

THE SHELDON TAPESTRY (BODLEIAN)  
MAP OF LONDON AND VICINITY.

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I. INTRODUCTORY.

WITH this Part II of Volume V of the *Transactions* of our Society, there is issued a facsimile of a small part of one of the justly renowned Barcheston tapestry maps, maps which set out portions of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey and other counties to the west. The map from which the facsimile is made probably dates from the latter part of the 16th century and is the property of the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; it must not be confused with a

similar map, of presumably later date, belonging to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. With other tapestries, it has been on exhibition for some years at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. The facsimile now issued by our Society is a reproduction, in colour, by Messrs. Page and Thomas, Ltd., of a photograph which was coloured by hand after the original for the immediate purpose of the present production.

The facsimile is printed upon a white background, the margin being tinted of a yellowish colour and the whole passed between grooved rollers.

2. THE BARCHESTON TAPESTRY FACTORY AND ITS MAPS. From customary sources of information it appears that, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIIIth, a tapestry factory was set up at Barcheston, in Warwickshire, by one William Sheldon (d. 1570), Squire of Weston in the same county. The factory was under the management of a certain Richard Hyckes who had been sent to Flanders to learn the process of tapestry-weaving and to bring back workmen. The business at Barcheston proving successful, the products of the factory rapidly became famous. The works, however, were shut down during the 17th century, their activities having apparently been absorbed by the Royal Factory which had opened at Mortlake in 1619.

Among the many notable products of the Barcheston looms covering a period of some fifty years or so were maps of the English counties. Of three maps the property of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, two considerable fragments are preserved, as well as three complete maps owned by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. In one of the Bodleian maps and in one of the Yorkshire Society's maps—both of which have the north at the upper end of the tapestry—London is depicted in perspective. In both maps, the City with its surroundings occupy the same relative position, but in the Bodleian example the portion below London has been ruthlessly slashed away, leaving a frayed edge and a

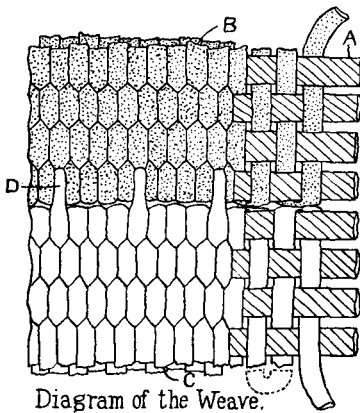
large vacant space at the right-hand lower portion of the tapestry. The Bodleian tapestries were in an extremely shattered condition and were restored a few years before 1912 by the ladies of the Decorative Needlework Society, Ltd., of Kensington. When complete, the tapestry containing the portion now reproduced was approximately 13 feet 6 inches high by 18 feet 1 inch broad.

3. THE WEAVING OF THE FABRIC. As regards the manufacture and structure of the tapestry, the writer of the present Paper is favoured by the following note written by Mr. A. J. Wilson, B.Sc., of His Majesty's Patent Office.

“The tapestry of the Sheldon maps is a woven fabric having the pattern an integral part of its structure, as distinguished from the tapestries (so-called) of Bayeux in which the design is embroidered or stitched upon a previously woven foundation fabric. In woven or real tapestry, a number of threads of different colours are interwoven according to the pattern with foundation threads which extend the whole length of the tapestry and are thicker than the coloured threads, so that a fabric is produced showing ribs or cords covered by a pattern. With the maps in the position they occupy on the walls of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the foundation or warp threads of the fabric are horizontal and are practically hidden by the vertical pattern or weft threads.

The accompanying diagram illustrates, towards the right-hand side, how two differently-coloured wefts B, C, shown dotted and plain, are interwoven with the warps A. During weaving, the warps A extend from a beam or roller, on which they are wound, in either a horizontal plane or a vertical plane, to another roller on which the tapestry is, from time to time, wound as it is woven. According to the warp arrangement, the weaver either bends over his work or sits up in front of it. A supply of weft thread of each colour B, C, is wound upon a pointed bobbin, and these are passed alternately over and under the warps of groups selected by the weaver in accordance with his pattern or cartoon. At the

end of its travel in one direction as determined by the cartoon, the weft is turned back round a warp and proceeds alternately over and under the succeeding warps as before. The inserted wefts are compacted or beaten up to the face of the cloth already woven by means of a small comb, producing the effect shown to the left of the diagram. The bobbins of those wefts not being inserted at any time are allowed to hang from the woven tapestry until required for use. When the line dividing two colours is parallel to the direction of the warps, the weaver extends the path of some



of the wefts of one colour and passes these wefts round the last warp interwoven with the adjacent weft of a different colour, as shown at D. Where, however, the boundary of any colour is at an angle to the direction of the warps, no such special binding is required since the two wefts are turned back round the same warps

which therefore serve to bind the colours together.

The names of the towns and villages and the top and bottom borders of the maps are woven unbound at the horizontal edges to the main portion to which they are subsequently secured by stitching threads easily recognised on account of their inclined disposition.

The maps are composed mainly of worsted warps and wefts with some silk wefts where bright effects are desired. There are some seventeen or eighteen warps and fifty wefts to the inch, but since the glass protecting the maps is a few inches from their surface, accurate counting of the threads is difficult. The mounting of a portion of a map with the reverse side exposed would be of assistance in a study of the

structure of the weave and would also show how the weaver disposed of the free end of weft when he had finished weaving a part of any one colour. These free ends may be bound into the fabric in some manner or they may extend on the back of the cloth from one part to another of the same colour.

It can scarcely be denied that from the standpoint of weaving craftsmanship, the Bodleian maps are somewhat crude but they were an earnest of what the Barcheston and Mortlake looms were subsequently to produce."

4. THE DATE OF THE MAP. The Victoria and Albert Museum states that the Bodleian maps "date back to the latter years of the 16th century, as is shown by the arms of Queen Elizabeth with the lion and the dragon as supporters, and still more by the style of the borders with their classical and architectural scenes" (Tapestries, Part III, Publication No. 112 T). Although it is fairly certain that the Bodleian map, the subject of the present paper, is earlier than the corresponding specimen of the Yorkshire Society, one of the maps of the Yorkshire Society "gives the date 1588 and also the arms of Queen Elizabeth, but in this case the border—a massive picture-frame with moulded enrichments—precludes its having been woven earlier than the 17th century" (*ibid.*). Internal evidence is unfortunately lacking, there seems scarcely anything in the representation of the places in the London area by which the date of the cartoon may be checked. It is possible of course that a minute inspection of the tapestry as a whole would reveal distinctive features from which the date within close limits would emerge; but in the absence of this inspection there is not much beyond the date of the Barcheston Works and the similarity in topographic expression to the Saxton and allied maps from which it is possible to settle the date. The "latter years of the 16th century" must suffice for the present.

5. THE TAPESTRY CARTOON. To assess completely the topographic value of any map, it is necessary to know the authority on which the map is based, whether for instance

the map is the result of direct and intimate acquaintance with the area it covers, or whether several individuals intervened between its origination and the example under consideration. A word or two therefore is desirable as to the possible origin of the cartoon from which the tapestry map was woven. On this point no information apart from that which the map itself affords has come down to us; the authorship of the design is therefore a matter of conjecture. It is fair to assume, however, that the draughtsman of the cartoon was not himself a cartographer. We ought, consequently, to enquire what maps or map-views of London were in existence at the time from one of which it could be assumed that the cartoon was taken. Although we know there were the cartographic productions in Saxton's Atlas of the counties of England and Wales, 1579, and also the panorama by Wyngaerde, *c.* 1543, as well as the map in the Atlas of Braun and Hogenberg, 1574, copies of each of which are extant, it is not to be supposed that all the maps in existence during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and upon one of which the tapestry cartoon may have been based, have been preserved. For example, the views which form the backgrounds of certain equestrian pictures of James I and other Stuarts and those which appear on the Great Seals and on medals have not been recovered as independent productions, nor has there been found the original of the inset to the Hondius map of Great Britain and Ireland in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire* of 1611.

Of those maps or map-views which are in our possession the most likely ones to have been employed would be those by Saxton, but it must be admitted that their scale is very much smaller than that of the tapestries. Gough when discussing the Barcheston tapestry maps referred to the curious spelling of the towns "e.g., Kengington, Fullam, Towting rech, Cameruel, Totnham, Edelmeton, Enfield howse, Wahhm, Whescon, Frian, Eberner, Newington, Rickmercsworth . . . ." and, in a foot-note, said.—"These



seven places [counting backwards and including Eberner i.e. East Barnet] are spelt precisely the same in Saxton's map of Middlesex included in Kent" (*British Topography*, II, 310\*). When speaking of the tapestry map of Worcester—a map of the series to which the London tapestry maps belong—Gough pointed out that, "The compass in this exactly resembles that in Saxton's Kent and other maps." Later, "If these maps are not copied from Saxton, their large scale and minute detail is an improvement on the first effort of mapmaking among us" (*Ibid.*, 310\*).

According to the South Kensington brochure previously mentioned (*Tapestries* III)—"A comparison of these maps with the work of contemporary cartographers shows that they have been carefully copied from engraved originals." It is difficult, however, to trace the indebtedness of the cartoon to any of the maps that are known to exist, with the possible exception of the maps in Saxton's Atlas, 1579, and particularly of those maps of Saxton where London is drawn altogether on a very small scale, as in the map of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Middlesex, 1575, and in the map of Essex, 1576. In relation to the Saxton maps, there is traceable a general similarity. Moreover, curious spellings are common to the tapestry and to the Saxton maps. Thus in our section, as previously mentioned, "Kengington" is the spelling adopted, but "London" and "Paddington" in the combined Saxton map of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Middlesex have each an elided 'N' with a sign of abbreviation above the word.

The South Kensington Publication refers to "the insertion in some cases of roads and even tracks"; but as regards the London section, although roads or tracks are somewhat prominently presented in the reproduction, there are no such distinctive thoroughfares in the original; true, some resemblances are to be seen in the fabric, but apparently they were inserted as a relief to spaces otherwise blank in detail and monotonous in appearance. Considering the date of the



map, the absence of road-marking need occasion no surprise although it was not long before maps began to show roads.

6. CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE CARTOON. Looking to the tapestry as a whole, the conclusion is inevitable that, although the influence of Saxton is possibly discernable, to Saxton alone it cannot be said that the map is due. In many instances the verisimilitude which in the matter of churches, structures, bridges, etc., the artist has secured would hardly have been possible had the Saxton examples alone been available. Further, when attention is focussed upon the London portion of the tapestry, the conventional representation of so many of the houses together with patent inaccuracies of all sorts inclines one to the opinion that the originator of the cartoon, as also the draughtsman of the Saxton productions, often drew upon his imagination when supplementing the bare outline of the design which he had before him. It is, of course, possible that the artistic ability of the originator was not commensurate with his topographic knowledge and that he was not unlike many people of to-day who find difficulty in sketching, even ~~an~~ outline, what they see and that with which they are very familiar.

As the result, an inclination of the present writer's opinion as regards the London portion is in the direction of the originator of the cartoon having at hand a bird's-eye view of London with its surrounding area such as he would have found in the Saxton maps of 1579, and that, here and there, he may have supplemented deficiencies from personal knowledge. Occasionally, however, he completed outlines from recollection, eking out, in many cases, paucity of knowledge from information supplied by others and by filling in blanks with conventionally drawn houses and impressionistic sketches.

7. THE TAPESTRY MAP IN ITS RELATION TO THE MAP OF THE YORKSHIRE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. In its relation to the map of the Yorkshire Society, the Bodleian is less definite and

somewhat more obscure in its delineations, attributes which, among others, proclaim it to be the earlier in date. Indeed the York example bears upon its face a general sophistication. It is not likely, however, that it was copied from the Bodleian map directly; moreover it is difficult to suppose that a single cartoon—a copy of the Bodleian map—came between the two productions. The difference in general style and in the outlining of the buildings taken singly are too great to suggest that so close a relation existed. It is probable that any relation between the Bodleian and the York examples is several times removed. If this is so, it would follow that for such topographical accuracy as may reasonably be looked for in the tapestries the Bodleian is to be preferred. Moreover, if we refer to the tapestry of the Philosophical Society of York, we find that the eastern side of London, including the Tower, stands out as vividly as other portions, but in the Bodleian example, the tapestry is seen to terminate abruptly upon the cross-border (shown in the reproduction) to the east of London as though in that direction of the compass there was nothing further of interest. In the York map, however, London is laterally extended, but curiously enough the extension is also obviously devoid of importance for it is merely made up of a cluster of houses conventionally depicted, a cluster which by its density alone is enough to arouse suspicion as to its genuineness. And if we glance at the York map north and south of this London extension, it is readily perceived that the tapestry is bare of villages, etc., and that the bareness is relieved by an occasional weaving in of a tree or two of formal pattern or set design. This extension up and down the right-hand side of the tapestry was, perhaps, due to a discovery that the dimensions of the tapestry as originally designed were too small to secure a complete filling of the panel in the wall where the tapestry was to be placed and that to remedy this defect it was necessary to add a portion to the fabric.

There also may be noted that the capital letter N, wherever

it occurs in the Yorkshire Society's map, has in every instance its diagonal stroke in the reverse to the normal direction as in the Bodleian map. From this peculiarity however no relevant point of interest arises.

8. NATURE OF BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. The complete tapestry map, and in particular that portion which is the subject of the present Paper, is in the nature of a "Bird's-eye-view," and consequently partakes of the qualities and defects which are always associated with views of this character. In a bird's-eye view, a plan is plotted and buildings, bridges, natural features, etc., are drawn upon it in perspective and in more or less correct relation to one another. In the resulting picture, the plan is not usually accurate, nor are the sketches of the various buildings, etc., reliable—at any rate without extraneous confirmation. But apart from any value in respect only of the pictures in little, which the present facsimile shares with bird's-eye views, and of exact representation of natural objects, the tapestry map under discussion records a stage in the history and development of the topographic expression of London, an expression which culminates in the present day's publications of the Ordnance Survey and in aeroplane photography. The tapestry, moreover, is a notable work of art which has for *motif* a quaint and curious subject, the facsimile only of which as issued by our Society may be a pleasing possession.

Considering the nature of bird's-eye views and the manner in which they are built up, there has always to be remembered in their interpretation the possibility of the artist being unable to find room between his cardinal buildings for the lesser structures and smaller habitations that he knew to be intervening. In this event of insufficient area, the artist perforce must suppress much. Further, the artist may discover that, when inserting the additional sketches for which he has found the space, he has plotted certain of his buildings in false relation to one another, a matter which has always to be borne in mind when interpretation is entered

upon, as also the possibility of the sketches being merely conventional outlines and not views of known existing buildings. In the case of our tapestry map as a whole all the usual artifices employed in the making of bird's-eye views have been adopted. It is certain too that all the vicinity of London—to the north, west and south—had been laid down and the outlining of London left to the last with the result that when London came to be plotted it was discovered by the artist that sufficient area had not been allowed for expressing the City in the way that was originally desired or ultimately hoped for. He had, therefore, to do his best and group London in an area far too constricted to enable him satisfactorily to differentiate its notable buildings.

9. THE PLOTTING OF THE LONDON AND ITS LABELLING. From the greater diligence which seems to be exhibited by the tapestry in showing Bankside and parts of Southwark, it is plausible to think that the originator or the interpreter of the original production lived "across the water." Pursuing this train of thought, it would seem that the designer must frequently have walked over the Bridge and have become more attracted by St. Paul's and its neighbourhood than by the region to the east of the Bridge—judging by the indecision which characterises, for example, the aspect of the Tower of London. On the other hand it is possible that the fuzziness of the map in this quarter is due not entirely to the fault of the original but to a large extent to mechanical rub and wear during the life-time of the fabric.

We may, however, reject these alternatives in favour of a third hypothesis for which the evidence is so strongly marked, viz. that the greater part of London as we see it illustrated on the canvas was not in the original scheme and that its insertion was in the nature of an afterthought. It is clear that London was originally projected upon a scale which was not greatly disproportionate to the spaces occupied by many of the towns and villages dotted over the tapestry, due regard also being had to the extent of the fabric, on this the

eastern side, to fit it to the panel of the room for which the tapestry was designed. Further, internal evidence also indicates that when the tapestry was all but finished the weaving of the City began with, so we may suppose, St. Paul's as the outstanding feature.

An inspection of the facsimile will show that the towns and villages about London together with all Southwark and the part lower down the river stand out vividly as though executed according to a plan laid down upon the cartoon. In particular, we may note the village which north of the Tower of London we may label "Stepney" and the trees just above, the execution of which is the same as in the case of other villages, towns and trees, whether we regard the colouring or the style. When, however, we come to the space between the Cathedral and the River, a jumbled mass appears out of character with the general tenor of the map, a jumble which proceeds to the eastern extremity of London. We must also bear in mind that in every instance, apart from London, the name of the place in a cartouche is placed immediately below the place, cutting off, as it were, the bases of the houses. It is therefore quite reasonable to suppose that the cartouche "London" was originally placed between the Cathedral and the River. Later, for some unknown reason, perhaps to show the mass of London's habitations, the cartouche was transferred to its present situation to the east of the Bridge. In addition, there is no doubt that the Tower and its precincts were drawn in later, for this purpose the cartouche, "Stepney," being wholly removed from the picture. The position of the horizontal upper line of this cartouche is plainly discernible on the tapestry. It seems that when the Tower was worked into the fabric the supply of the older wool had run out and that another and not exactly identical supply was employed.

10. A TOPOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE MAP; APPLICATION OF THE RULES OF INTERPRETATION. We proceed now to a topographic study of the map, more perhaps as an amusing

exercise than for the results to be secured. Topographically the map may be of small importance although to a contemporary it must have been pregnant with meaning.

Judging by the Elizabethan methods of conventionally representing the contents of areas—methods with which contemporaries were familiar—the faults which the map bears upon its face would have occasioned no surprise to a contemporary. In our reading therefore, we must bridge the three centuries and a half that have elapsed since the map was woven and view it through the eyes of the contemporary; in addition we must utilize to their utmost all the rules of interpretation that are to be employed in the decipherment of maps, rules with which we are already familiar (*Trans.*, Lond. & Mid. Arch. Soc., N.S. Vols. III and IV). Only by such means as these can we hope, in our exploration of Old London, to extract the information which the originators of the map hoped to impart. To some extent we have already entered upon interpretation when dealing with the plotting of the London area (p. 125) but now we have further to identify the buildings which are shown and to determine, among other matters, whether the specific and individual sketches in the cartoon from which the tapestry was woven were first-hand or were based on views by other artists or were founded simply upon "hearsay." We have also to distinguish between genuine attempts at representing known buildings and those depictions of structures in a conventional fashion only. We must not expect in every instance, of course, exactitude in the outlines of buildings or in the lay-out of streets or in the dimensions of the houses, or in their number or relative dispositions. And we must remember that uniformity in scale, whether up and down the map or from side to side, is not necessarily to be found, for with such matters the map-makers of the time seemed to be little concerned. We anticipate then the usual inaccuracy in many particulars. To summarise—we shall find an intricate puzzle which for its solution demands close study and an application of all the

rules of interpretation that can be brought to bear upon the subject.

If the tapestry was based upon county maps already in existence, we may fairly expect to find variations, whether by way of improvement or conversely in the direction of less accuracy depending upon many considerations. These variations may be simply due to an intelligent interpreter without topographic knowledge or to a careless copyist, or even to one who by the exercise of "artistic license" hoped to heighten the pictorial effect of the whole. On the other hand, he who plotted the cartoon may have had personal and first-hand knowledge of London; in consequence he may have introduced improvement in the draft before him. If the cartoonist was but a copyist, improvements in delineation cannot be expected; rather degradation should be anticipated, such that reliance could hardly be placed upon variations from the original. If but a slavish copy, the product of course could not be more truthful or more accurate.

In accordance with our conclusions will be the degree of fidelity to be attached to the representations on the map and the importance that may be attached to them in respect of the information they are capable of importing. To perform our task to complete satisfaction is beyond our power, but the general lines may be indicated upon which we proceed in our interpretation in order that the yield may be the greatest.

II. IDENTIFICATION OF BUILDINGS. There are salient structures about which no difficulty arises, for our extraneous knowledge of them enables us to assess the degree of truth expressed. There are other well-defined buildings concerning which we have also much information so that we can say that they are imperfectly or wrongly delineated. Further, we can detect at a glance many of the conventionally expressed houses. There are also, here and there, lines and strokes shown in varying degrees of plainness, which evidently

represent real objects; there are, in addition, many lines which have no topographical significance whatever. With these guides then in mind and others subconsciously at our disposal we have now to travel over the map and indicate so far as we are able the buildings which appear on its surface, knowing full well that in many instances our identification is but provisional and that variants by others must demand respectful attention. It is certain too that a detailed knowledge of individual buildings in Old London would reveal other identifications.

We may commence at the bottom left-hand corner where the cartouche "Hamersmith" has been worked into the fabric. In the Yorkshire Society's map, the order of the letters "MI" which occur in the place-name has been reversed.

In Rocque's map of 1746, which takes in this area, the place is spelt as here with a single M in the first portion of the name, instead of with two as is now customary. A church is distinctly set out from which it is not unfair to conclude that prior to the church which was built in the reign of Charles I and consecrated by Laud in 1631, there was already a church on the same site.

But the evidence seems against the existence of a previous church (see Faulkner's *Account of Fulham*, 1813, and Daniell's *Riverside Churches* 1897), such that, if the date to be given to our map is the second half the 16th century, the picture of a church at Hammersmith is a fancy of the artist. As regards "Fulham" the spelling on the map is a little obscure; as already mentioned (p. 120) the spelling is probably "Fullam" as in the York map and not "Fulham" as the facsimile has it. The palace is depicted as also the parish church, a church referred to in the Nonee Roll of Edward III. The blue streak below is undoubtedly a bend in the river, although it may look like the moat around the palace, the moat which recently has been filled in.

Passing to "Chelsey," we may detect the tower of a church,



“ St. Luke’s,” with possibly the old and new manor houses adjacent; or it may be that the church is the building below the manor houses. In the case of “ Kengington,” the predecessor of the church of St. Mary Abbot’s is drawn with a square tower. A church, mentioned in Domesday Book, was given to the Abbot of Abingdon, temp. Henry I, the Abbot endowing it with a moiety of the Great Tithes, 1260. An enclosed area or park appears to the south of “ Kengington,” together with a house within the enclosure. This may be the manor house of the Abbot of Abingdon.

Taking in Paddington on the north, the depiction of the church with its nave, transept, and spired tower bears signs of fidelity. An “ old and ruinous ” church was taken down about the year 1678. In the tapestry map the name of any place is always to be found placed directly below the sketch of the place; the name “ Hampstead ” is therefore all that is in our facsimile to remind us of that place. Immediately below “ Hampstead ” an enclosed area planted with trees is to be seen. This is the “ Deer Park ” of the Grand Prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, i.e. St. John’s Wood. As regards Islington, the predecessor of the present church which was opened in 1754 is shown. On pulling down the old church in 1751, the date 1483 was found upon the steeple (Nelson’s *Hist. of Islington*, 1811, p. 289). In addition, it may be that the tall structure which at the right forms part of the group is intended for Canonbury Tower, a building set up by Prior Bolton of St. Bartholomew, 1509-1532.

The church of St. Giles-in-the Fields is shown with a tower surmounted by a low spire. It is likely that this was a characteristic of the edifice and not due to the imagination of the artist. But St. Giles was a small community, a leper hospital; here, however, it is shown much increased in size. Moreover, the two designs of the houses suggest that the houses of the design at the right hand were the result of the extended weaving in and plotting upon the tapestry of the houses from Newgate, the extension which, as previously

indicated, obliterated the open space on the fabric between London and St. Giles.

Dealing now with the area around Westminster, it is remarkable that the name "Westminster" has not been woven into the fabric. Stairs are seen to lead from the River to the group which marks out the Palace of Westminster. Upon the left of the Stairs, the low buildings are reminiscent of the Abbey and of the west gate of the precincts. One opening of the Gate appears to be looking towards Tothill Fields while the other opens out to "The Elms" or, as we should now call it, Dean's Yard. The west end of the Abbey is without towers. The tall pinnacled tower which is seen close by may be St. Margaret's Church, or it may stand for the bell-tower in the Broad Sanctuary, or perhaps for the clock-tower which was in New Palace Yard north of Westminster Hall. The buildings here are hopelessly intermixed. To the jumble of habitations on the north, Whitehall Stairs give access from the River to the Palace of Whitehall by way of an arched opening which is flanked by towers. Here, the river front of Whitehall is presented, the contrary face of the mass of buildings that made up the Palace being presented to the open country to the west. The Stairs which are to be seen immediately to the north may belong to the Palace of the Savoy. Crossing the River, we reach Lambeth. The Lambeth group shows distinctively the entrance to the Archbishop's Palace with its flanking towers, in appearance much the same as we see it to-day. The gate-house dates from about 1490. The tower upon the left may be looked upon as the Lollard's Tower, erected in the early part of the fifteenth century. The Archbishop's Park against the Palace is denoted by the symbolic tree; or it is possible that the tree registers the Park of the Bishop of Winchester.

We now arrive at Bankside, Southwark, where the designer has expressed himself as clearly as in the case of the towns and villages outside of the London area. Above Lambeth Palace,

the towers which are shown on the map may be looked upon as conventional pictures of the bull-ring and of of the bear-pit, institutions which are shown in the London map of the Atlas of Braun and Hogenberg, 1574. In the derivative Yorkshire Society's Map, the sketches of the buildings hereabouts have been regularised but the alterations bear no topographical significance. Hardby in our facsimile is seen the Hall of the Palace of the Bishop of Winchester with its louvre or lantern disproportionately rendered—evidently a notable feature in the landscape. The range of buildings to the east is doubtless intended for the cloisters of the Priory of St. Mary Overie. The church of the Priory which to-day forms Southwark Cathedral is adorned with its massive tower. We may also detect against the Church of the Priory the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene and the celebrated retro-choir of the larger structure. Perhaps the building to the east stands for the Little Lady Chapel.

Passing to the houses to the south-east, little is to be made of them in respect of identification; but the church of St. Margaret is faintly expressed just above the letters "HW" in the word "Southwark." Further north there is to be seen a discontinuity in the lines of houses that run right and left so as to produce a run south and north. This marks out the High Street of the Borough, a street which opens out to the gate-house at the Bridge-foot. To the right the tower with pinnacles presumably indicates the church of St. Olave; to the right the buildings are unrecognisable, if indeed they ever had any definite meaning. As mentioned previously (p. 123) the York map shows many houses of conventional pattern to the east along the banks of the River. Before passing over London Bridge, the group marked "Newington" should be mentioned. Above the houses and against a tree, there is marked a horizontal line with a short length depending from its end. By comparison with other towers and buildings which are more fully expressed elsewhere on the map it is clear that this is meant for the top of a

tower. It may be taken to represent the old parish church of Newington, a church of which mention is made in Domesday, and in the Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV, 1292.

London Bridge with its numerous arches is shown packed closely with buildings; the central building presumably illustrates the chapel of St. Thomas. Nonsuch House may also be looked for here. The sketch of the Bridge as represented is reminiscent of the Bridge in the picture of the coronation of Edward VI (*Trans. L. & M. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. IV, Part V. p. 372).

Close to the north end of the Bridge, Stairs lead down to the River from a structure which evidently stands for Fishmonger's Hall, which was burnt down in the Great Fire of 1666. Diverting attention to the right and passing the Church of St. Magnus we reach Billingsgate and the Tower of London. The Tower area with an arched entry is but faintly expressed for possibly the reasons expressed on page 125 *ante*. The arched entry may represent the Middle Tower Gate. Adjacent on the west, the Lions' Tower, now destroyed, may be intended. The indent from the River above the final "N" in London stands either for the creek at the Traitors' Gate of the Tower or for the inlet at Billingsgate. On inspecting the original tapestry, it is difficult to say whether one indent only is present or whether another indent occurs further to the west in which case the western indent would mark out Billingsgate. Immediately to the left of the Lion's Tower, there is seen the ominous scaffold on Tower Hill. Just above the Tower, there is set out the church and village of Stepney, the label "Stepney," as previously suggested, having been removed to make way for the Tower (p. 126). In "Hakeney" to the north of Stepney, the church mentioned by Stow may be detected. A straight run, to the left of the Tower, south-east by north-west, suggests an alignment with the City Wall such as Seething Lane would present, a run which is terminated by the tower of a church which we may call St. Olave's, Hart Street. To the north-west of this

church we may think that St. Andrew Undershaft is intended. Further to the north, the spires of two buildings are prominently marked out. It is difficult to make suggestion in their case. Between, there is seen a stretch of the City Wall and Aldgate. If this is so, the church and tower of Holy Trinity having been demolished before 1544, the spires stand for St. Catherine Cree within the Gate and for St. Botolph without. To the west, a short length of the City wall is plainly visible with a towered gate-way to be identified with Bishopsgate. Between the City wall and the Cathedral, the Church of St. Mary-le- Bow with its pinnacled square tower is evidently illustrated, its surpassing interest hardly permitting its omission. Steeples between the Church and the east end of the Cathedral conventionally indicate several of the churches which are known to have been scattered about in the vicinity north and south of Cheapside. Adjacent to Bow Church upon the right and at its foot we may think of Guildhall.

In common with all London views of the period of the map and of later times, the crowning edifice, the Cathedral of St. Paul, shares with London Bridge the premier position, even if it does not surpass the Bridge in importance. In our view, the Cathedral is adorned with a square tower of three storeys in height and surmounted by a pyramid and huge cross patée in dimensions like a trefoil, an addition for which there is no justification. The spire of St. Paul's, which was of immense height, was burnt down after a flash of lightning in 1561, leaving a stump which remained until the destruction by Wren of the Cathedral after the Great Fire of 1666.

A number of pinnacles appear on the southern face of the structure adjacent also to other parts, but it seems hopeless to attempt their identification with known buildings. Immediately to the west of the Cathedral we ought to account for the three spires and the two square towers before we reach the open country. The artist has apparently confused the churches which were to be found in this quarter,

churches which lay between the Cathedral and Newgate, as well as churches beyond Newgate. Newgate with its flanking towers which are shown should have led out to the open country on the way to St. Giles. Touching the Gate upon the right, the building there we may style the church of the Greyfriars. As originally plotted, it is probable that an open country area between Newgate and St. Giles was shown on the fabric but owing to the insufficient area allotted to London, as previously referred to, the area was covered by the structures which the artist crowded into his picture subsequent to the Westminster portion of the fabric having been woven. This would account for the absence of Charing Cross and the district around it.

Immediately below the Cathedral, the respective units of the jumble there presented are unrecognisable; they do not "fit." It may be that here the cartouche "London" was meant to have been placed. Possibly however its normal position was in the River; but then it would have interfered with the *louvre* of the Bishop of Winchester's Palace and with the Stairs which are there to be seen on the north bank of the River. These Stairs lead down from what we may assume to be Baynard's Castle. To the left on the same bank of the River, by a stretch of the imagination we may envisage the bridge which, crossing the Fleet, connected Bridewell with Blackfriars.

12. GENERAL SUMMARY. We have now reached what for present purposes must be considered as the end of our task of describing the London portion of one of the Tapestry Maps which were woven at the Barcheston Works during the latter portion of the sixteenth century and the earlier seventeenth century. The map under review is the property of the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and is not the later one which is owned by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. The map is of the "Bird's-eye-View" type and in consequence partakes of all the qualities and defects associated with views of that character. It therefore must be inter-

preted in the light of the artifices employed by artists in the production of picture-maps in general. The origin of the cartoon upon which the map was based is not known, although there are to be traced here and there the influence of the Saxton set of maps of 1579. The date of the map may be ascribed to the latter end of the 16th century. It is clear that the City of London portion was executed after the surrounding area had been completed and that sufficient space had not been allotted for its proper delineation. Moreover, the City shows signs of variation during the weaving of the fabric from that originally designed. It is probable that London was to have been shown with the Cathedral and the Bridge together with a very few of its salient structures, thus making the whole approximate in size to the areas occupied by other big towns on the fabric. It is also surmised that a change of planning occurred during manufacture and that the scale on which the City was to be plotted was enlarged.

In consequence therefore, and although endeavour has here been made to identify buildings shown on the tapestry, there is much room for differences of opinion as regards all but the greater and the well-known edifices of Old London. Undoubtedly, a closer and more detailed knowledge of the buildings which were standing when the cartoon was drawn would increase the number and accuracy of the identifications. Conversely, with this knowledge the representations upon the map would be likely to increase or to confirm that knowledge.

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