Stephen Fletcher

The Role of the Park and the Experience of Hunting in East Anglia, 1500-1700

A thesis submitted to the University of East Anglia for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2021

Table of Contents

PART 1 1
Chapter 1
- Introduction 1-2
- Sources and Methodology 2-15

Chapter 2 - Trends in Imparkment and Disparkment 16-26

Chapter 3 - The Changing Character of the Park 27-104

Chapter 4 - Forms of Hunting within Parks 105-156

Chapter 5 - The Form and Function of Park Buildings 157-198

PART 2 199
Chapter 6 - The Phenomenology of Parkland 1500-1700, Potential Applications 200-225

Chapter 7 - Sound 226-267

Chapter 8 - Poaching 268-288

Chapter 9 - Case Studies 289-291
i. Easty Park, Hundon, Suffolk 292-324
ii. Lopham Park, Norfolk 325-351
iii.Little Park, Long Melford, Suffolk 352-380
iv.Wormingford Park 381-398

Chapter 10 - Conclusion 399-403

Bibliography 404-450
Appendices –Case Studies Recording Pro forma 1-9 451-459

Access Condition and Agreement

Each deposit in UEA Digital Repository is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of the Data Collections is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form. You must obtain permission from the copyright holder, usually the author, for any other use. Exceptions only apply where a deposit may be explicitly provided under a stated licence, such as a Creative Commons licence or Open Government licence.

Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone, unless explicitly stated under a Creative Commons or Open Government license. Unauthorised reproduction, editing or reformatting for resale purposes is explicitly prohibited (except where approved by the copyright holder themselves) and UEA reserves the right to take immediate ‘take down’ action on behalf of the copyright and/or rights holder if this Access condition of the UEA Digital Repository is breached. Any material in this database has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the material may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Table of Figures

Fig.1.1	Sample of 54 estate maps and plans 1575-1775	12
Fig. 1.2	List of 54 parks by name, county, and date	13
Fig. 2.2	Map of Crondon Park	23
Fig. 3.1	Plan of Broxted or Broxtey Park	34
Fig. 3.2	Plan of Easty or Esty Park	35
Fig. 3.3	Plan of the Great Park (*c.*1600), Hundon	36
Fig. 3.4	1592 map depicting the Castle Park at Castle Hedingham	37
Fig. 3.5	The Compartmented Great Park at Castle Hedingham	38
Fig. 3.6	1613 map of the compartmentalised Little Park at Long Melford	39
Fig. 3.7	Detail of a map of 1619 showing Belhus Park	40
Fig. 3.8	John Norden's 1600-1601 map of Staverton Park	41
Fig.3.9	1618 map of Shelfhanger Park	42
Fig. 3.10	Detail of the park at Castle Rising	43
Fig. 3.11	1592 map of The Little Park at Castle Hedingham	44
Fig.3.12	1597 map of The Little Park, New Buckenham	45
Fig. 3.13	1732 copy of a 1674 map of the park at Melton Constable	46
Fig. 3.14	Detail of a map of Crondon Park	47
Fig. 3.15	1612 Map of Lopham Park	49
Fig. 3.16	Thomas Waterman's unfinished map of Kenninghall Park	50
Fig. 3.17	Detail of Waterman's 1621 map of Kenninghall Park	50
Fig. 3.18	Detail of the 1621 map of Kenninghall Park	51
Fig. 3.19	1616 map of Marke Hall	52
Fig. 3.20	Map of the park at Belchamp St Paul	54
Fig. 3.21	Detail of the park at Belchamp St. Paul	55
Fig. 3.22	Detail of a 1640 estate map of Channoz Manor	56
Fig. 3.23	Map of Kimbolton High Park (1582)	64
Fig. 3.24	Detail of a 1616 map of Marke Hall	65
Fig. 3.25	Detail of the 1619 map of Hoxne Park	66
Fig. 3.26	Map of Crondon Park (1674)	72
Fig. 3.27	1715-16 survey of the park at Rivenhall	74
Fig. 3.28	Photograph of a 1611 map of the three parks at Hundon	76
Fig. 3.29	Detail of a map of 1633 showing the park at Acle	77
Fig. 3.30	Detail of a map of 1600-1601 of the manor of Staverton	77
Fig. 3.31	Detail of Samuel Pierce's map of 1613 showing Melford Hall	79
Fig. 3.32	Detail of a map of 1591 showing Moulsham Hall	81
Fig. 3.33	Detail of the 1616 estate map of Marke Hall and Latton Hall	82
Fig. 3.34	1712 map of Chippenham Park	83
Fig. 3.35	1753 map of Washingley Great Park	84
Fig. 3.36	Detail of a 1619 estate map of Belhus Park	87
Fig. 3.37	Detail of Samuel Pierce's 1613 map of the Little Park at Melford Hall	88
Fig. 3.38	Detail of Samuel Pierce's map of 1613 showing avenues	89
Fig. 3.39	Richard Blome's engraving 1686 showing huntsmen accompanied by hounds	90
Fig. 3.40	1702 map of Quendon Park	92

Fig. 3.41	Detail of a map of Quendon Park (1702) showing a 'park keeper'	93
Fig. 3.42	Detail of a map of Belhus Park	93
Fig. 3.43	Detail of an estate map of *c.*1720 at Earsham	95
Fig. 3.44	Map of the park at Stow cum Quy dated 1737	96
Fig. 3.45	Detail of an estate map of the lands showing Easton Lodge and the park	97
Fig. 3.46	1736 map of the park at Hethel	98
Fig. 3.47	1619 map of the park at Hoxne Hall	99
Fig. 3.48	Map of Shelfhanger Park	100
Fig. 3.49	Detail of the New Park at Hoxne	101
Fig. 3.50	Map of Kimbolton Great Park	102
Fig. 3.51	Map of Hethel Hall Park	103
Fig. 4.1	A huntsman hunting on foot with a hound	106
Fig. 4.2	English hunting hanger, ca. 1640	112
Fig. 4.3	Detail of Somerleyton Park depicting a mounted pursuit of a deer with hounds	126
Fig. 4.4	Detail of a 1615 map of the manor of Ramsden Bellhouse in Essex showing a deer 'course'	128
Fig. 4.5	Detail from a map of 1615 depicting the 'course' running to the north and east of the manor house at Ramsden Bellhouse	128
Fig. 4.6	Detail of the tree and hedge lined 'course' to the south of the manor house and park, from a map of Ramsden Bellhouse	129
Fig. 4.7	Detail of a hunting scene on the border of the map of 1615 of the manor of Ramsden Bellhouse	130
Fig. 4.8	Detail from the 1615 map of Ramsden Bellhouse showing a 'winged' fox nearby to the course	130
Fig. 4.9	Detail taken from the 1615 map of Ramsden Bellhouse depicting a hound chasing a horned goat or sheep	131
Fig. 4.10	Detail of the map of the Little Park at Melford, Suffolk *c.*1613 showing hunters on foot with dogs and on horseback	132
Fig. 4.11	Detail of the map of the Little Park at Melford, Suffolk *c.*1613 showing the 'woodland quarter'	133
Fig. 4.12	Detail of a plan of Broxted (Broxtie) Park c.1600, showing a greyhound 'coursing' a deer	134
Fig. 4.13	Detail of John Norden's 1607 plan of Windsor Little Park showing a greyhound coursing a buck	136
Fig. 4.14	Illustration of the three funnels at Stansted	138
Fig. 4.15	Map of Kimbolton Great Park 1673	140
Fig. 4.16	Detail of the 1673 map of Kimbolton Great Park showing a possible lodge site located at 'Castle Hill'	141
Fig. 4.17	Detail of the map of Kimbolton Park showing the 'The New Lawne'	142
Fig. 4.18	Doddington Great Park *c.*1680	143
Fig. 4.19	Detail of the causewayed ditched or moated 'island' site at Doddington Park	145
Fig. 4.20	Detail of Doddington Great Park showing the two launds leading off the main ride	146

Fig. 4.21	Detail of the map of Doddington Great Park showing the laund which adjoins the south-east corner of the moated enclosure	147
Fig. 4.22	Detail of a map of Washingley Great Park, 1753 showing a herd of deer running from 'The Park' towards woodland dissected by rides and 'The Great Park'	148
Fig. 4.23	Cheveley Park by Jan Siberechts ,1681	149
Fig. 4.24	Survey of Cheveley Park by Thomas Warren, 1775	150
Fig. 4.25	Detail of a survey of Weybridge Park, 1651 showing the wooden standing on 'The Great Lawne'	151
Fig. 4.26	Map of Lopham Park with the lodge complex situated at the centre of 'The Lawne'	152
Fig. 4.27	Detail of the map of the 'Great Park' at Castle Hedingham, Essex showing the 'Dere Lodge' at the centre of the park	153
Fig. 4.28	Detail of a map of the Castle Park at Castle Hedingham showing the lodge	154
Fig. 4.29	Map of the Little Park at Castle Hedingham with the lodge and 'prospect tower' at its centre	155
Fig. 5.1 & 5.2	Details from the 1613 estate map of the Little Park Long Melford showing the two standings	162
Fig. 5.3	One of the standings at Little Park at Long Melford redrawn by Beth Davis from the 1613 map by Samuel Pierse	162
Fig. 5.4	Detail of a map of Weybridge Park showing an apparently open sided, two storied standing	163
Fig.5.5	Detail of a map of 1616 of the Marke Hall estate in Essex by Jeremie Bailye	164
Fig. 5.6	Detail of a 1592 map of the Little Park at Castle Hedingham by Israel Amyce	165
Fig. 5.7	The hunting tower at Audley End by William Stukeley	166
Fig. 5.8	Sketch made by the Colchester Archaeological Group of the main features of the Wormingford lodge complex	167
Fig. 5.9	Detail from a map of Hoxne Hall and its associated park showing a lodge within a fenced enclosure	169
Fig. 5.10	Detail of a map of 1616 showing the enclosed lodge building at Marke Hall in Essex	170
Fig. 5.11	Detail from a survey of the manors West and East Horndon showing a lodge at the centre of a laund at Old Thorndon Hall	170
Fig. 5.12	Detail of a map of Lopham Park in Norfolk, dated 1612, showing the lodge complex	171
Fig. 5.13	Lodge building at Melton Constable, Norfolk	172
Fig. 5.14	Lodge buildings at Chippenham Park, Cambridgeshire	172
Fig. 5.15	The Great Lodge at Framlingham Park, Suffolk	172
Fig. 5.16	The Little Lodge at Framlingham Park, Suffolk	172
Fig. 5.17	Lodge building at the Little Park in Long Melford	172
Fig. 5.18	Detail of a map of the three parks at Castle Hedingham (1592)	173

Fig. 5.19	Detail of a map of the Great Park, showing the 'Dere Lodge' at its centre	174
Fig. 5.20	Detail of a map of Crondon Park in Essex (c.1575) depicting 'The Keepers House'	174
Fig. 5.21	Lodge building at Moulsham Park, Essex	175
Fig. 5.22	The lodge at Castle Rising, Norfolk	175
Fig. 5.23 & 5.24	Lodge and outbuildings at Croxton Park, Norfolk and the lodge at Cawston Park, Norfolk	175
Fig. 5.25	Detail of a plan of Easty Park showing the lodge at the centre of the park	176
Fig. 5.26	Detail of a plan of Broxted Park, Suffolk showing the lodge at the centre of the park	177
Fig. 5.27	Detail of a plan of Great Park at Hundon showing the moated lodge at the centre of the park	179
Fig. 5.28	Interpretative sketch of Letheringham Lodge in Suffolk by Philip Aitkens	183
Fig. 5.29	Plan of Hundon Great Park, Suffolk *c.*1600.	190
Fig. 5.30	Plan of Easty Park, Suffolk *c.*1600	191
Fig. 5.31	Plan of Broxted Park, Suffolk *c.*1600	192
Fig. 5.32	Detail of a map of the Little Park at Melford, Suffolk *c.*1613 showing hunting on foot and horseback with dogs	193
Fig. 5.33	'Rose and orb' jetton	196
Fig. 6.1	Perception recording sheet, Tavoliere-Gragano Prehistory Project	207
Fig. 6.2	Etching and engraving portrait entitled: *James Howell Standing in a Forest* (1641) by Claude Mellan and Abraham	212
Fig. 6.3	Line engraving portrait of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick. Unknown artist (1678)	213
Fig. 6.4	Detail from an estate map of 1735 showing the park pale at Leighs in Essex and the 'Old Wilderness'	214
Fig. 7.1	Woodcut of a hare hunt with dogs used to illustrate an anonymous ballad entitled: *The Hunting of the Hare*	226
Fig. 7.2	Silk and metal thread early seventeenth-century valance showing two hunting scenes	236
Fig. 7.3	Late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century woodcut of a huntsman with hunting horn and pole, illustrating an anonymous ballad: *The Fox-chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony*	239
Fig. 7.4	Woodcut of a running hound illustrating the ballad: *The Fox-chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony*	240
Fig. 7.5	Woodcut of a pack of hounds running across a bridge from the ballad: *The Fox-chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony*	240
Fig. 7.6	Detail of a plan of the parish of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire (1582) depicting a fox hunt taking place at an enclosed area inscribed as *High Woods*	241

Fig. 7.7	*Line engraving portrait of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle-upon Tyne* by Peter van Lisebetten	244
Fig. 7.8	*Hare Hunting* (1671) by Wenceslaus Hollar	247
Fig. 7.9	*Man Hunting with a Pointed Staff and a Hound* (ca. 1645-1650) by Francis Barlow	252
Fig. 7.10	Early seventeenth-century woodcut illustrating: *An Excellent Ballad of Noble Marquess and Patient Grissel*	253
Fig. 7.11	Early seventeenth-century woodcut illustrating the ballad: *To him Bun, Take him Bun: or, the Hunting of the Conney*	254
Fig. 7.12	*Hounds in Landscape* (undated) by John Wootton	258
Fig. 7.13	*Releasing the Hounds* by John Wootton (1740-1750)	259
Fig. 7.14	Brown ink drawing entitled *Huntsman Galloping* attributed to James Seymour	260
Fig. 7.15	Mid-eighteenth century Engraving by James Seymour showing a hare hunt through woodland	262
Fig. 7.16	Seymour's engraving of a raucous fox hunt.	263
Fig. 7.17	Engraving showing the denouement of a fox hunt to the sound of horns and hounds	264
Fig. 7.18	Seymour's representation of the death of a stag which is marked by the blasting of a French horn and the barking of dogs	265
Fig. 8.1	Surviving records of prosecutions held at the courts of Assizes and Quarter Sessions for poaching in Essex parks between 1561 and 1700	270
Fig. 8.2	Recorded attacks on the Essex parks of the Petre family between 1571 and 1670	275
Fig. 8.3	Profession/social status of those indicted or 'bound over' for poaching in Essex parks between 1560 and 1700	277
Fig. 8.4	Profession/status of those indicted or bound over for poaching in Crondon, Thorndon and Writtle parks and those identified as the 'parks of Lord or Lady Petre' between 1570 and 1670	277
Fig. 8.5	Detail of a 1575 map of Crondon Park and its immediate environs showing the proximity of the village of Stock to 'Stock Gate'	279
Fig. 9.i.1	Ordnance Survey map (OS) (2020) showing the boundaries and extent of the Tudor Easty Park in Hundon	292
Fig. 9.i.2	Geological map of the chalk bedrock of Easty Park	294
Fig. 9.i.3	Soil texture map for Easty Park (Appleacre Farm)	295
Fig. 9.i.4	Photograph of a map of the three parks at Hundon (1611)	297
Fig. 9.i.5	First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXII. N.W. (surveyed 1884, published 1885)	298
Fig. 9.i.6	First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXII S.W. (surveyed 1884, published 1885)	299
Fig. 9.i.7	OS County Sheet Suffolk First Edition map (1983), scale 1: 10 000 of the open landscape of Appleacre Farm	300

Fig. 9.i.8	50cm-1 m. LiDAR DTM image showing field and plantation boundaries and the footprint of the farm/lodge buildings at the centre of the former park	301
Fig. 9.i.9	Observation points for the phenomenological study of Easty Park	302
Fig. 9.i.10	Map observation points for Easty Park	303
Fig. 9.i.11	The first observation point on the eastern boundary of the study area	305
Fig. 9.i.12	Observation point 1 at Chipley Old Laund near the eastern boundary	307
Fig. 9.i.13	Observation point 2, situated at Appleacre Farmhouse	311
Fig. 9.i.14	Appleacre Farmhouse, site of the former lodge	312
Fig. 9.i.15	Looking east from Appleacre Farm buildings	313
Fig. 9.i.16	View of the flat dull landscape to the south	313
Fig. 9.i.17	The view of the north of the site	314
Fig. 9.i.18	Observation point 2 at the base of the 'T' shaped lodge	316
Fig. 9.i.19	Observation point 3. The landscape is on a gradual incline northward	318
Fig. 9.i.20	Rising public footpath leading northwards towards the farmhouse	319
Fig. 9.i.21	Panoramic photograph taken of the views to the east, south and west of the site	320
Fig. 9.i.22	View to the west with a farm building in the foreground	321
Fig. 9.i.23	Observation point 3, situated in a clearing in Hundon Old Quarter	322
Fig. 9.ii.1	OS map (2020) The shaded area shows the boundaries and extent of Lopham Park	325
Fig. 9.ii.2	Geological map showing the chalk bedrock underlying the former park at Lopham	326
Fig. 9.ii.3	Soil texture maps showing the overlaying loam clay soils at Lopham	327
Fig. 9.ii.4	Map of 1720 showing the park broken up into fields, under the ownership of North Lopham Lodge farm and South Lopham Hall Farm	329
Fig. 9.ii.5	Tithe Award Map for North Lopham (1845-46) showing the former park divided into small fields	330
Fig. 9.ii.6 & 9.ii.7	First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile maps of North and South Lopham (Norfolk Sheet CIV.SE surveyed 1883, published 1884 and Norfolk Sheet CIV.NE, surveyed 1882-1883, published 1884	331
Fig. 9.ii.8	OS First Edition map (1985, scale 1:20 000) shows a more open landscape at Lopham following the removal of hedgerows	332
Fig. 9.ii.9	LiDAR DTM 50cm-1 metre image of the former park at Lopham revealing field boundaries	333
Fig. 9.ii.10	Observation points for the phenomenological field study of Lopham Park	334
Fig. 9.ii.11	Observation points for Lopham Park on Thomas Waterman's map of 1612	335
Fig. 9.ii.12	Observation Point 1, approaching Lodge Farm	336
Fig. 9.ii.13	The initial view upon first entering the site	337

Fig. 9.ii.14	The buildings of Lodge Farm which can be seen in a hollow in the middle distance	338
Fig. 9.ii.15	Approaching Lodge Farm	339
Fig. 9.ii.16	Detail of Waterman's map of 1612. Observation point 1, approaching the lodge	340
Fig. 9.ii.17	Observation point 2, next to the pond	342
Fig. 9.ii.18	The earth banked pond to the rear of Lodge Farm	343
Fig. 9.ii.19	Lodge Farm	344
Fig. 9.ii.20	Observation point 2 near the pond, behind Lodge Farm	345
Fig. 9.ii.21	Observation 3, 'The Lawne'	347
Fig. 9.ii.22	A mounted hunt taking place at Lopham	348
Fig. 9.ii.23	Observation point 3, located in the midst of an area of wood-pasture	350
Fig. 9.iii.1	Modern OS map (2020) of The Little Park (Melford Park) in Suffolk	352
Fig. 9.iii.2	Geological map of The Little Park (Melford Park)	353
Fig. 9.iii.3	Soil texture map for Melford Park	354
Fig. 9.iii.4	Detail of the Long Melford Tithe Award map of 1839	357
Fig. 9.iii.5	First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map	357
Fig. 9.iii.6	OS County Sheet Suffolk First Edition map (1979)	358
Fig. 9.iii.7	One metre LiDAR DSM image showing the park divided into four quarters	359
Fig. 9.iii.8	Samuel Pierse's map of Melford Park (1613)	360
Fig. 9.iii.9	Ancient oak pollards located in the southern section of Melford Park	362
Fig. 9.iii.10	Observation points for the phenomenological field study of the Little Park	364
Fig. 9.iii.11	Observation points for the phenomenological study of Samuel Pierse's map of the Little Park at Long Melford (1613)	365
Fig. 9.iii.12	Observation point 1 at the start of the avenue	366
Fig. 9.iii.13	The newly planted oak avenue, which frames the view to the east	367
Fig. 9.iii.14	Looking east after emerging from the oak avenue into open ground	368
Fig. 9.iii.15	Looking to the south and west from the brow of the incline to the east	368
Fig. 9.iii.16	Approaching the highest area of the park	369
Fig. 9.iii.17	Observation point 1 at the entrance to the oak avenue	370
Fig. 9.iii.18	Observation point 2 in the south-west quarter of the park	371
Fig. 9.iii.19	The view from the high plateau in the east with Melford Hall visible in the distance to the south	372
Fig. 9.iii.20	Looking eastwards and northwards along the plateau	372
Fig. 9.iii.21	Looking west, Holy Trinity church and village houses can be seen above the trees which run along the park boundary	373

Fig. 9.iii.22	Approaching the valley to the west	373
Fig. 9.iii.23	View along the floor of the shallow valley, before crossing the bridge which spans the ditch	374
Fig. 9.iii.24	View to the south-west with the village houses once again coming into view	374
Fig. 9.iii.25	Observation point 2 in the heavily wooded quarter	375
Fig. 9.iii.26	Observation point 3, in the north-west quarter of the park	376
Fig. 9.iii.27	Looking south across the park	377
Fig. 9.iii.28	Approaching the western boundary and the entrance to the park	378
Fig. 9.iii.29	Observation point 3, in the open north-western corner of the park	379
Fig. 9.iv.1	Modern OS map (2020) of Wormingford Park in Essex	381
Fig. 9.iv.2	Looking north across the plateau of Wormingford Park	383
Fig. 9.iv.3	Geological map of Wormingford Park	383
Fig. 9.iv.4	Soil texture map for Wormingford Park	384
Fig. 9.iv.5	Detail of John Norden's map of Essex (1594) showing the enclosed park at Wormingford	387
Fig. 9.iv.6	View from viewing platform looking east across the broad flat northern end of the plateau running through Wormingford Park	387
Fig. 9.iv.7	Detail of Chapman and Andre's map of the county of Essex showing the lodge complex at Wormingford	389
Fig. 9.iv.8	Detail of the Wormingford Tithe Map (1838)	390
Fig. 9.iv.9	OS six-inch to the Mile map, Essex Sheet XVIII, surveyed 1880, published 1887	391
Fig 9.iv.10	OS County Sheet Essex First Edition map (1988)	392
Fig. 9.iv.11	One metre DSM LiDAR image of Wormingford Park	393
Fig. 9.iv.12	The hunting landscape of Wormingford Park	394

The Role of the Park and the Experience of Hunting in East Anglia, 1500-1700

> Hunting is then a curious search or conquest of one Beast over another, pursued by a natural instinct of enmity, and accomplished by the diversities and distinction of smells onely.[1]

> It is a meane of as much mirth, as any sport can make. It occupies the mynde, which else might chaunce to muse on mischiefe, malice, filth and frauds, that mortall men do use. And as for exercise, it seems to beare the bell, Since by the same, mens bodies be, in health mainteyned well. It excercyseth strength, it excercyseth wit, And all the poars and sprites of Man, are excercisde by it. It shaketh off all slouth, it preseth downe all pryde, It cheres the hart, it glads the eye, & through the ears doth glyde.[2]

Part 1

Chapter 1

Introduction

George Gascoigne (1534/5?-1577) and Gervase Markham (1568?-1637) had much in common. Both were from well-connected families of landed country gentry who served as soldiers of fortune in the Low Countries. They were both playwrights and were also renowned authors of numerous works of prose and poetry on a wide range of subjects. What links them most of all however, is a personal experience and understanding of early modern English hunting culture which is articulated in their own popular and widely read instructional manuals. Despite writing decades apart, they each identify the senses as key elements of the hunt. These highly personalised descriptions of the effect of hunting on both the mind and body provide an insight into how this activity was perceived in early modern culture. This suggests that the experience derived from taking part in a hunt was paramount.

This thesis is concerned with the role of parks and the experience of hunting within these landscapes between 1500 and 1700. It will be divided into two parts. In this introductory chapter in Part 1 recent scholarship on parks, hunting and phenomenology will be reviewed. This chapter will continue with a consideration of the primary source material with a

[1] Markham, G. 1654, *Country Contentments, or the Husbandmans Recreations*, London.
[2] Gascoigne, G. 1611 *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, London.

particular focus on contemporary maps and literature, including hunting treatises and manuals. Part 1 will then proceed with a discussion of trends in imparkment and disparkment and be followed by an in-depth examination of the form and function of deer parks during this period. Chapter 4 will consider what contemporary texts can tell us about hunting in parks. Part 1 will conclude with a chapter focusing on the form and function of park buildings and how these were utilised by park owners.

Part 2 will begin with a critical evaluation of phenomenological theory and methodologies. This will be followed by an examination of the role of sound in the hunting experience which is informed by sources including diaries, manuals, prose, plays, poetry and ballads. The experience of illegal hunting in the form of poaching will be the focus of the following chapter. Part 2 will conclude with three case studies which will test some of the phenomenological methodologies.

Sources and methodology

In this study, a park is a private wood pasture comprised of areas of grazing and trees enclosed by a fence known as a park pale, which is used for the keeping and hunting of deer.[3]

This thesis is concerned with hunting during the early modern period but is predominately focused on the experience of the hunt in parks and will take a theoretical interdisciplinary landscape archaeology approach. The complex multifaceted subject of parks has been well covered in recent scholarly literature by authors writing from a wide range of disciplines within the overall framework of landscape studies. A number of studies have traced the development and continuation of hunting in parks during the medieval period and to a lesser extent, the early modern period, with considerable work also undertaken on the evolution of the landscape park, most notably by Williamson.[4] Many of these works have stimulated a

[3] Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press; Mileson, S.A. 2009 *Parks in Medieval England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; Rackham, O. 1986 *The History of the Countryside*, London, Dent; Rowe, A. 2009 *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

[4] Prince, H. 1967 *Parks in England*, Shalfleet; Lasdun, S. 1991 *The English Park: royal. Private and public*, London, Andre Deutsch; Manning, R.B. 1993 *Hunters and Poachers: a social and cultural history of unlawful hunting in England, 1485-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press; Mileson, S.A. 2005 'The importance of parks in fifteenth century society' in Clark, L .(ed) *The Fifteenth Century, V: 'Of mice and men': image, belief and regulation in late medieval England*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, pp. 19-37; *Mileson, S. 2018 '*Royal and aristocratic landscapes of pleasure' in Gerrard, C.M. & Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain, Oxford, Oxford University*

renewed interest in hunting and parks and have contributed to, and substantially increased, our knowledge and understanding of their development, distribution and place in the wider landscape, their cultural significance, their physical form and most importantly for this study, their function. Cantor who studied medieval parks from a geographic perspective, was one of the first scholars since Shirley in 1867 (whose gazetteer traced the origin and history of deer parks between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries) to systematically study parks on a national basis.[5] He was also a pioneer (again emulating Shirley) of the county and regional study of medieval parks, which he conducted during the 1960s, 70s, 80s and 90s.[6] Cantor largely chose to restrict his research to the period between 1066 and the end of the fifteenth century, which somewhat obscures changes and continuity after this period. But 1100-1348 was a period in which park numbers reached their zenith, and a time when the 'primary purpose' of the park was to provide a hunting ground for the lord of the manor.[7] The period between the mid-fourteenth century and 1500 however, saw significant changes as park numbers declined and the few new parks and those medieval parks which had survived intact were largely created or transformed into more sophisticated and ornamental spaces.[8] At this point, the sporting activity of hunting, Cantor claims, became subordinate to the new primary purpose of the park which was to provide an aesthetic setting for the country house.[9] Birrell contributed to this debate on the function of parks by asserting that although owners often took the opportunity to hunt in parks it was 'often subsidiary' to farming deer for their meat.[10] Rackham also concluded from his ecological study of medieval parks that: 'It is an error to call them hunting preserves' at all as their close confined spaces, which were often full of trees,

Press; Liddiard, R. 2007 (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press; Rowe, A. 2009 *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press; Fletcher, J. 2011 *Gardens of Earthly Delight: the history of deer parks*, Oxford, Windgather Press; De Belin, M. 2013 *From the deer to the fox: the hunting transition and the landscape, 1600-1850*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire; Rowe, A. 2019 *Tudor & Early Stuart parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.
Press.; Williamson, T. 1995 *Polite Landscapes: gardens and society in eighteenth-century England*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press; Williamson, T. 2000 *Suffolk's Gardens and Parks: designed landscapes from the Tudors to the Victorians*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press.

[5] Shirley, E.P. 1867 *Some Account of English Deer Parks, with Notes on the management of Deer*, London, John Murray.

[6] Cantor, L.M. & Wilson, J.D. 1961-9 'The medieval deer-parks of Dorset', I-IX, *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 83, pp. 109-16; 84, 145-53; 85, 141-52; 86, 164-78; 87, 223-33; 88, 176-85; 89, 171-80; 90, 241-8; 91, 196-205; Cantor, L.M. 1962 'The medieval parks of North Staffordshire I,' *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 2, 7 pp. 2-7; Cantor, L.M. & Moore, J.S. 1963 'The medieval parks of the Earls of Stafford at Madely', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 3, pp. 37-58; Cantor, L.M. 1964 'The medieval parks of North Staffordshire II', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 4, pp. 61-6; Cantor, L. M. 1970-71 'The medieval parks of Leicestershire', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 46, pp. 9-24; Cantor, L.M. & Hatherly, J.M. 1977 'The medieval parks of Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 20(3), 4 pp. 31-7; Cantor, L.M. & Squires, A.E. 1997 *The Historic Parks and Gardens of Leicestershire and Rutland*, Newton Linford, Kairos Publishing.

[7] Cantor, L. 1983 *The Medieval Parks of England: a gazetteer*, Loughborough, Department of Education, Loughborough University of Technology; Cantor, L.M. 1979 'The medieval parks of England', *Geography*, 64 (2) 71-85; Cantor 1970-71: 9.

[8] Cantor 1983: 4.

[9] Cantor & Squires 1997: 48.

[10] Birrell, J. 1992 'Deer and deer farming in medieval England', *Agricultural History Review*, 40 (2) 112-126.

were not conducive for a good hunt. The most common use of the park, Rackham argues, was to graze sheep and cattle or to let out grazing to local farmers.[11] Rackham, however, does not consider the idea that a hunt could be adapted to accommodate the limited confines of a park, as shall be seen below.

More recently, Mileson, writing from the perspective of a historian, has greatly contributed to the historiography of hunting within parks. He has largely focused on addressing a series of issues including the familiar debate of whether or not parks were subject to major changes during the medieval period or if their function remained constant.[12] His choice of the twelfth century as a starting point for his research, is largely based on the assumption that the introduction of fallow deer into England at this time helped to shape the size and character of the hunting park.[13] The conclusion of his study in the early decades of the sixteenth century is influenced by various social changes that took place in the closing decades of the fifteenth century, which in turn 'affected the purpose and function of parkland.'[14] Mileson asserts that, contrary to Cantor's view, there is little doubt that hunting in parks continued to be hugely popular throughout England during the fifteenth century and that the theory that economic and aesthetic considerations took precedence after 1348 is unproven.[15] Rowe's history and gazetteer of the medieval parks of Hertfordshire largely agrees with Mileson's findings.[16]

Covering roughly the same period as Mileson, between 1200 and 1500, Rowe's research has concluded that although the nature of the medieval park was mutable during this period, there is little doubt that the largest parks of the High Middle Ages continued to be utilised as venues for recreational hunting. It is suggested however, that parks were initially created and maintained during the High Middle Ages for the main purpose of rearing deer with the intention of providing a regular supply of venison for the owner's table. This view appears to be predicated upon a lack of documentary evidence for hunting in parks at this time and support of the argument put forward by Rackham that parks were just too small for this

[11] Rackham, O. 1986 *The History of the Countryside*, London, Dent.
[12] Mileson 2009: 2.
[13] Ibid: 10; Mileson 2018: 388.
[14] Mileson 2009: 10.
[15] Ibid: 6; Mileson 2018: 26 & 33.
[16] Rowe 2009: 3.

activity. However, Rowe suggests that by the later Middle Ages hunting in parks had grown in significance as the result of the implementation of new styles of hunting which were more suited to the close confines of a park. Hunting by bow and stable (where deer were driven towards bowmen who were situated at a standing or lodge) was a particularly popular methodology, but Rowe has found no evidence that it was used in the parks of Hertfordshire before 1500.[17] Rowe's further study of later Hertfordshire parks just before and after the 'watershed' of 1500, which is aided by cartographic and documentary evidence, suggests that park-based hunting continued to be an important activity in the county between 1485 and 1642.[18] Other county-based studies by De Belin and Pittman have supported this conclusion.[19] De Belin's examination of the transition from deer to fox hunting in Northamptonshire between 1600 and 1850 points out that many of those who doubt that parks could accommodate a full-scale deer hunt may have been swayed by a modern notion of what a hunt actually entails and suggests that there were a number of ways to facilitate a hunt (such as coursing) where slower horses and dogs could be used to pursue the prey through a restricted space.[20] Pittman argues in the same vein and asserts that despite the size, terrain and individual management regimes imposed on parks, the main purpose of the Elizabethan and Jacobean park was for the keeping and hunting of deer, which in turn ensured their continued place in the landscape.[21] Contrastingly, Manning's specialist study of poaching looks at the subject from a different viewpoint. It surveys the enduring cultural importance of unlawful hunting in England between 1485 and 1640 and shows that despite socially restrictive Game Laws, prosecutions and violent altercations in parks, it remained deeply imbedded in the fabric of early modern cultural life.[22]

Despite the substantial quantity of academic work which has discussed a number of issues, there has been little attempt by historians or those from other disciplines to explore what it i was actually *like* to participate in hunting activities or to go out and sensorially explore the physical environment where it took place. There has also been relatively little focus on the parks of East Anglia during the early modern period. This study will aim to demonstrate that

[17] Ibid: 3-4.
[18] Rowe 2019: 6-9.
[19] De Belin 2013: 52-53; Pittman, S. 2011 *Elizabethan and Jacobean Deer Parks in Kent*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kent.
[20] De Belin 2013:52-53.
[21] Pittman 2011: 73 & 75.
[22] Manning 1993 57-83.

hunting in parks remained popular up to and throughout the early modern period. It will also show how the nature of parks changed during this period while others changed very little and retained much of their medieval character. It will look at the experience of hunting through several different lenses such as: hunting manuals and treatises, other works of contemporary prose and poetry, ballads and songs, letters and diaries, the buildings associated with the hunt, published archaeology reports, unpublished Historic Environment Records (HERs), and archaeological and architectural evidence and contemporary maps. For the four case studies which are discussed in chapter 9, several other sources were consulted. Ordnance Survey First Edition, Tithe Awards, geological and soil maps, and LiDAR data (both Digital Terrain Models and Digital Surface Models) were used and interpreted alongside Historic Landscape Characterisations and Assessments to gain an understanding of the character and 'feel' of the landscape.

There will also be a phenomenological examination of the environment and topography of former parks. The theories, methodologies techniques and critiques of this contentious form of landscape investigation will be discussed fully in chapter 6. The main proponent of landscape phenomenology, Christopher Tilley has suggested that experiencing a landscape or monument in the present could potentially provide insights into the ways that past peoples experienced and interpreted places they interacted with.[23] He claims that 'the phenomenologist works and studies the landscape from the inside' as opposed to using 'outside' experiences of landscapes which are often derived from literature, maps and photographs.[24] To achieve this understanding, he argues that it is necessary for an individual to record their physical and sensory engagement as they move through the landscape. This methodology has almost exclusively been applied to the study of ancient or prehistoric landscapes and has mostly focussed on intervisibility between monuments. It can however be argued that as medieval and post-medieval parks were predominately landscapes of experience for those who lived, worked and more importantly for this study, hunted in them, that this study provides an ideal opportunity to test phenomenological methodologies. In essence, to go out and walk through a former parkland landscape aids our sense of perception

[23] Tilley, C. 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape Places, Paths and Monuments,* Oxford, Berg Publishers.
[24] Tilley, C. 2010 'Phenomenological approaches in landscape archaeology' in David, B. & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp. 271-276.

and perhaps increases our understanding of them. We can experience the terrain, sights, sounds and smells by immersing ourselves within the environment. Phenomenological investigations will therefore be undertaken through field studies where sensory observations will be recorded through photographs and written notes (see Appendices) while walking through the former park landscapes of Easty Park in Hundon, The little Park at Long Melford (both in Suffolk), Lopham Park in Norfolk and Wormingford Park in Essex.

Despite Tilley's misgivings concerning 'outside' forms of evidence (which are obviously unavailable to him as a prehistorian), and the clear benefits of walking the landscape to gain some idea of how these places were perceived, the principal sources used in this study will be cartographic and textual. It can be argued that we cannot expect to gain a full understanding of perception purely from walking through the landscape and by discounting other forms of evidence. A more sophisticated approach therefore is to use phenomenological approaches in conjunction with cartographic and textural sources so that a richer and more nuanced picture can be built. Moreover, it would be unwise to ignore these primary sources from a period that was rich with textural evidence that documented the development of parks and sensory experiences. Central to these investigations will be a new and innovative phenomenological methodology of placing the viewer in the contemporary map.

Contemporary maps are particularly important in this study as they perform two main functions. Firstly, they provide evidence of the form, function and development of parks during the post medieval period and secondly, they are used for the first time as a tool for phenomenological investigation as the individual figuratively places themselves within the map and documents their experience of the landscape depicted. Searches were made at The National Archive, county record offices in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk and other repositories, namely: Cambridge University Library, the Arundel Castle Archives in West Sussex and the Guildhall Library in London for maps and plans which depicted parks between 1550 and 1750. These searches were in part guided by Historic England's *Register of Historic parks and gardens of special historic interest in England*, the *Historic Environment Record* (HER), Farrer's study of the parks of East Anglia and by Cantor's

seminal gazetteer of the medieval parks of England.[25] Cantor's extensive examination of the documentary record such as the Calendar of Close Rolls, Calendar of Inquisitions *Post-Mortem* and Calendar of Charter Rolls identified medieval parks (some of which continued to be in use during the post medieval period) in each English county. For East Anglia he found 35 parks recorded for Cambridgeshire (including twenty in Huntingdonshire), one hundred and two in Essex, forty-seven in Norfolk and sixty-two in Suffolk.[26] More recently, regional, and county-wide studies have built upon Cantor's work and were also instrumental in identifying study sites and suitable cartographic sources. Hoppitt's *Study of the Development of Parks in Suffolk Between the Eleventh and Seventeenth century* lists one 130 parks between 1000 and 1600 with forty still extant at the turn of the seventeenth century.[27] Way's study on the social impact of imparkment on Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire between the late eleventh century and mid-eighteenth century has identified one hundred and sixty-one park sites, examining ninety-nine in detail, and Liddiard's gazetteer of Norfolk deer parks has listed 92. Essex parks by contrast, are comparatively understudied. Rackham has examined East Anglian parks during this period, including several sites in Essex. Williamson has recently conducted a study of the park at Quendon, and Hunter also discusses medieval and post-medieval parks in his work on the Essex landscape, but this has only been conducted on a very limited scale.[28] This paucity in the investigation of Essex parks will be addressed in this study.

A long list of potential study sites was subsequently compiled with at least one contemporary cartographic source identified for each selected park. The maps, which form the core of the study sample which number fifty-five, relate to fifty distinct park sites. This sample, however, represents only a small fraction of the parks that were in use in East Anglia during this period and is in no way indictive of the ever-increasing number of maps that were produced at this time for the wealthiest and most educated members of society who were becoming increasingly aware of their communicative potential.[29] The study sample merely reflects the

[25] Cantor 1983; Farrer, E. 1923 *Deer-parks of East Anglia*.
[26] Cantor 1983: No page numbers.
[27] Hoppitt, R. 1992 *A Study of the Development of Deer Parks in Suffolk from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Century*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia.
[28] Rackham, O. 1986 *The History of the Countryside*, London, Dent; Rackham, O. 1999 'Woods, parks and forests: the Cressing Temple story', in Green, L.S. (ed.) *The Essex Landscape: in search of history*, Chelmsford, Essex County Council; Williamson, T. 2016 *Quendon Deer Park: history and proposals for restoration*, unpublished report, University of East Anglia; Hunter, J. 1999 *The Essex Landscape: a study of its form and history*, Chelmsford, Essex Record Office Publications.
[29] McRae, A. 1993 'To know one's own; estate surveying and the representation of the land in early modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 56(4) pp. 333-357.

number of maps which were readily available at county record offices and other repositories. For example, a map of Castle Rising in Norfolk (1732) was found to be missing from the Norfolk Record Office and several maps from this period, which would have added greatly to the depth and scope of this thesis, such as that of Kimberley Hall in Norfolk and its adjoining deer park of over eighty-six acres (1714) remain in private hands and therefore were not available to be used.[30] Furthermore, there are likely to have been many more contemporary maps that have not survived.

The growth of 'map consciousness' among early modern park owners was facilitated by a cartographic revolution which transformed the art of map making from the mid sixteenth century onwards; as patron-driven demand and new surveying methodologies and techniques such as the plane table and the use of scale saw an exponential rise in their production and quality.[31] These innovative factors and influences resulted in the emergence of estate maps and plans which accounted for approximately forty percent of all maps produced in England in the period following 1550, reaching a peak between 1585 and 1615 when the English land market was at its most buoyant.[32] It appears to have been commonplace for many landowners (especially parvenus from the burgeoning legal and mercantile professions) during the early modern period to commission sometimes highly decorative (often emblazoned with the owner's coat of arms) and colourful estate maps to graphically display or clarify ownership of the land depicted, or a particular element of it, such as a park.[33] Broadly, maps and plans, in part, served as both 'topographical inventories' and 'seigneurial emblems'.[34]

[30] BL ac Pur 23/01/77 M160c; Taigel, A. & Williamson, T. 1991 'Garden design in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Journal of Garden History*, 11(1) pp. 1-111.
[31] Harvey, P.D.A. 1993 *Maps in Tudor England*, London, The Public Record Office and The British Library; Buisseret, D. 2003 *The Mapmakers' Quest: depicting new worlds in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; Baigent, E. 2005 'Mapping the forests and chases of England and Wales, c. 1530 to c.1670' in Langton, J. & Jones, J. (eds.) *Forests and Chases of England and Wales c.1500 – c.1850: towards a survey and analysis,* Oxford, St John's College Research Centre, 21-28; Whyte, N. 2009 *Inhabiting the Landscape: place, custom and memory, 1500-1800*, Oxford, Windgather Press; McCrae 1993: 349.
[32] Barber, P. 2007 'Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470-1650' in Woodward, D. (ed.) *The history of cartography, volume 3, cartography in the* European renaissance, part 2, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 1589-1669; Dowd, M.M. 2015 *The Dynamics of Inheritance on the Shakespeare Stage*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Eden, P. 1983 Three Elizabethan estate surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke & Thomas Langdon in Tyacke, S. (Ed.) *English map-making 1500-1650*, London, The British Library, pp. 68-84.
[33] Fletcher, D. 1990 *Estate Maps of Christ Church, Oxford: the emergence of map-consciousness c1600 to 1840*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter; Baigent, E. 2005 'Mapping the forests and chases of England and Wales, c. 1530 to c.1670' in Langton, J. & Jones, J. (Eds.) *Forests and chases of England and Wales c.1500 – c.1850: towards a survey and analysis,* Oxford, St John's College Research Centre; Stuart Mason, A. 1990 *Essex on the map: the 18th century land surveyors of Essex*, Chelmsford, Essex Record Office; Bendall, A.S. 2009 *Maps, Land and Society: a history, with a carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire estate maps, c.1600-1836*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Whyte 2009: 11.
[34] Klein, B. 2001 *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

That is not to say that the exact purpose of these maps is in any way readily transparent to the modern historian or even for that matter was it to the contemporary viewer. The humanist writer and mathematician Thomas Blundeville of Newton Flotman in Norfolk wrote in 1589 that although he had seen many people: 'delight to look on Mappes', they lacked the knowledge to determine their practical purpose, as they:

> …knowe not with what maner of lines they are traces nor what those lines do signifie nor yet the true use of Mappes indeed.[35]

The poet, playwright and historian Samuel Daniel also provided a particularly perceptive and cautionary early critique of maps (which is still pertinent today in the study of historical cartographic sources) in his 1603 poem, *A Defence of Ryme*:

> …we must not thinke viewing the superficiall figure of a region in a Mappe that wee know straight the fashion and place as it is.[36]

It *is* evident however that some of the estate maps and plans in the sample seem to have been utilised as tools for estate management and show subsequent additions, annotations and corrections. It is also plain to see that many are highly decorative pictorial representations of the landscape that have been drawn with a degree of artistic flair and would most probably have been prominently displayed in the home of those who had commissioned them. The eminent Elizabethan mathematician, antiquary and astrologer John Dee commented in the lengthy mathematical preface to Euclid's *The Elements of Geometrie* (1570) that he had observed that some of his contemporaries, for one purpose or another:

> liketh and getteth maps (together with charts and geographical globes), and …beautifie their Halls, Parlers, Chambers, Galeries, Studies or Libraries… with them.[37]

However, we do not know precisely why these maps were made and therefore they must be used with caution and with an awareness of their limitations as evidential sources, which are manifold. Many of the maps and plans produced during this period vary greatly in terms of quality, scale, accuracy and detail, regardless of when they were produced. Furthermore, they are often overly idealised and greatly embellished.[38] Conversely, there are those that

[35] Blundeville, T. 1589 *A Briefe Description of Universal Mappes and Cardes*, London.
[36] Samuel, D. 1603 *A Defence of Ryme*, London.
[37] Dee, J 1999 *The Mathematicall Praeface to the Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara (1570*), Whitefish, Kessinger Publishing.
[38] Whyte 2009:11; Muir, R. 1999 *Approaches to Landscape*, Macmillan, London.

are unfinished or schematic in nature which simply and crudely display the outline of a park and its internal configuration and give relative rather than precise locations of features.[39] In some cases, many of the features depicted on the maps may have dated from a much earlier period which potentially hinders interpretation.[40] There are also some maps where the conventions that are used, such as colours or symbols, are not explained.[41]

Despite these caveats and the plainly apparent differences in levels of quality, it can be argued that much of the information provided by the maps in the sample (which were drawn to scale) is generally reliable and can be successfully used to provide some evidence about the nature of the park that they portray and how they were comprised and utilized. Firstly, they appear to reflect the changes (when viewed together) that were taking place both in cartography and in the appearance and function of parks during this period. Several maps show the nature and extent of boundaries and depict gates in detail and also illustrate how some parks were left as open spaces or were physically divided. Some maps also have named areas or field names and acreages which potentially reveal their industrial or leisurely function. A number of maps show the growing close spatial relationship between the country mansion and the park. Pictorial representations of human and animal figures, gardens, avenues, areas of woodland and laund, buildings (including residences, lodges, standings and prospect towers and hides (which are all drawn in perspective), ponds and watercourses and woodland rides also provide an indication of what was taking place in parks during this period. Most importantly for this study, a small number of maps actually show parks being used for hunting and provide an opportunity to gain an idea of how hunting was conducted and experienced. For example, the *c*.1600 map of Broxted (or Broxtey) Park in Hundon (Figure 3.1) clearly shows a single deer being coursed by a greyhound along a ride.[42] It is a relatively simple image, but it is an unambiguous depiction of early modern deer coursing taking place within a park. The plan of the Little Park at Long Melford (Figure 3.6) however, appears to provide a more complete and complex pictorial narrative of a park-based deer hunt.[43] It depicts a hunt in full

[39] Bendall 2009: 50.
[40] Harvey, P.D.A. 1996 'English estate maps: their early history and their use as historical evidence' in Buisseret, D. (ed.) *Rural Images: estate maps in the old and new world*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 27-61.
[41] Harvey 1996: 34.
[42] NA MPC1/1.
[43] SRO B 2130/2.

flow where huntsmen, both mounted and on foot, pursue deer through the woodland and launds of the park in the close vicinity of park lodges, standings and hides.

The column graph below (Figure 1.1) shows the ten years periods within which the 54 maps used in this study were created, ranging from the late sixteenth-century to the mid eighteenth-century.

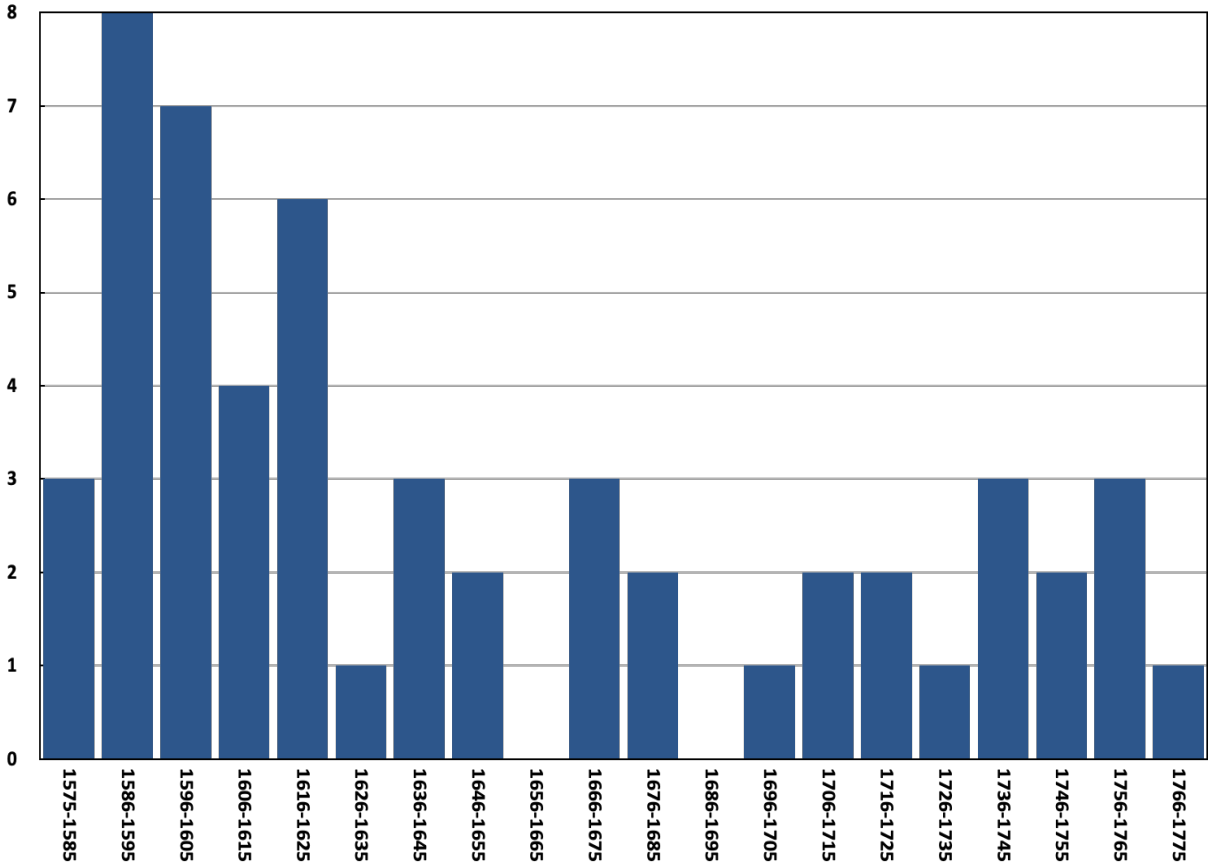


Figure 1.1 Sample used in this study of 54 estate maps and park plans produced in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk between 1575 and 1775.

Most of the estate maps and plans (39) come from a 100-year period between 1575 and 1675. Figure 1.2 lists the parks by name or place, county and date.

Park	County	Date of map	Reference
Kimbolton (High Park)	**Cambs and Hunts**	1582	HRO MC2/26
Kimbolton (Great Park)	**Cambs and Hunts**	1673	HRO KDMC/83
Wimpole (High Park and Low Park)	**Cambs and Hunts**	1638	CRO R77/1
Weybridge Park/Waybridge	**Cambs and Hunts**	1651	HRO SM3/17
Doddington (Little Park and Great Park)	**Cambs and Hunts**	*c.*1680	Maps BB.53(1)93.114
Chippenham	**Cambs and Hunts**	1712	CRO 71/P3
Stow cum Quy	**Cambs and Hunts**	1737	CRO 107/P
Washingley Great Park	**Cambs and Hunts**	1753	HRO Acc 2498
Cheveley Park	**Cambs and Hunts**	1775	CRO 101/P2
Crondon Park	**Essex**	*c.*1575	ERO D/DP P2
Crondon Park	**Essex**	1674	ERO D/DP P13
Moulsham Hall Park	**Essex**	1591	ERO D/DM P2
Castle Hedingham (Little Park)	**Essex**	1592	ERO D/DM h M1
Castle Hedingham (Castle Park)	**Essex**	1592	ERO D/DM h M1
Castle Hedingham (Great Park)	**Essex**	1592	ERO D/DM h M1
Ramsden Bellhouse	**Essex**	1615	ERO Dla P2
Marke Hall	**Essex**	1616	ERO D/Dar P1
Belhus Park	**Essex**	1619	ERO D/DL P1
Skreens Park	**Essex**	1666	ERO D/Dxa 21
Quendon Hall	**Essex**	1702	ERO 1702/2
Rivenhall	**Essex**	1715/16	ERO D/DFg P1/1
Easton Lodge	**Essex**	1730	ERO DMg P1/1
Dagnams Park	**Essex**	1748	ERO D/Ne P3
Cawston	**Norfolk**	1581	NRO MC 341/12 706X4A
Castle Rising	**Norfolk**	Copy of 1581 map	NRO BL 71
Haveringland	**Norfolk**	1590	NRO Hayes & Storr
New Buckenham	**Norfolk**	1597	ACA P51
Lopham Park	**Norfolk**	1612	ACA P51
Hunstanton	**Norfolk**	1615	NRO Le Strange OA1
Hunstanton	**Norfolk**	1765	NRO Le Strange OA3 M5 (6)
Shelfhanger	**Norfolk**	1618	NRO MS 4513/1-2
Sandringham	**Norfolk**	1620	NRO MC 2529/1
Kenninghall	**Norfolk**	1621	ACA P5-6
Acle	**Norfolk**	1633	NRO MS 4513-12
Tibenham Channons or Channonz Hall	**Norfolk**	1640	NRO MC-1777/1
Gressenhall	**Norfolk**	1642	NRO Hayes & Storr
Melton Constable	**Norfolk**	1732 copy of 1674 map	NRO Hayes & Storr 82,83,M3,M4
Earsham	**Norfolk**	*c.*1720	NRO MEA 3/632
Croxton	**Norfolk**	1720	ACA P536
Hethel	**Norfolk**	1736	NRO uncatalogued
Hethel	**Norfolk**	1745	NRO uncatalogued
Belchamp St. Paul	**Suffolk**	1576	Guildhall Library MS 25517/1
Framlingham Great Park	**Suffolk**	1588	Kings College Cambridge Archives
Hundon Great Park	**Suffolk**	*c.*1600	NA MPC/2
Easty Park	**Suffolk**	*c.*1600	NA MPC1/3
Broxted Park	**Suffolk**	*c.*1600	NA MPC1/1
Staverton Park	**Suffolk**	1600-1601	SRO V5/22/1/12
Staverton Park	**Suffolk**	1600-1601	SRO I HD 88/4/1
Little Park	**Suffolk**	1613	SRO B2130/2
Hoxne Hall (New Park)	**Suffolk**	1619	SRO I HD 40/422
Hoxne Hall (New Park)	**Suffolk**	1757	SRO HB 21/280/2

Figure 1.2. Sample of 54 maps used in the study

This study has also been informed by a number of textual primary sources. Instructional hunting manuals and treatises (written in the most part for the benefit of the aspiring and uninitiated parvenu) from both the medieval and post medieval periods by authors such as Edward of Norwich, Phébus, Cockaine, Elyot, Blome, Gascoigne, Cox, Du Fouilloux, Surflet, and most notably Gevase Markham demonstrate the enduring popularity of hunting in parks.[44] They have also provided a wealth of useful information on not only the highly formalised structured mechanics and rituals of park-based deer hunting, the pleasures and physical benefits derived from the sport and recommendations on the training of dogs and horses; but also glimpses of its managed theatrical and sensorial aspects where the music of hounds and horns were noted as key to the experience and structure of the hunt. What they fail to provide however, are any comprehensive first-hand accounts of how hunting was actually conducted in parks.

For a non-elite view of deer hunting, legal records from the Essex Assizes and Quarter Sessions were consulted for indictments and recognizances for poaching in parks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Searches were made at the Essex Record Office (ERO) in Chelmsford as it holds the most intact county series of Quarter Sessions rolls (more than 10,000 documents), dating from as early as 1556 and over 3,500 records from the Assizes from this period.[45] The records reveal that there were 125 surviving documented prosecutions for deer poaching (incidences of poaching in forests and the illegal taking of animals other than deer were excluded from the sample) in Essex parks between the years 1563 and 1700. This ostensibly low figure does not reflect the true number of poaching forays in parks during this period, which were undoubtedly much higher than those recorded as many were not reported or in some cases, ignored. What they do illustrate is that parks remained violently contested spaces throughout the period. They also show that illegal hunting was logistically little different from elite hunting, in terms of methodology and the

[44] Edward of Norwich. Baillie-Grohman, W.A. & Baillie- Grohman, F.N. (Eds) (2005) *The Master of Game,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; Gaton III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998 *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus*: manuscript 616 Paris, Bibliothéque nationale, London, Harvey Miller Publishers; Cockaine, T. 1591 *A Short Treatise of Hunting: compiled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen*, Shakespeare Association facsmilie 2000 Elyot, T. 1537 *The Boke Named the Governour,*London; Gascoigne, G. (1611 edition) *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*, London; Surflet, R. 1616 *Maison Rustique; or The Countrie Farme*, London; Markham 1616 *Maison Rustique; or the Countrey Farme,* London; Markham, G. 1631 *Country Contentments, or, the Husbandmans Recreations,* London.
[45] Emmison, F.G. 1970 *Elizabethan Life: disorder. Mainly from Essex Sessions and Assize records*, Chelmsford, Essex County Council.

weapons which were used.[46] Moreover, in contrast to the hunting manuals, they bring the act of hunting during the early modern period to life. They reveal the time and location of the attack and name of those who were involved, together with their social status or profession. In some instances, they also provide dramatic, lengthy and often convoluted descriptions of what took place.

Extensive searches were also made of the University of California's *English Broadside Ballad Archive* and the University of Oxford's collection of approximately 30,000 songs, and eighteenth and nineteenth-century compendiums of poetry and musical works for contemporary ballads and songs which describe the wider, popular experience and conception of hunting during this period.[47] Many of the ballads enthusiastically laud the qualities and effect of the sounds produced by hunting. As do scenes and verses from several contemporary plays and poems which are also analysed in this study. These works were consumed by a diverse audience and appear in some instances to have been written by those with first-hand experience of hunting, either as observers or participants. Evidence derived from archaeological and architectural investigations of park landscapes and park buildings have also offered invaluable insights. Excavations conducted at the former Essex park sites of Stansted, Wormingford and Writtle have produced convincing theories of how hunting may have been structured in these spaces and also the form and various functions of park buildings. The HER has identified several examples of the latter in Essex (particularly lodges which were often moated) which have also been the subject of an extensive recent architectural study by McCann, Ryan and Davis.[48]

[46] Manning, R.B. 1993 *Hunters and Poachers: a social and cultural history of unlawful hunting in England, 1485-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

[47] English Broadside Ballads Archive. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb; Broadside Ballads Online. Available at: https://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk; Anon 1731 *The Musical Miscellany; being a collection of choice songs, and lyrick poems: with the basses to each tune, and Transpos'd for the flute. By the most eminent masters*, Volume the sixth, London. Available at: https://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/archive/90369911; Anon. 1745 *Universal Harmony or, the Gentleman and Ladies Social Companion Consisting of a Great Variety of the Best Most Favourite English and Scots Songs, Cantatas etc.*, London; Anon. 1579 'Of cyville and uncyvile life' in Hazlitt, W.C. 1868 (ed.) *Inedited Tracts: illustrating the manners, opinions, and occupations of Englishmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, New York, Burt Franklin. Available at: https://arhive.org/details/ineditedtractsil00hazluoft.

[48] McCann, J., Ryan, P. & Davis, B. 2014 'Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642 (Part 1)', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 58, pp. 28-59; McCann, J., Ryan, O. & Davis B. 2015 'Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642 (Part 2)', *Transactions of the Ancient Monument Society*, 59, pp. 49-70.

Chapter 2

Trends in Imparkment and Disparkment 1450-1750

Before exploring how hunting was experienced by people in the early modern period, it is necessary to consider how the physical spaces where hunting may have taken place were shaped and developed. Some insight into the centrality of hunting to early modern society can be gained from the trends in imparkment and disparkment that were seen at the time.

Over the past few decades, a number of regional studies have been conducted to reveal (with varying levels of success) trends in imparkment and disparkment in medieval and early modern England. Hoppitt, Rowe, Pittman and Way amongst others have analyzed patterns respectively in Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Kent and Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Liddiard and Williamson have studied Norfolk with Mileson basing his research on Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Suffolk and Leicestershire.[49] This research has been chiefly based on a number of contemporary documents including park licensing, court documents, leases, household account books, surveys, wills, inquisitions, county and estate maps and also contemporary and more recent aggregate lists of medieval parks.[50]

In some cases, documentary evidence for individual parks is at best fragmentary resulting in any attempt to establish the dates of imparkments and particularly disparkments extremely challenging and sometimes impossible. Despite these difficulties Hoppitt, Rowe and Pittman have had some success with producing a reliable chronology of imparkment and disparkment in Suffolk, Hertfordshire and Kent. However, for Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Way was forced to curtail her attempt to establish comprehensive dates for imparkment due to

[49] Hoppitt, R. 1992 *A Study of the Development of Deer Parks in Suffolk from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Century*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of East Anglia; Rowe, A. 2009 *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press; Rowe, A. 2007 'The distribution of parks in Hertfordshire: landscape, lordship and woodland' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press; Pittman, S. 2011 *Elizabethan and Jacobean deer parks in Kent*, unpublished PhD thesis, Univeristy of Kent; Pittman, S. 2013 Disparkment. A case study for Elizabethan and Jacobean parks in Kent, *Southern History,* 35, pp. 44-76; Way, T. 1997 *A Study of the Imparkment on the Social Landscape of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire from c.1080 to 1760* (vols. 258-259), British Archaeological Reports; Liddiard, R. 2010 *The Norfolk Deer Parks Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiversity Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiversity Partnership;* Williamson, T. (1998) *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park: garden design in Norfolk, England, c. 1680-1840,* Oxford, Archaeopress; Mileson, S.A. 2005 'The importance of parks in fifteenth-century society in Clark, L (ed) *The Fifteenth-century, V: 'Of Mice and Men': image, belief and regulation in late medieval England*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, pp. 19-37.

[50] Pittman 2013: 52

the lack of firm evidence.[51] Where evidence has been found for incidences of imparkment and disparkment it is clear that these events were a dynamic and fluctuating process.[52]
There has been no real systematic examination of imparkment and disparkment in Essex. There is however, rare but extremely revealing examples of the process of disparkment in Essex during the sixteenth century. Robey's study of the village of Stock from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth-century (which will be discussed below), includes nearby Crondon Park and uses the household account books of the park's owners the Petre family. Several entries illustrate the process of a partial disparkment that took only three years to complete.[53] Further evidence of the disparkment of Crondon Park comes from a map produced of Crondon Park in 1575 that reveals a post disparkment landscape only twenty-five years after the event.

It has been widely argued that the creation of parks was initially driven by a small circle of elite landed families such as the Petre family who used their parks as platforms to project their status and ultimately their power and control over the land. By the late medieval period parks were also used as tools in increasing social competition between the elite and the emerging and affluent landed ranks of the yeomanry and gentleman classes.[54] The decision by park owners to dispark has been described as 'reactive and crisis driven rather than proactive and profit driven'.[55] Disparkment was usually forced on park owners whose fortunes (as will be seen below) rose and fell at the whim of those in power or as a result of overstretching themselves financially through the highly competitive quest for status. It has also been suggested that political and religious turmoil (which also led to a rise in imparkments), disease, extreme climactic fluctuations, demographic pressures and the increased focus on maximizing the potential for farming on parkland all led to spates of disparkments.[56]

[51] Pittman 2011: 144, Pittman 2013: 45.
[52] Pittman 2013: 44-45
[53] Robey, A.C. 1991 *The Village of Stock, Essex, 1550-1610: a social and economic survey*, unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics.
[54] Mileson 2005: 30-31.
[55] Pittman 2013: 61.
[56] Ibid: 61; Way 1997: 17; Fletcher, J. 2011 *Gardens of Earthly Delight: the history of deer parks*, Oxford, Windgather Press; Mileson 2005: 20.

This chapter will discuss these driving forces that influenced imparkments and disparkments in an attempt to reconstruct trends from the mid fifteenth century to the mid eighteenth century. It will show that park numbers in the south-east of England were not static and were subject to fluctuation throughout the medieval and early modern periods. Documentary investigation has revealed distinct periods of park creation and discontinuation within this time frame. It will begin with a brief overview of the patterns of imparkment and disparkment emerging in England and particularly in Hertfordshire, Norfolk and Suffolk from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. There will then follow a further investigation of the parks of Kent, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Hertfordshire in succeeding centuries.

The period from the late twelfth to the fourteenth century saw a major phase of park creation in England driven by the increasing desire for private hunting grounds from the upper strata of medieval society. Williamson, Rowe and Hoppitt for example have identified spikes in imparkments during this period in Norfolk, Hertfordshire and Suffolk. Williamson has shown that numbers increased dramatically in the period up to *c*.1350 with one in eight parishes in Norfolk containing a park.[57] For Hertfordshire Rowe lists thirty-two parks appearing in the documentary record for the first time between 1220 and the end of the thirteenth century and another thirteen appearing in the first half of the fourteenth century. Hoppitt also identifies the mid twelfth to the mid to late fourteenth centuries as the period when 'burgeoning' numbers of parks were created. Between 1301 and 1350 fifty-three parks were in existence in Suffolk. The period between 1351 and 1400 does however show an increasing number of losses of parks in Suffolk from the documentary record.[58] For Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire the period between 1200 and 1325/50 saw an average of three parks created per decade with a small peak from the 1270s and 1300. Way puts this phenomenon partly down to the growth of the documentary record during the early part of the thirteenth century which resulted in parks that were already extant being recorded for the first time, a fact which may have influenced the large numbers recorded in other counties.[59]

[57] Williamson 1998: 40
[58] Hoppitt 2007: 146, 149, Hoppitt 1992: 71; Rowe 2007: 130
[59] Way 1997:16.

Generally, the fourteenth-century appears to have been a period of relative stability in park numbers with seventy per cent of the estimated 3,200 parks in existence in England in 1300 still operational through the century and on into the mid to late fifteenth century.[60] This impetus for park creation and continuity seems to have endured despite catastrophic events such as the climactic deterioration of the early fourteenth century and the Black Death and its aftermath in 1349.[61] This is demonstrated by Rowe's research for Hertfordshire, which has revealed three licenses to impark that were obtained by three separate manorial lords in 1360 and two further licenses issued in 1366.[62] Conversely in Suffolk large numbers of parks disappeared from the documentary record throughout the century.[63] Williamson has also found that the number of parks in Norfolk dwindled after 1350 citing the escalation of wage costs, climatic deterioration and the health of deer stocks as possible causes.[64] This loss of parks is mirrored in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire which saw a decline in numbers. Only eleven new parks were recorded between the fourteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth century. This is a sharp reversal from the forty-one new parks recorded between 1211 and 1340.[65]

Mileson regards the fifteenth century as a period when the number of functioning parks was in decline and one where there was also a development of a more intimate relationship between the park and the manorial seat.[66] From 1450 onwards newly created parks were beginning to be established around country houses rather than the medieval practice of locating parkland far from castles and manorial sites. It was generally only at royal parks that a residence was located in close proximity.[67] It has also been argued that there was a change in their predominant function; from activities centred on deer rearing and hunting to a preoccupation with the park as an aesthetic setting for the manorial seat.[68] For Suffolk there were few new parks recorded during the century. Hoppitt surmises that falling agricultural profits may have been to blame with less money being available for investment. She does

[60] Mileson 2005: 22, 31
[61] Rowe 2009: 9.
[62] Rowe 2007: 13.
[63] Hoppitt 2007: 162.
[64] Williamson 1998: 40.
[65] Way 1997: 17.
[66] Mileson 2005: 19-20.
[67] Rowe, A. & Williamson, T. 2013 *Hertfordshire a Landscape History*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.
[68] Mileson 2005: 19-20, Pittman 2011: 142.

however highlight several other reasons why the economic and demographic conditions of the period encouraged park creation. Land was cheap and park running costs may have been offset by large scale sheep farming. There was also a marked change in landholding patterns with large amounts of land being held by fewer people giving them 'an unparalleled economic opportunity' to impark. Further incentives came with the county suffering from a declining population meaning that firstly objections to enclosure were at a minimum (compared to those experienced during the thirteenth-century) and more importantly more land became available in impoverished and depopulated parishes.[69]

Mileson's research has also highlighted the favourable conditions for park creation and has gone some way to dispel the conclusion that there was a marked drop in numbers. He has revealed that there was at least two hundred and fifty imparkments or extensions of existing parks during the century. He believes that owners exploited the economic conditions throughout the century to create parks. The first half of the fifteenth century saw a lack of demand for land and a fall in its value making the acquisition of parkland financially viable. In the latter decades of the century, increased farming profits may have also provided the money and incentive to impark or enlarge existing ones. Mileson further argues that the only reason new park creations during this period appear limited when compared to those in the thirteenth century is because a large number were re-circulated amongst the elite by marriage, inheritance and through royal favour. He believes that parks and park making remained important features in the countryside of the late medieval period. Hertfordshire appears to confirm this.[70] In the early fifteenth-century there was a 'flurry' of imparkments in Hertfordshire. New parks were then steadily created throughout the century bringing the total of parks which are known to have existed in Hertfordshire during the medieval period to just over seventy, the majority of which were owned by lesser lay lords.[71]

The sixteenth century has also been regarded by observers as a key period in which large numbers of disparkments took place. Pittman has questioned this through her findings for Kent. Dates for disparkment in the county were in some cases impossible to confirm from

[69] Hoppitt 1992: 83-85
[70] Mileson 2005: 22-23.
[71] Rowe 2009: 8, Rowe 2007: 132.

the documentary record forcing her to produce tentative totals.[72] What her study has found is that there was a series of definite 'event' disparkments during the reign of Henry III (1509-1547). 'Event' disparkments (a term coined by Liddiard) were clear-cut rapidly enforced decisions to dispark.[73] In total, nineteen parks are known to have been disparked in Kent between 1509 and 1558 with approximately another ten also disappearing from the record, constituting a loss of four to six parks per decade.[74] Religious and political turmoil was responsible for a number of these losses. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the largest landowner in Kent lost fourteen out of nineteen parks with other ecclesiastical institutions losing six during the Reformation. Parks were also lost by noblemen and gentlemen: six held by the Duke of Buckingham who was executed in 1621, three by the Boleyn family after Anne's execution in 1536 and several others lost during the reign of Mary I including those owned by the disgraced Duke of Northumberland.[75]

The latter decades of the sixteenth century and early decades of the seventeenth century saw further losses in Kent with sixteen parks being disparked between 1558 and 1625. According to Pittman's research seven out of ten of disparkments during this period were influenced by reversals in their owners' financial circumstances which were often self-inflicted. The pressure to seek advancement at court and to compete with their peers forced some families to convert their parks to farmland in an attempt to take advantage of rising prices and rents and ultimately to sell just to settle their debts.[76] Pittman suggests that despite these apparently devastating losses, disparkments during the late sixteenth century were not as bleak as it first appears. The overall number of parks in Kent appears to have been relatively stable during the sixteenth century. The disparkment of sixteen parks from 1558 to 1625 was balanced by the creation of fourteen new ones.[77]

Losses in Suffolk were also balanced out by the creation of new parks particularly in the second part of the century. High rates of disparkments took place throughout the period with the greatest losses between 1550 and 1600. Only nineteen of the thirty-two parks recorded

[72] Pittman 2011: 146.
[73] Pittman 2013: 48-49.
[74] Ibid: 52.
[75] Ibid: 53-54
[76] Ibid: 2013: 57, 61-62
[77] Pittman 2013: 57; Pittman 2011: 46

in 1500 were in operation by the end of the century.[78] However, thirty new parks were recorded for the century, which more than compensated for any losses. Twenty-six of these new parks (that Hoppitt sees as part of a national trend in imparkment) were established during the second half of the century.[79] As in Kent the dissolution of the monasteries provided increased opportunities for aspiring families to acquire more land in a climate of increased affluence brought about by a burgeoning population, agricultural prosperity and increasing political stability.[80]

In her study of the village of Stock, Robey illustrates one of the clearest and most informative examples of the process of disparkment in sixteenth-century Essex at Crondon Park.[81] This event was part of a countywide trend in disparkment that continued well into the seventeenth-century. In 1548 Sir John Petre disparked five hundred acres of the seven-hundred-acre park. He turned the land over to agriculture with the construction of leasehold tenements, the logistics of which was recorded in the Petre family account books. They reveal in detail the various processes of the conversion from parkland to small, tenanted parcels of farmland and the construction of farmhouses and barns. One entry states that on 15 December 1549 two labourers; 'Humfrey and Robiant' from nearby Margareting were paid for 'squaring' thirty seven loads of timber which was to be used for the construction of new farm houses. Another entry on the same day states that Robert Humfrey, the Petre household caterer, paid six labourers for making a new ditch that would divide 'Robert Humfreys ground from my masters'.[82]

Further work was carried out in early 1550 to separate parkland from new leasehold farms with ditches banked with quickset hedges. The accounts record a payment dated February 1550 to Robert Humfrey and Skott 'that they shoulde make a substantial ditch funding quicksetts themselves to hedge it for safeguard of ye meadows'. In April 1550 the accounts state that the ditching and hedging of the new farms was nearing completion. Robert Marshall a member of the Petre household received 'ye last and full payment for dyching and

[78] Pittman 2013: 59
[79] Hoppitt: 1992: 85.
[80] Ibid: 85-86.
[81] Robey 1991: 48-50.
[82] Ibid.

hedging 120 roods of Crondon, wherof my master bereth one half…' Marshall then became one of the first occupants of the new tenements that included a twenty-four acres farm. Humfrey also took possession of a newly created tenement that came with seventy acres of land and what was described as a substantial house that had glass windows.[83] A map produced in 1575 clearly shows the results of the disparkment, with large areas of parkland shown as now being subdivided into substantial looking plots and large houses (including Crondon Hall) on some of the plots (Figure 2.1).[84]



Figure 2.1. A map of Crondon park (1575) showing the 'Disparked Groundes' (ERO D/DP P2)

The remaining parkland is divided from the disparked area by a paling fence that still surrounds (complete with several gates) the entirety of the disparked area and the newly reduced extent of Crondon Park itself.[85] A 1548 survey of the park estimates that the perimeter of the pale measured approximately five miles.[86]

[83] Ibid: 49-51.
[84] ERO D/DP P2.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Robey 1991: 43.

The trend in imparkments seen in Suffolk in the sixteenth century is mirrored in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. There were sharp rises between 1525 and 1550 with eight parks created between 1535 and 1550. In contrast to what was seen in other counties, Way believes that these rises cannot be directly linked to the transfer of ecclesiastical properties to secular owners that was seen in other counties. Peak periods of imparkment appear to be concentrated in the period 1575 to 1625, which Way partly attributes to a return to high population levels of the early fourteenth century.[87] For Hertfordshire it has been suggested by Hugh Prince that there was a marked loss of parks during the Elizabethan period due to the increasing demand for food from the rising population of London. This he believes exerted strong pressure on landowners to convert their parks to agricultural use in order to satisfy the demand.[88] This suggestion has been somewhat checked by Rowe's research which asserts that most disparkments occurred much earlier, from the mid fifteenth century into the sixteenth century rather than in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the proximity to London probably encouraged the creation and upkeep of parks where the hunting adherents Elizabeth I and James I held court.[89] In Norfolk the number of parks has not been clearly established for the period before the reign of Elizabeth I. For the latter decades of the century of Elizabeth's reign Norfolk's parks are said to have 'enjoyed exuberant popularity'.[90]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a further trend of disparking clearly identifiable in Suffolk and Norfolk. Long standing parks owned by major landowners at Hundon, Framlingham, Eye, Kelsale, Wetheringsett and Lavenham were all broken up and disparked in Suffolk.[91] In Norfolk Woodrising Park was disparked in 1601 and three royal parks were gone by 1620. As a result of the turmoil of the Civil War several more were lost including those owned by the Duke of Norfolk at Kenninghall, Winfarthing, Kenninghall and Lopham. Following the Restoration in a period described as the 'real age of disparkment', further losses occurred principally affecting those owned by impoverished royalist supporting families.[92] There were signs by the end of the century of a recovery in park numbers with

[87] Way 1997: 17.
[88] Prince 2008 *Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500*, Hatfield, University of Hatfield Press.
[89] Pittman 2011: 150, Pittman 2013: 58-59.
[90] Pittman 2011: 47, Williamson 1998: 40.
[91] Hoppitt, R. 1997 'Hunting Suffolk's parks: towards a reliable chronology of imparkment' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press.
[92] Williamson 1998: 40; Liddiard 2010: 5.

parks created at Buckenham Tofts and Stow Bardolph during the reign of Charles II and the park at Houghton created just before 1700.[93] As the eighteenth century progressed the trend for imparkment experienced at the end of the seventeenth century reversed as the last medieval parks of Norfolk were broken up, changing their function from hunting to agricultural use. This process was clearly demonstrated on contemporary maps of Earsham Park. The park was still technically a hunting park in the early eighteenth century but was depicted on maps as having already been converted to agriculture.[94] In Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire there was a decline in imparkments from 1620 onwards with only three recorded up to 1690. From 1700 onwards there was an increase in imparkments that appears to continue throughout the eighteenth century and past the scope of Way's research. However, Way does admit that she had difficulties in establishing precise dates for imparking and disparking between 1550 and 1760. She experienced problems in accessing manorial and estate documents and found that there was a decrease in references made to parks in national records. There was also a tendency for several parks to be situated within the same parish making the creation and demise of individual parks difficult to establish.[95]

Despite difficulties establishing definitive dates from the documentary record, broad trends in imparkment and disparkment have been clearly identified for three of the four counties at the centre of this study: Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Research has shown that a major phase of imparkment between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries was followed in the fifteenth century by a period of stability and further creations facilitated by favourable economic and demographic factors. The sixteenth century was another major period for imparkment particularly at the end of the century. Disparkments continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but they appear to have been balanced by new creations. The major trend for disparkment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came when religious and political upheaval took its toll.

What emerges from examining these trends is that despite the impact of political, social or economic factors on parks, they continued to be important elements in the landscape

[93] Williamson 1998: 40.
[94] Liddiard 2010: 5.
[95] Way 1997: 17.

throughout the early modern period. Though the uses of these spaces may have varied during this time, many owners continued to set aside sections of their parks for keeping deer for the likely purpose of hunting. While we can draw some conclusions about the continued importance of parks as spaces for hunting from these trends, they can only tell us so much. To even begin to study experience of parkland hunting we need to appreciate firstly how the character of the park changed during this period.

Chapter 3

The Changing Character of the Deer Park

Introduction

The period between 1450 and 1750 was a complex time in the history of deer parks. A proportion of medieval parks continued to function alongside newly created ones while others were disparked both fully and partially for a variety of reasons (perhaps in the case of the latter, with a view to reinstatement at a later date) by their owners. It was a period when management regimes, aesthetic tastes and the priorities and socio-economic fortunes of some owners were continuously changing which influenced the physical arrangement, size and purpose of deer parks. There is also a widespread conventional idea that it was a period (from *c*.1450 onwards) which saw the development of a closer spatial relationship between parks and the owner's main residence, as new homes were increasingly being built adjacent to or within parks; reversing the previous medieval trend of houses being located at a distance from the park.[96] While this argument has some validity in so much as most deer parks were 'isolated' and did not have residences in close proximity; it is clear that large houses, castles and palaces had a close spatial relationship with parks from the twelfth century onwards. It can therefore be countered that the close spatial link between houses and parks was not a late medieval phenomenon but more of a development or consolidation of an existing trend.

There was however one constant in parks, namely the apparent primacy of deer. The farming and hunting of deer continued to be a priority for park owners particularly in the south-east of England at the start of the period and there was considerable outlay in terms of expense and effort to effectively reconcile the keeping of deer with the wide range of agrarian and industrial activities that took place within parks.[97] Many of these multi-functional spaces were sources of timber and fuel while also providing grazing for livestock and locations for

[96] Mileson, S.A. 2005 'The importance of parks in fifteenth-century society' in Clark, L. (ed.) *The Fifteenth Century V: 'Of mice and men' image belief and regulation in late medieval England*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 19-37; Williamson, T. 1995 *Polite Landscapes: gardens and society in eighteenth century England*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press.

[97] Mileson, S.A. 2016 'Royal and aristocratic landscapes of pleasure' in Gerrard, C. & Guitérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 713-727; Mileson, S.A. 2009 *Parks in Medieval England,* Oxford, Oxford University Press; Williamson 1995: 22.

the breeding of horses and the cultivation of crops.[98] Change however was ever present and by 1750, parks had become less associated with production and were becoming more aesthetic spaces as owners modified the landscape and planted trees to create pleasing vistas and illusory experiences, while deer seem to have taken on a more decorative function.[99]

This chapter will examine (under three headings) how different factors such as the internal composition of parks, aesthetic tastes and fashion, economic considerations and the role of deer, dictated and changed the character of the deer park between 1450 and 1750. In essence, it will consider how deer parks were physically changing and attempt to determine what they actually looked like at different points during this period. It is difficult to determine exactly how and when the character of the medieval park changed as it appears to have been a long and slow process. Furthermore, it is also unclear how long medieval forms of management continued during this period. However, contemporary literary and most importantly cartographic evidence does appear to provide some insight into how deer parks were managed. Firstly, therefore, a brief review will be conducted of the early (albeit very limited) contemporary literary sources which specifically discuss the management of deer parks. It will primarily concentrate on the 1616 version of *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme* edited by Gervase Markham which most notably included the advice that parks should be compartmentalised in order to facilitate their multi-functional nature.[100] There will then follow an in-depth investigation of the cartographic sample with the main aim of determining what these sources can tell us about how parks were managed by their owners.

There are very few medieval or post medieval literary sources that are able to inform us of how the apparently symbiotic relationship between the keeping of deer and industry was achieved. Was it an easily managed, fluid and uncomplicated process or was it a difficult one? There are no known surviving medieval printed instructional manuals that were exclusively dedicated to park management and there is little space dedicated to the subject in the

[98] Williamson 1995: 22; Mileson 2016: 4; Mileson 2009: 64; De Belin, M. 2013 *From the Deer to the Fox: the hunting transition and the landscape, 1600-1850*, Hatfield, University of Hatfield Press.
[99] Williamson 1995: 75; Liddiard, R. & Williamson T. 2008 'There by design? some reflections on medieval elite landscapes', *The Archaeological Journal*, 165(1) pp. 520-535; Sykes, N., Ayton, G. Bowen, F. et al 2016 'Wild to domestic and back again: the dynamics of fallow deer management in medieval England (c.11-16th century AD)', *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research*, 2(1) pp. 113-126.
[100] Markham, G. 1616 *Maison Rustique, or the Countrey Farme,* London.

hunting manuals or treatises of the period. There appears to have been very little demand for instructional manuals during the early medieval period as a brief passage from Walter of Henley's *c*.1280 text, *Husbandry* clearly illustrates: 'one does not render account of deer as many people do not have them'.[101] It seems that the small number of those who did require advice mostly relied upon centuries of practical experience that had been passed down from generation to generation of park keepers and owners to manage their deer parks before the Elizabethan period.[102] Some evidence of management practices can be found in later medieval sources such as the *Tutbury Cowcher (*a 1415 survey of the Honour of Tutbury, part of the Duchy of Lancaster) which discuss various aspects of deer management (including rutting, fawning and feeding habits) and the relationship between deer and grazing stock in a parkland environment.[103] Over a century and a half later in Holinshed's *Chronicle of England, Scotland and Ireland* (published in 1577, a second revised expanded edition followed in 1587) William Harrison commented on the importance of securely confining deer within an oak park pale.[104] He also gave an illuminating critical observation that appears to confirm the pre-eminent position held by park deer and the importance of the meat they provided for the table in the late sixteenth century. Harrison believed that parks were a wasteful use of land and regarded deer as cosseted prey animals that were self-indulgently favoured by owners above profit and industry:

> Wherby it is to be seen what store of ground is employed upon that vain commodity, which bringeth no manner of gain or profit to the owner, sith they commonly give away their flesh, never taking penny for the same…for venison in England is neither bought nor sold as in other countries, but maintained only for the pleasure of the owner and his friends…Where in times past many large and wealthy occupiers were dwelling within the compass of some one park, and therby great cattle seen and to be had among them…now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and savage beasts, cherished for pleasure; and delight.[105]

In the 1616 edition of *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme* Gervase Markham (1568?-1637) dedicated a comparatively large amount of space to the management of parks which outlined the key components that a park should have whilst also stressing the importance of

[101] Walter of Henley 1890 (Lamond, E. ed.) *Husbandry*, Longmans, Green and Co. London.
[102] Pittman, S. 2011 *Elizabethan and Jacobean Deer Parks in Kent*, unpublished PhD, University of Kent.
[103] Ibid: 59; Birrell, J. 1992 'Deer and deer farming in medieval England', *The Agricultural History Review,* 40(2) pp.112-126.
[104] Quoted in Shirley, E.P. 1867 *Some Account of English Deer Parks: with notes on the management of deer*, London, John Murray; Pittman 2011: pp. 59-60.
[105] Harrison, W. 1577 (Rhys, E. ed.) *Elizabethan England: from a description of England,* London, Walter Scott; Berry, E. 2001 *Shakespeare and the Hunt: a cultural and social study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

constructing an environment which was conducive to the keeping of a herd of healthy deer.[106] Markham was one of the most prolific English writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He published works on a diverse range of subjects that included horsemanship, veterinary medicine, domestic economy and military training and he was also a prodigious poet and a dramatist.[107] It was however his works on agriculture and farming written during the first four decades of the seventeenth century where he achieved most success. His publications gave detailed technical and specialised advice to newly landed, inexperienced country gentleman and wealthy yeomen who were keen to learn how to manage their estates. Despite being widely derided for plagiarising both himself and other authors, his works on agriculture in particular were extremely influential and were not superseded as instructional manuals until the mid-eighteenth century.[108]

Markham's version of *Maison rustique* was particularly popular with English landowners who are said to have 'zealously read… and fully digested it'.[109] It was first published in Latin in France in 1554 as *Praedium Rusticum* by Charles Estienne (1504-1564). It achieved its greatest popularity though as a handbook for estate management when the original text was edited and translated into French by Jean Liébault (1535-1596) in 1564 and given the title *L'agriculture et maison rustique*.[110] Richard Surflet's edited English translation, a volume of over 600 pages that advised on the process of creating and managing a large farm, then appeared in 1600 under the title: *Maison Rustique or the Countrey farme*. Markham's revised more Anglo-centric edition of 1616, which was based on Surflet's translation (which he regarded as still being a largely foreign inspired text) is noted for its several additions that argued against French agricultural methods and promoted 'proper English ways of living'. It most notably included an original section advising on the composition and internal division of deer parks as well as effusive descriptions of the thrills of the hunt (which he lists in a table

[106] Pittman 2011: 60.
[107] Steggle, M. 2006. *Markham, Gervase* (1568?-1637), author. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18065?rskey=dvPbgL&result=14. Accessed 29/10/19.
[108] Fussell, G.E. 1947 *The Old English Farming Books from Fitzherbert to Tull 1523 to 1730*, London, Crosby, Lockwood & Son; Wall, W. 1996 'Renaissance national husbandry: Gervase Markham and the publication of England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27(3) pp. 767-785; *Senate House Library, University of London Feature of the month: Gervase Markham on good husbandry*. Available at: https://senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/blog/feature-month-gervase-markham-good-husbandry.
[109] Hoyle, R.W. (ed.) 2011 *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited. Quoting a personal conversation that the editor had with Joan Thirsk noting her surprise at the popularity of *Maison Rustique* amongst English landowners.
[110] Wall 1996: 771; Markham, G. 1616 (Best, M.N. ed.) *The English Housewife,* London, McGill-Queens University Press.

of the principal things added to the volume) that are not seen in either Surflet's translation of 1594 or subsequent French editions.[111]

In chapter nineteen which Markham titled 'Of the Situation of the Parkes and of the Manner of Ordering the Wild Beasts Therin'*;* he first advises on what an ideal park landscape should comprise.[112] Where possible the park should be sited within a woodland of tall timber trees, with a permanent source of water that is enclosed by either a wall or an oak paled fence. He comments that the calls of hunting horns and cries of hounds during a hunt in this environment would 'rebound' and echo from the tall trees which would have the effect of '…doubling the musicke, and making it tenne times more de lightfull'.[113] This passage is clearly reminiscent of the romanticised descriptions of the noisy, colourful, and somewhat chaotic deer hunts given in the hunting manuals of the period, which is discussed fully in chapter four below. Markham then goes on to strongly emphasise that a park should be varied in composition and ideally consist of areas of coppice or underwood, which would give shelter to various beasts, and hay meadows that would provide valuable winter feed for them. He also suggests that a park should have open launds where deer could not only be coursed by greyhounds but grazed alongside other 'wild beasts'.[114] He further stresses that these multi-purpose areas must be divided into enclosures and separated by physical boundaries which would control the movement of the various animals kept in parks. He advises that the:

> …seuerall grounds must not lie-open, or as it were in common one with another; but they must be separated one from the other by a strong rale, through which deere or sheepe (but no greater cat tell) may passe, for they must have the full libertie of euery place…[115]

Markham's comments are clearly referring to mixed use, strongly fenced compartmented parks (where grassland launds were kept separate from enclosed usually coppiced woodland) that could also be utilised for coursing deer. They indicate that the practice of internally dividing parks in this way (which protected coppiced woodland and controlled the grazing of

[111] Wall 1996: 771 & 773; Batey, M. 1991 *Horace Walpole as Garden Historian*: The President's lecture on the occasion of the society's 25th anniversary AGM held at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, 19 July 1990; Pittman 2011: 60.
[112] Markham 1616: 668.
[113] Ibid; Mileson 2009: 32.
[114] Markham 1616: 668.
[115] Markham 1616: 669.

livestock) was taking place within English parks by the early seventeenth century.[116] Markham's comments however also infer that some parks were not configured in the way he suggests they should be and that he was trying to encourage owners to adopt compartmentalisation as good management practice. It has been estimated that approximately one in two parks were left uncompartmented by the late medieval period as some smaller parks were less suited for mixed use and therefore did not need to be compartmented; while others were deliberately left as undivided wood-pasture where areas of laund were intermixed with pollarded trees which enabled deer to graze and roam freely in a type of sylvan landscape that was more suitable for hunting on horseback.[117] This suggests that parks were only of two types: compartmented or uncompartmented, a notion that has long been suggested, most notably by Rackham.[118]

Although Markham's comments provide some valuable insight, there are clear limitations with relying solely on the available contemporary literary evidence given its paucity and brevity. Undoubtedly the best and most numerous sources for attempting to determine how parks were managed during this period are maps. Forty-eight maps and plans of parks in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk which were produced over a period of 200 years, between 1575 and 1775 were consulted for this study. They all illustrate the internal composition of parks (with varying levels of skill and detail) with many illustrating their main elements including different types of vegetation and physical internal boundaries such as fences and hedges. If Rackham's claims are correct, that park owners made a clear-cut binary choice of management, then you could expect that this would be substantiated in the map evidence. However, this would depend on the priorities of the park owner and their approach to management. If the park was not an economic priority it is possible that they would have not invested the time and expense in producing maps and surveys of their land.

[116] Stamper, P. 1988 'Woods and parks' in Astill, G. & Grant, A. (eds) *The Countryside of Medieval England*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd; Mileson 2005: 28.
[117] Mileson 2005: 28; Rackham, O. 2001 *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape: the complete history of Britain's trees, woods and hedgerows*, London, Phoenix Press; Rowe, A. 2009 *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, Hertfordshire Publications; Pluskowski, A. 2007 'The social construction of medieval park ecosystems: an interdisciplinary perspective' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press.
[118] Rackham, O 2000 *The History of the Countryside: the classic history of Britain's landscape, flora and fauna*, London, Phoenix Press.

The majority of maps and plans in this study appear to show parks that were subdivided into multiple enclosures or entirely composed of open wood-pasture. However, this is not clear cut and there are some parks across the sample that do not fall easily into either category. Those maps showing the parks at Staverton, Long Melford, Hundon and Belhus, Castle Hedingham, Shelfhanger, Quendon, Doddington, Weybridge and Melton Constable in particular are unambiguously depicted as being either compartmented or uncompartmented and will be discussed alongside other similarly arranged parks below. The supposition that all parks can be easily and conveniently divided into these two rigid and distinct categories is however problematic as the cartographic sample also strongly suggests that some were managed concurrently as both compartmented and uncompartmented spaces such as those at Lopham, Kenninghall and Marke Hall (also discussed below). Moreover, the internal boundaries of a number of parks (including Crondon, Tibbenham and Marke Hall) initially appear to have been in some way permeable (which Markham recommended to facilitate the free movement of deer or sheep) or in other cases perhaps temporary in nature. Matters are further complicated by a counter argument that contemporary cartographers would most likely to have only depicted permanent divisions as they would have seen little point in illustrating temporary boundaries that were subject to frequent change or regular rotation. It is therefore extremely difficult to definitively identify the management regimes of every park by using cartographic evidence alone.

Compartmented parks

Plans of the three parks at Hundon in Suffolk (*c.*1600) are however clear-cut examples of parks that were compartmentalised. Each are depicted as being composed of densely wooded coppice or wood-pasture that have been divided into named 'quarters' which are separated by rides. There is no indication of any physical boundaries alongside the rides between the quarters on any of the three plans, but it is likely that they were divided by either wood paling fencing or hedges as deer were kept and most probably coursed in each of the parks. Broxted (or Broxtey) Park is shown as being separated into four fairly equal quarters: 'Bradley' in the north-west of the park, 'Coppic' in the north-east, 'Paunten' in the south-east and 'Monke' in the south-west (Figure 3.1).[119] Easty (or Esty) Park is composed of 'Middle Close' in the south-

[119] NA MPC 1/1.

west corner, ‘Chipley’, ‘Chipley old laund’ and ‘Hunden Hall’ quarters in the south-east and ‘Middle’, ‘Shortbushe’ and ‘Denton’ quarters to the east (Figure 3.2).[120] The larger Great Park has twelve ‘quarters’ with some named after landscape features such as ‘Horspond’, ‘Old laund’ and ‘Dodhill’ and others named after trees: ‘Hassell’ and ‘Hullbushe’ or the surnames of individuals: ‘Bagges’, ‘Birchams’, ‘Darrell’ and ‘Katers’ (Figure 3.3).[121]

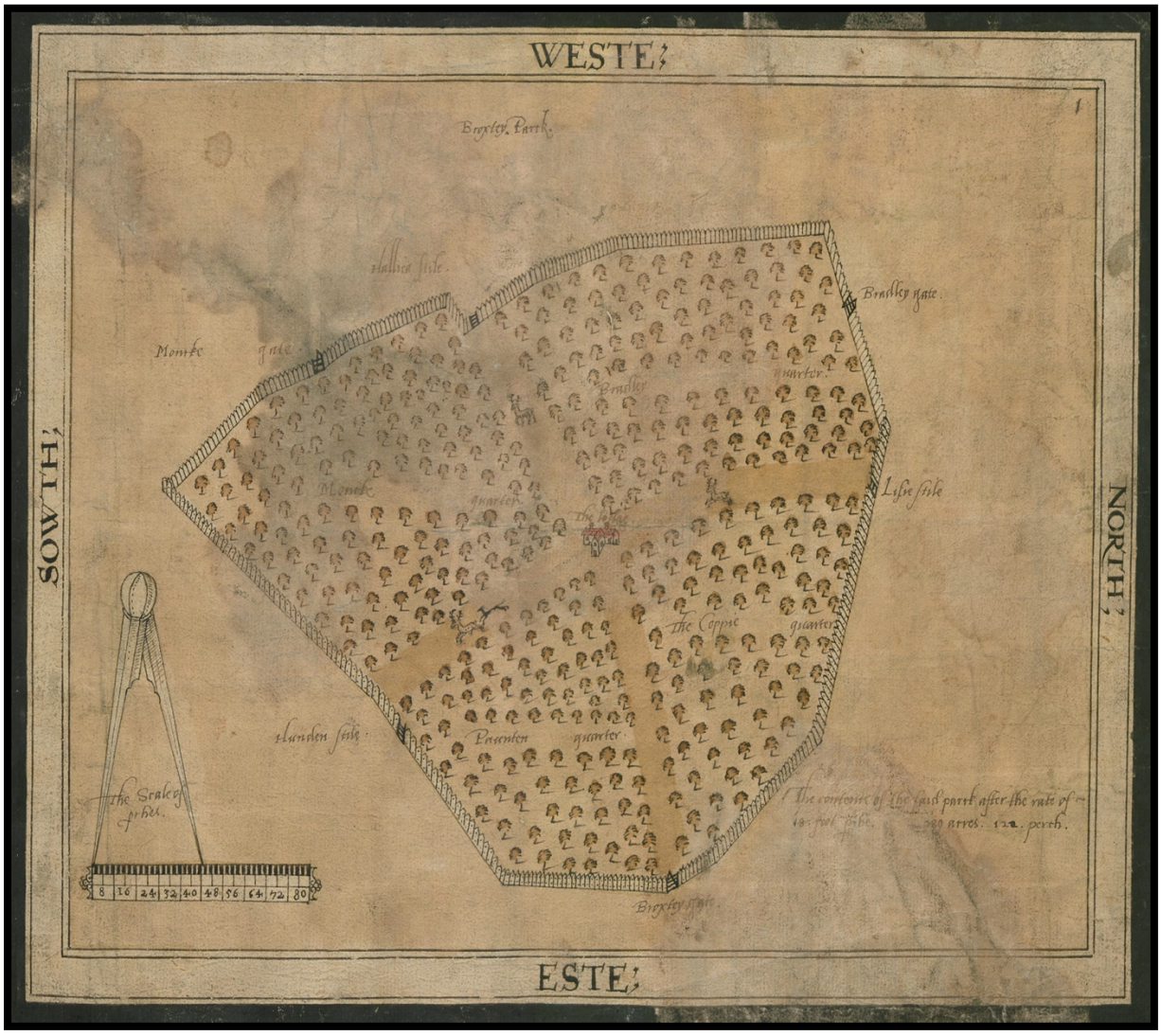


Figure 3.1. Plan of Broxted or Broxtey Park (*c.* 1600) in Hundon, Suffolk (NA MPC 1/1)

[120] NA MPC 1/3.
[121] NA MPC 1/2; Hoppitt 1992: 138.

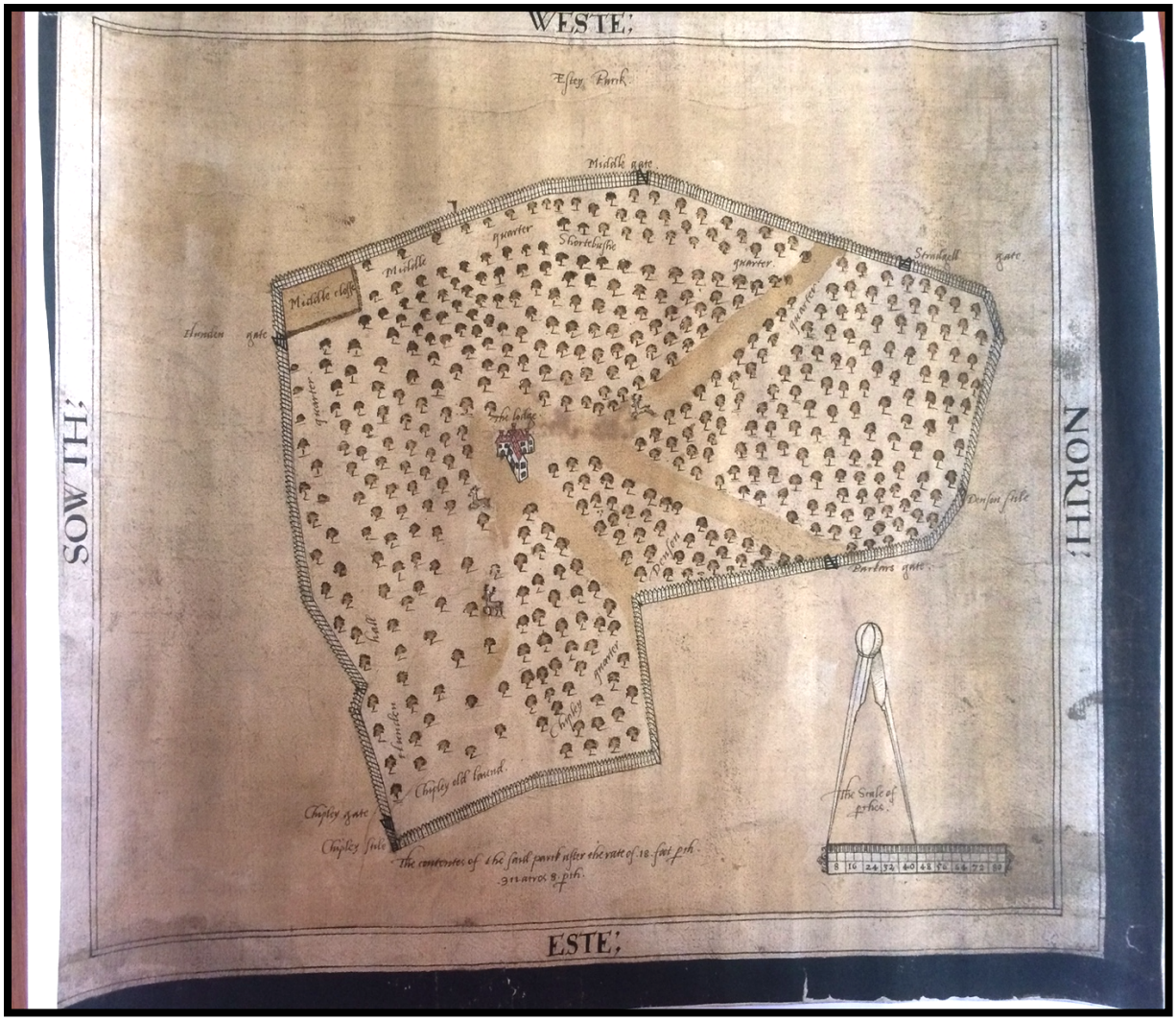


Figure 3.2. Plan of Easty or Esty Park (*c.*1600) in Hundon, Suffolk (NA/MPC 1/3)

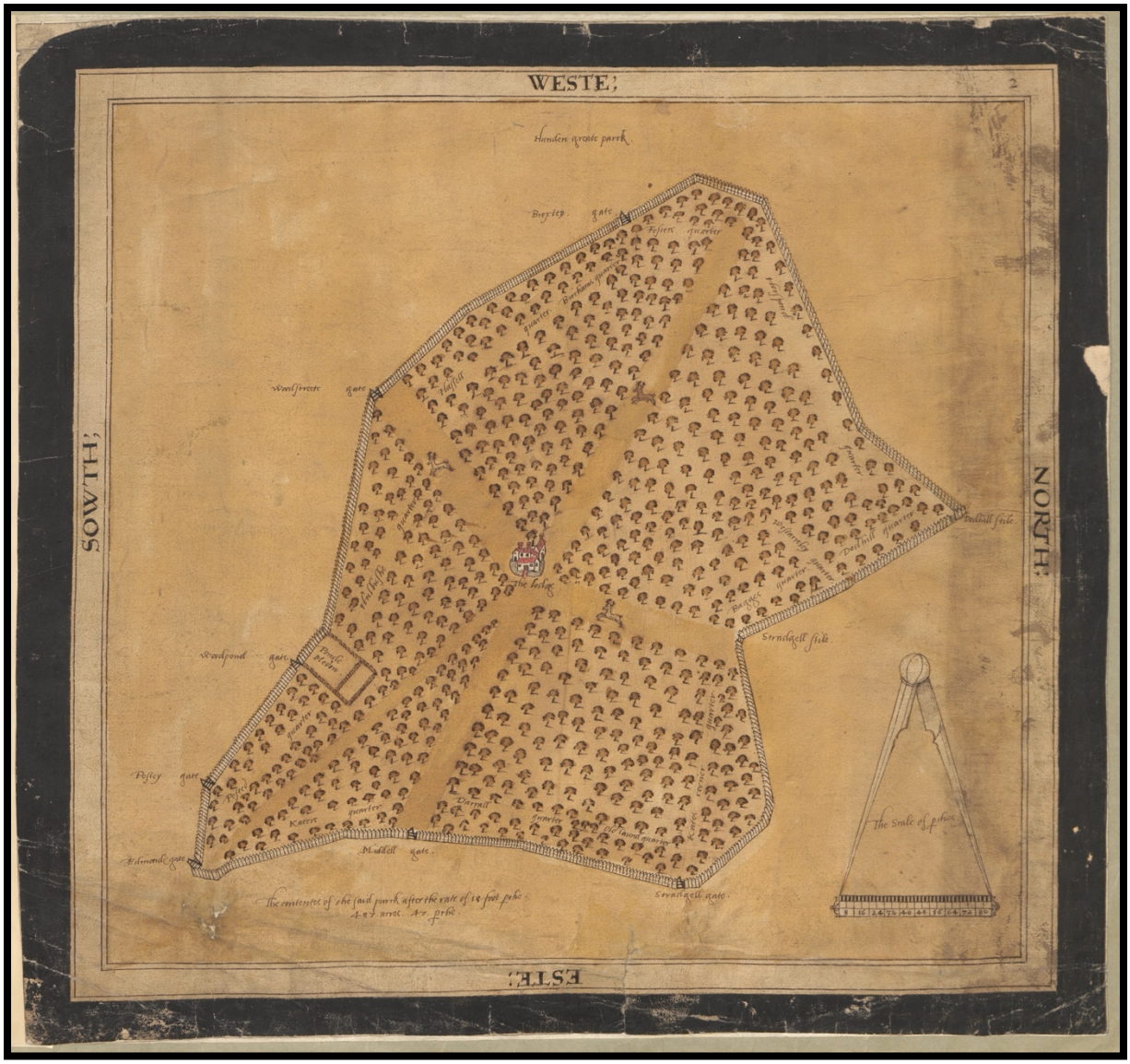


Figure 3.3. Plan of the Great Park (*c.*1600) in Hundon, Suffolk (NA MPC 1/2)

Two of the three parks at Castle Hedingham in Essex: the Little Park in Long Melford in Suffolk and Belhus Park and in Essex, are similarly shown as being compartmentalised on contemporary maps. A map of Castle Hedingham (1592) indicates a compartmented Castle Park and Great Park. The Castle Park is depicted as surrounding Hedingham Castle which has a landscape of mainly open pasture and scattered oak trees which are enclosed by hedging (Figure 3.4).[122] The Great Park has a large enclosure of coppice abutting the pale on the northern boundary of the park with compartments (also divided by hedging) of open laund and wood pasture (Figure 3.5).[123]

[122] ERO D/DML M1; Liddiard, R. & Wells, F. 2008 'The Little Park at castle Hedingham, Essex: a possible late medieval pleasure ground', *Garden History*, 36(1) pp. 85-93.
[123] ERO D/DML M1; Liddiard & Wells 2008: 90.

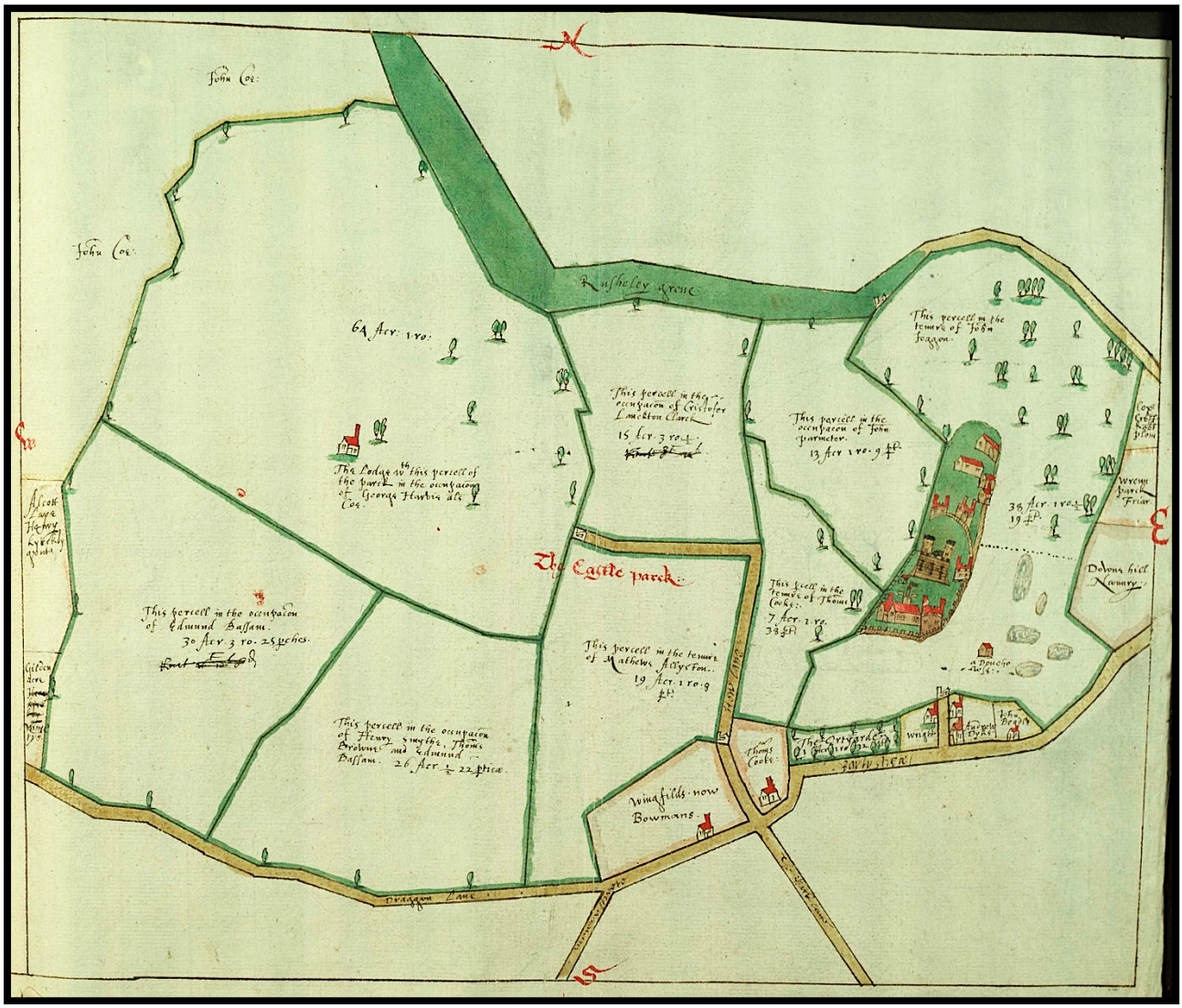


Figure 3.4. 1592 map depicting the Castle Park at Castle Hedingham in Essex (ERO D/D/DML M1)

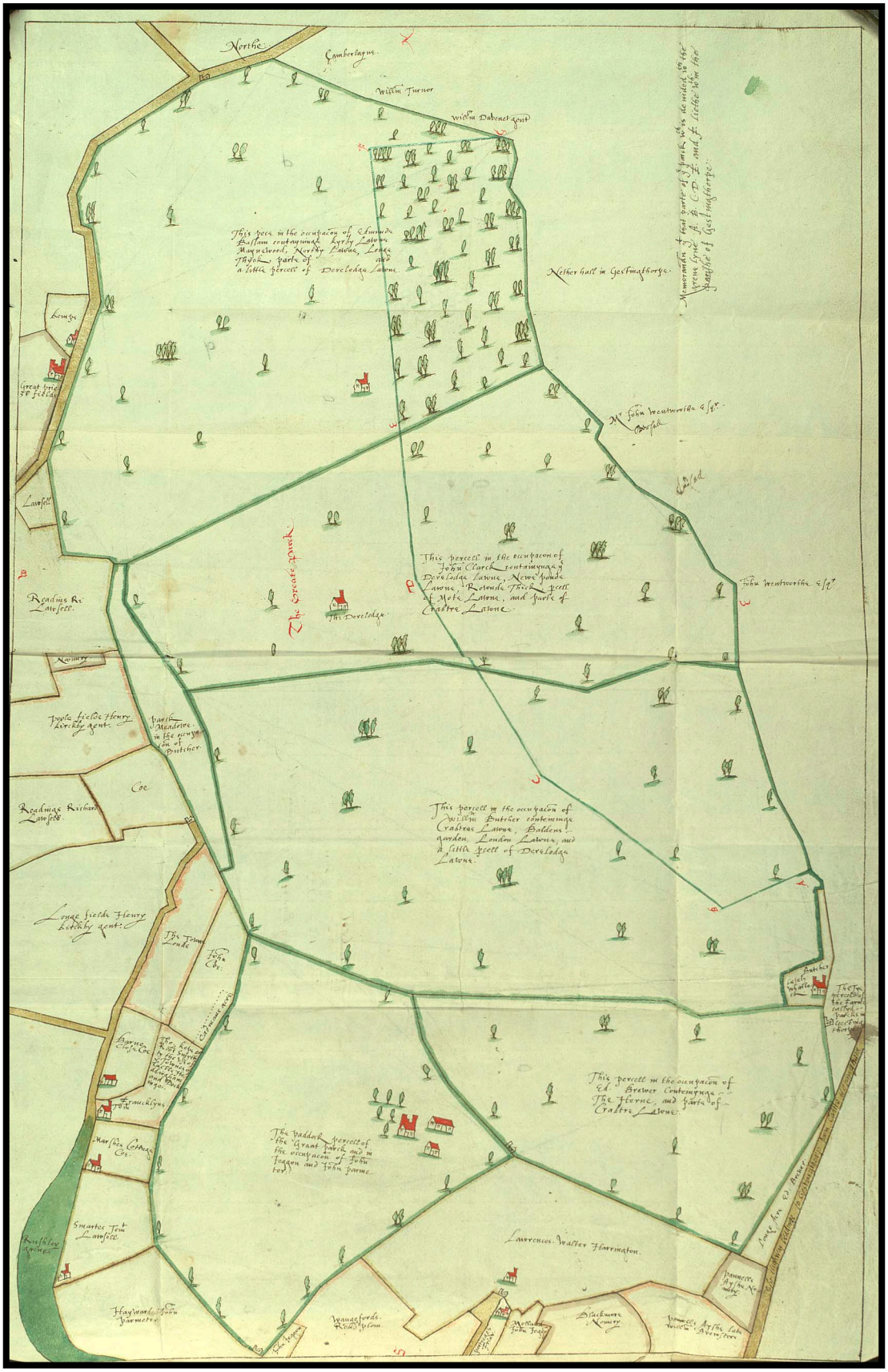


Figure 3.5. The Compartmented Great Park at Castle Hedingham depicted on a map of 1592 (ERO D/D/DML M1)

A detailed pictorial map of 1613 of the Little Park at Long Melford illustrates approximately twenty numbered compartments of different sizes that are enclosed either by hedges and trees or by wood paling fencing. The largest compartment is composed of dense woodland with clearings where a hide and a standing are located. All of the other enclosures are shown as either consisting of widely spaced trees and avenues or treeless pasture with most also containing grazing fallow deer (Figure 3.6).[124]



Figure 3.6. 1613 map of the compartmentalised Little Park at Long Melford in Suffolk (SRO B 2130/2)

A 1619 map of Belhus Park depicts a park that is similarly arranged (Figure 3.7).[125] There are again multiple numbered compartments of various sizes. Located to the north of the park are two wooded compartments that are shown as being crossed by rides which are apparently connected by a footpath. The other compartments, which are bounded by a combination of fencing and hedges, are shown as pasture complete with numerous grazing deer.

[124] SRO B 2130/2
[125] ERO D/DL P1



Figure 3.7. Detail of a map of 1619 showing Belhus Park divided into compartments (ERO D/DL P1)

Uncompartmented parks.

By contrast there are parks that clearly were being managed along different lines. John Norden's map of Staverton Park in Suffolk (1600-1601) shows a park containing dense concentrations of trees surrounding four areas of laund which clearly resembles a landscape of uncompartmented wood-pasture (Figure 3.8).[126]

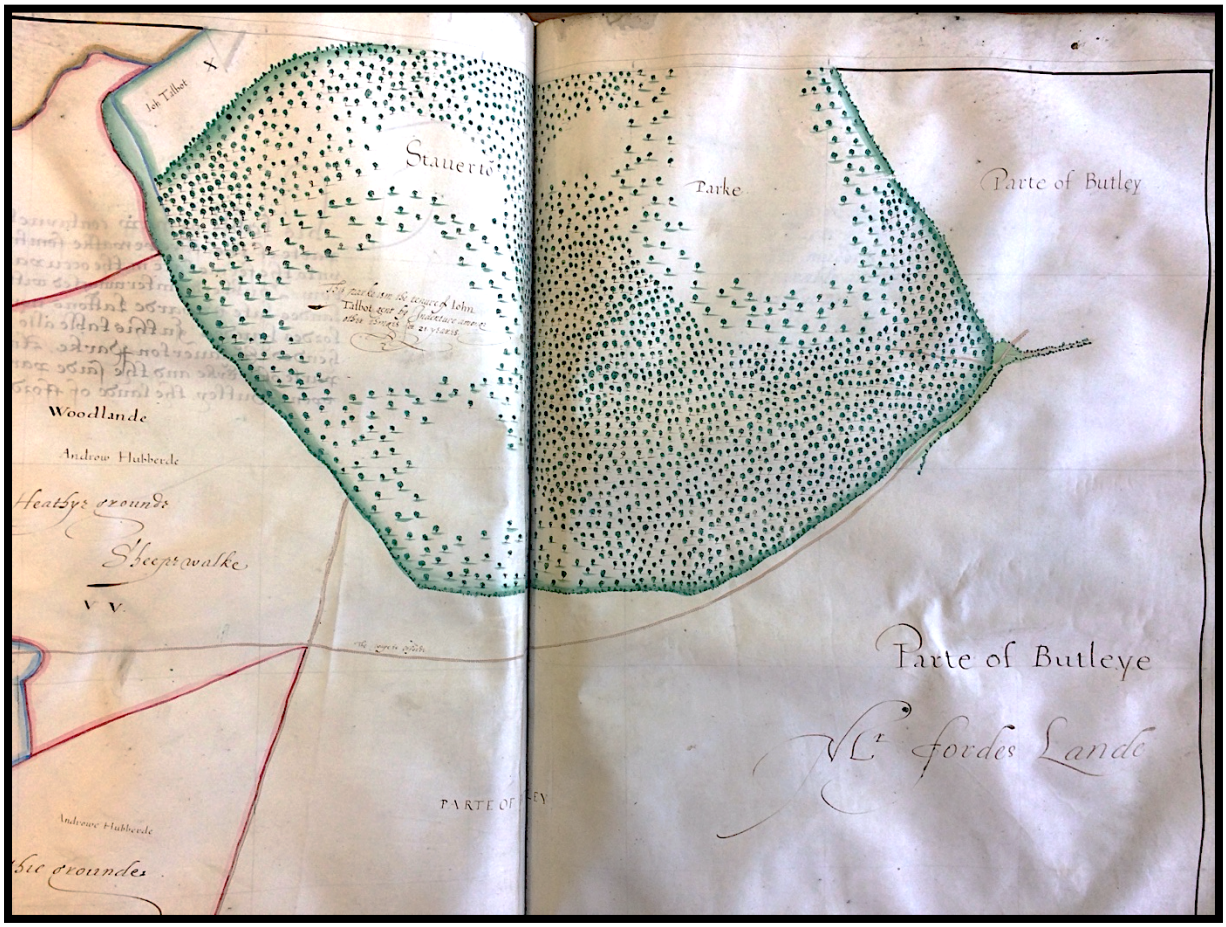


Figure 3.8. John Norden's 1600-1601 map of Staverton Park in Suffolk showing the park as uncompartmented wood-pasture (SRO V5/22/1/12)

It has been suggested that the depiction of trees on Norden's map of the park accurately reflects their true distribution at the beginning of the seventeenth century and that they were not merely illustrated for decorative effect.[127] This suggestion has been reinforced by a combination of extensive documentary evidence and the presence of ancient oaks in the modern landscape which indicate that the park was managed as wood-pasture throughout the medieval and post medieval periods.[128]

[126] SRO V5/22/1/12.
[127] Peterken, G.F. 1969 *Development of Vegetation in Staverton Park, Suffolk, Monks Wood Experimental Station, Abbots Ripton, Huntingdon*; Hoppitt 1992: 185.
[128] Peterken 1969: 23.

A less detailed and artistically less accomplished 1618 map of the park at Shelfhanger in Norfolk can also be confidently identified as an uncompartmented park. It is shown with a scattering of trees throughout with higher concentrations lining most of the park pale (Figure 3.9).[129]

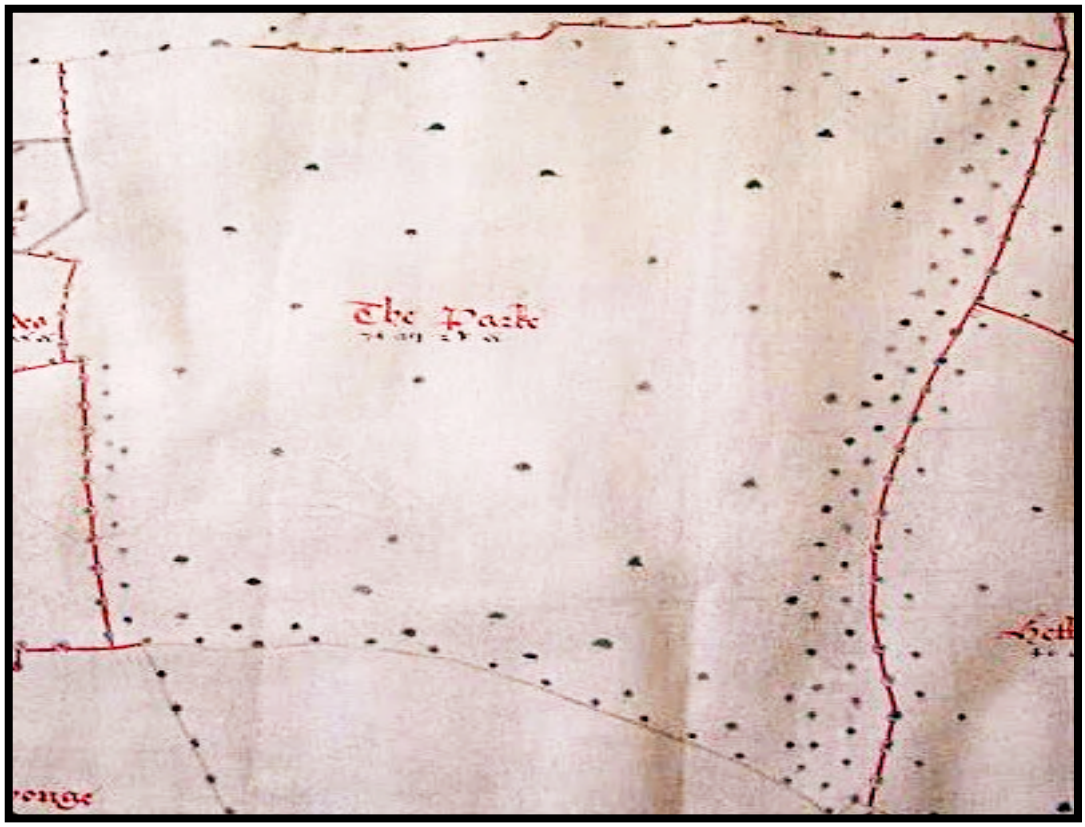


Figure 3.9. 1618 map of Shelfhanger Park in Norfolk.

Depictions of the Norfolk parks at Castle Rising (on a nineteenth-century copy of a 1588 map), the Little Park at Castle Hedingham in Essex (1592), the Little Park at New Buckenham (1597) and Melton Constable (1732 copy of a 1674 map) in Norfolk are equally as clear and appear to show that they were arranged in a similar fashion to Staverton and Shelfhanger parks. All are without internal division, have open areas and widely spaced trees which may represent landscapes composed of wood-pasture (Figures 3.10, 3.11, 3.12 & 3.13).[130]

[129] ACA P52.
[130] NRO BL71; ERO D/DMh M1. NRO MC 22/11; NRO Hayes & Storr 82, 83, M3, M4.

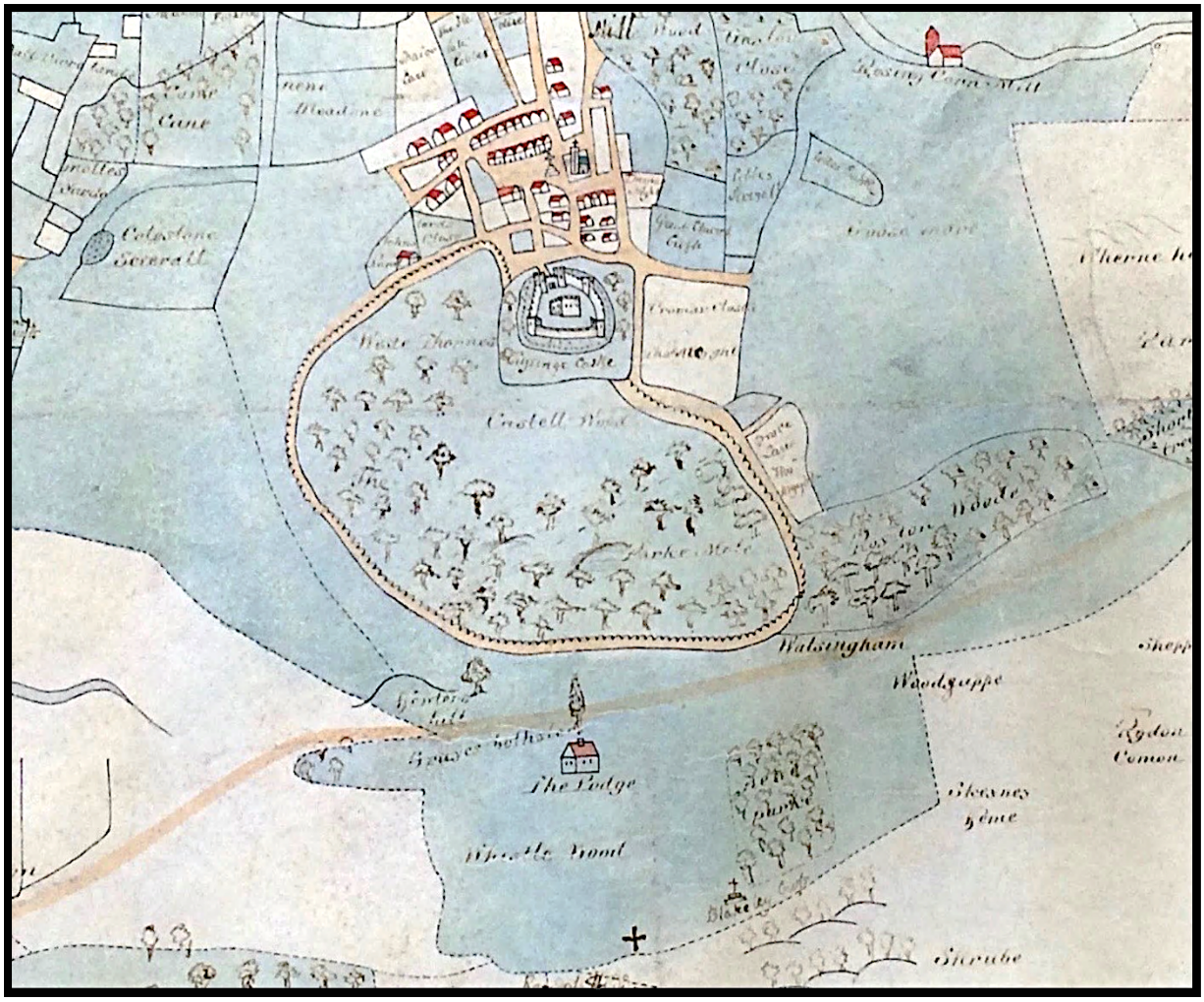


Figure 3.10. Detail of the park at Castle Rising with its extensive areas of trees and open grazing (NRO BL71)

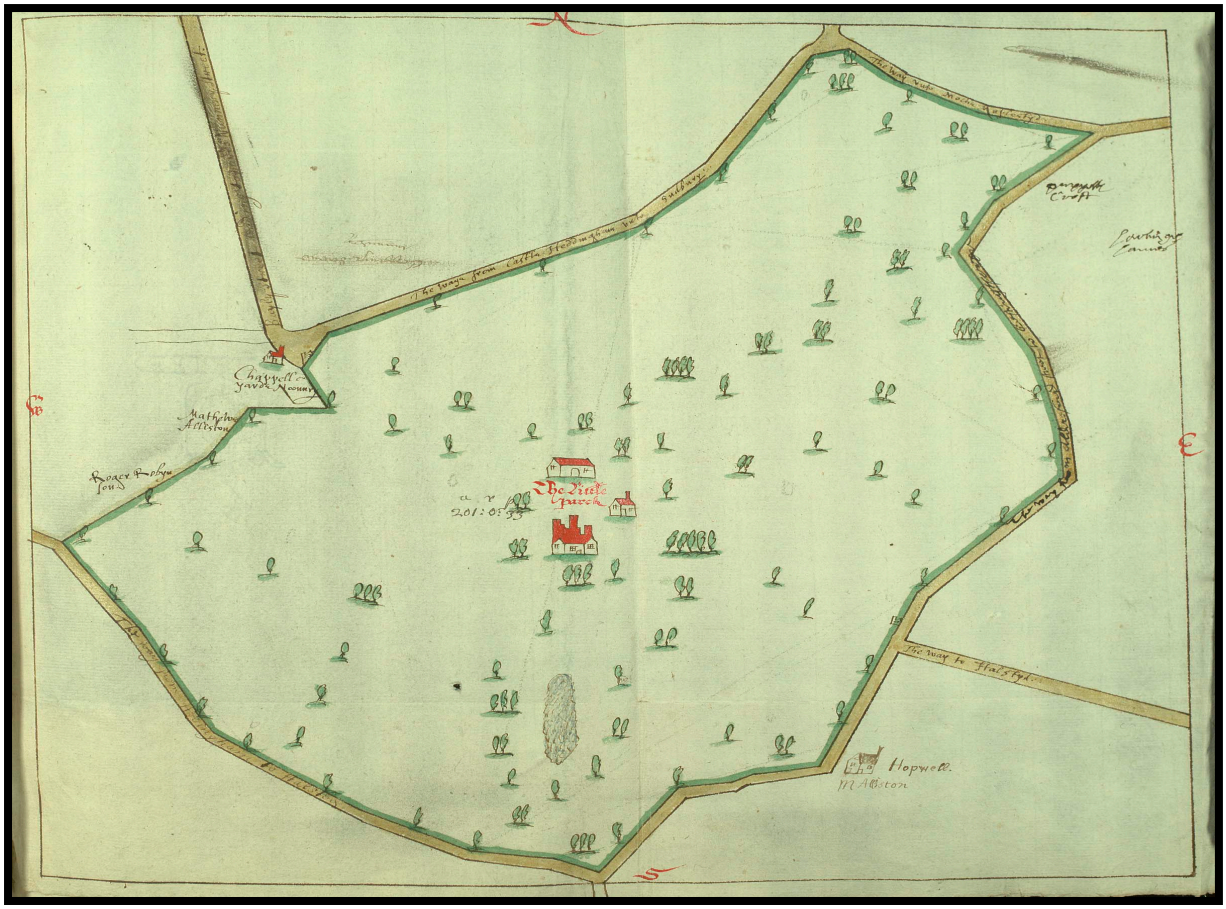


Figure 3.11. 1592 map of The Little Park at Castle Hedingham in Essex. (ERO D/DMh M1)



Figure 3.12. 1597 map of The Little Park, New Buckenham, Norfolk (NRO MC 22/11)

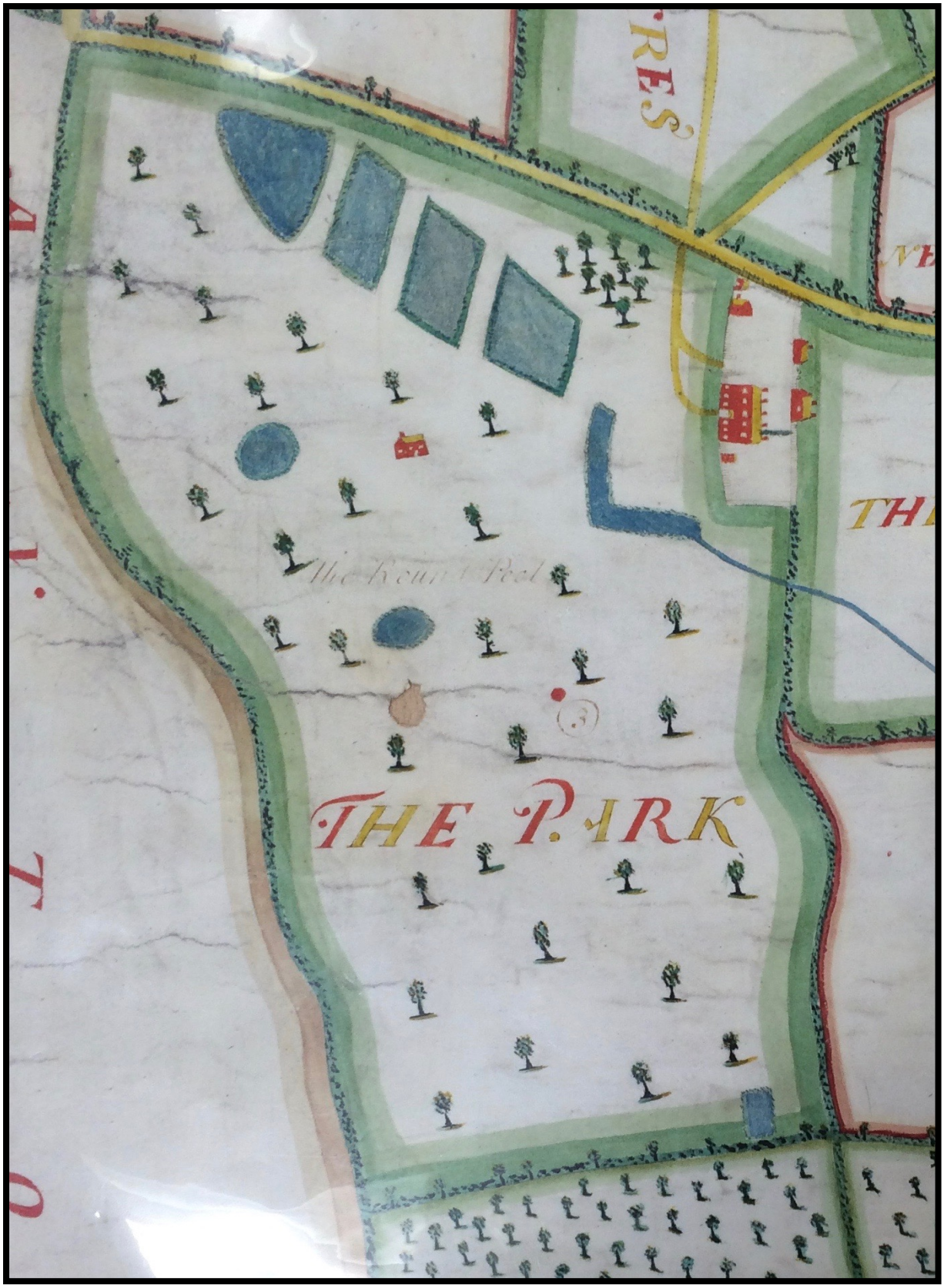


Figure 3.13. 1732 copy of a 1674 map of the park at Melton Constable, Norfolk (NRO Hayes & Storr 82, 83, M3, M4)

Compartmented or uncompartmented?

While the cartographic evidence clearly reveals that some parks were managed as either compartmented spaces or uncompartmented wood-pasture; other maps and plans in the sample demonstrate the difficulty in clearly distinguishing between the two. A map of Crondon Park in Essex (*c.*1575) shows that it had the main characteristics of an uncompartmented park that was composed of open launds and wood-pasture (Figure 3.14).[131] It is however also depicted as being split into two sections which could conceivably be identified as 'compartments'.

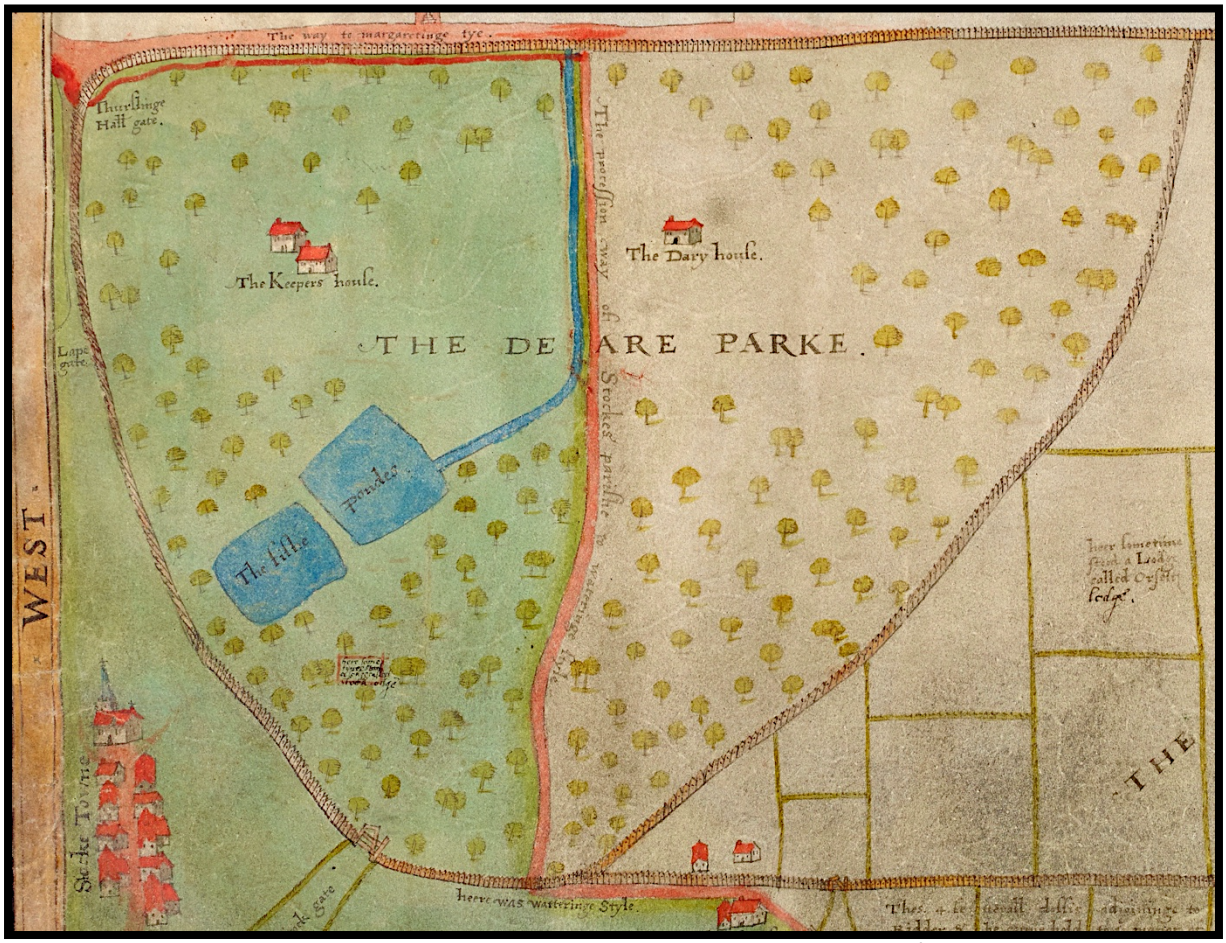


Figure 3.14. Detail of a map of Crondon Park *c.*1575 showing the park divided into two sections (ERO D/DP P2)

An area inscribed as 'The Deare Parke' is shown as being divided by a routeway inscribed as 'The Procession way of Stockes Parishe to watering Style ' running north to south which allowed access through the park at specified times of the year for the people of the parish.[132] The section to the west is full of widely spaced trees, coloured green, has two interconnected

[131] ERO D/DP P2.
[132] Robey, A.C. 1991 *The Village of Stock, Essex, 1550-1610: a social an economic survey*, London School of Economics.

ponds and has an area of laund towards the northern boundary where two buildings that are inscribed as 'The Keepers House' are situated. The section of the park to the east is coloured brown but does have a similar configuration to the western section (but without the ponds) with a building named 'The Dary House' located at the centre of a laund which is surrounded by trees. It is possible that the different colours of each section may denote a distinct function of that area. As the western section is coloured green it may mean that this area was wood-pasture. It remains unclear from map evidence alone what the brown coloured eastern half of the park may have been used for. It is also unclear from the map if 'The Procession Way' was bounded by fencing or hedges to form a physical barrier between the two halves of the park which would have effectively made two very large 'compartments'. It however seems highly likely that those people who were only permitted to use it at certain times of the year must have been encouraged in some way not to stray into other areas of the park where access would always have been heavily restricted.

Three early seventeenth-century maps of Lopham Park (1612), an unfinished map of Kenninghall (1621) (both in Norfolk) by Thomas Waterman and a map of the park at Marke Hall (1616) in Essex by Jeremie Baylie also illustrate that some parks are not easy to define as they appear to have both compartmented and large uncompartmented areas. At the centre of Lopham Park a large area of laund which is inscribed as 'The Lawne' surrounds a moated lodge (Figure 3.15).[133] 'The Lawne' borders an enclosed section to the east which is shown as 'The Newe Grounde'. To the south-east of the lodge an area of what appears to be wood-pasture is denoted by a block of widely spaced trees. Bordering the laund to the north though are three adjoining compartments of dense woodland (named as North Haugh, Lither Hugh and Elmer) stretching from east to west across the north of the park which are each separated from one another by an indeterminate barrier.

[133] ACA P5/1.

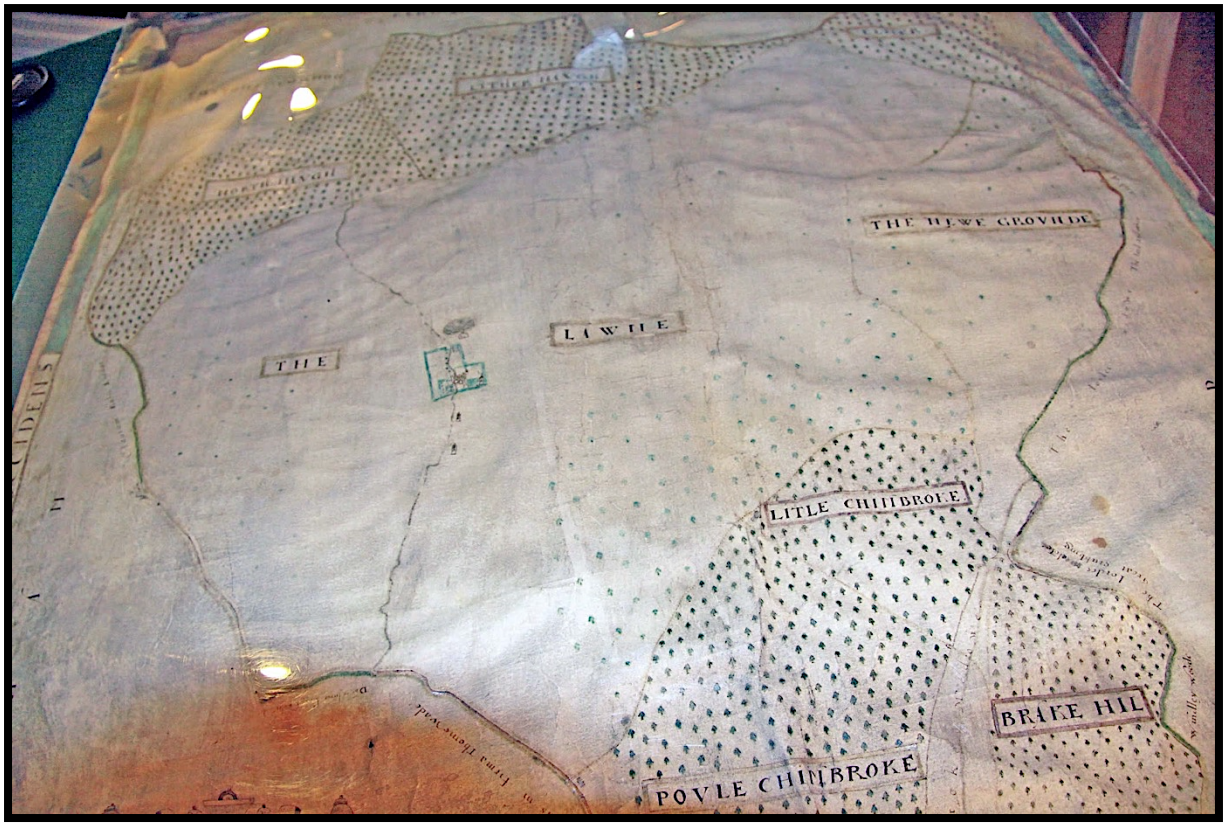


Figure 3.15. 1612 Map of Lopham Park showing the laund, wood-pasture and compartmented woodland (ACA P5/1)

Although much of the interior of the 1621 map of Kenninghall Park seems to have been left unfinished, it does appear to depict a park that had a similar mixture of laund and wood-pasture alongside a compartmentalised area (Figure 3.16).[134] At the centre, and towards the east of the park there is again a large area named 'The Lawne' with a block of widely spaced trees which is possibly wood-pasture to the north (Figure 3.17).[135] To the south there is another block of trees with an inscription that reads: 'This wood containeth '87 ac a(nd) 3 roods'. This block of woodland is divided into two with the northern part appearing to be a compartment of densely wooded coppice and the southern part a section consisting of wood-pasture (Figure 3.18).[136]

[134] ACA P5-6.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid; Liddiard, R. 2010 *The Norfolk Deer Parks Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiverdity Project*. Available at www.norfolkbiodiversity.org/pdf/reportsandpublications/Norfolk%20Deer%20Parks%20_Rob%20Liddiard_.pdf. Accessed 12/5/16.

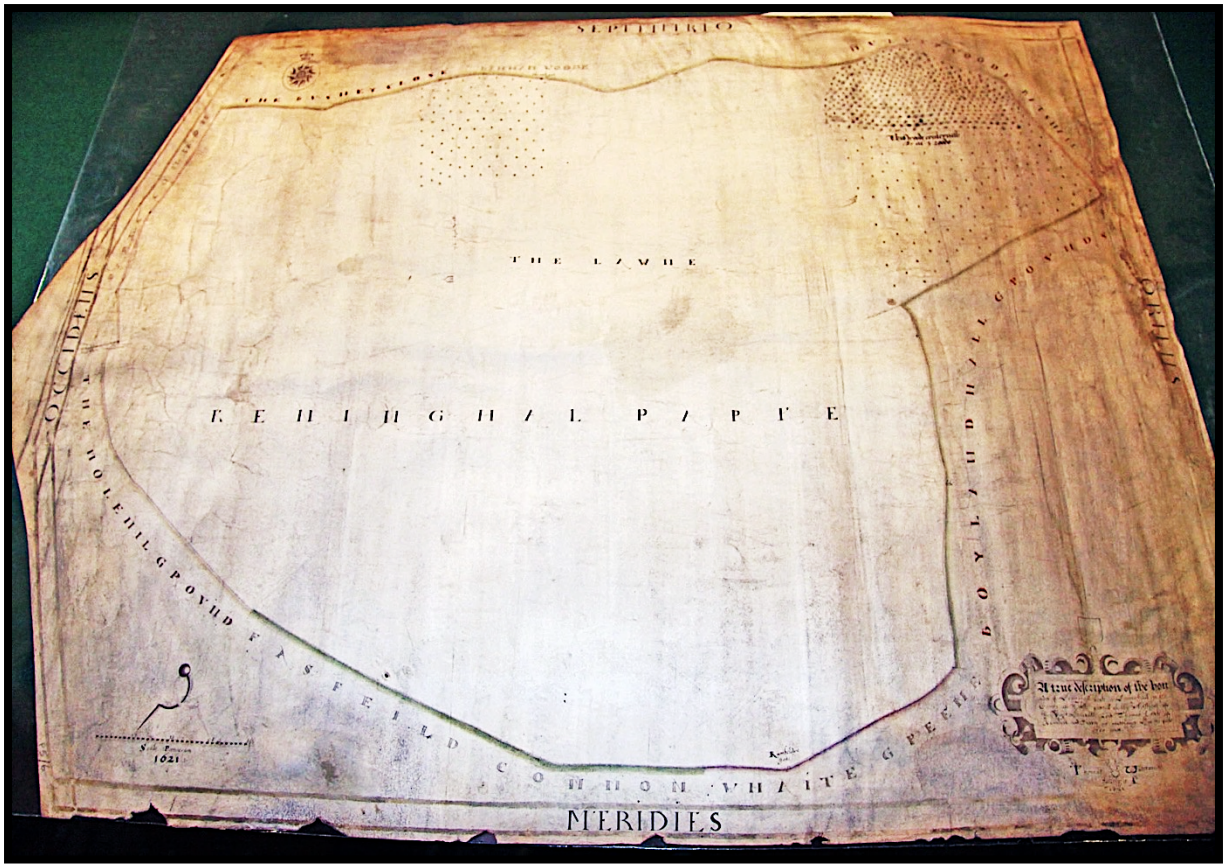


Figure 3.16. Thomas Waterman's unfinished map of Kenninghall Park in Norfolk (ACA P5-6)

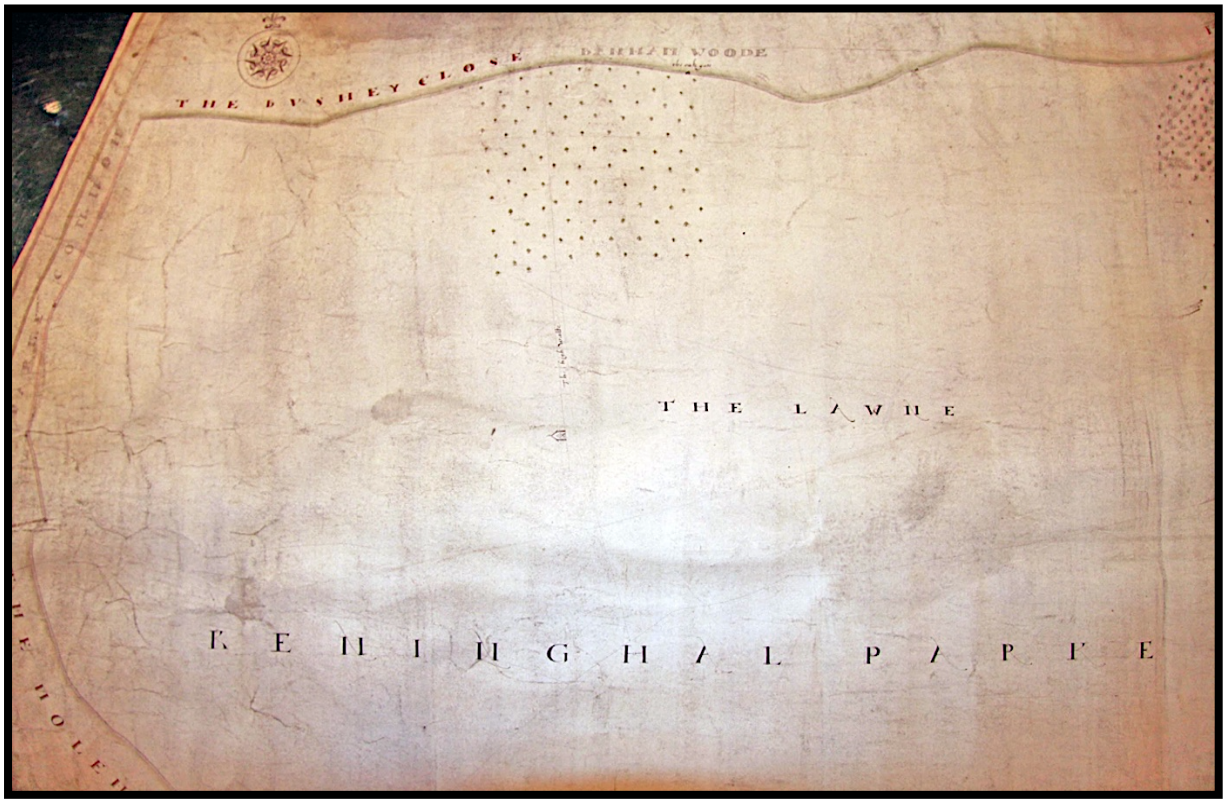


Figure 3.17. Detail of Waterman's 1621 map of Kenninghall Park showing *The Lawne* and an area of wood-pasture (ACA P5-6)

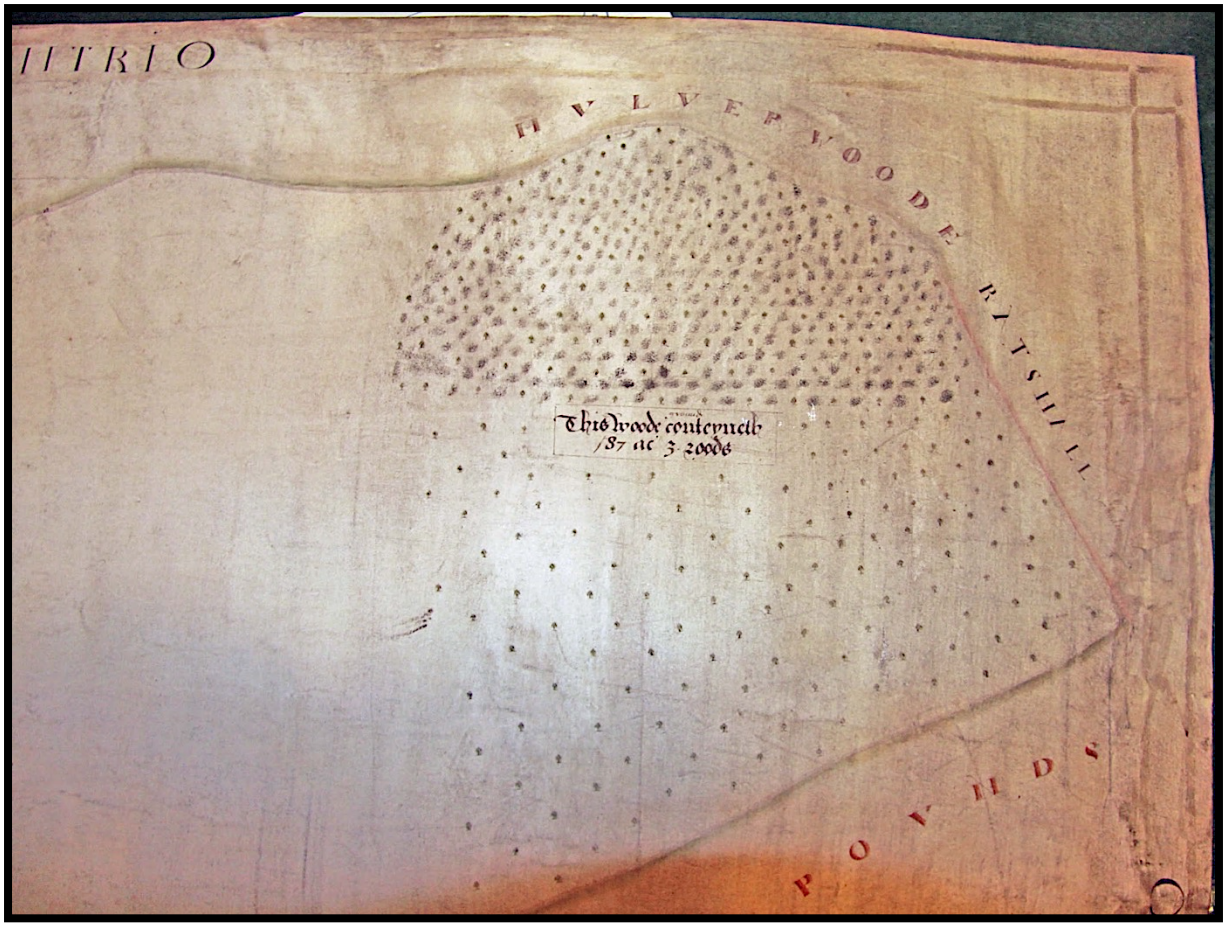


Figure 3.18. Detail of the 1621 map of Kenninghall Park showing a divided block of coppice and wood-pasture (ACA P5-6)

Baylie's map of 1616 of Marke Hall shows two clearly delineated adjacent compartments occupying the entire southern tip of the park (Figure 3.19).[137] One of the enclosures, which abuts onto the eastern park pale is inscribed as 'Park Wood' (which seems to have been incorporated into the park from the neighbouring 'Latton Wood' and contains widely spaced trees. The other enclosure named as 'the braches' is empty apart from two indeterminate shapes that may represent grazing cattle. Beyond the hedged and tree lined boundaries of the two compartments to the north are two large areas that are both called 'The launde'.

[137] ERO D/Dar P1

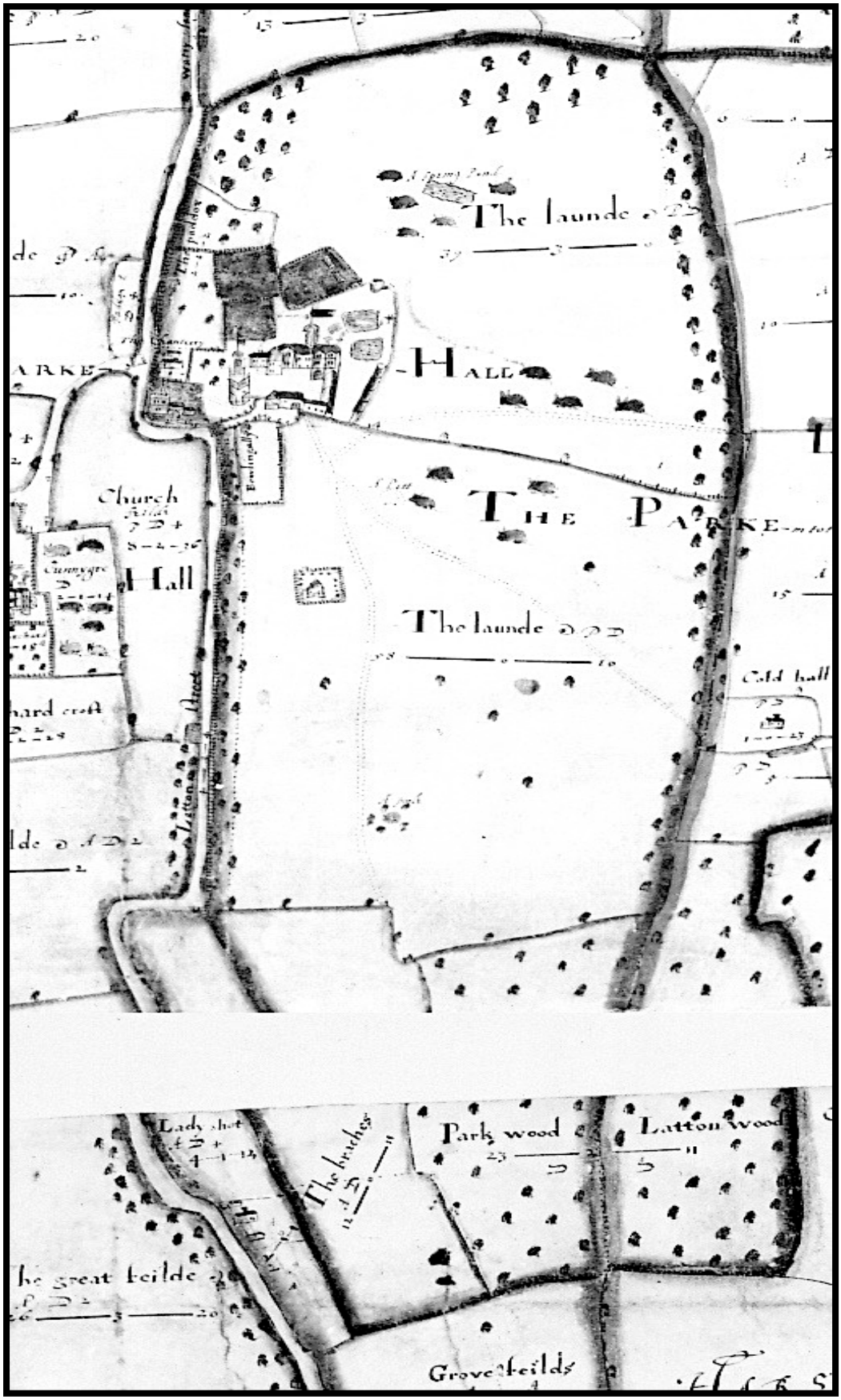


Figure 3.19. 1616 map of Marke Hall in Essex showing compartments in the south of the park and the two areas of laund divided by a hedge (ERO D/Dar P1)

Their shared characteristics and names suggest that at some point they may have formed a single large laund. They are shown as being separated by an apparently temporary physical boundary composed of trees and hedging running from the park pale to the east to the Hall which is located on the western boundary. The paled boundary of the southern launde (shown as being just over 58 acres in extent) is lined by trees and has depictions of cattle grazing in a landscape composed of pasture (with a bowling green to the south of the Hall) and scattered trees which is dissected by footpaths. One of the footpaths runs northwards before passing into 'The Launde' in the north of the park through a gate located on a section of hedging that is close to the Hall. This smaller 'north' laund (39 acres) is also composed of pasture (where cattle are also shown grazing), has two blocks of trees near the northern boundary and a tree lined eastern boundary which mirrors that of the 'south' laund. There is also a group of five small, fenced enclosures to the north of the Hall inscribed as 'The paddox'. As with Lopham and Kenninghall parks, the park at Marke Hall has both compartmented and uncompartmented areas but also appears to have some fluid internal boundaries.

The apparent temporary nature of some internal park boundaries is also illustrated on the estate maps of Belchamp St. Paul in Essex and Channoz Manor at Tibenham in Norfolk. The 1576 map of Belchamp St Paul by Israel Amyce shows a largely compartmented park consisting of blocks of woodland and pasture (Figure 3.20).[138]

[138] LMA MS 25517/1



Figure. 3.20. Map of the park at Belchamp St Paul in Essex by Israel Amyce (1576) (LMA MS 25517/1)

At the centre of the park, one of the compartments containing a lodge and a pond has been subdivided by a hedge which is illustrated by a crudely drawn black dotted line and a single tree. This perhaps denotes a temporary division as the boundaries between all of the compartments are shown on the map as solid black lines which are lined in some areas by rows of trees (Figure 3.21).[139]

[139] Ibid.



Figure 3.21. Detail of the park at Belchamp St. Paul showing a compartment subdivided by a hedging (LMA MS 25517/1)

The 1640 map of Channoz Manor shows the park at Tibenham as being fully compartmented and heavily wooded. One compartment to the north of the Hall inscribed as 'The Wood' has been similarly sub-divided by a wooden paled fence that has perhaps been put in place as a temporary measure for stock control or to protect the early growing stages of coppiced woodland (Figure 3.22).[140]

[140] NRO MC 1777/1

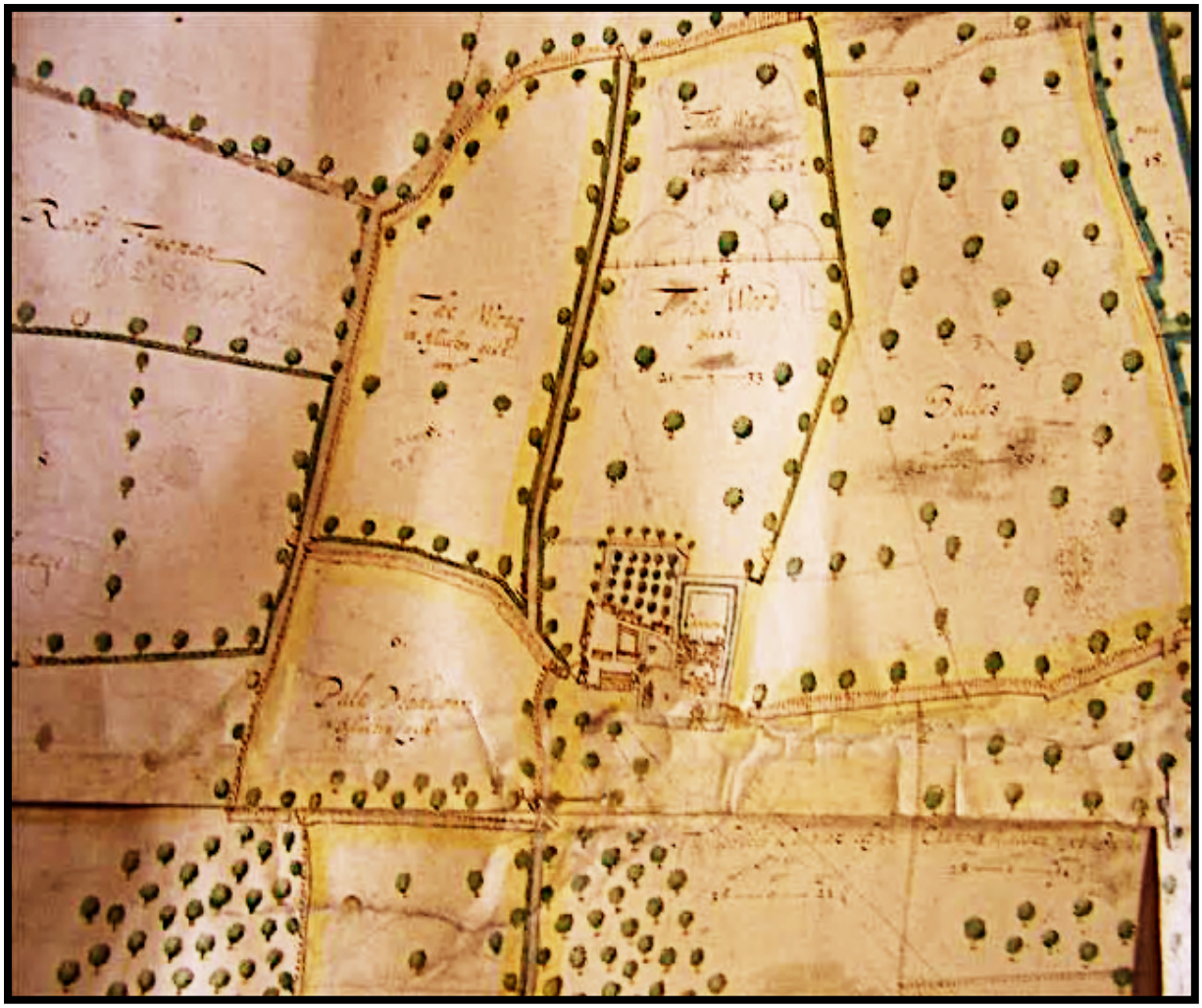


Figure 3.22. Detail of a 1640 estate map of Channoz Manor showing a park compartment that appears to have been temporarily subdivided (NRO MC 1777/1)

Through the analysis of the cartographic evidence, we can begin to build a much clearer picture of the purpose of parks. That some parks were compartmentalised may be an indication that they continued to be stocked with deer. Moreover, the depiction of deer on many of the maps suggests their continued importance throughout the period. This is compelling evidence that deer and parks were managed in no small part for the facilitation of hunting. However, the use of compartments may have been for other reasons such as livestock control or agricultural purposes so we cannot say for certain how widespread the practice of keeping deer was.

Economics v deer

Attempting to determine the primary function of parks during the Middle Ages and post-medieval period is a difficult and often intractable undertaking as each park had its own unique often mutable character which was influenced by the constantly shifting priorities of individual owners.[141] The difficulty of this task is clearly reflected in the lack of academic consensus between those who are convinced of the growing economic importance of parks and those who maintain that deer keeping and hunting remained supreme.[142] There is general agreement that before the Black Death (1346-1353) that the majority of parks were primarily created and maintained as deer enclosures and that economic considerations were largely subordinate to deer keeping and hunting.[143] Furthermore, it can also be argued with a degree of certainty that the period between 1100 and 1348 was a time which saw the 'classic' relatively open, rectangular shaped park (which was more conducive for deer keeping and hunting) conspicuously embedded in the medieval landscape.[144] It is however the period following the Black Death where opinions diverge on the primary function of parks.

The traditional view is that following the Black Death there was a gradual change in parkland regimes as they began to be managed more flexibly by owners who were attempting to meet the material demands of a growing population.[145] Parks became less specialised in nature and no longer primarily focused on keeping and hunting deer. Instead, they were increasingly being managed as secure, sometimes compartmented economic units where park owners and lessees pastured and bred stock animals and horses and exploited enclosed woodland for profit.[146] This economic viewpoint has most recently been endorsed by Moorhouse and Winchester who have emphasized the important multi-functional role that parks played in

[141] Thirsk, J. 1997 *Alternative Agriculture: a history from the Black Death to the present day*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; Moorhouse, S. 2007 'The medieval parks of Yorkshire: function, contents and chronology' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press.
[142] Mileson, S.A. 2016 'Royal and aristocratic landscapes of pleasure' in Gerrard, C. & Gutiérrez, A. *Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[143] Thirsk 1997: 11; Mileson, S.A. 2009 *Parks in Medieval England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[144] Rackham, O. 2000 *The History of the Countryside: the classic history of Britain's landscape, flora and fauna*, London, Phoenix Press: Moorhouse 2007: 122.
[145] Bond, J. 1994 'Forest's chases, warrens and parks in medieval Wessex' in Aston, M. Lewis, c. (eds.) The Medieval Landscape of Wessex, Oxford, Oxbow Books; Stamper, P. 1998 'Woods and parks' in Astill, G. & Grant, A. (eds.) *The Countryside of Medieval England*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd.; Moorhouse 2007: 114-115, 122, 125; Thirsk 1997: 11-12; Winchester, A.J.L. 2007 'Baronial and manorial parks in medieval Cumbria' in Liddiard, R. (Ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press; Thirsk 1997: 12.
[146] Rackham, O. 2001 *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape: the complete history of Britain's trees, woods and hedgerows*, London, Phoenix Press; Stamper 1998: 146; Thirsk 1997: 12; Mileson, S.A. 2005 'The importance of parks in fifteenth-century society' in Clark, L. (Ed.) *The Fifteenth Century, V: 'Of mice and men': image, belief and regulation in late medieval England*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer.

the manorial economy of the later Middle Ages particularly as grazing grounds for large numbers of cattle and as locations for horse studs.[147] While there is some admission that one of the main functions of parks continued to be the maintenance of deer for hunting; both have argued that parks were rarely managed exclusively for this purpose and therefore the use of terms such as 'deer park' or 'hunting park' are inappropriate and ultimately misleading as they mask the true diverse nature of parks at this time.[148]

Proponents of the increasing economic diversity and complexity of parkland regimes are able to cite a number of documented examples from sources such as manorial Court Rolls and account rolls to support their argument.[149] Two of the most comprehensively documented parks in the study area are Lamarsh Park in Essex and Staverton Park in Suffolk (which was also surveyed by John Norden in 1600-1601 as discussed in the section above). Numerous entries in the extensive surviving Court Rolls of Lamarsh manor suggest that the compartmented Lamarsh Park had been primarily economic in function between the mid-fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, despite its size and limited resources. The Park was recorded as being only 40 acres in extent in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Edward Earl of Kent in 1331.[150] It slightly fluctuated in size throughout the period but was never large and was significantly diminished in area by 1545 when it is recorded at just 28 acres.[151] There was an unspecified area of pasture within the park which was utilized to graze stock, but its primary function appears to have been the exploitation of timber and underwood as it was often referred to as a 'wood called the park'.[152] The interior of the park was arranged to facilitate this from at least the late fourteenth century onwards. The Court Rolls from 1398/9 and 1399 state that approximately 59 acres were divided into seven compartments of coppiced woodland that were each just over eight acres in extent.[153] The first reference that timber was extracted from the park comes in 1462 when eighty-eight mature oaks were felled and removed for customary tenants in nearby Wakes Colne to repair their tenements. The processing of park timber to repair tenements appears to have continued on into the

[147] Moorhouse 2007: 115 & 125; Winchester 2007: 165-166; Mileson 2005: 28.
[148] Moorhouse 2007: 125; Winchester 2007: 166.
[149] Moorhouse 2007: 99-100; Mileson 2016: 396.
[150] NA C 135/23.
[151] Alston 1993 'Lamarsh Park, the origin and management of a medieval park', *Colchester Archaeological Group Bulletin*, 35, pp. 3-16.
[152] NA C 135/23.
[153] Ibid: 3.

1530s.[154] In a further entry in 1512 James Morres the owner of the manor granted grazing rights to Thomas Manns for a period of twenty years along: '…with the profits of all the underwood growing in the said park called Bushes, Thomes and Brembelles'.[155] Some areas of the park continued to be let out for grazing until at least the mid-sixteenth century. Deer are not specifically mentioned in the documentary record, but it has been suggested that they may have been maintained there from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.[156] An early court document of 1414 appears to indicate their destructive presence in the park and also reveals that the park continued to be compartmented. An apathetic bailiff named Richard Clerk was brought before the court to answer for coppicing hedging that surmounted banks demarcating compartments. It was alleged that he did not replace the hedges with fencing resulting in the destruction of new grass and underwood (possibly by deer or cattle which had escaped from their enclosures) along with pasture and crops held by neighbouring landholders.[157] If deer were present at this time and in subsequent years, the size and internal division of Lamarsh Park would however have severely limited its potential for keeping deer. It has been estimated that parks during this period would have been able to sustain one fallow deer for every two acres without causing undue stress to the population; meaning that Lamarsh Park could have successfully accommodated a maximum herd of only 14 deer in the mid- sixteenth century when it is recorded at 28 acres.[158] It has even been suggested that a healthy ratio for fallow deer is one animal per five acres of land to avoid disease or starvation which would mean that Lamarsh Park would have had a maximum 'herd' of five or six deer.[159] If the park had been overstocked with deer it is sunlikely that they were ever held in large numbers during this period as they are voracious eaters and would have faced competition from stock for limited areas of pasture and suitable woodland for browsing.[160] Therefore, it could be argued that the role of deer at Lamarsh Park (if indeed they had a continued presence) would most likely have been a purely subsidiary one to economic driven activities. Manorial court rolls and accounts and John Norden's map of the park of 1600-1601 appear to provide clear evidence that Staverton Park (which had the 'classic' form of an 'old' medieval

[154] Ibid: 5 & 7-8.
[155] Ibid: 3.
[156] Ibid: 3, 9-10.
[157] Alston 1993: 5.
[158] Birrell, J. 2006 'Procuring, preparing and serving venison in late medieval England' in Woolgar, C., Serjeantson, D. & Waldron, T. (eds.) *Food in Medieval England: history and archaeology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[159] Pluskowski, A. 2007 'The social construction of medieval park ecosystems: an interdisciplinary perspective' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press
[160] Ibid: 67; Birrell, J. 1992 'Deer and deer farming in medieval England', *The Agricultural History Review,* 40(2) pp.112-126.

park) was continuously and almost exclusively used as a stock enclosure and exploited for wood between the mid-thirteenth and early eighteenth century.[161] Economic activity is first mentioned in an account roll of 1268-9 which recorded income derived from grazing cattle in the summer, autumn and winter.[162] Other late thirteenth and fourteenth-century accounts also record that various wood products such as timber, branches and loppings were being sold alongside grazing rights for sheep and cattle and pannage for pigs.[163] Court Rolls from 1332 suggest that the park may have been compartmented at this time as an account is given of damage caused by sheep or cows which appear to have strayed from their allotted area into a usually secure one.[164] References for deer in the documentary record are rare but it is believed that the park was initially used as deer pasture when it was imparked in the late twelfth century.[165] The earliest documentary reference for deer comes in 1382 in an Inquisition Post Mortem of William de Ufford (Earl of Suffolk) which reveals that the park was 'without deer and now greatly broken down', probably as a consequence of the Peasant's Revolt a year earlier.[166] The absence of deer is also implied in the early sixteenth century as the *Butley Priory Chronicle* recounts a visit to Staverton Park by Charles, Duke of Suffolk and his wife Mary who in 1526 hunted foxes and then dined and played games beneath oak trees.[167]

The apparent intentional exclusion of deer appears to have both shaped the internal configuration of the park and facilitated its continued economic exploitation during the post-medieval period. As has been seen Norden's seemingly accurate representation of an uncompartmented Staverton Park at the turn of the seventeenth century illustrates an enclosure of 312 acres with considerable resources of apparently mature woodland and pasture. John Talbot, a gentleman, who acquired tenure of the park in 1600 from Sir Michael Stanhope on a twenty-one-year lease fully utilized its substantial pasture to graze sheep and

[161] *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* Excursions 2006: Reports and notes on some findings. Available at suffolkinstitute.pdfsvv.co.uk/customers/Suffolk%20Institute/2014/01/10/Volume%20XLI%203%20(2007)_Excursions%202006%Anon_380%20to%20404.pdf. Accessed 4/12/19
[162] Hoppitt 1992: 182.
[163] Hoppitt 1992: 182; SHER, Monument Record WNN 008, Historic Site Information for Staverton Park. Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF19450&resourceID=1017 Accessed 22/1/18.
[164] Hoppitt 1992: 182.
[165] Peterken, G.F. 1969 *Development of Vegetation in Staverton Park, Suffolk, Monks Wood Experimental Station*, Abbots Ripton, Huntingdon.
[166] Ibid; Bailey, M. 2010 *Medieval Suffolk: an economic and social history, 1200-1500*, Woodbridge, the Boydell Press.
[167] Dickens, A.G. (ed.) 1951 *The Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory, Suffolk, 1510-1535*, Winchester; Hoppitt 1992:184.

its woodland to both maintain the park itself and for business interests elsewhere.[168] A manorial account of 1607 details that timber (the price of which had increased by almost three times in the sixteenth century) felled within the park was used to both repair damage to the pale and for the construction of a new mill and brick kiln outside of the park.[169] Staverton Park does not appear in the documentary record in the later seventeenth century or early eighteenth century, but it appears to have been utilized as stock pasture during this period[170]. John Kirby refers to the park as '…the pasture called Staverton Park' in his 1732-1734 edition of *The Suffolk Traveller.* However, grazing at this time appears to have been at a low level as oak was able to regenerate within the park, which also indicates the continued absence of browsing deer. In the 1764 edition Kirby notes that there had been a further reduction of grazing within the park which had resulted in vast amounts of hollies growing among pollarded oaks.[171]

In contrast, Mileson asserts that the economic argument has been somewhat overplayed and that we should not be influenced either by considerable numbers of documented economic-centric examples such as Lamarsh Park and Staverton Park; or by the lack of references to deer in the documentary record which has resulted in an underestimation of their continued importance.[172] Instead, it has been proposed that there was no marked change in the character of parks (at least up to the end of the fifteenth century) as unfavourable economic conditions limited any meaningful financial gain which would have threatened the primacy of deer.[173] Income from pasture remained at a low level as did the price of timber and fuel, particularly between the late fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries. There is also little evidence that enclosed woodland was commercially exploited to any great extent. Much of the timber and underwood that parks could provide were used either to supply a limited local market or utilized to repair park buildings and the park pale. They were also utilized most importantly in situ to provide an aesthetic setting for hunting and as shelter for deer.[174] Even in more financially benign times, revenues achieved from agistment and wood sales were

[168] Peterken 1969: 23-24
[169] Hoppitt 1992: 185 & 187; Pittman, S. 2013 'Disparkment. A case study for Elizabethan and Jacobean parks in Kent', *Southern History: a review of the history of Southern England*, 35, pp.44-76.
[170] Ibid: 187.
[171] Peterken 1969: 24; Kirby, J. 1764 *The Suffolk Traveller*, London, J.Shave.
[172] Mileson 2009: 66; Birrell 1992: 112.
[173] Mileson 2005: 33.
[174] Mileson 2009: 74; Mileson 2005: 28.

relatively insignificant and only a very few, often larger parks were able to produce substantial incomes, albeit intermittently.[175]

Cartographic evidence ostensibly appears to validate the view that there was a continuing trend for owners to maintain parks as deer reserves up to and also beyond the end of the fifteenth century. A good example of this is Lopham Park in Norfolk. A 1612 map of the park appears to show that that it was retained in its entirety and was not divided for economic purposes (Figure 3.15).[176] In addition, twelve maps and plans in the cartographic sample (dating between the turn of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth century) also show pictorial images of deer. Plans of the three parks at Hundon in Suffolk (Hundon Great Park, Figure 3.3, Easty Park, Figure 3.2 and Broxted Park, Figure 3.1. all *c.*1600) and the Little Park at Long Melford, Figure 3.6. (*c.*1613) (also in Suffolk) show deer either occupying compartmented areas of coppiced woodland or being chased along rides. An estate map of 1619 showing Belhus Park in Essex depicts numerous deer occupying many of the parks' compartments. Maps of Sandringham Park in Norfolk (1620) and Somerleyton Park (1652) in Suffolk show a single antlered deer while the maps of Quendon Park in Essex (1702) and the parks at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire (1712) and the Norfolk parks of Earsham (*c*.1720) and Hethel (1736) also show varying numbers of grazing antlered deer.[177]

Of the maps in the cartographic sample; the Little Park at Long Melford is a particularly strong example of a 'traditional park' which had the sole purpose of keeping and hunting deer. The park which was 340 in extent in 1613 (the year in which James I granted by letters patent to Sir Thomas Savage 340 acres of park and warren surrounding Melford Hall with the deer therein and full rights of chase and warren) appears to have been almost exclusively managed to accommodate deer.[178] This is unambiguously illustrated on Samuel Pierces' estate map of 1613 which shows large numbers of deer occupying several numbered compartments which do not seem to have any other discernible function other than providing enclosed areas for grazing deer or suitable wooded/open landscapes for hunting.[179] Deer continued to be

[175] Mileson 2009:71.
[176] ACA P51.
[177] NRO MC 2529/1; SRO AR 295; ERO D/DU 1702/2; CRO 71/P3; Earsham NRO MEA 3/632; NRO Uncatalogued.
[178] Parker, W. 1873 *The History of Long Melford*, London, Wyman & Sons.
[179] SRO B 2130/2.

present in sufficient numbers and important enough to elicit comment from John Howell, tutor to the children of the Savage family, who records his observations in correspondence with friends in 1619 and 1621 of how deer were kept and hunted in the park.[180] John Rous, the vicar of Santon Downham in Suffolk also recorded in his diary twenty years later a violent and destructive attack on Melford House and its park (which still contained deer) following the outbreak of the English Civil War. He wrote on 25th August 1642*:*

> The lady Savage's house was defaced; all glasse broken, all iron pulled out, all household stuffe gone, all sielings rent downe or spoiled, all likely places degged where mony might be hidden, the gardens defaced, beere and wine consumed, and let out (to knee deepe in the cellar) the deere killed and chased out…[181]

Cartographic evidence however also provides compelling evidence for economic exploitation. Several maps and plans in the cartographic sample depict particular landscape features, field and enclosure names and pictorial images that can be confidently associated with economic activity. This is most notable on a crudely drawn map of Kimbolton High Park in Cambridgeshire which was produced in 1582. It shows oversized representations of horses, cattle and sheep occupying different areas of the park, clearly indicating that it was predominately utilized as a secure location for keeping and grazing livestock and possible as a site for a horse stud in the late sixteenth century (Figure 3.23).[182]

[180] Jacobs, J. (ed.) 1890 *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: the familiar letters of James Howell, historiographer to Charles II*, London, David Nutt in the Strand.
[181] Rous, J. 1856 (Everett, M.A. Ed.) *Diary of John Rous, incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642*, London, Camden Society.
[182] HRO MC2/26.



Figure 3.23. Map of Kimbolton High Park (1582) showing stock animals and horses (HRO MC2/26)

Maps of the Essex parks of Marke Hall (1616) and Hoxne (1619) in Suffolk also suggest that both parks fulfilled a similar function to that of Kimbolton High Park.[183] At Marke Hall large horned cattle are illustrated occupying both areas inscribed as 'The Launde' in the northern section of the park near to 'Spring Pond' and in the southern section (Figure 3.24). There are no clear signs of internal division in either of the sections which indicates that deer may have been intentionally excluded in favour of cattle (Figure 3.19 above).

[183] HRO MC2/26; ERO D/Dar P1; SRO I HD 40/422.

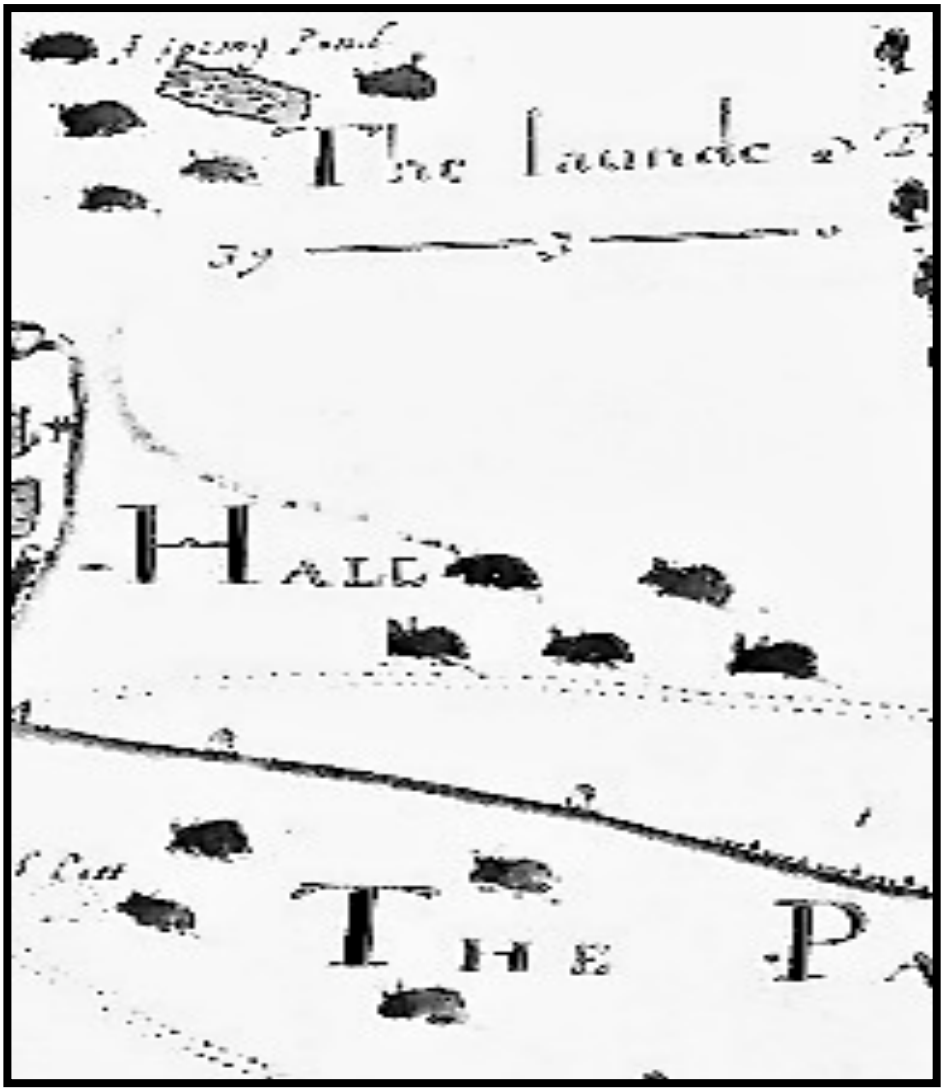


Figure 3.24. Detail of a 1616 map of Marke Hall in Essex showing grazing cattle (ERO D/Dar P1)

At Hoxne two similar large horned cows (or bulls) are depicted to the north of the uncompartmented park, which again suggests that deer keeping had been eclipsed by economic activity by the early decades of the seventeenth century (Figure 3.25).

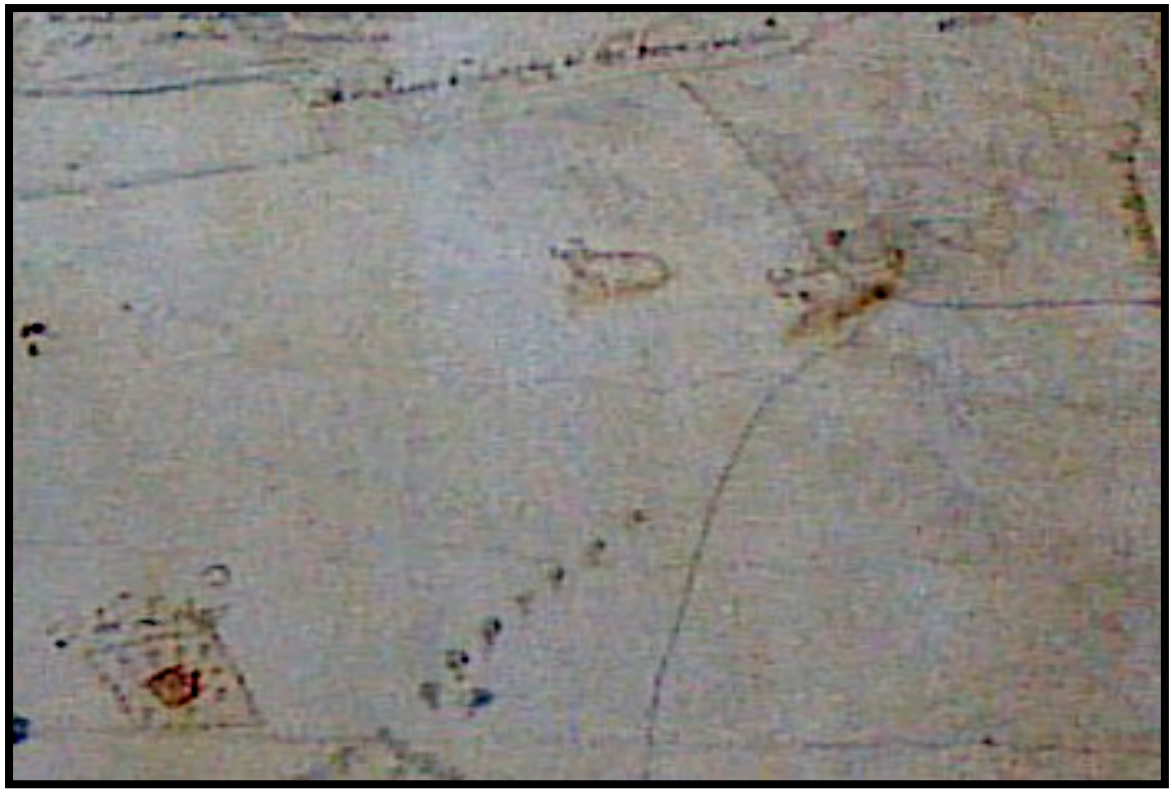


Figure 3.25. Detail of the 1619 map of Hoxne Park in Suffolk showing horned cattle in the north of the park (SRO I HD 40/422)

Cartographic evidence also identifies more complex forms of management from the mid-fifteenth century onwards where multiple regimes have been implemented which carefully balanced deer keeping with economic interests. In some cases, this saw the development of a trend which entailed areas of parkland being gradually reduced in size which created a system of parks within parks.

A mixture of regimes (including the keeping of deer) is clearly illustrated in microcosm at the three parks held by the Earl of Oxford at Castle Hedingham. The Little Park (Figure 3.11) Great Park (Figure 3.5) and Castle Park (Figure 3.4) in Essex which are shown on a series of four maps depicting the Hedingham estate that were produced in 1592 by Israel Amyce.[184] The term 'little Park' relates to a recently recognised type of specialised park which have been defined as medieval or post-medieval recreational pleasure grounds. They usually possessed a lodge and a water feature and were located close to residential complexes.[185] It also

[184] ERO D/DMh M1.
[185] Liddiard, R. & Wells, F. 2008 'The Little Park at Castle Hedingham, Essex: a possible late medieval pleasure ground', *Garden History*, 36(1) pp. 85-93.

appears that the term 'little' was primarily used during this period to differentiate a small area of parkland from the larger 'great parks' that also surrounded residences.[186] At Hedingham, the Great Park was a short distance from the castle while the original Little Park (recorded in 1263) became the Castle Park when the new Little Park was created at some point before the early sixteenth century.[187] This is the park depicted on the map of 1592 that reveals that it possessed all the characteristics of a conventional medieval 'little' deer park with its open wood-pasture and complex of lodge buildings (including what appears to be a viewing tower) at its centre, overlooking a pond.[188] This is undoubtedly a landscape that was solely dedicated to hunting or deer keeping at this time as there is no indication on the map of any other activity taking place in the park. Conversely, the map of the compartmented Castle Park only indicates economic activity taking place there at the end of the sixteenth century as it shows that it has been leased to several individuals.[189] To the north 64 acres of wood-pasture which includes a lodge is shown as being in the 'occupation' of George Harbig(?). The presence of a lodge in this compartment suggests that deer-keeping or hunting may have previously taken place in the park. The adjoining compartment of fifteen acres of pasture to the east is leased by Christopher Lancylton Clarck. Adjacent to this compartment and the grounds of the Castle is a further compartment of thirteen acres of pasture held by John Parmeter. To the north and east of the Castle 38 acres of wood-pasture is under the occupation of John Feggan(?). To the west of the Castle, Thomas Cooke is shown as having only seven acres of compartmented pasture. Three remaining compartments of pasture to the south-west of the Castle are occupied by Matthew Allyston (19 acres), Henry Smythe, Thomas Browne and Edmund Ballam (26 acres) who also had another 30 acres in his sole possession.

The map of the compartmented Great Park shows a large park which is comprised of mainly wood-pasture that was also leased to different individuals. Although acreages are not given on the map, the Great Park was estimated to be 600 acres in extent in 1619 in the deeds of the Hedingham Castle estate.[190] To the south a 'Paddock percell of the Great Parck' is

[186] Ibid: 89
[187] Ibid: 90.
[188] ERO D/DMh M1.
[189] Ibid.
[190] ERO DMh T1.

occupied by John Feggan and John Parmeter (who both held pasturage in the Castle Park). The paddock contains three lodge type buildings and also, a possible 'viewing tower' which is similar in design to the 'viewing tower' in the Castle Park. To the east a further 'parcell' was allocated to Edward Brewer and in the north of the park another is shown as being held by William Butcher. Edmund Ballam also had possession of a large compartment to the north of the park (to add to his holdings in the Castle Park) which included what looks to be another lodge building. Adjoining this to the south a large compartment occupied by John Clarck (who again held pasturage at the Castle Park) contained a building named 'The Deere Lodge'. This further indicates that deer keeping may have been the main activity taking place at the Great Park at some point before the 1590s (perhaps even shortly before) which is all but confirmed by two documented cases of poaching that were brought before the Assizes at Chelmsford in the 1570s. In the first case it was alleged that on the night of August 13th 1573:

> …Robert Game of Yeldham yaeman and Christopher Frenche of Toppefield husbandman… at night at Castle Hedingham entered the enclosed Great park of Edward earl of Oxford with bows and dogs to hunt does against the Statute of 5 Eliz.[191]

Three years later in 1576 a further attack is reported to have taken place when:

> William Whatlocke of Belchamp Walter, Ananias Clarke, John Picke, Rob. Edmundes and John Ingram, all of Gestingthorpe labouers about midnight at 'Heningham ad Castram' (Castle Hedingham) contrary to the Statute of 5 Eliz.,entered the enclosed park of Edward Earl of Oxford, called the 'Great Parke' there, and with 'a crobow' 'handgonne' and other arms and two greyhounds hunted a doe…[192]

Curiously the documentary record also shows that the Earl of Oxford continued to pay the wages of park keepers at the Great Park and Castle Park in *c.*1600.[193] What their main duties were in leased parks that seem to be dedicated to profit making remains unclear. It may suggest that they were retained to protect both parks and their resources or in the expectation that they would revert back to their previous function. The decision-making process of the Earl of Oxford however remains opaque, but it is clear that he still valued deer which is evidenced in the retention of the uncompartmented Little Park.

[191] ERO T/A 418/23/59.
[192] ERO T/A 418/28/29.
[193] ERO D/DPr 144.

A map of the compartmented Tibenham Park in Norfolk (1640) also suggests that it was put to multiple uses. The northern section of the park contains a small enclosure named 'Bulles Yard' which abuts onto a larger enclosure named 'Bulles Close', indicating that cattle may have been bred and grazed there. The compartments in the southern half of the park have less obvious industrial functions as they are named 'Chanonz Meadowe next Bulles', 'Pale Meadowe, New Ground', 'The further Chaninz Close and Chanonz Meadowe'.[194] The paled fence running east to west (just south of the house at the centre of the park) which is shown dividing the park in two suggests that deer may been kept in some of these enclosures. The fence appears to have been put in place to prevent any competition between deer and cattle for grazing.

The desire to retain deer alongside economic interests is also seen at Crondon Park in Essex but it is difficult to establish if either one of these interests took priority over the other. What is evident however is that space was always retained for deer, even when the park was reduced in size. In an estate survey of 1548, it is stated that the 700-acre park had an estimated population of 600 deer.[195] In the same year however 500 acres were disparked and converted into leasehold tenanted farms. This would have been greatly detrimental to such a large herd occupying a much-reduced park and perhaps indicates that economic considerations were beginning to eclipse deer keeping.[196] The potential for profit and the management of the park to that end is seen in another estate survey of the extant parkland in 1566 where it is stated that the park was well managed and regularly coppiced and also possessed a: 'great store of tymber oke and other woodye trees'. Browsewood and underwood from the park was also sold which brought an income of 66 shillings in a year.[197] Ceramic finds (which indicate manuring) from a recent fieldwalking project have however revealed generally limited exploitation of arable farming in the park, particularly during the medieval period.[198]

[194] NRO MC 1777/1.
[195] ERO D/DP E29.
[196] Robey, A.C. 1991 *The Village of Stock, Essex, 1550-1610: a social and economic survey*, unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics.
[197] ERO D/DP M1325.
[198] Germany, M. 2001 'Fieldwalking at Crondon Park, Stock, Essex,' *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History* 32, pp. 177-188; Mileson 2016: 391.

Despite significantly reducing the size of Crondon Park for economic gain it seems that deer were not completely sidelined by the park owners, the Petre family. An account book reveals that a new deep ditch (banked and topped with a quickset hedge) was dug in late 1549 and early 1550 to divide the remaining parkland from the new farms.[199] This suggests that the newly established agricultural land was being protected from browsing deer which were still being kept in the park. It also suggests that the banked and hedged ditch was put in place to prevent incursions by poachers in the future which signals that deer were to remain a major part of the long-term management of the park. [200] An Indictment in 1572 of a yeoman named Edmond Cheeley (alias Lancye) at the Assizes for poaching and four subsequent cases in the mid-seventeenth century clearly illustrate the continued presence and importance of deer. Cheeley was alleged to have: 'broke into the close of Anne Peter, widow of William Peter, knt., called "Crondon park" for the preservation of "deer" and killed and carried away a "doe."'.[201]

In 1642 (shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War) Gilbert Church, John Lanham, Thomas Ayerst, John Motte and others were accused at the Court of Sessions of 'riotous and unlawful assembling in the park and hunting and killing deer there'.[202] A year later Ayerst (who was identified as a labourer) was again brought before the court together with Jervice Ayerst (husbandman) for riotous assembly and the unlawful killing of deer.[203] The deer population appears to have survived (or the park was re-stocked with deer) following the unrest of the 1640s. In 1655 John and Thomas Gynne (yeomen) of Fyfield answered for killing and carrying away one fallow deer.[204] In the same year a remarkable case of a woman being directly involved in the act of poaching was brought before the court when Ellen Hubbard of Hutton (a spinster) was accused of 'touching the killing and carrying away fallow deer…out of Crondon Parke'.[205]

[199] ERO D/DP A10.
[200] Robey 1991: 49.
[201] ERO T/A 418/20/41.
[202] ERO Q/SR 319/95.
[203] ERO Q/SR 319/83.
[204] ERO Q/SR 366/71.
[205] ERO Q/SR 365/53.

By 1674 the function and internal structure and size of the of the park (now approximately 318 acres) had changed again. A map by John Coffyn of that year shows that the park had been divided into nine leased compartments of wood-pasture (each compartment is depicted with widely spaced trees) with Fristling Hall at its centre (Figure 3.26).[206] The hall itself is partially situated in a compartment of ten acres named 'Cowhouse Field'. To the south a considerably larger compartment of 69 acres is named as 'Stock Piece'. Both field names clearly indicate that these areas were set were aside for the grazing and management of cattle. The remaining compartments in the park do not have names that are related to industry or deer. To the west is 'Thrustling Quarter' (63 acres) which is shown as being under the tenure of Francis Poiket. The 'Pond Quarter' (63 acres) to the south-west contains two ponds named 'The little pondes'. One is fed by a brook running from the northern boundary. To the south and east of the hall are 'Lodge Field' and 'Little Hill Field' which are shown as being thirteen acres and six acres respectively. To the east of the hall there is small enclosure named 'The Stray Corner' at 21 acres and the largest enclosure of all named 'The House Parke' 75 acres. It could be suggested that 'The House Parke' which is overlooked by Fristling Hall was retained as an enclosure for deer and is a clear example of a 'park within a park'.

[206] ERO D/DP P13.



Figure 3.26. Map of Crondon Park (1674) by John Coffyn (ERO D/DP P13)

Aesthetics

Sir William Wyseman's ambitious, partially realised remodelling of his park at Rivenhall in Essex was undertaken during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and is recorded on a 1716 survey of the park by Benjamin Fallowes (Figure 3.27).[207] The plan details the latest incarnation of a park that had undergone several periodic phases of expansion and partial disparkment (approximately half of the area of the park, predominately to the east and north-west, was given over to agriculture by the early fifteenth century) since its creation during the eleventh century as an enclosure of approximately 250 acres.[208] What can be seen is an extensive open, formal aesthetic park landscape of 300 acres. It is clearly the antithesis of the typical, isolated, often compartmented, medieval enclosure which was characterised by areas of wood-pasture, dense stands of timber trees or coppice with a lodge or standing

[207] ERO D/DFg P1/1.
[208] Rodwell, W.J. & Rodwell, K.A. 1986 *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church, and village, 1950-1977*, London, Council for British Archaeology; Rodwell, W.J. & Rodwell, K.A. 1993 *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church and village, 1950-1977*, Volume 2, London,

strategically placed within its bounds. The survey shows the park as being largely dominated by a network of tree lined radiating avenues and circuses that are set out in a distinctive geometric patte d'oie style. Rodwell and Rodwell have speculated that plans for the park were never fully realised as the long, straight boundary cuts across the goosefoot plan in a 'manner which ruined its symmetry'.[209] However, there appears to be little evidence for this conclusion as the lack of symmetry and layout of the park are typical for the period. The highly stylised landscape displayed on Fallowes' survey was the culmination of a number of factors and influences including Wyseman's determination to expand the park by reclaiming much of the land that had been lost to agriculture in the preceding centuries. It was however, more importantly, the siting and development of Rivenhall Place (initially known as Wyseman's or Archers' Hall) within the park itself during the early sixteenth century which had the most influential effect on its overall appearance and function.[210] In time this inspired aesthetic changes to the landscape with the implementation of fashionable ornamental garden and parkland designs and the construction of a range of productive and leisure facilities in its immediate vicinity.[211] As will be seen below, these changes were mirrored in many (although not all) parks of the period which were increasingly being valued as aesthetic landscapes which could either be sensorially experienced from the house or through direct physical interaction.

[209] Rodwell & Rodwell 1993: 115.
[210] Rodwell & Rodwell 1993: 112.
[211] Ibid: 115.

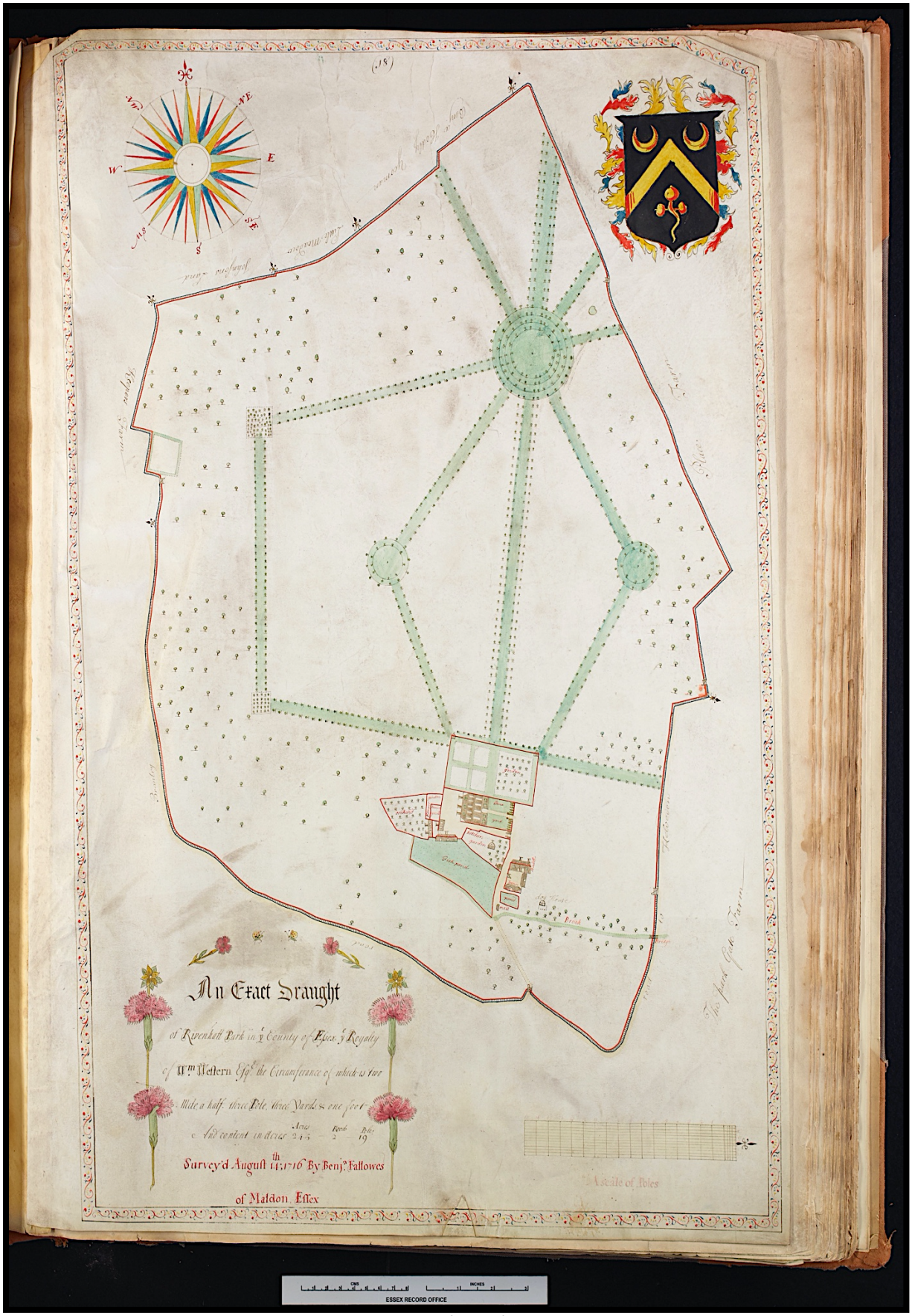


Figure 3.27. 1715-16 survey of the park at Rivenhall in Essex (ERO D/DFg P1/1)

The house

Rivenhall Place is depicted as a large red bricked three storey mansion and is shown near to the southern boundary on the plan, facing east. By the mid 1500s, under the ownership of Sir Ralph Wyseman (Sir William's immediate predecessor), the newly expanded Hall became the main seat of the lords of the manor of Rivenhall, replacing the old manorial seat which was located at some distance from the park close to Rivenhall church.[212] The majority of newly created or extant parks at this time no longer stood in isolation from the house (as a high proportion of early medieval parks did) and were becoming by the fifteenth century, closely spatially associated with the principal residence of the owner.[213] That is not to say that every park was being configured in this way, with successive owners of individual parks appearing to resist the prevailing trends during this period of both joining residence with park and aestheticizing their enclosures. A number of examples can be found in the cartographic sample that illustrate this. The 1576 map of the St. Paul's Cathedral estate at Belchamp St. Paul in Essex by Israel Amyce shows a late Tudor park which has retained its medieval character.[214] It is depicted as being without a residence and is a typical early medieval combination of compartmentalised laund and dense woodland which is overlooked by a lodge. Furthermore, plans of the three parks at Hundon, in Suffolk (The Great Park, Figure 3.3, Easty Figure 3.2 and Broxted, Figure 3.1 *c.*1600) are also shown as having been maintained in a 'traditional' manner with centrally located lodge buildings surrounded by densely wooded enclosures that are divided by rides.[215] All of the three parks appear to have been configured in this way until just before 1611 when a map of that year reveals that they were disparked, cleared of trees and divided into closes following the granting of the manor of Hundon to William, Lord Cavendish, Earl of Devon (Figure 3.28).[216]

[212] Rodwell & Rodwell 1986: 183; Rodwell & Rodwell 1993: 112.
[213] Williamson, T. 1998 *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park: garden design in Norfolk, England, c.1680-1840*, Oxford, Archaeopress.
[214] LMA MS 25517/1.
[215] NA MPC1/1; NA MPC1/2; NA MPC1/3; Hoppitt, R. 1992 *A Study of the Development of Parks in Suffolk from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth century*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia.
[216] SRO I HD 417/17.

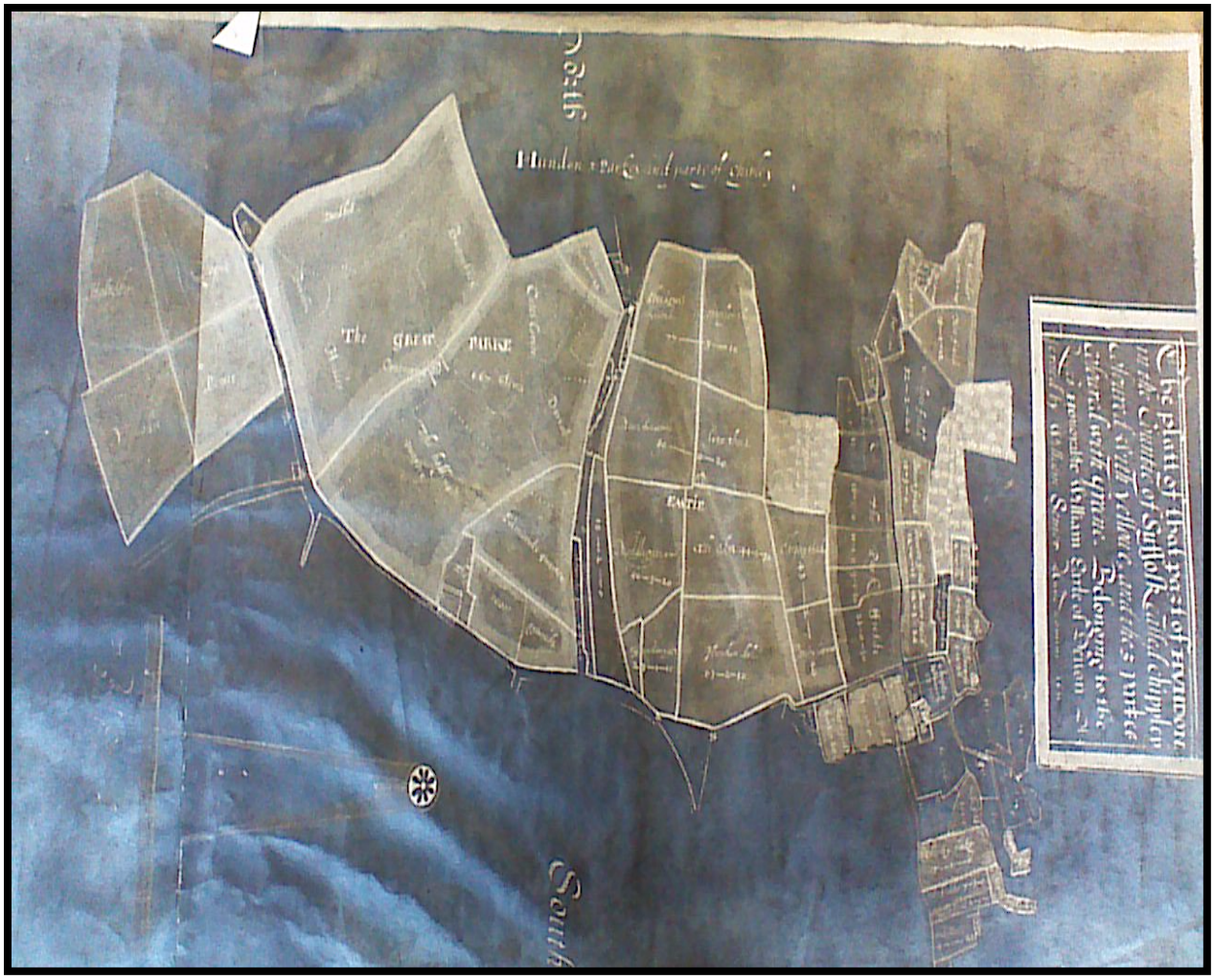


Figure 3.28. Photograph of a 1611 map of the three parks at Hundon in Suffolk which are shown as having been cleared of trees and divided into closes (SRO I HD 417/17)

Other maps in the sample also reveal that several parks were completely devoid of either residences or lodges. A 1633 map of the park at Acle in Norfolk shows an isolated enclosure that is dominated by a large area of woodland named Acle Wood which is surrounded by pasture (Figure 3.29).[217] John Norden's survey of Staverton Park in Suffolk (1600-1601) and an anonymous map of the same year (Figure 3.30) illustrate a park of dense uncompartmented woodland and laund (as discussed above) that remained unoccupied by a major residence throughout its 600 years history.[218]

[217] NRO MS 4513/1-2.
[218] SRO I HD 88/4/1.

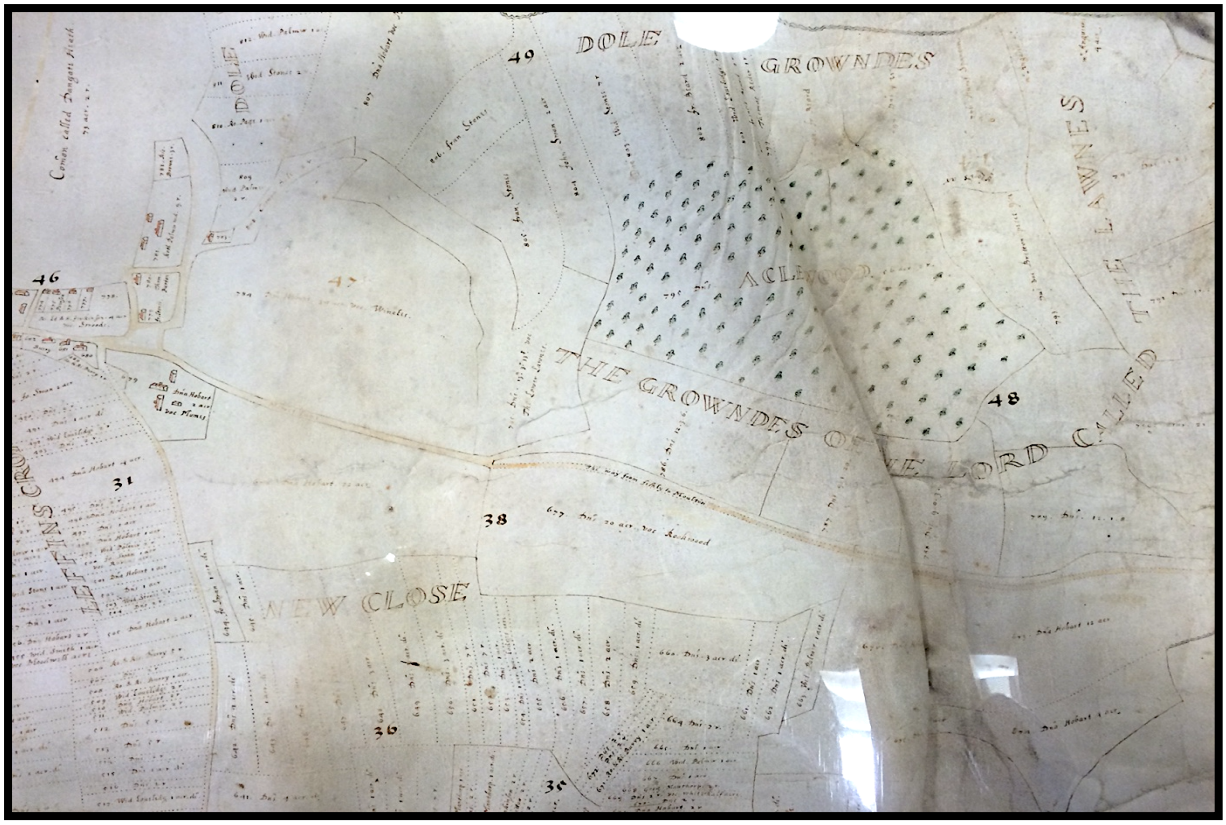


Figure 3.29. Detail of a map of 1633 showing the park at Acle in Norfolk (NRO MS 4513/1-2)



Figure 3.30. Detail of a map of 1600-1601 of the manor of Staverton showing Staverton Park (SRO I HD 88/4/1)

The symbiotic relationship between park and residence is however also widely reflected in the cartographic sample which shows that by the late sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century several elite mansions (like Rivenhall Place) were either located adjacent to or close to the park pale. From these positions, park owners and their guests could not only enjoy views of their parks, but also views of bordering roads, villages and the cottages and holdings of tenanted farmers.[219] One such example of this can be seen on Samuel Pierce's 1613 map of Thomas Savage's Melford Estate, which is an exceptional source as it depicts a hunt in full flow. The map lavishly records in detail the extensive renovations and extensions of Melford Hall (which was rebuilt on the site of a moated house owned by the abbots of Bury St.Edmunds, which will discussed more fully in the phenomenological case study below) and also visually marks the creation of the Little Park in the same year.[220] This new park replaced the 'old' park (enclosed at some point in the 1580s) that was situated at a considerable distance from Melford Hall in the north of the parish.[221] It shows a bird's eye view of the Hall (comprised of four wings around a central courtyard) set back from the park pale overlooking the Little Park to the north-east, the nearby village of Long Melford to the south and Melford Green to the west (Figure 3.31).[222]

[219] Williamson, T. 1995 *Polite Landscapes: gardens and society in eighteenth-century England*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press

[220] SHER, Monument Record LMD 058, *Listed Building Information for Melford Hall.* https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF11256&resourceID=1017. Accessed 1/4/19.

[221] Boothman, L. & Hyde Parker, R. (Eds.) 2006 *Savage fortune: an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth century*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press.

[222] SRO B2130/2



Figure 3.31. Detail of Samuel Pierce's map of 1613 showing Melford Hall on the south-western boundary of the Little Park (SRO B2130/2)

There were several locations within and from the top of Melford Hall from which views of these areas could be enjoyed. A gallery is mentioned in an inventory of the hall taken in 1635/36.[223] This would have provided a space for the family and their guests to both exercise and view the surrounding landscape in poor weather. Above this there was a flat leaded roof where fresh air and exercise would also have been taken in more clement weather along with the opportunity for more extensive views. An additional, higher vantage point, which was perhaps reserved for the family or more important visitors, was available nearby from the flat roof of the west tower.[224] The 1613 map of Melford Hall and its park (Figure 3.31) also appears to show that there was another gallery in the east wing (which was demolished between 1635 and 1735) of the Hall with a flat leaded roof above. It has been suggested that this was the location from which James Howell (tutor to the children of the Savage family) observed hunting in the park.[225] In a letter to his friend Dan Caldwell in 1621, Howell remarked that the park was:

> …opposite to the front of the great house, whence from the gallery, one may see much of the game when they are hunting.[226]

[223] CCLAS DCH/X/15/10
[224] Boothman, L. Hyde Parker, R. 2006 *Savage Fortune: an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth century*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press.
[225] Ibid: 157.
[226] Jacobs, J. (ed.) 1890 *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: the familiar letters of James Howell, historiographer to Charles II*, London, David Nutt in the Strand.

Sir William Parker, 9th Baronet (1826-1891) who was responsible for refurbishing the family seat during the nineteenth century, details a 'peculiar' and possibly unique architectural feature of the Hall which he says was also utilised to view the hunt in his work: *The History of Long Melford* (1873).[227] He authoritatively states that when the house was in 'its original state' under the ownership of Sir Thomas Cordell (during the mid to late sixteenth century), a bridge was suspended high above the entrance court (which he says was level with parapet of the roof) between the two eastern towers of the Hall. He claimed that spectators could view the sport which was taking place in the park from the bridge which was accessed by doorways in both of the towers which are 'now built up but plainly visible'. Parker further claims that it is not known when this structure, which he describes as a 'swinging bridge' was removed, but he is certain that it was in place up until at least 1619.[228] He does not however refer to any documentary or pictorial evidence for the existence of it and it is not mentioned or seen in any other contemporary sources, such as Pierce's 1613 detailed estate map of Melford. While it is unclear whether Parker's confident claim for the existence of the bridge is apocryphal, the bricked-up doorways at the summit of both of the eastern towers can indeed still be seen today.

An earlier estate map of 1591 entitled 'A trew plat of the mannor and hamlett of Moulsham' by John Walker also shows a large red brick mansion situated in a similar position to Melford Hall (Figure 3.32).[229] Moulsham Hall is depicted just beyond the western boundary of the park, overlooking a compartment to the east which is inscribed as the 'Shooting Launde'. To the rear of the Hall to the west there are several large fields and a major road running north to south which may have been visible from the upper floors.

[227] Parker 1873: 322
[228] Ibid.
[229] ERO D/DM P2.



Figure 3.32. Detail of a map of 1591 showing Moulsham Hall overlooking the 'Shooting launde 'to the east and surrounding fields and road to the west (ERO D/DM P2)

The cartographic sample also demonstrates that other great houses often lay on the northern edges of their associated parks throughout this period. It has been suggested that this position would have provided the most extensive views of parkland from south facing rooms which would have been the warmest in the house.[230] A 1732 copy of a 1674 map of Melton Constable in Norfolk shows the park laid out to the south of the house which is located on the northern boundary (Figure 3.13).[231] A 1615 map of the park at Hunstanton, also in Norfolk and maps of Skreens Park (mapped in 1635 and 1666), Easton Lodge (1730), Dagnams Park (1748) and Marke Hall (all in Essex) show a similar relationship between park and residence.[232] An estate map of the latter produced by Jeremie Bailye in 1616 shows a wide fronted Marke Hall with an adjoining flag topped viewing tower situated close to the pale inside the north-west corner of the park which is divided east to west by what appears to be a line of hedges (Figure 3.33).[233] The Hall and Tower appear to overlook both Latton Street to the west which

[230] Williamson 1998: 45.
[231] NRO Hayes & Storr 82, 83, M3, M4.
[232] NRO Le Strange OA1; ERO D/Dxa 21; ERO DMg P1/1; ERO D/Ne P3.
[233] ERO D/Dar P1

can be seen running parallel to the park pale in a north-south direction and Latton Hall which is surrounded by several large named enclosures. The positioning of the Hall and tower in the north of the park however most notably appears to have enabled unhindered views of large areas of its 130 acres to the south which included the 'launde', until it came to an end at the southern boundary.

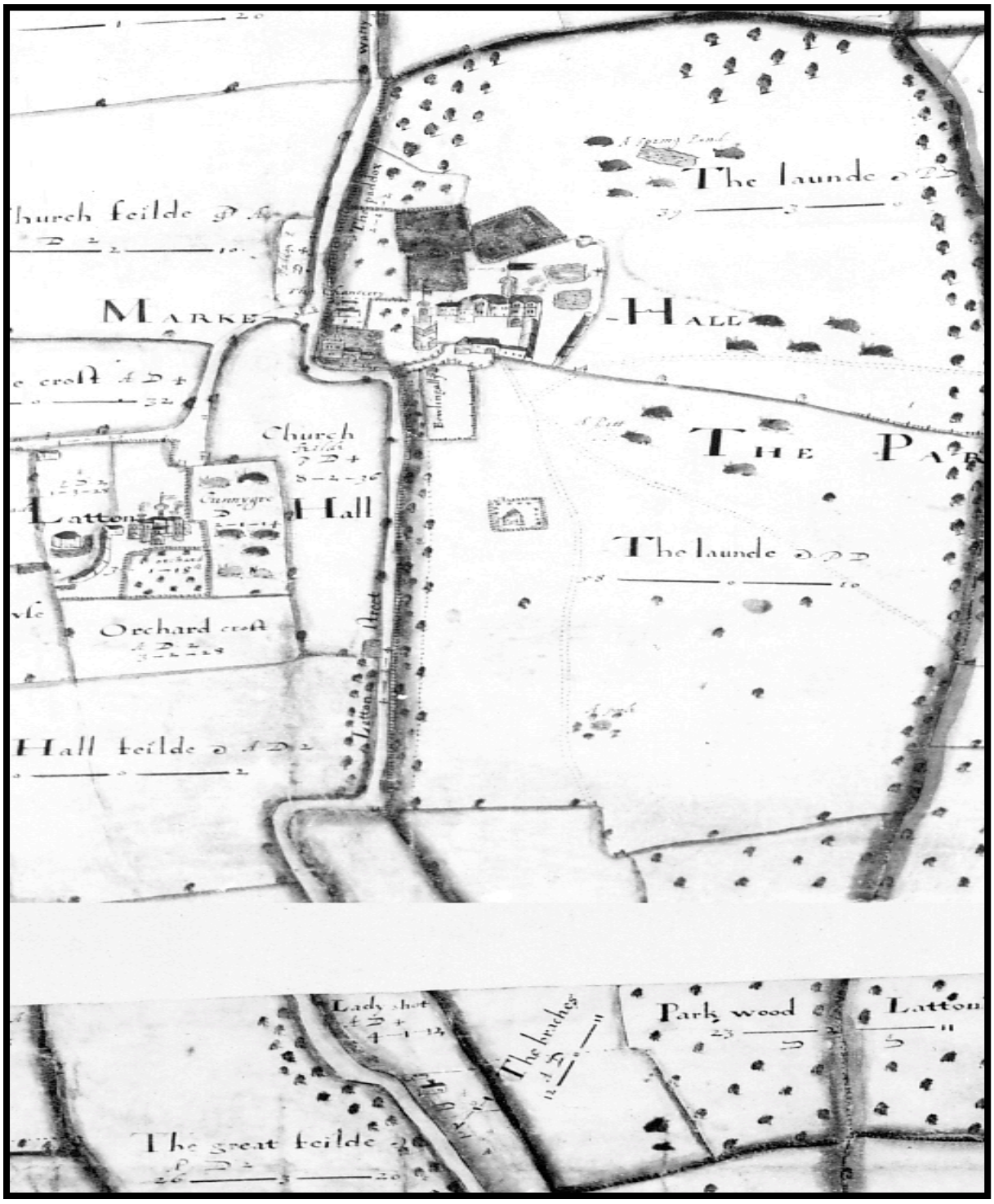


Figure 3.33. Detail of the 1616 estate map of Marke Hall and Latton Hall in Essex showing Marke Hall overlooking much of the park to the south (ERO D/Dar P1)

By the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the early decades of the eighteenth century however, an increasing number of parks had expanded to an extent that saw the mansions of the elite becoming completely enveloped on all sides by parkland.[234] It appears that for some park owners, the desire to both view the landscape beyond the park pale and be in plain sight of neighbouring houses and those travelling on public roads was waning as they now sought isolation and distance from the local community. Some owners were willing to resort to disruptive and expensive measures, such as the removal of roads and destruction of settlements, to achieve this seclusion.[235] A 1712 map of Chippenham Park in Cambridgeshire shows a newly built mansion surrounded by extensive gardens and outbuildings at the centre of the park (Figure 3.34).[236]



Figure 3.34. 1712 map of Chippenham Park in Cambridgeshire. (CRO 71/P3)

[234] Williamson, T. 2000 *Suffolk's Gardens and Parks: designed landscapes from the Tudors to the Victorians*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press; Williamson, T. 1999 'The archaeological study of post-medieval gardens: practice and theory' in Tarlow, S. & West, S. (eds.) *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, London, Routledge.
[235] Williamson 1995: 58; Williamson 1998.
[236] CRO 71/P3

Admiral Edward Russell (later Lord Orford) constructed the mansion in 1702, when he was also given permission to create a park.[237] To facilitate this, Russell closed and then imparked the southern half of the high street of the nearby village (the remaining northern section of the village is detailed on the map) which required the destruction of forty houses and the relocation of their residents to the first model village in England which was built nearby.[238] Washingley Great Park (also in Cambridgeshire) was similarly expanded to isolate the residence. A 1753 map of the park shows a large two storied Hall with a balustraded parapet which was built in the seventeenth century (and later remodelled during the eighteenth century) on the site of an early medieval manorial residence (Figure 3.35).[239]



Figure 3.35. 1753 map of Washingley Great Park in Cambridgeshire showing the Hall at the centre of the park. (HRO Acc 2498)

[237] There is some debate as to whether the park displayed on the 1712 map is an enlargement of a much earlier park, Way 1997:263.
[238] Way 1997: NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1000615, *Historic Site Information for Chippenham Hall*. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000615. Accessed 28/3/19.
[239] HRO Acc 2498; Parks and Gardens, *Historic site Information for Washingley Hall.* Available at: https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/washingley-hall. Accessed 28/3/19.

The park was originally located to the south of a nearby village and church with the residence located on or close to the southern boundary when it was first imparked as an enclosure of 50 acres in the mid thirteenth century. By the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century however, the park was extended northwards over the village site which by this time had been abandoned. This expansion left an enclosure (apparently well stocked with deer) of approximately 250 acres surrounding the manorial residence, an arrangement that clearly persisted (according to the map) beyond the mid-eighteenth century.[240]

The changing park landscape

As parks became spatially associated with residences during the period after 1500, their function and appearance also began to change as aesthetic considerations increasingly came to the fore. The most decisive and perceptible change however appears to have come after 1660 following the return to England of Charles II and his court from exile in France and the Restoration of the monarchy. This initially saw the introduction of formal landscaped gardens around English country mansions which were largely modelled on the work of André Le Nôtre (1613-1700) who designed gardens for Louis XIV at Versailles. It was at Versailles and also whilst in the Netherlands where Charles was first exposed to and inspired by these fashionable designs.[241] Le Nôtre's designs were based on order and symmetry and were characterised by canals, broad areas of grassland and foliage, fountains, ornamental parterres, and tree lined walks that were sometimes laid out in a complex geometric patte d'oie ('goosefoot') fashion, where a number of avenues radiated from a single point.[242]

Some of these innovative new concepts in garden design, which were implemented around many of the English parkland mansions of the period, subsequently migrated into the park itself.[243] Avenues in particular (which have been defined by Couch as 'designed drives or walks with regularly planted trees in a straight row'[244]) became ubiquitous following the Restoration (and up to the 1740s), having been largely absent from the parks of preceding

[240] Way 1997: 257.
[241] Cantor, L. 1987 *The Changing English Countryside 1400-1700*, London, Routledge Kegan Paul Ltd.
[242] Green, S. 1997 'Parks and gardens 1540-1960' in Glazebrook, J. (ed.) *Research and Archaeology: a framework for the eastern counties, resource assessmen*t, Norwich, The Scole Archaeological Committee for East Anglia, pp. 69-73; Gardner, P. 2000 'Landscapes, follies and villages' in Christie, C. (ed.) *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 129-178.
[243] Cantor 1987: 117.
[244] Couch, S.M. 1992 'The practice of avenue planting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Garden History*, 20 (2) pp.173-200.

centuries[245]. The popularity of avenues appears to stem from their ability to fulfil a number of aesthetic functions for park owners such as linking particular areas, allowing framed long vistas of both park and house and providing pleasing routeways for carriages, riders and those promenading through the park.[246] They were also greatly valued as a device to clearly demonstrate the extent of the park and its permanence in the wider landscape[247]. Most importantly for this study however, tree-lined avenues appear to have functioned as long, framed hunting grounds.

The only clear examples of pre-Restoration parks with avenues in the cartographic sample are Belhus (Bellhouse) Park in Essex and the Little Park at Long Melford, which were both created by Samuel Pierce. Pierce's 1619 estate map of the former shows the newly created park of 360 with a simple, single avenue lined by a double line of mature trees running from the brick-built gatehouse, which formed the south entrance to the moated house, to a road just beyond the southern boundary of the park (Figure 3.36).[248]

[245] Ibid: 174.
[246] Ibid: 176.
[247] Williamson 1998: 31.
[248] ERO D/DL P1; Powell, W.R. (Ed.) 1983 'Parishes: Aveley' in *A History of the County of Essex*, 8, 1-16, London.



Figure 3.36. Detail of a 1619 estate map of Belhus Park in Essex showing an avenue running from the house to a road in the south (ERO D/DL P1)

Pierce's map of 1613 of the Little Park at Long Melford however, shows a number of irregular avenues dissecting the park, which appear to have been not only utilised as a convenient means to traverse and view areas of the park, but also as a focal point for the hunt. One of the avenues is depicted as running along the edge of a heavily wooded area (in a roughly northerly direction), containing a fenced standing and hides, before It turns southwards towards the Hall. It then splits, with one avenue running directly up to the gatehouse of the Hall and the other continuing up to the park pale (Figure 3.37).[249]

[249] SRO B2130/2.

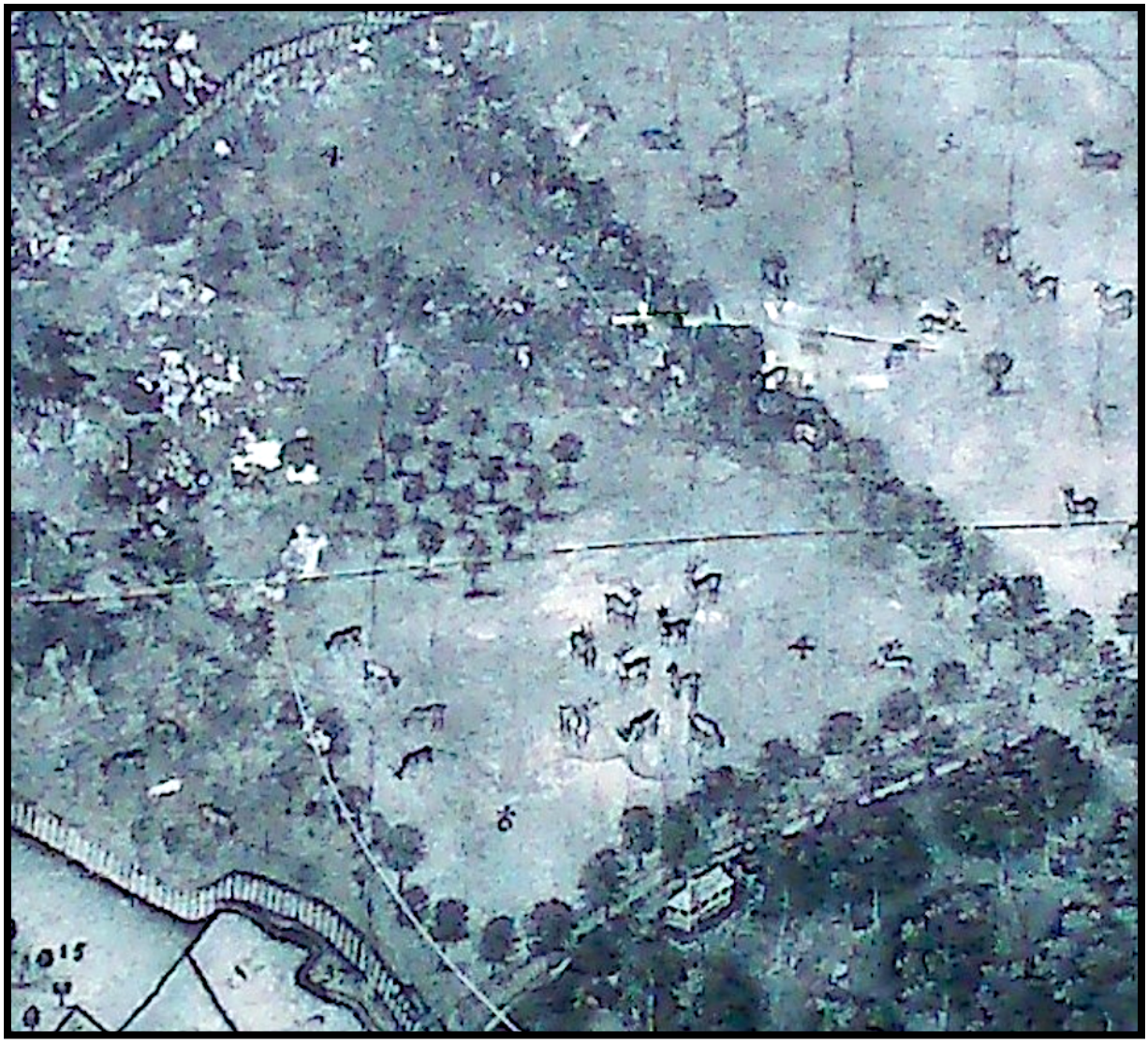


Figure 3.37. Detail of Samuel Pierce's 1613 map of the Little Park at Melford Hall showing avenues dissecting the park and running up to the gatehouse of the Hall (SRO B2130/2)

On the other side of the park, a standing is situated at the head of a long avenue (where a single deer can be seen running) which appears to both enter the wooded area and connect with the network of avenues that eventually converges on the Hall. Nearby, a lodge can also be seen at the end of an avenue which also connects with the network of avenues (Figure 3.38).[250]

[250] SRO B2130/2.



Figure 3.38. Detail of Samuel Pierce's map of 1613 showing avenues converging on a lodge and standing. (SRO B1230/2)

An engraving from Richard Blome's 1686 treatise, *The Gentleman's Recreation in Two Parts,* entitled 'Horsmanshipp' depicts a similarly paled, compartmentalised park where avenues are being utilised for hunting deer (Figure 3.39).[251] A standing (or possibly a prospect tower) is shown at the axis of converging avenues overlooking enclosed compartmentalised paddocks full of deer. Deer can also be seen in the avenue nearby along with a hunt taking place in another avenue in the foreground.

[251] Blome, R. 1686 T*he Gentleman's Recreation in Two parts*, London.



Figure 3.39. Richard Blome's engraving from 1686 showing huntsmen (both mounted and on foot) accompanied by hounds, pursuing an antlered deer along an avenue (*The Gentleman's Recreation in Two Parts*)

After 1660, avenues in some parks became increasingly complex and decorative in design. A 1702 map of Quendon by Thomas Holmes shows the 520-acre manor held by John Turner that includes Quendon Hall and its park (Figure 3.40). [252] Quendon Hall overlooks a park to the south of only sixteen acres named New Man Hall Park after the builder of the hall, Thomas Newman. Williamson does not classify the park as a landscape park (in its later eighteenth-century sense) that is fundamentally an aesthetic landscape surrounding a residence on all sides.[253] It was instead another example of a residential deer park in the same vein as Melford and Belhus. The hall was moated on its northern, eastern and western sides but open to the south where a tree-lined avenue ran from the hall through the park enabling visitors an extensive view when entering and leaving. Another tree-lined avenue (which does not enter the park) leading from the northern side of the hall in a northerly direction can also be seen. The avenues at Quendon are believed to have been established within this period, probably during the 1670s, when the hall was remodelled.[254] The park itself is divided into two main sections by the avenue. To the west the park is divided into compartments with scattered trees where deer are shown grazing. The eastern side of the park is also divided with an area called 'Sibcopps Wood' located at the southern tip of the park.

[252] ERO D/DU 1702/2.
[253] Williamson, T. 2016 *Quendon Deer Park: history and proposals for restoration*, unpublished report, University of East Anglia: 8.
[254] Williamson 2016: 6.



Figure 3.40. 1702 map of Quendon Park in Essex showing a tree lined avenue dissecting the park and leading to the Hall. (ERO D/DU 1702/2)

This area has been thinned out to create a section of scattered trees. A large section in the eastern side of the park shows more deer grazing together with a male figure carrying a long

pole over his shoulder accompanied by a dog (Figure 3.41).[255] It is a similar image to that of a 'park keeper' figure shown on the map of Belhus Park of 1619 (Figure 3.42).[256]



Figure 3.41. Detail of a map of Quendon Park (1702) showing a 'park keeper' (ERO D/DU 1702/2)

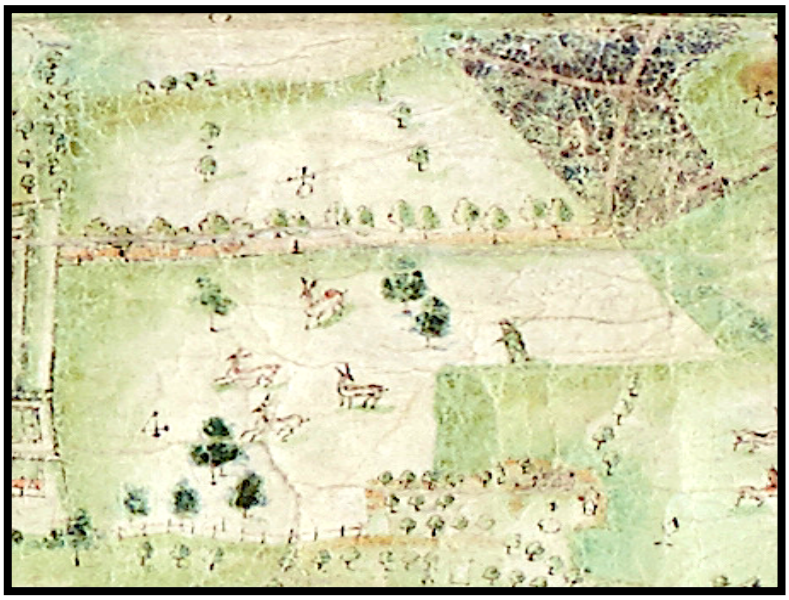


Figure 3.42. Detail of a map of Belhus Park in Essex (1619) depicting a 'park keeper (ERO DL P1)

[255] ERO D/DU 1702/2.
[256] ERO D/DL P1.

A 1712 map of Chippenham Park (Figure 3.34) also depicts a confusing array of formal avenues which cover almost the entire area of the 350 acres of parkland. The avenues were installed by Admiral Russell, in part, to decoratively commemorate his victory at the naval battle of La Hogue in 1692 during the Nine Years' War.[257] They were composed of lime trees (two of which can still be seen in the park) and are thought to represent the battle formations of the French, Dutch and British fleets.[258]

While there is clearly evidence of owners adopting more complex and formal networks of aesthetically pleasing avenues in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, it is also evident that more subtle designs were becoming more popular by the early decades of the eighteenth century. By this time designs such as that seen at Rivenhall were beginning to fall out of favour, and by the 1740s they were regarded as being completely outdated.[259] There are examples of owners who did not always conform to current fashions in park design. George Booth, the second Earl of Warrington installed an arrangement of avenues in the patte d'oie style in his park at Dunham Massey in Cheshire between 1720 and 1749.[260] This, however, appears to have been a rare exception as other owners primarily focused one or more, long, straight, undeviating avenues on their mansions. An estate map which details the park at Earsham in Norfolk (*c.*1720) depicts an avenue running from the courtyard of the house (which is located on the southern boundary) into the centre of the park to the north (Figure 3.43).[261] This would have provided convenient access into the park and a framed view of the park from the house. It would have also been a location from which to view the deer that feature prominently on the map. In Cambridgeshire, a 1737 map of the park at Stow cum Quy shows a similar single, wide, tree lined avenue which connected the mansion at Stow with a nearby church (Figure 3.44).[262]

[257] CHER, Monument Record 07446A*, Historic Site Information for Chippenham Park.* Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MCB8994&resourceID=1000 Accessed 2/4/2019.
[258] CHER, Monument Record 07446A, *Historic Site Information for Chippenham Park*. Available at: History of Chippenham Park and Gardens, *Historic Site Information for Chippenham Park*. Available at: https://www.Chippenhamparkgardens.info/history/. Accessed 2/4/19.
[259] Gardner 2000: 129; Williamson 1998: 151.
[260] Gardner 2000: 134.
[261] NRO MEA 3/632.
[262] CRO 107/P.



Figure 3.43. Detail of an estate map of *c.*1720 showing an avenue linking the house and park at Earsham in Norfolk (NRO MEA 3/632)



Figure 3.44. Map of the park at Stow cum Quy dated 1737 depicting a wide tree lined avenue running through the park which connected the mansion and the nearby church (CRO 107/P)

A map of 1730 of the park adjoining Easton Lodge in Essex (one of the properties of Henry Lord Maynard) also shows a single avenue that begins at a courtyard or walled garden located in the foreground of the Lodge on the northern boundary (Figure 3.45).[263] The avenue runs the entire length of the park before it comes to an end at the boundary to the south. Curiously, there is no gate shown in the park pale, indicating that the avenue's primary function was to provide the most extensive framed view of the park and Lodge possible. Access into the park instead appears to be via a considerably shorter avenue to the east of the Lodge, which also links to the main avenue.

[263] ERO D/DMg P1/1.



Figure 3.45. Detail of an estate map of the lands of Sir Henry Maynard showing Easton Lodge and the park to north with an avenue running from the Lodge to the southern boundary (ERO D/DMg P1/1)

Avenues depicted on the map of Hethel Hall Park in Norfolk (1736) appear to fulfil a similar function (Figure 3.46).[264] Six avenues are shown radiating from the centrally located house into the park. Each one terminates at the boundary where there is no apparent means of access or egress. What is also notable on the map of Hethel is that the park appears to be relatively open with scattered trees, wide areas of pasture and small patches of woodland; which was a further consequence of locating the residence within or adjacent to the park. Reducing the density of trees, enabled the owner, their family and guests to appreciate the

[264] NRO. Uncatalogued.

full extent of the park with views that in some cases extended to the boundary. It also allowed views of the deer which were spread throughout the park.[265]

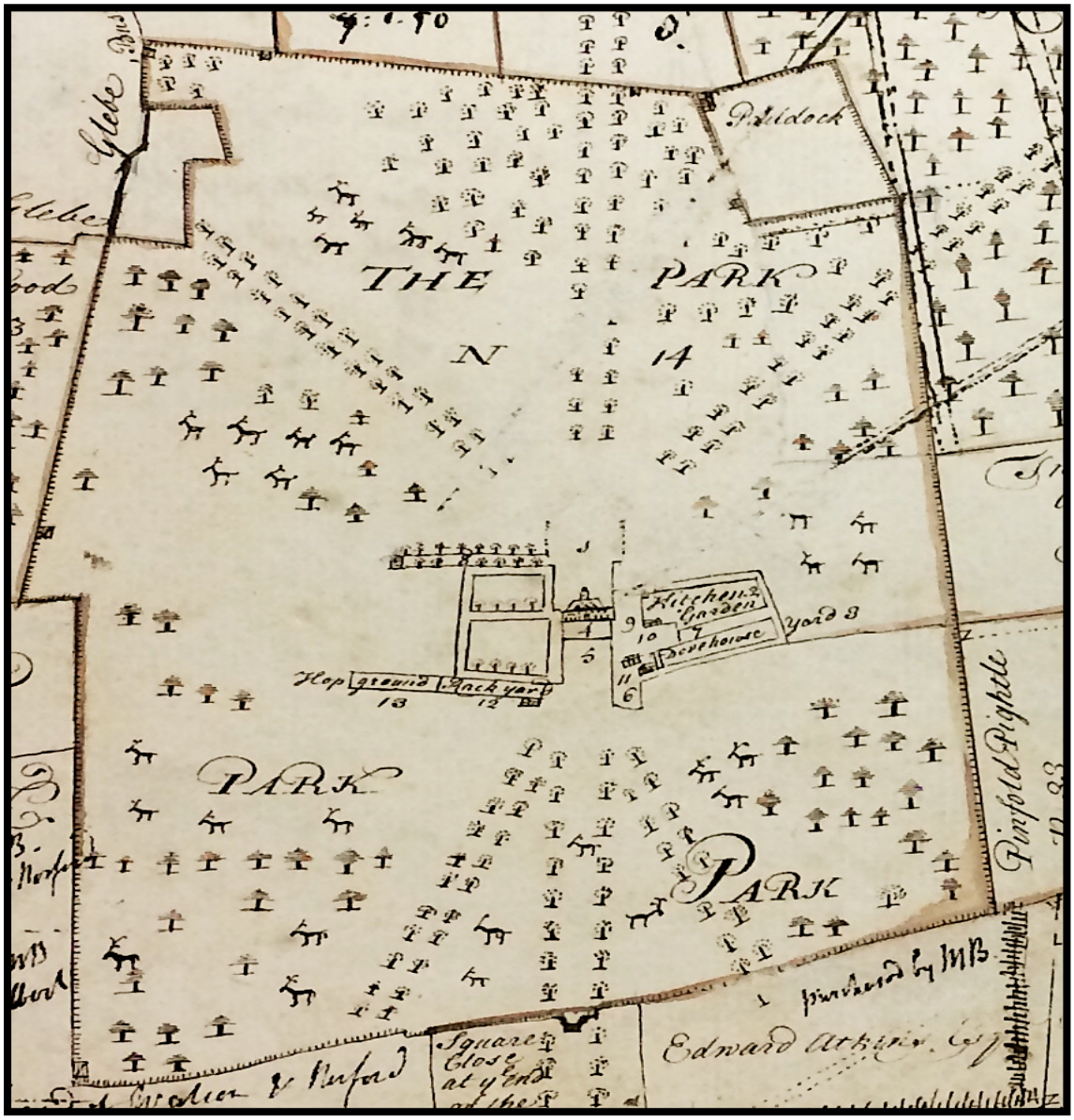


Figure 3.46. 1736 map of the park at Hethel in Norfolk showing six avenues focused on the house at the centre of the park (NRO Uncatalogued)

This open naturalistic irregular style of parkland, where large blocks of woodland were largely absent from the landscape, is not a particular phenomenon of any one period.[266] Maps produced in 1592 of the Little Park, Great Park and Castle Park at Castle Hedingham in Essex illustrate that extensive vistas were also important aesthetically based considerations for park

[265] Williamson, T. 2013 'Landscape into art: painting and place-making in England c.1760-1830' in Arnold, D. & Petters Corbett, D. (Eds.) *A companion to British art 1600 to the present*, Chichester, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp.373-396; Willimason 1995: 1995: 24.
[266] Liddiard, R. & Williamson, T. 2008 'There by design? Some reflections on medieval elite landscapes', *The Archaeological Journal*, 165(1) pp. 520-535.

owners in the late sixteenth century.[267] All three parks have the same landscape of scattered trees and pasture which appear to facilitate views to the boundary. Slightly later contemporary maps of the New Park at Hoxne Hall in Suffolk (1619) and a map of the park at Shelfhanger in Norfolk (1618) also show uncompartmented park landscapes that are largely composed of open pasture and a scattering of trees (Figure 3.47 & Figure 3.48).[268] The map of Shelfhanger is of particular interest as it appears to show that the Hall, which is located on the eastern boundary, overlooks an area of the park where some trees appear to have been thinned out to provide a view all the way to the opposite boundary.

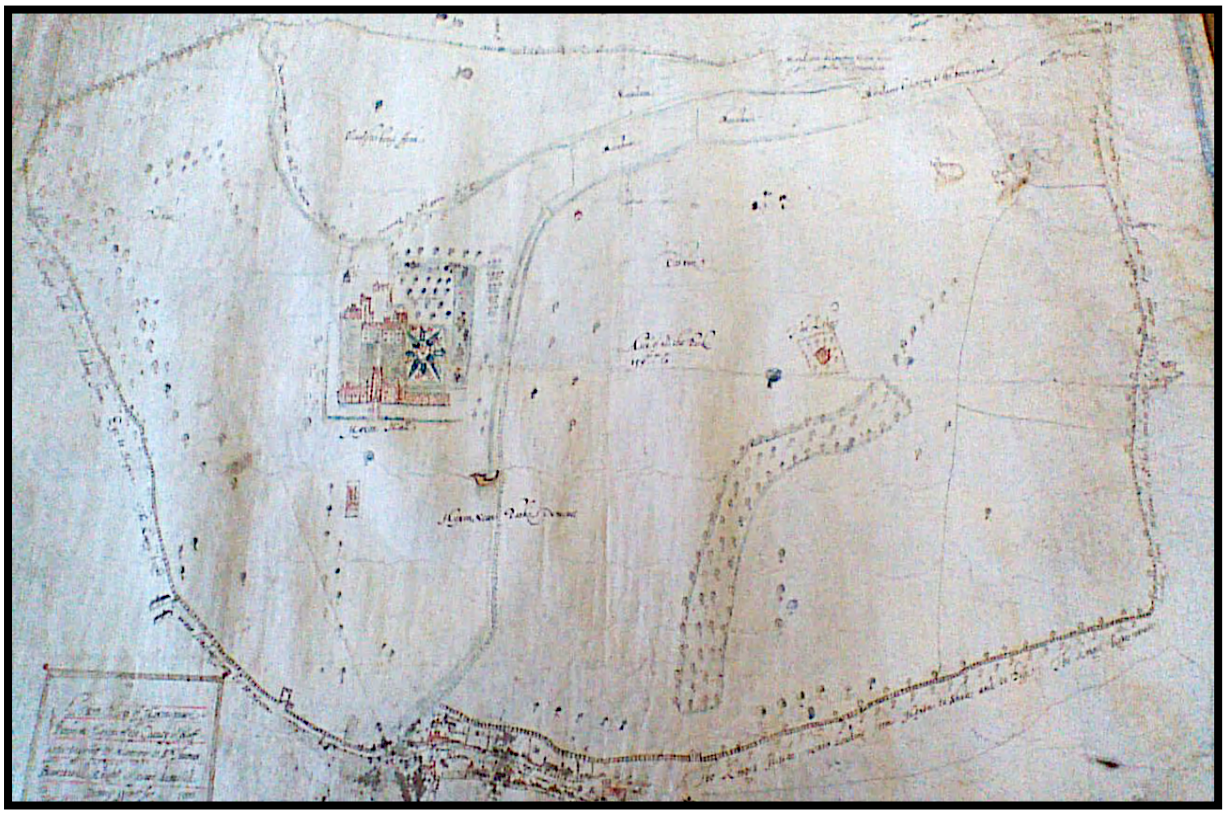


Figure 3.47. 1619 map of the park at Hoxne Hall in Suffolk which is composed of open pasture and scattered trees (SRO I HD 40/422)

[267] ERO DMh M1.
[268] SRO I HD 40/422; ACA P5/2.

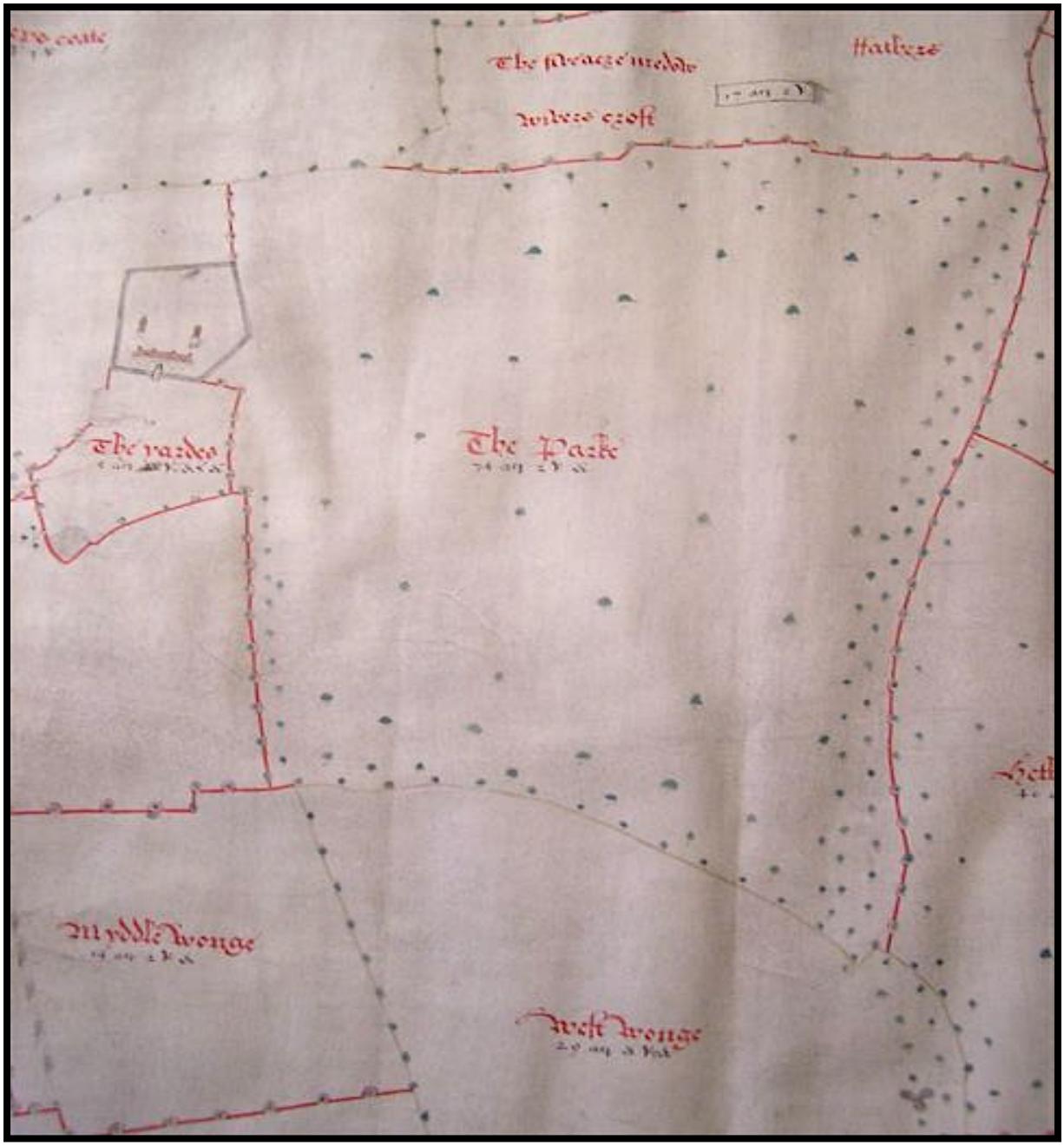


Figure 3.48. Map of Shelfhanger Park in Norfolk. The Hall is located to the east and overlooks open parkland to the west (ACA P5/2)

Both enclosures are also shown with belts of trees running along their boundaries. The map of the New Park shows that trees were planted along the western, eastern and northern boundaries where a road is shown running parallel to the park pale (Figure 3.49).[269] This would have blocked any views of the road and provided additional privacy for owners that were increasingly valuing seclusion.

[269] SRO I HD 40/422.

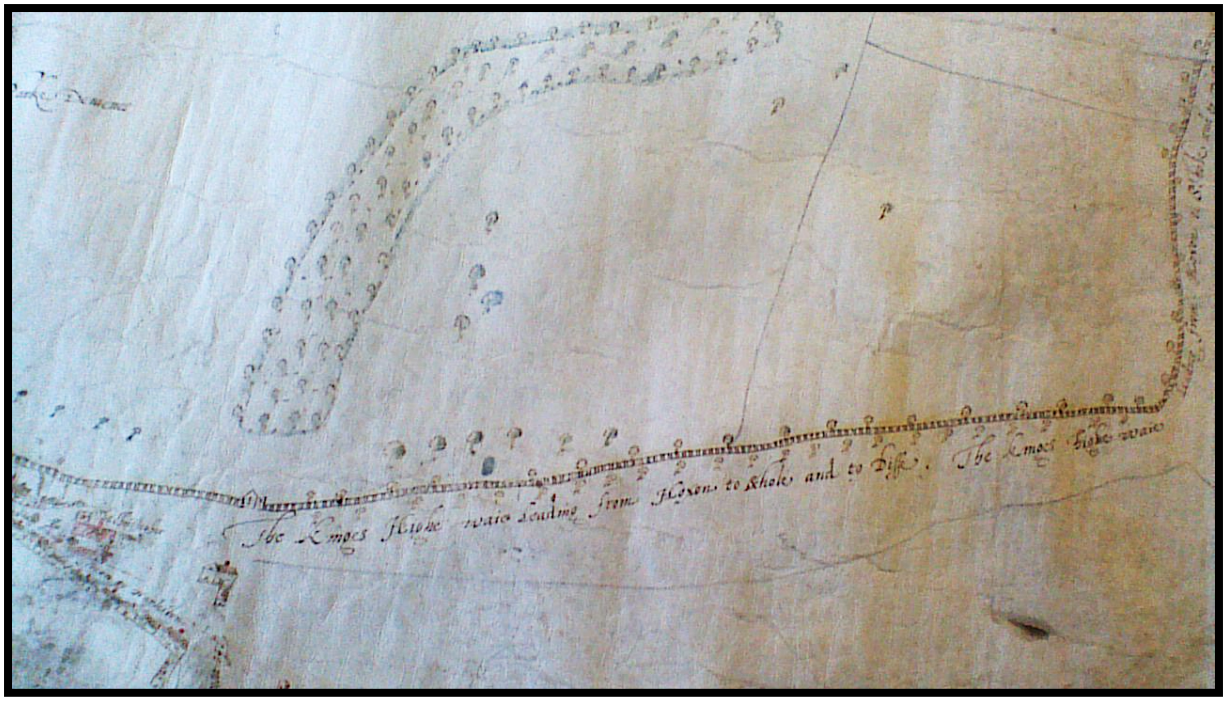


Figure 3.49. Detail of the New Park at Hoxne illustrating a belt of trees running along the perimeter of the park (SRO I HD 40/422)

At Shelfhanger, the western, northern and southern boundaries are shown with a double line of trees, with the western boundary (where the Hall stands) with only one. Firstly, this again suggests that privacy was highly valued and that lining boundaries with trees was an effective and popular way to achieve this. It can also be suggested that belts of trees placed on a boundary would have dominated the horizon and may have given an 'illusion of woodland' and the impression that the park extended further than the eye could see.

Although it is clear from the cartographic sample that many parks were arranged in a more open aesthetically pleasing way with limited areas of woodland, it is also evident that at the same time some owners were also maintaining or even creating decorative and often extensive blocks of dense woodland in their parks. A 1673 map of the Great Park at Kimbolton in Cambridgeshire is one of two parks in the cartographic sample that is shown as being set out in this way (Figure 3.50).[270]

[270] HRO KDMC/83.



Figure 3.50. Map of Kimbolton Great Park in Cambridgeshire with its extensive area of woodland dissected by rides. (HRO KDMC/83)

The Park which was 400 acres in extent at this time, is dominated by a block of woodland roughly located on the south eastern boundary and large areas of interconnected dense woodland in the south and west of the park which is dissected by a network of rides. The latter is linked by a long tree-lined avenue to a large house set within a garden which is situated on the northern boundary. The woodland was a remnant of an area known as 'High Woods' which was imparked in the early seventeenth century to form the park. It is believed to have been used for hunting prior to enclosure but it remains unclear whether it was retained within the park for this purpose (which is discussed in the chapter on hunting) or purely for its aesthetic value.[271] A later map of Hethel Hall Park produced in 1745 also shows a large block of dense woodland crossed by rides located in the south-west corner of the South Park (Figure 3.51).[272]

[271] Way 1997: 250.
[272] NRO Uncatalogued

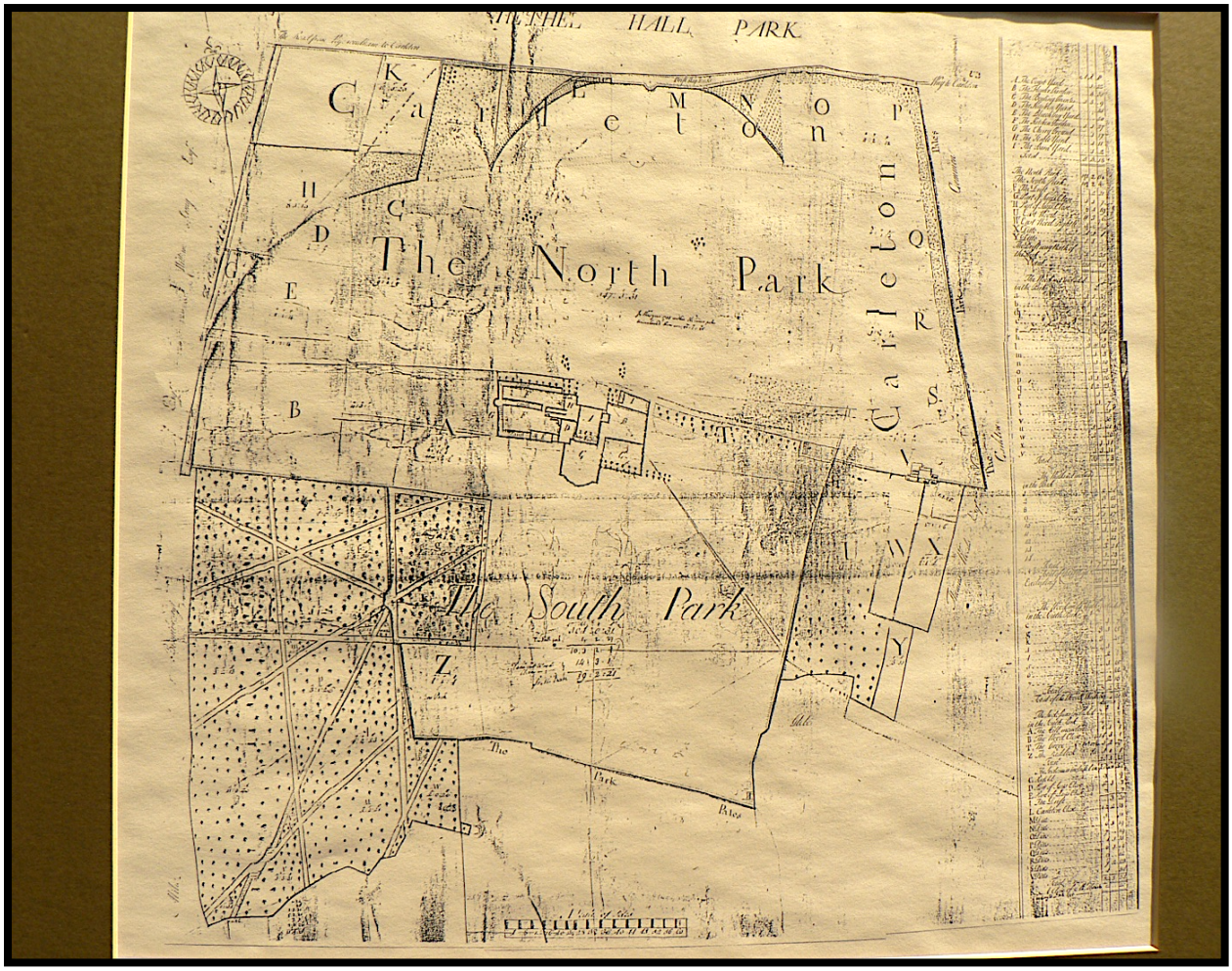


Figure 3.51. Map of Hethel Hall Park in Norfolk showing a large block of woodland in the South Park which is dissected by rides (NRO Uncatalogued)

The woodland is not shown on an earlier map of 1736 (Figure 3.46 above) and appears to have been created following the division of the park (which is depicted as undivided on the map of 1736) into the 'North Park' and 'South Park' at some point after 1736. It is also noteworthy that the radiating avenues which are shown as dominating the park on the 1736 map are no longer present and that the remainder of the park is relatively bare. It appears that the expansive views of the seemingly treeless South Park and the newly created woodland, seen from the south facing rooms of the Hall, were more valued than the framed views that avenues afforded.

Conclusions

This is the first time that these maps of parks in Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk have been brought together and analysed for a phenomenological study of this kind. This has been a lengthy but necessary process without which the subject of the experience of hunting could not be fully explored or understood. Before going out into the field and into a parkland landscape it is imperative that one understands how parks looked and how they were utilised by their owners. The detailed depictions of hunting and deer that appear in some of the maps certainly suggests that both the activity and the animal played major roles during this period. For this thesis the cartographic sample provided an impetus and inspiration to explore and investigate both the landscape and the map using traditional and new phenomenological methodologies which will be the focus of Part 2.

The maps also reveal that the character of the park was more complex than some historians have previously suggested. Simply focusing on whether parks were compartmentalised or uncompartmentalised is unhelpful. By looking at the maps we can see that parks were in a state of flux and should not be pigeon-holed. Various regimes co-existed according to the priorities of their owners. There are clear examples of compartmented parks (Belhus) and uncompartmented parks (Staverton) but these are the two extremes as there is a sliding scale in-between that does not fit conveniently with Rackham's assumption that parks were either one or the other. Furthermore, Rowe also somewhat avoids or shies away from an admittedly complex issue by arguing that about half of parks were uncompartmented, which is not reflected in the map evidence. Nor does she allow that some compartments may have been permeable. Using the same set of maps as in this study, scholars such as Rowe and Rackham would undoubtedly have found examples that confirms their arguments. However, Mileson's assertions that the economic argument for parks is exaggerated has been validated by the map evidence. Deer appear to have still held primacy throughout the early modern period as they do not disappear from the maps. They were rarely side-lined even when there were profits to be made, as seen at Crondon Park when it was divided into tenements. Their role may have become more ornamental later, but the maps of Earsham (Figure 3.43), Helthel (Figure 3.46), and Washingley Great Park (Figure 3.35), show that they remained a constant feature in more aesthetic park landscapes.

Chapter 4

Forms of Hunting within Parks

Introduction

Hunting was one of the most important functions of parks during the medieval and early modern periods. Its importance to the lives of those who hunted within parks is equally acknowledged and well known. The majority of medieval and post medieval park creators undoubtedly intended their parks to be used for hunting and as has been seen, owners went to great lengths to keep and manage deer stocks over long periods of time.[273] Evidence of how deeply embedded hunting was in the cultural life of royalty, aristocracy and gentry and to those at the lower end of the social spectrum can be clearly seen in the documentary, literary and cartographic sources. It is also evident in the visual representations of hunting, from material culture (such as hunting weaponry) and from the landscape itself. When taken together these sources indicate that this highly formalized, exciting, potentially dangerous and often expensive and time-consuming pastime comprised an important and constant element of not only elite leisurely pursuits and hospitality, but was also a central component in the lives of those who were excluded from legitimately hunting in parks.[274]

The prominent position held by hunting within medieval and early modern society is clearly evident from the hunting manuals and treatises and other literary works. Influential works such as: The *Livre de Chasse* by Gaston Phébus, Count of Foix (1389-1391), *The Master of Game* by Edward of Norwich (*c.*1410), *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* by George Gascoigne (1575), *A Short Treatises of Hunting* by Thomas Cockaine (1591) and Richard Blome's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1686) describe an idealized form of organized hunting in a great deal of technical detail.[275] Images from the manuals are equally illuminating as

[273] Mileson 2005: 17.
[274] Ibid: 17.
[275] Edward of Norwich. Baillie-Grohman, W.A. & Baillie- Grohman, F.N. (eds) 2005 *The Master of Game,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; Gascoigne, G. (1611 edition) *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting. Wherein is handled and set out the vertues, nature, and properties of fifteen sundry chaces, together with the order and manner how to hunt and kill every one of them*, London, Thomas Purfoot; Cockaine, T. 1591 *A Short Treatise of Hunting: compiled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen*, Shakespeare Association Facsimile 2000; Blome, R. 1686 *The Gentlemans Recreation in Two Parts* Orme, N. 1992 'Medieval hunting: fact and fancy' in Hanawalt, B.A. *Chaucer's England: literature in historical context*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

they show the manner in which hunters pursued their prey and how they were dressed and armed (Figure 4.1).[276]

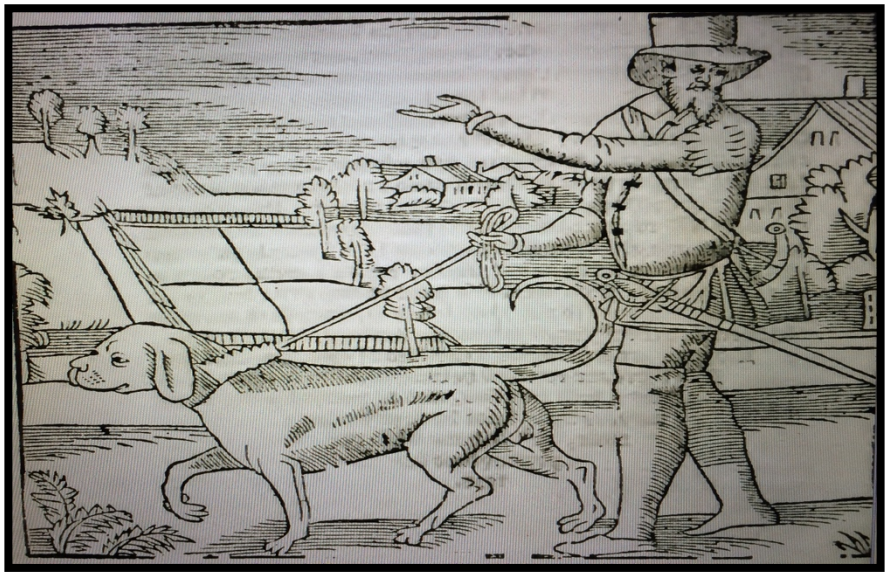


Figure 4.1. A huntsman hunting on foot with a hound, illustrated in George Gascoigne's *The Noble Art of Venerie…* 1575.

Contemporary literary sources also provide further evidence of how hunting in parks was central to elite hospitality and gives an insight into how a hunt was experienced by those who participated. This is seen in the fourteenth-century poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* which recounts an early organized deer hunt in an English park. It is also recorded in diplomatic correspondence as seen in a letter from the French Ambassador Marshal de Vielleville to Henry II (King of France between 1547 and 1559) who describes his experiences of a hunt in a park in England:

> …They took me to a great park full of fallow deer, where I mounted a Sardinian horse, richly caparisoned, and in company of forty or fifty lords and gentlemen we hunted and killed fifteen or twenty beasts. It amused me to see the English ride full tilt in this hunt, the hanger in their hand; and they could not have shouted louder had they been following an enemy after a hard-won victory.[277]

Contemporary maps of three Suffolk parks at Long Melford (1613) Hundon (*c.*1600) and Somerleyton (1652) add further weight to the arguments that parks did host hunting activities simply because they depict hunts in full flow.[278] Landscape evidence is also convincing with parks such as a Tudor example located at Wormingford in Essex and a recently excavated park

[276] Gascoigne 1611: 30.
[277] Quoted in Baillie-Grohman, W.A. 1913 *Sport in Art; an iconography of sport during four hundred years from the beginning of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries*, London, Ballantyne and Co..Ltd.
[278] SRO B 2130/2; NA MPC1/3*;* NA MPC/1*;* NA MPC1/2.

at Stansted, also in Essex, appearing to reveal landscape features that were engaged with and navigated in a particular way in order to facilitate the hunt. For those hunters from the gentry who had no legal access to park-based hunting and for those of a humbler status, the evidence for their participation in hunting in parks comes from legal records that document their illicit deer stealing activities which mostly took place at night.

Despite the apparent mass of evidential material for the importance of hunting, the actual mechanics of how hunting took place in parks remains opaque and open to debate. Very little can be gleaned from the documentary record of how deer were actually hunted.[279] There have also been doubts raised, most notably by Rackham, as to the efficacy of hunting in enclosed spaces with the argument put forward that the majority of parks were probably too small to stage 'a good hunt'.[280] This relates particularly to the type of hunting that was experienced by de Vielleville and recommended by contemporary literary works that often lionized lengthy and drawn-out hunts on horseback. The value of hunting treatises as detailed evidence for how hunting was carried out also remains open to question. Treatises on horsemanship, which were ostensibly works of practical instruction, rarely or adequately advise the hunter on basic mounted hunting skills.[281] Mileson has also recently highlighted that direct documentary references to hunting in parks are rare, which may indicate that it was not an important or regular an activity for the nobility, aristocracy, and gentry. However, he observes that this absence of evidence was most likely due to a lack of inclination on behalf of park owners to record their own leisurely activities. Furthermore, many of the documentary records that may have mentioned hunting, including household accounts, have not survived. Those that have survived, he argues, have not been studied in any systematic way in relation to hunting.[282]

It is the main aim of this chapter to dispel some of the doubts regarding the prominence of the park-based hunt by focusing on two areas. The first is the extent to which hunting was valued in medieval and early modern society and the second on how hunting was conducted

[279] de Belin, M. 2013 *From the Deer to the Fox: the hunting transition and the landscape, 1600-1850*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.
[280] Rackham 1986: 125
[281] Mileson 2005: 29; Mileson 2009: 16-17; Williams, J.J. 1998 *Hunting in Early Modern England: an examination with special reference to the reign of Henry VIII,* unpublished PhD, University of Birmingham; Rooney, A. 1993 *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press.
[282] Mileson 2005: 29, Mileson 2009: 16-17

and adapted in such spatially restrictive enclosures. It will be composed of two main sections with the first discussing the practical instructions given by hunting treatises and other contemporary literary texts regarding the logistics and structure of par force and bow and stable hunts and also for coursing within a park environment. It will primarily discuss how texts such as those advised the huntsman (the nobility in the early texts and primarily parvenus in the later treatises) on the formalities of the hunt and what the ideal hunt should look and in many cases sound like. It will also attempt to identify the most important (and constant) components of the hunt during this period and will consider the practicalities of following the methods prescribed in the treatises in a park environment and how hunting in parks may have changed over the period covered by this study. The second section will focus on addressing the question of whether hunting in parks resembled a staged ornamental exercise or looked more like the authentic hunting experience that the contemporary literature advised the huntsman to replicate. The cartographic sample compiled for this study will be examined together with landscape evidence in an attempt to establish what they reveal about the mechanics of hunting and how the size of a park may have influenced what type of hunting took place within them. The following chapter will concentrate on the illegal taking of deer (or poaching) by using a sample of legal records drawn from the Essex Assizes and Sessions Rolls from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It will be proposed that this form of hunting (in some instances) was conducted in a formal manner using hunting methods and weaponry that would have been very familiar to hunters who legitimately hunted in parks.

Contemporary literary texts

The earliest evidence for how hunting may have been conducted comes from medieval narrative literary sources such as *AElfric's Colloquy* (*c.*1005), from the Anglo-French epic poems known as *chansons de geste* (eleventh to mid twelfth century) and from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159).[283] Most of the descriptions of hunting in these early texts are fairly basic and generic with very little detail given. The protagonists were usually royal or noble, armed with swords and bows and pursued their quarry (deer, boars or hares) on

[283] John of Salisbury 2009; Nederman, C.J. (ed.) *Policraticus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham (Garmonsway, G.N. Ed.) 1947 *Aelfric's colloquy*, London, Methuen; Orme, N. 1992 'Medieval hunting: fact and fancy' in Hanawalt, B.A. *Chaucer's England: literature in historical context*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 133-153.

horseback alongside other huntsmen who followed on foot with dogs or greyhounds.[284] There were however exceptions, with the *Policraticus* by John of Salisbury describing hunting in a much more detailed way that reveals that the practice at this time was already highly structured and ritualized practice and is revealed in his depiction of the various stages of the distinctively visual and aural experience of the denouement of a hunt. When the prey was killed the hunting party showed their approval with applause and with the blowing of horns followed by the ritualized butchering of the deer. He also reveals that a specific hunting terminology had been developed by this time by using the terms brockets, hogsters and prickets when referring to deer of various ages and berners, kenets and limers when discussing hunting dogs. Recognition of hunting seasons also appears within the text with harts and bucks to be taken between May and September and hinds and does hunted between September and May.[285]

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a marked increase in the production of more specialized and detailed hunting literature in France and England in the form of hunting treatises. Although there had been earlier specialized hunting treatises it has been argued that during this period (probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century) that the treatise was 'reinvented'.[286] Like the narrative literature, they emphasized the benefits and pleasures that could be derived from hunting. They also show that hunting was continuing to develop a rigid codified structure.[287] A great deal of attention was given to the organization of hunting parties and when it was suitable to hunt. Further instruction was given on the methods of tracking prey, the correct sounding of horns (to signify what was happening), the correct manner in which the prey was to be butchered, and how the different parts of the animal was to be distributed. There was also instruction on the specialized vocabulary and cries that were to be used and mention was made of a 'tryst', a location where hunters awaited their prey.[288] There are 47 known French texts preserved in one hundred and seventy-nine manuscripts (with seven focusing on hunting with hounds) and also eleven translations from Asian texts. In England there are eleven known texts in 47 manuscripts or

[284] Orme 1992: 139.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid: 138.
[287] Thiébaux, M. 1967 'The medieval chase', *Speculum*, 42(2) pp. 260-274.
[288] Orme 1992: 139-140.

printed texts.[289] The earliest English example although written in French is *The Art de Venerie* by William Twici (1327) huntsman to Edward II.[290] It is a short prose treatise of only seven pages in length that describes a conversation between a huntsman and his pupil. As with Salisbury's text, the treatise discusses various names given to animals, the ritual killing and dismemberment of prey (the stag and the hare) and horn calls and cries used in different hunts.[291] The most significant works however were from France with one of the earliest being *La Chace Dou Cerf* which was written in the second half of the thirteenth century.[292] From the fourteenth century onwards however, more influential texts from France began to emerge.

Par force de chiens and the *Livre de chasse*

Among the most notable of these treatises was the highly influential and much emulated *Livre de chasse* by Gaston Phébus*,* Count of Foix (1389-1391) which was itself derived from the *Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio* by Henri de Ferrières (1360-1379).[293] In the thirty-one chapters of the *Livre de chasse,* Phébus goes to great pains to describe the nature of the various types of beasts found not only in France but also in England. He also includes a vernacular veterinary treatise offering information and practical advice to dog owners.[294] Most importantly in each chapter Phébus details every step of a hunt alongside a series of miniatures that illustrates each of the major events which the author recommends that should occur during a day's hunting. Collectively they give the impression that medieval hunting ideally involved hunters (mounted and on foot) and their hounds pursuing a prey animal through area of open grassland and areas of woodland.[295]

In the longest chapter of his text Phébus describes hunting large prey by par force de chiens (by strength of hounds), a technique that had been practiced in Anglo-French society since at least the mid thirteenth century. He describes this method as 'beautiful' and as giving 'great

[289] Smets, A. & Van Den Abeele, B. 2007 'Medieval hunting' in Resl, B. (Ed.) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, Oxford, Berg; Judkins 2013: 73.
[290] Twici, W. 1840, *Le Art de Venerie*, *Par Guyllame Twici*. Ex Mss Philips, No.8336.
[291] Rooney 1993: 8; Bevan, J. 2011 *Foxhunting and the landscape between 1700 and 1900; with Particular Reference to Norfolk and Shropshire*, unpublished PhD, University of East Anglia.
[292] Judkins, R.R. 2013 'The game of the courtly hunt: chasing and breaking deer in late medieval English literature', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 112(1) pp. 70-92.
[293] Smets & Van Den Abeele 2007: 68; Rooney 1993: 8.
[294] Rooney 1993: 8.
[295] Cummins, J 2002 'Veneurs s'en vonten paradis. Medieval hunting and the 'natural' landscape' in Howe, J. & Wolfe, M. (eds.) *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: senses of place in western Europe*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida.

joy' and 'great pleasure'. It was also regarded as the most noble and most physically demanding sport.[296] The par force hunt was divided into several clearly defined stages that were designed to last for a full day. It was an exercise in strategic organization akin to warfare that brought the hunter and his prey together in close proximity particularly at the end of the hunt at the kill.[297] The first stage, known as the 'quest' involved several hunt officials (lymerers) accompanied by lymers (scenting hounds) who would gather evidence from tracks and excrement (fumées) in order to locate a strong red deer stag for the hunt.[298]

The second stage was the 'assembly' where the hunting party gathered in a picturesque place such as in a meadow or next to a spring or a brook and ate and drank while the lord examined the evidence presented by the lymerers and decided which stag to pursue.[299] The next stage was the chase or pursuit of the prey by aristocratic hunters on horseback, dismounted huntsmen and approximately thirty to sixty pairs of running hounds that were placed in relays along the stag's most likely path. The hounds encouraged on by the huntsmen using a specialized vocabulary were accompanied by a series of complicated horn calls that ensured the hunting party knew how the hunt was progressing.[300] The final stages of the hunt saw the surrounding of the stag by the hounds and hunters (signified by the blowing of a horn) and its ritualized death at an undetermined location. At this point it is advised that the stag is either killed by a bowshot or by the sword or hanger. A hanger was a type of curved short sword or long knife which was typically hung (hence the name) from the belt and as we have seen was used by de Vielleville during a hunt.[301] Possession of bladed weapons such as these was fashionable in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were generally used by gentleman travellers for personal protection and most notably by elite hunters at the end of legitimate hunts in parks to 'finish off' the cornered, exhausted, and dying deer during a bow and stable or par force hunt. Its possession marked the owner as a

[296] Klemettilä, H. 2015 *Animals and hHunters in the Late Middle Ages: evidence from the BnF MS fr. 616 of the Livre de chasse by Gaston Fébus*, London, Routledge; Judkins 2013: 74; Berry, E. 2001 *Shakespeare and the Hunt: a cultural and social study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
[297] Sykes, N. 2007 'Animal bones and animal park's in Liddiard, R (ed.). *The Medieval Park New Perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press Ltd., pp.49-62.
[298] Klemettilä 2015: 49; Almond, R. 2011 *Medieval Hunting,* Stroud, The History Press; Gaton III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998 *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: manuscript 616 Paris, Bibliothéque nationale*, London, Harvey Miller Publishers.
[299] Klemettilä 2015: 49; Gaston III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998: 72.
[300] Klemettilä 2015: 49; Cummins 2002: 38-39; Judkins 2013: 72; Gaston III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998: 68.
[301] Blackmore, H.L. 2000 *Hunting Weapons from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, New York, Dover Publications Inc.

noble and distinguished them from their socially inferior retainers who were often armed with bows and spears. Figure 4.2 shows an example of an English hunting hanger (c.1640) with a hilt and staghorn grip and a guard inlaid with silver made in Hounslow by German born swordsmiths (this type of hilt was particularly popular design from around 1635 until just after the Civil War in 1646) with an imported German curved steel blade. It measures eighty-four centimetres in length and approximately thirteen and half centimetres in width at the hilt.[302]



Figure 4.2. English hunting hanger, ca. 1640. (Victoria and Albert Museum)

[302] *Hunting sword ca. 1640*. Image and description available at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/078518/hunting-sword-unknown/. Accessed 20/11/20

There is however remarkably little mention given to the kill itself in hunting manuals or treatises and there are no visual representation of this final stage of the proceedings as Phébus believes that this is not the 'best' or most 'enjoyable' part of the hunt. Instead, more attention is placed on ritual ceremony that saw the disembowelling and cutting up of the quarry and the hounds being rewarded with particular sections of the stag which was known as the curée.[303]

Hunting par force was unlikely to have been the most popular hunting method used in English parks nor was it as generally pervasive as it was in French hunting culture.[304] The mounted pursuit of a red deer stag that had the ability to run at speed for long distances (up to twenty-two miles in a day) was best suited to only the largest of the parks and open forest landscapes of the period.[305] However, there is evidence that par force was a much-valued hunting technique in England despite its impractical nature. It is unsurprising that it was those who possessed these large hunting grounds, the aristocracy and royalty, who were the main practitioners of par force. In 1520 Sir Richard Wingfield the English ambassador to the court of Francis I informed Henry VIII by letter of his conversations with the French king on the hunting preferences of the English court. Wingfield writes of Francis's surprise that the English hunted par force as the king had: 'Thoughte the frenschmen wer onlye theye whyche where maisters of the chasse'.[306] He also writes that he had made it known to the French king that Henry personally participated in *par force* hunting as he had stressed to him that Henry: '…had grete delylte to hunte par force as any prince might have'.[307] An enduring interest in par force hunting amongst the nobility and gentry is also apparent in Marshal de Vielleville's description of a mid-sixteenth-century park hunt quoted at the beginning of this chapter. It appears that this had been adapted for a park environment (although still a large park) with the replacement of the red deer stag with the less energetic and more easily manageable fallow deer which was pursued by a large number of mounted hunters who achieved a 'warlike' hard won victory when they hunted and killed forty or fifty deer.[308]

[303] Gaston III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998: 70; Klemettilä 2015: 49; Cummins, J 2001 *The Hound and the Hawk: the art of medieval hunting,* London, Phoenix Press; Gaton III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998: 72.
[304] Williams 1988: 78.
[305] Bevan 2011: 24: Sykes 2007: 51.
[306] Quoted in Williams 1998: 78.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Sykes 2007: 51; Baillie-Grohman 1913: 109

Bow and stable hunting and the *Master of Game*

Aside from par force Phébus does discuss (albeit reluctantly) what he views as less noble forms of hunting. He sees the death of prey in traps or snares as lowly and shameful and regards the practice of driving deer into nets as a method that curtailed a hunter's pleasure that was only suited to shiftless and old men or prelates. Despite these views, detailed instructions are given on the trapping of a wide range of animals .[309] One of the other lesser hunting methodologies that Phébus discusses is bow and stable. He is not completely dismissive of this methodology and admits that it could offer a 'very beautiful' chase especially when it is conducted with a lymer or other good hounds. Phébus also gives some detail to the reader regarding the composition of one of the main weapons used in bow and stable (a yew or boxwood bow measuring approximately six feet and six inches with an arrow of approximately two feet and six inches in length) and that archers should be dressed in green clothing.[310] He does however admit that he knows little else of bow and stable and recommends that any hunter interested in this technique should go to England where it was widely practiced.[311]

The prominence of bow and stable in English medieval hunting culture is confirmed by one of the most well-known English hunting treatises: Edward of Norwich's *Master of Game* (*c.* 1406-1413) which was largely a translation of the *Livre de chasse.*[312] Edward's translation primarily emphasizes the noble and special status of the hunt within elite society. It also contains several additions and alterations from the French text that highlight the major differences between English and French hunting practices. They reveal a deep interest for courtly and non-utilitarian hunting in England that was not entirely shared by French authors and hunters.[313] One of the most notable differences between the two texts is that a great deal of the hunt's strict procedural detail that pervades Phébus' work is absent from the *Master of Game.* Instead, Edward gives adequate but rarely lengthy descriptions of practical hunting procedures in his book. It was much more important to him (and other English authors) to be able to demonstrate knowledge of hunting procedures with the correct use of hunting

[309] Klemettilä, H. 2015: 52; Rooney 1993: 3.
[310] Cummins 1988: 52.
[311] Klemettilä 2015: 52.
[312] Edward of Norwich. Baillie-Grohman, W.A. & Baillie- Grohman, F.N. (Eds) 2005 *The Master of Game,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
[313] Rooney 1993: 11-12.

terminology, hunting calls, horn signals and the categorization of animals. The actual act of killing the prey animal appears to be of secondary importance.[314] The chapters in the *Livre de chasse* that instructed on the trapping and snaring of animals were also left out of the *Master of Game,* as was any mention of prey animals not found in England. There is also a lack of definitive instructions for the hunter on when the hunting seasons should be.[315] Instead, the lawful hunting of some of the 'beasts of venery' (which include the red deer stag or hart, the red deer hind, hare, wolf, wild boar and bear) is given prominence as participation in hunts of this kind affirmed the nobility or gentility of the hunter.[316]

The main additions come in the form of three chapters at the end of Edward's work. This section of the text does include details of how the hart should be pursued 'with strength' on horseback and with dogs (par force) but the main difference to the content of the *Livre de Chasse* comes in the final chapter. Here significant attention is given to describing how a king should hunt the hart in forests and parks with 'bows and greyhounds and stable' or bow and stable.[317] It was a methodology that was not new in England at this time as there is evidence that it had been practiced in the New Forest from at least the late eleventh-century. However, by the late medieval period bow and stable had become particularly associated with hunting deer in parks with its popularity reaching its zenith during the early modern period.[318] Compared with par force, bow and stable was a fairly static activity for hunters with the point of death of the quarry predetermined. It also required far less space with even a small park enclosure able (in theory at least) to host this type of hunt in some shape or form.[319] The methodology has however been derided by a number of modern commentators who regard it as the antithesis of a fair sporting occasion as it guaranteed a successful hunting experience for its 'self-indulgent' participants who presided over the 'mass slaughter' of their quarry.[320] In its original and hybridized forms large numbers of fallow or possibly red deer were driven or 'funnelled' (with the aid of lines of beaters or other physical barriers) by huntsmen (sometimes mounted) and running hounds towards a standing or 'tryst' where a group of stationary huntsmen armed with crossbows and longbows attempted to bring them

[314] Rooney 1993: 19.
[315] Ibid: 8 & 11; Klemettilä 2015: 54; Orme 1992: 138.
[316] Almond 2011: 61
[317] Klemettilä 2015: 54; Orme 1992: 139
[318] Almond 2011: 82 & 84; Klemettilä 2015: 54.
[319] Bevan 2011: 24 Quoting Fletcher, J. 2011 *Gardens of Earthly Delight: the history of deer parks*, Oxford, Windgather Press
[320] Almond 2011: 84; Cummins 2002: 40.

down. Also located at the standing were large greyhounds that were released to bring down and kill any unharmed or wounded deer as they ran past.[321] The hounds were then ritually rewarded with sections of the deer carcass at the ceremony of the curée which was performed at the standing before the gathered hunting party.

The most evocative and illuminating description of a bow and stable hunt is from an earlier anonymous late fourteenth-century poem: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* It describes an early morning deer hunt in December by the wealthy lord Sir Bertilak in his castle grounds.[322] The author is obviously a highly experienced and proficient hunter who is well versed in the technical details of bow and stable hunting. He describes the channelling of a large number of female and young male deer (as it was out of season) through a valley towards waiting archers. The deer are chased by mounted hunters, beaters and hounds and are prevented from escaping up the slopes of the valley by a line of huntsmen on the upper slopes.[323] The final stages of the hunt are expertly relayed to the reader as a frenetic multi-sensory experience:

> Then the eye can see that the air is all arrows:
> All across the forest they flashed and flickered,
> Biting through hides with their broad heads.
> What! They bleat as they bleed and they die on the banks,
> And always the hounds are hard in their heels,
> And the hunters on horseback come hammering behind
> With stone-splitting cries, as if cliffs had collapsed.
> And those animals which escaped the aim of the archers
> Were steered from the slopes down to rivers and streams
> And set upon and seized at the stations below.
> So perfect and practiced were the men at their posts
> and so great were the greyhounds which grappled with the deer
> that prey was pounced on and dispatched with speed and force.[324]

Two centuries later, bow and stable hunting continued to be a popular methodology for park owners in England. In 1554 Sir Henry Saville wrote to William Plumpton inviting him to a bow and stable styl*e* hunt in the grounds surrounding his house and promised him that: 'Ye shall

[321] Ibid; Cummins 1988: 52; de Belin 2013: 19.
[322] Griffin, E. 2007 *Blood Sport: hunting in Britain since 1066*, London, Yale University Press.
[323] Cummins 2002: 40.
[324] Armitage, S. 2007 *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, London, Faber and Faber Limited.

see your arrow fly and your greyhound run…'[325] In 1592 Duke Frederick of Württenberg attended a similar hunt in the compartmented parks surrounding Windsor Castle. The duke's experiences were vividly recorded in the diary of his secretary:

> And thus it happened; the huntsmen who had been ordered for the occasion, and who live in splendid separate lodges in these parks, made some capital sport for his Highness. In the first inclosure his Highness shot off the leg of a fallow deer, and the dogs soon after caught the animal. In the second, they chased a stag for a long time backwards and forwards with particularly good hounds, over an extensive and delightful plain; at length his Highness shot him in front with an English cross-bow and this deer the dogs finally worried and caught…[326]

The Duke's experience of hunting, together with Edward's description of bow and stable in the *Master of Game* and the hunt in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* also highlight the centrality and importance of dogs to bow and stable hunting (as they were in par force hunting). The significance of dogs to hunting in England is further demonstrated by the inclusion of ten chapters on the upkeep of several breeds of hounds in the *Master of Game*, which was a clear emulation of Phébus' text.[327] The importance of dog ownership amongst the elite and the prominent position that dogs held in hunting culture continued on into the early modern period. This will be discussed more fully in chapter seven which focusses on the experience and centrality of sound to the hunt. It is, however, useful to briefly outline the popular contemporary attitude towards dogs here, and to illustrate how they continued to be utilised in hunting throughout the period. In his work *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (1568) Humphrey Braham commented that '…he cannot be a gentleman who loveth not a dog'.[328] Ambrose Barnes, a prominent merchant and alderman from Newcastle upon Tyne, also relays in his memoirs that during the 1630s his father would allow his hunting hounds on their return from the hunt to snatch meat away from the household fire; an action that no one would dare to object to.[329] Sir Thomas Cockaine's *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591) dedicates considerable space to the training of hounds and advises how they should be used

[325] Quoted in Bergman, C. 2007 'A spectacle of beasts: hunting rituals and animal rights in early modern England' in Boehrer, B, (ed.) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, Oxford, Berg.
[326] Quoted in Baillie-Grohman 1913: 109.
[327] Klemettilä 2015: 147
[328] Braham, H. 1568 *The Institucion of a Gentleman*, EEBO Editions, Proquest; Thomas, K. 1984 *Man and the Natural World: changing attitudes in England 1500-1800*, London, Penguin Books Ltd.
[329] Barnes, A. 1867 (Longstaffe, W. H. D. (ed.) *Memoirs of the life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Late Merchant and Sometime Alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Durham, Andrews & Co. Available at: https://archive.org/details/memoirslifemram00socigoog/page/n2/mode/2up.

while hunting deer, fox, hare, otter and marten. Cockaine who calls himself a 'professed Hunter and not a scholler' appears to have been vastly experienced having: '…for his fifte two yeres...hunted the bucke in summer, and the hare in winter, two years onely expected', when he was abroad on military service.[330] Advice is given that hounds should be trained in hunting the fox and hare in preparation for hunting deer. It appears that Cockaine is proposing par force hunting which was to be accompanied by the usual ritual slaughter and blowing of horns. The principal aim of the treatise is however to advise the reader on how to manage the gradual development of their young hounds in order for them to effectively hunt in large parks. The treatise advises:

> You must be carefill to choose small Parks at the first entering of your hounds, and hunt therein morning & evening two Bucks a day and by that time you haue kild halfe a skore Bucks in this order, you will find that some of your yong haunds vnderstand a wearie Deere: so that then you may hunt in greater and larger Parkes.[331]

Significant commentary regarding the welfare of hunting horses or their contribution to the hunt is largely absent from medieval literary sources.[332] Horses were often disregarded and ill-treated during this period and it was not uncommon for them to be ridden to death; including those used for hunting purposes. On the occasion when horses are mentioned in early manuals, torturous remedies were prescribed to correct their behaviour and to treat their physical ailments. It was not until the early modern period that advisory texts began to appear that proposed a more considered approach to horse welfare by devoting considerable space on their breeding, training and upkeep.[333] There was also a growing, although still limited recognition and discussion on their role in the sport of hunting. Thomas Blundeville's work: *The Fower Chiefest Offices Belonyng to Horsemanshippe* (1561) mentions hunting the buck on horseback and Michael Baret's *An Hipponomie or the Vineyard of Horsemanship* (1618) also gives limited advice to the hunter regarding the training of their horses.[334] In his book *Cavelarice, or the English horseman* (1607) which advised on the training and diet of hunting horses, Gervase Markham displays a more expansive and considered view as he signals his approval of the mounted pursuit of the buck or stag par force but only if it was

[330]Cockaine 1591 *A Short Teatise of Hunting: compiled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen*, Shakespeare Association facsmilie 2000; Palliser, D.M. 1992 *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors 1547-1603*, London, Routledge
[331] Cockaine 1591.
[332] de Belin 2013: 18.
[333] Thomas 1984: 100-101.
[334] Blundeville, T. 1561 *The Fower Chiefyst Offices Belongyng to Horsemanshippe,* London; Baret, M. 1618 *An Hipponomie or the Vineyard ofHhorsemanship*, London.

played out in the wider landscape and not within the limits of a park.[335] He also expounds in another popular early seventeenth-century veterinary text on the treatment of horses entitled *Markham's Master-Piece,* (First published in 1610, the 1717 text is used here) that horses, in his experience, had always been used in the hunting of deer and had been held in: '…high Estimation and Honour…' in this endeavour. In a further passage, he stresses the important contribution that horses make to hunting and praises the visual spectacle of a hunt conducted on horseback:

> …there could be no pleasure in Hunting, if they had no Horses to carry them after the Game; and what a brave sight is to see in a Field an hundred or more Hunting-horses riding this way or that way after the timorous Deer or fearful hare.[336]

Decades later in his treatise: *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1674), Nicholas Cox (1650?-1731) expounds a contrary view to that put forward by Markham. Cox warns the reader of the difficulties they may face when attempting to unharbour prey from dense woodland; and of the limitations and dangers posed by uneven terrain to horses which are employed to hunt deer at full speed in parks:

> Now if deer be hunted in a Park, they usually chuse the most woody parts of it, as a Refuge from the pursuits of their Enemies, which is both unpleasant to the Rider and troublesome to the Horse, to follow the Dogs thro the thick Bushes; and besides, usually the Ground in Parks is full of Mole-banks, Trenches, &c. which is dangerous for a young Horse to gallop on.[337]

The dangers of hunting on horseback on parkland terrain is however most vividly illustrated by a single diary entry by Arthur Wilson who was steward to Charles Rich, Lord Warwick (1616-1673). Wilson recounts his own experience of a near-fateful accident whilst hunting on horseback at Littley Park, one of the three parks which surrounded Lord Warwick's mansion at Lees in Essex, which left him badly shaken and led him to rid himself of his horse:[338]

> The 18th July 1644, hunting in Littley Park, my spotted nag (which afterwards my lord had) being young and not well weighed, ran away with me, and leaping over a broad ditch, lighted upon a stump of a tree which floundering on, overthrew me and himself. When I rose, I could scarce draw my breath.[339]

---

[335]Markham 1607:6.
[336] Markham, G. 1717 *Markham's Master-piece*, London.
[337] Cox, N. 1686 *The Gentleman's Recreation*, London.
[338] Fell-Smith, C. 1901 *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1625-1678): her family and friends*, London, Longmans, Green and co.
[339] Peck, F. 1779 *Desiderata curiosa: or a collection of divers scarce and curious pieces relating chiefly to matters of English history, consisting of choice tracts, memoirs, letters, wills, epitaphs, & c.*, London, Thomas Evans in the Strand.

Early modern hunting treatises and coursing

As in the *Livre de chasse*, the use of a specialized hunting language and the use of musical communication marking the different stages of the hunt through a series of horn calls is seen throughout the *Master of Game*. It has been observed that English medieval hunting manuals were 'pervaded by procedural and linguistic snobbery' which was specifically designed to exclude the rest of society.[340] It was a conscious attempt by those of high birth to preserve their exclusive way of life that they believed was increasingly threatened by an inferior but more socially mobile parvenu class.[341] There are several examples of this 'linguistic snobbery' and desire for exclusivity in Edward's work. At the beginning of the bow and stable hunt in the *Master of Game* the huntsman is given instructions on how to speak to and direct his hounds. It is advised that he should:

> …uncouple his hounds and blow three motes and seek forth saying loud and long, "hoo sto ho sto, mon amy, ho, sto.[342]

At the end of the hunt there is also a set prescribed terminology to be used:

> If any hound happen to find of the King's (game), he should hue to him by his name and say loud': "Oyez a Bemond, oyez-oyez, assemble, assemble…and jopey and rally.[343]

This preoccupation with the exclusive language of the hunt continued to be prominent in early modern hunting treatises. It was a time when hunting, which was once the preserve of royalty and nobility, was becoming an increasingly important social indicator for the rising parvenu class.[344] These new treatises instructed the inexperienced or uninitiated hunter in a more modern but still derivative way on how to behave and how to hunt. The most important and influential of these treatises was once again a subsequently much copied French text. *La Vénerie* (1561) written by a minor noble Jacques du Fouilloux was translated (with additions) into English, German and Italian.[345] The English translation: *The Noble Art of Venerie* (1575) by 'George Turberville' (but in fact strongly attributed to George Gascoigne) advised the

[340] Almond 2003: 32, quoting Cummins, J. 2001 *The Hound and the Hawk: the art of medieval hunting*, London, Phoenix Press.
[341] Ibid: 32-33.
[342] Edward of Norwich. Baillie-Grohman, W.A. & Baillie- Grohman, F.N. (Eds) 2005 *The Master of Game,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
[343] Ibid: 191.
[344] Bergman: 57.
[345] Walker, S.J. 2007 'Making and breaking the stag, the construction of the animal in the early modern hunting treatise' in Enenkel, K.A.E. & Smith, P.J. (eds.) *Early Modern Zoology: the construction of animals in science. Literature and the visual arts*, Leiden, Brill

young huntsman on the subject of the correct terminology to be used by declaring that he had:

> …thought good here to declare the termes and words of Venerie, and how a young hunts/man shoulde speake before the maisters of the game.[346]

Gascoigne gives several examples in the text of the language that should be used by huntsmen during *any* chase:

> When they finde where a Deare hath passed, and breake or plashe any boughe downewardes for a marke, then we saye, they blemishe, or make belemishes.[347]

The huntsman should also use specific terms when:

> …either hare or Deare , or any other chase useth subtleties to decyue the houndes, we saye they crosse or double.[348]

In relation to the advice on hunting methodologies Gascoigne (as with other treatises) instructs the huntsman on how to '…hunte an Harte' at force (par force). As with Phébus' text and the *Master of Game* he also gives instruction on how to breed, train, treat and manage hounds and advises on the correct notes to be blown on hunting horns.[349] Gascoigne does however disagree with Phébus and his advice that huntsmen should wear green when they hunt the hart and buck as he says: 'that is of no great importance, '…for I remitte the coloures to the fantasies of men.'[350] He displays some originality however by devoting an entire section to his thoughts and personal experiences of coursing with greyhounds at the 'Deare, Hare, Foxe, or suche like', a methodology that was notably absent from du Fouilloux's work. He highlights the particular popularity of coursing as a form of hunting in England during the sixteenth century, observing that:

> …it seemeth unto me, that they have not that kynd of Venerie so much in estimation in France, as we do hold it here in England.[351]

Although Gascoigne considers coursing to be: '…a noble pastime… For Nobilitie and Gentlemen, as any other kyndes of Venerie before declared', he candidly admits that his experience of coursing had been gained, for the most part, by illegally hunting at '…a Deare

[346]Gascoigne, G. 1576. *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*, London, Thomas Purfoot.
[347] Ibid.: 242.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid: 101.
[351] Gascoigne 1576: 246.

in the night which he declares, requires more arte to be used than in any course els.'[352] He does however appear to be a reformed character and is reluctant to relay any details of his clandestine hunting activities:

> I have promised my betters to be a friend to al Parkes, Forrests and Chaces, therefore I will not here expresse the experience which hath bene dearer unto me, particularly, than it is meete to be published generally.[353]

Instead, Gascoigne limits the discourse to a perfunctory discussion on the mechanics of coursing with hounds which he obviously views as a staid and inferior pastime, when compared to the excitement and unpredictability of coursing deer at night. This is evident in the lengthy descriptions in *The Noble Art of Venerie* where the activity appears to be nothing more than a passive predetermined spectator sport. In this form of structured and choregraphed hunting, greyhounds are the main protagonists. They chase deer by sight towards static observers stationed at standings or lodges who have placed wagers on the outcome of the chase.[354] Gascoigne recommends that three different sets of greyhounds known as teasers, sidelayes and backsets or receytes were used during the different stages of coursing. Teasers (usually a pair) are first released to chase a herd of deer or a single deer. At the midpoint of the course a brace of sidelayes are then released at the 'midside' of the deer. At the latter end of the course the last greyhounds, the receytes are then: 'let slip full in the face of the Deare'. Gascoigne observes that it would often take four or five pairs of greyhounds to bring down a red deer which he says could '…easily shake off a Greyhounde.'[355] He also mentions that fallow deer (the favoured kind) are used in the sport and that coursing can be conducted: 'in a padocke' which he defines as a '…close course in a parke paled or rayled'. He observes that coursing within these enclosures means that deer are unable to escape and in his words: 'canot swarve' and evade the pursuing greyhounds.[356] Gascoigne's concluding thoughts on this form of hunting are however illuminating as he forewarns the reader that coursing is something to be endured rather than enjoyed:

[352] Ibid.
[353] Ibid
[354] Berry, E. 2001 *Shakespeare and the Hunt: a cultural and social study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
[355] Turberville 1576: 246-247.
[356] Ibid: 245 & 247.

> …hunting with houndes, although the pastyme be great, yet many tymes the toyle & payne is also exceeding great: And then it may well be called, eyther a paynefull pastyme, or a pleasant payne.[357]

Richard Blome's inclusion of a section on coursing deer with greyhounds in his treatise *The Gentlemans Recreation* (1686) demonstrates that coursing remained popular throughout the seventeenth century as Blome lauds the sport as a: 'recreation in great esteem with many gentlemen'.[358] It continued to be held in great esteem during the eighteenth-century as Blome's instructions were reproduced largely verbatim in the *Sportsman's Dictionary* of 1778 (a reprint of a 1735 edition).[359] Once again there appears to be little interest in long drawn-out hunting that requires a great deal of physical effort. Blome praises the fact that coursing: 'does not require so much toil' and goes further by declaring that: '…it affords greater pleasure than hunting in some respects as …it is sooner ended.'[360] He instructs that deer coursing should be conducted in a paddock or in the forest or purlieu. If conducted in a paddock the course should 'conventionally' be constructed outside of a park (perhaps due to a lack of space within many parks), be a mile in length (tapering or funnelled from one end to the other), a quarter of a mile wide with the whole encompassed by a pale or wall.[361] Blome instructs that deer should be chased by 'teasers' and other greyhounds along the length of the course past four marker posts placed at intervals known as the law-post, the quarter of a mile post, the half-mile post and the pinching post. At the 'broad' end of the course should be 'the ditch' where the deer could escape the pursuing hounds. Spectators placed wagers on the hound that they thought could make the deer swerve during the pursuit.[362] The highly ritualized evisceration of the prey animal seen in par force hunts clearly had no place in this sanitized and entirely predictable version of hunting where the deer was in some cases spared. Despite Blome's instruction on where courses should ideally be located, a number of parks have been identified as having courses within their bounds such as the course at Clarendon in Wiltshire which was in place by at least the early seventeenth century.[363] Taylor

[357] Ibid: 248.
[358] Blome 1686: no page numbers.
[359] Fretwell, K. 1995 'Lodge Park, Gloucestershire: a rare surviving deer course and Bridgeman layout', *Garden History* 23(2) pp.133-144; Blome, R. 1686 *The Gentlemans Recreation in Two Parts,* London.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid; de Belin 2013: 20.
[363] Richardson, A. 2007 'The King's Chief Delights: a landscape approach to the royal parks of post-conquest England' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press Ltd, pp. 27-48.

has identified a possible late medieval deer course within Ravensdale Park in Derbyshire.[364] Lodge Park in Gloucestershire had its own full set of written rules on deer coursing and was described by a visitor in 1634 as having:

> …contriv'd Pens and Places, where the Deare are kept, and turn'd out for the Course; all the manner and order of the paddock Sport.[365]

The decline of deer hunting and the rise of fox hunting

Although coursing continued into the eighteenth century there was a sharp decline in deer hunting overall. Where it did persist, there was a significant change in its form and character.[366] It has been postulated that one of the main reasons for the decline in deer hunting at this time was the increasing difficulty and expense of staging hunts. It has also been suggested that the dramatic fall in domestic deer numbers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a major factor. Parks were affected by the turmoil caused by the Civil War when many deer stocks were greatly reduced or lost altogether. Other factors such as the loss of suitable habitat and poaching reduced stocks even further. By the 1720s the practice of hunting 'carted' deer had been introduced as a direct result of low deer numbers.[367] This technique could not have been more different from the methods that were praised or even sometimes derided in the hunting treatises and would not have been recognized by the authors as in any way noble. Deer were loaded onto a cart and transported to a waiting hunting party where they were released and pursued by hounds. In some cases, the hunt culminated in the death of the deer but in some instances the animal was recaptured in order to be used again in future hunts.[368]

During this period there was also a growing interest in foxhunting amongst the elite that had gradually been developing throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[369] The hunting of the fox had previously been seen as a socially inferior activity when compared to the more physically demanding hunting of deer. It was also seen as a prey animal of last resort for elite hunters who considered it to be vermin. That is not to say that there was no elite involvement in foxhunting during the medieval period as there is evidence that both men

[364] Taylor, C. 2004 Ravensdale Park, Derbyshire, and medieval deer coursing, *Landscape History*, 26(1) pp. 37-57.
[365] Fretwell 1995: 135; 142-143.
[366] Bevan 2011: 24-25.
[367] Ibid: 25-26.
[368] Ibid: 26; de Belin 2013: 96.
[369] Thomas 1984: 164.

and women participated, with Edward I being one of the most prominent proponents of the sport.[370] By 1750 foxhunting had developed to such an extent that it had achieved a high level of social acceptability amongst the elite who had been hunting, rearing and preserving the fox for well over two hundred and fifty years. This is evident in documentary and literary sources. The *Register of Butley Priory* records that fox hunting took place at Staverton Park in Suffolk in the early sixteenth century.[371] Sir Thomas Elyot also grudgingly recognized that fox hunting was taking place at this time by damning it with faint praise in the 1537 (first published in 1531) edition of his instructional treatise which was intended primarily for the education of nobleman and public servants, entitled *The Boke Named the Governor*:

> I dyspraise not the huntynge the foxe with rennynge houndes: but it is not to be compared to the other huntiyng in commo ditie of exercise. Therefore it wolde be used in depe wynter, whan the other game is unseasonable.[372]

Contemporary commentators also observed that foxes were being actively reared and protected for the purpose of hunting. William Harrison remarked in 1577 that they would have been 'utterly destroyed… many years agone' if gentlemen had not preserved them. In the *Breviary of Suffolk* (1618), Robert Reyce also observed that the gentry were preserving foxes so that they could be used in hunting in a warlike manner in preparation '…against the time of foreign invasion'.[373] The preservation and management of foxes and fox cubs continued into the eighteenth century where they were often imported between counties and shelters were built for their protection.[374]

Cartographic and landscape evidence for hunting in parks

The limited explicit representations of hunting in the cartographic sample makes it extremely difficult to determine with a high degree of certainty whether park owners employed the methodologies prescribed by the hunting treatises of the period. It is also open to question whether the hunting scenes are (like the depictions of lodges on park maps) generic depictions or accurate representations of what went on in these parks. For example, on the 1652 estate map depicting Somerleyton Hall, a prominent, oversized hunting scene is

[370] Bevan 2011: 15-18.
[371] Ibid: 18-19.
[372] Elyot, T. 1537 *The Boke Named the Governour, deeused by Syr Thomas Elyot knight*, London. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A21287.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 5/3/17.
[373] Both Harrison and Reyce are quoted in Thomas, K. 1984: 164.
[374] Thomas 1984: 164.

displayed (Figure 4.3).[375] A single mounted huntsman (possibly carrying a firearm) is shown pursuing a red deer buck with a pair of hounds, across the southern section of the park in what appears to be a par force or possibly a bow and stable hunt. It is however not taking place in an unbounded or relatively extensive landscape that would have been required for both forms (to a lesser extent for bow and stable) of hunting as the deer is being pursued through a compartmented park. It is also being conducted in a relatively small park of approximately one hundred and thirty acres. It is therefore extremely doubtful that a par force hunt could have been staged in such close confines. There is also no depiction of park buildings, which would have been important components of any bow and stable hunt. It does however appear that the map creator had some knowledge of hunting techniques and felt them to be important park activities that were worthy of depiction. Given this, the hunting scene on the estate map of Somerleyton was probably not meant to represent what may have been actually happening in the park and was merely a demonstration of this knowledge. Other (albeit rather limited) examples in the cartographic sample are more revealing. As will be seen they provide far more convincing evidence for how hunting may have been conducted in parks than the ambiguous representation on the map of Somerleyton Hall.



Figure 4.3. Detail of Somerleyton Park depicting a mounted pursuit of a deer with hounds. (SRO AR 295)

[375] SRO AR 295.

From the sample of 54 maps and plans depicting parks from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, eleven show deer: two from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire (Washingley Great Park, 1753 and Chippenham, 1712), three from Essex (Belhus Park, 1615, the parks at Ramsden Bellhouse 1619 and Quendon, 1702), two from Norfolk (Sandringham, 1620 and Earsham, 1720) and five from Suffolk, the three parks at Hundon: the Great Park, *c.*1600, Broxted, *c.*1600 and Easty *c.*1600, the Little Park at Long Melford, 1613 and Somerleyton, 1652). Of these only the three plans of Broxted and the map showing the Little Park in Long Melford depict what can be confidently described as a form of hunting taking place, where deer are being pursued by dogs and/or huntsmen. The intricately detailed maps of the Little Park at Long Melford and the plans of the three parks at Hundon and the 1615 map of the park at Ramsden Bellhouse also show park landscapes that appear to have been carefully and deliberately manipulated by clearly knowledgeable and well-informed owners in order to facilitate a particular form of deer hunting. The latter map is of particular note as it reveals the presence of what appears to be two extensive demarcated deer courses. One of the courses to the north (which is shaded and identified as 'The chase') runs along the entire northern boundary of an enclosure named 'The Parke Field' and the northern boundary of the adjacent park (Figures 4.4 & 4.5).[376] The course (which is shown as narrow and lined with trees and hedges in places) continues eastwards before it bears sharply to the south around an enclosure which is named as 'The Hoppit' and the nearby manor house of Ramsden Bellhouse.[377] The house overlooks the park to the west, which appears to be comprised of wood pasture and is possibly occupied by a warren, as several oversized rabbits are also depicted. It then takes a ninety degree turn eastwards at a gated corner (near to the manorial animal pound) where what appears to be a road or trackway running north to south dissects it. The course then continues eastwards before coming to an end on the eastern boundary of an enclosure named 'Broade Fielde'.

[376] ERO D/DLa P2.

[377] 'Hoppit' appears to be an Essex word meaning a paddock or a small square field usually located near to a house. Evelyn White, C.H. 1885-6 *The East Anglian; or notes and queries on subjects connected with the counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex & Norfolk*, New Series, Vol. 1. Ipswich, Pawsey and Hayes.



Figure 4.4. Detail of a 1615 map of the manor of Ramsden Bellhouse in Essex showing a deer 'course' (denoted by a long, narrow, darkly shaded meandering line) running to the north, and east of the manor house, which is shown overlooking the park to the west. (ERO D/DLa P2)

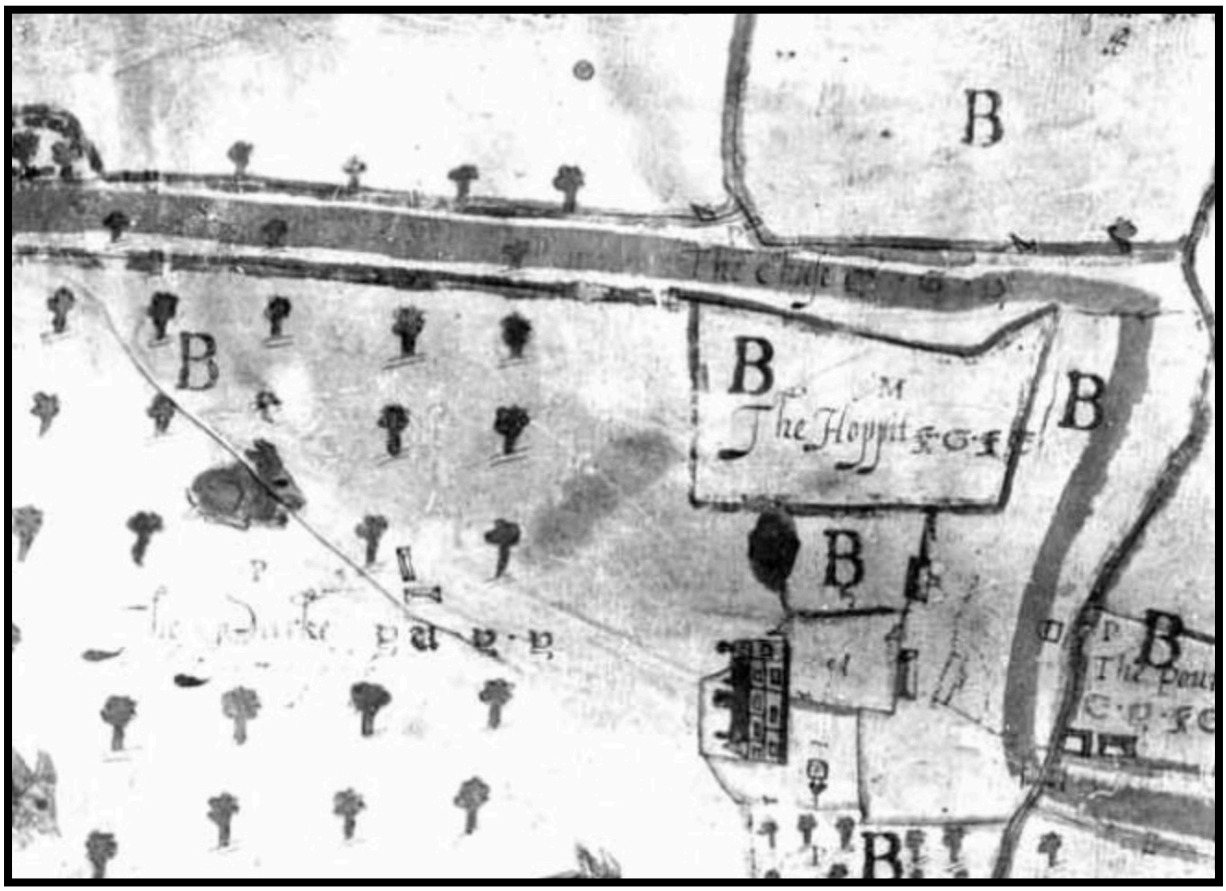


Figure 4.5. Detail from a map of 1615 depicting the 'course' running to the north and east of the manor house at Ramsden Bellhouse and the park with a rabbit amongst the wood pasture landscape. (ERO DLa P2)

The other course (also named on the map as 'The chace') is located at some distance from the park and manor house, to the south and also runs east to west (Figure 4.6).[378] It is shown as being lined with trees along its entire length. The course is also edged with a thick dark line which may denote that it was also hedged. It appears that this may be an example of a purlieu course as there is no field name evidence from the map that indicates that the course may have once been physically connected to the park.

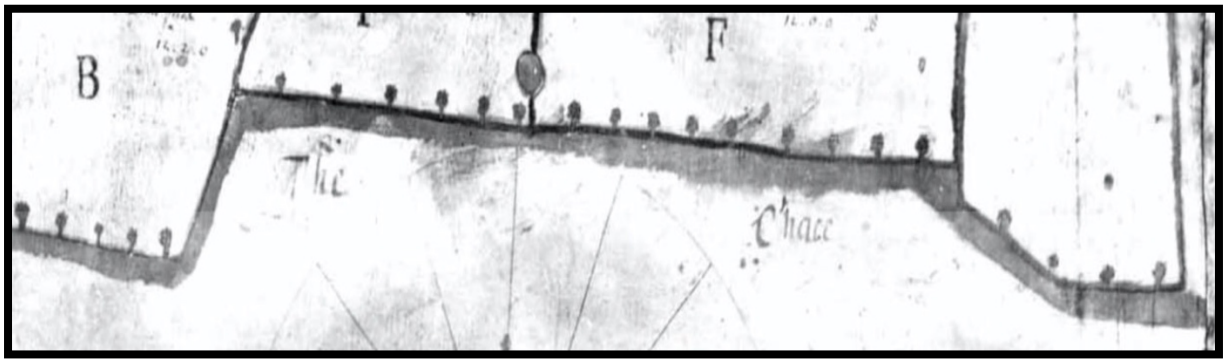


Figure 4.6. Detail of the tree and hedge lined 'course' to the south of the manor house and park, from a map of Ramsden Bellhouse, 1615. (ERO DLa P2)

No animals are depicted on either of the courses but there are however some images of hares in the park and near to the southern course. A hunting scene is also prominently displayed in the border at the top of the map which shows two hounds chasing down an antlered deer (Figure 4.7).[379] More bizarrely, there is a crude image of what looks to be a 'winged' fox in an enclosure adjacent to the course to the north named 'Langlandes' (which was perhaps added at a later date as it considerably differs in style to the other images of animals), and a scene of a hound chasing what appears to be a horned goat or sheep, near to the end of the course (Figures 4.8 & 4.9).[380]

[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid.

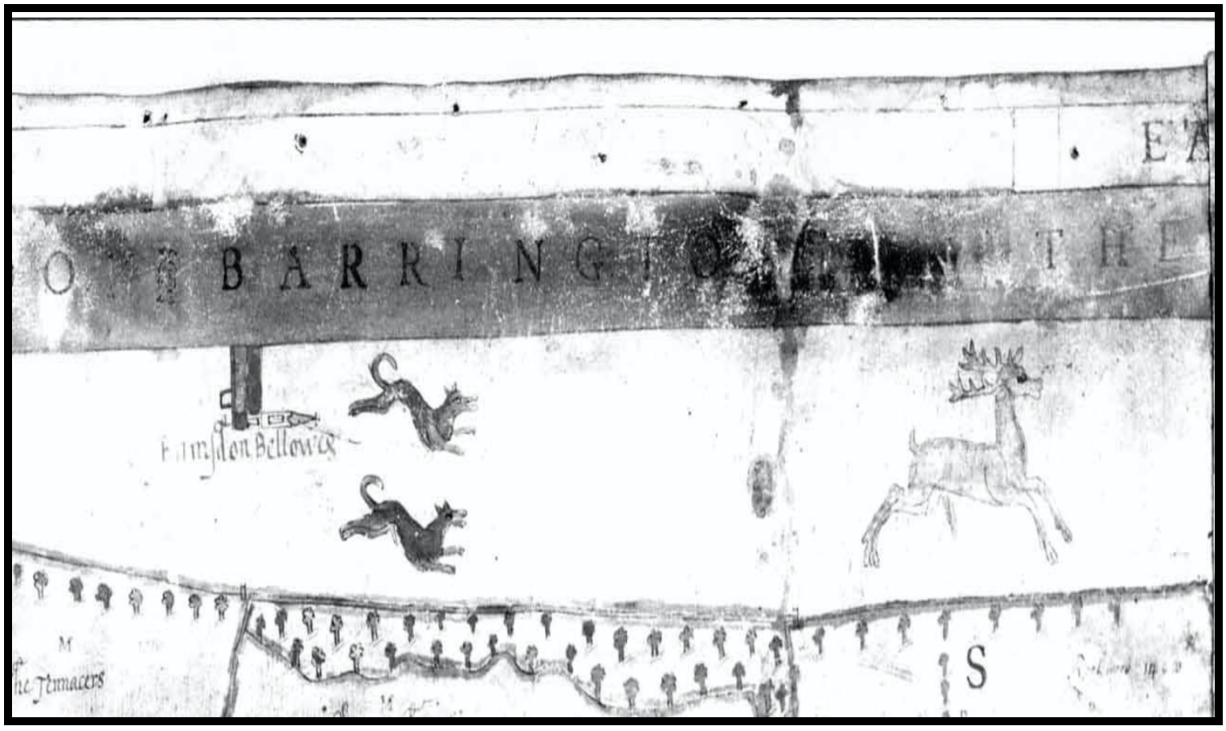


Figure 4.7. Detail of a hunting scene on the border of the map of 1615 of the manor of Ramsden Bellhouse. (ERO D/DLa P2)

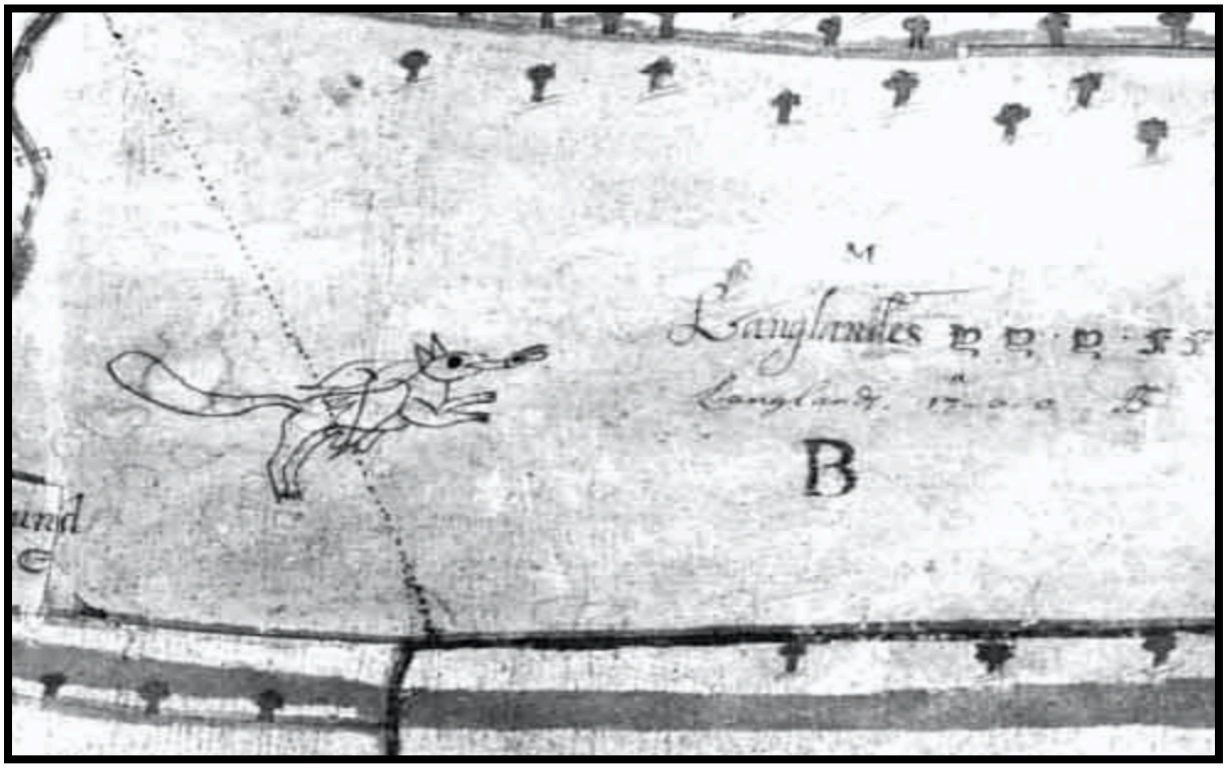


Figure 4.8. Detail from the 1615 map of Ramsden Bellhouse showing a 'winged' fox nearby to the course. (ERO D/DLa P2)



Figure 4.9. Detail taken from the 1615 map of Ramsden Bellhouse depicting a hound chasing a horned goat or sheep. (ERO D/DLa P2)

A map of the Little Park at Long Melford (*c.*1613) is equally as interesting as it reveals an apparently contrived-early-seventeenth century hunting landscape where a significant area of the park appears to have been deliberately engineered to facilitate a variation of bow and stable hunting (Figure 4.10).[381] The scene is uncannily reminiscent of the hunting experience (quoted above) of the Duke of Würtenberg in 1592 where he passively observed the pursuit of fallow deer stags by hounds through the compartmented parks around Windsor and actively participated in their demise with the use of both firearms and a crossbow.[382] It also resembles the description of a bow and stable hunt in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* where deer are chased by mounted hunters, beaters and hounds before they are: 'set upon and seized'.[383]

The 340 acre Little Park is shown as being compartmentalized roughly into quarters with an extensive hunting event taking place in the largest, relatively open quarter in the northern section of the park. Five fallow deer bucks seem to have been separated from a herd that is

[381] SRO B 2130/2.
[382] Baillie-Grohman 1913: 109.
[383] Armitage 2007: 58.

located nearby and are being pursued by two mounted huntsmen, a pair of greyhounds and two beaters or huntsmen on foot, one possibly leading a lymer (as recommended for a bow and stable hunt by Phébus) and the other carrying what appears to be a hunting pole over his shoulder. This spectacle is being conducted in the vicinity of an open sided two-storied wooden standing that is enclosed by a fence. From this structure, spectators would have witnessed the culmination of the pursuit as the deer were either brought down by the following greyhounds or by arrows loosed by stationary archers. The area is also overlooked by a large two-storeyed building with a pitched roof that is probably a lodge, a smaller building with a pitched roof and a hide that is concealed in the canopy of a tree (the form and function of park buildings are discussed fully in chapter 5). From these vantage points other more passive participants or spectators could view the progress of the hunt and potentially its end.

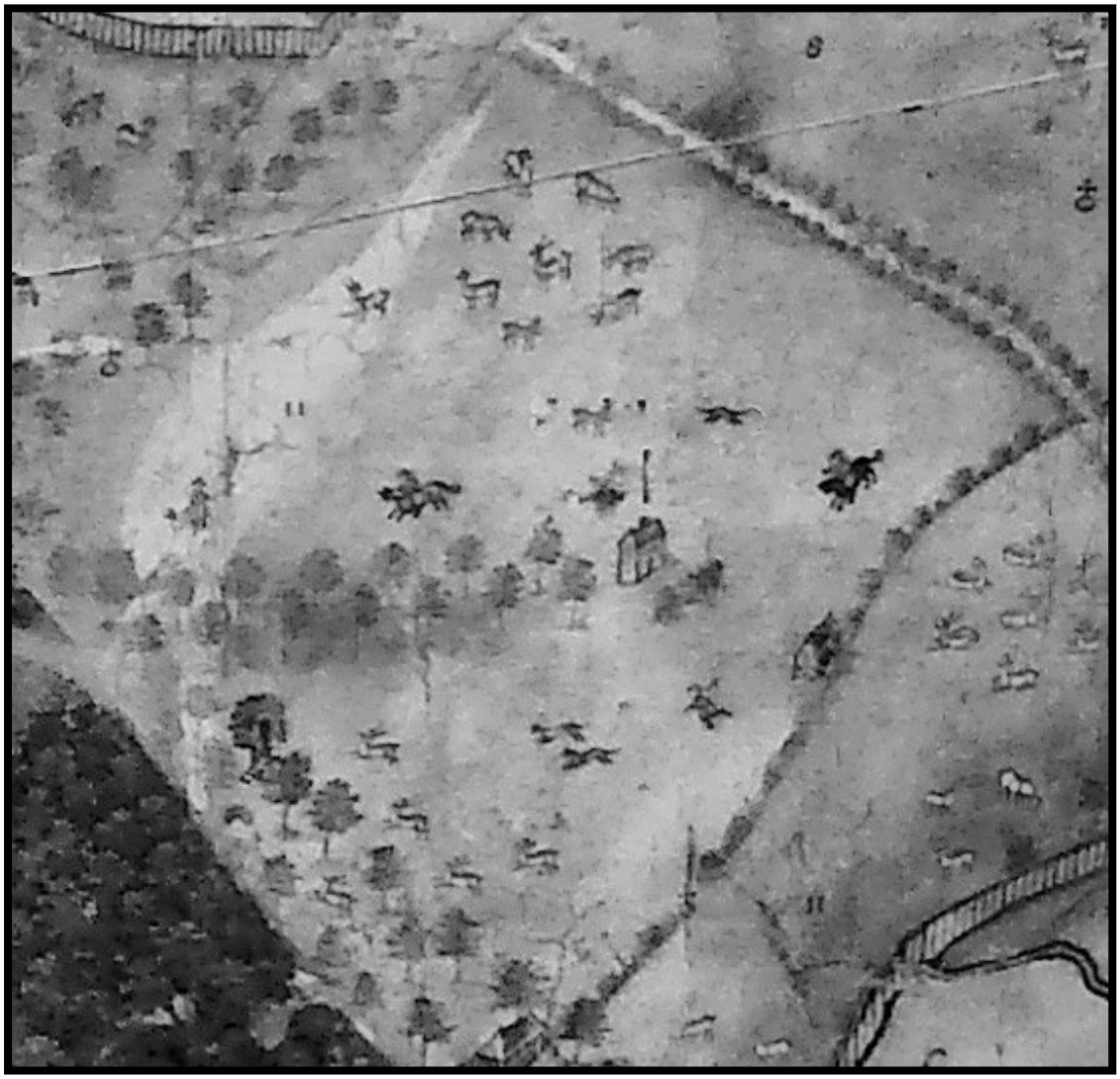


Figure 4.10. Detail of the map of the Little Park at Melford, Suffolk *c.*1613 showing hunters on foot with dogs and on horseback who are possibly engaged in a bow and stable hunt. (SRO B2130/2)

It could however be argued that the hunt did not necessarily end there. It may have been the intention for it to continue on into a second and final stage; by exiting the 'open' quarter and progressing on into the heavily wooded adjoining quarter where two further structures appear to have been strategically placed to view and participate in the closing stages of the hunt (Figure 4.11).[384] A hunt in this dark and confined space would have offered a completely different, more dramatic or even illusory experience for both participants and spectators that was perhaps evocative of an unbounded forest hunt.

The map shows that an opening has been cut into the wooded quarter from the open quarter and it looks as if the deer bucks are being driven in that direction. The opening leads to the start of a ride that immediately splits into two.

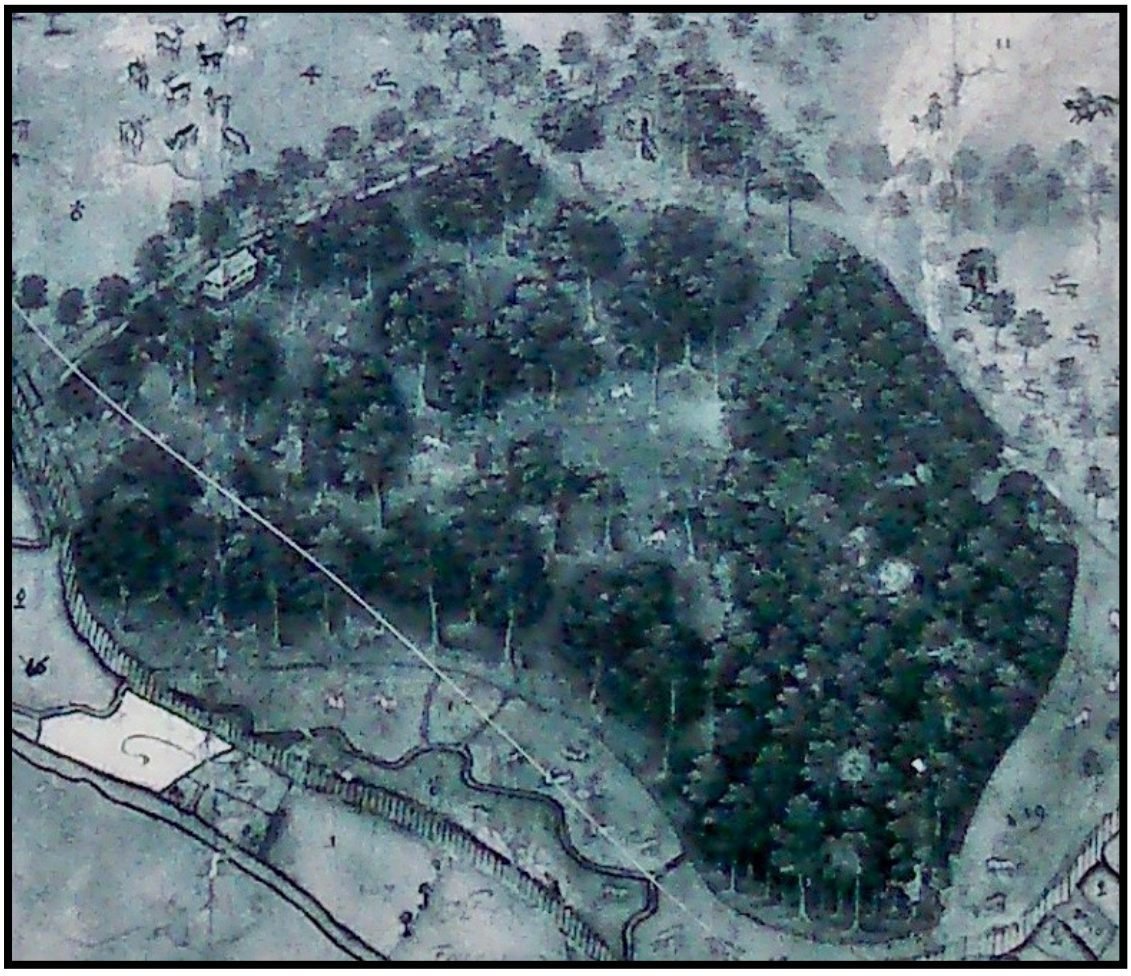


Figure 4.11. Detail of the map of the Little Park at Melford, Suffolk *c.*1613 showing the 'woodland quarter' where the hunt may have progressed. Note the fenced wooden two-storied standing and hide located in clearings. (SRO B2130/2)

[384] SRO B 2130/2

In one direction the ride passes through a clearing where a hide is situated before it continues on into another relatively open quarter that is overlooked by the Hall. The other ride leads on into the centre of the woodland where it enters a large clearing. It then makes a ninety-degree turn before coming to an end in a clearing that is overlooked by another fenced, wooden two storied, open sided standing. In this seemingly contained 'arena' that is shown as being tightly enclosed by trees; the hunt would probably have come to its inevitable theatrical conclusion where single or multiple deer were killed before the spectators gathered in and around the standing.

A plan of Broxted Park, c.1600 (Figure 4.12) portrays a considerably more modest hunt to the one taking place at the Little Park in Long Melford. [385] It shows the pursuit of a fallow deer buck (depicted with a white spotted coat and fully developed antlers) by a single black greyhound along a ride past a large centrally located lodge building.

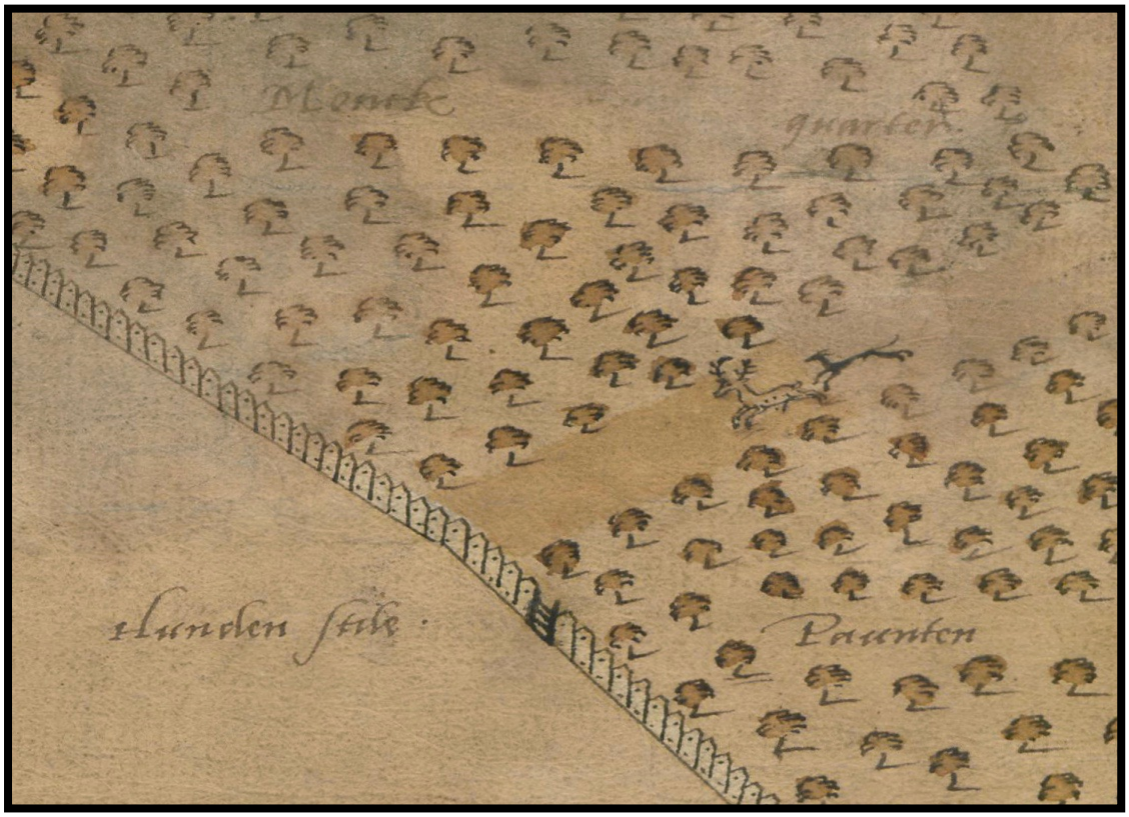


Figure 4.12. Detail of a plan of Broxted (Broxtie) Park c.1600, showing a greyhound 'coursing' a deer (NA MPC 1/1)

[385] NA MPC/1.

The scene is reminiscent in many ways of the instructions on coursing given in the contemporary treatises. Although it is highly likely that what is shown is indeed coursing, there are some discrepancies between the advice that is given in the treatises and the hunting scene the cartographer either chose to or was able to illustrate on the plan of Broxted Park. One obvious difference is that only one greyhound is shown in pursuit of a deer instead of the proposed two in the hunting texts. There are also no representations of physical barriers along the edges of the rides that would have both demarcated the course and prevented deer from deviating from it. Furthermore, there is no definitive indication of how the hunt was to end. The deer is unlikely to have been able to escape at the end of the course (which is shown running roughly north to south) as the nearest gate is not positioned at the end of the ride where the deer is fleeing but off to the south in woodland. However, if the rides running east to west were to be used instead, the deer may have been permitted to escape through the gates positioned at either end. One other possible theory for the denouement of the hunt at Broxted may have been that it was intended that the deer was to be brought down by the pursuing greyhound at the end of the ride to the south, which would have taken place in full view of the lodge located at the centre of the park.

Further weight is given to the argument that what was being portrayed on the plan of Broxted Park was deer coursing comes from a notably similar contemporary depiction (produced approximately seven years after the plan of Broxted) on John Norden's (c.1547-1625) plan of the Little Park at Windsor (1607) (Figure 4.13).[386] As on the plan of Broxted Park, the plan of the Little Park shows a single greyhound pursuing what appears to be a single deer buck (possibly a red deer) along an area of the paled park named as 'The Course'. A lodge to the north of 'The Course' overlooks the entire park and is strikingly similar in design (two storied, white-washed walls and red tiled roof with chimneys) as those depicted on the plans of the parks at Hundon and of those shown on other maps of the study area.

[386] Norden, J. 1607 A *Description of the Honor of Windesor*. Available at: https://www.rct.uk/collection/1142252/a-description-of-the-honor-of-windesor. Accessed 18/5/21.



Figure 4.13. Detail of John Norden's 1607 plan of Windsor Little Park showing a greyhound coursing a buck. (Royal Collection Trust)

Broxted Park at 289 acres was only slightly smaller than the Little Park Windsor at three hundred and thirty acres; indicating that it was large enough to accommodate a deer course. The plans of the two other parks at Hundon: Easty Park and the Great Park do not have any scenes of deer coursing (although they do show running fallow deer bucks) but at 311 and 487 acres respectively, they were also clearly large enough to accommodate a deer course. They are also of similar design to Broxted Park where straight rides have been deliberately cut through dense coppiced woodland to form parks that were divided into 'quarters'. In each of the three parks the rides traverse the park from boundary to boundary running past centrally located lodges. From these buildings apparently passive spectators appear to have had a tightly framed and uninterrupted view along each ride of a rapid and clinical sport. There is a possibility that the images on the Broxted plan may be a representation of bow and stable hunting as the deer is being driven past the lodge building where armed huntsmen may have been stationed. Furthermore, as has been seen above, large greyhounds were often

released from park buildings to chase deer down at the end of a hunt. There is however no representation of human involvement in the depiction on the plan, which would have been essential to facilitate this form of hunting. The main protagonist in the hunt at Broxted was clearly the greyhound.

While map evidence is open to interpretation as many are stylised depictions of hunting there is also archaeological evidence that helps to build a more accurate picture. The recent excavations and study of the medieval/Tudor park and lodge complex site at Stansted in Essex (the lodge buildings are discussed in detail in the next chapter) has identified a hunting landscape that appears to have been configured in a very similar way to the parks at Hundon where deer were driven along purpose built routeways towards and past a lodge.[387] At Stansted a series of ditches was identified to the south and east of an excavated lodge complex. They converged to form a permanent framework of three individual tapering funnels (probably bounded by fences, hedges or nets,) that ran up to and past the hunting lodge complex on its southern and eastern boundaries. Two main theories were put forward in the study as to their function. Firstly, it was postulated that they could have been a complex means of stock management that was used to channel the movement of livestock and deer around the park. It has been proposed that these movements were directed from the centrally located lodge complex.[388]

The second interpretation was that they could also have been utilized to facilitate coursing and bow and stable hunts, as they would have efficiently and effectively enabled the driving of fallow deer (fallow deer bones were the most common deer bones found on site with red and roe deer bones found in small quantities[389]) towards and past the hunting lodge, from which the hunt was directed and viewed; and also towards a tryst that was located nearby (Figure 4.14).[390]

[387] Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 *From hunter gatherers to huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology.
[388] Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 'The hunting lodge and deer park (c. AD 1350-1800)' in Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology.
[389] Ibid: 258.
[390] Ibid: 251.

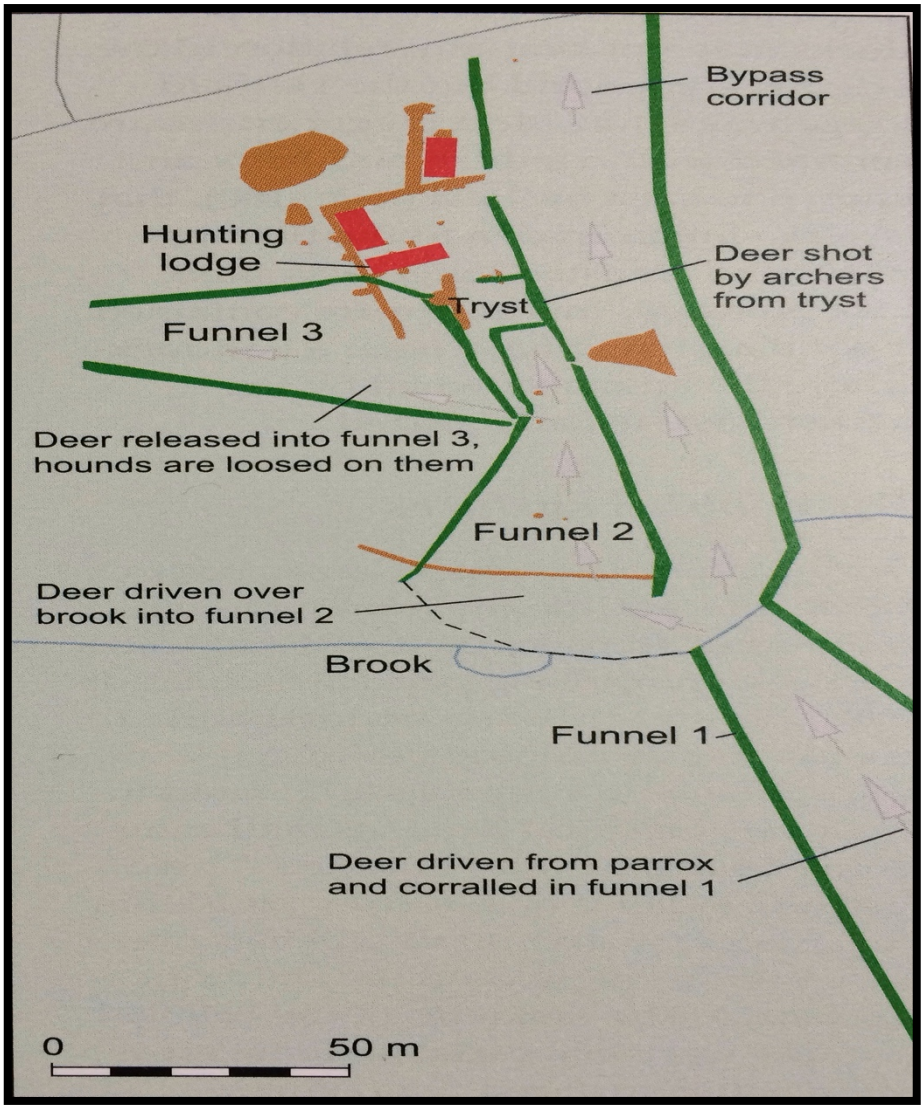


Figure 4.14. Illustration of the three funnels at Stansted which are believed to have facilitated both coursing and bow and stable hunts. (*From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape,* 2008) [391]

The longest southernmost funnel at Stansted (which is believed to be of early post-medieval origin and is known as funnel 1 in the study) seems to have formed a specifically designed hunting landscape that may have been used either for coursing or bow and stable hunts. Running south to north, funnel 1 was connected to a strategically placed paddock or parrox in the south of the park where it appears that deer were penned, ready for the hunt.[392] It seems likely that at the beginning of a hunt either a single or multiple deer may have been driven from the paddock and into the funnel. The deer would then have been coursed or driven northwards along the length of the funnel towards and past the hunting lodge complex. At this point they would have either been brought down by pursuing greyhounds

[391] Ibid: 249
[392] Ibid: 251-252

or allowed to escape via what has been interpreted as a 'bypass corridor' to the north of the lodge complex. If the day's sport had been a bow and stable hunt the deer were likely to have been brought down by archers stationed in an enclosed area interpreted as a tryst that was situated on the western boundary of funnel 1, slightly to the south of the lodge.[393] Deer may have also been diverted from the southern section of funnel 1 across a brook (running east to west) into a second funnel (funnel 2) that ran northwards for seventy-seven metres directly towards the tryst as part of a bow and stable hunt. This considerably shorter funnel was found to be forty metres in width at its southern entrance before it narrowed to a width of ten metres at its northern end. The funnel then straightened to form a corridor that was twenty-five metres in length before it ended in a right-angled turn immediately to the south of the enclosure containing the tryst. In this tightly confined area archers that were stationed at the tryst would have been able to bring down any approaching deer with ease.[394] A third funnel (funnel 3) to the west of funnel 2 appears to have been of similar design and purpose. It too was forty metres wide at its eastern entrance before it narrowed to a width of fifteen metres along its sixty-five metres length where it ended to the west of the tryst and south of the hunting lodge. In this area the final stages of a bow and stable hunt would have been concluded in an equally clinical manner.[395] Small archaeological material finds recovered in the park at Stansted support the evidence derived from the landscape that bow and stable hunting may have been taking place. Twelve socketed arrowheads were recovered in the park including four long barbed broadheads and six crescent shaped 'forkers' that may have been used to hunt large game. There were also a large number of items found that were used in the maintenance of functional clothing (perhaps hunting) such as lace tags thimbles, pins, needles, buckles, fastenings and buttons.[396]

The maps of the Great Park at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire (1673) and Doddington Great Park in Cambridgeshire (*c.*1680) appear to indicate that the use of hunting rides most probably continued on until at least the end of the seventeenth century. The map of Kimbolton Great Park (enclosed as a deer park by the sixteenth century[397]) shows a park of

[393] Ibid: 252.
[394] Ibid: 251.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid: 257-258
[397] NHLE, List entry number 1015013, *Historic site information for Motte Castle in Kimbolton Park, known as Castle Hill.* Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1015013. Accessed 18/5/21.

475 acres that is divided into two large areas of laund (one area in the northern and eastern section of the park divided by an avenue and another in the southern section known as 'The Old Lawne' and an area of dense woodland dissected by a complex system of rides (Figure 4.15).[398]



Figure 4.15. Map of Kimbolton Great Park 1673. North is towards the bottom of the image. (HRO Acc 1464)

One of the longest and straightest rides running roughly east to west through the woodland was accessed from a section of the laund in the northern section of the park. At the entrance to the ride a small green circular feature known as 'Castle Hill' is shown which was the site of a mid-twelfth-century motte castle. It is also believed that 'Castle Hill' was at some point the location of a hunting lodge (Figure 4.16).[399]

[398] HRO Acc 1464.
[399] *Historic site information for Motte Castle in Kimbolton Park, known as Castle Hill.*



Figure 4.16. Detail of the 1673 map of Kimbolton Great Park showing a possible lodge site located at 'Castle Hill', to the left of the image. overlooking a ride to the west. (HRO Acc 1464)

It is clear from the map that the ride was purposely cut to enable those positioned at the lodge on 'Castle Hill' to view the entire ride from beginning to end. It is plausible that this enabled an elevated and uninterrupted view of either deer coursing or a bow and stable hunt in full flow as deer were driven towards and past the lodge. It is less clear if other areas of the park may have been utilized for hunting. Four rides have openings onto 'The Old Lawne' in the southern section of the park and there are two rides with openings onto the laund in the eastern section of the park. However, there are no structures depicted in either of these areas making it difficult to confidently speculate on what took place in these areas.

It is also difficult to determine conclusively whether or not a long rectangular section of the park called 'The New Lawne' and the network of rides around it was utilized for hunting in any way. 'The New Lawne' appears to have been formed by the deliberate clearance of woodland and is shown as being enclosed on three sides by trees (Figure 4.17). It is accessed by an opening from the laund in the southern section of the park and by a long ride leading from the laund in the east that enters and exits this area. There are also four additional rides that enter and exit 'The New Lawne' and what appears to be a lodge building located nearby. Given the presence of the 'lodge' and the extensive network of rides that converge on 'The New Lawne' it is at the very least plausible that this area was the focal point of some type of planned hunting activity which involved the chasing of deer.



Figure 4.17. Detail of the map of Kimbolton Park showing the 'The New Lawne'. (HRO Acc 1464)

The *c.*1680 map of Doddington Great Park shows a crudely drawn park of similar configuration and size (approximately 450 acres) to Kimbolton Great Park. In the northern section of the park a large area of woodland is shown which has been divided by a broad ride that runs from near to the eastern boundary all the way to the western boundary where it comes to an end. On both sides of the ride the woodland has been further divided by three launds into four 'quarters' of varying sizes (Figure 4.18).[400]

[400] CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114

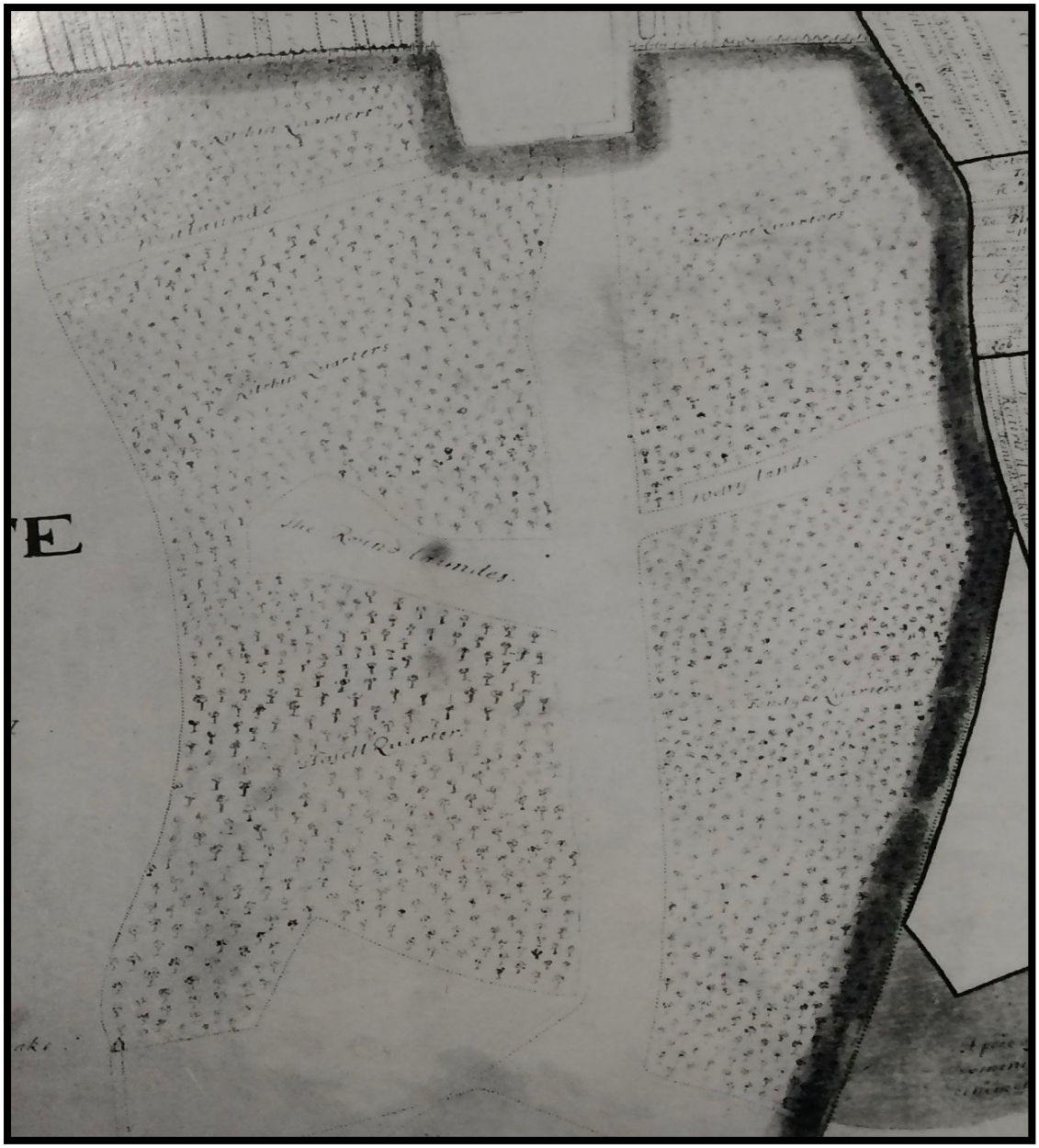


Figure 4.18. Doddington Great Park *c.*1680. (CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114)

Situated at the end of the ride on the western boundary (at the top of the map) is a square ditched or moated 'island' enclosure that is connected to the park by a causeway that spans the ditch/moat (Figure 4.19).[401] The enclosure is roughly square and flat, measuring one hundred and four metres north to south by one hundred and six metres east to west. The partly water filled ditch/moat (dated between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[402]) that encompasses it is between six to twelve metres in width and up to two metres in

[401] Ibid; Taylor, C. 2013 'Moat, park, manor house, rectory, palace and village: elements of the landscape at Doddington', Cambridgeshire, *Landscape History* 34 (2) 27-42; CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114.
[402] Taylor 2013: 31.

depth.[403] Evidence has been found for an inner bank on the southern side of the enclosure which has been interpreted as a possible terrace walk. Located just outside of the moated enclosure there also appears to be a group of three small symmetrical rectangular ponds that are possibly medieval.[404]

The moated site has been identified as the location of an extensive palace complex that was regularly used by the Bishops of Ely (who also owned the Great Park) from the early twelfth century until the late fifteenth century when it was eventually abandoned.[405] A survey of the episcopal estates conducted in 1356 reveals that the palace comprised a hall, principal chamber, cloister, pantry, buttery and other chambers, kitchen, brewhouse, chapel, lodging for knights and esquires, dovehouse, granary and stables; all enclosed by an encircling wall.[406] However, there is no mention in the survey of the palace being moated and as has been seen the moat has been confidently dated to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. There is also no indication in any other medieval or later documents of its exact location.[407] This has led to the conclusion in a recent reassessment of the Doddington landscape that the moated site was not the location of the episcopal palace but was more likely to have been the site of a mid-fourteenth-century grange or oxhouse. It has also been more speculatively suggested that it may have been the site of a medieval lodge or a prospect tower.[408]

[403] NHLE, List Entry Number 1019547, *Historic Site Information for Moated Bishops' palace at Manor Farm*. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1019547. Accessed 18/5/21.
[404] Taylor 2013: 31.
[405] NHLE, *Historic site information for Moated bishops' palace at Manor Farm*; Taylor 2013: 27.
[406] CHER, Monument Record 11966, *Historic Site Information for Ely Abbey & Cathedral: The Old Bishop's Palace*. Available at: www.heitagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MCB1344&resourceID=1000, Accessed 18/5/21.
[407] Taylor 2013: 27.
[408] Ibid: 29, 31-32.

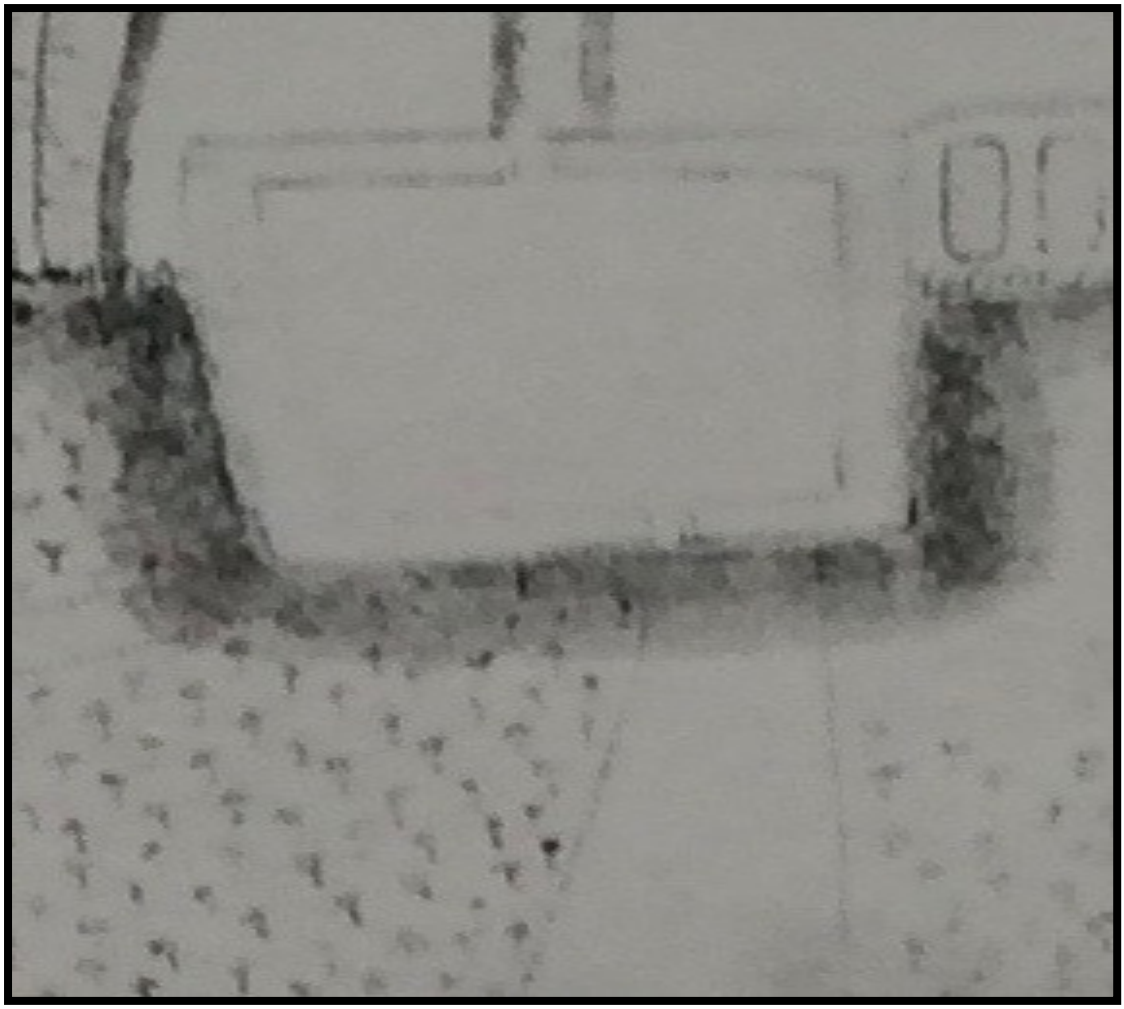


Figure 4.19. Detail of the causewayed ditched or moated 'island' site at Doddington Park that may have enclosed a lodge or hunting tower. CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114)

There are however no structures depicted within the enclosure on either the *c.*1680 map or an earlier 1601-3 plan nor has there been any archaeological evidence recovered (despite extensive building work in the northwest corner of the site[409]) to support the theory that at some point during the medieval or post-medieval period that either a lodge or a tower were in situ.[410] The enclosure is also considerably larger than other known moated lodge sites in the region (discussed in chapter 5) such as Franklin's Island in Essex and the site at Letheringham in Suffolk. However, its position overlooking the length of the ride and the direct access to the park afforded by the causeway suggests that it may have provided both an ideal vantage point from which to view the chase at a distance (perhaps even serving as a tryst) and a convenient opportunity for hunting parties to actively participate in the hunt within the park itself. There is also the question of the function of the three launds that

[409] NHLE, *Historic site information for Moated bishops' palace at Manor Farm*. The remainder of the site is largely undisturbed, and it is believed that it retains buried evidence for structures.
[410] Ibid: 29.

dissect the woodland at Doddington. As with the similarly formed 'New Lawne' at Kimbolton it is possible that the launds at Doddington were utilized for hunting purposes. The two narrow launds leading off the main ride (roughly south to north) are tightly enclosed on three sides with the possible intention being to funnel deer into these spaces (in a similar manner to the hunting landscape at Stansted) where they could be viewed or brought down (Figure 4.20).[411]

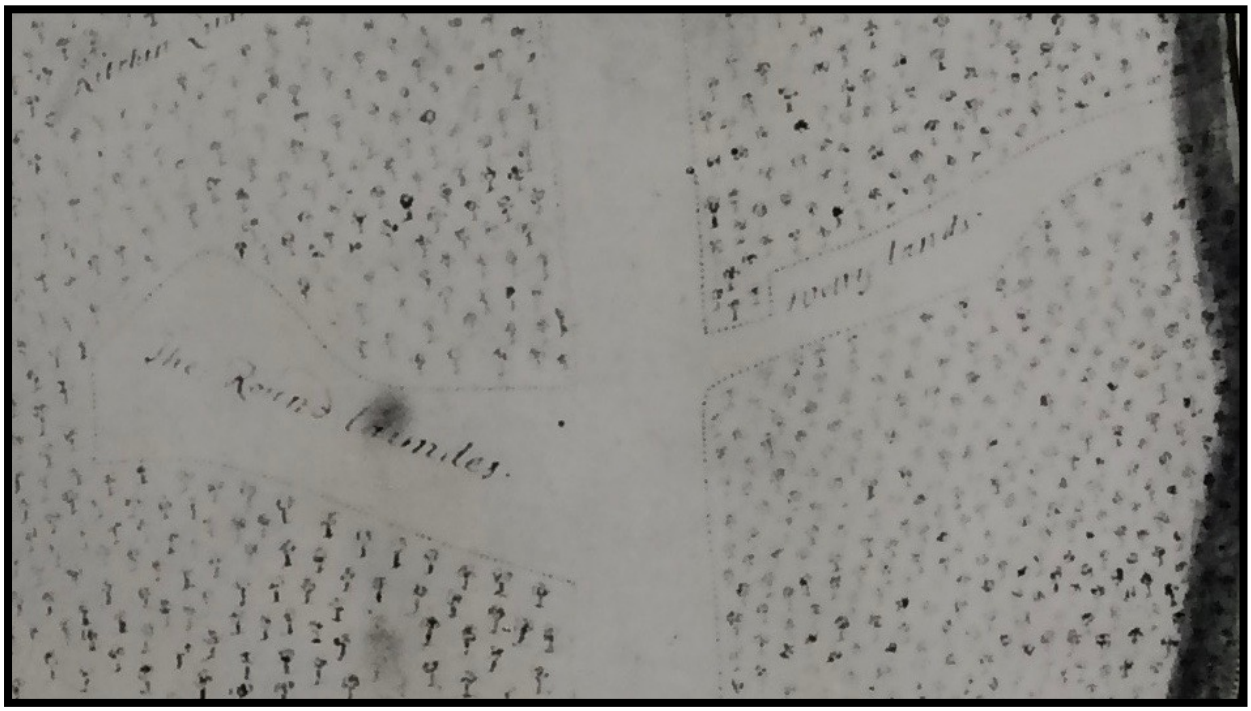


Figure 4.20. Detail of Doddington Great Park showing the two launds leading off the main ride. (CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114)

However, it is the long, narrow, straight laund (that very much resembles a ride) near to the western boundary that is of particular interest. It stretches from the open area of the park, through woodland and ends at the south-east corner of the moated enclosure where the terrace walk is believed to have been situated. This section of the enclosure appears to have had a clear unobstructed framed view, possibly from the terrace, along the entirety of the laund that in design closely resembles a central component of the engineered hunting landscapes of Hundon and Stansted where deer were chased along narrow rides or funnels (without the prospect of escape) towards an inevitable conclusion before a tryst or lodge (Figure 4.21).[412]

[411] CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114.
[412] Ibid.

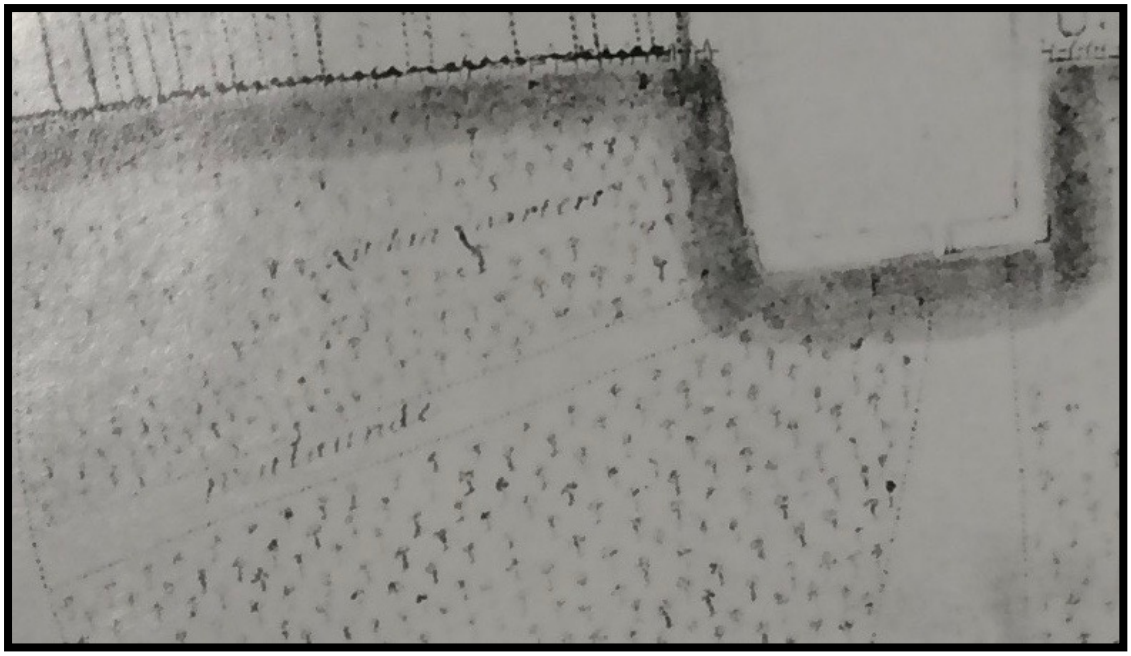


Figure 4.21. Detail of the map of Doddington Great Park showing the laund which adjoins the south-east corner of the moated enclosure (CUL Maps bb.53 (1) 93.114)

Only two other maps from the cartographic sample (both from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire) depict parks with rides. The map of the two parks at Washingley (1753) and the later survey of Cheveley Park (1775) were produced during a period when deer hunting in parks was in sharp decline. They show rides that appear to be far more ornamental in design than the purely functional rides or funnel systems of the parks at Hundon, Kimbolton, Doddington and Stansted. However, the composition of the two small parks associated with Washingley Hall: 'The Park' at 37 acres and 'The Great Park' (first mentioned in the documentary record in the mid-thirteenth century[413]) at 63 acres are both shown with herds of deer. This suggests that the park and possibly the rides may have been utilized for hunting purposes up to the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 4.22).[414] 'The Park' is shown as being composed of a laund with scattered trees, two long, apparently interconnected ponds and woodland dissected by a small system of rides that run towards the Hall situated on the southern boundary of the park and apparently also into 'The Great Park'. A herd of deer bucks are depicted running across 'The Park' towards the rides and ponds where the intention may have been to course them in full view of the Hall or on into the smaller 'Great Park' where another herd of deer bucks are situated.

[413] Way 1997: 257.
[414] HRO Acc 2498.

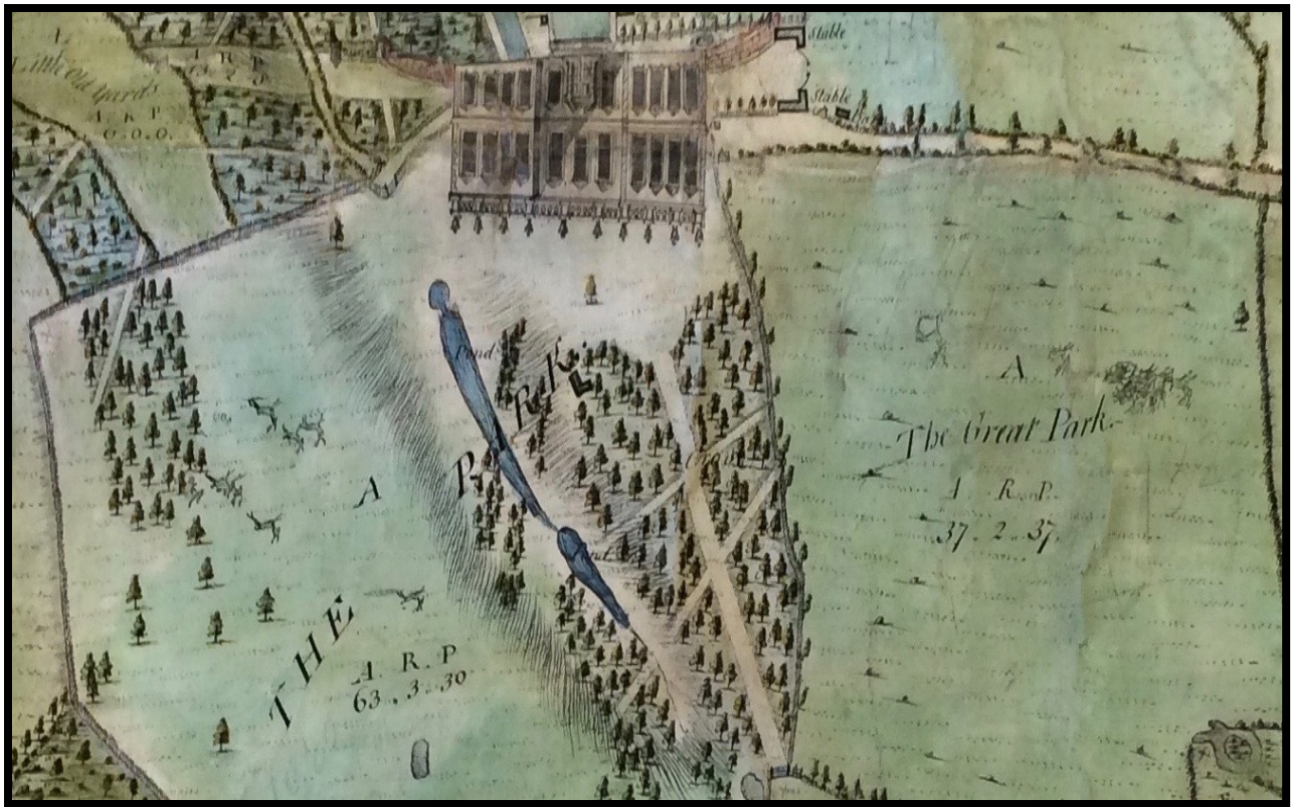


Figure 4.22. Detail of a map of Washingley Great Park, 1753 showing a herd of deer running from 'The Park' towards woodland dissected by rides and the 'The Great Park'. (HRO Acc 2498)

The layout of the park shown on Thomas Warren's survey, produced just over twenty years later and a late-seventeenth-century painting suggest the possibility that Cheveley Park (frequently mentioned in the documentary record after 1528[415]) may have also been adapted to stage and view some form of hunting. The painting of the house, gardens and park by Jan Siberechts (1681) shows grazing deer and a mounted party (possibly a hunting party) with a carriage in the park that was approximately 250 acres in size at this time. It appears that the park can be viewed from the house and gardens but it is less clear what form of hunting (if any) is taking place or the form of the park landscape (Figure 4.23).[416]

[415] Way 1997: 262.
[416] Taken from Waites, I 2012 *Common Land in English Painting, 1700-1830*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer Ltd.



Figure 4.23. Cheveley Park by Jan Siberechts ,1681. (*Common Land in English Painting,* 2012)

Warren's much later survey is far more revealing as it shows a large house set in extensive gardens which seem to have uninterrupted views along two long, wide and apparently ornamental rides lined with trees (Figure 4.24).[417] There is however, an elevated circular moated feature named 'Castle Hill' depicted in a block of woodland that appears to overlook

[417] CRO 101/P2.

a ride. This feature may have been utilized as a viewpoint in a similar way to its namesake at Kimbolton Park.



Figure 4.24. Survey of Cheveley Park by Thomas Warren, 1775. (CRO 101/P2)

Where the maps and plans of the parks at Hundon and Long Melford and the landscape of Stansted definitively reveal parks that were engineered to facilitate hunting in a certain predetermined way; the remaining detailed maps and surveys in the cartographic sample show parks that appear to be less obviously managed for hunting. This has led to a more speculative interpretation of these maps predominately based on the particular type of park buildings that are depicted and their apparently contrived or strategic locations within the park.

The majority of the remaining eighteen maps (one from Cambridgeshire, seven from Essex, four from Suffolk and six from Norfolk) in the sample which depict park buildings, show them as occupying relatively central positions on a clearly identifiable and in some instances named laund or on a similarly open space. Five of the most noteworthy and perhaps most revealing of these maps are those of Weybridge Park in Cambridgeshire (1651) (Figure 5.4), Lopham Park in Norfolk (1612) (Figure 5.12) and the Little Park, Great Park and Castle Park at Castle Hedingham in Essex (1592) that show a standing, a lodge complex and a lodge/prospect tower respectively. The wooden, two storied open sided standing at Weybridge Park occupies a fairly central position to the south of a crenelated house enclosed by paled fence in an open area marked as 'The Great Lawne' (Figure 4.25).[418]



Figure 4.25. Detail of a survey of Weybridge Park, 1651 showing the wooden standing on 'The Great Lawne'. (HRO SM3/17)

[418] HRO SM3/17.

This standing which is of a very similar design to the two standings depicted on the map of the 'Little Park' at Long Melford appears to have been located to provide views of the southern and eastern sections of the park. As these buildings are undoubtedly synonymous with a particular method of hunting, it is possible that what was taking place at Weybridge Park was a form of bow and stable hunting resembling the hunt that is depicted in the vicinity of the standing and the other park buildings located in the 'open quarter' of the 'Little Park' at Long Melford.

The large, enclosed moated lodge complex at Lopham Park is also located in a relatively central position in the middle of an extensive open area marked as 'The Lawne'. Its central location suggests that a panoramic and apparently unobscured view of 'The Lawne' was a primary consideration in its siting (Figure 4.26).[419] Whether this was to observe or actively participate in some form of hunting is unclear but the apparent size and location of the lodge at the centre of a large open laund raises the distinct possibility that a free flowing, fast paced hunt could have been effectively conducted and observed in the park.

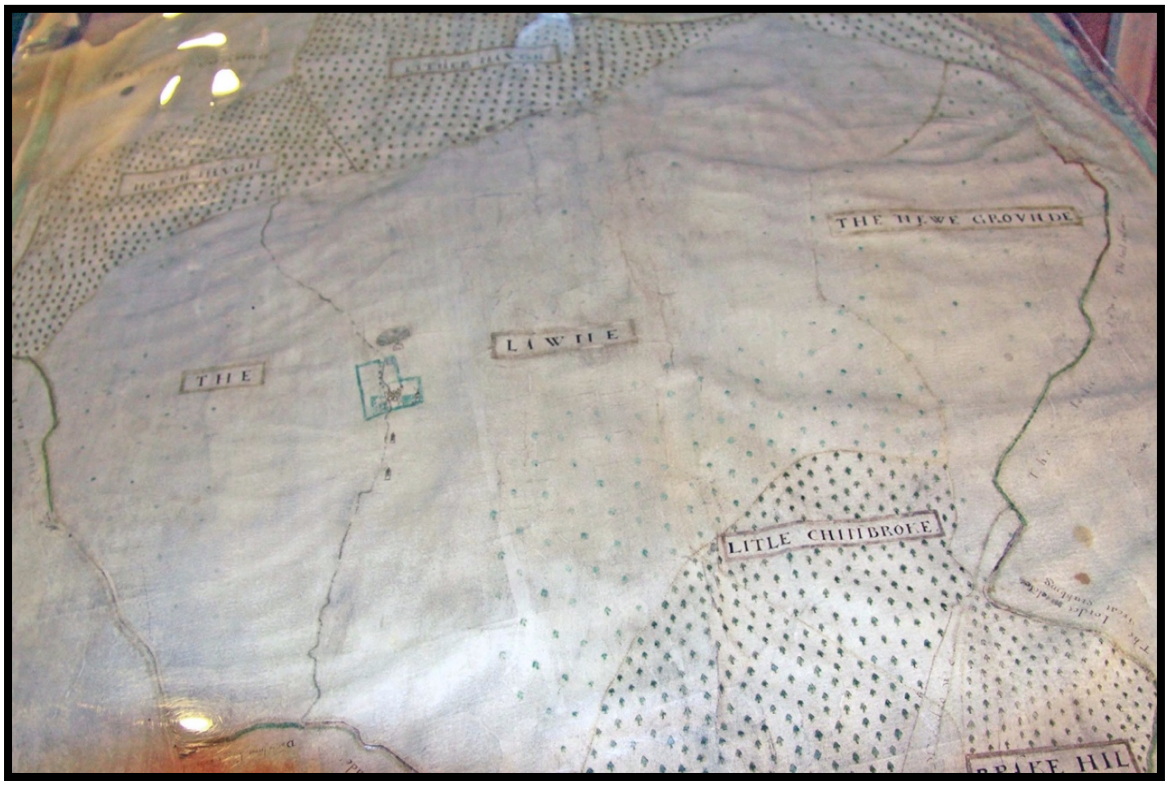


Figure 4.26. Map of Lopham Park with the lodge complex situated at the centre of 'The Lawne'. (ACA P51)

[419] ACA P51.

The three maps of the parks associated with the Castle at Hedingham all have similarly positioned buildings to those at Lopham Park indicating that a panoramic view of the park was also of primary importance. Both the maps of the 'Great Park' and the 'Castle Park' depict a single lodge building (notably the lodge at the Great Park is marked as the 'Dere Lodge") located at the centre of a large open area with scattered trees (Figures 4.27 and 4.28).[420]

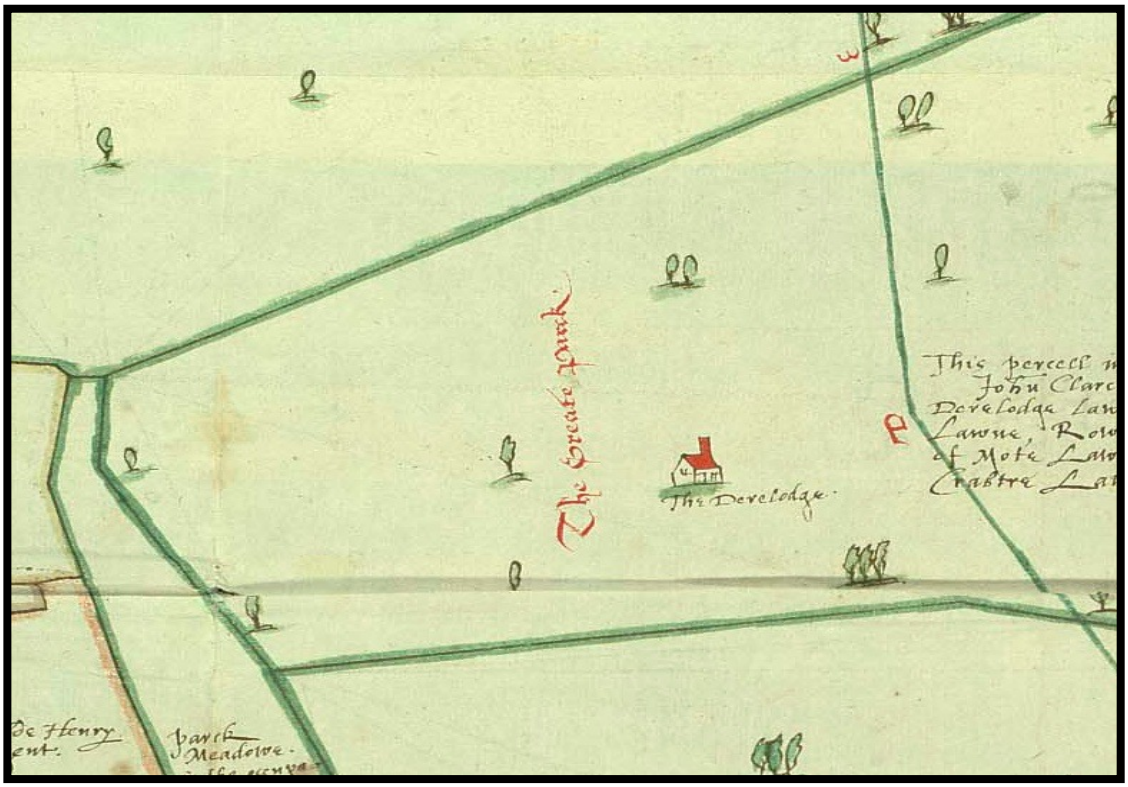


Figure 4.27. Detail of the map of the 'Great Park' at Castle Hedingham in Essex showing the 'Dere Lodge' at the centre of the park. (ERO D/DMh M1)

[420] ERO D/DMh M1.

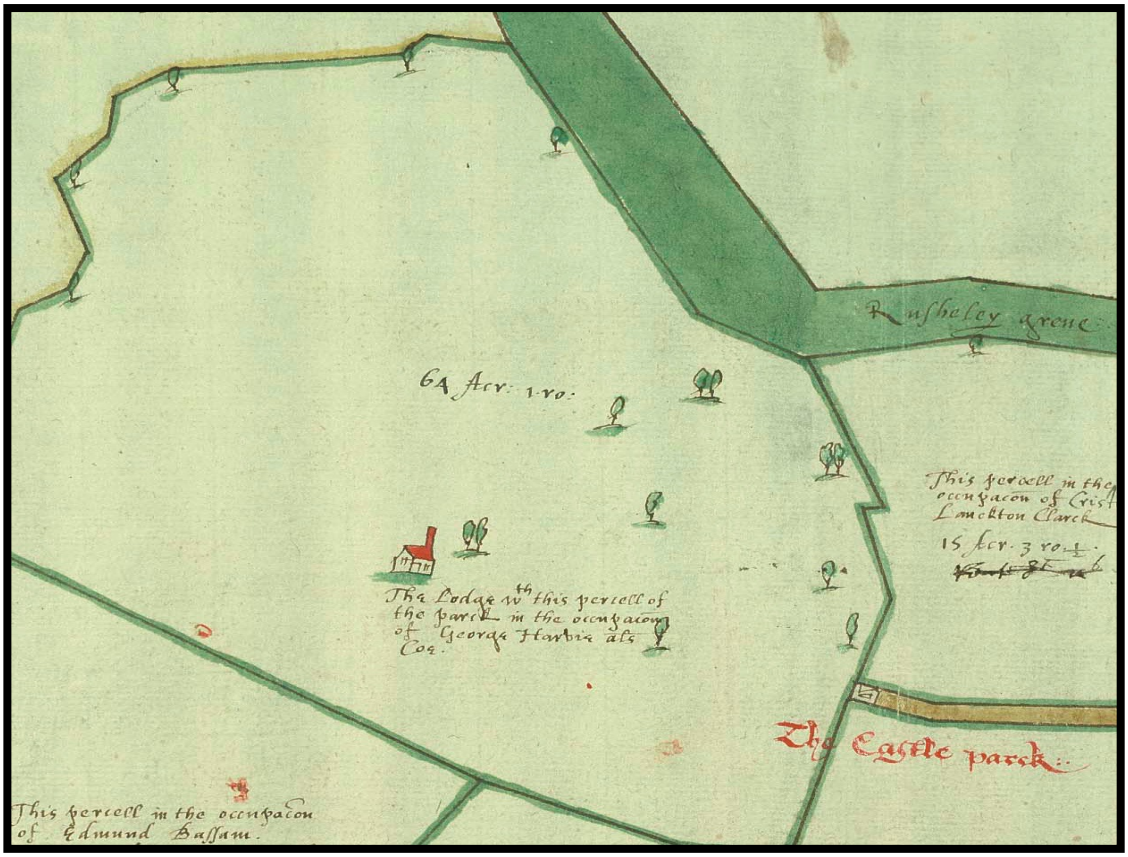


Figure 4.28. Detail of a map of the Castle Park at Castle Hedingham showing the lodge. (ERO D/DMh M1)

The 'Little Park' also has a lodge and two outbuildings which are also centrally located in a relatively open area with scattered trees. It is again reasonable to conclude that due to their central location in relatively open parks that all of these buildings may have been utilized to both view and participate in some kind of hunting activity or deer management. This conclusion seems to be particularly supported by the depiction of what appears to be a prospect or hunting tower situated behind the main lodge building on the map of the 'Little Park' (Figure 4.29).[421]

[421] Ibid.

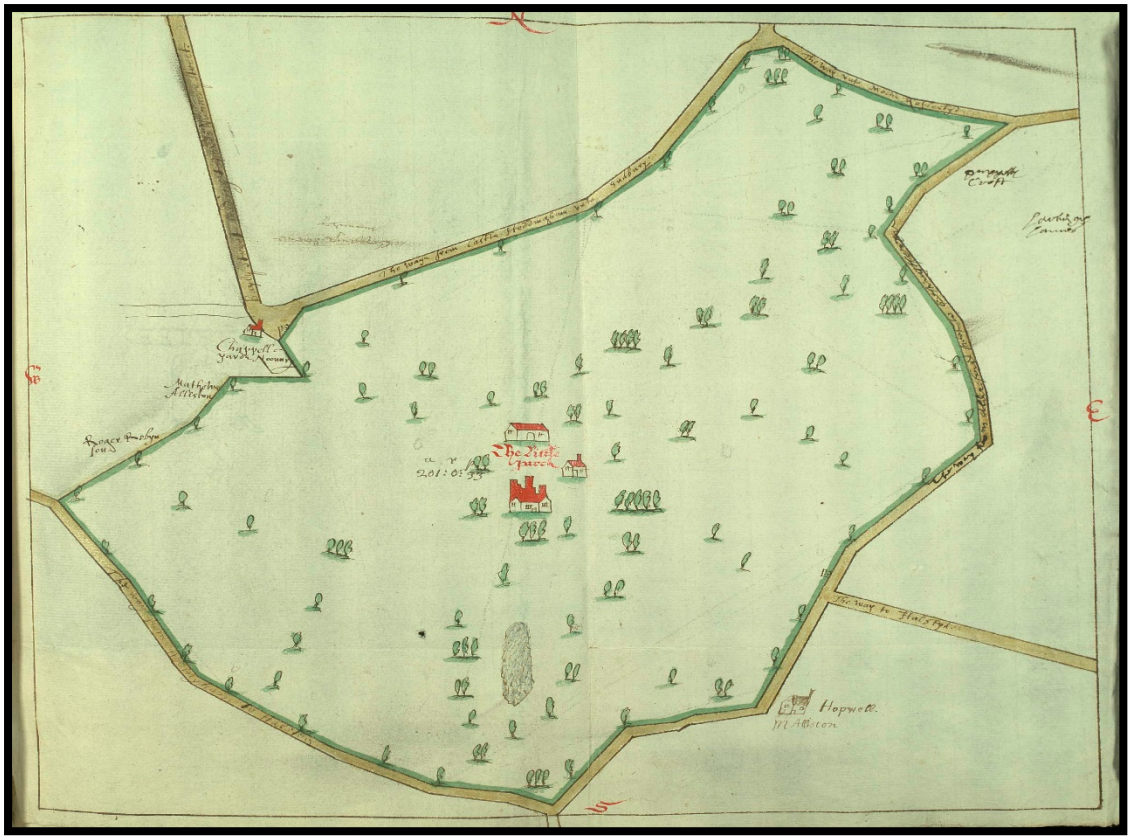


Figure 4.29. Map of the Little Park at Castle Hedingham with the lodge and 'prospect tower' at its centre. (ERO D/DMh M1)

As with park lodges and standings, prospect/hunting towers are also undeniably synonymous with observing different forms of hunting. Structures such as the hunting tower at Wormingford in Essex (discussed in a case study at the end of this thesis) are prime examples of towers that were clearly utilized as a vantage point from which the unfolding events of a hunt were observed.

Conclusions

Through the study of the contemporary maps and instructional literature, we can gain a clearer picture of what took place in parks during the early modern period. There is little doubt, hunting was central to the function of parks and also to the lives of the people who participated. This is reflected in the continued popularity of hunting manuals from the medieval through to the early modern period, and beyond. What comes to the fore from an examination of the manuals is that the writers were keen to convey the experience of the hunt (and remarkably how to shape it by manipulating the landscape) as much as the mechanics. What is clear is that the hunt was stage managed and the outcome was rarely in doubt. That the hunt was also so prominent in popular works of prose and poetry highlights

how engrained it was in society at the time. The detailed descriptions of hunting in the literature provide both practical instruction and an insight into the process of a hunt and how it was experienced. Although some of this was idealised, the sheer volume of literature and sources available make it very hard to argue that what is described was not actually taking place in some form.

What has also emerged from this chapter is that a great deal of evidence for hunting in parks can be taken from the cartographic sample. Although limited in number, several maps and plans display pictorial depictions of hunting activities in full flow and reveal how parks accommodated different forms of hunting. They reveal that in some cases, there was a concerted effort made to guide the hunt around the park and to demarcate deer courses. There is also a clear indication that buildings were positioned at strategic points throughout the park to facilitate the mechanics of the hunt and to provide the grandstands from which spectators could enjoy the spectacle. The notion that parks were generally too small to accommodate 'a good hunt', as put forward by Rackham, is clearly a misguided and simplistic conclusion. It minimises contemporary knowledge of how to effectively hunt in parks which was informed by centuries of instructional manuals and treatises and also by experience. The challenges that a spatially restricted parkland brought were overcome by manipulating the landscape and adapting it to different types of hunting. There was not only one type of hunting, there were several, and what constitutes a 'good hunt' in Rackham's mind may not have been shared by an early modern hunter as they navigated a park in search of their prey.

Chapter 5

The Form and Function of Park Buildings

Introduction

The design and utilization of deer park buildings is a subject that has not yet been fully or satisfactorily explored, particularly in relation to the architectural, social, and cultural context. There have been valuable recent studies of single high-status sites but no significant research that covers multiple sites or regions.[422] To address this shortcoming, this chapter will be divided into two main sections, the first covering the architectural form of these buildings and the second their function. An interdisciplinary approach that predominately considers archaeological, architectural, cartographic, documentary and literary evidence will be used in both sections in an attempt to reveal the physical form and the significance of location within parks, of lodges, standings and prospect towers (which will be the main focus of the chapter) and to identify what activities took place in and around these structures. It will become evident that the form, function and location of lodges was in a large part determined by the status of the park owner, their particular desire for privacy and pleasure and the practicalities of conducting park, manorial and legal administration.

The form and function of park buildings particularly lodges, standings and prospect towers of the late and post medieval periods appears to be as complex, multifunctional and in many ways as enigmatic as the parks in which they were located. There is very little clear evidence as to how they looked or what they were used for whether that be on a day-to-day or periodic basis. Manorial records give some indication of the physical appearance of lodges and the types of materials that they were constructed from through detailed recording of periodic repairs. However, there is little explicit commentary in the documentary record of their architectural design and utilization. This has led to an assumption that there was no real need to make this explicit as at the time everyone knew what buildings such as lodges and standings were used for and what they looked like, therefore detailed descriptions were

[422] Roberts, E. & Miles, D.H. 1995 'Edward III's lodge at Odiham, Hampshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39(1) pp. 91-106; Richardson, A. 2005 *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c.1200-c.1650*, Oxford, Archaeopress; Fretwell, K. 1995 'Lodge Park, Gloucestershire: a rare surviving deer course and Bridgeman layout', *Garden History* 23(2) pp. 133-144.

unnecessary.[423] The lack of detailed contemporary descriptions in the documentary record is mirrored in the hunting manuals and treatises of the period where hunting methodologies and rituals and advice on the keeping of horses and dogs are prominent subjects, with park buildings given very little attention. Although evidence for their use is scant, some insight can still be gleaned from the documentary record and literary works. It will be shown that contemporary manuals and particularly documents that detail appointments of park officials and legal and administrative proceedings can provide this insight and will be discussed fully in the second section of this chapter.

There is also a marked lack of archaeological investigation of park buildings. There are few examples of extant lodges and standings (in their original form) in the study area from this period and excavations of lodge sites are few and far between. However, where excavations have been undertaken such as those of the lodges at Stansted, Wormingford and Writtle (all in Essex) valuable evidence of the architectural form of lodges and their function has been revealed.[424] A further excavation at Dobpark in North Yorkshire has also provided compelling evidence for how lodges were used in the study area. The lodge at Dobpark appears to have shared notable characteristics with the lodges of the Great Park and Broxted Park in Hundon (Suffolk).[425] These excavations (together with investigations of other East Anglian lodge sites) will be discussed in both sections and will consider the architectural evidence for the form of lodges, evidence for hunting practices in their immediate surroundings and what material culture recovered at these sites reveal about their occupants and the activities that took place within them. Evidence for the form and function of lodge buildings will also be drawn from an examination of Wealden houses which have been argued to not only be similar in size and construction to park lodges but also that they are reflections of their middle- class owners (or tenants) 'status, prosperity and quality.'[426]

[423] Roberts & Miles 1995: 91; Richardson 2005: 69.

[3] Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology; Brooks, H, White, A & Nicholls, F. 2010 *The Lost Tudor Hunting Lodge at Wormingford.* Colchester, Colchester Archaeological Group; Rahtz, P.A. 1969 *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955-57*, London, The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

[425] Richardson, S. & Dennison, E. 2013 *Dobpark Lodge, Weston, North Yorkshire*, Architectural and Archaeological Services (phase 1) Dennison, E. (ed) Archaeological Services Ltd. Beverley, Report no. 2011/405. ROI 1-62.

[426] Bridgwood, B. & Lennie, L. 2009 *History, performance and conservation*, Abingdon, Taylor & Francis; Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 'The hunting lodge and deer park c.AD 1350-1800 in Cooke, N., Brown, F & Phillpotts, C. (eds) *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology, pp. 228-277.

Images of lodges, standings and prospect towers on the cartographic sources give further indication of their physical form and in some cases their function during the post medieval period. From the sample of 54 maps, 23 late sixteenth century and seventeenth-century maps have depictions of buildings within the parks they are illustrating: seven from Essex, six from Norfolk, seven from Suffolk and three from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. As with the maps themselves the detail and quality of the images of buildings vary greatly. Some of the buildings are sharply defined and detailed enabling the viewer to interpret with a certain degree of confidence that the structures were connected to hunting or park management (or both). Other depictions are no more than outlines or blurred and indistinct images resulting in supposition and guesswork as to their form and function. By 1700 however what is most notable is that buildings that are connected to hunting are largely absent from the cartographic sample. This perhaps reflects changes in hunting practices and a tendency to conduct coursing in the vicinity of the residence, which were explored in the preceding chapter.

Form

Standings

The raised hunt standings of the late and post medieval periods appear to have evolved from temporary 'ground stations' known as stable stands. These early relatively simple structures were often comprised of raised platforms placed between the branches of large trees.[427] They are mentioned in the hunting treatise: *The Art of Hunting* by William Twiti (1327)[428] and are also briefly discussed in *The Master of Game* by Edward Duke of York (written between 1406 and 1413, translated from Count Gaston de Foix's Livre de Chase *c.*1387).[429] In the text they are referred to as 'trystes' (meaning hunting stand or position) and 'standings'.[430] An indication of their use and temporary nature is suggested in a passage where advice is given that: '…two fewterers (keepers and handlers of greyhounds[431]) ought to make fair lodges of green boughs at the tryste to keep the King and Queen and ladies, and gentlewomen and also the greyhounds from the sun and bad weather'.[432]

[427] Almond, R. 2003 *Medieval Hunt*ing, Stroud, Sutton Publishing.
[428] Twitti, W. 1327 *The Art of Hunting* (Danielsson, b. ed. 1977), Stockholm Studies in English, 37, Stockholm, Cynegetica..
[429] Edward of Norwich. Baillie-Grohman, W.A. & Baillie- Grohman, F.N. (eds) 2005 *The Master of Game,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
[430] Moorhouse 2007: 118.
[431] Thuresson, B. 1968 *Middle English Occupational Terms* (Lund Studies in English Vol.19), Copenhagen, Munksgaard.
[432] Edward of Norwich 2005: 190.

The available archaeological and cartographic evidence suggests that later hunt standings were more permanent and substantial structures that were utilitarian in design. In their most basic form, many standings were open framed timber constructions with a roof and multiple floors divided into bays (with a handrail at waist level) that were connected by a staircase.[433] Several of these buildings have been identified in Essex with many the subject of archaeological investigation. In Epping a two-storey standing, known as the 'Little Standing ' has been found in the fabric of a building named Warren House.[434] Standings at Wanstead Park, Hyfield in Felsted and at a site near to Knighton Wood (a remnant of Epping Forest) have also been identified.[435] A further five have been identified through field names at Dunmow, Harlow, Newport, Dagenham and Great Leighs.[436] Archaeological evidence of this type of standing has also been found embedded in two farm buildings in Essex. Investigations of the fabric of the building of Lodge Farm at Galleywood near Chelmsford has revealed a timber framed fourteenth-century standing consisting of five open bays. An investigation of a farm building at Faulkbourne has also revealed, a tall, two-storey standing previously known as 'Little Troys'. It was divided into four bays measuring just over fifteen metres in length with the upper story measuring 2.74 metres in height and the lower story measuring 2.59 metres.[437]

A further and rare example of an early extant timber framed standing (although much changed externally from its original design) comes from Chingford. Built for Henry VIII in 1543 the Great Standing (also known as Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge) overlooked Fayremead Park which was disparked in 1553. It was originally a three-storey oak framed structure that was left open between its framework.[438] It is a compact but tall structure measuring 9.75 metres in length, 6.4 metres in width and 11.27 metres in height.[439] The original building had

[433] McCann, J., Ryan, P., & Davis, B. 2014 'Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642 (part 1)', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society,* 58, pp. 28-59.
[434] Hagger, N. 2012 *A View of Epping Forest*, Alresford, O Books.
[435] NHLE, Listed Building List Entry Number 1165605, *Listed Building Information for The Warren, Loughton*, List Entry Number: 1165605, available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1165605. Accessed 12/4/17.
[436] Ibid; McCann, Ryan & Davis 2014: 32; NHLE, Listed Building List Entry Number, *Listed Building Information for Leighs Lodge*, available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1112856 Accessed 29/3/20.
[437] McCann, Ryan & Davis 2014: 41-42; Hunter, J. 1999 *The Essex Landscape: a study of its form and history*, Chelmsford, Essex Record Office Publications.
[438] Woodfield, P. 1991 'Early buildings in gardens in England' in Brown, A.E. *Garden Archaeology*, CBA research report no.78, *Papers presented to a conference at Knutson Hall*, Northamptonshire, *April 1988*, London, Council for British Archaeology, pp. 123-37.
[439] McCann, Ryan & Davis 2014: 35 & 37.

lathed and plastered walls, a pitched tiled roof and an external brick chimney. It was divided into three bays with a stair tower to the south of the western bay making the structure 'L' shaped. The stair tower had its own entrance on its eastern side that led to the upper stories. Internally the ground storey had a hearth and was divided into three rooms that served as cloakrooms, toilets and storerooms. The two upper storeys (the middle storey also had a hearth) were open and enclosed by handrails. A report of 1589 detailing repairs made on the building also reveals that it was fenestrated by this time with leaded diamond glazing set in wide wrought iron frames. It also mentions that the standing was situated in the centre of a courtyard that was enclosed by a decayed wooden paled fence that was due to be replaced by a ditch and a quickthorn hedge.[440]

Despite their widespread presence there are no depictions of standings in the cartographic sample of Essex parks. There are however, three depictions of structures from two other counties that give the most detailed reliable pictorial evidence for the architectural form of standings. The depictions greatly resemble the multi -storied open sided structures divided into bays that have been identified throughout Essex. Two examples come from the park map of the Little Park at Long Melford in Suffolk and the other comes from the map of Weybridge Park in Cambridgeshire. The detailed and high-quality estate map by Samuel Pierse of the Little Park at Long Melford (c.1613) depicts six clearly identifiable buildings, two of which appear to be standings (figures 5.1 & 5.2).[441]

[440] Ibid: 33 & 37.
[441] SRO B 2130/2.



Figures 5.1 & 5.2. Details from the 1613 estate map of the Little Park Long Melford showing the two standings (SRO B 2130/2)

They are rectangular shaped, timber framed, two storey structures that have been divided into four bays with thatched pitched roofs. Both storeys are open and are shown without windows and doors. Access to the upper storey appears to have been from an interior staircase as no stair tower is depicted on either building. They are also shown as being enclosed by a post and rail fence that forms a courtyard on three sides of the building (which can be seen more clearly in figure 5.3).[442]



Figure 5.3. One of the standings at Little Park at Long Melford redrawn by Beth Davis from the 1613 map by Samuel Pierse. (*Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642, Part 1,* 2014)

[442] McCann, Ryan & Davis 2014: 33.

The depictions of the standings at Long Melford bear a close resemblance to what looks very much to be a standing on the map of Weybridge Park (1651) (Figure 5.4).[443] It is also an open sided timber framed rectangular shaped structure with two storeys and a pitched roof that appears to be divided into at least five bays. As with the two standings at Long Melford, no stair tower is depicted. The only major difference between them appears to be that the standing at Weybridge is not shown as being enclosed with a post and rail fence.



Figure 5.4. Detail of a map of Weybridge Park showing an apparently open sided, two storied standing. (HRO SM3/17)

Prospect towers

Prospect or hunting towers were also built in several parks of the period. Documentary and archaeological evidence and a few extant examples indicate that a number of these substantial, often fenestrated multi-level structures were built throughout the medieval and post medieval periods. Early examples are recorded at Harewood Castle in West Yorkshire (*c.*1360s) and at Greenwich Park (1433).[444] At Burton in Somerset a three storeyed stone tower with leaded glass fenestrations was built between 1554 and 1586. Three storey square stone towers were also constructed in the parks at Lyme in Dorset (*c.*1540), Chatsworth in

[443] HRO SM3/17.

[444] McCann, J., Ryan, P. & Davis, B. 2015 'Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642 (part 2)', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 59, pp. 49-70.

Derbyshire (*c.*1581) and a four storied hexagonal tower was built at Melbury in Dorset (*c.*1540).[445] Although cartographic, pictorial and archaeological evidence is limited, examples of substantial hunting towers can also be found in Essex. There are only two clear depictions of towers in the cartographic sample, as well as one pictorial depiction and one example which was revealed during a recent excavation of a hunting lodge site at Wormingford. In the cartographic sample, a large tower can be seen on a 1616 map of Marke Hall, which was located between Halstead, Earls Colne and Coggleshall) estate by the cartographer Jeremie Bailye (Figure 5.5).[446]



Figure 5.5. Detail of a map of 1616 of the Marke Hall estate in Essex by Jeremie Bailye showing the Hall with a tower to its rear, overlooking the park to the east. (ERO D/DAr P1)

The tower, which is depicted with a flag flying from its domed roof, is shown immediately to the north of the Hall, overlooking the park to the east. It appears that it was of a considerable height as it is shown looming over the crenelatted three storied red brick built mansion which was constructed by Sir Robert Honywood between 1605 and 1609, on top of and beside a previously remodelled medieval timber framed house.[447] It is however less clear whether the

[445] Ibid: 49, 51-53.
[446] ERO D/Dar P1.
[447] Raven, J. 2015 'The demolished mansions of Essex and the Marks Hall estate: reconstruction and the heritage of loss', in Raven J. (ed.) *Lost Mansions: essays on the destruction of the country house*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 107-124; Bettley, J. & Pevsner, N. 2007 *The Buildings of England: Essex*, London, Yale University Press.

tower was an earlier construction or if it was contemporarneous with the new Jacobean hall as there is no archaelogical or documentary evidence of the physical fabric of the building. If it was the latter, which seems likely, it is possible that it was built with the same red brick as the mansion.

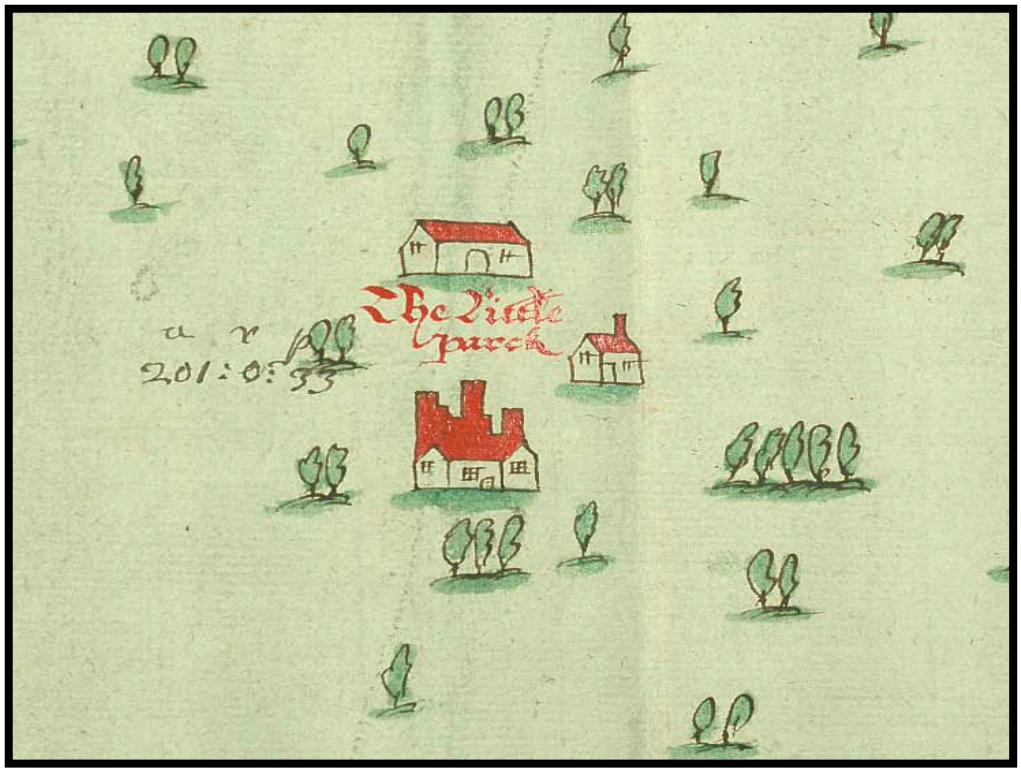


Figure 5.6. Detail of a 1592 map of the Little Park at Castle Hedingham by Israel Amyce. (ERO D/DMh M1)

The other depiction of a tower in the cartographic sample comes from an earlier 1592 map of the Little Park at Castle Hedingham by the prominent Essex cartographer Israel Amyce (Figure 5.6).[448] The map shows a group of three buildings of varying sizes. The largest building of the three appears to be a dwelling with whitewashed walls and a red tiled pitched roof with a chimney. Rising above the dwelling is a red coloured building with two towers that has been identified as a possible prospect tower.[449] As can be seen, the tower is not shown in its full extent or in any kind of detail. It does however reveal that the tower may have been constructed from red brick. This appears to reflect the tradition of building hunting towers

[448] D/DMh M1.
[449] Liddiard, R. & Wells, F. 2008 'The Little Park at Castle Hedingham, Essex: a possible late medieval pleasure ground', *Garden History*, 36 (1) pp. 85-93.

made from brick that began in the early fourteenth-century and lasted well into the seventeenth century.[450]

The tower at Hedingham is also very similar in shape and outline to a later seventeenth-century tower at Audley End in Essex, which was illustrated by William Stukeley in 1722 (Figure 5.7).[451]



Figure 5.7. The hunting tower at Audley End by William Stukeley. (*Itinerarium Curiosum; or, an Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels Through Great Britain,* 1776)

The tower has been variously referred to as a belvedere or a warren house.[452] Stukeley describes it as a hunting tower and that it was: 'Not far off by Auldenhouse, upon an eminence, is a great Roman camp: a Hunting tower of brick now stands upon it'.[453] He illustrates the tower as a square brick built five-storey structure with stone quoins.[454] It also

[450] Girouard, M. 1978 *Life in the English Country House: a social and architectural history*, London, Yale University Press.
[451] Stukeley, W. 1776 *Itinerarium Curiosum; or, an Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels Through Great Britain*, London.
[452] Braybrooke, R. 1836 *The History of Audley End. To which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden in the county of Essex*, London, Samuel Bentley.
[453] Quoted in Wedlake Brayley, E. (Ed.) 1834 *The Graphic and Historical Illustrator: an original miscellany of literary, antiquarian, and topographical information*, London, J. Chidley.
[454] McCann, Ryan & Davis: 2015: 53.

has two separate towers (similar to the shape of the 'tower' at Hedingham) with a pitched roof and chimneys.

Archaeological evidence for a red brick-built tower (much smaller in scale than the tower at Audley End) also comes from Essex. A late Tudor lodge/tower complex site at Lodge Hills in Wormingford (seven miles north-west of Colchester) was the subject of excavation and geophysical survey between 2007 and 2011 by the Colchester Archaeological Group.[455] Investigations at the site identified traces of a number of Tudor period structures including a brick-built tower, kitchen area a viewing platform, foundations interpreted as a possible curtain wall or part of a standing, and a brick lined well and sluices that were probably connected to a garderobe. All of these structures were enclosed by a brick-built wall (Figure 5.8).[456]



Figure 5.8. Sketch made by the Colchester Archaeological Group of the main features of the Wormingford lodge complex. (*The Lost Tudor Hunting Lodge at Wormingford,* 2010)

[455] Brooks, White & Nicholls 2010: 5 & 7.
[456] Ibid: 9, 12-13.

A large brick-built cellar (accessed by a flight of brick steps attached to the building) was also identified and consequently interpreted as the base of the freestanding hunting tower that was approximately ten metres east to west by seven metres north to south. The quantity of debris excavated from the cellar indicated that the tower was constructed from red brick up to the first storey with a timber framed upper storey and a red tiled flat roof.[457] Amongst the debris in the cellar was large sections of brick wall that were interpreted to be either, fragments of the tower's superstructure or sections of the columns that may have framed its entrance. Decorative brick or tile fragments were also analysed by a local brick company in Bulmer in Essex. They dated them to around 1530-1570 and interpreted them as being part of a spandrel that would have decorated an arched doorway. They have also suggested the fragments may have been part of a decorative horizontal line or stringcourse which would have gone around a building. Additionally, their investigation of small half-moon shaped moulded bricks has led to the conclusion that these also formed sections of decorative pillars around an entrance door. Investigations of the bricks recovered during excavations have also determined that the roofs of the buildings at Wormingford would have been formed of large red tiles measuring 11 X 5.5 inches.[458] Fragments of diamond shaped leaded lights were also recovered throughout the site indicating that the tower and the lodge were fenestrated. This type of glass had fallen out of fashion by the later seventeenth century so was likely to have been part of the original Tudor structure.[459]

Lodges

In contrast to those of standings and towers, the depiction of lodges is well represented in the cartographic sample. A total of twenty from the sample of forty-one maps have depictions of buildings (many of which are shown in elevation) that can be both positively and tentatively (due to the poor quality of the map) identified as lodge buildings. Seven come from maps of Essex parks, five from Norfolk, seven from Suffolk and only one from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Of the four maps depicting lodges in Suffolk parks the map of the New Park at Hoxne Hall (1619) is one of the least detailed. It shows a crude indeterminate image of a red (brick?) building that is labelled 'The Lodge'. The 'Lodge' has a pitched roof and is

[457] Ibid: 8-9 & 16
[458] Nichols, F. 2009 'Decorative brick from the CAG excavation at Wormingford', *Bulletin of the Colchester Archaeological Group,* 49, pp.10-16.
[459] Brooks, White & Nicholls: 2010: 11.

positioned in an open laund at the centre of a courtyard with trees that is enclosed by a fence (Figure 5.9).[460]



Figure 5.9. Detail from a map of Hoxne Hall and its associated park showing a lodge within a fenced enclosure. (SRO I HD 40/422)

Maps of Marke Hall (1616) and Old Thorndon Hall (1598) (both in Essex) also show similarly crudely drawn structures and give little insight regarding their form. Both structures, probably lodges, are located on a laund with the lodge at Marke Hall enclosed by a fence and the building at Old Thorndon Hall is shown as being topped by a balustrade or crenelations (Figures 5.10 and 5.11).[461]

[460] SRO I HD 40/422.
[461] ERO D/DAr P1; ERO D/DP P5.



Figure 5.10. Detail of a map of 1616 showing the enclosed lodge building at Marke Hall in Essex. (ERO D/Dar P1)

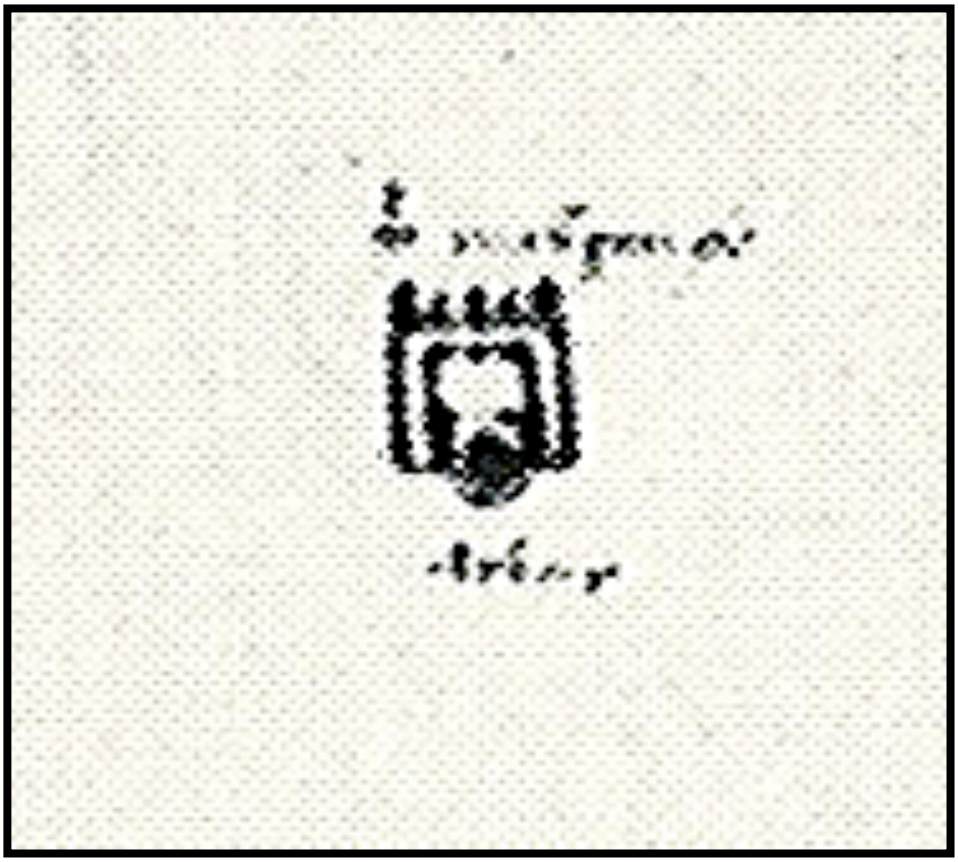


Figure 5.11. Detail from a survey of the manors West and East Horndon showing a lodge at the centre of a laund at Old Thorndon Hall. (ERO D/DP P5)

The lodge complex at Lopham Park in Norfolk depicted on a 1612 map is more informative but the images are still extremely basic. The four buildings (some are shown in elevation) with pitched roofs, white-washed walls, and chimneys (which are only shown in outline) are set in an apparently hedged enclosure with trees and what looks to a stream running through

the centre of the complex (figure 5.12).[462] Three buildings of similar design are also shown outside of the enclosure, with one overlooking a pond.

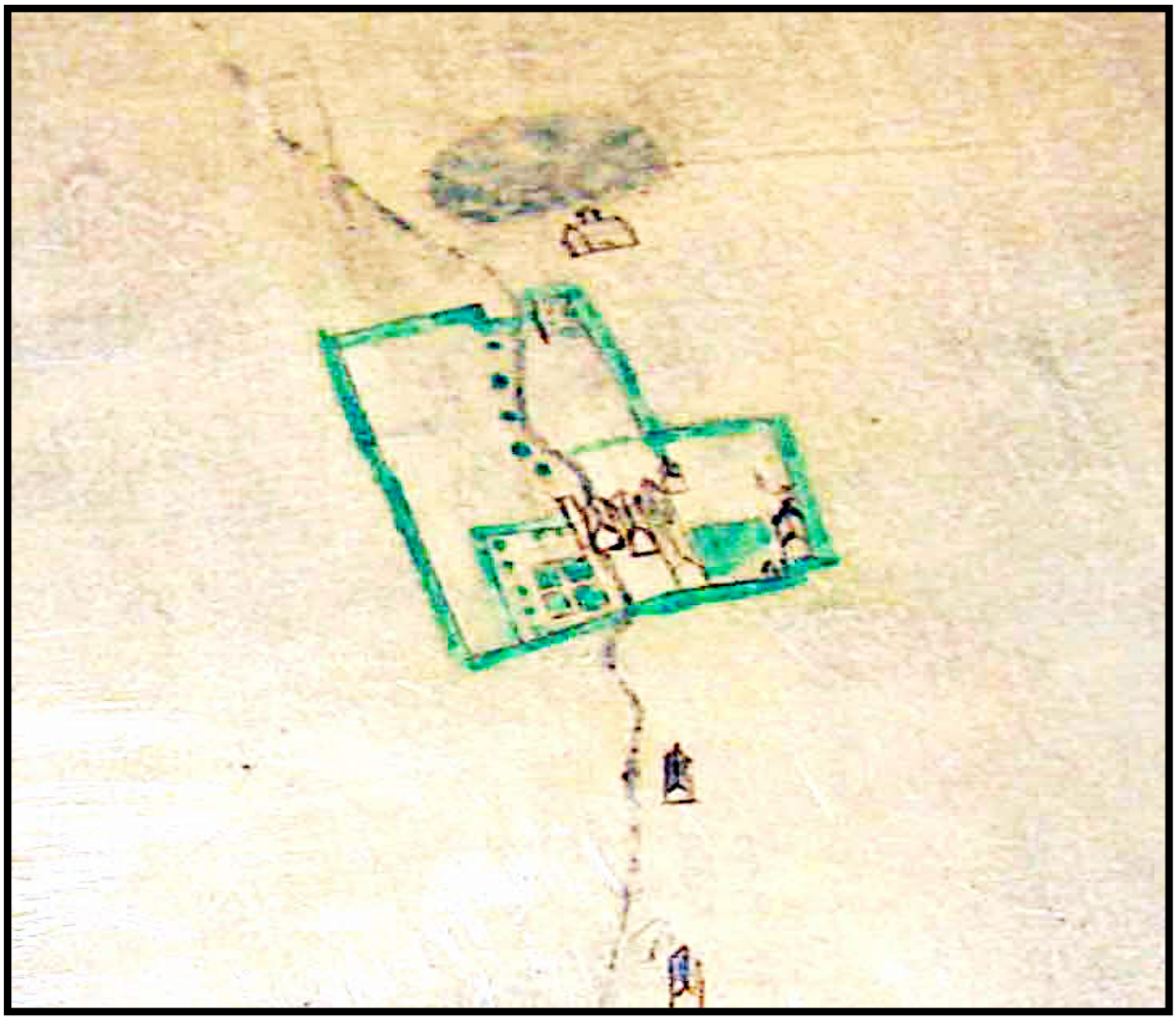


Figure 5.12. Detail of a map of Lopham Park in Norfolk, dated 1612, showing the lodge complex. (NRO P51)

The lodges at the parks at Melton Constable in Norfolk (Figure 5.13), Chippenham in Cambridgeshire (5.14) Framlingham (The Great Lodge and Little Lodge, Figure 5.15 and 5.16), and at Long Melford are all shown in elevation but are similarly basic and relatively indistinct depictions.[463] The lodge building at Melton Constable has red brick walls which are surmounted by a pitched yellow tiled roof with a chimney; while the structure at Chippenham has brown walls and a chimney topped pitched roof of the same colour. The lodges depicted on the maps of Framlingham Park and the Little Park at Long Melford are also shown as

[462] NRO P51.
[463] NRO Hayes & Storr 82, 83, M3, M4; CRO 71/P3; Kings College Archives; SRO B2130/2.

substantial buildings with the former apparently being two storeys in height. The buildings at Framlingham have been depicted in even less detail; but they have been shown as casting a shadow across the ground, an artistic touch of realism which is not seen in any of the other maps or plans.



Figure 5.13. Lodge building at Melton Constable, Norfolk. (NRO Hayes & Storr 82, 83, M3, M4).



Figure 5.14. Lodge buildings at Chippenham Park, Cambridgeshire. (CRO 71/P3)



Figure 5.15. The Great Lodge at Framlingham Park, Suffolk. (Kings College Archives)



Figure 5.16 The Little Lodge at Framlingham Park, Suffolk. (Kings College Archives)



Figure 5.17. Lodge building at the Little Park in Long Melford. (SRO B2130/2)

The remaining maps in the sample depict lodges in a more detailed and stylistically similar way. All of the buildings are fenestrated, mostly of two stories with a pitched roof (predominately red tiled) and a chimney. Eight of the lodges also have whitewashed walls (Figures 5.6, 5.18-5.26). It is unclear whether cartographers may have been using an artistic convention when depicting lodges as they appear to be similarly depicted on all of the maps, or if these images are true representations of how lodges actually appeared.

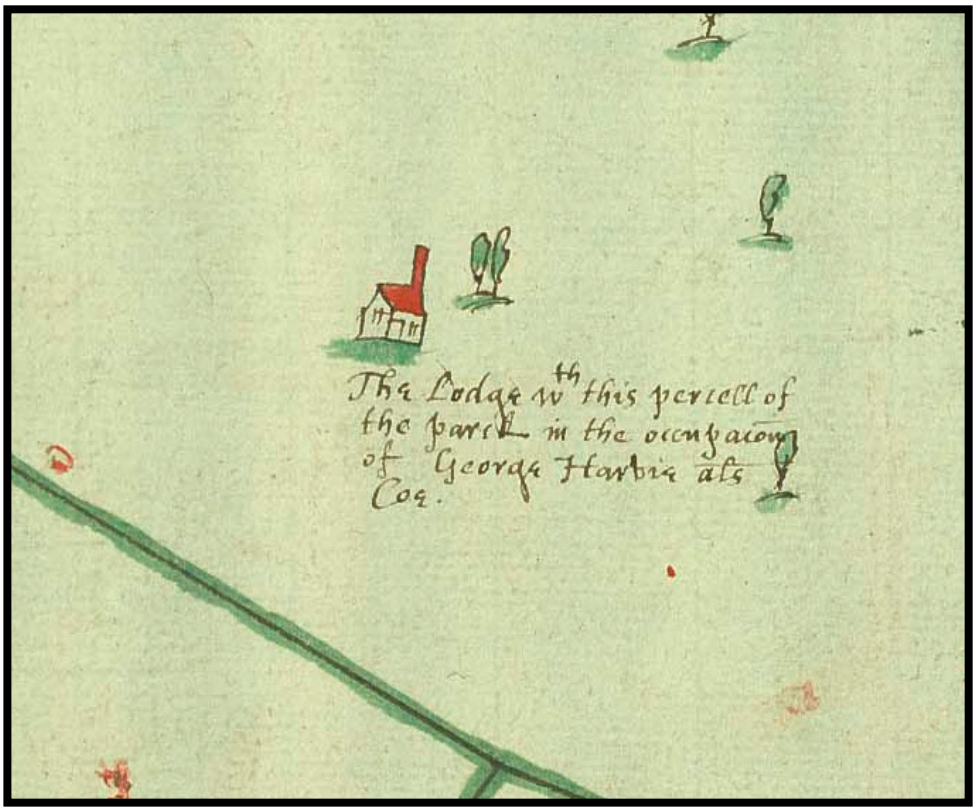


Figure 5.18. Detail of a map of the three parks at Castle Hedingham (1592) showing the Castle Park and its lodge with whitewashed walls and red tiled roof with a large chimney. (ERO D/DMh M1)

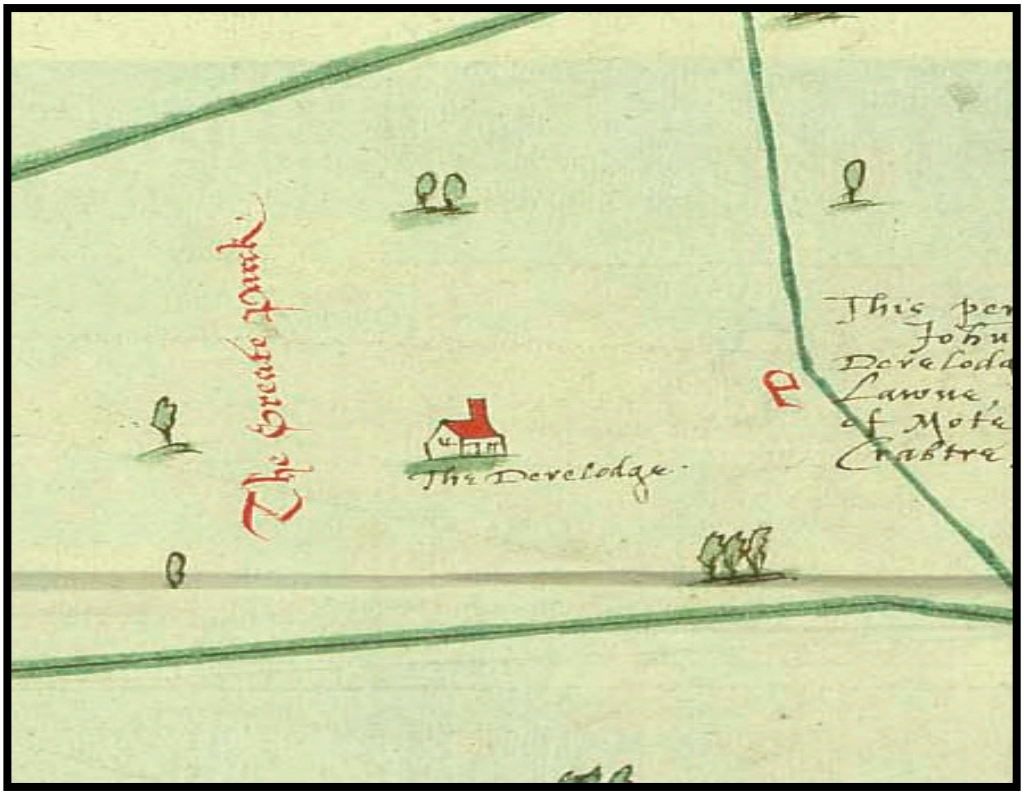


Figure 5.19. Detail of a map of the Great Park, showing the 'Dere Lodge' at its centre. (ERO D/DMh M1)



Figure 5.20. Detail of a map of Crondon Park in Essex (c.1575) depicting 'The Keepers House'. (ERO DP P2)

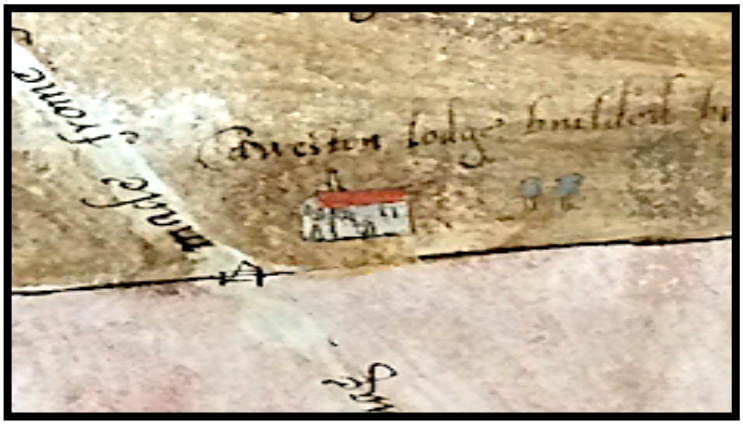


Figure 5.21. Lodge building at Moulsham Park, Essex. (ERO D/DM P2)



Figure 5.22. The lodge at Castle Rising, Norfolk. (NRO BL 71)





Figures 5.23 & 5.24 Lodge and outbuildings at Croxton Park, Norfolk (to the left) (NRO P536) and the lodge at Cawston Park, Norfolk. (NRO MC 341/12 706x4A)

The images of the lodges at the three parks at Hundon in Suffolk: The Great Park, Easty Park and Broxted Park are extremely detailed and revealing. The two-storey lodge of Easty Park is distinctively 'T' shaped in plan. It is positioned at the head of three converging rides that merge and go around the head of the 'T' section of the lodge that overlooks an area of woodland. The lodge is fenestrated and has whitewashed walls and a red tiled pitched roof. The building that forms the head of the 'T' has two chimneys and there appears to be a small ancillary building with a red tiled pitched roof and chimney placed in front of it. It is unclear whether the ancillary building is attached to the main lodge complex or set apart (Figure 5.25).[464] The lodge on the map of Broxted Park is positioned at the centre of the park where four rides converge and has the same 'T' shaped plan. It is also a two-storey fenestrated building with whitewashed walls, a red tiled pitched roof with two chimneys surmounting the head of the 'T'. The only difference between the two buildings is that there are no ancillary buildings nearby to the lodge at Broxted Figure 5.26).[465]



Figure 5.25. Detail of a plan of Easty Park showing the lodge at the centre of the park. (NA MPC 1/3)

[464] NA MPC1/3
[465] NA MPC/1



Figure 5.26. Detail of a plan of Broxted Park, Suffolk showing the lodge at the centre of the park. (NA MPC 1/1)

The lodges of Easty and Broxted Parks in particular appear to be remarkably similar in plan to the compact 'T' shaped Dobpark Lodge in Weston, North Yorkshire that was constructed in the early to mid-seventeenth century.[466] Of the original stone-built structure only sections of the north elevation and the south-west corner survive of the three-storey structure. An archaeological and architectural survey has established that the lodge was a maximum of 16.35 metres (at the head of the 'T' which was on the south side) in length at ground level and 13.4 metres in width.[467] Internally, the lodge appears to have been divided into two poorly lit service rooms of unequal size at ground level that were separated by a north south aligned cross-wall. The east room was most probably used as a kitchen. It had a large fireplace and a space that was probably used to store food and wine.[468] It was proposed that the first and second floors were divided into three rooms. Some of the small rooms of the first floor had traces of ornamental plasterwork and panelling with evidence of heating and

[466] Richardson & Dennison 2013: 23.
[467] Ibid: 25.
[468] Ibid: 37-38

have been interpreted as bedchambers.[469] On the second floor two small rooms were located in the north side of the building. On the south side of the second floor (the head of the 'T') there was a single well-lit, east west aligned, rectangular chamber (heated by a fireplace in the southwest corner) that resembled a gallery. The siting of the lodge within the park on a steep north-east facing scarp would have meant that the gallery would have provided wide ranging views of the park to the south.[470] The first and second floors were accessed by a stair-tower that projected from the north external elevation. It also rose above the second storey giving access via a rooftop walkway to a single storey turret placed at the southwest corner. It has been suggested that the provision of several doorways off the stairwell and the lack of an internal cross wall makes it highly unlikely that rooms would have been accessed or linked internally. This arrangement has led to a theory that many of the doorways leading off the tower may have been secured from the inside ensuring that service staff had no access to the rooms of the upper floors when they were occupied. This exclusive architectural arrangement that demonstrates clear social division has also been identified in early seventeenth-century houses such as Gainford Hall in County Durham.[471]

On the *c.*1600 plan of Hundon Great Park in Suffolk, the substantial lodge is shown situated at the centre of the park where five rides converge. Unlike the lodges at Easty and Broxted parks it is a rather haphazardly designed building comprised of at least three separate wings that have whitewashed walls and red tiled pitched roofs with chimneys. It was also enclosed by a moat that was spanned by a brick-built bridge (Figure 5.27).[472]

[469] ibid: 38, 45-46
[470] Ibid:16, 38 & 44.
[471] Ibid: 2013: 25, 44-45.
[472] NA MPC1/2.



Figure 5.27. Detail of a plan of Great Park at Hundon showing the moated lodge at the centre of the park. (NA MPC1/2)

Fifty- four moated lodges have been definitively identified across the country. A further forty-seven have been identified as probably moated.[473] Moats not only provided protection for their occupants, they could also be stocked with fish and provided drinking water for deer and livestock. Above all they were symbols of exclusivity and status.[474] Aside from Hundon, a number of other moated lodge sites have been recorded in Suffolk and Essex. The claylands of Essex in particular has one of the largest concentrations of moated sites in the country with several lodge sites among them.[475] Examples from Essex include the modest lodge sites of

[473] Coveney, N. 2014 *Moated sites in Medieval England: a reassessment, University of Leicester*, unpublished PhD.
[474] Cooke, N. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 'Feudal landscape (AD 600-c1350)' in Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. (eds) 2008 *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology, pp. 180-226.
[475] Rowe, A 2009 *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

Boblow House in Helions Bumpstead, Franklin's Island near Chelmsford and the contrastingly extensive King John's Hunting Lodge in Writtle, which to all intents and purposes was a small palace. Boblow House was a two-storey timber framed lodge with red brick chimneys that was built in the second half of the sixteenth century (much altered in the nineteenth century). The original lodge building had two windows on each floor with two stone fireplaces on the first floor and a timber framed garderobe.[476] The lodge at Franklin's Island (probably late fourteenth to early fifteenth century) was situated on a raised platform at the centre of a rectangular island on the northern boundary of Writtle Park. The relatively small island measures approximately twenty-six metres north-west to south-east by eighteen metres north-east to south-west. Surrounding the island was a moat that was approximately eight metres wide and two metres deep. Although there is little remaining evidence of the physical form of the lodge, scatters of medieval building material recovered from the island and its immediate environs suggest that it may have been constructed from brick and that it had a tiled roof.[477]

Approximately two and a half miles to the north east of Franklin's Island, one of the most notable and extensive moated sites is that of King John's Hunting Lodge (also known locally as King John's Palace located two miles from Writtle Park) which was excavated between 1955 and 1957.[478] Through a combination of excavation and detailed study of the documentary record, evidence of the composition and evolution of a high status large opulent 'lodge complex' site over more than three centuries was revealed. The site was occupied between 1211 'when the king's house at Writtle' was 'builded' until 1521 when it was abandoned following the execution of its last owner, the Duke of Buckingham. During this period the lodge provided accommodation and satisfied all of the needs of its royal (the lodge was visited by King John, Henry III and Edward I) and noble visitors and also those of the gentry.[479] Of the series of structures that included: a great hall, the king's private chamber, large service areas, a kitchen, chapel and gatehouse with accommodation above that was

[476] NHLE Listed Building List Entry Number 1122356, *Listed Building Information for Boblow House*, list entry number 1122356, available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1122356. Accessed 21/4/17.
[477] NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1017002, *Historic Site Information for a Moated site known as Franklin's Island*, available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1017002. Accessed 20/4/17.
[478] Rahtz, P.A. 1969 *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955-57*, London, The Society for Medieval Archaeology.
[479] Rahtz 1969: 1 & 5.

enclosed by a moat; only the moat survives.[480] The 4545 square metre moated complex was occupied during three main periods during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first period during the thirteenth century saw the excavation of the moat in 1211 and the installation of an internal drainage system. The documentary record mentions a hall, chapel, kitchen and a gaol (possibly for those transgressing forest law) that was repaired in 1223.[481] During the second period in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries surviving records dating from 1360 to 1422 reveal that carpenters, tilers and stonecutters made extensive repairs on several buildings at the lodge complex. Repairs were made at the great hall, moat gate, bridge and stables and to the chimney of an inner chamber.[482] A survey of 1419 also mentions a chapel, pantry and kitchen (with twin hearths or cooking ranges), 'a room above the gates' and that 'the houses within the moat are roofed with tiles'.[483] The third and final period of occupation saw an extensive rebuilding programme at the lodge site (with the prominent use of brick) that was recorded in 1442-3, 1473-4 and 1478 and in a survey of 1521. A washing place, privy closet and latrines are mentioned in the 1442-3 accounts and a counting house is referred to in 1478.[484] Other principal buildings within the moated enclosure to be mentioned are the great chamber, hall, cloister, kitchen, bake house, buttery, pantry, larder house, salt store, dairy house, 'disguising chamber' and the bridge, many of which were coated in lime whitewash.[485]

Among the moated lodge sites identified in Suffolk that were associated with parks are those at Earl Soham (which was described by John Kirby in *The Suffolk Traveller,* 1735, as an: '…old irregular House, encompassed with a Brick Wall and a large moat, standing within the park'[486]) and Brundish, both dated to the sixteenth-century, Moathill Barn in Westhorpe (*c.*1600), Monewden Lodge (which had an 'unusually wide and deep' moat[487]) near the small village of

[480] Brundell, M. 2005 *The Lordship Campus Writtle Agricultural Desk-based Assessment*, Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge Report No. 627; Hunter, J. 1999 *The Essex landscape: a study of its form and history*, Chelmsford, Essex Record Office Publications.
[481] Rahtz 1969: 1 & 5-7; Brown & Phillpotts, C. 2008: 249.
[482] ERO D/DP M560; D/DP M202 *Court roll 1402*; ERO D/DP M205 *Court roll 1401-1402*; ERPO D/DP M206 *Court Roll 1402-1403*; ERO D/DP M562 *Compotus of manor of Writtle cum Boyton 1417-1418*. All quoted in Rahtz, P.A. 1969: 7
[483] ERO D/DP M546 *Extent of manor of Writtle 1419*. Quoted in Rahtz, P.A. 1969: 8; Lewis, E. 1990 Three Hampshire Wealden houses, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and archaeological Society* 46, 113-130; Brown & Phillpotts 2008: 247.
[484] ERO D/DP M581 *Compotus of manors of Writtle., Boyton and Heydon 1443-1444*; ERO D/DP M589 *Compotus of manors of Writtle, Boyton, Hatfield Broaf Oak cum Broomshawbury, Fobbing, Ongar and Harlow hundreds* 1473-1474; ERO D/DP M590 *Compotus of manors of Writtle, Boyton, Hatfield Broaf Oak cum Broomshawbury, Fobbing, Ongar and Harlow hundreds* 1473-1478; PRO E36/150 *Survey of the lands late of Edward, duke of Buckingham, attainted 1521-1522*: All quoted in Rhatz, P.A. 1969: 9-10
[485] Rahtz 1969: 11-12
[486] Kirby, J. 1735 *The Suffolk Traveller*, London.
[487] Scarfe, N. 1980 'Excursions', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History,* 34(4) pp. 299-321.

Monewden and Park Yards near Hadleigh.[488] A further moated site at Letheringham, near Wickham Market, which was built at some point between 1460 and the late fifteenth century, has also been identified. The largely extant lodge building, which is now known as Lodge Barn, was part of the estate of nearby Letheringham Old Hall. The Hall was the principal seat of the Wingfield family who held various prominent positions at the Tudor and Stuart courts with several members also engaged in the legal profession.[489] Situated on high ground, the site itself (which was located adjacent to or just outside of the known park) is comprised of a square water-filled moat with sides that were approximately forty-four metres in length and a timber framed lodge building that was eight and a half metres square at its centre.[490] The moated island is considered to be one of the smallest occupied moated sites in Suffolk at only 0.1 of an acre in extent.[491] The original two storey timber-framed lodge building, which occupied the majority of the island, had its main entrance in the south wall leading to a lobby and staircase to the first floor (figure 5.28).[492]

[488] SHER, Monument Record ESO 002, *Listed Building Information for Earl Soham Lodge*, available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Monument/MSF3194; NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1011328, *Listed Building Information for Earl Soham Lodge:* https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011328 Accessed 21/4/17; SHER, Monument Record BUH 026, *Historic Building Information for Brundish Lodge*, available at, https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Monument/MSF23752; NHLE, List Entry Number: 1016698, *Historic Site Information for Moathill Barn Moated Site*, available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1016698; SHER, Monument Record MWN 001, *Historic Site Information for Moat, Folly Farm*, Monewden Folly, Monewden Lodge, available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Monument/MSF3248; SHER, Monument Record HAD 045, *Historic Site Information for Rectangular Moat, Park Yards*, available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Monument/MSF14017. All accessed 12/4/17.

[489] Collins, M. 2014 *Letheringham Lodge: understanding the extent of listing part 1.* Available at: http://www.letheringhamlodge.com/curtilage-report-by-michael-collins. Accessed 1/12/19.

[490] SHER, Monument Record: LRM 003, *Listed Building Information for Letheringham Lodge*, available at https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/hbsmr-web/record.aspx?UID=MSF3255-Letheringham_Lodge&pageid=16&mid=9. Accessed 12/4/17; Gomme, A., Gomme, A.H. & Maguire, A. 2008 *Design and Plan in the Country House: from castle donjons to palladian boxes*, London, Yale University Press; Martin, E. & Easton, T. 1992 'Moats in the landscape: Parham & Letheringham, '*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology and History*, XXXVII(4) pp. 399-401.

[491] Martin & Easton 1992: 401.

[492] Atkins, P. 2014 *A Heritage Assessment of Letheringham Lodge*. Available at: www.letheringhamlodge.com/new-page-1. Accessed 1/12/19.

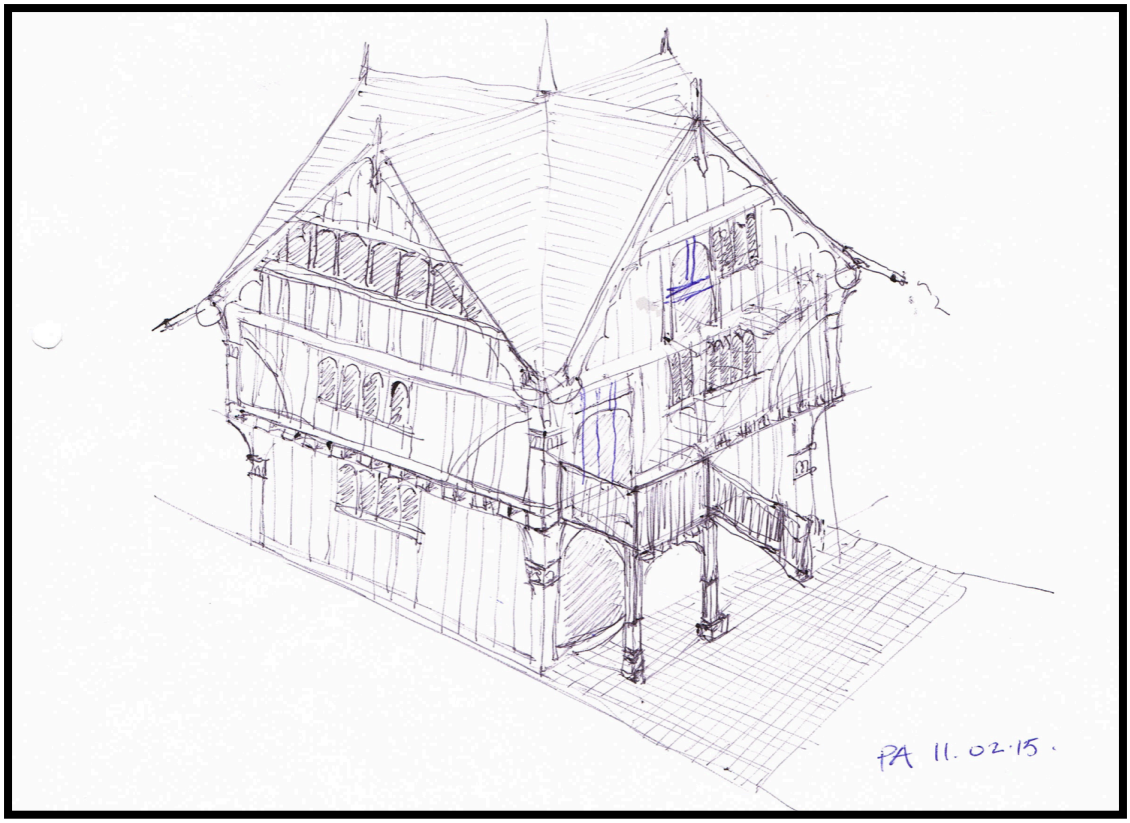


Figure 5.28. Interpretative sketch of Letheringham Lodge in Suffolk by Philip Aitkens. (*A Heritage Asset Assessment of Letheringham Lodge*, 2014)

The ground floor contained a highly decorative wood panelled main hall with a centrally located chimney and elaborately moulded ceiling, possibly two parlours, an access corridor, and a closet with a small gallery.[493] On the first floor there were two large rooms (the largest also heated and decorated with wood panelling and a moulded ceiling) and further rooms in a fenestrated attic. There is also some evidence that there were wide galleries (approximately 1.5 metres in length) on both the first and second floors on the north side of the building which may have provided views of the low lying Letheringham Old Hall which is located beside a river, and a laund within the park.[494] In 1610 a new wing was added to the lodge which included a kitchen block, a new staircase and a large gable chimney.[495]

The lodge also had jetties at first floor level on all four of its sides surmounted by a high hipped or pyramidal roof.[496] Jetties and hipped or steeply pitched roofs and internal arrangements

[493] Ibid.
[494] Ibid.
[495] Ibid; Sandon, E. 1977 *Suffolk Houses: a study of domestic architecture,* Woodbridge, Baron Publishing; Martin & Easton 1992:401; Alston, L.A. 2014 *Letheringham Lodge, Suffolk, Historic Assessment*. Available at: http://letheringhamlodge.com/leigh-alston. Accessed 1/12/19.
[496] Gomme, Gomme & Maguire 2008: 58.

similar to that seen at Letheringham Lodge are structural characteristics often attributed to Wealden houses.[497] Dating from the early fifteenth and sixteenth century, timber framed three bayed Wealden houses were a group of hall houses that were initially found in a core area of Sussex, Surrey and most notably in Kent. They were then copied and reproduced in Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Warwickshire and East Anglia (particularly in Essex and Hertfordshire). They were middle class structures that housed merchants and wealthy famers and would have provided appropriate accommodation for park officials.[498]

Internally, two storey Wealden houses highlighted the status of their occupants by conforming to a formal layout that divided the building between higher and lower status areas. This is apparent from the archaeological investigation of two structures that formed the unmoated lodge at Stansted in Essex which in terms of size and shape were in keeping with three bayed Wealden houses.[499] The first lodge building on the site (dating from the late medieval period and enclosed by a fence) was a fairly basic rectangular timber framed thatched roof structure infilled with wattle and daub that measured eight metres by five metres. It was replaced in the second or third decade of the sixteenth century by two rectangular timber framed buildings that were arranged in an 'L' shape around a cabled courtyard and enclosed by a rectangular nine hundred square metre ditched enclosure that was probably topped by a bank with a hedge or fence.[500] The interpretation of the lodge buildings themselves has been described as highly conjectural particularly when discussing the upper storeys. The project drew on documentary sources and considered examples of fourteenth-century lodge buildings at Ditton Park in Buckinghamshire and at Highclere in Hampshire that appear to broadly agree with the archaeological evidence for the lodge buildings at Stansted.[501]

The hall was located in a building that was oriented east to west and measured approximately eleven metres in length and just over five metres in width. It has been suggested that this building would have been very similar in appearance to the depiction of 'The Keepers House'

[497] Lewis, E. 1990 'Three Hampshire Wealden houses', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and archaeological Society* 46, pp 113-130; Bridgewood, B. & Lennie, L. 2009 *History, Performance and Conservation*, Abingdon, Taylor & Francis.
[498] Lewis 1990: 113; Brown &Phillpotts 2008:247
[499] Ibid: 247.
[500] Ibid: 241, 243-244 & 248-249.
[501] Ibid: 245.

on the *c.*1575 map of Crondon Park in Essex (Figure 5.20).[502] It may have also resembled the ten other depictions of lodges (perhaps other examples of Wealden houses?) from the cartographic sample that appear to be similarly shaped with whitewashed walls, red tiled roofs with chimneys (Figures 5.6, 5.18-5.26). The second building (which was of a similar size to the hall building) housed a kitchen and was located 2.3 metres to the north of the hall orientated north west to south east. The floors of this structure were scorched by heat from twin hearths or ranges similar to those found in the kitchens at the King John's Hunting Lodge at Writtle.[503]

Excavations have further revealed that the low status area of the hall building was probably located at its western end where a ground floor service passage connected it to the kitchens. Servants may have lodged in the upper storeys of the low status area. It has however been suggested that the Park-keeper and his family or even guests may have lodged in this area therefore the servants would most probably have lodged on the ground floor or in the kitchens. The remaining high-status areas of the hall were located in the centre and east of the residence. Located at the centre were a hearth, the high table and a room that adjoined a latrine. At the east end of the hall on the ground floor was a private room or parlour. On the floor above there were private bedchambers reserved for the Park-keeper or guests.[504]

Function

As has been seen, the form of lodges varied enormously. They ranged from extensive lodge complexes comprised of a number of domestic buildings to more modest structures. There have also been varying explanations for how these building were used. King John's Hunting Lodge was referred to as merely the 'king's house in Writtle' in contemporary records and the term 'hunting lodge' appears to have been a term frequently used for early royal residences.[505] It is unclear whether hunting was central to the function of this building (as it was not located in a park) whereas other lesser structures located in parks are more obviously associated with hunting practices and park management.

---

[502] Ibid: 244 & 247; ERO D/DP P2.
[503] Ibid: 244.
[504] Ibid: 248.
[505] Roberts, E. & Miles 1995: 99; Brudenell, M. 2005 *The Lordship Campus, Writtle Agricultural College, Essex. An archaeological desk-based assessment*. Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge Report No.627. Available at https://writtle.ac.uk/pdfs/5/writtle%20dt.pdf Accessed 15/3/17.

There does appear to be a degree of consistency in the siting of many of the lodges within parks that suggests that they were connected in some way to hunting and park management.[506] Where possible they were set in a central or high position in order to afford the best possible views of the hunt and to also watch over the deer and the park itself.[507] This is reflected in the map sample where every lodge is depicted either as occupying a central position on a laund or in an area of a park that was relatively open. In his work *Maison Rustique, or The Countrey Farme* (1616) (a translation of the French book *L'agriculture et Maison Rustique* by Charles Estienne 1554) Richard Surflet advises that the lodge must be located:

> …in the most convenient laund of the parke, which is most spacious and fruitfull, and which hath the greatest prospect into the parke, and where the deere take greatest delight to feed, there you shall build the lodge or house for the keeper to dwell in, and it shall by all meanes stand eurie way, so as there may bee no secret approach made unto the same, but such as the Keeper may easily behold from his windows…[508]

The Anglo-Irish hunting manual by Arthur Stringer (1714) also advises how a park should be protected from poachers:

> '…if you have any reason to believe your Park so disturb'd your best way will be to have two Men every Night for a month both light and dark, let their Business be to walk easily in the most suspected Parts of the Park, to look and hearken what they can hear or see, when they do see or hear anything, one of them to run straight to the Lodge where the Keeper ought to be ready with two or three men more…'[509]

It is clear from the comments made by Surflet and Stringer that one of the primary considerations for the siting of lodges was to provide park keepers with a base that could be used as a vantage point from which to protect the park's deer stock from frequent, often violent forays by poachers. It is also apparent that park keepers were housed in lodges (many protected by moats as seen above) and employed in some parks to combat this on a day-to-day basis. The Sessions Rolls and the Calendar of Essex Assize Records for Essex give an insight into the role that some park keepers played in protecting the park and its resources. Court records show that some park keepers undoubtedly resided at the park lodge and were actively involved in confronting poachers at all times of the day (the experience of poaching

[506] Moorhouse: 2007: 110
[507] Mileson, S.A. 2009 *Parks in Medieval England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[508] Surflet, R. 1616 *Maison Rustique; or The Countrie Farme*. Available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A00419.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 14/4/17
[509] Stringer, A. 1714 *The Experenc'd Huntsman.* Belfast, James Blow.

in parks is discussed in detail in part 2, chapter 8). Examples from two Essex parks from this study (Thorndon and Crondon) clearly illustrate their full involvement. At Thorndon Park two incidents are recorded in the mid seventeenth-century:

> John Pearman, park keeper to Lord petre at thorndon south that on 2 March about 10 o'clock at night, John Radley of Brentwood and two others in his company did hunt and kill one deer in Thorndon Park, and that he hath witnesses to prove it.[510]

> Recognizance of Henry Barnard of Good Easter, Thomas Barnard and Robert Luken, both of Hornchurch, husbandman; Henry Barnard to answer John Pearman keeper of Thorndon Park for the unlawful hunting and killing of deer in the park.[511]

At Crondon Park and Writtle Park, park keepers confronted poachers in 1642:

> Recognizance of Henry Woodward of Writtle and Robert Page of Crundall (Crondon)bin Orsett keepers; to indict Gilbert church, John Lanham, Thomas Ayesrt, John Motte "and others" for the rictous and unlawful assembling, hunting and killing deer in Writtle park and "Crundall" Park.[512]

Similar encounters are recorded in Essex at the parks of New Hall in 1586[513] at Copped Hall in 1641 and 1658[514] and at an unnamed park in 1699/1770.[515] While there is evidence of 'working' park keepers residing at lodges there is also evidence that some many were men of some status, usually a relatively well -off gentleman or a yeoman (who may have resided in Wealden type houses as discussed above).[516] In her travel diary (*c.*1696), Celia Fiennes observes that: '…it's a great Priviledge and advantage to be a Cheefe Keeper of any..lodge…'.[517] The documentary record illustrates how rewarding these positions could be. The Thaxted survey of 1393 records a charter granted to a keeper of three parks in Essex who was rewarded for his duties with the largest free estate within the manor.[518] The Park- keeper at Stansted, Thomas (or John?) Josselyn appears to have been a man of considerable means holding the manor of Maunden and lands in Hallingbury.[519] A park keeper at Crondon Park in the sixteenth century was also recorded as receiving a yearly standing fee of £11 and also

[510] ERO Q/SR 388/22.
[511] ERO 367/42.
[512] ERO Q/SR 319/95.
[513] ERO Q/SR 98/76A.
[514] ERO T/A 418/121/17; T/A 418/150/34.
[515] ERO T/A 418/224/24.
[516] Robey, A.C. 1991 *The Village of Stock, Essex, 1550-1610: a social and economic survey*, unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics.
[517] Fiennes, C. 1888 *Through England on a Side Saddle in the time of William and Mary: being the diary of Celia Fiennes*, London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Hamilton, Adams & Co.
[518] Hunter 1999: 120.
[519] Brown & Phillpotts 2008: 242 & 255.

kept horses and hogs. William Heywood also a park keeper at Crondon Park between the early 1590s until 1609 was also a substantial yeoman farmer who farmed around one hundred acres, which included a hop ground.[520] It is possible that in some instances prosperous park keepers did not permanently reside at their lodges, leaving the management of the park and its resources to a deputy or under keeper.[521] Celia Fiennes observed the work of under keepers at several lodges in the New Forest which gives some indication of how enclosed lodge courtyards may have been utilized in the fenced lodge sites located in parks:

> There are 15 Lodges and these are disposed to Gentlemen that have underkeepers…at these seveall Lodges ye Keepers gather Brome and at Certaine tymes in ye day by a Call gathers all the Dear in within the railes which belong to Each Lodge, and so they Come up and feed upon this Brouce and are by that meanes very fatt and very tame, so as to Come quite to Eate out of ye hand.[522]

As well as serving as a base from which the park was protected and managed, lodges were undoubtedly hubs for hunting activities during their occupation. This is clearly evident at the lodges at Stansted, Long Melford and the three parks at Hundon. At Stansted a series of ditches that formed three funnels were investigated to the south of the hall building and have been identified as deer drives. They are believed to have been a permanent framework that was used as a means to channel fallow deer towards and around the hall building and possibly to move livestock around the park. Two of the funnels have been found to be tapered, with one measuring forty metres in width at its southern end before it rapidly narrowed to ten metres at its northern end as it passed the lodge complex. Another funnel to the west of the complex was also forty metres in width before it narrowed to fifteen metres as it passed out of the excavated area. It has been postulated that they were probably bound by fences, hedges or nets in order to prevent the deer from escaping. The drive at Stansted is believed to be similar to a large drive at Hampton Court (constructed in 1537) where the lodge was also the focal point of the hunt.[523] The arrangement of funnels was ideally suited to bow and stable hunts. As the deer were driven along these funnels towards the lodge (possibly chased by dogs) they would have dramatically emerged in front of the lodge where standing archers loosed their arrows at the passing deer.[524] Further evidence that hunting did take place at

[520] Robey 1991: 46.
[521] Brown & Phillpotts 2008: 242.
[522] Fiennes 1888: 39.
[523] Brown & Phillpotts 2008: 251-252.
[524] Ibid: 251; Almond 2011: 82.

Stansted comes from the recovery of twelve socketed arrowheads. Among these were four 'broadheads' that were used to hunt large game and six large 'forkers' which are believed to have been used to hamstring game. There were also a large number of items recovered that were used in the maintenance of functional clothing (perhaps hunting) such as lace tags thimbles, pins, needles, buckles, fastenings and buttons.[525] The lodge at Stansted also seems likely to have hosted another blood sport in the form of cockfighting. Several mature cockerel carcasses, all with their fighting spurs still attached to their legs were found in the excavated latrine pit near to the lodge, indicating that some form of cockpit was located near to the lodge. Surflet further advised park owners that close by to their lodge should be built 'the cocke-house where he shall keepe his fighting cockes and hennes'.[526] It is not clear how many owners followed this advice or whether cockfighting was prevalent in medieval and post medieval parks. Only one other park site at Easton in Suffolk has so far been identified as possessing a cockpit and that has been dated to the eighteenth century.[527]

The plans of the three parks at Hundon (c.1600) along with the map of the Little Park at Long Melford (c.1613) are the only maps that depict hunting activities in the cartographic sample. The plan of the Great Park at Hundon (Figure 5.29) shows three fallow deer traversing a network of five rides that converge on the lodge, with one running north to south towards the lodge.[528] On the plan of Easty Park (Figure 5.30) a deer is also shown running on a ride roughly north to south towards the lodge situated in a clearing.[529] The plan of Broxted Park (Figure 5.31) however appears to show a hunt in full flow with one of three fallow deer being chased by a greyhound.[530] The head of the 'T' of the lodge appears to be angled to provide a view along the southern and western rides. It may be concluded that as with the lodge at Dobpark this area of the lodge of Broxted Park was a viewing gallery from which the hunt could be observed and from where hunters could participate in bow and stable hunting as deer were driven from north to south or from west to east. The network of rides shown on all three maps is also similar to the network of funnels that have been investigated at

[525] Brown & Phillpotts 2008: 257-258.
[526] Surflet 1616: 670.
[527] SHER, Monument Record ETN 005, *Historic Site Information for The White House; Easton Mansion; Easton Park*. https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/hbsmr-web/record.aspx?UID=MSF8293-The-White-House-Easton-Mansion-Easton-Park-(PMed)&pageid=16&mid=9 Accessed 21/4/17.
[528] NA MPC 1/2.
[529] NA MPC 1/3.
[530] NA MPC 1/3.

Stansted. The plans of the three parks at Hundon do not show if the rides were in any way excavated but it is very likely that some form of barrier would have been erected on their margins to prevent the deer from escaping into the coppiced quarters of the park.

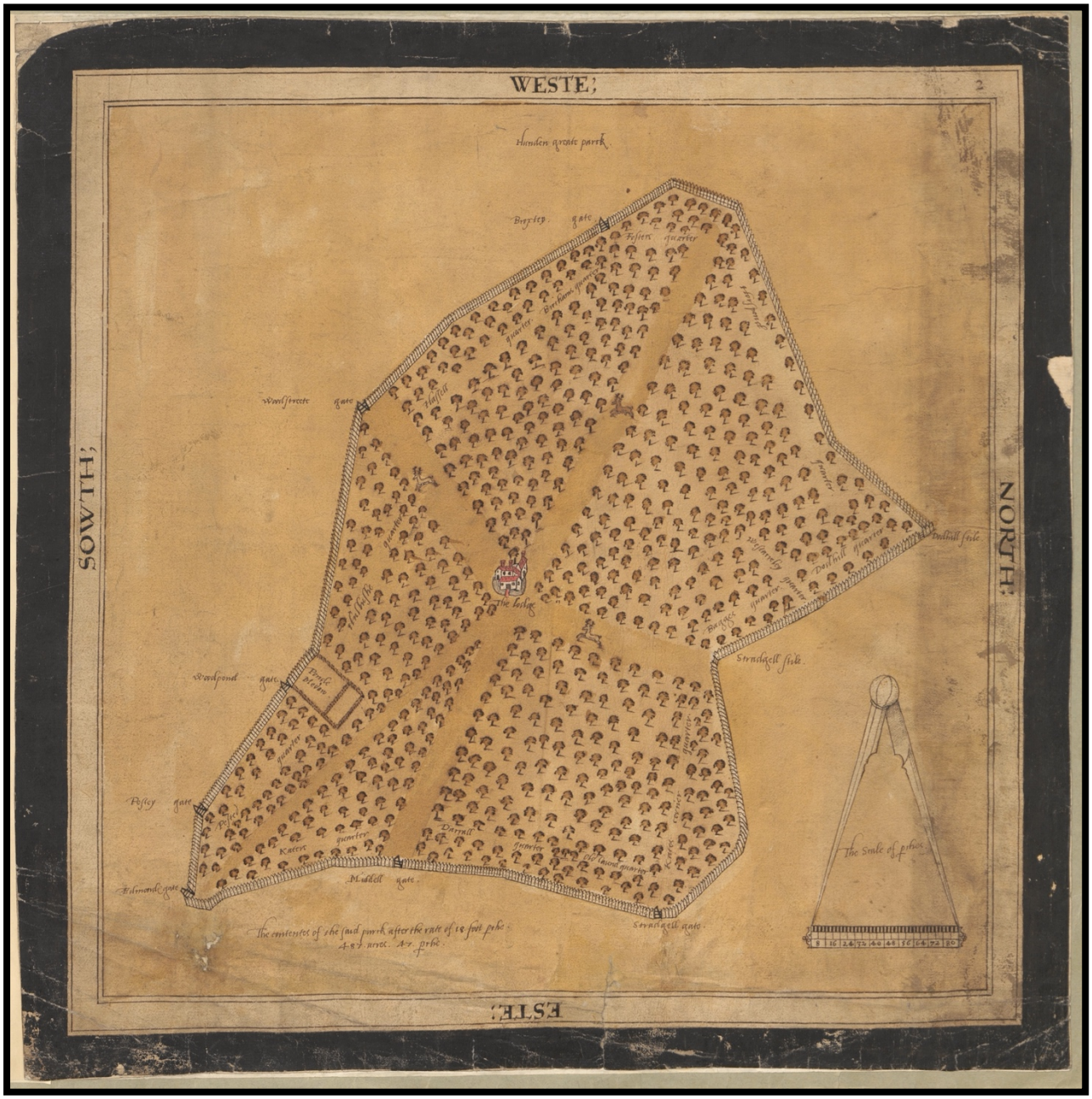


Figure 5.29. Plan of Hundon Great Park, Suffolk *c.*1600. (NA MPC 1/2)

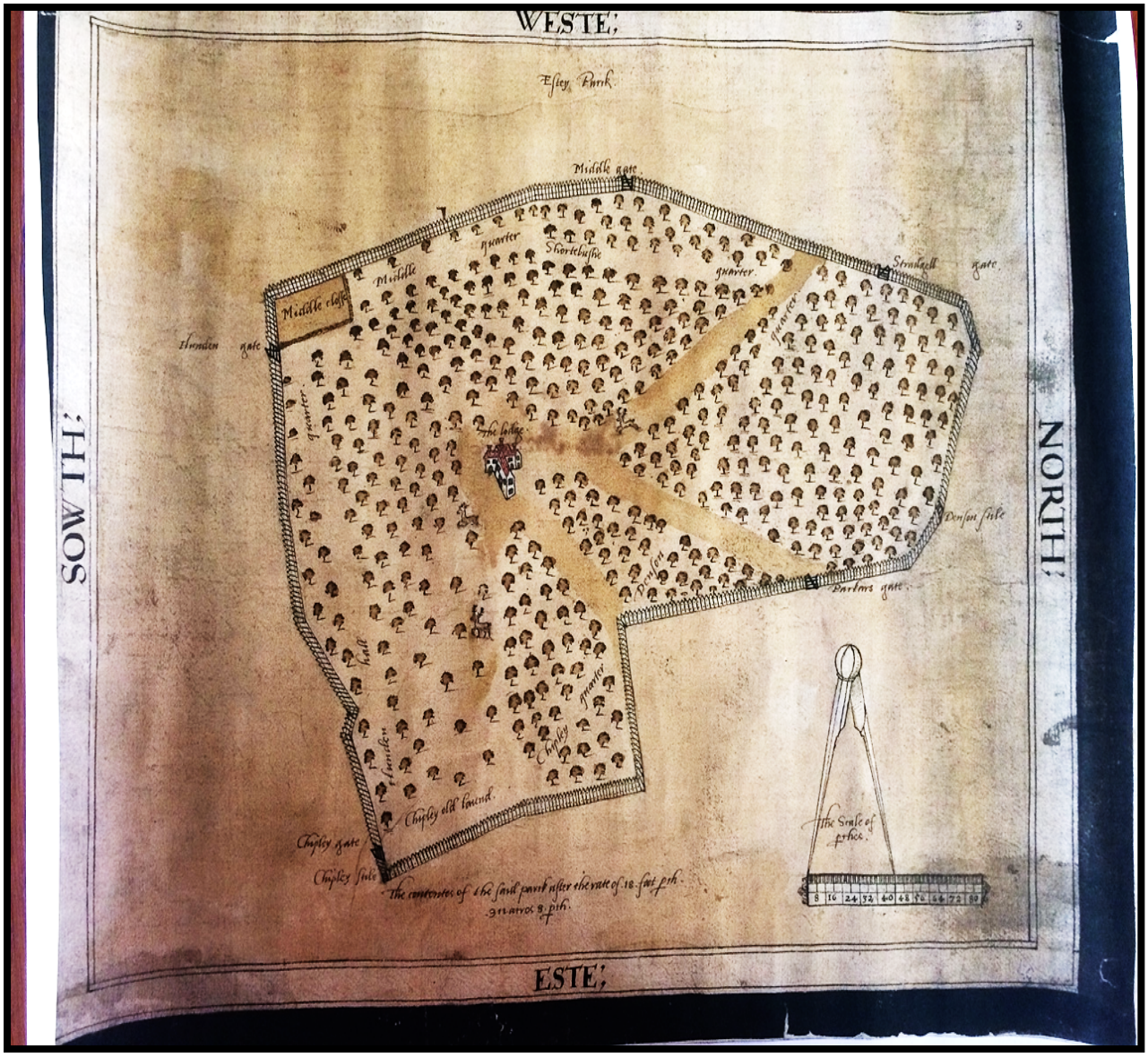


Figure 5.30. Plan of Easty Park, Suffolk *c.*1600. (NA MPC 1/3)

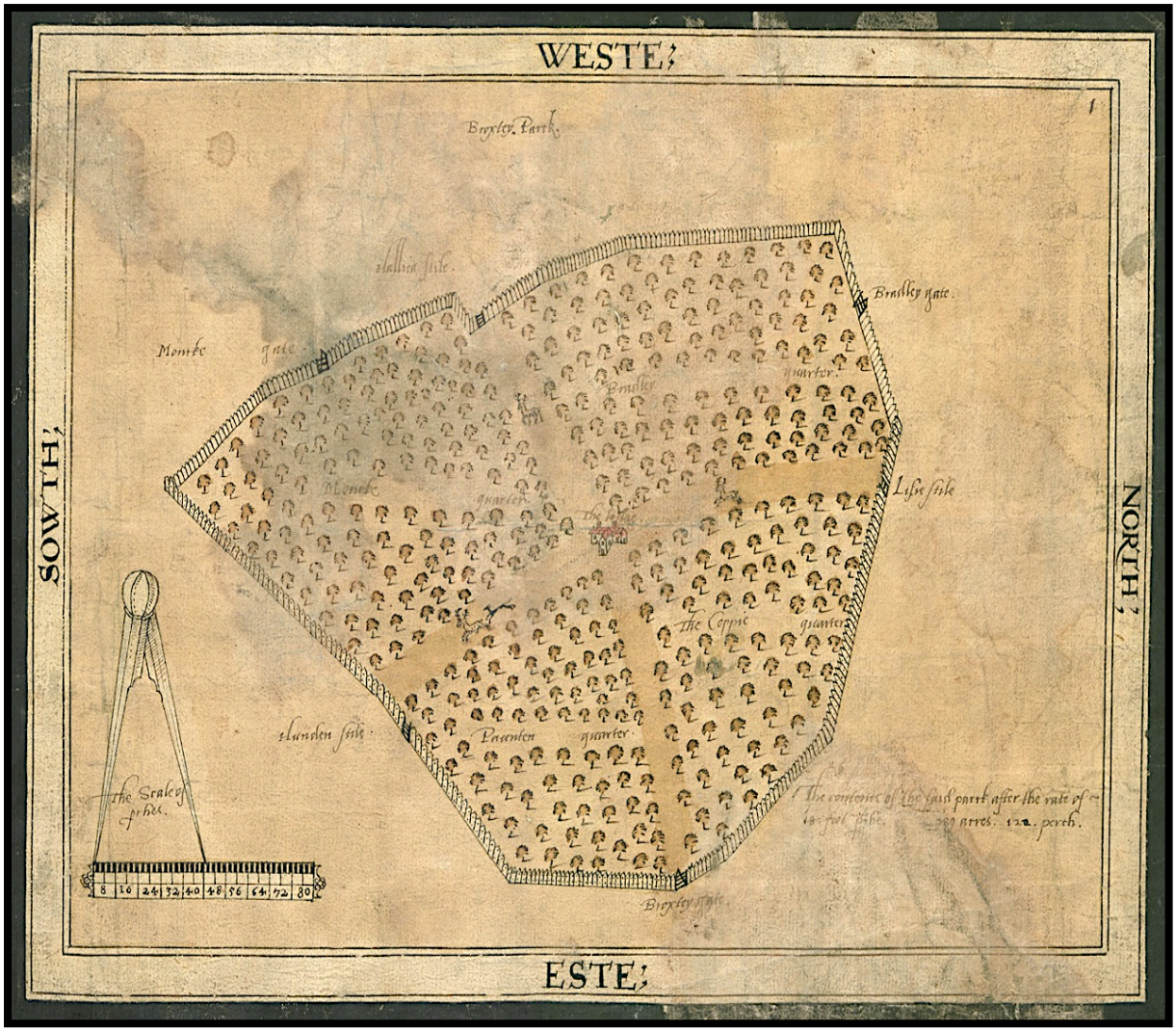


Figure 5.31. Plan of Broxted Park, Suffolk *c.*1600. (NA MPC 1/1)

On the map of the Little Park at Long Melford the depictions of hunting and the landscape where it was taking place are very different. The hunt is still being played out in the vicinity of lodge type buildings (as at Hundon and Stansted) but the main difference is that the hunters at the Little Park are both mounted and on foot and are hunting with dogs in an area that is relatively open (Figure 5.32).[531] This may be a depiction of a scaled down form of a par force de chien hunt or 'by strength of hound' which was a classic method of hunting on horseback with a pack of hounds (the different forms of hunting which may have taken place in parks are discussed at length in chapter 4).[532] This form of hunting was more suited to larger spaces such as forests where red deer capable of running long distances were hunted down. It has been suggested that not even the largest of parks could have provided a suitable

[531] SRO B 2130/2
[532] Almond 2011: 73

environment for such an expansive hunt.[533] However, it does appear from cartographic evidence that some form of hunting on horseback may have taken place at the Little Park and that the lodge and its open environs were central components. The cartographic sample



Figure 5.32: Detail of a map of the Little Park at Melford, Suffolk *c.*1613 showing hunting on foot and horseback with dogs near to the lodge buildings. (SRO B 2130/2)

Towers and standings

It would also be reasonable to conclude that the principal function of towers and standings in parks was to view or participate in the hunt. The upper open storeys of standings provided unobstructed viewing galleries from which spectators could view the denouement of the hunt below them. It has been suggested that this was the case at Long Melford where huntsmen armed with bows may have stood in the courtyard surrounding the standings (shielded by a fence) and loosed their arrows as deer were directed by toiles or perhaps hedging. They were driven as close as possible to the unfenced long side of the building where spectators in the upper storey could view the killing or hamstringing of the deer and the ritualistic ceremony of the curée where the animal was eviscerated and broken up.[534] This was perhaps a further example of bow and stable hunting that was centred on a park building.

[533] Sykes, N. 2007 'Animal bones and animal parks' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press Ltd., pp. 49-62.
[534] Mcann, Ryan & Davis 2014: 32; Almond 2003: 78-79.

This form of hunting may have also been played out in the vicinity of hunting towers such as the tower located at Wormingford. From its elevated position at the northern tip of a plateau that overlooks Essex and Suffolk, spectators may have viewed deer driven towards them from the fenestrated upper storey or the flat tiled (perhaps balustraded) roof. This theory appears to be confirmed by a fragment of a crossbow bolt that has recently been discovered along the stretch of ground that formed the end of the chase opposite the viewing platform.[535]

Non-hunting related functions

The isolated and secluded location of many lodges engendered, together with the basic home comforts that they supplied, led them to be utilized by some park owners, their families and their associates as 'secret houses'.[536] The practice of keeping a 'secret house' appears to have developed during the Middle Ages when the head of the main residence and a small retinue temporarily removed themselves to the relatively peaceful haven of a lodge during the annual audit. This custom went on into the early modern period where lodges also continued to provide private apartments for conducting confidential meetings and comfortable accommodation for extended stays (either by guests or members of the family) or permanent seigneurial retirement.[537] The latter was the subject of a letter to Secretary of State Sir Robert Cecil dated 9 May 1599, from Sir John Tyndall, Master of Chancery, which expounds on the intention of the Earl of Derby and his wife Elizabeth de Vere (Cecil's niece) to take up residence at a lodge in a park (probably the Little Park) at Castle Hedingham, which at that time was held by the Cecil family.[538] Tyndall relays to Cecil that the Earl had visited the lodge and was seemingly satisfied of its suitability as a potential residence and had instructed the current inhabitant that he intended to stay there:

> I am informed by Mr Edmunds, who dwells in one of the parks belonging to Castle Hedingham manor, that my Lord of Derby and his wife were at the castle last Saturday and pretended to make their abode thereabouts for a month; they sent in the morning to give this gentleman warning that they were desirous to have that lodge, and in the afternoon they came and viewed the house, but said nothing thereof; but after their departure, Mr Jno Vere came to Edmunds and told him to remove within a month, as they had a mind to take that house and grounds…[539]

[535] The discovery was revealed in a personal conversation with members of the Colchester Archaeological Group.
[536] Girouard, M. 1978 *Life in the English Country House: a social and architectural history*, London, Yale University Press; Henderson, P. 2007 'A place to 'cultivate the soul': the idea of the villa in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' in Airs, M. & Tyack, G. (eds.) *The renaissance villa in Britain 1500-1700*, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., pp. 25-37.
[537] Henderson 2007:30.
[538] Liddiard & Wells 2008: 91-92.
[539] Everett Green, M.A. (Ed.) 1869 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Elizabeth (1598-1601) 192.

The provision of accommodation also seems to have been the motivation for the extensive renovations and extension of the lodge at Letheringham (as noted above) during the early seventeenth century. Following the death of Sir Thomas Wingfield in 1609, his widow, Elizabeth Wingfield is believed to have taken up permanent residence in the newly built 'dower house' wing of the lodge until her death in 1620.[540] The initials 'EW' and the date of 1610, which were carved above a side entrance on the new extension, appears to confirm this.[541]

Although evidence is scant, archaeological excavations and the documentary record reveal lodge buildings were sometimes utilized as locations to conduct legal proceedings and administrative tasks. John Kirby recorded in his work *The Suffolk Traveller* that the Quarter Sessions were held at Letheringham Lodge.[542] At the lodge at Crondon the Court Baron was also held during the sixteenth century.[543] This was the domestic court of the manorial lord that during the second half of the sixteenth century primarily administered the transfer of property (both freehold and copyhold) from one person to another. It also heard civil pleas in relation to debt, broken agreements and trespass brought by one tenant of a manor against another or by an outsider against a tenant.[544]

Evidence of administrative tasks taking place at lodges come from the recovery of several reckoning or jetton counters that were found at the Essex sites of King John's Hunting Lodge, Wormingford and Stansted. Copper alloy jettons (from the French word jeter, meaning to push or throw) were used in conjunction with a reckoning board (a kind of two-dimensional abacus) as a means for accounting. The earliest English examples date from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century. They were largely supplemented or replaced by the late fourteenth-century by jettons produced in France and Tournai in the Low Countries. By the mid sixteenth century German jettons manufactured in Nuremberg surpassed those produced in France and the Low Countries and appear to have been the dominant type found

[540] Collins 2014.
[541] Sandon 1977:
[542] Kirby, J 1735 *The Suffolk Traveller,* London.
[543] Robey 1991: 46.
[544] Robey 1991: 46 & 197; Newton, K.C. 1980 'The value of pre 17th century documents and maps to medieval archaeology in Essex' in Buckley, D.G. (ed.) *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, CBA research report, no.34, London.

in England.[545] It has been postulated that they would most probably have been used on middle and upper-class sites (they are commonly but not overwhelmingly found on monastic and castle sites) as the vast majority of the medieval and post medieval population had little need for an accounting tool.[546] This also appears to be the case at three lodge sites in Essex where the recovery of jettons suggests that some form of accounting or park administration was taking place within their walls. At Wormingford three brass 'rose and orb' style Nuremberg jettons dated between 1550 and 1630 were recovered during excavations (Figure 5.33).[547]



Figure 5.33. 'Rose and orb' jetton which were in used as an accounting tool in England during the period between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[548] (Shakespeare Birthplace Trust)

At Stansted Lodge a total of seven jettons dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries were found. The earliest counter was struck in Tournai in the first half of the fifteenth century and was found in an enclosure ditch just north of the original lodge building. It has been suggested that the counter may have been lost in this area when the lodge was occupied. Two other jettons with an early 'rose and orb' design (similar to those found at Wormingford) dating to the late fifteenth century were also recovered from the topsoil of the later cobbled courtyard.[549] At King John's Hunting Lodge in Writtle a total of nineteen jettons were found

[545] Schofield, J & Vince, A. 2005 *Medieval Towns: the archaeology of British towns in their European setting*, London, Equinox Publishing Ltd.; Cuddeford, M. 2013 *Coin Finds in Britain: a collector's guide*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing.
[546] Schofield & Vince 2005: 160.
[547] Brooks, White & Nicholls 2010: 19.
[548] Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. *Nuremberg Jettons at the SBT,* available at: https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/nuremberg-jettons-sbt/. Accessed 12/1/20.
[549] Brown & Phillpotts 2008:238.

throughout the site dating from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth- century indicating that accounting was taking place throughout its occupancy.[550] In the main hall area five jettons were found, three of them were English dating from between the late thirteenth and mid fourteenth-century and two French counters dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth-century. Five more were found in the main kitchen building, one was from Tournai dated *c.*1420-25 and four from France from the early to late fifteenth-century. There were also two recovered from the gatehouse (of indeterminate origin), also from the late fifteenth-century, and an English token *c.*1302-10 and a late fifteenth French jetton. The relatively high number of jettons recovered at Writtle and the presence of a 'countinghouse' suggests that administrative tasks were continuously taking place within the buildings throughout the period of its occupation.

Conclusions

Evidence of administrative tasks and domestic life illustrate that the buildings that were contained within parks were complex and multifaceted in terms of form and function. From an examination of the cartographic, architectural, and archaeological evidence we have seen that many lodges appear to have shared a similar internal configuration and outward appearance to that of Wealden houses. They were also bustling centres of commerce, locations for courts of law and were attractive and comfortable, often moated retreats where a level of privacy, security and isolation was enjoyed. There is also little doubt that lodges along with towers and standings were an integral part of the hunt and how it was conducted and experienced up to 1700 when they largely disappear from the cartographic sample. Above all, they provided a kind of gravitational focal point for hunting parties and served as grandstands for spectators to view the hunt as it unfolded. If we were to rely on contemporary texts alone, we would perhaps, forget about the *other people* involved in hunting and imagine that it was simply concerned and centred around those who were actively participating. We would also ignore the fact that many park buildings were hives of activity throughout the year. They were not abandoned at the conclusion of the hunt when the members of the hunting party left the stage and withdrew back to their homes. Park buildings, in all their forms continued to be inhabited and utilized by disparate members of

[550] Rahtz 1969: 79-80.

society for a variety of reasons. Their value and importance to park owners is demonstrated by their complexity, longevity, and adaptability. To possess one or more of these buildings satisfied both pragmatic and leisurely concerns and desires. They were undoubtedly the beating heart of the park from which so much life emanated.

Part 2

While Part 1 has shown that it is necessary to study the development of parks and hunting, this does not fully shed light on what it was like to experience a hunt. To do this we need to go out into the field and into the map where phenomenological methodologies will be applied. This will be achieved by conducting investigations on four former deer park sites. This is not without its challenges both theoretical and practical, as will be seen in in the discussion and analysis that follows. In addition, other contemporary texts that elevate experience over the mechanics of the hunt will be studied which will include a discussion on the importance of sound to the experience of hunting. The experiences of people who were excluded from participating in park-based hunting and developed their own illegal forms of hunting will also be considered. These were experiences that were comprehensively documented in court records. They provide an un-sanitized often visceral view of what it was like to hunt.

Chapter 6

The Phenomenology of Parkland 1500-1750: potential applications

The growth of experiential landscape archaeology can be traced back to the 1980s and the early 1990s with the development of post-processual critiques within the discipline of landscape studies.[551] Post-processual archaeologists in particular have attacked the dominance of positivist scientific methodologies in the study of the past where landscape features were diligently recorded, but the people who 'inhabited' such landscapes, largely marginalized. At the centre of their argument is the notion that there should be a rejection of scientific methodologies in favour of a 'subjective' approach that predominately focused on the people that both inhabited and shaped the cultural and social landscape.[552] The central tenets, techniques and methodologies developed to facilitate this approach have proved to be just as contentious. Those who have argued for the implementation of phenomenological techniques have claimed that experiencing the landscape allows valuable insights to be gained through the subject's full sensory immersion in the landscape. Conversely, detractors have claimed that phenomenological approaches are seriously problematic in both theoretical and operational terms.[553] To date, the majority of archaeological phenomenological research has focused on the prehistoric period. This chapter will examine the phenomenological theory surrounding the ideas and techniques of the discipline and explore the possibilities for the phenomenological study of post-medieval parkland landscapes.

The application of phenomenological techniques to the study of the historic landscape has stimulated considerable theoretical debate, criticism and ultimately division amongst archaeologists and theorists for over two decades. Prominent phenomenological practitioners such as Tilley, Bender, Hamilton and Whitehouse, Cummings, Whittle, Fleming, Thomas, Gosden and Watson, amongst others, have been credited with making significant

[551] Finch, J. 2013 'Historic landscapes' in Howard, P; Thompson, I; Waterton, E. *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*, Abingdon, Routledge, pp. 143-151; Rennell, R. 2012 'Landscape experience and GIS: exploring the potential for methodological dialogue', *Journal of archaeological Method and Theory*, 19(4) pp. 510-525; Fleming, A. 2007 'Don't bin your boots!', *Landscapes* 8(1) pp. 85-99.
[552] Finch 2013: 144; Rennell 2012: 510.
[553] Tilley, C. 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments,* Oxford, Berg, Fleming, A. 2006 'Post-processual landscape archaeology: a critique', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 16(3) pp. 267-280; Barrett, J.C. & Ko, I. 2009 'A phenomenology of landscape: a crisis in British landscape archaeology?' *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 9(3) pp. 275-294; Brück, J. 2005 'Experiencing the past? The development of a phenomenological archaeology in British prehistory', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 12(1) pp. 45-72.

contributions to the study of British and European prehistory through the utilization of phenomenological methodologies as primary investigative tools.[554] Specifically, they have used phenomenological techniques to describe the ways in which prehistoric monuments and the physical world that they inhabit are perceived by 'directed intervention in our surroundings' which is manifested by walking in the landscape.[555]

Tilley argues that as the individual walks across the modern landscape it provides an idea of how past peoples interpreted and inhabited the same landscape. He asserts that the human body and the landscape are constants and that therefore the experience of physical engagement with the landscape would not greatly differ to those experiences of someone from the Neolithic or Bronze Age periods.[556] This assertion has in part led to a number of prehistoric landscape projects studying highly visual Neolithic monuments and landscapes. The majority of these projects have predominately concentrated on visual experience, particularly to and from monuments and the changes of visibility when walking between them.[557] The focus on visual experience in these studies has however led to criticism in recent years as it has been claimed that it is extremely difficult to establish whether the visual relationship posited by the phenomenologist in the present would have been deemed as similarly important to a person in the past.[558]

Tilley drew inspiration from the work of a number of phenomenological philosophers including Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961) and Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) to stimulate the phenomenological debate in archaeology.[559] Beginning with his pioneering

---

[554] Tilley, C. 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape places, paths and monuments,* Oxford, Berg Publishers; Bender, B. Hamilton, S. & Tilley, C. 1997 'Leskernick: stone worlds; alternative narratives; nested landscapes', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 63, pp. 1471-78; Cummings, V. 2002 'Between mountains and sea. A reconsideration of the Neolithic monuments of south-west Scotland', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 68, pp. 125-46; Cummings, V. & Jones, A 2002 'Divided places: phenomenology and asymmetry in the monuments of the Black Mountains, South East Wale's, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 12(1) pp. 57-70; Cummings, V. & Whittle, A. 2003 'Tombs with a view: landscape, monuments and trees', *Antiquity*, 77, pp. 255-266; Cummings, V. & Whittle 2004 *Places of Special Virtue: megaliths in the Neolithic landscapes of Wales*, Oxford, Oxbow; Fleming, A. 1999 'Phenomenology and the megaliths of Wales: a dreaming too far?' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18, pp.119-125; Gosden, C. 1994 *Social Being and Time*, Oxford, Wiley; Thomas, J. 1993 'The hermeneutics of megalithic space' in Tilley, C. (ed*.) Interpretative Archaeology*, Oxford, Berg; Watson, A. 2001 'Composing Avebury', *World Archaeology,* 33, pp. 296-314.

[555] Brück 2005: 46.

[556] Ibid: 54.

[557] Hamilton, S; Whitehouse, R; Brown, K; Combes, P; Herring, E; Seager Tomas, M. 2006 '*Phenomenology in practice: towards a methodology for a 'subjective' approach*', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 9(1) pp. 31-71; Eve, S. (2012) 'Augmenting phenomenology: using augmented reality to aid archaeological phenomenology in the landscape', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 19(4) pp. 582-600.

[558] Brück 2005: 5; Llobera, M. 2007 'Reconstructing visual landscape's', *World Archaeology*, 39(1) pp. 51-69.

[559] Merleau-Ponty, M. 2012 *Phenomenology of Perception*, Abingdon, Routledge; Heidegger, M. 2010 *Being and Time* (Translated by Joan Stambaugh), Albany, State University of New York Press; Harris, O.J.T. & Cipolla, C.N. 2017 *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: introducing current perspectives*, London, Routledge; Brück 2005: 47.

work: *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) Tilley argued that from a phenomenological perspective, knowledge of our landscapes either in the past or present can be attained through perceptual experience. Landscapes must fundamentally be experienced through a three-dimensional multi-sensuous, embodied interaction with the physical world and cannot be fully understood through the creation and study of two-dimensional representations.[560] Tilley regards representations of landscapes derived from cartographic sources, photographs, written texts, paintings and computer-based technologies as 'outside' experiences. They can only provide an abstract or superficial knowledge of the landscape which contrasts with the 'inside' experience that can be gained by the phenomenologist's embodiment in the landscape.[561] Despite this claim, Tilley *does* study landscapes from the 'outside' as well as the 'inside' by using photographs in his work to show the visual relationships between different places and written texts. This approach has most notably been adopted by Cummings and Whittle and by Hamilton and Whitehouse (Hamilton and Whitehouse's work will be discussed more fully below) who have used three hundred and sixty degree photographic panoramas and drawings in their work.[562] To gain a full 'inside' phenomenological understanding of a landscape Tilley advises that the individual should walk in and through them.[563] As the phenomenologist moves sequentially through the landscape, the body (which is the primary phenomenological research tool) enables the construction of a series of narratives that allows a degree of understanding of a particular place.[564] As Tilley puts it, the individual 'enters the landscape and allows it to have its own impact on perceptive understanding' through the simultaneous sensory experience of: vision, touch, smell, taste and sound.[565] Other phenomenologists such as Thomas have expressed reservations over the value of walking through the landscape while simultaneously recording experience. He argues that these methods are unlikely to provide any real insight into the experience of prehistoric people, as

[560] Tilley, C. 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments,* Oxford, Berg Publishers; Tilley, C. 2008 'Phenomenological approaches to landscape archaeology' in David, B; Thomas, J (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp. 271-276.
[561] Tilley 2008: 271.
[562] Cummings, V., Jones, A. & Watson, A. 2002 'Divided places: phenomenology and asymmetry in the monuments of the Black Mountains, southeast Wales', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12(1), pp. 57-70; Cummings, V. & Whittle, A. 2004 '*Places of Special Virtue: megaliths in the Neolithic landscapes of Wale's*, Oxford, Oxbow Books; Hamilton, S., Whitehouse, R., Brown, K., Combes, P., Herring, E., Thomas, M.S. 2006 'Phenomenology in practice: towards a methodology for a 'subjective' approach', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 9(1) pp. 31-71.
[563] Tilley 2008: 272
[564] Brück 2005: 47-48.
[565] Tilley 2008: 271-272.

their experiences are 'historically constituted'. Our wanderings will only inform us about modern thoughts, concerns and beliefs.[566]

Tilley also highlights the importance of the individual describing this physical engagement with the world as fully and richly as possible. In order to do this, he relays the methodologies that he employs in his own research but does stress that there can be no 'rulebook' to undertake 'good' phenomenological fieldwork. He advises that known places of prehistoric significance and 'natural' places with little or no archaeological evidence of human interaction should be visited, and a record made of sensory experiences and constraints. He emphasizes the importance of familiarizing oneself with the landscape to develop a feeling for it. He also advises that these places be revisited in different seasons, times of day and in different weather conditions. Places should be approached from different directions and a record made of the changes in character of the landscape. Paths of movement (such as lines of ridges and courses of valleys) should be followed through the landscape and a record made of the manner in which they may change. All of these 'inside and 'outside' activities with their consequential observations and experiences should then be pulled together to form a comprehensive phenomenological text.[567]

Opposing the claims made by phenomenological practitioners is a small but vociferous body of academics whose critique has been seen in some quarters as overly cynical or even hostile. Hamilton and Whitehouse have partly attributed this attitude to the 'hearsay reputation' of phenomenology where negative views (including the criticism that phenomenology is 'touchy feel' because of its concern with sensory experience) have been passed by word of mouth.[568] Fleming in particular vehemently criticizes the core principles of phenomenological fieldwork as espoused by Tilley and Cummings which he sees as a time-consuming exercise which always has the potential to arrive at 'differing interpretations'.[569] He does praise the approach of a more people centric form of landscape history and lauds 'other ways of telling' but ultimately, he states that archaeologists are not artists. He argues that in Britain and

[566] Thomas, J. 2004 *Archaeology and Modernity*, London, Routledge.

[567] Tilley 2008: 274.
[568] Hamilton & Whitehouse 2006: 31.
[569] Fleming, A 2006 'Post-processual landscape archaeology: a critique', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 16(3) pp.267-280.

North-West Europe phenomenological fieldwork has become little more than an imaginative and creative 'quest for landscape metaphors and cosmological allusions'. He also raises the pertinent question of whether it was possible to study the entire landscape palimpsest where features are visible from several periods and whether the phenomenologist should even attempt to develop an exhaustive narrative for every period.[570]

The lack of a clear, detailed and definitive methodology or even a sustained discussion on developing methodological practices has also drawn criticism and accusations that practitioners are being 'subjective' and 'unscientific'.[571] Rennell goes as far to say that the future contribution of phenomenology to landscape studies depends on the development of structured field survey practices. This would aid the exploration of landscapes as embodied experiential phenomena and also enable ideas and results to be disseminated to a wider audience.[572] This aim of producing a structured methodology led Rennell to produce a case study of the Iron Age landscapes of the Outer Hebrides that combined Geographical Information Systems (GIS) with subject-centred field survey techniques. A pro forma was designed with the aim of addressing a list of research questions mostly concerning visibility in the landscape.[573] This approach contrasts to Tilley's belief that the phenomenologist should not begin with a list of hypotheses to be investigated or prior assumptions to be confirmed. Where possible he believes that landscapes should be 'studied without prejudice'.[574] It has also been argued elsewhere that phenomenology as experienced in the field could become distorted or even impossible if methodologies were strictly implemented.[575] However, Hamilton and Whitehouse have convincingly countered this argument with claims that the absence of methodology is a methodology in itself.[576] It can be argued that we cannot go into the landscape without prejudice or without some kind of methodology despite our best efforts. We are there for a reason, either to confirm or dispel our thoughts and notions or simply for a recreational walk in an aesthetically pleasing landscape. Even the route we take in the landscape has been planned in advance from prior personal knowledge of the landscape or with the aid of cartographic, textual or pictorial

[570] Fleming 2006: 273.
[571] Hamilton & Whitehouse: 2006: 31.
[572] Rennell 2012: 512.
[573] Ibid: 514 & 516.
[574] Tilley 2008: 271.
[575] Hamilton & Whitehouse 2006: 34.
[576] Ibid: 35.

sources. We therefore need to develop and embrace methodologies that will counter criticism and give credibility to landscape phenomenology studies.

Hamilton and Whitehouse's Tavoliere-Gargano Prehistory Project (TGPP) has developed what they call a 'explicit' and 'open' methodology in their phenomenological investigations which they felt could be developed further by other scholars and most importantly stand up to criticism.[577] The study investigated the sensory (predominately vision, smell and sound) relationship between the open flat Tavoliere plain and the mountainous Gargano area in Italy for what they have termed 'social distance mapping'. Central to the project was the design of a framework for practical methodological fieldwork. They do however provide the caveat that what is done in the field is 'highly specific to the site and issues in question'. Despite this warning it is clear that some of their methodologies can be easily adapted where visual experience and bodily movement are primary considerations.

Two main methodologies were developed for the study: a phenomenological site catchment analysis and an exercise that involved the production of a three hundred and sixty degree drawing of the site. The site catchment analysis took the form of a walk around the site focusing on the visibility of landmarks in the landscape in the 'near', 'middle' and 'far' distance. A pro forma recording sheet (where concentric circles were used was also developed for outward and return journeys to record levels of openness, any restrictions of views and the difficulty of terrain. Timed detailed notes of sensory experience were also made. Hamilton and Whitehouse have acknowledged that this approach has been criticized for its rigid geometric approach and for ignoring environmental change over time (Figure 6.1).[578] However, criticism of environmental change has been rejected by Tilley who while acknowledging irrevocable change has occurred, argues that the topographic and geological 'bones' of the landscape remain.[579] The three hundred and sixty degree drawing of the study site used concentric circles representing the near, middle, distant and far horizons with the individual phenomenologist at the centre of the circles recording sensory experiences. All visible features and people present within these defined areas were drawn onto a pre-

[577] Hamilton & Whitehouse 2006: 35 & 49. Hamilton and Whitehouse did not see phenomenology as a 'stand-alone' approach in their study and used other techniques such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS).
[578] Ibid: 42, 54-57.
[579] Ibid: 38, 54, 55 & 57; Tilley 2008: 274.

prepared form together with the varying levels of sound and smell experienced by the observer.[580] This technique was developed to be used on a large number of sites and in a way that recorded experiences could be compared.[581]

[580] Hamilton & Whitehouse 2006: 38-39.
[581] Ibid: 43.

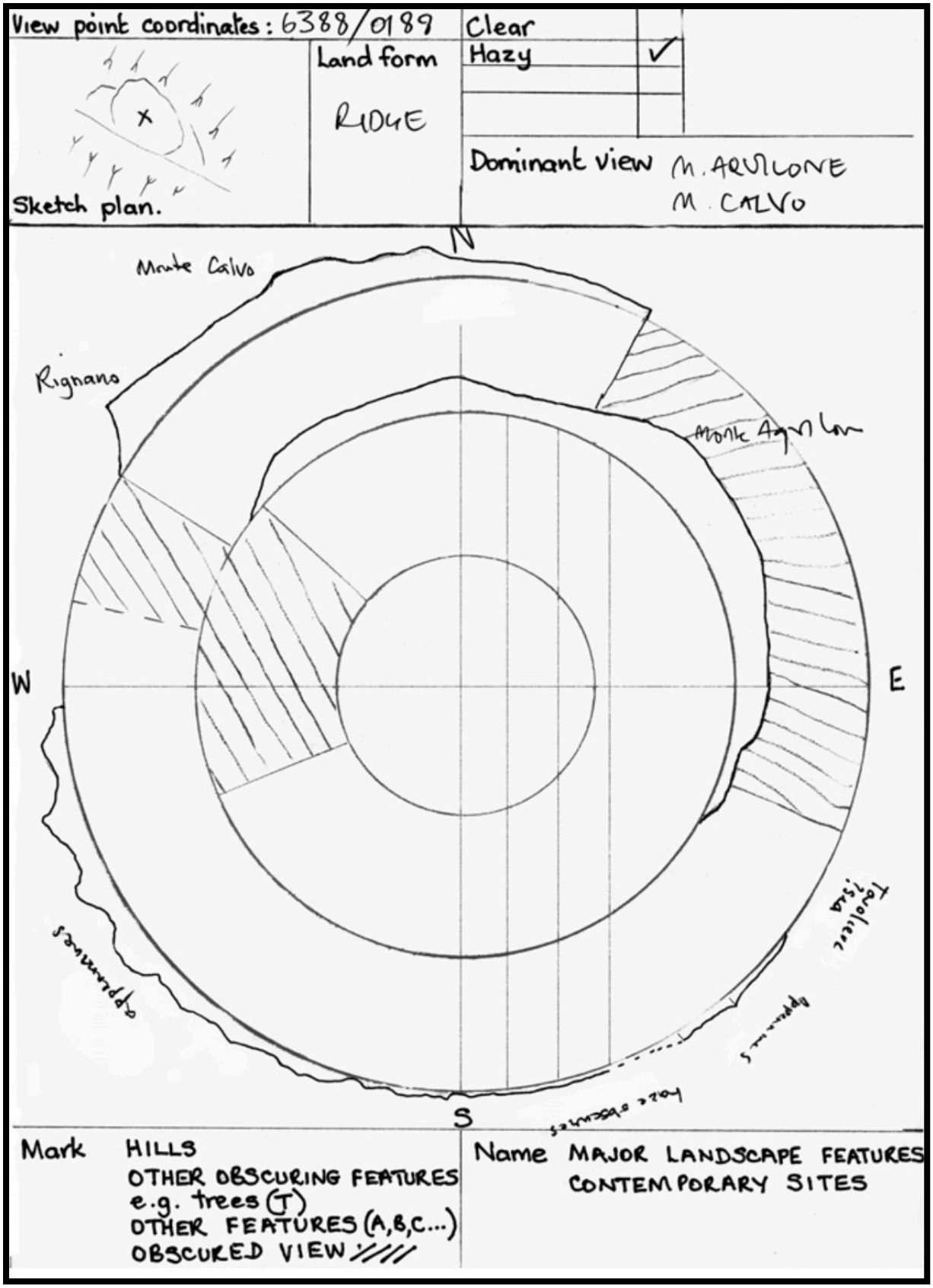


Figure 6.1. Perception recording sheet produced for the *Tavoliere-Gragano Prehistory Project*.

Crucially though, the methodologies discussed above have yet to be tested in smaller spaces such as those occupied by parks or to investigate the sensory experiences of historical landscapes. Finch argues that this is partly due to the fact that historical landscapes are often viewed as lacking a sense of 'otherness' that prehistoric landscapes have. Familiar 'modern' landscapes are seen as culturally understandable and do not need creative and imaginative theorization. He highlights the notion held by some that the recent past is communicated to us by the buildings and landscapes we still inhabit in a language we still use and fully understand.[582] In essence, the features of the modern landscape are 'recognized, classified and understood'. It has also been argued that the people who occupied the landscape of the recent past have a similar mindset to those who dwell in the modern world therefore there is little need to use phenomenological methodology in order to gain an insight.[583] Finch counters this argument by claiming that there is a need for the development of 'innovative research agenda' for the historic environment of a type that has proved so successful in the study of the prehistoric landscape. He argues that traditional interpretations of the historic landscape are insufficient and do not satisfactorily answer the questions of how people used, perceived or related to the historic landscape.[584] He further argues that people and their landscapes change considerably over short periods of time, therefore generalizations made about the static nature of the modern mindset are fundamentally flawed.[585] As with prehistoric phenomenological studies there is clearly a need for a more embodied experiential approach for the study of historical landscapes despite their perceived familiarity.

Finch has used written biographical narratives in an innovative attempt to 'repopulate and contextualize' the recent past. He believes that by using sources such as these there is little need to speculate, as those who study the pre-historic landscape are wont to do.[586] The vast amount of available primary documentary material means that this approach provides an opportunity for scholars to contribute to the experiential study of the historic landscape, an opportunity that Finch regrets few have taken up.[587] It could be argued that when they are

[582] Finch, J. 2008 'Three men in a boat: biographies and narrative in the historic landscape', *Landscape Research*, 33(5) pp.511-530.
[583] Finch: 2013: 145.
[584] Finch 2008: 514, 528.
[585] Finch 2013: 145.
[586] Finch 2008: 514, 528.
[587] Finch 2013: 145

used in conjunction with a defined phenomenological methodology in the field, biographical narratives have the potential to be invaluable sources for the study of experience of post-medieval parks. In his study of the early nineteenth-century landscape surrounding Harewood House in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Finch uses the diaries, memoirs and letters of Henry Lascelles (the younger son of the estate owner Edward Lascelles), William Wilberforce and Humphry Repton to investigate their different experiences of the same landscape.[588] In a letter to his wife Wilberforce praises the qualities of Harewood's landscape and provides evidence of its composition and the effect it had upon him. He describes a landscape of '…great natural beauty, vast woods, expanses of water, a river winding through a valley portioned into innumerable enclosures'.[589] Integral to this present thesis is the fact that early modern parks were similarly capable of engendering emotional responses from those experiencing them. What has emerged from this research is that parks during this period also had a range of meanings for those who inhabited them, becoming places that could give rise to feelings from pathos to whimsy.

Letters written by James Howell that recounted his time working as a tutor to the children of Lord Savage, the owner of Melford Hall in Suffolk in the early seventeenth century and the diaries of Mary Rich, countess of Warwick who wrote of her life at her estate at Leighs in Essex, during the mid to late seventeenth-century, give similar but extremely rare indications of the experience of living within a park environment. James Howell (1594?-1666) was a political writer and historian and is best known and most acclaimed for his literary work *Epistolae Ho-elianae or Familiar Letters*. These consisted of a series of epistolary volumes that were written and compiled by Howell while he was imprisoned in the Fleet in London during the 1640s as a debtor. They are a retrospective account of his career and travels throughout Europe and detail his observations of the people and places that he encountered.[590] One of these remembrances was of his time at Melford Hall which he relays to his friend Daniel Caldwell. In a letter that is dated 20 May 1619, Howell gives a rather conventional description of the deer park which could be viewed from nearby Melford Hall:

[588] Finch 2008: 514-515 Lascelles, Wilberforce and Repton were all at Harewood together in July 1802.
[589] Ibid: 525.
[590] Woolf, D.R. 2008 Howell, James (1594?-1666) Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13974?rskey=Zsc9QM&result=2. Accessed: 2/7/19.

> …which for a chearful rising Ground and Browsings for the Deer, for rivulets of Water, may compare with any for its highness in the Whole Land; it is opposite to the front of the great House, whence from the Gallery one may see much of the Game when they are a-hunting.[591]

In a letter to another of his friends, Robert Brown, which is dated 24 May 1622, Howell describes the walks he takes in the park at Melford and the feelings and memories that they inspire, which are anything but conventional:

> There is a dainty Park adjoining where I often wander up and down, and I have my several walks. I make one to represent the Royal Exchange, the other the middle Isle of Paul's, another Westminster-hall: and I pass thro' the herd of Deer, methinks I am in Cheapside.[592]

This entry is of particular interest as it describes a person walking through a parkland landscape at a time of year when there was probably no hunting activity (the fallow deer buck season was June 24 – September 14 and the fallow deer doe season, September 14 – February 2).[593] His walks appear to be particularly 'disembodied' experiences, as it seems that Howell always imagines that he is walking through the fashionable meeting places of seventeenth-century London.[594] Remarkably, a full-length portrait of James Howell survives from the period which almost visualises Howell's experience at Melford. The portrait engraving and etching (which was used as a frontispiece for another of Howell's works *Dendrologie ou la Forest de Dodonne* or *Dodona's Grove* or *The Vocall Forest* which was published in 1640[595]) by Claude Mellan (1598-1688) and Abraham Bosse (1602/4-1676) after an unknown artist shows Howell wearing a hat and cloak and sword, with his head resting in his hand in a detracted, pensive repose while leaning against an oak tree in a forest. A servant can be seen in the background holding a horse by its reigns and is perhaps waiting for Howell's return from his reveries (Figure 6.2).[596] Both the portrait and Howell's letter are clear examples that

[591] Jacobs, J. (ed.) 1890 *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: the familiar letters of James Howell, historiographer royal to Charles II*, London, David Nutt in the Strand.
[592] Jacobs 1890: 108-109.
[593] Almond 2011: 87.
[594] Boothman, L & Hyde Parker, R. 2006, *Savage Fortune: an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth century, Woodbridge*, The Boydell Press.
[595] Howell, J. 1640 *Dendrologie ou la Forest de Dodonne*, *or Dodona's Grove, or, The Vocall Forest*, London. Available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A03752.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 12/1/21.
[596] Portrait of *James Howell Standing in a Forest* (1641) by Claude Mellan and Abraham Bosse. Etching and engraving after an unknown artist. Available at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/393277. Accessed 12/1/21. Engraving of face, hat, hand and collar is by Mellan; the rest by Bosse. https://Collections.vam.ac.uk/itemo565018/james-howell-print-bosse-abraham/james-howell-print-abraham-bosse/. Accessed: 12/1/21.

when the people of the recent past entered the landscape, they did not always have profound sensory experiences where landscape features and structures (which were originally constructed and intended for a specific purpose) had meaningful impact. In short, those who inhabited or utilized a particular landscape did not always experience it in a set or prescribed way. They may also have experienced the same landscape in multiple ways which would have been largely shaped by their social and cultural background. For Howell it is the busy, and most frequented places of London that are recalled in his letter to Brown, not the experiences of the sylvan and bucolic park. What is paramount are his recollections and sensory experiences of the city (that Brown may have recognised) which are transposed onto the park. This type of sensory disembodiment has been highlighted by Brück who has observed that phenomenological studies of the landscape generally fail to consider that spaces may have been used and interpreted in completely unintended and subversive ways.[597]

[597] Brück 2005: 58.



Figure 6.2. Etching and engraving portrait entitled: *James Howell Standing in a Forest* (1641) by Claude Mellan and Abraham Bosse after an unknown artist. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 6.3. Line engraving portrait of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick. Unknown artist (1678) (National Portrait Gallery)

This can also be seen in the intermittent diaries or spiritual *Occasional Meditations* of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1625-1678) (Figure 6.3).[598] They detail particular aspects of domestic life with her husband Charles Rich, the earl of Warwick at the family estate at Leighs in Essex during the 1660s and 1670s.[599] The devoutly religious Mary spent much of her time at Leighs away from the mansion in contemplative retreat in an area that she refers to as the 'Wilderness', which was a woodland dell accessed by a stone bridge which spanned the river Ter.[600] The 'Wilderness' is believed to have been located within the old (apparently unnamed) monastic park of four hundred acres which was immediately to the north of the mansion. An estate map of 1735 shows the park pale and the densely wooded 'Old Wilderness' within (Figure 6.4).[601]



Figure 6.4. Detail from an estate map of 1735 showing the park pale at Leighs in Essex and the 'Old Wilderness'. (ERO D/DU 3263)

[598] Line engraving portrait of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, Unknown artist (1678) Available at: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw139531/Mary-Rich-ne-Boyle-Countess-of-Warwick?LinkID=mp61759&search=sas&Text=Mary+rich&role=sit&rNo=0. Accessed 12/1/21.
[599] Anselment, R.A. 2009 *The Occasional Meditations of Mary Rich, countess of Warwick*, Tempe, ACMRS; Mendelson, S.H. 2004 *Rich (née Boyle), Mary, countess of Warwick (1624-1678), noblewoman*. Available at https://doi.org/10/1093/ref:odnb/23487. Accessed1/2/19.
[600] Anselment 2009: 10.
[601] ERO D/DU 3263.

This was one of three parks at Leighs, the others being Littley Park (to the south of the mansion) which measured approximately four miles in circumference and Pond Park which contained four hundred and thirteen acres.[602] As has been seen above with Arthur Wilson's own description of his near fatal accident at Littley Park (page 119), these areas were still utilized as hunting grounds at this time. Mary's chosen place for regular periods of quiet contemplation and observation within the 'Wilderness' was a stand in an old pollard tree which had a wooden gallery in its boughs that was accessed by wooden steps.[603] She refers to it in her diaries as a welcome place for spiritual solitude:

> Upon a stand in the parke which is in a tree I use often to retire to…This tree which I use to gette alone in to that I might be rid of all out ward distractions that so I might undisturbedly convers with God and my selfe.[604]

From the stand (which may have been intended primarily as an elevated place from which to observe the hunt) Mary critically observed everyday prosaic pastoral scenes that took place in the park. She comments in one diary entry upon how sheep graze (which also indicates that the park also had an industrial function), and notes with wonder and amazement how they are able to sustain themselves:

> Upon observing a sheepe to bite so close to the ground that I could not but wonder to see how it was possible for it to feed it selfe, and yet it does by that short provision to keape it selfe.[605]

Mary also comments on a separate occasion on the management of the park which she compares to her own personal grief. She writes in dismay at her husband's plan to pollard or coppice the 'Wilderness' which brings painful memories of the death of her son Charles who died of smallpox in 1664 and expresses her hopes that both the 'Wilderness' and her son would soon be resurrected.[606]

> This sweet place that I have seene the first sprouting growth, and flourishing of above twenty years togeather and almost dayly taken delight in, I have also now to my trouble seene by my lords command the cutting downe of in order to its after growing againe thicker and bettar, though I often inteceeded with him to have it longer spared. This brought to my sad remberance afresh the death of my son…in a short space of time to my unexpressable grief by my great Lordes command cut doune by death that he might rise againe in a bettar and more flourishing condition.[607]

---

[602] Fell-Smith 1901: 114.
[603] Ibid: 251. As her biographer, Fell-Smith had access to Mary Rich's personal papers and diaries.
[604] Anselment 2009: 154.
[605] Ibid: 86.
[606] Mendelson 2004.
[607] Anselment 2009: 134.

Mary's inconsolable grief over the death of her son is evident throughout her diaries, with one of her contemplative thoughts clearly standing out. In an entry dated 6 October 1668 she records that she spent two hours in meditation in her stand in the park to commemorate the death of her son, which she marked privately every year:

> 'In the afternoon, I retreated to my stand in the park, and had there large meditations of death, and prayed, with some tears, to be fitted for it.'[608]

It could be suggested that the countess of Warwick was drawn to the stand in the park on this particular day because it was a location and structure that was synonymous with death. Deer were very likely to have been chased down and killed within close proximity of the stand, which may have been a scene which she had a degree of personal familiarity with. It was perhaps the only place at Leighs where death was commonplace and unavoidably witnessed by those that lived and worked there. It was not an idyllic place where thoughts of loss and death could be avoided but rather a controlled private environment where it was dwelt upon and confronted, away from prying eyes.

Early modern parks were indeed the setting for contemplation and metaphor and so sit comfortably within the remit of phenomenological analysis. Another central tenet of the approach which is highlighted by Tilley is the ability to control access and manipulate particular settings for action was also fundamental to the display and operation of power. Parkland boundaries would have created distinctions and demarcated social and cultural differences and overall would have produced a sense of otherness.[609] Tilley has built on ongoing research that has considered how patterns of exclusion and access within Neolithic monumental landscapes may have reflected and sustained social differences.[610]

The activities within parkland spaces were conducted by members of elite social groups who were dedicated to using parks as a vehicle for display. A phenomenological approach (with much of its focus on movement) to the study of parkland landscapes such as these seems to be an ideal methodology for the landscape archaeologist to gain some understanding of the

[608] Rich, M. Countess of Warwick 1847 *Memoir of Lady Warwick: also her diary from A.D. 1666 to 1672*, London, The Religious Tract Society.
[609] Tilley 1994: 17 & 26-27.
[610] Brück 2005: 47.

developing and unfolding narrative of the hunt which was conducted in a landscape which retains much of its ''geological and topographic' bones.[611] Tilley states that through a phenomenological approach knowledge of past and present landscapes can be gained through experience of them from the point of view of the subject. It can also provide an insight into the ways in which people in the past experienced and interpreted these landscapes. This involves the understanding and description of things as experienced by the individual with the overall objective of providing a rich or 'thick' description that allows others to comprehend the nuanced, diverse and complex nature of landscapes.[612]

Central to achieving this is the embodiment of the individual's sensing and sensed carnal body in the landscape. The body is the primary research tool with which the subject experiences and observes the landscape. Tilley believes that as we engage with the same terrain as our ancestors our views and interpretations of the landscape may share important elements with those of past peoples. He argues that features in the landscape such as steep inclines or sudden dips would have the same effect on us as they did on the people of the past. To achieve this the individual needs to be part of what they are trying to describe and understand. They must work and study landscapes by being fully immersed with them from the 'inside' and not from the 'outside' where experiences of landscapes are derived from maps, photographs, textual sources, paintings, and computer aided technologies.[613] The use of computer- aided technologies such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and Virtual Reality Modelling (VRM) and maps come in for particular criticism from Tilley for their adherence to an objectivist cartesian model of space. He states that the character of GIS in particular runs counter to the spirit of phenomenological approaches. There is a tendency he believes that it is often used as a substitute for phenomenological fieldwork. It is a 'dumb' surreal view of the landscape where everything is visible and therefore important which he claims is never the case and is incapable of providing an embodied encounter with the landscape.[614]

[611] Tilley, C. 2008 'Phenomenological approaches to landscape archaeology' in David, B., & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp 271-276.
[612] Tilley, 1994: 11-12; Tilley, C. 2010 *Interpreting Landscapes: geologies, topographies, identities; explorations in landscape phenomenology 3*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press; Brück 2005: 48.
[613] Tilley 2008: 271; Tilley 2010: 25-26.
[614] Tilley 2010: 477.

Tilley is equally as excoriating with his views on the use of maps and plans in archaeology. He asserts that they are of little use in the study of the landscape and of those who have inhabited it as they provide only an abstracted 'bird's eye view which is entirely removed from human experience'.[615] As we look down on a map or a plan, we see everything at once, which tends to produce a distorted view of the world and a 'peculiar perspective of the past'.[616] This map negativity has created a schismatic division between prehistorians and archaeologists who work on medieval and later periods. The latter group can benefit from maps that are contemporaneous with the landscapes or ruins they are studying. Conversely, the former group see little value in maps as an evidential source as they are not available to them in the same way.[617] These views have spread to other academic disciplines with the anthropologist Tim Ingold being one of the most ardent sceptics on the value of maps for the study of the cultural life of past and present societies. He believes that people can only experience their environment by moving through a three-dimensional reality rather than virtually across a flattened out two-dimensional surface.[618] The 'modern' topographic map does not grow or develop and is completely devoid of movement. It is 'made' as an inanimate, lifeless space that can tell us little of the natural world or the sensuous experiences that it produces[619]. For Ingold the map is reminiscent of:

> …a theatrical stage from which all the actors have mysteriously disappeared, the world - as it represented in the map – appears deserted, devoid of life. No-one is there; nothing is going on… In the cartographic world all is still and silent. There is neither sunlight nor moonlight, there are no variations of light or shade, no clouds, no shadows or reflections. The wind does not blow, neither disturbing the trees nor whipping water into waves. No birds fly in the sky, or sing in the woods; forests and pastures are devoid of animal life; houses are empty of people and traffic.[620]

Ingold does acknowledge that the map can be used as a tool to guide the viewer on a tour along pathways and past landmarks but it is the absence of movement within the map that is a particular problem for Ingold.[621] He muses on the effect of being magically transported 'into the looking-glass world behind the map'.[622] He feels that the individual would be

[615] Tilley, C. 2005 'Phenomenological archaeology' in Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (eds.) *Archaeology the Key Concepts*, London, Routledge.
[616] Ibid: 205.
[617] Aldred, O. & Lucas, G. 2018 'The map as assemblage: landscape archaeology and mapwork' in Gillings, M., Hacigüzeller, P. & Lock, G. *Re-mapping Archaeology: critical perspectives, alternative mappings*, London, Routledge.
[618] Ingold, T.2000 The *Perception of the Environment: essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*, London, Routledge.
[619] Ibid: 235 & 241.
[620] Ibid: 234 & 242.
[621] Ibid: 233.
[622] Ibid: 242.

disorientated and lost in this environment, 'as if in a fog', not because of the overwhelming detail of the map but because of the lack of movement. In essence, the inanimate map cannot stimulate cognitive development. The only way to gain knowledge and experience of the world is to physically move through it.[623]

Aldred and Lucas have recently pointed out that Tilley's particular brand of phenomenological archaeology, where landscape is brought down to the ground so that it can be analysed through the human body, has meant that maps in their traditional form, have been unjustifiably tainted, and in some cases dismissed. As a result, they have not received the theoretical attention that they deserve. They rightly insist that maps have always been, and always will be, an integral part of landscape archaeology as practitioners use, annotate, and even create them in the field.[624] Smith and Barrett have also lauded the Cartesian qualities of the map and have gone some way to addressing the 'cartographic anxiety' that has been inspired by Tilley and Ingold.[625] They have asserted that maps provide the opportunity to shrink the enormity of space for the viewer and make it more comprehensible. The ability to gaze in a single moment upon a detailed, organised, broad landscape where 'the actions of a whole culture could be inserted' is a major strength of the map and not a weakness.[626] Vincent Del Casino and Stephen Hanna have added to the debate from the perspective of geographers by challenging the ideas of Tilley and Ingold as they argue that maps are mutable and are not fixed at the very moment of their creation.[627] In reality they are vibrant multi-sensuous interactive resources that can inform and guide the viewer through the 'innumerable, intellectual and experiential references' that are inscribed upon their surfaces.[628]

Although there have been some cogent arguments for the map to be placed at the centre of archaeological and phenomenological enquiry; for Tilley and other post-processual

[623] Ibid.
[624] Aldred & Lucas 2018: 32.
[625] Smith, D.K. 2016 *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: rewriting the world in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell*, London, Routledge; Barrett, C. 2018 *Early Modern English Literature and the Poetics of Cartographic Anxiety*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[626] Barrett 2018: 66 & Smith 2016: 124.
[627] Del Casino, V.J. & Hanna, S.P. 2005 'Beyond the binaries.' 'A methodological intervention for interrogating maps as representational practices' *ACME: An International E-Journal for Clinical Geographies*, 4(1), pp.34-56.
[628] Ibid: 44.

archaeologists, there continues to be no substitute for personal experience and actually being present and moving in the landscape that you are studying.[629] While Tilley concedes that there can be no objective experience of landscape because we differ in terms of knowledge, culture, ethnicity, gender, age and class he advises that as far as possible landscapes should be studied without any preconceived prejudices. There should be no list of hypotheses to be tested, or any set of prior assumptions. When a person enters the landscape, they should allow it to have its own impact on their perceptive understanding, as we cannot (or should not even attempt to) understand them in a way that suits us.[630] He also advises that only when one becomes familiar with a landscape, can they produce a structure of feeling for it. Therefore, as much time as possible should be spent immersed in it in order to understand it. Landscapes are always in a state of flux and are never the same even from one moment in time to another. Tilley therefore advises that the progression of seasons should be witnessed, different times of day experienced, and qualities of light and shade observed. The full range of senses are engaged when experiencing these different conditions, the landscape is simultaneously a visionscape, touchscape, soundscape, smellscape and tastescape. The significance of these senses is dependent on the context and practices that are being undertaken in the landscape; for example: in dense woodland areas, smell and sound may be the most engaged experiential sense and in open areas it would perhaps be vision.[631]

Phenomenologists fundamentally attempt to describe the individual's experiences of different types of places and pathways and the routes that link them. Central to this act is the process of movement in the landscape through the art of walking in and through them, which according to Tilley is performed in 'a right way' and within social constraints. Furthermore, he believes that the art of walking is simultaneously an art of thinking and an art of practice or operating in the world.[632] Bodily movement through space provides the individual with a particular way of viewing the world. The sequence with which things are encountered through movement creates a narrative or a set of 'spatial stories' that structures the individual's understanding of the landscape.[633] In relation to understanding a narrative

[629] Tilley 2010: 26 & 477.
[630] Tilley 2008: 271; Tilley 2010: 27.
[631] Tilley 2010: 26-28.
[632] Tilley 2010: 27; Tilley 1994: 28.
[633] Tilley 1994: 28.

of hunting, Tilley points to the Cree, First Nation peoples of Quebec in Canada and their use of movement during their hunting journeys. It involves an unfaltering and habitual process of leaving their settlements and consistently hunting and moving in a circular direction before returning home. He also highlights that hunters in general tend to view the landscape from a decentred perspective where many of the places within the hunting ground are of equal relevance. These places are composed of different habitat types which provide different experiences and harbour different types of animals. It appears that hunters in general navigate their grounds via a prescribed pathway where every element of the landscape is interacted with in a particular way in order to create a 'spatial story'.[634]

For Gosden, the act of display, concealment and revelation helps to single out objects that can be important factors for educating the senses and producing different sensory effects. They are also vital elements in the management and control of knowledge. Particular areas of the landscape can be utilized to manage this knowledge by concealing the internal actions that take place within them from those on the outside. Those on the light and bright outside are able to hear and smell what is going on within a dark, shady and mysterious concealed area but only those privileged enough to be within are able to witness any displayed activities.[635] Concealed places may also be used to dramatically reveal the players of a tableau. A metaphorical curtain rises as the hunter enters the next act of the hunting narrative before going on to enter different physical environments (or stage sets) which continue to develop 'the spatial story'. The final act where the main players are engaged in a bloody epilogue brings the story to an end and the players depart the stage. Of relevance to this thesis is the fact that in some cases, this idea translated almost seamlessly into the parks themselves. The designed elements of Melford Park for example were perfectly suited to developing a narrative of this kind. The Park's division into four main quarters one of which heavily wooded would have enabled the implementation of these dramatic devices. As the hunters exited the 'ordinary world' of Melford Hall they progressed in a prescribed way firstly into open ground before entering and moving through woodland and emerging, into an area

[634] Tilley 1994: 36, 47-48 & 54.
[635] Gosden, C. 2004 'Making and display: our aesthetic appreciation of things and objects in Renfrew, C., Gosden, C., & Demarrais, E. (eds.) *Substance, Memory, Display: archaeology and art*, Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

where park buildings full of spectators witnessed their revelation and performance before their re-entry back into the 'ordinary world'.

Tilley has also been widely criticized for his conclusions because they were arrived at from the perspective of a white, middle class, middle aged and heterosexual male. Much of his fieldwork and the conclusions drawn from it have also been dismissed by some commentators as nothing more than florid and verbose descriptions of romantic wanderings in the landscape in the vein of the works of Samuel Coleridge and William Wordsworth, who were key figures in English Romanticism during the eighteenth century.[636] Matthew Johnson however does not dismiss Romanticism in such pejorative terms and instead sees it as a major influence in the development of contemporary landscape archaeology and history; where observation and visual experience in the field are integral to empirical investigation.[637] This view is questioned by Fleming who both regards any parallels between Romanticism and landscape archaeology as 'entirely fortuitous' and attacks Johnson for his apparent criticism and rejection of empirical scientific research, an accusation that Johnson has emphatically rebutted.[638]

Brück also makes a number of specific critical observations (both positive and negative) on phenomenological approaches to landscape investigation. She praises phenomenological approaches as a useful addition to archaeology as they encourage the archaeologist to critically engage with the ways in which experiences of places are created. She however highlights that describing our own embodied interaction with the landscape tells us more about our own contemporary perceptions and preoccupations than it does about those of the people who interacted with the landscape in the past.[639] Julian Thomas has a similar viewpoint and thinks that it is highly unlikely that walking through the landscape provides an authentic insight into past peoples because their experiences are 'historically constituted'.[640] Brück also points out that the fact that something is visible from a particular point to the individual does not mean that it is in itself significant and any association could be purely

[636] Tilley 2010: 473-475
[637] Johnson, M. 2007a. 'Don't bin your brain!' *Landscapes* 8(2) pp. 126-128; Johnson, M. 2007b. *Ideas of Landscape*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing; Fleming 2007: 87-88.
[638] Fleming 2007: 88-89; Johnson 2007b: 127-128.
[639] Brück 2005: 45-72.
[640] Thomas, J. 2008 'Archaeology, landscape, and dwelling' in Bruno, D., & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press.

accidental. Conversely if you cannot see something it does not necessarily mean that it is insignificant.[641]

Tilley lists a number of steps to follow when conducting a phenomenological study of the landscape. Firstly, the individual must familiarize themselves with the landscape by walking around it to develop a feel for it. Secondly, they must record their sensory experiences of the constantly changing landscape through still or video photography.[642] The use of 'static and silent' photographs has been criticized by a number of authors for their inadequacy in illustrating a range of experiences that a landscape can generate. Brück criticizes the use of photography and advises that its use must be treated with caution as the images that are produced are not objective and are carefully selected and edited representations of the landscape.[643] Other commentators have however praised their ability to convey complex information. The use of photomontages (first creatively explored by the artist David Hockney and subsequently by archaeologists) have been championed as an ideal methodology with which to record experiences. A series of photographs are taken from a fixed point then stitched together by a computer package or the camera itself. Each snapshot records a single embodied experience in the landscape and is representative of a visual experience of the landscape and of what the eye can see in terms of peripheral vision.[644] Tilley also suggests that a full written description (instead of abbreviated notes) of sensory experiences should be made. This process is he believes an important stimulus to perception. He further advises that the study site should be visited at different times of the day and in different seasons and instructs that the site should be approached from different directions and a record should be made of the manner in which the character of the landscape changes as a result of this.[645]

[641] Brück 2005: 56-58; Tilley 2010: 474.
[642] Tilley 2010: 30.
[643] Brück 2005: 49.
[644] Wilson, A. 2004. 'Making space for monuments: notes on the representation of experience' in Renfrew, C., Gosden, C., & Demarrais, E. (eds.) *Substance, Memory, Display: archaeology and art*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for archaeological Research; Cummings, V. 2008 'Virtual reality, visual envelopes and characterizing landscape 'in Bruno, D., & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp. 285-290.
[645] Tilley 2010: 30.

Conclusions

As has been seen here, phenomenology as a methodological approach for the investigation of the historic landscape as advanced by Tilley has been challenged, refined, and innovated upon by a second generation of landscape archaeologists. What has emerged however is a range of techniques which are unavoidably tainted by the bias of the investigator who moves through the landscape with a list of subjective questions to be answered, such as what can be seen from a particular location. Despite this and their almost exclusive use in the study of prehistoric landscapes, it would be unwise not to test these techniques when studying the experience of hunting in parks in the early modern era. Corporeal embodiment and the recording of sensory experience are essential in any study of a landscape where the senses were constantly stimulated and heightened by the activities that took place there. In Chapter 9, the theories and methods of Tilley and other phenomenologist practitioners will be applied in the field in a series of case studies. There is however, only so far you can go with these rigid methodologies as in many cases very little remains of the historic park within the modern landscape. Therefore, it is difficult to arrive at any clear conclusions regarding how the landscape was experienced when so much change has occurred. With this in mind a new technique of placing oneself within the contemporary map will also be explored. Not only does this provide an additional, subjective, more holistic, and admittedly imaginative perspective of how parkland was sensorially experienced; it also allows us to challenge a 'cartographic anxiety' that has developed within post-processual phenomenological archaeology and landscape studies in British prehistory. This anxiety, which has largely been propagated by Tilley and Ingold, has manifested itself in an attitude that maps can only be understood as flat Cartesian representations of the world with very little considered thought given to how they were produced or used.[646]

By looking at them differently, maps as well as landscapes can be used and interpreted in a subversive way. We value and interpret the spatial information that each map contains but rarely look beyond this. In many cases they are not mere representations of space but provide deeper insights into human interaction with the landscape. Pictorial maps are a case in point as many immerse the viewer in a visual unfolding narrative. They have been figuratively

[646] Aldred, O. & Lucas, G. 2018 'The map as assemblage: landscape archaeology and mapwork' in Gillings, M., Hacigüzeller, P. & Lock, G. *Re-mapping Archaeology`: critical perspectives, alternative mappings*, London, Routledge.

imbued with sound and movement at the time of their creation by cartographers who went into and experienced the landscape for themselves. Their intention is to relay in a series of experiential references laid upon the map which illicit emotional responses from the viewer.[647] We see the movement of people and animals, the prominence and extent of buildings and the type and extent of vegetation and most importantly for this study, scenes of the hunt and hunting landscapes. They are often drawn to scale and in elevation and we can imagine ourselves immersed within these environments. This is enabled by our knowledge of the world which includes our own sensory experiences and understanding of landscapes and buildings and by the bodily practice of walking. This is transposed upon the map, bringing it to life. The map is therefore a valuable phenomenological tool as it contains both spatial *and* experiential information.

[647] Del Casino & Hanna 2005: 44; Finch 2008.

Chapter 7

Sound

Of all delight that Earth doth yield,
Give me a pack of Hounds in field:
Whose eccho shall throughout the sky
Make Jove admire our harmony,
And wish that he a mortal were,
To view the Pastime we have here.[648]



Figure 7.1. Woodcut of a hare hunt with dogs used to illustrate an anonymous ballad entitled: *The Hunting of the Hare* which was published between 1663 and 1674. The woodcut shows some of the key elements of early modern hunting such as a huntsman on foot blowing a hunting horn and mounted huntsmen and the ever present and sonorous pack of hounds.[649] (English Broadside Ballad Archive)

As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the criticisms of phenomenology is that practitioners in the field focus mainly on what can be *seen*. The secondary literature also talks about the spectacle of the hunt but tends to largely ignore *sound*. This chapter will attempt to redress this by drawing on a range of contemporary sources to illustrate the importance of sound in the structure and experience of the hunt.

[648] Anon 1663-1674? *The Hunting of the Hare with Her Last Will and Testament: as Performed on Bamstead Downs, by Cony-Catchers, and Their Hounds.* Available at: https://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/24332.gif. Woodcut available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.english.ucsb.edu/ballad33446/bia. Accessed 12/3/19.
[649] Ibid.

In recent years, sound has become a major subject of medieval and early modern sensory archaeology as it has been (perhaps belatedly) recognized that studies such as these can provide a valuable insight into social interaction in the past.[650] The subject has however, only been discussed in general terms with several studies (largely drawn from contemporary literary sources) concentrating on a range of everyday familiar sounds. These have ranged from the pervasive and often intrusive noise which dominated the early modern urban auditory environment to the sensory impact of natural phenomena, human – animal relationships and the effect of religious rituals and church bells on urban and rural communities, with the latter being a particularly recurrent theme.[651] It is somewhat curious however that recent studies of sound perception have not included hunting or parks given their prominence in the literary sources and importance to early modern English culture in general. At the same time such an approach has been widely criticised with some claiming that gaining any understanding of auditory perception in the past is fraught with difficulties, mainly because of its ephemeral nature.[652] Such a view can be countered that with the aid of literary and documentary sources, works of art created in different mediums, fieldwork and more importantly cartographic evidence (where the individual can place themselves within the map itself), informed suggestions of how sound and echoes may have been experienced in parks during the early modern period can be made.

In his most popular, successful and influential work *Sylva Sylvarum* (roughly translated as *Forest of Materials or Collection of Collections*) (1626/7) Francis Bacon (1561-1626) became the first English natural philosopher of the early modern period to explore in detail the nature and properties of sound (particularly musical sound) and its physical effect on the human body through a series of observations, annotated experiments and the retelling of 'facts' that were predominately derived from classical sources.[653] Although Bacon acknowledges in *Sylva*

[650] Wells, E.J. 2018 'Overview: the medieval senses' in Gerarrd, C. & Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; pp. 681-696; Coates, P.A. 2005 'The strange stillness of the past: toward an environmental history of sound and noise', *Environmental History,* 10(4). pp. 636-665; Mills, S. 2014 *Auditory Archaeology: understanding sound and hearing in the past*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press Inc.

[651] Cockayne, E. 2007 *Hubbub, Filth, Noise & Stench in England 1600-1770*, London, Yale University Press; Mileson, S. 2018 'Sound and landscape' in Gerrard, C.M. & Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain,* Oxford, Oxford University Press; Woolgar, C.M 2006 *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, London, Yale University Press; Mackinnon, D. 2014 *Earls Colne's Early Modern Landscapes*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited; Marsh, C. 2010 *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Hooke, D. & Bintley, M. 2019 'Sound in the Landscape, a Study of the Historical Literature. Part 1: The Early Medieval Period-the Sixth to the Eleventh Century', *Landscape History* 40(1), pp. 15-34.

[652] Mileson 2018: 714.

[653] Jalobeanu, D. 2008 'Bacon's brotherhood and its classical sources: producing and communicating knowledge in the project of the great instauration', in Zittel, C., Engel, G., Nanni, R. & Karafyllis, N.C. (eds.) *Philosophies of Technology: Francis Bacon and his Contemporaries*,

Sylvarum that sight was *the most spiritual of the senses* and had: 'no object gross enough to offend it', he unequivocally challenged the long-held Aristotelian notion of the primacy of sight in the hierarchy of the senses as he appears to contradict himself by expressing his view on the effects of hearing on the individual:

> …the Objects of the Eare, do affect the Spirits…with Pleasure and Offence…So it is Sound alone, that doth immediately, and incorporeally affect most..[654]

Bacon appears to be attuned to the zeitgeist of early modern sensory perception where the control and manipulation of auditory experience in particular (as in earlier periods) was central to the structuring of all aspects of cultural life.[655] With the absence of 'masking sounds' such as combustion engines and other everyday background noises which pervade the modern world, the early modern world was quiet in comparison making any sound above a certain level stand out, particularly in a rural environment.[656] It has been proposed elsewhere that sounds above sixty decibels would have been rare.[657] The loudest sound an individual in the countryside may have heard during this period would have been a gunshot at one hundred and forty decibels or a clap of thunder at one hundred and twenty decibels. The more day to day sounds would have provided a far more muted experience with the rustle of leaves measured at ten decibels and wind blowing through trees at forty decibels.[658] James Howell made fanciful musings of the sentient nature of trees in the past and observations of the gentle sounds they emitted in his work; *Dendrologie ou la Forest de Dodonne,* which he likens to a form of language:

> It fortun'd not long since, that trees did speake, and locally move, and meet one another. Their ayrie whistlings, and soft holllowe whispers became articulate sound, mutually intelligible, as if to the soule of vegetation.[659]

Leiden, Brill, pp. 197-230; Gouk, P. 2000 'Music in Francis Bacon's Natural Philosophy' in Gozza, P. (ed.) *Number to Sound: The musical way to the scientific revolution*, London, Kluwer Academic Press, pp. 135-149.

[654] Bacon, F. 1627 *Sylva Sylvarium or, a Natural History, in Ten Centuries. Whereunto is newly added the history natural and experimental of life and death, or of the prolongation of life*, London, William Lee.

[655] Bacon1627: 189; Aristotle (translated by McMahon, J.H.) 2007 *The Metaphysics,* New York, Dover Publications Inc.; Smith, S, Watson, J. & Kenny, A. (eds.) 2015 *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660*, Manchester, Manchester University Press; Mileson 2018: 713

[656] Smith, B.R. 1999 *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: attending to the O-factor*, London, The University of Chicago Press; Smith, B.R. 2004 'The Soundscapes of Early Modern England', in Smith, M.M. (ed.) *Hearing History: A reader*, London, The University of Georgia Press; Woolgar, C.M. 2006 *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, London, Yale University Press, pp. 85-111.

[657] Smith 1998: 98.

[658] Smith 2004: 86.

[659] Howell 1640: no page numbers.

It is unsurprising that high levels of sound and its behaviour in a typically quiet world held a great fascination for Francis Bacon who believed that the nature of sound in general had been only superficially observed thus far:

> Musick in the Practice, hath been well pursued, and in good Variety; but in the Theory, and especially in the yielding of the Causes of Practice, very weakly; being reduced into certain Mystical subtilties and not much truth.[660]

This fascination with sound and the desire to redress the perceived imbalance of the intellectual study of the senses was shared by many of Bacon's contemporaries who wrote in several of the scientific publications of the period of its important effect on the body, spirit and mind of the individual. Helkiah Crooke (1576-1648), the court physician to James I, succinctly and clearly expresses the fleeting nature of sight and the importance of sound and its enduring effect in his 1615 anatomical treatise *Mikrokosmographia*:

> …those things which be heard, take a deeper impression in our minds…the act of seeing is sooner ended and passeth more lightly by the Sense than the Act of Hearing.[661]

In his *Essaies Upon the Five Senses* (1620), the poet and writer Richard Brathwaite (1588-1673) like Bacon, also acknowledges that sight was the most important of the senses by declaring: 'the eye of all other senses is most needful'.[662] However, despite this assertion, Brathwaite dedicates considerably more space to his essay entitled *On hearing* which extends to roughly eight pages, compared with the two pages which comprise his discourse *On seeing.*[663] In the opening paragraph Brathwaite explains how vital it was for gaining knowledge of the world and how affecting it could be as he claims it is:

…the organ of understanding; by it we conceive, by the memorie we conserve, and by our judgement wee revolue…As our eare can best judge of sounds, so hath it a distinct power to sound into the centre of the heart…some things it re lisheth pleasantly, apprehending them with a kinde of enforced delight.[664]

One of the more prominent themes in Bacon's discourse on sound in *Sylva Sylvarum* (which was also a subject of enquiry for later natural philosophers and appears to be particularly

---

[660] Bacon 1627: 29; Folkerth, W. 2002 *The Sound of Shakespeare*, London, Routledge.
[661] Crooke, H. *1615 Mikrokosmographia: A description of the body of man. Together with the controversies thereto belonging. Collected out of all the best authors of anatomy, especially out of Gasper Bauhirius and Andreas Laurentius.*
[662] Brathwaite, R. *1620 Essaies Upon the Five Senses with a Pithie One Upon Detraction. Continued with sundry Christian resolves, full of passion and devotion, purposely composed for the zealously disposed*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London.
[663] Ibid: 7-9 & 9-17; Folkerth 2002: 137.
[664] Brathwaite 1620: 9.

pertinent to the experience of hunting during this period) is the effect of the echo on buildings and enclosed landscapes, which is discussed in a chapter entitled *Century III.*[665] Firstly, he observes that 'Natural Eccho's are made upon walls, woods, rocks, hills and banks*'.* He then goes on to discuss in two further passages how sound in general and multiple echoes in particular can be manipulated and enhanced in certain environments and over long distances:

> Where Eccho's come from several parts, at the same distance they must needs make (as it were) a Quire of Eccho's, and so make the Report greater, and even a continued Eccho; which you shall finde in some Hills that Stand encompassed, Theatre-like…In the propagation of sounds, enclosure of them preserves, and carries them further.[666]

Similar observations of the effect of sound and the echo on the constituent parts of enclosed landscapes (namely parks) and advice on how to best create them, are made in Gervase Markham's 1616 edited version of the French treatise *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme* (1600) by Charles Estienne (anglicized as Stevens) and John Liebault (1504-1564).[667] In chapter nineteen of *The Seventh Booke of the Countrie Farme* which has the title: *Of the Situation of the Parkes, and of the Manner of Ordering the Wild Beasts Therein*, Markham displays a clear knowledge and interest in the behaviour of sound and echoes and an awareness that they were key components of the hunting experience in parks. He observed that large timber trees could be utilised as a means to reflect and enhance the various sounds (which are likened to music) that are produced by the hunt. In order to achieve this obviously highly desired effect it is advised that parks should ideally consist of:

> …all goodly high woods of tall timber, as well for the beautie and gracefulnesse of the parke, as also for the ecchoe and sound which will rebound from the same, when in the times of hunting, either the cries of the hounds, the winding of hornes, or the gibbetting of the hutsmen passeth through the same, doubling the musicke, and making it tenne times more delightfull…[668]

These prescriptions and observations are mirrored in several plays, masques, ballads, pamphlets, poems and works of short prose of the period which evocatively explore the manner in which sound and the echo could be contained, controlled and experienced in

---

[665] *Sylva Sylvarum* was comprised of a thousand paragraphs which were divided up into ten centuries. Each paragraph addressed a particular 'fact 'of the natural world. Gaukroger, S. 2001 *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern philosophy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Gouk 2000:145.

[666] Bacon 1627: 56, 58 & 144.

[667] Markham 1616 *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme,* London. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A00419.0001?view=toc. Accessed 5/5/2017.

[668] Ibid: 668.

particular landscapes. Many were performed or set in enclosed, often sylvan settings such as parks, gardens and the grotto or more open areas such as forests, where the actions of the individual or the many create echoes which rebound from trees and other parts of the landscape; resulting in a heightened and unparalleled assault on auditory perception.[669] This is no more apparent than when these works have hunting as the central theme of the narrative where sound is depicted as an integral and almost overwhelming part of the overall experience.

The importance of sound to the experience of hunting is continuously repeated by authors from the sixteenth-century onwards even though the quarry and the intended audience may have differed. In some instances, these works were inspired by the author's apparent first-hand observations of hunting which lends a certain degree of credence and authority to their writing. *A Letter* (1575), reputedly by the mercer Robert Laneham (or Langham *c.*1535-1579/80), is a general account of his observations of the performances and festivities given by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire during the visit of Elizabeth I.[670] Laneham's writings were intended to be performed as a lavish masque at the Castle on the evening of Sunday 17 July 1575 during a banquet for the queen but the performance was cancelled (at great cost) due to the lateness of the hour.[671] One of the most notable commentaries in his work concerns the retelling of his experience of viewing a deer hunt in the park at Kenilworth that took place on the 11th July, which according to him was a raucous event. Here he describes the various sounds emanating from the hunt and the resultant echoes which reverberated around the woodland and valleys of the park:

> …so az to the earning of the hounds in the continuauns of their crie, the swrftries of the Deer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horsez, the blasting of hornz, the halloing & hewing Shout, exclaime etc) of the huntsmen with the excellent Echoz between whilez from the woods and waters in valleiz resounding, mooued pastime delectabl in so hy a degree, az for only parson to take pleasure by moost sensz at onez, in mine opinion, thear can be non any wey comparable to this…[672]

[669] Gouk: 137.
[670] Furnivall, F.J. (ed) 1907 *Robert Laneham's Letter: describing a part of the entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the castle of Kenilworth in 1575*, London, Chatto and Windus Duffield and company.
[671] Wiggins, M. & Richardson, C. 2012 *British Drama 1533-1642: a Catalogue, volume II: 1567-1589*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[672] Furnivall 1907: 13.

A passage from a 1579 pamphlet by an ostensibly well-informed anonymous author entitled: *Of Cyvile and Uncyvile life* (reprinted as *The English courtier and the cutrey gentleman* in 1586*)* similarly highlights to a much wider and perhaps less knowledgeable audience, the particular experiential benefits of hunting. It forms part of a dialogue between Vincent, a conservative English country gentleman who extolls the merits of rural living and Vallentine, a courtier and city dweller, who confidently and successfully argues for the superiority of urban and courtly life.[673] The pamphlet is a particularly early example of character based short prose writing (inspired by the ancient Greek author Theophrastus' sketches) which was to become an extremely popular literary genre in seventeenth-century England.[674] Here, Vincent is keen to demonstrate to Vallentine not only his largesse and hospitality but also the unique and heightened sensory experiences that the various elements of a hunt in the country could engender. Notably, he emphasises that he has the ability to stage two completely different types or styles of hunting.[675] One such form he asserts would be visually stimulating and presumably relatively muted, while the other (which he appears to favour more) he effusively promises (with dogs or hounds as the main protagonists) would produce an aurally overwhelming cacophonous, melodious sound which would be loud enough to awaken the dead:

> …bee it your will to hunt with your eye or eare, wee are ready for you as if you please to see with the eye. Wee course the Stagge, the Bucke, the Roa, the Doa, the Hare, the Foxe, and the Badger: Or if you would rather have some musicke to content your eare, out goes our dogges, our hounds with them wee make a heauenly noise or cry, that would make a dead man reuiue, and run on foote to heare it.[676]

Two later anonymous ballads (which are becoming increasingly recognised and utilised by scholars as important sources for the study of early modern popular culture[677]): *The Country Gentleman; or the happy life* (*c.*1684-1686?) and *God Speed the Plow, and Bless the Corn-mow. A Dialogue Between the Husband-Man and Serving Man* (1675), relay a similar bucolic view of country life with the sounds of everyday activities and the echoes produced by the

[673] Cooper, J.P. 1983 *Land, Men and Beliefs: studies in early-modern history*, London, The Hambledon Press; Neill, M. 2000 *Putting History to the Question: power, politics, and society in English Renaissance drama*, New York, Columbia University Press.
[674] Daems, J. 2006 *Seventeenth-Century Literature and Culture*, London, Continuum.
[675] Smith 1999: 77.
[676] Anon. 1579 'Of Cyville and Uncyvile life' in Hazlitt, W.C. (ed.) *Inedited Tracts: illustrating the manners, opinions, and occupations of Englishmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, New York, Burt Franklin. Available at: https://archive.org/details/ineditedtractsil00hazluoft. Accessed: 12/6/19.
[677] Fumerton, P. & Guerrini, A. 2010 *Ballads in Britain, 1500-1800*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

hunt at the forefront of the discourse.[678] Cheaply produced, single sheet ballads such as these were printed on one side on coarse paper in black letter type and were usually illustrated by one or more woodcuts. They were the most accessible form of the printed word during the early modern period, selling for around one penny per sheet, from the mid-seventeenth century onwards and were ubiquitously consumed at all social levels by people who eagerly read or listened to their diverse content.[679] They allow a rare opportunity for the examination of early modern popular perceptions of political and religious issues and social themes as well as providing a musical commentary on extreme weather events and natural disasters.[680]

Written in the first person, the titular *country gentleman* defines himself as: '…a man of wealth and land and Gold…' who possesses both hound and hawk for hunting. Like Vincent in *The English Courtier and the Cutrey Gentleman,* he eschews urban living in favour of remaining on his estate in the country as he declares: 'To London I will not repair, here sweeter pleasures be'. He describes his love of gentle, sedate noises such as the sound of a farmer 'whistling at the Plough', 'The Baaing of the tender Yoe', and the 'Lowing of the Cow' in the fields. He reserves particular praise however for the multitude of sounds and echoes that emanate from the scene of an early morning hunt which he describes as being loud enough to stir even the most indolent of men:

> Be times we hear the huntsmans horns which loudly echoes round, And in a lovely Rosie morn how sweetly does it sound! The drowsie sluggard strait gives ear, his golden Dreams are fled; (Except the Sick) who e're did hear the Horn and lye a bed?[681]

God speed the plow, and bless the corn-mow relays the auditory experience of the hunt from the alternative perspective of a 'lowly' serving-man. He recounts to a husbandman the great pleasure he has derived in the past from listening to the various sounds produced by huntsmen and their dogs in pursuit of a hare. The serving-man also informs the husbandman

[678] Anon. 1684-1686? *The Country Gentleman; or, the happy life. To an Excellent Tune, Or, Hey Boys up go we.* Available at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35272/xml. Accessed 1/6/2019; Anon. 1675 *God Speed the Plow,and Bless the Corn-mow. A Dialogue Between the Husband-Man and Serving Man*. Available at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30659/transcription. Accessed 1/6/2019.
[679] Rollins, H.E. 1919 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA* 34 (2) 258-339; Watt, T. 1991 *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
[680] Hyde, J. 2018 *Singing the News: ballads in mid-Tudor England*, Abingdon, Routledge.
[681] Anon. 1684-1686?

of his observations of how particular landscapes have the ability to enhance these sounds, which are reminiscent of observations and comments made by Bacon and Markham:

> O'tis a gallant thing, In the prime of Spring, to hear the hunts-men now and then. His bugle for to blow And the hounds all a row: this is pleasure for a serving-man: To hear the Beagle Cry, And to see the Faulcon fly, and the hare trip over the plain, and the Hunts-men and the hound, Makes Hill and dale rebound: this is pleasure for a serving-man.[682]

The pleasing effects and behaviour of the echo caused by horses, and particularly by hounds and hunting horns (which is facilitated by elements of the landscape) during the hunt, is seen time and again in contemporary written descriptions and artistic depictions. All emphasise the same thing to their socially disparate audiences; that these were key ingredients to this activity. The possession and the ability to use hunting horns in particular appears to have been a signifier of social identity for the hunting gentry and nobility during the early modern period. The diplomat, humanist author and administrator Richard Pace (1483?-1536) commented in his work of 1517 *In De Fructi qui ex Doctrina Percipitur* (*The Benefit of a Liberal Education*) that he had observed at a social gathering that noblemen were never to be found without their hunting horns and that they also appear to have been ready to hunt whenever the opportunity should arise:

> …Now there happened to be a person there, a nobleman, or so we call them, who always carry horns hanging down their backs as though they were going to hunt while they ate…[683]

As mentioned briefly in chapter 4, the gentry and nobility also used their hunting horns as a means of communication to structure the hunt itself. Horns were used to convey instructions to hunting parties, to mark the different stages of the hunt and also to inform spectators, who were perhaps stationed at a distance from where the action was taking place, of what was going on.[684] An example of this important aspect of the hunt is lavishly illustrated on an early seventeenth-century valance (produced in England at some time between 1600 and 1633) made from silk and metal thread which shows two types of hunting (Figure 7.2).[685] On the

[682] Anon 1675.
[683] Heater, E.M. 1995 'Early hunting horn calls and their transmission: some new discoveries', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 7, pp. 123-141; Pace, R. 1967 (Manley, F. & Sylvester, R.S. trans and eds.) *De Fructi qui ex Doctrina Percipitur*, Michigan, The University of Michigan.
[684] Heater 1995: 123.
[685] *Valance (one of a set of three) 1600-1633 Canvas worked with silk and metal thread; tent, long and short, and couching stitches*. Available at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/228975. Accessed 5/11/20.

left of the panoramic scene, there is a huntsman shooting waterfowl in a body of water (possibly a pond) while another, who is armed with a hanger, wades through the water with two hounds. On the right-hand side, a stag is being pursued by hounds and huntsmen through an oak woodland which is framed by rolling hills in the distance. One rider raises his hanger above his head while giving chase. Two other pursuing huntsmen (one of whom is leading the hunt on foot, the other is mounted) are shown blowing curved French horns in order to direct the hunt in an undulating woodland environment that would have been conducive to the all-important production of the echo.



Figure 7.2. Silk and metal thread early seventeenth-century valance showing two hunting scenes (The Metropolitan Museum Of Art)

English authors of hunting manuals and treatises clearly recognised the importance of the hunting horn as a means with which to structure the hunt and dedicated considerable attention and space to horn signals which were usually confined to a separate section at the end of the book[686]. In the last pages of *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (1576) the budding huntsman is offered lessons on the correct 'measures of blowing' when hunting the fox and the buck, which George Gascoigne assures the reader are closely observed: 'at these dayes in this Realme of Englande'.[687] At the beginning of the hunt in the morning it is stated that the hunting party should be summoned by 'one winde' from the horn. As hounds are uncoupled and huntsmen set off in pursuit of their prey, it is advised that all horns should be winded to mark each action. As the hunt progresses it is stated that horns should be sounded multiple times when the buck or the fox are driven from their hiding places in woodland. At the conclusion of the hunt, 'four sundrie calls' are made to summon a park keeper to preside over the death of the fox or buck (which have been killed by hounds) which should be celebrated by three winds for the former and two for the latter. As the hunting party withdraws from the field and goes 'home', it is recommended that the action should be loudly signified by those present by the blowing of two winds.[688]

Sir Thomas Cockaine's *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591) provides more extensive instructions with three horn signals discussed in the main text and twenty detailed horn calls, which signal every action of the hunt. At the end of the text under the title *Sir Tristrams Measures for Blowing*.[689] Nicholas Cox's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (first published in 1674) continues to emphasise the importance of the hunting horn and gives instructions throughout the text on how they should be used to train and control hounds, to direct the movement of the hunting party and to mark the most important incidents when hunting the hare and deer.[690] The second edition of 1677 (and subsequent editions) contains an additional section which gives: '…easie Directions for blowing the Horn…' that relays detailed instructions on the correct use of eighteen hunting horn signals during the hunt. It has been noted in recent years that on several occasions when copies of treatises such as those authored by Gascoigne,

[686] Downey, P. 1999 "Sir Tristram's measures of blowing" 'Jacques du Fouilloux, and the English hunting horn repertory of the Baroque era' in Carter, S. (ed.) *Brass Scholarship in Review*: Proceedings of the Historic Brass Society Conference Cité de la Musique Paris 1999, *The Historic Brass Society Series* No. 6, New York, Pendragon Press.
[687] Gascoigne 1571: no page numbers.
[688] Ibid.
[689] Cockaine 1591: no page numbers; Downey 1999: 24.
[690] Cox 1686:1-155.

Cockaine or Cox are offered for sale at auction or through book dealers, that the sections on hunting calls have been torn out.[691] It appears that these important sections were constantly referred to by huntsman in the field who did not want to be encumbered by a heavy, bound tome whilst hunting. If true, this gives a clear indication of the central importance of the hunting horn throughout the early modern period to the elite hunting classes who were keenly aware that they should be seen to have a knowledge of how and when they should be used in order to structure the hunt.

The poet William Basse's (*c.*1583-1653) popular ballad of 1620 entitled *Maister Basse His Careere or the New Hunting of the Hare* which was printed under the title *The Hunter's Song* describes how the sounds of a mounted huntsman's galloping horse and bugle were loud enough to make the surrounding mountains reverberate around him while in pursuit of a hare at full speed:

> Before the creak of the crow and the break of the day in the welkin seen, Mounted he'd halloo, And cheerfully follow To the chace with his bugle clear. Eccho doth he make, And the mountains shake with the thunder of his career…Oft doth he trace, through Wood, Parke and Chase… But more often he bounds To the cry of his hounds.[692]

The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds, an anonymous ballad composed between 1696 and 1709 describes the combined effect of the sound of horns and fifteen hounds during the pursuit of a fox by the Duke of Buckingham and his gentlemen retainers, up a hill and across the landscape of 'Wreckledale Scrogs' or Riccal Dale near Helmsley Castle in Yorkshire.[693] The fox, which is looked upon with a degree of sympathy by the singer of the ballad who is actively participating in the hunt, is driven on at great speed by the strength of the echoes produced by these sounds which negates the advantages the landscape offers for concealment:

> …Our hounds came in a-pace, And we fell into a chace, And thus we purs'd the poor creature: With our english and french horn, We encourag'd our hounds that morn, And our cry it was greater and greater…Up the hills he runs along, And his cover was full strong, But I think he has no great ease on't; For they run with such a cry, That their echoes made him fly: I'll assure you our sport was pleasant.[694]

---

[691] Heater 1995:140.
[692] Warwick Bond, R. 1893 *Poetical Works of William Basse (1602-1653),* London, Ellis and Elvey.
[693] Anon. 1669-1709 *The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/image. Accessed 12/11/19; The Yorkshire Garland Group, *Dido Bendigo,* Available at: http://www.yorkshirefolksong.net/song.cfm?songID=76. Accessed 23/4/21.
[694] Anon. 1669-1709 *The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*.

The three woodcuts which adorn the opening page of the ballad also illustrate the three key visual and aural elements in the narrative of the hunt.[695] One shows a huntsman blowing a curved French hunting horn with a pole resting on his right shoulder. In the background to the left, there stands a building (possibly a lodge) with a chimney (Figure 7.3).[696] Another depicts a particularly stylized and relatively unremarkable image of a single open-mouthed hound running across a landscape (Figure 7.4).[697] The third and most interesting woodcut of the three is however an image of a pack hounds running across a bridge (Figure 7.5).[698] In the space towards the top of the image, above the pack, the repetitive cries of the hounds have been transcribed in a series of symbols: 'öööö-öööö-öööö-öööö-öööö'. This is possibly a mnemonic device or visual cue for the benefit of the singer of the ballad or for the enjoyment of the viewer who was perhaps illiterate.[699] Either way, it further reinforces the importance of communicating the effect and role of sound in hunting to early modern audiences.



Figure 7.3. Late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century woodcut of a huntsman with hunting horn and pole, illustrating an anonymous ballad entitled: *The Fox-chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. (English Broadside Ballads Archive)

[695] Smith, B.R. 2020 'Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder: the challenges of acoustic ecology' in Erlman, V. (ed.) *Hearing Cultures: essays on sound, listening and modernity*, Abingdon, Routledge, pp. 21-42.
[696] *Woodcut of a huntsman blowing a French hunting horn from the ballad: The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/bia. Accessed 23/4/21.
[697] *Woodcut of a running hound from the ballad: The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/bia. Accessed 23/4/21.
[698] Woodcut of a pack of hounds running across a bride, with transcribed cries from the ballad: *The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/bia. Accessed 21/4/21.
[699] Smith 2020: 25



Figure 7.4. Woodcut of a running hound illustrating the ballad: *The Fox-chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. (English Broadside Ballads Archive)



Figure 7.5. Woodcut of a pack of hounds running across a bridge from the ballad: *The Fox-chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. The cries of the hounds have been transcribed above the pack. (English Broadside Ballads Archive)

The ballad of *The Fox-Chace, or the Huntsman's Harmony* is redolent of a fox hunting scene which is shown taking place on a plan of the parish of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire (Figure 7.6).[700] A pack of hounds is depicted in the midst of dense, enclosed woodland, inscribed as 'High Woods' (later to become the Great Park[701]) chasing a fox. Following on there is a considerably oversized figure of a huntsman, armed with a sword, who is orchestrating the chase on foot. His head is raised upwards and a curved French hunting horn can be seen pressed to his mouth that is presumably emitting a sound which is rebounding from the surrounding trees; driving both hounds and fox (which is far greater in size to the chasing

[700] HRO MC2/26.
[701] Way 1997:

hounds) deeper into the woodland.[702] The prominence and size of the image is undoubtedly intended to stimulate or trigger the experiential imagination of an elite exclusive audience, regardless of their individual levels of experience and participation in hunting activities or their exposure to the much-lauded experiential effect of the echo in the natural environment.

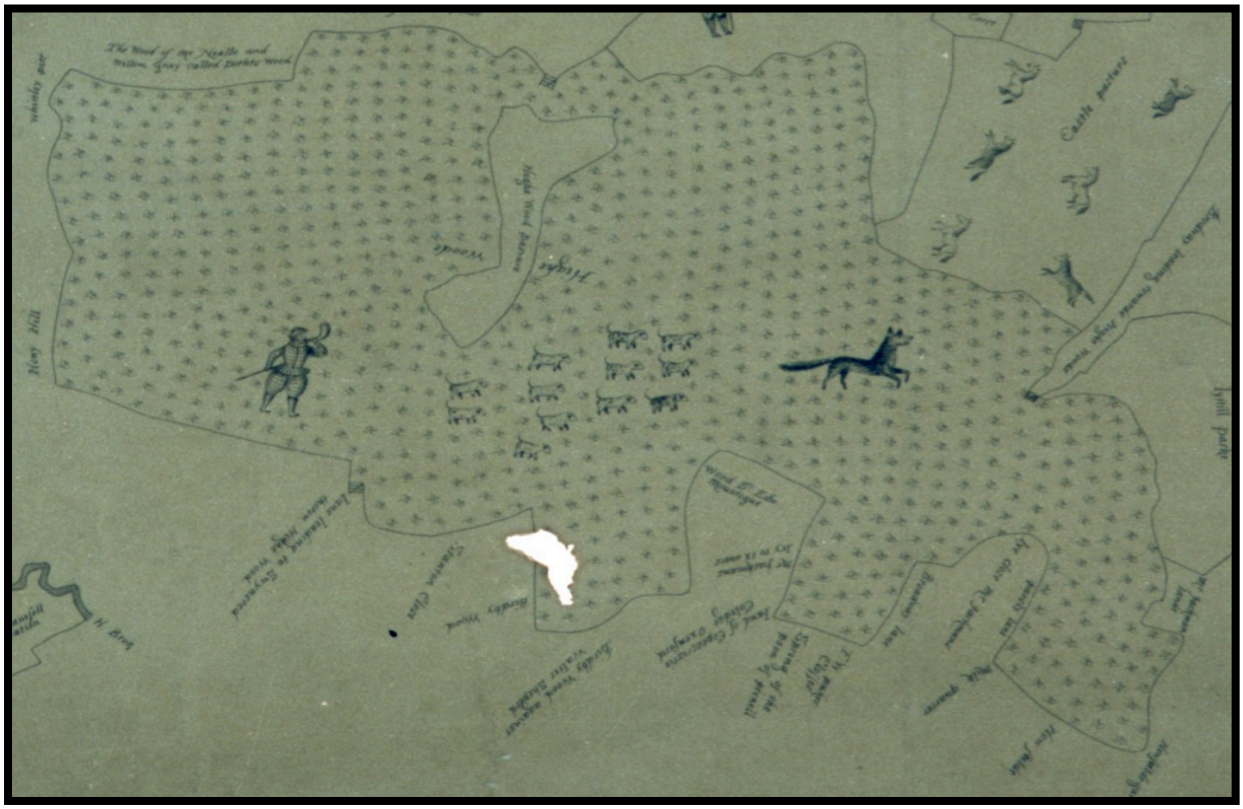


Figure 7.6. Detail of a plan of the parish of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire (1582) depicting a fox hunt taking place at an enclosed area inscribed as *High Woods.* Note the exaggerated size of the huntsman blowing his curved hunting horn and the even larger fox in full flight through the densely wooded, enclosed landscape. (HRO MC2/26)

An early seventeenth-century so called '*Shakespeare jest book'* or '*chapbook*', which were also cheap and widely disseminated texts, describes the experience of hunting in a similar vein where the sound produced by huntsmen, horns and hunting dogs in woodland is compared to music. *The Twelfth Gull, Upon the Cry of Hounds* which was published anonymously in 1604 describes the actions of *a '*Gentleman of the Countrie that loved home-sportes (such) as hawking, Hunting, Ducking, Fowling and Fishing*'*.[703] Throughout the text the author ignores the visual aspect of the hunt in favour of enthusiastic descriptions of total

[702] French curved hunting horns or *bugles* were used in hunting up until the 1660's when they were replaced by the straight English hunting horn. Carter, S. 1999 (ed.) 'Brass scholarship in review', *Proceedings of the Historic Brass Society Conference Cité de la Musique Paris, 1999*, *The Historic Brass Society Series*, No.6, New York, Pendragon Press.

[703] Carew Hazlitt, W (Ed.) 1864 *Shakespeare Jest-Books*; Vol. 3, London, Willis & Sotheran; Hazlitt sought to associate these texts with Shakespeare (who was not the author) in order to enhance their appeal to the general readership. Lake Prescott, A. & Munro, I. 2013 'Jest Books' in Hadfield, A (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

embodiment in the 'music' produced by horns and dogs, as can be seen in the following passage:

> …upon a morning riding forth, neere a wood side, start a hare, who led the Hounds a chase thorow the wood, where the winding of the hornes, the hallowing of the hunts-men, and the mouthes of the dogs made such a countrey pleasant sweet noyse, that the Master of the sport, sitting still upon his horse, as one half ravisht with his pleasure, esteeming no musicke comparable to such a cry…[704]

The Martyred Soldier (a Christian martyr play set among the medieval Vandals and Goths) by the playwright Henry Shirley (1591?-1627) which was first performed at the Red Bull Theatre in London in 1618, also describes the aural experience of a potential hunt where the echoes emitted by barking hunting dogs are likened to the sound of ringing bells and singing youths:

> A pack of the bravest Spartan dogs in the world If they do but once open and spend their gabble, It will make the forest echo As if a ring of bells were in't admirably flew'd by their ears: You would take them to be singing boys…[705]

Shirley is perhaps emulating a passage from William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer night's dream* (written between 1594 and 1596) where Theseus, Duke of Athens and Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, discuss the particular vocal qualities of hunting dogs from both the past and the present. Shakespeare is believed to have been a poacher in his youth and was caught on one occasion while attempting to take deer from a park belonging to Sir Thomas Lucy at Charlecote near Stratford.[706] Both Hippolyta's and Theseus's observations and sensuous experiences of hunting possibly mirror those of Shakespeare during these illicit forays. In one passage Hippolyta tells Theseus of a bear hunt that she had once witnessed and of the loud discordant sounds created by hunting dogs which had left an indelible mark on her memory:

> I was with Hercules and Cadmus once, When in a wood of Crete they bay'd the bear with hounds of Sparta: never did I hear such gallant chiding; for, besides the groves, the skies, the fountains, every region near seem'd all one mutual cry: I never heard so musical a discord.[707]

[704] Hazlitt: 83-84.
[705] Shirley, H. 1618 *The Martyred Soldier*; Kathman, D. 2004 Shirley, Henry (1591x7-1627) Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25425.
[706] Ellis, D. 2012 *The Truth about William Shakespeare: fact, fiction and modern biographies*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
[707] Shakespeare, W. 1908 (Brainerd Kellogg, A.M. ed.) *A midsummer Night's Dream*, New York, Effingham Maynard & Co., Publishers.

In reply, Theseus assures the queen that the hunt that he was about to stage for her would be equally as memorable and would even possibly surpass her experience because of the unique melodious qualities of his hunting hounds which he compares to ringing bells:

> We will, fair queen, up to the mountain's top And mark the musical confusion Of hounds and echo in conjunction…My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind…Slow in pursuit, but match'd in mouth like bells, each under each. A cry more tunable was never cheer'd with horn, In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly.[708]

In her poems *The Hunting of the Stag* and *The Hunting of the Hare* (both published in 1653), the prolific poet, playwright, prose writer and natural philosopher, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1674) also appears to identify 'musical' sound and the echo as the most important experiential aspects of aristocratic hunts in the seventeenth-century.[709] She also displays a keen awareness of how the cries of different breeds of dogs can provide a sound that is comparable to orchestral music. It has been proposed that Cavendish's poetical writings on hunting were the product of a close association with the sport which may have been inspired in part by her experiences while serving as a lady in waiting at the court of the exiled Henrietta Maria in Paris following the Royalist defeat in the Civil War (1642-1651).[710] It has also been suggested that she became more familiar with hunting customs and practices as a result of her marriage to a fellow exile, the Royalist commander, William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676) who was an accomplished huntsman and also the celebrated author of two manuals on horsemanship (Figure 7.7).[711] Margaret comments in her biography of her husband, *The life of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle* (1667) that he excelled in his knowledge of 'running horses, hawking (and) hunting'.[712]

---

[708] Ibid: 75.

[709] Cavendish, M. 1653 *Poems and fancies: written by the right honourable, the Lady Margaret Countesse of Newcastle*, London, J. Martin & J. Allestry. Available at https://archive.org/details/poemsfancies00newc/page/n5. Accessed 12/4/19

[710] Boyle, D. 2018 *The Well-Ordered Universe: the philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; McKnight, P. 2011 *Rural Sports: the poetry of fishing, fowling, and hunting, 1650-1800*. Unpublished PhD. University of Ottawa. Available at https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33528176.pdf. Accessed 12/4/19; Landry, D. 2000 Green Languages? 'Women poets as naturalists in 1653 and 1807', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 63(4) pp. 467-489.

[711] Boyle, D. 2018: 208; Brackett, V. 2008 *The Facts on File Companion to British Poetry: 17th and 18th centuries*, New York, Facts on File, Inc.; Cavendish, W. 1658 *La Methode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de Dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, Jacques van Meurs; Cavendish, W. 1667 *A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses*, London, Thomas Milbourn; *Line engraving portrait of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas) Duchess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* by Peter van Lisebetten after Abraham Diepenbeeck. Available at: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw135460/William-Cavendish-1st-Duke-of-Newcastle-upon-Tyne-and-Margaret-Cavendish-ne-Lucas-Duchess-of-Newcastle-upon-Tyne?search=sp&OConly=true&sText=margaret+cavendish&rNo=12. Accessed 1/3/21.

[712] Boyle 2018: 208; Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle 1886 (Firth, C.H. ed.) *The Life of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, to Which is Added the True Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life*, London, John C. Nimmo.



Figure 7.7. ***Line engraving portrait of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle-upon Tyne*** **by Peter van Lisebetten. Mid seventeenth-century. (National Portrait Gallery)**

What is most remarkable about both of Cavendish's poems, given her immersion in the world of aristocratic hunting, is that *The Hunting of the Stag* and *The Hunting of the Hare* display an explicit anti-hunting sentiment (which is at odds with the usual hyperbolic descriptions of hunting in much of the contemporary literature) as they adopt an empathetic attitude

towards the physical and psychological suffering of the prey animals throughout.[713] Cavendish herself admits in her biography of her husband that she was 'tender natured for it troubles my nature to kill a fly' and that the 'groans of a dying beast strike my soul'.[714] She also wrote of her refusal to participate in the bloody rituals which took place at the end of hunts she had attended in the past.[715] These concerns for animal welfare and her self-professed sadness at the death of animals permeate both of her poems. In *The Hunting of the Hare* she questions the right of 'man' to use 'Gods' animals for meat and sport:

> As if that God made Creatures for Man's meat, To give them Life, and Sense, for Man to eat; Or else for Sport, or Recreations sake Destroy those Lifes that God saw good to make.[716]

Where verses describe the denouement of the hunts, the heroic inevitable brutal demise of the stag and the hare (named *Wat*) are also described in a pitiful and sympathetic manner:

Then men, and Dogs do circle him about. Some bite, some bark, all ply him at the Bay, where with his Hornes he tosses some away. But fate his thread had spun, so downe did fall, Shedding some Teares at his own Funnerall.[717]

> …For why, the Dogs so neere his Heeles did get, That their sharp Teeth in his Breech did set, Then tumbling downe did fall with weeping Eyes, gives up his Ghost, and thus poor Wat he dies.[718]

Despite her obvious disdain and grief for the senseless, unjustified violence and death that is taking place, Cavendish manages to find some aspects of the hunt to eulogise upon with sound and the echo (of which she composed four separate poems on the subject in her work *Poems and Fancies*: *What makes Eccho, Of Rebounds, Of Sound and Of shadow and Eccho*[719]) featuring prominently in both of her hunting poems. In *The Hunting of the Stag* she describes the fast-paced movement and sound of the hunt where the varied notes produced by 'bugle horns' combine with the shouts of men, barking dogs and the noise created by the striking of horses hooves on the ground:

> …the chase grew hot, the Stag apace did run, The Dogs pursu'd more Men for Sport came on; At last a Troop of Men, Horse, Dogs did meet, which made the Hart to try his

[713] Borlik, T.A. (ed.) 2019 *Literature and Nature in the English Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Suzuki, M. 2015 'Animals and the political in Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish', *The Seventeenth-Century*, 30(2) pp. 229-247.
[714] Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle (Firth) 1886: 313.
[715] Cavendish, M. 1655 *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions, written by her Excellency, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle,* London; Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo?A53055.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 20/6/19; Landry 2000: 470.
[716] Cavendish 1653: 112.
[717] Ibid:116.
[718] Ibid: 112.
[719] Ibid: 37.

> Nimble feet; Full swift he was, His Horns he bore up high, The Men did Shout, the Dogs ran Yelping by, And Bugle Horns with several Notes did blow, Huntsmen, to cross the stag, did Side-ways go; The horses beat their Hoofs against dry Ground, Raising such Clouds of Dust, their ways scarce found…[720]

In *The Hunting of the Hare*, Cavendish's description of the sounds and the echoes produced by the hunt is even more pronounced as it elucidates how these sounds were constructed to form a complex, layered piece of 'music'. Different breeds of dogs appear to have been deliberately put together to produce the 'music' as each of their 'voices' sound separate distinct echoing tones with the musical contribution of beagles being singled out:

> …And with their deep, wide Mouths set forth a Cry, Which answer'd was by Ecchoes in the Skie…Then Hornes blew loud, for their throats did set a Base, The Fleet swift Hounds, as Tenours next in place; The little Beagles they a Treble sing, and through the Aire their Voice a round did ring…[721]

A contemporaneous etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (1606-1677) after the English painter, etcher and illustrator Francis Barlow (who is regarded as the 'father of British sporting painting' 1622-1704) which was produced in 1671, depicts a hare hunt in the same manner. A huntsman stands at the centre of the etching and appears to be shouting instructions to a large pack of 'bloody hounds' and urging them on with the aid of a hunting pole in pursuit of a 'timorous hare'. The hounds in turn raise their heads in 'song' (Figure 7.8).[722]

[720] Ibid:114.
[721] Ibid: 110 & 112.
[722] Wenceslaus Hollar *Hare Hunting*. After Francis Barlow 1671. Available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1870-0625-50. Accessed: 18/7/20; O'Connell, S. 2014 Barlow, *Francis d.1704* Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1432?rskey=EKJdSN&result=1. Accessed: 23/6/20.



Figure 7.8. *Hare Hunting* (1671) by Wenceslaus Hollar, after Francis Barlow. (The British Museum)

The same motif is also seen in two undated anonymous ballads of the period, which are conveyed in a more conventional style, that highlight the pleasurable and exciting aspects of the hunt which are in no small part enhanced by the sound and echo created by the musical cries of dogs. *The Hunting Song in Apollo and Daphne,* which was published in a 1745 collection of popular songs tells of a stag chase led by a 'musical' pack of hounds:

> The stag rouz'd before us Away seems to fly And pants to the Chorus Of hounds in full cry The musical Chace where pleasure and Vigorous Health you embrace.[723]

The Stag Chase which was published in *The Musical Miscellany* in 1731 is a lengthy song which describes in detail the pursuit of a stag by pairs of dogs which are individually named in the verse.[724] They combine to form a heavenly sound which rebounds around the landscape:

[723] Anon. 1745 *Universal Harmony or, the Gentleman and Ladies Social Companion Consisting of a Great Variety of the Best Most Favourite English and Scots Songs, Cantatas etc*., London.
[724] Some of the names of the dogs are related to sound and were recommended by Nicholas Cox in his instructional treatise which was published in 1677: *The Gentleman's Recreation*, which will be discussed below.

> There's Musick and Chanter Their nimble Trebbles try; Whilst Sweetlips and Tunewell With Counters clear reply
> There's Rockwood and Thunder, That tongue the heavy Bass; Whilst Trowler and Ringwood With Tenors crown the Chace
> Now sweetly in full Cry Their various Notes they joyn; Gods! What a Consort's here, my Lads! 'Tis more than half divine
> The Woods, Rocks, and Mountains, Delighted with the Sound, To neighb'ring Dales and Fountains Repeating, deal it round.[725]

The musical qualities of hunting dogs, and how to best achieve this much desired and complexly structured auditory experience, is commented on at length in three influential instructional treatises of the period by the aforementioned Nicholas Cox and Gervase Markham and the cartographer and bookseller Richard Blome (1635?-1705). These appear in some instances to have inspired in part, both writers of the period and prospective hunters alike. In the final paragraph of the short introduction of his work *The Gentleman's Recreation* (first published in 1674, enlarged in 1677, third edition published in 1686), Nicholas Cox tantalises the reader with a precis of the manifold delights of hunting and a promise that he would not detain him: 'too long from the knowledge of what will make a right and perfect huntsman'.[726] Before he imparts this knowledge and moves on to the main body of the first part of the text entitled: *Of Hunting* (the other three parts describe the other gentlemanly sports of hawking, fowling and fishing), he is compelled to compare hunting hounds to musical instruments:

> No Musicke can be more ravishingly delightful than a pack of Hounds in full Cry, to such a man whose Heart and Ears are so happy to be set to the tune of such charming instruments.[727]

Cox goes on to comment on the main differences between the 'Ancients' and 'Foreign' styles of hunting and English techniques. He finds that unlike contemporary English hunters, his 'Ancient' forbears were relatively disinterested in the musical contribution of dogs to the overall experience of hunting:

---

[725] Anon. 1731 *The Musical Miscellany; being a collection of choice songs, and lyrick poems: with the basses to each tune, and Transpos'd for the flute. By the most eminent masters*, *Volume the sixth*, London. Available at https://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/archive/90369911. Accessed 19/6/19.

[726] Cox, N. 1686 *The Gentleman's Recreation: in four parts, viz. hunting, hawking, fowling, fishing; wherein these generous exercises are largely treated of and the terms of art for hunting and hawking more amply enlarged than heretofore; whereto is prefix a large sculpture, giving easie directions for blowing the horn and other sculptures inserted proper to each recreation, with an abstract at the end of each subject of such laws as relate to the same*, London. Available at: https://archive.org/details/gentlemansrecrea00coxn/page/n5. Accessed 20/7/16.

[727] Ibid:4.

> '…I do not finde that they were curious in the Musick of their Hounds, or in a composition of their kennel or Pack, either for deepnese, or loudness, or sweetness of cry like to ours.'[728]

The particular and important experiential role of dogs in English hunting is further demonstrated by Cox when he provides a 'catalogue' of suggested 'general' names for hounds and beagles for the aspiring huntsman. Of the ninety-nine names listed, eleven are connected to sound: 'Chanter, Cryer, Musick, Ranter, Singwel, Sweetlips, Soundwell, Thunder, Truelips, Tunewell, Winder.'[729]

In his *Country Contentments: or the husbandman's recreations* (1654, seventh edition), which was first published forty-three years before Cox's work (the original edition was published in 1631) Gervase Markham advises his readers, who were predominately composed of the aspirational gentry, as to how their prospective kennels should be comprised:

> …when you intend to set up a kennel of hounds, examine your fancy what bee the best pleasure you take in hounds, whether it be cunning in hunting, sweetnesse, loudnesse or deepness of cry.[730]

If a gentleman desires 'sweetness of cry' from his hounds, Markham suggests that his kennel should have: 'some large dogges, that have deepe solemn mouthes' which 'must bear the base in the consort'. Roaring, loud dogs provide the 'countertenor' and 'some hollow plain sweet mouths' provide 'the mean and middle part'. The combination of all three types of dogs he claims, provides the perfect balanced musical cry. Notably, Markham also suggests that:

> …Amongst these you must cast in a couple or two small singing Beagles whose small trebles may warble (amongst the other dogs) making the cry…a great deal sweeter.[731]

The inclusion of beagles appears to be solely for their musical contribution (their cry is also lauded in the ballad *God speed the plow* and Cavendish's *The hunting of the hare* as seen above) as Markham declares in an earlier passage that they had only 'passing cunning in their

[728] Ibid: 52.
[729] Ibid: 19.
[730] Markham, G. 1654 (7th edition) *Country Contentments, or, the husbandmans recreations: contayning the wholesome experiences in which any man ought to recreate himselfe, after the toyle of more serious businesse, as namely hunting, hawking, coursing with greyhounds, and the lawes of the lease, shooting in longbow or crossbow, bowling, tennis, baloone, the whole art of angling, and the use of the fighting cock,* London.
[731] Ibid: 6.

hunting'.[732] For 'lowdness of cry', Markham suggests that dogs with: 'hollow deep mouths and those that roareth' should be chosen, together with those whose 'mouths that whineth.' When mixed together in equal numbers, he claims that these dogs produce a pleasant cry 'especially if it be in sounding tall woods, or under the eccho of rocks.'[733] Finally, 'For deepness of cry', the kennel should be comprised of 'the largest dogges, which have the deepest mouths'. There should also be: 'one couple of roarers, five or six base couple of mouths and two couple of countertenors'. The resultant equally combined musical cries of all of these types of dogs, Markham claims, would be: '…delightfull to the eares of every beholder…'[734]

Markham also expounds his view that the type of dog chosen for the kennel not only determines the sound of the hunt but also its structure and duration.[735] For those who prefer to hunt by running on foot, either from choice or ability, he recommends that the most suitable dogs for this form of hunting should unsurprisingly be the 'slowest dogges' which are cunning hunters and have 'depth of mouth'. These dogs should be strictly trained to observe the various commands of the huntsman who controls their speed and direction of movement during the chase and 'stops' them in their progress with the aid of a hunting pole. This form of hunting he insists:

> …will carry with it a twofold delight, the one of injoying the musick of their voyces, the other the cunning of their noses.[736]

Markham goes on to express his opinions on the ideal type of dog for accompanying those huntsmen who may prefer or are compelled to hunt on horseback:

> 'But if you wil take your exercise on hors-back because infirmity will not let you run afoot, then you shall compose your kennel of the slowest of middle-sized Hounds, who shall have both good mouthes, and loud, and noses of most ready sent, and perfect hunting.'[737]

[732] Ibid: 6-7.
[733] Ibid:7.
[734] Ibid 7.
[735] Ibid: 11.
[736] Ibid.
[737] Ibid.

Markham assures his readers that hunting in this manner:

> …will make your sport much longer, and less weary than else it would be and also promises them that it provides an enhanced hunting experience which is: …exceeding good and delightful, both to your eyes, and ears.[738]

Richard Blome repeats and expands on Markham's advice to the aspiring hunters of the late seventeenth-century on how their kennels should be composed in his treatise: *The Gentleman's Recreation in Two Parts* (1686).[739] The second chapter of the part of his treatise discussing hunting entitled: 'Of dogs or hounds, details the qualities of: large, tall and big Hounds, called and known by the name of the Deep-mouthed, or Southern-mouthed Hound'. Blome comments that these dogs are strong, heavy and slow and are most suitable for woodland environments and 'Hilly-Countreys'. He also suggests that due to their slow movement huntsman should follow them on foot. This form of hunting (which has been seen was also commented upon by Markham) is termed by Blome as 'Stop-Hunting or Hunting under the pole' where the huntsman controls the slow, often intermittent movement of his dogs with loud voice commands and physical gestures using a long hunting pole. Blome concludes that hunting conducted in this way is invariably lengthy which in his experience: 'oft-times lasts five or six hours'.[740] Images of this style of hunting appears to be represented on a brown ink drawing (ca. 1645-1650) by Francis Barlow. It shows a running huntsman leading a hound on a leash, with a pointed pole over his left shoulder and a hunting hanger at his hip (Figure 7.9).[741]

[738] Ibid.
[739] Blome, R. 1686 *The Gentleman's Recreation in Two Parts: the first being an encyclopedy of the arts and sciences…the second part treats of horsemanship, hawking, hunting, fowling, and agriculture: with a short treatise of cock-fighting…:all whcih are collected from the most authentick authors, and the many gross errors therein corrected, with great enlargements…:and for the better explanation thereof, great variety of useful sculptures, as nets, traps, engines, &c. are added for the taking of beasts, fowl and fish: not hitherto published by any: the whole illustrated with about an hundred ornamental and useful sculptures engraven in copper, relating to the several subjects*, London. Available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A28396.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 1/3/17.
[740] Ibid:68.
[741] Francis Barlow. *Man Hunting with a Pointed Staff and a Hound*, ca.1645-1650. Available at: https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:13874. Accessed: 23/6/20.



Figure 7.9. ***Man Hunting with a Pointed Staff and a Hound*** **(ca. 1645-1650) in brown ink by Francis Barlow. (Yale Center For British Art)**

It is also shown on two illustrative ballad woodcuts. One, which illustrates an anonymous ballad *An Excellent Ballad of Noble Marquess and Patient Grissel* (1687-1732?), shows images of huntsmen on foot and mounted running behind their dogs whilst blowing horns and clutching hunting poles in the pursuit of a stag (Figure 7.10).[742]

[742] Anon 1687-1732? *An Excellent Ballad of Noble Marquess and Patient Grissel*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35510/image. Woodcut available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35510/bia. Accessed 5/6/19.



Figure 7.10 Early seventeenth-century woodcut illustrating: *An Excellent Ballad of Noble Marquess and Patient Grissel,* depicting a mounted huntsman blowing a straight English horn in pursuit of stag. A huntsman following on foot can be seen in the background carrying a hunting pole over his right shoulder. (English Broadside Ballads Archive)

Stop hunting or Hunting under the pole is however, seen most clearly on a woodcut illustrating the anonymous 1620 ballad: *To Him Bun, Take Him Bun: or, The Hunting of the Conney* (Figure 7.11).[743] A huntsman is shown pursuing a very large rabbit on foot, with a curved French horn in his right hand which is pressed to his lips and a long hunting pole in his left-hand pointing forwards. Between the hunter and his prey runs a dog which could easily be described as a large 'Deep mouthed, or Southern mouthed Hound'.[744]

[743] Anon 1620 *To Him Bun, Take Him Bun: or The Hunting of the Conney*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballads/20212/image. Accessed 5/6/19.
[744] Blome 1686: 68.



Figure 7.11. Early seventeenth-century woodcut illustrating the ballad: *To him Bun, Take him Bun: or, the Hunting of the Conney*, showing a huntsman, blowing a curved French horn accompanied by a large hound in pursuit of a hare.[745] (English Broadside Ballads Archive)

For a faster paced, sooner concluded hunting experience, Blome suggests that the long, slender and swifter 'Fleet or Northern hound' should be selected. Hunting with these types of dogs appears to be more suitable for mounted huntsmen as he claims that they: 'will exercise your horses and try their strength'. Blome also asserts that their physical attributes are more suitable for: 'open, level and 'Champain Countreys', where they may run in view and full speed. In these environments the pursuit of a prey animal, such as a hare, was not anticipated to last for more than one hour with the fox expected to provide a slightly 'better and longer exercise'.[746] Blome's overall recommendation is however, to cross both strong and swift 'strains' of dogs to create an all-purpose 'middle sort' hunting hound which could be used in a number of different environments such as: 'mountains, some enclosures, some plains, and some woodlands'. Such a hybrid dog, it is suggested, would be able to force itself through any natural physical barrier in the landscape when in pursuit of its prey; therefore, reducing the previously unedifying necessity for a huntsman to help them over hedges, as according to Blome: '…you are often forced to do by others'.[747]

An Essay on Hunting by a Country Squire, anonymously published in 1733 appears to indicate that gentlemanly preoccupation with the sound of the hunt was beginning to wane by the early decades of the seventeenth century:

[745] Woodcut illustrating *To him Bun, take him Bun: or, the hunting of the conney.* Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20212/bia. Accessed 5/6/19.
[746] Blome 1686: 68.
[747] Ibid.

> It is common enough in numerous Kennels, to keep some for their Musick or Beauty: but this is perfectly wrong. They serve only to soil the Ground, and confound the Scent; to scamper before, and interrupt their Betters in the most difficult Points.[748]

These sentiments are however, belied by a classic and lengthy hunting poem written just two years later. William Sommerville's (1675-1742) *The Chace* (1735) perfectly encapsulates the authoritative and enduring instructions laid down by Markham, Blome and Cox and reflects a degree of continuity in the sporting preoccupations of the well-read country gentleman toward the end of this period.[749] The main aims of the poem were to relate to the reader the primacy of ancient and modern English hunting practices and to reaffirm the notion that hunting remained a 'justifiable pursuit for country squires'.[750] Somerville, who was a squire himself, a magistrate and a keen sportsman, divides his poem into four books which reads in places and is structured in the same manner as a seventeenth-century instructional treatise. In the first and fourth books he provides familiar technical advice on the rearing of particular types of hounds for the chase and relays instructions for the siting of kennels and their design. In the mould of Markham and Blome, Somerville favours a mid-sized all-purpose hound for hunting and also advises his readers on how to avoid an inharmonious sounding pack:

> A different hound, for every diff'rent chase, select with judgement…For hounds of middle size, active and strong, Will better all thy various ends, And crown thy pleasing labours with success. But above all take heed, nor mix thy hounds, Of diff'rent kinds; discordant sounds shall grate Thy ears offended.[751]

Somerville also appears to describe the same heavy, slow, loud 'Deep Mouthed' type of hound required by those hunting on foot which was advocated by Markham more than one hundred years earlier:

> If the harmonious thunder of the field Delight thy ravish'd ears; the deep-slw'd hound Breed up with care, strong, heavy, slow, but sure whose ears, down-hanging from his thick round head, shall sweep the morning dew; whose clanging voice Awake the mountain echo in her cell, And shake the forests…[752]

Books two and three vividly and evocatively describe how sound continued to structure the hunt from start to finish. In book two, the main focus is upon the hunting of a hare by

---

[748] Anon. 1733 *An Essay on Hunting by a Country Squire*, London.
[749] Somerville, W. 1804 *The Chase: a Poem by William Somerville, Esq*., London, W.Bulmer and Co. Available at https://archive.org/details/chaceapoemembel00somegoog. Accessed 10/6/19.
[750] Landry, D. 2001 *The Invention of the Countryside: hunting, walking and ecology in English literature, 1671-1831*, Basingstoke, Palgrave; McKnight: 161.
[751] Somerville 1735: 14 v.213-236 & v.261-285.
[752] Ibid: 16 v.261-285.

mounted huntsmen whose voices, horses, horns and dogs combine to produce a complex, familiar and distinctive soundscape which had clearly become deeply imbedded in social consciousness by this time. The hunt begins with a horn waking a pack of excitable, full-throated hounds who then eagerly set off in pursuit of the prey:

> The horn sonorous calls, the pack awaked, Their matins chant…from their kennel rush the joyous pack; A thousand wanton gaieties express Their inward ecstacy…[753]

The hunting party progresses noisily through particular elements of a landscape that are utilised for their ability to amplify sound and produce echoes which spread far beyond the close confines of the hunt:

> The welkin [sky] rings; men, dogs, hills, rocks, and woods, In the full concert join… Hark! From yon covert, where those towering oaks Above the humble copse aspiring rise, What glorious triumphs burst, in every gale, Upon our ravish'd ears! The hunters shout, The clanging horns swell their sweet-winding notes; The pack, wide-opening, load the trembling air With various melody; from tree to tree The propagated cry redoubling bounds And winger zephyrs waft the floating joy Through all the regions near…[754]

The conclusion of the hunt and death of the hare is marked by the call of a horn and cries of the pack which resound across the landscape:

> …the furious hounds Around her bay…All now is joy. With cheeks full-blown they wind Her solemn dirge, while the loud-opening pack. The concert swell, and hills and dales return the sadly pleasing sounds.[755]

Hunting hounds and the hunting horn also continued to take central stage in sporting art. Much of the early work of the English landscape painter and sporting artist John Wootton (1681/2-1764) focused on group portraits of hounds. They conspicuously omitted or marginalized the role of humans in the hunt and are considered to be an important subgenre for Wootton.[756] *Hounds in a Landscape,* an undated drawing in pen, brown and black ink and charcoal shows a group of hounds at rest in the shade of a tree either at the beginning or the end of a hunt. There are however no huntsmen to be seen anywhere in the drawing; but a large French hunting horn prominently dangles from the branch of a tree, above the hounds,

[753] Ibid: 31 v.89-113.
[754] Ibid: 33 v.139-163 & v.164-188.
[755] Ibid: 39 v.288-312.
[756] Information on John Wooton 1682-1764, (undated). Available at https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:47397. Accessed 12/11/20, Meyer, A.J. 2008 Wootton, John (1681/2-1764) Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb-9780198614128.001.0001/odnb9780198614128-e-29965?rskey=de3ahl&result=2. Accessed 12/11/20.

symbolising their shared significance (Figure 7.12).[757] Wootton repeats this theme in his oil painting on canvas entitled *Releasing the Hounds* (ca.1740-1750) (Figure 7.13).[758] A pack of hounds are again placed at the forefront of the painting under a tree at rest. This time the scene appears to be the beginning of a hunt as it shows the release of another pack of hounds from their kennel by the small single figure of a huntsman dressed in green. Again, the dominant image of the painting is a large brass French horn dangling from a tree which instantly draws the eye. It appears that for Wootton, the depiction of hounds and the hunting horn represent the act of hunting more than any other of its other participants or components.

[757] John Wooton *Hounds in a Landscape* 1682-1764, (undated). Available at https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:47397. Accessed 12/11/20

[758] John Wooton *Releasing the Hounds* (ca.1740-1750) Available at: https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catlog/tms: Accessed 12/11/20.



Figure 7.12. ***Hounds in Landscape*** **(undated) by John Wootton. (Yale Center for British Art)**



Figure 7.13. *Releasing the Hounds* by John Wootton (1740-1750) (Yale Center for British Art)

An undated drawing in brown ink entitled *Huntsman Galloping* attributed to another eminent English sporting painter and draughtsman James Seymour (1702?-1752) depicts a huntsman wearing a tricorne hat and cloak who is shown galloping with his arm upraised. It not only evokes a sense of the exhilarating motion of a mounted hunt but also prominently depicts a French hunting horn which is slung over the huntsman's right shoulder (Figure 7.14).[759]

[759] Brown ink drawing attributed to James Seymour. *Huntsman Galloping.* Available at: https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:47416. Accessed: 21/6/20; Egerton, J. 2004 Seymour, James 1702?-1752. Available at https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128e-25176?rskey=cQ9p9x&result=2. Accessed: 21/6/20.



Figure 7.14. Brown ink drawing entitled *Huntsman Galloping* attributed to James Seymour showing a mounted huntsman with a French horn slung over his shoulder. (Yale Center For British Art)

Seymour's relatively simple but powerful drawing was typical of an artist who was renowned for his depictions of horses at race meetings, stables, riding schools and particularly for vivid depictions of their involvement in different forms of hunting.[760] The latter was the subject of

[760] Egerton 2004: no page numbers.

a series of twelve hand-coloured engravings (one of Seymour's most acclaimed works, produced in c.1750) that could have been used to illustrate many of the literary and musical works of the preceding decades as they emphasise the continued importance of sound to hare, fox and stag hunting.[761] In an engraving entitled: *In Full Chace* (Figure 7.15) a hare is being pursued through woodland, with a pond in the centre ground, by mounted huntsmen (carrying hangers) and a huntsman on foot carrying a pole. One of the riders is prominently shown blowing on a brass French horn.[762] The scene is also dominated by a large pack of hounds. It is relatively easy to imagine that the sounds produced by horn, dogs, riders, and horses reverberating against the nearby trees are like those described in the early seventeenth-century ballad *Maister Basse His Careere or the New Hunting of the Hare.*[763] The pursuit of a fox is also shown on *The Chase* where the quarry can be seen in the distance running over a hill followed by hounds and mounted huntsmen (Figure 7.16).[764] It is reminiscent of a noisy pursuit described in the ballad *The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony* which was read and sung over five decades earlier.[765] Two other engravings show the end of a hunt in *The Death of the Hare* (Figure 7.17)[766] and *The Death and Taking Say of the Stag* (Figure 7.18) which are signified by the blowing of horns.[767] They also inspire thoughts of the final passages of Margaret Cavendish's poems (which were written in the mid-seventeenth century) *The Hunting of the Hare* when 'poor Wat' dies amongst the clamour of hounds; and *The Hunting of the Stag* where the brave prey is surrounded and ultimately overcome by biting and loudly barking dogs.[768]

[761] *James Seymour, 1702-1752, British, Set of Twelve: 4 Fox Huntings. 4 Stag Huntings. 4 Hare Huntings, c.1750.* Available at https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:44931. Accessed: 21/6/20.
[762] Ibid.
[763] Warwick Bond 1893: 129-131.
[764] Ibid.
[765] Anon. 1669-1709.
[766] Ibid.
[767] Ibid.
[768] Cavendish 1653: 112.



Figure 7.15. Mid-eighteenth century Engraving by James Seymour showing a hare hunt through woodland, driven on by a hunting horn and the 'voices' of hounds. (Yale Center For British Art)



Figure 7.16. Seymour's engraving of a raucous fox hunt. The fox can be seen in the distance running across the undulating landscape. (Yale Center For British Art)



Figure 7.17. Engraving showing the denouement of a fox hunt to the sound of horns and hounds. (Yale Center For British Art)



Figure 7.18. Seymour's representation of the death of a stag which is marked by the blasting of a French horn and the barking of dogs. (Yale Center For British Art)

Conclusions

The many examples given here show that there is no doubt that sound continued to fulfil two main functions during the hunt throughout the period. Firstly, it was a utilitarian means with which to inform participants and observers alike of what was happening. Secondly, and culturally more significantly, the sounds produced by the hunt provided a multi-layered musical score to accompany the unfolding events which in turn heightened the experiential pleasure of the individual. The abundance of literary and artistic evidence points to the fact that the importance of sound was recognised by people across every strata of society, irrespective of whether they had direct involvement with the activity or not. On the one hand, ballads, short prose, instructional manuals, plays, poems, songs, and visual representations, including maps, would have provided a socially disparate audience with the opportunity to experience and enjoy a hunt vicariously. On the other, it would have confirmed to those already initiated, that dogs, horns, and the other cacophonous sounds associated with the hunt were irrevocably and enduringly connected with the experience. You could not have one without the other.

As we have seen in chapter 6, phenomenologists generally tend to favour studies which concentrate on visual experience over audio, with the notable exception of Hamilton and Whitehouse. They 'objectively' journey through the landscape either in person or virtually in a 'meaningful way' in search of a big narrative based only on what they can see, which in many cases requires some imaginative conjecture or the aid of GIS. This approach is perhaps understandable considering that many of these studies are concerned with prehistoric landscapes where additional evidence is simply not there. It is somewhat surprising therefore that phenomenologists have not fully embraced the study of sound, particularly in the historical period, given the volume of sources that are available to them. The same ballads can be sung, plays can be performed, and poetry can be recited to a modern audience, which would surely elicit a similar stimulating sensory reaction to those experienced by an individual in the past. Moreover, the same sounds which were heard during the early modern hunt, such as dogs barking, and horns blasting can also be easily recreated and recognised now. They would not sound any different today if the same breeds of dog or type of horn were used. In contrast, as Brück and Finch have highlighted, visual experience (particularly the importance and significance of the visual relationship between monuments) is far more

difficult to recreate in a landscape which has been subject to continuous physical change and where cultural meaning has been lost. With a knowledge of contemporary literature and art however, the individual can subjectively enter the landscape armed with some insight into the emotions that the sound of the hunt could evoke. With this in mind, the notion that visual experience should be the predominant focus of phenomenological investigations, which has been championed by Tilley and others, needs to be firmly put aside in favour of the study of sound which is considerably strengthened by tangible evidence.

Chapter 8

Poaching

If our understanding of hunting is solely based on the contemporary manuals and works of poetry and prose it would be easy to assume that hunting in parks was the preserve of the educated elite alone. However, hunting was not conducted in one codified form that necessarily followed or reflected the literature to the letter. In fact, hunting in parks was also conducted illegally. By looking at court documents we can gain an insight into how an alternative form of hunting was played out. The experience of these people is also valid and illuminating and adds to the richness of this study.

At around nine or ten o'clock at night on 2nd March 1661, John Radley a yeoman from the village of Brook Street near Brentwood in Essex entered Sir William Petre's Thorndon Park in nearby West Horndon in the company of a group of 'many other illdoers' with the apparent intention of illegally 'taking' or 'stealing' deer.[769] This illicit incursion was subsequently witnessed by John Pearman the park keeper of Thorndon Park who testified in an indictment at the Essex quarter sessions that he had seen Radley hunting and chasing deer with three greyhounds within the park that night and that he had witnessed the killing of a fallow deer which was valued at thirty shillings.[770] John Stagg and George Norris (two smiths who resided near the park) also testified that that they had been in the park that night (for unspecified reasons) and had seen Radley armed with a long staff accompanied by two men and three greyhounds.[771] Radley appears to have been aided and abetted in his endeavours by Thomas Parker and his daughter Elizabeth Parker of Brentwood (approximately two miles from Brook Street where Radley resided) who admitted that they 'kept one greyhound constantly for Radley' and that he had sent another greyhound to the Parker household on the night of 2nd March. They further admitted that he had collected his dogs that night and had returned them at eleven o'clock.[772]

[769] ERO Q/SR 388/22.
[770] ERO Q/SR 388/14, 17.
[771] ERO Q/SR 388/22.
[772] Ibid.

Radley appears to have been an inveterate violent criminal and a bane to park owners and to many of the people in the locality. In 1664 he was bound over to keep the peace to Thomas Huntsman and John Clarke, who both resided at Brentwood and was also indicted for an assault upon an individual named Robert Dale.[773] In the same year he came before the courts once more when he was indicted alongside a fellow yeoman named John Witherell, who also hailed from Brook Street, for breaking into the dwelling house of John Clerk of Brentwood and for breaking 'the pales…and the glass windowe' whilst in commission of the act.[774] Radley had however also been a victim of crime years earlier when in 1651 a labourer named Thomas Straunge of South Weald broke into his house. The indictment states that Straunge stole a pewter flagon worth six shillings, a sliver spoon worth three shillings and two pewter porringers which were valued at twelve pence.[775]

In 1663, two years after his attack on Thorndon Park, the recalcitrant Radley was indicted for unlawfully hunting there once again and for an attack on Albyns Park in Stapleford Abbotts, approximately nine miles to the north-west of West Horndon. In the indictment of Radley three witnesses: Thomas Fordman, Robert Dale and William Holbrooke, testified how they had encountered him at Thorndon on Sunday 27 December at about eleven or twelve o'clock at night with a greyhound that was 'notoriously' known to belong to Radley which they believed had killed a male deer by a bite to its neck.[776] On this occasion he was accompanied by the aforementioned John Witherell, and by approximately four or five others. The encounter between the witnesses and Radley and his confederates apparently descended into violence and quickly escalated as Witherell who was armed with a staff struck Fordman. As this was taking place the assembled company 'snapped their firelocks' but further bloodshed was averted according to Fordman as the firearms were not discharged.[777] The incident at Thorndon Park followed an earlier raid by Radley on Sir Robert Abdy's Albyns Park in the April of 1663. He is reported to have broken into the park at 'night-time' and used greyhounds to chase and kill two female fallow deer that were valued at 100 shillings.[778]

[773] ERO Q/SR 402/57; ERO Q/SR 399/23.
[774] ERO Q/SR 399/33.
[775] ERO T/A 418/139/2. Porringers are small bowls with one or two handles and were utilized mainly for eating pottage or broth. They were used in England up until the eighteenth century. The Pewter Society, Douglas, J. 1972, *Pewter for Eating* available at: https://www.pewtersociety.org/about-pewter/pewter-eating. Accessed 12/4/20.
[776] ERO Q/SR 399/100
[777] Ibid
[778] ERO Q/SR 399/24

Radley is said to have openly bragged of this later to a witness named Richard Smith at the 'Redd Lyon' at Shenfield. He admitted to Smith (perhaps in an act of hubris or in an attempt to sell him some venison) that he had killed a brace of deer at Abdy's Park with his black greyhound. Smith had commented that 'it could not be good venison' but Radley had assured him that it was 'very good' and that he still had part of them in his house.[779]

These three detailed accounts which describe Radley's attacks on parks are drawn from a sample of 124 indictments and recognizances (a bond 'to keep the peace'[780]) for poaching which was commonly referred to as 'the illegal taking of deer in the sixteenth century and 'deer stealing' during the seventeenth century. They were recorded at the Courts of Assizes (held at Braintree, Brentwood, Chelmsford, Colchester or Witham[781]) and Quarter Sessions (held at Chelmsford) for attacks on Essex parks between 1563 and 1699. Figure 8.1 below shows the frequency of attacks on parks in five-year periods.

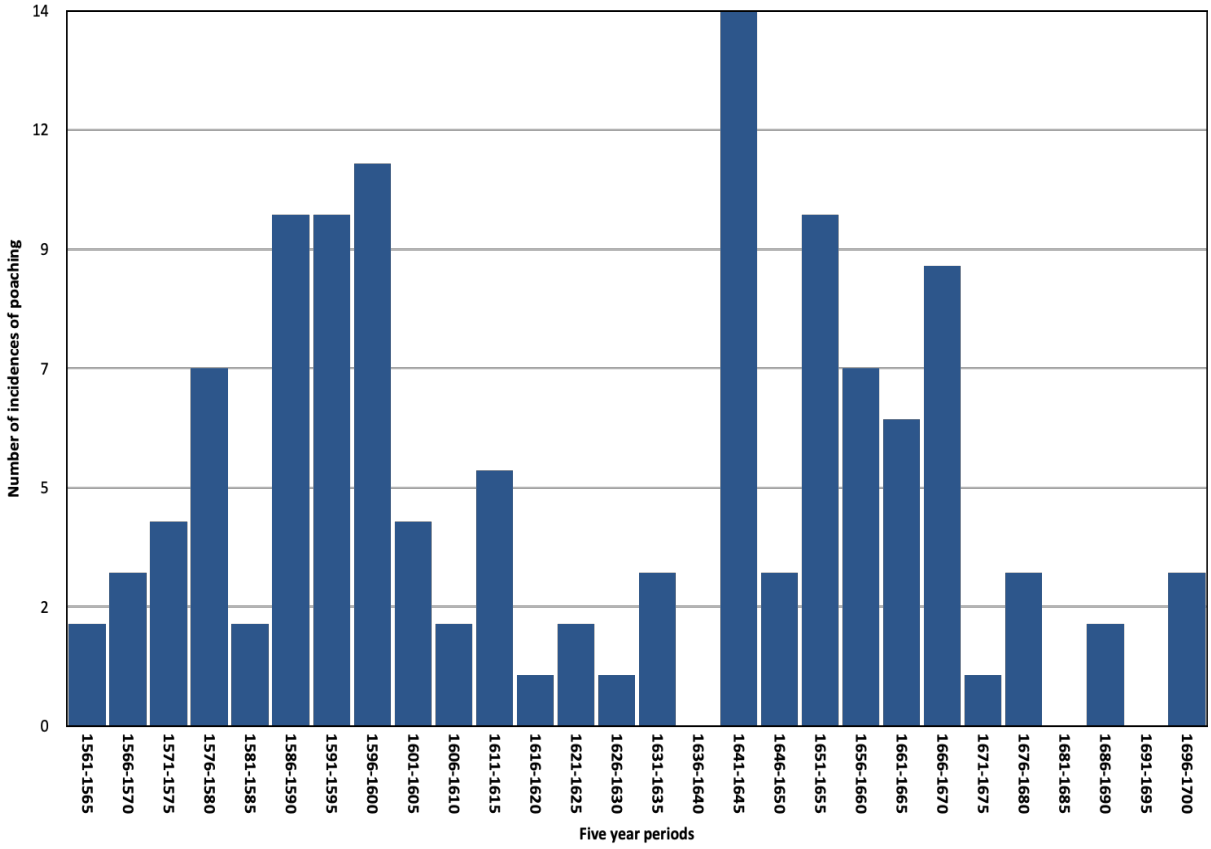


Figure 8.1. Surviving records of prosecutions held at the courts of Assizes and Quarter Sessions for poaching in Essex parks between 1561 and 1700. Based on ERO Q/SR; T/A 418.

[779] ERO Q/SR 399/101.
[780] Samaha, J. 1974 *Law and Order in Historical Perspective: the case of Elizabethan Essex*, London, Academic Press; Hipkin, S. & Pittman, S. 2013 'A grudge amongst the people': commercial conflict, conspiracy, petitioning and poaching in Cranbrook, 1594-1606', *Rural History* 24 (2) pp 101-125.
[781] Cockburn, J.S. 1972 *A History of English Assizes, 1558-1714*, London, Cambridge University Press.

The court records appear to provide a contrasting and perhaps more authentic, informative and nuanced idea of the mechanics of a form of 'hunting' in parks and of the people directly involved, when compared to the often lengthy and florid descriptions given in the literary texts of the various forms of elite legitimate hunting. They will be used in this section primarily to explore whether there is any evidence of a definitive hunting 'method' that was employed by poachers such as John Radley and his associates (including their use of dogs and weaponry and other means for catching and killing deer) during the early modern period that can be equated in any way with the highly formulised and ritualized hunting methods lauded by hunting manuals and other literary texts. This will be followed by an examination of the archaeological investigations at Stansted Park which has revealed evidence of what may have taken place at the conclusion of illicit hunts there. Overall, the documentary and archaeological evidence will be used here in an attempt to reconstruct how poaching was conducted from beginning to end. Firstly, however, there will be an attempt to determine what the documentary record reveals about the type of person that hunted illegally in parks at this time (and their possible motivations) and how sixteenth and seventeenth-century governments, park owners and the local community reacted to their many attacks.

The documentary sample used in this study comes from the records of the courts of the Essex Quarter Sessions which were held four times a year and the Assizes which were held biannually. The Assizes had their origins in the twelfth century and the Quarter Sessions in the first half of the fourteenth century.[782] Remarkably, records from both of these courts have largely survived for Essex from the period between 1560 and 1699 and will be used extensively here.[783] They remain a valuable and relatively unexplored resource in relation to poaching in parks and how it was conducted. During the Elizabethan period the Quarter Sessions frequently tried and executed felons. However, from the 1590s onwards the court predominately tried petty criminals for mainly minor or non-capital offences such as: theft, the failure to perform communal obligations such as repair of the highway, the failure to attend church services, disorderly behaviour that included riot and assault and to a lesser

[782] In Essex, Sessions Rolls are fairly complete after 1556 with approximately 112,000 Sessions Rolls surviving before 1850 Emmison, F.R. 1946 *Guide to the Essex Quarter Sessions and other Official Records*, Essex Archaeological Society. Assize records run from the mid-sixteenth century to 1971.

[783] Wrightson, K. & Levine, D. 1995 *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-170*, Oxford, Clarendon Press; Manning, R.B. 1994 'Unlawful hunting in England, 1500-*1640'*, *Forest and Conservation History*, 38(1) pp 16-23.

extent, cases of poaching (which often included indictments and recognizances for acts of riot, theft and assault).[784] The Assizes also tried a small number of poaching cases (along with cases of petty theft) during this period but mostly dealt with the more difficult and serious crimes of homicide, treason, rape, witchcraft and burglary.[785]

What the sample of poaching cases from the Assizes and Quarter Sessions primarily illustrates is the apparent uncommon determination of park owners and magistrates in Essex to vigorously prosecute those who were involved in flouting successive parliamentary legislation enacted between the late fourteenth and eighteenth centuries that exclusively reserved park-based hunting and the game within them for the landed, wealthy elite and eventually excluded practically everyone else. Although no statute between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century actually declared the act of poaching to be a crime, considerable effort was made to criminalise 'every conceivable circumstance in which a commoner might hunt a deer'.[786] Essentially the often convoluted and confusing legislation enacted during this period declared that those who broke into a park, hunted there at night, were caught in disguise within the park or if they were in possession of dogs, nets or weapons that could be utilised for hunting were committing a crime.[787] It was also deemed that a crime had been committed if the hunter did not possess the sufficient property qualification (linked to annual income and the possession of land) required to hunt legally. During the late medieval and Tudor periods those who were in possession of land worth £2 a year or above could legally hunt, which excluded landless labourers who would see their real wages fall up to the mid seventeenth century.[788] The Game Act of 1605 significantly raised the property qualifications by stating that no person was permitted to take deer unless they were in the possession of freehold land worth £40 a year (£80 copyhold) or goods worth £200. This effectively disqualified many of the smaller gentry and yeomanry from hunting and also husbandmen who generally yielded an average of approximately £15 from their rented acreage.[789] In 1671 a new Game Act redefined the property qualifications once again which further restricted the

[784] Hutson, L. 2017 *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500-1700*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
[785] Sharpe, J.A. 1983 *Crime in Seventeenth-century England: a county study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
[786] Manning, R.B. 1988 *Village Revolts: social protest and popular disturbances in England, 1509-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
[787] Manning, R.B. 1988: 285; Sharpe, J.A. 1999 (2nd edition) *Crime in Early Modern England: 1550-1750*, London, Routledge; Manning 1994: 16.
[788] Manning 1988: 285; Manning 1994: 17; Wrightson & Levine: 1995: 7.
[789] Munsche, P.B. 1981 *Gentlemen and Poachers: the English Game Laws 1671-1831*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Manning 1994: 17, 22; Bucholz, R & Key, N. 2009 (2nd edition) *Early Modern England 1485-1714: a narrative history*, Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell.

right to hunt to the landed wealthy elite. The Act forbade the hunting of game for those who did not hold a freehold worth in excess of £100 a year or a leasehold of £150 a year or 'was not the son and heir of an esquire or the owner of parks, warrens, chases or free fisheries' which prevented those who could not meet the qualification from killing game even on their own land.[790] Unsurprisingly, successive legislation such as this appears to have provoked widespread resentment and active disobedience amongst those that had been gradually disenfranchised.

Amongst the most readily litigious park owners who were prepared to vigorously defend their hunting privileges set by statute, were the Petre family of Essex who owned Thorndon, Crondon and Writtle parks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their parks appear to have been favoured targets of poaching gangs such as those led by Radley, particularly during a forty-year period between 1630 and 1670. Many of the attacks coincided with a time when the family were suffering from long periods of debt, the sequestration of their estates and from the consequences of their political and religious beliefs. The Petre family were major landholders in central Essex with their estates being some of the largest in the county. They were also a prominent Catholic family whose ambitious members were prime examples of parvenus.[791] The family estates were initially built up between the early to mid-sixteenth century by Sir William Petre (1505?-1572) (a tanner's son whose family were relative newcomers to Essex) who rose to be Secretary of State to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. He was also made Master of Chancery in 1536 and was appointed to the position of commissioner to survey monastic lands in Essex which he effectively used to obtain large tracts for himself.[792] This included the manor of Crondon (originally held by the Bishop of London) and its park of 700 acres which was passed to Sir William from the Crown by Letters Patent for the sum of £160.[793] The family estates failed to significantly grow in size under the ownership of Sir William's son John (who was made baron Petre of Writtle in 1611) partly due to the family's Catholic faith precluding them

[790] McLynn, F. 2013 *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England*, Abingdon, Routledge.
[791] Walter, J 2004 *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester plunderers*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Clay, C. 1971 'The misfortunes of William, Fourth Lord Petre, 1638-1655', *British Catholic History,* 11(2) pp 87-116.
[792] Clutton, G. & Mackay, C. 1970 'Old Thorndon Hall, Essex: a history and reconstruction of its park and garden', *The Garden History Society,* 2, pp 27-39; Samaha 1974: 70; Ward, J. 1972 *Old Thorndon Hall*, Chelmsford, The Essex County Council.
[793] Robey, A.C. 1991 *The Village of Stock, Essex, 1550-1610: a social and economic survey*, unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics.

from the profits of office.[794] He did, however, acquire lands from the Mourdant family in east and West Horndon or Thorndon in 1573 which included Thorndon Hall and its park of 300 acres.[795] On the death of the Lord Petre of Writtle in 1637 the estates inherited by his eldest son the third Lord Petre were still considerable. By this time the family held the lordship of seventeen manors in Essex and approximately 11,000 acres of freehold land to the west and south of Chelmsford with Thorndon Hall and Ingateston Hall (the first home of the Petres) as the two main family seats.[796] In 1638 the eleven year old fourth baron, William (1625/6-1694) came into his title and estates after the untimely death of his father. He was automatically made a ward of the King which instigated long periods of debt for William throughout his life. He also suffered sequestration of a significant portion of his estate by Parliament during the Civil War, imprisonment on the suspicion of involvement in the planning of both royalist and popish rebellions and periods of self-imposed exile in France.[797] The fourth Lord Petre did eventually manage to gain full control of his estates following Parliament's decision to discharge his estates from sequestration in 1653 but he still remained in debt until his death.[798] This came in January 1684 following his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower of London having been charged with high treason for his alleged involvement in a popish plot to overthrow the state and murder the King.[799]

During the period when these events were taking place, the Petre estates were sites of sustained acts of popular disorder (particularly following the outbreak of the Civil War, 1642-1651, and the periods of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660 and the years following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660) which included outbreaks of mass poaching. It is unclear whether these were acts of opportunistic theft or conscious acts of protest, against a prominent Catholic family.[800] Fifteen separate attacks were recorded at Thorndon Park between 1634 and 1670 with five documented at Crondon and eleven at Writtle. Added to these are four that do not specifically mention a park by name and just refer to 'the park of William Petre' or 'Lady Petre' bringing the total number of surviving documented attacks on

[794] Clay 1971: 87.
[795] Clutton 1970: 27.
[796] Clay 1971: 87; Clutton 1970: 27.
[797] Clay 1971: 88; Callow, J.2008 *Petre, William, fourth Baron Petre*. Available at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22049. Accessed 18/5/18.
[798] Clay 1971: 106 & 110.
[799] Callow 2008.
[800] Walter 2004: 234.

the parks of the Petre family between 1634 and 1670 to 35 from the sample of 124 (Figure 8.2). Contrastingly, there are only four surviving records of attacks taking place between 1570 and 1580 (two at Crondon, one at Writtle and a park listed as that of 'Lady Petre') with none recorded from a period of fifty -three years, between 1580 and 1633.

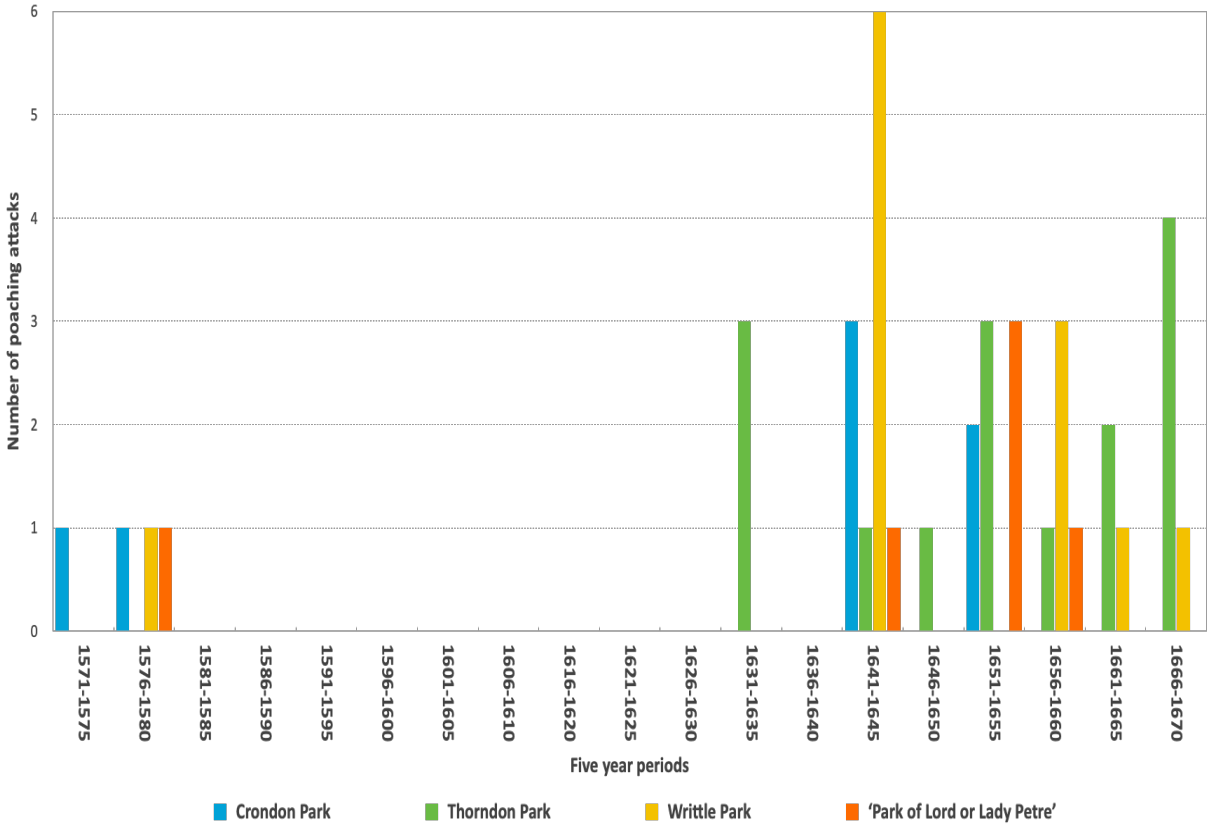


Figure 8.2 Recorded attacks on the Essex parks of the Petre family between 1571 and 1670. Based on ERO Q/SR; T/A 418.

Despite the remarkably good survival of court records in Essex between 1560 and 1700 this number is likely to have been much higher as many incidences of poaching do not appear in the documentary record for a number of reasons.[801] If caught, many poachers were often dealt with by summary conviction (records of which rarely survive before the eighteenth century) or at the petty sessions.[802] Many other 'low key' attacks would also most probably have gone undetected, particularly if the park was large.[803] Where cases of poaching were reported and prosecuted, justices of the peace and magistrates were often lenient with offenders brought before them (unless they were the victims) and juries often refused to

[801] Wrightson & Levine 1995: 112.
[802] Sharpe 1999: 184.
[803] Sharpe, J.A. 1983 *Crime in Seventeenth-century England: a county study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Hipkin. & Pittman 2013: 116.

indict or convict transgressors.[804] There are also several examples in the documentary record which appear to show at the very least an apathetic attitude toward poaching and poachers from some officials.[805] This is seen in two indictments for illegal hunting in Writtle Park where Joseph Agent a constable of the Essex village of Willingale Doe refused to execute a warrant on poachers for 'several offences of killing fallow deer of William Lord Petre' in 1659 and John Beard who arrested Arthur Gine on the suspicion of 'taking and killing deer' from the park in 1662 but was found to have subsequently: 'negligently allowed him to escape'.[806]

Those that were apprehended, prosecuted and convicted by unsympathetic owners, officials and juries came from a wide variety of social backgrounds. Figure 8.3 shows the professions and status (which is not always given in the documentary sample) of poachers who were indicted or 'bound over' at the Essex assizes and quarter sessions between 1570 and 1670 for poaching in parks. Figure 8.4 shows the status and professions of those prosecuted for poaching in the parks of the Petre family in Essex between 1563 and 1699. Both Figures 8.3 and 8.4 reveal that gentlemen, husbandmen and labourers were amongst the most prolific transgressors county wide. They also illustrate that yeomen are by far the most well represented social group in the documentary sample by showing that they were involved in fifty-seven documented acts of poaching in Essex parks between 1563 and 1700. They were also responsible for the most attacks on the Petre parks (nineteen times) followed by labourers (eight times) and husbandmen (five times) during this period. Gentlemen were indicted at the Court of Sessions on only two occasions in 1578 for forays into Crondon and Writtle parks.[807] However, as we have seen in Chapter 4, gentlemen such as George Gascoigne, were well versed in the art of taking deer illegally and were able to avoid detection and prosecution. Several other professions are also listed only once or twice in the records for the county of Essex and have not been included in Figure 8.3. They were: basketmaker, beerbrewer, carman, carpenter, cordwainer, farmer/farminghand, glover, hairweaver, mercer, miller, millener, moneyer, park-keeper, ploughwright, shoemaker, skinner, stationer, spinster, tanner, tiler, tilemaker and warrener.[808]

[804] Hipkin & Pittman 2013: 116; Manning 1994: 17.
[805] Manning 1994: 17.
[806] ERO Q/SR 378/9; ERO Q/SR 392/17.
[807] ERO Q/SR 68/29; ERO Q/SR/68/30.
[808] ERO Q/SR 130/50; ERO Q/SR 287/20; ERO Q/SR 430/13; ERO Q/SR 365/41; ERO Q/SR 196/88; ERO Q/SR 399/34; ERO Q/SR 453/95; ERO ERO Q/SR 80/45,47; ERO Q/SR 139/76; ERO Q/SR 503/82; ERO T/A 418/69/86; ERO Q/SR 128/20; ERO T/A 418/150/34; ERO Q/SR 351/45;

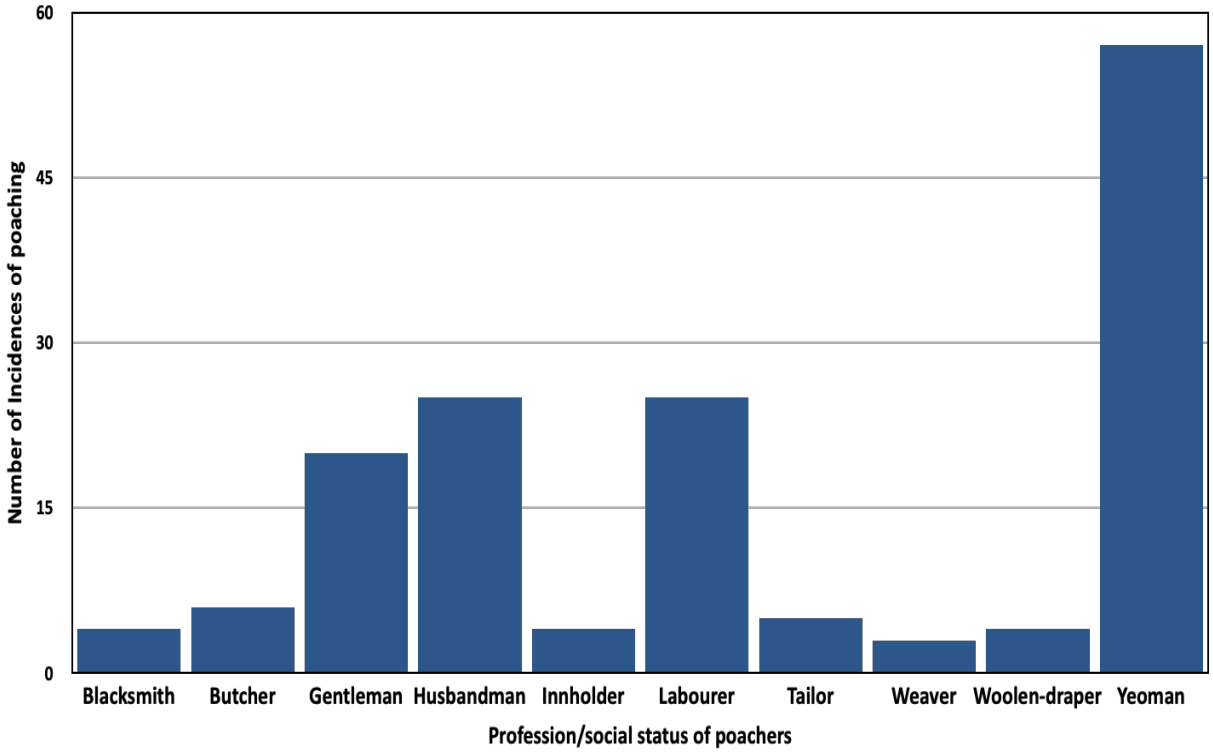


Figure 8.3. Profession/social status of those indicted or 'bound over' for poaching in Essex parks between 1560 and 1700. Based on ERO Q/SR; T/A 418.

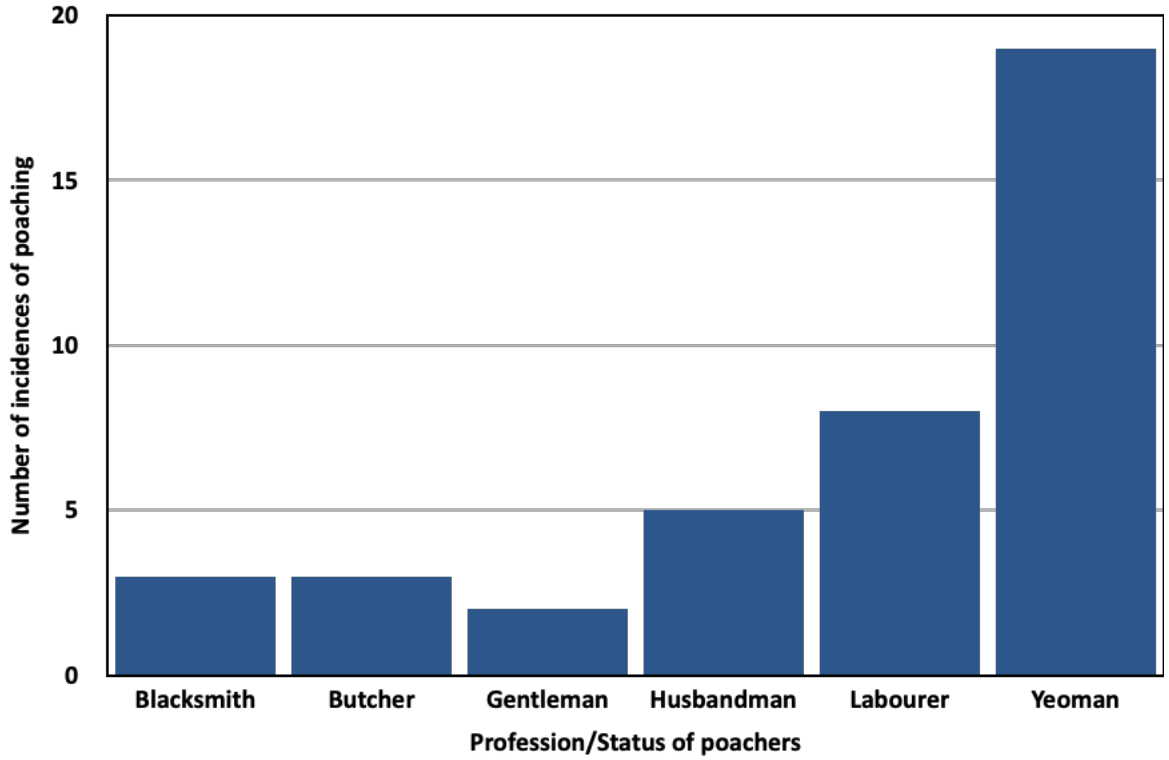


Figure 8.4. Profession/status of those indicted or bound over for poaching in Crondon, Thorndon and Writtle parks and those identified as the 'parks of Lord or Lady Petre' between 1570 and 1670. Based on ERO Q/SR; T/A 418.

ERO Q/SR 196/88; ERO Q/SR 126/25; ERO Q/SR 141/103; ERO Q/SR 290/22; ERO Q/SR 319/55; ERO Q/SR 365/53; ERO Q/SR 103/46; ERO Q/SR 439/34.

The documentary sample also reveals that many of those who indulged in acts of poaching in the Petre family parks at Thorndon, Crondon and Writtle often lived well within a ten-mile radius of the park that they had attacked. A familiarity with the local area, its people and even of the park itself must have been a distinct advantage for some poachers, especially as the vast majority of their forays took place in the dark. The yeomen John Radley and John Witherell of Brook Street lived only two miles from Thorndon Park and clearly had sympathetic friends in the local community who were more than willing to help them in their endeavours.[809] Seven other poaching attacks on Thorndon Park between 1634 and 1668 were committed by a mixture of yeomen, labourers, a butcher, blacksmith, husbandman and a spinster who all lived between two and four miles from the park with one travelling just over eight miles from the village of Good Easter.[810] There are however two examples of poachers who were prepared to travel longer distances to take deer from Thorndon. A skinner from London (over twenty-five miles away) was indicted for poaching there in 1635 and a blacksmith and labourers from Loughton (eighteen miles away) were also indicted in the same year.[811]

At Crondon Park, two gentlemen named James Hanchett and Anthony Errington admitted to travelling the short distance from the village of Stock (located near to 'Stock Gate' on the western boundary of the park) and hunting there in 1578 (Figure 8.5). They were in the company of Robert Martyn a yeoman from Margaretting in Essex who had travelled less than five miles and by two other yeomen who had come from much further afield, from the Essex villages of High Easter (nearly seventeen miles away) and Bowers Gifford (approximately sixteen miles away).[812] Three other incidences of poaching (one in 1572 and two in 1642) were committed by yeomen, a husbandman and a labourer who resided between three and twelve miles from the park.[813] In 1655 two other yeomen named John Gynne and Thomas Gynne who came from Fyfield (approximately eighteen miles away) were indicted for killing and carrying away a fallow deer.[814]

[809]ERO Q/SR 388/22; ERO Q/SR 388/14,17; ERO Q/SR 399/24; ERO Q/SR 399/101.
[810] ERO Q/SR 287/19; ERO Q/SR 287/20; ERO Q/SR 320/163; ERO Q/SR 362/23; ERO Q/SR/365/53; ERO T/A 418/168/1; ERO T/A 418/168.5.
[811] ERO Q/SR 290/22; ERO Q/SR 343/38.
[812] ERO Q/SR 68/29.
[813] ERO T/A 418/20/41; ERO Q/SR 319/22; ERO Q/SR 319/83.
[814] ERO Q/SR 366/71.



Figure 8.5. Detail of a 1575 map of Crondon Park and its immediate environs showing the proximity of the village of Stock to 'Stock Gate' on the western paled boundary of the park (ERO D/DP P13)

At the Petre's park in Writtle, John Lanham of the nearby village of Writtle (whose occupation was not given) was caught poaching there and was subsequently 'bound over' at the Quarter Sesssions in 1642'.[815] A year later, Henry Beard a labourer also of Writtle, was indicted for poaching in the park alongside a large gang of eighteen others who included a blacksmith from Norton Mandeville (approximately seven miles from Writtle) and two butchers from Willingdale Doe which is also around seven miles from the park.[816] Residents of Willingdale Doe and Norton Mandeville (including a husbandman, labourer and a blacksmith amongst their number) were also responsible for three other attacks at Writtle, twice in 1641 and on one occasion in 1659. They were joined on one of the incursions in 1641 by a yeoman from Roxwell, which is only around three miles away.[817] With the exception of a poaching attack carried out by a gentleman and a yeoman from Blackmore in 1578, which is approximately eight miles from Writtle, the remaining five attacks were carried out by gangs that included gentlemen, a husbandman, yeomen and a stationer who all lived at a distance of between eleven and forty miles away from the park.[818]

[815] ERO Q/SR 319/77.
[816] ERO Q/SR 319/77; ERO Q/SR 103.
[817] ERO Q/SR 312/135; ERO Q/SR 312/96; ERO Q/SR 378/9
[818] ERO Q/SR 371/48-50; ERO Q/ SR 68/30; ERO Q/SR 319/55; ERO Q/SR 372/3; ERO Q/SR 420/106.

Motivations for poaching

It is difficult to determine what motivated disproportionately large numbers of yeomen in Essex to frequently indulge in poaching. Did they do it for the love of hunting? Was it an opportunity to lead or belong to a poaching fraternity that were often involved in extreme violence? Were they merely opportunists who benefitted from the misfortunes of park owners or civil unrest? Or did they break into parks as a protest against draconian legislation or to supplement their income? Perhaps for some, their involvement in poaching was a combination of all of these reasons and for others it was a single motivating factor. The opportunity for economic gain however does not appear to have been the primary motivation for many members of the yeomanry. Although there were considerable differences in the level of wealth experienced by yeomen (who have been loosely defined as substantial farmers who farmed an acreage, either by freehold or leasehold, that was more than sufficient to comfortably support himself and his family[819]), they still remained the most affluent non-elite social group in England with many contemporary wills and inventories confirming widespread prosperity as they profited from the rise in agricultural prices in the century up to 1650.[820] It has been estimated that the wealth of the greatest yeomen families, numbering in the region of ten thousand in 1600, might have equalled or even surpassed the wealth of smaller parish gentry meaning that many would have initially retained their hunting privileges. Even some of the lesser yeomen families at this time numbering approximately eighty thousand would have had an annual income of between £40 and £50.[821] There were however some yeomen who suffered severe economic hardship due to the downturn in agricultural prices after 1650 and war taxation after 1688.[822] For those affected the financial rewards that could be gained from poaching in parks may have been too great to ignore.

For others the opportunity for violence ostensibly appears to have been a major motivating factor to be involved in poaching. Manning observes that: 'knocking a gamekeeper on the head was half the fun of breaking into a deer park, and hunters invariably went armed and armoured for combat'.[823] As has been seen, Radley and his confederates were involved in

[819] Sharpe 1997: 206; Bucholz & Key 2009: 161; Wrightson & Levine 1995: 5-6.
[820] Sharpe 1997: 206-208; Wrightson & Levine 1995: 6.
[821] Bucholz & Key 2099: 161.
[822] Sharpe 1997: 208.
[823] Manning 1988: 291.

two physical alterations at Thorndon Park which involved the use of long staffs and firearms.[824] Several other examples are found in the sample of indictments and recognizances from Essex of well- armed and armoured poachers who readily resorted to violence. An early incident in 1563 at New Hall saw the shooting of the keeper there with arrows by a gang led by a gentleman named William Heygham.[825] At Horham Park in 1588 an eyewitness testified before the court that they had seen one member of a poaching gang adorned with a 'coate of plate'[826]. At Nazeing Wood another gang which included yeomen and gentlemen assaulted two servants of the park owner Edward Greville in 1595.[827] In 1601 at Broadoaks Park William Chapman, a yeoman together with Edward Meadow and John Meade of Eldon who were both gentlemen assaulted William Nicholas, the keeper of the park and beat him: 'so that he despaired of his life'.[828] In a much later incident in 1699 James Phillips, Robert Clements and Martin Bayley, all of Great Bardfield and all of them yeomen broke into Bardfield Great Park and assaulted two of the keepers there.[829] On another occasion in 1669 a poacher was on the receiving end of a violent and ultimately fatal confrontation at Thorndon Park.[830] At around 1 A.M. on the 10 September a gang of poachers: 'armed with guns, staves, cudgels' and 'stopes' 'riotously assembled' with the intention of depolishing' the park of its deer. The gang are said to have been confronted by another group within the park that included the parker John Stevens, a gentleman named George Wybert and several servants of Lord Petre. During the altercation, Wybert shot a poacher named Alexander Gallis (a labourer from Great Warley) in the stomach with a handgun charged with powder and hailshot: 'giving him a mortal wound 1 inch wide and 2 inches deep of which he died at 3 A.M on 11 September'.

Poaching 'methodologies'

Although it is clear that blunt instruments and firearms were used by poachers and park keepers alike as a means of self-defence, it remains less clear from the documentary sample to what degree firearms in particular were utilised by poachers to hunt deer. Although firearms had supplanted the crossbow as the main attacking weapon of the hunt (for both those who hunted legally and illegally) by the mid seventeenth century there are only thirteen

[824] ERO Q/SR 388/22; ERO Q/SR 399/100
[825] ERO T/A 428/1/14
[826] ERO Q/SR 103/46.
[827] ERO Q/SR 130/51.
[828] ERO Q/SR 155/34.
[829] ERO T/A 418/224/24.
[830] ERO T/A 418/168/1.

instances of poaching in the sample where firearms are mentioned.[831] Only one of these directly specifies that a firearm was used to bring down a deer and comes from an indictment of a 'Mr Bashford' who 'did strike a herst (hart) with a gonne' at New Hall Park in 1586.[832] Recorded instances in the sample of where a crossbow is obviously being used by poachers to take deer are similarly scarce. They are mentioned in only six cases and can be directly linked to the illegal taking of deer on just three of these occasions. At Horham Park in 1588 a poaching gang that included a husbandman, tailor and a tanner were reported to have been in the possession of: 'a crosse bowe and certeyn arrows with forked arrowe heads'.[833] As has been seen above (from the investigations and excavations at Stansted Park) arrow heads of this type were utilised during this period to bring down large game.[834] Another recorded incident comes from Danbury Park where in 1595 a deer called a sorrel (a buck in its third year) was reported to have been killed with a crossbow and arrows by a gang led by a yeoman, husbandman and a woollen-draper.[835] A few years later in 1601, Richard Browne an innholder from Chelmsford was indicted for shooting a deer with a crossbow at the park of Sir Thomas Mildmaye at Moulsham.[836]

In an attempt to curb the nefarious use of firearms and crossbows, legislation was enacted in a 1514 game law which prohibited their use in hunting to anyone without an annual income of £200. Those who flouted the law suffered the penalty of forfeiture of their weapon and a fine of £10. Further legislation was passed in 1523 which reduced the required annual income for gun and crossbow ownership to £100 per year and reduced the fine to forty shillings.[837] Early legislation such as this however, does not appear to have had the desired effect as a proclamation of 1528 blamed the use of firearms in particular for the continued illegal destruction of deer and denounced the: 'newfangle and wanton pleasure that men now have in using crossbows and handguns'.[838] Two further pieces of legislation came in 1541 in an act *Concerning crossbows and handguns* which forbade servants on large estates from shooting game and fowl and in 1548 when qualified gun owners were required to be officially

[831] Blackmore, H.L. 2000 *Hunting Weapons from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth-century*, New York, Dover Publications Inc.
[832] ERO Q/SR 98/76A.
[833] ERO Q/SR 103/46; ERO Q/SR 103/47.
[834] Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology.
[835] ERO Q/SR 131/26.
[836] ERO T/A 418/69/102.
[837] Schwoerer, L.G. 2016 *Gun Culture in Early Modern England*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press.
[838] Ibid: 48.

registered. Again, legislation did not have the desired effect as another proclamation by Elizabeth I and her Privy Council in 1600 who criticised: '…common and ordinary person's…' who flouted …'divers good laws and statutes' that prohibited carrying and shooting guns. They claimed that it had resulted in: '…exceeding great waste and spoil of game that belongth to men of the best sort and condition' and should be reserved for the …delight of her majesty, the nobility and other men of quality.[839] Their continued use in illegal hunting however, continued to be problematic and was addressed by the 1671 Game Act that explicitly forbade those who were unqualified to hunt (without an annual income of £100) from owning firearms. A change in the law only came in a revision of the Act in 1692 which removed guns from the list of prohibited weapons denied to those who were not qualified.[840]

One of the consequences of the attempt to regulate the use of firearms and crossbows was the increased popularity of the longbow.[841] Bows were relatively cheap and easy to construct and had been proven to be highly effective in both war and during sporting occasions. An anonymous fifteenth-century French treatise: *La Fachon de Tirer de Larc a Main* claimed that a yew bow had a range of between 300 hundred and 400 hundred paces and that an experienced archer was able to shoot five to six arrows in the time it took for a crossbowman to reload.[842] Given their apparent suitability for fast paced hunting at close quarters; it is somewhat surprising that bows are mentioned only four times in the documentary record. This however does not demonstrate that bows (or for that matter firearms and crossbows) were rarely used in poaching attacks; it merely reveals a major weakness in the documentary sample where the majority of indictments and recognizances do not list any weapons at all. All four of the recorded instances that do refer to bows took place in the late sixteenth century. In 1573 at Bardfield Park a yeoman used *bowes and arrows* to kill a buck and a sorrel.[843] A yeoman and a husbandman hunted does using a bow at Castle Hedingham in 1574.[844] Another yeoman killed a buck with bows at Bradwell Park in 1577 and a husbandman was also responsible for killing seven does with the same weapon at Nazeing Wood in 1589.[845]

[839] Ibid: 49.
[840] Malcolm. J.L. 2002 *Guns and Violence: the English experience*, London, Harvard University Press.
[841] Schwoerer 2016: 54.
[842] Blackmore 2000: 151.
[843] ERO Q/SR 46/47.
[844] ERO T/A 418/23/59.
[845] ERO Q/SR 64/24; ERO T/A 418/51/44.

As with guns and crossbows, the possession of hunting dogs was tightly controlled by property qualifications that by 1671 had confirmed the restriction of their ownership to those with an annual income of £100.[846] The property qualifications again did little to deter determined poachers as the documentary sample reveals that 'dogs', 'greyhounds' and 'long dogs' were involved in thirty-seven recorded acts of poaching in the parks of Essex between 1563 and 1699. They appear to have been the predominant method used by apparently pragmatic poachers whose main aim would have been to quickly and efficiently chase down and kill deer before they were discovered by a particularly diligent park keeper. Several examples can be found in the sample of what is termed the 'coursing' and 'chasing' of deer with dogs. They however unsurprisingly bear little resemblance to the descriptions of elite coursing where several pairs of dogs chased deer along a one mile-long demarcated course as part of a sporting occasion where the outcome of the event was wagered upon and the deer were often allowed to escape. The 'coursing' and 'chasing' of deer in parks at night clearly cannot be described in this way as none of the unfolding events of the chase could be controlled with any degree of certainty as the demarcation of a course was a practical impossibility. It was also clearly not a spectator sport as visibility would have undoubtedly been very poor, particularly in densely wooded parks. Instead, the main technique employed by poachers appears to have been to blindly release a single or several greyhounds (three in the case of Radley's attack at Thorndon Park in 1661[847]) to chase down a deer and then follow-on foot and hope for the best outcome. This ad hoc approach can be seen in several of the indictments including that of 'Mr Bashford' who had shot a deer at New Hall Park in 1586 and had also been accused in the same indictment of coursing a doe with a white greyhound where it was stated that: 'the dogg did kill the deere'[848]*;* at Horham Park in 1588 where a husbandman named John Hubberd was heard to have said that he had: 'let goe the dogge ate a deare'[849]*;* and at the park of Lord Maynard where in 1686 a farmer named George Mott and a blacksmith named John Ingersole coursed and killed a deer in 1686.[850]

[846] Browning, A. 1966 *English Historical Documents, 1660-1714*, London, Routledge.
[847] ERO Q/SR 388/22.
[848] ERO Q/SR 98/76A.
[849] ERO Q/SR 103/46.
[850] ERO Q/SR 453/95.

Further examples of more pragmatic and unsporting forms of hunting can be seen in the documentary sample with evidence of the use of buckstalls in poaching forays. Traditionally, buckstalls were temporary ditched forest enclosures that were surrounded by short wattle hurdles and in some cases nets. Deer were driven into these enclosures so that they could be fed on oak, twigs and holly and ivy until they were fat enough for stocking or for meat.[851] Poachers appear to have found an alternative use for them on five separate occasions in Essex parks. It is unclear from the records whether poachers went to the trouble of digging ditches for these structures or just increased the height of the hurdles to prevent the deer from escaping but it appears that this methodology was highly effective for catching multiple deer. In 1600 at Terling Park two fawns were killed by James Hawkes, a yeoman: 'with a net called a buckstall'.[852] Buckstalls were also used on three occasions in 1634 and 1635, in a park of the unfortunate Lord Petre. Two yeomen named George Archer and Thomas Fuller together with John Spatman, a labourer, took a buck at night with a buckstall at Thorndon Park in 1634.[853] In the same year a labourer named Richard Preston and a beerbrewer by the name of William Lucas (alias Bushe) from nearby West Horndon killed two deer worth forty shillings with the aid of a buckstall.[854] The same method was used a year later at Thorndon by a skinner from London named John Emerson who with a number of unnamed confederates killed a buck with 'a net called a buckstall'.[855] However, a more costly attack came at Dagenhams Park where a buckstall was used by two labourers to catch three bucks worth 'five li '(pounds?) and a doe worth forty shillings in 1680.[856]

Other more notable hunting weapons mentioned (albeit rarely) in the sample include rapiers, swords, and the popular hanger, which as we have seen (in the chapter Forms of hunting) was a popular weapon of the elite hunt. One gentleman named Christopher Hatton who was accused of poaching (with four other gentlemen) at Easton Park in 1590 in the early hours of the 'Tuesday after St James' Day', was said to have arrived at the park: 'all apparelled in black sylke with a gylte rapyer by his syde'.[857] In a much later incident, two gentlemen named Edward Collins and William Ballatt broke into Copped Hall Park at eleven o'clock at night on

[851] Almond 2011: 65.
[852] ERO Q/SR 151/23
[853] ERO Q/SR 287/19
[854] ERO Q/SR 287/20.
[855] ERO Q/SR 290/22.
[856] ERO Q/SR 442/49.
[857] ERO Q/SR 114/52; ERO Q/SR 114/55; ERO T/A 418/150/34.

11th October 1657 in the company of a labourer, a millener and a yeoman named William Tadgell.[858] They went on to 'disturbe the publicke peace' armed with a number of weapons including 'swords and hengers' with which they assaulted three of the keepers who had confronted them. It is difficult to imagine that the gentlemen poachers present at both of these attacks had the time or inclination to kill the deer in any formulised or meaningful way with a bladed weapon; especially as they both took place at night (as did the vast majority of other poaching attacks) where status, knowledge and skill could not be sufficiently demonstrated. Perhaps they were only armed in this way in order to defend themselves (as seen in the incident at Copped Hall Park) or to set them apart from their socially inferior companions. Interestingly, Christopher Hatton's indictment for poaching at Easton Park also contains the only reference in the sample of poachers using horses. One witness admitted to being paid 16d by the four gentlemen 'to keep their horses' in a nearby wood while they were in the park. The same witness then testified that they had later: 'kylled and horsed' a deer before setting off 'towards Stortford'. It appears that they were kept outside of the park throughout the night and solely utilised as a means of transportation to and from the park and as a convenient way to remove a deer carcass. At no point in the indictment is it mentioned that the gentlemen poaching at Easton Park used their horses to hunt deer. We can assume from the rare incidence at Easton Park where a horse was used in a non-hunting capacity and from the lack of any other evidence of horses being used by poachers in the documentary sample that they were not seen as a particularly effective or practical method to illegally take deer. Perhaps it was deemed to be too risky and dangerous for both horse and rider to traverse a relatively small, enclosed park in darkness. Moreover, poaching often took place under chaotic and disorganised conditions where arrows were loosed, and firearms and crossbows discharged at park keepers, poachers, and prey alike. These were clearly unsuitable conditions for the noble, rigid and highly regulated sport of deer hunting.

The archaeological evidence for poaching at Stansted Park

The recent archaeological investigations of the park and lodge site at Stansted Park in Essex provides a unique example of what took place at the denouement of illicit hunts in the park. Approximately 350 metres to the south east of the lodge site a large sub-rectangular pit was

[858] ERO T/A 418/150/34.

excavated which has been interpreted as a waterhole for watering livestock.[859] Those leading the study have concluded that this area would have been an ideal location for poaching as it would have been concealed by a tree lined brook and far enough away from the lodge to avoid detection. There would have also been the opportunity to easily escape from this area into the tenanted demesne land to the east of the park.[860]

The pit itself was found to be steep sided with a flat base and was filled with a series of deposits that had accumulated over time in standing water. One of these deposits contained the partial skeletal remains of at least three adult and one neonatal fallow deer (bones from one of the skeletons was radiocarbon dated to between 1330-1450). They appear to have been hurriedly butchered and thrown into the water filled pit to conceal any evidence.[861] Examination of the bone assemblage has revealed that the butchering of the animals was conducted in an 'abnormal manner' by a person or persons who were unskilled and differed from the butchery practices seen in the bone assemblage recovered at the park lodge where the meat was expertly jointed.[862] Although there is evidence that most of the deer carcasses were haphazardly jointed and carried away (including the most valued part of the deer – the haunch) it appears that the unskilled 'poacher' also favoured filleting meat from the hind and fore limbs in situ, possibly because meat cut in this way was more portable. Some 'inferior' parts of the animal such as the head (from two of the deer) and the chine (spine) were also taken away from the park along with antlers.[863] Clearly this was not an imitation of the highly ritualised and careful dismemberment of deer that was performed at the end of an elite hunt in the curée. This was instead a distinct and pragmatic end of an illicit hunt.

Conclusions

Poaching as a form of hunting cannot be dismissed simply because it was illegal. Those who hunted illegally knew and used parks too, in their own specific ways. They wanted to participate in a hunt, even in the dark where sound would have played a larger role in the experience, as opposed to what they could see. This is in direct contrast to elite legal hunting,

[859] Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology.
[860] Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 'The hunting lodge and deer park (c. AD 1350-1800)' in Cooke, N. Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology, pp. 228-277.
[861] Ibid: 239.
[862] Ibid: 239-240.
[863] Ibid.

where the hunt was stage managed and both visually and aurally theatrical. It is clear however, that their motivation for hunting in this manner was not premeditated by subsistence alone. It could be argued that gentlemen and perhaps the educated yeoman who hunted illegally were also familiar with hunting practices and possibly the literature both popular and specialised, as some of the forms of hunting which took place would have been recognised by elite hunters. This is evidenced in court records where examples of poachers apparently employing established hunting methodologies such as coursing can be readily found. Whether these incidences can be strictly defined as 'coursing' is however open to question as court records also show that they were rather haphazard and chaotic events where the outcome was far from certain.

Essentially, parks were highly contested spaces where violence was commonplace. It has been seen here that they were often occupied by large opposing groups of defenders and attackers who resorted to breaking bones and spilling blood for the thrill of the hunt or in defence of private property, which was protected by successive and ultimately unpopular legislation. Many of those who broke into parks seem to have been compelled to return time and again despite the threat of prosecution, injury or even death. The reasons for this disregard for personal safety are complex and manifold. Some of the motivating factors of poaching remain opaque or even incomprehensible to the modern day-mindset. Furthermore, any clear understanding of the cultural importance of illicit hunting has been lost or minimised by the passing of time and a gradual changing of attitudes and antipathy or even hostility towards hunting, in any of its forms. We can never know for certain what drove these socially diverse groups of men to commit these acts, but it is evident that the excitement of hunting alongside acquaintances, friends, and family, often in the dark against a common foe, was a dangerous but exhilarating pastime which was apparently worth the risk.

Chapter 9

Phenomenological Case Studies of Medieval and Early Modern Deer Parks

Introduction

This chapter will attempt to determine to what extent traditional and new phenomenological methodologies contribute to our understanding of the experience of hunting in parks during the medieval and early modern periods. Case studies were conducted at the sites that were formerly known as: Easty Park in Hundon, Suffolk, The Little Park in Long Melford, Suffolk and Lopham Park in Norfolk. These sites were chosen primarily because they remain relatively intact (although in the case of Easty and Lopham much changed), open, fully, and easily accessible, navigable, and also because there is a detailed contemporary map available for each park, with two of the maps depicting hunting scenes. Several other sites were considered but they were eventually discounted due to change of land use which has restricted access to either the entire site or a significant part of it. This would have prevented any meaningful investigation. For instance, large areas of the former Thorndon Park in Essex have been converted into a golf course while the remainder has undergone considerable alterations and division due to its subsequent conversion to a country park.

The practice of physical immersion of the individual into the historic landscape and moving bodily through it, have been central methodological tenets in all previous phenomenological investigations and they were also followed and practised here. There was also an adherence to Tilley's prescriptive advice and that of Hamilton and Whitehouse that written observations, sketches, and photographs of the landscape should be made and taken to record any impressions of its nature and character and more importantly the type of sensory experience that the landscape instils in the individual. Observations were made at three viewpoints in each case study and whilst walking between them. These well-established methodologies were conducted alongside a more innovative cartographic centred phenomenological approach that has not been attempted before in a study of this type, where the individual places oneself upon the surface of the contemporary map and records what can be experienced there. Approximately the same observation points were used on each map as in

the landscape. This imaginative technique was used to supplement or enhance the bodily investigation of the landscape.

A final case study was also conducted at Wormingford Park in Essex despite the lack of any contemporary maps detailing its form or function. This became different in scope and intention to the previous three case studies as the easily accessible and navigable landscape began to develop a narrative which was inspired by the landscape and by contemporary hunting manuals and works of poetry and prose. What eventually emerges is a theory of how a hunt at Wormingford may have been conducted and experienced during the Tudor period which will be recounted in a work of short prose.

Each case study was supplemented by several other sources. Contemporary and more recent Tithe and Ordnance Survey maps were used to trace subsequent changes to the former parkland landscapes. Historic Landscape Characterisation and Assessment (HLC and HLA) reports which detail the type, appearance, sensory characteristic and 'feel' of the landscape were also consulted alongside geological and soil maps and airborne Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) data. A DTM is a 'bare earth' model that removes all the features that are situated above ground level such as buildings and vegetation and in some cases archaeological features. This model is used extensively in planning and terrain analysis and particularly useful in the study of woodland environments due to its ability to penetrate dense canopy.[864] A DSM models the surface of the earth and includes all features including buildings and vegetation and field boundaries. From an archaeological point of view there is little difference between DSM and DTM models in an open landscape environment. DSM models however are regarded as being easier to interpret mainly because they have not had buildings and field boundaries removed as these can screen out features related to modern land use.[865] Both Digital Surface Models were used as there was no DSM coverage for Easty Park or Lopham Park.

[864] Crutchley, S. 2010 *The Light Fantastic: using airborne LiDAR in archaeological survey*, Swindon, English Heritage; Davis, O. 2012 *Processing and Working with LiDAR data in ArcGIS: a practical guide for archaeologists*, Aberystwyth, Royal Commission on the Ancient Historical Monuments of Wales.
[865] Crutchley 2010: 25.

It is the aim here to test phenomenological techniques in the landscape and in the map in order to gain a fuller understanding of how hunting was experienced.

9.i. A Phenomenological Study of Easty Park, Hundon, Suffolk

National Grid Reference (NGR): TL 750506

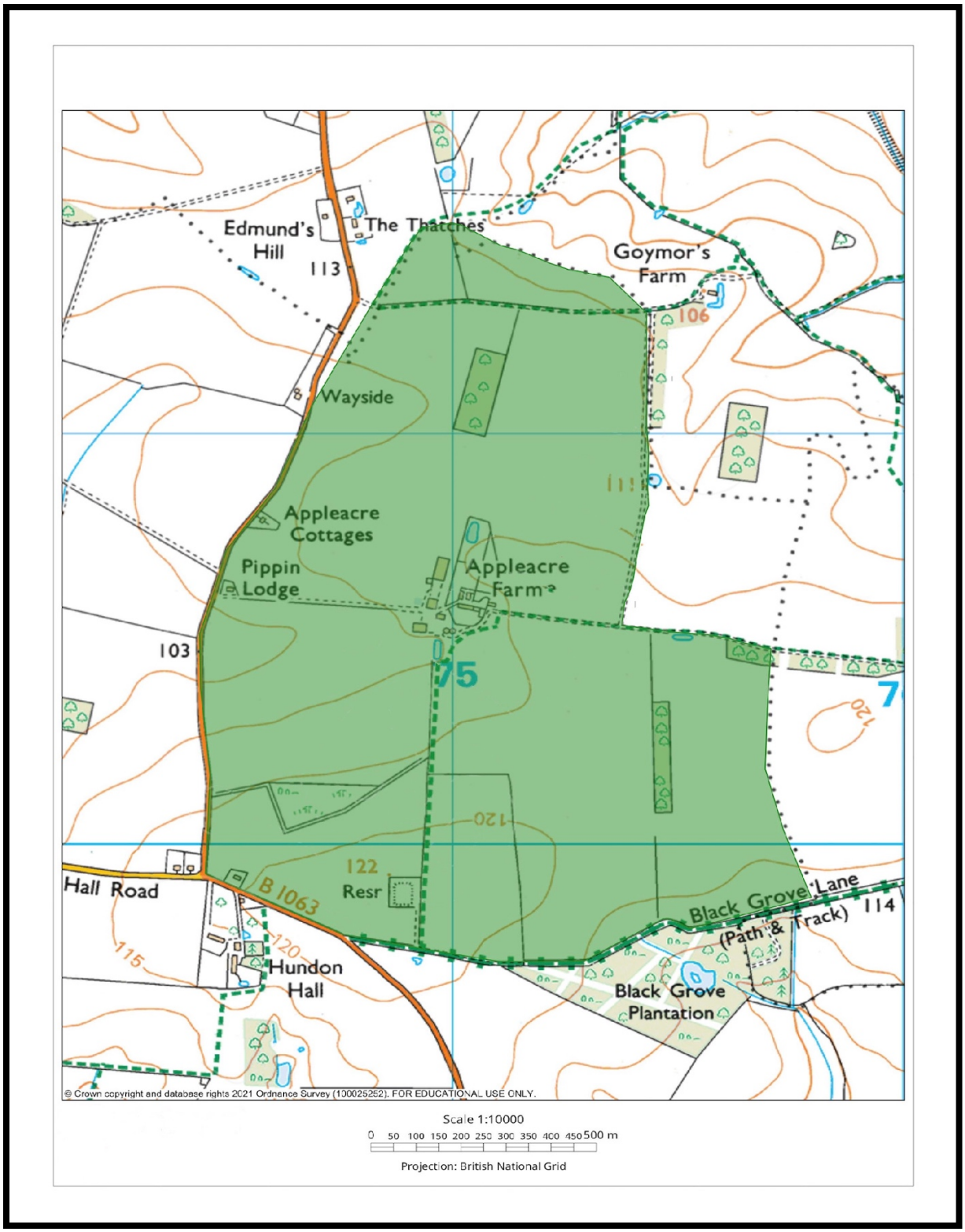


Figure 9.i.1. Ordnance Survey map (OS) (2020) showing the boundaries and extent of the Tudor Easty Park in Hundon (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)[866]

[866] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 12/5/21.

Landscape and Geology

Easty Park (now Appleacre Farm) was located to the north-east of the village of Hundon in south-west Suffolk. The village is approximately three miles north-west of the small town of Clare and seven miles from the larger town of Haverhill. The Park was situated on some of the highest ground in the county which rises in the northern part of the parish to over one hundred and twenty metres.[867] The landscape is largely comprised of substantial areas of open undulating arable farmland (partially created during the Second World war to accommodate airfields and by the building of a prison at Stradishall) that is interspersed with blocks or strips of ancient woodland and more plantations. It is also characterized by ancient field systems with occasional areas of more regular fields, particularly in Hundon, that are associated with former medieval deer parks. Fields are bounded by long estate hedges which have well established oak, ash, and field maple trees.[868] The settlement pattern is that of loosely clustered villages and hamlets and isolated farms. There are several medieval and Tudor brick and timber framed buildings throughout the area, some of which are moated.[869] Appleacre Farm (and its timber framed seventeenth-century farmhouse, on the site of the former park lodge) lays on an elevated plateau of chalk (LOFT-DMTN, LCCK-CHLK) overlain (completely at Appleacre Farm) by heavy, wet clay soils, laid down by the Anglian glaciation, making the area ideal for arable farming. The production of oilseeds crops, dominates the view in the open undulating landscape during the summer months (Figures 9.i.2 & 9.i.3).[870] Views of the extensive hedged landscape are long and ranging to the south. To the north they are broken by blocks of woodland or lines of newly planted poplar trees which are used as wind breaks around fields.[871] During the winter months however, there is a bleak more enclosed feeling to the landscape as vistas are often curtailed by the weather.

[867] Hoppitt: Ibid.
[868] *Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. Undulating Ancient Farmlands* 2010. Available at: *https://suffolklandscape.org.uk/landscapes/undulating-ancient-farmlands/ Accessed: 14/5/21; Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. Undulating Estate Farmlands* 2010. Available at: https://suffolklandscape.org.uk/landscapes/undulating-estate-farmlands/ Accessed 14/5/21.
[869] Ibid.
[870] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1:50 000, Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/7/21; Fletcher, S. *Easty Park, Soil Texture* (PDF map), Scale 1:50 000, Print Scale 1: 10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS). UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 4/7/21
[871] *Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. Undulating Ancient Farmlands* 2010. Available at: *https://suffolklandscape.org.uk/landscapes/undulating-ancient-farmlands/* Accessed: 14/5/21

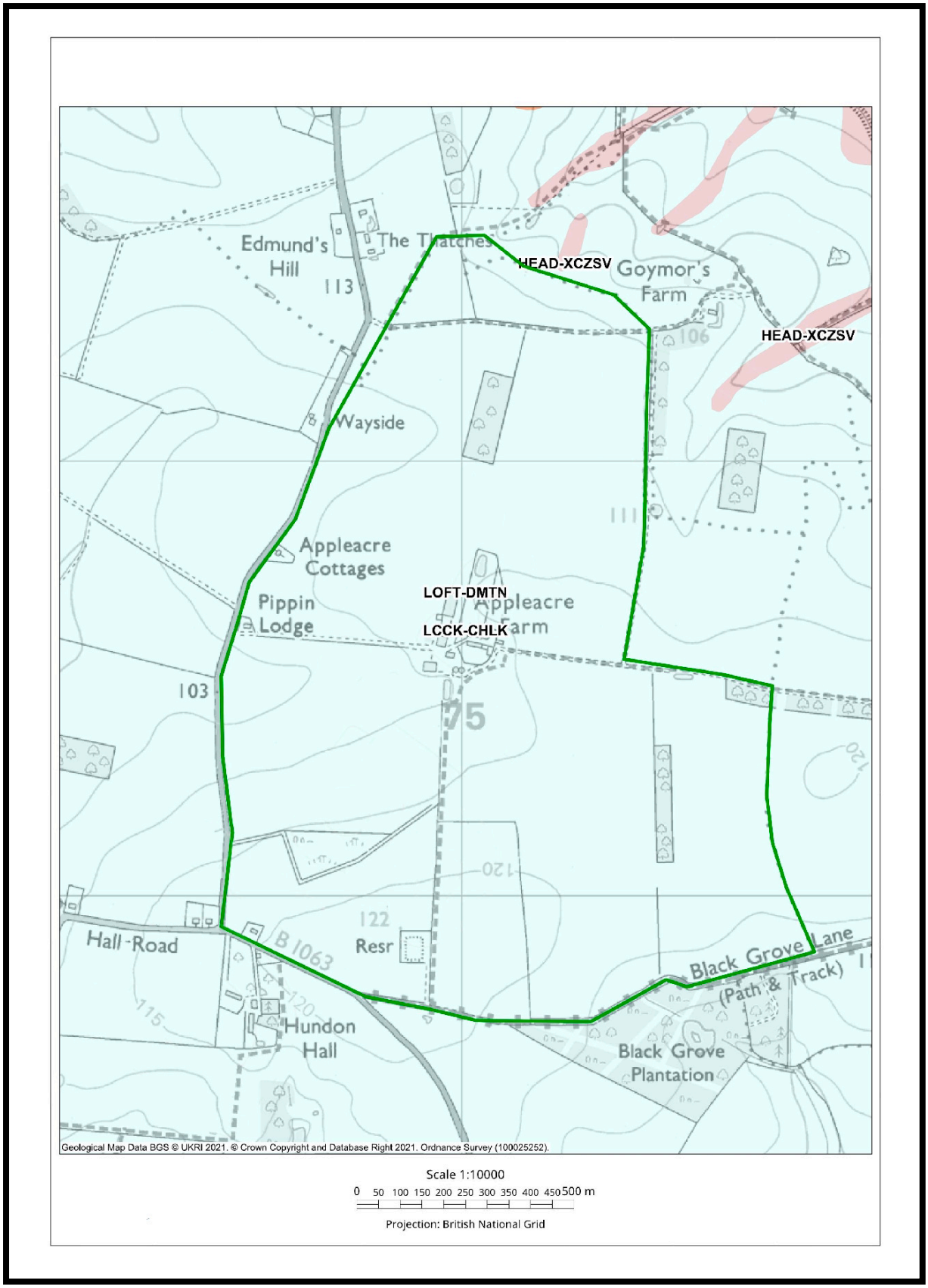


Figure 9.i.2. Geological map of the chalk bedrock of Easty Park (Appleacre Farm) (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)

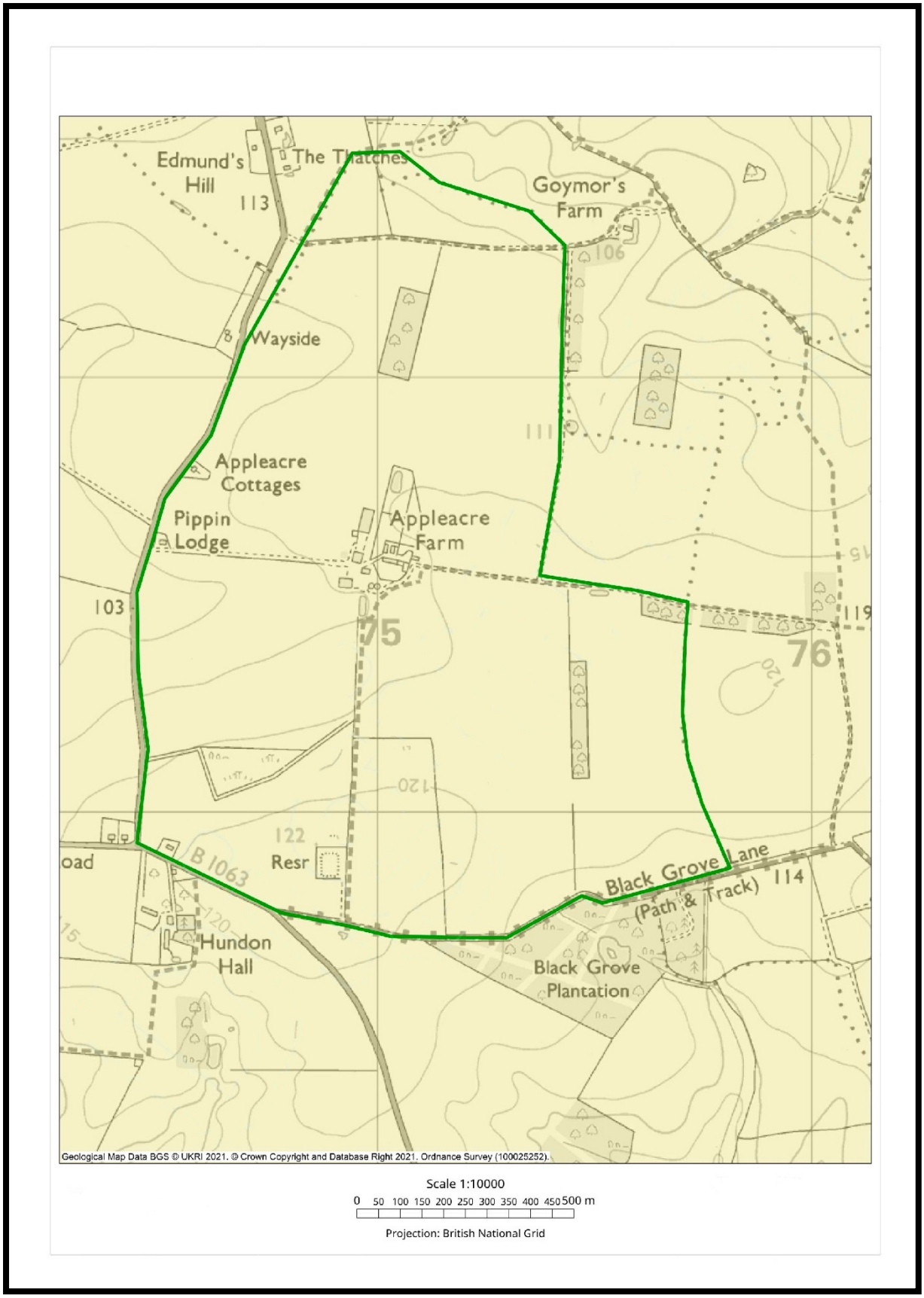


Figure 9.i.3. Soil texture map for Easty Park (Appleacre Farm) showing the park completely overlain by heavy wet clay soils (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)

Easty Park

Easty Park was formed during the fourteenth century from blocks of oak woodland (at the same time as nearby Broxted Park) with the earliest documented reference in 1375 referring to them as parks that contained fallow deer. It flanked the much earlier Great Park, to the west which was first documented in 1090.[872] A plan created in *c.*1600 shows that the 311-acre park was heavily wooded at this time and that it was dissected by rides that converged upon a substantial centrally located lodge building.[873] It was one of three adjoining parks (the two others being the Great Park and Broxted Park) that were created during the medieval period in the manor of Hundon. Hundon was a major demesne holding of the de Clare family and was in their possession from the Conquest in 1066 and onwards into the fourteenth century.[874] In 1461 the manor of Hundon and its three parks became the property of the Crown for over one hundred years. In 1549 the Crown granted the manor to the rising parvenu Sir John Cheke (1514-1557) Member of Parliament for Bletchingley in Surrey and also tutor to Edward VI.[875] The manor reverted back to the Crown once again when Cheke subsequently exchanged the manor with the Queen for other property.[876] It then came into the possession of the courtier and administrator Sir Edward Waldegrave who obtained the lease in 1584. In 1603 a grant was made by the Crown of the manor (and its three parks) to John Erskine, the Earl of Mar (1558-1634) who was an avid hunter.[877] The Earl sold the manor of Hundon back to the Crown for the sum of £15,000 in 1611. It was then granted to William, Lord Cavendish who appears to have presided over the breaking up of the three parks as they were divided into closes (Figure 9.i.4).[878]

[872] Ibid: 119 & 122.
[873] NA MPC1/1; NA MPC1/2; NA MPC1/3.
[874] Ibid: 122; Ward, J. 1964 'The Honour of Clare in Suffolk in the early middle ages', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology*, 30 (Part 1), pp. 94-111.
[875] Bryson, A. 2018 Cheke, Sir John (1514-1557), Humanist, Royal Tutor, and Administrator. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5211. Accessed 23/4/19.
[876] Hoppitt, R. 1992: 126; Copinger & Copinger 1909: 252.
[877] Scot, J. 1872 *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen from 1550 to 1650*, Edinburgh, William Paterson.
[878] SRO I HD 417/17; Hoppitt 1992: 135.



Figure 9.i.4 Photograph of a map of the three parks at Hundon (1611) By this time Easty Park (Eastie) had been broken up (SRO I HD 417/17)

The First Edition Ordnance Survey (OS) Six-Inch to the Mile map of 1885 shows that the former park had been renamed by then as Easty Lodge Farm and was comprised of several small and medium sized fields that were bounded by tree lined hedges. The farm buildings at the centre of the Farm appear to be in the same location as that of the former park lodge. The Farm is also almost completely devoid of trees, except for a small block which is adjacent to the park's former western boundary (Figures 9.i.5 & 9.i.6).[879]

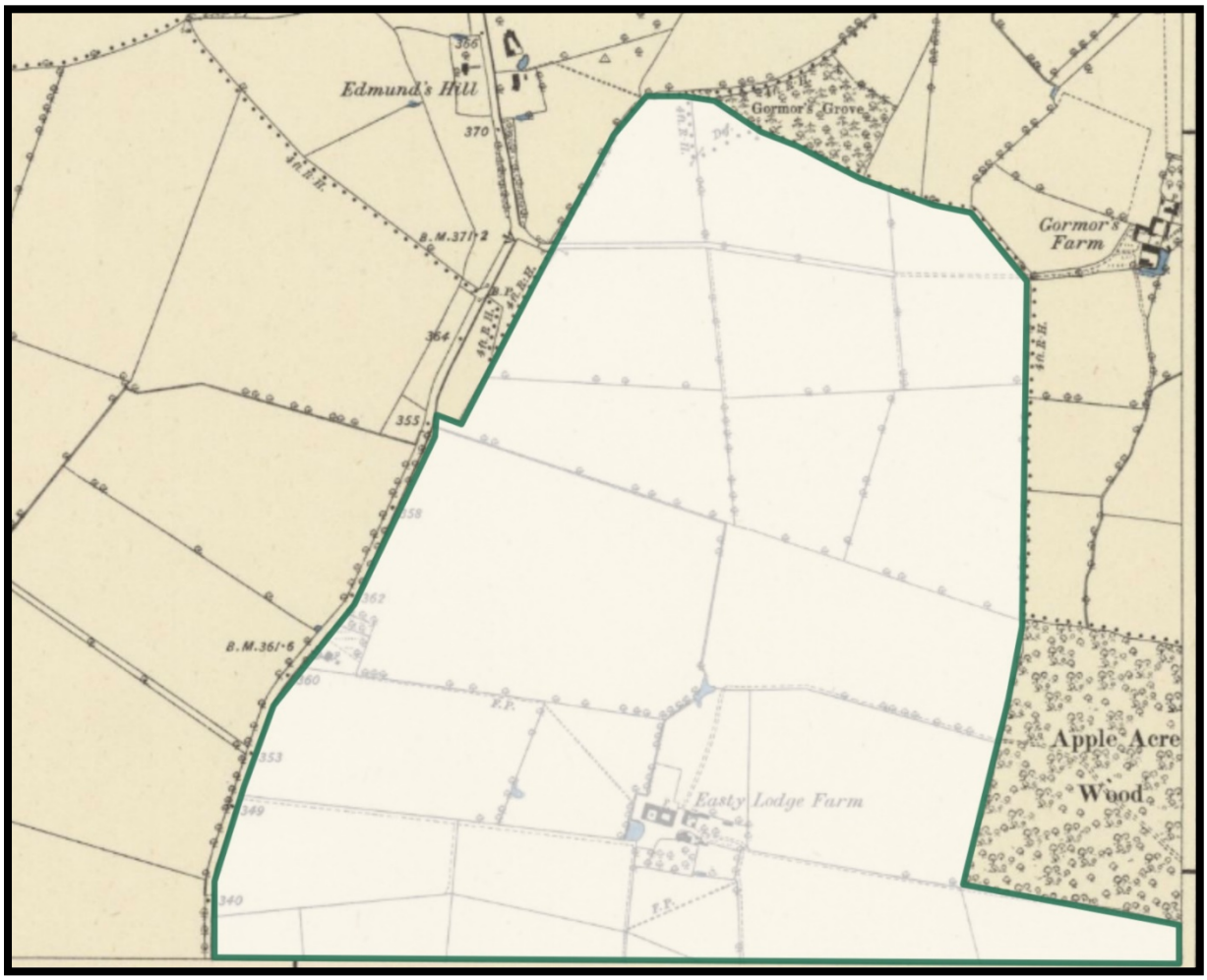


Figure 9.i.5. First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXII. N.W. (surveyed 1884, published 1885), showing the north of the former park divided into hedged fields with trees (National Library of Scotland)

[879] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park, north section*, First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map. Suffolk Sheet LXII. N.W. (includes: Cowlinge; Great Thurlow; Hundon; Stradishall), surveyed 1884, published 1885 National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101577971. Created June 2021; Fletcher, S. Easty Park, south section, First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map. Suffolk Sheet LXII. S.W. (includes: Barnardiston; Hundon; Kedington), surveyed 1884, published 1885. National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101577986. Created June 2021.

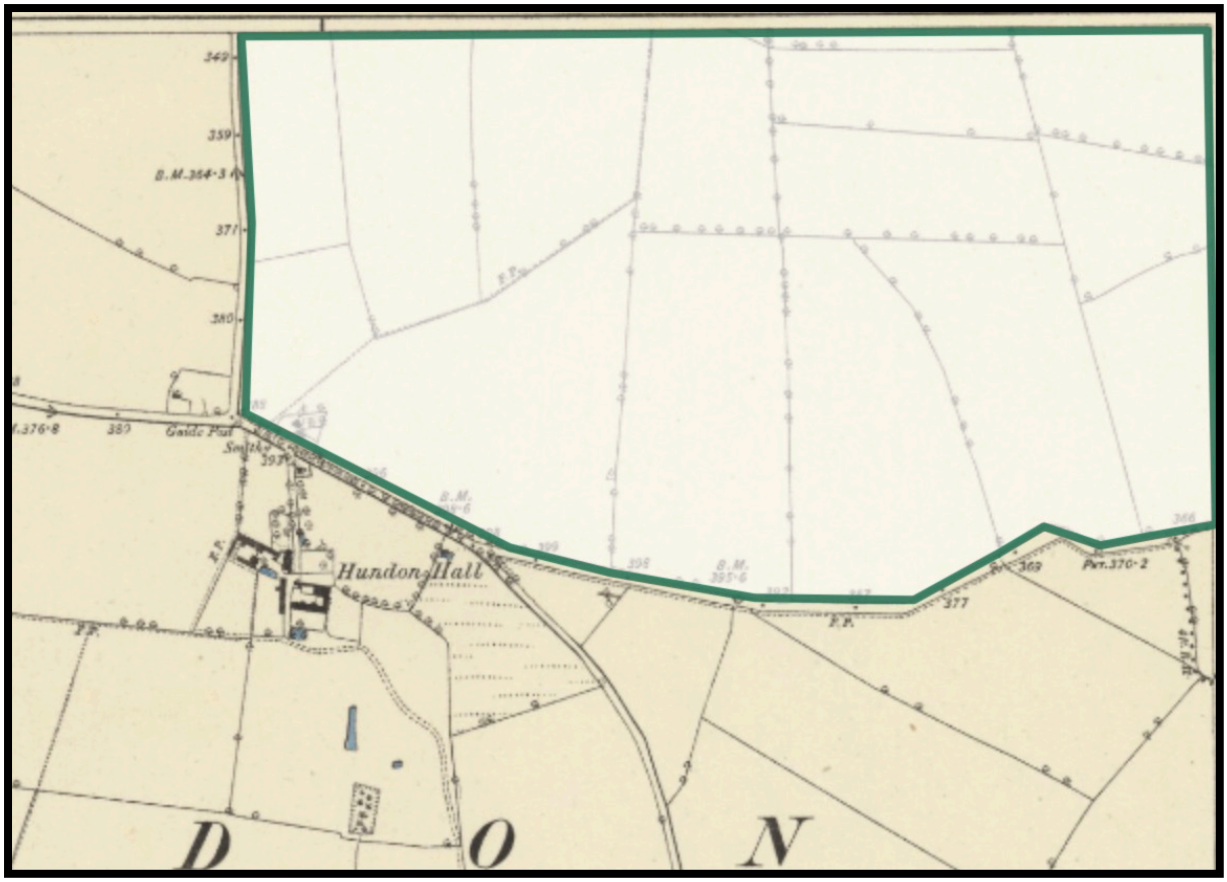


Figure 9.i.6. First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXII S.W. (surveyed 1884, published 1885) showing the divided southern section of the former park (National Library of Scotland)

The First Edition OS map of 1982 shows a more open landscape with all hedges having been removed by this time. There is however a large plantation of trees in the south-west corner of the Farm (which is no longer in place, see Figure 9.i.1). Easty Lodge Farm has also been renamed to Appleacre Farm. The Farm buildings located at the centre also appear to have increased in size and number (Figure 9.i.5).[880] Lidar DTM 50cm - 1 metre images (2019-2020) reveal the footprint of farm or lodge buildings, the outline of the plantation which is seen on the First Edition OS map of 1982 (Figure 9.i.7) and also some field boundaries, but there is no clear indication of the rides that traversed the former park landscape (Figure 9.i.8)[881]

[880] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park*, 1982 OS County Series First Edition map (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1:10 000, Suffolk County, Published 1982, Landmark Information Group, Uk. Using EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created June 2021.
[881] Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Easty Park.* National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DTM 50cm – 1 metre. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data. Environment Agency. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15.399999999999995&lat=52.12803&lon=0.55800&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DTM_1m. Created June 2021.

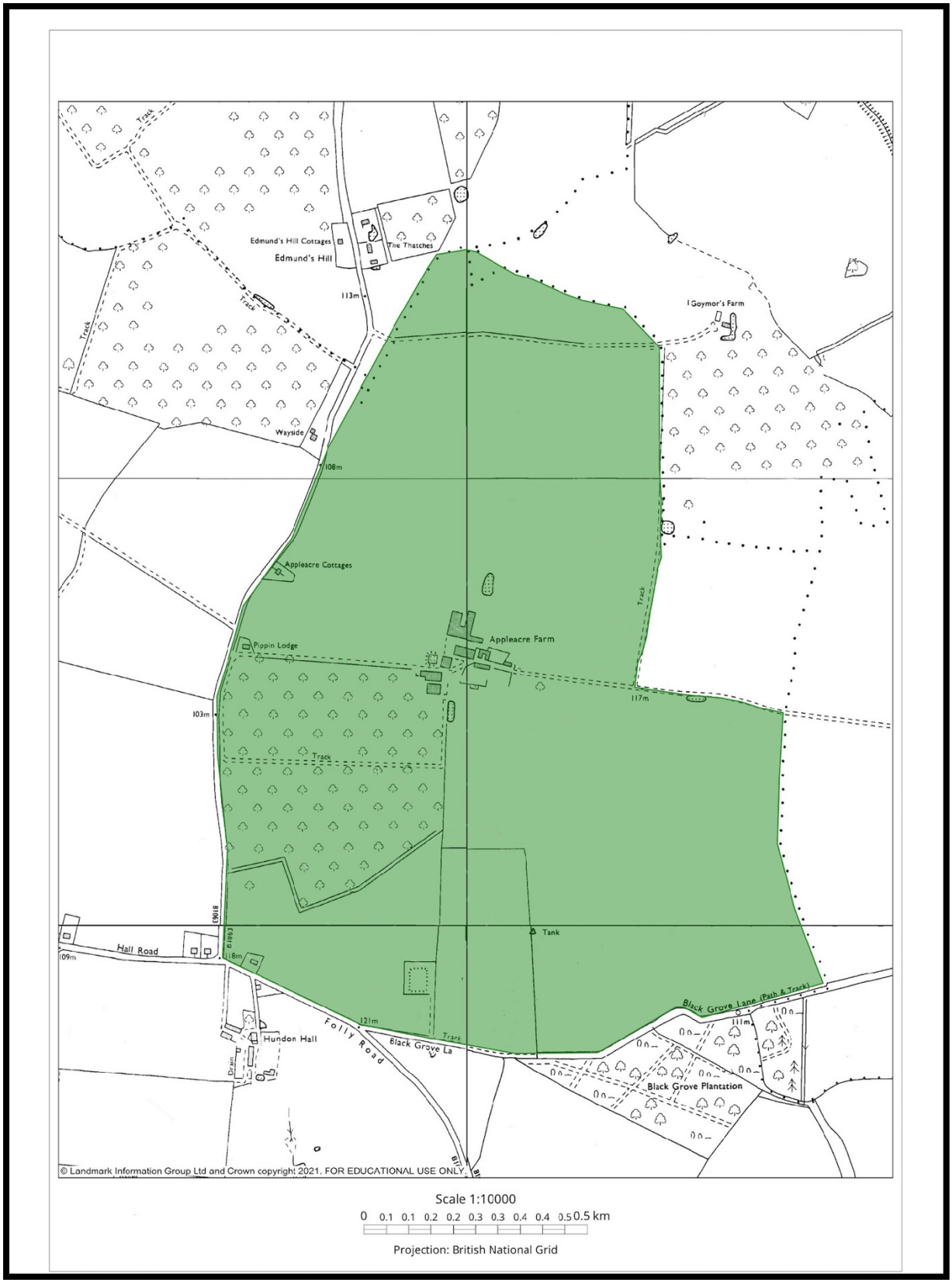


Figure 9.i.7. OS County Sheet Suffolk First Edition map (1983), scale 1: 10 000 of the open landscape of Appleacre Farm (EDINA Historic Digimap Service)



Figure 9.i.8. 50cm – 1 m. LiDAR DTM image showing field and plantation boundaries and the footprint of the farm/lodge buildings at the centre of the former park (National Library of Scotland)

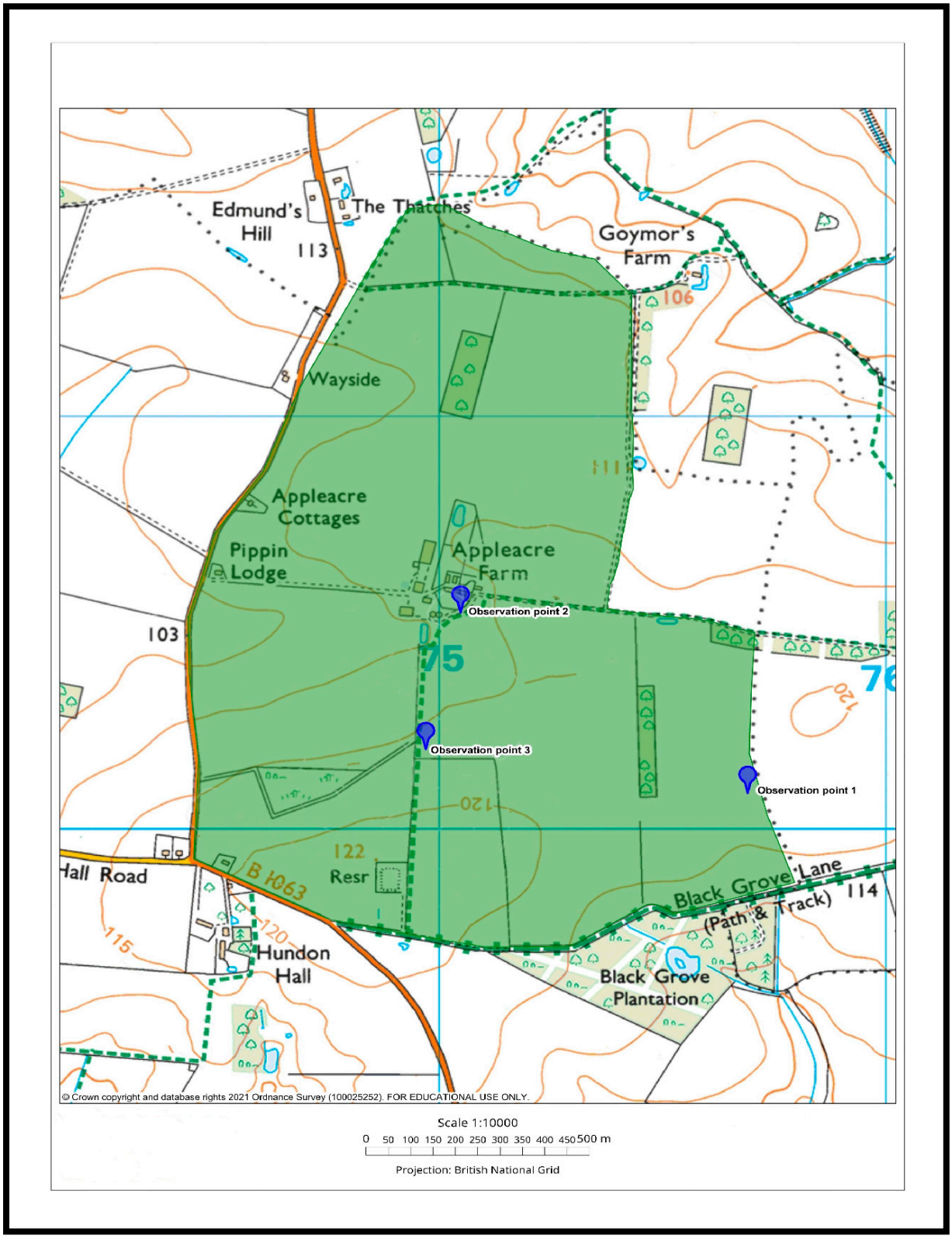


Figure 9.i.9. Observation points for the phenomenological study of Easty Park (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

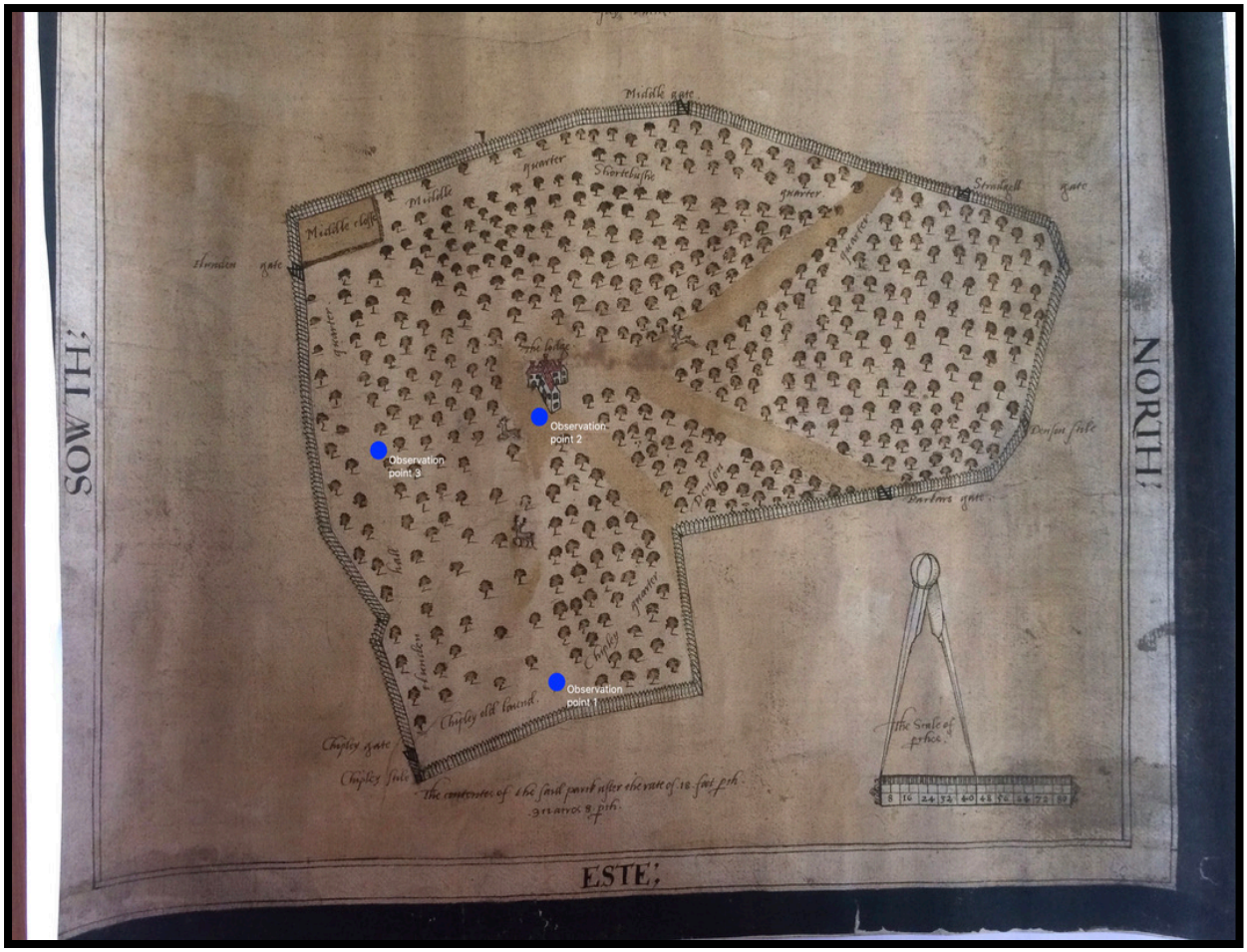


Figure 9.i.10. Map observation points for Easty Park. (NA MPC 1/3)

Phenomenological fieldwork was conducted at the site of Easty Park on a cold late morning and early afternoon (approximately five degrees Celsius) in mid-April 2018.[882] The case study at Hundon could not include the sites and lodges of the Great Park (Hundon Great Lodge now stands on the site of the former Great Park lodge) and Broxted Park as they are privately owned. The former Great Park is under extensive arable and large areas of the site of Broxted Park are now occupied by Highpoint Prison and a solar farm and by the remains of RAF Stradishall which was constructed in the 1930s. Broxted Lodge was demolished to enable the construction of the airfield.[883] The investigation was conducted in conjunction with a phenomenological study of a plan of Easty Park *c*. 1600 (Figure 9.i.10).[884]

[882] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park Observation Points* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.
[883] Ibid: 143; Cotswold Archaeology 2014 Broxted Solar Farm. Former Stradishall Airfied. Archaeological Watching Brief. Event Number: HUN036. Amended version. Available at: https://reports.cotswoldarchaeology.co.uk/content/uploads/2015/04/Broxted-Solar-Farm-WB-report-14070-amended.pdf. Accessed 12/4/19.
[884] NA MPC 1/1.

Early persistent rain and mist initially affected visibility and created difficult ground conditions as soils in the area are heavy, poorly drained chalky till which are prone to frequent waterlogging.[885] By midday, the rain had ceased, and the sun emerged leading to a rise in temperature (approximately ten degrees Celsius) which increased visibility and physical comfort. Progress through the site however remained slow due to the muddy and waterlogged ground. The study site can be accessed by two footpaths (both beginning on a public footpath and trackway named Black Grove Lane which forms the southern boundary of the former park) that dissect arable farmland before converging on the centrally located farm buildings of Appleacre Farm which occupy the former site of Easty Lodge.

The site visit began with a walk along the entirety of the southern boundary of the former park formed by Black Grove Lane which starts in the west at the B 1063 before it runs eastwards for over one kilometre to Chipley Abbey where it ends. The low-lying path/trackway is edged on both sides by relatively dense, mixed species deciduous woodland (predominately sycamore, oak, field maple and hawthorn) which prevents any view of Easty Park (directly to the north) along its entire length, even though the trees and hedgerows were not in full leaf at the time. The continuous rain and drizzle encountered at this time also made progress along the deeply rutted and waterlogged trackway slow and onerous. Aside from boots sucking in the mud, birdsong emanating from the surrounding trees and the steady sound of rain, there is no other sound.

[885] Ibid: 126. Hoppitt conducted her fieldwork in the summer months and appears to have encountered the same conditions underfoot as was experienced during this study.

The Landscape. Observation Point 1. The Eastern Boundary

NGR: TL 757500

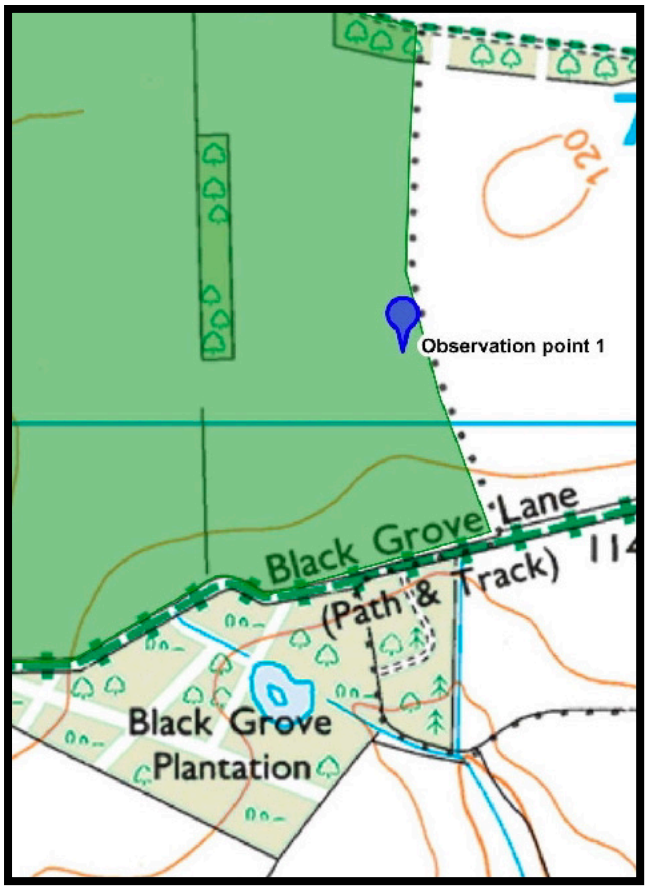


Figure 9.i.11. The first observation point on the eastern boundary of the study area (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

At the eastern end of the trackway, before it reaches Chipley Abbey, a footpath begins on the southern boundary and runs northwards into the study site, along a footpath which runs along the same line as the eastern boundary of Easty Park (Figure 9.i.11).[886] There is a slight gradual incline into a cold, stark, exposed landscape that is flat, muddy and punctuated by blocks of conifer plantations in the distance. What is immediately striking is that the landscape is completely different to that portrayed on the *c.*1600 map of Easty Park with its extensive, dense woodland and network of rides. There are no obvious traces of the former hunting landscape in evidence. The buildings of Appleacre Farm are not visible from either the boundary or from the path which leads onto the site. It remains relatively quiet in the

[886] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park Observation Points* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.

open field with the only discernible noise coming from rainfall, crows flying overhead and the sound of footsteps through mud.

Continuing northwards visibility is consistently poor with overcast conditions and rain preventing clear views of the surrounding landscape. Conditions underfoot however are improving and are enabling easier and quicker progress along the open, relatively unrutted and continuously flat footpath. After continuing for approximately 500 metres along the footpath there is a sharp turn to the west towards Appleacre Farm (the site of the former Easty Lodge). The footpath appears to be in a similar position to a ride illustrated on the *c.*1600 plan (Figure 9.i.10) which ran from the eastern boundary westwards towards the lodge building.

The Plan. Observation Point 1: The Eastern Boundary, Chipley Old Quarter

Approximate NGR: TL 757500

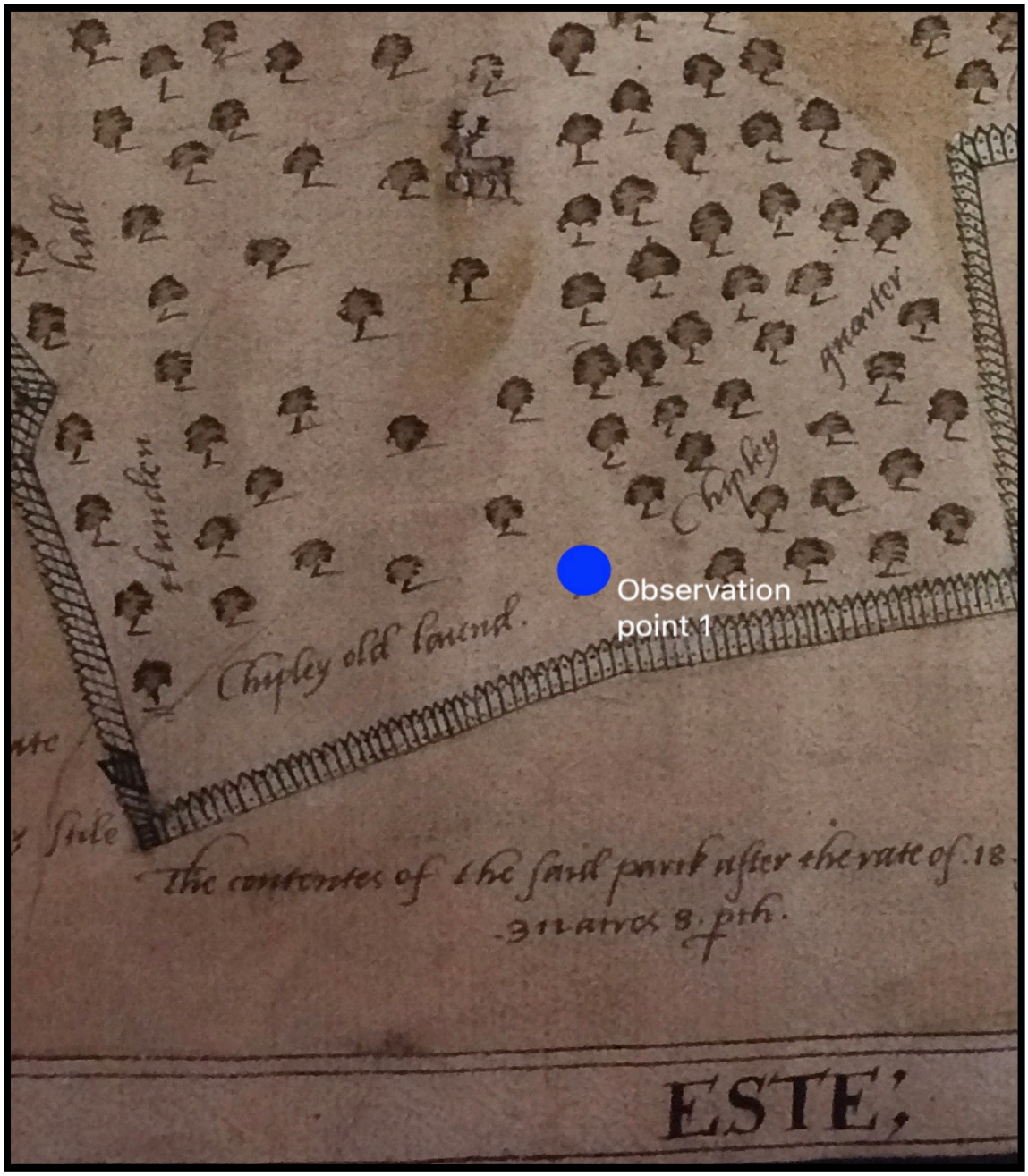


Figure 9.i.12. Observation point 1 at Chipley Old Laund near the eastern boundary (NA MPC 1/3)

The first observation point is located in an open area of Chipley Old Laund close to the paled fence that forms the eastern boundary (Figure 9.i.12).[887] From this location there is an uninterrupted view of the lodge enclosure in the far distance to the west. Two fallow deer

[887] NA MPC 1/3.

can be seen in that direction. One is striding across the clearing, while another is running at breakneck speed, away from the lodge. Turning and looking south, 'Chipley Gate' and 'Chipley Stile' can be seen punctuating the paled boundary fence. The height of 'Chipley Gate' and the fence restrict longer views of the landscape beyond the park.[888]

As discussed above, Easty Park together with the other two parks at Hundon were primarily composed of oak during the medieval period which was continuously exploited for profit. We can assume that oak continued to be present up to the disparkment of the park in the early seventeenth century as a map of 1611 shows an enclosure formed from one of the former 'quarters' of Easty Park being named as the 'okes' (Figure 9.i.4).[889] The sensory experience of the 'viewer' would have been heavily influenced by the management of these trees. For example, if the woodland along the edges of the rides was newly coppiced oak it would have stood at a height of just over two metres after one year's growth.[890] The increased levels of light reaching the floor of the ride in turn may have provided a warm environment (depending on the season) and also enabled clearer and longer views and an overall sense of openness. Coppiced woodland however requires some form of physical barrier to exclude browsing animals. In the case of the multifunctional Easty Park, where industry and deer hunting sat side by side, a strong, tall barrier would have been required to not only protect young coppice but also to prevent deer that were being pursued during a hunt from escaping from the rides into the interior of the park. Therefore, fences of similar dimensions to those that formed the park pale would in all probability have been installed on the margins of the rides. Consequently, this would have obstructed longer views of the interior of the park and possibly induced an oppressive feeling of being tightly enclosed. If the woodland alongside the rides was indeed fenced coppice it may also have affected the levels of sound that were experienced. Sound may have carried from other areas of the park and the wider landscape as the height of the coppice would not have created an effective auditory barrier. Fencing on the other hand may have acted as a barrier to the ride but at the same time it would have also channelled and amplified noise, creating a tunnel of sound within the bounded park.

[888] Current advice on the management of fallow deer is that fences should be a minimum of 1.8 metres in height on order to restrict their movement. Therefore, we can confidently speculate that the boundary fences at Easty Park, and other parks, would most likely have been of similar height. This would have blocked any view of the wider landscape for those on foot. Hoppitt 1992: 135; *FG9: Advice on Deer Fencing*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/countryside-stewardship-grants/deer-fencing-fg-9. Accessed 17/4/19

[889] Ibid: 142; SRO HD 417/17.

[890] Rackham, O. 2000 *The History of the Countryside: the classic history of Britain's landscape, flora and fauna*, London, Phoenix Press.

Parkland trees that are left to mature for timber production or managed as pollards however can create a different type of experiential environment. Oak timber trees which have been allowed to grow for around seventy years can stand at several metres in height and have a basal diameter of up to forty-five centimetres with a low canopy that can extend to twenty-five metres across.[891] Depending on the width of the ride (which would have been bounded by barriers to both protect the trees in the early years of growth and to contain deer to the rides), trees of this size, when in full leaf and densely concentrated, can decrease the level of sunlight, bringing cooler temperatures and mottled areas of patchy light and deep shade. Visibility along both rides to the north-west and north-east and the interior of the park would have been subsequently affected with some areas (including the distant boundary fences) hidden from view in the shadows. The lack of clear visibility along the rides however may have also (perhaps intentionally) aided and enhanced the dramatic visual impact of the hunt as deer emerged and disappeared from view when approaching the observation point at speed.

Whilst tall timber trees in leaf would have undoubtedly restricted views, at the same time they would also have affected the sound created by the activities which were taking place along the rides. For much of the time the park would have been quiet with only the park keeper and his family (and most probably their servants) in residence at the lodge. Although we do not know the exact composition of the lodge, a range of domestic tasks and social actions would have been undertaken within the building and its environs; with sounds and smells emanating from the courtyard, kitchens, latrines and living spaces. More industrial sounds of timber trees being felled, processed and extracted from the park may have also from time to time brought an increased level of auditory disturbance to an otherwise relatively muted domestic and isolated environment. These rather passive activities would however have been in marked contrast to the constant and pervasive sounds that were made when a hunt was taking place; where for a short time there were numerous people, horses and dogs in attendance, located both at the lodge and along the rides. As has been seen above in chapter 2, Gervase Markham pays particular attention in his work *Maison Rustique or the Coutrey Farme* to the manner in which 'goodly high woods of tall timber' can heighten

[891] Barnes, G. & Williamson, T. 2011 Ancient Trees in the Landscape: Norfolk's arboreal heritage, Oxford, Windgather Press; Stamper, P. 1988 Woods and parks in Astill, G. & Grant, A. (Eds.) *The countryside of medieval England*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd.

the levels of auditory experience for those involved in hunting. He evocatively describes how they rebound and echo the sound of the 'cries of the hounds and winding hornes 'of hunting parties and have the effect of 'doubling their musicke, and making it tenne times more de light full'.[892] Conversely, during Autumn or more importantly if the trees had been pollarded (usually at a height of between two and four and a half metres to prevent damage caused by browsing deer or livestock[893]), the levels of light would increase enabling more extensive, clearer views and a more open environment. However, if trees were managed in this way much of the cacophonous sound that was created by the hunt would quickly dissipate and be lost to the farthest reaches of the park and beyond.

[892] Markham 1616: 669.
[893] Rackham 2000: 67.

The Landscape. Observation Point 2. The Lodge

NGR: TL 750505

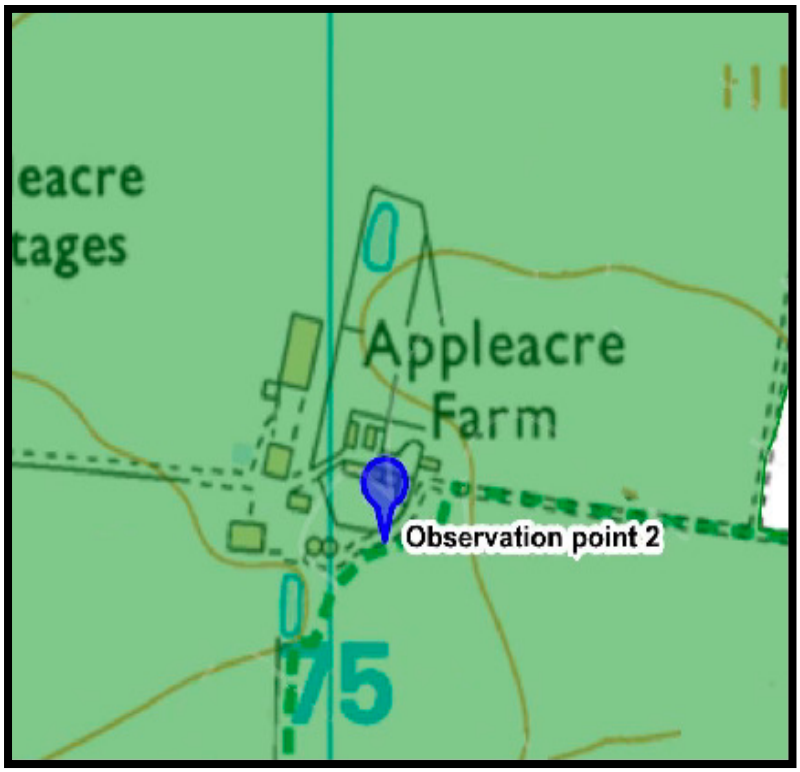


Figure 9.i.13 Observation point 2, situated at Appleacre Farmhouse (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

As it continues westwards, the path first passes through conifer plantations for approximately four hundred and fifty metres (Figure 9.i.13).[894] The tall mature trees frame the view along the pathway to the west where the dominating buildings of Appleacre Farm can be seen in the distance. The trees further decrease the level of light and there is also a marked reduction in temperature and there is hardly any noise aside from the still falling rain. On emerging from the plantation, the path continues for another five hundred metres westwards and dissects the still flat, open stubbly fields before reaching a complex of farm buildings which includes a two storey, gabled roofed, timber framed, partly plastered farmhouse which is faced with red brick (Figure 9.i.14).[895]

[894] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park Observation Points* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.
[895] *Listed Building Information for Apple Acre Farmhouse. A Grade II Listed Building in Hundon, Suffolk*. Available at: https://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101031661-apple-acre-farmhouse-hundon#.WvIVCy-ZNo4. Accessed 2/5/19.



Figure 9.i.14. Appleacre Farmhouse, site of the former lodge (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

At the fenced and hedged eastern boundary of Appleacre Farm, near to the farmhouse, a number of photographs were taken in an attempt to determine what may have been seen from the vicinity of the lodge at Easty Park, during a hunt. Looking back to the east of the site, the footpath can be seen dissecting the bleak, flat, uninteresting open landscape towards conifer plantations and hedgerows in the middle distance (Figure 9.i.15). To the south, flat, grass covered fields can be seen in the middle distance which are edged by hedgerows, houses and clumps of trees. It is a featureless, monotonous landscape, devoid of any interest (Figure 9.i.16).



Figure 9.i.15. Looking east from Appleacre Farm buildings (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)



Figure 9.i.16. View of the flat dull landscape to the south (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Views to the west are completely obscured by the farm buildings and those to the north are also partially obscured by tall structures, fences, trees and hedging. What can be seen in the near distance to the north are open flat stubbly fields with blocks of coniferous trees and hedges in the middle distance (Figure 9.i.17). The far horizons in each direction are not clearly visible by the naked eye due to the weather conditions but hazed outlines of clumps of trees and buildings can still be seen. It remains as quiet in the vicinity of the farm buildings as it had been walking the footpaths. No other person has been encountered during the entire morning and there is no sound intrusion which may have been expected being so close to a working farm. There is an overriding impression of isolation despite the public footpaths which run through the landscape, and the feeling that this is an exclusive and restrictive landscape where the type of access is strictly controlled.



Figure 9.i.17. The view of the north of the site, clumps of tree plantation can be seen in the distance (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

At this point it was decided to approach the site from a different direction and to record observations along the path which leads form the southern boundary to the buildings of

Appleacre Farm. By this time more benign conditions produced a mild and sunny early afternoon which greatly improved visibility. The site was accessed by a grassed over public footpath leading from Black Grove Lane which is approximately one hundred and seventy metres from the B1063 to the west. The footpath runs in a straight-line to the north for just over nine hundred metres to the Appleacre Farm buildings where it goes around the southern partially fenced boundary and joins the path heading east. Progression on the drier path was quicker and less arduous when compared to the muddy path which was used during the morning.

The Plan. Observation Point 2. The Lodge

Approximate NGR: TL 750505

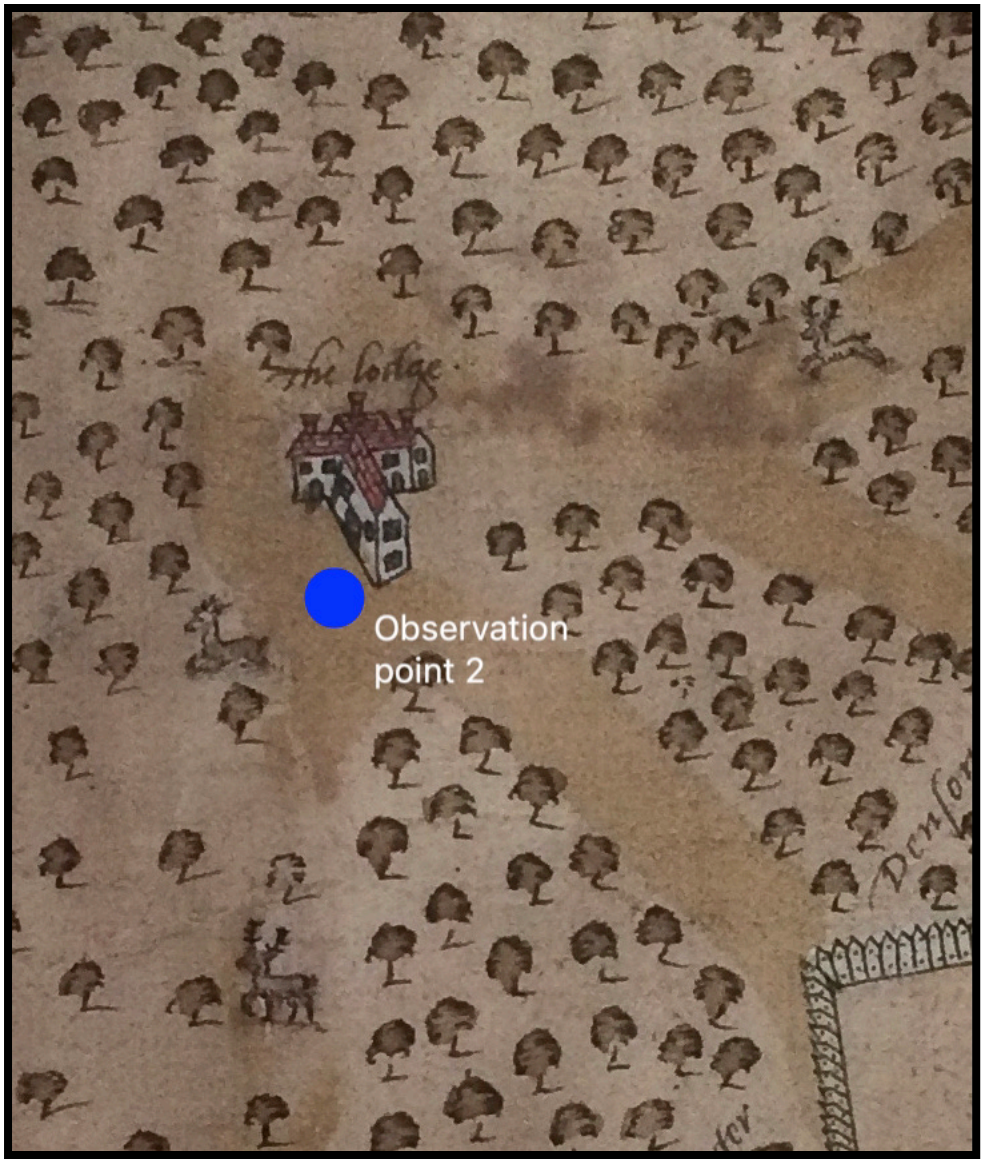


Figure 9.i.18. Observation point 2 at the base of the 'T' shaped lodge. (NA MPC 1/3)

The second observation point is located within the lodge enclosure itself at the fenestrated base of the 'T' shaped lodge (Figure 9.i.18).[896] Views to the north and west are obstructed by woodland (in the near distance) and the lodge building respectively. Looking east, there is an uninterrupted view of an apparently short ride in the middle distance which is bounded on both sides by 'Denton Quarter and Shipley Quarter'. The length and clarity of the view however would have again been dependant on the form of management which was being

[896] NA MPC 1/3

instituted in these areas. A more open, and light filled environment (with no tree canopy cover) enables the 'viewer' to see to the end of the ride where the boundary fence sharply juts out into the centre to form a 'V' shape. Looking immediately to the south, a fallow deer can be seen running from the lodge enclosure into the densely wooded 'Hundon Quarter' indicating that this section of the enclosure is unfenced and leads to an area of pollards or timber trees where deer are permitted to shelter and browse the vegetation. To the south-east, the landscape is more open with the widely spaced trees of 'Chipley Old Laund' enabling a view all the way to the boundary fence in the far distance where 'Chipley Gate 'and 'Chipley Stile' are situated in a right-angled section of the park pale. The close proximity of the observation point to the lodge building and stands of tall trees or long lines of fencing increase the clarity and level of sound.

The Landscape. Observation Point 3. Approaching The Lodge

NGR: TL 749502



Figure 9.i.19. Observation point 3. The landscape is on a gradual incline northward (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

The farmhouse and much of the landscape to the north is obscured from view from this point as there is a gradual incline. After walking approximately five hundred metres in a northerly direction the farmhouse is gradually revealed amid a dark enclosure of hedges and tall trees (Figure 9.i.19).[897] On reaching the top of the footpath near the farm buildings there is a pervasive noise created by farm vehicles and machinery. In contrast to the morning, there is no feeling of isolation as dogs can be heard barking nearby and farm workers can be seen in and around the structures.

[897] Fletcher, S. *Easty Park Observation Points* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.



Figure 9.i.20. Rising public footpath leading northwards towards the farmhouse (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

From this position (immediately to the south of the buildings) there is a clear view to the south of the site with a pond in the foreground, open flat fields edged with trees and hedges and the footpath (Figure 9.i.20). The view to the east was partially obscured by silos and trees but large areas of open fields and the tree plantations are still visible. To the west (where views are similarly obstructed by farm buildings) the landscape is again comprised of open, flat grass covered fields, edged by trees and hedgerows. The western boundary of the former park which is formed by the B 1063 (running north to south) is similarly edged by trees and hedgerows and by intermittent houses. Beyond the road further west, more trees and other vegetation are visible in the far distance occupying an area that was once Hundon Great Park. This a bleak agricultural flat, isolated landscape, where the only prominent features are farm buildings (Figure 9.i.21 & 9.i.22).



Figure 9.i.21. Panoramic photograph taken of the views to the east, south and west of the site (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)



Figure 9.i.22. View to the west with a farm building in the foreground. The former Hundon Great Park, which is marked by a belt of trees, is visible on the horizon (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

The Plan. Observation Point 3. Approaching The Lodge. Hundon Hall Quarter

Approximate NGR: TL 749502



Figure 9.i.23. Observation point 3, situated in a clearing in Hundon Old Quarter (NA MPC 1/1)

This observation point is located roughly at the centre of 'Hundon Hall Quarter' which occupies the southern boundary area of the park (Figure 9.i.23). This area is bounded on all sides by trees that are either densely concentrated or widely spaced. A fallow deer stag can be seen striding through the laund which is comprised of grassy areas and scattered pollards or timber that dominate the foreground in every direction. Markham comments that launds such as this could be used by park owners for the 'breeding of great store of grasse and hay for the feeding and nourishing of his deere'.[898]

This position also arguably enables the most comprehensive (although still limited) views of the parkland landscape. Facing northwards, the open landscape of laund and scattered trees allows a clear sight of the fenestrated southern elevation of the lodge in its tree lined enclosure. The fenestrated eastern elevation of the lodge which forms the top of the 'T' is also visible from this point, as is the end or base of the 'T'. As the area between the lodge and observation point is relatively open, some level of sound from the environs of the lodge is discernible at this location, but otherwise this is a quiet location where deer can be observed peacefully grazing. To the east, the open ground, and widely spaced trees in the near to middle distance enables clearer views of large sections of the eastern boundary and *Chipley Gate* and *Chipley Stile*. Looking to the west, 'Middle Close' and 'Middle Quarter' come into view. If this area had been managed as coppice or dominated by pollards, the view may have extended close to the boundary fence which is concealed by a row of trees.

The modern landscape of Easty Park tells us very little of its hunting past. It is sterile, mostly flat, and monotonous and most of the evidence of Tudor hunting has been completely erased. By walking through it we can determine the subtle variations and bare bones of the landscape but little else. The only feature of any interest remaining is the lodge building which stands prominently at its centre. There is little to be gained from undertaking a phenomenological study as the overwhelming impression one is left with is simply of being in the middle of farmland undistinguishable from many others. It does not stir the senses in any way either visually or aurally. Without the contemporary Plan to refer to there would be nothing to guide us or to comment upon aside from the site of the lodge building which requires prior knowledge of original park to make any sense of. The Plan allows us to feel a sense of

[898] Markham 1616: 669.

movement and energy which is absent from the modern landscape. It provides knowledge and understanding that cannot be gained otherwise. It could be argued that phenomenological study could be conducted using the Plan alone.

9.ii. A Phenomenological Study of Lopham Park, Norfolk

NGR: TM 051830

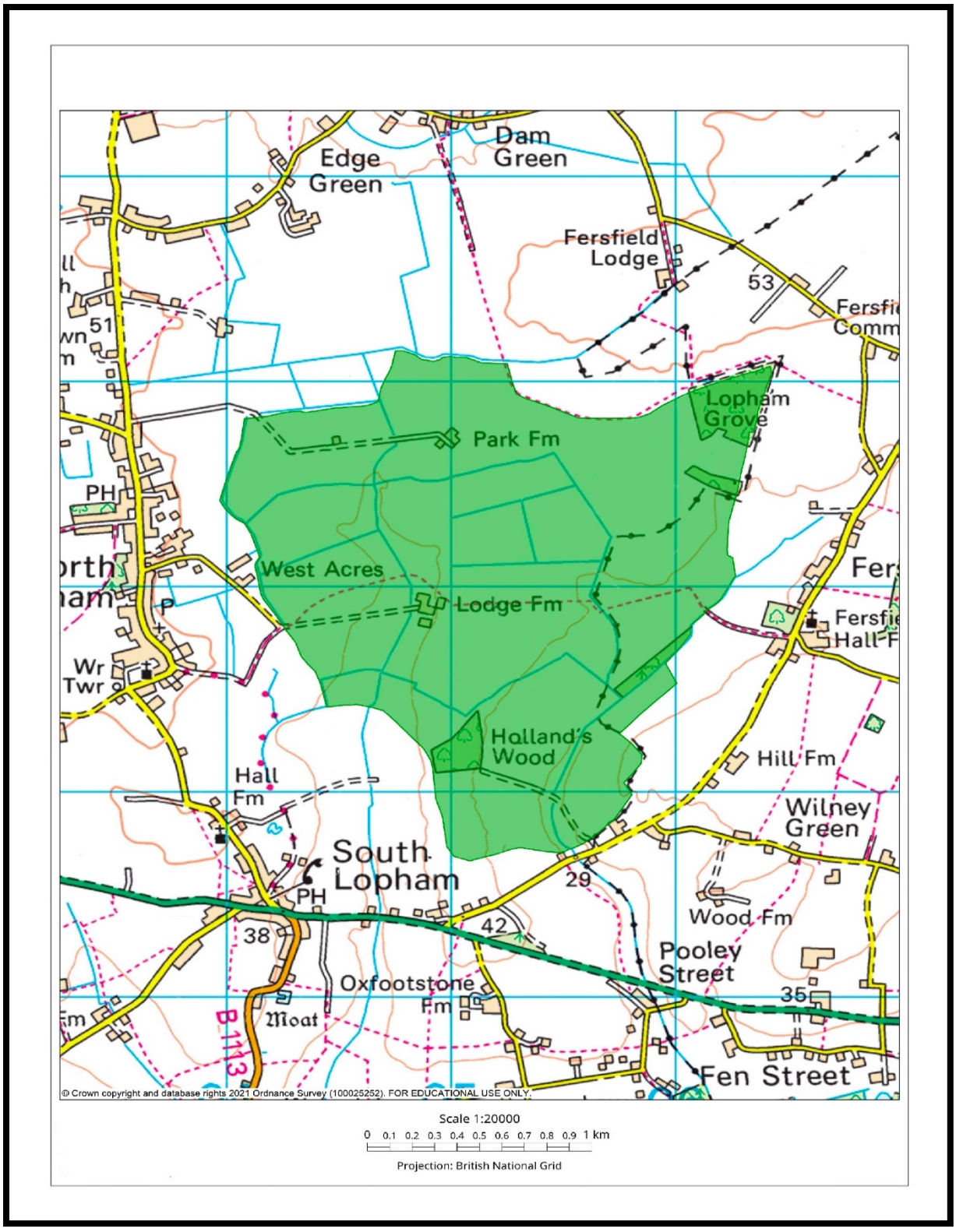


Figure 9.ii.1. OS map (2020) The shaded area shows the boundaries and extent of Lopham Park (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)[899]

[899] Fletcher, S. *Lopham Park* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000, Print scale 1:20 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey. G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 12/5/21.

Landscape and Geology

The Breckland parishes of North and South Lopham (where Lopham Park was located) are situated close to the Norfolk and Suffolk border, approximately six miles west of the South Norfolk market town of Diss. They lie on an elevated plateau which was formed by deposits of Lowestoft chalky till (CHLK) and areas of sand gravel (DMTN & XSV) and a strip of clay, silt and gravel (XCZSV) (Figure 9.ii.2).[900] The predominant landcover is that of good, gently undulating, arable loamy clay farmland with blocks of small mixed plantation woodlands (Figure 9.ii.3).[901]

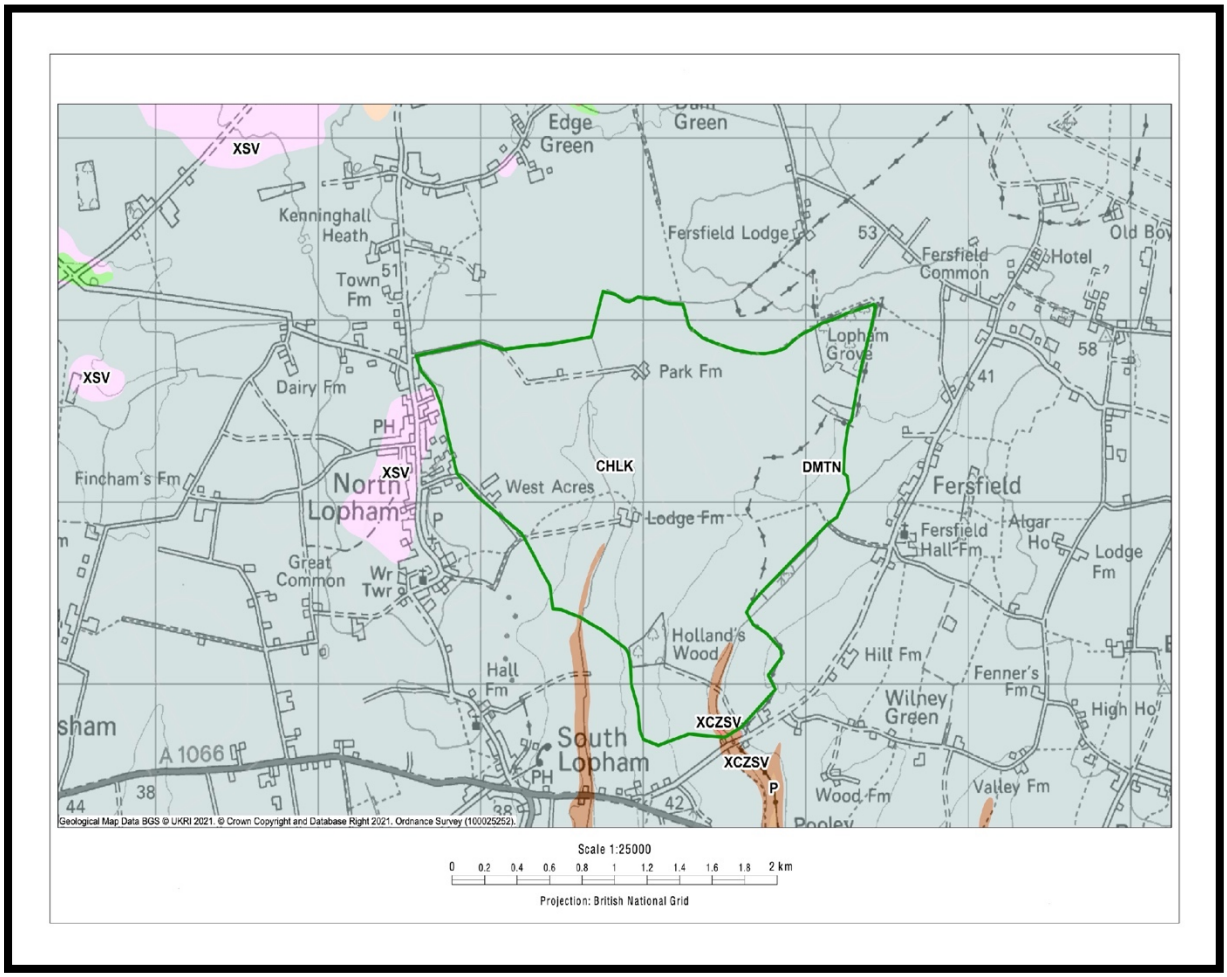


Figure 9.ii.2. geological map showing the chalk bedrock underlying the former park at Lopham (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)

[900] Fletcher, S. *Lopham Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map) Scale 1:25 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS) UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service), http://edina.ac.uk. Created 2/6/21.
[901] Fletcher, S. Lopham Park, Soil Texture (PDF Map) Scale 1:25 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS) UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/6/21.

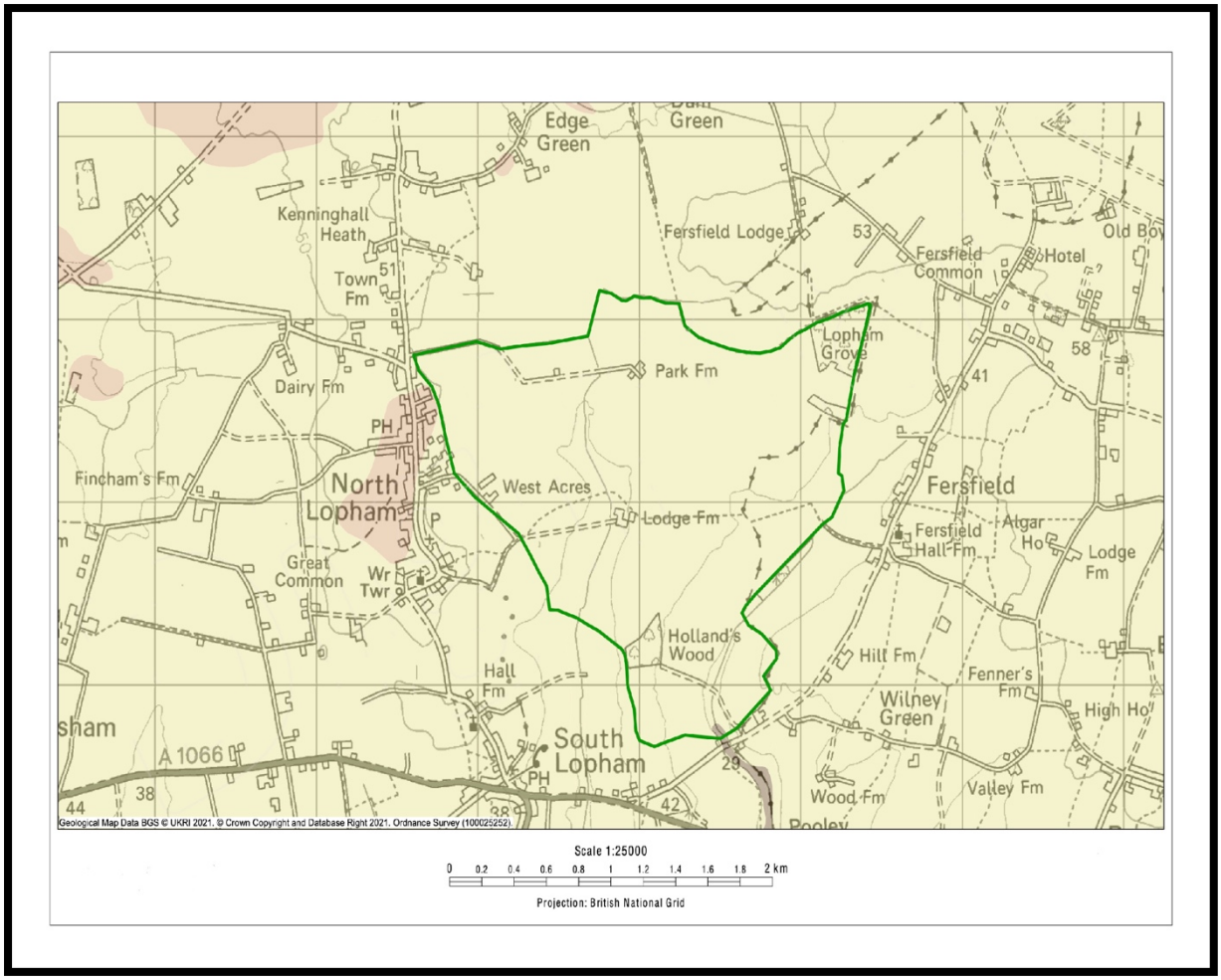


Figure 9.ii.3. Soil texture maps showing the overlaying loam clay soils at Lopham (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)

Field patterns are irregular and large in scale and are divided by hedgerows with occasional trees. However, due to intensive agricultural practices, many of these hedges have been eroded or neglected which has created a landscape that is open and exposed in character.[902] This elevated and open landscape provides long panoramic views that are only broken by blocks of woodland or by the undulating landscape. This feeling of openness has been intensified by the settlement pattern of the area which is generally of low density and linear in nature such as those at North and South Lopham which are partly comprised of vernacular seventeenth-century thatched timber framed and red brick buildings.[903] In essence it is an exposed, monotonous, monochrome, 'smooth textured' landscape that has been 'tamed' by arable farming.[904]

[902] Landscape Character Assessment of Breckland District. Final Report Prepared for Breckland Council by Land Use Consultants 2007, London. Available at: https://www.breckland.gov.uk/media/2069/Landscape-Character-Assessment_-_May2007_Final2/pdf. Accessed 1/7/21.
[903] Ibid: 237-238.
[904] Ibid: 238-239.

Lopham Park

Lopham Park was one of the largest parks in Norfolk. The first documentary reference for a park comes in 1280-81 when Edward I appointed commissioners to investigate incidences of poaching at the park which was held at that time by Roger Bigod (*c.*1245-1306), the fifth Earl of Norfolk and Marshal and justiciar of England.[905] On Roger's death in 1306 the manor was passed on to his brother John and then came into the possession of the Crown. The manor was held by Edward II until 1310 before he gifted it to his brother Edmund of Woodstock (1301-1330) and half-brother Thomas of Brotherton (1300-1338) who became first earl of Norfolk in 1312.[906] Brotherton left his daughters, Alice and Margaret as his heirs. Margaret eventually became sole heir of her father's estates and the manor of Lopham before they passed to her second husband, Walter de Manny. During this period further acts of trespass were recorded as well as other disputes such as a fine sued by the Countess of Norfolk which revealed that the park had been used for pannage for pigs.[907] The park appears again in 1498 as a result of a prosecution (the duchess of Norfolk v Wiseman) for trespass and the illegal taking of deer which was brought by the duchess of Norfolk in 1498.[908] In a complicated legal case, the duchess claimed that she had granted licence to the earl of Suffolk to hunt in her park at Lopham 'at his will and pleasure'.[909] The duke however had entered the park with a retinue of friends and servants (who were the defendants) much to the displeasure of the duchess who insisted that the licence to hunt and kill and carry away deer was for him alone.[910] Lopham was clearly a park enjoyed by the elite hunter and poacher alike.

The full extent of the park is shown on a detailed map of 1612 by Thomas Waterman which forms part of this phenomenological study.[911] A series of later maps however records phases of disparkment with a map of 1720 showing that the park had been broken up with the northern half coming under the ownership of North Lopham Lodge Farm and the southern

[905] Richardson, D. 2011 *Magna Carta ancestry: a study in colonial and medieval families*, volume 1. (2nd edition), Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc.
[906] Waugh, S.L. 2004 *Thomas of Brotherton (Thomas of Brotherton),* Available at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27196. Accessed: 12/1/19.
[907] Blomefield 1805: 230 & 235.
[908] Chitty, J. 1812 *A treatise on the game laws, and on fisheries; with an appendix, containing all the statutes and cases on the subject, Volume 2, London.*
[909] Manwood, J. 1717 *Manwood's treatise of the Forest Laws*, London.
[910] Chitty 1805: 800; Manwood 1717: 187.
[911] Liddiard, R. (2010) *The Norfolk Deer Parks Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiversity Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiversity Partnership*, Available at: https://norfolkbiodiversity.org.; ACA P5/1.

half under the possession of South Lopham Hall Farm. (Figure 9.ii.4).[912] Evidence of its former use as a deer park is revealed in field names with: 'D' 'E' 'F' inscribed as north Hart Close, 'S' as 'The Laune', and 'T' 'Laune Bottom'. The Tithe Award Map of 1845-46 for North Lopham shows that the former park had been further divided by this time into smaller fields. Field names such as 'Ancient Park Bank' (Field no 485) once again indicate its former use. Park Farm also appears on the map to the north, having been absent on the map of 1720 (Figure 9.ii.5).[913]



Figure 9.ii.4. Map of 1720 showing the park broken up into fields, under the ownership of North Lopham Lodge farm and South Lopham Hall Farm (ACA P5/36)

[912] Liddiard 2010: 30-31; ACA P5/36.
[913] NRO DN/TA 871.



Figure 9.ii.5. Tithe Award Map for North Lopham (1845-46) showing the former park divided into small fields (NRO DN/TA 871)

First Edition Six-Inch to the Mile OS maps for North and South Lopham (1884) show that the landscape was little changed by the end of the nineteenth century. The landscape is still divided into small and medium sized fields that are enclosed by hedgerows, although some boundaries have changed as several fields have been sub-divided or enlarged (Figures 9.ii.6 & 9.ii.7).[914] The First Edition OS map of 1985 reveals that hedges had been removed by that time, creating a more open landscape with more wide-ranging vistas, which continues to be the case today. (Figure 9.ii.1 & Figure 9.ii.7).[915]

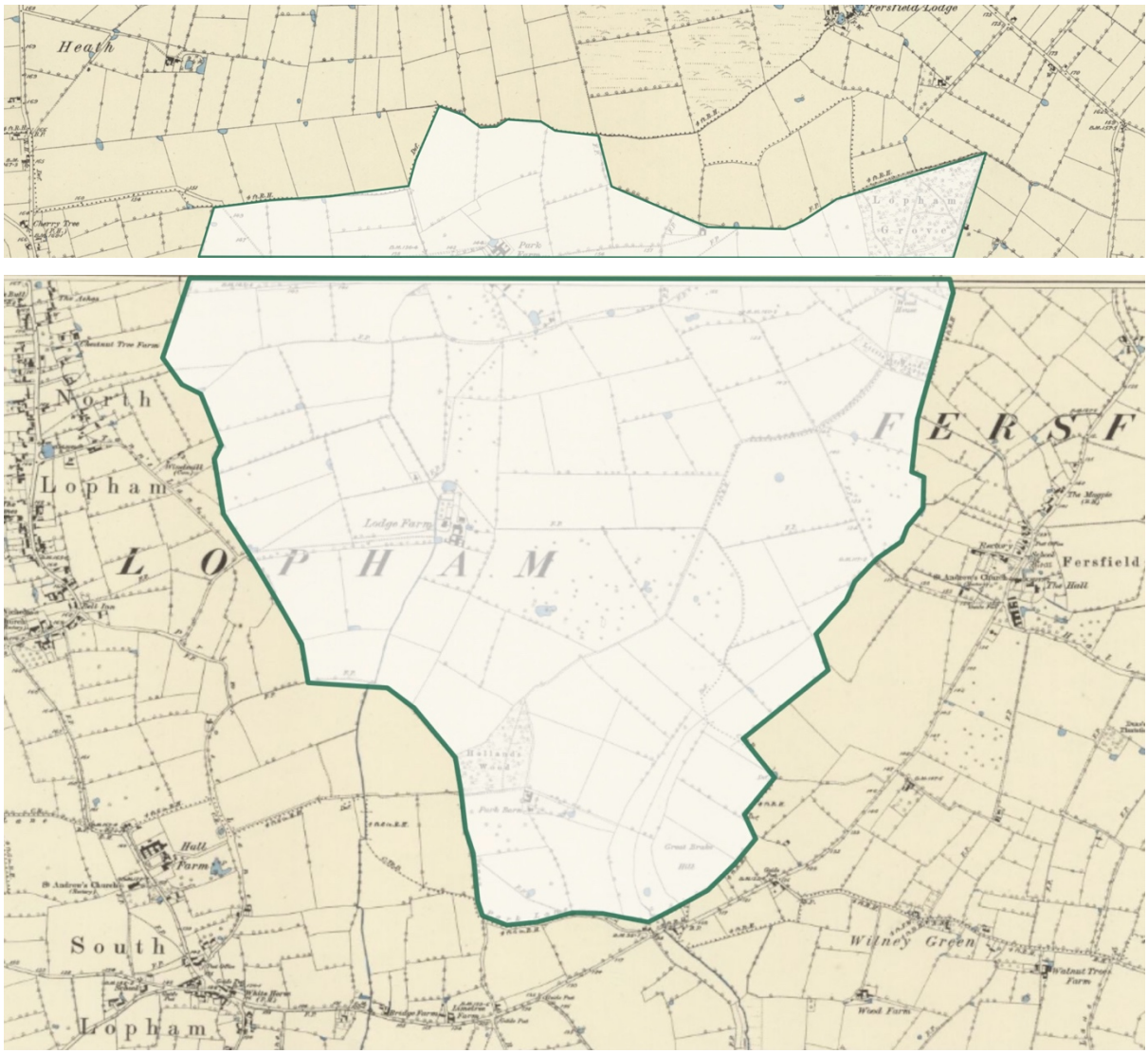


Figure 9.ii.6 & Figure 9.ii.7. First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile maps of North and South Lopham (Norfolk Sheet CIV.SE surveyed 1883, published 1884 and Norfolk Sheet CIV.NE, surveyed 1882-1883, published 1884) continue to show small and medium hedged fields (National Library of Scotland)

[914] Fletcher, S. OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Norfolk Sheet CIV. SE (includes: Bressinghmam; North Lopham; South Lopham), surveyed 1883, published 1884, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101584355. Created 2/6/21; Fletcher, S. OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Norfolk Sheet CIV.NE (includes: Banham; Bressingham; Kenninghall; North Lopham), surveyed 1882-1883, published 1884, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view101584331. Created 2/6/21.

[915] Fletcher, S. *Lopham Park* 1985 OS County Series First Edition map (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1: 20 000, Norfolk County, Published 1985, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/6/21

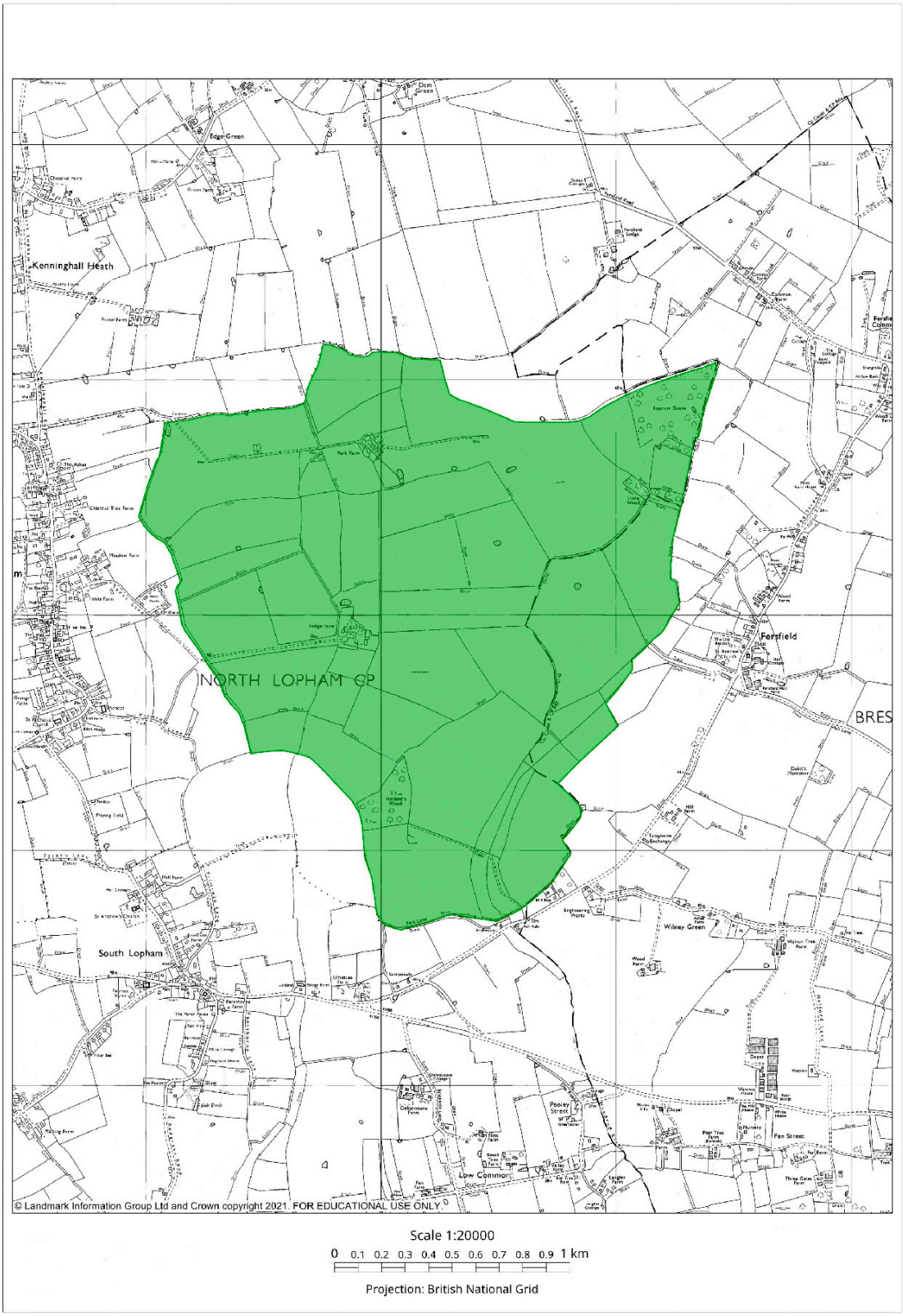


Figure 9.ii.8. OS First Edition map (1985, scale 1:20 000) shows a more open landscape at Lopham following the removal of hedgerows (EDINA Historic Digimap Service)

LiDAR DTM 50cm -1 metre images do show some field boundaries. However, we gain very little insight into how the park may have been hunted. The main challenge we have is that Waterman's map of 1612 does not have enough detail to enable us to compare the original hunting landscape with what we see on the LiDAR images (Figure 9.ii.9).[916]

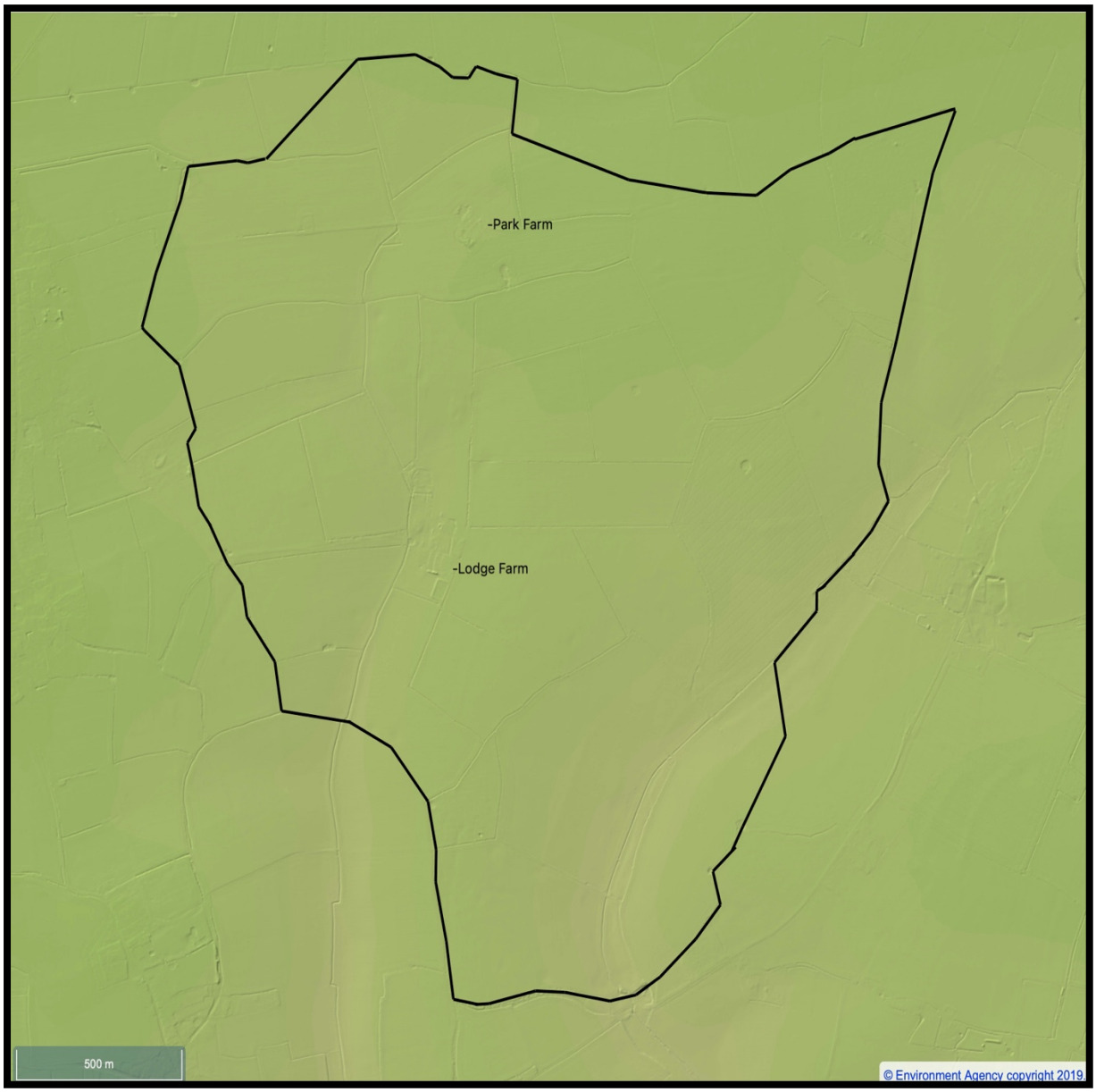


Figure 9.ii.9. LiDAR DTM 50cm-1 metre image of the former park at Lopham revealing field boundaries (National Library of Scotland)

[916] Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Lopham Park*. National Library Scotland, LiDAR DTM 50cm – 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data. Environment Agency 2019-2020. Using: https://maps.nls/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=14.8533333333333316&lat=52.40826&lon=1.01587&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DTM_1m. Created 3/7/21.

Phenomenological Study of the Landscape of Lopham Park and Thomas Waterman's map of 1612

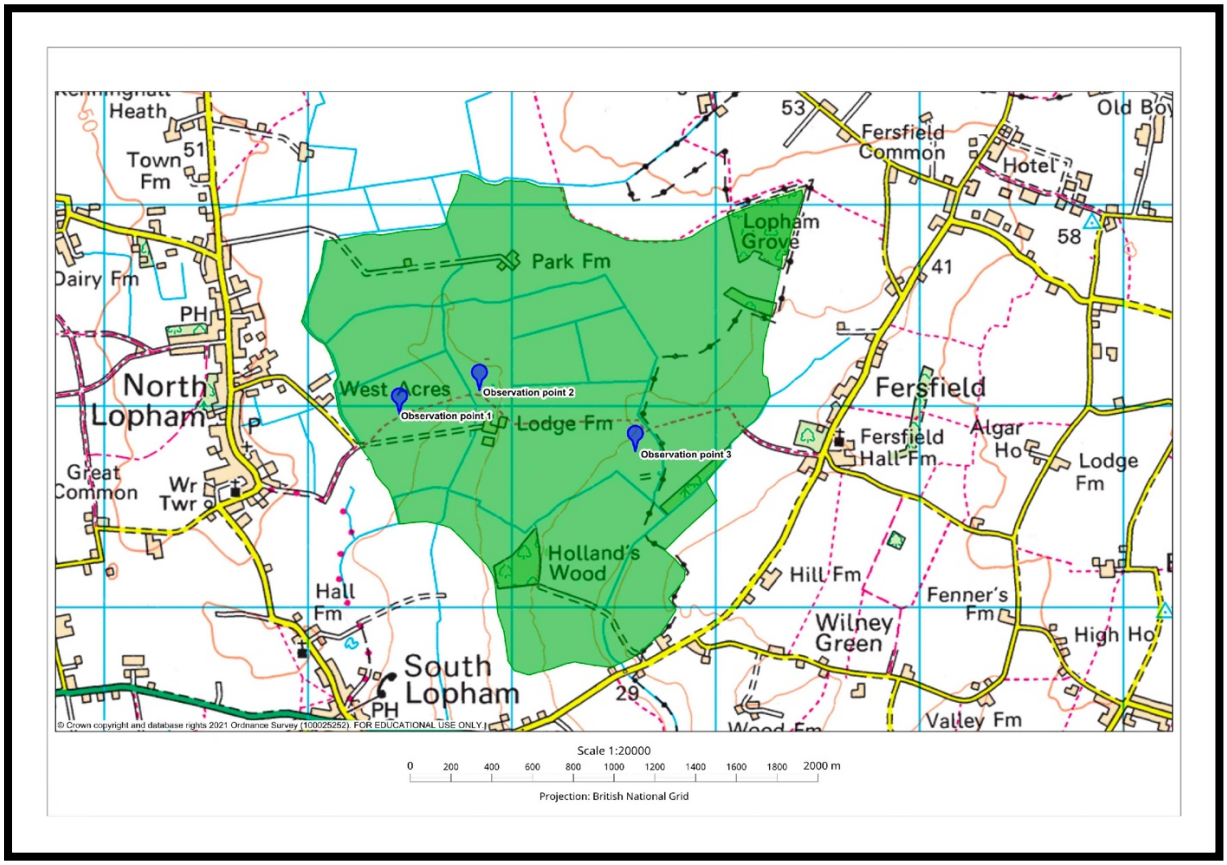


Figure 9.ii.10. Observation points for the phenomenological field study of Lopham Park (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

The site of the former park at Lopham was subjected to phenomenological investigation during a morning in late November 2019. The prevailing weather conditions throughout the morning were that of light intermittent rain, with some passing patches of mist and frequent, strong gusts of wind. Temperatures remained mild at an average of approximately ten to twelve degrees Celsius. Visibility was generally good despite the gloomy weather but long periods of rain on the day and during the preceding months made the mixed loamy and clayey soils heavy. Much of the park's former boundaries have previously been traced by Liddiard and are little different from field boundaries. A well-preserved section of bank and ditch can be seen on the eastern side of the site close to Lopham Grove (Figure 9.ii.10).[917] Access to the site was gained via a leafless tree-lined muddy footpath/trackway on the western bounday named Primrose Lane in North Lopham which dissects the study area and passes to

[917] Liddiard 2010:31; Fletcher, S. Lopham Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print Scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.

the north and around Lodge Farm before progressing eastwards. The field study was conducted alongside a phenomenological investigation of Thomas Waterman's map of Lopham Park dated 1612 (Figure 9.ii.11).[918]

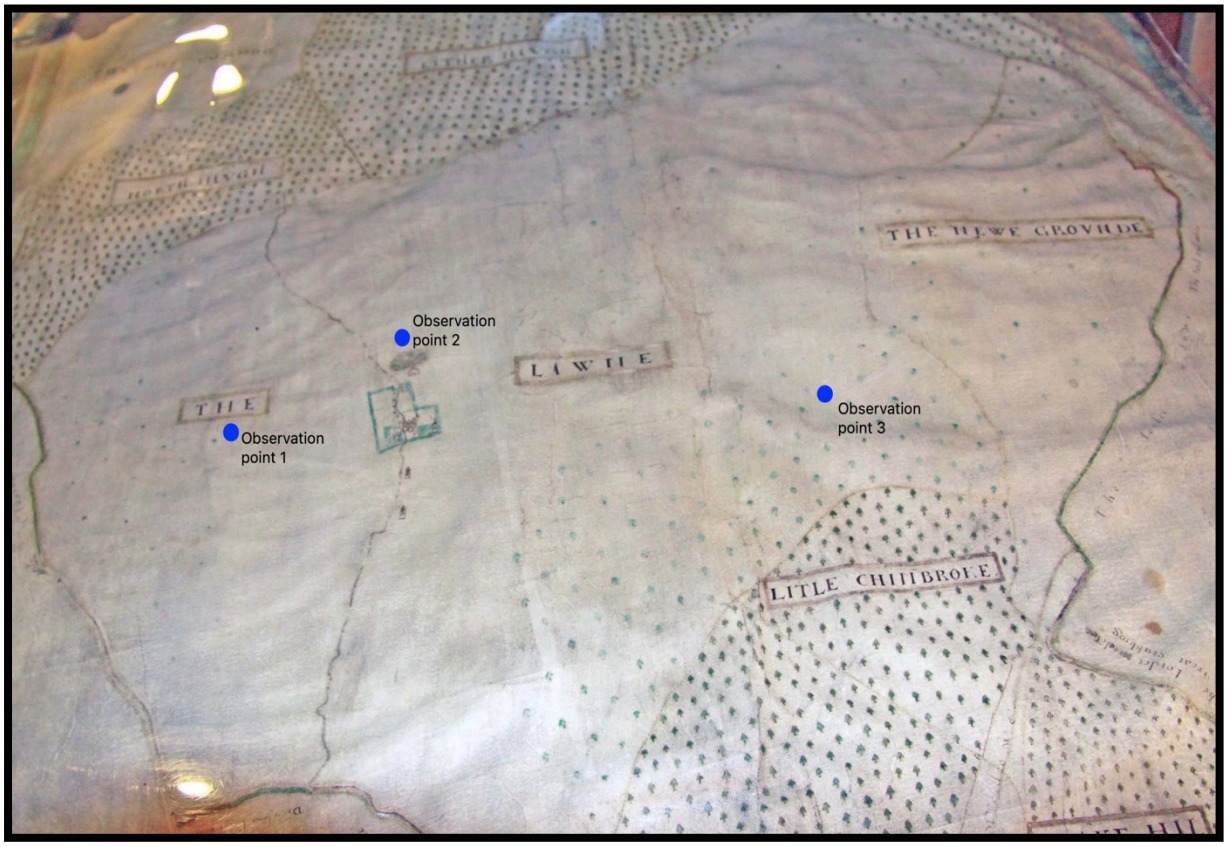


Figure 9.ii.11. Observation points for Lopham Park on Thomas Waterman's map of 1612 (NA ACA P5/1)

[918] NA ACA P5/1.

The Landscape. Observation Point 1. Approaching the Lodge

NGR: TM 043829

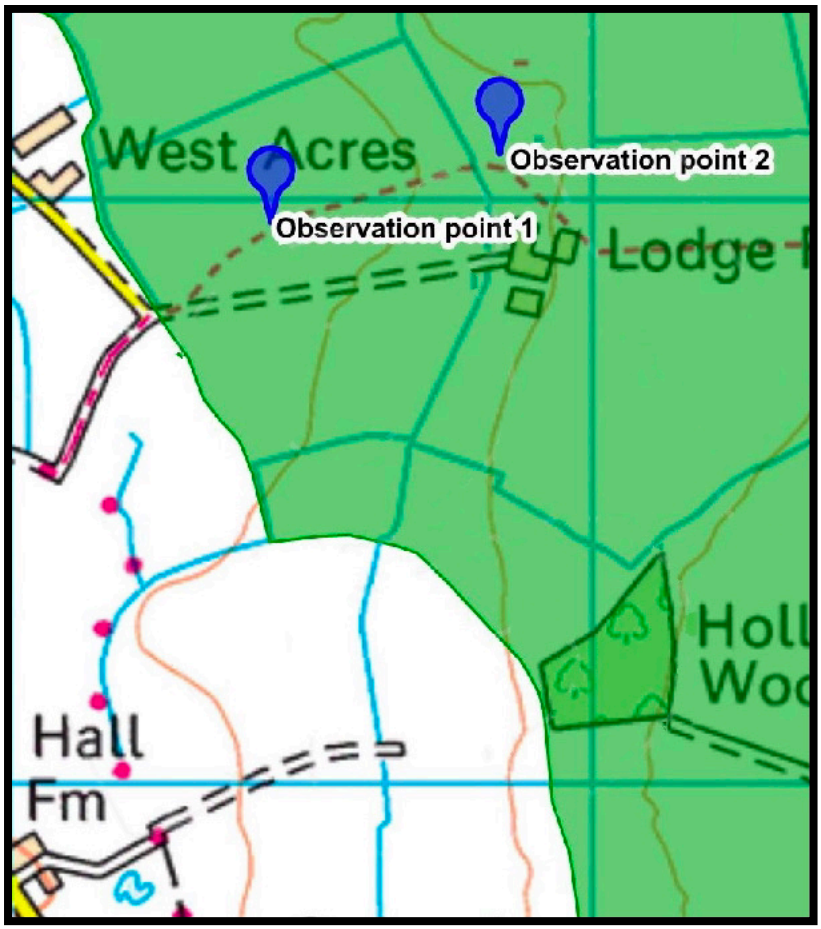


Figure 9.ii.12. Observation Point 1, approaching Lodge Farm (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

Upon emerging from the 'new' section of footpath into the western side of the former park, a large, open, ploughed, waterlogged arable field comes into view which stretches all around into the near distance and middle distance (Figure 9.ii.12).[919] Although there is no doubt that this a large site, there is no sense of openness (which was one of the main characteristics of the medieval and early modern park) due to land change. The topography of the site is generally flat but rises to the north and dips to the east and south to form a shallow bowl like landscape which increased the feeling of seclusion (Figure 9.ii.13). It is an extensive, enclosed landscape where fields are divided by hedges, which combined with the flat ground surrounding the observation point, somewhat restricts views of the near and middle distance.

[919] Fletcher, S. Lopham Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print Scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.

In every direction the landscape is framed by intermittent blocks of woodland (possibly coppiced) of varying size. In the distance to the west, modern houses and groups of deciduous young trees occupy the horizon. To the far north, the modern farm buildings of Park Farm dominate the view. To the east Holland's Wood sits at the top of a rising slope, but the eye is immediately drawn to a cluster of isolated buildings in the middle distance that comprise Lodge Farm, which are situated in a slight depression (Figure 9.ii.14).



Figure 9.ii1.13. The initial view upon first entering the site (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)



Figure 9.ii.14. The buildings of Lodge Farm which can be seen in a hollow in the middle distance (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

The height and size of the main red bricked lodge 'farmhouse' building with its red tiled pitched roof and chimneys particularly draws the gaze as it stands out at the head of a valley in a hedged, relatively flat, dull and colourless autumnal landscape. The orientation of the building is also striking as its fenestrated flat façade faces a narrow stream nearby which runs through the site from north to south. The most pervasive noises at this location, are the sound of raindrops striking the ground and nearby trees and the wind which is rushing through leafless branches and birdsong. In the distance, the muted sound of traffic and farm machinery can be heard above the rain and wind, alongside the louder, more intrusive short-lived sound of a jet engine aeroplane, rapidly passing overhead.

Walking east to the next observation point along a barely discernible public footpath that stretches across the waterlogged ploughed field, is both arduous and slow as ankle deep, sucking mud prevents easy movement. The path gradually descends in the direction of an enclosed Lodge Farm whose constituent, ostensibly disordered and sprawling elements, become more visible. It appears that the main farmhouse building has been constructed in the form of a double 'T' with two 'wings' protruding from the rear of the west facing building,

which is reminiscent of the 'T' shaped Wealden houses discussed in chapter five above (Figure 9.ii.15).



Figure 9.ii.15. Approaching Lodge Farm (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Following a walk of approximately six or seven minutes across the ploughed field, the lodge and surrounding buildings become more discernible. There is no movement of people or animals within its environs (further increasing the feeling of isolation) and there is no perceptible noise except for the wind, continuing light rain and the sound of sucking mud. There is however a pervasive 'farmyard' smell (in a relatively odourless landscape) which becomes increasingly pronounced as the lodge gets closer. Proceeding from the south through the shallow valley with the high ground behind, the public footpath continues northwards (before progressing to the east) around the rear of the building of Lodge Farm, which is the location of the next observation point.

The Map. Observation Point 1. Approaching the Lodge

Approximate NGR: TM 043829

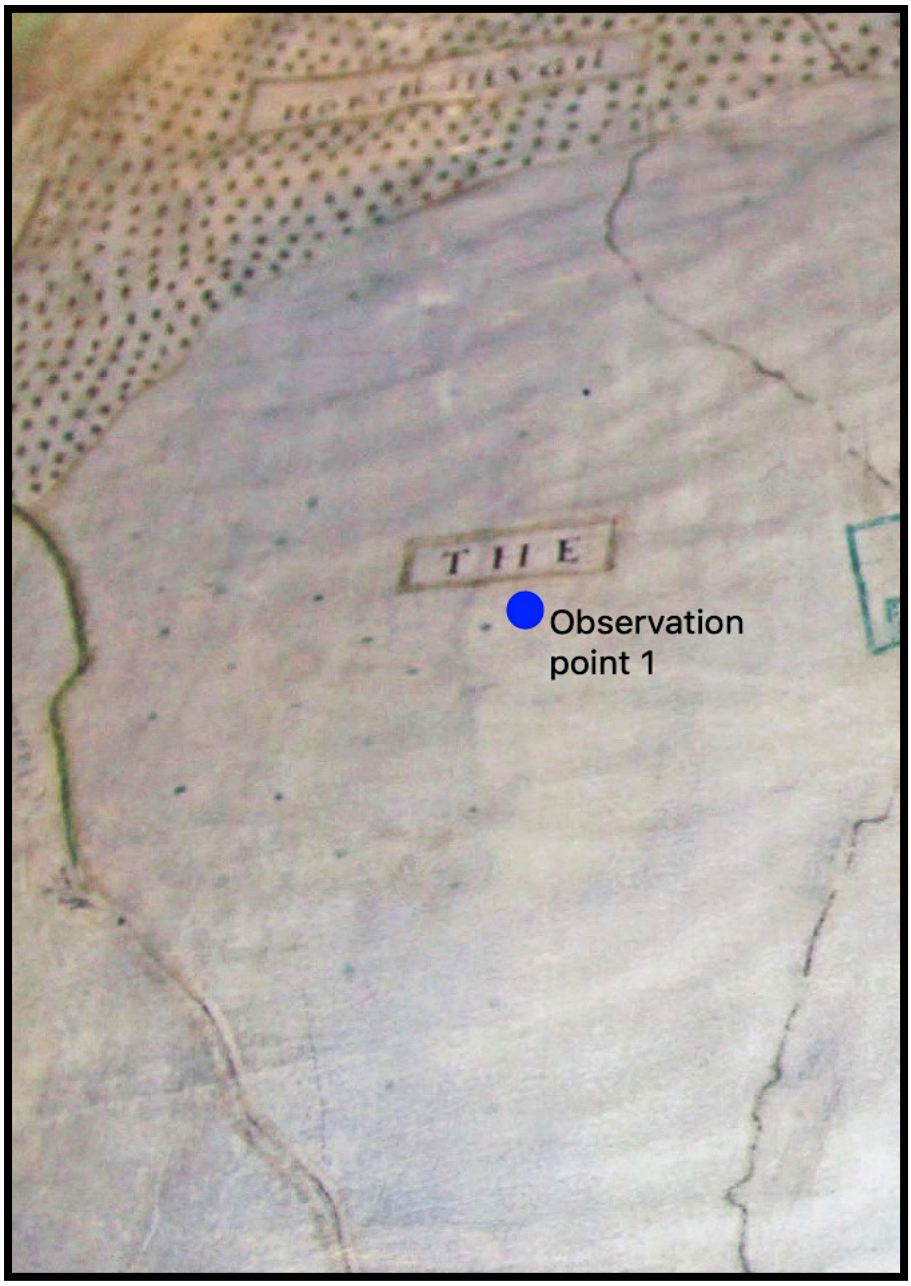


Figure 9.ii.16. Detail of Waterman's map of 1612. Observation point 1, approaching the lodge (NA MPC1/1)

The first observation point is at the centre of a large flat area of laund in the western section of the park (Figure9.ii.16). It is a green landscape and has a great sense of openness and which engenders an appreciation of the size of the park. It is an exposed landscape and subject to periods of cold and heat with wind also blowing across the featureless laund and through the trees. The only sounds encountered here is birdsong, and noises emanating from

grazing deer and livstock. With no nearby structures or stands of trees nearby, the sound does not carry. Looking to the west there are widely spaced trees or patches of vegetation, possibly wood-pasture, which enable views of the western boundary. Although quite indistinct, the boundary appears to be green in places and brown in other sections, suggesting that it is comprised of hedges and possibly post and rail fencing. To the north and north-east, the park is bounded by dense stands of woodland. As there are no apparent physical obstructions, there is a clear view along the entire woodland edge. Looking to the south of the observation point another open section of treeless green laund can be seen stretching on into the distance where it is bounded by a section of green hedging. Looking east across uninterrupted pasture there is a stream running through the park from north to south. It appears to be running through the middle of a complex of lodge buildings which is bounded by green hedges which immediately draw the eye.

The Landscape. Observation Point 2. The Pond

NGR: TM 048830

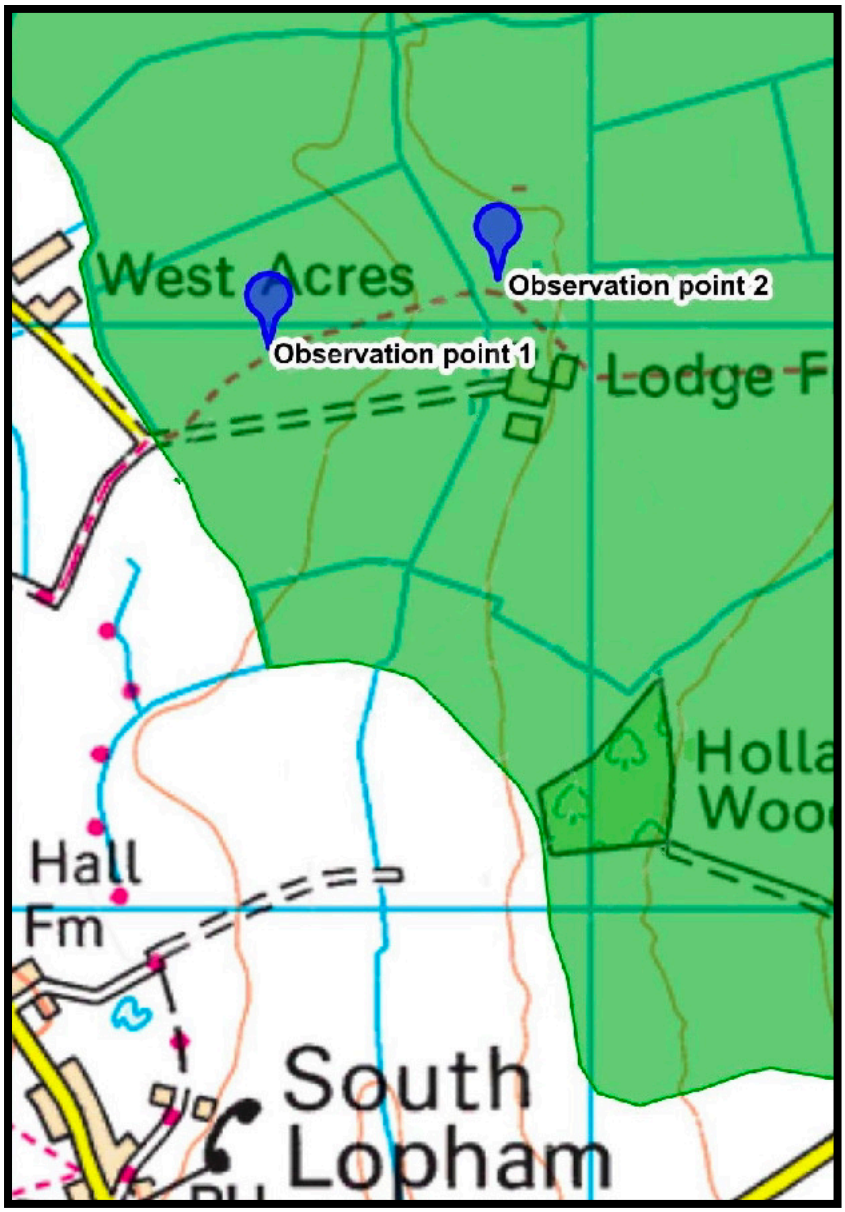


Figure 9.ii.17. Observation point 2, next to the pond (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

This observation point is located in a wooded hollow which restricts extensive views of the site (Figure 9.ii.17).[920] However, elements of the hedged gradually rising, monochrome, farming landscape to the north are visible until the tree-lined horizon in the middle distance as are sections of the flat, featureless landscape to the east and west. A large earth-banked

[920] Fletcher, S. Lopham Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print Scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.

pond which is partially surrounded by dead hedging is situated in the immediate foreground adjacent to the waterlogged and muddy footpath (Figure 9.ii.18).



Figure 9.ii.18. The earth banked pond to the rear of Lodge Farm. The roof and chimneys of Lodge farm can just be seen through the trees to the right (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

There is a sound of birdsong and occasional splashes coming from the pond. Looking across the pond to the north, tall, mature and leafless oak trees mask Farm Lodge, but sections of a red tiled roof and chimneys are still visible through the branches. The rain has stopped but the temperature is perceivably lower than that experienced at the previous point and while traversing the field. The speed of the wind also appears to have lessened considerably at this sheltered, low-lying location. Whilst moving slowly along the path to the east in the direction of Lodge Farm, the sudden incessant, loud and aggressive sound of barking dogs breaks the silence (Figure 9.ii.19).



Figure 9.ii.19. Lodge Farm (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

This instils a feeling that progression onwards and past the lodge is discouraged. The footpath was also difficult to identify and follow at this point. Therefore, it was decided that an alternative route should be taken to the third and final observation point which is located to the east of the site. This meant walking back to the first observation point and then onto the village of North Lopham before entering the site once again via a public footpath to the east from the village of Fersfield.

The Map. Observation Point 2. The Pond

Approximate NGR: TM 048830



Figure 9.ii.20 Observation point 2 near the pond, behind Lodge Farm (NA MPC1/1)

This observation point is situated close to the northern boundary of the lodge and just to the east of the stream running through the park (Figure 9.ii.20). It overlooks a pond and a building with a pitched roof and chimney to the south which is situated close to the boundary of the lodge complex. The close proximity of the lodge and stream and the pond and building nearby

produces different sounds than those that may have been encountered at the previous observation point. The low sound of running water from the stream, of birds and animals around the pond and stream, together with the everyday sounds of human voices and the various activities being conducted inside and outside of the nearby buildings make this location relatively noisy in an otherwise quiet landscape. Looking directly to the south, the lodge and the hedging around it, dominate the view. Close by to the north, areas of dense woodland stretch across the northern fringes of the park and appear to form an impenetrable barrier. To the west open areas of laund and widely space trees can be seen in the distance. Looking east and south-east, a large area of green laund comes into view which continues to the eastern boundary in the far distance, which is comprised of both green hedges and stretches of fencing. Large areas of widely spaced trees or wood-pasture are also discernible. Looking through these areas of wood-pasture, blocks of dense woodland come into view.

The Landscape. Observation Point 3. 'The Lawne'

NGR: TM 056828

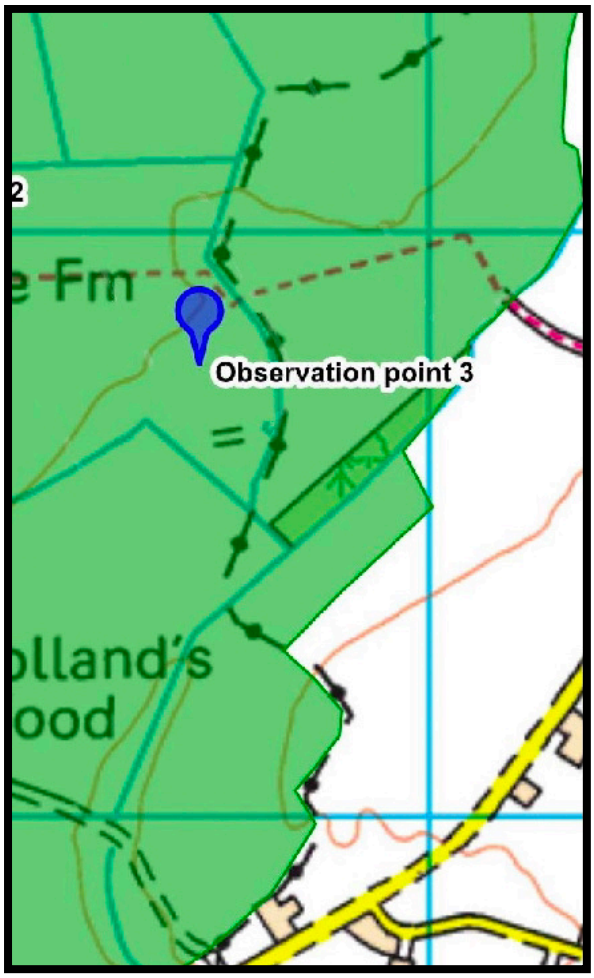


Figure 9.ii.21. Observation 3, 'The Lawne' (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

The observation point to the east was reached by a deeply rutted public footpath which continued on into and through the study site (Figure 9.ii.21).[921] The rain has relented but the wind has increased in strength which appears to have the effect of masking or diverting any sound. Movement through the site is similar to that experienced at and between the previous two observation points, being both onerous and difficult to navigate due to the waterlogged muddy conditions underfoot. There is also a similarly strong feeling of isolation at this location and a growing appreciation of the scale of the former park. The landscape itself is comprised of arable and is hedged, although some of the hedges have been removed. To the

[921] Fletcher, S. Lopham Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print Scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/7/21.

south, the blocks of woodland which form Holland's Wood and Elmer Wood dominate the view. What is most noteworthy however, is that the lodge is not visible from this location. At this point there is also a clearly distinct sound of barking dogs and horns which draws the gaze across sloping ploughed fields towards the dark, tall, blocks of woodland (Figure 9.ii.22).



Figure 9.ii.22. A mounted hunt taking place at Lopham. White horses and huntsmen (some in red clothing) can be seen on the edge of a ploughed field. (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Unmistakeably there is a hunt with horses and dogs in full progress on the periphery of the woodland. What can be seen in the far distance are a large pack of dogs running at the edge of the woodland closely followed by people in high visibility clothing. Following behind them are horses (many of which are completely white in colour) and people on foot who are also dressed in high visibility clothing. There are also several other people (also dressed in colourful clothing) who are on the periphery of the main group who are waving their arms and seem to be directing the hunt. The group appears to be following a trail laid down by a person dragging something behind them, who can be seen in the far distance. As the speed of the wind drops, the intermittent sound of barking comes in waves across the field and the sound of the blast of several horns which drowns out much of the barking becomes clearer and louder. Although it is only barely perceptible, there also appears to be the sound of

shouting coming from the main group. What is most notable about this scene is that it appears to be highly organised, with many of the participants also appearing to be wary of interruption by interlopers as they seem to be continuously pointing and looking towards the public footpaths which dissect the area. There is also an appreciation of the great speed and spectacle of the hunt as the white horses, which stand out against the dark backdrop of woodland move silently across the landscape at full speed. After several minutes, the barking of dogs and sound of horn calls appeared to increase in their intensity and join together. The entirety of the hunt group then seemed to pause which increased the sound again before it progressed nosily on. As the hunt disappeared from sight, the sound of horns and hounds persisted and lessened in volume as the wind gathered pace and suddenly dropped. What is most noteworthy here is that the sound of hounds and horns did not evoke musicality. To the contrary the sounds were intrusive and discordant.

The Map. Observation Point 3. 'The Lawne'

NGR Approximate: TM 056828

The third and final observation point is situated in a more sylvan area of the laund amid wood-pasture, to the east of the park (Figure 9.ii.23).[922]

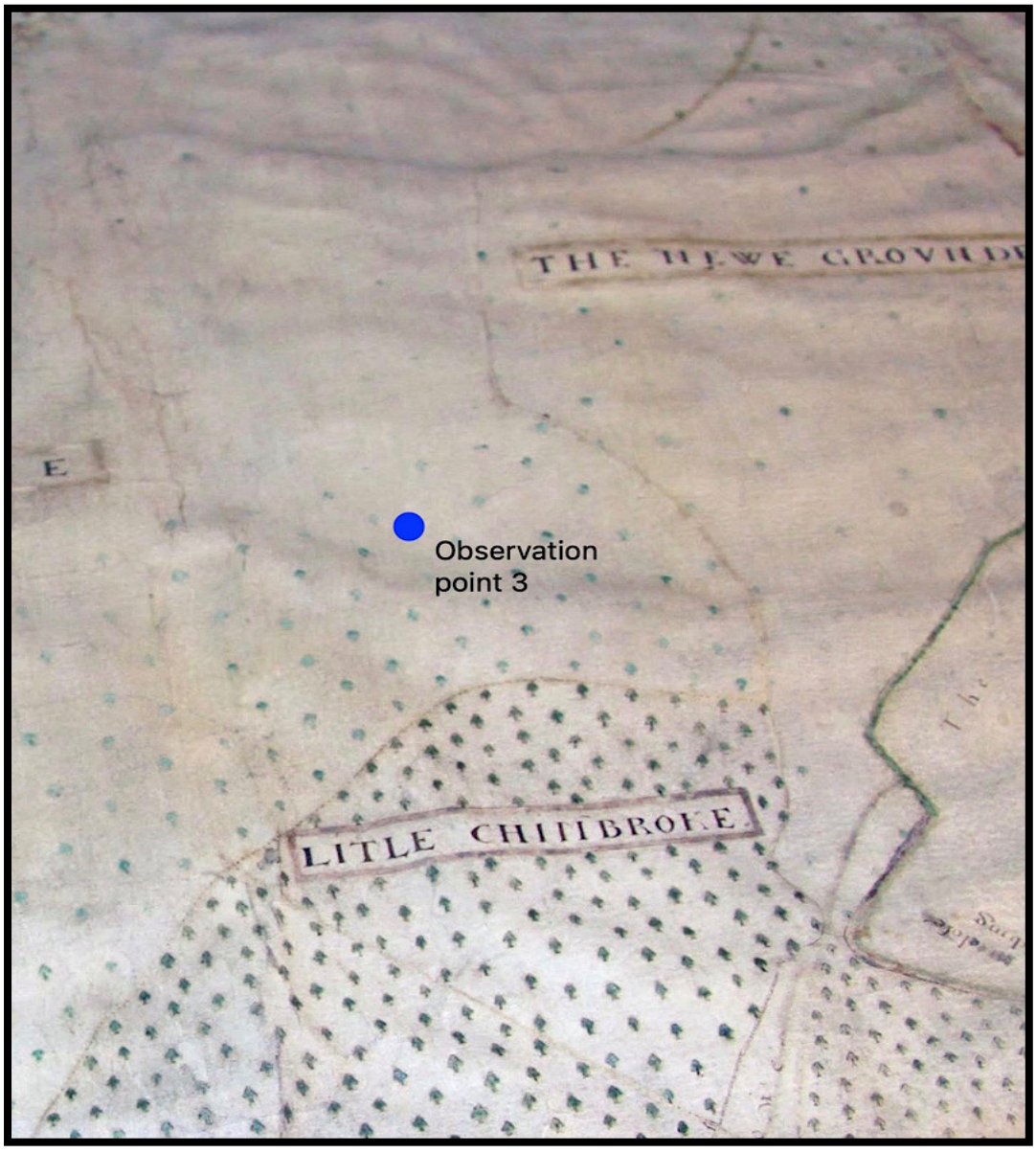


Figure 9.ii.23. Observation point 3, located in the midst of an area of wood-pasture (NA MPC1/1)

This position somewhat restricts views of a substantial area of the park. The lodge, which is situated to the west of the park cannot be seen from here. From this location however,

[922] NA MPC1/1.

sections of the eastern boundary can be seen in the middle distance. Despite some sections being obscured by trees, it appears that the boundary is comprised of a mixture of hedging and wooden fencing. To the north, to the south and south-west, large blocks of dense woodland encompass the park.

The fortuitous encounter with the hunt at Lopham redeemed what would have otherwise been a rather staid and uninspiring phenomenological study similar to that experienced at Hundon above. As with Easty Park we can also see that the lodge site at Lopham was prominently placed in the landscape and is the only obvious remaining feature. Both the landscape and Waterman's map of Lopham are equally featureless and un-enlightening in terms of what they bring to the study of Tudor hunting. Experiencing the hunt as an observer gave a valuable insight into the visual spectacle, movement and sound involved in the process. This cannot be gained from studying maps or plans however detailed neither from the landscape however well preserved it is. There is no substitute for experience.

9.iii. A Phenomenological Study of the Little Park, Long Melford, Suffolk

NGR: TL 870463

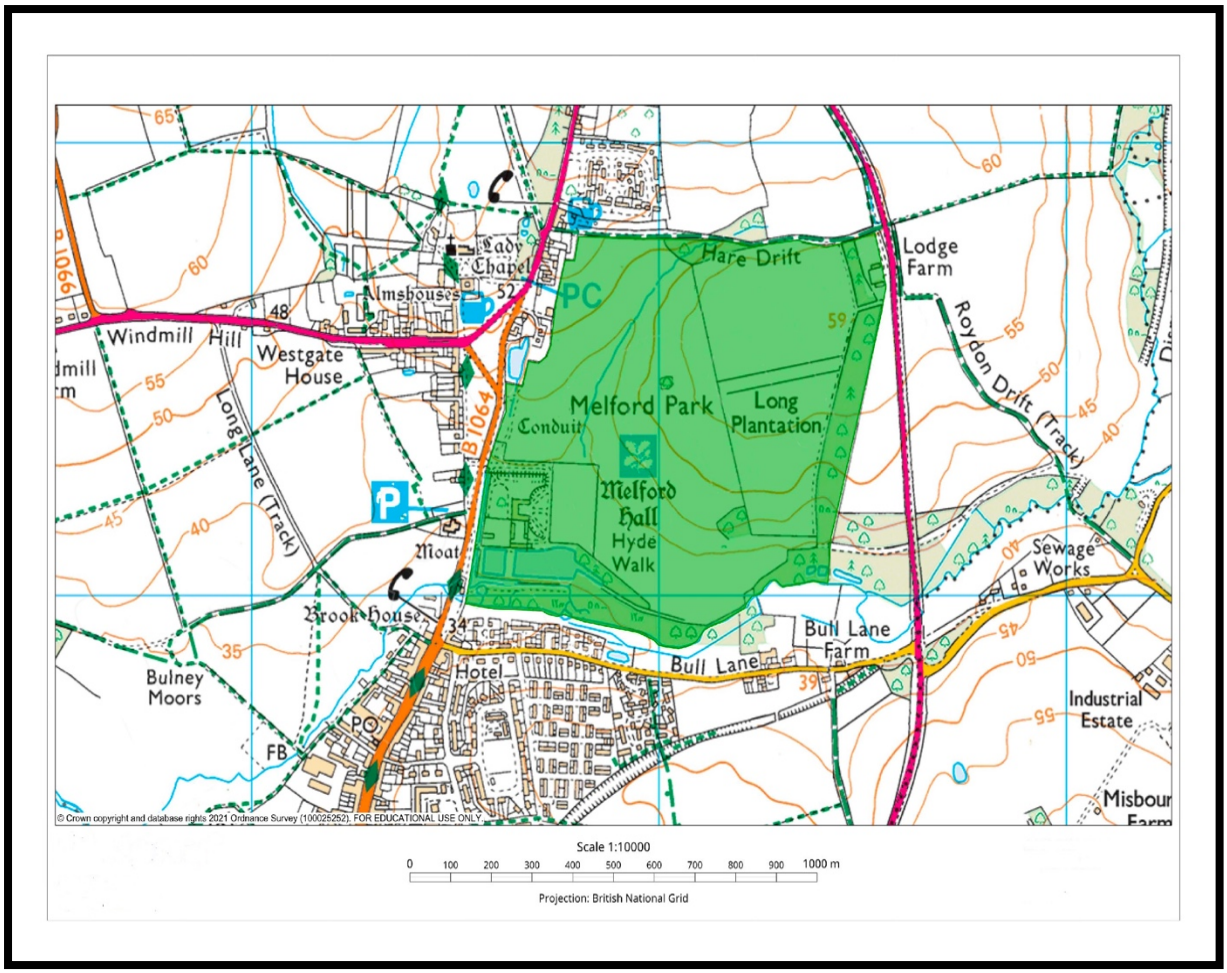


Figure 9.iii.1. Modern OS map (2020) of The Little Park (Melford Park) in Suffolk. The shaded area of the map shows the boundaries of the late Tudor Park (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

Landscape and Geology

Melford Hall and its adjoining Little Park (now known as Melford Park) are located at the northern end of the south Suffolk medieval village of Long Melford. Long Melford is thirteen miles to the south of the Suffolk town of Bury St. Edmunds, eighteen miles north from the Essex town of Colchester and four miles north from the Suffolk town of Sudbury. The village forms part of the gently sloping Middle Stour Valley landscape which is characterized by patches of ancient woodland, ancient rolling valley farmlands and plateau fringes. This distinctive landscape of ancient enclosure has been subject to change in the recent past by the occasional straightening and realignment of organic field patterns to form small and medium sized arable fields. A network of roads and lanes (many of which are sunken) dissect

the valley landscape.[923] The historic parkland of Long Melford and nearby Kentwell Hall also remain 'very significant' features in the area, as do moated houses (Figure 9.iii.1).[924] The geology of the area is that of Lowestoft Formation/sand and gravel (LOFT-XSV), Lewes Nodular Chalk (LCCK-CHLK) and alluvium, clay, silt, sand and gravel (ALV-XCZSV) Figure 9.iii.2).[925] This is overlain by mainly deep, well drained clayey loam soils of the Ludford and Melford series.[926] The landscape of Long Melford and its environs has an ordered aesthetically pleasing appearance. This was commented upon in the Landscape Character Assessment for Suffolk where the undulating landscape of the valley which is framed by ancient woodland was described as having a 'tidy estate countryside feel'.[927]

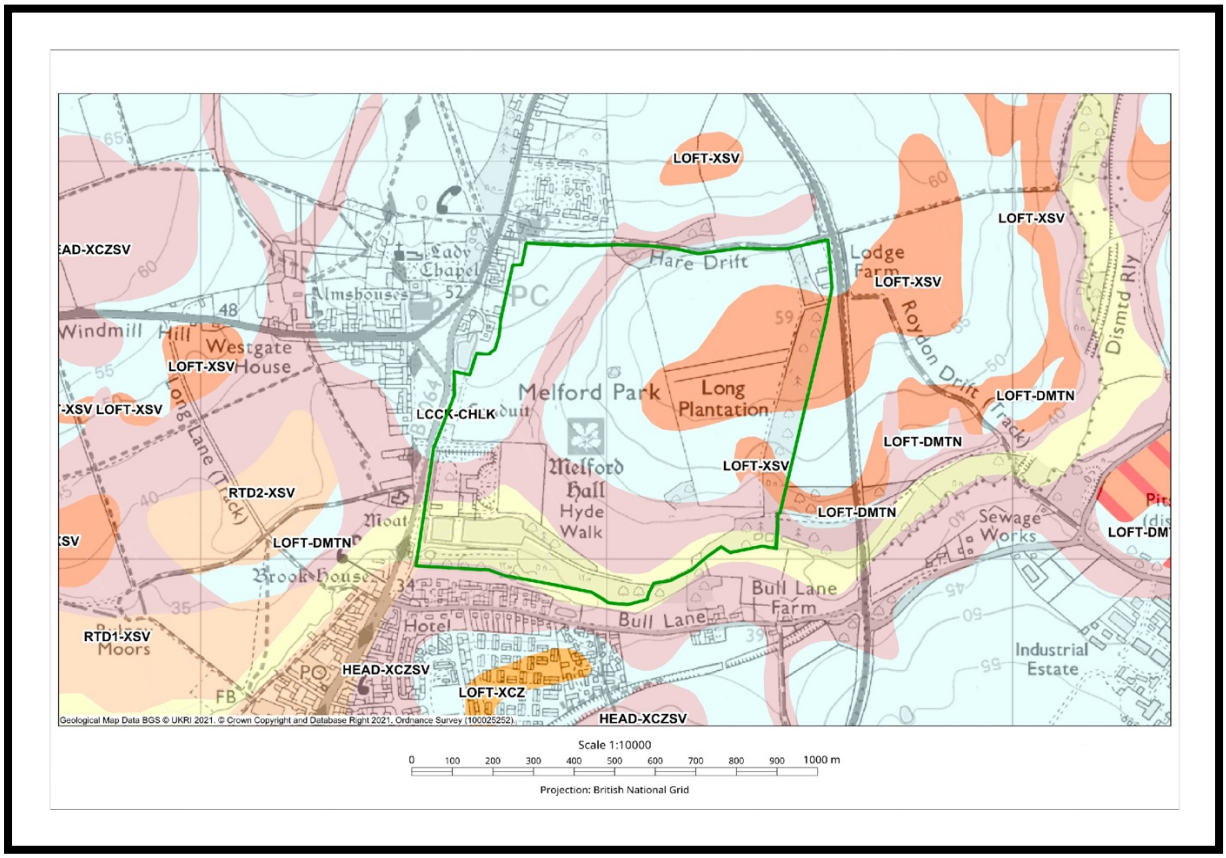


Figure 9.iii.2 Geological map of The Little Park (Melford Park) (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)

[923] *Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment*. *Rolling Estate Farmlands* 2008. Available at https://suffolkladscape.org.uk/landscapes/rolling-estate-farmlands. Accessed 2/5/21; *Joint Babergh and Mid-Suffolk District Council Landscape Guidance* 2015. Available at: https://www.babergh.gov.uk/assets/Strategic-Planning/current0Evidence-Base-Joint-Landscape-Guidance_Aug-2015.pdf. Accessed 2/5/21.

[924] *Joint Babergh and Mid-Suffolk District Council Landscape Guidance* 2015: 53: Fletcher, S. *The Little Park (Melford Park)* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000. Print scale 1:10, 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 3/7/21.

[925] Fletcher, S. *The Little Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1:50 000, Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/7/21.

[926] *Suffolk Landscape Character* Assessment. No page numbers; Fletcher, S. *The Little Park, Soil Texture* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000, Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/7/21.

[927] Ibid.

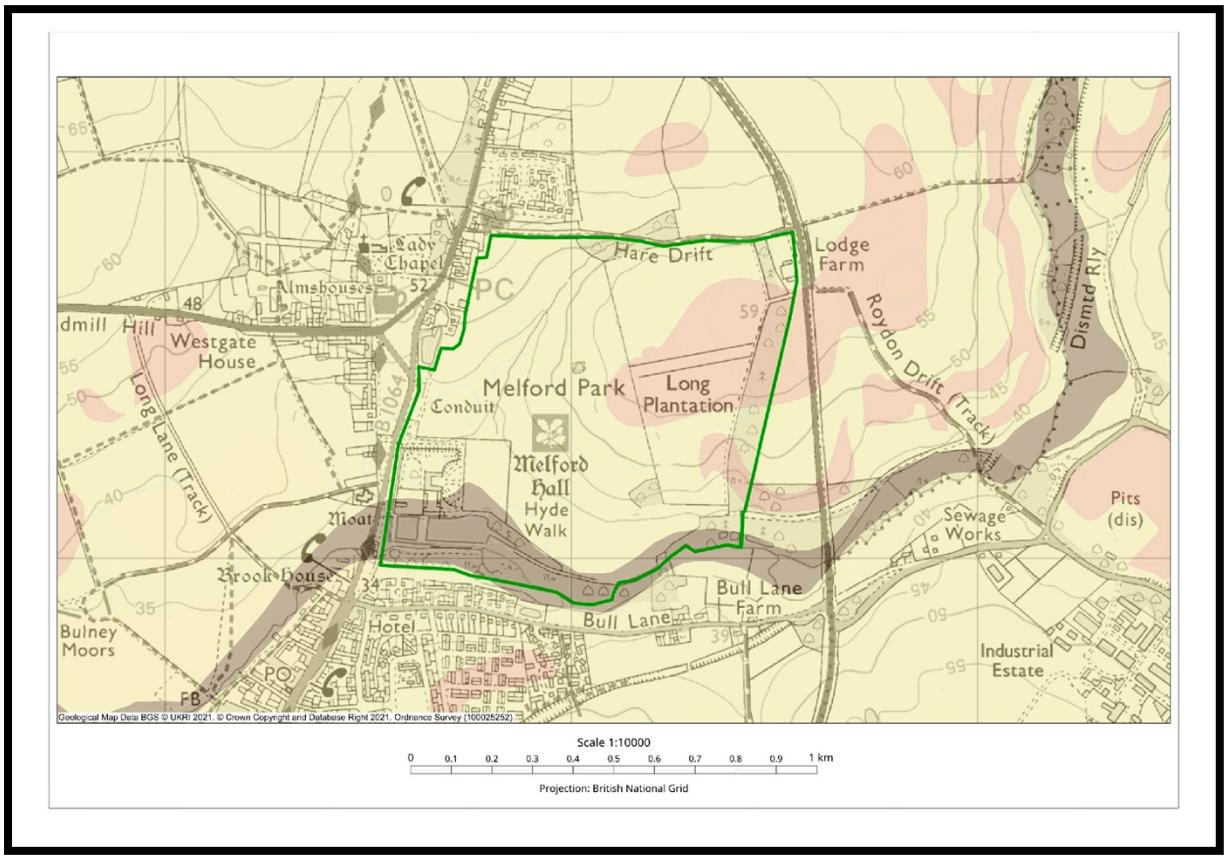
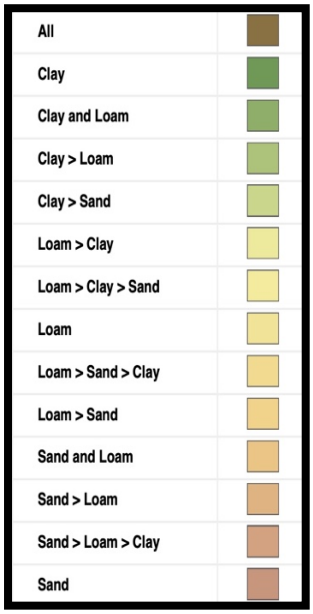


Figure 9.iii.3. Soil texture map for Melford Park (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)



Melford Hall and its park

The Hall and manor of Melford were held by the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk from the reign of Edward Confessor (1005-1066) until the abbey was dissolved on 4th November 1539 during the Reformation, when the manor became the property of the crown.[928] At some point between 1546 and 1547, following the dissolution of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, the manor of Melford was leased by Henry VIII to Sir William Cordell (1522-1581) who was later granted the property outright by Queen Mary in 1554. The Patent of Confirmation for the grant of the demense and manor of Melford dated 26th November 1554 details the extent of Cordell's new property:

> …the park of Long Melford with all rights appurtentant as held by the dissolved Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury. Also the mansion-house called Melford Lodge in Long Melford Park, with all deer in the park with the right of free warren.[929]

Also included in the property was the old house (which was on the site of the present-day Hall) built by the last abbot of Bury St Edmund's Abbey, Abbot John Reeve, along with two closes of land named Parkfield and Horse Pasture and two meadows called Small Meadow and Park Meadow.[930] Cordell came from a well-established family of Suffolk merchants who first found fortune in London. He remained a respected and influential figure during the reign of Elizabeth I when she confirmed him in his position as Master of the Rolls.[931] His continued favour at court was spectacularly demonstrated in 1578 when he hosted and entertained Elizabeth and her retinue at Melford Hall during her progress through East Anglia. The event was recorded by Thomas Churchyard who was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and organizer of masques and other entertainments for Elizabeth's court.[932] Churchyard wrote of Sir William's great hospitality:

> The Master of the Rolles, Sir William Cordell, was the firste that beganne this greate feastings at his house at Melforde and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire.[933]

Following the death of Sir William in 1581 the Park disappears from the documentary record and may have fallen out of use. Much of it was converted into arable land in the 1580s and

[928] Hoppitt 2007: 155 & 157; Parker 1873: 228; Boothman & Hyde-Parker 2006: lxvi.
[929] Copinger, W.A. *1905 The manors of Suffolk volume 1: their history and devolution. London: T. Fisher Unwin.*
[930] Ibid: 134; Whittingham, A.B., 1992 *Bury St. Edmunds Abbey: Suffolk*. London: English Heritage.
[931] Copinger 1905: 133; Baker 2008.
[932] Baker 2008; Dovey, Z. *An Elizabethan Progress: the Queen's journey into East Anglia*, Cranbury, Associated University Presses; Loades, D. 2003 *Elizabeth I*, London, Hambledon and London.
[933] Nichols, J. 1823 *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth. Among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess, volume II*, London, John Nichols and Son.

no mention of it is made in *The Chorography of Suffolk* (1602). The little that remained was enclosed at some point during this period at a considerable distance from the Hall.[934] During the ownership of Sir Thomas Savage (*c*. 1586-1635), the Hall, which was over a century old by then, was renovated and a long gallery was installed which was a mark of a fashionable Elizabethan house.[935] The Park reappears in the records again when it is newly licensed as 'New Park' on May 6th 1613. The *Originalia Rolls* record that Savage was granted license to impark closer to his seat at Melford Hall:

> …certain lands, meadows, pastures and woods containing in total by estimation three hundred and forty acres or thereabouts, now enclosed by pales, ditches and hedges lying in Melford and Acton… in our county of Suffolk… from henceforth in perpetuity, enclosed and gathered in severalty, to make of it a park for game and to keep and maintain wild animals and deer in the same park from time to time…And this without the exercise of ploughing or agriculture called husbandry.[936]

The new park, or Little Park as it came to be called (which was lavishly depicted by Samuel Pierce in his map of 1613) was extended to the east of the house and incorporated parts of the monastic medieval park to form a hunting ground that was much larger than the 158-acre landscape park which can be seen today. The Tithe Award Map for Long Melford (1839) suggests that the Park (now known as Melford Park) had been reduced to its current size by this time. It also shows that it had retained its open parkland appearance with scattered trees at the centre and on the western boundary and a new tree plantation running along the eastern boundary (Figure 9.iii.4).[937] The First Edition Six-Inch to the Mile map (1885) also shows an undivided landscape with more scattered trees that resembles wood-pasture. There is however a new plantation of trees in the south-east corner of the Park called 'Icehouse Plantation' and an enclosed area named 'Hyde Walk' running from the Hall along the moat and top of 'Horse Pond' to the east (Figure 9.iii.5).[938] The post-war landscape of the park remained unchanged in terms of layout and boundaries. The First Edition Ordnance Survey map published in 1979 shows that the park still retained its open character (Figure 9.iii.6).[939]

---

[934] Williamson 2000: 22; Boothman & Hyde Parker 2006: xxxiv & 30; MacCulloch, D.N.J. 1976 *The Chorography of Suffolk*; Suffolk Record Society.
[935] Girouard 1978: 100-101.
[936] Boothman & Hyde Parker 2006: 30-31.
[937] SRO/B T145/1,2.

[938] Fletcher, S. *The Little Park*, First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXXII.N.E. (includes: Acton; Long Melford), surveyed 1885, published 1885, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101578292. Created 2/6/21.
[939] Fletcher, S. *The Little Park,* 1979 OS County Series First Edition map (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1:10 000, Suffolk County, Published 1979, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/6/21.



Figure 9.iii.4. Detail of the Long Melford Tithe Award map of 1839. The Park is labelled number 529 and the Hall, yards and grounds, are numbered 53. Horse and Square Ponds are both numbered 536. (SRO/B T145/1,2)



Figure 9.iii.5. First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXXII. NE (surveyed 1885, published 1885, showing the late nineteenth-century parkland landscape of Melford Park (National Library of Scotland)

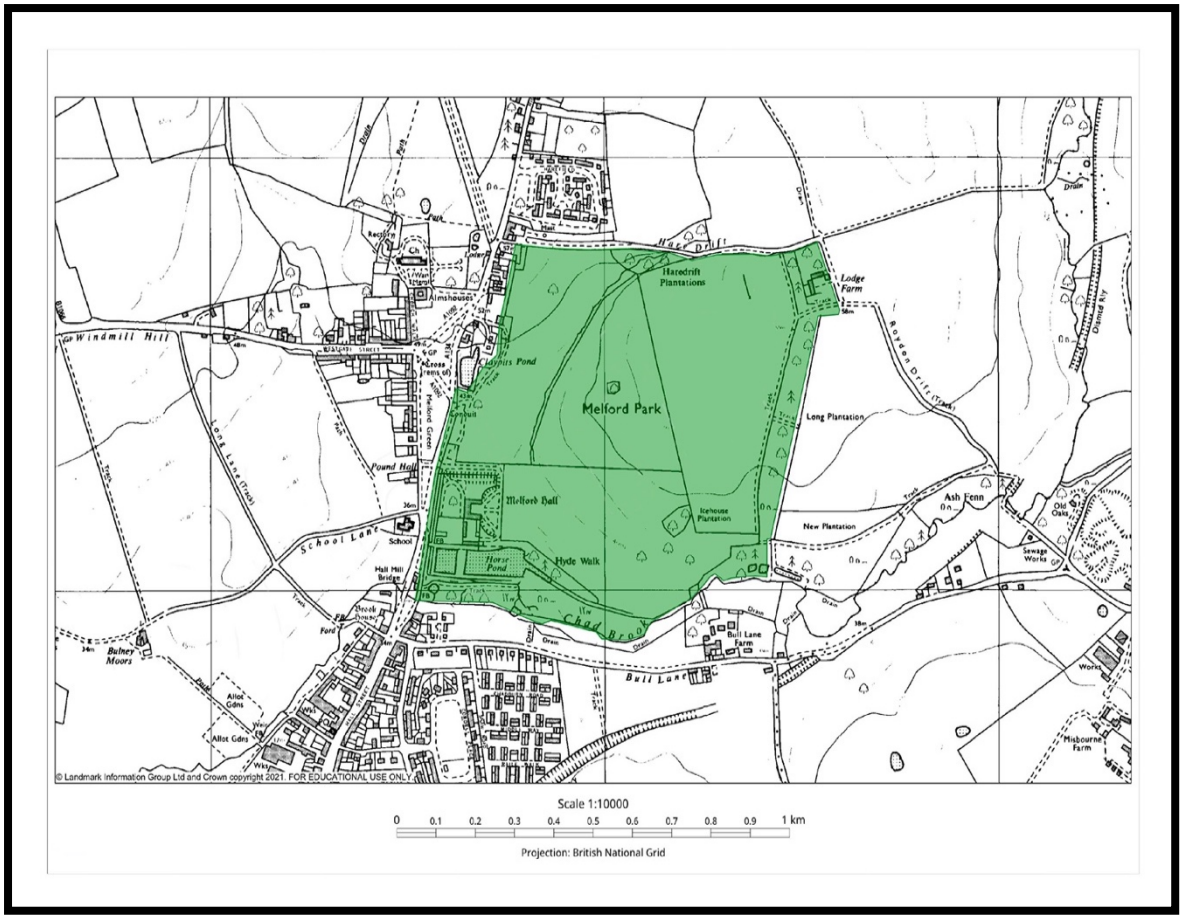


Figure 9.iii.6. OS County Sheet Suffolk First Edition map (1979), scale 1:10 000 showing the open park landscape of Melford Park (EDINA Historic Digimap Service)

The boundaries of the park are clearly defined on one metre DSM images (Figure 9.iii.7).[940] However, what is most striking is that they show that the park was divided into four quarters that are approximately equal in size. These quarters appear to resemble the divided hunting landscape that is depicted on Pierse's map of 1613 (Figure 9.iii.8).[941] Two long parallel lines that run through the centre of the park can also be seen dividing the north-west south-west quarters along the same alignment as the oak lined avenue in the early seventeenth-century map. A seemingly brick-built lodge building that can be seen in the south-east quarter on the map occupies a similar position to that of Lodge Farm does now.

[940] Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Melford Park*. National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DSM 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data. Environment Agency 2019-2020. Using: https:https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=16.33999999999999&lat=52.08452&lon=0.72945&layers=6&b=15. Created 3/7/21.
[941] SRO /B T145/1,2.

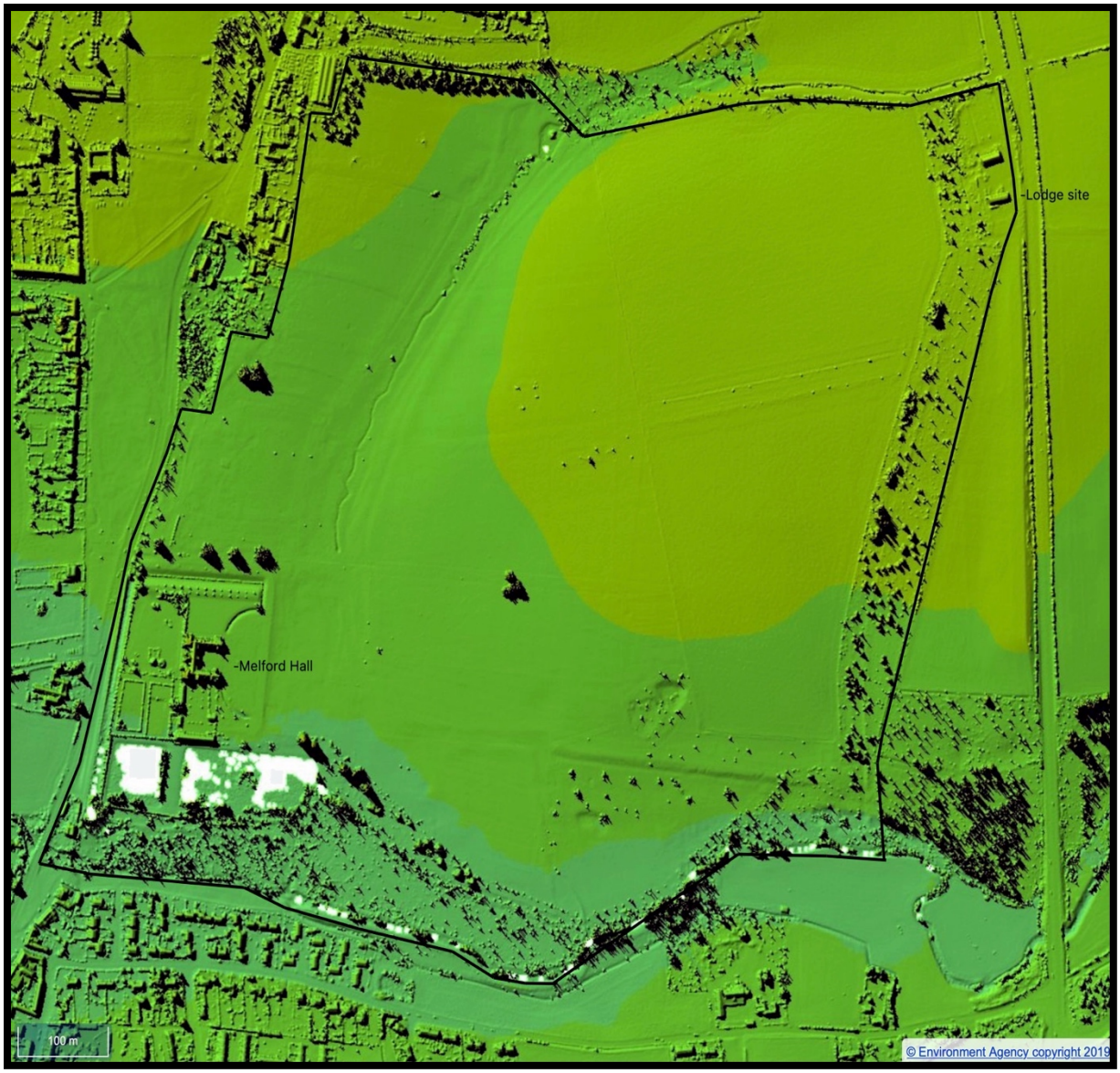


Figure 9.iii.7. One metre LiDAR DSM image showing the park divided into four quarters. An avenue can be seen running through the centre of the park from west to east. Lodge Farm is located to the north-east. (National Library of Scotland)



Figure 9.iii.8. Samuel Pierse's map of Melford Park (1613) (SRO B2130/2)

The western boundary of the current 150-acres site is formed by the B1064 road which runs into the A1092 further north. Village houses (some of medieval date) also abut onto the park on the northwest boundary. Along the northern boundary there is further village housing and farmland. The eastern boundary is enclosed by a tree plantation of mixed broadleaf trees known as 'Long Plantation' that has farmland to its east and the village bypass (A134 or the Bury Road). To the south a stream and section of thin woodland divides the park from the village. The Jacobean park's boundary most probably extended further east abutting onto the village bypass and much further to the north.

Melford Hall now managed by the National Trust, is situated in the south-west corner of the site, and is set in formal gardens. The Hall is a substantial red brick early Tudor mansion with turrets and a long gallery arranged around three sides and open to the east. The west front of the Hall is composed of three-storey blocks capped with domed towers and a three-storey central block flanked by smaller domed towers. It was one of a number of similar sized and constructed sixteenth-century mansions such as Kentwell Hall built by the Clopton family and Smallbridge Hall on the Suffolk/Essex border which was also built in the mid sixteenth century by Sir William Waldegrave.[942] At the northwest corner of the Melford Hall's west garden is a red brick octagonal banqueting house (constructed from the same brick as the Hall) believed to be of the same date as the house.[943] The low-lying Hall looks up over the undulating parkland, which is under pasture and grazed by sheep, as it rises to the east before levelling off further to the east and falls away to the west before a more gradual rising back up to the western boundary. Through the centre of the park there is a shallow valley with a drainage stream running roughly south to north.

Three oak avenues were planted in the Park in the 1990s. One extends from the main driveway to the east, the second runs across the park from east to west (along the same line as the avenue depicted on Pierse's map) and the third runs from the north of the Park to the Hall in the south.[944] There is a scattering of young mixed broadleaf trees throughout the park particularly in the northwest corner and some ancient pollarded oaks which may have formed

[942] Brooks, White & Nicholls 2010: 5
[943] NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1000228, Historic Site Information for Melford Hall. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000228. Accessed 1/8/18.
[944] Ibid

part of the woodland landscape of the former medieval or Tudor/Jacobean park in an area of woodland in the southeast corner of the site A report by the National Trust Biological Team suggests that this area of woodland is of some antiquity due to the presence of characteristic dead wood fauna and old forest lichen species (Figure 9.iii.9).[945]



Figure 9.iii.9. Ancient oak pollards located in the southern section of Melford Park (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

In the plantation area to the east of the site there are traces of bank and ditch boundaries of the medieval deer park.[946] But evidence of these may survive in the inaccessible areas of farmland that surround the current park. Hoppitt's research suggests that there may not have been any extensive earthwork boundaries in the parks of Suffolk. She highlights that former park boundaries occasionally have ditches, but these cannot be distinguished from the field ditches that are found across the clay lands of the county. Manorial records do not mention banks, and ditches are only occasionally mentioned but never in relation to external boundaries. For example, the park at Framlingham does have extant intermittent sections of

[945] Hoppitt 1992: 31-32.
[946] NHLE, Listed Building, List Entry Number 1033702, Historic Site Information for Melford Hall. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1033702. Accessed 1/8/18.

embanked boundaries but they cannot be described as significant earthworks as they rarely rise to more than one metre in height. Hoppitt suggests that if banks and ditches had been widely utilized in Suffolk all traces would have been subsequently removed by agricultural activity. She has highlighted that the boundaries that enclose Suffolk parks during this period are consistently referred to in the documentary record as hedges, pales or fences.[947]

[947] Hoppitt 1992: 281-282.

Phenomenological study of the landscape of the Little Park at Melford Hall and Samuel Pierse's map of 1613

The phenomenological study of Melford Park took place during an early afternoon in mid-July 2018. The weather conditions were dry, still, and hot (remaining at approximately thirty degrees celsius throughout the afternoon) with patches of cloud. Visibility was generally good but was affected when cloud passed overhead, which threw long shadows across the landscape at times. Conditions under foot were also very good with and very dry. The free draining loamy soils and long lush grassland enabling effortless progress throughout the site. The Park was easily accessed from the National Trust car park nearby and began at the recently planted oak avenue which runs east to west across the park (Figure 9.iii.10).[948] The field study was conducted alongside a phenomenological study of a Pierse's detailed map of the park (Figure 9.ii.11).[949]

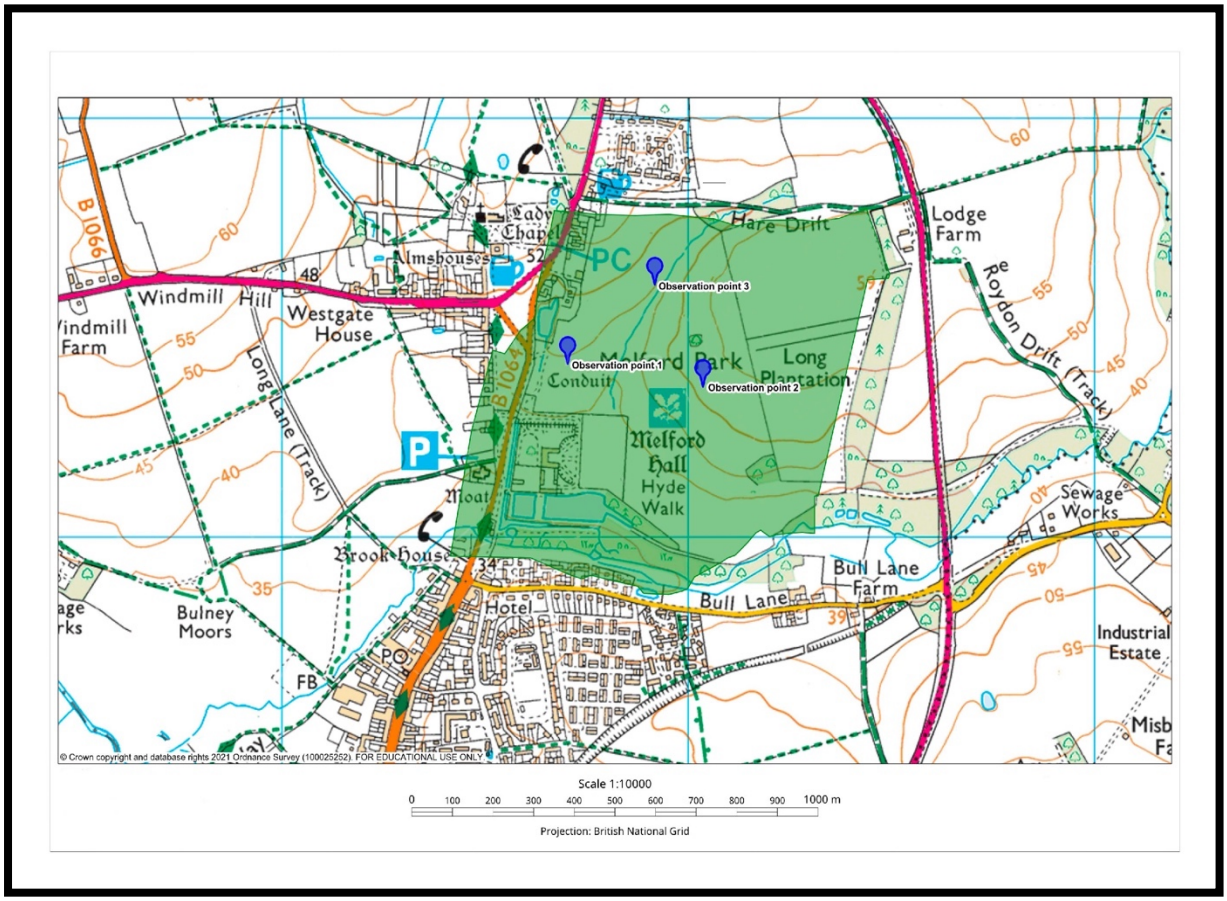


Figure 9.iii.10. Observation points for the phenomenological field study of the Little Park (Melford Park) (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

[948] Fletcher, S. Melford Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geosoatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using Edina Digimap Ordnance Survey Service. https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 5/7/21.
[949] SRO/B T145/1,2.

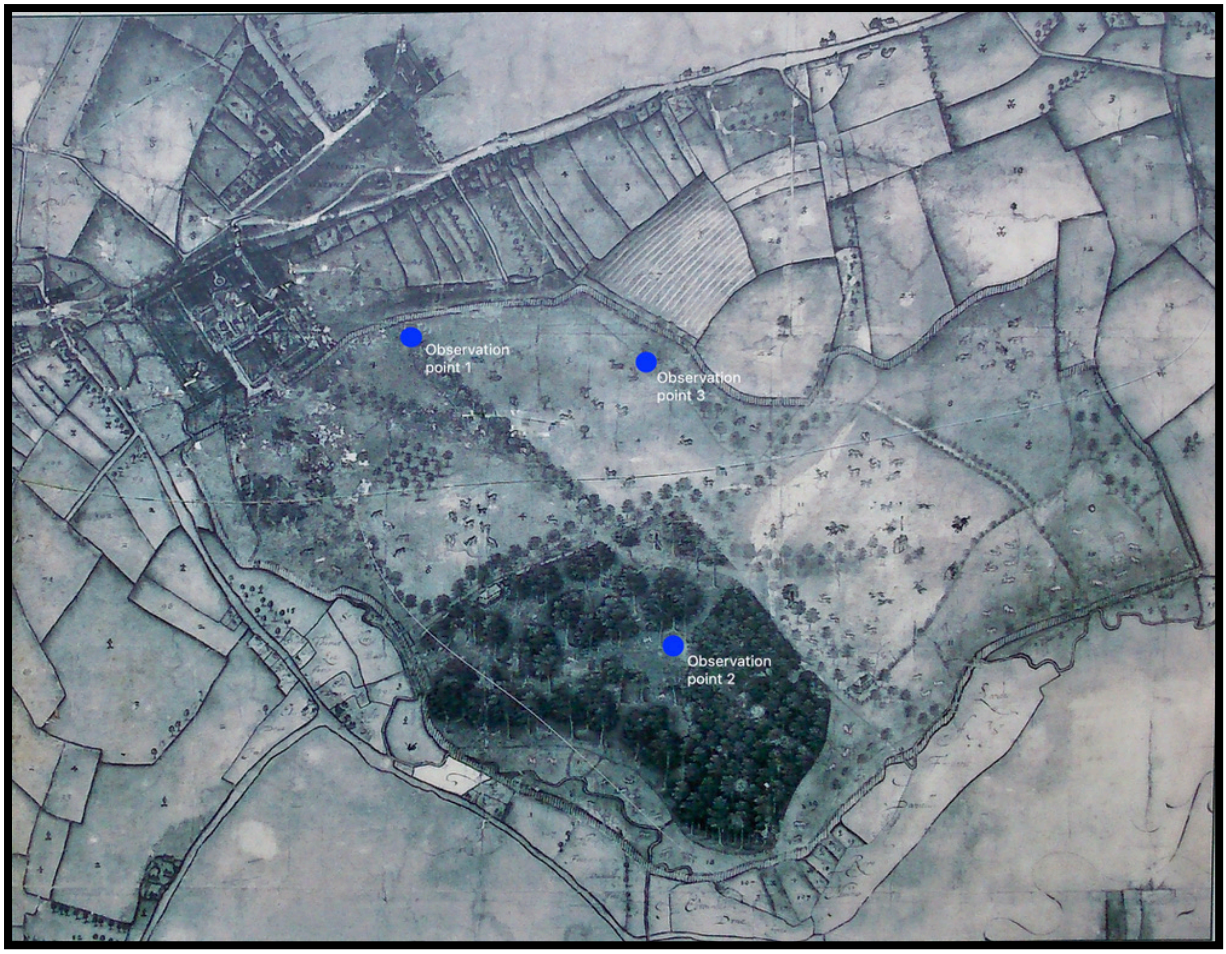


Figure 9.iii.11. Observation points for the phenomenological study of Samuel Pierse's map of the Little Park at Long Melford (1613) (SRO B2130/2)

The Landscape. Observation Point 1. The Entrance to the Avenue

NGR: TL 867464



Figure 9.iii.12. Observation point 1 at the start of the avenue (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

On entering the park and heading to the west, through the oak avenue, the initial observations and impressions of the landscape are that it is composed of wood pasture (Figure 9.iii.12).[950] It is not unlike the description and depictions of early modern parkland from the various contemporary sources; and that it is a rather compact space where views are limited or obstructed by the undulating landscape which is dotted with trees. It is a gentle flat, shaded walk between the recently planted oak avenue (Figure 9.iii.13). The temperature has reduced slightly and the noises of cars and people coming from the car park are slowly diminishing. Looking to the east, the landscape is gradually rising to the tree-lined horizon which limits any extensive views. Turning and looking to the south, a large section of Melford Hall's north facade can clearly be seen through the trees, approximately five to six hundred metres away. Looking to the north and west, most of the Park can be seen from this point

[950] Fletcher, S. Melford Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geosoatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using Edina Digimap Ordnance Survey Service. https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 5/7/21.

and the roof tops of nearby houses can also be seen over the boundary wall, but there are restricted views of some areas as oak trees in the parkland are in full leaf (Figure 9.iii.12). The trees provide shade from the sun making it feel cool and enclosed and it is very quiet (except for the sound of birdsong and sheep), with no other people in the park. Walking further east in a relatively straight line, a tree lined drainage ditch is crossed which is approximately thirty metres from the first viewpoint. This is a flat easy walk at first, but the landscape begins to gradually incline which slows progression.



Figure 9.iii.13. The newly planted oak avenue, which frames the view to the east (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Progressing eastwards to a slightly more elevated position, the undulating topography to the north is open and light with woodland areas visible on the horizon. Looking west the carpark is still slightly visible but the Hall is obscured by the avenue which continues to cast a shadow across the ground. Walking on, the landscape continues to incline gradually eastwards as the avenue comes to an end and an area of light open, sloping ground comes into view (Figure 9.iii.14).



Figure 9.iii.14. Looking east after emerging from the oak avenue into open ground (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Whilst continuing to progress eastwards and upwards, there is an excellent view of the entire park. The Hall is fully visible to the south and the tower of Holy Trinity church can be seen on the western horizon above the trees on the park boundary as well as a number of village houses which overlook the park (Figure 9.iii.15). The pathway continues to gently climb eastwards in an open and light area.



Figure 9.iii.15. Looking to the south and west from the brow of the incline to the east, with Melford Hall and village (Photograph Stephen Fletcher

The Hall is still clearly visible in its entirety, but the church and houses have disappeared from view. A large section of the park to the west is now obscured by clumps of trees. The pathway climbs more in open ground to the west and levels off onto a plateau at the

highest point of the park. It is an easy walk as the landscape levels off but in this exposed area, the temperature appears to have risen, despite a very light breeze. The only sound that can be heard is the distance is the low hum of farm machinery (Figure 9.iii.16).



Figure 9.iii.16. Approaching the highest area of the park. (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

The map. Observation Point 1: The Entrance to the Avenue

Approximate NGR: TL 867464

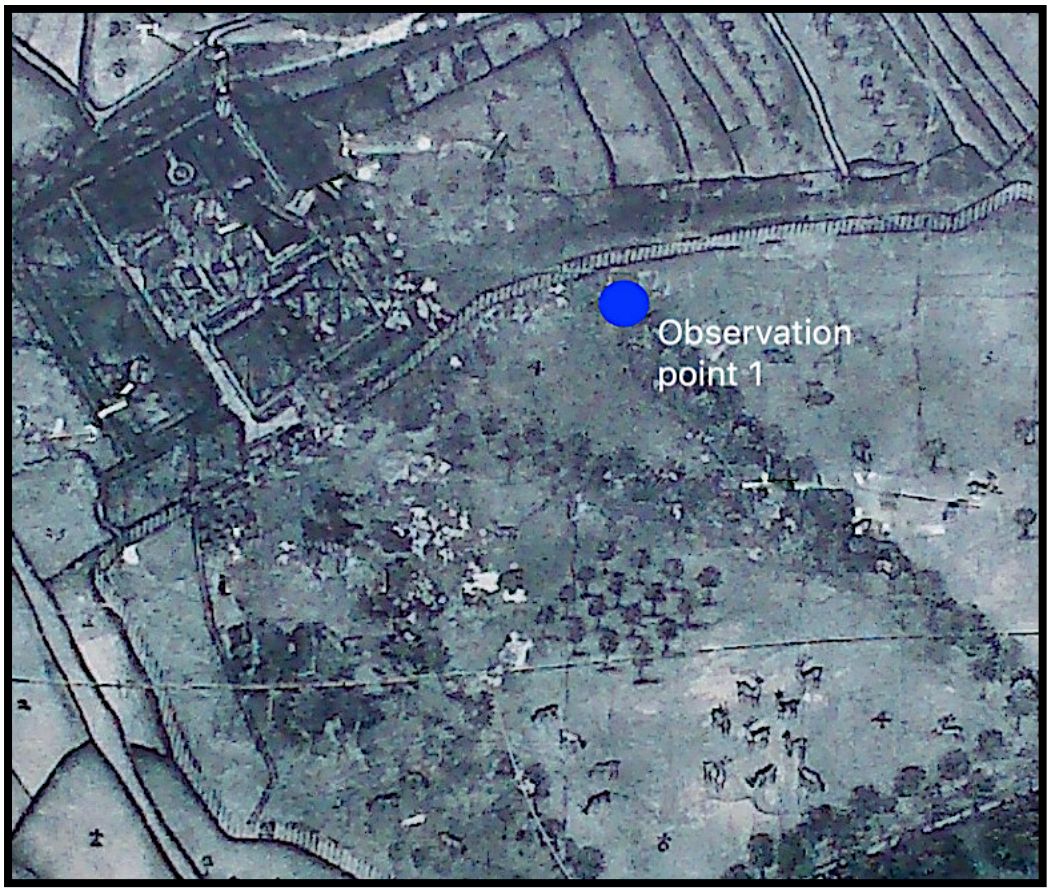


Figure 9.iii.17. Observation point 1 at the entrance to the oak avenue (SRO B2130/2)

The first observation point (Figure 9.iii.17) is located at the beginning of a long avenue which is lined with tall mature oak trees, which are in full leaf. The avenue frames the view of the park to the east, until the view is blocked by trees which form the boundary of a woodland quarter which can be seen in the far distance. Turning to the west, the high wooden park pale, which forms the western park boundary can be seen close by. Looking to the south the park pale continues to stretch into the distance. Further to the south across an area of open verdant laund, there is a gap in the fence which forms the entrance to the Hall. Above the fence to the south and west, the roof and chimneys of the north façade of the Hall and nearby houses can clearly be seen. Noises heard here come from the nearby road which runs along the western boundary, and from everyday activities taking place at the Hall and nearby houses, birdsong and from wind blowing through the tree canopies. More extensive views of the south of the park are blocked by another tree-lined avenue which appears to begin at the

entrance to the Hall. Looking to the north from this point, sections of the northern boundary can be seen across another open section of laund which is occupied by several grazing deer.

The Landscape. Observation Point 2 The South-West Quarter

NGR: TL 870463

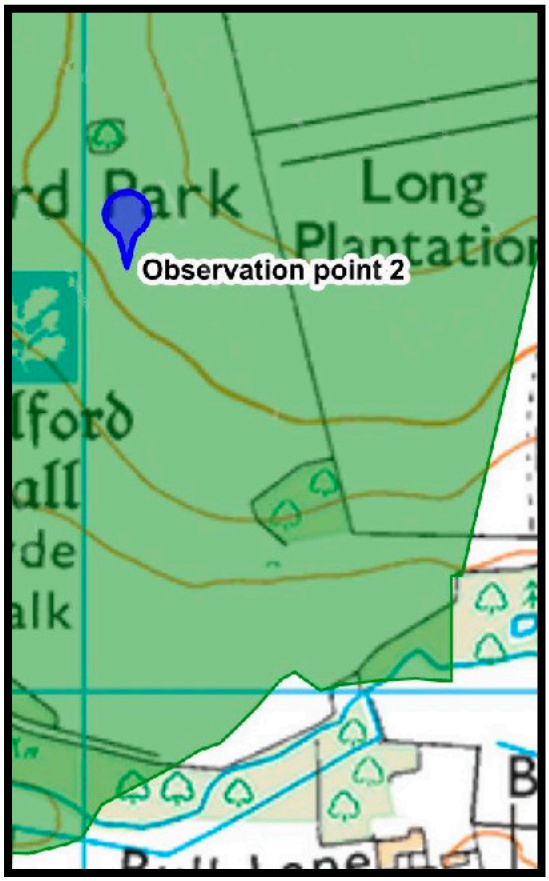


Figure 9.iii.18. Observation point 2 in the south-west quarter of the park (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

Stopping and looking south the low-lying Hall is still visible in the distance but the western section of the Park is almost entirely obscured by the topography and by the clumps of trees dotted around the area (Figure 9.iii.18 & Figure 9.iii.19).[951]

[951] Fletcher, S. Melford Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geosoatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using Edina Digimap Ordnance Survey Service. https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 5/7/21.



Figure 9.iii.19. The view from the high plateau in the east with Melford Hall visible in the distance to the south (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

At this point the terrain is completely flat. Looking further eastwards, a landscape consisting of farmland (which stretches into the distance) with areas of woodland is fenced off preventing any further movement eastwards. There is a more expansive view to the north across open parkland along the top of the plateau which appears to go on for some distance in that direction until blocks of trees, which line the horizon, prevent more extensive views (Figure 9.iii.20).



Figure 9.iii.20. Looking eastwards and northwards along the plauteau. The boundary fence between the park and farmland can be seen in the mid distance (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

This observation point also provides a good open view of large sections of the park to the west with Holy Trinity church and village houses once again clearly visible above the tree- tops Figure (9.iii.21). The Hall however has completely disappeared from view from this elevated position.



Figure 9.iii.21 Looking west, Holy Trinity church and village houses can be seen above the trees which run along the park boundary (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Walking on further northwards across the plateau gradually narrows and begins to decline towards the shallow valley to the west. Large areas of the western area of the park, across the valley, becomes more visible together with the church and village houses. Looking south the long flat plateau stretches into the distance. The landscape then gradually descends further towards the floor of the shallow valley (Figure 9.iii.22).



Figure 9.iii.22. Approaching the valley to the west (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

The low-lying position and vegetation in the valley prevent any clear view of the park. The buildings which could be seen while traversing along the plateau are now completely hidden, as is the Hall. There is a feeling of quiet isolation here as the temperature and levels of light have slightly dropped. Crossing a small bridge at the bottom of the valley, over the ditch

which runs through the park and turning south-west, the landscape gradually inclines as it goes along in an open field with clumps of trees and vegetation enclosing it in some areas (Figure 9.iii.23).



Figure 9.iii.23. View along the floor of the shallow valley, before crossing the bridge which spans the ditch (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

Looking to the north the tree-lined boundary of the park can be seen along with clumps of vegetation. Progressing on to the southwest the tops of village houses can be seen again but the Hall remains out of sight and most of the park is obscured in this low-lying position. Moving further southwest the open parkland terrain continues its gradual incline (Figure 9.iii.24).



Figure 9.iii.24. View to the south-west with the village houses once again coming into view. (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

The Map. Observation Point 2. The South-West Quarter

Approximate NGR: TL 870463

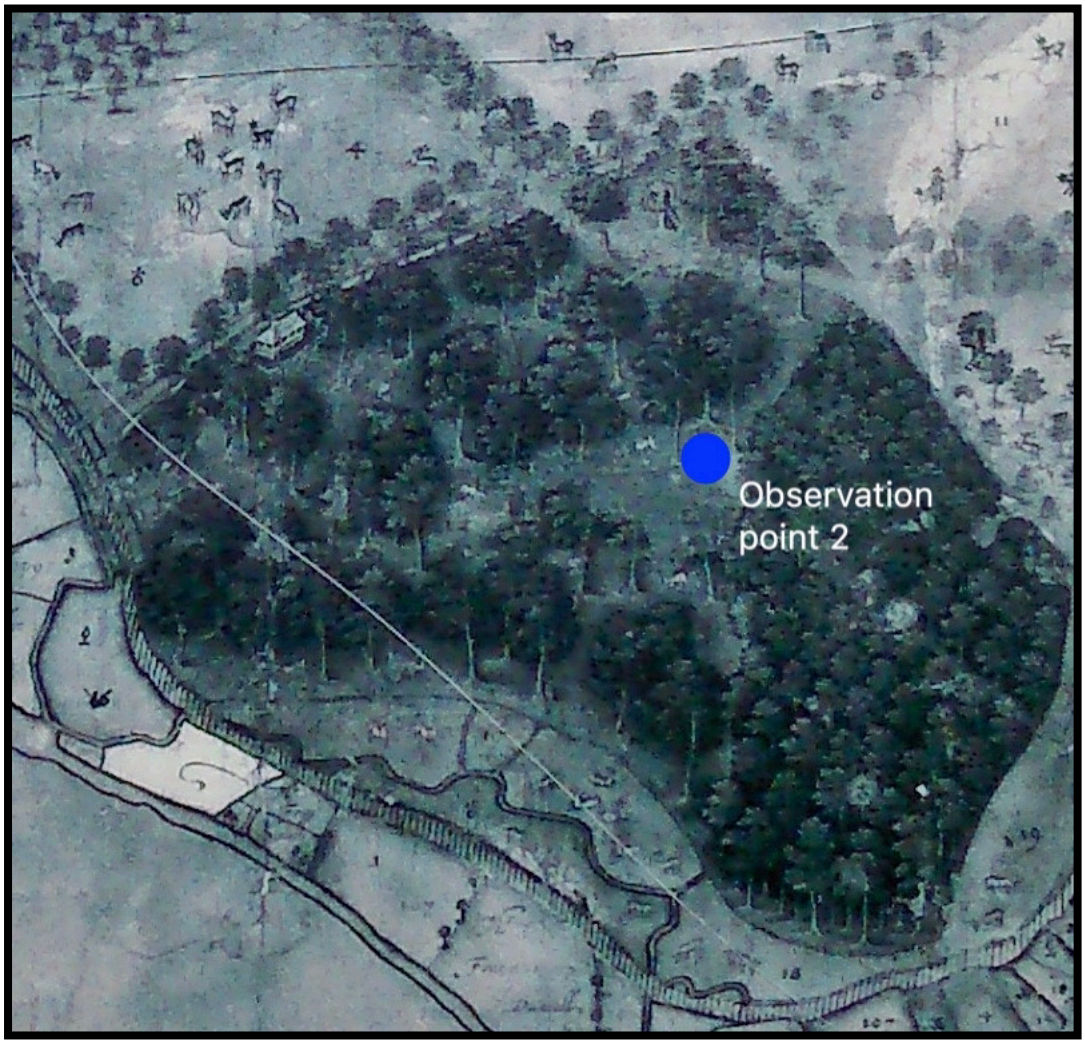


Figure 9.iii.25. Observation point 2 in the heavily wooded quarter (SRO B2130/2)

The second observation point is located in a clearing in the midst of a heavily wooded south-west quarter in the eastern part of the park (Figure 9.iii.25).[952] This is a secluded, perhaps oppressive area where tall oak trees enclose and tower above the clearing. It is very quiet here with any sound coming from the rest of the park being largely muffled by the dense woodland. There is only one clear view of the park from along a ride which leads out to a green open area of laund in the northern part of the park. However, sections of the park may be visible and sounds more discernible if this area has been pollarded or coppiced. A man

[952] SRO B2130/2.

can be seen leading a dog approaching the wooded area, who is perhaps a park keeper or someone that is involved in a hunt.

The Landscape. Observation Point 3. The North-West Quarter

NGR: TL 869466

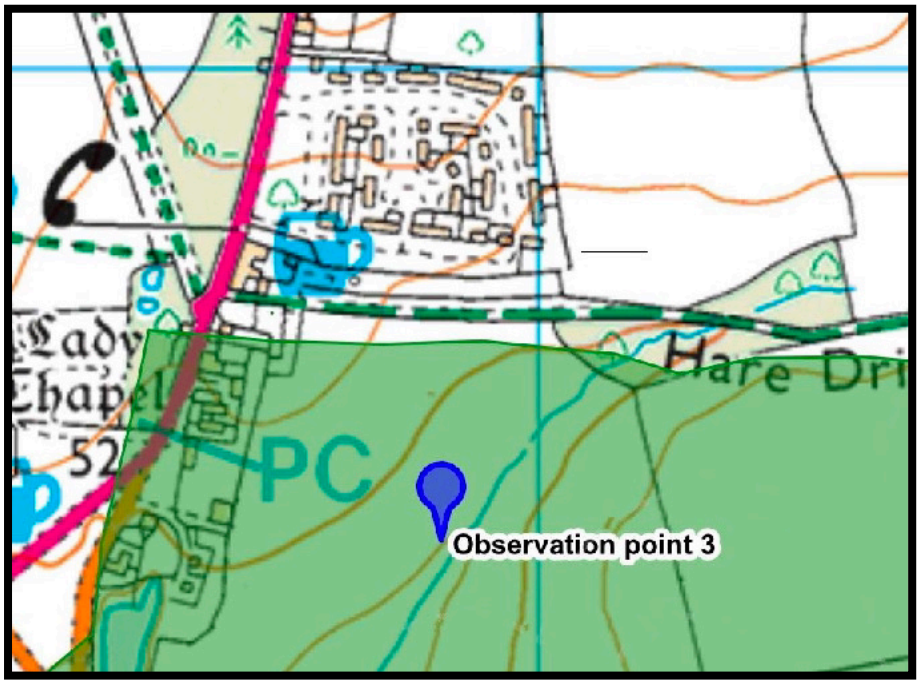


Figure 9.iii.26. Observation point 3, in the north-west quarter of the park (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

From here the entirety of the park begins to be revealed (Figure 9.iii.26).[953] To the east the high ground can once again be seen and to the south and west the church and housing come into view. The oak avenue once again restricts the view of some areas of the southern section of the park. There is however a restricted view of the Hall which can be seen through gaps in the oak avenue (Figure 9.iii.27). From this open area the majority of the northern and eastern sections of the Park are clearly visible and the houses on the western boundary are closer. Moving further to the south in open flat ground the surrounding park remains in full view except for large parts of the southern area which is still shrouded by trees. The car park is now fully visible to the west and larger sections of the Hall are revealed through gaps in the

[953] Fletcher, S. Melford Park Observation Points (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geosoatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey G.B. Using Edina Digimap Ordnance Survey Service. https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 5/7/21.

avenue. Walking towards the western boundary of the park is undemanding in a flat and open landscape. The Hall is now being gradually revealed through the avenue. The banqueting house is also clearly visible to the southwest, as is the car park. The new avenue planting obscures the southern area of the park near to the house. This is a very easy flat walk where a large amount of the park to the north can also be seen. Large areas of the village of Long Melford can also be seen as well as the village green across the main road which runs along the western boundary of the park. Levels of noise have also increased on approaching the western boundary and the car park (Figure 9.iii.28). Coming full circle and approaching the entrance of the park and the first observation point, the north façade of Melford Hall once again comes into view.



Figure 9.iii.27. Looking south across the park, Melford Hall can just be seen through a gap in the oak avenue to the left of the car park (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)



Figure 9.iii.28. Approaching the western boundary and the entrance to the park. The Hall and banqueting house can just be seen through the avenue (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

The Map. Observation Point 3. The North-West Quarter

Approximate NGR: TL 869466

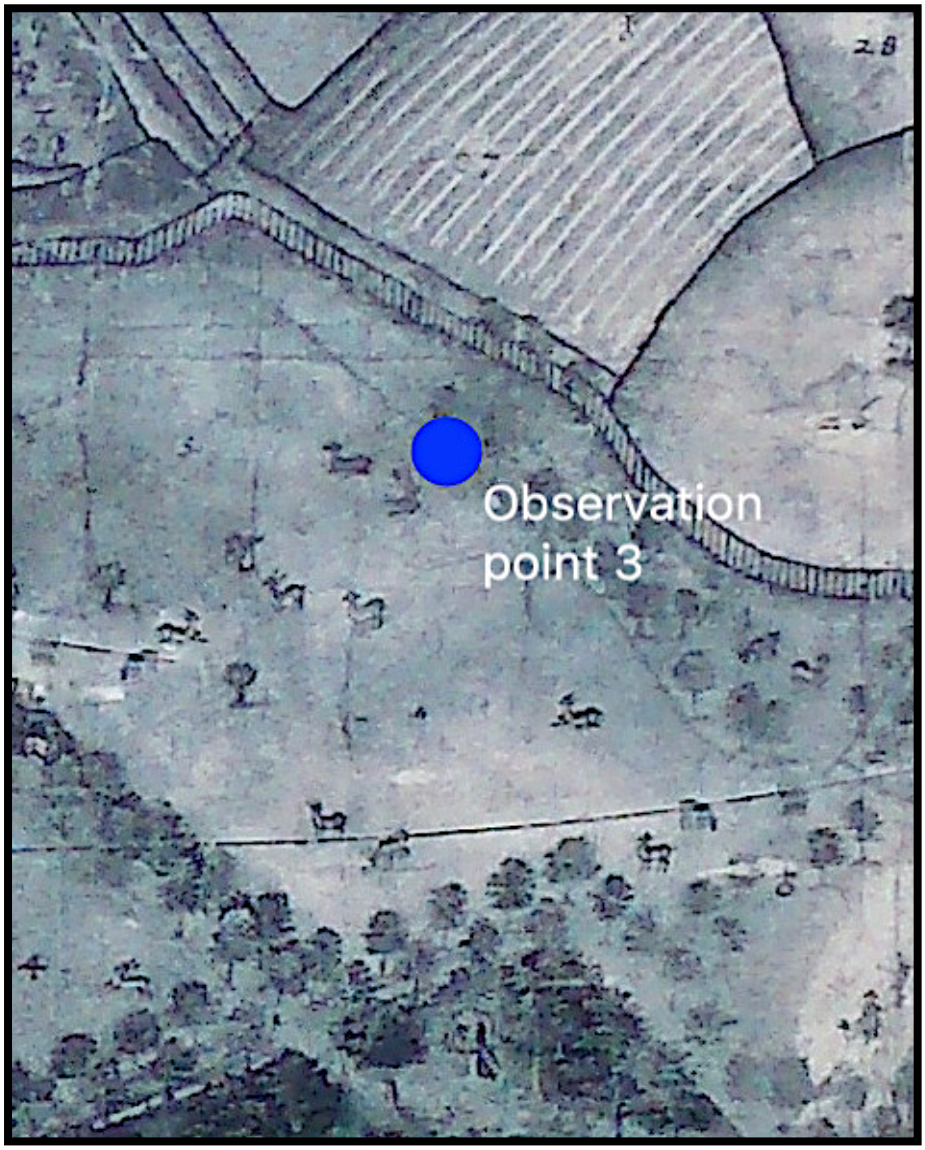


Figure 9.iii.29. Observation point 3, in the open north-western corner of the park (SRO B2130/2)

The final observation point is situated in a north-western quarter of the park (Figure 9.iii.29).[954] It is a green area of open laund with trees dotted around its centre. The Park pale which bounds the quarter to the north and the west prevents more expansive distant views beyond the park. To the south the avenue which frames the view from observation point 1 blocks views of the entire southern half of the park. A section of the north-eastern boundary is also lined by what appears to be an avenue. Looking directly east a band of trees forms a boundary of this part of the laund. Deer can be seen grazing in every part of the quarter with

[954] SRO B2130/2

some very close by. This appears to be a compartmented area of the park deliberately set aside to keep deer. It is far from the house but still close to the road on the western boundary therefore the sound is likely to have come from the direction of the road only and also from the deer in the vicinity.

The experience of walking the landscape of Little Park could not have been more different than that encountered at Lopham and Hundon. It retains much of its original character consisting of open parkland, pollards and clumps of trees (though not as dense as once they were). In particular, the landscape is clearly identifiable as parkland. The aesthetics of the park instil different sensory experiences. In contrast to Lopham and Hundon, being isolated in the Little Park does not evoke negative feelings of being alone in a large, empty, and unattractive landscape. Rather, the surroundings of Little Park are calming and sensorily pleasing. The details in Pierse's map help to reinforce this. When we gaze upon a map we bring our own knowledge and experience of the world with us. We know for instance what wind blowing through the trees sounds like and we know that buildings are full of life and can imagine the sights and activities that take place within their walls.

9.iv. A phenomenological Study of the Tudor Hunting Landscape of Wormingford (Smallbridge) Park in Essex

NGR: TL 928323

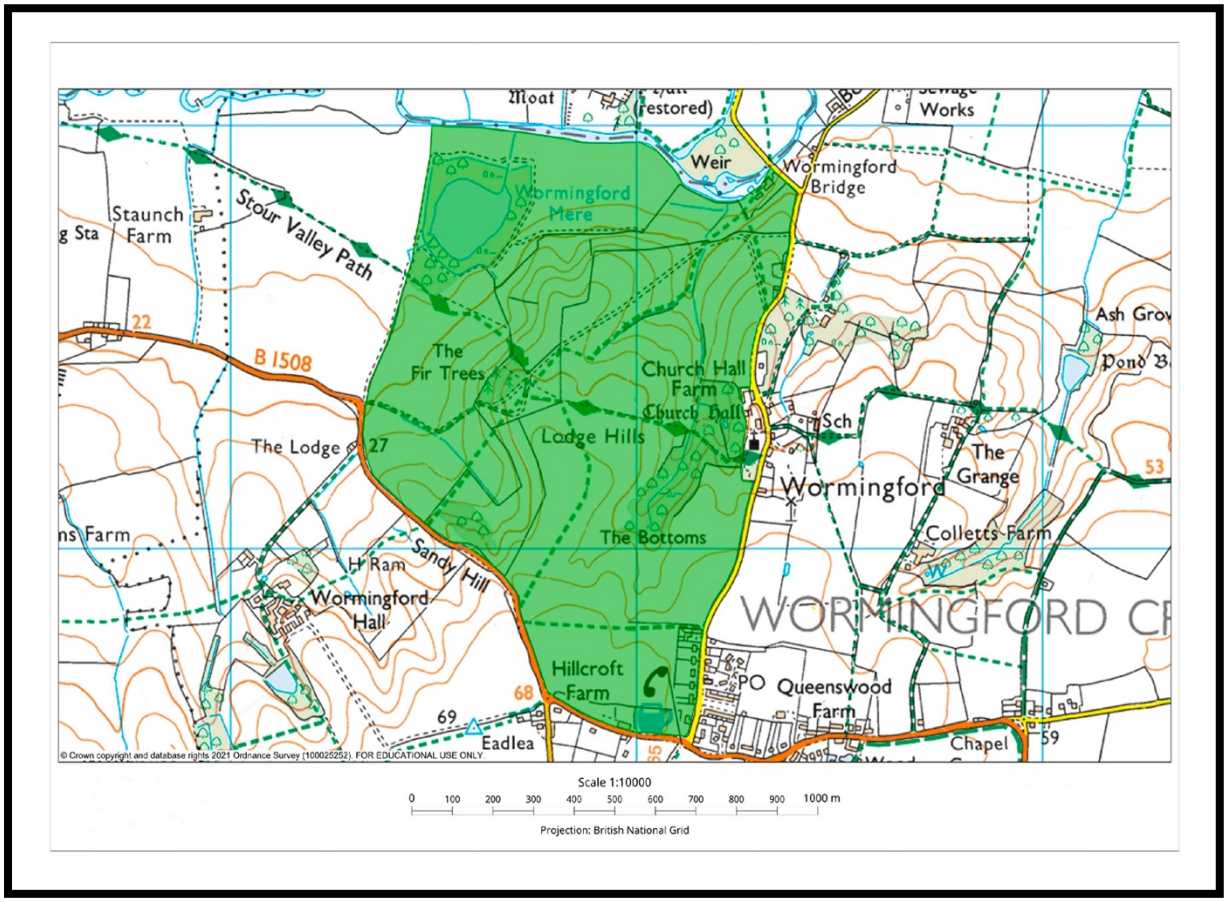


Figure 9.iv.1. Modern OS map (2020) of Wormingford Park in Essex. The shaded area of the map show the approximate boundaries and extent of the Tudor park. (EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service)

Landscape and Geology

The parish of Wormingford in Essex lies on the south bank of the river Stour, six miles north-west of the town of Colchester in Essex, and eight miles south-east of the Suffolk town of Sudbury. The open river valley floor of the Stour forms the northern boundary of the parish with the eastern, southern, and western ones mainly following field boundaries. Immediately adjacent to the river there are enclosed fields of meadow pasture and drainage ditches, and the twelve-acre Wormingford Mere which is a natural feature that is fed by the Stour. Most of the parish however lies on relatively high ground to the south where it gradually rises to a height of more than 70 metres to the south-west, to a form an undulating plateau where Wormingford Park and its lodge were situated near to the village of the same name (Figure

9.iv.1, 9.iv.2).[955] The gently rounded sloping valley sides to the south are intersected by several minor roads and public footpaths, and are populated by clusters of houses, small farmsteads and halls (with some associated areas of parkland) surrounded by a patchwork of small to medium size irregular arable and pasture fields (bounded by elm hedges and veteran oak pollards) and by blocks of mostly ancient deciduous woodland.[956]

A strip of alluvium and River Terrace Deposits (R2D2-XSV) runs along the valley floor beside the Stour. As the ground rises to the south, there are bands of London clay (LC-XCZS), silt, sands, and gravels (KGCA-XSV) and chalky till (LOFT-DMTN) which drains northwards (Figure 9.iv.3).[957] This is overlain by a strip of loam clay and sandy loam soils (Figure 9.iv.4).[958] Overall, the elements that make up this landscape provide wide panoramic views of the river Stour and the hinterland of both Essex and Suffolk, both from the slopes of the valley and the plateau which surmounts it. The landscape also instils feelings of isolation and intimacy. These observations are broadly reflected in the Landscape Character Assessment.[959]

[955] Cooper, J. (ed.) 2001 *A History of the County of Essex: volume 10 Lexden Hundred (Part) Including Dedham, Earl's Colne and Wivenhoe, London, British History Online*. Available at: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol10/pp295-299. Accessed 2/10/20; Bennett, A. 2011 *The Historic Landscape Characterisation Project for Essex, Volume 3*: HLC project results: District Characterisation, Essex County Council in association with English Heritage. Available at: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t-1636-1/dissemination/pdf/HLC_report_final_vol3_part6.pdf. Accessed2/10/20; *Colchester Borough Historic Environment Characterisation Project*, 2009, Essex County Council. Available at: https://cbccrmdata.blob.core.windows.net/noteattachment/Colchester%20Historic%20Characterisation%Report%202009.pdf. Accessed 2/10/20; Fletcher, S. *Wormingford Park* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000. Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, GB, Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. created 2/7/21.

[956] *Colchester Borough Landscape Character Assessment 2005*, Chris Blandford Associates. Available at: http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created July 2021. https://cbccrmdata.blob.core.windows.net/noteattachment/CBC&20Landscape&Character%20Assessment%202005.pdf. Accessed 2/10/20.

[957] Cooper 2001. No page numbers; Fletcher, S. *Wormingford Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000. Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS) UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 2/7/21.

[958] Fletcher, S. Wormingford Park, Soil Texture (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000, Print Scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS) UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/6/21.

[959] *Colchester Borough Landscape Character Assessment* 2005: 55.



Figure 9.iv.2. Looking north across the plateau of Wormingford Park. The site of the lodge complex can be seen to the left of the picture (site is near the gates mounds of soil) (Photograph. Stephen Fletcher)

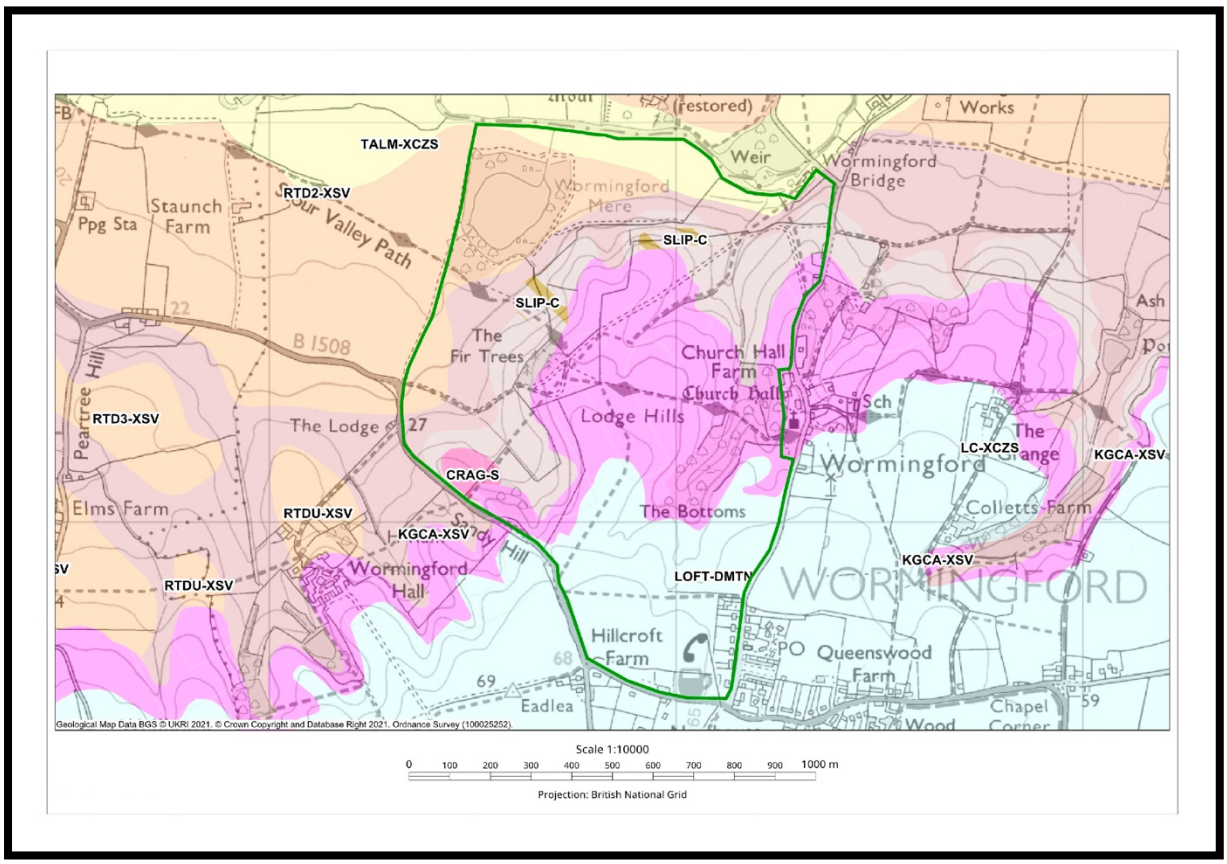


Figure 9.iv.3 Geological map of Wormingford Park (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)

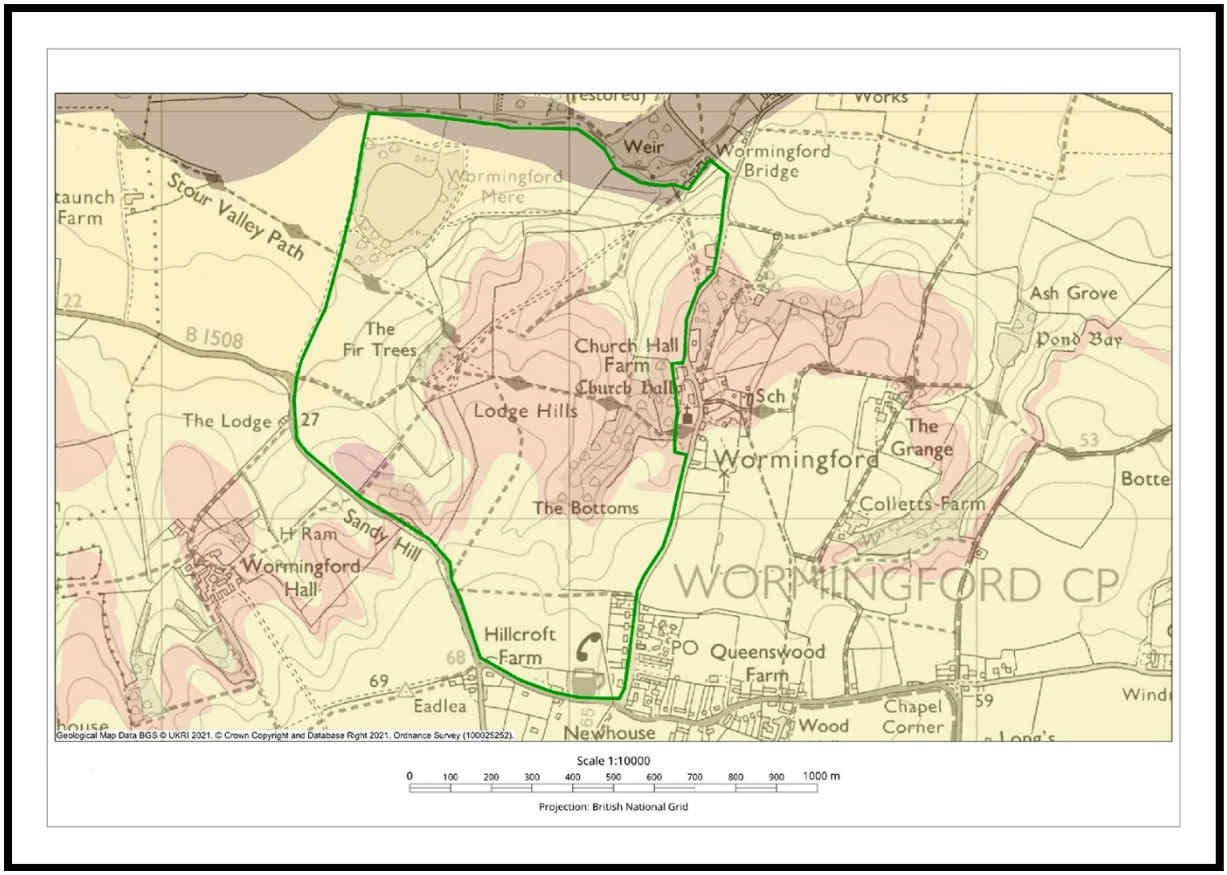


Figure 9.iv.4 Soil texture map for Wormingford Park (EDINA Geology Digimap Service)



Wormingford Park

The small village of Wormingford has long celebrated an event which took place more than 400 hundred years ago in August 1561. Local oral tradition has enduringly and vividly recounted how Queen Elizabeth I visited Sir William Waldegrave at Smallbridge Hall in Suffolk (TL 929330) and its associated park, approximately 600 metres away on the Essex side of the river Stour, during her progress through Essex and Suffolk. In the 1950s, the local historian Winifred Beaumont recorded the tales told in the village of the great visual spectacle and aural fanfare which accompanied Elizabeth's large retinue:

> Sir William entertained his Queen, Elizabeth I, for two days in August. She came from Colchester and her progress was indeed a royal one. She travelled with a dozen coaches and 300 wagons and horsemen rode before and behind her. The local gentry came on horseback, or running on foot holding onto a stirrup. They wore cockades and carried banners and sounded trumpets…(there were) men on hossback, men arunning and blowing bugles and hollering and they all had flags. They galloped over Lodge Hills and wor a wunnerful sight.[960]

Although there may have been an element of hyperbole in the retelling of the visit through the ages, it is not an example of an unsubstantiated local mythologising as it is also mentioned in Jon Nichol's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth.[961] We also know that Sir William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief advisor, sent several letters from Smallbridge Hall in 1561, one of which was to Archbishop Parker, dated 12th August, complaining that during the progress with the Queen that he had observed the 'Neglect of the law to vestments'.[962]

The visit of Elizabeth was undoubtedly a high point in the rise of Sir William Waldegrave (*c* 1540-1613). He had inherited the manors of Wormingford and Bures (including the two storey Smallbridge Hall which he rebuilt in 1555) from his uncle Sir Richard Waldegrave in 1554 and became a royal favourite while serving as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, keeper of the Royal Wardrobe and Member of Parliament for Essex and then Suffolk. Sir William's inheritance included the manor of Church Hall which had passed from the church to the Waldegrave family in 1523 on the downfall of Cardinal Wolsey.[963] It was here that

[960] Beaumont, W. & Taylor, A. 1989 *Wormingford: an English village*, A Taylor.
[961] Nichols. J. 1823 *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth. Among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess*, volume II, London, John Nichols and Son.
[962] Ibid. 183.
[963] Brooks, H, White, A & Nicholls, F. 2010: 5; Moore, J. 2010 *Wormingford Lodge Hills archaeological investigation: the historical background*, Colchester Archaeological Group.

Wormingford Park was laid out. It is first mentioned in *c.* 1528 in a survey of Church Hall Manor where it is referred to as '…sometimes called Smallbridge Park although in Wormingford.[964] However it is Sir William who has been credited locally as creating the park, its lodge and a bridge (the form and function of the lodge was discussed fully in chapter 4) as he:

> …transformed the rolling slope of Wormingford into a park, with a lodge house on the hill (where) deer grazed in the meadows, and (built) a bridge across the river (and) connected the park to Smallbridge garden.[965]

As a prime example of a Tudor parvenu, Sir William would have been keen to demonstrate that he was attuned to the importance of elite hunting culture and that he belonged in a socially exclusive world that was inhabited by his peers and social betters. Waldegrave's park and lodge at Wormingford undoubtedly provided him with an opportunity to do so, most notably during those two days in August 1561. In the absence of any contemporary maps or plans of the park it is however difficult to determine how it appeared to Elizabeth and her retinue while they traversed or perhaps even hunted in it. Therefore, there is a heavier reliance on other cartographic and documentary sources. Boundaries to the west and south are particularly difficult to establish as there are no physical remains. The boundary to the south and west were most likely formed alongside the B1508 which runs from Sudbury to Colchester with the western boundary continuing along the line of a path which runs along the western edge of the mere to the obvious northern boundary that is formed by the Stour. The only image of the enclosed park is shown on John Norden's map of the county of Essex (1594) which establishes the eastern boundary. The simple image reveals that the park was paled, had mature trees but there is no depiction of a bridge directly linking the Hall with the park, indicating that it may have already been removed. However, the parish church of St. Andrew's can be seen abutting upon the park's eastern boundary (Figure 9.iv.5).[966]

[964] NA E6/163 p.155.
[965] Beaumont & Taylor 1989.
[966] ERO D/DMs/P1.



Figure 9.iv.5. Detail of John Norden's map of Essex (1594) showing the enclosed park at Wormingford with the parish church of St. Andrew's on the eastern boundary. (ERO D/D/DM/P1)

The survey of Church Hall manor *c.*1528 confirms this as it describes the land which borders Wormingford churchyard to the west as 'the parke of Sir Willyam Walgrave knight called Smallbridge Parke'.[967] This area is formed by a steep sided valley which today is wooded with several ancient oaks and other mature trees. The valley may have been utilised as a 'corridor' through which deer could be driven out of site of the lodge complex located high upon Lodge Hills (Figure 9.iv.6)



Figure 9.iv.6. View from viewing platform looking east across the broad flat northern end of the plateau running through Wormingford Park. The treeline at the top of the picture marks the descent into the valley (Photograph Stephen Fletcher)

[967] NA E6/163 p.155.

The image of the park also appears to show a lodge building within its bounds. The lodge appears to have been occupied over a long period, either as a focal point for the hunt or as a private residence. Giles Barnardstone retired there on two occasions in 1651 and 1662, while Peregrine Clark took up residence in 1657.[968] Chapman and André's map of Essex (1777) shows no evidence of an enclosed park still in existence, but the landscape remains open. It does however depict a substantial lodge complex which appears to be split into two sections with one section containing an L shaped building and the other with three square shaped structures. The map also shows an access road leading to the west and joining the former boundary (Figure 9.iv.7).[969]

[968] Gough, J. 1789 *A History of the People Called Quakers. From Their First Rise to the Present Time*, Dublin, Robert Jackson; ERO D/P 30/25/90; D/P 30/25/91.
[969] ERO MAP/CM/37/4.

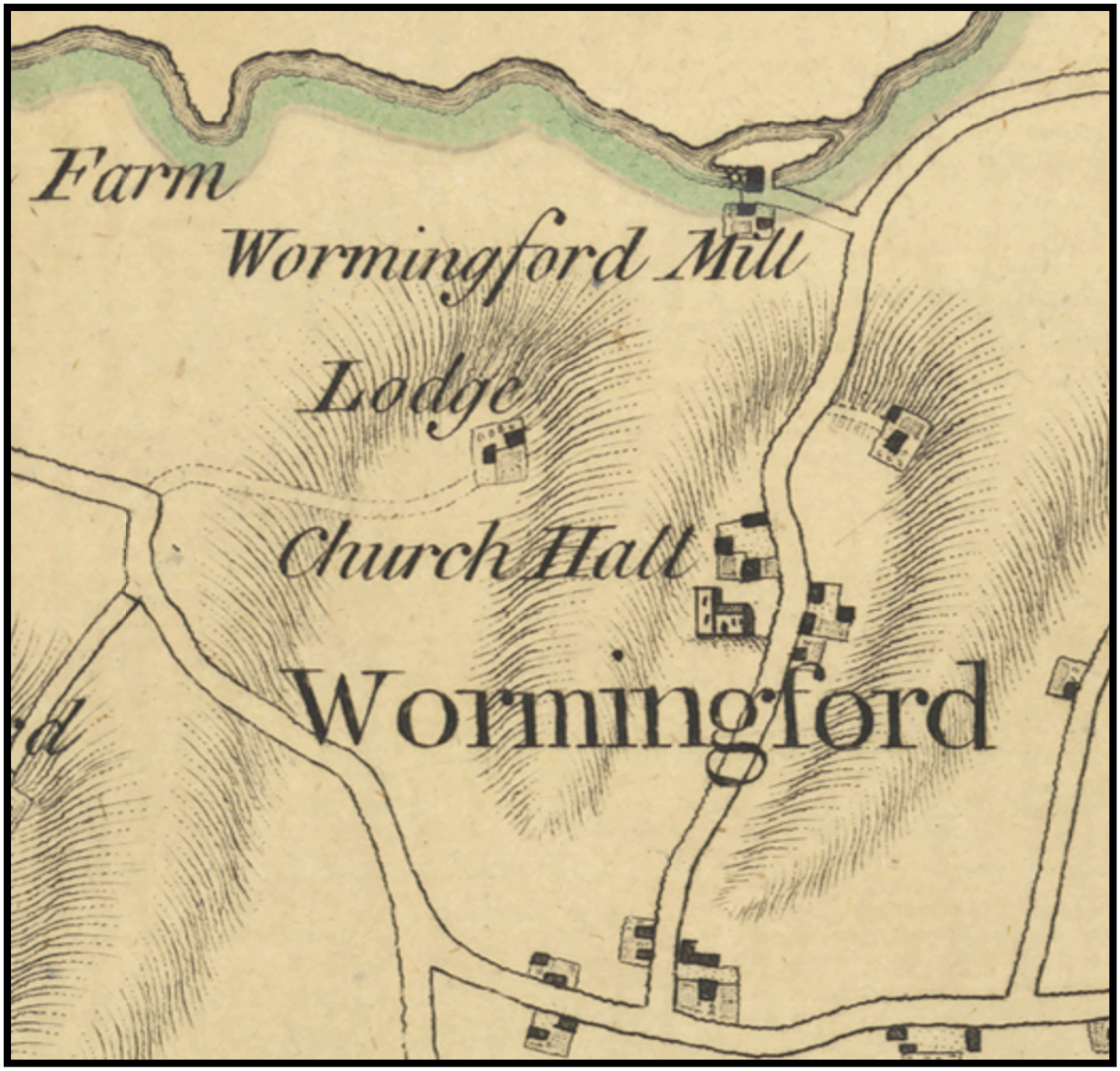


Figure 9.iv.7. Detail of Chapman and Andre's map of the county of Essex showing the lodge complex at Wormingford (ERO MAP/CM/37/4)

There is no lodge or bridge shown on the Tithe Award Map of 1838. It depicts an enclosed landscape with field names revealing its former incarnation as a park. (Figure 9.iv.8).[970] Great Deer Meadow (202, TL 930329) and Little Deer Meadow (203, TL 927329) are adjacent to the river. Grazing deer would have been visible from Smallbridge Hall, a bridge joining the Hall with the park and also from the upper slopes of the park and northern tip of the plateau. At the centre there is Lodge Pasture (199, TL 927324), Lodge Hill (194, TL 927323) and Lodge Fen (TL 926320).

[970] ER0 D/CT 412A, ERO D/CT 412A.



Figure 9.iv.8. Detail of the Wormingford Tithe Map (1838) (ERO D/CT 412B)

The six-inch to the Mile Ordnance Survey map of 1880 shows little change, with only a few hedged fields being further divided to the north-east adjacent to the Stour and to the south-west which is now called Lodge Fields (Figure 9.iv.9).[971]

[971] Fletcher, S. OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Essex Sheet XVIII (includes: Great Horkesley; Little Horkesley; Nayland with Wissington; Wormingford), surveyed 1880, published 1887, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/102341846. Created 2/6/21.

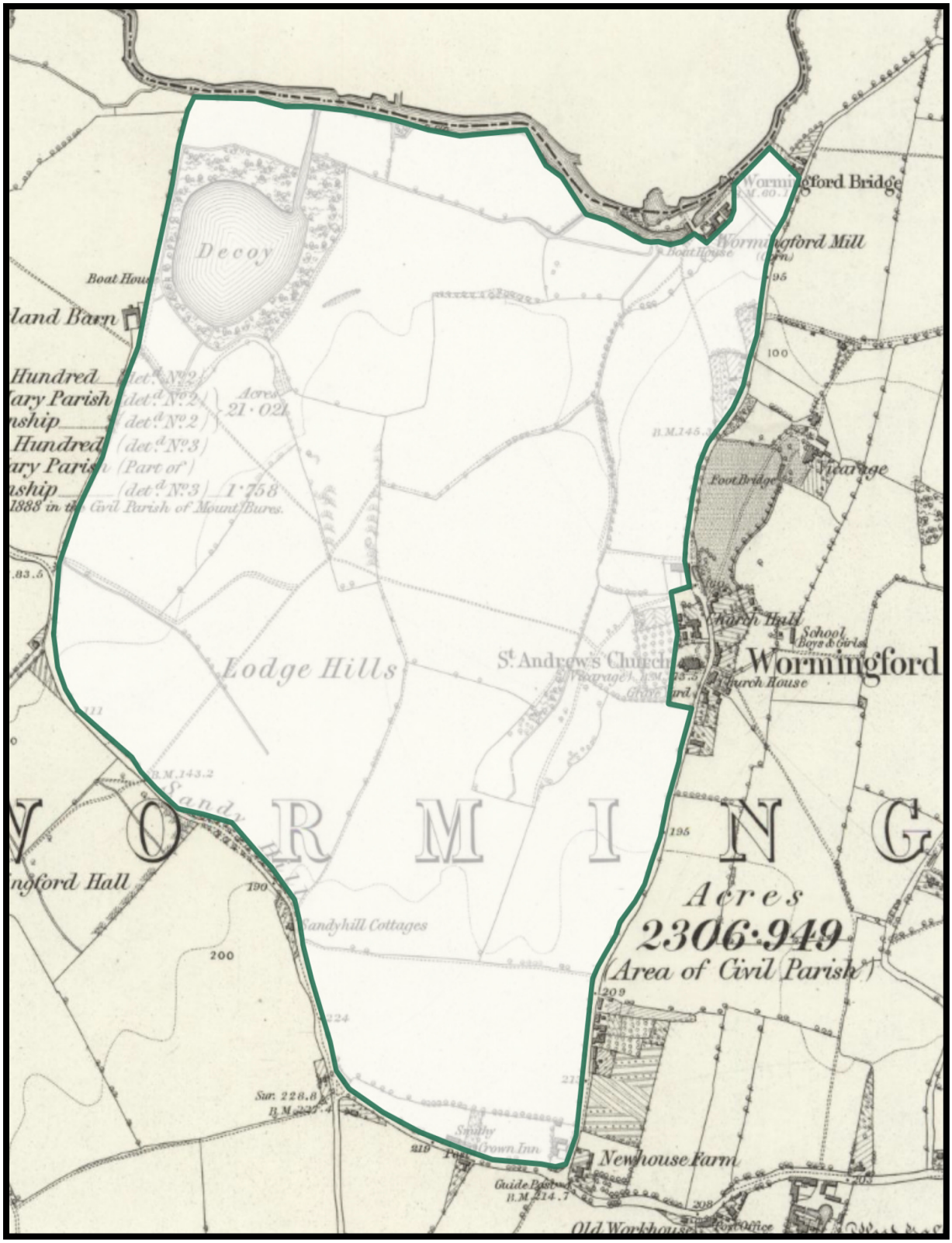


Figure 9.iv.9. OS six-inch to the Mile map, Essex Sheet XVIII, surveyed 1880, published 1887 showing the enclosed former park at Wormingford (National Library of Scotland)

The post-war landscape of Wormingford was subject to much change. The Ordnance Survey First Edition map of 1988 shows that many hedges were removed (Figure 9.iv.10).[972] The small fields that were once Great Deer Meadow and Little Deer Meadow have been enlarged. There have also been hedges removed at the centre and to the south to create large open areas

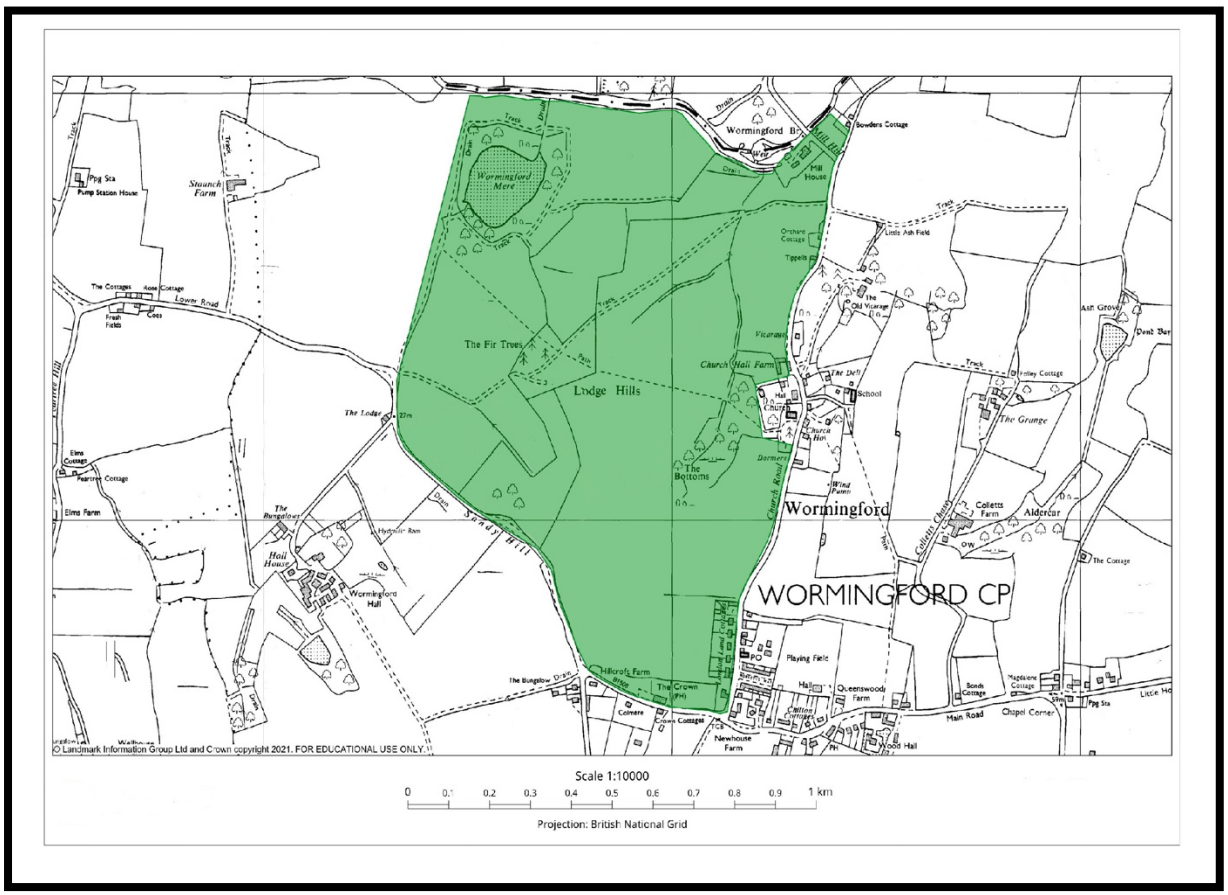


Figure 9.iv.10. OS County Sheet Essex First Edition map (1988), scale 1:10 000 showing the changed landscape of the former park, as hedges were removed to create a more open landscape (EDINA Historic Digimap Service)

Some of the field boundaries can be seen on one metre DSM images of the area. The boundaries of Great Deer Meadow and Little Deer Meadow are however not visible and there is no indication of a demarcated deer course. The images do show the foundations of the former lodge complex which can be seen in the corner of a field named in the 1838 Tithe Map Apportionment as Mill Field (174, TL 930326).[973] It holds a relatively central position on the long undulating plateau of the park which runs north to south and would have commanded

[972] OS County Series First Edition map (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1:10 000, Essex County, Published 1988, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created June 2021.
[973] ERO D/CT 412A.

extensive views of not only large areas of the park but also of Smallbridge Hall down in the river valley (Figure 9.iv.11).[974]

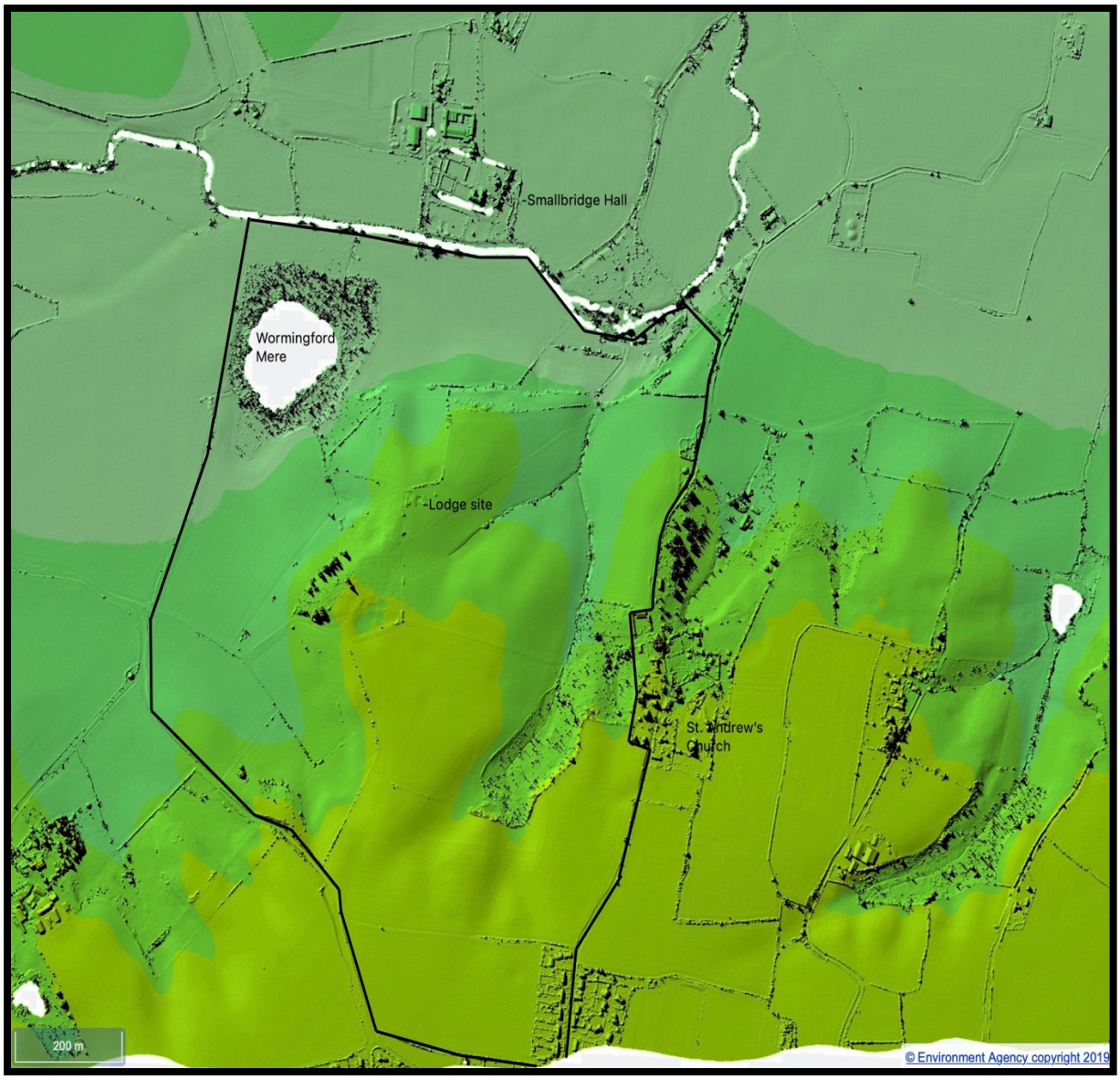


Figure 9.iv.11. One metre DSM LiDAR image of Wormingford Park (National Library of Scotland)

From walking the landscape and by studying these more recent maps, the LiDAR image, and the numerous contemporary sources analysed in this thesis, a theory has developed as to how a hunt (possibly royal) at Wormingford Park may have been conducted in mid-August 1561. They will be recounted as if by an observer who records the unfolding frenetic events

[974] Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Wormingford Park*. National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DSM 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data, Environment Agency 2019. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15.636666666666666&lat=51.95781&lon=0.80426&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DSM_1m. Created June 2021.

as they happen. Although these theories are subjective and are hampered by the absence of a contemporary map, they are informed and inspired by primary sources, by the prominently positioned lodge complex and in no small part by the landscape itself. The proposed direction of the hunt is seen in figure 9.iv.12.[975] It is suggested here that the hunting party left Smallbridge Hall and crossed a bridge located somewhere in the vicinity. Deer would have been driven from the meadows overlooking the Hall and chased to the east. They would have been hidden from site in a wooded valley before re-appearing dramatically to the south, ready to be chased towards the lodge complex upon Lodge Hills. This was a theatrical act from start to finish and pleasing to both the eye and ear.

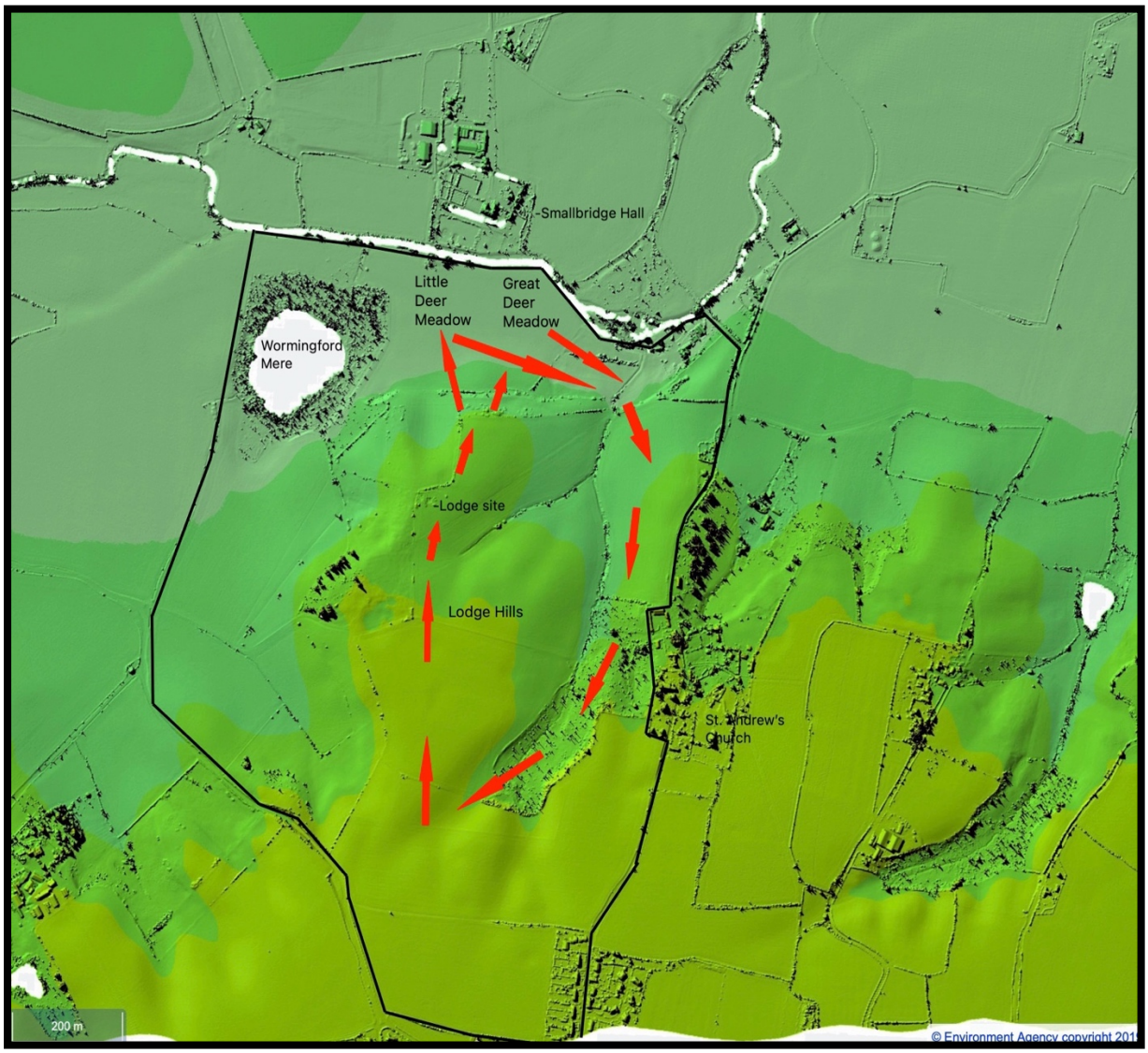


Figure 9.iv.12. The hunting landscape of Wormingford Park. The red arrows mark the direction that a hunt may have taken. One metre DSM LiDAR image of Wormingford Park (National Library of Scotland)

[975] Fletcher, S. *The Hunting Landscape of Wormingford Park.* National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DSM 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data, Environment Agency 2019. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15.63666666666666&lat=51.95781&lon=0.80426&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DSM_1m. Created June 2021.

A sixteenth-century hunt at Wormingford Park

The day of the hunt begins early, as the sun is rising. Those gathered in and around Smallbridge Hall eagerly divert their gaze across the river Stour in the direction of Great Deer Meadow and Little Deer Meadow. It is the season for fallow deer bucks and informed discussions and disagreements have already begun over the most suitable animal for the chase.[976] The echoes of hunting horns and the melodious cries of hounds resound loudly around the walls and provide a further diversion. Those observing the unfolding events from the lodge and hunting tower perched high upon Lodge Hills across the river wait in expectation. Wagers are placed, and the hunting party, both mounted and on foot, are summoned by one wind from a horn. Led by hounds, still upon their leashes, they proceed noisily across the bridge. The deer is selected and released, and the hounds are uncoupled to begin the pursuit accompanied by the winding of horns that mark every action. Those with hangers raise them high above their heads as they ride, while those on foot run alongside with poles to their shoulders.

Hollering huntsmen pursue both hounds and prey. It is a well-run beautiful race, across meadows, and through groves and fields The deer is lost and the sky echoes to the sound of multiple calls instructing huntsmen and hounds alike to flush out the deer from its hiding place. The hunt goes on to the east and the deer attempts to evade its pursuers in the wooded valley. The hunting party can no longer be seen but the echoes increase in magnitude against the trees so as the whole park is full of the most portentous music. The hunt is revealed once more to the south as the music and anticipation gathers pace. They are in sight of the tower where eyes and bows are raised. They come closer and closer, and arrows fly, and the deer lies dead to be mourned by the blasts of horns. The hunting party is sated, and wagers are settled. The division is made, and the hounds are satisfied by meat and bone. There was never any doubt, the deer was doomed, a tragic actor upon a stage who meets a sorry end.

[976] Almond 2003: 85-86.

Rather than hampering phenomenological investigation, the absence of a contemporary map for Wormingford has encouraged a freedom of thought that was not possible when following a rigid formulae as in the three previous case studies. To walk unhindered and unguided by a map has inspired a more creative approach that relies more on what has been learned from the landscape, archaeological investigations, contemporary prose, manuals, and poetry to create the story of a hunt. Stopping to take notes and make sketches at arbitrary points does not reflect the experience of the hunt. It was a flowing fast paced activity conducted by people who knew and understood the landscape and were also perhaps guided by some of the same sources that were consulted in this study. Tilley's methodologies and those of other practitioners such as Whitehouse are however not without value as they provide a focus for the phenomenological investigator. In this case study they also have inspired the conclusions drawn here regarding the circular route of the hunt at Wormingford Park. Tilley is correct, there is no substitute for walking the landscape and there may be some merit in his mistrust of maps, but to subjectively wander freely through the landscape without prescriptive methodologies should perhaps be a methodology in and of itself. Every investigation should have a degree of flexibility.

Conclusions

Phenomenological fieldwork at Hundon, Lopham and Long Melford has enabled some insight into how the spaces may have been engaged with and used. As Tilley has argued, the landscape retains its 'bare bones' so in many ways is little different from how it is now. Therefore, through walking in the footsteps of those who traversed these park landscapes we can get a little closer to understanding how people in the past experienced them. For example, if we assume that the topography of all three sites is largely unchanged then we are experiencing the same inclines and declines of the terrain. We also experience the same vagaries in weather conditions as people of the past would have done and the impact this has on the terrain we are traversing. What all three sites share was the sense of the theatrical as the lodges at Lopham and Hundon as well as the Hall at Melford are suddenly 'revealed' while walking through the landscape. This was only possible as buildings, both contemporary and other remain in-situ.

However, in many ways these landscapes are not the same. Vegetation cover is completely different, with perhaps the exception of Melford which still retains some elements of the park landscape. Large areas of the landscapes at Hundon and Lopham are under arable and some parts of all three sites are inaccessible which prevents a full phenomenological study. Woodland has been cleared and the ground has been ploughed. If we did not know that these landscapes were once vibrant, complex and purposeful we would see them as completely uninteresting and pass them by. Sound is also invariably different as you cannot escape the invasive noises of the 21st century. Any conclusions are also tempered by the comments made by Brück and Thomas who maintain that it is unlikely that walking through the landscape provides any authentic insight, regardless of its physical condition. By looking at the landscapes of Hundon and Lopham it is difficult to disagree.

Having said this, the chance encounter with a hunt at Lopham which included horns, hounds and mounted hunters (some of the key elements of an early modern hunt) perhaps allowed a similar aural and visual experience for the modern spectator. That is not to claim that these sights, and particularly sounds, were in any way identical to those which were so central to the experience of the hunt during the early modern period. Our modern ears and minds are not culturally attuned or appreciative of the 'music 'created by horns and hounds. In a rural

world which was largely devoid of loud noises, these apparently coordinated sounds were undoubtedly thrilling for the contemporary observer.

The use of contemporary maps as a phenomenological tool where the practitioner is immersed in the map itself, is an innovative approach. It gives a full bird's eye view of the entire park as it was, which is not achievable anywhere in the field. It also enables the development of theories of how a hunt may have been structured and conducted. This approach however is not without major drawbacks. Firstly, it requires a degree of creative thinking and artistic licence to construct these theories. Maps are also by their very nature two dimensional and give the impression that everything can be seen from a particular point. The approach also relies greatly on the quality and the level of detail contained within a map. Above all, both field study and placing oneself in the map are highly subjective and cannot be used in isolation. They must be used in conjunction with other evidential sources to draw any credible conclusions. They are however invaluable when the landscape has been completely stripped of its narrative.

In contrast to the rigidity of the traditional phenomenological method as followed at Hundon, Lopham and Long Melford there is room for alternative methodologies that are based upon prior knowledge of the landscape as is seen in the case study at Wormingford. Finch has already demonstrated how written sources are an invaluable tool in the study of the landscape.[977] Holding a contemporary hunting manual or work of poetry or prose in your hand or your mind and walking through a former hunting landscape should be a pre-requisite to any study of this type. To dismiss this methodology which prehistorians are wont to do negates the valid and extensive evidence that we have at our disposal. We cannot and should not be objective in phenomenological studies.

[977] Finch 2008.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

The study of a full range of contemporary maps across Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk has been central to this thesis. These maps have been instrumental in establishing the nature of parks and how they were utilised. They have shown that a range of regimes of parkland existed at this time and the idea of a binary distinction between compartmented and uncompartmented parks has been blurred. It has also emerged that buildings and other structures associated with the hunting landscape have disappeared from the maps by about 1700. Moreover, many in the cartographic sample have helped to illustrate how fundamental deer were throughout the period. We are fortunate that several of the maps depict both deer and the hunt in full progress. The 1613 map of the Little Park at Long Melford is a particularly good example of this. Although, we cannot know with any certainty why these maps were produced, they do demonstrate that parkland hunting continued throughout this period, even though it is often framed in terms of decline.

There is no doubt that hunting took place in some form in parks during the period 1500-1700 with this conclusion well represented and convincingly argued in the secondary literature. This body of academic work has proved invaluable in providing a foundation for this study and has also shown the deficiencies in recent research which has mainly overlooked how the hunt was experienced. It has been shown here that experience was integral to hunting for participants and spectators alike. To an individual who was involved in some way with this activity, hunting stimulated the senses, bringing both pleasure and an acute awareness of what was unfolding around them. In the main, hunting in parks was a stage managed, theatrical performance predominantly geared to visual and aural experience, and this is reflected in many of the contemporary texts which we are fortunate to be able to consult. These used in conjunction with the cartographic, archaeological, and architectural evidence of the parks studied have allowed a much deeper and nuanced exploration of how hunting was actually experienced.

Above all, what has emerged is that there was not just one hunting landscape in parks, but many. It has also been shown that hunting was perceived by different people in different

ways. In essence, it can be argued that there was both a 'seen' and an 'unseen' hunt. For the elite, the park-based hunt was conducted in full view and in broad daylight. For those excluded from legitimate forms of hunting the hunt took place clandestinely, mostly at night-time. As we have seen from the texts, the different stages of elite hunting were codified and rigidly structured. Movement through the landscape was also structured and involved the pursuit of a prey animal in a prescribed manner. In many instances the prey was funnelled through a park or driven along park rides to emerge in the vicinity of strategically placed buildings where huntsman and spectators waited in anticipation for the denouement of the hunt. For illegal hunters the experience was not about being seen at all, it was the direct opposite. It was obviously conducted in a much less rigid and prescribed manner although that is not to say that poachers were not influenced by elite hunting practices. They entered parks with dogs with the intention to course deer, emulating their social betters and used the same weapons and techniques as employed in elite hunts.

Both forms of hunting, however, were driven by sound. The barking of dogs, horn calls (in the elite hunt) and the shouts and calls of huntsmen and followers drove the hunt on and directed movement. These sounds would have provided a soundtrack to the hunt and moreover heightened the experience for those taking part or spectating. Sound was not a by-product of the hunt, instead it was a carefully considered musical arrangement. The comparison of the sounds of the hunt with music is reiterated repeatedly in the instructional manuals, diaries, plays, works of prose and poetry and most notably ballads.

The emergence of sound as a key theme of this thesis was a revelation and resulted in a shift in focus. At the outset, the expectation was that the experience of hunting would be primarily revealed through concentrating on the visual elements of the hunt which have been covered in some extent in the recent historiography. What can be seen while situated in the landscape has also been the dominant focus of phenomenological studies and has been widely criticised. Obviously, the visual aspects of hunting should be no way dismissed or downgraded, how a hunt looked was of great importance to the overall experience. However, sound is equally important, if not more so. Especially as the hunting party, prey or dogs were often out of sight for both participants and spectators at different points in the pursuit. Sound also appears to have been very important in the 'unseen' hunt. As has been seen in court

documents, poachers were often accompanied and directed by the 'voices' of their own dogs while they coursed deer. Although their hunting activities were not formalised nor intended to be seen, the sounds that were made during these attacks, deliberate or otherwise would have shaped the experiences of those who took part.

Prior to this investigation, traditional phenomenological methodologies have rarely been applied in the study of historic landscapes. They have not been used at all to enhance the understanding of the experience of hunting in parks during the early modern period. In theory there appears to be no substitute for being out in the field and getting 'muddy boots' and it is easy to see why Tilley advocates this approach. Being immersed in the environment that is being studied and to place yourself in a park site where we know hunting took place cannot be underestimated. From walking through some of the sites used in this study a better understanding of the topography along with the prominence of buildings in the hunting landscape has emerged. At Wormingford and Long Melford in particular, where the former park sites are largely accessible on foot, it was possible to develop a theory of the mechanics of the hunt and how it may have moved through the landscape. By applying the techniques and methodologies of Tilley, Hamilton and Whitehouse using photographs, notes and sketches also helps to focus the mind and eye upon the landscape that is being studied. However, no matter how useful being immersed in the landscape and recording impressions and sensory experiences is, it can only take us so far and for some scholars it reveals very little. Fleming, Brück and Thomas amongst others have dismissed this form of time-consuming phenomenological investigation. They argue that our prior knowledge, and biases will always influence the outcome of this approach. Additionally, the modern landscape has invariably changed in nature from what it was in the past and the meaning it had to those who inhabited it at the time is lost to us. With this in mind, should we dispense with Tilley's tenet completely? The conclusion arrived at here is no. To ignore the landscape as it is now, risks missing vital pieces of evidence, no matter how diluted they are. How effective would an investigation on the experiential qualities of parkland landscapes be without visiting them? Even with Easty and Lopham Parks where few obvious insights were yielded, there are still fragments that we can take from the landscapes to reconstruct experience. For example, we know that the lodges held prominent positions and that the topography itself (which has not changed and retains its 'bare bones'), was flat but difficult to navigate when wet. Although

contemporary maps show the lodges and a modern map can reveal topography, you cannot appreciate the visual significance of the buildings or the terrain without being in the physical landscape. Furthermore, if this study had been primarily a desk-based study of the experience of hunting based upon contemporary texts and cartographic sources alone, the chance encounter with a hunt in full progress would have been missed, and with it the opportunity to experience its much-lauded sound which ultimately proved to be disappointing to the uneducated and unattuned modern ear.

The limitations of Tilley's main tenet have been addressed and to some extent overcome in this thesis through the introduction of a new phenomenological approach of 'placing the viewer in the map'. This both complements and supplements the fieldwork and robustly challenges Tilley and Ingold's arguments that maps are dead spaces and tell us very little of experience. If maps are used with some caution and an awareness of their limitations, they can add to our understanding rather than diminish it. It is has become evident that some of the maps in the cartographic sample contain a great deal of experiential information which has added to the richness of this study. If detailed, pictorial sources were available to Tilley and Ingold in their studies of the people and cultures of the past they would undoubtedly see them as invaluable sources. The maps used in this thesis were made by people who were bodily immersed in the landscape. They walked through these places and inscribed their experiences and world view upon their surfaces. We would not purposely overlook the letters and diaries of the period which record emotional responses to the landscape so why dismiss a detailed contemporary map. Using maps in this way does however have a major weakness as only the more detailed examples yield experiential information. There is little use applying the technique of placing oneself in the basic map of Shelfhanger in Norfolk for example, where the boundary and interior are marked out in a dull and perfunctory way. However, even in less detailed maps such as that of Lopham Park we can still figuratively place ourselves in the map and walk over its launds towards the 'noisy' lodge, or peer into a dark stand of woodland on the edges of the park and wonder what is taking place there. The new phenomenological technique of placing oneself in the map should therefore be implemented where possible in any study of how people may have experienced the historic landscape.

This thesis has expanded our knowledge of the experience of hunting in parks which has not been fully explored elsewhere. Using phenomenological techniques for an investigation of early modern parks is unique, and a break from the prehistoric centric studies which have dominated the field to date. There has also not been any previous attempt to pull together and exploit such a wide variety of literary sources as has been attempted here. Ballads in particular have not been used in this way before which is somewhat surprising considering they provide such vivid descriptions and an insight into popular perceptions of hunting during this period. These have shown how deeply engrained notions of hunting were in the early modern consciousness and how it was experienced.

As with any piece of research there is scope to expand and explore further avenues. Here the topic of sound has emerged as an unexpected but important theme. This suggests that a study of the experience of hunting could be further expanded to include all the senses: sight, sound, touch, taste and smell. A fuller picture of the experience of hunting in parks could also be gained through increasing the geographical study area as one of the drawbacks of focusing on East Anglia alone has been that many former parks are either inaccessible or have been broken up and put to different uses. Another weakness of this study is that only the parks with corresponding contemporary maps and that were also accessible were suitable for the phenomenological case studies. An expansion of the geographical study area would allow a greater sample of potential case studies to select from. The subject of the experience of illegal hunting also warrants further exploration. In the sources, poaching is traditionally looked at as a crime and from the perspective of the victim. It has not been fully explored as a form of hunting in its own right, or from the perspective of the poacher and their experience.

Clearly there was a symbiotic relationship between hunting in parks and experience. Hunting was defined by the experience it afforded to those who directly participated in a hunt as well those who did not. It was experienced in a number of ways both in the field and on the page, capturing the imagination and pervading every strata of early modern society.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscript

Arundel Castle Archives (ACA)

P52 *Map of Shelfhanger* 1617/1618.

P51 *Lopham Park*, 1612.

P5/6 *Map of Kenninghall Park*, 1621.

P5/36 *Earsham Park*, 1720.

P5/36 f.5-6 *Lopham Park*, 1720.

P536 *Croxton Park*, 1720.

Cambridgeshire Archives (CRO)

R77/1 *Plan of the Wimpole Estate*, 1638.

TR 373/P1 *The plot or description of Boxworth, being parte of the demeanes of the Lady Ann Cutts. Surveyed by Matthew Hayward*, 1650.

107/P *Plan of Stow cum Quy manor*, 1737.

101/P2 *Survey of Cheveley*, 1775.

Cambridge University Library (CUL)

Maps bb. 53(1) 93.114 *Copy of a map of Doddington and Wimblington*, c.1680.

Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies (CCALS)

DCH/X/15/10 *Inventory of the Moveable Goods and Chattels of Thomas Viscount Savage at Rocksavage in Cheshire, Melford Hall in Suffolk and Tower Hill in the City of London*, 1635/6.

Essex Record Office (ERO)

D/DP E29 *Register of Petre Estates in Essex, London, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Hertfordshire*, 1548.

D/DP A10 *Accounts of Sir William Petre's Ingatestone Household, kept by Edward Bell*, 1549-1550

D/DP M1325 *Survey of Ingatestone Hall Estate*, 1566.

D/DP P2 *Map of Stock*, c.1575.

D/DM P2 *A trew platt of the mannor and hamlett of Moulsham*, 1591.

D/DMh M1 *Superius extentu siue terrarium tam honoris et dominij de Castle Hedingham per Israelem Amyce*, 1592.

D/DMs/P1 *Manuscript Copy of John Norden's 'The Description of Essex' with Manuscript Map.*

D/DP P5 *A true platt and survey of the mannors of Weast Hornedon, East Hornedon, Feldehouse, Noke Halle, Ames, with the ferme called Sallmons, Belsers hatch, goate house and others*, 1598.

D/DP P7 *Map of Stock and West Hanningfield, 'the description of the Slete alias the Sleve, beinge parcel of the waste grounde belonging to Crondon Mannor, By John Walker Senior*, c.1600.

D/DB P1 Map of Thorrington and Great Bentley, c.1600.

D/Dla P2 *The mannor of Ramsdon Barringto[n in] the covnty of Essex /Performed by Thomas Pope svrvayer in December Anno Domynis*, 1615.

D/DAr P1 *The plot of the parrish of Latton in the county of Essex wherein is contayned the Mannor of Marke Hall the Mannor of Latton Hall with the scyte of the Pryory Being part of the possessions of the Right Woorpp'll Sir Edward Altha Knight taken and made in anno domini 1616 By Jeremie Bailye*, 1616.

D/DL P1 *Map of Belhus estate in Aveley, Wennington, Upminster and South Ockendon,* 1619.

D/DGe P3 *The plott of the Manor of Skreens of Teyhalle and of the farmes and lands vnto them same belonginge leyinge and beinge in the severall parishes of Roxwell Shellow & Wyllingalle in the countie of Essex and (at this time) is truly described measured and plotted and by severall cullers destinguysshed ... per N: Lane Surveigher*, 1635.

D/P 30/25/90 & D/P 30/25/91. Deed. *Peregrine Clarke of Wormingford Lodge, gentleman*, 1657.

D/Dxa 21 *A mapp of the mannors of Skreenes and Tyhall together with Lightfoots Searles and Bradleys Birches and Sparrowes with other messuages and lands lying by the names within written in the parishes of Roxwell Shellow and Willingale in the county of Essex containing 1235 acres 1 rood & 37 perches heerin particularly described in the yeare of our Lord God 1666 By John Coffyn*, 1666.

D/DP P13 *Map of Stock, Crondon Park by John Coffyn*, c. 1674.

D/DU 1702/2 *Map `... of the Mannor of Quendon in the Countie of Essex Being Parcell of the Possessions of John Turner Esqr Taken by Me Thomas Holmes*, 1702.

D/D/Fg P1/1 *Volume containing surveys of Rivenhall Place and Mundon Hall estates, 'An exact draught of Rivenhall park in ye County of Essex*', 1715-1716.
D/DMg P1/1 *A survey of the several estates belonging to the Right Honourable Henry Lord Maynard in the Counties of Essex and Leicester*, 1730.

D/DU 3263 *Survey of the tenement and lands belonging to the Revd. Mr. Thos Forbes Rector of Little Leighs in Essex. Two fields on the east of the footpath lying in the said parrish, the rest in the parrish of Much Waltham Essex. Commonly call'd by the name of Good Childs*, 1735.

D/DNe P3 *A plan of an estate called Dagnams situate in the hamlet of Rumford in the parish of Horn-church and county of Essex being the estate of [blank] Survey'd and delineated by James Crow Anno Dom*, 1748.

Map/CM/37/4 *A Map of the County of Essex from an Actual Survey Taken in MDCCLXXII:LXXIII & MDCCLXXIV by John Chapman & Peter André*, 1777.

D/CT 412A *Wormingford tithe map*, 1838.

D/CT 412B *Wormingford tithe apportionment*, 1838.

Calendar of Essex Assize Records (ERO)

T/A 428/1/14 *Recites Statute of 5 Elizabeth against entering parks. Inquisition taken at the Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford,* 1563.

T/A 418/16/45 *Indictment of Nicholas Burton,* 1570.

T/A 418/16/46 *Indictment of Nicholas Burton and Thomas Burling*, 1570.

T/A 418/20/41 *Indictment of Edmond Cheeley alias Lancye*, 1572.

T/A 418/23/59 *Indictment of Robert Game and Christopher Frenche*, 1574.

T/A 418/26/45 *Indictment of Thomas Pavet and Henry Sworder*, 1576.

T/A 418/28/29 *Indictment of William Whatlocke, Ananias Clarkem John Picke, Rob. Edmundes and John Ingram*, 1577.

T/A 418/47/69 *Indictment of Wm. Plumme and Thomas Barnard*, 1587.

T/A 418/51/43 *Indictment of William Smyth and John Smyth*, 1589.

T/A 418/51/44 *Indictment of Geoffrey Ponde, Robert Campe and Richard Crane*, 1589.

T/A 418/58/53 *Indictment of William Parpount, William Chapman, Richard Wattes, John Stoores, Richard Eve and Thomas Champnes*, 1593.

T/A 418/65/66 *Indictment of Francis Snellock, Rich. Loveday and Ambrose Wakelyn*, 1598.

T/A 418/69/102 *Indictment of Richard Browne*, 1601.

T/A 418/69/86 *Indictment of Jasper Fuller, Wm. Serritt, Thomas Howe sen., Thomas Howe Junior, Hen Foote and Thomas Underwood*, 1601.

T/A 418/76/85 *Indictment of William Turtle*, 1608.

T/A 418/86/4 *Indictment of Rich. Whitekyrtle*, 1615.

T/A 418/121/17 *Indictment of John Barnard,* 1641.

T/A 418/134/49 *Indictment of Thomas Stoakes, William Barhard, William Willliams, William Sorrell and Henry Spiller*, 1649.

T/A 418/139/2 *Indictment of Thomas Straunge*, 1651.

T/A 418/150/34 *Indictment of Edward Collins, Wm. Ballat, William Tadgell, Thomas Hammond and Ralph Rotherham*, 1658.

T/A 418/168/1 *Inquistion taken at W. Horndon*, 1669.

T/A 418/168/5 *Indictment of Alex. Gallis*, 1669.

T/A 418/168/27 *Wm. Withering and James Hand*, 1669.

T/A 418/172/107 *John Witherell committed*, 1671.

T/A 418/224/24 I*ndictment of James Philips, Robert Clements and Martin Bayley*, 1699

Sessions Rolls (ERO)

Q/SR 10/18 *Indictments of Christopher and Nicholas Eve*, 1564.

Q/SR 33/30,31,32 *Indictments of Thomas Gamble, Alexander Denton, Humphrey Wright, John Wright, Thomas Deacon, Robert Glover*, 1570.

Q/SR 46/47 *Indictment of John Walfeford*, 1573.

Q/SR 60/9,10 *Indictments of David Kinge and Ananias Clarke*, 1577.

Q/SR 64/24 *Indictments of John Brooke and Thomas Mathew*, 1577.

Q/SR 68/29 *Indictments of James Hanchett, Anthony Erington, William Styleman, John Taylor and Robert Martyn*, 1578.

Q/SR 68/30 *Indictments of Edward Bugges, Arthur Tappes, John Wright and John Frynde*, 1578.

Q/SR 70/50 *Recognizances of John Taylor (alias Jokey of Stock) and Robert Martyn*, 1579.

Q/SR 80/45,47 *Indictments of Edward Bell, Thomas Stanle and Francis Monck*, 1582.

Q/SR 86/43 *Indictments of William Huytt and Richard Walford*, 1583.

Q/SR 98/76A *Indictments of Charles Colt and Mr Bashford*, 1586.

Q/SR 98/32 *Indictments of Thomas Wheeler, John Wheeler, Thomas Denyshe and Robert Spencer*, 1586.

Q/SR 103/46 *Indictments of Thomas Stebbinge, John Badcocke and John Hubberd*, 1588.

Q/SR 103/47 *Examination of John Badcocke*, 1588.

Q/SR 103/48 *Examination of John Hubberd (alias Johnson),* 1588.

Q/SR 106/38,40 *Indictments of Richard Otley, Richard Samford, Michael Drayne, John Crowe and William Shether*, 1588.

Q/SR 107/56 *Recognizances of Thomas Whale and Luke Whale*, 1589.

Q/SR 107/46 Examination of Thomas Whale, 1589.

Q/SR 112/52 *Indictments of Henry Overed, John Overed*, 1590.

Q/SR 114/52 *Indictments of Robert Jackson and Charles Colte*, 1590.

Q/SR 107/46 *Examination of Robert Jackson*, 1590.

Q/SR 118/81 *Examinations of Thomas Glascocke, Peter Hurste, Simon Kynge*, 1591.

Q/SR 126/25 *Indictments of Edward Hawes and John Bowsey*, 1593.

Q/SR 128/20 *Indictments of Edward Evered, Robert Devenyshe, Richard Patteson and Richard Potter*, 1594.

Q/SR 131/26 *Indictments of Johnas Brownings, John Hamond and Robert Some*, 1595.

Q/SR 131/62 *Recognizances of Josias Franke and Jonas Brownynge*, 1595.

Q/SR 131/42,43 *Recognizances of Ralph Soame, Zachary Soame and Robert Soame*, 1595.

Q/SR 130/50 *Indictment of Philip (?), Thomas Earnesby, Jonas Colte, Thomas walton, Lawrence Perry, Richard Cramphorn and Henry Fuller (alias Taylor)*, 1595.

Q/SR 130/51 *Indictment of Philip (?), Thomas Earnesby, Jonas Colte, Thomas walton, Lawrence Perry, Richard Cramphorn and Henry Fuller (alias Taylor)*, 1595.

Q/SR 133/19 *Indictment of Jonas Brownynge*, 1596.

Q/SR 137/50 *Indictment of Thomas Taylor the younger, Robert Claydon and Josias Taylor*, 1597.

Q/SR 139/76 *Recognizance of William Fytche*, 1597.

Q/SR 137/23 *Recognizances of Thomas Taylor the elder, Thomas Taylor the younger and Robert Cleydon*, 1597.

Q/SR 136/33 *Indictment of Thomas Crane*, 1597.

Q/SR 141/102 I*ndictments of John Angar, Richard Baron, John Bromley and Richard Dytton*, 1598.

Q/SR 141/103 *Indictments of William Taylor, Thomas Wright, John Bromley and Thomas Taylor,* 1598.

Q/SR 141/105 *Indictments of Henry Snellocke, Francis Snellcoke William Butcher, William Aames and Edward Byrde*, 1598.

Q/SR 148/86 *Indictment of Edward Stebbynge*, 1599.

Q/SR 151/23 *Indictment of James Hawkes*, 1600.

Q/SR 155/34 *Indictment of Edward Meadw, john Meade and William Chapman*, 1601.

Q/SR 152/121,122 *Recognizances of yeoman, for Richard Haugnett, George Campe and Nicholas Graygoose*, 1601.

Q/SR 153/42 *Recognizances of Andrew Benton and Ralph Benton*, 1601.

Q/SR 165/95-97 *Indictments of Lewis Hurte, William Drywood and Anthony Ware*, 1604.

Q/SR 180/56 *Indictment of Josias Francke*, 1607.

Q/SR 195/103 *Recognizances of John Smyth, Rooke Johnson and William Mosse*, 1611.

Q/SR 196/88 *Recognizances of Wm.Hoye, Rich. Steele and John Hogg*, 1611.

Q/SR 206/67 *Recognizances of Thomas Everard and Gilbert church jun., William Collyn, John Sell and Gilbert church senior*, 1614.

Q/SR 206/69 Recognizance of Alexander Glapham, 1614.

Q/SR 227/37-40 *Recognizances of John Wright, Richard Stafford, Thomas Wrighte, Bennett Wright and Thomas Hockley, William Gybson and Henry Perryn*, 1620.

Q/SR 232/41 *Recognizances of Christopher Hart, Abraham aham Hart and Richard Knightbridge*, 1621.

Q/SR 241/54 *Recognizance of Andrew Finche*, 1623.

Q/SR 271/58 *Indictment of Richard Cooper*, 1630.

Q/SR 287/19 *Indictment of John Spatman, Thomas Fuller and George Archer*, 1635.

Q/SR 287/20 *Indictments of Richard Preston and William Lucas (alias Bushe)*, 1635.

Q/SR 290/22 I*ndictment of John Emerson*, 1635.

Q/SR 312/135 *Indictment of John Crossingham and John Say*, 1641.

Q/SR 312/96 *Recognizance of John Crossingham, Nathl. Crossingham and Hgh. Reeve*, 1641.

Q/SR 312/30 *Recognizance of Thomas Crush, Jon say*, 1641.

Q/SR 315/36 *Recognizances of John Grossingham and William Botwell*, 1642.

Q/SR 319/95 *Indictments of Giblbert Church, John Lanham, Thomas Ayerst and John Motte*, 1642.

Q/SR 319/83 *Recognizances of Thomas Ayorst and Jervice Ayerst*, 1643.

Q/SR 319/22 *Indictments of William Shettleworth, Nathl. Taverner, Humph. Jackson, John Saye jun. and Thomas Crunshe jun*., 1643.

Q/SR 319/55 *Recognizances of Edward Crowtch and John Crowtch*, 1643.

Q/SR 319/77 *Recognizances of John Lanham and Clarck Lanham*, 1643.

Q/SR 319/103 *Indictments of Henry Beard, John Crossingham, Thomas Sharpe, Thomas Foster, William Beard, John Godnaffe and Thomas Godnaffe*, 1643.

Q/SR 320/163 *Recognizances of Henry Lucas, William Roberts and William Hemon*, 1644.

Q/SR 320/108 *Recognizances of Nathl. Harding, Wiliam Roche and Nicholas Patrick*, 1644.

Q/SR 325/35 *Indictment of Samuel Wennington*, 1645.

Q/SR 341/91 *Indictment of John Cowper*, 1649.

Q/SR 343/38 *Indictments of Henry Clay, Thomas Warman, John Benninge jun., and John Head*, 1650.

Q/SR 351/45 *Recognizances of Henry Anderson and John Shounk*, 1652.

Q/SR 352/85 *Recognizances of Thomas Poole and James Tirell*, 1652.

Q/SR 360/32 *Recognizances of Robert Rowley, Chris. Leving and Humph*. Sargeant, 1654.

Q/SR 362/23 *Indictments of Henry Barnard,* 1654.

Q/SR 366/71 *Recognizances of John Gynne and Thomas Gynne*, 1655.

Q/SR 365/41 *Recognizances of Dionysius Bush, William Hare and Thomas Barnet*, 1655.

Q/SR 365/42 *Recognizances of William Crowe, Richard Litle and William Childe*, 1655.

Q/SR 366/18 *Indictment of Richard Larder*, 1655.

Q/SR 365/53 *Indictment of Ellen Hubbard*, 1655.

Q/SR 367/42 *Recognizances of Henry Barnard, Thomas Barnard and Robert Luken*, 1656.

Q/SR 372/3 *Indictments of Edward Collins and Thomas Gynne*, 1657.

Q/SR 371/48-50 *Recognizances of John Reeve senior, Edw.Collins and Tho.Oyn*, 1657.

Q/SR 372/53 *Recognizances of George Foster and Ignatius Allum,* 1657.

Q/SR 378/9 *Indictments of John Reeve senior and junior,* 1659.

Q/SR 388/14,17 Indictment of John Radley, 1661.

Q/SR 399/55 *Recognizance of John Perman to indict John Radley*, 1661.

Q/SR 388/22 *Recognizance of John Pearman,* 1661.

Q/SR 387/77 *Indictment of William Man*, 1661.

Q/SR 392/17 *Indictments of Andrew Stone and Arthur Gine*, 1662.

Q/SR 399/24 *Indictment of John Radley*, 1664.

Q/SR 399/23 *Indictment of John Radley,* 1664.

Q/SR 399/101 *Indictment of John Radley*, 1664.

Q/SR 402/57 *John Radley to Keep the Peace*, 1664.

Q/SR 399/33 *Indictment of John Radley and John Witherell*, 1664.

Q/SR 399/100 *Examinations of Thomas Fordman, Robert Dale and William Holbrooke against John Radley and John Witherell*, 1664.

Q/SR 399/34 *Indictments of John Foakes and Thomas*, 1664.

Q/SR 413/47 *Indictments of John Sybble, Thomas Whitman and Thomas Woodward*, 1667.

Q/SR 413/112 *Recognizances of John Sybbly, Solomon Sybbly and Edmd*. Drury, 1667.

Q/SR 413/125 *Information of Edw. Hunfree*, 1667.

Q/SR 420/106 *Recognizances of James Hand, Burrell and Martine*, 1669.

Q/SR 423/81 *Recognizance of Samuel Cockerell*, 1670.

Q/SR 430/13 *Indictment of Th.Wright*, 1675.

Q/SR 439/34 *Recognizances of George England and Ralph Lawndy*, 1679.

Q/SR 442/49 *Indictments of John Leman jun., Henry Clements and Philip Eve*, 1681.

Court Roll (ERO)

D/DP M560 *Compotus 1360.*

D/DP M205 *Court roll 1401-1402.*

D/DP M562 *Compotus of manor of Writtle cum Boyton 1417-1418.*

D/DP M546 *Extent of manor of Writtle 1419.*

D/DP M581 *Compotus of manors of Writtle., Boyton and Heydon 1443-1444.*

D/DP M589 *Compotus of manors of Writtle, Boyton, Hatfield Broaf Oak cum Broomshawbury, Fobbing, Ongar and Harlow hundreds* 1473-1474.

D/DP M590 *Compotus of manors of Writtle, Boyton, Hatfield Broaf Oak cum Broomshawbury, Fobbing, Ongar and Harlow hundreds* 1473-1478

Huntingdonshire Archives (HRO)

MC2/26 *Photocopy of a tracing of Nicholas Bleake's Kimbolton estate map*, 1582.

SM3/17 *An exact and perfect survey of…Waybridge Park,* 1651.

Acc 1464 *A true plot of the lordship of Kimbolton*, 1673.

Acc 2498 *Map of Washingley*, 1753.

R58/16/1 *Plan of Chippenham*, 1712.

Kings College Cambridge Archives

Map of Framlingham Great Park, 1588.

London Metropolitan Archives, Guildhall Library (LMA)

MS 25517/1, *Estate Map of Belchamp St. Paul*, *by Israel Amyce*, 1576.

Norfolk Record Office (NRO)

MC 341/12 706X4A *Map of Cawston showing Jerbrygges Park or Gerbrygges Wood, Cawston Park, Cawston Woodrow, heath and pasture belonging to the Biere House, Cawston Lodge lately built by Sir Roger Townshend, and part of Cawston Common*, 1581.

BL 71 *Undated [19th century] copy of 1588 map of western Norfolk from King's Lynn to Flitcham showing Rising Chase*, 1588.

MC 22/11 *Map of New Buckenham relating to commission following dispute over commons between New Buckenham and Carleton Rode*, 1597.

NRS 21399 *Map of Aylsham*, no date, late 16th century?

NRS 21402 *Map of Haveringland*, no date, late 16th century?

MC 2529/1 *Map of Sandringham/ Babingley*, 1620.

MS 4513/1-2 *Map of the parish of Acle made for Henry Calthorpe, esq., lord of the manor*, 1633.

MC 1777/1, *Map of the manor of Chanonz (in Tibenham, parts marked as Aslacton and Bunwell), part of the possessions of John Buxton, esq., by Jo[hn] Harrison, surveyor*, 1640.

MEA 3/632 *Map of Aylsham and Cawston showing the commons and heaths dividing them, Cawston Park, Cawston bridge, etc.*, 1700.

M160c. *Map of Castle Rising*, 1732.

Map of Hethel, 1736 uncatalogued.

Map of Hethel, 1745 uncatalogued.

DN/TA 871 *Tithe Awards Map for North Lopham*, 1845-46.

Hayes and Storr Collection

82, 83, M3, M4 *Map of the Melton Constable estate*, 1732, copy of 1674
Map.

Le Strange Collection

OA1 *Map of Hunstanton*, 1615.

OA3 M5(6) *Map of Hunstanson*, 1765.

Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds, (SRO)

B 2130/2 *A platte and description of the lordship of Long Melford in the Countie of Suffolke with the manor house called Melforde hall and the parke adjoining, 1613.*

SRO/B T145/1,2. *Long Melford Tithe Map & Apportionment*, 1839.

LXII 5, 62.6. *First edition Ordnance Survey map*, 1887.

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, (I)

V5/22/1/12 *John Norden's survey of the manors held by Sir Michael Stanhope*, 1601.

I HD 88/4/1. *True description and survey of manors of Staverton, Anon*., 1600-1601.

I HD 417/17 Photograph of a map of Hundon parks, 1611.

I HD 40/422 *A True Plat of Hoxne New Park*, 1619.

AR 295 *Survey of the Wentworth Estate in Lothingland*, 1652

I HB 21/280/1 *A plat, map or description of a capital messuage called Hoxne Hall and diverse other lands and tenements in Hoxne, Denham and Stradbroke the properties of the Hon, William Maynard of Bury St Edmunds by Thomas Dade,* 1708.

The National Archives (NA)

C 135/23 *Inquisition Post Mortem of Edmund Earl of Kent*, 1331.

E36/163 *Survey of Church Hall Manor in Wormingford, Essex*, *c*.1528.

MPC 1/2 *Plan of Hundon Great Park, Suffolk*, *c*.1600.

MPC 1/3 *Plan of Esty (Easty) Park*, *c*.1600.

MPC 1/1 *Plan of Broxtie (Broxted) Park*, *c*.1600.

Printed Primary Sources

Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham (Garmonsway, G.N. Ed.) 1947 *Aelfric's Colloquy*, London, Methuen.

Anon. 1579 'Of Cyville and Uncyvile life' in Hazlitt, W.C. 1868 (ed.) *Inedited Tracts: illustrating the manners, opinions, and occupations of Englishmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, New York, Burt Franklin. Available at: https://archive.org/details/ineditedtractsil00hazluoft. Accessed: 12/6/19.

Anon 1620 *To Him Bun,Take Him Bun: Or The Hunting of the Conney*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballads/20212/image. Accessed 5/6/19.

Anon 1663-1674? *The Hunting of the Hare with Her Last Will and Testament: as performed on Bamstead downs, by cony-catchers, and their hounds.* Available at: ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/24332.gif. Accessed 12/3/19.
Anon. 1669-1709 *The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/image. Accessed 1/6/19.

Anon. 1675 *God Speed the Plow, and Bless the Corn-mow. A Dialogue Between the Husband-man and Serving Man*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30659/transcription. Accessed 1/6/2019.

Anon. 1684-1686? *The Country Gentleman; or, the Happy life. To an Excellent Tune, Or, Hey Boys up go we.* Available at: https:/ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35272/xml. Accessed 1/6/2019.
Anon 1687-1732? *An Excellent Ballad of Noble Marquess and patient Grissel*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35510/image. Accessed 5/6/19.

Anon 1731 *The Musical Miscellany; being a collection of choice songs, and lyrick poems: with the basses to each tune, and Transpos'd for the flute. By the most eminent masters*, Volume the sixth, London. Available at: https://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/archive/90369911. Accessed 19/6/19.

Anon. 1733 *An Essay on Hunting by a Country Squire*, London.

Anon. 1745 *Universal Harmony or, the Gentleman and Ladies Social Companion Consisting of a Great Variety of the Best Most Favourite English and Scots Songs, Cantatas etc.*, London.

Aristotle (translated by McMahon, J.H.) 2007 *The Metaphysics,* New York, Dover Publications Inc.

Armitage, S. 2007 *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, London, Faber and Faber Limited.

Bacon, F. 1627 *Sylva Sylvarium or, a Natural History, in Ten Centuries. Whereunto is newly added the history natural and experimental of life and death, or of the prolongation of life*, London, William Lee.

Baret, M. 1618 *An Hipponomie or the Vineyard of Horsemanship Devided into Three Bookes. 1. The theorick part, intreating of the inward knowledge of the man, 2. The first practice part, shewing how to worke according to that knowledge. 3. The second practicke part, declaring how to apply both hunting and running horses to the true grounds of this art. In which is plainly laid open the art of breeding, riding, training and dieting of the said horses. Wherein also many errors in this art, heretofore published, are manifestly detected*, London.

Barnes, A. 1867 (Longstaffe, W. H. D. ed.) *Memoirs of the life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, late Merchant and Sometime Alderman of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Durham, Andrews & Co. Available at: https://archive.org/details/memoirslifemram00socigoog/page/n2/mode/2up. Accessed 12/8/18.

Berners, J. 1899 *Boke of Saint Albans*, London, Elliot Stock.

Blome, R. 1686 *The Gentlemans Recreation in Two Parts: first being an encyclopedy of the arts and sciences…the second paret treats of horsemanship, hawking, hunting, fowling, fishing, and agriculture: with a short treatise of cockfighting…all which are collected from the most authentick authors, and the many gross errors therein corrected, with great enlargements…: and for the better explanation thereof, great variety of useful sculptures, as nets, traps. Engines, &c. are added for the taking of beasts, fowl and fish: not hitherto published by any" the whole illustrated with about an hundred ornamental and useful sculptures engraven in copper, realting to the several subjects,* London. Available at: Https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A28396.0001.001?view+toc. Accessed 1/3/17.

Blundeville, T. 1561 *The Fower Cchiefyst Offices Belongyng to Horsemanshippe. That is to Saye. The office of the breeder, of the rider, of the keper, and of the ferrer. In the firste parte wherof is declared the order of breding of horses. In the seconde howe to breake them, and to make theym horses of seruyce, conteyninge the whole art of ridynge lately set forth, and nowe newly corrected and amended of manye faultes escaped in the fyrste printynge, as well touchyng the bittes as other wyse. Thirdely howe to dyet them, aswell when they reste as when they trauell by the way. Fourthly to what diseases they be subiecte, together with the causes of such diseases, the sygnes howe to knowe them, and finally howe to cure the same. Whyche bookes are not onely paynfully collected out of a nomber of aucthours, but also orderly dysposed and applyed to the vse of thys oure cou[n]trey,* London.

Blundeville, T. 1589 *A Briefe Description of Universal Mappes and Cardes, and of their use and also the use of Ptholemey his Tables. Necessarie for those that delight in reading of histories: and also for traveilers by land and sea. Newly set foorth by Thomas Blundeville, of Newton Flotman in the countie of Norffolke.* Gent., London.

Braham, H. 1568 *The Institucion of a Gentleman*, EEBO Editions, Proquest.

Brathwaite, R. *1620 Essaies Upon the Five Senses with a Pithie One Upon Detraction. Continued with sundry Christian resolves, full of passion and devotion, purposely composed for the zealously-disposed*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London. Available at: https://archive.org/details/essaysuponfivese00bratrich/page/n3. Accessed 3/6/19.

Cavendish, M. 1653 *Poems and Fancies: written by the right honourable, the Lady Margaret Countesse of Newcastle*, London, J. Martin & J. Allestry. Available at https://archive.org/details/poemsfancies00newc/page/n5. Accessed 12/4/19

Cavendish, M. 1655 *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions, Written by her Excellency, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle*, London. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo?A53055.0001.001?view=toc.

Cavendish, W. 1658 *La Methode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de Dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, Jacques van Meurs.

Cavendish, W. 1667 *A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses*, London, Thomas Milbourn.

Cockaine, T. 1591 *A Short Treatise of Hunting: compiled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen*, Shakespeare Association Facsimile 2000.

Cox, N. 1686 *The Gentleman's Recreation: in four parts, viz. hunting, hawking, fowling, fishing; wherein these generous exercises are largely treated of and the terms of art for hunting and hawking more amply enlarged than heretofore; whereto is prefix a large sculpture, giving easie directions for blowing the horn and other sculptures inserted proper to each recreation, with an abstract at the end of each subject of such laws as relate to the same*, London.

Crooke, H. *1615 Mikrokosmographia: a description of the body of man. Together with the controversies there to belonging. Collected out of all the best authors of anatomy, especially out of Gasper Bauhirius and Andreas Laurentius*. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/e/eebo/A19628.0001.001/. Accessed 3/6/19.

Dee, J 1999 *The Mathematicall Praeface to the Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara (1570*), Whitefish, Kessinger Publishing.

Duchess of Newcastle 1886 (Firth, C.H. ed.) *The Life of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, to Which is Added the True Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life*, London, John C. Nimmo.

Du Fouilloux, J. 2014 *La Venerie de Jacques Du Fouilloux*, Nabu Press

Edward of Norwich. Baillie-Grohman, W.A. & Baillie- Grohman, F.N. (eds.) 2005 *The Master of Game,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Everett Green, M.A. (ed.) 1869 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Elizabeth (1598-1601) 192. Available at: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/edw-eliz/1598-1601. Accessed 5/5/19.

Elyot, T. 1537 *The Boke Named the Governour, deeused by syr Thomas Elyot knight*, London. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A21287.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 5/3/17.

Fiennes, C. 1888 *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary: being the diary of Celia Fiennes*, London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Hamilton, Adams & Co.

Furnivall, F.J. (ed) 1907 *Robert Laneham's Letter: describing a part of the entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the castle of Kenilworth in 1575*, London, Chatto and Windus Duffield and company.

Gascoigne, G. (1611 edition) *The Noble Aarte of Venerie or Hunting. Wherein is handled and set out the vertues, nature, and properties of fifteen sundry chaces, together with the order and mannerhow to hunt and kill every one of them*, London.

Gaston III Phoebus, Count of Foix 1998 *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus*: manuscript 616 Paris, Bibliothéque nationale, London, Harvey Miller Publishers.

Harrison, W. 1577 (Rhys, E. ed.) *Elizabethan England: from 'a description of England,* London, Walter Scott.

Heyrick, T. 1691 *Miscellany poems by Tho. Heyrick*, Cambridge. Available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A43564.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 3/6/19.

Howell, J. 1640 *Dendrologie ou la Forest de Dodonne*, *or Dodona's Grove, or, The Vocall Forest*, London. Available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A03752.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 12/1/21.

Jacobs, J. (ed.) 1890 *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: the familiar letters of James Howell, historiographer royal to Charles II*, London, David Nutt in the Strand.

John of Salisbury 2009 Nederman, C.J. (ed.) *Policraticus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kirby, J. 1735 *The Suffolk Traveler*, J.Shave, London,. Available at https://archive.org/details/suffolktraveller00kirb/page98. Accessed 4/6/19.

Manwood, J. 1717 *Manwood's treatise of the Forest Laws*, London.

MacCulloch, D.N.J. 1976 *The Chorography of Suffolk*; Suffolk Record Society.

Markham, G. 1607 *Cavelarice, or The English Horseman contayning all the arte of the horse-manship, as much as is necessary for any man to understand, whether he be horse-breeder, horse-ryder, horse-hunter, horse-runner, horse-aambler, horse-farrier, horse-keeper, coachman, smith, or saddler. Together, with the discovery of the subtill trade of mistery of horse-coursers, & an explanation of the excellency of a horses understanding, or how to teach them to doe trickes like Bankes his curtall: and that horses may be made to drawe drie-foot like a hound. Secrets before unpublishe, & now carefully set down for the profit of the whole nation*, London. Available at : https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A06903.001?view=toc. Accessed 30/1/20.

Markham, G. 1616 *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme compiled in the French tongue by Charles Steuns, and John Liebault, Doctors of physicke. And translated into English by Richard Surflet, practitioner into English by Richard Surflet.Now newly reuiewed, corrected, and augmented, with diuers large additions, out of the works of Serres his Agriculture, Vinet his maison champestre, French. Albyterio in Spanish, Grilli in Italian; and other authors. And the husbandrie of France, Italie, and Spaine, reconciled and made to agree with ours here in England* London. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A00419.0001?view=toc. Accessed 5/5/2017.

Markham, G. 1654 (7th edition) *Country Contentments, or, the Husbandmans Recreations: contayning the wholesome experiences in which any man ought to recreate himselfe, after the toyle of more serious businesse, as namely hunting, hawking, coursing with greyhounds, and the lawes of the lease, shooting in longbow or crossbow, bowling, tennis, baloone, the whole art of angling, and the use of the fighting cock,* London.

Markham, G. 1717 *Markham's Master-Piece: containing all knowledge belonging to the smith, farrier, or horse-leach, touching the curing all diseases in horses. Drawn with great pains and approved experience, and the publick practice of the best horse-marshals in Christendom. Divided into two books. The I. Containing cures physical: The II. All cures chyrurgical. Together with the nature, use, and quality of every simple mentioned through the whole work. Now the nineteenth time printed, corrected and augmented, with above thirty new chapters, and forty new medicines, heretofore never published. To which is added, the exactest receipts for curing all diseases, in oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, goats, dogs, and all small cattle. Also the Compleat jockey. Containing methods for the training horses up for racing, with their heats and courses, and manner of keeping, &c. Also, instructions to avoid being cheated by horse-coursers. To which is added in this nineteenth impression, directions to preserve all sorts of cattle from all manner of diseases, and to feed cattle fat, without corn, hay, or grass. Also the way to improve St-Foin. With divers other things never before made publick*, London. Available at https://archive.org/details/markhamsmasterpi00mark/page/n3/mode/2up. Accessed 31/1/20.

Markham, G. 1994 (Best, M.N. ed.) *The English Housewife: containing the inward and outward virtues which ought to be in a complete woman; as her skill in physic, cookery, banqueting – stuff, distillation, perfumes, wool, hemp, flax, dairies, brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to a household*, London, McGill-Queens University Press.

Pace, R. 1967 (Manley, F. & Sylvester, R.S. Trans. & eds.) *De Fructi qui ex Doctrina Percipitur*, Michigan, The University of Michigan.

Peck, F. 1779 *Desiderata Curiosa: or a collection of divers scarce and curious pieces relating chiefly to matters of English history, consisting of choice tracts, memoirs, letters, wills, epitaphs, & c*., London, Thomas Evans in the Strand. Available at https://archive.org/details/desideratacurios00peck/mode/2up. Accessed 12/3/19.

Rich, M. Countess of Warwick 1847 *Memoir of Lady Warwick: also her diary from A.D. 1666 to 1672*, London, The Religious Tract Society.
Rous, J. 1856 (Everett, M.A. Ed.) *Diary of John Rous, incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642*, London, Camden Society.

Samuel, D. 1603 *A Defence of Ryme: against a Pamphlet entitled Observations in the Art of Poesie. Wherein is demonstratively proved, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that comportes with our language*, London. Available at www.luminarium.or/renaissance-editions/ryme.html. Accessed 8/1/20.

Shakespeare, W. 1908 (Brainerd Kellogg, A.M. ed.) *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, New York, Effingham Maynard & Co., Publishers. Available at: https://archive.org/details/shakespearesmids00shak/page/n3/mode/2up/search/bells. Accessed 12/1/20.

Shirley, H. 1618 *The Martyred Soldier*. Available at https://www.oxforddnb.com.view/10.1093/ref.odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25425?rskey=v4fxb. Accessed 1/6/19.

Shirley, E.P. 1867 *Some Account of English Deer Parks, with Notes on the Management of Deer*, London, John Murray.

Somerville, W. 1804 *The Chase: a Poem by William Somerville, Esq*., London, W.Bulmer and Co. Available at https://archive.org/details/chaceapoemembel00somegoog. Accessed 10/6/19.

Stringer, A. 1714 *The Experenc'd Huntsman, or a collection of observations upon the nature and chace of the stagg, buck, hare, fox, marten and otter, With some particular directions concerning the breeding and entring of hounds: also qualification and conduct of a huntsman, and instructions to a park-keeper. All gathered from the experience of thirty years practice*, Belfast, James Blow.

Stukeley, W. 1776 *Itinerarium Curiosum; or, an Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels Through Great Britain*, London.
Surflet, R. 1616 *Maison Rustique; or The Countrie Farme*. Available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A00419.0001.001?view=toc. Accessed 14/4/17.

Twici, W. 1840, *Le Art de Venerie*, *Par Guyllame Twici*. Ex Mss Philips, No.8336. Available at: https://archive.org/details/:eArtDeVenerieExMSS/page/n1/mode/2up. Accessed 23/17/17.

Twitti, W. 1327 *The Art of Hunting* (Danielsson, b. ed. 1977), Stockholm Studies in English, 37, Stockholm, Cynegetica.

Turbervile, G. 1576 *The Noble Art of Venerie of Hunting. Wherein is handled and set out the vertues, nature and properties of fifteen sundry chaces, together with the order and manner how to hunt and kill every one of them*, London, Thomas Purfoot.

Walter of Henley 1890 (Lamond, E. ed.) *Husbandry*, Longmans, Green and Co. London.

Warwick Bond, R. 1893 *Poetical Works of William Basse (1602-1653),* London, Ellis and Elvey.

Secondary printed sources

Aldred, O. & Lucas, G. 2018 'The map as assemblage: landscape archaeology and mapwork' in Gillings, M., Hacigüzeller, P. & Lock, G. *Re-mapping Archaeology: critical perspectives, alternative mappings*, London, Routledge.

Almond, R. 2003 *Medieval Hunt*ing, Stroud, Sutton Publishing.

Alston 1993 'Lamarsh Park, the origin and management of a medieval park', *Colchester Archaeological Group Bulletin*, 35, pp. 3-16.

Anselment, R.A. 2009 *The Occasional Meditations of Mary Rich, countess of Warwick*, Tempe, ACMRS.

Baigent, E. 2005 'Mapping the forests and chases of England and Wales, c. 1530 to c.1670' in Langton, J. & Jones, J. (eds.) *Forests and Chases of England and Wales c.1500 – c.1850: towards a survey and analysis,* Oxford, St John's College Research Centre, 21-28.

Bailey, M. 2007 *Medieval Suffolk: an economic and social history 1200-1500*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press.

Baillie-Grohman, W.A. 1913 *Sport in Art; an iconography of sport during four hundred years from the beginning of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries*, London, Ballantyne and co. Ltd.

Barber, P. 2007 'Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470-1650' in Woodward, D. (ed.) *The History of Cartography, volume 3, Cartography in the European Renaissance, part 2*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 1589-1669.

Barnes, G. & Williamson, T. 2015 *Rethinking Ancient Woodland: the archaeology and history of woods in Norfolk*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

Barrett, J.C & Ko, I. 2009 'A phenomenology of landscape: a crisis in British landscape archaeology?' *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 9(3), pp. 275-294.

Barrett, C. 2018 *Early Modern English Literature and the Poetics of Cartographic Anxiety*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Batey, M. 1991 *Horace Walpole as Garden Historian*: The President's lecture on the occasion of the society's 25th anniversary AGM held at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, 19 July 1990.

Beaumont, W. & Taylor, A. 1989 *Wormingford: an English Village*, Colchester, A. Taylor.

Bendall, A.S. 2009 *Maps, Land and Society: a history, with a carto-bibliography of Cambrideshire estate maps, c.1600-1836*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Berry, E. 2001 *Shakespeare and the Hunt: a cultural and social study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Birrell, J. 1992 'Deer and deer farming in medieval England', *Agricultural History Review*, 40 (2) pp. 112-126.

Birrell, J. 2006 'Procuring, preparing and serving venison in late medieval England' in Woolgar, C., Serjeantson, D. & Waldron, T. (eds.) *Food in Medieval England: history and archaeology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 176-188.

Blackmore, H.L. 2000 *Hunting Weapons from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, New York, Dover Publications Inc.

Blackwood, G. 2001 *Tudor and Stuart Suffolk*, Lancaster, Carnegie Publishing Limited.

Blomefield, F. 1805 *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, Containing a Description of the Towns, Villages and Hamlets*, volume 1, London, W. Bulmer, and co.

Bergman, C. 2007 'A spectacle of beasts: hunting rituals and animal rights in early modern England' in Boehrer, B (ed.) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, Oxford, Berg.

Bettley, J. & Pevsner, N. 2007 *The Buildings of England: Essex*, London, Yale University Press.

Bond, J. 1994 'Forest's chases, warrens and parks in medieval Wessex' in Aston, M. Lewis, c. (Eds.) *The medieval landscape of Wessex*, Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Boothman, L. & Hyde Parker, R. 2006 *Savage Fortune: an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth-century, Woodbridge*, The Boydell Press.

Borlik, T.A. (ed.) 2019 *Literature and Nature in the English Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Boyle, D. 2018 *The Well-Ordered Universe: the philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Brackett, V. 2008 *The Facts on File Companion to British Poetry: 17th and 18th centuries*, New York, Facts on File, Inc.

Braybrooke, R. 1836 The History of Audley End. To which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden in the county of Essex, London, Samuel Bentley. Available at https://archive.org/stream/historyofaudleye00bray#page/n7/mode/2up Accessed 20/5/17.

Brayley, E. (Ed.) 1834 *The Graphic and Historical Illustrator: an original miscellany of literary, antiquarian, and topographical information*, London, J. Chidley.

Bridgwood, B. & Lennie, L. 2009 *History, Performance and Conservation*, Taylor & Francis, Abingdon.

Brooks, H, White, A & Nicholls, F. 2010 *The Lost Tudor Hunting Lodge at Wormingford.* Colchester, Colchester Archaeological Group.

Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 'The hunting lodge and deer park (c.AD 1350-1800)', in Cooke, N., Brown, F & Phillpotts, C. *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford Framework Archaeology, pp. 228-277.

Browning, A. 1966 *English Historical Documents, 1660-1714*, London, Routledge.

Brudenell, M. 2005 *The Lordship Campus, Writtle Agricultural College, Essex*. *An archaeological desk-based assessment*, Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge Report No.627. Available at https://writtle.ac.uk/pdfs/5/writtle%20dt.pdf Accessed 15/3/17.

Brück, J. 2005 'Experiencing the past? The development of a phenomenological archaeology in British prehistory', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 12(1) pp.45-72.

Buisseret, D. (ed.) 1996 *Rural Images: estate maps in the old and new world*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Bucholz, R & Key, N. 2009 (2nd ed.) *Early Modern England 1485-1714: a narrative history*, Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell.

Buisseret, D. 2003 *The Mapmakers' Quest: depicting new worlds in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Cantor, L.M. & Wilson, J.D. 1961-9, 'The medieval deer-parks of Dorset', I-IX, *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 83, 109-16; 84, 145-53; 85, 141-52; 86, 164-78; 87, 223-33; 88, 176-85; 89, 171-80; 90, 241-8; 91, 196-205.

Cantor, L.M. 1962 'The medieval parks of North Staffordshire I', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 2, pp. 72-7.

Cantor, L.M. & Moore, J.S. 1963 'The medieval parks of the Earls of Stafford at Madely', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 3, pp. 37-58.

Cantor, L.M. 1964 'The medieval parks of North Staffordshire, II', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, 4, pp. 61-6.

Cantor, L.M. 1970-71 'The medieval parks of Leicestershire', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 46, pp. 61-6.

Cantor, L.M. & Hatherly, J.M. 1977 'The medieval parks of Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 20(3), pp. 431-7.

Cantor, L.M. 1979 'The medieval parks of England', *Geography*, 64(2) pp. 71-85.

Cantor, L. M. 1983 *The Medieval Parks of England: a gazeteer*, Loughborough, Department of Education, Loughborough University of Technology.

Cantor, L. 1987 *The Changing English Countryside 1400-1700*, London, Routledge Kegan Paul Ltd.

Cantor, L.M. & Squires, A.E. 1997 *The Historic Parks and Gardens of Leicestershire and Rutland*, Newton Linford, Kairos Publishing.

Carew Hazlitt, W (ed.) 1864 *Shakespeare Jest-books*; Vol. 3, London, Willis & Sotheran.

Carter, S. 1999 (ed.) 'Brass scholarship in review', *Proceedings of the Historic Brass Society Conference Cité de la Musique Paris, 1999*, *The Historic Brass Society Series, No.6,* New York, Pendragon Press.

Chitty, J. 1812 *A Treatise on the Game Laws, and on Fisheries; with an appendix, containing all the statutes and cases on the subject, Volume 2, London.*

Clay, C. 1971 'The misfortunes of William, Fourth Lord Petre, 1638-1655', *British Catholic History,* 11(2) pp 87-116.

Clutton, G. & Mackay, C. 1970 'Old Thorndon Hall, Essex: a history and reconstruction of its park and garden', *The Garden History Society,* 2, pp. 27-39.

Coates, P.A. 2005 'The strange stillness of the past: toward and an environmental history of sound and noise', *Environmental History,* 10(4) pp. 636-665.

Cockayne, E. 2007 *Hubbub, Filth, Noise & Stench in England 1600-1770*, London, Yale University Press.

Cockburn, J.S. 1972 *A History of English Assizes, 1558-1714*, London, Cambridge University Press.

Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 *From Hunter Gatherers to Huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology.

Cooke, N. & Phillpotts, C. 2008 'Feudal landscape (AD 600-c1350)', in Cooke, N., Brown, F. & Phillpotts, C. *From hunter gatherers to huntsmen: a history of the Stansted landscape*, Oxford, Framework Archaeology, pp. 180-226.

Cooper, J.P. 1983 *Land, Men and Beliefs: studies in early-modern history*, London, The Hambledon Press.

Cooper, J. (ed.) 2001 *A History of the County of Essex: volume 10 Lexden Hundred (Part) Including Dedham, Earl's Colne and Wivenhoe, London, British History Online*. Available at: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol10/pp295-299.

Copinger, W.A. 1905 *The Manors of Suffolk, volume 1: their history and devolution*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Copinger, W.A. & Copinger, H.B. 1909 *The Manors of Suffolk: the hundreds of Lothingland and Mutford, Plomesgate, and Risbridge*, T.Fisher Unwin.

Couch, S.M. 1992 'The practice of avenue planting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Garden History*, 20(2) pp. 173-200.

Crutchley, S. 2010 *The Light Fantastic: using airborne LiDAR in archaeological survey*, Swindon, English Heritage

Cuddeford, M. 2013 *Coin Finds in Britain: a collector's guide*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing.

Cummings, V., Jones, A. and Watson, A. 2002 'Divided places: phenomenology and asymmetry in the monuments of the Black Mountains, southeast Wales', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12(1), pp. 57-70.

Cummings, V. & Whittle, A. 2003 'Tombs with a view: landscape, monuments and trees', *Antiquity* 77, pp. 255-266.

Cummings, V. & Whittle, A. 2004 *Places of Special Virtue: megaliths in the Neolithic landscapes of Wales*, Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Cummings, V. 2008 'Virtual reality, visual envelopes and characterizing landscape' in David, B. & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp.285-290.

Cummins, J. 2001 *The Hound and the Hawk: the art of medieval hunting*, London, Phoenix Press.

Cummins, J. 2002 'Veneurs s'en vont en paradis: medieval hunting and the 'natural' landscape' in Howe, J., & Wolfe, M. (Eds.) *Inventing medieval landscapes: senses of place in Western Europe*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, pp. 33-55.

Daems, J. 2006 *Seventeenth-century Literature and Culture*, London, Continuum.

Davis, O. 2012 *Processing and Working with LiDAR data in ArcGIS: a practical guide for archaeologists*, Aberystwyth, Royal Commission on the Ancient Historical Monuments of Wales.

De Belin, M. 2013 *From the Deer to the Fox: the hunting transition and the landscape, 1600-1850*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

Del Casino, V.J. & Hanna, S.P. 2005 'Beyond the binaries.' 'A methodological intervention for interrogating maps as representational practices' *ACME: An International E-Journal for Clinical Geographies*, 4(1), pp.34-56.

Dickens, A.G. (ed.) 1951 *The Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory, Suffolk, 1510-1535*, Winchester.

Doubleday, H.A. & Page, W. 2001 (ed. Cooper, J.) 'Wormingford: economic history' *The Victoria History of the County of Essex, Volume 10, Lexden Hundred (Part) Including Dedham, Earls Colne and Wivenhoe*, London, Victoria County History, pp.301-303.

Dovey, Z. *An Elizabethan Progress: the Queen's journey into East Anglia*, Cranbury, Associated University Presses.

Dowd, M.M. 2015 *The Dynamics of Inheritance on the Shakespeare Stage*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Downey, P. 1999 "Sir Tristram's measures of blowing" 'Jacques du Fouilloux, and the English hunting horn repertory of the Baroque era in Carter', S. (ed.) Brass Scholarship in Review: Proceedings of the Historic Brass Society Conference Cité de la Musique Paris 1999, *The Historic Brass Society Series* No. 6, New York, Pendragon Press.

Dryburgh, P. 2005 'The form and function of the Originalia Rolls' in Crook, D. & Wilkinson, L.J., *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III,* Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, pp. 30-43.

Eden, P. 1983 'Three Elizabethan estate surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke & Thomas Langdon' in Tyacke, S. (ed.) *English Map-making 1500-1650*, London, The British Library, pp. 68-84.

Ellis, D. 2012 *The Truth about William Shakespeare: fact, fiction and modern biographies*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Emmison, F.R. 1946 *Guide to the Essex Quarter Sessions and Other Official Records*, Essex Archaeological Society.

Emmison, F.G. 1970 *Elizabethan Life: disorder. Mainly from Essex Sessions and Assize records*, Chelmsford, Essex County Council.

Eve, S. 2012 'Augmenting phenomenology: using augmented reality to aid archaeological phenomenology in the landscape', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 19(4) pp. 582-600.

Evelyn White, C.H. 1885-6 *The East Anglian; or notes and queries on subjects connected with the counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex & Norfolk*, New Series, Vol. 1. Ipswich, Pawsey and Hayes.

Farrer E. 1923 *Deer–parks of East Anglia.*

Fell-Smith, C. 1901 *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1625-1678): her family and friends*, London, Longmans, Green and co.

Finch, J. 2008 'Three men in a boat: biographies and narrative in the historic landscape', *Landscape Research*, 33(5), pp. 511-530.

Finch, J. 2013 'Historic landscapes', in Howard, P; Thompson, E; Waterton, E. *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies,* Abingdon, Routledge, pp. 143-151.

Fleming, A. 1999 'Phenomenology and the megaliths of Wales: a dreaming too far?', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18, pp. 119-125.

Fleming, A. 2006 'Post-processual landscape archaeology: a critique', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 16(3), pp. 267-280.

Fleming, A. 2007 'Don't bin your boots!', *Landscapes* 8(1), pp. 85-99.

Fletcher, J. 2011 *Gardens of Earthly Delight: the history of deer parks*, Oxford, Windgather Press.

Folkerth, W. 2002 *The Sound of Shakespeare*, London, Routledge.

Fretwell, K. 1995 'Lodge Park, Gloucestershire: a rare surviving deer course and Bridgeman layout', *Garden History 23*(2) pp. 133-144.

Fumerton, P. & Guerrini, A. 2010 *Ballads in Britain, 1500-1800*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Fussell, G.E. 1947 *The Old English Farming Books from Fitzherbert to Tull 1523 to 1730*, London, Crosby, Lockwood & Son.

Gardner, P. 2000 'Landscapes, follies and villages', in Christie, C. (ed.) *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 129-178.

Gaukroger, S. 2001 *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Germany, M. 2001 'Fieldwalking at Crondon Park, Stock, Essex', *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History*, 32, pp. 178-188.

Girouard, M. 1978 *Life in the English Country House: a social and architectural history*, London, Yale University Press.

Gomme, A., Gomme, A.H. & Maguir, A. 2008 *Design and Plan in the Country House: from castle donjons to palladian boxes*, London, Yale University Press.

Gosden, C. 2004 'Making and display: our aesthetic appreciation of things and objects', in Renfrew, C., Gosden, C., & Demarrais, E., (eds.) *Substance, Memory, Display: archaeology and art*, Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, pp. 35-46.

Green, S. 1997 'Parks and gardens 1540-1960', in Glazebrook, J. (ed.) *Research and Archaeology: a framework for the eastern counties, resource assessmen*t, Norwich, The Scole Archaeological Committee for East Anglia, pp. 69-73.

Griffin, E. 2007 *Blood Sport: hunting in Britain since 1066*, London, Yale University Press.

Gough, J. 1789 *A history of the People called Quakers. From Their First Rise to the Present Time*, Dublin, Robert Jackson.

Gouk, P. 2000 'Music in Francis Bacon's natural philosophy' in Gozza, P. (ed.) *Number to Sound: the musical way to the scientific revolution*, London, Kluwer Academic Press, pp. 135-149.

Hamilton, S; Whitehouse, R., Brown, K., Combes, P., Herring, E., Thomas, M.S. 2006 'Phenomenology in practice: towards a methodology for a 'subjective' approach', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 9(1) pp. 31-71.

Harris, O.J.T. & Cipolla, C.N. 2017 *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: introducing current perspectives*, London, Routledge.

Harvey, P.D.A. 1993 *Maps in Tudor England*, London, The Public Record Office and The British Library, London.

Harvey, P.D.A. 1996 'English estate maps: their early history and their use as historical evidence', in Buisseret, D. (ed.) *Rural Images: estate maps in the old and new world*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 27-61.

Heater, E.M. 1995 'Early hunting horn calls and their transmission: some new discoveries', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 7, pp. 123-141.

Heidegger, M. 2010 *Being and Time* (Translated by Joan Stambaugh), Albany, State University of New York Press.

Henderson, P. 2007 'A place to 'cultivate the soul': the idea of the villa in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', in Airs, M. & Tyack, G. (eds.) *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700*, Reading, Spire Books Ltd., pp. 25-37.

Hipkin, S. & Pittman, S. 2013 'A grudge among the people': commercial conflict, conspiracy, petitioning and poaching in Cranbrook, 1594-1606', *Rural History*, 24(2), pp. 101-125.

Hooke, D. & Bintley, M. 2019 'Sound in the landscape, a study of the historical literature. Part 1: the early medieval period-the sixth to the eleventh century', *Landscape History* 40 (1), pp. 15-34.

Hoppitt, R. 1997 'Hunting Suffolk's Parks: towards a reliable chronology of imparkment' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press, pp. 146-164.

Hoyle, R.W. (ed.) 2011 *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hunter, J. 1999 *The Essex Landscape: a study of its form and history*, Chelmsford, Essex Record Office Publications.

Hutson, L. 2017 *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500-1700*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hyde, J. 2018 *Singing the News: ballads in mid-Tudor England*, Abingdon, Routledge.

Ingold, T.2000 The *Perception of the Environment: essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*, London, Routledge.

Jalobeanu, D. 2008 'Bacon's brotherhood and its classical sources: producing and communicating knowledge in the project of the great instauration' in Zittel, C., Engel, G., Nanni, R. & Karafyllis, N.C. (eds.) *Philosophies of Technology: Francis Bacon and his Contemporaries*, Leiden, Brill, pp. 197-230.

Johnson, M. 2007a. *Ideas of Landscape*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Johnson, M. 2007b. 'Don't bin your brain!', *Landscapes* 8(2), pp. 126-128.

Judkins, R.R. 2013 'The game of the courtly hunt: chasing and breaking deer in late medieval English literature', *Journal of English and Germanic philology* 112(1), pp. 70-92.

Klein, B. 2001 *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Klemettilä, H. 2015 *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages: evidence from the BnF MS fr.616 of the Livre de chase by Gaston Fébus*, Abingdon, Routledge.

Landry, D. 2000 'Green languages? Women poets as naturalists in 1653 and 1807', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* 63(4), pp. 467-489.

Landry, D. 2001 *The Invention of the Countryside: hunting, walking and ecology in English literature, 1671-1831*, Basingstoke, Palgrave.

Lake Prescott, A. & Munro, I. 2013 'Jest Books' in Hadfield, A. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 343-359.

Lasdun, S. 1991 *The English Park: royal, private and public*, London, Andre Deutsch.

Lewis, E. 1990 'Three Hampshire Wealden houses', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 46, pp. 113-130.

Liddiard, R. (ed.) 2007 *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press.

Liddiard, R. 2010 *The Norfolk Deer Parks Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiversity Project: report for the Norfolk Biodiversity Partnership*, Available at: www.norfolkbiodiversity.org/pdf/reportsandpublications/Norfolk%20Deer%20Parks%20_Rob%20Liddiard_.pdf. Accessed 12/5/16.

Liddiard, R. & Wells, F. 2008 'The Little Park at Castle Hedingham, Essex: a possible late medieval pleasure ground', *Garden History*, 36(1) pp. 85-93.

Liddiard, R. & Williamson, T. 2008 'There by design? Some reflections on medieval elite landscapes', *The Archaeological Journal*, 165(1), pp. 520-535.

Llobera, M. 2007 'Reconstructing visual landscapes', *World Archaeology*, 39(1), pp. 51-69.

Loades, D. 2003 *Elizabeth I*, London, Hambledon and London.

McCann, J., Ryan, P. & Davis, B. 2014 'Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642 (Part 1)', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 58, pp. 28-59.

McCann, J., Ryan, O. & Davis B. 2015 'Buildings of the deer hunt to 1642 (Part 2)', *Transactions of the ancient monument society*, 59, pp. 49-70.

McLynn, F. 2013 *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England*, Abingdon, Routledge.

McRae, A. 1993 'To know one's own; estate surveying and the representation of the land in early modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 56(4), pp. 333-357.

Mackinnon, D. 2014 *Earls Colne's Early Modern Landscapes*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited

Marsh, C. 2010 *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Malcolm. J.L 2002 *Guns and Violence: the English experience*, London, Harvard University Press.

Manning, R.B. 1988 *Village Revolts: social protest and popular disturbances in England, 1509-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Manning, R.B. 1993 *Hunters and Poachers: a social and cultural history of unlawful hunting in England, 1485-1640*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Manning, R.B. 1994 'Unlawful hunting in England, 1500-1640', *Forest and Conservation History*, 38 (1), pp. 16-23.

Martin, E. & Easton, T. 1992 'Moats in the landscape: Parham & Letheringham', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology and History*, XXXVII (4), pp. 399-401.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 2012 *Phenomenology of Perception*, Abingdon, Routledge.

Mileson, S.A. 2005 'The importance of parks in fifteenth century society', in Clark, L (ed) *The Fifteenth-century, V: 'Of Mice and Men': image, belief and regulation in late medieval England*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, pp. 19-37.

Mileson, S.A. 2009 *Parks in Medieval England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Mileson, S. 2018 Sound and landscape in Gerrard, C.M. & Gutiérrez, A. (Eds.) *The Oxford handbook of later medieval archaeology in Britain,* Oxford, Oxford University Press,

Mileson, S. 2018 'Royal and aristocratic landscapes of pleasure' in Gerrard, C.M. & Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 713-727.

Mills, S. 2014 *Auditory Archaeology: understanding sound and hearing in the past*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press Inc.

Moorhouse, S. 2007 'The medieval parks of Yorkshire: function, contents and chronology' in Liddiard, R. *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press, pp. 99-127.

Muir, R. 1999 *Approaches to Landscape*, Macmillan, London.
Munsche, P.B. 1981 *Gentlemen and Poachers: the English Game Laws 1671-1831*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

National Trust. 2010 *Melford Hall: Suffolk*, Swindon, National Trust Enterprises.
Neill, M. 2000 *Putting History to the Question: power, politics, and society in English Renaissance drama*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Newton, K.C. 1980 'The value of pre 17th century documents and maps to medieval archaeology in Essex', in Buckley, D.G. (ed.) *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, CBA research report, no.34, London, pp. 123-125.

Nichols, F. 2009 'Decorative brick from the CAG excavation at Wormingford', *Bulletin of the Colchester Archaeological Group,* 49, pp. 10-16.

Nichols, J. 1823 *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth. Among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess, volume II*, London, John Nichols and Son.

Orme, N. 1992 'Medieval hunting: fact and fancy', in Hanawalt, B.A. *Chaucer's England: literature in historical context*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 133-153.

Palliser, D.M. 1992 *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors 1547-1603*, London, Routledge.

Parker, W. 1873 *The History of Long Melford*, London, Wyman & Sons.

Peterken, G.F. 1969 *Development of Vegetation in Staverton Park, Suffolk, Monks Wood Experimental Station, Abbots Ripton, Huntingdon*. Available at https://fsjfield-studies-council.org/media/719897/vol3.1_61.pdf. Accessed 12/10/19

Pittman, S. 2013 'Disparkment. A case study for Elizabethan and Jacobean parks in Kent', *Southern History,* 35, pp. 44-76.

Pluskowski, A. 2007 'The social construction of medieval park ecosystems: an interdisciplinary perspective', in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press, pp. 63-78.

Powell, W.R. (Ed.) 1983 'Parishes: Aveley', in *A History of the County of Essex*, 8, 1-16, London. Available at https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol8/pp1-16#fnn120. Accessed 23/3/18.

Prince, H. 1967 *Parks in England*, Shalfleet.

Prince, H. 2008 *Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500*, Hatfield, University of Hatfield Press.

Rackham, O. 1986 *The History of the Countryside*, London, Dent.

Rackham, O. 1999 'Woods, parks and forests: the Cressing Temple story', in Green, L.S. (ed.) *The Essex Landscape: in search of its history*, Chelmsford, Essex County Council, pp. 29-34.

Rackham, O. 2001 *Trees and Woodlands in the British Landscape: the complete history of Britain's trees, woods and hedgerows*, London, Phoenix Press.

Rahtz, P.A. 1969 *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955-57*, London, The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Raven, J. 2015 'The demolished mansions of Essex and the Marks Hall estate: reconstruction and the heritage of loss', in Raven J. *Lost Mansions: essays on the destruction of the country house*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 107-124.

Rennell, R. 2012 'Landscape, experience and GIS: exploring the potential for methodological dialogue', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 19(4) pp. 510-525.

Richardson, A. 2005 *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c. 1200-c.1650*, Oxford, Archaeopress.

Richardson, A. 2007 'The King's Chief Delights': a landscape approach to the royal parks of post-conquest England', in Liddiard, R (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press Ltd, pp. 27-48.

Richardson, D. 2011 *Magna Carta Ancestry: a study in colonial and medieval families*, volume 1. (2nd edition), Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc.

Richardson, S. & Dennison, E. 2013 *Dobpark Lodge, Weston, North Yorkshire*, architectural and archaeological services (phase 1) Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd. Beverley, Report no. 2011/405. ROI 1-62.

Roberts, E. & Miles, D.H. 1995 'Edward III's lodge at Odiham', Hampshire*, Medieval Archaeology, 39(1) 91-106.*

Rodwell, W.J. & Rodwell, K.A. 1993 *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church and village, 1950-1977*, Volume 2, London.

Rodwell, W.J. & Rodwell, K.A. 1985 *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church, and village, 1950-1977*, Report 4, CBS Research Report 55, Council for British Archaeology.

Rollins, H.E. 1919 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA* 34 (2) pp. 258-339.

Rooney, A. 1993 *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press.

Rowe, A. 2007 'The distribution of parks in Hertfordshire: landscape, lordship and woodland' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press, pp.128-145.

Rowe, A. 2009 *Medieval Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

Rowe, A. 2019 *Tudor & Early Stuart Parks of Hertfordshire*, Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

Samaha, J. 1974 *Law and Order in Historical Perspective: the case of Elizabethan Essex*, London, Academic Press.

Sandon, E. 1977 *Suffolk Houses: a study of domestic architecture,* Woodbridge, Baron Publishing.

Scarfe, N. 1980 'Excursions', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History,* 34(4) pp. 299-321.

Schofield, J. & Vince, A. 2005 *Medieval Towns: the archaeology of British towns in their European setting*, London, Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Schwoerer, L.G. 2016 *Gun Culture in Early Modern England*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press.

Scot, J. 1872 *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen From 1550 to 1650*, Edinburgh, William Paterson.

Sharpe, J.A. 1999 (2nd edition) *Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1750*, London, Routledge.

Sharpe, J.A. 1983 *Crime in Seventeenth-century England: a county study*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Shirley, E.P. 1867 *Some Account of English Deer Parks: with notes on the management of deer*, London, John Murray.

Smets, A. & van den Abeele, B. 2007 'Medieval hunting' in Resl, B. (ed.) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, Oxford, Berg, pp. 59-80.

Smith, B.R. 1999 *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: attending to the O-factor*, London, the University of Chicago Press.

Smith, B.R. 2004 'The soundscapes of early modern England' in Smith, M.M. (ed.) *Hearing History: a reader*, London, The University of Georgia Press, pp. 85-111.

Smith, S., Watson, J. & Kenny, A. (eds.) 2015 *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Smith, D.K. 2016 *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: rewriting the world in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell*, London, Routledge.

Smith, B.R. 2020 'Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder: the challenges of acoustic ecology' in Erlman, V. (ed.) *Hearing Cultures: essays on sound, listening and modernity*, Abingdon, Routledge, pp. 21-42.

Stamper, P. 1988 'Woods and parks' in Astill, G. & Grant, A. (eds.) *The Countryside of Medieval England*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd, pp. 128-148.

Stuart Mason, A. 1990 *Essex on the Map: the 18th century land surveyors of Essex*, Chelmsford, Essex Record Office.

Suzuki, M. 2015 'Animals and the political in Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish', *The Seventeenth-Century*, 30(2) pp. 229-247.

Sykes, N. 2007 'Animal bones and animal parks' in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press Ltd., pp. 49-62.

Sykes, N., Ayton, G. Bowen, F. et al 2016 'Wild to domestic and back again: the dynamics of fallow deer management in medieval England (c.11-16th century AD)', *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research*, 2(1) pp. 113-126.

Taigel, A. & Williamson, T. 1991 'Garden design in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Journal of Garden History*, 11 (1) 1 pp. 1-111.

Taylor, C. 2004 'Ravensdale Park Derbyshire, and medieval deer coursing'. *Landscape History*, 26, pp. 37-57.

Taylor, C. 2013 'Moat, park, manor house, rectory, palace and village: elements of the landscape at Doddington, Cambridgeshire', *Landscape History* 34(2) pp. 27-42.

Thiébaux, M. 1967 'The medieval chase', *Speculum*, 42(2) pp. 260-274.

Thirsk, J. 1997 *Alternative Agriculture: a history from the Black Death to the present day*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Thomas, J. 1993 'The hermeneutics of megalithic space' in Tilley, C. (ed*.) Interpretative archaeology*, Oxford, Berg, pp. 73-98.

Thomas, J. 2004 *Archaeology and Modernity*, London, Routledge.

Thomas, J. 2008 'Archaeology, landscape, and dwelling' in David, B. & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp. 300-333.

Thomas, K. 1984 *Man and the Natural World: changing attitudes in England 1500-1800*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Thuresson, B. 1968 *Middle English Occupational Terms* (Lund Studies in English Vol.19), Copenhagen, Munksgaard.

Tilley, C. 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments,* Oxford, Berg Publishers.

Tilley, C. 2005 ‘Phenomenological archaeology’ in Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (eds.) *Archaeology the Key Concepts*, London, Routledge.

Tilley, C. 2008 ‘Phenomenological approaches to landscape archaeology’ in David, B. & Thomas, J. (eds.) *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, pp. 271-276.

Tilley, C. 2010 *Interpreting Landscapes: geologies, topographies, identities; explorations in landscape phenomenology 3*, Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press.

Vale, M. 1977 *The Gentleman’s Recreations: accomplishments and pastimes of the English gentleman 1580-1630*, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer Ltd.

Waites, I. 2012 *Common Land in English Painting, 1700-1830*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Walker, S.J. 2007 ‘Making and breaking the stag, the construction of the animal in the early modern hunting treatise’, in Enenkel, K.A.E. & Smith, P.J. (eds.) *Early Modern Zoology: the construction of animals in science. Literature and the visual arts*, Leiden, Brill, pp. 317-338.

Wall, W. 1996 ‘Renaissance national husbandry: Gervase Markham and the publication of England’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27(3) pp. 767-785.

Walter, J. 2004 *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester plunderers*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Ward, J. 1964 ‘The Honour of Clare in Suffolk in the early middle ages’, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology*, 30 (Part 1), pp. 94-111.

Watson, A. 2001 ‘Composing Avebury’, *World Archaeology,* 33, pp. 296-314.

Watt, T. 1991 *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Way, T. 1997 *A Study of the Imparkment on the Social Landscape of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire from c.1080 to 1760* (vols. 258-259), British Archaeological Reports.

Wedlake Brayley, E. (ed.) 1834 *The Graphic and Historical Illustrator: an original miscellany of literary, antiquarian, and topographical information*, London, J. Chidley.

Wells, E.J. 2018 ‘Overview: the medieval senses’, in Gerarrd, C. & Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britatin*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 681-696.

Whittingham, A.B. 1992 *Bury St. Edmunds Abbey: Suffolk*, London, English Heritage.

Whyte, N. 2009 *Inhabiting the Landscape: place, custom and memory, 1500-1800*, Oxford, Windgather Press.

Wiggins, M. & Richardson, C. 2012 *British Drama 1533-1642: a catalogue, volume II: 1567-1589*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Williamson, T. 1998 *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park: garden design in Norfolk, England, c. 1680-1840,* Oxford, Archaeopress.

Williamson, T. 1995 *Polite Landscapes: gardens and society in eighteenth-century England*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press.

Williamson, T. 1999 'The archaeological study of post-medieval gardens: practice and theory', in Tarlow, S. & West, S. (eds.) *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, London, Routledge, pp. 246-260.

Williamson, T. 2000 *Suffolk's Gardens and Parks: designed landscapes from the Tudors to the Victorians*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press.

Williamson, T. 2013 'Landscape into art: painting and place-making in England c.1760-1830', in Arnold, D. & Petters Corbett, D. (eds.) *A Companion to British Art 1600 to the Present*, Chichester, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 373-396.

Wilson, A. 2004 'Making space for monuments: notes on the representation of experience' in Renfrew, C., Gosden, C., & Demarrais, E. (eds.) *Substance, Memory, Display: archaeology and art*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for archaeological Research, pp.79-96.

Winchester, A.J.L. 2007 'Baronial and manorial parks in medieval Cumbria', in Liddiard, R. (ed.) *The Medieval Park: new perspectives*, Macclesfield, Windgather Press, pp. 165-184.

Woodfield, P. 1991 'Early buildings in gardens in England' in Brown, A.E. (ed.) *Garden Archaeology: papers presented to a conference at Knutson Hall, Northamptonshire, April 1988*, CBA Research Report no. 78, London, Council for British Archaeology, pp. 123-137.

Woolgar, C.M. 2006 *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, London, Yale University Press.

Wrightson, K. & Levine, D. 1995 *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-170*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Unpublished academic work

Bevan, J. 2011 *Foxhunting and the Landscape Between 1700 and 1900; with particular reference to Norfolk and Shropshire*, unpublished PhD, University of East Anglia.

Coveney, N. 2014 *Moated Sites in Medieval England: a reassessment*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester.

Fletcher, D. 1990 *Estate Maps of Christ Church, Oxford: the emergence of map-consciousness c1600 to 1840*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter.

Hoppitt, R. 1992 *A Study of the Development of Deer Parks in Suffolk from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth century*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia.

McKnight, P. 2011 *Rural Sports: the poetry of fishing, fowling, and hunting, 1650-1800*. Unpublished PhD. University of Ottawa. Available at https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33528176.pdf. Accessed 12/4/19.

Moore, J. 2010 *Wormingford Lodge Hills Archaeological Excavation: the historical background*, Colchester Archaeological Group unpublished report.

Pittman, S. 2011 *Elizabethan and Jacobean Deer Parks in Kent*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kent.

Robey, A.C. 1991 *The Village of Stock, Essex, 1550-1610: a social and economic survey*, unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics.

Williams, J.J. 1998 *Hunting in Early Modern England: an examination with special reference to the reign of Henry VIII*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham.

Williamson, T. 2016 *Quendon Deer Park: history and proposals for restoration*, unpublished report, University of East Anglia.

Websites

Biographies. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB).

Baker, J.H. 2008 Cordell, Sir William (1522-1581), lawyer and speaker of the House of Commons. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6306. Accessed 18/7/18.

Bryson, A. 2018 Cheke, Sir John)1514-1557), humanist, royal tutor, and administrator. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5211. Accessed 23/4/19.

Callow, J. 2008 Petre, Willliam, fourth Baron Petre (1625/6-1684), nobleman and victim of the Popish Plot. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001-9780198614128-e-22049. Accessed 18/5/18.

Egerton, J. 2004 Seymour, James (Jimmy) (1702?-1752), painter and draughtsman. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25176. Accessed 21/6/20.

Kathman, D. 2004 Shirley, Henry (1591x7-1627), playwright. *Oxford Dictionary of National* Biography, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25425. Accessed 6/10/19.

Mendelson, S.H. 2004 *Rich* (née Boyle), Mary, countess of Warwick (1624-1678), noblewoman. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23487. Accessed 12/12/19.

Meyer, A. 2008 Wootton, John (1681/2-1764), landscape painter and sporting artist. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/re:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29965. Accessed 12/11/20.

O'Connell, S. 2004 Barlow, Francis (d.1704), painter and etcher. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1432?rskey=EKJdSN&result=1. Accessed 23/6/20.

Steggle, M. 2006. *Markham, Gervase* (1568?-1637), author. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18065?rskey=dvPbgL&result=14. Accessed 29/10/19.

Ward, J.C. 2008 Clare, Elizabeth de (Elizabeth de Burgh; known as lady of Clare (1294/5-1360), magnate and founder of Clare College, Cambridge. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5435. Accessed 12/4/19.

Waugh, S.L. 2004 Thomas (Thomas of Brotherton), first earl of Norfolk (1300-1338), magnate. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27196. Accessed 12/6/19.

Woolf, D.R. 2008 Howell, James (1594?-1666), historian and political writer. Available at: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13974?rskey=Zsc9QM&result=2. Accessed: 2/7/19.

Parks and lodges.

Cambridgeshire Historic Environment Record (CHER)

CHER, Monument Record 07446A*, Historic Site Information for Chippenham Park.* Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MCB8994&resourceID=1000 Accessed 2/4/2019.

CHER, Monument Record 01063, *Historic Site information for Doddington, Bishop's Palace*. Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MCB1344&resourceID=1000 Accessed 25/7/18.

National Heritage List For England (NHLE)

NHLE, Listed Building List Entry Number 1122356, *Listed Building Information for Boblow House,* Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1122356 Accessed 21/4/17.

NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1000615, *Historic Site Information for Chippenham Hall*. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000615. Accessed 28/3/19.

NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1011328, *Listed Building Information for Earl Soham Lodge:* https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011328 Accessed 21/4/17.

NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1017002, *Historic Site Information for Franklin's Island.* Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1017002. Accessed 21/4/17.

NHLE, Listed Building List Entry Number 1165605, *Listed Building Information for The Warren, Loughton.* Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1165605. Accessed 28/3/17.

NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1015013, *Historic Site Information for Motte Castle in Kimbolton Park, known as Castle Hill*. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry1015013. Accessed 14/10/18.

NHLE, Listed Building List Entry Number 1112856, *Listed Building Information for Leighs Lodge*. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1112856 Accessed 29/3/20.

NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1000228, *Historic Site Information for Melford Hall*. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000228. Accessed 1/8/18.

NHLE, Listed Building, List Entry Number 1033702, Listed Building Information for Melford Hall. Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1033702. Accessed 1/8/18.

NHLE, Monument List Entry Number 1016698*, Historic Site Information for Moathill Barn Lodge.* Available at: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1016698 Accessed 21/4/17.

Suffolk Historic Environment Record (SHER)

SHER, Monument Record BUH 026, *Listed Building Information for Brundish Lodge.* Available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Monument/MSF23752 Accessed 21/4/17.

SHER, Monument Record ETN 005*, Historic Site Information for The White House; Easton Mansion; Easton Park.* Available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/hbsmr-web/record.aspx?UID=MSF8293-The-White-House-Easton-Mansion-Easton-Park-(PMed)&pageid=16&mid=9. Accessed 21/4/17.

SHER, Monument Record MWN 001*, Historic Site Information for Folly Farm; Moneweden Folly; Monewden Lodge.* Available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/hbsmr-web/record.aspx?UID=MSF3248-Folly-Famr-Monewden-Lodg&pageid=12&mid=16. Accessed 21/4/17.

SHER, Monument Record LMD 058*, Listed Building Information for Melford Hall*. Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF11255&resourceID=1017. Accessed 1/4/19.

SHER, Monument Record LMD 058*, Listed Building and Historic Site Information for Melford Hall and Park.* Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF11256&resourceID=1017. Accessed 1/4/19.

SHER, Monument Record, Monument Record LRM 003*, Listed Building Information for Letheringham Lodge.* Available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/hbsmr-web/record.aspx?UID=MSF3255-Letheringham_Lodge&pageid=16&mid=9. Accessed 12/4/17.

SHER, Monument Record HAD 045*, Historic Site Information for Rectangular Moat, Park Yards*. Available at: https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/hbsmr-web/record.aspx?UID=MSF14017-ParkYardspageid=12&mid=16. Accessed 12/4/17.

SHER, Monument Record WNN 008, *Historic Site Information for Staverton Park.* Available at: https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSF19450&resourceID=1017 Accessed 22/1/18

Other websites for Parks and Lodges

History of Chippenham Parks and Gardens, *Historic Site Information for Chippenham Park.* Available at: https://www.Chippenhamparkgardens.info/history/ Accessed 2/4/19.

City of London*, Historic Site Information for Wanstead Park & near Knighton Wood.* Available at: https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/green-spaces/epping-forest/heritage/Documents/Archaeological%20and%20Historica%20l summary.pdf. Accessed 28/3/19.

Heritage Gateway, *Description of Nonsuch Banqueting House*. Available at: www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=615535&sort=4&search=all&criteria=Nonsuch%20palace&rational=q&recordsperpage=10 Accessed 28/3/17.

Collins, M. 2014 *Letheringham Lodge: understanding the extent of listing part 1*. Available at: http://www.letheringhamlodge.com/curtilage-report-by-michael-collins. Accessed 1/12/19.

Alston, L.A. 2014 *Letheringham Lodge, Suffolk, Historic Assessment.* Available at: http://www.letheringhamlodge.com/leigh-alston Accessed 1/12/19.

Aitkens, P. 2014 A Heritage Asset Assessment of Letheringham Lodge. Available at: www.letheringhamlodge.com/new-page-1. Accessed 1/12/19.

Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History Excursions (Letheringham) 2006: 'Reports and notes on some findings'. Available at: suffolkinstitute.pdfsvv.co.uk/customers/Suffolk%20Institute/2014/01/10/Volume%20XLI%203%20(2007)Excursions%202006%Anon380%20to%20404.pdf. Accessed 4/12/19.

Parks and Gardens, Historic *Site Information for Washingley Hall.* Available at: https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/washingley-hall. Accessed 28/3/19.

Ballad websites.

Broadside Ballads Online: from the Bodleian Libraries. Available at: https://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

Anon 1663-1674? *The Hunting of the Hare with Her Last Will and Testament: as Performed on Bamstead Downs, by Cony-Catchers, and Their Hounds.* Available at: https://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/24332.gif. Woodcut available at: https: //ebba.english.ucsb.english.ucsb.edu/ballad33446/bia. Accessed 12/3/19.

English Broadside Ballads Archive. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.

Anon 1620 *To Him Bun, Take Him Bun: or The Hunting of the Conney*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballads/20212/image. Accessed 5/6/19.

Anon 1663-1674? *The Hunting of the Hare with Her Last Will and Testament: as Performed on Bamstead Downs, by Cony-Catchers, and Their Hounds.* Available at: https://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/24332.gif. Woodcut available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.english.ucsb.edu/ballad33446/bia. Accessed 12/3/19.

Anon. 1675 *God Speed the Plow,and Bless the Corn-mow. A Dialogue Between the Husband-Man and Serving Man*. Available at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30659/transcription. Accessed 1/6/2019.

Anon. 1684-1686? *The Country Gentleman; or, the happy life. To an Excellent Tune, Or, Hey Boys up go we.* Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35272/xml.

Anon 1687-1732? *An Excellent Ballad of Noble Marquess and Patient Grissel*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35510/image. Woodcut available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35510/bia. Accessed 5/6/19.

Anon. 1669-1709 *The Fox-Chace: or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds*. Available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/image. Accessed 12/11/19. Woodcuts available at: https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30076/bia. Accessed 24/4/21.

Maps

EDINA Digimap

Fletcher, S. *Easty Park* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000, Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 12/5/21.

Fletcher, S. *Easty Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1:50 000, Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/7/21.

Fletcher, S*. Easty Park, Soil Texture* (PDF map), Scale 1:50 000, Print Scale 1: 10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS). UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 4/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *The Little Park (Melford Park)* (PDF) map, Scale 1:25 000. Print scale 1: 10, 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 3/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *The Little Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000, Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *The Little Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000, Print scale 1:10 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *The Little Park 1979* OS County Series First Edition map (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1:10 000, Suffolk County, Published 1979, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created June 2021.

Fletcher, S. *Lopham Park* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000, Print scale 1:20 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey. G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, https://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 12/5/21.

Fletcher, S. *Lopham Park* 1985 OS County Series First Edition map (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1: 20 000, Norfolk County, Published 1985, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 4/6/21.

Fletcher, S. *Lopham Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map) Scale 1:25 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS) UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service), http://edina.ac.uk. Created 2/6/21.

Fletcher, S. Lopham Park, Soil Texture (PDF Map) Scale 1:25 000 (geospatial data), Version 1.10, British Geological Survey (BGS) UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 3/6/21.

Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Lopham Park*. National Library Scotland, LiDAR DTM 50cm – 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data. Environment Agency 2019-2020. Using: https://maps.nls/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=14.8533333333333316&lat=52.40826&lon=1.01587&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DTM_1m. Created 3/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *Wormingford Park modern map* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000. Print scale 1:10 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, GB, Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. created 2/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *Wormingford Park 1980s*. OS County Series 1st Edition (TIFF geospatial data) Scale 1:10 000, Essex County, Published 1988, Landmark Information Group, UK. Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 2/7/21.

Fletcher, S. *Wormingford Park Geology, Rock Type* (PDF map), Scale 1: 50 000. Print scale 1:10 000(geospatial data), Version 1.10, British geological Survey (BGS), UK Using EDINA Geology Digimap Service, http://edina.ac.uk. Created 2/7/21.

National Library of Scotland (NLS)

Fletcher, S. *Easty Park, north section*, First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map. Suffolk Sheet LXII. N.W. (includes: Cowlinge; Great Thurlow; Hundon; Stradishall), surveyed 1884, published 1885 National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101577971. Created June 2021.

Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Easty Park.* National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DTM 50cm – 1 metre. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data. Environment Agency. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15.39999999999995&lat=52.12803&lon=o.55800&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DTM_1m. Created June 2021.

Easty Park, south section, First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map. Suffolk Sheet LXII. S.W. (includes: Barnardiston; Hundon; Kedington), surveyed 1884, published 1885. National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101577986. Created June 2021.

Fletcher, S. First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXXII.NE (includes: Acton; Long Melford), surveyed 1885, published 1885, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101578292. Created 2/6/21.

Fletcher, S. First Edition OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Suffolk Sheet LXXII.NE (includes: Acton; Long Melford), surveyed 1885, published 1885, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101578292. Created 2/6/21.

Fletcher, S. *LiDAR map of Wormingford Park*. National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DSM 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data, Environment Agency 2019. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15.63666666666666&lat=51.95781&lon=0.80426&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DSM_1m. Created June 2021.

Fletcher, S. OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Norfolk Sheet CIV. SE (includes: Bressinghmam; North Lopham; South Lopham), surveyed 1883, published 1884, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/101584355. Created 2/6/21.

Fletcher, S. OS Six-Inch to the Mile map, Norfolk Sheet CIV.NE (includes: Banham; Bressingham; Kenninghall; North Lopham), surveyed 1882-1883, published 1884, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view101584331. Created 2/6/21.

Fletcher, S. LiDAR map of Melford Park. National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DSM 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data. Environment Agency 2019. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=16.33999999999999&lat=52.08452&lon=0.72945&layers=6&b=15. Created July 2021.

Fletcher, S. *Wormingford Park, OS 6 inches to the mile map*, Essex XVIII (includes: Great Horkesley; Little Horkesley; Nayland with Wissington; Wormingford), published 1880, surveyed 187, National Library of Scotland. Available at: https://maps.nls.uk/view/102341846. Created 2/6/21.

Fletcher, S*. The Hunting Landscape of Wormingford Park.* National Library of Scotland, LiDAR DSM 1m. (England, Scotland, Wales) (PDF map), geospatial data, Environment Agency 2019. Using: https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15.63666666666666&lat=51.95781&lon=0.80426&layers=6&right=LIDAR_DSM_1m. Created June 2021.

Miscellaneous websites

The British Museum. Available at: https://britishmuseum.org.
Wenceslaus Hollar *Hare Hunting*. After Francis Barlow 1671. Available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1870-0625-50. Accessed: 18/7/20;

Cotswold Archaeology 2014 *Broxted Solar Farm, Former Stradishall Airfield, Archaeological Watching Brief.* Available at: https://reports.cotswoldarchaeology.co.uk/content/uploads/2015/04/Broxted-Solar-Farm-WB-report-14070-amended.pdf. Accessed 12/5/18.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Available at: https://www.metmuesum.org.

Portrait of James Howell Standing in a Forest (1641) by Claude Mellan and Abraham Bosse. Etching and engraving after an unknown artist. Available at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/393277. Accessed 12/1/21.

Valance (one of a set of three) 1600-1633 Canvas worked with silk and metal thread; tent, long and short, and couching stitches. Available at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/228975. Accessed 5/11/20.

National Portrait Gallery. Available at: https://www.npg.org.uk.

Line engraving portrait of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas) Duchess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne by Peter van Lisebetten after Abraham Diepenbeeck. Available at: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw135460/William-Cavendish-1st-Duke-of-Newcastle-upon-Tyne-and-Margaret-Cavendish-ne-Lucas-Duchess-of-Newcastle-upon-Tyne?search=sp&OConly=true&sText=margaret+cavendish&rNo=12. Accessed 1/3/21.

Line engraving portrait of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, Unknown artist (1678) Available at: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw139531/Mary-Rich-ne-Boyle-Countess-of-Warwick?LinkID=mp61759&search=sas&Text=Mary+rich&role=sit&rNo=0. Accessed 12/1/21.

Nuremberg Jettons at Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. Available at: https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/nuremberg-jettons-sbt/. Accessed 12/1/20.

Senate House Library, University of London Feature of the Month: Gervase Markham on good husbandry. Available at: https://senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/blog/feature-month-gervase-markham-good-husbandry. Accessed 3/11/19.

Victoria and Albert Museum. *Hunting Sword ca. 1640*. Image and description available at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/078518/hunting-sword-unknown/. Accessed 20/11/20.

Royal Collection Trust

Norden, J. 1607 A *Description of the Honor of Windesor*. Available at: https://www.rct.uk/collection/1142252/a-description-of-the-honor-of-windesor. Accessed 18/5/21.

Yale Center for British Art. Available at: https://britishart.yale.edu.

Francis Barlow. *Man Hunting with a Pointed Staff and a Hound*, ca.1645-1650. Available at: https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:13874. Accessed: 23/6/20.
John Wooton *Hounds in a Landscape* 1682-1764, (undated). Available at https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:47397. Accessed 12/11/20

John Wooton *Releasing the Hounds* (ca.1740-1750) Available at: https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catlog/tms: Accessed 12/11/20.

Brown ink drawing attributed to James Seymour. Huntsman Galloping. Available at: https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:47416. Accessed: 21/6/20

James Seymour, 1702-1752, British, Set of Twelve: 4 Fox Huntings. 4 Stag Huntings. 4 Hare Huntings, c.1750. Available at https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:44931. Accessed: 21/6/20.

The Yorkshire Garland Group, *Dido Bendigo,* Available at: http://www.yorkshirefolksong.net/song.cfm?songID=76. Accessed 23/4/21.

Historic Landscape Character Characterization and Assessments

Landscape Character Assessment of Breckland District. Final Report Prepared for Breckland Council by Land Use Consultants 2007, London. Available at: https://www.breckland.gov.uk/media/2069/Landscape-Character-Assessment/pdf/Landscape-Character-Assessment_-_May2007_Final2/pdf. Accessed 1/7/21.

Bennett, A. 2011 *The Historic Landscape characterization Project for Essex, Volume 3*: HLC project results: District characterization, Essex County Council in association with English Heritage. Available at: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t-1636-1/dissemination/pdf/HLC_report_final_vol3_part6.pdf. Accessed2/10/20.

Colchester Borough Historic Environment Characterization Project, 2009, Essex County Council. Available at: https://cbccrmdata.blob.core.windows.net/noteattachment/Colchester%20Historic%20Characterisation%Report%202009.pdf. Accessed 2/10/20.

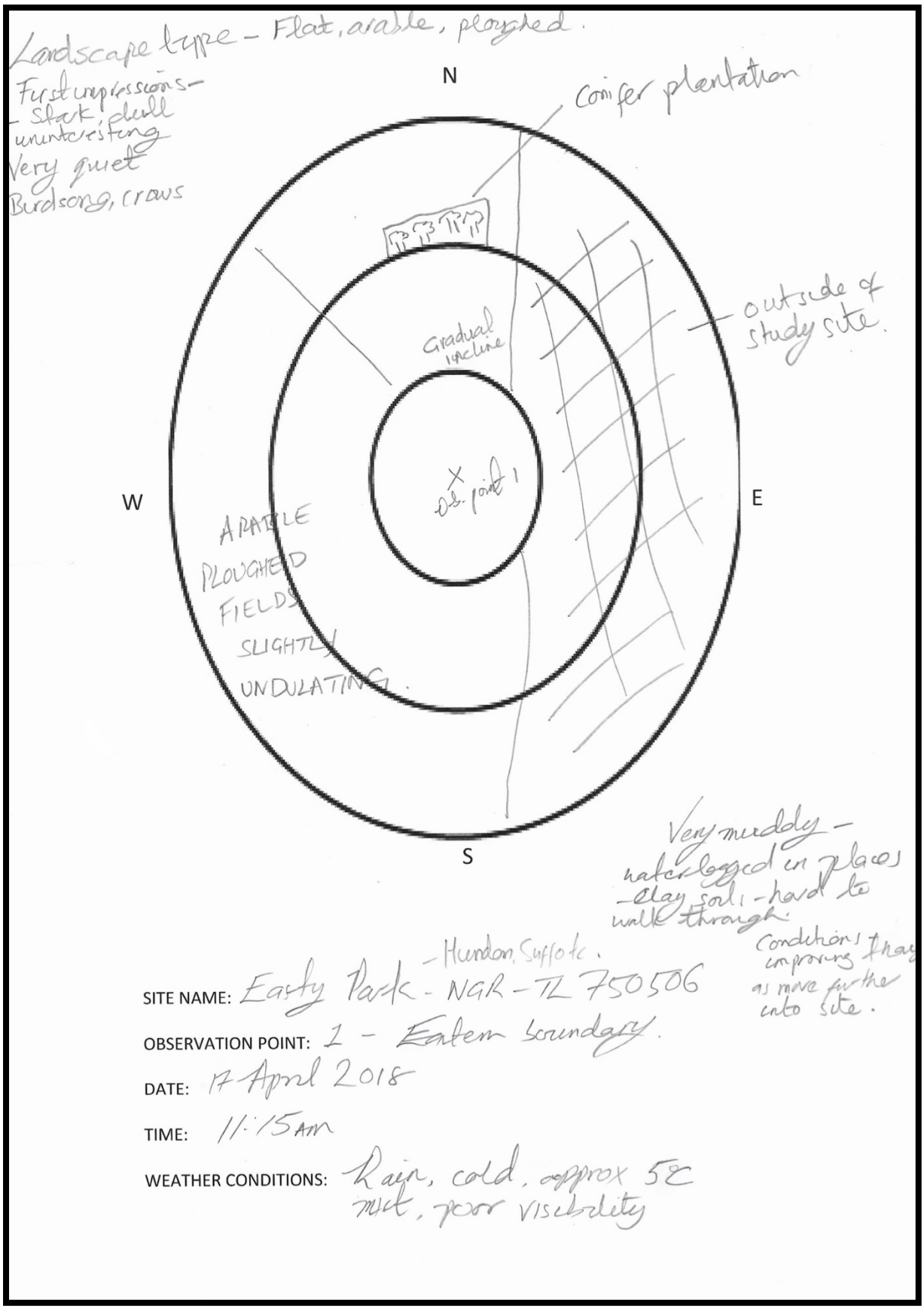
Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. Undulating Ancient Farmlands 2010. Available at: *https://suffolklandscape.org.uk/landscapes/undulating-ancient-farmlands/ Accessed: 14/5/21; Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. Undulating Estate Farmlands* 2010. Available at: https://suffolklandscape.org.uk/landscapes/undulating-estate-farmlands/ Accessed 14/5/21.

Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. Undulating Ancient Farmlands 2010. Available at: *https://suffolklandscape.org.uk/landscapes/undulating-ancient-farmlands/* Accessed: 14/5/21.

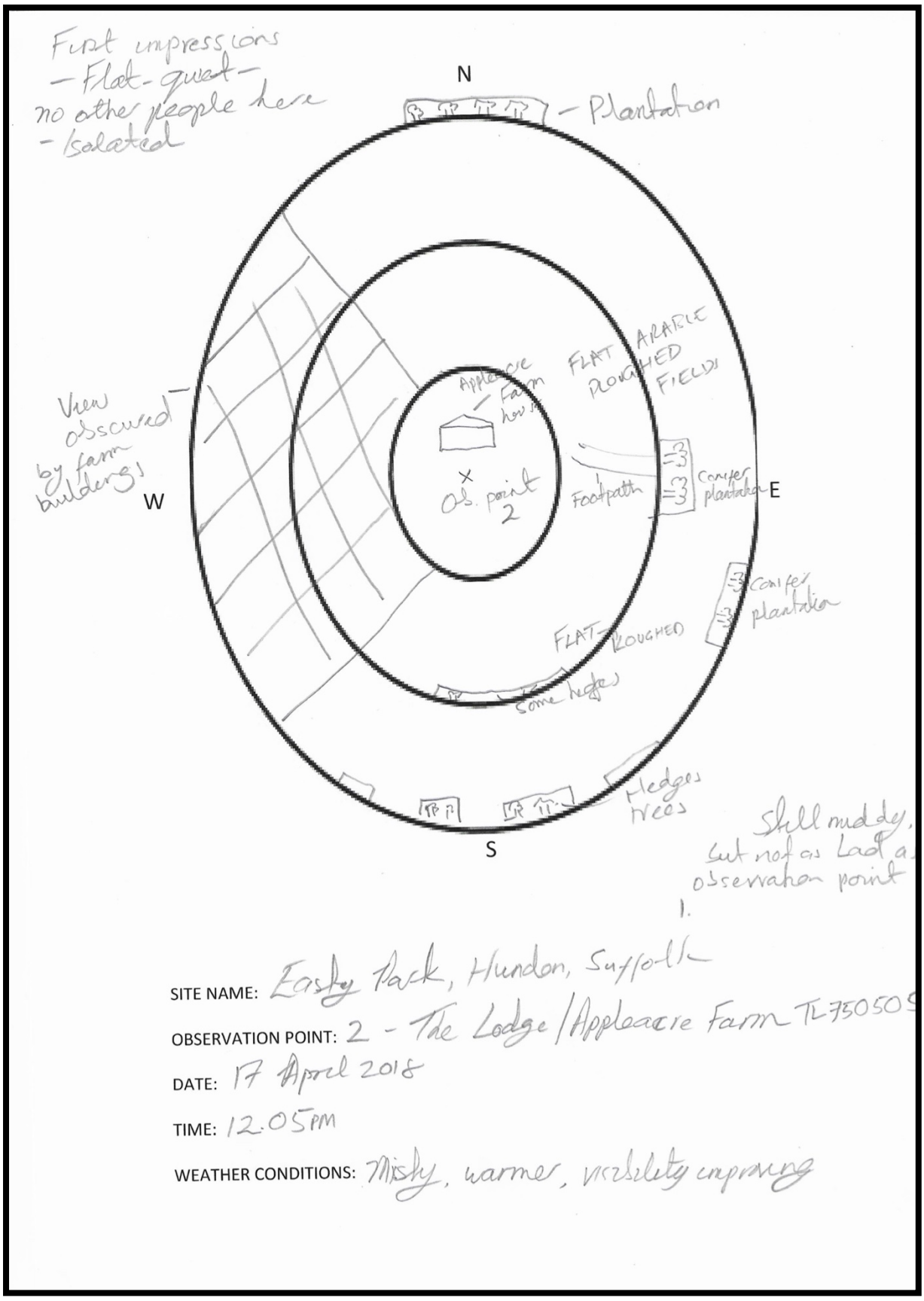
Suffolk Landscape Character Assessment. *Rolling Estate Farmlands* 2008. Available at https://suffolkladscape.org.uk/landscapes/rolling-estate-farmlands. Accessed 2/5/21; *Joint Babergh and Mid-Suffolk District Council Landscape Guidance* 2015. Available at: https://www.babergh.gov.uk/assets/Strategic-Planning/current0Evidence-Base-Joint-Landscape-Guidance_Aug-2015.pdf. Accessed 2/5/21.

Joint Babergh and Mid-Suffolk District Council Landscape Guidance 2015: 53: Fletcher, S. *The Little Park (Melford Park)* (PDF map), Scale 1:25 000. Print scale 1:10, 000, OS Strategi (geospatial data) Updated Dec 2020. Ordnance Survey, G.B. Using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, http, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap. Created 3/7/21.

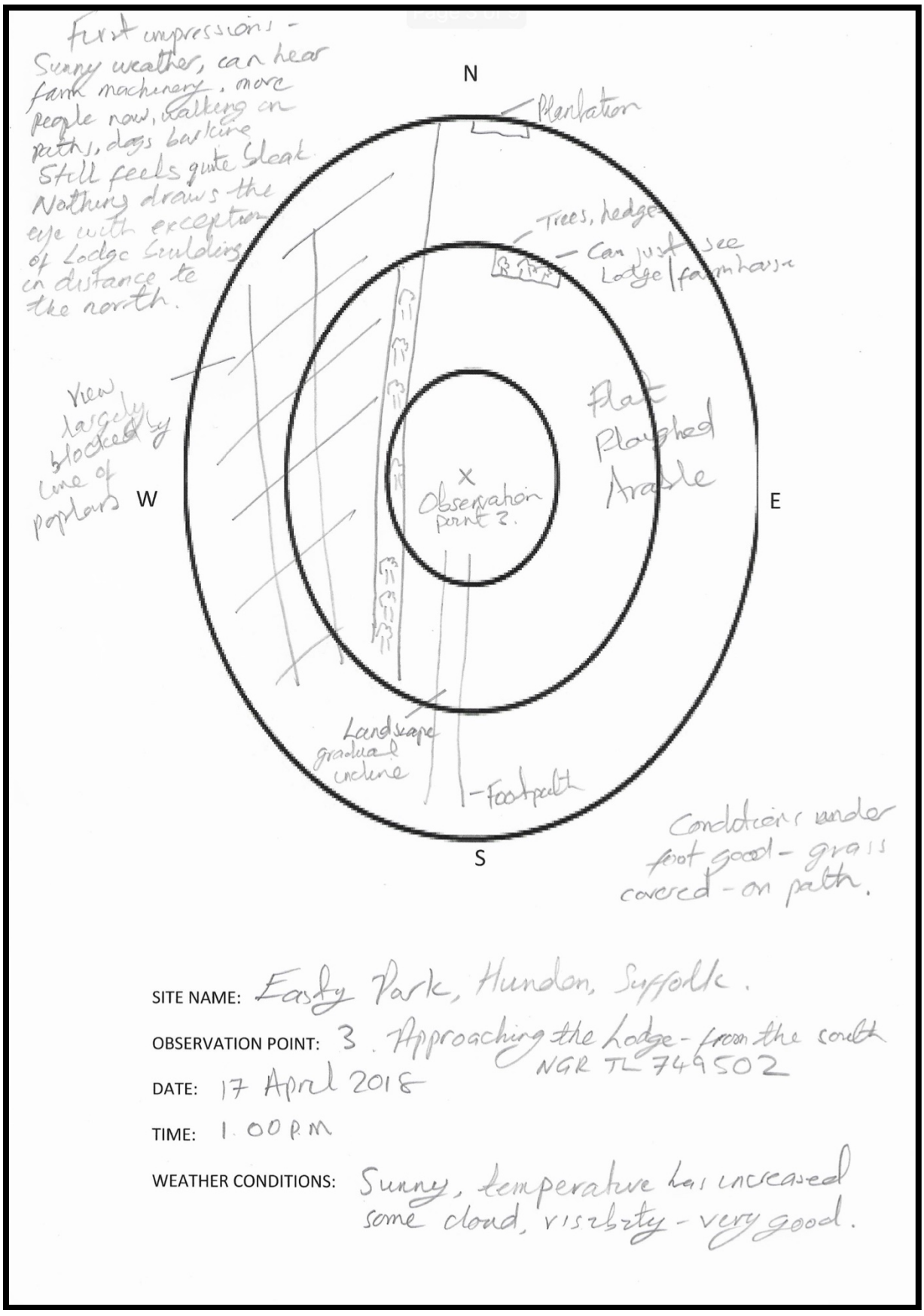
Appendix 1


Landscape type – Flat, arable, ploughed.
First impressions – stark, chill, unwelcoming
Very quiet
Birdsong, crows
N
Conifer plantation
outside of study site.
Gradual incline
Obs. point 1
W
E
ARABLE PLOUGHED FIELDS SLIGHTLY UNDULATING.
S
Very muddy – waterlogged in places – clay soil – hard to walk through.
Conditions improving as move further into site.
SITE NAME: Easty Park – Hundon, Suffolk. NGR – TL 750506
OBSERVATION POINT: 1 – Eastern boundary.
DATE: 17 April 2018
TIME: 11:15 AM
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Rain, cold, approx 5°C mist, poor visibility

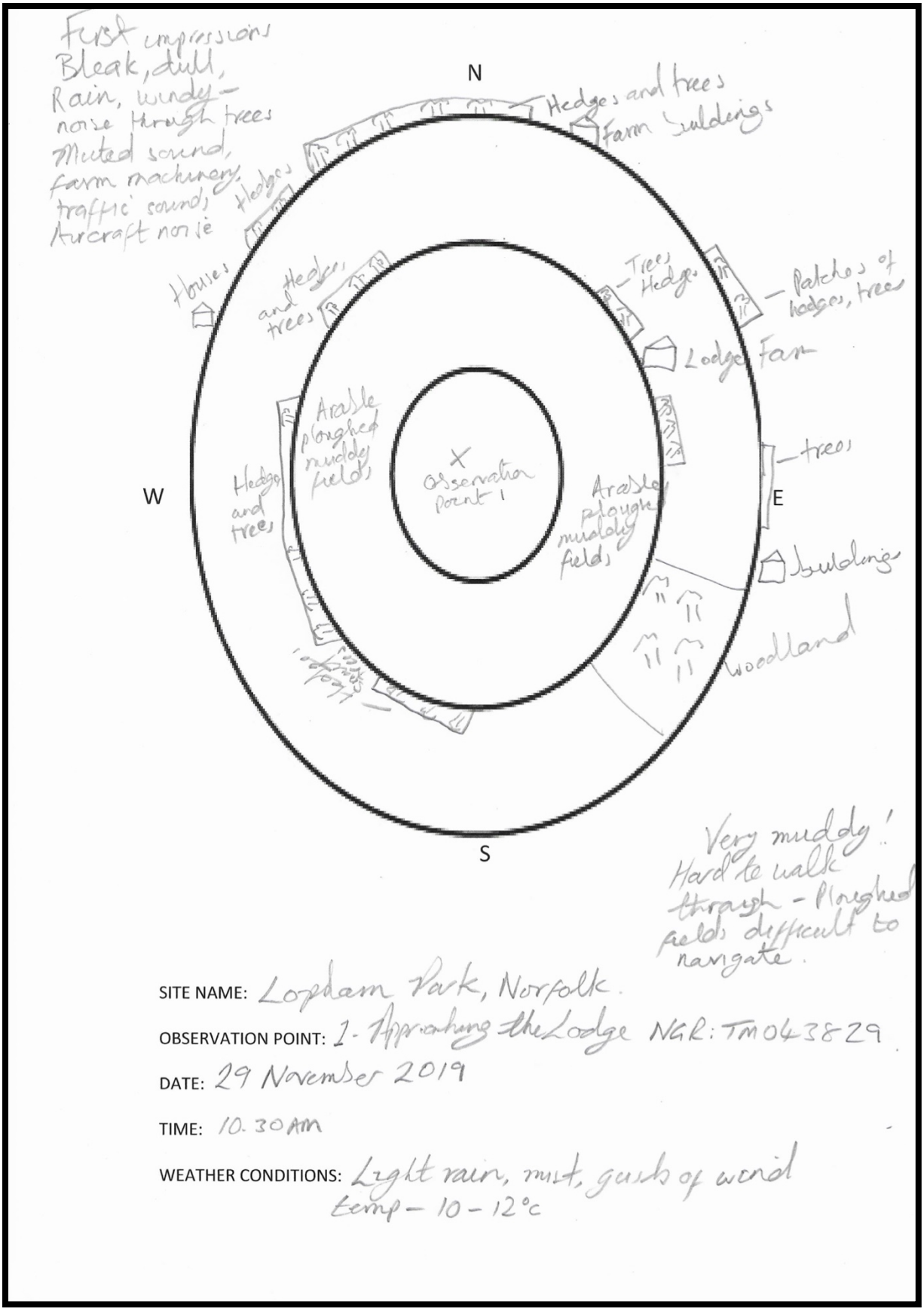
Appendix 2


First impressions
- Flat - quiet -
no other people here
- Isolated
N
Plantation
View obscured by farm buildings
W
Appleacre Farm house
FLAT ARABLE PLOUGHED FIELDS
Obs. point 2
Footpath
Conifer plantation
E
FLAT - ROUGHED
Some hedges
Conifer plantation
Hedges trees
S
Still muddy, but not as bad as observation point 1.
SITE NAME: Easty Pack, Hundon, Suffolk
OBSERVATION POINT: 2 - The Lodge / Appleacre Farm TL 750509
DATE: 17 April 2018
TIME: 12.05PM
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Misty, warmer, visibility improving

Appendix 3


First impressions -
Sunny weather, can hear farm machinery, more people now, walking on paths, dogs barking
Still feels quite bleak
Nothing draws the eye with exception of Lodge building in distance to the north.
N
Plantation
Trees, hedge
Can just see Lodge farmhouse
View largely blocked by line of poplars
W
X
Observation point 2.
Flat Ploughed Arable
E
Landscape gradual incline
Footpath
S
Conditions under foot good - grass covered - on path.
SITE NAME: Easty Park, Hundon, Suffolk.
OBSERVATION POINT: 3. Approaching the Lodge - from the south
NGR TL 749502
DATE: 17 April 2018
TIME: 1.00 PM
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Sunny, temperature has increased some cloud, visibility - very good.

Appendix 4



SITE NAME: Lopdam Park, Norfolk.

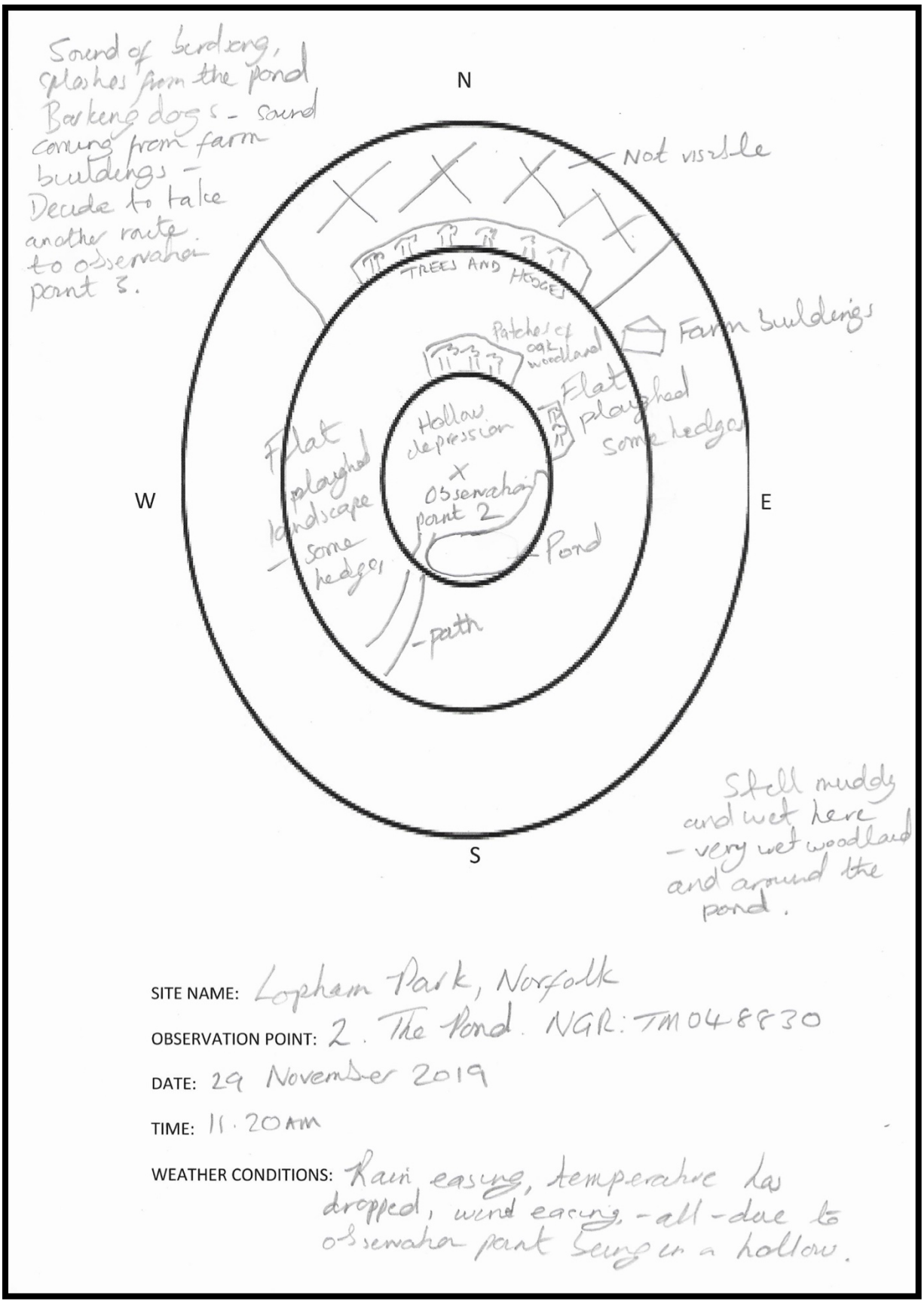
OBSERVATION POINT: 1 - Approaching the Lodge NGR: TM 0438 29

DATE: 29 November 2019

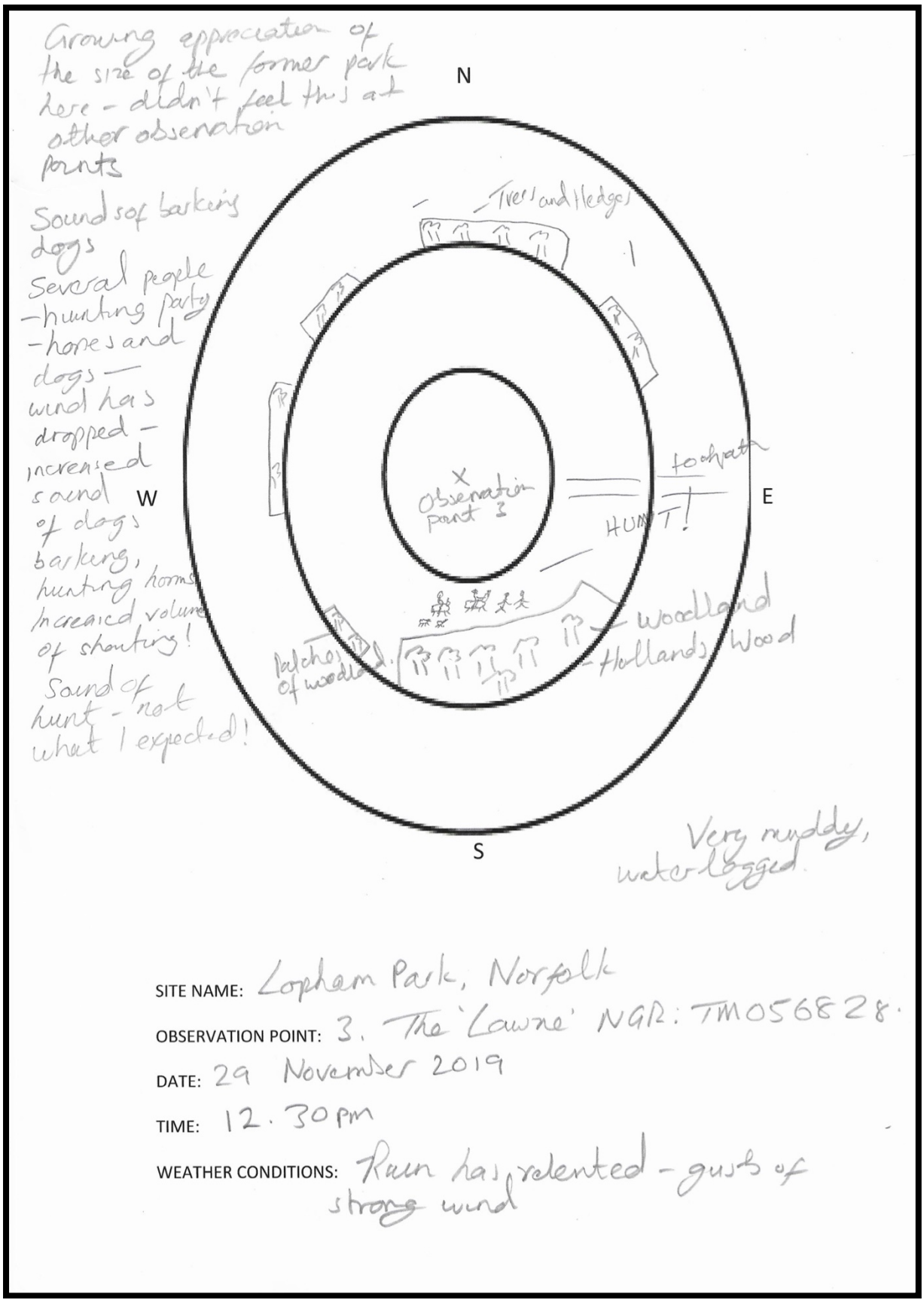
TIME: 10.30 AM

WEATHER CONDITIONS: Light rain, mist, gusts of wind
Temp – 10 – 12°c

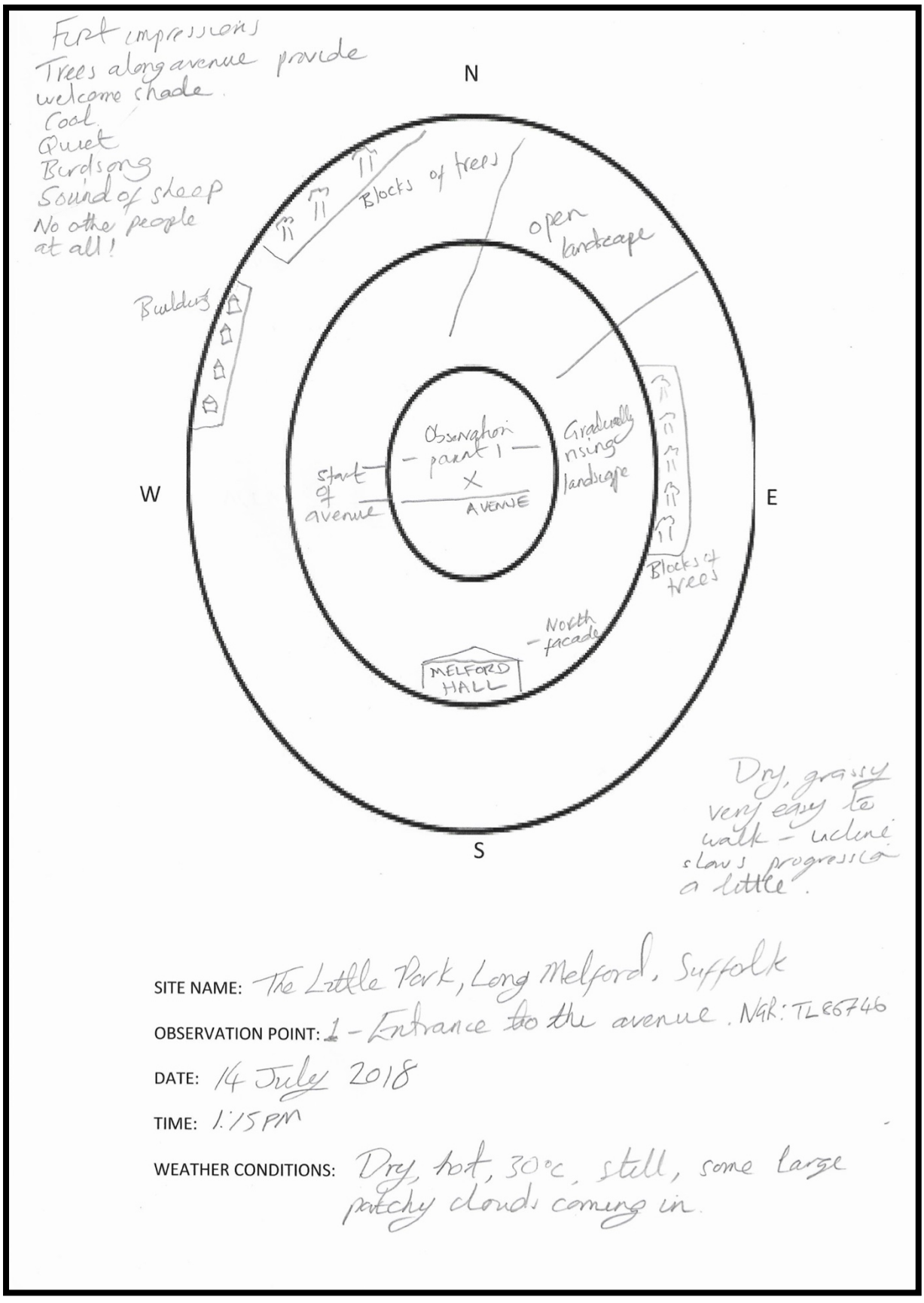
Appendix 5


Sound of birdsong, splashes from the pond
Barking dogs - sound coming from farm buildings - Decide to take another route to observation point 3.
N
W
E
S
Not visible
TREES AND HEDGES
Patches of oak woodland
Farm buildings
Flat ploughed some hedges
Hollow depression
Observation point 2
Flat ploughed landscape - some hedges
Pond
path
Still muddy and wet here - very wet woodland and around the pond.
SITE NAME: Lopham Park, Norfolk
OBSERVATION POINT: 2. The Pond. NGR: TM048830
DATE: 29 November 2019
TIME: 11.20AM
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Rain easing, temperature has dropped, wind easing - all - due to observation point being in a hollow.

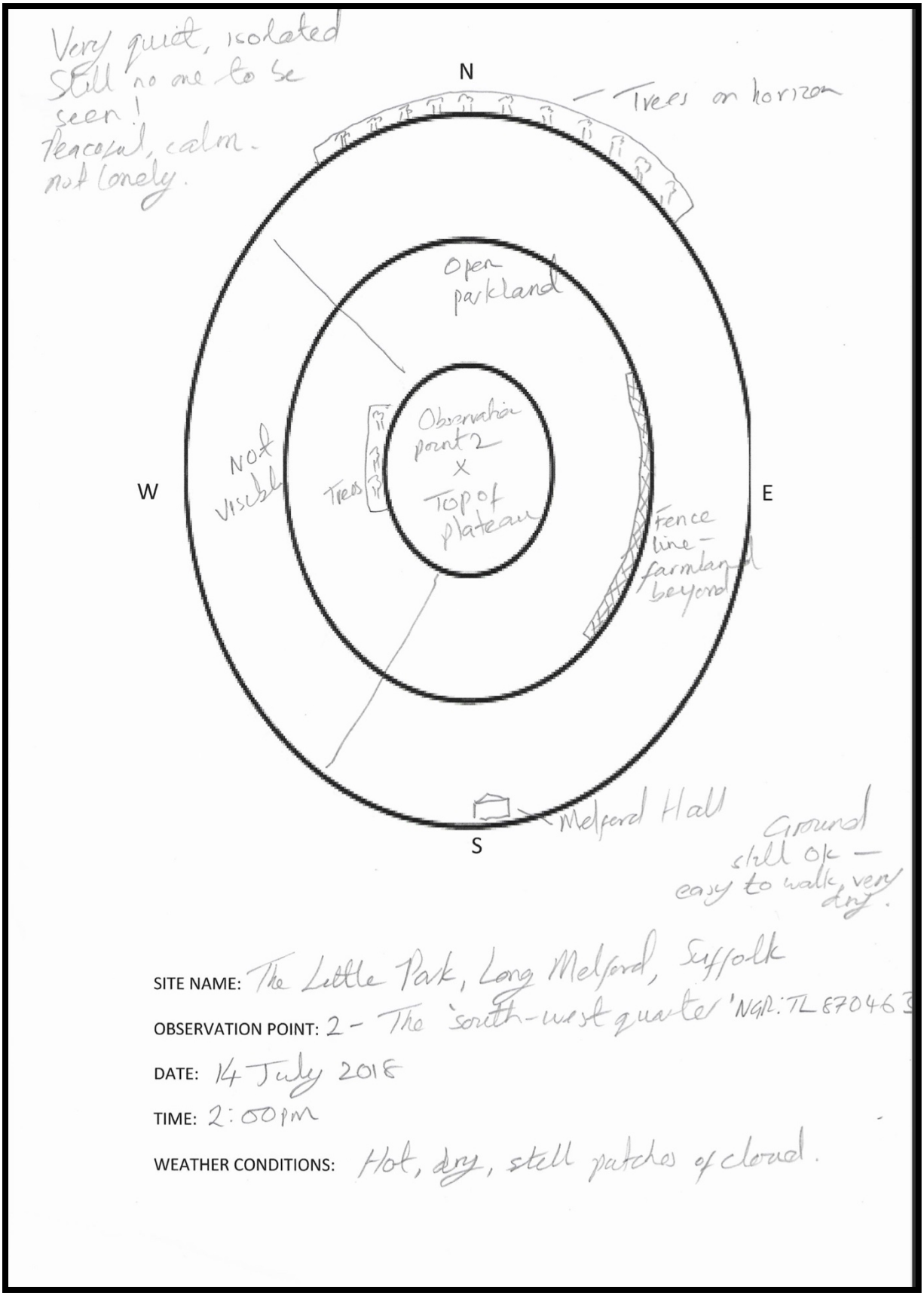
Appendix 6


Growing appreciation of the size of the former park here - didn't feel this at other observation points
Sound of barking dogs
Several people - hunting party
- horses and dogs —
wind has dropped — increased sound of dogs barking, hunting horns
Increased volume of shouting!
Sound of hunt - not what I expected!
N
W
E
S
Trees and Hedges
X
Observation point 3
footpath
HUNT!
Patches of woodland
Woodland - Hollands Wood
Very muddy, waterlogged.
SITE NAME: Lopham Park, Norfolk
OBSERVATION POINT: 3. The 'Lawns' NGR: TM05682 8.
DATE: 29 November 2019
TIME: 12.30pm
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Rain has relented - gusts of strong wind

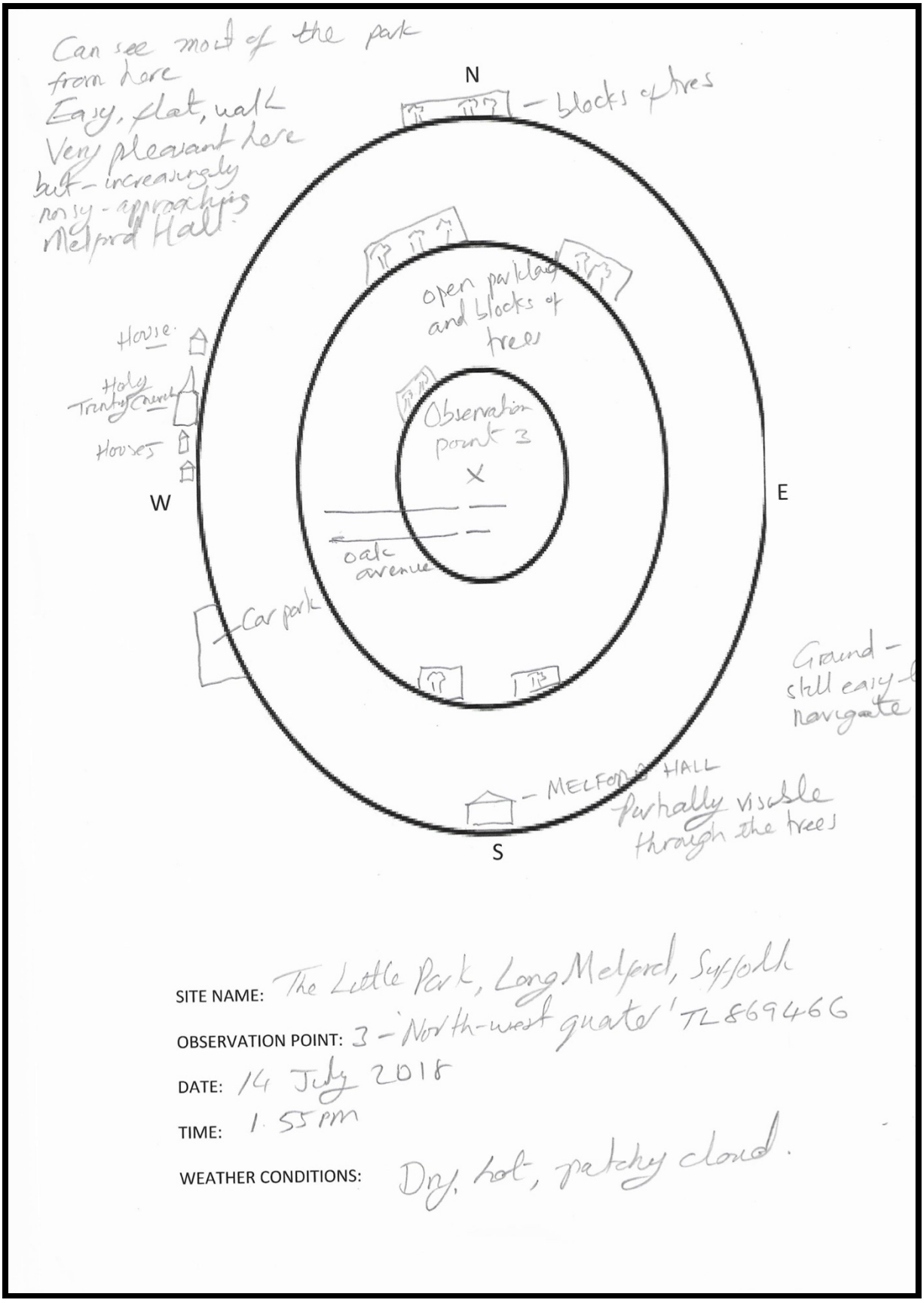
Appendix 7


First impressions
Trees along avenue provide
welcome shade.
Cool.
Quiet
Birdsong
Sound of sheep
No other people
at all!
N
W
E
S
Blocks of trees
open landscape
Buildings
Observation
- point 1 -
X
AVENUE
start of avenue
Gradually rising landscape
Blocks of trees
North facade
MELFORD HALL
Dry, grassy
very easy to
walk - incline
slows progressively
a little.
SITE NAME: The Little Park, Long Melford, Suffolk
OBSERVATION POINT: 1 - Entrance to the avenue. NGR: TL86746
DATE: 14 July 2018
TIME: 1:15PM
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Dry, hot, 30°c, still, some large
patchy clouds coming in.

Appendix 8


Very quiet, isolated
Still no one to be seen!
Peaceful, calm.
not lonely.
N
Trees on horizon
Open parkland
Observation point 2
X
Top of plateau
Trees
Not visible
W
E
Fence line – farmland beyond
S
Melford Hall
Ground still ok – easy to walk, very dry.
SITE NAME: The Little Park, Long Melford, Suffolk
OBSERVATION POINT: 2 – The 'south-west quarter' NGR: TL 87046
DATE: 14 July 2018
TIME: 2:00pm
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Hot, dry, still patches of cloud.

Appendix 9


Can see most of the park from here
Easy, flat, walk
Very pleasant here but - increasingly noisy - approaching Melford Hall
N
- blocks of trees
open parkland and blocks of trees
House
Holy Trinity Church
Houses
Observation point 3
X
W
E
oak avenue
car park
Ground - still easy to navigate
- MELFORD HALL
Partially visible through the trees
S
SITE NAME: The Little Park, Long Melford, Suffolk
OBSERVATION POINT: 3 - 'North-west quater' TL869466
DATE: 14 July 2018
TIME: 1.55 PM
WEATHER CONDITIONS: Dry, hot, patchy cloud.