Buildings of the Deer Hunt to 1642 Part 1

by

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This study is intended to introduce the subject of buildings associated with early deer hunting. Some have survived, others are known from documentary evidence. The study terminates in 1642 because the Civil War interrupted leisure pursuits and afterwards hunting changed in character. Nine categories of buildings specifically designed for deer hunting are described and discussed. Four of these are the main subjects of this article (Part 1) – standings for privileged spectators; lodges for employed park-keepers; defensible park-keepers' lodges; and larger lodges for nobility or gentry. The other categories will be covered in Part 2 in another volume of the Transactions.

Dimensions of buildings are given first in feet because they were built in these units; often they work out to be in exact units or half-units. The metric equivalents follow.

In the Middle Ages everyone who enjoyed wealth and power kept one or more parks in order to enclose deer for hunting, to produce venison for the household and for gifts of courtesy. The park became a mark of gentle status, without which no one could mix socially with people of high social standing. Oliver Rackham has shown that at their heyday about 1330 there was one park to every four parishes in England, or one to every 15 square miles (24 sq. km).[1] Many parks belonged to the higher clergy and, as Chaucer caustically commented in the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, some monks disregarded the rules of their founders by hunting as if they were laymen.[2] After the Dissolution more parks were established, and some existing parks were enlarged; others were disparked. In 1617 Fynes Moryson, who had travelled extensively in Europe and Turkey, wrote 'There is no country wherein the gentlemen and lords have so many and so large parks only reserved for the pleasure of hunting'.[3] This study terminates in 1642 because the Civil War interrupted normal leisure pursuits. Although deer hunting continued afterwards its practice was affected by the widespread use of guns, and by the emphasis on indoor amusements at the court of King Charles II.

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Deer can jump 2 to 3 metres vertically and 6 metres horizontally, so to confine them a park was surrounded by a high bank with a deep ditch on the inside. On the bank a pale was erected consisting of cleft oak boards 8 feet high (2.4m), or a stone wall where stone was readily available.[4] Some impression of the high cost of establishing a new park can be gained from the costs incurred when Nazeing Wood in Essex was emparked for King Henry VIII in 1542. £132 was spent (equivalent to several million pounds today), of which £26 was for paling, and £38 was for the transport of posts, pales and rails, which could not be made locally. The making of a 'laund' by grubbing out trees cost £34, and two buildings in the park, a lodge and a watch-tower, together cost £14.[5] In 1616 Richard Surflet wrote that a park should consist of

> part high wood, part grasse or champion, and part coppice, or under-wood, or thicke spring, separated one from the other by a strong rayle, through which deere or sheepe (but no greater cattell) may passe, for they must have the full libertie of every place.

These internal fences were provided to control the grazing, selecting which animals were admitted to coppices at various stages of re-growth after clear felling. The launds were to grow grass and hay

> as also for the pleasure of coursing with grey-hounds, when at any time the owner shall be disposed to hunt in that manner; for when the hounds shall have hunted the game from the thicks unto the launds, then the grey-hounds being placed thereupon, may in the view of the beholders course upon the same, and beget a delight past equall.[6]

Fig. 1 Hatfield Park, Hatfield Broad Oak (Essex), showing the rounded corner of the perimeter ditch near Bush End.
Photograph, J. McCann 1978

Most parks were stocked with fallow deer, which were indigenous in the Middle East, but had been introduced from Sicily early in the 12th century. In some places the native red deer were also kept, but always in separate parks.[7] Roe deer did not thrive in parks, and there is no evidence that they were kept, although they were hunted in the wild.[8] Nominally all deer belonged to the king so the stocking of a park implied his aid or permission.[9]

Some parks were perpetuated in field boundaries long after the land had been returned to agriculture, and can be recognized on early maps by their compact shapes and rounded corners; some are confirmed by surviving ground features (Fig. 1). Others have disappeared completely but are known from documentary records. Within the park and immediately outside it there were buildings designed specifically for deer hunting. In this paper the ones we describe were built before 1642, but information is taken from later sources where it is relevant. For convenience we have divided the buildings into nine categories:

1. Standings from which privileged spectators could observe the shooting at close quarters;
2. Lodges intended to accommodate employed park-keepers, some of which were combined with other functions such as feeding the deer;
3. Some park-keepers' lodges were designed to be defensible, where the keepers had to protect resources which were likely to be invaded;
4. Larger and more opulent lodges intended to accommodate the nobility or gentry;
5. Watch-towers or prospect towers which commanded wide views of the park;
6. Deerhouses where the deer were fed in winter, and where they could shelter from harsh weather;
7. Kennels for packs of hunting hounds;
8. Hides erected within the park from which employed huntsmen could observe the deer at rest;
9. Miscellaneous buildings.

The type of hunting practised in the vast woodlands of the continent, where mounted men and hounds could pursue a single hart for many hours until it was exhausted, was known as 'par force (de chiens)'. In the period 1500-1640 there were forty-four Forests and twenty-three Chases in England where only the monarch and those he permitted could legally hunt in this manner, but it was not possible in parks; there is no record of 'par force' hunting in Scotland. The largest park in England at Clarendon, Wilts., comprising 1,737 ha, was 5.2km across, but most parks were less than a tenth of that size.[10] The type of hunting most commonly practised in parks was known as 'bow and stable', in which many deer of various ages and sexes were killed. Whereas 'par force' hunting of male red deer and fallow deer could only be practised between mid-February and mid-September, bow and stable hunting could be done at all seasons except the 'fence month' in mid-summer, when the deer were breeding. The 'stable' was a line of men on foot whose function was to direct the selected animals towards the place where they would be shot, while allowing unwanted animals, which were called 'rascal', to pass through. Mounted men with hounds drove the deer from behind. The object of the drive was not

to panic the deer, but by small noises and movements to induce them to move into funnels which converged on the waiting bowmen.[11] Three of these funnels have been identified by excavation in the park of the earls of Oxford at Stansted Mountfitchet, Essex.[12] They consisted of 'railes' and 'toiles'. The Pleshey Castle accounts for 1440-1 stated that two named carpenters were paid for repairing 'the railes round the Deerhouse and also for regulating/controlling the wild animals in the park', so in this context 'railes' were substantial barriers with timber frames.[13] The 'toiles' were long nets erected on poles, which would be taken down and stored under cover between hunts.

The bowmen stood in front of trees to hide their outlines, their clothing and bows fully camouflaged in green. Short bows were used, lighter than those used in warfare, which could be held open in the drawn position until the quarry came within close range. Queen Elizabeth I and other ladies used small crossbows. In the period 1601-42 guns and crossbows were used to shoot deer, but contemporary accounts using the word 'shoot' do not identify the weapons used. A 'standing' was erected at the narrow end of the funnel, from which privileged spectators could watch the action. If possible the deer were shot in the chest while coming towards the bowmen, or if they passed to their left they were shot in the side. The barriers were so arranged that deer could not pass to their right, because right-handed bowmen would have had to turn their whole bodies to shoot. Normally the monarch or Master of the Hunt would stand in front to have first shot at the quarry, with other bowmen arranged in a V-formation behind him, unless he chose to take charge of the horsemen. John Cummins notes that 'it was impossible for even the most skilled archer to guarantee killing a deer outright, especially a moving one'.[14] As a wounded animal made off a horn summoned hounds to follow the trail of fresh blood, and horses and carts were kept ready to collect the carcasses. It is likely that they were brought back to the standing and laid out in rows for the gratification of the bowmen and spectators. The hunt always ended with the ritual 'unmaking' of the carcasses, and the feeding of the hounds.

1. HUNT STANDINGS

In 1858 R.R. Tighe and J.E. Davis commented on John Norden's map of Windsor Little Park of 1610:

> A short distance to the north is a singular building called 'The Standinge'. This appears to have been a building occasionally erected in parks and other places where the sports of hunting and coursing were frequently carried on, as a convenient point from whence those who did not take an active part in the chase might witness the pursuit and capture of the stag and other quarry, analogous to the 'stands' now used at horse-races.[15]

Timothy Easton first explored the subject of standings in general. They were structures 'made to elevate spectators at sporting contests, pageants, plays, hunts, executions and in gardens'. He illustrated a standing now in the yard of The Buck Inn, Debenham, Suffolk, built to enable privileged spectators to view outdoor entertainments of various kinds. The part which survives comprises two bays of a two-storey structure, although originally it was longer, and then it was in a 'camping close'. The upper storey was open on three sides, enclosed only by a handrail mounted on turned balusters (Fig. 2). It was built in 1606, but it became redundant about 1620 when the growth of Puritanism forbade

most entertainments, and it was then covered with lath-and-plaster. Many standings were skeletal structures which when not in use comprised only a roof, a floor surrounded by handrails at waist level, a stair and the supporting posts and braces; some were not even roofed. When in use the courtly ones were dressed with painted cloths. The Elizabethan playhouses in London and Southwark consisted essentially of standings butted end to end to enclose approximately round courts.[16]

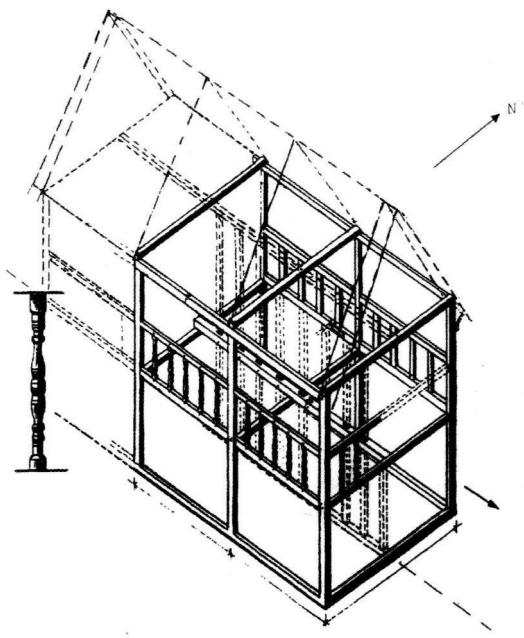

Fig. 2
The Buck Inn, Debenham (Suffolk): a standing.
Measured drawing,
T. Easton and M. Finch, © Timothy Easton

Simon Thurley takes the view that Henry VIII shot from the standing itself, but this seems unlikely because it was not the best position from which to shoot a moving animal.[17] In 1536 Henry was seriously injured in a fall from his horse, and afterwards he was cautious about hunting on horseback. He retained his ability to shoot accurately, so in his later years it is likely that he shot from the ground while others drove the deer towards him.[18] When the object of the hunt was simply to supply venison, nets were used by professional huntsmen; they were used also when taking deer alive to stock another park.

'The making of a new standing' in Harold's Park and 'a newe standing in Nasing wood', both in Essex, are mentioned in the Records of the Land Revenue for 1542.[19] A standing built for Henry VIII at Egham, Surrey, was 14ft (4.26m) square and 26ft (7.92m) high, indicating that it was of three storeys; and a standing at The More (Herts.), was 20ft (6.10m) long by 18ft (5.49m) wide, and 20ft (6.10m) high.[20] Some hunt standings are perpetuated in place-names, as at Kingstanding in Ashdown Forest (Sussex), and Kingstanding (Warks.), now absorbed into Birmingham. In Essex five are recorded in field names: Standing Field in Dunmow, Standing Groves in Harlow, Standings Common in Newport, Stand Field in Dagenham, and Stadling Field in Great Leighs.[21]

An estate map of 1613 of Little Park, Melford Hall, Long Melford (Suffolk) depicts two standings of two storeys drawn in perspective (Figs 3, 4).[22] They are both of four bays. The upper storeys comprise open viewing galleries. In the elevations depicted the ground storeys are shown without doors or windows. The hipped roofs are thatched. At both, small courts enclosed by fences lie against one long side of the building. This suggests that the deer were so directed by railes and toiles as to pass very near the other long side, providing a close view of the shooting for the spectators on the upper storey. At Melford

Fig. 3
Melford Hall, Long Melford (Suffolk): the estate map of Little Park by Samuel Piers (1613), detail.
Courtesy of Sir Richard Hyde Parker, D.L.

Hall there is no documentary evidence on how the standings were used, but at a royal three-storey standing at Chingford, Essex, which survives, the two upper storeys were described in 1589 as 'for convenient standing to view the game'; the ground storey was described as 'serving for necessarie Uses' (Fig. 5). When in use for a hunt it is likely that the ground floor rooms were used as cloakrooms and toilets. Between hunts the toiles could have been stored there, or in the pentices which also were mentioned in 1589.[23]

The Great Standing at Chingford (as it was known at

Fig. 4
Melford Hall, Long Melford: a standing in Little Park, from the estate map by Samuel Piers (1613).
Redrawn at enlarged scale, Beth Davis

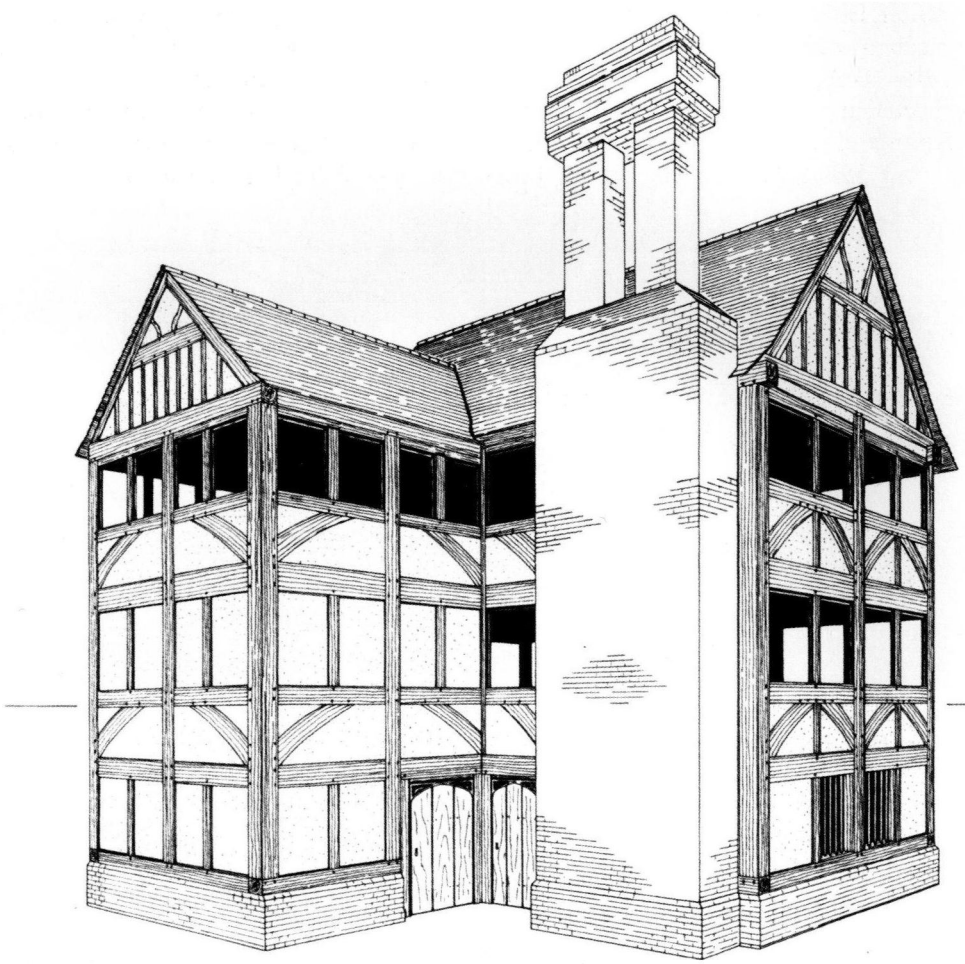

Fig. 5
The Great Standing, Chingford (Essex): artist's reconstruction from the south-east, showing the original structure, with the chimney added in 1589.
Drawing, the late Douglas Scott

the time, but which is now misleadingly called Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge) is a timber-framed structure of three storeys which was erected in 1543 in a laund on a high point in what is now Epping Forest (TQ397948). The previous year, Henry VIII combined a large area of woodland with four adjacent manors to form his new park of Fayremead.[24] The carpentry is more complex than in other contemporary buildings of high status in Essex. The scarfs in the wall-plates each have two blades and matrices in which they fitted, where another skilled carpenter would use one (Fig. 6,a). At the apex of the principal rafters they are joined by mitred double bridles, an extravagant way of joining two timbers (Fig. 6,b). In the second floor the joists are jointed to the transverse (binding) beams with double haunched tenons, one of the earliest surviving examples of

this joint in England (Fig. 6,c). This advanced and over-elaborate carpentry suggests that it was constructed by the royal carpenters. Even the oak timber must have been brought from elsewhere, because Epping Forest consists mainly of hornbeam. Probably it was constructed at the royal frameyard, then dismantled, then the members were transported to the site and were re-erected there. The main block is aligned west/north/west-east/south/east, 32ft (9.75m) long by 21ft (6.40m) wide, 25ft (7.62m) high to the eaves, and 37ft

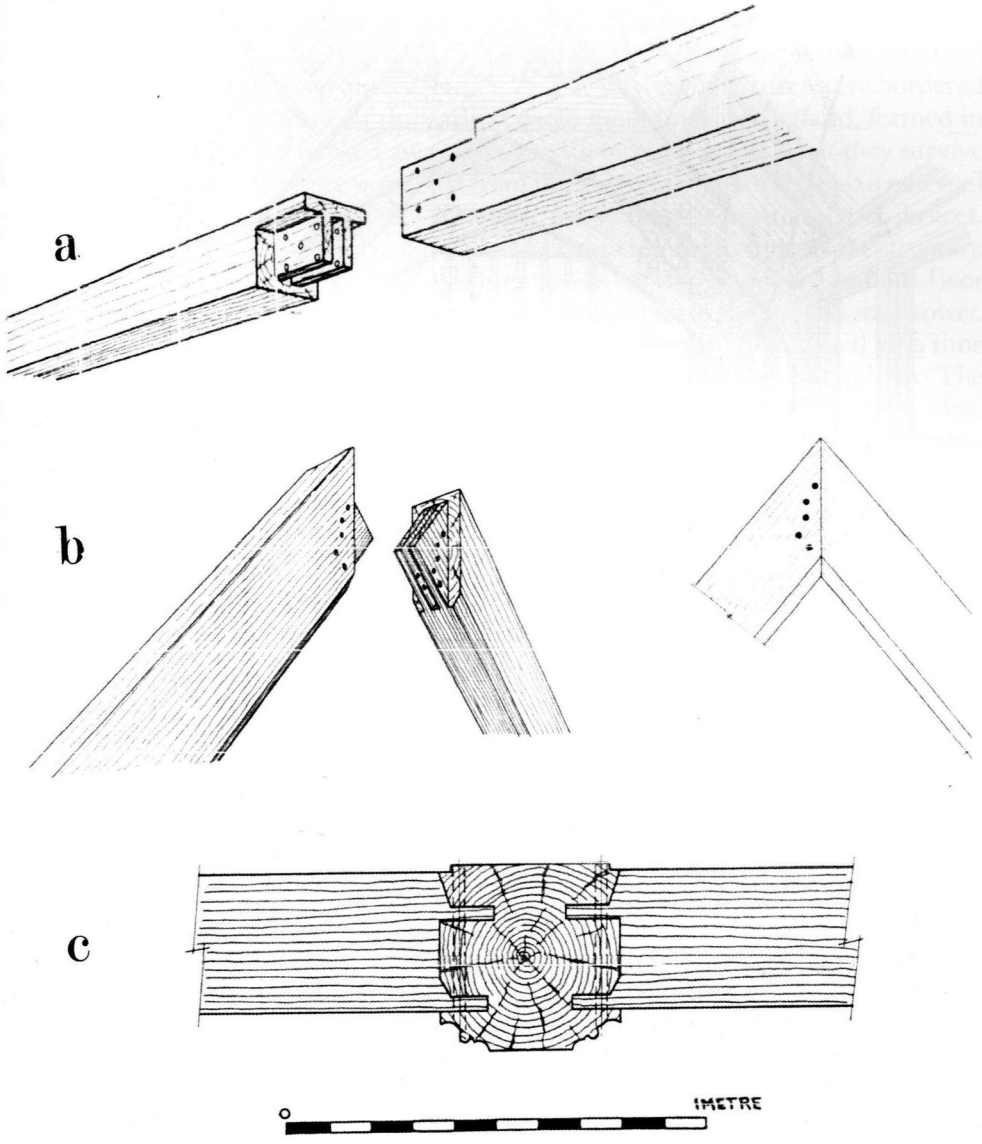

Fig. 6
The Great Standing, Chingford. (a) wall-plate scarf; (b) mitred double bridle; (c) double haunched tenon.
Measured drawings, the late Douglas Scott

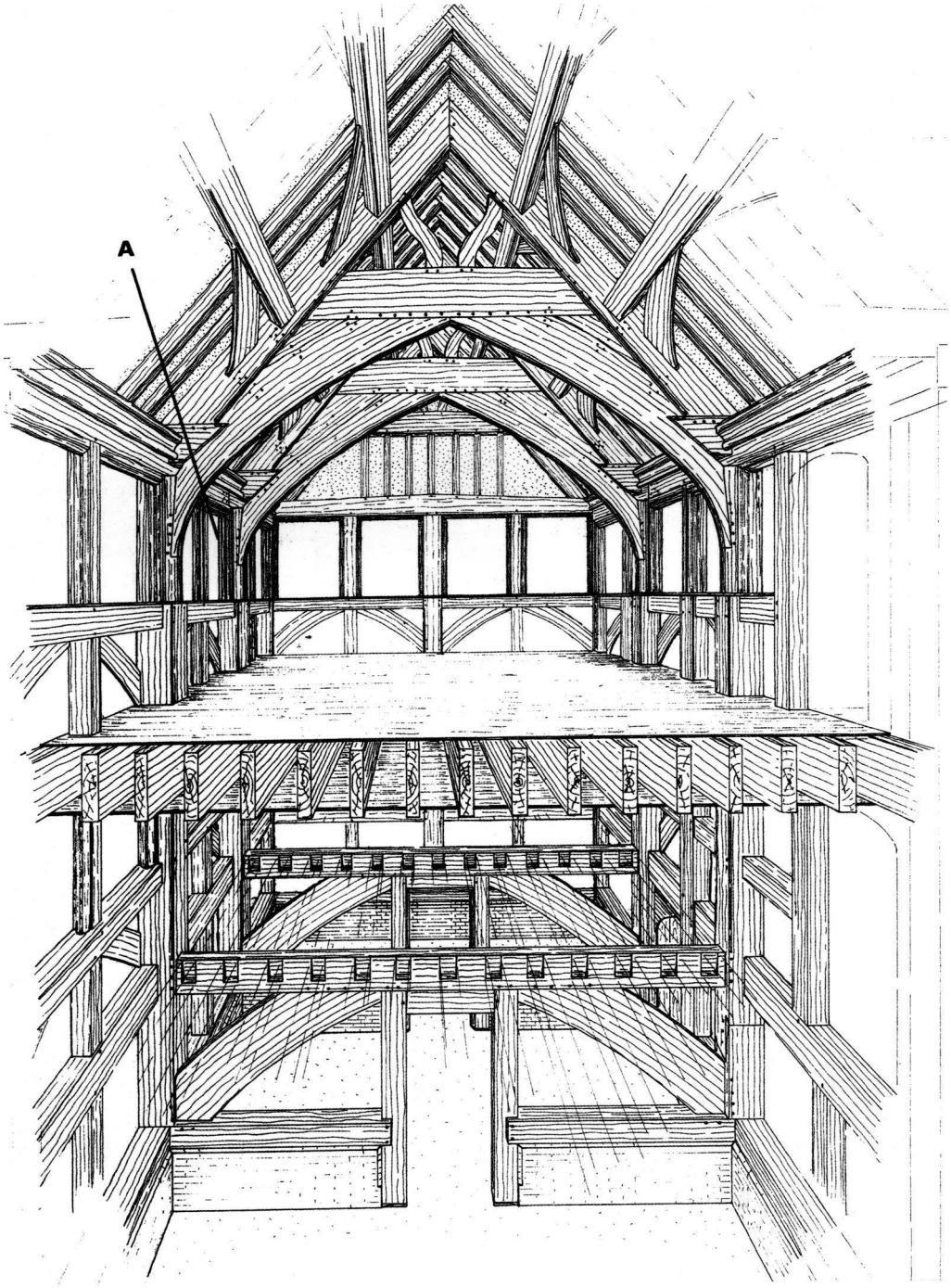

Fig. 7
The Great Standing, Chingford: artist's impression, as built originally, facing east.
Drawing, the late Douglas Scott

(11.27m) high to the ridge. It is built in three equal bays on brick footings 2ft 3in (0.68m) high, with a stair tower to the south of the western bay, forming an L-plan. The ground storey comprised a central room entered from the south, from which deeply chamfered doorways with straight heads opened into similar rooms on each side. The chamfered joists of the floor above are exposed, confirming that it was intended for minor uses. A separate entrance on the east side of the stair tower led to the upper storeys.[25] The report of 1589 states that the windows were to be repaired, which in a royal building of the period would have been of leaded diamond glazing in wide wrought iron frames.[26] Originally the two upper storeys were enclosed by handrails of square section mounted on short posts with great curved braces (Figs 5, 7). The viewing apertures were bordered above and to each side by some of the earliest ovolo mouldings in England, formed in the solid.[27] Many have been hacked away to insert Victorian windows, but they survive at A in Figure 7, where they were protected from the Victorian 'restorers' by an external chimney, which later was demolished. Others are present on the posts and arch-braces.

The external appearance has been much altered, but internally most of the structure of this block is original. Seven of the eight great posts survive *in situ*, as do both floor structures and the roof, apart from repairs where it meets the roof of the stair tower. When Fayremead was disparked in 1553 the two lower storeys were occupied for a time as a dwelling. In 1589 it was re-conditioned as a standing for Queen Elizabeth. The walls were newly lathed and plastered, the roof was re-tiled (requiring 5,000 new tiles), and 'a chimney of lome must needs be taken down because it annoyeth greatly. And the building of a newe with repairing the Oven'; that is, an external brick chimney was built to the south of the eastern bay with hearths at the ground and middle storeys only. The works specified included 'a Court compassing the said lodge wch. hath ben pailed and is decayed', which was to be replaced by a ditch and quickthorn hedge.[28] At later periods the lower storeys were re-occupied as a dwelling, and the top storey was used as a court hall. Lean-to extensions were attached to the west side of the building, and it was illustrated in that form in 19th-century engravings and a painting (Fig. 8).

In a destructive 'restoration' of 1899-1901 the external lath-and-plaster was stripped off, the great curved braces were reversed to turn their weathered surfaces inwards; of course the tenons did not fit the mortises. They were then *nailed* in position, [29]and were left exposed, as they remain today (Fig. 9). The effective destruction

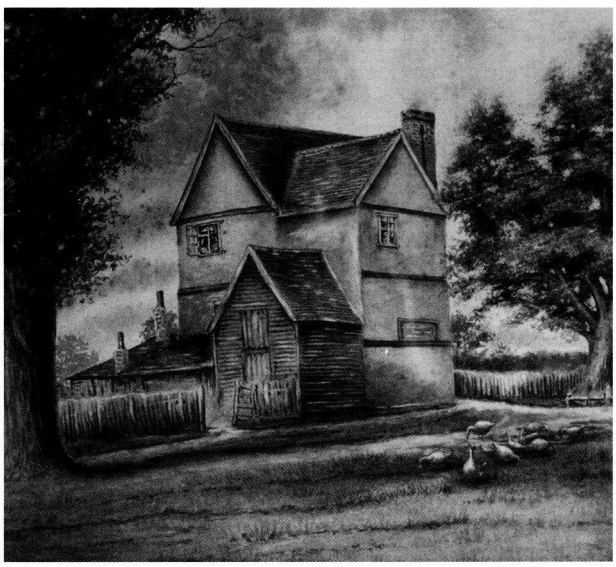

Fig. 8 The Great Standing, Chingford, from the south-west; watercolour by H.A. Cole, 1875.
Courtesy of the Passmore Edwards Collection

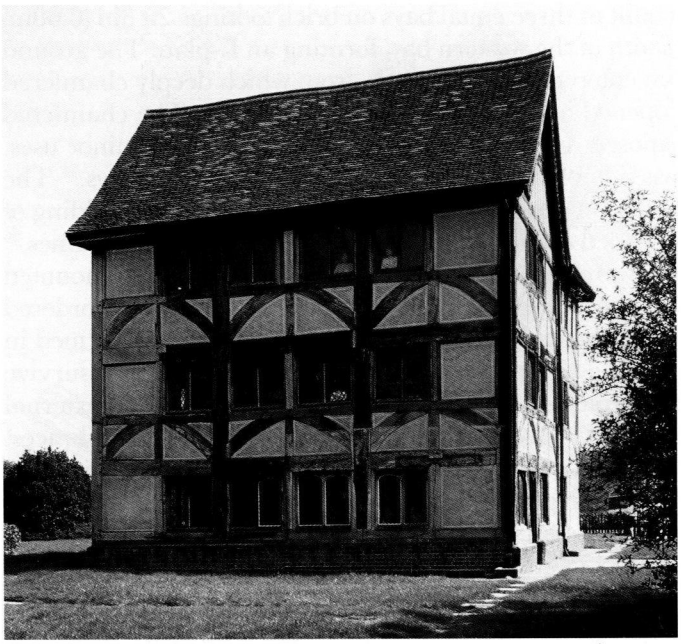

Fig. 9 The Great Standing, Chingford, from the north-west, as it was before the major works commenced in 1987. Since then the whole structure has been whitened with lime, in which form the timber structure does not show so clearly.
Photograph, J. McCann 1980

of the functional bracing has allowed the main block to lean slightly away from the stair tower, causing leakage between the two roofs which has necessitated a series of ad hoc repairs. The doorways from the stair tower into the two upper floors are moulded with four-centred heads; the upper head has plain recessed spandrels, the lower one has foliate carving in the spandrels (Fig. 10). This (and the hearth added in 1589) indicate that the middle storey was intended for the most important users. The floor above the middle storey was constructed with joists of deep narrow section so as to leave the soffit plain. The exposed soffits of the transverse beams are moulded (Figs 6,c; 7). It is likely that the original plaster ceiling was richly ornamented, but it has gone. There were large moulded timber covings inside the eaves, of which only fragments survive. In the original construction both gables were infilled with lath-and-plaster, and a small area of such infill survives *in situ* in the peak of the east gable. In 1899-1901 all internal surfaces were sand-papered and stained dark brown (probably with permanganate of potash) but traces of red and white paint survive in a few places which normally are out of sight. The present carved barge-boards of American red cedar were designed by the architect, J. Oldrid Scott, of late Gothic design because he believed the building dated from the 15th century. It is more likely that the original bargeboards were carved with Renaissance motifs, but no evidence of them survives.

The stair tower is more altered externally. In 1899-1901 all the main posts and external timbers below the wall-plates were replaced with machine-sawn imported oak, blocking the original east entrance with continuous framing.[30] Beyond the first five steps the original solid treads survive, 5ft (1.52m) wide, rising at a gentle gradient of 22 degrees round three sides of a closed well. The well has undergone little alteration, and retains much of its original lath-and-plaster, of an unusually elaborate construction not recorded elsewhere.[31] When in use it was fully enclosed, but the interior is now visible from above, and it is electrically illuminated. A low platform at the head of the stair allowed

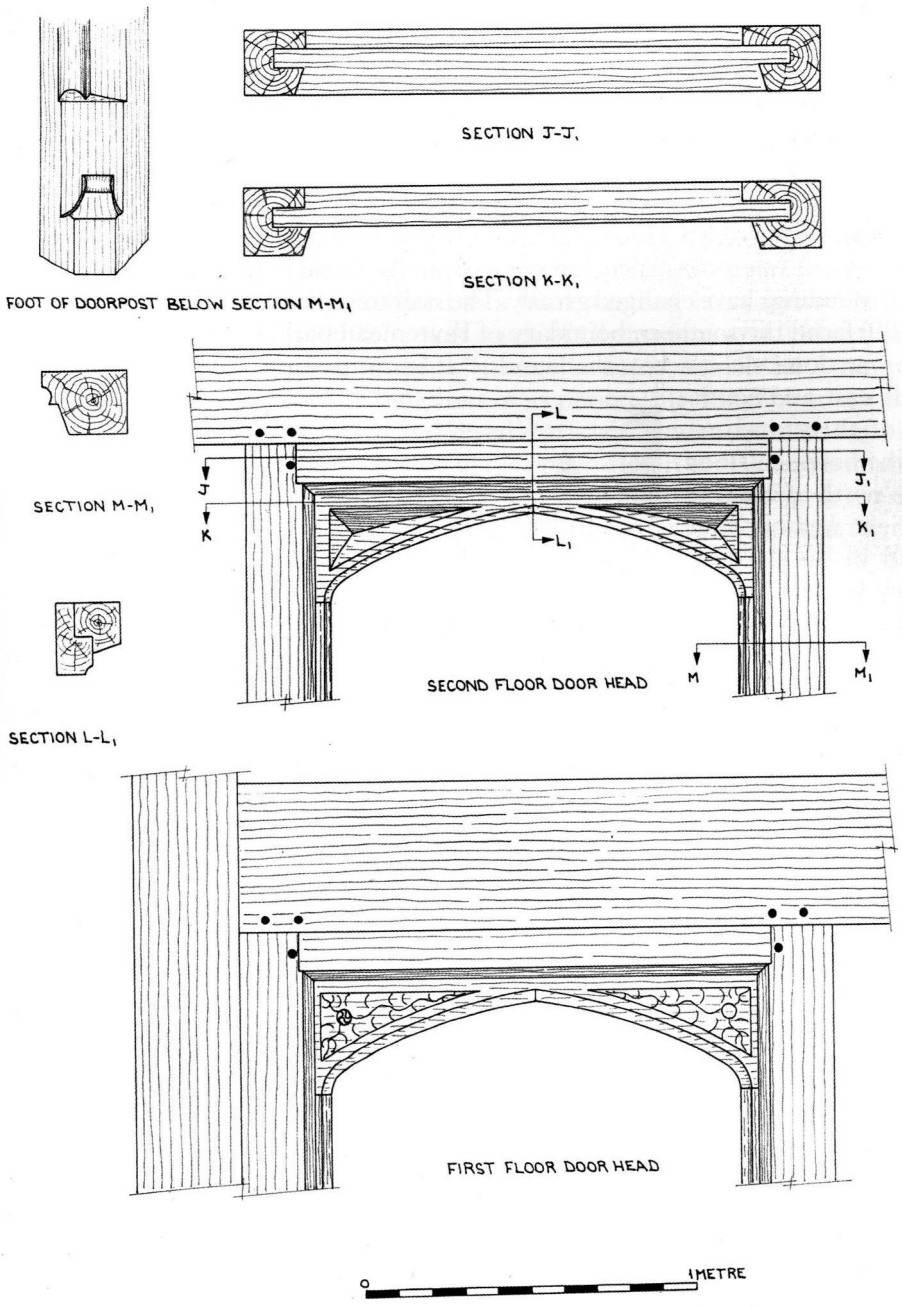

Fig. 10
The Great Standing, Chingford: measured drawing of two doorways.
Drawing, the late Douglas Scott

a few spectators a better view of what was happening on the ground to the south-west. Surprisingly, the roof of the stair tower was left undisturbed when the supporting walls were rebuilt, and remains as it was in 1543 except where it meets the roof of the main block. Although the land has changed hands several times the building remained the property of the crown until the City of London acquired it under the Epping Forest Act of 1878. From 1987 to 1993 a major programme of examination, repair and conservation was conducted for the Corporation of the City of London, during which much new information emerged.[32] The building is open to the public.[33]

Rackham has reconstructed the views from the Great Standing in 1543, for inevitably the surroundings have changed greatly. The stair tower (and the external chimney added in 1589) faced the southern boundary of Fayremead park, but on the other three sides there were long views across the launds.[34] It seems that the deer were driven from the woods east and south-east of the standing, and the bowmen stood to the north of it where in bright weather they would be in shadow. If they had to turn to shoot the deer as they passed to their left, they would be shooting away from the standing. This is suggested by the standings depicted in the Melford Hall map (Fig. 4), where fences enclose courts against the other long side of each standing.

Fig. 11
The Warren, Loughton (Essex), north elevation. Note that two first-floor windows to left of centre are partly blocked to conceal the wall-plate of the Little Standing.
Photograph, J. McCann 1994

The Great Standing is described as the 'Highe Standing' in a map of *c.*1640.[35] In the same map a 'Little standing' is shown 1.4km to the north-east (TQ407957). Its main frame survives within an elegant house called 'The Warren'. It was built in 1816 for General Thomas Grosvenor by Humphry Repton and

Fig. 12
The main frame of the Little Standing, Loughton, showing how it is now incorporated in the Regency house called 'The Warren'.
Perspective drawing, J. McCann

his son Adey, and now forms the offices of the Conservators of Epping Forest (Fig. 11).[36] The six main posts of the standing survive, with both wall-plates, seven girts and binding beams (the horizontal members at half-height) and three tie-beams (Fig. 12). Some timbers are exposed within the house, others are covered by modern materials; it is not possible to see whether any studding has survived. The original roof was destroyed to build the present low-pitched Regency roof.[37] The only clue to the existence of the older structure which is visible from the outside is in the north elevation, where two first-floor windows to left of centre are partly blocked to conceal the older wall-plate which crosses them below present eaves level (Fig. 11).

Another building apparently designed as a hunt standing has survived as Lodge Farm, Galleywood, Essex (TL696027), 4km south of Chelmsford and 0.8km from the nearest public road. It is timber-framed, a strange structure which on examination proves to be wholly unlike domestic buildings of its period (Fig. 13). The frame is 14th century, datable by two splayed, tabled and keyed scarfs with under-squinted butts in the wall-plates, and by the thick arched bracing of the crown-post roof.[38] There is no smoke-blackening in the roof, nor is there any other evidence of original heating. It consists of five bays aligned north-south, with two passages across the ground floor which form bays

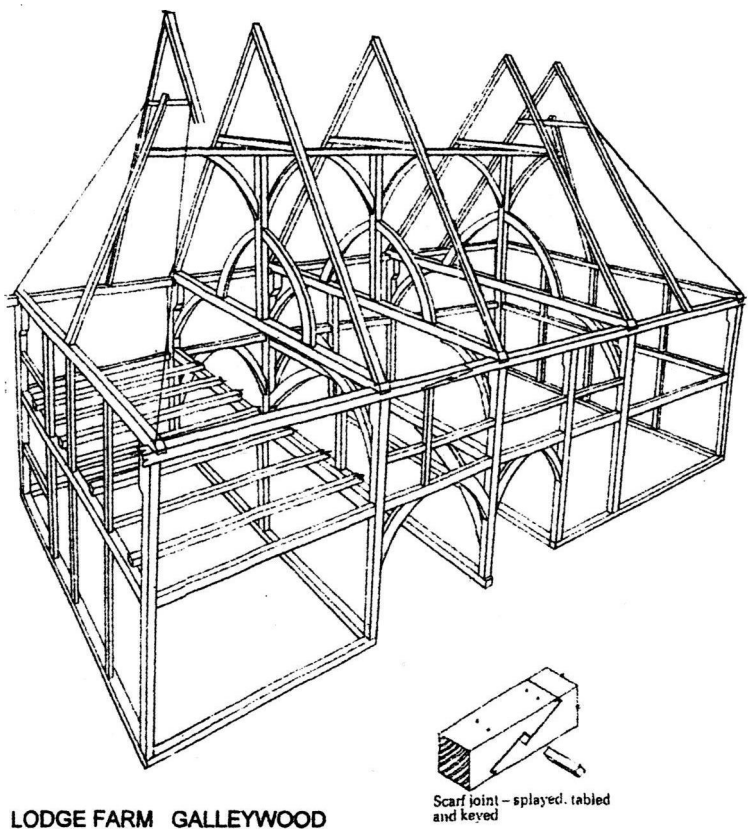

Fig. 13
Lodge Farm, Galleywood (Essex): reconstruction of the timber frame.
Drawing, the late C.A. Hewett

2 and 3 from the north end: the first is 10ft (3.05m) wide, the second is 5ft 4in (1.63m) wide. They did not have doors, but at all four entrances there were pairs of arched arcade braces. These passages formed a covered space in which deer could have been fed, the wider one providing sufficient space for a hay-rack or manger. The floor of the northern bay is formed by seven lodged heavy joists 8in (200mm) square, unchamfered, aligned axially. It is possible that the walls of this bay were originally infilled with vertical boards, for the intervals between the pegs in the horizontal members are untypical of studding for wattle-and-daub. Bays 4 and 5 at the south end are mainly plastered, so that little of the timber frame is exposed for examination. In both wall-plates there are long rebates for shutters with well-preserved diamond mullions below, 2ft 8in (0.81m) in depth. In bay 2 the rebates are 9ft 2in (2.79m) long. These rebates could not have been for sliding shutters, for there is nowhere for them to slide to when open. The shutters must have been taken down and stored when the viewing gallery was in use. The gablet roof is of crown-post construction and still retains two of the three internal crown-posts. The most likely interpretation of this strange building is that originally it was a hunt standing with a viewing gallery in the upper storey, and covered space below where the deer were fed, with storage for hay in one or both adjacent bays. No evidence of the original stair is visible, but it may have been in the south end bay.

The standing was converted to a dwelling some time before 1580. An indenture of that date describes it as a house for a 'hirde', perhaps a contemporary term for an employed park-keeper.[39] To divide it into rooms of one bay each, deep notches were cut in the tie-beams and binding beams, and heavy oak studs were fitted in them and were *nailed* in position.[40] The communicating doorways are just over 2ft (0.61m) wide; one wrought iron pintle hinge survives *in situ* between bays 4 and 5. A large external chimney stack was added to the east of bay 1, with an extension beyond.

Now Lodge Farm is approached from the north, but a map of 1777 shows that it was then approached from the south, the access drive turning off the public road from Margareting to Great Baddow. To the east is Lodge Wood, and beyond that is Galleywood Common. To the west is the River Chelmer, and on the opposite slope is a moated house called Shenvills.[41] The park is marked as 'Shenfildes park' on a map of Thomas Mildmay's estate in Moulsham in 1591 by John Walker senior.[42] Much of the boundary was preserved in field boundaries shown in the first six-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1874. The indenture of 1580 was drawn up in connection with the sale of Galleywood Lodge and Shenfield Park by George Gifford and James Gedge, gentlemen, to Thomas Mildmay, a major landowner and political figure. In addition to the main park, included in the sale were '24 acres of pasture by estimation sometime taken out of the common waste ground of the Manor of Moulsham by John Berdefield the elder esquire deceased and by him enclosed within the pale to the said park or closed ground of Shenfield'.[43]

Another hunt standing has survived in disguised form at Troys Farm (formerly 'Little Troys') at Faulkbourne, Essex (TL790164). It consists of a single range of four bays 50ft (15.24m) long, of very unusual proportions (Fig. 14). It is only 13ft 6in. (4.11m) in span but is of exceptional height at both storeys, 9ft (2.74m) in the lower storey, 8ft 6in. (2.59m) in the upper. A full-length under-built jetty faces north-east. All the joists are heavy and are aligned across the building; most are plain and unchamfered, but in the north-west

Fig. 14
Troys Farm, Faulkbourne (Essex), the north-east elevation. Note the narrow span of the building in proportion to its height.
Photograph, J. McCann 1992

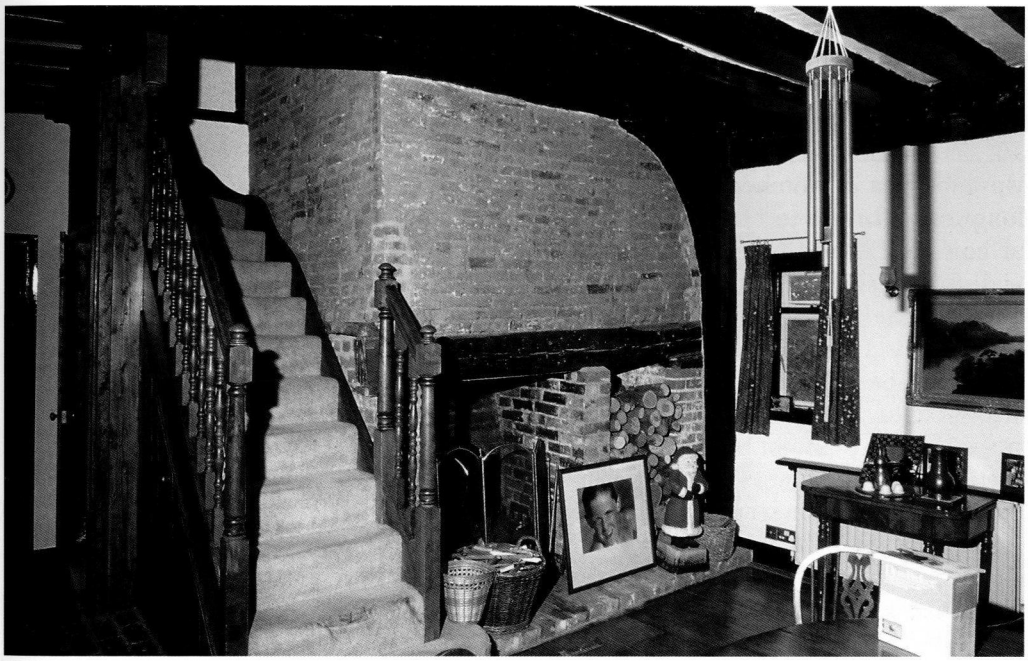

Fig. 15
Troys Farm, Faulkbourne: the interior of bays 2 and 3 from the south-east end, showing the chimney stack inserted in the 16th century to convert it into a dwelling. Note the curved brace from the post to the binding beam. Similar curved braces are (or in some cases were) present between the posts and the binding beams and tie-beams throughout the three north-western bays.
Photograph, J. McCann 1992

bay two joists are elaborately moulded, perhaps moved from their original positions.[44] The building has been divided into rooms each of one bay, but transverse arched braces of unusual thickness show that the three north-western bays were originally undivided at both storeys (Fig. 15), separated by a full-height partition from the south-eastern bay. The cambered tie-beams retain the mortises for double-pegged crown-posts and their braces, but the original roof has been destroyed to form a low-pitched hipped Regency roof clad with slate. Much of the frame is covered by plaster. All features are typical of a high-status building of the early 15th century. To convert it to a dwelling a large chimney stack was inserted in bay 2 from the south-east end, with hearths facing both ways. In the bay at the north-western end there have been some alterations to the studding and joists, which perhaps suggests that the original entrance and stair were in this bay.

This remarkable building is 1.2km west of the famous medieval brick mansion, Faulkbourne Hall,[45] and is 0.9km from the nearest public road. It is situated on the watershed between the Rivers Brain and Ter, providing long views in all directions. The park is shown in Christopher Saxton's map of 1576. It is confirmed by the field names Great Park Field, Little Park Field, First Park Field and Second Park Field immediately south of Troys, recorded in the tithe apportionment of 1838. In 1449 the park belonged to Elizabeth Lady Say and was leased to Queen Margaret of Anjou. A letter from her of that date survives, instructing the keeper about his duties.[46] Evidently when this building ceased to fulfill its original function it was converted to a farmhouse. It is listed Grade II* as 'Little Troys'.

At 'Larks', Felsted, Essex (TL696203), the frame of an early medieval building survives within a 16th-century timber-framed house (Figs 16, 17). In the unjowled posts there are the matrices of notched-lap joints for long arched braces to a transverse beam at half-height, and others in the gable wall for passing-braces which crossed above collar height. In the wall-plates there are splayed and tabled scarfs with under-squinted and sallied butts. These carpentry features indicate that the main structure cannot be later than the 14th century.[47] It is not now in a former park, although there were parks nearby. Probably it was built originally as a hunt standing, but in the 16th century the frame was dismantled and re-erected on the present site to form the structure of a dwelling.[48] It is listed Grade II under the earlier name, 'Hyfield'.

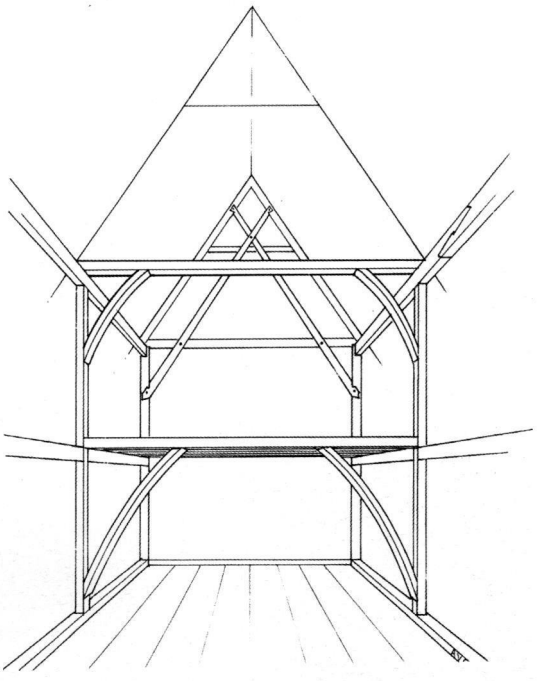

Fig. 16
'Larks', Felsted (Essex): reconstruction of the medieval timber frame.
Drawing, the late Adrian Gibson

Fig. 17
'Larks' (previously 'Hyfield), Felsted, from the south-west.
Photograph, J. McCann 1983

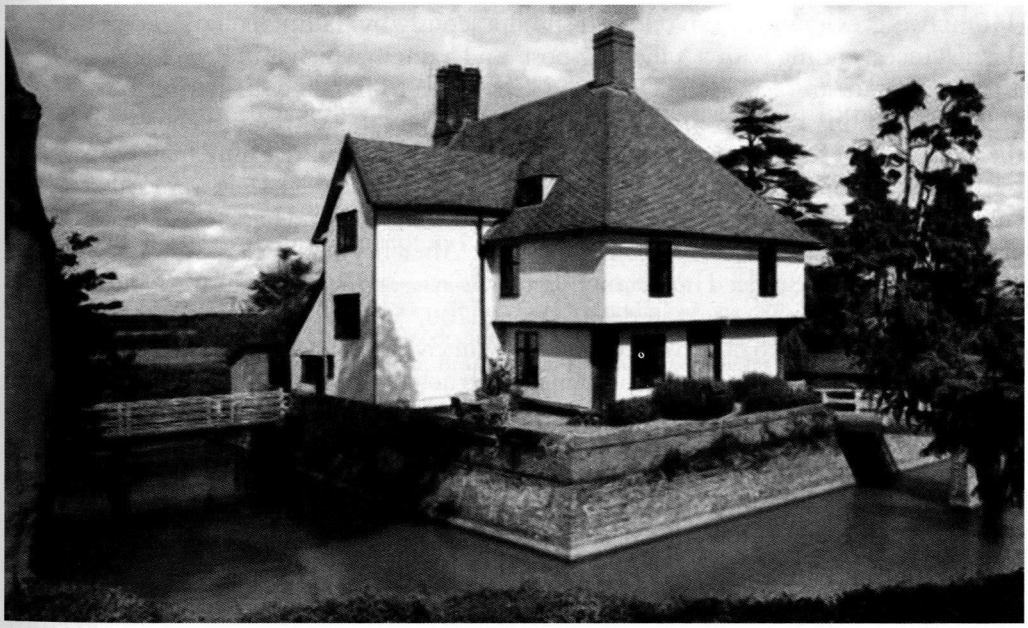

Fig. 18
Letheringham Lodge, Letheringham (Suffolk), from the south.
Photograph, Savills, London

Edward Martin has identified a former banqueting house at Letheringham Lodge, Letheringham, Suffolk (TM 276 570), which may have served also as a hunt standing. It is 0.4km from the nearest public road, approached by a private drive from the south. The original building is jettied on all four sides, with massive jowled corner posts, and is enclosed by the smallest moat in the county, lined with inclined brickwork (Fig. 18). Some sections of the former park boundary are preserved in the first edition 1:2500 Ordnance Survey map of 1884. Field names Old Park Wood, Park Field, Hither Lawn, Further Lawn and two fields named Park Corner are recorded in the tithe apportionment of 1842, and show that Letheringham Lodge was within a park. The Wingfield family had a park in Letheringham from 1449.[49] Carved panelling (which has been removed to Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran) associates the building with Sir Anthony Wingfield, K. G., of Letheringham Hall, who died in 1552. A massive chimney stack supports four diamond-section flues which each have a broach base and a banded upper body. The staircase tower retains a cross window to the ground floor.[50] Letheringham Lodge is a Grade II* listed building.

Standings built to observe deer coursing

A variant form of deer hunting was to 'course' a deer. In 1686 Richard Blome wrote: 'There are two Sorts of Courses, the one the *Paddock*, the other either in a Forest or Purlieu. Coursing with Grey-hounds is a Recreation in great Esteem with many of the Gentry'. Deer could be coursed from one wood to another, or on purpose-built courses. Blome described the paddock as 'a Piece of Ground, encompass'd with Pales, or a Wall, and most commonly taken out of a Park. It must be a Mile [1.6km] long, and about a Quarter of a Mile [0.4km] broad with pens for captive deer at both ends'. The deer were started along the course by a dog called a 'teazer'. After the deer had run 160 yards (146m) two greyhounds were released simultaneously by 'falling-collars'. Posts marked the distances, ending with a 'pinching-post' and a ditch 'which is in lieu of a Post, being a Place so made to receive the Deer, and keep them from being further pursued by the *Dogs*. Near to this Place are made Seats for the Judges to sit, who are chosen to decide the Wager'. There were two forms of paddock coursing, a 'breathing match' in which the deer were allowed to survive, and a 'fleshing match' in which they were killed.[51] The rules governing deer coursing, set out by Blome in 1686, he said had been agreed by 'the chief Gentry' in the time of Queen Elizabeth. After his death they were reprinted in 1710, and they were copied in the anonymous *Sportsman's Dictionary* of 1735, but Freswell suggests that the practice was in decline from 1700.[52]

A standing built to observe deer coursing survives at Lodge Park, Aldsworth (Glos., SP146123). It is a Palladian stone building constructed for John Dutton, which had been completed by 1634 (Fig. 19). His deer course was 200m wide at the beginning, reducing to 88m wide at the end. At both ends were what a contemporary observer described as 'handsome contrived Pens and Places, where the Deere are kept, and turn'd out for the Course'.[53] Dutton built the standing as a place where he could entertain guests, enjoy the spectacle and gamble on the results. It is square, of two storeys with a flat roof. A loggia faces south towards the deer course.[54] Observers could stand or sit on the balcony over the loggia, or on the leaded flat roof. It is a Grade I listed building. Over the years

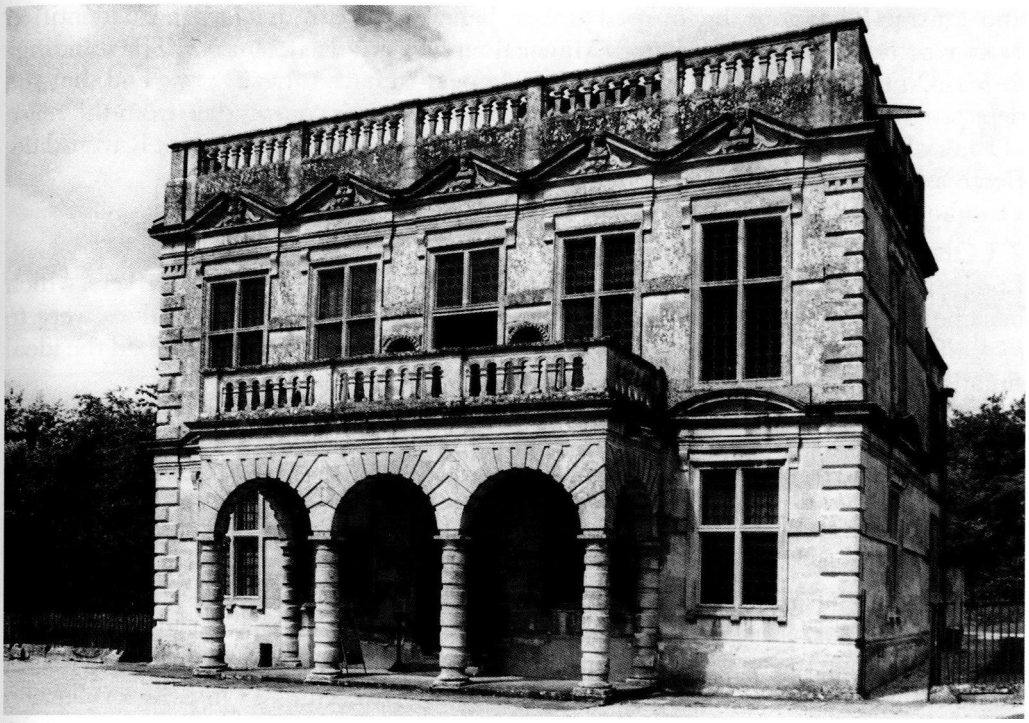

Fig. 19
Lodge Park, Aldsworth (Glos.), from the south-south-east.
Photograph, J. McCann 2012

the interior has been greatly altered, but since 1983 the National Trust has restored it to its original form. It is fully described in the official guidebook.[55] To our knowledge it is unique.

Katie Freswell, landscape advisor to the National Trust, has shown that Henry VIII practised deer coursing and erected structures designed for it. The building of a wall for a deer course is recorded at Hampton Court in 1537:

> The course east of the palace was similar to that at Lodge Park – a mile [1.6km] long and 350 metres wide, walled, with a small building or standing at one end'. John Norden's map of Windsor Little Park in 1607 depicts a curved deer course with a chase in progress. Another deer course is recorded at Bramshill in a map of 1699 by Isaac Justis, another at Godolphin (which was called 'The Slips') and there was a shorter course at Stafford Castle.[56]

J.W.G. Musty has shown that there was a deer course in the royal park of Clarendon which was known as the Pady course. It comprised a straight fenced course 2.4km long and 73m wide. It differed from other known courses in that deer could be started from both ends, with a timber-framed standing (erected between 1537 and 1610) located at the middle. It was described in 1651 as being built 'with timber and bricke and part covered with tyle', but by that date it was already in decay. Then it consisted of two rooms, a stair

and a turret. It has gone, but re-used timbers believed to be from it have been identified in the structure of the nearby Queen Manor Farmhouse and its granary.[57] The standings in John Norden's maps of Windsor of 1610 appear to have turrets at one end, but the depictions are very small. Most known purpose-made deer courses date from the reign of Henry VIII but Christopher Taylor has identified a medieval example at Ravensdale, Derbyshire, and has suggested some others.[58]

2. LODGES FOR PARK-KEEPERS

Lodges within parks were provided for employed park-keepers, known as parkers, which became a common surname in the 13th century. Their main responsibilities were to look after the deer and to prevent poaching. In 1616 Richard Surflet described the ideal situation for a park-keeper's lodge:

> In the most convenient lawnd of the parke, which is most spatious and fruitfull, and which hath the greatest prospect into the parke, and where the deere delight to feed, there you shall build the lodge or house for the keeper to dwell in – it shall stand so faire in the view of the lawnd, that from thence a man may see every way round about the same, so that when the least disturbance or trouble is offered unto the deere, a man may from that lodge take notice of the same.[59]

Rackham has reconstructed the sight lines from some park-keepers' lodges. From Forest Lodge in Hatfield Forest, Essex (TL534194), there were excellent views of the launds and along the edges of the coppices (Fig. 20). It had been a late medieval house, but the 'high end' was demolished and rebuilt in the 17th century. Only the service end of two bays and part of a chimney bay survive from the original house, but Rackham ingeniously deduced from the sight lines that the former 'high end' had been of three storeys to provide the park-keeper with a clear view of the curving terrain.[60] Similarly he has reconstructed the sight lines of New Lodge in Epping Forest, which was demolished in 1898, but which is better documented. It was first mentioned in 1367, but evidently had been built by the Crown some time earlier, for at that date it was being leased. In 1589 it was described as 'being built of tymber but after the ordinary manner consysteth of two low Romes at the grounde with two roomes of chambering over them conteyneth in length 46 feete [14.02m] in bredth 16ft [4.88m] . . . [MS incomplete]'. It is shown as New Lodge on maps of *c.*1641 and 1777, in the latter with the enclosure described in 1367. In 1725 a Crown report included it among several buildings which were 'ruinous and ready to drop', and it was ordered to 'be entirely rebuilt' at an estimated cost of £266; although like other timber-framed buildings this probably implied major alteration, retaining the timber frame, rather than complete demolition of the existing structure. From 1833 it was taken over by bakers and pastrycooks, and became a place of refreshment for the growing number of day trippers visiting Epping Forest; it could cater for at least a thousand people. In 1875 the Court of Common Council met there. It became known as Fairmead Lodge and was shown as such in the first six-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1871. The main building was not repaired, and was allowed to fall into decay. It was illustrated in a sketch dated 1893 (Fig. 21). In 1878, under the Epping Forest Act, it passed into the hands of the Corporation of London, which later demolished it and cleared the site. 'The earliest Ordnance Survey indicates that New Lodge was precisely placed on

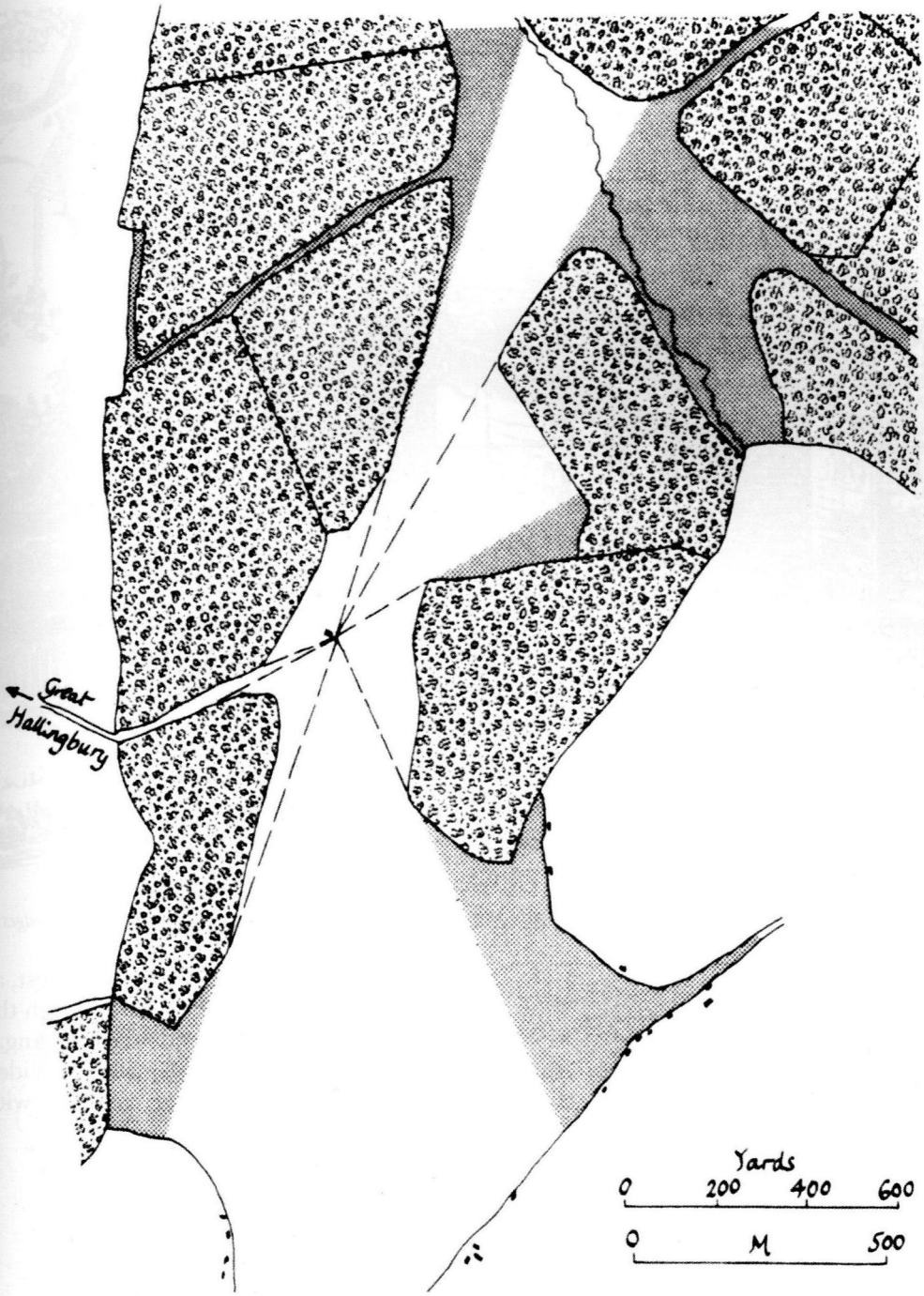

Fig. 20

Hatfield Forest (Essex), map showing how the sight lines along the edges of the coppices converge on a point just east of Forest Lodge: O. Rackham, *The Last Forest: the story of Hatfield Forest* (London 1989), 177. *Courtesy of Oliver Rackham*

Fig. 21
Fairmead Lodge, Epping Forest (Essex), *drawn by H.A. Cole in 1893; from W.C. Waller, 'Two Forest Lodges'*, Essex Naturalist *8 (1893), 86.*

rising ground. It would have overlooked the whole of Fairmead to the south and west, as well as anyone coming into the Forest via Lippitts Hill' to the north-west, although the sight lines are now obstructed by trees which have sprung up through lack of grazing.[61]

More information about the original structure of a park-keeper's lodge is provided in a contract of 1376-7. The lodge at Writtle Park in Essex was to consist of a hall with two chambers and a detached kitchen building, as described in the contract:

> Agreement made with John Stebbyng carpenter to build from new i lodge in the said Writtel Park namely next to the east gate starting with a kitchen building in width xv feet [4.58m] and in length xi feet [3.70m] and the studs ix feet [2.75m] long and others under that height i hall in length xviii feet [5.50m] and in width as abovesaid and at the end of the hall towards the door of the said hall transversely to i chamber xiiii feet [4.27m] wide and xxvi feet [7.94m] long with i middle wall a distance of viii feet [2.44m] from the end of the chamber towards the pale with i latrine and another little middle wall in the same

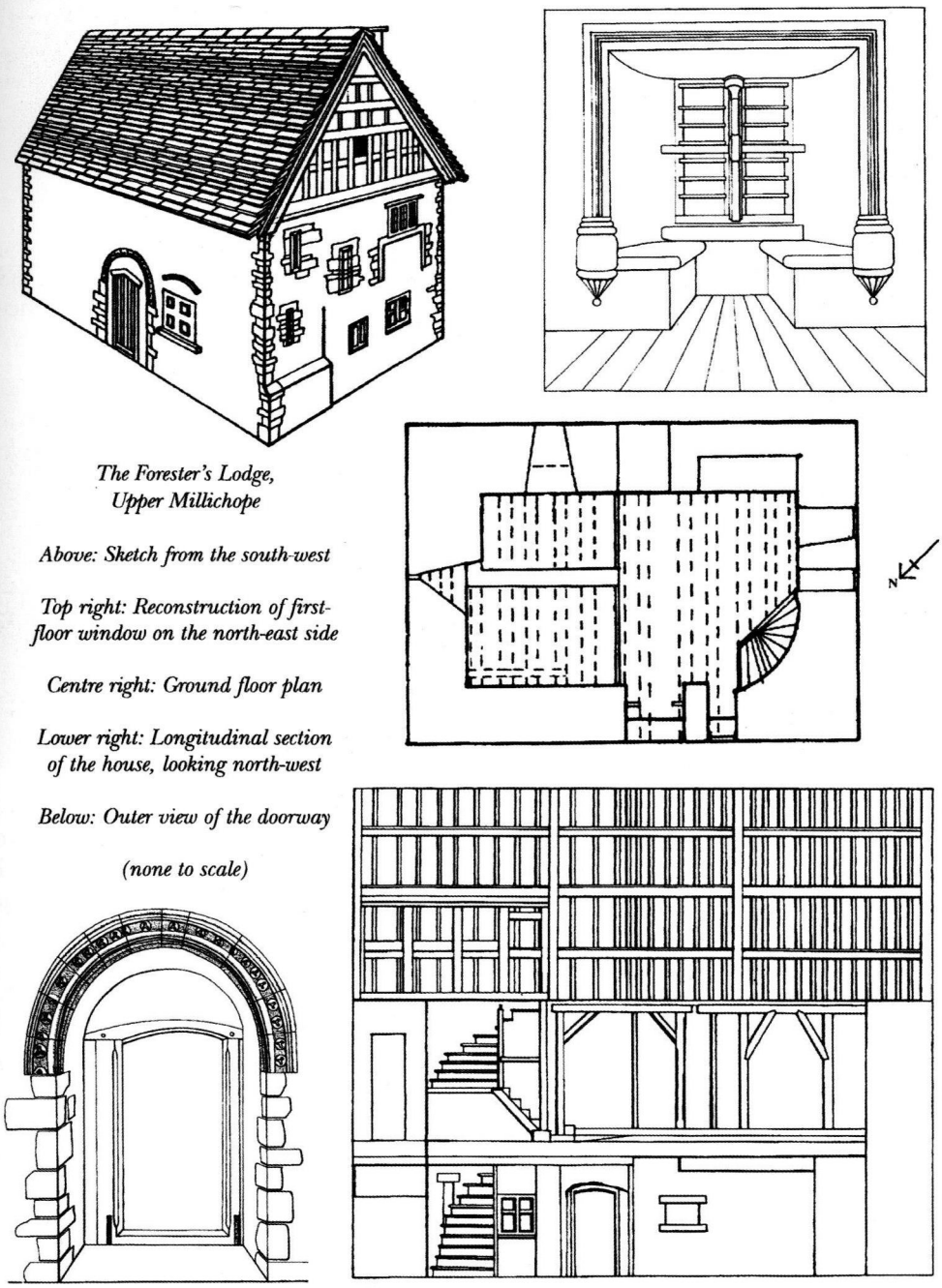

Fig. 22
The Forester's Lodge, Upper Millichope (Salop.), from M. Moran, *The Vernacular Buildings of Shropshire* (Logaston Press 2003), 11.
Courtesy of Madge Moran

> closet for making the same i fireplace annexed to the said chamber at the bottom of the same, consistent with the said chamber taking the old suitable timber from the old lodge for the said work and xiiii oaks lying there squared and other necessary timber by delivery of service. It should be done by the first day of May next. So that the work of sawing of the same should be done at the cost of the Lady making deductions of the aforesaid sawing xls ii bushels of mixed corn and ii wagons of underwood. So that John Combewell park keeper should stack the timber for the said work in i stack by the arrival of the Lady also the said Combewell will make i garden enclosed with hedges as a curtilage.[62]

3. DEFENSIBLE LODGES

Some park-keepers' lodges were designed to be defensive, where they might have to be defended against a hostile local population. In 1616 Surflet described typical defences:

> This house must bee made like unto a little forcelet or fort so strong and with divers angles, the windowes whereof so flanking one another, that when any approach by stealers or other malitious persons shall bee made to the same, the Keeper may from thence either with his bowes or with some other engines so annoy them, that they shall by no meanes besiege or coope him up in his house, (which is the practise of many subtile knaves) but that hee may despite their force, issue forth and defend himself and his charge against them: if there bee any part of the house which the windowes cannot flanker as the doores, jaumes, or such like, then over them shall bee made little loopholes, through which the Keeper may either shoot, cast stones or scalding water to make them avoid from the same.[63]

A lodge of this defensive type survives as the Forester's Lodge in Upper Millichope, Shropshire (Fig. 22). Madge Moran writes:

> Traditionally, the building was the home of the head forester whose job it was to police the royal hunting preserves in the Long Forest and to supply venison to the priory at Much Wenlock. Such were the severity and the unpopularity of the forest laws in medieval England that the forester needed a strong house which could be defended if necessary against the king's subjects who bitterly resented what they saw as the monarch's greed and selfishness and the denial of their own liberties.[64]

The walls are 6 feet (1.82m) thick. Originally there was no access to the undercroft from ground level. The windows were fitted with draw-bolts. The concept was primarily of defence but it was provided with some luxuries. There were window-seats, a chimney and a latrine. Re-building of the north-west wall has destroyed most of the evidence of the chimney and latrine.

A more debatable example survives as Thetford Warren Lodge, Norfolk (TL839840). It is square, built mainly of flint rubble with limestone quoins and dressings (Fig. 23). Two storeys survive, but the roof has gone. At first-floor level there are the remains of an impressive limestone fireplace and a garderobe. A vertical shaft over the entrance enabled the door to be secured by a stout vertical timber, operated from the domestic quarters above. An illustration of 1740 showed an octagonal turret at the corner, but this has gone. James and Gerrard have suggested that it was built first as a hunt lodge by Thetford Priory, and that only later it acquired its function as a warren house to protect the warren. Mark Barnard has recorded a similar observation.[65] It is a Grade II* listed building. A comparable history may apply at another Warren Lodge at Mildenhall, Suffolk (TL741756), built *c.*1320, which was probably similar originally, but which survives only up to first-floor level (see Caroline Stanford's article following, Figure 4, on p.63).

Fig. 23
Thetford Warren Lodge, Thetford (Norfolk).
Courtesy of English Heritage, © English Heritage

4. HUNTING LODGES TO ACCOMMODATE THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY

Larger and more opulent lodges were built for the use of the nobility and gentry, either visitors coming to hunt or those who were granted honorary park-keeperships. Bulls Lodge in the Red Deer Park at Boreham, Essex, was occupied by John Porter, described as gentleman, who was bailiff of the royal estate of New Hall from 1629 to 1636 (and probably longer).[66]

The Pleshey Castle building accounts for repairing the lodges in the parks occasionally include phrases such as 'against the coming of the Earl of Stafford' (in 1439-40), and 'against the coming of the king' (in 1440-1). In 1449 the brick mason built three chimneys at a lodge in Old Park, signifying that this lodge was intended for nobility or gentry, because at that date brick chimneys were a recent innovation, too expensive to be installed in the lodge of a working park-keeper. Repairs to the chapel at the lodge in Abchilds Park are mentioned in accounts of 1440-1: again, a working park-keeper would not have had a private chapel.[67]

In 1545 a lodge in Danbury Park, Essex, was described as 'a lodge in the sayd park buylded of brick and in the same viii chambers a butterye a keching and a wett larder and compassed about with a double mote metely replenished with fyshe'.[68] A lodge with eight chambers was evidently intended for the nobility or gentry. A record of 1543 for the building of a lodge for Henry VIII describes it as 'the king's new lodge at Waltham adjoining to the park gate', and seems to have been an enlargement of an existing building.[69] It has not survived.

Many farmhouses in or at the entrances of former parks retain the name 'Lodge Farm' or the place-name followed by the word 'Lodge' or 'Park'. One indication of which of them were intended for the upper classes is that some were provided with original cellars, necessary for storing wine but not required by ale-drinking employees. The current schedule of listed buildings in Essex mentions brick cellars at Eastwood Park in Rayleigh, and at Messing Lodge in Messing, an early 18th-century building which has 16th-century brickwork in the cellar. At Stebbing Park in Stebbing the Royal Commission report mentions 'old red brick' in the cellar.[70] At Wormingford Lodge in Wormingford an almost square cellar of Tudor brick has been identified during a recent excavation by Colchester Archaeological Group.[71]

Many lodges designed to accommodate hunting parties of nobility or gentry have survived elsewhere in England. They were large houses when built, and most of them have been extended later. They are fully described in their own guidebooks, so we need mention only a few outstanding examples here. Newhouse in the parish of Redlynch, Wiltshire (SU218214) stands in a park at the edge of the New Forest. It consists of three wings which radiate symmetrically from a central core, all of three storeys, constructed of brick with limestone quoins and dressings, and was built in 1619 for Sir Edward Gorges (Fig. 24). At that date brick was a highly fashionable material but it was too expensive to be used much in a county which is well provided with building stone. It is a Grade I listed building.[72] Boscobel House, Brewood, Shropshire (SJ838082) is described as 'more a lodge than a house, intended more for the occasional use of the owner and his guests than as a permanent residence. No doubt it served several needs, including perhaps accommodating [John] Giffard and his guests when out

Fig. 24
Newhouse, Redlynch (Wilts.), from the north-west; the two-storey wings are later extensions.
Photograph, J. McCann 1991

Fig. 25
Boscobel House, Brewood (Salop.).
Courtesy of English Heritage, © English Heritage

Fig. 26
Newark Park, Ozleworth (Glos.), the east elevation; the battlements were added in the 1790s.
Photograph, J. McCann 2012

hunting ...'.[73] It is timber-framed and jettied, and was converted about 1632 from an earlier (alleged) 'farmhouse' which was situated in dense woodland (Fig. 25). A farmhouse in dense woodland seems inherently unlikely: Michael and Susan Brown have identified physical evidence which suggests that it was built originally as a hunt standing.[74] It is listed Grade II*. Newark Park, Ozleworth (Glos., ST784931) is a hunting lodge of three storeys and basement of *c.*1550 built for Sir Nicholas Poynz, whose main seat was 15 miles (24km) away at Acton Court near Bristol (Figs 26, 27). It was built within a few metres of the edge of a steep escarpment. 'From the [originally flat] roof he could watch the chase in the deer-park below'.[75] It is a Grade I listed building.[76]

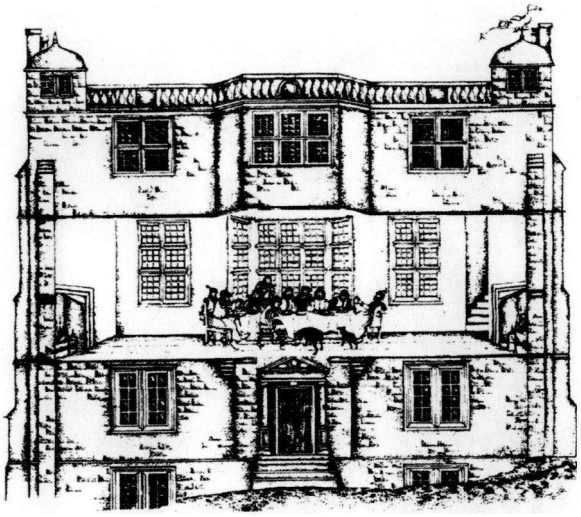

Fig. 27
Newark Park, Ozleworth: an artist's impression from the south as first built, showing the interior of the first floor with a hunting party dining.
Courtesy of the National Trust

To be continued in Part 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
We wish to express our gratitude to Philip Aitkens, Michael and Susan Brown, John Dallimore, David Dymond, Timothy Easton, Caroline Edwards, Mark Hanson, Edward Martin, Madge Moran, Pamela M. Slocombe, Jan Smith, David Stenning, and Elphin and Brenda Watkin for various kinds of help received. Adrian Gibson, Cecil Hewett and Douglas Scott died before we could acknowledge their help.

NOTES

1 O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London 1976), 143. Most parks produced timber, and generated income from fuel, panage, agistment, etc., but these aspects are outside the intention of this paper.

2 'A Monk was there, one of the finest sort,/ The Rule of good St Benet or St Maur/ As old and strict he tended to ignore;/ He let go by the things of yesterday/And took the modern world's more spacious way'; G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales, an illustrated edition,* transl. into modern English by N. Coghill (London 1995), 19.

3 F. Moryson, 'The Land and People of England', *Itinerary* (London 1617), vol. 3, 24.

4 P. Stamper, 'Parks and Hunting', in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (London 1988), 140-1.
5 The National Archives (TNA), Cal. Patent Rolls, Hen.VIII , 60. The posts could not be made locally because Nazeing is on the London Clay, which does not naturally produce oaks.
6 R. Surflet, *Maison Rustique, or the Countrey Farme* (London 1616), 668-9, loosely translated from C. Estienne, *Maison Rustique* (Paris 1600).
7 O. Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London 1986), 49; R. Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud 2003), 65.
8 J. Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: the history of deer parks* (Oxford 2012), 297.
9 Stamper, 'Parks and Hunting', 140-1.
10 Almond, *Medieval hunting*, 5; T.B. James and C. Gerrard, *Clarendon, Landscape of Kings* (Macclesfield 2007), 49-50.
11 J. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: the art of medieval hunting* (London 1988), 47-67.
12 *Framework Archaeology Monograph no. 2: From hunter-gatherers to huntsmen* (London 2002), 247-52. The site was excavated for an extension to Stansted Airport.
13 TNA, DL 29/58/1100
14 Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, 53-6; this section of the article is heavily reliant on Cummins' account.
15 R.R. Tighe and J.E. Davis, *Annals of Windsor* (London 1858) II, 32.
16 T. Easton, 'The Standing', in P. Oliver (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Cambridge 1997) I, 533-4.
17 S. Thurley, *Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London 1993), 192.
18 An engraving of *c.*1600 of a sporting complex at Tubingen University depicts men with crossbows shooting from both upper storeys of a three-storey standing, but they were shooting at stationary targets; J.C. Neyffer, *Illustrissimi Wirtembergici ducalis non collegii quod Tubingae qua studia qua exercitae accurate delineatio* (Tubingen *c.*1600), 11-5.
19 TNA, Cal. Patent Rolls, Hen.VIII , 60.
20 H.M. Colvin *et al* (eds), *The History of the King's Works: IV, 1485-1660*, Part II (HMSO, London 1982), 16.
21 W.C. Waller, *Essex Field Names* (Colchester 1896), 35, 62, 236, 269, 295.
22 Made by Samuel Piers of Maidstone for Sir Thomas Savage.
23 TNA, Special Commission 834 (Eliz.), transcr. in W C. Waller, 'Two Forest Lodges', *Essex Naturalist* 8 (1893) 82-6.
24 *Victoria County History of Essex* 5, (London),108.
25 As the building is arranged now, one enters by an inserted doorway in the west gable end, and approaches the stair from inside the western service room.
26 One casement of this type may be seen at the Brooking Collection, University of Greenwich, SE9 2PQ; unlike the wrought iron casements of the 17th and 18th centuries the inner and outer frames are 1½in. (38mm) wide.
27 The earliest known ovolo mouldings are in the carved reredos of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, associated with the initials H and A, therefore dating from Henry's public marriage to Anne Boleyn in 1533, but they are not structural. At the Great Standing the ovolo mouldings are part of the main structure and are amongst the earliest examples in structural use in England to have survived. Richard Morris informs us that in stonework, the ovolo was employed for mullions at Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace (1537-47) and subsequently at Somerset House, London (1547-52); pers. comm., R.K. Morris (ed.).
28 Waller, 'Two forest lodges', 82-6.
29 The use of nails to secure the ends of the braces in the Victorian 'restoration' was totally inappropriate for a 16th-century timber-framed building.
30 It is not clear why this was done, for the oak timbers of the main block are still in excellent condition. It is possible that the stair tower was built of hornbeam or other inferior timber, which may have been in poor condition by 1899.
31 Each panel has three vertical members of sawn oak 2" x 4" (50 x 100mm) tenoned into the frame at one end and left unpegged; the other end was cut to a chisel-shape and was forced along a V-shaped

groove in a horizontal member. Horizontal cleft laths were *nailed* to the outside of the sawn members, abutting on the frame at the ends, and vertical cleft laths were nailed to the inside. The triple grid so formed was then plastered on both sides so that the outer surface lies flush with the frame. The lime plaster contained animal hair.

32 J. McCann, unpublished report to the Council of the City of London (December 1990); the architects were Messrs. Purcell Miller Tritton and Partners.

33 Intending visitors should telephone 0208 508 0028 to ascertain the times of opening (remembering that it is now called Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge), and are advised to bring powerful torches because the ambient lighting is dim.

34 O. Rackham in M. Hanson, 'Epping Forest through the eye of the naturalist', *Essex Naturalist* 11 (1992), 8-17.

35 Reproduced by Rackham in ibid., 10; the original is in TNA.

36 H. and J.A. Repton, *Fragments on the theory and practice of landscape gardening* (London 1816), 475-7.

37 J. McCann, unpublished report to the Council of the City of London (June 1994).

38 C.A. Hewett, *English Historic Carpentry* (Chichester 1980), 264, 266.

39 Essex Record Office D/DM E1.

40 This was a typically bodged conversion of *c.*1580.

41 Now known as Killigrews. Essex Record Office, *A map of the county of Essex* (London 1777), xvii.

42 Essex Record Office D/DM E1, and J. Chapman and P. André, *A Map of the County of Essex* (Chelmsford 1970), xvii; P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (London 1763-8) II, 52-5; Mark and Ernest Tully, *The History of Lodge Farm* (unpublished report 2006). Gifford and Gedge were related to John Berden through the female line.

43 Essex Record Office D/DM E1, and Chapman and André, *Map of Essex*, xiii.

44 To the rear the ground falls away, making it unlikely that this could be the cross-wing of a larger house.

45 The present Faulkbourne Hall was built by Sir John Montgomery and his son Thomas, mid-1440s-*c.*1475; A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500*, II (Cambridge 2000), 96-100. It is almost wholly of brick.

46 E. P. Shirley, *Some account of English deer parks* (London 1867), 76-7; the letter is quoted in full in Cummins, *Hound and Hawk*, 59.

47 Hewett, *English Historic Carpentry*, 289-92, 265-7.

48 The nearest parks were Abchilds/Absol Park and Pleshey Old Park, which Sir Richard Rich disparked in the mid-16th century.

49 TNA, Cal. Patent Rolls, Hen.VI, 5, 236.

50 Pers. comm. from Edward Martin, 5 November 2013, to whom we are greatly obliged.

51 R. Blome, *The Gentleman's Recreations* (2nd edn, London 1710), part 3, 146-7.

52 Ibid, 146-7; K. Freswell, 'Lodge Park, Gloucestershire: a rare surviving deer course and Bridgman layout', *Garden History* 23/2 (Winter 1995), 136.

53 Lieutenant Hammond in 1634, quoted in J. Haworth, *Lodge Park, Gloucestershire*, National Trust guidebook (London 2002), 5.

54 The north point in the current National Trust guidebook is wrongly orientated.

55 Haworth, *Lodge Park* (as in n.53).

56 Freswell, 'Lodge Park', 133-44.

57 J.W.G. Musty, 'Deer coursing at Clarendon Palace and Hampton Court', *Antiquaries Journal* 66 (1986), 131-2.

58 C.C. Taylor, 'Ravensdale Park, Derbyshire, and medieval deer coursing', *Landscape History* 26 (2005), 37-58.

59 Surflet, *Maison Rustique*, 669-70.

60 O. Rackham, *The Last Forest: the story of Hatfield Forest* (London 1989), 177.

61 Rackham, 'Epping Forest', 9-11.

62 Essex Record Office D/DP M560. We are greatly obliged to Janet Smith for help in transcribing this document.

63 Surflet, *Gentlemen's Recreations*, 670.

64 M. Moran, *Vernacular Buildings of Shropshire* (Little Logaston 2003), 11.
65 *Essex Hist. Buildings Group Newsletter* 6 (September 2010), 6; *Eavesdropper* (Journal of the Suffolk Hist. Buildings Group) 47 (January 2013), 5.
66 TNA, 29/58, 1098, 1089; DL 29/74/1477.
67 TNA, DL 29/58/1099.
68 Essex Record Office D/Dge M.135.
69 Colvin, *King's Works*, IV part 2, 16, n.5.
70 RCHME *Essex*, I (London 1916), 183.
71 Colchester Archaeological Group, *The Lost Tudor Hunting Lodge at Wormingford* (Colchester 2010), 5 and *passim*.
72 The primary economic function of the park is still the killing of deer, although now it is done with high-powered rifles from platforms erected in the trees. The house, in private occupation, is opened to the public occasionally.
73 O.J. Weaver, *Boscobel House and White Ladies Priory*, English Heritage guidebook (1987), 19.
74 Pers. comm., Michael and Susan Brown.
75 O. Garnett, *Newark Park*, National Trust guide (n.d., unpaginated). The present parks are on different sites and were established in the 1790s. The name is derived from 'The Newe Worke', shown on an early map.
76 Both Boscobel House (English Heritage) and Newark Park (National Trust) are open to the public.