HUNTING IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND: STATUS, SOCIABILITY, AND POLITICS

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Summary

This thesis explores the importance of hunting in early Stuart England: its use in the construction of gentry and noble status and identity, the sociability that resulted from participation in the sport, and the political significance of such sociable behaviour. The first chapter will suggest that hunting was a prominent way in which elite identity was displayed during this period, but also that the sport was subject to multiple tensions generated by social mobility, competition amongst the gentry for honour and status, the changing role of gentry and noble elites during this period, and the rise of puritanism. The second chapter further investigates how hunting was an exclusive pastime by examining what was needed to put on a hunt. An analysis of the different styles of hunting practised demonstrates that the sport was an extremely flexible form of elite sociability and one which reflected the changing nature of elite lifestyles.

The third and fourth chapters analyse the sport's political significance at the courts of James I and Charles I. In the Jacobean period there were multiple royal hunts, the political nature of each dependent on whom James was hunting with. In contrast, the Caroline royal hunt was nearly always a private endeavour, which reflected the distant and withdrawn nature of the Caroline court, although the sport remained an important act of courtiership. Both Queen Anne and Queen Henrietta Maria also had a significant role in royal hunting culture. The fifth chapter examines how politics amongst the gentry and nobility was affected by hunting. Again, the sport facilitated a variety of political and religious networks. It was used to build both friendships and patronage networks, and could be strategically used to exacerbate rivalries and disagreements. The sixth chapter discusses the extent to which women participated in the sport and could play a political role as a result of their participation. It then looks at why the clergy, and the episcopate in particular, no longer went hunting by the early Stuart period, with special reference to a disastrous event which happened in July 1621.

Abbreviations

Add.	Additional Manuscripts, British Library
BA	Bolton Abbey Manuscripts, Chatsworth House
BL	British Library
CSPD	Calendars of State Papers Domestic
CSPVen	Calendars of State Papers Venice
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HoP	The History of Parliament
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
SP	State Papers
STAC	Star Chamber
TNA	The National Archives

Conventions

Throughout the thesis, I have used the old style dating, but it is presumed the year begins on 1 January, rather than 25 March. The exception to this is the *Calendar of State Papers Venice*, which the editors kept in the new style calendar. When transcribing primary sources, I have kept the original spelling and punctuation, but expanded contractions (although some primary material from certain edited collections has been modernised by the editor). However, I have modernised, when appropriate, both *i* and *j* and *u* and *v*.

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Introduction

In *The History of the Rebellion*, Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, wrote that hunting was a sport in 'which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel'. His account of the Civil War and the preceding period is full of references to important figures who had a passion for the sport. Charles I 'was excessively affected to hunting and the sports of the field'. The Earl of Pembroke 'abhorred the war as obstinately as he loved hunting and hawking'. Moreover, during the reign of James I, the earl was a favourite of the king, through 'the comeliness of his person, his skill, and indefatigable industry in hunting', even though 'he pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well, which his master loved him the better for'. Clarendon wrote that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron Cottington, 'lived very nobly, … had a better stable of horses, better provision for sports, especially of hawks, in which he took great delight, and lived always with great splendour'. The second Earl of Salisbury 'was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking, in which he only knew how to behave himself'. Of John Hampden, the puritan opponent of the king and one of the Five Members whom Charles I attempted to arrest when he entered parliament on 4 January 1642, Clarendon said that 'in his entrance into the world he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercises and company which was used by men of the most jolly conversation', but 'afterwards he retired to a more reserved and melancholic society'. Meanwhile, on the Royalist side, the Catholic Earl of Carnarvon 'before the war … seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like'. Yet, after 1642, 'those infirmities and that license which he had formerly indulged to himself he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier'.[1]

Participants in the sport thus ranged from the noble magnate to the country gentleman, courtiers and kings, Royalists and Parliamentarians, and puritans and

[1] Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (7 vols., Oxford, 1888), iii. 178. For Clarendon's comments on Charles I, see i. 132; for Pembroke, i. 74 and 161; for Cottington, v. 156; for Salisbury, ii. 543; for Hampden, iii. 61-62; and for Carnarvon, iii. 178.

Catholics. Yet Clarendon's list omits others, such as women and even the odd bishop, who also hunted in this period. This thesis therefore seeks to present hunting as a vital part of early Stuart society, politics, and culture, a period of nearly four decades between the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in 1603 until the beginning of the English Civil War (or British Civil Wars) in August 1642.[2] It is the first comprehensive analysis of the sport not just for early Stuart England but for early modern England, and it takes a thematic approach to explore how hunting interacted with and connected to the issues of social status, sociability, politics, and gender.

Although hunting was such an important a pastime during this period, it has surprisingly been largely ignored by historians. It could well be because it was, and perhaps still is, an unfashionable topic to study. As the foreword to one of the more recent and only books on the sport has suggested, 'late-twentieth century historians … disapproved of hunting. They would note its popularity, especially with the aristocracy, and pass on, regretting the frivolity (or the cruelty), to other weightier and worthier manners'.[3] For instance, in Lawrence Stone's epic *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, hunting is simply dismissed as a pointless pastime of a decadent and declining nobility: 'the more stupid of their kind could obtain satisfaction in hunting, horse-racing, and gambling; the more sensual in drink and women; many of the more intelligent found an outlet in public service'.[4] This is taken to an extreme in D.H. Willson's highly influential and particularly negative biography of James I in 1956, in a chapter describing Jacobean court culture. 'There was much that was repulsive about [hunting]', Willson wrote, before decrying the king's 'vindictive fury in pursuing and slaughtering the game, his dabbling in its blood, his rage when it escaped, his low company and bad manners at the chase'. On the next page, however, Willson wrote that 'it is more pleasant to note that he patronized horse-racing, making it a royal sport at the beginning of its modern development; he built several

[2] When pertinent, examples from both shortly before and after these dates will also be used.
[3] T. Pollard, 'Foreword', in R. Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud, 2003), vii.
[4] In another passage, Stone approvingly cited the early sixteenth-century humanist Thomas Starkey, who complained that the 'first and most principal of all ill customs used in our country commonly … is that which toucheth the education of the nobility, whom we see customably brought up in hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, eating and drinking, and, in conclusion, in all vain pleasure, pastime, and vanity'. L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy: 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), 382, 674-675.

race-tracks, the most important at Newmarket, and introduced some Arab blood into England'.[5] This thesis does not seek to venture into arguments – that are as contentious today as they ever have been – about the morality of hunting. What is important to recognise, however, is that for much of recorded human history, hunting was a celebrated and much-practised recreation, and deserves to be studied without moral judgement as a central feature of past society.[6]

Hence, one reason to study hunting is that it is only its illegal manifestation, poaching, that has been systematically studied for early Stuart England. This is despite historians recognising the importance of legitimate hunting in early Stuart society. In their seminal study of the gentry of early modern England, Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have argued that 'the hunting party … was a strongly established feature of elite sociability'. Furthermore, they contend that that 'the obligations of status, sociability and reciprocity that [hunting] entailed, made it exceedingly difficult for a rural gentleman to eschew hunting'.[7] The two early Stuart kings have also been identified as 'two sporting monarchs',[8] but again there has been no sustained analysis of hunting's role at the early Stuart courts. But there is a greater reason to study the sport than simply filling a gap (albeit one very large and important) in the historiographies of the period. An analysis of hunting gives important and revealing insights into a far wider range of important historical debates. In the first chapter, hunting will be a prism through which to analyse the issue of social status and the construction, representation, and contestation of elite identities. In the second chapter, a discussion of what happened during the hunt reveals much about the changing nature of elite lifestyles in early modern England. In the third and fourth chapters, analysis of the early Stuart royal hunts is crucial to understanding the political culture under James I and Charles I and the workings of

[5] D.H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956), 181-182. It is important to note that Willson's unsympathetic and severely critical assessment of James has been widely challenged in more recent scholarship – as it is in chapter three of this thesis.
[6] For a long-view history of hunting dating back thousands of years to the present, and which takes an anthropological approach to its analysis, see M. Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature through History* (Cambridge, MA, 1993). For a more philosophical analysis, see J. Ortega y Gasset, *Meditations on Hunting* (New York, NY, 1972).
[7] F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (London, 1994), 289-292.
[8] E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven, CT, 2007), ch. 7.

the early Stuart courts, especially the politics of accessibility. An exploration of the hunting practices of the gentry and nobility in the fifth chapter aids analysis of gentry politics and the exercising, negotiation, and contestation of power in local communities. Finally, in the sixth chapter, the nature of female and clerical involvement in the hunt informs studies of gender, masculinist identities, and patriarchal authority in early modern England, as well as female involvement in politics and the changing views of the clergy during this period. Moreover, all chapters will, in some way, explore how visual and material culture can be written into more traditional, documentary histories, to further understand the lived experiences of those who went hunting. In this way, the thesis uses hunting merely as a lens to analyse these various important historical issues. But it is only possible to do so because hunting was such an important part of elite culture in not only the period covered here, but across medieval and early modern Europe.

The thesis also builds upon three further historiographies concerning hunting. These are niche studies of hunting, which examine how it was practised in the medieval period or its evolution over the past thousand years of English history; poaching in early modern England; and hunting at early modern courts across Europe. It is worth exploring these in more detail. John Cummins and, more recently, Richard Almond have sought to describe what happened during a medieval hunt. Cummins' *The Hound and the Hawk* appears inspired by the hunting manuals that are his primary material. Each of his chapters is focused on a different aspect of the medieval hunt: the quarry hunted and the symbolism of each animal, the animals used in hunting, their training and caring, the different styles of hunting, the music and clothes of the hunt, and, in the final chapter, how and why the peasantry went hunting.[9] A similar focus on medieval hunting manuals is the basis for Richard Almond's *Medieval Hunting*, although he does make more use of visual sources and some legal records. This more wide-ranging study seeks to integrate hunting within wider social and cultural histories of medieval Europe. Almond similarly takes a thematic approach to analyse the reasons why people went hunting, the elites and non-elites who went hunting, the animals hunted and how they were hunted, the organisation of royal

[9] J. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk. The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London, 1988).

hunting establishments, and female hunting practices (which Almond has further analysed in a more recent monograph). His overwhelming aim is to show that all levels of medieval society hunted: the king, the nobleman and his wife, and peasants.[10]

These studies of medieval hunting were not, of course, concerned with the early modern period. However, when historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have explored hunting, they have focused upon the transition from medieval styles of hunting (the pursuit of deer or use of hawks) towards more modern styles of hunting (whether that is fox hunting or game bird shooting). For example, Mandy de Belin has recently published an excellent local study of the transitioning hunting landscapes in early modern Northamptonshire. She argues that the shift away from hunting deer to hunting the fox during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not a response to changing land use or declining deer populations, but cultural preferences amongst elites who preferred the faster fox hunt to the slower deer hunt. However, a result of focusing upon longer-term trends means that de Belin glosses over the early Stuart period.[11] The early seventeenth century is likewise only briefly analysed in Jonah Stuart Brundage's sociological analysis of hunting and its changing styles, and the wider implications about the changing nature of elite political power and lifestyles during the early modern period.[12] Meanwhile, an excellent study on hawking and falconry in early modern England by Richard Grassby shows both the importance of hunting with birds of prey in early modern elite culture and its decline in popularity from the late seventeenth onwards because of technological changes.[13]

It would be remiss not to mention the most ambitious recent work on hunting, Emma Griffin's *Blood Sports*. Griffin covers a thousand years of history, and as such takes on

[10] Almond, *Medieval Hunting*. See also R. Almond, *Daughters of Artemis: The Huntress in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2009).
[11] M. de Belin, *From the Deer to the Fox: The Hunting Transition and the Landscape, 1600-1850* (Hatfield, 2013).
[12] J.S. Brundage, 'The pacification of elite lifestyles: state formation, elite reproduction, and the practice of hunting in early modern England', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59 (2017), 786-817. Brundage's argument is indebted to Norbert Elias' theory of a decline in violence in the early modern period. Brundage, however, sees this transition happen earlier than Elias, who dates it to the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In an important essay, Elias sees the shift to fox hunting as a notable transition reflecting this decline in violence. N. Elias, 'An essay on sport and violence', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford, 1986), 150-174. This is all discussed further in chapter two.
[13] R. Grassby, 'The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 157 (1997), 37-62.

a narrative structure rather than a thematic one, unlike other studies of the sport. Unsurprisingly, there is a broad-brush approach to each period covered. For the early modern period, Griffin focuses on the kings and queens who went hunting, puritan opposition to hunting as a precursor to modern anti-hunting sensibilities, and finally opposition to crown policies related to hunting as an example of the disagreements in early seventeenth-century England which eventually led to Civil War.[14] Alongside the sport's continual evolution, the other over-arching theme of the book is of conflict, that the right to hunt was constantly fought over, that social groups were frequently excluded, or that there was a growing opposition to blood sports. Indeed, it is this issue of social conflict that has been the principal method of engagement with the political nature of hunting by historians of early modern England.

Poaching has captured the attention of social and political historians of early modern England. This began with E.P. Thompson's famous *Whigs and Hunters*, which focuses upon eighteenth-century England and the Black Acts.[15] More recently, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been the subject of two excellent studies which clearly give the illegal side of hunting an important role within early modern political culture. In a highly readable and lively account of poaching in Tudor and Stuart England, Roger Manning uses Star Chamber records to analyse the many facets of this widespread practice. One of the main premises of Manning's study is that while, in the eighteenth century, it was the poor who went poaching, in this earlier period the gentry also engaged in the crime. Manning explains this was for a variety of reasons, but ultimately poaching is presented as part of a tradition of opposing royal tyranny and of growing social conflict in the build-up to the Civil War. Thus, there was an increase in gentry poaching in early Stuart England because the revival of the forest laws and the far stricter game laws disenfranchised many gentlemen. Another significant factor was the fact that poaching was the result of political and religious rivalries and tensions in local communities.[16]

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[14] E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven, CT, 2007), chs. 6 and 7.

[15] E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act* (London, 1975). See also P.B. Munsche, *Gentlemen and Poachers: The English Game Laws 1671-1831* (Cambridge, 1981).

[16] Other, more contextual reasons included the fact that, in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, poaching was not punishable by death, hunting was 'a symbolic substitute for war' in a time of relative peace, and it was a rite of passage for teenage gentleman. R.B. Manning, *Hunter and*

If Manning seeks to be wide-ranging in his study, Dan Beaver concentrates upon four micro-histories of poaching conflicts in the early seventeenth century – at Stowe Park in Buckinghamshire, Waltham Forest in Essex, Windsor Forest in Berkshire, and Corse Lawn Chase in Gloucestershire. He shows the complexity of reasons behind poaching and why it was so endemic during this period. Poaching was a mixture of both social and political conflict rooted in the particularities of the local communities where they happened: it was not just the crown that was targeted, but gentlemen also, and it was a mixture of gentlemen and commoners who did the poaching. Beaver argues that poaching increased during the 1630s because the fragile peace that existed in these hunting communities was breaking down, as the crown increasingly sought to extend their hunting rights and find innovative new ways to raise revenues instead of calling a parliament.[17] There are the subtle differences in emphasis in Manning and Beaver's work (the former stresses that poaching was a social conflict while the latter argues it was inherently political), but they agree on the fact that hunting was 'among the highest ritual expressions of royalty and nobility'.[18] Thus, the thesis adopts the same starting point as these works on poaching but approaches it from a different perspective, to examine the legitimate sociability and politics of hunting during the early Stuart period.

Both Manning and Beaver emphasise the love that James I and Charles I had for hunting.[19] But, beyond a few select quotes that illustrates the two king's love of hunting, there is little analysis of the sport's socio-political importance at the early Stuart courts.[20] The third strand of hunting-specific historiography concerns itself with this, for there has been a recent trend amongst historians of early modern Europe to analyse royal hunts as a crucial form of ceremony and courtly politics

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Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640 (Oxford, 1993). For earlier work on the game and forest laws, see C. Kirby and E. Kirby, 'The Stuart game prerogative', *The English Historical Review*, 46 (1931), 239-254; and G. Hammersley, 'The revival of the forest laws under Charles I', *History*, 45 (1960), 85-102.

[17] D.C Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the Civil War* (Cambridge, 2008). For another case study from this period, this time from Yorkshire, see A.J. Hopper, 'The Wortley Park poachers and the outbreak of the English Civil War', *Northern History*, 44 (2007), 93-114.

[18] The quote is from Beaver, *Hunting and Politics of Violence*, 2. For Manning's similar discussion of this, see Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 5-17.

[19] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 201-209; and Beaver, *Hunting and Politics of Violence*, 15.

[20] They focus instead on the links between hunting, the royal prerogative, and its role in fomenting conflict between the crown and the gentry.

facilitating state formation.[21] Thomas Allsen's seminal study, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, lays the groundwork for many of these studies. Covering a time period spanning from antiquity to the early twentieth-century, Allsen argues that the royal hunt was vital 'in interstate relations, military preparations, domestic administration, communications networks, and in the search for political legitimacy'. However, Europe exists on the 'periphery' of Allsen's more Asia-focused study. Moreover, Allsen tends to emphasise the homogenous nature of this royal hunting culture, rather than the spatial or temporal differences. The need for more specific studies which will 'challenge, modify, and improve upon [Allsen's] findings and portrayals' is something even Allsen himself admits.[22]

Over a decade before the publication of Allsen's study, Jeremy Kruse demonstrated how the hunting practices of Pope Leo X and his court, who travelled across the Roman countryside in huge processions, were a display of 'princely magnificence' and assertion of 'papal authority'.[23] More recently, Luc Duerloo has analysed the importance of hunting as 'a performance of dominion' in the Spanish Netherlands, as the Archdukes Albert and Isabella sought to re-establish Habsburg rule in the early seventeenth century.[24] Meanwhile, John Robert Christianson has revealed how the royal hunt of Frederick II was a significant instrument of economic growth in late sixteenth-century Denmark.[25] Studies are not just limited to continental Europe. In the same 'Royal Hunts Issue' of *The Court Historian* which Christianson's article appears in, Glenn Richardson has argued that hunting was an important arena in which the rivalry of Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France was played out. It was vital to each monarch's public portrayal and diplomatic and court politics. The two rivals competed on the hunting field where their masculinity, and thus personal image, was stake. The hunt also served as a political device, manipulated in both courts by both the monarch and competing factions, to determine access and

[21] For an early medieval example of such an analysis, see E.J. Goldberg, 'Louis the Pious and the hunt', *Speculum*, 88 (2013), 613-643.
[22] T.T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006), 8-14, 233-238, 265-273.
[23] J. Kruse, 'Hunting, magnificence and the court of Leo X', *Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1993), 243-257.
[24] L. Duerloo, 'The hunt in the performance of archducal rule: endurance and revival in the Habsburg Netherlands in the early seventeenth Century', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 116-154.
[25] J.R. Christianson, 'The hunt of King Frederik II of Denmark: structures and rituals', *The Court Historian*, 18 (2013), pp. 165-187.

favour.[26] Simon Adams has similarly revealed the importance of hunting at the Elizabethan court. Elizabeth I was a keen sportswoman who hunted every other day even in the year before her death, and the sport was important in the display of her queenship both to the country-at-large and to ambassadors who were invited to hunt with her. Hunting also provided the setting for intimate goings-on at court, as the Earl of Leicester, her rumoured lover and Master of the Horse, frequently joined the queen out in the field.[27]

The main point that can be taken from all three strands of hunting historiography is that despite attempts by historians to emphasise that people of all levels of society went hunting, it was overwhelmingly the sport of royalty, the nobility, and the gentry. For studies of hunting at early modern courts, this is self-evidential. Non-elites may have been involved, but they did so to serve their masters' sports. Historiographies on hunting itself likewise show hunting as the purview of elites and that all aspects of the sport were perceived in noble terms. Moreover, when non-elites did go hunting, it was often in opposition to attempts by elites to disenfranchise those below a certain status from hunting. Finally, what is most notable about the works on poaching in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England is that it was a crime committed just as much by the gentry as it was by the so-called lower sorts. As Marcelle Thiébaux argued over fifty years ago, hunting 'had an ennobling effect upon its practitioners'.[28] While this thesis focuses on a very small proportion of people at the very top of early Stuart English society, it is important to do so because hunting was imagined as the sport *par excellence* of this elite group of the gentry, nobility, and royalty. Moreover, it was this group who both used the sport in the construction and display of their social status and who mostly engaged in its sociable behaviour.

The thesis will also show that the politics of early Stuart England was of an inherently social nature. In her seminal study of elite women in the political world of late eighteenth-century England, Elaine Chalus argued that the politics of this period is

[26] G. Richardson, 'Hunting at the courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *The Court Historian, 18 (2013), 127-141. For another discussion of the sporting practices of Henry VIII, see J. Williams, 'Hunting and the royal image of Henry VIII', Sport in History, 25 (2005), 41-59.*
[27] S. Adams, "The Queenes Majestie … is now become a great huntress': Elizabeth I and the chase', *The Court Historian*, 18 (2013), 143-164.
[28] M. Thiébaux, 'The mediaeval chase', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), 260-274, at 260.

not just the study of governmental institutions, but 'is in fact a very messy, nebulous business, where outcomes can be shaped by such intangible elements as personality, appearance, and influence, and by the creations and manipulation of belief and atmosphere'.[29] This was perhaps even more true of the early seventeenth century, when parliament as a political forum had not yet developed into its later form as the centre of political goings-on and debate, where the court and the personality of the monarch was crucial in the practise of high politics, and where administrative bureaucracies in the localities were still under-developed and reliant on the personal connections of those elites who spent their time hunting. In this political world where, as Keith Wrightson has shown, face-to-face contact was vital in the exercising of power,[30] social acts such as hunting were often politicised. Thus, the idea of sociability is crucial. Susan Whyman has argued in her pathbreaking study of this concept that 'sociability was a fundamental element of power in a society based upon personal connections'.[31] This conceptualisation of social relations as inherently political is the framework for much of the subsequent analysis contained in this thesis. In multiple political spaces, as we shall see, hunting was a way of networking crucial to how politics was exercised, negotiated, and contested.

Chapter one will show how hunting was fundamental in the construction of social status in early Stuart England, a period of considerable social mobility and competition amongst the gentry. It will show how, although there was a widespread belief that hunting was an elite sport, there were some nuances and contradictions within the idea that it was representative of gentility and nobility. It will combine an analysis of the game laws, perceptions of hunting in contemporary printed literature, the sport's historical origins and changing emphases of the sport's benefits, its visual culture, the politicisation of the landscapes and animals of hunting, and the effect of religion upon participation. The second chapter, which acts as a social and material history of the hunt, will continue to explore the exclusive nature of hunting through

[29] E. Chalus, 'Elite women, social politics, and the political world of late eighteenth-century England', *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 669-697, at 674.
[30] K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (2nd ed., London, 2003), 69-72.
[31] S. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999), 4. For another important discussion of sociability in early modern England, see P. Withington, 'Company and sociability in early modern England', *Social History*, 32 (2007), 291-307.

an evaluation of the hunting establishments of the gentry and nobility and where and when they hunted. Through analysing what then happened in the different types of hunting, it will show that the sport was a very flexible form of sociability. Moreover, the increased emphasis on the pleasures that the sport provided is indicative of the changing nature of elite lifestyles during this period.

Chapters three and four will analyse the significance of hunting at the early Stuart courts. While historians have traditionally had a London-centric focus on the royal courts, these chapters will instead look beyond the royal palaces (and especially Whitehall) as crucial spaces in the practise of early Stuart courtly culture and court politics.[32] The third chapter will show how there were multiple royal hunts during the reign of James I, each one with their own political significance, whether in the realm of diplomatic politics, the king's relationship with his gentry and nobility in the provinces, or in the dynamics of Jacobean court politics – in particular the rise of the favourites in the second half of the reign. The fourth chapter will show how Charles I was far more singular in his use of hunting, although like his father, he continued to travel long distances to indulge in his passion. While the Caroline royal hunt was indicative of a distant and out-of-touch monarch and court, hunting remained an important way that the Caroline nobility and court factions interacted with the king. Both chapters will also show the sport's importance in the iconographies of the two queen consorts and their relationships with their respective husbands.

The final two chapters complicate and further develop our understandings of patriarchal authority in early modern England, how it was exercised and negotiated, and its relationship to manhood and masculinity.[33] The fifth chapter will argue that

[32] On this historiography, see especially R.M. Smuts, 'The court and London as a cultural environment', in *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, PA, 1987), 54-72; L.L. Peck, 'The mental world of the Jacobean court: an introduction', in L.L. Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), 1-20, at 3; S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven, 1993); and J. Adamson, 'The kingdom of England and Great Britain: The Tudor and Stuart courts 1509-1714', in J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Studies under the Ancién Regime 1500-1750* (London, 1999), 95-117.

[33] This builds upon Anthony Fletcher's discussion of hunting as part of 'the working of patriarchy' in early modern England. A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT., 1995), 131-135.

hunting was an important form of social politics amongst those wielding patriarchal authority in the early Stuart localities, the gentry and nobility. The sport was used to facilitate various political relationships, from patronage networks to friendships amongst the rulers of county communities. But if one aspect of such politicised sociability was one of inclusion, the other aspect was one of exclusion. Thus, hunting also played a significant role in the factional and religious politics of this period, while the hunting party was periodically suspected of acting as a vehicle for covert politicking by the authorities. Finally, the sixth chapter will analyse two other groups not yet studied and who relationship to hunting was ambiguous: elite women and the clergy. While many elite women went hunting, their involvement was heavily controlled by those wielding patriarchal authority. Nevertheless, participation allowed women to play an often significant political role in early Stuart society. Meanwhile, the early Stuart episcopate rarely hunted, in contrast to their medieval forebears. Here, the Elizabethan period appears to be an important transitional period. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, was involved in a hunting accident in July 1621, the reasons for the clergy abstaining from the sport was discussed. Non-participation derived mainly from canon law and resulted in an alternative manhood for churchmen vis-à-vis the gentry and nobility.

It is finally worth considering the large variety of primary sources that will be used. Documentary sources, especially letters, are the principal evidence base: between people at court talking about James and Charles' hunting practices or newsletters from court observers; between gentlemen boasting of their sporting exploits; and others between both men and women organising hunts or thanking each other for opportunities to hunt together. Another important source are accounts: records of people visiting each other with hounds and hawks in company; the purchase of animals; records of deer killed in parks and forests and by whom; and the payment of keepers for facilitating a visiting gentleman's sports. The final manuscript source are court records, principally those of the Star Chamber. If Manning has used these vis-à-vis poaching, less frequently the incidental details of the depositions bring to light fascinating insights about hunting sociability. Printed contemporary literature like hunting manuals, conduct books, biographies, histories, hagiographies, and other

miscellaneous published sources give a rich insight into early Stuart hunting culture. However, because this thesis is interested in not just how hunting was used in the representation and construction of social status but also its practise and the social and political consequences of each individual act of hunting, there will be less of an emphasis on this printed literature in comparison to archival material.

The methodological process behind choosing these sources for the chapters on the royal courts is to use those same collections universally used by historians of James and Charles, but to concentrate on all those references to royal hunting which have hitherto been overlooked. In both chapters, the *State Papers Domestic* and *Venice* and the other commentaries of court life from the dozens of letter-books of courtiers and those on the peripheries of the court are crucial. In the chapter on James, the rich Salisbury manuscripts at Hatfield House and the detailed remarks about court life by John Chamberlain are valuable. The hundreds of letters sent to the ambassador, Viscount Scudamore, from his network of contacts in and around the Caroline court are likewise indispensable for studying Charles. Meanwhile, to gain an insight into how hunting was constructed as part of social status in chapter one, how it was practised in chapter two, how the gentry and nobility used hunting in their political networking in chapter five, and female and clergy participation in chapter six, as wide a source base as possible has been used to paint as accurate a picture as possible. Edited collections of letters and accounts, most published either by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Camden Society, and various county history societies have been particularly useful. All these enable a very broad geographical focus on hunting networks across early Stuart England and Wales. Likewise, sources which have been long well-known to historians of early modern Catholicism shine a light on the importance of hunting for this persecuted minority. Alongside these printed collections of archival source material, incidental details emerge from letters in the *State Papers Domestic* and the depositions of Star Chamber cases. Beyond the National Archives, the archives of the earls of Cumberland at Chatsworth House, the earls of Salisbury at Hatfield House and in the Lansdowne Collection at the British Library, the Earl of Shrewsbury at Lambeth Palace Library, the Earl of Middlesex at the Kent History and Library Centre, and Sir Gervase Clifton at the Nottingham

University Archive are all rich in detail and help piece together hunting networks and the multiple political uses of the sport in the everyday lives of early Stuart elites. There will, of course, undoubtedly be other rich collections in county archives; it would simply be impossible to document and effectively analyse all of this in the time and space permitted for the researching and writing of a PhD.

Finally, the thesis also seeks to embrace other historical sources, especially visual and material culture. While art historians have analysed the significance and meanings of the more famous medieval and renaissance artwork which depict hunting scenes individually,[34] incorporating them into a more holistic social, political, and cultural history further reveals the sport's vitality in the lifestyles of elites during this period and its importance as a performance of status. They also occasionally provide an interesting snapshot into how hunting was practised, an analysis which borrows inspiration from a far more recent area of study, material culture. Analysing extant objects of the hunt and buildings designed for the sport's practise gives an alternative and fresh insight into the lived experiences of those who went hunting during this period and, as objects of conspicuous consumption, their use in displaying wealth and power.[35] However, one source which will be used only occasionally are plays and poems. Scholars of English literature have already excellently analysed the recurring theme of hunting within these works from the Tudor and Stuart periods, and the meanings, motifs, and symbolisms behind the literary use of the sport.[36] There is simply not enough space to analyse these sources with the care and attention they deserve. We thus begin by exploring the social and cultural world which these writers both took inspiration from and helped inform, in an examination of the importance of hunting in the construction and performance of social status in early Stuart England.

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[34] See, for instance, G.W. Digby and W. Hefford, *The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* (London 1971); S. Koslow, 'Law and order in Rubens's wolf and fox hunt', *Art Bulletin*, 78 (1996), 680–706; J.M.W. Robbins, 'The Habsburgs and hunting: creating an image of Philip IV', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 17 (1991), 103-128.

[35] For a valuable introduction for this new historical field, see C. Richardson, T. Hamling, and D. Gaimster (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2017).

[36] See especially C. Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt* (Oxford, 2013); E. Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge, 2001); and B.T. Boehrer, 'Heywood and the spectacle of the hunt', in *Environmental Degradation in Jacobean Drama* (Cambridge, 2013), 142-165.

Chapter 1

Hunting and social status

In *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, first published in 1575 and reprinted in 1611, George Gascoigne described hunting as 'A sport for Noble peeres, a sport for gentle bloods'. Indeed, the book was written for a specifically elite audience, for it was 'translated and collected for the pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen'.[1] Gascoigne was not alone amongst writers on hunting to imagine the sport in such terms. Sir Thomas Cockaine's *Short Treatise of Hunting* was 'Compyled for the delight of Noble men and Gentlemen'.[2] Meanwhile, the 1595 edition of a late medieval hunting and hawking treatise, *The Boke of Saint Albans*, was prefaced with the statement that hunting was 'so necessar[y] and behovefull to the accomplishment of the Gentlemen of this flourishing Ile, and others which take delight in either of these noble sports'.[3]

Hunting manuals published in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period clearly emphasised the importance of social status in their celebration of the sport. This has been recognised in important social histories of early modern England,[4] and further developed in the work by Manning and Beaver on poaching.[5] This chapter, which combines legal sources, contemporary printed literature, archival evidence, and visual culture, further demonstrates the ways in which hunting was understood to be a fundamental part of gentility and nobility in early Stuart England. It will show that while there was overwhelming consensus that hunting signified elite status, there were significant disagreements in this process. Moreover, as the early seventeenth century was a period of considerable social mobility and of rivalries between elites,

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[1] George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1575), B1, B5.
[2] Sir Thomas Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591).
[3] Dame Juliana Berners, *The Gentlemans Academie. Or, The booke of S. Albans* (1595), Aiii.
[4] See especially F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), 289-293; A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT., 1995), 131-135; and K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (2nd ed., London, 2003), 49.
[5] R.B. Manning, *Hunter and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford, 1993), ch. 1; and D.C. Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the English Civil War* (Cambridge 2008), ch. 1.

hunting was a very competitive and increasingly lavish display and performance of gentry and noble identity.

Using the game laws as a framework, the chapter begins by outlining the social structure of early seventeenth-century England. The Jacobean game laws were a response to the increased levels of social mobility in English society. As such, they aimed to provide the upper gentry and nobility with a monopoly over hunting – even if it was at the expense of the lesser gentry, who were told in conduct manuals that all the gentry had the right to hunt. The analysis next turns to how hunting was constructed as a display of social status within a context of widespread social competition amongst gentlemen. The gentry and nobility intensely defended their right to hunt according to the game laws and they acquired exclusive rights to hunt on their land, which were accordingly challenged by gentlemen otherwise banned from hunting because of such franchises. Moreover, both the hunting landscape and the animals of hunting were popular forms of interior decoration. These animals – deer, hawks, and hounds – were similarly appropriated by those seeking to emphasise one's own status or targeted, often violently, when wanting to challenge the status of others. Venison also became a significant form of political currency. The chapter ends with a discussion of the intellectual frameworks which both justified and critiqued hunting during this period. Traditional justifications of the sport as a form of martial training competed against new ideas that sought to reimagine hunting as benefitting the new political roles of the gentry and nobility, who were now an administrative rather than military elite. The only widespread critiques of hunting came from puritans, but this was focused upon their Sabbatarianism, and even they did not deny that the sport was a crucial display of gentility and nobility in early Stuart England.

The game laws and social status

In the first English parliament held by a Stuart king of England, three new game laws became statute. The first and most important of these was passed in the 1604 session. It was introduced because the game of the kingdom that James VI of Scotland had just succeeded to was 'more excessivelie and outragiouslie spoiled and destroyed then hath bene in former ages, especiallie by the vulgar sorte of men of small worthe,

making a Trade and a Livinge of the spoylinge and destroying of the saide Games'.[6] Various Tudor game laws had put multiple restrictions on how one should go hunting in order to crack down on poaching and made punishments for breaking the game laws increasingly harsh. But the wealth qualification to hunt remained at the level of the first game law of 1389, possession of 40s. of land. Thus, due to inflation, only servants, artificers, and landless persons were unable to hunt by the late sixteenth century.[7] To remedy this situation where 'the vulgar sorte of men of small worthe' below gentry status could hunt with impunity, the new 1604 game law required free-holders to possess an income of £40 per annum to kill game and those with life estates required an income of £80 per annum; otherwise, one needed £400 of personal property. But alongside this economic determination of who could legitimately hunt, the game law also instructed those of a particular social status that they could do so regardless of their wealth. All the nobility, knights, and their sons could hunt. Below the order of knights were esquires: while they could also hunt regardless of their wealth, this privilege was only accorded to their heir and not their younger sons. The rest of the gentry had to meet the wealth qualification to hunt.[8] This, it will be shown, was a significant area of contestation between the law and conduct literature, which stated all gentlemen should and could hunt. But it is first worth examining the social structure of early Stuart England and the issue of social mobility to explore why the Jacobean game laws were so contentious.

The first determinant of whether one could hunt, honorific status, has been overlooked by historians of hunting and the game laws.[9] There was a growing class of titled people in early Stuart England, a result of the so-called 'inflation of honours'. James I created over a thousand knights in his first two years as king, increasing the knighted class by nearly threefold; 3,281 people were knighted by 1641, almost fourfold the 878 knights Elizabeth I created in her longer reign. The introduction of the baronetcy in 1611 to raise royal revenues meant that there were also 364 baronets (a

[6] 1 Jac. I, c. 27, *The Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols., London, 1810), iv. 1055-1056.
[7] One restriction included making it illegal to hunt at night. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 60-65.
[8] For the two following game laws which supplemented the 1604 law, 3. Jac. I, c. 13 and 7 Jac. I, c. 11, see *Statutes of the Realm*, iv. 1088-1089 and 1167-1168.
[9] See its absence in Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 58-60; and C. Kirby and E. Kirby, 'The Stuart game prerogative', *The English Historical Review*, 46 (1931), 239-254, at 241.

hereditary knighthood) by 1641. Likewise, immediately prior to the Civil War, there were 121 English peers, more than doubling the size of the nobility at Elizabeth's death.[10] Although some commentators worried that knighthoods and peerages were now devalued due to their widespread sale and the corruption linked to this, Richard Cust has shown that such titles remained attractive and prestigious.[11] The privilege a knight or nobleman and their male offspring had to hunt, irrespective of their wealth, was one benefit which came from their title.

Of more significance, however, was the line of demarcation now falling within the status of the gentry, because the right to hunt was also determined by wealth – a concept distinct from, but often overlapping with, social status. Roger Manning has shown that many of the lesser gentry were no longer able to legitimately hunt due to the Jacobean game laws, making the sport, in a legal sense, the preserve of the upper gentry and nobility.[12] Thus, the 1604 game law 'radically redrew the lines of exclusion in English hunting culture'.[13] In 1600, Thomas Wilson estimated that there were around 500 knights in England, and another 16,000 esquires and gentlemen.[14] While Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes and others have argued that such national estimates are certainly inflated, they contend that these approximations show that there was a significant increase in the number of families claiming gentle status during the sixteenth century. Significantly, this vastly outweighed overall population growth, even if the gentry and nobility still only made up two percent of the population.[15] Hence, if there was a vast increase in the number of people claiming gentle status, the 1604 game law was the reaction of the crown and the upper gentry – who made up the majority of MPs legislating new laws in the Commons – to these socio-

[10] Of course, many of those knighted may have also purchased a baronet or acquired a noble title. L. Stone, 'The inflation of honours 1558-1641', *Past & Present*, 14 (1958), 45-70, figs. at 67, 70.
[11] R. Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge, 2013), 22-41.
[12] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 60. See also J. Morrill, 'The northern gentry and the Great Rebellion', in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, (Oxford, 2013), 191-213, at 193.
[13] This quote refers to the 1389 game law but is equally pertinent for the 1604 law. W.P. Marvin, 'Slaughter and romance: hunting reserves in late medieval England', in B. Hanawalt and D. Wallace (eds.), *Medieval Crime and Social Control* (Minneapolis, 1999), 224-252, at 225.
[14] 'The state of England anno dom. 1600 by Thomas Wilson', in F.J. Fisher (ed.), *Camden Miscellany* (London, 1936), 23-24.
[15] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 11-12. See also D. Cressy, 'Describing the social order of Elizabethan and early Stuart England', *Literature and History*, 3 (1976), 29-44, at 35; and Wrightson, *English Society*, 32-35.

economic changes. Indeed, Alexandra Shepard has recently argued that from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, values of £40 and above of landed income had 'connotations of gentility'.[16] Increasing the wealth qualification to this value helped to re-establish hunting as the preserve of the traditional rural elite, to the exclusion of not just the lower sorts but a growing group of people whose status was unstable and hard to define. If those at the top of this excluded group would have styled themselves as 'gent.', to others they were part of what historians now call the 'middling sort'.[17]

John Morrill has similarly noted that the lesser gentry generally owned less than £40 per annum of freehold land.[18] Due to the economic pressures of the sixteenth century, many parish-based, lesser gentry simply did not own significant amounts of freehold land.[19] Although it is notoriously hard to make definitive statements about the wealth of the gentry, county studies of Lancashire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire suggest that, in 1642, approximately fifty percent of gentry families may have been disqualified from hunting.[20] Of course, this is not to say that the lesser gentry did not hunt. Manning's seminal work on poaching has shown that they made up a disproportionate number of poachers prosecuted in the early Stuart period.[21] The journal of the Lancashire esquire, Nicholas Assheton, which is perhaps our best insight into early Stuart hunting culture, likewise shows that many lesser gentlemen were constantly hunting.[22] Many of the yeomanry also saw hunting as an enjoyable

[16] A. Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015), 107-109.
[17] See especially D. French, 'The search for the 'middle sort of people' in England, 1600-1800', *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 277-293, at 278; and C. Muldrew, 'Class and credit: social identity, wealth and the life course in early modern England', in H. French and J. Barry (eds.), *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800* (London, 2004), 147-177, at 150-152.
[18] Morrill, 'The northern gentry', 196.
[19] J. Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 1984), ch. 7, cited in Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 60.
[20] G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660* (Manchester, 1978), 12; A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), 31; and J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), 29, 263. Less clear is Kent, but again a sizeable amount appears to have been disenfranchised from hunting. A. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660* (Leicester, 1973), 41.
[21] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 68.
[22] The editor of the journal references when a gentleman is either a knight or an esquire; most gentlemen that Assheton hunted with were neither. F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham* (Manchester, 1848), 16-17, 19-21, 26-27, 29, 32, 36-37, 54-55, 57, 60-61, 63, 65-67, 69, 73-74, 80, 96-99.

pastime: in 1618, Robert Reyce noted that hare coursing was 'the cheife sport of the yeomanry'.[23] The anger at the 1604 game law stemmed from the fact that this banned the lesser gentry from hunting legitimately, an activity which many had previously engaged in entirely legally and which they saw as part of their way of life. The game laws did not stop poorer gentlemen from partaking in the sport; it just redrew the lines between legitimate and illegitimate hunting.

Wealth was undoubtedly vital in the construction of gentry identity. Keith Wrightson has argued that 'gentility was based on landed wealth, a wealth conspicuously displayed in the superior houses, diet and clothing of gentlemen, in the leisure which they enjoyed'.[24] But to define gentility solely by wealth is misleading, because so many people with disparate incomes were claiming such status. In their excellent study of this social group, Heal and Holmes have shown that lineage, education, and office-holding were also crucial in establishing and performing gentry status. As a result, gentility was an inherently flexible concept, and so Heal and Holmes can only rather vaguely conclude that 'the gentry were that body of men and women whose gentility was acknowledged by others'.[25] Morrill has also highlighted contemporary beliefs that the gentry and nobility were imbued with a 'quality' – of either gentility or nobility respectively. This 'quality' enabled a gentleman 'whose wealth and leisure freed him from material preoccupations for the task of equipping himself to govern the *polis*, the state'. Wealth alone did not determine gentry status; rather, it enabled a gentleman to act according to his status. Thus, Morrill concludes, while 'seventeenth-century Englishmen may have had difficulty in articulating what made a gentleman … they knew one if they saw one'.[26]

Hence, alongside measurable concepts of lineage, wealth, education, and office-holding, gentility involved what Sir Thomas Smith called an 'outward shew'. Writing in the 1560s, Smith believed that the gentry were those 'who can live idly and without

[23] *Suffolk in the Seventeenth Century: The Breviary of Suffolk, by Robert Reyce, 1618*, ed. F. Hervey (London, 1902), 35.
[24] Wrightson, *English Society*, 31-35. See also K. Wrightson, 'Estates, degrees, and sorts: changing perceptions of society in Tudor and Stuart England', in P. Corfield (ed.), *Language, History and Class* (Oxford, 1991), 30-52.
[25] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 6-19.
[26] Morrill, 'The northern gentry', 196-198.

manuall labour, and will beare the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman'.[27] This remained true in the early Stuart period: for example, in 1638 a plaintiff in the High Court of Chivalry lost his gentle status because he personally engaged in husbandry.[28] Although Morrill sees the leisure time of the gentry as a responsibility for them to exercise their parochial authority, it also allowed them, if they so wished, to 'live idly'. Hunting, already with its legal designation as a sport reserved for an economic and social elite, consequently became the principal recreation for what Thorstein Veblen over a century ago called 'the leisure class'.[29] Indeed, Heal and Holmes specifically identify an engagement in the sport as a way in which someone claiming gentry status was expected to behave.[30] As Viscount Conway evocatively put it, 'when we doe not hunt we hawke … for what is a gentleman but his pleasure'.[31] Hunting was as much a distinguisher of social status as the houses that the gentry and nobility lived in, the estates they governed, the political offices they held, the clothes they wore, the coaches they travelled in, and the food they ate. It was, George Gascoigne wrote, the 'exercise that best becomes, their worthy noble name'.[32]

Sayings such as Conway's, or those littered across contemporary hunting treatises, which equated the sport with gentility and nobility, were extremely common in the prescriptive literature of early modern England. During the first half of the sixteenth century, this was a thing to be mocked by early humanists, who thought that such a preoccupation with hunting distracted gentlemen from their proper calling within the body politic.[33] The early Tudor diplomat, Richard Pace, joked that 'it behoves the sons of gentlemen to blow horn calls correctly, to hunt skilfully, to train a hawk well and carry it elegantly', as if that was all that was expected of them.[34] Half a century later, Humfrey Braham wrote that 'there is a saying among hunters that he cannot be

[27] Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England*, ed. F.W. Maitland (London, 1906), 40-41.
[28] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 7.
[29] T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London, 1915), 40-41.
[30] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 17.
[31] Conway to George Garrard, 26 Feb. 1638, *HMC Portland*, iii. 52.
[32] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), B5.
[33] See J.P. Cooper, 'Ideas of gentility in early modern England', in *Land, Men and Beliefs: Studies in Early-Modern History* (London, 1983), 43-77, at 56, 70-71.
[34] Richard Pace, 1517, cited in M. Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature through History* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 85-86.

a gentlemen which loveth not hawking and hunting'.[35] But these only show how hunting had been widely appropriated by the Tudor gentry. Thus, by the early seventeenth century, no instruction manual was complete without a celebration of the qualities that field sports imbued in elites. In his book aimed at the nobility, James Cleland wrote that 'If a young childe loveth not an Hawke and a Dogge while he sitteth upon his nurses lap, it is a token, saie they, he degenerates'.[36] In Richard Brathwate's popular book for the gentry, hunting and hawking were described as 'pleasures very free and generous, and such as the noblest dispositions have naturally affected'.[37] Conversely, in a book on how to counteract melancholy, re-published five times in the two decades before the Civil Wars, Robert Burton said that if people below the rank of gentry hunted, they would 'hunt & persecute beasts so long, till in the end they themselves Degenerate into beasts'.[38]

Yet if hunting was imagined as a privilege only those of a certain status could appreciate and use appropriately in both printed literature and the law, the strict 1604 game law meant that there were contradictions between the two. When Sir Francis Bacon proclaimed in Star Chamber that maintaining the exclusivity of hunting helped 'to keep a difference between the gentry and the common sort',[39] he appeared to echo the cultural idioms so prevalent in discourses on gentility, rather than elucidating the complexities of the game laws which stopped the lesser gentry from hunting. Likewise, at the 1625 Cheshire quarter sessions, the JP, Sir Richard Grosvenor, contended that poachers 'are enemies to the sports and pleasures of gentlemen to whom the law allows such recreations as are not held fit for persones of a meaner condition'. For Grosvenor, those below gentle status should both abstain from hunting and actively protect the game they were banned from hunting, to show deference and 'respect to the gentlemen of your countrey'.[40] Even James I told parliament during debates on the game laws that 'I doe not denie that Gentlemen

[35] Humfrey Braham, *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (1568), ff. 45-45v.
[36] James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1607), 134.
[37] Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (1630), 198. It was republished twice more before the Civil Wars.
[38] Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 157.
[39] J. Spedding et al. (eds.), *The Works of Francis Bacon* (14 vols., London, 1857-1874), v. 88.
[40] Recorded speech by Grosvenor, Jan. 1625, in R. Cust (ed.), *The Papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor, 1st Bart. (1585-1645)* (Oxford, 1996), 15, 25.

should have their sport … But first I doe not thinke such Game and pleasures should be free to base people'.[41] If the game laws were increasingly restrictive in whom it permitted to hunt, it would inevitably be problematic when those wanting or enforcing the law continued to repeat conduct literature and describe hunting as an activity for all gentlemen. Consequently, the symbols of the hunt, the landscapes and the animals used, were very competitive forms of display in early Stuart England.

Hunting and the landscape

'When all is said and done', Lawrence Stone argued, 'the foundation of aristocratic wealth, power, and honour rested on the land'.[42] P.B. Munsche has further stated that, in early modern England, 'landownership was the basis of social organisation; status, privileges and personal relationships were all determined by the amount of land owned and by the length of tenure'.[43] It was therefore a significant display of status and power if one held enough land to hunt according to the game laws. They 'ought to take their recreations of hunting, hawking', Henry Peacham wrote in his widely-read conduct manual, *The compleat gentleman*, before significantly adding that this should be done 'freely, without control in all places' – an idea summarised by the eighteenth-century jurist, Sir William Blackstone, who wrote that 'the game laws have raised a little Nimrod in every manor'.[44] Hence, gentlemen intensely protected their right to hunt and sought exclusive hunting franchises to stop other gentlemen hunting on their lands. These exclusive rights to hunt were frequently contested by other gentlemen banned from hunting. Gentlemen and noblemen also created parks around prodigy houses as symbols of their status and incorporated the hunting landscape into the interior decoration of their houses, by commissioning wall paintings which made varying claims about their gentility.

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[41] James I, Mar. 1609, cited in P.S. Lloyd, *Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640: Eating to Impress* (London, 2015), 105.
[42] L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), 273. See also F.M.L. Thompson, 'The social distribution of landed property in England since the sixteenth century', *The Economic History Review*, 19 (1966), 505-517. For a case study in how this affected the power and local standing of one gentry family, see J. Broad, *Transforming English Rural Society: The Verneys and the Claydons, 1600-1820* (Cambridge, 2004), pt. I.
[43] P.B. Munsche, *Gentlemen and Poachers: The English Game Laws 1671-1831* (Cambridge, 1981), 18.
[44] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), 14, 182. It was republished in 1627, 1634, and 1661. Sir William Blackstone, 1765-1770, cited in Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 57.

The actions of individual gentlemen in establishing and defending their right to hunt were a result of their belief that the sport symbolised the social standing and power which significant landholding provided them. When the Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, purchased a manor in Northamptonshire in 1640, he sent a coach pulled by six horses to Northampton, to pick up his son John and take him to the new estate. John the younger was joined by a local gentleman, a broker in the purchase, to help 'both in your hawking and in the better survey of Duston'. Sir John further told his son 'to speak with every tenant, that they may take notice of us as the lords of the manor from whom they may expect friendship and good usage, which we both intend towards them'.[45] Going off hawking was therefore a public declaration of ownership of the land which Coke had just purchased. Moreover, this was a right to be intensely defended. In an entirely separate case, a few years before Coke's purchase, the Hertfordshire gentleman, John Jennings, was assaulted by John Wethered, 'a fellow of very meane condicon'. Jennings had just been hunting hares on his father's land with other gentry, and Wethered, who at that moment was farming some common land in the Jennings manor, threatened him with further violence if he ever did so again. Jennings subsequently prosecuted Wethered in the Court of Chivalry, because he had challenged a crucial way in which Jennings displayed his social status to both his gentry friends and those below him in the local community.[46] This was the principal court in which issues such as status were adjudicated, and so Jennings hoped that, by doing so, he would re-establish his dominant standing both vis-à-vis Wethered and within local society as a whole.

Indeed, these hunting privileges were so important to the gentry and nobility that their defence of them could even lead to disputes with the crown. In early modern England, the game laws, part of English common law, existed concurrently with an entirely separate legal jurisdiction, forest law. This aimed to protect the game in afforested areas. Forests, existing 'for his princely delight and pleasure', were royal institutions and the original hunting grounds of the Norman kings. However, before the early seventeenth century, forests had been subject to a long period of decline

[45] Coke to Coke, 2 Jan. 1640, *HMC Cowper*, ii. 248.
[46] 'Jennyns v Wethered', in R. Cust and A.J. Hopper (eds.), *The Court of Chivalry 1634-1640* (London, 2006), 142.

and neglect.[47] In forests, the right to hunt derived from the monarch, and the emphasis that James I and Charles I placed on the royal prerogative led to a renewed effort to enforce forest law.[48] The Stuart regime consequently came into conflict with gentlemen known as the purlieu men, who owned the prerequisite amount of land to hunt according to common law in disafforested areas (land which had been previously part of forests but, in previous centuries, had been sold off by the crown to raise revenues). The revival of forest law under the two early Stuart kings challenged the purlieu men's right to hunt, which had been exercised with little interference during the sixteenth century. Roger Manning has shown that the conflicts which often ensued frequently turned violent, as gentlemen passionately sought to protect their long established hunting rights and sporting traditions.[49]

Such mentalities also meant that many gentlemen were not happy with relying solely upon the game laws to hunt. Many sought exclusive rights or franchises to hunt on their land, as the game laws otherwise permitted anyone who met the social or wealth qualification to hunt to do so wherever they wished. The most basic were grants of free warren, which made the holders the exclusive huntsman and protector of game on the lands stated on the warrant – this was, in theory, for whenever the king visited, but the reality was that gentlemen wanted them for their own pleasure. These grants were both much sought after but also very expensive: Charles I granted at least a dozen such privileges, bringing in revenues from anywhere between £200 and £500 per grant.[50] The largest and most extravagant was the ownership of a chase: large, unenclosed hunting grounds that resembled forests. The second Earl of Salisbury owned Cranborne Chase in Wiltshire, and his attempts to prosecute any other person, including other noblemen, for hunting there meant that Clarendon wrote of him that 'no man [was] so great a tyrant in his own country, or was less swayed by any motives of justice and honour'.[51] Finally, there were franchises to impark private property. These were enclosed spaces, and the physical addition of a pale surrounding

[47] John Manwood, *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forrest* (London, 1598), f. 1.
[48] G. Hammersley, 'The revival of the forest laws under Charles I', *History*, 45 (1960), 85-102.
[49] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, ch. 4, especially 107-108.
[50] Kirby and Kirby, 'Stuart game prerogative', 246-247.
[51] Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (7 vols., Oxford, 1888), ii. 543. See also Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 101-107.

it made them a topographical display of the owner's social and political power – 'landscapes of lordship', as Stephen Mileson has called them.[52] This was even more the case by the early seventeenth century: in 1600 there were only around 800 parks in England and Wales, less than half that had existed during the heyday of park-making, between 1250 and 1350.[53] Rarity only added to their power and allure.

Lawrence Stone's remarks about prodigy houses, that 'their sole justification was to demonstrate status', helped 'satisfy a lust for power, a thirst for admiration, an ambition to outstrip all rivals, and a wish to create a home suitable for the residence of a nobleman', remain equally true about why elites owned parks.[54] While there was some economic benefit to parks, whether as a place to graze animals or a source of timber, they signified status because the owner was rich and powerful enough to set aside large tracts of land principally for his pleasure. This was only enhanced by economic changes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which significantly reduced park numbers. Joan Thirsk has shown that in Hertfordshire, a need for timber and a demand to turn more land into arable farming to meet demographic pressures made many gentlemen dispark their pleasure grounds – a pattern also noted in Sussex by Manning and contemporarily in Cornwall and Suffolk.[55] Shakespeare captured the feelings which these changes meant for many gentlemen in *Richard II*, when Henry Bolingbroke berated his enemies for disparking his parks, 'leaving me no sign … To show the world I am a gentleman'.[56] Some early modern gentlemen thus rejected this conspicuous display of gentility, and only the richest or most status-conscious were willing to impark land. For instance, Viscount Lisle was warned by his steward that extravagantly enlarging his park at Penshurst would cause serious financial trouble, as he could neither afford the costs of the imparkment programme nor the loss of rents that would incur. Furthermore, Lisle was told that there was very little benefit to be gained from enlargement, as 'you have

[52] The term was originally used by Robert Liddiard to describe Norman castles and their role following the Conquest. S. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), 82-84.
[53] Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, 4; and S. Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private & Public* (London, 1991), 5.
[54] Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 551.
[55] See J. Thirsk, 'The farming regions in England', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume IV 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), 49-52; Manning, *Hunters and* Poachers, 126-127; R. Carew, *Carew's Survey of Cornwall* (London, 1811), 75-76; and *Breviary of Suffolk*, ed. Hervey, 35-36.
[56] William Shakespeare, *Richard II* (1597), Act III, Scene I.

alreadye a very fair and sportelyke a park as any is in this parte of England … enough to mayntaine 400 deere, which will afford hunting sufficient for your honorable friends'.[57] The steward successfully opposed Lisle's plans, although the viscount was still able to maintain the political and social capital which came from park ownership.

As a late seventeenth-century agriculturist observed, parks ultimately served to 'make or preserve a grandeur, and cause them to be respected by their poorer neighbours'.[58] But it could also make them despised, for other members of the local community frequently suffered from the setting aside of large tracts of land for purely pleasurable reasons. For instance, during the 1630s, the imparking programmes of Sir John Cutts of Cambridgeshire and Sir Erasmus de la Fontaine of Leicestershire involved depopulating whole parishes, for which they were later fined £500.[59] Meanwhile, in case studies of poaching conflicts in Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire during the same decade, Dan Beaver has shown that the monopolisation of hunting rights led to violent opposition by other gentlemen who subsequently could not hunt. The imparking of Stowe by Sir Peter Temple led to conflict with his lesser gentry neighbours, the Dayrells. The latter's ancient rights to hunt were consequently curtailed, and with this their ability to display their status in the local community that they were a leading member of. In Gloucestershire, the unpopular absentee landlord, the Earl of Middlesex, tried and failed to crush a poaching campaign led by local gentlemen disenfranchised from the hunting community centred upon Corse Lawn Chase. Indeed, when Middlesex enquired about possibly selling the chase in 1637, he found that the most likely buyers were also the most active poachers. Hunting grounds were therefore one of the 'great symbols of masculine gentility', Beaver has argued, and the disenfranchisement of lesser gentry highlighted the sport's 'competitive nature as a scarce commodity among noble lineages'.[60] Exclusive ownership was inherently politicised because not every gentleman had access to what was self-perceived as axiomatic to their status.

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[57] Thomas Golding to Lisle, 6 May 1611, *HMC De L'Isle*, iv. 266.
[58] John Houghton, 1694, cited in K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1983), 202.
[59] See J.T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven, 1999), 52.
[60] Beaver, *Hunting and Politics of Violence*, ch. 2 and 5, quote at 33.

There were also aesthetic reasons for deer parks. Susan Lasdun has shown that there was a conscious effort to place prodigy houses within a parkland landscape in Elizabethan and Stuart England.[61] It was 'a beautiful sight to see [deer] grazing in herds of fifty at spots about these parks', thought the Venetian ambassador.[62] Such aims were evident at Melford Hall in Suffolk. In May 1612, Thomas Savage was given royal permission to impark 340 acres surrounding the hall, three decades after one of his ancestors had disparked an older park which was a considerable distance away from the house. Consequently, from the gallery at the top of the house, 'one may see much of the game when they are a hunting' in 'the park, which for a chearfull rising ground, for groves and browsings for the deer, for rivulets of water may compare with any for its bignes in the whole land'.[63] Even if the possibility of imparking land around the manor house was not possible, or if owners disparked their lands for economic reasons, poorer gentlemen often kept small areas of lands near to their residence reserved for deer, both for their viewing pleasure and the claims to status that came with owning even a small park.[64]

An Arcadian appreciation of the hunting landscape meant that hunting scenes were a fashionable form of decoration in gentry and noble houses. Murals were also personalised, and so they concurrently reinforced the status of the patron if they were of the upper gentry or nobility or, for the lesser gentry, asserted a more unstable claim of gentility. At Madingley Hall, just outside of Cambridge, are a series of hunting scenes: a boar and bear hunt and a horsed gentleman hawking. They were painted on the walls of the attic room of a turret, which was most likely a banqueting room used to entertain the most important guests – perhaps after a day's sport – with a luxury sweet course of sugared wine and treats.[65] Dating from the early seventeenth century,

[61] Lasdun, *English Park*, 22.
[62] 29 Jun. 1618, *CSPVen 1617-1619*, xv. 250.
[63] License to impark, 6 May 1612, and James Howell to Daniel Caldwell, 20 Mar. 1621, in L. Boothman and R. Hyde Parker (eds.), *Savage Fortune: An Aristocratic Family in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2006), 31-34.
[64] In 1618, for instance, Robert Reyce wrote that in Suffolk, 'parkes growing here very few (though some doe inclose small grounds for their own use) the course of the world being that when things are scarcest then are they most desired'. *Breviary of Suffolk*, ed. Hervey, 37.
[65] Banqueting rooms were often separate from the house, out in the gardens or park, or, like at Madingley, high up in the house, where one could enjoy the pastoral surroundings. P. Henderson, *Architecture and Landscape in the Tudor House and Garden: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 2005), 155-164.

the hunting scenes were commissioned by either Sir William Hynde, a keen huntsman, or his brother, Sir Edward. The Hyndes were a leading Cambridgeshire family – Sir William was a JP and sheriff in 1601/2.[66] These paintings were therefore both for pleasure and a display of status to those entertained by the Hyndes, especially because, in the background of the bear hunt scene, one can see, beyond the park wall, Madingley Hall (fig. 1.1).

A remarkably similar set of hunting scenes survive at Old Hall, South Burlingham. But, in contrast to the wall paintings at Madingley Hall, these appear to have been commissioned partly out of the worries of the patron's claims to gentility. Old Hall was a small manor house just east of Norwich, owned by the lawyer, Robert Younger, who died in 1609. Younger commissioned four hunting scenes on the walls of the long gallery of the house. They are now very damaged, but they have been dated from the late sixteenth century and they depict a boar hunt, a bull hunt, and two stag hunts.

Fig. 1.1 A bear hunt, with Madingley Hall apparent in the background.

[66] The paintings have been analysed and dated by the architectural historian, Francis Woodman. See his comments in 'Cambridge University's 'rarely-seen' 17th century murals on show', *BBC News* (14 Sep. 2018). www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-45497314. For further information on Madingley and Sir William Hynde, see *HoP: 1558-1603*, s.n., 'Hynde, William (c.1558-1606), of Madingley, Cambs.'; and 'Madingley: manors and other estates', in A.P.M. Wright and C.P. Lewis (eds.), *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 9, Chesterton, Northstowe, and Papworth Hundreds* (London, 1989), 166-171.

Like at Madingley, above the boar hunt is a building which appears to idealise what Younger hoped Old Hall could be, a small prodigy house designed in the classic Tudor/Stuart 'E' formation (fig. 1.2). But, unlike Madingley Hall, the real-life Old Hall was not situated within parklands. Younger, below the rank of esquire (he was styled gent. in legal documents), met neither the automatic qualification to hunt according to social status nor, it appears from the little surviving evidence, the wealth qualification to do so.[67] If Younger was rich enough to hunt, he would have lived in a bigger house than Old Hall – indeed, the creation of a long gallery was itself a rather grandiose statement for the modest size of the house.[68] The wall paintings thereby

Fig. 1.2 Old Hall, South Burlingham, is in the top right. The face of a huntsman can be seen directly below. about to kill a boar at bay. Another huntsman looks on.

[67] See the arbitration award in a dispute between Edward Slinn and Robert Younger, 3 Oct. 1601, in A. Hassell Smith et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey: 1596-1602* (6 vols., Norwich, 1978-2017), iv. 209.

[68] Significantly, a local yeoman also claimed ownership of the house and took Younger to court over it, and, in the later seventeenth century, when Old Hall passed out of the Younger family and was owned by a local esquire, the steward of the new owners lived in Old Hall. P. Scupham and M. Steward, *Old Hall, South Burlingham* (Fife, 2013), 11-17.

show, as Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson have argued more generally of the artwork commissioned in many middling houses of this period, an 'outward-looking imperative to construct and display character and thereby enhance social reputation'.[69] In imagining and decorating Old Hall as a place more befitting that of the upper gentry, Younger struggled with his own, weaker claims to gentility, through displaying to guests his own understandings of the qualities expected of him as a gentleman.

Deer, hawks, and hounds

The animals involved in hunting were similarly constructed in the minds of early modern Englishmen as embodiments of their owner's status.[70] This intimate relationship between man and nature meant that the animals of the hunt were prominent in various forms of visual culture during this period. Furthermore, ownership of them was intensely protected, while they were often targeted by gentlemen in the continuous competition for status and standing in local communities. First to be considered are the animals that were hunted, especially deer and the subsequent gifting of venison, before turning to the animals that did the hunting – hawks and hounds.

As the evidence at Madingley and South Burlingham attests, the quarry was afforded a prominent position in the decoration of gentry and noble houses. In the bedchamber and hall of Hardwick New Hall in Derbyshire, the Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury, Bess of Hardwick, hung the medieval Devonshire hunting tapestries, each one depicting a boar and bear hunt, an otter and swan hunt, a deer hunt, and a falconry scene. In the High Great Chamber there was also a plaster frieze which included a bear and deer hunt.[71] These scenes would have entertained guests and symbolised the leading position of Bess and her family in Derbyshire society. Further

[69] T. Hamling and C. Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (New Haven, CT, 2017), 198.
[70] For a wider discussion of this process, see Thomas, *Natural World*, 100-120; and E. Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke, 2000), 1-10. For how this worked in representations of hunting, see M. de Belin, 'English icons: the deer and the horse', in K. Baker, R. Carden, and R. Madgwick (eds.), *Deer and People* (Oxford, 2014), 248-256.
[71] A. Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625* (London, 1997), 270-273.

south, after a fire at Wilton House in 1647, the Earl of Pembroke commissioned hunting and hawking scenes (including an elephant hunt) to be painted on the walls and ceiling of the passage room in the state apartment. These would have entertained some of the most important parliamentarians who came out to Wiltshire to socialise with one of the most prominent noblemen who supported the parliamentary cause. Indeed, the passage room was the entry point to the state apartment from the park, and so the interior decoration was simply a continuation of the hunting entertainments Pembroke (who loved the sport) provided at Wilton. Moreover, Emily Burns has recently noted that these paintings and others that the earl hung in the state apartment were in keeping with previous court fashions and chivalric traditions. They thus highlighted Pembroke's ancient lineage and superior standing ever since James I succeeded to the English throne, over four decades previously. Burns also intriguingly posits that the exotic nature of these scenes was in keeping with the earl's fascination with distant lands, for he was a prominent sponsor of colonial enterprises.[72]

At St Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which had the dual role of both a country house and a military garrison, a plaster frieze of exotic hunting scenes encircles the great hall. They depicted, clockwise from the entrance, a bull, boar, bear, stag ostrich, fox, big cat, hare, and rabbit hunt (fig. 1.3). Karen La Borde's study of the frieze has determined that it was commissioned at some point between 1600 and 1645, when St Michael's Mount was initially owned by the Earls of Salisbury and leased to first Arthur Harris and then his younger son, Thomas, and then owned outright by the local gentleman, Francis Basset. Arthur and Thomas were professional soldiers, reliant on the patronage of a distant nobleman for their local standing, while Basset was an esquire with more legitimate claims of gentility and who was known in the local community for his love of hawking. For whoever commissioned the frieze, it proclaimed their importance in Cornish society; this assertion was jocularly made,

[72] E. Burns, *Painting, Patronage and Collecting in England during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, c.1640-1660* (University of Nottingham PhD thesis, 2018), 98, 106-115. I would like to thank Emily Burns for giving me permission to use her thesis. See also J. Heward, 'The restoration of the south front of Wilton House: the development of the house reconsidered', *Architectural History*, 35 (1992), 78-117; and M. Gailinou, 'Painting the chase: the hunting room at Wilton House, Wiltshire: the seat of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke', *Country Life*, 207 (2013), 62-65.

because St Michael's Mount was an island residence with no direct access to hunting grounds.[73]

Exotic animals that were never hunted in early modern England are frequently apparent in such decoration, an indication of their principal aim to entertain. These paintings also harked back to when hunting was very dangerous. Scholars of early modern English literature have shown that there were tensions over the perceived masculinity of hunting in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England. This was because the sport now revolved around the deer, a less threatening animal that was not as dangerous as the boars and wolves that were still hunted on the continent or

Fig. 1.3 The hunting frieze encircling the great hall of St Michael's Mount, Cornwall.

[73] K.M. La Borde, *'Hunting for Hidden Meaning': An Analysis of the History, Interpretation and Presentation of Seventeenth-Century Plasterwork at St Michael's Mount, Cornwall* (University of Birmingham MPhil Thesis, 2011), 12-17, 20-22, 39, 75-78, 87.

in medieval England.[74] Thus, the prominence of boars and other dangerous quarry in these hunting scenes sought to display the traditional masculine qualities (which will be discussed below) of those who commissioned the paintings or plaster friezes. But it is important to recognise that all this artwork did not hide away from giving the deer a prominent position in them. Indeed, there can be a tendency to anachronistically denigrate the deer too much, for the animal remained, in the words of a mid-seventeenth-century anonymous poet, 'the stateliest beast the forest yields, excelling all brutes belonging to the fields, the royalist game for king and lords, this noble sort of deer a park adorns'.[75]

In Renaissance iconography, animals were imbued with various symbolisms, a continuation of animal allegories in medieval art.[76] Beliefs about deer, and the stag (a fully grown male red deer) especially, bolstered perceptions that they were noble creatures and representative of those who hunted and owned them. Although some of these were more well-known than others, the stag was known to variously represent Christ;[77] the hunting of it was often an allegory of sexual love;[78] the collaring of the animal could depict dynastic legitimacy (and was something practised by the early Stuart royal family);[79] and, if it had a white coat, was symbolic of divine kingship. The ownership of white stags was particularly prized in early Stuart England and they were not to be hunted.[80] Deer blood was also believed to hold mystical healing powers due to what the Earl of Shrewsbury called its 'rare & great vertu', and James I was known to bathe in it in the hope that it would cure his gout.[81] Deer were consequently

[74] For an excellent discussion of this, but which perhaps overstates the feminisation of hunting in early modern England, see M.M. Stones, *Blood Sports: Violence and the Performance of Masculinity in Early Modern Drama* (Boston University, MA, PhD thesis, 2015), ch. 3. Stones' thesis builds upon E. Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge, 2001), especially ch. 2.
[75] Anon., c.1660, cited in Beaver, *Hunting and Politics of Violence*, 20. Gascoigne is particularly keen to emphasise the dangerousness of the stag. Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 124-127.
[76] See S. Cohen, 'Review essay: animal imagery in Renaissance art', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 67 (2014), 164-180, at 164-166.
[77] S. Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden, 1998), 142-145.
[78] J. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London, 1988), 81.
[79] M. Bath, *The Image of the Stag: Iconographic Themes in Western Art* (Baden-Baden, 1992), 44, 47.
[80] Both James I and his Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, had a white stag in their parks. See John Chamberlain's letters to Sir Dudley Carleton, 20 and 27 Nov. 1611, in N.M. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939), i. 315-317; and Baron Zouche to Cecil, 9 Jul. 1604, Cecil Papers 105/159.
[81] Shrewsbury to Burghley, 23 Jan. 1590, BL Lansdowne 75, f. 173; and to Sir Dudley Carleton, 26 Jun. 1619, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 249.

accorded a prominent position in the heraldry of many early modern armigerous families like the Cavendishs of Hardwick, or the coat of arms created in 1616 for Sir John Roper when he was raised to the peerage as Baron Teynham.[82] Likewise, stag antlers were often displayed in the homes of wealthy gentlemen – Sir Thomas Hoby did so at Hackness in Yorkshire, despite otherwise abstaining from the sport.[83]

A result of this cultural world was that poachers often committed brutal rituals of highly disrespectful violence against deer, in which they sought to challenge and mock the status and authority of the owner.[84] Another by-product was that venison was illegal to sell commercially. In his late sixteenth-century ethnography of England, William Harrison contended that anyone found selling venison were not 'men of honor' and would 'degenerate from true nobility and take themselves to husbandry'. He recounted a story of an old lady who frequently sold her venison at the local market, something which caused 'infinite scoffs and mocks, even of the poorest peasants of the country'.[85] Such mentalities meant that Sir Arthur Ingram preferred to give away over 200 deer to the Earl of Carnarvon, because although 'I love money as other men do, but if I should take money … for deer, I should shew myself a most unworthy man'.[86] Ingram, one of the most successful merchants of the period who rose into the ranks of the upper gentry,[87] understood that to treat the benefits of hunting commercially was a dereliction of the rights, responsibilities, and honour of those with the privilege to hunt.

As venison could only legally travel down the social scale with the permission of noble and gentle elites, Felicity Heal argues that it was the 'only … form of food gift approximated to being culturally determined'.[88] Letters and account books are littered with venison gifting: requests for the meat were imbued with deference and

[82] The two stags which support the coat of arms of the Cavendish family are a constant presence at Hardwick Hall, built by Bess in the last decade of the sixteenth century – for instance, they are on the rooftop above the main entrance and are carved into fireplaces in the hall.
[83] TNA STAC 5/H22/21, ff. 8-9; and Hoby to the Privy Council, 5 Sep. 1600, Cecil Papers 88/17.
[84] Beaver, *Hunting and Politics of Violence*, especially 19-21, 130-132.
[85] William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life*, ed. G. Edelen (New York, 1994), 255.
[86] Ingram to Carnarvon, 12 July 1636, *HMC Various*, viii. 48.
[87] On his background, see A.F. Upton, *Sir Arthur Ingram, c.1565-1642: A Study of the Origins of an English Landed Family* (Oxford, 1962).
[88] F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), 40-42.

thanks for it were highly reverential.[89] In 1607, Rowland Whyte sent gratitude to the Earl of Shrewsbury 'for the three red deer pies that I have had in my poor cottage', and he went on to tell the earl that 'My neighbours and I were merry, and remembered your healths. Long may you live to send me more, and God make me worthy of the love and favour of so great a Lord and of so good a Lord'.[90] 'Being made this year a beggar by my office', wrote the High Sheriff of Rutland, Sir Francis Bodenham, to the Earl of Rutland in 1635, 'I choose of all the world to beg of you … for some venison for our Assizes'.[91] Assize sessions and the feasts of urban corporations were prominent spaces where venison was gifted and eaten, as gentlemen gave ever-increasing amounts of venison to outshine their rivals.[92]

Venison was consequently a powerful form of political currency in early modern England. In 1619, following a dispute between the aldermen of Chester, the deputy lieutenant of the county, Sir Thomas Savage, 'made Mr Mayor and Mr Recorder friends, and … bestowed a fat buck on either of them upon condition that the one should sup the other at their own houses, with the Aldermen and other friends on both sides'. They did so, 'with the earl of Derby [the Lord Lieutenant] being among them, and many other worshipful knights and gent'.[93] The mediation of an urban dispute by local landed elites, and the ritual reconciliation of the two warring parties through the commensal eating of venison in the presence of those who gifted it, highlighted the ultimate power and social standing of those who could bestow the meat upon those otherwise reliant on the landed elite's largesse. Gifts like venison could also be weaponised. Shortly after succeeding to the throne, Charles I sought a loan of £60,000 and a levy of 3,000 soldiers from the City of London Corporation to help fight the war against Spain. If this was not given, he threatened to take away

[89] See, for example, the letters thanking or requesting the earls of Rutland for venison throughout the early seventeenth century. Such letters came from Bridget Carre, 18 Jul. 1609; Baron Compton, 3 Aug. 1610; Richard Markham, 14 Aug. 1617; the Sheriffs of Nottingham, 2 Sep. 1636; Baron Willoughby, 4 Jan. 1640; Sir Francis Fane, 8 Aug. 1640; list of bucks killed and for whom in Bestwood Park, 1640; *HMC Rutland*, i. 417, 422-423, 453, 498, 519, 521-522, 525.
[90] Whyte to Shrewsbury, 26 Jan. 1607, LPL MS 3202, f. 131.
[91] Bodenham to Rutland, 7 Jun. 1635, *HMC Rutland*, i. 496.
[92] For this competition, see 'The expenses of the judges of assize riding the Western and Oxford Circuits, 1596-1601', in W.D. Cooper (ed.), *The Camden Miscellany Vol IV* (London, 1854), 15-19, 30-31, 44-49.
[93] Chronicler, 4 Sep. 1619, cited in C. Patterson, 'Conflict resolution and patronage in provincial towns, 1590-1640', *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (1998), 1-25, at 4, 10.

'that annuall expression of favour', the venison warrants provided to the Lord Mayor and aldermen.[94] During the 1630s, these warrants were granted every year except for 1635, presumably in response to the city's opposition to Ship Money. The city similarly did not receive any warrants in 1641 and 1642, as the country slowly descended into Civil War and the corporation sided with the king's enemies.[95]

The animals used for hunting were also incorporated into the identities of those claiming gentility. Hawking was a 'noble art' and 'noble recreation', thought the seventeenth-century polymath Sir Thomas Browne, and its practitioners the 'noblest falconers' and the birds used a 'noble hawk'.[96] Since the medieval period, hawks represented the military estate of society – the nobility's traditional role.[97] 'A Faulcon is a Princes pleasant sport', thought Simon Latham in a popular book on falconry that was dedicated to the Lincolnshire courtier, Sir Thomas Monson.[98] Monson, who was painted proudly holding his hawk (fig. 1.4), was considered to be the best falconer in Europe and served as James I's master falconer.[99] *The Boke of St Albans*, first published in 1486 and subsequently re-published twenty-two times between then and 1615,[100] gave a list of falcons and hawks, ranked according to whom they signified and were suitable for. Everyone from emperor (eagles were appropriate for them) to knaves or servants (a kestrel) were represented. The legal reality meant that these distinctions were not practised, because only those qualified to hunt according to the game laws could own a bird of prey.[101]

Keith Thomas similarly observes that 'dogs differed in status because their owner did'.[102] Hence, at the top of the canine pyramid were those used for hunting, and their

[94] Robert Bacon to William Weld, 11 Jul. 1625, TNA SP 16/4, f. 62.
[95] See the City's Cash Account, 1633-35, London Metropolitan Archives COL/CHD/CT/01/001, f. 60 and f. 151 for the warrants in 1633 and 1635; there is no such reference in 1634. Subsequent accounts, COL/CHD/CT/01/002-004, show that the warrants were recorded meticulously: its absence in 1634 was not an accidental oversight. See also S.R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (10 vols., London, 1883-84), ix. 153.
[96] *'Of hawks and falconry, ancient and modern', in S. Wilkin (ed.), Sir Thomas Browne's Works, Including his Life and Correspondence* (4 vols., London, 1835–6), iv. 186-190.
[97] Cohen, *Animals in Renaissance Art*, 64-67.
[98] Simon Latham, *Lathams Falconry or The Faulcons Lire, and Cure* (1614), A4v.
[99] See *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Monson (Mounson), Sir Thomas (1565-1641)'.
[100] R. Grassby, 'The decline of falconry in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 157 (1997), 37-62, at 39.
[101] Berners, *The Booke of S. Albans* (1595), 14-15.
[102] Thomas, *Natural World*, 106.

Fig. 1.4 Unknown artist, *Sir Thomas Monson* (1610).

ownership was also tightly controlled by the game laws. In describing hunting dogs as 'the gentle kind serving for game', William Harrison explicitly connected them to the status of their owners.[103] An essential element of gentility was a love of dogs: Humfrey Braham wrote that 'he cannot be a gentleman which loveth not a dog',[104] while in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Fairfax quoted Erasmus and mocked Englishmen who 'for our rolidgeon we worship a dogge which is worse then a Calfe'.[105] This close bond between the hunting dog and their owner was evident in the growing trend of animal portraiture.[106] In Van Dyke's painting of Charles I's cousin, the Duke of Lennox, the nobleman's right hand rests gently on the head of

[103] Harrison, *Description of England*, 339.
[104] Humfrey Braham, *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (1568), ff. 45-45v.
[105] Fairfax to Shrewsbury, 1607, LPL MS 708, f. 85.
[106] See Cohen, 'Animal imagery', 169.

Fig. 1.5 Anthony Van Dyck, *James Stuart, Duke of Lennox* (c. 1633-1635).

his greyhound, who gazes lovingly up at his owner (fig. 1.5). In Rubens' portrait of the Countess of Arundel, a greyhound is similarly petted affectionately by her, while her dwarf held a hawk (fig 1.6). Her husband, standing in the background, was England's premier peer, a leading member of the ancient nobility, a principal opponent against the sale of honours, and, as Earl Marshal, he led the Court of Chivalry's revival in the 1630s.[107] For the two leading noblemen of the Stuart kingdoms to use greyhounds (and, in Arundel's case, a hawk also) so prominently in how they visually presented themselves demonstrates the importance of these animals as icons of nobility.

Like poaching, attacks on hounds and hawks were similarly politicised, targeting symbols of a gentleman's status and honour. In June 1632, Sir Thomas Pelham was

[107] See Cust, *Charles and Aristocracy*, 56-58, 68-72, 140.

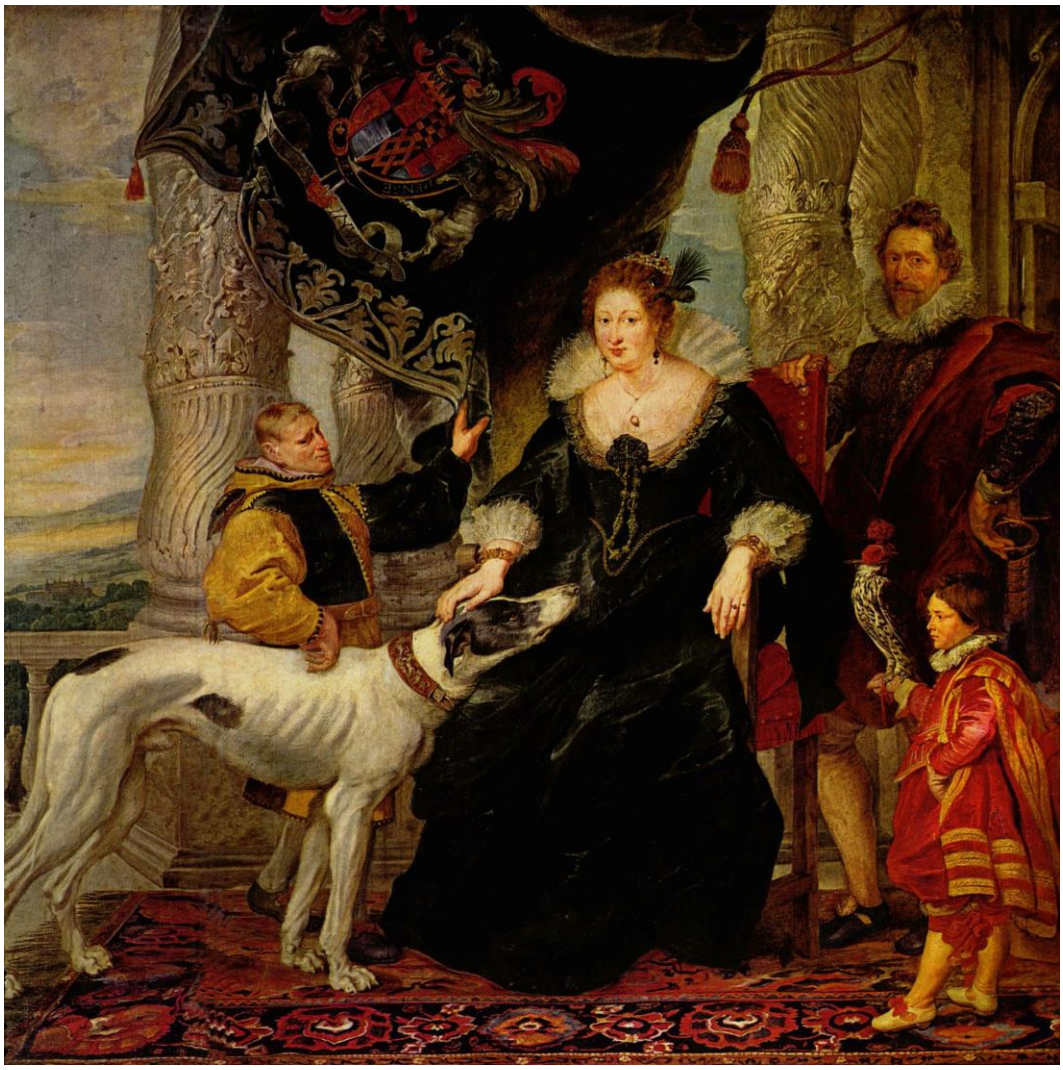

Fig. 1.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Earl and Countess of Arundel with attendants* (c. 1620).

hunting a deer on some outlying land just outside his park in East Sussex, when his hound ran onto the land of his neighbours, the Lunsfords. Herbert Lunsford had one of his servants shoot and kill Pelham's hound, and Lunsford was later prosecuted at the quarter sessions.[108] A year later, Herbert's brother tried and failed to kill Pelham. Anthony Fletcher has shown that the Lunsfords feuded with Pelham because they were 'a somewhat insecure parochial family', jealous of 'the magnate whose parkland bordered their estate'.[109] While the shooting of the hound was undoubtedly opportunistic, it was a clear reaction against Pelham's superior social and political standing, symbolised through hunting and the animal killed. In an entirely separate

[108] JPs of Sussex to the Privy Council, 1 Sep. 1632, TNA SP 16/223, f. 1.
[109] A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (London, 1975), 54-55.

case from north Wales in 1608, the falconer of the esquire, John Egerton, was hawking near to his master's estate when it flew off and landed on the roof of the house of Egerton's lesser gentry neighbour, Edward Morgan. Morgan's younger son, also called Edward, refused to return the hawk, and an acrimonious correspondence ensued. Both Egerton and the younger Morgan denigrated each other's status and lineage as gentlemen: Morgan called Egerton 'a base villainne', and, in response, Egerton told Morgan that 'I was … a gentleman borne wheras thou art discended of a dunghill by thy father, what by thy Mother I know not belike of noe worthie race'. It finally resulted in a duel, and Egerton was killed. Egerton viewed ownership of the hawk as indicative of his social standing, which Morgan challenged by stealing it. But, through this action, it simply reinforced in Egerton's mind that Morgan was 'an unseemely groome ill bredd & worse taught'.[110]

Whereas these two events were part of long-running feuds, in 1630 the protection of a hawk led to a spontaneous act of violence that resulted in a double murder. Thomas Packington was hawking in a Hampshire wood with his falconer and footboy, when his hawk caught a pheasant and flew into a neighbouring field owned by two brothers, the Harfields. The falconer followed, 'seeking to serve his hawke', but the two brothers grabbed him, and they all fell into a ditch. One brother continued to attack the falconer, while the other grabbed the hawk. Packington saw this and alighted from his horse. With no weapon, Packington pulled out a hedge stake and he hit the brother fighting his falconer around the head. Soon after, the other brother returned and Packington likewise attacked him. Both brothers died of their wounds but, pleading the benefit of the clergy for one of the murders and receiving a pardon from the king for the other, Packington received no other punishment.[111] It can be presumed that Packington saw the protection of his hawk from two husbandmen as vital to the code of honour that gentlemen were expected to live by. Courtney Thomas has recently emphasised that this honour was, more often than not, gained through the ability to avoid violence rather than instigating it.[112] Yet the willingness that

[110] Evidence of Henry ap Edward (John Egerton's falconer), Apr.-Jun. 1610, TNA SP 46/174, f. 57; and further evidence from this court case, cited in C.E. Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour I Lose Myself: Honour among the Early Modern English Elite* (Toronto, 2017), 60-65.
[111] Sir Thomas Richardson to Charles I, 4 Apr. 1630, TNA SP 16/164, f. 9.
[112] See Thomas, *Honour among the Early Modern English Elite*, ch. 1.

Lunsford and Morgan showed to attack animals that represented another person's gentility, or Packington's commitment to protect his hawk, showed that violence could still be resorted to in the contestation of these important symbols of gentility.

Hunting: traditions, defences, and critiques

It is finally worth considering the different strands of thought on hunting in early Stuart England. These both justified and critiqued the sport as a display of social status. Hunting was traditionally considered an ideal training for war for the military estate in feudal society, and many early modern writers continued to celebrate its martial value. Yet by the early seventeenth century, the gentry and nobility were an administrative rather than military elite, and so this martial *raison d'être* was receding. Nevertheless, writers continued to justify hunting by stating that it served these new roles as governors. The only significant challenge against hunting came from a small minority of puritans, who thought that blood sports were morally wrong. However, most puritan comments about hunting derived from their strong Sabbatarianism: they warned gentlemen about prioritising carnal pleasures over godliness, but otherwise accepted hunting as an important part of their lifestyles. Hunting was a sport which gentlemen from across the religious spectrum – from Catholic to puritan – appreciated for what it said about their status.[113]

Thomas Allsen has argued that hunting only became an essential pastime of elites in Europe during the medieval period, when the mounted knight became the preeminent military figure.[114] In the early modern period, a range of writers continued to echo this traditional martial reasoning for hunting. In Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, hunting helped to 'foster manly sterdiness' and 'bears a certain likeness to war'.[115] Sir Thomas Cockaine's 'first commendation of Hunting … [for] Gentlemen' was 'that Hunters by their continuall travaile, painfull labour, often watching, and enduring of hunger, of heate, and of cold, are much enabled above others to the service of their Prince and Countrey in the warres'.[116] Even in the 1630s, Francesco

[113] Catholic appreciation of hunting and its networking opportunities is discussed in chapter 5.
[114] T.T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006), 15-16.
[115] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. and ed. L.E. Opdycke (New York, 1903), 31.
[116] Cockaine, *Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591).

Cevoli was making a similar argument, in his tract on Caroline kingship. 'Hunting hath ever bene an exercise in request with the greatest Heroes', he wrote, as 'it was alwaies accounted an exercise masculine, and military, as being the Schoole, and Theater of warre, and therefore the Magnanimous King Charles makes use of it'.[117] As Cevoli hinted at, origin myths and national legends only added to this perception. Gascoigne wrote that Brutus of Troy, the mythical first king of Britain, introduced the hunt and its hounds to the British Isles.[118] Cockaine thought it was more recent: 'it hath bin long received for a truth, that Sir Tristram, one of King Arthures Knights, was the first writer and (as it were) the founder of the exact knowledge of the honorable and delightfull sport of hunting'.[119] Those who went hunting in early Stuart England could, if they wished, present themselves as the latest members of a fraternity of elite warrior-huntsmen dating back millennia.

Although some vestiges of the gentry and nobility's martial role survived in early Stuart England, the military developments of the preceding century-and-a-half meant that this celebration of hunting was anachronistic. A consequence of this was that their power no longer derived from their military role but towards new responsibilities as governors of the commonwealth, concentrated and embodied in the offices that they held.[120] Thus, if it was no longer a prerequisite for the gentry and nobility to be trained soldiers in order to wield power, some writers questioned why they still went hunting. As far back as 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot said that hunting hares was only 'a righte good solace for men that be studiouse, of them to whom nature hath not given personage or courage apte for the warres', deer hunting 'contayneth therin no commendable solace or exercise' and only 'serveth well for the potte', and hawking only prevented its practitioners 'from other daliance, or disportis dishonest'.[121] A similar ambiguity was surprisingly evident in James VI's 1599 kingship

[117] Francesco Cevoli, *An Occasionall Discourse, upon an Accident which Befell his Majesty in Hunting* (1635), 2.
[118] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 1-4.
[119] Cockaine, *Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591).
[120] This transition has been identified by most historians of early modern English politics and society. See, for example, M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1500-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), 20-27, 177-179; M. James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485-1642* (Kendal, 1978), 1-5; Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 195-201; J.A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (2nd ed., London, 1997), 164-172; Wrightson, 'Estates, degrees, and sorts', 37-38.
[121] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), bk. i. ch. xviii.

manual, *Basilikon Doron*. Writing ostensibly to his son and heir, Prince Henry, James believed that 'the honourablest and most commendable games that yee can use, are on horseback … for it becommeth a Prince best of any man, to be faire and good horse-man'. Citing the advice given to Alexander the Great, James informed his son to 'specially use such games on horse-backe, as may teach you to handle your armes thereon; such as the tilt, the ring, and low-riding handling of your sword'. But while James advocated hunting *par force des chiens* as another activity suitable for this training regimen,[122] he was less positive of the martial qualities of other forms of hunting. Coursing with greyhounds was 'not so martiall a game' and 'As for hawking … I must praise it more sparingly, because it neither resembleth the warres so neere as hunting doeth, in making a man hardie, and skilfully ridden in all ground, and is more uncertaine and subject to mischances'.[123]

The next chapter will show that, by the early seventeenth century, coursing and hawking were more popular than *par force* hunting, which had fallen out of fashion. Hunting was thus becoming less martial at the same time as the elites who engaged in it were less likely to be a military elite. Yet this did not mean that hunting in early Stuart England was simply a pointless pastime for those with the ability to while away their hours in a perpetual engagement with the sport. Indeed, James VI maintained that hunting still helped to 'further abilitie and maintaine health'. Significantly, he proclaimed that hunting was necessary for good rule, for it was 'most requisite for a King to exercise his engine, which surely with idlenesse will ruste and become blunt'. In arguing that the sport had benefits beyond the realm of warfare, James made sure to emphasise a careful balancing act was needed between moderation and excessiveness – '[remember] that these games are but ordained for you, in enabling you for your office, for the which ye are ordained'.[124]

James' discourse therefore hinted at a shift in emphasis that could help reimagine hunting as a vital activity for this new role of governing and administrating. *Basilikon*

[122] In hunting *par force des chiens*, a stag was chosen, scent hounds found its trail, and hunters and hounds chased the stag until it was at bay, when it was finally killed by the huntsmen and they ritually carved up the deer.
[123] 'Basilikon Doron', in J.P. Sommerville (ed.), *King James VI and I: Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1994), 55-56.
[124] 'Basilikon Doron', 55-56.

Doron was part of a Renaissance humanist tradition that, deriving from classical writers, advocated the importance of education, and an 'interdependence of mind and body' which saw physical activity as crucial 'for the all-round development of the individual'.[125] Gascoigne promoted this idea in his popular hunting manual:

> It occupies the mynde, which else might chaunce to muse
> On mischiefe, malice, filth, and frauds, that mortall men do us.
> And as for exercise, it seems to beare the bell,
> Since by the same, mens bodies be, in health mainteyned well.
> It exercyseth strength, it exercyseth wit,
> And all the poars and spirites of Man, are exercised by it.

Ultimately, Gascoigne thought, it helped 'To recreate the minds of Men, in good and godly sort'.[126] Other forms of prescriptive literature similarly promoted the health benefits of hunting, such as Robert Burton's much-published *Anatomy of Melancholy*.[127] There is also evidence that these ideas were taken up by those who read these books. For instance, the Earl of Shrewsbury commended 'all thos that love that noble exercise of huntynge' in a letter he wrote in 1604 to the Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil. But, in a pointed critique of Cecil's sedentary lifestyle, Shrewsbury pitied 'others, who by continuall pourynge over papers, will shortly (I feare) bleare oute theyr eyes, and by perpetuall overtoylynge theyr myndes in Affayres of grettest importance, will (I doubte) quyte overthrow theyr boddyes'.[128] Hence, even if the roots of the gentry and nobility's political power had shifted, they still benefitted from continuing to hunt. It is important to recognise, however, that these were simply justifications. The real benefit which came from hunting, it will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, was its sociability.

While there was mostly consensus that the gentry and nobility had a good reason to go hunting, there was a small but significant strand of thinking that did challenge it. In the early seventeenth century, some puritans proposed that hunting for pleasure

[125] D. Brailsford, *Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne* (London, 1969), 17. See also See Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, ch. 7.
[126] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), B4v-B5.
[127] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 340.
[128] Shrewsbury to Cecil (who had recently been ennobled as Viscount Cranborne), 14 Dec. 1604, Cecil Papers 108/24.

was morally wrong, echoing ideas formulated a century previously by Sir Thomas More in *Utopia*.[129] In 1638, the godly lawyer, Robert Woodford, was travelling through Northamptonshire when 'I was greatly affected to teares, in seeing a Kennell of houndes in hot pursuit after a hare'. Afterwards, Woodford gave thanks to God that he 'had given to me reason' to avoid such barbarity.[130] A similar perspective was evident in the sermons of the radical preacher, George Walker. 'It is lawful for man in his own defence and for his own safety to destroy serpents, hurtful beasts and noisome creatures', Walker thought, 'yet to do it with cruelty and with pleasure, delight and rejoicing in their destruction, and without a sense of our sins and remorse for them, is a kind of scorn and contempt for the workmanship of God.[131] Thomas Bywater, one-time chaplain to Baron Sheffield, felt so strongly about the issue that he told his employer, a keen huntsman, 'that haukes and houndes … wer not ordayned by god for manes recreation but for addorninge the worlde'.[132]

Yet it would be wrong to say that anti-hunting sentiments were widely held in puritan circles. Most puritan clergy accepted the gentry's right to hunt, so long as they continued to live a godly life and did not get distracted by the carnal pleasures of the sport. This was evident in the most developed exposition of puritan thinking on hunting, William Hinde's *A Faithfull Remonstrance*, a biography of Hinde's brother-in-law, John Bruen of Cheshire. In his youth, Bruen 'was much addicted to the customary and ordinary exercises and recreations of hunting, and hawking, following the courses, and affecting the company of such Gentleman'. 'I have not much to commend him for, in these matters', Hinde wrote, 'but rather thinke him blame-worthy for misspending so much precious time in such carnall pleasures, and wasting his estate upon base and brutish creatures to serve his lust'. But, following the death of his father in 1587, Bruen 'wisely and conscionably … laid away Hawkes and Hounds,

[129] Thomas, *Natural World*, 150-165. More wrote that rather than enjoying hunting, 'you ought instead to be moved to compassion when you see a little hare torn to pieces by a dog'. Hence, the Utopians had delegated the business of hunting to butchers, a job only slaves can do, for it was 'beneath the dignity of free men'. *Utopia*, trans. and ed. C.H. Miller (2nd ed., New Haven, CT, 2014), 86-87.
[130] 7 Nov. 1638, in J. Fielding (ed.), *The Diary of Robert Woodford, 1637-1641* (Cambridge, 2012), 256.
[131] George Walker, 1641, cited in Thomas, *Natural World*, 162. For further information on Walker, see *ODNB*, D.R. Como, 'Walker, George (bap. 1582?, d. 1651), Church of England clergyman'.
[132] Sheffield to Cecil, 26 Mar. 1605, Cecil Papers 110/45. Sheffield told the Secretary of State this because Bywater was currently imprisoned in the Tower of London for sedition, and the king was confused as to why Bywater had previously been employed by Sheffield, the President of the Council in the North.

and cast off for ever his wide mouth'd Dogs, and utterly ceased any longer, to follow them, or their followers'. He also 'cut off all occasions of wastefull and riotous expence both of time and other thinges' by disparking his park and killing the surviving deer. Yet Hinde did not call upon other godly gentlemen to cast aside their hawks and hounds and make better use of their parklands. He certainly thought that hunting could 'swallow up a mans best desires and delights', 'eat up the best of his dayes', 'spoile a man of his fairest and fittest opportunities either to be serviceable unto God', 'rob wife and children of their meanes and maintenance … and suck the blood of poore tenants'. Nevertheless, Hinde still believed that hunting could be appreciated and enjoyed guilt-free, so long as gentlemen used it sparingly and went about trying to reduce the pain of the animals that were hunted. Indeed, Hinde thought that it was very pleasurable to watch 'the speed and swiftnesse of the Greyhound to course the Hare, the sight and flight of the Hawke to take the Partridge, the sent and sagacity of the Hound to hunt the Deere'. Ultimately, hunting was 'not onely lawfull, but commendable … both for increase of health and strength in the time of peace; and for fitting and framing of the body to a nimble activity and agility for sundry feats and exploits in the time of warre'.[133]

Most puritan thinking on hunting thus developed out of their belief in not profaning the Sabbath.[134] Godly gentry and peers, their lives not limited by the rhythms of the working week, did not have to fit their pastimes into solely the day of rest, and so hunting and hawking were not attacked to the same extent as blood sports popular amongst the lower sorts, like bear-baiting and cock-fighting.[135] In *The Anatomie of*

[133] William Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance* (1641), 28-29, 31-33, 38, 40, 47. For further information on Hinde and Bruen, see *ODNB*, S.J. Guscott, 'Hinde, William (1568/9-1629), Church of England clergyman and author', and S. Hindle, 'Bruen, John (1560-1625), iconoclast'. The sermons of the famous puritan preacher John Dod make a similar argument. 'If we should come in to a house, and see many Physick-boxes and Glasses, we would conclude somebody is sick', Dod moralised, 'so when we see Hounds, and Hawks, and Cards, and Dice, we may fear that there is some sick soul in that Family'. 'Methinks it is much better to hear a Minister preach than a kennel of hounds to bark', he also remarked, for if 'Gentlemen will follow hounds from seven in the morning till four or five in the afternoon, because they love the cry of dogs, … we should be content though the Minister stood above his hour'. Cited in W. Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1948), 60.

[134] See especially R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994), ch. 5.

[135] Hence, Emma Griffin and Angela Schattner have identified a class dimension to puritan opposition to blood sports. E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven, CT, 2007), 85-86; and A. Schattner, 'Theologies of sport: Protestant ideas on bodily exercise, sports practice and

Abuses, Philip Stubbes sought 'not to condemne Hawking and hunting altogether, being used for recreation now and then, but against the continuall use therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea all the times of their life, without intermission'. The only time Stubbes thought gentlemen should abstain from hunting was on the Sabbath; in contrast, he argued that other blood sports should be banned outright.[136] Half a century later, William Prynne similarly decried hunting 'on Lords dayes and other festivalls', alongside other social events like plays, feasts, church-ales, and dances – pastimes which distracted people from 'divine things are performed, and praises sung to God'. But from Monday to Saturday, Prynne thought that field sports were not 'Carnall worldly pleasures' like plays, dancing, and gambling, but 'honest, … healthfull recreations'. Hunting, when 'used in due season, with moderation, temperance, and all lawfull circumstances, will prove more wholsome to their bodies, more profitable & delightfull to their soules, then all the Enterludes, the unlawfull Pastimes in the world'.[137]

The acceptance of the sport by most puritan writers and clergymen consequently meant that the godly gentleman, Sir Edward Lewknor, who died as the sitting sheriff of Suffolk in 1618, was celebrated by his chaplain for behaving 'like a Gentleman in all respects whatsoever, whether you regard his apparell, his attendance, and lastly his pleasure, keeping as he best liked both Hawkes and Hounds'. Importantly, Lewknor remembered the 'difference between the use and abuse, between a recreation now and then, and a daily and continuall practise', and so used it 'to cleanse his thoughts and make him the more fit for the labours of his calling'.[138] While there were some early seventeenth-century puritan gentry who, like John Bruen, eschewed the sport, such as Sir Thomas Hoby of Yorkshire, Sir Francis Hastings of Somerset, and Nathaniel Bacon of Norfolk, these were in the minority.[139] Leading members of the

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Christian lifestyle in the declaration of sports controversy in seventeenth-century England', *Archive for Reformation History*, 105 (2014), 284-313.

[136] Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), ff. 119-120.

[137] William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix: The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie* (1633), 633, 966.

[138] Timothy Oldmayne, *Gods Rebuke in Taking from us … Sir Edward Lewkenor* (1619), 32-33.

[139] When a Catholic hunting party arrived at Hoby's house, they talked 'of horses and doggs, sportes whereunto Sir Thomas never applyed himselfe'. Hoby to the Privy Council, 5 Sep. 1600, Cecil Papers 88/17. The letter books of Hastings and Bacon similarly show very little interest in field sports. C. Cross (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Francis Hastings 1574-1609* (London, 1969); and Hassell Smith et al. (eds.), *Papers of Nathaniel Bacon*.

Protectorate, including Cromwell, Bulstrode Whitelocke, and the regicides Edmund Ludlow and John Hutchinson all loved hunting – following his victory at Worcester in 1651, Cromwell made a detour on his way home to go hawking with his friends.[140] Puritans were therefore mostly integrated into the dominant elite hunting culture of the period, to such an extent that when John Masters encouraged Lady Joan Barrington and other godly gentry to join the growing puritan colony in Massachusetts in 1631, he made sure to mention that there were 'good creatures to hunt and to hawke'.[141]

Conclusion

Travelling the length and breadth of Europe during the 1590s, Fynes Moryson documented all aspects of life in the countries he visited. This included the different hunting cultures that he witnessed, and he concluded that 'no nation is so Frequently useth these sports as the English'.[142] During the first four decades of the next century, and even during the 1640s and 1650s, when Civil War ruptured the peaceful existence that many had experienced for over a century, this remained true for the gentry and nobility. Even puritan clergy could not deny the gentry amongst their flock their right to hunt, despite the moral opposition some may have felt, or the worries they had that it could lead to a life of carnal pleasures. Moreover, the gentry and nobility hunted despite their historic reason for doing so, that it was part of their training for war, becoming less relevant. Rather, they engaged in the sport because they enjoyed doing so and because it was a performance of gentility and nobility. The landscapes and animals of the sport represented these qualities. Hence, venison was a significant form of political currency, and hunting scenes were used to decorate houses, acting as either a reinforcement of elite status or as an aspiration to such status.

Appropriation of these symbols was particularly important in a society where there was much social mobility both within and into the ranks of the gentry, and which

[140] B. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), 206.
[141] Masters to Barrington, 14 Mar. 1631, in A. Searle (ed.), *Barrington Family Letters 1628-1632* (London, 1983), 183.
[142] G.D. Kew (ed.), *Shakespeare's Europe Revisited: The Unpublished Itinerary of Fynes Moryson (1566-1630)* (4 vols., University of Birmingham PhD thesis, 1995), iv. 1665.

made social status inherently unstable. Indeed, the Jacobean game laws were a reaction to this, to re-establish hunting as the preserve of the landed elites. But, by excluding some lesser gentry from the legitimate hunting fraternity that printed literature, lawyers, JPs, and even the king continued to proclaim they were still a part of, hunting was consequently a very competitive form of gentle display. Exclusive hunting grounds, deer, hounds, or hawks were all intensely defended or attacked as part of the ongoing competition for honour and status. Indeed, despite gentry honour resting increasingly upon the ability to avoid violence as a way of resolving disputes, it is striking that there was a frequent recourse to violence in this process.[143] Therefore, regardless of the contradictions between printed literature and the game laws, or writers who argued that hunting benefitted its participants in different ways, hunting was universally understood as a crucial 'outward shew' of gentility and nobility. The next chapter turns to the experiences and material culture of the hunt, to examine what happened when a gentleman went out hunting.

[143] Thomas, *Honour Among the Early Modern English Elites*, 25-29.

Chapter 2

Putting on a hunt

The first chapter analysed how hunting was vital aspect of the construction of gentry and noble identity, during a period of increased social mobility and competition amongst these elites. This second chapter acts as a social and material history of the early seventeenth-century hunt and explores the experiences of those who went hunting. Building on the previous chapter, it will also show that the practicalities of putting on a hunt enhanced its importance as a display of wealth and status within gentry communities. Moreover, it will provide a framework of analysis for subsequent chapters which analyse hunting as a mode of social politics. The political role expected of these elites – which some early modern writers, it has been shown, attempted to portray hunting as aiding – was served not by the health benefits of hunting, but the sociability that those participating in the sport engaged in.

In their analysis of hunting manuals, other historians have described what was supposed to happen during a hunt.[1] Yet the reality of extant manuscript evidence, visual sources, and material culture, when analysed in conjunction with printed contemporary literature, instead reveals a more complicated picture. Rather, hunting was a flexible and often informal form of sociability that was not performed to the rigid ideals and rituals laid out in the prescriptive literature. This chapter is therefore unique in using a far wider array of sources to create a more holistic picture of what was needed to put on a hunt and, then, what happened. But beyond contributing to the existing scholarship on the sport, it will demonstrate how understanding the precise details of hunting informs wider historiographical issues, notably the changing nature of elite lifestyles during the early modern period and the importance of sociability in early modern politics.

[1] See especially J. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London, 1988); R. Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud, 2003), ch. 3; and M. de Belin, *From the Deer to the Fox: The Hunting Transition and the Landscape, 1600-1850* (Hatfield, 2013), 14-21.

The first section will examine what animals were needed to partake in field sports and their acquisition and training; the second section will discuss where and when the sport was practised. These contexts only helped to reinforce the social exclusivity of hunting, but also facilitated its flexibility as a form of elite sociability. The third section will further demonstrate the sport's flexibility through an analysis of the various styles of hunting: the chase, hawking and falconry, and bow and stable hunting. The chase especially will be subject to sustained discussion, because its sixteenth and seventeenth-century iteration differed considerably from its medieval forbear. The fourth section will evaluate the death of the quarry. These two sections reveal changing attitudes amongst elites, who placed less emphasis on the violence of the sport and more on the pleasures it provided. We will see in the final section that the events after the hunt were as important sociable occasions as the sport itself.

Hunting establishments: horses, hounds, and hawks

In a memorandum dated 14 December 1635, the Earl of Salisbury's steward suggested ways to cut down his master's household expenditure. Although this plan failed, a key element of it was to reduce the size of the family's stables, kennels, and mews – the earl's hunting establishment.[2] These could vary in size massively, and most gentlemen could not invest the same resources as Salisbury. Nonetheless, for all the gentry, the time and money spent caring for and acquiring the animals needed to hunt further emphasised the exclusivity of the sport and the privileges which they had as members of the so-called 'leisure class'.[3] Horses, hounds, and hawks made up the early Stuart gentry and nobility's hunting establishments. It is in this ascending order of hierarchy that contemporaries attached significance to.

The horse was an animal which Joan Thirsk has argued 'proclaimed the affluence of the master', and one of its principal uses was for pleasure.[4] Mandy de Belin has commented that it was only with the transition to fox hunting, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that a process of specialisation of horses for hunting

[2] Memorandum, 14 Dec. 1635, Cecil Papers Accounts 32/6.
[3] T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London, 1915), 40-41.
[4] J. Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for Pleasure, for Power*, (Reading, 1977), 7. See also P. Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London, 2007), 2-5.

occurred, as the chase became longer and faster.[5] While this overarching observation may be correct, it deserves qualification. De Belin has identified that there was only one widely-read book prior to the Civil Wars on horsemanship that concentrated on their role in hunting, Gervase Markham's *Cavelarice* (1607).[6] However, many rich gentlemen and noblemen with large stables had specific horses for hunting – and often a different horse for each type of hunting. On his deathbed in 1632, the Earl of Rutland gave the king 'his best huntinge horse for the hare or his best buck hunter'.[7] One could not pass up the chance to get a good hunting horse: while travelling northwards with the king after the outbreak of the First Bishops' War, Sir Edmund Verney 'was in soe much hope of a peace that I bought a fine hunting nagg by the waye', although he now regretted this decision, wishing he 'had my monny in my purse againe, for I feare I shall not hunt in haste againe'.[8] A lot of care was put into these horses. In 1614, the courtier, Sir Robert Drury, asked his wife, back home in Suffolk, to tell his master huntsman to ride, each day, his two hunting horses upon his lands, keep them well-saddled, fed, and washed each night, and 'the barbery must have hunting shoes sett on'. Only then could they be sent to him.[9] Such care and acquisition was a costly business: in six months alone, the Duke of Buckingham spent nearly £200 on his horses; this included their upkeep and wages for six stablemen, buying new ones, and moving them to wherever he was hunting with James I.[10]

One also had to be able to ride well: the third Earl of Essex's biographer made sure to mention that 'he would seldom fail to be amongst the foremost at the fall of the stag'.[11] The importance of the horse and rider was evident in January 1614, during a three-day hare hunting trip in Nottinghamshire, when Gervase Markham (not the author

[5] De Belin, *Deer to Fox*, 105-108.
[6] Gervase Markham, *Cavelarice* (1607), Bk. iii. Markham was an author, poet, and playwright, whose work elucidated the qualities needed to be a good gentleman. Alongside his book on horsemanship, he edited the 1595 edition of the late medieval hunting treatise *The Boke of Saint Albans* and, in 1613-14, published *The English Husbandman*, which among other topics set out how the gentry and nobility should design their parks. See *ODNB*, M. Steggle, 'Markham, Gervase (1568?-1637), author'.
[7] *HMC Rutland*, i. 492.
[8] Verney to Ralph Verney, 5 Apr. 1639, in J. Bruce (ed.), *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family* (London, 1853), 212.
[9] Drury to Lady Drury, late Jan. 1614, in D. MacCulloch (ed.), *Letters from Redgrave Hall: The Bacon Family, 1340-1744* (Woodbridge, 2007), 99.
[10] BL Add. MS 81602, ff. 5-8v.
[11] Richard Codrington, *The Life and Death of Robert, Earl of Essex* (1646), 8.

of *Cavelarice*) brought along a 'Foggye horse' unsuitable 'to the Feilde'. His fellow huntsmen, Sir Gervase Clifton and Baron Darcy, mocked him for 'havinge butt a little ambleinge nagge'. After a night of entertainment, Darcy told Markham to bring a better horse so that he could ride alongside the dogs, instead of trailing behind. Markham was initially unwilling to do so, but on the third day he gave in to their pressure. It would appear his reluctance was because of his poor horsemanship, since during the chase, one of Darcy's servants warned Markham 'to take heede of my Lordes dogges or ryde of[f]', and told him that 'I had rather your horse neck was broken then anie of the dogges shoulde bee hurt'. Markham took offence to this and a brawl erupted, which Darcy broke up.[12] Owning a good horse and the ability to ride well was clearly an important factor in becoming a good huntsman, through which a gentleman's honour could be earned or lost.

The harsh words of Darcy's servant nevertheless suggests the preeminance of hounds during the chase. For example, George Gascoigne and Sir Thomas Cockaine, authors of the two main hunting treatises of the period, spent no time considering horses and a lot of time considering how hounds should be trained and looked after. Gascoigne described how a kennel should be designed, and although none could match royal expenditure, many gentlemen had large kennels.[13] In his will made in 1638, Sir John Sedley of Kent stated that 'my next male heire forever shall keepe tenn couples of hounds att the least in his own custody;' in the early 1620s, Sir Thomas Aubrey purchased '40 doge cooples'.[14] For the Earl of Cumberland and his son, Henry Lord Clifford, feeding their hounds cost them a lot of money, and they were constantly moved across northern England to whichever house they were currently residing in.[15] The family were respected dog-breeders: in December 1624, James I requested a hound from Henry Lord Clifford, which he only grudgingly gave to the king.[16] Down south, the Kentish gentleman, Henry Brockman, acquired a royal warrant for

[12] TNA STAC 8/127/4. The politics of this event is discussed in more detail in chapter five.
[13] George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1575), 26-27.
[14] Sedley's heir was required to set aside another £20 annually to pay for the upkeep of the park, TNA PROB 11/178/130; and L. Bowen (ed.), *Family and Society in Early Stuart Glamorgan: The Household Accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd, c. 1565-1641* (Cardiff, 2006), 57.
[15] Chatsworth House Archives, Bolton Abbey MS 95, ff. 242-243 [Hereafter Chatsworth BA/]. See also Chatsworth BA/100, f. 196v, BA/174, f. 156v, BA/175, f. 149.
[16] Baron Conway to Clifford, 2 Dec., and reply, 9 Dec. 1624, TNA SP 14/176, ff. 16, 43.

breeding and training hounds for the king, and in doing so acquired unlimited hunting rights across the county to train them. He also sold hounds to many gentlemen across the south coast.[17]

Dogs hunted in couples – two hounds were kept on a leash until the scent or sight of an animal was picked up. Ideally, dogs were highly specialised for whichever animal was hunted: Cockaine stated that you needed to train your hounds differently if they were to hunt the fox, hare, deer, or any other quarry;[18] in William Harrison's *Description of England*, he wrote that Englishmen kept eight different types of hunting hounds;[19] Henry Hastings of Dorset 'kept all manner of sport hounds that run buck, fox, hare, otter, and badger'.[20] Whether such specialisation was widely practised is doubtful. Most hunters used harriers, which hunted by scent, at the start of the chase to find the quarry, and when the deer or hare was found greyhounds were released, which hunted by sight.[21] There were some hounds that could do both, although Sir Thomas Wentworth noted they had 'growen a very rare commoditie in thes parts'. He later gifted 'a whole kennall of houndes' to the Earl of Carlisle, whose 'ancestors weare of thos famouse Heroes that … weare of the cheefe in sentte and vewe'. Wentworth further remarked that if they 'came to a blacke hare, run doggs, horse, and men cleare out of sighte, and the silly beaste was sure to die for it before she gott to the [two] miles end'.[22] Dogs such as these took pride of place in the kennels, just as the two wolfhounds gifted to the Earl of Shrewsbury would have, which the sender boasted had killed wolves single-handedly over in Ireland.[23] But for most of the gentry, the greyhound was the most common hunting dog, although when Bulstrode Whitelocke was gifted greyhounds from his father-in-law, 'his woodland Beagles outranne them & he gave them away'.[24] The Kentish antiquarian, Sir Edward Dering, was constantly buying collars and slips for his greyhounds, and

[17] BL Add. Ch. MS 70563 and Add. MS 45206, ff. 34v-38v.
[18] Sir Thomas Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591).
[19] William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life*, ed. G. Edelen (Ithaca, NY, 1994), 339-341.
[20] Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1636, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 24 (1754), 160.
[21] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 71-89, and Harrison, *Description of England*, 341.
[22] Wentworth to Carlisle, 30 Nov. 1632, TNA SP 16/225, f. 169, and 20 Dec. 1632, 'Four letters of Lord Wentworth', in S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *Camden Miscellany XIII* (London, 1883), 2-3.
[23] Laurence Edmond to Shrewsbury, 21 Jul. 1608, LPL MS 3202, f. 156.
[24] R. Spalding (ed.), *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675* (Oxford, 1990), 113

paying men who brought them back when they ran away while hunting – no other hunting dog is mentioned in his accounts.[25] Finally, dogs were also needed for hawking, but here spaniels were used to 'springeth the bird and bewrayeth her flight by pursuit'.[26] They had to be well-trained, otherwise the game which the bird of prey had just killed would be lost.[27]

Hawks and falcons were far more prized than dogs – gentlemen were known to cry over their death.[28] This was exemplified in their acquisition and training: in this 'noble art', Sir Thomas Browne wrote, Englishmen had surpassed even the wisdom of the ancients.[29] They were always referred to as females, although male birds (knowns as tassels or tercels/tiercels, and about a third smaller than females) were used but were less valued than females.[30] Richard Grassby has further explained that 'the falcons flown in England included the gyrfalcon, peregrine, lanner, merlin and hobby', while 'the principal short-winged hawks were the goshawk and the sparrowhawk, which were differentiated by size'.[31] Gentlemen could acquire native birds from where they lived: Sir Hamon Le Strange captured eighty-seven birds on the cliffs of Norfolk from 1604 until 1649, while Sir Thomas Aubrey regularly paid net-makers so he could capture hawks in Glamorgan.[32] But foreign birds such as goshawks, lanners, and gyrfalcons were particularly treasured.[33] A lively trade existed in early seventeenth-century Cromer, which was principally dominated by Dutch merchants, who 'engross that commodity'. Nonetheless, a poor widow in the town had managed to acquire ten gyrfalcons and, it was reported amongst local gentlemen,

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[25] L. Yeandle (ed.), *Sir Edward Dering, 1st Bart., of Surrenden Dering and his 'Booke of Expences' – 1617-1628*, 24, 27, 54, 65, 125, 216, 429, 452. www.kentarchaeology.ac/authors/020.pdf.
[26] Harrison, *Description of England*, 340. See also Turberville, *Booke of Falconrie* (1611), 362-363.
[27] See Lodowick Porter's letter to Edmund Porter, 3 Jan. 1611, in D. Townshend (ed.), *Life and Letters of Mr. Endymion Porter* (London, 1897), 7.
[28] H.F. Lippincott (ed.), *"Merry Passages and Jeasts": A manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange (1603-1655)* (Salzburg, 1974), 51.
[29] 'Of hawks and falconry, ancient and modern', in S. Wilkin (ed.), *Sir Thomas Browne's Works, including his Life and Correspondence* (4 vols., London, 1835-36), iv. 190.
[30] C. Bates, 'George Turberville and the painful art of falconry', *English Literary Renaissance* 41 (2011), 403-428, at 410-411.
[31] R. Grassby, 'The decline of falconry in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 157 (1997), 37-62, at 37-38, in fns. 1 and 2.
[32] J. Whittle and E. Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012), 195; and Bowen (ed.), *Household Accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey*, 82.
[33] Grassby, 'Decline of falconry', 44.

'she selleth them reasonably if you please to buy'.[34] The Earl of Shrewsbury regularly purchased hawks from merchants in London, and received them as gifts from the Earl of Derby, who had a rich supply on the Isle of Man, and from Irish peers and bishops.[35]

A lot of time, money, and effort was put into training hawks. Between 1606 and 1626, Sir Hamon Le Strange spent £121 on hawks and their equipment – and this did not include the £4 annual wage of his falconer and the mews he built in 1616.[36] For many noblemen, their mews (which housed hawks and falcons) could be very large, but poorer gentlemen were often happy to keep their hawks in their living quarters.[37] Richard Cholmeley of Brandsby frequently bought hawks, sometimes for £5 a bird, and spent a lot of time training them and caring for them when they were ill.[38] He had a good reputation as a falconer, and so he frequently trained the hawks of his friends – a quality which, Catherine Bates has argued, would have highlighted his gentility due to the care and refinement which went into the training process.[39] Gentlemen could also train and mew (confine in the same building) their hawks and falcons together; this would have improved the socialising between friends as the birds could then fly simultaneously in the field.[40] Richer gentlemen and noblemen employed falconers, and they were highly valued members of their households because of the intense training that hawks needed. Whenever the Secretary of State, Viscount Conway, wanted to go hawking, he had his falconer and his hawks sent down from Warwickshire to the capital.[41] When Henry Lord Clifford's falconer died in 1636, he contributed the substantial sum of £3 8s. to his funeral costs.[42] Of course,

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[34] Sir Augustine Palgrave to Sir Nathaniel Bacon, 27 Aug. 1609, in A. Hassell Smith et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, 1608-1613* (6 vols. Norwich, 1978-2017), vi. 150-151.
[35] From London, see LPL MS 702, ff. 125, 145, 151; from Derby, see MS 3200, f. 198; and from Irish bishops, see MS 3200, ff. 194, 196
[36] Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, 195-196.
[37] The mews that the Earl of Cumberland built at Londesborough was very large. See R.T. Spence, *Londesborough House and its Community, 1590-1643* (Yorkshire, 2005), 20. Meanwhile, Giles Nanfan of Worcestershire kept his hawk in his hall. See M. Wanklyn (ed.), *Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry, 1537-1786* (Bristol, 2006), 125.
[38] *The Memorandum Book of Richard Cholmeley of Brandsby, 1602-1623* (Northallerton, 1988), 70-71, 98, 176-177.
[39] Bates, 'Painful art of falconry', 414.
[40] See, for example, Sir Bassingbourn Gawdy mewing Lewes Pickering's falcon with Sir William Woodhouse's. Pickering to Gawdy, 1604, *HMC Gawdy*, 98. Another East Anglian trainer charged £4 10s. for this service. Laurence Stephens to Sir Robert Knollys, 28 Apr. 1608/9, *HMC Gawdy*, 107.
[41] Fulke Reed to Conway, 14 and 18 Aug. 1629, TNA SP 16/172, ff. 60, 79.
[42] Chatsworth BA/174, f. 140.

no amount of training totally reduced the risk of the birds flying away, and so when this did happen, owners went to significant measures to make sure hawks were returned because of the time and expense put into them.[43] Hawks were recognised by the ring, or vervel, around their leg with some form of identification of their owner, and laws existed that required any hawk found with this to be returned immediately to the sheriff (see fig. 2.1 for a vervel worn by one of Charles I's hawks).[44]

Hawking and falconry needed a considerable amount of equipment. The bird sat on the hand of the falconer, and so this had to be gloved. This is evident in the posthumous 1646 painting of the Tudor gentleman, Sir Peter Reade (see fig. 2.2). Gloves could be highly ornamental, a display of the owner's wealth and used only on special occasions – such as those believed to belong to James I (fig. 2.3). These were made of leather and richly embroidered with silk in a leaf and flower ornament. They came with a matching pouch, where one would put rewards for the hawk, and which continued the pastoral theme decorating the gloves. Hoods, again apparent in Reade's portrait, were important to keep the bird calm when sitting on the falconer's hand. A surviving example from early seventeenth-century England (fig. 2.4), made of leather, gilded with gold and silk velvet, and embroidered with silver thread, again

Fig. 2.1 A vervel with the Stuart royal arms (1625-1649).

[43] See, for instance, the rewards given by Henry Lord Clifford to those who brought back his hawks. Chatsworth BA/98, ff. 246, 249v.

[44] For other examples of recovering lost hawks via their vervel, see Jasper Meller to Sir Bassingbourn Gawdy, 1598, *HMC Gawdy*, 63, and Cecil Cave to the Earl of Rutland, 6 Dec. 1609, *HMC Rutland*, i. 421-422.

shows that these were not just utilitarian devices but objects of conspicuous consumption. When Tsar Vladislav gifted James I hawks in 1617, they arrived with hoods 'of crimson satten and other colours embroidered with pearle'.[45]

Fig. 2.2 Unknown artist, *Sir Peter Reade* (1646). The portrait was commissioned by the Norwich city corporation as a testament to the charity Reade gave to the city's poor. Alongside the glove, hood, and leash, a vervel is attached to Reade's hawk to identify it if it flew away during a day's sport. The only object not evident is the lure.

[45] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 15 Nov. 1617, in N.M. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939), ii. 115-118.

The final pieces of equipment needed to train these birds of prey were leashes and lures. In 1653, the Yorkshire recusant, William Middleton, asked his brother to purchase both of these, as well as a hood, for a total cost of £5, suggesting that these specialised and expensive pieces of equipment were hard to acquire even in a large provincial city like York.[46] Leashes made sure the bird did not fly away, and in the portrait of Reade, it is wrapped around three of his fingers. A lure (see fig. 2.5) was a

Fig. 2.3 Matching falconry pouch and left-handed glove (c. 1600-1620), said to belong to James I.

[46] William to Matthew Middleton, early Aug. 1653, in J. Bosworth et al. (eds.), *The Middleton Papers: The Financial Problems of a Yorkshire Recusant Family in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2010), 126.

leather object shaped like the quarry which the hawk was trained to hunt and attached to a piece of string that was swung around. The amount of time and money put into training and acquiring both the animals and the equipment needed, before the huntsman or falconer had even gone out into the field, was only possible for those able to live a gentlemanly lifestyle.

Fig. 2.4 A falcon's hood (early 17th century).

Fig. 2.5 An English or Scottish lure, (c. 1600-1619).

Landscapes and seasonality: a flexible sport

It was shown in the previous chapter how the hunting landscapes furthered the social exclusivity of the sport in a similar way that hunting establishments did. Moving the analysis beyond their importance as displays of social status, this section will demonstrate how the multiple spaces in which hunting could be performed in made the sport amenable to different tastes, physical abilities, and varying levels of wealth and office-holding. The seasonality of the sport – the fact that there were sacrosanct rules about what animals were hunted at certain times of the year – also imbued both a high degree of respect to those animals hunted and made the sport something only those of a certain status could appreciate. But it also enabled flexible, year-round participation. Parks, forests, and less formal hunting landscapes will first be analysed, before moving on to the hunting seasons.

There has been considerable debate amongst medievalists about whether hunting ever actually occurred in the medieval deer park.[47] While there has been considerably less discussion and disagreement over the early modern deer park, several case studies show that parks were used for sport and references to hunting in parks occur so regularly in this thesis that it is undeniable that they were important social spaces.[48] According to the Venetian ambassador, most parks in the early seventeenth century had a circumference of four to six miles – although this could vary greatly.[49]

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[47] For the argument against the medieval park's use for hunting, see especially O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Countryside: The Complete History of Britain's Trees & Hedgerows* (2nd ed., London, 2001), 153; J. Birrell, 'Deer and deer farming in medieval England', *The Agricultural History Review*, 40 (1992), 112-126; and N. Sykes, 'Animal bones and animal parks', in R. Liddiard (ed.), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), 49-62. This assertion has been persuasively challenged more recently in an excellent monograph, S.A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), especially 15-44.

[48] For more general works on early modern deer parks, see especially S. Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private & Public* (London, 1991), chs. 3 and 4, and the short discussion in P. Henderson, *Architecture and Landscape in the Tudor House and Garden: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 2005), 137-139. For various case studies of specific parks, see M. Baxter Brown, *Richmond Park: The History of a Royal Deer Park* (London, 1985); J. Bond, 'Woodstock park in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in J. Bond and K. Tiller (eds.), *Blenheim, Landscape for a Palace* (Frome, 1997), 55-66; J. Haworth, *Lodge Park, Gloucestershire* (Bromley, 2002); R. Hoppitt, 'Hunting Suffolk's parks: towards a reliable chronology of emparkment', in Liddiard (ed.), *New Perspectives*, 146-164; H. Prince, *Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500* (Hatfield, 2008); A. Richardson, *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c.1200-c.1650: Reconstructing an Actual, Conceptual and Documented Wiltshire Landscape* (Oxford, 2005), 80-82.

[49] 29 Jun. 1618, *CSPVen 1617-1619*, xv. 250.

They were frequently adapted for its owner's pleasure, and they could accommodate both bow and stable hunting and the chase.[50] In *The English Husbandman* (1613-14), Gervase Markham advised the reader 'How for the entertainment of any great Person, in any Parke, or other place of pleasure', one could plant trees and hedges 'for the manner of hunting of any chase … that you please, to the infinit admiration of all them which shall behold it'.[51] Deer needed a variety of terrain to survive, and parks were designed to have woodlands, lawns, copses, bracken, and a fresh water supply. As the deer was confined into a certain area, parks also allowed a better chance of success and an easier form of hunting.[52] In 1622, the Earl of Nottingham, by then eighty-six years of age, asked the king for permission to hunt in a royal park rather than a forest, because he was now 'not able to goe farr of to hunt, [but wanted] to have some sport theare now and then to kill a bucke with my beagle, which may peradventure prolong my life a yeere or two'.[53]

Many parks had deer courses. These were tracts of landscaped land which enabled deer to be chased along a specific route, and buildings were built nearby to provide a view for spectators. Known as standings, they were popular additions to parks, and participants could shoot deer from them. The semi-permanent nature of these structures has meant that they have escaped the attention of scholars.[54] Yet the little documentary evidence which has survived reveals that they were crucial spaces for socialising within. Moreover, they allowed for a far wider participation, for it enabled those who could not or would not engage in the chase (like women, the elderly, or infirm) to enjoy the sport. Such a building existed in Theobalds Park, perched 'in an

[50] Rackham rather anachronistically views bow and stable hunting – the shooting of game driven towards participants by park and gamekeepers – as not proper hunting. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland*, 153, 158-159. On a technical level, it is important to note that one of the arguments posited by historians who believe that medieval deer parks could not be used for the chase is the fact that they were too small and enclosed for the medieval style of this sport, hunting *par force des chiens*, to occur. This is evident in Sykes, 'Animal bones', 50-51. Such an argument is not comparable for the early modern period because, it will be shown below, this style of hunting had fallen out of fashion by the early seventeenth century. Its replacement, coursing, could occur in smaller spaces because it took up less time and so needed less ground.

[51] Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman*, (2 vols., London, 1613-14), i. 127-8.

[52] J. Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: The History of Deer Parks* (Oxford, 2011), 118.

[53] As Justice of Eyre of all forests south of the Trent, Nottingham could hunt twenty royal deer each summer and another twenty in the winter. Nottingham to Buckingham, 28 Mar. 1622, in S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *Fortescue Papers* (London, 1872), 179.

[54] They have only been discussed in Henderson, *Tudor House and Garden*, 167-169.

Fig. 2.6 John Norden's map of Windsor 'Litle Parke' showing 'The standinge' (1607). This was part of a set of royally-commissioned maps of the Honour of Windsor for James I, now in the British Library, Harley MS 3749.

old tree'. It is only known about because, in 1633, Viscount Falkland was shooting at deer with the king from it when he fell and broke his leg, an accident he later died from.[55] In the middle of Windsor Little Park there was a simple, two-story standing overlooking the deer course (fig. 2.6). But people did not even have to go down to it to view the sports as, from the castle walkways, 'the nobility and persons of distinction can take the pleasure of seeing hunting and hawking in a lawn of sufficient space'.[56]

Occasionally, these buildings were more permanent, extravagant, and expensive additions to parks. At Chatsworth, around 1570 Bess of Hardwick built a three-storey standing on top of the hill overlooking the house and the surrounding parklands, while in 1612-13 Baron Spencer built a hawking tower at Althorp, where he, his family, and guests could watch his falcons hunt.[57] But perhaps the best surviving example from the early seventeenth century is at Lodge Park in Gloucestershire (fig. 2.7), especially because documentary evidence corroborates its use for sport. This pavilion was modelled on Inigo Jones' Banqueting House and spectators would have watched

[55] John Flower to Viscount Scudamore, 26 Sep. 1633, TNA C 115/104/8113.
[56] Paul Hentzner, *A Journey into England*, trans. and ed. H. Walpole (London, 1757), 68, 76.
[57] Henderson, *Tudor House and Garden*, 167-169.

Fig. 2.7 The hunting grandstand in Lodge Park, Gloucestershire.

the day's sport from its roof before descending a flight of stairs to dine in the luxurious Great Room on the first floor. 'Mounted on a High Hill … and … plac'd with in a wall'd Parke that is well stor'd with good Venison', it was observed by a visitor in 1634,

> This stately Lodge was lately built at the great Cost and Charges of a noble true hearted Gentleman, more for the pleasure of his worthy Friends, then his owne profit; Itt is richly furnish'd to entertaine them to see that Kingly sport, and pleasure, admirably perform'd, in that rare Paddocke course of a Mile in length, and walled on either Side. There I spent a full houre, with the good favour of the Keeper, in viewing that neat, rare Building, the furnish'd Roomes, the handsome contriv'd Pens and Places, where the Deare are kept, and turn'd out for the Course.[58]

This 'noble true hearted Gentleman' was John 'Crump' Dutton, whose nickname derived from his hunched back, an ailment which meant that he struggled to participate in the chase. Yet he loved to gamble and so a deer course was ideal –

[58] This was written by one of three travellers who spent seven weeks travelling the length and breadth of England in 1634. L.G. Wickham-Legg (ed.), *Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties* (London, 1904), 116.

participants placed bets on which hound would either kill or get closest to the deer. It took over a decade-and-a-half for Dutton to complete his new sporting arena and, alongside the creation of the deer course and the construction of the grandstand, it involved the imparkment of an entirely new park.[59]

Hunting could occur beyond the park pale. Forests and chases were equally important spaces for the sport. Acting as large game reserves, they were not wild but semi-cultivated landscapes which aided hunting. The Earl of Huntington, Lieutenant of Leicester Forest, spent a considerable amount of time and money creating a lawn and coppiced areas to improve the royal sports after James I visited the area.[60] Although forests were properties of the crown, they were still legitimate hunting grounds for the gentry and nobility. The right to hunt fee deer (the chief forest officers, who were of gentle and noble rank, could hunt a specific number of deer each summer and winter in lieu of payment) was an important basis for socialising. For example, Sir Francis Fane negotiated significant hunting rights in Rockingham Forest: in the summer of 1610, he killed twenty deer there.[61] The Earl of Nottingham, in charge of the royal forests south of the Trent, thought that deer populations were in terminal decline because of warrants like these.[62] In the early 1630s, the chief ranger of Delamere Forest, in Cheshire, made a similar complaint about Viscount Savage and his abuse of the fee deer system.[63]

Finally, the sport often occurred outside these formal landscapes dedicated to hunting. As was noted in the previous chapter, so long as a gentleman met the game law qualification to hunt or held a charter of free warren, they could hunt across both their own and other people's lands. For example, the Earl of Salisbury frequently hosted hunting and hawking parties at Quickswood Lodge, which had close access to

[59] The grandstand and course were in what was called the 'New Park', which Dutton immediately began to enclose upon inheriting the estate in 1618. By 1634, the deer course was completed and, enclosed within 6½ feet high walls and slowly thinning from 219 to 98 yards wide, snaked for a mile westward before ending at the grandstand. At the end of the course there was a ditch which allowed deer to leap over and not be followed by the dogs chasing them. They would then return to the pens where they were kept and fed before they were next used. Haworth, *Lodge Park*, 24-25, 27.
[60] R.W. Hoyle, 'Disafforestation and drainage: the crown as entrepreneurs?', in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *The Estates of the Crown, 1558-1640* (Cambridge, 1992), 353-388, at 357.
[61] BL Add. MS 34218, ff. 12, 15v, 18.
[62] Nottingham to James I, 8 Sep. 1608, BL Add MS. 12497, f. 265.
[63] John Crewe to Charles I, after Apr. 1631, TNA SP 16/257, f. 46.

the woodlands of north Hertfordshire.[64] Newmarket and Royston, two favourite hunting lodges of James I and Charles I, were similarly located outside any formal hunting park, forest, or chase. There were problems with this situation, whether that was the trampling of corn when the chase went over farmland, or the rivalries caused by the game laws between gentlemen competing over hunting rights that encroached upon each other's lands.[65] Ultimately, the early Stuart hunting landscape was extremely heterogeneous. It could accommodate both the sporting tastes and abilities of the hunter and where they were able or permitted to hunt.

Another aspect of the sport's adaptability was the fact that the hunting of different animals was seasonal, and so a gentleman could hunt year-round. The principal hunting season was the summer, when the male deer (a fully-grown male red deer was a stag and the equivalent fallow deer was a buck) was hunted. The next two chapters observe how royal progresses coincided with this season, which in medieval treatises occurred from Midsummer's day (24 June) until Holy Rood day (14 September). By the seventeenth century, this season had been slightly shortened, beginning fifteen days after Midsummer – the fifteen days either side of 24 June was 'fence month', when deer were fawning.[66] They were hunted at this time because early modern elites preferred the fatness of male deer prior to autumn rutting season – as such, this hunting season was known as 'grease time'. Hence, in late June 1638, Gervase Clifton wrote to his father imploring him to leave London shortly, 'for the fat Nottinghamshire venison which is now coming to the best'.[67] When William Carden killed a strange golden buck on 29 May and gifted it to the Earl of Shrewsbury, he emphasised to the recipient that it 'was a resonable good deare to be so tymelye in

[64] C. Dalton, 'The gardens at Quickswood, the hunting lodge of the earls of Salisbury', in A. Rowe (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany* (Hatfield, 2007), 26-40, at 27-30. See also Cecil Papers Box H/7, H/45, and Accounts 127/6, 25.

[65] It will be shown in the next chapter that James I was frequently criticised about the royal hunt trampling over corn. Complaints were also frequently made by tenants on the edge of Exmoor forest about the damage hunting caused to crops. See F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), 291. For another example of a dispute between gentlemen, during the 1630s, Sir William Brereton greatly angered Lord Strange and Sir Richard Trevor when he introduced decoys onto his lands to farm ducks. These affected Strange and Trevor's ability to hunt on Brereton's lands, which they had every right to do according to the game laws. J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the 'English Revolution'* (Oxford, 1974), 24.

[66] Richard Blome, *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1686), 22.

[67] Clifton to Sir Gervase Clifton, 26 Jun. 1638, Nottingham University MS Cl C 534.

the yeare'.[68] Beyond the summer hunting season, the hind (female red deer) and doe (female fallow deer) were hunted from Holy Rood day until Candlemas (2 February). In 1624, the Earl of Westmorland wanted Sir George Manners to come and kill does at Apethorpe for a week before Christmas.[69] The hare was hunted from Michaelmas (29 September) until Midsummer's Day, while hawking season ran from September till February.[70] Thomas Dove, a forest official in Rockingham Forest, was permitted to hawk as much as he liked, as long as he did so in these 'seasonable tymes'.[71] In contrast, foxes were hunted as verminous animals all year round. Thus, Nicholas Assheton's 1617 hunting diary recorded sixteen fox hunts throughout the year, compared to the seasonal hunting of other, more respected animals.[72]

To not hunt according to the seasons was consequently seen by contemporaries as dishonourable.[73] In late December 1640, Sir Edward Tyrell was accused of being 'soe greedy after flesh' that he kills 'Carryon or Unseasonable deere'.[74] Problems thus occurred in September 1600, when Robert Wroth and Michael Hickes planned to go hunting in Waltham Forest. Unable to sort out a date 'for the time drawene verie near owt for sport in hunting', Wroth could only apologetically tell Hickes that 'if it please you to cume with Mr Ralfe Colston and his merry dogges very early in the morning I will make you the best sport that I can'. Only four days earlier, this offer had included 'any other good companye whom soever you will bring or appoint', as well as separate hunting activities for their wives. To make up for the less extravagant entertainment, Wroth also invited Hickes to supper and to play bowls with him one evening.[75] The fact that there were a series of strict rules surrounding the sport fostered respect in the animals that were hunted, and made it a particularly honourable entertainment to offer, something which only those of gentry and noble status could truly appreciate.

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[68] Carden to Shrewsbury, 1 Jun. n.y., LPL MS. 705, f. 108.
[69] Westmorland to Manners, 24 Oct. 1624, *HMC Rutland*, i. 475.
[70] R.S. Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (New Haven, 2004), 93.
[71] The Earl of Holland to the officers of Rockingham Forest, 24 Nov. 1638, TNA SP 16/384, f. 19.
[72] F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton* (Manchester, 1848), xxvi, 66-80.
[73] For a short discussion of this and the medieval hunting seasons, see R. Almond, 'The hunting year', *History Today*, 55 (2005), 30-35.
[74] Thomas Beale to the Earl of Northampton, 3 Dec. 1640, TNA SP 16/473, f. 31.
[75] Wroth to Hickes, 9 and 13 Sep. 1600, BL Lansdowne 87/83-84, ff. 218, 220.

The different styles and evolving nature of hunting

There was no single, uniform experience of hunting in early Stuart England and the gentry and nobility's recounting of their experiences reflected this. This section is divided into the three styles of hunting practised during the early seventeenth century: the chase, hawking and falconry, and bow and stable hunting. An analysis of the chase will also suggest that its early Stuart iteration differed considerably from its medieval antecedent, significantly affecting the experiences of participants. Ultimately, the varied nature of the sport meant that it was an extremely flexible way of socialising.

Before participants set off on the chase, there were invariably occasions of pre-sporting entertainment and socialising. In 1607, the Earl of Huntingdon turned twenty-one, and he celebrated his coming of age by inviting many local gentlemen and their wives to Leicester Forest. Prior to going hunting, the group entertained each other and chatted between themselves.[76] When Sir Gervase Clifton, Baron Darcy, and Gervase Markham went hunting over three days in January 1614, each morning they had breakfast and engaged in banter and competitive boasting at Clifton's home.[77] William Cavendish similarly paid for beer and breakfast for his hunting party before any day's sports.[78] Meanwhile, in 1617 in Lancashire, Nicholas Assheton was with Sir Richard Molyneux and 'all the rest of the gents'. They had a banquet and drank at an inn before hunting.[79] The sport was clearly a very convivial occasion.

According to George Gascoigne, the pre-eminent early modern English writer on hunting, these meetings would have included a report to the chief huntsman as to which deer should be hunted. Their 'fewnishings', which included everything from their tracks, antlers, and excrement, were evaluated to determine which buck or stag would give the hunting party the best sport.[80] The moment was known as the

[76] TNA STAC 8/55/26. See also R. Cust, 'Honour and politics in early Stuart England: the case of Beaumont v. Hastings', *Past & Present*, 149 (1995), 57-94. It will be discussed in chapter five how these moments of conviviality were upset by a long-standing dispute between two of the participants.
[77] TNA STAC 8/127/4.
[78] P. Riden (ed.), *The Household Accounts of William Cavendish, Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, 1597-1607* (3 vols., Chesterfield, 2016), ii. 186-188.
[79] Raines (ed.), *Assheton Journal*, 26.
[80] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 94-95.

assembly: a woodcut in the 1611 edition of Gascoigne's hunting manual shows James I presented with information on which stag would be hunted, while other courtiers converse or prepare food and drink (fig. 2.8). But on the rare occasion that the assembly was practised in early Stuart England, it was done so in a far simpler manner. In 1613, for instance, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar wrote of how the royal

Fig. 2.8 G. Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1611), 91. James I is at the top left corner of the woodcut, surrounded by his huntsmen.

huntsmen, after the king had pointed out the stag that he wished to hunt, would take the hounds to the spot it had stood and 'are taught to follow this one animal only'.[81] A decade later, when James hosted the Marquis d'Effiat during the Anglo-French marriage negotiations at Woodstock, 'a noted and notorious stagge' was again similarly chosen as the quarry – but they identified it through its cropped ears rather than any complex ceremony of selection.[82] Such a practice, and the honour which came from hunting such a special animal, was occasionally seen in the provinces: when two Clifford-Cavendish marriages were discussed in 1605, Bess of Hardwick gave the Earl of Cumberland and his brother, Francis, the privilege to hunt 'the great stagg, which hath bene long preserved ther with 12 Cupple of the houndes'.[83]

The Noble Arte of Venerie, in which Gascoigne was translating French hunting manuals, was mostly about hunting *par force des chiens* - where a stag was chosen, scent hounds found its trail, and hunters and hounds chased the stag until it was at bay, when it was finally killed by the huntsmen. Yet by the early Stuart period, in England coursing, where greyhounds hunted the quarry by sight, had replaced hunting *par force* as the most popular form of the chase.[84] A version of hunting *par force* was still practised, but it was far simpler than its medieval antecedent (such as when James I hunted with the Duke of Saxe-Weimar). There was still a significant enough difference between traditional hunting and coursing that, in Charles I's reign, it was reported that 'the king huntes with hounds and the Queen courseth with greyhounds'.[85] Moreover, the gentry and nobility continued to own and use scent hounds, especially when they hunted outside of parks and they needed to first find the quarry.[86] While it is invariably hard to definitely state what type of the chase was practised in any particular description of hunting, it is evident that there was a shift

[81] J.W. Neumayr von Ramssla, 1620, printed in W.B. Rye (trans. and ed.), *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), 154.
[82] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 4 Sep. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 580.
[83] Sir John Harper to Shrewsbury, 29 Jul. 1605, LPL MS 3203, f. 308.
[84] A brief postscript in Gascoigne's 1575 hunting treatise acknowledges the growth in popularity of coursing, which he describes as 'doubtlesse a noble pastime … as any other kyndes of Venerie before declared'. This is curiously absent from the 1611 edition of the book. Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 250.
[85] John Pory to Scudamore, 3 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8396.
[86] See Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 71-89, and Harrison, *Description of England*, 341. For a specific example, see Lord Deputy Wentworth to the Earl of Carlisle, 30 Nov. 1632, TNA SP 16/225, f. 169, and 20 Dec. 1632, 'Four letters of Lord Wentworth', 2-3.

away from the medieval hunting *par force*.[87] Ultimately, the simpler nature of the chase in early Stuart England had multiple consequences upon the sporting experiences of those who practised it.

One product of this transition was that the chase in early Stuart England took up far less manpower than in the medieval period. While the Stuart royal courts could still rely on an army of huntsmen, the same could not be said for the great aristocratic households. Even the richest and most powerful families of the period, like the Cliffords (Earls of Cumberland) and the Manners (Earls of Rutland), typically employed one master huntsman with only three or four under his command.[88] Other men could be temporarily drafted in to help, and household servants often participated in the chase with their master. In November 1599, William Cavendish paid 2s. 6d. 'to five [men] for their pains taking about catching the deer'.[89] Cavendish's son was frequently joined out in the field by his page, Thomas Hobbes.[90] Keepers were regularly rewarded for their aid – it was such help that led to the death of Bramshill Park's keeper in July 1621.[91] Interestingly, the painting of Queen Anne at the chase (see fig. 3.2) suggests that even people of colour were involved, for her hunting horse is led by her African page.

Of course, servants remained in a subservient role during the chase. During the 1614 Nottinghamshire hare hunt involving Baron Darcy, Sir Gervase Clifton, and Gervase Markham, the dispute arose because Darcy's servant, Thomas Beckwith, was willing to challenge Markham for his poor riding skills. Markham chided Beckwith, stating that 'hee was neither soe good a gentleman nor soe good a man as himselfe'. In response, Darcy was at pains to make clear to Markham that 'you are butt the sonne

[87] It will be shown below that one of the biggest differences was that the complicated rituals at the end of the medieval hunt were rarely, if ever, practised in early seventeenth-century England.
[88] See Chatsworth BA/95, ff. 204-209v; and G. Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family 1493-1656*, ed. A.C. Wood (London, 1937), 215.
[89] Riden (ed.), *Accounts William Cavendish*, ii. 186-188.
[90] John Aubrey, *Brief lives, chiefly of contemporaries*, ed. A. Clark (2 vols., London, 1898), i. 330-331.
[91] This example is analysed in more detail in chapter six. For other instances of payments to keepers for their help – they were usually paid between 5s. and 10s. – see the Earl of Cumberland's account books, Chatsworth BA/95, ff. 204-209v; G. Ornsby (ed.), *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard, of Naworth* (Durham, 1878), 27-28; M. Merry and C. Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick, 1620* (Bristol, 2012), 140; 'The accounts of Sir Richard and Lady Lucy Reynall of Forde', in T. Gray (ed.), *Devon Household Accounts, 1627-59* (2 vols., Exeter, 1995-1996), i. 7-8.

of a yonger brother, and soe was Beckwith, and I see noe reason that one gentleman shoulde not bee as good as an other'.[92] This clear hierarchy helped to maintain the sport's elite pretensions, even if those of non-gentle blood were needed to facilitate their masters' sports.

Hunting parties could vary from two or three participants to dozens, enabling it to be an extremely flexible form of elite sociability for a variety of different social and political occasions. At one end of the spectrum, then, we have intimate gatherings like the Nottinghamshire hare hunt in 1614 (with three main participants). But at the other end there was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron Cottington, boasting to Lord Deputy Wentworth in 1633 that 'when I was last in Wiltshire, there were so many gentlemen attended me into the field, as hath made my Lord Chamberlain [the Earl of Pembroke, Cottington's neighbour] leave chasing, and courted me ever since'.[93] Sir Edward Watson once worried that a hunt in Rockingham Forest would be so well-attended that 'the over number of people would drive the deer into the other walk'.[94] The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke hints at the diverse sociable behaviour that gentlemen could engage in: in the early 1630s, Whitelocke recorded how he often went hunting with just his neighbour, Francis Rogers, but then, in the summer of 1635, he described a hunt that he was at organised by the Earl of Rutland, where 'the horsemen were many, a Buck was soon found & runne down in an howers time'.[95]

The chase, like its medieval predecessor, often took up a considerable amount of time, and so it was something only those able to live a gentlemanly lifestyle could participate in regularly. James I was often reported to be in the saddle for hours on end: Worcester complained to Shrewsbury that 'in the morning wee ar on horsbake by 8 and so continew in full carryer from the deathe of one hare to another untyll 4 at nyght then for the most part wee ar 5 myle from home by that tyme'.[96] In 1608, the Earl of Cumberland 'was all day Coursing till 5 a Clocke and had but one meal'.[97]

[92] TNA STAC 8/127/4.
[93] Cottington to Wentworth, 26 Dec. 1633, cited in M.J. Havran, *Caroline Courtier: The Life of Lord Cottington* (London, 1973), 108.
[94] Watson to Edward Montague, 9 Mar. 1599, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 234-235.
[95] Spalding (ed.), *Whitelocke Diary*, 71, 104.
[96] Worcester to Shrewsbury, 4 Dec. 1604, LPL MS. 3201, f. 233.
[97] 25 Aug. 1608, Chatsworth BA/73.

Nicholas Assheton often spent the whole day hunting various animals.[98] Thus, considerable ground could be covered. The Royalist, Sir Henry Slingsby, complained that his house arrest restricted him to hunting within five miles of his house, 'though I can make shift to ride twenty or thirty miles in a dayes Hunting'.[99] Of course, the chase was not always this long – it has already been shown how the octogenarian Earl of Nottingham happily took part in the far shorter and less strenuous hunting of bucks in Nonsuch Park. Between these two extremes was Sir Thomas Walsingham, who thought that seven miles was an extremely long chase.[100] The chase could therefore accommodate a spectrum of sporting tastes and abilities amongst gentlemen.

A day chasing after deer and hares was not all spent riding – there were plenty of occasions to rest. During this time, the party would eat and drink, as the accounts of the Earl of Rutland during a hunting trip that he made to Sherwood Forest in the summer of 1610 demonstrate.[101] This allowed time for socialising, bonds of camaraderie to form, and politicking to occur. For instance, when Thomas Knyvett was hunting with John Buxton during the winter of 1640/41, he found time to '[compare] notes in the open feelde' on the big issue of the day, Ship Money. Buxton was High Sheriff of Norfolk in 1638 when he had responsibility for collecting the hated tax, and he consequently made many enemies in the county. He was 'much affray'd' for his upcoming questioning by a parliamentary committee. However, while 'a hunting', the son of the previous Lord Mayor of Norwich, John Anguish, appeared. He said that if he could act 'Innocent', like the former mayor had done, he would '[come] of very well'.[102] Such networking was vital in making the sport such an important part of early seventeenth-century political culture.

Another important aspect of the experiences of those who went hunting is the issue of speed. Mandy de Belin has persuasively argued that early modern deer hunts were

[98] Raines (ed.), *Assheton Journal*, 51-52.
[99] Slingsby to Slingsby Bethell, 21 Jan. 1650, in D. Parsons (ed.), *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby* (London, 1836), 347.
[100] Sir Thomas Walsingham to Sir Thomas Pelham, c. 1644, BL Add. MS 33084, f. 78.
[101] *HMC Rutland*, iv. 468.
[102] Thomas Knyvett to Katherine Knyvett, Dec 1640-Jan 1641, in B. Schofield (ed.), *The Knyvett Letters, 1620-1644* (Norwich, 1949), 96.

of a slower pace than eighteenth-century fox hunts.[103] This was, in no small part, because the hunted male deer was very fat prior to rutting season.[104] Indeed, people (often servants) could follow the chase on foot. Bulstrode Whitelocke did so when he joined his fellow students at Oxford on a hunt. It ended badly – he sprained his leg and was unable to take his degree.[105] Gentlemen looking for a greater thrill increasingly preferred chasing the hare over the deer: following his description of deer coursing, Gascoigne wrote that 'the course at the Hare is much the nobler pastime', while Gervase Markham thought that hare hunting more 'swift, pleasant, and of long indurance' than deer hunting.[106] Nevertheless, the hunting of bucks and stags remained strenuous and even dangerous. On 10 September 1646, the fifty-five year old Earl of Essex suffered a stroke during a stag hunt in Windsor Forest and died four days later.[107] In 1611, Sir George Beeston died after breaking his neck following a fall from his horse while hunting a buck.[108] Roger Manning's statement that hunting became 'quite artificial' in early modern England may underestimate the skills needed and the dangers still involved.[109]

It is important to finally note that coursing lent itself to gambling. When money was at stake, speed all-important and there was an extra layer of competition for those in the hunting party. Strict rules governed this type of hunting, and Gascoigne's description of coursing set out the parameters of how a coursing match should be won – there is no mention of betting in the rest of the book, detailing hunting *par force*.[110] 'Greate' hunting matches, often including 'the whole court in companye' and which pitted one huntsman against another, were commonplace throughout the Jacobean period.[111] In late 1607, significant sums were gambled when Viscount

[103] De Belin, *Deer to Fox*, 53.
[104] Fletcher, *Earthly Delight*, 104-119.
[105] Spalding (ed.), *Whitelocke Diary*, 48-49.
[106] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 247; and Markham, *Cavelarice* (1607), Bk. iii. 7.
[107] V.F. Snow, *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex, 1591-1646* (Lincoln, Neb., 1970), 487.
[108] Sir John Throckmorton to William Trumbull, 11 Sep. 1611, *HMC Downshire*, iii. 140.
[109] R.B Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford, 1993), 6-8.
[110] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 247. For specific rules, see Fletcher, *Earthly Delight*, 112; and Haworth, *Lodge Park*, 32.
[111] See, for example, Thomas Wilson to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, 29 Aug. 1616, TNA SP 14/88, f. 103; and Sir Thomas Lake to Salisbury, 24 Jan. 1605 and 1 Dec. 1609, Cecil Papers 103/140 and 128/49.

Haddington, a Scottish favourite and courtier, '& all his favorytes, followers, and parakelles goe shortly to Huntingdon to a match of hunting that he theare hath against my Lord Shefeeldes horse'.[112] On this occasion, Haddington and Sheffield appeared to be actively involved, rather than just betting as spectators (a style of gambling seen at Lodge Park in Gloucestershire), and the focus was on the horses rather than the hounds. As Lodge Park also attests, gambling was prevalent amongst the gentry in the provinces: George Devereux once asked the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lieutenant of Needwood Forest, for a warrant for two bucks, 'for that I am to hunt a wager ther for £20' – in the end, Shrewsbury would only grant him one.[113]

We now turn to the other two styles of hunting, hawking and falconry and bow and stable hunting. Like the chase, hawking and falconry was a pursuit, but the killing of the quarry was done by a bird of prey. In contrast, bow and stable hunting was entirely sedentary for those whom it was organised for. The one similarity which these two styles of hunting shared with the chase was that they catered for different sized hunting parties, enabling their use for a variety of social occasions. On the other hand, both were less strenuous than the chase, enabling a far wider range of participation. It will therefore be shown in the final chapter that women were most likely to engage in these two styles of hunting.

Hawking and falconry were technically different types of hunting with birds of prey. In his excellent study of the sport, Richard Grassby has clearly explained the distinctions between the two. When hawking, goshawks and sparrowhawks were 'thrown directly at ground quarry from the fist and can take both fur (hares and rabbits) and feather (pheasants and partridge)'. It could occur in both open spaces and wooded areas and was 'practised by individuals or small parties without elaborate preparation'.[114] When Thomas Packington went hawking in 1630, he was with only his falconer and a footboy, while Richard Cholmeley was similarly with just two others when he was hawking in woods near his home in October 1617.[115] Hawking was the

[112] Sir George Chaworth to Shrewsbury, 29 Nov. 1607, LPL MS 3202, f. 122.
[113] Devereux to Shrewsbury, 13 Aug. [post-1601], LPL MS 707, f. 181.
[114] Grassby, 'Decline of falconry', 37-38.
[115] Sir Thomas Richardson to Charles I, 4 Apr. 1630, TNA SP 16/164, f. 9; and *Cholmeley Memorandum Book*, 144.

least time-consuming of all forms of hunting: Baron Herbert recommended that men 'studious to get knowledge' should go hawking instead of hunting.[116] It is of no surprise that hawking was the sport of choice for the very busy Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil.[117]

Falconry was a far more elaborate event than hawking. It also differentiated from the latter in that it could only occur in large, open spaces and often involved large groups. Spectators followed on horseback, often for miles, as they watched the falcon search for a quarry. The quarry could either be birds, such as heron, crane, or larks, or small mammals, which needed spaniels to flush them out into the open spaces.[118] Weather conditions had to be ideal: when ambassador in Spain, Sir Francis Cottington would consult shepherds out in the field to learn whether there would be rain or if it was expected to be misty.[119] In January 1624, a French falconer arrived in England to hawk with James I, and it was reported 'His hawkes flie at anything kites, crowes, pies, or whatsoever comes in the way'. Such an occasion would be highly sociable, for the falconer was 'to tarrie till he have instructed and inured our men to his kind of faulconrie'.[120] The event seems to be remarkably similar to a woodcut of the king partaking in the sport, which appears in Turberville's 1611 *Boke of Falconrie* (fig. 2.9).[121] James, the only man on horseback, is surrounded by at least ten courtiers, gazing up at the sky; multiple falcons attack two herons, while two spaniels wait to bring back the herons from wherever they fall to. In 1633, Lord Deputy Wentworth similarly boasted of going into the field to watch his falcons fly at blackbirds and 'there being sometimes two hundred Horse on the Field looking upon us'.[122]

Bow and stable hunting was the only style of the sport without a pursuit of any kind. It was also the only form of hunting to occur exclusively within the park pale, because enclosed spaces aided the herding of deer towards sedentary participants, who would

[116] S. Lee (ed.), *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (London, 1886), 42.
[117] Lady Elizabeth Wolley to Sir William More, 16 Sep. 1595, *HMC Seventh Report*, 654-655. The political significance of Cecil's preference for hawking over hunting is discussed further in chapter five.
[118] Grassby, 'Decline of falconry', 37-38.
[119] Havran, *Caroline Courtier*, 107.
[120] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 17 Jan. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 539.
[121] This book, published in 1575 and 1611, was bound with Gascoigne's *Noble Arte of Venerie*.
[122] Wentworth to Cottington, 24 Nov. 1633, in W. Knowler (ed.), *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and* Dispatches (2 vols., London, 1739), i. 162-163.

then shoot the animals. Hunt standings were built principally for this style of hunting. Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge, in Chingford, Essex, fell into disuse in the later sixteenth century because the park it was situated within, Fairmead, was disparked in the early 1550s.[123] This building was designed for the largescale slaughter of deer which was common at the Tudor courts: Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, with their courtiers, often killed up to 200 deer in a single day.[124] Such a practice disappeared

Fig. 2.9 James I watching his falcons flying at herons with his courtiers. G. Turberville, *The Booke of Falconrie or Hawking* (1611), 81.

[123] The name is a misnomer: it was built for Henry VIII and was a hunt standing, not a lodge where people slept. 'The parish and borough of Chingford', in W.R. Powell (ed.), *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 5* (London, 1966), 97-114.

[124] J.S. Brundage, 'The pacification of elite lifestyles: state formation, elite reproduction, and the practice of hunting in early modern England', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59 (2017), 786-817, at 798.

during the early Stuart period, as the shooting of deer became far more restrained and the numbers killed on any one day rarely entered double figures. Of those that I have found, the highest recorded number of deer killed on a single occasion (or planned to be killed) was at Haddon Hall in 1624, when Lady Manners invited her cousin, Sir George Manners, and her neighbour, Sir Francis Leake, along with their wives, to shoot 'a dozen bucks at the least'.[125]

If the sport at Haddon Hall involved five main participants (not including the servants who would have driven the deer towards them), on a far greater scale was the sport put on by Baron Zouche, when fifty people, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, joined the nobleman to shoot deer in his park at Bramshill, Hampshire, in July 1621.[126] But if bow and stable hunting was, like the chase, amenable to different sizes hunting parties, an important contrast was that it was altogether less frenzied. It thus arguably facilitated more possibilities for socialising, including enabling women to participate, as it involved milling around together rather than vigorously chasing the quarry on horseback. It is this picture of calmness which emerges from how the archbishop remembered his day at Bramshill, before the serenity of the occasion was suddenly destroyed, when he accidentally shot the keeper who was driving the deer towards him: 'his hunting was without noyse, clamor, tumultuous company, hounds running, coursing, fast riding, or any meanes to kill the Deare, but only a small Crossbow'.[127] These crossbows could either be utilitarian or ostentatious displays of status, wealth, and taste. For example, a German hunting crossbow (fig. 2.10) from the late sixteenth century was made of steel, panelled with staghorn and decorated with a running leaf ornament, an echo of both what it was used for and the pastoral setting where it was used. Such high levels of embellishment could be enjoyed and appreciated by participants, in intimate company to one another, while they waited for the deer to be driven towards them.

Finally, guns were increasingly used to shoot both deer, instead of bows and crossbows, and types of game typically hunted with birds of prey – although it was

[125] Lady Manners to Sir George Manners, 10 Jul. 1624, *HMC Rutland*, i. 470-471.
[126] BL Add. MS 72415, f. 1v. The incident, its fallout, and its wider significance is analysed in far greater detail in chapter six.
[127] This was how the archbishop described it in his subsequent defence. BL Add. MS 72415, f. 3.

Fig. 2.10 A German hunting crossbow (c. 1590).

not until the technological improvements of the firearm in the later seventeenth century that they came to play a dominant role in field sports.[128] Again, these could be items of conspicuous consumption: in December 1634, Henry Lord Clifford spent the not inconsiderable sum of £1 on a fowling piece.[129] In 1617-18, Nicholas Assheton killed red grouse, mallards, ring ouzel, pigeons, and thrushes with his gun. On another occasion, he hunted a stag with his 'peece' with two other gentlemen, but they were unsuccessful and so they had a shooting competition instead.[130] In the mid-1640s, Endymion Porter was painted holding a firearm, and a servant brought to him the hare he had just shot and killed (fig. 2.11). The painting was undoubtedly imbued with deeper symbolism and expressed Porter's support for the Royalist cause, but it also demonstrated the practical reality that guns could be used to hunt even the quick and agile hare.

[128] As a result, hawking and falconry declined in popularity, replaced by modern game shooting. Grassby, 'Decline of falconry', 53-62. See also L.G. Schwoerer, *Gun Culture in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA, 2016), 111-113. This shift happened concurrently with the rise in fox hunting.
[129] Chatsworth BA/173, f. 15.
[130] Raines (ed.), *Assheton Journal*, 54, 63, 67.

Fig. 2.11 William Dobson, *Endymion Porter* (c. 1642-45).

The death of the quarry and its significance

In early Stuart England, participants in all three main styles of hunting were spatially dissociated from the violent death of the quarry. In bow and stable hunting, they shot the deer from a distance, while hawking and falconry saw them watch the bird of prey do the killing. Significantly, the evolution of the chase meant that the hounds, rather than huntsmen, now killed the deer. The historical sociologist, Jonah Stuart Brundage, has posited that the growing popularity of forms of hunting that distanced the participants from the violence was both representative and a result of the 'pacification of elite lifestyles' in early modern England – the same trend, as shown in the previous chapter, that some writers on hunting sought to present the sport as

benefitting.[131] The nature of Brundage's research means that he only briefly looks at the early seventeenth century. Yet a detailed examination of the surviving evidence from this period, of how deer were killed at the end of the chase, supports his theory.

It is clear from how those who recounted their experiences of participating in all styles of hunting that the pleasure and sociability of the sport was of increasingly greater importance than the quarry's ultimate death. For instance, in 1637, Thomas Hughes 'met my Lord Newcastle upon Wednesday last in Carlton fields where he was attended with the best and the highest flying hawks that ever I saw yet they killed not a partridge though many coneys were sprung to them'.[132] Hughes clearly enjoyed the pleasure of watching the hawks at flight, irrespective of the end result. The comments of William Hamond, the gentleman servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury, upon the arrival of 4lbs of gunpowder at Sheffield Park in 1611, reveal a similar emphasis, this time on the thrill of the chase rather than the climax of the catch. The gunpowder was to be used, Hamond wrote disapprovingly, 'to murder the hare'. This inconsiderate killing was especially wrong because there were hounds present, and so coursing them would be far more enjoyable. Yet Hamond had no problem with the use of guns for 'the killing of a fatte bucke, because theay make not soe good sporte' when chased with hounds.[133] Indeed, the growing popularity of hare coursing over deer coursing, as seen in the previous section, is part of this same shift towards prioritising sporting pleasure over the significance of the kill – as deer were otherwise perceived to be far more noble creatures than hares.

Another important aspect of this shift in emphasis and pleasure was that early seventeenth-century gentlemen allowed their hounds to kill the quarry. This starkly contrasted with traditional hunting *par force*, in which it was the job of the huntsman to kill the quarry when it was finally at bay.[134] Evidence from a variety of sources attests to this fundamental transition. Gascoigne wrote in his description of coursing

[131] Brundage, 'Pacification of elite lifestyles', 796-799. This builds upon the work of the sociologist Norbert Elias, who locates the decline in violence during the hunt in the shift to fox hunting in the eighteenth century. N. Elias, 'An essay on sport and violence', in N. Elias and E. Dunning (eds.), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford, 1986), 150-174.
[132] Hughes to Sir Gervase Clifton, 13 Oct. 1637, Nottingham University MS Cl C 227.
[133] Hamond to Henry Butler, 2 Jun. 1611, LPL MS 708, f. 176.
[134] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 124-127.

that 'a redde Deare wil beare sometimes foure or five brase of Greyhoundes before they can pull him downe'.[135] Hounds were also trained to make sure they did not 'break' the hare when they were hunting it.[136] In a fascinating woodcut in Francis Barlow's *Wayes of Hunts, Hawking and Fishing*, published slightly later than our period in 1671, the stag is clearly killed by the hounds (fig. 2.12). Hence, in his 'Booke of Expences', Sir Edward Dering always referred to his dogs killing the deer that he hunted in various parks around Kent during the 1620s.[137] When the Duke of Saxe-Weimar hunted with James I in 1613, he found 'no particular enjoyment in this sport', partly because the dogs killed the stag – a contrast to his experiences back in

Fig. 2.12 Francis Barlow, *Severall Wayes of Hunts, Hawking and Fishing, According to the English Manner* (1671).

[135] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 247.
[136] Blome, *Gentleman's Recreation* (1686), 49.
[137] Yeandle (ed.), *Sir Edward Dering 'Booke of Expences'*, 167, 169, 296, 423.

Germany, where huntsmen still killed it.[138] Boasts of how they personally killed stags are remarkably non-existent amongst the letters and biographies of the early Stuart gentry and nobility. I have found only one description of a huntsman bravely killing a deer with a sword, and even this is likely to have been significantly embellished by its author, to retrospectively exaggerate his youthful masculinity in his autobiography, written decades after the fact.[139]

Yet complicating this picture was the fact that, unlike eighteenth-century fox hunters, early Stuart huntsmen still carried weapons. This helped maintain the martial pretensions of hunting which many contemporaries were unwilling to give up – although when Norfolk royalists gathered under the pretence of hunting in 1650, armed with swords, one parliamentary supporter wryly remarked that they were 'an unusual weapon to kill game with'.[140] Both Charles I (see fig. 4.1) and his older brother, Henry (fig. 2.13), were painted at the chase with swords, known as hangars, and they were often given as gifts.[141] An exquisite English example has survived, dating from c. 1630-1660 (fig. 2.14). Two feet in length, its handle is made from stag's horn, and its brass stirrup hilt embossed with a hound chasing a stag, a tiny detail which would have perhaps been admired and commented upon by other huntsmen at less chaotic times of the chase. Spears or poles were also carried; these were around two metres long, of sufficient length to keep what could be dangerous animals at a safe distance. The Earl of Shaftsbury remembered that the house of his godfather, Henry Hastings,

[138] Von Ramssla, in Rye (trans. and ed.), *England Seen by Foreigners*, 154.
[139] Arthur Wilson was hunting with the Earl of Essex and Sir Peter Lee in the mid-to-late 1610s. The hunting party finally got the stag at bay when it escaped, which the other huntsmen blamed on Wilson, who they said had 'falne for feare'. Wilson wrote that 'this made mee more violent in persuite of the stag, to recover my reputation'. When the hounds finally trapped the stag again, Wilson was the only huntsman around and he sneaked behind it and cut first its hamstrings and then its throat. Wilson later boasted when recounting the event that 'the company … blamed my rashness, for running such a hazard'. 'The life of Mr Arthur Wilson the historian', in F. Peck (ed.), *Desiderata curiosa* (London, 1779), 464. Wilson died in 1652, and the autobiography was written towards the end of his life. *ODNB*, G. Parry, 'Wilson, Arthur (bap. 1595, d. 1652), historian'.
[140] Cited in B. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), 207.
[141] For instance, the Countess of Bedford gifted to the son of her friend, Lady Jane Cornwallis, 'a sword to defend him from the malice of the buckes in this their colericke season'. Again, however, the countess did not envisage it to be used during the hunt but when the boy went walking in the park during rutting (colericke) season, from late September to early November (after buck/stag hunting had ended). Bedford to Cornwallis, 4 Oct. 1618, in G. Braybrooke (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis, 1613-1644* (London, 1842), 56-57.

was 'full of the hunting and hawking poles' – they were also used to vault over ditches.[142] Huntsmen could occasionally be armed with crossbows, shooting the deer on horseback: a combination of two hounds and multiple bolts helped Ralph

Fig. 2.13 Robert Peake the Elder, *Prince Henry in the hunting field* (1603).

[142] Cooper, 1636, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 160.

Fig. 2.14 An English hunting hangar (c. 1630-1660).

Anderton and Nicholas Assheton kill a stag in September 1617.[143] Again, however, the use of a crossbow physically distanced the huntsman from the quarry's death.

Just as early Stuart huntsmen removed themselves from the intimate violence of killing the animal, they also stopped practising the ritualised 'unmaking' of the deer, the final ceremony that was so central to hunting *par force*. Gascoigne's *Noble Arte of Venerie* spent a considerable amount of time dealing with how the quarry should be ceremonially carved up.[144] First the dead deer should be laid on its back, and the foot should be cut off and presented to the chief huntsperson. Its head was then cut off,

[143] Raines (ed.), *Assheton Journal*, 54.
[144] Gascoigne, *Noble Arte* (1575), 132-135.

again by the chief hunter. This could either be used to reward the hounds or saved, 'for a memoriall'. The shoulder was kept by the person who 'unmade' the deer, and other cuts of venison were divided up according to the hierarchy of the hunting party. In *The Praise of Folly* (1511), Erasmus mocked this practice, which was widespread among the early Tudor gentry, and which he thought was an arrogant and pompous pageant to express gentility.[145] All this would have been done with a special set of equipment, known as a trousse. This was a multi-pocketed sheath worn on a belt, and which carried a set of knives used to cut up the deer and eat small pieces of the flesh out in the hunting field. An English trousse from c. 1560-1580 (fig. 2.15) has survived:

Fig. 2.15 An English hunting trousse (1560-1580).

[145] *The Praise of Folly*, trans. and ed. B. Radice (Harmondsworth, 1993), 60-61. Erasmus wrote:

> What delicious satisfaction when the beast is to be dismembered! Common folk can cut up an ox or a sheep of course, but only a gentleman has the right to carve wild game. Bareheaded, on bended knee, with a special sword for the purpose (it would be sacrilege to use any other), with ritual gestures in a ritual order he cuts the ritual number of pieces in due solemnity, while the crowd stands round in silence and admires the spectacle it has witnessed a thousand times and more as if it was some new rite. And then if anyone's lucky enough to get a taste of the creature, he fancies he's stepped up a bit in the world.

A similar argument is made in S.J. Walker, 'Making and breaking the stag: the construction of the animal in the early modern hunting treatise', in K.A.E. Enenkel and P.J. Smith (eds.), *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of the Animals in Science, Literature, and the Visual Arts* (Leiden, 2007), 317-337.

the blades were made from steel and the wooden handles decorated with brass. However, I have found no other extant evidence from the early seventeenth century, whether visual or documentary, that either depicts or refers to this equipment. For example, when Prince Henry was painted about to strike a ceremonial blow to the neck of the dead stag, whose antlers are held by the Earl of Essex, he does so with his hangar.

Documentary evidence similarly suggests that this ritual was no longer an important part of the early seventeenth-century chase, although it was occasionally practised at the Jacobean court. In 1608, the Venetian ambassador referred to 'a certain ceremony with which they close the chase'.[146] The ambassador described this in far greater detail ten years later, and wrote of how the deer's throat was cut open by the king and the dogs rewarded with its blood, before James painted the faces of the noblemen he hunted with.[147] Yet there is no evidence to suggest that Charles I engaged in this event, despite his love of court ceremonial. Beyond the Jacobean court, I have found only one other example of such an event happening, and it was done far more simply, rather than the complex process imagined by Gascoigne. In 1634, Bulstrode Whitelocke had married Frances Willoughby without the permission of her family, and this greatly angered them. But the next summer, the newly-married couple were invited to Belvoir Castle, to stay with her uncle, the Earl of Rutland. One day, they went out to hunt, and when the greyhounds finally killed the buck, the earl gave Whitelocke his falchion, and told him 'to cut off the Bucks head'. Upon doing so, the earl 'said he did it woodman like & was pleased with it'.[148] Whitelocke was thereby ritualistically reconciled with and welcomed into his new family. Yet this was the only occasion Whitelocke described an event like this happening, despite frequently recounting his sporting endeavours in minute detail. It is therefore possible to conclude that by the early seventeenth century, the ritualistic and violent death of the hunted animal had declined in importance, while the pleasures that the chase provided were increasingly appreciated.

[146] 24 Sep. 1608, *CSPVen 1607-1610*, xi. 174.
[147] 10 Jul. 1618, *CSPVen 1617-1619*, xv. 259-260. This event is quoted in chapter 3 and the political significance of it is analysed.
[148] Spalding (ed.), *Whitelocke Diary*, 104.

The revelries continue: after the hunt

The day did not end with the success or failure of the chase. Deer killed, it was shown in the previous chapter, were frequently bestowed as gifts to friends, kin, or political acquaintances. But they were also eaten shortly after they were killed, as the revelries of the day's hunting continued long into the night. In August 1608, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury had been hunting, and afterwards they were travelling back home when they were stopped by Sir Henry Maynard and Sir William Dyer. They 'dyned in a pore miserable howse in that village, with our owne meate that was brought from Wyngefeld, wher we were very merry'.[149] When Nicholas Assheton went hunting with Ralph Anderton on 1 September 1617, they later ate the chine and liver of the stag that they had just killed at the house of another gentleman.[150] Hunting away from one's house or park could consequently pose problems when an unsuccessful chase occurred. During their journey back to Yorkshire after the dissolution of the Addled Parliament in 1614, the Earl of Cumberland and Sir John Savile hunted as they went. When they failed to kill a deer in a park owned by Sir William Cavendish in Nottinghamshire, Cavendish's keeper travelled up to where they were staying that night with a buck for them to feast on.[151]

'And as there was a great store of venison', wrote a guest who had turned up to Corby Castle in Cumberland, the seat of Lord William Howard, in the summer of 1634, 'soe was there plenty of wine, and as freely these two noble Persons [Howard and his wife] commanded it to be filled'.[152] The commensal feasting on venison after a day's sport was inevitably accompanied with the drinking of alcohol, often to excess. When Christian IV of Denmark visited England in 1606, he was either hunting with James I or they were getting, infamously, very drunk.[153] In July 1617, Nicholas Assheton and other Lancashire gentlemen upturned the typical order of events by banqueting first at Whalley Abbey and then going to drink at an inn. It was only then that they went

[149] Shrewsbury to Michael Hickes, 20 Aug. 1608, BL Lansdowne MS 90/78, f. 157.
[150] Raines (ed.), *Assheton Journal*, 54.
[151] Chatsworth BA/95, f. 207v.
[152] Howard, rather extravagantly, brought a live roe deer to the table that the guests were at and slaughtered it in front of them. Wickham-Legg (ed.), *26 Counties*, 34.
[153] See the various sources in J. Nichols (ed.), *The Progresses … of James I* (4 volumes, London, 1848), ii. 60-63, 72.

coursing – perhaps it was because of the alcohol that they failed in their sporting endeavours. In January 1618, Assheton got drunk and then went hawking with the Earl of Derby, Sir John Talbot, and others, and 'after some talk they fell to the dice'.[154]

The most famous post-sporting revelry from the period occurred in August 1600, when William Eure and his hunting party stayed the night at Hackness, the home of Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby and his wife Lady Margaret.[155] Yet this occasion (the political and religious significance of the event is discussed in chapter five) would perhaps best be described as a moment of anti-sociability. Upon their arrival, the hunting party began playing cards, which immediately angered Hoby, a puritan. Many healths were drunk, and they talked 'of horses and doggs, sportes whereunto Sir Thomas never applyed himselfe'.[156] When Hoby had gone to bed, they continued to be rowdy, 'singinge … straunge tunes' to purposefully interrupt the prayers of Hoby's servants. The next morning, even more drink was consumed, and matters came to a head when Eure demanded to see Lady Hoby, who had been in bed, ill, since before the hunting party had arrived. After an argument with Sir Thomas, William Eure and his fellow huntsmen barged into the bedchamber and finally saw Lady Hoby. Only then did the group leave, the Hobys' honour besmirched, to go off for another day's hunting.[157]

Conclusion

A social history of the hunt in early Stuart England, using a variety of written, visual, and material sources, documents both the costs involved for the gentry and nobility to indulge in their favourite pastime and sheds lights upon how they described and interpreted their sociable experiences. Furthermore, it demonstrates the heterogenous nature of hunting as a form of elite sociability. The subsequent flexibility enabled people to hunt different animals at different times of the year, to partake in various styles of hunting in multiple different places, and in group sizes

[154] Raines (ed.), *Assheton Journal*, 26, 80.
[155] TNA STAC 5/H22/21, ff. 8-9.
[156] Hoby to the Privy Council, 5 Sep. 1600, Cecil Papers 88/17.
[157] William Eure, enclosed in a letter sent by his father, to Sir Robert Cecil, 16 Jan. 1601, Cecil Papers 180/3.

ranging from small and intimate get-togethers to large gatherings. The drinking of alcohol and eating of venison after the hunt (and sometimes beforehand also) only added to the convivial nature of these events.

Alongside its importance in catering to a variety of sociable occasions, three further points need to be emphasised. Firstly, the time, effort, and money which went into acquiring and looking after the horses, hounds, and hawks needed for hunting further reinforced the exclusivity of the sport as solely the preserve of the gentry and nobility. Secondly, the material culture of the sport likewise included objects of conspicuous consumption, as much to be appreciated and admired during less chaotic times of the day's events as their utilitarian uses. An analysis of these and the architecture of hunting also gives fascinating insights into the lived experiences of those who went hunting. Thirdly, a shift occurred during this period which makes relying on hunting treatises imprecise, for they were a commentary on what the sport had been, not what it had become. The fact that the chase was now either coursing or a far simpler version of *par force* hunting, and the enduring popularity of bow and stable hunting and hawking/falconry, reveals to us that the pleasure of the sport was more important than the ritual killing at the end of it. Providing details of this both clarifies and supports Jonah Stuart Brundage's sociological suggestion that participants were now spatially distanced from the quarry's death. Thus, hunting was appreciated more than ever for the sociability it could provide an elite whose role in society was undergoing a significant transition. The next chapters turn to the different spaces where this sociable behaviour took place, to analyse the sport's importance within multiple political cultures of early Stuart England.

Chapter 3

Hunting as politics at the Jacobean court

Hunting, it was said of James VI and I, was 'the sport he preferreth above all worldie delightes and pastime'.[1] This chapter examines how the socialising that resulted from this delight affected Jacobean courtly politics. It will begin with an examination of what historians have typically focused upon when they have discussed hunting at the Jacobean court, criticisms of it distracting the king from the business of government. It will also show that, in response, James presented hunting as enabling good rule and used the sport as a metaphor for this. Then, using Geoffrey Elton's characterisation of the court as a 'point of contact' with the monarch,[2] the sociability of the royal hunt will be analysed. In diplomacy, ambassadors hunted with the king in the hope of influencing him, while an evaluation of important foreign guests who hunted with James reflected the evolution of Jacobean foreign policy. On royal progresses, hunting was a way in which the gentry and nobility of the counties that James travelled through could meet and socialise with the king, a process in which both parties benefitted politically. Finally, when hunting was a private event with either members of the royal family or, most often, a select few courtiers, hunting was a crucial dynamic within Jacobean court politics. Both Queen Anne and Prince Henry bonded with James during the sport. Then, during the second half of the reign, hunting was used by the royal favourites to dominate access to the king. There were thus multiple Jacobean royal hunts, each with their own specific political context and significance.

In his recent *Penguin Monarchs* short biography of the king, Tom Cogswell has used hunting to set the stage of James' life. Opening with a description of James in 1620 on

[1] H.S. Scott (ed.), *The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham* (London, 1856), 56.
[2] G.R. Elton, 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact. III. The court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (1976), 211-228.

a country road, surrounded by 'beagles, spaniels, greyhounds, sparrow-hawks and goshawks', Cogswell evocatively brings to the page this sporting life that appeared to dominate every waking moment of the first Stuart king of England. Yet Cogswell only describes, rather than systematically analyses, hunting; it does not seek to challenge the fact that, from the seventeenth century until the present day, hunting has been a stick with which to beat James with.[3] Writing in the 1650s, Francis Osborne called James 'this Sylvan Prince', who would rather 'a Horn instead of a Sword by his side' and ruled a kingdom where, 'I dare boldly say, one Man might with more safety kill another [man], than a rascal-Deer'.[4] Three hundred years later, D.H. Willson appropriated the motif of the 'sylvan prince' and devoted an entire chapter to criticising the king's 'repulsive' hunting practices, which 'bored his foreign guests and disgusted some of his own subjects' and 'caused many difficulties in government'.[5] Such arguments have been echoed more recently by Alan Stewart, who also accuses James of not being a particularly good huntsman.[6] Significantly, this perception of hunting has entered wider political histories of the early Stuart period. Lawrence Stone, for instance, retold a rumour of James soiling himself in the saddle while hunting. 'In light of these stories', Stone commented, 'it was clear that the sanctity of monarchy itself would soon be called into question'.[7] This analysis will therefore provide a more sustained and nuanced analysis of the Jacobean royal hunt. It embraces both the revisionist tradition of James, which treats him with more sympathy and notes his frequently astute political behaviour, but also builds upon more recent work which has brought new light on James' shortcomings and the scandals of his reign, especially vis-à-vis the relationship he had with his favourites.[8]

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[3] T. Cogswell, *James I: The Phoenix King* (London, 2017), quote at 3. His recent collaborative work with Alastair Bellany does evaluate the sport's importance in the relationship James had with the favourite, Buckingham. A. Bellany and T. Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven, CT, 2015), 10-11.
[4] Francis Osborne, *The Works of Francis Osborn Esq* (London, 1689), 444-445.
[5] D.H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956), ch. 11, quotes at 181, 186.
[6] A. Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London, 2003), ch. 11; and A. Stewart, 'Government by beagle: the impersonal rule of James VI and I', in E. Fudge (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Urbana, IL., 2004), 101-115.
[7] L. Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642* (London, 1996), 89. This story first appears in H.F. Lippincott, *"Merry Passages and Jeasts": A manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange (1603-1655)* (Salzburg, 1974), 92.
[8] This revisionism is most evident in J. Wormald, 'James VI and I: two kings or one?', *History*, 68 (1983), 187-209. For other more positive assessments of James and various aspects of his rule, see C. Russell, 'Parliamentary history in perspective, 1604-1629', *History*, 61 (1976), 1-27; K. Fincham and P. Lake, 'The

Hunting and its effect on the business of government

When James succeeded to the English throne, it quickly became apparent that a new style of court culture had arrived. This prioritised the new king's love of hunting and made the court far more peripatetic than its predecessor. If Elizabeth I preferred to stay at the royal palaces in or around the capital, James instead travelled constantly between hunting lodges and palaces with access to forests and parks, only returning to Whitehall for important political business or days of celebration and ceremony. A consistent pattern, excellently documented by Emily Cole, can be seen. Following a Christmas spent at Whitehall, James travelled up to Royston and Newmarket after Twelfth Night, returning only to the capital for Easter and accession day celebrations. He would then remove to Greenwich, with short hunting trips east of the capital. Next would be the summer progress, and upon his return he would soon head to Royston and Newmarket, staying there all autumn, except to return to Whitehall for the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot celebrations.[9] This wandering sylvan existence undoubtedly caused many problems and led to many legitimate criticisms. Significantly, however, James responded to these, especially those that contended the sport made him distracted from the business of government, by proclaiming that this lifestyle led to better rule.

In late 1604, two remarkably similar complaints, from two very different sources, were made about the Jacobean royal hunt. In November, James was at Royston where 'a reasonable preaty jeast … happned'. One of his favourite hounds, Jowler, went missing. The next day, while the king was out hunting, the dog suddenly reappeared, with a note around its neck. 'Good Mr Jowler', the locals who stole the dog had wrote, 'We pray you speake to the king, for he hears you every day, and so doth he not [hear] us'. They went on to ask 'his Majestie to go back to London, for els the contry wilbe

ecclesiastical policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies*, 24 (1985), 169-207; and W.B. Patterson, *James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997). For more recent work on the scandals of the Jacobean period and the king's shortcomings, see A. Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002); D. Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England, 1618-1625* (Manchester, 2014); and Bellany and Cogswell, *Murder of James*.

[9] E.V. Cole, *The State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House, 1603-1625* (University of Sussex PhD thesis, 2010), 365-429. This improves upon the general itinerary in G.P.V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant or the Court of James I* (London, 1962), 159-169.

undoon, all our provisition is spent already, and we are not able to intertayne him longer'. But James did nothing: 'it was taken for a jeast and so pasd over, for his Majestie intends to ly thear yet a fortnet'.[10] The next month, the Archbishop of York, Matthew Hutton, wrote a letter to the king which was also circulated amongst the nobility. The archbishop asked James to apply 'more moderation in the lawfull exercise of hunting, both that pore mens corn may be lesse spoiled, and other his Majesties subjects more spared'.[11] The Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, censured the archbishop, evoking the traditional qualities that contemporaries believed hunting instilled: James was like 'the good Emperor Trajan: to be disposed to such manlike & active Recreacions'.[12]

Issues such as purveyance (the right of the monarch to buy provisions or rent carts and horses for below market rate) or the trampling of corn were not new criticisms or unique to James' reign.[13] They were, however, made much worse by the fact that James was far more mobile than any English monarch since Henry VIII. But a far more serious and novel criticism was that James neglected the business of government in favour of hunting. In the first few years of the Jacobean period, critics and commentators appeared to echo Monsieur de Fontenay, who wrote of a young James VI of Scotland that he 'is too idle and too little concerned about business, too addicted to his pleasure, principally that of the chase'.[14] 'Nowe whear your Lord thinketh that stag and buck hunting being out wee shall ply matters of state', Worcester told Shrewsbury in late September 1603, 'knowe my good Lord that wee are and lyke to be

[10] Edmund Lascelles to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 4 Dec. 1604, LPL MS 3201, f. 231.
[11] Hutton to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 Dec. 1604, LPL MS 3201, f. 238. One copy of the letter survives in the manuscripts of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Another survives in BL Harley MS 677 ff. 45-46. Similar criticisms were made in a sermon by Godfrey Goodman, chaplain to Queen Anne, in 1616. Stewart, *Cradle King*, 180.
[12] Cecil to York, n.d., BL Harley MS 677, ff. 46-48. On 20 August 1604 Cecil was created Viscount Cranborne and on 4 May 1605 he was elevated to the earldom of Salisbury. For clarity, in this chapter he will be henceforth referred to as Cecil.
[13] See especially G.E. Aylmer, 'The last years of purveyance 1610-1660', *The Economic History Review*, 10 (1957), 81-93; R.C. Munden, 'James I and 'the growth of mutual distrust': king, commons, and reform, 1603-1604', in K. Sharpe (ed.), *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1978), 43-72; E.N. Lindquist, 'The king, the People and the House of Commons: the problem of early Jacobean purveyance', *The Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), 549-70; and R. Cust, 'Purveyance and politics in Jacobean Leicestershire', in P. Fleming, A. Gross, and J.R. Lander (eds.), *Regionalism and Revision: The Crown and its Provinces in England 1200-1650* (London, 1998), 145-162.
[14] Mons. de Fontenay, 15 Aug. 1584, in R. Ashton (ed.), *James I by his Contemporaries* (London, 1969), 2-3.

more violent for the hare than ever wee were for the bucke or stage'.[15] Worcester thus hinted at the year-round hunting calendar of the Jacobean court that contrasted with the previous reign, when royal hunting only occurred during the summer. A year-and-a-half later, Sir Allan Percy remarked about how 'All oure minds are so selled uppon filde sportes that wee scarsely thinke on any thing more then making of maches both with ha[w]kes howndes and horses'.[16] There is 'no newes to send you', the Earl of Dunbar told Cecil in August 1608, 'butt that we ar all becom wylde men wanderinge in a Forreste from the morninge till the evening'.[17] Comments from outside the court were far more critical. Before he had been king of England for even a year, an anonymous libel said that James 'had come to the throne for nothing else than to go hunting', while the Venetian ambassador thought that 'the new King … seems to have almost forgotten that he is a King except in his kingly pursuit of stags'.[18]

The Venetian ambassadors consequently believed that the Privy Council – and especially the Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil – had a tyrannical hold over policy-making.[19] Alan Stewart has argued that the thirty-five 'my little beagle' letters that James wrote to Cecil showed a government dominated by the latter, as the former was always off hunting, a style of ruling Stewart describes as 'impersonal'.[20] James often thanked Cecil for all the hard work he did: 'Although I be now in the midst of my paradise of pleasure yet will I not be forgetful of you and your fellows that are frying in the pains of purgatory for my service'.[21] In multiple studies of the Secretary of State, Pauline Croft has similarly argued that, as the chief bureaucrat-minister constantly at Whitehall, Cecil counter-balanced the inherent instability that was

[15] Worcester to Shrewsbury, 24 Sep. 1603, LPL MS. 3201, f. 129.
[16] Percy to Dudley Carleton, 26. Feb. 1605, TNA SP 14/12, f. 211.
[17] Dunbar to Cecil, 8 Aug. 1607, Cecil Papers 122/1. Sir Thomas Lake, James' personal secretary during his first decade as king of England, often started or ended his letters to Cecil noting the delays in presenting to James important correspondence because he was off out hunting all day. See, for example, Lake to Cecil, 23 Oct. 1607, Cecil Papers 122/150. In a letter sent from Royston in 1604, Lake also outlined the problems of post-routes between the hunting lodge and the capital. Lake to Cecil, 2 Apr. 1604, Cecil Papers 104/121. It is worth noting that James did make attempts to improve this logistical problem. See P. Harrison and M. Brayshay, 'Post-horse routes, royal progresses and government communications in the reign of James I', *Journal of Transport History*, 18 (1997), 116-133.
[18] Anon., late 1603, cited in Cogswell, *Phoenix King*, 35; and 30 Jul. 1603, *CSPVen 1603-1607*, x. 70.
[19] May 1607, *CSPVen 1603-1607*, x. 510.
[20] A. Stewart, 'Government by beagle', 101-115.
[21] James to Cecil, spring 1604, in G.P.V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI and I* (Berkeley, CA, 1984), 227.

produced by a perpetually mobile king, who rarely spent any extended periods of time in London. Consequently, when Cecil died in May 1612, a lack of bureaucratic expertise and administrative leadership in the capital led to further dysfunction.[22] It is important to note that there are historians who have recently argued that James was an attentive and often hands-on monarch, and that even when he was absent from the capital he was not removed from the business of government.[23] They echo John Hacket, who sought to defend the late king from an onslaught of attacks from parliamentarian writers in the 1650s. Writing of his personal experiences at Royston and Newmarket in the 1620s, Hacket maintained that James 'went not out with his Hounds above three Days in the week, And Hunting was soon over. Much of the time his Majesty spent in State Contrivances, and at his Book'.[24] While James may well have had occasions of attentiveness and high activity, especially over the big religious issues of the day, one cannot escape the fact that, for much of the time, the king was happy to leave most political matters to his ministers.[25]

In their debates over whether James was an engaged king, historians have ignored the king's own perceptions. James crucially portrayed hunting as both vital for his health and leading to the better governance of the realm. In a January 1605 letter to his Privy Council, James drew off the Renaissance humanist tradition (and arguments he had previously made in *Basilikon Doron*), as outlined in chapter one, and told them that 'the public wealth whereof is more precious unto us than our well-doing, in which consideration, having now resolved … to remove sometimes to places distant from this city and our houses nearest to it'. Linking the health of the body politic to his own well-being, hunting would 'only [be] used for preservation of our health'.[26] A

[22] P. Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the early Jacobean court', in L.L. Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), 134-147, at 137-138; and P. Croft, 'Can a bureaucrat be a favourite? Robert Cecil and the strategies of power', in J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (eds.), *The World of the Favourite* (London, 1999), 81-95, at 81. She reiterates this argument in her biography of the king, P. Croft, *King James* (Basingstoke, 2003), 85-88.
[23] J. Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I: 1603-1625* (Woodbridge, 2002), 6-10; and D. Newton, *The Making of the Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603-1625* (Woodbridge, 2005), 142-143.
[24] Hacket was the chaplain of Lord Keeper Williams, who was frequently at Royston and Newmarket on government business. John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (2 vols., London, 1693), i. 226-227.
[25] This cycle between bouts of attentiveness and laziness is excellently captured in Cogswell, *Phoenix King*, 34-36, 42-43, 50-52.
[26] James to Privy Council, 9 Jan. 1605, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 246-247.

more public declaration of this was made in a series of verse circulated in the 1620s, and which were a companion piece to the more famous poem, written by the king himself, 'The Wiper of People's Tears'. The anonymous poet sought to defend the king publicly from charges of misrule: 'It is a Censure of a Clowne / that would have kings keepe all in town / And not upon your grounds to ride', a counterblast to the other criticism concerning the trampling of corn. It continued:

> And for his pleasure health it is
> the state hee hindreth not by this
> But frees his spirit from humours sad
> chearefull to passe state cares so had
> Spending his witts early and late
> for future good of church and state
> In forreigne and domesticall
> affaires, his minds carefull for all.[27]

While it is doubtful that this was very persuasive, James and his propogandists clearly wanted everyone to believe that his regular absence from the capital benefitted all aspects of government and politics.

In other letters to his Privy Councillors, James stated that this lifestyle enabled him to observe political events far more effectively. In October 1605, he told Cecil that 'I, having now remained a while in this hunting cottage, am abler to judge of astronomical motions than ye that lives in the delicious court of princes'.[28] In a style of ruling which may be better described as observational rather than impersonal, James frequently deployed the sport as a metaphor to explain this approach in his private correspondence.[29] James portrayed himself as the chief huntsman in a letter to Cecil in July 1604. This was just before the Treaty of London was signed: the Privy Council thus became his hounds and he metamorphosised the Spanish envoys into

[27] BL Royal 18 A. xxxii, ff. 3v, 20v. I would like to thank David Coast for this reference.
[28] James to Cecil, 7 Oct. 1605, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 265.
[29] In its simplest form, James called Cecil 'my little beagle' or Buckingham called himself to the king 'Your majesty's most humble slave and dog'. See Stewart, *Cradle King*, 181; and D.M. Bergeron, *King James and Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (Iowa City, IA, 1999), 179. In other letters to Cecil where politics is portrayed as a hunt, see 22 Nov. 1604, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 235; and 19 Oct. 1607 and Aug. 1609, Cecil Papers 134/126 and 134/133.

the quarry. James thanked 'that other [pack] of hounds [the Privy Council] that have so truly borne up the couples with you all this year, two of whom helped to hunt the Spanish game'. But the analogy also warned of the complexities of diplomacy. 'Ye have been so much used these three months past to hunt cold scents through the dry beaten ways of London', a hint that, up until that point, negotiations were not going as hoped. He thus warned Cecil to proceed with caution after previous failures: 'Only beware of drawing too greedily in the [leash], for ye know how that trick hath already galled your neck'.[30] David Coast has noticed James use similar strategies in the late Jacobean period, for his absence allowed the king to distance himself politically if his Privy Council failed in their endeavours – just as a huntsman could blame his hounds for the failure to catch a quarry.[31] Significantly, however, this absence displeased the two principal ministers who were busy negotiating the treaty back in London, Cecil and the Earl of Northampton.[32] What emerges throughout his rule is that what James characterized as an observational style of kingship was frequently judged, by even those closest to him, as a lack of sustained interest in the business of ruling – something which no metaphor, reason, or excuse could effectively counter.

Hunting as diplomacy and Jacobean foreign policy

If, during the Treaty of London negotiations, hunting was used to describe an on-going diplomatic negotiation in which James was absent, the sport was also a way in which Jacobean diplomacy was practised. Throughout the Jacobean period, the royal hunt was used to entertain both visiting royalty from the continent and ambassadors. Both parties sought to benefit from these highly intimate interactions: James hoped to impress his foreign guests, while ambassadors saw hunting with the king as a sign of favour and a way to potentially influence his opinion. Moreover, shifts in James' foreign policy can be evaluated by tracing whom James was hunting with at various times of his reign. Historians have not previously analysed hunting as a tool of

[30] James to Cecil, Jul. 1604, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 232.
[31] Coast, *News and Rumour*, 27.
[32] See the letters sent to an evidently testy Cecil, from James himself on 5 Aug. 1604, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 233; and from Lake, 10 Aug. 1604, Cecil Papers 106/77. Northampton attempted to cajole the king into returning to the capital by saying it would 'make the pleasur of your sport more sweet'. Northampton to James, 7 Aug. 1604, TNA SP 14/9A, ff. 10-10v.

Jacobean diplomacy, yet it reveals both a rich alternative picture of how it operated and the king's deep involvement in it, a contrast to his more withdrawn role during the Treaty of London negotiations.[33]

During his first decade as king of England, James was often hunting with Protestant leaders from the continent. One such occasion was when his brother-in-law, Christian IV of Denmark, visited in 1606. On the morning of 21 July, the two kings and James' son, Prince Henry, killed two bucks at Greenwich Park. Then, in the afternoon, the royal triumvirate 'hunted with great pleasure' in Eltham Park and

> killed three buckes on horsebacke, being followed with many companies of people, which in their loves came to see them; whereof a greate many not used to followe such pleasures as hunting, especially being on foot, thought not on their paines; but, in joy of their hearts (which no doubt was pleasing unto them), they endeavoured with all their power to follow after their horses, as never wearied in the view of so Royall Company, thinking themselves most happy (of many other) to behold so rare and excellent a sight, two Kings and a Prince.[34]

The magnificence and majesty of such an occasion was clear, and it symbolized the close marriage alliance between the two Protestant states. The love shown to the two kings by those who witnessed the royal sport was probably exaggerated by the chronicler, but it does demonstrate the popularity of early Jacobean foreign policy, which brought about peace while maintaining a clearly pro-Protestant outlook.[35] Christian visited and hunted with James again in 1614. Moreover, James hunted with Christian's brother, the Duke of Holstein, in 1605; the brother of the Landgrave of Hesse in 1606; the Count of Vaudemont in 1607; Elector Frederick V of the Rhineland

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[33] This is part of a recent historiographical trend to examine the social and cultural nature of diplomacy. See especially J. Watkins, 'Towards a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38 (2008), 1-14. It would be remiss not to mention Glenn Richardson's analysis of the central role of hunting in the competitive diplomacy between Henry VIII and Francis I of France. G. Richardson, 'Hunting at the courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *The Court Historian*, 18 (2013), 127-141.

[34] Three days later they were at Theobalds, and for four days 'they received many great delights in hunting … [and] killed store of deere with great pleasure'. Henry Roberts, 'The most royall and honourable entertainment of the most famous and renowned King Christiern the fourth, king of Denmarke' (1606), in J. Nichols (ed.), *The Progresses … of James I*, (4 vols., London, 1848), ii. 61-62.

[35] See D.J.B. Trim, 'Calvinist internationalism and the shaping of Jacobean foreign policy', in T. Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London, 2007), 239-258, especially 240, 243-248.

Palatinate in 1609 and 1612; the son of the Duke of Brunswick in 1610; the son of the Landgrave of Hesse and the Count of Nassau in 1611; and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar in 1613. There were some notable Catholic exceptions, such as the brother of Archduke Albert in 1606 and, in 1607, the archduke's son and the Prince de Joinville.[36] Nevertheless, these entertainments ultimately sought to create bonds of friendship which facilitated the creation of a Protestant diplomatic network, alongside the more formal links created through marriage alliances and treaties. This culminated in England joining the Protestant Union in 1612 and, the next year, the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the union's leader, Frederick V.[37]

These were not the only diplomatic hunts during James' first decade as king of England. Michael Auwers has argued that in the reign of Charles I, Philip IV of Spain sent Rubens as a 'gift' to facilitate good relations with the art-loving king.[38] Likewise, Henry IV frequently sent to England Monsieur de Vitry, a famous French huntsman, in the hope of exploiting James' passion for the chase to assist good diplomatic relations between the two countries at a time of Anglo-Spanish rapprochement. In September 1603, it was thought that de Vitry 'loses no opportunity when he is alone with the King in the country at the chase to urge upon him the conclusion of the defensive alliance [between France and England]'.[39] De Vitry visited England three more times, in 1605, 1607, and 1611 – each trip, ostensibly, for sports.[40] He was sent this final time to stop a Spanish or Savoyard marriage alliance, but he died while still in England. James was reported to be 'much distressed', a testament to the friendliness which had developed between the king and the sporting Frenchman.[41]

Ambassadors clearly thought that hunting with James was important because it was an ideal occasion for informal but important conversations to occur during what was

[36] For evidence of these visits see 15 Jun. 1605 and 19 Oct. 1606, *CSPVen 1603-1607*, xi. 248, 413; Sir Roger Aston to Cecil, 17 Sep. 1607, and Sir Lewis Lewkenor, 15 Sep. 1609, Cecil Papers 123/151 and 127/159; and various pieces of evidence, including Rowland Whyte to Shrewsbury, 17 Sep. 1607, in Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, ii. 154, 189, 307, 424.
[37] See Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, 162; and Croft, *King James*, 88.
[38] M. Auwers, 'The gift of Rubens: rethinking the concept of gift-giving in early modern diplomacy?', *European History Quarterly*, 43 (2013), 421-441.
[39] 18 Sep. 1603, *CSPVen 1603-1607*, x. 95. See also Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry, 1 Sep. 1603, in Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, i. 255, and, for two later visits in 1605 and 1607,
[40] See 19 Jul. 1605, *CSPVen 1603-1607*, x. 261, and 28 Nov. 1607, *CSPVen 1607-1610*, xi. 67.
[41] 4 May and 9 Dec. 1611, *CSPVen 1610-1613*, xii. 141, 253-254.

an essentially private pleasure.[42] When, in 1611, the Savoyard ambassador was seeking to negotiate a marriage between the Duke of Savoy's son and James' daughter, he planned to follow 'the King in this hunting journy, and made himself a professed hunter, but yt wold in no [way] be permitted'.[43] Four years later, the Venetian extraordinary ambassador worried that while other ambassadors frequently hunted with James, 'for the last two years the king has not invited [the permanent Venetian ambassador] to go hunting or had him to dine upon such occasions, as I understand he did at first with every sign of friendship and graciousness'.[44] The infamous Spanish ambassador Gondomar, who contemporaries believed wielded far too much influence over James, frequently hunted with him. 'He tries to conform in all things to the inclination and taste of the king without stiffness', a rival ambassador commented, 'thus when with the king he vies with him in putting his hands in the blood of bucks and stags, and doing cheerfully everything that his Majesty does and in this way chiefly he had acquired his favour'.[45] It has been argued more generally that ambassadors were very much like courtiers – at the Jacobean court, the best way to capture the king's attention was through hunting with him.[46]

In the second half of James' reign, from 1614 until his death in 1625, Protestant princes mostly stopped coming to England. This coincided with James' attempt to marry his heir, Prince Charles, to a Catholic princess. Now, hunting was used as one of the main entertainments for visiting extraordinary ambassadors from first Spain and then France, who came to negotiate the match. In 1623, James told the Earl of Carlisle to organise a hunting trip for the Spaniards who had arrived to discuss the marriage between the Infanta Castilla and Charles. During the trip, they 'shall find freedome, attendaunce, sport, and the power to dispose what they kill;' this 'noble and magnificent entertainment [the ambassadors] speak with amazement, as having

[42] A similar argument has been made regarding Elizabeth I's reign. S. Adams, "The Queenes Majestie … is now become a great huntress': Elizabeth I and the chase', *The Court Historian, 18 (2013), 143-164, at 158.*
[43] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 20 and 27 Nov. 1611, in N.M. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939), i. 316, 319.
[44] 18 Jun. 1615, *CSPVen 1613-1615*, xiii. 481-483.
[45] 30 Jan. 1620, *CSPVen 1619-1621*, xvi. 150.
[46] D. Biow, 'Castiglione and the art of being inconspicuously inconspicuous', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38 (2008), 35-55.

never seene the like before in any part of Christendome'.[47] Not all were so impressed: the letter-writer John Chamberlain sardonically remarked that they killed so much deer they 'not beeing able to spend yt they burie yt in doung-hills, rather then bestow yt upon our poore heretikes'.[48] These entertainments were all part of a reciprocal discourse between the two nations, to stress their authenticity and genuine hopes of creating a marriage alliance – when Prince Charles and Buckingham were in Spain in their attempts to woo the Infanta, King Philip IV similarly provided them with opportunities to hunt.[49] Moreover, when James heard of their plan to 'bestow a rich jewel upon the Conde d'Olivares', he instead thought that 'horses, dogs, hawks, and such like to be sent to him out of England and by you both will be a far more noble and acceptable present to him'.[50] Hunting, celebrated across early modern Europe as a suitable royal pastime, thus became a key part of James' negotiation strategies.

Yet, by the end of 1623, the Spanish match had collapsed and there was a pivot towards France. Chamberlain reported that a French falconer had arrived in the new year, 'with a present of fifteen or sixteen cast of hawkes, some ten or twelve horses, and as many setting dogges'. These 'hawkes flie at anything kites, crowes, pies, or whatsoever comes in the way. He is to tarrie till he have instructed and inured our men to his kind of faulconrie'. The Spanish ambassadors '[showed] much passion both of greife and anger' at the favour now bestowed upon the French.[51] That summer, the French negotiator, the Marquis d'Effiat, travelled up to Belvoir Castle with the court. The Venetian ambassador wrote that he 'expects to improve his service by this familiarity and the English expect to win him by friendly treatment'.[52] When the court went up to Rufford Abbey, d'Effiat headed south, hunting in parks around London before meeting the king at Woodstock.[53] While Chamberlain, altogether typical of his critical observations of the Jacobean court, wrote that d'Effiat was annoyed that James 'dealt seriously with him and hunting and such trifles, but

[47] Sir Edward Conway to the Earl of Carlisle, 14 Jul. 1623, and Sir George Calvert to Conway, 26 Jul. 1623, TNA SP 14/148, f. 128 and 14/149, ff. 74-74v.
[48] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 30 Aug. 1623, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 512-513.
[49] Buckingham to James, 24 Mar. 1623, in Bergeron, *Letters of Desire*, 189.
[50] To Charles and Buckingham, late May 1623, Akrigg (ed), *Letters of James*, 414.
[51] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 3 and 17 Jan. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 537-539.
[52] 26 Jul. 1624, *CSPVen 1623-1625*, xviii. 399.
[53] Sir Lewis Lewkenor to Conway, 10 Aug. 1624, TNA SP 14/171 f. 44.

trifled with him about the maine business', by the end of the summer hunting season the marriage negotiations were almost completed.[54] Indeed, in a letter to Louis XIII, James commended the sending of 'so gallant a gentleman as … d'Effiat …, who is not only a wise and confidential pledge between us but also a great hunter and good company'. 'Because of the intimate friendship of our mutual affections', James continued, 'and according to his own desire, we are treating as one of our household, communicating to him our counsels and satisfactions in the house and making a part of our recreations in the fields'.[55] Hunting together was a crucial way in which informal but significant negotiations occurred. While the provision of the sport by no means determined diplomatic success and failure, they were a profound and sincere sign of James' attempts, as *Rex Pacificus*, to create a European-wide peace.

Jacobean royal progresses and access for the provincial elite

Diplomatic hunts invariably occurred during the royal progress, long journeys that James and his court made each year from mid-July until mid-September, and which coincided with stag hunting season. The sport that occurred on them was also an occasion for domestic politics, as part of the interaction between the king and royal court at the centre of the realm and local politics and administration in the peripheries. Kevin Sharpe has argued that the feasting, masques, religious ceremonies, touching of the king's evil, and civic processions that occurred on Jacobean royal progresses were vital reciprocal expressions of monarchical authority and allegiance to the new Stuart monarchy. Sharpe ignores hunting as part of this statecraft, but the sport worked similarly to these other displays of royal magnificence, albeit as a more informal performance and to a far more exclusive audience.[56] Indeed, Pauline Croft has made a similar argument about the hunting

[54] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 21 Aug. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 577. On the progress of these negotiations, see R. Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* (London, 1981), 202-205.
[55] James to Louis XIII, 21 Jul. 1624, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 434-435.
[56] K. Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, CT, 2010), 92-106. Sharpe's analysis is similar to multiple studies of Tudor royal progresses. See, for example, E. Cavell, 'Henry VII, the north of England, and the first provincial progress of 1486', *Northern History*, 39 (2002), 187-207; N. Samman, 'The progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', in D. MacCulloch (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1995), 59-73; and M.H. Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, MA, 1999). All these are, in some way, indebted to Clifford

trips that James made before 1603, as king of Scotland. They 'ensured he was well informed about local affairs and were valuable in showing the king to his people. His visible presence was a necessary reassurance after a minority, and allowed him to impress his vigour upon his nobility'. Furthermore, Croft states that on these sporting journeys, 'James was able to display one of his greatest accomplishments, the deft personal kingship that he had brought to a fine art'.[57] The hunting progresses James made each summer as king of England had similar benefits. Moreover, the gentry and nobility gained politically from hosting and socialising intimately with the king.

While hunting was not a formal display of kingship like those mentioned by Sharpe, an explicit hierarchy was maintained during these informal moments of sociability. Roger Manning has thus argued that 'a royal hunt, which was a kind of masque performed out of doors, dramatized the power and mystique of monarchy', while Dan Beaver similarly writes that 'the royal hunt offered a microcosm of the polity'.[58] For instance, when the Duke of Saxe-Weimar visited England in September 1613, James travelled with Prince Charles in one carriage, the duke in another, and 'the other earls and lords rode on horseback' around them to the hunting field.[59] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the hunt itself witnessed the occasional practise of rituals which made the king the leader of the ceremony, something visually depicted in the woodcut of George Gascoigne's 1611 edition of *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (fig. 3.1). 'On his Majesty coming up with the dead game, he dismounts, cuts its throat and opens it, sating the dogs with his blood, as the reward of their exertions', described the Venetian ambassador in 1618. Then, 'with his own imbrued hands, … he is wont to regale some of his nobility by touching their faces'. The blood, as an expression of fealty to James, 'is unlawful to remove or wash off, … and the favoured individual thus

Geertz's anthropological analysis (which uses Elizabeth I as a case study) of royal charisma and the physical performance of power to enforce their authority on particular areas. C. Geertz, 'Centers, kings and charisma: reflections on the symbolics of power', in J. Ben-David and T.N. Clark (eds.), *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edwards Shils* (Chicago, Il., 1977), 150-171. It is finally worth emphasising that all these studies do not analyse hunting as a mode of politics.

[57] Croft, *King James*, 43. She ignores the hunting trips made after 1603 in her analysis.

[58] R.B Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford, 1993), 6; and D.C Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the Civil War* (Cambridge, 2008), 22.

[59] This was described by an attendant to the duke, J.W. Neumayr von Ramssla, and first printed in 1620. W.B. Rye (trans. and ed.), *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), 154.

bedaubed is … dubbed a keen sportsman and chief of the hunt and to have a certificate of his sovereign's cordial good-will'.[60]

Arguably of more importance than this cultural expression of royal power was that hunting allowed the king to be in close and friendly contact with important subjects who were rarely, if ever, at the Jacobean court. For instance, in mid-August 1624, Sir Thomas Wentworth – a leading country gentleman but not yet a figure of national

Fig. 3.1 G. Gascoigne, *The noble arte of venerie or hunting* (London, 1575 and 1611), 133. It is not entirely clear if James is giving or receiving the knife to/from the kneeled huntsman. In the 1575 woodcut, Elizabeth I stood where James is now.

[60] 10 Jul. 1618, *CSPVen 1617-1619*, xv. 259-260. The ambassador reported of a similar 'ceremony with which they close the chase' at Theobalds Park, ten years earlier. 24 Sep. 1608, *CSPVen 1607-1610*, xi. 174.

significance – travelled down from south Yorkshire to meet the king and court at Rufford Abbey. While they were hunting in Sherwood Forest, Wentworth described how 'the Loss of a Stag, and the Hounds hunting Foxes instead of Deer, put the King … into a marvellous Chaff'. But the surprise arrival of a clown, who then quickly disappeared, lightened the mood: 'the oddness whereof caused his Majesty and all the Company to burst out into a vehement Laughter, and so the Fume for that Time was happily dispersed'.[61] Three weeks later, at Woodstock, there was a similar 'great sport … at the hunting of Cropeare a noted and notorious stagge, whose death was solemnised with so much joy and triumphe as yf yt had ben some real conquest, there wanting nothing but bells and bonfires'.[62] The Jacobean royal hunt was clearly a highly convivial occasion.

James used hunting to socialise with his most important subjects from the moment he succeeded to the English throne in 1603, thereby helping to build loyalty and a rapport with them. When travelling down from Scotland, the new king 'meaneth to hunte as he comyth' and 'wonn the hartes of all men that comyth to hym with such famylyaritye and gracious curtesye'.[63] One of the stops that he made was at Worksop Park in Nottinghamshire on 20 April, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Upon his arrival, 'there appeared a number of huntsmen all in greene, the chiefe of which with a Woodman's Speech did welcome him, offering his Majestie to shew him some game, which he gladly discended to see'. The new king 'hunted a good space, very much delighted'.[64] Significantly, before James' arrival, Shrewsbury wrote to John Harper to 'entreate you to let all my good frends in Derbyshire & Staffordshyre know so much, to the end that I may have theire companie against such tyme as his Majestie shall come thither'.[65] Thus, the gentry of not only Nottinghamshire but also Derbyshire and Staffordshire, two counties James was not travelling through, had a chance to socialise with their new king – and many were also knighted, including Harper. This

[61] Wentworth to Sir George Calvert, 14 Aug. 1624, in W. Knowler (ed.), *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches* (2 vols., London, 1739), i. 23.
[62] 4 Sep. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 580.
[63] Baron Burghley to Cecil, 2 Apr. 1603, Cecil Papers 99/147.
[64] Thomas Millington, 'The true narration of the entertainment of his royal Majestie' (1603), in Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, i. 85-97.
[65] Shrewsbury to Harper, 30 Mar. 1603, in J. Hunter, *Hallamshire. The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield in the County of York* (London, 1819), 93.

slow meander southwards meant that it was a fortnight later, on 4 May, that James finally arrived at the outskirts of the capital, at Theobalds, the residence of his Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil. The king was met by dozens of gentlemen and noblemen, including Cecil. The next day they rode out to Enfield Chase to hunt, and he was flanked by the two leading peers of England, the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham. Three days later, he made the last leg of the journey to London. They rode to Stamford Hill, and the rest of the way 'was made a traine with a tame deare, with such twinings and doubles, that the hounds could not take it faster than his Majestie proceeded'.[66] The hunting monarch, at the head of a procession made up of hundreds of his leading subjects, had finally arrived in his new capital.

1603 was clearly a unique occasion, but in 1617 James made a trip of similar significance, when he finally returned to Scotland for the only time after succeeding to the English throne. James and his huge entourage travelled up through Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Northumberland, travelled around Scotland from 13 May until 4 August, and returned through Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Cheshire. Again, he was constantly hunting with local gentry. Even Arthur Wilson, a very critical mid-seventeenth-century biographer of James, wrote positively of this trip: James '[warmed] the Country as he went, with the Glories of the Court: Taking such Recreations by the way … with Hawking, Hunting, and Horse-racing … and the nights with Feasting, Masking and Dancing'.[67] Upon his return from Scotland, which started at Carlisle, James' first chance to hunt was at Brougham Castle on 7 August. Alongside the castle's owner, the Earl of Cumberland and his son Henry Lord Clifford, many of the leading peers of the realm were present, including the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the earls of Arundel, Nottingham, Pembroke, and Buckingham (the royal favourite), and six other lesser nobles. Many leading English knights were also there, including Sir George Goring, Sir Thomas Brudenell, Sir Edward Montagu, and Sir Francis Fane. They were joined by Yorkshire gentlemen –

[66] John Savile, 'King James his entertainment at Theobalds, with his welcome to London' (1603), in Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, i. 137-139.
[67] Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (London, 1653), 104.

friends and clients of the Earl of Cumberland – and at least thirty more Cumberland and Westmorland gentry, all of whom had the chance to hunt and feast with the king.[68]

The sports at Brougham gave some gentlemen the only chance they would ever get to meet and socialise with the king. On the next stage of the progress, in Lancashire, the conviviality of these occasions is revealed in detail, thanks to the survival of Nicholas Assheton's diary. Upon first entering Bowland Forest on 12 August, James killed a buck. The next day, at Whalley Abbey, he killed five bucks. Assheton was present as a client of the Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Richard Molyneux, and was dressed in Molyneux's livery. Two days later, after a trip to Preston and dinner with the town's corporation, James stayed at the house of Sir Richard Hoghton and 'killed a stag'. He hunted there again the next day with 'a great companie', including Assheton, and before dinner he killed another two stags. After dinner, he visited the nearby alum mines, 'then went and shott at a stag, and missed. Then my Lord Compton had lodged two brace. The king shott again, and brake the thigh-bone. A dogg long in coming, and my Lord Compton shott again and killed him'.[69] If the visits to Preston and the alum mine enabled James to be seen on a wider but less personal scale, the hunting trips were far more intimate and exclusive for the leading members of the county. James finally travelled down into Cheshire on 21 August, killed a buck in a park owned Sir Thomas Savage and, after visiting Chester, hunted in Delamere Forest, where he knighted the chief forester who 'ordered so wisely and contentfully his Highness's sports'.[70]

If 1603 and 1617 were unique occasions, when James travelled through areas for the first or only time, the summer progresses he embarked on each year gave the gentry and nobility of the counties he visited more regular opportunities to come into close contact with him. Emily Cole has calculated that James stayed at his subjects' houses seventy-one percent of the time during royal progresses.[71] On eleven occasions James

[68] R.T. Spence, 'A royal progress in the north: James I at Carlisle Castle and the feast of Brougham, August 1617', *Northern History*, 27 (1991), 41-89, at 69-70, 76-77.
[69] F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton, of Downham* (Manchester, 1848), 32-40.
[70] William Webb, 'Itinerary of Cheshire' (1622), in Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, ii. 405-410.
[71] Cole, *State Apartment*, 24.

headed westwards, into Surrey, Hampshire (on four occasions he went to the Isle of Wight), and Wiltshire, before returning to Windsor Castle. He made the same number of Midlands progresses, travelling northwards into Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire, before heading back south through Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire.[72]

For James, these journeys allowed him to assert his authority on both the areas he travelled through and over important but potentially problematic subjects. For instance, while Cecil and Northampton were negotiating the Treaty of London in early August 1604, James was hunting with Baron St. John and other Bedfordshire gentry at Bletsoe; Baron Mordaunt and other south Northamptonshire gentry at Drayton and with Sir Edward Montagu at Broughton; and, for three days before heading back to the capital, with Sir Anthony Mildmay and others in the north of the county at Apethorpe.[73] Notably, Mordaunt was a Catholic who was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, for which he was imprisoned for a year.[74] Hunting with him was an astute attempt by James to integrate marginalised groups like Catholics back into political life (a strategy similar to the sale of baronets to Catholics in 1611),[75] even if in this case it was not as successful as the king wished it to be. There were political benefits for James to travel to another of his favourite hunting grounds, the New Forest in Hampshire. When there, James stayed at Beaulieu, the seat of the Earl of Southampton. He did so for the first time in August 1606, and was 'so well pleased with his hunting here as he seameth to have a purpose to visite it often'.[76] Around this time, Southampton was leading the parliamentary opposition to the king's much-cherished project, the Union of the Crowns. However, the earl was crucial in ensuring political stability for James, for he now led the Essex faction that had been shunned, persecuted, and imprisoned by Elizabeth after 1601. Thus, the visits and reciprocated hospitality were part of a reintegration of this faction. Similarly, when Southampton

[72] On four occasions (each before 1610) James only went as far north as Northamptonshire.
[73] Lake to Cecil, 7 Aug., two letters on 8 Aug., and 10 Aug. 1604, Cecil Papers 106/55, 106/60, 189/11, 106/77.
[74] M. Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester, 1991), 76-77.
[75] P. Croft, 'The Catholic gentry, the Earl of Salisbury and the baronets of 1611', in P. Lake and M.C. Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), 262-281, at 278-281.
[76] Lake to Cecil, 1 Sep. 1606, Cecil Papers 117/83.

was again arrested for trouble-making in the 1621 parliament, the visit which James made in the summer of 1623 aided their reconciliation.[77]

Gentlemen and noblemen were mostly very happy for James to visit them on his summer hunting trips, even if some did worry about the immense costs involved.[78] Michael Hickes, of Waltham Forest, was a client of Sir Robert Cecil, and he was present at Theobalds in 1603 when James arrived on his journey south from Scotland. Hickes was offered a knighthood, but he made the unusual decision to refuse it. He soon regretted it, for he had now seen the vast numbers – including his own, younger brother – who were knighted in the opening months of the new reign. Hickes saw hunting with the king as an opportunity to redress this political misstep. 'If it shall happen (as it is likely) that the king do come into the forrest where I dwell, to hunt, and to come to my howse', Hickes wrote to Cecil, 'then if it shall please hym … to thynke me worthy, it may be I will accept [a knighthood]'. He would do so 'for my wives sake, whom I think worthy to be a Lady, though not my self fitt to be a knight, but by way of comparison with a great number, that have bene and may be made'.[79] The acquisition of favour and honour was bound up with James' sporting itinerary and the opportunities to host him.[80]

At Apethorpe in Northamptonshire, Sir Anthony Mildmay and then, from 1617, his son-in-law Sir Francis Fane (who in 1624 was ennobled as Earl of Westmorland) catered all aspects of the king's stays around his passion for the chase, and in doing so significantly increased the family's power and prestige. Located in the heart of Rockingham Forest, James visited Apethorpe for the first time on his trip down from Scotland in 1603. He would stay there on ten further occasions – indeed, it was during the 1614 visit when George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham, first met the

[77] See *ODNB*, P. Honan, 'Wriothesley, Henry, third Earl of Southampton (1573-1624), courtier and literary patron'. James and the court visited for ten days in August 1623, see TNA E 101/436/5.
[78] During the 1608 Midlands progress, Chamberlain wrote that in Northamptonshire the royal court was 'as unwelcome to those parts as raine in harvest, so as the great ones begin *remeur mesnage* and to dislodge, the Lord Spenser to his daughter Vane in Kent, and divers other gentlemen devise errands other ways'. To Dudley Carleton, 7 Jul. 1608, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, i. 260.
[79] Hickes to Cecil, 1603, Cecil Papers 103/17.
[80] James finally visited Ruckholts on 16 June 1604, during a hunting trip James made into Waltham Forest from Greenwich Palace, and nearly two months later Hickes was knighted. See Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, i. 439, 454.

king.[81] Around 1620, James permitted Fane to impark 300 acres of Rockingham Forest into Apethorpe 'Great' or 'Newe Parke', more than doubling its size. This was to provide the king with 'more pleasure and disport at his accesse into those parts' whenever he visited.[82] Fane was also allowed to fell two hundred oak trees 'for the more commodious entertainment of his Majesty and his company, at his repair into those parts for his princely recreation'.[83] This unusual royal order to renovate a private house helped transform Apethorpe from a dated mid-sixteenth-century country house into a Jacobean prodigy house. Fane rebuilt and redesigned the east range of the house into the style of a hunting lodge, with views of the 'Litle Parke'. This included the state apartment and long gallery, the principal interior setting for regal entertainments. In the King's Chamber, where James would have slept, a designed chimneypiece celebrated James as *Rex Pacificus* and was carved with multiple hunting scenes. The commission of a large statue of the king further reinforced whom this building work was done for, while simultaneously celebrating the royal favour that the family had received through fulfilling James' sporting penchants.[84]

Other Northamptonshire elites could only look on in anger and jealousy at the favour which Mildmay and Fane received. The deforesting of Rockingham oaks infuriated the recently ennobled Baron Montagu, the deputy keeper of the forest whose authority was bypassed in the grant of the warrant.[85] Montagu understood the importance of socialising with James during the hunt and taking advantage of this informal access. On his visit to the county in the summer of 1616, the king hunted in Rockingham and killed 'a very fat buck'. Montagu was responsible for making sure the royal sports were enjoyable and was honoured when James gave the buck to him and 'bade me send it to my mother, and tell her it was a buck of his killing and my keeping, and that would please her well'. The royal hunting party then moved on to another wood in Rockingham, and Montagu was able to speak to James for half an

[81] Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 12.
[82] Petition of the Countess Dowager of Westmorland to Charles I, 1634, TNA SP 16/281, f. 1.
[83] Lord Treasurer Cranfield to Rockingham forest officials, 7 May 1622, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 256.
[84] The work undertaken out Apethorpe by Fane is excellently documented and discussed in K.A. Morrison et al., *Apethorpe: The Story of a Country House* (London, 2016), 89-93, 107-114, 157.
[85] Montagu to Cranfield, 20 May 1622, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 256-257.

hour, before the court finally headed off.[86] Esther Cope has shown that Northamptonshire county politics were defined by the rivalry that Montagu had with first Mildmay and then Fane.[87] The competition over providing good sport and gaining intimate access to the king while he was hunting in the county was a key space in which this was fought.

These hunting trips facilitated a far more informal form of access for gentlemen, unencumbered by the strictly controlled hierarchies and complicated networks of access of Whitehall Palace. Brian Quintrell revealed this to be the case nearly forty years ago: while James was on his hunting trips into the puritan heartlands of Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire in 1604 and 1605 following the Hampton Court Conference, the petitions that he received from godly gentry to show more leniency to puritan clergy in reality made the king increase the clampdown on nonconformity far more than was originally intended.[88] But if, for Quintrell, it was the geographical significance of these trips which led to the royal hunt's importance in the politics of access, in this analysis it is the fact that hunting itself was a vital way in accessing the king. In early September 1612, the royal progress was coming to an end at Windsor Castle where, Sir Henry Neville reported, 'this tumultuary and uncertain attendance upon the King's sports affords me little time to write'.[89] Neville, who advantageously lived nearby, hoped to be appointed Secretary of State, for the office had become available following the death of Cecil earlier in the year.[90] While James hunted, Neville politicked for the office: he was found talking to James on 5 September 'as he hunted, for two hours, and received good approbation in the most of his advices'. Indeed, he did so despite advice from his friends, 'not to obstrude

[86] During this royal visit, Montagu also tried to cultivate the patronage of the king's new favourite, Buckingham, and 'bestowed a fine horse on him'. Montagu to his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, James Montagu, 10 Aug. 1616, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 249. For further information on his responsibilities in maintaining the hunting landscape in Rockingham Forest, see Baron Burghley to Montagu, 3 Jun. 1604, *HMC Beaulieu*, 41-42.

[87] E.S. Cope, *The Life of a Public Man: Edward, First Baron Montagu of Boughton, 1562-1644* (Philadelphia, PA, 1981), 30, 69, 78-79, 96-100, 122.

[88] B.W. Quintrell, 'The royal hunt and the puritans, 1604-1605', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), 41-58. See also D. Newton, 'Sir Francis Hastings and the religious education of James VI and I', *The Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), 917-934.

[89] Neville to Sir Ralph Winwood, 6 Sep. 1612, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 111.

[90] Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Thomas Lake, and Sir Henry Wotton also sought the secretaryship. Viscount Lisle to Winwood, 13 Sep. 1612, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 112.

himself into any petition or pursuit, but to leave it to them wholly, to cull out a time proper for the propounding it with success'.[91] The chance to lobby the king informally while out in the field was clearly too tempting to resist.

Hunting, court politics, and the royal favourites

While Neville failed to acquire the secretaryship, his actions demonstrate how important the royal hunt had become within the dynamics of Jacobean court politics. Hunts with foreign guests and on progresses were adjuncts to what was, for most of the year, a private sport for the king, the royal family, and a select few courtiers. Yet the very exclusive nature of this more insulated royal hunt did not diminish its political importance.[92] How courtiers and the royal favourites used hunting to gain favour with the king and then control access to him will be examined shortly, but it is first worth considering the sport's significance in the relationship James had with two other prominent court figures, Queen Anne and Prince Henry.

Hunting has curiously been ignored by both historians of Anne and Henry.[93] Both were painted at the chase (see fig. 3.2 for Anne and fig. 2.13 for Henry). Indeed, Anne hung her hunting portrait next to a portrait of Elizabeth I in her withdrawing chamber at Oatlands, which Erin Griffey argues allowed her 'to display her own legacy and legitimacy as a queen of England'.[94] Anne also commissioned the building of Queen's House, a hunting pavilion overlooking Greenwich Park (see fig. 3.3), although she did not live to see its completion.[95] Both the queen and Prince Henry

[91] Naunton to Winwood, 15 Sep. 1612, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 113.
[92] Neil Cuddy and, in his doctoral thesis, Alexander Courtney, have only implicitly suggested the importance of the more private royal hunt in Jacobean politics. N. Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage: the bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', in D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), 173-225; and A. Courtney, *Court Politics and the Kingship of James VI and I, c. 1615-1622* (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 2008), especially 43-46. Hunting has been briefly discussed more explicitly in Bellany and Cogswell, *Murder of James*, 10-11.
[93] See the sport's absence in the two main biographies of the queen and prince, J.L. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001), and R. Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986). See also Cogswell, *Phoenix King*, 57.
[94] E. Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court* (London, 2015), 71.
[95] Chamberlain described it as a 'curious devise' and thought it cost as much as £4,000. To Sir Dudley Carleton, 21 Jun. 1617, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 83. The completion of Queen's House and its significance in the iconography of Henrietta Maria's queenship is discussed further in the next chapter.

Fig. 3.2 Paul Van Somer, *Anne of Denmark* (c. 1617).

engaged in royal hunting culture to further their political power. Anne was unafraid to use the powers of patronage that the royal hunt gave her against political enemies and she showed a willingness to give hunting-related gifts to express her own views about English diplomacy.[96] Meanwhile, Henry used hunting to cultivate friendships

[96] In 1613, Anne threatened to remove the Earl of Northampton as gamekeeper of Greenwich Park because of enmity between the two. Northampton had to petition James to make sure this did not

with both the realm's most important noblemen and local gentry in the provinces.[97] Henry's love of hunting also influenced his younger brother Charles' passion for the chase.[98]

Both Anne and Henry have been characterised as having distant and often difficult relationships with James, a result of their political differences with him.[99] Hunting was therefore important because it was one of the only real joys they shared with the king. In August 1607, it was reported that 'the queen doth every day ride in the coach with the king to Clarendon Park and there they both do take their horses to hunt'.[100] Six years later, Anne went 'shooting at a deere mistook her marke and killed Jewell

Fig. 3.3 Jan Vorsterman, *Greenwich Park* (c. 1680). The Earl of Northampton's hunting lodge stood on the hill where the Royal Observatory now stands.

happen. Northampton to Sir Thomas Lake, 9 Dec. 1613, TNA SP 14/75, f. 70. In March 1618, Anne sent to Louis XIII of France a gift of horses and hounds, symbolic of her sudden change of heart against a Spanish match, for she now favoured a French marriage for Charles. Nathaniel Brent to Sir Dudley Carleton, 7 Mar. 1618, TNA SP 14/96, f. 87. For the political background of these events, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 143; and *ODNB*, M.M. Meikle and H. Payne, 'Anne [Anna, Anne of Denmark] (1574-1619), queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, consort of James VI and I'.

[97] These included the sons of the two most powerful noblemen in early Jacobean England, the Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil (Earl of Salisbury) and the Lord High Chamberlain, the Earl of Suffolk, in 1607. The next year, Henry hunted in Waltham Forest with Sir Michael Hickes and other Essex gentlemen. Adam Newton to Suffolk and Cecil, 14 Aug. 1607, TNA SP 14/28, f. 53; and the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury to Hickes, 20 Aug. 1608, BL Lansdowne 90/78, f. 157.

[98] C. Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch* (2nd ed., London, 1995), 10-11.

[99] For the relationship between Anne and James, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 23-26; and *ODNB*, Meikle and Payne 'Anne'. For Henry and James, see Strong, *Henry*, especially 14-15; and *ODNB*, M. Sutton, 'Henry Frederick, prince of Wales (1594-1612)'. For comments on these relationships in biographies of James, see Cogswell, *Phoenix King*, 49-50, 57-58; and Croft, *King James*, 56, 85.

[100] James Marvin to Maria Thynne, 19 Aug. 1607, in A.D. Wall (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575-1611* (Stoke-on-Trent, 1983), 40.

the Kings most principall and special hound'. James was angry until he found out it was his wife who had done it, upon which he sent her a £2,000 diamond, 'as a legacie from his dead dogge'.[101] While James did once argue with his son about hunting, there was far more frequently harmony between them out in the field, such as when Christian IV visited in 1606.[102] Three years later, they chased a deer for so long that Henry's horse died from exhaustion. A long way from Greenwich Palace, they had to stay overnight at a little cottage. Fearing something terrible had happened, 'the Queen and the Court were in great anxiety that night'.[103] James was distraught when Henry died in November 1612, and so he went off hunting, finding 'the solitude of the country more fitting for grief and tears than the bustle of London and the Court'.[104]

The reaction to the death of his son shows how James loved the rustic informality that hunting provided, where he was accompanied only by 'our corporation … of fools, horses and dogs'.[105] In 1618, the Venetian ambassador wrote that 'he prefers living in the country and dislikes too large a following, preferring to have a few with him'.[106] Two years later, the ambassador went to meet James at Havering Park, and found 'the king being in narrow, one might almost say poor, quarters there, in the midst of his beloved forests, full of great herds of stags and deer, hunting with enthusiasm and with incessant application'.[107] James frequently travelled to his hunting lodges, in particular Royston and Newmarket, with only 'his hunting crew in tow' – a couple of clerks, his guards, the Privy Chamber, and Bedchamber.[108] This practice was derided by some contemporaries: Sir Roger Wilbraham sardonically remarked from Royston

[101] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 1 Aug. 1613, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, i. 469.
[102] For instance, while hunting in 1611, James upbraided his son for not showing enough care or attention towards the intricacies of the sport. Henry argued back before riding off, 'followed by the larger part of the company'. He later went to the king's chamber to ask for forgiveness: James accepted his apology, although he did chide his son again, telling him that 'You are no sportsman'. 4 May. 1611, *CSPVen 1610-1613*, xii. 142. The story is used as an example of the tensions between the king and his heir in Carlton, *Personal Monarch*, 10.
[103] 20 May 1609, *CSPVen 1607-1610*, xi. 276.
[104] 16 Nov 1612, *CSPVen 1610-1613*, xii. 448. See also Cogswell, *Phoenix King*, 57-58.
[105] James to Cecil, early 1605, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 250.
[106] 19 Dec. 1618, *CSPVen 1617-1619*, xv. 388. James also issued royal orders and even created a new office, the Marshall of the Field, to maintain his privacy. To Dudley Carleton, 23 Jan. 1609, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, i. 282; and royal order, 5 Aug. 1619, in J. Bruce (ed.), *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family* (London, 1853), 117-118.
[107] 25 Sep. 1620, *CSPVen 1619-1621*, xvi. 412.
[108] Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 21 Sep. 1604, TNA SP 14/9/42, f. 137. See also Stewart, *Cradle King*, 176-178.

in 1608 that 'I never saw a lesse courte'.[109] Far more serious were the constant worries and fears that James could be assassinated while on his hunting trips because he was so isolated.[110]

In an important article, Neil Cuddy has excellently shown how these remote places that James loved to head off to were highly political spaces. Surrounded only by a few men of the Bedchamber and Privy Chamber, courtiers used their intimacy with the king to exploit and corrupt royal patronage.[111] Yet the sport as a mode of social politics in and of itself is overlooked by Cuddy, despite courtiers constantly trying to catch the eye of James during the hunt, thereby gaining favour, power, and riches. Boasts of sporting success were frequent: at Hampton Court in late September 1606, 'the lost stag was found, and bravely killed, and his heade brought in great pomp to the Privy Chamber, which hath made an end of all displeasure with houndes and huntsmen'.[112] Unsurprisingly, competition between courtiers was intense and fights occasionally broke out in their relentless pursuit for favour. The pageboy of the Earl of Pembroke and Sir George Wharton fought during the chase in 1608, following an argument Wharton and the earl had had the previous evening during a game of cards. Once they had returned to where the court was staying that night, Pembroke challenged Wharton to a duel, and it was only the king's mediation that stopped it from happening.[113] In 1610, James was hunting when 'the two Earls, Essex and Montgomery [Pembroke's brother], were stealing a quarrell grounded upon a small matter'.[114] Four years later, Montgomery was quarrelling again, for 'unkind and rough words passed there lately twixt [him] and the Lord Walden about hunting matches'.[115]

The sport became an important vehicle for courtly advancement. When James came to the throne, Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchingbrooke, was a leading country gentleman, but he held no national or courtly office. Seeking to change this, he travelled up to

[109] Wilbraham to Cecil, 20 Feb. 1608, Cecil Papers 120/89.
[110] For these plots and rumours, see 8 Dec. 1605, 6 Apr. 1606, and 26 May 1610, *CSPVen 1603-1607*, x. 300, 332-333, and *CSPVen 1607-1610*, xi. 494; interrogation of Thomas Ledington, 6 Jul. 1606, TNA SP 14/22, f. 52; and Worcester to Cecil, 24 Jul. 1609, Cecil Papers 127/108.
[111] Cuddy, 'Bedchamber', 177.
[112] Rowland Whyte to Shrewsbury, 24 Sep. 1606, LPL MS 3202, f. 65.
[113] Thomas Coke to the Countess of Shrewsbury, 1608, LPL MS 3203, f. 535.
[114] Samuel Calvert to William Trumbull, 24 Aug. 1610, *HMC Downshire*, ii. 353.
[115] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 24 Nov. 1614, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, i. 559.

Edinburgh to meet the new king. On the progress south, James stopped off at Hinchingbrooke and 'Cromwell presented his Majestie with many rich and respectable gifts', including 'goodly horses, flete and deepe mouthed houndes, divers hawkes of excellent wing'.[116] He was made a knight of the bath, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and held offices in the two princes' courts.[117] He was also appointed Master of Game across Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, and James made annual trips throughout his reign up to Hinchingbrooke, usually at the end of October, to enjoy hunting and hawking expeditions organised by Cromwell.[118]

The Lord Protector's uncle was by no means unique. Patrons for aspiring courtiers like Dudley Carleton advised their clients to seek offices in the various hunting establishments of the Jacobean court, like the royal kennels, 'for the dooges rune very fleete, and likely the sonner to rune to promotion'.[119] Carleton did not take up Percy's advice, and instead had to labour for much of his political career abroad. In contrast, Clarendon wrote that Philip Herbert, the Earl of Montgomery, 'had the good fortune, by the comeliness of his person, his skill, and indefatigable industry in hunting, to be the first who drew the King's eye towards him with affection'. Moreover, he 'pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well, which his master loved him the better for'.[120] Considering the numerous times Montgomery was involved in arguments with other courtiers out in the hunting field, James' first English favourite clearly viewed the sport as part of a constant competition against other like-minded individuals for the king's attention.

During the second half of James' reign, royal favourites – first Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and then George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham – used hunting to serve their political ambitions and dominate access to the king. James consequently broke his own advice, when he wrote in *Basilikon Doron* to 'conferre not with hunters at

[116] Millington, 'True Narration', in Nichols (ed.), *Progresses*, i. 101.
[117] *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Cromwell, Sir Oliver (1562/6-1655)'.
[118] 25 May 1603 and 15 Jun. 1604, SP 15/35 f. 33v and SP 15/36 f. 77. On other occasions, James was at Hinchingbrooke in early December 1603 for over a week and for two weeks from mid-to-late January 1604, TNA E 101/433/3; for two weeks in October 1605, E 101/433/6; and for two weeks in October and early November 1623, E 101/436/5.
[119] Sir Allan Percy to Carleton, 7 Mar. 1606, SP 15/38, f. 13.
[120] Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (7 vols., Oxford, 1888), i. 74.

your counsel, nor in your counsell affaires: nor dispatch not affaires at hunting or others games'.[121] Early on in Somerset's rise, James spent £1,100 on new buildings at Royston reserved especially for the new favourite.[122] In late 1614, it was remarked about how Somerset constantly attended James at Newmarket while simultaneously attempting to keep the new Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood, away, 'for they find [Winwood] wins grounde all the while he is there'. Winwood's allies found it annoying that the Secretary of State did not challenge the 'practise to kepe him absent', although Winwood himself thought 'he is often and longe enough there for his owne ends'.[123] Winwood was a champion of the Protestant cause and part of the court faction led by the Archbishop of Canterbury. They opposed the pro-Spanish Howard faction, which Somerset was a member of through his marriage to the daughter of the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Suffolk.[124] Somerset also tried to become Master of the Horse, for whoever held that office was often the only Privy Councillor with the king when he was at his hunting lodges and had important responsibilities regarding the organisation of James' hunting trips. Indeed, it greatly angered the English nobility that a young parvenu Scot sought one of the three principal offices of the royal household.[125] In the end, Somerset was only *de facto* Master of the Horse, never formally occupying the office.[126]

Buckingham, who replaced Somerset as the object of the king's affections following the Overbury affair, was far more successful in using hunting to gain favour with and then monopolise access to James. Buckingham shared James' love for hunting, although the favourite's principal modern biographer has overlooked this.[127] Unlike Somerset, Buckingham became Master of the Horse, and he created his own large kennels and stables which travelled with him and supplemented the royal hunting

[121] 'Basilikon Doron', in J.P. Sommerville (ed.), *King James VI and I: Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1994), 58.
[122] Bellany, *Overbury Affair*, 32.
[123] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 1 Dec. 1614, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, i. 561. Winwood continued to regularly travel to wherever James was hunting throughout his secretaryship. See, for example, J. Bruce (ed.), *Liber famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke* (London, 1858), 47-48.
[124] See Willson, *King James*, 335.
[125] Viscount Rochester (Somerset's title before he was raised to an earldom) to the Earl of Northampton, the Howard patriarch, 8 Oct. 1612, TNA SP 14/71 f. 9.
[126] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 7 Apr. 1614, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, i. 522-524.
[127] Lockyer simply remarks that 'the hunting field' was 'where Buckingham and his master spent so much time together'. Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 33.

establishment;[128] he even purchased properties, including Burley-on-the-Hill in Rutland and New Hall in Essex, to entertain James with field sports.[129] When Buckingham was ill for six weeks in 1624, James sent him away to recover, but yearned constantly for him. The letters they exchanged revolved around hunting. 'I can take no pleasure in Theobalds Park till thou come', James told Buckingham in one, while in another he thanked his favourite for 'breeding me so fine a kennel of young hounds … and all of them run together in a lump both at scent and view'.[130] Buckingham responded jocularly to another letter from the king: 'I am very sorry for this new vein you have taken of losing of stags, but am much rejoiced that you attribute so much to my good luck, as to think, if I were there, your ill fortune would alter'.[131] Buckingham also used the sport to bond with the other important royal figure of late Jacobean England, the prince of Wales: he told James in one letter to 'tell your sweet Baby Charles that I will wait of you both before many hours pass, and by the grace of God be at the death of a stag with you'.[132]

Contemporaries believed that Buckingham held a dangerous amount of power in late Jacobean England.[133] Whether the relationship between the king and royal favourite was of a homosexual or homosocial nature has been heavily debated but is, ultimately, unclear.[134] It is nonetheless evident that hunting was perceived to be a corrupting influence, because it both facilitated their intimate relationship and isolated James from rest of government back in Whitehall. When negotiations for James's much-desired Spanish Match were terminated and parliament was called in early 1624 to now discuss funding a war against Spain, which was supported by both the favourite and the prince of Wales, the Venetian ambassador reported that Buckingham watched James 'like a sentinel', as part of a strategy where 'Buckingham remains at Newmarket to prevent any harm, [and Charles] stays here [at London,

[128] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 9599, f. 40; and BL Add. MS 81599.
[129] Buckingham to James, summer 1622, in Bergeron, *Letters of Desire*, 189; and to Sir Dudley Carleton, 24 Jul. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 570.
[130] Three letters to Buckingham, May/Jun. 1624, in Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James*, 436-439.
[131] Buckingham to James, Jun. 1624, printed in Bergeron, *Letters of Desire*, 204.
[132] Buckingham to James, n.d., in Bergeron, *Letters of Desire*, 179-180.
[133] Bellany and Cogswell, *Murder of James*, prologue and pts. 3 and 4; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 463-475.
[134] On the case for homosexuality, see M.B. Young, *James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality* (London, 2000); on the case for friendship, see A. Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago, Il. 2003), 66-104. See also Bellany and Cogswell, *Murder of James*, 12-18.

attending parliament] to achieve the good. Thus they both co-operate towards the same end, although with different functions, yet with a good understanding'.[135] Many others felt that James was a prisoner in his hunting lodges, for it was rumoured 'that if his Majesty would not accommodate himself to their counsels, they would give him a house of pleasures, whither he might retire to his sports'.[136] Over thirty years later, when writers who supported republican rule frequently sought to present the early Stuart monarchy as tyrannous, John Hacket still had to defend James from the accusation that 'Roiston and Newmarket, and such obscure Places, which were to him as the Isle of Capreae was to Tiberius Caesar'.[137]

Buckingham realised the importance of controlling access to the king at his hunting lodges because when the favourite was absent, he sent his mother and sister to be with James, 'as witnesses of what he does and says and to make sure that others do not supplant them in his favour'.[138] Yet he could not stop everybody from getting to his master: when James was hunting in Waltham Forest just before setting off towards the Midlands in July 1624, Arthur Brett, the brother-in-law of the Earl of Middlesex, 'laide a hand on the Kings bridle, or stirrop (as others say) wherat the King was much offended'. He was arrested but later released, 'but with commaundment not to come within ten miles of court'.[139] Middlesex was a leading member of the pro-Spanish faction at court and, only a couple of months before the Brett incident, he was impeached by the House of Commons, which was then in alliance with Buckingham over a shared anti-Spanish foreign policy.[140] After two decades of experiencing a monarch whose life revolved around hunting, the sport had become a political tool used by all factions within Jacobean court politics. The only way to displace Buckingham, who had mastered the social politics of the royal hunt, was to beat him at his own game.

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[135] 2 and 9 Feb. 1624, *CSPVen 1623-1625*, xviii. 208, 210.
[136] Sir Walter Aston (the English ambassador in Spain) to Philip IV, 5 Aug. 1624, *Cabala, Sive Scrinia Sacra* (London, 1691), 13.
[137] Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, i. 226. The French ambassador used a similar analogy in 1622, when a Spanish match seemed the most likely outcome of diplomatic negotiations concerning the marriage of Prince Charles. TNA 31/3/56, f. 6.
[138] 21 Sep. 1622, *CSPVen 1621-1623*, xvii. 442.
[139] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 24 Jul. and 4 Sep. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 571, 580.
[140] On this incident and the factional politics surrounding it, see Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 201-202.

Conclusion

The reign of James I thus began and ended with perceptions that hunting undermined practices of good kingship. The idea that James went hunting to escape his kingly duties quickly became widespread and was an accusation that would haunt him throughout his reign. The fact that the king was frequently far away from the capital on his peripatetic wanderings from hunting lodge to hunting lodge undoubtedly caused problems in government. This was despite James' own attempts to counteract such perceptions through positing the importance of hunting within good kingship. Significantly, at the end of his reign, Buckingham sought to isolate James and monopolise access to the king through exploiting the geographical distance the sport created between James and the rest of the government back in Whitehall.

But these problems which hunting caused in government were only two, rather negative, by-products as to why the sport was so important in Jacobean courtly political culture. The royal hunt and its sociability were, in and of itself, an important political space with multiple political significances. Most of the time, hunting was predominantly a private sport involving just a few courtiers. But this nevertheless made it vital in the dynamics of Jacobean court politics, a way to gain favour with or influence the king. Indeed, Buckingham exemplified how an active participation in the royal hunt was a mode of politics. Just like courtiers, ambassadors also sought friendly relations with James through hunting with him. James happily hunted with foreign guests, and whom James was hunting with at various times in his reign tells us much about the evolution of Jacobean foreign policy. Moreover, the sport was one of the few shared passions that James had with both his wife, Queen Anne, and first-born son, Prince Henry, and they individually gained cultural and political power through the hunt. Finally, when James went on his royal progress each summer, he went hunting with a far wider array of people, the gentry and nobility of the counties he travelled through. Hunting thus became what the king called (although never in relation to hunting) a 'stage of the theatre of state'.[141] The sport was not just a display of royalty but, more importantly, part of the constant and ever-fluid processes of

[141] James I, cited in Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 101.

negotiation between the centre and the peripheries. These created informal networks of friendship, loyalty, and favour with the provincial elite that supported the more formal processes of state formation like patronage, office-holding, and royal orders.[142] It is in this last use of the royal hunt where Charles I differentiated significantly from his father.

[142] On these more formal processes of state formation, see especially M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), ch. 1.

Chapter 4

Charles I and the sociability of the royal hunt

In her long-view history of hunting, Emma Griffin grouped Charles I with his father, as the second of 'two sporting monarchs'.[1] Yet Charles' passion for hunting has, unlike that of James I, escaped historiographical attention.[2] Nevertheless, during the life of the king and in the immediate aftermath of his death, his love of hunting was widely commented upon. Clarendon described Charles as 'excessively affected to hunting and the sports of the field',[3] while Sir Philip Warwick called him 'a laborious hunter or field-man'.[4] 'Stag hunting is the diversion upon which he spends most of his time', the Venetian ambassador wrote in 1636, 'and he thinks nothing of paying for this pleasure with the fatigue of passing the whole day on horseback'.[5] Not even war would get in the way of this love, for he hunted immediately before the battles of Edgehill and Naseby.[6]

While it needs to be emphasised from the outset that hunting did not figure as prominently as it did in the Jacobean court, this chapter will analyse the importance of this unstudied passion within Caroline political culture. It will firstly establish that Caroline royal hunting practices are an important but relatively ignored aspect of

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[1] E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven, CT, 2007), ch. 7.

[2] When the Caroline royal hunt has been occasionally discussed, historians, like those studying James I, have typically focused upon the effect that it had upon the business of government. For example, Charles Carlton has argued that 'Charles was lazy … too busy hunting or playing tennis to sign papers'. C. Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch* (2nd ed., London, 1995), 106. See also Griffin, *Blood Sport*, 94. Charles could certainly be distracted by hunting and it could cause delays in the general functioning of government, problems similar to the previous reign. Nonetheless, Charles was far more diligent in dealing with such business than his father. See especially K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, CT, 1992), 197-208; and R. Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow, 2005), 196.

[3] Edward Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (7 vols., Oxford, 1888), i. 132.

[4] Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the First* (Edinburgh, 1813), 66.

[5] 6 Jun. 1636, *CSPVen 1636-1639*, xxiv. 1.

[6] Carlton, *Personal Monarch*, 245, 283.

historiographical debates on the issues of mobility and access. While Charles travelled widely across England, his journeys were typically made because he loved to go hunting, but this did not make him necessarily accessible. A study of hunting therefore helps further understand the more private and distant nature of the Caroline court compared to its predecessors. Building upon this premise, the second section analyses the king's summer progresses. There were two types of progress: the first taken out of necessity, where hunting was of secondary importance, and the second where royal hunting was the *raison d'être* for the king's itinerary. Charles consequently preferred privacy over public displays of kingship. But this did not mean that hunting ceased to be an important way of accessing the king. The third section demonstrates that Charles felt more at ease while at the hunt, facilitating, for those few people who were permitted to hunt with him, opportunities to socialise with the king on a highly personal level. The fourth section will then examine who hunted with Charles, using in particular the rich material that documents the royal hunting trips to Newmarket. While the nobility hunted with the king there, there is a near complete absence of evidence of the country gentry at Newmarket. Moreover, courtiers of different factions used hunting to maintain favour with and attempt to influence the king. The final section will discuss the importance of hunting in the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria, the appropriation of it in Henrietta Maria's queenship, and the sport's role in the controversies concerning the influence that the queen consort was believed to hold.

Hunting and the historiography of mobility and access

Soon after James I died, John Chamberlain wrote that 'the [new] King shewes himself every way very gracious and affable, but the court is kept more strait and privat then in the former time'.[7] It has become a historiographical commonplace to state that Charles reintroduced a hierarchy and morality to the royal court that had been lost during the reign of his father.[8] Richard Cust has emphasised that while the Jacobean

[7] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 9 Apr. 1625, in N.M. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939), ii. 470.
[8] See, for example, D. Cressy, *Charles I and the People* (Oxford, 2015), 153-157; R. Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625-1642* (Cambridge, 2013), 72-73; J. Richards, '"His nowe majestie" and the English

court was of the French style, open, accessible, and constantly in the public gaze, the Caroline court was of the Spanish style, private, hierarchical, and deriving its majesty through emphasising the mystique of the monarchy.[9] It has been posited that this resulted from the king's own character. Intriguingly, Michael Young has suggested that 'perhaps it was part of [Charles'] obsession with control that he did not like to leave his accustomed environs'. Moreover, he significantly linked this to a claim that Charles 'did not generally travel far from London' and that, 'unlike his predecessors, he did not make leisurely 'progresses' through the countryside'.[10]

Young's contention that Charles did not travel long distances away from the capital or go on progresses is wrong. This has been revealed through a rigorous debate over the issues of mobility and access in the political culture of the Caroline court. The debate began in a seminal article by Judith Richards, who (partly following on from Geoffrey Elton) analysed the Caroline court as a 'point of contact'.[11] Moving beyond the idea that Caroline court culture existed solely in Whitehall or was simply about the arts (most notably paintings or masques), Richards placed at the centre of her analysis royal progresses. She argued that 'the English expected to see their monarch', but progresses were used by Charles as mere hunting trips; it was simply another sign 'that between 1625 and 1640 Charles I systematically distanced himself from his subjects is common knowledge'.[12] While Charles continued to travel widely across England, the traditional point of progresses (where the king would undertake civic processions into key towns and cities in the provinces, and engage with the masses through displays like the touching of the king's evil) had ceased to exist, and so an irrevocable breakdown in the social contract between Charles and his subjects occurred. David Cressy has further elaborated upon Richards' argument. Again, he notes that Charles travelled long distances, but he argues that 'mobility does not equate to accessibility'. In focussing upon petitioning, Cressy posited that Charles

monarchy: The kingship of Charles I before 1640', *Past & Present*, 113 (1986), 70-96, at 80; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 209-222; and M.B. Young, *Charles I* (Basingstoke, 1997), 74, 80-87.

[9] Cust, *Political Life*, 237.

[10] Young, *Charles I*, 86, 118.

[11] Richards, '"His nowe majestie"', especially 78-86. See also G.R. Elton, 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact. III. The court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976), 211-228.

[12] Richards, '"His nowe majestie"', quotes at 78 and 81.

consciously removed himself from the public gaze and sphere.[13] For both Richards and Cressy, a preoccupation with hunting was detrimental to the kingship of Charles I, for the sport replaced opportunities for formal interactions between the king and ordinary subjects.

This argument has principally been opposed by Mark Kishlansky. In a provocative article, he sought to create an 'opposing tradition' to the near-universal historiographical criticisms of Charles. 'It is arguable that Charles I was the most widely travelled and accessible monarch of the early modern era', Kishlansky argued, thereby making these two issues fundamental in his attempt to rehabilitate the image of Charles. Furthermore, Kishlansky reimagined the question of accessibility, by remarking that 'there is a difference between the nation and the political nation. … We need to be as concerned with the people who count as with counting the people in measuring the political impact of royal appearances'.[14] This is crucial: the idea that Charles providing access to and using the court as a 'point of contact' for the gentry and nobility was more important than Charles providing access on a greater, but perhaps less personal, scale to the masses. However, there are several problems with Kishlansky's argument, which Kevin Sharpe has more recently echoed almost verbatim.[15] Firstly, hunting as a potential vehicle for such access is ignored. Secondly, the issue of mobility and access are conflated: they should be treated as interdependent issues. Thirdly, the veracity of Kishlansky's claims are debatable, as Clive Holmes has shown in an important rebuke to 'a case of mistaken identity'.[16] Charles was undoubtedly mobile, but with some important exceptions his sporting peregrinations took him to the same few places and did not promote greater access to him.

The Venetian ambassador reported, in his 1635 *relazione*, that Charles 'enjoys hunting above all other pleasures, and devotes himself to it with untiring energy, being in

[13] Cressy, *Charles and the People*, 161. See especially chs. 5 and 6.
[14] M.A. Kishlansky, 'Charles I: a case of mistaken identity', *Past & Present*, 189 (2005), 41-80, especially 47-49, 61-62.
[15] See K. Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, CT, 2010), 244-247.
[16] C. Holmes, 'Charles I: a case of mistaken identity: debate on Kishlansky', *Past & Present*, 205 (2009), 175-188, especially 176-180.

almost perpetual movement on his journeys at all times of the year indifferently'.[17] Indeed, Exchequer accounts and newsletters show that the Caroline royal itinerary, like its Jacobean predecessor, was heavily influenced by royal sports, alongside formal institutions and events like parliament, the law seasons, and festivities and ceremonies. As a general schedule, Christmas and Twelfth Night were spent at Whitehall, and Charles usually stayed in the capital until mid-to-late February, when he headed off to Newmarket (and occasionally Hampton Court) for his winter sports.[18] The king would return to Whitehall just before Palm Sunday and spend Easter there, before going up the Thames to Windsor Castle for the Order of the Garter ceremonies on St. George's Day.[19] Charles did not spend long here, as he was immediately off to Greenwich, hunting through late spring and early summer.[20] Next was the summer progress, and the court headed off on its travels around mid-July. This usually ended around mid-September at Theobalds, where Charles sometimes stayed as late as Michaelmas, before finally returning to the capital.[21] On other occasions, the court headed straight from Theobalds to Hampton Court, which along with Newmarket was the location for the king's autumnal retreats, before returning to Whitehall for all Hallowtide.[22] Even in November and December, Charles went on hunting trips up to Newmarket or, closer to the capital, Theobalds.[23]

Charles hunted at all these locations. Even when he was back in London, he found time to hunt, frequently releasing deer out of Marylebone Park to chase in the

[17] 13 Apr. 1635, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 363.
[18] In 1627, for instance, they were at Newmarket by 25 February, before heading back via Theobalds around 18 March. In 1631, however, these dates were shifted forward, as the royal couple were at Newmarket by 16 January but back at Whitehall in early February, for a masque put on by the Queen and her ladies. In 1637, Charles and Henrietta Maria were at Newmarket in later January, and at Hampton Court in February. See the Exchequer accounts for 1626/27 and 1630/31, TNA E 101/438/1, 9; John Flower to Viscount Scudamore, 15 Jan. 1631, TNA C 115/105/8132; and Sir John Finet to Scudamore, 1 Feb. 1637, TNA C 115/109/8801.
[19] See Flower to Scudamore, 10 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/104/8089; and George Garrard to Wentworth, 10 May 1638, in W. Knowler (ed.), *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and* Dispatches (2 vols., London, 1739), ii. 168.
[20] See the Exchequer accounts for 1628/29 and 1630/31, TNA E 101/438/5, 9.
[21] See John Pory to Scudamore, 8 Sep. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8410.
[22] In 1635, the king ended his summer hunting at Windsor in early September, went to Hampton Court with the queen, and then on 4 October headed to the capital, where he left Henrietta Maria, for he was 'resolved to go to Royston to hunt and hawk until Alhallontide'. George Garrard to Lord Dep. Wentworth, 1 Sep. 1635, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 463.
[23] See Flower to Scudamore, 8 Dec. 1632, TNA C 115/105/8200.

surrounding countryside.[24] Furthermore, this itinerary was flexible, and could respond to political events and other occurrences accordingly. In February 1628, Charles retreated 'to Newmarkett rather to be a little out of the way, whyle the mutinous saylors ar in settling', before returning to the capital in mid-March for parliament.[25] In contrast, a combination of Star Chamber business and snow in early 1635 'diverted the King and Queen from going to Newmarket, upon which Journey all the Hearts of the Court were set'.[26] The next year, that autumn Charles and Henrietta Maria had to leave Hampton Court due to the plague, going first to Richmond and then to Greenwich, before returning to Hampton Court once it was known to be free from the pestilence.[27] But as all sides of the debate about mobility and access have suggested, Charles travelled the furthest during the most important part of the hunting calendar, the summer progress. This will be focused upon next, emphasising both the centrality of hunting in the king's itinerary and the shift towards more private journeys during the Personal Rule.

Caroline royal progresses: a mobile but inaccessible king

The summer progress coincided with stag hunting season, and from mid-July until mid-September these sports became the principal concern of the king and court. As the Venetian ambassador wrote in 1632, 'during the many weeks that the king has remained away from this city, he has spent in hunting, his usual pleasant turn in the country, which they call the annual progress here'.[28] This was described far more evocatively by the Secretary of State, Viscount Dorchester: 'our tents are sett up in progresse like Tartars; and we hunt before and after noone, like Indians; as yf we should dine and sup on nothing but what we kill'.[29] The sporting *raison d'être* was therefore the same for Charles as it was for his father. But, unlike the progresses of James I or even Elizabeth I, this peripatetic hunting culture rarely offered more

[24] Note by Sir William Waad, 1641. TNA SP 16/487, f. 53.
[25] The Earl of Clare to Baron Vere, 22 Feb. 1628, in P.R. Seddon (ed.), *Letters of John Holles, 1587-1637* (3 vols., Nottingham, 1975-1986), ii. 377.
[26] Garrard to Wentworth, 1 Mar. 1635, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 372-374.
[27] George Leyburn to Richard Smith, 2 and 24 Nov. 1636, in M.C. Questier (ed.), *Newsletters from the Caroline Court, 1631-1638: Catholicism and the Politics of the Personal Rule* (London, 2005), 298, 301-302.
[28] 1 Oct. 1632, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 10.
[29] Dorchester to Conway, 7 Aug. 1630, TNA SP 16/172, f. 46v.

opportunities to access Charles. This difference is symbolised by the two kings' respective journeys back from Scotland in 1617 and 1633, both of which coincided with the summer hunting season. The previous chapter showed how James spent weeks travelling slowly southwards, hunting all the while with the provincial gentry. In contrast, Charles, missing his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria, made the trip from the Scottish border to Greenwich in four days, before going off on a quiet progress with a small court up the Thames Valley, first to Oatlands and then to Woodstock.[30] David Cressy has memorably described this as 'drive-by kingship', with little time for interacting with his subjects.[31]

During the first years of the Caroline regime, this trend was not immediately apparent. In the mid-to-late 1620s, the king's summer movements were along the south coast, as he combined hunting with visiting his fleet during the years of war with first Spain and then France. In late August 1625, Charles was 'at Beaulieu a hunting', before heading off to Plymouth the next week to see his fleet there.[32] Beaulieu, the Earl of Southampton's residence in the New Forest, was only a day's ride from the other main base for his fleet, at Portsmouth. He was back on the south coast in June 1627, seeing off his navy prior to the Île de Ré expedition. Staying at Titchfield, another house owned by Southampton, he hunted nearby.[33] The next year, Charles was again at Beaulieu around 10 August, and either side of this hunting trip he stayed at Southwick Priory, the seat of Sir Daniel Norton, just outside of Portsmouth.[34] Again, hunting appeared to be planned for Charles' stay in the area, for the king was angry at army officers who had allowed their soldiers to kill deer in Bere Forest, 'the onely one neere Southwick for his disport'.[35] Charles clearly enjoyed the sport in the New Forest enough to visit Beaulieu again in 1630, 1632, 1635, and 1637. However, in the 1620s, these trips were not the private hunting holidays they would become in the 1630s. Hunting was rather an additional activity on what were mostly military visits which a king, whose country was at war, was expected to make.

[30] Flower to Scudamore, 27 Jul. 1633, TNA C 115/105/8158.
[31] Cressy, *Charles and the People*, 168.
[32] Joseph Woodfort to Sir Francis Nethersole, 30 Aug. 1625, TNA SP 16/5, f. 181.
[33] Viscount Conway to Sir John Coke, 13 Jun. 1627, *HMC Cowper*, i. 308.
[34] TNA E 101/438/3.
[35] Conway to army officers under the command of Sir James Ramsey, 9 Aug. 1628, TNA SP 16/112, f. 74.

These journeys in the 1620s, of an inherently expedient nature, feature very prominently in Kishlansky's attempt to rehabilitate historical perceptions of Charles.[36] Indeed, during his September 1625 trip out to Plymouth, Charles stayed in the houses of local West Country gentry (although he did not hunt with them, venison from their parks was frequently sent to whoever was hosting the king and court that night), allowing many West Country gentlemen to socialise intimately with the king.[37] It was also necessity, this time for political reasons, which eventually led Charles to embark on the longest journey of his reign, to Scotland in 1633, when he was finally crowned in his northern kingdom. Taking twenty-three days to travel up the Great North Road, the Venetian ambassador reported that Charles 'will mount on horseback and pursue his journey in that way through the parks and forests on the road, so as not to lose the pleasures of the chase'.[38] But, like his 1625 West Country trip, hunting did not figure prominently – most likely because it occurred in May, slightly before stag hunting season. There was only one definite sporting occasion, when he chased a buck with Baron Willoughby on his way to Grantham.[39] Nonetheless, during this journey Charles was the most open and accessible as he ever was during the peaceful years of his reign, constantly feasting with the elites of the counties he travelled through and making multiple ceremonial entries into the major towns and cities that he passed.[40] Indeed, Sir John Coke wrote that the king was 'most cherful, & enjoyeth the love & dutieful demonstrations of his subjects in everie place'.[41] As a way of interacting with his subjects, even Cressy does not deny that this journey was a success, and he notes how sharply it contrasted with the speed with which Charles returned back to the capital.[42] But, as Richard Cust has emphasised, this progress was the exception, not the norm.[43]

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[36] Kishlansky, 'Mistaken Identity', 64-65.
[37] G. Roberts (ed.), *The Diary of Walter Yong, Esq.* (London, 1848), 86-87. See also Cressy, *Charles and the People*, 163-164.
[38] 27 May 1633, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 108.
[39] Sir John Coke to Sir Francis Windebank, 17 May 1633, TNA SP 16/238, f. 123. Charles also made a visit to Lord Deputy Wentworth's newly-created park just outside of York, however Coke, the Secretary of State, makes no reference to Charles hunting there. Coke to Windebank, 25 May 1633, TNA SP 16/239, f. 63v.
[40] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 778-782.
[41] TNA SP 16/238, f. 123.
[42] Cressy, *Charles and the People*, 166-168.
[43] Cust, *Political Life*, 266.

When Charles travelled up to the northern Midlands again in the summers of 1634 and 1636, hunting was now the main preoccupation of the court and access was far more restricted. Charles did stay at the houses of his leading peers and country gentlemen. In 1634, the most notable stay was at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, the seat of the Earl of Newcastle, and from there the court went out hunting in Sherwood Forest, where an accident befell the king and other courtiers.[44] Newcastle 'sent for all the gentry of the country to wait on their Majesties' and the entertainments cost between £14,000 and £15,000.[45] There was thus some interaction with the local gentry yet even this, Clive Holmes has argued, seemed 'a rather enclosed occasion' – 'what is striking about this progress is the *absence* of commentary'.[46] Indeed, that year Charles sent an invitation to the new French ambassador, the Marquis de Pougny, to meet the court at Welbeck. But the invitation was soon rescinded because it would cause the 'interruption of his majestyes sports and privacy', and if an exception was made for de Pougny, others, whether ambassadors or subjects, would attempt to do the same.[47]

Except for the great entertainment that Laud put on for the king at Oxford, the 1636 progress appears to have been even more private.[48] On this occasion, Newcastle provided only a 'small entertainment' for the king at Welbeck.[49] Even Newcastle's neighbour, the Earl of Clare, was not initially invited; Clare instead got a late invitation from the Prince Elector Palatinate, who was accompanying Charles, his uncle.[50] Alongside noblemen like the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Manchester, other important gentry had the privilege of hosting Charles, including Sir Christopher Yelverton and Sir William Savile.[51] Indeed, when the king and court travelled through Buckinghamshire, Sir John Lenthall invited his kinsman Sir Peter Temple 'to come

[44] 18 Aug. 1634, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 262-263.
[45] Margaret Cavendish, *Memoirs of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle and Margaret his Wife*, ed. C.H. Firth (London, 1906), 103-104.
[46] Holmes, 'Debate on Kishlansky', 179.
[47] John Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, 1628-1641*, ed. A.J. Loomie (New York, 1987), 159-163.
[48] All these entertainments cost Laud £2,666. While there was no hunting, provisions sent as gifts included seven stags and sixty-three bucks and does. TNA SP 16/348, ff. 178-181.
[49] Margaret Cavendish, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, 103-104.
[50] Gervase Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family, 1493-1656*, ed. A.C. Wood (London, 1937), 107.
[51] Manchester to Sir Francis Windebank, 4 Jun. 1636; TNA SP 16/325, f. 149. See also Holmes, 'Debate on Kishlansky', 179. Significantly, Yelverton was a courtier and Savile would be a staunch royalist.

hither, where there will be this night good company and tomorrow good sport' as 'the king comes here tomorrow morning'.[52] But again, such comments were very rare.

Far more notable were the more negative comments about the 1636 progress, revealing that the privacy of such occasions was not just the product of the king's own preferences. By now, the unpopular policies that Charles had introduced to raise revenues without having to call a parliament led to a far less warm reception wherever he visited compared to 1633. The king hoped that this progress would have quickened the payment of Ship Money, for Charles planned to pressure 'the Sheriffs in those partes as the courte passeth'.[53] Yet Robert Reyce wrote to John Winthrop, who was across the Atlantic in Massachusetts, that Charles 'was exceeding angry for his bade entertaynemente' when he entered Staffordshire. The king was welcomed by only the sheriff and 'but 10 men and never a gentleman with hym', for all the gentry had purposefully left the county prior to his arrival. Hence, 'in all places where the K[ing] shoolde lodge the goodman gone, none at home but the wyfe, with abundance of all sortes of victualls and servants'. Reyce significantly linked the withholding of hospitality to the king's unpopularity, for 'heere formerly was Benevolences [the Forced Loan] and Shipmony denyed, which some construed was the cawse of every mans generall absence'.[54] Likewise, when Charles travelled to Warwick after the Staffordshire snub, he did not stay at the castle or hunt in the adjoining park, because its puritan owner, the second Baron Brooke, made himself conspicuously absent from the county when Charles passed through. As Ann Hughes has noted, this contrasted sharply with the entertainments that were provided to James at the castle in 1617 by the first Baron Brooke.[55] Despite travelling with the popular Prince Elector Palatine, which Kevin Sharpe has judged was evidence of 'a shrewd sense of public relations for which Charles is rarely credited',[56] the negative reception that the king received in various places where he travelled and expected to be entertained by provincial

[52] Lenthall to Temple, 1636, cited in Cressy, *Charles and the People*, 171.
[53] Lord Keeper Coventry to Nicholas, 12 Aug. 1636, TNA SP 16/330, f. 51.
[54] Reyce mistook Staffordshire for Shropshire. Reyce to Winthrop, 1 Mar. 1637, *Winthrop Papers: Volume III, 1631-1637* (Boston, MA, 1943), 355. See also Holmes, 'Debate on Kishlansky', 179-180.
[55] A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), 100. See also Alexander Williams to Carleton, 20 Jul. 1617, TNA SP 14/92, f. 210 and J. Nichols (ed.), *The Progresses … of James I* (4 volumes, London, 1848), iii. 431-435.
[56] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 246.

elites in fact suggests the opposite. There was consequently a mutual distancing between Charles and his leading subjects.

Therefore, whereas both Elizabeth I and James I mostly stayed in the houses of the gentry and nobility during these summer progresses, Charles preferred instead to stay and travel between the royal palaces situated along the Thames Valley. Hampton Court, Oatlands, Windsor Castle, and Woodstock were the most frequently visited places on the Caroline royal progress. In 1638, for instance, George Garrard reported that the king had 'intended a northern progress to Beavoir, and farther, but had changed his mind; Woodstock is the farthest place he will go this year, and thither not until August'. Hence, 'Theobalds, Oatlands, and Windsor will be the Places of his Hunting until his Majesty go to Woodstock'.[57] The latter became one of his favourite hunting grounds, and he travelled there in 1625, 1627, 1629, 1631, 1633, 1635, 1636, and 1638. The privacy it provided was undoubtedly appreciated. There was some interaction with the local populace, who always gathered to see the court when it arrived,[58] but the sports and intimate sociability within the park pale were for a smaller, more privileged group of participants. When Charles was there from 17 to 25 August 1631, the king and court 'troubled the country very little'.[59] Two years previously, the Oxford fellow, Thomas Crosfield, reported that the chancellor of the university, the Earl of Pembroke, ordered 'that noe Schollars come at Wodstocke during the time of [Charles'] abode there'. When Charles arrived at Woodstock in 1633, 'great multitudes flocked thither to see him'. But the next time he was there, in 1635, a wall had been built around the park to further ensure his privacy when hunting – it cost the Exchequer £1,710.[60] Once again, comparisons with James I best reveal this seclusion: just as Charles' trip down from Scotland in 1633 compared unfavourably to that his father made in 1617, there is no comparable description of the Caroline royal hunt at Woodstock that compare to his father's 'great sport' there in 1624.[61]

[57] George Garrard to Wentworth, 3 Jul. 1638, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, ii. 181.
[58] See, for instance, the payments by the town to the royal trumpeters in 1631. M. Maslen (ed.), *Woodstock Chamberlains' Accounts, 1609-1650* (Stroud, 1993), 133.
[59] Thomas Wyatt, Aug. 1631, cited in Cressy, *Charles and the People*, 165.
[60] See F.S. Boas (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield* (London, 1935), 57, 65, 77. See also H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works: Volume IV 1485-1660 (Part II)* (London, 1982), 354.
[61] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 4 Sep. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 580.

A private but personal king

In his 1635 portrait of Charles (fig 4.1), Van Dyck depicted the king dressed in a satin doublet, taking a rest upon a hilltop after a day in the field. Unhorsed, Charles is accompanied by just two attendants, but he shows a majesty and easiness about his person which, in the words of Roy Strong, 'celebrated [Charles] as the perfect

Fig. 4.1 Anthony Van Dyck, *Charles I at the hunt* (c. 1635).

cortegiano'.[62] This painting reveals how aware Charles was of the iconographic value of the royal hunt and horsemanship more generally (and his willingness, especially when compared to his father, to use such imagery in his kingship).[63] But it also provides a fascinating starting point for an analysis of the importance of the sport's sociability at the Caroline court. Just as Van Dyck's portrait represents the king as a solitary individual, the relatively few comments about the Caroline royal hunt are indicative of its private nature. But the rare surviving documentary evidence also reveals that Charles was very affable during these sociable occasions for the 'few' people permitted to hunt with him, just as Van Dyck portrays Charles as at ease upon the hunting field.[64] It has escaped historiographical attention the extent to which Charles appeared far more friendly while out hunting, in contrast to his more typical awkwardness and aloofness on other, more formal occasions.[65] But this consequently made hunting with Charles an important strategy for ambassadors, courtiers, and noblemen in their search for favour and influence.

The strict hierarchy and ordered nature of the Caroline royal palaces meant that the conviviality and informality of hunting only increased its importance as a type of royal sociability. As R. Malcolm Smuts has argued, the Caroline court showed 'a remarkable capacity to enjoy sensual pleasures while preserving an air of propriety and discipline'.[66] A delightful description of the court in February 1638 demonstrates this. The French ambassador had just arrived at Newmarket, and Viscount Conway joked that 'tomorrow he will wish he had never seene this place for I beleave that Scotch saddle and a *cul françois* did never parte kindly at first meeting'. This was because

> When we doe not hunt we hawke, and in both these Mukkle Jhon and Jefferey are great actors, the rest of the time is spent in tennis, chesse, and dice, and in

[62] R. Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback* (London, 1972), 56.
[63] For a discussion of this iconography and the differences between James and Charles, see especially Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 59-64, 198-203.
[64] 'A few' is a phrase regularly used by the Venetian ambassadors to describe the king's hunting entourage. See, for example, 26 Oct. 1635, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 469; and 6 Jun. 1636, *CSPVen 1636-1639*, xxiv. 1.
[65] Only Charles Carlton has remarked upon this, in his provocative psychoanalytical biography of the king. He briefly comments that Charles was 'uncharacteristically reckless' when hunting and its 'hurly-burly' nature contrasted with a 'remarkably decorous' court. Carlton, *Personal Monarch*, 128.
[66] R.M. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, PA, 1987), 192, 198-199.

> a worde we eat and drinke and rise up to play … I know noething of newes that hath bin here save a proclamation for the hanging of greyhounds.[67]

With the hunt including both the court jester and dwarf, it was clearly an extremely friendly occasion, with the only formal business of government the publication of a proclamation that further aided the royal sports. Hence, for those allowed into the tightly controlled spaces of the Caroline royal hunt, the sport facilitated a more intimate access with Charles.

More specific examples further reveal how Charles was far more friendly when out hunting compared to other occasions. In December 1625, Sir John Coke brought news to the king, who was at Theobalds, of the early successes of the Cadiz expedition. 'Coming very opportunely to the fall of a hind', Coke wrote, 'his Majesty was pleased to bestow her upon me'.[68] Coke appeared somewhat surprised at Charles' friendliness, a rare glimpse for the Secretary of State – who, it will be shown below, had a professional, rather than intimate relationship with the king – at this more personable side. On another occasion, in August 1636, the Venetian ambassador, Anzolo Correr, met the king on progress.[69] He wanted to talk to Charles about foreign policy, but the king 'interrupted me and changed the subject to pleasant and general topics, hunting, pictures and the like, in which he takes greatest delight'. Moving the discussion on to non-political matters appears to be a tactical retreat by Charles and a failure for the ambassador to persuade the king to at least consider a change in diplomatic strategy. Nonetheless, Correr used to his brief chance to talk with Charles to build a rapport with him. The king 'detained me for a full hour, treating me with much more friendliness and confidence than is usual with him'. After their chat, the Earl of Holland asked the ambassador if he wanted to join Charles on a hunt the next day. 'I shall never be able to speak without blushing of the great kindness and courtesy I received', Correr reported, for after the day's sport the ambassador 'accompanied the king to his quarters and thanked him suitably, as a climax to the

[67] Conway to George Garrard, 26 Feb. 1638, *HMC Portland*, iii. 52.
[68] Coke to Baron Brooke, 6 Dec. 1625, *HMC Cowper*, i. 235.
[69] It is not entirely clear where Correr met Charles. Correr said the meeting took place in mid-August near Salisbury, yet in 1636 the king travelled into Sherwood Forest before going to Nottingham, Derby, and then Tutbury, in Needwood Forest. Presumably, the hunt occurred in one of the two forests. See the king's gests, 18 Jul. 1636, TNA SP 16/329, f. 2.

honours shown to me, he presented me with a stag, and deer from the best of the bag'.[70]

Political actors consequently sought to hunt with the king because they thought that it would lead to greater opportunities to convince Charles into backing their cause. Two courtiers who we know hunted with the king because they were involved in sporting accidents both can be seen to have done so for reasons other than simply socialising. For instance, in September 1633, Viscount Falkland fell to his death from a hunt standing while shooting deer with Charles in Theobalds Park. Falkland was in dire financial straits at the time, and the highly intimate space of the hunt standing would have been a perfect opportunity to appeal to Charles for the offices and money-making schemes that he was constantly searching and petitioning the king for.[71] A non-fatal accident happened in 1636, when Henry Percy badly injured his fingers as he cut open a stag that he had just killed with the king in Windsor Forest.[72] Hunting with the king was thus one way in which Percy acted as 'a diligent courtier', as one contemporary described him, and to portray himself as deserving of the important court offices which he coveted and, in the late 1630s, eventually secured.[73]

By contrast, the strategies of power of a figure who had very little access to the king similarly demonstrates the importance placed upon the royal hunt. Lord Deputy Wentworth was over in Ireland for much of the 1630s, and he was constantly worried about what was happening while he was away from the court. He returned to England for a short period of time in 1636, but Julia Merritt has noted that this only made his anxieties about lacking access and influence at the Caroline court worse.[74] Consequently, the next year, when back in Ireland, Wentworth was careful to make

[70] 19 Aug. 1636, *CSPVen 1636-1639*, xxiv. 46.
[71] Flower to Scudamore, 26 Sep. 1633, TNA C 115/104/8113; and Nicholas to Capt. John Pennington, 27 Sep. 1633, TNA SP 16/246, f. 164. For more on Falkland, see *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Carey (Cary), Sir Henry I (c. 1575-1633)', and *ODNB*, S. Kelsey, 'Cary, Henry, first Viscount Falkland (c. 1575-1633), lord deputy of Ireland'.
[72] E.R. to Sir Thomas Pickering, 28 Sep. 1636, in T. Birch (ed.), *The Court and Times of Charles the First* (2 vols., London, 1848), ii. 249.
[73] Percy became Master of the Horse for the heir, Prince Charles. For the quoted observation about him and biographical detail, see *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Percy, Henry (c. 1604-1659)'. See also *ODNB*, S. Reid, 'Percy, Henry, Baron Percy of Alnwick (c. 1604-1659), royalist army officer'.
[74] J.F. Merritt, 'Power and communication: Thomas Wentworth and government at a distance during the Personal Rule, 1629-1635', in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621*-1641, ed. J.F. Merritt (Cambridge, 1996), 109-133, at 109, 130-131.

it known to the king that if he was ever to visit, he would be provided with sports 'with as much Delight, as most that are in England'.[75]

Of course, hunting with Charles did not always lead to political success. For instance, the close access that Henry Oxenstierna, the son of the High Chancellor of Sweden, enjoyed out in the field with the king failed to change the English policy of neutrality that characterised Caroline foreign policy in the 1630s.[76] Oxenstierna visited England in both the spring of 1633 and 1634 seeking a levy of English troops for the anti-Habsburg war effort. On both occasions he frequently hunted with Charles. Yet when Oxenstierna was in England in 1633, the Venetian ambassador reported that by allowing him to hunt with the king, the English government 'by such entertainment they aim at sending him away content', but without a formal anti-Spanish alliance.[77] Charles here used a similar strategy as he did with the Venetian ambassador in 1636: flatter Oxenstierna with friendliness so as to create room to manoeuvre for himself diplomatically. Upon his return the next year, Oxenstierna again 'went to hunt the stag with his Majestye' and 'continu[ed] to make use of the liberty his majesty had given him to hunt with him'. But, as in 1633, all was for naught: on the last night of his stay at Greenwich, there was 'a certayne unaccustomed carriage' between the two, and Charles and Oxenstierna refused to receive each other's gifts, as according to custom they could only be received as 'a testimony of both theyr satisfaction'.[78] Nevertheless, just as in James I's reign, there continued a perception that hunting was a good way of accessing and politicking the monarch.

The Caroline royal hunt at Newmarket

An analysis of people who hunted with Charles at Newmarket, the place Viscount Conway wrote his evocative description of the Caroline court from, further demonstrates that while hunting did not lead to widespread access, it did allow a privileged few to socialise with the king in a highly personal manner. This therefore

[75] This was in a letter Wentworth sent to Charles, 31 Mar. 1637, but the Lord Deputy reiterated the promise to Archbishop Laud, 27 Sep. 1637, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, ii. 60, 105.
[76] See Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 79-81, 94.
[77] 11 Mar. 1633, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 83.
[78] Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles*, ed. Loomie, 156-158. See also the Earl of Huntingdon to Henry Hastings, 2 May 1634, *HMC Hastings*, ii. 75-76.

gives further support to Richard Cust's important recent study of Charles and the king's relationship with his peerage before Civil War broke out. Despite ignoring hunting as a courtly activity, Cust argues that while the Caroline court acted as a 'point of contact' for the nobility, it was less so for the gentry.[79] Moreover, the subsequent survey of those present at Newmarket demonstrates that hunting was appreciated by courtiers and certain factions at the Caroline court who relied on personal friendships with the king for their influence, but the sport was less important for other politicians who sought influence by other means.

Newmarket was described by the Earl of Newcastle, in his letter of advice to King Charles II on the eve of the Restoration, as 'the Sweetest place in the world, & best Ayre, & no place Like itt, for Hunting, Hawkeing, And Courseing, & Horse Races'. But, in the same passage, Newcastle advised Charles that he should 'Invite the northerne Lordes, & gentery, that hath the best Horse & houndes, as also from the other parte[s of the country]'.[80] Reading the letter against the grain, Clive Holmes has argued that it was a subtle critique of Charles I's hunting practices, and that these hunting trips before the Civil War did not '[provide] access for those not already in the charmed circle of court intimacy'.[81] There is no reason to doubt that Holmes is correct. The peerage were regularly invited to join the king while he was at Newmarket: in February 1630, it was reported that 'his Majestie is now at newmarkett and almost all the great Lordes with him'.[82] Two years later, 'there is said to be a great Court of 40 lordes & 30 ladies' at the Suffolk town, and that 'the king huntes with hounds and the Queen courseth with greyhounds'.[83] Yet gentlemen who were not already courtiers were rarely present there.

When the court was hunting at Newmarket on this second occasion in February 1632, Sir Edmund Moundeford admiringly commented upon the 'glory of the Court'. He could do so because he lived relatively nearby; but he could not report back any particulars, such as whether the king drank or gambled – witnessing the court's

[79] Cust, *Charles and Aristocracy*, 70-83.
[80] T.P. Slaughter (ed.), *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia, PA., 1984), 61-62.
[81] Holmes, 'Debate on Kishlansky', 177-178.
[82] Flower to Scudamore, 27 Feb. 1630, TNA C 115/104/8067.
[83] Pory to Scudamore, 3 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8395.

magnificence was not the same as intimately socialising with the king.[84] Only those local gentry with responsibilities to assist and help put on the royal sports could closely interact with the king with any sort of regularity. For instance, Sir John Carleton was Master of the Game at Newmarket, and in 1630 he complained that 'no sooner my backe is turnd but an inundation of greyhoundes, hunters, and faulkoners come downe upon me, that I almost despaire to discharge it to the kings liking'.[85] If most local gentry could not get into close contact with the king, gentlemen from elsewhere in England had even less of a chance. I have found only one example of a gentleman who was not a courtier engaging in the performances of the court when it was at Newmarket between 1625 and 1642. Sir Gervase Clifton, deputy lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, visited upon the invitation of his best friend and brother-in-law, Henry Lord Clifford, in early March 1634: Clifford, the son of the rich and powerful Earl of Cumberland, carried the royal sword at a church service preached by the Bishop of Norwich, and it was noticed that Clifton was sitting in the pews.[86] There were undoubtedly other country gentry who periodically visited Newmarket whenever the king was there between 1625 and 1642. Nonetheless, their near-total absence in letters and reports from Newmarket ultimately supports Ann Hughes argument in her study of Warwickshire, which echoes the findings of an earlier study by John Morrill of Cheshire, that the ties between the Caroline court and the country gentry 'were more tenuous than they had been for the previous seventy years'.[87]

In contrast, noblemen frequently visited the court and hunted with the king at Newmarket. These visits, Cust has argued, was 'the ultimate affirmation of the aristocracy's sense of status and identity'.[88] In January 1631, the Earl of Exeter, Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, joked to the Earl of Newcastle, prior to his arrival at Newmarket, that 'I pray you do not doubt that I will turne jocky in this voyage

[84] Moundeford to Framlingham Gawdy, Feb. 1632, *HMC Gawdy*, 138.
[85] Sir John Carleton to Viscount Dorchester, 14 Nov. 1630, TNA SP 16/175, f. 124.
[86] Journal of George Wentworth, 8 Mar. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 221. It is worth noting that P.R. Seddon has characterised Sir Gervase Clifton as a nobleman in all but name, as he had the wealth, social contacts, and political power equivalent to that of many of the nobility. P.R. Seddon, 'Sir Gervase Clifton and the government of Nottinghamshire, 1609-1640', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 97 (1993), 88-98, at 96.
[87] Hughes, *Warwickshire, 1620-1660*, 111; and J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the 'English Revolution'* (Oxford, 1974), 23.
[88] Cust, *Charles and Aristocracy*, 79.

neither that I will either hunt the hare or learne to dance'.[89] A more frequent visitor was Henry Lord Clifford, who was described by his cousin as 'a good Courtier, a brave horseman, an excellent Huntsman'.[90] Clifford finished a letter that he wrote from Newmarket, in late October 1632, by stating that he will now 'take the freedom to goe to bed after a toilsome dayes hunting'.[91] Clifford was not a permanent court attendee, having important administrative and political responsibilities in Yorkshire and the border counties.[92] But when he visited the court, sports evidently played an important part of his time there. This was also the case for the second Viscount Conway, who wrote the evocative description of Newmarket in 1638 and frequently travelled there whenever he was back in England after moving to Ireland in the 1630s, where he was governor of the Londonderry plantation. In March 1635, he was there for around a week, before returning to London with Lord Clifford.[93]

It is notable that even those peers who were otherwise *persona non grata* within the body politic visited Newmarket, such as the suspected recusant sixth Earl of Rutland. As Cust has noted, Catholic peers were still part of the ancient nobility, whom Charles sought to promote during the Personal Rule. Making such noblemen welcome at court was an expression by the king that their religion did not diminish their rank and lineage.[94] At Charles' coronation, Rutland had the privilege of carrying the rod with the dove, but since that high-point he had been subject to significant legal challenges over his recusancy, and his political influence, at both a local and national level, subsequently waned.[95] Yet Rutland continued to frequently attend the Caroline court. Indeed, when he died at a Bishop Stortford Inn in December 1632, he was returning from Newmarket to the capital for the Christmas festivities.[96] On his deathbed, Rutland gave a speech to his brother, who succeeded him as earl, ordering him to give 'his best heroners to his Majestie … [and] either his best huntinge horse

[89] Exeter to Newcastle, 14 Jan. 1631, *HMC Portland*, ii. 121.
[90] Lady Anne Clifford, n.d., cited in G.C. Williamson (ed.), *Lady Anne Clifford Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery* (Kendal, 1922), 50.
[91] Clifford to Clifton, 20 Oct. 1631, Nottingham University MS Cl C 705.
[92] See *ODNB*, R.T. Spence, 'Clifford, Henry, fifth Earl of Cumberland (1592-1643), local politician and royalist army officer'.
[93] Viscount Conway account book, 19 Mar. 1635, TNA SP 16/285, f. 49.
[94] Cust, *Charles and Aristocracy*, 67.
[95] See *ODNB*, A.J. Loomie, 'Manners, Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632), nobleman'.
[96] Flower to Scudamore, 8 Dec. 1632, 8 Dec. 1632, TNA C 115/105/8200.

for the hare or his best buck hunter, which his Majestie showld make choyce of, and that I showld present them unto his Majestie'.[97] After just leaving Charles at his sport, Rutland evidently felt that a hunting-related gift was the best way to keep his family in royal favour after his death. The reciprocal friendliness between the Catholic earl and the king was thus very different to the relationship that Charles had with the gentry.

Another line of demarcation between those who did or did not hunt with Charles lay within the court. There were many courtiers, often of noble status, who were required to either stay behind in the capital when Charles travelled to places like Newmarket or, if they did go with him, not participate in the royal sports. These 'men of business', as Kevin Sharpe has called them, were responsible for the day-to-day running of government.[98] One such person (although he was not a nobleman) was the Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, whom it was shown reacted with some surprise when Charles treated him with kindliness in Theobalds Park in December 1625, and who was at Newmarket dealing with royal business in March 1634.[99] Another was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron Cottington. Cottington had known the king since he was prince of Wales and he shared Charles' love of hawking, but the Chancellor's administrative responsibilities meant that the court was a place of business, not pleasure.[100] His relationship with Charles was consequently not as close compared to those who hunted with the king. When Cottington's wife died in March 1634 while Charles was again hunting at Newmarket, Cottington sadly wrote to Wentworth about how the king ordered him to remain in London 'to attend [the king's] Service; yet in a whole Week he never sent to take Notice of my Loss'. Wentworth could only console Cottington that 'your Abilities and your infinite Merit towards him' will

[97] *HMC Rutland*, i. 492.
[98] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 153. The Venetian ambassador said that they were 'to assist in what may turn up'. 26 Feb. 1638, *CSPVen 1636-1639*, xxiv. 378.
[99] Journal of George Wentworth, 4 Mar. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 219. See also Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 153-157.
[100] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 150-153; and M.J. Havran, *Caroline Courtier: The Life of Lord Cottington* (London, 1973), 115. For instance, in October 1633, Cottington informed Lord Deputy Wentworth that the king had called him away from his home in Wiltshire to help Coke with various government business in London while Charles hunted at Newmarket. This meant that 'all my Hawking (Business and all) was spoiled for that Time', and he could only hope to see them fly again when he returned to Fonthill for Christmas. Cottington to Wentworth, 29 Oct. 1633, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 141.

eventually 'dream himself again into the right Estimation of you'.[101] Cottington's skills as a bureaucrat, rather than a shared love of hawking, would be his path back to favour with the king.

The relationship between the king and chancellor was like that other Hispanophiles had with the king, such as the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, or those aligned to the Spanish faction, like the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud.[102] As R. Malcolm Smuts has remarked, these people relied upon their political and administrative indispensability for their power and favour with the king. Smuts further notes that they contrast with their rival faction at court, the so-called 'queen's party', who had more pro-French sentiments and who relied instead upon personal friendships with the king for their influence.[103] A key member of this group was the Earl of Holland, who, despite his godly Protestant sympathies, saw a common cause with Henrietta Maria in supporting an anti-Spanish foreign policy. Barbara Donagan has shown that Holland relied on 'the power of propinquity' and 'playing courtier politics' as the basis for his power and influence.[104] This included field sports: for instance, in February 1632, the earl had a bad fall while hunting with the king at Newmarket.[105] If Charles did not even acknowledge the death of his Chancellor's wife, Holland's accident 'muche compassioned their Majesties', and they delayed both their trip to Cambridge University (which Holland was Chancellor of) and their return to the capital.[106] Holland consolidated his familiarity with Charles by acquiring court offices that meant he was constantly required to attend the king on his hunting journeys, such as becoming the principal gentleman of the bedchamber when he was appointed Groom of the Stole in the later 1630s.[107]

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[101] Wentworth to Cottington, 11 Mar. 1634, and reply, 10 Apr. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 214, 231.
[102] Laud, it will be shown in chapter 6, did not hunt because he was a churchman; by the 1620s, Weston did not do so either because of the burdens of his administrative duties as one of Charles' chief ministers. M.V.C. Alexander, *Charles I's Lord Treasurer, Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland (1577-1635)* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1975), 36. See also Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 140-150.
[103] R.M. Smuts, 'The puritan followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s', *The English Historical Review*, 93 (1978), 26-45, at 30-32.
[104] B. Donagan, 'A courtier's progress: greed and consistency in the life of the Earl of Holland', *The Historical Journal*, 19 (1976), 317-353, quotes at 325 and 327.
[105] Flower to Scudamore, 10 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/104/8089.
[106] Pory to Scudamore, 17 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8396.
[107] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 164-165.

Holland's reliance upon an intense personal friendship with Charles meant that it was only after the death of Buckingham in 1628, the previous holder of the king's affections, that he could possibly hope to gain such intimacy and possibilities to influence the monarch. Moreover, Buckingham was another courtier who hunted with the king, although the favourite could not do so as often as he had done with James I because he was responsible for overseeing the war effort first against Spain and then France.[108] But, like in the previous reign, the closeness of the king and Buckingham through hunting together was occasionally seen in negative terms. This was evident in an anonymous libel, 'Of Brittish Beasts the Buck is King', written after Charles had saved the duke from impeachment in 1626. The poet punned on the duke's name, stating that 'Charlemaine', the king, 'loves too well Buck-King of Game'. He then went on to describe the parliament-men who had tried and failed to impeach Buckingham as huntsmen: 'They hunt him oft, but take him not'.[109]

Alongside Buckingham and Holland, Smuts has identified the extravagant Earl of Carlisle as 'perpetuat[ing] the pleasure-loving ways of the previous reign'.[110] Carlisle, as a Hispanophile, was a rival of Holland's for both political reasons and for the more personal reason of competing with him over the king's attention.[111] Carlisle loved hunting and was, before Holland, Groom of the Stole.[112] He attended Charles after the king had a nasty fall during the chase at Newmarket in early March 1634.[113] Just over a year previously, Carlisle acquired from Lord Deputy Wentworth 'a whole kennall of houndes', whose 'ancestors weare of thos famouse Heroes that … weare of the cheefe in sentte and vewe' – these no doubt helped to impress the king when he was hunting with him.[114] However, by the summer of 1635, Carlisle was too old and ill to keep up with the king's sporting itinerary, and he subsequently lost crucial opportunities to

[108] Buckingham hunted with the king just weeks before he was assassinated, meeting Charles at Lambeth bridge. Just before he met with the king, he came across a man who predicted his assassination. Clarendon wrote that 'the duke pursued his purpose of hunting; but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon'. Hyde, *History of the Rebellion*, i. 54.
[109] Cited in A. Bellany and T. Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven, CT, 2015), 283-285.
[110] Smuts, *Royalist Tradition*, 194-195.
[111] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 146, 174-176.
[112] See *ODNB*, R.E. Schreiber, 'Hay, James, first Earl of Carlisle (c. 1580-1636), courtier and diplomat'.
[113] Journal of George Wentworth, 4 Mar. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 219.
[114] Lord Deputy Wentworth to Carlisle, 20 Dec. 1632, 'Four letters of Lord Wentworth', in S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *Camden Miscellany Vol. XIII* (London, 1883), 2.

maintain close access with Charles. Hence, during that summer's progress, he remained with the queen's court at Oatlands and Nonsuch, which stayed sedentary as Henrietta Maria was pregnant, while the king went off hunting elsewhere.[115]

Carlisle, as a Scot, shows that while Charles may have often overlooked the kingdom of his birth, many of his close friends were still Scottish, and they typically shared his passion for hunting. The Marquis of Hamilton, Clarendon believed, 'had the greatest power of the affection of the king of any man at that time'.[116] In late October 1632, he was 'cheerefully receved by the king' at Newmarket after just returning from fighting in the service of Gustavus Adolphus.[117] Hamilton accrued several offices which necessitated a hunting lifestyle, a sport that he was extremely fond of.[118] He was a gentleman of the bedchamber, and so he had to constantly attend the king; from November 1628, he was Master of the Horse, which meant he was required to plan and oversee these hunting journeys and he was also expected to train and keep twenty hunting horses for the king;[119] and, as steward of Hampton Court, he looked after one of the king's favourite hunting grounds.[120] Thus, in October 1635, he was with Charles at Chesterford during a royal hunting trip up to Royston and Newmarket.[121] Two years previously, Hamilton was one of only three courtiers (along with Holland and the Duke of Lennox) who accompanied the king in his journey from Woodstock to Somerset House when Charles heard that Henrietta Maria was ill, before they then continued their 'huntinge sportes' at Bagshot.[122] The Duke of Lennox was the last of the triumvirate of hunting-mad Scottish peers. Always in attendance of the king, he was notably injured in the hunting accident in Sherwood Forest in 1634.[123] In 1638, he was made keeper of Richmond Park, which was imparked to much opposition in the

[115] Garrard to Wentworth, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 447.
[116] Hyde, *History of the Rebellion*, i. 57.
[117] Henry Lord Clifford to Sir Gervase Clifton, 20 Oct. 1631, Nottingham University MS Cl C 705.
[118] Kevin Sharpe has echoed Clarendon, by arguing that 'cultural affinities helped to foster [Hamilton and Charles'] closeness'. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 166. See also *ODNB*, J.J. Scally, 'Hamilton, James, first Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649), politician'.
[119] Warrant to Hamilton, 1630, cited in M.M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London, 1976), 177.
[120] For example, Hamilton was paid £100 to build a deer-house and repair the pales at Hampton Court. Warrant, 14 Feb. 1637, TNA SP 16/347, f. 2.
[121] Hamilton to Secretary Windebank, 9 Oct. 1635, TNA SP 16/299, f. 81.
[122] Richard Kilvert to Sir John Lambe, 29 Aug. 1633, TNA SP 16/245, f. 76.
[123] 18 Aug. 1634, *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 262-263.

mid-1630s, for the principal reason of giving Charles a closer place for his winter sports than Newmarket.[124]

Both Hamilton and Lennox were loyal royalists in the 1640s. But, as we might expect, peers who later sided with parliament during the Civil Wars also travelled to Newmarket – while there may have been disagreements over certain crown policies during the Personal Rule, only the most recalcitrant withdrew themselves completely from court society.[125] If Holland is one of the best-known of these courtiers-turned-parliamentarians, two others were the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Salisbury. Both were involved in the 'toilsome dayes hunting' at Newmarket in October 1631.[126] Pembroke, as Lord Chamberlain, was in near-constant attendance of the king because he was responsible for the organisation of the royal household, its ceremonies, and entertainments.[127] On occasion, this could be problematic, because 'his incorrigibly rough manners' were often at odds with the typical decorum of the Caroline court.[128] But such differences were overcome by a shared passion with the king for both art and field sports, and he could be constantly found out in the field with Charles.[129] Consequently, whenever the king travelled westward on his royal progress, he made sure to visit Pembroke's magnificent seat, Wilton House, to hunt and view the earl's excellent art collection.[130] Meanwhile, in 1635, the Earl of Salisbury was appointed captain of the gentlemen pensioners, the king's personal bodyguard.[131] During the 1630s, Salisbury regularly brought his entire family over to Royston and Newmarket

[124] Hyde, *History of the Rebellion*, i. 134. See also *ODNB*, D.L. Smith, 'Stuart, James, fourth Duke of Lennox and first Duke of Richmond (1612-1655), nobleman'.
[125] Cust, *Charles and Aristocracy*, 78, 81.
[126] Clifford to Clifton, 20 Oct. 1631, Nottingham University MS Cl C 705.
[127] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 162-163.
[128] *ODNB*, D.L. Smith, 'Herbert, Philip, first Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650), courtier and politician'.
[129] John Aubrey described hunting as Pembroke's 'chiefe delight … both of which he had the greatest perfection of any peer in the realm'. John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. O.L. Dick (Harmondsworth, 1972), 304. It was Pembroke who first came upon Holland after the latter's fall while hunting in early 1632. See Pory to Scudamore, 17 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8396.
[130] Aubrey further wrote that Charles 'did love Wilton above all places, and came thither every summer'. *Aubrey's Brief* Lives, ed. Dick, 145. It was the king who encouraged Pembroke to modernise Wilton after his visit in 1632. This eventually resulted in the state apartments and passage room painted with hunting scenes that are analysed in the first chapter. See E. Burns, *Painting, Patronage and Collecting in England during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, c.1640-1660* (University of Nottingham PhD thesis, 2018), 96-97.
[131] *ODNB*, G.D. Owen, 'Cecil, William, second Earl of Salisbury (1591-1668), politician'.

to hunt when the court was in the area.[132] Both Pembroke and Salisbury were pragmatic noblemen sympathetic to godly Protestantism and of an anti-Spanish outlook.[133] They clearly saw a continued involvement in the royal hunt and court culture more generally as vital if they were to exercise any sort of political influence.

The influence of Henrietta Maria

The final relationship to be considered was the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria. It has already been shown how members of the 'queen's party' hunted frequently with Charles, to maintain goodwill with him. In this way, Henrietta Maria attempted to exert influence even when she was not with her husband. But the king and queen also hunted together; moreover, through royal artwork, the sport symbolised their marriage. Her close relationship with the king was celebrated by her supporters, who saw her as 'a symbol of chaste beauty, monogamous love and harmony', and lamented by her detractors, who considered her a 'malignant villain'.[134] Hunting was not explicitly mentioned by those who attacked the queen as a way in which she exercised control over the king through the so-called 'politics of intimacy' of her marriage.[135] But, with its importance in how this relationship flourished and within Henrietta Maria's queenship, the sport is an under-explored aspect of the tensions that existed over the influence she purportedly held.[136]

While Henrietta Maria was not as keen a hunter as either Elizabeth I or the other two early Stuart royal women, Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth, she did occasionally

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[132] Cecil Papers Box H/2, f. 32, and Accounts 127/6, ff. 25, 36, 38-40. From the beginning of Charles' reign, Salisbury also had the responsibility to preserve the game along the river Lea, a royal hunting ground used by the king close to the capital. Warrant to Salisbury, 25 Mar. 1626, *CSPD Mar 1625-Dec 1626*, i. 563.

[133] On this group, see C.M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1983), 33.

[134] R.M. Smuts, 'Religion, European politics and Henrietta Maria's circle, 1625-1641', in E. Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), 13-37, at 13, 36.

[135] See, for instance, hunting's absence in pamphlets that attacked Henrietta Maria during the Civil Wars, like William Prynne, *The Popish Royall Favourite* (1643), 64; and Henry Parker, *The Contra-replicant* (1643), 15. The term 'politics of intimacy' was coined by David Starkey and is used in E. Griffey, 'Introduction', in E. Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), 1-12, at 3.

[136] On this historiography, see especially Hibbard, *Popish Plot*; Smuts, 'Henrietta Maria's circle', 13-37; M.A. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot, 2006), chs. 1 and 2; and M.A. White, '"She is the man, and raignes": popular representations of Henrietta Maria during the English Civil Wars', in C. Levin and R.O. Bucholz (eds.), *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln, NE, 2009), 205-223. It is also discussed in Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 172-173.

partake in the sport, and under her jointure she had vast hunting reserves and was served by a sizeable hunting establishment.[137] Her engagement in the sport was evident soon after her arrival in England. The Venetian ambassador's dispatches during the summer and autumn of 1626 mentioned the king and queen travelling on progress together, and 'in this constant ebb and flow of country amusements and the chase, much time and money are wasted'.[138] Significantly, these travels immediately followed the expulsion of Henrietta Maria's French household from the country, something which greatly incensed the queen.[139] Taking Henrietta Maria on a long hunting journey through the English countryside was therefore one of the first significant attempts made by Charles to reconcile with and grow closer to his wife.

However, Charles and Henrietta Maria's loving relationship only truly blossomed following the death of Buckingham in August 1628.[140] From then on, the queen often went with Charles on his hunting trips (even if she did not always join him out in the field), only staying behind when she was pregnant.[141] The 1634 summer progress into Nottinghamshire was motivated because 'the Queen is desirous to see those Parts'.[142] She also frequently travelled up to Newmarket: in March 1632, it was reported from there that 'the king huntes with hounds and the Queen courseth with greyhounds'.[143] A month later, the Venetian ambassador wrote that 'the queen, who followed the king's exercises and coursing in the country here, in which she possibly overtired herself, has now completely recovered'.[144] She was 'much delighted with' Newmarket, and there were rumours (although never realised) that Charles planned to enlarge

[137] Her master huntsman, Ludowick Carlile, was annually paid £61 10s. and was close enough to the queen to also be her groom of the privy chamber. Carlile supervised six other huntsmen (including one Frenchman), while Sir Thomas Jermyn acted as the Master of Game of all her parks and forests. For a list of those in her hunting establishment, see TNA E 101/438/7, f. 3v and E 101/438/11, ff. 8v-9. For the parks, forests, and chases in her jointure, see 13 Aug. 1629, *CSPD Jul 1629-Mar 1631*, iv. 37.
[138] 7 Aug., 2 Oct. 1626, *CSPVen 1625-1626*, xix. 500, 561.
[139] See E. Griffey, 'Express yourself? Henrietta Maria and the political value of emotional display at the Stuart court', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34 (2019), 1-26, at 7-8.
[140] Smuts, 'Puritan followers', 27-28.
[141] After he had returned from Scotland in 1633 and been reunited with his wife, Charles headed off by himself on his royal progress. But in late August, news came to him that the queen had fallen ill while she was pregnant, and he quickly returned to the capital from Woodstock. He stayed two days before heading back up to Oxfordshire to continue his hunting. Richard Kilvert to Sir John Lambe, 29 Aug. 1633, TNA SP 16/245, f. 76.
[142] Garrard to Wentworth, 1 Apr. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafforde's Letters*, i. 227.
[143] Pory to Scudamore, 3 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8395.
[144] 2 Apr. 1632, *CSPVen 1629-1632*, xxii. 605.

the hunting lodge and turn it into an English Fontainebleau.[145] 'The king is never willinglie from her', George Leyburn commented just after their return from Newmarket, a hint at the sport encouraging marital love and happiness.[146] This was vividly depicted in Daniel Mytens' painting of the royal couple from the early 1630s (fig. 4.2). They are just about to depart for the chase, and with their fingers interlocked, a cherub showered them with roses, their privacy only interrupted by barking dogs and their dwarf, Jeffrey Hudson, while other huntsmen wait for them out in the field. Hunting was a performance and symbol of marital bliss and intimacy.[147]

Mytens' painting was not the only use of hunting within the iconography of Henrietta Maria's queenship. Indeed, the sport played a central role in her cultural patronage. In 1638, she completed the hunt standing, now known as Queen's House, which had views across Greenwich Park (see fig. 3.3). As something started by Queen Anne and one of the first fully classical-style buildings in England, it was a very public statement of Henrietta Maria's role within royal hunting culture.[148] During the 1630s, the queen also commissioned a fountain which was topped with a life-size model of Diana, the goddess of hunting, and which was placed on a terrace in the gardens of her principal residence, Somerset House.[149] Meanwhile, in the court masque, *The Sad Shepherd*, Henrietta Maria played the role of Maid Marian, who delighted in hunting and was responsible for killing a deer for a feast that Robin Hood was to hold in Sherwood Forest. Henrietta Maria thus became the third queen to play a hunter in a Jonsonian masque (after Elizabeth I and Anne), a dramatic performance of legitimacy as queen consort that associated her with her predecessors.[150]

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[145] The building work at Newmarket did not ultimately happen. Pory to Scudamore, 17 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8396.
[146] George Leyburn to Peter Biddulph, 13 Apr. 1632, in Questier (ed.), *Newsletters from Caroline Court*, 74.
[147] Strong, *Charles on Horseback*, 70-71. It is somewhat surprising that this painting is not analysed in Erin Griffey's otherwise excellent analysis of Henrietta Maria's artistic patronage and the queen's visual representation as a loving wife in the 1630s. E. Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court* (London, 2015), ch. 4.
[148] Colvin, *King's Works: IV*, 114-115, 118-122. See also P. Henderson, *Architecture and Landscape in the Tudor House and Garden: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 2005), 174-177.
[149] C. Avery, 'Hubert le Sueur, the 'Unworthy Praxiteles' of King Charles I', *Walpole Society Journal*, 48 (1980-2), 135-151.
[150] E. Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge, 2001), 221-222.

Fig. 4.2 Daniel Mytens, *Charles and Henrietta Maria departing for the chase* (c. 1630-32).

Karen Britland has argued that these masques, which Henrietta Maria played a central role within, placed 'authority in the hands of a female deity only to see that authority subtending masculinist and heterosexual conceptions of society'.[151] Her

[151] K. Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge, 2006), 153-156.

participation and that of other 'Women-Actors' was notoriously criticised by William Prynne in his 1633 book, *Histrio-mastix*, when he referred to women who wore 'lewd' costumes as 'notorious whores'.[152] While hunting is not attacked by Prynne, there is a sporting dimension to this controversy. It is, perhaps, not a coincidence that the most well-known occasion of Henrietta Maria participating in the royal hunt, which was typically the preserve of men, occurred the previous year. This was when news circulated across the capital that she was at Newmarket in February and March 1632 and regularly hunting. Susan Koslow has also posited that one of the queen's responses to Prynne's diatribe was to commission the 1633 painting of herself by Van Dyck, in which she is wearing hunting attire (fig 4.3).[153] This portrait alludes to hunting implicitly, for she stands in parkland and wears a riding dress similar to the one she wears in Mytens' painting. It was thus the latest example of her involvement within the Caroline royal hunt. Like her performance in masques, Henrietta Maria's participation in royal sports was simply another way in which she sought to carve out a significant cultural and even political role at the Caroline court. The fact that the queen only increased her involvement in royal hunting culture after Prynne's attacks (considering, for example, both the Van Dyck painting and the intensification of the work on the hunt standing at Greenwich in the mid-1630s),[154] suggests that associating herself with the sport was also a strategy of defending this same power which she had established.

Conclusion

The relationship of Charles and Henrietta Maria, performed and represented through hunting together, is emblematic of the overarching theme of this chapter – of the more private nature of the Caroline court. Hunting played a central role within Caroline courtly political culture, but the sport was for a privileged few and to the

[152] William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie* (1633), 162, 214-215, 1002-1003.
[153] S. Koslow, '*Henrietta Maria in hunting attire*. Susan Koslow's response to Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "The queen, the dwarf, and the court: Van Dyck and the ideals of the English monarchy"', profkoslow.com/publications/HenriettaMaria.html.
[154] The Venetian ambassador wrote on 18 May 1635 that the queen was in Greenwich 'to see the completion of a special erection of hers'. This followed nearly a decade of inactivity. *CSPVen 1632-1636*, xxiii. 478.

Fig. 4.3 Anthony Van Dyck, *Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson* (1633).

exclusion of many, who could only watch courtly practices from a distance. During journeys made because of political expediency before the Civil War, Charles was certainly accessible and at his most visible. But it is significant that during these trips along the south coast to visit his fleet in the mid-to-late 1620s, or his journey up to Scotland for his coronation in 1633, hunting was of secondary and even negligible importance. By contrast, during the Personal Rule especially, the royal itinerary was typically about facilitating Charles' love of the sport, and the king and court were accordingly very private. Hunting was a way in which the nobility could socialise with the king, but not the gentry.

This, then, is one of the two major differences between the hunting practices of Charles and his father, James I. The Jacobean royal hunt could also be private, but during royal progresses it was a way in which all 'the political nation', as Kishlansky has called the gentry and the nobility, could potentially meet and socialise with James. Yet, by contrast, the other major difference was that contemporary perceptions of the Caroline royal hunt were far less negative than its predecessor. Charles was seen to be less distracted by hunting than James. Moreover, some certainly thought that Henrietta Maria wielded illegitimate power, and hunting was implicitly linked to this because the sport was appropriated as part of her queenship. But once Buckingham died in 1628, there was no figure who so explicitly used the hunt to dominate and subvert access as the favourites did in James' reign. Nonetheless, there were also similarities between the royal hunts of the two early Stuart kings of England. Just like at the Jacobean court, the Caroline royal hunt was an important way of socialising with the king. Many courtiers, from various factions, placed great emphasis on hunting with Charles because it was such an intimate and friendly form of access. Furthermore, hunting continued to be used, by both the king and ambassadors, as a strategy of diplomatic negotiation. The continuation of the sport's importance within the dynamics of court and diplomatic politics was ultimately because Charles was far more personal and at ease while out hunting than he was in other situations. The analysis now turns away from the royal courts and to the rest of the political nation, to explore how hunting was a form of political networking amongst the early Stuart gentry and nobility in the localities.

Chapter 5

Hunting in the localities: the gentry and nobility

On 8 August 1601, the Earl of Rutland was released from the Tower of London, where he had been imprisoned for six months following his involvement in the Essex revolt, and confined to house arrest at Uffington, Lincolnshire, the seat of his great-uncle, Roger Manners.[1] Two-and-a-half months later, Manners updated the Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, whom the rebels had sought to remove from power, of the current situation. One of the questions which Cecil asked Manners was about the earl's sporting practices since arriving. 'Conserning my lordes plesures of hunting and hawking', Manners replied, 'thei ar very private with very fewe in his companie thos of his owne servantes and for his health onlye'.[2]

The Secretary of State was clearly worried that Rutland was engaging in potentially conspiratorial activities with other gentlemen and noblemen upon the hunting fields of Lincolnshire. In Cecil's mind, the socialising of the hunt was inherently political. It is the premise of this chapter that Cecil had every right to be wary, even if, on this occasion, his worries were unfounded. While Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have recognised the sport's importance in the social lives of the gentry and nobility, the politics of this sociability has invariably been ignored in favour of the far more explicitly political action of poaching.[3] The chapter will therefore explore the various

[1] *ODNB*, P.E.J. Hammer, 'Manners, Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland (1576-1612), nobleman'.
[2] Manners to Cecil, 26 Oct. 1601, Cecil Papers 89/9.
[3] F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), 289-293. In his book on poaching, Roger Manning makes only a passing comment about hunting 'provid[ing] occasion for social intercourse and expressed feelings of fraternal and communal solidarity'. R.B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Cultural and Social History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford, 1993), 171. Dan Beaver gives only a brief analysis of venison gifting as sociability. D.C. Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 2008), 128-132. Indeed, venison gifting is the only form of hunting sociability subject to sustained historical analysis. See especially S. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the*

uses of hunting as a mode of social politics amongst the gentry and nobility in early Stuart England. It will demonstrate that, oftentimes, and not just in cases of subverting authority, it was a way of networking by those who sought and exercised power. Crucial to this is the notion, argued by Susan Whyman, that 'sociability was a fundamental element of power in a society based upon personal connections'.[4]

Hunting will be presented as part of what Michael Braddick and John Walter have called the 'grids of power' in early modern England: how politics was exercised, negotiated, and contested.[5] It will first demonstrate that hunting was an extension of the concept of hospitality and a particularly exclusive form of sociability, before analysing the various uses of hunting as a form of political networking amongst the early Stuart gentry and nobility. The sport was used to facilitate patronage networks and maintain good social relations amongst those holding power in the localities – although it will also be shown that hunting together was not always successful in promoting positive relationships. The sport was also used to trigger or worsen disagreements by excluding certain people from a hunting party. When used in this way, it fomented political divisions and factionalism within a county. Conscious decisions of inclusion and exclusion also helped Catholics navigate the religious landscape of the period. However, we shall see that the relative privacy of the hunt meant that, like Cecil's suspicion of the Earl of Rutland's hunting practices, Catholics, and later Royalists, were frequently suspected of conspiring out on the hunting field.

A socially exclusive entertainment

In 1618, Nicholas Breton wrote that the ideal courtier would return to his country estate in the summer and, 'in the time of the yeare when the harvest is in, goe a hunting, and hauking, coursing, and fishing with [his tenants]'.[6] Breton thereby imagined hunting as part of the early modern concept of hospitality. Although

Verneys 1660-1720 (Oxford, 1999), ch. 1; and F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), 40-42.

[4] Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, 4.

[5] M.J. Braddick and J. Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in M.J. Braddick and J. Walter (eds.), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), 1-42.

[6] Nicholas Breton, *The Court and Country* (1618), B1.

contemporaries sometimes lamented its decline, hospitality was still valued as a practise of good Christian lordship. Yet, as Felicity Heal has demonstrated in multiple studies, to understand the sport as an element of hospitality would be anachronistic.[7] Hospitality was rooted within the household, for it involved most importantly the provision of food and drink, and then, secondary to this, accommodation to all members of society, but especially social inferiors.[8] Hunting was in reality an adjunct to hospitality, provided as an entertainment to only the most important guests. Yet Breton was correct in identifying the continued importance of the countryside in early seventeenth-century society and hospitality more generally. While the gentry and nobility of this period were spending more and more time in London, the political, social, and cultural centre of England, Heal has argued that 'the country estates still provided the theatre, or perhaps one should say the scenery, within which the social rituals of local power were enacted'.[9] As a display of social status, landownership, and privilege, hunting particularly emphasised this power.

Rather than using Breton as a template to understanding the importance of hunting sociability in the early Stuart localities, one should look instead at the disappointment the Worcestershire gentleman John Packington had in 1607, when he found out that his nephew, Alderford Russell, had rid himself of his hawk and stopped hawking, 'for I bestowed that trifle upon him in hope it might have detained him from worse company, as by exercise I have found it to do in myself'.[10] Here, the use of the term 'company' specifically endowed field sports with a sense of exclusivity; its sociable behaviour was of an altogether better kind for a minor gentleman like Russell than the socialising of, to take but one well-known example, the alehouse.[11] In an important article which seeks to understand sociability and the related idea of company in early modern England, Phil Withington argues that "company' suggests a politics (in the broadest sense of the term) of social participations involving

[7] See especially F. Heal, 'The idea of hospitality in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 102 (1984), 66-93; 'Hospitality and honor in early modern England', *Food and Foodways*, 1 (1987), 321-350; and *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).
[8] J.A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (2nd ed., London, 1997), 176-177.
[9] Heal, *Hospitality*, 141-144.
[10] Packington to Elizabeth Russell, 23 Nov. 1607, in A.M. Hodgson and M. Hodgetts (eds.), *Little Malvern Letters I: 1482-1737* (Woodbridge, 2011), 117.
[11] M. Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014), 22.

inclusions, exclusions, and the construction of boundaries (both visible and invisible to the historical eye)'.[12] These boundaries of sociability which made hunting so exclusive derived from the cultural connotations and legal frameworks outlined in chapter one.

Two examples highlight the socially exclusive nature of hunting amongst the gentry and nobility. In 1614, a northern magnate was in London for the so-called Addled Parliament. But when parliament was dissolved after only two months, the Earl of Cumberland was given the opportunity to hunt in various parks encircling the capital, in a month-long series of entertainments. He was feted with good sport in Surrey, by the Earl of Exeter (at Wimbledon Park) and the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham (at Effingham Park), and in Hertfordshire, by Sir Ralph Coningsby (at Mymms Park) and Sir Robert Butler (at Woodhall Park). In Kent, Cumberland hunted with the royal court at Greenwich, before going 'to dyvers parkes thereaboute'. When he finally travelled back up to Yorkshire, he hunted in Sir Oliver Cromwell's park in Huntingdonshire, and the parks of Sir Charles Cavendish and the Earl of Shrewsbury in Nottinghamshire.[13] It was only because of Cumberland's social standing that he was the frequent recipient of such an honourable entertainment like hunting.

By contrast, the perspective of a hunting 'host' emerges from the household accounts of the Earl of Salisbury. From the autumn of 1634 to the spring of 1635, the earl split his time between Salisbury House on the Strand and his hunting lodge of Quickswood in Hertfordshire. From the latter, he frequently led hawking parties out into the nearby woods. He hosted the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke, for five days in mid-October and Baron Vaux for ten days in late November. The Lord Chamberlain brought along four falconers. Two more regular guests were Baron Howard of Esrick and Henry Lord Clifford, the son of the Earl of Cumberland, both of whom were kinsmen of Salisbury. Howard was a guest throughout nearly all of October and the latter half of November, and he brought along three falconers and a dog-keeper. At Quickswood, the guest list was far more select compared to those who

[12] P. Withington, 'Company and sociability in early modern England', *Social History*, 32 (2007), 291-307, at 301.
[13] Chatsworth House Archives, Bolton Abbey MS 95, ff. 204-207v [Hereafter Chatsworth BA/].

were feasted at Salisbury's house on the Strand in the spring of 1635. While Salisbury provided entertainment for thirty-six guests in London, he did so for only thirteen guests at Quickswood.[14] Of course, Salisbury House was far more accessible for the gentry and nobility who were down in the capital for London season. Yet this only made the sporting entertainments offered at Quickswood more privileged, something provided to only his closest friends and kinsmen.

Hunting and political networking

Phil Withington has further argued that 'participation, and the boundaries of company, often related to the multifarious functions and meanings informing sociability'.[15] Therefore, because the social elite was also the political elite of early modern England, hunting was a mode of social politics amongst the gentry and nobility, just as it was at the early Stuart courts. Michael Braddick has described sixteenth and seventeenth-century England as a 'proto-bureaucracy', where offices were acquired through patronage and preferment. From the political centre stemmed a network of hierarchical offices into the localities with various responsibilities and jurisdictions. Moreover, these offices were part of a broader 'interaction order', embedded within wider social relationships, most notably friendship and kinship networks, necessary for the functioning of local order and authority.[16] Hunting was a way of navigating through this political world, and helped to establish, maintain, or even contest various political dynamics. This section will first examine how hunting operated within patronage networks, where there was a clear imbalance of power between the provisioners and recipients of hunting. Then, the sport's multiple uses in the search for political consensus, cooperation, and camaraderie will be analysed. While there were still political or social imbalances in these relationships,[17] here

[14] For the weeks spent at Quickswood, from 27 September until 23 November 1634, see L.M. Munby (ed.), *Early Stuart Household Accounts* (Cambridge, 1986), 7-23. For the weeks then at Salisbury House, from late November and into the spring of 1635, see Munby (ed.), *Household Accounts*, 28-55.
[15] Withington, 'Company and sociability', 301.
[16] M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), 30-46, quotes at 27 and 341.
[17] An excellent discussion of the political system of early modern England, and how vertical relationships of patronage often overlapped with more horizontal networks of friendship and kinship amongst the ruling elite of county communities, is in L.L. Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1990), 78.

hunting created a shared experience which aided the good governance of the body politic. Of course, as anything could happen during sociable occasions, this was not always achieved.

Felicity Heal has described aristocratic society as a 'community of honour', where power, prestige, influence, and even offices were acquired through social actions like the provision of hunting.[18] Hence, clients and prospective clients frequently offered to their patrons or potential political masters the opportunity to hunt – in much the same way as the nobility and gentry let the king hunt in their parks. Sir Francis Leake of Sutton Scarsdale maintained a stock of deer for 'whensoever [the nobility] do resorte to him'.[19] On one occasion, after the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury had gifted a stag to be eaten at the Derbyshire assizes, Leake offered them the chance to hunt when they next visited. In a letter imbued with deference to his social and political superior, Leake wrote that 'my balde bucke lyves to wayte upon your Lords and my Ladies commyng hither which I expecte whensoever shall please yow to apointe'.[20] Leake was also deputy lieutenant of Derbyshire, and so such acts of deferential friendship facilitated a good working relationship with Shrewsbury, the county's lord lieutenant. In another offer that Shrewsbury received from a gentleman to hunt on his grounds, this time from Arthur Capel, reverential language was again overt, highlighting the unequal power dynamics at play. Capel wooed the earl by calling him 'a greate Lord of this kind of game', before inviting him to 'my poore house', where he would have a chance at 'a fayre shote at a bucke'.[21] Friendships with powerful figures like Shrewsbury – who, as a north Midlands magnate lived nowhere near Capel in Hertfordshire – were clearly worth the effort to cultivate for the favour it may lead to. Indeed, potential clients did not even need to provide the patrons themselves with hunting in their search for preferment. In August 1638, the Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, was told that if his son should ever travel into Ireland, he should seek out Sir Walsingham Cooke, for 'there is no man that can afford him better content for hawking and hunting' and 'who hath an abundance of game both of

[18] Heal, 'Hospitality and honor', 324.
[19] TNA STAC 8/200/1.
[20] Leake to Shrewsbury, 6 Jul. 1605, LPL MS 3203, f. 300.
[21] Capel to Shrewsbury, 14 Jun. 1593, LPL MS 3199, f. 547

partridge and pheasant, and as good hawks and dogs as any be in this kingdom'.[22] Cooke, an Anglo-Irish Protestant politician, sought to gain favour with one of the most powerful men in England through providing good sport to his son.[23]

It is occasionally evident what clients specifically wanted and hoped to achieve through these sporting entertainments. During the late Elizabethan period, the Earl of Hertford was treated with suspicion by the queen, because in 1560 he had secretly married Lady Katherine Grey, the heir to the throne according to the will of Henry VIII. This meant that Hertford's son with Katherine, Edward Seymour, was a candidate to succeed the queen when she died. But the marriage was soon annulled, and Edward was legally declared a bastard. Hertford had long sought for Edward to be declared legitimate, and his hopes were heightened by the succession of James VI as king of England in 1603. A year later, however, the bastardy had still not been overturned. Hertford sought to rectify this in the late summer of 1604 by inviting the Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, to 'take some recreation with me in kylling of a stag reserved for that purpose' at his park in Wiltshire. With the Treaty of London finally signed, Cecil, its chief architect, headed to Bath to take the waters. But he had to return to the capital earlier than anticipated, and Hertford 'was much greeved when I herd of your soudden retourne'.[24] With the opportunity to petition Cecil while hunting lost, it took another four years for his son to be finally declared legitimate.[25]

Cecil did not particularly enjoy hunting, although, when he was not hard at work running the country, he did love to hawk.[26] Cecil's clients subsequently carefully catered to his alternative sporting tastes and gifted him hawks rather than asking him to hunt on their lands – which, in any case, he would have little time to do and probably reject. 'I have found the best gyfaulkon for the herne in England', the Earl of Lincoln wrote to Cecil, jokingly naming the Secretary of State after the hunter-ghost who is mentioned passingly in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; a few years later,

[22] Alan Cooke to Coke, 22 Aug. 1638, *HMC Cowper*, ii. 193.
[23] Cooke was a member of the Privy Council of Ireland, and his father had been Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland. Deposition of Sir Walsingham Cooke, 5 Jan. 1641, Trinity College Dublin Library, 1641 Depositions Project. 1641dep.abdn.ac.uk/items/show/39995.html.
[24] Hertford to Cecil (now Viscount Cranborne), 17 Sept. 1604, Cecil Papers 107/15.
[25] *ODNB*, S. Doran, 'Seymour, Edward, first Earl of Hertford (1539?-1621), courtier'.
[26] Lady Elizabeth Wolley to Sir William More, 16 Sep. 1595, *HMC Seventh Report*, 654-655.

Sir Richard Gifford profusely apologised to his patron that while he did have some hawks, they were 'nott good inoughe too bee entiteled yours'.[27] These more distant forms of exchange, offered in lieu of hosting, were nevertheless undertaken in the same search for favour and preferment. Indeed, in Ireland during the 1630s, gifts of hawks acted as a form of tribute to Lord Deputy Wentworth, to such an extent that when Sir Thomas Salusbury hoped to acquire a goshawk in 1638, he could not find any for sale.[28] While the chance to hunt or hawk together were no doubt preferred because of the opportunities of good fellowship and intimate conversation they could provide, gifts like hawks were a worthy alternative.

Even if he was not a keen hunter, Cecil still offered his clients opportunities to hunt on his grounds. Having a significant patronage network was vital if politicians were to successfully exercise power, and these friendly offers, often to clients of higher social standing and of more ancient lineage to Cecil, was a subtle strategy of political control. In July 1604, Baron Zouche wrote to Cecil that 'I have received your favour [and] bene at your parke and killed one of your buckes but my happe fell uppon the worst though the best presented him selfe'. Zouche went on to jokingly retell of his 'feare to kill your leading deare or the white bucke', which made him instead kill one of the weaker animals. 'I was ashamed of my woodmanshippe but the favour you did me with the delight of the place made me easely forget my evill happe', Zouche told Cecil, before offering the Secretary of State any services he may require with 'both hart and mynd'.[29] Zouche relied on Cecil for his appointment as President of the Council in Wales, and so giving him the chance to hunt was simply an extension of the magnanimity expected of a patron.[30]

Allowing noblemen to hunt was also a way in which Cecil reconciled with past enemies. Following a life of profligacy in the 1590s, the Earl of Bedford was relatively impoverished. His financial situation was made worse by the £10,000 fine which he

[27] Lincoln to Cecil, 10 Feb. 1601, and Gifford to Cecil (now Earl of Salisbury), 7 Aug. 1605, Cecil Papers 76/52, 111/156. There were other gifts of hawks: from Sir William Reede, 7 Jun. 1602, from the Earl of Cumberland, 26 Aug. 1602, and from Sir Richard Boyle, 1606, Cecil Papers 93/118, 95/10, 193/6.
[28] William Williams to John Lloyd, 2 Sep. 1638, in W.J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence* (Cardiff, 1954), 103.
[29] Zouche to Cecil, 9 Jul. 1604, Cecil Papers 105/159.
[30] *ODNB*, L.A. Knafla, 'Zouche, Edward la, eleventh Baron Zouche (1556-1625), landowner'.

received for his role as an important protagonist in the 1601 Essex revolt, which aimed to remove Cecil from power.[31] In 1607, however, Cecil (now the Earl of Salisbury) received a request from Bedford, asking him for permission to kill two or three braces of bucks in one of his parks, 'havinge not manny grownds of my owne'.[32] This was granted, and the next summer Bedford put in a similar request 'for so great a kindeness … with promisse uppon my honor, moderatly to exercise my pleasures, where you shall appoint, not offending the Game willingly in any respect whatsoever'.[33] Hunting thereby helped Cecil consolidate his political hegemony.

Cecil's most pragmatic use of hunting as a political tool occurred during the summer of 1606, when he sent his son, Viscount Cranborne, on a hunting progress through Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire. The fifteen-year-old Cranborne was joined by the two other teenagers: Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Devereux's cousin, Henry Rich (later Earl of Holland). Befriending Essex, the son of the man who had attempted to remove him from power five years previously, was now particularly important for Cecil, because earlier in 1606 Essex had married the daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. This marriage alliance had the potential to unite two powerful blocs (the old Essex faction and the Howard faction) at the Jacobean court against Cecil.[34] In Staffordshire, the three boys stayed at Drayton, the seat of the Earl of Devonshire, Henry Rich's stepfather. Henry's mother informed Cecil that 'your sonn is a perfett horse man, and can nether be out ridden, nor matched any waye'. She also wrote of the 'extreame melincolye' that overcame the three boys, for Cranborne was supposed to leave them and journey alone, into Lancashire, to stay with Cecil's cousin, the Countess of Derby.[35] In the end, Essex and Rich stayed with Cranborne; when they arrived at the Earl of Derby's residence, despite spending all of the previous night travelling, they 'were so far from wearines as the spent all the day in hunting'.[36] Considering the multiple uses of hunting by the Secretary of State, the sport can be

[31] *ODNB*, H. Payne, 'Russell, [née Harington], Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627, courtier and patron of the arts'.
[32] Bedford to Salisbury, 8 Jul. 1607, Cecil Papers 193/123.
[33] Bedford to Salisbury, 14 Jun. 1608, Cecil Papers 125/168.
[34] V.F. Snow, *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex, 1591-1646* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 27-29.
[35] The Countess Dowager of Devonshire to Salisbury, 1606, Cecil Papers 193/15.
[36] Derby to Salisbury, 1606, Cecil Papers 193/17.

considered an informal but nevertheless crucial strategy in how he re-established the *Regnum Cecilianum* following the Essex revolt and then through the first decade of the Jacobean regime.[37]

If Cecil used hunting to create a patronage network at the level of national politics, hunting was more frequently used to consolidate power in a specific locality. In 1610, the Earl of Montgomery was granted the manor of Milton on the Isle of Sheppey. At the first opportunity, he feasted Kentish gentlemen, and 'sports were provided, hawking, hunting, fishing, dancing, the King's Player's with comedies and tragedies, 2 every day. The feast lasted 4 days'.[38] This was often a competitive form of display in county communities, as powerful magnates contested power. In 1633, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron Cottington, boasted of the fact that 'when I was last in Wiltshire, there were so many gentlemen attended me into the field, as hath made my Lord Chamberlain leave me chasing, and courted me ever since'.[39] The Lord Chamberlain was the Earl of Pembroke, the same man who had provided Kentish gentlemen sporting entertainments at Milton in 1610 (Montgomery inherited his brother's English title in 1630). This rivalry and subsequent boasts were also borne out by the fact that Cottington was a social climber. While Pembroke was of ancient lineage and had vast wealth and power in the West Country, Cottington's ancestry was far less impressive: his family were Somerset sheep farmers and his wealth had been established far more recently, through a career at court.[40]

These court figures were often absent from the counties they were at the head of and so they frequently provided hunting to the country gentry *in absentia*. Early on in the rise of George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of the king was made Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, and one of his first major purchases was Whaddon Chase, a prime hunting ground in the county.[41] Many county offices came

[37] This phrase is used in P. Croft, 'The reputation of Robert Cecil: libels, political opinion and popular awareness in the early seventeenth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1991), 43-69, at 46.
[38] Sir William Browne to William Trumbull, 1 Oct. 1610, *HMC Downshire*, ii. 370.
[39] Cottington to Wentworth, 26 Dec. 1633, cited in M.J. Havran, *Caroline Courtier: The Life of Lord Cottington* (London, 1973), 108.
[40] Havran, *Caroline Courtier*, ch. 1.
[41] R. Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London, 1981), 28, 48-49.

into his purlieu, and he divided them up amongst the county's gentry.[42] One of these was the lieutenancy of the chase and, in 1622, Buckingham was approached by 'many suters for the said place'. It was eventually given to Sir Edmund Verney, a leading Buckinghamshire gentleman and a gentleman of Prince Charles' privy chamber, and so the favourite also gained a well-placed client within the entourage of the heir to the throne. Significantly, Buckingham did not place a limit upon the amount of deer which Verney could kill. Furthermore, this privilege was extended to the friends of the new lieutenant of the chase, for 'you need not to be spareing to pleasure your selfe and your freindes also, for there are to many in the parke'.[43] Buckingham's patronage thus extended beyond simply the provision of a single office to one person; instead, his largesse was displayed to the wider gentry community, by giving them new opportunities to hunt.[44]

Buckingham may have felt it necessary to act in such a bountiful way because otherwise his standing in the county would have been negatively affected, and his power even undermined by dissatisfied native gentry. This has already been revealed in chapter one, at Corse Lawn Chase in Gloucestershire: owned by the Earl of Middlesex, an absentee landlord, those excluded from the hunting community responded in kind by poaching the earl's deer. Middlesex did gift venison to other Gloucestershire gentry, and these recipients made up an important network of friends, clients, and political allies in the county. However, he offered people the chance to hunt only very rarely. On the two occasions evident in his extant papers, one was to an outsider, the Earl of Holland, who was visiting the county as Justice of Eyre in 1634 – in effect to crack down on poachers operating in Gloucestershire. On the other occasion, in the late summer of 1639, Middlesex permitted Sir Robert Cooke, one of knights of the shire for the Short Parliament, and John Dutton, the election manager for the other knight of the shire in 1640, to each kill two bucks.[45] Thus, only

[42] Peck, *Court Patronage*, 83-84.
[43] Sir Richard Graham (Buckingham's master of the horse) to Verney, 30 Jun. 1622, in J. Bruce (ed.), *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family* (London, 1853), 106.
[44] Buckingham's son also realised the importance of such networks – in 1641, he renewed Verney's lieutenancy, with the same permission to hunt there as he pleased. Buckingham to Verney, 28 Jun. 1641, *HMC Seventh Report*, 435.
[45] William Hill to Middlesex, 8 and 22 Jul. 1634, 2 Sep. 1639, Kent History and Library Centre U269/1/E127.

the most important gentlemen had the opportunity to hunt on Middlesex's grounds.[46] Even more parsimonious was James I's cousin, Esmé Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny. He acquired Leighton Bromswold Park, in Huntingdonshire, through marriage, and gentlemen of the county expected d'Aubigny to assimilate into local society by inviting them to hunt with him.[47] But d'Aubigny never did so, proclaiming that he would only ever provide the sport to the king, if James ever was to visit. In retaliation, over twenty locals, led by Sir William Dyer and two other gentlemen, raided the park in May 1613. They killed six bucks and twelve other deer, and 'they did banquiett and make feastes with the said venison'.[48] The public nature of this illegal act gave it an air of legitimacy, expressing an assumption that a lord – especially an outsider like d'Aubigny – was expected to provide the sport for his gentry neighbours. If not, conflict and discord could ensue.

The fact that patrons typically provided hunting either on an extremely large scale (such as with Pembroke and Cottington) or *in absentia* (such as Cecil or Buckingham) helped to maintain a clear hierarchy between themselves and the recipients of their sporting largesse. It was not so much the socialising together which was important for them – unlike clients, who saw intimate get-togethers as the perfect opportunity to petition power-brokers – but the ability to offer an extremely noble entertainment to impress those of lesser political (if not always lower social) standing. It is this, of hunting emphasising the imbalance of power between the two parties, which differentiates the use of hunting in furnishing patronage networks from its use in facilitating other political networks. In the latter, socialising in the company of each other helped create shared experiences and common interests. Indeed, the potency of the sport in enabling this has already been hinted at, with the example of Cecil sending his son off hunting with the Earl of Essex in 1606. The socialising which took place within these political dynamics thus helped form bonds of friendship and camaraderie amongst those who were responsible for exercising power.

[46] In an otherwise excellent analysis, Beaver fails to note this distinction between those who were only gifted venison and those given opportunities to hunt. Beaver, *Hunting and Politics of Violence*, 128-132.
[47] 'Parishes: Leighton Bromswold', in W. Page, G. Proby, and S.I. Ladds (eds.), *A History of the County of Huntingdon: Volume 3* (London, 1936), 86-92.
[48] TNA STAC 8/43/20.

Across the length and breadth of early Stuart England and Wales, local ruling elites, invariably of differing social and political status to each other, were constantly hunting together. They did so, Anthony Fletcher has argued (although he is not referring to hunting), because 'shire administration had to be a collective as well as an individual matter, [and so] cohesiveness among a group of leading gentry was a considerable source of strength'.[49] In 1610, following the administration of the Oath of Allegiance among the county's Catholic population, and just before they were supposed to formally meet to sit for the next quarter sessions, Norfolk JPs went hawking together.[50] In Sussex, the Earl of Dorset was Lord Lieutenant, but he did not reside there. He nevertheless regularly travelled into the county and hunted with the gentry – whom he both hosted and was hosted by – who made up the commissions of the peace under his command and whom the earl relied upon to enforce authority in his absence.[51] The household accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey show a similar practise amongst the deputy lieutenants and JPs of Glamorgan in the 1620s and 1630s – in late September 1627, Aubrey went hunting with his co-deputy, Sir Edward Lewis.[52]

A notable hunting network can be traced in Nottinghamshire in the 1630s, where a triumvirate of county magnates used the sport to promote a good working relationship amongst both themselves and with other Nottinghamshire gentlemen. This helped the county community avoid many of the contentious issues of politics, religion, and the constitution in the 1630s.[53] Two of these were the deputy lieutenant, Sir Gervase Clifton, and Clifton's neighbour and the largest landowner in Nottinghamshire, the Earl of Kingston. The two played important roles in raising

[49] A. Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (New Haven, CT., 1986), 144.
[50] John Richers to Sir Nathaniel Bacon, 31 Aug. 1610, in A. Hassell Smith et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey* (6 vols., Norwich, 1978-2017), vi. 195.
[51] D.J.H. Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud, 1990), 61-62, 65.
[52] For other occasions of Aubrey hunting with Glamorgan JPs, see L. Bowen (ed.), *Family and Society in Early Stuart Glamorgan: The Household Accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd, c.1565-1641* (Cardiff, 2006), 50-52, 57, 83, 102-103, 138.
[53] On the politics of Nottinghamshire during this period, see M. Bennett, 'Nottinghamshire and the high road to Civil War, 1625-1643', in M. Bennett (ed.), *Society, Religion, and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Nottinghamshire* (Lewiston, NY, 2005), 143-164; P.R. Seddon, 'The Nottinghamshire elections for the Short Parliament of 1640', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 80 (1976), 63-68; 'Sir Gervase Clifton and the government of Nottinghamshire, 1609-1640', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 97 (1993), 88-98; and *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Nottinghamshire'.

royal revenues, whether royal benevolences, parliamentary subsidies, or the 1626 Forced Loan.[54] Their friendship revolved around the sport: Kingston's letters to Clifton burst with stories about his hunting life, and he was constantly sending venison to him or asking to hunt with him.[55] But the most important figure in Nottinghamshire politics was the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Newcastle. He is now remembered by historians for his love of ménage,[56] but he also hunted. Indeed, Newcastle's appreciation of field sports for maintaining political relationships were evident because although 'his knowledge in them excelled', he did not particularly enjoy participating in them. Yet he still went hunting and hawking, his servant went on to explain, 'for society's sake, and out of a generous and obliging nature to please others'.[57] Significantly, the sports of these three also included other gentlemen who served on the commission of the peace and whose work was vital in the administration and governance of Nottinghamshire.[58] Hunting thus helped create cohesion amongst the county's rulers.

An East Anglian hunting party demonstrates how these county-level hunting networks helped the formation of regional alliances in parliament. The extant Gawdy papers reveal how various members of the powerful family and its cadet branch were constantly interacting with other Norfolk and Suffolk gentry throughout the early Stuart period, whether through hunting together, gifting and receiving venison, lending or training hawks, or giving help or advice regarding poaching or the purchase of parks.[59] These social networks were inherently political. In December 1625, Sir Anthony Gawdy wrote to his cousin, Framlingham Gawdy, of the plan for a hunt at Lowestoft early the next year. Suffolk gentry, including Sir Charles Gawdy, Sir

[54] Seddon, 'Government of Nottinghamshire', 90; and R. Cust, *The Forced Loan and English Politics, 1626-1628* (Oxford, 1987), 104-105, 118.
[55] Kingston to Clifton, 27 Jul. 1631, 25 Aug. 1631, 22 Dec. 1632, 21 Feb. 1639, 6 Nov. 1639, Nottingham University MS Cl C 283, 648, 289, 677, 683.
[56] See especially *ODNB*, L. Hulse, 'Cavendish, William, first Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (bap. 1593, d. 1676), writer, patron, and royalist army officer'.
[57] John Rolleston, *Memoirs of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle and Margaret his Wife*, ed. C.H. Firth (London, 1906), xlvii-xlviii. It was also evident in Newcastle's extant papers: other noblemen sent him presents of horses rather than the more typical sporting gift of hawks or hounds. These included from the Earl of Pembroke on 22 Jan. 1631, Viscount Fairfax on 24 Jan. 1634, and Baron Fauconberg on 23 Jul. 1636. *HMC Portland*, ii. 121, 124, 128.
[58] The JP, Thomas Hughes, hunted and hawked with both Newcastle and Clifton. Hughes to Clifton, 20 Sep. 1631, 4 Jul. 1632, and 13 Oct. 1637, Nottingham University MS Cl C 217, 221, 227.
[59] See the various letters in *HMC Gawdy*, 90, 92-93, 96, 98, 101, 103-105, 107, 131-133, 145, 152, 160, 167, 171.

John Rous, 'Anthony Hobart and some few more of honest lads' were already attending, and Sir Anthony told Framlingham to bring along two other Norfolk gentlemen, Sir John Beane and Edmund Moundeford. All the huntsmen involved held important county offices, but Framlingham, Moundeford, and Rous were also frequently elected to parliament. Moreover, they were very close friends. Prior to the 1624 parliament, Sir Anthony Gawdy told Framlingham that he should stay with Rous in London, 'being both for neighbour towns and neighbours and familiar acquaintance it is fitting you should keep your Randevous together'.[60] The blocs that East Anglian MPs appeared to form in parliament to further local interests were symbiotic with the social circles that they ran in back home.

Other types of political relationships were maintained through hunting together. In the autumn of 1607, the Earl of Cumberland went hunting and hawking with the Earl of Dunbar at various locations near Carlisle and at Brancepeth Park, County Durham, during a trip they made through the English border counties.[61] R.T. Spence has argued that this relationship between Cumberland, a leading northern peer, and Dunbar, the lieutenant of the Border areas, was crucial in pacifying the Anglo-Scottish border following the Union of the Crowns.[62] In 1617, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, along with the duchy's Attorney-General, Receiver-General, and auditor, travelled up to Lancashire and hunted in Bowland Forest with 'divers other countree gentlemen' – native gentry whose support was needed if duchy lands and interests were to be administered effectively in their absence.[63] Similarly, in late November 1607, the royal court was at Newmarket when Viscount Haddington, a favourite of the king, '& all his favorytes, followers, and parakelles goe shortly to Huntington to a match of hunting that he theare hath against my Lord Shefeeldes horse'.[64] Sheffield

[60] Anthony to Framlingham, 23 Jan. 1624 and 31 Dec. 1625, *HMC Gawdy*, 115, 122. See also *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Gawdy, Framlingham (1589-1655), 'Moundeford, Edmund, (c. 1595-1643)', and 'Rous, Sir John I (1586-1652)'.
[61] Chatsworth BA/73 and Henry Sanderson to Shrewsbury, Oct. 1607, LPL MS 3203, f. 110.
[62] Spence has further argued that problems in the border administration started to occur when Dunbar died in 1611, and Cumberland had to power share with William Lord Howard, whom Cumberland was not particularly friendly with. R.T. Spence, 'The pacification of the Cumberland borders, 1593-1628', *Northern History*, 13 (1977), 59-160, especially 97-128.
[63] All but Sir Richard Molyneux, the Receiver-General, were non-Lancastrian gentlemen. F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham* (Manchester, 1848), 54, 57, 60.
[64] Sir George Chaworth to Shrewsbury, 29 Nov. 1607, LPL MS 3202, f. 122.

was President of the Council in the North, and so such sociability helped maintain a vital relationship between the centre of the realm and an important administrative body which governed a distant and remote area of England – this socialising was even more important because, at that time, Sheffield's own relationship with the king was poor.[65] This socialising upon the peripheries of the early Stuart court often fed into the politics of court factionalism. In early September 1635, the French ambassador dispatched news back to France that the Earl of Bedford, part of the Providence Island Company and the anti-Spanish faction at the Caroline court, had told him that 'he wants to see me often and take me hunting with him'. Whatever happened during these hunts is unknown, but two weeks later a rival ambassador was complaining that the French ambassador 'practices with these puritans and with the queen' in proposing to the king a war against Spain.[66]

When the Earl of Bedford and the French ambassador went hunting together, it is particularly evident that something happened or was discussed which had a political effect. Yet if this was a positive outcome for Bedford, socialising together did not always lead to harmony and friendship amongst those who exercised power. Indeed, to treat it as such 'can lead to functionalism', Withington has argued, 'potentially robbing such moments of any agency, contingency and meaningful content other than the social structures that are supposed to determine them'.[67] The January 1614 hunting trip Sir Gervase Clifton organised for Baron Darcy and Gervase Markham has already been explored in chapter two. This appears to be an entirely typical form of political networking, for they were all clients of the most powerful man in Nottinghamshire, the Earl of Shrewsbury.[68] It was also meant to be a display of authority and solidarity of a certain faction because, at this time, Nottinghamshire

[65] See *ODNB*, V. Slater, 'Sheffield, Edmund, first Earl of Mulgrave (1565-1646), politician'.
[66] Seneterre, dispatch of 5 Sep. 1635, and Salvetti, dispatch to the Duke of Tuscany, 14 Sep. 1635, both cited in R.M. Smuts, 'The puritan followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s', *The English Historical Review*, 93 (1978), 26-45, at 37.
[67] Withington, 'Company and sociability', 294.
[68] Shrewsbury's letter to Cecil on 15 Aug. 1602 revealed that he acted as a father figure to Clifton, who was orphaned from an early age, Cecil Papers 94/142. Darcy acted as Shrewsbury's deputy in political affairs, see Dr Henry Atkins to Cecil, 13 Aug. 1604, Cecil Papers 106/90. Markham's clientage was evident during a conflict which he had with one of Shrewsbury's rivals, Sir John Holles, in 1598. See *HMC Portland*, ix. 3, 89. For further evidence of the intersection of social and political networking, in 1624 Clifton acted as a patron for Darcy's son and helped to get him elected to parliament. *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Darcy, John (c. 1602-1624)'.

was a highly divided gentry community, and disputes regularly broke out into violence.[69] The argument which happened on the hunting trip revolved around the poor riding ability of Markham and the fact that it was a servant of Darcy's, Thomas Beckwith, who called Markham out on his poor horsemanship. Then, in the days following the hunt, Markham proceeded to leave letters in fields around Darcy's house, declaring that he wanted to duel him. Significantly, the letters mentioned two facts: that Darcy had 'mentayned that Beckwith your man, was as good a gentleman as my selfe, and the other was that the saide Beckwith had beaten me to Ragges yf itt had nott beene for your selfe'.[70] This case study thus reveals the underlying instability of a political system so reliant upon good social relations. Gentlemen were always conscious of issues such as social status and their honour, and hunting, as a competitive display of these, brought them to the fore. Relying on the sport to maintain positive relationships between those who wielded power was therefore inherently dangerous if a gentleman did not perform to the standards expected of them, or if arguments broke out in the highly charged masculine atmosphere created by the desire to hunt well.

Leicester Forest was the setting for another dispute during a hunt, in August 1607. On this occasion, the argument was not a result of the uncertain events of the hunt but the fact it was a very public social gathering. That year, the Earl of Huntingdon had just come of age and he succeeded to the hereditary office of Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire. To celebrate, he organised a hunt for the county's gentry. Richard Cust has shown that Leicestershire's gentry was, like late Elizabethan and early Jacobean Nottinghamshire, particularly divided for both political and religious reasons. Hence, this inclusive offer of entertainments was a performance of Huntingdon's attempt to re-establish his family's traditional authority.[71] Yet it appears that the gentry did not yet respect the young earl as their leader. Two neighbours, Sir Henry Hastings and

[69] See especially W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Talbot and Stanhope: an episode in Elizabethan politics', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 33 (1960), 73-85.
[70] Darcy refused to duel Markham, instead prosecuting him in Star Chamber for libel, for which Markham was fined £500. TNA STAC 8/127/4.
[71] R. Cust, 'Honour, rhetoric and political culture: the Earl of Huntingdon and his enemies', in S.D. Amussen and M.A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), 84-111.

Sir Thomas Beaumont, were present. The latter was a committed puritan who had waged a campaign against the Catholic Hastings and his recusant father following the Gunpowder Plot. Furthermore, Hastings was a close ally and distant kinsman to Huntingdon, while Beaumont backed a rival claimant to the lord lieutenancy, Baron Grey. A week before the earl's sporting entertainments, Beaumont dismissed one of his servants who had boasted of sleeping with Lady Beaumont. The servant immediately went to Hastings to boast of his 'carnall copulacon'. Hastings had been hunting with another gentleman, who told Hastings that he 'should declare himself a noble gentleman and make Sir Thomas Beaumont, that was his adversary before, his kynde frend'. The opposite happened: at the hunt, the servant, encouraged by Hastings, publicly snubbed Beaumont, who then appealed to the two deputy lieutenants to arrest him. Meanwhile, Hastings appealed to Huntingdon to arrest Beaumont. The meet eventually broke up with no arrests made, but throughout the autumn of 1607 the dispute continued until Beaumont finally commenced a Star Chamber suit against Hastings.[72] If the Earl of Huntingdon had not yet mastered the politics of social occasions like that he had organised, other more experienced and wily operators knew how to exploit the inter-personal dynamics of such moments.

Hunting and the politics of social exclusion

It is unsurprising to find Baron Grey absent from the hunt organised by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1607, as they were rivals for the lord lieutenancy; likewise, Sir Gervase Clifton did not offer another neighbour of his, Sir John Holles, the chance to join the hunting party in 1614 because Holles was one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's principal rivals in Nottinghamshire.[73] Therefore, if hunting including a series of inclusions in the hope of promoting camaraderie and consensus, there would inevitably be exclusions too. Occasionally, as in the first example which will be given, these could be accidental. The second and third examples, however, show that the social

[72] R. Cust, 'Honour and politics in early Stuart England: the case of Beaumont v. Hastings', *Past & Present*, 149 (1995), 57-94, especially 64-70. See also TNA STAC 8/55/26.
[73] On Holles' rivalry with Shrewsbury, see Holles to Prince Henry, 3 Jun. 1611, *HMC Portland*, ix. 47; and Holles to Somerset, 10 Aug. 1615, in P.R. Seddon (ed.), *Letters of John Holles 1587-1637* (3 vols., Nottingham, 1975-1986), i. 79. Indeed, there is no evidence in Clifton's surviving letters that he ever went hunting with Holles.

marginalisation of elites could be more deliberate, the product of political divisions.[74] These were, respectively, the result of a disruptive family alliance destroying an old friendship and the consequence of a dispute within a dysfunctional noble family. It will then be discussed how the religious politics of early seventeenth-century England led to Catholics modulating between including and excluding Protestants, as they navigated a turbulent and dangerous religious landscape. Finally, just as Catholic hunting parties were suspected of holding dangerous intentions by the authorities, in the 1640s and 1650s, Royalists were suspected of covert networking and conspiring while out at the chase.

Courtney Thomas has recently shown how important the provision of hospitality, entertainments, and gifts were in the formation and maintenance of a gentlemen's honour; she similarly notes how, if there was conflict, these could be withdrawn as explicit statements of disapproval or antagonism.[75] In this honour economy, to be excluded from a hunting party was a serious slight. In 1636, the Earl of Dover, Sir Thomas , Arthur Capel, 'and many country gentlemen besides' were hawking on the Hertfordshire grounds of Baron Howard of Escrick, as the game laws permitted them to do. Howard was an absentee landlord and rarely visited the county. But, on this occasion, he was in the area, and it greatly angered him that 'they neither came to him, nor sent to him, as if my Lord Howard had not been considerable'. The anger which Howard felt was reported back to Leventhorpe by Sir Arthur Capel, the uncle of the participant of the same name. Leventhorpe and Sir Arthur were 'a couple of very honest, fair-conditioned men, and old friends in a very strict manner'. Sir Arthur must have questioned why Leventhorpe had not invited Howard. In doing so, he intimated that Leventhorpe had acted dishonourably, because Leventhorpe challenged Sir Arthur to a duel and Leventhorpe died as a result.[76] The exclusion of

[74] Diarmaid MacCulloch has observed a similar practice in early Tudor East Anglia. The third Duke of Norfolk regularly gave venison to other East Anglian elites or allowed them to hunt in his parks, with the pointed exception of his rival for pre-eminence in the region, the Duke of Suffolk and the Brandon family. D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986), 56-57.

[75] C.E. Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour I Lose Myself: Honour among the Early Modern English Elite* (Toronto, 2017), 148-158.

[76] E.R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, 4 May 1636, in T. Birch (ed.), *The Court and Times of Charles the First* (2 vols., London, 1848), ii. 248.

an important member of the body politic consequently led to authority breaking down in the most serious way – the outbreak of violence.

There is no reason to suggest that the hawking party failed to invite Howard for any other reason than they simply did not realise that he was, at that moment, present in the county. However, the case of Sir John Savile, of Howley Hall in the West Riding, demonstrates how a gentleman could be purposefully excluded because of politics. In October 1628, Sir John Jackson and Sir John Ramsden returned from London to the borough, Pontefract, which earlier in the year had just elected them to parliament, 'to know what service the Townesmen would commaund them'. At the same time, they planned to take part in some hare hunting on the grounds of Thomas Vavasour, who claimed a franchise of free warren. Yet these lands were now under the stewardship of the newly ennobled Sir John, Baron Savile. With his ennoblement in July 1628, Savile became gamekeeper and, at the sight of the hunting party, he 'with manie other his friends and servants, came with their weapons into the fields, and in riotous manner assaulted Sir John Jackson'. Savile struck at Jackson with his sword and told him that they needed his permission to hunt, which Jackson rebuked by presenting Vavasour's ancient right of free warren. Following this confrontation, Jackson and Ramsden 'vaunted at their feasts that they had hunted and would hunt, and that [Savile] should know it, and in a taverne read [Savile's] letter [which called for them to stop hunting] in scorne'. A meeting between the two parties the next day failed to sort the matter out, and 'Sir John and his companie continued the hunting tenne dayes'.[77]

Jackson and Ramsden hunted near Pontefract to laud it over Savile, who after his accession to a barony held parliamentary patronage for the borough (the 1628 elections occurred four months prior to Savile becoming a peer). Yet this elite charivari, which explicitly mocked Savile's ennoblement in the locality where the crown now entrusted him to hold authority, was the product of tensions and conflicts that had been fomenting in Yorkshire for over a decade. Savile was the arch-rival of

[77] It finally came before Star Chamber in 1632, and Savile's son (Sir John died in 1630) was adjudged to pay £1,000 to the king and another £150 in compensation to Jackson. S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *Report of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission* (London, 1886), 145-148.

Jackson and Ramsden's ally, Sir Thomas Wentworth. In 1611, Wentworth married the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, the most powerful nobleman in Yorkshire. This marriage alliance significantly disrupted Yorkshire politics. Before this, Cumberland and Savile were close friends: they were both elected as knights of the shire in 1604 and, three years later, Cumberland dined with Savile at Howley before hunting together.[78] Even in 1614, after the dissolution of the Addled Parliament, they travelled back to Yorkshire together, hunting all the while in various gentlemen's parks, before going their separate ways.[79] But Cumberland and Savile's friendship would soon collapse, and the latter would be cast out from the hunting circles that the former was at the heart of.

In 1616, Savile angered Cumberland by attempting to wrest the office of *Custos rotolorum* from Wentworth. Then, in all but one of the parliamentary elections in the 1620s, Wentworth, supported by Cumberland and the other principal gentry landowners in Yorkshire, ran against Savile, a gentleman with commercial interests in the West Riding cloth towns and who was willing to both foster the support of artisans and yeomanry and the patronage of the unpopular royal favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. If historians have extensively studied this formal politics of office-holding and elections, they have not extended their analysis into the socialising which went on at all other times.[80] The principal landowners who allied with Wentworth were gentlemen whom the Earl of Cumberland and his son, Henry Lord Clifford, regularly entertained with hunting at their residences, Londesborough and Skipton Castle.[81] The extant papers of Sir Arthur Ingram, one of those gentlemen, show that

[78] See *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Yorkshire'; and Chatsworth BA/73.
[79] Chatsworth BA/95, ff. 205v, 207.
[80] See especially F. Pogson, 'Wentworth, the Saviles and the office of *custos rotulorum* of the West Riding', *Northern History*, 34 (1998), 205-210; R. Cust, 'Wentworth's 'change of sides' in the 1620s', in J.F. Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), 63-80, at 66-67; R. Cust, 'Politics and the electorate in the 1620s', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (Harlow, 1989), 134-167, at 143-146; and S.P. Salt, 'Sir Thomas Wentworth and the parliamentary representation of Yorkshire, 1614-1628', *Northern History*, 16 (1980), 130-168.
[81] They included Sir Richard Cholmley and Sir Thomas Fairfax of the North Riding; Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable and Sir John Hotham of the East Riding; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Arthur Ingram, Sir Peter Middleton, Sir Henry Savile, and Sir Henry Slingsby of the West Riding. See J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), 283. These people regularly appear in the kitchen accounts at Londesborough, often during hunting seasons and accompanied with hounds and hawks. Chatsworth BA/73-86.

these rounds of sporting sociability were regularly reciprocated.[82] In contrast, from 1615 until his death in 1630, Savile was not present at either Londesborough or Skipton – he was even absent on the two occasions that they hosted the Council in the North, during Savile's tenure as vice-president of the council, from 1626 until 1628.[83] The constant social marginalisation of Savile was therefore the politics of office-holding and parliamentary elections writ large.

Similar political rivalries, played out through the withholding of hunting entertainments, was evident in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean Derbyshire. From 1597 to 1607, William Baron Cavendish of Hardwick frequently hunted at the parks of other Derbyshire gentry, including Francis Foljambe, Sir Peter Fretchville, Sir Francis Leake, and Roger Manners – rounds of sociability which highlighted Cavendish's standing in Derbyshire.[84] As Peter Edwards has remarked in a recent study of Cavendish, 'an invitation to hunt was a mark of favour, a means of reinforcing social and political ties'.[85] But Edwards overlooks the fact that Cavendish never went hunting at any of the parks of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Shrewsbury, or in the Peak Forest, which Shrewsbury was lieutenant of. This is despite Shrewsbury either allowing many local gentry to hunt in the forest or sending venison to them.[86] Shrewsbury even hunted during this period with the same people Baron Cavendish hunted with, including Sir Francis Leake and Roger Manners.[87] Furthermore, William's two brothers, Henry Cavendish and Sir Charles Cavendish, regularly

[82] For the sports provided by Ingram see Jack Nolson to John Mattinson, 18 Aug. 1621, and John Mattinson to Ingram, 2 Jul. 1632, *HMC Various*, viii. 20, 33.
[83] For Savile's absence during this decade-and-a-half see Chatsworth BA/79-84. For his absence during the entertainments provided to the Council in the North see Chatsworth BA/80, 83. Evidence for a hunting-based sociability involving the council members can be seen in the Clifford accounts, with the earl and his son frequently ordering hounds and huntsmen to be brought up to York when they were in the city on official business. Chatsworth BA/168, ff. 21v-23, BA/174, f. 138, and BA/175, f. 148v.
[84] P. Riden (ed.), *The Household Accounts of William Cavendish, Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, 1597-1607* (3 vols., Chesterfield, 2016), ii. 186-187, 206, iii. 32, 147.
[85] P. Edwards, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish, First Earl of Devonshire and his Horses* (Woodbridge, 2018), 211.
[86] For lists made up by forest officials of the Peak in 1595-97 of those permitted to hunt or given venison see LPL MS 707, ff. 38-40. Similar largesse was evident in Staffordshire, where Shrewsbury was lieutenant of Needwood Forest: see the 1607 list, LPL MS 702, f. 85. For a request to hunt the forest's deer (which was granted), see George Devereux to Shrewsbury, 13 Aug. pre-1596, LPL MS 707, f. 181.
[87] Roger Manners to Shrewsbury, 26 Jul. 1594, LPL MS 701, f. 1a, and MS 707, ff. 38-40; Leake to Shrewsbury, 6 Jul. 1605, LPL MS 3203, f. 300.

engaged in various forms of hunting sociability with Shrewsbury.[88] When Shrewsbury provided James I with the exceptionally lavish hunting entertainments at Worksop, during the new king's journey down to London in 1603, the local Derbyshire gentry, including Sir Charles Cavendish, met James there, but William instead travelled up to York to meet the king.[89]

The personal animosity between William and Shrewsbury derived from the hostile marriage between William's mother, Bess of Hardwick, and Shrewsbury's father, the sixth earl.[90] Indeed, their enmity was so great that when some areas of the Peak Forest were disafforested in 1609, William encouraged some of the rioters to attack the forest deer and officers.[91] Around this time, William also cultivated a close friendship with the Earl of Rutland, and they hunted together at Hardwick in August 1610.[92] Rutland was another rival of Shrewsbury's, and he sought to wrest control of Sherwood Forest from Shrewsbury between 1609 and 1611.[93] It is not known what was discussed during these hunting trips between two men concurrently attacking Shrewsbury's interests in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Nevertheless, the sociability that these rivals were engaged in was clearly politicised, for they aimed to create alliances within county society while simultaneously excluding each other.

Boundaries of sociability were also drawn along religious lines. Certainly, Catholics frequently hunted with their Protestant neighbours, to maintain good relations with those who were supposed to lead the persecution against them. This inclusive and friendly socialising was indicative of the 'everyday ecumenism', or 'getting along' as Bill Sheils has described it, that historians have shown was widespread in early

[88] On one occasion, between 1595 and 1597, Shrewsbury and Henry hunted together, and each killed a hind; on another occasion, Henry went coursing with the earl's permission and killed two hinds. LPL MS 707, f. 39v. Shrewsbury also sent Sir Charles hawks in 1594 and, ten years later, petitioned the king on his behalf when royal huntsmen damaged Sir Charles' park when training James I's hounds. Sir Charles Cavendish to Shrewsbury, 15 Sep. 1594, *HMC Longleat*, v. 125; and a servant of Shrewsbury to Silvester Dodsworth, sergeant of the royal buckhounds, 22 Aug. 1604, LPL MS 704, f. 59.
[89] Riden (ed.), *Accounts William Cavendish*, iii. 15. The next year, Sir Charles' son, William, was at Worksop when Prince Charles travelled down and hunted there. William Cavendish to Sir Charles, Sep. 1604, *HMC Portland*, ii. 118; and Dr Henry Atkins to Cecil, 13 Aug. 1604, Cecil Papers 106/90.
[90] See D. Durant, 'A London visit, 1591', *History Today*, 24 (1974), 497-503, at 497.
[91] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 153-154.
[92] Edwards, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle*, 211.
[93] Shrewsbury to Sir Thomas Lake, 24 Jun. 1609, and Pembroke to Salisbury, 8 Jul. 1611, TNA SP 14/45, f. 31, and SP 14/65, f. 38.

seventeenth-century communities.[94] This chapter has already given multiple examples of this: Sir Henry Hastings hunting with other Protestant Leicestershire gentry in 1607; Baron Vaux of Harrowden was a Catholic lord who was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot and hunted with the Earl of Salisbury in the 1630s;[95] the Earl of Kingston was included in a list of Nottinghamshire recusants presented to the Commons in 1628, but regularly went hunting with his Protestant friend and deputy lieutenant, Sir Gervase Clifton;[96] and Sir Richard Molyneux, the Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, was a church papist with a recusant wife and mother who nevertheless hunted with other Protestant gentry in Lancashire.[97] In Cheshire, the deputy lieutenant, Sir Thomas Savage, was an absentee Catholic landlord and Caroline courtier who was generally only in the county each summer, principally to hunt. During these occasions, he hosted Protestants, including the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Strange, the son of the Earl of Derby.[98] Meanwhile, over decades the Catholic Montagu family, of Battle, Sussex, hunted and regularly exchanged venison with the Protestant More family of Loseley, Surrey.[99] As a result of this multi-generational, cross-confessional socialising, in the 1621 parliament Sir George More safeguarded Viscount Montagu's family interests, because he owed much to them 'for benefits and alliance'.[100]

Protestants likewise benefitted from hunting with their Catholic neighbours, for it helped to reintegrate them back into county political life, thus helping to maintain a

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[94] W.J. Sheils, ''Getting on' and 'getting along' in parish and town: Catholics and their neighbours in England', in B. Kaplan, B. Moore, H. Van Nierop, and J. Pollman (eds.), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570-1720* (Manchester, 2009), 67-83; A. Walsham, 'Supping with Satan's disciples: spiritual and secular sociability in post-Reformation England', in N. Lewycky and A. Morton (eds.), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England – Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils* (London, 2012), 29-55, at 50-51; and A. Milton, 'A qualified intolerance: the limits and ambiguities of early Stuart anti-Catholicism', in A.F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (London, 1999), 85-115, at 99-103.

[95] *ODNB*, H.R. Woudhuysen, 'Vaux, Thomas, second Baron Vaux (1509-1556), poet'.

[96] *ODNB*, P.R. Seddon, 'Pierrepont, Robert, first Earl of Kingston upon Hull (1584-1643), landowner and royalist army officer'.

[97] *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Molyneux, Sir Richard I (c. 1559-1623)'.

[98] L. Boothman and R. Hyde Parker (eds.), *Savage Fortune: An Aristocratic Family in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2006), lxxviii-lxxxii.

[99] See Viscount Montagu to Sir William More, 8 Sep. 1582, Anthony Garnet to Sir William More, 2 Sep. n.y., and Viscount Montagu to Sir George More, 2 Dec. 1618, *HMC Seventh Report*, 637, 662, 673.

[100] See *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'More, Sir George (1553-1632)'.

relatively peaceful religious situation during the early Stuart period.[101] This is particularly evident with the earls of Cumberland. Sir Henry Cholmley, a church papist, was a distant cousin of the third earl, and 'frequented much his company, which drew him to live in a higher port, and to a greater expence … being much addicted to fleet hounds and horses'.[102] Other Yorkshire Catholics were frequently entertained by the fourth earl and his son, Henry Lord Clifford, at Londesborough and Skipton Castle.[103] Meanwhile, during the 1610s and 1620s, the right to hunt in a particular manor was disputed between Sir John Yorke, a Catholic, and the fourth earl, who twice brought Yorke before Star Chamber for poaching.[104] But then, in July 1629 and 1630 – the height of stag hunting season – Yorke was hosted at Londesborough, after not appearing in any of the family's household accounts since 1607, and in June 1632 Yorke gifted hounds to Henry Lord Clifford.[105] The sport, which had hitherto caused so much animosity between the two families, now helped them rebuild their friendship.

In other circumstances, hunting was more exclusionary, where only Catholics or those sympathetic to Catholicism were allowed into the sporting circle. The recusant gentleman, Richard Cholmeley, regularly went hunting and hawking during the 1610s and early 1620s with other north Yorkshire noblemen and gentlemen who were either Catholic or had Catholic family connections. A shared love of hawking also helped Cholmeley maintain links with more powerful noblemen suspected of Catholicism who lived further away, including the Earl of Rutland and, following his release from the Tower after almost sixteen years of imprisonment, the Earl of Northumberland. In contrast to this intra-confessional friendliness, Cholmeley had to regularly deal with poachers who were sponsored and protected by his Protestant gentry

[101] A similar, more formal process of inclusion, this time at a national level and emanating from the king, can be seen with the sale of baronetcies to the Catholic gentry following the Gunpowder plot. See P. Croft, 'The Catholic gentry, the Earl of Salisbury and the baronets of 1611', in P. Lake and M.C. Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), 262-281, especially 278-281. See also Braddick, *State Formation*, 308-313.
[102] *The Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley* (1870), 10-11.
[103] These included the Eures, Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton, Sir Philip and Sir Henry Constable, Sir William Ingleby, Sir Thomas Metham, and Sir Francis Trappe. See Chatsworth BA/73, BA/75, BA/77, BA/83, and BA/85.
[104] See Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 217.
[105] Chatsworth BA/73, BA/84, and BA/168, f. 21.

neighbours.[106] Meanwhile, in August 1607, the earls of Northampton and Worcester went hunting at Wardour 'and so kill a brace or two of stags'.[107] This followed the marriage of Wardour's owner, Thomas Baron Arundell, to Worcester's daughter, thereby cementing a kinship connection which transcended county boundaries between two noble families that both had Jesuit sympathies.[108] All this was observed by Northampton, the most powerful Catholic in early Jacobean England.

Occasions like this therefore allowed a persecuted minority to socialise together in a way that was relatively private, enabling clandestine conversations to occur safely. For instance, John Gerard, a Jesuit priest who was active in England from 1588 until 1606, regularly used hunting as a way of interacting with Catholic gentry whom he thought could be supportive of the Jesuit cause.[109] But, because of the sport's legal and cultural connotations, it simultaneously remained a very public performance of the Catholic gentry's leading status within local society – this was undoubtedly a reason why Catholics were frequently targeted by poachers.[110] The hunt was thus an appropriate vehicle to be used when, in August 1600, a number of Catholic gentlemen wanted to dishonour a Protestant enemy of theirs, Sir Thomas Hoby. It was shown in chapter two how the hunting party, made up of William Eure (the son of Baron Eure, vice-president of the Council in the North), his uncle Sir William Eure, Richard Cholmley, William Dawney, and William Hilliard, caused havoc at Hoby's house after a day's hunting.[111] They claimed they did so because Hoby's hospitality was 'not answerable to our northern entertainmentes'.[112] In reality, they sought to shame Hoby

[106] The Yorkshire Catholics whom Cholmeley socialised with included Baron Eure, Baron Scrope, Sir William Babthorpes, Sir Thomas Bellasis, Sir Henry Browne, Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton, John Middleton, and his distant kinsmen, the Cholmleys. *The Memorandum Book of Richard Cholmeley of Brandsby, 1602-1623* (Northallerton, 1988), 98, 109, 121, 156, 165, 173, 175, 180, 199, 217, 227, 231.
[107] James Marvin to Maria Thynne, 19 Aug. 1607, in A.D. Wall (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575-1611* (Stoke-on-Trent, 1983), 40.
[108] On the Catholicism and Jesuit connections of Arundell, see M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006); of Worcester, see J.E. Kelly, 'Counties without borders? Religious politics, kinship networks and the formation of Catholic communities', *Historical Research*, 91 (2018), 22-38.
[109] J. Morris (ed.), *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London, 1872), xxiii-xiv, xxxv-xxxvi.
[110] See Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 220-224.
[111] The members of the hunting party are listed in the inclosure which Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby sent to the Privy Council following the incident. 5 Sep. 1600, Cecil Papers 88/17-18, on f. 18.
[112] William Eure, enclosed in a letter sent by his father to Sir Robert Cecil, 16 Jan. 1601, Cecil Papers 180/3.

because he was a virulent puritan who, over the past decade, had orchestrated a campaign of 'practical antipapistry' against North Riding Catholics.[113] Indeed, Simon Healy has suggested that the actions of the hunting party symbolically resembled the raids of Elizabethan authorities on Catholic households when they were searching for popish paraphernalia and priests.[114] Hunting beforehand would have also reminded Hoby that, while he may have been able to persecute them for their religion, he could still not take away their social power and standing in the localities which they lived in, something that the sport was a performance of.

Five years later, on 5 November 1605, 'a great manie companie' of Catholics (some put the number at sixty), and from as far afield as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, gathered at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, 'under collor of hunting'.[115] A hunting match consequently provided the disguise for the second stage of the Gunpowder plot, the Midlands uprising, when they planned to take hostage the daughter of James I, Princess Elizabeth.[116] Hunting was perhaps seen as a particularly suitable event to muster the local Catholic gentry because it was a much-loved sport amongst them, and so it would seem less unusual for a large number of Catholics to gather and ride across the Warwickshire countryside. Gerard, who was with the plotters immediately prior to the uprising, wrote that the leader, Sir Everard Digby, loved field sports, especially because it allowed him 'to keep company with the best' of his co-religionists. He thus made 'that the colour of his going into Warwickshire at this time, and of drawing company together of his friends as it were to a match of hunting which he had made'.[117]

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[113] M.C. Questier, 'Practical antipapistry during the reign of Elizabeth I', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997), 371-396; and Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 3-4.
[114] I would like to thank Simon Healy for this suggestion.
[115] Examination of Thomas Carpenter, 7 Nov. 1605, and summary of examinants, 21 Nov. 1605, TNA SP 14/216/1, f. 56 and SP 14/216/2, f. 194; and the Earl of Huntingdon to unknown, 7 Nov. 1605, *HMC Hastings*, ii. 49. See also M. Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester, 1991), 42-43; and A. Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror & Faith in 1605* (London, 1997), 163-166.
[116] Most quickly dispersed: only one of those not part of the original plot stayed with the plotters until the very end at Holbeach, while another, Sir Robert Digby, met with the plotters at Dunchurch, but later helped with the arrests. M. Hodgetts, 'Coughton and the Gunpowder Plot', in P. Marshall and G. Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from the Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham, 2009), 93-121, at 110-111.
[117] Morris (ed.), *Father Gerard's Narrative*, 88-92. The day before, upon his arrival in Warwickshire, Digby went hunting with Catesby, perhaps to further disguise the 5 November hunting match as one of a series of get-togethers. Examination of Sir Everard Digby, 19 Nov. 1605, TNA SP 14/16, f. 171.

At times of heightened international tensions, Catholic hunting parties were subsequently treated with suspicion by the early Stuart authorities. Such was the case when England made war with Spain in the mid-1620s. In August 1625, Sir Thomas Gerrard and other recusant Lancashire gentry met at an alehouse, 'a place unmeete for such a Company … and there they abode for certayne dayes, under the pretence (at least) of hunting'. They did so for ten days in Wharmer Forest, discussing the overthrow of the Stuart regime and hoping for the continued failure of the Protestant cause on the continent.[118] A few months later, the Catholic gentry of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire were suspected of plotting. The Caroline authorities received notice of secret meetings in Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire. The Catholic gentry would then continue their hawking expedition, travelling across Derbyshire and Shropshire and staying at the houses of the gentlemen involved. One of those was Sir Henry Shirley, who was the sitting High Sheriff of Leicestershire (and who is best described as a church papist). He was joined by his cousin, Sir Basil Brooke, their friend, Sir Henry Merry, and other co-religionists. The Derbyshire justices described this social circle as 'very insolent and kept companie amongst themselves, as scorning us'. But the Catholic gentlemen were clearly worried about the attention that they were now receiving: the sporting trip was eventually cancelled when news reached them that justices had raided the houses of Brooke and Merry. The authorities, however, found no weapons; instead, they discovered only provisions for hawking trips out into the countryside.[119]

When civil war broke out in 1642, Royalists were also suspected of plotting upon the hunting field.[120] They were suspected of doing so almost immediately: in August 1642, Baron Mowbray entered Norfolk to rally support for the king among the county's gentry and to gain control of the county militia.[121] But his attempts were thwarted by

[118] The Bishop of Chester and deputy lieutenants of Lancaster to the Privy Council, 28 Nov. 1625, and Lord Chief Justice Crewe to the Privy Council, 9 Dec. 1625, TNA SP 16/10, ff. 63, 77v-78 and SP 16/11, ff. 93-94.
[119] Sir Francis Coke to Sir John Coke, 17 Nov. 1625, *HMC Cowper*, i. 227-228. For further background information and the quote from the Derbyshire justices, see T. Cogswell, *Home Divisions: Aristocracy, the State and Provincial Conflict* (Manchester, 1998), 103-104.
[120] See the examples given in D. Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England, 1649-1660* (New Haven, CT, 1960), 43, 156; and B. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), 206-207.
[121] C. Holmes, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1974), 57.

those gentlemen sympathetic to the parliamentary cause, as Mowbray's actions had already caused suspicion 'by the propositions to raise horse amongst the gentry and the great recourse to his huntings'.[122] Eight years later, the Norfolk Royalist gentry were still gathering under the pretence of hunting, which parliamentarians quickly suspected were for reasons other than sporting pleasure.[123] The prevalence of these covert sporting occasions meant that Sir Henry Slingsby had to remain within a five-mile radius form his house when he went hunting. He consequently protested to his republican-leaning nephew that hunting was 'a harmelesse sport, and not so apt to plott treasons, and conspiraces as your Exchang and Westminster Hal'.[124] Considering that, eight years later, he was executed for treasonous activities, his protestations no doubt rang hollow within parliamentarian circles in the capital. It was only because hunting facilitated political networking between those in power that the sporting sociability of marginalised elites, like Catholics and Royalists, was treated with so much suspicion.

Conclusion

For the early Stuart gentry and nobility, hunting undoubtedly helped in the performance of the various political roles and responsibilities that was expected of them. This chapter therefore supports Keith Wrightson's contention that in the maintenance of relationships in local communities, 'face-to-face contact was vital'. But, in his discussion of social relations between people of differing status, Wrightson further argued that 'these relationships were not, in the final analysis, personal. They were *personalized*: they served an impersonal function'.[125] The personalisation of entertainments to certain guests or the use of hunting to serve impersonal political relationships, especially ones of patronage, appears to support this – as does the failure to provide hunting and the reaction to this by gentlemen who felt that they were unjustly excluded from hunting communities. Yet the political relationships of participants also appeared to be the product of inherently personal social

[122] Sir John Potts to Sir Edmund Moundeford, 1642, Bodleian Library Tanner MS 63, f. 117.
[123] Capp, *Culture Wars*, 207.
[124] Slingsby to Slingsby Bethell, 21 Jan. 1650, in D. Parsons (ed.), *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby* (London, 1836), 347.
[125] K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (2nd ed., London, 2003), 69-72, quote at 72.

relationships, between friends and kinsmen. Those who hunted together had genuine friendships which transcended politics, like the East Anglian gentry who socialised through the sport and sat as neighbouring MPs in parliament. Alternatively, in the case of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Baron Cavendish, they had genuine animosity which played out in their separate (but overlapping) hunting circles and which fed into the politics of early seventeenth-century Derbyshire.

Ultimately, in a political system where friendships and personal connections were vital in the functioning of authority, the politics of hunting sociability depended on the specific context of its performance. These included when and where it occurred, whom it was organised by, and who was or was not invited. Significant also were the familial, social, and political relationships between the participants and whether those engaging in the sport held political office or were in opposition to established authority. The political nature of such sociability could even depend on whether it involved hunting together or was simply the provision of sports *in absentia*. Of course, the highly competitive nature of this socialising, and the extent to which it was bound up in the honour and social status of those engaged in the sport, also meant that hunting was an inherently unstable form of political networking, which could just as easily go wrong.

Chapter 6

Unacceptable hunters? Women and the clergy

The thesis has hitherto been overwhelmingly concerned with hunting as an activity performed by men of gentry, noble, or royal status. This focus has developed from the modes of analysis used: the traditional perception that hunting was a martial sport and training for gentlemen and noblemen, that the sport was an important part of early Stuart courtly political culture, or that it was a form of political networking among the rulers and governors of local society. Indeed, this analysis supports Anthony Fletcher's argument that hunting was an important part of 'the working of patriarchy' in early modern England, indicative of a social and political world dominated by elite status men.[1] With the notable exceptions of the sport's appropriation within the queenships of Anne and Henrietta Maria, and its subversive role within the relationship of James I and his favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, hunting was a supreme expression of elite manhood and patriarchal authority. It was a particularly masculinist sociability that united gentle and noble elites, irrespective of their religious or political outlook, their wealth, or where they lived.

This final chapter will look at two groups not yet considered, and whose relationship to hunting was more ambiguous. The first group are gentlewomen and noblewomen. They participated in hunting, but within certain limits placed upon how they hunted and whom they hunted with, which allowed hunting to maintain its masculine qualities. Nevertheless, for some women, like their male counterparts, hunting was a mode of social politics which gave them an important, if still subordinate, role in everyday negotiations of power. Occasionally, when patriarchal authority was threatened, such involvement was perceived to be dangerous, although this was most

[1] A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT., 1995), 131-135.

often not the case. The second section will examine why, by the early seventeenth century, the clergy – and most notably the episcopate – did not participate in the sport, a stark contrast to the medieval period, when bishops frequently went hunting. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, deviated from this norm and hunted with disastrous results in 1621, it was argued that canon law banned clerical hunting. Thus, clerical manhood differed considerably to gentry and noble manhood, which celebrated hunting as a display of masculinity. This complex situation, where women were far more likely to hunt than churchmen, gives important further insights into manhood and patriarchy in early modern England.

Gentlewomen and noblewomen: the framework of participation

Early modern writers imagined hunting as an activity for men. Sir Thomas Cockaine's *Short Treatise of Hunting* was 'Compyled for the delight of Noble men and Gentlemen'.[2] A century later, Nicholas Cox began his book on field sports with the statement that 'Hunting is a Game and Recreation commendable not onely for Kings, Princes, and the Nobility, but likewise for private Gentlemen'.[3] Richard Brathwaite's *The English Gentlewoman* makes no mention of hunting or hawking, in stark contrast to the fact that these sports were the first recreations mentioned as suitable pastimes in its companion volume, *The England Gentleman*.[4] By ignoring women, this conduct literature imagined them to have a private role in the household, while their husbands went off to take part in the more public act of hunting. In his 1626 panegyric of Magdalen, Viscountess Montagu, the Jesuit priest, Dr Richard Smith, gave this separate spheres discourse a religious dimension. He wrote that in her childhood years, Magdalen could have easily followed the example of her sisters and other young ladies in her household and gone off hunting and hawking, but she instead condemned 'this pleasure, made choice, by example of the B. Virgin, rather to abide in quiet repose at home than, after the manner of profane Diana, by chasing wild beasts and fowl to stray in the mountains and forests'.[5]

[2] Sir Thomas Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591).
[3] Nicholas Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1674), 1.
[4] Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman, and The English Gentlewoman* (1641), 93.
[5] Dr Richard Smith, *An Elizabethan Recusant House*, ed. A.C. Southern (London, 1954), 9.

Conduct literature was mostly reflected in actual practise: most of the time, men hunted with other men. But, as Smith hinted at in his disapproval of the actions of Magdalen's sisters, this was not always the case. Documentary evidence shows that women were not altogether excluded from the mostly male social world of hunting. Yet very little has been written about female hunting in early modern England. In his study of poaching, Roger Manning commented that 'it was not unheard of for Tudor and early Stuart women to engage in poaching, but more usually they acted as inciters and abetters'.[6] This secondary role has been challenged by Richard Almond. The prevalence of aristocratic 'huntresses' in visual and literary sources is suggested by Almond as indicating an involvement in hunting for elite women in medieval and Renaissance Europe. He particularly highlights the fact that the cultural icons of hunting, prevalent in early modern literature and visual culture, were classical figures like Diana and Venus. But Almond provides few documentary references to early modern huntresses, and the ones that are mentioned are typically royal figures, such as Elizabeth I.[7] Studies by historians of women and gender in early modern England have similarly ignored hunting as an activity that they were likely to participate in. In one of the only studies to even consider it, Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths have shown that while Sir Hamon Le Strange of Norfolk spent a lot of money on hunting and hawking, his wife Alice did not. They thus argue that 'the display of gentry status through exclusive pastimes and spending patterns was largely a male preserve', and while 'it is true that there were women who hunted and hawked … these pursuits were normal for gentlemen and unusual for women'.[8] Whittle and Griffiths thus support Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford's assertion (in a study which makes no mention of hunting as a pastime that women participated in) that 'the higher a woman's social position, the less likely she was to share or invade male physical or psychological space'.[9]

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[6] R.B. Manning, *Hunter and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford, 1993), 177.
[7] R. Almond, *Daughters of Artemis: The Huntress in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2009), ch. 1, and 88-90. Elizabeth's love of hunting is also highlighted in Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 200-201.
[8] J. Whittle and E. Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012), ch. 7, quote at 185.
[9] S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England: 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998), 210.

But if women did go hunting and hawking, then they did, on occasion, invade the typically male spaces of the hunting field. Amanda Flather has argued that 'social space in early modern England was not organised towards the rigid patterns of segregation prescribed by popular culture and writers of prescriptive texts'. Instead, Flather contends, 'patriarchal norms shaped perceptions and experience but they did not wholly determine them'.[10] Thus, when women participated in the hunt, certain limits were placed upon their involvement which made it socially acceptable to those holding patriarchal authority. The chapter will first analyse these restrictions, before moving on to demonstrate how women could nevertheless become politicised in early Stuart England through participating in the sport. Women rarely participated in the chase, engaging instead in hawking or the more sedentary bow and stable method, and they typically hunted in the company of their husbands or another figure who wielded patriarchal authority.

On 26 May 1596, Sir William Russell made a remarkable entry into his journal. The Lord Deputy of Ireland wrote about how his wife joined him that day when he 'rode abroad a hunting the wolf'.[11] Hunting a wolf was certainly unusual (indeed, even for a man), but the fact that Lady Russell 'rode abroad a hunting' was less so, for there is occasional evidence of women during this period engaging in the chase. The most famous sources for female involvement in hunting during the early Stuart period were two paintings, of Queen Anne by Paul Van Somer and Queen Henrietta Maria by Daniel Mytens (fig. 3.2 and fig. 4.2 respectively). While we have seen that the two early Stuart queens' special, regal status meant their involvement in hunting culture more generally was unique, what is of practical significance here is the fact that, in both paintings, an extremely lavish side saddle is in view. In the early modern period, women mostly rode side-saddle – the paintings reveal this was the case even when women engaged in the chase.[12] We can see this clearly in the engraving of Henrietta Maria on horseback by Pierre Daret (fig. 6.1), which appears to be the inspiration for Mytens' later painting. For another Stuart royal woman who loved hunting, Elizabeth

[10] A. Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 133.
[11] 26 May 1596, LPL MS 612.
[12] See the extended discussion of saddles in S. Adams, "The Queenes Majestie … is now become a great huntress': Elizabeth I and the chase', *The Court Historian*, 18 (2013), 143-164, at 150-157; and R. Almond, 'The way the ladies ride', *History Today*, 62 (2012), 36-39.

of Bohemia, this meant that she had a horse belonging to her husband 'fitted to hir especyall contentment' so she could enjoy the chase.[13] Other upper-class women also rode side saddle. In 1598, Joan Thynne wrote to her husband that she was 'in very great want of a furniture to ride with'. If he could get hold of one, 'I shall think myself

Fig. 6.1 Pierre Daret, *Henrietta Maria on horseback above a terrace* (c. 1625-1630). The hunting scene which is used as a template for Mytens' painting, *Charles and Henrietta Maria departing for the chase*, can be seen in the background of Daret's drawing.

[13] Corbet Bushell to Sir Francis Nethersole, 23 Sep. 1632, TNA SP 16/233, f. 88.

much beholden unto you, and you shall have my company with you a-hunting, for I have neither saddle nor pillion-cloth'.[14]

The dresses that elite women always wore also hindered any attempt to ride astride. In the jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange, there is a story reported to him by his cousin, Dorothy Guerney, of how she and other gentlewomen living around Bury went hunting and hawking and defied traditional practices. During these sporting trips, they wore breeches so that they could ride astride. Guerney described how when these ladies went to dinner at the house of Sir Edward Lewknor, they were rebuked by a puritan minister, who 'declaim'd much against' the practise. They were defended by a young, sporting gentleman, Robert Heigham, who responded to the minister that 'if an Horse throwes them, or by mischaunce they get a fall, had you not better see them in their Breeches then Naked?' Although Heigham appeared to win the argument, as the minister struggled to respond, even Le Strange described what the ladies did as 'a great vaine'.[15] The subversion of one of the most obvious differences between men and women – the clothes they wore – was therefore not widespread and came with much negative reaction.

These physical practicalities had serious effects upon female engagement in the chase, for they deliberately stopped women from performing at the same level as men. In March 1632, a court observer remarked that 'the king huntes with hounds and the Queen courseth with greyhounds'.[16] Considering the time of the year, Henrietta Maria and the ladies who accompanied her would have been coursing female deer, while Charles and his male followers were out hunting hares, an altogether quicker form of the chase. Sometimes, women struggled to keep up with the chase. In June 1607, Baron Scrope and his wife, Elizabeth, had permission to hunt a stag in Sherwood Forest. They did so with a forest officer in attendance, but after a while their attention was diverted to chasing a hind calf. Their sport was soon interrupted by other forest officers, who did not know about the Scropes' warrant to

[14] Joan Thynne to John Thynne, 3 Oct. 1598, in A.D. Wall (ed.), *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575-1611* (Stoke-on-Trent, 1983), 13.
[15] H.F. Lippincott (ed.), *"Merry Passages and Jeasts": A Manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange (1603-1655)* (Salzburg, 1974), 102.
[16] John Pory to Viscount Scudamore, 3 Mar. 1632, TNA C 115/106/8395.

hunt. They confronted Baron Scrope, however, during the chase, Elizabeth had fallen some way behind the rest of the hunting party and so she 'was not in view' of the ensuing argument.[17] Although it is not explicitly stated, the shift from chasing a fully grown male deer to a younger female deer suggests a move towards a slower hunt to accommodate the side-saddled lady, so that she would have better chance of keeping up with it. Even then, it seems, she struggled to keep up with the other huntsmen. But at least Baroness Scrope could participate in the chase: Lady Elizabeth Carey, who married Sir Henry Carey in 1602, spent years subsequently training in order to ride a horse quickly, for Sir Henry 'lov[ed] hunting, and desir[ed] to have her a good horsewoman'. In the end, 'she neither had the courage nor skill to sit upon a horse'.[18]

Ultimately, it appears that the physical constraints of having to ride side saddle and wear a dress meant that most women did not participate in this style of hunting. In contrast, hawking and falconry could be followed far more leisurely, and so many early modern women hunted with birds of prey. When describing the ideal wife, Sir John Oglander, a keen sportsman, wrote that they would 'in the afternoon … ride abroad a-hawking and stay forth till night'.[19] In 1612, the Earl of Cumberland went hawking with his son, Henry Lord Clifford, 'and the ladies in the morning'; two years later, the earl sent two men 'with a Cast of hawkes & to Attend my [daughter] Ladie Frances' on her hawking trip.[20] Until her death in 1596, Baroness Katherine Berkeley 'kept commonly a cast or two of merlins, which sometimes she mewed in her own chamber'. The falcons 'cost her husband each yeare one or two gownes and kirtles spoiled by their mutings'.[21] In 1634, Bulstrode Whitelocke wrote in his diary about how he courted his second wife, Frances Willoughby, with waterfowl hunting. At his house at Fawley Court in Buckinghamshire, he built a pond overlooked by a small banqueting house. 'Pleasant by the prospect of the Thames in it, & woods above it, the pond was so cleer that one might see the Cormorants fishing & shooting in it after

[17] Thomas Woodward to Shrewsbury, 11 June 1607, LPL MS 3203, f. 419.
[18] R. Simpson (ed.), *The Lady Falkland: Her Life* (London, 1861), 14. The biography was written by one of Lady Falkland's daughters.
[19] F. Bamford (ed.), *A Royalist's Notebook: The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander* (London, 1936), 131.
[20] Chatsworth House Archives, Bolton Abbey MS 94, f. 34v, and 95, f. 201v.
[21] John Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts: The Lives of the Berkeleys … from 1066 to 1618*, ed. J. MacLean (2 vols., Gloucester, 1883), ii. 285.

the fish, like a dogge coursing in a puddocke.' He also took Frances and her aunt, the Countess of Sunderland, on a boat onto the Thames, to watch his cormorants hunt fish.[22]

While hawking and falconry often involved horse-riding, the courtship of Bulstrode and Frances was entirely sedentary. Women playing the 'passive role of admiring onlookers' appeared to be relatively common and was something replicated in the visual and literary record studied by Almond.[23] The most sedentary form of hunting and which could be passively watched was bow and stable hunting, and most examples discussed below refer to this type of hunting. In the summer of 1610, Lady Susan Maynard was invited by Viscount Cranborne to watch him kill a buck.[24] Twenty-six years later, Cranborne (now Earl of Salisbury) hosted at Hatfield House the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron Cottington, along with Sir John Hippisley, Sir Roger Palmer, Mr Prager, George Garrard, and their wives. In the afternoon, they went to shoot deer in Hatfield Park; Cottington was given a bow and, with his fourth shot, killed a buck. Garrard then reported that 'all the Ladyes' went to stand 'by that Bucke' which Cottington had just killed.[25] Such a scene of female spectatorship was depicted by the painter Joan Carlile (fig. 6.3). She was the wife of one of the keepers of Richmond Park, Ludowick Carlile. During the 1640s and 1650s, they used Carlile's office to host various nobles and gentry to make ends meet (and perhaps engage in some covert royalist networking). Guests included Thomas Knyvett and Sir Justinian Isham, the man in Carlile's painting.[26] Isham was clearly the central figure in the painting, as three women surrounded and looked at him admiringly, and the crossbow used to shoot the stag lay nearest to him, while to the right of the dead stag was presumably Isham's wife, again surrounded by other gentlewomen. Isham, despite the fact he was outnumbered by eight to one, remained the principal hunter.

[22] R. Spalding (ed.), *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675* (Oxford, 1990), 72, 91.
[23] Almond, *Daughters of Artemis*, 127.
[24] Lady Susan Maynard to Sir Michael Hickes, 24 Aug. 1610, BL Lansdowne MS 91/93, f. 181.
[25] The reason that they went to stand by the buck is not at all clear. George Garrard to Viscount Conway, 26 Jul. 1636, TNA SP 16/329, f. 71v.
[26] G. Isham (ed.), *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650-1660* (Northampton, 1955), 33. Isham was a scholar and royalist who was periodically imprisoned by Protectorate authorities during the 1650s. *ODNB*, R. Priestley, 'Isham, Sir Justinian, second baronet (1611-1675), scholar and politician'.

Fig. 6.2 Joan Carlile, *The Carlile family with Sir Justinian Isham in Richmond Park* (c. 1650-1660).

Gender roles and expectations were thus deeply ingrained into this sporting culture and its social events. Sometimes this meant that entirely separate sports were organised for wives. In a letter Robert Wroth wrote to Michael Hickes to plan a hunt together in Waltham Forest, Wroth envisaged that their wives would stay behind in a park and shoot at bucks. While they went off chasing bucks and stags, his servants could 'mak the gentlewomen some sport with Mr Colstons howndes and mine' – the subtle articulation of their wives' passive role in this style of hunting is striking.[27] When the two friends' plans changed, and they had to hunt on another day, 'very early in the morning', the wives instead joined them just for supper and their sport was cancelled.[28] On other occasions, it meant that participants reacted according to social norms. Within the famous Chamberlain letter collection is an account of a hunt

[27] Wroth to Hickes, 9 Sep. 1600, BL Lansdowne MS 87/83, f. 218.
[28] Wroth to Hickes, 13 Sep. 1600, BL Lansdowne MS 87/84, f. 220.

in August 1619. John Chamberlain had been invited by Lady Winwood, the widow of his close friend Sir Ralph Winwood, to join a hunting party at Ware Park, owned by her friend, another widow, Lady Fanshawe. During the day's sport, Lady Winwood shot a buck but did not bring it down. Capell Bedell, who had recently married Lady Fanshawe's daughter, chased after it, and 'following hard … his horse caried him against a tree, so that with blowe and fall he was sore battered and bruised'.[29] In his search for masculine honour and no doubt wanting to impress his new wife, Capell went to chase the buck, while the women stayed behind.

Hence, to use Amanda Flather's conceptualisation of gender and social space, if hunting arenas were typically male spaces, they were also 'fluid, flexible and contextually determined'.[30] Even if women participated in hawking and shooting at deer, it did not delegitimise these types of hunting as forms of male bonding; for early Stuart gentlemen and noblemen, hunting practices were not binary, one masculine and the other feminine. However, restricting how women could go hunting was nevertheless the principal means in which gentlemen and noblemen maintained authority over the sport and, by extension, the social sphere: women could encroach upon these typically male spaces but only in certain, controlled, ways. Alongside generally not letting or limiting their participation in the chase, another notable tactic which was used to preserve male hegemony was to mock female involvement. In August 1605, the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to the Earl of Salisbury that 'my wife hathe sent your Lord fowre pyes of red deere, … beynge of a stagge that hadd the mishap to be kylled by her owne hand' – as if it was the stag's fault, rather than the countess' skill with a bow, that led to its death.[31] Six years later, the Countess of Hertford was shooting at rabbits at the warren of Old Sarum Castle in Wiltshire. Her husband wrote to Salisbury, the warren's owner, telling him that the countess went 'with Bowes & arrows making reckoning to murther many … [of] your poore rabettes & connyes'. Yet she failed to kill any, and Hertford informed Salisbury that she was planning to write to him in the hope that he would give her further permission to

[29] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 23 Aug. 1619, in N.M. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939), ii. 259.
[30] Flather, *Gender and Space*, 95.
[31] Shrewsbury to Salisbury, 23 Aug. 1605, Cecil Papers 112/27.

continue hunting. 'I pray [you] do not', Hertford told Salisbury, 'because I would not have you accessary to your destraction of your sayd warren'.[32]

Another means of control was to make women hunt in the company of those who held patriarchal authority. As the evidence has hitherto suggested, this was typically the husband or, if the woman was unmarried, the father. The notable exception were widows, like Lady Winwood and Lady Fanshawe, who had a relatively high degree of independence.[33] These women thus assumed significant agency in providing entertainments typically offered by men, for men, thereby furthering their family's political and social standing in the absence of a traditional patriarch. For instance, during the 1620s, Viscountess Maidstone frequently permitted important Kentish gentlemen to hunt at her park at Eastwell.[34] In 1605, Bess of Hardwick, who had survived four husbands, invited the Earl of Cumberland and his brother, Francis Clifford, to hunt at her park in Hardwick and kill 'the great stagg, which hath bene long preserved ther'. They 'were greatly entertayned' in this manner because Bess was currently trying to negotiate a marriage alliance between the two powerful families.[35] The freedom to act in such a manner contrasted with the social experiences of most married women. In 1624, a year after her husband died, Lady Grace Manners wrote to her cousin, Sir George Manners, that he and his wife should visit 'this summer, and if you appoint the time I hope Sir Francis Leek and his lady will meet you and kill a dozen bucks at the least'.[36] Whereas Lady Grace appropriated the role of her deceased husband by inviting one of her kin and a close neighbour to hunt with her, her invitation was sent to the two husbands, who would accompany their wives to Haddon Hall.

Widows could therefore act politically in early Stuart England. But married women could also, even if they remained subservient to their husbands. Just as Elaine Chalus

[32] Hertford to Salisbury, 15 Jul. 1611, TNA SP 14/65, f. 50.
[33] On widowhood, see especially Mendelson and Crawford, *Women*, 176-178.
[34] These included the eminent antiquarian and politician, Sir Edward Dering, who hunted there, at the very least, on 22 Aug. 1622, 25 Aug. and 10 Sep. 1625, and 31 Jul. 1627. L. Yeandle (ed.), *Sir Edward Dering, 1st Bart., of Surrenden Dering and his 'Booke of Expences' – 1617-1628*, 167, 296, 423. www.kentarchaeology.ac/authors/020.pdf. On Viscountess Maidstone's ownership of her late husband's Kentish estates, see *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Finch, Sir Thomas, 3rd Bt. (1578-1639)'.
[35] Sir John Harper to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 29 Ju. 1605, LPL MS 3203, f. 308.
[36] Lady Grace Manners to Sir George Manners, 10 Jul. 1624, *HMC Rutland*, i. 470-471.

has shown vis-à-vis late eighteenth-century English politics, early seventeenth-century politics had a 'social dimension', and 'this fusion of society and politics ensured [the] politicization' of elite women.[37] Barbara Harris has similarly argued that in early Tudor England, 'the world of kinship, the great household, client/patron relations, and the court conflated concerns that we would label as either personal or political and virtually ignored the distinction between the public and the private'. Harris consequently demonstrates that 'women moved unselfconsciously into the world of politics as they fulfilled their responsibilities as wives, mothers, and widows'.[38] It is this role and its relation to hunting that will next be analysed. Occasionally, this socialising was perceived to be objectionable or even dangerous, if intimacy through the hunt upset patriarchal norms. But in most cases, so long as women acted as adjuncts or proxies to their husbands, their involvement in the politicised sociability of hunting was not at all problematic. This engagement could be through accepting or offering hunting as entertainment or through the gifting culture of the sport.

When husbands and wives went hunting together, the sport was invariably a loving act of marital happiness. Indeed, the hunt was culturally understood as erotic: the archaic term for the sport, venery, also meant 'sexual love', while the hunt itself had long been used by playwrights and poets as a metaphor for sexual desire and conquest.[39] Thus, in August 1650, following his marriage to his third wife, Mary, Bulstrode Whitelocke took her out hawking every day for over a week.[40] While most of the time this was not at all problematic, there was an inherent danger in such intimate socialising. This was evident when Whitelocke was courting his second wife, Frances, with wildfowl hunting in 1634. He wrote in his diary about how he took Frances and her aunt, the Countess of Sunderland, on sporting trips. When the

[37] E. Chalus, 'Elite women, social politics, and the political world of late eighteenth-century England', *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 669-697, quotes at 673 and 697.
[38] B.J. Harris, 'Women and politics in early Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 259-281, at 260.
[39] R. Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud, 2003), 153. On the literature of the period and the linkage between sexual desire and hunting, see especially C. Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt* (Oxford, 2013); and E. Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge, 2001), chs. 2 and 4.
[40] B. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), 206.

countess occasionally disappeared during these trips, Bulstrode 'tooke an opportunity of privacy with the young Lady, & frankly made known his affection & suit to her'.[41] Yet the fact that he had to do so behind her aunt's back showed that these intimate acts of private pleasure, something which the Countess of Sunderland had identified yet failed to control, could threaten established norms and conventions concerning female chastity and honour.[42] Indeed, their secret marriage outraged Frances' noble family, who thought she had married downwards, into a parvenu gentry family.[43]

If, on one level, family honour could be at stake, female involvement in the hunt could be far more dangerous when the private was of national interest. Such problems were well-known to seventeenth-century Englishmen: the previous century had seen hunting play a notoriously romantic role in the wooing of Anne Boleyn by Henry VIII and the relationship between Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester.[44] We have similarly seen in chapter three how, in the late 1630s and 1640s, the close relationship Henrietta Maria had with Charles, symbolised and practised through hunting together, was perceived by some to be the source of her malignant power. Furthermore, women did not even need to be sexually involved with men to exploit the intimacy which the hunt provided. At the Jacobean court in the 1620s, James I's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, actively cultivated the relationship between his female kin (his wife, mother, and sister, the Countess of Denbigh) and the king. In 1624, for instance, James told Buckingham that 'it will be a great comfort unto me that thou and thy "cuntis" may see me hunt the buck in the park'.[45] James often went hunting with just the Buckingham ladies. On the morning of James' birthday in 1624, John Chamberlain described how the king 'went ahunting early this morning with [his mother] the countesse of Buckingam and her daughter Denbigh on horseback'.[46] The Venetian ambassador saw their hunting together as an explicitly political act, for he reported

[41] Spalding (ed.), *Whitelocke, 1605*-1675, 91.
[42] See Mendelson and Crawford, *Women*, 171.
[43] On the Whitelocke family, see *HoP: 1604-1629*, s.n., 'Whitelocke, James (1570-1632)'.
[44] See J. Williams, 'Hunting and the royal image of Henry VIII', *Sport in History*, 25 (2005), 41-59, at 52-53; and Adams, 'Elizabeth and the chase', 158.
[45] "Cuntis" was a crude contraction of countess. To Buckingham, May/Jun. 1624, in G.P.V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI and I* (Berkeley, CA, 1984), 436.
[46] To Sir Dudley Carleton, 19 Jun. 1624, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 563.

that when the favourite was not present, his ladies 'as witnesses of what he does and says and to make sure that others do not supplant them in his favour'.[47] Susan Amussen and David Underdown have recently characterised James as a 'failed patriarch', on account of his homoerotic relationship with Buckingham and other examples of disorderly conduct at the court which upturned long-established patriarchal expectations and practices.[48] The favourite's use of kinswomen within his strategies of power, thereby drawing women into a world in which contemporaries thought they had no role within, only furthered this perception.

Nevertheless, if patriarchal authority was not overturned, women, through an engagement in hunting sociability, could play an important and entirely legitimate role in the social politics of early seventeenth-century England. In November 1601, Elizabeth Talbot married Henry Grey, the nephew of the Earl of Kent, and the following August Elizabeth accompanied the earl on a six-day hunting trip across Bedfordshire, the county which the earl was Lord Lieutenant of. They hunted each day with other Bedfordshire elites, and so from the very beginning of her marriage into the powerful Bedfordshire family, Elizabeth was incorporated into one way in which the Greys sought to exercise power and influence in the county. On 23 August, they visited Baroness Cheyne's park where they 'weare entertained with the Lord Delaware and his Lady and Sir John Croftes and his Lady and ther was kylled a lease [two] of buckes and ther was provided a very good diner'. The next day, the earl entertained Elizabeth at Blunham Park, and then, on 25 August, he 'did furnyshe her Ladyship with all nesisary attendance fytte for a hunting Jurneye be sydes the atendaunce of divers gentilemen of bedfordesheyre', hunting with bows and greyhounds in a park owned by the Earl of Bedford, before going to the royal park of Higham to hunt. On 26 August, they went to Bletso park, where Baron St John, Sir Edward Radcliffe (the earl's newly-appointed deputy lieutenant), and other unnamed gentlemen met Elizabeth, and St John as host 'did take excedinge paynes to make my Ladies sporte and comaunded a [banquet] to be provided at the logge and after the kyllinge of a brace of Buckes did accompany my Ladye towards Bedforde'. On 27

[47] 21 Sep. 1622, *CSPVen 1621-1623*, xvii. 442.
[48] S.D. Amussen and D.E. Underdown, *Gender, Culture and Politics in England, 1560-1640: Turning the World Upside Down* (London, 2017), 54-58.

August, she hunted with Baron Compton at the park of the Catholic, Baron Mordaunt, during which Elizabeth killed 'an excedinge greate' number of bucks. On the final day of the trip she was there 'againe wheare we had vere greate sporte'.[49] By engaging in such sociability, Elizabeth (and the other women named: Baroness Cheyne, Baroness De La Warr, and Lady Crofts) was not subverting patriarchal authority. The trip was taken under the Earl of Kent's prerogative: it was he who 'desyer[ed]' Elizabeth to go on this trip, he who 'entertayne[d]' her, and he who 'furnyshe[d] her' for the hunting trips. But even in this subordinate role, the Earl of Kent clearly envisaged his new niece to have significant responsibilities concerning how he networked informally with other important political figures in the county which he was at the head of.

Gentlewomen could even exercise legitimate political authority when the family patriarch was absent. Thomas Smyth was a Somerset gentleman who sat in the 1628 parliament. In August 1629, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Somerset, visited Smyth's house. But Smyth was away, and so his mother, Elizabeth, provided the earl with sporting entertainments, telling her son 'that wee shall comand red deare when ever wee have ocation'. Two years previously, Pembroke had offered Elizabeth's late husband the opportunity to stay at his hunting lodge near the earl's house at Wilton and hunt on his Wiltshire estate.[50] Elizabeth was thus engaging in the reciprocal rounds of socialising which helped facilitate productive political relationships in the localities. At Penshurst in Kent, the wife of Viscount Lisle, Barbara Gammage Sidney, was responsible for the hunting-based entertainments provided each summer because the viscount was always absent attending Queen Anne on her royal progress, because he was Lord Chamberlain of her household. She consequently played a crucial role in maintaining several friendships and political alliances for her husband. In early September 1610, he was finally able to break away from the court, but the viscount wrote to his wife that 'I am afraid you have killed all my bucks' – a hint at the importance of hunting in this summer socialising. In 1617,

[49] Piggott to Shrewsbury, late Aug/early Sep. 1602, LPL MS 3203, f. 393.
[50] Lady Elizabeth Smyth to Thomas Smyth, 4 Aug. 1629, and Pembroke to Sir Hugh Smyth, 21 Apr. 1627, in J.H. Bettey (ed.), *Calendar of the Correspondence of the Smyth Family of Ashton Court, 1548-1642* (Gloucester, 1982), 82, 101.

the viscountess hosted various family members, including two favourites of the king, her brother-in-law, Baron Hay, and nephew, the Earl of Montgomery. Alongside sustaining these ties of kinship which overlapped into the realm of courtly politics, Barbara also helped her husband to uphold his local standing while he was absent from the county by hosting three Kentish knights that same summer. Meanwhile, two years previously, Barbara provided (at her husband's instruction) a buck to Sir John Throckmorton, the deputy governor of the Cautionary Town of Flushing. Lisle was governor of the town, but because of his role at court he was rarely in the Low Countries. Only a month before Throckmorton was hosted at Penshurst, Lisle wrote to his wife asking her 'to be sparing of my deer this summer' due to a shortage of deer.[51] Viscountess Lisle was evidently given important responsibilities by her husband to sustain multiple important political relationships in his absence.

The ancillary benefits of the sport, the gifts that it allowed people to give, allowed women to turn private sporting acts into public displays of largesse and honour. These furnished both friendships and patron-client relationships, something similarly noted in the early Tudor period by Barbara Harris.[52] For instance, Michael Hickes was regularly gifted venison from the wives of his friends.[53] When the Earl of Shrewsbury sent to Sir Francis Leake 'a verie greatte and fatt Stagge, the welcommer beynge stryken by your Ryght honorable Ladies hand', the intimate sport of a married couple became a display of the earl and countess' dominant standing in Derbyshire society, for it 'shalbe merrily eaten att the assises wher your Lordeshypp and my Ladie shall be often remmembred'. Leake, who was Shrewsbury's deputy lieutenant, subsequently offered the earl and countess the opportunity to hunt at his park.[54] Shrewsbury similarly made it known to the President of the Council in the North that the 'very fatt stagg' he had sent him was killed by his wife.[55] The countess' mother,

[51] Viscount Lisle to Viscountess Lisle, 2 Sep. 1610, 15 Jun. and 21 Jul. 1615, 28 Jul. 1617, in M.G. Hannay et al. (eds.), *Domestic Politics and Family Absence: The Correspondence (1588-1621) of Robert, First Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gammage Sidney, Countess of Leicester* (Aldershot, 2005), 154, 191, 205. For Barbara's participation in the sport at the start of the Jacobean period, see the list of deer killed in Penshurst Park, 1603-1605, Kent History and Library Centre U1475/E47.
[52] Harris, 'Women and politics', 266-267.
[53] Zachary Bethell to Hickes, 4 Sep. 1602, and Sir Henry Maynard to Hickes, 24 Aug. 1610, BL Lansdowne MS 88/40, f. 81, and MS 91/93, f. 181
[54] Sir Francis Leake to Shrewsbury, 6 Jul. 1605, LPL MS 3203, f. 300.
[55] Burghley to Shrewsbury, 12 Sep. 1602, LPL MS 3201, f. 52

Bess of Hardwick, and, over in Gloucestershire, Baroness Chandos also engaged in the competitive gifting of venison to local assizes sessions.[56] Meanwhile, in 1639 and 1641, the wife of Sir Francis Norris, who in 1635/6 was High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, gifted a buck to the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who, as Chancellor of Oxford University, had significant political and landed interests in the county.[57]

Gifts of hounds and hawks also allowed women to display a certain level of empowerment. In 1608, the Lord Treasurer of Ireland's wife, the Countess of Ormond, sent to the Countess of Shrewsbury 'a brace of the fairest grehounds I could find' – knowledge of the countess' love of hunting was clearly widespread.[58] Gifts like these could sponsor good neighbourliness and camaraderie between Catholic families: in 1618, the wife of the suspected Catholic, Sir Henry Browne, lent their recusant neighbour, Richard Cholmeley, her falcon to use; a year after, she gave him some of the puppies which her greyhound had just given birth to. These gifts were combined with sporting occasions together.[59] As Barbara Harris has argued, these friendships not only contributed to a family's political power but allowed women to 'accept, even flourish in, their subordinated positions'.[60] The fact it was women who engaged in these networks of material exchange did not mean that the gifts lost the political meanings which they would have otherwise had, if they had been sent to and from their husbands.

Yet one cannot escape the fact that female participation in hunting and the acceptability of their engagement in social politics depended upon having their husband's permission. On 4 August 1618, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Anne Clifford, recorded in her diary that her husband, that morning, 'went to Penshurst but would not suffer me to go with him although My Lord & Lady Lisle sent a man on purpose to desire me to come'. She further described how Dorset 'hunted, & lay there all night,

[56] P. Riden (ed.), *The Household Accounts of William Cavendish, Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, 1597-1607* (3 vols., Chesterfield, 2016), ii. 31. 'The expenses of the judges of assize riding the Western and Oxford circuits, 1596-1601', in W.D. Cooper (ed.), *The Camden Miscellany Vol IV* (London, 1854), 46.
[57] TNA E 101/547/5, f. 107, 155. See also *ODNB*, S. Wright, 'Norris, Sir Francis (d. 1669), politician'.
[58] Ormond to Shrewsbury, 15 Jul. 1608, LPL MS 3205, f. 120.
[59] *The Memorandum Book of Richard Cholmeley of Brandsby, 1602-1623* (Northallerton, 1988), 156, 175, 177, 180.
[60] B.J. Harris, 'Sisterhood, friendship and the power of English aristocratic women, 1450-1550', in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Abingdon, 2004), 21-50, at 22.

there being my Lord of Montgomery, my Lord Hay, my Lady Lucy & a great deal of other Company'. There is a clear anger at her exclusion from social events which included other women whose husbands let them attend – Dorset, moreover, contrasted starkly with Viscount Lisle, who was happy to have his wife provide hunting to guests in his absence. Such social marginalisation was entirely typical of her life with Dorset.[61] Their marriage was very unhappy, especially after the death of Lady Anne's mother in 1616, when she became embroiled in a legal dispute in which she found herself isolated and under the combined pressure of her husband, courtiers, and even the king to give up her claim to her ancestral estates.[62] To prohibit her from hunting was therefore one way in which Dorset exercised control over his wife, even as she challenged his authority by other means. Ultimately, hunting remained a man's world.

To conclude, gentlewomen and noblewomen across the length and breadth of early Stuart England went hunting and hawking, although not as often as men and within strict limits imposed upon them by those who held patriarchal authority. These restrictions meant that they generally engaged in styles of hunting where they could act as spectators and they rarely partook in the chase due to the physical constraint of having to ride side saddle. Limits on their participation also meant that they took on a secondary role to their husbands and typically hunted in their company. These restrictions helped those wielding patriarchal authority maintain a high degree of control over these social spaces. Thus widows, with a higher degree of independence, could provide hunting as an entertainment to guests, just as their deceased husbands once did. Nevertheless, some married women did negotiate an entirely legitimate political role through hunting and its associated gifting culture. So long as they supplemented their husband's political standing, this was fine; they could thereby gain agency as proxies or adjuncts to their husband. Indeed, it is indicative of how highly politicised the Cavendish-Talbot women (such as Bess of Hardwick, the Countess of Shrewsbury, and Elizabeth Grey) were in the late sixteenth and early

[61] There are numerous other examples when she describes her husband going off hunting or other wives hunting with their husbands, but no evidence to suggest she partook in the sport. D.J.H. Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud, 1990), 55, 59-62, 65. For the quote, see 60.
[62] R.T. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590-1676)* (Stroud, 1997), ch. 3.

seventeenth centuries that they feature so heavily in this study.[63] It was less acceptable if, through the intimacy of the sport, patriarchal authority – the very thing which hunting was supposed to uphold – was subverted, whether through corrupting female chastity or women exercising illegitimate political power through the hunt.

The episcopate: non-hunters and clerical manhood

While elite women participated in early Stuart hunting culture, another important group of people were mostly absent – the clergy.[64] For most churchmen, this could be explained by the fact that they did not meet the game law qualifications to hunt. But by the early seventeenth-century, bishops rarely went hunting either, despite common law permitting them to do so. Instead, they engaged indirectly in hunting to maintain their social and political standing, such as offering the sport as entertainment for the king or receiving and giving venison. Elizabeth I's reign consequently appears to be an important transitional period. But the reason why the clergy did not go hunting was only widely discussed when the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, broke this convention and accidentally killed a keeper in July 1621. Alongside other factors such as the wealth and changing nature of the Protestant clergy, canon law forbade churchmen to hunt. Hence, if the gentry and nobility embraced hunting as a central part of their manhood, and through this masculinity performed and exercised their patriarchal authority, the clergy's manhood was alternative to this. Their patriarchal authority rested upon a different set of foundations, and an active involvement in the sport was unnecessary in expressing or facilitating their social and political importance.

Churchmen had not always abstained from hunting. Medieval bishops, as worldly clerics with important secular roles, possessed large hunting establishments and hunting reserves, and they regularly partook in the sport.[65] Hunting was an episcopal

[63] See S.J. Steen, 'The Cavendish-Talbot women: playing a high-stakes game', in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Abingdon, 2004), 147-163.
[64] The idea that clergymen did not hunt by the early seventeenth century is noted, albeit very briefly, in T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620-1643* (Cambridge, 1997), 103. I would also like to thank Ken Fincham and Felicity Heal for conversations regarding this, and who also agree that the upper clergy rarely seem to have gone hunting.
[65] See J. Langton, 'English bishops' hunting rights, hunts, and hunting grounds', in D. Rollason (ed.), *Princes of the Church: Bishops and Their Palaces* (Abingdon, 2017), 115-126.

privilege according to the 1217 Forest Charter, which stated that clergymen could own chases, forests, and parks, and that when passing through any forest, bishops could take a deer.[66] Bishops continued to hunt into the sixteenth century – both Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Pole were known to do so.[67] The practice also survived the Reformation, as Elizabeth I's first Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, held a warrant to kill as many deer as he so wished in Nonsuch Great Park, while the queen's last Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, who died in 1604, once killed twenty bucks in the park of Baron Cobham.[68] Yet in the eyes of the mid-seventeenth-century royalist cleric and church historian, Thomas Fuller, these bishops were wrong to have done so. He wrote of one of these hunting bishops, Henry VII's Archbishop of York, Thomas Savage, that 'he was a great[er] Courtier then Clerke, and most Dextrous in managing Secular Matters, a mighty Nimrod, and more given to Hunting, then did consist with the Gravity of his Profession'.[69] A shift had thus occurred by the time that Fuller wrote his history. If hunting had once been an expression of the quasi-princely role that many bishops had previously enjoyed, it was now more incompatible with the pastoral role that the senior clergy were expected to play in society, and the ecclesiastical decency that they were supposed to uphold.[70]

The Elizabethan period appears to be a transitional one, during which the upper clergy continued to hunt, but there were signs of growing unease and tensions. This is evident in 1584, when Tobie Matthew, the newly-appointed Dean of Durham Cathedral, was travelling to his new post with several scholars. The party arrived at York and they were welcomed by the Archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys, and several other churchmen, who 'led us out to hunt in [Sandys'] forests'. They visited multiple parks around York and hunted with varying success. Yet they were not joined by Matthew. Matthew's friend, who was present on the trip, wrote that the new dean 'was absent, either because he was unwilling or because he was invited to tarry in

[66] A transcript of Forest Charter, which was issued together with a new version of Magna Carta in 1217, is available at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/magna-carta/charter-forest-1225-westminster/.
[67] Langton, 'Bishops' hunting rights', 116.
[68] The Earl of Arundel to Robert Gavell, 22 Aug. 1571, in J. Bruce and T.T. Perowne (eds.), *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge, 1853), 381; and BL Add. MS 72315, f. 2.
[69] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), 175.
[70] The new expectations of the clergy will be discussed below.

York'. The reason appeared to be the former: Sandys described Matthew as 'ingrate' about the offer, and so it seems that Matthew could have attended the entertainments if he so wished.[71] Matthew, who would later become Archbishop of York from 1606 until his death in 1628, thus turned down what for Archbishop Sandys was a traditional and entirely normal entertainment for a privileged guest. Indeed, as archbishop, Matthew engaged in extensive rounds of sociability with Yorkshire gentlemen and noblemen, whose cooperation was vital for his work in prosecuting Catholics, but this involved feasting and preaching rather than field sports.[72] Consequently, ten years into his episcopacy, the archbishop's park at Southwell was so neglected it was in '*nomine tantum* a park'.[73]

Matthew was entirely typical of the early Stuart episcopate. Only the Bishop of London, William Juxon, was 'much delighted in hunting', and he 'kept a pack of good hounds, and had them so well ordered and hunted, and chiefly by his own skill and direction, that they exceeded all other hounds in England for the pleasure and orderly hunting of them'.[74] As bishop, each summer Juxon had a two-week break in the country, hunting on his episcopal estates – in 1634, he went hunting with the visiting papal agent, Gregorio Panzani.[75] Juxon was involved in high politics (he was appointed Lord Treasurer in 1636), and so his love of hunting would have no doubt helped him further his career and socialise at the Caroline court.[76] But for most other members of the early Stuart episcopate, the absence of any record of them hunting

[71] Richard Edes, *Musae Boreales sive Iter Boreale, 1584*, trans. and ed. D.F. Sutton (2013). philological.bham.ac.uk/eedes/trans.html.
[72] See R. Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 2018), 69, 224-227.
[73] They were described as this by Sir John Holles, the gamekeeper of the archbishop's parks in Nottinghamshire, to Matthew, 22 Nov. 1616, in P.R. Seddon (ed.), *Letters of John Holles, 1587-1637* (3 vols., Nottingham, 1975-1986), i. 148.
[74] This statement was made by his good friend, Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (4 vols., Oxford, 1853), i. 69.
[75] William Hawkins to the Earl of Leicester, 24 Aug. 1637, *HMC De L'Isle*, vi. 122; and T.A. Mason, *Serving God and Mammon: William Juxon, 1582-1663, Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury* (Newark, DE, 1985), 84.
[76] Juxon continued to hunt in his later life. In the 1650s, he had semi-retired to a life as a local minister, conducting services at Little Compton in Gloucestershire. He angered the godly parishioners of nearby Chipping Norton when, while out hunting hares, his hounds ran through the churchyard, interrupting a service. They complained to Cromwell, who sent them away; the Lord Protector believed that if Juxon was not causing political trouble to his regime, he could hunt as he wished. *ODNB*, B. Quintrell, 'Juxon, William (bap. 1582, d. 1663), archbishop of Canterbury'; and W.F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (12 vols., London, 1865-1884), xi. 420.

strongly suggests that they did not hunt. Alternatively, they did so privately, and they did not socialise with either other churchmen or the gentry and nobility out in the field.[77]

The early Stuart episcopate also expressed limited concern about the lesser clergy hunting. The parish-based clergy rarely did so because, Christopher Hill and Patrick Collinson have shown, there was a great deal of poverty among their number, and they simply did not meet the property or social qualifications to hunt.[78] Thus, in the 1604 Canons, which formed the basis for the Jacobean religious settlement, the article on clerical behaviour made no mention of hunting and hawking as activities which could lead to a neglect of churchly duties.[79] Moreover, in 137 early Stuart visitation articles, only three mentioned the need to question parishioners about whether their minister went hunting. The 1607 visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln, William Chadderton, asked whether local ministers were 'contentious, *a hunter*, *hawker*, swearer, dauncer, suspected of incontinence, or give evill example of life'. The visitations of the Archdeacon of Leicester, Robert Johnson, in 1613 and the Bishop of Gloucester, Miles Smith, in 1622 were the only other times when field sports were singled out.[80] It is striking that the voluminous diary of Ralph Josselin, which begins in the 1630s, only once describes him out hunting.[81] The absence of evidence of other churchmen hunting means that we can safely assume that clerical hunting was simply not a widespread practice in early Stuart England.[82]

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[77] It will be shown below that the most famous hunting bishop during this period, the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, hunted only once a year and for health reasons. BL Add. MS 72415, f. 1-1v.
[78] Their wealth generally ranked a little below the yeomanry. C. Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church: From Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (Oxford, 1963), 207-209; and P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), 96, 102-103.
[79] In contrast, drinking, idleness, and gambling were mentioned. G. Bray (ed.), *The Anglican Canons, 1529-1947* (Woodbridge, 1998), 369.
[80] The italics are mine. K. Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church* (2 vols., Woodbridge, 1994), i. 75, 128, 205.
[81] This was with the local Essex gentleman, Richard Harlakendon, in October 1645. A. MacFarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (Oxford, 1991), 48.
[82] I have found only three other occasions of the lesser clergy hunting. On 30 June 1617, Nicholas Assheton went fox hunting with his father, a parson, and others. See F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham* (Manchester, 1848), 19. In 1638, the Earl of Stamford came across a parson hawking on his land. A scuffle broke out after the earl told him to stop, and Stamford later wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury of the existence of 'soe meane a man both in learning and gravitye'. Stamford to Sir John Lambe, 29 Oct. 1638, TNA SP 16/400, ff. 220-221. In April 1646, Thomas Pestell, a Leicestershire rector and chaplain to the Earl of Huntingdon, was presented before a

Yet this does not mean that churchmen, and the episcopate in particular, existed in an entirely separate world to the one in which hunting was central to the social and political life of seventeenth-century elites. Andrew Foster has argued that bishops played an increasingly important political role in local and national affairs during the early Stuart period.[83] An indirect involvement in hunting helped facilitate this, while simultaneously allowing bishops to maintain their ecclesiastical decency through not actively participating in the sport. In the localities, there is no evidence to suggest that they offered hunting as an entertainment to the gentry and nobility who lived in their diocese, but they frequently engaged in the gift-exchange of venison and feasted important laymen with the meat. Bishops also engaged in venison gifting at a national level, and some specifically provided the sport as an entertainment for the king when he was on progress.

Many bishops were frequent recipients in the gifting and feasting culture of the sport: the bishops of Bangor and St Asaph received multiple gifts of venison from the Wynn family;[84] the Bishop of Bath and Wells, James Montague, requested a buck from the Earl of Hertford in 1614, for 'when many of his friends and gentlemen of the country come to him;'[85] and in 1636, the new Bishop of Peterborough, Francis Dee, asked Baron Montagu to send him summer and winter venison, just as Montagu had done for the previous bishop, William Piers.[86] The next year, when the Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, was entertained at Milcote by the Earl of Middlesex, they feasted on 'a fatt bucke'.[87] To ask for such gifts and expect to be feasted with venison – or to provide it in the feasts they organised – symbolised their social and political standing in local communities. Significantly, bishops also initiated this more distant form of sociable exchange. In the 1630s, the Archbishop of Canterbury,

parliamentary committee for owning beagles which damaged his neighbour's property when he and eldest son went out hunting. See *ODNB*, G. McMullan, 'Pestell, Thomas (bap. 1586, d. 1667), Church of England clergyman and poet'. Likewise, despite arguing that 'in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries one could still find parish clergy who hunted', Roger Manning gives only three examples of churchmen engaging in acts of poaching. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 177-178.

[83] A. Foster, 'The clerical estate revitalised', in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1993), 139-160, especially 140-144.

[84] *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690* (London, 1926), 106, 166, 182, 238.

[85] James Risley to James Kirton, 8 Sep. 1614, *HMC Downshire*, iv. 176.

[86] Dee to Montagu, 2 Jan. 1636, *HMC Buccleuch*, i. 275.

[87] William Hill to Middlesex, 2 Aug. 1637, Kent History and Library Centre, U269/1/E127.

William Laud, annually received venison from the Bishop of Winchester, Walter Curle, and less frequently from his other religious allies, the Bishop of London, William Juxon, and the Bishop of Oxford, John Bancroft.[88] The bishops of Winchester also annually sent a buck to the Winchester assizes sessions.[89] The Earl of Shrewsbury was even gifted hawks from the Archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, and the Bishop of Meath, Thomas Jones.[90]

Alongside the regular gifting of venison, the bishops of Winchester played an important role in the early Stuart royal hunt. In 1620, the courtly Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, entertained James I like 'an Emperor' at Farnham, a favourite hunting ground for the king on his western progresses, 'where in the space of three dayes he spent three thousand pounds, to the extraordinary contentment of his Majesty, and the admiration of all his Followers'.[91] But Andrewes' participation only went so far as providing the king with sports – his biographer makes no mention of him ever actually hunting.[92] A predecessor of Andrewes, Bishop Thomas Bilson, was similarly concerned with providing good sport whenever James visited.[93] Andrewes' successor, Bishop Richard Neile, hosted the Caroline court in 1630 and it was said that 'our tents are sett up in progresse like Tartars; and we hunt before and after noone, like Indians; as yf we should dine and sup on nothing but what we kill'.[94] These bishops clearly saw hunting as an essential entertainment for the king whenever he visited, even if there is no evidence that they personally participated in the royal hunt.

Even two bishops who, we will shortly see, vociferously opposed the participation of church figures in field sports were present upon the peripheries of hunting culture. The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, constantly received venison from the king, courtiers, noblemen, and gentlemen from as far afield as county Durham (the

[88] TNA, E 101/547/5, ff. 10v, 45, 78, 81, 106, 129, 130, 133, 135.
[89] 'Expenses of judges of assize, 1596-1601', 15, 30, 35.
[90] Loftus to Shrewsbury, 28 Jun. 1594, and Jones to Shrewsbury, 3 Jul. 1594, LPL MS 3200, ff. 194, 196.
[91] Sir Edward Zouche to Baron Zouche, 28 Aug. 1620, TNA SP 14/116, f. 118.
[92] Thomas Fuller, 'The life and death of the late reverend and worthy prelate, Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester', in *Abel Redevivus, or, The Dead yet Speaking* (1652), unpaginated.
[93] Bilson was particularly concerned that the king thought that he was responsible for chopping down timber in Farnham Park, thereby damaging the royal hunting landscape. Bilson to the Earl of Northampton, 9 Feb. 1608, Cecil Papers 120/73.
[94] Dorchester to Conway, 7 Aug. 1630, TNA SP 16/172, f. 46v.

roebuck pie had unsurprisingly turned mouldy by the time it reached him).[95] When Laud hosted the king at Oxford in August 1636, he received seven stags and sixty-three bucks and does from local gentry to feast the royal court.[96] He regularly accompanied the court on royal hunting trips, although he did not join Charles I in the field, and as Chancellor of Oxford University he was required to protect the county's royal hunting grounds from student poachers.[97] But no evidence survives, in either Laud's diary, extant letters, or household accounts, that he ever hunted.[98] Hence, when he travelled into his see of Kent during the summer hunting season, he provided the local gentry with feasting rather than sports.[99] Meanwhile, when the other leading opponent of clerical hunters, the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, moved into his dilapidated episcopal palace of Buckden in Huntingdonshire, he 'fenced the Park, and stored it with Deer'. Yet in John Hacket's extensive documentation of Williams' social life, he never mentioned Williams hunting; rather, the deer from his park served the table for whenever he entertained local elites with music and food.[100] As Lord Keeper, Williams frequently joined James I at Newmarket and Royston, although, like Laud, he never went hunting with the king. But when the royal progress visited Belvoir Castle in 1624, Williams delivered venison from his parks to make sure there was enough of the meat for the royal court to feast upon.[101]

The analysis now turns to examine why the episcopate eschewed opportunities to hunt. While most parish-based clergy simply did not meet the wealth or status qualifications to hunt, early Stuart bishops, as peers of the realm and with episcopal estates that included parks, could do so.[102] Yet the fact that they still did not go

[95] For these gifts, see TNA E 101/547/5, ff. 9v-11v, 35-45. For the mouldy pie, see Laud to Sir William Bellasys, 3 Jun. 1634, in J.H. Parker (ed.), *The Works of Archbishop Laud* (7 vols., Oxford, 1847-1860), vi. 379.
[96] TNA SP 16/348, ff. 178-181.
[97] He was with Charles in July 1627 when 'the King lost a jewel in hunting of a 1000*l*. value', and Laud to the vice-chancellor et al. of Oxford University, 28 May 1630, in Parker (ed.), *Works of Laud*, iii. 199, 205-206, iv. 20.
[98] For his diary and letters, see Parker (ed.), *Works of Laud*, iii., v., vi., vii.; and K. Fincham (ed.), *The Further Correspondence of William Laud* (Woodbridge, 2018). For his accounts, see TNA E 101/547/5.
[99] See F. Heal, 'The archbishops of Canterbury and the practice of hospitality', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 544-563, at 559.
[100] Hacket was Williams' chaplain. John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (2 vols., 1693), i. 35, ii. 29, 31
[101] James I to Williams, 20 Jul. 1624, TNA SP 14/170, f. 43.
[102] While the Elizabethan episcopate was quite poor, by the Jacobean period most (if not all) bishops had recovered their fortunes to at least the level of the country gentry. F. Heal, *Of Prelates and Pastors:*

hunting suggests that of more significant, wider importance was the changing nature of the Protestant clergy. An effect of the Reformation and new expectations of the episcopate was that bishops simply did not have the time to regularly engage in a time-consuming activity like hunting. Bishops now spent a lot of time on their pastoral work, such as preaching sermons, writing religious texts, and other endeavours which sought to inculcate Protestant doctrine and values. In addition to this, they were expected to undertake visitations, make sure ecclesiastical justice was enforced in their diocese, and they were increasingly burdened with secular business and politics.[103] Significantly, this pastoral role had important consequences for clerical identity. Tom Webster has argued that the clergyman as preacher and magistrate, combined with the Reformation's rejection of clerical celibacy, infused in them 'a type of masculinity writ large, a kind of superman. He draws fully upon the authority and power of patriarchy supported, to a large degree, by biblical sources'. Yet Webster can only conclude that 'clerical masculinity was ambivalent'. For instance, the nurturing and caring roles expected of them had female connotations. Webster notably highlights the ban on clerical hunting as a performance of such ambivalent masculinity, which significantly deprived the clergy of 'a source of male honour in this society'.[104] But rather than viewing clerical manhood through the lens of binary, gender identity, masculinity should instead be viewed as multiple, each type competing with, complementing, or contradicting other masculinities.[105] Hence,

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A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate (Cambridge, 1980), 244; and Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, 39-40.

[103] For important discussions of this, see Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, ch. 2; and K. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990), especially 3-6 and 295-299, but the entire book focuses on their multiple roles and responsibilities.

[104] Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 101-105.

[105] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 2005), 76-80. This framework of analysis has been used by historians of manhood in early modern England. These studies, however, ignore the clergy, except for a short discussion by Susan Amussen concerning the insecurities of clerical manhood vis-à-vis their wealth and status in local societies. S.D. Amussen, "The part of a Christian man': the cultural politics of manhood in early modern England', in S.D. Amussen and M.A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, 1995), 213-233, at 222-224. For the clergy's absence in other studies of manhood (which are otherwise excellent), see Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*; E.A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow, 1999); and A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003). The masculinity of the medieval clergy, with a brief discussion of the effect of the Reformation upon it, is the focus of R.N. Swanson, 'Angels incarnate: clergy and masculinity from Gregorian reform to Reformation', in D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), 160-177.

the self-imposed ban on clerical hunting was part of an alternative form of manhood compared to that of the gentry and nobility, as this latter group celebrated hunting as an expression of their dominant status and masculinist authority.[106] Thus, in 1621, the legal scholar and antiquarian, Sir Henry Spelman, argued that while a bishop's 'temporal dignity' theoretically gave them the opportunity to hunt because they were peers of the realm, this was superseded by their 'spiritual function', which required them to live a godly life and abstain from hunting.[107]

A notorious case of clerical hunting, which Spelman was responding to, shows that this non-hunting lifestyle derived from canon law and directly contradicted common law. The controversy brought into the limelight the fact that clerical hunting was a declining practice during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but one which had been avoided as an issue of major debate within the Tudor and Jacobean church.[108] On 24 July 1621, the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, accidently killed a gamekeeper while hunting.[109] The archbishop was at Bramshill, at the behest of the house's owner, Baron Zouche, to consecrate the newly-built chapel. Zouche, a keen huntsman, invited Abbot to hunt in his park, and he accepted the invitation. Abbot entered the park in the afternoon and was greeted by Zouche and fifty other guests and servants, who were milling around and observing a herd of about forty fallow deer. Abbot's servant handed him a small crossbow. 'The Archbishop preparing to shoote, warned the Company with an audible voice, to stay behind him, & not to come neere the game, or his shooting.' The same warning was given to the gamekeeper, Peter Hawkins – when Abbot was preparing to shoot, Hawkins was out of sight of the archbishop, around sixty yards away from the herd. But just as Abbot was about to fire his crossbow, the deer ran onto higher ground, and some leapt over a pale. Abbot, an inexperienced huntsman, was unsure as to whether he should take

[106] 'Alternative' and 'dominant' manhood are terms used by Alexandra Shepard, although not in relation to the clergy's position vis-à-vis the gentry. A. Shepard, 'From anxious patriarchs to refined gentleman? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 281-295, at 291.
[107] Sir Henry Spelman, 'An answer to the foregoing apology for Archbishop Abbot', in *The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman*, ed. E. Gibson (London, 1727), 115.
[108] See the absence of clerical hunting as a religious controversy in P. Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London, 1977), and *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London, 1978).
[109] This description of the events was provided by Abbot himself, during the commission that was appointed by the king to deliberate over the archbishop's culpability. BL Add. MS 72415, ff. 1-3.

the shot. His servant told him that 'It is but the venturing of an arrow', and so Abbot 'fix[ed] his eye only on the deere, untill he shott'. Unbeknown to the archbishop, Hawkins had ridden behind the herd, onto a tract of land which Abbot could not see, in order to keep the deer near the crowd. The bolt flew over the animals and hit Hawkins' left arm. He died thirty minutes later.

Later that day, Zouche wrote to his nephew corroborating Abbot's statement. 'His Grace is exceedingly greeved', Zouche wrote, and noted that the king already knew of the incident.[110] Rumours quickly spread across Jacobean London and, by the middle of August, the Venetian ambassador wrote in his dispatches that it happened because the keeper was drunk. 'Everyone sympathises with [the archbishop]', who had bestowed £100 upon each of the keeper's sons and an annuity of £50 to the widow. Moreover, the ambassador reported that James had already forgiven and promised the archbishop that there would be no legal consequences, despite the law requiring those guilty of homicide to forfeit all their goods and property.[111] Yet not everyone was so sympathetic. In a striking private letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, John Chamberlain noted that the king had given Abbot 'a gracious aunswer that such an accident might befall any man'. Chamberlain then commented on the 'straunge kinde of verdict' that the coroner had given, that it had happened through the keeper's 'misfortune and own fault'. Interestingly, as a layman giving his own opinion on the event, Chamberlain judged that while 'mischaunces may light any where, and cannot be prevented, *yet what shold a man of his place and profession be medling with such edge-tooles*'.[112] Chamberlain clearly thought that hunting was at odds with ecclesiastical decency.

If Abbot had been a temporal figure, with James' forgiveness he would have escaped without any serious political consequences. But, as a man of the cloth, canon law required of him that he should not, in any circumstance, spill blood. The newly appointed Lord Keeper, John Williams, wrote that for the king 'to have *Virum sanguineum*, or a man of blood, primate and patriarke of all his Church, is a thinge

[110] Lord Zouche to Sir Edward Zouche, TNA SP 14/122, f. 49.
[111] 13 Aug. 1621, *CSPVen 1621-1623*, xvii. 106-107.
[112] Italics are mine. To Carleton, 28 Jul. 1621, in McClure (ed.), *Chamberlain Letters*, ii. 394.

that sounds very harshe in the old Councells and Canons of the Church'.[113] At the time of the incident, the Lord Keeper and William Laud were about to be raised to bishoprics (of Lincoln and St David's respectively), and they refused to be consecrated by Abbot. This refusal was only partly theological: careerism and, linked to this, the religious politics of the period were both factors in Williams and Laud opposing the king's merciful attitude.[114] As Abbot lamented, the event would lead 'to the rejoycing of the papist, [and] the insulting of the puritan', and so 'it hath bene unto mee a distraction, how to satisfye the court, how to provide for mine owne safety, how to answere objections' from 'some other[s that] have wished' to see him suffer.[115] Ecclesiastical rivalries were made worse because, at that time, the king was hoping for a Spanish match for his son, while parliament was simultaneously discussing the financing of a war against Spain. The Venetian ambassador reported that 'the Spaniards and their party are covertly trying to undo [Abbot]'.[116] For Hispanophiles like Williams and Laud, there were clear political reasons to use the incident to remove (or at least make politically impotent) the anti-Spanish Abbot. In the face of such opposition, the king referred the case to a commission, which sat and deliberated over Abbot's culpability that autumn.[117]

The commissioners were to judge 'whether any irregularity or scandal might arise by this unfortunate acte'.[118] According to canon law, Abbot had committed two illegalities. The first was homicide – whether he had committed this boiled down to a highly technical argument on the definition of such. The second was breaking the clerical ban on hunting. Significantly, the latter was also subject to serious discussion and, in the process, it brought to wider public attention the declining practice of clerical hunting. According to a fourth-century canon, *De Clerico Venatore*, it was unlawful for any churchman to hunt. This was reissued at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215: 'We forbid all clerics to hunt or to fowl, so let them not presume to have dogs

[113] Williams to Buckingham, 27 Jul. 1621, in J.E.B. Mayor (ed.), *Letters of Archbishop Williams* (London, 1866), 44-46.
[114] P.A. Welsby, *George Abbot: The Unwanted Archbishop, 1562-1633* (London, 1962), 94-95.
[115] Abbot to Zouche, 29 Aug. 1621, TNA SP 14/122, f. 154.
[116] 24 Sep. 1621, *CSPVen 1621-1623*, xvii. 137.
[117] James to the commissioners, 3 Oct. 1621. LPL MS 943, f. 73.
[118] BL Add. MS 72415, f. 50.

or birds for fowling'.[119] Significantly, when the commission eventually reported back to the king, only one churchman, the Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes, ruled in favour of Abbot, while the other five – Williams and Laud, the Bishop of London, George Montaigne, the Bishop of Rochester, John Buckeridge, and the Bishop-elect of Exeter, Valentine Cary – ruled against him. In contrast, all four common lawyers ruled in favour of Abbot.[120] As Thomas Fuller later wrote, the bishops on the commission laid 'as much (if not more) guilt on *the act* [of hunting], than it would bear [the resulting death of the keeper]'.[121] There were thus clear tensions between common and canon law that were still not resolved. If common lawyers appeared to have no problem with churchmen hunting, most bishops no longer saw hunting as an acceptable part of their lifestyle.

The canonical ban on clerical hunting meant that even Abbot rarely participated in the sport: he did not 'make a life or occupation of it … but a little, one time in the yeere, directed so by his physition, to avoide … the stone and the gowte'.[122] Hence, part of Abbot's defence was to state that in *De Clerico Venatore*, hunting for *valetudinis* (health) was permitted, while for *voluptatis* (pleasure) was not. His lawyers also argued that canon law only forbade hunting with dogs and hawks, which Abbot did not break.[123] In this desperate search for ambiguities and technicalities, Abbot clearly saw canon law as a significant obstacle to his acquittal, for it was otherwise clear in establishing a doctrine that banned churchmen from hunting. Indeed, Spelman attacked Abbot's defence that he adhered to canon law. He argued that churchmen observed *De Clerico Venatore* 'for decency' to their profession, and so he was reckless to use 'so dangerous an Engine in so great an Assembly'. Most significantly, Spelman pointed out that Abbot's lawyers had knowingly misquoted *De*

[119] Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, cited in W. Adam, 'The curious incident of the homicidal archbishop: the dispensation granted to Archbishop George Abbot, 1621', *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*, 17 (2015), 306-320, at 314.
[120] BL Add. MS 72415, f. 50.
[121] Italics are mine. Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain* (1655), Bk. 10, 88.
[122] In an unfairly critical article on the Jacobean episcopate, Hugh Trevor-Roper was wrong to say that Abbot was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury solely because he shared James I's passion for the chase. H. Trevor-Roper, 'King James and his bishops', *History Today*, 5 (1955), 571-581, at 575.
[123] BL Add. MS 72415, f. 1-1v. Abbot's surviving household accounts support this statement by the absence thereof of evidence that he went hunting, LPL MS 1730. His arguments were echoed in an anonymous defence of clerical hunting, 'Whether the clergy may hunt', 1621, LPL MS 2872, ff. 21-24.

Clerico Venatore.[124] Abbot would consequently have to look beyond canon law for absolution; legitimacy for clerical hunting could not be found within it.

Abbot's defence subsequently aimed to exploit the religious tensions of the early seventeenth century to delegitimise *De Clerico Venatore*. He did so firstly through an anti-Catholic polemic, stating that it was unjust to judge the archbishop by canon law because 'popes and Cardinales have wilfully committed many poysonings, murthers, and outrageous actes'. He secondly argued for English exceptionalism and the primacy of common law: 'howsoever the Canon may touche Bishops and Clergy men beyond the Seas, it meddleth not with the Bishops of England'. In this, the archbishop's lawyers evoked the 1215 Forest Charter; cited the original game law from the reign of Richard II, which allowed any clergyman with £10 per annum of freehold land to keep greyhounds to hunt; quoted lawyers who had written against clergy poachers and, in doing so, implicitly accepted the clergy had a right to hunt if they met the game law qualifications; and, finally, argued that there was a precedent of Tudor archbishops who hunted.[125] His lawyers thus echoed the famous early seventeenth-century jurist, Sir Edward Coke, who declared that clergymen 'by the common law of the land they may for their recreation, to make them fitter for the performance of their duty and office, use the recreation of hunting', because following the Reformation 'all cannons against the laws or customes of the realm are void and of none effect'.[126] In its attempts to establish the archbishop (and other churchmen) as a legitimate huntsman, Abbot's defence tacitly accepted the fact that clergymen should not hunt if they continued to remain under canon law jurisdiction.

To conclude, early Stuart clergymen effectively adhered to the tenets set out in *De Clerico Venatore*, even if it took a man to be killed by an archbishop for it to be explicitly discussed. While issues of wealth, social status, or the changing nature of the Protestant clergy were significant in many churchmen not hunting, the lingering memory of canon law would seem to be the dominant, underlying reason. This newfound adherence to *De Clerico Venatore* was a significant change from pre-

[124] Spelman, 'An answer', 109, 112-114.
[125] BL Add. MS 72415, f. 2.
[126] Coke's work was published posthumously between 1628 and 1644. Sir Edward Coke, *The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (London, 1797), 308.

Reformation England, where medieval bishops frequently went hunting as a performance of their worldly power. The reign of Elizabeth I consequently appears to be a crucial transitional period towards new sensibilities. During the first two decades of the seventeenth century, bishops seldom went hunting, but the reasons they abstained was rarely discussed; the tensions between common law and canon law, exploited by Abbot in his defence, tended to be sidestepped and left alone. The Bramshill incident and the subsequent controversy led to a wider discussion of this issue. Hence, in William Prynne's infamous 1633 book, *Histriomastix*, the reader is repeatedly told that various canons 'prohibit hunting and hauking to all Clergy men, whence they may not presume to keepe either dogs or hawks to hawk with'. However, we saw in the first chapter that Prynne also believed that for the gentry, hunting was a 'honest' and 'healthfull recreations … with which to refresh themselves'.[127] Therefore, if hunting was an expression of the gentry and nobility's patriarchal manhood, it was an alternative code of manhood which defined the clergy as non-hunters. This manhood was neither subordinate, because the clergy's unwillingness to hunt did not reduce their authority in early Stuart society, nor anti-patriarchal, because the clergy did not attempt to force the gentry and nobility to stop hunting, and they continued to engage indirectly in this hunting culture.[128]

Conclusion

We began this chapter by noting how the preceding chapters supported Anthony Fletcher's contention that hunting facilitated 'the working of patriarchy' in early modern England. This chapter both supports and moderates this argument, by analysing two groups previously overlooked in early modern hunting culture and who could, to varying extents, be characterised as unacceptable hunters. In doing so, it builds upon the rich historiography on gender and manhood published since the publication of *Gender, Sex & Subordination* – and which Fletcher himself challenged future historians to do.[129] Gentlewomen and noblewomen did encroach upon the

[127] William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix: The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie* (1633), 598, 966.
[128] 'Subordinate' and 'anti-patriarchal' are, like 'dominant' and 'alternative', terms used by Alexandra Shepard in her studies of manhood in early modern England. See Shepard, 'From anxious patriarchs to refined gentleman?', 291.
[129] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*, x.

typically male social spaces of the hunt and, in doing so, they could play a role in the social politics of early Stuart England. Yet their involvement was subject to strict controls, whether that was how they hunted or whom with, both of which helped gentlemen and noblemen maintain patriarchal authority over the hunt. Meanwhile, the clergy abstained from hunting, although bishops who had a role in secular politics still participated indirectly in hunting culture. Churchmen thus had an alternative manhood to the gentry and nobility. They did not need to actively participate in the sport as a way of performing their authority, which derived from their ecclesiastical profession rather than traditional codes of honour or landed wealth.

As was also suggested, this complex situation, where women were far more likely to hunt than churchmen, has important consequences for our understandings of manhood and patriarchy in the early Stuart period. As Alexandra Shepard has argued, while on the one hand 'patriarchal principles … privileged males over females, and favoured particular men above others', on the other hand 'manhood and patriarchy were not equated in early modern England'.[130] For gentlemen and noblemen, prince and king, hunting was an expression of both elite manhood and a patriarchal system in which they had ultimate authority within. This remained the case even though women frequently went hunting. Furthermore, because manhood and patriarchy were distinct from each other, it meant that the clergy, who wielded their own patriarchal authority, were not limited or hindered by abstaining from a sport that was otherwise vital in how power was exercised in early Stuart England.

[130] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 1, 246.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that hunting was the most important recreation of gentry, noble, and royal elites in early Stuart England. It was vital in the construction of social status, it was an extremely flexible form of sociability, and it facilitated a variety of political relationships. Thus, hunting was a supreme expression of gentry and noble manhood and a performance of patriarchal authority. This was the case even though women frequently went hunting in early Stuart England, while another group which wielded significant patriarchal authority, the episcopate, rejected opportunities to do so. Furthermore, participation in this hunting culture went beyond simply the act of hunting, but involved gifting venison, acquiring and protecting animals and hunting grounds, commissioning venery-inspired artwork to decorate houses, purchasing objects needed for the sport, and constructing buildings to aid them in their sports. This thesis therefore sheds new light on the lived experiences of those who went hunting and how they interacted with the spaces where the sport was performed. In doing so, it has integrated visual and material culture into an analysis of a rich array of traditional documentary sources.

Chapter one revealed the multiple ways in which hunting was constructed as an important aspect of gentility and nobility during the early Stuart period. Indeed, it was so important in identity formation that even puritan gentry participated in the sport, despite the moral opposition to blood sports that was preached by several godly clergymen. Yet while hunting was widely appreciated as a display of gentry and noble status, tensions in this process were created through increased social mobility, the changing political roles of these elites, and the great competition amongst these elites for standing and power. The increased exclusivity of the game laws, which disenfranchised lesser gentry, also conflicted with conduct literature that proclaimed all the gentry could hunt. Moreover, if the traditional reason for the gentry and nobility to hunt (as training for warfare) survived, this rationale receded as their military role diminished. At the same time, writers increasingly tended to emphasise the benefit of hunting as enabling a healthy body and mind, and which supported the administrative roles that the gentry and nobility were expected to perform and derive

authority from. Furthermore, hunting was a competitive demonstration of status. Thus, the animals and landscapes of the hunt were appropriated, gifted, and often violently contested over between rivals. Hunting as a lavish form of display also resulted in the commissioning of hunting scenes as important decorative features in gentry and noble houses, as a way of reinforcing or claiming such status.

Chapter two, an innovative social and material history of the early Stuart hunt, furthered our understanding of the nature of elite lifestyles during a period of profound change. The care and acquisition of the horses, hounds, and hawks needed to go hunting were everyday displays of wealth and status. Analysis of the material culture and architecture of the sport helps to recreate the lived experiences of those who went hunting. Hunting was an extremely flexible form of sociability, allowing participants to partake in the sport year-round, in varied settings, in multiple group sizes, and in various styles according to taste or ability. An analysis of these changing styles and how individuals recounted their experiences demonstrates that participants were spatially distanced from sport's violence and that hunting was appreciated more than ever for its pleasurable sociability. This more detailed analysis of the chase, hawking and falconry, and bow and stable hunting supports Jonah Stuart Brundage's sociological suggestion that hunting was becoming less violent at the same time as the elites who practised it were becoming an administrative, rather than military elite.[1] Hence, the sporting sociability that early Stuart elites engaged in was appreciated more than ever as a form of political networking.

Chapters three and four offered alternative views of hunting's political significance at the early Stuart courts. Scholarship on the Jacobean and Caroline courts has tended to dismiss, denigrate, or ignore hunting entirely; these chapters also provide new evidence for how political culture operated more informally at early modern royal courts, through the sociability of recreations like hunting. The third chapter thus focused upon how the politics of hunting operated and changed over time at the Jacobean court. The royal hunt was crucial in Jacobean diplomatic politics, used by both the king and foreign ambassadors as a form of negotiation. It was similarly

[1] J.S. Brundage, 'The pacification of elite lifestyles: state formation, elite reproduction, and the practice of hunting in early modern England', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59 (2017), 786-817.

important in the relationship James had with his wife, Queen Anne, and son, Prince Henry – the sport is also an under-studied aspect of their political and cultural power. In Jacobean court politics, courtiers sought to gain favour with the king through hunting with him. In the second half of the reign, the royal favourites, and the Duke of Buckingham especially, used hunting to capture James' attention. They also exploited the physical distance and isolation that hunting created between the king and the rest of the government back in London in their attempts to control access to him. Yet during the annual summer progresses that James and his court made, the royal hunt actually facilitated a far more widespread form of access to the local elites of the counties that he travelled through. From the very beginning of his reign, then, hunting helped inspire loyalty and allegiance amongst the gentry and nobility to this new, Scottish king of England, while these provincial elites achieved political favour and greater standing by catering to James' love of the sport.

It is the royal hunt as a significant 'point of contact' between the centre and the peripheries of the realm where father and son contrast the most.[2] While historians of this period typically analyse each king in isolation, studying the two kings in tandem make it possible to more clearly and systematically identify important continuities and differences, especially when it comes to the politics of court access. The fourth chapter, which provided the first comprehensive analysis of Charles I's hunting practices, has added a new element to a major historiographical debate about the Caroline period, the issue of mobility and whether it contributed to further access. Charles' summer progresses during the Personal Rule, often to the same places that James travelled to, were based around hunting. But Charles' hunting trips were much less likely to facilitate political relationships with local elites compared to those of his father. The survival of a considerable amount of evidence of the Caroline royal hunt at Newmarket allows us to see that the sport reflected a distant and withdrawn court, a space for the Caroline nobility, but not the gentry. Yet the more private nature of Charles' hunting trips does not take away from the fact that, for those privileged few who were permitted to hunt with him, Charles was very friendly and affable while at

[2] G.R. Elton, 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact. III. The court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976), 211-228.

his sport. Hence, the sociability of the royal hunt continued to be important for ambassadors, noblemen, and courtiers seeking favour and influence. Finally, when compared to King James and Queen Anne, hunting played an even more important role in the close relationship which Henrietta Maria had with her husband. Like Queen Anne, Henrietta Maria also appropriated the sport as a significant part of her queenship – indeed, the sport is an under-studied aspect of the contemporary controversies that surrounded the influence she purportedly held over Charles.

Chapter five explored the ways in which the sociability of the hunt was a vital way in which politics and power was exercised and contested amongst the gentry and nobility in the localities of early Stuart England. As a very exclusive and honourable entertainment, clients and patrons reciprocally offered good sport to each other, magnates used the sport to establish their dominance in the counties they governed, and gentlemen who did not receive such invitations to hunt reacted with dismay or even vitriol. The sport likewise helped to establish and maintain friendships amongst those who wielded power at a regional level – although, because these were sociable occasions highly dependent on the contingent events of the hunt, disputes could easily arise. Hunting could also be used strategically to exacerbate factional rivalries, by excluding certain people from the sport. Catholics, meanwhile, modulated between including and excluding Protestants in their hunting trips as a religious coping strategy. Catholic hunting trips might sometimes be suspected of covert plotting at times of heightened tensions, in much the same way that Royalist hunting parties were during the Civil Wars and Protectorate. The suspicion which authorities had about the socialising of minority groups out in the field was perhaps the ultimate testament to the sport's importance in the political culture of this period, and of how face-to-face contact and sociable relations were vital in the everyday negotiation and contestation of power.

The final chapter drew upon these three main strands of the thesis – status, sociability, and politics – to analyse how two groups not hitherto discussed participated in hunting culture: women and the clergy. It also simultaneously complicates and reinforces the idea that hunting was part of 'the working of patriarchy' in early modern England – a social and political world dominated by men

of a certain status.[3] If hunting was a sport mostly for gentlemen and noblemen, many gentlewomen and noblewomen also participated, although how they hunted (in particular, they rarely engaged in the chase because of the difficulties of riding side-saddle) was carefully controlled and they typically hunted in the company of their husbands. Nevertheless, women could still participate in the social politics of the hunt through entertaining and socialising with important figures and engaging in the sport's gifting culture. So long as they were simply seen to supplement their husbands' political standing, this was not at all problematic. This chapter therefore adds immensely to our understandings of the social lives of elite women and the extent to which they could be political actors.

If women encroached upon the typically male space of the hunting field, the clergy – and most notably bishops – did not, despite the fact they were a social group that wielded significant patriarchal authority in early Stuart England. Anti-hunting sensibilities amongst the episcopate was a relatively new phenomenon, and the reign of Elizabeth I appears to have been an important transitional period. The reason why seventeenth-century bishops no longer went hunting included factors such as the wealth and changing expectations of the Protestant clergy. However, as we have seen, the unique evidence generated after the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, accidentally killed a gamekeeper while hunting, suggests that the lingering memory of canon law (particularly *De Clerico Venatore*) also had a profound influence on clerical hunting practices. Thus, the patriarchal authority of the higher clergy was not reliant on a performance of manhood represented through hunting, in contrast to many of the gentry and nobility. Nevertheless, early Stuart bishops still felt that an indirect involvement in the sport was important to maintain their social and political standing in the localities and at the royal court.

This thesis has therefore used the lens of hunting to examine how issues of status, sociability, and politics were intertwined in the early Stuart period, facilitating and mutually reinforcing one another through a social action like hunting. It has shown the need to investigate more niche aspects of social performance as a framework with

[3] A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT., 1995), 131-135.

which to then analyse broader cultural and political phenomena. Moreover, it has revealed how one cannot look at how politics was practised during this period without considering the social connections of those engaged in these various relationships where power was exercised and contested. Likewise, it has demonstrated that the significance of these politicised acts of sociability frequently derived from what these actions said about an individual's place in society. A study of a seemingly straightforward recreation and pastime like hunting, previously dismissed or overlooked by historians, thus demonstrates the value of a more integrated historical approach to the study of widespread social practices.

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