7

KNOLE: SPORT, LABOUR, AND SOCIAL CONTEST

Dominic Barker, Ryan Lash, Kristian Strutt[1]

Abstract. This chapter presents the results of the topographic and geophysical survey undertaken at Knole, Kent, in August 2013. Drawing upon a variety of primary and secondary sources, these results are situated within the context of the long-term history of the Knole landscape and its deer park. A former archiepiscopal property, and still an active deer park and private residence, Knole may appear distinctive among the other National Trust properties surveyed in this volume. However, deer parks were once also crucial elements of the landscapes attached to Bodiam, Ightham, and Scotney. Knole's particular history and landscape demonstrate the changing role of deer parks as scenes of sport, labour, and the negotiation of social hierarchy from the late medieval period onwards.

Introduction

To a contemporary visitor, Knole House and its surrounding landscape look very different from the other National Trust properties in this book (Figs 7.1 & 7.2). The vast house is now laid out around seven main courtyards, dwarfing the plans of Bodiam, Ightham and Scotney (Fig. 7.3). Walled gardens adjacent to the house enclose an area even larger than the house itself. Though Bodiam and Scotney, and possibly Ightham, were once associated with nearby deer parks, only Knole still maintains an active park – indeed the largest surviving medieval deer park in England. Set hard by the bustling market town of Sevenoaks, Knole is also the only property in the survey that still functions in part as a private residence. The Sackville Estate owns most of the deer park and shares stewardship of the house with the National Trust (Fig. 7.4).

However distinctive it may appear today, Knole, like Bodiam, Ightham and Scotney, was a manorial property in the late medieval period. Indeed, construction of a manorial residence appears to have been underway when William Fiennes sold the property to Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1456. Writers usually credit Bourchier with the consolidation of earlier works into a habitable residence and the foundation of the deer park. Bourchier's successors acquired Knole along with their archiepiscopal title until Henry VIII obliged Archbishop Cranmer to cede him the property in 1537. Knole remained a royal property, intermittently leased out to aristocratic residents, until Thomas Sackville (after many years of divided lease) acquired complete ownership of the property in 1604. Little of the exterior fabric of the building has been altered since Thomas's renovations in the first decade of the 17th century, and the Sackville name has been associated with Knole ever since.

Scholars have failed to reach a consensus on the chronology of development for particular aspects of the house, walled gardens, and surrounding deer park (for

1 The fieldwork report presented in this chapter was directed and supervised by Kristian Strutt and Dominic Barker and was conducted by 12-15 students from Northwestern University and the University of Southampton in summer 2013. The final survey results were written-up by Dominic Barker, Ryan Lash and Kristian Strutt. Ryan Lash collated and synthesised the 'grey literature', and developed the wider arguments on deer parks and hunting presented here. The chapter was edited and revised by Kristian Strutt and Matthew Johnson.

Fig. 7.1: The west frontage of Knole House dominated by the four turrets of the gatehouse tower of Green Court. Early etchings and geophysical results indicate that this area was once more elaborately designed with bowling greens and pathways. Photo by Ryan Lash.

recent accounts see Dixon 2008; Gregory 2010; Town 2010; Newman 2012: 337-49). Indeed, the divided stewardship of the property has meant that archaeological assessments commissioned by the Trust or the Sackville Estate have tended to focus research and discussion on only one or another of these three aspects of Knole. This chapter contextualises recent research alongside Knole's existing 'grey literature' and recent discussions of medieval deer parks. It is intended as a starting point for better integrating analyses of the house, park, and gardens.

As with the other sites in our study, the primary goal of the geophysical survey at Knole was to identify remains of late medieval activity at the property and to understand these in terms of lived experience and political ecology. The team applied a number of different techniques including topographic survey, magnetometry, earth resistance, and Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR). Largely, though not entirely, confined to the western area of the house and its two westernmost courtyards, that is the areas under the

Fig. 7.2: This view of Knole House and the surrounding garden wall from the north illustrates how much more expansive this property is from the others surveyed in this book. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

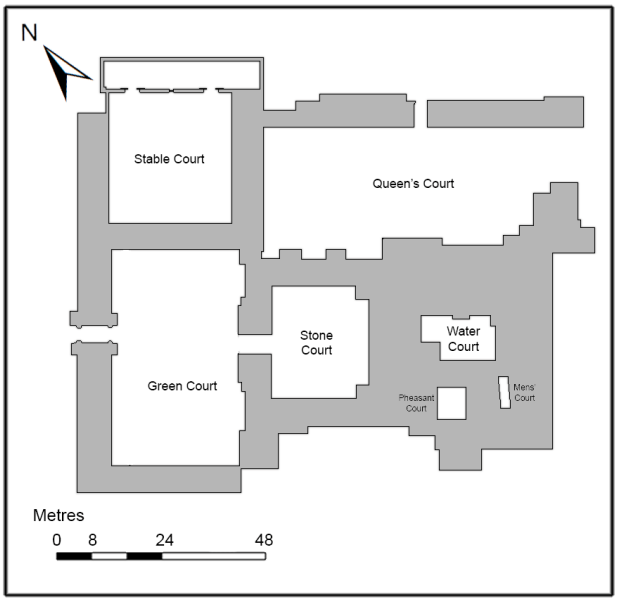

Fig. 7.3: (Above) A simplified plan view showing the main courtyards of Knole House. Scholars have offered various interpretations of the structure's phasing with the date of Green Court as the major point of debate. GPR survey in 2013 identified a buried rectilinear feature within the courtyard. Future excavation of this feature could help to resolve the chronology of Green Court's construction. Drawing by Kayley McPhee.

stewardship of the National Trust, our survey identified a number of features that merit further investigation. Most interestingly, GPR survey within the western outer court (Green Court) suggests the presence of sub-surface remains that may predate the construction of the courtyard. Additional investigation of this area, including open area excavation, could shed light on the ongoing debate concerning the origins of Green Court (Bridgman 1817: 149-50; Colvin 1963-82: 218; Faulkner 1970: 145-6; Gregory 2010: 76-8).

In addition to the geophysical and topographic surveys, the team conducted an informal survey of the deer park more broadly, guided in part by an earthwork survey commissioned by the Trustees of the Knole Park Estate in 2008 (Wright 2008). Identifying, dating, and even recognising earthworks within the deer park are difficult endeavours. However, juxtaposing survey results

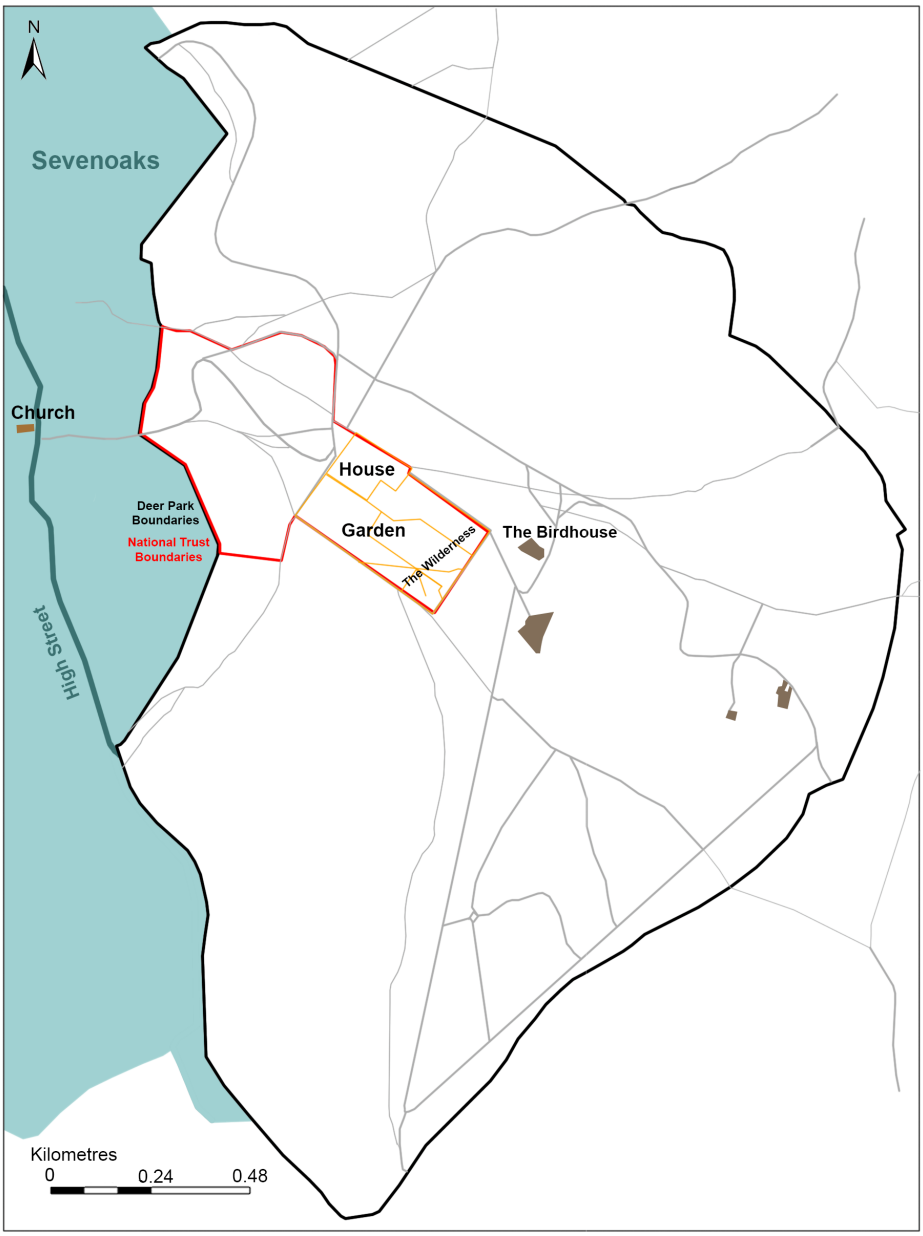

Fig. 7.4: (Right) Plan of Knole landscape indicating the areas under the stewardship of the National Trust and the Sackville Estate. The park's 930 acres were acquired incrementally over many centuries with final acquisitions in 1825-1826. Drawing by Kayley McPhee.

alongside archival records, other contemporary hunting grounds, and contextual evidence for the many different practices and resonances of medieval hunting, allows us to discuss a topic relevant to all of the residences in our survey: the lived experience of late medieval parks as places of sport, labour, and social contest. Knole Park was periodically the scene of elaborate staged hunts, of the mundane work of agriculture and industry, and of riotous protests by common people opposed to the claims of elite privilege. Knole's deer park, like other landscapes in this study, emerges not just as a stage setting for elite performance, but also as a place of work and social disobedience that implicated people from different class backgrounds across many centuries.

Knole: History and Context

The Knole landscape's deep historical and political ecological context

The complex underlying geology of south-east England has had significant repercussions for patterns of human settlement over the millennia. Set between the chalk downs to the north and the Wealden clay lands to the south, the Knole estate is located along the Lower Greensand ridge, whose bedrock formed some 100-125 million years ago. While not particularly productive for arable cultivation, the greensand ridge supports heath and woodland that was particularly appropriate for a medieval deer park. From a broader perspective, Knole's position along the greensand ridge places it at the junction of different landscapes that have afforded different forms of settlement, subsistence, and political relations.

Just north of the greensand ridge, the Darent Valley has been seen as an important channel of movement and settlement within Kent since prehistory (Everitt 1977). From its formation in Westerham, the Darent River runs east towards Sevenoaks and then north through a gap in the North Downs before flowing into the Thames. In contrast to the greensands of Knole, the Darent Valley is characterised by the more fertile Gault Clay. The appeal of this landscape for settlement is apparent in the density of archaeological remains within the valley. Just 6 km north of Knole along the Darent valley sits Otford. In proximity to Otford's town centre are a Bronze Age bowl barrow and multiple Roman sites from the early centuries CE, including a villa and a cremation cemetery at Frogfarm (Pearce 1930; Ward 1990). Additionally, the 7th to 8th-century inhumation cemetery at Polhill is thought to have served an Anglo-Saxon community dwelling at Otford (Philip 2002: 33). By the 9th century, Otford was the centre of an estate owned by the see of Canterbury. Today it houses the ruins of an archiepiscopal palace commissioned by Archbishop William Warham in the first quarter of the 15th century.

Regardless of the density of archaeology in the Darent Valley, early settlers were certainly not avoiding the greensand ridge. The earliest evidence of human activity within the park comes from a series of Mesolithic (8,500-4,000 BCE) flint finds (Wright 2008: 2). Later prehistoric settlement remains are apparent further afield. A Bronze Age bowl barrow sits on the crest of a prominent sandy ridge at Millpond Wood, some 1.3 km north of Knole Park. Excavation showed that this barrow had been constructed over an earlier Mesolithic flint working site (Abbott 1896). Alastair Oswald has recently suggested that a similar site may lie within Knole Park. The low mound surmounting Echo Mount, now surrounded by a clump of trees, may represent a much-eroded Bronze Age barrow (Alastair Oswald, pers. comm.). The setting – what appears as a high-point in the landscape today – as well as the recent recovery of flint flakes in this area, supports this hypothesis (Fig. 7.5).

Compared to the Darent Valley, there is a dearth of archaeological evidence for Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement activity at Knole and Sevenoaks. However, a combination of place-name and documentary evidence suggests that early medieval people used the greensands for woodland resources and rough grazing

Fig. 7.5: Neolithic or Bronze Age worked flint uncovered at Echo Mount in 2015. Similar pieces have been found over the last few years, while the Sevenoaks Museum holds a bag of flints reportedly collected from Echo Mount in the early 20th century. These likely also represent surface finds, as the area does not seem to have ever been excavated. Photo by Nathalie Cohen.

(Everitt 1977; 1986). The north-south running hollow ways that traverse the greensand ridge and lead into the Weald were constructed in this period to facilitate the seasonal movement of stock. One such droveway is still visible near Sevenoaks at Kettleswell (Killingray 2010: 40). In Alan Everitt's interpretation (1977; 1986), early medieval settlers eventually transformed seasonal encampments on the greensand ridge and the Weald into permanent settlements dependent on estate centres located on the fertile river valleys and foothills to the north. By the later medieval period, this process created a distinctive pattern of settlement and political relations. This landscape was characterised by relatively isolated small farms, whose tenants enjoyed greater independence from elites – or at least less onerous feudal obligations. This settlement history was a probable factor in the particular perceived unruliness of Kentish husbandmen and yeomen in the later medieval period (see below and Chapter Twelve).

The origins of Sevenoaks and Knole may well belong in the early medieval context of this north to south movement of people, animals, goods, and legal authority between estate centres along the North Downs, settlements in the Weald, and ports along the south coast (Knocker 1926). Whatever the case, the landscape of Knole developed into a major stage for the production and contestation of political authority in subsequent centuries.

The development of Knole Manor, c. 1200–1456

Du Boulay (1974) and Gregory (2010) offer the most detailed accounts of the early history of the Knole estate leading up to its possession by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, in 1456. The earliest references to the estate at Knole and the adjacent town of Sevenoaks date to the 13th century. Sevenoaks was certified as a market town as early as 1200. It was at this time a portion of the manor of Otford. In 1297, a number of tenants from Sevenoaks owed pannage (swine grazing) rents to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Du Boulay 1974: 2). Tenants appear to be mostly smallholders, engaged in various crafts and woodland management rather than arable agriculture. During the 13th and 14th centuries, three local families accumulated rent-paying estates in the vicinity of Sevenoaks – the de Knoles, the Grovehursts, and the Ashburnhams. As their surname suggests, the de Knole's property was concentrated to the south-east of Sevenoaks in the area of present day Knole Park. The head of this family in the late 13th century, Robert de Knole, was bailiff to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Liberty from 1292-1295 (Du Boulay 1974: 5).

During the 14th century, Knole was acquired by and incorporated into the estates of the Grovehursts and then the Ashburnhams. The accumulated property is first referred to as the 'Manor of Knole' when it was inherited by Roger Ashburnham in 1364 (Du Boulay 1974: 6). Roger is unlikely to have had his primary residence at Knole, as he simultaneously owned the Scotney estate where the remains of his manor house still stand. The next two owners are also unlikely to have resided at Knole. Thomas Langley, the Bishop of Durham, purchased the manor in 1419 and it fell to his son-in-law Ralph Leigh after his death. The principal properties of both men were far from Knole (Gregory 2010: 12-3).

At some stage between 1444 and 1450, Knole was purchased by James Fiennes, the Lord Say and Sele. Fiennes had begun work and may nearly have completed building a manor house when he was killed during the Jack Cade rebellion of 1450. Within the existing house at Knole there is no evidence of architectural fabric predating the mid-15th century. Hence, it is unclear whether there was any large-scale manorial residence at Knole prior to Fiennes's work. Gregory offers the intriguing suggestion that the ruins of a house predating Fiennes's work may lie elsewhere at Knole Park. To the east of the house, on a hill that forms the highest point of the park, is set an octagonal cottage and a series of low, ruinous walls. The former, called the 'Birdhouse', is a neo-Gothic structure probably built in the mid-18th century. The latter was described by Vita Sackville-West as a sham ruin fabricated around 1761 (Fig. 7.6; Sackville-West 1922: 26). Knole's late 18th-century residences may well have created the folly from existing stone remains. The main gate arch is certainly no earlier than the 16th century. There is a possibility that other portions of the ruin – of flint construction with rubble core and freestone dressing – may represent medieval architecture, perhaps *spolia* from Otford if not an early manorial residence at Knole. Extending geophysical survey to this area in the future could identify the original form of the ruins or any activity predating the Birdhouse.

Archiepiscopal and royal residence: 1456-1604

Over the last decade, building surveys and archaeological assessments accompanying renovations and construction at Knole have afforded opportunities to examine the building sequence at Knole (Munby 2007; Bartlett 2007; Dixon 2008; Peyre 2010). Synthesising this work, Gregory suggests that James Fiennes had nearly completed a manor house at Knole when the estate was bought from his son by the Archbishop Thomas Bourchier in 1456 (2010: 20-1, 27). Though isolating this building within the existing

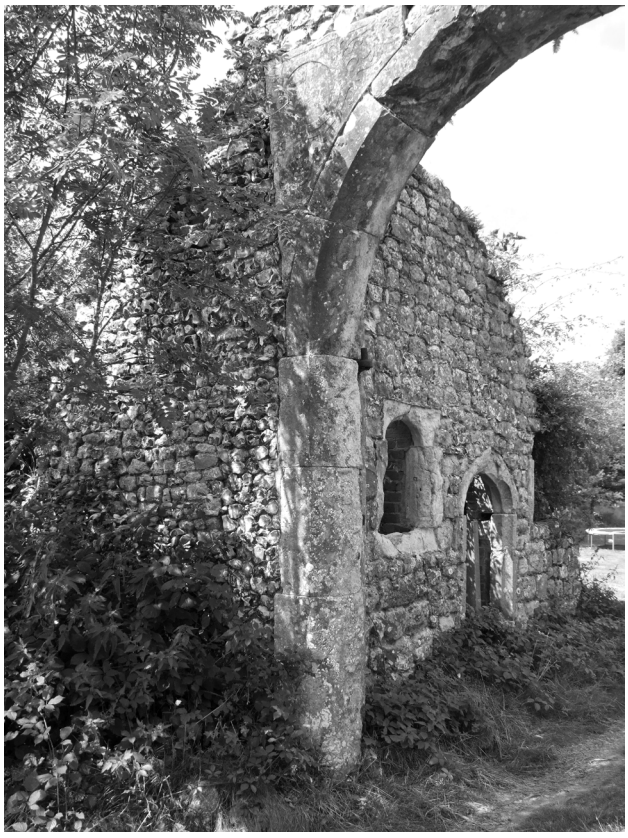

Fig. 7.6: Detail of the folly ruins near the Birdhouse. Some of the architectural fabric may have been salvaged from earlier ruins in this location or from Otford. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

fabric of Knole House is difficult, it is likely that this building was centred on what is now known as Water Court (Fig. 7.2; Gregory 2010: 29-38).

Scholars have debated Bourchier's contribution to the house, park, and gardens visible at Knole today. Most agree that Stone Court and the Chapel belong to his tenure (Colvin 1963-82; Faulkner 1970; Emery 2006; Munby 2007). Of Bourchier's successors, the majority of building work is credited to John Morton (1486-1500) or William Warham (1503-32) (Kilburne 1659: 244; Hasted 1798; Bridgman 1817: 149-50; Gregory 2010: 3-7). This work included the construction of the ranges enclosing Pheasant Court and the remodelling of the east range around the Leicester Gallery, the Spangle Bedroom, and the Kitchen. The origins of Green Court remain obscure. Most accounts attribute Green Court either to Bourchier's archiepiscopal successors or to Henry VIII (Colvin 1963-82; Faulkner 1970; Emery 2006; Munby 2007). Building accounts and limited archaeological investigation offer an alternative possibility. Annual account records from the 1470s indicate an emphasis on the purchase of bricks. Though few bricks are visible in ranges of Green Court, their fabric does include brick. More importantly, small excavations in Green Court have uncovered rubble layers of brick and mortar below the courtyard's south range (Martinez-Jausoro 2009; Peyre 2010: 6). Potentially, the internal ranges of Green Court were originally constructed in this brick, but later rebuilt during renovations in the 17th century (Gregory 2010: 82-3). Geophysical survey within Green Court in 2013 identified a linear anomaly running at an angle to the courtyard walls (see Fig. 7.17 below). Additional exploration of this feature could shed light on the chronology of Green Court.

Bourchier is also often credited with the foundation of an orchard and lavender garden, though the source of this claim is unknown (O'Halloran & Woudstra 2012: 35). The first reference to the paling of the park comes from 1468, and so Bourchier was probably responsible for the foundation of the deer park at Knole. The extent of the park at this time is unknown, but it expanded incrementally in subsequent centuries. (A larger consideration of the use, labour demands, and social dynamics of the deer park is pursued below,).

The deer park is perhaps what attracted Henry VIII to the property. The king visited Archbishop Warham at Knole many times between 1504 and 1514 (Taylor 2003: 165). In 1537, Henry pressured Warham's successor, Thomas Cranmer, to cede him the property. The extent of Henry's contribution to Knole is debated. However, expense records indicate that one Sir Richard Longe was paid 'for making the King's garden at Knole' (O'Halloran & Woudstra 2012: 35). It is unclear how this garden related to the existing gardens at Knole. The estate remained a royal property, leased out to a series of tenants until the early 17th century. The final royal tenant, John Lennard, built a 12 ft ragstone wall to protect four springs within the garden that supplied the house. This work defined the existing boundaries of the garden, and the ragstone wall still encloses much of the garden today (Rardin 2006: 7; O'Halloran & Woudstra 2012: 35).

Under the Sackvilles: 1603-Present

In 1603, Thomas Sackville, Lord Treasurer and cousin to Elizabeth I, used the powers of his office to sell the freehold of Knole to himself. Between 1605 and 1608, Sackville undertook major renovations that gave Knole House the form it largely retains today. Sackville oversaw the rebuilding or remodelling of aspects of Stone Court, Water Court, Stable Court, and Green Court (Munby 2007; Town 2010). At this time, the south range of Green Court was demolished and rebuilt further south. This range was renovated again in the

mid-18th century as the Orangery. A parch-mark visible within Green Court running parallel to the Orangery likely marks the original foundation of the south range.

With the exception of a brief occupation by Parliamentary forces during the English Civil War, Knole House has remained in the Sackville family for more than 400 years. Though the house saw few major changes after Thomas Sackville's work, the Sackville family continued to modify the park landscape in subsequent centuries, not least by the incorporation of additional land. In the early 18th century, the Earls of Sackville became the Dukes of Dorset. The earliest etchings of Knole from the late 17th and early 18th century offer a glimpse of the landscape immediately surrounding the house at this time. The Knyff and Kip engraving, produced in 1698 but not published until 1709, shows the garden at its full extent and a rectangular enclosure lined with trees outside the house's western front (Fig. 7.7). A later engraving published in 1716, shows the addition of an oval-shaped bowling green within the garden and a series of tree-lined pathways radiating from the western front of the house. One of these pathways is the Duchess Walk in today's landscape (Fig. 7.8). Other familiar aspects of the modern park landscape – including Chestnut Walk, Broad Walk, and the octagonal Birdhouse – were constructed during the occupation of Lionel Sackville (1706-65), the first Sackville Duke of Dorset (Rardin 2006: 3-4). Lionel's son, Charles Sackville, removed thousands of trees when he became the second Duke of Dorset in 1765. He began a replanting project in 1768 that was continued by his nephew, John Sackville, as the third Duke of Dorset. Many trees in the park date to this period (Rardin 2006: 4).

With final acquisitions in 1825-6, the park reached its current area of around 930 acres. This brought to a close a long history of acquiring parcels of land, including commons, in the vicinity of the park. Villagers of Sevenoaks nevertheless maintained certain rights of access to the park. The most important of these was the use of the bridle path that bisected the park from Fawke Common in the east to the border with Sevenoaks in

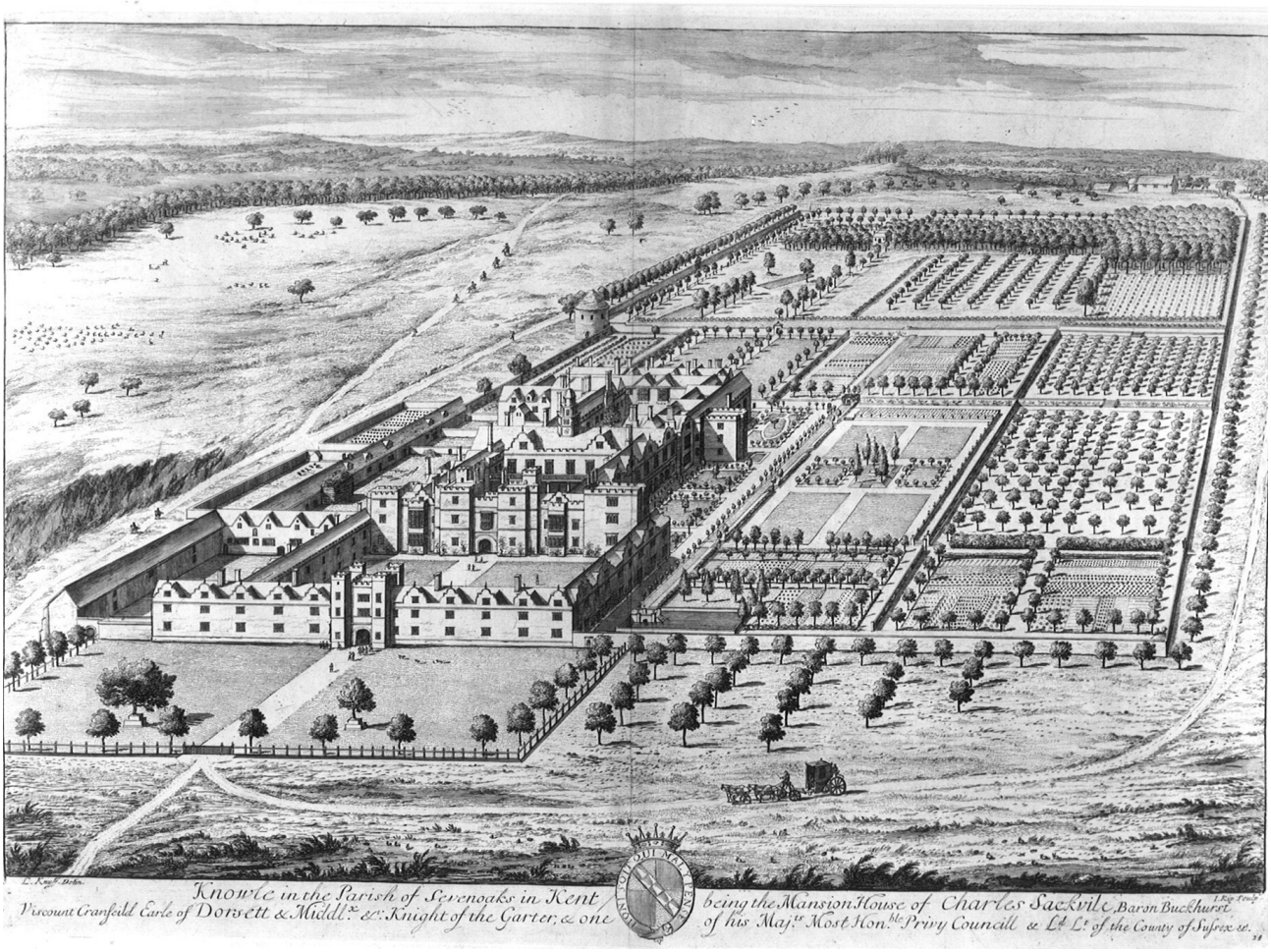

Fig. 7.7: The extent of the house and gardens at Knole has changed little since Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip produced this engraving in 1698. However, note the large rectangular enclosure surrounding a flat green along the west front of the house. Some indication of a feature following the line of this enclosure was revealed in the 2013 earth resistance survey.

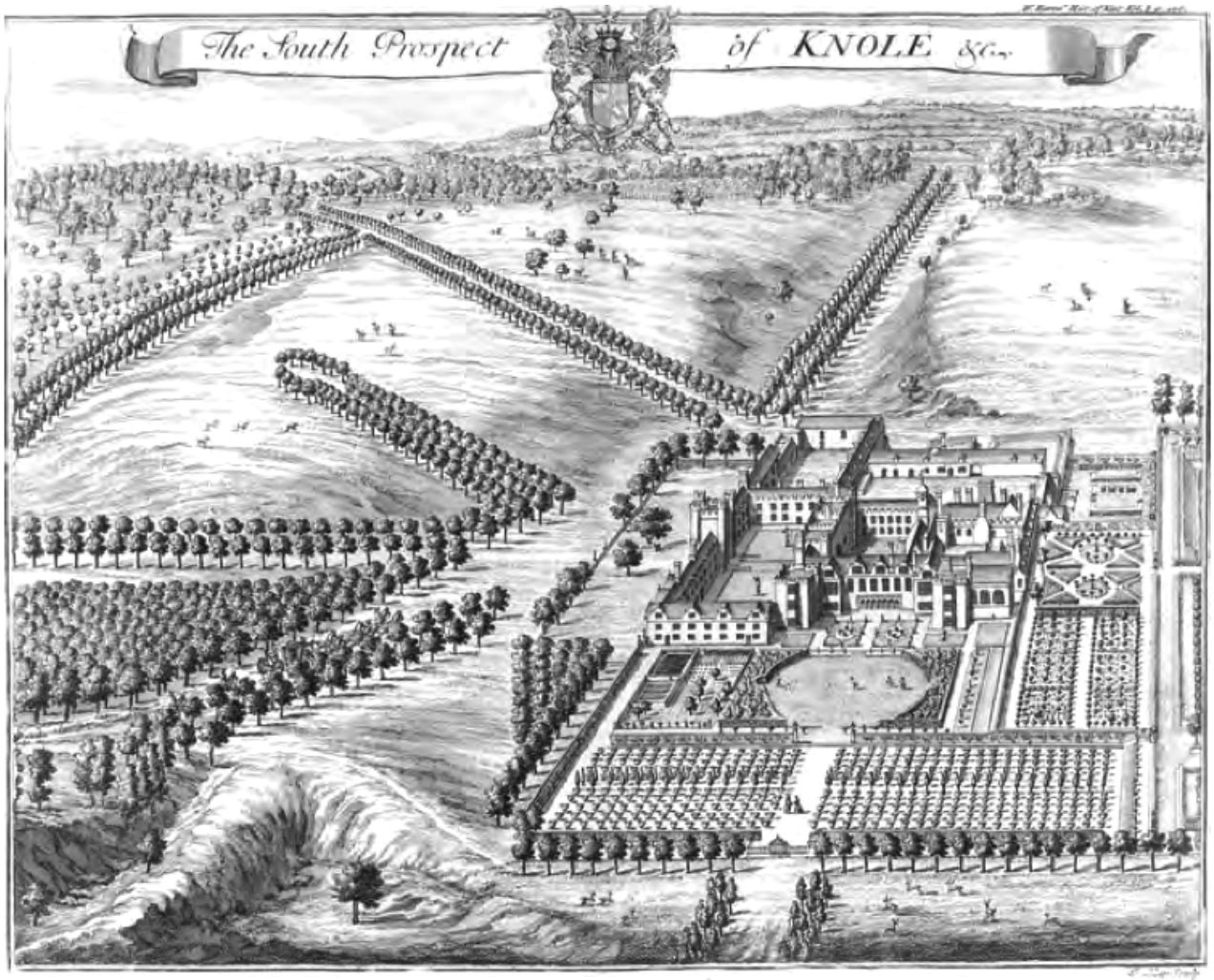

Fig. 7.8: John Harris and Jan Kip produced this engraving for John Harris's History of Kent, published in 1716. Note the tree-lined avenues extending radially from the west front of the house, including one that surmounts Echo Mount.

the west. Frustrated with the influx of day-trippers to Knole Park made possible by the new railway line to London, Mortimer Sackville-West closed public access to the house in 1879 and obstructed the bridle path in 1883. Protesting this affront to traditional rights of access, townspeople from Sevenoaks and villagers from surrounding settlements, stormed the park in 1884, destroyed barriers and dragged their ruins before the door of Knole House. Access to the bridle path was eventually renegotiated, and limited public access to the house was restored under Mortimer's successor, Lionel Sackville-West.

Modifications to Knole Park continued in the 20th century. A golf course inserted in the north-east area of the park in 1923 required major modifications of the landscape, including the clearance of trees and the removal or damaging of earlier landscape features (Wright 2008). The use of the southern portion of the park as a rifle range from at least 1870 and for other military exercises during World War One and Two may have caused additional disturbances. Portions of the house and the western area of the park came under National Trust stewardship in 1946. Major recent transformations of the park include the insertion of the car park and the great storm of 1987, in which around 70% of the park's trees were destroyed (Sclater 1989). Other notable events of the 20th century include the featuring of the park landscape in The Beatles' music videos for 'Penny Lane' and 'Strawberry Fields Forever', both filmed in 1967.

The 2013 Topographic and Geophysical Survey

Background and methods

The project undertook a survey campaign at Knole with the aim of identifying features that would help to reconstruct the lived experience of the late medieval landscape. A team of students and staff from the University of Southampton and Northwestern University conducted the survey work at Knole between 3rd August and 22nd August 2013 (Fig. 7.9). The area surveyed lay largely within the stewardship of

Fig. 7.9: Conducting survey in the park meant interacting closely with inquisitive locals and day-trippers. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

the Trust, though we thank Lord Sackville for granting permission for us to also survey strips along the north-eastern side of the house and the south-western side of the garden enclosure.

The geology and the presence of brick and masonry within the large survey area at Knole Park meant that earth resistance and magnetometry were the most expedient techniques to apply. GPR was also used on a limited basis to target specific areas of interest or to further explore anomalies apparent in the magnetometer survey results.

For the geophysical survey, grids of 30 m x 30 m were set out across the entire survey area using a Leica GS15 GPS with SmartNet. This instrument was also used to conduct topographic survey, with spot elevation measurements taken at 1 m intervals or at 0.2 m elevation variation, along traverses at 2.5 m separation. The magnetometer survey was carried out using a Bartington Instruments 601-2 dual sensor fluxgate gradiometer (Fig. 7.10). Readings were taken at 0.25 m intervals along 0.5 m traverses, with traverses of data collected in zig-zag mode. Earth resistance was carried out using a Geoscan Research RM15 resistance meter, with measurements taken at 1 m intervals along traverses spaced 1 m apart (Fig. 7.11).

The magnetometer and earth resistance survey data were imported into and processed using Geoplot 3.0 software. The processing of magnetometer data was necessary to remove any effects produced by changes in the earth's magnetic field during the course of survey, and to minimise any interference in the magnetometer data from surface scatters of modern ferrous material

Fig. 7.10: University of Southampton student Patrick Thewlis wearing the non-magnetic clothing required for magnetometry survey. Photo by Peter Tolly.

Fig. 7.11: Team members conducting earth resistance survey. Photo by Dominic Barker.

and ceramics. Data were de-spiked to remove any large peaks or 'spikes' from the data produced by material on the surface of the field. A mean traverse function was then applied to average out any changes in the data produced by the 'drift' in the earth's magnetic field. Filters were subsequently applied to smooth out any high frequency, small disturbances in the data. Finally 0.5 m values were interpolated from the existing readings to improve the spatial resolution of the results across the traverse lines.

The earth resistance data also required processing to remove any high resistance spikes in the data, to edgematch the grids, and to remove any effects in the data from broad geological variations in the subsoil. As such, the data were de-spiked, and the grids were edgematched to ensure uniformity of background measurements across the survey area. Additionally, High Pass and Low Pass filters were applied to the dataset.

The GPR survey was conducted using a Sensors and Software instrument with Smart Cart (Fig. 7.12). A 500 MHz antenna was used, with traverses collected at 0.5 m intervals in zig-zag fashion. The GPR data were processed using GPR Slice, with background and bandpass filter functions being used on the datasets. The processed radargrams were then collated and sliced in the software to provide a series of horizontal datasets showing the changes in amplitude at increasing depth.

Fig. 7.12: Team members operate the GPR equipment. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

The following sections detail the results of our survey, organised according to the location of features identified within the survey area. Where possible, we use published and unpublished archaeological research to interpret geophysical or topographic anomalies.

The elevated area north-west of the house

The elevated ground to the north-west of the house is now one of the most conspicuous highpoints within the park. Whether this 'knoll' represents the estate's namesake is only speculation. However, it certainly is a crucial component of the lived experience of the landscape today. When approaching the estate along the modern drive, the house is obscured from view before appearing, as if from nowhere, as one proceeds around the curve of the knoll.

The 2013 survey aimed to shed additional light on peoples' use and experience of this area in the past. Two major anomalies are apparent in the data warrant discussion. The first is a linear feature immediately to the west of Echo Mount, extending on a rough north-south alignment. Visible to the naked eye as a low ridge, this same feature is apparent in the magnetometry as a positive linear anomaly, some 120 m in length and tapering at its northern and southern ends from a width of 15 m (Figs 7.14 & 7.15). The resistance survey also detected this feature as a strip of low resistance (Fig. 7.18). Following identification of the feature with magnetometry and resistance survey, a trial GPR grid was placed in this area to target the linear feature. The results indicate the presence of a broad feature some 15 m across, which then widens out at increased depth. This seems to suggest that the anomaly is a break in the geology of the area (Fig. 7.16).

Alastair Oswald (pers. comm.) has suggested that this ridge is related to one of a series of relict agricultural lynchets and hollowed trackways to the north of the car park. The 2008 survey by Wessex Archaeology (Wright 2008: 73) also identified a series of linear earthworks in the area north of Echo Mount. Interestingly, there is a reference of 1612 to 'paling about the mount', but it is unclear precisely to what and where this refers (Taylor 2003: 179). The 2013 geophysical survey suggests that the low ridge identified by Oswald is not a humanly

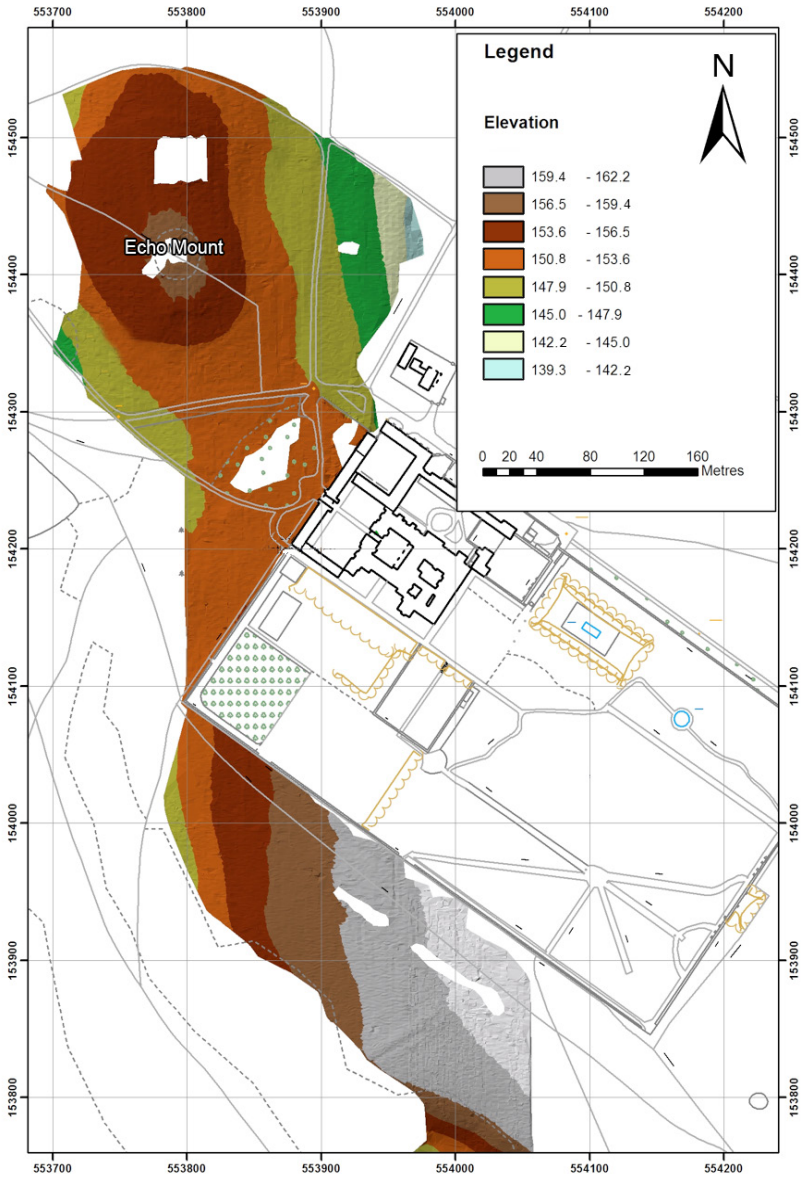

Fig. 7.13: Results of the topographic survey at Knole. Despite Echo Mount's prominence, it is not the highest point in the landscape.

constructed feature, but rather reflects an anomaly in the underlying geology. If there were lynchets or palings here, their remains were not detected by geophysical survey.

The second feature apparent in the geophysical survey of this area suggests the former presence of a rectangular enclosure near the clump of trees north of Echo Mount. The magnetometry readings identified a rectilinear positive anomaly here measuring 25 m x 25 m (Fig. 7.15). This response may relate to earth or stonework here associated with a standing or viewing platform. A letter written by John Lennard, the leasee of Knole, to Lord Burghley in 1587 references a bill issued for the repair of a 'stanyng'. It is uncertain where this standing was and what its intended function was. Lady Anne Clifford, wife to Richard Sackville, mentions the 'standing in the garden' multiple times in her diary. Notably, each reference includes the qualifier 'in the garden', suggesting that other standings may also once have been present at Knole (Taylor 2003: 167-9). Timber standings associated with hunting grounds, such as the remodelled example in Epping Forest, are thought to have been used to advantage spectators or archers during the coursing or hunting of deer. A multi-storied standing by this clump of trees may have provided an impressive vista, but not advantageous views of any areas particularly suited to coursing or driving deer (see below).

An early depiction of Knole suggests that this elevated area was formerly an important component of a planned park landscape at Knole. The Harris and Kip engraving of the south prospect of Knole, published in 1716, shows a number of tree-lined pathways extending out from the western front of the house. One path leads up to the top of the elevated area to a circular area enclosed by trees (Fig. 7.8). This circular clump of trees appears to correspond with

a small mound surmounting Echo Mount, though alternatively, it may correspond to the position of the rectilinear anomaly slightly further north. Whatever the case, the spot likely provided a better vista towards Sevenoaks than towards the house itself.

Despite its conspicuousness within the park, the mound atop Echo Mount itself yielded no significant anomalies in the geophysical survey results. As mentioned above, recent flint finds from Echo Mount suggest that the low mound there may represent an eroded prehistoric monument. As the ground was too dry in August 2013 for our equipment to measure earth resistance on Echo Mount, only magnetometry was undertaken in this area. The results yielded no evidence in support of any manner of substantial archaeological remains on the mound atop Echo Mount.

Topographic survey revealed a somewhat surprising observation concerning the relative elevation of Echo Mount and the Knole gardens. Today, Echo Mount appears as a prominent highpoint in the park landscape. However, as seen in the topographic model (Fig. 7.13), the highest elevation of Echo Mount is actually 2-3 m lower than the area along the southern side of the garden wall. The high ground around Echo Mount is still conspicuous in terms of the pitch of elevation change over a small area. Nevertheless, it may not have offered the best vantage point in a prehistoric or even early medieval landscape prior to the construction of the house and garden walls.

The western front of Knole House

Earth resistance survey along the western front of the house revealed a series of linear features of low resistance (Fig. 7.18). One long thin feature runs north-east to south-west at approximately 50 m from and parallel to the western wall of the house. This feature intersects with a wider (c. 10 m) linear feature of high resistance whose alignment corresponds with that of the entrance

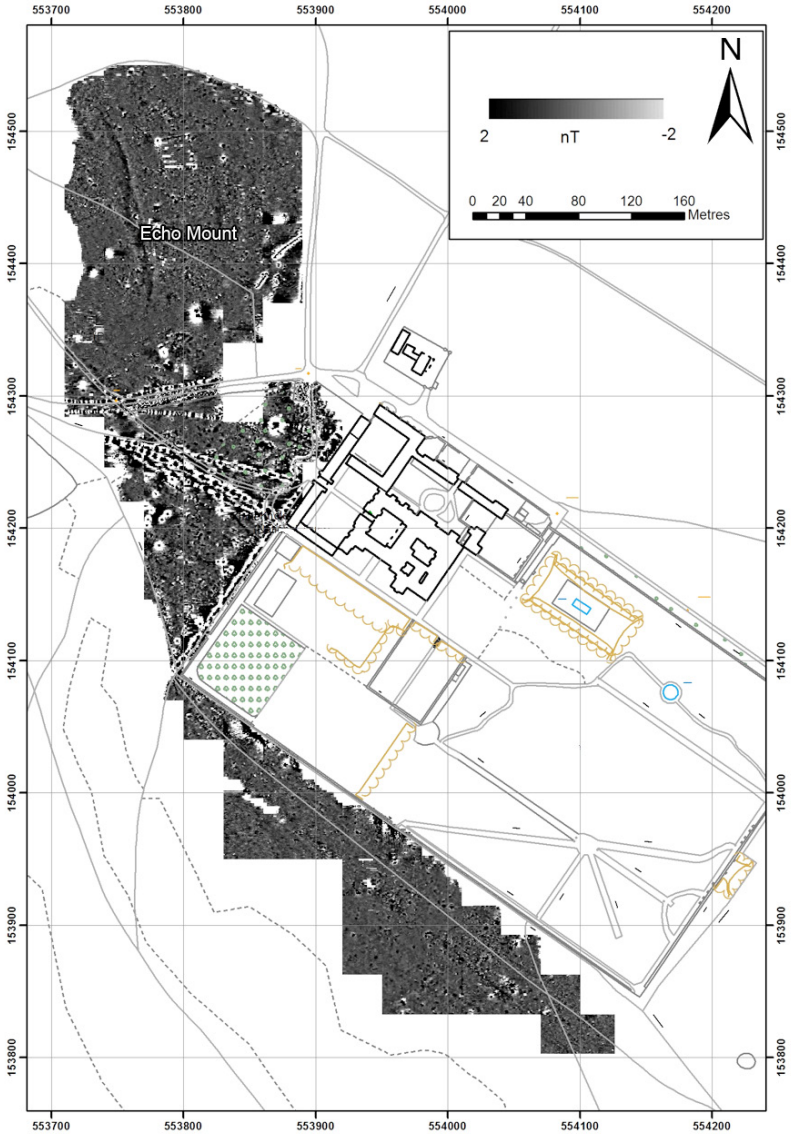

Fig. 7.14: Results of the magnetometry survey. The long linear features extending from the western front of the house represent utility pipes.

Fig. 7.15: Detailed view of the magnetometry around Echo Mount. Note the long north-south ridge and the rectilinear feature.

way to Green Court. These features appear to correspond with the enclosure and pathway visible on the earliest engravings of Knole House from the late 17th and early 18th century. Though it corresponds spatially, it is unlikely that the tree-lined fence shown in the engravings accounts on its own for the linear low resistance anomaly. Perhaps a ditch was dug around this area, either as part of a 'ha-ha', or merely to introduce soil to create a level surface for bowling greens that are mentioned here in an early 17th-century text (Ravilious 2016: 48).

GPR survey also provided evidence for a structure undocumented in early texts or depictions of the house. As seen in the GPR results, the line of the entrance to the house is visible with high amplitude responses on either side some 50 m from the western front of the house (Fig. 7.17). These responses may relate to the buried remains of some gateway arch or other structure here. Excavation could shed additional light on this hypothesis.

A number of other linear and curvilinear low resistance anomalies were detected to the south-west of the former front enclosure. These features likely represent the trenches excavated for utility pipes detected in this area with the magnetometry survey. Finally, earth resistance survey identified a number of discrete low resistance anomalies that appear to correspond with positive magnetic anomalies in the magnetometry. These may represent pits dug around the park, but their purpose remains enigmatic.

Along the southern garden wall

In addition to the line of the modern pathway along the southern garden wall magnetometry revealed a series of linear positive anomalies cutting across the ridge from south-west to north-east (Fig. 7.14). Topographic survey noted a ditch in this area running on a similar south-west/north-east alignment (Fig. 7.13). These results may relate to tillage in this area, either predating or associated with the deer park.

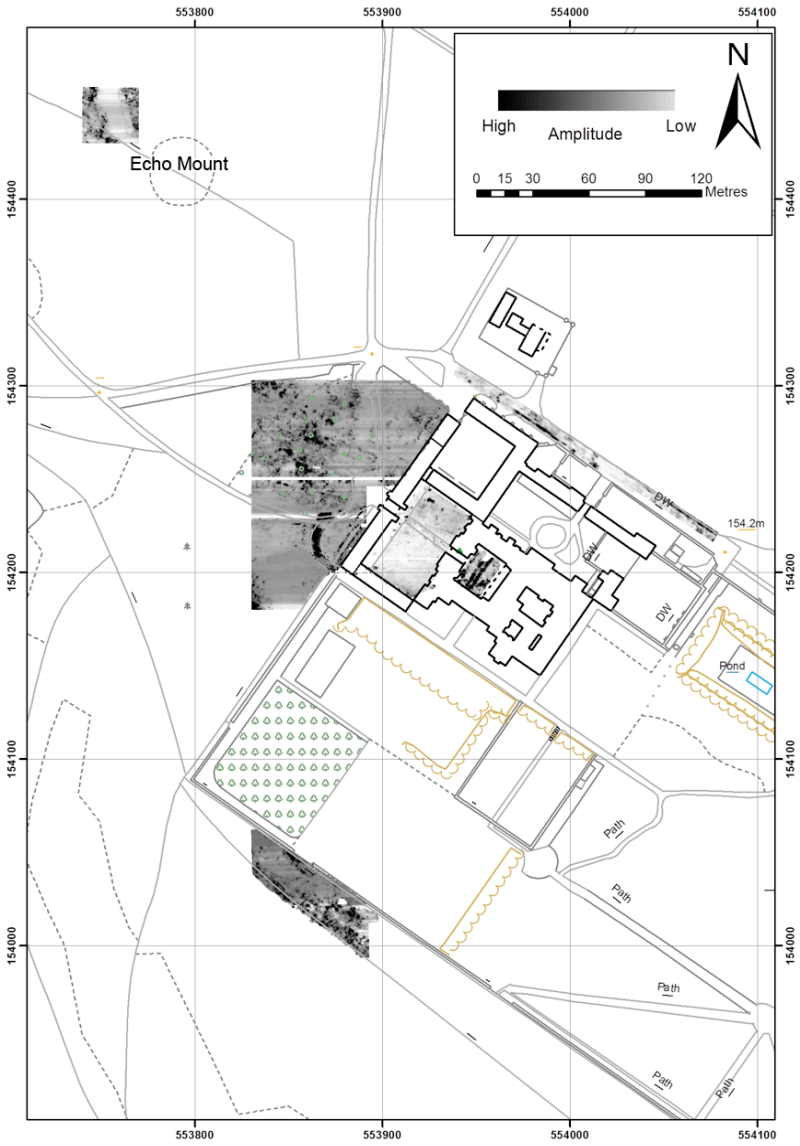

Fig. 7.16: Results of the GPR survey.

Stone Court and Green Court

GPR survey was also undertaken within the areas enclosed by Stone Court and Green Court (Fig. 7.17). Two linear high amplitude anomalies run south-west/north-east across the centre of Stone Court. These likely represent two brick built cisterns previously identified by archaeological assessments within Stone Court (Miller Tritton & Partners 2003; Osiris Marine Services Ltd 2005; Henderson 2007: 4-5). Other high amplitude readings within the court may represent other drainage features underlying Stone Court.

In Green Court, high amplitude responses appear to relate to a rectilinear feature underlying the grass to the north of the pathway dividing the courtyard. Notably, the alignment of this feature runs at a tangent to the alignment of the courtyard wall; nor does it correspond to the alignment of a metal utility pipe identified by the earth resistance survey undertaken in 2007 (Bartlett 2007). This probable rectilinear feature may be interpreted in the light of excavation results previously undertaken in Green Court (Henderson 2007). An archaeological watching brief was commissioned during the removal, repair, and replacement of the flagstone pathway leading through Green Court. Only the area covered by the flagstone path was excavated, but excavators identified an alignment of four ragstone blocks set within a cut feature underlying the northern edge of the pathway, some 8-10 m from the external entrance to Green Court (Henderson 2007: 6). Given the correspondence in position, it is possible that the excavated ragstone feature represents the edge of the rectilinear feature identified in the GPR.

The presence of architectural remains underlying Green Court potentially has significant implications for understanding the chronology of the house. As discussed above, the date of construction of Green Court remains

a sticking point in debates concerning the development of Knole. Further investigation of this feature, ideally with open area excavation, could shed light on the matter: any secure dating evidence from the purported architectural feature would provide a *terminus post quem* for Green Court, and thereby suggest which resident of the estate commissioned its construction.

Summary of the 2013 survey

Our survey campaign raises a series of questions and avenues for future investigation. Geophysical analysis and previous landscape surveys suggest that three areas in particular would reward additional investigation, particularly excavation. The first is the elevated area around Echo Mount. GPR or trial excavation may shed light on the possibility of a Bronze Age monument here. Geophysical results could not define the identity of earthworks observed here by other researchers. Nevertheless, the conspicuousness of this elevated area appears to have appealed to people as a vantage point or focus of activity in different centuries.

The second area is along the main entrance path to the house, about 50 m west of Green Court. High amplitude responses in the GPR suggest buried stone remains here, possibly a gateway arch. Identification and dating of this feature would inform understandings of how one of the approaches to Knole House was framed in the past. The route of formalised approaches in the late medieval or early modern period was likely very different than the route taken by most visitors today.

The third area is within Green Court. Opening up a wider area of excavation in this courtyard would identify the linear feature apparent in the GPR survey and define its relationship to the flagstone feature excavated in 2007. Results could clarify when Green Court was constructed and determine what structures previously lay in this area.

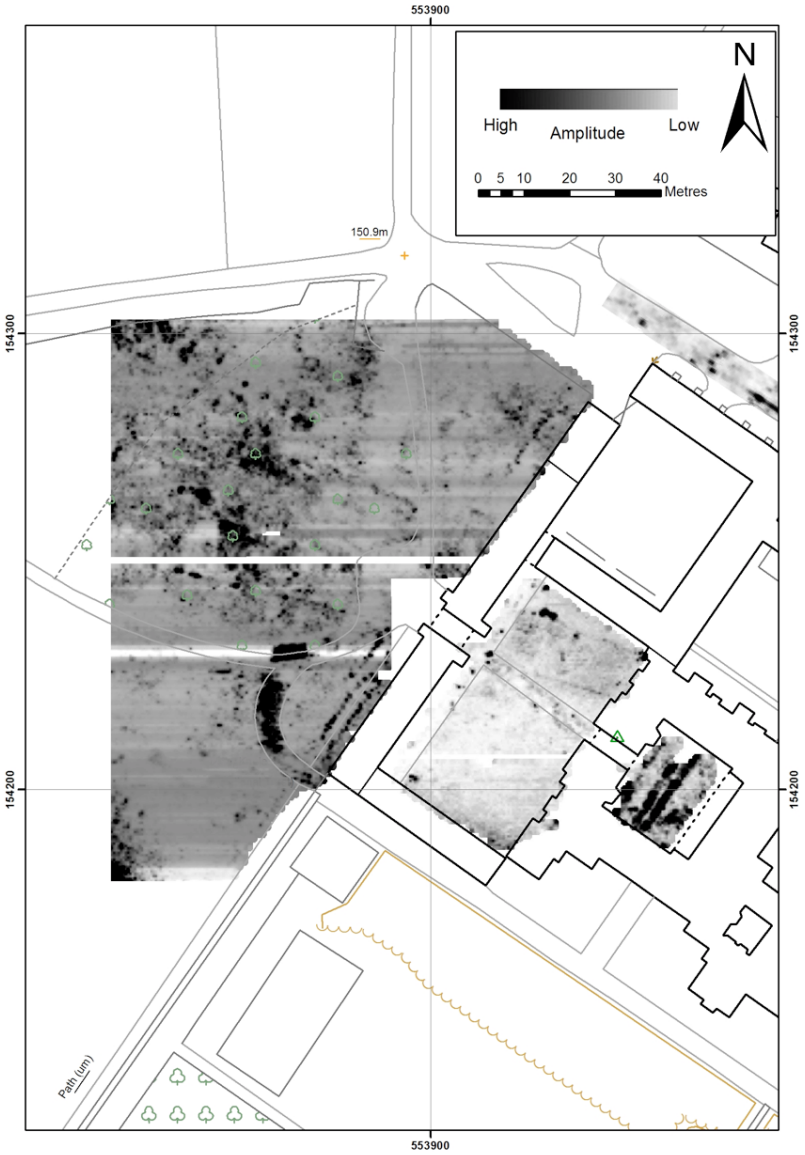

Fig. 7.17: Detailed view of the GPR survey results from the west front of the house and within Green Court and Stone Court. The faint rectilinear feature within Green Court probably corresponds with a ragstone feature encountered during maintenance work in 2007.

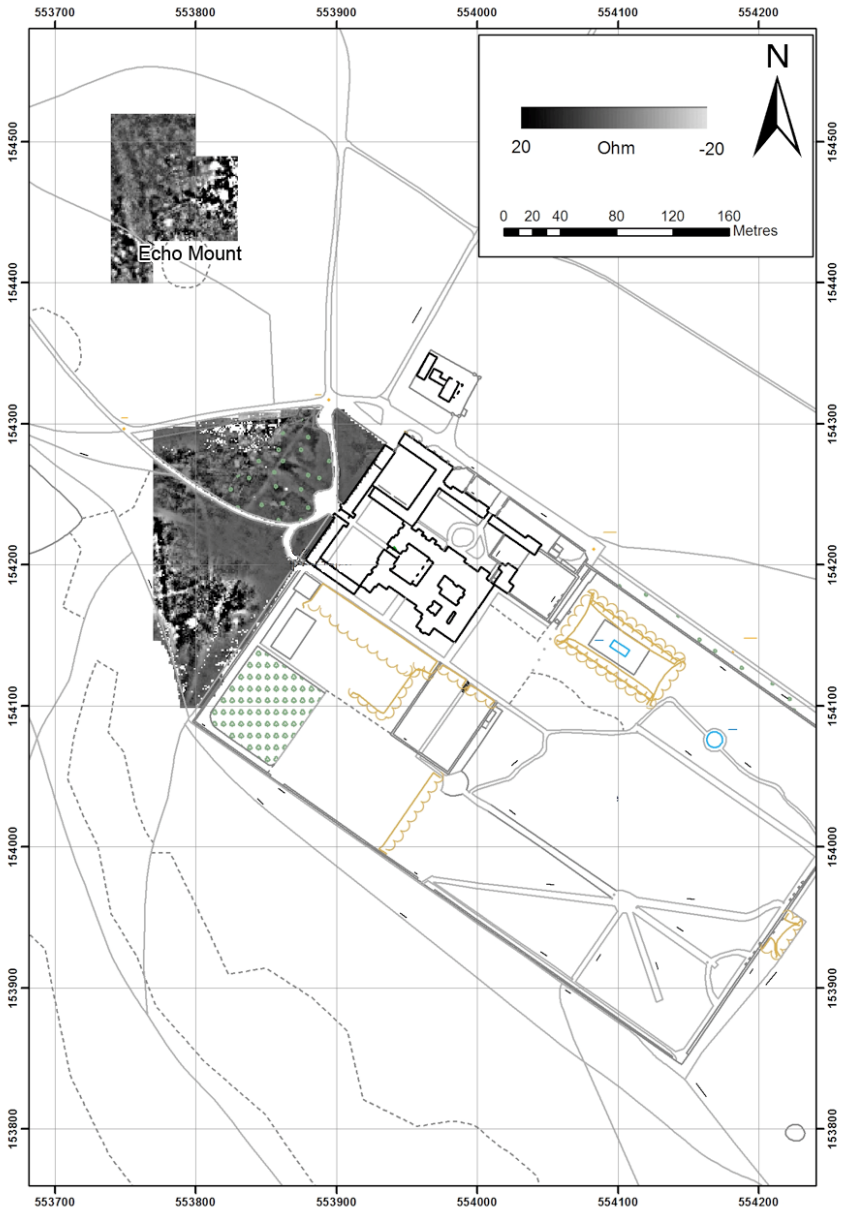

Fig. 7.18: Results of the resistance survey. Note the linear feature of low resistance that runs parallel to the west front of the house. The line of this feature, perhaps the remnants of an in-filled ditch, corresponds with the fence enclosing a flat green depicted on early engravings of Knole.

Pursuing these three areas of research would enrich current understandings of Knole's landscape. At present, the work of documentary historians and archaeological surveys and investigations commissioned by the trustees of the Knole estate allow for a more detailed consideration of how the lived-experience of Knole Park fostered certain political and ideological dynamics. The last section of this chapter takes up this task. Though the focus remains on Knole, consideration of hunting, park-making, and poaching as means of social contest are relevant to the deer parks at other properties in the survey.

Sport, Labour, and Social Contest in Knole Park

Compared to the amount of detailed scholarship concerned with the development and chronology of Knole House, scholars have devoted relatively little attention to the deer park at Knole (Taylor 2003). There are both practical and theoretical reasons for these circumstances. The National Trust's stewardship of the house means that maintenance and construction work within the house are accompanied by archaeological assessments. When cross-checked with surviving building records and early depictions of the house, these assessments can provide great insight into the history of the house (Dixon 2008; Gregory 2010; Town 2010). The wider landscape is a different matter. Much of the park lies outside the stewardship of the Trust, and so archaeological assessments associated with construction works have been far fewer. However, an earthwork survey commissioned by the Trustees of the Knole Estate in 2008 identified over 300 elements of earthwork features throughout the park (Wright 2008). Stratigraphic relationships and cross-checking with archival records and early depictions of the landscape are again an important means of dating.

Unfortunately, earthworks are often very difficult to identify given levels of vegetation or unless seen under certain light conditions.

These logistical factors aside, scholars' concerns to identify building works at Knole with one of the elite men who owned the house results from two dominant perspectives common to historical disciplines. The first is a simple and valid historical concern to establish a detailed chronology of development – who commissioned what and when? The second is an equally valid assumption of a link between large-scale building works and the status of medieval elites. It is the contention of this volume that such concerns are entirely valid but can be complemented by an analysis of the wider context. In our view, focusing more attention on the lived experience of the deer park as a place of sport and labour reveals how social difference and identity was created and contested by both everyday and extraordinary actions of people from various class backgrounds.

Hunting the Park

Hunting was one of the most pervasive cultural practices of the Middle Ages. The chase – whether physical or imagined – acted as a metaphor for sentiments ranging from the salacious to the spiritual (Cummins 1988). For the elite, hunting was a leisure pastime, a preparation for combat, an opportunity for networking, and a performance of social privilege (Mileson 2007). More often than not, elite hunting took place on land especially set aside for that purpose, whether forests, chases, warrens, or parks (Bond 1994). Access to hunting in these landscapes was, in theory, highly restricted. For commoners, elite hunting grounds could represent a means of employment or an affront to traditional land-use rights. Effacing elite privilege by trespassing and poaching within a park could be a means of food acquisition as well as a form of social disobedience. To understand the late medieval deer park at Knole, one must confront this multifariousness. One must imagine how the park's symbolic resonances, hunting events, maintenance demands, and landscape setting structured the thoughts and actions of both nobles and commoners. Juxtaposing Knole's landscape alongside comparative sites, contemporary hunting methods, documentary sources, and artwork aids this imagining.

Medieval parks were areas of carefully managed animal and plant resources. The boundaries of parks were often delimited by an internal ditch and embankment topped with oaken staves, or in some cases, a thick hornbeam hedge. Parks functioned primarily as hunting grounds for deer, especially fallow deer, but also included other quarries, such as rabbits, pheasants, herons, peafowl, partridges, swans, and freshwater fish (Sykes 2007: 50). The extent to which these animals were hunted for aristocratic leisure rather than unceremoniously culled by servants to supply lordly feasts is a matter of some debate (Rackman 1986: 125; Mileson 2009). Larger forests were likely better suited to the elaborate ceremony of the *chasse par force de chiens* (chase with use of dogs). Gaston Phébus Count de Foix, author of the 14th-century hunting manual *Livre de Chasse*, considered this multi-staged rite the noblest form of hunting. The quarry of this hunt was the male red deer, or hart. Mounted hunters aided by dogs singled out the strongest looking hart, running him to exhaustion over many miles. Once the hart was brought to bay, the lord would dismount to kill the animal. An elaborate butchering or 'breaking' ritual followed, in which the feudal hierarchy was symbolically reaffirmed as the lord apportioned different cuts of the meat to his retainers, the church, the dogs, and even the poor (Judkins 2013).

Though less elaborate, the bow-and-stable method was more effective at killing deer *en masse*. In this method, dogs and hunters would drive deer – principally fallow deer, but also roe and red deer – towards a pre-positioned group of archers. The archers would then fire upon those animals in season. Greyhounds positioned with the archers would run down those animals not immediately killed. Notably, the 14th-century poem Sir Gawain and the Green Knight depicts the bow-and-stable method underway within a park surrounding a castle. Smaller, enclosed park landscapes, were better suited to the bow-and-stable method, though *par force* hunts, or hybrid forms, were likely possible in larger parks (Cummins 2002: 43-52; Sykes 2007: 50-1; Mileson 2009: 30-3). The advantage of parks was the ability to modify the landscape to facilitate one or the other form of hunting. The bow-and-stable method was particularly contingent on the landscape. Topography and tree cover aided hunters in channeling deer towards hidden archers.

Later forms of sport relied to an even greater extent on specifically designed landscapes. In 'paddock coursing', a single deer was chased or 'coursed' down an enclosed trackway by a number of greyhounds. Onlookers made wagers on the outcome – which of the hounds would catch the deer, or might it outrun them all? Cartographic evidence illustrates the landscape settings constructed for such practices. A map of Windsor Little Park produced in 1607 shows a deer course enclosed with a hedge and fit with a greyhound in hot pursuit of a fallow deer (Mileson 2009: 174).

Formalised paddock coursing was especially popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. Yet, some limited textual and landscape evidence suggests that coursing or analogous practices developed in the late medieval period (Taylor 2003).

At Knole there is no unambiguous evidence of landscape modification to aid any of these forms of sport. However, there are a series of dry river valleys with steep sloping sides that run through the park. With hedges, fences, or close coordination between dogs and hunters, these valleys could have aided the channeling of deer along predetermined routes. Additionally, the top of the slopes would have afforded advantageous views over the action unfolding in the valleys below. Paddock coursing was designed entirely for spectating, but other forms of sport might also include spectators. As mentioned above, there is documentary evidence for a standing at Knole, but it is unclear where this structure was located and whether it had anything to do with hunting. The fallow deer that roam the park today are reportedly of the same stock introduced in the 15th century (Fig. 7.19). The tendency of this breed to maintain a herd structure when flushed made them particularly susceptible to bow-and-stable hunting (Recarte *et al.* 1998; Sykes 2007: 51). The inclusion of 'redeere pie hott' on a banquet menu from Knole in 1636 is the first hint that red deer may also have been hunted in the park (Taylor 2003: 166).

The kinds of hunting activities undertaken at Knole would have been crucial to the park's role in constituting the status and identities of its elite residences. Different hunting techniques and quarries were endowed with different gendered status associations in the Middle Ages. The *par force* hunt for the male red deer was the masculine hunt *par excellence*. At the opposite end of the spectrum, according to Gaston Phébus, trapping was

> *properly the delight of a fat man or an old man or a priest or a man who doesn't want to work, and it is a good hunt for them, but not for a man who wants to hunt by mastery and true venery*
>
> (Judkins 2013: 77)

Fig. 7.19: A group of fallow deer rest in the August sun, 2014. Because fallow deer herd together when startled, they would have been particularly susceptible to the bow-and-stable method of hunting. Photo by Ryan Lash.

Perhaps tellingly, Edward of Norwich, when adapting Phébus's work for the English royal court in the early 15th century, totally omitted the section on trapping. Yet, elite men were not the only people to hunt. The 15th-century *Debate between the Heralds* indicates that hunting deer in parks with long bows was a pleasure enjoyed by noble ladies in England (Cummins 1988: 7). Thus, hunting was not exclusive to one group of people, but its conduct and context had important implications for the performance of gender.

As (at least ideally) sedentary and celibate men, male clergy held ambiguous positions within medieval conceptions of gender difference (Gilchrist 2012: 98) Canon Law officially restricted clergy from hunting, because the use of weapons and mode of exercise were considered military in nature (Miller 2010: 209). Nevertheless, many bishops and monastic establishments kept deer parks. Actual participation in hunting likely varied widely among clergy, and perhaps especially between monastic and episcopal elites. In some cases, ecclesiastically owned parks may have functioned primarily to meet demands of hospitality. Elected in 1182, Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds neither hunted nor ate meat, but retained many parks and huntsmen and hounds. Important guests would hunt for entertainment, while *'the abbot would sit with his monks in a woodland clearing to watch the hounds giving chase'* (Greenway & Sayers 1989: 26). In other cases, great churchmen were avid hunters. The Boldon Book of 1183 records the various obligations that tenants owed to facilitate the Bishop of Durham's enthusiasm for the chase. High-ranking ecclesiastics often came from elite families. Thomas Bourchier's lineage was royal – he was a grandson of Edward III. It is not unlikely that churchmen of Bourchier's background shared aristocratic enthusiasm for hunting as a leisure activity and perhaps also as a performance of elite masculinity (Roberts 1988; Miller 2010).

Despite official disapproval for clerical hunting, the pursuit of game could also have spiritual connotations. Due to their superlative fertility and subterranean dwellings, rabbits evoked the resurrection of Christ from his tomb (Stocker & Stocker 1996). Hence, the

artificial mounds – warrens – used to breed and trap rabbits could have indexed theological concepts within the landscape of medieval parks, including Knole. A few mounds visible today amid the wooded area south of the main entrance to Knole may represent former rabbit warrens (Fig. 7.20). Even deer hunting might have evoked spiritual meanings. The image of the white hart was associated with Christ, and its pursuit could evoke the spiritual pursuit of Christ's example of purity (Cummins 1988; Fletcher 2001: 78). It is difficult to know how Thomas Bourchier and his archiepiscopal successors negotiated the tensions and potential harmonies between deer hunting and a spiritual life. Did Bourchier establish a park to entertain secular guests, to stock his tables, or to give chase himself?

Fig. 7.20: One of four possible rabbit warrens located in the wooded area across the long valley south-west of the house. Photo by Ryan Lash.

There are no definite answers to these questions. Hunting was certainly taking place at Knole. Under Archbishop Morton, a building known as 'the Dranes' was renewed as a private slaughter-house for the park even though there was no shortage of butchers in Sevenoaks (DuBoulay 1976: 10; Taylor 2003: 164). Whether the Dranes was kept stocked by paid hunters, aristocratic guests, or the archbishops is another matter. However, a wall painting from Canterbury Cathedral, dated around 1480, suggests that an Archbishop of Canterbury could at least recognise the symbolic potency of the hunt. Set along the north aisle of the cathedral, the wall painting depicts a series of scenes from the life of St Eustace. Depicted prominently and nearest eye-level is the scene in which Eustace, a pagan, is converted while hunting when he beholds an image of the crucified Christ between the antlers of a stag (Fig. 7.21). It is not impossible that Bourchier was involved with the commissioning of this painting. Bourchier died in 1486 and his tomb is set a little further down the north aisle of the cathedral. In any case, the presence of the painting in the late 15th century suggests that men of the highest clerical status could imagine a harmony between the pursuit of game and the pursuit of grace.

Making and breaking the Park

Regardless of Bourchier and his successors' predilections for the chase, hunting would always have represented a

Fig. 7.21: The conversion of St Eustace from a wall painting along the north aisle of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral. The scene is the most distinctive episode in Eustace's biography and is featured most prominently in the wall painting. The late 15th-century date of the painting makes it a close contemporary with Bourchier and his archiepiscopal successors.

small portion of the activity undertaken in the park. Parklands served a variety of economic functions. They provided important supplies of timber, and a park owner might grant rights or collect fees for local tenants to collect fallen branches or graze pigs (pannage). A document from Maidstone Archive indicates that swine were kept in the park in the early 16th century (Strutt & Parker 1989). According to Vita Sackville-West's account, during the 17th century, cattle grazed the park in the summer months and the sale of rabbits constituted one-fifth of the park's income (Sackville-West 1922: 91). Though some of the lynchets observed by Alastair Oswald may date to prehistory, documentary sources indicate that some portions of the park were intermittently used for arable agriculture (Sackville-West 1922: 25; Taylor 2003: 169). As mentioned above, carefully managing woodland and open fields facilitated different methods of hunting such that the pursuit of sport and economic productivity were not necessarily in conflict.

Parks could also be the scene and supplier of resources for manufacture. John Lennard leased a portion of the Knole estate in 1570 for the purpose of glass manufacture. The actual glassworks may have been located south-west of the park at Hubbard's Hill, but the park no doubt was a crucial source of sand and timber for the furnaces (Eve 2014). A number of quarries throughout the park likely represent the large-scale gathering of sand for the glassworks, and later, for brick manufacture in the 18th century (Wright 2008: 18).

Thus, even if parks were created principally as exclusive spaces for elites to pursue game, they fulfilled many other functions that relied on the labour of people from many different class backgrounds. The park pale perhaps best represents this tension between social exclusion and entanglement. Pales were among the most vital material components of parks – they delimited the extent of exclusive space and prevented game from escaping. They also required a great deal of intermittent maintenance as embankments and staves decayed or as a park's boundaries fluctuated. At Knole, there is both documentary and archaeological evidence for the maintenance and replacement of the pale.

In one of the earliest recorded palings in 1468, money was paid for the production and transportation of 1000 palings from the nearby farm of Breton to Knole (Taylor 2003: 154). Each addition of land to the park required a new paling campaign. By 1561, much land had been added to the park and presumably paled, as a survey by the Earl of Leicester recorded the park extent in this year at 446 acres (Taylor 2003: 154). The pale would have been extended again when St Julian's, Rumshott, and Fawke Commons were purchased in 1724. Wessex Archaeology's 2008 earthwork survey identified eleven landscape features that potentially represent the remnants of embankments for former park pales (Wright 2008). One of the most prominent examples cuts across the golf course north of the house (Fig. 7.22). Another possible pale remnant is a low rounded ridge that runs east to west across the long north-south river valley west of the house. Based on the number of references to paling in the documentary record, Taylor concludes that the park pale was *'continually and conscientiously repaired from its first enclosing'* (2003: 154).

The constant rhythm of decay, maintenance, and rebuilding of the pale is no small matter. At Knole Park, as everywhere, social relations were tied to material qualities and temporal flows implicit in the landscape. From a deep historical perspective, the ecology and geology of south-east England afforded a certain process of settlement expansion throughout the medieval period. This in turn afforded certain patterns of settlement, agriculture, and feudal relations (see above Part II and Chapter Twelve). Built elements within the landscape emerge over shorter time scales, but can still influence generations or centuries of human interactions. Consider the key role played by the durability of stone architecture and its rhythms of maintenance in each of the buildings surveyed in this book. Amassing the labour to heap great amounts of stone together makes a durable product from what are often temporary and contingent power relations. The construction of an elite residence literally 'materialised' the power relationships between elite residents, workers, and people in the surrounding landscape. Without relationships of coercion,

Fig. 7.22: This rounded embankment, now part of a fairway in the golf course, may represent a former park pale. Photo by Matthew Johnson.

monetary exchange, and feudal obligation, elites could not organise the labour to build their residences in the first instance. However, the material product of this labour could work to perpetuate ideologies of aristocratic authority and maintain relations of inequality. The layout and (in)accessibility of buildings can organise movements and interactions according to differences of status, age, and gender. Meanwhile, the sheer scale of elite residences, evoke the authority that built them and threaten the mobilisation of that authority against challengers. In fact, the maintenance demands of elite buildings forced their residents either to mobilise their network of social privilege or allow their building to decay. Park pales can be seen in the same way. The tendency of oaken palisades to decay, embankments to slip, and ditches to silt up established a tempo to social life. At Knole Park periodic decay challenged park owners to remobilise their authority. The park pale, as a material boundary, simultaneously required the labour of commoners while excluding their access to game in the park. Moments of repair or extension were potential turning points where the social privilege that premised the park might be either reproduced or put to challenge.

Indeed, breaking into parks to poach animals or simply cause destruction was a method used by both elites and commoners to contest lordly authority. When the king's uncle John of Gaunt gained land in Sussex in the late 14th century, resentful local gentry, including Bodiam's Edward Dallingridge, mounted a campaign of violence and intimidation against Gaunt's officials and estates. In 1377, Gaunt's chase at Ashdown Forest was illegally hunted (Walker 1983: 88). In what appears to be an instance of deliberate trespass that turned to violence, Dallingridge was prosecuted in 1384 for attacking the ranger of Ashdown and killing a sub-forester, Nicholas Mouse (Walker 1983: 88).

Park-breaking was not confined to the quibbling of secular elites. Breaking into and vandalising episcopal hunting grounds is well documented in feuds between bishops and secular elites. The religious vows and duties of bishops may have made them particularly susceptible to park-breaking as a symbol of emasculated authority (Miller 2010). For commoners, poaching was more often a dangerous economic opportunity or a challenge to elite privileges rather than a desperate means of food procurement. Elites particularly feared poaching as a challenge to social hierarchy in the wake of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Fearing that poaching offered opportunities for conspiratorial assembly, legislation passed by Richard II in 1390, placed new restrictions on hunting. Previously, restrictions on hunting were based on territory. Certain hunting grounds – forests, parks, warrens, etc. – were reserved for elite privilege, but commoners could hunt elsewhere. The new legislation issued restrictions based on class. It forbade lay persons with lands or tenements worth less than 40 shillings a year (or priests with incomes less than 10 pounds a year) from even owning animals or equipment for taking 'gentlemen's game' (Harvey 2004: 174; Mileson 2009: 145).

Half a century later, Kent and Sussex were rife with poaching during the lead up to the Jack Cade Rebellion. For example, in 1448, a group of Sussex poachers led by a dyer from Salehurst took three bucks and six doe from Bodiam park (Harvey 2004: 180). Poaching may even have offered an opportunity for organisation among discontents. Harvey's survey of the textual accounts of contemporary legal proceedings shows that poaching gangs were composed of people from different parishes in multiple counties (2004: 178). Furthermore, not only were poachers largely from the same yeomanry class that led the rebellion, some men who sought pardoning for their part in the uprising had previously been convicted as poachers (Harvey 2004: 176-7).

The creation of the park at Knole has to be seen in the context of the fallout of the Jack Cade uprising. Sevenoaks was the scene of one of the earliest skirmishes between the rebels and royal forces. Six years after the revolt, Bourchier acquired Knole from William Fiennes, whose father James had been executed by the Jack Cade rebels for his apparent corruption as Lord Treasurer and representative of Kent in parliament. The first known paling of the park in 1468 was followed in 1486 by new legislation reaffirming old restrictions on the owning of hunting equipment. This legal reaffirmation reflected growing fear of social disorder, especially in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex (Harvey 2004: 182). In the early years of Bourchier's ownership, he appointed many very powerful servants as trustees to buy up property in the vicinity of Knole to add to the park. Du Boulay compares this acquisition campaign to the pressure later applied by Henry VIII to acquire Knole from Archbishop Cranmer. In his words, *'what could be done by obscure men like William Quyntyn, John Walder, John Brydde or William Merden who possessed acres in or about Knole Park which the archbishop wanted?'* (Du Boulay 1974: 8).

If the making of the park was expedited by political pressure, it also would have required renegotiation of traditional land-use rights for nearby tenants. Indeed, this would have been required each time new properties, especially commons, were added to the park. Thus, while every new impaling reiterated the

Fig. 7.23: Several national newspapers covered the events at Knole Park in June 1884. These illustrations come from The Penny Pictorial News and Family Story Paper 28th June 1884.

privilege of the great household of Knole, breaking the park and poaching offered an opportunity to challenge or at least display discontent with that privilege. There are, in fact, intermittent references to illicit hunting in Knole Park (Taylor 2003: 165-6). For example, in 1539 *'several local men who went muffleyd to Knole about 8pm and hunted deer with dogs and bows: a number were killed including a grey one'* (Phillips 1923: 395). This incident took place soon after Henry VIII confiscated the estate, but it is unclear whether this timing reflects any particular political motivation on the part of the poachers or merely a coincidence of preservation.

Later incidences of park-breaking were clearly inspired by more pointed political grievances. Mortimer Sackville-West restricted access to the bridle path in 1883 by closing Fawke Common Gate and erecting a wooden post at the town entrance that excluded horses from entering. This pathway was essential for local tradespeople to bring their goods into town via horse-drawn carts (Killingray 1994: 67). After multiple attempts at destruction, Mortimer had the posts at the town entrance reinforced in wrought iron. On18th June 1884, frustrated townspeople and neighboring villagers tore down these new posts and the Fawke Common Gate and placed their ruins before the main door to Knole House (Fig. 7.23). Protests continued the following night in a carnival-like atmosphere, with people riding symbolically back and forth along the bridle way and men dressed as women pushing prams across the park (Killingray 1994: 70-1). Though the political circumstances were very different, one cannot help but see a similarity between the character of these protests and the group of poachers who broke into Penshurst in 1450 with charcoaled faces and false beards, carried off 82 deer, and called themselves servants of the Queen of the Fairies (Harvey 2004: 176).

The actions undertaken by townspeople of Sevenoaks during the Knole 'disturbances' of 1884 highlight how the park's material enclosing features were barriers that attempted to impose elite privilege while presenting a material medium through which that privilege could be challenged. Like elite buildings, deer parks were stage settings for the performance of social difference, whether to do with class, spiritual status, or gender (Johnson 2002). But crucially, these stages were constructed and could be contested by many different hands across time.

Conclusion

Today Knole is carefully managed by the National Trust and the Sackville estate and the vast majority of the grounds are open to the public. As this chapter has attempted to show, Knole Park, like other elite landscapes in this book, was deeply implicated in the negotiation of status, gender identity, and political and economic relationships between elites and commoners. Late medieval deer parks, like manorial residences, were both products and producers of political inequality and ideologies of elite privilege. Their environmental attributes, spatial dynamics and maintenance demands influenced the lived experience of elites and commons alike by structuring the character and rhythms of social interactions.

Survey work in 2013 points towards new avenues of exploration for deciphering the history of building works within Green Court and along the western front of Knole. In addition to excavation in these areas, LiDAR survey would provide a valuable means of identifying and displaying earthworks within the park. At the time of writing, volunteer groups are working with Alastair Oswald to conduct a pedestrian survey of the park. This not only offers a means of identifying and reappraising sites, it also offers a way for community members to participate in the maintenance and exploration of the park. It is hoped that more opportunities for community collaboration become possible in the future. The National Trust does valuable work when maintaining and augmenting public access to heritage sites. Strategies of heritage maintenance do well to heed the rhyme first raised in ridicule of the enclosure movement in the 17th century, and later recited by James German to a meeting of townspeople on the first night of the Knole protests in 1884:

The law imprisons man or woman
Who steal the goose from off the common
But leaves the greater felon loose
Who steals the Common from the goose