

# THE EARLIEST VIEWS OF LONDON

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ON a former occasion when reading a Paper before the Society on "The Early Maps of London, their classification and interpretation,"\* the voluminousness of the subject compelled drastic abridgment. It was obvious that a limit must be set to the number of publications which could then be brought under review. The limit selected was found in that series which commenced with Wyngaerde's Panorama of the sixteenth century and ended with commemorations of the Great Fire of 1666. Now, although the wealth of information contained in the series was seen to be great and the striking topographic advance exhibited by the maps was apparent, it was plain that the actual progress could not be truly estimated except by reference to earlier publications. An object therefore of the present Paper is to facilitate this comparison. A further object is to establish a nucleus around which other examples of similarly early date may be grouped, such that by comparative exposition a truer interpretation of the early views of London may be obtained.

As we proceed to examine early endeavour in the pictorial presentation of London and compare such with Wyngaerde's Panorama, we perceive the difference to be as though stepping from darkness to light. On the one hand, we have a picture which compares favourably with a modern illustration in its draft condition; on the other hand, with notable exceptions, we have a type of picture where crudity, want of fidelity, and lack of appreciation of requirements are present. An intermediate stage is represented in paintings by old masters of Saints and Adorations and of many religious subjects where topographic background is set out with definite attempt at realism. And who can forget the mural paintings which at home adorned our

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\* *Trans. Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, 1916. N.S. Vol. iii. Part iii, 255.

parish churches where, even in the humblest, examples were to be found. Nowadays we may not be able in their entirety to reconstruct the stories which church decorations were designed to teach, but concerning the ability of the artists we can have but little doubt. A nearer approach to the art of Wyngaerde is discoverable in the early "Portolani" of the Mediterranean traders, the secret maritime charts which enabled thirteenth and fourteenth century mariners to traverse distant seas. "Already by 1306 a Venetian map had been made which put into form the ideas which inspired the first *Italian voyages in the Atlantic*" (Chatterton's *Ships and Ways of other Days*, 1913, p. 124). In the Map Room of the British Museum, there is a portolano, a plan or map-sketch, showing the Mediterranean together with Europe and Africa, the date of the sketch being 1351. When the compass was called in aid, finished, and, in many respects, correct charts resulted (*Ibid.*, pp. 124-5). The word "Portolani" is still current; it appeared in a recent Genoese shipping paper. The skill then to draw pictures was not absent, but something additional was required before views and plans were forthcoming. This addition was probably the anticipation that illustrations which could be passed from hand to hand were desirable; that there was a market for commercial transactions of this character. Simple as this may seem yet it fits the case. Nevertheless it is remarkable that such a description of the City of London by Fitz-Stephen, c. 1180, should not have prompted the supply of maps and plans as serious contributions to the knowledge of localities. In this connection, however, we cannot forget that, centuries later, even Stow issued his works unaccompanied by maps or plans.

The art of portraying buildings and of map-making before Tudor times seems to have shared the condition into which art in general had fallen. Thus when speaking of that specific variety of art—sculpture—in England towards the end of the mediæval period, Prof. Westmacott said:—

"The sculpture of the true Gothic period of architecture in this country, dating, that is, from the thirteenth century,

and lasting till the middle of the sixteenth century of our era, is remarkable for a character exclusively its own. Generally speaking, it exhibits—like all attempts at art by inexperienced workmen—extreme rudeness in execution, a disregard of all rules of art, false proportion, incorrect anatomy, and, for the most part, utter insensibility to beauty of form” (*Old London, Archæol. Institute*, 1866, pp. 161-2).

This is strong language, but few people there are who would disagree greatly with Westmacott’s opinion. For the moment there is excluded from consideration that brilliant picture of the Tower of London, commonly known as the “Orleans” view, *c.* 1500, which in topographic art almost stands alone. Had there been in England such artists as the originator of this picture, artists who could not only see for themselves but could also set down for the benefit of others the result of their observations, the setting of mediævalism would have been brilliantly illuminated. As it is, the Orleans picture shows by comparison the low condition in which contemporary topographic art lay.

Having thus said the worst about early productions, let us think what there is in their favour. We must remember that pictures and maps are drawn with definite and specific purposes and that without a knowledge of these aims it is impossible truly to understand them. The purpose or object may not always be clearly observable; but it is there, if we will but search for it. With our early views we are too apt to suppose that the object, aim, or motive of the artist was the same as that for which we look at the present day, and that the artist’s method of expressing topographic and other features was the same as that which now is employed. We are too prone to add, according to present-day understanding, to that which is indicated by a line or scratching in the picture. And we do this without regard to the artist’s aim or to the people for whom the picture was intended. No doubt the artist in former times “reached” his audience and, to that extent, the end justified the means. It is, however, quite possible that the artist himself did not foresee the importance

of formulating his aims so as to enable posterity to read him aright. Probably he gave no thought to posterity. It may not have occurred to him that succeeding generations would care to know the shapes of buildings in and around which events of national importance were happening and the history of the world was being shaped. His simple aim may have been to remind contemporaries of what was taking place within living memory. But this is surmise. Its mention, however, should make us pause when seeking to realise crude attempts at representing localities and their buildings.

That ability for illustrating with accuracy was present in mediæval times is seen when seals which depict ecclesiastical and other structures are scrutinized. When we remember the seal of Shrewsbury of fifteenth century date where the City is well and truly shown, or the seal of the Citizens of Rochester (Jewitt and Hope's *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, 1895, Vol. i, p. xcvi) we may indeed be surprised at the fewness of plans, maps, and views that have come down to us. In the case of seals, much information in respect of shapes and details of buildings is ready to hand. The heraldry which in such profusion they display has indeed been studied deeply, but not so the buildings which they illustrate. A study of seals in respect of the structures shown upon them would assuredly repay time and trouble, yielding results interesting and profitable (*cf. Archæol.*, 1827, Vol. xxi, p. 86). This leads to a word or two concerning the desirability of being able to read correctly what, centuries ago, artists placed on record. Interpretation of pictures as a science has been much neglected. When interpretation is entered upon, it must be remembered that for each line, stroke, or combination of these, a cause is assignable. Further, failing the assignment of a cause, too great a reliance is not to be placed upon literal representation. Above all, as previously mentioned, the object of the artist when he brought into being his plan or topographic picture should be a subject for consideration. And so we may pass on from rule to rule and from caution to caution. As, however, the present Paper is not

concerned with the interpretation of pictures in general, the mention of but one more caution must suffice. It concerns the reaction upon interpretation of what we gather from other sources of information. The more we learn of a subject elsewhere, the more information we discern in the print under investigation ; and the more we find in the print, the greater the light thrown upon other sources of information. This sounds like argument in a circle ; perhaps it is, but nevertheless, it is what everybody does and from which profit is derivable.

I am led into these remarks upon interpretation by reason of the vast amount of interpreting that early views of London require, interpretation which is so difficult to accomplish satisfactorily.

After this introduction some of the few views that have come under notice will now be dealt with. The views extend from the time of the Conquest to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. Many pictures other than those under review of course occur, but the present selection will sufficiently indicate the desirability of their collection, whether such collection be for gathering topographical information or for tracing the progress of the art of depicting cities and buildings, or for the satisfaction of the mere possession of early views.

The following is a list of the views of London which receive attention here :—

“ Thumb-nail ” depictions.

View on the pottery lamp found under St. Paul’s.

Bayeux Tapestry.

Old common seal of London.

General views by Matthew of Paris.

Domus Conversorum.

Hospital of S. Giles-in-the-Fields.

St. Paul’s as seen by early Canons.

St. Paul’s in the XIVth century.

St. Paul’s of later date.

London of the Canterbury Pilgrims.

General view, XIVth century : the Tower of London.

Chapter House Crypt, Westminster, 1303.  
Progresses of Richard II.  
Smithfield, 1441-2.  
General view from the Nuremberg Chronicle.  
Tower of London and vicinity in the Orleans Picture.  
Pynson's London.  
Abbey Church of Westminster.  
Holbein's glimpse of London.  
Plan of Southwark and the Clink.  
Coronation Procession of Edward VI.  
Tudor London according to Seller.

At the outset attention is to be directed to those "thumb-nail" depictions which are simply indicative of the presence of a city of some standing, indications which clearly are not meant to express faithful views. They form a group by themselves. Curious in a way, they are informative in the slightest degree; indeed they are all but destitute of importance. An example occurs in the map of the World, 1459, which is preserved at Venice. Reproductions of this map in full size are not rare; that presented in 1874 to the Society of Antiquaries of London is styled "Mappa Mondo Di Fra Mauro Camaldolese Veneto." Similarly the map of the World in Hereford Cathedral, c. 1300, of dimensions 6 ft. 4 ins. by 5 ft. 4 ins., shows a curious view of the British Isles with a topographic symbol upon the banks of the Thames with the word "Londinia" above it.

Gough in his *British Topography* (1780, Vol. i, p. 76) illustrates a map of England, Scotland, etc., temp. Ed. iii. I includes, among other counties, Middlesex, where several well-known names are set down. The name *London* appears in this map above a spired building, which may be taken to be St. Paul's, in company with two bastion-like forts and a curtain-wall pierced by a gate. Perhaps the Tower is also there. Gough tells us that he purchased the map and that it was "the first among us wherein the roads and distances are laid down" (*Ibid.* p. 84).

Far earlier than these sketches, the representation upon a pottery lamp found under St. Paul's must be mentioned. Upon the lamp, judging from the published views (Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, 301 ; Vict. Hist., *London*, p. 25), a river is shown with ferryman and boat, heavily constructed buildings forming the background. "The figure on the bank is really handling a net and is not a soul waiting to be ferried over the Styx by Charon." Some have thought this to be a view of London in Roman times. Proof that it is has not been forthcoming ; nor are the probabilities greatly in its favour.

BAYEUX TAPESTRY.—The first real attempt at illustrating a building connected with the City is seen in the Bayeux Tapestry or Stitchwork as it is more properly called. The date is probably not much later than the events it commemorates, although some have ascribed to it a period of fifty or even two hundred years after the Conquest. Among the many buildings worked in outline in this remarkable document is the Abbey Church of St. Peter with the adjacent Royal Palace of Westminster. At first sight the picturing of the church seems rude and incomprehensible, but closer consideration soon reveals recognisable features and details. Thus we see a long nave, a transept with a tower at the crossing and an apsidal east end. The nave is shown as of five bays with rounded arches forming an arcade ; above are six small round-headed clerestory windows. Judging from the presence of sundry lines at the head of the pillars of the nave, it is probable that the responds of the aisle-vaulting are represented. A shingled or tiled roof is present. The central tower is flanked by well-lighted supporting turrets at the angles and is constructed of two storeys ; the transept is vaulted semi-circularly. The presbytery is pierced with two windows in each of its enclosing walls, the eastern extremity of its roof being of the shape of a quadrantal shell. The step-like arrangement seen in the presbytery may indicate the "circular staircase, bulging out in the corner of the transept," a staircase which Dean Armytage Robinson thought was used to reach a low gallery "to the south side of the cross (*Archæol.*, 1911, 2nd S., Vol. xii, pp. 82-3).

The roof of the tower is seemingly covered with lead. To indicate the completion of the structure a young man is climbing the roof of a neighbouring building or ascending a ladder to place in position the crowing cock of St. Peter. Had we a photograph of the Confessor's Church, much more would be recognisable in the outline on the canvas. The view conforms in substance with what the Dean of Westminster considered to be the appearance of the Church in 1066; but the Dean speaks of a nave of eight bays whereas the tapestry shows only five.

On the same canvas and against the church, there is laid out the Palace of Westminster; the actual building and its details are however difficult to visualize with close approach to accuracy. Our interpretation is at fault; but if the artist drew wholly upon his imagination and if the sketch was wholly conventional, our inability to call up a true impression is not surprising. Opinion inclines in the direction of truthfulness in the outline. In the view there is the Confessor seated in his room of state, the Confessor who lived just long enough to witness the consecration of his church in 1065. Tapestry is draped above the King at the back where the withdrawing-room may be situated. The space between the ceiling and the roof of the Palace with its minarets is much curtailed. In old views of London, as is well known, it is a common device for the side of a building to be removed so as to expose an interior with an episode in progress. So here, King Edward is without a fourth wall to his chamber. Even nowadays at the playhouse when we face an interior, the fourth wall is always absent, and we pass the convention without comment for no difficulty in comprehension is present.

THE OLD COMMON SEAL OF LONDON.—For the next view we pass over a hundred years and more and reach the reign of King John. The silver Common Seal of the Corporation of London, c. 1216, shows the City Wall with central gate protected on either side by a tower. Near each extremity of the Wall, below which the River flows, there is also a tower. Within the City at each side of the field a structure of large dimensions is introduced. What these structures represent



is not clear although it is easy to suppose that one formulates the Tower of London and the other Baynard's Castle or its predecessor in the vicinity, the Tower of Montfitchet. Over the parapet of the Wall we see the soaring spires of many churches; above all, there presides the tutelary genius, St. Paul, with the Cathedral spire ingeniously worked into the folds of his tunic. On the reverse of the seal, the City is portrayed in similar fashion but below an arch. This arch crossing from side to side suggests London Bridge; it bears the figure of St. Thomas enthroned. The gate in the Wall is without its flanking towers; the River is perceptible at the base. The Cathedral is more sharply defined than on the obverse of the seal. (*The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office*, by Jewitt & Hope, 1895, Vol. ii, pp. 118-21; Lethaby's *London before the Conquest*, 1902, pp. 85 and 78.)

GENERAL VIEWS BY MATHEW OF PARIS.—The MS. of Paris's history (B. M. Royal Lib. 14, C. vii; thirteenth century) embodies a road-map of the stations for a pilgrimage from England to the Holy Land and gives sketches of the towns from London to Jerusalem. Above the sketch which represents London is written "La cite de Lundres ki est chef d'Engleterre Brutus ki primie, enhabita Engleterre la funda, e lapela troie la nuvele" (Gough's *Brit. Top.*, 1780, Vol. i, p. 85) the legend thus referring to the reputed founding of Troie la Nuvelle. St. Paul's is the dominant building, the space below being occupied by a castellated wall and at its upper part, behind the Cathedral, by the River which is crossed by a bridge. The four double gates in the castellated wall are named Newgate, Cripelgate, Bishopsgate and Billingsgate. In addition, below and at one end of the wall, the word Ludgate appears and, at the other end of the wall, the word Ellegate. To the right within the City there is a building styled "Lambeth" with a second building with name (?) St. Mary's; a word equivalent to Westminster is also present. On the left of the sketch, at the back, there is another building which seems to be placed upon the other side of the River (Lethaby's *London before the*

*Conquest*, 1902, p. 83; Crace Collection, *Views*, No. 1, facsimile by F. West, Gough's *Brit. Topog.*, 1780, Vol. i, p. 85; Traill and Mann's *Social England*, Illus., 1902, Vol. I, p. 655).

Gough says, concerning another general view by Mathew of Paris :—

“ In the Benet College MS. of the first part of the same author, C. ix., is a similar map of stations. . . . The Thames is carried through the City; three of the gates are placed South of it, and without the wall a church superscribed Burmūdsey [Bermondsey]; Lambeth church, and another called Suud' (perhaps St. Mary Overies in Southwark) within the walls.”

London Bridge and the Tower are also shown in the view and labelled. The Gates are Ludgate, Newgate, and Cripelgate. The sketch is headed *La cite de Lundes*. (Crace Collection, *Views*, No. 2, facsimile by F. West.)

DOMUS CONVERSORUM BY MATHEW OF PARIS.—Some thirty years later than the foregoing, Mathew of Paris executed further interesting sketches of London. In the manuscript of the *Chronica Majora* preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is sketched in colour on the margin of the parchment an outline of the Domus Conversorum which subsequently developed into the Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane. It has been thought that the sketch with others were by Paris himself. There may be recognised a nave of three bays, with western door and a central tower which apparently is circular. The tower carries a storey above the level of the eaves of the nave. The portion to the right of the tower may be the choir or presbytery, or, judging from the change in the direction of the lines down the roof, it may be a southern transept. That it was the choir is suggested by the fact that it approximated in appearance to the Rolls Chapel which was demolished so unfortunately by H.M. Office of Works six centuries and a half later, in 1897. (*Mid'sex & Herts N. & Q.* 1896, ii. 49.)

In Green's *Illustrated Short History of the English People* (1898, Vol. I, pp. lii, 392) there is given a “ Church in London

for Converted Jews," 1233, a copy of a drawing by Paris in his autograph *Historia Anglorum* (B. M., MS. Roy. C. vii). The sketch differs from that in the *Chronica Majora* in respect of the height of the central tower, the tower in this instance being without the upper storey. The windows in the nave and choir in the former sketch are also absent.

HOSPITAL OF S. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS.—A somewhat elaborate view in a manuscript of Mathew Paris (C. C. C., Camb., xvi) represents the hospital of S. Giles (Green's *Illus. Short Hist. of the English People*, 1898, Vol. I, p. 180; Traill and Mann's *Social England*, *Illus.*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 526). Probably more than one building is drawn. What seems to be a church tower surmounted by a leaded conical cap or diminutive spire is, in fashion, similar to that of the Domus of the *Historia*. The lower part of the tower is obscured by the roof of a long building which is pierced with window-slits, quatrefoils, and other shaped openings, and which is terminated by a tower and a bricked structure which is of the same height as the long building.

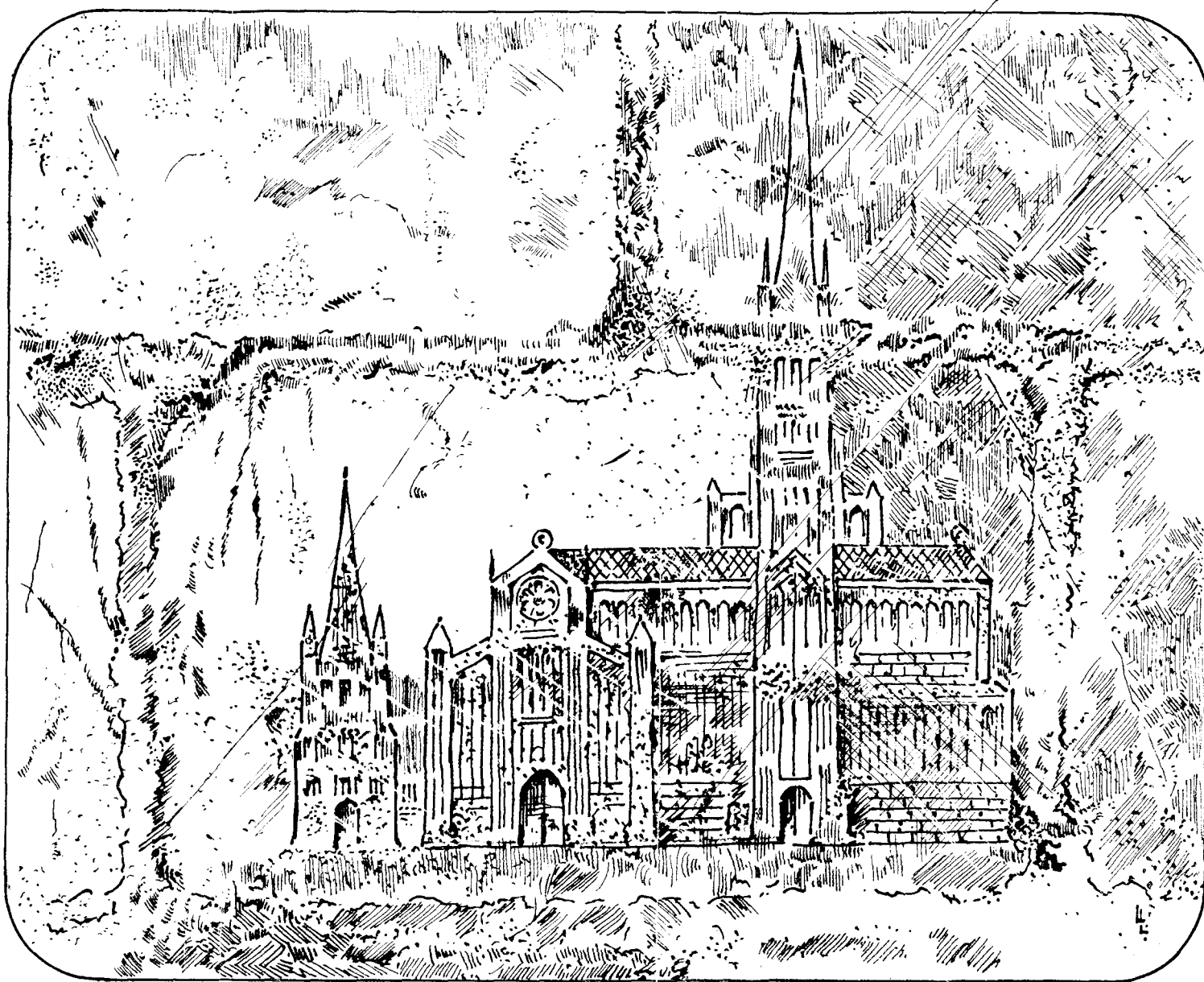
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AS SEEN BY EARLY CANONS.—In the margin of Lambeth MS., No. 1106, fo. 96b, there is stated to be a sketch which, aligned in customary manner, is representative of the Cathedral. The manuscript sets out a short chronicle of the Cathedral from 1140 to 1341. "This book certainly belonged to S. Paul's, or some member of that Church," and "though stiled *Flores Historiarum*, is not the same (in many places) with Matthew of Westminster's *Flores Historiarum*, and seems rather to have been done by some of the Canons of S. Paul's in London." (*Trans. Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. V, pp. 311, 312, 317; Green's *Illus. Short Hist. of the English People*, 1898, Vol. I, p. 385.) The sketch includes a central tower surmounted with a spire having corner turrets; the transepts are boldly expressed while below the tower a gabled roof with clerestory and wide door suggest an elevation of the west end. The style of the sketch approximates to that upon seals which depict buildings.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—Upon the north wall of the tower of the Church at Ashwell,

Herts, there is scratched in outline a large church with lofty tower and spire. By reason of an inscription upon the same wall immediately above, an inscription which has been thought to refer to the Black Death of 1340 (*Reports, &c., Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 16) a fourteenth century date has been provisionally given to the scratching. A footnote to the *Vict. Hist. of Herts* (Vol. III, p. 207) states pontifically:—"Neither Old St. Paul's Cathedral, nor Westminster. It has the tower of St. Paul's and transept of Westminster." Although such may be the case, there is good ground for belief that the graffito is intended to be a view of old St. Paul's, and, bearing in mind the early methods of depicting structures and noticing the many similarities between Old St. Paul's and the scratch on the wall, it is far from unlikely that here an early illustration of the Cathedral is to be seen. Further, it is possible that St. Paul's Cross has been included in the scratching. The reproduction is from a lantern-slide which Mr. A. W. Anderson, A.R.I.B.A., kindly supplied. A restoration of the scratched illustration has also been attempted and is here shown. It may well be compared with the view of Old St. Paul's as given by Wyngaerde, *c.* 1543.

ST. PAUL'S OF LATER DATE.—There may be noticed here another sketch of the Cathedral together with a row of houses fringing the River which runs below. The sketch, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by 9 ins., is possibly cut from a book or sheet and formed a part of some kind of calendar or chart. It is in feeble line and in part is crudely coloured. Printing upon the sheet gives information concerning the Cathedral. (*Library Soc. Antiq., Lond., Plans, &c.*, Vol. 4, 3\*; Weaver's *English Leadwork*, 1909, p. 102.) The sketch is apparently a decadent derivative. Such as it is, it should find a place among the early views of which the history is not known.

LONDON OF THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.—A sketch occurs in the prologue of a poem by John Lydgate (Royal MS. 18 D II, *f.* 148) which "shows the Canterbury Pilgrims starting on their journey from Southwark, with a view of London in the background" (*Archæol.*, 1912, 2nd S., Vol. XIII, p. 311). A



*Restoration of*  
Scratching on Wall of Church at Ashwell, Herts.

long length of the City Wall with its drum-towers is clearly traceable, together with a gateway and portcullis and numerous buildings within the City. The big church may be St. Paul's, but for what the other buildings are intended is problematical. The group outside the Wall would represent Southwark to which London Bridge is leading. If so, the Church of St. Mary Overie is present amid low-lying buildings. In Traill and Mann's *Social History* (1901, Vol. II, p. 642), the view is styled "Pilgrims leaving Canterbury." This indicates the view to be but a mediæval conception of a walled city with its river. It is possible however that here both London and Canterbury are included in the one picture.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE XIVTH CENTURY: THE HISTORY OF THE BRITONS.—With the previous attempts to illustrate London as a whole, there should be compared the sketch which is found in a fourteenth-century transcript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History* [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1898, N. S., IV, 320; B. M., Bib. Reg., 13 III; *The Building News*, Vol. 15, pp. 896-7]. The City is surrounded by a castellated wall having six or more gates. The central building of the enclosed group carries a dwarfed spire rising from a square tower from which, on either side, a wing extends having for termination a tower with a coned top. In the margin of the manuscript, a group of towers with banners is shown, the towers being exterior to and independent of the City. A later handwriting says:—"Belingsgate turris edificata London." This overlaps a word written in the same character as that of the manuscript. In the reproduction, this word is not clear. Mr. Harold Sands, F.S.A., who, in 1917, photographed the original, considers this to contain the earliest known view of tolerable accuracy of the Tower of London. He points out as a feature of the Great Keep that certain projections below the battlements at the tops of the turrets represent the great beams that carried the hoards or external galleries around the tops of the towers and walls. As regards the views which are integral with the body of the manuscript itself, it is difficult to suppose them to be purely fanciful; they are more likely

to have been drawn by one who had personal acquaintance with the original buildings upon which the views were based. A sketch from the same manuscript appears in Traill and Mann's *Social England* where it is styled "A thirteenth-century drawing of London" (1902, Vol. II, p. 159).

With the view of the Tower in the transcript, there may be compared the fanciful thirteenth-century sketch in Paris's MS. (MS. Roy. 14 C. vii) which shows Griffith's escape from the Tower. Griffith, son of Llewelyn at Iorwerth, was confined, in 1243, by Henry III. He attempted to escape by making a rope of his bedclothes, but "as he was very stout" he broke the rope and his neck. The view is of no value so far as the appearance of the Tower is concerned. It is such as an artist of the time would have outlined without personal knowledge of the original or even without having received an account of its appearance (Traill and Mann's *Social England*, Illus., 1902, Vol. II, p. 21).

CHAPTER HOUSE CRYPT, WESTMINSTER, 1303.—The courteous custodian of Westminster Abbey has drawn my attention to a slight sketch which, published by Professor Tout, illustrates at the hand of a monastic chronicler, the great burglary at the Abbey in 1303 (*A Mediæval Burglary*, p. 19; Brit. Mus., M. S. Cotton, Nero. D. ii. f. 192<sup>d</sup>). In the sketch, one sees the thief, Richard of Pudlicott, in the act of purloining treasure through windows which so closely resemble those of the Chapter House Crypt as to lead the Rev. H. F. Westlake to think that a realistic view was attempted.

PROGRESSES OF RICHARD II.—Three reproductions in colour of incidents concerning Richard II are given in *Mediæval London* (Benham and Welch, 1901, pp. 18, 34, 74). In the picture which shows the King leaving London to attend the war in Ireland (MS. of Froissart's *Chronicles*, B. M., Harl. 4380) an arched gateway with circular flanking towers in the City Wall are drawn. One of the towers is headed with a conical dome, the head of the other being out of the picture is not observable. Over the gateway with its portcullis a crowned

shield bearing fleur-de-lys is exhibited while arrow slits and a double window give light to each tower. Behind the Wall a gabled building with lantern, perhaps meant for Guildhall, appears, together with a similar building before it, but much hidden by the Royal Standard of an attendant upon the King.

In the view of Richard being delivered by Bolingbrook to the Citizens of London (MS. of the Metrical History of Rich. II. by Francois de Marque, B.M., Harl. 1319) there are crudely drawn a gateway with castellated flanking towers and a portion of the City Wall with another tower. Two of the towers carry conical domes.

The third picture, (MS. of Froissart's *Chronicles*, B.M. Harl. 4380) denoting the funeral of Richard II, shows the open bier as it leaves a gate protected by a portcullis and decorated with a crowned shield of the arms of England and France quarterly. In the background a fortified wall is shown protecting substantial buildings. London gateway with the City Wall may be intended.

These three views must be taken, along with many others of a similar character, as suggestions and reminders rather than as finished and reliable sketches of architectural details of the City. Indeed they might serve for almost any fortified city of the period. Views such as these are seemingly to be found also in the Lambeth copy of the *Schoolmaster of St. Albans*.

SMITHFIELD, 1441-2.—In a MS. collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the fifteenth century belonging to Lord Hastings (*Archæol.*, 1901, 2nd. S., Vol. VII, p. 29) the illumination on folio 277 *b* (*ibid.*, Plate VI) shows a fight with axes between John Astley and Philip Boyle of Aragon, a combat which took place at Smithfield, January 30th, 1441-2. "Up in the left-hand corner of the picture is the artist's idea of St. Bartholomew's church, and in the upper centre of the picture may be Newgate" (*ibid.* 36).

GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NUREMBERG CHRONICLE, 1493.—In the *Chronicon Nurembergense*, a remarkable work containing over two thousand woodcuts, many countries are described. England comes in for attention and where London is mentioned



a woodcut is inserted, the intention evidently being to suggest a view of London. An examination of the picture however reveals nothing in common with the City except a river flowing at the base of walls with which the City is engirt. Moreover, the same woodcut being employed in the *Chronicle* to represent other cities, suspicion becomes a certainty that the view is imaginary.

THE TOWER OF LONDON AND ITS VICINITY IN THE ORLEANS PICTURE, c. 1500.—This magnificent and wonderfully illuminated picture in which the Tower and its vicinity are so vividly portrayed accompanies a manuscript poem by Charles, Duke of Orleans, the manuscript being executed in France about the year 1500 by a Flemish scribe (B.M., MS. Roy. 16 F. ii, xv). Charles, Heir to the French throne, was taken prisoner at Agincourt and by Henry V lodged in the Tower where he was held to ransom. After the death of Henry, the ransom was paid. The Prince, returning to France, ultimately occupied the throne as Louis XII. The picture illustrates simultaneously consecutive events. It shows (1) Charles in the White Tower writing his poems ; (2) Charles leaning out of an upper window and musing ; (3) Charles at the foot of the White Tower welcoming the bringers of his ransom ; (4) Charles on horseback riding towards the Byward Tower to reach the Wharf ; and (5) Charles about to embark upon the vessel which is to bear him away. By reason of its seeming topographic fidelity, it is, when interpreted aright, of great value to the historian of the Tower. The Tower Wharf, the towers, and gates, are depicted in unusual detail, a depiction which renders them capable of comparison with their present representatives, always, of course, bearing in mind the conventions of the time which in this example as elsewhere are so freely drawn upon. Apart from the Tower, a perspective view of a portion of London forms a worthy background worked out in admirable fashion. There may be noted one eel ship of which examples are still with us moored off Billingsgate, Billingsgate being shown here as a vaulted open substructure. Seemingly this sketch of Billingsgate was employed for the print which, in modern handwriting, bears the legend :—" Drawn in a MS. by Hugh Alley.

. . . 1598 in which he inveighs against Engrossers and Regrators. . . ." (Besant's *London in the Time of the Tudors*, 1904, p. 385). The half-length of Old London Bridge which is brought into view includes the two-storied apsidal chapel dedicated to St. Thomas. Above and beyond the Bridge there are to be seen many churches and other buildings, Old St. Paul's occupying as usual the central position. Reproductions of this portion of the background alone are extant. This Orleans picture is worthy of a monograph, for in no other way can justice be done it. A reproduction in the original colours is given in the illustrated edition of Green's *Short History of the English People* (1898, Vol. ii, pp. 640-1).

PYNSON'S LONDON.—With an edition, 1510, by Pynson of the *Cronycle of Englonde* by Caxton, a view of a City was published. Although the same view also does duty for Rome, it is intended to suggest London. Old St. Paul's with its spire is there, together with a bird such as makes its appearance at Westminster on the Bayeux Stitchwork. The Tower may be recognized, perhaps also London Bridge, and, just behind the City Wall, the Church of the Black Friars. Lud Gate may possibly be intended as well. Other churches might have been identified by a person living at the date of the edition. In this picture we note a degradation from the style and the fidelity which is present in the scene of combat at Smithfield of sixty years before (*ante*, p. 267). The illustration is reminiscent of those woodcuts which continued to head ballads and broadsides for a couple of centuries and more later, cuts which even now are not extinct (Lethaby's *London before the Conquest*, 1902, p. 39; *Annual Record*, Lond. Top. Soc., 1900, pp. 50-1).

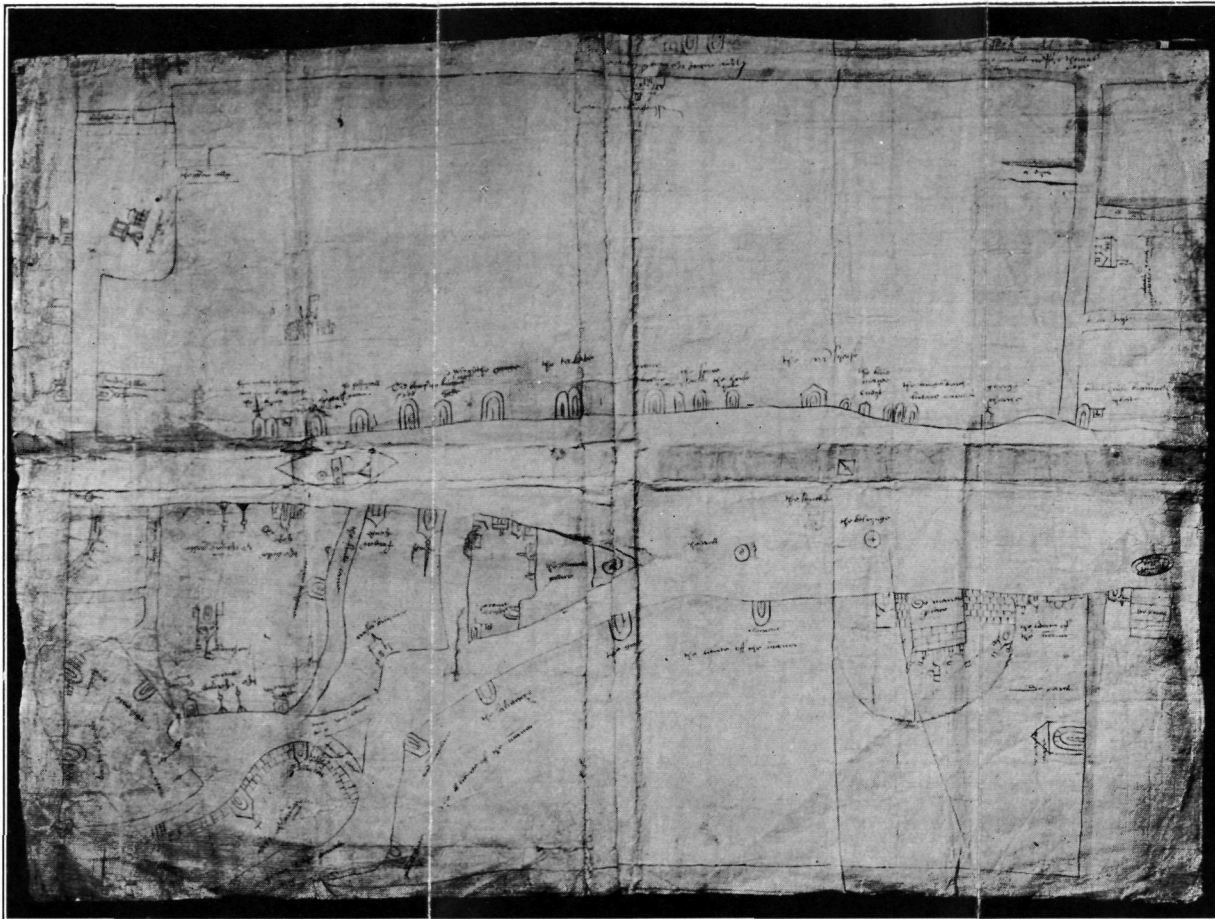
ABBNEY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER, 1532.—In the unfinished Obituary Roll of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, 1500-1532, the initial letter for the brief enfolds a view of the coronation of Henry VIII within the Abbey Church (*Vetus. Mon.*, Vol. vii, Part iv, Pl. xxiv.; Green's *Illus. Hist. of the English People*, 1898, Vol. ii, p. 604). As with the "Orleans" picture (*ante*, p. 268) the side of the building is removed so as to expose the proceedings

within. The nave, north transept, and west front with its squat tower at the crossing, which is surmounted by a lantern, are shown. Flying buttresses stand out well as also the apex of the roof of the south transept. The western towers with their details are interesting since in all probability they lie within the casing of the present towers of the Abbey (per the late J. T. Mickelthwaite). Judging from the wheel sketched on the roof at the west end, building operations are in progress.

Another view of the Church is also given in the Roll (*ibid.* Plate xxii.) and commemorates the funeral of Abbot Islip. In this instance the interior of the Abbey with its rich decoration is employed as the background. The hearse and procession are facing the screen which across the nave shuts in the choir stalls. It may be, however, that the High Altar in front of the Confessor's Chapel is what is intended (*Vetus Mon.*, Vol. vii, Part iv, Pl. xxii; Green's *Illus. Hist. of the English People*, 1898, Vol. ii, p. 670).

HOLBEIN'S GLIMPSE OF LONDON, 1535.—At the Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, there is preserved a cartoon which is attributed to Holbein. The cartoon commemorates the delivery of the charter to the Barber-Surgeons in 1535 by Henry VIII. A window in the wall of the Palace where the ceremony is taking place affords a glimpse of London. There is to be seen a lofty spire upon a square tower, evidently Old St. Paul's, and on the right an embattled tower together with another building; on the left a second and lower spire are traceable. Possibly other buildings are present. It is far from clear what structures apart from St. Paul's are intended. It is likely, however, that the group is merely conventionally indicative of London (*The Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 21st, 1918). In the painting, hanging in Barbers Hall, Monkwell Street, which depicts the same incident, the window is totally obscured by a scroll upon which an inscription is set out (*Trans. Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. vi., p. 125, p. 133).

PLAN OF SOUTHWARK AND THE CLINK, c. 1542.—This, though not a view in the ordinary acceptation of the term, is of



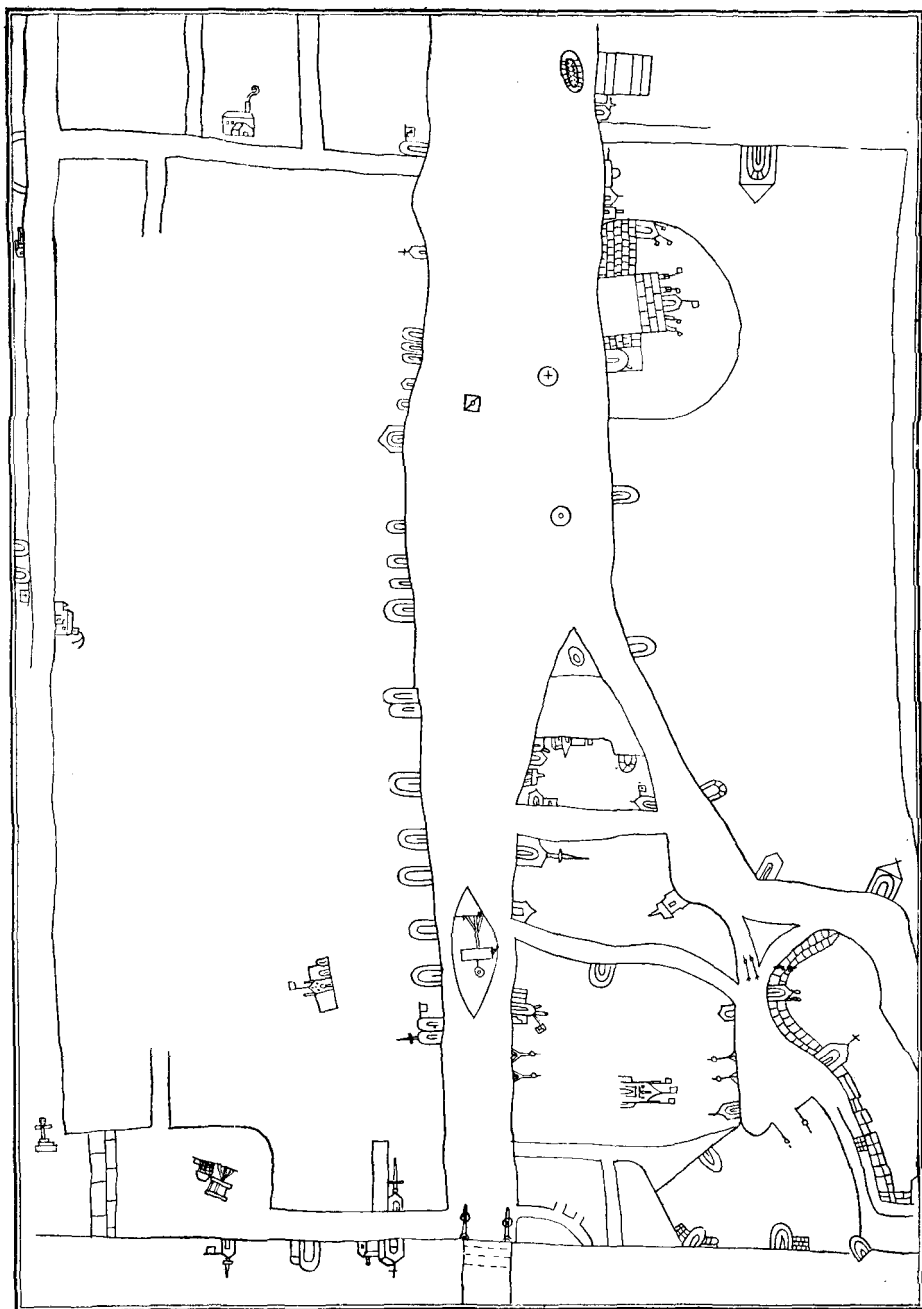
~~Drawing of Mark Lane~~ Plan of Southwark, c. 1542.

too important a character to be omitted. Fortunate as we are in its possession, it must be typical of numerous similar plans which in early times had been made. Many no doubt, must be in existence, to be brought to light by lucky discoverers who perceive their significance. The present plan is a sketch evidently executed by a frequenter of the neighbourhood. It sets out with an approach to accuracy the general run of the streets and alleys to the east and west of the High Street, "Borough" as the locality is still termed. By its aid we may correct or supplement the conventionalised plotting which is seen in the Braun production c. 1556 and in the derivative, the Visscher Panorama (*Trans. Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. iii, p. 267, p. 274). Further it is not difficult to overlay a corresponding plan of the same area as it was presented, say, before the intrusion of the railway system during the 'fifties of the last century.

The plan extends from the river on the north and includes upon the south Long Lane which passes easterly from the Borough and also includes a portion of the street system adjacent to Long Lane. Upon the east, Bermondsey Street appears. Upon the west there are shown "The way to the Bancke," and the eastern portion of the estate of the Bishop of Winchester. The plan is additionally valuable by reason of ideographs or rough conventionalised sketches of houses, bridges, etc., against which identifying names are placed on the plan. (*Trans. Lond. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. iii., p. 371, where the Plate shown includes these word-sketches). In some instances, too, the names of thoroughfares are written down. Though so full in detail, the plan tantalizes by the thought that it might well have covered a greater area and have so easily given fuller particulars of this extraordinarily interesting locality. "Mr. Selby, of the Record Office, . . . thinks that a part of the plan, a southern portion, has been cut off." A hand-drawing with slight variations was made for the late Dr. Rendle, who published it with a transcription of the names which were written upon it together with notes in *Old Southwark*, 1878. Dr. Rendle gave as its dimensions, 33½ in. by 24 in. It bears no

date, but the name " St. Saviour's Church " shows the plan to have been plotted after the union of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Overie by an Act of Parliament, 1540-41, when the name St. Saviour was given to the union. From this and from other internal evidence, the date 1542, or very soon after, was ascribed to the production. A close study of the plan in its relation to the modern Ordnance map is fully repaid. A photograph of the original, on a reduced scale, is here given by the kindness of the authorities of the Public Record Office (P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Maps and Plans, 74). To facilitate its examination, a rough tracing of the main outlines of the plan is also reproduced. The tracing, however, does not include the place-names which, in contemporary hand-writing, appear upon the original.

CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI., 1546-7.—In the disastrous fire at Cowdray House, 1793, a picture showing the Coronation procession from the Tower to Westminster was burnt. Fortunately the picture had been previously copied in colour by Grimm, at the instance of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Society publishing an engraving in 1797. Many copies of the engraving and of its derivatives are extant. As with the Orleans picture (*ante*, p. 368) to summarize the view were to spoil the monograph which it deserves. Nevertheless a paragraph or two should find a place here. It is of the " processional type," in which the train of people is or should be the salient feature but shares attention with the background or setting. In this type of picture it is as though the artist had no clear perception whether the procession should illustrate the setting and be subordinate to it, or whether the setting should be subordinate to the procession. That London should be proclaimed in its act of homage to the new sovereign may have been an important act of political significance; London consequently should assume prominence. That the setting devoid of the procession would exhibit a mutilation is manifest; the procession therefore requires emphasis. The picture performs then the double function of illustrating London and of testifying



*Tracing of Main Lines of  
Plan of Southwark, c. 1542.*

the City's adherence to the new *regime*. For its interpretation topographically, the data are almost wholly wanting ; we have no knowledge of the artist or of his opportunities for observation or the source of his information. Further, the draft from which the artist may have worked is not known, nor the motives of the artist when painting the original picture. Unfortunately we are then relegated to an interpretation based solely on the engraving and its predecessor, and upon such extraneous evidence concerning the buildings as we can fitly bring to bear. That a measure of precision in the artist's instructions was present is evidenced by the particularity with which many buildings are sketched. On the other hand, the ambiguity which other structures disclose suggest portrayal from oral information alone or possibly from a mere general impression.

The picture illustrates the processional route from the Tower, on the left of the engraving, to Westminster Hall on the right, and introduces as a feature the south bank of the River. Individual buildings are sketched on different scales and are drawn with varying degrees of fidelity ; the true spaces or distances between the buildings have also been entirely ignored, while the scale of the setting as a whole bears but little relation to the scale employed for the procession. As regards the buildings and localities indicated, among the many capable of identification there are the Tower, Tower Hill, London Bridge, Bow Church with its picturesque tower, Cheapside with its Standard and Cross erected in 1441 on the site of the old Eleanor Cross, St. Paul's, Lud Gate, Temple Bar, Charing Cross and its gallows, the Palace and Gardens of Whitehall with the Gatehouse, Kings Street, Westminster, beyond, or may be Westminster Hall. It is possible perhaps for Newgate Street, Aldersgate Street, and Gutter Lane to be recognised and a triumphal arch at the corner of Old Change to be noted. On the south bank of the River, Bankside is strongly embanked and provided with landing-stairs. A row of buildings stretches the length of the embankment and includes the Church of St. Saviour's. Other structures are more difficult of recognition. The whole of the picture



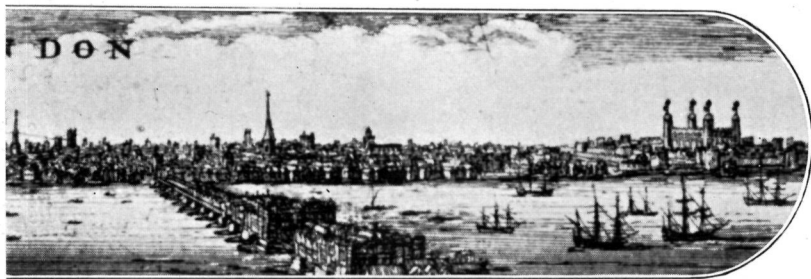
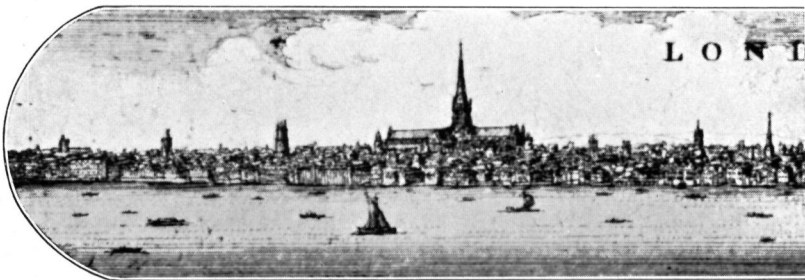
however requires the fullest consideration for anything but a provisional naming of streets, buildings, &c.

In spite of the many defects of the engraving, the production is one for close study, great discrimination however being required for distinguishing the real from the imaginary and in arriving at a true appreciation of the appearance of London when the youthful Edward came to the throne. (Soc. Antiq. Lond. *Historical Prints*, No. 4; New Shakspeare Soc. Proceedings, 1878, Ser. VI, Part. III, Sup. § I; Hope's *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, 1919, Plate XVI, p. 54, pp. 56-7.)

TUDOR LONDON AS ISSUED BY SELLER.—On the illustrated title-page of *The English Pilot*, 1671, by John Seller, the preface to the work being dated from Wapping, a general view is given,  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in. by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. As the view shows St. Paul's with its lofty spire *prima facie* it is at least as early as 1561. There is, of course, the possibility which must be kept in mind of its being a production of even date with the *Pilot* and of its being a seventeenth century attempt to illustrate Elizabethan London before the destruction of the Cathedral spire. A minute examination is necessary to determine this point. Its scale is too small to permit of the ready identification of any but the more prominent buildings.

The reproduction which is here given is in two portions in order to bring the picture into a single page of the *Transactions*.

With this panoramic view of Tudor London, this Paper closes. Although there is failure to marshal a masterful array of pictures at all worthy of the subject—for in truth the array is attenuated and shabby—a purpose will have been served by the interest which may have been aroused by the recollection of these early attempts to illustrate London and its immediate vicinity. It is perhaps not too much to hope that the Paper, short though it be, will ultimately help others in securing a worthy sequence of early views, examples of which have been given. Although expense in reproduction has closely to be watched, Londoners would be grateful for a publication to be at hand to which they might refer for pictorial endeavour at representing mediæval



**Tudor London.**

London. Such a publication would grow apace, for each lover of London would add the views of which from time to time he became the fortunate possessor. At length, a standard edition acceptable to the London Historian would be secured while the topographical study of early London would thereby be placed upon a firmer basis.

P.S.—In *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 February, 1923, there was reported a communication to the Academy of Inscriptions, Paris, of the discovery at Arras of a quantity of gold coins. One of the coins “represents the entry of the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, into London. The coin depicts London as it then was, with its towers, ramparts, and gates. Before the town is the Emperor on horseback ; on his right is a kneeling woman, personifying the submission of the city ; on his left is shown the boat which carried Constantius across the Channel.” The coin “bears the mark of the mint at Treves, then the capital of Gaul.”