

THE GREAT PARK OF NONSUCH

BY

C. F. TITFORD

IN their account of the two parks of Nonsuch, Manning and Bray state that when in 1627 Charles I granted them to his wife, Henrietta Maria, the area of the Great Park, together with the Great Mead, was 1,030 acres, and that of the Little Park 671 acres. Subsequent writers have been content to repeat these figures without further enquiry; yet the period to which they refer was late in the history of the parks and the figures are no guide either to the acreage or to the bounds of the parks in their heyday in the sixteenth century and opening years of the seventeenth. The acreage of the Little Park is not given in any of the documents relating to an earlier period; it can only be inferred by deducting that of the Great Park from the total of the two as given in the Fine of 1592 when they were acquired by Elizabeth I from Lord Lumley.¹ Accordingly, this enquiry will be confined to tracing the acreage and bounds of the Great Park during the period from 1538, when Henry VIII first acquired the area, to *c.* 1607–8, when, after a decade or more of its disuse as a hunting park, James I added to its acreage and restored it to its previous use. It was at this latter date that the Great Park reached its widest extension and spread over parts of the four parishes of Cuddington, Ewell, Malden and Long Ditton. From the available documents it is not difficult to trace its acreage, and we shall do this first; the main difficulty arises in tracing how that acreage was distributed over the four parishes.

The earliest document on the subject is entitled 'Survey of the Manour of Nonesuche—otherwise Codingtonne,'² and is dated 21 November 1538. It is divided into three sections, the second of which relates solely to 'the Seite of the manor'; the two remaining sections itemise 'Landes taken into the Kinges parke there.' From the field names, topographical details and the way in which it is divided it is clear that the items in the first section lay on the north side of London Road and those in the third on the south side. Evidence that will be quoted later shows that London Road—at that time known as London Way—was the dividing line between the two parks; so the items in the first section alone are relevant to this enquiry. Their total acreage as given in this survey was 817 acres.

The next document in order of date is described as a 'Brefe note of a Survey of the Great park of Nonesuche'³ and was compiled about 1558. It gives few details beyond the fact that the acreage of the Great Park was then 927 acres. This shows 110 acres over and above the total of the manorial lands; but the document does not

¹ Final Concord, Lumley to Elizabeth. P.R.O. C.P. 25(2)/227.

² G.M.R. 10/157.

³ G.M.R. L.M. 844.

say that they were added at this time, merely that such was then the acreage of the park. The extra acres may have been enclosed at any time during the twenty years since 1538. It will be necessary to enquire further about these acres later; but for the moment we need merely add 110 acres to the 817 of the manorial survey.

There is no documentary or other evidence of further changes until 1605-7, when a part of Long Ditton and further Malden acres were acquired and enclosed in the Park. State Papers of James I that we shall be considering later indicate that 109½ acres were then added. Later documents do not come within the period of this enquiry; so the total at the end of the period concerned can be summarized thus:—

1538	...	...	...	...	817 acres
1558	...	...	...	...	110 additional acres
1607	...	...	...	...	109½ additional acres
					1,036½ acres

The 1538 Survey raises no difficulties concerning the distribution of the acreage over the different parishes as this is expressly stated to have been:—

				<i>acres</i>
Parish of Cuddington	...	...	...	519
Parish of Ewell	...	...	...	153
Parish of Malden	...	...	...	145
				817 acres

The 1558 Survey, however, details the acreage solely in terms of pasture, arable, meadow and wood. But if it can be shown that of the 927 acres of this second survey, 817 acres were identically the same as those of the first survey, the investigation will be narrowed down to ascertaining the location of the remaining 110 acres. The earlier manorial survey details the items both according to parish and topographically, so the following direct comparison can be made:—

	1538	1558
	<i>acres</i>	<i>acres</i>
Arable	26	754
Pasture	727	100
Meadow	23	20
Wood	41	53
		927 acres
817 acres		

The greatest variance is between the figures for arable and pasture, and taken at their face value they might be assumed to indicate that an additional 728 acres of arable had been enclosed in the park and 627 acres of pasture excluded. Geographical considerations, however, indicate that an interchange on this scale could not have been possible. 627 acres of pasture constituted 76% of the whole

of the manorial pasture land, and of these 483 were in Cuddington alone. If these had been excluded, it would have left only 36 acres of Cuddington parish in the park, and this would not have reached up to the Malden acres from London Way; on the other hand, too, nowhere in either Ewell or Malden adjacent to what would have been left of the park were there 728 acres of arable land that could have been taken in to replace the excluded pasture.

An alternative explanation becomes apparent if the figures of arable and pasture of the 1538 Survey are combined. Together they make a total of 753 acres which is only one short of the figure for arable of the 1558 Survey. This can be readily explained by the fact that after the death of Henry and during the reigns of Edward and particularly of Mary, the park was little used for hunting, and much of it was brought under cultivation. So the figures indicate that only one additional acre of arable was in fact added. A similar change of usage—the afforestation of three acres of meadow—would explain the difference of acreage of meadow and wood, with the addition in this case of nine further acres of woodland. This would account for ten of the additional acres and the item of 100 acres of pasture for the rest. It is thus apparent that 817 of the 927 acres of the 1558 Survey were those as detailed in the manorial survey, and it now remains to ascertain in which parish or parishes the additional 110 acres lay.

Except for the unlikely possibility that the Cuddington and Malden acres of the manorial survey did not abut on one another, it follows that the 519 acres given in that survey comprised the whole of the Cuddington parish north of London Way; and there is no evidence that any part of Long Ditton was enclosed in the park at this early date. The additional 110 acres can thus only have been in Ewell or Malden.

Considering Ewell first, adding the whole of the additional acres to the 153 of the manorial survey would make a total of 263 acres and if this be measured off on a map, it would bring the park pale to a line close to the modern Kingston Road. A century later, much, but still not all, of this area was enclosed in Worcester Park; but that it was not enclosed in the Great Park of 1558 is evidenced by a survey of the parish compiled in 1577 by Thomas Taylor, the Surrey County Surveyor.⁴ This describes the boundaries of the parish starting from what he names as Sleygate on the boundary of the park where it crossed the London Road. The latter must have been constructed at some time after 1538 to provide a route from Ewell village to London Way⁵ alternative to the previous route via East Street (Vicarage Lane) and Codyngton Street that lay in the area acquired by Henry and by him closed to the public. It was the same as that part of London Road of today that lies between the northern end of Church Street and Briarwood Road. From

⁴ Taylor's Survey of Ewell. G.M.R. 10/158.

⁵ Referred to as the 'king's highway to Merton' in *Inquisition of 1422*. Register or Memorial of Ewell, Deedes.

other evidence in Taylor's survey and a later map, it would appear that Sleygate stood at practically the same point as the later toll gate by Woodgate close to the Organ Inn of today. From this point the relevant part of the survey describes the eastern boundary of Ewell as follows:—

from the said gate northwards all along and by the pale of the grete parke of Nonsuch unto East Comon and still along by the said Comon and the same pale of thest and northest ptes unto a Close of George Evelin called Myllclose pcell of his manor of Tallworth and then along the same Close and by the same pke pale unto a place of the said pke pale ageinst which within the said pale near unto the said pale certen okes ben newly m'ked then from thens extending over the same Close west ward to a ditch and post where a gate lately was in Tallworth lane and from thens ou the same lane west ward between twoc oken trees.

From this it is clear that the boundary lay along the park pale to some point where it turned westwards across Myllclose to form the northern boundary of the parish. This point will be indicated if the position of Myllclose can be established. There is no available documentary evidence referring to this Close other than Taylor's Survey; but, unintentionally so far as Taylor himself was concerned, his survey yet gives a very definite indication of its position. On page 65 he gives this description of the Close:—

A Close of G Evelin by Nonsuche grete parke between Tallworth lane and the same parke. George Evelin holdeth the said Close containing of pasture by estimacion xiiij acres whereof lieth in the parishe of Ewell by estimacion vj acres abutting upon the residue of the said Close in the parishe of [blank] of the north parte upon the lane leding to Tallworth being parcell of the wast of Ewell Lordshippe of the west south west parte which parte of the Close is the owtbounds of Ewell Lordshippe and extendeth [in length (deleted)] with the said lane towards Tallworth lordshippe of the north parte to a ditch on the same lane where a post standeth for a gate to hange on so as before containing in Ewell Lordshippe vj acres.

What is singular and significant in this description is the fact that whilst Taylor is so uncertain of the parish in which the northern part of the Close lay that he leaves it unnamed, he has no such doubt about its western side that abutted on Tallworth Lane, and which he states 'extendeth with the said lane towards Tallworth Lordshippe of the north parte.' Yet, obviously, the north and west sides of the Close must have joined at its north-west corner. Along the northern boundary of Ewell there is only one point where doubt could have arisen. From the Hogsmill River eastwards towards the park, there is only one parish abutting on Ewell—namely, Long Ditton—so no doubt could or did arise along this part of the boundary. On the east, however, Long Ditton abutted on Malden. Possibly the position of the boundary between these two parishes was in dispute; but whether or not this was the case, it is at this point alone that the Ewell boundary abutted on more than one parish and could have led to any doubt.

Then, too, as stated in the previous quotation from Taylor's Survey, Myllclose was a part of Evelin's manor of Tolworth, and a document, to be discussed more fully later, states that this manor

included several closes that abutted on 'the way leading from Nonsuch greate Parke to tallworth' and which were on the north side of the river immediately opposite the position indicated as the site of Myllclose. The inference is unmistakable and still further evidence will be quoted later from a seventeenth-century document. At this point, however, reference can be usefully made to two items offering evidence of a circumstantial character. First, there is the fact that Evelyn owned and worked a gunpowder mill somewhere in Long Ditton, as well as at Godstone. There is no direct evidence that the mill in question was the one from which Myllclose derived its name; but the Earl of Worcester, who was keeper of the park in the seventeenth century, resided at Worcester House nearby and also held a licence to manufacture gunpowder, and the powder mills of William Taylor in the eighteenth century lay across the river just at this point. This may be no more than coincidence; but if so, it is a singular one.

The other evidence is supplied by the 1867 O.S. map. This shows the same site as occupied by Worcester Park House (built in 1797) and the general position is unchanged except for the fact that the grounds extend a little further eastwards beyond the ornamental water in front of the House. On Rocque's map of *c.* 1767 this water is called 'Malden Pond,' which suggests that it marked the original boundary between the two parishes. The western side of the grounds is shown as abutting on a lane running northwards to the river. Today, this is part of Cromwell Road and included in the Ewell parish; but the map indicates it as a lane following closely the hedge of Worcester Park House grounds, narrower and running at a slightly different angle than the rest of Cromwell Road which was not constructed until some time after the area had been acquired by William Taylor in 1750. It is thus distinct from the rest of Cromwell Road and tallies with the Tallworth Lane of the Survey.

If now a line is drawn from below the ornamental water on the east side of Myllclose down to Sleygate, it encloses 153 acres of Ewell land in the park in accordance with the figure given in the 1538 Survey and thus indicates that no further acres of Ewell had been enclosed by 1577.

There is another document to which brief reference must here be made. It concerns a grant of the Rectory of Ewell in 1560 to Thomas Reve and George Evelin.⁶ The reference to the park is contained in a passage that, *inter alia*, debars the grantees from receiving tithe that had previously been paid to the Rector on '148 acres of land in the parish of Ewell parcel of the manor there and in the old park of Nonsuch enclosed as of 142 acres in the same parish and within the same park likewise enclosed.' These figures appear to be inconsistent with those of all the other documents; and coming at a time between the manorial survey and Taylor's survey seems to imply that in the interim a further 137 acres of Ewell were first enclosed in the park and then excluded again. This is highly

⁶ Grant of Ewell Rectory to Reve and Evelyn. P.R.O. C66/951 ms. 27,32.

improbable, and there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that any such changes were effected. On the other hand, according to the Custumal attached to the *Register*, in the early fourteenth century Merton Priory had held 213 acres in Sparfeld abutting on Ewell as part of the manor of Ewell. It may be that 137 of these acres were still so held in the same way that the Priory continued to hold the tenures in other parts of Cuddington that they had held in 1422. Suggestive of this possibility is the fact that among the items of Cuddington in the 1538 Survey is one in Sparfeld of '140 acres *by estimation*' held by Richard Cuddington. As this holding would have become tithe-free when included in the park, it is possible that it is part of the 290 acres given in the Grant. However, this or any other interpretation of the Grant can be no more than conjectural and thus of no value for the purpose of this enquiry. On the grounds stated above, it is clear that only 153 acres of Ewell were enclosed in the park by 1577 and, as will be established later, evidence indicates that this was still the only acreage of Ewell so enclosed up to 1650.

We now have to consider the grounds supporting the conclusion that the additional 110 acres of the 1558 Survey were Malden land, additional that is to the 145 acres given in the Manorial survey. Unfortunately, there is no contemporary survey of Malden available and, indeed, little documentary evidence of any kind relating to the period in question. There are, however, two passages in the 'Vewe and Survey of the Manor of Codyngton,'⁷ that may have some bearing on the subject. This survey was compiled in *c.* 1536 for Henry's information when he was considering acquiring the area, and the items read as follows:—

Thomas Compton holdyth a messuage and C akers lande lycing in the parysse of Malden and payeth yerly vj d and sute of Courte and a payre of Spurrys [page 23].

Md that the Wardene of mertene Colledge Claymyth xij acres as parcell of hys manor of Malden [wych ?] is not here charged in the holding of the Lord of Quydyngtone [Marginal note, p. 16].

The round figure of Compton's holding is probably 'by estimation'; but in any case the total of 112 acres is close enough to 110 to awaken interest and to suggest the possibility that when Henry acquired the area, he appropriated these acres as being part of the manor he had purchased. This is made the more probable by a sequel in the seventeenth century to be mentioned later; and we may note that Manning and Bray record that Henry appropriated some of the land of the Malden manor, although they put the acreage at 120 acres. However, as the possibility that these acres formed part of the 145 acres mentioned in the 1538 Survey cannot be excluded, the passages cannot be advanced as positive evidence.

As our main guide for the earlier period, we must turn to the figures of acreages. Relating them to a map, it will be found that the area between London Way and the Great Avenue (taking in the Great

⁷ P.R.O. E.315/414.

Lodge) accounts for the 817 acres of the 1538 Survey. This includes 145 acres of Malden, so whether the 112 acres just mentioned were a part of them or not, there still remains the additional 110 acres of the 1558 Survey to be placed and they can only have lain somewhere north of this line. The area between the avenue and the southern boundary as it is today adds only approximately a further 67 acres, leaving 43 acres laying still farther north. Arbitrarily to mark off 110 acres north of the Great Avenue would account for the acreage, but there is a map of a kind dated 1550⁸ that indicates an alternative method of dealing with the matter.

The map was prepared in connection with a dispute between farmers of Morden and Cheam over rights of common on the 'Wast of Sparewefeld.' Like other maps of the period, it is pictorial in character and no reliance can be placed upon the proportions of one part to another. It does, however, give a rough picture of the eastern side of the park as viewed from Morden and Cheam, and affords evidence of several matters relevant to this enquiry. It confirms that London Way formed the dividing line between what it labels as the Old and New Parks. It shows the eastern pale as running parallel with, but a few paces back from, the 'Waye from Cheyme through Sparfeld to Kingestone'; and half way along the pale, it shows a hill called Pystyl Hyll, which must be the high ground at the junction of Balmoral Road and Kingsmead Avenue as this is the only high ground anywhere near here. These last two features afford confirmation that the position of the eastern pale was practically the same as the pre-1933 boundary between Cuddington and Cheam. North of the hill, there is a gate which may be the entrance to the Great Avenue, and still farther north of this the pale is indicated as running along the southern side of a turning off the Waye to Kingestone with Malden Church on the opposite side of the turning. The position in which the church is placed is not in accord with its actual position as we know it to be; but the fact that it is shown at all suggests that the turning can be none other than Church Road, and that in 1550 the park pale abutted on it. Beyond this, the map affords no further guidance; for, as stated, it has none of the accuracy of a modern map. However, with this limited indication of the position of the pale, we can now mark off the 110 acres between the Great Avenue and Church Road, starting from the eastern end of the former. When this is done, it encloses the area up to the broken line on the attached map (Fig. 1). This is not to say that the line represents the actual position of the pale. It is still accounting for the acreage only; and it will be seen that it does not enclose the whole area to the river. This is only to be expected; we have yet to account for the further enclosure of Malden land in 1608, and there can be no question that the park ever extended north of Church Road or it would have taken in Malden village and church. So we now have to consider the additions made in 1608 to

⁸ Map *c.* 1550. P.R.O. M.P.B. 25.

see how they fit into this northward extension of the park as it appears to have been in 1558.

The first document concerning these final additions to the park is a survey of *c.* 1605.⁹ It is described as 'Survey for the enlargement of the Great Park'; and at one point the commissioners state that they have 'surveyed the grounds intended to be taken into

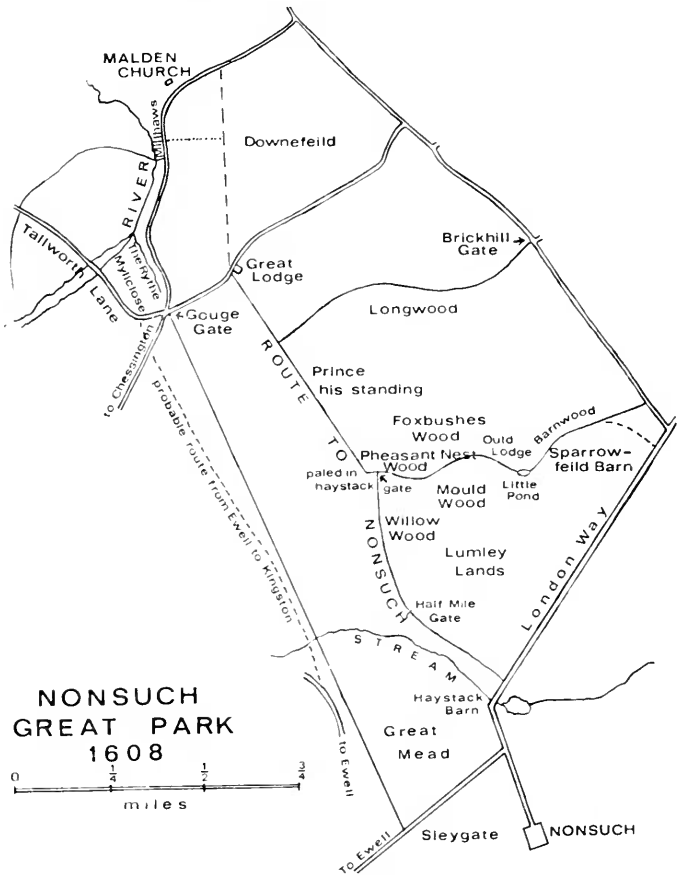


FIG. 1.—MAP.

the said great park of Nonsuch . . . in the parishes of Longdytton and Malden.' The document recounts the results of enquiries into numerous matters in addition to listing the names and holdings of tenants; and this fact and the word 'intended' indicates the character and purpose for which the document was prepared. It is, in fact, very similar in character to the 'Vewe and Survey' prepared

⁹ Survey for enlargement of Great Park 1605. P.R.O. E178/4804/m3.

for Henry before he acquired the Cuddington manor; that is to say, it is not an account of the land actually added to the park, but a preliminary survey of what at the time of its compilation was 'intended' or proposed should be added. For what in the event was actually added, reference must be made to three State Papers¹⁰ of a slightly later date.

The first, No. 47, states 'A Note of such lands as are agreed . . . to be taken into his Ma'tis Greate Park at Nonsuch,' and lists holdings of eleven tenants having a total acreage of 26 acres 3 rods 15 perches, and the glebe of the 'mynester parson' containing 2 rods 17 perches; but no indication is given whether they were in Long Ditton or Malden. The next paper, No. 48, is 'A particular of such lands within Malden as John Goode is to pass unto his Ma'tie for the enlargement of the greate park of Nonsuch,' and lists a total of 20 acres and 2 rods. The final Paper, No. 49, is 'The particulars of the land of Thomas Evelyn in Talworth which is to be enclosed and taken into Nonsuch park,' and lists 61 acres 2 rods 22 perches.

It is the figures of these State Papers, therefore, with which we are here concerned; but as the names and positions of the holdings are not described in the Papers, but are described in the Survey, the latter can be used for this purpose.

Evelyn's land lay on the two sides of the 'way leading from Nonsuch greate Parke to Tallworth.' This would be Tallworth Lane of Taylor's Survey, and the Tolworth Inclosure Map shows this lane as leading north-west towards Tolworth village across the area later known as Riverhill or Riverhead. The boundary of this estate follows a wide semi-circle from the river near Tolworth Court to a point lower down the river opposite Millhaws on the Malden side of the river. The acreage of this area amounts to approximately 66 acres; leaving in round figures 43½ acres of Malden out of the total 109½ acres being added to the park.

The most westerly of the Malden holdings is a part of Millhaws held by John Brown; which, with the rest of the haw not taken into the park, lay

between the Ryver on the west and the new grubbed ground of the said John [Goode]. [The latter lay] between the said Ryver and the said parcell of Malden of the said John Brown called Millhaws on the west and the common feild of Malden called Downefeild on the East, the one end buttinge vpon the park pale of the said great Park of Nonsuch on the South the other end buttinge vpon the [rest] of the grubbed ground on the North.

From this we know that the river marks the western bound of the Malden area to be marked off; south-east of this were the eastern bound of Myllclose and the pale by the northern boundary of Ewell. If from these sides 43½ acres are marked off, it includes the area eastwards from the river to the broken line on the map and northwards to the dotted line. With these two lines, 110 plus 43½ acres have been marked off and there is still one further item

¹⁰ S.P. 14/xxiv/Nos. 47, 48 and 49.

to be added; namely, the 'rest of the said new grubbed ground on the north' of John Goode. The document does not state the acreage of the latter, but according to our map it was approximately 15 acres. Thus the whole of the area up to Church Road is accounted for by 1608. However, as earlier stated, neither the broken line nor the dotted one can be taken as indicating the actual position of the park pale at either period. All that can be said is that 110 acres north of the Great Avenue formed part of the 927 acres of the 1558 Survey and that the final additions of $43\frac{1}{2}$ acres in 1608 occupied the rest of the area to the river and up to Church Road with the exception of some 15 acres held by John Goode. This does, however, establish beyond doubt that the additional 110 acres of the 1558 Survey were in Malden; and having also allocated the further acres added to the park in 1608, we can now analyse as follows the 1,036 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres contained in the park at this date:—

	<i>acres</i>
Cuddington... ..	519
Malden—145 plus 110 and $43\frac{1}{2}$	298 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ewell	153
Long Ditton	66
	1,036 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres

In passing, it is reasonable to suppose that Henry VIII had some grounds, legitimate or otherwise, for enclosing in the park 110 acres of Malden land in addition to the 145 acres that formed part of the manor of Cuddington. It may therefore be noted that the Close Rolls of Henry VI include an Indenture of Award, dated 1427, settling a dispute between the 'wardeyn of the hous of scolers of Merton in Oxenforde' and Thomas Codyngton and his heirs concerning rights of common in Sparfield. *Inter alia*, the award gives equal rights to both parties to 'commune with averes and alle manner of beastes communable in all that parcell of waste in Sparwe feld be twene Maldoun towne on the north the arrable felds of Codyngton on the south the Worthfeld on the west and the path called Fishereway on the est.' When Henry VIII acquired the Cuddington manor from Richard Codyngton, he would have acquired this right of common inherited by the latter from Thomas. As stated in the 1538 Survey, Cuddington tenants were assigned 141 acres on the Downs to compensate them for loss of rights of common in Sparfield. And, apparently, Malden tenants were still allowed to pasture their animals in the park area; for in the Court Roll of 1558, they complain that tenants of Sir Thomas Carwarden had stopped 'the two gates in Nonsuch parke by which the inhabitants of Maldon and other did of long tyme use to passe and repasse with their cattell.' Although not in full accord with all clauses of the award, having made these practical concessions to the Cuddington and Malden tenants on the spot, the king apparently judged that he could override any objections that might be advanced by the College. In this he appears to have judged rightly, for as we have as yet to note, it was not until nearly a century later that the College took any action to

recover their land. Assuming this to be a correct explanation of Henry's action, it would add further to the evidence that the additional 110 acres extended the park up to 'Maldoun towne.'

Before leaving reference to the State Papers, one further point may be noted. State Paper No. 48 has a memorandum stating that before the final additions were made, 100 acres of Malden demesne and copyheld land had already been enclosed in the park. As we have seen many more than 100 acres of Malden land had been so enclosed; but this specific mention of 100 acres recalls the 100 acres held by Compton and also the 100 acres of pasture that formed the major part of the additional 110 acres of the 1558 Survey; and we shall have occasion to refer to this same figure again later.

The next matter to be investigated is the length of the perimeter of the park. It must be remarked that even a perimeter of the correct length and enclosing the right number of acres would prove nothing unless the acres enclosed are rightly distributed over the parishes. But having established that factor, the length of perimeter will afford a check on the accuracy of the map.

The length of the perimeter in 1558 presents no difficulties as the survey of that date states that it consisted of 1,593 pole. For the perimeter in 1608, however, there is no such explicit statement; it can be ascertained only by comparing evidence supplied by four documents. The first of these,¹¹ dated 23 October 1605, is an estimate by John Taverner for the 'enclosing with pale Rayle and post of his Ma'tis parke called ye Great Parke of Nonsuch,' and further described as 'The said ground as heretofore enclosed cont: in circuit 1,696 pole after 16 ft. 6 ins. the pole. Also the porticon betwene the meadow ground ther and thupland cont: after the same measure 228 pole—in all 1,924 pole.' The second document¹² is an acceptance of this estimate and authorising payment of £1,076 11s. for the work to be done. Both these documents were drawn up the same year as the preliminary survey referred to above, and can be taken to apply to the area 'intended to be enclosed in the park.' There is no evidence that payment was ever made, the inference being that the work was never in fact executed; and this inference is confirmed by the fact that the third document,¹³ dated 9 January of either 1606 or 1607 is a revised estimate by Taverner for similar but not exactly the same work, but including details of paling to be set up. The cost of the work, too, is considerably less; namely, £611 15s. 2d., plus £30 for extras.

The final document is a 'Declaration of thaccompt of Susan Taverner Executrix of the last will and testament of John Taverner Esq.'¹⁴ The first two items record that the sum of £611 15s. 2d. of the second estimate had been paid in two instalments; the rest of the account details all the work done and expenses incurred, the

¹¹ State Paper. S.P. 15/37/64.

¹² State Paper. S.P. E351/3368.

¹³ State Paper. S.P. 15/39/3.

¹⁴ State Paper. E351/3367 and Ac1/2481/285.

total charge amounting to £1,057 16s. 8d. As there is no question that the paling was set up twice over, it is apparent that the last two documents alone are relevant to this enquiry.

Taverner's revised statement states that 400 pole of paling were required to enclose the newly acquired land; and as these were to be 'ditched and quickset about the outside' obviously no paling was to be set up along the river bank. Of these 400 pole, 180 were to be new but 220 were 'to be sett with parte of the old stuff which shall be taken up in the parke.' In addition to this, a further 100 pole of the 'old stuff' was to be used for a paling round the orchard and garden of the Great Lodge. Deducting 320 pole from the 1,593 of the original perimeter of the park as given in the 1558 Survey (see Table below), would leave 1,273 pole of the old stuff to be re-erected *in situ*. Adding 400 pole required to take in the new area to be enclosed makes a total of 1,673 pole.

Perimeter of park as in 1558 Survey		<i>pole</i>	<i>pole</i>
			1,593
Old stuff required:—			
to enclose newly acquired land...	...	220	
to enclose orchard and garden ...	...	100	
		—	320
			—
To be erected <i>in situ</i> ...	...		1,273
 Paling required to enclose newly acquired land:—			
Old Stuff ... ..	...	220	
New ... ..	...	180	
		—	400
			—
			1,673 pole

This final figure, however, cannot represent the perimeter of the enlarged park as it would suggest that it was only eighty pole longer than the perimeter of 1558, which seems unlikely. Thus it is apparent that 'taken up in the park' must have included more than the old park paling; probably paling round some of the areas inside the park that by this time were under cultivation. Another of the items of the estimate reads, 'Setting up 1,780 pole,' which is 107 pole greater than the 1,673 and a far more likely figure for the perimeter. However, there is no statement to that effect, so evidence must be sought, and for this reference must be made to the fourth document. Before doing so, one further item concerning paling must be noted in Taverner's estimate; namely, 60 pole for enclosing with double paling 'a place to feed deer.'

Turning now to the account as submitted by Taverner's widow, the costs are here presented in a different form and include items for materials, labour, cartage and so forth which do not concern us here.

The amount of paling is stated under a separate heading as follows:—

Setting up posts pales railes and shores

<i>pole</i>
1,557
116
50
87
100
<hr style="width: 100px; margin: 0;"/>
1,910 pole

The analysis of these figures can best be presented in the following tabulated form:—

The first two items added together amount to 1,673 pole which is the figure traced in the analysis of the estimate as made up of:—

180 pole new			
220 pole old stuff and			
a further 1,273 old stuff	...	...	<i>pole</i> 1,673

The third and fourth items are accounted for, first by the further 107 pole obtained from some inside enclosure; and on the reasonable assumption that only 30 pole was finally used for the deer pen

...	...	137
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The fifth item is for the paling to be erected round the orchard and garden of the Great Lodge

...	...	100
		<hr style="width: 100px; margin: 0;"/>
		1,910

To arrive at the length of paling required to enclose the park, the paling round the Great Lodge and the deer pen must be deducted

...	...	130
		<hr style="width: 100px; margin: 0;"/>
		1,780 pole

This confirms that the figure in the estimate for 'Setting up 1,780 pole' represents the length of the park perimeter apart from along by the river that was left unpaled.

One difficulty that arises in all attempts to reconstruct a map from old documents is the fact that whilst they record acreages, as in this case they rarely state dimensions. A ten-acre field, say, can be anything from a square to a long narrow rectangle, which necessarily affects the length of the perimeter where it abuts on a boundary or another field. It is for this reason that, although they enclose the right acreage, neither the broken line nor the dotted one on the attached map can be taken as indicating the exact position of the park pale at these points. It might be possible to adjust their angles in such a manner as to fit the perimeter figures given in the documents without affecting the acreages. But the result would still be hypothetical; so it is best to recognise that the actual lines of the pale at the two dates cannot now be traced other than that in part they lay along the road by the church. Accordingly we can only measure

the perimeters as shown on the attached map. These compare with the documentary figures as follows:—

	1558	1608
Map	5 miles 252 yards	5 miles 1,255 yards
Documents	4 miles 1,721½ yards	5 miles 990 yards

The difference is less than 300 yards in both cases; so in the circumstances such virtual agreement is fair evidence of the practical accuracy of the map in other respects.

There are two further items in Taverner's estimate of interest to this enquiry. First, there are 'two gates to be taken up in the outeringe of the park as it is now enclosed and to be set again in the outeringe of the park where grounds are to be taken in, one of wh. being the gate where his Ma'tie usually passeth through from Hampton Court to Nonsuch had need to be a faire paire of gates with a wicket.' In view of the fact that the exact position of the park boundary hereabouts prior to the final additions is not known, we can only surmise the position of the two gates to be taken down and re-erected elsewhere. The avenues were apparently not constructed until Worcester House was built as a residence for the Earl of Worcester some time later; but it is probable that there was a track across the park approximately along the same line as the later Great Avenue, and this would doubtless have had a gate at its western end, on the park pale. More certain is the fact that there would have been a gate at the end of the Chessington-to-Malden track where it emerged from the northern bound of the park, south of Malden village and the area later enclosed. As regards where they would be required to be erected: one would be needed on the newly formed part of the boundary with Malden; and the other at one or other end of Tollworth Lane where it crossed the newly added Long Ditton acres. It would be this latter that would be used by the King on his way from Hampton Court to Nonsuch, and the fact that it was to have a double gate and a wicket raises a point of interest. The King would have to pass through other gates on his way into and across the park (see later); yet there is no indication that any of these had a pair of gates and a wicket. The implication is that the track on which these gates were to be erected was used by a considerable amount of heavy traffic. In this connection it has to be recalled that the old route from Ewell and Cuddington villages to Tolworth, Malden and Kingston which lay along the original boundary between the two parishes had been taken into the park and closed to the public; an alternative would therefore have been necessary. On the 1867 O.S. map, there is a field line running northwards from Beggar's Hill towards the lane on the west side of Worcester Park House (alias Myllclose). At the Beggar's Hill end (Steets of Taylor's Survey) it would have been alongside the park pale; but as it proceeds farther north it would have left the line of the pale, cutting the corner where the north and east boundaries of Ewell met at an angle, and joining the Chessington-to-Malden

track, which in turn was joined by Tallworth Lane a little farther north. It would thus seem probable that this marks the line of the alternative route, and that traffic to and from Ewell passed through the gate on the new park boundary on its way to Tolworth, turning east through a corner of the park to reach Malden or either way to Kingston. Walsingham Gardens of today appears to lay along the field line and thus to mark a part of this probable route. This would be additional evidence supporting that earlier given as identifying the position of Myllclose and the park pale.

Similar significance attaches to yet another item in Taverner's estimate. It reads as follows: 'Two cart bridges to be made new over the Ryver in the said park.' As earlier shown, the area of the park in 1558 did not reach the river at any point; Tallworth Lane, however, crossed the river and also, a few yards north of it, it crossed the outflow from the moat of Tallworth Court. The fact that two bridges would be required here, over which traffic could cross to the gate with the wicket, identifies this as the position of the cart bridges in question.

The acres enclosed in the park in 1608 were the last to be added to the Great Park as such. The years that followed witnessed the Civil War, Commonwealth and Restoration; and during this period the park changed hands several times, to be finally reconstituted under the title of Worcester Park and so named after the Earl of Worcester, who was its keeper for a short time before the Civil War and again after the Restoration. Strictly speaking, therefore, subsequent events do not concern the subject of this enquiry. But one such event has so close a connection with matters disclosed by this enquiry, that brief reference will be made to it.

For several centuries prior to Henry's acquisition of the area, the boundary between Cuddington and Malden had been a subject of constant dispute between the lords of the two manors; and from details already recorded, it would seem certain that Henry had ignored the claims of Merton College and appropriated land rightly forming a part of the Malden manor. Elizabeth, too, appears to have been none too scrupulous in her dealings with the College. Doubtless the inclusion in the park of yet a further $43\frac{1}{2}$ acres of Malden land in 1607-8 spurred the College into action, as litigation was instituted against Sebastian Goode, the then holder of the land that they claimed was part of the demesne lands of the Malden manor.¹⁵ A compromise verdict was ultimately obtained under which the land was to revert to the College, but that the Goode family was to retain the lease of the land for a further eighty years. It was finally surrendered in 1707; but the result of the litigation is reflected in a map of 1627¹⁶ which shows the Malden boundary moved south to the position it still occupies today (with the exception of the eastern corner that was slightly changed when the railway was built). The College took the precaution of obtaining a confirmation

¹⁵ *M. & B.*, III, 3.

¹⁶ Lane's Map. Merton College. Reproduced in Ross, *History of Malden* (1947).

of the verdict from Charles I in 1633.¹⁷ In this a further proviso appears, excepting from reversion to the College 'the tenements enclosed in our Park called Nonsuch Great Park.' The only tenements shown in this area, both on the map of 1627 and the 1867 O.S. map, abut on the south side of Church Road, thus confirming the fact that this road had previously marked the park boundary. The acreage thus restored to the College was 100 acres, of which 85 acres had been in the park; and it will be noted that the position of the new boundary was so drawn as to leave the avenues still within the park area.

This enquiry can be most fittingly concluded by reference to a document of 1650;¹⁸ partly because the latter affords final evidence of the position of the western boundary of the park, and partly because it enables an impression to be formed of the general topography of the area. The northern boundary at this time was as shown on the 1627 map; that is, it excluded the acres restored to Malden manor. Similarly, Long Ditton was not included; a Parliamentary Survey¹⁹ made earlier in the same year also makes no mention of it. The document is a report submitted by commissioners who were instructed by Parliament during the period of the Commonwealth to recommend how the park could be divided 'into five parts or divisions of equal value.' As in all such surveys, the bounds of the proposed divisions are described by reference to the position of trees, hedges, ponds and the like that have long since vanished and thus offer no guidance to the modern enquirer. To add to the difficulty, no figures of acreages or distances are given. There are, however, a few items that still have positional significance; but for the rest we have to rely upon hints of direction conveyed by such phrases as 'leaving (so and so) on the north,' 'at the upper end of . . .,' 'as the ditch goes northerly . . .' and so forth.

The opening passage of the recommendations reads as follows:—

We begin at a gate leading to Ewell Common called Gouge Gate and as the slow or rill of water runs down the valley to a great rew or shaw of thorns and underwoods.

As the description of the fourth division starts and ends at this gate and that of the others from points nearby, its position is the key for interpreting the document; and in this connection one further passage must be quoted. It ends the description of the fourth division and is as follows:—

to the west corner of the wall of the great lodge thence per south side of the shaw of thorns to the Rithe at the lower end thereof and thence to Gouge Gate as the Rithe lieth.

From the first quotation, it is apparent that the gate stood on the perimeter of the park at a point where it abutted on East Common; and from the second that it was near the Great Lodge. The only

¹⁷ See note 15.

¹⁸ Several Divisions of the Great Park. P.R.O. E317/Surrey/40.

¹⁹ Parliamentary Survey of the Great Park. P.R.O. E317/Surrey/39.

track that entered the park at this point was that from Chessington to Malden; the section inside the park formed part of the Great Avenue, and the section leading up to this is now a part of Grafton Road. The O.S. map of 1867 shows the point of juncture as just south of the ornamental water in front of Worcester Park House. The position of the gate is further indicated by the statement that it stood on a 'slow (slough) or rill of water' running down a valley. Reference here to a geological map of the area published in 1897 shows that the ornamental water lay lengthwise in a narrow tongue of alluvium jutting out southwards from the line of the Hogsmill River, thus explaining the presence there of a slough and rithe running down a valley. The gate was thus the one by which traffic coming from Tallworth Lane, about 150 yards to the west, entered the park and reached the Great Lodge that stood about 300 yards to its east. Its position is indicated in Fig. 2(a) by the letter A.*

Other points where the divisions contacted the park perimeter must next be established and fortunately the description of these is sufficiently indicative to enable them to be placed with reasonable assurance.

The fifth division consisted of the Great Mead, the northern boundary of which was formed by the stream flowing from the Little Park (now in Nonsuch Park) and across the Great Park to join the Hogsmill River in Ewell parish—S and P/Q on Fig. 2(a). Another point, but on the eastern side of the park, is stated to be 30 rods south of Cheam Gate (on London Way), *see* H. One further point is named 'Brickhill Gate.' This, too, was on the eastern side of the park and is described as a point where the pale turned westwards back to Gouge Gate. The only hill in this vicinity is Pystyl Hyll as shown on the 1550 map. As offering some confirmation that this was Brickhill, the 1867 O.S. map shows a brickfield near this point, so the gate can accordingly be placed adjacent to this, *see* D. With these key points fixed, the main topographical details given in the document can now be filled in on Fig. 1.

Division 1 starts at Gouge Gate, the position of which has been established. From there, the boundary goes to 'Mr. Turner's lodge and orchard to the north' (B); the orchard, we can assume, being that which had been impaled by Taverner alongside the Great Lodge. The boundary then follows along the hedge of the orchard to 'the gate at the upper end of Longwood' (C) and then on to Brickhill gate (D), and from 'thence along as the pale stands westerly till it meets at the gate first mentioned called Gouge Gate' (E and back to A). The second division begins 'two roods from the west corner of

* In passing, it may be noted that on the Inclosure Map of 1802, a gate is shown near the modern Kingston Road, and is described as 'Ancient gate to Worcester Park.' It is possible that this might be mistaken for Gouge Gate. However, it was nearly half a mile away from the river and nearly as far from the Great Lodge; and where it is situated there is nothing to suggest a slough, rithe or valley. Moreover, if the Several Divisions were worked out from this point, Division 4 would overlap and include parts of Divisions 2 and 3, which would make nonsense of the recommendations.

the brick wall of the great lodge' (F). From here it follows the line of the first division to Brickhill Gate; then along the pale (G) to 'an high oak in the pale about thirty rods below Cheam gate towards the north (H) thence to Sparrowfeild Barn leaving the said barn and dung yard to the south' (I). On then 'to a little pond (J) down the glade to an oake within 10 rods of the north end of the Ould Lodge' (K), and so back to its starting point, passing in turn 'Pheasant Nest gate' (L), 'where a hay stack has been paled in' (N) and 'the Prince his standing' (O).

The third division starts at the paled-in hay stack (N) and then goes on to the oak near Cheam gate (H). From there it follows the pale along London Way to 'the north corner of the great mead' (P)

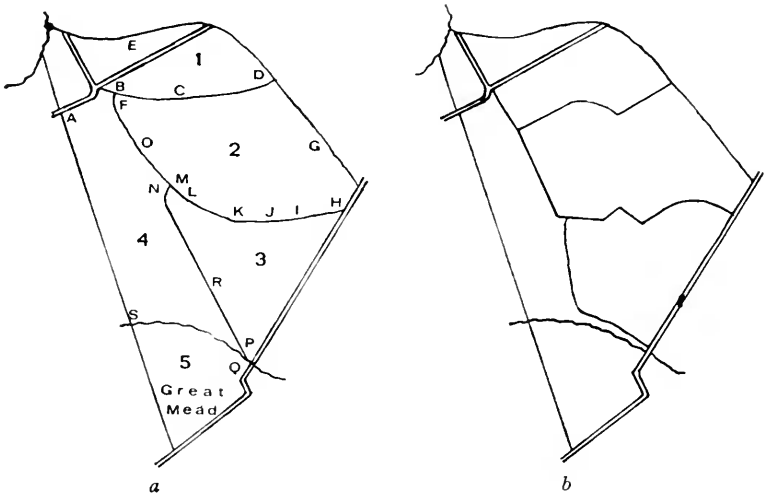


FIG. 2.—(a) THE GREAT PARK DIVIDED (THEORETICALLY) INTO THE FIVE DIVISIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF 1650.

(b) SOME OF THE FIELD LINES AS SHOWN ON THE O.S. MAP OF 1867.

and 'the east side of hay stack barn' (Q), 'thence northerly to the Half Mile gate' (R) and back to its starting point. The fourth division starts at 'Gouge gate per pale against Ewell Common to west corner of the greate meade' (S), 'thence per north side thereof' (Q) and back to its starting point first along the boundary of division 3, and then along part of division 2 and finally of division 1.

It is a long cry from 1650 to 1867, and the area underwent considerable change, particularly when the railway was built across it. Fig. 2(b), however, is a tracing of some of the field lines indicated on the O.S. map of the latter date. From this it will be seen that they divide the area in a manner closely similar to the pattern of the theoretical lines of Fig. 2(a). On the basis of a comparison between these two figures, the details described in the 'Several Divisions' document have been added to the main map. The date of the

document is a little later than the period with which this enquiry is concerned; nevertheless, it is unlikely that the general topography had changed to any considerable extent since the last additions to the park had been made.

Two final comments can now be offered. The first concerns the western boundary of the fourth division. This separated the park from East Common; and it will be seen that this boundary between Gouge Gate down to the western corner of the Great Mead and on to London Way, is identical with the western pale of the park as based earlier on Mylclose and Sleygate. This demonstrates that up to the time when the final additions were made to the Great Park the western pale had remained unaltered since it was first set up in 1538.

The second comment refers to the route by which traffic would have passed across the park between Nonsuch and the Great Lodge and on from there to Tallworth Lane. Of the field lines shown on Fig. 2(b), the one that most clearly resembles the theoretical lines of Fig. 1, is that which runs from the 'west end of the brick wall of the Great Lodge'; and it passes through two gates. Where ridings cross fields, there are certain to be gates, which is circumstantial evidence for the opposite that where there were gates there were ridings. The importance of this riding is the fact that it divides the park into two unequal parts. Division 4 lay on its western side and the other three on its eastern; each of them, however, abutting on it at some point. Then, too, the boundary between the first and second division and that between the third and fourth were also along ridings. The northernmost ran through the gate by Longwood to near Brickhill, the second branched off at Pheasant's Nest gate (M on map) 'to the oake at the ould lodge west corner' and on to Sparrowfeild Barn. From this it is apparent that these ridings gave access to all parts of the park. On reaching the stream north of the Great Mead, the main riding followed the course of the stream eastwards to London Way. This latter, it will be recalled, was an ancient track coming from London via Merton; so there must long have been a ford or bridge for crossing the stream at this point. Half Mile Gate is half a mile from the point where, having crossed the stream, the London Way was diverted to join up with the Avenue leading up to the main gate of Nonsuch. Then, too, it is significant that the Prince's standing should have abutted on this riding, as it is far more likely that it would have been at a point where it could be easily reached on horseback, along a track rather than across open fields. Haystack Barn, the other building mentioned, abutted on London Way and was thus suitably placed for carting the hay.

As stated at the outset, no particulars of the Little Park are given in any of the early documents. According to the Fine of 1592 when Elizabeth acquired the two parks from Lord Lumley, their combined acreage was 1,604 acres. In view of the fact established by this enquiry that the acreage of the Great Park at this time was 927 acres,

