

CHAPTER 8

Beyond the Pale

*Lone wreck of antient splendour! where are they,
Whose perish'd forms outstripp'd thy slow decay?
No longer heard in this once princely haunt
The festal merriment nor bridal chaunt;
Through roofless chambers and slow-crumbling halls,
Viol and song unheard, and midnight balls; –
Now the patch'd cottage in the pile is seen,
And poverty resides where wealth has been* (Holland 1820, 7)

A deer park once occupied the area of Sheffield that today spans the aptly named districts of Manor Park, Manor Top, Wybourn, Park Hill, Norfolk Park and Arbourthorne, stretching from near the Ponds Forge sports centre as far as Heeley to the south-west, and Gleadless and Handsworth to the south-east (Figure 8.1). However, it is not as a historic landscape that this area of Sheffield has recently been known; rather, it has tended to appear in the news in connection with the social issues that flow from economic deprivation and austerity (McCaffrey 2007; Lee 2016; Sheffield City Council 2017). The substantial working-class housing complex of the Manor Estate built on the site of the former deer park in the 1920s and 1930s was blighted by unemployment and high levels of crime by the 1980s, leading to it periodically being dubbed the worst estate in Britain and a police ‘no-go’ area. At the foot of the hill near the city centre the Corbusier-inspired Park Hill flats and high-rise Hyde Park blocks, constructed in the late 1950s and 1960s, have also had chequered histories (Bryant and Knowles 1974; Hollow 2010) – the latter eventually demolished in 1992–3, the former the subject of active regeneration efforts under the aspirational strapline ‘it’s Corb with less sun and more soul’ (Urban Splash 2019).

This chapter presents a rather different perspective on this part of the city, where the capacity to construct large-scale 20th-century social housing was, to a very large extent, made possible by the residual open spaces of the former deer park. When we look out over some of the great parks of England today, not all is what it seems. Much that looks ancient, like the park at Chatsworth (Derbs), is really ‘an 18th-century imposition’, while Graves Park, the largest public park in Sheffield, created in 1925, is ‘overlaid onto a medieval deer park

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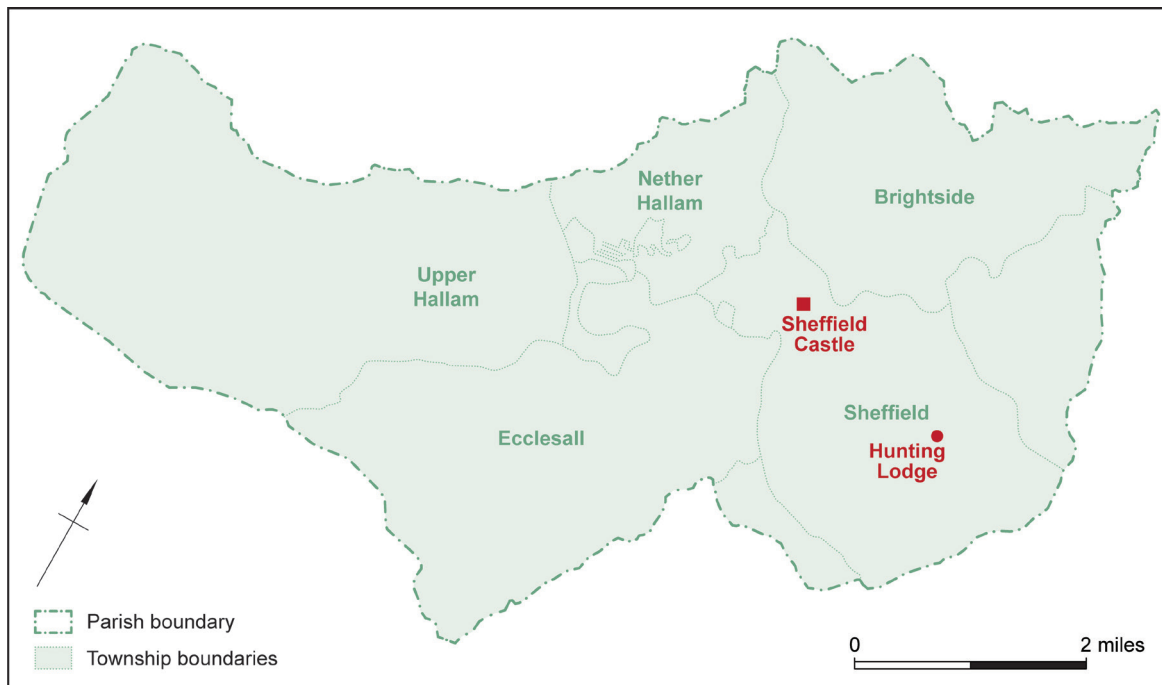


Figure 8.1: The parish of Sheffield showing the location of the park and the hunting lodge (Manor Lodge) to the east of the castle. Wessex Archaeology.

with early ponds and other features' (Rotherham 2007a). Sheffield Park,²⁶ on the other hand, is no longer visible but has significantly influenced the present cityscape – and, like the castle, it echoes down to us in the place names of the district.

Hunting was a central element in medieval elite identity. The aristocracy had become a 'self-conscious "predatory" class; skill in the art of hunting came to define the knight *par excellence*' (Pluskowski 2007, 63). The availability of hunting resources could influence the location, and subsequent development, of castles (Creighton 2002, 187–8). The deer park and hunting lodge located immediately to the south-east of Sheffield Castle were integral to the medieval and early post-medieval seigneurial landscape, which also included great hunting reserves, with associated lodges, such as Rivelin Chase, which covered 6,863 acres (2777.36ha) of the Rivelin valley, and Stannington to the west (Hey 2013, 271–2; Jones 2004, 35–8; Jones 2013, 26). The lords of the manor divided their time between the castle and the lodge when resident in the town, which was not often for much of the period. However, continuing the theme developed in Chapter 6, the deer park was a place of daily work and economic production as well as of elite display. It was in existence by at least the 13th century, and remained in use into the 17th century, after which it was divided into tenant farms and coal pits. Later still, its open spaces had a significant impact on the topography of the townscape, inhibiting any notable development until the early 20th century (see Coates 1967; Simmons 1997, 406); yet, despite its acknowledged large size, it has received only passing mention in recent discussions of medieval parks (e.g. Creighton 2002, 185–6; Miles 2009, 161). Excavation has revealed a hunting lodge on one of the highest points of the park from at least the 15th century, although its surviving standing remains (and most of our written sources) largely date to the 16th. While the lodge did not share the post-Civil War 'slighting' of the castle, continuing to be used as a residence into the early 18th century, its presence in the landscape was nevertheless much reduced. It was subsequently rented by a potter and then became home to a mining community until the turn of the 20th century – the 'patch'd cottage and poverty' of the poet John Holland's (1820) early 19th-century lament with which we opened this chapter. Our focus here is on tracing the development of the hunting lodge and deer park into the 17th century, and situating that within its changing social, economic and political contexts.

²⁶ While there were other medieval deer parks in Sheffield, for example in what is now known as Ecclesall Woods in the west of the city (Hart 1993; Rotherham 2007a; Hey 2010, 19–20), that which lay to the east of the castle is known as Sheffield Park. It is thus referred to in Harrison's 1637 survey (Ronksley 1908, 2; Hall 1930, 99).

A lordly landscape

Deer parks sit at the ‘more intense’ end of a spectrum of animal/landscape management which also included wood pasture, wooded commons and forests (Rotherham 2007b). The practice of keeping wild animals in parks has deep roots, with breeding populations of fallow deer kept in ‘parks and pleasure gardens’ in parts of Roman Britain (Sykes and Carden 2011, 139–40; Madgwick *et al.* 2013). Fallow deer apparently died out with the end of the Roman Empire in Britain, and until recently it was believed that they were reintroduced around the time of the Norman Conquest, as part of a suite of changes which included ‘new hunting landscapes’, such as deer parks (e.g. Sykes and Carden 2011, 156; Sykes 2014, 72–3). However, new scientific evidence, including radiocarbon dating, genetic analyses, and carbon and nitrogen isotopes within deer bones, now suggests that ‘fallow deer had been established in England for some time by the “Saxo-Norman” period’ (Sykes *et al.* 2016, 118). In this context, Carole Hough’s (2001, 2, 6, 10) argument, based on the toponymic association between deer and ‘leaping places’,²⁷ that deer parks existed in Anglo-Saxon England appears compelling, but we need archaeological evidence to determine the nature of such parks. Importantly, the study of the age profile of the herds reveals that the earliest medieval examples had been kept to an older age than would be the case later. These early arrivals were, it is suggested, ‘rare exotica, more important to be maintained and displayed in life than consumed in death’, and so early medieval deer parks should be viewed ‘more as menageries than hunting reserves’ (Sykes *et al.* 2016, 122). The association with elite display was there from the beginning; the hunt as part of that display and performance would come later.

There is some evidence that Sheffield deer park was ‘early’; none to suggest that it was Anglo-Saxon (as tentatively proposed by Jones 2013, 27; also Rotherham 2007a). In South Yorkshire more generally, there are many examples where the fencing of demesne land to create a park followed a royal grant of free warren, which was the right to hunt certain animals such as hare, badger and game birds (Turner 1901; Crook 2001), and from the early 13th century landowners were meant to obtain a royal licence to create a park (Jones 2013, 27; see Rotherham 2007b for baronial parks). However, no such textual evidence exists for Sheffield deer park, and, since archaeology does not yet help, we are therefore reliant on circumstantial evidence for its origins. Hunter (1819, 195) suggests that the ‘great antiquity’ of this park is demonstrated by the fact that its boundary forms the division between the townships of the parish (also Hey 1991, 19; Creighton 2002, 26–7, 112, 188 for parallels). He argues that it might have been in existence by the mid-12th century, when Richard de Lovetot – son of the William de Lovetot about whom we have heard a good deal in this book – in augmentation of alms, granted a tithe of venison to the monks of Ecclesfield Priory (South Yorks), demonstrating that deer were being hunted in the woods around Sheffield (Hunter 1819, 189). However, as Walter Hall (1930, 98) cautions, this does not necessarily mean that they were then ‘emparked’, and still less is this evidence that Sheffield Park yet existed (although it might have done). In 1281 Thomas de Furnival II was asked by a royal enquiry, under the writ of *quo warranto*, by ‘what right’ he claimed to have free warren in his Sheffield manor; he replied that his family had held such rights since the Conquest (Hunter 1819, 38). In 1297 a royal charter acknowledged this claim to hunting rights, and the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 1332 following the death of his son, Thomas de Furnival III, notably mentions possession of a deer park and an associated wood, while the *Inquisition* following the death of William de Furnival in 1383 refers to ‘a certain park with deer living in the same together with hunting for the same and with parks, woods and pastures in the same’ (Curtis 1914, 48).

Our only detailed description of Sheffield deer park comes late, in John Harrison’s 1637 survey, when it covered 2,461 acres, 3 roods and 11 perches, and contained 1,000 fallow deer and 200 stags (Ronksley 1908, 3; Sheffield Archives ACM/S/75). The associated map does not survive, but Gordon Scurfield (1986) created a detailed plan of the park as it may have appeared in the early 17th century, by plotting the places and features the survey describes on 18th- and 19th-century maps (Figure 8.2). At that time the park was demarcated by a fence eight miles long (Hunter 1819, 7, 189; Jones 2009, 4–5; 2013, 30).

In England, the ‘great age of park creation’ was between 1200 and 1350, and in South Yorkshire most of the grants of free warren were issued between 1250 and 1325 (Jones 2013, 27; also Bowen 2013, 196 for Shropshire). Parks were characteristically pear- or egg-shaped, most often, as in Sheffield, appended as a ‘lobe’ directly onto one side of a castle (Creighton 2002, 188–9; Bowen 2013, 195). They were:

compact acres of land enclosed by robust timber palings, ditches, or walls, with the landscape comprising large areas of grazed *Lawn* [from ‘laund’, a treeless area where deer would graze], pollarded rather

²⁷ OE *hlyp-geat* – ‘a gate in a fence over which deer and other animals can leap but which restrains others such as sheep and cattle’ (Hough 2001, 10; also Moorhouse 2007, 105).



Figure 8.2: Map of Sheffield Park based on Harrison's 1637 survey. Wessex Archaeology, after Scurfield 1986.

than coppiced trees, as well as groves and larger patches of unimproved woodland (Bowen 2013, 195; Jones 2013, 28).

There may have been as many as c.3,000 parks (Rotherham 2007b, 80; Pluskowski 2007, 76), which varied greatly in size, with an average of about 100 acres (40.47ha) (Rotherham 2007b, 80). Sheffield park was enormous by comparison. The intimacy of the relationship between castles and deer parks makes their presence in the lordly landscapes of the Middle Ages seem almost natural. Yet emparkment, the process of their creation, required careful planning and modification of the landscape to meet the needs of the deer and other species and came at a significant cost (Pluskowski 2007, 64).

Deer parks are now regarded as integral to lordship in the medieval period, with their landscape setting used to impress lordly status on visitors (Taylor 2000, 39, 44, 46; Herring 2003, 38–41; Liddiard 2005). Sheffield was no exception, with the park constructed adjacent to the castle, in a widely found juxtaposition, with an elaborate hunting lodge complex at its heart (Moorhouse 2007, 107–11; Miles 2009, 86–91). By the 15th century, many lords had constructed new homes in their parks, often in the form of tower houses, such as the stone and brick structure at Fulbrook (Warks) built for the Duke of Bedford (Miles 2009, 88). The developments at Sheffield mirror wider trends, then, with the hunting lodge becoming a favoured residence of the Earls of Shrewsbury as the 16th century progressed. David Hey (1998, 20) has suggested that they preferred its elevated setting to the ‘old-fashioned castle set low in the smoky town’, while Joseph Hunter (1819, 49) also noted that the site of the lodge ‘commanded a glorious prospect of the well cultivated and inhabited country around, a great portion of which acknowledged him for its lord’. But it seems that only certain kinds of wealth and ownership visibly enhanced lordship – ‘the town of Sheffield’, Hunter continues, ‘was not in view’. Further, while it was common for the gatehouses of urban castles to face towards the town (Creighton 2002, 138; see also the depictions of Pontefract Castle in Roberts 2002, 424), at Sheffield it is oriented, instead, south-east towards the deer park; from at least the 13th century the seigneurial focus was, then, on the surrounding elite landscape rather than the town.

Travel between the castle and park was via a bridge across the Sheaf and through the Park Gate, and 18th-century maps reveal that this route persisted after the demolition of the castle (e.g. maps by Gosling (1736; Figure 1.6), and Fairbank (1769; 1771; Figures 1.8 and 9.4)). The 1771 Fairbank map indicates that access to the promontory on which the castle was located was via a narrow causeway leading to the gatehouse, but, from a defensive perspective, the main entrance to the inner courtyard could as effectively have been positioned at the south-west corner of the promontory facing towards the town (Figure 8.3). Thus its orientation towards



Figure 8.3: Detail from the Fairbank map of 1771. This shows the access to Castle Hill, from which a lane leads to the bridge over the Sheaf into the park (see also Figure 1.8). Reproduced with permission from Sheffield City Council.

the park was a deliberate choice designed to display the principal entrance to the inner courtyard to visitors approaching from the deer park; it was, of course, also of considerable convenience to those labourers who regularly transported resources from the park to the castle. That many of the castle's illustrious owners spent little time in Sheffield, and on those occasions when they were present spent much of their stay at the hunting lodge, suggests that the interests of these lords lay in the seigneurial display attendant on possession of the deer park, as well as its concomitant leisure pursuits. The focus here seems specifically to have been on the local landscape, the aristocratic community and their visitors, rather than in making a political statement of wider import, of the sort that Phil Dixon (1990) has discussed in his work on Knaresborough Castle (North Yorks), which he argues was the 'stage setting' for royal authority in the north of England, at a time of baronial unrest over the role of Piers Gaveston at the court of Edward II.

Developing this argument, it also seems clear that the east side of the castle was intended to provide views to the higher ground of the park, and to present a more impressive prospect on the side from which elite visitors were mainly expected to approach. Fragments of window tracery, mullions and glass, a massive circular pier and the scale and character of the remains recorded by Armstrong indicate important buildings on this side of the courtyard (see Chapter 3). These probably included the hall and great chamber, which appear to have been adjacent to each other according to the description of the castle included in the burial account of Francis Talbot, 5th Earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1560) (Hunter 1819, 56; Armstrong 1930, 11–12). Fifteenth-century Account Rolls record a hedge between the walls of the castle near to the Great Tower and 'the stream', which is probably a reference to the Sheaf on the east side rather than to the much wider Don (Thomas 1920–24, 71). Even if the Don had been 'the stream', the Great Tower would still have looked out towards the orchards and park to its north-east (which is where Edwards (1930) thought it was located; Figure 3.16). Furthermore, as we saw in the last chapter, the bank constructed between the east moat and the Sheaf – perhaps in the 13th century – seems designed to enhance the impression of defensibility and monumentality on the east side of the castle.

Harrison's survey differentiates the 'great park' from the contiguous 'little park', which allows us to suggest that they had different purposes within the lordly landscape. For example, he describes Horse Close, a piece of arable land, as 'being parte of ye little Parke lying next unto Dewhouse Close east & abutteth upon ye Storth North & ye Great Parke South' (Ronksley 1908, 54). Citing the example of the 'Great Park' and the 'Little Park' at Fotheringhay (Northants) – where, of course, Mary, Queen of Scots, having departed Sheffield Castle, would be tried and executed – Creighton (2002, 190) suggests that 'small parks closely appended to castles' may have been dedicated to entertainment activities, including tournaments. These 'little parks' could contain woodland and grazing – the one in Sheffield included some arable and pasture (Ronksley 1908, 53–4) – but, in some cases at least, their primary function seems 'more closely related to gardens and served as private and ornamental environments associated with recreation and pleasure' (Liddiard and Wells 2008, 89). The topographical and toponymic indicators provided by Harrison reveal that 'ye little Parke' was close to the castle along the banks of the Don, and its gardens and 'Three Orchards thereto adjoyneing ye first whereof ... lyeth Betweene ye River called ye little Sheath [Sheaf] on ye West & ye little Parke on ye East' (Ronksley 1908, 47; Figure 8.2). The 'Great Parke' stretched away over the hills to the south and east (Jones 2004, 38). Sheffield Castle, therefore, was situated within a 'constructed' (i.e. contrived, designed) landscape wherein, looking eastwards, one moved from the cultured and cultivated to the – apparently at least – natural and wild. Amanda Richardson (2007, 42) has noted that such landscapes might be seen, and in fact might have been consciously designed as, 'chivalric landscapes' embodying the journey from routine social space to wilderness and back (also Pluskowski 2007, 69–77). With the 'wilderness' of the great park stretching over the horizon to the south and east, was there was an implied claim to boundless ownership and control, over both Nature and property?

The 'pale' both defined the edges of the park and kept deer within its confines; accordingly, its maintenance was a matter of some importance. In 1441–42 John Legge and William Gotson were paid a total of 46s. 4d. for mending the paling and constructing a hedge around Loggeclose, a task that took 139 days (Thomas 1920–24, 157), and on this basis it has been suggested that much of the medieval park boundary comprised a high 'cleft-oak paling fence' (Jones 2004, 39). However, here we might be being overly influenced by the kind of information that gets recorded in texts, and there are, in fact, indications that the boundary took other forms too. Hunter (1819, 190) refers to 'some old walling that seems to have been part of the ancient inclosure' near Newfield Green, where the South Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record (03008/02) interprets an earthen bank and ditch 2m wide and 1.5m high in Buck Wood as part of the 'medieval deer park boundary'. Walls that survived into the early 20th century at Arbourthorne are believed to have been part of the park boundary (Lea n.d.; Figure 8.4). Prior to



Figure 8.4: *Wall at Blackbank, Arbourthorne.* Said to be part of the boundary of the deer park of Sheffield; photographed by Harry Lea. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s08135).

redevelopment of what would eventually become the new home of Sheffield Markets (see Chapter 1), excavation in 2007 located two short stretches of ditch (one 15m long, the other 3m), which were heavily truncated but are probably pre-18th century. Here the boundary between the park and Little Sheffield Moor ran along the line of (the former) Porter Street, and continued north-east along what are now Union Street and Norfolk Street (see Ronksley 1908, 52, 57; Scurfield 1986, fig. 2; Hey 2010, 19). Both ditches follow that alignment, leading to the suggestion that they ‘represent features associated with the late medieval deer-park boundary’ (Gregory 2009, 3, 16–17, 37). In places the park boundary seems to have comprised a bank with an internal ditch, topped with a hedge, timber palisade or stone wall, presenting a more formidable barrier to the animals inside (Moorhouse 2007, 104), and in that context it is worth noting a late 17th-century reference to the planting of trees along Sheffield park’s fences and walls (see below, Section: The landscape and woodland resources).

However, this pale did much more than confine animals. As a barrier, it would have had a significant impact on pre-existing patterns of settlement, work and movement through the landscape. Although there were four gates into the park (Winder 1913, 112), access was controlled by means of two main entrances: the aforementioned one facing west towards the castle and the other opening onto Gleadless Moor to the south (Hunter 1819, 189; a watergate was also recorded in 1441–42 (Thomas 1920–24, 157)). The park boundary was, in fact, a statement of control. As Oliver Creighton (2002, 191) has argued, ‘deer parks were miniaturised landscapes of exclusion, reflecting directly the coercive power and status of castle lords’. In sum, they did not just *reflect* that power; they were among the means through which it was exercised.

A noble residence

Medieval deer parks contained a variety of lodges, from comparatively humble abodes for park keepers to elaborate complexes of royal and noble residences. In the case of Sheffield park, Harrison refers to lodges for three park keepers, one occupied by ‘widow’ Elizabeth Skelton at the exit onto Gleadless Moor to the south,

one occupied by James Morris close the eastern boundary, and one occupied by James Wardlow 'near the western end of a path from the Manor Lodge towards the River Sheaf' (Ronksley 1908, 49–50; Hey 1998, 20). The 15th-century 'Hall in the Ponds' (now the Old Queen's Head public house and a Grade II* listed building), reputedly the oldest surviving building in Sheffield, is first documented in 1582, and may have originally been a small hunting lodge or banqueting hall (Northend 1951; Hey 2010, 39–40; Figure 8.5). It was located in the 'Ponds', where the Porter Brook and the River Sheaf met, which is preserved in the names Pond Street, Pond Hill (formerly Pond Well Hill) and Ponds Forge, the international sports centre named after a former steel works on the site.

What we know as Manor Lodge, like other such hunting lodges in Yorkshire, was situated at one of the highest points in the park about 1.5km south-east of the castle (Moorhouse 2007, 110) and had become a comparatively elaborate complex by the 15th century. It was the administrative and economic centre of the park (Moorhouse 2007, 107) and second home to some of the most powerful families in England. An account of 'Sheffield Lodge' appears in Harrison's survey, following the description of the castle, where it is described as standing 'on a hill in ye midle of ye Parke, being fairly built with stone & Timber with an Inward & an outward Court 2 Gardens & 3 Yards & cont: 4 acres, 1 rood, 15 perches' (Ronksley 1908, 48). Only one building now survives intact, and, while the long gallery and south range of the inner courtyard stand in a ruinous state, the rest of the hunting lodge has long since disappeared (Figure 8.6), a process, if we are to believe Thomas Winder (1913, 113), hastened by cutlers who removed bricks and pounded them up to use as buffing material. However, we have both documentary and archaeological evidence for the form of the building complex in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods, revealing the extent to which successive lords of the manor invested in the lodge.

Excavations were conducted between 1968 and 1980 by Sheffield City Museum, assisted by local volunteers and students and directed initially by Alan Butterworth and from 1971 by Pauline Beswick (Figure 8.7). Their focus was on the long gallery and the tower at its northern end, and some of the buildings in both the inner and outer courtyard. Unfortunately, resources for publication were not available at the time and the results of these important excavations were made accessible only in brief summaries in archaeological journals





Figure 8.6: *Sheffield Manor Lodge*. This is the name by which the Tudor hunting lodge has come to be known locally. The photograph on the left is of the late 16th-century Turret House, which was probably a banqueting house with a viewing platform on the roof affording extensive views of the park; to the rear is mid-20th century social housing which grew up around the lodge in the post-War period. The photograph on the right is of part of the range of buildings on the south side of the inner courtyard. Photographed in 2013, © Dave Pickersgill and licensed for reuse under a CC BY-SA 2.0 licence; <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3465199>; <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3465208>.



Figure 8.7: *Plan of the trenches excavated by Sheffield City Museum between 1968 and 1980*. The trenches are numbered with Roman numerals, colour-coded to indicate in which year they were excavated, which is shown on the key. University of Sheffield.

Figure 8.5 (page 258): *The Hall in the Ponds, now the Old Queen's Head public house*. Photographed in 1971 by H. Mann. With thanks to www.picturesheffield.com (s05471).

(e.g. Cherry 1972; 1973; 1974; 1977; Moorhouse 1971; 1977; 1978; Beswick 1980). In this chapter we have drawn on the archive housed by Museums Sheffield (synthesised in Hadley and Harlan 2011). An analysis of the standing fabric was commissioned in 2002 from Field Archaeology Services of York in preparation for a Heritage Lottery Fund application (Clark and Jack 2002; see Chapter 9), and between 2007 and 2009 ARCUS conducted new excavations in advance of the construction of a visitor centre and the opening of the site as a heritage attraction (McCoy 2007a; 2007b; 2009; see Chapter 9, Section: Archaeology and social enterprise in Sheffield Park). Over the following two years a University of Sheffield knowledge exchange project was directed by Dawn Hadley, in collaboration with Wessex Archaeology and the Derbyshire-based Archaeological Research Services Ltd, and this saw excavations in both the inner and outer courtyard, and a survey of the standing fabric of the long gallery (Mephram and Powell 2010; Burgess *et al.* 2011; Crewe and Askew 2012). In the following discussion, we present the first published account of the archaeological evidence for the hunting lodge during the medieval and early post-medieval periods, which helps to place the long-term history of the castle in its contemporary context. We trace the earliest excavated phases of the lodge, examine evidence for its rebuilding and enhancement in the late 15th and 16th centuries, and chart its decline as the landscape around it saw hunting give way to industrial activities.

'A house in the Lord's Park'

As we have seen, we have written references to the deer park from the late 13th century, but documentary evidence concerning the lodge is largely confined to the period after the late 15th century, and most of the standing fabric appears to be of 16th-century date. However, excavation and buildings analysis has identified earlier phases of occupation. Excavation in the outer courtyard in 1972 and 1973 revealed a stone building at least 25m in length; its full dimensions could not be ascertained as it continued under the modern road to the south (Beswick 1974; Figure 8.8). At the north-west and north-east corners were square towers with flagged floors (4m square); a semi-circular feature of uncertain function was added to the north-west tower in a later phase (Beswick 1972a; 1972b; 1972c; 1972d; 1973a; 1973b; Bonsall 1972; Bartlett 1973; 1974). There were ephemeral traces of internal partitions (Bartlett 1974; Thorp 1974; Crewe and Askew 2012, 34–5) and drainage channels that distributed rainwater away from the towers, while external channels, another of which was excavated in 2011, may have been associated with garderobes (Bartlett 1974; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 10–12; Crewe and Askew 2012, 20, 34). It was clearly a substantial building as glass, lead and slates were recovered from the inside (Bartlett 1974). Its alignment is different from that of the surviving 16th-century buildings, which suggests that it belongs to an earlier phase of the hunting lodge, a deduction reinforced by the 15th- and 16th-century date of the pottery recovered from the backfill of the robbed-out walls (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 12; Crewe and Askew 2012, 34, 136). It has been suggested that it might have been a tower (Bartlett 1974; ICOSSE 2005, 38–9), of a type common to medieval hunting lodges, with an upper room to allow viewing of the hunt (Girouard 1978, 76–7; Rackham 1986, 26–7; Pluskowski 2007, 76). The limited range of finds recovered include deer bones and iron knives, as well as pottery, which has led to the suggestion that it was a building that fulfilled dining and kitchen activities (Bartlett 1974), consistent with the socialising offered to those who partook of the hunt.

The towers and west wall of this building had been reduced to two or three courses of stone, while the other walls had generally been reduced to robber trenches, suggesting a very careful and deliberate demolition, perhaps to recover stone for reuse at the time of the documented remodelling of the site in the late 15th or early 16th century (see below; Bartlett 1974; Beswick 1973a; 1973b; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 11; Crewe and Askew 2012, 34). In 1973 a pit (10m × 6m × 1.5m) was partially excavated in the west half of the building; it was dug into the clay subsoil and contained building debris including brick fragments (Beswick 1974). The following year a second pit (12m × 5m × 1.5m) was encountered in the east half of the building, and it was tentatively suggested that the pits may have been part of a clay-lined ornamental water feature (Beswick 1974; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 12). However, re-examination in 2011 revealed that the pits were not as large as had been conjectured in the 1970s and that the clay was natural (Crewe and Askew 2012, 35), which suggested that, as originally argued in 1973, it had been dug out for use in construction.

Figure 8.8 (page 261): *The medieval building in the outer courtyard of the hunting lodge during excavation in 1972. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.*



A partially surviving building on the eastern side of the hunting lodge complex, with walls still standing to c.1.5m in height, incorporates a timber cruck blade which has prompted speculation that it was a medieval building (Winder 1913, 112; Beswick 1980, 468; Grade II listed building, no. 1246612; Figure 8.9). Excavation in 1990 revealed that it had formerly comprised two bays with three pairs of cruck blades, but architectural fragments derived from the 16th-century phases of the lodge were reused in the walls, demonstrating that it was constructed at a later date than had long been supposed. Beneath the floor surface the remains of steps led down to an oven or kiln, adjacent to a contemporary cellar, and it was concluded that the building was probably constructed in the 18th century. Internal drainage channels and two troughs set into the west wall reflected its conversion into a stable or cowshed, probably in the 19th century, after which it was used as a garage (Merrony 1990–91). Nonetheless, the cruck building is on the same alignment as the building with corner towers in the outer courtyard, suggesting that it may have been rebuilt on the site of a medieval building (Beswick 1980, 468; Clark and Jack 2002, 22; ICOSSE 2005, 38).

In the inner courtyard, traces of clay-bonded stone footings for walls on various alignments were excavated beneath the 16th-century cross-wing of the lodge in the 1970s (Beswick 1976a; 1976b; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 15). A fragmentary wall of weathered boulders (running east–west) was the earliest feature discovered, with traces of an associated clay floor (Bartlett and Beswick 1979; Beswick 1979; 2002; Moorhouse 1977). Only the south-east corner of this building remained, along with evidence for an internal partition wall. Burnt clay in the foundation suggested the location of a fireplace, while postholes in the corners of the building indicated that there had been an above-ground timber-framed structure (Beswick 1979; 1980; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 15–16). Two further walls were found to the south, which appeared to form part of a building 5.5m wide, sealed below the sandy under-flooring of a 16th-century flagged area. Dating evidence was inconclusive, but located nearby in a disturbed area was a penny of Henry V dated to 1420–22 (Beswick 1979; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 17). This building was on a similar alignment to that of both the building with the corner towers in the outer courtyard and the cruck building, and they may all have been part of a substantial later medieval hunting lodge complex (Beswick 2002; ICOSSE 2005, 38).

In 2010, a detailed structural analysis by Wessex Archaeology revealed further evidence for an early phase of the lodge (Figure 8.10). This comprised the lower levels of the long gallery's west and north walls and





Figure 8.10: *The east face of the long gallery wall photographed from the south-east during the 2010 excavations in the inner courtyard. On the right-hand side of the photograph is part of the north courtyard wall. Wessex Archaeology.*

the north wall of the inner courtyard, which were all constructed of large sandstone blocks (Figure 8.11). Several now-blocked window and door openings in the lower west wall of the long gallery appear to belong to this phase, and suggest the locations of earlier buildings of uncertain function (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 11–12; Figure 8.12). Excavation in the inner courtyard suggested that it had contained trees and vegetation in the late medieval period, as burnt deposits related to the removal of tree roots were identified, which were overlain by levelling deposits associated with the 16th-century construction of the long gallery (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 23, 56).

Excavation has produced little medieval material culture, beyond some Coal Measures wares and a handful of pieces of painted window glass, and so it is difficult to say anything more of the nature of late medieval occupation at the lodge. Nonetheless, we have been able to show the importance of the archaeological evidence for this phase, which reveals something of the investment of earlier lords such as John Talbot in their lands in Sheffield.

Figure 8.9 (page 262): *The cruck-framed building on the east side of the inner courtyard during excavation in 1990. University of Sheffield.*

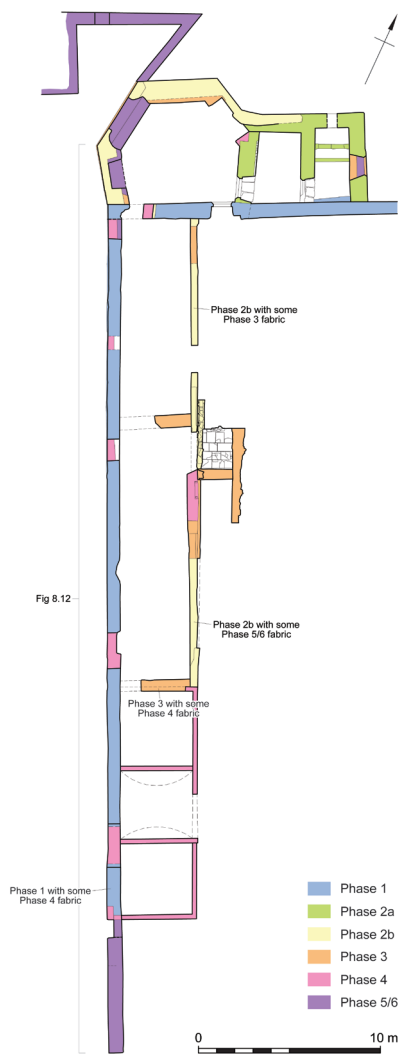


Figure 8.11: *Phased plan of the long gallery.* Wessex Archaeology.

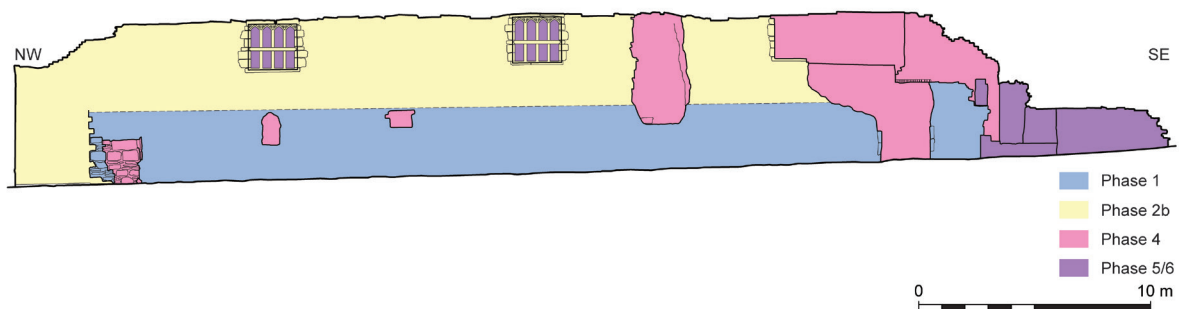


Figure 8.12: *Phased drawing of the west elevation of the inside (east-facing) wall of the long gallery.* Wessex Archaeology.

Figure 8.13 (page 265): *The 16th-century timber framing in the hunting lodge long gallery.* Photographed at the end of the 19th or beginning of the 20th century. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

'A faire house pleasantly, very scituated upon a hill'

The first detailed documentary references to the hunting lodge come from an Account Roll of 1478–80, during the lifetime of George Talbot, 4th Earl of Shrewsbury, the first of the earls to make Sheffield his principal residence (Potter and Walton 1950; ICOSSE 2005, 14). It details the rebuilding undertaken at 'a house in the Lord's Park', confirming that a building was already in existence at the lodge. This refurbishment necessitated the purchase of lathes and over 400 boards, and saw £50s. 1*d.* spent on labour, stone foundations, wood, nails and food for the workmen, as well as transporting and dressing 14 wagonloads of stone roof tiles from Shiregreen (c.7km to the north) (Hunter 1819, 49; Potter and Walton 1950, 19, 21; Beswick 1980, 468). Further work was undertaken in the early 16th century. As John Leader (1874, 43) put it, 'George ... found himself ... with a fine estate, money in hand, and a taste for building. Selecting the most elevated spot in his park [he] proceeded to change the hunting lodge of his forefathers into a mansion, covering with its courts and gardens more than four acres'. Hunter tells us that it was 'furnished in a style of magnificence corresponding to the rank of its noble inhabitant, and notes a payment of 240 crowns in 1516 for 'hangings', possibly tapestries, to be brought from Tournai (France) for use in the lodge (Hunter 1819, 49; Burgess *et al.* 2011, 3). Given the overwhelming ethos of the place, one wonders if they depicted hunting scenes (see Pluskowski 2007, 77).

The visit of the captive Cardinal Wolsey in 1530 was recorded by his gentleman usher, George Cavendish, who noted that the gallery and tower were then 'newly built'. Cavendish also reports that the long gallery was divided by a curtain ('a travers of sarcenett' – a fine, soft silk material), allowing the cardinal and the Earl their own separate space (Singer 1825, 295). The antiquarian Thomas Winder (1919, 10) identified the position of this screen from a moulded oak corbel still in place in one of the 19th-century cottages built into the Tudor ruins (Figure 8.13). In 1666 the herald and antiquarian Sir William Dugdale recorded the long gallery's armorials,



which included the Talbot arms combined with those of the 4th Earl's second wife, Elizabeth Walden of Erith (Kent), whom he married in the early 1520s, while the inclusion of the royal arms impaling those of Spain is unlikely to have occurred after the breakdown of the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, which became widely known in 1527 (Hunter 1819, 192; Leader 1874, 43). This suggests that the decorative schema recorded by Dugdale was created in the early to mid-1520s (Leader 1880, 149–50; ICOSSE 2005, 41).

The lodge was extended during the time of the 5th Earl, Francis; a letter dated 15th June (but year unknown) from his wife, Grace, Countess of Shrewsbury, informed her husband that the construction work at the lodge was going well (Batho 1971, 324). Francis died at the lodge in 1560 and was laid out in its chapel prior to his burial in the parish church (Hunter 1819, 55; Hey 2010, 28); this is the only mention of a chapel, and its location is unknown (ICOSSE 2005, 43). The lodge was substantially altered again by the 6th Earl, George, and his wife, Bess of Hardwick, who invested heavily in the buildings and surrounding landscape. There has been debate about whether these alterations were motivated by a desire to make the hunting lodge their principal residence in Sheffield (instead of the castle) or to provide a fitting residence for Mary, Queen of Scots (Clark and Jack 2002, 4); perhaps both were factors.

These documented periods of refurbishment cannot easily be related to the standing fabric and excavated remains, and it is, anyway, clear that there were multiple episodes of 16th-century construction. For example, the standing fabric of the tower at the north end of the long gallery reveals two distinct phases. First, a three-storey tower was built against, and, above, the aforementioned north wall of the inner courtyard, with new walls constructed from rubble sandstone coursing with sandstone quoins. This tower contained two rooms at ground- and first-floor levels, and scars on the west walls of the tower indicate that a timber staircase once led to a single large chamber on the second floor with a large oriel window looking north across the park, as depicted in several 18th- and early 19th-century drawings and paintings (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 12–13; Figures 8.14 and 8.15). The east room of this tower housed a garderobe, which survives as a low stone arch; a groove

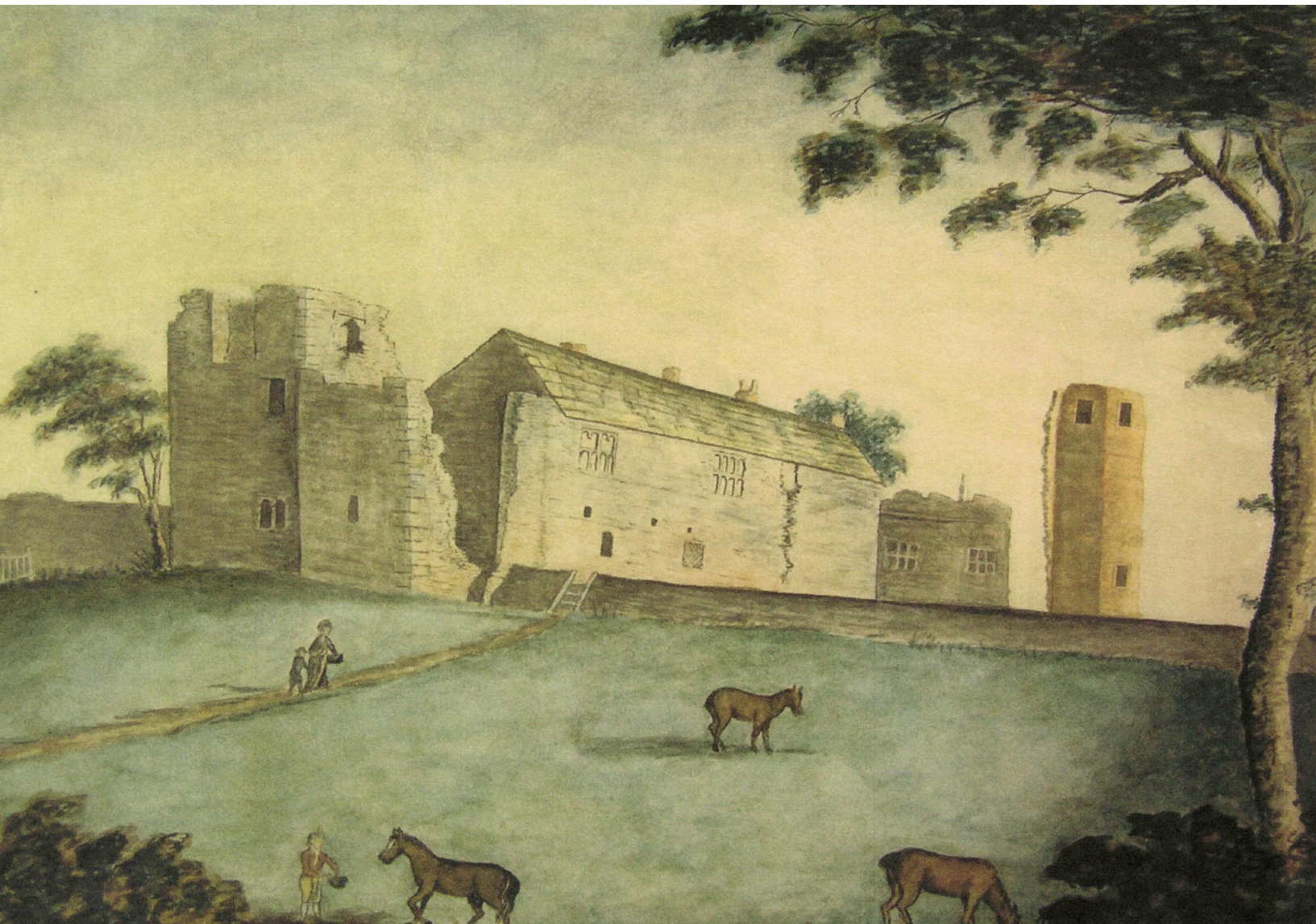




Figure 8.15: *The three-storey tower at the north end of the long gallery.* Scars on the west wall reveal the former presence of a staircase. At the rear of the photograph is the top of the fireplace in the west wall of the two-storey tower. Wessex Archaeology.

within the east and west walls at the same height indicates the former presence of a timber superstructure, and there was a drain through the north wall (Beswick 1971a; 1971b; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 7; Burgess *et al.* 2011, 12–13; Figure 8.16).

Second, a two-storey tower was built to the west of the three-storey tower, with an irregular hexagonal structure in the north-west corner (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 13; Figure 8.17). This is presumably what Cavendish meant when he records that Cardinal Wolsey's rooms were in 'a fair chamber at the end of a goodly gallery, within a new tower' (Singer 1825, 295). What has become known as Wolsey's Tower was connected at ground-floor level to the long gallery, with which it was contemporary, by a doorway through its south wall. The surviving external walls of the two-storey tower contain evidence of a now-blocked single window opening. A fireplace, with chamfered stone surround, is positioned within the south-west wall; this fireplace is absent in historic images, suggesting that it must have been added or reinstated at a later date, and there is other evidence to suggest significant amounts of rebuilding of this tower in the post-medieval period (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 13). A jamb is visible in a late 18th-century watercolour, suggesting the tower may have had a large window in the north-west wall, affording views towards the town (Beswick 2002); this may have been the window from the hunting lodge that was removed to the grounds of the home of a local cutlery magnate, Samuel Roberts, in the 1830s (Winder 1919, 9; see Chapter 9, Section: Restoration of the lodge: return to the days of the Earls of Shrewsbury).

Figure 8.14 (page 266): *Painting of the hunting lodge by D. Martin, 1791.* The two towers at the north end of the long gallery are visible on the left-hand side of the painting. Remains of the oriel window are visible on the upper floor of the three-storey tower. One of the two towers flanking the entrance into the inner courtyard is visible on the right-hand side of the painting; it collapsed during a storm in 1793. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.



Figure 8.16: *The garderobe in the three-storey tower. It takes the form of a low stone arch across the room; there was an associated timber structure and a drain leading through the north wall. Wessex Archaeology.*

The long gallery was a long (38.5m) and narrow (5m) two-storey structure (Figure 8.10). It utilised the earlier single storey boundary wall as the lower part of its west wall, and above this it was constructed of sandstone rubble coursing. At first-floor level this wall contained two stone mullioned and transomed windows; the upper four lights have four-centred arched heads with sunk shouldered spandrels, indicative of late 15th- or early 16th-century date. At the south end of the first floor the remains of a third window survive in the form of its north jamb and part of the sill. These windows would have enabled occupants of the long gallery to look out towards the entrance to the hunting lodge, across the park and towards the town, although this was critically hidden from view, thus preserving the 'sylvan' illusion. A large area of blocking to the north of the windows extends from the ground floor to the top of the wall and suggests the former position of a chimney stack or projecting wall. The east-facing elevation includes a horizontal scar at the same height as the change in stonework, which is the product of former joist holes for the first floor of the long gallery. Numerous small holes in the elevation at first-floor level are indicative of it having been wood panelled (Beswick 2002; Burgess *et al.* 2011, 13–14; Figures 8.11, 8.12).

The east side of the long gallery was constructed of a timber frame resting on stone pads, laid on a low stone wall (Winder 1919, 11; Figures 8.13, 8.18). While the last remaining timber framing was removed in the early 20th century, part of the low stone wall remains *in situ*, capped with a chamfered stone plinth. Two of the original stone pads on which the timber framing rested have been retained elsewhere on site (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 15). A trench was excavated in 2010 to investigate the foundations of this east wall, which revealed they had been cut into natural clay deposits. The ground level outside the long gallery had been raised by the deposition of sandy clay layers, seemingly in preparation for the new phase of the hunting lodge, which also involved, as noted above, clearance of vegetation in the centre of the inner courtyard (Burgess *et al.* 2011, 20).

Figure 8.17 (page 269): *The two-storey tower at the north end of the long gallery. Wessex Archaeology.*





Figure 8.18: *Remnants of the long gallery in the early 20th century.* Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

In the later 16th century, perhaps during the period of refurbishment by the 6th Earl, the southern end of the west wing was rebuilt, creating an impressive entrance with octagonal brick towers (Beswick 1980, 469; Figure 8.14). As Hey (1998, 20) notes, this is the earliest known use 'of this then prestigious material' in Sheffield. The towers stood into the 18th century, but the last one fell during a great storm of 2nd March 1793; Hunter (1819, 191) described them as 'two lofty octagonal towers about sixty feet [c.18m] apart, built of stone but cased with brick ... Between these was the principal entrance to the court, where a noble flight of steps led to the door which opened into what was called the great gallery' (Figure 8.19). Excavation between 1968 and 1970 focussed on the tower remains still visible on the surface (which turned out to be the south tower) and on locating the other one (Radley 1970; Butler 1971; Moorhouse 1971). Contrary to Hunter's claims, the towers, each c.5m in diameter, were found to be c.5m apart. The mortared stone foundations of the south tower were externally rectangular but with a circular interior, which would have housed a staircase. Traces of paving remained on the original floor level, and five stone-packed postholes outside the tower were interpreted as being from the scaffolding that would have been required during construction of the tower. The excavated remains of the north tower lay beneath destruction layers, and were different from those of the south tower, comprising three sides of a massive octagonal structure of mortared stone, with a rectangular internal form. This was consistent with the appearance of the last standing tower depicted in 18th- and 19th-century paintings and drawings of the lodge, although these show it on the south side of the entrance-way into the inner courtyard.



Figure 8.19: *Excavation in 1970 of the south tower at the entrance into the inner courtyard. Behind it is one of the storage rooms. Compare with Figure 8.14, which shows the tower before it collapsed in 1793. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.*

One flight of stone steps survived at the entrance, which was approached from across the outer courtyard by a kerbed and cobbled pathway (Beswick 2002) and led into the inner courtyard, with its fashionable gardens. Investigation of four rooms behind the south tower revealed one to have plastered walls and a window onto the inner courtyard, while another contained a well from which were recovered leather, bones, and a coin dated to the 1550s. A third room survived to over 2m in height and had two windows looking out into the inner courtyard, while a covered drain extended into the fourth room, which had traces of a newel staircase in its south-west corner (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 4–6). The lack of fireplaces suggested that these rooms were used for storage, but the fragments of mullion windows among the debris in their fills indicate that the rooms above were for higher-status accommodation (Beswick 2002; Hadley and Harlan 2011, 4–6). Just beyond the monumental entranceway excavation revealed a paved area that seems to have been a walkway round the inner courtyard. An adjacent area of clay-grouted sandstone slabs incorporated a substantial stone-built drain and a shallow gully that may have once carried a pipe; this was interpreted as a fountain (Hadley and Harlan 2011, 17; Figure 8.20).

Excavation in 2009 revealed remains of a tower at the southern end of the west range, comprising five courses of sandstone topped with an ashlar plinth, above which was a double layer of bricks. At its southern end this wall was keyed into a brick wall, which turned outwards at a 35° angle to the south-west, and then after 0.4m



Figure 8.20: *Excavations conducted in the inner courtyard in 1980 (looking south-west). Immediately behind the entrance from the outer courtyard, a possible foundation base was excavated. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.*

turned west to a similar degree. The exact nature of this angled structure is unclear – it may be a polygonal tower or an angled buttress (Mephams and Powell 2010, 13–15; Figure 8.21).

Across the centre of the inner courtyard was a range of buildings running west–east. They were not bonded to the long gallery, suggesting that they were a later addition (Figure 8.22). The room immediately south of the long gallery contained a southwards projection interpreted as a garderobe. The room to the east of this contained the remains of a substantial fireplace in its north wall, while pitched stonework on the bedrock formed an internal floor surface. Sealed beneath an 18th-century pathway were the remains of at least two further rooms to the east, which had probably been built consecutively given that their north walls were on slightly different alignments. Numerous substantial postholes excavated to the north of the cross-wing were interpreted as being either related to scaffolding used during building work or the bases of supports for unstable walls; either way, they are humble reminders of the construction work that occurred on the site. An extensive cellar complex was excavated in the eastern half of the cross-wing; it had been cut into the bedrock, walls survived up to 2m in places, and were of two distinctive forms of construction – clay-grouted, rough-cut stonework, and ashlar masonry – indicating two separate campaigns of building work. The remains of two staircases were also revealed. The cellar fill comprised moulded plaster, carved stonework and fine dressed masonry from 16th-century fireplaces and chimneys, presumably from the rooms above, suggesting that the cross-wing had provided further high-status accommodation.

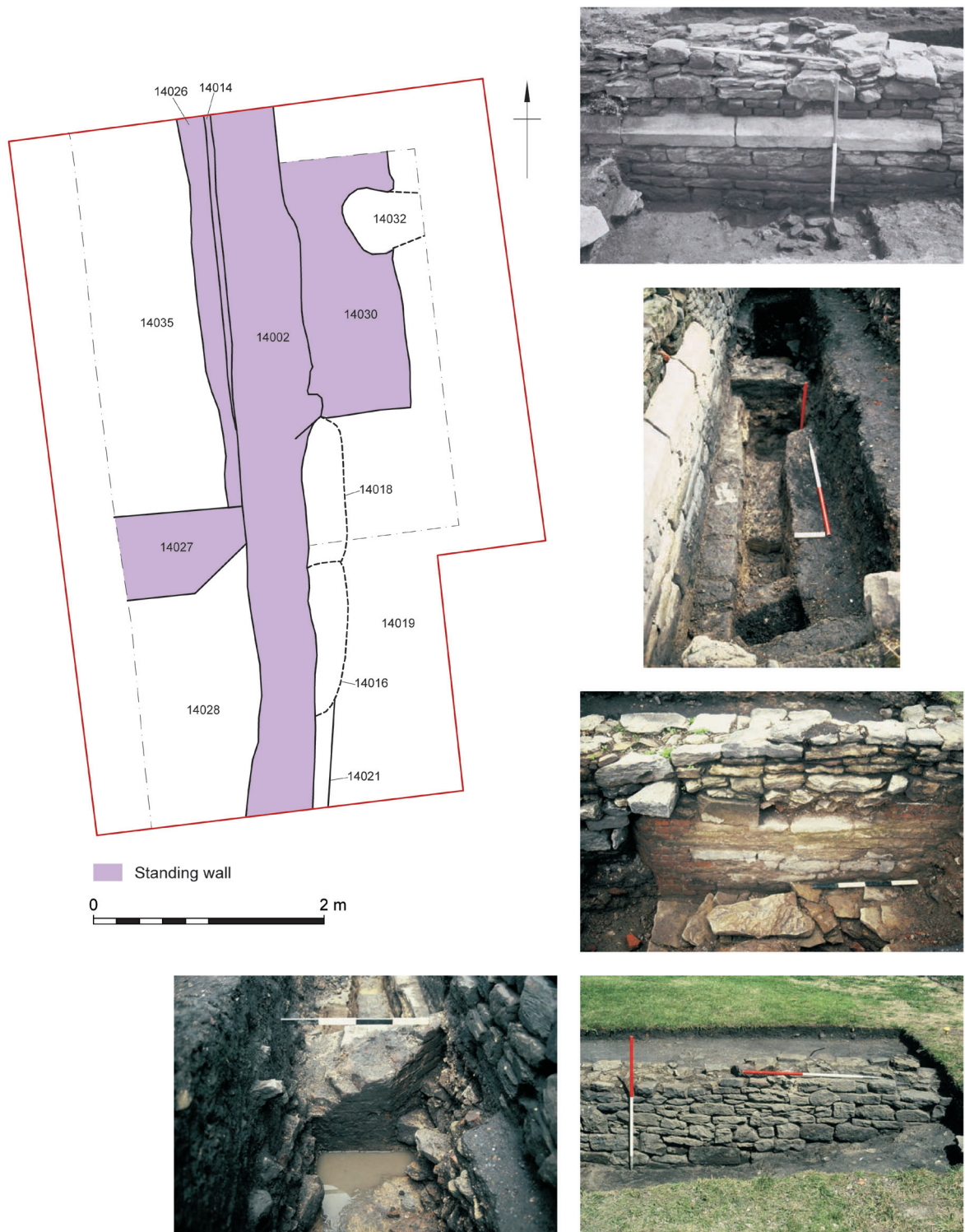


Figure 8.21: *Plan and photographs of excavations conducted in 2009. At the south end of the west side of the main hunting lodge complex were the remains of an angled tower, similar in form to the better surviving example at the north end of the long gallery. Wessex Archaeology.*



Figure 8.22: *Sections of the cross-wing of the hunting lodge.* On the left is the room closest to the long gallery, with the remains of a substantial fireplace in the north wall, and pitched stonework on the bedrock forming an internal floor surface. Top right is a room in the middle of the cross-wing which projects northwards from the range; postholes are visible on the north side of this room. On the bottom right is one of the cellared rooms of the cross-wing during excavation. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

The service range

Along the south side of the inner courtyard is a range of partially surviving service buildings (Figure 8.23). At the east end is a two-storey structure, comprising a chamber with fireplaces in the east wall at both ground- and first-floor levels, and a first-floor garderobe (Clark and Jack 2002, 19). To the west of this is a narrow two-storey building with a chimney stack, and fireplaces at ground and first floors; the finely moulded jambs suggest a late 15th- or early 16th-century date. To the west of the chimney stack are two small apartments at ground and first floor, each with fireplaces, and with a garderobe at the south-west corner. It has been proposed that these were lodgings for servants (Clark and Jack 2002, 20). At the west end of the range is a three-storey building, which may also have provided lodgings, with six rooms on each floor. Windows on the second and third floor are similar to those in the Turret House (below), suggesting a late 16th-century date for this building (Winder 1919, 14; Clark and Jack 2002, 21). The only excavations in the south range occurred in 2009 prior to the transformation of part of it into a herb garden as a feature of the new visitor attraction. Three trenches each encountered cellars of differing construction, perhaps suggesting that they were not contemporary, although all are probably of 16th-century date (Mephram and Powell 2010, 3–15; Figure 8.24). These cellars and the servants' lodgings in the upper floors, as well as the storage rooms behind the entrance into the inner courtyard, are reminders of the work required to maintain a lavish lifestyle at the hunting lodge, much of which would have been unseen by elite visitors. The lodge may have been an elite residence but its occupants traversed the social spectrum.



Figure 8.23: *The south service range photographed in the late 19th century.* It had once housed cottages for workers in the mining industry and the Norfolk Arms pub. The pub had been in the second cottage from the right; above the door are traces of its licencing information, and the hole visible higher up the wall was where the signage was formerly fixed. The roof next to the large tower had collapsed, and a first-floor fireplace is visible. The photograph has been annotated to suggest it was part of a series of postcards issued by a company called JWM and RPS; by now the former hunting lodge was becoming a local curiosity. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.

The Turret House: visitors and views

The time of the 6th Earl, George, and his wife, Bess, saw the construction of the Turret House, which seems to have served as a combined banqueting house, hunting tower and gatehouse, in a position commanding wide views of the surrounding park (Crossley 1990, 69; Beswick 2002, 1.4.3.2; Hey 2010, 32; Grade II* listed building, no. 1271283; Figure 8.6). Known by contemporaries as the ‘Tyrrett’, it is one of the few structures for which building accounts have survived, in the account book of William Dickenson, the Earl’s bailiff, dating to between 1574 and 1577 (Wigfull 1920, 191–2; ICOSSE 2005, 45–6; Sheffield Archives, Miscellaneous Documents 12). This notes the dimensions of the building and the price of the stone used in its construction by two masons, Turner and Rodes; it seems that much of the tower had been constructed by the time of this 1574 entry (ICOSSE 2005, 45–6). The building measured 54 roods, 4 yards and 1 foot, with 6 roods of doors and windows (Wigfull 1920, 191); as a linear unit, a rood measured between 5.0 and 7.3 metres; as a measurement of area it comprised 1,012m². It appears to have been surrounded by a boundary wall of capped and uncapped stones measuring 74 roods, which also used 2 roods of ‘the olde stone’, presumably taken from a nearby building (Wigfull 1920, 192).

The Turret House is a rectangular three-storey structure, with a chamfered plinth around the base, and string courses defining the first and second floors, although these, and the crenellated parapets, were reconstructed in the 19th century (Clark and Jack 2002, 10; Leader 1874, plate 4). Walls scars c.2.5m and c.4m high can be seen on the north and south elevations, respectively, suggesting that the documented enclosure wall had been substantial. Remnants of a stone jamb indicate that there was a gateway adjoining the south side of the Turret House (Clark and Jack 2002, 12). There are three chimneys on both the north and south sides of the building. Centrally located on each floor are pairs of 16th-century square-headed two-light windows, although they now incorporate 19th-century glass; they are of decreasing size higher up the elevation which enhances the impres-

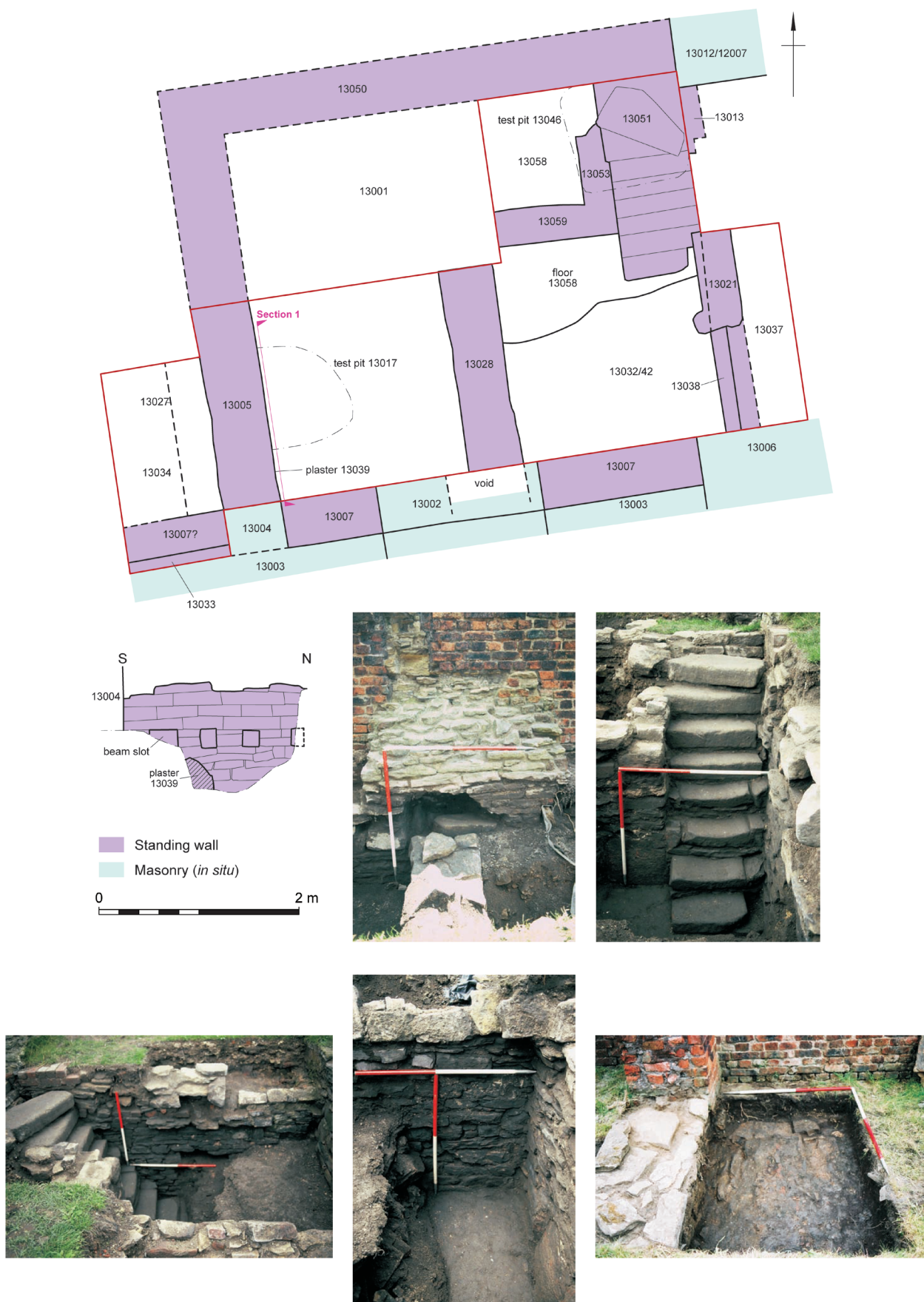


Figure 8.24: Excavations in 2009 at the west end of the service range to the south of the inner courtyard. They revealed evidence for cellars. Wessex Archaeology.

Figure 8.25 (page 277): Overmantle and ceiling on the second floor of the Turret House. Photograph taken in the early 1970s prior to modern restoration. Courtesy of Museums Sheffield.



sion of the height of the building (Clark and Jack 2002, 10). A newel staircase leading up to the roof in the north-east corner of the Turret House is illuminated by two small windows in the north elevation. The current entrance, at the north end of the east elevation, is a 19th-century reconstruction, when a small vestibule was added; an original blocked doorway is located at the south end (Clark and Jack 2002, 12). Each floor is divided into two chambers, and while an original arrangement, the doorways were replaced in the 19th century, when a narrow corridor running through the northern chamber of the first floor was also constructed. On the first floor, the southern chamber contains a 16th-century plaster ceiling of geometric design. The plaster overmantel of the fireplace in the southern chamber of the second floor is decorated with the coat of arms of the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, George Talbot, and two inscriptions in Old French reading HONY SUIT OVI MAL Y PENSE ('Evil be to him who evil thinks') and PREST D'ACCOMPLIR ('Ready to accomplish') (Figure 8.25). The ceiling of this room is richly decorated with similar motifs intertwined with vines, thistles and roses (Clark and Jack 2002, 14).

This building has come to be associated with Mary, Queen of Scots – and was being shown off to visitors as housing her chambers in the 19th century (Leader 1872, 364; 1874, 49), consistent with tendencies elsewhere to associate historic buildings with elite figures (e.g. Swallow 2019, 173). The Turret House is, however, more likely to have been used as a place for guests to enjoy the hunt, perhaps from the roof, and for banqueting, in both senses consuming the 'wild' world over which they claimed to exercise command (Collinson 1987, 2; Clark and Jack 2002, 4; Moorhouse 2007, 117–19). The location of the Turret House adjacent to the entrance to the lodge reinforces its role in providing views of the seigneurial landscape as well as approaching visitors coming from the direction of the castle and the town; it was also a visible symbol of the lord's status.

The captivity of Mary, Queen of Scots

Between 1570 and 1584, the hunting lodge and castle were used for the incarceration of Mary, Queen of Scots, much to the 6th Earl's increasing distress (Hey 2010, 32). Patrick Collinson (1987, 2, 13) has suggested that the proximity of two such 'habitable' houses was one of the main reasons for Mary's 'long residence' in Sheffield, the others being its distance from the sea, the Earl's great wealth, and the fact that he was a Protestant, 'but only just'. However, the lodge was not the preferred choice of prison, with Mary initially using it only occasionally while the castle was being cleansed, as the castle was deemed to be safer. Indeed, her removal to the lodge with its comparatively weaker security was the source of some consternation at court, with the Earl's son, Gilbert, having to provide reassurance in 1573 that the Queen was so securely guarded that, 'unless she could transform herself to a flea or a mouse, it was impossible that she should escape' (Lodge 1838, 19; Leader 1880, 290). Nonetheless, her presence at the lodge is recorded not only in spring 1573 but also April and September 1574, March 1576, January to July 1577, June 1578, October to November 1578, June, September and October 1578, May and September 1580, January 1581 and September 1582 (Leader 1874, 46–9; Batho 1971, 95, 364; Templeman 2016, 101–103, 132). The added burdens of hosting a separate household, and a royal one at that, – Collinson (1987, 19) argues that, apart from the royal court, this was 'the largest (joint) household in England at the time' – compounded more mundane inconveniences, such as those recorded in a letter dated 14th August 1580 from William Dickenson to the Earl documenting the repair of floors and windows at the lodge as well as the catching of rats within the building (Jamison and Bill 1966, 150). In addition to these tribulations, the Earl also had to deal with robbery. A letter dated 8th December 1577 to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, a long-standing adviser to Queen Elizabeth, documents how thieves broke a window in the Earl's study at the lodge and stole plate worth between two and three hundred pounds. Given the conspicuous nature of their haul, it is unsurprising the thieves were quickly apprehended and the goods retrieved, one of the culprits being subsequently identified as a former, presumably disgruntled, servant (Birch 1874, 319; Batho 1971, 376).

An inventory made during Mary's incarceration in 1582, now preserved among the Talbot Papers in Lambeth Palace, lists many of the rooms in the lodge and their contents (LPL, MS 3198, fol. 150; Leader 1872; 1874, 44–5; Tucker 1874, 251–63). It reveals that the lodge contained all the buildings necessary for the maintenance of a household of the Earl's standing, with rooms specifically set aside for the Queen – a hall, great chamber, Queen's chamber, tower chamber, lord's chamber, Queen's gallery, Queen's 'utter' chamber, nursery, garden gallery, stables, chamber over the stables, porter's lodge, lord's kitchen and larder, Queen's kitchen and larder, bakehouse, wash-house, salting house, brewhouse, pantry, saddler's chamber, and workmen's chamber (Leader 1872, 370). Several other rooms mentioned in this account – not least the individual chambers of the Queen's servants – cannot be securely attributed specifically to the lodge rather than the castle, which is also included in

the inventory. In Chapter 6, we discussed some of the furnishings recorded in this inventory, but these too cannot be assigned specifically to the lodge or castle and were probably moved between them according to where the elite household was based. Other objects, however, were more permanent, such as the corded bedstead in the lodge's tower chamber and a carved press (Tucker 1874, 256). The inventory also provides an insight into more mundane aspects of the Earl's household; for example, in the lodge's nursery was a chest made for his young son Francis Talbot, with bone inlays of Talbot arms and the initials F.S., although the chest was in poor condition, having been roughly treated by the room's occupants (Leader 1872, 368; Tucker 1874, 257). And then there is the complete alchemical set, including tin stills, alembic and serpentine, and glasses (Leader 1872, 369), a material pointer to an interest in, and practice of, science in this world of the hunt. Gilbert Talbot, the 7th Earl, was one of the patrons of William Gilbert author of *De Magnete* (1600), a treatise which 'demonstrated that the Earth was a magnet, ... drew out navigational applications ... [and] argued that terrestrial magnetism rotated the Earth in Copernican orbits' (Pumfrey and Dawbarn 2004, 165–6). This interest in science was passed on to Gilbert's daughter Alethea (born in Sheffield in 1585), who later (1655) published *Natura Exenterata: or Nature Unbowelled* one of the 'first printed books of technical and scientific material in England to be attributed to women' (Hunter 1997, 89). Interestingly, Lynette Hunter (1997, 100) argues that, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, women were among those who were 'buying the books of household and alchemical secrets, and turning them to commercial uses', especially in medicine.

The 16th-century pottery from excavations at the lodge has largely been found in residual contexts and cannot in any case easily be distinguished from that of the 17th century. Nonetheless, it is still possible to deduce that the material is dominated by Cistercian ware and Blackwares, and so the lodge appears to have been supplied with similar ranges of pottery, and from the same range of kilns, as the castle. Some more exotic and high-status ceramic items of 16th-century date were, however, recovered from the lodge, including 25 majolica tiles and a few fragments of continental stove tile (Beswick 2002, 2.3). There is a glass 'linen smoother' of probable 16th-century date, of a type usually assumed to have been used for ironing cloth and other fabrics, although the small size of this example suggests it could have been used for finer materials (Mephram and Powell 2010, 31).

While the marriage of George Talbot to Bess of Hardwick was originally affectionate, the strain of acting as jailor to Mary, Queen of Scots and other contributing factors led to its demise, and letters from the time reveal various details about the hunting lodge, including those arising from the first documented serious disagreement between George and Bess in 1577 over work there (Lovell 2005, 268–71). The Earl's Keeper of the Wardrobe, John Dickenson, refused lodging to workers commissioned by Bess to repair the lodge's many textiles, including furniture and tapestries, probably due to strict instructions from Elizabeth I's court regarding persons allowed to have access to the same house as the Scottish Queen. The Earl, although absent, supported Dickenson's decision and, according to Bess, who was then in Sheffield, communicated his displeasure to her in the strongest of terms. Bess took affront, stating that 'she truly thought that your Lordship [was] gladder of her absence than her presence' and departed Sheffield for her house at Chatsworth, which she had inherited through her second marriage to Sir William Cavendish: a visible slight to the Earl, which he took badly (Folger X.d.428 (111); Lovell 2005, 270). The breakdown of the marriage led to similar ructions between the Earl and his sons Gilbert, Henry and Edward, with the former stating that he 'must either forsake [the Earl], or hate his wife [Bess's daughter]' (Lodge 1838, 244; Leader 1880, 587). To try to appease them, articles were drawn up to divide the Earl's estates between the sons, with the father retaining the land and property, Handsworth and Sheffield, including the lodge. The fact that the 6th Earl was willing to part with lands in many counties, including Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire, yet retain those around Sheffield is indicative of the wealth held in the park, town and its environs (Batho 1971, 136). From these written accounts, we can also appreciate the buildings at the lodge not just as structures to be dated and phased archaeologically but as places of lives lived and focal to both harmonious living and interpersonal disputes. The Turret House is similar in style to the hunting tower at Chatsworth, which Mary will also have seen, and both were probably designed by the great Elizabethan architect Robert Smythson, who went on to design a new hall for Bess at Hardwick (Derbs; Hey 2010, 32).

The animals of the park

Parks typically contained not only deer but also rabbits, hares, wild boar, pigs, game birds, cattle, sheep and fish (Rotherham 2007b, 83–5; Moorhouse 2007, 114–22; Pluskowski 2007, 66–8), and it required extensive management to maintain the diverse (and sometimes conflicting) ecological preferences of these faunal resources. As a very large aristocratic park, it is not surprising to discover that Sheffield park contained a similarly wide array

of resources. Our written sources, again not surprisingly, confirm that it was a source of venison. For example, a letter from Francis Talbot, 5th Earl of Shrewsbury, records the supply of bucks from the park to the court of Henry VIII in 1541 (Hunter 1819, 55), while in the early 17th century the 7th Earl, Gilbert, had bucks driven to an area near the town where all the parish butchers were allowed to kill as many as they were able; Hunter (1819, 189) wondered if this was the origin of the 'Cutler's venison feast', given by the newly elected Master Cutler on the first Thursday and Friday in September. However, it is the animal bone evidence from excavations undertaken between 1971 and 1974 that provides the real insights, especially into the changing 'role' of deer in the park. These bones were studied by Mark Maltby (1980) and are one of the few categories of material recovered from the earlier excavations to be fully analysed. In particular, Maltby was able to study 16th- and 17th-century deposits from features excavated within the aforementioned building in the outer courtyard. The remains of cattle and sheep, many showing signs of butchery, comprised between c.70 and 80% of the assemblage according to number of fragments, which does tend to privilege identification of larger animals. While a high percentage of the deer bones from 16th-century deposits were hind limb fragments, representing the highest-status meat cut, and typical of a high-status residence, fallow and red deer represented only between 8% and 20% of the mammal fragments. It is the comparative paucity of deer bones, even in a deer park, in the 1971–74 assemblage that potentially gives us the most significant insights into both the 'economy' of Sheffield park and into changing perceptions of the deer within it.

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the earliest fallow deer in medieval England are likely to have been 'trophy animals', exotics in menageries. Over the course of the Middle Ages, the numbers of deer, and deer parks, increased, and the higher percentage of sub-adults in faunal assemblages suggests that parks had become 'farms for the production of venison' (Sykes *et al.* 2016, 123). As Jean Birrell (1992, 113) pointed out, some of this meat might have been for elite household consumption, but it would also have featured in feasts when guests were entertained, and there are many records of it being gifted to mark, and reproduce, social relationships – the importance of feasts and gifts, she concludes, 'should not be underestimated in a society where largess and patronage were crucial attributes of lordship' (see above for the supply of Sheffield deer to the court of Henry VIII). By the end of the Middle Ages, however, the 'place' of deer in deer parks seems to have shifted away from this 'mass-produced' social currency and returned to something like the 'menagerie-style management' seen several centuries before. Written records from the 15th century onwards point to a rise in the number of cattle being grazed in parks, while the later assemblages of deer bones demonstrate a 'return to the maintenance of older animals' (Bowen 2013, 205–6; Sykes *et al.* 2016, 124; Pluskowski 2007, 67) – tendencies which might also find expression in ratio of deer to cattle and sheep in the faunal assemblage from Sheffield park.

Within the same faunal assemblage, other domestic animals – pig and dog – were poorly represented, and other wild animals – roe deer, rabbit and pine marten – were found only in very small numbers. Domestic fowl predominated among the bird bones, although a number of game birds were also identified, such as woodcock. More recent excavations have not identified faunal deposits that can be securely dated to the period when the site was in use as a hunting lodge, although the deer bones, grouse and partridge recovered from mixed deposits in 2009 may date to the 16th or 17th centuries (Mephram and Powell 2010, 36). Other sources of evidence confirm the diversity of animal species in the park. The area to the north of the lodge was known as the Warren, suggesting the management of rabbits or hares. If rabbits, it would have involved the construction of an artificial warren, which elsewhere have been shown to have varied greatly in size, and an enclosed area to contain the rabbits (Williamson 2007; Moorhouse 2007, 113; but see Sykes 2007 for 'rabbiting as a distinctly low activity'). However, since the term 'coneyger' was more typically used for rabbits, here 'warren' might well refer to hares, which shelter in shallow depressions and were left to roam more widely (Pluskowski 2007, 67–8). Indeed, in 1578 six local men were prosecuted for 'huntinge the hare within my Lordes Parke'. The 1441–42 Account Rolls note that 2s. 10d. was raised by pannaging pigs within the park boundaries (Thomas 1920–24, 156). The presence of cattle is revealed by references to a dairy, and in 1441 a substantial sum was paid to repair its walls (Thomas 1920–24, 158). During the same period, Master John Talbot's foals were housed in the park over the winter, with Isabella Bailly paid 2s. 8d. for feeding them (Thomas 1920–24, 157). There were also fishponds on the western edge of the park (Jones 2009, 4). A Dog Kennel Lane ran south-east from the hunting lodge on 19th-century maps (May 2008, 11), one of many dog-related place names associated with deer parks in Yorkshire (see Moorhouse 2007, 115–17).

The landscape and woodland resources

The landscape of a medieval deer park was varied, containing areas of wood pasture, heaths, moors and commons, with an array of species of trees, used for fuel, timber, fodder for the animals it contained (Rotherham 2007b, 85–7) and the construction of buildings, ships, gates, palings and stiles (Thomas 1920–24, 143, 157; Scurfield 1986, 157; Moorhouse 2007, 111–12). Some of the species growing in Sheffield park are recorded in 17th-century accounts. Harrison, for example, tells us that in 1637 it was ‘very well adorn’d with great store of very Stately Timber’ (Ronsley 1908, 3), while in 1664 John Evelyn marvelled at the number, size and value of the great oaks then to be found in Sheffield park. His *Silva: Or a Discourse of Forest-Trees and the Propagation of Timber* was designed to encourage landowners to plant trees to service the English navy:

In Sheffield-Park, An. 1646, stood above one hundred Trees worth a thousand Pounds ... In the same Park, two Years since, Mr. Sittwell. with Jo. Magson, did choose a Tree, which after it was cut, and laid aside flat upon a level Ground, Sam. Staniforth, a Keeper, and Edw. Morphy, both on horseback, could not see over the tree one anothers Hat-crowns ... In the same Park, near the old Ford, is an Oak-tree yet standing, of ten Yards Circumference (Evelyn 1729, 201).

In 1699 Richard Richmond, who leased 477 acres of the park, was committed to ‘plant or sett or cause to be planted or sett three oakes ashes or elmes upon every acres length of fences and walls’ (Scurfield 1986, 153–4). Much of the park’s woodland was managed. Harrison’s 1637 survey tells us, for example, that the greatest part of the area known as Morton Banke, to the south of the Ponds, was spring wood; in other words, it was coppiced (Ronsley 1908, 51). In the 19th century there was still a local memory of an avenue of walnut trees running from the park gate near the Sheaf to the main entrance to the hunting lodge (Hunter 1819, 7; Leader 1880, 147), and fields to the west of the lodge were then known as Great and Little Walnuts (May 2008, 10). It is possible that this tree-lined avenue (if not the walnut trees themselves) is captured running ‘uphill’ through the Park, and away from the castle site, on Thomas Oughtibridge’s (1737) *North Perspective View of the Town of Sheffield* (Figure 8.26). The ‘blackened trunks’ of some of these trees survived into the early 20th century (Winder 1904, 44).

Evergreen holly was a source of year-round fodder, and Richard Richmond had ‘liberty to fell all hollins [holly], except the hollins upon Stonehurst’, on the park’s boundary with Gleadless Moor (c.1.6km south-west of the lodge) (Scurfield 1986, 154; also Jones 2013, 32–3). Trees in the park were also a source of fuel (Hunter 1819, 7; Scurfield 1986, 154, 157). A surviving Account Roll running for a year from 29th September 1441 provides a detailed record by the park keeper, Geoffrey Botery, which notes that he was paid 10*d.* a day to carry fuel and charcoal (primarily from oak and ash) by ox and cart from the park to the castle to prepare for the arrival of Christopher Talbot, son of the 1st Earl of Shrewsbury Sir John Talbot (Thomas 1920–24, 67, 143). Other natural resources within the park were mud used for plumbing and tiles, while ‘Walstone’ was transported by Botery to repair the castle’s stable and grangehouse, as well as Goldsmytheplace, a house in Sheffield’s market place (Thomas 1920–24, 157; see Chapter 6, Section: Domestic and personal items). Stone and wood were provided for repairing the corn and fulling mills, it was the source of wood for carpenters repairing Deyhouse house at Roueley, and cinder was sold at 6*d.* a stone to dyers in Chesterfield (Derbs), while improvements to Sheffield Castle in 1446 required stone and cinder from the park to improve a path leading across the courtyard from the Great Gate to the hall (see also Chapter 7). Around the same time, 60 oaks within the park were felled for use in the rebuilding of the old tower, John Hanson receiving 5*s.* 6*d.* for undertaking the task (Thomas 1920–24, 69, 71, 355, 357).

In 1441, a number of pastures in the park were already being rented out to tenants for substantial sums. For example, Gopelypasture was rented by William Kilton for 53*s.* 4*d.* *per annum* (Thomas 1920–24, 155), and other pastures mentioned by the mid-15th-century Account Rolls include Roule, Myddelstubbynge, Rouleleys, Middlepasture, Bienlonde, Smytheclos, Great Stubbynge, Walkemullekerre, Neuparke, Backehouseyorde, Coltclos, Juterelle and Bruggende, so named as it lay near the bridge leading to the castle (Thomas 1920–24, 155–6). However, pastures were not let on a permanent basis; for example, Langalte, which would normally have an income of 30*s.*, had been reserved in 1441 for feeding the Earl’s deer, and thus produced no income, as was the case with Blakewell and Loggeclos (Thomas 1920–24, 155). The locations of many of the fields are now unknown, although some are mentioned by Harrison and can be identified using later maps, which reveal that Roule and Rouleleys were in the west of the park adjacent to the River Sheaf. Bienlonde may have been

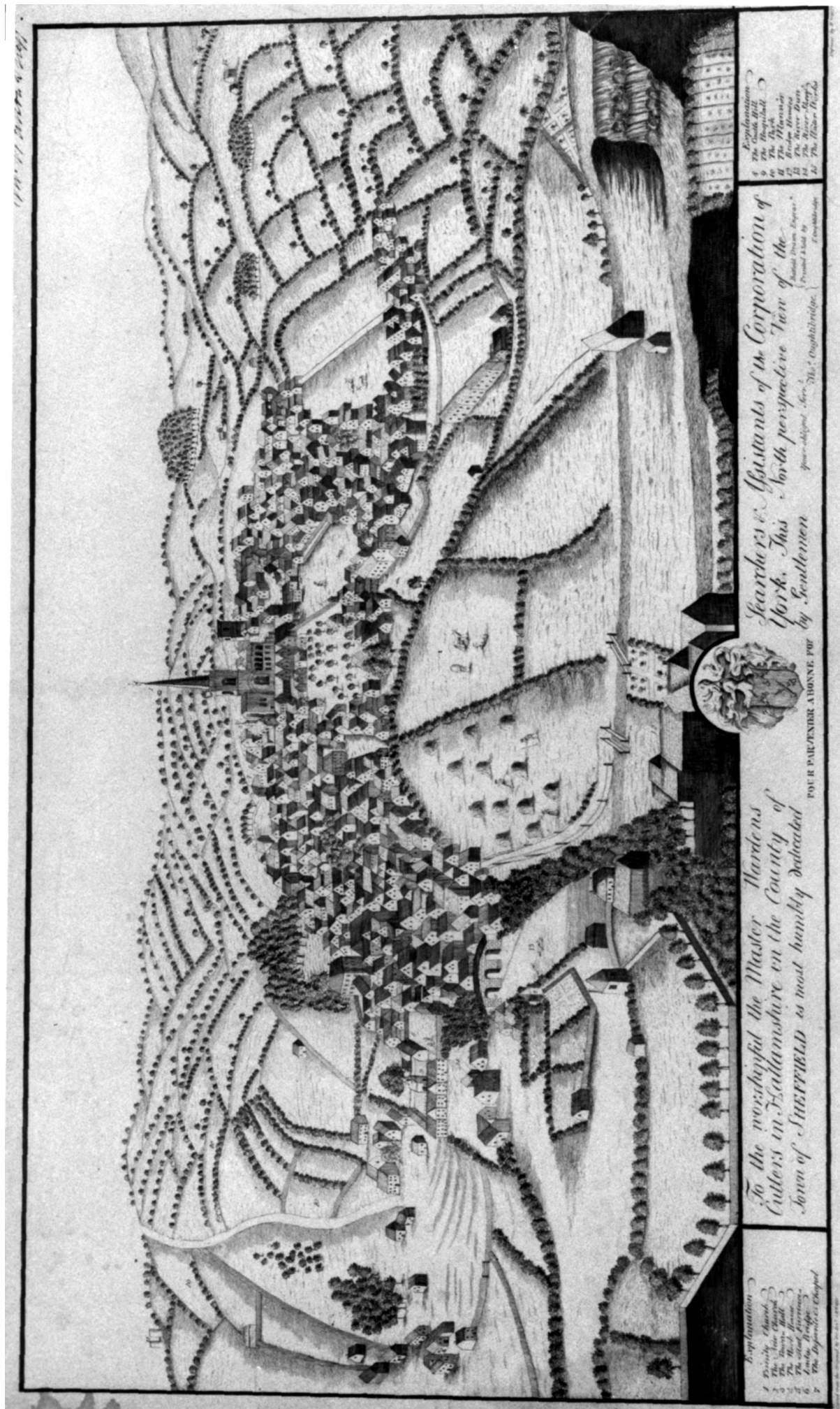


Figure 8.26: *The North Perspective View of the Town of Sheffield*. On this depiction of Sheffield by Thomas Oughtibridge from 1737, Lady's Bridge is no.6, the bowling green can be seen on Castle Hill (no.8) and across the Sheaf is the hospital (no.9). The hunting lodge can be seen on the hilltop on the left-hand side. Reproduced with permission from Sheffield City Council.

incorporated into the Londs, immediately to the north of the lodge; Londs may derive from *laund*, which, as we have seen, refers to a treeless grassy area (Scurfield 1986, 152; Jones 2009, 5). In total, park rentals for 1441–42 totalled £22 6s. 8d., a not inconsiderable sum at the time, although not all the income from the park went to the lord; in 1442–43 a tithe of pannage, meadows and pastures ‘both within the Park as well as without’ was paid to the vicar of Sheffield, an income that amounted to 5s. 6d. (Thomas 1920–24, 156, 235). The importance of the park as a source of revenue, and its comparative lack of agriculture, can be seen within the 1637 survey; compared to other areas of Sheffield, there were few subdivisions within the park, despite 971 acres having been let (Scurfield 1986, 164). However, over the course of the later 17th century, much of the park was broken up into tenant farms. A 1663 letter to the agent for the estate recorded that the Duke of Norfolk had been ‘Farming out Shefeild Parke into severall farmes’, while in 1707 the vicar of Sheffield wrote in a letter that the hunting lodge had become ‘ruinous and naked, by disparking as much ground about it’ (Hey 1991, 21–2; Hunter 1819, 7). As we will see, this ‘dissparking’ affected social relationships as well as the physical fabric of the lodge and the park.

Industry in the park

As John Harrison noted in 1637, ‘if you look into ye bowels of this Parke, you will find ye inside correspondent to the outside, being stored with very good coales and Iron stone in abundance’ (Ronksley 1908, 3; Scurfield 1986, 153; and Moorhouse 2007, 123 for the Yorkshire Coal Measures more generally). As the 1441 Account Rolls show, coal was being exploited in the park from at least the mid-15th century, with William Hynes paying 20s. for the area known as Colputtes, while another mine, le stobbynge, was then said to be vacant (Thomas 1920–24, 143). In 1579 a single deep pit was in operation in the park, and might well have been of some antiquity as it was in need of repair; the dangers of gas prevented work in the mine for much of the year, and new shafts had to be dug (Stone 1950, 98). The remedial work clearly paid off, because from July 1579 to December 1582 between 1,200 and 1,300 tons of coal were taken from Sheffield Park Colliery, the largest coal output in Sheffield during this period (Stone 1950; 1965, 341; Medlicott 1983, 51; Scurfield 1986, 168). Further coal mines were sunk across the park as the Talbot family patronised the Sheffield cutlery trade – demonstrated by the presentation to William Cecil of a case of knives in 1590 by the 6th Earl, ‘being such fruits as my country affordeth with fame throughout this realm’ (Lodge 1838, 389; Hey 2010, 32). Nonetheless, in the 16th century there were only ever a handful of miners recorded as working in the park, supported by casual labourers, and the market for their output was largely restricted to the town (Stone 1950, 99; 1965, 341). The records reveal many occasions when the mines were not in operation, either due to the miners participating in festivities or otherwise being absent, perhaps engaged in other forms of work (Stone 1950, 102). Mining may have had only a limited impact on the landscape of the park, as contemporary records reveal that the pitheads comprised a portable thatched hut (Stone 1950, 99). Remains of beehive-shaped pits were recorded at the northern end of the park at Woodbourn in 1934 and identified as being medieval, although they may have been early post-medieval (May 2008, 18).

Lawrence Stone (1950, 104–5) stressed the ‘modesty of ... scale and simplicity of ... operations’ of the Earl of Shrewsbury’s mine in Sheffield Park, and has referred to its use of ‘exceptionally out of date methods’. However, he dispelled the assumption that this is all one might expect from a member of the old aristocracy by pointing to the fact that his lead-mining activities were on a large scale, and suggests that his servants would have had ‘at least a nodding acquaintance with new techniques of drainage and administration’ (Stone 1950, 105). Stone might have gone further. George Talbot was one of the wealthiest men of his age and has been described as its ‘leading aristocratic industrialist’ (Stone 1965, 382). Francis Bacon was probably thinking of him when he spoke of a nobleman of his acquaintance who was ‘a great grazier, ... a great timber man, a great collier ... a great lead-man and so of iron’ (Stone 1965, 375; Goldring 2015, 3) – but it seems that, within his park, between his two Sheffield residences, coal production at least was limited. Like the town of Sheffield itself, collieries were not among landscape elements deemed to enhance lordship.

Absentee lords and new priorities

After the death of the 6th Earl in 1590, his son, Gilbert, continued to make alterations to the lodge, as noted in a letter of 1594 from Richard Mason concerning warrants and payments for workmen, plaster and stone to

carry out work there (ICOSSE 2005, 60). However, Gilbert's death in 1616, followed only a year later by that of his younger brother Edward, saw the Talbot estates shared between Gilbert's three daughters. The manor of Sheffield descended through his youngest daughter, Alethea (whom we have already met), to the Earls of Arundel and Surrey, later Dukes of Norfolk. The town's new lords were largely absentee – Hunter suggesting that Sheffield could not 'vie with Arundel' (Sussex) – but for at least another 50 years the lodge was maintained for periodic use. The pottery evidence confirms continued occupation. The range of wares is similar to that from the castle, being dominated by Cistercian ware and Blackwares, with few traces of imported pottery (Beswick 2002, appendix 1; Mephram and Powell 2010, 15–28; Burgess *et al.* 2011, 24–38; Crewe and Askew 2012, 24–8), although there were more sherds of Tin Glazed Earthenware, which was the first European pottery to offer any sort of competition to imported Chinese porcelain (Mephram and Powell 2010, 19; also Gaimster and Nenck 1997, 175–6). There are rather more glass vessels from the 16th and 17th centuries than from the 15th (although the limited nature of the assemblage means that we probably should not read too much into that), and domestically produced types include pedestal beakers, bowls and flasks. Higher-status items include the stem from a very early lead crystal wine glass of the late 17th century (Mephram and Powell 2010, 29–31), imported Venetian *vetro a retorti* and *fili* goblets, *façon de Venise* tablewares from Antwerp (Belgium), and an extremely rare diamond-point engraved bowl, quite possibly from the Antwerp workshop of Giacomo Verzelini (Beswick 2002, 2.9). Seventeenth-century wine bottles were found in the cellars of the cross-wing (Beswick 2002, 1.4.3.5).

Bills from 1632 demonstrate that the lodge's steward was still active, and a staff of servants and labourers must have been employed, as alms were dispersed to the poor, coaches maintained, and a blind harpist hired to entertain the lord of the manor on one of his rare trips north, while beer brewed at the lodge was sent to his household in London. The 'bull-beters' paid £1 may have provided their 'entertainment' at the Bull Stake, situated close to the castle. A delivery of '6 quarts [6.8 litres] of sherry sack, 5 quarts of white wine, 1 gallon of vinegar, 3 ounces of cloves and mace, 2 oz. of nutmegs, 1lb of sugar, & 1lb of currants, [and] 1 oz of cinnamon' on 23rd September 1633 shows that the lodge was still the base for fine eating and drinking (Hunter 1819, 102) – no doubt from some of the vessels recovered during excavation, and courtesy of England's far-flung imperial possessions. Hunter (1819, 102) records that in August 1636 Lord Maltravers (Henry Howard, the future 22nd Earl of Arundel and Surrey; see Chapter 9) was at 'the Manour', and that 'at the great leet,²⁸ 1 quart of sherry, and 1 pint of canare, 1 bottle of claret and 1 quart of white wine with sugar' were consumed.

The garden was being maintained, as demonstrated by a gardener's bill of 1633 for 'seeds sowne at the Maner' (Hunter 1819, 102; Addy 1893, 164–7). Repairs were carried out at the lodge in 1644, including pointing, plastering, glazing and plumbing (Winder 1919, 18), and during the demolition of the castle in the late 1640s wood and lead were sent to the hunting lodge presumably for building or repair work (Askew 2017, 196–7). When Sir William Dugdale visited in 1666 he recorded heraldic devices in the windows, which show that the long gallery, at least, was in a good state of repair, although he also noted that the rooms at the lodge were half deserted.

Hunter (1819, 49) tells us that when the castle had been 'dismantled and destroyed' after the Civil War, its archives were removed to the lodge. Some may, in fact, have been transferred earlier, as we have a record from 1644 of the payment of £0 3s. 2d. 'for packinge and cayringe 4 packes of writings from castle to the manner' (Hunter 1819, 103); Walter Hall (1926, xiv) suggests Lord Maltravers may have ordered them to be moved away from the risk of 'fire and sword' to the comparative safety of the hunting lodge. The archives remained there for several years, 'exposed to much injury from wet, and from the depredations of mice, those tiny but potent foes of antiquarianism'. In 1671, the antiquarian Nathaniel Johnston visited the lodge to consult these records, bemoaning the conditions in which they were being kept, and used them to write his lives of the Earls of Shrewsbury between 1692 and 1694, although these were never published (Hunter 1819, 116; Martin 1956, 22).²⁹ The lodge was clearly the hub for the remaining operations of the lords of the manor,

²⁸ In the introduction to his survey, Harrison tells us that 'Within this Mannor is kept a Court Barron once every three weekes & a Court Leet twice every yeare, whereof ye Chiefest Court is kept upon every Easter Tuesday (which is there called Sembly Tuesday)' (Ronsley 1908, 2).

²⁹ The papers were subsequently acquired by various archives, including the College of Arms (LPL MSS 3192–3206), Lambeth Palace Library (LPL MSS 694–710), Sheffield Archives (Bacon Frank Collection) and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC (Cavendish–Talbot Collection), and collectively form one of the best records of a 16th- and 17th-century noble household at the height of its powers.

now elevated as Dukes of Norfolk, in Sheffield, but the fact that at least some of it was open to the elements, and the estate records were no longer cared for, speaks of a slippage into decay. As late as 1672 21 hearths were taxed at the lodge but by the early 18th century it was no longer required as a residence for the dukes (Hey 2005, 57; 2010, 57). In 1708 Thomas Howard, 8th Duke of Norfolk, received consent from Parliament to demolish the lodge, although, as we will see in Chapter 9, parts of it remained standing and were used for industrial activities.

As the 17th century progressed, new coal mines had been constructed in the park, including one at 'Parke hill topp' in 1636 (Hunter 1819, 103). Coal was becoming increasingly profitable for the dukes. According to Harrison, in 1637 'Coalpits' on the Heeley side of the park 'yeildeth great profit unto the Lord' (Ronksley 1908, 51), while in 1642 Francis More paid £200 to lease 'colepitts in Sheffield Parke' from the duke (Scurfield 1986, 168; Jones 2009, 5). More also provided coal for the lodge, castle and kilns in Sheffield (Scurfield 1986, 154–7, 168). The coal mines created a demand for 'punch-wood' as support timber; the lessee of coal mines in the park had an allowance there 'for punch-wood' (Scurfield 1986, 157; also Stone 1950, 102–3).

On the other hand, it might be that the related processes of industrialisation and 'disparking' rendered the park, and so the lodge, less congenial to the Talbots – and then the Howards – contributing to the decision to move away, first to Worksop (Notts) and ultimately to Arundel (Hey 2010, 57). Joseph Hunter (1819, 191) captured this transformation in what he admits is a lament for a time – one populated by 'the chieftain of the age of the eighth Henry', 'the fallen Wolsey', and '[Mary] the victim of the lawless power of Elizabeth' – 'when a state of society existed at Sheffield essentially different from that which now prevails there'. Thus he describes how 'at the time of Harrison's survey ... or soon after' coal and ironstone pits were opened in the park; it was divided into farms, both arable and pasture; and the lodges that had once housed park keepers were turned into farmhouses – the latter an echo of the process we observed in the faunal evidence. And it is in this context that Harrison's survey was commissioned. The Duke, aware of the momentous changes happening around him, wanted an assessment of the current state of affairs. As such the text, Harrison's survey, is part of that process.

Some have contrasted the differing fates of Sheffield Castle and the Manor Lodge, the twin poles of the seigneurial landscape, in the turbulent years of the mid-17th century. Thus, Hunter (1819, 116) argued that, despite the slighting of the castle in the late 1640s,

Still the Manour existed: an edifice less extensive, less splendid, but sufficient to display the magnificent spirit of those by whom it was erected and inhabited. This place had suffered nothing in the late contentions. It does not appear that either party had thought of placing a garrison in it, or that it was ever a military post: and the Park, the spacious and noble park, which spread around it was still unenclosed.

Almost a century later, Thomas Winder (1913, 113) shared this view. Its secluded position, he believed, had made 'the Lodge ... immune during the Civil War', its essential continuity marked by the fact that it 'was even used at that time for the safe custody of documents removed from Sheffield Castle'. And there is clearly something in the argument, in the sense that significant traces of the lodge remained for both to see, while the castle persisted only in the names of 'the streets and places thereabouts' (Goodwin 1764, 157). However, it is also clear that Hunter's view is much too rosy, and, while the lodge might indeed have been 'a habitable residence forty or fifty years after the castle had perished' (Hunter 1819, 116), the park was utterly transformed and its scale reduced. This much is clear in documents, dated c.1692, relating to a dispute between the Duke of Norfolk and some local men in which 'Sheffeld Parke' is described as 'about three miles in compass, [and] enclosed with a high wall' (Hall 1930, 99). A circle with a three-mile circumference contains c.458.4 acres and so, acknowledging that the park would not have been a perfect circle, it is clear that it had been very significantly reduced since Harrison's survey in 1637 (when it was recorded as 2,461 acres). Its diminished scale is well illustrated on John Warburton's 1718–20 *Map of Yorkshire* (see Hey 2010, 56). Sheffield park was an integral element in the seigneurial landscape, and local networks of power; its reduction speaks of changes in those networks.

The dispute to which we have just referred was about whether the road to Sheffield from the south which ran through the park was a public highway. Importantly, it seems to have had its origins c.1650 during the Commonwealth, but came to a head in 1692 when Henry Howard, 7th Duke of Norfolk, accused several individuals including 'Randolfe Ashenhurst, John Woodrove, Alexander Fenton etc.', of wilful and persistent trespass (Hall 1930, 99–102; Hunter 1819, 190; Clark and Jack 2002, 5). The Duke's case was that the 'normal' routes

to Sheffield actually ran round the edge of the park, and that while he had allowed people from Handsworth, Intake and Gleadless passage through the park, this was because the normal routes were 'very dirty in winter' and because he wanted to benefit Sheffield market (Hall 1930, 99–102). In support of his case, several elderly men drew on their long memory, back to the time 'before the unhappy Civil Wars broke out', to recall that the gate onto Gleadless Moor was 'stopped up' four times a year 'to prevent the same being claimed as a highway' (Hunter 1819, 190). The outcome of the case is not recorded in these papers, but, as Walter Hall pointed out, 'if on the strength of the evidence of these old people the duke got rid of the trespassers on Park Hill', it was only a temporary victory as the road in question has long been one of the main roads into Sheffield (Hall 1930, 99). The lords of the manor had always tried to restrict access to the park (see Moorhouse 2007, 124 for efforts to control movement through parks elsewhere in Yorkshire). The fact that these legal proceedings were necessary makes it clear that the Duke's authority was being challenged, that this particular challenge emerged in the same political and ideological context that brought down Sheffield Castle, and that men of all social classes were involved – those listed in the 1692 Chancery papers included John Woodrove, gentleman; Alexander Fenton, gentleman; John Bradbury, yeoman; John Jenkinson, carpenter; Richard Simon, gardener; and William Downe, saddler (Hall 1930, 101).

There had, of course, long been resistance. As we saw earlier, in 1578 five local men were fined five shillings 'for huntinge the hare within my Lordes Parke ... to the disturbance of my Lordes game there, & killed one deare & dyd hyte an other deare', and poaching was reported in a letter written to the Earl on 28th January 1595 by William Dickenson the Younger, then a park keeper (Jamison and Bill 1966, 84). On 1st March 1598 William Craven confessed to hunting in the park, a practice in which he claimed he was joined by several local men including Abraham Milnes, who was charged with taking deer in February 1599. Milnes was a servant of William Cavendish, the son of Bess of Hardwick's second marriage to Sir William Cavendish and hence both step-brother and brother-in-law of the 7th Earl, who was married to his sister Mary Cavendish; the fact that these offences occurred at a time of discord between the two noble households of Talbot and Cavendish may have had some influence on them (Jamison and Bill 1966, 143, 150). But it is significant that Sheffield park was repeatedly targeted by poachers in the 1640s and 1650s. On 17th December 1657, local poachers Daniel Bingley and James Bromley fixed a deer's head on the cross in Sheffield marketplace, an act that has been interpreted as deriving from their frustration that laws concerning hunting had not been relaxed as they had hoped; attached to the deer's head was a note pronouncing their hunting as legal and lamenting that 'there was once a Parliam[en]t engaged to root out & suppress all the Lords of Mannors with all the Norman Blood' (Hopper 2007, 112). This reference to the 'Norman Yoke', as well as prefiguring the local origin myth prevalent at the time the castle was 'rediscovered' in the 1920s (see Chapter 3), is a sign that these incursions into the seigneurial landscape were 'acts of defiance' by a 'middling sort' radicalised by the Civil War rather than desperate attempts by the poor, ordinary people of the region to obtain food for their families (Hopper 2007, 112–13; Simmons 1990, 16–17; also Sykes 2007, 56 for the spate of 'park breaking' during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381).

Conclusion

The deer park and hunting lodge were part of the wider seigneurial landscape of Sheffield, and we have shown the ways in which the natural advantages of the castle's surroundings were exploited and manipulated to provide a stage setting for the exercise of lordship. The castle was located in one of Sheffield's many valleys, surrounded by much higher ground; this is consistent with many castles of the Anglo-Norman period, which are to be found not on the highest ground of a district. This has led to the conclusion that military factors were only a part of the rationale for the siting of castles, with tenurial, social, economic and political factors also relevant (e.g. Creighton 2018; Johnson 2017b; Liddiard 2000a, 169; 2005, 24–6). Sheffield park provided a landscape of elite display, which was physically delineated from the town and through a distinction between its managed orchards and gardens and the 'wild' of hunting grounds made manifest the authority of the lord to the local community and visitors alike. Numerous campaigns of building work at the lodge can be traced in both the archaeological and historical sources, and this reveals the efforts that were undertaken to remodel the residence to meet changing elite requirements. To the fore in this chapter, however, has been the household of the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury and two formidable women, Bess of Hardwick and Mary, Queen of Scots, and those events

that, above all else, placed the elite buildings of Sheffield at the centre of events of international significance. As we have stressed, however, the park was also a working landscape, with trees and other vegetation to be managed, and animals to be cared for, as well as being processed for consumption and sale. And while the building complex at the heart of the park was certainly the venue for aristocratic hunting and feasting – as well as royal incarceration – it was also a workplace, with cellars, storage rooms, kitchens, bakehouse, washhouses, stables and so on, all of which will have required a large household staff.

The lodge and park remained as powerful manifestations of the authority of the lord of the manor even after the castle was being dismantled in the mid-17th century (see Chapter 9). However, over the course of the century that authority was increasingly challenged, and the park was transformed from a landscape for deer to one in which agriculture and industry operated alongside the hunt, to one in which industrial uses dominated. It speaks volumes for the changes we have charted in the course of this chapter that our first image of Sheffield, Thomas Oughtibridge's 1737 *North Perspective View of the Town* (Figure 8.26), places the (now Protestantised) church and the town hall at its centre, the site of the castle is inconspicuous down to the left, the park is patterned with fields and hedges (but devoid of forest and deer), and 'The Mannor' is barely visible over the hills – thus, just about inverting the position which had it held throughout the Middle Ages.

Bibliography

The full bibliography is available at the end of this volume, or at: <https://doi.org/10.22599/SheffieldCastle.k>.