C), was not available for examination.⁷ The details of the individual sheets are given in the table.

While the sources used for the East-German 1:500,000 sheets outside Britain are not the focus of this article, it is worth mentioning that the sheets of Ireland all derived from Russian mapping without specified further sources. Those of France were generally derived from Russian mapping with revisions from Michelin 1:200,000 maps of specified post-war date-ranges, although the French part of the Brest sheet was directly compiled from French 1:200,000 mapping dated 1937, as was the French part of the Southend sheet.

The subsequent use made of these compilations within the Warsaw pact in general, and the USSR in particular, remains uncertain. By the time of issue of the corresponding Russian-language 1:500,000 editions of the United Kingdom, later in the 1960s, the preparation of larger-scale Warsaw-pact mapping of Britain was already well under way. And when the time came to revise and reissue all the 1:500,000 maps of Western Europe in the 1980s the policies on sub-contracting had changed and the new East German editions of these maps were all secondary versions of sheets prepared by the Russians. Even the sheets covering their own country could not then be prepared by the GDR organisations directly from their own surveys and mapping. It is not clear whether these later Russian sheets (or the German versions) made any use of the older mapping at that scale, or whether they were entirely fresh generalisations from subsequent larger-scale Warsaw-pact mapping.

Nevertheless the existence of some Warsaw-pact mapping explicitly derived from Bartholomew's maps must be taken as casting further doubt on the OS blanket claim to copyright on all Warsaw-pact mapping of the UK. The sources used were clearly much wider and more complex than might at first be assumed.



Compilation note from sheet M-30-B London

⁷ I am uncertain whether the Lerwick sheet (P-30-C/D) was produced in this edition.

Zusammengestellt 1965 nach Bartholomew's
"Sixth Inch" motoring map 1: 380159,
Top. Übers.-Karte 1: 500000, 2. Ausgabe 1956
und Zusatzmaterial
Redaktioneller Stand : Mai 1964

Redaktion und Kartographie:
VEB Kartographischer Dienst Potsdam
Redakteur: E. Engel

Zusammengestellt 1965 nach der Bartholomew's
revised "Half-Inch" 1: 126720 contoured maps,
Ausgabe 1954 und Zusatzmaterial
Redaktioneller Stand : Februar 1964

Redaktion und Kartographie:
VEB Kartographischer Dienst Potsdam
Redakteur : E. Engel

Compilation note from sheet N-30-A Glasgow

Compilation note from sheet N-30-B Newcastle

East-German 1:500,000 sheets covering the British Isles and North Sea (1962-67 editions):

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Issue date</i>	<i>Source material</i>
M-29-A	Bantry	1967	2nd edition (1956) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
M-29-B	Cork	1967	2nd edition (1956) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
M-30-A	Cardiff	1965	Bartholomew's half-inch (1958)
M-30-B	London	1962	Russian map (1947) revised from half-inch of 1957-60
M-30-C	Brest	1965	French 1:200,000 (1937) + Bart's half-inch (1959)
M-30-D	Rennes	1962	Russian map (1954) revised from Michelin (1955-1958)
M-31-A	Southend	1965	French 1:200,000 (1937) + Bart's half-inch (1959)
N-29-A	Ballina	1965	2nd edition (1956) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
N-29-B	Londonderry	1967	2nd edition (1956) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
N-29-C	Galway	1966	1st edition (1961) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
N-29-D	Dublin	1966	1st edition (1961) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
N-30-A	Glasgow	1966	2nd edition (1956) of the Russian map + Bart's sixth-inch
N-30-B	Newcastle	1965	Bartholomew's half-inch (1954)
N-30-C	Birkenhead	1965	Bartholomew's half-inch (1958)
N-30-D	Birmingham	1965	Bartholomew's half-inch (1959)
N-31-A	Doggerbank	1963	Seekarten der DDR
N-31-B	S. Schlickbank	1963	Seekarten der DDR
N-31-C	Norwich	1965	Bartholomew's half-inch (1959)
N-31-D	's-Gravenhage	1965	Netherlands 1:200,000 (1950)
O-29-B	Stornoway	1966	2nd edition (1956) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
O-29-D	Tobermory	1965	2nd edition (1955) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
O-30-A	Wick	1966	Bartholomew's half-inch (1955)
O-30-B	Kirkwall	1966	Bartholomew's half-inch (1954)
O-30-D	Aberdeen	1966	Bartholomew's half-inch (1954)
O-31-A	Lingbank	1965	Seekarten der DDR
O-31-B	Stavanger	1965	1st edition (1954) of the Russian 1:500,000 map
O-31-C	Long Forties	1965	Seekarten der DDR
O-31-D	N. Schlickbank	1965	Seekarten der DDR