

den of Wye as many records attest and Wye was a royal Saxon manor given by the Conqueror to the Abbey of Battle. If Cheperegge existed as a distinct settlement in Saxon times it was handed over to Battle as part of Wye. If it did so exist, we have to suppose that it grew up after the conquest, on someone else's ground, was granted as a separate gift to the Abbey and was by the Abbey added to the manor of Wye. All this must have happened at a very early date for Cheperegge is well established in the 13th century. Now, there is no record of these things having occurred and no likelihood that an Abbot of Battle would have ever thought of adding new dens to Wye manor even if he had been able to understand what was involved in such a process. Therefore it is that Cheperegge has been put upon the map. The balance of evidence is clearly in favour of its having been a Saxon centre.

The place name Morgengiefu appears on Modern maps as Morghew Farm. It is derived from the "morgen giefu" of Saxon custom, the dower gift to a wife on the morning after the wedding. This custom may have survived the conquest but I find it difficult to believe that the altered conditions of landownership amongst the higher classes would have allowed a new holding to grow up and to attach to itself this very characteristic Saxon name. I therefore deduce that there was a pre-Norman settlement at this place and enter it upon the map of Saxon Tenterden.

In considering place names one is obliged to mention Wallenberg's views on the den of Mersham mentioned in a charter of 863 (B. 507) and named Husneah. This he identifies with Huson Farm in Tenterden. Taylor (*Arch. Cant.*, XXXIII, 109) reports the conveyance of "the manor of Howseney, Kentyshyld and Petlesden in Tenterden, Ebbeney etc." in the year 1539. It seems likely that the identification is correct but it is outside the bounds of the map illustrating these remarks.

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EARLY KENT MAPS.

(SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

BY GREVILLE M. LIVETT, B.A., F.S.A.
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INTRODUCTION.

"A CARDE (or Charte) of this Shyre" is mentioned by William Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent*. The book was first published in 1576, but a dedicatory "epistle", addressed to Thomas Wotton, Esq., in the autograph MS., which in 1924 came into the possession of the Kent Archaeological Society and is preserved in the Maidstone Museum, bears the date "this last day of January, 1570"—i.e., according to the reformed calendar, the year 1571. The MS. shows many subsequent alterations and additions in the author's handwriting, and these are incorporated in the printed book, but as the mention of the Carde is in the original draft it must have been in existence at least as early as 1570. Recent writers have suggested reasons for identifying with it one or other of the four early maps that are described in this Paper. In the present writer's opinion the identifications are unsound. I think Lambarde's Carde is completely lost.

1. An undated autograph map of Kent, signed "Robertus Gloverus, Somersett, fecit," and inserted as a frontispiece into a MS. copy of the *Perambulation*. This MS. also lies in the Maidstone Museum. Signed "Robertus Gloverus, Somersset, scribebat," it was written (in beautiful script) possibly as early as 1571 (in which year Glover became Somerset Herald), and certainly before Lambarde made any additions to his original draft. The map, drawn to a scale of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 10 map-miles, is coloured and measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. The accompanying illustration (Plate I) is a collotype reproduction of a photograph kindly taken for the

purpose by Mr. C. E. Fisher, a member of the staff of the Maidstone Museum.

2. Christopher Saxton's map of the four south-eastern counties, engraved by Remigius Hogenberg and published in 1575. Included by Saxton in the collection of his maps of all the counties of England and Wales with a general map of Anglia in a volume in 1579. Drawn to a scale of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 10 miles, it measures nearly 22 by 16 in. including a border of $\frac{1}{3}$ in. The Kent portion is reproduced herewith (Plate II) from an uncoloured copy in the British Museum.

3. An undated, anonymous map of "The Shyre of Kent, Divided into the five Lathes therof," with the adjoining portions of the three neighbouring counties, evidently based on Saxton's map aforesaid. The earliest of several issues is in the possession of the Royal Geographical Society. Drawn to a scale of $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 10 miles, it measures 14 by $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., including a $\frac{1}{3}$ in. border. Probable date, 1577. A reproduction appeared in *Arch. Cant.* Vol. XXXVIII (1926), to illustrate the Paper in which our member Mr. E. G. Box suggested that it might be the "Carde" referred to by Lambarde. By permission of the R.G.S. it is repeated here (Plate VI), for the purpose of convenient comparison with Saxton's map, by means of an electrotype made in 1924 for Dr. F. W. Cock, F.S.A., and kindly lent by him. Mr. Box has called it "the rare map", but as two or three other copies have since come to light I shall venture to re-name it the 'anon' map.

4. Phil Symonson's "New Description of Kent", engraved by Charles Whitwell, dated 1596. A large map, drawn to the scale of nearly $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 10 miles; with a $\frac{1}{2}$ in. border it measures nearly 31 by 21 in. The late Hon. Henry Hannen published a small-scale reproduction of an early issue in his possession to illustrate a paper that he contributed to *Arch. Cant.*, XXX (1914), when the present writer was Editor. The block is missing, but fortunately I possess a copy of the photograph from which it was made, and from it another block has been made for the purpose of

this paper (Plate VII). A full-size reproduction, printed in 1914 by the Ordnance Survey, may be purchased at a small price.

I.

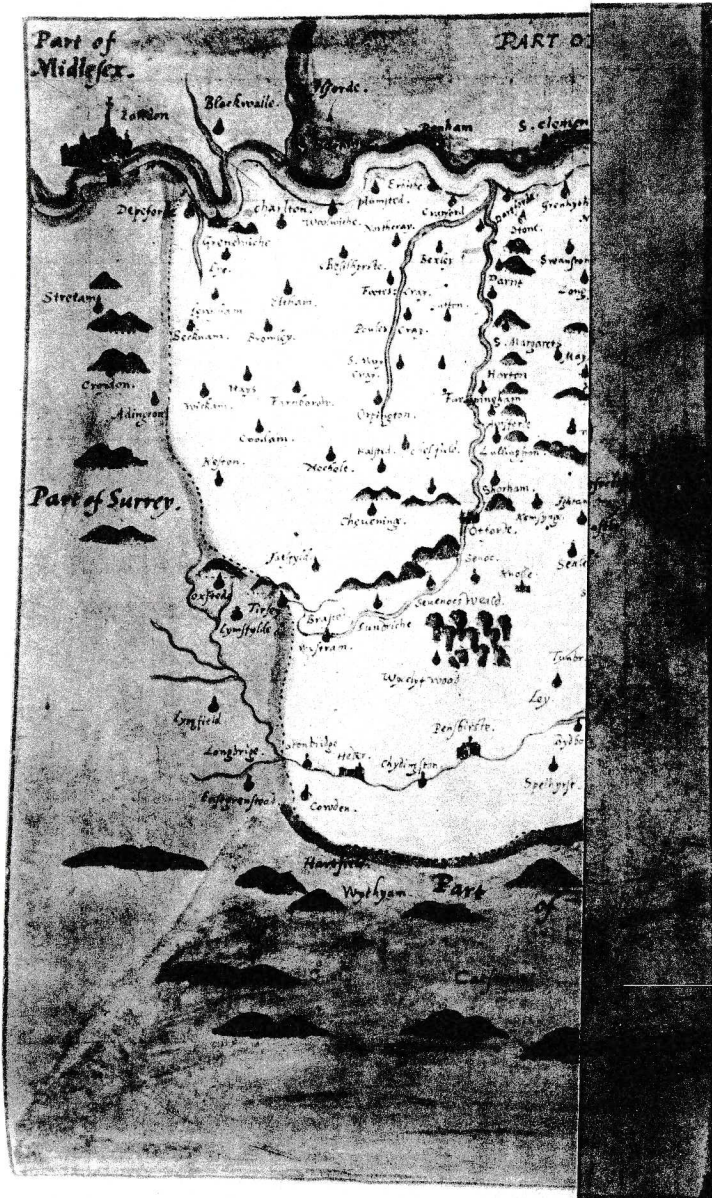
As explained more fully in a footnote¹ Lambarde's original purpose was to compile a much more extensive work, dealing with the whole country, of which his description of Kent should be the first instalment. The title-pages of the successive editions of *The Perambulation* contain no indication of such intention. That of the first edition (1576) announces it as

Conteining the description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shyre. Collected and written (for the most part) in the yeare 1570. By William Lambarde of Lincolnes Inne Gent. and nowe increased by the addition of some things which the Author himselfe hath observed since that time.

The title-page of the second edition, published in 1596, says: " . . . first published in the yeare 1576 and now increased and altered after the Author's owne last copie."

The following quotation, which is chosen for its mention of the "Carde", is taken from the MS., and shows in *Italic*

¹ William Lambarde, born in 1536, began his literary work by a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws published in 1568. He then began to collect materials for a *Topographical Dictionarie* of the antiquities of the whole realm. This ambitious design began to take shape in the MS. dated 1570, which the author intended to publish without delay, as indicated by the inclusion of the dedicatory "Epistle" addressed to Thomas Wotton (sheriff of Kent in 1558 and again in 1579) "from Seintcleres, this last day of January, 1570." It begins with a map entitled *Angliae Heptarchia*, followed by *The Description of the English Heptarchie, or seven Kingdoms*, and other general matter—"things all handled as an induction to the Topographical Dictionarie." Then (as on p. 6 of the '76 edition of the *Perambulation*) the author turns to the *Description and Historie of the Shyre of Kent*, beginning with an explanation of his reason for the choice of that "Country" for the first instalment of his big work. The '76 and later editions contain a letter of commendation addressed by Thomas Wootton to his fellow Countrymen at large, and especially to the Gentlemen of Kent, dated 16th of April, 1576. Lambarde abandoned his larger project on learning that William Camden had for some years been engaged on a similar work, which eventually issued in the publication of the first edition of his *Britannia* in 1586 and the 6th (greatly enlarged) edition of 1607. In his own time Lambarde was, perhaps, best known for his *Eirenarcha*, a work upon the office of the Justices of the Peace, published in 1581. He became Keeper of the records at the Rolls Chapel in 1597 and died in 1601.



A.C. XLIX. EARLY KENT MAPS. PLATE I. r. C. E. Fisher.

he speaks is not, as the printed text would suggest, that of Aylesford, but that of "Medway": his reference to the Carde of the Shyre relates to the views he held about "the name of the Medway" and the part the Carde played in his adoption of those views. It is evident that in the Carde the name appeared only below (i.e. north of) Maidstone, and that this fact confirmed if it did not suggest his belief that above Maidstone it did not, in common usage, apply. His language makes it clear, however, that he did not put much faith in the accuracy of the Carde, and it is significant that in editing the second edition (1596) of his *Perambulation* he expunged the paragraph beginning "If I faile in this derivation." We shall see in the sequel reasons why the anon map, the only extant early map that has the name of Medway in the required position (below Maidstone only), cannot be identified with "The Carde of this Shyre." As to Glover's map the only river-name that appears in it is *Rother flu*.

II.

Robert Glover (1543-88) was the son of Thomas Glover of Ashford. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Flower, Norroy King of Arms. A sister, Joan, married Richard Milles of Ashford; a second sister, Elizabeth, married Thomas Deedes of Hythe. He entered the College of Arms in 1568 and became Somerset Herald in 1571. He made a collection of Kentish Monumental Inscriptions, and assisted Camden with pedigrees for *Britannia*. Nothing is known of his connection with Lambarde, but it seems likely that he was engaged by him in or shortly after 1570 to make a fair copy of the first draft of the MS. for the projected Topographical Dictionary. It was as a frontispiece to that copy that he used his map of Kent. The claim made for it that it was Lambarde's Carde is put out of court, not only by its lack of "the name of the Medway" in the required position, but also by the fact that he was not yet "Somerset" when Lambarde wrote his first draft. While revising this paper I have paid a visit to the Map Room of the British

Museum, where I was shown the earliest and possibly a 'proof' issue of Saxton's atlas of 1579, into which the original owner, Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer from 1572 till his death in 1598, pasted a number of early MS. maps which he had collected. Among them there are some half dozen of various counties, bearing no signature and much more crude in form and technique than Glover's Kent. Glover's map seems to be the earliest and perhaps the only extant county map of the character adopted by Saxton and his successors, and on that account alone it merits exact reproduction with a brief description of some of its chief features.

The place-symbols are coloured a deep-red, the trees and woods and hill-mounds green, the sea a pale blue, the sea-boundaries a faint red, and the parts of neighbouring counties in different shades of green. An interesting feature, only faintly visible, appears in the author's division of his paper into squares of 2 map miles, perhaps for the purpose of helping him to transfer to it the details of his survey-notes and sketches.¹ His methods of survey, and those of Saxton and Symonson after him, were simple: practical triangulation from a measured base being first introduced at a later date (1615) by a Dutchman named Snell. Contemporary sketches show a surveyor using compass and cross-staff or back-staff: the former for determining the relative position of places from the spot of observation, their distance being learnt by inquiry of their guides, and the latter for obtaining latitude by gauging the angle of altitude of sun

¹ Mr. Heawood, in a private letter, writes: "Such squaring had been in use at least 20 years earlier in one of the Basel editions of Ptolemy's geography with the definite intention of supplying a means of indexing the maps, and its invention was claimed by a German named Lycosthenes. It was adopted for this purpose by John Norden in all his county maps and he too drew the 'grid' at 2-mile intervals. One wonders whether the two men adopted the same grid quite independently. There is a much earlier instance of such squaring in a MS. map of Italy accompanying the Chronicle of Jordanus (early fourteenth century), and the numbering of the intervals here might suggest that facility of reference to position on the map may have been in view." In view of these remarks, as there is no numbering of the grid in Glover's map, nor any reference to the map in his copy of Lambarde's MS., it occurs to me that his map may have been intended originally for some other destination.

or some fixed star. Such methods resulted in a fair degree of accuracy in the relative position of cities and chief towns, but a lack of it in the plotting of village place-symbols. Glover's symbol was a little roundle supporting a diminutive spire, of which in certain districts, e.g. the upper part of the area between the Stour and the coast, many have no name attached.

The tributaries and upper reaches of the rivers are very inaccurately plotted. As to the Medway, modern geographers describe it as rising south of East Grinstead, in Sussex, and entering Kent near Ashurst: but Glover overlooked that branch and adopted as its source the tributary which is known as the Eden, showing it as rising near Oxted in Surrey, flowing south and turning east to enter the county near Edenbridge—which, by the way, he wrote *Stonbridge*, an evident miss-script for *Etonbridge*.

At Ashford, whence the Great Stour runs NE through Canterbury to flow into the Wantsum at Sarre, that river receives its two chief branches, which run roughly speaking at right angles to it, the eastern branch from near Lenham* *via* Little Chart* and Hothfield, and the western from Postling *via* Sellinge* and Mersham*. These branches are shown with fair accuracy in the Saxton, the anon and Symonson maps, but in the Glover map (in which the places marked above with an asterisk do not appear) the eastern branch is wholly omitted, and the western is represented by two branches—that baffle description: sufficeth it to say that the more prominent of the two is drawn to turn round Bethersden (*Betrisden*), whereas in fact it runs fully 3 miles NE of that place; which place, moreover, is plotted nearly due south of Ashford instead of at a point nearly due west of it (where there is an unnamed symbol that would suit its position better).

There is one point, at least, on which Glover is more correct than Saxton or Symonson (and their successors), all (I think) of whom show Thanet as an island completely separated from the mainland by the Wantsum. But the northern outlet of that channel had long before been in part

silted up. About thirty years earlier, in the notes of his *Itinerary*, Leland wrote :

At Northmuth where the entry of the sea was, the salt water swellith yet up at a creeke a myle and more towards a place cawled Sarre, which was the commune fery when Thanet was full iled.

This creek Glover shows running up south about $2\frac{1}{2}$ map-miles, doubtless as far as Sarre,* but not so far as to connect with the Stour (north of *Stormouthe*). Moreover, where Saxton wrote *Tenet insula* Glover wrote only *Tanet*.¹

The hill-ranges, again, represented in this and the later maps by groups or lines of mounds (or so-called "mole-hills," varying from half a mile to a mile or more in height !) are plotted very inaccurately in our map. The escarpment of the chalk hills on the west of the Medway, starting from Halling, should appear in a fairly straight line running just above Wrotham and onwards, broken by the river Dart at Otford, into Surrey : it is represented in our map by detached groups of mounds out of line. On the east side of the river, starting from Wouldham it should run in a line above Hollingbourn and Charing and onwards to the coast a little north of Folkestone, broken on its way by the wide valley of the Stour on either side of Wye : in our map it seems to be represented by a line of trees instead of mounds as far as the Wye valley, while east of the valley neither trees nor hills appear on its line. In the Symonson map the whole range is plainly and fairly correctly indicated throughout its whole extent by a line of mounds. The same map indicates only the higher stretches of the escarpment of the Ragstone hills, which east of the Medway runs in a fairly straight line to the coast at Hythe. In the Glover map it is marked by a very prominent line of mounds for about half that distance only ; and the escarpment that encloses Romney Marsh is incompletely represented by two little groups of mounds.

¹ The only MS. map relating to Kent in the Burghley collection (to be referred to later) is one of *Part of the Isle of Tenet* in which east is west and west is east ! It shows the Wantsum running unbroken from Northmouth for Newhaven by *Sarre* and the *Tamps* to Sandwich.

Further analysis of this interesting map must be left to the reader, but a word may be added about its coast line. Several tests, an example of which is given in a footnote, reveal the fact that in all the four maps dealt with in this paper there is an upward tilt of the north coast-line as it runs eastwards, and a roughly corresponding misplacement of the east coast-line as it descends from Thanet to Dungeness, the error being greatest in Glover's map and least in Symonson's.¹

III.

We now turn to Christopher Saxton and his work. The sixteenth century was a period of remarkable activity among surveyors and map-makers. In the first decade Leonardo da Vinci, while acting for a time as military engineer to Cesare Borgia, mapped certain districts in central Italy. In England, later on, the partition of much of the property of the suppressed monasteries must have led to widespread surveying. The mapping of whole countries had long been attempted: the MS. still exists at Breslau of a map of the British Isles, dated 1564, by Gerhard Krämer, a Fleming well known as Mercator; and in 1573 in a supplement to the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, first published in 1569, there appeared a map of England and Wales by one Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh, M.P., the author also of an undated *Cambriae Typus* in the Burghley collection. At the end of the century Bouguereau began his mapping of French provinces, and before that, as we have seen, some English

¹ In the Ordnance Map the three most northerly points along the north coast (in the Hundred of Hoo or Graine and the isles of Sheppey and Thanet) descend markedly—as much as 2, 4 and 8 statute miles successively below a latitudinal line drawn through London Bridge. Glover plotted them as nearly level 2 or 3 map-miles above the London Bridge line. (In these maps I think the mile is the old English mile, somewhat less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ statute miles.) In the Saxton and anonymous maps the three points descend slightly, but all are above the London Bridge line— $2\frac{1}{2}$, 2 and 1 miles respectively. Symonson puts the Hoo coast about 1 mile above the line, and the highest points of Sheppey and Thanet respectively 1 and 2 miles below it. And if a perpendicular line be dropped through Canterbury on the Ordnance Map it passes through Hythe and has Dungeness $4\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles to the west of it. In the Glover map a similar line through Canterbury has Hythe 4 map-miles and Dungeness 3 to the east of it, while the Symonson map has Hythe 2 miles to the east and Dungeness 1 mile to the west of it.



Surria,

counties were mapped in MS. by unknown surveyors, but it was left to Saxton (in the words of Mr. Heawood, sometime librarian of the Royal Geographical Society) to "traverse the whole country for the collection of material for its detailed mapping, county by county." His survey resulted in the completion of thirty-four maps comprising the forty counties of England and the twelve of Wales—twenty-four counties in separate maps and the remaining twenty-eight grouped in ten maps. With the single exception of *Northumbria* all the maps are dated within a period of five years, the earliest in 1574 and the latest in 1578.¹ It seems that the earlier maps were not issued for sale as they were not completed until late in 1577. In 1579 they were all collected into a single volume (without title) with the addition of a general map of *Anglia* for a frontispiece. In 1574 Norfolk and a group of Oxon-Berks-Bucks were engraved. The map of the four SE counties, including Kent, is dated 1575, in which five other counties were mapped. I can find no evidence to support the assertion (*Arch. Cant.*, XXXVIII, p. 94) that "In 1570 Saxton's survey of Kent was so far advanced that he had begun a map of the county," or that a separate map of the county by him "in an immature finished form" existed at so early a date. The rapidity of his work can have left no time for anything by way of trial maps. Unfortunately all his field-notes and MS. maps are lost. For the engraving of the earlier maps artists of the then prominent school of the Netherlands were employed: Remigius Hogenberg, who came to England c. 1573 and worked at first for Archbishop Parker, was responsible for nine maps; Lenaert Terwoort of Antwerp signed five and was responsible for three others; while Cornelis de Hooghe

¹ The following list is instructive:

1574	—	4 counties in	2 maps.
1575	—	9 counties in	6 maps.
1576	—	15 counties in	8 maps.
1577	—	13 counties in	12 maps.
1578	—	10 counties in	5 maps.
	—	N.D.—1 county in	1 map.
	—		
	—	52 counties in	34 maps.
	—		

(*Cornelius Hogius*) signed only one (Norfolk). As to English engravers: four maps, the earliest late in 1576, are signed by Augustine Ryther, who emphasized his British nationality by adding *Anglus*; two in 1577 by Francis Scatter; and one (Herts, 1577) by Nicholas Reynolds, *Londinensis*, who also engraved the map of *Anglia*, and probably several of the unsigned Welsh maps (dated 1577 or 1578).

It has been truly said that nothing brings out more clearly the importance of Saxton's enterprise than the fact that his maps remained for a century the basis of all detailed mapping of England and Wales—with the single exception, it must be added, of Phil Symonson's map of Kent. They largely influenced the county maps made by Norden and others for publication in the folio edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1607) and those published by John Speede in his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611); and a *Carte de l'Angleterre et d'une Partie d'Ecosse* engraved by Hollar, reduced from the *Provinces* of Mr. Saxton by order of Oliver Cromwell for the use of his armies, was acquired by John Rocque in 1752.¹ And a sumptuous volume, of which I possess a copy, containing reprints of Saxton's maps "with many additions and corrections", was published towards the end of the seventeenth century by Philip Lea.

The inception of Saxton's work is wrapped in some doubt and obscurity. It is probable that Thomas Seckford, Lord Steward of the Household and Master of Requests to the Queen, who with his friend Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, was interested in the question of mapping the country, heard of the young Yorkshireman, Saxton, who may already have been working on a survey of one or two counties; that he decided to employ him for a complete

¹ Last year (1936) by order of the trustees of the British Museum there was published a sumptuous folio volume entitled: "An Atlas of England and Wales—the Maps of Christopher Saxton engraved 1574-1579," with an Introduction by Mr. Edward Lynam. Reproduced from an atlas which, in Mr. Lynam's opinion, may be dated at about 1590. The Introduction may be purchased separately. It has come under my notice quite recently while making a final revision of my Paper, and I wish here to make grateful acknowledgment of valuable assistance that has been willingly given me, by correspondence and by personal interviews, by Mr. Lynam, chief of the map-room, and by the members of his staff.

survey; and introduced him to the notice of the Queen. But there is no doubt that from 1574 onwards, and probably earlier, Saxton was financially supported by Thomas Seckford, who edited the engraving and put his family arms on all the maps from the first.¹ And Saxton from thenceforth was favoured by royal grants of property. One such grant in Latin under date 11 March 16 Eliz. (1574) says that it was made "in consideration that Christopher Saxton for certain good causes, grand charges and expenses, lately had and sustained in the survey of divers parts of England" *k.t.l.*²

A "placart" or licence granted under date March 11th, 1575, is preserved in the Public Record Office with the following "open letter" dated July 10th, 1576, which throws some light upon the methods employed by Saxton in making his reconnaissance surveys, and is addressed "To all Justices

of the Peace, Mayors and others within the Several Shires in Wales saying that the bearer hereof, Christopher Saxton, is appointed by Her Majesty under her sign and signet to set forth and describe in cartes particular the Shires in Wales; that the said Justices shall be aiding and assisting unto him to see him conducted

¹ The arms are those of Seckford of Seckford in the parish of Billings Magna, Co. Suffolk. Mr. C. A. Kennedy of the College of Arms has kindly supplied the following description of the coat with its three quarterings:

- (1) Ermine on a fesse gules three escallops argent (Seckford).
- (2) Argent a fesse gules between three hunting horns sable (Hunter).
- (3) Checquey or and vert (Hackford).
- (4) Paly of six or and gules a chief ermine (Jenny).

A pedigree appears in the Heralds Visitation of Suffolk in 1561.

Sir John Seckford, Knt. = the daughter and heir of Sir Walter Hunter, Knt.

Sir John Seckford = d. and h. of Sir William Hackford.

Sir George Seckford = d. and h. of Sir Thomas Jenny.

George Seckford (younger son).

Thomas Seckford.

² Tanner in his *Bibliotheca* (1748) quotes a fragment, dated 1575, that speaks of "letters" (or a patent) granted to Saxton under date 28 July 15 Eliz. (1572), "to continue in force for nine years," in respect of his "labour and industry in travelling from town to town and village to village" making maps. There is serious doubt as to the genuineness of this supposed document, for Mr. Edward Lynam tells me that search has been made for the original patent without success.

unto any tower, castle, high place or hill to view that country; and that he may be accompanied by two or three honest men such as do know the country and speaking Welsh and English for the better accomplishment of that service; and that they provide a horseman to conduct him to the next Market Town."

Still another royal licence, dated 1577, also preserved in the Record Office, is worth quotation, seeing that it sets out the terms of copyright (so to speak) of his maps granted to Saxton, and also because it mentions Thomas Seckford. It is printed in *Topographical Antiquities* (1749) by Thomas Ames, whence the following rough notes are taken. "Licence

and privilege granted by Queen Elizabeth 20 July in the 19th year of her reign to Christopher Saxton Servant of our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Sekeford, esquire, Master of Requests unto us. Whereas the said Christopher Saxton hath already at great cost, expenses and charges of his said master travelled through the greatest part of our realm of England, and hath upon the perfect view of a great number of the several Counties and Shires of our said realm drawn out and set forth divers true and pleasant maps, charts or 'platts' of the same Counties together with the cities, towns, villages and rivers therein contained, very diligently and exactly done; and contendeth, if God grant him life, further to travel therein throughout all the residue of our said realm, and so from time to time to cause the same platts and descriptions to be well and fair engraven in plates of copper, and to be after impressed and stamped out of the same: 'We lette you witte' that we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, privilege and licence unto the said Christopher Saxton and to the assign or assigns of him that he and the assign or assigns of him only and none other, for and during the space of ten years next ensuing the date of the licence, shall by himself, his assigns, factors and deputies, imprint and set forth or cause

to be imprinted and set forth any such map of this realm or any county by him already or hereafter to be set forth, and may sell or utter or cause to be sold any such imprinted maps, etc. No other to make or import or sell such maps. A forfeit to us our heirs and successors of ten pounds of lawful money of England, and to Christopher Saxton all such maps imprinted or sold contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents. Commanding as well the Master and Wardens of the 'Mistrye' (i.e. trade gild or company of stationers) in our City of London and all others that they do aid and assist the said Christopher Saxton in the exercise of this licence."

The year 1577 is an important one in the story of Saxton's Atlas. Seckford seems to have given pull-proofs of his maps to Lord Burghley who collected them into an atlas which is now in the possession of the British Museum. The early maps of the series in that collection lack certain features which appear in them as published in the atlas of 1579. The map of Norfolk, the first to be engraved (1574), lacks the Royal Arms, indicating that Seckford had not then obtained the Queen's patronage of Saxton's labours.

Again, while Christopher Saxton's name appears on all the maps of 1578 and on only three, evidently the latest, of the twelve engraved in 1577, it is absent from all those of earlier date. Something therefore must have happened towards the end of 1577 which caused, or was expected to cause, a wide demand for maps of separate counties. This, doubtless, as Mr. Lynam more fully explains, was the projected publication of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which, including Harrison's *Description of Britain*, appeared in 1578. As Saxton, then, had exclusive rights of making or selling English maps, Holinshed's book could contain no maps, and it is probable that Seckford then agreed to the immediate publication, under Saxton's own name, of all his maps already completed, and that each of the remaining maps should be published on

completion. Such an arrangement would promote the sale of Holinshed's work and would also be profitable to Saxton. The bearing of this upon the date of the anon map will be discussed in due course.

Plate IV, Fig. 1, from the map of Somerset (1575) in the 1579 Atlas, shows how in most cases Saxton's name was added to the copper-plates of the early maps—I think by Hogenberg (cf. Plate III, Fig. 2)—namely, on a scroll engraved across the pair of compasses above the scale of miles. The same figure shows the one and only exception to the rule of absence of Saxton's name from the Burghley proofs: it came to light when I was examining the maps with the help of a member of the staff of the Museum map-room. In this case Leonard Terwoort, in minute lettering and on heavily-shaded ornament at the ends of the little panel containing the scale and his own name, engraved (surreptitiously, as it seems, to salve his own conscience and to give Saxton his due) a Latin inscription, in the ablative absolute, meaning "Christopher Saxton being the author":

Christophoro	(Scale)	Saxtone
auc		tore

A note on the Seckford mottoes may be added here. In the Dunelm map (1576) the coat is surmounted by a crest: a *Talbot passant ermine*; and above it a motto *Industria Naturam Ornat* on a scroll, and below the arms the motto *Pestis Patriae Pigricies*. The latter was the motto of Sir William Dugdale also, in the next century; but no family had a prescriptive right to a particular motto, and Thomas Seckford did not use that of his forbears. In the Burghley atlas no motto occurs in the early maps, the *Pestis* motto occurs first in 1576, and in the same year both mottoes appear in two maps of both Burghley and later issues; and thenceforward only the *Industria* motto was used. Mr. Lynam suggests that the choice of the *Pestis* motto ('Sloth is the curse of the fatherland') referred to the energy of the author, and the *Industria* motto ('Industry adorns nature') to the artistry of the engravers.

In the Burghley copy of the four SE counties the *Pestis* motto, which in later issues appears at the top of the panel (Plate III, Fig. 2), and the inscription of the author (*Christophorus Saxton descripsit*¹) at the bottom, with the lines that separate them from the rest of the panel, are both absent.

The accompanying illustrations of Saxton's map of the four SE counties are parts of a reproduction of a complete uncoloured copy in the British Museum.² Plate II comprises the Kent portion and just so much of the adjoining counties as is included in the anon map reproduced in Plate VI. It excludes the royal arms of Elizabeth (*France Modern and England quarterly*) and crown, which appear in the complete map immediately under *Septentrio* in the border; it excludes also the title and date of the map that appear in the right hand top corner, reproduced in Plate III, Fig. 1; and in the right hand bottom corner, a panel reproduced in Plate III, Fig. 2. The Latin title runs as follows (in which I take *vera descriptio* to mean an accurate drawing or map):

CANTII, Southsexia, Sur:
riae, et Middelsexiae comitat'
Una cum suis undique
confinibus, Oppidis, pagis,
Villis, et flumenibus, in
eisdem, vera descriptio.

Under this there is a cartouche which contains the date. The inscription may be translated thus, in the order of the Latin: 'In the year of our Lord 1575 and of the Lady Elizabeth Queen the year 17.' Under it can be detected faint remains of an erased "1575". It is evident that the inscription as originally engraved was for some reason considered unsatisfactory: it was therefore erased and the existing inscription substituted for it.

¹ The Latin word *descripsit* here bears the meaning attached to the equivalent English word as used by writers of the period when referring to plans and drawings. An example appears in Coverdale's translation of Ezekiel iv. 1: "Son of man, take a tile . . . and describe upon it the cite (city) of Jerusalem."

² A coloured reproduction of the whole map is on sale for 5s.

FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

Something of the same kind happened to the five paragraphs which contain details of the four counties and London in the lower panel (Fig. 2). In this case, however, it appears that the erased inscription was repeated word for word in slightly different form for re-arrangement, not for correction, of the text. This re-engraving was done before the Burghley impression was taken: it seems strange, however, that in that copy one can detect no sign of the erased inscription, though indications of it remain more or less distinct in the later impressions. They can be quite plainly seen near the bottom of the panel, where the last line of the partially erased inscription appears under the last re-engraved line somewhat as follows:

habet intra muros ecclesias parochiales·110·
extra vero intraq' libertates·10·
parochiales·110·extra vero intraq' libertates·10·

In the original arrangement the lettering was larger, and there was more space between the lines and less between the paragraphs.

For the benefit of members who do not read Latin the first paragraph may be translated thus:

Kent, besides the metropolitical city of England (which in British times was called *Kairkent*, in Roman *Dorobernia*, in Saxon *Canterbury*), has also the city of Rochester, 17 market towns, and 398 parish churches.

and the last paragraph thus:

London (which is the chief city of England and a county in itself) was anciently called *Ludstowne*, *Trinobantum* and *Troya Nova*, and has within its walls 110 churches, but without and within, 10 liberties.

Seckford must have supplied the engraver with the particulars set out in these paragraphs. Whence did he get the name *Kairkent*? Dr. Haverfield tells us that the *Trinovantes* were a powerful British tribe dwelling N and NE of London, and that their name played a great part in mediaeval legend, where it was interpreted as *Troy Novant*,

the 'New Troy'. *Ludstowne* also is mediaeval, the Town of King Lud!

As to the map, something has already been said of it and more will be added in the next section of the Paper when the anon map will be compared with it. The technical skill and beauty of Hogenberg's work could not be excelled. The cursive lettering is remarkably clear, and the capitals show a pleasing variety of form—note, for example, the initial H of the names near the S boundary. The site-symbol of the villages is a small circle attached to a church-tower surmounted by a tall and delicately-engraved spire. Artistic feeling is evinced also in the ships and monsters which adorn the sea and in the romantic incident portrayed at the side of the lower panel; but the need of economy has cut them off from the map as illustrated in Plate II. It remains to note that the water-mark, as seen in my own copy of the map, is a bunch of grapes near the edge of the paper, not unlike No. 61 (dated 1541) in the folding plate of a Paper in the *Geog. Jour.* for May, 1924, by Mr. Edward Heawood, who tells us it originated in Italy and spread northwards.

For further information about Saxton the reader is referred to a paper contributed by Sir George Fordham in 1928 to the Thoresby Society's *Miscellanea* (Vol. XXVIII, 1928), entitled *Saxton of Dunningley* (in Yorkshire): *his life and work*. It may be added that Saxton obtained in 1579 a grant of arms, three chaplets on a bend gules, with a crest of an arm and hand holding a pair of compasses slightly open. In 1583 he published, still under Seckford's patronage, a large general map of England and Wales, engraved apparently by Augustine Ryther, of which the British Museum possesses one of only two extant copies—twenty sheets bound in a single volume, the copper-plates measuring $17\frac{1}{4}$ by $11\frac{3}{8}$ in. Seckford died early in 1588, but Saxton continued his work as surveyor, printer, and bookseller for many years before retiring to his native village, where he died in 1610 or 1611. To conclude with the words of Mr. Lynam: Saxton's Atlas is not merely a valuable document for the historian, the

antiquary, the student of place-names and the connoisseur of engraving: it represents the most complete survey of England and Wales carried out before 1791, when the Ordnance Survey was founded.

IV.

We have now to consider the anonymous and undated map entitled *The Shyre of Kent, Divided into the five Lathes therof*, reproduced in Plate VI. When Mr. Box published his paper in the 1926 volume of *Arch. Cant.* only three copies of this "rare map," as he called it, were known, representing three successive issues printed from different states of the same copper-plate. We are concerned now only with the first issue, of which the R.G.S. owns a copy. Its water-mark is a tall pot with a fleuron on the top and on the bulb a band bearing some letters which are difficult to decipher. A similar mark, common in England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, is figured No. 109 in Mr. Heawood's aforementioned plate, and dated 1580.¹

I propose here to give reasons, amounting I think to definite proof, that the anon map was based on Saxton's 1575 map, and, that being so, cannot be Lambarde's *carde*. We have already seen that in 1577 there arose the likelihood of a demand for separate county maps and that in July of that year Saxton was granted an exclusive right to the printing and sale of such maps. It must therefore be concluded that the anon map was engraved under his personal direction, for the purpose of meeting such demand by a small handy map of the shire, divested of all but the adjoining parts of the three neighbouring counties and improved by showing its division into lathes. The scale is slightly smaller than that of Saxton's map, but the difference is so little that a tracing of the one can be placed over the other with only slight movement for purposes of comparison. I have done this to compare the

¹ Mr. Heawood dates the 2nd issue 1620-30. A reproduction of the latest of the three editions (1720-30), which was enriched by the insertion of roads, was published by Mr. Box to illustrate a further contribution to *Arch. Cant.* in Vol. XXXIX (1927).

coast-line, the course of the rivers Medway and Stour, the palisaded parks and woods, and the groups of hill-mounds and trees. The correspondence is practically exact, even to the number and relative position of the mounds and trees in a group. The same may be said of the single trees scattered over the map, except that many of those in the lower part of the county in the 1575 map are absent from the anon map. The border, a banded cord of pointed leaves, is the same in both maps. The correspondence is seen again in the sites of the towns and villages, whether correctly or incorrectly plotted: for instance, Waltham is placed too near the Stour, and Crundale nearly due south instead of W by N of it. There can be no doubt that the anon map is a copy of Saxton's and that the engraver followed closely the style of Hogenberg's script. The cursive lettering is markedly similar. Attention has already been drawn to the variety of the form of the capital H in certain names in Saxton's map: apart from an added flourish in one of them those names have in each case the same form of initial capital in the anon map. A special feature in both maps is the omission of the *a* in the final syllable of names ending in *ham* and its appearance in decorated form above the *m*. The only difference between the two styles lies in the place-symbols. The anon symbol, much inferior to Hogenberg's, consists of a little dotted circle on the lower part of a squat church-tower that leans out of the perpendicular and is finished at the top by a strong horizontal line which extends beyond the sides of the tower and has rising from it a short line to represent a spire, and it has also the addition of a side chapel or aisle. But this difference is not sufficient to counteract the significance of the many features that are similar in the two maps.

Two other maps in Saxton's atlas have exactly the same symbol as the anon map: the Northants-Beds-Cambridge-Hunts group of 1576 and the Worcester map of 1577; and both of them, like the anon map, lack the names of the author and the engraver. These facts suggest (1) that all three were engraved by the same artist and (2) that the date of the anon map lies soon after July 20th, 1577, when Saxton

obtained his exclusive rights of sale, but before engravers were instructed to put his name on the maps.

To resume the comparison of our two maps, the anon and Saxton's Kent. A great majority of the place-names are spelt alike, some of them very differently from the spelling in such other early maps as Phil Symonson's 1596 map (PS.); Norden's (N.) in Camden's *Britannia*, 1607; and Speed's (Sp.), 1610. I will cite a few examples:

Pevenburye al's Pembrurye—*Pepenbery* in PS. and N.;
Oteri'den al's Othm̄—*Otham* or *Otham* in the others;
Fordish—*Fordwich* in PS. and Sp., *Fordunch* in N.;
Wimlingole—*Winimsgole* in PS., *Wimlingswold* in N.,
Wymingswold in Sp.;
Willingsborowe—*Willesborow* in the other three;
Woumer and *Waumere* Castle—*Walmer* in the others;
Perlesford and *Averidge*—*Padlesworth* and *Acryse* in
the others.

This identity of spelling appears the more remarkable when it is realized that no uniformity was practised or aimed at in mediaeval literature: in one page of Lambarde's *Perambulation* Pennenden is spelt in four different ways. Is it likely that, as has been suggested, Saxton and the anon map engraver were each independently, and with the same unusual care, basing his map on some earlier map which has been lost, whether it were Lambarde's "Carde" or some other?

We can see the engraver of the anon map at work in his task of copying Saxton's map: two examples will suffice. When he reached the Isle of Grain, where in Saxton's map the three words *GRANE INSUL*: *Greane* occur one above another. Having copied the first two he came to the third and found it spelt differently from the first, so he returned to the first and inserted an *E* above it to make them agree. A more instructive example is the illustration in the accompanying Plate V, in which Fig. 1 is a tracing from a half-inch Ordnance map, and Figs. 2 and 3 are photographs, enlarged

to approximately the same scale, of Saxton's and the anon map respectively. In Figs. 2 and 3 there is practically no difference in the plotting of the place-symbols. It may be noticed that *Bunnyngton* (Bonington), which should have been plotted between *Bilsington* and *Aurst* (Hurst), appears down in the marsh below *Aurst*: and that *Orlanston* (Orlestone), which should have been plotted about two miles WNW of *Rockinge*, was put about six miles S by W of it. (But it is fair to say that Saxton's work was generally more accurate than this case suggests.) Now Hogenberg, when he had plotted his *Bilsington* symbol and engraved the name under it, found he had not left room for the complete symbol for *Rockinge*: he was therefore content to indicate its position by its little circle only, which appears just above the lower turn of the long *s* of his *Bilsington*. And having engraved the *Bunnyngton* symbol he left an unusual space below it so as to avoid running the name into the symbol of *Bowermershe* (Burmarsh). Such then was the picture the engraver of the anon map had to deal with in making his copy. Some features, such as his omission of the *r* in *Shadderherst* and of the final *e* of *Bowermershe* suggest that he was working hurriedly: he engraved his *Bilsington* without detecting the little circle, and seeing the symbol of *Bunnyngton* standing 'high and dry' without name (as it seemed to him at the moment) he put *Rocking* in the space under it. Then he noticed his mistake, and without troubling himself to erase and correct it he engraved *Bonington* (*sic*) immediately under his *Rocking*, squeezing it in so as to avoid interference with it and with his *Orlanston* previously engraved; and then he tried, not very successfully, to complete the symbol under the first syllable of *Bilsington*. The reader may compare these positions with those in Symonson's map reproduced in Plate IV, Fig. 3, as well as with the Ordnance map.

In spite of such mistakes it is evident that the engraver of the anon map made most of his copy with some care; but he also made intentional additions and omissions. He distinguished the two places named *Boughton* (*Bocton* in

later maps) by the addition of *Aloph* to the one near Wye ; and the other two in Aylesford lathe by the addition of *munchel* (for Monchelsea) to the one and *mal* (for Malherbe) to the other. He corrected *Hitchm* into *Higham*, and here and there he added a name omitted by Saxton, such as *East Sutton* : but he failed to mark *Pluckley* (north of *Smarden*). He made a mistake in writing *Nope* for *Hope* (near Romney). Richborough seems to have been a trouble to Saxton or his engraver as well as to the engraver of the anon map : the former spelt it *Ratsboro*, and the latter *Rptsboro* with an *e* added above the *p*. With regard to the river names, anon omits Saxton's *Ravensbourn flu* and inserts all the other river names in different places from Saxton's, probably to present them more clearly to the eye.

The author of a county map, whether early or late, usually omitted details of the portion of any neighbouring county that fell within the limits of his plate, contenting himself with writing "Parte of" such and such county. The engraver of the anon map, however, gives almost full details, again following Saxton's map of the four counties. But here and there he shows a little less care : for instance, no place-name is attached to his symbols of Saxton's *Croydon* and *Addiscombe*, NW of *Addington*—an omission which was corrected in the later issues of the map ; and below Rye the coast line is carelessly drawn and Saxton's *Rye*, *Haven* and *Winchelsey* are omitted. Mr. Box has drawn attention to some other differences.

The most important of anon's additions is the division of the shire into lathes, shown by dotted lines. Except in the case of the *Lathe of Saint Augustines* he found convenient spaces in which to add the names of the lathes, and also *The Wealde*. He also drew a dotted line dividing the lathe of Shipway into its two bailiwicks of Shipway and Stowting, without naming them. He made a few deviations from accuracy, e.g. he drew a pronounced eastward loop to include *Charinge* in the lathe of *Ailisforde* instead of in that of Scray ; and *Appledowre* and *Kenerdi'gton*, which should also appear in Scray, he included in Shipway. On

the intricate history and mapping of the lathes and the Weald or "Seven Hundreds", the reader is referred to Captain H. W. Knocker's paper on "The Valley of Holmesdale" in *Arch. Cant.*, Vol. XXXI.

It may be left to the interested reader to carry further the comparison of the two maps. If, as I contend, the anon map is a copy (with certain errors and omissions, additions and improvements) of the Kent portion of Saxton's map of the four counties, as engraved by Hogenberg in 1575 (and not of any supposed earlier map of the county by Saxton or other author), then the claim that it was Lambarde's Carde of this Shyre falls to the ground—a claim based upon the simple fact that "it, and no other early map of Kent, has the name of Medway in the position indicated by Lambarde," namely five miles below Maidstone. By the way, ought not the passage to run "No other *known* map"?

Mr. Box calls to his aid the name of *Northmouthe* given to the northern outlet of the Wantsum in both the anon map and Saxton's, and "in those two early maps only". This name is interesting quite apart from the question under review. It should be noticed that with that name in both maps there is linked another—*Newhaven*. Now in the Saxon period, as earlier, the waters of the Wantsum formed a wide estuary. Shipping on its way from Sandwich to London sailed along its western bank and out under the walls of Reculver fort, i.e. by a north mouth. In the course of time a gradual silting up of the estuary made that channel difficult: a sea-wall was built and the shipping diverted to a more navigable channel about a mile to the east, as shown in both our maps. To its exit there the old name of *The Northmouthe* was transferred, but it also became known as *Newhaven*, a name which it acquired in reference to the decaying "sure haven of Stourmouth". Both names were in use when our two maps were made. *Newhaven*, however, seems to have become the name more commonly used, as it appears alone in the slightly later maps of Symonson, Norden and Speed. But the old name was not altogether lost, for it appears as late as 1717 in a map by S. Parker that hangs

in the vestry of Minster church; and it is the subject of discussion, as Mr. Box reminds us, in John Battely's *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, written in Latin and published in 1711. Battely (p. 12) is combating a notion, entertained by both Somner and Gibson, that *Northmutha* was at the mouth of the Medway (*in Medwaegi ostio*), and he asks, 'Isn't that name applied to the northern mouth of the Wantsum in Lambarde's map?' Battely's text runs thus: *Annon enim in Lambardi tabula geographica id nomen Wantsumi, sive Sturae, ostio septentrionali ascriptum est?*, and he adds to the words *in Lambardi tabula* a footnote *in fine Itinerarii Cantii*,—"in Lambarde's map, at the end of (his) Perambulation of Kent." Now this footnote simply means that Battely possessed or had seen a copy of Lambarde's book into which someone had inserted at the end a map of Kent, which is quite likely to have been a copy of the anon map. The British Museum's first edition of the *Perambulation* has a copy of that map inserted between the map of *Angliae Heptarchia* and the page beginning "The exposition of this Map of the English Heptarchie", and in Dr. Cock's first edition there is another copy inserted between pp. 426 and 427. As to the expression 'Lambarde's map', it was probably a bit of loose writing on Battely's part, but if it means that he thought it was bound up in the book by Lambarde's choice and direction it was an uncritical error on his part, for a slight examination of the book would have convinced him that no general map of Kent was published with it. The only map besides the somewhat sketchy map of the English Heptarchy that Lambarde included in his volume, and that not in the first but in the second edition (between pp. 70 and 71), was the "Carde of Beacons", which he described in the text of that edition;¹ and the only other map he mentioned in the first edition was the "Carde of this Shyre" which he had seen, and the only other in the second

¹ In the third and later editions the Carde of Beacons is missing, though the description remains. The plate seems to have been lost. A modern reproduction has been made from one of the original copies. I am indebted to Dr. Cock for this information, and for much further help he has kindly given me from his store of map-knowledge.

was the "Charde" of his "good friend Master Philip Simonson of Rochester"—to which we now turn.

V

Philip Symonson, the man and his map. We owe it to the late Mr. A. A. Arnold, F.S.A., that we know anything of the man beyond his work on the map. Our knowledge consists of a few biographical notes which Mr. Arnold culled from the Rochester Bridge Warden's accounts and sent to Mr. Hannen, who published them in a short paper contributed to *Arch. Cant.*, Vol. XXXI. A brief abstract must suffice here for the benefit of members who may not have ready access to that volume.

Phil Symonson was appointed Expenditor and Superintendent and Surveyor of the Rochester Bridge and Bridge Estates in 1592 and held the office until his death. He was one of the two Bridge Wardens for the year 1594. He received an annual stipend of £10 and was paid an additional fee for his pains and expenses in surveying. The Wardens still possess plans drawn by him of Nashenden and Little Delce and of the Manor of Langdon and lands at Dartford. He was Mayor of Rochester for the year 1597-8, and died on September 30th when his Mayoralty was on the point of expiring.

His map of Kent, as Mr. Heawood has said, is perhaps the finest specimen of English cartography before 1600. It is dated 1596. Nearly as large as an Ordnance map of half-inch to the mile, it occupies two 'Royal' sheets joined together. It was produced on the basis of the author's own travels through the county, and was several times re-issued, with some alterations to the plate, during the next century. No complete copy of the first issue is known, but a copy of the eastern sheet is in my possession, acquired by purchase in a bundle of early maps some years ago. It has no printer's or bookseller's name on it, and may possibly be a proof-pull.¹

¹ This eastern sheet was reproduced in 1932 by the Royal Geographical Society in the second series of that Society's *Reproductions of Early Engraved*

It shows at the top the arms of Queen Elizabeth with supporters, a lion and a dragon, and crown; and in a panel at the bottom, details of "A New Description [or Map] of Kent", "By the travayle of Phil. Symonson of Rochester gent: 1596." Near the margin in the right hand bottom corner there are signs of the same date erased, and those signs are still visible, more or less, in copies of the complete map. It has been thought by some that the erasure should be read not as 1596 but as 1576, putting its date back to that of the first edition of Lambarde. That reading was suggested by William Twopeny, the antiquary of Rochester, in a MS. note which he wrote in a copy of Philipott's *Villare Cantianum* which contained the map; and Mr. Hannen, when writing his Paper, acknowledged a difficulty but "agreed on the whole" with Mr. Twopeny's opinion. That reading, which I may now say I ventured to question at the time, I think Mr. Hannen eventually abandoned. Mr. Heawood truly remarks that "a careful examination of the marginal figures with a lens makes it almost certain that they stand for 1596, the alteration having probably been made to give a better balance to the inscription." (I have previously drawn attention to erasures for the same purpose in Saxton's map.) The difference between the two figures, 7 and 9, as they appear elsewhere in the map is very marked. The 7 is formed by two straight lines meeting at an acute angle in a sharp point, the 9 by two curved lines: in the imperfectly erased figure there is no sign of such a point, while the two curves, drawn with three strokes of the pen, are quite distinct—see Plate IV, Fig. 2.

1. The earliest known issue of the whole map is represented by a copy owned by the R.G.S.; another,

Maps entitled *English County Maps*, with an introduction by Mr. Edward Heawood, M.A., who was then Librarian. A copy of this series, measuring 26 by 20 inches and containing twenty-one sheets, has recently been presented to me by the R.G.S. at Mr. Heawood's suggestion. I would gladly show it to any member interested. I must take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to my friend Mr. Heawood, as to his predecessor in office, Mr. E. A. Reeves, for the willing assistance they have given me in my intermittent study of early maps during the last three and twenty years—an assistance continued by the present staff of the R.G.S.

formerly owned by the late Mr. de Barri Crawshay, who died in 1924, cannot be traced now, though his son, Mr. Raymond de Barri Crawshay, has kindly endeavoured to do so for me; and a third, Mr. Hannen's copy, reproduced in Plate VII, has been presented by his widow to the K.A.S. and now hangs in the Society's room in the Maidstone Museum. This issue is distinguished by the addition of *Printed and sould by P. Stent* in the space to the left of Phil Symonson's name at the bottom of the right-hand panel. Mr. Heawood reports that the watermark of the paper of the R.G.S. unmounted copy (a fleur-de-lis with countermark MLP) was one current in the mid-seventeenth century. According to the *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641-67* (1907), P. Stent was in business in Giltspur Street from 1643 to 1667, which indicates that no publication of his before 1643 was known to the author. I think it probable that the business was established at a somewhat earlier date, and that the date of this issue of the map may, for reasons given in the next paragraph, be put at round about 1630.

2. The next issue is the same except in two respects: (a) "Parte of Essex" at the top of the western sheet has been erased and a view of Rye substituted, signed *Sr Anthony Van Dyck Delineavit*: (b) the royal arms at the top of the eastern sheet have been erased, only the little cross that surmounted the orb being left on the lower line of the border, and a long view of *Dover Castle & Towne* substituted, signed *W. Hollar fecit*. As Hollar came to England in 1637 and Van Dyck died in December, 1641, the association of these two artists suggests a date for this issue in that interval, which would put the date of the previous issue somewhat earlier still.

3. This again, apart from a few slight alterations, is the same as No. 2 except that the date has been erased and under *Printed and Sould by P. Stent* there is added, in a different hand, *at ye white Horse in giltspure street: 1659*. But the plate had evidently become worn, and parts of it,

especially the shading of the coast line, were recut before it was used for this issue.

4. Nothing is known of an issue which Gough in his *British Topography* describes as "Printed and sold (*sic*) by P. Stent & J. Overton." It is interesting as showing that P. Stent had taken to himself a partner.

5. Another impression has the same views of Rye and Dover, but indicates P. Stent's disappearance from the firm. The date 1659 is omitted to make room for an alteration in the address: *Printed and sould by Io: Overton at ye white Horse near St. Pulchers church*.

6. The last impression, *Engraven by Saml. Parker, 1719*, and published in Harris's *History of Kent*, shows many alterations which Mr. Hannen describes in his Paper.

Mr. Hannen drew attention in his Paper to many interesting features of Philip Symonson's map—notably his attempt, with much success, to represent in the place-symbols the actual difference in the form of the churches. This may be more clearly realized by an examination of the two limited portions reproduced in full scale in Plate IV, Figs. 3 and 4. Worthy of note, also, is the clear manner in which the chalk and ragstone escarpments are delineated as compared with their somewhat haphazard presentation in Saxton's and the anon map. This, too, is the earliest map of Kent in which roads are shown—a feature which previously appeared only in Norden's maps of Middlesex and Westminster, published in 1593.¹ Another new feature is the insertion of degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude in the border. The number 24 appears above London, from which one may conclude that the longitude was reckoned from the meridian of the eastern limit of the Azores.

In the first edition of the *Perambulation* Lambarde makes no mention of Symonson or his map. In his second edition,

¹ For the roads the reader should consult a paper by Mr. Box (*Arch. Cant.*, XXXIX, 1927) in which they are compared with those of the later maps of Lea (1690) and Morton (1695), and an issue of the anon map dated by its watermark at 1720-30.

line joining its two ends, leaving, however, clear remains of the aforesaid two little cross-lines. We were all agreed on the result of this analysis, and we felt sure that Mr. Hannen could not have been guilty of such emendation or have known of it, and that it must have been done, innocently, by the photographer when mounting the map for his work. The river Loose also appears in Robert Glover's map, but without the "bridge".¹

It only remains for me to thank those gentlemen for their co-operation, and all others who have kindly given me assistance in the compilation of this Paper.

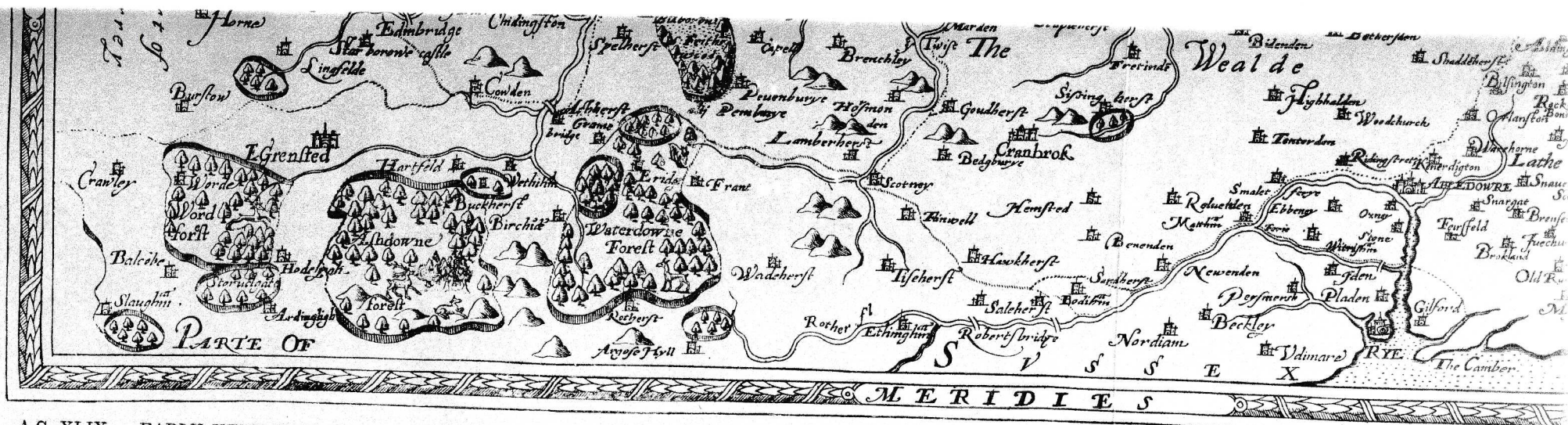
¹ See a map of the Loose and Len valleys in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, Vol. XXI, Plate IX, which shows the Boughton Quarries under which the River Loose runs, and indicates its disappearance again in several places on its way thence to join the Medway. See also F. J. Bennett's *Ightham*, p. 131, for the cause of this intermittent disappearance.



A.C. XLIX. EARLY KENT MAPS, PLATE I.

ROBERT GLOVER'S MS. MAP.

[Photo : Mr. C. E. Fisher.]



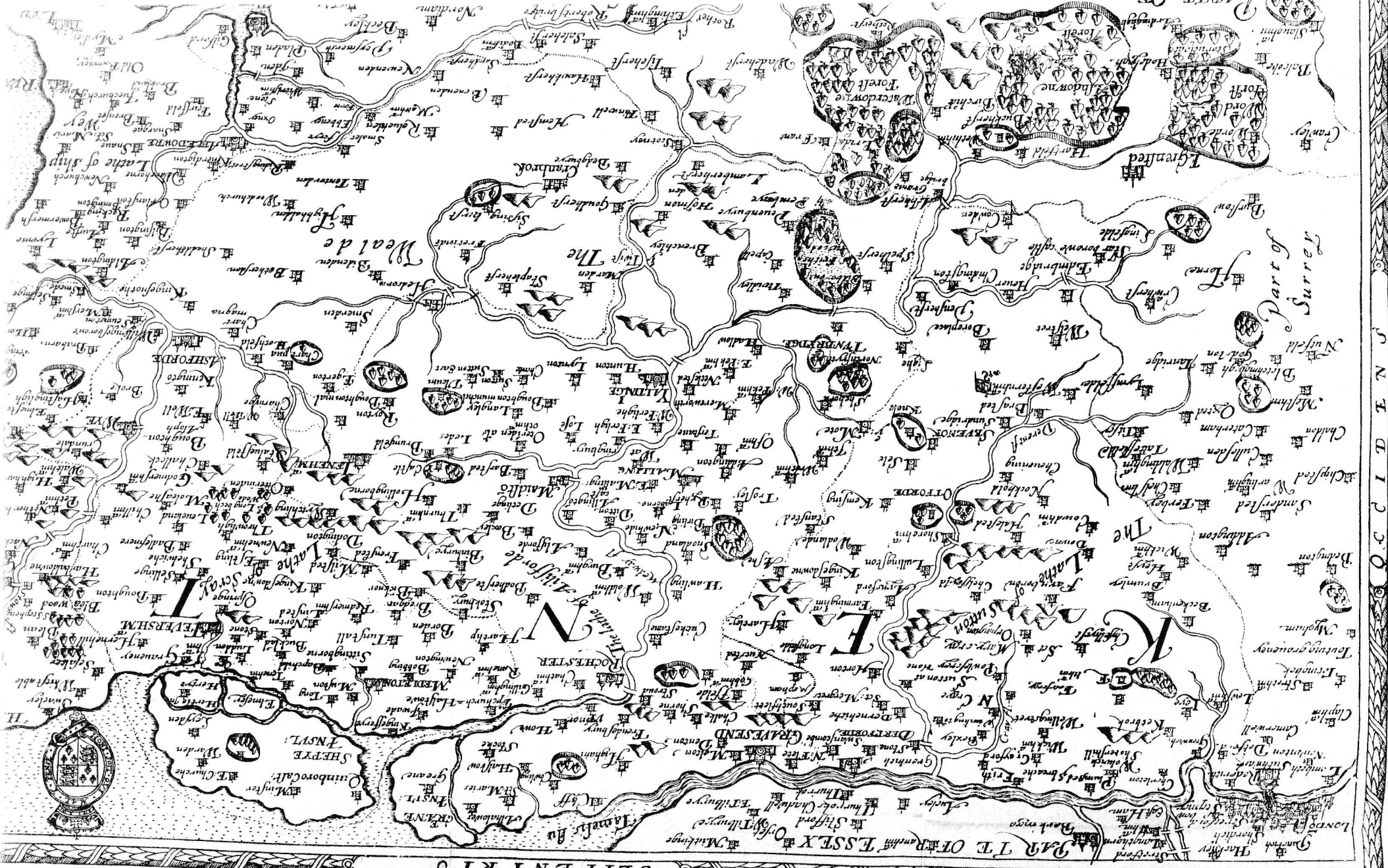
A.C. XLIX. EARLY KENT MAPS.

From Dr. F. W. Cock's 1924 Electrotpe of the R.G.S. Copy of the Anonymous Map of Kent.



From Dr. F. W. Cock's 1924 Electrotpe of the R.G.S. Copy of the Anonymous Map of Kent.

The Shyre of Kent. Divided into the five Lathes thereof



SEPTENTRIO

PART OF SURREY

The Shyre of Kent. Divided into the five Lathees therof

