Vrow Walk Hampton Court Palace



Historic Buildings Recording and Investigation



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Vrow Walk Wall, Hampton Court Palace

HISTORIC BUILDING RECORDING AND INVESTIGATION

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Vrow Walk Wall, Hampton Court Palace

HISTORIC BUILDING RECORDING AND INVESTIGATION

SUMMARY

Oxford Archaeology was commissioned by Historic Royal Palaces to record the Vrow Walk wall at Hampton Court Palace, Surrey. The survey took place in April 2010 and consisted of a photographic, drawn and written survey. The survey used photographs provided by Historic Royal Palaces, onto which were added written details and any features noted. Due to the nature of this survey a full brick by brick analysis of the fabric was not possible.

The boundary wall was initially constructed by Wolsey during c.1514-c.1529. After Wolseys downfall the area within the boundary wall to the north west of the palace grounds was converted into a Tiltyard for use in jousting tournaments, however there is little evidence to suggest it was ever used for this purpose in the 16th century. A view of Hampton Court Palace by Anthonis van den Wyngaerde (c. 1558) shows the Tiltyard during this period and there are timber and brick buildings constructed adjacent to the boundary wall both within and without the palace grounds. By the late 17th century the Tiltyard was in disrepair with its buildings removed and openings within the wall infilled.

In the early 18th century the former Tiltyard was converted into Kitchen gardens with six internal spaces created by the addition of dividing walls. New gateways were introduced to both the north and west boundary walls and extensive repairs and rebuilding of the wall took place. Trees were planted and a new walk was created for the ladies or 'Frau' to walk in, later becoming known as the Vrow Walk. Later in the 18th century the 'decayed' walls were heightened following a petition to allow fruit trees to grow against them and tenements were removed from the walk where several businesses had set up shop in order to provide services for the occupants of the palace.

The 19th century changes mainly consist of repairs to the walling. The Kitchen gardens were redesigned in the early 20th century to provide leisure activities for visitors to the palace. Turnstile gates and entrances to a new toilet block were inserted into the fabric of the Tudor boundary wall, some of these were later infilled and there were numerous repairs to the brickwork, including the moulded brickwork on the late 17th century gates. The Vrow Walk was altered with the addition of grassed areas and small gardens beside the conveniences, however despite the changes the Vrow Walk itself retains its 18th century appearance and remains an important addition to the Palace's exterior approach.

1 **INTRODUCTION**

1.1 **Project Background**

- 1.1.1 Oxford Archaeology was requested by Historic Royal Palaces to undertake building recording and investigation on the Vrow Walk Wall, Hampton Court Palace.
 Hampton Court Palace is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (Surrey, No 83). The Project Manager for Historic Royal Palaces was William Page.
- 1.1.2 The recording was carried out as per the Specification for Archaeological Watching and Recording Brief issued by Historic Royal Palaces in April 2010 and in consultation with HRP staff. As with many parts of Hampton Court Palace the wall has been subject to alterations and repairs dating up to the recent past. The majority of these repairs are of simple brick replacement and repointing and in order to simplify this report these are not discussed, however they were recorded during the survey and are included within the archive records.
- 1.1.3 Much of the research was undertaken for the *Vrow Walk Wall, Brief for Archaeological Recording and Assessment with Select Chronology and Calendar of Primary Sources* (April 2010) by Dr Kent Rawlinson, Curator of Historic Buildings, Hampton Court Palace. This document is included within the appendices of this report (Appendix II). The chronology covers key events in the development of the boundary and garden walls along with references to primary sources used. This document forms the basis of the historical background contained within this report. Many views and plans of the palace showing the walling were also provided by Dr Rawlinson.
- 1.1.4 Alison Kelly and Deirdre Forde (Oxford Archaeology Buildings Supervisors) carried out the investigations with the survey work taking place in April 2010.

1.2 Aims and objectives

- 1.2.1 The purpose of the investigation was to:
 - identify and date where possible (with reference to the HCP Brick Typology) all the brick types evident in this stretch of wall;
 - provide a summary written phasing of the historical development of the wall;
 - create an ordered archive of the work for deposition with Historic Royal Palaces.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Overall the work comprised three principal elements: a photographic, drawn and written survey. The *photographic survey* consisted of general photographs and specific details and was undertaken using 35 mm black and white print film. Digital

photographs were also taken using a Caplio 400G 3.2 megapixel camera.

- 1.3.2 The *drawn survey* consisted of marking up a plan of the Vrow Walk wall with the key features and phases of brickwork indicated. The survey used photographs of the walls provided by HRP onto which permatrace was overlain on the photographs and any details in the wall structure noted. Initially it was thought to use the rectified photographs within the report, overlaid to form a composite image of the wall elevations. However, it was found that many of the images had been taken at an angle and also had been taken prior to the removal of foliage from the walls meaning most of the features on the walling could not be seen.
- 1.3.3 Historic Royal Palaces provided historic views of the Vrow walk walling, and these were used in the analysis of the phasing and are referenced throughout this report and key ones are included within the Plates.
- 1.3.4 The *descriptive survey* complemented the photographic and drawn surveys and added further analytical and descriptive detail. Brick typology sheets were completed for analysing the brick and mortar types.

1.4 **The Brick Typology**

1.4.1 The Brick Typology was completed by Daphne Ford for English Heritage and this document, formed using a mix of visual inspection and archive evidence, established a typology for the bricks used at Hampton Court Palace, and included elevation drawings of the majority of the Palace which have been phased according to the typology. The Vrow Walk and garden walls are not included within the phased elevations, however the details and description of the brick types within the typology were compared to the brickwork on the Vrow Walk wall and a suggested identification is made where possible.

2 **SUMMARY DESCRIPTION**

- 2.1.1 The location of the two sections of wall forming this survey is shown on Figure 1. The walls are situated in the north-western corner of the palace grounds and are adjacent to the A308 Hampton Court Road. Vrow Walk is external to the palace grounds and runs from the Trophy Gate entrance to the palace (on the south-west) to the entrance gates for Wilderness House in the north-west. The walk has a pathway with grassed areas with trees providing cover and a low metal railing which is modern in date. On the eastern face there is a gateway which leads into the public gardens and there are also some entrances to public conveniences which generally remain locked. Beside these entrances there are a variety of bushes and small trees forming small garden areas. The northern wall has one gateway, called the Tennis Court Gate, which is only occasionally used for access.
- 2.1.2 The wall is constructed of brick with brick coping in several different forms; the south elevation of the north wall has a double brick plinth detail which is not reflected elsewhere on the wall. The gateways are brick with stone coping and

moulded brick detail and the gates are of timber construction. There are many areas of repair and alteration to the wall, which is in good condition. The wall has remained a boundary to the Palace grounds since the 16th century.

3 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

3.1 Background History

- 3.1.1 The Vrow Walk wall forms part of the outer boundary wall to the north and west of Hampton Court Palace. Documentary evidence tells us this boundary wall was originally constructed by Wolsey in 1515 and then utilised by Henry VIII as part of the boundary for the Tiltyard which was begun in 1538. Evidence suggests that the Tiltyard was little used for the purpose it was intended. However, the Tiltyard retained its form until the late 17th century when the space was divided into six sections and used as the palace kitchen gardens. The walls were repaired in the 18th century and gates were installed or replaced on both the west and north at this time. The 19th century changes included repairs and alterations to the kitchen garden and the heightening of the wall for greater privacy. Further alterations were made to the wall during the early 20th century as this part of the Palace was developed into a leisure facility for visitors with the addition of tennis courts in the north-western corner and the conversion of the sole remaining Tudor Tiltyard tower into tea rooms.
- 3.1.2 It is thought that the name Vrow Walk originates from the use of the walkway by ladies or 'Frau' who promenaded along the walkway in the early 18th century. Local corruption of the name means it was sometimes referred to as the Frog walk (Law 1891, 1716).

3.2 16th Century

Historical Evidence

- 3.2.1 Although there are several entries describing works to the boundary walls it is unclear as to which part of the boundary wall these refer. We know that in May 1537 William Clement and Christopher Dickson rode to Greenwich to take measurements of the Tiltyard in order to construction the Tiltyard at Hampton Court.
- 3.2.2 We have several depictions of the palace during the 16th century. In a sketch by Wyngaerde c.1558 (Plate 1) the wall can clearly be seen and appears to be topped with bricks on edge or possibly tile capping. This sketch shows the return on the north section of the wall as well as several details on the western boundary wall. There is an opening in the wall to the west of the palace which has been infilled with wooden planking and a door. Further north there are two single storey wooden structures against the western wall. One building appears to be in two ranges spanning each side of the wall with a break in the wall at this point. The structure has two brick built chimneys and two pitched roofs, although the exact format of

the buildings is unclear. There is also a small window visible on the building on the exterior of the palace wall. To the north of this structure is a single storey pitched roof structure, also with a brick fireplace, set against the wall within the tiltyard. There is a change in wall height at the position of the chimney although this detail may be unconnected with the structure. It is likely that these buildings are part of the Tiltyard facilities and they were possibly used for storage of equipment. A small gateway and single storey timber building is depicted within the Tiltyard in Hollar's 1647 'View of Whitehall from King Street' and leaning against this building are a series of long poles, possibly lances suggesting this building was used for jousting equipment.

Archaeological Evidence

- 3.2.3 The primary phase brickwork on the wall can be most clearly seen on the external elevation of the west wall. The bricks are laid in English bond and are dark brown/orange in colour with a friable dark cream coloured mortar with lime inclusions. The measurements taken during the survey vary in range: 208-225 x 98-110 x 51-58mm with an arris to arris measurement of 261-267mm. These measurements are consistent with Henrician Type C bricks (1529-1566) which have typically shorter stretcher and header measurements than the bricks used during the Wolsey phase of works. However it is still likely that the primary phase brickwork is likely to date from the later part of the Wolsey occupation of the palace as opposed to the Henrician works. Research has shown that that Henrician phases of building may have used bricks stockpiled from the Wolsey phase of construction making identification of construction unclear. The upper part of the early 16th century wall is no longer extant.
- 3.2.4 A section of infill bricks can be seen on the southern section of the west wall and this appears to correlate with an opening depicted in Wyngaerde's sketch of 1558 (Plate 1). The infill brickwork is further discussed in § 3.3.5.

3.3 17th Century

Historical Evidence

3.3.1 The documentary evidence for the Tiltyard includes a reference to the removal of the stables in 1682-3 that may be connected to the buildings depicted in Wyngaerdes view of 1558.

'Taking down the old walls of the stables in the Tiltyard & clearing the foundations, making good the Coaping & making good the Court of the Guards under the wall' (Heath IV, p 59; NA WORK/5/37).

3.3.2 There are also references in the late 17th century to a 'new wall' adjoining the house next to the Wilderness which may refer to the north section of the boundary wall.

- 3.3.3 The Knyff painting of c.1703 (Plate 3) shows the Tiltyard after the formation of the kitchen gardens, however it is likely the work was carried out in the late 17th century, probably around 1689 as one of the two remaining tiltyard towers was dismantled as part of the works; the remaining tower is still in situ. Little detail is shown of the wall, but it can be seen that the buildings adjacent to the wall shown in earlier depictions have been removed. The avenues of trees giving cover to the Vrow Walk beside the west and north boundary walls are shown. Hawksmoor also drew a plan of the palace and gardens in 1689, however there is no detail shown in the Tiltyard area.
- 3.3.4 The barrack block built within the palace entrance to the south of the Tiltyard was constructed in 1689, possibly using brick elements of an earlier, predominantly timber, barrack building constructed by Charles I (OA 2008).

Archaeological Evidence

- 3.3.5 An area of infill brickwork located on the section of brickwork situated adjacent to the upper car park can clearly be seen (Fig 3, Plates 13 & 14). These bricks have a darker brown/orange colour compared to the primary phase brickwork and the bond used is mixed. The size of these infill bricks ranges from 233-245 x 107-109 x 56-65mm with an arris to arris measurement of 274-288mm. These bricks are probably Type F and date to the mid 17th century. It is likely that this infill patch is one of the openings in the wall depicted by Wyngaerde in 1558. The brickwork to the north of this area was examined for any evidence of the timber structures depicted, however there have been many additional openings and infilled areas within this area (most of which is modern) and no evidence of the timber structures can be seen. The convenience block that was added in 1924 covers the internal stretch of wall at this point and this building possibly hides some archaeological evidence in the fabric.
- 3.3.6 The south elevation of the north section of the Vrow Walk wall (Plate 22) is formed of bricks measuring 210-214 x 102-110 x 60mm with an arris to arris measurement of 289mm. These bricks are a deep orange/rose in colour with stone and charcoal inclusions and wrinkled skins. The mortar is friable and dark cream coloured with small stone and lime inclusions. It is likely that these bricks date to the late 17th early 18th century as they are a close match to Type J in the Hampton Court Brick Typology. This rebuilding work is probably part of the Kitchen Garden works of the late 17th century. This section of wall has large, even buttresses with a decorative plinth in between. The upper 5 courses and brick coping have been rebuilt or heightened with a curved detail adjacent to the Tennis Court Gate. Both this gate and the gate on the west section of the walk wall are constructed with the same brickwork as discussed here, but the moulded brick detail has been mostly replaced.

3.4 **18th Century**

Historical Evidence

3.4.1 The documentary evidence during this phase relates to the conversion of the Tiltyard into a working kitchen garden in 1702.

'A scheme of Her Majestys Severall Gardens & Plantacion Undertaken on ye 1st of August 1702 to be kept per Henry Wise...

Kitchen Garden & Fruit Garden in 6 Divisions. [and 'Melon Ground?]...

To be dung' d, dug & Cropt, with ye Severall varietys of Eatables, most proper for her Majestys uses; & ye Trees prun' d & Nail' d' (NA T1/81.37.)

- 3.4.2 Further documentary evidence relates to the many repairs and alterations to the kitchen garden walls and in 1758 a petition is made by Mr Greening about the height and 'decayed' condition of the upper part of the wall although there is no record of a response. In 1793 there is correspondence about huts and tenements which have been constructed on the Vrow Walk, which are ordered to be removed. Amongst the tenants listed are a shoemaker, tailor and two fruit shops.
- 3.4.3 As well as the depiction of the palace by Knyff discussed above, there are several plans and depictions of the palace during this phase. An early plan dating to 1710-14 clearly shows the tiltyard divided into six kitchen gardens by walls with interconnecting gates. The west boundary wall has a gate within the middle kitchen garden and the north boundary wall has two gateways, one of which is for Wilderness House, constructed in the early 18th century. A plan of the palace and gardens by Charles Bridgeman (1711) shows the kitchen gardens as seen in the Knyff painting however there is no gateway within the north boundary wall leading to the kitchen gardens. The gateway is depicted in a later plan by John Roque dating to 1736 (Plate 4), by which time a further building has been added adjacent to the north boundary wall at the Trophy Gate entrance.

Archaeological Evidence

3.4.4 The upper section of the wall was probably rebuilt and potentially heightened during this phase with pink/yellow coloured stock bricks laid in a Flemish bond and topped with bricks on edge. These bricks were not studied closely due to access but appear to be the similar to Type Q bricks which are used elsewhere in the palace and generally date to works in the late 18th to early 19th centuries.

3.5 **19th Century to present**

Historical Evidence

3.5.1 The documentary evidence includes reference to '*Taking down part of the Garden* wall of Kitchen Garden next Fro Walk' (Heath Vii, p 30; NA WORK/5/90) which may relate to the internal walls which were replaced during this phase but could also refer to the rebuild of wall in the north western corner. In 1893 there was a proposal for re-letting the kitchen gardens and the abolition of the fruit shop at Trophy Gate suggesting the post office had been reused as a shop.

- 3.5.2 A plan of the palace dating to c. 1805 shows the kitchen gardens as previously divided in the late 17th century, with the addition of some small buildings constructed against the interior dividing walls. The openings on the north and west boundary walls remain as before and as seen today. An 1823 plan of the Toy Inn, which stood adjacent to the southern side of the trophy gate, also partly depicts the buildings adjacent to the northern edge of the gate and there is a post office adjacent to the west wall and Vrow Walk, outside Trophy Gate. The post office is also shown on an 1835 plan and other plans dating to the 1840s. An 1850 plan of the entrance to Hampton Court Palace has the Vrow Walk labelled as 'Frog Walk' and the walkway is bordered to the south and west by post and rails. In 1877 proposals were drawn up for alterations to the walling adjacent to the trophy gates and this is probably connected to the demolition of the buildings to the south of Trophy Gate (Toy Inn etc). The post office which was sited next to the Vrow Walk was probably removed earlier as both a photograph from the 1860s and a sketch by Sir John Gilbert from 1868 show the wall adjacent to Trophy Gate as it is seen today.
- 3.5.3 An early photograph (post 1900) shows the Trophy Gate entrance of the palace and the adjoining wall shows no sign of the former post office building. A plan of the barracks from 1908 also shows no post office in this location and so it is assumed this was removed during the re-tudorization of the palace in the 19th century. An early 20th century plan (c.1928 Plate 5) shows the kitchen gardens have changed with the addition of tennis courts to the north-western corner and conveniences and a turnstile to the western boundary wall. This was to provide access for tourists to the kitchen garden and tennis court area that was developed and promoted as a leisure activity during this time. The tree lined walkway remains and the older and young trees are clearly shown. It is clear that the plan form of the old post office building beside the Trophy gates has changed, however this may have been incorrectly depicted either on this plan or on earlier ones.
- 3.5.4 A photograph from the 1950s/60s (Plate 9) shows a view of the Vrow Walk facing north. The walk has green areas and trees to the western side and there appears to be no planting adjacent to the wall. A rectangular opening has been made within the wall adjacent to Trophy Gate and this is used as a bookshop for the Palace, with shutters and a canopy.

Archaeological Evidence

3.5.5 The 19th century work in this area included the refacing of the north wall on the north face within the tennis court and the bricks used for this measure 225-228 x 58-61 x 106-116mm with an arris to arris measurement of 290mm. The size, colour and quality of the bricks are consistent with type T bricks however the bed mortar is

a more lime based one and the grey or black ash mortar generally associated with this type of brickwork is not present.

- 3.5.6 Throughout the 19th century the walls were subject to repointing and repair, with areas of black ash pointing and 19th century brick visible on most elevations. The south-western end of the walk wall was reconfigured at this time following the removal of the post office building and the upper brickwork at this point is 19th century in date rather than 18th century.
- 3.5.7 The mid 19th century works include the removal of the post office by the Trophy gates. The blocking in on the wall adjacent to the Trophy Gate is probably part of these works showing the location of a former bay window. The infill bricks measure 229 x 108 x 62 and are a brighter red in colour compared to the adjacent brickwork. It is probable that these are Type T bricks. The bricks are laid in a Flemish bond.
- 3.5.8 In the early 20th century a turnstile gate and some doorways associated with the new convenience block were inserted into the wall. The turnstile entrance is wide and has a rubbed brick lintel formed of yellow colour stock bricks of 20th century date. The brickwork used for the jambs appear to be a mix of 16th and 19th century bricks reset with a grey coloured mortar. The western entrances to the conveniences also have yellow coloured 20th century brick lintels however the jambs are constructed with later 20th century replica Tudor bricks, which have also been used to infill blocked openings in this section.
- 3.5.9 The turnstile entrance was blocked in the 1950s with mixed colour straw impression bricks as used elsewhere in the palace during this period. The bookshop beside the Trophy Gate was closed and the opening infilled in the late 20th century with red/brown replica Tudor bricks laid in an English Bond. The extensive foliage covering the Vrow Walk elevation of the wall was mostly removed in the last few years revealing the damage to the brickwork caused by the planting. Some areas have been patch repaired with new pointing and replacement bricks.

4 CONCLUSION

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 The primary phase Wolsey bricks can most clearly be seen along the west section of the Vrow Walk wall. This forms the first view of Hampton Court Palace for many visitors arriving by road or from the coach park and it therefore remains an important part of the approach to the Palace. The many interventions and alterations which are visible highlight the many changes that have been made to the palace fabric and the longevity of the brickwork originally erected during the Wolsey construction phase. The historic association with the Tiltyard and the later addition of the Vrow Walk adds to the importance of this stretch of boundary wall.

4.2 Summary of phasing following investigation

- 4.2.1 The opening depicted in the view of the Tiltyard by Wyngaerde in 1538 is probably the blocked up opening filled with 17th century Type F bricks as discussed previously in § 3.3.5. Further evidence of the timber and brick building probably used for storage of materials could not be seen although this may be hidden by toilet block constructed in the early 1920s. The 17th century saw the removal of the buildings within the Tiltyard and the blocking up of an opening on the west boundary wall.
- 4.2.2 In the early 18th century the former Tiltyard was converted into kitchen gardens with six internal spaces created by the addition of dividing walls. New gateways were introduced to both the north and west boundary walls and extensive repairs and rebuilding of the wall took place. Trees were planted and a new walk was created for the ladies or 'Frau' to walk in, later becoming know as the Vrow Walk. Later in the 18th century the 'decayed' walls were heightened after a petition to allow fruit trees to grow against them and tenements were removed from the walk where several businesses had set up shop in order to provide services for the occupants of the palace.
- 4.2.3 The 19th century changes mainly consist of repairs to the walling. The kitchen gardens are redesigned in the early 20th century to provide leisure activities to visitors to the palace. Turnstile gates and entrances to a new toilet block was inserted into the fabric of the Tudor boundary wall; some of these are later infilled and there were numerous repairs to the brickwork, including the moulded brickwork on the late 17th century gates. Vrow Walk is altered with the addition of grassed areas and some small gardens beside the conveniences, however despite the changes Vrow Walk itself retains its 18th century appearance and remains a pleasant addition to the Palace exterior approach.

Alison Kelly Oxford Archaeology September 2010

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APPENDIX II STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE BY DR KENT RAWLINSON (CURATOR OF BUILDINGS, HAMPTON COURT PALACE)

Vrow Walk Wall Brief for Archaeological Recording and Assessment

with Select Chronology and Calendar of Primary Sources

Kent Rawlinson, Curator of Historic Buildings (Hampton Court Palace) 12 April 2010

1. Summary

This is a brief for a visual/measured archaeological analysis of:

The brick wall which forms the western boundary of the Tiltyard at Hampton Court Palace and which divides the Tiltyard from the pedestrian path known as Vrow Walk.

This wall is hereafter referred to as the Vrow Walk Wall. (This wall is highlighted on the attached plan.)

2. Project background and purpose

Historic Royal Palaces are currently assessing the possibility of breaching the Vrow Walk Wall in order to create a new gateway for the egress of cars from the Tiltyard Carpark.

This archaeological survey is intended to provide a clear phasing and dating of the section of the wall which might have to be removed for this purpose, in the context of this stretch of wall as a whole.

3. Scope of works

- 1. To identify and date where possible (with reference to the HCP Brick Typology) all the brick types evident in this stretch of wall.
- 2. To mark the above up on a series of rectified photograph (provided by HCP).

This marking up should obviously identify all the key areas of distinct build/brick type, in particular their junctions, but need not be a brick-by-brick survey.

It is particularly important to date, and gauge the significance, of the secondary blocking (or build) which is evident in the stretch of wall which might be removed to create the proposed exit.

3. To provide a summary written phasing of the historical development of the wall, with reference to (and testing) the documentary chronology and other background material provided by the Curator of Historic Buildings (Hampton Court Palace).

The length of this should not be in excess of 1,000-2,000 words (unless agreed with the Curator of Historic Buildings, HCP).

4. To provide a simple scale plan of the wall indicating the predominant phase of each stretch of wall (i.e. the plan should indicate the

predominate type/phase of brick which currently survives, not the earliest type/phase of brick).

To provide simple scaled elevations of both sides of the wall, indicating the date/brick type of each stretch or element of the wall.

It is estimated that this will take the following time:

Reading and review material provided by HRP: 1 Day. Survey Work: 2 Days. Report Writing / CAD Work: 2 Days.

4. Brief Historical Summary

The Vrow Walk Wall appears to be a much altered and repaired stretch of the early-Tudor boundary walls of the palace and its attendant parks. These survive in modified form around much of the palace and its estate, including along both the north and south sides of the road to Kingston.

The construction of these boundary walls was undertaken in various phases and is sporadically documented in the contemporary building accounts. The original construction of this specific length of wall does not appear to be documented, but is commonly held to date from Cardinal Wolsey's period of ownership and development, i.e. c.1514 – c.1529.

The most significant period of alteration to this wall occurred at the turn of the eighteenth-century when the adjacent Tiltyard was converted into a Kitchen Garden comprising six compartments and a new gateway was created onto Vrow Walk. (The accounts for the construction of these walls have yet to be clearly identified.)

A series of repairs and modifications to this wall were undertaken over the course of the 17th to 20th centuries. In 1924 a new toilet block was built against the eastern face of the wall, with two entrances from Vrow Walk being made through the wall itself.

Appendix 1 Select Chronology and Calendar of Primary Sources:

Entries of particular interest are highlighted.

1534	Example entries for construction of Tudor boundary walls:
	'Thomas Clement for layng 474,000 Brykk in the bryk wall uppon the northesayde of the heygh way from Kyngston and layng 165,000 in fenesshyng of the brykk waull uppon the lowng Course in the nether parke.' ¹
	'John Johnson for irne work a pare of stoon hendgs Tynnyd servyng for a stoon dore in the brykwall at the Upper parke uppon the grene syde; sondry gatts [gates] in the bryk wall in the Upper parke; iii new Keyes servyng sondry gatts in the pke for to lett workmen thorow Evenyng and mornyng' ²
1537, May	The planning of the Tiltyard:
	'Wyllm Clement Maister Carpenter and Xpor Deconson bryklayer for theyre costs and expenses Rydyng to greneweche by the Kings commandment to Take messur of the Tylte and the Tyltyard wyth other of the Kyngs lodges there by the space of ii dayes theyre dayes wages xi d. the daye over & besides three dayes wages 4 s.' ³
1537	Example entries for construction of Tudor boundary walls:
	'Payd to Thomas Clement & Robert Bridges of Hampton for layng 344000 Brykke in the brykk wall uppon the loung Course in the nether Pke from the Kyngs lowyng gallary end unto the pale sepretyng betwyxt the Pke and the Kyngs great Meddow.
	'Payde to the same for layng 100000 Bryke uppon the wall in the park wythin the upper Park goyng from the mydell gate throh the Pke to the gate called Rychemond gate.
	<i>'ditto</i> uppon the brykk wall uppon the south syde of the high way goyng to Kyngston from the bottom of the foundacion unto the toop of the wall in leyngt [<i>missing</i> <i>section</i> ?] from the bottom beyond the Round treys in the nether Pke unto the dyche Bownddyng betwixt the sayd Pke and the Eyght at the Weke.' ⁴
1538, March	The laying out of the Tiltyard:
	'Thomas Clement for laying 211,000 Brykke in the brykk wall uppon the lowng Course in the Nether Parke; 258,000

¹ Heath I & II, p. 40. [N.B. All transcriptions from Heath volumes need to be treated with caution. Their content is tends to be accurate, but the text is often a mixture of full transcription and summary.] ² Heath I & II, p. 40. ³ Heath XVIII, 'The Tiltyard and its Towers', p. 1. ⁴ Heath I & II, p. 156.

of old Brykks in leyngyng the tylte walls and sondry walls in the great orcherd ... and to forsayd Thomas for takyng down and makyng clene 410,000 brykke upon sondry old walls in the great orcherd.' 5

- 1538, May June 'John Johnson for Irne work ... gatts made in the bryk wall uppon the lowng cowrse in the Upper parke.' ⁶
- 1575-6 'repayring of the fyve Towers in the Tyltyarde ...'⁷
- 1589-90 'mending a brick wall in the Kitchen garden' [probably not the former Tiltyard at this date] ⁸
- 1602-3 'Masons ... making a gate for the Tiltyarde' ⁹
- 1603-4 'Carpenters emploied in ... mending the pales betwene the Tilteyarde and the Padocke ...' ¹⁰
- 1604-5 'Bricklayers making a new brick wall between the Tiltyard and the Paddock viii Rodd long and xii ft high ...'¹¹
- 1619-20 'Carpenters ... making a wickett to the gate to the Tiltyard ...

'Bricklayers ... mending the foundacon of the wall by the Tilteyarde ...' $^{\rm 12}$

1653 'Survey of Hampton Court ... by the Parliamentary Commissioners...

> 'One parcell of ground, commonly called the *Kitchen Garden*, lying behind the last mensoned buildings [seemingly the North Range of the palace, now Tennis Court Lane] abutting west upon part of the Tiltyard wall, and north upon a parcell of ground called the *Ould Orchard*, cont. three acres more or less.

'And all that peece of grownd with the apurtenances comonly known by the name of *the Old Orchard* lying East from pt of the Tilt yard thereafter menconed, both with parcells of grownd are fenced on the north with part of the brick wall that standeth on the south of the high way leading from Kingston to Hampton and doe conteyne 8 Acres 2 Roodes more or less.

'(Note thus:) The ffence betwene the old orcyard and kitchin garden is to be made by the purchaser of the sd old orchard.

⁵ Heath I & II, p. 54.

⁶ Heath I & II, p. 56.

⁷ Heath III; NA E/351/3211.

⁸ Heath III, NA E/351/3224.

⁹ Heath III; NA E/351/3238. [Heath III is unpaginated]

¹⁰ Heath III; NA E/351/3240.

¹¹ Heath III; NA E/351/3240.

¹² Heath III; NA AO 1/2422/50.

	'And all those <i>five buildings or towers</i> with their appurtenances built with brick and covered with Leade, three of which Towers are standing in the sayd Tilt Yard and the other two part in the sayd Tilt Yard and part in the Old Orchard aforesayd. Which these parcells of ground last mentioned do conteyne together 17 Ac. 3 Roodes, worth by the yeare (the benefitt of the sayd wall considered) Thirty-five Pounds.
	'The materialls of the buildings and Towers aforesayd with the Trees growing in the sayd old Orchard are vallued in gross at three hundred eighty six pounds 9 sh. 6 d.' ¹³
	'All that Messuage or dwelling howse, with the Yards, Gardens, and other aprtnes to the same belonging, built part with brick, part with Timber, and covered with Tile, situate upon or neere to the Greene comonly called <i>Hampton Court Greene</i> , on the west syde of the way to the <i>fferry plase</i> , conteyning in Length 133 ffoote of Assize, and in breadth 84 fft, or thereabout
	'All that Great Greene or pcell of pasture ground comonly called <i>Hampton Court Greene</i> Lying and beeing on the West syde of the wall of the Tilt Yard aforesayd and on the South pt of the Midle pke hereafter mensoned, which greene or pcell of ground was heretofore Grazed as A stinted pasture by severall officers of the late King according to their respective allowances, and doth conteyne in the whole (over and above what is to be taken out of the same as is before pticularly menconed) 29 Acres more or less vallued, with respect to the severall Wayes which must be continued through the same at by the yeare Nine Pounds.' ¹⁴
1660-1	'Carpenters work at the bridge att the Park Gate on the high waie to Kingstonn & att the gate att the end of the greene goeing to Hampton.' ¹⁵
1661-2	Construction of the first 'Guard House' in the Tiltyard.
	'Robert Parsons Building and setting up two Guard Houses one by the Tiltyard and the other by the Tennis Court' ¹⁶
1662	'Bricklayers cutting out a doorwaie in the wall att the corner of the Tiltyard & pinninge a dore and dorecase there' ¹⁷
1672, April	'John Miles for Caring 8 loads of rubbish out of the Parke to mend the way under the Tiltyard wall.' ¹⁸

¹³ Law, *The History of Hampton Court*, ii, pp. 262-3.
¹⁴ Law, *The History of Hampton Court*, ii, p. 266.
¹⁵ Heath IV, p. 3.
¹⁶ Heath III; NA E/351/3275.
¹⁷ Heath IV, p. 10.
¹⁸ Heath IV, p. 40; NA WORK/5/19.

1676, March	'Carpenters Posts and frame in the wall in the tiltyard for a pair of Gates there.
	'Sawyers for a pair of Gates in the Tiltyard.' ¹⁹
1677, June	'Carpenters puting up the posts in the tiltyard and making a pare of Gates and puting them up there.' ²⁰
1682-3	'Taking down the old walls of the stables in the Tiltyard & clearing the foundations, making good the Coapeing, & making good the Court of the Guards under the wall.' ²¹
1689-96	'Richard Stacy. Bricklayer.
	 'more for himself & other bricklayers in various works about the gardens. [at] 381 19 9' ²²
	'Joell Lobb. Carving work at the old Tower in the Tilt Yard & for a very rich chypiece. [at] 19 3 6.' ²³
1687	'Bricklayer imployed in workeing up the breach att the Tower between the Tilt-yard and old Orchard for the Dutchess of Cleeveland.' ²⁴ [i.e. on the wall between the Tiltyard and the Wilderness]
1698-99	'Benjamin Jackson. Mason. 'Sev ^{II} ffoot sup. Copeing in new Long wall adjoining ye House next ye Wildernesse. SevII foot of Ashlar in ye Plinth & Peers & for solid Portland Stone in the coaping Capps & Peers of ye pair of Gates in ye said wall & other service. £615 18s 5½d
	'Richard Stacy. 'Sev ^{II} Rodd of Brickwork in ye upper part & ffoundacion of ye new wall next ye Wildernesse. In ye draines in the ffountaine & Privy gardens & at ye Pheasant Hse in B. Pk. & for bricks tiles & other materials. £1038 12s 8 ³ / ₄ d'
	'Thomas Sympson. 'Digging 1820 sollid yards for new laying the pipes from the garden wall in the Wilderness to Reservoir in B. Pk. Filling same in again & hire of sevII teams to draw ye pipes that were laid in B. Pk. To their sevII places. 56 9 8.' ²⁵
1699-1700	'Josiah Key for a key to the tower in the kitchen garden for Mr Wise.' ²⁶

¹⁹ Heath IV, p. 43d.
²⁰ Heath XV, p. 137; WORK 5
²¹ Heath IV, p. 59; NA WORK/5/37.
²² Wren Society, iv, 31; [Audit Office, Declared Accounts]
²³ Wren Society, iv, 32; [Audit Office, Declared Accounts]
²⁴ Heath IV, p. 67; NA WORK/5/41.
²⁵ Wren Society, iv, 37; [Audit Office, Declared Accounts]
²⁶ Heath V.

1699-1700	'Making good y ^e walls in y ^e kitchen Garden & y ^e Walls belonging to M ^r Timerman's house that was broke by y ^e plumbers in laying a pipe to serve him w th water.' ²⁷
1700-1	'To Stephen South For 1592 yds of drains and foundations dugg in the Guard Court and severall post there, in the Kitchen and jaspars towers being fill'd in and ramed att 6d Per yd' ²⁸
	'To Henry Timerman For 83 daies Work of one Labor for digging Trenches in the Wilderness Garden at Hampton Court for the great leaden pipes at 20d Per diem.' ²⁹
	'To Josiah Key Smith For a new key to ye tower in the Kitchen Garden for Mr Wise [oiling locks in the Wilderness (5) and Kitchen Gardens (5)]' ³⁰
1701-2	'To Richard Stacey Mr Bricklayer For 1 rod $\frac{1}{2}$ of Brickworke in a shed at the lower wilderness.' ³¹
1701-2	'Wall by ye Road next ye Wilderness
road by t	'For 95 f ^t solid Portland Srait Coaping in the Wall next the he Ship at ij ^s vj ^d Per f ^t
	'For 35 f^t of Superficiall in the same at xvj^d Per $f^t/^{,\ 32}$
1702	'A scheme of Her Maiestys Severall Gardens & Plantacion Undertaken on ye 1 st . of August 1702 to be kept per Henry Wise.
	'Kitchen Garden & Fruit Garden in 6 Divisions. [and 'Mellon Ground'?]
	'To be dung'd, dug, & Cropt, with y ^e Severall varietys of Eatables, most proper for her Majestys uses; & y ^e Trees prun'd & Nail'd.' ³³
1702-3	'Work done by Henry Wise in H.M.'s gardens at Hampton Court
	For fruit trees in the Melon garden, Kitchen garden, and fruit garden' ³⁴
	'To Henry Wise Gardin ^r for Workes done in her Maj ^{ties} Gardens at Hampton Co ^t from Aug st y ^e 10 th 1702 to Feb ^{ry}

²⁷ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/51.
²⁸ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/51, f. 335.
²⁹ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/51, f. 570v.
³⁰ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/51, f. 526v.
³¹ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/52, f, [?].
³² Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/52, ff. 410v-411v.
³³ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; NA T1/81.37.
³⁴ Heath V. [Drawing on the same document as above 1702?]

	In alt ^r ing new making & planting of sev ^{II} Divisions of Fruite Trees in y ^e Mellon Garden, Kitchen Garden & Fruite Garden [detailed bill, with quantities of peaches, cherries, pears, plums, figs, etc, planted].' ³⁵
?1703	[Memorials between the Treasury and the Office of Works:]
	'Hampton Court Gardens 'January – Kitchen Garden 'February – Kitchen Garden Tower' ³⁶
1704-17505/6	'Richard Stacey Master Bricklayer for Work done about the kitchen Garden wall. 152:15:04' ³⁷
c. 1714	'Of these ladies [George I's mistresses] it is perhaps to them that the walk under the wall of the tiltyard, near the palace gate, is indebted for its name the "Frog Walk". The tradition is that they used to promenade up and down beneath the broad spreading beanches of the chestnut and elm trees there, waiting for the return of the King, when he had ridden or driven out; and that is was thence designated <i>Frau</i> or <i>Frow</i> walk, which was corrupted by the
	commoner people, by mistake or in derision, into the name "Frog Walk," by which it is known to this day. It is more likely, …' ³⁸ [See 1795]
1732-7	Works on the walls and gates of Bushy Park.
	'For erecting a Brickwall round Bushy Park etc
	'For a Horse Gate against the New Lodge in the New Wall - a new Gateway & Clapper Stile in Hampton Towns end into the Park.
	'A New Gateway & Gate towards the Brewhouse; Gateway & Gates to the Park leading to the Upper Lodge from Hampton Common.' ³⁹
1758, December	'More trees required for Hampton Court Gardens
	The decay (and possible repair) of the Tiltyard - Vrow Walk Wall:
	'Petition of Mr Greening - The Wall of the Kitchen Garden next the Green is much decayed at the top and too low for trees to be planted against them.' ⁴⁰
1778, March	'George Shakespeare, Carpenter, for repairs to rails and gates to the Green & Frog Walk, Comb wells, and at the mewse.' ⁴¹
³⁵ lo o su con (1 lo su o to s	Court Condens's DRO MORK E/EZ & 444

³⁵ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO WORK 5/53, f. 444.
³⁶ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; NA WORK 6/14.
³⁷ Jacques, 'Hampton Court Gardens'; PRO/AO1/2446/140.
³⁸ Law, *The History of Hampton Court*, iii, pp. 204-5.
³⁹ Heath III; NA AO/1/2484/315.
⁴⁰ Heath VI, p. 17; NA WORK/6/17.

	'Robert Lowe, Labourer, assisting carpenter repairing fences on the Green & Frog Walk & at Comb.' ⁴²
1779, December	'Robert Lowe for posts at Frog Walk.' ⁴³
1781, March	'John Russel, carpenter, for repairs to rails at Green & Frog Walk.' ⁴⁴
1783	'Repairs to rails at Green and Frog Walk
	'Repairing the fence from Hampton Court Green to Hampton.' ⁴⁵
1786	'Working and setting stones to large gates between the Kitchen Garden and the Wilderness.' ⁴⁶ [i.e. Modern 'Stump Gate'?]
1787	'Smith fixing hinges to legs (?) in Frog Walk.' ⁴⁷
1792	'Spreading earth on Frowalk' ⁴⁸
	'Laying grit on Fro Walk.' ⁴⁹
1793, 2 August	The construction and (seeming) removal of 'huts' and 'tenements' on Vrow Walk:
	'Having discovered that the ground on the outside of the Hampton Court Kitchen Garden, commonly called Fraw Walk, which formerly was under the care of the King's Gardener is now since the reforms of 1782 under the care of nobody, and observing that several Huts or Tenements have in consequence been erected on the said Walk the encroachments are a great dissight to the Palace.' ⁵⁰
1793, 22 August	'Treasury instructed Sr Wm Chambers to give notice to the parties to remove the encroachments without delay.' ⁵¹
1793, 25 August	'From Thomas Tildesley to Sir William Chambers.
	'Encroachments at Hampton Court:
	'2 Tenements on the outside of the Kitchen garden and against the wall in Fraw walk, occupied by Theophilus

Lynch, tailor, and John Cope, shoemaker.

⁴¹ Heath VII, p. 1; NA WORK/5/66. ⁴² Heath VII, p. 2; NA WORK/5/66. ⁴³ Heath VII, p. 5; NA WORK/5/67. ⁴⁴ Heath VII, p.10; NA WORK/5/69. ⁴⁵ Heath VII, p. 13; NA WORK/5/72. ⁴⁶ Heath VII, p. 15; NA WORK/5/75.
 ⁴⁷ Heath VII, p. 16; NA WORK/5/76.
 ⁴⁸ Heath XVI, 'Frau Walk', p. 152. ⁴⁹ Heath VII, p. 22; NA WORK/5/81.
 ⁵⁰ Heath VI, p. 22; NA WORK/6/22.
 ⁵¹ Heath VI, p. 22; NA WORK/6/22.

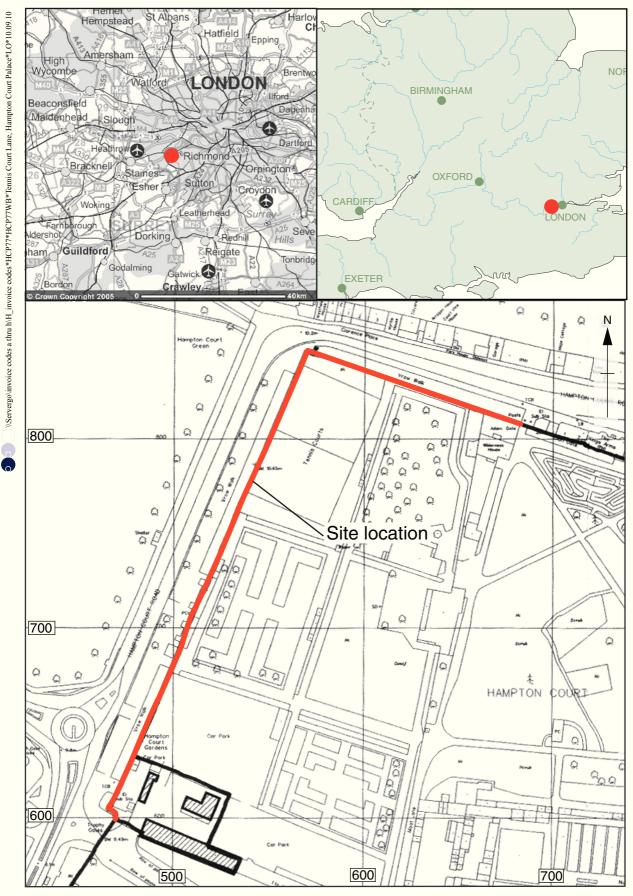
	'2 fruit shops against the wall of the entrance to the Palace occupied by John Taylor, hairdresser.
	'Drinking room by the Garden gate, occupied by Elizabeth Hipperson.' ⁵²
1793, 28 August	'Their Lordships of the Treasury ordered all encroachments to be immediately removed on the outside of the kitchen garden and in Fraw walk.
	'Petition of John Taylor, Theophilus Lynch and John Cope to Sir William Chambers:
	'Your poor petitioners have long enjoy'd without molestation or Interruption their several comfortable little huts in order to carry on their respective branches of trade which are all severally useful in the Palace and vicinity request to [be] suffered to continue.' ⁵³
1793, 7 September	'Sir William Chambers has no power to grant the petition.'
c. 1795	'It is more likely, however, that the Fraus [of Vrow Walk], who gave their name to the walk, were those in attendance on the wife of the Stadtholder of Holland, who, when driven from his native land by the French Revolution in 1795, found, as we shall see, an asylum for himself and his family in this palace.' ⁵⁵
	'It is, perhaps, also, to his [the Stadtholder, William V, Prince of Orange] wife and her ladies-in-waiting, that the walk under the elms and chestnuts against the Tilt Yard wall, owes it curious name of the "Frog Walk," which, it is supposed, was the favourite promenade of the Dutch <i>Fraus</i> or <i>Frows</i> of her Highness's household.' ⁵⁶
1795, December	[.] 'New garden gates and doors in the Kitchen garden, pleasure grounds, Wilderness and Coach house at the Mr Gardeners.' ⁵⁷
1796	' taking down, repairing & resiting Gate Peer to Wilderness Gates next to the Pleasure Gardens.
	'Painting new gates to Wilderness Gardens.' ⁵⁸
1801	'Taking down part of Garden wall of Kitchen Garden next Fro Walk.' ⁵⁹
c. 1806	Document ('memorial'?) entitled 'State of the Pavilions, Stud House & Stabling, Kitchen Garden etc.' in Heath.
⁵² Heath VIII, p. 14; N	A WORK/1/5.

 ⁵² Heath VIII, p. 14; NA WORK/1/5.
 ⁵³ Heath VIII, pp. 14-15; NA WORK/1/5.
 ⁵⁴ Heath VIII, p. 15; NA WORK/1/5.

⁵⁵ Heath VIII, p. 15; NA WORK/1/5.
⁵⁵ Law, *The History of Hampton Court*, iii, p. 205.
⁵⁶ Law, *The History of Hampton Court*, iii, pp. 321-2.
⁵⁷ Heath VII, p. 25; NA WORK/5/84.
⁵⁸ Heath VII, p. 25; NA WORK/5/85.
⁵⁹ Heath VII, p. 30; NA WORK/5/90.

	Heath's transcript does not include any material relating to the Kitchen Garden. ⁶⁰
1809	'Repairing posts and rails and addition of new at East End of Fro' Walk. Do. South End.
	'Raiding road at north end of Fro Walk where trees were taken down.' ⁶¹
1814	'Carpenter for new folding gates at the south side of H.M.'s Kitchen Garden.' ⁶²
1840, September	'Advisable to make Hampton Court Kitchen Garden fully efficient for the supply of Windsor Castle.' ⁶³
1844, November	'At present not yet decided for what length of time the Royal Kitchen Garden will be kept up - authority given for only such repairs to the Gardener's House as are absolutely necessary.' ⁶⁴
1846, 10 September	'Lord Steward asked to say whether it is still intended to maintain the gardens.' ⁶⁵
1846, 30 September	[,] 'Amended estimate for cost of properly restoring kitchen garden £1090.' ⁶⁶
1880, 22 November	'Lords of the Treasury not prepared to introduce legislation for transfer of part of Hampton Court Kitchen Garden occupied by Mr Jackson to First Commissioner of Works.' ⁶⁷
1893, 3 October	'Proposal for re-letting the old Royal Kitchen Garden involving abolition of the fruit shop at the Trophy Gate and conversion of present drill ground into grass plots, and provision of barrack yard at rear.' ⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Heath VI, p. [unpaginated between 22 and 23]; NA WORK/6/24?
⁶¹ Heath VII, p. 35; NA WORK/5/98.
⁶² Heath VII, p. 40; NA WORK/5/103.
⁶³ Heath VIII, p. 35; NA WORK/1/24.
⁶⁴ Heath VIII, p. 39; NA WORK/1/27.
⁶⁵ Heath VIII, p. 42; NA WORK/1/29.
⁶⁶ Heath VIII, p. 42; NA WORK/1/29.
⁶⁷ Heath VIII, unpaginated; NA WORK/2/60.
⁶⁸ Heatch IV, 'Improvements to Trophy Gate Entrance'; NA WORK/19/80.



Not to Scale

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Figure 1: Site location

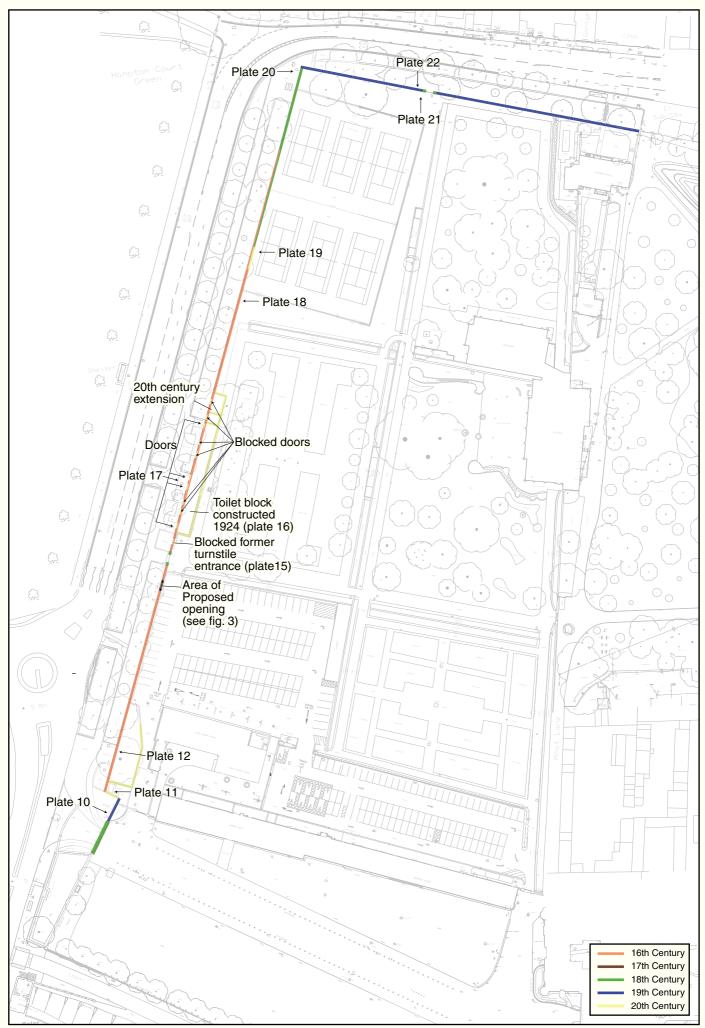


Figure 2: Plan of Vrow Walk wall showing main phases of brickwork

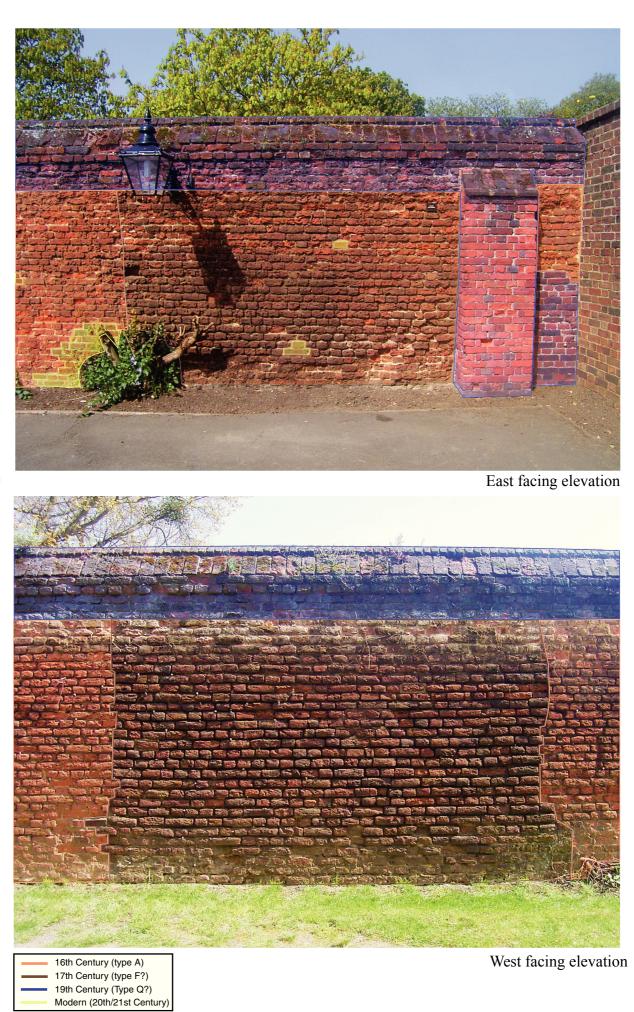


Figure 3: East and West views of infill brickwork on west section of boundary wall

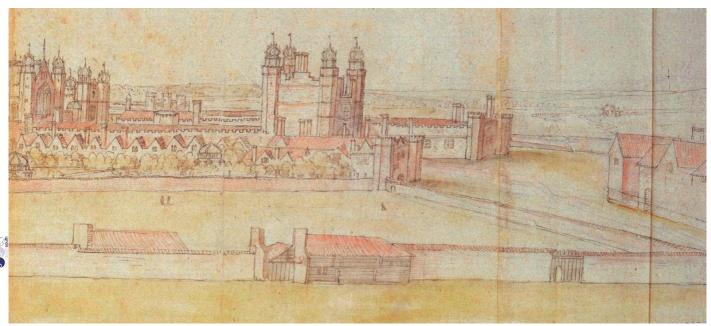


Plate 1: Detail of wall from drawing by Anthonis van den Wyngaerde (c. 1558)

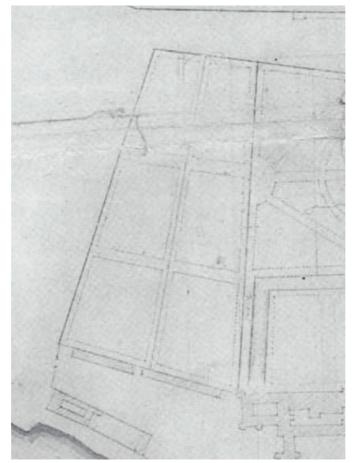


Plate 2: Plan and Survey of the Tudor Palace by Nicholas Hawksmoor (c. 1689)



Plate 3: Hampton Court from the East by Leonard Knyff (c. 1712-13)

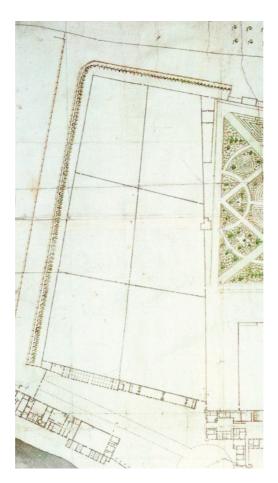


Plate 4: Plan of Hampton Court and Gardens c.1714

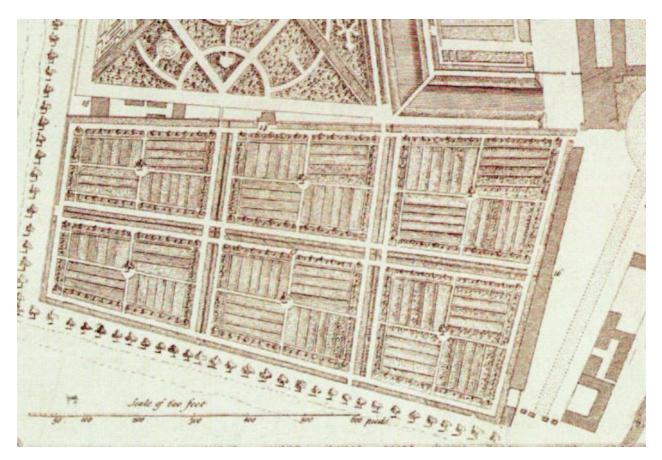


Plate 5: Plan of palace and gardens by John Rocque (1736)

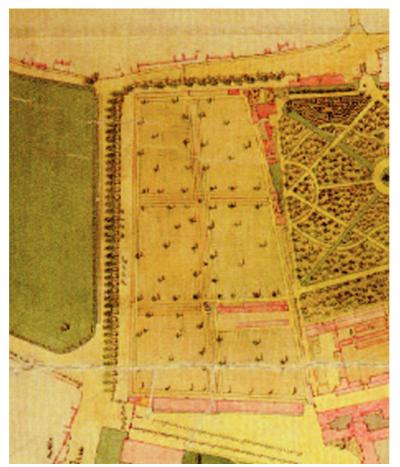


Plate 6: Plan of Hampton Court estate by Henry Sayer (1841)

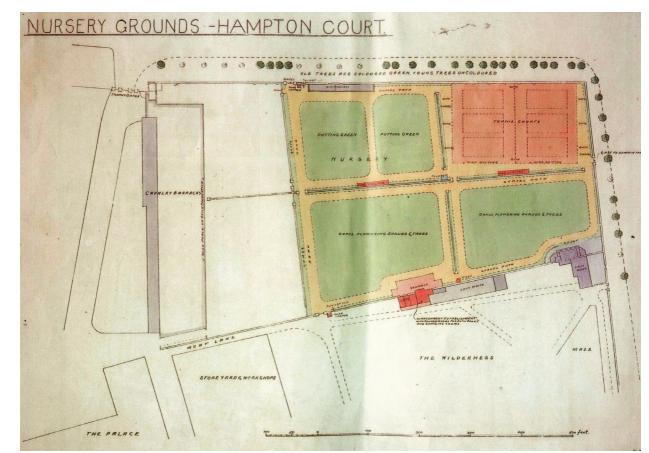


Plate 7: Nursery Grounds, Hampton Court (c.1928)

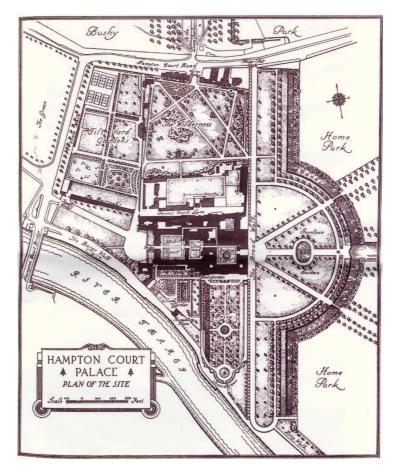




Plate 9: View of a shop incorporated in estate wall to the north of Trophy Gate (c.1960s/70s).



Plate 10: View of wall beside Trophy gate showing 19th and 20th century blocking in and rebuilding



Plate 11: South-western elevation of wall beside trophy gate showing evidence of former structures



Plate 12: View of west elevation of wall within enclosed garden at entrance to car park



Plate 13: East elevation of west boundary wall showing 17th century infill



Plate 14: West elevation of west boundary wall (within car park) showing 17th century infill



Plate 15: Gate leading onto the Vrow Walk and blocked 20th century turnstile entrance



Plate 16: View of 1920s convenience block



Plate 17: Inserted doorways within the Vrow Walk wall leading into the conveniences in the former putting green



Plate 18: West Elevation of west boundary wall with former tennis court

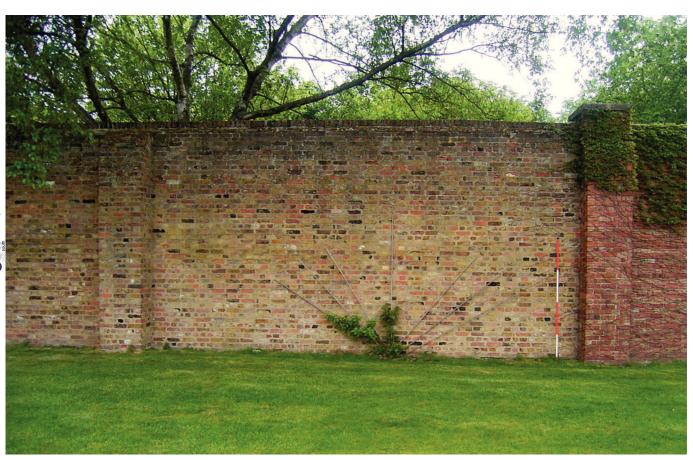


Plate 19: West elevation of west boundary wall with former tennis court showing modern refacing and darker brickwork belonging to the 18th century



Plate 20: Eastern view of north-western corner of Vrow Walk with 18th century brickwork

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