

## INTRODUCTION

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Bibliographical examination of the printed maps of this country can be said to have begun about the year 1900, when Sir H. G. Fordham commenced his investigations of the production of cartographical works, i.e., road-books, atlases and county maps. Before then there had been no critical assessment of the relative merits of the work of either surveyors, engravers, or publishers, who had for over three hundred years been attempting to keep pace with the demand for more exact geographical information of the country. Until this was done it was impossible to trace the evolution of the map, to distinguish original work from mere plagiarism, or to reach any certainty of the completeness of any collection of maps.

Actually, there have been two streams. (1) The one began with an attempt to guide the traveller, if only by a list of towns through which he must pass on his journey. These towns might then be strung on a line (the road) without much sense of direction, and so we get an itinerary (with or without an outline) and a long succession of road-books, all showing the original purpose. (2) The earliest maps (certainly the few medieval maps of this country that have survived) all display this same purpose, but aim at something more—a representation of the material features, the coast-line, rivers and mountains—that is more difficult of attainment.

Naturally the Renaissance, coupled with the invention of the arts of printing and of engraving on copper and wood, brought Ptolemy's geographical works to the front; and the first printed maps of England were copied from one or other of the manuscripts which preserved Ptolemy's work of the second century. Italy led the way in the fifteenth century, and the Dutch school of cartographers arose in the middle of the sixteenth. Saxton very shortly afterwards founded the English school and by his example (indirectly through Speed) made the county the unit of English cartography. From Elizabeth to Victoria the map of England was coloured according to counties, and atlases were assemblies of county maps.

So of necessity the bibliographical review of English maps initiated by Sir H. G. Fordham has been moulded upon a county frame, and catalogues have been published by the Archaeological Societies of their respective counties. Sir H. G. Fordham's contributions were: *Hertfordshire Maps: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County, 1579-1900*, published in the *Transactions* of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club, 1901-7, and re-issued as a separate publication in 1907; *Cambridgeshire Maps: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County . . . 1579-1900*, published in the *Proceedings*

of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1905-8, also re-issued as a separate work in 1908; and a *Supplement to the Hertfordshire Maps*, which appeared in the *Transactions* of Hertfordshire Natural History Society, Vol. XV, Part 2, March, 1914.

In 1907, William Harrison contributed to the *Transactions* of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Vol. XXV, a paper on the *Early Maps of Lancashire and their Makers*; and in 1908, to the same society (Vol. XXVI) a similar one on the *Early Maps of Cheshire*. Harrison's valuable pioneer work however was only carried down to 1800, and as it was done so long ago, the advance of cartographical knowledge justified and required revised lists of the maps of those counties.

Most credit for this advance is due to the critical work of the late Thomas Chubb, who with the resources of the Map Room at the British Museum at his command, produced an admirable series of catalogues of county maps. These include Wiltshire in 1911, Gloucestershire 1913, Somerset 1914 and Norfolk 1928, the first three being published by the Archaeological Societies of the respective counties. The crowning achievement of Chubb's is his independent work *The Printed Maps in the Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland, 1579-1870*, published in 1927. This is the librarian's indispensable *vade-mecum* in matters of British cartography.

The only northern counties whose maps have been catalogued on a similar scale are Cumberland and Westmorland by the late John F. Curwen, F.S.A. (*The Chorography, or a Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Maps of Cumberland and Westmorland*, published in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, N.S. XVIII, 1918), Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. For the latter three I was responsible. *A Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Yorkshire and its Ridings, 1577-1900*, was published in 1933 by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, as Vol. LXXXVI of its *Record Series*; *A Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Lancashire, 1577-1900*, was published by the Chetham Society in 1938 as Vol. 101—New Series, of its publication, *Remains Historical and Literary*; and *A Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Cheshire, 1577-1900*, also published by the Chetham Society, appeared in 1942 as Vol. 106—New Series. I now have the pleasure of seeing a companion volume on the maps of Northamptonshire published under the auspices of the Northamptonshire Record Society.

Until nearly the middle of the sixteenth century the only printed maps of England or the British Isles were still based on Ptolemy, though actually a much more comprehensive manuscript map (by an anonymous draughtsman) has existed since about 1330. It is now in the Gough Collection at the Bodleian Library and is generally designated the "Bodleian Map." A facsimile of this was prepared by the Ordnance Survey in 1870 and from it, in 1875, a reduced scale copy was photozincographed (and coloured like the original) for use as Plate II in *National MSS of Scotland, Part III*. In 1935 the whole full-size facsimile was re-issued by the Ordnance Survey uncoloured, but overprinted in red with the names transcribed into modern characters.

Considerable advance is shown in an engraved map of the British Isles which was produced by George Lily and published in 1546 at Rome,

where Lily had lived for some years with Cardinal Pole. The scale is equal to about 30 statute miles to an inch. The whole of this map was reproduced (to about half-scale) by the British Museum in 1928, as Plate II of *Six Early Printed Maps*. Messrs. Francis Edwards, however, shortly afterwards acquired a hitherto unknown and exceptionally clean copy of this scarce map, and very kindly allowed me to have a block made, also at about half the original scale, of a portion for inclusion in my volume on Yorkshire maps. I also included this reproduction in the Lancashire volume. The initials "G.L.A." (Georgius Lilius Anglus) may be seen incorporated with a device like a fleur-de-lis in the top right-hand corner of my reproduction but are very much obscured in the British Museum's reproduction.

Mercator's map of the British Isles (1564) was more elaborate, measuring  $50\frac{3}{4}$  x 35 ins. and drawn to a scale of about 14 "English" miles to the inch. It was engraved and printed by Mercator, who disclosed that the original was supplied by an Englishman, of whose identity we know nothing. Two copies were known to exist before the second World War, namely at the Stadtbibliothek, Breslau, and at the University Library of Rome (Biblioteca Alessandrina). I know nothing of their present whereabouts.

The map drawn by Humfrey Lhuyd of Denbigh, shortly before his death in 1568, has been described as the first modern map of England and Wales (as distinct from the British Isles). It was published in Antwerp by Ortelius in his *Additamentum Theatri Orbis Terrarum*, 1573. Lhuyd was a private physician to Lord Arundel, and an ardent geographer and historian.

County cartography really begins with the surveys of Christopher Saxton of Dunningley near Leeds, of whom Sir H. G. Fordham wrote at length in the Thoresby Society's *Miscellanea*, Vol. 28. Saxton conducted the first definite survey of England and Wales and produced an exceedingly creditable set of county maps. These were on thirty-five plates, variously dated from 1574 to 1579. There is one general map of England and Wales; twenty-four are maps of single counties; six are of pairs of counties, viz.:—Warwick with Leicester, Lincoln with Notts., Westmorland with Cumberland, Montgomery with Merioneth, Denbigh with Flint, and Anglesey with Carnarvon; one of three, Oxford, Berkshire and Buckingham; two containing four each, Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Middlesex, and Radnor, Brecknock, Cardigan and Caermarthen; and one of five, Northampton, Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon and Rutland respectively. Why the counties received such diversified treatment, I do not know, but it has been suggested that Saxton gave the greatest prominence to those counties wherein he received the greatest number of orders for his maps. The map containing Northamptonshire formed the basis of all succeeding maps of this county for practically two hundred years. The British Museum has issued facsimiles (in colour) of the whole of Saxton's county maps. The colouring of the originals was, of course done by hand, and would be in accordance with the price paid for them at the time. The hills as shown by Saxton had little pretence to accuracy; he did, however, aim at accuracy with the towns, villages, rivers and a few bridges. Roads were not to appear on a map of Northamptonshire for another century, until after the survey of John Ogilby. Whilst compiling *Maps*

of Lancashire I devoted considerable time to tracing the various editions of Saxton's county maps, and was interested to learn that the plates for Lancashire, the Northamptonshire group and a number of other counties were prepared for a fresh edition in 1665, a scheme which seems to have been thwarted by the Plague or the Great Fire of London, or both. I was further surprised to discover that Philip Lea issued the Lancashire map in four distinct states, when I expected not more than two. I do not think that he would have issued more than three of the Northamptonshire group. The greatest surprise of all at that time, however, was to learn that Thomas Jefferys re-issued the Saxton atlas about 1749. That was ten years or so ago. I now possess a copy of the Saxton atlas which must have been issued by Dicey & Co. about 1770, nearly two hundred years after the original issue.

In 1593 and 1598 an ambitious work was begun when John Norden issued the first and second parts, Middlesex and Hertfordshire respectively, of *Speculum Britannia*, which was to have been a series of comprehensive county descriptions accompanied by new and improved county maps showing hundreds, roads, and many other details not previously shown. For the want of adequate financial and official support, of which Norden bitterly complained, this venture was not a success. There is even considerable obscurity as to how far the work did actually progress. So far as I know, the descriptions and maps of Cornwall, Northamptonshire and Essex remained in the manuscript state until the eighteenth century, when the map of Cornwall and the county descriptions of Cornwall and Northamptonshire were published. This was followed in 1840 when the Camden Society published the description and map of Essex. I have not seen the Cornwall work, but the description of Northamptonshire published in 1720 purported to print a work dated 1610, which nevertheless in several places refers to Queen Elizabeth as though she were still alive. Gough in *British Topography* stated "This is the most superficial of all master Norden's surveys . . . nor were the map, and plans of Peterborough and Northampton referred to in it ever engraved."

This remained a mystery until about 1940, when Dr. Goblet of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris announced the discovery (No. 58), in their collection of English manuscripts, of a description and map of Northamptonshire entitled *Speculum Northamtoniæ*, signed J. Norden and dated 1591. Dr. Lynam of the Map Room of the British Museum has, since the war, had photostatic copies made of this manuscript with its map of the county. The plans of Peterborough and Northampton mentioned in the printed version of 1720 however do not exist in this copy. It has been suggested that Norden did this description of Northamptonshire for Lord Burghley and that it in turn gave him the idea of compiling the general series, which however he provided with improved maps. As this is such an interesting item to the Northamptonshire Record Society, I wished to have a reproduction of this map of the county as one of the illustrations of this work, but as the original is evidently highly coloured, the photostat is not suitable for the purpose of making a line block. I therefore instructed the Photographic Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale to photograph it through a multicoloured screen on to a panchromatic plate, in the attempt to eliminate the offending colours, but the resulting photograph, although

considerably clearer than the photostat, was still not suitable for the preparation of a line block. We have therefore had it reproduced in Collotype. The size of the map is  $5\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  ins., being approximately only half the scale of Saxton's map. It is ruled with 2 mile squares. Roads, hundreds, and other details are not shown, which doubtless explains Gough's dissatisfaction with the map. He would naturally expect a map reputed to be of 1610 to be at least equal to that of Middlesex, dated 1593, whereas it compares most unfavourably with it. Norden's map of Middlesex was actually the first map of an English county on which roads were shown. His maps of Surrey and Sussex are dated 1594 and 1596 respectively. They are particularly scarce and in fact were not definitely known to have existed until the Royal Geographical Society obtained copies of them in 1919 and 1923 respectively. In 1928 the British Museum also acquired a copy of the map of Surrey but it is of a somewhat later date, the Royal Arms having the Lion and Unicorn supporters. The Sussex map however departs from Norden's usual practice and does not show roads. Norden's map of Hampshire is still only known through its reprints by P. Stent or J. Overton, whose imprints replace the original imprint which probably contained the date. Finally, according to Gough's *British Topography* the following note occurred in the Kent chapter "Norden made a survey of this county, still in MS." It is not known now.

Twelve only, were completed of another series of county maps, by an anonymous cartographer (see No. 7). Two of these, Leicester with Rutland, and Warwickshire were dated 1602 and 1603 respectively and that of Northamptonshire was obviously engraved before Queen Elizabeth's death, but, except that they were engraved in Amsterdam by Jodocus Hondius, we are quite in the dark as to their origin. It is interesting to note that where this series included the map of a county on which Norden had shown roads, Essex (which was still in MS.), Hertfordshire and Surrey, this also showed roads.

The next English topographer to produce county maps was William Camden, whose publishers supplied a complete set in the 1607 edition of the *Britannia*. He disclaimed originality for them, saying that they were due to the labours of Saxton and Norden, "most skilfull chorographers." Roads shown by Norden were not repeated by Camden. Actually the map of Northamptonshire was copied from the anonymous map (see No. 11).

From 1606 Speed issued county maps, which in 1612 (see No. 23) were published collectively as the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, i.e., the chorographical portion of his *Historie of Great Britaine*, being Books I to IV of that work. The map of Northamptonshire was "Performed" (whatever that may imply) by John Speed, and engraved by Jodocus Hondius. This famous series is receiving the attention it has long deserved and we may expect to learn quite a lot about it when a work now (1948) being compiled by Dr. Eric Gardner, of Weybridge, is completed. The *Theatre* was exceedingly popular and went through many editions. Its maps became the most famous of our early county maps, nevertheless they were copied in most of their geographical details from Saxton (or from Norden and the anonymous cartographer of 1602-3 where their material was available). Speed's main cartographical contribution was to add (to all but the northernmost four of those county

maps not previously showing this feature) the boundaries and names of the hundreds, together with large-scale plans of the county towns. He also decorated his maps with coats of arms, which were later copied by the great rival Dutch publishers Bleau and Jansson.

A crack which developed in the engraved plate for the map of Northamptonshire enabled me to place in their respective order, three editions of *England Wales Scotland and Ireland described and abridged* . . . (more often known as the Miniature Speed), all of which used an engraved title-page dated 1627. Incidentally this also served to prove that a copy, in the British Museum, with an incomplete title-page and for which the date 1620 had been assumed (Chubb, XI), was in reality one of the second edition to use the 1627 title-page, and probably issued about 1631. The edition numbered XII by Chubb is the original 1627 edition.

The county maps of Blaeu and Jansson were certainly most decorative but as their map detail was admittedly derived from Speed, they mark no advance in geographical knowledge. Notwithstanding that, they are valued as examples of the superb engraving of the Dutch school of three centuries ago.

The next work in any way comparable in importance with that of Saxton was the survey of the roads by John Ogilby, the results of which he published in 1675 under the title of *Britannia, Volume the First*. This road-book has to be excluded from a list of county maps, but at the same time its influence upon their development was paramount and permanent. One feature of importance is particularly worthy of mention, viz., Ogilby's adoption of the statute mile of 1,760 yards, in place of the variable but considerably longer "English" or "Customary" mile hitherto used. Ogilby's roads through Northamptonshire were first shown in full on Philip Lea's reprint of Saxton's map in 1693 (No. 142).

About 1680 John Seller advertised his intention of re-surveying the whole of the counties of England and he actually published new maps of Buckingham, Hertford, Middlesex, Oxford and Surrey. The engraved plates for these were later acquired by Philip Lea, who used them instead of Saxton's originals in his reprint of Saxton's atlas. Seller was the first to make use of the meridian of London, or, to be more exact, St. Paul's Cathedral. Longitude when previously shown, which had not been often on a county map, was based on an island in the Canaries or Azores. Also about this time Moses Pitt was busy bringing out a great World Atlas (which was to be in eleven volumes), and four volumes were actually published in 1680-3 at Oxford. The maps seem to be nearly entirely those of Jansson, with Pitt's name added to those of Jansson and of his son-in-law Waesberg. The work failed through lack of support before a volume dealing with this country had been issued.

In 1695 Edmund Gibson brought out a new edition of Camden's *Britannia* illustrated with maps by Robert Morden. They are chiefly remarkable for being all based on the meridian of London, thereby continuing the practice begun by Seller. Most of Morden's maps included roads according to Ogilby's survey; omissions, however, were never made good, even though the maps were reprinted as late as 1772.

In 1749 Emanuel Bowen and Thomas Kitchin began an attempt to provide something better in the way of county maps. These were published up to 1752 by John Hinton, and from 1753 by John Tinney.

Three more publishers joined in from 1756 (see No. 221) but the atlas does not seem to have had a title-page until 1760. It was re-issued at various dates until about 1794, the maps being unchanged throughout except for the names in the imprints. The map of Northamptonshire appeared in 1752, and although on a larger scale than any previous map of the county, distinguished itself by introducing an error of longitude and also a distortion of the shape of the county (see No. 211). With all its faults however this map was copied in every succeeding map of the county until Eyre's survey became available in 1779. I have carried the identification of these atlases to a stage further than was done in Chubb's works but the problem is complicated by the fact that there were three different publishers (from 1763 onwards), all of whom had the use of the engraved plates (of the county maps at all events) and all of whom could, and did, carelessly manage their stocks of maps, so that one frequently finds early and late editions of title-pages and maps mixed up in the same volume.

A marked stimulus was given to the production of large-scale county maps by the Society of Arts, who in 1759 announced that: "The Society proposed to give a sum not exceeding £100, as a Gratuity to any Person or Persons, who shall make an accurate actual Survey of any County . . . and if any Person or Persons do propose to make such survey, they are desired to signify their particular Intentions, on or before the second Tuesday in November next, that the Society may not engage in greater expenses than shall be found convenient." Very similar offers of Premiums were repeated in the Society's publication from 1762 to 1765. The first award was of £100, to Benjamin Donn, in respect of his large map of Devonshire, on the scale of one mile to one inch. This was engraved by Thomas Jefferys and was published in 1765. Thomas Jefferys, who with considerable reason may be regarded as our leading eighteenth-century cartographer, is most famous for his maps of North America and the West Indies. He also surveyed and engraved large-scale maps of:—Huntingdonshire 1766, Oxfordshire 1766-7 (the first county map in which the meridian of Greenwich was used), Durham and Westmorland 1768; and from 1767 to 1770 he conducted a survey of Yorkshire which appeared as a twenty-sheet map in 1771-2. He died in 1771, before the publication of the map of Yorkshire was completed, which doubtless explains why such a fine piece of work did not receive the Society of Arts' award. Awards were given as follows:—£100 to P. P. Burdett for his map of Derbyshire of 1767; 50 guineas to Captain Armstrong in 1773, for his map of Northumberland of 1760, and lesser awards later.

The reign of Saxton's survey came to an end in Northamptonshire with the appearance of Thomas Eyre's map (No. 252) in 1779. It was on a scale of one mile to one inch and was a fine piece of work. It was engraved by Thomas Jefferys, who in turn was the most competent English cartographer and surveyor of the eighteenth century. The Eyres (or Eayres as it was often spelt) were a well-known family of bell-founders, in Kettering, members of which were also surveyors and clock-makers. Our Thomas Eyre unfortunately did not survive to see the publication of his map.

Eyre's map in its turn held the field until Greenwood's map, on four sheets, appeared in November, 1826, thereby just beating Bryant's

map of June 1827. This latter was on six sheets and to the scale of 1½ inches to a mile. Both were claimed to be from actual surveys, and were very fine works, comparable in quality with the Ordnance Survey.

Northamptonshire was contained on six sheets of the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps, Nos. XLV, XLVI, LII, LIII, LXIII and LXIV of the original large sheet series respectively. Although No. 64 was actually issued in 1824, the next one, No. 45, did not appear until 1833, being followed by the others in 1834 and 1835.