

THE EARLY MAPS OF LONDON.

BY

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NOTE.—Since treatment on the scale that a study of the early maps of London deserves would occupy inordinate space, this contribution must be considered as an abridgment only for practical purposes of some of the considerations involved in the study. Alternatively, the Paper may be looked upon as indicating appropriate headings under which to place information for future reference and discussion. In order to preserve continuity, and to ensure a complete survey, former Papers by the present Author are brought in aid, e.g., *The Antiquary*, 1909, and *The South Eastern Naturalist*, 1910, pp. 38-51.

As regards the extent of the series now under review, there are to be excluded from consideration the views of London available to the public before the middle of the sixteenth century. Of these there is a goodly number, all of which, however, deserve to be collected for easy reference and comparison. Among them may be mentioned the view of Westminster in the Bayeux Stitchwork, of King John's London on the seal of the Corporation of the City of London, those in the writings of Mathew Paris, the "Orleans" picture in which the Tower of London is prominent, the Cowdray House picture of the coronation procession of Edward VI, and of the woodcut of London as illustrated in Pynson's edition, 1510, of the Chronicle of England. In the present Paper, commencement is made with the panoramic view of London by A. van den Wyn-gaerde, *circa* 1550, while to conclude the series there are brought under review the maps which illustrated the Great Fire of 1666, there being also included plans of later date which are referable to maps issued before the Fire.

To assist identification, a section from a group-map is given in many instances. For kind permission to reproduce sections and examples, and for general assistance rendered, the Author desires to tender his respectful thanks to the Society of Antiquaries of London, the London Topographical Society, the authorities at the British Museum and at the Guildhall, to Mr.

C. W. F. Goss, of the Bishopsgate Institute, and to Mr. George Clinch, Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries.

AS regards early maps in general, it is to be remembered that by the time a map reaches the public the map is the result of collaboration, its appearance being due to the combined efforts of many. It can, therefore, be viewed from different standpoints, and conclusions drawn according to whether it is looked at from the one or the other of the positions assumed by those who have aided in preparing it for the buyer. Thus the artist might find delight in the grouping of masses, in the harmony preserved in its separate parts, in accessory decoration, in appropriate framing or border, in the means for securing a general pleasing effect. The craftsman, in his turn, would be sensitive to the technique reflected in the print, such as its uniformity in blackness, continuity or unbrokenness in its lines, together with sharpness in expression, register, and quality in the paper employed.

Although beauty in conception and excellence in execution are ever desirable, yet as contemporary authority—for which *early maps* serve—*artistic and technical merit* is of lesser interest and importance. To the student of history, the life and manners suggested, the habitations, the open spaces, and their planings, and the environment of the people, assume pre-eminence, with the result that those qualities which stand out as of prime importance are fidelity to actualities and accuracy in depiction, in which is included the correct copying of a truthful draft. It is, therefore, by these that, for us, the value of an early map of London is chiefly to be determined, and it is a consideration of these attributes which forms the subject of this Paper.

One of the most valuable allies to the historian and

the topographer is the possession of a reliable map, whether it partake of the nature of a plan or a bird's-eye view or a combination of both of these. If we are fortunate in the possession of an early map of a locality and of a period in which we are interested, we are often disappointed to find that it fails to realise fully the trust reposed in it. And the farther we go back, the less trustworthy as a rule is our contemporary map found to be, or rather the more troublesome it seems to be to understand, so that we are forced to the conclusion that the map cannot be accepted at its face value.

In spite of this conclusion, and although the importance of maps is so great when history or topography are under consideration, yet their collection according to a system, their classification according to families or types, and their examination on scientific lines with the view to ascertaining their full meaning have received hitherto the scantiest of attention. True, here and there, the names stand out of those who have been evolving order out of chaos; for example, Sir George Fordham, who has published recently "*Studies in Carto-Bibliography*," and there is ever available to the student the "*British Topography*," by Richard Gough, of a century and more ago. But informative works such as these indicate how thick is the gloom which remains to be dispelled if confidence in maps is to be retained by those whose researches carry them to documentary evidence of this character. For the most part, a single specimen or two have been considered all-sufficient for the purposes for which a map is used, whether for settling the ground-planning of a district or for ascertaining the appearance of buildings when, as in early productions, elevations were so often introduced. But, as previously intimated, and subsequently to be treated in detail, closer acquaintance informs us how unreliable

is the single item of evidence derived from the map, in the possession of which we deemed ourself fortunate.

At an early stage in our study of cartography we discover that single maps to be of value must be considered with reference to the history of their production, and to the group or family to which they belong, and that we cannot proceed far on our way unless this information is forthcoming.

Now this procedure is well known to be normal where early manuscripts are concerned, but in regard to maps, which, indeed, are only another form of documentary evidence to which we have recourse, this procedure has not generally obtained, if we may judge from conclusions so often drawn from single specimens.

We have been speaking of "maps," a term by which is included not only prints which in design approximate to plans, but also those where the buildings stand out in perspective, so that the whole production is exhibited pictorially, or more as a panorama than as an ordnance survey. In the one direction, the map may become at length a picture or sketch, while if the development is in the other direction it becomes a plan simply. Perhaps a better, though more awkward, term to indicate these early pictorial prints would be "map-view." We are, however, nearer the true nature of many when we call them "bird's-eye views," a term which will lead us not to speak too positively concerning an object illustrated from the fact that it is thus presented in the impression under examination.

Let us consider, then, for a moment the true nature of a bird's-eye view. In the first place, its aim is to depict a locality and its contents as they would appear to the supposititious eye of a highly intelligent bird on the wing, or, nowadays, to the eyes of an aviator.

In many respects, bird's-eye views are distinctly inaccurate when compared with what is known to have

existed, or what otherwise is supposed to have been an accurate picture. Possibly, too much is expected of them. The known method of their production should preclude such reliance as is placed upon, say, a modern survey. Bird's-eye views are essentially pictures in which imagination has played an important part. Indeed, it is difficult to consider some examples as maps at all. In general, it may be said that the nearer is the picture to the record of a survey, the nearer it approaches a mere plan. It then, however, ceases to be a bird's-eye view. But where conflict occurs, accuracy often—maybe, usually—gives place to artistic effect. Extreme accuracy would diminish roads and foot-tracks to lines and would substitute roofing for fore-shortened elevation. This may be tested by choosing an outlook from an eminence and comparing the spectacle with the so-called "bird's-eye view." In the view, buildings will be easily recognised; in the outlook a desert of roofs and chimney-pots is presented; and lucky is he that identifies his roof-tree, his accustomed place of worship, or his usual house of entertainment. Bird's-eye views, then, must not be deemed to be photographs. Primarily they are guides, and in the next place, where extraneous evidence points to it, details may possibly be selected as exact pictures of what they purport to exhibit.

In a bird's-eye view there is the endeavour to combine the detail of a large-scale plan with the spectacle presented by a map on a small scale. In the preparation of the view, a few buildings important by reason of their size, their use, or notoriety, are selected, and with considerable fidelity are sketched. They are then set down in their relation to one another and to a rough plan of the streets in which they occur. If a striking natural feature is in existence, as, for instance, the Thames, that feature will dominate the whole, and will

go far in determining the positions that the buildings shall occupy. The scale upon which these buildings are sketched is greatly exaggerated, and is out of all proportion to the area which is included within the view. Similarly, roads and footpaths are shown considerably widened, as must necessarily be the case if the plan is to be of practical use. Thus far, the reading of the view is not difficult, while the results secured thereby will, in the main, be reliable. When doubt arises as to which of the buildings have been selected and sketched with care, and as to the character of the work which has been employed for completing the spaces between these buildings, the task of divination has commenced. A casual inspection is often sufficient to indicate that, in linking-up buildings of note and other striking objects of interest, symbolic representation only of houses and their adjuncts has been used. All that can then be profitably derived from this intervening matter is that there were houses in those positions, together with their usual gardens and appurtenances. Sometimes the general appearance and character of the ordinary domestic dwellings of the time is to be obtained from what is shown, but as regards the number of houses that come between, and their dimensions, nothing as a rule is to be gathered from a map. It is well to emphasise this inability, for, from time to time, assertions are made based upon a counting of these conventionally expressed dwellings, or from looking upon them as a strictly faithful aggregation of carefully drawn sketches. Where an insufficiency of notable buildings has led to unsightly gaps, neutral matter has been inserted, such as the dwelling-houses alluded to; or, if the character of the locality permits of it, fields, garden-plots, hedges, ponds, and other ordinary objects have been introduced irrespective of their size or number, provided the resulting general effect is pleasing. This

neutral matter requires to be detected when the map in which it is to be found is put to use in historical research.

At the present time, many bird's-eye views of localities as they now appear are drawn and sold; but they rarely deceive, because they are known to be but aids to knowledge, and are not to be taken as rigidly accurate. We have some idea of what the author intended, and accordingly we qualify what he has set down. Moreover, the author knows that we do this, for if we did not do so the author would also know that we should charge him with shameless mendacity. When, however, Elizabethan and other early maps and views have been under discussion, their markings, strange to say, have often been taken literally as definitely deciding the point for which they were appealed to, a method of reading which is, of course, very faulty. Further, if we thought only of modern conventional expression, there is a possible danger of reading into the maps those conventions which are employed in present-day drawings. This suggests a comparison of conventional expression as formerly employed with that which obtains at the present day. If this comparison is made it may be found that the understandings between the draughtsman and the public in Tudor times are not necessarily the same as those at present in force, and accordingly on this score also we should have to qualify our opinions.

Since, after all, maps or map-views form but one way of transmitting information, we must learn the language which they employ, and must understand the means that they adopt before we can understand what it is they wish to tell us; in a word, they have to be "interpreted." For us the first step in the interpretation of the early London maps consists in their classification or division into groups or families, each of which

is dominated by its appropriate type-map. The chief reason for this step is that the value or meaning of a representation upon a selected map is to be judged, among other ways, by the position that the map occupies in relation to the original survey or the earliest edition of the survey as is available.

The second stage in interpretation consists in a consideration of the various individuals through whom a map has passed on its way to the public, and in a study of the special methods employed by each for transmitting information. Further, in the process of interpretation there is involved the credibility and the opportunity for observation of those who originated the map, or, if they are unknown, the degree of trustworthiness that is to be placed on those through whom the map first reached the purchaser. Accordingly, a completion of the study demands some knowledge of those responsible for the issue of the map. Among these may be mentioned the surveyor, the designer, the engraver, the printer, and the publisher. Possibly, also, the class of customer for whom the map was intended has had a bearing upon the content and final form of the map.

A study, then, of the early maps, bird's-eye views, panoramas, and plans may be arranged under the three heads of:—

I.—CLASSIFICATION;

II.—INTERPRETATION;* and

III.—THE PERSONALITY OF THE MAP-MAKERS.*

I.—THE CLASSIFICATION OR GROUPING
OF MAPS.

As already mentioned, the relegation of a map to a class or group is the first step towards extracting what the map has to say concerning the topic for which it is

* This section of the Paper is deferred for a future occasion.

appealed to. A previous grouping of maps is therefore demanded. The next step is to link up each member of the group to the most important member of that group. This member should in strictness be the draft from which the earliest impression was immediately derived; but, as these drafts are not extant, impressions from the earliest editions that we possess must take the place of the drafts, and must stand for the prototypes or originals of the classes or groups of maps. When, therefore, the word "original" is here used, it is to be understood in the sense of being the drawing or the impression which is the nearest obtainable to the author's draft.

This section of the Paper is therefore concerned with the grouping of the maps of the period under review, and a discussion of the standards, prototypes, or originals of each group, together with indications by means of which the maps are to be identified.

The comparative method of investigation; reference to a type; sequence.—It is not too much to say that a systematic study of topography necessarily demands a knowledge of the order or positions of the various sixteenth and seventeenth century maps in their relation to each other. From the sequence of the maps, steps in topographical variation may be traced and identification of sites secured. From the comparison of one document with another, and an inspection of the position which it occupies in the sequence, not only may one map serve as a corrective to another, but also certainty may be secured as regards the meaning of symbols, conventions, figures, and degraded representations with which a map is often crowded. So important is the application of the comparative method of investigation to the matter now in hand that few statements can truthfully be made concerning a representation upon a map without consultation with the

other maps of the same series or class to which it belongs, and possibly with maps of other classes which deal with the same subject. By this collation, vagueness in depiction and want of precision may be cured, convention may be appreciated, and the evidence afforded by the map appreciated at its true worth.

It has been too much the habit of publishers and others to reproduce old maps without reference to their history, and without adequate knowledge of their topographical value, while the public on its side has been too prone to accept the contents of a single map without qualification, and to draw conclusions upon insufficient bases.

If a classification according to types could receive general recognition, the most useful citation would be that which included the group to which it belonged, and its approximate position in that group, whether an original or a debased example of the original.

Re-copying and re-publishing; their effect.—All of the maps under review have been re-copied and re-published many times. Owing to the copying of copies, the later issues have differed considerably from those from which initially they sprung. The debasements and degradations which the copies contain are such that it is often difficult to decide whether a copy belongs to one type or to another.

As regards the question whether one type has been copied and published more than another type, almost the whole of them has been reproduced so many times that, in the absence of a census of existing impressions, no opinion of value can be expressed. At the present time there is a tendency to employ some edition of the so-called "Agas" map in order to illustrate "Old London"; but clearly it is a fashion which at any time may give place to an engraving from another group.

As is abundantly set forth in remarks under "Inter-

pretation," the further removed a map is from its original, the less serviceable it is where topographical exactitude is of importance. Those maps which do duty as originals leave much to be desired; but direct copies and still more the copies of copies which are met with so frequently are usually more amusing than accurate, and are often not worth the attention which is given them. Unfortunately, illustrations in books on Old London are frequently taken from debased copies, and no hint is given of their remote, or even their immediate, origin.

Public collections in London.—Many opportunities for the inspection and study of maps of all editions are provided by public institutions where collections are made. Thus the collections in the Print Room at the British Museum, at the Guildhall, and at the Bishopsgate Institute are sufficient for most purposes. At these and other institutions in London the officials have been proved to be able and uniformly willing to assist the student in all his researches.

Nomenclature.—Although the early maps are in so great demand, yet the names by which they shall be called has not been settled. Sometimes they are styled *after the name of the surveyor, sometimes of the engraver, of the publisher, after the date of the issue, and also according to the title engraved upon the map, and in other ways.* This want of uniformity renders difficult the recognition of a map, unless its mention is accompanied by an example, or the map is indicated in other ways. In every instance, the author's name, if known, should be quoted, or, failing this, the engraver's name, or the names of others through whom the map has passed on its way to the public, each in its order of utility. Among the least useful for citation are the title and the legend which the engraving carries, and the

name of the publisher, either of which is sometimes alone cited.

Extant maps and their group-allotments.—To say, as one is tempted to do, that no map which is known to the general public cannot find a place in the classification here adopted might at any moment be refuted by the discovery of a single specimen which did not so conform. But speaking generally all the maps within the limits adopted, and of which there is general knowledge, will be found referable to the present groups, and if a map is found that cannot conveniently find a place among them, such a discovery should be deemed important, for possibly an unknown original has come to light. There is no reason to suppose that all originals have been found. It may be that there are specimens here and there which have not been recognised by their possessors. Londoners should therefore never relax diligence, for the hope of their meeting with a map which has escaped attention is by no means forlorn.

The classification adopted is as follows:—

- I.—The Wyngaerde Group, dating from about 1550.
- II.—The Braun and Hogenberg, of date 1554-58.
- III.—The “Agas” Group, dating earlier than 1561.
- IV.—The Norden Group, dating from 1593.
- V.—Map-views based upon, or similar to, that which appears as an inset to Speed’s map of The Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1610.
- VI.—Backgrounds:—
 - (a) Of equestrian and other portraits in which one or more round towers are shown on Bankside, Southwark;
 - (b) Of seals and medals.
- VII.—The Visscher Group, 1616.
- VIII.—The Porter Group, dating later than 1633.
- IX.—The Merian Group, dating from 1638.
- X.—The Hollar Group of views and plans, dating from 1647.
- XI.—The Faithorne and Newcourt Group, dating from 1658.

XII.—A group formed by the combination of the Leeke survey, 1666, with a map after the style of Faithorne and Newcourt, 1658.

XIII.—Combination maps.

I.—THE WYNGAERDE GROUP, DATING FROM ABOUT 1550.

This panorama, which, although unsigned, is attributed on good grounds to Van den Wyngaerde, is in the Sutherland collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and has been published in facsimile, 10 feet by 1 foot 5 inches, by the London Topographical Society. (For notes by H. B. Wheatley see the sheet issued by the Society, 1881.) A copy in pen and ink of the original by N. Whittock is at the Guildhall, London. Although the original is unfinished, it is apparent that great care and cartographic skill were exercised in its production; and for the shapes of those individual buildings of importance, the sketches of which are completed, it is of the highest value. The map-view more nearly approaches an original draft than any of those which serve as originals, even if it is not the artist's original. It extends from the Palace of Westminster and Lambeth on the south-west to Greenwich on the east, and includes the High Street, Borough, and a large portion of Bermondsey. The map is invaluable to the student of London of the Reformation period. The well-known edition on a smaller scale, by N. Whittock, suffers by reason of its artistic embellishments and additions, and to some extent exemplifies, in its relation to the original draft, what has happened to those type-maps which, being the earliest available, are employed as originals.

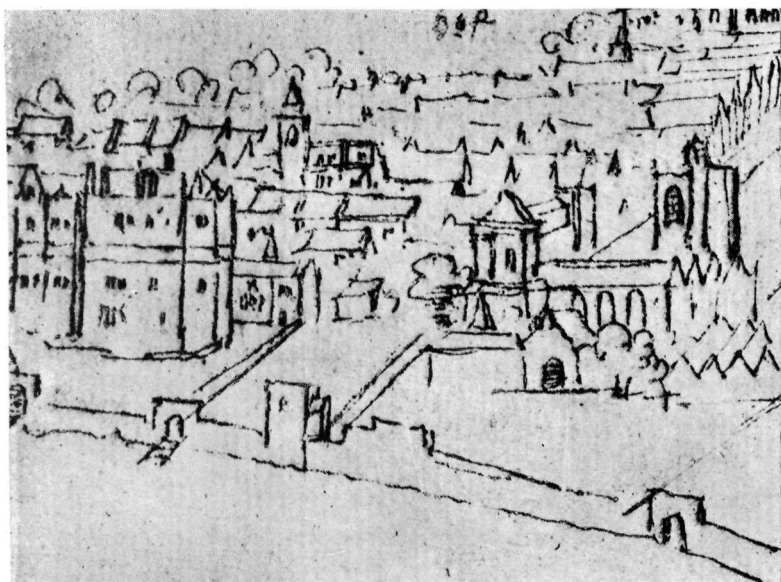
II.—THE BRAUN AND HOGENBERG GROUP, OF DATE 1554-58.

Perhaps the most accurate of all the early City maps is that in Braun and Hogenberg's Atlas, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, of 1572. Owing to the smallness of

its scale, six inches to the mile, or thereabouts, it has not been employed to the same extent as others less accurate or more ill-fitted for the study of London. In a large measure, it combines perspective representation with the modern plan. It takes in Whitehall on the south-west, Whitechapel on the east, Shoreditch on the north, and Southwark, with Lambeth, on the south. There is no doubt that the map ($18\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $12\frac{5}{8}$ inches) was prepared for the Atlas from an edition already in circulation, being cut down for that purpose. Clippings of words (of the name "Whitechapel") may be noticed on the eastern extremity. By a comparison of style with other maps in the same Atlas, it has been concluded that it was executed by Hoefnagel. A valuable analysis was made by Mr. Alfred Marks in *The Athenæum*, March 31, 1906, who showed from internal evidence that the original was drawn not earlier than 1554, and not later than 1558. There appear to have been varying editions for the Atlas, e.g., one "from the plate in its first state, before the Royal Exchange was introduced" (Halliwell-Phillipps' "Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities," 2nd ed., No. 529). The coloured drawing of London in the manuscript volume by William Smith, Rouge Dragon (Sloane MS. 2596), published by Mr. H. B. Wheatley, is referable to this group.

On an ornamented plate within the map at the top there appear the words "Londinum veracissimi Angliæ Regni Metropolis," and on the left, within a wreath, the Arms of Queen Elizabeth, and on the right those of the City. At the foot are two men and two women in contemporary costume, and on each side, filling up the corners, are laid-on plates. That on the left contains a description which commences "Haec est regia illa totius Angliæ Civitas Londinum"; that on the right commences, "Stilliards Hansa Gothica." These laid-on

PLATE I.



WYNGAERDE, c.1550.



BACKGROUND, c.1605, SHOWING A TOWER ON BANKSIDE.
(see pp. 272-3.)

PLATE II.



NORDEN, 1593 (*Spec. Brit.*, ed. 1723).

plates varied considerably in reproductions of contemporary and later date, of which there are so many.

III.—THE "AGAS" GROUP, DATING EARLIER THAN 1561.

The earliest known copies of this bird's-eye view are at the Guildhall, London, and in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge. They were attributed by Vertue (1684-1756) to Ralph Agas, who died in 1621. Although this attribution to Agas rests on flimsy foundation, yet the term "Agas" map, which has secured currency, conveniently denotes a group of views which are based on one or other of the two copies mentioned. It is fairly certain, however, that these two copies, which are from wooden blocks, are either degraded editions of the Braun-Atlas map or are descended lineally from the original from which the former map was drawn, and that Agas had nothing to do with them. Moreover, judging from variation in the description at the foot of each of the two early copies, it is probable that they represent different editions of a lost original. As regards the date of the maps, since they show old St. Paul's with its spire, it is possible that their draft was made before the destruction of the spire in 1561.

The Guildhall example, which was purchased at an auction sale in 1841 by the Corporation for the sum of £26, was reproduced by Francis, and published, along with a commentary by W. H. Overall ("Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," 2nd S., VI, 81; also see separate publication, 1874), in which the extant information concerning the view was set forth. The reproduction measures 6 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On a streamer in the sky the words "Civitas Londinum" appear; near the north-west corner, a plate depicting the arms of James I has been substituted for arms which may have been those of Queen Elizabeth

as are to be seen on the State barge on the river; at the north-east corner, flying cherubs support the City shield, while on a plate at the base there is a description in two columns, beginning: "This antient and famous City of London, was first founded by Brute, the Trojan. . . ." On a plate in the river, near the south-east corner, a dedicatory poem commences, "New Troy my name: when first my fame begun . . ." The view covers the same area as that of Braun and Hogenberg.

The eight white-metal plates which Vertue used for his careless reproduction of an edition of the Agas' map in 1737 are in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London. On the back of one of these is an incompleted etching of some edition of the map, an edition which differs somewhat from either of the Pepysian or Guildhall examples. It may be that this etching represents a portion of an edition contemporary with or earlier than these examples. ("Proc. Soc. Antiq.," 2 S, XXII, 535; on the possibility of other editions, see "Notes and Queries," 3rd S., XII, 504; 4th S., I, 20, 60.)

IV.—THE NORDEN GROUP, DATING FROM 1593.

John Norden, surveyor (1548-1626), published with his first part of the "*Speculum Britanniae*," 1593, a map of London, 8 inches by 6 inches, with a key at the foot to 45 places of interest. It bears at the right-hand bottom corner the legend, "*Johannes Norden Anglus descripsit, anno 1593*," as also names of places on its face. Near the left-hand bottom corner there is seen "*Pieter Vanden Keere fecit 1593*," while at the north-east corner a pair of compasses subtend: "*Scala passuum 5 pedum*." Near the title "London," the shield of the City is shown to the right and the Royal Arms to the left. As a border, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, on each side of the

map, the shields of twelve of the City Companies are employed. It takes in Islington on the north, Leicester House on the west, a depth of Southwark and Bermondsey on the south, and St. Catherine's on the east. The same work includes a map of the City of Westminster, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 6 inches, which extends from the Temple to Millbank and Lambeth, York House being in the middle of the picture. There are neither key nor shields, but the map itself carries names of places, and also a compass dial and the label, "Westminster," surmounted by the Royal Arms.

The buildings shown in elevations are probably more than merely conventional, being in many instances true sketches. Although in design a "bird's-eye view," it approximates closely to a true plan.

The same views of London and Westminster, but with no key and no names on the face of the maps, were published by Speed in his Atlas, 1611, "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine." They formed insets to the county map of Middlesex, the work of Hondius. (For H. B. Wheatley's notes upon Norden and his map of 1593, see the "Lond. Topog. Rec.," Vol. II, 42.)

V.—MAP-VIEWS BASED UPON, OR SIMILAR TO, THAT WHICH APPEARS AS AN INSET TO SPEED'S MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1610.

In Speed's "Theatre," colophon dated 1611, the map of "The Kingdome of Great Britaine and Ireland," which was "graven by I. Hondius . . . 1610," carries, as an inset upon an ornamental plate, a bird's-eye view of London and Southwark from the Surrey side. Since the original of this inset is unknown, and that it presents distinctive characteristics, it is employed to represent a type-map. It is recognisable by the occurrence on Bankside, Southwark, of a cylindrical beflagged structure with a basal enlargement, and ad-

jacent to it a polygonal tower-like building, which also carries a flag. These may represent the Rose Playhouse and the Bear-Garden. Since, however, the round Globe Playhouse had been erected in 1598-9, the round tower may have served in this inset to represent in some indefinite fashion that theatre also. A portion only of an original is probably present in the inset; what the remainder showed is not known. It is possible, however, that the view on the title-page of "Heroologia Anglica," 1620, is taken from the same source, in which case a further insight into the original is afforded. Of dimensions $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, it is without ornamentation or key, the word "London" only being exhibited in the sky, and "Thames Fluvius" in the River. A pronounced angular twist in the case of the High Street, Borough, is to be noted.

To this group there should be assigned tentatively the model which was displayed at the top of the triumphal arch in Fenchurch Street, 1604, on the occasion of King James' entry into the City (Harrison's "The Arches of Triumph . . . graven by William Kip, 1604").

This type-map seems to have been but little used during the seventeenth century as a basis for other maps, although in one case it appears to have been employed for showing the Fire of London of 1666 (by Samuel Rolle, printed 1667).

VI.—BACKGROUNDS:—

- (a) *Of equestrian and other portraits in which one or more round towers are shown on Bankside, Southwark.*

These backgrounds of portraits are in many respects similar to the picture given by Speed, and are also closely allied to the views on the Great Seals and on medals. When detached and issued apart from the portraits, as they sometimes were, they are wanting in

detail. Whether they preceded the execution of a portrait, and were employed by the author of the portrait, or whether they were taken from the portrait and subsequently published, is not always evident. Several examples of these backgrounds are to be seen in the Crace Collection, and also in other volumes in the Print Room of the British Museum.

(b) Of seals and medals.

There is a source of information concerning the appearance of Old London in backgrounds of certain seals and medals. Although the information they afford is not of great value, yet they may lead to the discovery or recognition of their originals, which themselves may be of importance.

From the time of Charles I down to the nineteenth century, the Great Seals of England bore on their reverse a picture-map or bird's-eye view of London. Thus the second Great Seal which Charles I ordered to be made—the third that this monarch used—showed between the horse's legs of the equestrian portrait a panoramic view. The mound upon which the horse stands has been raised so completely as to expunge Southwark from the field. It is evident that the artist was conversant with the backgrounds of the contemporary equestrian portraits, which had introduced a view of London, and that to some extent he followed the lead thus set. The third seal of Charles I also bears a similar view, as also seals under the Commonwealth, of which that of Richard Cromwell is pre-eminent. The fourth seal of George III still continued the fashion of showing London as a background, but the fifth seal substituted Windsor, the view of which appeared on the obverse.

In these views, St. Paul's is usually prominent, and also London Bridge. The Tower may also be looked

for as well as other notable buildings. In the third seal of Charles II, which shows the south bank of the Thames, St. Saviour's church stands out along with the Bishop of Winchester's Palace, while farther to the west an isolated cylindrical building indicates a bear-garden in the vicinity.

As regard medals, that of 1633, which commemorates the King's return to London after his coronation at Edinburgh, shows a curiously executed picture. A medal which was struck in favour of the Earl of Shaftesbury after his acquittal by a Middlesex jury in 1681, depicts the City clearly, but Southwark is absent.

That these views on seals and medals are not of one family is obvious, and, to this extent, therefore, they should not have been placed together. But since their many prototypes are unknown, they are grouped here by reason of the curious situation in which they are found.

VII.—THE VISSCHER GROUP, 1616.

All known editions of this picturesque and well-designed panorama, 7 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 4½ inches, are referable to a single copy which, bearing the date 1616, is evidence of a first edition published about that period. The copy (Brit. Mus., K 2134, 2 Tab.) bears near the left-hand bottom corner on the plate the words "Visscher Delineavit." Along the base of the view, there is printed in Latin, in sixteen columns of thirty-five lines in the column, a description of London, the description being virtually that of the first folio edition of Camden's "*Britannia*," 1607. The colophon states, "*Amstelodami ex officina Judoci Hondii sub signo Canis Vigilis, anno 1616*" (Lond. Topog. Rec., Vol. VI, 39, at p. 42; "*Notes and Queries*," 12 S. I, 206). Concerning a copy Gough says:—

"*Londinum florentissima Britanniae urbs toto orbe celeberrima*"

PLATE III.

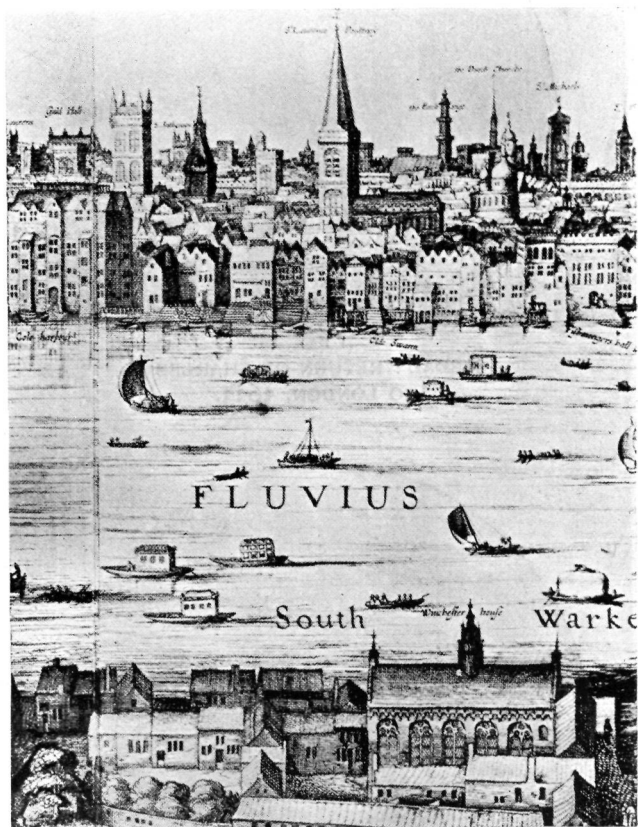


MEDAL : RETURN OF CHARLES I
TO LONDON, 1633.



REVERSE OF THIRD GREAT SEAL OF CHARLES II.

PLATE IV.



VISSCHER, 1616.

rimum emporium C. J. Vischer del. ex officina Jud. Hondii sub signo canis vigilis. A^o 1616, 4 sheets, with an English description underneath: a capital view, the plates destroyed in Holland about 20 years ago. T. Davies sold the only impression of it to the King for ten guineas. Dr. Askew affirmed it is in a Dutch book." ("Brit. Topog." [1780], Vol. I, 749.)

The panorama gives Whitehall on the west and St. Catherine's on the east, and includes a corresponding length of Southwark and Bermondsey.

Names are engraved on the plate adjacent to the buildings, etc., which the names purport to identify. On a ribbon in the sky, and supported at either end by flying angels, the word "London" appears, while on each side a flying angel with trumpet and depending banner is drawn. That on the right exhibits the City Arms, and that on the left the Royal Arms. In addition, there is in the north-west corner a plate, festooned with cherubs, trophies, etc., which sets out in Latin nine lines of description, commencing "Londinium antiquis olim." Corresponding thereto there is in the north-east corner a plate which continues the description, and is signed "Ludovicus Hondius Lusit." Although dated 1616, the water-tower erected in 1594 at Queenhythe emblazons the arms of Elizabeth, those of James I appearing on the Royal Barge.

The circumstances of the formation of this panorama being unknown, its interpretation is involved in difficulty. Among the number of points to be noted is that the discontinuous bottom line of the engraving cuts through every representation that was on the draft, and omits all that was below the line, and that, as regards Bankside, there are omissions from the Braun map upon which it is based and, equally with the Braun map, its representations of Bankside are largely conventional.

VIII.—THE PORTER GROUP, DATING LATER THAN 1633.

Since the view of London and Westminster, includ-

ing Southwark and Lambeth, by T. Porter, *circa* 1660, which, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, was reproduced by the London Topographical Society, a group of closely allied maps may be styled the "Porter" Group. The title, however, is unsatisfactory, possibly misleading, for Porter's edition is seen to be based upon an earlier issue, of which it was but a variant. Porter's map is of a composite character, the marginal portions being apparently in the nature of an after-thought. In the Crace Collection there is included a map which, in the catalogue and elsewhere, is said to be by Ryther, but there is no evidence to connect it with Ryther so far as we know him. It is evidently referable to the original, or to an earlier issue, upon which the Porter is based. Another edition of the "Ryther" occurs in the same collection, $18\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but equally with the other edition the date of its issue is unknown. It supplements the earlier edition, and shows the Globe Playhouse to the south of Maiden Lane, where tradition and documentary evidence has placed it. In the Crace Catalogue this copy is erroneously stated to be the first edition. There appears on the "Ryther," Hickes' Hall, built in 1612, and the north end of London Bridge as denuded by the fire of 1633. Upon the impression there is seen: "Are to be sould at Amsterdam by Cornelis Danckerts graver of Maps."

Some have thought that the "Ryther" map illustrates a playhouse at Shoreditch, as well as the Fortune playhouse in Golden Lane, where playhouses were known to exist. The bear-garden which the map shows on Bankside is but a tribute to the existence of one in the neighbourhood, and is of no other value.

In the other portion of the Porter map the buildings are drawn in a highly conventional fashion. Editions of this group, as issued in the eighteenth century, bring

in outlying areas which were absent from the earlier versions. It may be that these later editions are referable to a source which has not survived, but which also was the original of the so-called Ryther.

A laid-on plate, obscuring at the north-west corner what was underneath, states the Porter map to be "The Newest & Exactest Mapp of the most Fameest Citties of London / and Westminster with their Suburbs . . . by T. Porter." The Royal Arms with supporters, etc., occur above "Bloomes bery," while at the north-east the City Arms between figures of Justice and Prudence have been applied together with "The Table wherein is explained the severall numbers which are in the Mapp that signifie Streets, Places, Hills, Lanes, and Allies . . ." The table contains eighty-nine references. A compass-dial and "A scale of five hundred paces" supplement a blank space at the south-eastern corner. The map, which bears no date, extends from Lyme-house on the east to Tuttle Church on the west, includes the Water house and Shoreditch on the north, and takes in St. George's on the south.

(Crace Collection, Maps, Port. I, 31, 32; "Notes and Queries," 7th S. III, 110; VII, 498; Loftie's "History of London," Vol. I, 286; Kingsford's "Chronicle of London," front; Lib. Soc. Antiq., "London Plans, etc.," No. 34.)

IX.—THE MERIAN GROUP, DATING FROM 1638.

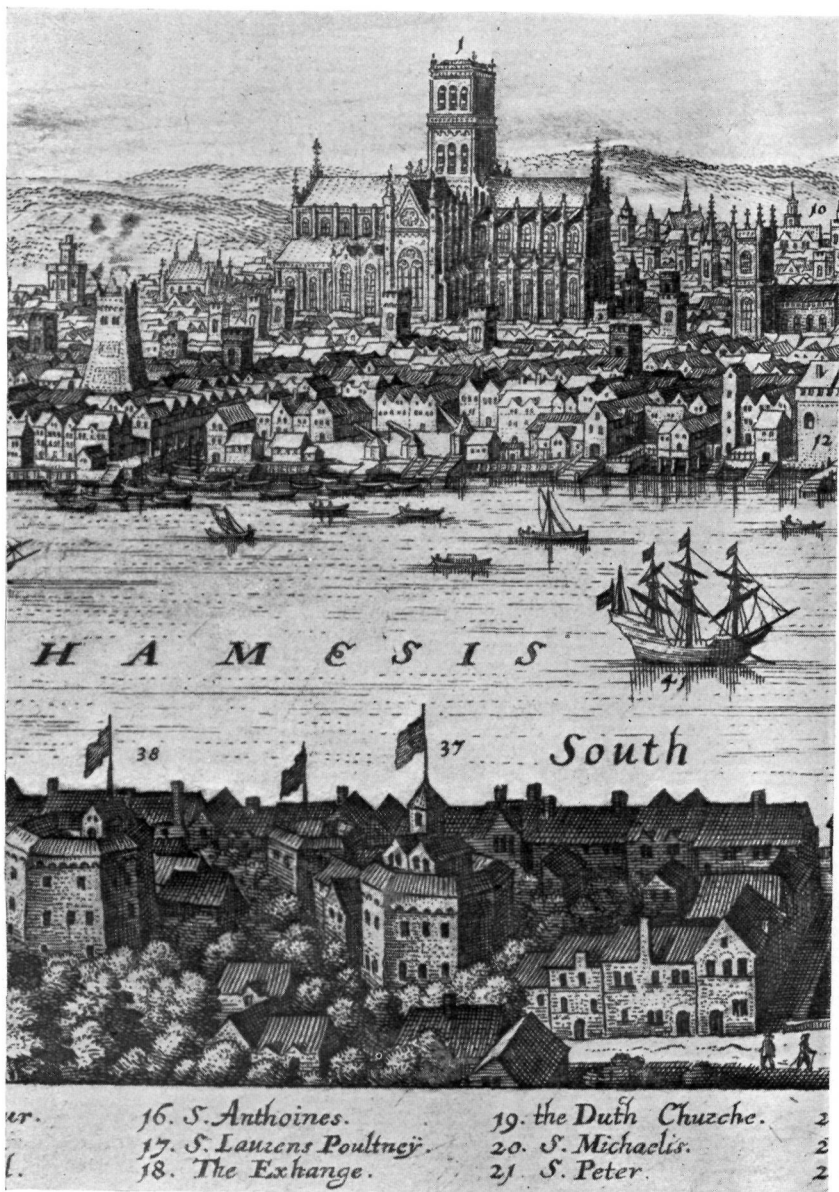
The map-views of this group may readily be recognised by the occurrence on Bankside, Southwark, of three polygonal towers in proximity and of a similar one to the west, in Paris Garden. The map first appeared in the third edition of Gottfried's "*Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica*," 1638, in which the maps were executed by M. Merian. It thus followed the expiry of the monopoly which was granted by James I in 1617 for

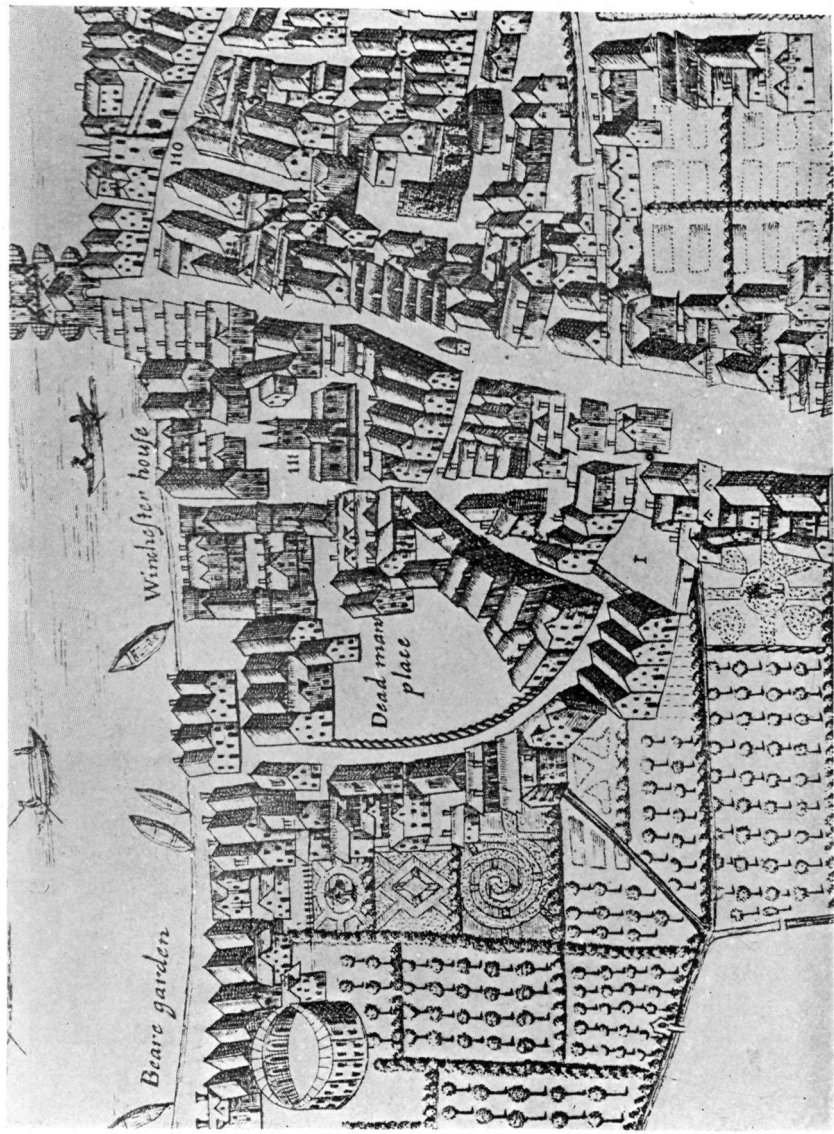
the sole privilege of engraving in metal "maps, plots, or descriptions" of the City of London. The recital in the patent-grant stated that cities of foreign nations had been mapped, but of London "there hath never been made or taken any true or perfect description, but false and mean drafts cut in wood" (Patent Office Publications). The dimensions are 2 feet $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches. At the foot a reference-key sets out the names of forty-three important places, which on the map are indicated by numbers. So far as the three towers mentioned above are concerned, there is a discrepancy between the numbers and the key, for the building stated in the key to be the Globe is the Rose Playhouse, and that called in the key the Bear Garden is the Globe, the Bear Garden itself not being numbered. In the sky the word "London" stands forth, and to its left and right, near the ends of the map, the royal arms and crown within the garter and the arms of the City within a wreath are emblazoned.

This is sometimes called Hollar's map, presumably by reason of an edition which was engraved by him. ("Brit. Topog.," Hollar, Vol. VIII, 1012.) Parthey (1853-8) says that Hollar's name appears on this edition, but this is doubtful.

Howell, in his "Londinopolis," 1657, reproduced the map as a frontispiece, $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches, which in its turn was exactly copied by Wilkinson, who said that "The original print . . . was engraved by Hollar. . ." ("Londina Illustrata," Vol. I, 1.)

In the editions of Howell and Wilkinson, an ornamental label in the sky, surmounted by the City's shield and flanked by lions as supporters, announces, "London || London the glory of Great Britaines Ile || Behold her Landschip here and true pourfile." Along the base of the map there is a reference key to forty-six important places, which are indicated by numbers.





X.—THE HOLLAR GROUP OF VIEWS AND PLANS, DATING FROM 1647.

The number of engravings which bear Hollar's name is great, and their classification is not easy. Some, however, stand out clearly, and about these there is no difficulty; but others do not lend themselves to clear division. Further, many of the views, being more allied to pictures than to maps, scarcely come within the scope of the present Paper. The line, therefore, between those included here and those omitted must be somewhat arbitrarily drawn. The following grouping, however, will be found convenient:—

- i.—The panorama of 1647;
- ii.—The panorama which extends from “Peterborough House” on the west, to the Tower and beyond on the east, with Lambeth in the foreground;
- iii.—Panoramas illustrative of the Great Fire of 1666;
- iv.—Block-plans with or without buildings shown in perspective;
- v.—The Lincoln's Inn section of London;
- vi.—A combination map-view of 1666 by Lecke, and of a map after the style of Faithorne and Newcourt, 1658.

To an edition of the Merian map, 1638, the name of Hollar is attached, but in this instance—and it may be in respect of maps of other groups—it is probable that Hollar was the engraver only, and not the originator. This type-map is therefore not included in this group of Hollar's productions (see Group IX ante).

i.—The panorama of 1647.

This panorama, 5 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 1 foot 6 inches broad (reproduction by the London Topographical Society), shows Whitehall Stairs on the west, and extends in detail to St. Catherine's by the Tower on the east, with a perspective down the river. It includes London and Southwark as seen from the tower of St. Saviour's Church, and points unmistakably to its

having been compiled from a series of separately drawn sketches, after the manner of the typically executed bird's-eye view. As regards these buildings, therefore, and their relative dispositions, the panorama is to be relied upon. In some instances, however, and apart from unessential supplementing, inaccuracy is observable, as on Bankside, Southwark, which lies to the west of the Bishop of Winchester's Palace, an area the contents of which were evidently not sketched on the spot. The dedication is signed by Cornelius Danckers, and immediately below the dedication there is seen, "Wenceslaus Hollar delineavit et fecit Londini et Antverpiæ, 1647." An inset, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, gives Westminster and the locality on the opposite bank of the river, together with a reference-key.

At the south-east angle of the panorama there is the legend, "Prostant Amstelodami apud Cornelium Danckers in via vitulina sub insigni Gratitudines Ano. 1647." Groups of flying classical figures are drawn in the sky, and also an ornamental plate with lion supporters bearing the word "London."

The panorama was reingraved by Robert Pricke, and published without Hollar's name, while Gough, quoting Bagford, speaks of another prospect drawn by Hollar, 1664, "and etched by Robert Preecke," . . . "but it has only R. Pricke fec. & exc." ("Brit. Topog.," Vol. I, 750.) Gough also says that this map was prefixed to Wiseman's account of the Fire.

The panorama of Hollar appears in a coloured form as the production of Sir Jonas Moore, 1662. (On exhibition at the London Museum; reproduced by the London Topographical Society; Crace Collection, "Views," Port. I, 35.)

The central portion of the Hollar panorama served many times by itself, or associated with views from other groups. In consequence it became much de-

based. A late employment of the central portion as depicting contemporary London was in 1730, ("La Galerie Agréable du Monde," by A. A., Pieter van der), in which old St. Paul's and the London before the Fire are reproduced.

ii.—*The panorama which extends from "Peterborough House" on the west, to the Tower and beyond on the east, with Lambeth in the foreground.*

Upon this panorama, which in length is comparable to that of 1647, there is engraved the name of Hollar, while an ornamental label in the sky proclaims the panorama to be "The prospect of London and Westminster taken from Lambeth by W. Hollar." Old St. Paul's has been worked up to simulate Wren's structure with its dome, many crudities being also observable elsewhere. Whatever its origin, the plate has obviously been re-touched, Hollar probably having little hand in the result. (Crace Coll., "Views," Port. II, 70; Hollar, "Brit. Topog.," Vol. III, 1013, second state; Chap. Lib. at Westminster.)

iii.—*Panoramas illustrative of the Great Fire of 1666.*

These of small dimensions, e.g., $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 4 inches each, are often found separated, although they were probably issued in pairs on the same sheet. They illustrate London before the Fire, London during the conflagration, and the resultant ruin of the City. The southern bank of the river is not included. Topographically these panoramas are unimportant, being rather pictures than map-views. One example of a pair (Print Room, Brit. Mus., Hollar, "Brit. Topog.," Vol. VIII, p. 1015) is headed, "designed Wm. Hollar of Prage Bohem," while below the lower view there appears, "Wincelclaus Hollar: delin. et Sculp: 1666, Cum privilegio."

The view of the City in flames is added in one in-

stance to a combination map made up of the Leeke Survey with a view of the unburnt portion of London ; but this occurrence as an inset is not unusual.

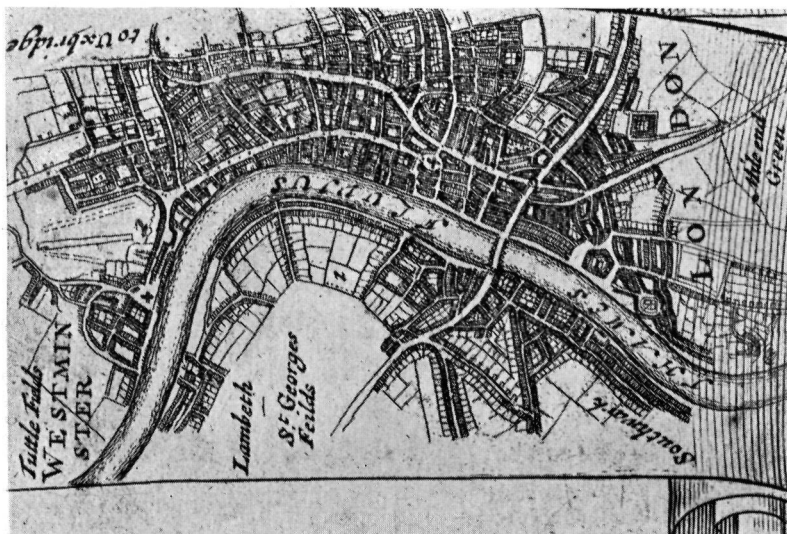
iv.—Block-plans with or without buildings shown in perspective.

For this series of ill-defined and somewhat coarsely executed plans it is difficult to find a precise and comprehensive name. They are bound together either by reason of the presence of the name of Hollar, or through their common resemblances which distinguish them from other plans, and through their similarity to those which bear Hollar's name. They may be of large dimensions, but, in general, they are small and occasionally even diminutive. They may be plans only, or plans with superposed dwellings in perspective. Varying internally, they are frequently discrepant in essential detail so as to render difficult a truthful reconstruction on a large scale of the ground-plan of a selected area. They occur in unexpected situations, sometimes as the main features of the sheet, and sometimes as a minor accessory. The circumstances of their origination are unknown, and their prototype has not been identified. Examples are to be seen in the Print Room of the British Museum, and in all recognised Collections. (Hollar, "Brit. Topog.," Vol. III, 1000.)

Jonas Moore's sheet of London and the Thames embodies a plan of this type, a type which served as a basis for plans issued near the end of the seventeenth century, and later, as in "La Galerie Agréable du Monde," of 1730. As an ornamental accessory it is found in the frontispiece of Ogilby's "Britannia," of 1675, and elsewhere in the same work. Indeed, where a plan of London of the latter half of the seventeenth century is seen, its basis may be looked for in the originals of the present group.



HOLLAR'S PANORAMA, 1647.



OGILBY, 1675 ("Britannia," ed. 1698).

v.—*The Lincoln's Inn section of London.*

In the volume of Hollar's prints in the British Museum there is bound up a map-view of the area which is now known as the West Central District, a view in which Lincoln's Inn and the adjacent Fields are prominent. It seems to be but a section of a larger map which was in contemplation, and shows buildings, etc., in isometric projection. It depicts the Piazza erected at Covent Garden in 1668-9, and also, at Strand Bridge, the "Waterhouse," removed about 1665. ("Lond. Topog. Rec.," Vol. II, 109; reproduction, 1 foot 5½ inches by 1 foot 1½ inch, by the Lond. Topog. Soc.) So far as it goes, it illustrates the area and its contents with some degree of fidelity. No other copies of the section or of the larger map of which it may have formed a part are known.

vi.—*A combination map-view of 1666 by Leeke, and of a map after the style of Faithorne and Newcourt, 1658.*

This combination was also a favourite with the public, and competed in popularity with resuscitated views of London to which flames and smoke had been added to show the Great Fire. Editions of this combination were engraved by Hollar, but since the origin of the main portion of the map is known, the map may well form the type of a separate group. It accordingly is here so treated (see Group XII post).

XI.—*THE FAITHORNE AND NEWCOURT GROUP, DATING FROM 1658.*

The only two early copies of this Group are in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and in the Print Room of the British Museum. That in the British Museum, from which the title is missing, "measures 5 feet 10 inches by 3 feet 9½ inches." In the map, the houses, churches, etc., are shown in isometric projection in a curiously mechanical style; but in some instances there

are attempts to illustrate faithfully important buildings. It is unlikely, however, that it was made from an independent survey; probably it is a *réchauffé* of the older maps, the influence of Braun's Atlas-map being plainly discernible. Need for comparison with earlier maps is emphasised in the case of this map before conclusions of value can be drawn.

The map takes in Wapping and Radcliffe on the east, Tuttle Fields, St. James' Palace, and beyond on the west, and includes Shoreditch on the north, and St. George's in the Borough on the south. The title is:

"An exact delineation of the Cities of London and Westminster and the suburbs / thereof, together wth. ye Burrough of Southwark and All ye Through-fares Highwaies Streetes Lanes and Common Allies wthin ye same / composed by a scale, and ichnographically described by Richard Newcourt of Somerton in the Countie of Somerset Gentleman. / Willm. Faithorne sculpsit."

A few names of places are given on the face of the map, while a reference key to one hundred and thirty buildings, etc., serves to fill up a blank space to the south of Bankside, Southwark. Near the south-east corner, remarks concerning London signed Ric. Newcourt commence, "I intend not a chronologie but a brief ichnographically description."

A view of old St. Paul's, 1 foot $\frac{3}{4}$ inch by 6 inches, is given as an inset, near which the Royal Arms occur. On a ribbon the word "London" is shown.

XII.—GROUP FORMED BY THE COMBINATION OF THE LEEKE SURVEY, 1666, WITH A MAP AFTER THE STYLE OF FAITHORNE AND NEWCOURT, 1658.

By the direction of the City Corporation, John Leeke made a survey of the City in 1666 in so far as it had been devastated by the Great Fire. An original on parchment can be seen in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum (Add. 5415 E.I.). This survey re-appeared many times in conjunction with a

surrounding portion formed by a map of the unburnt portions of the City. The prototype of this surround has not yet been identified, but in style it is that of Faithorne and Newcourt. It is indeed possible that this portion of the combination map and that by Faithorne and Newcourt are offshoots of some unknown original, for they are both highly conventional in their representations, and, in places, caricatures of actualities. An example of the many reproductions of this combination is in the Crace Collection (Plans, Port. I, 50), where it occurs in two sheets, which, however, badly articulate, as though referable to different editions. Of the two sheets which have been issued by the London Topographical Society, each measures $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 16 inches. On the right-hand sheet there is engraved: "Wenceslaus Hollar fecit, 1667," and among the many accessories on the double sheet there are a small panorama, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, illustrating the City in flames, and a date of mayoralty 1669. Labels, keys, and insets, accompanying various editions, often hide the portions of the map which should be below them, and which can be seen in other editions.

XIII.—COMBINATION MAPS.

There are many engravings extant which combine the features of more than one of the groups. In particular, the Great Fire afforded an opportunity for uniting portions of one group with those of another. As a rule these productions are faithful to neither of their prototypes. Usually the types which they embody are manifest from inspection. In general, since in their combination no additional information is forthcoming, the union having been performed mechanically, they are of little value in a study of topography, and must be interpreted by reference to the groups from which they sprung. In one instance, however, the combination is

here considered of sufficient importance to constitute it a Group, viz., Group XII.

When a map under investigation has been allotted to the group to which it belongs, the first stage in its interpretation has been accomplished. The present classification, which is based upon a grouping in families according to their source and origin, has in practice proved useful; but, manifestly, finality has not been reached, for future knowledge and increased experience must assuredly suggest variation and improvement. To the future belongs also a discovery of the many editions in each of the groups, such that, by a reference of the map to its approximate edition in a group, more precise valuation of its representations might be obtained. To discover the editions, the recording of every map as it is met with, and a collating of the results, would be necessary. The number of maps thus to be examined in public and private collections is indeed large, but not so great as to render a cartographical census difficult or unduly onerous. But whether the labour be great or little, it would amply be repaid by the assistance which would be given to the student whose needs or desires sent him to this species of documentary evidence.

(To be continued.)