

Merton College and the Mapping of its Estates, 1601-1836

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SUMMARY

There are 116 large-scale local maps or groups of maps in Merton College that were drawn up to and including 1836. The nature of the archive and its completeness are discussed and the maps are analysed more closely in three main periods. Map production was fastest during the early period to 1635, then slowed until 1766, before speeding up again in the years from 1767 to 1836. Maps were often drawn in connection with the renewal of leases; in the early period, maps were drawn in connection with legal disputes, whilst in the late 18th and early 19th centuries the reasons for commissioning maps were more varied. These uses of maps are examined, together with their place alongside other tools of estate administration, such as surveys and valuations. The appearance of the plans partly reflects their role in estate management and their potential to impress other landowners and tenants, but it is also affected by the surveyor's styles and his use of the maps. Merton College tended to employ recognised map-makers, many of whom worked for other colleges in Oxford. Map-making for Merton College is placed in its contemporary context by comparison with other landowners and especially with other colleges in Oxford and Cambridge.

On 20 October 1601, Merton College in Oxford paid 4s. for 'new drawing the platt of the grounds in controversy' at Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire.¹ Thus the college started to participate in a phenomenon of late Elizabethan England: the development of large-scale local map-making and in particular the introduction of estate maps, maps drawn primarily to show the land of a personal or institutional landowner. These local and estate maps form part of the archives of many colleges. Some groups of maps and collections have been studied in detail;² this paper examines the holdings of Merton College and places them in their contemporary context by looking at such issues as the number of maps and their geographical coverage, the college as estate manager and its use of maps, the college as employer and the map-makers who worked for it, and how these factors affect the type of map that was drawn.

There are 116 large-scale local maps or groups of maps in the college archive today that were drawn up to and including 1836. This is the date of the Tithe Commutation Act, which resulted in new approaches to producing maps of landholdings and has been chosen as the terminus for this study.³ The maps are listed in the Appendix. The majority were made for

¹ Merton College Records (hereafter MCR). Estate papers drawer labelled 'stray letters and papers on various subjects', 'expenses in law termino Michaelmas 1601'.

² See, for instance, S. Bendall, 'Interpreting Maps of the Rural Landscape: an example from late sixteenth-century Buckinghamshire', *Rural Hist.* iv (1993), 107-21; S. Bendall, 'Estate Management and Map-making in Oxford and Cambridge 1580-1640', *History of Universities*, xv (1999); D.H. Fletcher, *The Emergence of Estate Maps: Christ Church, Oxford, 1600 to 1840* (1995); D.H. Fletcher, 'Estate Maps and the Oxford Colleges', *Jnl. of the International Map Collectors' Soc.* lxxiv (1998), 17-24.

³ See also S. Bendall, *Maps, Land and Society: a History, with a Carto-Bibliography of Cambridgeshire Estate Maps c.1600-1836* (1992), 11; R.J.P. Kain and R.R. Oliver, *The Tithe Maps of England and Wales: a Cartographic Analysis and County-by-County Catalogue* (1995).

the college. A few have entered the collection later, for example as documents acquired with new estates (Radstone c. 1585), as maps commissioned by tenants and subsequently passed on to the college (North Weald Bassett 1764), or as papers used in legal disputes (Malden 1621 and 1627). Others were made in connection with activities on the estates, most usually inclosure, and then found their way to the college. For instance, the inclosure map of Wolvercote (1834) has a note on it saying that it was deposited in the archive in 1922 by the Bursar's clerk, C.E. Rowley, who had received it from Howard Sammons; this copy of the map was possibly made for the college. Distinctions have been drawn where appropriate in the following analysis between maps that were originally drawn for the college and those that were commissioned and paid for by another person or institution, and also between estate maps and other types of map, such as inclosure maps.

The archive does not give a complete picture of map-making for the college. References survive to a further three maps that were made for the college but can no longer be found (Farleigh 1630, North Weald Bassett 1632 and Bielby 1779); and to a lost map of Barkby, sent on behalf of the tenant in 1798 to the college's attorney, Mr. Morrell, showing land that the tenant wished to dispose of, and that might well have been made for the tenant.⁴ In 1809 the college commissioned a map and survey of the parishes of Embleton and Ponteland in Northumberland from John Dinning; the map is not, however, in the archive and there is no record of payment for it, so perhaps it was never made.⁵ Similarly, in about 1811 the college's surveyor Richard Crabtree wrote to the Warden about the valuation of land at Newington in Kent:

... the old maps are so miserably incorrect and so very many alterations has [sic] been made on this Estate within the space of 178 years [when the estate was last mapped] that they now only serve to puzzle, and mislead, and indeed I find there is some land belonging to the College which has never been noticed on the map, so that altogether I cannot do justice to the society without a fresh survey and map... I do not like to set about this particular without having your approbation, as the expense of it will amount to nearly thirty pounds, at the same time I have reason to believe the first fine [payment to renew the lease] will defray this outgoing... I would not have recommended [a new survey and map] was it not absolutely necessary...⁶

The college later noted that the survey and map had 'not yet been received from Mr. Crabtree'⁷ and it seems that they were never made. The list of maps probably under-represents maps drawn directly on leases: while the map of about 1796 of land in Great Knighttrider Street, London seems to have been removed from a lease, it is likely that there are other maps drawn on leases, especially from the early 19th century, and no attempt has been made to include them in this study.⁸ There is therefore a survival rate of not more than 95% and probably lower, which needs to be taken into account in the following discussion.

The rate of map production for Merton College is shown in Fig. 1 and is compared with that for all colleges in Oxford. Figures for the other colleges are taken from lists of maps and are necessarily approximate: they are for all existing large-scale manuscript maps in college archives today. The graph shows that there were three main periods of map production in Oxford. During the years to 1615, at least 102 maps were made and this was the time the

⁴ MCR, Cupboard C, letter from J.E. Carter to Morrell Esq., 22 April 1798.

⁵ MCR, 1.5T, p. 511.

⁶ MCR, Thracies and Thrognalls drawer.

⁷ MCR, 5.24, p. 177.

⁸ Bendall (1992), *op. cit.* note 3, pp. 174-5.

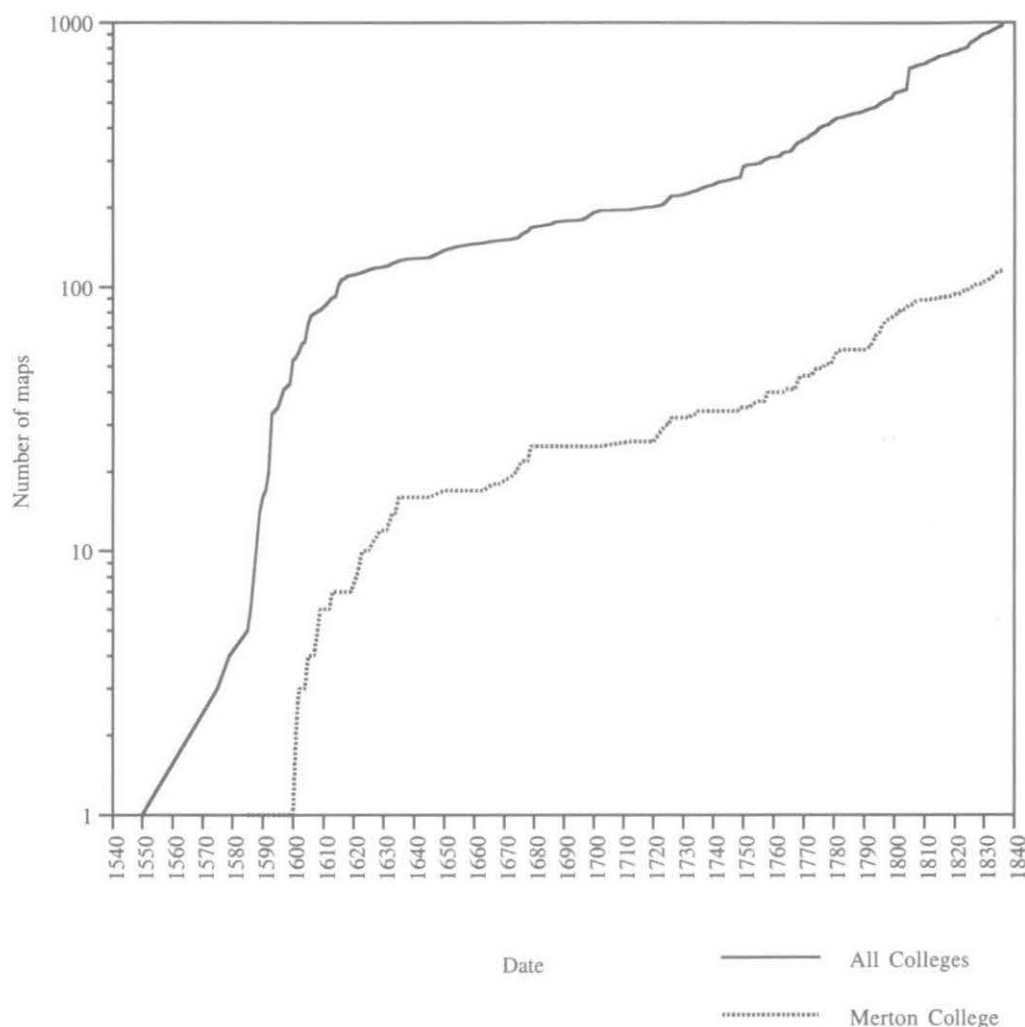


Fig. 1. Number of maps made for colleges in Oxford.

rate of map production increased most rapidly with the number of maps growing tenfold in 32 years. Then between 1616 and 1766, 228 maps were produced, showing a slower rate of map-making (a tenfold increase in 320 years). In the last period, 1767-1836, the rate of map production started to increase once again (a tenfold increase in 150 years) and 640 maps were made. For Merton College alone, the graph shows roughly similar periods of map-making and rates of production: the years to 1635, with 16 maps being made and the number of maps increasing tenfold in 41 years; a slower rate of map-making between 1636 and 1766, when 45 maps were drawn (a tenfold increase in 325 years); and an upturn again between 1767 and 1836 with 75 maps being drawn (a tenfold increase in 150 years, as with Oxford colleges in general). Closer examination of each of these periods helps to explain the pattern of map-making.



Fig. 2. Places of which there are maps in Merton College archive, in the order in which land was first mapped for the college. Dates in square brackets are of maps that might not have been made for the college.

1. 1601 – Gamlingay. Later maps: 1602, 1805, 1807
2. c. 1605? – St. Albans. Later maps: mid 17th-century, 1793, 1835
3. 1609 – Barkby. Later maps: 1635, [c. 1753/78?], 1780, [1798?]
4. 1609 – Kibworth Harcourt. Later maps: 1635, [c. 1753/78?], [pre 1780/1?], [c. 1780?], 1781, [1800]
5. 1613 – Bielby. Later map: 1779
6. 1623 – Malden and Chessington. Later maps: 1712, 1794, [1825?], 1828
7. 1629 – Leatherhead. Later map: 1822
8. 1630 – Farleigh. Later map: 1768
9. 1632 – North Weald Bassett. Canes. Later maps: [1764?], 1794, c. 1805
10. 1632 – Norton Mandeville. Later map: 1793
11. 1633 – Newington, Kent. Later maps: [1777?], c. 1783, post 1811 (ever made?)
12. c. 1666 – Oxford: Holywell and St. Peter's parishes. Later maps: 1672, late 17th-c., [1722?], 1753, 1758, 1825
13. 1674 – Watford: Rose and Crown Inn. Later map: 1819
14. 1676 – Walton Cloves near Tewkesbury
15. 1679 – Hensington. Later maps: 1749, c. 1796
16. 1679 – Shaftesbury
17. 1679 – Stratton St. Margaret. Later map: 1830
18. 1722 – Basingstoke. Later maps: 1726, 1755, 1769, 1808
19. 1723 – Ibstone. Later maps: c. 1773, 1793
20. pre 1724 – London: Great Knighttrider Street. Later maps: c. 1796, 1823, pre 1836
21. 1726 – Stillington and Seaton Carew. Later map: 1796
22. 1735 – Watford: manor of Callowlands. Later maps: 1797, 1831, 1833
23. 1767 – Cuxham
24. c. 1774 – Yarnton
25. 1774 – Littlemore. Later maps: 1797, [1802?]
26. 1780 – Burmington
27. 1791 – Cheddington
28. 1793 – Cambridge. Later maps: 1800, 1801, 1804, 1805, 1830
29. 1794 – Cricklade
30. 1796 – Abbots Langley
31. 1797 – Diddington. Later map: [1832?]
32. 1798 – Eynsham. Later maps: post 1802, 1834
33. 1804 – Grantchester
34. 1807 – Embleton. Later map: 1809 (lost, ever made?)
35. 1815 – Elham. Later map: [1833?]
36. 1817 – West Tilbury
37. 1820 – Little Wolford
38. 1825 – Tetsworth
39. 1827 – London: no. 6 Bread Street
40. 1827 – London: no. 69 Basinghall Street
41. 1828 – Cumnor. Earlier maps: 1733, 1799
42. 1832 – Puxton
43. 1834 – Great Wolford. Later map: 1835

Mapped, but probably not for the college:

44. 1769 – Lapworth. Later map: 1802
45. 1834 – Wolvercote

Mapped, but not for the college:

46. c. 1585 – Radstone. Later map: 1812

THE YEARS TO 1635

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries landowners started to commission and use large-scale maps to help them manage their land and defend their ownership of their holdings. Hitherto, land had changed hands less frequently and the feudal concept of ownership of a collection of rights over different pieces of land had predominated. During the 16th century, many factors contributed to a changing awareness of the use and value of maps. The later years of the reign of King Henry VIII saw, partly through his direct interests, the increased use of maps in government, administration and national defence. The dissolution of the monasteries and consequent increased availability of land was a stimulus to the growing land market, to increased lay ownership of property and to growing capitalist perceptions of land as a commodity to which the owner had exclusive rights and which yielded both income and status. New uses and interests led to maps becoming more widely disseminated: they were studied and used at the universities and printed and published in, for example, news-sheets, books, and atlases such as those of Saxton and Ortelius. These factors combined with improvements in the making of maps, partly through developments in practical and theoretical mathematics, in instrument-making and in land measuring.⁹

Colleges in Oxford participated in this increased awareness and use of maps. Merton College features among those colleges that commissioned the most maps, joining All Souls, Corpus Christi and New College.¹⁰ Sixteen maps in the Merton archive were drawn before 1636; in addition, two maps are known to have been made for the college in this period but are not in the archive today. Three of the maps were not initially drawn for the college. Most of Merton's main estates were mapped during this early period (Fig. 2): all of the land in Surrey and Leicestershire; the two major estates in Essex; the Gamlingay estate in Cambridgeshire; Newington in Kent and Bielby in Yorkshire. Perhaps the most notable group of estates not mapped were the college's extensive holdings nearer to home in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

Both the earliest map in the archive (which was not drawn for the college) and the second earliest (which was drawn for contemporary use by Merton) were produced for use in legal disputes. This was a common reason for map-making at the time both in Merton, where it accounts for two-fifths of the early maps, and also elsewhere in Oxford. Indeed, the mapping in 1586 of land belonging to All Souls College at Whatborough in Leicestershire to help the court of the Exchequer adjudicate in a dispute between the Warden and Henry, Lord Cromwell, played a significant part in the introduction of estate map-making to colleges in Oxford.¹¹

One of the land surveyors who was introduced to the Oxford scene at this time, Thomas Langdon, soon found his way to Merton and its Cambridgeshire estate of Gamlingay. A map, costing 4s., had been made in 1601 of part of the estate, Broad Leys, in connection with an

⁹ C. Delano Smith, 'Maps for the Monarch in the Sixteenth Century: maps for display and military maps', in C. Delano Smith and R.J.P. Kain, *English Cartography* (1997), 78, 81; R.J.P. Kain, 'Mapping Landed Properties: Estate Maps in Medieval, Renaissance and Enlightenment England', in *ibid.* 131-44; P. Barber, 'Pageantry, defense, and government: maps at court to 1550', and 'Monarchs, ministers, and maps, 1550-1625', in D. Buisseret (ed.), *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (1992), 26-56, 57-98; Bendall (1999), *op. cit.* note 2.

¹⁰ For detailed discussion of map-making at Oxford 1580-1640, see Bendall (1999), *op. cit.* note 2.

¹¹ M. Beresford, *History on the Ground: Six Studies in Maps and Landscapes* (1984), 116-21; S. Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Map-Makers of Great Britain and Ireland 1530-1850* (2nd edn. 1997), i, 22-3.



Fig. 3. Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire, by Thomas Langdon, 1602. The first map in the atlas, showing the whole estate (MCR 6.17).

action of trespass brought against the college's rector in King's Bench.¹² At this time, the college was also pursuing an action in Chancery to obtain the rent of its newly-acquired manor of Avenells. On 7 March 1602 a Fellow, Nathaniel Brent, together, it seems, with Langdon set out for Gamlingay via Aylesbury. Accounts survive of their expenditure on the survey: for meals, for washing linen, for travelling, horsehire, horsemeat and saddlery, for expenditure in Cambridge, for carriage of letters, for a dinner for the jury when the manorial court was held, and for expenses paid to the rector and his servant. Langdon was paid £7 10s. for a month's surveying and his boy earned 2s. 6d.; four men were paid for giving the surveyor information and three quires of paper were bought.¹³ A handsome estate atlas was produced, with an initial opening showing the whole estate followed by thirteen larger-scale maps of each part of the estate, all decorated in Langdon's distinctive style.¹⁴ The plans (Fig. 3) show the strips (with their acreages) belonging to the college's manors of Merton and Avenells, other landowners and tenants. Numbers refer to a written terrier that accompanied the map and is referred to in later surveys and terriers.¹⁵

Both Langdon's maps of Gamlingay and the earlier one of Broad Leys played their part in the successful outcomes of the lawsuits;¹⁶ perhaps this encouraged the college when it embarked on other legal cases. For instance, it is possible that the early 17th-century sketch of land in St. Albans showing a fence 'late made' was drawn in connection with a dispute over the college's title to lands there in 1605.¹⁷ The 1613 map of the college's estate at Bielby in Yorkshire identifies a common that was in dispute, so perhaps it, too, was drawn in connection with a legal case. Ten years later, in 1623, the college was involved in a suit to recover its estate at Malden in Surrey, which it had been forced to lease to Queen Elizabeth on a 5000-year lease in 1578. The two maps of the college's holdings by Elias Allen were drawn to help the college's case and were used as evidence; it is likely that the maps of Malden by Nicholas Lane were drawn for the other party in the dispute and came into the college's ownership, with other papers, when the case was eventually decided in the college's favour.¹⁸

It is not, however, the case that once the college realised the potential use of maps they were made on all future occasions. The legal proceedings mentioned here were not the only ones involving the college during the years to 1636, and on other occasions suits connected with landholdings were carried out without any evidence that they were assisted by maps.¹⁹ Nor were many maps made in connection with other aspects of estate management. Medieval Wardens and Fellows had been much concerned with the administration of the college's estates, commissioning surveys and terriers and compiling registers of deeds and documents, as well as paying regular visits and holding manorial courts.²⁰ In the 16th century Warden Henry Savile, too, showed a concern for the college's property and records:

¹² MCR, Gamlingay drawer 2, bundles 8, 9, 10 and 13.

¹³ Ibid., bundles 10 and 13; MCR, 3.1, f. 83.

¹⁴ MCR, 6.17; Bendall (1992), op. cit. note 3, pp. 245-50.

¹⁵ MCR, Gamlingay drawer 1, bundle 7.15.

¹⁶ MCR, Gamlingay drawer 2, bundles 8 and 10.

¹⁷ MCR, Abbots Langley drawer, map of St. Albans c. 1605; MCR, 1.3, p. 215.

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the legal case, see Bendall (1999), op. cit. note 2.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ T.H. Aston, 'The External Administration and Resources of Merton College to circa 1348', in J.I. Catto (ed.), *History of the Univ. of Oxford, i: The Early Oxford Schools* (1984), 311-68; G.H. Martin and J.R.L. Highfield, *A History of Merton College, Oxford* (1997), 68.

changes in account-keeping were introduced in 1586,²¹ and the Warden's brother John (a lawyer) was to inspect and arrange the archives in 1587 so that they would be of more use to the college.²² In 1600 the college adopted the new practice of replacing roman numerals with arabic ones in accounting, making possible greater numerical precision, the preparation of financial summaries (perhaps partly a result of increasing taxation by the university of colleges according to their wealth to finance, for instance, a scavenger to clean the streets in 1603 and the visit of James I in 1605;²³ at Merton, the year's finances were first summarised in 1616),²⁴ and the development of practical mathematical techniques, including land surveying.²⁵ Under the wardenship of Savile's successor, Nathaniel Brent, interest in documents and records continued and in 1629 it was agreed to inspect and transcribe the college's instruments.²⁶ The college therefore demonstrated an interest in its property and records, and surveys and terriers continued to be compiled far more frequently than the occasional map.

Nevertheless, maps became increasingly common. The first maps made for uses other than legal cases were those of the college's properties in Leicestershire in 1609. The lease of the Barkby estate had been renewed on 4 April 1607, with a covenant that within five years a survey and perambulation of the property was to be made, giving the college three months' warning so that someone might be sent to see the survey being taken.²⁷ One year later on 8 April 1608, a Fellow, Edward Lee, was sent to inspect the lands in Leicestershire and make a field book and map with colours of the properties; the maps that resulted were made by Richard Comley in 1609.²⁸ Map-making in connection with new leases thereafter became the most common use of maps in estate management in each of the three periods under study in this paper; in this earliest period, nearly half of the maps were drawn in association with new leases. It is possible that the maps of Leatherhead, made in 1629, were drawn to show land assigned in the previous year; perhaps they were also made as a result of the agreement of the college in December 1628 to investigate the different estates and renew the plans, the project to be managed by the Warden and Mr. Turner.²⁹ In the following years the estates at North Weald Bassett and Norton Mandeville in Essex, at Newington in Kent, and in Leicestershire, were mapped before the leases were renewed.³⁰ Thus both parties knew the extent of the land that was being let.

One copy of the 1633 map of Newington in Kent, however, identifies a plot of land as 'the new purchase', and this gives another reason why maps were made: to show newly-acquired property. Similarly, the additions to the college's property portfolio at Gamlingay (the manor of Avenells) and at Bielby were mapped shortly after their acquisition.

While study of the maps themselves gives clues to why they were made, it also says something about why certain surveyors were employed. The first map-maker known to have been employed by Merton College was Thomas Langdon (*fl.* ?1587-d. 1638), who was in the middle of his surveying career for colleges in Oxford, had already worked for All Souls

²¹ Martin and Highfield, *op. cit.* note 20, p. 190.

²² MCR, 1.3, p. 128.

²³ I am grateful to Dr. Highfield for drawing this point to my attention; MCR, 1.3, pp. 203, 216.

²⁴ MCR, 3.1.

²⁵ K. Thomas, 'Numeracy in Early Modern England', *Trans. of Royal Hist. Soc.* xxxvii (1987), 103-32.

²⁶ MCR, 1.3, p. 301.

²⁷ MCR, 6.1, ff. 140-1.

²⁸ MCR, 1.3, p. 227; MCR, 4283; MCR, Barkby drawer, bundle 9, Kibworth drawer 1, bundle 2.

²⁹ MCR, 1.3, p. 300.

³⁰ Bendall (1999), *op. cit.* note 2.

College and New College and might well have come to Merton as a result of personal knowledge and recommendation.³¹ His maps give this impression as they are carefully drawn, lettered in the new italic script and are decorated using contemporary strapwork devices. Langdon was followed by Richard Comley (fl. 1609-17). A distinctive feature about Comley's map of Barkby is his use of Hebrew characters to distinguish land belonging to different fields; perhaps he was using the maps to display his learning and to encourage further business? If so, he was not successful at Merton, though he was employed by Balliol to survey an estate in Buckinghamshire in 1616, and by Wadham in the following year.³²

The first surveyors to work extensively for Merton College were Elias and Abraham Allen, who made maps in the 1620s and 1630s. Both were well established land surveyors and map-makers who were involved in surveying the estates of the Crown. Their maps for Merton give the impression of quality products, being carefully drawn on good-quality skins of parchment, well coloured, and having decorative title cartouches, scale bars and compass roses. It is not clear how Elias Allen (b. c. 1575, d. by 1637) came to the notice of the college; in 1616 he was living at Spelsbury, Oxfordshire, but on his examination by the court of Chancery in 1624 about his maps of Malden for Merton College's law suit, he was described as of 'Melton' (probably Milton), Cambridgeshire, aged 50 or thereabouts.³³ As Allen helped the college to win the dispute in 1627, perhaps it is not surprising that it was he who was employed two years later to map Leatherhead and then the remaining Surrey estate of Farleigh. The doubling of his pay in 1630 suggests that his work was found to be highly satisfactory.³⁴ Elias Allen was succeeded by Abraham Allen (fl. 1608-36), presumably a relation, who mapped the college's estates in Essex, Kent and Leicestershire. He used more elaborate decoration than his predecessor, but occasional errors crept into his work, such as mistakenly giving the church at Norton Mandeville a tower in 1632 (Fig. 4).

Merton College's embarkation on large-scale local map-making is thus characterised by mapping many of its major landholdings apart from those near Oxford, by making maps predominantly to assist in legal disputes or to help with letting estates, and by employing well-established and competent land surveyors. These map-makers had their own styles; their products advertised both their abilities and also the college's awareness of maps and their potential. Only one unsigned sketch map survives from this early period; others, perhaps, have disappeared. At the same time, there was much reliance on the traditional tools of estate management, such as written surveys and terriers.

1636 TO 1766

During the period from the eve of the Civil War to the middle of the 18th century, interest in practical mathematics and science grew, cartographic techniques developed and maps became more widespread. Political and economic crises had little effect on an overall rise in numbers of maps and their makers.³⁵ In Oxford, however, and at Merton, whilst increasing numbers of maps were made, they were produced at a slower rate than in either the preceding or later period.

³¹ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, i, p. 5, ii, L047; P. Eden, 'Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke and Thomas Langdon', in S. Tyacke (ed.), *English Map-Making 1500-1650: Historical Essays* (1983), 72-5.

³² Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, C381.4; J. Jones, *The Archives of Balliol College Oxford* (1984), 22; F.G. Emmison (ed.), *Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office. Second Suppl.* (1964), 3.

³³ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, A069; MCR, Malden drawer.

³⁴ MCR, 1.3, p. 303.

³⁵ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, i, pp. 26-51, ii, A068.6.

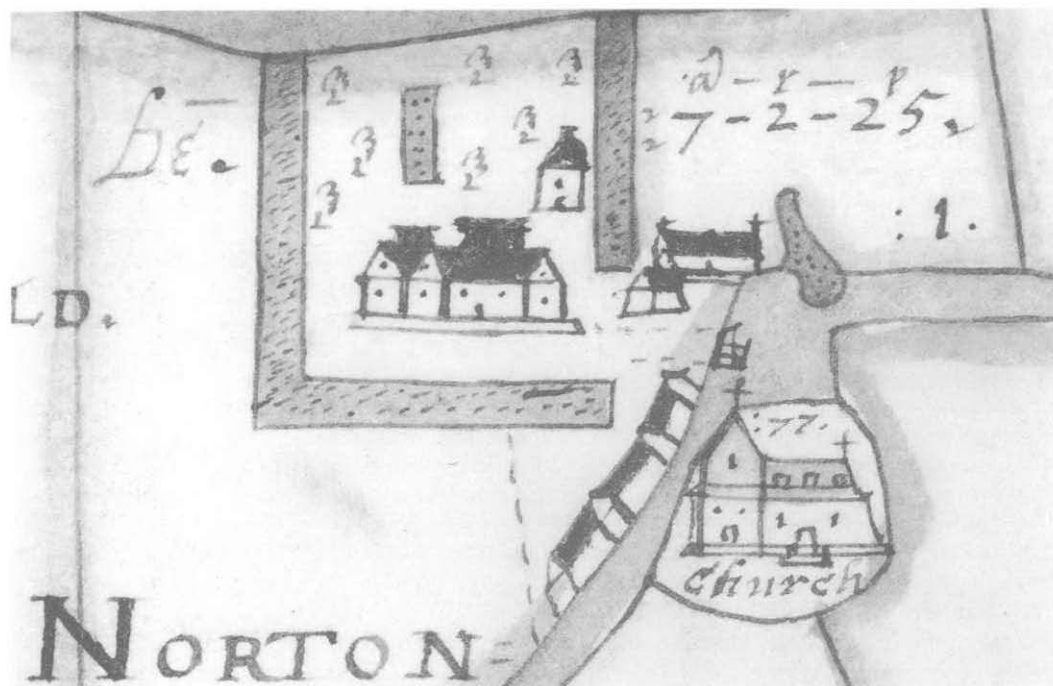


Fig. 4a. Norton Mandeville, Essex, by Abraham Allen, 1632 (MCR).



Fig. 4b. Norton Mandeville church.

Twenty-five maps or groups of maps made during these years survive in the archive. Of these, five were probably not made for the college. One is a map of land at Cumnor, an estate that the college was not to own until 1770; the rest are maps of land owned by the college but where there is no record of Merton having commissioned or paid for the plans. It is likely that the map of the manor of Canes in North Weald Bassett, Essex, made in September 1764, was made for the tenant Daniel Binckes: that March a lease of the manor had been made out to him (dating from Michaelmas 1759) and he is named in the title of the map rather than the landlord.³⁶

None of the estates that had already been mapped were remapped during this period, apart from a plan of 28 acres at Malden in Surrey, mapped in 1712 at a cost of £2.³⁷ Some of the college's local landholdings were mapped for the first time: at Ibstone in Buckinghamshire, at Hensington in Oxfordshire and at Holywell in Oxford itself. Estates in Dorset, Durham, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, London and Wiltshire were also mapped for the first time during these years (Fig. 2). Again, there was a continuing reliance on written surveys and terriers, and some opportunities to make maps were not taken. Most notable, perhaps, is the employment of George Skinner to draw up a survey, but not a map, of the college's land at Grantchester near Cambridge in 1670.³⁸ Earlier, he had both surveyed and mapped the parsonage land in the parish for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1654, and the land belonging to King's College in 1666;³⁹ Merton, it seems, did not perceive a map to be helpful.

It appears that the college most frequently found a map useful when an estate was to be let: about half of the maps were made at such a time. Perhaps this also explains why only one estate had been remapped for the college by 1767: existing maps were found to be adequate. New surveys and valuations were made more frequently, however. For instance, in 1697 a small estate at Puxton (or Pockrilstone) in Somerset was resurveyed by John England the Devonshire carrier, the previous survey having been made in 1601,⁴⁰ and in 1753 it was decreed that no lease should be sealed until a new terrier had been made.⁴¹

The decision to have an estate mapped could be taken at various stages in the process. For example, when the tenant of the Holywell estate died, it was agreed on 18 January 1758 that an accurate survey was to be made. Edward Smith's map and survey were drawn in the same month (Fig. 5) and on 20 April 1759 the estate was let from Lady Day 1758.⁴² The need for a map of the college's land at Stillington and Seaton Carew in Durham did not become apparent when the estate was being relet in 1726 until later in the proceedings. The tenants objected to the proposed increase in the fine for renewing the lease, and so the college sought information from each tenant as to the lands and houses they held from the college or owned themselves, the rents they received from their under-tenants, and the land and houses they kept in their own hands. The college asked for a map and survey of the estate; one of the tenants, Thomas Rudd, seems to have organised the survey and appointed the map-maker, a local man, Andrew Pelin. Conveyance of the map to Oxford was not

³⁶ MCR, 6.7, p. 343.

³⁷ MCR, Malden drawer 1; MCR, 3.6.

³⁸ MCR, Grantchester drawer, bundle 5.1, 5.2; MCR, 3.3, p. 315.

³⁹ Bendall (1992), *op. cit.* note 3, pp. 252-3.

⁴⁰ MCR, Pockrilstone drawer, surveys of 16 Oct. 1601 and 6 Oct. 1697.

⁴¹ MCR, 1.4, p. 169.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 197; MCR, 5.23 and separate map; MCR, 6.7, p. 260.

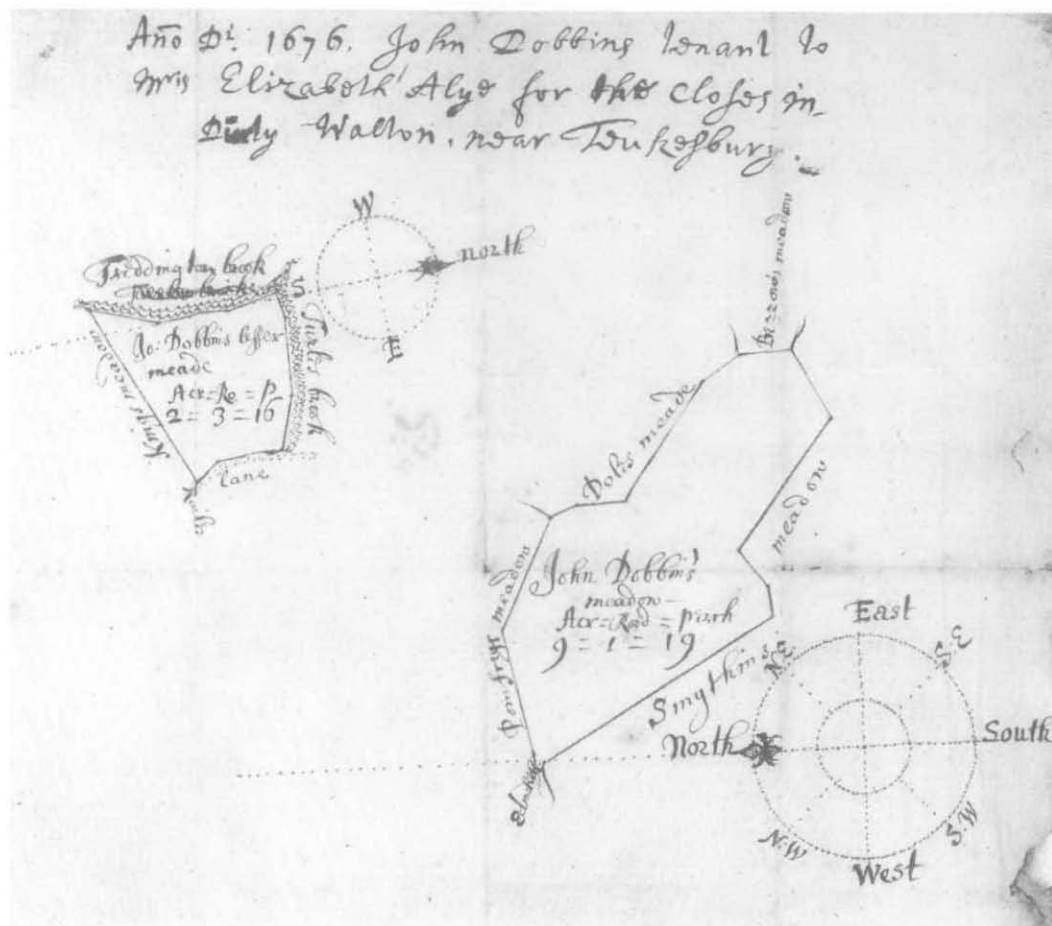


Fig. 6. Walton Closes, near Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, 1676 (MCR, Pockrilstone drawer).

straightforward: it was over 3 ft. high and nearly 6 ft. wide and too large to send by post with the survey, so it had to wait until a neighbour could take it himself. The terrier is dated 5 November and new leases were made out two days later.⁴³

These maps of lands in Holywell and County Durham were drawn on parchment, coloured and decorated; the Holywell map (Fig. 5) and other maps drawn in association with the renewal of leases – Ibstone (1723) and Hensington (1749) – display the college's coat of arms. These maps are admired today and it seems likely that they also received favourable comments when they were made; perhaps they were used to impress other colleges and tenants with Merton's wealth and influence. On the other hand, other maps drawn in association with the renewal of leases are cheaper products, drawn on paper and not signed

⁴³ MCR, Stillington and Seaton Carew drawer, letters from Thomas Rudd to the Warden 19 June, 12 July, 29 July and 11 Nov. 1726, letters from Jo. Porrett to the Sub-warden 21 June 1726, to the Warden 26 July 1726, letter from Henry Byne to the Warden 19 Sept. 1726, terrier 5 Nov. 1726; MCR, 6.6, pp. 71, 73.

by the surveyor. For instance, the land at Walton near Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire (Fig. 6) was mapped on paper in 1676 to show two closes and their acreages, each at a different orientation, when the lease was renewed.⁴⁴ Similarly, land at Stratton St. Margaret in Wiltshire was mapped on 2 June 1679, on paper and at no known scale; the estate was relet the following year.⁴⁵ Shortly before this map was made, plans were made showing two houses belonging to the college at Shaftesbury. These plans form part of the same booklet, as does a terrier of land in Basingstoke. These maps show a different style and tradition of map-making: maps showing small areas, apparently drawn for utilitarian purposes only, often little more than sketches and not drawn for either the surveyor or college to display.

The reasons for drawing a map became more numerous in this period. Fewer were associated with legal cases: the only map that appears to have been drawn to show disputed land is one of land at Holywell drawn in c. 1666, showing Longwall Street as 'the highway in question'. Newly-acquired parcels of land were mapped, as at Hensington in 1679. A new reason for drawing a map seems to have been to show land that was to be exchanged. This accounts for maps of Swallick Coppice in 1722 and Eliotts Closes in 1726, both at Basingstoke, made in connection with the duke of Bolton's wish to exchange land with the college for the enlargement of his park at Hackwood. Valuation of the timber in the coppice was essential and the earlier map by Richard Waller is remarkable in its endeavours to show this information. At first, it was intended to number each timber tree and to give the value in a column beside the map; this idea was discarded, but the map still claims to show in its correct position each of 277 trees, distinguishing between timber trees, saplings, wavers (young trees left standing when the surrounding wood is felled) and pollards (Fig. 7). The valuation of the timber was not given on the map in case the college agreed to the exchange and gave the map to the duke, and would therefore not wish him to see the basis of the valuation, 'for, I suppose, you will ask 30 or £40 more than the real value'. No agreement was reached, but the duke went ahead and inclosed the park in any case.⁴⁶ In 1769 the letting arrangements of the Basingstoke estate were eventually revised to take account of the late duke's actions; Swallick Coppice was surveyed and mapped by Edward and Thomas Smith on 13 May and a lease made out the following August.⁴⁷

Other maps were drawn as a result of social and economic changes. Thus the construction of turnpike roads had an effect on college estates: the commissioners of the Andover Turnpike asked to buy four poles of meadow from Merton at Basingstoke. A letter about this was sent to the college, including a sketch to show the land in question.⁴⁸

Many of the surveyors who were employed by Merton worked elsewhere in Oxford. They displayed their skills on their maps and their movement from college to college is hardly surprising. Thus Robert Speakman (*fl.* 1722-32) worked for All Souls College in 1722 and for Corpus Christi College in 1726, the years when he was mapping Merton's estates.⁴⁹ John House (*fl.* 1748-59) and Richard Busby (*fl.* 1748-59), who mapped land at Hensington for Merton College in 1749, had already mapped land at Enstone for Wadham College in the previous year and in 1750 mapped land in Wiltshire for Corpus Christi College. Richard

⁴⁴ MCR, Pockrilstone drawer, map of Walton 1676; MCR, 6.3, p. 552.

⁴⁵ MCR, Cupboard C, bundle of 'various old letters 1700-1800'; MCR, 6.3, p. 758.

⁴⁶ MCR, Basingstoke drawer, bundle 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; MCR, 6.7, p. 512.

⁴⁸ MCR, Basingstoke drawer, bundle 5, letter from William Hinchman to the Warden 26 Feb. 1755.

⁴⁹ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, S410.6; All Souls Coll., map of Horsepath Green (Oxon) 1722, CTM 417a/7; Corpus Christi Coll., map of Beechingstoke (Wilts) 1726, Maps 328.

Busby mapped an estate in Kent for Brasenose College two years later, and in 1759 he and House mapped land in Oxfordshire for the same college.⁵⁰

Edward Smith (*fl.* 1729-d. 1775) of Shrivenham in Berkshire first worked for Merton College in 1758, when he mapped land at Holywell. He last appears in the records in 1774, when he surveyed and mapped land at Littlemore and Yarnton. Between these dates, he surveyed land at Hensington in connection with a proposed exchange with the duke of Marlborough in 1767, mapped land at Basingstoke with his colleague and probable relation Thomas Smith (*fl.* 1768-78), and surveyed and valued the college's estates at Eynsham and Tetsworth, and also the estate at Cumnor before it was bought in 1770.⁵¹ He was also working for other colleges in Oxford and mapped land in Gloucestershire for Wadham in 1752, in Somerset for Corpus Christi in 1766, and in Leicestershire for All Souls and Oxfordshire for Trinity in the following year. He continued to work for Brasenose, Christ Church, Corpus Christi, St. John's and Trinity Colleges until 1775, map-making with Thomas Smith from 1769.⁵² It is highly likely that he worked as a surveyor for these, and possibly other, colleges at other times but did not make a map, as written surveying work continued to predominate.⁵³

Merton College was therefore employing some map-makers who had considerable business in Oxford; others came to the college's notice by different means. For example, Richard Holland (1595/6-1677) taught mathematics at Hart Hall in Oxford. John Bowles (?1701-79), who mapped Callowlands at Watford for Merton College in 1735, had a practice as an estate surveyor ranging from Berkshire and Gloucestershire to Cambridgeshire. He mapped land in this last county in 1737 for the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy and his plan had a similar decorative style to the two maps of Callowlands he drew for Merton. He might also have been the London map-seller of the same name. Richard Waller (*fl.* 1722-9), who mapped land in Hampshire for Merton College in 1722, also worked in the county for St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1729. By contrast, Henry Winde (*fl.* 1712) and Daniel Bowden (*fl.* 1753) are surveyors about whom very little is known.⁵⁴

Although the increased production and use of maps in Britain and Ireland from the mid 17th to mid 18th centuries is not reflected in a very marked way in the production of large-scale local maps for Oxford colleges, some maps were made, especially of estates that had not been mapped hitherto and in connection with the renewal of leases. Written surveys, valuations and terriers continued to predominate among the tools of estate management.

⁵⁰ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, H538, B753.7; Wadham Coll., map of Enstone (Oxon) 1748, 35/25; Corpus Christi Coll., map of East Knoyle (Wilts) 1750, Langdon Maps I.23-4; Brasenose Coll., map of Yalding (Kent) 1752, B14.1/10, maps of Chipping Norton, Cold Norton and Headington (Oxon) 1759, B14.1/1, 24a-b, 40.

⁵¹ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, S303, S357; MCR, I.4, pp. 254-5, 270-1; MCR, 5.35, p. 115; MCR, 3.8, Lady Day to St. Peter ad Vincula 1774 and St. Peter ad Vincula 1774 to St. Catherine.

⁵² All Souls Coll., map of Whatborough (Leics) 1767; Brasenose Coll., map of Marston (Oxon) (with Thomas Smith) 1769, B14.1/23; Christ Church, map of Kildwick (Yorks) 1768, Kildwick 1; Fletcher (1995), *op. cit.* note 2, pp. 14-15; Corpus Christi Coll., map of Melsbury (Som) 1766, Maps 309, map of Marston (Oxon) (with Thomas Smith) 1769, Langdon Maps I.25; St. John's Coll., map of St. Giles, Oxford (with Thomas Smith) 1769, map of Longworth (Berks) (with Thomas Smith) 1770, maps of Radley (Oxon) (with Thomas Smith) 1771-5; H.M. Colvin, 'Manuscript Maps belonging to St. John's College Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xv (1950), 92-103, maps 16, 21, 41; Trinity Coll., map of Holcombe (Oxon) 1767, 6/1, map of Wroxton (Oxon) (by Mr. Smith) 1768, 1/3, map of Great Waltham (Essex) (with Thomas Smith) 1770, 3/1; Wadham Coll., map of Southrop (Glos) 1752, 35/1.

⁵³ D. Fletcher, 'Map or Terrier? The Example of Christ Church, Oxford, Estate Management, 1600-1840', *Trans. of the Inst. of Brit. Geographers*, xxiii (1998), 221-37.

⁵⁴ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, B493, H450, W062; Bendall (1992), *op. cit.* note 3, p. 329.

Many of the traditions of the earlier period continued and some maps were highly decorative and could also have been used by both the college and surveyor for display. More unsigned pen-and-ink maps and sketch maps not drawn to scale survive than for the earlier period. This could imply a growing ability to think cartographically, but could also reflect a better survival rate for more recent documents.

1767 TO 1836

If the period from 1700 to 1850 has been described as 'the golden age of the local land surveyor',⁵⁵ then the years from about 1770 must be the diamond ones. Maps were becoming far more common; they were being drawn in connection with many of the changes taking place in the landscape, with inclosure, digging canals and building railways; and they were being made by a wide variety of people with an equally broad range of styles. Map-making for colleges in Cambridge developed rapidly from the 1770s;⁵⁶ the same was the case in Oxford, at Christ Church, for instance,⁵⁷ and at Merton.

Eighty maps in the archives at Merton date from 1767 and later. Several do not seem to have been drawn initially for the college. Some of these were probably drawn for the tenant. For instance, the 1768 map of Malden, the plans of Newington in Kent in 1777 and the 1797 map of Callowlands (Watford) were all drawn when leases were being renewed and were not commissioned or paid for by Merton.⁵⁸ In 1798, the tenant of land at Barkby wished to dispose of some of his estate and a plan was sent to the college's attorney to help him identify the land.⁵⁹ A map of land at Kibworth in 1800 shows the rectorial estate and was most probably drawn for the rector there. Others were drawn as part of activities on the estates, especially inclosure, for example the map of Kibworth Harcourt and Kibworth Beauchamp c. 1780, the map of Chessington in Surrey of 1825 and the 1834 inclosure map of Wolvercote. A plan of land at Elham in Kent in 1833 shows the property of Thomas Papillon; the map was sent to Merton on 15 June 1833 to show lands that the college was thinking of buying to annex to its living there.⁶⁰

Maps continued to be expensive items and sometimes there were opportunities to cut costs. In 1794, for example, the vicar of Malden, Rogers Ruding, a former Fellow of Merton, suggested that the parish of Malden with Chessington should be surveyed at the joint expense of himself and the college. This was agreed and James Wyburd was employed, the college's share of the cost being £135 3s. 6d. The surveyor's task was not easy as copyhold tenants had exchanged lands informally amongst themselves. Two maps were drawn and a written survey and valuation compiled, and the estate was relet from Lady Day 1797.⁶¹ Merton College and Lord Redesdale helped each other with their estates at Great and Little Wolford in Warwickshire in the early 19th century. Lord Redesdale had Great Wolford mapped by 'Mr. Godson of Hook Norton', probably Stephen Godson; this map was lent to Merton, on the understanding that Lord Redesdale could borrow the map of Little Wolford

⁵⁵ J.B. Harley, *Maps for the Local Historian: A Guide to the British Sources* (1972), 24.

⁵⁶ Bendall (1992), op. cit. note 3, pp. 163-8.

⁵⁷ Fletcher (1995), op. cit. note 2, p. 11.

⁵⁸ MCR, 6.7, p. 416; 6.8, p. 89; 6.9, p. 52. The map of Malden is listed in the appendix under 1828, when it was copied for the college.

⁵⁹ MCR, Cupboard C, letter from J.E. Carter to Morrell Esq., 22 April 1798.

⁶⁰ MCR, Cupboard E1, letters from Dyneley to the Warden, 24 April 1833 and from Curteis Kingsford to Mr. Whish, 15 June 1833.

⁶¹ MCR, 1.4, p. 415, MCR, 3.9, St. Peter ad vincula to St. Catherine 1794, 'liberata forinseca'; MCR, 5.22. The map of Malden is no longer to be found in the college archive.

as soon as the college received it. This was probably the one made in 1820 by Frederick Young. In 1826 the college's land steward Richard Crabtree was having difficulty in tracking these plans down.⁶² The college surveyor in 1792 used another man's survey: Richard Davis was asked to survey the Merton Hall estate in Cambridge. He found that St. John's College, Cambridge had recently had the fields measured and mapped, so a copy of this survey was sent to Davis and used by him in his valuation for the renewal of the lease.⁶³

Another way of cutting costs was to reuse existing plans: maps made in the early 17th century continued to be consulted over 150 years later. For instance, the 1629 maps of the Thorncroft estate (Leatherhead) were referred to in 1778 in a claim for copyhold land.⁶⁴ In 1793, Richard Davis surveyed and valued the college's estate at Gamlingay, and took the statute measure

from the ancient survey made in 1602 – And though some exchanges have taken place and small inaccuracies appear in the measurement of a few pieces, yet considering the antiquity of the survey, much dependence may be placed on it, as it corroborates with the terrier – The meadow lands in the open fields, being set out anew every year will not match so well with the plan as the arable land.

By the time of the renewal of the lease in 1807, however, a new survey had become necessary. In August, the college agreed to ask Davis to map the estate and setting the fine was deferred until October.⁶⁵

By the late 18th century, many of the 17th-century maps had become too out-of-date to be useful and were replaced; the need for maps of the remaining college estates was also becoming apparent. Thus Richard Davis remapped Norton Mandeville and North Weald Bassett in Essex in 1793 and 1794; William Whitelock remapped Stillington and Seaton Carew in Durham in 1796. Cheddington in Buckinghamshire was mapped for the first time in 1791, by Davis, and the first map of land at Cricklade in Wiltshire was made by him in 1794. On some occasions the college was slow to take advice that a map should be made. Thus in 1791 John Dugleby was asked to survey and value the college's land at West Tilbury in Essex.⁶⁶ In the covering letter to his report and valuation, he said,

the tenant has shewn me all the land as mentioned in the inclosed terrier and one piece more ... I have great reason to think some of the land belonging to this farm is laid into the public house yard and as other parts may be incroached upon I should advise you to have it mapped provided you have no map of it by you, and then it may be easily seen on a view in the future whether there has been any encroachments made, the fields lie very much scattered some two miles assunder.⁶⁷

But this suggestion did not meet with favour; the land was not mapped until 1817, and then the map only covered the parts that were being considered for exchange with the rector.⁶⁸ Similarly, at Puxton in Somerset the surveyor and valuer of the estate in 1811 recommended

⁶² Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii G163; MCR, Wolford drawer, bundle 6, copy of letter from Mr. Crabtree to Henry Buckley, 18 Dec. 1826.

⁶³ MCR, 1.4, p. 411, MCR, 6.8, p. 550; Gamlingay drawer, bundle 9.2, 9.8.

⁶⁴ MCR, Cupboard D1, letter from Giles Rooke to [the Warden?] 6 June 1778.

⁶⁵ MCR, Gamlingay drawer, 7.15; MCR, 1.4, p. 499.

⁶⁶ MCR, 1.4, p. 402.

⁶⁷ MCR, Cupboard C, letter from John Dugleby to [the Sub-warden?] 10 Dec. 1791.

⁶⁸ MCR, West Tilbury drawer, letter from the Revd Adam Gordon to Robert Morrell, 8 March 1817.

that it should be mapped as the college's land lay dispersed amongst that of other landowners. No map was made; when Y. and J. Sturge valued the estate in 1832 before the lease was renewed, they experienced difficulties as 'the landmarks are mostly destroyed, and the boundaries known to scarcely any person but the lessee, who is himself somewhat at a loss in some instances'. Once the college had received the report and valuation, a map was finally ordered and made.⁶⁹

These recently-made maps were then referred to in their turn. For instance, when the lease of the land at Stillington and Seaton Carew in Durham was being renewed in 1810, a new valuation was necessary. The Warden was asked to send the existing (1796) map and valuation to the agent in Yorkshire, using the good offices of Mr. Moises of University College as a carrier.⁷⁰ A reasonably accurate and up-to-date map of an estate was adequate for most purposes and by 1836 the college's property had mostly been mapped. Estates were still surveyed and valued far more frequently than they were mapped: surveys were often carried out every seven years as leases were most commonly renewed at this interval.

Nevertheless, while the renewal of leases accounted for about two-fifths of the maps made in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and remained the most common stimulus to map-making, maps were also made for an increasing variety of other uses. The second most common reason for commissioning a map was to show the redistribution of the college's land on inclosure. Maps were made before and during inclosure. For example, the college's estate at Bielby in Yorkshire was mapped in 1779; in 1794, inclosure was being considered and the college's agent asked to be sent the plan so that he could assess whether or not Merton should support the proposal. Nothing appears to have happened and in 1809 the land agent John Singleton reported that 'the whole estate is in a wretched condition' and suggested that inclosure would double the value of the college's property. But 'it is with much difficulty I have been able to collect the above particulars for want of a plan – the inhabitants are ignorant of several things or wilfully so'. Three years later matters were progressing and the college's land steward, Richard Crabtree, promised to bring maps with him when he next visited Oxford; the Act was eventually passed in 1814.⁷¹ Maps were also made after inclosure had taken place; for example, the college's allotment in lieu of tithes at Diddington, Huntingdonshire, was mapped in 1797. Sometimes the award map was copied to show Merton's holdings – Benjamin Badcock copied the map of Stratton St. Margaret in Wiltshire in 1830 to show the college's newly allotted estate there – thus saving costs.

Plans were useful on many other occasions. An equally common reason for making maps was to show land to be exchanged between the college and another landowner; this accounts for maps of land at Cambridge in 1800 and 1801, at Leatherhead in 1822 and at Wolford in Warwickshire in 1834 and 1835. Other needs for maps arose more spasmodically. The need to defend the college's rights continued, and this process could require maps. Thus in 1780 Richard Godson mapped Burmington in Warwickshire and 'about 14 acres of land are restored to the glebe of the rectory, which heretofore were unjustly withholden'.⁷² Three years later Merton was involved in a dispute over ownership of a pond at Newington in Kent. Maps were used both to establish the claim by the college in the first place and then to defend its right; a small plan on a scrap of paper survives in the archive showing the area in

⁶⁹ MCR, 5.24, pp. 120, 122; MCR, Pockrilstone drawer, valuation dated 7 May 1832.

⁷⁰ MCR, 1.4, p. 513.

⁷¹ MCR, Bielby drawer 2, letter from William Thompson to Mr. Rooke, 11 Sept. 1779, letters from William Morton to the Warden 13 Feb. and 1 March 1794, report by J. Singleton 4 April 1809, letter from Richard Crabtree to [the college] 6 June 1812.

⁷² MCR, 1.4, p. 328.

dispute.⁷³ Clarification of the college's ownership of copyholds led to the decision to commission a map of Canes manor in Essex in 1805 and was one of the factors that led to the mapping of land at Gamlingay two years later.⁷⁴ In 1798 the map and survey of Kibworth was lent to help to estimate the land tax there.⁷⁵ The construction of the London and Birmingham railway led to a sketch being sent to the college in December 1831 showing the proposed route of the railway through its manor of Callowlands in Watford, and a more formal map being made in 1833.⁷⁶

This increased production and use of maps is also reflected in the college's employment of surveyors. From the late 18th century, Merton College tended to use a few men extensively. Thus John Dugleby (*fl.* 1769-94) worked for the college in Essex, Kent and Surrey from 1782 to 1791.⁷⁷ He was followed by Richard Davis (1750-1814), who was employed between 1791 and 1809 and travelled to most of the college's estates apart from those in the north.⁷⁸ Richard Crabtree (*fl.* 1789-1829) followed in 1810 and in the next year was appointed land steward at an annual salary of not more than £200; he also visited the northern estates and worked for the college until 1829.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Frederick Young (*fl.* 1815/17-35) had made maps for the college in Warwickshire and Surrey in 1820 and 1822; W.W. Gardner (*fl.* 1822-35) had started working for Merton in 1822;⁸⁰ Benjamin Badcock (*fl.* 1819-49) in 1825;⁸¹ and John Dale (*fl.* 1832-8) in 1832.⁸² A similar pattern of colleges primarily employing one surveyor at any one time can be seen in Cambridge.⁸³

As well as making maps, these men carried out a wide variety of work for Merton College and they all drew up written surveys and valuations. Richard Davis was appointed inclosure commissioner by the college for Stratton St. Margaret in 1795 and for Diddington in the following year.⁸⁴ In 1799 he settled and apportioned the land tax at Wolford.⁸⁵ Davis was well regarded by the college; if he had a fault, it was that he was if anything too favourable to the interests of the tenants.⁸⁶ Richard Crabtree supervised repairs, advised about levels of rents, considered the desirability of exchanges of land, surveyed and valued timber, valued tithes, and was involved in the inclosure of Malden. Gardner was very active as a surveyor and valuer and also managed the woods at Gamlingay, but he drew relatively few maps.⁸⁷ These men were typical of their times, conducting land agency and related businesses.⁸⁸

⁷³ MCR, Farleigh drawer 2, letter from E. Robinson to Mr. Rooke 23 Jan. 1783, letter from R. Spearman to the Warden 30 March 1783; MCR, Newington drawer, undated plan.

⁷⁴ MCR, 1.4, pp. 481, 499.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 445.

⁷⁶ MCR, Cupboard D1, sketch of 23 December 1831; MCR, Callowlands drawer, Plan of lands belonging to Merton Coll. in the Parish of Watford [1833].

⁷⁷ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, D343; MCR, Farleigh drawer 2, records of timber sold at Canes, Farleigh and Newington, 18 July 1782; MCR, 1.4, pp. 402, 407.

⁷⁸ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, D087; MCR, 1.4, pp. 402, 512-13.

⁷⁹ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, C503; MCR, 5.24, pp. 22, 24; MCR, 1.4, p. 544; MCR, 3.11, St. Catherine 1828 - Lady Day 1829, 'liberata forinseca'.

⁸⁰ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, Y014; MCR, 1.4, p. 626.

⁸¹ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, B010; MCR, 3.11, Lady Day to St. Peter ad vincula 1825, 'liberata forinseca'.

⁸² Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, D014.8; MCR, Watford drawer, bundle 6.7.

⁸³ Bendall (1992), *op. cit.* note 3, pp. 186-7.

⁸⁴ MCR, 1.4, pp. 424, 432.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 446.

⁸⁶ MCR, 5.24, p. 145.

⁸⁷ MCR, Gamlingay drawer, bundle 13, letter from Gardner to the Bursar, 21 Dec. 1831.

⁸⁸ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, i, pp. 54-5.

The ways in which surveyors came to be employed by Merton were various. Some lived near Oxford: Benjamin Badcock practised there, Richard Davis lived at Lewknor not far away and John Dale came from Woodstock.⁸⁹ Others lived near the estates they worked on: W.W. Gardner, who carried out much work in Eastern England for the college, lived at Biggleswade.⁹⁰ Trophimus Fulljames (*fl.* 1797-1821), from Gloucester, surveyed and valued land for Merton at Puxton in 1797 and in Gloucestershire in 1816;⁹¹ the firm of Y. and J.P. Sturge (*fl.* 1814-742) who surveyed Puxton in 1832 came from Bristol;⁹² and J. Godman (*fl.* 1823-46) of St. Stephen, Hertfordshire, mapped land at St. Albans for the college in 1835.⁹³

Surveyors could be employed through personal recommendations. Thus the college's solicitor appointed Mr. Dawson to survey the estate at Bielby in 1779;⁹⁴ William Custance (*fl.* ?1790-1833) was recommended by the college's tenant in 1801 to survey land at Cambridge;⁹⁵ and John Crowder (1742-1816), who was asked by the college to survey its lands in County Durham in 1795, recommended that William Whitelock (*fl.* 1781-d. 1809/10) be employed.⁹⁶ The employment of William Chapman (*fl.* 1754-83) by Merton was probably also a result of personal recommendations. In 1754 he had surveyed land at Ibstone for the college.⁹⁷ Some time later, in 1766, he worked for Merton again when a map was needed of its land at Cuxham. The Bursar, Joseph Kilner, was asked to obtain the help of the rector and tenant in choosing a surveyor; Chapman was employed and in 1767 he produced a colourful map with a decorative title cartouche and the college's coat of arms, together with a survey (Fig. 8).⁹⁸ In that year, Kilner was appointed to the college living of Farleigh and shortly after his arrival there he was asked to employ a skilful surveyor to map the estate. Chapman was chosen once more and his map is again colourful and decorative, though he appears not to have finished distinguishing the tenants' lands by colour (though he was paid for the work) and he does not show the south porch to the church.⁹⁹ When Kilner was appointed to the rectory of Lapworth in 1769, Chapman mapped that estate too but not, it seems, for the college. The map is not signed and is called an 'eye plan'; perhaps it was cheaper not to draw it to scale and Kilner paid for the map himself.¹⁰⁰

By the late 18th century colleges in Oxford were employing many different land surveyors. Some still seem to have passed from college to college, most notably Richard Davis. It seems he first made maps for Oxford colleges in 1791, when he was surveying for Merton College and All Souls; perhaps he came to their notice through his work as a local surveyor who was employed on inclosure work. He then went on to make maps for Balliol, Christ Church, Magdalen and New Colleges and also to map the county of Oxford.¹⁰¹ His abilities could well have recommended themselves, but employers could also have passed his

⁸⁹ Ibid. ii, B010, D014.8, D087; MCR, 5.24, pp. 175, 336-7.

⁹⁰ MCR, 1.5, p. 6.

⁹¹ MCR, 5.24, pp. 119, 121, 123; MCR, Pockrilstone drawer, valuation of Walton closes 14 June 1816; Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, F240.

⁹² Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, S583, S586; MCR, 5.24, p. 124.

⁹³ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, G159; MCR, Estates Bursary Safe, Hertfordshire 4.2.

⁹⁴ MCR, Bielby drawer 2, letter from William Thompson to the Warden, 27 Feb. 1780.

⁹⁵ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, C624; MCR, 1.4, p. 461.

⁹⁶ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, C578, W303; MCR, 1.4, pp. 425, 427.

⁹⁷ Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, C162; MCR, Cuxham drawer, bundle 7.

⁹⁸ MCR, 1.4, p. 244; MCR, 5.30.

⁹⁹ MCR, 1.4, pp. 251, 253; MCR, 4.2.

¹⁰⁰ MCR, 1.4, p. 256; MCR, 4.4.

¹⁰¹ L.L. Grof, 'Richard Davis of Lewknor: Land Surveyor, Estate Agent and Enclosure Commissioner', *Map Collector*, lxxi (1995), 32-7; Bendall (1997), op. cit. note 11, ii, D087; All Souls Coll., map of Weedon (Northants).

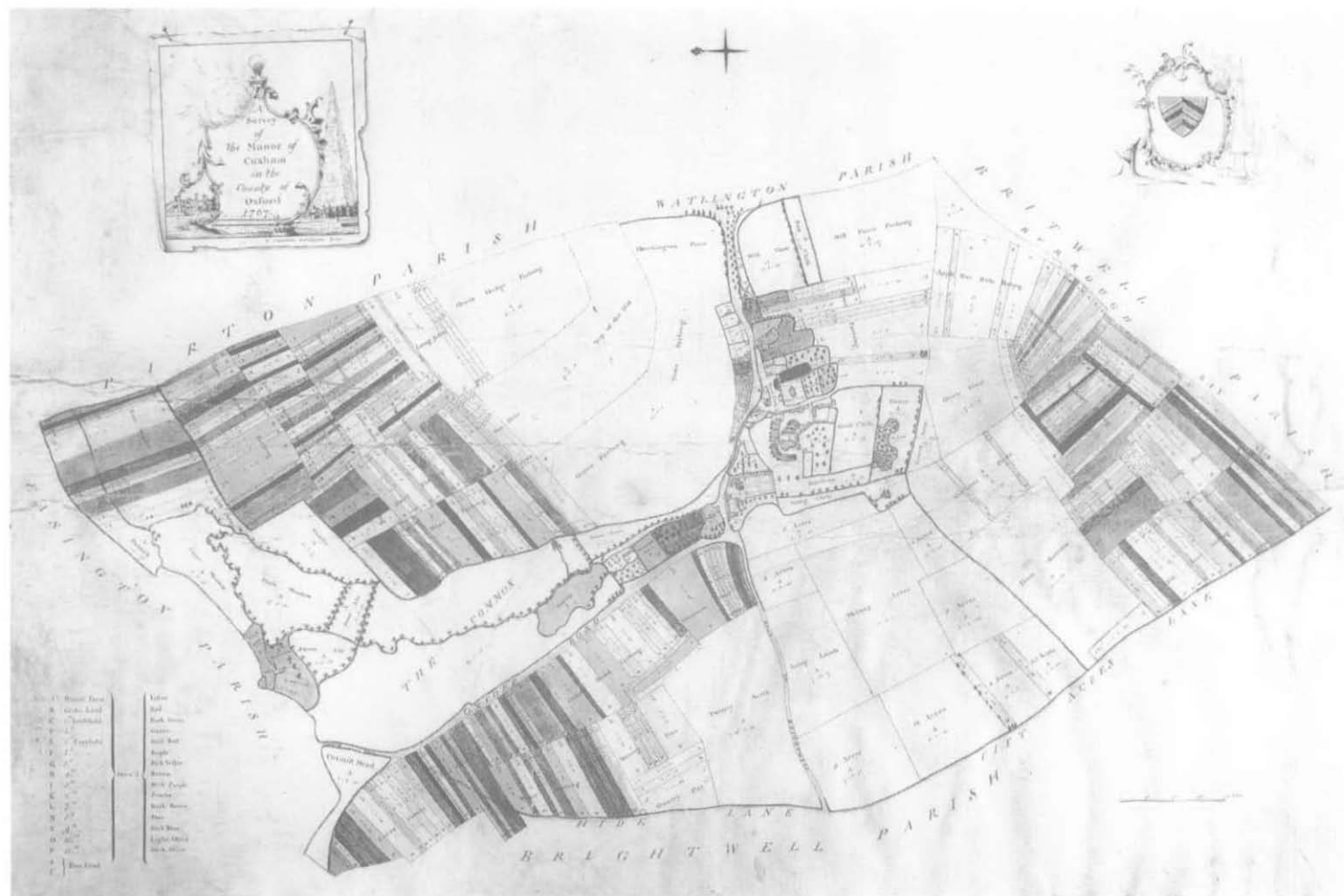


Fig. 8. Cuxham, Oxfordshire, by William Chapman, 1767 (MCR).

name around. Benjamin Badcock's employment at Merton College was followed by later work for Christ Church, Corpus Christi and St. John's.¹⁰² Merton was not always an early employer of a particular surveyor: it followed Christ Church in employing Frederick Young, who had worked in Kent and Oxford for that college in 1818 and came to Merton two years later.¹⁰³ Nor did Merton necessarily employ local surveyors who were carrying out much work for other colleges in Oxford, such as W.H. Chamberlin (*fl.* ?1778 -c. 1818), who made maps for Christ Church, New College and Trinity College between 1803 and 1815;¹⁰⁴ G.F. Davenport (*fl.* 1824-?42), map-maker for Christ Church, Exeter and Magdalen Colleges from 1824;¹⁰⁵ or John Allen (*fl.* 1820-48), who worked for Christ Church, Jesus, St. John's and Worcester Colleges from 1822 (though Allen did copy the 1768 map of Moot's farm, Malden, for Merton in 1828).¹⁰⁶ There were skilled practitioners in abundance.

As the ability to make maps became increasingly common, more plans were made by men who did not have careers as surveyors. For example, Rogers Ruding, the former Fellow of Merton who in 1794 suggested that Malden should be mapped, in the previous year had sent the Warden a sketch to show the college's land at St. Albans.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the incumbent of Embleton in 1807 sent a sketch to show damage to the glebe there, adding (ironically) 'the drawing being so very complete, Kilner will give it a handsome frame when you have done with it. It is at his service ...'¹⁰⁸

By the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Merton College was thus making extensive use of maps, surveys and valuations. By the end of the period most of its landholdings had been mapped for one reason or another: reasons for drawing maps became more varied. While maps could remain useful for long periods and were referred to time and again, surveys and valuations were updated much more regularly. During these years, however, it became necessary to replace many of the 17th and early 18th-century maps of the college's estates. The college found ways to have these maps made as economically as possible; nevertheless, some are still ornamental and decorative objects. This perhaps suggests that the appearance of a map reflects a map-maker's style and wish to advertise his skills as much, if not more, than the college's wish to show off its plans to neighbours, colleagues and tenants. While the college primarily employed one or a few map-makers at any one time, an increasing variety of other men occasionally made maps. Some of these were sketch maps drawn to illustrate, for example, land in dispute or to be exchanged; these were the products of an increasing awareness of maps and ability to make them among the educated classes.

¹⁰² Fletcher (1995), *op. cit.* note 2, pp. 33-4, 75, 139; Corpus Christi Coll. maps 212; Colvin, *op. cit.* note 52, maps 56, 61.

¹⁰³ Fletcher (1995), *op. cit.* note 2, pp. 64, 141.

¹⁰⁴ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, C133; Christ Church Archives, Spelsbury 2; Trinity Coll. Archives 1/5; New Coll. Archives, 2410.

¹⁰⁵ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, D039.8; Christ Church Archives, Butlers Marston 5, North Nibley 1, Thrupp 3-4; Exeter Coll. Archives, K.IV.2(8); Magdalen Coll. Archives, 1/69.

¹⁰⁶ Bendall (1997), *op. cit.* note 11, ii, A078; Christ Church Archives, Medley 1; Jesus Coll. Archives, map of Medmenham 1822; Colvin, *op. cit.* note 52, maps 6, 9-10, 42, 44-5, 47, 50, 59; Worcester Coll. Archives, map of Wolvercote 1834.

¹⁰⁷ MCR, Estates Bursary Safe, St. Albans, letter from Rogers Ruding to the Warden, 29 April 1793.

¹⁰⁸ MCR, Embleton and Ponteland drawer, letter from Henry Hodges to the Warden, 9 July 1807. I am grateful to Dr. Highfield for pointing out that both Kilner and Ruding made use of illustrations, including internal plans and in Ruding's case a map, in their respective publications, *The Account of Pythagoras's School in Cambridge* (n.d.), and *Annals of the Coinage of Britain and its Dependencies* (1817-19).

CONCLUSION

Merton College therefore fits into the pattern of map-making for colleges in Oxford and Cambridge from the late 16th to early 19th centuries. It was one of the relatively few colleges, primarily in Oxford, that commissioned maps in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, but the period of greatest map production was that of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Some of the maps in the archive were not made for the college and others have been lost; these factors have to be borne in mind when using any collection of maps and related documents.

It seems that maps were primarily used as tools in estate management; at all times at least two-fifths of maps were drawn in connection with the renewal of leases (and this figure does not take account of maps that were probably drawn on the leases themselves, especially towards the end of the period). At first, other maps were drawn to help with legal disputes; during later periods, maps were increasingly made for a variety of other purposes. This partly reflects contemporary economic developments, and is also a symptom of an increasing awareness of maps throughout society. Written documents remained essential tools in estate management: it was these that were most frequently made, revised and updated. Maps had a longer life.

Colleges increasingly employed map-makers. Many of these men worked for more than one college; some concentrated their work in one geographical area, others travelled extensively. They could do much more than make maps, and were often mainly land and estate agents, managing property on behalf of their employers. Colleges thus played their part in the emergence of the surveying profession.

While the maps that were made were primarily used to manage land, they could also be colourful and decorative objects. Maps drawn for private landowners can be shown to have been used as status symbols, were hung prominently to impress a wide range of visitors, and could be used to establish their place in local society and positions of power.¹⁰⁹ For collegiate landowners, however, the wish and opportunity to use maps in these ways was probably more limited. While it is likely that college officials met their colleagues in other colleges and compared notes, at Merton as at Christ Church it is less probable that the decorative elements of maps were a prime reason for their commission except in a very few cases.¹¹⁰ A map's appearance was more likely the result of the map-maker's styles, abilities and wishes. Men like Thomas Langdon and Frederick Young produced distinctive maps (Fig. 9); perhaps they hoped that by producing fine exemplars, they would attract further custom.¹¹¹

The names of other map-makers remain unknown and these men and their maps also have a story to tell. When maps were not signed, the map-maker could hardly have expected to have gained future commissions from their work. Sometimes, further investigations give the map-maker's name, and unsigned maps could occasionally be decorative. However, other maps were less elaborately finished and some were sketch maps not drawn to scale. Many of these maps reflect a different map-making tradition, being drawn as the ability to think cartographically spread, and made for a very specific purpose.

To use a collection of maps such as those in Merton College to the best effect, it is therefore helpful to understand the background to their production. By studying their role

¹⁰⁹ Bendall (1992), op. cit. note 3, pp. 177-84.

¹¹⁰ Fletcher (1998), op. cit. note 53, p. 230.

¹¹¹ See, for example, S. Bendall, 'Mapping and Displaying an English Marshland Landscape in the Eighteenth Century', in L. Daston and P. Reill (eds.), *The Display of Nature in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (forthcoming).

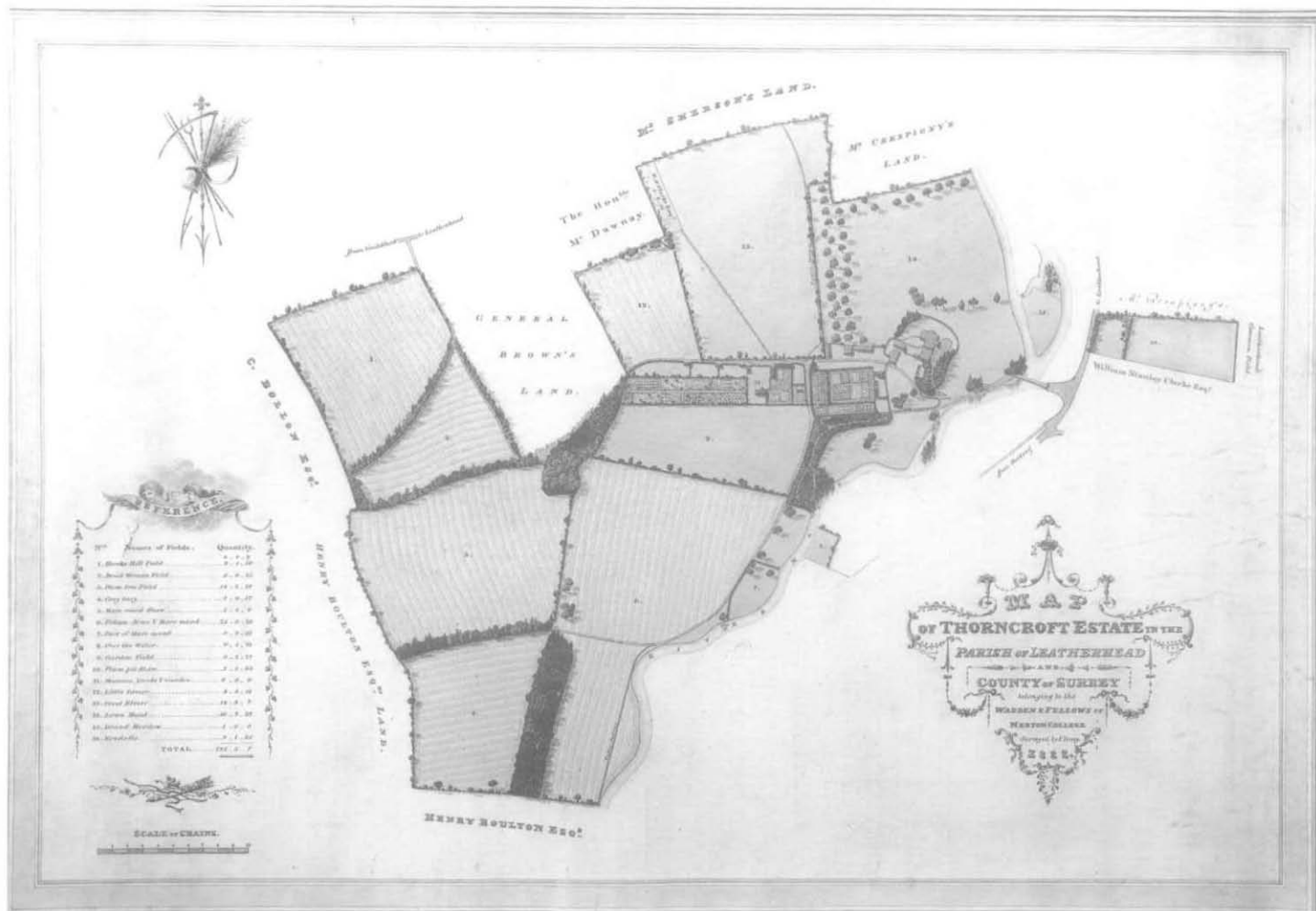


Fig. 9. Thorncroft estate, Leatherhead, Surrey, by Frederick Young, 1822 (MCR).

alongside other contemporary documents, the men who were intimately involved in producing the maps, and the ways in which the sheets were used, it is possible to use critically the information they provide and to begin to deduce why they show their particular abstraction of the contemporary landscape in the way that they do.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr. Roger Highfield for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I also thank the librarians and archivists of the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge for making available to me the lists of their holdings of maps. Figs. 3, 4a and 5 to 9 are reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Merton College.

APPENDIX: LIST OF MAPS IN MERTON COLLEGE ARCHIVE

Maps shown in square brackets no longer survive. All maps are part of the collection of maps and plans, unless otherwise indicated.

- [c. 1585] – Radstone, Northants. Land not owned by Merton College until 1868 and plan not drawn for the college
- [1601] – Gamlingay, Cambs: Broad Leys, claimed by Merton College. MCR 6.17, with copies as for 1602 maps of Gamlingay
- 1602 – Gamlingay, Cambs: manors of Mertonage and Avenells owned by Merton College, by Thomas Langdon. 14 maps. MCR 6.17, with copies by William Cole in 1767 at MCR 6.19, and by Charles Oakden in 1827 at MCR 6.18
- [c. 1605?] – St. Albans, Herts: land belonging to Merton College. MCR, Abbots Langley drawer
- 1609 – Barkby, Leics: manor owned by Merton College, by Richard Comley
- 1609 – Kibworth Harcourt, Leics: manor owned by Merton College, by Richard Comley
- 1613 – Bielby, Yorks: lordship, by Francis Mayson
- 1621 – Malden Common and Chessington Park, Surrey, by Nicholas Lane. Not drawn for Merton College
- 1623 – Malden, Surrey: manor owned by Merton College, by Elias Allen
- 1623 – Malden and Chessington, Surrey: woods and coppices belonging to Merton College, by Elias Allen
- 1627 – Malden, Surrey: parish, by Nicholas Lane. Not drawn for Merton College
- 1629 – Leatherhead, Surrey: manor of Thorncroft owned by Merton College, by Elias Allen. 6 maps. MCR 5.28
- [1630 – Farleigh, Surrey: manor owned by Merton College, by Elias Allen. Lost, survey exists at MCR, Farleigh drawer 1]
- [1632 – North Weald Bassett, Essex: manor of Canes owned by Merton College, by Abraham Allen. Lost, survey exists at MCR, Canes drawer, bundle 8]
- 1632 – Norton Mandeville, Essex: manor owned by Merton College, by Abraham Allen
- 1633 – Newington, Kent: Tracies and Frognall farms owned by Merton College, by Abraham Allen. 2 copies
- 1635 – Barkby, Leics: manor owned by Merton College, by Abraham Allen

- 1635 – Kibworth Harcourt, Leics: manor owned by Merton College, by Abraham Allen
- [mid 17th-century] – St. Albans, Herts: plot of ground owned by Merton College, adjoining Lord Marlborough's house. MCR, Estates Bursary Safe, Hertfordshire 4.1
- [c. 1666] – Oxford: Holywell and St. Peter's parishes, Oxford. With a copy at a smaller scale
- 1672 – Oxford: manor of Holywell owned by Merton College, by Richard Holland
- 1674 – Watford, Herts: closes belonging to the Rose and Crown Inn owned by Merton College
- [late 17th-century] – Oxford: Holywell: land owned by Merton College, showing ground to be granted to New College
- 1676 – Walton Closes near Tewkesbury, Glos: owned by Merton College. MCR, Pockrillstone drawer
- 1679 – Hensington, Oxon: meadow and pasture owned by Merton College
- 1679 – Shaftesbury, Dorset: 2 houses paying a quit rent to Merton College. MCR, Cupboard C, bundle 'various old letters 1700-1800'
- 1679 – Stratton St. Margaret, Wilts: parsonage and homestall owned by Merton College. MCR, Cupboard C, bundle 'various old letters 1700-1800'
- 1712 – Malden, Surrey: 28a. owned by Merton College, by Henry Winde. MCR, Malden drawer
- 1722 – Basingstoke, Hants: Swallick Coppice, by Richard Waller
- 1722 – Oxford: meadows in Holywell owned by Merton College, by [Robert] Speakman. Not drawn for Merton College?
- 1723 – Ibbstone, Bucks: manor owned by Merton College, by Robert Speakman
- [pre 1724] – London: Merton College's property in Great Knighttrider Street before new buildings erected in 1724. MCR, London drawer
- 1726 – Basingstoke, Hants: Eliotts closes owned by Merton College, by Robert Speakman
- [1726] – Basingstoke, Hants: proposed new house on land owned by Merton College, [by Robert Speakman]
- [1726] – Stillington and Seaton Carew, Durham: Merton College's estates, [by Andrew Pelin]
- 1733 – Cumnor, Berks: Bradley farm, the estate of Robert Thornton, by Maximilian Cole. Not drawn for Merton College (estate bought by the college in 1770)
- 1735 – Watford, Herts: manor of Callowlands owned by Merton College, by John Bowles. 2 copies
- 1749 – Hensington, Oxon: manor owned by Merton College, by John House and Richard Busby
- [c. 1753/78] – Kibworth Beauchamp, Kibworth Harcourt and Smeeton Westerby, Leics. Not drawn for Merton College? MCR, Kibworth drawer 1
- [c. 1753/78] – Kibworth Harcourt, Leics: settlement, signed Young Owsley[?]. Not drawn for Merton College? MCR, Kibworth drawer 1
- 1753 – Oxford: plan for Holywell Bridge, by Daniel Bowden. MCR, Holywell drawer 3
- [1755] – Basingstoke, Hants: 4 poles of meadow owned by Merton College and required for widening the Andover Turnpike. MCR, Basingstoke drawer bundle 5, letter from William Henschman to the Warden, 26 Feb. 1755
- 1758 – Oxford: Holywell manor owned by Merton College, by Edward Smith. 2 copies at a reduced scale at MCR 5.23, one showing the manor and the other showing Holywell Street and land to the north

- 1764 – North Weald Bassett, Essex: Canes manor owned by Merton College, by James Turner. Drawn for the tenant, Daniel Binckes?
- 1767 – Cuxham, Oxon: manor owned by Merton College, by William Chapman
- 1768 – Farleigh, Surrey: manor owned by Merton College, by W[illiam] Chapman
- 1769 – Basingstoke, Hants: [Flemings Grove] owned by Merton College, by Edward and Thomas Smith. MCR, Basingstoke drawer, bundle 5
- 1769 – Lapworth, Warws: parish, [by William Chapman]. Probably not drawn for Merton College, perhaps drawn for the rector, Joseph Kilner
- [c. 1773] – Ibstone, Bucks: manor owned by Merton College. MCR, Ibstone drawer, bundle 5.5
- [c. 1774] – Yarnton, Oxon: Jackson's farm owned by Merton College, by Mr. Smith
- 1774 – Littlemore, Oxon: land belonging to Merton College, by Mr. Smith.
- 1777 – Newington, Kent: Thrognalls farm owned by Merton College, [by Thomas Allen]. Probably not drawn for Merton College, perhaps drawn for the tenant, Robert Spearman
- 1777 – Newington, Kent: Tracies farm owned by Merton College, [by Thomas Allen]. Probably not drawn for Merton College, perhaps drawn for the tenant, Robert Spearman
- [1779 – Bielby, Yorks: map of Merton College's estate by Mr. Dawson. Lost, see MCR, Bielby drawer, letters from William Thompson to Mr. Rooke, 11 Sept. 1779, and to the Warden, 13 Sept. 1779 and 27 Feb. 1780]
- [pre 1780/1] – Kibworth Beauchamp, Leics: parish before inclosure. Possibly drawn in the early 18th century. Not drawn for Merton College?
- [pre 1780/1] – Kibworth Harcourt, Leics: parish before inclosure. Possibly drawn in the early 18th century. Not drawn for Merton College?
- [c. 1780] – Kibworth Beauchamp and Kibworth Harcourt, Leics: parishes after inclosure, but before changes of owner recorded on 1781 map. Not drawn for Merton College?
- 1780 – Barkby, Leics: manor owned by Merton College, by John Seagrave. Drawn to show land allotted on inclosure
- 1780 – Burmington, Warws: parish, by R[ichard] Godson. 2 copies
- 1781 – Kibworth Beauchamp, Kibworth Harcourt and Smeeton Westerby, Leics: lordships after inclosure, copied by Thomas Eagle from the surveys made for the inclosure
- [c. 1783?] – Newington, Kent: pond in dispute between Sir John Filmer and Merton College. MCR, Newington drawer
- [1791] – Cheddington, Bucks: part of estate (inclosures and adjoining open field land) belonging to Merton College, by Richard Davis
- 1793 – Cambridge: Merton College farm in St. Giles parish, [by Joseph Freeman]. MCR, Cambridge drawer, bundle 10.1
- 1793 – Ibstone, Bucks: Merton College's estate, by Richard Davis
- 1793 – Norton Mandeville, Essex: Merton College's estate, by Richard Davis
- [1793] – St. Albans, Herts: land belonging to Merton College, sketch by Rogers Ruding. MCR, Estates Bursary Safe, St. Albans, letter from Ruding to Warden, 29 April 1793
- 1794 – Chessington, Surrey: parish, with part of Malden, showing Malden manor owned by Merton College, by James Wyburd

- [1794] – Cricklade, Wilts: land belonging to Merton College, [by Richard Davis]. Copy at MCR, Cricklade drawer, bundle 5.1
- [1794 – Malden, Surrey: parish, by James Wyburd. Lost, referred to in accompanying survey at MCR, 5.22]
- 1794 – North Weald Bassett, Essex: manor of Canes owned by Merton College, by Richard Davis
- [c. 1796] – Hensington, Oxon: Merton College's estate, by Richard Davis
- [c. 1796] – London: property of Merton College in Great Knighttrider Street. MCR, London drawer
- 1796 – Abbots Langley, Herts: Merton College's estate, by Richard Davis. MCR, Cupboard D1, on report and valuation by Davis
- 1796 – Stillington and Seaton Carew, Durham: Merton College's estates, [by William Whitelock]
- 1797 – Diddington, Hunts: allotment to Merton College in lieu of great tithe, [by Richard Davis?]. MCR, Diddington drawer, bundle 2.2
- 1797 – Littlemore, Oxon: old inclosures belonging to Merton College, by Richard Davis. MCR, Littlemore drawer 2, terrier by Richard Davis, 1797
- 1797 – Watford, Herts: manor of Callowlands owned by Merton College, copy by Richard Davis of map by John Prickett. Original map possibly drawn for tenant, Cornelius Denne.
- [1798 – Barkby, Leics: land owned by Merton College that tenant wishes to dispose of. Probably not drawn for Merton College. MCR, Cupboard C, Letter from J.E. Carter to Morrell Esq., 22 April 1798]
- 1798 – Eynsham, Oxon: Merton College's estate, by Thomas Pride
- [1799] – Cumnor, Berks: Bradley manor farm owned by Merton College. Probably not drawn for Merton College. With copy at MCR, Cumnor drawer, bundle 6.2
- [1800] – Cambridge: St. John's College walks and garden belonging to Merton College in St. Giles parish. On letter proposing an exchange. MCR, Cambridge drawer, bundle 10.2
- 1800 – Kibworth Beauchamp, Kibworth Harcourt and Smeeton Westerby, Leics: rectorial estate. Probably not drawn for Merton College; brought from the Manor Farm, Kibworth, 1920
- [1801] – Cambridge: land to be exchanged between St. John's and Merton colleges in St. Giles parish. On letter about exchange. MCR, Cambridge drawer, bundle 10.3
- 1802 – Lapworth, Warws: land belonging to parsonage, by S. Porter. Possibly not drawn for Merton College
- 1802 – Littlemore, Oxon: inclosures belonging to late Dr. Nowell, by W. Rutt and E. Kelsey. Probably not drawn for Merton College. MCR, Littlemore drawer, bundle 3, terrier
- [post 1802] – Eynsham, Oxon: Merton College's land after 1802 inclosure award. Possibly not drawn for Merton College. MCR, Eynsham drawer
- [1804] – Cambridge: Merton College's estate in St. Giles parish, by William Custance. Shows land allotted on inclosure
- 18[04] – Cambridge and Grantchester: Merton College's estate, in Chesterton and St. Giles parishes in Cambridge, and in Grantchester, by William Custance. Shows land allotted on inclosure
- [c. 1805] – North Weald Bassett, Essex: Canes farm owned by Merton College, [by Richard Davis?]
- [1805] – Cambridge: 2 allotments to Merton College in St. Giles parish, [by William Custance]. MCR, Cambridge drawer, bundle 10.4

- [1805] – Gamlingay, Cambs: cottage and land, by Geo. Pedley. MCR, Cupboard C, letter from Geo. Pedley to the Warden, 3 Oct. 1805
- [1807] – Embleton, Northumb: part of glebe, by Henry Hodges. MCR, Embleton and Ponteland drawer, letter from Henry Hodges [the vicar] to the Warden, 9 July 1807
- 1807 – Gamlingay, Cambs: old inclosures and part of open field land belonging to Merton College, [by Richard Davis]
- 1808 – Basingstoke, Bassett, Winslade and Cliddesden, Hants: land belonging to Merton College, by Richard Davis
- [1809 – Embleton and Ponteland, Northumb: plan of parishes by John Dinning. Merton College agreed to ask Dinning to survey and map the parishes, but no evidence that map was made. MCR, 1.4, p. 511]
- [post 1811 – Newington, Kent: Merton College's land, by Richard Crabtree. Merton College expected to receive a map, but no evidence it was made. MCR, 5.24, p. 177]
- 1812 – Radstone, Northants: estate of William Holbech. Land not owned by Merton College at this time
- 1815 – Elham, Kent: town and parish, by Richard Crabtree
- [1817] – West Tilbury, Essex: land proposed to be exchanged between Merton College and the rectory, by the Revd Adam Gordon. MCR, West Tilbury drawer, letter from the Revd Adam Gordon to Robert Morrell, 8 March 1817
- [1819] – Watford, Herts: Rose and Crown Inn owned by Merton College, by Richard Crabtree. MCR, Watford drawer, bundle 6.6, letter from Richard Crabtree to the Bursar, 20 April 1819
- 1820 – Little Wolford, Warws: hamlet, by Frederick Young
- [1822] – Leatherhead, Surrey: land on Thorncroft estate owned by Merton College to be sold to and exchanged with W.S. Clarke, by Crabtree and Young. MCR, Thorncroft drawer, with report by Richard Crabtree, 14 Aug. 1822
- 1822 – Leatherhead, Surrey: Thorncroft estate owned by Merton College, by Frederick Young
- [1823] – London: Merton College's property in Great Knightrider Street, by I. Hood. MCR, London drawer
- [1825] – Chessington, Surrey: land inclosed, by Thomas Cawter jr. Tracing of inclosure map, which was not drawn for Merton College
- 1825 – Oxford: garden and buildings belonging to Merton College in St. Peter in the East, by B[enjamin] Badcock. MCR, Cupboard A4, with draft; copy by John Dale, 1841, in MCR, Estates Bursary Oxford volume
- 1825 – Tetsworth, Oxon: 2 meadows belonging to Merton College, by B[enjamin] Badcock. MCR, Tetsworth drawer
- 1827 – London: no. 6 Bread Street owned by Merton College, by James Noble. MCR, London drawer, on survey
- 1827 – London: no. 69 Basinghall Street owned by Merton College, by James Noble. MCR, London drawer, on survey
- 1828 – Cumnor, Berks: Bradley manor and farm owned by Merton College, by Benjamin Badcock. Rough copy in MCR, maps and plans; fair copy in MCR, Estates Bursary
- 1828 – Malden, Surrey: Moot's farm owned by Merton College, copied by John Allen from a map made in 1768

- [1830] – Cambridge: land belonging to Merton College in St. Giles parish, [by W. W. Gardner]
- 1830 – Stratton St. Margaret, Wiltshire: copy by B[enjamin] Badcock of the inclosure map, showing Merton College's estate and land charged with a corn rent in lieu of tithes
- [1831] – Watford, Herts: land at Callowlands owned by Merton College, through which the proposed London and Birmingham railway will pass. MCR, Cupboard D1, sketch sent by Hooke and Parker, 23 Dec. 1831
- 1832 – Diddington, Hunts: Merton College's estate. Possibly not drawn for Merton College
- 1832 – Puxton, Som: land belonging to Merton College, by Y. and J.P. Sturge. MCR, Estates Bursary
- [1833] – Elham, Kent: land owned by Thomas Papillon, considered for purchase by Merton College. Possibly not drawn for Merton College
- [1833] – Watford, Herts: land at Callowlands owned by Merton College, required for London and Birmingham railway. MCR, Callowlands drawer
- 1834 – Eynsham, Oxon: land recommended for purchase by Merton College, by John Dale. MCR, Eynsham drawer
- 1834 – Great Wolford, Warws: land to be exchanged between Merton College and Lord Redesdale, by J[ohn] Dale. MCR, Wolford drawer, bundle 6
- 1834 – Wolvercote, Oxon: inclosure map. Copy possibly made for Merton College; received by College in 1922
- 1835 – Great Wolford, Warws: land taken by Lord Redesdale in exchange for land given to Merton College, by John Lardner. MCR, Wolford drawer, bundle 6
- 1835 – Great Wolford, Warws: land taken by Merton College in exchange for land given to Lord Redesdale, by John Lardner. MCR, Wolford drawer, bundle 6
- 1835 – St. Albans, Herts: meadow belonging to Merton College near the gas works and leased to Earl Spencer, by J. Godman. MCR, Estates Bursary Safe, Hertfordshire 4.2
- 1835 – St. Albans, Herts: Merton College's land at Holywell, by J. Godman. MCR, Estates Bursary Safe, Hertfordshire 4.2
- [pre 1836] – London: Merton College's property in Great Knightrider Street

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