

LAMBARDE'S "CARDE OF THIS SHYRE."

BY EDWARD G. BOX.

THE subject of this paper is the extremely rare map of Kent which has been lost sight of for a great many years and has only recently been re-discovered.

The conclusions which I hope to establish in regard to it are these:—

This rare map* is (1)—it is probable—Lambarde's map of Kent, the "Carde of this Shyre" mentioned by him in his MS.† of the *Perambulation of Kent*, dated 1570; (2) if so, it dates from 1570; (3) the earliest existing copy of it (which belongs to the Royal Geographical Society) may be as old as 1570; (4) if so, that copy is the earliest printed map of Kent and of any English county; (5) its author is unknown, but whoever he was, he probably either based his map on an unfinished map of Saxton's or, with Saxton,‡ copied an earlier unknown map by an unknown cartographer.

The story of the re-discovery of the rare map.—This map, if it is, as is probable, the "Carde of this Shyre" known to Lambarde when he wrote the *Perambulation*, was in existence in 1570, but from that year was lost sight of§ for more than three centuries, except for a probable allusion to it about 1700|| and a doubtful one fifty years ago.¶ Since 1914 three copies of a map of Kent hitherto unknown have been found one after the other in the short space of a dozen

* For convenience and brevity I refer to the map throughout this paper as the "rare map."

† The MS. is entitled "The firste treatise of the Topographical Dictionarie conteynyng ye description and historie of the Shyre of Kent"; the title *A Perambulation of Kent* was given to the first printed edition of 1576.

‡ Saxton's map of Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex and Kent is dated 1575, and included in his *Atlas of England and Wales* published in 1579.

§ Mr. Hannen, in an article on Symonson's map published in 1914, came to the conclusion that all record of the map referred to by Lambarde had been "completely lost." (*Arch. Cant.*, Vol. XXX., p. 87.)

|| Batteley: *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, 1711, p. 12.

¶ Topley: *Geology of the Weald*, 1875, p. 449.

years, all of which were seen on their discovery to have a peculiar feature which at once suggested that they were copies of the lost map known to Lambarde in 1570.

The first of these three copies was found by the Hon. Henry Hannen, the second about five years ago by the Royal Geographical Society, the third more recently by myself. Mr. Hannen's copy when bought was loose; the R.G.S. copy was inserted in a copy of the first edition of the *Perambulation*, published in 1576; mine was inserted in a copy of the anonymous first edition of Gervase Markham's *The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent*, published in 1625. There is no copy of the rare map in the British Museum, nor, so far as is known, in any other public or private library. Two of the three copies are plain, one (mine) is coloured. The three copies vary slightly in size, but the plate-mark measures about 14½ inches by 8 inches.

These three maps, though copies of the same map and printed from the same engraved copper plate, are not copies of the same issue of the map, but represent three distinct states of the plate. "This," Dr. Cock writes to me, "is perhaps a unique instance of an early map existing only in three known copies in three states." Subsequent to the printing of the R.G.S. copy the plate was amended by the erasure of the word "Saint," part of the words "Lathe of Saint Augustines," and the insertion of the word "Saincte" in another place, and by the addition of the names of Chafford, Winchelsey and Riverhills; later, after my copy had been printed, the plate was once more altered by the addition of the names of Croydon and S. Marget (Margate), and the insertion of roads, and the addition of the words "with the roads" to the title of the map.

Lambarde's reference to a map of Kent.—The passage in his MS.* in which Lambarde refers to a map of Kent is as follows:—

"Maidstone, at whiche place, as I thinke, the name of

* The MS. remained in the possession of Lambarde's descendants till 1924, when it was bought by Messrs. Maggs Bros., the London booksellers, by whose kind permission I copied in facsimile the passage quoted. The MS. has since become, by purchase, the property of the Kent Archaeological Society.

Medwey first beginneth, *the rather*, because it hathe there receaved all his helpes, and *crossing the Shyre, as it were in the midst*, thence *labourith* in one entier chanel* to find owt the sea If I faile in this derivation the faulte for the first parte is his that made the Carde† of this Shyre and the follie is mine that followe him."

The MS. also has a marginal note, "*Whcare the name Medwey begynneth.*"

The words printed in italics are interlineations and additions made by Lambarde himself in the first draft of his MS. The passage quoted without such interlineations and additions reads as follows‡:—

"Maidstone: at which place as I think the name Medwey first beginneth, because it hathe there received all his helpes, and thence in one entier chanel labourith to find owt the sea If I faile in this derivation the faulte is his that made the Carde of this Shyre and the follie is mine that followe him."

This passage as last quoted was part of the original MS. of the *Perambulation* dated 1570. It is therefore certain that in 1570 Lambarde had seen a map of Kent, called by him a "Carde of this Shyre," in which the name of the river Medwey was placed on the map at or below Maidstone. The rare map (and no other early map of Kent) has the name "Medwey" in the position indicated by Lambarde. Therefore it is extremely probable that the rare map is the map referred to by Lambarde in his original MS. of 1570, and dates from 1570 or before. Mr. Hannen and Dr. Cock (well-known authorities on early maps of Kent), and Mr. Edward Heawood, the Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, accept these conclusions.

Batteley's reference to the rare map.—In the three centuries between the reference to the rare map in Lambarde's

* The word "labourith" was inserted here in the original MS., but was struck out by Lambarde and inserted in its present place.

† In the first printed edition of 1576 the word is "Charte" instead of "Carde."

‡ The passage as first quoted is also in the first published edition of 1576, but not in later editions.

Perambulation and its re-discovery, about 1915, only one writer made any reference to it, namely, John Batteley, in his *Antiquitates Rutupinae*.^{*} Batteley, writing before 1708 (the year of his death), refers to a map of Kent which he calls "Lambarde's map," and says:—

"Annon enim in Lambardi tabula geographica id nomen (Northmutha) Wantsumi sive Sturiae ostio septentrionali ascriptum est," adding in a footnote the words "in fine Itinerarii Cantii." Batteley, it would seem, had seen a map of Kent, which he knew as "Lambarde's map," inserted at the end of the *Perambulation*, in which map the name "Northmutha" was given to the northern outlet of the river Wantsum or Stour. Two early maps of Kent only have the name "Northmouthe" in that position, the rare map and Saxton's. The reference can hardly be to Saxton's map of the four counties, and is much more likely to be to the rare map.

Date of the printing of the copies of the rare map.—No one of the three copies bears any date, but all three have water-marks, which have been roughly† dated by Mr. Heawood (who has made a considerable study of water-marks) by comparison with dated examples in M. Briquet's *Les Filigranes* and other examples in Mr. Heawood's own collection. The result of his investigations is this:—

The marks vary. No. 1, the R.G.S. copy, has the Pot mark with a fleuron at the top, and letters "S.B." or possibly "G.B." on the bulb of the pot. No. 2, my copy, has also the Pot mark, but with a crescent instead of a fleuron, and letters "P.O." on the bulb. No. 3, Mr. Hannen's copy, has a fleur-de-lys on a crowned shield, with "L.V.G." below. The dates attributed by Mr. Heawood to the maps with these marks are: No. 1, "almost anywhere between 1570 and 1610, probably before 1600, possibly a good deal before." No. 2, "possibly as early as 1586, or at least before 1600, but more

^{*} First edition in Latin, dated 1711, page 12, and repeated in the second edition, 1745, page 12, and again in the abridged edition in English of 1774.

† "The dates I suggest," writes Mr. Heawood, "are only what seem the most likely out of a possible longer range."

probably between 1620 and 1630."* No. 3, "perhaps early eighteenth century, circa 1720 to 1730."†

This proves that of the three copies the R.G.S. copy was the first printed, mine next, and Mr. Hannen's last, which sequence in age agrees with the evidence of the alterations in the plate already noted. While, however, the evidence of the water-marks establishes within certain limits when the three copies of the rare map were printed, and proves that the R.G.S. copy was printed at some date between 1570 and 1610, it does not prove in which year it was printed, nor whether it is as old as 1570. It is probable that in 1570 Lambarde had seen a copy of the same map, but that might have been an impression earlier in date than the R.G.S. copy. In regard to this question Mr. Heawood wrote to me recently: "I still hesitate to give a decided opinion that it (the R.G.S. copy) was printed as early as 1570, yet there is no real reason to say that it was not." I am afraid that it is not possible to go further than Mr. Heawood does, nor to say more than that the R.G.S. copy may have been printed as early as its water-mark allows, and so *may* date from 1570.

Origin of the rare map.—There is no name of author, engraver or printer on any of the three copies, and Lambarde in his MS. already quoted only calls the maker of the map he was referring to "he that made the Carde of this Shyre." This suggests that the author of the rare map (I am assuming, which is most probable, that it is the map known to Lambarde) was neither Lambarde's "friend Phil. Symonson," nor Christopher Saxton. It is otherwise certain from the

* Mr. Heawood suggests that, considering the date suggested by the water-mark, my copy may have been printed to accompany the first edition, published in 1625, of the pamphlet *The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent*, in a copy of which it was inserted when bought by me. Mr. Heawood found in the British Museum a letter of Bacon's, dated 1621, with a water-mark very like that on my copy of the rare map. It may be noted that Topley in his *Geology of the Weald*, 1875, page 449, states that some copies of the *Inrichment* have a map of the Weald. Query for "Weald" read "Kent."

† "The dates given for No. 3," writes Mr. Heawood, "are merely those between which the mark first began to appear with the L.V.G. . . . it was used for a long time afterwards with the same letters. There is nothing inconsistent with a still later date for the map." I think it may be possible later to date this copy by a comparison with other maps of Kent with roads and early road-books.

internal evidence of the two maps that Symonson had nothing to do with it, and it does not seem probable that Christopher Saxton was directly responsible for it. If he had made the map he would have put his name to it, or Lambarde would have known that the map was his work, and would have attributed the map to him. Saxton conceivably might have made a map of Kent as early as 1570, for his survey of that county for his great Atlas of 1579 may have been finished by then; but it is hardly conceivable that, if he had made the rare map, he would not have put his name on it, or that his connection with it would not have been known to Lambarde. On the other hand, no one can look at the rare map and compare it with Saxton's without seeing how alike the two maps are. Seven-eighths of the names of places common to both maps are exactly alike, and there are other resemblances, such as the ornamental borders of the maps, the geographical symbols used to mark the position of places, and the pictorial representation of forests, woods, parks, etc. But there are also differences. The spelling of some names is very different, some names in the rare map are absent in Saxton's, some names in Saxton are absent in the rare map; the ornamental borders, while similar, are not identical; the symbols of churches to denote the position of places are similar yet not identical; the pictorial representation of forests is not the same. To explain the evident relationship between the two maps two theories seem probable: (1) the rare map of 1570 and Saxton's map of 1575 were both copied from an earlier map still unknown; or (2) the rare map of 1570 was based on an immature and unfinished form of Saxton's map of 1575. Mr. Hannen inclines to the former theory, while I would rather accept the latter. Perhaps the truth of the matter is as follows:--

In 1570 Saxton's survey of Kent was so far advanced that he had begun a map of the county. Someone, perhaps an assistant of Saxton in his survey, made a map of Kent, perhaps at the instance of Lambarde, and obtained by some means a copy of Saxton's unfinished map. This unknown cartographer based his map on Saxton's map and copied it

more or less closely, but put into it some names of places which Saxton had left out, such as "the Wealde," and the names and boundaries of the Lathes, and made other alterations and additions, and completed it in time for it to be known to Lambarde while writing in 1570 his first draft of his MS. of the *Perambulation*. The map so made was the "Carde of this Shyre"—the rare map. Saxton later took his unfinished map in hand, put in names which are not in the rare map, added minor details which also are not in the rare map, and completed it and dated it 1575. This theory perhaps accounts for the resemblances and differences between the two maps.

Apart from the rare map, the earliest map of Kent is Saxton's, dated 1575 (and published in 1579), which is a map of the four counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex and Kent. The earliest separate map of Kent is Symonson's, published in 1576 or 1596. The earliest maps of any other English county are two of Saxton's, dated 1574. If, however, the date of the R.G.S. copy of the rare map may be taken as 1570, it is the earliest printed map of Kent and of any English county.

I wish, in conclusion, to express grateful thanks to Mr. Hannen and Dr. Cock for many suggestions and criticisms; and also to Mr. Edward Heawood, and in particular for his notes about water-marks. I regret very much that I have not had space to quote their opinions at greater length. I also owe many thanks to Dr. Cock for leave to use his negative of the R.G.S. map for reproduction in this paper, and to the Royal Geographical Society for leave to publish their map, and to Sir George Fordham for kindly giving me information as to early maps of English counties.

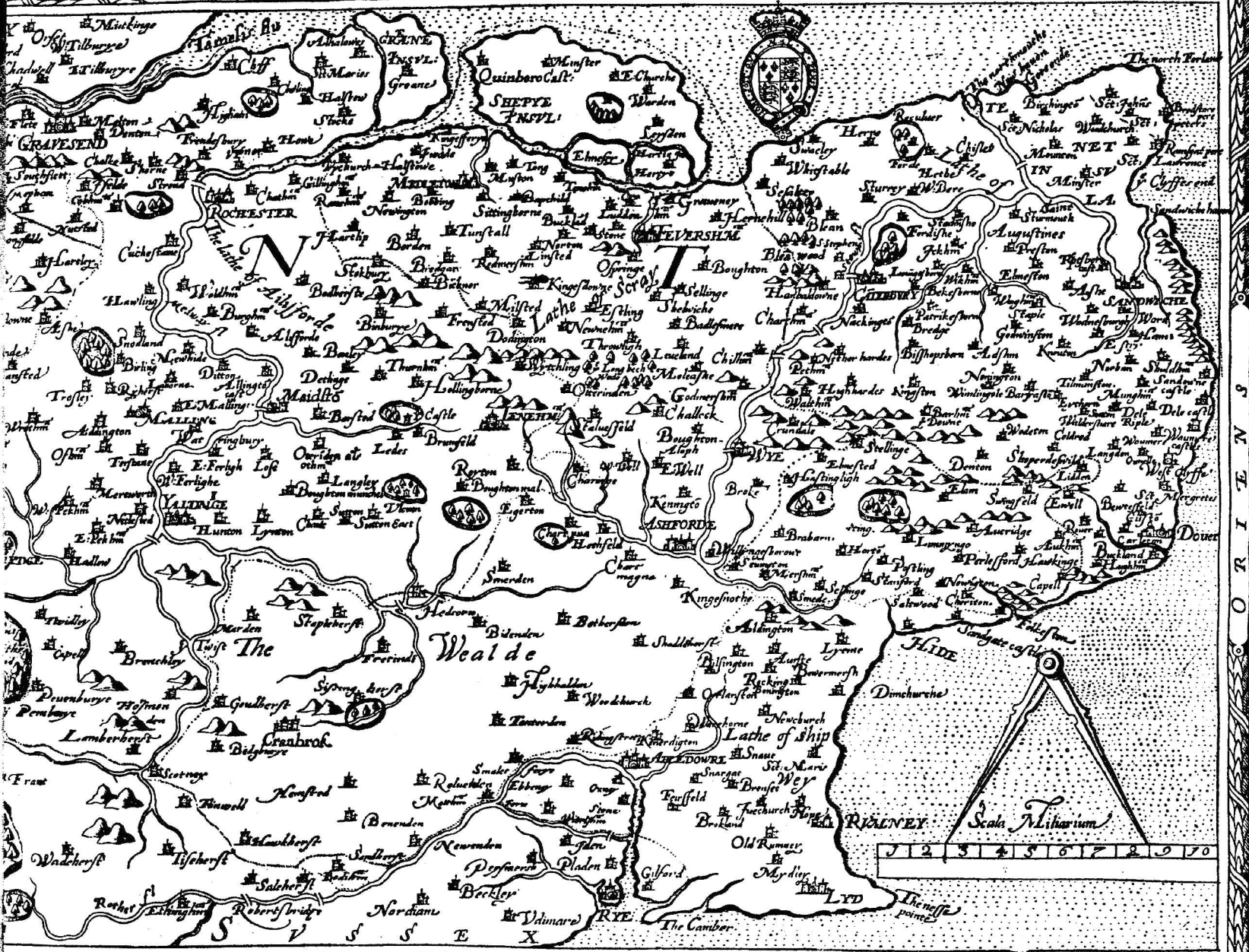
The Shire of Kent. Divided into the five Lathes thereof



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of Kent. Divided into the five Lathes thereof

SEPTENTRIO



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