

Port Cityscapes: Town and Harbour Development in the Global Context



Figure 1: The Chilehaus Hamburg on the cover of the journal “Deutschland”, 1941

Figure 2: Traditional warehouses of the Hanseatic period. Lübeck, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Tallinn



Designed to look like a ship’s prow, the Chilehaus office building made Hamburg’s international maritime connections visible in form and name. It showcased the commitment of local elites to the port, their creation of urban form for maritime business purposes, and their use of architectural imagery to express and even celebrate the global connections of their Hanseatic city. It was built between 1921 and 1924 by Henry Brarens Sloman (1848–1929); he made his fortune from trading in saltpetre from Chile, used particularly in agricultural production. He funded the construction with profits from Chile and named it in gratitude for the business. Marrying local materials and imagery with local maritime and trading history, and giving it the name of another country, the building exemplifies global/local interactions in the built environment. As such, the Chilehaus and Hamburg itself are useful sites in which to discern interactions distinctive to port cities: not only between the global and the local, but in their changing built environments, we can read the relationship between global and local forces, and the effects of economic flows (Fig. 1).

As a result of the various flows between port cities, specific elements of their respective urban environments are related, including funding, technology, style, concept, and building material. No single form, pattern, or dynamic characterizes port cities, yet they show common traits, making them faraway mirrors of each other. In its chronological discussion, this chapter shows that port cities have long been hot spots of exchange and that such interaction continues to be part of sea-trade as well as for the transformation of old waterfronts. The warehouses of the Hanseatic cities in the North and Baltic seas, for example, resemble each other closely and make visible the trade connections of the 13th to 17th century (Fig. 2). The extent of these global interchanges is also visible in the brick warehouse districts of the 19th century in London, Gloucester, Hamburg, Yokohama, Kobe, and Hakodate. Many of them have more recently been parts of preservation and waterfront reconstruction projects, creating another set of connections.

Port functions effectively entered a city’s very heart beyond the waterfront. Global shipping and trade not only left their imprint on ports and warehouses, then, but also on headquarters, religious institutions, residences, and leisure facilities. As shipping networks expanded across the globe, they also extended further from the port into the city and its hinterland. Building on Brian Hoyle’s investigation of the relationships among ports and cities (Hoyle 1989), I argue that ports, port sector (waterfront), city, and port city support structures (which may be located in other cities) are interconnected (Hein 2011). How any of the shipping



Figure 3: Map of Hamburg showing the integration of trade into the core of the city, 1588

requirements are filled beyond the port, depends on a broad range of local conditions, actors, and institutions as well as on larger networks formed by traders and trade groups, diasporas, religious congregations, or ethnic groups. Historical views of Amsterdam, Venice, and Hamburg, such as those by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1572 and 1588), show smaller ships and barges bringing goods directly to city buildings (Fig. 3). In these buildings, in contrast to the warehouse districts, we usually see builders' attempts to fit into local contexts historically and today; only flags and signs signal the larger global networks of funding and function. The Hamburg-based shipping company Hapag-Lloyd, for example, has a longstanding and far-flung network of regional headquarters, ranging from a neo-historic building in Tsingtao, China (1867) to a modern company headquarters in Tokyo. The company also had offices at the Bourse in Philadelphia (as of 1912). Erected as the city's commercial exchange in 1895, the structure's function was possibly modelled on the Hamburg exchange, its skyscraper-like appearance, however, was very different from the low-rise original (Taylor and Schoff 1912) (Fig. 4 and 5).

To demonstrate how ports and waterfronts have been literally shaped by the port function and the necessary commonalities of trade and shipping networks and how global and local interaction plays out concretely in the built environment, this contribution examines Philadelphia, London, and

Tokyo, three port cities (or ports, waterfronts, and cities) that are very different from each other and that have seen very different development patterns for their harbours and waterfronts. It also weaves in some other examples from around the world. Philadelphia's original design between two rivers reflected colonial interests in connecting the American interior to the east coast and to Europe, but by the mid-20th century, the city had to give up its leading maritime status in favour of the New York/New Jersey port and its waterfront has seen little redevelopment. London is a millennial city transforming in tune with the changing needs of its port. The construction and reconstruction of port facilities along the Thames River has been a major drive of the city's urban development and the transformation of the Docklands has drawn attention worldwide. Tokyo's history as a global port went hand in hand with the presence of foreigners in Japan; and in the greater metropolitan Tokyo area, we can observe the improvement and development of a modern port in parallel with the redevelopment of old waterfront areas.

Port functions were a key aspect of the design of Philadelphia, but here people created a new city in response to port activities. When Thomas Holme, surveyor general for William Penn, the proprietor and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, arrived in America in June 1682 to lay out a "large town or new city" (1774), he emphasized the importance of rivers and ports for maritime trade in the selection

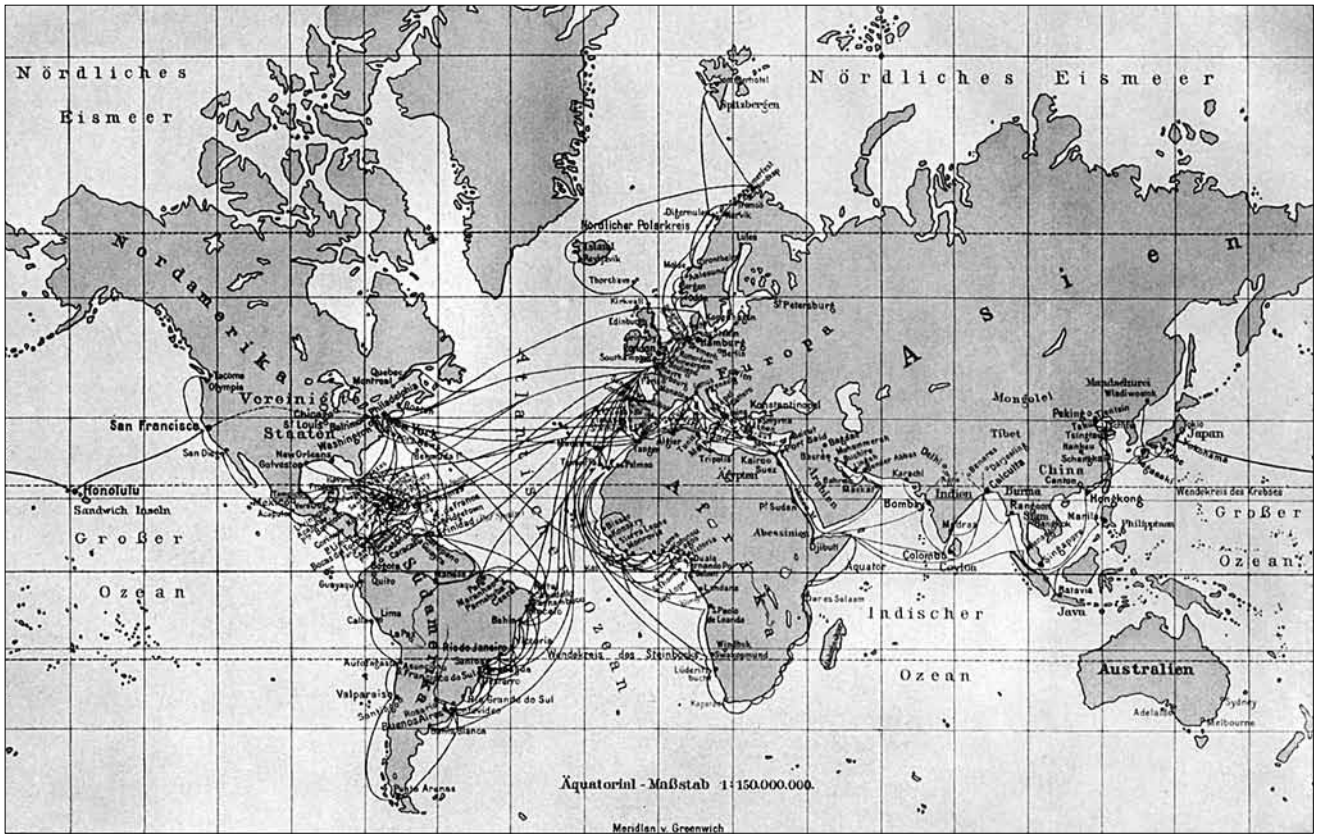


Figure 4: The global network of the shipping lines of Hapag/Hamburg-America Line (1914)

Figure 5: Philadelphia Bourse



of the site and the city plan (Fig. 6). He modelled the city “between two navigable rivers, upon a neck of land,” providing access to ocean-going ships on the Delaware River and inland ships on the smaller Schuylkill River. In the city charter, Penn himself emphasized the waterfront as public space. Holme, taking into account the financial means and functional needs of the future proprietors, specified the sizes of the lots near the waterfront, creating a landscape of warehouses, wharves, shops, factories and homes mediating between the sea and the city center. But despite Penn and Holmes’ careful design, as people settled in the newly laid-out city, they followed their own needs and interests. Ship-related commerce and craftsmen, through individual actions and investments, created a several-block district of commercial, industrial, wholesale, and financial activities. The western side of Penn’s projected city remained largely undeveloped, as documented in the map by A. P. Folie of 1794, until the later nineteenth century (Fig. 7).

The Philadelphia waterfront itself was originally built without a central governing authority. Private interests built the piers and waterfronts and established its reputation and its key role in the region’s economic growth. In the 19th and early 20th century, various public entities took control of waterfront organization, building municipally owned piers and warehouses near the private businesses, among them the Municipal Pier at Vine Street (Fig. 8). The port of Philadelphia thrived as part of global networks into the 20th century, with factories, warehouses and other industries proliferating near the waterfront. By 1912, Philadelphia could point to a range of improvements such as new permanent piers

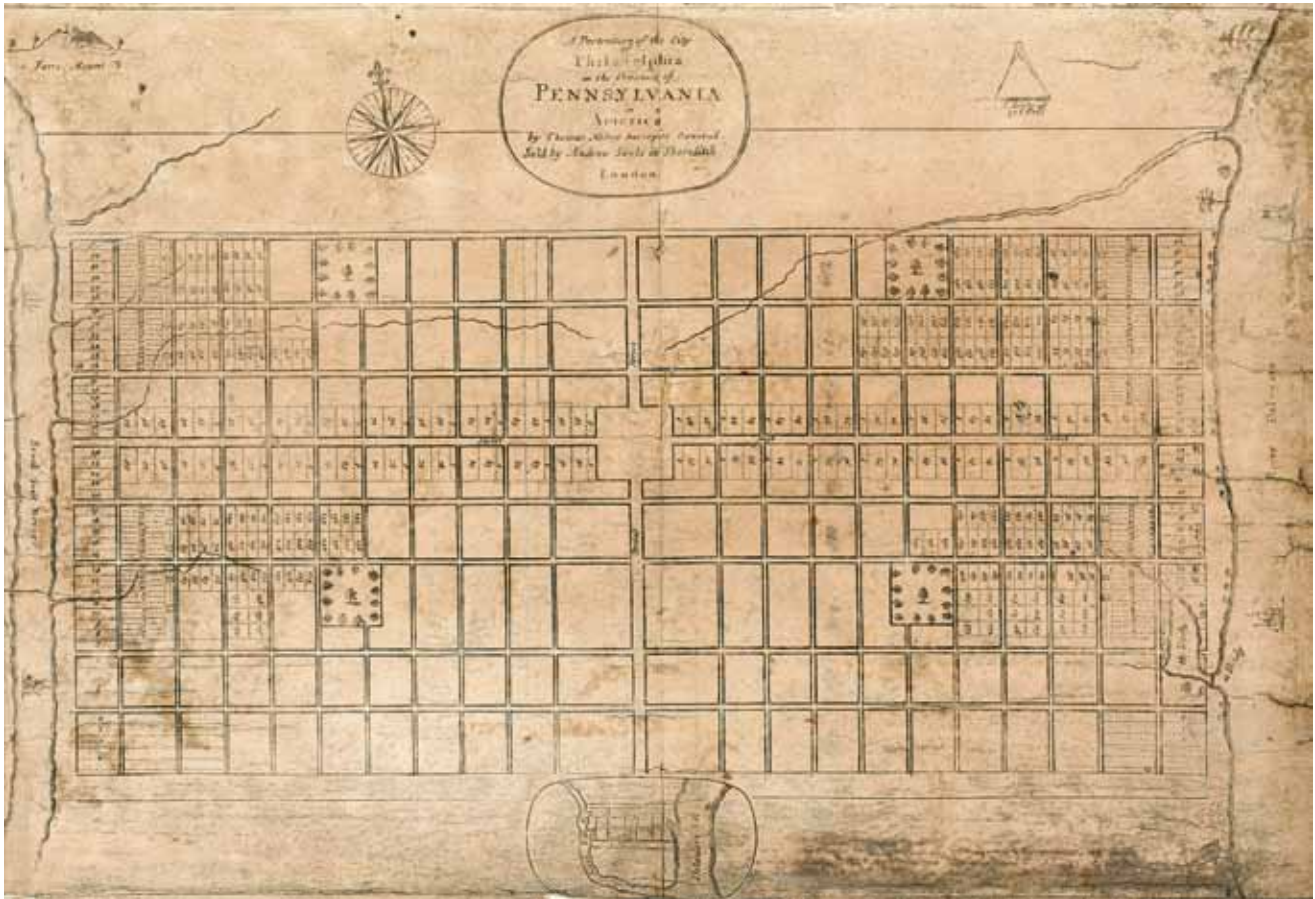
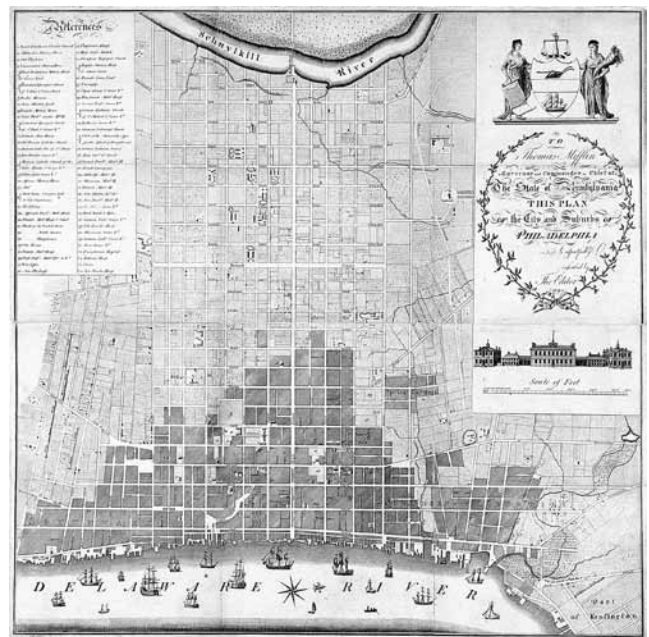


Figure 6: Thomas Holme, *Plan of Philadelphia*, 1683

(started in 1907) and also to new plans addressing maritime problems particular to her situation. Philadelphia and New Jersey now had thirty-eight miles of shipping frontage, with hundreds of acres still available for the construction of factories along the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. However, by this time, Philadelphia had already lost its role as a major passenger port to New York, and extensive dredging of the river would become necessary for the port to host bigger ships and rival the ports of Boston, Baltimore or New York.

London is as an example of a city where government and trading companies worked together to build networks and influence the form of port cities around the world. British ships linked the port and city of London with seaports from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean up to the earliest 20th century. Multiple layers of the urban environment in London, as well as in other port cities of the British Empire, register the growth (and decay) of the Empire and its trading connections. The close connection between public interests and private investments appears notably in the workings of the East India Company. Founded in 1600 by a group of merchants, the company had monopoly privileges over British trade with the East Indies. Its impressive neo-classical London headquarters, located on Leadenhall Street in the City of London, seen here in 1817 (Fig. 9), demonstrate the importance of the company in the British capital as well as the office's key function in the larger network of the company. The East India Company developed numer-

Figure 7: A. P. Folie, and R. Scot, *Plan of the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia*, 1794



ous trading ports: the three towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, for example, served as military and economic bases for trade with the home country and expansion inland. Calcutta had special connections to the metropolis, as it was



Figure 8: New Municipal Pier at Vine Street, Shore Front



Figure 9: East India House in Leadenhall Street, London as drawn by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, 1817



Figure 10: Esplanade Row and the Council House, Thomas Daniell, 1788

the administrative seat of the company starting in 1773 as well as the capital of British India (Fig. 10). Its two-square-mile esplanade, known as Maidan, displayed numerous neoclassical buildings such as the government house, the courthouse, and the post office, as well as other administra-

tive, residential, and leisure institutions (Kosambi and Brush 1988).

As early as 1802, British trading companies sailing between London and the West Indies obtained permission to build a new harbour complex on the Isle of Dogs outside London. The new complex was surrounded by warehouses, fences, and canals and enclosed by docks; it provided a secure environment for transferring goods from large ships to land. New steamships also required different facilities, forcing harbours around the world to rebuild wharves (which had to change in both form and size), equipment to load and unload the ships, and service and storage facilities for fuel. The sheer number of steamships brought about yet another round of transformations: by 1830, the new Brunswick Wharf provided a place where they no longer had to wait for the tide to enter the dock, but could cast off under their own power (Fig. 11). Other new docks included the Royal Albert Dock (1880), which served steamboat lines trading in the southern hemisphere. London integrated port and city; docks and wharves became the heart of economic development. Their construction was studied and imitated around the world. Glasgow, Edinburgh, Southampton, and other cities around the world adopted docks for their harbours.

Shipping networks have regularly adapted to port facilities as well as trade patterns and the cities within the network show these changes. As Western trade interests helped open numerous Asian ports, their waterfronts registered the foreign presence. This was particularly evident in Canton, where Westerners trading and interacting with and within China (known as *factors*) formed a dense urban neighborhood called Thirteen Factories (residences of the factors). The buildings here, originally of Chinese construction, acquired classical Western facades in the eighteenth century while still featuring Chinese interior spaces. Western influences in these Chinese cities were limited to the vicinity of the port (with the exception of German-planned Tsingtau); local architecture and urban form characterized most of the remaining city (Farris 2011). The opening of Japan to global trade, in the mid 19th century, sparked the construction of port facilities in several Japanese cities (including Yokohama and Kobe), as well as of new headquarters, leisure facilities, and residences for traders throughout their urban areas. The Japanese government set up a new town of shipping and trading facilities for foreigners and its own citizens in Yokohama. Foreigners here numbered only about two hundred in the 1860s (with the biggest contingent being British). Their warehouses and residences were located behind walls in the east, while the smaller buildings in the west housed the Japanese commercial district. (The road between them led to the entertainment quarter) (Fig. 12). The new town had a functional layout and the architectural design was limited to necessities, as Sir Ernest Satow (1843–1929) observed: “Architectural ambition at first was contented with simple wooden bungalows, and in the latter part of 1862 there were not more than a dozen two-storied buildings in the foreign portion of the town.” (MIT Visualizing Cultures Image Database 2005) Nonetheless the new foreign influence is visible in details like the stair leading to the second floor, a feature that was not typical for traditional Japanese buildings. The larger architectural networks are equally evident in the later

construction of the red brick warehouses by the Japanese architect Yorinaka Tsumaki in 1911 (current Building no. 2) and 1913 (current building no. 1) that were used as custom houses (Fig. 13): in material and design they matched the warehouses of Europe.

The construction of the first railroad in Japan, in 1872, connected the Yokohama waterfront with the heart of Tokyo, the capital and Japan’s main port city. Tokyo had been the location of foreign-inspired structures since the Meiji Restoration in 1868 (Fig. 14). After a major fire, also in 1872, the new railroad station at Shimbashi became the starting point for a new thoroughfare. The Tokyo governor had decided that reconstruction in the Ginza area should set an example of fireproof residential construction and demonstrate that Tokyo was a major capital on par with the great metropolises of the west. The result was an avenue with brick buildings, a unified streetscape, and the separation of traffic. Media, including woodprints, showcased the avenue as a symbol of the new Tokyo. Headquarters of trading companies originally located at the Yokohama waterfront, moved to more central locations in Tokyo in the following years. The Mitsubishi company – established in 1870 as a shipping firm and rapidly diversified to include coal-mining, ship-building, marine insurance, etc. – bought a great deal of land that had fallen empty and used it to start Japan’s first business district, the Marunouchi district (Hein 2010).

The company quickly sited other buildings across Tokyo as well, from production sites to headquarters and housing. The architect of key public and private Mitsubishi buildings was the British Josiah Conder, who had designed numerous buildings associated with the new Meiji government, such as the Rokumeikan hall, where the Meiji-era elite gathered for grand balls in Western style, and a museum in Ueno affiliated with the Ministry of Works. As advisor to Mitsubishi, Conder notably designed the Mitsubishi headquarters, a complex of three-story red brick buildings with steep roofs that resembled London office buildings, including Mitsubishi No. 1 Building (1894) (Fig. 15). The Mitsubishi chairmen also invited Conder to design their villas. In fact, Conder designed the Fukagawa mansion of the second Mitsubishi chairman, Yanosuke Iwasaki, the first truly European-style home in Japan. He also designed the Kaitokaku, a palatial hilltop villa in Tokyo used for special events. We thus see the creation of a group of buildings that are linked through a company’s public and private ventures and architect. We also see that the administration of shipping has moved away from the waterfront into the main business areas.

Ports and port cities have long been military targets, and in World War II ports in Europe and Japan suffered extensive destruction, losing population as well as port infrastructure and experiencing extensive damage to the urban centre. Many of these ports had already suffered greatly from the decline in world trade due to the Great Depression (Clark 2009). The ports of Yokohama and Tokyo, which had just been rebuilt and improved with government support after massive destruction in the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, were again largely destroyed. After the war, the American military took over the Japanese ports and it was not until 1951 that the Harbour Law gave control of the ports back to local governments. By 1950, most of the destroyed cities

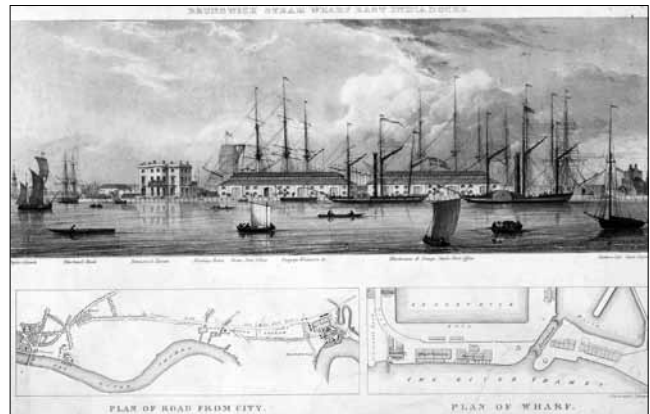


Figure 11: London, Brunswick Steam Wharf, c. 1860. (Brunswick Steam Wharf, c. 1860)



Figure 12: Sadahide, Yokohama Honcho, 1860



Figure 13: Red Brick Warehouses Yokohama

had rebuilt and were growing again. The ports of Tokyo Bay developed rapidly as part of the capital’s national post-war growth. Tokyo opened the Shinagawa container terminal in 1967 and continued to expand it.

Throughout the 20th century and particularly in the post-Second World War period, ports worldwide responded quickly to ongoing transformations in manufacturing and shipping. Starting in the 1960s, the port and city began to grow apart physically. From the late 1960s to the late 1970s, ship sizes increased, passing the barrier of 50 000 tons gross (Hayuth 1982). Few ports were able to handle oil and bulk carriers of that size in the existing terminals, so new ones were developed on the outskirts. Ports and cities in all parts

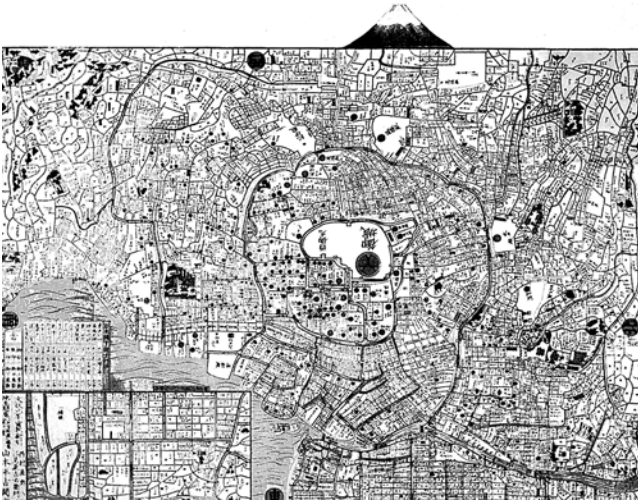


Figure 14: *The spatial structure of Edo in 1818*



Figure 15: *The Marunouchi brick district Little London*

of the world faced pressure from changing global systems and new local production patterns. New ports emerged, notably in China as more and more goods began to originate there; indeed, since the 1970s, Chinese leaders have emphasized the growth of ports. In Hong Kong, the quasi-governmental Trade Development Council (TDC) established a global position for its port through aggressive and innovative marketing despite political, economic, and geographic adversities (Yiu 2011).

Most importantly, containerization led to wholesale restructuring of shipping networks, trade patterns, port facilities, port city hierarchies, and urban form. Containerization pushed cities to construct port-specific industrial areas, in the short term shrinking the workforce and in the longer run abandoning warehouses and other structures that no longer met the evolving needs of the port. This period is also characterized by the construction of new port facilities: Dubai, for example, constructed the Jebel Ali port in the 1970s to compete with neighbouring emirates and to secure oil profits; more recently, Shanghai built the Yangshan deep water port, a new container terminal on a man-made area between two islands off the Shanghai shore, and a connected new satellite city of 800 000 people, Lingang New City (designed by Von Gerkan, Marg and Partners). At the same time, this

period was also characterized by the redevelopment of old port areas.

Numerous ports lost their former standing and experienced high levels of unemployment. In Europe, port cities in the later 20th century suffered the highest level of economic contraction of all urban centres. However there were some winners and new leaders, such as Rotterdam, in the competition between ports. Perhaps one of the best examples of the effect of the relocation of cargo facilities is the rapid development of the Port of Oakland, which offered wide berthing facilities and good access to transportation, and the concomitant decline of the Port of San Francisco, which was limited by its existing finger piers and topography. In general, as port activities withdrew from the waterfront and the port and city separated (as summarized by Hoyle), large-scale port-related redevelopment continued throughout cities, sometimes hidden and sometimes more evident. For example, companies constructed new large headquarter buildings throughout urban areas, and cities built new rail and road infrastructure to the hinterland. These changes signalled the beginning of a new globalized era in shipping that would take a less clearly identifiable local form.

In the three cities, Philadelphia, London, and Tokyo, that this chapter has concentrated on, we see extensive changes in the built environment as a result of the transformation of shipping. Even though the port was essential to the design of Philadelphia, the city's shipping industry started to decline in the late nineteenth century and the business community moved away from the riverfront; by the mid-1950s, the shipping industry had largely abandoned the city (McGovern 2008). In response, planners and policy-makers introduced a north-south urban highway, Interstate I-95, separating the river from the centre city. On landfill along the Delaware River, they also created a waterfront area called Penn's Landing; it has since been the focus of multiple visions for waterfront revitalization, only small parts of which have been completed. Despite interventions by internationally successful developers such as Rouse & Associates (headed by the Philadelphia-based Willard Rouse III, nephew of James Rouse, Baltimore's waterfront developer), world-famous architects including Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown (Venturi 2003), and most recently a civic initiative led by Penn Praxis, Philadelphia has not joined the global movement for waterfront revitalization. Penn's Landing still awaits development.

London has managed to juggle both aspects of current port developments, waterfront redevelopment on the one hand and port development on the other. The London Docklands, inspired by renewal projects in Baltimore and Boston, has since become a model for redevelopment for mostly office use. London is also currently building a new deep-water terminal, London Gateway, in Thurrock, Essex. The new deep-water port will be able to handle large container ships, provide a logistics park and road and rail infrastructure to London and Great Britain as a whole. Construction on the former Shell oil refinery site of 1 500 acres started in 2010 and is done by DP World, a large maritime terminal operator.

In contrast, Tokyo's metropolitan region demonstrates an intriguing pattern of collaboration and competition among its multiple ports and waterfronts. The ports of Tokyo, Yoko-

hama, and Chiba – are part of a single metropolitan area – are among the leading ports, with Tokyo being number 26 in terms of container shipping, whereas Chiba and Yokohama rank numbers 18 and 25 in terms of cargo handling. While the three ports are jointly contributing to the economic predominance of the global metropolis Tokyo, their respective waterfront developments have been designed to highlight the different and local particularities of each place. In the Tokyo Bay, Yokohama developed the first comprehensive plan for redevelopment in 1965. On 186 hectares of former industrial land (including a Mitsubishi site), the 1981 master plan projected Minato Mirai (Port of the Future), a new development including housing and a multitude of business, commerce, and culture functions. The Landmark Tower, the Convention Centre, and the Clock 21 Ferris Wheel, as well as the traditional red-brick restored warehouse district and the nearby Chinatown, have made the district a tourist attraction. The new port district resulted from close collaboration between national and local governments as well as investors. Chiba came to host infrastructures that were too big for the capital, such as Narita International airport, and other large-scale developments, including Tokyo Disneyland. Tokyo developed its waterfront to showcase the global character of Japan's capital through landmark projects by internationally recognized architects, including the influential Modernist Tange Kenzo.

While Philadelphia's port (as well as its waterfront development) could not live up to the competition of the New York/New Jersey port or the Baltimore waterfront redevelopment, the port economy remains essential to the present and future of London and Tokyo. Both cities are constantly striving to improve their harbours, though expansions might destroy environmentally sensitive areas, and to develop other port-related functions. Despite the physical detachment of port and city, the city and port authority in London and in the Tokyo Metropolitan area are eagerly constructing and imagining visible and invisible, tangible and virtual relationships between their working port and the city. Meanwhile new ports are rising in other areas of the world: Dubai, Shanghai, and Singapore all have built new ports in the last several decades.

Throughout history, port and city have been closely inter-related in political, economic, and social structures as well as in the built environment. That relationship between port and city has changed dramatically over time, as these examples illustrate, but as of global cargo ship movements, maritime transport continues to be a major element of globalization.

Abstract

Hafenstadträume: Stadt- und Hafententwicklung im globalen Kontext

Hafenstädte haben eine lange Geschichte als Orte, über die wirtschaftlicher Austausch erfolgt und Menschen und Güter sowie bauliche und städtische Gestalt transportiert werden. Sie sind zwar nicht durch ein(e) einzelne(s) Form, Muster oder Dynamik charakterisiert, weisen aber gemeinsame

Wesenszüge auf, in denen sie einander auch über große Entfernungen hinweg spiegeln. Als Ergebnis des zwischen den Hafenstädten erfolgenden Austauschs sind bestimmte Elemente ihres jeweiligen urbanen Umfelds über eine Reihe von Faktoren verbunden. Zu diesen Faktoren zählen Finanzierung und Technologie sowie Stil, Konzept und Baumaterial. Wenngleich Häfen durch die dem Handel eigenen Gesetzmäßigkeiten in ähnlicher Weise geformt werden, sei, so argumentiert Prof. Dr. Hein, die Art und Weise, wie die verschiedenen Anforderungen im Hafenviertel – der Schnittstelle zwischen dem eigentlichen Hafen und der Stadt – und im Stadtgebiet mit seinen vielfältigen lokalen Bedürfnissen erfüllt werden, jedoch von einem breiten Spektrum lokaler Bedingungen, Akteure und Institutionen abhängig. So unterschiedliche Städte wie London, Philadelphia und Tokio haben sich allesamt in Abhängigkeit von ihrer Hafenfunktion entwickelt. Während in London zu beobachten ist, wie sich weltumspannende Handelsverbindungen in dem Londoner Hafen niederschlagen, wie alte Hafenräume (Docklands) umgestaltet werden, und wie sich die Hafenfunktionen an neue Bedürfnisse anpassen, steht Philadelphia beispielhaft für eine Stadt, die praktisch um die Schifffahrt herum erbaut wurde, die sich aber seit Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts vom Hafen und vom Hafenrand abgewandt hat. Am Großraum Tokio wiederum lässt sich das Vordringen von hafenrelevanten Funktionen in das Stadtzentrum nachvollziehen, sowie die Entstehung drei separater Hafen- und Hafenrandräume in der selben Bucht. Seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts haben die Veränderungen in Transport und Schifffahrt – insbesondere der Einsatz von Containern – auch zu einem Wandel der städtebaulichen Gestalt geführt. Der Bau neuer großer Häfen, z. B. in Dubai oder Shanghai, sowie die Sanierung und Neugestaltung aufgegebenen Hafengebiete wie in Baltimore oder Melbourne verdeutlichen beispielhaft die sich stetig verändernde Beziehung zwischen Hafen und Stadt.

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