

## Stephen Park within modern Gisburn Forest — was it a pre-sixteenth century deer-park of the Hamerton family?

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Ver. 2 (current): Amendments include: (i) correction of a small number of typographical errors, (ii) insertion of the grant by the Crown to Ralph Greneacre in April 1546 of Hamerton manor and other lands, (iii) transfer of lands in Bowland from Greneacre to Oliver Breres.

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## Summary

Stephen Park within the modern Gisburn Forest plantations is described as a former deer-park in archaeological reports and other works — including the Lancashire Historic Environment Record — but the primary documentary evidence is tenuous. This study, part-funded by the Forestry Commission, seeks to gather information from medieval manuscripts and printed primary sources to clarify whether deer were imparked at the Park, and by whom. Chancery rolls and other Crown documents were reviewed to substantiate the claims; evidence such as a licence to impark, grants of deer, accounts of pale fence construction, appointment of park staff etc., were sought to indicate a functional deer-park. The role of the Hamerton family in the enclosure and development of the site, and the principal agricultural functions of the Park within the Hammerton area, were also reviewed. An account of the rise of the family in the Slaidburn, Wigglesworth and Hellifield areas is presented, up to the ignominy by the attainder and execution of Sir Stephen Hamerton in 1537 for his activities in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the seizure of his assets by the Crown. New insights into the activities and status of the Hamerton family in the medieval period are discussed.

To support the documentary research, the results of a field study within the Park are described, the purpose of the survey being to find and characterise the pre-forestry enclosure boundaries shown on nineteenth century tithe and Ordnance Survey mapping. The relationships of the ditches and banks on the outer bounds of the settlement and its internal enclosures were noted to determine if the boundaries would function as an encompassing deer-park pale, and if the banks and ditches were used to retain or to exclude deer and cattle.

The documentary research failed to find any evidence of a functioning deer-park. The field survey did not discover evidence of a pale or a circuitous curvilinear boundary designed to retain deer. There was an indication that much of the surviving external boundary of the settlement was designed to exclude animals such as wild deer. It is emphasised that the place name 'park' should not be interpreted as presumptive evidence that the enclosures contained introduced deer; 'park' as a place name was employed historically, particularly in the north, to describe assarts — enclosures taken from the common or waste for farm stock such as cattle, and for arable use.

The earliest use of the place name was in the early sixteenth century when the land was held by Sir Stephen. It is probable that the park was named after him, although Stephen was a recurring name in the Hamerton family, but no evidence was uncovered that any of the Stephens before him named or made the park. His grandfather, also Sir Stephen, was likewise an influential and wealthy man but is considered a subsidiary contender for the naming of the Park. An inquisition in 1517-1518 undertaken by the Chancery noted that Sir Stephen (jnr.) had enlarged his 'park' in Hammerton, the earliest use of this topographical name in the manor. The earliest use of the settlement name Stephen Park was as 'Stevenparke' in 1533 within the Manor of Slaidburn Court Rolls. Stephen Park was used for conventional farming activities by sub-tenants in the 1530s, just before Sir Stephen's execution.

It is not known exactly when the Park area was assarted, but it is possible that the area was used for the breeding and grazing of cattle and other stock in the twelfth century — there is charter evidence that the Hesbert area, adjoining Stephen Park but in a different manor, was used for pasture in the late twelfth century when the Percy family granted land to Sawley Abbey. There were pasture enclosures in the Hesbert area in the mid-thirteenth century.

It is concluded that Stephen Park was not a pre-sixteenth century deer-park, nor a deer-park subsequently. The settlement is probably a former farmed assart and from indirect evidence, may date from at least the thirteenth century.



Bottoms Beck and Park Wood.

## Table of Contents

Summary .....	3
Introduction .....	7
Aims and objectives .....	12
Background .....	14
Deer-parks.....	14
Maps .....	16
Place names and their origin .....	16
Stephen Park.....	16
Stephen Moor .....	20
Hesbert Hall.....	20
Hindley Head.....	20
Hammerton.....	20
Documentary evidence of a deer-park? .....	24
Sources searched .....	25
Results of the literature and manuscript review .....	26
Principal members of the local Hamerton family.....	27
The search for evidence of a deer-park.....	38
Other information from primary sources .....	38
Historical maps.....	45
Field survey .....	49
Survey area and the boundaries.....	49
Woodland and veteran trees .....	53
Practical approach .....	54
Survey results.....	55
Boundaries .....	55
Veteran trees .....	64
LIDAR.....	65
Survey synopsis.....	66
Conclusions .....	67
Acknowledgements.....	68
Appendix 1 .....	69
Pedigree of the Hamerton family of Hamerton, Wigglesworth and Hellifield Peel .....	69
Appendix 2 .....	70
Contemporary notes on the examination of Sir Stephen Hamerton .....	70

Appendix 3 .....	72
References encountered related to the disposal of Sir Stephen Hamerton’s assets. ....	72
Appendix 4 .....	79
British National Grid References of survey nodes .....	79
Appendix 5 .....	80
LIDAR mapping and review .....	80

# Stephen Park within modern Gisburn Forest — was it a pre-sixteenth century deer-park of the Hamerton family?

## Introduction

Stephen Park is a former farm settlement situated 4.8 km north-east of Slaidburn. It is now in Easington civil parish and largely enveloped by deciduous woodland and the conifer plantations of Gisburn Forest, except for a small meadow at the rear of the house. To the north within the forest are the currently uninhabited farms of Hesbert Hall and Hindley Head, each with improved enclosed pastures. The landowner is United Utilities PLC and the Forestry Commission leases the land for forestry, the public estate being managed by Forest Enterprise England.<sup>1</sup> Afforestation with conifers started in 1949 but more recently has been supplemented by the planting of native woodland. Sloping down from the Stephen Park buildings to Bottoms Beck<sup>2</sup> is Park Wood (8 ha), designated as Ancient Semi-Natural Woodland. The farmhouse (Figure 1 and Figure 2) and associated buildings are currently the centre of a recreational hub of cycle and walking trails. The Park was within the old district of Dalehead, acquired in stages by the Fylde Water Board in the 1910s and 1920s for water catchment to feed the proposed Stocks Reservoir, finally opened in 1932. The former hamlet of Stocks-in-Bowland is below the water. Hesbert Hall and Hindley Head are in Gisburn Forest civil parish, the boundary passing down Bottoms Beck, circumventing Stephen Park up Hesbert Hall Syke to its source and then down Bond Beck heading south.

The earliest date-stone in Stephen Park farmhouse and its outbuildings is 1662,<sup>3</sup> but the settlement predates this. The earliest known use of the place-name according to Smith's *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* is in Ministers' Accounts of 1538, named 'Stevynparke'.<sup>4</sup> Prior to this date the Park was associated with the Hamerton family, lords of the manor of Hamerton (modern Hammerton) in Easington township.<sup>5</sup> Slaidburn, Hammerton and the Park are now in Lancashire but were formerly in the historical county of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Hammerton is the site of a 'Deserted Medieval Village' and was situated on the east bank of the Hodder, associated with the c.1600 Hammerton Hall<sup>6</sup> (Figure 3) and lands to the east, extending onto Hammerton Mere approaching the Park.

The principal aims of this report are to determine if the Park was a medieval<sup>7</sup> deer-park, and to clarify the role of the Hamerton family in the creation and management of the Park area and environs.

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<sup>1</sup> The holding is 1245 ha, 60 ha of which is agricultural land, buildings and quarries. Eighty-eight *per cent* of the woodland has tree cover, of which 84% is conifer and 16% is broadleaved. Gisburn Forest Plan 2015, available from <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/forestry/BEEH-9WMK63>.

<sup>2</sup> From the north it is known as Brown Hills Beck then Dob Dale Beck.

<sup>3</sup> *Stephen Park Slaidburn Lancashire: Archaeological Building survey*, January 2000, Lancaster University Archaeology Unit, Report No. 1999-00/(040)/AUA 8944, p. 7. Available at Lancashire Archives DDX 1915/73/1.

<sup>4</sup> A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Part VI: East & West Staincliffe and Ewcross Wapentakes* (Cambridge/English Place-Name Society, 1961), p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> Until the twentieth century, Easington township had two detached parts, Lower and Upper; Hammerton and Stephen Park were in the latter. In the medieval period, it is probable that they were within the ecclesiastical parish of Slaidburn, Deanery of Craven. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae and Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa 1291* (Record Commission, 1802).

<sup>6</sup> Historic England, 'List Entry Summary for Hammerton Hall, No. 1362269'. <https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1362269>, accessed 28 May 2016.

<sup>7</sup> The latest extent of 'medieval' is often defined as 1485 (the ascendancy of Henry VII), but evidence of the imparkment of Stephen Park into the mid-sixteenth century will also be addressed.

An important starting point relevant to the issue of the existence of a deer-park is a sixteenth century return from an inquisition by the Chancery<sup>8</sup> into the inappropriate enclosing of land in England. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the conversion of arable land to pasture and the engrossing of farms by voracious landowners resulted in widespread enclosure, the wilful destruction of dwellings and depopulation, largely driven by the then economic advantages of sheep farming over arable. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey ordered a series of inquisitions, undertaken principally in 1517-1518 — *Inquisitions of Depopulation* — to identify the acreages enclosed and converted to pasture, houses decayed and parks made. The ‘inclosers’ at social levels from senior aristocracy to the gentry were identified and some of the miscreants brought to the Court of Chancery.<sup>9</sup> At this time, the Park was part of the holdings of the Duchy of Lancaster. Records from Yorkshire survive, and include:<sup>10</sup>

Stephen Hammerton knight in the enlargement of his park &c. He enclosed in the same park 20 acres<sup>11</sup> then plough land and that Stephen Hammerton is tenant in respect thereof.<sup>12,13</sup>

What is stated or implied here is that Sir Stephen was a tenant of the Duchy, he already had a ‘park’ (a deer-park?), and he added to it twenty adjacent customary acres of arable, probably open fields, and then hedged or fenced the area in his enlarged park and converted it into pasture to keep stock (probably cattle and possibly sheep). This action may have resulted in sub-tenants that ploughed the former arable being dispossessed, although there is no direct evidence in his case.<sup>14</sup>

The history of the Hamerton family will be discussed later, but it is pertinent to at this stage to mention their acquisition of lands elsewhere in the medieval period. Upon the marriage of Adam de Hamerton to Katherine de Knolle in the fourteenth century, the family acquired Wigglesworth, Hellifield and Knowlmere manors. They were subsequently based at Wigglesworth, at or near the modern Wigglesworth Hall Farm situated 6.5 km east of Stephen Park. Figure 4 shows the geographical relationships of the settlements, including Stephen Park in the modern Gisburn Forest estate, Slaidburn, Hammerton and the seats of the Hamerton family in Wigglesworth and Hellifield.

But where was the ‘park’ of Sir Stephen Hamerton? There were also parks in Wigglesworth and Hellifield. When Adam de Hamerton married Katherine he made Wigglesworth manor the principal home of the family and ‘had a park about it’ according to Whitaker, and ‘the fact is certain, but I have never met with the *Licentia Imparcandi* [licence to impark]’.<sup>15,16</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In Tudor times under Thomas Wolsey, the Court of Chancery became a mechanism to get redress in civil matters such as land tenure.

<sup>9</sup> E.F. Gay and I.S. Leadam, “The Inquisitions of Depopulation in 1517 and the ‘Domesday of Inclosures’”. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series*, Vol. 14, 1900, pp. 231-303.

<sup>10</sup> I.S. Leadam, ‘The Inquisition of 1517 Inclosures and Evictions. Edited from the Lansdowne MS. I. 153. Part II’. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series*, Vol. VII, 1893, pp. 219-253.

<sup>11</sup> Twenty acres, assuming these are customary acres employing a 7-yard rod, would be 32.4 statutory acres (13.1 ha). There are potential problems with this conversion; see R.S. Dille, ‘The Customary Acre: An Indeterminate Measure’. *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 13, 1975, pp. 173-176.

<sup>12</sup> Leadam, *Inquisition of 1517*, 244.

<sup>13</sup> Translation by Chris Spencer.

<sup>14</sup> The inquisition for the West Riding showed that only a very small area of the county was reported as inclosed on the returns - 2345 acres. Leadam calculated that ninety-four persons were displaced by enclosure in the Riding and twenty messuages (dwellings with associated land and outbuildings) ‘decayed’. Seventy-seven *per cent* of the acres were within ‘parkes’. Leadam, *Inquisition of 1517*, 219-229.

<sup>15</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London/Nichols, 1812), pp. 126-130.

<sup>16</sup> Wigglesworth and its park were acquired by Sir Thomas Holcroft and then Sir Richard Shireburne in the sixteenth century after the execution of Sir Stephen Hamerton – discussed below.



Figure 1: Stephen Park in the early twentieth century. The people are probably members of the Robinson family.<sup>17</sup> (Slaidburn Archive).



Figure 2: Stephen Park farmhouse today.

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<sup>17</sup> A Stephen Robinson is noted on the 1851 census farming 498 acres (201 ha); his son Francis was the head of the house on the 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses, latterly aged 70.



Figure 3: Hammerton Hall, built c. 1600, probably the site of a former hall.

At Hellifield Peel there is no evidence of a pale system that would suggest a medieval origin but there was certainly parkland in later centuries; the pre-nineteenth century park was described as 'modest'.<sup>18,19</sup> In his notes in the *Inquisition*, Leadam writes that 'Hammerton of Hammerton. The omission of the name of the place indicates that it is already given' (by the surname of the incloser), implying that the location of Sir Stephen's park enlargement was in Hammerton, probably at Stephen Park,<sup>20,21</sup> a view supported by the author. Surely if the *Inquisition* was concerned with park enlargement at Wigglesworth or Hellifield, these manors would have been identified in the entry?

The account in the *Inquisitions* offers no insights into the dating of the original enclosure of the area nor the imparkment and naming of the Park. There were a number of earlier Stephens, both in the published pedigrees and mentioned in other sources, that could have been the original imparkers by assarting. An assart is the clearance of an area within forest, waste or common, principally for ploughing and cultivation, but additionally in some areas such as the uplands for the keeping of stock (possibly vaccaries<sup>22</sup> or indeed making a deer-park).<sup>23</sup> Assarting without a licence was an illegal act but in practice, landowners such as the Duchy were generally content for this to occur because it

<sup>18</sup> D. Berg., *Hellifield Peel and Homestead Hellifield. Documentary Research, Field Survey and Archaeological Evaluation* (Archaeological Services, West Yorkshire Archaeological Service, 2003), sections 4.2-4.3.

<sup>19</sup> P. Ryder, J. Birch, 'Hellifield Peel – A North Yorkshire Tower-House', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 55, 1983, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> Leadam, *Inquisition of 1517 Inclosures*, 244.

<sup>21</sup> In 1522 a Stephen Hamerton was resident at Wigglesworth as 'Cheyfe lorde' but at Hellifield 'lorde Clyfford' had the manor. A Christofer Clarke was a tenant of Stephen Hamerton (R.W. Hoyle, *Early Tudor Craven – Subsidies and Assessments 1510-1547* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vol. 145, 2000), pp. 5-14).

<sup>22</sup> A 'vaccary' was a medieval cattle breeding and grazing area, often with associated building(s). They were in the uplands, particularly in the north-west of England, and provided milk, meat and oxen, thereby producing income for tenants and the lords from unproductive land.

<sup>23</sup> Assarts contrast with 'waste' in which understorey and trees were cut, but could grow again. In assarts, the stumps were removed to allow ploughing. Assarting and making waste deprived stock and deer of food, a misdemeanour in a forest/chase.

generated income in fines and rents from economically poor land. They are generally characterised in the landscape as a curvilinear boundary of a ditch and bank, originally probably fenced or hedged, with the ditch externally to keep deer and free-grazing stock out.

In 1537 there were thirteen tenanted farms in Hammerton, of which only three were greater than fifteen customary acres (24.3 statute acres, 9.8 ha), 80 *per cent* were pasture and meadow and the remainder arable.<sup>24</sup> There were also assarted medieval enclosures or encroachments into the commons' boundaries. In the Tudor and Stuart periods further enclosure took place, originally largely in the environs of the village by infilling the medieval enclosures, but the upland commons were more widely enclosed in 1587-1600 and 1621-1630 by coordinated actions of tenants and the Duchy.<sup>25</sup> Thus in 1517-1518, before the more widespread enclosure of the commons, Sir Stephen Hamerton appears to have been expanding and subdividing medieval enclosures, some containing ploughed land, that were originally assarts. Stephen Park was only part of the dispersed holdings of the unfortunate Sir Stephen, taken by the Crown and subsequently disposed of following his attainder<sup>26</sup> for his role in the Pilgrimage of Grace uprising. He was examined, tried and executed in 1537.

From the place name, it is understandable to assume that Stephen Park was a deer-park, but it is not in Cantor's gazetteer of medieval deer-parks, which does note Bashall, Leagram and Radholme, all known local deer-parks.<sup>27</sup> The use of 'park' does indeed frequently refer to existing or former deer-parks, but not exclusively so, particularly in the north. In modern works there appears to be a presumption that it was a deer-park, but primary sources to support this designation are not cited. Dixon & Dixon's *Journeys through Brigantia, Vol. 8* states:

The park was established by Sir Stephen Hammerton, died 1501, who in order to build a park enclosed some 20 acres of arable land illegally, and dispossessed the inhabitants of the medieval vill<sup>28</sup> of Hammerton associated with it.<sup>29</sup>

The authors do not explicitly describe it as a deer-park but declare: 'The house was built in 1662 on the site of a hunting lodge'. Dixon & Dixon have identified the wrong Sir Stephen by 'died 1501';<sup>30</sup> if their statement was based on the inquisitions (above), it is Sir Stephen's grandson, also Sir Stephen (the attainder), who enlarged the park. In North West Water's archaeological survey of their Bowland estate undertaken by Lancaster University Archaeology Unit, Stephen Park is explicitly described as a 'deer park':

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<sup>24</sup> J. Porter, *Waste Land Reclamation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Case of South-Eastern Bowland, 1550-1630*. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 127, 1977, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Porter, *Waste Land Reclamation*, 5-8.

<sup>26</sup> 'The legal consequences of judgement of death or outlawry, in respect of treason or felony, viz. forfeiture of estate real and personal, corruption of blood, so that the condemned could neither inherit nor transmit by descent, and generally, extinction of all civil rights and capacities' (Oxford English Dictionary, online, <http://www.oed.com/>, accessed 13 September 2015).

<sup>27</sup> L.M. Cantor, *The Medieval Parks of England: A Gazetteer* (Dept. of Education, Loughborough University of Technology, 1983), pp. 91-93. He defines a medieval park as one existing between 1066 and 1485, the date of the accession of Henry VII.

<sup>28</sup> A 'vill' is an area of land, the word often used interchangeably with a 'township' but the latter by convention refers to the administrative focus. A.J.L. Winchester, *Discovering Parish Boundaries* (Princes Risborough/Shire, 2000), p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> J. Dixon, P. Dixon, *Journeys Through Brigantia: Vol. 8, Circular Walks in the Forest of Bowland*. (Barnoldswick/Aussteiger Publications, 1992), p. 121.

<sup>30</sup> The concern about the pulling down of houses and conversion of pasture to arable had its beginnings immediately after the Black Death, and in 1490 an Act was used to curtail such actions but it was largely ineffective. Wolsey addressed the issue on his rise to power and a further Act in 1515 was enacted, although it omitted parks and marshes. This latter Act led to Wolsey's inquisitions in 1517-18. It is conceivable that the Sir Stephen mentioned in the returns was the Stephen who died in 1500 (not 1501) as the original incloser, but it is more likely that the return is the attainder Sir Stephen, his grandson. Gay & Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures*, 231-234.

A fourteenth century deer park established by Stephen de Hammerton. By 1850 (OS 1st edt 6 inch to 1 mile) there was little to indicate the former existence of the park, other than place-names. By then, Stephen Park was, as now, a farm.<sup>31</sup>

No evidence is presented to support the designation as a deer-park or the dating (does this date originate from Whitaker's assertion that Adam de Hamerton and Katherine made a 'park' at *Wigglesworth* in the fourteenth century?<sup>32</sup>). An architectural survey of the farmhouse and buildings, undertaken in 1999 by the same unit<sup>33</sup> (now Oxford Archaeology North), simply cites Dixon & Dixon and states that the house was built on the site of a hunting lodge. This is also repeated in another OA North report<sup>34</sup> and a local historical journal<sup>35</sup> but no primary evidence is cited. The current Lancashire County Council Historic Environment Record for Stephen Park directly cites and reproduces the text of the 1997 survey.<sup>36</sup>

Plainly, primary evidence is required to clarify the principal function of the park; was it a deer-park, a park for raising cattle or horses, or an arable enclosure (although in practice it could have had more than one function)? Clarification of its status as a historical, possibly medieval deer-park would be beneficial to the designation of Lancashire's heritage assets, provide the Forestry Commission with a more informed understanding of the historical significance of the extant pre-1948 boundaries within the forest, and the promotion and preservation of the area as a historical site, whether deer-park or a very early farming settlement.

## Aims and objectives

The aims of the study are to determine firstly, if Stephen Park was a deer-park, authorised or unauthorised, and secondly, the role of the Hamerton family in the enclosure and exploitation of the area, whether as a deer imparkment, arable or stock pasture improvements.

The study objectives are:

- I. The identification and review of original manuscripts and printed primary sources such as Chancery rolls, that could state or indicate that deer were imparked at Stephen Park and its environs, the dates of the imparkment, and the identity of the 'Stephen'.
- II. Using the published pedigrees of the Hamerton family as a basis, identify grants, land improvements and other economic and social activities of the various members of the Hamerton family, their rise and demise.
- III. Undertake an exploratory survey of the boundaries of the Park settlement, in particular the ditch and bank design (differentiated from modern forestry inclosure boundaries), to provide insights into stock or deer movements, exclusion and enclosure. Specifically, the survey should identify if the encompassing historical boundaries show the characteristics of park deer enclosure, or wild deer exclusion.

The study considers the period from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, terminating just after the execution of Sir Stephen Hamerton in 1537 for treason, and the dispersal of his lands by the Crown.

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<sup>31</sup> *North West Water's Forest of Bowland Estate, Lancaster: Archaeological Survey Report*. Lancaster University Archaeological Unit, March 1997, p. 151.

<sup>32</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 126-130.

<sup>33</sup> *Stephen Park Slaidburn Lancashire: Archaeological Building Survey*, January 2000, Lancaster University Archaeology Unit Report No. 1999-00/(040)/AUA 8944, p. 16. Available at Lancashire Archives DDX 1915/73/1.

<sup>34</sup> *Hodder Service Reservoir and Access Works, Slaidburn, Lancashire*, October 2008, Oxford Archaeology North Report No. 2008-09/757 for United Utilities, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Notes by Diana Kaneps in A. Read, 'In praise of The Folly: Past, present and future'. *North Craven Heritage Trust Journal*, 2001, pp. 8-11.

<sup>36</sup> Lancashire County Council Historic Environment Record PRN13332 – MLA13329.

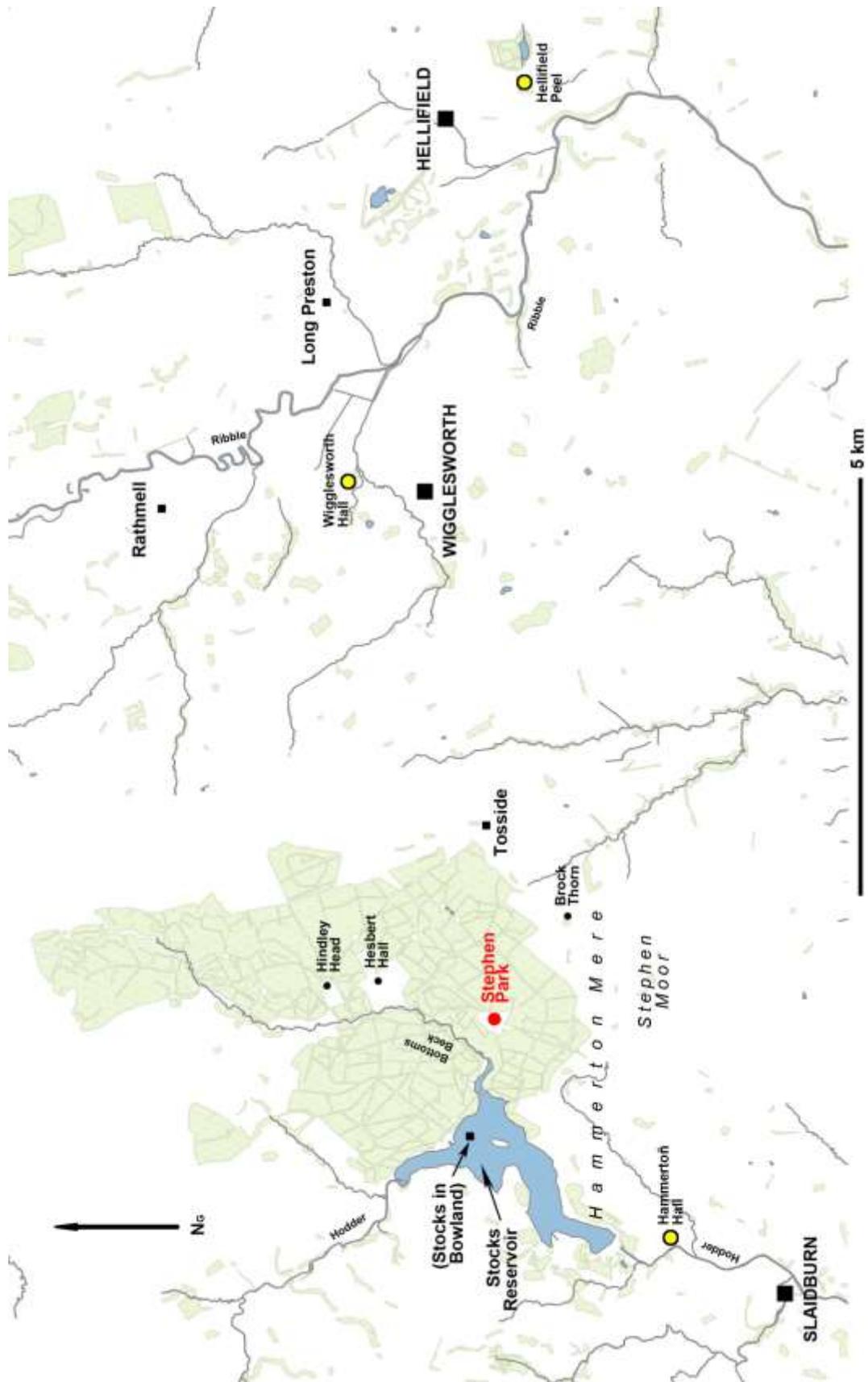


Figure 4: Map of Stephen Park within the Gisburn Forest estate and former Hamerton family residences to the east. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2016).

## Background

This section provides background information for the documentary research and the field survey, namely: (i) the purpose and topographical characteristics of medieval deer-parks, and their identification in the modern landscape, (ii) the pre- and post-forestry and reservoir Ordnance Survey (OS) mapping of the Stephen Park area (iii) the earliest dates of the place names in the Park area and their derivation. The study of place names (toponymy) and the historical development of place name words (etymology) provide insights into: the activities that may have been undertaken at a place; local topography; ownership and tenure of land if derived from personal names; and the minimum age of its use. The etymology of the word 'park' is discussed in some detail to understand whether the use of the place name was always associated with deer imparkment.

## Deer-parks

The Forest of Bowland (historically Bolland) was created by William II and granted to Roger de Poitou in 1092, the first Lord of Bowland. It remained a private chase until the late fourteenth century when it came into royal ownership through the Duchy of Lancaster, but in 1661 it was granted to George Monck as Duke of Albemarle.<sup>37</sup> Thus at different periods in its history it was a royal forest or a chase. Many forests, including Bowland, had royal or private deer-parks within or close to the forest bounds.

The purpose, organisation, social role and historical development of medieval and early post-medieval deer-parks have been the focus of scholarly studies over the last three decades, latterly exemplified by the works of Fletcher,<sup>38</sup> Liddiard,<sup>39</sup> and Mileson.<sup>40</sup> Deer-parks imbued status, and provided a demarcated, private area for hunting or the farming of venison. They conserved wood-pasture and offered economic benefits to defray park costs by coppicing, stock pasture and the plough. They were areas of private, protected wood-pasture and open grazing enclosed by a high fence of timber, stone or hedge, and associated ground-works such as a ditch and bank, collectively known as a 'pale' (Figure 5). In general form, a wooden pale fence comprised an embankment upon which a fence was constructed from oak posts, cleft (riven) oak pales, rails (horizontal braces) and shores (angled support struts). Some fences may have been constructed from sawn close boarding, stone, live or dead hedges.<sup>41</sup> There would not normally be a ditch on the external side but the 'freeboard' (a cleared area immediately around the perimeter, outside the park) provided access to the fence and the return, using salters (deer-leaps) associated with the fence, of the hefted escapees. The freeboard width was nominally the leap of a deer in one bound,<sup>42</sup> about one perch (7 or 8 yards).<sup>43</sup>

Ditches and banks were common but not universal in the boundaries of parks; individual parks may have had sections devoid of such ground-works where the local topography facilitated retaining the deer with a fence alone.

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<sup>37</sup> C.J. Spencer, S.W. Jolly, 'Bowland: The Rise and Decline, Abandonment and Revival of a Medieval Lordship', *The Escutcheon*, vol. 15, 2010, pp. 3-5.

<sup>38</sup> J. Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: the History of Deer Parks* (Oxford/Oxbow, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> R. Liddiard, *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield/Windgather, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> S.A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>41</sup> J. Langton, 'Forest fences: Enclosures in a Pre-enclosure Landscape', *Landscape History*, vol. 35, 2014, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup> J.E. Harting, *Recreations of a Naturalist* (London/Fisher Unwin, 1906), pp. 71-72.

<sup>43</sup> J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary, Vol. 2* (Frowde/Oxford, 1900), p. 49.



Figure 5: Eroded ditch and bank of a pale system in Leagram park, near Chipping. The park is on the left, the forest to the right. This section was probably constructed in the 1420s when the park was enlarged. The ditch was originally 8 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep. Inset courtesy of English Heritage, based on a survey by AONB volunteers.

Parks enabled the monarch, nobility, bishops and the upper echelons of the gentry to succour, cherish and hunt deer for provision of the elite meat. In the medieval period, a royal licence was required to make a park, although in practice, not all deer-parks were licenced.<sup>44</sup> Deer-parks were prestigious and coveted areas subject to control by the Crown, particularly private parks within or close to royal forests. Forests were large unenclosed areas of woodland, pasture, arable and common land subject to a set of laws — Forest Laws — enforced by Crown officials and courts. They provided the monarch and lords with a hunting area, particularly of deer (not all forests were owned by the Crown; some were privately owned<sup>45</sup>). Forest Law was used to protect the venison and the vert (the browse of the deer) from unauthorised interference. Chases were largely privately owned hunting areas granted by the monarch to the aristocracy and upper echelons of the church, not subject to the full rigours of Forest Law, but still having provision to protect the deer and the hunting of other animals such as foxes and rabbits, known as the ‘warren’. The Crown could also own chases, if they were repossessed from errant nobility and ecclesiastical former owners.

Parks were generally loss-making activities, but their importance and longevity cannot be judged simply in economic terms, but also as a profound social statement in the landscape of privacy, exclusion, privilege and wealth that was projected to the monarch, peers and aspiring gentry. For the communities of toiling common people outside the pale, parks restricted the development of settlements and agricultural expansion. They declared a visually imposing forbidden area of ample woodland that, set aside for deer and other animals such as rabbits, contributed nothing to the daily requirements for timber and underwood and the provision of food, by plough, pasture, rough

<sup>44</sup> Mileson, *Medieval Parks*, 139.

<sup>45</sup> J. Langton, ‘Royal and non-royal forests and chases in England and Wales’, *Historical Research*, vol. 88, 2015, pp. 381-401.

hunting and trapping. Wood was in high demand outside the park.<sup>46,47</sup> The deer species enclosed in parks were principally fallow and red deer.<sup>48</sup> Roe are unsuited to enclosure because they are territorial and do not associate well with the other species, consequently, they were rarely imparked and would only flourish if the park was very large and had diverse flora.<sup>49</sup> Roe were classified as beasts of the warren (i.e. pests) in the reign of Edward III because they chased away other deer.<sup>50</sup>

Deer imparkment grew from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries and reached its zenith around 1300 when there were c.3,200 parks in England, occupying up to 2% of the land area of the country,<sup>51</sup> and containing about one quarter of its woodland.<sup>52</sup> This plethora of medieval parks have effectively disappeared by their conversion into farmland, largely for economic reasons. It is possible to identify many of these former deer-parks in the modern landscape, and historical documentary records provide evidence of their existence, authorisation and management. Topographical and documentary indications of deer imparkment include: curvilinear boundaries, place-names, veteran trees formerly cut browse for deer, licences for imparkment, pleadings to the Crown for breaking parks and theft of deer, grants of live deer or venison etc. These characteristics will be revisited and expanded below in the sections on the documentary research and surveying.

## Maps

Large scale maps of the locale of the Park on the 6-inches to 1-mile 1847 OS first-edition survey, and post-forestry and reservoir on the modern 1:25,000 OS, are compared in Figure 6. The impacts of the reservoir and forestry plantations are plainly evident, and some of the local farms were depopulated and destroyed during the construction of the reservoir. It is notable however that some of the boundaries on the 1847 map are still marked on the modern map, but whether they still exist on the ground, particularly in the plantations, was one of the purposes of the survey.

## Place names and their origin

### Stephen Park

'Stephen' is undoubtedly a personal name used as a place name; the Hamertons had recurring names of Stephen, Richard and John. In a survey of first names from 1377-1381 poll tax data for ten counties, 'Stephen' was an unpopular name with a frequency of 0.3% in east Yorkshire in 1379. It rose in popularity in the late sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> It is probable therefore that 'Stephen' as a park name was associated with the local Hamerton family. It is important to clarify the meaning and origin of the place-name 'park' to assist in understanding the relationship between its use, the principal function of the enclosures, and the nature of the boundary fences around the site and within.

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<sup>46</sup> R. Liddiard, 'Castle Riding, Norfolk: a "Landscape of Lordship"?' in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies XXII, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1999*, (Woodbridge/Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 169-183.

<sup>47</sup> Miles, *Medieval Parks*, 178-180.

<sup>48</sup> It is not possible to generalise on the balance of red and fallow deer held in parks over the centuries; in a survey of 395 deer-parks and paddocks undertaken in 1892, five contained solely red deer, 83 had mixed herds, and the remainder were fallow. [G.K. Whitehead, *Deer and their Management in the Deer Parks of Great Britain and Ireland* (London/Country Life, 1950), pp. 30-31].

<sup>49</sup> Whitehead, *Deer Management*, 172.

<sup>50</sup> A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 31.

<sup>51</sup> O. Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London/Phoenix, 1997) p. 123. An average park area of 200 acres and the estimate is for any particular time.

<sup>52</sup> O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London/Phoenix Giant, 1996), pp. 152-153.

<sup>53</sup> G. Redmonds, *Christian Names in Local and Family History* (Canada/Dundurn, 2006), pp. 29-31.

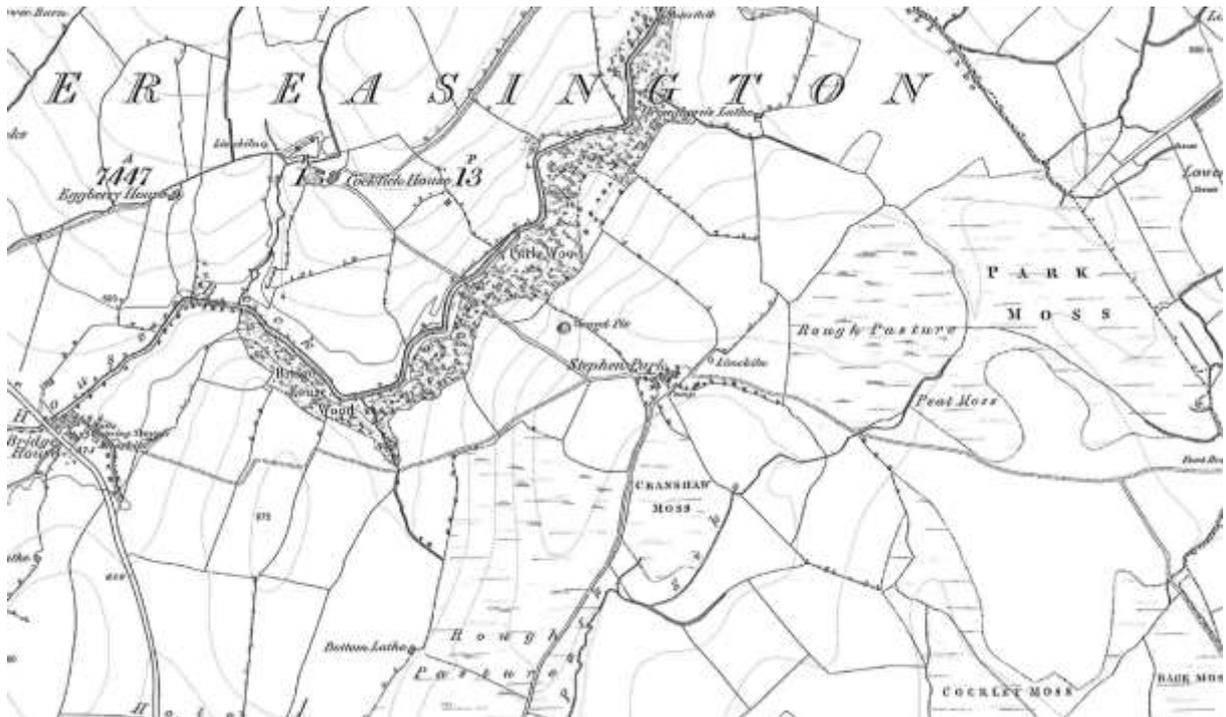


Figure 6: A comparison of the Stephen Park area in the 1840s and today. Upper: the first edition OS 6-inch to 1-mile, surveyed 1847, published 1850. Lower: modern 1:25,000 OS. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2016).

It is useful at this stage to clarify the etymology of the word. It must not be assumed that the place name 'park' is necessarily a deer-park or deer paddock. The etymology of the word is complex; in one derivation it is from Anglo-Norman/Old French *parc*, in a legal sense — an enclosed area held by royal grant and reserved for the keeping and hunting of deer and other game. In a later historical use:

Any large enclosed piece of ground, usually comprising woodland and pasture, attached to or surrounding a manor, castle, country house, etc., and used for recreation, and often for keeping deer, cattle, or sheep.<sup>54</sup>

It may also be derived from Old English (OE) *pearroc*, a small field or paddock frequently close to a farmhouse, historically 'parrock' or in modern use, 'paddock'.<sup>55</sup> In Yorkshire this latter definition was used from the twelfth century and applied to assarts and small enclosures.<sup>56</sup> In Cumbria a 'park' is associated with enclosed woodland, not necessarily containing farmed deer<sup>57</sup> and in Scotland it can refer to fenced pasture for livestock,<sup>58</sup> an illustrative example of which can be found closer to home on Orrell Moss at Huddlesden near Darwen. Shown on the 1844-1847 OS 6-inches to 1-mile map is a 'Park', probably made to retain cattle (certainly not deer), in the middle of a very desolate and boggy moor (Figure 7).<sup>59</sup>



Figure 7: A stone wall enclosed 'Park' on Orrell Moss, Huddlesden, probably used for cattle. The map is the first edition OS 6-inches to 1-mile, surveyed 1844-1847. The enclosure was made before 1786.

There was a Tudor (possibly earlier) deer-park at Bashall Eaves (discussed below). The Bashall 1849 tithe map<sup>60</sup> shows a cluster of 'park' field and wood names near Micklehurst farm that were probably associated with the deer-park south of the farm, but there were also two small fields elsewhere in the parish marked on the tithe map as 'park', not associated with deer enclosure. Small enclosures are sometimes named as 'parrocks' on maps and indeed there is a very small parrock across Bottom's Beck from Park Wood in the Stephen Park area, shown on the 1838 Upper Easington

<sup>54</sup> OED Online. June 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/137946?rskey=UgZKgU&result=1> (accessed July 21, 2015).

<sup>55</sup> J. Field, *A History of English Field Names* (Oxford/Routledge, 1993), pp. 25-28.

<sup>56</sup> S. Moorhouse, 'The Medieval Parks of Yorkshire: Function, Contents and Chronology' in R. Liddiard (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield/Windgather, 2007), pp.101-2.

<sup>57</sup> A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' in R. Liddiard, *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield/Windgather, 2007), p. 166.

<sup>58</sup> Fletcher, *Gardens of Delight*, 587.

<sup>59</sup> The 'Park' is at SD73002068. An exploratory survey by the author determined that notwithstanding that the wall had likely sunk in the miry ground, it was certainly not of sufficient height to retain deer. There was no bank and ditch system. It is not a landscape to host park deer and probably not even roe. At a southern opening is a now fallen stoop post with a stang (fence post) hole near the top of the upright, at a height sufficient to retain cattle. The enclosure has a circumference of 308 m and area 0.61 ha. Remarkably, given its size and location in the large moor, this enclosure appears to be marked on William Yates' 1-inch to 1-mile map of Lancashire published in 1786, the first large-scale map of Lancashire.

<sup>60</sup> Lancashire Archives PR 3031/4/5.

tithe map.<sup>61</sup> In 1312, Drax Priory and Rievaulx Abbey agreed on the ownership of tithes in Bingley township including uncultivated 'Ox-park' in the grange of Harden, and the cultivated land 'Calve-park' in Faweather, indicative that these 'parks' were cattle enclosures.<sup>62</sup>

In Shirley's 1867 survey of 334 deer-parks<sup>63</sup> and Whitaker's 1892 survey of the 386 deer-parks and paddocks of England then extant<sup>64</sup> (a large number of which were common to both surveys), the deer-park names were either topographical, settlement or country seat/family names. Although it is not possible to be certain without undertaking a lengthy systematic analysis, in these surveys no deer-park place name employed a personal first name (such as Stephen).

*It is concluded that the place name 'park' does not necessarily refer to a deer enclosure and should not be used as definitive evidence of a former deer-park.*

#### Stephen Park place-name variants

Smith's *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* gives four historical variants of the place-name.<sup>65</sup> The earliest use found by Smith was 1538:

1. *Stevynparke*, 1538, *Ministers' Accounts 1266-1636*. Ministers' Accounts are accounts sent to the Crown from managers of estates acquired upon the death of a lord without male heir, or attainted. They are available in the National Archives (TNA).<sup>66</sup>
2. *Stephan parke*, 1548, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Wills Registered at York,<sup>67</sup> specifically the will of Thomas Heber of West Marton in Craven (proved 3 Oct 1548): 'I give to my said son Roger Heiber all suche my landes in Bollande as I latelie purchased of Rauf Grenacre, gentleman, comenlie called Stephan parke' (above).<sup>68</sup>
3. *Stephen Parke*, 1611, *Yorkshire Feet of Fines 1486-1625*<sup>69</sup> (legal procedures undertaken in the conveyancing of land). In vol. LIII: 'Henry Brigge, quer [*querent* - purchaser]: Thos. Heyber and Mary his wife, def. [*deforciant* - vendor] Messuage and lands in Stephen Parke, Easington and Bolland. Warranty against heirs of Reginald Heyber decd'.<sup>70</sup>
4. *Stevenparke*, 1642, Indexes and collections of wills from the York Registry.<sup>71</sup> 'Stevenparke' is recorded in three volumes, for example: 'January, Spencer, John, Stevenparke in Bolland, June 24, 1642'.<sup>72</sup>

From the Manor of Slaidburn Court Rolls is an entry dated 9 Oct 1533, providing an earlier date than Smith's:

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<sup>61</sup> *Tithe Map of the Township of Easington in the West Riding of the County of York*. Dated 1844. Fylde Water Board copy held in Slaidburn Archive. According to TNA, map is IR 30/43/137 and apportionment IR 29/43/137.

<sup>62</sup> J.H. Turner, *Ancient Bingley: Or Bingley its History and Scenery* (Bingley/Harrison, 1897), p. 118.

<sup>63</sup> E.P. Shirley, *Some Account of English Deer Parks* (London/John Murray, 1867).

<sup>64</sup> J. Whitaker, *A Descriptive List of the Deer-Parks and Paddocks of England* (London/Ballantyne & Hanson, 1892).

<sup>65</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 203.

<sup>66</sup> Receiver and Bailiffs' accounts for attainted lands of Sir Stephen Hammerton: E 315/449/1, E 315/304/1, E 315/286/2, E 315/288/3; Possessions of the late Stephen Hammerton, knight, attainted for high treason: SC6/HENVIII/4357.

SC6/HENVIII/4365, SC6/HENVIII/4358. Some of these are discussed below.

<sup>67</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vols. 4, 30, 45, 53, 79, 106.

<sup>68</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York, Vol. VI*. Publications of the Surtees Society, Col. CVI, 1902, pp. 268-270.

<sup>69</sup> *Feet of Fines for the county of York*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, vols. 2, 5, 7, 8, 53, 58.

<sup>70</sup> W. Brigg, ed. *Yorkshire Fines for the Stuart Period, Vol. I 1603-1614*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS), Record series Vol. LIII for the year 1914, p. 150.

<sup>71</sup> *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1389-1652* (YAS 4, 6, 11, 14, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28), *Catalogue of the Yorkshire Wills at Somerset House, 1649-60* (YAS 1); *Abstracts of Wills at Somerset House* (YAS 9).

<sup>72</sup> *Wills in the York Registry from 1636 to 1652, Record Series IV* (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 1888), p. 181.

The jurors aforesaid say that Richard <sup>amerced 20d.</sup> Haymerton, Roger <sup>amerced 4d.</sup> Stowtt, George <sup>amerced 4d.</sup> Parker of Stevenparke, Thomas <sup>amerced 4d.</sup> Marton and William <sup>amerced 4d.</sup> Baley withdrew from the Lord King's mill of Slaidburne.<sup>73</sup>

This use is earlier than the execution of Sir Stephen and indicates arable farming in the Park. In 1547, Ralph Greenacres of Sawley granted *Stephyn Parke* in the tenure of the relict of George Parker to Thomas Heber.<sup>74</sup> Greenacres had purchased the Park from the Crown following the forfeiture of Sir Stephen's lands.

### Stephen Moor

The earliest historical names of Stephen Moor cited by Smith are *Stephen-more* and *Stiphen More* in 1594; other variants are *Stiven more* (1613), *Steene more* (1617), and *Steenmoor*.<sup>75</sup> The elements are the personal name and OE *mor*, 'bog'. Christopher Saxton's 1591 map of Slaidburn commons<sup>76</sup> marks 'Parte of Hamerton Meare now Ecclosinge [enclosing] Called Steven more'<sup>77</sup> and indeed the allotment of the moor to the various owners of settled land, including those of Stephen Park and Hamerton, was dated 15 May 1591 (the apportionment is reproduced in Appendix 3).<sup>78</sup> Beforehand, Stephen Moor was the common for the Hammerton Mere area.

### Hesbert Hall

Hesbert Hall area has been named *Esebrictehe*, *Esebrictehahe*, *Esbrichahe*, *Esebricteshaga* historically meaning 'Esbriht's enclosure', the 'Hall' from a local pronunciation of 'haw', derived from *haga*, a hedge, enclosure or park.<sup>79</sup> The historical extent of the Hesbert area is unclear but could have included what later became Stephen Park only 1.5 km south-west of Hesbert Hall farm (although the Park was in a different township and parish to Hesbert, even though they were close geographically).

### Hindley Head

Hindley Head is dated by Smith as '*Hindelayhead*' in 1672, meaning 'hinds' clearing', indicative of the presence of deer, though not necessarily in a deer-park.<sup>80</sup>

### Hammerton

The first element 'hammer' derives from either Old Norse (ON) *hamarr* or OE *hamor*, a place where hammers were made or used (i.e. a smithy), a plant name (hammer-sedge), or a hammer-shaped rock, crag, rock-face.<sup>81,82</sup> Topographically the latter is relevant as the Hall is on a bluff above the Hodder. The last element is from OE *tun*, being an enclosure, farmstead, village or estate.

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<sup>73</sup> Pers. comm. Chris Spencer from the Manor of Slaidburn Court Rolls. According to Spencer, the Stout family were at Brigg/Bridge House during the 1500s to 1600s, Richard Hamerton was probably at Hammerton Hall and George Parker and then his widow farmed at Stephen Park from the 1530s onwards.

<sup>74</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, Vol. I, 1547-1548*, 11 November 1547, p. 52.

<sup>75</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 203.

<sup>76</sup> National Archives MR 1/778.

<sup>77</sup> Barely legible, possibly 'mere' or 'mire'.

<sup>78</sup> DDKW Box 1 Bundle A (bundle of deeds for Black House farm in the King-Wilkinson deeds) at the Lancashire Archives, courtesy Chris Spencer.

<sup>79</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 168.

<sup>80</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 169.

<sup>81</sup> V. Watts, J. Insley, M. Gelling, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names: Based on the Collections of the English Place-Name Society* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 274.

<sup>82</sup> P. Hanks, F. Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford University Press, 1988).

Historical information on Hammerton (historically Hamerton<sup>83</sup>) will emerge below when the family is discussed, but a few comments are provided by way of introduction. Hammerton, along with Easington, was in the liberty<sup>84</sup> of Bowland and from c.1399 in the holdings of the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>85</sup> There were also Hamerton lands at Green Hammerton and Kirk Hammerton in lower Nidderdale, North Yorkshire, and there is also a Hamerton in Cambridgeshire (historically in Huntingdonshire).

Hammerton was mentioned as *Hamereton* in the 1086 Domesday survey as a *vill* within the principal manor (*caput*) of Grindleton:

In Grindleton [*Gretlintone*] Earl Tosti had 4 carucates<sup>86</sup> of land taxable. West Bradford [*Bradeforde*], 2c.; Waddington [*Widitun*], 2c.; Bashall [*Baschelf*], 4 c.; Mitton [*Mitune*], 4 c.; Hamerton [*Hamereton*], 2 c.; Slaidburn [*Slateborne*], 4 c.; Battersby [*Badresbi*], 2 c.; Newton [*Neutone*], 4 c.; Boward, later Barge Ford near Newton [*Bogeuurde*]<sup>87</sup>, 2 c.; Easington [*Esintune*], 3 c.; Radholme [*Radun*], 2 c.; (probably) Lees [*Sotleie*], 3 c. These lands appertain to Grindleton.<sup>88</sup>

In the thirteenth century, Slaidburn became the principal manor and this was held by an overlord and formed a liberty that included Newton, West Bradford and Grindleton.<sup>89</sup> Nine other manors including Hammerton were granted to lesser lords subservient to the superior lord at Slaidburn; these lands could be tenanted. From Kirkby's Inquest and Knights' Fees,<sup>90</sup> (a Royal Commission survey undertaken in 1284-1285 by John de Kirkby, lately Lord Treasurer, by to determine the military service and subsidies available to the king from each manor or estate), *Slaitburn*<sup>91</sup> and *Esyngton*<sup>92</sup> were assessed, along with *Amerton et Riston* – Hamerton and Rushton (the latter being the area around the Grange, now under the reservoir).

*Slaitburn*. In this same township are 3 carucates of land which are held of the King 'in capite'<sup>93</sup> and nothing is made/done for services, about which mention was made in the aforesaid inquisitions.

*Esyngton*. In this same township is 1 carucate of land which Adam de Wannervill holds of the Earl of Lincoln and the same Earl [holds] from the King, and [there is] nothing [paid] in rent.

*Amerton and Riston*. In these same townships is 1 carucate of land which Ralph/Richard de Amerton holds of the aforesaid Earl, and the Earl from the King, and [there is] nothing [paid] in rent.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> The two spellings of the place name, Hamerton and Hammerton, and the family Hamerton (occasionally also Hammerton) vary historically. The modern place name is Hammerton and this is used in this document, unless the quoted source used Hamerton, the usual form in early manuscripts.

<sup>84</sup> A liberty was a collection of manors in which the rights of the monarch to receive certain incomes were revoked.

<sup>85</sup> Pers. comm., Chris Spencer.

<sup>86</sup> 'A measure of land, varying with the nature of the soil, etc., being as much as could be tilled with one plough (with its team of 8 oxen) in a year; a plough-land' (OED).

<sup>87</sup> Spencer & Jolly, *Bowland: Rise and Decline*, 3.

<sup>88</sup> M.L. Faull, M. Stinson, *Domesday Book; Yorkshire (Part Two)*, (London/Phillimore, 1986), pp. 332 a, b.

<sup>89</sup> Spencer & Jolly, *Bowland: Rise and Decline*, 3-5.

<sup>90</sup> Knights' Fees were measures of land able to support a knight. R.H. Skaife, *The Survey of the County of York Taken by John de Kirkby Commonly called Kirkby's Inquest. Also Inquisitions of Knights' Fees*. Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. XLIX. (Durham/Andrews, 1867).

<sup>91</sup> Skaife, *Kirkby's Inquest*, 15.

<sup>92</sup> Skaife, *Kirkby's Inquest*, 16.

<sup>93</sup> Held directly from the king, a tenant-in-chief.

<sup>94</sup> Skaife, *Kirkby's Inquest*, 15-17.

Hammerton was listed with many other Bowland lands in the Inquisition Post Mortem<sup>95</sup> (IPM) of the first Duke of Lancaster in 1361. There were rents in ‘Slaykburn and Hamerton with the farm<sup>96</sup> of the office of the serjeant there and of a fulling-mill and a watermill there’; also listed is ‘Roudon [Radholme] a park with deer’, but Stephen Park is not mentioned.<sup>97</sup> Hammerton was classed as a Deserted Medieval Village by Beresford,<sup>98,99</sup> the last taxation record being the 1379 poll tax (Subsidy Rolls) when 18 people were named, the most heavily taxed being ‘Ricardus de Hamerton, ffrankeleyn<sup>100</sup> & uxor’ at twelve pence, the remaining residents being four pence (the standard rate for married men).<sup>101</sup> Hammerton was amongst the estates (including Easington and Stephen Moor in the parish of Slaidburn) purchased by the Governors of Chetham Hospital in 1661 under the will of Humphrey Chetham (1580-1653), whose income was used to fund the Library.<sup>102</sup> The estate was sold in 1946-1947 for £8,500.<sup>103</sup>

Hammerton was under the ambit of the Master Foresters of Bolland even though not technically within the bounds known from fifteenth century and later surveys: Slaidburn, Hammerton, Newton and the Champion, and adjacent Stephen Moor, and other places such as Grindleton, and Easington up to Bowland Knotts. Hammerton, Easington and other townships in the purlieu<sup>104</sup> of the forest were, in the late sixteenth century, subject to woodmote courts<sup>105</sup> at Whitewell.<sup>106</sup>

Hammerton Mere (Figure 8) extended from the Hodder area east to the modern Bolton-by-Bowland civil parish boundary around Brock Thorn (as evident on the first-edition 6-inches to 1-mile). OE *mere* is a pool, pond or lake and in Anglo-Saxon use could refer to anything from a duck-pond to large lake. Topographically, the Hammerton Mere area does not reflect this derivation and it is more likely that the OE *gemære* meaning a ‘boundary’ is more appropriate (the two derivations are difficult to differentiate in place-name studies),<sup>107</sup> extending as the Mere does to the parish boundary at Hesbert Hall Syke near Brock Thorn. In the context of Yorkshire, it may also refer to an administrative unit of a parish — a ‘quarter’.<sup>108</sup> Thus it refers not just to a boundary line, but to an area surrounded by a boundary such as the township;<sup>109</sup> this use is probably unique to the West Riding.<sup>110</sup> Hammerton Mere is therefore probably a *quarter* sub-division of Easington township. In a

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<sup>95</sup> Examinations undertaken upon the death of an individual who held land directly from the king, to determine the heir and his/her age, the extent and value of the lands, and specifically the monies due to the king.

<sup>96</sup> A ‘farm’ is a fixed yearly sum in rent from an official empowered to collect taxes.

<sup>97</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents, Vol. XI, Edward III* (London/HMSO, 1935), p. 99.

<sup>98</sup> Beresford’s Lost Villages, University of Hull, <https://www.dmv.hull.ac.uk/dmvDetail.cfm?dbkey=5148&search=hammerton> (accessed 23 May 2015).

<sup>99</sup> M. Beresford, J. G. Hurst, *Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies* (London, Lutterworth, 1971), p. 211.

<sup>100</sup> ‘ffrankeleyn’ is a franklin – a freeholder; ‘& uxor’ is ‘and wife’.

<sup>101</sup> Genuki, Yorkshire, Subsidy Rolls. <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/Misc/SubsidyRolls/WRY/Slaidburn.html> (accessed 23 May 2015).

<sup>102</sup> E. Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. 2* (London/Fisher, 1836), p. 228

<sup>103</sup> *The Hamerton Deeds and Papers, E.2.9* (catalogue only), c. 1530-1694, Chetham’s Library. Available from [http://www.chethams.org.uk/chethams\\_library\\_hamerton\\_estates.pdf](http://www.chethams.org.uk/chethams_library_hamerton_estates.pdf) (accessed 6 April 2016).

<sup>104</sup> Purlieu is disafforested land, which may still be subject to some aspects of the controls of the forest policed by Master Foresters.

<sup>105</sup> Woodmote courts concerned themselves with abuses of Forest Law, such as damage to the vert and timber.

<sup>106</sup> R.C. Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster* (Guardian/Preston, 1956), pp. 212-4.

<sup>107</sup> M. Gelling, *Place-names in the Landscape* (London/Dent, 1984), pp. 26-7.

<sup>108</sup> A.J.L. Winchester, *Discovering Parish Boundaries* (Princes Risborough/Shire, 2000), p. 21.

<sup>109</sup> M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to 1500, Vol 2: The Administrative and Tenorial Framework* (Wakefield/ West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), p. 266.

<sup>110</sup> B. Jepson, ‘English Place-Name Elements Relating to Boundaries’, Unpublished thesis, Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, 2011, pp. 45-9.

similar local use, in the 1551 Yorkshire Feet of Fines is: ‘14 messuages with lands in Riston Meere in Bolland and Craven’,<sup>111</sup> probably Rushton Mere (now largely beneath Stocks reservoir).



Figure 8: Hammerton Hall, Hammerton Mere, and in the distance Gisburn Forest plantations, Stephen Park within. Note that the modern Gisburn Forest FC estate extends west of the historical Gisburn legal forest, and the modern civil parish.

The Park occupies the most easterly lands of former Hammerton vill and is bounded on the east by Gisburn Forest and Bolton-by-Bowland parishes across a watercourse. Parks were often sited on the upland boundaries of private land holdings, royal forests and township/parish boundaries.

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<sup>111</sup> 'Yorkshire Fines: 1551-55,' in Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period [Yorks]: Part 1, 1486-1571, ed. Francis Collins (Leeds: Yorkshire Archeological Society, 1887), 153-189, accessed August 17 2015, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/feet-of-fines-yorks/vol1/pp153-189>.

## Documentary evidence of a deer-park?

A medieval deer-park required authorisation, grants and considerable expenditure to acquire deer, securely inclose them, maintain the fence and succour the deer. Subsequently, income could be generated by disparkment and conversion of some or all of the park to more conventional agricultural use. The documentary evidence of a deer-park could include:

- a licence for deer imparkment, the enclosure of woodland containing deer coverts or grant of agistment<sup>112</sup> upon disparkment, and rents and other income therefrom;
- pleadings to the Crown/Duchy for trespass, breaking of the pale fence and unauthorised taking of deer;
- accounts for maintenance of the pale, lodge, woodland, and supply of fodder to supplement the browse for the deer in the winter;
- appointment and payments to the parker and other park staff;
- royal grants of live deer or venison and associated fees;
- inquisitions into the harm to the king's deer and browse arising from private imparkment;
- licences for salters (deer-leaps), and associated accounts for construction and maintenance.

A licence for Bashall Park and an account of the breaking of the pale will serve to illustrate the type of information sought for Stephen Park. The earliest known date for a park at Bashall (albeit indirect) is from a perambulation of Bowland forest undertaken in the times of John Lyndley, abbot of Whalley (active 1342-1377),<sup>113,114</sup> that included: 'to head of Bashall Parke'. Kirkstall Abbey owned lands in the east of Bowland and in the coucher book of deeds dating from the early fourteenth century (probably 1320s), within *Memorandum of land newly enclosed in Bouland* is 'Also in the park of Basscholf at the time of Lord Henry de Lascy 200 acres and a half'.<sup>115</sup> These documents do not explicitly refer to a deer-park, and could refer to a stock park. But in 1465-1466, a deer-park was granted to Thomas Talbot<sup>116</sup> 'for ever' (Harl. 804, f. 17b):<sup>117</sup>

The licence of including a close, called Bashall Park, notwithstanding his charter regarding/of Bolland ... provided that there is not a deer-leap, commonly called a *Saltree* [salter].<sup>118</sup>

It is the exclusion of a salter (a common pre-condition of imparkment) that confirms that this was a deer-park. In 1516, Privy Seal 2048<sup>119</sup> licenced Edmund Talbot to impark lands in Bashall.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Leasing land for raising cattle and growing herbage.

<sup>113</sup> T. D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe, Volume I* (London, Routledge, 1872), p. 329.

<sup>114</sup> W. Farrer, J. Brownbill (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster, Volume 2* (London/Archibald Constable, 1908), p. 139.

<sup>115</sup> *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall in the West Riding of the County of York*. Thoresby Society Vol VIII (Leeds, 1904), p. 362. Entry CCCCXXXI.

<sup>116</sup> This Thomas Talbot married Alice, daughter of John Tempest of Bracewell, in 1451. He was knighted in 1482 and died in 1498. He is infamous as one of the detainers of Henry VI at Waddington in July 1465 during the king's concealment in the West Riding following his defeat at the Battle of Hexham in 1464.

<sup>117</sup> *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. I* (London/The British Museum, 1808), p. 444.

<sup>118</sup> T. D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe, Volume II* (London/Routledge, 1876), p. 498. In Latin within Whitaker.

<sup>119</sup> The original may be in Chancery: Warrants of the Great Seal, Series II Ref. C 82, possibly C 82/435 (June 1516) or C 82/434 (May 1516). According to Whitaker it is in Harl. 804 f. 16b also.

<sup>120</sup> *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, Vol. VI, 5 Henry VI - 8 Henry VII, A.D. 1427 - 1516* (London/HMSO, 1927), p. 283.

Grant of special grace ... to Edmund Talbot, esquire, of licence that he and his heirs may impark all their fees, lordships, and lands in the town or hamlet of Baxall and ...enclose the same with palings, ditches and hedges; and gift to them all privileges and liberties ... notwithstanding that some part of the said park may lie within the bounds of the king's forests or chases ... no one shall enter the said park to hunt there without licence from the said Edward [*sic*] on penalty of 40*l.* to the king.

Things did not go well — 560 rods (3.6 km) of fence pales were allegedly thrown down by a mob the following year (1517), supposedly instigated by Edward Stanley, Lord Mounteagle.<sup>121</sup> In the Star Chamber proceedings is Edmund Talbot's pleading to Henry VIII regarding this breaking of his park:<sup>122</sup>

[Edmund] hadde so begone to pale & inclose the same ... abowte vC & thre score Rodde. There came ... the number of fowre hundred personys [and] Ryottowsely [riotously] ... all the seyde pale Postys & Raylys of the same hewe in pecys brake & cast downe And the servantes ... there beyng grevously assautyd hurtyd & evyll intreatyd and putt them in grett daunger of there lyves.

'Bashawe Parke' is depicted on a c.1580 map of Bolland Forest; it is not shown as a paled park but as a simple rectangular area, similar to the other regions marked.<sup>123</sup>

## Sources searched

The search was systematic and encompassed local county archives, the National Archives, printed primary sources, secondary sources and antiquarian research. Of particular interest were Chancery documents such as Patent and Close Rolls and catalogued Duchy papers; licences to impark were frequently enrolled within the former.

The King in Council and the King in Parliament were the principal institutions for judicial and legislative functions in the country. The Great Seal was the authentication of the king's wishes and was held by the Chancellor in the Chancery.<sup>124</sup> Charters issued under the Seal were grants by the king to undertake acts such as hold certain types of court, hold markets etc. Grants by the monarch to individuals and corporations, were issued as public 'letters patent' or 'letters close', the latter being private communications issued folded and closed with the Great Seal. There were also 'fine' rolls showing payments to the king for royal favour, such as grant of lands, offices etc. The Chancery also produced the Inquisitions Post Mortems. Licences to impark, actions to be taken to apprehend park breakers, licences for salters, grants of royal deer, and the existence and extent of parks held by an individual upon death may be found in these documents. There are large numbers of the various types of rolls, for example, there are nearly 21,000 'close' rolls from 1204-1903,<sup>125</sup> but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, historians translated some of the rolls as 'calendars' – abbreviated versions arranged in date order. The calendars were published by HMSO and many of the volumes of these 'printed primary' sources are also available online. They are invaluable sources of information for studies on the history and management of deer-parks, whether royal, ecclesiastical or privately owned.

The other great institution of the realm was the Exchequer. Its vast records are not very accessible but information can be gleaned on the scope of works and costs for the making and maintenance of

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<sup>121</sup> The nobility and gentry were prolific park breakers, largely driven by feuding and rivalry.

<sup>122</sup> National Archives, Star Chamber Pleadings, STAC 2/26/345.

<sup>123</sup> National Archives MPC 1/32.

<sup>124</sup> A. Macfarlane, *A Guide to English Historical Records* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 32-4.

<sup>125</sup> Macfarlane, *English Historical Records*, 34.

royal deer-parks, and receipts from, for example, the confiscation and dispersal of the lands of the attainer Sir Stephen Hamerton.

The primary sources reviewed and searched included:

- Calendars of Patent Rolls;
- Calendars of Charter Rolls;
- Calendars of Close Rolls;
- Calendars of Liberate Rolls;<sup>126</sup>
- Curia Regis Rolls (King's court);
- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1509-1547;
- Yorkshire Deeds, vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10;
- Early Yorkshire Charters, vols. 1-3, 7, 9, 12;
- Yorkshire Inquisitions;
- Couchers/chartularies of the monks of Kirkstall, Sawley and Pontefract;
- Ducatus Lancastriae (Calendars of Pleadings, Court of Duchy Chamber), 1-3;
- Manor of Slaidburn Court Rolls (courtesy Chris Spencer);
- Online catalogues employed included:
  - British Library Archives and Manuscripts
  - Lancashire Archives
  - National Archives, Discovery
  - North Yorkshire Record Office
  - West Yorkshire Archive Service
  - Hathi Trust
  - British History Online (Institute of Historical Research and the History of Parliament Trust)
  - Some Notes on Medieval English Genealogy, <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/guide/rol.shtml>
  - Cochoit - Medieval Genealogy Resources, <https://sites.google.com/site/cochoit/home>
  - Calendar of Patent Rolls, University of Iowa, <http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/>
  - The Hamerton Deeds and Papers, E.2.9 (catalogue only), c. 1530-1694 at Chetham's Library.<sup>127</sup>

Note that uncatalogued material would not be found using this strategy. The many secondary sources reviewed were dominated by Whitaker's histories of Craven and Whalley parishes,<sup>128,129</sup> Greenwood and Bolton's history of Bolland Forest and the Hodder valley<sup>130</sup> and Shaw's history of the forest of Lancaster.<sup>131</sup>

## Results of the literature and manuscript review

The research uncovered information that supplemented the known history of the Hamerton family, and gave insights into the history of the Stephen Park area. Thus this section is in two parts: (i) biographies of the principal members of the Hamerton family incorporating new information, up to and including the attainer of Sir Stephen Hamerton and the dispersal of his lands, (ii) the results of

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<sup>126</sup> Chancery records of orders to the Exchequer for payment of the expenses of the royal household and state.

<sup>127</sup> The Governors of Chetham's Hospital and Library acquired the Hamerton estate in 1661.

<sup>128</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London/Nichols, 1812).

<sup>129</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe, Volume II* (London, Routledge, 1876).

<sup>129</sup> T. Merrall, *A History of Hellifield* (Settle/Lambert, 1949).

<sup>130</sup> M. Greenwood, C. Bolton, *Bolland Forest and the Hodder Valley: A History* (Blackpool/Landy, 2000).

<sup>131</sup> R.C. Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster* (Guardian/Preston, 1956).

the search for evidence of a deer-park at Stephen Park from documents and contemporary maps, and information encountered on the history of other settlements and pastures in its immediate environs.

## Principal members of the local Hamerton family

There are a number of Hamerton pedigrees published, but they lean heavily on each other. The earliest is in John de Kirkby's *Inquest of Yorkshire* made 1283/84 to 1289/90 of fees (usually heritable property) held of the king.<sup>132</sup> William Flower, Norroy King of Arms herald made a 'visitation' in 1563-1564 — a herald's visitation was used to identify unauthorised coats of arms and titles, and determine pedigrees. He outlined a Hamerton pedigree, but care is needed with accounts of visitations because they were subject to embellishment by families keen to enhance their status.<sup>133</sup> Whitaker's histories of Craven<sup>134</sup> and of Whalley<sup>135</sup> summarise the history of the family and his version of the Hamerton pedigree from the Craven volume is shown in Appendix 1. Merrall's *History of Hellifield* discusses the family<sup>136</sup> and Greenwood and Bolton's history of Bolland Forest<sup>137</sup> and Foster's pedigrees of Yorkshire families<sup>138</sup> also provide information. The noted antiquarian Colonel Parker of Browsholme offers an unsettling view: 'The Hamerton pedigree as published is appalling in its inaccuracies: but time does not admit of its discussion here'.<sup>139,140</sup> Nevertheless, notes are provided below, using Whitaker's pedigree as a foundation but supplemented by information found in the current historical review and assorted secondary sources, of the principal family members up to and including the early sixteenth century. There are a number of Stephens in the pedigree and mentioned in the various charters; at times it is unclear, in any particular era, if the activities of the one individual are being described. Some of the inclusions below are isolated events in which a Hamerton is mentioned; these serve to illustrate the status and activities of individual members where a fuller biography is not available.

### Richard de Hamerton

The earliest mention of a Hamerton is in the Pipe Rolls<sup>141</sup> of Henry II in c.1169:<sup>142</sup> 'Richard de Ham[er]ton owes half a mark for the same', referring to the previous entry which is 'for a default'.<sup>143</sup> In the following year, 'Richard de Ham[er]ton pays/renders an account of ½ mark for the same [another default]. In the Court of Exchequer paid. And he is quit'.<sup>144</sup> One mark was two-thirds of £1. Also c.1169 is an entry 'Henry clerk of Ham[er]ton pays/renders an account of 2 marks for forest rights. In the Court of the Exchequer [paid] 1 mark. And he owes 1 mark'.<sup>145</sup> All entries were with regard to 'Everwichscr', which is probably 'Yorkshire'.

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<sup>132</sup> Skaife, *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. viii.

<sup>133</sup> C.B Norcliffe, *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the Years 1563 and 1564 Made by William Flower Esquire, Norroy King of Arms* (London, 1881).

<sup>134</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London/Nichols, 1812).

<sup>135</sup> T. D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe, Volume II* (London, Routledge,1876).

<sup>136</sup> T. Merrall, *A History of Hellifield* (Settle/Lambert, 1949).

<sup>137</sup> M. Greenwood, C. Bolton, *Bolland Forest and the Hodder Valley: A History* (Blackpool/Landy, 2000).

<sup>138</sup> J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, Vol. I, West Riding* (London/Head, 1874).

<sup>139</sup> J. Parker, *Hammerton: Taken from 'Bolland' by Colonel J. Parker, CB, FSA, of Browsholme, Read Before the Society of Genealogists, 11th February 1926*. Synopsis available uncatalogued in Slaidburn Archives.

<sup>140</sup> Greenwood & Bolton, *Bolland and Hodder*, 17.

<sup>141</sup> Annual accounts of the Exchequer (Treasury).

<sup>142</sup> Translated by Chris Spencer.

<sup>143</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1169-1170, Vol. XV* (London/The Pipe Roll Society, 1892), p.43.

<sup>144</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1170-1, Vol. XVI* (London/The Pipe Roll Society, 1893), p.69.

<sup>145</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1169-1170, Vol. XV* (London/The Pipe Roll Society, 1892), p.40.

## Stephen de Hamerton

The Kirkstall Coucher (c.1196) reveals a grant to the monks of twenty loads of hay by Stephen de Hamerton:

Stephen of Hamertone, concerning 20 cart-loads of hay, with the appurtenances at Hamerton.

Be it known to all men, both present and future, that I Stephen son of Hugh of Hamerton, for the souls of my father and my mother, and for the souls of all my ancestors and my heirs, and for the health of my soul, have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to God and St Mary and the Monks of Kirkestall forever 20 cart-loads of hay with the appurtenances in the Township [vill] of Hamerton, in unconditional, free and perpetual alms. So that the aforesaid monks will mow the hay and make with me a close near to a meadow in which now they take the said hay so much belonging as [will provide?] the aforesaid 20 cart-loads of hay ... Moreover, I have given and by this my charter have confirmed to the aforesaid monks my body when I will have departed this life, with all chattels, both moveable and unmoveable, which will by right belong to me.<sup>146</sup>

'Hugh of Hamerton' is not shown in the published pedigrees of the family. According to Greenwood and Bolton, Stephen was considered to be the son of Hugh of Hamerton (probably based on the above grant), and his brother was Orme (below), but Whitaker's pedigree shows that Stephen was fathered by Richard (however these could be different Stephens).<sup>147</sup>

In 1208 at the Court of Lancaster, a dispute before a jury between Stephen de Hamerton the plaintiff and his tenant Hugh de Mitton regarding land in Aighton in Mitton is noted; Hugh paid a fine of fourteen marks of silver to acquire the rights of the land.<sup>148</sup> A Stephen de Hamerton paid 8 s. for scutage<sup>149</sup> in 1210.<sup>150</sup> In the early reign of King John (reigned 1199-1216), Stephen of Hamerton and his brother 'Horm' [Orme?] witnessed a grant of land adjoining the Ribble, to Sawley Abbey.<sup>151</sup> Stephen also witnessed before 1191 the gift by Richard le Vavasour to Sawley Abbey of all his lands in Bolton-by-Bowland.<sup>152</sup> In the period c.1212-1223 a 'Stephano de Hamertona' witnessed a gift by Peter son of William de Marton to Sawley Abbey of land in Marton for 400 sheep in winter and 600 in summer.<sup>153</sup> Around this time there was also an Alan de Hamerton who witnessed c.1190-1210 a gift of land in 'Scosthrop and Rimmington' upon the marriage of Uctred de Paythorne and Alice de Arnford, but Alan is not shown in the published pedigrees.<sup>154</sup> In a 1257/58 Inquisition Post Mortem (IPM) after the death of Edmund de Lacy (Baron of Pontefract and Lord of Bowland) it was noted

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<sup>146</sup> *The Coucher Book of The Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall in the West Riding of the County of York*, Thoresby Society Vol. VIII (Leeds, 1904), pp.200-201.

<sup>147</sup> Greenwood & Bolton, *Bolland and Hodder Valley*, 16.

<sup>148</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 95.

<sup>149</sup> A tax in lieu of personal service as a knight to the monarch.

<sup>150</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 126.

<sup>151</sup> J. McNulty, *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Salley in Craven, Vol. I* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series LXXXVII, 1933), p. 133

<sup>152</sup> C. T. Clay, W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters: Vol. IX, The Percy Fee* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra Series Vol. IX, 1963), p. 128.

<sup>153</sup> C. T. Clay, W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters: Vol. VII, The Skipton Fee* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra Series Vol. V, 1947), pp. 238-9.

<sup>154</sup> C. T. Clay, W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters: Vol. X, The Trussebut Fee* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra Series Vol. VIII, 1955), pp. 270-1.

that de Lacy held 30 acres of arable and eight of meadow in demesne<sup>155</sup> within Slaidburn, but 'Stephen of Hamerton holds all Hamerton by charter and pays 8 s. a year for everything'.<sup>156</sup>

In the time of King John (reigned 1199-1216), a Stephen, son of Stephen of Hamerton, granted land to two monks of Sawley Abbey:

To all sons of the holy church present and future, Stephen son of Stephen of Hamerton sends greeting. Know you that I, for the health of my soul and all of my ancestors and my heirs, have given and quitclaimed to God and the monks of the church of St Mary of Sallay Adam Ruthand and Simon his brother with all their family or household [*sequela*] and with all their goods, so that neither I nor my heirs will be able to have any right or claim for us in the said men or their goods. In testimony of which things to the said monks I have given my charter with my seal attached [with witnesses].<sup>157</sup>

A Stephen of Hamerton was appointed cleric of Slaidburn by charter in 1231/34:

To all the sons & brother Fulk, prior of Pontefract ... we have ... confirmed to Stephen, the clerk [cleric] of Hamerton, our church of Slaidburn, with the lands and tithes and all things belonging to it, for his life. To be held at an annual pension of six marks. The said Stephen shall pay all episcopal dues and bear all church burdens. And he has sworn ... that he will conduct himself faithfully towards us as regards the pension and as regards the benefice.<sup>158</sup>

The advowson<sup>159</sup> of Slaidburn was acquired by Pontefract monastery from Hugh de Laval<sup>160</sup> in about 1114, when Henry I had granted him the estates of Robert de Lacy.<sup>161</sup>

In 1250/51 a Stephen de Hamerton pledged bail in a dispute between a Ralph/Randolph Middleton and wife, and William de Forz, 4th Earl of Albemarle:

They warranted to [Forz] 6 bovates of land and 1 mark of rent with the appurtenances in Bradeleg<sup>162</sup> which he holds and claims to hold from them and in respect of their deed. And they do not come [to court] and they have made many defaults. Therefore it was ordered by the sheriff to distrain them .... And the sheriff ordered that Stephen of Hamerton, William of Newton in Bouland [and others] have pledged bail for them.<sup>163</sup>

### Orme de Hamerton

Orme was probably the eldest son of Richard de Hamerton and brother of Stephen. He was a benefactor of Edisford hospital<sup>164</sup> in 1211-1220, and gave land in Clitheroe: 'God and S. Nicholas and

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<sup>155</sup> Land used by the lord of a manor for his own purposes, and not let to tenants.

<sup>156</sup> W. Brown, *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I, Vol. 1* (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series Vol. XII, 1891), pp. 47-8.

<sup>157</sup> McNulty, *Chartulary of Salley Vol. I*, 86. Translated by Chris Spencer.

<sup>158</sup> R. Holmes, *The Chartulary of St John of Pontefract, Vol. II*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record series Vol. XXX for the year 1901, p. 639.

<sup>159</sup> The right to appoint a cleric.

<sup>160</sup> Holmes, *Chartulary of Pontefract*, 602.

<sup>161</sup> G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession and Tenure 1066-1166* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p.192.

<sup>162</sup> Possibly Bradley near Skipton, where he held lands. B. English, 'Forz, William de, count of Aumale (b. before 1216, d. 1260)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29480>, accessed 17 May 2016]

<sup>163</sup> D. Crook (Ed.), *Curia Regis Rolls Vol. XX, 34-35 Henry III 1250* (Woodbridge/Boydell for National Archives, 2006), p. 125. Translated by Chris Spencer.

<sup>164</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 126.

the house of Edisford to the leprous brethren there for the health of my soul and for the souls of Avice my wife, Stephen my brother, John my son and Amabel my daughter'.<sup>165</sup>

#### John de Hamerton

A John de Hamerton was an escheator in Yorkshire – a person whose principal duty was to represent the interests of the king in property upon the death of an individual, by holding Inquisitions Post Mortem. This was a prestigious and potentially lucrative appointment. Authorised by a writ dated 6 January 1250 to the two escheators they undertook 'INQUISITION made at Pikeringe of the lands which were of Sir Roger de Clere and Matilda his wife, before T. de Stanford, Escheator of the King, and J. [John] de Hamerton, his co-escheator in the county of York, 34 Hen.'<sup>166</sup> His brother Thomas was parson of 'Warden chapel, now the parish church of Sladeburne'<sup>167</sup> from 1246.<sup>168</sup>

#### Richard de Hamerton

It was noted earlier that in 1284/85, Richard, Lord of Hamerton, held one carucate of land in Hamerton and Rushton.<sup>169</sup> Edward I had a commission in 1274/75 to address injustices from royal officials. One question considered injustices from sheriffs and their bailiffs in rents. The sheriff of the Earl of Lincoln had a bailiff Gilbert who imprisoned Richard at Pontefract until he had paid six marks for release.<sup>170</sup> Richard married an Agnes in 1284/85.

#### Stephen de Hamerton

In the Knights' Fees of 1302/03 in Hamerton, he held one carucate.<sup>171</sup> In 1324 he paid a fine of 2s. to a court in Waddington for entry into land of Thomas Earl of Lancaster (i.e. he became a copyhold tenant).<sup>172</sup> According to Merrall, this Stephen was a benefactor of Kirkstall Abbey and gave 15 cartloads of hay in Hamerton<sup>173,174</sup> (recall that an earlier Stephen, son of Hugh, also gave hay). Stephen founded a chantry<sup>175</sup> in the chapel of St Mary, Hamerton in 1332.<sup>176</sup>

Hamerton and Riston contain one carucat of land, which Rad [Richard] de Amerton held of the Earl of Lincoln, and he of the King in capite by no rent. At Tadcaster on Sunday before the Feast of the Purification, 1332, Stephen de Ha[m]erton ordained this chantry, which he founded in the chapel of S. Mary in his Manor of Hamerton, for a fit secular chaplen by himself presentable while he shall live, and after his decease by his son John and his heirs, in the said chapel to celebrate masses and other Divine offices for the souls of the said Stephen and Richard his father, and Agnes his mother, for whose sustentation he gave 2 messuages, 36 acres in land, and 20 acres of meadow in Slayteburne and Newland in Bowland for ever. All which

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<sup>165</sup> Greenwood & Bolton, *Bolland and Hodder Valley*, 16.

<sup>166</sup> W. Brown, *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I, Vol. 1* (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series Vol. XII, 1891), pp. 20-1.

<sup>167</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 150-151.

<sup>168</sup> A. Peel, *A Short History of the Parish of Slaidburn* (Lancaster/Beeley), p. 59.

<sup>169</sup> Skaife, *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 17.

<sup>170</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 96.

<sup>171</sup> Skaife, *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 197.

<sup>172</sup> W. Farrer, *Some Court Rolls of the Lordships, Wapentakes and Demesne Manors of Thomas Earl of Lancaster in the County of Lancaster A.D 1323-4* (The Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. XLI), p. 67.

<sup>173</sup> Merrall's citation is the coucher of the abbey but the entry is not evident in the published version.

<sup>174</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 96.

<sup>175</sup> A chantry is an endowment to support a chaplain to celebrate the soul of he deceased benefactor and his forebears.

<sup>176</sup> Whitaker, *History of Craven*, 29.

was ratified and confirmed by William, Archbishop of York, on Kalends February 1332.<sup>177</sup>

The licence for this transfer, following an inquisition of the potential damage (*ad quod damnum*), was published in the Patent Rolls in 1331. He paid a fine (fee) of six marks. The inquisition would have reviewed the transfer of this land to the church; such transfers were frowned upon and controlled in this period (mortmain):

Licence, after inquisition *ad quod damnum*, for the alienation in mortmain by Stephen de Hamerton of two messuages, 36 acres of land and 20 acres of meadow in Slaytburn and Neuton in Boulond, held of the king as of the manor of Slaytburn by the service of 12d. yearly, to John de Hamerton, chaplain, to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel of St. Mary in Hamerton manor for the souls of the said Stephen his father, mother and ancestors.<sup>178</sup>

This chantry chapel was probably in the manor hall on the site of the later c.1600 Hammerton Hall.

In 1335, a William, son of Stephen de Hamerton (with others) were accused of entering Queen Isabella's 'free chase of Boulond, and broke her park at Roddom [Radholme] co. York, hunted there, carried away deer and assaulted her men and servants'.<sup>179</sup> Isabella frequently complained of assaults on her parks in Bowland and elsewhere in Lancashire.

#### John de Hamerton

John was living in 1332/33 and died before 1359/60<sup>180</sup> when his wife Agnes granted to Adam Slaitburne, the chaplain of Slaidburn, 40 s. a year for life from her manor of Hamerton and other lands, Slaidburn, Newton and Easington.<sup>181</sup>

#### Adam de Hamerton

Adam acquired Wigglesworth, Knowlmere and Hellifield manors through his marriage to Katherine de Knolle (who with her sister Anastasia were joint heirs when the male line died out).<sup>182</sup> The marriage was in the latter years of the reign of Edward III (died 1377). Hellifield Peel at this time was probably a fortified tower and palisade, largely to counter marauding Scots. It was later rebuilt in stone and is first mentioned in documents from 1537.<sup>183</sup> The Hamertons were not mentioned in the 1379 poll tax returns of the Hellifield manor but a Thomas de Knoll was taxed.

#### Richard de Hamerton

Richard was the son of Adam and Katherine and he married Elizabeth, daughter of William de Radcliffe and Ellen. He had the manor of Langfield (Halifax) and a third part of others. On 30 November 1394 he witnessed a grant of a tenement in Rathmell.<sup>184</sup>

In the 1379 poll taxes, 18 people were taxed in Hamerton, all at 4d. except 'Ricardus de Hamerton', the lord of the manor, at 12d., to a total of 12s. 4d.<sup>185</sup> By comparison, 52 were taxed in Slaidburn, at a total of 17s. 10d. Earlier in 1334, Hammerton was subjected to lay subsidies at 12s., the same as

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<sup>177</sup> *Yorkshire Indexers*, from the Torre Manuscripts, Slaidburn 136, Hamerton, available at [http://www.yorkshireindexers.info/wiki/index.php?title=Slaidburn\\_136](http://www.yorkshireindexers.info/wiki/index.php?title=Slaidburn_136), accessed 18 May 2016.

<sup>178</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 2, 1330-1334*, 11 October 1331, p. 213.

<sup>179</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 3, 1334-1338*, 12 July 1335, p. 201

<sup>180</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London/Nichols, 1812), p. 126.

<sup>181</sup> Peel, *Slaidburn*, 21.

<sup>182</sup> Ryder & Birch, *Hellifield Peel*, 82.

<sup>183</sup> Ryder & Birch, *Hellifield Peel*, 85.

<sup>184</sup> McNulty, *Chartulary of Salley Vol. II, 2*.

<sup>185</sup> C.C. Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Part 3, Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005)

Easington, Mitton and Bashall, but Slaidburn was taxed at £1-5s., and Clitheroe at £2-7s.<sup>186,187</sup> Lay subsidies were taxes on property such as crops and animals to support wars against the French and the Scots. The individual's tax was decided locally on the possession of the movable goods, the total sum aggregated for the whole community (although the very poor were exempt).

Although not shown in the pedigrees, John, another son of Adam de Hammerton of 'Bawland' was a debtor in 1367 of Henry del Burgh to the sum of £200. He came before the mayor of Wigan, a writ having been sent to the Sheriff of Yorkshire and Lancashire.<sup>188</sup>

#### Laurence/Lawrence Hamerton

In 1440, Laurence obtained a licence to crenellate Hellified Peel:

Oct. 13, 1440. Grant to Laurence Hamerton of licence to enclose, crenallate, and furnish with towers and battlements his manor of Helefeld, c. York, with stone and mortar, and so hold it to him and his heirs, without impediment.<sup>189</sup>

Licences to crenellate private holdings were statements of privilege and status. They embellished country houses and hunting lodges, rather than being practical defensive features.<sup>190</sup> Occasionally, the licence included a licence to impark and up to the year 1600, 53 of 429 (12%) licences did so, but Laurence's did not. It is likely that Laurence lived principally at Wigglesworth and the Peel was a secondary residence; he is referred to as 'of Wiklesworth et Helifield' in Archdeaconry of Richmond registers.<sup>191</sup> He made other modifications to the Peel including turrets, a wall well and a defensible room. He also built a chapel in Long Preston church and rebuilt the nave.<sup>192</sup>

There is an intriguing manuscript in the National Archives dated c.1427/8 – a petition to the Commons (then sent to the Lords) from Laurence de Hamerton:

Hamerton requests writs to the sheriffs of Yorkshire and Lancashire, ordering them to make proclamations summoning various rioters and criminals before the king's justices ... He states that these men have forcibly ousted him and his tenants from his property in Hammerton, Barnoldswick and that the local officials dare not act against them.<sup>193</sup>

The document is endorsed 'Let it be sent to the Lords. For Laurence Hamerton. It shall be done as desired in the petition', and twenty-six alleged malevolents are named from Colne, Marsden, Chatburn, Downham, Grindleton and Mearley. The reason for the riotous behaviour and the final outcome are not known.

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<sup>186</sup> 'Hammerton, Beresford's Lost Villages', University of Hull.

<https://www.dmv.hull.ac.uk/dmvDetail.cfm?dbkey=5148&search=hammerton> (accessed 4 September 2015).

<sup>187</sup> R.E. Glasscock, *The Lay Subsidy of 1334* (London/Oxford University); Published by the British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series II, p. xxiv.

<sup>188</sup> Catalogue entry for TNA C241/147/144; the manuscript has not been viewed.

<sup>189</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 6, 1427-1516*, 13 Oct. 1440, p. 11.

<sup>190</sup> P. Davis, *English Licences to Crenellate, Some Analysis*. 'Gatehouse - The comprehensive online gazetteer and bibliography of the medieval castles, fortifications and palaces of England, Wales, the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man'. <http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/LtoCren.html> (accessed 28 August 2015).

<sup>191</sup> *Register of the Archdeaconry of Richmond*, British Library Harleian manuscripts, MS 6978, f. 32, cited in Ryder & Birch, *Hellifield*, 90.

<sup>192</sup> Peel, *Slaidburn*, 22.

<sup>193</sup> This is the catalogue entry for this item: National Archives SC 8/117/5835A & SC 8/117/5835B. A scan of the original manuscript was acquired; Chis Spencer found it to be damaged and in Norman French.



Figure 9: Hellifield Peel, resurrected recently from partial demolition in 1959.

Whitaker states that Laurence married Isabel, daughter of Sir John Tempest of Bracewell<sup>194</sup> but recent research suggests that she was the daughter of Sir Richard Tempest (died 1427/28); Laurence died in or before 1445.<sup>195</sup>

#### Sir Richard Hamerton

Sir Richard was Laurence's son and heir. Richard's first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Assheton, and widow of Sir Ralph Harrington,<sup>196</sup> his second was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford and widow of William Plumpton; the marriage covenant was in 1466.<sup>197</sup> The family was elevated in prominence when his daughter was married to the third Baron of the Exchequer, Brian Rocliffe of Cowthorpe.<sup>198</sup> In 1445 Richard founded a chantry at Long Preston church that required the incumbent to pray for his soul, 'teach a grammar and song school to the children of the parish ...distribute [yearly] six shillings to the poor in bread, and make a sermon by himself or his deputy once a year'.<sup>199</sup> On the inscription in Long Preston parish church requesting prayers for his father Laurence, mother Isabella and wife Elizabeth, he is described as a 'soldier'. Richard died in 1480 and in his will is a long list of bequests to family members, including his sons, principally Stephen and William, Sawley Abbey and Bolton Priory, and horses and stock to other named people. Ten marks were to be distributed to 'pore folks at the day of my beryng' and a further ten marks to 'my pore tenannantes and neghbur'.<sup>200</sup> His wife was bequeathed a 'wayne' (wagon) and six oxen.

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<sup>194</sup> Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, 516.

<sup>195</sup> *Tempest Wives and Daughters in the Late Medieval Period, Part 4*. Some Notes on Medieval English Genealogy, <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/families/tempest/tempest4.shtml> (accessed 18 May 2016).

<sup>196</sup> Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, 516.

<sup>197</sup> J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, Vol. I, West Riding* (London/Head, 1874).

<sup>198</sup> Ryder & Birch, *Hellifield Peel*, 90.

<sup>199</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 99.

<sup>200</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 107-110.

## Sir Stephen Hamerton

The issue of Sir Richard's first marriage, he was made a knight banneret in July 1482 in the field by the Duke of Gloucester in Scotland and dubbed in August on the field of 'Sefford' (Cessford) by the Earl of Northumberland, following the capture of Berwick.<sup>201</sup> He also formed part of the assembly of knights gathered by the Earl of Northumberland to greet the new king Henry VII on his visit to Yorkshire.<sup>202</sup> He was the benefactor of a chantry founded in Slaidburn church in 1487 by a Peter Shawe, and described in a survey by commissioners in 1546-1548 prior to the 'Dissolution of Chantries' (enacted on Easter Day 1548 when they came into the possession of the Crown).<sup>203</sup> Sir Stephen augmented the salary of the secular priest by granting lands and property in Slaidburn and High Field amounting to 106s. 8d.

He married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Plumpton, the marriage contracted in 1446/47.<sup>204</sup> Sir Stephen died on 27 June 1500; the writ of *diem clausit extremum* ('he closed his last day', i.e. died) is dated 4 October 1500.<sup>205</sup> His IPM of 21 May 1501 included:

Manor, or lordship, of Hamerton, worth 15l., held of the king, as of the duchy of Lancaster, by service of fealty and 8s. rent at Michaelmas yearly and suit at the king's court of Bowlande to be held yearly at Bowlande, in the said county, twice a year.

Manor, or lordship, of Knollesmere, or Knollysmer, worth 15l., held of the king, as of the said duchy, by service of fealty and 18d. rent, at Whitsun and Martlemas equally, and suit of court, as above.

Manor, or lordship, of Wyglesworth, worth 15l., held of the abbot of Fountains ...  
Manor, or lordship, of Halyffelde, worth 14l., held of the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England ...  
Manor, or lordship, of Langfelde, or Langffelde, worth 6l., held of the king, as of his manor of Wakefelde, parcel of the earldom of Waren' being in the king's hands ...  
Third part of the manors, or lordships, of Rysshworth, or Ryshworth, Bothomley, Berkeslande, or Barkyslande and Slaynden.

A messuage and a bovate of land in Sladburn, or Slaydburn, worth 30s., held of the king, as of the duchy of Lancaster, by service of fealty ...  
A messuage and a half bovate of land in Newton in Bowlande, worth 20s., held of the king, as of the said duchy ...  
A toft and 2a. land in Setyll, worth 8s., held of Henry, earl of Northumberland, ...  
A messuage and a bovate of land in Wyglesworth, worth 8s., held of Henry, earl of Northumberland.<sup>206</sup> [etc.]

Sir Stephen was plainly a wealthy and influential man.

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<sup>201</sup> W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England Vol. II* (London/Sherratt and Hughes, 1906), pp. 17-20.

<sup>202</sup> Ryder & Birch, *Hellifield Peel*, 90.

<sup>203</sup> *The Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc., in the County of York, Vol. 2* (Surtees Society, Vol. XCII, 1895), pp. 256-57. The entry for Slaidburn church is available here: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101076190618;view=1up;seq=70> (accessed 13 June 2016). The parish at this time had over 700 inhabitants ('in the ... paroch is above DCC houslynge people'); the entry provides interesting information on the value of the holdings of the church and chantry, and the Crown Rents required to be paid after dissolution.

<sup>204</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York, Vol. III. Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. XLV*, 1865, pp. 258-9.

<sup>205</sup> *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Volume XXII, Henry VII, 1485-1505* (London/HMSO, 1962), pp. 301-2.

<sup>206</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, Vol II*, pp. 243-244.

## John Hamerton

In Sir Stephen's IPM is 'John Hamerton, esquire, aged 30 and more at the time of his father's death, is his son and heir'.<sup>207</sup> He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Geoffery Middleton (Westmorland). In 1473 his grandfather Sir Richard and father Sir Stephen gave John and his wife Elizabeth, on the occasion of their marriage, four messuages in Craven and a mill in Hellifield.<sup>208</sup> He served at Flodden and in his will of 1513 on the eve of his service against the 'King of Scotland', he described himself as 'knight soldier'. He bequeathed all his armour to his son Stephen, and stated that he should be buried in Long Preston, which indeed he was after his death in 1513/14 (it is not known if he was killed at Flodden).<sup>209</sup> At his IPM (in Ilkley) in April 1515, he held lands in Hammerton, Knowlmere, Wigglesworth, Hellifield, Langfield, Slaidburn, Newton (*et al.*). Hamerton and Knowlmere were held of the king as the Duchy of Lancaster, Wigglesworth was held from the Abbott of Fountains and the manor of Hellifield from the prior of St John of Jerusalem.<sup>210</sup>

## Sir Stephen Hamerton and family

Stephen's father John gave him lands in Langfield, Long Preston and Calton upon his marriage in 1505/06 to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Bigot of Settrington.<sup>211</sup> His date of birth is not known precisely.

In the 1522 Loan Book (Cardinal Wolsey's military and financial assessments), at Wigglesworth is 'Stephen Hamerton Cheyfe lorde their. Stephen Hamerton dwelling of his awne', taxed £60; seventeen others were also taxed, but at lower levels.<sup>212</sup> He was also taxed in 1524 and 1525 but in 1543, after his execution, a Christopher Hamerton was resident.<sup>213</sup> He had three brothers, Richard, Laurence and Thomas, the latter two killed on supposedly the same day in Ireland.<sup>214,215</sup>

It is not known why and when Stephen was knighted but it is likely that this occurred as a consequence of proclamations of Henry VII and Henry VIII that gentry with holdings yielding greater than £40 *per annum* should become knights as a feudal duty, upon pain of fines; sheriffs were ordered to provide lists of candidates for the counties to the Chancery.<sup>216</sup> The Hamertons were already a 'knightly family'. In this period knights undertook wide-ranging duties for the Crown, rather detached from the chivalric, military rewards of their knighted forbears.<sup>217</sup>

Sir Stephen was the most unfortunate and infamous Hamerton because of his attainder and execution following his involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace. This was a popular uprising of the 'commons' (tenants) in 1536-1537, largely against Henry VIII's religious reforms. There had been disturbances in Lincolnshire that inflamed uprisings in Richmondshire then into other parts of the

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<sup>207</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, Vol II*, pp. 243-244.

<sup>208</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 100.

<sup>209</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 110-111.

<sup>210</sup> Whitaker, *History of Whalley, Volume II*, 516.

<sup>211</sup> Whitaker, *History of Whalley, Volume II*, 516.

<sup>212</sup> R.W. Hoyle, *Early Tudor Craven – Subsidies and Assessments 1510-1547* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vol. 145, 2000), p. 5.

<sup>213</sup> Hoyle, *Craven Subsidies*, 69.

<sup>214</sup> J.H. Turner, *Biographia Halifaxiensis or Halifax Families and Worthies. A Biographical and Genealogical History of Halifax Parish* (Bingley/Harrison, 1883), pp.234-235.

<sup>215</sup> The death of Captain Laurence Hamerton occurred at Howth near Dublin during the 1534-5 campaign to suppress the 'Kildare Rebellion', part of the military efforts to make Ireland a more integrated part of the English monarchy. (S.G. Elliis, 'The Tudors and the Origins of the Modern Irish States: A Standing Army' in T. Bartlett, K. Jeffery (eds.), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.130-134.). An account of the death of Thomas has proved elusive therefore Turner's assertion has not been verified. After Laurence's death and under new command, his 'northern men' mutinied, were discharged, and participated in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

<sup>216</sup> R.W. Heinze, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Kings* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 67.

<sup>217</sup> H. Leonard, *Knights and Knighthood in Tudor England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1970), pp. 293-297.

north including North Craven and the Ribble Valley. The local gentry such as Sir Stephen (and Nicholas Tempest of Bracewell) were enveloped and became, in many cases rather reluctantly, the mouthpieces and negotiators of the commons with the King's representatives and their forces. When captured by the commons in the early stages of events he was told 'as he had ruled them, they would now rule him'.<sup>218</sup> The events of the uprising are well documented and Hoyle provides a scholarly study interpreting the origins of the rebellion in the context of the politics of the 1530s. The details of Hamerton's involvement as the coerced gentry leader of the North Craven insurrection will not be discussed here<sup>219</sup> but there is wealth of information in the calendared *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*.<sup>220</sup> He was called to London in March 1537 with other northern gentry for examination, which took place on 25 April 1537 (a summary of his examination is at Appendix 2). It is probable that they were unaware of the seriousness of their situation. He had already been pardoned by the king, with sixteen others, for an insurrection in 1536.<sup>221</sup> For the second insurrection, the outcome was inevitable – following examination in the Tower of London on 25 April, he was charged with treason and conspiracy against the king and was sent for trial on 16/17 May in Westminster Hall. He was executed on 25 May at Tyburn, having pleaded guilty whilst the jury were still deliberating.<sup>222,223</sup> A contemporary local chronicle described the execution:<sup>224</sup>

And the xxv. daye of the same monyth [May 1537] was draune from the tower of London un to Tyborne sir John Bowmer knyght, sir Stephen Hamertone knyght, master Nicolas Tempest sqwyere, William Thurston abbot of Fowntens and bachelor of devinite, doctor John Pekerynge prior of the Blacke freeres in Yorke, sir James Pekerelle challon [canon] and doctor of devinite. And after sir John Bowmer [and] sir Stephen Hamertone ware but hongyd [hanged] and heddyd [beheaded], and alle the resydew [residue] ware bothe hongyd, heddyd and qwarterd [quartered].

His knightly status saved him from the full panoply of the execution torture. Having been attainted, his lands including Stephen Park and Wigglesworth, but not Hellifield Peel where his wife remained, were taken by the Crown and subsequently disposed of. At an inquiry c.1537 at York Castle after his death, his lands included the manors of Wigglesworth, Hellifield and Hammerton, Knowlmere, Ryssheworth[?] and Langfeld, and messuages in Castelhowse, Settle, Coldconyston, etc.<sup>225</sup>

His son Henry died on 3 October 1537, just after the execution of his father. In his will dated 4 August 1537, he left all to his wife Jane/Joan and children except his riding jacket which went to his servant Thomas Turner.<sup>226</sup> Jane died in January 1538 leaving a young daughter Margaret. In Jane's will proved in May 1538 she expressed the desire to be buried in Newark upon Trent; she left her sister Alice Stapleton her 'marriage gowne of russet damaske with the sleeves turneupe with russet velvet ... [and] a velvet bonet blake with a frontelet of satten with golde'.<sup>227</sup> Their marriage covenant between Sir Stephen and Joan's father Christopher Stapleton of Wighill (near Tadcaster) was dated 8

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<sup>218</sup> R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 229.

<sup>219</sup> There were a number of his actions that annoyed the Crown, a notable example being when the abbot of Sawley reoccupied the abbey, and was sustained by Nicholas Tempest and Sir Stephen – they 'gave them [the monks] a fat ox, a mutton and two or three geese' (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no1/pp477-516>, p. 501). The abbot sent a letter to Sir Thomas Percy which unfortunately implicated Sir Stephen and Tempest (see Appendix 2). They all paid with their lives.

<sup>220</sup> Available at British History Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/letters-papers-hen8>.

<sup>221</sup> Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 407.

<sup>222</sup> Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 406-7.

<sup>223</sup> Ryder & Birch, *Hellifield Peel*, 91.

<sup>224</sup> J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society Old Series, No. 53, 1852, pp. 40-41.

<sup>225</sup> National Archives E 150/237/35. Translated and summarised by Chris Spencer.

<sup>226</sup> J.B. Nichols, *Testamenta Eboracensia or Wills Registered at York, Vol. 106* (Surtees), p. 68.

<sup>227</sup> Nichols, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 72.

May 1535.<sup>228</sup> Theirs was a brief marriage indeed and their deaths were the culmination of a dire period for the Hamerton family and a future of ignominy. Elizabeth retained Hellifield for her life, died in 1538 and was buried in St Andrew's Slaidburn, according to the wishes in her will.<sup>229</sup>

Sir Stephen's brother Richard was married to Agnes, daughter of John Sedgwick of Dent. They had a number of children including a John. Richard's will was dated 1538 in which he desired that John and his goods be in the care of John Hamerton of Pontefract.<sup>230</sup> His son John was probably the John who succeeded to the Hellifield estates in 1561 after their confiscation by the Crown. He became Lord of Hellifield after lengthy legal procedures and payment of a fine at Westminster.<sup>231</sup> The pedigree in Whitaker's Craven is confusing in this respect showing successions from both Sir Stephen and Richard, but Foster & Norcliffe show the succession from Richard.<sup>232,233</sup>

Another Richard Hamerton was accused (along with a John Hammerton, John Greneakar and Anthony Lyster) by Sir Richard Shireburne, Master Forester of Bolland, of 'killing deer at a place called Woodhouse [north Slaidburn]' in Bolland Forest in 1563/64.<sup>234</sup> Another 'Stephen Hammerton, of Wigglesworth' had a will proved on 25 April 1547 and wished to be buried in Long Preston church; Richard Hamerton was his executor. He is not in the pedigrees.<sup>235</sup>

In June 1582, another Hamerton played with fire when the fervent Catholic John was examined on behalf of Elizabeth I:

Articles against John Hamerton, of Hellifield Pele, co. York, for certain traitorous words against Her Majesty, viz., that they were all heretics that are of the religion now preached; that they were so proved by most learned clerks ... that he was Bonner's man,<sup>236</sup> and helped to set fire to the faggots in Smithfield [of Protestants], and rejoices to think how they fried in the flame ... the Queen could make no law to put men to death for their religion ... and that the Pope is head of the Church, next under God.<sup>237</sup>

The outcome of this potentially treasonous matter is not known. With his wife Ursula he fathered Laurence Hamerton in 1544 who continued the line of lords of Hellifield, the last of the male line being Chisnall Hamerton who died in 1908; his heir was his daughter Dorothy born in 1898.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 101.

<sup>229</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 112-3.

<sup>230</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 113-4.

<sup>231</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 103.

<sup>232</sup> Foster, *Pedigrees of West Riding*, no page numbers.

<sup>233</sup> C.B Norcliffe, *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the Years 1563 and 1564 Made by William Flower Esquire, Norroy King of Arms* (London, 1881), pp. 152-153.

<sup>234</sup> *Ducatus Lancastriae, Calendar to Pleadings, Depositions Etc, Vol. II* (House of Commons, 1827), p. 297.

<sup>235</sup> Nichols, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, XX.

<sup>236</sup> Edmund Bonner, a Catholic bishop in Mary's reign, and persecutor of Protestants.

<sup>237</sup> 'Addenda, Queen Elizabeth - Volume 27: June 1582', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, Addenda 1580-1625*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1872), pp. 61-65 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/edw-eliz/addenda/1580-1625/pp61-65> [accessed 2 September 2015]

<sup>238</sup> Merrall, *History of Hellifield*, 106-7.

## The search for evidence of a deer-park

A prolonged and exhaustive search of catalogued primary sources to determine if Stephen Park ever contained imparked deer, failed to find any unequivocal or even indicative evidence of a deer-park.

Note that the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. It cannot be stated conclusively, on this evidence alone, that Stephen Park was not a deer-park. For example, not all deer-parks were licensed or authorised – licences have not been found for Leagram and Radholme deer-parks either (it is likely that if imparked by the Crown/Duchy, a licence would not have been necessary). That said, it is very unlikely that it was a deer-park.

The most important positive outcomes of this research, revealing the activities and holdings of the Hamerton principals in the medieval and early post-medieval period, were incorporated into the biographical section above and will not be repeated here. This section presents other primary information, including rather disconnected facets of their activities, and the grants and holdings of other families such as the de Lacys and the Percys in the Hammerton, Gisburn and Slaidburn areas.

Appendix 3 presents summaries of post-1537 documents in note form addressing the disposal of Sir Stephen's lands but not directly relevant to the primary issue of whether there was a deer-park. They may be of use to other researchers studying the disposal of the Hamerton lands. Some have been transcribed and translated, but most are patent roll calendars and catalogue summaries, or simply references.

### Other information from primary sources

#### *Ministers and Receivers accounts, Henry VIII, SC6/HENVIII/4356*

This important document is the lengthy audit of Sir Stephen's lands and property undertaken immediately after his attainder in 1537. Noted for Stephen Park is:

the relict of the late George Parker for 1 house with a garden called Stevynparke 4 acres of arable land 5 acres of meadow and 40 acres of pasture and moss £4. 13s. 4d.<sup>239</sup>

Plainly this was farmed area in the 1530s and there is no evidence from the audit that it was then a deer-park. The Manor of Slaidburn Court Rolls show that the Parker sons continued farming there until the male line died out in the 1570s and a daughter, Catherine, married Christopher Briggs, the Briggs family remaining at Stephen Park until c.1670.<sup>240</sup>

An illustrative exercise is to plot the 49 customary acres on the 1847 6-inches to 1-mile OS map of the historical, pre-forestry boundaries. Assuming a 7-yard pole, 49 customary acres is 79.4 statute acres (32.1 ha). Figure 10 shows an area of 81 acres, similar in size to the 79.4 acres that the Parker family had as tenants of Sir Stephen. This very speculative exercise does not definitively define the enclosures of the Park in the sixteenth century, but serves to indicate the size of the farmed area in 1537/38.

<sup>239</sup> National Archives SC6/HENVIII/4356. Translated by Chris Spencer.

<sup>240</sup> Pers. comm. Chris Spencer, 21 May 2016.

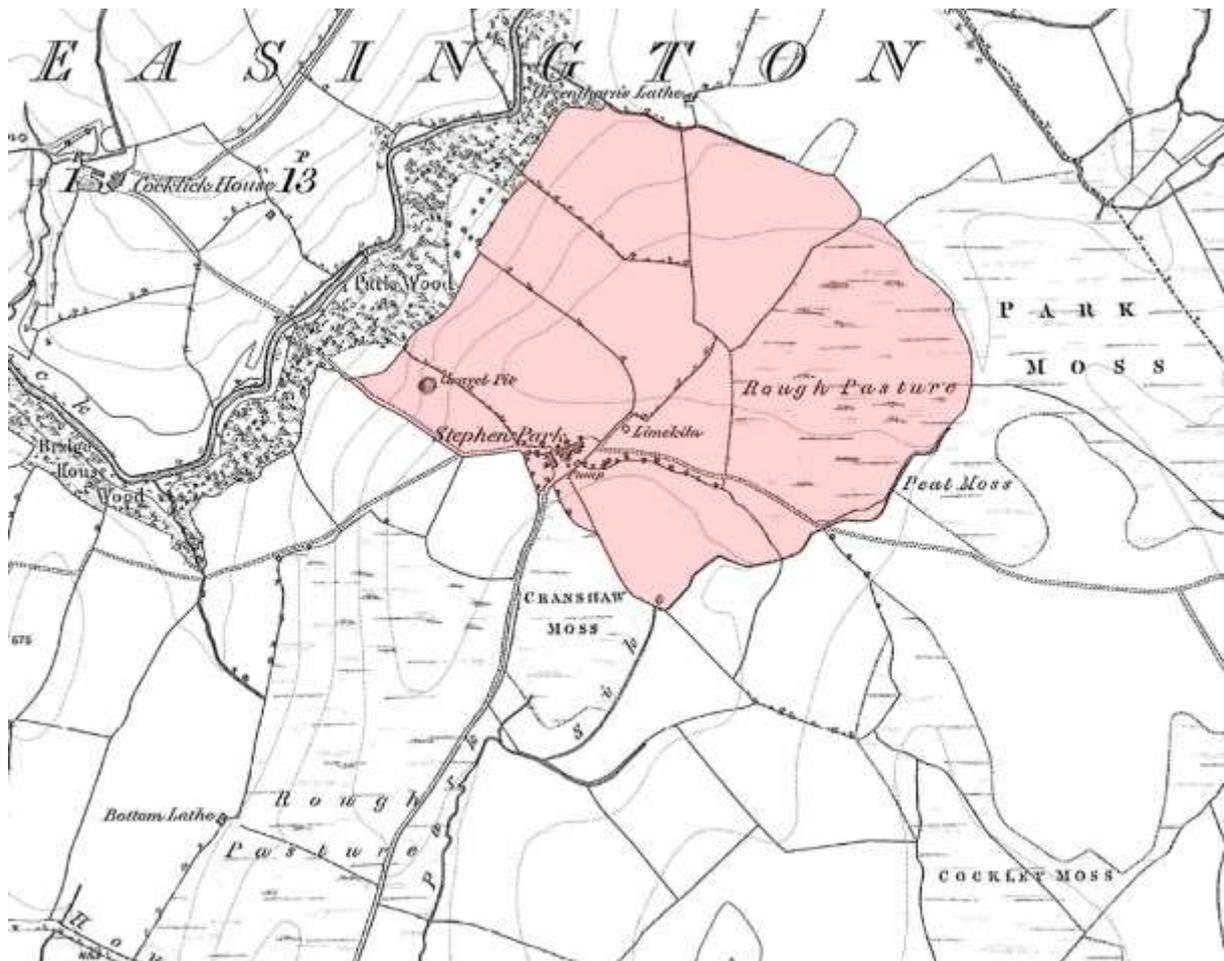


Figure 10: A speculative farmed area comprising farmstead with garden, arable, pasture and moss, closely matching the acreage declared in the 1537/38 audit of Stephen Park.

**1546: Grant to Ralph Greneacre by the Crown of the manor of Hamerton and other lands:**

Ralph Greneacre of Salley, Yorks. Grant, in fee, for 732l. 18s. 4d., of the reversion and rent reserved on it Crown lease 21 May 30 Hen. VIII., to Leonard Warcoppe alias Carlell of the chief messuage and mill, etc., within the lordship and manor of Hamerton in Bowland, Yorks., which belonged to Sir Stephen Hamerton, attainted, for 21 years, at 13l. 16s. 8d. rent. Also grant of the lordship and manor of Hamerton in Bowland, and messuages (named) with lands (specified and extents given) in tenure of [list of tenants follows, including Agnes Hamerton, widow, formerly of Richard Hamerton], in Hamerton, Bowland and Woodhouse, Yorks.—Sir Steph. Hamerton. (Signed by Paget, Petre, Sir Ric. Southwell, Sir Robt. Southwell, North, Chydley and Duke).<sup>241</sup>

Later that year, Greneacre was granted a licence to transfer lands in Bowland to Oliver Breres (who built Hammerton Hall):

Licences to alienate: Ralph Grinacres to Oliver Breres. Moiety of a chief messuage and lands in Bollonde, Yorks, in tenure of John Proctour,—*Sir Stephen Hamerton*.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>241</sup> 'Henry VIII: April 1546, 26-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 1, January-August 1546*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1908), pp. 334-359. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol21/no1/pp334-359>, p. 354 [accessed 20 October 2016].

<sup>242</sup> 'Henry VIII: November 1546, 21-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 2, September 1546-January 1547*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1910), pp. 203-248. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol21/no2/pp203-248> [accessed 13 October 2016].

*1257/8: Inquisition Post Mortem of Edmund de Lascy (Lacy), Baron of Pontefract and Lord of Bowland outlining his lands and tenants:*

[In Bouland] Slayteburne [Slaidburn] town (full extent given with names of tenants), including the whole of Hamerton held by Stephen de Hamerton, 40a. in Old Wihekul [Withgill near Mitton] held by Adam Biry, and a mill which pertains to the farms of Clyderh' [Clitheroe]. Grinlington [Grindleton], 24 bovates land, each paying 16d., and doing 3 cart-services [*cariagia*] to Pontefract yearly, and other services. All the above lands are held by knights' service.<sup>243</sup>

In another printed version of this IPM (discussed earlier), it was noted that Lacy held 30 acres of arable and eight of meadow in demesne within Slaidburn, but 'Stephen of Hamerton holds all Hamerton by charter and pays 8 s. a year for everything'.<sup>244</sup>

*A charter granted between 1232 (when John de Lascy became Earl of Lincoln) and 1240, the year of his death.*<sup>245</sup>

This is a grant of land east of the Hodder to Kirkstall Abbey, bordering Hammerton and part of the modern Gisburn Forest, by John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. He retained the hunting rights. Grants such as this were to enable the monks to pray for his soul and shorten his stay in purgatory.

To all Holy Mother the Church, etc. I John de Lacy, Count of Lincoln and Constable of Chester (send) greetings in the Lord.

Be it known to everyone that I for the love of God and salvation of my soul, my heirs and antecedents give grant and by this present charter confirm to God and the monks of St. Mary of Kirkstall all the land with woods and pasture, without reservation that I have on the eastern part of the water of the Hodder in Bowland, just as the water of Hodder descends to the higher head of Gradalehals [see below] by the grange of the aforesaid monks as far as the town of Riston [Rushton], and from the aforesaid head of Gradalehals to the higher head of Kesedene [Keasden] by the boundaries and divisions between my fee and the fee of William de Mowbray, and from the high head of Kesedene to the high head of Rowenumcnothes [Knotteranum/Bowland Knotts], and from the high head of Rowenumcnothes as far as the eastern head of Rowenumcnothes, and from the eastern head of Rowenumcnothes, as far as the high head of Hesbrirehawebroc [Hesbert Hill brook, probably Brown Hills Beck], according to the divisions and bounds between my fee and the fee of William de Percy, and from the high head of Hesbrirehawebroc just as the water of Hesbrirehawebroc descends to the Thirnesetegilebroc [probably Bridge House Beck pre-reservoir], and the Thirnesetegilebroc just as the water of Thirnesetegilebroc descends to the water of the Hodder in the town of Riston.

The aforesaid monks having and holding of me and my heirs in free, pure and perpetual alms, free and quit of all services and demands pertaining to the Lord. Also know that no kind of beasts [farming beasts] may enter the aforesaid pasture, nor graze in the aforesaid pasture except the beasts of the aforesaid monks and their men. And if any beasts do make ingress onto the aforesaid bounds, the

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<sup>243</sup> *A Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents, Vol. I, Henry III* (London/HMSO, 1904), pp. 115-116.

<sup>244</sup> W. Brown, *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I, Vol. 1* (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series Vol. XII, 1891), pp. 47-8.

<sup>245</sup> Translated and annotated by Margaret Pannikar.

aforesaid monks can impound them and have suitable compensation for the transgression. I and my heirs guarantee quitclaim and uphold all the aforesaid land with its appurtenances contained within the aforesaid boundaries to the aforesaid monks wherever and towards all men in perpetuity.

Retaining for me and my heirs all kinds (both kinds) of beasts of the chase and falcons. [i.e. hunting rights].<sup>246</sup>

'Gradalehals' is Graydale, a name now lost, probably the valley from Cross of Greet bridge over the Hodder, rising to the Cross of Greet stone near its source. To the east on the climb up the road are notable outcrops of grey stone, and the place names Grey Crag and White Greet. Thus the gifted land went from the confluence of the Hodder and Bridge House Beck (now under the reservoir, but named Bottoms Beck in its original route through the Forest), north past Rushton (Grange Hall, now under the water), following the Hodder up Graydale to the Cross of Greet, east to Bowland Knotts and the Knotteranum, over to the Resting Stone, and then down Brown Hills Beck (which further down becomes Bottoms Beck), to the Hodder confluence again. It borders the Percy lands of the old Gisburn legal forest/chase to the east, Mowbray's lands north of the Knotts, and Hamerton lands, including Stephen Park, south-east between Bottoms Beck and Hesbert Hall Syke.

*c.1190-98, grant from Matilda, Countess of Warwick of pasture to Sawley Abbey from lands in Gisburn forest:*

Matilda (d. 1204) was daughter and co-heir of William de Percy and was a prolific benefactor of a number of northern abbeys such as Sawley and Fountains:<sup>247</sup>

To all the present and future sons of the Church of Holy Mary, Matilda, Countess of Warwick ... May you know that I have given, granted and by this present charter of mine confirmed to God, to the blessed Mary de Sallay, and to the monks there that serve God for their free and perpetual alms pasture in my forest of Giseburn for 40 cows and 40 mares with his sect of two years, and namely in that pasture by Esebrictehe ['Esebrictehahe' in the heading - Hesbert Hall] and beyond by Keteldaisbec, just as the path veers to Widesworthe up to Slaiteburn in Bewland, namely at Akerwaldehou up to Brocthornes, just as any alms can be more freely given and confirmed. Furthermore, I have made a donation and confirmation to them for the health of my soul and the soul of my father and mother and all my antecedents and my heirs.<sup>248</sup>

*Pasturam de Esebrictehaga* is also mentioned in a charter 1189-98 by Henry de Percy confirming to Sawley the gift of the church and leper colony of Tadcaster and the pasture in Gisburn Forest by his aunt, and his mother Agnes de Percy.<sup>249</sup> 'Keteldaisbec' is undoubtedly Kettles Beck, a stream arising near the Knotteranum of Bowland Knotts, west of the Resting Stone (the boundary of five townships, now civil parishes, and the border between the post-1974 administrative county of Lancashire and Yorkshire). Easington and Gisburn Forest civil parishes meet at their most northerly at the Stone. 'Widesworthe' is unknown, but probably not Wigglesworth, 'Slaiteburn in Bewland' is Slaidburn. 'Akerwaldehou' is unknown but Smith says 'alder grove' (there is a Accerhill Hall 2 km east

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<sup>246</sup> *The Coucher Book of The Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall in the West Riding of the County of York*. Thoresby Society Vol VIII (Leeds, 1904), pp.203-204. Translated by Margaret Pannikar.

<sup>247</sup> S. M. Johns, 'Percy, Matilda de, countess of Warwick (d. 1204)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47214>, accessed 7 Sept 2015]

<sup>248</sup> W. Farrer, C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters: Vol. 11, The Percy Fee* (Cambridge Library Collection - Medieval History, 2013), pp. 56-7.

<sup>249</sup> C. T. Clay, W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters: Vol. IX, The Percy Fee* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra Series Vol, IX, 1963), pp. 79-80.

of Kettlesbeck villages) and 'Brocthornes' is Brock Thorn, south-east of Stephen Park, near the southern border of the forest and on the modern boundary of Easington and Bolton-by-Bowland civil parishes. Thus this area encompasses the whole north and south extents of the Gisburn Forest estate, which of course includes what later became Stephen Park.

In c.1205 William de Percy granted to Sawley part of Gisburn Forest extending from 'Blakmosse' then along a river (Bottoms Beck/Dob Dale Beck /Brown Hills Beck?) up to 'Restyngstones' [Resting Stone] over to 'Mere sik' [Mere Syke] near Rathmell and onto Paythorne<sup>250</sup> and in c.1242, he granted the manor of Gisburn and Gisburn Forest to Sawley but retained the right to hunt in the Forest.<sup>251</sup>

In 1269 there was an agreement between Sawley and the prioress and nuns of 'Stainfied' [Stainfield priory, Lincolnshire], in which is mentioned '*et in clausis de Esbrichahe et Stodfalgile et in clausa de Holme*' indicating Hesbert was enclosed (*clausum* – an enclosure, confined space).<sup>252</sup> '*Stodfalgile*' is a stud fold/enclosure gill (OE *stod-fald*) but its location is not known for certain; it could be Stephen Park adjacent to Hesbert Hall, particularly with the use of ON *gil*, a ravine/rivulet, suggestive of the topography of Bottoms Beck at the foot of Park Wood, and mentioned in the same sentence. A more probable location is Studford Gill<sup>253</sup> north of Tosside.<sup>254</sup> '*Holme*' may be near modern Holme House Laithe and Collyholme, just north of the reservoir, or Holme<sup>255</sup> near Knotts on Stephen Moor, which according to Smith was given to Fountains Abbey and transferred to Sawley.<sup>256</sup>

In the 1290 Charter Rolls, John de Hamerton was granted free warren:<sup>257</sup>

Grant to John de Hamerton, and his heirs, of free warren in all the demesne lands of his manors of Hamerton and Quixeley, co. York.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> McNulty, *Chartulary of Salley Vol. 1*, 31.

<sup>251</sup> McNulty, *Chartulary of Salley Vol. 1*, 20.

<sup>252</sup> McNulty, *Chartulary of Salley Vol. 1*, 25.

<sup>253</sup> SD77595735.

<sup>254</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 169.

<sup>255</sup> SD77395286.

<sup>256</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 186.

<sup>257</sup> A grant by the monarch to hunt various species, usually pests such as foxes.

<sup>258</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol. II, Henry III-Edward I, AD 1257-1300*, p. 356.



Figure 11: Hesbert Hall farm.

'Quixeley' is probably modern Whixley, east of Harrogate, thus Hamerton may not be the manor near Slaidburn but either Green Hammerton or Kirk Hammerton 2 km and 3½ km from Whixley respectively. In 1304, it is noted that 'Henry son of John de Hamerton holds a fee in Hamerton, and it is extended at 24l. yearly'.<sup>259</sup>

*From the IPM of Henry de Percy, Oct 8 1314, a chase in Gisburn forest:*

Giselburne Forest. A free chase called the forest of Giselburne of which he only had the hunting, and the abbot of Sallay has the wood and herbage in fee.<sup>260</sup>

*1324, Stephen taking on land:*

Perquisites of the same [court] at Wadynton ... [1<sup>st</sup> March, 1324] ...[Of] Stephen de Hamerton, for entry to land ... 2s.<sup>261</sup>

*c.1332, Inquiry into damage to the king from the assignment of messuages and land for a chantry priest, and the purchase of the manor of Slaidburn by the king:*

This important and newly discovered document appears to record the purchase of the Manor of Slaidburn by Edward II from Alice Lacy, Countess of Lincoln (translated and annotated by Chris Spencer):

Commission from the King to make an inquiry to learn what damage there would be if we were to grant a licence to Stephen of Hamerton that he is able to give and assign two messuages, 36a of land and 20a of meadow with the appurtenances in Slaiteburn and Neuton in Boulond to John of Hamerton chantry priest to celebrate

<sup>259</sup> 'Close Rolls, Edward I: March 1304', in Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I: Volume 5, 1302-1307, ed. H C Maxwell Lyte (London, 1908), pp. 199-201 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw1/vol5/pp199-201> [accessed 27 May 2015]

<sup>260</sup> *Calendar of the Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents, Vol. V, Edward II* (London/HMSO, 1908), pp 312-313.

<sup>261</sup> W. Farrer, *Some Court Rolls of the Lordships, Wapentakes and Demesne Manors of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster in the County of Lancaster, A.D. 1323-4*, The Record Society, Vol. XLI, 1901, p. 67.

divine service at the newly built chapel of the Blessed Mary in the Manor of Hamerton for the health of his soul, the souls of his father and mother and the souls of all deceased liege subjects ... to get to know the value of the premises, their tenure etc.

Inquiry taken at Slaytburn in Bouland before John de Houton, the lord King's Escheator, on [*date partly torn away*] 5<sup>th</sup> Edward III [1331/32] by the oaths of Richard Batherste, Roger de Knoll[?], Adam de ....., Adam of Gradale, Alan de Neuton, Adam de Auldearghes, Adam de Bury, Thomas Talbot, Adam Grand ..., Henry de Boulton, Thomas del .....and Henry Manusayl, jurors, who say upon their oaths that there is no damage nor prejudice to the lord King .... and the premises are held of the lord King by fealty and by service, yielding to the lord King yearly 12d. at the feast days of St Martin and Pentecost as of his Manor of Slaytburn being in his hands .... which certain Manor the lord Edward late King of England [*Edward II presumably*] purchased from Lady Alesia de Lascy late Countess of Lancaster .... and they are of yearly value of 42s. 4d. ... and the Manor of Hamerton is held of the lord King by fealty and by service, yielding annually to the lord King 13s. at the feasts of St Martin and Pentecost and that its annual value is 10 marks.<sup>262</sup>

*1335 Patent Rolls, breaking of Radholme park by a Hamerton, and an assault:*

Commission of oyer and terminer<sup>263</sup> to Richard de Aldeburgh, John Giffard, Robert Parnyng and William Basset, on complaint by queen Isabella that Nicholas le Botiller, Adam son of William de Blakeburn, William Routhemel, 'forester', William son of Stephen de Hamerton, Robert de Tatham and others entered her free chace at Bouland, and broke her park at Roddom, co. York, hunted there, carried away deer and assaulted her men and servants.<sup>264</sup>

*1336 & 1337 Patent Rolls, more park breaking by the Hamertons:*

In 1336: Commission of oyer and terminer ... on complaint by queen Isabella that William son of Stephen de Hamerton [and others] entered her free chace at Bouland, broke her park at Roddam [Radholme], hunted in these, carried away deer and assaulted her men and servants.<sup>265</sup>

In 1337: (Commission of oyer and terminer, on complaint by queen Isabella against) 'Robert de Hamerton, Adam de Hamerton, William de Hamerton, ...Thomas de Knoll, John, his brother, Richard son of Adam de Knoll [and others] ... with respect to her free chace at Bouland and her park at Roddom [Radholme], co. York'.<sup>266</sup>

*1370 Patent Rolls, killing of a Stephen de Hamerton (identification of this Stephen uncertain):*

Pardon, at the request of Robert de Knolles and for good service to be rendered by John Holden in the company of the said Robert in parts beyond seas, to the said John of the king's suit for the death of Stephen de Hamerton, said to have been killed before 1 March in the king's forty-third year, whereof he is indicted or appealed, and of any consequent outlawry.<sup>267</sup>

*1376 Patent Rolls, breaking of enclosures and hunting in Slaidburn?:*

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<sup>262</sup> National Archives C 143/214/1.

<sup>263</sup> Command to assize judges to make enquiries into illegal acts.

<sup>264</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 3, 1334-1338*, 12 July 1335, p. 201.

<sup>265</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 3, 1334-1338*, 24 June 1337, p. 357.

<sup>266</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 3, 1334-1338*, 24 June 1337, pp. 452-453.

<sup>267</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 14, 1367-1370*, 26 May 1370, p. 412.

Commission of oyer and terminer ... on complaint by the king's son John, king of Castile and Leon and duke of Lancaster, that Thomas Mundvill and others broke his parks and hedges at the town of Pontefract, Tikhill, Knaresburgh and Sledburn in Bouland co. York and entered his free chaces and warrens there, hunted in these, felled his trees, fished in his stews and several fisheries there, dug in his turbaries there, carried away the turves thereof, fish, trees, brushwood of the hedges and other goods, deer from the parks and chaces, and hares, conies, pheasants and partridges from the warrens, took away 20 horses and 20 oxen, worth 40l., waived there by some thieves and pertaining to him according to liberties granted to him and former lords of the said towns and his manors therein as 'wayf,' trod down and consumed with cattle his grass, and assaulted his men, servants and tenants, whereby the latter have withdrawn from their holdings.<sup>268</sup>

*A Brief Account of Pleas. Edward I, reigned 1272-1307, seizure of Hamerton lands:*

York. Sworn action [?]. Therefore, Stephen of Hamerton & by force otherwise adjourned [?] for 30 acres of land & 30 acres of meadow & 10 acres of woods in Hamerton. And Isabel daughter of Ralph Paytesin [is] in mercy [at the mercy of a court judgement].<sup>269,270</sup>

*From E.B.R. Tempest, Tempest Pedigrees MS, transfer of property by Sir Stephen:*

In 1483, [Sir Richard Tempest of Staynforth] was a witness with Sir Thomas Tempest to a feoffment<sup>271</sup> by Sir Stephen Hamerton of Wigglesworth of his mansion at Hamerton (Dodsworth MSS, vol. 83, fol. 59, copy of deed<sup>272</sup>).<sup>273</sup>

Where was Sir Stephen's 'mansion' in Hamerton? It was probably on the site of the present c.1600 Hammerton Hall.

#### Historical maps

The early sixteenth century saw the emergence of large scale maps, many produced to inform landowners such as the Court of Duchy Chamber regarding land disputes. The earliest maps were based largely on visual surveys by the parties but in the 1580s, scaled maps became available, the results of measured surveys by the emergence of professional surveyors and map-makers. Some of the earliest scaled dispute maps were from this region, the first being a map of a land dispute at Musbury near Helmshore. Although not directly relevant to the particular case, the map also depicted the fenced deer-park at Musbury.<sup>274</sup>

Local historical mapping from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries was reviewed to determine if Stephen Park was marked, and whether it was shown as a deer-park. When using early maps, it is prudent to restate the adage 'the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. Surveying and

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<sup>268</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. XVI, 1374-1377*, 20 May 1376, p. 321.

<sup>269</sup> *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservatorum, Temporibus Regum Ric. I., Johann, Henr. III, Edw. I, Edw. II*, 1811, p. 239. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002064556u?urlappend=%3Bseq=267>

<sup>270</sup> Translation courtesy of Chris Spencer.

<sup>271</sup> Transfer of freehold land/property and the right to sell and bequest.

<sup>272</sup> Probably in vol. 2.2 of Falconer Madan, et al., *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto series* (7 vols. in 8 [vol. II in 2 parts], Oxford, 1895-1953; reprinted, with corrections in vols. I and VII, Munich, 1980), vol. II, nos. 4143-5101.

<sup>273</sup> E. B. R. Tempest, *Tempest Pedigrees MS*, at 'Digitized version of the transcript of Eleanor Blanche Tempest's Tempest Pedigrees', Vol. 1, p. 107; Some Notes On Medieval English Genealogy, <http://medievalgenealogy.org.uk/families/ebt/index.shtml> [accessed 14 January 2015].

<sup>274</sup> National Archives MPC 1/245, Gartside v Cronkeshaye, 1581.

mapping was an expensive business and early maps illustrating say, a dispute, would usually only show features relevant to the case. If Stephen Park is not shown either as a geographical area or settlement, or indeed as a deer-park (marked usually as a fenced enclosure), its absence does not mean that it was not a deer-park.

Christopher Saxton's 1591 map of commons near Slaidburn<sup>275</sup> was made to inform one of many long-standing disputes over enclosure and use of commons in the Grindleton, Bolton-by-Bowland and Slaidburn areas.<sup>276</sup> The map is titled:

A plat [map] of the Champion, Ramore, Brunghillmore, and Youkestonwood in the p[ar]ishe of Sladebourne, Belongi[n]g to Sladeborne Newton and Grynlynton; In w[hi]ch plat the Champion is coloured w[i]th yeolow, Ramore w[i]th red. Brunghill and youkestonwood w[i]th grene, w[i]th their co[n]tentes wrytten in the same. And the confyne left [with?] de[?]ided w[i]th Red Lynes. Maid in September 1591.

'Hamerton hall' and 'Rushton grange' (former Grange Hall) are shown. Just north of 'Standerose hill' (probably the modern Pikefield Plantation south-west of Standridge) is: 'Parte of Hamerton Meare now Ecclosinge [then in another hand below] Called Steven more [?moor, mere – difficult to discern]' (Figure 12).<sup>277</sup> Stephen Park is within the mapped area of the full map, but is not shown. The significance of the text is that it shows that enclosure of part of Hammerton Mere and the common Stephen Moor were underway in 1591 (below). The commons around Slaidburn were enclosed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the latter by a 1619 decree of the Duchy enclosing poorer lands.<sup>278</sup>

Christopher Saxton's 1577 map of Yorkshire and John Speede's map of 1610 do not show Stephen Park or Hamerton. John Warburton's map of 1720 does not show the Park, but Hamerton and Rushton Grange are shown, as are the houses at Wigglesworth and the Peel (but no parks). Tudor dispute maps DL 3/65 K1 Champion (1554) and MPBB 1/3 Grindleton (1595) do not show Stephen Park.<sup>279</sup> Robert Morden's 1695 map of the West Riding<sup>280</sup> shows 47 parks, including Radholme, but Stephen Park is not shown, either as a paled park or place name, however 'Sladhorn', 'Esington' and 'Wiglesworth' are marked.

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<sup>275</sup> National Archives MR 1/778.

<sup>276</sup> National Archives DL 44/468.

<sup>277</sup> Dr Bill Shannon assisted with the transcription of this difficult text.

<sup>278</sup> H.R. French and R.W. Hoyle, 'The Land Market of a Pennine Manor: Slaidburn, 1650-1780. *Continuity and Change*, vol. 14 (3), 1999, 349-383.

<sup>279</sup> Pers. comm, Dr Bill Shannon.

<sup>280</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service HAS/B:16/58.



Figure 12: Extract of National Archives MR 1/778 showing Slaidburn (bottom left) and text regarding the enclosure of part of Hammerton Mere (arrowed). Used with the permission of the National Archives.

Thomas Jefferys' map of Yorkshire from 1771/72 (1 inch. to 1 mile) shows some enclosed deer parks elsewhere and it does mark Stephen Park (Figure 13) but not as a deer-park. Jefferys' surveying and map-making required aristocratic and gentry subscribers and the prominence and inclusion of estates were rather dependent upon the subscription. The representation of parks was not derived from measured surveys by Jefferys' own surveyors and caution is required in interpreting their depiction and size.<sup>281</sup>

A catalogue of Yorkshire Parliamentary Enclosure Awards from c.1750 - c.1850 was reviewed to determine if awards were made in Slaidburn, Gisburn Forest, Wigglesworth or Easington.<sup>282</sup> Some maps of this era do mark 'ancient inclosures' and may provide relevant information. Two awards were made in Upper Easington: Halstead & Crutchenber Fells, and Hasgill Fell. These areas are to the north-west of the subject area and contain no relevant information. Awards at Long Preston and Hellifield were not viewed. The tithe maps and schedules for Gisburn Forest<sup>283</sup> were inspected, particularly with regard to Hindley Head and Hesbert Hall. There were no park- or deer-related field names.

<sup>281</sup> A.K. Jones, *The Maps of Yorkshire Printed in the Period 1577-1857 as Sources of Topographical Information*. Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Leeds, School of Geography, 1981, pp. 363-5.

<sup>282</sup> B. English, *Yorkshire Enclosure Awards* (University of Hull, 1985).

<sup>283</sup> Part 2b, 1846; the copies drawn by the Fylde Water Board and held at Slaidburn Archives were used.



Figure 13: Stephen Park on Jefferys' map of Yorkshire, 1771-72. Original scale was 1 inch to 1 mile. Extract. Three buildings are shown in the park but this should not be taken as a true representation of the numbers and alignment. Hammerton was incorrectly placed to the west of the Hodder, and note that a Stephen Moor settlement was shown as 'Steenmoor'.

## Field survey

### Survey area and the boundaries

The purpose of the field survey was to find and characterise landscape features that may indicate the former presence of a deer-park. As outlined earlier, early deer-park topographical features include:

1. curvilinear boundaries contrasting with angular boundaries of later enclosures both within and outside the park;
2. remains of the pale system comprising an eroded ditch and bank, the ditch being within the park;
3. place-names reflecting the park's former presence such as Pale Wood, Park House, Lodge, or Laund;<sup>284</sup>
4. ways, footpaths and administrative boundaries circumventing the park;
5. veteran trees that were managed to provide cut browse for the deer (particularly fallow) during winter.

Some of these may also be present in ploughed assarts taken from the forest, common or waste and in these circumstance, the settlement boundary may be designed to keep deer *out* and away from crops and herbage (a 'deer-dyke'). It is important therefore to determine the relative positions of the ditch and bank of the boundary – a ditch on the outside of an assart or park boundary would indicate a desire to exclude deer, rather than retain them. Internal divisions may be simple stock barriers or park compartments used for general management or to keep animals away from crops, coppices and plantations. The survey focussed principally on the ditch and bank arrangements of the outer bounds of the Stephen Park assart, but this required a judgement on the size and location of the original enclosed area.

A feature of enclosures taken from the waste in the medieval and early post-medieval periods was a curvilinear boundary; examples are evident in some of the assarts shown on a 1591 map of Slaidburn (Figure 14). The place-name 'stocks' as in Stocks-in-Bowland can be associated with clearings/assarts and secondary settlements.<sup>285</sup> The earliest large scale map of the park was the tithe map of 1844 (Figure 15).<sup>286</sup> A curvilinear boundary is evident (less conspicuous in the south-west) encompassing Park Wood and bounded in the west by Bottoms Beck.

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<sup>284</sup> A 'laund' is a lawn for deer to feed, principally in the early morning and late evening.

<sup>285</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, 250.

<sup>286</sup> *Tithe Map of the Township of Easington in the West Riding of the County of York*. Dated 1844. Fylde Water Board copy held in Slaidburn Archive.



Figure 14: Encroachments and assarts in 1591<sup>287</sup> to the west of Slaidburn, taken from the common (far left of the image), showing curvilinear boundaries. Such inclosures contrast on later maps with the rectangular boundaries from more recent enclosure periods. Used with the permission of the National Archives.



Figure 15: Extract of a tithe map of Upper Easington, redrawn by the Fylde Water Board, and held by Slaidburn Archive.<sup>288</sup> The curvilinear boundary to the north, east and south-east of the settlement is suggestive of an early assart.

Compartments are evident within the enclosure, and the farm buildings are at the centre. The names, rounded acreage and agricultural use are shown in Table 1, taken from the tithe

<sup>287</sup> National Archives MR 1/778.

<sup>288</sup> *Tithe Map of the Township of Easington in the West Riding of the County of York*, dated 1844.

apportionment. Note that Park Wood and Park Moss (the latter lies outside the bounds to the east) are the only place-names that may have had a direct association with the keeping of deer.

Field No.	Name	Size (acres)	Use
394	Park Moss, Rough Field	130	Peat Moss & Pasture
395	Cocklick Hill, Poor Field, Long Ridges, Cocklick Meadow	145	Pasture
396	Black Nook, Great Rushy Field, Stalp Field	38	Arable
397	Little Rushy Field	10	Pasture
398	Little Hazleholme, Kiln Croft	10	Pasture
399	Great Hazleholme	7	Pasture
402	Parrock	<1	Pasture
403	Park Wood	23	Pasture & Wood
404	Flatt	10	Meadow
405	Stephen Park house, Barn & Fold	<1	
406	Garden	<1	
407	Moss Meadow	11	Meadow
408	Part of Long Ridge	16	Meadow & Moss
409	Bull Copy	4	Pasture
410	Calf Brow	11	Meadow
411	Calf Meadow	8	Pasture
412	Bottom Meadow & Barn	16	Meadow

Table 1: Extract from the tithe apportionment for Upper Easington showing field names, acreage (round down to the nearest acre) and the state of cultivation. The landowners were William Atkinson and Joshua Cowling, and the occupier was Stephen Robinson.

The curvilinear outer bounds are also noticeable on the first-edition 6-inches to 1-mile OS map of 1847 (Figure 16). On this mapped evidence, the working assumption was that this outer boundary was a putative deer-park enclosure, and/or the original assart bounds. One or more of the inner compartments could have been used to keep deer, so it was also necessary to inspect the internal boundaries. Some of these outer bounds are small watercourses, but these were often used to define boundaries historically; the ditch was the boundary even if associated with banks topped by hedges.<sup>289</sup>

The survey area was 69 hectares (170 acres), with a circumference of 3.5 km. It is informative to compare the size of this putative deer-park with other local known deer-parks. Leagram park near Chipping (enclosed in the 1340s and disparked in 1556<sup>290</sup>) was 562 hectares (1389 acres) at its largest extent, with a circumference of 10.5 km. Radholme park's area was 476 hectares (1176

<sup>289</sup> M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds), *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to 1500, Vol 2: The Administrative and Tenurial framework* (Wakefield/ West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp. 266-71.

<sup>290</sup> N. Neil, R. Thurnhill. *Deer Parks in the Forest of Bowland* [online]. Forest of Bowland Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, 2013, pp. 31-33. Available from: [http://www.forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/FOB-Deer-parks\\_Final-report-Apr-2013.pdf](http://www.forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/FOB-Deer-parks_Final-report-Apr-2013.pdf) (accessed 2 November 2015).

acres), assuming the Hodder was the western boundary, and a circumference of 9.9 km.<sup>291</sup> Radholme was imparked in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries and disparked sometime between 1617 and 1651.<sup>292</sup> These were large deer-parks; the typical deer-park was 100-200 acres (40-80 ha) but those owned by the Crown or senior aristocracy could be thousands of acres. At the other end of the scale, some deer-parks were under 50 acres (20.2 ha),<sup>293</sup> and it is quite conceivable that a deer-park of local gentry such as the Hamertons could be the size of the survey area.

The height of the settlement at Stephen Park is 233 m OD. Geologically, the bedrock is Hodder mudstone and limestone interbedded and the superficial deposits are till, but to the east are mossy areas with peat.<sup>294</sup> The practical approach for the survey in the rather dense forestry plantations and moss was to focus the ditch and bank inspections at or near a number of numbered 'nodes' marked on the maps; the nodes formed junctions between the compartments and the outer bounds, and between selected internal junctions (Figure 16; Appendix 4 shows the grid references of the survey nodes). The location and designation of the nodes is shown on modern 1:25,000 mapping in Figure 17.

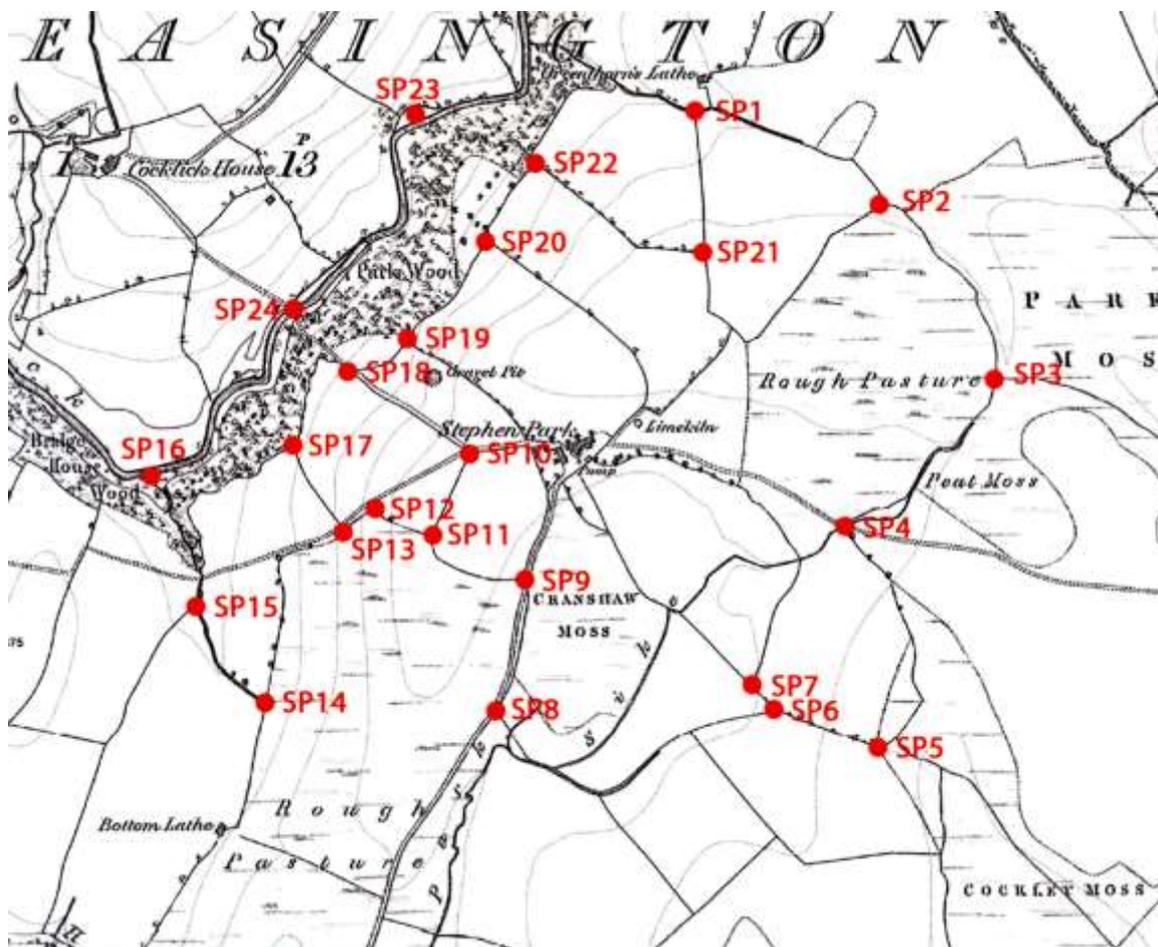


Figure 16: Boundary nodes and other features subjected to an exploratory survey, shown on the 6-inches to 1-mile (1:10,560) OS map surveyed in 1847.

<sup>291</sup> Neil & Thurnhill. *Deer Parks of Bowland*, 14.

<sup>292</sup> Neil & Thurnhill. *Deer Parks of Bowland*, 19-24.

<sup>293</sup> Mileson, *Medieval Parks*, 3.

<sup>294</sup> 'Geology of Britain Viewer', British Geological Survey, <http://mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/geologyofbritain/home.html> (accessed 29 August 2015).

An important aspect of surveying the boundaries was differentiating modern plantation ditches and/or banks from the historical examples. It was also pertinent to recognise historical boundaries that had been modified by deepening, or incorporated into wood-banks and internal drainage ditches of the modern plantations. Unfortunately, the original Forestry Commission maps used to define the bounds of the plantations are lost, having been accidentally damaged during storage.

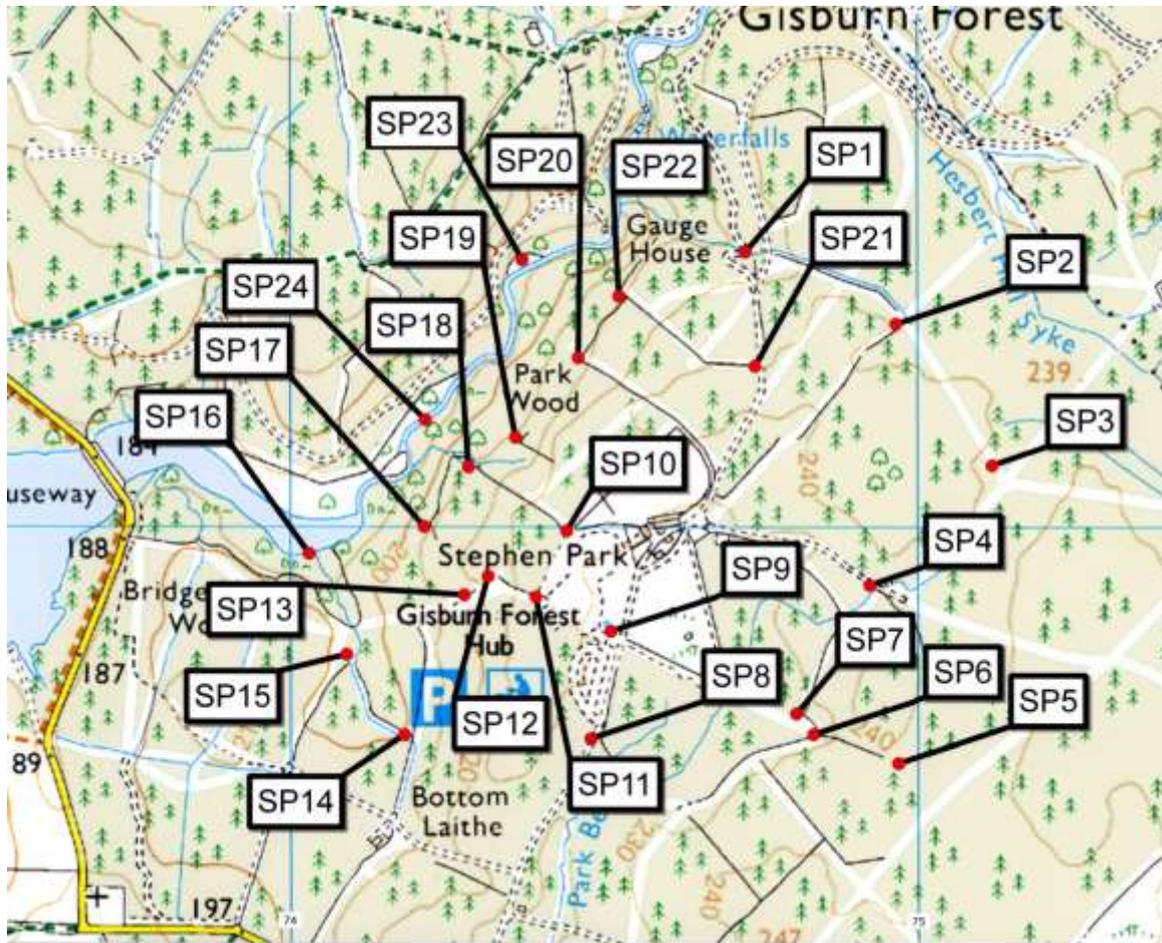


Figure 17: Survey nodes transposed from the tithe and first-edition 6-inches to 1-mile maps onto modern 1:25,000 OS mapping. This figure contains OS data © Crown copyright and database rights (2016).

### Woodland and veteran trees

Park Wood is designated Ancient Semi-Natural Woodland,<sup>295</sup> land that has had continuous woodland cover since at least 1600. It has not been subject to forestry groundworks. Veteran trees are rather loosely defined as ‘trees which, because of their great age, size or condition, are of exceptional value culturally, in the landscape, or for wildlife’.<sup>296</sup> In the context of wood-pasture, boundary trees and parks, the importance of veteran trees (other than aesthetics) was that they may be the relicts of the cutting of browse, historically from the pollards of principally oak, beech,

<sup>295</sup> ‘MAGIC’, Natural England, <http://www.magic.gov.uk/home.htm> (accessed 6 August 2015).

<sup>296</sup> A. Robinson, *The Future for Veteran Trees*, Veteran Trees Initiative, 2000, English Nature, p. 1.

ash, holly and sweet chestnut. Fallow deer in particular need supplementary feeding in winter, but the browse could also have been provided for farm stock such as cattle. Holly is still cut for ponies in the New Forest in periods of snow or particularly hard winters; the animals will take the less prickly 'blind' holly cut from the top of the tree, and strip the bark.<sup>297</sup> Holly was once widely used in the Pennine area as a fodder for sheep, cattle and forest deer.<sup>298</sup> It may also be used as a shelter and indeed ornamental plant when gathered into holms. In Dalehead is Hollins farm, 3 km west of Stephen Park, now near the western shore of the reservoir. In the sixteenth century, the woodmote courts of Bowland forest mention offences against the vert such as ash, holly and alder.<sup>299</sup> Such browse trees may have been historically widespread in the forest and parks, particularly close to lodges, but a survey in 1556 noted: 'all the residue of the woods in Bolland are olde hollyns [and other small trees] which on account of their great age and the ofte cropping are worth nothing'.<sup>300</sup>

There is evidence that Stephen Park was a working farm just before the execution of Sir Stephen.<sup>301</sup> On the assumption that a putative deer-park was disparked at its latest date in the early sixteenth century, it is extremely unlikely that any deer-browse tree from that era would be still standing today, with perhaps the oak and holly the sole candidates. In the woodland pasture and heath of the New Forest on poor soils, the oldest holly tree (from coppice) dates to c.1709 but the oldest holly stools may date to the sixteenth century. The oldest degenerating, pollarded very large girth oaks are also from that period (but most oak veterans are from the seventeenth century), and the oldest beech (most pollarded) from the seventeenth century.<sup>302</sup> There are large pollards still standing in many modern deer-parks but these are usually in post-medieval parks of the Early Modern Period. Nevertheless, it is important to seek out veteran trees in the Park and its environs, but it should also be noted that any veterans discovered may have been used to feed cattle in the period after the seizure of the estate, until modern times.

## Practical approach

At each node, photographs were taken and the relative positions of ditch and bank noted and the modern height of the bank measured. All nodes were visited but in some cases, the approach was very difficult and hazardous which limited the extent of the inspection that could be undertaken at each site. No excavations were undertaken.

The identification of veteran trees that could have been used to feed deer and/or stock was not undertaken systematically. Advice was sought from Forestry Commission staff of the locations of any notable veteran trees and the first-edition map was reviewed to identify prominent boundary trees (individual trees in hedgerows were shown on the 1:10,560 and larger scale maps surveyed before 1893<sup>303</sup>). Note was also made of any old trees encountered in the survey, and in a small number of instances, their age was calculated. The age of a tree can be estimated from its girth, the species, and the growing conditions using a model developed by White (1998).<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Pers. com., Andy Page, Head of Wildlife Management, South England Forest District, Forestry Commission.

<sup>298</sup> M. Spray, 'Holly as Fodder in England', *The Agriculture History Review*, vol. 29 pt. 2 (1981), pp. 99-100.

<sup>299</sup> Shaw, *Forest of Lancaster*, 233.

<sup>300</sup> T.C. Smith, *History of the Parish of Chipping* (Preston/Whitehead, 1894), p. 186.

<sup>301</sup> National Archives SC6/HENVIII/4356. Translated by Chris Spencer.

<sup>302</sup> C.R. Tubbs, *The New Forest History, Ecology & Conservation* (Lyndhurst/New Forest Ninth Centenary Trust, 2001), pp. 178-187.

<sup>303</sup> R. Oliver, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Concise Guide for Historians* (London/Charles Close Society, 2005), p.111.

<sup>304</sup> J. White, *Estimating the Age of Large and Veteran Trees in Britain*, Forestry Commission Information Note, November 1998.

## Survey results

### Boundaries

The old pastures adjacent to Park Wood west of Stephen Park are now largely wooded (Figure 18) but the old boundary between the Park Wood and pasture is quite evident with the slight remains of a bank, the different diversity and age of trees either side of the boundary (Figure 19), and evidence of coppicing in Park Wood itself. It is noteworthy that in the tithe apportionment, Park Wood is classed as 'Pasture & Wood' (Table 1) indicating that in that period it was used as wood-pasture, and animals were not necessarily excluded. Aerial photographs from c.1948 showed that the old pastures abutting Park Wood were not wooded, but in aerial photographs from the 1960s, the pastures had been incorporated into plantations.



Figure 18: A bank and ditch near node S10 heading downhill towards Park Wood (not visible), which on the 1847 6-inch and the tithe map bounded a meadow (Calf Brow).

It was evident that many of the pre-forestry boundaries had been employed as plantation boundaries, or as access/firebreaks within. In the mossy areas such as Park Moss, banks and ditches were frequently not evident due to ground conditions and conifers. Few of the historical boundaries were walled or showed evidence of robbing such as extant foundations, but isolated examples are shown in Figure 20 and Figure 21.



Figure 19: Rising bank (pole atop) of the former Park Wood boundary (PW to the left) between SP18 and SP17, with the now wooded Calf Brow meadow to the upper right (SD742235602).



Figure 20: SP15 - a robbed wall base to the left of the pole (hidden beneath foliage) with an associated ditch beyond (SD74015568).



Figure 21: SP15 - remains of a wall (SD74075577).

Most banks had associated ditches, some of which were water-filled (Figure 22), but there were isolated boundaries with no remaining evidence of ditching (Figure 23 and Figure 24).



Figure 22: West of SP6 – bank and a ditch with flowing water (SD74725563).



Figure 23: SP2 – bank to the right of the pole, without evidence of deep ditches (SD74965631). Pole is 1 m.



Figure 24: SP1 – Historical bank without a ditch (SD74795650).

Figure 25 shows a curvilinear bank and internal ditch above a small stream, which is the boundary between Park Wood and Bridge House Wood. This boundary separated a small section of Park Wood from Calf Meadow former pasture (to the left of the image).



Figure 25: SP16b – bank and ditch on the south-western boundary of Park Wood SD74095590).

Figure 26 shows a bank and ditch going through Calf Brow meadow (between S10 and S18), marked as a dotted line on the tithe map, but on the first-edition 6-inches to 1-mile map is the course of a track from Stephen Park down to Bottoms Beck, crossing the beck to Cocklick House. On a later 6-inch OS map (1888-1913), a bridge is shown across the beck at SD74205616, but there is little evidence of the bridge today. The track is shown to the north-east of the boundary (the location of the ditch on the photograph), thus this may not be a historical boundary, but a holloway.



Figure 26: Bank and ditch between SP10 and SP18 (SD74375605).

Boundaries within conifer plantations are shown in Figure 27 between former Little Hazleholme/Kiln Croft pasture (left) and Great Pasture; in Figure 28 is the bank and ditch heading north between Cocklick Hill/Poor Field/Long Ridges/Cocklick Meadow enclosures to the east (right) and Calf Meadow pasture.



Figure 27: SP21, historical bank and ditch heading west within a modern plantation (SD74645628).



Figure 28: SP14, bank and ditch to the north (SD74195568).

East of the farmhouse, just to the south of the old track heading east towards Skirden Hall and Tosside, is a substantial ditch and bank (c.1.5 m from ditch bottom to the bank top), originally between arable and meadow enclosures (Figure 29 & Figure 30). This was the highest historical bank feature in the park.



Figure 29: A bank and ditch heading from the farmstead to SP4; the view is towards the farmstead. (SD74715599).



Figure 30: The same ditch as Figure 29, view east towards SP4 (SD74655599).

Within Park Wood, the banks were generally slight - Figure 31 is the original boundary between the wood (right) heading down to the beck, and Calf Brow meadow; there is a small ditch evident on the meadow side. Figure 19 (above) shows the view from within the wood with a rising bank on the boundary with the former meadow, now woodland.



Figure 31: Former boundary of Park Wood, between SP18 and SP17, view to the west (SD74225602). The pole is on top of the eroded bank.

Just across the beck from Park Wood was a very small semi-circular paddock ('Parrock') with a bank and an internal ditch, plainly designed to enclose animals (Figure 32).

A summary of the locations of the boundary ditches with respect to the banks is shown in Figure 33. Close to the park, some of the historical boundaries had been destroyed by modern earthworks but in general they were well preserved. Mitchell noted that the lease granted to the Forestry Commission in 1949 for 3000 acres (1214 ha), first planted near Stephen Park, required 'keeping the old field patterns and leaving the drystone walls'.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> W.R. Mitchell, *The Lost Village of Stocks in Bowland* (Settle/Castleberg 1992), p. 112.



Figure 32: SP23 'Parrock' across the beck from Park Wood, view from within the enclosure (SD74405644).

With regard to the outer bounds of the survey area, the banks in the north east (SP1 and SP2) had no associated ditches, SP3 was lost in the moss and conifers (the boundary between SP2 and SP5, including SP3 is not shown on the 1:2500 1894 map implying this was lost in the moss then), and between SP5, SP6 and SP8 the ditch was on the outside of the park, suggesting it was designed to keep animals, probably deer, from entering the park area. The boundary between SP14 and SP15 was also an external ditch. For the internal boundaries, there was no consistent pattern in the relative positions of the ditches and banks. On the west of the survey area in Park Wood and its boundaries with the former pasture and meadow approaching the farmstead, ditches showed no consistent pattern regarding keeping animals within the wood, or excluding them. The beck would not be a barrier for deer enclosed within a park, and no evidence was found of boundaries at the beck side (nor shown on the nineteenth century mapping) that could be construed as a deer-park pale.

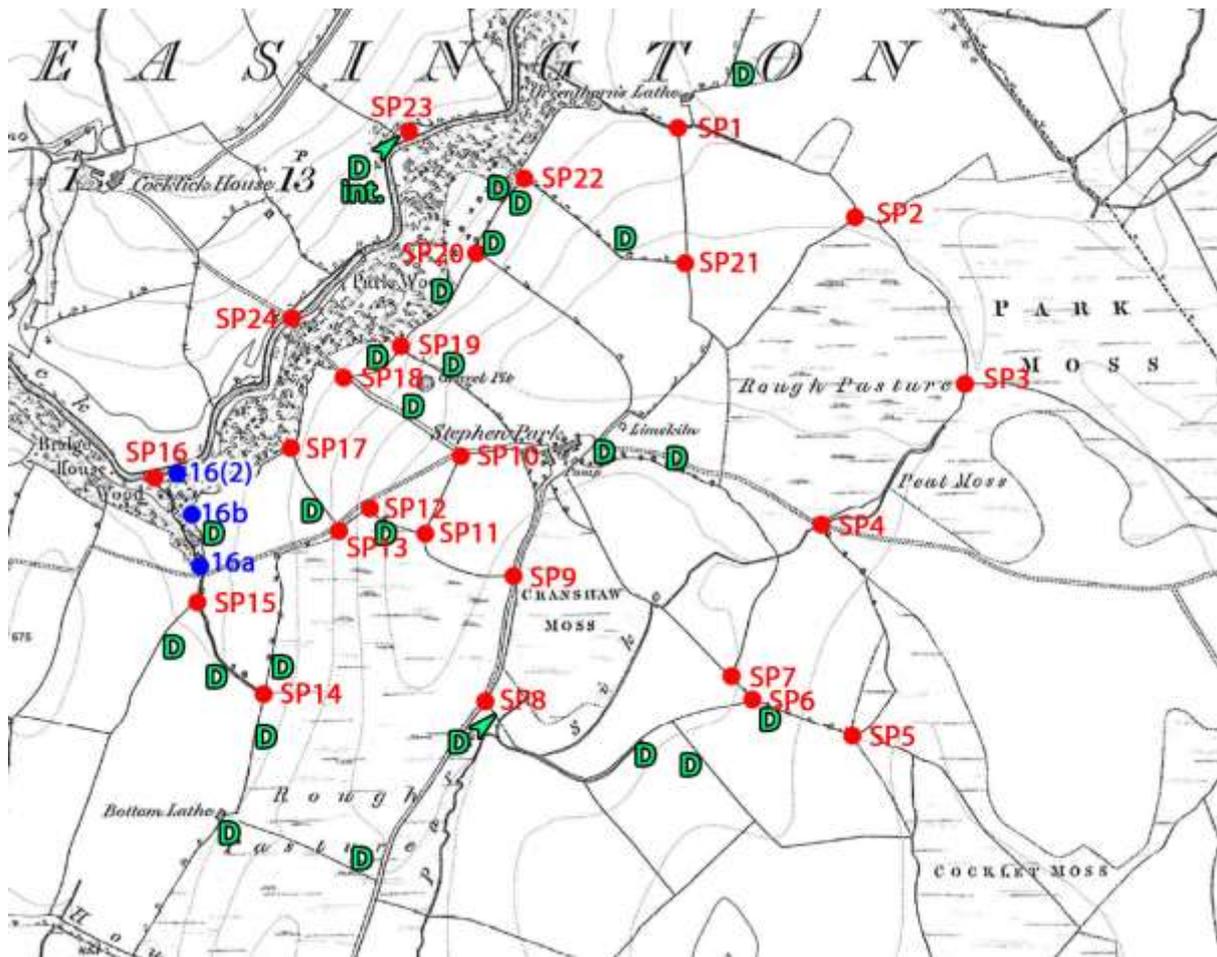


Figure 33: Location of ditches with respect to the banks on the boundaries shown on the 6-inches to 1-mile (1:10,560) OS map surveyed in 1847. Banks without ditches are not marked. 'D' touching a mapped boundary shows the ditch location with respect to the bank marked by the line. The boundary between SP2 and SP5, via SP3 and SP4, is not evident in the mossy conditions and dense forestry.

#### Veteran trees

The survey, and enquiries to the FC staff, found very few old trees. Holly was not widespread in the Park and the examples found were bushes or small trees (Figure 34); there was no evidence of old holly stools. Three large beech on a bank were noted in the pastures of Hesbert Hall, and these were dated from their girths to early- to mid-nineteenth century (Figure 35).<sup>306</sup>

<sup>306</sup> There are picturesque lines of beech in both Hindley Head and Hesbert Hall pasture borders.



Figure 34: Holly in Park Wood.



Figure 35: Beech on a bank in Hesbert Hall pastures (SD74695737). Pole is 1 m.

A large oak (which may have been pollarded, or perhaps open-grown) was noted on the edge of a conifer plantation near Hindley Head (SD74755794), having recently fallen into Hindley Head Clough. With a girth of 3.4 m, it was calculated to be only about 200 years old.

#### LIDAR

The coverage and analysis of available LIDAR imaging for the survey area is discussed in Appendix 5. The coverage was not total and the dense forestry produced artefacts. No new features were

evident (such as boundaries not shown on the nineteenth century mapping) that contributed to the understanding of whether the park was a deer-park.

### Survey synopsis

The survey provided no evidence of a consistent circumferential deer-park pale designed to retain deer within the Park, defined by the curvilinear boundary of the presumed assart shown on the tithe and first-edition 1847 OS mapping. The ditches, where present on the bounds, would suggest the bank and ditch system was designed to exclude animals from the park interior, undoubtedly wild deer and the stock of other landowners/tenants grazing on unenclosed land, probably common. The boundaries shown on the nineteenth century mapping were largely still evident on the ground, even within forestry plantations, but nearly all signs of the boundary bank/ditch in east and north east outer bounds were lost in the moss, associated dispersed conifers, and disturbed ground. Surveying was also hampered in these areas due to the very hazardous conditions for a solo worker.

There was little evidence of stone walling generally but removal of walling stone was noted and some banks did hint at hidden foundations with occasional loose stones and sub-surface obstructions (found by prodding with a rod). Some of the banks were substantial suggesting that walling may have not been universal as a boundary fence in the park, and live (or dead) hedging was also employed. From such a superficial survey, it was not possible to determine the age of the banks.

## Conclusions

It is unlikely that Stephen Park was a pre-sixteenth century deer-park, and it was certainly not a deer-park subsequently.<sup>307</sup> The documentary research failed to find any evidence of authorisation, park-breaking and theft, deer inclosure construction/maintenance, gifting of deer/venison, or formal disparkment. The field survey did not find any evidence of a pale or a circuitous curvilinear boundary enclosing a large area designed to retain deer. There was evidence that much of the surviving external boundary of the settlement was designed to exclude animals, probably wild deer.

The place name 'park' should not be interpreted as presumptive evidence that the enclosures contained introduced deer. 'Park' was also employed historically, particularly in the north, to describe often isolated enclosures/assarts (like Stephen Park) for farm stock such as cattle and horses, and for arable farming.

The earliest use of the place name was the early sixteenth century when the land was held by Sir Stephen Hamerton, executed in 1537. It is probable that the park was named after him, although Stephen was a recurring name in the Hamerton family and his grandfather, also Sir Stephen, was likewise a wealthy, influential man with many holdings, but no evidence has been uncovered that he or indeed any of the Stephens before him named the park. The inquisition by the Chancery undertaken in the early sixteenth century was one of the earliest uses of the descriptor 'park' for the area, and in this era, around the time of the examination, trial and execution of Sir Stephen, there is evidence that the Park was used for conventional farming activities by tenants.

If 'Stephen Park' as a place name originated in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, it is not known if the area was separately identified with a place name within 'Hamerton' in the medieval period. It is known that there were pastures in the Hesbert Hall area (adjacent to Stephen Park) in the late twelfth century when the Percys granted land to Sawley Abbey, but it is unwise to include the later Park area in that grant because of the parish boundary between them, and uncertainty in the ownership and tenurial arrangements in the locale at that date. It certainly shows that the general area had pastures for cows and mares. This does not mean there were necessarily *enclosures* at that time, but there is evidence in charters that there were pasture enclosures by the mid-thirteenth century. It is not known exactly when the Park area was assarted, but from the aforementioned indirect evidence it is possible that it was used for cattle and horse pasture in the twelfth century like its neighbour. It is speculative that it may have been enclosed around the same time, but by whom is not known.

The published Hamerton pedigrees of the principal members have been reviewed and enhanced, and primary sources used to judge and correct if necessary the (at times) rather unsupported statements on relationships, dates and activities. New information on the activities of the Hamerton family in the medieval period has been unearthed and known information from primary and verifiable secondary sources compiled for the principal family members. In the medieval period up to the attainder, the Hamertons were an important family in the Craven area, perhaps second only to the Tempests of Bracewell, and their fall was an important milestone in the history of Stephen Park. Frankly, we know little of the history of the Park area *per se* before the sixteenth century but its association with the Hamertons, within Hammerton and its Mere, provides an historical narrative, now enhanced, that will interest the many visitors to this popular area. That it appears not to be a medieval deer-park is disappointing, but its link to a notable knightly, gentry family that felt the wrath of Henry VIII for a (perhaps reluctant) stance against the Reformation is noteworthy.

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<sup>307</sup> Prof. Richard Hoyle (Professor of Local and Regional History, Director and General Editor, Victoria County History), recognised as an authority on the economic and social history of the area, is also of the view that Stephen Park was not a deer-park. Pers. comm., 12 May 2016.

## Acknowledgements

Slaidburn Archive would like to thank Martin Colledge, the Forestry Commission Bowland Beat Manager. He facilitated safe access to the estate and provided a contribution from the Forestry Commission towards the expenses of the field survey and the documentary research.

Chris Spencer transcribed and translated manuscripts and gave generously of his knowledge of the upper Hodder Valley area.

Dr Bill Shannon advised on aspects of sixteenth century dispute mapping and Duchy sources.

Diana Kaneps shared her knowledge of the Hamerton family.

Peter Iles, Specialist Advisor (Archaeology), Lancashire County Council, provided aerial photographs and HER information.

LIDAR was provided by the *Environment Agency Open Data Project* at 'Data.Gov.UK', <http://environment.data.gov.uk/ds/survey#/>.

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# Appendix 1

## Pedigree of the Hamerton family of Hamerton, Wigglesworth and Hellifield Peel

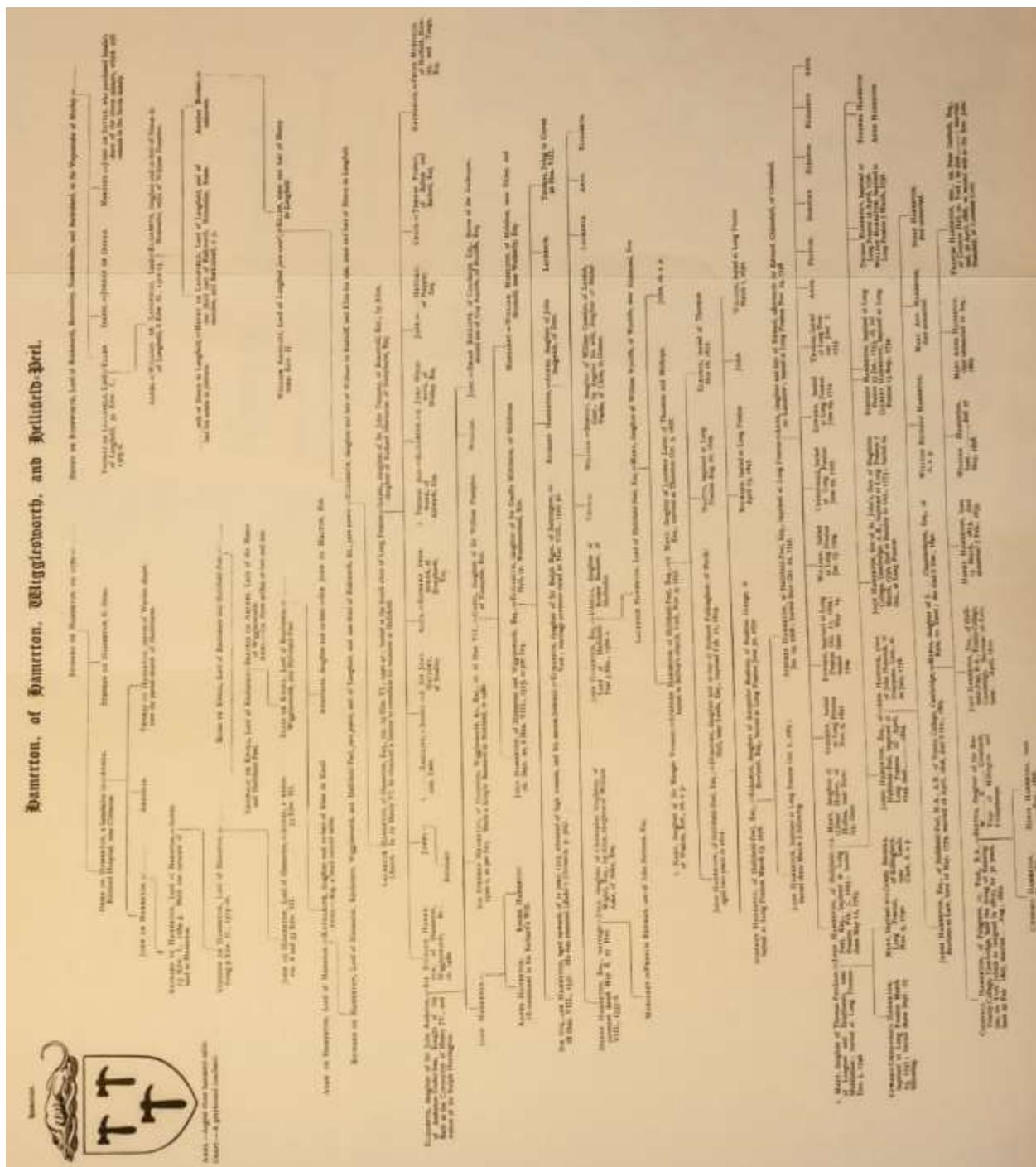


Figure 36: Pedigree of the Hamertons of Hamerton, Wigglesworth and Hellifield Peel. Taken from Whitaker's *History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, Vol. 1*.<sup>308</sup>

<sup>308</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, Vol. 1* (London/Cassell, Petter, Galpin, 1878, Third Edition, reprinted 1973 Skipton/ Rowley), fold-out between p. 150 and p. 151.

## Appendix 2

### Contemporary notes on the examination of Sir Stephen Hamerton

On 25 April 1537 in the Tower of London, Sir Stephen Hamerton was examined by Messrs. Layton, Tregonwell and Legh regarding his alleged treasonous activities. Below is the calendared account of the interrogation from *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*; it summarises the association of Sir Stephen and Nicholas Tempest<sup>309</sup> and the activities that led to their trial and death:<sup>310</sup>

Sir Stephen Hamurton [*sic*], examined, says he first heard of the insurrection in Yorkshire by a bill set on the church door of Gyglesweke [Giggleswick], before the first commotion in Craven, summoning all to meet next morning in a place above "Neales yng." [Neals Ing nr. Stainforth] Went next morning to see the bill; but found the people had all gone to the meeting place taking it with them. Was returning home hunting when some wives warned him to save himself; and anon he was surrounded by 300 armed men who said he had ruled them, but they would now rule him. Fawcet and Jaks were the ringleaders, and forced him to take the oath, and sent him with eight others to ask the Earl of Cumberland to join them. The earl "spurred of them" why they rose; and they answering it was for fear of Bishopdale, Wenslade [Wensleydale], &c., he bade them be still, and if they were robbed he would see them recompensed. They said, "Nay, my lord, but this will not serve us." He replied, "I defy you, and do your worst, for I will not meddle with you." The messengers returned to Manybent [Monubent nr. Bolton-by-Bowland], the place appointed, but the commons were gone to take Nicholas Tempest, and they met them on their way back between Bolton and Salley. The commons swore they would have my lord of Cumberland or die. On the morrow they met at Manybent, and letters came from Salley, reporting that the lord of Derby would come and pull down Whalley, Salley, Sir Richard Tempest's house, and Hamerton's. They divided into two companies, Hamerton in the one and Tempest in the other, to go down different sides of the water of Rybley [Ribble] to a "more" two miles from Whalley to stop my lord of Derby. A letter was designed to be sent to Atkynson and others of Kendal side for aid. Forgets whether he signed it. At the "said hill" they heard that Derby had word by a herald from the duke of Norfolk to stay as an "uptake" was made at Doncaster. Returned home till commanded to come to York. There word came from the abbot of Salley that the country was up again, and Hamerton and Nic. Tempest were sent home to resist Derby, but found the country quiet again. Afterwards, by

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<sup>309</sup> Nicholas Tempest of Bracewell, younger brother of Sir Richard Tempest MP (Appleby) (c.1480-1537) and third son of Nicholas. Nicholas Tempest (jnr.) was born c.1482 and had interests at Bashall (the commons carried off his stock there in the uprising), and with Sir Richard Tempest had a lease on the fulling mill in Slaidburn. He was Bowbearer of Bowland Forest in November 1536. For his involvement in the first and second uprisings of the commons, he was executed with Hamerton, the Abbot of Fountains and others at Tyburn. A biography is available in *Transcripts of Eleanor Blanche - Tempest Pedigrees* (E. B. R. Tempest, *Tempest Pedigrees MS*, at 'Digitized version of the transcript of Eleanor Blanche Tempest's Tempest Pedigrees', Vol. 1, pp. 144-149; Some Notes On Medieval English Genealogy, <http://medievalgenealogy.org.uk/families/ebt/index.shtml>). Information on Sir Richard Tempest from A. Davidson, *History of Parliament, Members, Sir Richard Tempest of Bracewell and Bowling*. Available at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/tempest-sir-richard-1480-1537>. The examination of Nicholas is available at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no1/pp447-477>.

<sup>310</sup> 'Henry VIII: April 1537, 21-25', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12 Part 1, January-May 1537*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1890), pp. 447-477. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no1/pp447-477> [accessed 14 May 2016]. The examination is on pp. 472-473.

command of the rulers at York, he and Tempest went to the last meeting at Pomfret [Pontefract], where the pardon was proclaimed and accepted.

Examined whether he was privy to the supplication of the convent of Salley to Sir Thomas Percy. Was hunting at Settyl Spring when Estgate, the abbot of Salley's chaplain, and one of the abbot's servants, came and said if he desired a certain wood he was to have bought from them two years before, he might have it or any other for nothing. Replied he would have nothing of their house. The chaplain then told him of a letter they were about to send to Sir Thomas Percy, and would have read it to him, but he desired the chaplain briefly to state its purport, which was to inform Sir Thomas that they were "set in" by the commons, and to ask if they should have his favour. Remarked that he could not see what Sir Thomas could do for them, but they might do as they list. Was not otherwise privy to that letter or to any putting out of farmers about Salley. Did nothing but what he was compelled to. The abbot held him in suspicion afterwards because he set men to arrest persons posting seditious letters upon church doors. There has been no stir in the parts about him since. The abbot, when condemned to die, sent to ask his forgiveness for having named him in the said letters, to the devising of which no one was privy except Estgate and two brethren, Bradforde and Parishe: this Sir Arthur Darcy can himself show. Has had no other communication with the abbot.

Confession.

## Appendix 3

### References encountered related to the disposal of Sir Stephen Hamerton's assets.

The primary purpose of the report was to determine if Stephen Park was a medieval deer-park, and the research focussed on sources up to the execution of Sir Stephen Hamerton. Sources beyond this date were searched to determine if original documents describing the disposal of Stephen Park mentioned or intimated that it was a deer-park. No such information was forthcoming. Post-1537 documents are listed here in note form that may be of use for other researchers studying the disposal of the Hamerton lands and the local land tenures in the sixteenth century. Some have been transcribed and translated, but most are patent roll calendars and catalogue summaries or are simply references.

- Henry Knowles, the Queen's Bailiff vs. John Breres in right of Leonard Warcopp and Ralph Grenakers after attainder of Stephen Hamerton, knight, regarding rents issuing out of the Manor or Lordship of Hamerton, in Bolland Forest and Hamerton Manor (1571/2).<sup>311</sup>
- Slaidburn, the tenants of vs. John Hotchekynson, disputed right of common in Sladeburn, Bolland Forest, Hamerton, Russheton Meer, Crosedalescore (1548/9).<sup>312</sup>
- Oliver Brears, Reynold Hayber, and others, as seized in fee of the royalties and wastes; petition to Sir Thomas Heneage, knight, the Queen's Vice Chamberlain and Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Duchy, for a commission to perambulate the mears, boundaries and divisions of Champion More, and a stinted pasture called Steaven More. Hamerton Manor in Bowland (1589/90).<sup>313</sup>
- Ric. Crumwell. Lease of the site of the manor of Wyglesworth, Yorks., and the herbage and pannage of Wiglesworth Park, parcel of the lands late of Sir Stephen Hamerton, attainted, with reservations, for 21 years, at the annual rents of 8l. 11s. 2d. for the site and 4l. for the herbage of the park, as surveyed by Ric. Pollard. Del. Westm., 4 Feb. 29 Hen. VIII.—S.B.b. Pat. p. 2, m. 5.<sup>314</sup>
- Accounts of the lands of lords Darcy and Hussey, George Lumley, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamerton, Sir Rob. Constable, Sir Francis Bigod, and Thomas Moyne will be found in the vols. marked Augmentation Books, Nos. 282, 285–86, and 288.<sup>315</sup>
- Leonard Warcopp alias Karlill, one of the officers at arms. Lease of a chief messuage in Bolland, Yorks., parcel of the possessions late of Sir Stephen Hamerton, attainted, late in the tenure of John Proctour, and now in the King's hands by the death of Eliz.,

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<sup>311</sup> *Ducatus Lancastriae, Calendar to the Pleadings Etc, Vol. III* (House of Commons, 1834), p. 8.

<sup>312</sup> *Ducatus Lancastriae, Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem and Calendar to Pleadings Etc, Vol. I* (House of Commons, 1823), p. 210.

<sup>313</sup> *Ducatus Lancastriae, Calendar to the Pleadings Etc, Vol. III* (House of Commons, 1834), p.236.

<sup>314</sup> 'Henry VIII: February 1538, 21-28', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 13 Part 1, January-July 1538*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1892), pp. 124-142 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol13/no1/pp124-142> [accessed 9 April 2015].

<sup>315</sup> 'Henry VIII: June 1537, 26-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12 Part 2, June-December 1537*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1891), pp. 47-85 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no2/pp47-85> [accessed 9 April 2015].

late wife of the said Stephen; with reservations; for 21 years; at rents of 13l. 6s. 8d. for the chief messuage, 10s. for the mill, and 20s. of increase. Del. Westm., 21 May 30 Hen. VIII—S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 7.<sup>316</sup>

- Thos. Holcroft, esquire of the Body. Lease of the lordship or manor of Wygelsworth, Yorks., which belonged to Sir Stephen Hamerton, attainted; for 21 years; at 21l. 4d. rent and 3s. increase. Del. Westm., 29 Nov. 32 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 5, m. 17.<sup>317</sup>
- James Nedeham, clerk and surveyor of the King's works. To be general receiver of the lands in Yorkshire forfeited by the attainder of Adam abbot of Jervaulx, Wm. prior of Brydlyngton, Sir Thomas lord Darcy, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Stephen Hamerton, Sir Francis Bygod, and John Wyvell or of any other; the office being now in the Kings hands by the forfeiture of Tristram Tesse. Westm., 27 June, 36 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 29 June.—P.S. Pat. p. 21, m. 20.<sup>318</sup>
- Thomas Sternholde, groom of the Wardrobe of Robes. To be general receiver of lands in Yorkshire forfeited by the attainder of Adam abbot of Jervaulx, William prior of Bridlington, Thomas lord Darcy, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Robt. Constable, Sir Stephen Hamerton. Sir Francis Bygod and John Wyvell; vice James Nedeham, dec. Westm., 16 Dec. 36 Hen. VIII. Del Westm., 19 Jan.—P. S. Pat. p. 12, m. 19.<sup>319</sup>
- George Browne, of Calais, the King's servant, and Alice his wife. Grant, in fee. for 296l. 9s. 2d., of the Halifeld alias Halyfeld Peele, Yorks., with the water-mill and lands there, which Elizabeth Stanley, widow of Edw. Stanley and formerly wife of John Hamerton of Wyglesworth. Yorks., holds for life, and which came to the King by the attainder of Sir Stephen Hamerton. Also grant of the whole lordship and manor of Halyfelde alias Halyfeld Peele — Sir Stephen Hamerton, attainted. Del. Tychefeld, 6 Aug. 37 Hen. VIII.—S.B. (signed by Essex, Browne, North, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Ric. Southwell, Bacon and Duke). Pat. p. 9, m. 19.<sup>320</sup>
- Ralph Grinacres to Oliver Breres. Moiety of a chief messuage and lands in Bollonde, Yorks, in tenure of John Proctour,—Sir Stephen Hamerton. (24th.) P. 10, m. 39.<sup>321</sup>
- John Proctour vs. Sir Stephen Hammerton, knight, regarding forcible entry and tortious possession of lands, in Hammerton Manor (1536/7).<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> 'Henry VIII: May 1538, 26-31', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 13 Part 1, January-July 1538*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1892), pp. 393-416 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol13/no1/pp393-416> [accessed 10 April 2015].

<sup>317</sup> 'Henry VIII: November 1540, 26-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 16, 1540-1541*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1898), pp. 123-145 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol16/pp123-145> [accessed 8 April 2015].

<sup>318</sup> 'Henry VIII: June 1544, 26-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 19 Part 1, January-July 1544*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1903), pp. 475-510 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol19/no1/pp475-510> [accessed 8 April 2015].

<sup>319</sup> 'Henry VIII: January 1545, 26-31', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 20 Part 1, January-July 1545*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1905), pp. 38-59 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol20/no1/pp38-59> [accessed 8 April 2015].

<sup>320</sup> 'Henry VIII: August 1545, 26-31', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 20 Part 2, August-December 1545*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1907), pp. 95-121 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol20/no2/pp95-121> [accessed 6 April 2015].

<sup>321</sup> 'Henry VIII: November 1546, 21-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 2, September 1546-January 1547*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1910), pp. 203-248 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol21/no2/pp203-248> [accessed 10 April 2015].

<sup>322</sup> *Ducatus Lancastriae, Calendar to the Pleadings Etc, Vol. III* (House of Commons, 1834), p. 157.

- Ralph Greneacre of Salley, Yorks. Grant, in fee, for 732l. 18s. 4d., of the reversion and rent reserved on it Crown lease 21 May 30 Hen. VIII., to Leonard Warcoppe alias Carlell of the chief messuage and mill, etc., within the lordship and manor of Hamerton in Bowland, Yorks., which belonged to Sir Stephen Hamerton, attainted, for 21 years, at 13l. 16s. 8d. rent. Also grant of the lordship and manor of Hamerton in Bowland, and messuages (named) with lands (specified and extents given) in tenure of John Bond, Thos. Place, the relict of George Parker, Thos. Hatecale, George Holden, Grace Bayley. Thos. Marton, Robt. Parkynson, Agnes Hamerton, widow, (formerly of Richard Hamerton), Rog Stowe alias Stowte, Robt. Standen, the relict of Ric. Brown and Eliz. Steward (formerly of John Steward) in Hamerton, Bowland and Woodhouse, Yorks.—Sir Steph. Hamerton. No note of delivery.—S.B. (Signed by Paget, Petre, Sir Ric. Southwell, Sir Robt. Southwell, North, Chydley and Duke.) Pat. p. 14, m. 16.<sup>323</sup>

For the above, the original Roll is TNA C 66/781 m. 16 . TNA sent two membrane scans, each labelled '16'. The second scan had reference to Stephen Hamerton. Purchase from the King of the Manor of Hamerton etc for £732-18s.-4d. by Ralph Greneacre of Salley, co. York, gent. This entry begins roughly one third of the way down 'Scan 2'. Stephen Park occurs 31 lines up from the bottom of 'Scan 2'. The translation is by Chris Spencer:

- ... all the demesne or Manor of Hamerton in Bowland in our said County of York with its rights, members and appurtenances lately parcel of the lands, possessions and hereditaments of the said Stephen Hamerton Esquire and also all that our messuage and tenement called Brokethorn and one garden and 20a of pasture with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of John Bound or his assigns, and also all that our messuage, tenement and house called Brokehouse Grene and 16a of meadow and pasture with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of Thomas Place or his assigns, and also all that our house and garden called Steven Parke and 4a of arable land, 5a of meadow and 40a of our pasture and moss with the appurtenances and now or late in the tenure of the relict of George Parker or her assigns, and also all that our house and garden called Stanrays, 3a of arable land, 2a of meadow and 3a of our pasture with the appurtenances and now or late in the tenure of Thomas Hatecale or his assigns, and also that our messuage and tenement and garden called Regnyll otherwise Rayngill and 4a of arable land and 6a of pasture with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of George Holden or his assigns, and also the moiety of a messuage called Blackehouse and one garden and 2a of arable land, 4a of pasture and 4a of meadow with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of Grace Bayley widow and formerly in the tenure of William Bayley, and also all that other moiety of the same messuage called Blackehouse and one garden and 2a of arable land, 4a of pasture and 4a of meadow with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of Thomas Marton or his assigns, and all that our house and garden called Fynnes and 2a of arable land and 4a of meadow and 2a of pasture with the appurtenances now or late in

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<sup>323</sup> 'Henry VIII: April 1546, 26-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 1, January-August 1546*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1908), pp. 334-359 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol21/no1/pp334-359> [accessed 14 April 2015]. p. 354.

the tenure of Robert Perkynson or his assigns, and also all that our messuage, tenement, house and garden, 3a of arable land, 4a of meadow and 4a of pasture with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of Agnes Hamerton widow and formerly in the tenure of Richard Hamerton, and also that our messuage, tenement and house called Brighouse, 3a of arable land, 4a of meadow and 6a of pasture with the appurtenances, now or late in the tenure of Roger Stowte otherwise Stowte or his assigns, and also all that our messuage, tenement and house and 13a of arable, meadow and pasture land with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of Robert Standen or his assigns, and all that our messuage, tenement and house called Braken Hall and 8a of arable, meadow and pasture land with the appurtenances and now or late in the tenure of the relict of Richard Brown or her assigns, and also all that our messuage, tenement and house and garden and our 3a of meadow and pasture with the appurtenances now or late in the tenure of Elizabeth Steward and formerly in the tenure of John Stewarde or his assigns, which messuages, tenements, gardens, meadows, pastures and other premises are situate, lying and being in Hamerton, Bowlande and Woodhouse in the said county of York and a short time ago belonged to the said Stephen Hamerton and were part and parcel of the lands, possessions and hereditaments of the said Stephen Hamerton .... and also we give and grant for the consideration aforesaid all messuages, granges, mills, lands, tenements, tofts, cottages, houses, buildings, structures, curtilages, barns, orchards, gardens, meadows, pastures, rights of pasture, wastes, heaths, moors, marshes, commons, waters, fisheries, rights of fishing, woods, underwoods, rents, reversions, services for rent, rents from both free tenants and customary, [etc etc] in Hamerton, Bowlande and Woodhouse [entry runs on to the top of the next membrane which had not been scanned].

○ *Enclosure of Stephen Moor, 1591.*

The document declaring the allotments awarded in the enclosure of Stephen Moor (the common of Hammerton) was dated 15 May 1591, and is reproduced below, courtesy of Chris Spencer:<sup>324</sup>

An agreement made for the division of Stephen Moore by Robert Wood of Grindleton, Roger Barker of the same, Stephen Carr of Studforth Gill, Thomas Carr of Long Gill, John Peele of the Peele and William Withdale of Slaidburne, co. York, yeomen, being indifferently elected, appointed and chosen for the division of the same by general consent of L[or]ds [?] thereof, ordereth and awardeth by these presents as follows:

First we doome [decree] and award to Th: Coore of Grange for his messe & tenement called Standrowes 45a 3r 22f for his parte and proportion of the said Stephen Moore. It: we doome to Mr Oliver Bryers of Hamerton for Hamerton & Rainingill 84a 3r 4f and 12a to him and his heirs forever whereof 6a was exchanged with Jo: Bond for 6a of turbary lying within Jo: Bond's tenement as it is now staked

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<sup>324</sup> DDKW Box 1 Bundle A (bundle of deeds for Black House farm in the King-Wilkinson deeds) at the Lancashire Archives.

and meared out. It: we doome to Ri: Hancock gent for his part for Brighthouse and Brookhouse Greene 28a 3r 4f and 2a exchanged with Jo: Bond as Mr Bryers did. It: we doome to Mr Bryers aforesaid for Wholehouse 42a 1½r 2f and 3a in consideration of the highway fro[m] the Lanehead to St[ephe]n Moore Edge. It: we doome to Mr Regnold Hayb[e]r for Stephen P[ar]ke in possession of Ch: Briggs 42a 1½r 2f. It: we doome to Geo: Shuttleworth for Blackhouse 45½a 62f. It: we doome to Jo: Bond for Brockthorne 42a 3r 2f and 8a which he hath of Mr Bryers & Hancock for turbarry as afore. It: we doome to Mr Bryers for Hamerton, Raingill & Wholehouse and Mr Hancock for Brighthouse & Brookhouse Greene shall go from their ways the straight way to one yeate in Chr: Briggs p[ar]te and so straight to that parcel of moss which they have of Jo: Bond and if Chri: Briggs make any enclosure he leave a way of 24 foot breadth to the said mosse and also that the said Mr Bryers & Hancock & their tenants shall pass over one parcel of ground of Mr Shuttleworth to the said mosse and if Mr Sh: make any enclosure to leave a way of 24 foot in breadth and if Mr Shuttleworth & Chri: Briggs do not exchange their grounds talked of, that Chri: Briggs shall leave the way before mentioned over the grounds of Mr Shuttleworth to his parte of the meane mosse now known. It: we award touching the way to the mean moss that Mr Bri: & Hancock and their tenants shall come the aforesaid way to Bond mosse to the Hyewaye & so up the Highway to the corner of one new ditch made by Chri: Briggs & so forward unto the edge of an old ditch to an old oak stub so to the meane mosse. Provided that any that encloseth shall leave a way of 24 foot broad & further that Th: Coore and his tenants shall come to the said corner of the new ditch made by Chri: Briggs & so directly to the meane mosse & also that Geo: Shut: & his heirs in consideration of 1a of ground given to Jo: Bond & his heirs shall have liberty at all times to get lime stone in Jo: Bond Delfe so that he lead them away in reasonable time to the least hurt. It: we doome that Mr Shutl: have the herbage of the meane mosse and of 1a lying to it until the rest of the L[or]ds of St: Moore do enclose it from Geo: Shutl:

It: we award that the Lords of Hamerton Meare shall by their tenants or themselves inclose their portions before 15 April next & also that the said Lords of Hamerton Meare to try and measure their parts before Michaelmas next or else never hereafter. It: we award that Chri: Briggs shall set one yeate or heake in the way over his ground to Jo: Bond Mosse for the space of turftyme only to the uses of Mr Bryer and Mr Hancock & their tenants & that they pull to or stake it after them at all times they go thro the same & if any question or doubt hereafter to arise touching any matter herein mentioned, that the same be determined by the aforesaid arbitrators & the longest liver of them.

Provided always that every of the aforesaid Lords and tenants shall make half in half of every several inclosure betwixt him & his neighbour & every one to make the head & over end [?] of his own proportions of ground of St: Moore to them allotted by these presents. In witness whereof we the said arbitrators have put our hands and seals.

- 11 Nov 1547: The like [a licence] for 28s. to Ralph Greneagre of Salley, Yorks, gentleman, to grant the messuage called Stephyn Parke in Bolande, in tenure of the relict of George Parker;—to Thomas Heyver, and his heirs.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, Vol. I, 1547-1548*, 11 November 1547, p. 52.

- In the pedigree of the Hebers of Marton and Stainton, Reginald Heiber at his death in 1600 (November 14, 42 Eliz.) was seized of a number of lands and messuages including 'one messuage called Stephen Park, in Bolland'. His heir was his grandson Thomas, declared in his inquisition of 1601 (April 9 43 Eliz).<sup>326</sup>
- 14 July 1564, Grant to Charles Jackson of Fyrbecke of Yorkshire and William Mason of Nottinghamshire: 'Lands [named] in Clapham and Rawthmell (co. York) and to the North of Wigglesworthe Park next a place called Rayegarthe House [probably Ragged Hall, Rathmell], late of Stephen Hamerton, knight, attained.'<sup>327</sup>
- The will of Robert Parker of Stephen Park states that Richard Hamerton owed him 20s, to William Parkenson ,one stagge which is at John Bateson's, and to John Heyke 'one baye stagge'. The will of John Parker also of Stephen Park shows he was a tenant (a landlord is mentioned but not by name) and left to Giles his brother 'one felie stagge'.<sup>328</sup> Curiously, both wills were proved 15 July 1567. 'Stag' could be a 1-3 years old horse, unbroken stallion, in Yorkshire a castrated bull, a young cock etc.<sup>329</sup> The OED defines 'a young horse, esp. one unbroken' a definition applicable to the north and Scotland. A 'baye' animal does suggest a young horse. In agricultural terms 'felie' may derive from 'feil' used figuratively: smooth, soft, downy.<sup>330</sup>
- John Swingilhurst, Thos. Joly, Robt. Parker and John Batson. Lease, by advice of Southwell and Moyle, General Surveyors, of the lordship of Knollmere in Bowland, Yorks., tenements and lands specified therewith called Fowle Skales (tenants Robt. and Giles Parker), Yolstanes (John Batson), Brickhed (Jas. Lee), Matirhill (Thos. Burrowe), Penerhill of Knollstanes (Nic. Tumour), Knolhall (Marg. Rudd, widow), Mosethwaithowse (John Bond), Netherthornholme (Marg. Turnour, widow), Overholm (Giles Parker), Knothowse (John Langshaw), Whitehawhowse (relict of Patrick Rangnill), Orchinstrete (Chr. Rangnill), Molholes (relict of Ric. Parkynson) and Hindnilhowse (Thos. Parker), all which belonged to Sir Stephen Hamerton, attained; with reservation of the perquisites of the courts of the said lordship, a close of pasture called Asshenhurstay (30 ac.) leased, to Hen Banaster, and all woods, underwoods, wardships marriages, mines, quarries and other royalties; for 21 years from Michaelmas next, at rents (specified for the several tenements) amounting to 20l. 18s. Greenwich, 23 May 38 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 28 May.—P.S. Pat. p. 8, m. 38.<sup>331</sup>
- Th. Holcroft, esquire of the Royal Body. Grant in fee, for 650l. 5s. 4d., of the messuages, cottages, lands, &c., in Cadysewalhed, Magna Wolden, and Parva Wolden, Lanc., and the manor or lordship of Willaton, Chester; all which belonged to the late monastery of Whalley, Lanc., and came to the King by the attainder of John Paslowe, the late abbot; also the site of the manor of Wygglesworth, Yorks., and its demesne lands (named) in Wyglesworth, which

<sup>326</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, Vol. 1* (London/Cassell, Petter, Galpin, 1878, Third Edition, reprinted 1973 Skipton/ Rowley), fold-out between p. 92 and p. 93.

<sup>327</sup> Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, Vol. III, 1563-1566 (HMSO, 1960), p. 155.

<sup>328</sup> C. Spencer, *Slaidburn and Bowland Wills and Administration, Vol. 1* (Privately published, available at LCC Clitheroe library).

<sup>329</sup> J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary, Vol. 5* (Frowde/Oxford, 1905), pp. 716-8.

<sup>330</sup> J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary, Vol. 2* (Frowde/Oxford, 1900), p. 326.

<sup>331</sup> 'Henry VIII: May 1546, 26-31', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 1, January-August 1546*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1908), pp. 454-489 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol21/no1/pp454-489> [accessed 9 May 2015].

belonged to Sir Steph. Hamerton, lately attained. To hold by a rent of 41s. 3d. as a tenth of the said possessions of Whalley. *Del. Westm.*, 17 Api 31 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 5. m. 13.*<sup>332</sup>

- Sir Thos. Holcroft to Sir Ric. Shirburne. Site of the manor of Wigglesworthe, Yorks., and lands (specified) there which belonged to Sir Steph. Hamerton, attained. (15th.) *P. 2, m. 31.*<sup>333</sup>

Wigglesworth manor was an important acquisition for Shirburne; it brought in rents just less than those of the Stonyhurst estate. The Hall was kept in his own possession. The house, park and demesne were valued at £21/y, Stonyhurst at just over £36.<sup>334</sup>

- Nov 4, 1365, Westminster. Licence for the prior and convent of Gisburn to impark their wood called 'La Clyve', co. York, and 80 acres of land adjoining that wood.<sup>335</sup>

Potentially interesting of course, but this is probably not modern Gisburn (Forest), but Guisborough. There was an Augustinian priory in Guisborough, or 'Gisburne' as the place was named in the Middle Ages.<sup>336</sup>

The references below have not been examined:

- TNA E 315/304/1 – Accounts of Special Receiver of attained lands in co. York (1536-9).
- TNA E 315/286/2 – Accounts of bailiffs of all lands etc. of Sir Stephen Hamerton (1536-8).
- TNA E 315/288/3 – Accounts of bailiffs of all lands etc. of Sir Stephen Hamerton attained in co. York (1536-8).
- TNA SC6/HENVIII/4365 – Possessions of the late Sir Stephen Hamerton, knight, attained of high treason (1536-8), also 4357, 4358, 4360, 4361, 4362, 4364.
- TNA E 315/449/1 – Accounts Receiver of all attained lands in c. York (1538-9).
- TNA E 315/298/3 – Accounts of General Receiver of all attained lands in c. York including Sir Stephen and others (1543-5). TNA E 315/449/1 – Accounts Receiver of all attained lands in c. York (1538-9).
- TNA E 315/248/3 – Book of payments made by the Receiver General of attained lands in the Northern Parts – the land of Sir Stephen Hammerton.
- TNA E 3145/28part1/2 – Hamerton lands; Court of the General Surveyors. Receivers vouchers (1544-5)

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<sup>332</sup> 'Henry VIII: April 1540, 21-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 15, 1540*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1896), pp. 251-300 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol15/pp251-300> [accessed 9 May 2015].

<sup>333</sup> 'Henry VIII: November 1544, 26-30', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 19 Part 2, August-December 1544*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1905), pp. 396-421 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol19/no2/pp396-421> [accessed 23 May 2015].

<sup>334</sup> W.F. Rea, 'The Rental and Accounts of Sir Richard Shireburn, 1571-7', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 110, 1958, pp. 33-40.

<sup>335</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol. 13, 1364-1367*, 4 November. 1365, p. 117.

<sup>336</sup> 'Houses of Austin canons: Priory of Guisborough', in *A History of the County of York: Volume 3*, ed. William Page (London, 1974), pp. 208-213 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/vol3/pp208-213> [accessed 20 April 2015].

## Appendix 4

### British National Grid References of survey nodes

<b>Node Id.</b>	<b>BNG ref.</b>
SP1	SD74725643
SP2	SD74965632
SP3	SD75115609
SP4	SD74925590
SP5	SD74965562
SP6	SD74835567
SP7	SD74805570
SP8	SD74475566
SP9	SD74515583
SP10	SD74445599
SP11	SD74395588
SP12	SD74315592
SP13	SD74275589
SP14	SD74185566
SP15	SD74095579
SP16	SD74035595
SP17	SD74215600
SP18	SD74285609
SP19	SD74365614
SP20	SD74465627
SP21	SD74745625
SP22	SD74525636
SP23	SD74375642
SP24	SD74215617

Table 2: Eight-figure British National Grid References of the nodes shown in Figure 16.

## Appendix 5

### LIDAR mapping and review

One metre resolution Digital Terrain Model (DTM) LIDAR<sup>337</sup> was available for most of the survey area, but not for the south west corner containing part of Park Wood and nodes SP14-17 and SP24 (Figure 37 & Figure 38). The data was acquired from the Environment Agency Open Data website.<sup>338</sup>

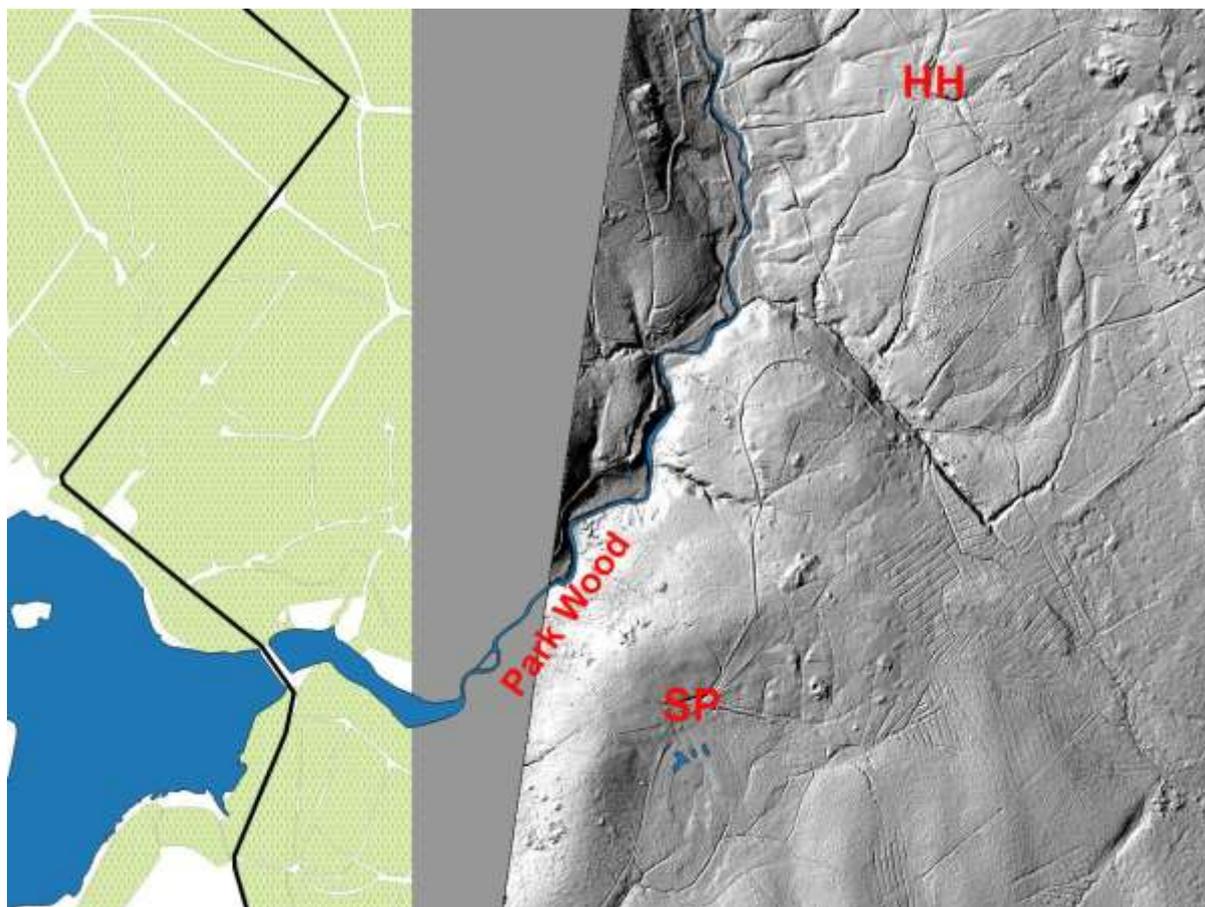


Figure 37: Coverage of 1 m DTM LIDAR data in the Stephen Park (SP) and Hesbert Hall (HH) areas. Bottoms Beck is shown flowing into Stocks reservoir near Park Wood. The black line (left) is Hole House/School Lane. © Environment Agency copyright and/or database right 2015. All rights reserved. This information is licensed under the terms of the Open Government Licence (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3>).

<sup>337</sup> DTM LIDAR shows returns from the ground and is able, subject to some limitations, to show features beneath woodland — 'bare-earth'.

<sup>338</sup> *Environment Agency Open Data Project* at 'Data.Gov.UK', <http://environment.data.gov.uk/ds/survey#/> (accessed 21 September 2015).

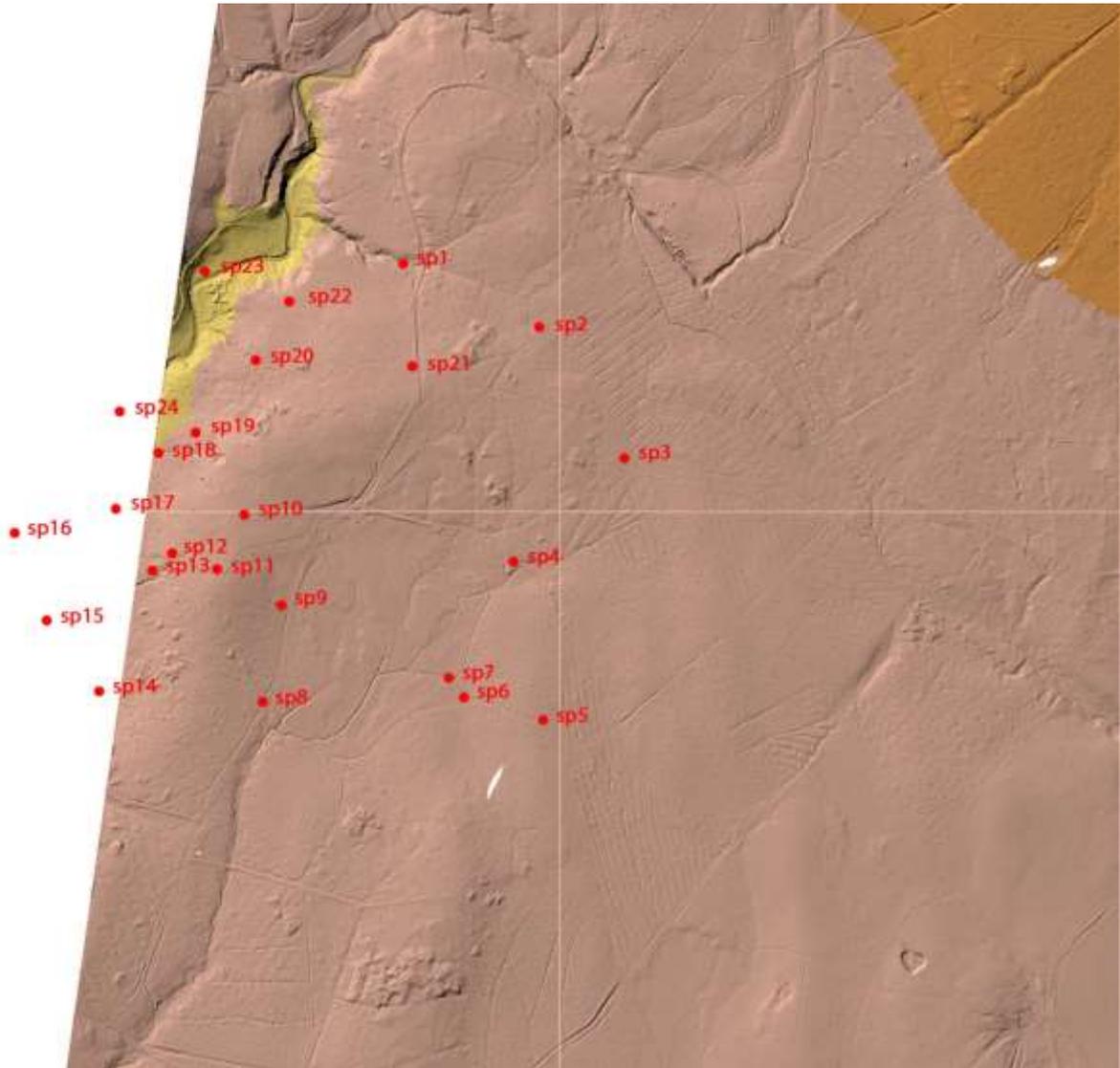


Figure 38: Boundary nodes marked on the available 1 m DTM LIDAR data for the survey area. © Environment Agency copyright and/or database right 2015. All rights reserved. This information is licensed under the terms of the Open Government Licence (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3>).

The review of the LIDAR focussed on linear and curvilinear features that may be boundary earthworks not evident on the 6-inches to 1-mile first-edition, and any features that could give insights into the former agricultural uses of the area, such as ridge and furrow ploughing. Although DTM modelling is generally able to present returns from the ground, dense forestry prevents the signal reaching the surface, and this is manifested as 'crystal' artefacts. This occurred for some plantations within the survey area and is evident in Figure 38 to the left on the midline, just above the lower border.

Twenty-two features were identified that required investigation in the field (Figure 39). Not all sites could be visited due to inaccessibility within dense conifer cover or hazardous ground conditions. The linear or curvilinear features visited turned out to be small streams, drainage ditches, water-worn cloughs and wide planting furrows within the forestry enclosures. Old delfs and pits were also noted. Feature #1 shows as a linear return to the east of Bottoms Beck and was considered

potentially noteworthy as a possible boundary to the park close to the river, but on inspection it was a narrow flat area following the course of the beck, and not a bank.

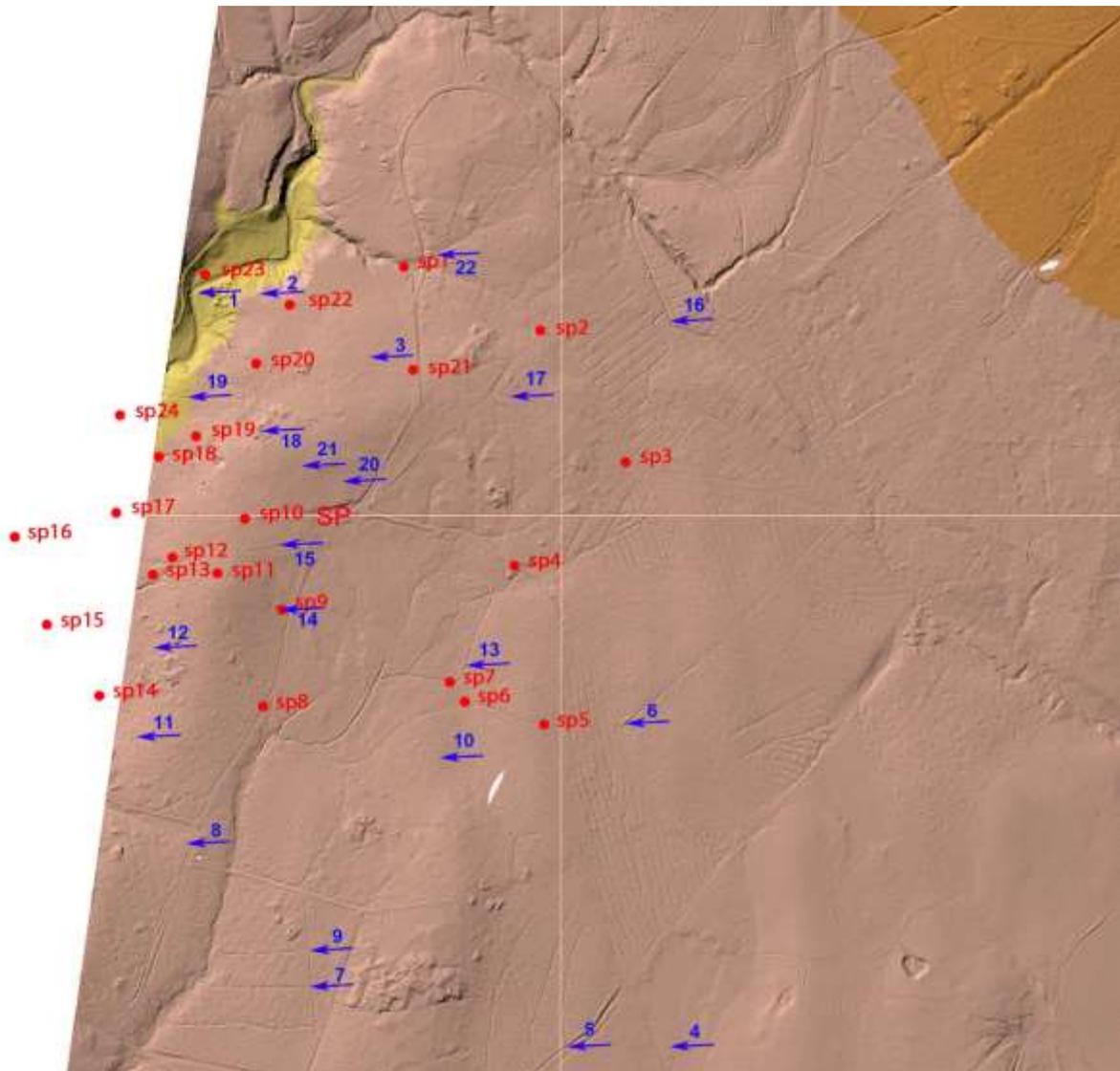


Figure 39: Numbered features (blue) on the 1 m DTM LIDAR requiring investigation.

In conclusion, none of the features noted on LIDAR and inspected contributed to an understanding of the purpose of the Stephen Park historical enclosures.

