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Pyrford, Pyrford Place, and Queen Elizabeth's Summerhouse

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Members of the John Donne Society convened in May 2000 for a conference—"Donne Returns to Loseley"—at Loseley Park, Surrey, the birthplace of Donne's wife Anne More. The concluding event of the conference was a walking tour of sites at Pyrford, where the couple lived the first years of their marriage: from the Norman church of St. Nicholas, Pyrford, down to the ruins of Newark Priory, and then along the Wey Navigation to Pyrford Place, owned in the early seventeenth century by Anne More's cousin Sir Francis Wolley.

Pyrford is a small Surrey parish, east of Woking, and about twenty-five miles southwest of London. The name Pyrford means "ford marked by a pear tree" evidently at the location of "an ancient passage over the Wey."[1] It is not clear where this ancient passage was. If the ford crossed the present River Wey, it was at an unlikely distance from the church, the early focus of settlement. "Pyrefordbrug" was mentioned in the time of Edward III, and land south of the church is called "The Prae," evidently a Middle English locution derived through French from the Latin "pratum"—a meadow—although in Surrey the word was defined as meaning a plank bridge.[2] The road south of the church leading to the neighboring town of Ripley crosses a stream called the Bourne, one of seven watercourses in this area. The parish boundary follows the Bourne where it leaves the River Wey until they join again about 600 yards downstream after the Bourne's long and elaborate meander. The Bourne is apparently an early course of the Wey, shortened either naturally or artificially even before the Navigation canal of the 1650s improved the natural river for traffic.[3] It seems

likely that the ford was across the Bourne stream below the church and that a bridge was built at some date.

The earliest reference to Pyrford is in a charter of 956 in which the Saxon King Eadwig granted land, showing that Pyrford had been part of a royal estate in Godley Hundred, an area for the most part owned by Chertsey Abbey. In *Domesday Book* Pyrford was the only place in Godley Hundred not owned by the Abbey.[4] The church at Pyrford had been a chapelry of Woking, and it is very likely that Pyrford had been served by the minster church of Woking, a royal manor and center of the early Saxon region of "the people of Wocc."[5] Shortly after the Norman Conquest, Pyrford was granted to Westminster Abbey by William I. The advowson of Pyrford was given to Newark Priory in 1258; the community at Newark had probably originated in some way from the clergy of the Saxon minster church.[6] Westminster Abbey held Pyrford until the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The Westminster abbots regularly visited their estates, which produced food and rents for them. Pyrford was assigned to the abbot himself and was a favorite residence, not far from London.[7]

Just north of the present Pyrford Place is a double-moated site that was probably created by the abbots of Westminster. A local author notes that they "had a lodging . . . at Sythwood in Horsell, from which their stewards administered the estate."[8] This may well have been so, but the abbots would have stayed at Pyrford.[9] Double moats are unusual, and it may be significant that the aristocratic manor at Woking just upstream also had a double moat: the abbots of Westminster were important men. Pyrford was a convenient distance from London for abbots to ride within a day. If they missed clerical company, Newark Priory was just along the river. It is also possible that the abbots traveled from Westminster by boat. It may not be coincidental that Byfleet Manor, Pyrford Place, Ockham Court, Woking Palace, and Sutton Place, all great houses not far from each other, were all on the river. There was a wharf at Woking in the reign of Henry VIII, and although there was a need by mid-seventeenth century to improve the river for commercial traffic, it is very unlikely that it was not used at all before this.[10]

Most moated sites were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and seem to have been mainly for show or status, although in a low-lying area such as Pyrford Place the moat may have been very useful for drainage. If that were the reason for the moat, however, one wonders why the house was not built on higher ground near the church. The abbots were wealthy enough to have built a stone house, though there is no good building stone nearby. St. Nicholas church is built of "pudding stone"—a poor quality conglomerate—but nothing is known about the medieval house on the moated site and the moat is not mentioned in any literature on Pyrford. We do know that, even if the moat is post-medieval, there was certainly a large medieval house somewhere in the vicinity; on 18 October 1363 the Abbot was given license to celebrate mass in the chapel of the manor of Pyrford.[11]

At the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the community at Westminster Abbey was dissolved and Pyrford was granted to Sir Anthony Browne, who acquired a great deal of land locally. *VCH Surrey* is slightly confusing about the ownership of Pyrford in subsequent years, but it seems that the land was granted to John and Joyce Carleton in 1548; to George Revel in 1561; and to Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, in 1574. The manor was granted to Henry Weston and then to John Wolley in 1589, and Wolley later held all the land in Pyrford. He had been renting it from the Earl of Lincoln since at least 1576. Knighted in 1592, Sir John Wolley died in 1596, leaving the manor to his widow Elizabeth, who held it in dower during her lifetime. She was living there when she married Lord Keeper Sir Thomas Egerton only a few months before Donne was appointed to his secretariat. After her death in 1600, Pyrford Place passed to her son Francis Wolley. When he died in 1609, his cousin Sir Arthur Mainwaring inherited it, but sold it in 1628 to Sir Robert Parkhurst, a Guildford man who made his money in London. It remained with four generations of Parkhursts, all named Robert, until the fourth one sold it to Denzil Onslow in 1677. His great-nephew Lord Onslow inherited Pyrford Place and it remained in his family for over 200 years.[12]

An original moated house would have been old-fashioned by the sixteenth century, however splendid it was in the Middle Ages, and the

abbots' house may have been too old or otherwise unsuitable for new owners. The later sixteenth century was a great time for building new houses. Camden, first writing in 1586, mentioned "Piriford, where in our remembrance Edward Earle of Lincoln, Lord Clinton and Admirall of England built him an house."[13] John Aubrey, writing in 1673, says that it "was anciently the Seat of the Earls of Lincoln; but the House (as now) was built, for the most Part, by Sir *John Wolley*.... Here is a Walk of Elms and Birches a quarter of a Mile long, which leads to the noble Gate-House, on which is I. W. [*John Wolley*]."[14] From these references it appears that the Earl of Lincoln built a new house but that John Wolley added to it. According to John Evelyn, "the house is timber, but commodious, with one ample dining-room, the hall adorned with paintings of fowl and huntings, &c...."[15] The house must therefore have been timber-framed but spacious enough for late seventeenth-century tastes, suggesting that it was quite large by sixteenth-century standards. The timber framework could have been filled with wattle-and-daub, but it is more likely to have been brick in a house of this status. Nearby Sutton Place had been built entirely of brick in the 1520s but does not seem to have been copied locally in the sixteenth century. Loseley House, built near Guildford in the 1560s, was of stone from the convenient ruins of Waverley Abbey and Guildford Friary, though bricks were also used.[16]

These references to the house at Pyrford are somewhat conflicting. Camden was contemporary with the events he mentions, but he sounds slightly vague. And although Evelyn was writing about a hundred years later he sounds as if he had first-hand knowledge of the house. It is possible that the Earl of Lincoln lived in the abbots' house and that Wolley built a new house; but the Earl is unlikely to have wanted a medieval house. In any case, we know nearly nothing about the abbots' house. Possibly it was rebuilt in the later Middle Ages and was suitable for adaptation by an Earl. The new house was presumably on a new site inasmuch as the name Pyrford Place has become attached to a series of houses situated south of the moat. A booklet by a local writer says, "Pyrford Place as built by the Earl of Lincoln was in the form of a square with an inner courtyard reached by a gateway. Most of that house was

pulled down in 1740 but the front side largely remained in the house, recently demolished, in which the hall was formed from the old gateway—a stone plaque with the initials JW over the front door came from the courtyard."[17]

An early seventeenth-century map of Pyrford is in the Cambridge University Library (see details of this map in Figures 1 and 2).[18] This map was purchased in 1980 from a dealer who had no information about when or why it was drawn. Cambridge University paleographers have dated the map ca. 1630-40,[19] although Surrey History Centre archivists have dated it ca. 1620 because Hoe Bridge Place, built after the sale of Woking Palace in 1620, does not appear on the map. The map was certainly drawn before the Navigation canal was made in 1651-53. Its date must remain uncertain because several features known to have existed, such as the road from Pyrford to nearby Ripley, are not shown. Without knowing for whom the map was made, it is difficult to assess its information. It centers on Pyrford but includes land in Wisley, suggesting it could have been made for a landowner with interests in both places. From 1594 Sir John Wolley held not only Pyrford Place but also the manor of Wisley.[20] Possible occasions for the drawing of the map would include 1609, when Sir Arthur Mainwaring inherited from his cousin Francis Wolley; or 1628, when Sir Robert Parkhurst purchased Pyrford Place.[21] Either of these men as new owners may have required a map of their possessions. The map seems to be too late for Sir John Wolley, who died in 1596, or his son Sir Francis, who died in 1609. In any case, estate maps were still a fairly new idea, and served not only as a clear picture of an estate (as opposed to a written survey) but also demonstrated the landowner's power and status.

The Cambridge map shows two buildings at Pyrford Place, each with two gables and a central doorway, but we cannot assume these are accurate drawings. One likely interpretation of the drawings is that the upper building is the gatehouse and the lower is the main house with its garden. Walton's *Life of Donne* suggests that Anne More Donne's cousin Francis Wolley gave the newly wed Donnes a separate house from his own, although this seems uncertain. A medieval house might

consist of several buildings, but a late sixteenth-century one probably would not. Most likely the medieval house would have been pulled down when the sixteenth-century house was built (although Sir William More at Loseley apparently left an older house standing for some time behind his new construction of Loseley Park in the 1560s). On the north side of the house on the Cambridge map is a rectangular area divided into four plots—a typical garden arrangement for the period. The space above (to the west) is labelled "Cort," and there is a boundary around the whole area, probably a wall. On the north is an offset that might have been the gateway marked "I. W.," mentioned by Aubrey, with an outer court beyond it. The avenue of trees is marked, leading to a lane south of what is now Lock Lane.

The Cambridge map is accurately drawn—bends in roads and rivers can still be recognized, although buildings may not be drawn so faithfully, perhaps because for the purpose of the map they did not matter. The precise outlines of fields seem to have mattered most, and their areas are noted; but buildings seem to be indicated generally, not in accurate pictures. There are three buildings on the map that survive today, and none of these is accurately drawn: Newark Priory, Pyrford Church, and Wisley Church. The garden wall, or at least a boundary, is clearly marked on the Cambridge map, with "Locke Mede" between it and the river. The garden is shown as two quadrangular areas that survive today as fields, now partly built on. On the map both have a regular arrangement of trees and one is marked "orchard." This would be typical of the period, when gardens combined fruit trees with all types of flowers and other plants. What the map does not appear to show is a brick summerhouse that is the oldest surviving building at Pyrford Place.

This building is known as "Queen Elizabeth's summerhouse" (Figure #3). There is no documentary evidence connecting the Queen to the summerhouse, but she is known to have visited Pyrford Place when John Wolley lived there. A local author says that the present summerhouse is a replacement for an Elizabethan one, but gives no evidence.[22] Until recently there was old paneling on the upstairs walls, and there are a few remains of a painting on the ceiling (Figures #4 and

#5); so little survives, however, that it is difficult to date these. The summerhouse is a building of two floors, about eighteen feet square, with a tiled ogee roof. Nineteenth-century photographs show a vase-shaped finial at the apex of the roof (Figure #6). A door in the north wall gives access to the upper floor from a raised terrace inside a brick garden wall that runs along the edge of the Navigation; another door in the west wall gives access from the lower, garden level. This is presumably the original arrangement, but there has been some alteration to it over the years, mostly in the twentieth century.[23] The timbers of the roof project beyond the walls, giving the roof a heavy overhang. The woodwork of the eaves is decorated with carved squares and rectangles (Figure #7). The way the bricks are cut around the projecting beams might suggest that the roof is an addition, but it could be more evidence of hasty or unskilled brick laying.

The Wey Navigation runs just outside the garden wall (Figure #8). This canal is very close to the old river (shown on the Cambridge map beyond "Locke Mede"), but it is higher and branches away a short distance downstream, beginning its lengthiest canalized stretch. Perhaps the Parkhursts, who owned Pyrford Place in the 1650s, refused to give up any of their garden for the navigation; or perhaps it was not necessary to dig the canal farther west. Inside the brick garden wall is the raised terrace of earth, a typical feature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gardens (Figure #9). Examination of the wall shows that an earlier wall has been reinforced on the outside with another wall (Figure #10), presumably to counteract pressure from the raised walk which would have been made worse by the presence of the new canal. The terrace now ends at the summerhouse and may always have done so.

If the Cambridge map shows the garden as it was when the summerhouse existed, it may well show the terrace. The boundary encloses a sandy-colored area, possibly a path (Figure 2); it surrounds the two orchard enclosures and leads to the area of the house from both sides. Within it is a double line surrounding each orchard, possibly representing a wall, or a wall and a terrace. In relation to other recognizable features, the summerhouse (if it existed when the map was

drawn) would have been nearly halfway along the north orchard wall. On the map it would be extremely small, and its absence does not necessarily mean that it did not exist. As we have seen, natural features, roads, and fields are carefully shown by the map maker; but buildings apparently are not. This may be because the landowner needed to know what his land looked like, but did not need the precise details of his buildings. It is unlikely that the summerhouse and the terrace would have been built so near the water after the Navigation was dug. The terrace has pushed the wall outwards, and this condition obviously has been worsened by the canal.

The earliest reference to the summerhouse is on the 1782 Wey Navigation map, where it is marked "Banquett House," as these garden buildings were often called. A map of the Navigation made in 1823 does not show the summerhouse; but a tithe map of 1843 does show it, at the corner of a field marked "homestead," divided off from the former orchards.[24] These two orchards, shown on the Cambridge map, may already have been grubbed up when Lord Onslow pulled down the sixteenth-century main house after 1776; but the summerhouse probably remained because it was on the terrace and at the edge of the property, on a boundary which could not be altered without great difficulty because of the Navigation.

The general style of the summerhouse is of the period around 1600: either late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century.[25] Pavilions with a similar roof were built at Montacute in 1601, and garden buildings of the same general type were built during much of the sixteenth century. They were usually called banqueting houses, a banquet being the final course of a meal, where sweetmeats, fruit, and nuts were eaten and wine drunk in an informal setting in a separate building. This could be on the roof of the house, as at Lacock Abbey (ca. 1550), or more usually in the gardens. Raised areas for overlooking gardens, called viewing mounts, were popular from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.[26] Henry VIII had a banqueting house on a mount at Hampton Court and a larger one at Nonesuch Palace.[27] Elizabeth I had a banqueting house on a terrace at Windsor Castle in the

1570s,[28] although the Earl of Leicester is said to have been the first to construct a terrace for viewing a garden, at Kenilworth in 1575.[29]

Many of the banqueting houses that survive are more elaborate than that at Pyrford Place, perhaps because most of them are of stone. They were often octagonal, as was the one at Windsor. The banqueting house at Melford Hall, Suffolk, of the mid-sixteenth century, is octagonal; a pair of banqueting houses at Hardwick Hall are diamond-shaped. Sir Christopher Hatton had a very elaborate one at Holdenby Hall, Northamptonshire, with new ideas in planning that support Paula Henderson's idea that Tudor "garden architecture was innovative and experimental,"[30] perhaps because it was easy to experiment on a small scale and with a building of somewhat ephemeral purpose, although the garden was a very important part of an Elizabethan or Jacobean house.

Surviving banqueting houses with ogee roofs date from the early seventeenth century, such as one at Montacute, Somerset (1601), and one at Chelsea, known only from a drawing of 1609, though there is a mid-sixteenth-century garden building with an ogee roof at Les Baux, Provence.[31] At Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, a banqueting house with ogee roof and a gatehouse survive from the mansion built in 1613. A sixteenth-century brick banqueting house survives at Hales Place, Tenterden, Kent, with castellations and other embellishments in brick. The house at Hales Place was timber-framed, like Pyrford Place. There is a brick summerhouse at Sutton Place, near Guildford, which is presumably sixteenth-century; and there was another in Guildford, very like the Pyrford Place summerhouse. It is known only from a photograph taken before it was demolished in 1928, when it stood in a nursery garden and had been added to. However, when it was built it was in a private pleasure garden, one of several established on land just outside the north and south borough boundaries from at least the sixteenth century, presumably by wealthy townspeople who wanted extra space. The map of Guildford of 1739 shows this building in an area marked "Mr. Martyr's Garden." A sketch of the 1840s shows a very elaborate fountain here also, but the details are not clear enough to date it.[32] This building has slightly more elaborate brickwork than the

Pyrford Place summerhouse. It is also on two floors. A very similar summerhouse at Abbot's Hospital in Guildford has one floor only, with a large entrance facing the garden, perhaps more suitable for old people to sit in on a sunny day than for indulging in eating and drinking, for which a more substantial building would be needed.

Thus there are no architectural reasons why the summerhouse at Pyrford Place should not be sixteenth-century. The mouldings on the woodwork are of late sixteenth-/early seventeenth-century style.[33] The brickwork is puzzling because it has no discernible bond (the pattern in which short and long sides are laid). This is unusual for a post-medieval brick building, but not unknown. Perhaps if it had been built in a hurry for a visit by the Queen there was no time for using a particular bond. There is a string course around part of the building above the door, and a plinth near ground level. The summerhouse at Abbot's Hospital in Guildford also has mouldings on the woodwork of the eaves, which are very similar to the mouldings at Pyrford and to the mouldings on the main gate of the hospital, which was built between 1619 and 1622. The mouldings occur on the wood of the gate and on the stonework. The account book of the Hospital has entries for work on "the new summerhouse" in 1681-82, which include "5000 & ½ of Brick."[34] The fact that the summerhouse was referred to as new could be interpreted as meaning that there was already an existing summerhouse, which is the surviving one, and that the summerhouse built in 1681-82 has disappeared, although this is not entirely convincing. The existing summerhouse is built against the garden wall on the east side, firmly dated to 1622 by flints built into it; so it has to be later than the wall. How late is impossible to say. This means, of course, that the Pyrford summerhouse could be of the 1620s or later. It is impossible to give a precise date for its construction; but a consideration of the possible builders may help.

It is possible that the Earl of Lincoln built the summerhouse, and it is highly likely that John Wolley had a garden house of some sort as he entertained Queen Elizabeth at Pyrford several times. In 1576 William More of Loseley was knighted by the Earl of Leicester "in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at Pirford, the Queen being present."[35] Formal

geometric designs with buildings and a mixture of fruit trees and flowers, such as are shown on the Cambridge map, were typical of Elizabethan gardens. Sir Francis Wolley could also have built the summerhouse, as could his cousin Sir Arthur Mainwaring, who inherited the estate. Sir Robert Parkhurst is perhaps more likely to have built it than Sir Arthur, who presumably had an estate of his own elsewhere. Sir Robert, having acquired a country seat, may have wished to improve it with a summerhouse; and possibly Denzil Onslow felt the same. He clearly took a pride in his estate, or at least in what it could produce. When John Evelyn dined with him he was very impressed that all the meat and fish came from the estate.[36]

John Aubrey mentions a "*Lodge*" at Pyrford Place from which Newark Priory could be seen.[37] He might have meant the summerhouse, since the word could be applied to a garden building. In Aubrey's time, "*Lodge*" would not have meant a cottage at the entrance to an estate. There is no indication of where Aubrey's "*Lodge*" was. It is unlikely that Newark Priory would be visible from any of the buildings in the park on the Cambridge map, and clearly Aubrey did not mean the gatehouse, which he mentions separately. Raised garden buildings like this were designed for surveying the gardens and the landscape. This was clearly still important in Aubrey's time, since he mentions views not only of Newark Priory but also of Clandon Hill and the Guildford road; and he admires the avenue of elms.

It is debatable whether the summerhouse would have been built after the construction of the Navigation—a commercial waterway. Although the seventeenth century did not share the Victorian horror of visible signs of trade, the Parkhursts or the Onslows may not have chosen to build a summerhouse directly on the new canal. On the other hand, it may have been admired as a new and impressive feat of engineering. It was a very early example, and Aubrey was clearly interested in it. However, it seems more likely that it was there before the Navigation was built, because the garden boundary has not changed; and the Navigation seems to have been built up to the wall. If there had been no high earth bank and brick wall in the way, perhaps the Navigation would have been farther to the west. The owners of the

Navigation would probably have objected to something's being built so close to the water, and the owners of Pyrford Place are unlikely to have wanted to build so close.

A banqueting house was not the inconsequential structure we might suppose. Gardens and garden buildings were of far greater importance to the Elizabethans than to us, despite the huge interest in gardening in England today. Gardens were a part of the house, and as we have seen, the important ceremony of knighting took place in the garden at Pyrford. Two more examples of the importance of gardens in social and intellectual life occur conveniently in relation to John Donne. Ellis Heywood's *Il Moro*, a serious work about Sir Thomas More, is in the form of a dialogue set in a garden, the beauty of which actually starts the discussion; and Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Thyestes* includes a vision of a special feast for English poets in a banqueting house on Parnassus, prepared by the Muses.[38] It would be pleasant to think that John Donne may have thought himself somewhere near Parnassus as he sat in the summerhouse at Pyrford. Although we cannot prove that the building was there when he lived at Pyrford, it is very likely that it was. Sir John Wolley remains the best candidate for building the summerhouse, on grounds of style and the fact that he entertained Queen Elizabeth, a privilege that caused the building of far larger structures than the summerhouse.

Guildford Museum

Notes

1. John Eric Bruce Gover et al., *Place-Names of Surrey* (London: English Place-Names Society, 1982), p. 132.

2. Ibid., pp. 158-59.

3. Angela Church, "An Investigation into the influence of man on the course of the River Wey at Pyrford" (1985)—unpublished ms., Surrey Archaeological Society research material, reference #179. Another possible place for the crossing is the present Walsham Lock. The road that runs down to the lock from Warren Lane, unnaturally straight with a suspicious right-angled bend, dates from before the construction of the Navigation. An early seventeenth-century map of Pyrford in Cambridge University Library (see Figure 1 and pp. 5ff. below) shows this road and what is probably a bridge over the river. Today the Navigation diverges from the natural river at Walsham Lock. If this was the site of the ford or bridge at Pyrford, it is a long way from the settlement. If the ford were any further south along the road to Ripley, it would have been in Send parish.

4. H. E. Malden (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, 4 vols. (Westminster: A. Constable, 1902-12), 3: 431.

5. Gover et al., *Place-Names of Surrey*, p. 132.

6. *VCH Surrey*, 3: 436.

7. Barbara Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 133.

8. Sylvia Lewin, *A Short History of Pyrford and Wisley* (privately published, n. d.), p. 4.

9. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 133. Abbot Walter Wenlok stayed at Pyrford for a month or more at a time and died at Pyrford in 1307; Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 83. More cheerfully, Abbot Nicholas de Litlington bought three pipes of wine for Pyrford in 1362-63 when he became abbot, more than for any other house; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 133. A later abbot apparently embarked on such a riotous lifestyle at Pyrford that he had to be sent elsewhere to live more modestly; Lewin, *Short History*, p. 5.

10. Despite a paucity of information about use of the Wey in the Middle Ages, recent discoveries in Guildford show that there was wharf there; *Bulletin of the Surrey Archaeological Society* 282 (1994).

11. Owen Manning and William Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 3 vols. (London: J. Nichols, 1804-14), 1: 153.

12. *VCH Surrey*, 3: 432-33.

13. William Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: Eliot's Court Press, 1610), p. 242.

14. John Aubrey, *The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 5 vols. (London: E. Curll, 1718), 1: 197.

15. John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F. R. S.*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Coburn, 1854), 2: 158.

16. John Evans, "Extracts from the Private Account Books of Sir William More," *Archaeologia* 36 (1855): 295.

17. Howard Cook, *History of Pyrford* (privately published, 1992). Cook gives no references and unfortunately we cannot assess the accuracy of these details.

18. Cambridge University Library, MS Plans 758 and 759. The map is on two sheets; a third sheet may be missing, which would have revealed the date, the surveyor, and who commissioned the map. There were several surveyors active in Surrey in the early seventeenth century; careful comparisons might help identify the map maker.

19. Letter from Cambridge University Library to Mary Alexander, 22 June 2000.

20. *VCH Surrey*, 3: 380.

21. Ibid., 3: 432.

22. Lewin, *Short History*, p. 6. Ian Nairn and Nicholas Pevsner date construction of the summerhouse to the later seventeenth century; *Surrey* (London: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 419. Possibly Lewin assumed that it must have been rebuilt. However, as we shall see, there is no need to date the building as late as do Nairn and Pevsner.

23. There is a great mixture of bricks, including very recent repairs. There are large windows on all sides at the upper level, recently replaced. An early twentieth-century addition to the south side of the lower level, now demolished, has obscured the original features on this side; but there was probably a window which was filled in when the addition was built.

24. Wey Navigation map of 1782 (Guildford Museum, RB2372); Jago's map of 1823 (Surrey History Centre, G129/143/2); and tithe map of 1843 (Surrey History Centre, PHS/PYR/6/1).

25. I am grateful to Alan Bott and Nigel Barker for corresponding with me on this subject, and to Professor John Ashurst for very helpful discussions.

26. Anthea Taigel and Tom Williamson, *Parks and Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1993), p. 31.

27. Susan Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private, and Public* (London: Deutsch, 1991), p. 24.

28. Paula Henderson, "The Architecture of the Tudor Garden," *Garden History* 27 (1999): 60.

29. Elisabeth Woodhouse, "Kenilworth, the Earl of Leicester's Pleasure Grounds following Robert Laneham's Letter," *Garden History* 27 (1999): 131.

30. Henderson, "Architecture of the Tudor Garden," pp. 57 and 64.

31. Ibid., p. 54 and fig. 2.

32. Guildford Museum collections, TG1203, TG1240, and G9213.

33. Letter from Alan Bott to Mary Alexander, 4 July 2000.

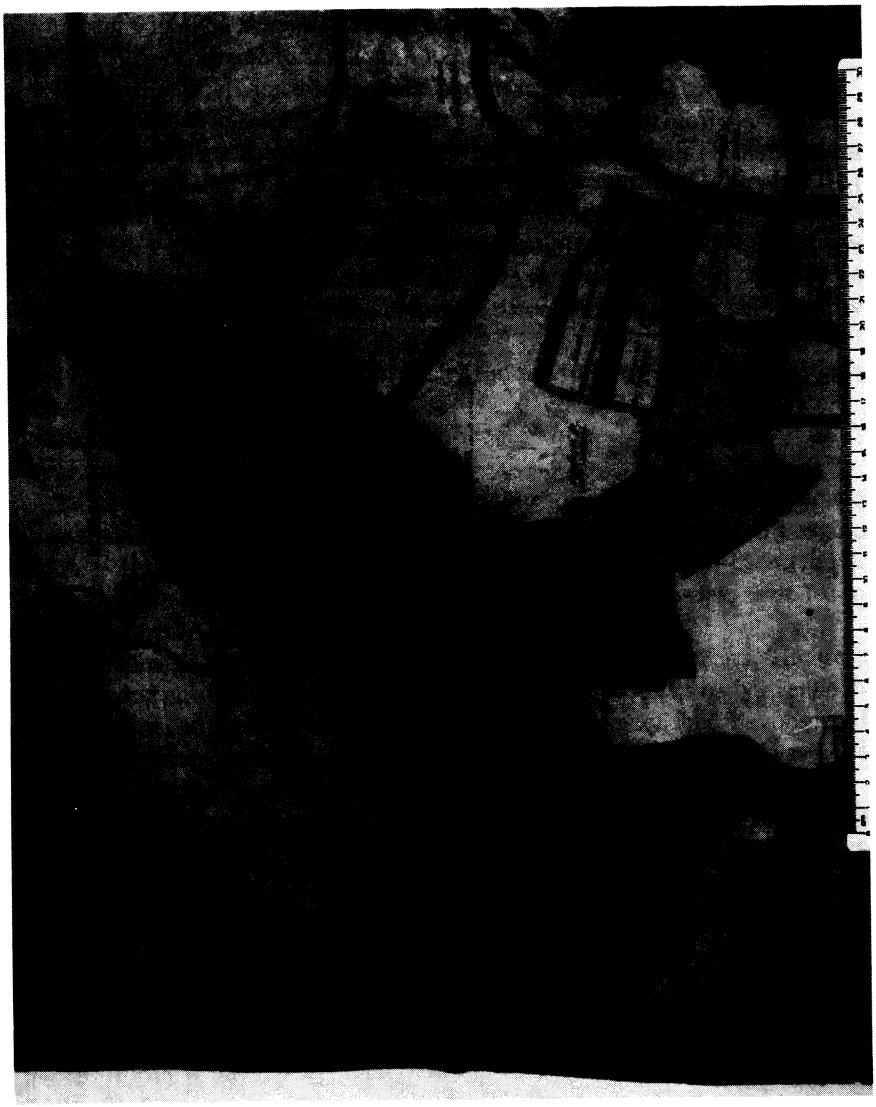
34. Surrey History Centre 5305/196, f. 188.

35. Manning and Bray, *History and Antiquities of Surrey*, 1: 95.

36. Evelyn, *Diary and* Correspondence, p. 158.

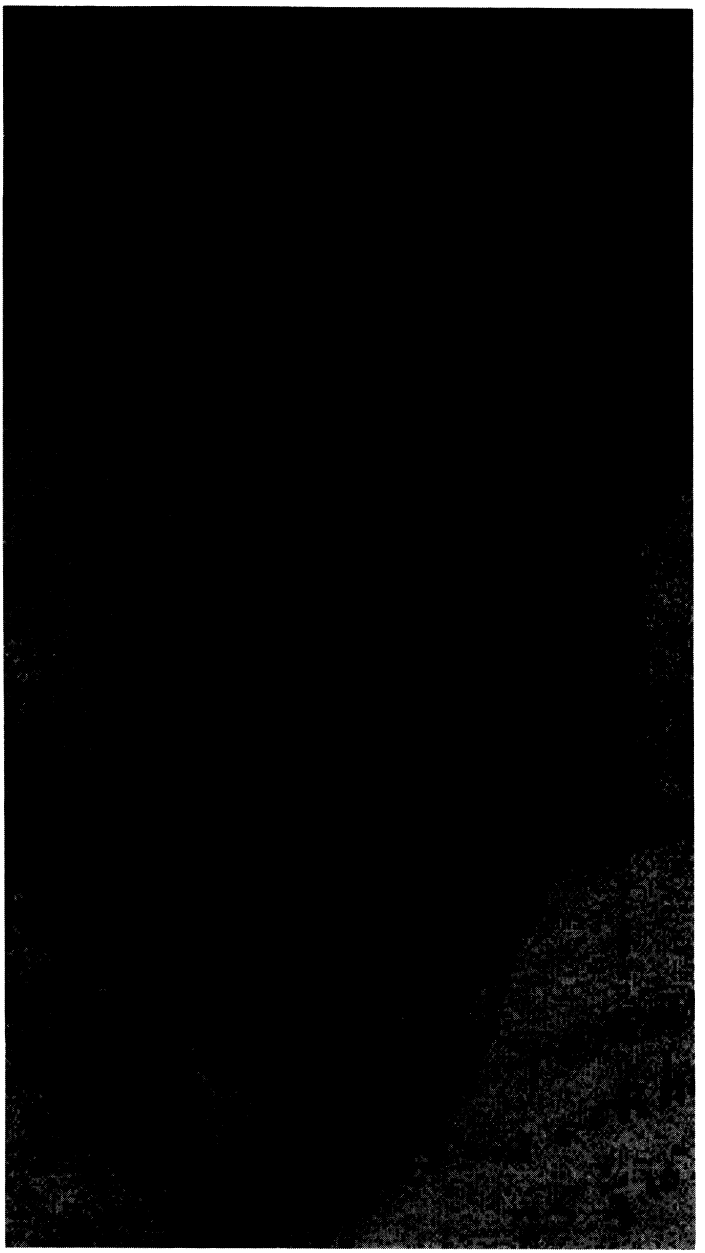
37. ". . . from the *Lodge* you may over-look the Ruins of *Newark* Abbey, the seven Streams running by it, and the rich Meadows water'd by them. . ."; *Natural History of Surrey*, p. 197.

38. Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 39 and 50.



Above: Figure 1. Detail of an early 17th-century map of Pyrford in Cambridge University Library. Printed by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University.

Facing: Figure 2. Zoomed image of Pyrford Place as shown in Figure 1.



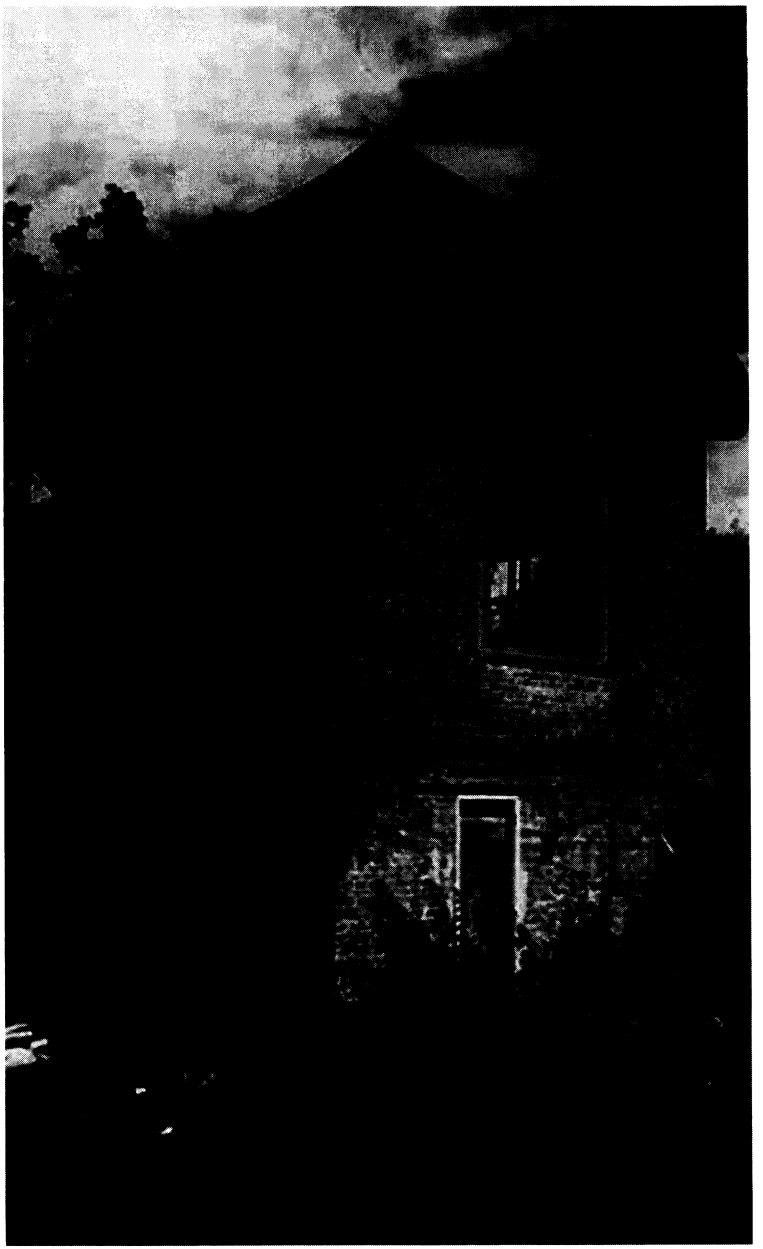


Figure 3. "Queen Elizabeth's summerhouse" (photo by D. Flynn, May 2000).

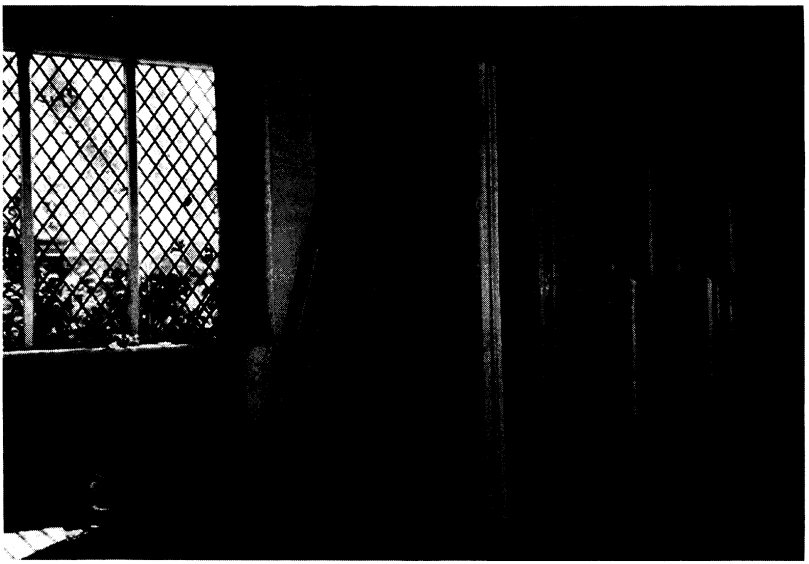


Figure 4. Paneling formerly in the summerhouse (photo by D. Flynn, May 1996).

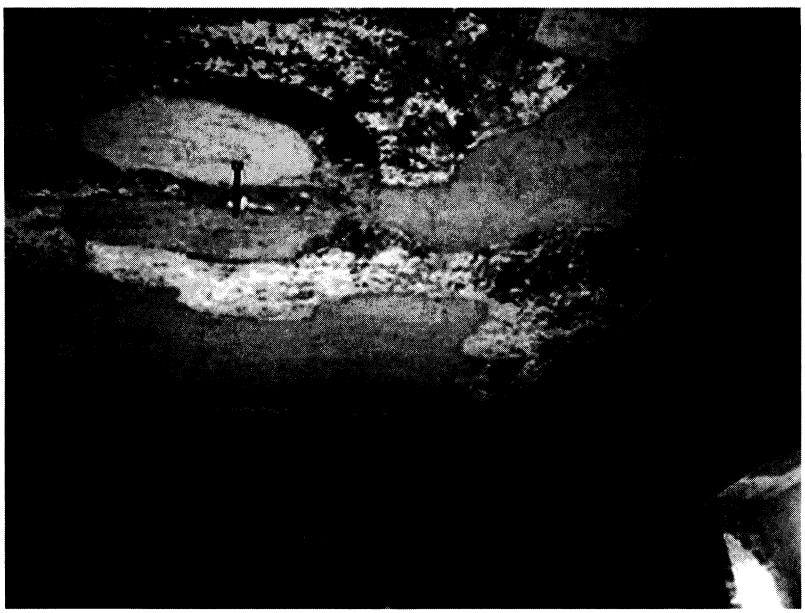


Figure 5. Painted ceiling in the summerhouse (photo by D. Flynn, May 1999).

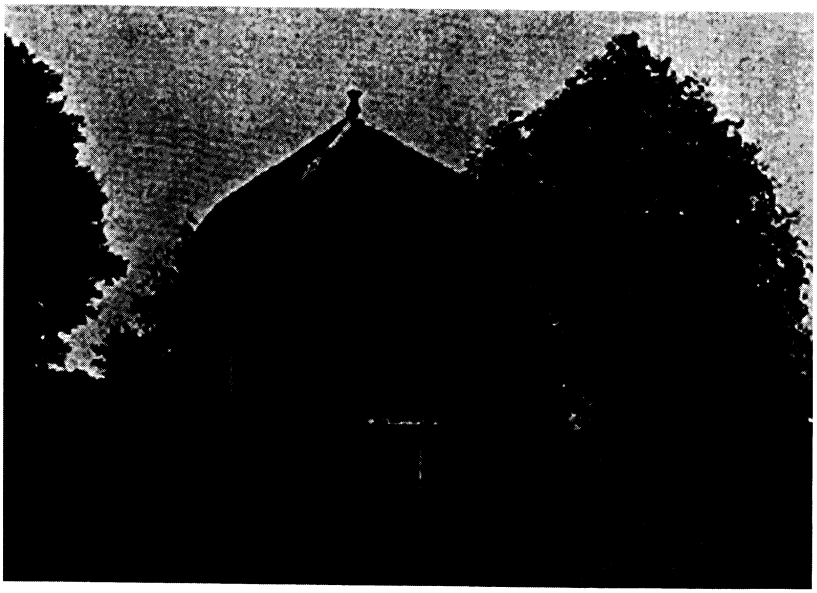


Figure 6. "Queen Elizabeth's summerhouse" (photo by H. E. Allenby, published in R. Ashington Bullen, *Some Materials towards a History of Wisley and Pyrford Parishes* [Guildford: Frank Lasham, 1906], p. 43).

Figure 7. Eaves of the summerhouse (photo by D. Flynn, May 1998).

Figure 8. "Queen Elizabeth's summerhouse" (photo by D. Flynn, May 1998).

Figure 9. Terrace inside garden wall (photo by D. Flynn, May 1996).

Figure 10. Cross section of garden wall (photo by D. Flynn, May 2000).