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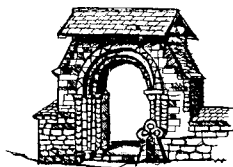
MEDIEVAL MORDEN:

**LANDSCAPE AND
LANDHOLDING**

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Peter Hopkins



MERTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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- #Front cover illustration: One of the earliest known maps of Morden, 1553: TNA MPB 1/25/2, reproduced courtesy of The National Archives
- #Back cover illustration: A reconstruction map of medieval Morden, superimposed on an extract from a modern street map reproduced courtesy of Merton Design Unit, London Borough of Merton

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	iv
1: A STROLL THROUGH MEDIEVAL MORDEN	1
2: VARIETIES OF TENURE, VARIETIES OF SOURCE MATERIALS.....	17
VARIETIES OF TENURE.....	19
VARIETIES OF SOURCE MATERIAL	39
3: THE MANOR OF RAVENSBURY	41
THE ORIGINS OF RAVENSBURY MANOR	44
THE RAVENSBURY DEMESNE LANDS IN MORDEN	59
RAVENSBURY COPYHOLDS IN MORDEN.....	67
4: THE DOMESDAY SETTLEMENTS IN MORDEN.....	85
5: EXPANSION ONTO THE WASTE	99
6: A MEDIEVAL GAME PRESERVE?.....	119
7: THE BLACK DEATH AND ITS EFFECTS	133
8: TREASURE IN HEAVEN?	139
9: KEEPING IT IN THE FAMILY	151
10: THE MEDIEVAL PROPERTY MARKET	185
11: ACCUMULATION OF HOLDINGS	229
12: THE TUDOR LANDSCAPE.....	257
13: DREDGING UP THE EVIDENCE: THE LOCATION OF HOLDINGS.....	279
NOTES AND REFERENCES	303
Abbreviations.....	304
Note on weights and measures.....	304
Works cited	305
Notes and References.....	307
INDEX.....	337
Index of personal names	338
Index of properties by name.....	346
Index of properties by ID.....	346
Index of place-names.....	348
Index of topics	350

A note on the editing of texts

Deletions in the original documents are here struck through and insertions are shown in superscript. The use of 'etc' or '&c' reflects the abbreviation used in the original document. Any omission of text in this edition is indicated by '...' Square brackets [] are used to enclose original Latin or archaic text, *in italics*, or for editorial insertions.

The original spellings of surnames are retained in quotations, with all their variations, but standardised in the commentary. Male Christian names are modernised, but female names retain the variety of the originals to reflect similar variety in modern usage.

Many of the manorial court rolls have an elaborate letter 'R' in the margin. This symbol was probably used when a payment was respited, or postponed, and it is rendered in this edition as 'respited?'. A sample image with this symbol is reproduced on page 151#.

Technical terms are explained in chapter 2, as are the various sources used in this study.

PREFACE

The second of three planned studies into various aspects of medieval life as revealed through the surviving records, this volume seeks to reconstruct the changing topography of medieval Morden and investigates the various ways that property was held and transferred over the centuries.

Inserted within the main text are tables in which I have attempted to trace the descent of each property mentioned in extant records. Where there is no direct evidence to support a probable link, a dashed line has been used. A few properties are only mentioned once in records and cannot be further identified. An identification letter [ID] has been applied to each traceable property, initially based on its ownership in 1312. Properties that developed out of a main tenement have a number after its ID letter. Of holdings listed among the 1312 Rent Increments, those that seem to have been formed within a parent tenement have been given that initial ID letter, those that probably came into being by colonisation of roadside waste have the initial ID letter [I]. Properties that appear after 1312 and that cannot be traced to earlier holdings have the initial ID letter [N]. In a few instances a property of uncertain origin is given an ID within those for an associated property. An ID table listing the 1312 tenant and later names or descriptions appears on pages vi–vii#. Separate endnotes to each table of descent, identifying the sources for each year's entry, are added after the endnotes for the chapter in which the table appears.

Although this book follows a broadly chronological path, each chapter focuses on a particular topic, and this approach necessitates some repetition and cross-referencing. I make no apology for quoting original sources at length, but I acknowledge that my handling of Latin texts is far from perfect. I am grateful to those who have shared their expertise with me to minimise my errors, especially Maureen Roberts, Dominic Alexander, Shirley Corke, Simon Neale and Mark Page who have translated documents and checked and corrected many of my attempts at translation. I hope that these have been sufficiently representative to enable the identification and correction of most of my errors, but for those that remain I apologise sincerely. I have occasionally included Latin words and phrases within the text [*in square brackets*] to assist interpretation.

I am also grateful to Dr Page for his frequent explanatory comments, and to Barbara Harvey, the historian of the Westminster Abbey estates, who has also contributed valuable insights into the meaning of the text, and given considerable encouragement, help, advice and support. John Pile suggested several aspects for research, and has kindly allowed me to use his tracings and reworkings of maps. I have also received much support from fellow members of Merton Historical Society, especially Judith Goodman, the late Lionel Green, David Haunton, Keith Penny, Tony Scott, Rosemary Turner, ...# who have seen this edition through to publication.

My thanks also to the archivists who have assisted me during personal visits and in allowing me to photograph documents or in providing copies on microfilm, CD-ROM or paper, particularly Dr Richard Mortimer, former Keeper of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey, and his assistant Christine Reynalds, Adrian James of the Society of Antiquaries London, and staff at the Bodleian Library, the British Library, Cambridge University Library, Cornwall Record Office, Essex Record Office, Hampshire Archives, Lambeth Palace Library, Northamptonshire Archive Service, Nottingham University Manuscripts & Special Collections, Surrey History Centre, Sutton Archives and The National Archives, as well as Merton Library & Heritage Service and the Inter-Library Loans Service for tracking down obscure articles and out-of-print books. Other articles were accessed through JSTOR via Durham University, while many older published calendars and abstracts are available at Internet Archive and other online sites.

The owners of the various manuscripts cited in this volume have also kindly permitted the reproduction of images of the original documents, both in this book and on the website pages designed to accompany these studies, to enable scholars to check the accuracy of the translations and transcripts.

Peter Hopkins

FIGURES: TABLES, MAPS, CHARTS, IMAGES AND TRANSCRIPTS

	Image: One of the earliest known maps of Morden, 1553	front cover#
	Table: Property Identification Letters (IDs)	vi
1.1	Image: The beginning of the 1312 Extent of the manor of Morden	1
1.2	Transcript: Extent of the manor of Morden 1312	2, 4, 6, 8
1.3	Map: Location of holdings in Medieval Morden around the manorial centre	5
1.4	Map: Location of holdings in Medieval Morden in Central Road	9
1.5	Map: Location of holdings in Medieval Morden in London–Epsom road	10
1.6	Map: Location of holdings in Medieval Morden in Lower Morden	13
2.1	Image: The beginning of the c.1225 Custumal of the manor of Morden	17
2.2	Transcript: c.1225 Custumal of the manor of Morden	18
3.1	Image: Extent of the manor of ‘Ersbourye’, the earlier name for Ravensbury, 1313	41
3.2	Map: Carew estates in Mitcham and Morden on 19th-century tithe maps	42
3.3	Table: Size of Ravensbury estates 1313–1838	46
3.4	Table: The de Mara / de la Mare family	49
3.5	Table: Domesday estates in and around Mitcham	58
3.6	Maps: Ravensbury demesne land in 1855, 1629, 1579 and 1488/9	64
3.7	Table: Descent of Ravensbury manor and its Morden copyholds	82
4.1	Image: Extracts from facsimiles of Domesday Book for Morden, Wicford and Mitcham (Ravensbury)	85
4.2	Map: 1878 25-inch Ordnance Survey map showing the settlement around the parish church	86
4.3	Map: 1878 25-inch Ordnance Survey map showing Morden Hall, Morden Lodge and Central Road	94
4.4	Photograph: Sherd of medieval pottery found in Hatfeild School grounds	97
5.1	Map: The first plott or plan of Sparrowfeld 1553	98
5.2	Map: The second plott or plan of Sparrowfeld 1553	99
5.3	Map: The topography of the second plott redrawn onto a map based on early 19th-century maps	100
5.4	Map: 1878–1884 25-inch Ordnance Survey map showing Hobalds, Hide Hill and the commons	106
5.5	Map: Malden in 1627	107
5.6	Map: 1876–84 25-inch Ordnance Survey map, showing the Oldfields and Sutton Common	110
5.7	Map: 1878/9 25-inch Ordnance Survey map, showing the allocation of riverside meadows	116
6.1	Image: Curia Regis entry: Richard and Christine de Wimbeldon v. Mary, widow of Nicholas Duket	119
6.2	Map: The area between Central Road and London Road from a tracing of the 1838 tithe map	120
6.3	Map: Reconstruction from fieldname evidence in a list of leases of 1745	120
6.4	Table: Descent of Bunt’s freehold	126
6.5	Map: Reconstruction of 1312 landholdings, plus possible outline of ‘original’ park	132
7.1	Image: The beginning of the list of tenements in the lord’s hand following the Black Death	133
7.2	Transcript: Tenements in the lord’s hands and Livestock account, manorial account roll 1348/9	134
7.3	Table: Heriots in 1348/49	135
7.4	Transcript: Surrey Taxation Return: Morden 1332	138
8.1	Image: Close Roll 47 Ed III: sale to Merton Priory following forfeiture by debt	139
8.2	Map: 1878/81 25-inch Ordnance Survey map showing The Lodge/Spital estate	140
8.3	Map: 1881/84 25-inch Ordnance Survey map showing Lower Morden settlement and glebe meadow	147
9.1	Image: Detail from foot of Morden manorial court roll for 10 May 1388	151
9.2	Table: Parker family properties	152
9.3	Table: Transfers of customary properties between husbands and wives	161
9.4	Table: Transfers of customary properties by inheritance	168
9.5	Table: Wynteworthes free tenement and other free land in Lower Morden	180
9.6	Table: An attempt to plot the family tree of the Playstowes	182
9.7	Table: Transfers of customary properties within family through lifetime and death-bed surrenders	183
9.8	Chart: The transfers of customary holdings	184

continued on page viii

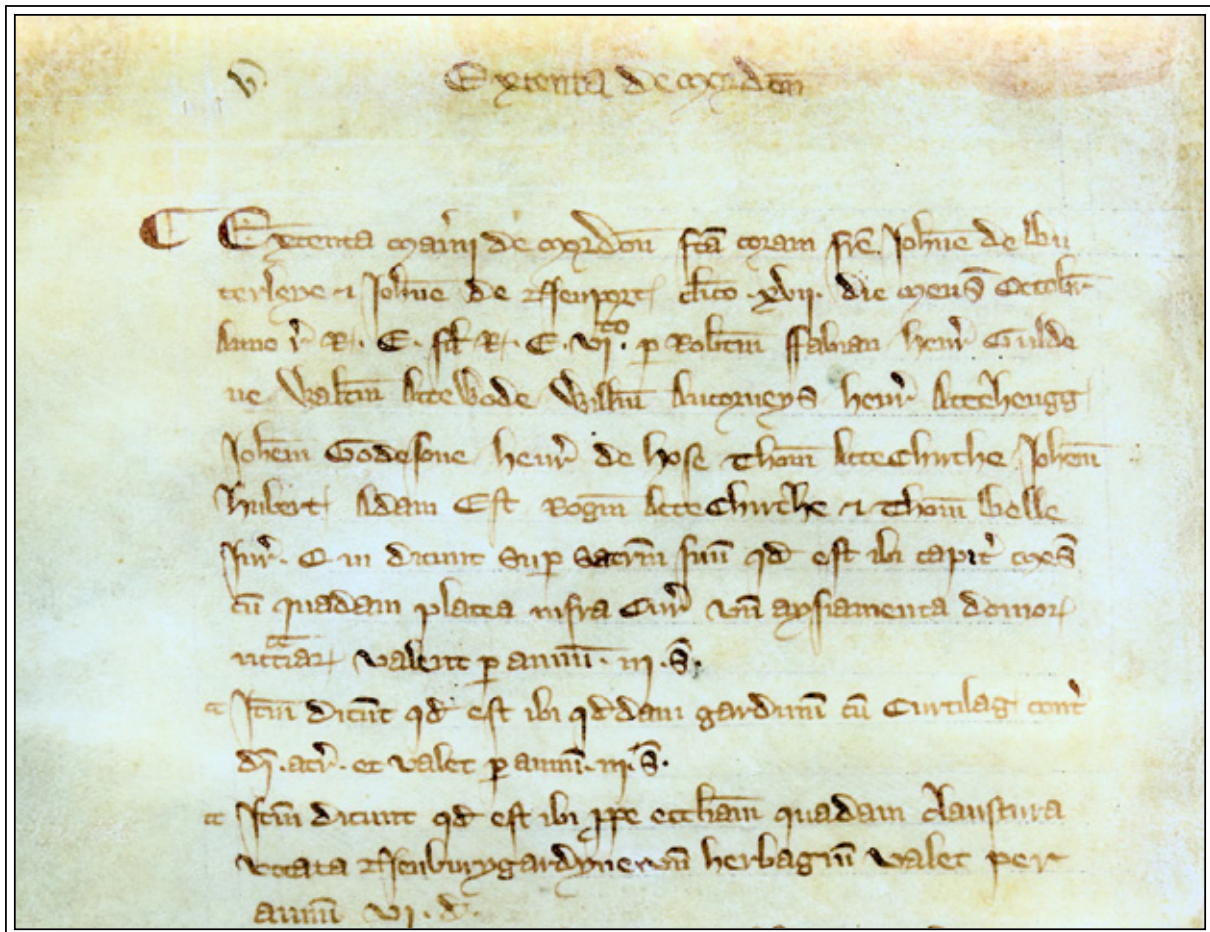
ID	Tenant in 1312	Later name	Tables
A	Adam Est	Adams tenement	10.4
A2	Walter Atte Wode	Attewode's toft	10.4
A31	{ Henry Guldene	John Lightfoot's ¼-acre croft	10.4
A32	{	William Lightfoot's ¼-acre croft	10.4
B	Thomas Belle	Belles tenement	10.6
B2	{ Thomas the miller	Millewards tenement	10.6
B21	{	Bonehams cottage	11.3
B22	{	2 acres arable, near Dountons tenement	10.6,10.7
B222		1 acre meadow in Mitcham Mede	10.7
B23		Pygots 8-acre tenement [?=4a from B2 & B3?]	10.6
B3	{ Robert le Webbe	Webbes tenement	10.6
B31	{	Walter Webbes 2½-acre holding, later Popsent	10.6
B33	(later exchanges)	Pycots ¼a + Leycesters ½a to Dunton ¾a	-
B34	(later exchanges)	Pycots to Leycesters ½ acre	-
B41	{ Gilbert le Shutte	Littelhawe & 2 acres	10.6
B42	{	Berenger's Acre	10.6,10.7
B51-2	Belle or Antorneys?	2 acres in Wylots Mede (of 5 acres)	6.4,10.6
B61	{ John Godewyn	Emcotte Acre	10.6
B62	{	Goodwyns Acre/Clerkys Hawe	10.6,9.2
B621	{	½ acre in Parker's Close	
B63	{	Byrshams cottage	9.2
C	Roger Attecherche	Cokcyes tenement	10.4
C1	(detached crofts from A, C, R & S)	Garmans croft [A1C1R1S1]	10.4
E	{ Agnes Edward	Edwards tenement	13.3
E1	{	Edward 2-acre croft	13.3
E2	Agnes Edward	Edward 4 acres	13.3
E3	Ralph Brounynges	Brounynges cottage	13.3
F+F4	Robert Fabian & Walter Atte Wode	Yerdes tenement	9.5
F2	John le Hayter	Hayters croft & cottage	10.4
F3	(Robert Fabian?)	Breggendes cottage	10.4
F4		Yerdes toft	9.5
F5	(Vicar)	Glebe meadow	
G	Henry Gulden	Gildens tenement	10.4
G2		Goldewyres croft & cottages [F2A3A4]	10.4
H	Henry Attehengg	Hegges tenement	11.4
H2	Matilda Attehegh	Hegges cottage	11.4
H31	{ formed from Hegges, Godesones, Jocyes & Atterithes tenements	Hegges 30-acre combined holding	11.4
H32		Westhawes	11.4
H33		Andrews/Hawks tenement	11.4
I1	Thomas Belle	Belles cottage	10.7
I2	Henry Tracy	Tracys cottage	10.7
I3	William le Flessch	William le Flessch's 2 cottages	11.6
I4	Robert le Flessche	Robert le Flessche's cottage	11.6
I5	William le Taverner	Grangers toft	9.2
I6	William Paternoster	Grangers croft	9.2
I7	Roger Attecherche	Mallard's cottage	11.3
I8	{ Henry le Hose	Hose's cottage & garden	13.3
I81	{	alehouse site, now <i>George</i> inn	13.3
I9	Geoffrey le Sweyne	Bawdes cottage & croft	11.3
J	{ Henry Attecherche	Jocyes tenement	11.4
J2	{	Joces cottage	11.4
L	{ Hawenild la Bosser	Lotekyns tenement	11.4
L1	{	Nether Lotkyns croft	11.4
M	William Attechirche	Makernays tenement	9.5
N0	part of rectory demesne	Growtes cottage/mansion	11.3
N1		Huberds cottage	11.6
N2		Matilda Popsent's cottage	11.6
N3		1 acre formerly Edmund Sweyne	10.7
N4		Trowghts cottage	11.6
N5		Mallard's garden	11.3

ID	Tenant in 1312	Later name	Tables
N6		Simon Wylot's cottage & croft	10.7
N61		parcel of vicarage house	10.7
N7		Scottes Hawe	9.2
N8		2 acres upon le Helde/Merton Close	11.3
N9		Stevenson & Dunnyng toft & croft	10.7
not N5		cottage + ½ acre	-
O	Johanna la Godesone	Godesones tenement	11.4
O2	John Godesone	Godesones cottage	11.4
P	John le Hayter	Plumershaw	9.5
R	Henry Attecherche	Rykedons tenement	10.4
S	John Hubert	Swans tenement	13.3
T	Alice Attecherche [for Atterithe]	Atte Rythes tenement	11.4
T2	Alice Atterithe	Atte Rythe cottage	11.4
U	{ William Antorneys	Bunts tenement	6.4
U2	{	Parklond	6.4
U21	{	?messuage of Parklond?	6.4
U3	{	1 acre from Bunts (later part of Hazelwood)	6.4
U4	{	2¼ acres from Bunts (later part of Hazelwood)	6.4
U5	{	5 acres from Bunts (later part of Hazelwood)	6.4
U6	{	3 acres in Wylots Mede (of 5 acres)	6.4
U7		17x7(6) perches (encroachment)	6.4
U8		in le Chercfeld (encroachment)	6.4
W	{ Gerard de Staundon	Wynteworthes tenement	9.5
W1	{	2-acre croft behind alehouse	9.5
W2	{	Crouch halfacre / ½ acre in Stertefurlong	9.5
W3	{	toft + 4 acres in West Morden	9.5
W4	{	2 acres in West Morden	9.5
W5	(part of Kynnersley manor)	14 acres at Gildonhill	9.5
X	{ Thomas Attecherche	Bexwells tenement	13.3
X1	{	Bexwells croft	11.3,13.3
X2	{ Thomas Attecherche	Thomas Attecherche's cottage	13.3
X3	{	Bexwells Bushes &c	13.3
Y	Geoffrey le Sweynes	Sweynes messuage + 3 acres	11.3
RAVENSBURY			
V1	Ravensbury copyholds	Lightfotys cottage (Parker)	3.7
V2	Ravensbury copyholds	cottage + 3½ acres (Parker)	3.7
V3	Ravensbury copyholds	garden + ½ acre (Parker)	3.7
V4	Ravensbury copyholds	Great & Little Stenhawes + le Gore (Parker)	3.7
V5	Ravensbury copyholds	Long Croft (Parker)	3.7
V6	Ravensbury copyholds	Steelhawes (Parker)	3.7
V7	Ravensbury copyholds	Bennetsfield (Knight)	3.7
V8	Ravensbury copyholds	encroachments on common land (Stondon)	3.7
V9	Ravensbury copyholds	le Whitinge yard (Stondon)	3.7
EWELL			
K1	{ John Cuppyng	Kyppyngs tenement in Ewell	
K2	{	Kyppyngs toft in Ewell	
K3	{	John Person's messuage in Ewell	
K4	{	Robert Shaldeford's messuage in Ewell	
K5	{	John Cole's land in Ewell	
K6	{	John Javin's land in Ewell later Tabard	
K7	{	John Tabard's other land in Ewell	
K8	{	Parker's land in Ewell	
K9	{	Gilbert Bret/Brot's land in Ewell	
Q1	Thomas St Michael (formerly Geoffrey le Cras)	Quidekepes tenement in Ewell	
Q2	Thomas St Michael (formerly Walter Snel)	Codyngtons tenement in Ewell	
Q3	John Juel	{?John le Herner atte Welle or Nashes in Ewell	
Q4	Thomas St Michael	{?John le Herner atte Welle or Nashes in Ewell	
Z	Robert fitz Neel	Fitznells tenement in Ewell	

10.1	Image: Tenant's copy of court roll entry dated 6 February 37 Henry VIII	185
10.2	Chart: Continuity and change in villein families c.1225–1349 (top)	186
10.3	Charts: Changes in tenure of virgated properties (centre) and cottage plots (foot of page)	186
10.4	Table: London investors	190
10.5	Chart: rent increments 1280–1349	196
10.6	Table: Descent of Belles customary tenement	200
10.7	Table: Berenger family copyholds in East Morden	206
10.8	Chart: Entry fines: virgates and cottages 1388–1518	227
11.1	Image: Detail from WAM 27375 1r: rent roll from Morden manorial account for 1448/50	229
11.2	Transcript: WAM 27375 : A manorial rent roll for 1448/50	230
11.3	Table: Simon & Margaret Drayton's acquisitions	234
11.4	Table: The Hegge family holdings	244
11.5	Chart: Size of holdings within Westminster Abbey's manor of Morden	254
11.6	Table: Some lost cottage properties	256
12.1	Image: Foot of fine from final concord of November 1507	257
12.2	Transcript: Lists of Morden's Tudor inhabitants: Muster roll 1539; Churchwardens 1543–52	258
12.3	Map: Reconstruction of William Parker's leasehold in Lower Morden	276
13.1	Image: Charter of Isabel Poybele to Gerard de Staundon, before 1301	279
13.2	Transcript: Farms in Lower Morden in 1745 [excluding Hobalds]	280
13.3	Table: Edward family holdings	284
14.1	Image: Chancery writ to the sheriff of Surrey and the extent returned 1405	303
15.1	Image: Morden and West Cheam in 1332 tax assessment	337
	Map: Reconstruction of medieval Morden, superimposed on extract from modern street map	back cover#

1

A STROLL THROUGH MEDIEVAL MORDEN



1.1: The beginning of the 1312 Extent of the manor of Morden: CUL Kk 5.29 f.39v,
(copyright the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, reproduced by permission)

39v

1.2: EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF MORDEN

made in the presence of Brother John de Wyterleye and John de Neuport, clerk, on 17th day of the month of October in the 6th year of King Edward [II] son of King Edward [1312] by Robert Fabian, Henry Guldene, Walter Atte Wode, William Antorneys, Henry Attehengg, John Godesone, Henry de Hose, Thomas Attechirche, John Hubert, Adam Est, Roger Attechirche and Thomas Belle, jurors, who say on their oath that there is there a capital messuage with a certain place within the court of which the easement of the cattle sheds are worth per annum 3s.

Likewise they say that there is there a certain garden with curtilage containing half an acre and it is worth per annum 3s.

Likewise they say that there is there near the church a certain enclosure called Neuburygardyne, whereof pasturage is worth per annum 6d.

Likewise they say that there are there of profitable land, by the perch of 16½ feet, 307½ acres, of which:- in the field of Buttesattehacche 4 acres 1½ roods, in Hethcroftes 4 acres 3 roods, in Comstrod 13 acres 1 rood, worth 6d per acre; in Northbereworth 7 acres 1½ roods, in Southbereworth 23¾ acres, in Rotforlonges 19 acres, in Longelond 21 acres 1 rood, worth 5d per acre; in Thistelcroftes 22 acres, in Dodemanforlonges 13 acres 3 roods, in Wowerith 6 acres 3 roods, in Northschote 24 acres, in Tweyacr' 1 acre 3 roods, in Waterden 16 acres, worth 4d per acre; in Chircheforlong 6 acres, in Durandesfeld 9 acres 1½ roods, in Neuburycroftes 9½ acres, in Gilleneheld 17 acres, in les Buttes super le Gretynngg 5½ acres, in Westbutte 4 acres, in Wulfardes Croftes 5 acres 1 rood, worth 3d per acre; in helde Attehacche 36 acres 3 roods, in Westshote 10 acres 1½ roods,

40r

in Langehull 19 acres 3 roods, in Snakehull 6 acres, worth 2d per acre.

Total value of the aforesaid lands £4 15s 1¼d.

Meadow: Likewise they say that there are there of meadow for mowing, by the same perch, 2 acres and a half, and it is common pasture between Michaelmas and the feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary, namely in Croft next to the Court 1 acre worth 2s. In Eylond 1½ acres, worth 18d.

Total value of the aforesaid meadow:- 4s 3d.

Pasture:

Likewise they say that there are there of pasture, by the same perch, 35 acres ½ rood, which is common between Michaelmas and the feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary, namely in Croft next to the Court 2 acres 3 roods, in Comstrod 1 acres 3 roods, worth 8d per acre; in Gillenmede 3 roods, in Litlemersche 6½ acres, In Magna mersche 15 acres, worth 6d per acre; in Bereworth 1 acre 2½ roods worth 10d per acre; in Swynesmede 6 acres 3 roods, worth 8d per acre.

Total value of the aforesaid pasture 20s 1¼d.

FREE TENANTS:

Now

Ewardby

Sir Robert fitz Neel knight holds the tenement formerly belonging to Richard de Gildeford, at a rent per annum of 11s at the four annual principal terms, namely at each term 2s 9d. And he shall give 1d for medsilver at the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist and he shall find at 3 boonworks in Autumn at each boonwork 5 men at 2 meals per day, namely at midday and supper and the work of each man per day is worth, without deductions, ½d. And he shall give at Christmas 1 cock worth 1½d and 1 hen worth 2d. And he owes suit of court. Also the same Robert shall find 1 man at two dry boonworks at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn with food provided by the lord once a day. And the value of work without deductions is 1d. [Z]

40v

Codyngton

Thomas de St Michael holds the tenement formerly belonging to Geoffrey le Cras, at a rent per annum of 8s at the 4 principal terms equally and he shall give ½d for medsilver at the feast of St John the Baptist. And he shall find 4 men at 3 boonworks at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn on the same conditions as the aforesaid lord Robert. And he shall give at Christmas 2 cocks worth as above and 3 hens worth as above. And he shall find 1 man at 2 dry boonworks as the aforesaid lord Robert. And the value of work is as above. And he owes suit of court. [Q1]

The same Thomas holds the tenement formerly belonging to Walter Snel at a rent per annum of 3s 6d at the four terms equally. And he shall give ½d at the feast of St John the Baptist for medsilver. And he shall find 2 men at 3 boonworks at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn with food provided by the lord as above. And the value of works is as above. And he shall give at Christmas 1 hen worth as above. And he shall find 1 man at 2 dry boonworks in Autumn as the aforesaid lord Robert. And he owes suit of court. [Q2]

It is the year 1312, the sixth year of King Edward II. On 17 October this year twelve tenants of the manor of Morden were summoned before brother John de Wyterleye, a senior monk of Westminster Abbey, to give a detailed description and valuation of the lands belonging to the abbey's manor, which occupied the greater part of the parish of Morden, and of the rents and services owed to the abbey by its tenants. Brother John's clerk, John de Neuport, made a written record of what was said, and this was later added to similar records for the abbey's manors in other parts of the country to form an 'extent' or valuation of the abbey's holdings (see translation opposite and on succeeding even pages).¹ With this and other manorial records to guide us, we can follow in the footsteps of brother John and his informants, and make our own tour of the manor.

Morden Hall

We begin at the manorial centre, known in later centuries as Morden Hall. It was here that the regular manorial courts were held, to ensure the smooth running of the manor and of the community. At these courts property transfers were recorded and manorial dues were paid; complaints were heard and offences were punished; instructions were given to maintain buildings and scour ditches; and notification was made of stray animals.² No doubt it was here that brother John and his clerk met the 12 representatives of the manor to draw up the extent. But the manorial centre was more than a legal court; it was the headquarters of a substantial economic unit, run at this time by an employee of the abbey, Robert Fabian, who held the post of *serviens* (sometimes translated as serjeant). At other periods the estate was managed by local men, customary tenants of the manor, appointed by the abbey to serve as reeve [*praepositus*] in return for a rent rebate on their family holdings.³ The manorial centre consisted of a hall, where courts were held and staff would receive a daily meal of pottage; barns and granaries for storing produce and equipment; stables, byres, pigsties and henhouses for the livestock that supplied labour or produce; and the dairy and 'workhouse' for processing the produce.⁴ The estate employed ploughmen, carters, stockmen and shepherds, and a dairy worker who also kept the poultry and prepared meals for staff and visitors.⁵ It is unlikely that any staff lived-in at this time, though visitors from the abbey may have stayed overnight. (From 1359 the manor will be leased 'at farm' (for a fixed term and rent) to a tenant 'farmer' and the manorial centre will become the farmhouse, known by the 16th century as Mounkton or Monken Farm.⁶) Until the mid-14th century much of the work on the estate was done by tenants, who were required to work one day a week during harvest and for half a day each week throughout the rest of the year. They also provided extra services – ploughing and harrowing an acre of land at the winter and spring sowings; reaping at five days of harvest 'boonworks', when they were provided with food at the manor's expense; and assisting with haymaking, shearing, and cleaning the mill pond.⁷ The manorial mill was probably in the vicinity of one of the later snuff mills near the manorial centre, powered by a leat from the River Wandle. It was out of action in 1312, a new mill being under construction at the abbey's manor of Aldenham in Hertfordshire, to be transported to Morden in 45 cartloads, and erected during the winter of 1312/13.⁸ The riverside meadows were also along the Wandle.

The road that passed the manorial centre (now Morden Hall Road) had been created in 1225. Before then it had crossed the 'abbot's courtyard', but in November 1225 an agreement was made with local landowners Merton Priory and Sir William de Mara, lord of what was to become Ravensbury manor (see chapter 3), to reroute the road. Westminster Abbey agreed to provide a new 'common way for all riders and pedestrians and for carts direct from the north-west corner of their court of Morden to the south corner of their tenement in the same vill [i.e. manor], next to the house of William son of Sweyn, on the west side'.⁹ No reason is given, but it is likely that it had been decided to moat the manorial centre to increase its security and its status. (The north-western corner of the present moated enclosure lies just within the parish of Merton.) The new road was to be 10 feet wide, or 12 feet if it were to be ditched each side. Later evidence reveals that the road was ditched, as were most of the main roads in the manor, tenants frequently being instructed at manorial courts to scour ditches that were causing a public nuisance. (In 1512 the lord of the manor or his farmer was required 'to scour his ditch in Monkynslane namely from Monkynsgate as far as the tenement called Growtes on both sides of the said lane'.¹⁰ 'Monkynsgate' was probably the entrance to the manorial centre, while Growtes [NO] was on the site of the present Morden Lodge.)

John Cuppyng holds the tenement formerly belonging to Nicholas his father at a rent per annum of 7s 7d at the four principal terms. And he shall give 1d for medsilver at the feast of St John the Baptist. And he shall give 1 cock and 1 hen at Christmas worth as above. And he shall do in all things as the aforesaid lord Robert. And he owes suit of court. [K]

Gerard de Staundon holds the tenement formerly belonging to Nicholas Gurdeler at a rent whereof per annum of 7s at the aforesaid four terms equally. And he shall find 2 men at 3 great boonworks at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn with food provided by the lord as above. And the value of works is as above. And he shall plough twice in a year. [W]

William Antorneys holds on behalf of his wife the tenement which formerly belonged to Walter Clerk at a rent per annum of 2s at the four principal terms

41r equally and he shall do all things as the said Gerard. And he owes suit of court. [U]

now Alan **John le Heyter** holds the tenement formerly belonging to John Snoter for a rent per annum of 6d
Hayter at the 4 principal terms. And he shall find 1 man at 1 great boonwork at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn as above, worth as above. And he shall find 1 man at 1 dry boonwork at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn as above, worth as above. [P]

Geoffrey le Sweyne holds the tenement formerly belonging to Robert le Sweyne at a rent per annum of 12d at the four principal terms equally. And he shall give as medsilver 1d at the feast of St John the Baptist. And he shall find at each of the three boonworks of the lord's corn reaping in Autumn 2 men with food provided by the lord as above, a work worth as above, and at 2 dry boonworks for the lord's corn reaping in Autumn, namely at each boonwork 1 man as above, worth as above. And he shall go with a rod over the reapers. And he shall find 1 man at haymaking for 1 day in the lord's meadow with food provided by the lord twice a day at the lord's will. And he shall find 1 man at the cleaning of the millpond as often as it needs to be done with food provided by the lord twice a day. And the value of the work without deductions is ¼d. And they say that there are 15 who are assigned to this, and that it is not necessary to clean the aforesaid pond if it is well cleaned for the space of 10 years. And the total value of the work without deductions is 2s 11d. And so it is valued annually at 3½d. Also he shall find 1 man at the shearing of the sheep of the lord and he shall receive of the lord after dinner bread and cheese. And the value of the work is ½d. And he shall plough twice in a year with food provided by the lord twice a day if he has a plough [team] or with as many as he can yoke, at the will of the lord. [Y]

Henry Gulden holds a moiety of the tenement formerly belonging to Alice wife of Matthew at a rent per annum of 2s at the four principal terms equally. And he shall give 1d for medsilver at the feast of St John the Baptist. And he shall find 1 man at 3 boonworks in Autumn with food provided by the lord twice a day as above, worth as above, and 1 man at 1 dry boonwork with food provided by the lord once a day and the value of the work without deductions is ½d. as above. And he shall find 1 man at the cleaning of the millpond as above. And the value of works as above and he shall plough twice a year with food provided by the lord twice a day if he shall have a plough [team] as above. And he shall do two carrying services to Westminster in a year and when he arrives there he shall have bread and beer, namely 1 loaf of *meynebred* and 1½ gallons of nun's ale and the value of the work without deductions is ½d. [G]

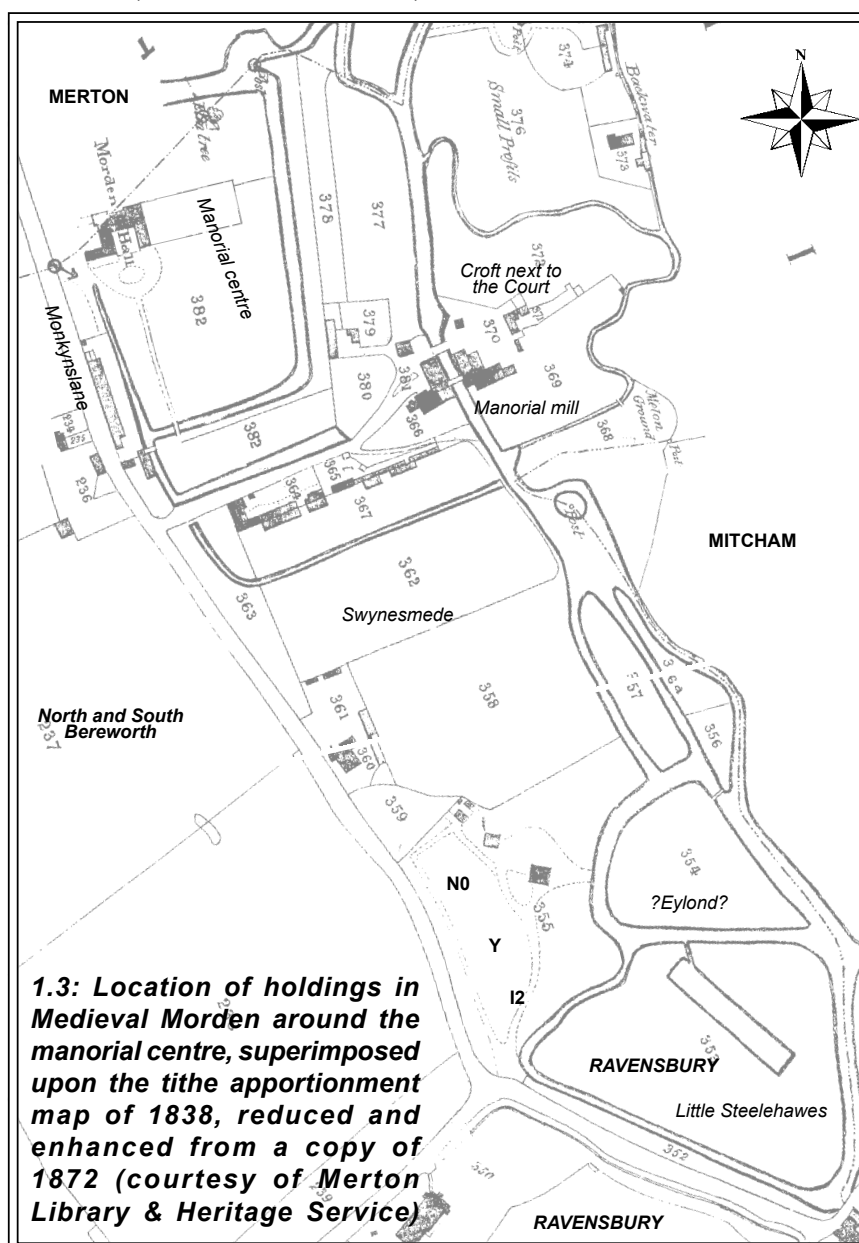
41v **Robert Fabian & Walter Atte Wode** hold a moiety of the aforementioned tenement. And they owe rent equally to the lord and make returns in all things as the aforesaid Henry le Gulden except that the whole tenement shall carry dung once in a year with food provided by the lord once a day and the value of the work without deductions is ½d. And they shall find 1 man at the lord's sheep shearing with bread and cheese after dinner. And the value of the work without deductions is ½d. [F]

CUSTOMARY TENANTS:

farm **William Attechirche** holds [30 acres] formerly belonging to John de Marreys at a rent of 3s at the four principal terms equally. And he shall give 2d as medsilver at the aforesaid time. And he shall do between Michaelmas and 1st August 60 works at ½d per work. And between 1st August and Michaelmas he shall do 12 works and the value of the works is 1½d. And he shall do 4 carrying services by horse per year to Westminster. And he shall have 1 loaf of *meynebred* and 1½ gallons of nun's ale. The value of the work without deductions is ¾d. And he shall find 1 man at the shearing of the lord's sheep with bread and cheese after dinner and the value of the works is ½d. And he shall find 1 man at haymaking in the lord's meadow until the lord completes it. And he shall have on the last day bread and cheese once in the day, and the value of the work without deductions is nothing. And he shall find^{at} each of 5 boonworks 1 man and the value is ½d. And he shall plough twice a year. And he shall harrow the same number of times with food provided by the lord if he has animals and if not he shall give nothing. And he shall carry dung for 3 days with one meal a day. And the value of the work is ½d for each day without deductions.

The lands to the west of 'Monkynslane' formed part of the demesne lands of the abbey's manor – Northbereworth, of 7 acres 1½ roods, and Southbereworth, of 23¾ acres. Most of the demesne

land – that part of the estate managed on behalf of the abbey as opposed to that occupied by its tenants – lay in the north-western section of the parish, bounded by the roads known in modern times as Morden Hall Road and Central Road on the east and south, and the boundary with Merton on its north. The western boundary seems to have been an arbitrary one dividing the demesne land from tenant land, following a former channel of the East Pyl brook between the present Epsom Road and Bow Lane, and then zigzagging to meet the parish boundary to the east of Cherry Wood, itself a product of arable contraction in the later 14th century.¹¹ There was also some demesne land to the south of Epsom Road and west of Green Lane. The evidence of field names suggests that some of the demesne lands had formerly been tenant land, as they



incorporate personal names as in Durandesfeld and Wulfardes Croftes. The demesne lands all seem to have occupied the north-facing slopes of the clay hills which characterise most of Morden, sloping gently up from the alluvium and gravel terraces of the river valleys to the 35-metre contour around St Lawrence church and Morden Park (see contours on map on back cover#).

As we move south from the manorial centre along the new road, we reach the site of the two properties mentioned in the 1225 agreement. Westminster Abbey agreed that the new road was to run 'direct from the north-west corner of their court of Morden to the south corner of their tenement in the same vill, next to the house of William son of Sweyn, on the west side'.¹² The landmarks would have been clear to those who drew up the agreement, but they are not so easy for us to interpret. Was William's house on the west side of the road or of the abbey's tenement, or was it the road that was on the west side of William's house? Later evidence suggests that William's house and lands lay to the east of the road, and were ultimately included in the grounds of the present Morden Lodge, along with other tenant holdings (see chapter 13 page 300#). A custumal of c.1225, which lists the rents and services owed by the abbey's tenants, informs us that 'William Swein' paid 1 shilling for 3 acres of customary land in Morden (see transcript 2.2).¹³

	And he shall find 1 man at the cleaning of the mill pond as above. And he shall plough 1 rood without food and the value of the work is 1½d. And he shall give 1 hurdle at the lord's sheepfold per year and the annual value is ½d. And he shall weed for 1 day with food provided by the lord at the will of the lord. [M]
42 r	Thomas Belle holds 20 acres of land formerly belonging to Durand Godesone at a rent per annum of 2s at the four principal terms. And he shall do 40 works from Michaelmas until 1st August at ½d per work. And from 1st August until Michaelmas he shall do 8 works at per work 1½d. And he shall do in all other things as the aforesaid William Attechirche. [B]
farm	Roger Attecherche holds 20 acres formerly belonging to Isabell Attecherche rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas Belle. [C]
farm	Adam Est holds 20 acres formerly belonging to Simon son of Thomas rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. [A]
	John Hubert holds 20 acres formerly belonging to Hugh Hubert rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. [S]
	Henry Attehengg holds a tenement rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. [H]
	Agnes widow of John Edward holds a tenement rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. [E]
farm	Hawenild la Bosser holds a tenement rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. <i>Lodekynys & J Carpenter</i> [L]
farm	Johanna la Godesone holds a tenement rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. [O]
farm	Henry Attecherche holds a tenement rendering and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas. [J]
farm	Thomas Attecherche holds 10 acres land at a rent per annum of 12d. And he shall do in all things as the aforesaid Thomas except that he shall give only half a hurdle. [X]
	Alice Attecherche holds 10 acres land rendering rent and doing in all things as the aforesaid Thomas Attecherche. [T]
farm	Henry Attecherche holds 10 acres land at a rent therefor per annum of 12d. And he shall do per annum 20 works, a work worth as above, and 4 other works worth as above per work. And he shall do in all other things as the aforesaid Thomas Belle except that he shall give only half a hurdle. [R]
42v	RENT INCREMENTS:
.	Robert Fabian holds 6 acres land of the demesne by a lease of Brother Philip of Sutton by roll of court at a rent per annum of 2s at the four principal terms. [D]
	Thomas the miller holds a curtilage and 6 acres land rendering the rent at Michaelmas of 7d. And he shall find at 3 boonworks in Autumn, at each 1 man, and the value of the work of each man per day is ½d. [B2]
	Robert le Webbe holds 1 messuage and 7 acres land at a rent of 5d at Michaelmas. And he shall find at 3 boonworks in Autumn at each of 2 boonworks 1 man and at the third boonwork 2 men. And the value of the work is as above. And he owes suit of court. [B3]
	Thomas Belle holds 1 curtilage at a rent of 1d at Michaelmas. [I1]
	Henry Tracy holds 1 cottage at a rent of 1½d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn, at each 1 man, a work worth per day as above. [I2]
	William le Fflessch holds 2 cottages at a rent of 2½d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn, at each 2 men. And the value of the works is as above. [I3]
	Robert le Fflessche holds 1 cottage rendering a rent of 2½d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks, at each 1 man. And the value of the works is as above. [I4]
	John Juel holds 1 cottage at a rent of ½d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks, at each 1 man. And the value of the works is as above. [Q3]
	John Godewyn holds 1 cottage and 2 acres land at a rent of 1½d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn, at each 1 man. And the value of the works is as above. [B6]
	William le Taverner holds 1 curtilage at the rent of 1d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn, at each 1 man. And the value of the works is as above. [I5]
	William Paternoster holds 1 acre land at the rent of 1d at Michaelmas and he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn at each 1 man. And the value of the works is as above. [I6]
43r	Thomas de St Michael holds 1 cottage and 2 acres land at a rent of 2d at Michaelmas. [Q4]
	<i>He does not know but says that it is assized in Ewell.</i>
farm	Roger Attecherche holds 1 cottage at a rent of 1d at Michaelmas. [I7]
in lord's hands	Walter Atte Wode holds 1 tenement 1 cottage and ½ acre land at a rent of 1½d per annum. And he shall owe at 3 1 boonwork 1 man. And the value of the works is as above. [A2]
and at farm	

In 1312 Geoffrey le Sweyne was paying 1 shilling in rent for the tenement formerly belonging to Robert le Sweyne [Y], but he was described as a 'free tenant'. He was not required to perform the weekly labour services demanded of customary tenants, but he was responsible for providing labourers to perform other tasks. It will be suggested later that the Sweyne family may have been descendants of the slave recorded at Morden in the Domesday survey (see chapter 4 page 95#).

Geoffrey le Sweyne also paid a rent increment for '1 messuage at a rent per annum of 2½d at Michaelmas. And he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn, namely at each of 2 boonworks 1 man and at the third boonwork 2 men' [19]. A marginal entry states that this 'messuage' – a house with its outbuildings – later came into the tenure of William Webbe, who held lands in Central Road, so it is unlikely to have been part of the Sweyne family holding.

There are references to a lane [*venella*] known as Sweyns Lane in the 1430s, probably the same that is called Adam Tracys Lane in 1437 and Growtes Lane in the 1520s. These are probably alternative names for Monkynslane, but might identify a lane that led from the main road to these tenant holdings, which were set back from the road.¹⁴

Central Road

The present Morden Road to Mitcham was created in the mid-18th century, the old road having passed close to the manor house of Ravensbury, then within modern Ravensbury Park.¹⁵ All the land south of Central Road between the River Wandle and Farm Road belonged to the manor later known as Ravensbury, and not to the abbey's manor of Morden, though it lies within the parish of Morden. The origins of the manor, and particularly of its Morden lands, are examined in chapter 3#.

The land between Farm Road and Green Lane was also outside the manor of Morden by 1312, being held by Merton Priory as its Spital estate. It is not clear if a hospital of some kind existed within the grounds, or if the income from this estate supported a hospital elsewhere, or merely helped pay for the hospitality that the priory offered to its visitors. It seems likely that the priory already held some of the Spital estate by the end of the 12th century (see chapter 8 page 143#), but the earliest extant reference is to 'Le Spittelondegrove', in the Morden manorial account roll for 1302/03.¹⁶ Merton Priory also held an estate at Lower Morden, as we shall see later.

To the west of Green Lane was another property that lay within the parish but outside the manor of Morden. It formed part of the Kynnersley estate, a 'manor' within neighbouring Carshalton parish. Between 1283 and 1450 the abbey paid 4 shillings a year for a virgate holding at Gilden Hill, and some 8 acres here were still part of the Kynnersley estate in the 19th century.¹⁷ The arrangement probably originated in grants of c.1195x1215 and c.1217x21 (see chapter 8 page 144#), but it is not known when the land had been alienated from the abbey's manor.¹⁸ The rest of the land to the west of Green Lane was a mixture of demesne land and freehold land perhaps held of Kynnersley manor. Some of the land here might have been encroachments upon the nearby Sutton Common (see chapter 5 page 108#).

Having taken note of the land south of Central Road and Epsom Road, we will now focus on the northern side of Central Road, known in the late 14th century as Stoye Street and in the 15th as East Morden Lane.¹⁹ The road was much wider before the late 13th century, with plenty of grazing along the roadside for flocks and herds heading towards Westminster and the London markets. The manorial beadle, an assistant to the reeve, continued to enjoy the right to pasture his livestock on some of the roadside ditches of the manor into the early 14th century.²⁰ However, by 1280 the abbey was allowing small plots of the 'roadside waste' here to be developed, and the 1312 extent lists several cottages and curtilages [*curtilagium* – a cottage plot], for which the tenant paid an 'increment' [*incrementum*] of 1d or ½d a year, and worked a day's harvest boonwork. Although some of these relate to additional cottage plots on existing customary land, many refer to plots on former roadside waste (see chapter 2 page 29#).²¹ This development coincided with the break-up of a customary holding in Central Road, held in 1312 by Thomas Belle and his wife Emma [B]. This holding was a virgate, which in Morden was of 20 acres, and its break-up released several 1-acre plots of land to be held by rent increment and boonwork

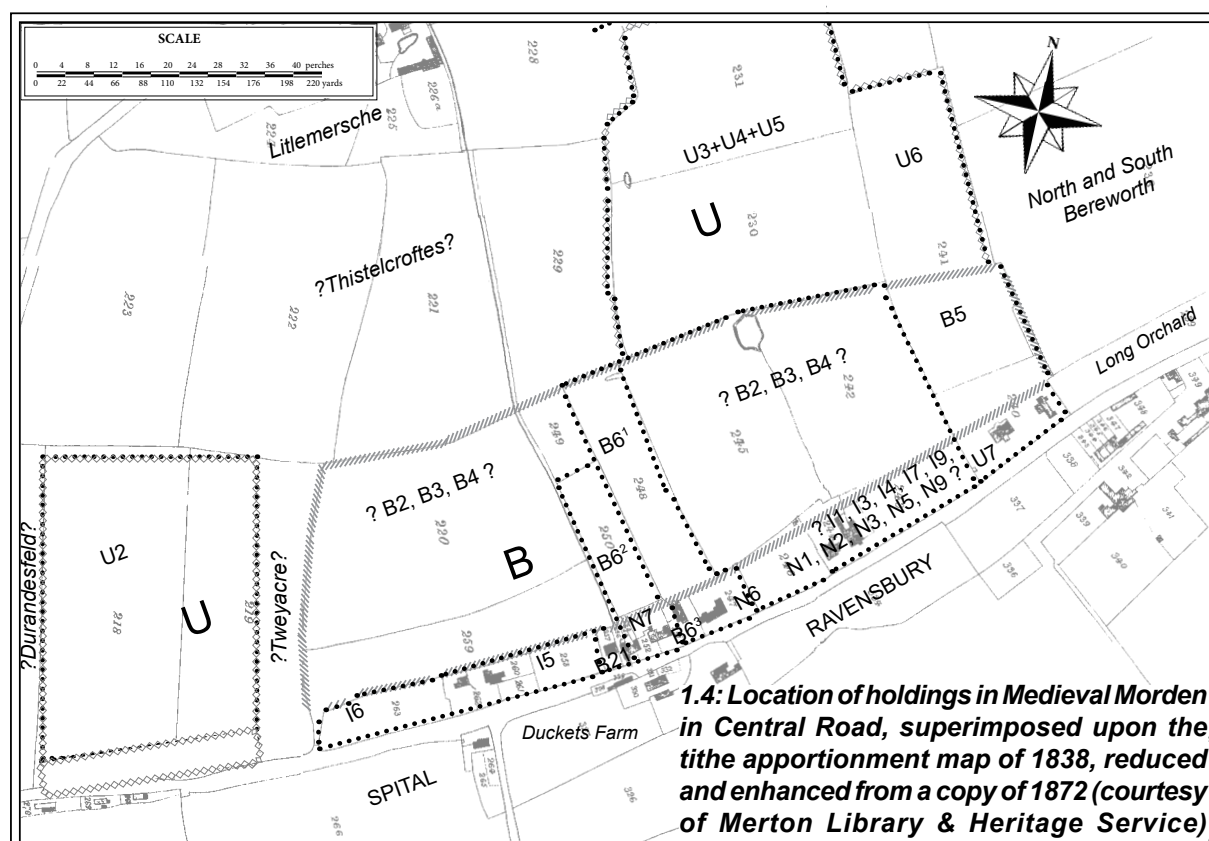
<i>farm</i>	John Godesone holds 1 cottage at a rent at Michaelmas of 1d. And he shall owe at 1 boonwork in Autumn 1 man. And the value of the work is as above. [O2]
<i>farm</i>	Thomas Attecherche holds 1 messuage and 1 curtilage at a rent of 2d at Michaelmas. [X3]
<i>now R Edward</i>	Henry le Hose holds 1 curtilage at a rent of ½d at Michaelmas. [I8]
<i>now John Gulden</i>	Henry Guldene holds 1 curtilage at a rent of 1d at Michaelmas. And he shall owe at 1 boonwork in Autumn 1 man, a work worth as above. [A3]
<i>now Randolph Edward</i>	Ralph Brounynges holds 1 cottage at a rent of 2d at the four terms equally. And he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn 1 man, a work worth as above. [E3]
<i>now William Carpenter</i>	Matilda Attehegh holds 1 cottage at a rent of ½d at Michaelmas. And she shall owe at 1 boonwork in Autumn 1 man, a work worth as above. [H2]
<i>Randolph Atterithe</i>	Alice Atterithe holds ½ acre land at a rent of ½d at Michaelmas. [T2]
	Agnes Edward holds 4 acres land at the rent of 4d at Michaelmas. [E2]
<i>now Alain Hayter</i>	John le Hayter holds 1½ acres land at a rent of 7d at Michaelmas. And he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn at each 1 man and at 1 dry boonwork 1 man. And the value of the work is as above. [F2]
	Gilbert le Shutte holds 1 messuage and 3 acres land at a rent of ½d at Michaelmas. And he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn at each 1 man, and the value of the work is as above. [B4]
<i>now William Webbe</i>	Geoffrey le Sweyne holds 1 messuage at a rent per annum of 2½d at Michaelmas. And he shall owe at 3 boonworks in Autumn, namely at each of 2 boonworks 1 man and at the third boonwork 2 men. And the value of the work is as above. [I9]
	John Brounynges shall give during his lifetime at view of frankpledge each year 1 ploughfoot worth 2½d.
<i>Total value of this manor as in rents and customs by estimation £7 6s 2½d. Total Farm: 43s 6d. Total tallage: 5s.</i>	
43v	They also say that the customary tenants among themselves shall lift all the hay from the meadows of Swynesmed, Bereworthmed, Comstrodemed and they shall have from the lord bread and cheese sufficient for one meal. And they shall wash and shear among themselves all the sheep of the manor with food provided by the lord, namely bread and cheese at one meal as above. And also they must clean the mill pond among themselves as often as is necessary with food and drink provided by the lord sufficient for one meal. And if the aforesaid lord does not want to have the aforesaid works they shall give for them nothing. Therefore they will not be valued.
Fixed Rents: Total rents of assize, both free and customary, per annum 74s 8½d	
	namely at Christmas 17s 1¾d.
	At Easter 17s 1¾d.
	At the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist 17s 1¾d.
	And at Michaelmas 23s 3¼d.
Total customary rents of medsilver at the feast of St John the Baptist 2s 8d	
Total rent in ploughfeet: 1 which is valued at 2½d	
Total cocks 4 and hens 6 valued at 18d	
Total hurdles rendered at the lord's sheepfold: 11½ which are valued at 5¾d	
Total ploughing work by custom of Mederth: 3 acres 1 rood which are valued at 19½d	
Total customary works carrying dung: 15 which are valued at 7½d	
Total manual works between Michaelmas and 1st August: 540 which are valued at 22s 6d	
Total works ~~manual~~ between 1st August and Michaelmas: 108 which are valued at 13s 6d	
Total great boonworks at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn: 166 which are valued at 13s 10d	
Total dry boonworks at the lord's corn reaping in Autumn: 36 ^{boonworks} valued at 3s	
Total carrying services to Westminster: 56 carrying services which are valued at 3s 6d	
Lawday: Likewise they say that there are at the same place from a fixed fine at Lawday of Hokeday 6s 8d	
Tallage: Likewise they say that there are at the same place from common tallage at Michaelmas 5s	
Pertinents Likewise they say that the pertinents and profits of court with fines, heriots, and	
& Profits: reliefs are valued per year 21s	
Sum total of the Extent of the aforesaid manor £17 17s 9¾d	
CUL Kk 5.29 39v–43v	

(see chapter 10 page 199# and table 10.6 on page 200#)).²² Later records show that the lands and cottages held in 1312 by Thomas the miller [B2], Robert le Webbe [B3], William and Robert le Fflesshe or Fflesscher [I3] [I4], John Godewyn [B6], William le Taverner [I5] and William Paternoster [I6] were all in this area, as were the cottages held by Thomas Belle [I1] and Roger Attecherche [I7]. Geoffrey le Sweyne's messuage [I9], and Gilbert le Shutte's 3 acres [B4] are likely to have been here as well. Henry Tracy's cottage [I2] was probably nearer the manorial centre.

Large-scale maps from the 19th century reveal the piecemeal arrangement of the cottages and crofts (small enclosed plots of land) created in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, with the boundaries of cottage-plots and their crofts on different alignments.²³ (A narrow field parallel to the road at the eastern end of Central Road was known as Long Orchard in the 18th century but as the Lord's Orchard in the late 16th century, perhaps indicating that the abbey had retained a strip of roadside waste in its own possession, though it is just as likely that it was named after George and Alice Lord, who held several small properties in the area in the early 16th century (see chapter 13 page 295#)).²⁴ The 1838 tithe apportionment map shows that, on the Ravensbury side of Central Road, a property known from the mid-16th century as Duckets Farm and an adjoining property each included a similar long strip of land parallel to the road, and it is tempting to assume that this land had also been taken from roadside waste towards the end of the 13th century.²⁵)

Adjoining the customary tenement held in 1312 by Thomas and Emma Belle [B] was a freehold tenement, probably that held by William Antorneys by right of his wife [U].²⁶ By the end of the 14th century it had come into the possession of William Bunt, who sold it in small parcels.²⁷ One of these parcels was an 8-acre enclosed warren, later known as le Parklond [U2].²⁸ A further 24-acre close of demesne land was called Parklands by the late 16th century, so it seems that some sort of park or enclosure had existed in this area.²⁹ It was not big enough to have been a deer park and may have been a reserve for game birds or just a rabbit warren (see chapter 6).

Maps from the 19th century show two fields of glebe, belonging to the incumbent of the parish church, between Central Road and London Road, totalling 11¼ acres, but these were given from former demesne land in the 1630s, in exchange for the earlier glebelands which seem to have been in strips in the open fields of Lower Morden (see page 130#).³⁰ A further 1½-acre



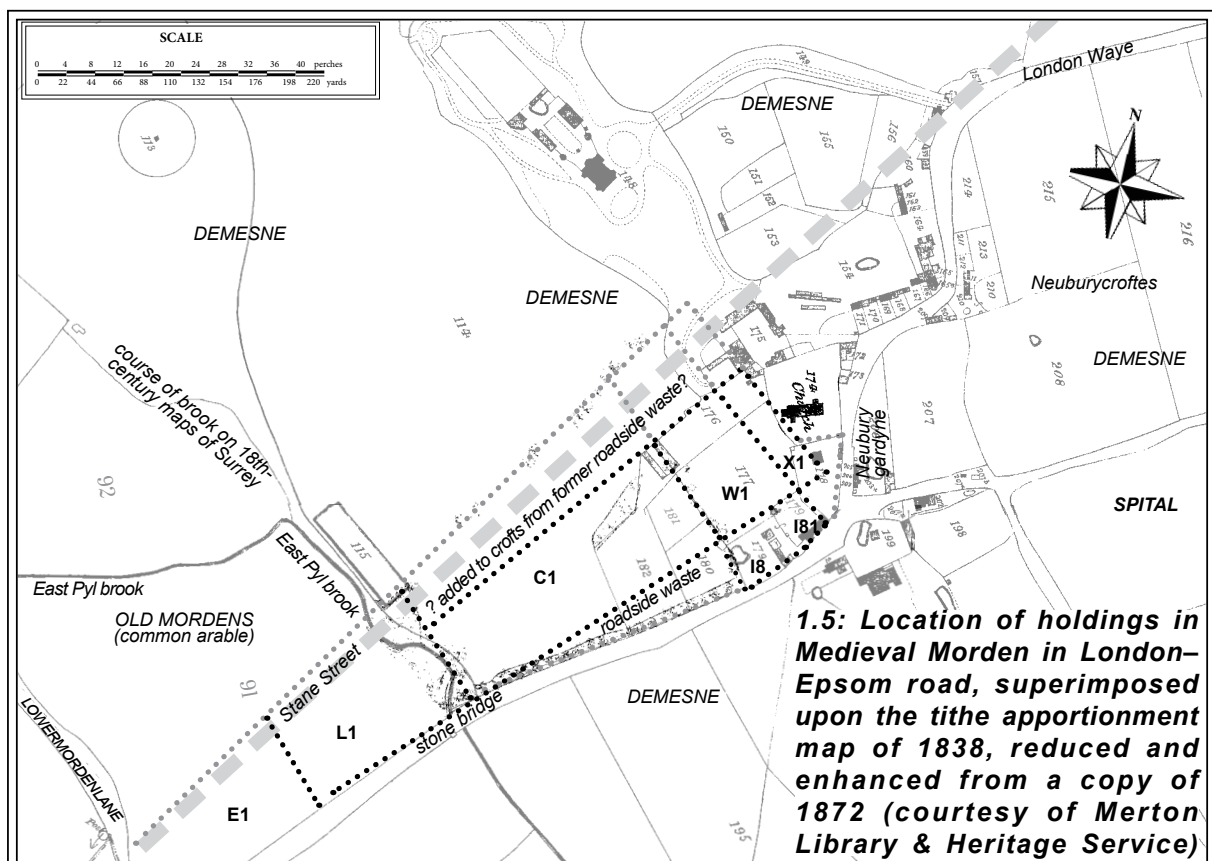
glebe meadow was in Lower Morden (see page 13#).³¹ A grant to the vicar of Morden in 1331 mentioned 13½ acres of glebe, possibly a remnant of an earlier glebe holding from before the abbey took over the rights previously belonging to the rector (see next page).³²

The demesne land seems to have been in large blocks, and the arable lands belonging to both Belles and Bunts tenements seem to have been consolidated in one area – though Bunts was in two large blocks – rather than scattered like the tenant holdings in Lower Morden.

At the junction of Central Road and London Road, opposite the parish church, was a plot of demesne land known as Neuburycroftes, of 9½ acres. Adjoining it was ‘a certain enclosure called Neuburygardyne, whereof pasturage is worth per annum 6d’.³³ The place-name element ‘bury’ is derived from *byrig*, the dative form of Old English *burh*, and is usually interpreted by place-name experts as ‘a stronghold’, though it was later used of a manor house.³⁴ It has recently been suggested that the word originally referred specifically to ‘the enclosure around a noble person’s house’ rather than a strongly fortified place.³⁵ There is no evidence that a new manorial centre was ever built on this site, though the possibility that there were enclosures or earthworks associated with a medieval game preserve is considered in chapter 6#.

London Road

The London Road, in 1512 described as ‘the king’s highway called London Waye, namely from the church of Morden as far as Monkyns Marshe’, winds its way north and east between the demesne fields towards the border with Merton parish and the north-west corner of the manorial centre where we began our journey.³⁶ Occasionally it briefly coincides with the alignment of the Roman road later known as Stane Street, though it is not known when this route replaced the Roman road. There is no evidence of any buildings along London Road in the medieval period, other than the church and adjoining priest’s house. (In the late 16th century tenant farms were created out of the demesne lands, with one new farmstead adjoining the church, and another on the Morden House site overlooking ‘Monkyns Marshe’, which in 1312 was valuable pastureland – Littlemersche of 6½ acres and Magna mersche of 15 acres, worth 6d per acre.³⁷ A couple of smallholdings existed at the western end of the road by the mid-18th century, but the cottages



that once lined the road here seem to have been a development of the late 18th century, at about the same time as the creation of the Morden Park estate.³⁸⁾

The church, occupying one of the highest ridges within the parish, is dedicated to St Lawrence, a dedication common in churches of Saxon origin.³⁹ However, there is no mention in Domesday Book of a church here, the earliest record being dated 1 June 1157 when Pope Adrian IV confirmed to Westminster Abbey various rights and possessions including ‘the church of Morden with all its pertinents [rights]’.⁴⁰ The next reference is from 23 November 1230, when Pope Gregory IX confirmed a pension of 6s 8d from the tithe of the church of Morden to the precentor of Westminster Abbey.⁴¹ This pension was described in an undated document as ‘ancient’ [*antiqua*] when the first recorded rector of Morden, Master Thomas de Senesfeld, was admitted ‘to the church of St Laurence of Morden’, at the presentation of the abbey, by Peter de Roches, who was bishop of Winchester 1205–38.⁴² At the time the extent was drawn up the church seems to have had a thatch and shingle roof, as repairs in 1320/21 involved the purchase of 1000 wooden shingles, the old shingles and thatch being sold for 6d.⁴³ (A major rebuilding programme will be undertaken in the 1350s, with £4 being spent in 1356 ‘in stipend of a mason for the front of the chancel and for making 1 window by agreement’, and 9000 new roof tiles being purchased and fixed over the chancel in 1358.⁴⁴ Only chancel costs are recorded in the account rolls as the abbey was only responsible for the chancel, the rest of the church being the responsibility of the parishioners, but the building and roofing work must have involved the whole church. A few vestiges can still be seen from this rebuilding, but the medieval structure was faced with brick in the 17th century, though the old walls still carry the weight of the roof.⁴⁵⁾

The tithes of Morden parish were appropriated to the abbey in 1301, the last rector resigning and a vicar being appointed to undertake parochial duties.⁴⁶ The vicar took over the ‘mansion house with a curtilage and garden, adjacent to the same church, which the priest of the parish was accustomed to live in from ancient times, freely pertaining to his vicarage forever’, though in 1331 new arrangements for the vicar’s financial support will be agreed with the abbey, whereby ‘a more suitable [house] or at least one of equal value’ is to be provided.⁴⁷ (Certainly, the vicar was living in one of the cottages in Central Road by 1416, when he took over an adjoining croft known as Empcote Acre [B61], though it was not permanently added to the vicarage grounds until 1436.⁴⁸ In a dispute of 1583 it was shown that ‘Emcotes Acre’ was not part of the vicar’s glebe but was held by copyhold tenure from the manor at 4d a year.⁴⁹ The vicarage became the rectory in 1634, when the tithes were restored and a rector appointed once more,⁵⁰ and it continued to serve as the rectory until the mid-20th century, when the present rectory was built behind the church. In June 1386 the vicar was instructed ‘to repair a certain bridge at his gate and from want of repair the water overflows the king’s highway to the nuisance of those passing’.⁵¹ This entry in the manorial court roll is just one of many that remind us that ditches separated dwellings from the road, but one cannot help wondering how the vicar was able to get out and exercise his pastoral ministry in the parish if the bridge at his gate was in such poor repair that it completely blocked the ditch. No doubt this bridge was just a board or plank, similar to one in Bow Lane described in 1627.⁵²⁾

Adjoining the southern edge of the churchyard in 1312 is a 1-acre croft [X1] belonging to a half-virgate tenement in Lower Morden held by Thomas ate Cherche [X]. (Today this croft is occupied by a residential home misnamed Manor House, the core of which was built in the late 18th century. The ½-acre of land on which it was built was known in the 18th century as Boxwells, a corruption of Bexwells. In the 15th century John Bekeswell was tenant of Thomas ate Cherche’s tenement.⁵³ In 1513 this croft was described as ‘one acre of land now Holtes lying on the west of the church of Morden called Bexwells, namely between land of John Holt on the east and west’ [X1].⁵⁴ Many exchanges were made during the 17th century, and the northern section of the plot, which did lie to the west of the church, was incorporated into the adjoining property, the original acre being reduced to half an acre, which included some former roadside waste (see chapter 4 page 92#).)

Epsom Road

Adjoining this croft was a freehold close of 2 acres [W1], probably a detached part of Gerard de Staunden’s 1312 freehold tenement in Lower Morden, later known as Wynteworthes [W] (see

page 14#). (This close was the property referred to in 1513 as held by John Holt and in 1486 by John Spyke. It lost some land to its western neighbour in the 17th century, but was compensated by land taken from Bexwells. By the late 16th century this close had been added to the grounds of the alehouse that had been built on an adjoining plot.) Henry le Hose, who appears in manorial court rolls in 1298 and 1299,⁵⁵ is listed as tenant of a curtilage paying ½d as rent increment in the 1312 extent [18] and this plot had been taken from the roadside waste.⁵⁶ (Part was probably occupied as an alehouse by the 1460s, and certainly so from 1515, and continues as the *George* inn in the 21st century.⁵⁷)

To the west of the later inn site and its close lay more crofts detached from their parent holdings in Lower Morden, amalgamated by 1536 to form an 8-acre close called Gyrmans (later Girmans or Garmans) [C1].⁵⁸ Another virgate holding known as Lotekyns [L], also in Lower Morden, had a detached croft known as Netherlotkyns [L1], and another 2-acre holding [E1] belonging to Edwards tenement [E] is also mentioned in the records.⁵⁹ It would appear that, like Bexwells and Wynteworthes, these tenements in Lower Morden each had detached crofts along the road west of the church. It will be suggested later that this was the location of the Domesday settlement, and that the Lower Morden settlement replaced it from the 12th century, as part of a reorganisation of the arable land in which the demesne lands were consolidated (see chapter 4 page 91#).

Netherlotkyns [L1] and Edwards croft [E1] probably lay to the west of Gyrmans in a close known in later centuries as Stonebridge Close.⁶⁰ (In the 17th century the bridge in the Epsom Road, crossing the East Pyl brook, is described as ‘the bridge [*pontus*] which is called in English Stone bridge’.⁶³ In early times the term ‘stone bridge’ referred to a causeway, and that could well be the meaning of references in 1480 to a stone bridge or Stonybreg at ‘Stony Lane’, though its location is not clear.⁶¹ There was also a stone bridge [*pons lapidens*] at ‘Waterdones Corner’, in the vicinity of the present Civic Centre, in 1380.⁶²) Having crossed the East Pyl by whatever means in 1312, we reach one of the areas of arable land occupied by tenants of the manor. (The 1838 tithe apportionment calls the 13-acre field at the corner of Epsom Road and Lower Morden Lane (plot 91) ‘Stonebridge and Old Mordens’ and the 7½-acre field adjoining to the north-west (plot 92) ‘New Mordens’, but in 1579 a close called ‘Stonebridge Close joining on a close called Girmans’ contained 4 acres, a ‘close called Ould Morden’ contained 16 acres and another ‘close called Old Morden Furzes’ contained 4 acres.⁶⁵ Does the name ‘Old Morden’ indicate that it was the remnant of the earliest open field, before the development of the Southfield on the opposite side of Lower Morden Lane (see chapter 5 page 102#)?)

We could continue along Epsom Road to the border with Cheam to cross the Pyl brook, where an earlier ford had been replaced by ‘Pylford[es] Brydge’ by 1553, when the earliest maps of our area were produced as part of a court case to settle a dispute between tenants of Morden and Cheam over pasture rights (see image on front cover# and chapter 5 pages 98–101#).⁶⁴ However, crossing Lower Morden Lane towards Pylford Bridge would take us out of Morden into Sutton along the edge of Sutton Common. The parish boundary lies a few metres north-west of the road, following the alignment of the old Roman road, but the old and new roads only converge at the bridge. The parish boundary forms the south-eastern edge of the Southfield, an open field of tenant land, comprising some 160 acres of arable divided into strips distributed among different furlongs of which some early 16th-century names are known.⁶⁶ These include Longfurlong, Shortfurlong, Strecchefurlong, Hunger Hyll (now known as Stonecot Hill) and Suttonarsshe. The latter is an example of the fieldname element *ersh*, which is thought to be evidence of occasional cultivation of the earliest Saxon period, on relatively light soil within an area of heavy clay.⁶⁷

The road continues through Cheam to Ewell, where Westminster Abbey had held 2 hides of land since the 10th century. By 1312 this land was administered as part of the manor of Morden, becoming known as Morden Fee.⁶⁸ There were four ‘free’ tenements in Morden Fee, one in the tenure of Sir Robert fitz Neel [Z], who was also lord of the sub-manor of Fitznells in Ewell, two in the tenure of Thomas de St Michael, soon to be lord of the neighbouring manor of Cuddington [Q1] [Q2], and one in the tenure of John Cuppyng or Kypping [K]. Their rents and obligations are fully detailed in the extent.

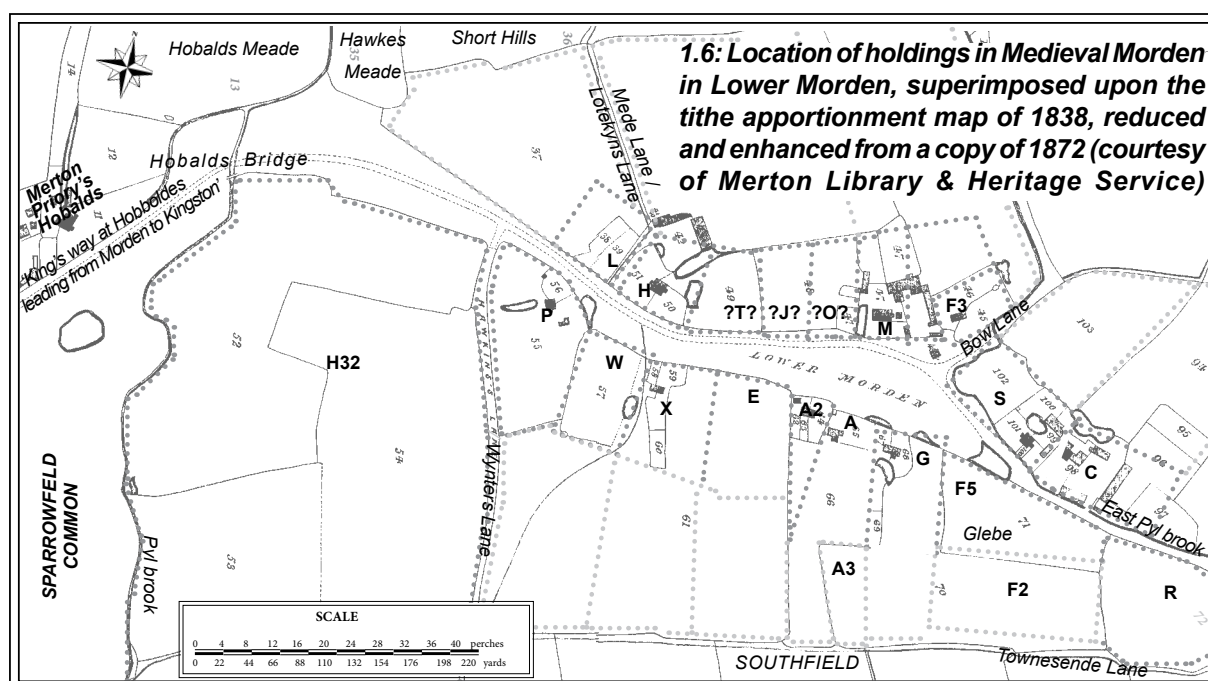
Thomas de St Michael also held a cottage and 2 acres land for which he paid a rent increment of 2d in 1312 [Q4]. A later marginal note explains 'He does not know but says that it is assized in Ewell'. This would be the messuage and 2 acres surrendered in 1297 by Thomas's predecessor William Snel to his brother John Snel at a rent increment of 2d per year.⁶⁹ It is possible that another cottage, owing ½d rent increment and held in 1312 by 'John Yuel', was also in Ewell [Q3]. Neither of these cottages can be traced in later records, but one is likely to be the 'messuage of Mordons fee, which John le Herner atte Welle holds, near to Cakeswell', mentioned in a Ewell survey of 1408, and the other perhaps that purchased in 1403 by Robert and Alice atte Nassh.⁷⁰

Lower Morden

Instead of entering Sutton Common to cross the Pyl brook, we will turn right to follow the north-eastern edge of the Southfield along what is now Lower Morden Lane towards the main settlement in Morden, called in the 14th century West Morden. The settlement was grouped around a green – in fact the tenements north of the road and east of Bow Lane seem to have been built on the green itself. Some of the tenements recorded in 1312 were amalgamated in the mid-15th century, and their houses became redundant. But most of the sites continued in occupation into the 19th century and beyond, and in chapter 13 we will look at the evidence that helps us to identify them. Here we will merely point out each tenement and name the likely tenant in 1312.

The easternmost tenement on the south side of the road [R], at the junction with the back lane called Townesende Lane in the late 15th and early 16th centuries,⁷¹ belongs to a half-virgate in the tenure of Henry Attechurch. He is probably the Henry Attecherche who held another tenement in 1312 and inherited a third in 1327.⁷² Henry retained this tenement until his death in 1342, but by 1392 it was known as Rykedens, sometimes shortened to Rydons.⁷³ Rydons/Rydens Lane, mentioned in 1482, is probably another name for Townesende Lane, which met Lower Morden Lane approximately where the footpath to Cardinal Avenue and Cardinal Close now starts.⁷⁴

To the west of Rykedens was a plot of glebe meadow [F5] which probably included some land that had been granted to the last medieval rector of Morden between 1273 and 1301 by Isabel de Poybele (see chapter 8 page 146#).⁷⁵ It is likely that Isabel's family had held two tenements here, and had disposed of a redundant house-plot and croft, the former to the church, the latter to John Snoter, who in 1297 surrendered 'a messuage and 1½ acres land' to Peter Schutte, who in turn surrendered it to John le Heyter in 1304, for which he was recorded as paying 7d as rent increment in 1312 [F2].⁷⁶ The arable lands belonging to the two tenements were probably those divided in 1312 between Henry Gulden [G], who paid 2 shillings rent, and Robert Fabian



and Walter Attewode [F], who jointly paid a further 2 shillings. Gulden's share included the surviving house-plot, though he also held an additional curtilage, at 1d rent increment [A3], probably obtained from a neighbouring tenement, while Attewode paid a 1½d rent increment for '1 tenement, 1 cottage and ½ acre of land' [A2], probably also obtained from his neighbour. Robert Fabian, who was the *serviens* or estate manager, may have held a cottage on the opposite side of the road, to the west of Bow Lane [F3], as did some of his successors (see below).⁷⁷

The neighbouring tenement [A] was the virgate held in 1312 by Adam Est, who seems to have been also known as Adam Ingulf. He had leased his tenement to Walter Attewode for four years from 1297, though Walter had been admitted to part of his cottage plot as early as 1292/93, paying ½d rent increment.⁷⁸ Adam's son seems to have been known as both John Ingulf and John Adam, and the tenement was thereafter called Adams.⁷⁹ A Thomas Ingulf had held a virgate holding here c.1225.⁸⁰

Continuing westward we come to Agnes Edward's virgate tenement [E]. Robert Edward had held a virgate here c.1225 and it remained in the family until 1465 (see table 13.3 on page 284#).⁸¹ An Agnes Edward also paid a rent increment of 4d for 4 acres of land in 1312 [E2], possibly a plot set aside from the family holding to provide support for a widowed mother-in-law. It is possible that another property held by rent increment in 1312 might also have originated in the Edward family holding. Ralph Brounynges's cottage [E3], for which he paid 2d increment, later came into the tenure of Randolph Edward, according to a marginal entry. Ralph might have been related to John Brounynges who, the extent records, 'shall give during his lifetime at view of frankpledge each year 1 ploughfoot worth 2½d'. This was presumably as chevage, a manorial payment for licence to live outside the manor. As John paid a ploughfoot it is likely that he was a blacksmith, and it is possible that Ralph was also a blacksmith, perhaps obtaining his cottage after marrying into the Edward family. In 1419 John Edward surrendered Brounynges's cottage, and it then passed through several hands. By 1486 it was said to be 'ruinous' and the following year it was taken into the lord's hand. The last extant record of it is in a manorial account roll of 1494, when it was still said to be 'in hand'.⁸²

Next door was Thomas Attecherche's half-virgate that we have already considered under the name of Bexwells [X]. Thomas also paid 2d as rent increment for a messuage and curtilage [X2], which might have originated within the family holding as a home for a parent or an adult child.

Beyond that was the freehold property [W] held by the former rector of Morden, Gerard de Staundon, who had resigned in 1301 to enable the abbey to appropriate the tithes and appoint a vicar in his stead (see above page 11#). The extent does not give the size of Staundon's holding, but he paid the large sum of 7 shillings in rent to the abbey, equivalent to that paid for 3½ virgates or 70 acres of customary land, and there is evidence that his holding had indeed been around 70 acres originally (see chapter 10 page 219#).⁸³ Later records mention 50 and 60 acres, indicating that portions had been sold over the years.⁸⁴ It is likely that the adjoining freehold property had been created out of this one before 1312.

The latter was probably the freehold property for which John le Hayter paid 6d in 1312, another property that had formerly been held by John Snoter, and which was known as Plommers or Plummershawe [P] from the late 15th century. With some 4 or 5 acres of arable and meadow in the open fields, it probably occupied the western corner of Staundon's tenement, at the junction with the lane leading to the back lane and the Southfield. In the 19th century this was known as Hawkins's Lane, but in the 15th and 16th centuries as Wenteworthys Lane, Wentworth Lane or Wynters Lane, after a successor to Staundon, William Wynteworthe.⁸⁵

There is some uncertainty over the site of a toft – a former building plot – in this area. In 1512 Andrewes toft [H33] is described as 'lying on the east of a close called Wentworthes and at the north end of Plummers'.⁸⁶ However, later evidence suggests it was on the northern side of Lower Morden Lane opposite Edwards and Adams (see chapter 13 page 289#). We will return to Andrewes toft in a moment.

Immediately opposite Staundon's tenement was a virgate tenement known by 1384 as Lotekynes [L].⁸⁷ A marginal annotation to the extent identifies 'Lodekinys' as a later tenant of the tenement

held in 1312 by Hawenild la Bosser, presumably widow or daughter of John le Bosere who had served as manorial beadle in 1294/95, 1295/96 and again in 1307/08.⁸⁸ 'Lotekyng Lane', mentioned in 1470, is probably another name for Mede Lane, which led past the tenement towards the Common Mead, where plots of meadowland were appurtenant to each of these tenements (see map 12.3 on page 276#).⁸⁹ Tenants similarly enjoyed appurtenant rights in the common pasture of Sparrowfeld (see below and chapter 5 page 101#).

To the east of Mede Lane was probably the virgate tenement held in 1312 by Henry Attehengg [H], more commonly known as ate Hegge and ultimately just Hegge (see table 11.4 on page 244#). It is no longer possible to identify the exact locations of the house-sites belonging to the ate Rithe half-virgate tenement [T], or Godesones [O] and Jocyces [J] virgate tenements, as Roger ate Hegge will add them to his family holding between 1417 and 1442. In 1312 Alice Attecherche is listed as holding the half-virgate [T], but this was probably in error for Alice Atterithe (see chapter 10 page 212#) as it was later held by the ate Rithe family. Johana la Godesone held Godesones virgate [O] in 1312 while c.1225 it had been held by John son of Gode.⁹⁰ Henry Attechurche of Rykedons also held Jocyces virgate [J] in 1312. (Both came into the abbey's hands following the death of their tenants during the Black Death in the summer of 1349, and had apparently been leased at farm ever since (see chapter 7).⁹¹ Unusually, the Hegges seem to have rationalised the scattered strips belonging to these four holdings, creating two compact units each of 30 acres, and another of 10 acres. The latter seems to have become the elusive Andrewes holding, also known as Hawkes [H33]. Following the death of Roger's son John in 1475, his widow retained one 30-acre holding adjoining the farmstead [H31], presumably based on the ancestral home.⁹² Another compact 30-acre block of land known as Westhawes [H32] first appears in records in 1495, and probably represents the remainder of the Hegges' holdings.⁹³ This probably occupied the land between Wynters Lane and the Pyl brook (see chapter 11 page 243#). The lost house-sites are likely to have adjoined Hegges tenement to the east, where orchards are depicted on 19th-century maps – Hawkes Pightle, another name for Andrewes toft, certainly seems to have been located here.⁹⁴ However, a site to the west of Wynters Lane, within Westhawes, is a possible alternative site for one or more of them.

In 1312 Matilda Attehegh, perhaps Henry Attehengg's mother or stepmother, paid ½d rent increment for a cottage which, a marginal entry on the extent explains, later came into the tenure of William Carpenter, and can be traced through later records until 1403 [H2].⁹⁵ It was in West Morden, and was probably within the family holding. Similarly, John Godesone, presumably a dependant of Johana la Godesone, paid 1d for a cottage [O2], probably set aside within the family holding, and Alice Atterithe was paying ½d as rent increment for a ½-acre of land [T2], again probably within the family holding. It is possible that this was the property to be surrendered by Ralph atte Rithe to the use of his daughter and her husband in May 1389, described as 'one cottage with curtilage adjoining, parcel of his tenement which he holds of the lord by roll of court, namely on the east of his tenement aforesaid as enclosed with hedge and ditch'.⁹⁶ The description 'enclosed with hedge and ditch' was not often mentioned, but all the messuage plots would have been surrounded by ditches accompanied by banks with hedges on top, with a gate as the only access. Excavations in various parts of the country give the impression that 'walking down the main village street it would have been difficult to see into the individual tofts, for most of the banks, walls or hedges would have been at head height'.⁹⁷ However, the entrances to the tenements in Lower Morden are unlikely to have been as substantial as that belonging to a Morden Fee tenement in Ewell described in the reign of Henry VII as a 'gate with a chamber on each side of the aforesaid gate'.⁹⁸

Beyond the later orchard sites was the house-plot of William Attechirche's 30-acre tenement, (later called Makernays [M], but in the 19th century Lower Morden Farm and now Hatfeild School). It had probably been formed by the early amalgamation of a virgate and a ½-virgate tenement. Between 1353 and 1358 Makernays house-plot was described as a 5-acre toft, or empty building-plot, its late tenant having occupied another tenement nearby.⁹⁹ Part of this toft might have been occupied as a separate property in later years. We have already observed that a cottage adjoining Bow Lane is likely to have been that occupied by various estate managers employed by the abbey as *serviens* [F3]. (This cottage will come into the possession of the Lightfoot family before 1439,

probably as part of an inheritance from John Wylot's family.¹⁰⁰ In 1393 a plot located 'between the tenement called Makerneys and the tenement of John Wylot' was occupied as the messuage [F4] for the '18 acres land with pertinents formerly Walter atte Wode', as atte Wode's former house-plot [A2] on the opposite side of the road had been reunited with Adams tenement [A].¹⁰¹ It is tempting to see this new site as part of the former toft belonging to Makerneys.)

Bow or Bowe Lane was the main thoroughfare between Lower Morden and the settlement in Merton around St Mary's church. The lane followed its present path from Lower Morden Lane, but continued roughly on the line of modern Camborne Road to the boundary with Merton parish and then followed Cannon Hill Lane as far as the Kingston Road. Its name, recorded from 1469, probably reflects the fact that it changes direction, heading north-north-east from Lower Morden Lane, then north-north-west to the Merton boundary, before turning north-north-east again to reach the Kingston Road.¹⁰² Its route through Morden took it to the west of a 50-acre block of tenant arable land called Bowhyll, presumably from the name of the lane.¹⁰³

To the east of Bow Lane was John Hubert's tenement (on the Old Library site). John 'Huberd' served as manorial beadle from 1308 to 1323, then as reeve from 1323 to 1341, and as granger for 1341/42, dying in the plague year, 1349.¹⁰⁴ A Hubert had held a virgate holding here c.1225.¹⁰⁵ In the 15th century it came into the possession of Richard Swan, and was thereafter known as Swans [S].

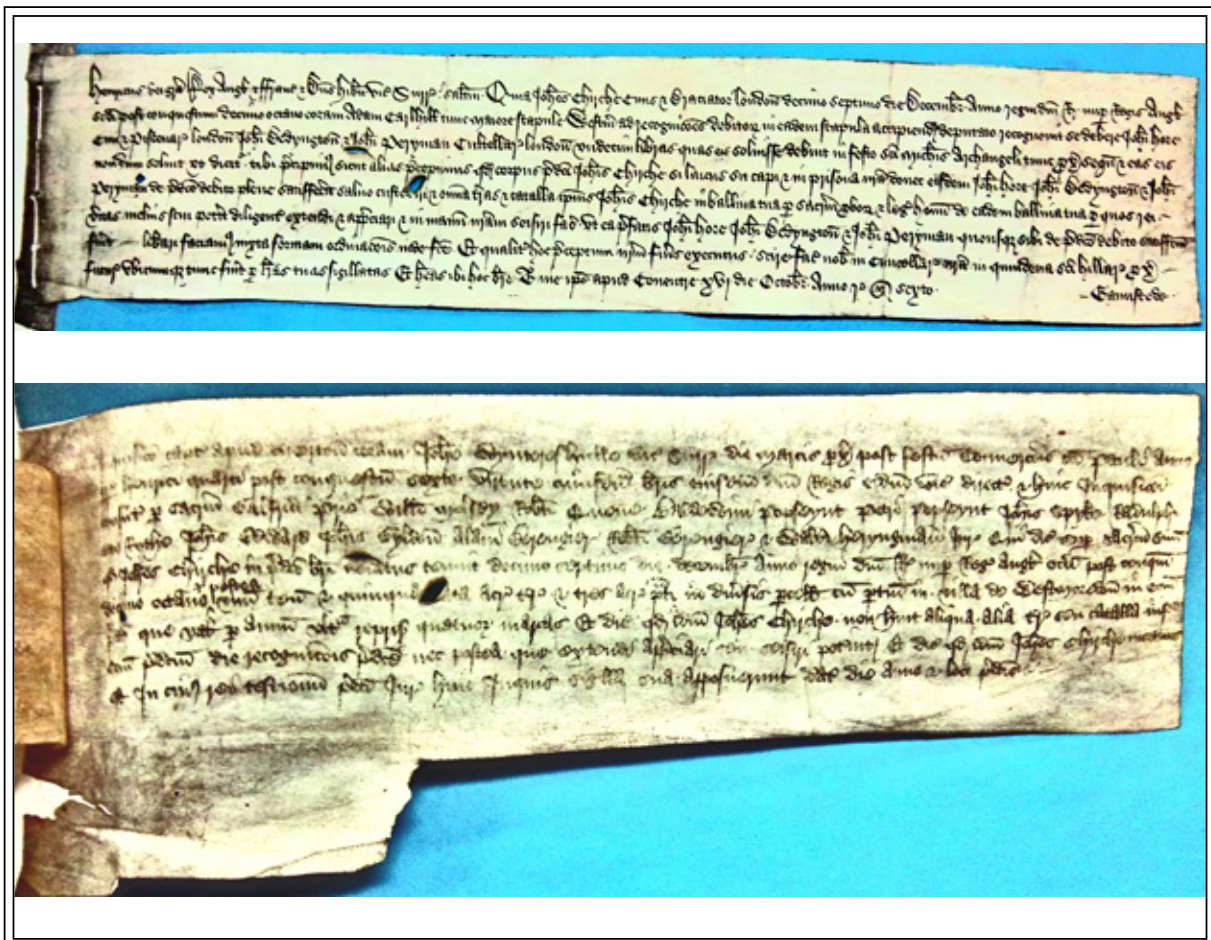
The final tenement on the north side of the road (where the 19th-century Peacock Farm house still stands within a garden centre) was occupied by Roger Attecherche or ate Cherche in 1312. It was probably through a later marriage of his widow, Isabel Coxze, that the property acquired the name Cokecyes [C]. As we have seen, their son, Henry Attecherche, already held two tenements in West Morden in 1312, before inheriting this property from his mother, so it was necessary to distinguish his holdings by other names. Roger Attecherche had also paid 1d rent increment for a cottage in 1312, but this can be traced in later records and lay in Central Road [17].

It is no longer possible to follow the back lane, Townesende Lane, which divided the house-plots and their crofts from the higher land of the open arable field, the Southfield. Nor can we walk along Wynters Lane, which once crossed the back lane near the junction of modern-day Kingsbridge Road and Seymour Avenue. Both were lost during 20th-century development. Wynters Lane left Lower Morden Lane in the vicinity of the present Beverley roundabout, and ran south into the Southfield. Between Wynters Lane and the Pyl brook was a 30-acre block of land, parts of which retained the West Haws name into the 18th century.¹⁰⁶ The back lane crossed Westhawes towards a wooden bridge across the Pyl brook which gave access to Morden Common, part of a large area of common grazing known as Sparrowfeld (see chapter 5#).¹⁰⁷ The brook is still crossed at this point, by a footpath between Garth Close and Lynmouth Avenue.

The main bridge over the Pyl brook, to the west of Westhawes, was called Hobbolls Brydye in 1524, after a nearby property held by Merton Priory since the 1230s – the name is first encountered in 1481, when the prior of Merton was presented for enclosing 'a certain meadow called Hoboldes Mede with ditches and hedges'.¹⁰⁸ The priory's estate here included a block of 100 acres of arable and meadow in Morden, a 30-acre block of arable in Merton and a similar 30-acre block of arable in Malden, though it lay on the east of the Beverley brook, which elsewhere forms the eastern boundary of Malden parish. Various interpretations of the origins of these properties are considered in chapter 5 (see page 103#). The 'king's way at Hobbolles leading from Morden to Kingston', mentioned in 1515, is now Green Lane, a bridle way to Worcester Park, between two cemeteries, that on the north having replaced Hobalds Farm in the 1890s, that on the south occupying part of the former common of Sparrowfeld.¹⁰⁹

We complete our stroll through medieval Morden by following what was described in a map of 1553 as 'the procession waye of Murdon' – referring to the route taken by parishioners when 'beating the bounds'.¹¹⁰ What was usually a very muddy footpath (now replaced by a cycle track) branches south from Green Lane along the parish boundary towards Pylford Bridge and the Epsom Road – a boundary regularly disputed with the inhabitants of Cheam over many centuries.¹¹¹

NOTES AND REFERENCES



14.1: TNA C 131/53/4 mm.1-2: Chancery writ to the sheriff of Surrey to undertake a valuation or extent of the Surrey properties of John Chirche, and the extent returned 27 January 1405 (reproduced courtesy of The National Archives)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abbrev Plac</i>	<i>Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservatorum Abbreviatio</i> I (1811)
AgHR	<i>The Agricultural History Review</i>
BL	The British Library
Bod	Bodleian Library Oxford MS Top Surrey d.4 R (an account roll)
<i>Bracton</i>	F W Maitland (ed) <i>Bracton's Note Book</i> II (1887)
<i>Cal IPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> (accessed via British History Online)
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i> (accessed from LDS Family Search website)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> (accessed from University of Iowa and LDS Family Search websites)
CRO	Cornwall Record Office
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i>
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (1885–1900)
DW/PA	Wills proved at the Archdeaconry Court of Surrey, now at LMA
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>The Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
ERO	Essex Record Office
<i>Feudal Aids</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids 1284–1431</i>
FF	Feet of fines
<i>Fines</i>	C A F Meekings (ed) <i>Abstracts of Surrey Feet of Fines 1509–1558</i> (SyRS XIX, 1946)
<i>L&P</i>	<i>Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII</i>
LAMAS	<i>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Liber Feodorum</i>	<i>Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill</i> I: 1198–1242 (1920); II: AD 1242–1292 (1923)
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
Merton Cart	BL Cotton MS Cleopatra C. vii (a cartulary of Merton Priory)
MHS	Merton Historical Society
Minet 359	Lambeth Archives: Minet Library 359 [273], transcript by W J Hobby FLA, Librarian and Clerk, Minet Public Library, Knatchbull Road, London, SE5, in a letter sent to John Pile in the 1950s. I am grateful to John for giving me a copy. The original document was not available for consultation when I visited.
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past & Present</i>
<i>Ped Fin</i>	F B Lewis (ed) <i>Pedes Finium or Fines Relating to the County of Surrey</i> (1894)
SAL	Society of Antiquaries London MS 555
SHC	Surrey History Centre
SLSAC	Sutton Local Studies & Archives Centre
<i>Surrey Wills</i>	<i>Surrey Wills</i> I–III (SyRS IV, 1915–20), also reproduced in Webb (2013)
<i>SxAC</i>	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
<i>SyAC</i>	<i>Surrey Archaeological Collections</i>
SyRS	Surrey Record Society
<i>TEJ</i>	<i>The Economic Journal</i>
TNA	The National Archives
TRE	‘The time of Edward the Confessor’, an abbreviation used in <i>Domesday Book</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments
WD	WAM Book 11: The Westminster Domesday – a cartulary
WSFHS	West Surrey Family History Society
:	a colon is used to separate manuscript sources: published transcripts: and brief descriptions

NOTE ON WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Imperial measures are used in the original documents, and have been retained throughout this study:

1 acre (a) = 4 roods (r) = 160 [square] perches (p) = 4840 square yards = 0.4047 hectares

1 perch = 16.5 feet (ft) = 5.03 metres

1 pound (£) = 20 shillings (s) = 240 pence (d)

1 quarter = 8 bushels = 32 pecks = 291 litres

The Julian Calendar was used in England until 1752, the year beginning on 25 March. Dates between January and March are here shown as eg 1325/6.

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- 2 Hopkins (2020#) p.109
- 3 Hopkins (2020#) p.95
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- 5 Hopkins (2020#) p.97
- 6 WAM 27339; WAM 19854–7; SHC K85/2/9, 2/21, 2/22, 3/19, 3/23; Hopkins (2020#) pp.135–148
- 7 Hopkins (2020#) pp.111–133
- 8 Hopkins (2020#) pp.13–17
- 9 Hopkins (2020#) pp.8–9 citing WD 169b–170 and Merton Cart f.cxj. v
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- 12 Hopkins (2020#) pp.8–9 citing WD 169b–170 and Merton Cart f.cxj. v
- 13 WAM 9287; BL Add Charter 8139
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- 23 Eg Hopkins (1998) plots 239–262
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- 26 CUL Kk 5.29 40v–41r
- 27 BL Add Roll 56038 1v–10r, 14r, 56039 1r–3r, 7r, 7v
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- 40 WD 4b–5b, transcribed in Holtzmann (1930) p.326
- 41 WD 336
- 42 WAM 1846, WD 336 – undated letter from Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester 1205–38. The witnesses include Master Nicholas de Farnham, who became bishop of Durham in 1241, having studied in Paris and Bologna from 1229. Other witnesses also witnessed Abbey charters in the first two decades of the 13th century (WD 629, 170–170b).
- 43 SAL 5
- 44 WAM 27334, 27338
- 45 Livermore & Rudd (1983) p.4
- 46 WAM 1863, WD 171b; WAM 1854, WD 172; WD 171–171b; Pontissara pp.117–8; WD 172b; WD 173; WAM 1916*, WD 173
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- 48 BL Add Roll 56041 4v, 56042 3v
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1: A STROLL THROUGH MEDIEVAL MORDEN

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- 54 BL Add Roll 56045 2r
- 55 WAM 27387, 27389
- 56 CUL Kk 5.29 43r
- 57 BL Add Roll 56043 12r; 56045 1r; 56045 2v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 7r
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- 61 Dr John Blair of The Queen's College Oxford to a meeting of Surrey Archaeological Society Medieval Forum 2009; BL Add Roll 56043 4r, 2r
- 62 BL Add Roll 56038 3v, 4r
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- 85 BL Add Roll 56043 11r; 56044 1r; 56045 6r; 56046 2v
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- 87 BL Add Roll 56038 7r
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- 95 BL Add Roll 56038 1r, 2r, 5v, 6v, 7r, 9r, 11r, 13r; 56039 2r, 5r, 7r, 9r, 12r; 56040 3r, 4v
- 96 BL Add Roll 56039 3r
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- 100 BL Add Roll 56042 9r
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- 108 BL Add Roll 56045 6r, 56043 2r
- 109 BL Add Roll 56045 3r
- 110 TNA MPB 1/25/2
- 111 Hopkins (2020#) p.175