

The Genesis of John Speed's Maps of Battles in England and Ireland

For a time in 1797 England had reason to fear that its naval supremacy had been lost and that it risked defeat by the armed forces of Revolutionary France. Just then, the London mapmaker John Enouy issued a map entitled 'The Invasions of England and Ireland'; its design implied that no invasions since 1066 had succeeded. The next year, the Directory governing France planned to unleash Bonaparte against Britain. To encourage this plan, the Paris mapmaker P. F. Tardieu issued a 'Map of the Landings Made in England and Ireland since William the Conqueror'; it suggested that many invasions of England had been successful.¹ In commenting in these ways on current events, both the London and the Paris cartographers, and several more after them, based themselves on an early seventeenth-century English prototype, 'The Invasions of England and Ireland with al their Civill Warrs since the Conquest', by John Speed (1552–1629).²

Speed's precocious and unusual thematic map is well known. Its title features 'Invasions', as seen above, and this name imposes itself whenever the original heading is reproduced. But Speed was not centrally concerned with assaults on Britain from the sea; his map mainly displays the sites of battles in Britain itself, 'al their Civill Warrs', that is, battles mainly fought by Britons among themselves. A more appropriate title, combining invasions and civil wars, and in keeping with similar maps by two of Speed's contemporaries, is 'Battles' – the name for Speed's map that I shall normally use here.

The genesis of Speed's maps of 'Battles' has been discussed several times in recent years and deserves a fuller look. Speed's own printed explanation of what he was doing also needs examination. About twenty-five years separate the two versions of Speed's explanatory text from each other. Often quoted but not yet published in full, the two explanations are transcribed and compared as an appendix.

Speed started adult life as a tailor personally engaged in his craft, but he long worked on the side as an antiquarian and historian. He secured enough

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patronage by 1598 to exchange tailoring for full-time scholarship.³ The work for which he is best known, a chronicle-like *Historie of Great Britaine* (1610), was complemented by an atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611–1612), whose great popularity necessitated many reprintings. These ambitious projects were not directly associated with the ‘Battles’ map in question here. The comparatively isolated ‘Battles’ map has often been reproduced and has come to be known—only in the last thirty-five years or so—to exist in three distinct forms:

1. the Cambridge version, a single sheet datable to 1601 (and compiled in the previous year), which announces battle sites by massed pikemen and billboards;
2. the Newcastle/Paris wall hanging, a four-sheet map datable to c. 1603, in which battle sites are shown by numbered tents, a much less visible and more sedate device than that of the Cambridge version;
3. the Danckerts engraving, a single sheet identical in content to the Cambridge map but with a later date, by a different engraver, and with much more skilled execution. Carried out in the Netherlands in 1626, it was published the next year in Speed’s last atlas, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*.⁴

The widely circulated and familiar version of Speed’s ‘Battles’ is the one splendidly engraved by Danckerts. Neither the first nor the second of the three maps listed above was known to map historians until recently; they were identified and brought to light only in 1969–70. The haphazard way in which the three versions gradually came to the attention of scholars has made it more difficult to interpret Speed’s actions and motives.

The ‘Battles’ map is unlikely to have been ‘an attempt to reduce the whole history of Britain to the visual level’, but it certainly illustrates Speed’s ‘predilection for superimposing pictorial and anecdotal detail on a geographical map’.⁵ Almost ninety sites are marked, each graced with a battle miniature and identified by a billboard with place name and number. Seventy-four sites are in England, fourteen in Ireland (most of Scotland lies outside the map). Several pages of letterpress, keyed to the numbers, identify the contenders and give a brief summary of the action. Most land battles are condensed as massed ranks of pikemen, whose tall weapons, sometimes criss-crossing, form a sort of roof. Massed pikemen had already been commonplace as battle symbols in Italian sixteenth-century military maps. Four of the battles on Speed’s map feature cavalry engagements rather than pikemen, and two incidents in Ireland occasion narrative scenes – ‘Oneal kild by the wild Scots’ and ‘Desmond beheded’.⁶ Occurrences off the coasts are shown somewhat differently: naval vessels, all of contemporary type and very prominent, are set alongside explanations of the incident in question. The defeat of the Spanish Armada has pride of place, based in large part on the widely known Armada charts of Augustine Ryther (1590).⁷

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Speed's 'Battles' dates from the lifetime of Queen Elizabeth (†1603); the explanatory texts that accompany both the Cambridge and the Dankerts versions refer to her approval of the map and celebrate the tranquility brought by her beneficent government.⁸ Even though this early date is featured, the 'Battles' owes its wide dissemination in map collections to the third edition of *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* – a work that Speed issued in 1627, almost a quarter century after Elizabeth's death, under her second successor, Charles I. The *Theatre*, an atlas of the English counties first published in 1611, was reprinted many times.⁹ Its third edition was augmented by a brief atlas of the world – *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*. *Prospect* was often marketed thereafter with the *Theatre*.

Speed's third edition is set out in such a way that a selection of maps of foreign lands precedes and leads into the core collection of English counties. The single-sheet battles map, engraved by Dankerts, entitled 'The Invasions of England', and never connected to the *Theatre* before this 1627 edition, was inserted at the end of the world atlas and given its own special page numbering. Although, in the table of contents, it ends the list of *Prospect* maps (presumably as part of the new material added to the *Theatre*), instructions are given to place it 'in the beginning of the second Book', that is, within the *Theatre*, as though it properly belonged there.¹⁰

The 'Battles' map would have fitted nicely into the *Theatre* as a second thematic map after the 'Saxon Heptarchy'. Although it never reached this position, it was integrated into the British section of later editions. In that of 1662 the world maps (*Prospect*) are immediately followed by the *Theatre* title page, quite a few pages of front matter (including the 'Contents of the Chorographic Part'), then the 'Battles' map (and explanation), followed by the general map of Great Britain and the counties.¹¹ The integration into the *Theatre* of the map engraved by Dankerts never wholly effaced its origin as an extra between the world maps of *Prospect* and the English counties of the *Theatre*.

The quarter-century lapse between the origin of the 'Battles' map under Queen Elizabeth and its appearance in Speed's atlas of 1627 is intriguing. One biographer points out that Speed was seventy-five in that year and would die two years later, so that he may have done no more for *Prospect* than lend it his name; a publisher (it is suggested) rather than Speed himself decided to mobilize a design of Speed's that had long been shelved. This conjecture is more plausible than the alternative (proposed by Wallis and Schilder) that the 'Battles' map was deliberately withheld because it concerned civil wars, then a politically dangerous subject.¹² Neither hypothesis explains why Speed or his editor believed that a map of battles should be placed between the newly prepared maps of the world and the republished county maps of England. The revival of the 'Battles' map and its placement will concern us again.

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Contemporary 'Battles' Maps by Norden and Woutneel

Modern interpretation of Speed's 'Battles' maps has been influenced by the order in which they became known. Their gradual discovery took place in reverse from their actual chronology of publication (tabulated above). When R. A. Skelton published *Prospect* in facsimile (1966) the only known 'Battles' map by Speed was the one engraved by Danckerts in 1626. Skelton thought that, like many Speed productions, the 'Battles' map was not original; he surmised that Speed had simply copied it from one by an excellent contemporary cartographer: 'In 1600 John Norden [1548–1625?] prepared such a map, which (although it seems to have been printed) is no longer extant, only the broadside text written by Speed for it (STC 23037) being known'. This 'lost' Norden map of 1600 exists only as a mistaken inference by Skelton; it has never been documented either in manuscript or in print. The misstep in Skelton's reasoning occurred when he decided that the Speed broadside of 1600 at Cambridge (known to him from a catalogue listing rather than at first hand) was written for a map of Norden's. We now know that Speed's broadside was not for someone else's map but for his own (the Cambridge version, no. 1 above).

A Norden 'Battles' map of 1600 lingers in the scholarly literature. It has to be written off as a mistake by Skelton, arising first from his low opinion of Speed's originality, then from the misattribution of the Cambridge sheet that he did not personally verify (it would have set him right if he had). The only relevant item of Norden's is a very large, undated, and long destroyed wall hanging at Oxford, with no known connection to 1600, to which we now turn.¹³

This 'Battles' wall hanging is recorded by the eighteenth-century Oxford antiquary Thomas Hearne:

this Draught [of an old view of Venice] puts me in mind of a still greater Rarity (which I have often heard you speak of) that hung formerly in the [School-] Gallery [Adjoyning to the Bodleian Library], and that is a map or Draught of all the Battles fought in England from the Landing of William the Conqueror, to the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, in 16. Sheets, done with a Pen, by John Norden. (1708)

Hearne has a second comment: 'Twas done by Norden's own Hand, as Mr. Bagford informs me. 'Tis destroy'd. I never saw it. Mr. Bagford says 'tis the same with that printed in Speed [*Prospect* reference is supplied], tho' it [i.e., Speed's] bears Speed's name. Indeed there is this Difference, that Norden's had not Ireland' (1714).¹⁴

Bagford need not have been Hearne's sole informant about this map (e.g., about the absence of Ireland from Norden's map), and he was not a trained detector of map sources. When he tells Hearne that the Norden hanging is 'the same with that printed in Speed [*Prospect*]', he can mean a mere identity of titles ('The Invasions . . .'), or a resemblance in all details except Ireland, or

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something in between. Bagford and Hearne did not know about Speed's pre-*Prospect* 'Battles' map (the Cambridge version, no. 1); they therefore could not realize that Norden's undated sixteen-sheet map might just as well have descended from Speed (stripped of Ireland) as Speed's from his.¹⁵ Norden and Speed undoubtedly had in common the theme of 'English Battles, 1066–1603', but we cannot determine a more definite connection between them.

A third mapmaker besides Norden and Speed, namely Hans Woutneel, was responsible for a 'Battles' map. Woutneel's production, wall-size like Norden's but including the British Isles in their entirety, salutes the accession of James I in 1603.¹⁶ It survives in a single copy at Göttingen, with the detailed title, 'A Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland & Ireland With al the Ilands adiacent unto them, also the Battails that have bin fought. Both in those kingdoms and in france. Since the Norman Conquest Anno 1066. Expressed by the figures of Tents, in their proper places. With a brief relation of the events. Sett down in the margent'.¹⁷ This map, long known, has gained new interest from the recent discovery of a very similar wall hanging by Speed.

By the doing of Speed, Woutneel, and Norden, a cluster of maps showing five hundred years of battles in England were set before the public in the early seventeenth century. Maps aggregating battles over many centuries were a new subject then and never attained comparable popularity anywhere.

Speed's 'Battle' Maps Gradually Uncovered

Speed's share of these productions has grown in recent years. He ceased being limited to the Danckerts engraving when an unsuspected multisheet 'Battles' hanging by him surfaced in Newcastle-on-Tyne. Three of the original four sheets survived and were acquired by the British Library in 1970. Speed's 'Newcastle hanging' is similar to the Woutneel wall hanging of 1603 and was engraved by Renold Elstracke (fl. 1595–1625). The heraldry allowed Helen Wallis to date the Newcastle sheets to 1603–04.¹⁸ In 1986 Dr Günter Schilder, of the University of Utrecht, uncovered a copy of Speed's wall map, including the sheet missing at Newcastle, at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. Although the Newcastle/Paris wall map lacks a title, its discoverers concluded that it was Speed's response to Woutneel's map of 1603. Like the latter, Speed's glistens with iconography relevant to the accession of James I.¹⁹

These finds have been virtually outweighed by the attention finally given to Speed's single-sheet map at Cambridge University Library and its accompanying broadside. Charles Sayles's catalogue of *Early English Printed Books* at Cambridge (1903) had long recorded an 'Invasions' map by Speed in company with a printed explanation: 'A description of the Civill warres of England . . . 4 Broad sides pasted on to an impression of "The Invasions of England and Ireland" dedicated to "Sir Oliver Sainct John Knight"'. Skelton had drawn attention to the catalogue entries; Helen Wallis investigated the

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originals in 1969, in connection with the Newcastle find.²⁰ The Cambridge map is not unique; copies of it without the explanatory ‘broadsides’, and also without the text printed on the map face, are at Leiden and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The map dedicated to St John, surviving in these three copies, is undated but probably belongs to the year 1601. Although the engraver and plate of the 1601 version differ from the Danckerts version of 1626, the filiation of the two maps is unmistakable. The Cambridge map diverges markedly in details from the two wall hangings, that by Woutneel and that by Speed himself. It utilizes the symbol of massed pikemen to indicate battles, is followed by Danckerts’ engraving in doing so, and differs from all other ‘Battles’ maps, Speed’s own wall hanging included, in featuring this critical detail.²¹

Notable Distinctions among the Maps of ‘Battles’

The increase in documentation, though pleasing, settles few problems. Norden’s irreplaceably burned wall map, four times the size of the two other wall hangings, and so the largest work on the ‘Battles’ theme, continues to be intriguing but is of no help in clarifying the problems owing to its destruction. The surviving charred scrap of this undated giant shows a resemblance to the coastal parts of the other ‘Battles’ maps.²² This and Bagford’s limited observations are little to go on. As for the conclusion concerning Woutneel and Speed – that their wall hangings have a competitive relationship – it may have a solid foundation, but seems to lead nowhere.²³

There are more promising directions for exploration, notably, how the accounts given by Speed in the broadsides of 1600 and 1627 may be harmonized with the enlarged number of maps now available. Readers of *Prospect* in the 1620s were left in no doubt about the Elizabethan origin of Speed’s ‘Battles’ map. Now, finally, a ‘Battles’ map of Elizabethan date has become available. With this much earlier map comes a broadside giving Speed’s own account of how it came into existence. (He does not mention a cartographic source.) We now have explanatory texts of 1600 as well as 1627. They resemble each other more closely than they would if the second had been carefully updated; and they are only partly consistent with each other. Speed writes at length about the difficulties he encountered in the production of the original ‘Battles’ map. In 1627, he has other preoccupations. His remarks may be a candid account of his experiences, or they may be a largely fictitious cover story for purposes of publicity.

The ‘Battles’ maps, as now augmented, form two groups, with Speed contributing to both: the wall hangings and the single-sheet maps. The wall hangings have notably different subjects from the one-sheet ‘Battles’ map. The multi-sheet hangings – Woutneel and Speed (possibly Norden as well) – are maps of the British Isles that, among other details, take note of battles.

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The symbol used is a small, sedate, and standardized tent; the circumstances of the fighting are muted. Little more is offered than enhanced portrayals of the British Isles. In Speed's four-sheet rendering only the land masses are as eye-catching as the associated heraldry and chart of royal genealogy. Battles, already marked on some English county maps, are shown here on general maps of the British Isles drawn on a large enough scale to avoid crowding. In the wall hangings, battle sites on land blend into the landscape.²⁴

Battles drawn conspicuously in miniature are found only in Speed's one-sheet 'Battles' maps. The massed pikemen at the various battle sites, though formulaic, are large and carefully done; each one covers the equivalent of many square miles of ground and, as a group, form an obtrusive pattern of enormous patches.²⁵ No one can look at this map and imagine that the geography of the British Isles overshadows civil wars and invasions; on the contrary, the theoretical dot marking the precise battle site is almost always blotted out by the miniature and associated billboard. Early in the accompanying text, Speed tells us the defining characteristic of this type: 'Description of pictures after the manner of the fight, as the plot will giue roomth I haue placed'; in other words, he has supplied a drawing adapted to each battle as space permitted. Speed's pictorial 'description' differs entirely from a tent symbol.²⁶

One more distinction intrudes. Most battles in the British Isles were internecine (even William's conquest was not the invasion of a foreigner, but of a legitimate claimant to the throne). Speed's explanatory remarks include a classification of English civil wars, from William of Normandy against Harold, through rebellions of subjects against the crown (by commoners or barons), to contests of princes against each other (as in the War of the Roses). These categories include almost everything on the 'Battles' map, except the Spanish Armada. But battles and civil wars are not identical; the two types may boil down to the same thing for persons familiar with history, but not to the casual onlooker. Designers might choose to stamp their maps with one label or the other depending on what they meant to emphasize. Battles may be marked on maps with symbols in the same way as bridges, enclosed forests, windmills, market towns, and other unemotional features.²⁷ These same battles are recognizable as 'civil wars' only if that fact is brought explicitly to the viewer's attention.

Among the wall maps, the title of the Woutneel hanging, already quoted, announces its contents in detail: a description of the British Isles, 'also the Battails that have bin fought. Both in those kingdoms and in france. Since the Norman Conquest Anno 1066'. Many of these battles were internecine, but their quality is not pointed out. The reverse happens in Speed's single-sheet maps; their program is emphatic: 'The Invasions of England and Ireland with al their Civill Warrs since the Conquest' and, in letterpress, 'A Description of the Civill Warres of England'. Speed, in the broadside, reaffirms the subject of civil war by regretting that his theme was not English

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exploits against foreigners. The final lines (unchanged in the 1627 copy) congratulate readers that ‘these dangerous dayes of these latter times, when all hostility and outrage of ciuill warres, broiles, and dissentions, haue seemed by the power of the Almighty hand of GOD stretched forth in our defence, to haue beene transported out of this Iland ouer the Seas into other Countryes’. The ‘Ciuill warre’ map of 1601 gives no sign of being more politically sensitive than any other ‘Battles’ map. As may now be seen from the Cambridge original, its distinctiveness comes from being uniquely relevant to a contemporary crisis.²⁸

The Occasion of Speed’s First ‘Battles’ Map

This map is dedicated to ‘Sir Oliver Saint John Knight’ and is associated with a specific event, namely, St John’s knighting in Dublin in 1601. No reference to St John occurs in Speed’s broadside. What he does discuss is the battle map that he had ‘finished in large’ with the encouragement of ‘certain Martial Gentlemen professors of Armes, & louers of learning, . . . desirous to see these mixtures of matters of their owne profession, and the passed proceedings of their owne countries affaires’.²⁹ The map, we are told, was meant ‘in priuate and for great Estates’ (the multiple professors of arms relate somehow to a single, ‘private’ destination). Speed confides that he had not intended to pursue this theme beyond the one large manuscript map. Fate intervened: a pirate, unnamed, counterfeited his creation in reduced and printed form for the sake of sordid gain. Speed’s desire that England’s civil wars should be confined to a limited-circulation (private) map was defeated by theft. So he had to publish his own imperfect, reduced version of the large ‘platforme’. If it proved pleasing to the patrons who had encouraged him thus far, he would parallel it with ‘another plot of other Warres, performed by *Englishmen* in other Countries, against others and forraine forces’.³⁰

A quarter century later, the *Prospect* version of 1627 adds a new detail – that the Martial Gentlemen ‘were most diligent themselves in giving directions, to set downe the places . . . of every bataille’. References to theft and Speed’s need to counteract it are omitted (readers are told about the large manuscript map, not about the one-sheet printed version). The emphasis shifts to English foreign wars, Speed’s map of which had never materialized. Prose substitutes for geography in a concise, but protracted and earnest narrative of English victories abroad, until the writer concedes that his map is one of ‘domestick and ciuill warres’.³¹

When Speed originally produced his map in 1600–01, he had an immediate and practical reason for focusing on invasions and civil war rather than on British battles abroad. A list of Irish ‘civil wars’ is the one piece of commentary not printed on separate sheets; it appears in a box on the map face. Ireland, omitted from Norden’s Oxford hanging, is singled out by Speed for

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special attention. The final item on his Irish list (unchanged in 1627) shows that civil war was urgently topical and that the knight commemorated by Speed was newly created on its account. The fourteenth Irish 'civil war' was an ongoing event:

Tyrone in his rebellions against her Sacred Maiestie, hath overlong troubled the peace of Ireland, but chiefest the Province of Vlster whose treacherous acts and savage cruelties hath moved her Hignesse to send forces thitherward for whose prosperous succße [sic], with the overthrow of all trasons and rebellions, let all truehearted subiects pray.

The stirrings of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone (ca. 1540–1616), had long been causing Elizabeth's government concern. Speed dedicated his one-sheet map to Sir Oliver St John (1559–1630), a 'martial gentleman' trained in wars abroad, who went to Ireland with the forces led by the lord deputy, Mountjoy (1600). The emergency that sent Mountjoy to Ireland was a timely occasion for remembering and deploring the invasions and civil wars of the British Isles, as well as those currently desolating such nearby lands as France and the Netherlands. In Dublin on 28 February 1601, Mountjoy ceremoniously knighted St John. A Spanish expedition was known to be gathering to support Tyrone. The invaders landed in the autumn and were defeated and forced to withdraw in December. Tyrone submitted the next year. As a result, the St John version of Speed's map is likely to have been issued between the knighting in February and the defeat of the Spanish incursion in December of 1601.³²

The genesis of Speed's map of 1601 is spelled out on its face: the 'Description' was a *pièce d'occasion*, inspired by current affairs in Ireland and possibly by the prospect of a foreign landing. These circumstances are compatible with what Speed relates in his broadside; the Martial Gentlemen could have been St John's friends, possibly ordering a 'knighting gift' for their comrade-in-arms. The rest of what the broadside says may fit as well, but is just as lacking in confirmation; the pirated publication and frustrated hope of concealing civil wars are marginal details. What matters is that Speed's map of 'invasions and civil wars' came into being in immediate connection with a contemporary civil war and invasion; it has documentary value.

The Wall Maps of 1603

Current history is also associated with the Woutneel and Speed wall maps; their very precise link with King James I's accession in 1603 has been admirably documented from iconographic evidence. These hangings do not deplore civil wars or care very much about battles. Their conspicuous features are heraldic shields and royal genealogies recapitulating English history. The sign for battles on Woutneel's hanging is a discreet tent, as it is on Speed's. Engagements at sea or off the coasts stand out more than those on land. The

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sites of battles catch the eye only by having numbers referring to a narrative key; they guide interested viewers to the printed pages on which each engagement is summarized. Fanciers of warfare would have greater profit from these written accounts, though thin, than from the mere sites marked on the map face. Also topical, the Woutneel and Speed wall maps were compositions applauding the accession to the English throne of King James, a ruler with no great taste for war. In a firm but quiet way their maps underscored the ancient association of kingship with victory.³³

The Reanimation of Speed's First Map under Charles I

Speed's initial 'Battles' map cannot have been on sale for long after the end of Tyrone's rebellion. In 1611–12, when he published *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, no map of 'Battles', 'Invasions', or 'Civill Warres' was placed at its head. The *Theatre* was well supplied with feats of arms. Civil strife, if exhibited with decent abhorrence, was not considered a repugnant or dangerous subject by the government. Almost half of Speed's county maps include battle vignettes – miniatures, sometimes two or even three, similar to those in the 'Battles' map, but larger and more varied are fitted into vacant space, and provided, in a box beneath the image, with a brief identifying narrative. The battles of the *Theatre* reach back to the Romans and Saxons; nevertheless, more than half are internecine and duly deplored. There is no apparent need in the *Theatre* for Speed's 'Civill Warres'; its omission in the 1610s is unremarkable. What gives pause is its revival in the edition of 1627.³⁴

The 'Battles' map in Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* stands out for the unequaled quality of its image, signed by the Amsterdam engraver Cornelis Danckerts. Among the four Dutch engravers named on the signed *Prospect* maps, Danckerts, from an eminent mapmaking family, did only the 'Battles'. His rendering, possibly the first map he engraved, easily surpasses in beauty every other 'Battles' map considered here. Speed's 'Invasions and Civil Wars', sidelined for close to three decades, the plate of 1601 gone, was resurrected under promising auspices.³⁵

New conditions favoured this enhancement of Speed's *Theatre*. The earlier editions had had wholly adequate introductory maps; the enlarged edition of 1627, headed by the extensive *Prospect*, apparently called for a more elaborate transition. Readers did not need special assistance to negotiate the passage from a world atlas to one of the British Isles. External circumstances were what prompted this revival: public affairs had changed direction. For twenty years the genuinely peace-loving James I had cultivated an entente with Spain and kept England out of European troubles. By 1624 a shift in policy could no longer be prevented, and armed intervention by English forces began to be undertaken here and there on the continent. Speed's main patron, Sir Fulke Greville (Baron Brooke), was appointed to the royal council of war

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in April, 1624, and to the council advising on foreign affairs a year later. In keeping with these changes, which only intensified at the accession of Charles I (1625), an atlas maker could predict that his public would have a taste for foreign lands and martial exploits.³⁶

The single-sheet 'Battles' map, quietly sleeping when the third edition of *Theatre* was planned, was less than ideal for its new purpose. 'Invasions and civil wars' had been à propos in 1601; now, the main virtue of this map was to be available, ready-made. The passage of time and skilled re-engraving would make it look virtually new. The text accompanying the recycled map, though mostly unrevised, involves significant alterations. The map's sponsorship by Martial Gentlemen and its approval by Queen Elizabeth are emphasized. The narrator then goes well beyond the mere longing for British exploits abroad expressed in 1600:

I thought fit at least to make up [England's] honour, with our other proceedings in forraigne parts; and insinuate my penne into some little better applause by tracing the victories of the *English*, as farre as the *Sunne* spreadeth his beames, or the girdle of the earth doth any wise incircle it.

No mere promise, these exploits are sketched in an ample folio column, at whose end the reader is told, rather abruptly, that he will have civil war because that's what there is: 'But vpon this subiect, I could willingly insist, were it not that the argument of this present Description intends rather to speake of the domestick and civill warres, then [sic] of the forraigne and farre fetched victories that have adorned, and attended the trophies of the English'.³⁷ So, one imagines, the septuagenarian Speed thought; compiling a map of English 'farre fetched victories' was beyond his strength. The reorientation that nourished a demand for the maps of foreign parts in Speed's *Prospect* favoured the resuscitation of the 'Battles'. However imperfect it might be for present needs, Speed's map of 1601 provided an imposing, picture-filled display of 'martial Britain'. Danckerts's talented engraving improved what had already been good.

Recapitulation

Speed's tale of counterfeiting and retaliation has tended to eclipse the more reliable testimony of the maps themselves. Some of these have narrative miniatures of battles while others chastely symbolize battles as tents; some proclaim 'invasions and civil wars' while others merely mark battle sites among the various attributes of the landscape. Each map either discloses its genesis or can be connected to known historical developments. On this basis, a collective account of the 'Battles' maps may be attempted.

Should John Norden, deservedly famous in Elizabethan cartography, have a place in the story? We can speculate, but except for a charred scrap there is nothing to go on. A very large manuscript 'Battles' map by Norden existed

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at Oxford in the seventeenth century. When it was executed, precisely how it looked, and whom it influenced are unknown.

Speed's first appearance in the story involves a forceful and obtrusive portrayal of battles. The basic form of his map may have come from a predecessor (such was his normal practice), but its appearance was transformed by the wholesale injection of 'pictorial and anecdotal detail'. The 'Martial Gentlemen', his patrons, and the immediate circumstances of Tyrone's rebellion encouraged Speed's natural bent. One way or another, he produced what had not existed before, namely, a geographic poster that very obtrusively pictured the clash of arms, rather than a map merely marking battle sites.³⁸

Some months passed; Queen Elizabeth died, and festive receptions for her successor were organized. Experts in accession ceremonies can best explain how the wall hangings of Woutneel and Speed fitted into the public rejoicings. The circumstances called for wall maps quietly indicating where battles had taken place. England was a land of heroes worthy of her brave new king: that or something better was the message the map conveyed, in keeping with the festive occasion.

Decades later, in connection with a new, enlarged edition of Speed's very successful *Theatre*, the 'Battles' map of 1601 was revived, together with the accompanying text. The times were well suited for large miniatures of fighting men – images that loomed over topography and evoked active soldiering. Speed's unchanged list of battles implied that the last internecine conflicts had been under the late queen; the claim might even have been true. The days of that 'surcease' were numbered. The Danckerts version and its prose accompaniment had an assured future in an England that, before very long, would learn the meaning of earnest civil war.³⁹

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Appendix

Speed's text of 1600 is shown alongside the 1627 version. The words in bold face in the right column differ from the original text, with one exception: the much shortened account of foreign victories set off by square brackets.

SPEED'S EXPLANATIONS OF HIS MAPS (ABRIDGED)

A DESCRIPTION
of the *Ciuill VVarres*
of ENGLAND.

In this *Platforme* are contained (gentle Reader) the seuerall battels fought by Sea and Land, at seuerall times and in seuerall places of *England* and *Ireland*, and the parts

A Briefe Description of the *Ciuill VVarres*, and Battails fought in *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*.

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adioyning, within these fue hundred yeeres last past. Description of pictures after the manner of fight, as the plot will giue roomth I haue placed, and in the margent by numbers marked, obseruing the time, yeere, and euent of euery battel, which being performed by me in satisfaction of the honorable desire of certain Martiall Gentlemen professors of Armes, & louers of learning, were desirous to see these mixtures of matters of their owne profession, and the passed proceedings of their owne countries affaires, and desired me with my poore labour to further so good a worke: which being finished in large with the liking of the motioners, and good allowance of her *Maiestie*, to whose sacred person it was commended, and there contented to haue rested. The counterfeit whereof notwithstanding much lessened and more badly performed, hath since come forth in print, either through the greedy desire of gaine (the bane of all good proceedings) or the gainsaying mindes of such as are enuious to others pains, lest their owne profit thereby be empayred, whose barren inuentions must be supported by other mens endeouours, and their shallow conceites carried through the currants of others springs otherwise runne they from little to nothing.

The silence of *Englands* ciuill wars I could haue wished, being the markes of our owne infamies, and staines to be washed away rather with repentance, then againe to be renewed by remembrance: had not these drawne my paines to their owne headlesse inuentions, and shot my shafts from their owne Bowes: for lucre making common that, which in priuate and for great Estates I intended: and by their indirect meanes am inforced to bring mine owne (yet much abridged) to the *Presse*. Wherein if it so fall out, as that this my endauour doe yeeld contentment to them which hitherto haue allowed by labours, I meane in time to come (if God permit) to second the same with another plot of other Warres, performed by *Englishmen* in other Countries, against others and forraine forces: a matter of more honour to our Country and pleasure to our Countrey-men, in regard the same are accompanied with many famous uictories, under the Standers of whose Kings, mighty

adioyning, within these fue hundred yeeres last past. Descriptions of pictures after the manner of fight as the plot would giue roome, I haue placed, and in the margent by numbers marked, observed the time, yeere, and event of every battaile. Which being **undertaken** in satisfaction of the honorable desire of certaine Martiall **and Noble minded** Gentle-men, professors of Armes, **and followers of Fame**; desirous to see the **passed proceedings** of their owne **professions: dealt liberally with me to draw the plot, and were most diligent themselves in giving directions, to set downe the places, persons, and the issue of every bataille fought either by Sea, or Land, in England, Wales, and Ireland.** And being finished in a farre larger **platforme** (with the liking of the motioners, and good acceptance of her **that then was the mirror of her sex, and the maiden Martialist** of the then knowne world, the **glorious and ever living Queene ELIZABETH**, to whose sacred censure it was commended and dedicated) **I intended** there to have **staid it from further sight or publication.** Since indeed the silence of *Englands* ciuill warres, better befitted *Englands* subjects, they being the markes of her infamies, and staynes to be washed away rather with repentance, then any way **reuiued by too often remembrance.** But these defects I saw could not be so smothered, as to be quite forgot: therefore I thought fit at least to make vp her honour, with our other proceedings in forraigne parts; and insinuate my penne into some little better applause by tracing the victories of the *English*, as farre as the *Sunne* spreadeth his beames, or the girdle of the earth doth any wise encircle it.

[Summary of the survey of English victories: *Skip fictions of Monmouth and Polydor; Edward I in Syria; Richard I in Cyprus; Edward III at Poitiers; Henry V at Ajincourt; Henry VI as king of France; Henry II captures King William of Scotland; Edward captures King David of Scotland; the Black Prince restores Peter of Spain at Burgos; Essex ruins Cadix; Edward III erects a round table at Windsor with an allowance of £100 per week for his Martialists; establishment of other military*

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Kings many times haue been forced to bowe, and Martiall men constraigned to yeeld to *Englands* glorious obtained uictories. These being for the most part Ciuill Battels betweene meere *English-men* of one Nation,

academies; English sea captains outstrip Ulysses.]

But vpon this subiect, I could willingly insist, were it not that the argument of this present Description intends rather to speake of the domestick and ciuill warres of England, then of the forraigne and farre fetched victories that haue adorned, and attended the trophies of the English. From the prosecution of the former, and promulgation of the latter, how vnwillingly my pen is drawn, the roughness of the stile, and the slender performance of the whole, doth manifestly shew. They being for the most part ciuill battailes fought betweene meere English men, of one and the same nation,

wherein the parties uictorers, besides the losse of their owne side, procured on the other, the fall and ruine of them that were all of his owne Countrey, many of them of his own acquaintance and alliance, and most of them perhaps his owne friends in any other cause, then that in which hee contended for. But from this general / argument, to proceede to some particulars, it shall no: be amisse to make some diuision of them, according to their seuerall qualities, of the seuerall quarrels in them which are found to be diuers, and of three seuerall natures. Whereof the first were the inuasions attempted by forraigne Princes, and enemies against the Kings and people of this Realme. The second were meere rebellions of Subjects against their annointed Princes. And the third dissensious factions betwixt Princes of the blood Royall: of these three, all these effusions of blood haue consisted.

And to begin with the first battell in this plot which was the first beginning of government of this state as it yet continueth. Such was the attempt of *William* Duke of Normandy against King *Harold* the sonne of Earle *Goodwin*, who preuailed so against him in fight at Battaile in Sussex (a place so called by this euent) as the said Duke was afterward King of this Land, and brought the whole nation vnder his obedience, as it hath beene continued to his posterity euer since . . .

[Rebellions of subject] Also such was that of *Robert Ket* the Tanner of Windham in Norfolk, against King *Edward* the sixt, pretended against inclosures and liberty to the weale publike, was at Norwich taken in the field, and afterward hanged on the top of the castle of the same towne. And lastly, so was that of Sir *Thomas Wiat* and the Kentishmen against Queen *Mary* for the bringing in of *Phillip* of Spain, they being cut off at *S. James*, & himself yeelded at the Court. Of the latter sort of Rebellions being generall, were those of the Barons against King *John*, & King *Henry* the third his son, in their severall raignes. Against the father, in bringing in of forraigne powers, & working a resignation of the Crowne & Diadem, to the great blemish of their King & Kingdome. And against the son so prosecuted their attempts, that their warres to this day are called and knowne by the name of the Barons-wars, which had so lamentable consequence, as that after the ouerthrow & consummation of sundry most noble and ancient houses of England, and both parties wearied with warres: the conclusions of peace which ensued are reported in regard of the precedent marthers to be written with blood.

The third sort of these quarrels in these Ciuil-wars and dissensions, were factious dissensions betweene Princes themselues of the blood Royall, ambitiously aspiring the Crowne of this Kingdome, and title of Kings thereof: . . .

[The wars of the Roses] In so much as one of our owne writers *Edward Hall*, the great Chronicler, saith, that in these Ciuill wars betwixt these two Families it cost more English

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blood, then twice had done the winning of France: and of forraine writers *Phillip Cominne*, Lord of Argentine in *France*, reporteth that it consumed no lesse then fourescore Princes of the bloud Royall: and *Paulus Iouius* a Bishop of *Nouo Como* in Italy, resembleth the state of these warres to the most tragicale story of the City Thebes.

So let these few examples shewed in these three generall heads, suffice in this brief Description in stead of many that might be brought; for by these we may iudge of the rest.

Now the benefit that may be gathered by perusing the seuerall sorts of them, shall be to consider, in the first, the blessing of God poured upon us, in preseruing our Countrey and Nation against the seuerall inuasions of forraine enemies, notwithstanding their seuerall and many attempts. In the second the fall and ruine of rebellious Subjects taking armes against their annointed Kings, Princes & Gouvernors. And in the third the power of God and his heauy punishments inflicted vpon vs for our sinnes, in making the one party the scourge or maule of the other, with reuenging murder by murder, working the depopulation of our fruifull Country, and ruinating of our Cities at home, with losse and reuolting of the territories in subiection vnto vs by iust title of inheritance and conquest abroad. And in all of them representing vnto vs the lamentable stories of the times fore-passed and gone, to compare with the same the peaceable estate of the happy times possesst and present, wherein Martiall men haue leasure to winne honour abroad, the rest to liue in quiet and wealth at home, all factions forgotten, and all rebellions surcesed and repressed: and for these blessings to yeelde due thanks vnto Almighty God, that had prouided for vs such a Prince, and so directed her in her gouernement ouer vs, that with ease and pleasure we may both behold the one, and enjoy the other, especially in these dangerous dayes of these latter times, when all hostility and outrage of ciuill warres, broiles, and dissentions, haue seemed by the power of the Almighty hand of God stretched forth in our defence, to haue beene transported out of this Iland ouer the Seas into other Countreyes, insomuch as notwithstanding this calme security / of our owne at home, our neighbour-Nations of all sides abroad, either thorow the licentious tyranny of vngodly Princes, that haue laid persecution upon their Subjects, or the mutinous dissentions of disobedient people, that haue raised Rebellions against their Princes, haue been so turmoyled with garboyle of warres, as they haue been pittifully enforced to pray and seeke ayde at her Maiesties hands, and to submit themselues under the protection of her, whom with vs they acknowledge to be the very defendresse of the Christian Faith and Peace, and the most natural Nurse of the true Church of GOD. By all loyall duty therefore, wee are indebted to yeeld obedience vnto her Maiestie, and to her Maiesties most religious gouernment, by whom wee haue received such peace as the World doth admire, and following ages to her eternall fame shall record: and with faithfull hearts pray, that peace may euer dwell within her wals, and prosperity abide within her Pallaces, and that the abundance of her peace may continue so long as the Sun and Moone endureth.

*Cease civill broyles, O Englands subiects cease,
With streames of blood staine this faire soyle no more:
As God, so Kings must be obey'd with peace,
Yield thou thy due, to them their right restore:
Wash with repentance, these thine acts before:
Give loyal pledge, with might resist here wrongs,
That raignes thy Prince, to her thy Sword belongs.*

 [omitted 1627]

Collected by IOHN SPEED
citizen of London
Anno 1600

This article is dedicated to the Elizabethan Club of Yale University.

Notes

- 1 John Enouy, *The Invasions of England and Ireland* (London, 1797), 2nd edn (1801): single sheet (Bodleian Map Library); in atlases, Thomas Kitchin, *A New Universal Atlas*, 2nd edn (London, 1798), no. 9 (Yale, Beinecke; Library of Congress; British Library); *New and Elegant Imperial Sheet Atlas comprehending General and Particular Maps of Every Part of the World*, new edn (London, Laurie and Whittle, 1807). Enouy simplified Speed's design; boxes on the map face briefly identify the battles shown; ships are updated to 18th-century standards. P. F. Tardieu, *Carte des descentes faites en Angleterre et en Irlande depuis Guillaume le Conquérant* (n.p., an VI [1798]): foldout (Bodleian Map Library). Little groups of ships (all 18th-cent. in form) at appropriate points of the coast, with numbers keyed to the accompanying text. pp. 1–2: we have proved that out of 45 landings, 41 have succeeded (names listed).
 On the events, Georges Lefebvre, *La révolution française* (Paris, 1951), pp. 473–6, 493–9; H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon and the Invasion of England. The Story of the Great Terror*, 2 vols (London, 1908). The subject has endured, e.g., 'Man versus Arms in Invasions of Great Britain', *New York Times*, Sunday (11 April 1909), Magazine Section, p. 5; text by G. K. Chesterton, map by Charles Russell; 54 incidents illustrated.
- 2 Bibliographical details, Rodney W. Shirley, *Early Printed Maps of the British Isles 1477–1650*, rev. edn (East Grinstead, 1991), no. 397. A superb coloured copy is at the Yale Center for British Art, Atlas (F^o) 32 12/8/76. See also next note.
- 3 *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 726–8; R. A. Skelton, ed., *John Speed, A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, London, 1627 (Amsterdam, 1966), p. vii. Portrait of Speed, R. A. Skelton, *County Atlases of the British Isles 1579–1650: A Bibliography* (London, 1970), 1: frontispiece. On Speed as a historian, F. L. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, 1967); F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580–1640* (N.Y., 1962), pp. 178–9; Stan A. E. Mendyk, 'Speculum Britanniae': *Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto, 1989), pp. 78–81, 270–1.
- 4 Shirley, no. 239 (Cambridge), illustrated, pl. 88; no. 261 (Newcastle and Paris wall hangings), illustrated, pl. 91 (neither plate is clear). The Danckerts engraving is in John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1627) and later editions; Philip Lee Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress*, Supplement (Washington, 1955), no. 5928; Shirley, no. 397 (with illustration); Skelton, *Speed, 1627*, facsimile.
- 5 The quotations: Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, p. 196; Skelton, *Speed, 1627*, p. x. Iodocus Hondius (†1612), with whom Speed closely collaborated, is assigned a large part in the decorative development of maps (Skelton, p. viii). For Speed's map of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy with 14 historical scenes, see Walter Goffart, 'The First Venture into "Medieval Geography"', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), pp. 57–9.
- 6 Battles after 1500 are 14% of the total in England, 50% in Ireland, a notable contrast. Speed's two non-battle incidents in Ireland: (no. 8 of the Irish set) 'Dundalk

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- Sham Oneal with the loss of 3500 men was put to flight by S. Henry Sidney Knight [the lord deputy] and flying for succour to the wilde Scots was by them murdered in Clar Abbey. Eliz 9. 1567'. (no. 10) 'James Earle of Desmond, after many notorious rebellions by him committed, wandering from place to place in great distresse, was lastly slaine in his cabbın by an Irishman, December 13. 1580. Reg. *Eliz.* 22'. Pikemen in Italian war maps: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rari 1131 (gia BB II 43; gia K.II.43), nos. 26 and 27, 43, 55; Valeria and Piero Bella, ed., *Antiche carte geografiche topografiche e storiche della collezione Franco Novacco* (Milan, n.d.), nos. 13, 30; *Carte, Piante e stampe storiche delle raccolte Lafrerriane della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze* (n.p., 1980), e.g., no. 143; see also Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, *Carte geografiche cinquecentesche a stampa della Biblioteca Marciana e della Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia* (Venice, 1954). Early military maps should yield many more instances. The convention was well established before 1600. For its mistaken attribution to Norden, see n. 23, below.
- 7 Armada vignettes: Shirley, nos. 239, 255, 261; Harold Mattingly, *The Armada* (New York, 1959), p. xiv: the 11 charts drawn by Robert Adams of the Spanish Armada off the southeast coast (1588), based on the English translation of Petrucio Ubaldini's first narrative, were engraved by Augustine Ryther (1590). A set of these maps was found in an early copy of Saxton's county atlas, tucked in as though belonging there: Ifor M. Evans and Heather Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan Map-Maker* (London, 1979), p. 30.
- 8 Speed's text is transcribed in the Appendix.
- 9 John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, 1st edn, (London, 1611 [1612]). Colour reproduction, *The Counties of Britain. A Tudor Atlas by John Speed*, ed. Nigel Nicholson and Alasdair Hawkyard (London, 1988). Editions of the *Theatre*, Shirley, no. 316; Skelton, *County Atlases*, I, 30–44, no. 7. They proceed in tandem with Speed's chronicle-like *Historie of Great Britaine* (London 1610). The pagination was even combined with the *Theatre's* in 1632 (Skelton, p. 57).
- 10 The relationship of *Prospect*, *Invasions* map, and *Theatre*: Skelton in *Speed, 1627*, pp. vii, xi; Skelton, *County Atlases*, I, 55–7, 61–2. Günter Schilder and Helen Wallis, 'Speed Map Discovered', *Map Collector*, no. 48 (Autumn 1989), 26 (the assertion that the 'Invasions' map 'belonged' to the *Theatre* rather than to the *Prospect* needs weighing against the possibility that it belonged to neither until 1627). For another Speed atlas published in 1627, see Helen Wallis, 'England Re-Discovered', *British Museum Society Bulletin*, no. 9 (February, 1972), 20 (a pocket version of the *Theatre*). Geoff Armitage (British Library) very kindly supplied me with this article.
- 11 The 'sandwich' occurs in earlier editions than 1662. That is the one available to me at the Beinecke Library, Yale University.
- 12 Speed's age, H. Lawrence, in *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie*, ed. J. Dörflinger and F. Wawrik (Vienna, 1986) II, 762, 'dürfte er dem Werk nur seinen Namen gegeben haben'. On civil war as a reason for postponement, Schilder and Wallis, p. 26, '[Speed] refrained from publishing the large map since it would seem unpatriotic to advertise England's civil wars. In her last years, Elisabeth might have been offended by such a publication'. See n. 28, below. Rather than this, the conspicuous trace of political influence on Speed's map may be the omission of Scotland.

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- 13 Skelton, *Speed*, 1627, p. xi (quotation). He believed that Speed's Cambridge broadside had been written for the Norden map that he inferred from the Hearne material. About Speed's limited concern with originality: R. A. Skelton, *County Atlases*, I, 31–2 (Skelton offers an interesting reading of what Speed meant by claiming a map as his 'performance').
- 14 The first quotation: Thomas Hearne, *A Letter* [of 1708] *Containing an Account of Some Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford* (London, 1725), pp. 33–4 (details on the gallery from Hearne's subtitle); the second, dated 22 Sept. 1714: Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, ed. D. W. Rannie, Oxford Historical Society Publications, vol. 34 (Oxford, 1898), IV, 404. The relevant lines from a copy of Hearne's *Letter* at Yale were very kindly transcribed for me by Dan O'Donnell (University of Lethbridge, Alberta).
- 15 On Bagford, *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 336, the 'most hungry & rapacious of all book and print collectors'. Reputed to be uncritical: David Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660–1730*, 2nd edn (London, 1951), p. 185. In Skelton's footsteps, Schilder and Wallis, p. 26, rely on Bagford: 'So it would appear that Speed's large printed map [= the map listed below as Newcastle/Paris] was based on Norden's'. Bagford attests that Speed's map *looked like* Norden's, rather than that Norden's was Speed's source. Hearne seems to have realized this. There is no solid foundation for supposing that a 'Battles' map by Norden existed that Speed might have copied.
- 16 Shirley, no. 255; Edward Lynam, 'Woutneel's Map of the British Isles, 1603', *Geographical Journal*, 82 (1933), 536–8; Skelton, *Speed*, 1627, p. xi; Schilder and Wallis, p. 26 (partial illustration, p. 23). Woutneel's scale is smaller than that of Speed's large map.
- 17 The Woutneel map has been at Göttingen since 1735; for its title, Lynam, p. 136. Neither the 'relation' nor the key to battles survives.
- 18 Wallis, 'England Re-Discovered', p. 20; Schilder and Wallis, p. 22.
- 19 Schilder and Wallis, pp. 24–5 (caption), 26. This article is the most fully illustrated for this subject: pp. 22 (Leiden copy of Speed, 1601, detail), 23 (Woutneel, partial; Speed, 1601, Cambridge copy, with broadsides attached and partly readable), 24–5 (the Paris Speed in its entirety).
- 20 Cambridge University Library, Sayle 6830; unpagged broadsides dated 1600 (text in my Appendix). Apparently bundled in a copy of Camden's *Britannia*: Charles Edward Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge (1475–1640)* (Cambridge, 1903), III, no. 6830; see also *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640* (= *STC*), 2nd edn (London, 1976), II, no. 23037 (the discoveries at Newcastle, etc., taken into account). I am extremely grateful to Dr Penny Cole (Trinity College, University of Toronto, and Castleton, Ontario) for securing photographs of these broadsides on my behalf.
- 21 Shirley, no. 239, notes the absence of text in the Oxford and Leiden copies (the same summarily, Schilder and Wallis, p. 26). In the Ashmolean copy, a hand has filled in the empty box with the equivalent of the printed list. The handwritten lines are more likely to be copied from a 'full' map than to be the very sheet readied by Speed for the printer (as Shirley conjectures). The engraver of Speed's Cambridge map has not been identified.

Schilder and Wallis, p. 26, 'Speed thus published the Broadside [i.e., Cam-

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- bridge] map to establish his copyright in the face of a rival pirate version (probably an earlier printing of Kip's [i.e., Woutneel's] map). The pictures in Schilder and Wallis, p. 23, disprove this possibility. Kip's map cannot both derive from Speed's Cambridge map and differ from it as emphatically as it does.
- 22 Wallis, p. 20; Schilder and Wallis, pp. 24–5, 26 (not in Shirley, nos. 255, 261). The idea hinges on Wallis's belief that the Newcastle wall map was substantially like Speed's (nonexistent) 'in large' map of 1600. But this is not possible; see notes 23, 25, below.
- 23 As previous note. Shirley, no. 261, 'The sources for the map [= Speed Newcastle/Paris] include Speed's manuscript map (now lost) of battles of c1600 and its probable antecedent, the large manuscript map by John Norden in 16 sheets'. This relationship is incompatible with the contents of these maps. Norden's burned Oxford map could have been the prototype for Speed's 'Invasions' maps (if Bagford is taken literally) or for the wall hangings, but not for both. Schilder and Wallis, p. 26: 'Norden, on his map of Hertfordshire, 1598, was the first to show a land battle on a map by means of a symbol of opposing ranks of soldiers'. I have not seen this map; cf. Gordon Wyatt, *Maps of Bucks* (Buckingham, 1978), p. 13, the battle of Barnet indicated 'by two ranks of swordsmen: the origin of the modern crossed sword symbol'. If the symbol referred to is the same as the pikemen on Speed's 'Invasions' map, it is amply represented outside Norden in Italian maps; n. 6, above. About Norden's destroyed wall map, see Wallis, and Schilder and Wallis. The Bodleian retains a charred fragment showing the sector in which the 'Battles' maps are least differentiated.
- 24 The illustrations (listed n. 19, above) are adequate to show this difference. Battles are very inconspicuous in the Newcastle/Paris map, consisting of low tents with numbers, completely lost in the topography; are any battles marked in Ireland? In Kip/Woutneel, building silhouettes mark cities and towns; I could not make out battle tents and numbers, which are surely there. Conversely, Speed's Cambridge map has obtrusive pictures, billboards, and writing; its geographical features are more blurred than those of the cleaner Danckerts version.
- 25 The Newcastle/Paris wall hanging purposely has a different look from the map of 1601. Barely a handful of maps sharing the mainly pictorial design of Speed's 'Battles' exists. An example (found in many map collections) occurs in two Bavarian maps of the next century: Matthaeus Seutter, *Historia Circuli Bavariae necnon et finitimarum regionum* and *Historia imperii Romano-Germanici . . . in mappa exhibita* (Augsburg, ca. 1745) [e.g., Yale, Beinecke, 1983 fol. 50].
- 26 See the Appendix for the quotation in context. Speed's verbal descriptions certify that all three maps he mentions (n. 28, below) are substantially like the 1601 version we have.
- 27 See n. 24, above.
- 28 Speed deplored civil war but brought it into the open. The three maps (one not by him) evoked in his accompanying comments all depict civil wars, not generalized battles. Regrets aside, his goal was to underscore civil wars. See n. 21, above: the opinion that a pirate or counterfeiter forced Speed into publishing the 1601 map is probably outweighed by the declared intention of his cartouche – to hail St John on his knighting.
- 29 Text in the Appendix. The map pleased not only the Gentlemen but also the Queen, to whom it was commended; the 1627 version even says (wrongly) that

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- it was ‘dedicated’ to her. If the queen approved, she could not have been offended; see n. 12, above.
- 30 Speed then moves into his main exposition: the present map is of civil wars, which fall into three categories, detailed with examples. The long closing lines celebrate Elizabeth’s rule. All this is copied verbatim in the 1627 version.
- 31 Text in the Appendix, right column. Did the aged Speed (n. 12, above) have a hand in this revision? Very little is changed from 1600 – the discreet course a wise stand-in might take. The removal of Speed’s signature from the text (Appendix last page) may not be an incidental detail.
- 32 Speed’s Newcastle/Paris wall hanging has no box beneath Ireland (perhaps not even any battles there). On Tyrone and attendant matters, Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588–1603* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 430–48; Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547–1603* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 380–2; Cyril Falls, *Montjoy: Elizabethan General* (London, 1955). On St John, *DNB*, XVII, 637–9 (J. F. Pollard). St John was trained by campaigns in Flanders and France, where Montjoy (Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire) probably met him. The Spanish defeat was at Kinsale (a little south of Cork). St John’s prosperous future in Ireland is sketched in Schilder and Willis, p. 26.
- 33 Dating by heraldry, n. 18, above. Inconspicuous tents on the wall maps; see n. 24, above. Kingship and victory: Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 386–96.
- 34 *The Counties of Britain . . . by John Speed*, ed. Nicholson and Hawkyard: battles in Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cumberland, Durham, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Leicester (where Speed expresses typical regrets that the civil dissension of York and Lancaster ‘spent England more blode than twice had done the winning of France’), Lincoln, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Stafford, Sussex, Warwick, Worcestershire (2 more in Wales). The vignettes are large enough for triangular penons to peep out over the massed pikes.
- 35 On the Danckerts, J. Keuning, ‘Cornelis Danckerts and His “Nieuw Aerdsch Pleyn”’, *Imago mundi*, 12 (1955), 136–9; Cornelis Koeman, ed., *Atlantes Neerlandici: Bibliography of . . . Atlases . . . Published in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam, 1967–85), II, 88–90; Ronald Vere Tooley, *Dictionary of Mapmakers* (New York, 1979), pp. 145–6. ‘Corn. Danckertsz sculpsit’ has to be Cornelis II (1603–56). Only Tooley attributes Speed’s map (1626) to him; Keuning dates his first appearance to 1628; Koeman mentions 1633. He was apparently a beginner in the craft when he did the ‘Invasions’ map. Koeman underscores the quality of his work. The Amsterdam engraver Iodocus Hondius had done the *Theatre* maps for Speed (see n. 5, above). Even in the unlikely eventuality that the 1601 plate survived, an Amsterdam reengraving would have been in keeping with Speed’s practice of obtaining higher quality work than England was yet capable of.
- 36 On the political dimension, Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621–1624* (Cambridge, 1989) I, 13–14; Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England 1603–1642* (London, 1982), pp. 23, 205–6; id., *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628* (London, 1981), p. 168. I am very grateful to Dr Neil Cuddy, formerly my colleague at the University of Toronto,

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for these and other references. On Greville, *DNB*, VIII, 603; on his patronage, Mendyk, p. 78.

37 See the Appendix for a summary of these English exploits abroad.

38 'Poster' is borrowed from Johannes Dörflinger's characterization of the maps in the early 19th-century *Atlas Lesage* in *Lexikon zur Gesch. d. Kartog.* I, 266. The term suits Speed 'Invasions' (and the Seutter maps, n. 25, above).

39 Shirley, no. 317: in an edition of 1676, the 'Invasions' map was left intact but the accompanying text was enlarged to include accounts of Civil War engagements and later battles. The map continued to be issued in the 18th century.

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