

THE EARLY MAPS OF LONDON.

BY

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(Continued from Vol. III, p. 381.)

III.—THE PERSONALITY OF THE MAP-MAKERS.

THE present investigation of the early maps of London has proceeded as far as classification or grouping is concerned, and has also included a further measure of interpretation. The grouping and the analysis of the topics which the maps call up have been shown to be necessary before the required degree of credibility can be attached to the maps, or before the accuracy of the representations can be approximately judged. But to complete the discussion of their interpretation there yet remains another head of investigation, which, although important, is often ignored—viz., the personality of the map-makers.

In everyday life, when statements are thought to be of sufficient importance to arrest attention and, if possible, to merit belief, the personality of the individual is the chief factor in settling the degree of confidence to be placed in what is said. In this personality there is included the credibility of the narrator and the opportunities he is known to have had as the basis for his utterances. Further, the disentanglement of first-hand knowledge from what is founded on "hearsay" is attempted before belief or disbelief is secured, or before the position is reached in which opinion is held in suspense. So with our maps, their representations originate in their producers and furnish the information the truth of which is to be tested. Knowledge of

their producers should therefore go far towards settling the mental attitude to be adopted concerning what the maps would have us know. If the producer—be he author, surveyor, engraver, or publisher—could be cross-examined in respect of his claims to credibility, the task of investigation would greatly be lessened. Alternatively, the fullest biographies should be forthcoming. Here, however, no biography is attempted beyond setting out by way of example some accepted facts regarding a few of the individuals through whom the early maps have reached us. As far as these facts carry us, they serve to aid in our interpretation.

For convenience, the selected names of those associated with the maps are arranged in alphabetical order, and under each of the names chosen are mentioned incidents which, as pointed out, are helpful towards concluding the credibility of the map-producers. Unfortunately, however, relevant biographical incidents are few, so little of what we desire to know having come down to us. Accordingly our test of credibility based upon personality falls far short of the ideal.

For the facts and incidents in the lives of the mentioned map-producers, no originality is claimed. They are to be gathered from sources well known and readily accessible. Chief among the sources is the "Dictionary of National Biography." Where an issue depends upon the accuracy of any of the facts and incidents presented, confirmation should be sought by reference to the authorities. This is the case, in particular, where the authorities themselves differ. It is to be noted that the list of names does not include the names of those responsible for the many derivatives of the type-maps. At such a time when these derivatives are catalogued and classified, it will be sufficient to enter also upon the personalities of their producers.

The reference against the names in the list is to the pages of the Transactions, N.S., Vol. III, Parts iii and iv, where the names are mentioned in the course of the paper.

The following is a list of a few of those who were concerned in the production of the early maps of London:—

Agas, Ralph, 266, 269, 355, 356, 365, 373.

Faithorne, William, 266, 267, 279, 283, 285.

Hoefnagle, Joris, 268, 365.

Hollar, Wenceslaus, 266, 278, 279-83, 285, 366.

Hondius, Jodocus, and sons, 271, 274.

Hondius, Ludovicus, 275.

Merian, Matthew, 266, 277, 279, 365.

Moore, Sir Jonas, 280, 282.

Norden, John, 266, 270, 350, 358, 368, 369, 370, 377.

Pricke, Robert, 280.

Ryther, Augustine, 276, 277.

Smith, William, 268.

Speed, John, 266, 271, 377.

Visscher, Nicholas J., 266, 274, 355, 356, 357-362, 373, 375, 379.

Wyngaerde, Anthonie Van Den, 266, 267.

AGAS, RALPH, 1540(?)-1621 (Overall's "Civitas Londinum" (1874); Proc. S.A.L., 2 S., VI, 81; Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting" (1828), I, 304, V, 17). A native of Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk. Born at some period between the years 1540 and 1545, but little is known of his early life. He seems, however, to have been a land-surveyor of considerable experience. In November, 1606, he was lodging in Hölborn, at the end of Fetter Lane, near the sign of "The Helmet," by which time he had been a surveyor for over forty years. The parish register of Stoke-by-Nayland states that on November 27th, 1621, "was buried Ralfe Agas, an aged."

Agas distinguished himself in making surveys of the principal cities in this realm, and in 1606, when setting out his experience and abilities, he referred to his "plattinges of Contries, and Shires wherein everie Toune, Village, and

Hamlett shalbe sette doune in true forme, quantitie of lande, and Maner of Buildinge, with observation of all waies, waters, woodes, and other thinges of marke," etc.

Of his undoubted works, one only is now extant—viz., a bird's-eye view of the City of Oxford, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. Of his other surveys, of which no examples have come down to us, one which Vertue said he had seen, was a plan (1589) of the town and boundaries of Dunwich, in Suffolk, with remarks by the author. (Walpole's "Anecdotes," I, 304.) This plan of Dunwich was formerly in the possession of Mr. Thomas Gardner, Deputy Comptroller of the Customs of Dunwich, who published in 1754 an historical account of the town, and whose death occurred in 1769. To the false attribution of the two copies or editions of a bird's-eye view of London to Agas—editions preserved at the Bodleian Library and at the Guildhall respectively—reference has already been made. (Trans. Lond. and M'sex. Archæol. Soc., N.S., Vol. III, p. 269.)

Agas also published a plan of Cambridge, 3 feet by 4 feet, about the year 1578. (Gough's "British Topography" (1780), I, 209.)

FAITHORNE, WILLIAM, the elder; 1616-1691; engraver and portrait-painter. (D.N.B., XVIII, 154.) Born in London; pupil of William Peake, painter to Charles I, of Payne, and of Sir Robert Peake. With Hollar and Peake, he was at the defence of Basing House, and at its surrender he was confined in Aldersgate. On his release he was banished for refusing to take the oath to Oliver Cromwell. Transported to France, he returned by permission and settled without Temple Bar, where he sold prints executed by himself and by others. About 1680 he resided at Blackfriars, London, where in 1691 he died, and was buried in St. Anne's, Blackfriars. Faithorne engraved numerous portraits, book-plates, maps, title-pages, etc., and, in addition to the map of London and

Westminster, in twelve sheets, measuring collectively 72 inches by 39 inches, he engraved a map of Virginia and Maryland in four sheets, together measuring 36 inches by 31 inches, a map which is preserved in the British Museum.

HOEFNAGLE, JORIS, 1545-1617(?). (Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting" (1828), V, 24; "The Architectural Review," August, 1918, p. 29) Born at Antwerp, he travelled through Germany, Italy, and Spain, making, by the way, drawings of ancient monuments, which he embodied in a published volume on his return to Flanders. After the sack of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1576, in which he lost heavily, he set out for Bavaria with Abraham Ortelius, the geographer. Having settled at Munich, the miniatures which he had produced in an illuminated missal (now in the Library at Vienna) attracted the attention of the Elector, who took him under protection. A short visit to Rome, where he worked for Cardinal Farnese, was followed by one to Innsbruck under Archduke Ferdinand. His reputation also resulted in a summons to Prague by the Emperor Rudolph, for whom he illustrated four books on natural history. Died probably not earlier than 1617 or 1618, since inscriptions on some of his plates in a late volume of Braun's Atlas state, "Communicavit Georgius Hoefnaglius, A° 1617," or words of that tenor with the same date. He also sketched and engraved several plates for the works of his friend Ortelius, "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," published in 1571. He painted the oil picture of Horselydown Fair, the property of the Marquess of Salisbury, and also "the original drawing of Nonsuch, signed and dated, owned by Mrs. Alfred Morrison." Some plans and views Hoefnagle copied from other artists, and for these he made due acknowledgment. His plates contain many details, interesting to architect or antiquary.

HOLLAR, WENCESLAUS, 1607-1677, artist and engraver. (D.N.B., XXVII, 160; Vertue's "Description of the Works," etc. (1759); Chambers' "Book of Days," March

28th.) Born at Prague, the son of a lawyer, was placed at length under the instruction of the engraver, Matthew Merian. In 1636, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, when passing through Frankfort on his way to Vienna as Ambassador to the Emperor Frederick II, met Hollar and attached him to his suit at the Embassy. Returning to England, the Earl introduced Hollar to Charles I, and procured for him an appointment as drawing-master to the young Prince, afterwards Charles II. Residing at Arundel House, Hollar engraved the "Arundelian marbles." During the Civil War he was granted a commission by the King, and along with Peake and Faithorne, the artists, engaged in the defence of Basing House, in Hampshire, under the Marquis of Winchester. After the fall of Basing House, he was taken prisoner, but escaped to Antwerp, where he found his patron, the Earl of Arundel. The Earl dying, Hollar returned to England in 1652, and there eked out a precarious livelihood. During the Restoration he received the title of the King's Iconographer, but he died, in 1677, as poor as he had lived, and was buried in the graveyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Hollar was no less an artist than an engraver, and of his engravings 24,000 are stated to have been executed. It is almost certain, however, that many of the examples which bear his name were engraved not by him personally but under his superintendence, and that in numerous instances his name was simply pirated. Of his work as a draughtsman many examples are extant. In several instances he appears to have been the engraver of sketches by other artists. The works bearing his name are often mechanical in their execution and inartistic in conception. When discussing Hollarian prints it is desirable that those which he sketched should be distinguished from those originated by others, and those actually engraved by him from those engraved under his superintendence merely. In this way only can the marvellous industry of this prince of engravers be properly estimated.

HONDIUS, JODOCUS, and sons, 1563-1611, the sons succeeding the father, engravers and publishers. (D.N.B., XXVII, 242; Gough's "Brit. Topog.," I, 91.) Born at Wacken or Walkdene, in Flanders, Hondius from his earliest youth applied himself to the arts of design. Coming to London in 1583, he set up as a type-founder, an engraver of maps and charts, and a maker of globes and mathematical instruments. He engraved some of the earliest maps of England and other countries, and illustrated the voyages of Drake and Cavendish. Removing to Amsterdam about 1594, he published, in 1606, an enlarged edition of Mercator's Atlas, in 1597 a treatise on the construction and use of the globes, and in 1594 a treatise on caligraphy. He died at Amsterdam on February 10th, 1611. His two sons, Jodocus and Hendrik, set up as publishers of prints, etc., at Amsterdam, and completed the unfinished works of the father, including the maps for Speed's "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine."

HONDIUS, LUDOVICUS. ("Notes and Queries," 12 S, I, 207, March 11th, 1916.) This name, says "L. L. K.," or its variant Bondius on some copies, in one of the panels on the Visscher Panorama still remains a riddle. "Lusit," which accompanies the name, may stand for Lusitanus, but the individual has not yet been identified.

MERIAN, MATTHEW, 1593-1650, Swiss engraver. ("Encyclopædia Britannica," 11th ed. (1911), Vol. XVIII, 164.) Born in Basel, 1593. At an early age showed signs of artistic tastes, and by 1613 had displayed talents as an engraver on copper. Studying in Paris and elsewhere, he reached Stuttgart in 1616 and the Low Countries; married, 1618, at Frankfort, the daughter of a publisher, bookseller, and engraver. In 1625 Merian became a burgher of Frankfort, whither he had returned from Basel; lived there till his death in June, 1650, Frankfort being then the great centre of the book trade in Germany. Among his many works

appear "Topographia," which contained descriptions of various countries, illustrated by copper-plates largely by Merian himself, the accompanying text being due to Zeiller (1589-1661), an Austrian by birth. He is best remembered by his views of towns, views of historical value. The Merian tradition was worthily continued in London by Merian's pupil, Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677).

MOORE, Sir JONAS, 1617-1679, mathematician. (D.N.B., XXXVIII, 373, where authorities are subjoined.) Born at Whittle, in Lancashire; was encouraged to undertake mathematical study, and became, 1647, mathematical tutor to the Duke of York. Subsequently he set up as a teacher, and was appointed surveyor in the work of draining the great level of the Fens, an undertaking entered upon in 1649. He produced a history and map of the Great Level of the Fens, and surveyed the coasts (Seller's "English Pilot," 1671). He also constructed a map of Cambridgeshire, which was published in Phillips's supplement to Speed's Maps, 1676. Pepys was said to possess a copy of his survey of the entire course of the Thames. After a journey to Tangier in 1663, he was knighted and appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. He resided thenceforward in the Tower, where he died and was buried. Was the author of many other works, the principal of which, "A New System of the Mathematics," appeared posthumously in 1681.

NORDEN, JOHN, 1548(?) - 1626(?), surveyor. ("Notes upon Norden," Lond. Top. Rec. (1903), II, 42, citing Wood, Gough, Ellis, etc.; New Shakespeare Society's Transactions, LXXXIX, Appendix III; D.N.B., XLI, 105.) Born about the year 1548 of a good family, he probably settled in Wiltshire. Admitted a commoner of Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1564, he took the degree of M.A. in 1572-3. During residence, he is thought to have drawn the map of all the battles fought in England from the Conquest to Queen Elizabeth. "I have been forced to

struggle with want, the unpleasant companion of illustrious desires," he writes in a printed prefatory letter to Burghley, "and have long sustained foils, enforced neglect of my purposed business and sorrow of my working business—*Miseria mentem macerat.*" In 1596 he dated from his house at Fulham, but Wood says that he lived during a great part of his life at Hendon. Gerald in his "Herball" of 1597 mentions Norden as a cultivator of the red beet. In 1609 he was Surveyor of His Majesty's Woods at £50 per year, and was surveyor to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. Many works by Norden are known. Of these the more interesting in the present connection is the "*Speculum Britanniae*" as regards Middlesex. A complete "*Speculum*" was projected, but during his lifetime Middlesex, in 1593, and Hertfordshire, in 1598, were alone published. The Middlesex volume contains the London map, a map which was reproduced several times under the title of "A Guide for Countrymen in the Famous Citty of London," 1613, 1653, etc. The two books on Middlesex and Herts were reprinted in 1637 and in 1723. The portions containing Northamptonshire, 1610, Cornwall, and Essex, 1594, were also written, but not published during his lifetime. Kent and Surrey were also said to exist in MS. Norden was the author of the "Surveyor's Dialogue," published in 1607, and of "England, an Intended Guyde for English Travailleurs," which appeared in 1625. Some of his county maps were issued in Camden's "*Britannia*," 6th edition, 1607, and in Speed's folio, 1611, of "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine." Gough refers to a view of London by Norden in eight sheets, which Bagford saw at Dulwich College, but which was destroyed by the damp of the wall. Various surveys by Norden are also known. He was the first cartographer to introduce roads into maps. The works entitled "A Sinful Man's Practice," "A Pensive Man's Practice," and "A Poor Man's Rest" were almost certainly not the topographer's, although both the

author and the topographer began to publish at about the same time ("Shakespeare's England," I, p. 72). Being mistaken for another man, *c.* 1599, of the name of Norden, a Kentishman, he was deprived of his pass and was unable to proceed in the finishing of his description of the shires of England. Alive in 1624, he is thought to have died about 1626.

PRICKE, ROBERT, fl. 1669-1698, engraver. (D.N.B., XLVI, 347.) Kept a shop for prints and maps in Whitecross Street, Cripplegate, London, during the latter half of the seventeenth century; published architectural works, mostly translated from the French and illustrated with engravings by himself. Gough says, "Pricke was Hollar's scholar" (Brit. Topog. (1780), I, 750, note *f*), and points out that, in addition to etching a south prospect of London drawn by Hollar, he executed the map of London which accompanied Wiseman's "Short Description of the Fatal and Dreadful Burning of London" (*ibid.*, 702, 750).

RYTHER, AUGUSTINE, fl. 1576-1590, engraver. (D.N.B., L, 69.) Apart from engravings, little of Ryther seems to be known. Native of Leeds and fellow-townsmen of C. Saxton, he was one of the earliest English exponents of the art of engraving on copper. He was associated with Saxton in engraving the maps of Saxton, the frontispiece of whose volume was engraved by him, where he is styled "Anglus." He was also associated with Hondius and others in the charts of "The Mariner's Mirrour," the book with the charts being "solde at the shoppe of A. Ryther, beinge a little from Leadenhall, next to the signe of the Tower." In 1590 Ryther published a translation under the title of "A Discourse Concerninge the Spanishe fleete," etc. It is probable that the accompanying charts, which were engraved by Ryther, were the basis for the tapestries of the Armada, formerly in the House of Lords, copies of which were published by John Pine.

SMITH, WILLIAM, 1550(?) - 1618, herald. (D.N.B., LIII, 142.) Born at Warmingham, in Cheshire, Smith is said to have been educated at Oxford. About 1575 Smith became a citizen of London and a member of the Haberdashers' Company. On the death of his father in 1584 he returned to England from Nuremberg, whither he had proceeded, and in 1585 took up residence in Cheshire. In 1597 he was created Rouge Dragon, and in 1618 was buried in the churchyard of St. Benedict, near Paul's Wharf. He was the author of many writings on heraldry and genealogies. His published writings are "The Vale Royall of England," 1585, published in 1656, and "The Particular Description of England," which, published in 1879, was mentioned by Gough as in MS. (Brit. Top., I, 37). This was the writing which embodied the map of London. It contains evidence that it was not completed until the reign of James I.

SPEED, JOHN, 1552(?) - 1629, historian and cartographer. (D.N.B., Vol. LIII, 318, where authorities are subjoined.) Born at Farrington or Farndon, in Cheshire, in (?) 1552, he was brought up to his father's trade of tailoring and in 1580 was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company. He first used his leisure in making maps of the counties of England. The Merchant Taylors' Company acknowledged in 1600 his "very rare and ingenious capacities in drawing and setting forthe of mappes and genealogies and other very excellent inventions." He copied Norden's maps for Camden's "Britannia" of 1607, and between 1608 and 1610 published a series of fifty-four "Maps of England and Wales." These, with maps by Norden, Saxton, and others, were collected, and, with description, were issued in 1611 as the "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine." The third edition, with the title "A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World," appeared in 1627. Subsequent editions were also issued. Other maps which are extant were also made by him. Speed wrote "The History of Great Britaine under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes,

and Normans," which was published in 1611 as a continuation of the "Theatre." "The publication of this work established Speed's claim to be the first of English historians as distinguished from chroniclers and annalists." Speed also wrote works upon theology. He died in 1629, and was buried in St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

VISSCHER, NICHOLAS JOHNSON, 1580-(?), artist and engraver. (Lond. Topog. Rec., VI, 41; "Notes and Queries," 12 S. 1, 206-7, March 11th, 1916; Bryan's "Dict. of Painters and Engravers," II, 675.) There is confusion in respect of members of the family of Visscher which has not yet been cleared up. Of numerous plates which are inscribed C. J. Visscher, some were published only or sold by him. Referring to the Visscher panorama, 1616, a writer remarks that "the identity of the engraver who first produced this very fine picture of old London requires elucidation," and sets out that the cypher C.I.V. which appears on the picture stands for Claus or Nicholas John Visscher. A correspondent in "Notes and Queries," quoting from the "Niederlaendisches Kuenstler-Lexikon" (1910), says the cypher seems to point to Jan Claesz Visscher, the father of Claes, who was busy at Amsterdam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He also points out that, if the younger Visscher is the engraver, his name should be Nicholas Johnson and not Nicholas John, and adds, in reference to the colophon—"Amstelodami, ex officina Judoci Hondii sub signo Canis Vigilio, anno 1616"—"Hondius is the Latinised form of Hondt (a dog), and the shop sign of the Watchful Dog was a pun on the proprietor's name."

WYNGAERDE, ANTHONIE VAN DEN, middle of 16th cent. (Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting" (1828), I, 305, n.; Topog. Soc. London (1881); Benham and Welch's "Mediæval London" (1901), p. 1 of List of Illustrations, ed. 1911, p. xi-xii; Bryan's "Dict. of Painters and Engravers," II, 614.) Of this artist, presumably Flemish, but little is known. "There exists a rescript of Philip II ad-

dressed to Margaret of Parma, Regent of the Low Countries, giving him permission to remove with his goods and to settle in Spain, from which it is supposed that he was in the King's service." Some drawings bear his signature, whence it is conjectured that he was attached to the Court of Philip II when in England, and that he attended the monarch in his different dominions. In addition to the long panorama of London, there are smaller sketches of topographical details by Wyn-gaerde, such as of Whitehall and of the Palace at Greenwich. Altogether the Bodleian Library possesses forty-seven drawings of his, besides the panorama.

This paper upon "The Early Maps of London" is now ended. Lengthy it seems as compared with space available. Brief, however, it is seen to be when the scope of its subject is considered. Much has been omitted, but much that would go to swell its volume remains yet to be set out. From the closing years of the last Henry to the period which followed hard upon the trail of the Great Fire, cartography received well-merited attention. Under the stimulating influence of the Great Revival, it secured a full share of study, so that to-day we enjoy that wonderful series of pictures of the London of ours during the Tudor and Stuart dynasties. But in our enjoyment we are too apt to read into the maps much that is not there, and to forget that more cannot be extracted from the maps than the authors put into them. And yet, in spite of their importance and of all that can be said for them, the maps and views have not received comprehensive or adequate treatment. Individually they have been studied in detail, but little has been accomplished towards their collation, while discussions upon the method of their formation and upon the degree of truth which they exhibit are practically unavailable. Even at this date, a tabulated list of London maps is still awaited, while a critical account of the successive editions of originals or prototypes is wholly absent. Mindful of the numerous

students to whom London is a continuing charm, this absence of scientific treatment of London pictures is inexplicable. If, however, as a result of this paper, attention should be focussed upon this branch of topographic art and some of the difficulties in gathering the tale which the maps have to tell are removed, the endeavours of the author towards elucidating an obscure subject will not have been in vain.