

# DEER ON THE MOVE : RELOCATION OF STOCK BETWEEN GAME PARKS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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## Summary

From the period c.1500-1688 in Scotland and England there exists a considerable body of evidence to show that deer (red and fallow) were regularly removed from one habitat and released into another (the latter invariably a game park), normally for the chase but occasionally with the more long-term intention of improving the general quality of local stock. Some of these movements, which might involve several hundred beasts, were made over distances of 200 km or more, and by the first half of the seventeenth century were supplemented by imports from the Continental mainland and from Ireland. Much of the evidence on which these assertions are based is provided by bills, warrants and letters circulating in the households of the Scottish and English courts, from which some details of the procedures involved may also be inferred. Following severe depredations in the royal parks during the Civil War, Charles II took steps to compensate for these losses by further movements of deer, but neither he nor his successors inherited the passion for hunting that had caused earlier monarchs to bring about these large-scale displacements and the practice thereafter was much reduced.

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## Key Words

Deer, Hunting, Transport, XVI-XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries

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Human agency as a factor influencing the natural distributions of certain species is already well appreciated. Here attention is drawn to the evidence from Scotland and England for the forcible transplanting of deer, sometimes in considerable numbers, from areas of comparative abundance to other localities where populations had been eroded, usually by hunting, and where more deer were demanded so that

## Résumé

Les transferts de cervidés entre les parcs à gibier durant les seizième et dix-septième siècles.

Un nombre considérable de documents datant de la période située entre 1500 et 1688, conservés en Ecosse et en Angleterre, montrent que des cervidés (cerfs et daims) étaient régulièrement transférés de leur habitat originel vers d'autres lieux (ceux-ci étant sans exception des parcs à gibier). Cela était fait en général pour la chasse mais parfois avec l'intention d'améliorer sur le long terme la qualité du gibier local. Quelques uns de ces troupeaux, qui comptaient plusieurs centaines d'animaux, parcouraient des distances de 200 km ou plus. A partir du début du 17<sup>me</sup> siècle, le gibier était enrichi par des importations du Continent et d'Irlande. Les sources sur lesquelles se fondent les assertions de l'auteur sont, en grande partie, des factures, des mandats et des lettres qui circulaient jadis dans les ménages des cours royales d'Ecosse et d'Angleterre. Des informations concernant les modalités de ce transport peuvent également être déduites. A la suite des grands dommages subis par les parcs royaux pendant la Guerre Civile, Charles II a encore pris des mesures compensatoires de déplacement de cervidés. Mais, comme ni Charles II ni ses successeurs n'avaient hérité la passion pour la chasse qui avait poussé les rois précédents à réaliser les transferts de cervidés en grand nombre, la pratique s'est perdue peu à peu.

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## Mots clés

Cervidés, Chasse, Transfert, XVI-XVII<sup>me</sup> siècles

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they too could be exterminated in the name of sport. The players in this game were limited in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the higher echelons of society while those involved in the deliberate movement of deer were further limited to the uppermost nobility and, overwhelmingly, to the monarch himself. It is the court records that provide much of the evidence on which the following survey is based.

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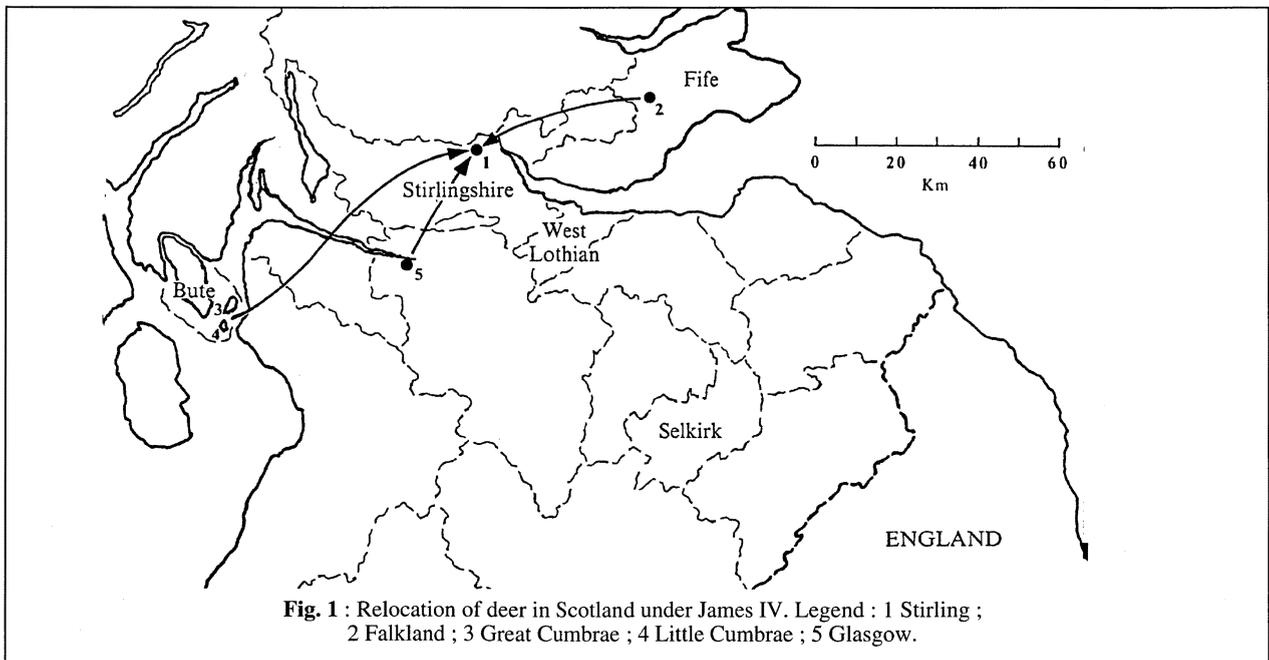
The earliest notices so far discovered concerning the regular movement of deer come from Scotland in the opening decade of the sixteenth century, although the well-established character displayed by the routines involved suggests that these practices went back at least to the preceding century. (An isolated reference from 1461, concerning two *ferrae foreste* transported from Ettrick (Selkirk) to Stirling, seems to confirm that this was indeed the case : see GILBERT, 1979 : 221). Between the years 1502 and 1508, in the reign of King James IV (ruled 1488-1513) and, from 1503, his Queen, Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII of England, the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* supply a number of details which may form the starting point of our investigation (see figure 1 for locations and appendix 1 for the texts).

In November and December 1502, £41 plus expenses was paid to Sir Harry Wood, one of the King's most loyal counsellors, for carrying deer from Cumbrae (Bute) - there are two islands of that name, off the coast of Ayrshire - to Stirling, principal seat of the Scottish court. In the following January the same Sir Harry Wood brought further deer to Stirling, this time from Glasgow, and a year after that 11s. was paid to "the man who brought live deer from Falkland to Stirling". Further animals were brought each year from Falkland in Fife (the site of another major royal palace) to Stirling by Robert Matheson and others, between January 1506 and January 1508.

These routine movements were made over considerable distances : from Cumbrae to Stirling as the crow flies is some 70 km (though no doubt the journey would have been made by boat at least as far as Glasgow and by no means in a straight line). Glasgow to Stirling is about 40 km, and Falkland to Stirling 45 km. In January 1506, we are told that the journey from Falkland to Stirling normally took three days.

This same group of accounts provides further evidence of the routines involved. Matheson received payment "for making the fold to take the deer in" in 1504, and in November 1505 a further 18s. was expended on "building the deer fold in Falkland" (mended in 1507 and again in 1508). James Balfour received 14s. in 1505 for going with hounds into the country to drive deer to the park and for "winding of the hay-yard" for deer taking, thought to refer to the making of narrow entries or alleyways in the enclosure. A payment of 14s. was made in March 1504 to "the man that watched the fold all year".

In 1503 an unnamed servant was paid to go to Kinneil in West Lothian for deer nets and to deliver them to Falkland, 15s. being spent on "six score fathoms" (over 200 m) of thin rope to mend the said nets. A further £6. 18s. was spent on nets for Falkland in November 1505 and "six score and four fathoms" of thin ropes "to draw the deer with" were bought in January 1506. "Master Levisay", an Englishman involved several times in the transporting of deer from



Falkland to Stirling, paid out 8d. a day to each of thirty-two men at the “*deer taking*” in 1505, and “*drinksilver*” of 5s. was paid in January 1506 to “the workmen that took the deer in the fold”.

References can also be found to the methods involved in transporting the animals to their ultimate destination. Those brought from Glasgow by Wood in 1503 were said to have been carried to Stirling in three horse litters. Matheson received payment in 1504 for carrying eleven litters with deer sundry times ; in November 1505 he made the trip from Falkland to Stirling six times and in January 1506 sixteen times, with four men attending each litter on every occasion ; and in the following year he brought seven litters from Falkland to Stirling on various dates. On another occasion, in February 1504, the journey seems to have been made by one man on his own. The sum of 4s. was expended on making two such litters in 1506, and in March 1504 payments were made for shoeing what was described specifically as the Queen's litter horse, “*that bore the deer all year*”. (The form which these litters might have taken is not precisely known : FENTON (1984, 116-21) discusses various forms of travois which continued in use in the Highlands until the present century, consisting of little more than a pair of shafts linked by wattles or by joiner-made braces ; amongst the uses to which they were put was the transport of shot deer from hill-slopes inaccessible to wheeled transport).

The activities referred to were evidently highly seasonal, for, with one exception (for mending the fold) all these accounts refer to the period between November and March. On one occasion the wintry weather caused those bringing deer from Falkland to Stirling to be delayed by a day because “*the waters stopped them*”.

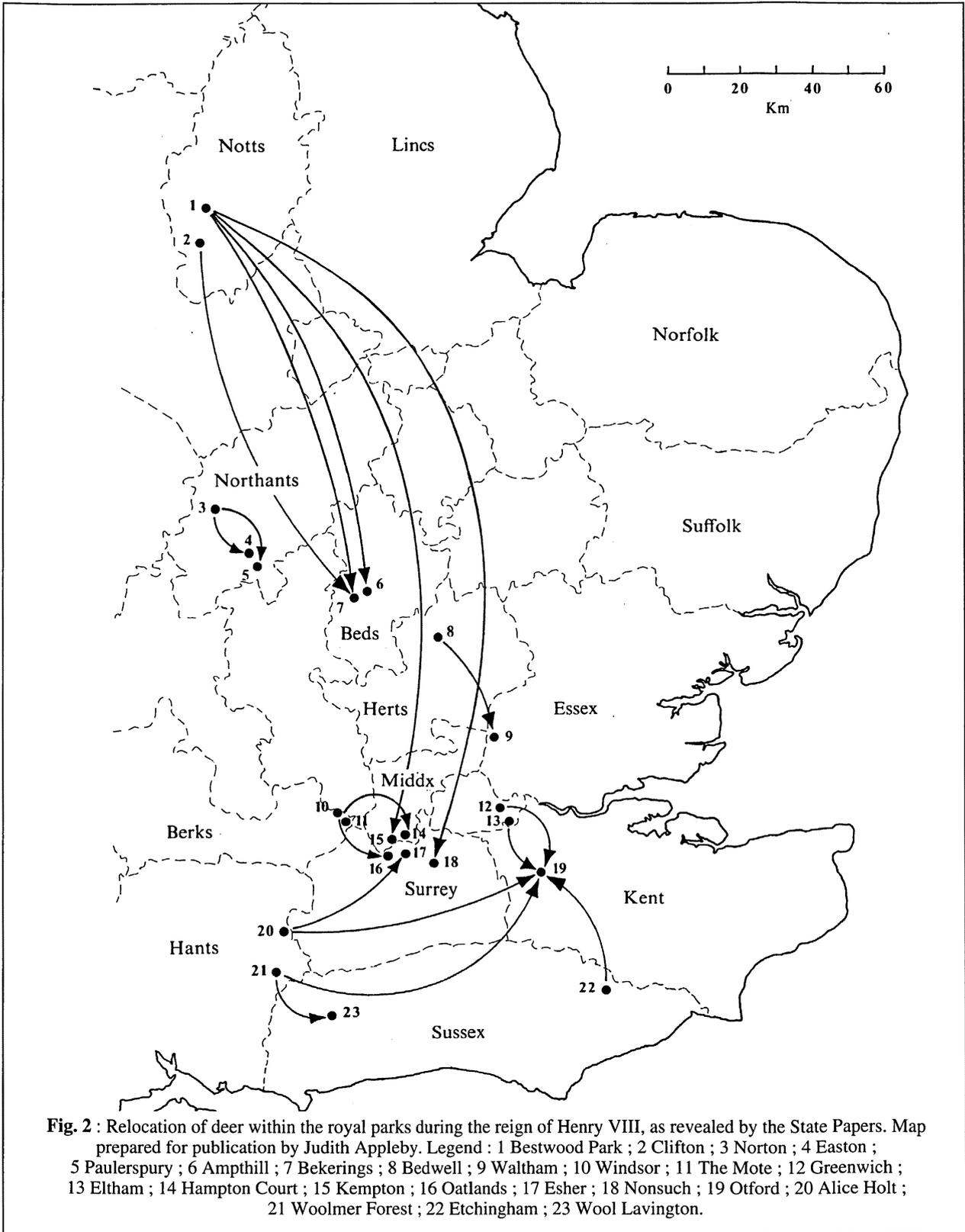
These accounts, then, give a picture of a highly organized and well-established set of routines, with deer being driven from the countryside into permanently-constructed folds which were maintained at regular intervals ; there they were taken in nets and transported by litter to the deer park where the royal hunt was to take place.

Twenty years later, evidence emerges from the state records of Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509-47) which confirms the general picture built up from the Scottish documents but which reveals an immense difference in the scale of operations as carried out at the English court (see appendix 2 for the documents). There, in 1538 alone, Sir Francis Bryan (Master of the Toils, cup-bearer to the King and one of the monarch's most

favoured intimates) received payments for taking 1,000 deer in various parks for replenishing stocks at Nonsuch (Surrey) and Kempton (Middlesex), 200 deer for a new park at Amptill (Bedfordshire), and a further 200 (including 80 stags) for Esher (Surrey). In the years that follow, Sir Francis's name appears again and again in similar contexts : in 1539, 17 red deer and 300 fallow were moved by him to Otford (Kent) and an unspecified park, and 240 fallow to another unnamed park ; in October 1541, 600 deer from Windsor Great Park and The Mote (both in Berkshire) and from one other source were moved to Hampton Court (Middlesex) and Oatlands (Surrey), and in November 120 deer to Norton (Northamptonshire), 120 to Easton and Paulerspury parks (Northamptonshire) and 201 from Bestwood (Nottinghamshire) to Bekerings (Bedfordshire) ; in 1542, 140 deer taken in Wolmer Forest (Hampshire) were transported to Wool Lavington (Sussex) and 240 were released into Otford park ; in 1543, 500 fallow from Waltham Forest (Essex) and 100 fallow from Bedwell Park (Hertfordshire) were released into the King's park at Waltham (Essex). At a going rate of 10s. a deer, another 521 beasts would have been accounted for in warrants issued in September, October and November 1543, for which Bryan received £260. 10s.

The considerable distances involved in some of these movements can be gauged from the map given in figure 2, which also reveals the centralizing effects of Henry's interference with the natural distribution of the deer, as they were drawn into the network of game parks concentrated in the south-eastern quarter of the kingdom in which much of the monarch's life was passed.

From records of Henry's reign come very few references to specific methods used in transporting the deer : on some occasions Sir Francis is paid for “*carrying of the said deer*” but at other times the more neutral terms “*transporting*”, “*conveying*” and “*transferring*” are used. No mention is made of litters. There is, however, an interesting reference from the Nottingham assizes of 25 March 1538 to an incident which occurred “*two years ago, when the King had deer carried from Beskwoode Parke to Amptill, and the lordship of Lowedham should have made a carriage to have carried the deer with*” : one of the townsmen who failed to turn out for duty on that occasion was known by the King's agent to possess a pair of wagon wheels which were deemed “*good and necessary*” to the carriage and accordingly the constable was sent to demand their surrender for that purpose.



At other times the impression is given that the deer were simply herded on the hoof, presumably roped together to prevent escape. Hence in December 1538, Rowland Lee, Bishop of Chester and Lord President of the Council in the Marches, wrote to the chancellor, Thomas Cromwell : “*On Wednesday last I set forth my deer to be conveyed to the King’s Grace to the number of 26 ; there never was such a drove seen*”. The experience was evidently considered a hazardous one for the deer, for elsewhere Lee writes : “*how many [will arrive] I cannot tell you, as they may die on the way*”. Another correspondent, George Gyffard, wrote to Cromwell in similar terms in April 1538 : “*Your Lordship’s pleasure was that my brethren should do their best in carrying your red deer from Kenilworth. Your deer, nevertheless, chanced to die by the way : the stag and one hind alone were left, which hind also died...*”

With the death of Henry VIII, the most obsessive hunter of his dynasty, the practices outlined above were to a large extent eclipsed. No references have been found from the brief reign of the consumptive Edward VI (ruled 1547-53) and under Elizabeth I (ruled 1558-1603) the few relevant items concern not the Queen but her chief secretary of state, Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley). In April 1562 William Cayworth wrote to Cecil concerning deer for stocking his “*new park*”, and three weeks later Peter Kemp confirms the arrival of the animals at Burleigh (Public Record Office (PRO), London, SP12/22). In November of that year Kemp alludes to the seasonal character of these activities with an observation to his master that “*the tyme drawth on for taking of dear yf your plesur be to have the toyle agayne*”, and three months later he draws attention to the hazards that such seasonal work incurred : “*We have ii days paste brought some li dear fayr and sounde with great toyle ye Wynde and Rayne being varye great and troublesome yet I thank God we have made very lyttle spoyle, not to ye number of 3 dear*” (PRO, SP12/25, SP12/27).

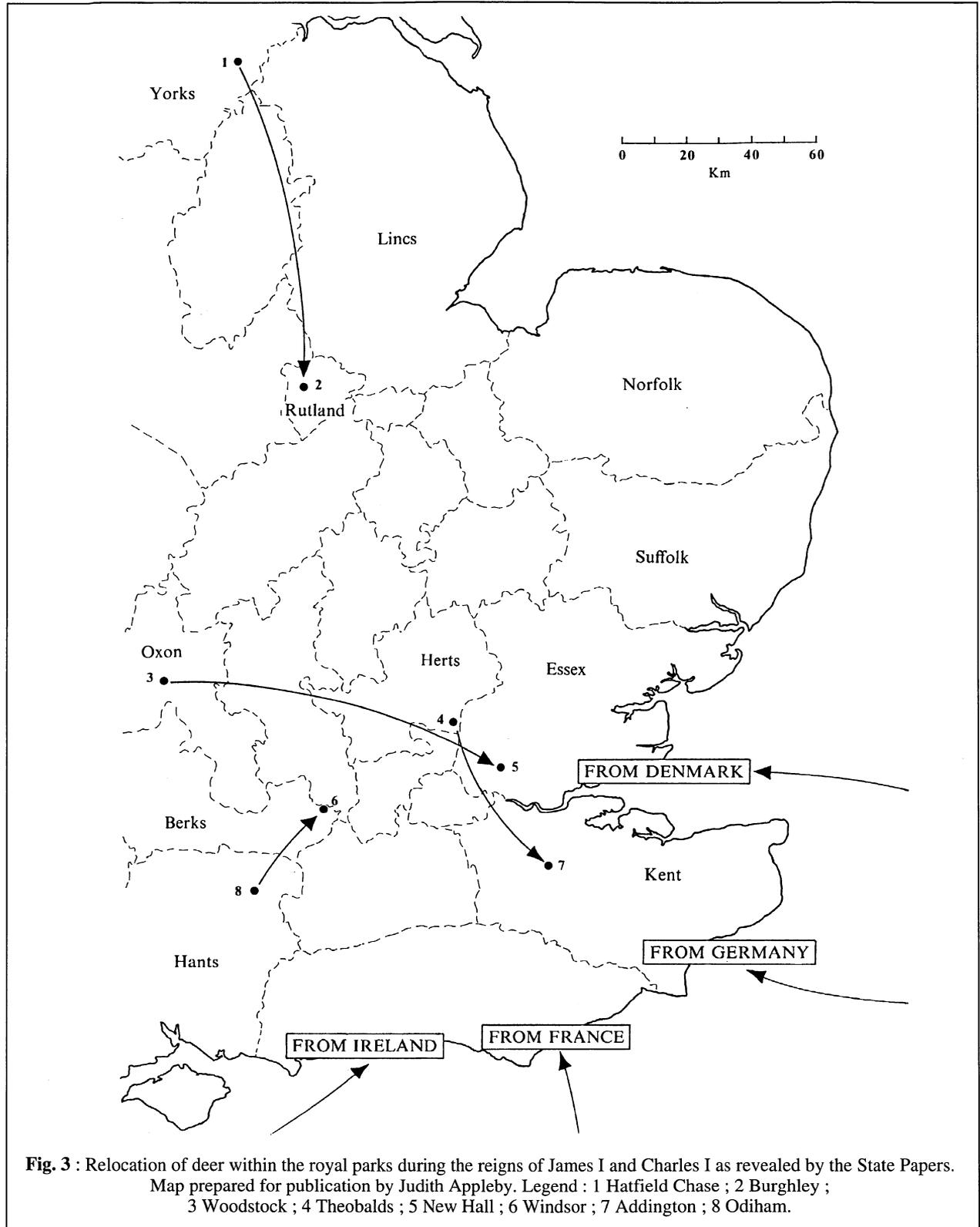
Both north and south of the border, a great upsurge in the relocation of deer came about under James VI of Scotland (ruled 1567-1625), who succeeded to the English throne as James I in 1603. While confined to his original estates, James was already active in the movement of deer from as far away as England. In view of the very considerable distances involved, it may be suggested that the King’s aim in this instance was to improve his breeding stock with larger beasts from the south. Hence on 17 April 1591 the English ambassador Robert Bowes included in a letter to Lord Burghley a reminder that the

King of Scots expected to be favoured with some fallow deer, and ten months later Bowes himself received a reminder that the King’s request had gone unattended through the appropriate season. A decade later, Roger Aston was pursuing a similar favour with Lord Burghley’s son, Sir Robert Cecil (see appendix 3).

After inheriting the English crown and the vast deer parks that went with it, James became an energetic promoter of the relocation of stock purely for the improvement of sport (see appendices 4-5). Fifty deer were transferred under the care of John Scandaver in February 1623 from Odiham (Hampshire) to Windsor (Berkshire) and others in December of the same year were moved from Woodstock (Oxfordshire) to Newhall (Essex). Scandaver was busy again the following winter, moving deer from Hatfield Chase (Yorkshire) to Burghley (Rutland) and others again to Newhall.

The traffic continued under Charles I, who succeeded his father in 1625. “*A good number of deer*” were moved to Bearwood Chase (Berkshire) - presumably in the winter of 1629/30, for they had resulted in friction between the King’s baillifs and the local populace by the following summer. An order for the stocking of Kempton Park (Middlesex) with 300 deer was issued in October 1631, and in the winter of 1638/9 four stags were taken from Theobalds (Essex) and placed in the park of one Sir Francis Leight, at Addington (Kent).

So adept did the Stuart monarchs become at this practice that the interchange was extended to the Continent. James I received deer from his brother-in-law Christian IV of Denmark on at least three occasions, in 1608, 1612 and 1621 ; on the latter occasion John Scandaver was sent to Denmark to supervise the selection and transportation of the deer (MACGREGOR, 1989a). (The present paper has not concerned itself with James I’s recorded importation of cervids as living rarities rather than for the chase, but references to the shipment of elk and reindeer for the royal menagerie will be found in MACGREGOR, 1989a ; 1989b). In the reign of Charles I we learn that Andrew Murray was involved in what was evidently a troublesome and costly scheme to bring deer from Prussia in 1628 and in 1635 we read of a ship sent to Danzig “*for deer for the king*”. While the King might haggle over the cost on occasion, there were other times when all financial impediment had to be swept aside : hence in 1638 Charles’s senior ministers had to take steps to ensure that not so much as a day’s delay might be incurred in the shipment of certain deer from France. All these



movements under James I and Charles I are recorded in figure 3, in which the added international dimension forms the most striking difference to the picture that emerged under Henry VIII.

Occasionally the flow went in the other direction. "Certain pied deer", perhaps fallow, were sent by James to the King of France in March 1608 and in February of the following year ships were sent to Dieppe with a cargo of deer.

Although the outlines of this traffic can be reconstructed from the State Papers, the records are neither directly concerned with nor very forthcoming about the actual methods of capture and transportation of the deer. English language sources in general are silent on these matters. We do possess archaeological and historical evidence for the incorporation into certain parks of deer leaps, into which unsuspecting beasts might jump in one direction but from which they could not escape in the other ; but whereas these passive traps might provide a trickle of deer from the surrounding countryside to help top up the stock in a park, they were incapable of providing the numbers of beasts required on demand for the mass movements examined here.

A detailed account of the methods used for these purposes can be found in the *Nouveau traité de venerie* published in 1655 by Antoine Gaffet de la Briffardière, who describes himself as "Gentilhomme de la venerie du Roy". The senior office in this arm of the French court was that of the Capitaine général des toiles de chasse, tentes et pavillons du Roi, whose equivalent at the English court was the post held by the above-mentioned Sir Francis Bryan - Master of the Tents and Toils. The French Capitaine général could, on order of the king, "envoyer, dans toutes les forêts et buissons de France qu'il jugeoit à propos, prendre, avec ses toiles de chasse, des cerfs, biches, fans et autres animaux destinés à peupler ou repeupler les parcs de quelque maison royale" (NOIRMONT 1867 : 270-1).

The "toiles" which gave their name to the office seem to have encompassed both sheets of canvas and stout nets : the *Oxford English Dictionary*, quoting Littré, gives toils as "large pieces of cloth bordered with thick ropes, stretched round an enclosure, for the purpose of capturing wild beasts ; also large nets stretched to take stags and other deer". These were not readily available at every site but were transported from place to place as required by the office of the toils, evidently a cumbersome process calling for the use of wagons - perhaps the same vehicles which evidently were now in normal use for carrying the deer

themselves : see entries for 17 November 1676 and 1 October 1686 in the appendices. Inevitably, they suffered wear-and-tear during use : Charles Bowles, a Master of the Toiles, was recompensed on 3 July 1688 for expenses in "mending the old toyles, and making three peeces of new netting" (appendix 6).

To describe as labour-intensive the "Manière de prendre les Cerfs dans les Toiles" as outlined by BRIFFARDIÈRE (1655) would be a gross understatement - 100 peasants were required to assist in the operation over a period approaching two weeks - and we imagine that they were scaled down somewhat in England and Scotland. The toils specified by Briffardière were to be 2.5m high and were to be supported on wooden stakes to form a complete circuit (manned by the peasants) of the woodland in which the deer were concentrated. A clear alleyway was to be cut in the heart of the enclosure, 10 m long by 1m wide, lined with close-set stakes 2 m high and tightly interwoven with leafy branches. At one end a sloping trench was dug capable of holding a cart, backed into it so that the bed of the cart was level with the ground ; on the cart was secured an openwork cage of pinewood, fitted with a sliding trapdoor.

For eight days there was little activity beyond the carrying-in of food for the deer. Then the circuit was narrowed progressively on a daily basis and an internal partition was created by means of a wall of toils. Deer were then admitted to the partitioned area in small groups and induced into the alleyway ; arriving at the end they would find themselves in the cage, the door of which would be closed behind them. Each cage held four animals ; those with antlers would have them sawn off in the alleyway, so as to prevent accidental injury. Apart from this operation the deer were subjected to minimum stress - they were not tied up in the cages - and were treated with every consideration.

From this account it is plain that by the mid seventeenth century the conventions and techniques involved in capturing live deer and transplanting them into new environments were highly evolved. In England their further development was somewhat interrupted by the turmoil of the Civil War (which, incidentally, also brought about the extinction of many of the herds which James I and Charles I had striven to establish).

Even during the Commonwealth (1649-60), however, some positive attempts to improve stocks were made. Such was the case, for example, at Richmond New Park (Surrey), which had been placed in the care of the Corporation of the City of London. Here in 1650

the Court of Aldermen concluded an agreement for the purchase of deer with one Carey Raleigh of Kempton Park, whereby they undertook “*that for every head of Deere as well male as female younge or old that shalle safely delivered into the Carraiges upon the place and adjudged... to be sound and well condicioned shalbee p[ai]d to the said Mr. Raleigh or his assignes twenty shillings apeece*”, the Corporation taking responsibility for “*all Damages and mischances that shall happen to the said Deere or any of them between Kempton Parke and Newparke*”. A total of 133 fallow deer successfully completed the journey from Kempton Park, while others were brought to Richmond from Nonsuch and elsewhere (Repertories of the Court of Aldermen for the Corporation of London, quoted in BROWN 1985 : 58-9). The Council of State itself instigated action on at least one occasion when, on 1 January 1650, it ordered the transfer of “*100 of the best deer*” from Marylebone Park to St. James’s Park (see appendix 5).

Following the restoration of the monarchy, Charles II (ruled 1660-85) made strenuous efforts to replenish the diminished stocks of red and fallow deer in the royal parks and forests, with animals brought from Germany and elsewhere, including some presented from English estates by sympathetic noblemen (see appendix 5). So effective were these moves that by 1663 there were beasts to spare for export to France. Charles’s efforts at redistributing stock, as revealed in the *Calendar of State Papers*, culminate in a warrant embodying a series of instructions of baffling complexity, issued to the Master of the Toils on 17 November 1676. Thereafter, however, the King’s secret service accounts demonstrate his continuing commitment to replenishing the parks (appendix 6). In this the King’s primary intention seems to have been (as with other of his self-imposed priorities) to reassert the pre-war *status quo*, for he displayed little inclination to bring about a renaissance of the halcyon hunting days of his forefathers.

The final protagonist to be mentioned in this extended encounter between the monarchy and the animal kingdom is Charles II’s successor, his brother James II (ruled 1685-88), whose brief reign supplies references of the greatest interest to this survey (appendices 6-7). (I am grateful to my colleague Julian Munby, who directed me to both of these sources and who generously provided me with a transcript of the document reproduced in appendix 7). In addition to several records of movements within the royal parks and of the building in 1686 of a paddock at New Park, Surrey, specifically for “*the taking up of deere*”, these include a fascinating account submitted to the Prince of Orange on 31 December 1688 by Thomas Howard, a Yeoman of the Toils, for “*Feeding and Removing of 108 Red Deere that came from Germany*” aboard the vessel Dorothy - perhaps the same shipment for which Anthony Favanus had been reimbursed on 20 October, when we are told that these “*Germain deer*” had been embarked at “*Zell*”. Howard’s bill includes charges for oats and hay, for “*a box to load the Deere in, out of the Ships hold into the Waggon*”, and for the services of a crane to winch the beasts on to the shore ; there “*Seaven Teames of horses*” laboured for eleven days, hauling the deer in the wagons (lined with mats for their comfort and protection) from the wharf to their new home in Windsor Forest. This hitherto unpublished document demonstrates vividly the potential that remains for adding further detail to our imperfect knowledge of deer husbandry during the historic period.

From this point in the late seventeenth century, however, the consuming passion for the chase that had charged the royal line from the days of James IV of Scotland and Henry VIII of England was all but spent, although deer continued to be hunted and to be relocated between the crown estates up to the opening of the present century, for it was only with the accession of Edward VII in 1901 that the royal hunt was formally disbanded.

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## APPENDICES

### Extracts from State Papers relating to the Movement of Deer

Note : dates have been converted where appropriate to new style, with the year beginning on 1 January

#### Appendix 1

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland II-IV (1500-1513) ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul. H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh (1900-1902)

20 November 1502

Item... to Schir Hary Wod, to ger cary deir fra Cumra to Strivelin, x li.

5 December 1502

Item... to Schir Hary Wod, for expens maid on the carying of the deir fra Cumra, xvij li. x d.

[ ?] January 1503

Item, to Schir Hary Wod, for vj hors hire quhilk caryit thre hors littaris fra Glasgo to Strivelin with deir, xvijij s.

[ ?] November 1503

Item, to ane man to pas to Kynneil for the deir nettis and to haf thaim to Faukland, viij s.

[ ?] December 1503

Item, for sex score fawdoun of small tollis to mend the said nettis, xv s.

Item, to Maister Levisay, Inglis man, that takis deir in Faukland, be the Kingis command xxvij s.

Item, to Maister Levisay, Inglis man, that takis the deir in Faukland, be the Kingis command, xxix s. vj d.

[ ?] January 1504

Item, to the man that tuke the deir in Faukland and kept thaim, ix s.

13 February 1504

Item... to ane man brocht the quik deir fra Faukland to Strivelin, xj s.

27 March 1504

Item... to the Quenis yemen brocht ane quyk deir fra Faukland to Strivelin, xiiij s.

[ ?] March 1504

Item, to the man that woke the fald all yeir quhair the deir wes tane, xiiij s.

[ ?] March 1504

Item, payit to [Andro Matheson] for making of the fald to tak the

deir in, xxj s. iiij d.

Item, payit to the said Andro that he laid down for carying of xj littaris with deir, sindry tymes, ilk littair xiiij s. and iiij s. mair amang thaim ; summa vij li. xvijij s.

Item, payit to the said Andro he laid down for schoing of the Quenis littar hors that bure the deir all yeir, xvijij s. viij d.

[ ?] May 1504

Item, to ane wif, be the Kingis command, quhilk chasit hame ane of the Kingis deir to Strivelin, vij s.

[ ?] January 1505

Item, for vjxx four fawdom smal toll to Faukland to draw the deir with, ilk fawdoun, i d. ; summa x s. iiij d.

[ ?] November 1505

Item, for deir nettis quhilk yeid to Faukland, vj li. xvijij s.

Item, to Maister Levisay, Inglisman, to pas to Faukland to tak deir to send to Strivelin, xlii s.

Item, payit to Andro Matheson that he gaif in Faukland for carying of deir to Strivelin vj tymes, and iiij men with ilk littar, by the yeman that passit, ilk tyme xiiij s. ; summa iiij li. iiij s.

Item, for schone to the littar hors iiij s.

Item, for bigging of the deir fald in Faukland xvijij s.

Item, to him he laid down to xxxij men divers dayis with Maister Levisay at the deir taking ; ilk man on the day viij d. ; summa xxj s. iiij d.

Item, to him he gaif John Balfour passand with raches in the cuntree to drif the deir to the park, and for wynding of the hay yard for deir taking, xiiij s.

[ ?] January 1506

Item, to Andro Matheson for the littar passand this winter bipast xvj tymes to Strivelin with deir, to foure men passand tharwith ilk tyme by the yeman, ilk man on the day viij d., bidand furth ilk tyme thre dayis and ane tyme foure dayis for the wateris stoppit thaim ; summa vj li. x s. viij d.

Item, for making of ij littaris for carying of deir, iiij s.

Item, to the werkmen that tuke the deir in the fald, in drinksilvir, v s.

3 February 1506

Item... to James Avery quhilk he gaif be the Kingis command to the man that caryit the deir fra Faukland and kept the park, xxvij s.

[ ?] January 1507

Item, to Andro Matheson quhilk he gaif for mending of the deir fald in Faukland, [carrying of slain bucks] and vij littaris with deir to Strivelin divers tymes, vj li. ix s.

27 September 1507

Item, to ane man of the lard of Wemes that brocht thre quyte deer to put in the park, xxviiij s.

[ ?] January 1508

Item, to sex men that brocht deir fra Faukland to Strivelin, vj s.

[ ?] July 1508

Item... to Andro Matheson for carying of deir divers tymes, mending of the hay yard an yett thairof, and of the deir fald mending divers tymes... v li. ix s.

## Appendix 2

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII XIII-XIX. HMSO, London (1880-92).

23 March 1538

[Nottingham Assizes]... two years ago, when the King had deer carried from Beskwoode Park to Ampthill, and the lordship of Lowedham should have made a carriage to have carried the deer with, the township gathered themselves together, all but Nicholas Saunderson, who refused to come. Then Master Turnour, the King's servant, knowing that the said Nicholas had a pair of wain wheels which were good and necessary for the same carrying, sent the... constable... and coming to Saunderson's house said they must have his wheels to do the King service...

27 April 1538

George Gyffard to [Thomas] Cromwell. Your Lordship's pleasure was that my brethren should do their best in carrying your red deer from Kenilworth. Your deer, nevertheless, chanced to die by the way : the stag and one hind alone were left, which hind also died after the messenger's departure... but the very day I left your Lordship, to depart from London, a servant of my brother John Gyffard's, seeing the stag poor and weary, took upon him to turn him into my lord Marquis' park, of which my brother has the keeping. He broke through the hedge and escaped into a great wood, two miles off, where he remained till this last Easter week, when the country was asked to help in taking him with nets and other engines ; nevertheless he still escaped us and fled to another great covert where he will be watched till your further pleasure is known whether to take him alive or kill him.

15 November 1538

[The King's Payments] Sir Francis Bryan... for taking of one thousand quick deer within divers the King's parks, for the replenishing of the parks of Nonesuch and Kinton, £166. 13s. 4d.

23 November 1538

[The King's Payments] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan... for taking 200 deer for the storing of the King's new park beside Ampthill called Combes Park, part payment, £33. 6s. 8d.

14 December 1538

[The King's Payments] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan... for taking of 120 quick deer, and 80 quick deer of antlere, within his Highness' chase of Alice Holt, and for conveying of them to his park of Asshere towards the replenishing of the same, after the rate of 3s. 4d. a piece, £33. 6s. 8d.

16 December 1538

Bishop Roland Lee to [Thomas] Cromwell. By this bearer, my servant, Thomas Kynerston, I have sent to the King certain red deer, as I promised - how many I cannot tell you, as they may die by the way, but I know he will do his diligence ; as he brings so I send, although I had in November more than 26...

20 December 1538

Bishop Roland Lee to [Thomas] Cromwell... On Wednesday last I set forth my deer to be conveyed to the King's Grace to the number of 26 ; there was never such a drove seen...

3 November 1539

[The King's Payments] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, master of the Toils... for the taking of 17 red deer and 300 fallow deer at 10s. each red deer and 3s. 4d. each fallow, for storing the King's parks of [blank] and Otford, £58. 10s.

19 November 1539

[The King's Payments] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan... for the taking of 240 fallow deer and for carrying of the said deer at 3s. 4d. the piece, £40.

9 January 1540

[The King's Payments] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, master of the Toils, for taking of certain deer to store the King's parks, £17. 6s. 8d.

28 December 1540

[The King's Payments] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, master of the Toils... for the storing of certain parks expressed in the said warrant in full payment of the same, £50.

6 October 1541

[Augmentations]... Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, by Ric[h]ard Skydmer, yeoman of the Toils, £100, to convey 600 quick deer from Windsor Great Park and the parks of Moote and [blank] to the parks of Hampton Court and Okelande.

3 November 1541

[Augmentations]... Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, £40 to take 120 deer for storing the park of Norton, N[or]th[amptonshire]. and 120 deer for storing Easton and Pallosperry parks, N[or]th[amptonshire].

27 November 1541

[Augmentations]... Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, master of the Toils, £100. 10s., for carrying 201 "quyk deares red" from Beskwood Park to Bekerings park beside Ampthill.

8 February 1542

[Augmentations]... Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, £20 to carry red deer from Clyfton Park, Notts, to Beking park, Beds.

26 December 1542

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, master of the Toils, £70 towards taking 140 quick deer red in Wolmer forest, for storing the new park at Wollavington.

8 January 1543

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan by Ric[h]ard Scudeamore, for taking 612 deer and stags, viz. 500 fallow deer in Waltham Forest and 100 in Beddwell Park at 3s. 4d. each, and 12 stags called "redd dere" in Beddwell park at 10s. each, and conveying them to the King's new park called Walteham park... £106.

27 January 1543

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]cijs Bryan, master of "le Toile" for taking 240 deer at Greenwich, Eltham and Ichyngham and conveying them to Otteford park... £40.

30 January 1543

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]ci[s] Bryan, master of the Toils, £40 for taking up 12 score deer to be conveyed to Otford Park.

September-November 1543

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]ci[s] Bryan, for conveying a large number of live deer and stags from and to divers of the Royal parks, four warrants in Sept., Oct. and Nov... £260. 10s.

24 December 1543

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]ci[s] Bryan for transferring 140 stags from Wolmer Forest to Wollavyngton park at 10s. each... £70.

22 January 1544

[Augmentations] Sir Fra[n]ci[s] Bryan, by Ric[hard] Scudamore, yeoman of the Toils, for taking and transporting 500 fallow deer from Waltham forest and 100 fallow deer from Bedwell park, at 3s. 4d. each, and red deer from Bedwell park at 10s. each, to the King's park at Waltham... £106.

### Appendix 3

Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland X-XIII. HM General Register House, Edinburgh (1936-1969)

17 April 1591

Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley. Amidst all these troubles the King prays that the fallow deer he looks for may be sent from England.

24 February 1592

Roger Aston to Robert Bowes. The King's majesty has commanded me to write to you in his name to desire you to write to my Lord Treasurer to desire his lordship to remember the deer promised the last year ; and to that end has desired you to send for Cuthbert Renes and direct him to my Lord Treasurer to attend his lordship, that such order may be taken that they may be taken in convenient time.

14 May 1600

Roger Aston to Sir Robert Cecil. Since my departing from you I have travailed very earnestly to discharge my duty in the commission directed to me by her Majesty for the transporting of some deer to the King, which I hope I shall be performed to her good pleasure and the contentment of the King. Having committed the charge of the taking of the deer to some friends of my own, I returned to these parts [Edinburgh] looking daily for their coming.

### Appendix 4

Issues of the Exchequer...during the Reign of King James I (ed. F. Devon). Rodwell, London (1836)

24 May 1605

To John Breninge and Robert Graves, yeomen of the toyles... the sum of 100 marks for charges of transporting certain deer sent by his Majesty unto the Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy.

23 October 1612

To Richard Lazenby, the sum of £5. 10s. 4d., in full payment of £15. 10s. 4d. for the charges of taking and sending the red deer that came out of Denmark unto divers of his Majesty's parks...

### Appendix 5

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I - Charles II (1603-1677). Longman, London (1857-1909)

30 March 1608

Warrant to pay to Hen[ry] Seckford 100 marks for conveying certain pied deer to the French king.

22 May 1612

Sir Julius Caesar to the Clerks of the Signet. To engross a warrant prefixed, for payment of rewards to the servants of the King of Denmark for bringing red deer, and £10 to Rich[ard] Lazomby for expenses of conveying them to sundry of the King's parks.

7 February 1623

Bill of charges by John Scandaver for taking and carriage of red deer at Theobald's and Green Mead since Jan. 2 ; with a note of the King's pleasure that it be fully discharged.

18 February 1623

The King to the Earl of Nottingham. To give a warrant to John Scandaver to take twenty does and thirty male deer from the park at Odiham, to be transferred to Bearwood Walk, Windsor Forest.

17 March 1623

Lord Zouch to Sir Edw[ard] Zouch. Lord Nottingham, by warrant of the King, has sent for fifty deer from Odiham Park, for restocking Bearwood. Hopes His Majesty will recall his order, the right in the deer having been granted over to himself, though frequently contested by Sir Edw[ard] More.

12 December 1623

Secretary Conway to Lord Treasurer Middlesex. To pay to Mr Scandaver £100, and give him a warrant for wood in Yorkshire, to make a paddock to catch deer.

30 December 1623

Warrant to pay to John Scandaver £50, and further sums if requisite, for conveying red deer from Woodstock Park to Newhall in Essex.

16 December 1624

Earl of Annandale to Secretary Conway. Mr Scandaver is to have £50 advanced for the expenses of bringing 30 or 40 red deer from Yorkshire to Burghley...

30 December 1624

Warrant to advance to John Scandaver £100 for bringing 40 red deer alive from Hatfield Chace, Yorkshire to Burghley on the Hill, Rutlandshire.

4 January 1625

Secretary Conway to Lord Treasurer Ley. To give a warrant to Mr Scandaver, for wood to make a paddock for taking red deer, to be brought to Newhall.

25 November 1625

Estimate for... fitting out of two of the prize ships to carry over deer [from Ireland].

25 February 1626

Sir Hen[ry] Palmer to the Duke of Buckingham... Ships sent westward had returned for lack of provisions ; ships sent to Dieppe with the deer had also returned...

10 October 1628

Secretary Conway to Philip Burlamachi. His Majesty is desirous

to have deer from Prussia, and Andrew Murray is appointed to go on that employment, but his demands for the charges amount so high that his Majesty wishes to be better informed on that point ; he is therefore to give his opinion thereon.[A full account of the "intended employment" of Murray is appended].

[ ?] October 1628

Petition of Andrew Murray to the King. Having been employed to procure deer for the King in Brandenburgh, he had reported the answer to the Duke of that country, and the great pains he had bestowed therein. Understanding by Lord Conway that the King is not willing to bestow so much present money as the charges of transporting the deer will amount to, Murray prays that money may be advanced to him to go to the Duke to return an answer.

9 June 1630

From Henry, Earl of Holland to [various]. His Majesty finding his game of deer in Bearwood Chase much impaired, and being desirous to have it speedily replenished, gave order for the remove of a good number of deer to be brought thither, out of some of his parks lately sold ; but, because those deer coming into the wild grounds could not be stayed, unless some place were fenced to keep them together, it was his pleasure that a hedge should be made about a quantity of ground, since which time the inclosed petition has been presented by some of the inhabitants, who complain against Richard Arrowsmith, the keeper, as also for the preservation of their right of common. [Petition mentions 100 or 120 acres or more had been enclosed for "learing" (perhaps from French *lier*, to bind) and feeding the deer].

27 October 1631

Grant to Sir Robert Killigrew... in fee-farm of the manor of Cold Kennington alias Kempton, with the park of Kempton, co. Middlesex... with this caution, that he shall maintain the said park stocked with 300 deer for his Majesty's disport.

15 April 1635

...the Elizabeth of London... taken up by Mr Breames [James Braems] to go to Dantzic for deer for the King.

11 September 1638

Sir Henry Vane to Lord Treasurer Juxon. This last night, when his Majesty was going to bed, he sent for me, and commanded me to signify to you that you should cause to be delivered to Mons. St Ravy £300 for his journey into France. He is to bring over more deer, which is an affair which will neither admit delay nor dispute. I shall, this day, at my coming to Bagshot, cause Mr Secretary to give a warrant for a Privy Seal for the same, but his Majesty would not have him stay for that, but that you should cause the money to be paid to him to-morrow, for that his Majesty has commanded him to use diligence. Your Lordship knows the business imports much.

5 January 1639

Henry, Earl of Holland to Anthony Holland, one of the yeomen huntsmen to the King. Two brace of stags have been lately taken out of his Majesty's park at Theobalds, and put into the park of Sir Francis Leight, at Addington, Kent, to be kept there for his Majesty's disport in the next summer. The said stags having since broken out from thence, now lie in the fields adjoining, where they may be subject to many casualties...

1 January 1650

Council of State, proceedings. Warrant to be issued to the keeper of Marylebone Park, to cause 100 of the best deer there to be transferred to St. James's Park, and Col. Pride to be desired to take care of this business.

13 November 1661

Warrant for payment of £1,000 to Sir W[illia]m St. Ravy, for expenses of transporting red and fallow deer from Germany and elsewhere, to replenish Windsor and Sherwood forests.

7 July 1662

Warrant to Rob[ert] Child and W[illia]m Bowles, masters of toils, to order the taking of fallow deer in the parks of the Earl of Northumberland and 26 others, and of red deer in those of Lord Paget and Mr. Winwood, and the conveying them to the royal parks.

17 September 1662

Order for a warrant to pay Robert Child and William Bowles, masters of the toils, £1,700 for the expense of taking red and fallow deer out of 28 parks, and conveying them to places ordered.

18 April 1663

Order to Sir William St. Ravy to export 80 deer and two pelicans to France.

21 April 1663

Order to Sir W[illia]m St. Ravy to export 100 deer, 2 elks, and some fowls into France.

20 September 1664

Warrant to Robert Child and William Bowles, masters of the toils, to remove all the red deer from the New Park, near Richmond, to such places as shall be ordered and to carry to the forests of Windsor and Essex deer to be presented by the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Lincoln ; also to receive orders from the Earl of Oxford for disposal of other deer for the King's service.

20 July 1665

Warrant to Robert Child and William Bowles, masters of toils, to remove 25 brace of fallow deer, with their fawns, from the New Forest to places in Woolmer Forest, appointed by Col. Legg.

17 November 1676

Warrant to the Master of the Toils to remove the toils to Hyde Park and take thence 150 deer and carry them to Greenwich Park and the Great Park at Windsor, and from thence to the Little Park at Windsor, and take from thence 60 deer and carry them to Windsor Great Park, or as he shall receive further directions, and from thence to Albury Park, near Guildford, belonging to the Earl of Norwich, and there take 200 deer and carry them to Richmond Park, there to be disposed of as Thomas Delmahoy shall appoint, who has presented them to the King.

## Appendix 6

Moneys Received and Paid for Secret Services of Charles II and James II ed. J.Y. Akerman (Camden Society 52) (London, 1851)

23 January 1684

To James Graham, the same being intended to be by him disbursed for removing deer out of the great Park at Windsor to Bagshot Parke... £30.

19 July 1684

To James Graham, for charges of taking 10 brace of redd deer at the Lord Aylesbury's [Savernake], and removing them to Bagshot Park... £44. 8s. 6d.

8 May 1685

To Thomas Howard, yeoman of the toyles, for his expences in taking 100d deere at the Lord Lumley's Park in Sussex, and delivering them into his Majesties forest in Hampshire between 26<sup>th</sup> Nov. and 28th of December 81... £93. 10s. 6d.

25 June 1686

To James Grahme, Esq. for charges of removing redd and fallow deer from Whatton Chace, Petworth, Ampthill, and Up Parkes, to the Holt forest and to Bagshott and New Parke... £399. 5s. 11d.

1 October 1686

To Thomas Howard, yeoman of the tents and toyles, for his charge in removing the toyles and waggons from Whaddon Chace in Buckinghamshire to Haddam Hall Park in Hertfordshire, and taking and removing the redd deere there to Epping Forest and to Bagshot Parke, and for removing the said waggons and toyles from Bagshott Parke to the Lord Aylesbury's parke in Wilts, called Tottenham Parke, and taking and removing 192 fallow deer to the forrest of Alice Holt in Hampshire... £152. 7s. 2d.

31 December 1686

To James Graham, Esq. to be by him paid over to John Hayward of London, carpenter, for and towards the charge of making a new paddock in New Park, in the county of Surrey, for the taking up of deere, and paling the same... £150.

3 July 1688

To Charles Bowles, one of the masters of the toyles, in full satisfacc'on of so much money due to him and others, for mending the old toyles, and making 3 peeces of new netting, and for taking a 100d deer out of Lees Park in Essex, and delivring 92, viz. 18 into Hyde Park, and 74 into St. James's Parke, in pursuance of a warrant under King Charles the Second's royall signe manual, dated ye 12<sup>th</sup> Feb'ry 1682... £198. 15s. 2d.

2 October 1688

To Thomas Howard, yeoman of the toyles, viz. 330li 10s 10d, due to him on 6 bills of charge for taking and removing redd deere from several parks and places to the forests of Windsor, Alice-holt, and other places, and 14li 10s for charge and fees paid to the Officers of the Exchequer on receiving the said money... £345. 0s. 10d.  
To Anthony Favanus, for the charge of his journey to Zell, in Germany, to fetch Germain deer, and the charge of his and their transportac'on hither... £300.

## Appendix 7

Levens Hall [Cumbria] Manuscripts, Box E.Mss1/34  
(Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs O.R. Bagot)

31 December 1688

An Account of the Charge of Feeding and Removing of 108 Red Deere that came from Germany out of the ship named Dorothy, lying then at the ship Brewhouse Wharfe and removed from thence into Windsor Forest, by his Royall Highness Order the Prince of Orange.

By Thomas Howard Yeoman of the Toyles

	£	s	d
Paid for 29 quarters of Oats to feed the Red Deer aboard the ship, at 12s the quarter. . . . .	17	08	00
paid the charge of meetinge and bringing them aboard. . . . .	00	07	06
paid for two Load of hay for the Red Deere. . . . .	04	00	00
paid for carrying the hay to the Ship. . . . .	00	04	06
paid for a box to load the Deere in, out of the Ships hold into the Waggons. . . . .	01	00	00
paid to the Wharfinger for the use of his Crane wharfe and Servants to Crane up the Deere out of the hold, and load them into the Waggons. . . . .	01	05	00
paid to Seaven Teames of horses, eleven dayes worke each Teame, at 18s per diem. . . . .	69	06	00
paid for Meat for the Deer on the Road and watching them. . . . .	01	12	00
paid for Six matts for the bottom of the waggon for the Deer to stand on. . . . .	00	18	00
paid for greesing and clouting the seven waggons each waggon three times. . . . .	01	01	00
paid to five men 13 dayes worke each man for loading the Deere out of the hold of the Ship and travelling with the Waggons on the road 2s 6d per day each man. . . . .	08	02	06
The Yeoman of the Toyles out 36 dayes himselfe and horse to attend and take care of the Redd Deere aboard the Ship to provide meat for them, and to Order the loading of them, and to remove them to such places as they were Ordered. . . . .	12	00	00
	117	04	06
Feb ye 16 ; [1689]			
Rec. then of ye Hon <sup>ble</sup> Cor <sup>ll</sup> Grahme the full contents of this bill. . . . .	117	04	06