



FOREST OF **BOWLAND**

Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

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Front cover illustration: Depiction of a deer park on a Flemish tapestry of c 1500
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Chapter I: Executive Summary

In medieval England the Royal Forests were owned by the monarch and kept for their private hunting. In many of these forests, including what is now the Forest of Bowland Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, fallow deer were kept for hunting in a 'deer park' which was enclosed by a ditch and/or fence, called a 'pale'. These forest deer parks, and those of the gentry elsewhere, varied greatly in size from as little as 10 to over 1000 hectares. Because of their long existence - several hundreds of years – they helped to shape the surrounding road network and settlement patterns and their boundaries can often still be traced today in our modern landscape.

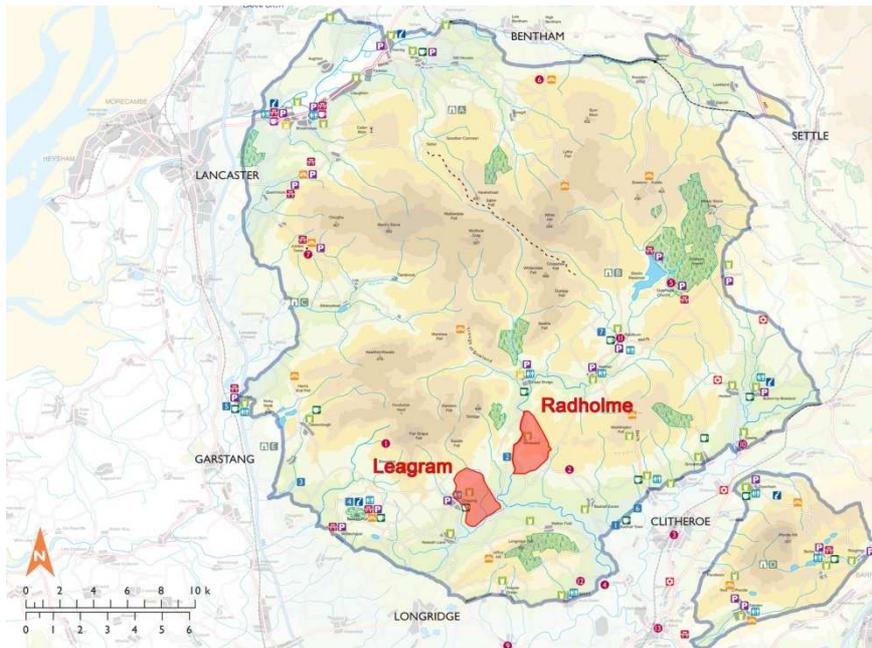
This research in the Forest of Bowland has been looking at two known deer parks at Radholme and Leagram, which existed between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. The research has been focussed on finding out more about the establishment and management of the parks, when they were disparked, and what has happened to them since.

The research was largely carried out in 2011 and 2012 by volunteers, with professional support provided by Nigel Neil and Ruth Thurnhill of the Lancashire Gardens Trust and by officers of the Forest of Bowland AONB Unit and Lancashire County Council.

The deer parks project comprised both original and secondary archive research and field work. There were a number of original discoveries made, including the delightfully illustrated and coloured dispute maps of Leagram from around 1600; and the realisation that a number of 'off set' features found in later boundary walls were probably linked to original deer leaps where deer were able to enter the park, but not to escape. Research into field and place names has provided us with further evidence as to the meanings of place names such as fence and laund. And a detailed gazetteer has also been produced which will significantly add to the Historic Environment Record for the areas covered by the parks.

The project has added to previously known records for both parks, and we hope to continue to gather and discover information about Radholme and Leagram and other deer parks in the AONB in the future. There are plans to carry out more field and archive based research, and to create a number of interpretive materials to enable more people to discover, enjoy, and learn about this fascinating piece of landscape history.

Cathy Hopley, Forest of Bowland AONB



Map of the Forest of Bowland AONB showing the location of the two deer parks (Graham Cooper)

Chapter 2: Introduction

Project Aims

The aim was to undertake a pilot historical research project on the medieval deer parks at Leagram and Radholme in the Forest of Bowland Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB).

Objectives

- To record through mapping and a gazetteer, for these two deer parks and the immediate vicinity (a 'buffer' zone of c 500 metres), evidence from cartographic, aerial photographic, and documentary sources for their past and present boundaries and any internal subdivision, and historic landscape, extant and destroyed buildings, and archaeological features
- To locate and provide dating evidence, where possible from primary (manuscript) sources, for the creation, alteration, and 'disparking' (ie disuse, or use for agricultural etc. purposes) of the parks, and for any other recorded events in their history
- To trace the subsequent landscape history of the original deer parks, using more recent historic maps and other primary sources, to identify how original features (such as boundaries, routeways, buildings) have either disappeared, remained, or left traces in the landscape (eg through place-names; land ownership fragmentation; subsequent boundaries; later designed landscapes; routeways or settlement patterns)
- To enhance the gazetteer by field verification
- To consider and comment on the potential of each park for further research, and for popular interpretation using guided and self-guided historic landscape tours, and permanent outdoor and/or internet based interpretative provision, to enhance and communicate to the general public the interest, significance, value and meaning of the historic environment

Multi-disciplinary research

Since Leagram and Radholme have not functioned as deer parks for between 400 and 500 years, the task of determining their former extent, and identifying on the ground whether landscape features relating to their former usage survive, requires a multi-disciplinary research approach: historic maps and written documents, aerial photographs, place-name and field-name evidence, and ground-based visual recognition were the skills applied. Parts of both parks survived extant or in the oral history record long enough to be recorded on the first OS 6 inch to 1 mile maps in the 1840s-'50s, and this, together with relative ease of access, made them ideal sites for this pilot project.

The Leagram and Radholme project was co-ordinated by Nigel Neil of Neil Archaeological Services, Lancaster, and Ruth Thurnhill, of Cow Ark, Ribble Valley, an experienced garden historian (both are Council members of the Lancashire Gardens Trust), working with volunteers, many of whom are members of Chipping Local History Society. The project was also supported by Dr Graham Cooper.

Training

Training was provided using a combination of desk-based workshops, guided field visits, and group and sub-group meetings. Topics covered included:

- Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and the Lancashire Historic Environment Record (HER), and training in the use of aerial photographs and maps, accessed through the County Council's Maps And Related Information Online (MARIO) portal
- Library and Archives research: comprising location of archives using online resources (e.g. Access to Archives [A2A], Lancashire Archives online catalogue [LANCAT], and The National Archives [TNA] catalogue), use of published map and written sources, introduction to (or learning enhancement for some volunteers in) the use of manuscript sources, and photography of documents in Lancashire Archives

Deer Parks in the Forest of Bowland

- Creation of written and drawn records, including gazetteer entries, and document abstracts and transcripts; transcription of cartographic and aerial photo information to base maps
- Archaeological method and theory, especially recognition of landscape archaeological features

Archive investigations

The principal secondary sources were obtained from Lancaster University Library and Lancashire Library Service, and the private collections of team members. Summaries of some primary sources now in The National Archives (TNA) were accessed in published form at Lancaster University Library. Online searches were then undertaken to identify collections, bundles, and where possible individual documents ('pieces', in archivist terminology) available in Preston, Kew, and a few other archives, relevant to the two parks, and for any other recorded events in their history.

Unfortunately, many of the documents relevant to Leagram and Radholme are in largely uncatalogued collections in the Weld/ Shireburne of Stonyhurst deposit (Lancashire Archives DDST; the surname is spelt in various ways, but has been standardised here, following the Lancashire Archives usage, except in *verbatim* transcripts). A few of these bundles were checked in detail, but this is a slow process, and the majority of the documents presented Latin and Secretary Hand (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) English palaeography challenges. There are a great many more unseen documents in the Stonyhurst collection relevant to Leagram, and probably a few relating to Radholme.

Documents in Lancashire Archives were photographed in the search room (the project team are grateful to Lancashire Archives for waiving the daily fee usually payable). Some items held in the private collection of one of the volunteers (Mrs Irena Preston), and in Clitheroe Library, were obtained as photocopies/photographs, and scans. Digital images of selected documents from The National Archives, Kew (TNA); York City Archives; and a photocopy from Wigan Archive Service, Leigh were also secured and specialist palaeography and translation works were commissioned. Transcribed extracts and images of a number of further TNA documents were obtained through the kindness and interest of Dr Bill Shannon (Honorary Research Fellow) and Professor Angus Winchester from Lancaster University. Transcripts and translations from Latin were commissioned for a small selection of further documents from Dr Caroline Hull and Prof. Andrew Jotischky of Lancaster University, and Diana and Tom Spelman of Norwich.

The Shireburn and Weld family portraits were photographed by Graham Cooper with grateful thanks to John Weld Blundell at Leagram Hall, and David Knight and Jan Graffius at Stonyhurst College.

See Appendices C and D for details of the archive sources and extracts.

Investigations were also carried out as to the meaning of selected place and field names: see Appendix E.

Gazetteers and field work

In order to create a register of features of interest on the ground, a gazetteer was developed for each park: see separate documents.

The study area was divided into segments, with small groups working on each park. In the case of Radholme, in order to produce a gazetteer of sites not previously recorded on the Lancashire HER, each of the team members tackled a group of complete or partial 1 km National Grid squares (see Appendix A). In the case of Leagram, assimilation of Chipping Local History Society's records into the project archive dominated the work of the team, and a somewhat less structured approach to the identification of new 'sites' prevailed.

Limited field verification was undertaken once draft gazetteers had been created; field sketches and photography were employed to record the current landscape in areas where there was public access or access had been granted, or which could be seen from a high viewpoint.

Information held by the Lancashire County Archaeology Service in the Lancashire HER was, where possible, reviewed and enhanced with additional findings made by the project during desk-based research and fieldwork.

Some of the historical mapping in this report was reproduced by digitally merging a systematic sequence of photographs of parts of original maps. This will inevitably result in a degree of distortion within the resulting copy; steps were taken to minimise the distortion. Historical maps and some other images were digitally enhanced to improve clarity for reproduction in the report. The brightness, contrast and colour balance will not match the original.



Field work in all weathers! Ruth Thurnhill and Tarja Wilson survey the pale boundary at Radholme (Graham Cooper)

Chapter 3: Introduction to Deer Parks

Deer parks were established in medieval times both within the royal forests and elsewhere in England. In addition to being some of the largest historic environment entities found in the British countryside, varying in size from less than 10 to over 1000 hectares (25 to over 2500 acres), the boundaries of these parks frequently had a lasting impact on the landscape – extending long beyond their active use – in that the exclusion of the general public from them, sometimes for centuries, dictated the course of highways, and the extent of other farming practices. In some places the deep bank and ditch, or 'pale' which formed the park boundary still survives, but more commonly place names including 'park' and 'laund' – a clearing where deer grazed – indicate their former locations.

Hunting in deer parks and royal forests

Hunting had long been a major recreation of nobility and royalty, but under Norman rule it became much more popular and widespread. The word 'forest' today conjures up an image of a landscape covered by trees, but the word actually comes from the Latin *foris* meaning 'everything outdoors or outside'. It was this concept of land outside the normal administration, or common law, that the Norman kings introduced to England under William the Conqueror, from 1066 onwards.

So, 'forest' for the Norman kings was a legal term. It referred to an area of unenclosed countryside – which could encompass woodland, open moorland, and heath – and subject to Forest Law, which was a system of administration and laws designed to safeguard the resources of both venison (deer) and 'vert' (the vegetation which provided the deer with food and shelter), for the benefit of the monarchy. Every royal forest was administered by a hierarchy of officials, appointed by and accountable to the king. Often deer parks would be created within the forests.



Fallow deer

Forest 'game' included all kinds of deer: fallow, roe and red, although the deer parks often specialised in the more attractive fallow deer (*Dama dama*). Wild boar and hares were also considered worthy hunting adversaries, because of their agility and cunning, and game birds were hunted using falconry, while rabbits (*coney*s) were often bred in artificial warrens (*conneries*) within or adjacent to the park. All game was the property of the monarch and was offered royal protection if it strayed or caused damage to crops, ie game was not to be killed or curtailed by residents. Although they were actively 'managed', the deer were not domesticated as such, in order to preserve the spirit of the hunt. The king could hunt and move from one forest to another, but he did not use or even visit them all, thus the northern forests and deer parks were more often used to supply live deer as gifts to favoured individuals, or were trapped and transported alive to other royal

parks, to maintain stocks. Venison meat was never sold, it would be gifted by the king or owner. Over the centuries, management of the forests moved away from hunting preserves to providing the king with much needed income, from timber, quarries, let grazing (called 'score' in the northern counties), and other resources and industries. The punishments for breaking forest law were severe, ranging from fines to mutilation and execution.

Sometimes the deer would be released from the park to be hunted in the wider forest or open countryside. Hunting was originally carried out using nets, but then progressed to 'bow and stable' whereby the deer would be herded towards an ambush, where the huntsmen would use bow and arrow to pick off a pre-designated animal. Huge show-piece hunts on horseback, with packs of hounds (*par force de chiens*), undoubtedly took place in some British royal forests occasionally, but were the exception rather than the norm.

Deer park development

Deer parks first appeared in Saxon times, where they were possibly also known as *hays*, *haga* or *haiae* which may be where we derived the word hedge from. However, after 1066 the number of deer parks increased markedly, and many in the north of England were created and maintained into the seventeenth century. Deer parks were primarily for fallow deer, and although these may have been introduced to England by the Romans, they rapidly grew in number under the Normans.

A park was usually elliptical in shape, and was typically of 40 to 80 hectares in size and the owner would need a licence from the monarch to create a park. Deer parks were very much seen as a status symbol rather than as a revenue earner. They were costly to maintain although they did yield some income from fines and the sale of privileges and resources such as timber or stone. Deer outside the park were classed as wild and subject to forest law; within the park they were a possession of the owner and if killed the poacher was subject to common law. The deer parks were often resented by local communities as they removed land from farming, ie by being enclosed in the park, land was restricted from being farmed. However at the time of deer park creation some of the land was only waste or woodland anyway, and was not used for farming. Residents were also resentful that hunting across their farmland could disrupt work and damage their crops. Poaching was also severely punished.

Cattle were excluded from parks during the 'fence month' which fell two weeks either side of Midsummer Day, when the red and fallow deer were most likely to be giving birth. This use of the word fence may explain its occurrence in place names, in addition to the obvious link with fence or boundary. In winter months, or the 'heyning', domestic livestock were again removed from parks and forests to ensure there was enough fodder for the deer ('hey' here may also refer to the Saxon *hays* for hedge or fence.) Bracken may also have been protected from cutting until the fawns were big enough to run with their mothers. Many parks contained buildings to store hay and other fodder for winter feedstock.



Leagram park today (Graham Cooper)

Other features within the park

Within the park, trees would be pollarded to allow growth above the deer and cattle's grazing height. These have given rise to the well known and loved park trees of later and modern times.

Some areas would also be cleared of woodland scrub to allow the deer to graze a grass lawn or *laund*, and to be fed in winter time on holly, ivy, rushes and brashings. Other areas would be coppiced to allow tree growth and to generate a timber supply.



Chipping Laund today (Graham Cooper)

The Pale

Fallow deer were difficult to confine as they are small and nimble so a park boundary or pale needed to be tall, wide and strong. Over time the deer would become hefted to the park and less likely to leave it; if they did escape they were not inclined to disperse.

The combination of a ditch and barrier was often used to make the pale. The barrier might be a wall or a 'live fence' ie thorn bushes; or a 'dead fence' ie a wooden structure. The latter might have had cleft or even sharpened posts set on end, and joined by horizontal rails secured with pegs. These are likely to have looked similar to those illustrated in a plan of 1581 for Musbury Park, Lancashire.



Musbury Park, Lancashire, in 1581 (photo courtesy of Dr Bill Shannon), and a detail of the depiction of the park pale (arrowed).

Reproduced by kind permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster and The National Archives TNA I/245

In some areas a 'free board' of five to seven metres width outside the pale was maintained as open ground in order for escaped deer, or poachers, to be seen. The freeboard was also used by villagers as a way of circumnavigating the deer park.

Natural defences such as steep hills, banks, or gullies and rivers would also be utilised in the pale, to save time and money, see the image of Kitcham Hill below, part of Radholme deer park.



The substantial pale bank surmounted by trees at Hursley deer park, Southampton (from Shirley 1867, and Cantor 1983)



Kitcham Hill, part of Radholme park, showing how the topography was used to enhance the height of the pale (Graham Cooper)

Deer Parks in the Forest of Bowland

A history of Leagram Park was written by John Weld in the 1870s and published posthumously nearly a century ago (Weld 1913). He quotes a description from 1435-6, also quoted by Cunliffe Shaw (1956) in saying that the ditches were 8 feet (2.44m) wide and 4 feet (1.22m) deep, with an embankment to the outside with a fence on top. The pale may have consisted of a variety of constructions – wooden posts, hurdles, stone walling, and hedges were all used to some degree, but evidently the pales here consisted of *palesbords*, which cost 12d (pence) per hundred to fell and make in 1422-3 for Radholme, and twice this, 2 shillings per hundred, in 1435-6 for Leagram (Shaw 1956).

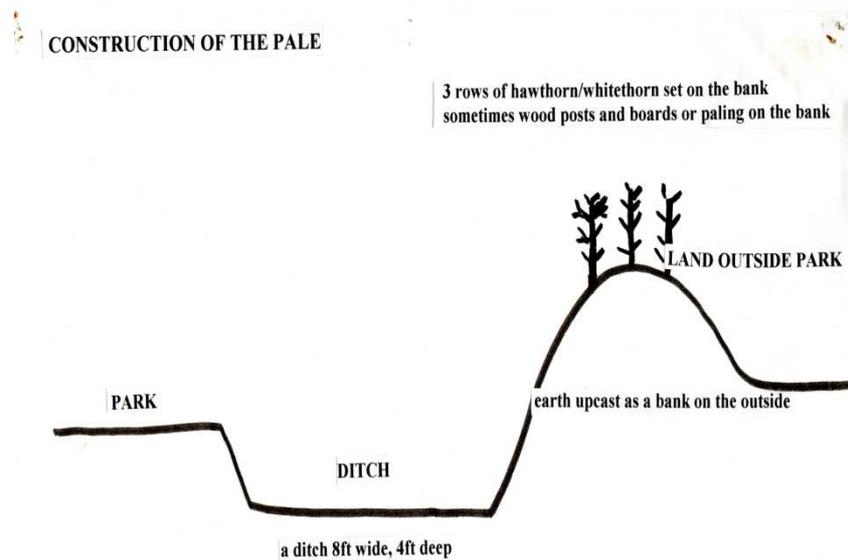
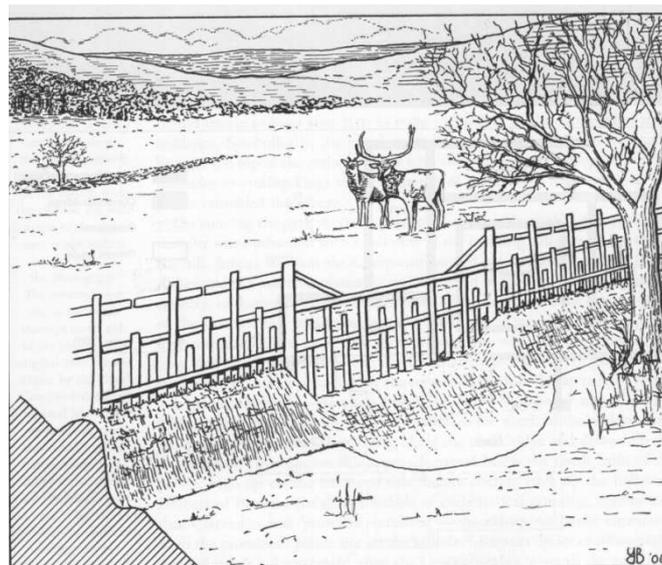


Illustration courtesy of Chipping Local History Society

The pale would be constructed to keep the deer in the park, and there would be several locked gates to allow controlled movement of people, stock and deer into and out of the park. Deer leaps were constructed, again often using local topography, to enable wild deer to freely enter the park, but not to then escape outwards again.



The Lodge

The park keeper was a person of considerable status in medieval times, appointed by the monarch, and responsible to the Master Forester of Bowland and/or Duchy Receiver for Lancashire and Cheshire. The keeper was responsible for maintaining the pale and protecting the deer from poachers, as well as organising the hunt. He, or his staff, would take a daily round of the park to check on the boundary and the deer. In winter they would feed the deer, often outside the lodge where the keeper may reside in winter time. The lodge would variously be used for accommodation, shelter and meals whilst hunting took place in the park.

The keeper's lodge at Leagram stood near the site of the present Leagram Hall. At Radholme, the lodge has traditionally been equated with the present Radholme Laund farm (Shaw 1956).



Leagram Hall today (Graham Cooper)

Disparking

By the first quarter of the fifteenth century, many deer parks had begun to outlive their usefulness for their original purpose and had become too expensive to maintain. Inspections and records often stated that parks and their boundaries were neglected or in a poor state. There was also increasing pressure to allow tenants to enclose land for agriculture, which was maybe more lucrative than the revenue generated from a deer park.

In common with other known deer parks, Leagram and Radholme gradually fell into disuse. After surveys or inspections the areas were 'disparked' and were then sub divided and let to new tenants. After disparking modifications can often be seen to follow the original boundaries and features of the park, and we can still trace these today in the modern landscape. For more details see the chronology of each park, set out in the next chapters.

In many cases the process of disparking took place later than the medieval enclosure of surrounding land. Therefore, the ancient small enclosures around settlements such as Chipping, compare markedly with the later and larger enclosure patterns which developed inside the pale. It is also interesting to note how other features such as roads, rights of way and field boundaries still follow good lengths of the old pale line.

Deer Parks in the Forest of Bowland

Leagram and Radholme are just two of around three dozen parks in use at different periods from the *Domesday Book* (AD 1086) to the twentieth century, lying either within or adjacent to the Forest of Bowland AONB. In the recent Forest of Bowland AONB Landscape Character Assessment report (Chris Blandford Associates 2009), Nigel Neil showed that there is evidence for medieval deer parks and/or post-medieval ornamental parks of regional and local significance at Leagram, Radholme, Browsholme, Stonyhurst, Quernmore, Wyreside Hall, Clerk Hill (Whalley), and Wennington Hall, and those belonging to Whalley and Sawley Abbeys. Further research suggests that at least twenty monastic foundations and early castles are known within the same area (J Wood 1996); and the owners of all of these are likely to have had deer parks, though as yet these have not been identified on the ground. To this list the Lancashire Historic Designed Landscapes project, a Lancashire Gardens Trust volunteer project supported by Lancashire County Council, has since 2008 'validated' the existence of over 30 parks and gardens first noted by Bennis and Dyke (1998) within the AONB, including Gresgarth Hall, Abbeystead, Knowlmore, Dunnaw, Harrop, and Bolton by Bowland Halls. There are undoubtedly more parks and gardens awaiting recognition, and further work is required to determine which of the post-medieval ornamental parks were developments of earlier medieval deer parks, and whether historic landscape features from that earlier usage survive.

Within the Forest of Bowland, Leagram and Radholme were conscious attempts to create breeding grounds for deer, probably contemporary with the most successful period for the vaccary (cattle and oxen farms) system. The vaccaries had been in existence since at least the 1250s, but the Scandinavian place names of some of the 15 vaccaries recorded - such as Beatrix and Browsholme - suggest that the Norman de Lacy family may have taken over existing Norse established properties (Porter 1994). For more information on vaccaries and the forest economy see Appendix H.

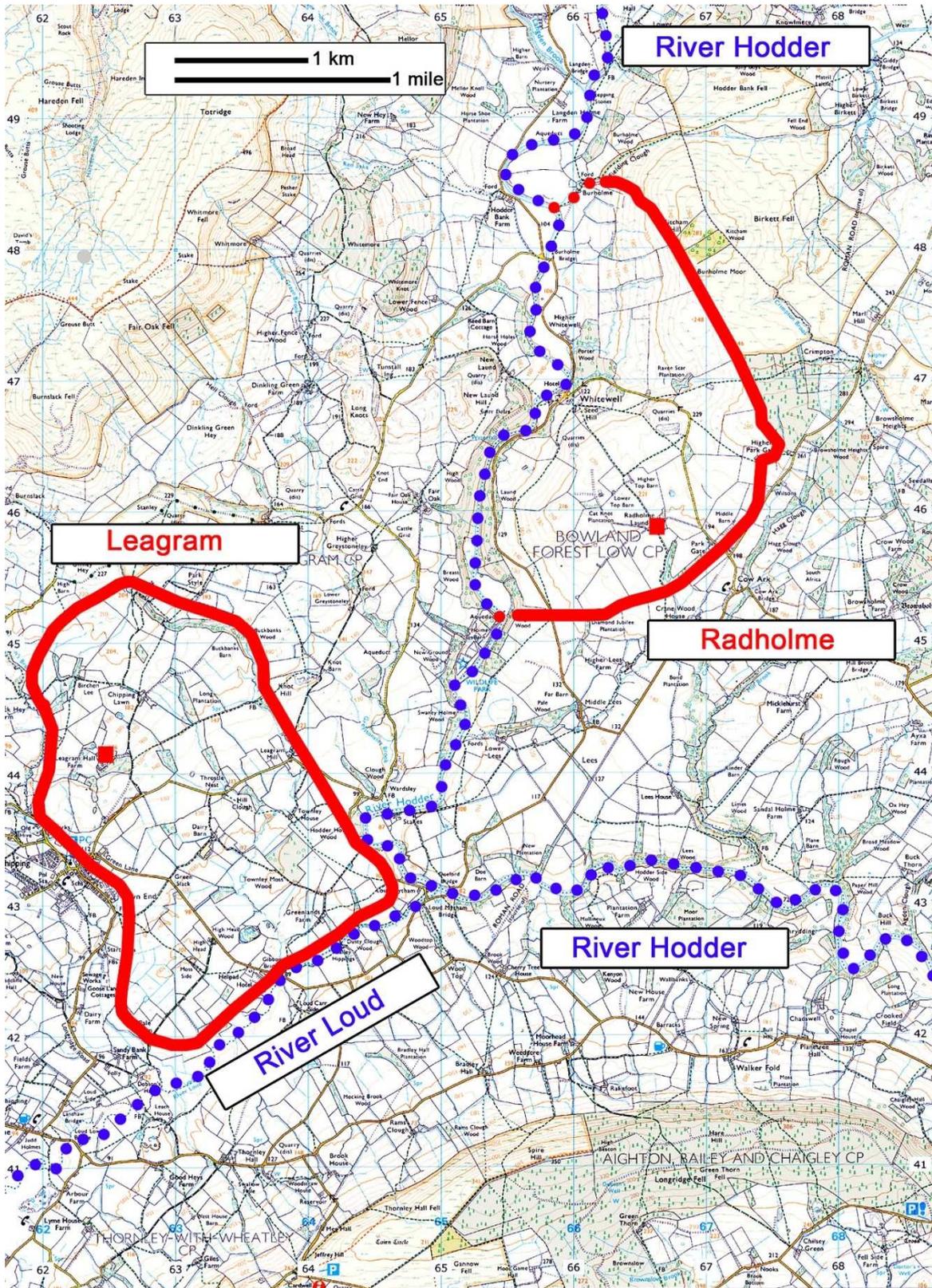
In his national gazetteer of deer parks, Cantor (1983) gives 1327 and 1348 respectively for the dates of creation of Radholme and Leagram. However, this information should be treated with caution, as a number of Cantor's Lancashire dates have been shown to be erroneous. The chronologies set out below provide evidence for possible earlier dates for both parks.

The sizes of Leagram and Radholme Parks

In order to confirm whether the parks were at one time larger than they appear today, we need to compare the park acreage given in documents at various dates with that calculated from modern maps. However, caution is required, because of the very confusing range of units of measurement of length and area in use in Britain, and especially in Lancashire, from medieval times through to the nineteenth century. See Appendix H.

From modern mapping, the area of Leagram Park is 5.62 sq km or 562 hectares, and the perimeter is 10.54 km.

The area of Radholme Park, using modern mapping and assuming the Hodder to be the western boundary, is 476 hectares, the perimeter is 9.97 km. Using the 1835 Parker map (LRO DDB 74/37) and the corresponding schedule in the Towneley Estates Act document of 1885, to calculate, it is possible to sum the areas of the lands for the tenants within our presumed Radholme Park boundary, giving the total area as 1178 acres, 3 roods and 5 perch: a very close approximation to the current calculated 1176 acres or 476 hectares. For comparison, the acreage given in the Commonwealth period document (TNA E 317 Yorks 49) is given as 1032 acres and 1 rood. So it is possible that an area may have been added, post-disparking, to the notional Radholme Park.

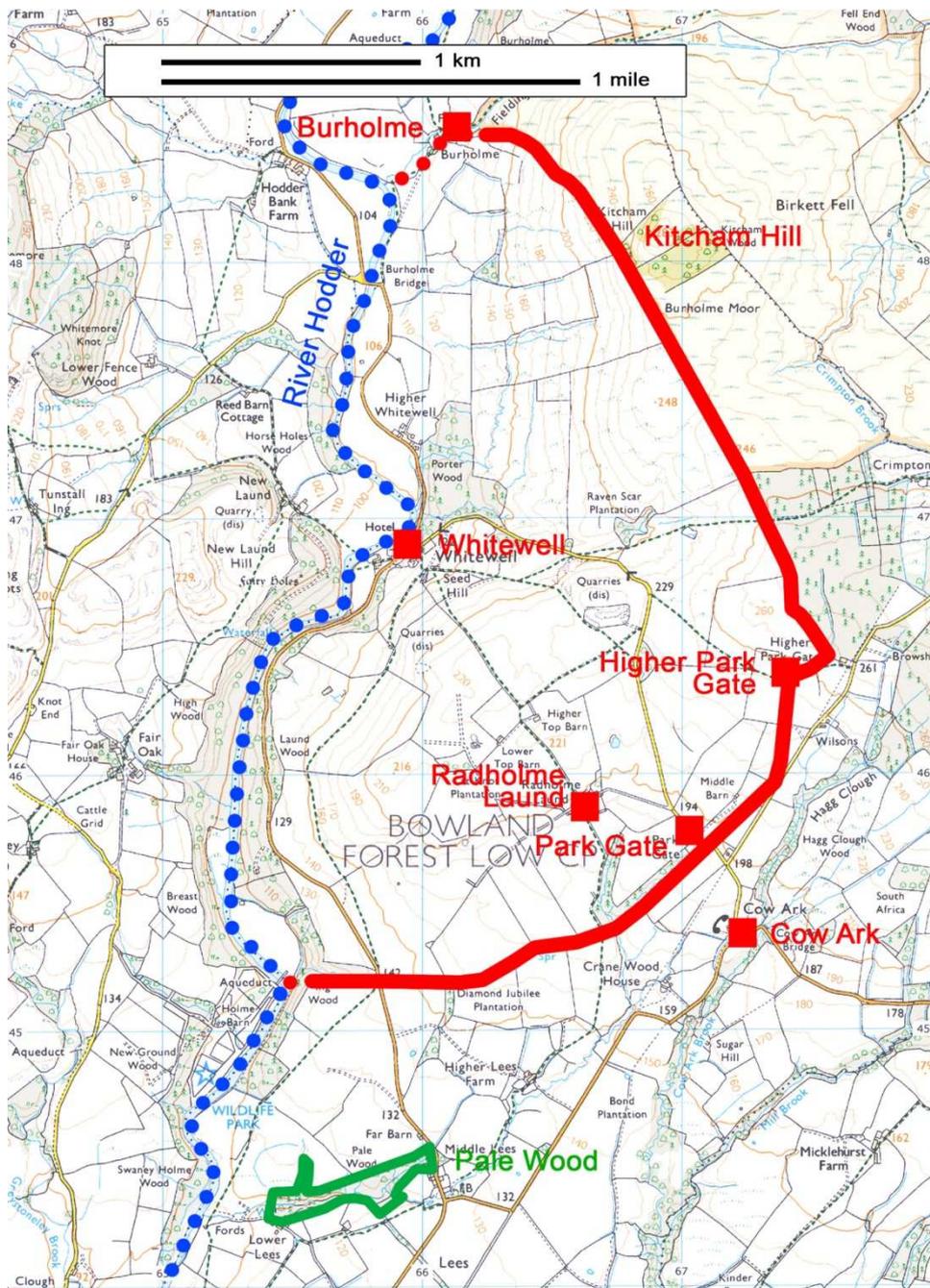


The locations of Leagram and Radholme parks, shown on a modern OS map (Graham Cooper)

Chapter 4: Radholme Deer Park

Location and place names

Radholme Park, equated with *Radun*, in the *Domesday Book*, and later *Raddom* (A H Smith 1961) situated on a hill to the east of Whitewell, is probably the unnamed park referred to in 1259 by Alice, widow of Edmund de Lacy (see below, pg 19). Its boundary ran east from the outlet of Withens Brook into the Hodder as far as Park Gate Farm, northwards past Higher Park Gate Farm, and over Burholme Moor to re-join the Hodder below Burholme, apparently with the River Hodder as its western boundary (Porter 1994).



Radholme Park shown on a modern OS map (Graham Cooper)

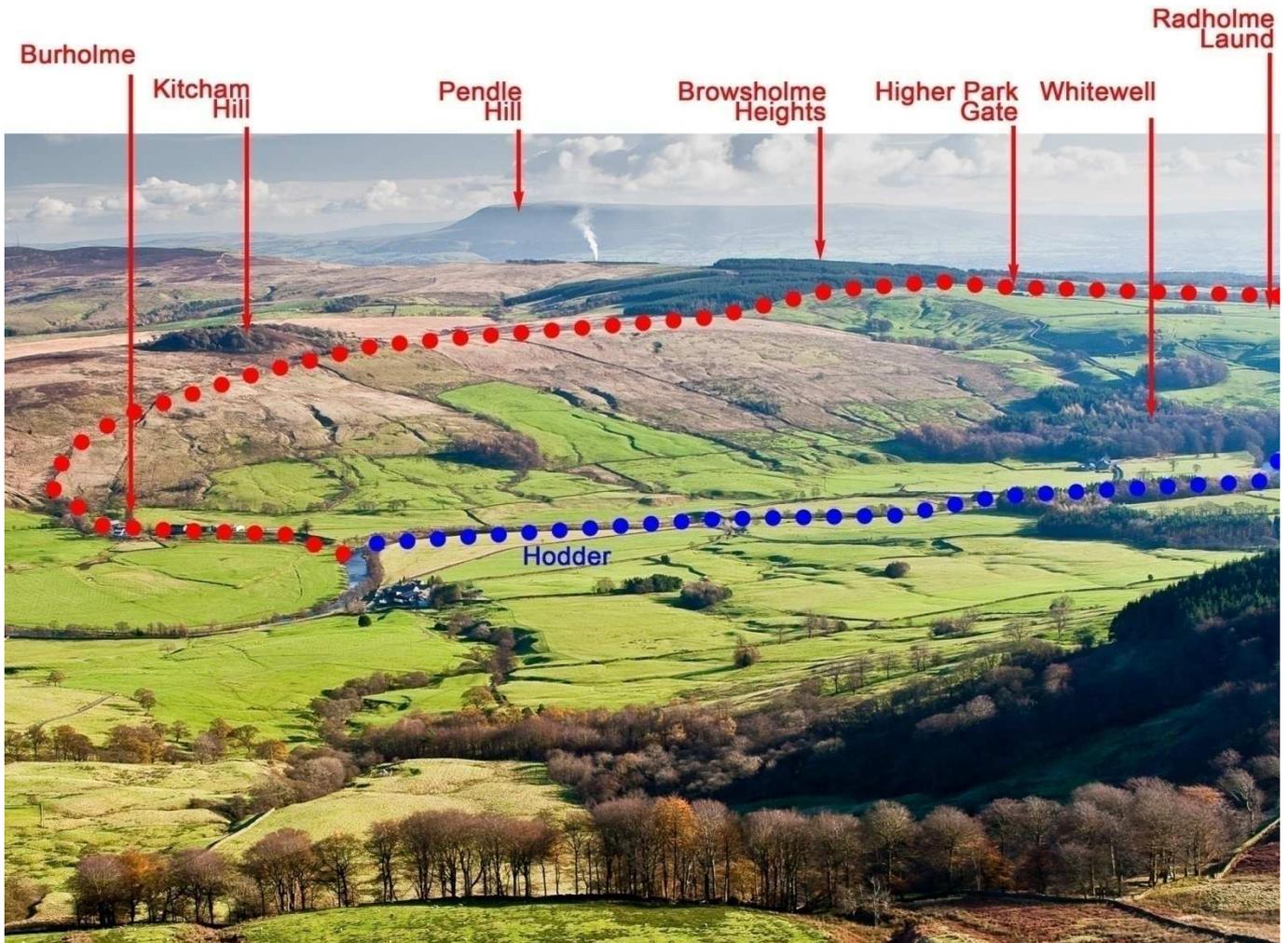
The entrance to the park in the south was at Park Gate, which would be firmly locked. On the 1835 map (see below, pg 29), field number 162 is referred to in the schedule of 1885 as 'Stoney Wall Field' which may suggest stone was used in part of the deer park boundary. Just to the north east of this area are quarries which may have supplied the stone. At some points the present wall is almost flush with the profile of the steep bank, which may have provided an access point for escaped deer, or other deer outside the bounds, to re enter the park: a natural deer leap.



Line of the pale at Kitcham Hill, (Graham Cooper)

The pale enclosed the gritstone heights and the lower plateau which provided lush grass on which the deer grazed. On the 1835 map, just north of the park 'beyond the pale', field 229 is referred to as 'Bracken Hill Stubbing' where the word stubbing may refer to trees which are regularly pollarded at 1.2 – 1.8m height, providing brashings or winter fodder. The bracken would also be cut and used for bedding for cattle, and may have been stored, together with reeds, at Reed Barn.

Higher Fence, Lower Fence, Fence Wood and New Hey all lie to the west of the Hodder. Here the words fence and hey may refer to the fence month and fenced winter heynings, when cattle were excluded from the park, as these locations are in a sheltered spot, with the river forming a natural barrier from the deer park. There is a further possible heyning, now called 'The Heaning' to the east of Dunsop Bridge. New Laund is also across the river from the park and may have been a later creation (see Chapter 6).



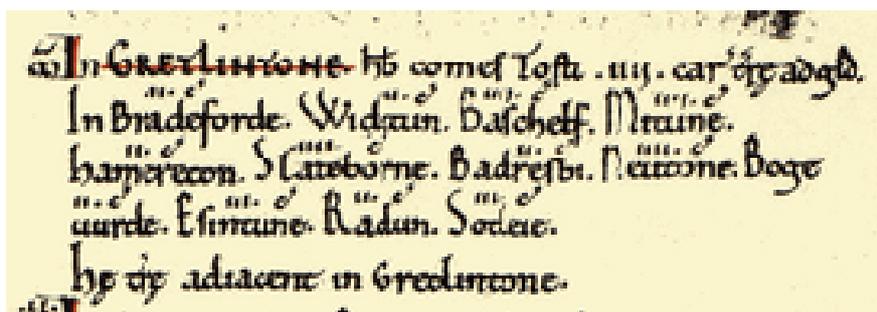
The original line of the pale as seen at Radholme today (Graham Cooper)

Chronology

For further information about Radholme and Whitewell see Appendix G

For an explanation of terms see the Glossary at the end of Chapter 6

- 1066** The first recorded mention by name of Radholme is in *Domesday Book*, 1086, which states that *Radun*, (2 carucates in extent – circled below) was part of the *Gretlintone* [Grindleton] holding of Earl Tostig Godwinson. He was the brother of King Harold II, and had been ousted from his position as Earl of Northumbria and exiled in 1065; he was killed at the Battle of Stamford Bridge on 25th September 1066. *Gretlintone* was a 'multiple estate' or *maenor wrthtir*, comprising 13 vills, an extent of 38 carucates (Higham 1985) or approximately 11,250 hectares. The vills of Grindleton and West Bradford, and probably Radholme, were initially retained 'in hand' as demesne, rather than being re-granted to lesser lords, as were Mitton and other manors (Shaw 1956)



Extract from TNA E 31/2/2 Great Domesday Book, f 332r, reproduced by kind permission of The National Archives

- 1086** Earl Tostig's lands in Bowland and Chippindale [Chipping], including Radholme and the rest of the Grindleton estate, and all the lands *Inter Rippam et Mersam* [Between the rivers Ribble and Mersey] were granted by William the Conqueror to Roger of Poitou (Higham 1985). By 1086, Poitou had already had some of his extensive lands in other counties confiscated for reasons unknown, but was apparently back in favour briefly in 1094. This 'superior lordship' in Yorkshire and the future Lancashire continued to be amalgamated until Roger's exile in 1102 (Shaw 1956, and Schofield 1966)
- 1086 to 1102** Roger of Poitou made a 'subinfeudation' of Blackburnshire and Bowland, to the Grelley and Bussel families, but both exchanged their properties for others; Poitou therefore conferred the lands on Robert, son of Ilbert de Lacy of Pontefract
- 1258** Inquisition Post Mortem of Edmund de Lacy. IPMs were local enquiries into the lands held by people of some status, in order to discover whatever income and rights were due to the crown. Such inquisitions were only held when people were thought, or known to have, held lands of the crown
- 1259** Alice, widow of Edmund de Lacy, complained of trespass by John of Bradley, Adam of Mitton, and others in her park and forest of Bowland (TNA KB 26/162 m42, and KB 26/169, m61d). This is the first known reference to a 'park' in this landholding
- 1313** Earliest mention of *Raddon* in a 'Commission of oyer and terminer', dated 3 November 1313, in the Calendar of Patent Rolls of 7 Edward II (part 1), regarding a grant by Edward I to Edmund his brother: Thomas earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund, has made complaints regarding people who have entered various of his parks and chases including 'his free chase of Bowland' and his park at Raddon, county of York.

- 1322-23** Reference to Radholme Park, see below (TNA SC 8/107/5347):
Lands of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, probably the account of William of Tatham, who was receiver of forfeited estates. The park of *Reddom* was being leased by Edmund of Dacre at annual rent of £5. Edmund had been granted bailiwick of the chase of Bowland by Edward II on 11 Dec 1322

TNA SC 8/107/5347

Petitioner: Edmund Dacre, forester. Language: French

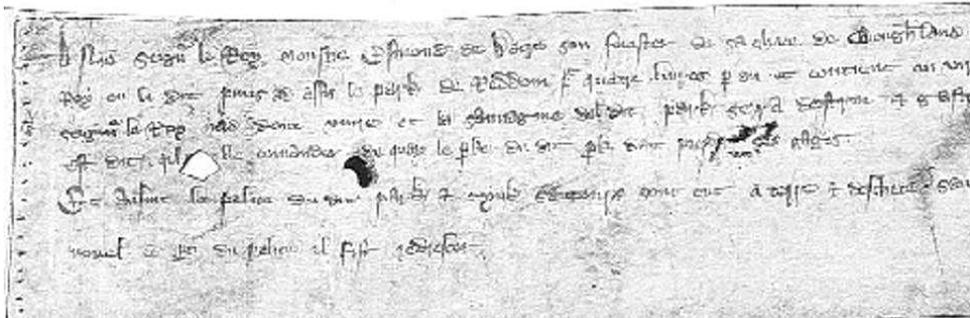
Dacre complains that the king's chase of Bowland has been assessed at £4 a year, whereas it was previously acknowledged to be waste.

Endorsement: Let the sheriff and John de Lancaster survey the park and find if it would be to the profit of the king for the park to be assessed, and to certify the exchequer accordingly.

Places mentioned: Bowland Forest; **Reddom (Radholme Laund)**

People mentioned: William Tatham; John de Lancaster; sheriff of Yorks

Date derivation: Dated on the guard to c. 1323 on the basis of a reference to the petitioner in the office of forest of Bowland in CCR 1323-7, p. 22.

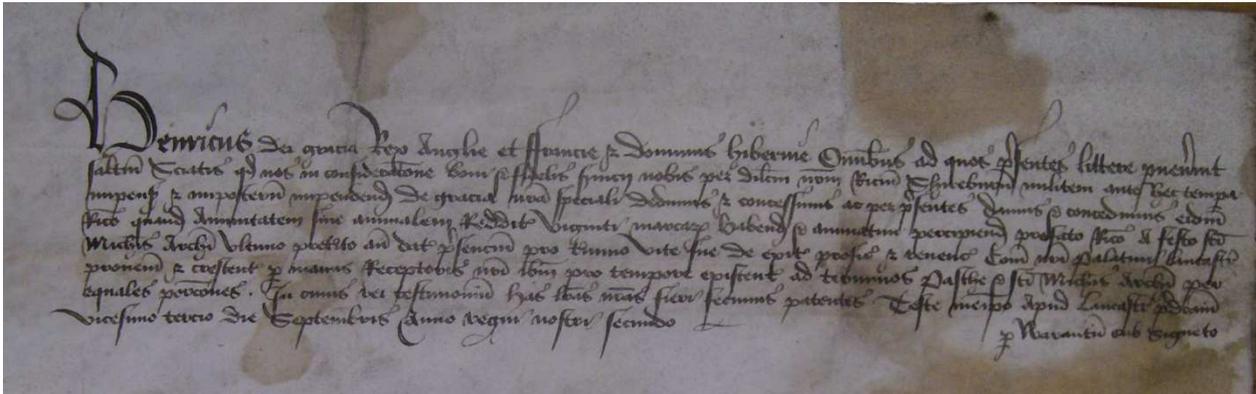


Petition by Edmund Dacre, forester, about re-valuation of the Forest of Bowland, 1322-23 (TNA SC 8/107/5347)
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- 1325-35** Radholme is named amongst parks pillaged by poachers. The King appointed successive commissions to enquire into these activities, and to apprehend those who were poaching deer and salmon in the chases, parks, and rivers of Bowland and Blackburnshire
- 1327** The park of Radholme and chase of Bowland were granted to Dowager Queen, Isabella, widow of Edward II (Parsons 2008) and were administered by keepers appointed by her
- 1340** *Comptus* (accounts) of constable of Clitheroe Castle, John of Radcliffe, mentioned the park keeper: paid 1½d per day (45s 6d *per annum*). Cattle were agisted in the park, with a revenue from this of £7 0s 2d. Agistment rates were usually from 6d to 1s per beast, so between 140 and 280 head of cattle must have been pastured
- 1348** Dowager Queen Isabella exchanged Radholme park and the chase of Bowland for an annuity. The park was thereafter administered by the Dukes of Lancaster until the accession of Henry IV Bolingbroke in 1399
- 1393** Richard and John, were parkers of Radholme, and leased the vaccary of Nether Browsholme
- 1414, 6 June** Robert of Mitton was appointed park keeper of Radholme

- 1415, 22 July** Two days before leaving Southampton for France, Henry V placed a large part of his estates in feoffment as a part of his 'first will'. The lands included Bowland, with the vaccaries, and the parks of Radholme and Leagram. The feoffees were required to *proceed* (pay a portion of the earnings) to the King for a term of 12 years. Having survived that campaign, Henry made a 'second will' dated 21 July 1417, confirming the first, and both wills were superseded by another made at Dover on 10 June 1421, before he left on what was to be his final expedition, he died 31 Aug 1422 (Somerville 1953). The feoffees appointed Sir Thomas Tunstall as master forester of Bowland in 1422-4 (Whitaker 1872, and Somerville 1953)
- 1434, 20 Oct** Robert Parker was appointed keeper of Radholme, by Letters Patent (Shaw 1956). The feoffees appointed Sir William Ashton as master forester of Bowland, having already made him steward on 5 June 1432 (TNA DL 42/18, f. 21v), posts he held until 20 Sept 1437
- 1438, 16 Feb** Parker was succeeded by Robert Chatburn, who remained in office until at least 1459, but the Parkers continued to farm Radholme Laund until the death of Anthony Parker in 1603. It is possible that the Parker family were considered hereditary deputy keepers (c.f. Tyldesley family at Myerscough)
- c 1449** Thomas Harrington (elected knight of the shire 1442) secured an exemption clause to the Act of Resumption 1449 which had nullified all grants made by Henry VI since his accession. He thereby secured his 20 years lease of the pasture and herbage of Radholme, and the vaccaries of Brennand and Whitendale, and pasture at Quernmore Park and elsewhere. A staunch Yorkist, who had fought at Calais in 1436, he died of wounds a day after the battle of Wakefield (29 Dec 1460), at which the Duke of York was defeated, and during which Sir Thomas' son Sir John was also killed. Richard Neville, 5th Earl of Salisbury - who was master forester of Bowland and Blackburnshire - was captured and beheaded at Pontefract (Shaw 1956)
- c 1464** Robert Harrington [of Hornby?] was granted keepership by Edward IV, and still held this in 1485
- Late C15 or early C16** Bowland Forest was separated 'into a higher division, ... near Slaidburn, and a lower division consisting of Browsholme, Radholme park and the Lees, an isolated portion at Harrop, and Little Bowland and Leagram in Chippingward' (Shaw 1956). Bowland Forest Higher and Lower parishes still exist today
- 1483** A perambulation of the chase of Bowland (the Royal Forest) was made as a result of the tithe dispute between Whalley Abbey and the rector of Slaidburn, which found that the bounds had been agreed in the late C14th by Abbot John Lindlay (died c 1379) and a previous rector. Although Radholme is not mentioned by name, the bounds pass:
 '... from Brandslack brooke unto the head of Threapleigh unto Paylocke [Parlick] clough, then to Chippin brooke, so following Chippin brooke to the park yeate [gate] of Laygreen [Leagram] at Chipping brooke, so following from the park yeate to the head of Hudefield, soe from the head of Hudefield to the pale, soe following from the pale to the lands of Startifant, so following the said lands to Chippin brooke, soe to the foot of the water of Lowde ... soe unto the water of Hodder bounding on the parish of Mitton, soe following Hodder unto Wyerburne foot, soe following Wyerburne to the head of Bashall park, so following the lands of Bashall and the duke's lands to Newahouse ...' (Whitaker 1872, and Shaw 1956)
- 1487, 16 Dec** Sir Edward Stanley was granted joint keepership of Radholme and Laithgram parks (TNA DL 42/21, f.25). Stanley was created sheriff of Lancashire on 1 Oct 1485 'during the pleasure' of the monarch but unusually retained the post, without a fee (since he had no letters patent) from 1489-1509. He was re-appointed sheriff in 1509 and 18 April 1523, but died earlier that month. He was created Lord Monteagle in 1514 (Somerville 1953)

1503, 23 Sept King Henry VII granted Richard Shireburne 20 marks (1 mark = 13s 4d, so 20 marks = £13 6s 8d; equivalent to about £6500 today) annually from the profits from the county palatine of Lancaster



Latin document in bundle with other Radholme royal letters patent, see translation below (LRO DDST Box 95, no.10), reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives and Stonyhurst College

Henry by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland. Greeting, to all those to whom these present letters shall come. Let it be known that we, in consideration of the good & faithful service expended before this time, and to be expended forever, for us by our beloved Richard Shireburn Knight, by our special grace we have given & granted, and by these presents we give & grant, to the same Richard a certain annuity or annual rent of twenty marks, to have & receive annually to the aforesaid Richard, from the feast of Michaelmas last past before the present date for the term of his life, from the issues, profits & revenues coming & arising from our county palatine of Lancaster, by the hand of our Receiver there for the time being, by equal portions at the terms of East & Michaelmas. In witness whereof we have made these our letters patent. Witnessed by me at Lancaster aforesaid, the twenty third day of September in the second year of our reign. By warrant under the signet. (on the wrapper) Enrolled in the account of Thomas Earl of Derby, Receiver of Cliderowe, for the year ending at Michaelmas 19 Henry VII

1506-10 Between 1505 and 1509, Sir Richard Empson (c 1450-1510), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from October 1505 - a member of Henry VII's much feared 'Council Learned in the Law', and known as 'The king's hatchet man' - sought to increase revenue from Crown lands by a huge margin, making many enemies in the process. Three days after Henry VII's death on 21 April 1509, Empson was arrested, and subsequently convicted of treason, attainted before parliament, and executed in August 1510. Thereafter, a Duchy commission was set up to enquire into (and where appropriate alter) the agreements enforced by Empson (Condon 2008)

However, in the Forest of Bowland, Sir Edward Stanley had managed to bargain quite successfully with Empson over increases for the vaccaries which were let to him. Regarding Radholme Park and a group of other vaccaries previously let for £30 16s 8d, Stanley, it seems, was prepared not to renew his lease at all, until his servant Christopher Parker 'cam to us and rather than his master shuld depart from the seid fermes [ie give up the leases] offered for them yerely xl li [£40]. And so the king's grace [ie profit] to be increased [by] £9 3s 4d' (TNA DL 41/745, f8). Dr Bill Shannon (pers comm) says of this that 'what is noticeable is that the commissioners let stand the revised leases of Sir Edward Stanley – who was both Steward of Amounderness and sheriff of Lancashire (in that office from 1485 to 1523) - who was no doubt thought capable of looking after his own interests'

1523, 2 April Following the death of Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle, Henry VIII appointed Henry Akers, a 'page of promptuary' or groom of the privy chamber, as keeper. On 6 July he was also appointed bailiff for West Derby Hundred (Somerville 1953)

1537, 18 Feb Ackers had died by this date, and was succeeded as bailiff of West Derby hundred and manor, and keeper of Radholme park for life by Sir Thomas Holcroft (TNA DL 42/22, f.150)

1558, 4 Mar Richard Shireburne was appointed parker of Radholme, a post he retained until July 1594 (Shaw 1956)



Letters Patent of Philip and Mary to Sir Richard Shireburne, 10 Nov, 1558, translated below (LRO DDST Box 95, no.7), reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives and Stonhurst College

Philip and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England, Spain, France and both the Scilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, Milan and Brabant, Counts of Habsburg, Flanders and Tirol. Greeting to all those to whom these our present letters shall reach. Let it be known that we, by our special grace and from certain knowledge and merit moving us, have given and granted and, by these presents for us and the heirs and successors of the aforesaid Queen, we give and grant to our beloved and faithful Richard Shyrburn Knight the office of keeper of our park of Radome Parrell in our Duchy of Lancaster in the county of York, which same office now being in our disposition, and we make, ordain and appoint for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen by these presents the said Richard Sherburne the keeper of our park aforesaid. To have, enjoy, occupy and exercise the office of keeper of our park of Radome aforesaid to the aforesaid Richard Sherburne, through him or through his sufficient deputy or his sufficient deputies, during the natural life of the same Richard Sherburne. And lastly by these presents, for us and our heirs and successors of the aforesaid Queen, we give and grant to the aforesaid Richard Sherburne the rewards and fees owing and accustomed to the same office, for the exercise of the said office. ... Dated at our palace of Westminster under our seal of the Duchy aforesaid the tenth day of November the fifth and sixth years of our reigns

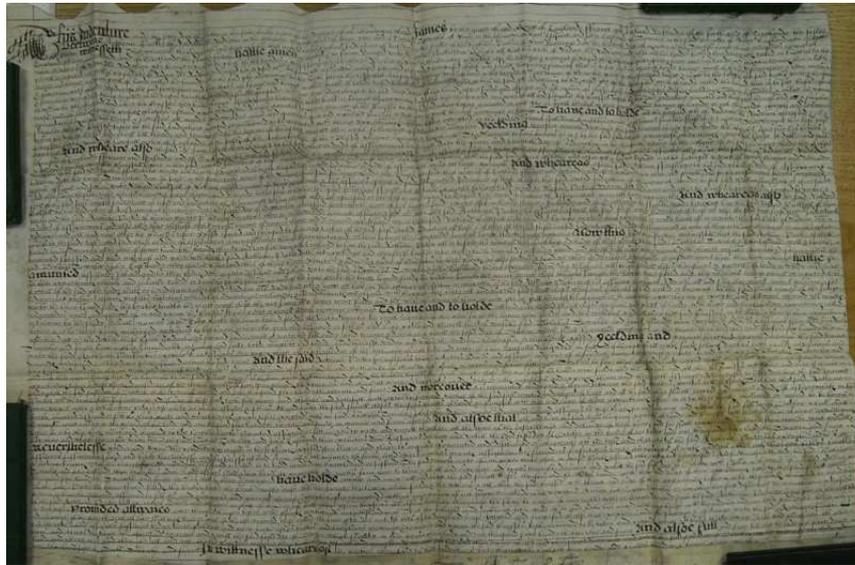
1577 An inquest determined that the pasture of Radholme Park lay within the chase of Bowland and was subject to the woodmote courts held at the keeper's lodge at Whitewell, along with Edisforth, Easington, Hamerton, Rishtonmere, Harden, Stableoak, Thornholme, Batrax, Harrop, Nethercar,

Deer Parks in the Forest of Bowland

Overbrowsholme, Birholme, Trogh and Sykes, Lee and Leehouses, Whitendale, Brennand, the Lees, Swinghurst, Graysdale, and the pasture of Newhey (Shaw 1956)

1594, July Richard Houghton was appointed keeper of Radholme (and from 22 April Steward of Bowland and Quernmore forests), with Leonard Houghton as deputy keeper (Somerville 1953 and Shaw 1956)

1617 A Grant by Anthony Parker to Nicholas Towneley of Habergham and others of keepership suggests that there had been no official disparking at this date



Grant by Anthony Parker to Nicholas Towneley of Habergham in 1617 (LRO DDB acc 6685, Box 14, bdl 2)
Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives and Robert Parker, DL, of Browsholme Hall

1603- c 1644 James I took a keen interest in sport, and so disafforestation was not actively encouraged during his reign, so far as the Duchy was concerned. On the contrary, he uttered a caution [in 1604]

'that sales of land were not to include any parks, forests, or chases ... (TNA DL 12/31/13).'

In some parts, the stock of game actually expanded:

'In far-off Bowland Forest the king ordered the deer to be preserved and increased.'
(Somerville 1970, and TNA DL 5/26, f. 143).

Under Charles I Duchy forests and chases received a good deal of attention with the object of raising money, and in the early part of the century the Duchy had also concerned itself with wood sales and the prevention of unauthorised felling (Somerville 1970/2000)

1651 During the Commonwealth – or Interregnum - between 1649 and 1660 – former Crown lands, including Radholme, were surveyed. The survey of Radholme (TNA E 317 Yorks 49) divides the park into:

'The Lodge (various outbuildings, barns, etc, including garden) 2 acres more or less; and the Demesne Lands 337 acres, 3 roods & 20 perches.

Then the Out Park divided into:

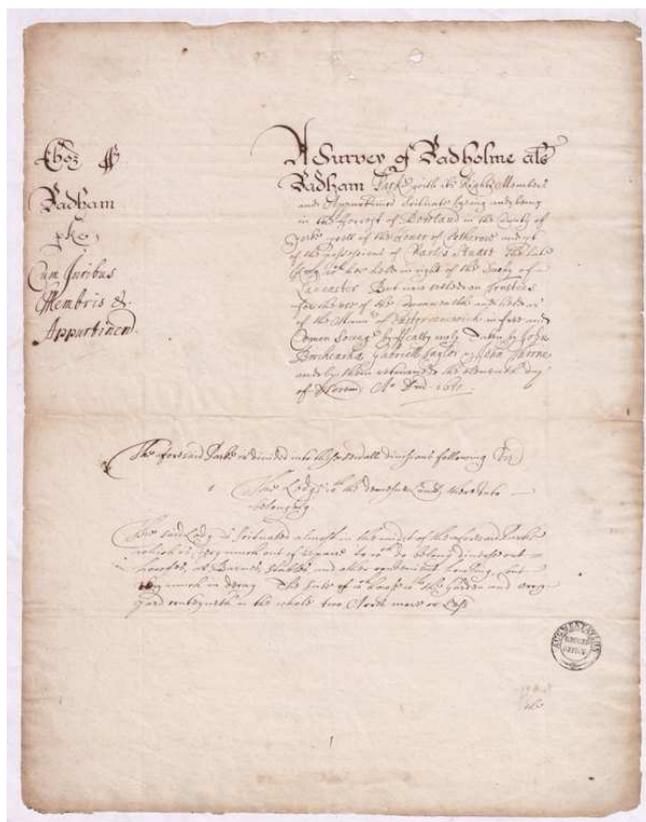
1. Near the lodge; bounded on the north by the Inner Park; on the east by a little brook till it comes to the tenement in the tenure of William Swinglehurst; on the south by the said tenement and the out fence of the Park: on the west by enclosed land belonging to the Lodge.

2. The other part: on the east side of the brook aforesaid and extends in length from the said brook to inclosure known by the name of the Park Head, and in breadth from the tenement of Swinglehurst aforesaid, unto another tenement on the north in the

tenure of Reginald Parker which said divisions containe in the whole 402 acres & 20 perches.

The third division, known as Inner Park; contains 224 acres & 1 rood and extends from the brook on the east to the River Hodor on the west, and in breadth from the enclosed land belonging to the Lodge on the south unto acclaimed tenement in the tenure of William Knipe on the north side known by the name of Whitewell Green.

Then, William Swinglehurst's tenement comprises 20 acres, and Reginald Parker's Tenement 28 acres, and Tenement and lands of William Knipe in Whitewell Green and Foster's Close 20 acres.'



First page of the detailed survey of 1651 (TNA E 317 Yorks 49)
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The document then recites the Boundaries of Radham parke:

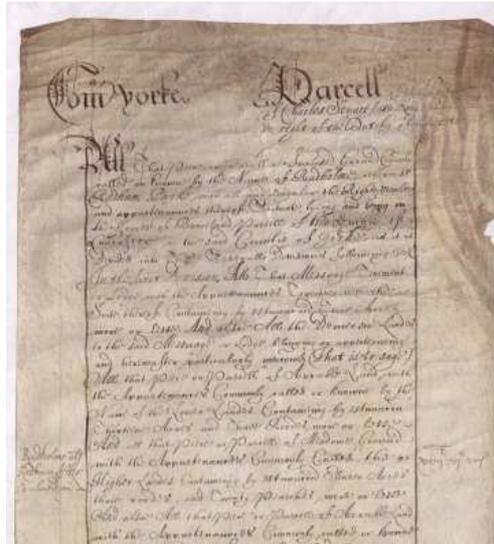
'1032 acres & 1 rood more or less; all lie together in one enclosure and are bounded by to the north the river Hather (also Hoddor), northeast by Berholme and Bereholmomore; east by lands belonging to Mr Parker of Broosholme, south & southwest by the lands known as the Lees and west by the said Lees'

The survey states that:

'Memorandum Herbage & pannage of Radholme Park, besides Whitewell green & Foster Close, was granted to Sir James Fullerton knight 30 March of the 12th anno Jacobi [ie 12th year of James I's reign, 1615] for the term of 60 years; Sir James by deed on 24 Nov 12th anno Jacobi assigned the same to Wm Hanshaw esquire, the said William by his deed of 20 June 14th anno Jacobi assigned his interest to Richard Halsall, said Richard by his deed of 1st Sept 14th anno Jacobi assigned his estate therein to Anthony Parker who with his deed of 6th Sept 14th anno Jacobi [1617 – shown above]

upon the marriage of his daughter to John Parker of Bradkirk, Lancs, assigned his estate in the premises to said John Parker. John Parker now deceased & estate in possession of Christopher Parker. John's son, Christopher Parker, for Radham Parker, Whitwell green & Foster Close pays an annual rent of £17, 6 s., 8 d. but are worth with improvement as well as said rent per annum: £146, 2 s, 6d'

1652 The subsequent sales particulars:



(TNA E 320/W41) reproduced by kind permission of The National Archives

This includes some new information not included in the original survey, added slightly later and in a different hand:

Contracted 3 December 1651:

'All above premises are to be sold to James Halliday, gent of St Giles in the Field, County of Middlesex. He will hold the property in fee simple along with Phillip Hill, also of St Giles in the Fields.

Rated in fee simple to these two men at 18 years purchase for the present yearly rent of the herbage and pannage of Whitwell & Foster Close parcels of the enclosed property known as Radholme or Radham Park in the County of Yorkshire. Granted in 19 James to John Parker...'

The document goes on to outline subsequent transfer to Sir James Fullerton and how the rents were valued and paid. The purchase price was £896 10s

In the same year 1652, on 16th Oct, a survey by Commonwealth of Bowland as a whole shows in the whole of Bowland forest:

'there are of redd deere of all sortes; viz. staggs, hyndes, and calves, 20; which we value to be worth £20.; and of fallow deere, 40 ; which wee value to be worth £20' (Whitaker 1872)

1660 Somerville (1970) says, very briefly, that the Honour of Clitheroe and many other lands 'returned to the Duchy' on the Restoration of Charles II, but does not explain quite how

1660, 18 Aug Henry Brogden, gentleman, was appointed for life as Steward, Master Forester, and Master of the Game of Bowland, and parker of Radholme (Somerville 1972)

After the Deer Park

The date of disparking of Radholme is difficult to establish, but the grant in 1617 by Anthony Parker to Nicholas Towneley of Habergham suggests that there had been no official disparking at this date. However, by 1651, in the survey and sales particulars produced by the Commonwealth trustees, it is clear that the park had been divided up not only into a number of tenancies, but into named fields.

After 1660 Radholme, frustratingly, disappears from the available documentary record, and we do not know who the tenants were between then and 1835. Any surviving records for this period may be dispersed among the private collections of several gentry families. However, we do at least know who owned the land. In 1661, Charles II gave the Honour of Clitheroe (which included the whole of the Forest of Bowland) to General George Monck (1608-70), 1st Duke of Albemarle, as part of his reward for his assistance in the Restoration. It was then inherited through the Dukes of Albemarle, Dukes of Montagu and the Dukes of Buccleuch. In 1827, the 5th Duke of Buccleuch inherited the Honour through his grandmother, the 3rd Duchess, but this was entailed upon his uncle, Henry James Montagu-Scott, 2nd Baron Montagu of Boughton.

In 1835, the Bowland portion – including Radholme - was put up for auction, and was sold to Peregrine Towneley (1762–1846) (sales particulars LRO DDB 74/36). Towneley soon discontinued the traditional manor and forest courts, and the appointment of forest officers. Peregrine's sons died without leaving surviving male heirs and the 1885 Towneley Estates Act placed more than 22,000 acres of Bowland into trust for seven beneficiaries. This included the 9,000 acres from the Bowland Forest Estate of 1835, plus properties and land acquired in the intervening half century. However, all the Bowland beneficiaries had themselves died childless by 1928, and the estate trustees sold the lands and rights, including (in 1938) 6000 acres for £75,000 to the Duchy of Lancaster, thus returning much of Bowland to Crown hands after a gap of three centuries (Spencer and Jolly 2010).

Although the Bowland 1835 sales particulars (LRO DDB 74/36) do not contain a map/plan, field reference numbers, on a separate map of Radholme only (LRO DDB 74/37) by the reliable cartographer J Binns of Lancaster, equate with those used in the schedule of the 1885 Towneley Estate Act, which also contains field names: thus we are able to provide historical names for all the fields in the study area.

Particulars
OF AN IMPORTANT AND HIGHLY VALUABLE
FREEHOLD ESTATE,
COMPREHENDING THE
PORTION OF THE HONOUR OF CLITHEROE
IN THE COUNTIES OF YORK AND LANCASTER
WHICH COMPRISED THE
FOREST, LIBERTY, OR WAPENTAKE OF BOWLAND,
IN THE
WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

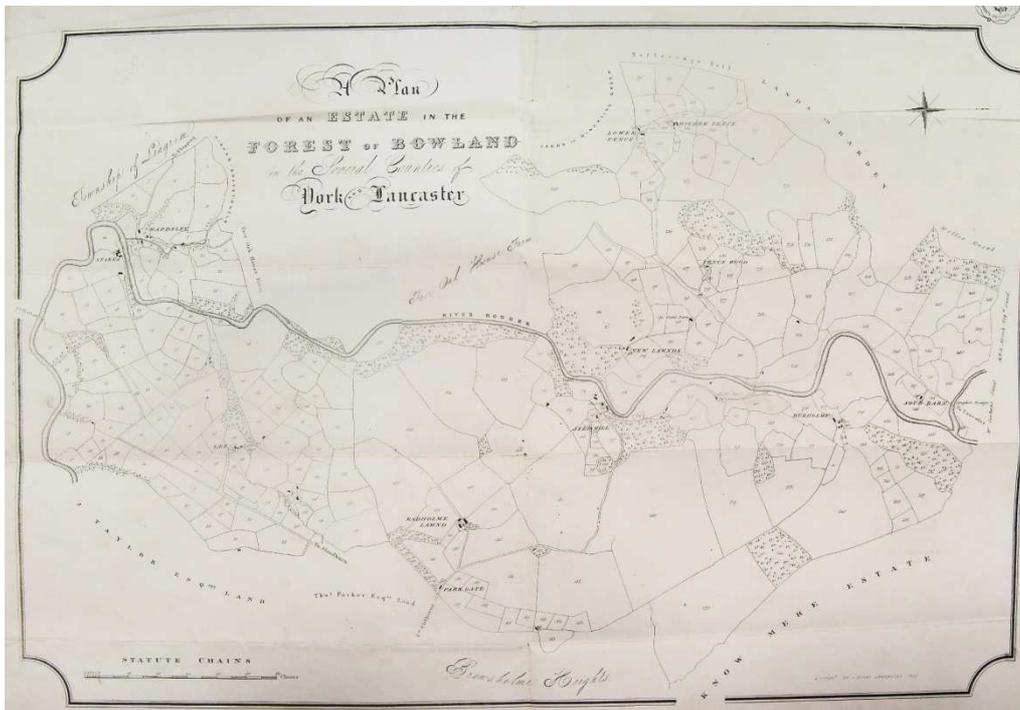
Extending over a large tract of Country upon which a Stock of Deer was kept until destroyed in the year 1640, by order of the then Proprietor, on account of the damage done to his own Farms; with a Court Baron, and a Woodman and Swainmote Court belonging thereto; and all the Free Farms and other Farms, Forests and other Rights, Liberties and Privileges to the Lord of the same Forest and Liberty belonging, as the same have been held and enjoyed as anciently in the Offices of Master Forester and Warden of the Honour of the Forest of Bowland, of which the Inheritance was granted to Monk, Duke of Albemarle, by King Charles the Second to his Grandfather, including among other Rights and Privileges, the Appointment to the Office of Warden of the Forest, which since the Grant, has been held under the Noble Proprietors of this Estate (as it before was under the Crown) successively by Qualifications of consideration and Service; and also the Appointment to the Office of Gamekeeper for the District of Bowland (together with the several Messuages and Farms of Arable, Meadow, Pasture and Moor Land heretofore mentioned, containing in the whole 9,000 Acres, being Messuages, or Messuages for the same uses or uses, in the occupation of the several respectable Tenants heretofore named, and also 270 Acres or more, being the same uses or uses, of Wood Land in Land, heretofore also mentioned, well known, and well stored with standing Timber Trees; the principal Farms being free of Tithes:—

I.

A Farm called RADHOLME LAWN consisting of a Messuage with three Barns, Cow-houses, and other Outbuildings, two Cottages, and a Waste Corn-Mill and Drying Kiln, with the soil, sashes, windows, and all belonging thereto, and the several parts of Land, containing the several quantities following, or thereabouts (as the same here or here), in the occupation of Joseph Naylor, as Tenant from year to year:—

	STATUTE
Lower Inn Park and Foster Close	4 2 19
Tanner House and New Close	30 14
Lilly Holme	19 3 7
Widdowson Meadow, Green Field, Rough Neck, and Bracken Bank	84 11
Rough Close, and Rough Close Meas	47 3 23
Stable Meadow	12 10
Rough Close Meadow	12 3 29
Calf Paddock	2 0 0
Homestead, Garden, &c.	2 0 8
High and Lower Lawns	1 0 0
Bees Field	17 3 4
Lower Field, and part of Higher Inn Park	1 0 15
House and Lower Croft	1 0 15
Stable	1 0 15
Old Park	106 2 00
Brackley and part of Higher Inn and Old Parks	42 11
Old Park	65 3 00
Old Park	1 0 15
Old Park	1 0 15
Part of Old Park	74 3 00

Title page of the 1835 sales particulars (LRO DDB 74/36)
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Map of Radholme, by J. Binns of Lancaster, dated 1835 (LRO DDB 74/37)
Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives and Robert Parker, DL, of Browsholme Hall

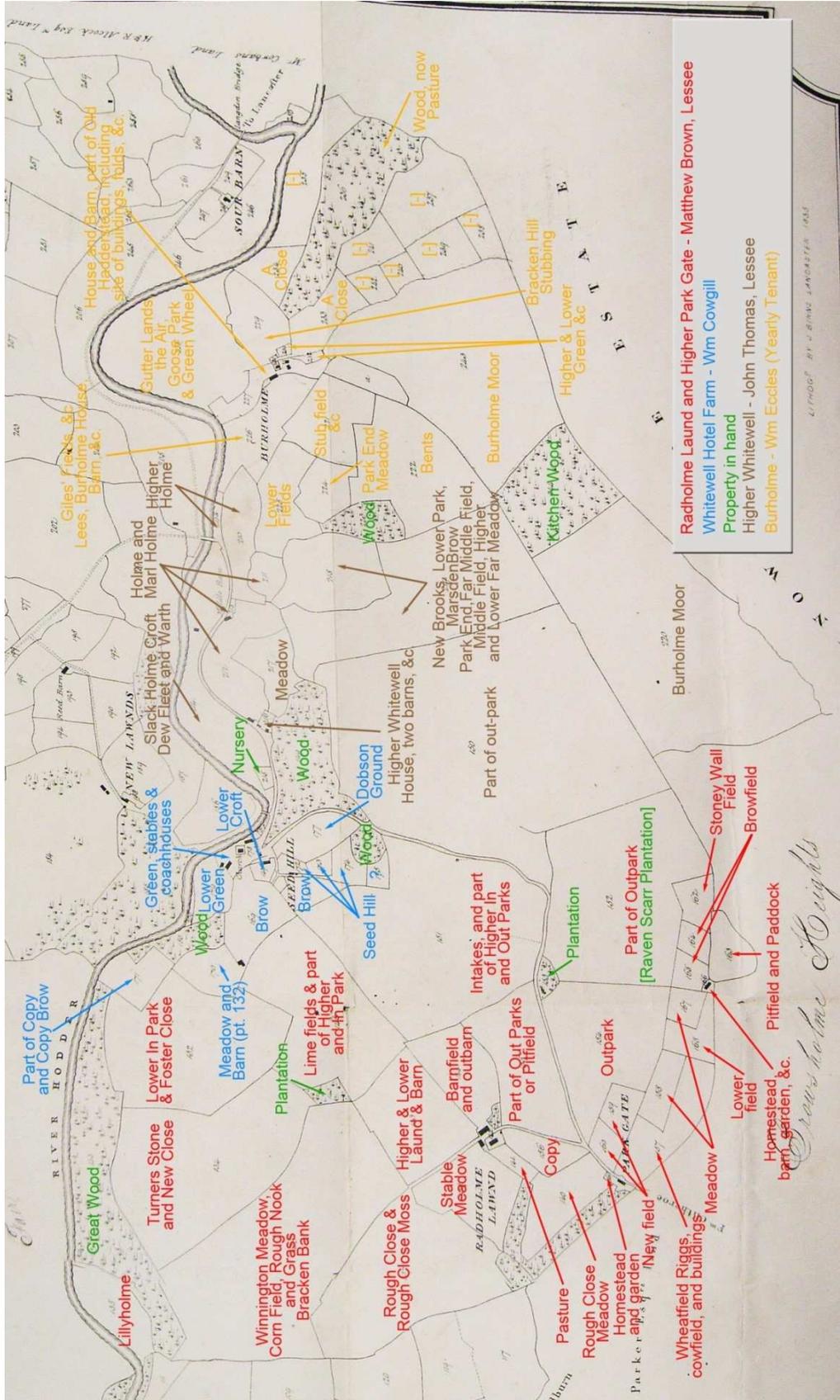
In 1885, most of the land was held by yearly tenants, but Radholme Laund and Higher Park Gate are stated to have been leased for 40 years on 19th Aug 1869 by Matthew Brown (pictured below) who started brewing and running pubs in 1830. Brown is thought to be responsible for installing the elegantly tooled metal gates around Radholme, such as that illustrated below. These were possibly constructed to allow the brewery drays to bring out the 'night soil' from Blackburn and Preston, to be spread on the land as fertiliser.



Left: Matthew Brown 1807-1883, Right: the 'brewery gates' as seen today (Cathy Hopley)

Using the 1885 schedule, Matthew Brown's holding, below shown in red, nearly equates to the 1651 Laund. The original boundaries of the deer park were therefore still in existence, even though the park had now been subdivided into tenancies.

The 1835 map of Radholme with names from the 1885 schedule (LRO DDB 74/37)
 Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives and Robert Parker, DL, of Browsholme Hall
 Digitally enhanced and annotated by Graham Cooper

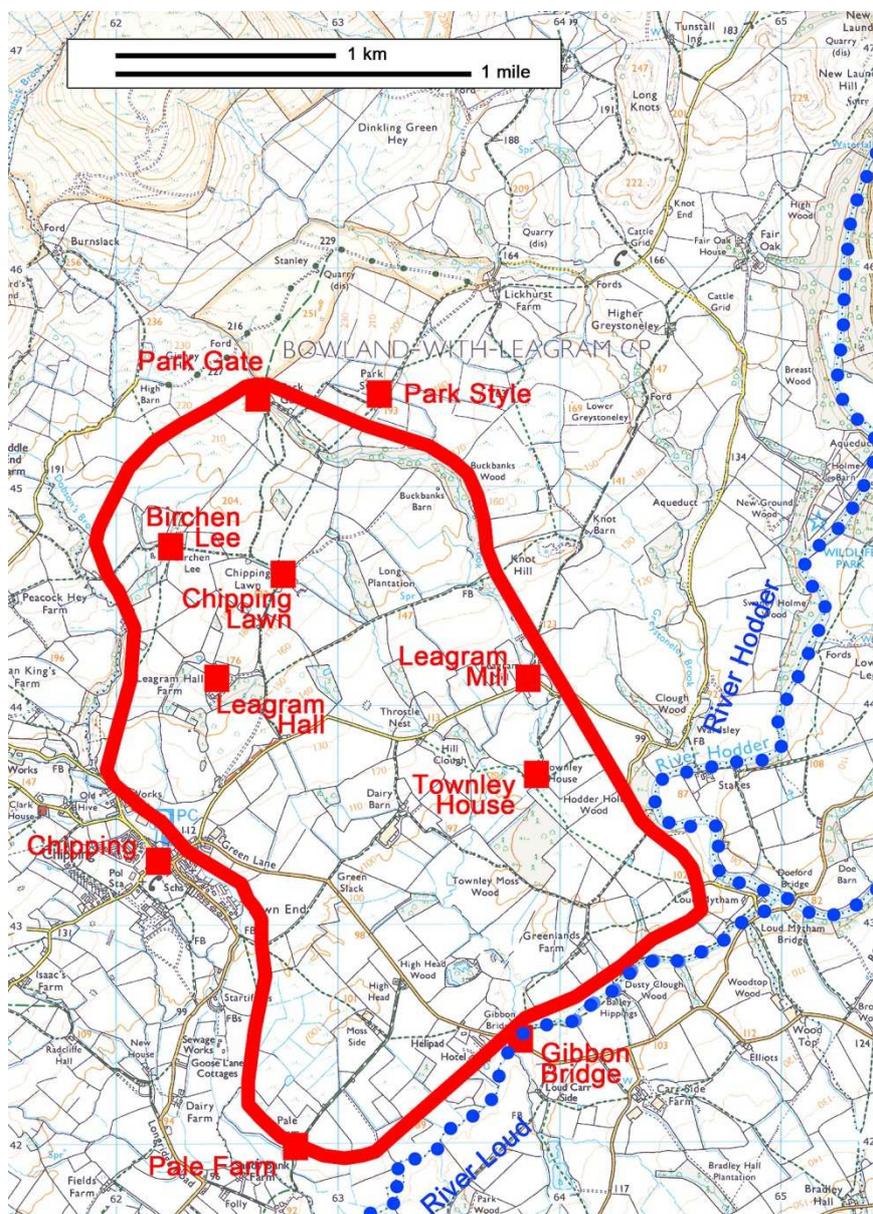


Chapter 5: Leagram Deer Park

Location

Leagram Park – *Laithgryme*, *Lagram* and *Leagrim*, in earlier documents (Ekwall 1922) appears not to have been created until around 1349, when a keeper is first recorded.

Acornhurst Pale was one of the last recorded areas to be incorporated into the park c 1420. From Pale Farm in the south west, the boundary, described anticlockwise, ran past Gibbon Bridge and Green Lands, past Leagram Mill to Park Gate at the northern end, then towards Windy Hills, and followed Dobson's Brook and Chipping Brook. Leagram Brook – formerly called Inking Brook – ran close to the eastern edge of the northern half of the park, but with some park land to the east of it. The western side of the park was formed by the limit of Chipping village where the pale was probably tens of metres east of Dobson's Brook – there is still a notable ditch and embankment. Dobson's Brook was the Forest boundary so this gap or 'freeboard' enabled villagers to move around the park yet stay within the forest.



The boundary of Leagram park shown on a modern day OS map (Graham Cooper)

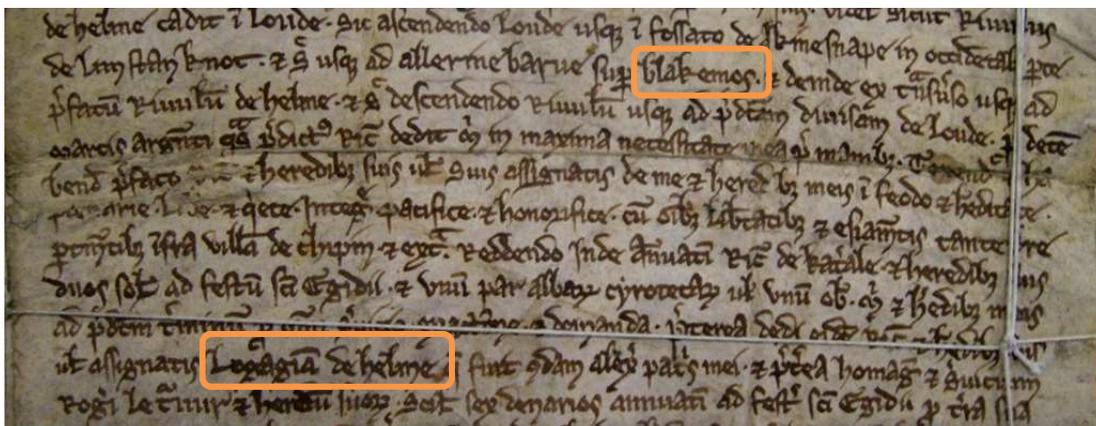
Chronology

The following is largely derived from a typescript document by Muriel Lord and the late Arthur Lord, written in 1997, enhanced by Tarja Wilson, and using recent original document discoveries. The key references are:

Shaw, R. C., 1956 *The royal forest of Lancaster*, Preston: Guardian Press (226.9 – 478.2)

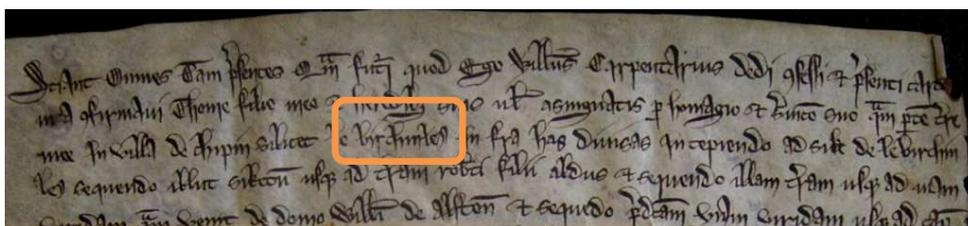
Weld, J., 1913 A history of Leagram: the park and the manor, *Chetham Soc.*, **New Ser 72** (1 – 53)

1216-72 Reign of Henry III. A Grant by Roger de Quitakres mentions *Logagiam de Helme*. *Logagiam* probably means 'lodge', and this may therefore be the earliest possible indication that a hunting preserve, if not actually a deer park as such, existed at Leagram. This building may also have been a barn for storing winter fodder – for deer or cattle – located outside the park. A place called *Helme* has not been identified with certainty, but the name might easily have been corrupted to *Holme* - a name applied to several fields beside the river, on the 1774 map (LRO DDX 59/1 f70). *Blackmosse* in the same document may well be Hodder or Towneley Moss. *Quitakres* would now be spelled *Whitaker* or something similar, but the current site named this is well outside the park.



Grant by Roger de Quitakres to Richard, son of Louwys de Knol of Quitakres in Chipping setting out its boundaries, mentions the *Logagiam de Helme*, and a barn on the *Blackmoss*, and the rent and services of divers [various] tenants (LRO DDK/771/3). Latin, not yet translated

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Grant of land called *Birchenles*, in Chipping by William the Carpenter to Thomas, his son (LRO DDK/771/11) Latin, not yet translated, c 1216-72 (Reign of Henry III)

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1258 -59 Inquisition post-mortem of Edmund de Lacy refers to 'Forest of Chippingdale' and 'Park and Forest of Bowland.' Was this Radholme Park, rather than Leagram Park?

1340s Possible date of enclosure of Leagram Park

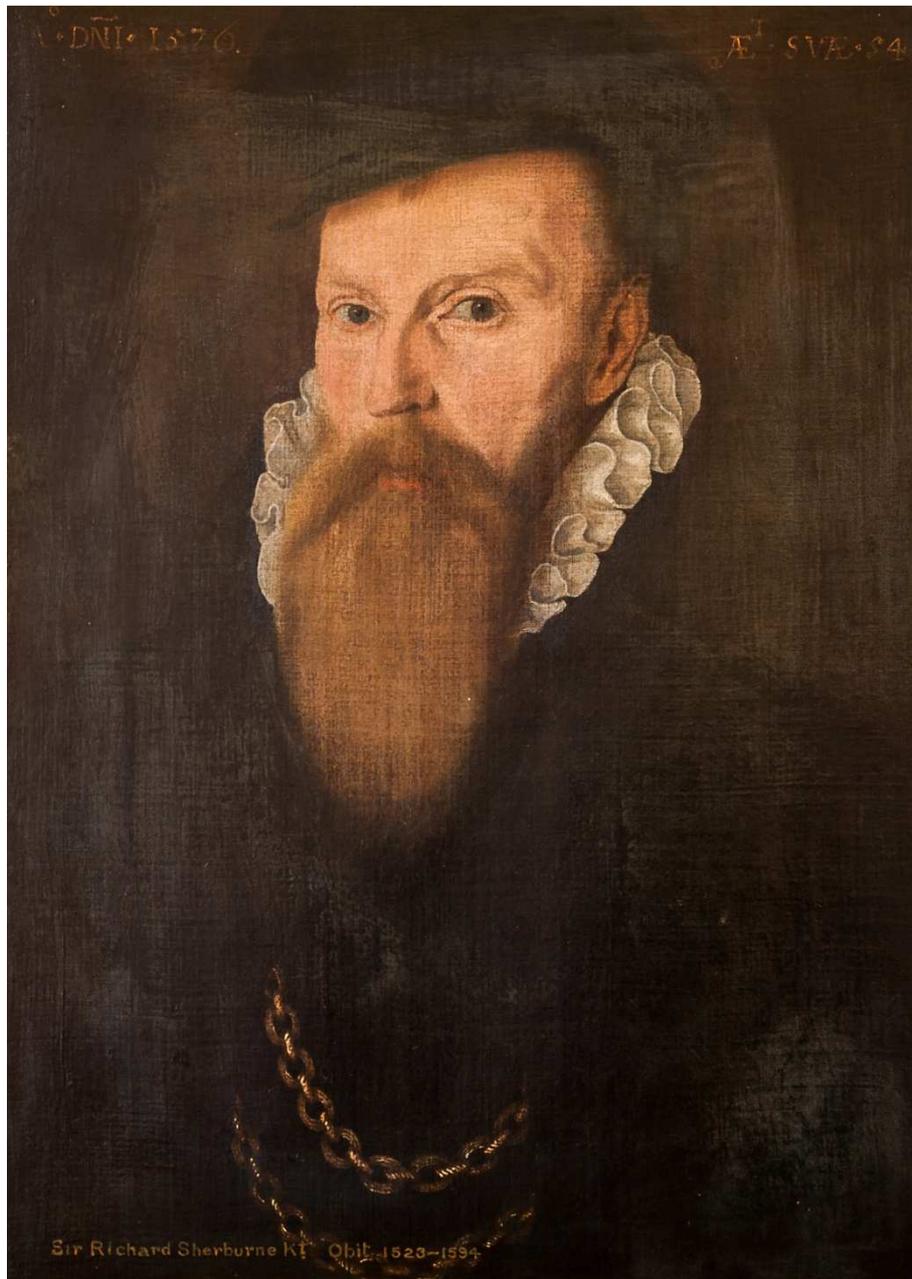
Deer Parks in the Forest of Bowland

- 1348-9** Queen Isabella exchanged Radholme and Leagram Parks for an annuity and entered a nunnery. Appointments to Forest offices were thereafter made by the Dukes of Lancaster, until the accession of Henry IV in 1399. Keepership of Leagram Park was given to Richard of Shrewsbury
- 1410-46** Richard Hoghton was parker at Leagram. Styled 'Richard of Leagram' so he may have lived there
- 1418** *Compotus* of Roger Flore, chief steward of the Honour of Clitheroe details Leagram. This mentions both Wyndhulles [Windy Hills] and Acornhurst being let
- 1420** Another *Compotus* of Roger Flore, chief steward of the Honour of Clitheroe details Leagram. This includes a list of places within the Leagram park pale include *Colston* (according to Shaw this was the former vaccary of Colswain Chipping) and *Laythegryme*, *Grenelounde* (Shaw interprets this as Chipping laund, although it may be Green Lands), *Chepynbroke*, Bernard close, *Hogekinhey* and *Nicolhey*. The document also notes:
- Details of agistment, summer and winter (separately) of cattle (including oxen) from Royal farms and some private farms: ie some fields may have been enclosed
 - No mention of deer
 - Keeper's lodge was tumbledown and empty
 - Windyhills, outside the park, was let to a farm
 - Acornhurst was within the park and leased to Henry Whyedale
- 1422** Accounts of Henry of Worsley, these mention:
- Agistment of the park of Leagram leased to Sir Robt Urswyk
 - Names of places in Leagram park
 - Details of agistment, and as in 1420 still taking Royal cattle
 - 36 King's oxen and 43 King's steers (including bull) in Leagram park
 - Keeper's lodge still tumbledown and empty
 - No mention of deer
- 1422-3** Accounts of Sir Henry Hoghton master forester of Bowland, again these mention:
- 'A new section of ditch dug'. Does this mean that the park has been increased in size?
 - Carpenters' repair to pale fence (Swynhillhirst and Crumbilholme) and the Laund enclosure fence
 - Also repairs to the lodge and thatching *divers* [various, or several] houses there
 - 67 roods new ditch and fence (thorn planting) by Pemberton on north side of park
- 1435-6** Accounts of more repairs:
- More carpenters repairs to pale and a new gate on east side
 - Repairs to lodge and thatching houses within the lodge
 - 100 roods new ditch and fence (thorn planting) by Marsden
- 1441** Accounts of Robert Hoghton (keeper) mention repairs to a tenement called *Wyndshilles* (Windy Hills) and to the lodge and to the weir in Leagram park
- 1461** Robert Radcliffe was appointed parker of Leagram
- 1466** Robert Radcliffe was granted a lease of Acornhurst
- 1473** Richard Shireburne was appointed keeper of Leagram

- 1487 Sir Edward Stanley, later Lord Monteagle, was appointed keeper at Leagram, jointly with Radholme
- 1506-10 During Sir Richard Empson's attempted rent rises (see same dates for Radholme), Sir Richard Shireburne reached a compromise, giving the King an increase of 50% in the annual rent for Leagram Park - from £13 6s 8d to £20 - for a term of 21 years, from the feast of St Michael (29 Sept) (TNA DL 41/745, f8). We do not know by how much Empson had actually sought to increase the rent
- 1527 Copyhold rental gives tenants names
- 1530 The King, Henry VIII, granted Leagram for 40 years to Thomas Shireburne, reserving the lodge and Windy Hills and sufficient pasturage for deer. The lease allowed him to enclose within the park. Shireburne sublet some lands 'to east of park of the Pymlines' to John Waller of Chipping
- 1554 Death of Mrs Shuttleworth widow of Thos. Shireburne. She lived at Leagram lodge. Good inventory includes details of livestock : 145 head of cattle, 11 horses, and 124 sheep – and arable
- 1554 Soon after his mother's death, the lease of Leagram park (and Wyndehills) was let to Richard Shireburne for 80 years at an annual rental of £26 19s 6d
- 1554 Thomas Hoghton of Hoghton Tower was appointed keeper at Leagram
- 1555 A Survey of the park noted:
 Deer (red and fallow) were counted in nearby areas: there were no deer in the park
 The pale fence would not keep in deer or cattle
 There was no timber for fencing
 The size of the park was given as 468 acres, perimeter 1140 rods (9120 yards if statute rods), and there are descriptions of various parcels within the park
- 1556 Leagram Park was officially disparked on 2 March 1556. A new lease of the Park, Lodge and Windy Hills tenement was made to Sir Richard Shireburne, and this gave him permission to clear and cultivate the estate



Initial letter P of the lease of Leagram Park to Sir Richard Shireburne by letters patent 2 & 3 Phillip and Mary (1555-6) (from John Weld's MS history of Leagram, LRO DP 219) Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives



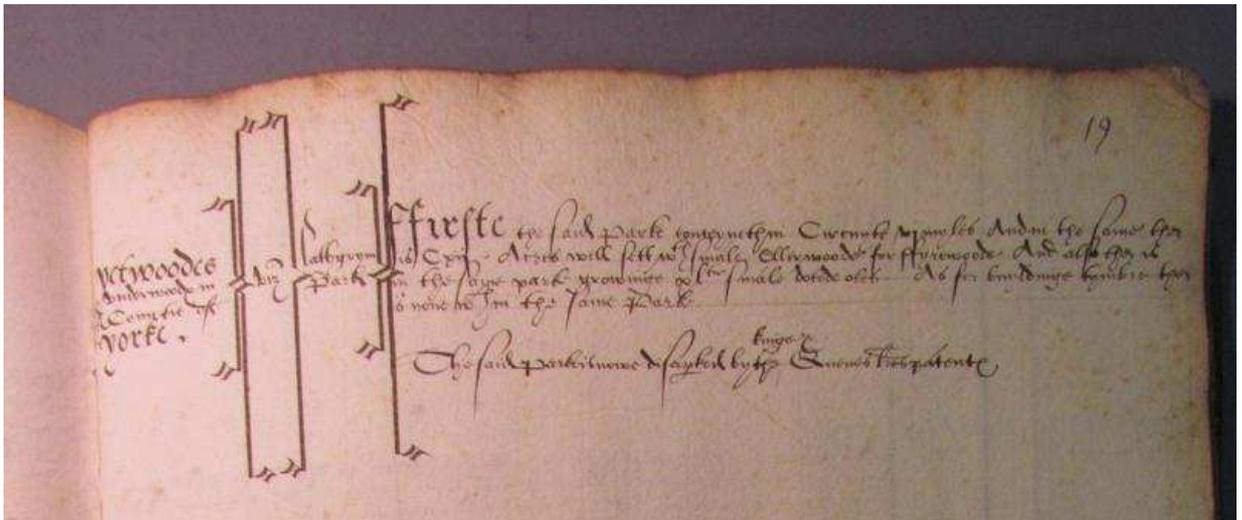
Painting of Sir Richard Shireburne (1523-1594), artist unknown. Photo: Graham Cooper
Reproduced by kind permission of The Governors of Stonyhurst College

After the Deer Park

1558 Queen Elizabeth complained that Sir Richard Shireburne, at this date master forester, had cut too much timber for new buildings (a new farmstead), and was neglecting the repair of old ones

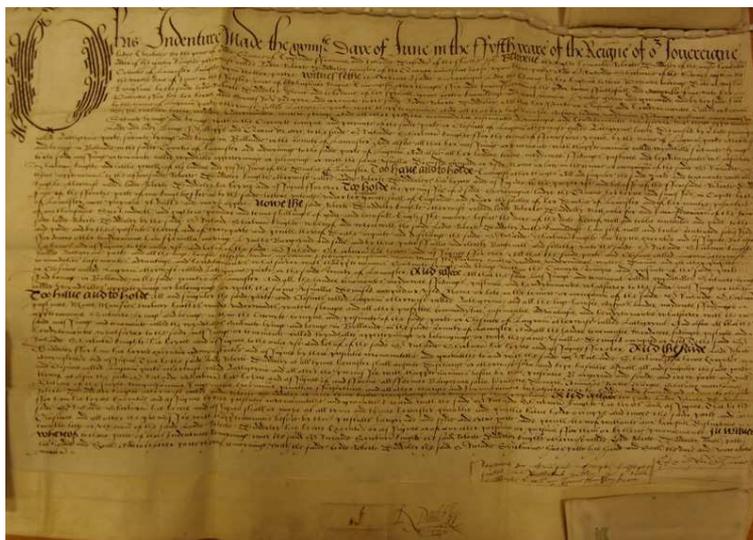
1559 A survey of the woods in Bowland (TNA DL 43/17/5) says of Leagram:
 'Lathgrym Park: Firste the said parke conteyneth in Circuyte vj [6] myles. And in the same ther is Cxij [112] Acres well sett wth smale Ellerwoodes for Fyrewode. And also ther is in the same park growing xltie [40] smale dotede okes. As for buyldinge tymber ther is none within the same Parke. The said Parke is now disparted by the King & Quenes Itres patentes.'

[Dotard/doted okes were old oak trees, no longer suitable for building timber, fit only for firewood]



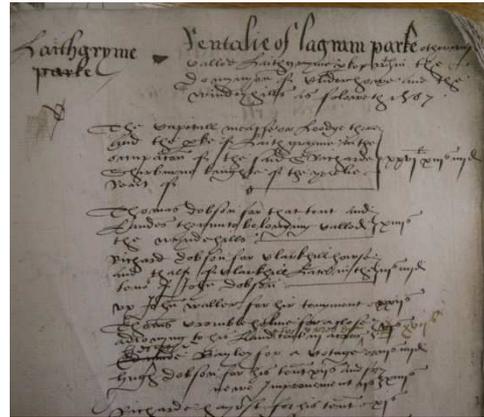
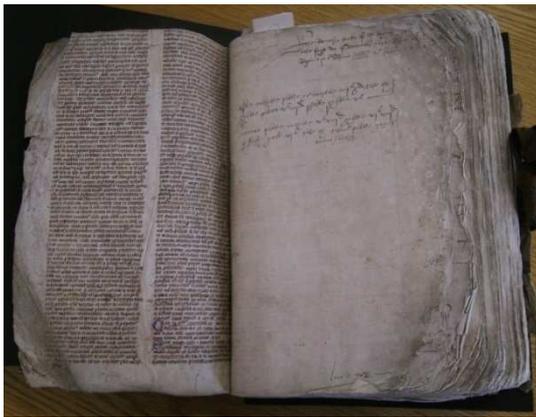
A survey of the woods in Bowland (TNA DL 43/17/5)
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster and The National Archives, photo courtesy of Dr Bill Shannon

1563 Queen Elizabeth gave Leagram to Lord Dudley, 24 June 1562, who immediately sold it to Sir Richard Shireburne



The indenture or deed of sale from Lord Dudley to Sir Richard Shireburne, signed by Dudley.
 (from LRO DDST Box 27, Bundle 7) Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives

1566-9 Rental of the whole of Sir Richard Shireburne's Stonyhurst estate



Above left: this large volume (718 pages) is bound in a medieval MSS

Right: Rental of Leagram Park (f37 and perhaps elsewhere, volume not fully checked) – English Secretary Hand, with Roman numerals for values – not yet sent to palaeography specialist (LRO DDST Box 81, No.36) both reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives

1576 Survey of Bleasdale and Bowland re disafforestation

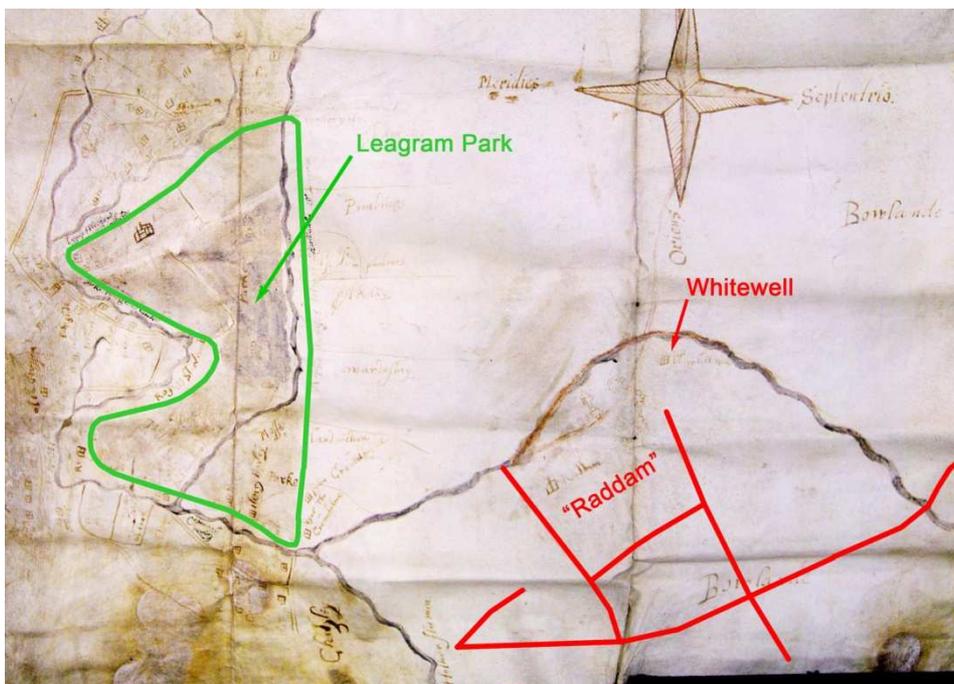
1594 **26 July** Death of Sir Richard Shireburne. However, on the 22nd April before Sir Richard's death, Richard Houghton (knighted later, in 1600) was appointed Master Forester of Bowland and also keeper of Radholme park. Thus, in the Duchy's eyes, Shireburne's son Richard immediately lost his father's rights over game within Leagram Park. However, Richard evidently behaved as if he retained these rights. In particular, shortly after his father's death, Richard allowed to be killed in Leagram park 'The Wagghorn' - probably a distinctive stag with drooping antlers - a deer that had been known to feed in Radholme Park, and at The Lees, and Farrock House. Evidently, stocks of deer in the park were also rapidly increasing

1595 **24 May** A Duchy Commission was opened, looking into complaints about Richard Shireburne since the death of his father (TNA DL 4/37/25). This was the start of a fascinating, but complex, Duchy case about Leagram park which rumbled on until 1615. The Commission was to enquire into ongoing work in repairing or building a new fence which the deer could not come over, how many deer had been killed since Sir Richard's death, and also a question about what happened to the timber of a lodge which stood at Whitewell. However, the key question was whether or not Leagram was within the forest of Bowland, or not. The commissioners were not asked to make a map on this occasion (compiled from notes provided by Dr Bill Shannon)

1603 **12 Oct** We hear nothing more until about six months into James I's reign, when there is a statement of arbitration by a third party (several local) between Sir Richard Longston and Richard Shireburne (LRO DDST Box 27, bdl 7, no. 4; see Appendix D). The dispute involved the way in which Shireburne was using his game within Leagram park. The arbiters decided that he should use the Park game as he saw fit, but not so as to damage the royal game in the forest or in Bowland



The pair of c 1595 dispute maps (LRO DDST Box 15 Nos. 10 [L] and 9 [R])
Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives



Sketch map (DDST Box 15 Nos. 2) showing Leagram Park, 'Raddam', and Whitewell. Main boundaries have been digitally accentuated. Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives

1603-1608 It is possible that the pair of undated 'dispute maps' signed by Duchy surveyor Edmund Moore, shown above (DDST Box 15, Nos 9 and 10), and the contemporary sketch (DDST Box 15, No 2) which also shows Radholme, may relate to the 1603 case, or to later proceedings, which continued until the Shireburnes reluctantly accepted a favourable legal ruling about deer in 1615. Moore's distinctive style of cartography is already known from other Duchy maps which he made between 1587 and 1611 (Shannon 2012). Assuming that the three maps are all contemporary with one another – No. 9 may be the 'fair' copy, no. 10 the rough, and no. 2 perhaps a location map for the benefit of the Duchy Court jurors - the only clue (so far) to their date is the name 'the kinges coppiholde' for the strip of land between the north-west corner of the park pale and Dobson's Brook, on the 'location sketch' (map no.2). This suggests a date after James I had succeeded Elizabeth I in 1603. Map no. 2 covers a huge area (about 200 sq kms), compared with the 25 sq kms of the other two. A simplified and slightly inaccurate reproduction of no. 9 or 10 was published by Weld in 1913, but he was unaware of either the legal context or the landscape history value of the maps.

No Duchy documents in The National Archives have been found which required the making of a map of Leagram park until 1608 (TNA DL 4/54/54), the map for which is far more accurate than the DDST pair of maps. However, the TNA 1608 map omits all the internal subdivision detail of the park which the earlier pair of maps provide – the boundaries of the Park Green, Park, Lodge, Moss, and wooded enclosures, which may pre-date the disparking of 1556. The TNA 1608 map is by Moore's assistant (and eventual successor) Roger Kenyon, of Parkhead in Whalley, founder of an important Lancashire family, receiver-general of the Duchy, and MP for Clitheroe.

The most curious things that we learn about Leagram Park from the 1608 depositions and map are: (1) as well as *sauters* (deer leaps) for deer to get into the park, there were *loops* or passages in the pale, for them to get out again, though these are not actually described. This follows the now obsolete usage meaning given in Oxford English Dictionary: 'An opening in the parapet of a fortification; an embrasure'. On the map, it is possible that the black ticks across the pale represent both *sauters* and loops, rather than just *sauters*, though this is not explicitly stated. We have no evidence yet as to whether both *sauters* and *loops* were present at Radholme.

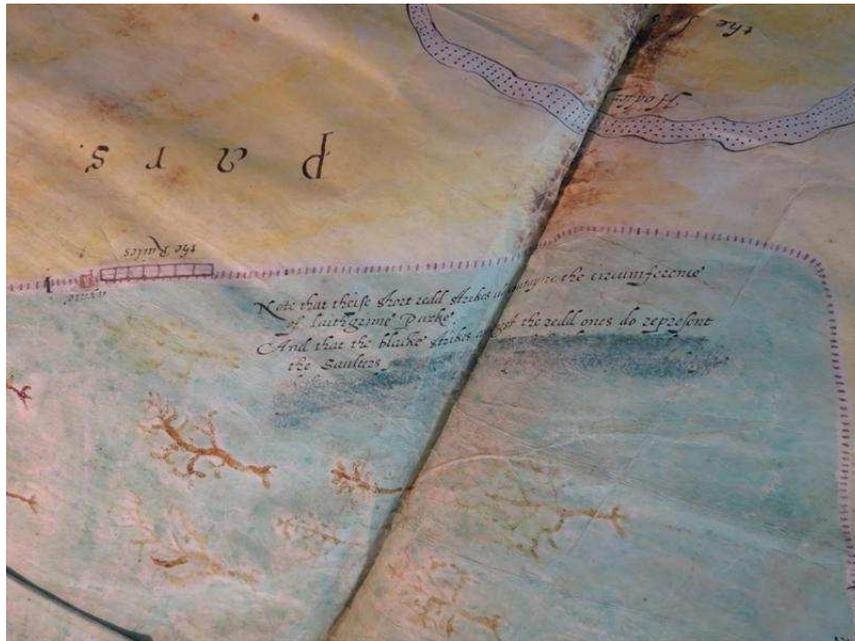
(2) The second thing we learn is that there is debate about the accepted boundary between the Forest and Park, and especially whether the strip of land - varying in width from a couple of roods to 30 roods - between the pale and Chipping Brook is part of the Forest, or part of Chipping. By 1608, the area of dispute has been narrowed down to just part of the western boundary of the park, between Startifants and Chipping Mill, the rest of the circuit apparently having been accepted as being part of the Forest. In 1595, the Chipping inhabitants seem in little doubt that they paid tithes for lands west of the park, even though east of the river, at Chipping, rather than at Clitheroe/Whitewell, as would be the case for Forest land.

We learn in the 1608 documents that the 'old' pale - but presumably they refer to the *sauters* rather than the pale as a whole - was 'five quarters in height' (ie 5x quarter yards, 3ft 9 ins), high enough to keep cattle out, but not deer. This would seem to obey Forest Law, that the King's/Queen's deer should be able to roam freely in the Forest, and by extrapolation that Leagram Park was treated as part of the Forest. In 1608, Shireburne junior was busy building new 'rails' and walling on the eastern side of the park, which are shown on the map.

The depositions in 1608 also refer to a new close on the east side of the park – near the new wall and rails, but not shown on the map – in which grows good grass which attracts the deer to come from the Forest into the park, and where they are then hunted by Richard's servants and guests. More documentary research is required to follow the later course of this legal dispute: see also separate paper by Graham Cooper.



1608 map of Leagram Park drawn by Moore's apprentice Roger Kenyon (TNA DL 4/54/54)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster and
The National Archives. Photo courtesy of Dr Bill Shannon



Detail from the 1608 map of Leagram Park drawn by Moore's apprentice Roger Kenyon (TNA DL 4/54/54)
Reproduced by kind permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster and
The National Archives. Photo courtesy of Dr Bill Shannon

The text on the map says:

'Note that the short red strikes represent the circumference of Leagram Park. And that the black strikes against the red ones do represent the saulters.'

- 1617 James I came to Hoghton Tower and was the last sovereign to hunt in Lancashire
- 1623 Sale by the Crown of many of the vaccaries in Bowland and elsewhere to London financiers. Mentions Greystonley, Fair Oak, Dinkling Green, Burnslack
- 1651-2 Commonwealth survey and sale of more forest land, rescinded at Restoration in 1661
- 1661 Restoration of the Monarchy: General Monck was created Duke of Albemarle and was given forest land
- 1663 Albemarle re-opens the dispute with the Shireburnes about deer
- 1667 Shireburne finally wins the case re deer at Lancaster
- 1717 On the death of Sir Nicholas Shireburne - a staunch Roman Catholic recusant, and Jacobite sympathiser - his daughter, Mary Shireburne, Duchess of Norfolk (1692-1754), inherited the Stonyhurst estate which included Leagram. Stonyhurst itself, and an annuity of £500 per annum, was left to his widow, who died in 1728



Nicholas Shireburn (1658-1717) and his daughter Mary, later the Duchess of Norfolk (died 1754).
Photos by Graham Cooper and reproduced by kind permission of John Weld-Blundell (left)
and the Governors of Stonyhurst College (right). Artists unknown.
The portrait of Mary is a watercolour copy of the original by Kneller, held at Leagram Hall

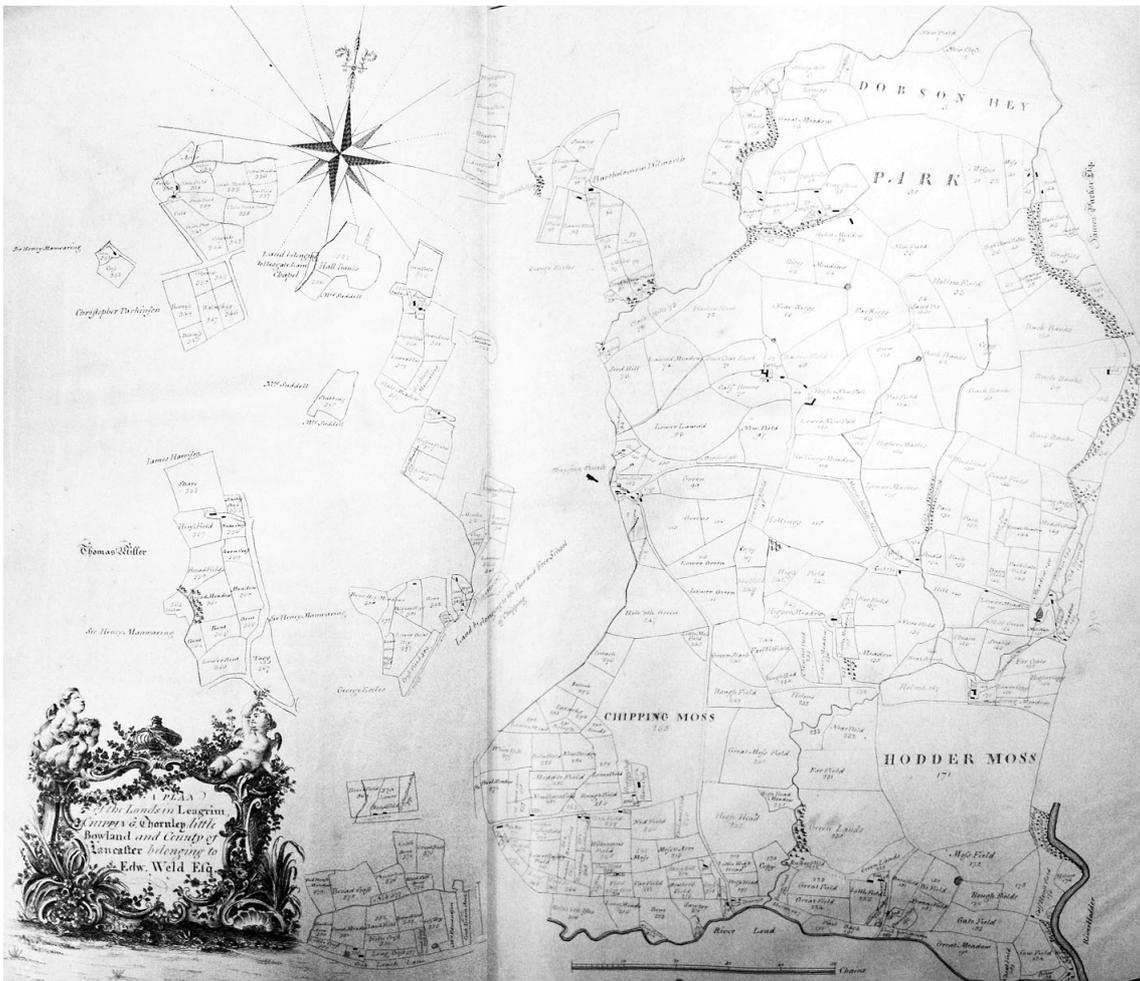
- 1732 Mary's husband, Thomas, 8th Duke of Norfolk, died without an heir, and the field book for a rental, by Joseph Dickinson, in the Lancashire Archives (DP 229) dates from the following year. There is a fair copy document for Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley of the same year (DP 225)
- 1754 In her will, Mary, the Dowager Duchess left her whole estate to the descendants of her aunt Elizabeth Shireburne, who had married William Weld of Compton Basset in Wiltshire. Their grandson Edward Weld inherited Leagram and Stonyhurst, but did not live there



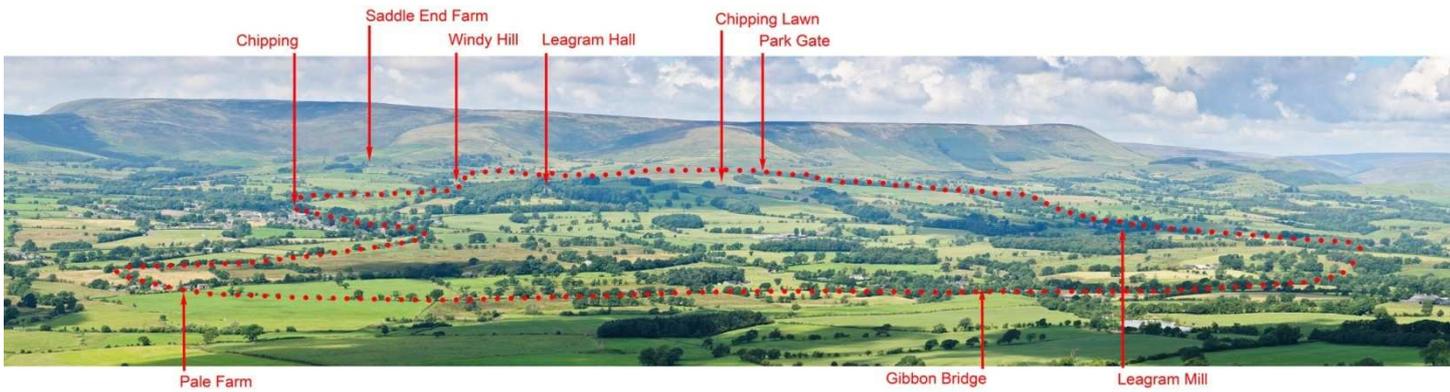
Edward Weld (1741-1775)

This copy portrait is held at Stonyhurst College from the original at Lulworth Castle, and is reproduced with kind permission of the Governors of Stonyhurst College. Photograph by Graham Cooper.

- 1761** Edward's son, Thomas, inherited Leagram and Stonyhurst. Thomas was a former pupil of St Omers College when it was in Bruges. In 1774 he commissioned the Stonyhurst estate survey which includes the Leagram map with field names (LRO DDX 59/1, f70) see below
- 1794** Thomas gifted Stonyhurst to the Jesuits
- 1810** Thomas's son, George inherited Leagram
- 1866-88** George's son, John Weld, the historian and accomplished artist lived at Leagram



Map of Leagram in 1774, with field names (LRO DDX 59/1, f70) Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives



A panorama of the Chipping area today, showing the boundary of Leagram Park and key place names (Graham Cooper)

Conclusions on disparking and enclosure at Leagram

Several pastures within Leagram park had been therefore been enclosed for livestock by 1422, and in 1556 it was officially disparked after a royal commission reported that it was disused, and too decayed to contain deer. It was sold in 1563 to its lessee, Sir Richard Shireburne of Stonyhurst, Master Forester to the Duchy of Lancaster.

As owners, the Shireburnes repaired the fences to keep deer out rather than in, and felled trees. However, in June 1605, as Weld quotes from a document, in his manuscript history, the Duchy took a very different view of the long standing right to allow deer to roam freely and reprimanded Sir Richard's son for 'walling or fencing' the park 'in contempt of us', thus keeping the royal deer out of the park, and threatened him with a fine of £20 – around £3500 at 2010 prices. The dispute rumbled on for a further 10 years before agreement was reached to allow the Shireburnes to take steps to kill deer entering the park and wall or fence it.

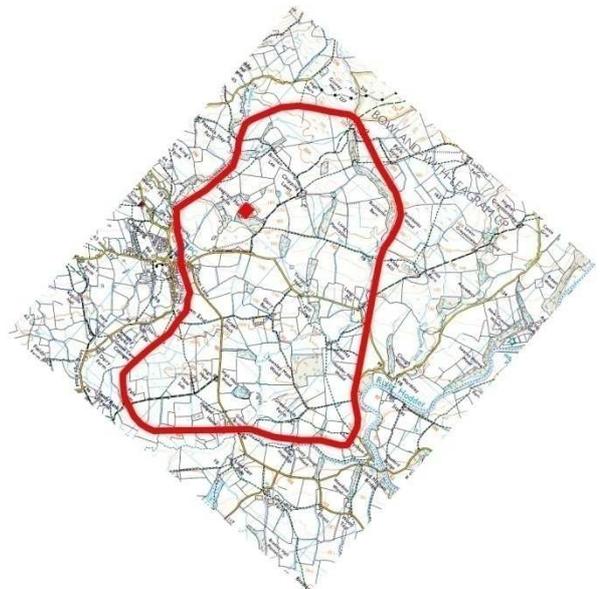
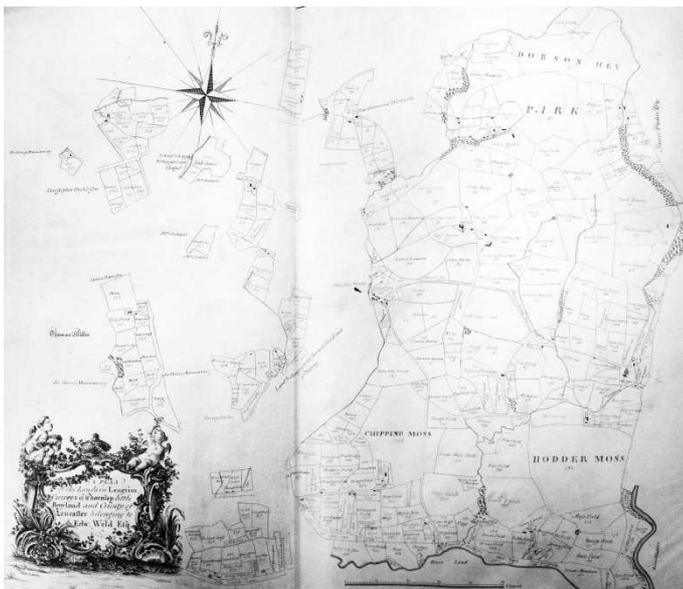
Nearly 70 years later in 1682 the dispute re-surfaced when the 2nd Duke of Albemarle threatened to renew the suit, and Shireburne was forced to make depositions to the Duchy court. This evidently had little effect, since in 1685 the Duke's keepers took three of Shireburne's servants prisoner for killing a buck within Leagram Park. In March 1687 the three were found guilty and fined £20 each, which they paid to the High Sheriff (LRO DP 219, f 44). In a stroke of irony, Shireburne claimed and received the fine monies, as owner of the park, the Duchy thinking that they would later test his claim, which they never did. Thenceforth, the Shireburnes, and their successors the Welds have exercised their rights to kill deer which stray into the park. Whitaker (1872) writes that 'The last stags in Bowland were destroyed within the memory of the present keeper, a fine old forester of more than fourscore [80 years of age] ... in the year 1805.'

A generation after the disparking, in c 1600, when the first maps of the park were drawn up (shown above and further below) the only buildings were the lodge, a handful of cottages on the Chipping side, and a single building within the woodland, probably Leagram mill. There were five areas to the park at this date, differentiated by colours and evidently surrounded by hedge or wall boundaries – an area around The Lodge, two areas called Park, Parke Gren, un-named woodland, and a large area of Parke Mosse to the south, divided into two by the Incklinge Brook (now called Leagram Brook). Much of the park was waste.

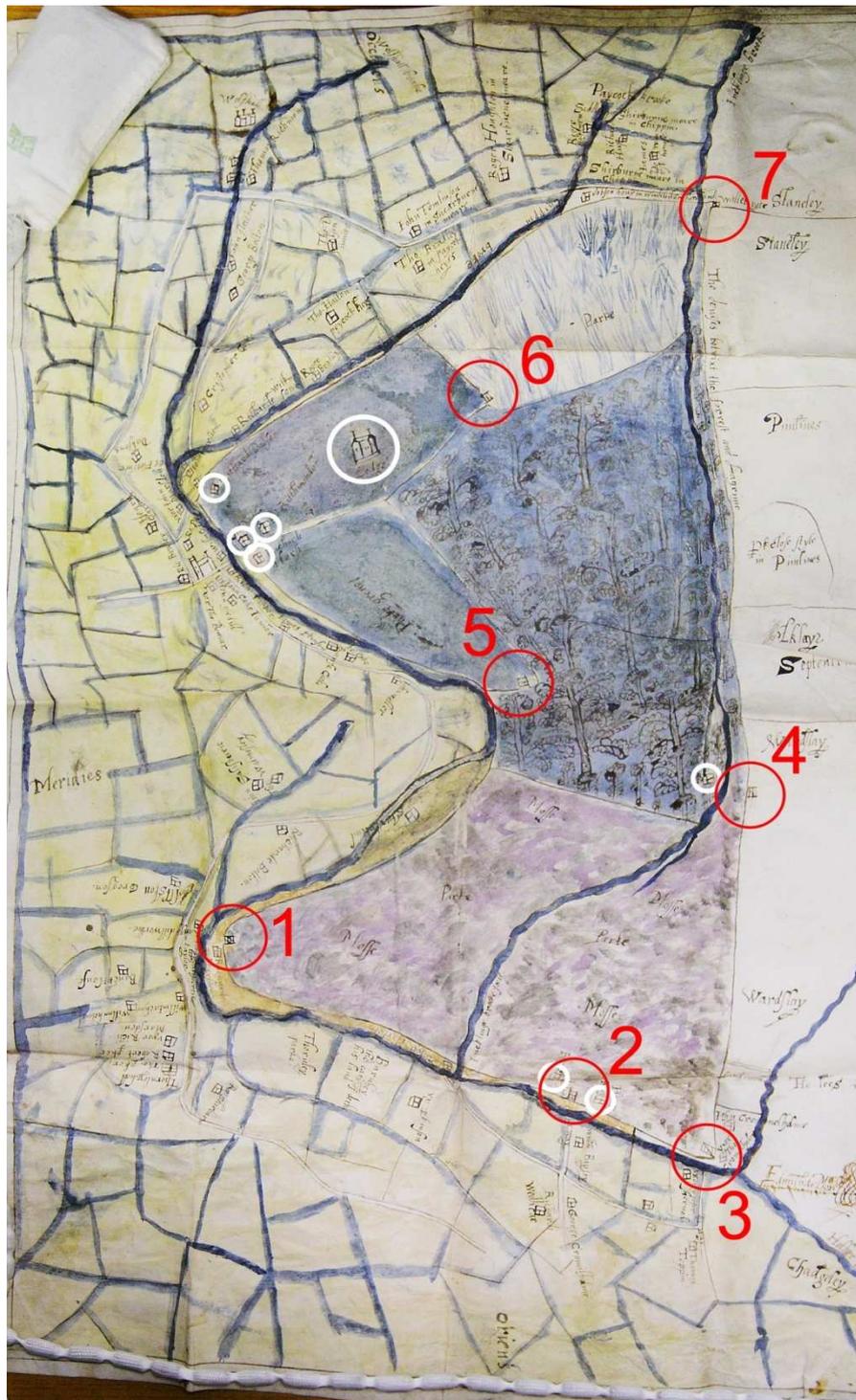
A rental of May 1665 lists only two tenancies within Leagram Park (LRO DDST Box 81/1), those of Andrew Ashton, paying £20 per annum for a messuage (i.e. house) and tenement (acreage not given) and Richard Wight, who held a 'mansion house, four other buildings, and their gardens' for £5 per annum.

Another detailed map of Leagram exists, this time dating from 1774 – illustrated below - (LRO DDX 59/1, f70), contained in a survey volume for the whole of the Stonyhurst estate. The difference between it and the c 1600 maps is striking. Between then and 1774, the whole park - including an area of un-drained mossland within it - has been subdivided into enclosed fields, and let to 20 tenants as 23 tenements. The fields are named, and these names in many cases reflect the former park usage, for example: Hole of the Green, Lower Green, Green Slack, etc. in the former Greene; Buck Banks and Park in what was the wooded area in c 1600, and a number of Gate Fields and Pail Meadows confirming the location of the outer park boundary and its entrances.

The 1774 field pattern remained virtually unchanged at the time of the first edition Ordnance Survey 6" : 1 mile map, surveyed in 1844 (published 1847), and many of these historic landscape features remain visible today. The field boundaries of 1774 respect the pale boundary throughout its 10.54 km (6.53 miles) length, and some of the internal boundaries – notably that around the Laund around the Lodge, ie Leagram Hall, which shares its north west boundary with the pale, are particularly prominent. The discrepancy between the shape of the Laund shown on the c 1600 and 1774 maps begs the question of whether this inner boundary was re-aligned after disparking to create the curvilinear boundary shown in 1774, or whether the c 1600 appearance is cartographic simplification.



The c1600 dispute map, together with the 1774 Weld map and a modern day OS map, showing the changes to the internal subdivision of Leagram park (LRO DDX 59/1, f70 and LRO DDST Box 15 No9)
Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives



c 1595 dispute map (LRO DDST Box 15 No 9)
 Reproduced by kind permission of Lancashire Archives

This map shows the park gates (in red) on the c 1600 map. These were plotted on modern maps by reference to the 1774 map and Ordnance Survey 1840s and 1890s maps, using the MARIO portal. Whilst no trace is apparent today of these gates, all except one, no. 3 on the map, at Loud Mytham, are represented now by roads and tracks, which may have been the case (though not shown as such) in c 1600.

Only eight buildings are shown within the park on the c 1600 map (in white), and most of these are likely to date from after the 1564 disparking. However, we may suppose that the Lodge (the site of the present day Leagram Hall) was in existence while the park was in use, and that the building within the wood near the eastern boundary was Leagram Mill.

Chapter 6: Project Findings and Future Work

Project findings

'Off sets' and Stock funnels

A characteristic feature of Leagram park –also found at Radholme, though less frequently – are zig-zag diversions in the boundary which the project have called 'off sets'. These seem to equate with the deer leaps – variously called *saulter* and *salter*; or *saltoria* in the thirteenth century at Clarendon Palace Park, Wiltshire; and *insultoria* in the fourteenth century at Musbury Park, Lancashire (Higham 2003). A field name, 'Sawter' in 1774, adjacent to the outside of the Leagram pale south west of Gibbon Bridge, marks the site of another probable deer leap. The Leagram project gazetteer lists three field names suggesting salters, and also Salter Croft. Sooter Croft or South o' Croft was also referred to in speech according to the Berry family of Chipping. See also Appendix I.



Off sets in modern day walls near Salter Hill in Leagram (left) and at Radholme (right) Photos by Graham Cooper

At Quernmore Park, on the north side of the Forest of Bowland AONB, these deer leaps are situated at points where deer could jump downhill into the park from the adjacent Quernmore Forest, but would not readily be able to leap uphill out again (Derbyshire 2010). Deer leaps called Low Stile and Middle Stile survive at Quernmore, while a third, High Stile, has been destroyed. Whilst the most characteristic Radholme example is similarly located to those at Quernmore, the Leagram examples of off sets (some but not all mapped by Higham in 2003) are situated on less sloping ground, so their identification as deer leaps needs to be questioned, and at least some may be relatively recent constructions to accommodate culverted streams. Whilst there is little likelihood that the Leagram boundary wall is a medieval survival, and certainly not the fences, the field boundaries in these places follow closely the course of earlier boundaries. This is as one would expect, since encroachment on another owner's land in the medieval and early modern periods often led to court cases.

The map dated 1608, recently identified by Dr Bill Shannon in The National Archives (TNA DL 4/54/54) see above on p39, and described in detail in Appendix I, indicates a larger number (at least 15) of what it refers to as *saulters*, shown by a black 'strike' line across the pale line. Some of these coincide with the deer leap off sets known from place name and oral history evidence, but add many new instances, which have yet to be located against modern mapping.

Notwithstanding these *caveats*, the location of the clearest example of the off sets is at Salter Hill (the name arguably from the Latin *saltare* 'to leap', about which Higham and Fletcher commented) which also has adjacent to it, on the outside of the park, traces of a 'stock funnel'. The west side is more apparent on the ground than the east. The stock funnels, which would have been muddy from trampling, were located at the widening out of fenced lanes leading between the open common grazing for a township and a settlement.

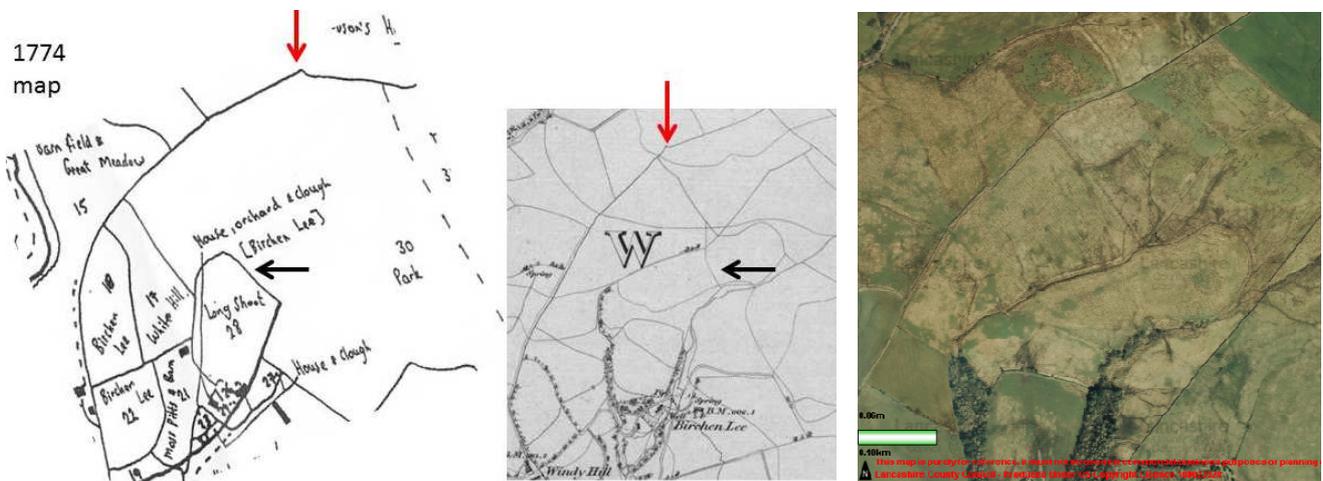


A stock funnel picked out in snow on nearby Grindleton Fell (Graham Cooper)

Long Shoot

To the south east of the Salter Hill deer leap, and north east of Birchen Lee, and again referred to in the gazetteer, is a curiously shaped field, visible on aerial photographs, and on the 1840s OS map, but not on the 1774 map. The field measures c 300 m SW–NE and it is 95-130 m in width. It originally had an ‘apsidal’ curvilinear end to the east, although this feature had been lost by the OS revision of 1907. At the west end, the field joins a field called Long Shoot on the 1774 map, which suggests use in the post disparking period for some form of hunting sport, perhaps with spectators.

Fletcher (2011) refers to such ‘traps’ in medieval times, as being termed *haies* or *hayes* in French, or *elrick* or *elerc* in Scottish Gaelic, but simply as ‘parks’ in English. However, the early modern date suggests that the Leagram field was an example of a deer course, coursing being otherwise called ‘hunting by sight’ (Fletcher 2011).



(left) possible stock funnel outside the park, at the Salter Hill deer leap, seen in the context of the Long Shoot post-1774 ‘apsidal ended’ enclosure (left), and another deer leap to the SE (arrowed, right) on the 1840’s OS map and also shown on the modern day aerial photo (photo: MARIO)

Coursing was the most common form of hunting ‘for the pot’, by the gamekeeper, and indeed by poachers. There are a number of descriptions of permanent and temporary ‘Standings’ or ‘Pady Courses’, the best known being shown on a 1640 estate map of Clarendon, Wiltshire. That course is significantly longer – a mile and a half long, and 80 yards wide, widening to 200 yards at the spectator end. Sometimes the sport was for betting on, rather than killing the animals, with races between deer and hounds.

Laund

The Oxford English Dictionary defines *laund*, or *lawn* as 'an open space among woods, a glade (Latin: *saltus*); untilled ground, pasture'. There are several places called Laund in and around the Forest of Bowland.

New Laund, on the banks of the Hodder opposite Whitewell is not named on Lancashire Archives c 1600 sketch map, which shows Leagram and Radholme (LRO DDST Box 15, No. 2), but it is shown on Christopher Saxton's (1577) published map of Lancashire. The earliest non-cartographic reference so far found to New Laund (but query to *this* New Laund) is in the catalogue description to a TNA document (not seen):

DL 4/61/52 Short title: Richmond v Houghton. Plaintiffs: Richmond. Defendants: Houghton and Anderton. Documents: depositions concerning pastures called **Newe Lawnde**, Cleyholme and Whitmore Knotts, in the Forest of Bowland, Lancashire. 11 James I, 1613- 1614.

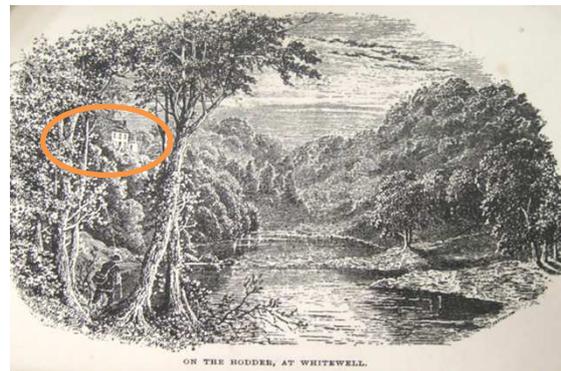
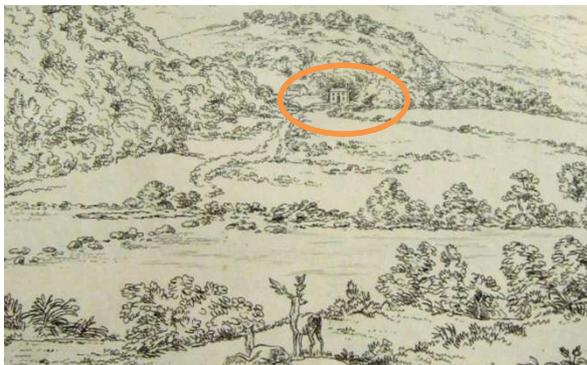
And another, some 20 years later:

DL 4/81/16 Short title: Attorney General of the Duchy of Lancaster v Swinglehurst, otherwise Richmond v Swinglehurst. Plaintiffs: Attorney General at the relation of Henry Richmond. Defendants: Swinglehurst and Troughton. Depositions concerning pastures called **Newe Lawnde**, Cleyholme and Whitmore Knotts, in the Forest of Bowland, Lancashire. 7 Charles I, 1631-1632.



New Laund, near Whitewell on the OS first edition map

This suggests that New Laund was not created until after the official disparking of Leagram in 1556. Whilst the ownership of New Laund at this date needs to be established, the proximity of both Leagram and Radholme parks – even though the latter was across the river Hodder – might have become relevant to the creation of a reserve for deer, and it would still have functioned in this way after Radholme too had been disparked c 1640.



In the caption to the illustration on the left, in Parker (1815) New Launde is described as 'the Keeper's Lodge on the banks of the river Hodder in the Forest of Bowland'. A later illustration of New Launde house (right) and the Hodder, is from T Johnson's pictorial handbook to the valley of the Ribble (1900).

It is possible that prior to disparking New Launde was the site of 'le Reede' mentioned in Shaw and others as the site of the cattle pool for surplus stock from the vaccaries, and as a collection point for 'ringed' cattle which

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were being sent for sale. Reed Barn, on modern day New Laund Farm seems the likely site of 'le Reede' as suggested by Mary Higham. When the vaccaries were set to farm there was no further need for it, hence 'New Lawned' often referred to as a pasture and let for rent.

The other named Laund, within Leagram park, was clearly marked on the c 1600 dispute maps and remains in the same location today as Laund Farm near Chipping. Interestingly Laund Farm is not shown on the 1774 map, so although it is more recent in origin it still retains the name which links it with the past.



A view of Chipping Laund Farm today (Graham Cooper)

The western boundary of Leagram park

Two stretches of the western boundary of Leagram park are less than certain, and the boundary currently shown on the Lancashire Historic Environment Record (HER) should be treated with caution. The line of the pale east of Dobson's Brook, opposite Peacock Hey farm, has evidently been altered at some date. The field name 'Hackin Hurst' in this area on the 1774 map (LRO DDX 59/1, f70, no 72) is undoubtedly a corruption of 'Acornhurst', which is documented as having been incorporated into the park c 1418, so we should expect to see boundaries pre- and post-dating its inclusion in the park. Around the west side of Chipping village is another area where two possible alignments of the boundary are evident. These discrepancies, and their correct entry in the project gazetteer and HER need to be resolved using field evidence.

Conclusions

The key findings of this research therefore provide us with evidence of the dates of creation and disparking at both Radholme (1322 – c 1650) and Leagram (1340s – 1556). The research has provided more detail about the less well known Radholme Park, and created a detailed gazetteer; it has also included the exciting discoveries in the Stonyhurst collection in Lancashire Archives of the c 1600 dispute maps for Leagram and the 1608 map at The National Archives; and the beginning of identification of deer leaps, pale boundaries, off sets, stock funnels and linked place names in and around both parks.

The project aimed to meet several objectives and these have been met with varying degrees of success. The objectives were, briefly, as follows:

1. To record through mapping and a gazetteer, for the two deer parks and the immediate vicinity, evidence for their past and present boundaries and subdivisions
2. To locate and provide dating evidence, where possible from primary (manuscript) sources, for the creation, alteration, and 'dissparking' of the parks
3. To trace the subsequent landscape history of the original deer parks, using more recent historic maps and other primary sources, to identify how original features (such as boundaries, routeways, buildings) have changed
4. To enhance the gazetteer by field verification
5. To consider and comment on the potential of each park for further research, and for interpretation aimed at the general public

Where objectives have not been met, and probably most significantly in the areas of field verification and research into subsequent landscape history, further work is required to realise these aims.

Future work

The following further work has been identified as a priority once further funding for the project has been secured:

- At Leagram Park further work is required to agree the precise details of the western park boundary around Peacock Hey and Acornhurst, and also around Chipping village.
- Once completed, both gazetteers will need entering in the HER and the digitised maps can be appended to this report.
- There is also a great deal more potential research to be carried out at the archives, at Stonyhurst, and at Lancashire Archives and The National Archives.
- The numerous additional *saulters* or deer leaps from the recently discovered 1608 map in The National Archives need to be plotted and correlated with the modern OS maps. The depositions also need careful scrutiny (requiring some specialist palaeography review, but volunteer training should allow most documents to be read by project members) to identify further place name evidence.
- Further work identifying recorded place names and also linked family names, possibly via community events and workshops
- Interpretation of the research findings for the general public, to include web based information, educational materials, guided walks and events

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Glossary

Agistment	the movement of animals to summer grazings, each being rented out at an agreed rate
Annuity	a continuing payment with a fixed total amount or limit
Assart	a licence to clear woodland in the Forest, or an offence for illegally felling trees
Assizes	the sittings or sessions of the judges
Bailiff	a civil officer of an estate who protects it from poachers, or a court official
Bailiwick	the area of jurisdiction of a bailiff
Carucate	from the Latin <i>caruca</i> plough, a unit measure of land used in Danelaw; as much land as one team of eight oxen could plough in a year and a day; said to be about 100 acres
Chase	an area of common land used for hunting, may be owned by nobility but not Royalty
Compotus	an account or reckoning
Deer leap	a lower section of the pale which enables deer to re enter the park
Demesne	the 'home farm' or area nearest to the residence, not usually rented out to tenants
Disparkment	the subdivision of the park into tenancies, often including enclosure within the park and abandonment of the pale
Dowager	the widow of the previous king or lord of the manor
Fee	tenancy
Fee-simple	unconditional inheritance of the tenancy
Feoffees	a person holding a fee , or tenancy
Feoffment	the act of investing in a fee
Forest law	established by William the Conqueror, forest law operated outside of common law. Commoners or inhabitants of the forest had various rights such as pannage and agistment ; and trespassers and poachers were dealt with by the courts of the forest
Forfeit	the loss or withdrawal of rights, usually due to breaking the law or an agreement
Honour (of Clitheroe)	the ancient grouping of manors and Royal Forests around Clitheroe, loosely based on the ancient Wapentake of Blackburnshire
Laund or lawn	a cleared area for grazing, usually for deer, within the park or elsewhere in the forest
Lodge	originally a house in a forest or other wild place, serving as a temporary abode in the hunting season. Later a building variously used for sleeping and eating, accommodation for hunters or the park keeper , and for feeding of the deer during winter time_
Master forester	the head forester, responsible to the monarch, for keeping the forest law
Pale	originally a wooden fence made of stakes driven into the ground, and/or of upright bars or strips fixed to horizontal rails supported by posts; a palisade. Later, the whole boundary of the deer park, comprising a ditch, fence or hedge, or a combination
Pannage	acorns, beechmast, or other forage which pigs may find in a forest, and the rights to graze swine in the woods under forest law
Pargetted	a mix of plaster and roughcast, usually a decorative external coating of a building
Parker or park keeper	an appointed official responsible for managing the park
Pasturage	the right to agistment , and to other products of the forest
Perambulation	a walking of the bounds, to legally determine the area and boundary of a park or forest
Subinfeudation	the sub division of a feudal estate whereby the tenant becomes the new feudal lord
Swanimote court	the forest court, which met three times a year to regulate use of the Royal Forest
Vaccary	a large scale cattle farm or ranch, may also include oxen and horses
Verderer	a judicial officer of the Royal Forest, who maintains and keeps the assizes of the forest
Wapentake	an administrative area, based on Norse law
Waste	open, uncultivated and unoccupied land
Woodmote court	a forest court held every 40 days: suspected breakers of forest laws were enrolled here but could only be tried at the Swanimote court