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Department of History

**Queen and Country: The Significance of Elizabeth I's
Progress in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire in 1591**

by

Caroline Adams

Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy

This thesis has been completed as a requirement for a higher
degree of the University of Southampton

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ABSTRACT

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

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in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire in 1591

By Caroline Jane Adams

This thesis explores the nature of Elizabethan royal progresses, with particular reference to Surrey, Hampshire and West Sussex. In highlighting the progress of 1591, the only one to include hosts in West Sussex, the thesis draws upon a wide range of national and local archive collections to provide rich detail of how the progress worked and affected this region. By 1591, the manner of her progresses was established, and the thesis illustrates the practicalities of organising a royal progress, the planning considerations, and the impact such visits had on local communities. In doing so it brings out a range of expectations and perceptions: on the part of the monarch, her officials and courtiers, the harbingers on whom the weight of administration fell, and the hosts and their guests. It thus tells us about the interplay between local, regional and courtly hospitality. Concentration on one progress region and a relatively small number of progresses has enabled the provision of a prosopographical account of the people involved, together with a gazetteer of their houses. The thesis takes seriously the 'progress region' - seasonal though it was - and views events and society from that perspective. This affords a useful corrective to local studies that move too quickly to descriptions of county communities as if they were already fixed and dominant. The thesis illustrates the importance of concepts of hospitality and the practicalities of purveyance, and thus sheds light on the emergence of civil society in the south-east, and growing consciousness of London and the court. The study culminates with a case study of Elizabeth's progress of 1591, illustrating how she indulged in new practices, took risks, and played her part in binding subjects - Catholic and Protestant alike - to her cause. This is a socio-cultural approach that seeks to embed our understanding of royal progresses within our growing awareness of the complex nature of early modern society.

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¹ On all maps except map 2, land over 200 feet is given in yellow and land over 500 feet in green. House names are given in red, and town names are in purple. Scales are approximate. All maps are ©the author, except map 2, which is ©West Sussex County Council.

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Caroline Adams, declare that the thesis entitled:

'Queen and Country: The Significance of Elizabeth I's Progress in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire in 1591'

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as a result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- Where any part of this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- Parts of this work have been published as:

Caroline Adams, 'The impact of Elizabeth I's Progress in Hampshire, 1591' *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 65 (2010)

Signed: *Caroline Adams*

Date: *30 May 2012*

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Abbreviation	Full title
Anglo, <i>Images</i>	Anglo, S., <i>Images of Tudor Kingship</i> (London: B.A. Seaby, Ltd, 1992)
Anglo, <i>Spectacle</i>	Anglo, S., <i>Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor policy</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)
Archer, <i>Progresses</i>	Archer, J.E., Goldring, E. and Knight, S., <i>The progresses, pageants, and entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
APC	Dasent, J.R., (ed.), <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , 1591, new series, vol. XXI (London: HMSO, 1900)
Brandon and Short, <i>The Southeast</i>	Brandon, P. and Short, B., <i>The Southeast from AD 1000</i> (Longman, 1990).
Chambers, <i>Elizabethan Stage</i>	Chambers, E.K., <i>The Elizabethan Stage</i> , 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923)
Cole, <i>Portable Queen</i>	Cole, M.H., <i>The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the politics of ceremony</i> (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999)
Dallaway, <i>History</i>	Dallaway, J., <i>A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex</i> (London: 1815)
Dovey, <i>Elizabethan Progress</i>	Dovey, Z., <i>An Elizabethan progress</i> (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996)
Girouard, <i>English Country House</i>	Girouard, M., <i>Life in the English Country House</i> (London: Yale University Press, 1978)
Hasler, <i>House of Commons</i>	Hasler, P.W., <i>The House of Commons 1558-1603</i> (London: HMSO, 1981), 3 volumes
Hayward, <i>Transportation</i>	Hayward, M., 'The Packing and Transportation of the Possessions of Henry VIII with Particular Reference to the 1547 Inventory', <i>Costume</i> , 31:2 (1997), 8-15
Heal, <i>Hospitality</i>	Heal, F., <i>Hospitality in early modern England</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)
Heal & Holmes, <i>Gentry</i>	Heal, F. and Holmes, C., <i>The gentry in England and Wales</i> (Stanford, USA: Stanford University Press, 1994)
Himsworth, <i>Marriage</i>	Himsworth, S., 'The marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor', <i>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society</i> , 22 (1961-63), 82-100
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
Jervoise MSS	Hampshire Record Office: the Jervoise of Herriard collection
Kempe, <i>Loseley Manuscripts</i>	Kempe, A.J., <i>The Loseley Manuscripts: manuscripts and other rare documents illustrative of English history, biography and manners from Henry VIII to James I</i> (London, John Murray, 1836)
Loseley Mss	Surrey History Centre: The Loseley Manuscripts: Records of the More and More Molyneux Family of Loseley Park
Manning, <i>Religion</i>	Manning, R.B., <i>Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex</i> (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969)
Nichols, <i>Progresses of Elizabeth I</i>	Nichols, J.G., <i>The progresses and public processions of Elizabeth I</i> (London: 1823)
Nichols, <i>Progresses of James I</i>	Nichols, J.G., <i>The progresses, processions and magnificent festivities of James I</i> (London: 1828)
Nichols, <i>Edward VI</i>	Nichols, J.G., 'The progress of King Edward VI in Sussex,' <i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i> , 10 (1858), 195-204
Nichols, <i>Machyn</i>	Nichols, J.G., <i>The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London from A.D. 1550-1563</i> (1848) (Kessinger Publishing, n.d.)
North, <i>Edward VI</i>	J. North (ed.), <i>England's Boy King: the diary of Edward VI 1547-1553</i> (London: Ravenhall Books, 2005)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> [online: www.odnb.co.uk]

Abbreviation	Full title
Questier, <i>Catholicism and Community</i>	Questier, M., <i>Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c.1550-1640</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
Samman, 'Progresses'	Samman, N., 'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', in MacCulloch, D., (ed.), <i>The reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety</i> (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1995)
Sansom, <i>Sovereign</i>	Sansom, C.J., <i>Sovereign</i> (London: Macmillan, 2007)
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
SHC	Surrey History Centre
TNA: PRO, <i>SP Cal.</i>	TNA: PRO, <i>Calendars of State Papers</i> ; also Gale Cengage Learning website, State Papers Online, where appropriate.
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office
Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, <i>Parham in Sussex</i>	Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, J., <i>Parham in Sussex</i> (London: Batsford, 1947)
Winfield, <i>The marriage of England and Spain</i>	Winfield, Flora (ed.), <i>The marriage of England and Spain</i> (Catalogue for exhibition of the same name, summer 2004, Winchester cathedral)
Woodworth, 'Purveyance'	Woodworth, A., 'Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth', <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> , new series, XXXV, 1 (1945)

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis explores the nature of Elizabethan royal progresses, with particular reference to Surrey, Hampshire and West Sussex. It highlights the significance of Elizabeth's progress in 1591, the only one to include hosts in West Sussex. Treating this progress as a case study provides rich detail about the practicalities of organising a royal progress, the planning considerations, and the impact such visits had on local communities.¹ One feature of this thesis is that it draws attention to both national and local sources, which tend to be treated in isolation from each other.² This illustrates the close interaction between local people and court officials. It highlights a range of expectations and perceptions, on the part of the monarch, her officials and courtiers, the harbingers on whom the weight of administration fell, and the hosts and their guests.³ This in turn casts light on the emergence of a civil society in the region. It shows how the gentry and aristocracy were developing their relationships with one another in terms of work, leisure and hospitality.⁴ They made their own houses attractive in the hope and expectation that important people, especially the monarch, would visit.⁵ The study of the 1591 progress shows that Elizabeth's progresses were different from those of her predecessors in the way she used them politically, whom she visited, and the routes she used.

Some discussion of critical definitions and key concepts is necessary. It needs to include the notion of what was meant by a royal progress in the period, and how such progresses changed over the sixteenth century. The case study helps with this process of definition, and it is complemented by setting it against discussion of progresses over a longer timescale.⁶ Other thematic chapters offer further exploration of different features that help to understand what was entailed in a royal progress in Elizabethan England.⁷ It is also important to explain what is meant by the 'region' for the purposes of this thesis. What might appear to be simply a route list was important for everyone in the environs of the progresses.⁸ Another virtue of the case study is that it provides detail of how a different concept, that of 'purveyance', operated and affected people at all levels in society. This

¹ See chapter 9.

² See chapter 2.

³ See chapter 7.

⁴ See chapter 5.

⁵ See chapter 6.

⁶ See chapter 4.

⁷ See chapters 5,6 and 7.

⁸ See chapter 3.

leads naturally on to the question of how people invoked another significant concept, namely that of 'hospitality'.⁹

What was a royal progress in the sixteenth century? Royal progresses have been described as having a range of purposes, from glorified holidays for the monarch to important instruments of propaganda. This thesis shows that Elizabeth was aware of this; she mixed holiday, travel and exploration of new places, business and demonstration of power. Her methods and motives for her progresses were more varied than those of her predecessors and her successor, and this thesis shows how these things were demonstrated on a regional scale. At a local level, she punctuated her travel between the big houses belonging to the nobility by staying at smaller houses, some of them belonging to quite low-ranking gentry. This gave her - and a wide spectrum of local society - the chance to meet each other, and many opportunities for patronage at all levels. Her propensity to stay a night or two with lesser gentry rather than with nobility alone increased the desire of the gentry to improve their own powerbase. The possibility that the monarch might actually stay with local gentry led to new building at all levels in the region, from gatehouses such as at Bramshott,¹⁰ to extra wings on great houses, such as at Elvetham.¹¹ The progress of 1591 opened up the countryside by extending the number of available places to stay for future progresses, whether carried out by the monarch or other officials. Elizabeth's progresses thus demonstrate a complex mixture of motives.

The 1591 progress was special for a number of reasons. The development of the use of progresses had reached its climax by then, at least for Elizabeth's reign. There existed for the royal household a methodology which, whilst not perfect, did at least mean it could embark on a long tour knowing the participants could maintain themselves. The people of the countryside around knew what to expect, and what part to play in the progress. Elizabeth could use the progress for her own desires, knowing full well that both courtiers and local gentry would use it for their own purposes as well. By the end of the sixteenth century, great changes had taken place in society, and behaviour, hospitality and the place of the country house became increasingly important and refined. This thesis sees the progress from a local point of view defined by the relationship between the Queen and her country.

⁹ See chapters 5 and 6.

¹⁰ See Appendix 3: Houses Gazetteer.

¹¹ Ibid.

This thesis looks briefly at the medieval idea of a royal progress,¹² with its mixture of politics and entertainment, partly engendered by the need to move the court on from place to place for reasons of cleanliness and the maintenance of food stocks. By the sixteenth century, royal progresses had changed their nature and become more relaxed. From our knowledge of Henry VIII's movements, the King was taking his time in his journeys down to Portsmouth¹³ using it to visit friends and go hunting. The thesis explores the progresses of Elizabeth's predecessors in this region, and then her own. By 1591 her procedures were well-defined, and her use of the houses of her hosts was having a profound effect on the hospitality offered.

The 'region' chosen for this study does not fit neatly into administrative or topographical boundaries. It is not one of the ancient counties, nor does it follow the Wealden or Downland areas. Instead it encloses the environs of the royal progress routes, which covered an area roughly bounded on the east by a north-south line through West Sussex, and on the west by the modern M3. Although the thesis is unusual in not taking a whole county as such, West Sussex, Hampshire and the south part of Surrey provide an effective region in which to explore this topic. This is because most of the houses in the region were far enough from London for their owners not to be over-influenced by the culture of the capital.¹⁴ For some aspects of hospitality, for example in domestic architecture, a provincial style developed to provide the best use of the house and its gardens for new ideas of hospitality.¹⁵ However, some of the gentry and aristocracy were familiar with the court and the culture of London life, and some would travel up for business with the Privy Council or in the law courts.¹⁶ The members of this level of society, that is the aristocracy and the upper gentry, knew each other through kinship ties and their business dealings, such as running their estates, exchanges of property, and most importantly, the day-to-day business of the royal commissions carried out in the region. Their relationships cut across county borders and up and down the hierarchy of society, and the region chosen reflects these relationships.

While 1591 represents the culmination of this thesis, I have set the whole thesis within the period 1525-1625, showing how Elizabeth both drew on precedents set by her predecessors, and departed from their practice. Brief consideration of the progresses of James I is provided simply to demonstrate how

¹² See chapter 4.

¹³ Henry often visited Portsmouth to inspect building works or ships. 'Henry VIII: August 1526, 1-10', *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 4: 1524-1530 (1875), 1057-1066. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

¹⁴ See chapter 3, map 3.

¹⁵ See chapter 6.

¹⁶ For example, in the Loseley manuscripts the correspondence to and from William More of Loseley shows that he is often in London on commission business or attending law courts.

he reverted to something much closer to the style of Henry VIII, without much need for propaganda. Starting discussion of the progresses from 1525 means it can include the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries on landholding and subsequent hospitality responsibilities, culture and practice. This includes discussion of the effects of a more volatile property market on changing the map of possible places to visit.

Discussion of my themes up to 1625 is useful, not so much for what it tells us about progresses, but rather for what it reveals about changing attitudes towards social networking and hospitality. An example of this is the case of the Earl of Northumberland, who spent sixteen years in the Tower from 1605, and wrote about manners and expectations of being a gentleman in a letter to his son.¹⁷ Whilst expressing ideas which were popular at the time, he eschewed the lifestyle his own neighbours expected of him, having not engaged in the 1591 progress, and not taken part in local duties.¹⁸ His case shows that the theory and practice of hospitality were diverging.¹⁹ What we do learn about progresses, however, when we look from the perspective of the reign of James I, is that he did not follow precedents set by Elizabeth I. His agenda was to follow his personal interests, such as mixing with scholars at the universities and hunting expeditions. James does not seem to have sought meaningful interaction with his subjects in the regions, nor does he seem to have been attracted by the political opportunities that such interaction might offer. This was in complete contrast to the politically canny Elizabeth, something that is apparent in the classic work of the antiquarian John Nichols on the progresses of the two monarchs.²⁰

The inclusion of three chapters dealing with the nobility and gentry of the region, their houses, 'visitor patterns', and the practicalities of progresses, explores how theories of hospitality panned out in practice. They introduce the hosts of the region and look at their social networks, both within and without the county, and also with the court and the city of London. They illustrate the complexities of the management of a progress. This is not just about people, for it also includes consideration of the impact of all this on the 'great rebuilding' of England in relation to this area and its ability to cater for progresses.

¹⁷ Batho, G.R. and Clucas, S., *A facsimile and transcript from the manuscripts of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland at Petworth House* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2002).

¹⁸ I am indebted to Alison McCann of West Sussex Record Office for this information. Studies of the Earl show mixed motives for his lack of interest in society in Sussex.

¹⁹ See chapters 5 and 6 for further exploration of this.

²⁰ Nichols, J.G., *The progresses, processions and magnificent festivities of James I* (London: 1828).

Methods and sources

My methods of research have been influenced by the fact that I am an archivist, with a keen interest in local history and a working knowledge of the many ways that relevant records are catalogued and made accessible. I have made extensive use of records held at The National Archives, including often underused financial material. For this thesis, the best of these, which are perhaps even now not fully exploited, are the account rolls of the Treasurer of the Chamber, which give rich information on routes of progresses and the work of the harbingers.²¹ This has been supplemented by use of family and estate collections held at Hampshire Record Office (hereafter HRO), Surrey History Centre (SHC) and West Sussex Record Office (WSRO) - including an excursion to Somerset Record Office for material on Parham House. The British Library provided valuable information on travel and early maps. One of the significant findings of this thesis is the extent to which local sources and national sources shed light on each other - for example, the Jervoise of Hilliard collection at HRO²² includes papers on purveyance, and whether and how it was working, and this ties in with what we know about the progresses from the State Papers.²³

Research on royal progresses and the connection with regional history has been opened up by increased access to primary sources through new technology. More catalogues are online such as those of local record offices and The National Archives.²⁴ This has made searching and analysis easier, for example, the active land market in the region can be surmised from the amount of deeds (showing small exchanges of property) which are now shown in online lists created by using a place name as a search term. Equally databases such as that of the *ODNB* bring quick and easy access to the careers of the men involved at local level and in the progresses.²⁵ Furthermore, digitisation of sources such as the *Victoria County History* and 'State Papers Online', means that these sources can now be 'indexed' by a chosen relevant search term.²⁶ Easy digital photography gives access to documents that are awkward to read or handle, such as the Exchequer accounts, which give detail on how much Elizabeth spent on her progresses.

New technology, however, brings its own problems. Searching an online database calls for a different approach from that taken when using paper

²¹ The National Archives (TNA), PRO: E 351/541 and 542.

²² Hampshire Record Office (HRO), the Jervoise mss, 44M69.

²³ TNA: PRO, *Calendars of State Papers*: SP 12; Gale Cengage Learning website, *State Papers Online*.

²⁴ See, for example, the Search Online facility for West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), or the new Discovery website provided by TNA.

²⁵ See <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

²⁶ See <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> for text of the *Victoria County Histories*; and *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*. 'State Papers Online' is a further database giving both the text of the *Calendars* and the images of the papers themselves: <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx> (this is not available to individuals)

catalogues with the help of an archivist. Often databases are accessed through search terms and keywords, so one needs to compile a glossary, and make sure all possible sources have been accessed by the correct use of keywords. The metadata of an online document may not fit the needs of a researcher. Consequently, when using 'State Papers Online' all sorts of words had to be used for search terms in order not to miss any relevant information, for example, not only 'progress', but 'journey' and 'itinerary'. The possibility of missing a relevant document is that much greater than with hard copy catalogues, and browsing in the same way is not possible. Other problems were created by the nature of the sources used, such as those used for compiling the Gentry Database. Documents which refer to 'Sussex' as a place of residence tend not to specify whether the person came from West or East Sussex. Consequently, deciding whether a family should be put in the database was difficult for some names. Equally, the survival of certain types of family and estate records, and not of others, means that there are few personal family records for West Sussex in the way there are for Surrey and Hampshire.²⁷ However, the information taken from them can be used to infer the position in West Sussex.

What I hope is achieved by this combination of national and local sources is a fresh look at both the progresses themselves and also the region in which they were conducted. While much recent writing has concentrated on the pageantry, entertainment and literary culture surrounding progresses, my aim has been to home in on the practicalities, and how progresses affected local society, both through social interchange and interruption of normal work. I shall also attempt to show how royal progresses overlaid and confirmed 'social networking' patterns that were developing in the region, and which cut across county borders. It also demonstrates that recent studies on Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture can contribute to debates on patronage and hospitality during the period, and that local country houses need to be studied in their context, not as a separate entity.

Motives and development

The impetus for this research started over ten years ago, when I was involved, as an archivist at WSRO, in retrieving and cataloguing the archives at Parham House. The story of Parham mirrors the main themes of this thesis.²⁸ The house is located under the Sussex Downs. It is a fine example of a middle-gentry Elizabethan house, built by rising merchants after the dissolution of the monasteries made the land available. It is presented to its visitors using the

²⁷ See chapters 3 and 5.

²⁸ Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, J., *Parham in Sussex* (London: Batsford, 1947), Kirk, J., *Parham: an Elizabethan house and its restoration* (Chichester, 2009), 5-69.

tradition that Elizabeth dined there on her way south during one of her summer progresses. In the great hall, the place where in the sixteenth century visitors were welcomed and business was transacted, is a plaster wall relief of the Queen's coat of arms, and a date: 1593. The house is not a big or grand one, and a need was perceived to research the Queen's possible visit, and how it shaped the lives of the Palmer family who were living there at the time. The main finding of the relevant part of this research for Parham House is that the Queen did not dine there.²⁹

The research threw up more questions: the actual date of the Queen's progress was 1591, so why the date of 1593 on the plaque in Parham's great hall? Was there really only one visit to West Sussex, and if so why? Would the Queen have visited a house of this size? The house guides at Parham wanted more than the absence of evidence: if she did not visit, why not; would one just dismiss the idea because Elizabeth cannot have slept in every bed attributed to her? They felt that lack of evidence did not necessarily prove the negative. It was possible that Parham might have been off the 'beaten track' of the progress route, if there was such a thing. Furthermore, was it true, as is often repeated, that nobody went anywhere in Sussex, because the roads were so bad? Parham proved to be a microcosm of my research.

The next step was to turn to the 1591 progress, which did turn out to be the only time Elizabeth visited West Sussex, although she was more familiar with Hampshire, and visited it more often. The project started with working out how likely it was that she would have stayed in a house the size and nature of Parham whilst on her progress in that year. The plan was to look at the hospitality involved in a royal progress, and see how that was reflected in the social interaction of the political elite in the region. Was Elizabeth likely to stay in houses belonging to lesser gentry? Elizabeth's father and brother did what one might expect: visited big houses belonging to favourites. Elizabeth changed the agenda. Although she stayed in the south and east part of England, she went out of her way to visit people and houses that were less important than those familiar to her predecessors, and she differed from her predecessors and her successor in that respect. This aspect of her progresses plays an important part in this thesis, because new motives have to be found for the places she went to and the people she visited. Did each monarch have a definite visiting policy, and what was his or her impact on the culture of elite society in the region?

Along with the motives and preferences of Elizabeth and her predecessors, lie questions about the nature of society at that time, and how much the families

²⁹ See chapter 9 and Appendix 10: The Itinerary of the 1591 progress.

living in the area interacted with each other. Did society emulate hospitality shown at court or on progress? Might they, for example, expect to visit some people and not others? Did people visit each other as families, or was most visiting for business matters? Just what was traditional hospitality in the sixteenth century – and was it changed in nature by the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent absence of places to stay? What were the cultural lifestyles of the social elite, and how much were they drawn to London? This led on naturally to looking at how the aristocracy and the gentry in the area might accommodate large parties of visitors and who they might be – whether neighbours, friends, or business associates. How the progresses worked on a practical level is explored by looking at how they travelled, where and how the retinue which came with the monarch might be accommodated, and who was involved. Gradually the thesis developed and the interaction between an emerging 'new' gentry and the royal party on progress in the region became clear.

This thesis is essentially local in its perspective. It has been narrowed down to one region, one period of time, and particularly one progress from which to draw conclusions on the nature of 'Queen and Country'. It explores the network of the nobility and gentry in the region, and suggests that hospitality was a powerful motive in their relationships with each other. The thesis confirms the cross-border operation of work and friendship. It establishes the progress routes in the region, and in particular the detail of the 1591 progress. It shows that by 1591 the mechanics of royal progresses were defined, and it demonstrates how they worked in relation to the region.

Chapter 2: Sources, methods, concepts and debates

This chapter attempts to do four things. First, it will discuss the key sources that have been used for this study: a mixture of state papers, royal household archives with manuscripts found in regional record offices and private collections. Secondly, it explains my methods of enquiry, noting, for example, my use of a prosopographical approach with regard to the aristocracy and gentry of the south, coupled with use of architectural as well as documentary evidence. This has entailed the production of a database of people and a gazetteer of the most notable houses cited in this study.¹ Thirdly, it will highlight a number of concepts critical to understanding this study, namely issues relating to 'hospitality' and the notion of what was entailed in a royal 'progress'. Discussion of why this study is located in a 'region' rather than a county - contrary to the viewpoint that has framed so many earlier studies - is pursued in chapter 3. Fourthly, these latter points will be well illustrated through discussion of how earlier writers have established the royal progress as a subject worthy of study from many different angles. This will hopefully show the value of the approaches adopted in this thesis. The most helpful way of approaching these themes is perhaps in reverse order. What follows is an attempt to show a history of writing about royal progresses, particularly in relation to this region.

Literature on the crown, its image and royal progresses

Royal progresses were not treated as a subject in their own right until relatively recently. This review shows how thinking developed from the early nineteenth century to the seminal work of *The Portable Queen*². Early literature on progresses contributes to the study of those of Elizabeth by providing the context of her experience, and offering comparisons and contrasts to her methodology. For the medieval period, John Steane³ wrote on the itinerant lifestyle of the court and its size. The pattern of constant movement was necessitated by the need to feed the court and also engendered by the violent politics of the period.⁴ The royal progress thus became established in the middle ages, but until recently it was not considered as a subject in its own right in literature. For the routes, practicalities and politics of early Tudor progresses, the researcher has to search in the text of biographies of the monarchs. There are many biographies of Henry VIII, for example the recent one on the early part of his reign by David Starkey and the

¹ Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

² Cole, M.H., *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the politics of ceremony* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

³ Steane, J., *The archaeology of the medieval English monarchy* (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁴ *Ibid*, 123.

classic text by Scarisbrick.⁵ Neither the school of writing in the 1960s and 70s, or the more modern approach taken by biographers since 2000 gave much time to progresses *per se* – for example Starkey's interests lie in the operation of the court; and when Scarisbrick was writing, social issues were not thought important unless they impinged on economic or political events.

The culture of the progresses has therefore to be gleaned within the general heading of the manifestation of power and wealth. Sydney Anglo⁶ looked at image-making by the Tudor monarchs in *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, and more recently in *Images of Tudor Kingship*.⁷

The public appearances were not designed to purvey such ephemeral and concocted political theories or emblematic conceits to the nation. Their primary symbolic function was to affirm the abstract permanence of kingship, although this ... inevitably served also to affirm dynastic legitimacy.⁸

He disagreed with Roy Strong that the Elizabethan progresses were undertaken systematically to promote the cult of the imperial virgin:

The Tudor progress ...is commonly described as an instrument of policy. This is undoubtedly true as far as it goes. The trouble is that the royal progress did not go very far....The highpoint of Elizabethan eulogy - the fifteen years after the defeat of the Armada - coincides precisely with a marked decline in the geographical area covered by the progresses.⁹

Whilst the progresses have some connection with the pursuit of stability in the realm, he felt that the fact that they were seen by very few people undermines the idea that the progress was an instrument of policy. However the progresses of Elizabeth constituted very much more than a display of magnificence. Elizabeth influenced local society through her choice of routes and hosts. This thesis shows that regional politics were mixed up with every progress, and the case study of the 1591 progress shows how national and local politics clashed.¹⁰

Some of the itineraries of the early progresses of Henry VIII have been given by Neil Samman;¹¹ otherwise finding the routes of Henry's progresses must be picked up from memoranda and remarks in private letters or the State Papers¹².

⁵ D. Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince* (London: Harper, 2008); J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969, new ed. 1997).

⁶ Anglo, S., *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

⁷ Anglo, S., *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: B.A. Seaby Ltd, 1992).

⁸ Anglo, *Images*, 99.

⁹ *Ibid*, 107. This statement is not borne out by the Chronological Table provided in Cole, *Portable Queen*, Appendix 2, 180-202. This shows that the Queen never went very far at any time in her reign, and there was very little difference pre- and post-1588. It is true that she did not revisit Gloucestershire or Lincolnshire, but she travelled extensively around the Home Counties, including Oxfordshire.

¹⁰ The argument between Robert Cecil and Thomas Shelley the younger illustrates this: Chapter 9.

¹¹ Samman, N., 'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', in MacCulloch, D., (ed.), *The reign of Henry VIII: politics, policy and piety*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1995), 59-73.

¹² See TNA (hereafter TNA), PRO: SP 1/93, f.194, for example, a list which gives dates and a route for the progress of 1535, which were then altered, as a letter in October of that year from Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cromwell confirms; cf: SP 1/98 f.13.

Many of Henry's progresses are alluded to in correspondence in the State Papers¹³ written by ministers as they travelled around with the King, and Neil Samman¹⁴ has pieced them together to provide a detailed analysis as far as possible. He pointed out that the lack of precise information on Henry's itineraries, and the overshadowing brilliance of Elizabeth's progresses 'has tended to obscure the importance and relevance of this spectacle in the reign of Henry VIII'.¹⁵ However Henry's progresses in the region were important for setting a precedent and creating a contrast to those of Elizabeth, and this is explored in the thesis.¹⁶

The story of Edward VI's 1552 tour is told by the King in a letter he sent to his friend and former 'whipping boy' Barnaby Fitzpatrick and in his journal.¹⁷ Consequently most of the information about this tour comes from the King himself, and it is disarmingly innocent of political bias. Overall, this thesis shows that Edward's progress was a smaller version of his father's, probably based on earlier progresses by him. Mary's progress from Winchester to London is included in this thesis, as a contrast to her sister's later methods and aims. The ceremonial progress is described in an article by Sheila Himsworth,¹⁸ who used three Spanish accounts of the wedding. The State Papers are scanty for the preparations and wedding itself.¹⁹ Additional material for this thesis has been collected from accounts of the Queen and her reign.²⁰ Together they show that Mary's displays of magnificence were put on for her Spanish groom and those she wished to impress on the Continent, rather than for the local inhabitants, a different motive from Elizabeth's. Finally, the main source for James I's progresses comes from the nineteenth-century antiquarian, J.G. Nichols.²¹ James however, did not enter West Sussex or the south of Hampshire, and his progresses do not figure predominantly in this thesis, except by way of contrast to Elizabeth's.

Literature for Elizabeth's progresses

There is much more literature available on Elizabethan progresses, particularly provided by the collection of material gathered by J.G. Nichols.²² He

¹³ TNA: PRO, *SP Cal.*, 12.

¹⁴ Samman, N., 'The Henrician Court During Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy c.1514-1529', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1988; Samman, 'Progresses'.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁶ See chapter 4.

¹⁷ A whipping boy was someone who was educated with and chastised instead of the young prince: a copy of the letter is at WSRO, MP 3827. An edited version of the journal is in North, J. (ed), *England's Boy King: the diary of Edward VI* (Welwyn Garden City: Ravenhall Books, 2005).

¹⁸ Himsworth, S., 'The marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 22 (1961-63), 82-100.

¹⁹ 'Queen Mary - Volume 4: October 1554', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80* (1856), 63.

²⁰ Loades, D., *The Tudor court* (London: Batsford, 1986); Duffy, E., *Fires of Faith* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

²¹ See below.

²² Nichols, J.G., *The progresses and public processions of Elizabeth I* (London: 1788-1823) and *James I*. Nichols was editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and so had a means of petitioning a wide audience for

collected documents about the royal progresses of Elizabeth I or James I & VI, and copied them assiduously, begging and borrowing evidence where he could. He used his editorship to discuss and publish his findings, and the resulting volumes include many transcripts of documents, some of which are now lost. Nichols did not attempt a commentary to accompany the documents. By 1823 he had published his third and most complete edition. The collection provides detail on the spectacles of the progresses, picking out some of the more magnificent events, rather than concentrating on itineraries. His collections were so influential that no attempt was made to analyse them or write further on the progresses until the early 1960s.

Then interest in the politics and meaning of Elizabeth's royal progresses revived. Ian Dunlop wrote a study of the palaces of Elizabeth I,²³ and included some information on the progresses:

If any single circumstance distinguished the Tudors and early Stuarts from their successors it was the restless persistence with which they moved from place to place, maintaining an astonishing number of royal houses, but availing themselves also of the lavish hospitality of their richer subjects.²⁴

Although Dunlop embellished his accounts of the progresses, he did not assemble itineraries. For the events at Cowdray, he quoted the facts of the visit, and then described Anthony Browne and his family, and the house, its environs and its future history.²⁵ He put the visit in its context, but did not attempt to analyse the progress arrangements. In 1989 June Osborne published a similar study, *Entertaining Elizabeth I: the Progresses and Great Houses of her time*.²⁶ Her introduction discussed the reasons for Elizabeth's progresses: that 'her power was based on the love of her subjects'²⁷ and 'the people's desire for a female deity'.²⁸ She looked at the hosts, their reasons for wanting to entertain the Queen, and the entertainments themselves, but repeated the idea that gaining her people's affection was the main reason for Elizabeth's visits. The book is made up of anecdotes of the progresses and descriptions of a dozen houses that Elizabeth is supposed to have visited.²⁹ June Osborne did not attempt to analyse the progresses or visits, other than in her comments in the introduction, but merely describes them. This may be because the book was written at a time when there appears to have been very little interest in progresses.

documents.

²³ Dunlop, I., *Palaces and progresses of Elizabeth I* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962).

²⁴ *Op.cit*, 115.

²⁵ *Et passim*, 150-166.

²⁶ Osborne, J., *Entertaining Elizabeth I: the Progresses and Great Houses of her time* (London: Bishopsgate Press, 1989).

²⁷ *Ibid*, 15.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 16.

²⁹ Including Parham, for which there is no evidence of a visit.

The foremost publication in this genre until very recently, was *An Elizabethan Progress*, by Zillah Dovey, published in 1996.³⁰ The book has strongly influenced much writing since.³¹ It describes the progress from Greenwich to Norfolk during the summer of 1578, and it has a methodology that has strongly influenced this thesis. Like the author, I have studied a progress in detail, trying to work out who was attending, and what was happening day to day. Her book is not just an account of the progress, although this is detailed and well-researched, but also an analysis of the political and social reasons for it, and the Queen's relations with her hosts:

Adulation was neither a luxury nor a self-indulgence as far as Elizabeth was concerned. The loyalty of her subjects constituted the backbone of the state. With neither standing army nor a professional police force, the coercive resources of the Crown were extremely limited.... Obedience, based upon a willing devotion, was not only cheaper, it was very much more effective. Elizabeth knew perfectly well that loyalty depended partly upon what she did, and partly upon what she was.³²

Dovey described some of the mechanics of the progress, and gave descriptions of the houses in which the Queen stayed. Much of my thesis takes the viewpoint of the region and its gentry, and uses the progress to cast light on them, whereas Dovey's viewpoint on the whole stays with the royal party and its business, but it is a fine dividing line, and her grasp of what was happening locally was excellent.

Mary Hill Cole's *The Portable Queen*, published in 1999, was the first thorough examination of Elizabeth's progresses.³³ The book drew on many primary sources, particularly from the royal household, and it placed the progresses at the heart of Elizabeth's image-making, weaving together the people involved and the politics of her government. It emphasised the symbolism and ceremony involved, and Elizabeth's efforts to take control of her own image and her relationship with her courtiers and the hosts:

the progresses provided another opportunity for Elizabeth to manipulate her environment. Her progresses, I would suggest, created a dislocating confusion that reminded courtiers, citizens and hosts of the queen's centrality in their lives.³⁴

Thus the progresses were used by Elizabeth as a means to assert her feminine authority in a male-dominated world. Mary Hill Cole was the first scholar to value discussion of the practical arrangements of the progress, examining the role of the Queen's household in providing support for the hosts' hospitality. This is a theme I have tried to build upon. The book explored the position of private and civic hosts,

³⁰ Dovey, Z., *An Elizabethan Progress* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996).

³¹ See for example, Oehle, B., 'An Audience with the Queen: Subversion, Submission and Survival in Three Late Elizabethan Progress Entertainments', PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1999.

³² Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*, xi.

³³ Cole, *Portable Queen*.

³⁴ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 10.

and their relationship with their sovereign: 'her repeated progresses, in effect, expanded the membership of her court...'³⁵ showing that the progresses became an empirical method of exerting her influence on her subjects. Thus Mary Hill Cole refuted previous notions that the progresses were merely for display and not for government. In doing this, she underpinned previous historiography with a practical examination of the itineraries themselves to show how strong the bond was between royal government and local people. My thesis takes this one step further by examining the bond for one such region, and the appendices in *Portable Queen*, giving analysis of itineraries and lists of hosts, has provided a basis for my own work on the 1591 progress.³⁶

My thesis does not deal specifically with the themes of the entertainments and drama which accompanied the progresses, as their meanings and development have been well covered by others.³⁷ This study takes existing research on progresses one step further by fully investigating the mechanics of the progress and by embedding the progress in its host region. It concentrates on the practicalities involved and the relationship between the progress party and the local nobility and gentry. There is little real evidence on the feel of a royal progress - the best picture of what a royal progress must have been like comes from fiction. C.J. Sansom has written a series of Tudor novels, and in *Sovereign* he describes how the 1541 progress to York may have worked.³⁸ The use of fiction to speculate on, and thus enlarge our understanding of historical themes, is currently under discussion. Sansom's interpretation of the nature and mechanics of the progress has been extremely helpful for this thesis, although further historical research has not borne out all his views.³⁹ However, by concentrating on a particular region, I have been able to use local sources to shed light on why decisions were taken, for example regarding the route or who would be hosts.⁴⁰

Primary Sources for establishing the events and workings of a progress

The next part of this chapter examines the sources used, some of which have been used by others. Both Dovey and Cole used private correspondence, biographical material and Nichols, as well as state papers, including the *Acts of the*

³⁵ Op.cit., 63.

³⁶ Op.cit., Appendix 2: 'Chronology of Royal Visits and Progresses', 180-202.

³⁷ See for example: Archer, J.E., Goldring, E. and Knight, S., *The progresses, pageants, and entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Wilson, J., *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: DS. Brewer, 1980); Breight, C.C. 'Caressing the great: Viscount Montague's entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray 1591', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 127 (1989), 147-166; Oehle, B., 'An Audience with the Queen: Subversion, Submission and Survival in Three Late Elizabethan Progress' (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1999); Woodworth, A., 'Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society new series*, XXXV, 1 (1945).

³⁸ Sansom, C.J., *Sovereign* (London: Macmillan, 2007).

³⁹ See chapter 7.

⁴⁰ Kempe, A.J., *The Loseley Manuscripts: manuscripts and other rare documents illustrative of English history, biography and manners from Henry VIII to James I* (London: John Murray, 1836), 270-271.

Privy Council. My work also quarries these sources, while attempting to augment them with more regional material than hitherto used. The best source for ascertaining the route and preparations for a progress is the royal household accounts, in particular those of the Treasurers of the Chamber.⁴¹ These were payments out of the Queen's own accounts, in this case to the harbingers, who were the team of people who went ahead of the Queen to 'make ready' the houses and places where she was to stay or dine. The places are listed under the names of whichever team of around ten gentlemen and yeomen were carrying out the work.⁴² Secondly, the appendices in Cole, which list the Queen's itineraries, with information taken from E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, and various state papers, were extremely useful to establish the routes and hosts quickly.⁴³ Thirdly, the Acts of the Privy Council place-date the letters sent out from the meetings as they travelled around.⁴⁴ Using these three sources establishes a way of compiling an itinerary such as that for the 1591 progress, and it is a method that could be applied to any progress.⁴⁵ Further information can be added to these, such as the documents collected by Nichols, and also entries in the *ODNB* for the hosts and people involved; these biographies suggest reasons for why such people should be on a progress, and their relationship to each other.⁴⁶

Other sources are more specific for parts of the operation of the progresses. Purveyance, for example, is often mentioned but little explored in the literature on the Tudor progresses. Zillah Dovey used material from *Letters and Papers* in her detailed examination of the 1578 progress into East Anglia.⁴⁷ Mary Hill Cole looked at who was responsible for what on Elizabeth's progresses in rather more detail, and distinguished between what would be supplied by the efforts of the purveyors and harbingers, and what a host might be expected to provide.⁴⁸ There is only one article on purveyance itself, that by the much-cited Allegra Woodworth.⁴⁹ Otherwise, authors writing on Elizabeth's progresses, such as Jayne Archer, Jean Wilson and Ian Dunlop,⁵⁰ rely on each other to provide a standard commentary on purveyance because their interest has lain in the entertainments and plays put on during the progress and the literary symbolism involved, rather than the practical

⁴¹ TNA, PRO: E 351/541.

⁴² See chapter 8 for fuller details.

⁴³ Chambers, E.K., *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923); TNA, PRO: *SP Cal.*, 12.

⁴⁴ Dasent, J.R., (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1591*, new series, vol. XXI (London: HMSO, 1900) (hereafter APC).

⁴⁵ See Appendix 10. I have found that this method can apply to most of Elizabeth's provincial progresses, and have been able to use it for the Kent and East Sussex progress of 1573, and the West Country progresses of 1574 and 1575.

⁴⁶ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com>], hereafter *ODNB*.

⁴⁷ Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*.

⁴⁸ Archer, *Progresses*, 34-35; Cole, *Portable Queen*, 72ff.

⁴⁹ Woodworth, 'Purveyance'.

⁵⁰ Archer et al, Wilson, J., *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: DS. Brewer, 1980), Dunlop, I., *Palaces and progresses of Elizabeth I* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962).

nature of bed and board. The best exponent of it at present is probably fiction again: *Sovereign*, by C J Sansom whose detailed descriptions of the way the progress was fed, watered and maintained derive from the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*⁵¹ in combination with a well-researched analysis and creative imagination. However, the organisation of progresses can also be studied through local records: family papers, such as the Loseley manuscripts⁵² and those of the Jervoise family⁵³ of Herriard, include business correspondence on the practice of purveyance, detailed enough to allow us to understand the impact of the progresses on the countryside around. The organisation was set in motion and overseen by the gentry of the county - not necessarily just those who would benefit from or have access to the progress.⁵⁴

An important part of any progress was played by a royal official: the Master of Tents, Hales⁵⁵ and Pavilions, as management of the tents was a professional operation in progresses. Some of these accounts survive in TNA,⁵⁶ and show that tents were kept not just for ceremonial court functions, such as jousts, but were used on progresses to provide additional accommodation.⁵⁷ The 'Works' accounts have been used extensively by historians such as Simon Thurley,⁵⁸ and particularly H.M. Colvin in the *History of the King's Works*⁵⁹ because they show the cost of maintenance work on royal property such as the Thames palaces, and Henry VIII's other properties in the home counties. As an extra item, they sometimes mention work carried out on progresses. They need to be used with other sources, and in this thesis the information in them is added to by the Loseley papers at SHC because William More was the executor of Sir Thomas Cawarden, who held that position as well as Master of Revels until his death in 1554.⁶⁰ Thus a mix of national and local sources can be used to establish the workings of progresses. Combined with information on the region and local personalities, a detailed picture of the route, events and personalities can be built up.

Research on the region and gentry within it

On the other side of the coin are the books and articles which have been written on the region and its gentry, and they can help understand the progresses more fully. A variety of sources have to be used to construct a picture of the

⁵¹ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.

⁵² SHC, Loseley mss.

⁵³ HRO, 44M69.

⁵⁴ See chapter 7.

⁵⁵ Hales was another word for pavilions or marquees.

⁵⁶ TNA: PRO: E 351/2935-2939.

⁵⁷ See chapter 8.

⁵⁸ Thurley, S., *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁵⁹ Colvin, H.M., (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, vol. IV (Part II) (London: HMSO, 1982), 3.

⁶⁰ Cawarden's papers joined More's own papers and are amongst the Loseley manuscripts at SHC. Further papers relating to the Revels, tents and the Blackfriars site, are now held by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, USA.

progress from the point of view of the gentry in West Sussex and Hampshire. They range from studies of regional topography and politics to those used by researchers of great houses and estates. Questions need to be asked of how houses functioned in their neighbourhoods and as entities in themselves,⁶¹ and how this would have been affected by hosting a progress. Local record office sources, including wills, inventories and some deeds add detail, but some collections are extremely useful, especially those where correspondence has survived.⁶² This thesis, therefore, is also a contribution to local history writing for the region, because it establishes the personalities and network of its gentry society at this date. It gives a picture of how gentry society was working at the time, and how relationships helped these people cultivate ideas of hospitality.

Some of the literature that is important for this thesis was written at the end of the nineteenth century, a result of keen antiquarianism exhibited by gentlemen writers interested in both local history and the royal household, such as J.G. Nichols. They carried out the groundwork on which this thesis is based and provided some of the best secondary sources for the importance of networking and patronage and the way in which elite society was operating in the region. For example, for Sussex (as a whole) Dallaway's history of the rape of Chichester was written in 1815, and his volumes on the rest of Sussex were finished by Cartwright in the 1830s.⁶³ They include information on country estates, and detail on the men who owned them, and their families. Dallaway gives lists of official personnel, such as Sheriffs of the county, which has been used extensively, to complete the office-holding columns of the gentry database.⁶⁴ Comber's collection of genealogies are a good resource for family history.⁶⁵ Useful research on the county's past is provided by the Sussex Archaeological Society,⁶⁶ which published the volumes of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*; and the production of the *Victoria County History*⁶⁷ was active at the beginning of the twentieth century, and several volumes were completed over the next half century. Although our ideas of what information is valuable to give us a

⁶¹ For example, Howard, M., *The Early Tudor Country House: architecture and politics 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987).

⁶² Wills have been downloaded from TNA website, and deeds for these families are available at all three record offices. I have mostly used those from WSRO - by using the catalogues online. Major gentry inventories tend to be in family papers, or printed, for example, Garraway Rice, R., 'The household goods etc of Sir John Gage of West Firlie, co, Sussex, KG, 1556,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections (SAC)*, 45 (1902), 114-127. Foremost amongst family and estate papers are the Loseley manuscripts; see further discussion below.

⁶³ Dallaway, J., *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (London: 1815).

⁶⁴ Other local historians for Sussex include T. W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex* (London and Lewes: Messrs Nicols & Son and Sussex Press, 1835), providing a similar Victorian view of local history: both men were led by an interest in the key families of the county and a need to praise the men who would help them produce their histories.

⁶⁵ WSRO, MP 2991-3037.

⁶⁶ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, M.A. Lower wrote books and articles for the Sussex Archaeological Society and produced a short history and other publications. For example, M. A. Lower, *A compendious history of Sussex* (Lewes: G.P. Bacon, 1870), M. A. Lower, 'Names of the Sussex gentry in 1580. With notes', *SAC*, vol. 1 (1848).

⁶⁷ *Victoria County History: Sussex*, 11 vols., (University of London and OUP, 1905-1987); hereafter *VCH*.

greater understanding of the past have changed, these authors set down the minutiae of information which gives the basis for modern research. Nineteenth-century writers were interested in pedigrees, and their genealogical approach has been helpful to understand the network of families offering hospitality in the area.

Surrey has been given a similar volume to that by Dallaway; Manning and Bray were writing their county history around the same time. It is less informative and more opinionated, but still provides prosopographical information to compile the gentry database.⁶⁸ Hampshire does not have an equivalent history, a fact remarked on by a recent survey of county histories.⁶⁹ Various eighteenth- and nineteenth-century histories survive, either in manuscript or as part of larger works, but there was no complete survey until the *VCH* was published between 1900 and 1912.⁷⁰ Both counties have their equivalent of the Sussex Archaeological Society: the Surrey Archaeological Society published its *Collections* from 1858, and the Hampshire Field Club published *Proceedings* from 1885.⁷¹ Both series, like the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, included good-quality historical research on buildings or families associated with the county. Of the two, the Hampshire *Proceedings* were much more useful for this thesis than the Surrey equivalents, which are more archaeologically based, and have provided information on the county's families and their seats. All these sources have provided information for the Gentry Database.⁷²

This thesis stresses the region over the notion of a 'county community' (the notion that the gentry in a given county created a strong faction deliberately within those limits), and it confirms the cross-border operation of governance and friendship. Some local historians of Sussex have treated the gentry as an entity when writing about local politics or events. It is particularly noticeable in R.B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex*,⁷³ and it happened because sources such as the letters in the *Acts of the Privy Council*⁷⁴ were written to Justices of the Peace, who were leaders of the region, and expected to keep order in their own county. On closer inspection, however, the men within the group had their own agenda for the advancement of their family name and the careers of relatives by using patronage, friendship ties and marriage. Familial and friendship priorities of a

⁶⁸ O. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (London: John White, 1804).

⁶⁹ Currie, C. R. J. and Lewis, C. P., *A Guide to English County Histories* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994) 165-175.

⁷⁰ *VCH: Hampshire*, 5 vols., (University of London and OUP, 1900-1912).

⁷¹ The *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (SAC) began in 1848. Each series has its own website: for Sussex: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/pastfinders/>; for Surrey: <http://www.surreyarchaeology.org.uk/content/surrey-archaeological-collections/>; and for Hampshire <http://www.fieldclub.hants.org.uk/publications/hampshirstudies.html>.

⁷² See Appendix 1.

⁷³ Manning, R.W. *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969).

⁷⁴ Dasent, J.R. (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1542-47*, new series (London: HMSO, 1890-1900).

family, whether courtier, aristocracy or gentry, would have differed from place to place and family to family, and it will be seen that cross-border relationships developed and were important for the smooth running of the progresses.⁷⁵ Consequently the point of view that Manning (and Fletcher⁷⁶ who describes the gentry of Sussex for the following century) held may be rather one-sided, and my study shows the range of priorities that the gentry held, and how these influenced their actions. The old emphasis on political and economic history is giving way to an interest in cultural and social issues, and this thesis contributes to this trend.

This change of direction in historiography is emphasized by the most important account of early modern hospitality by Dr Heal.⁷⁷ She shows how a conspicuous display of consumption was considered to be necessary in order to show off wealth and claim dominance in a society which operated through patronage and hierarchy, and how in general, contemporaries thought that the duty of hospitality was declining.⁷⁸ She discusses the responsibility of hospitality in its traditional role, considered as a Christian duty for those who possessed large households, and how the dispossession of the traditional place of the monasteries, in offering hospitality to travellers and the poor, affected the notion of generosity for gentry:

The basic Christian message of *caritas* could never be wholly gainsaid by the godly, and even the most restricted view of charity had to admit that the really destitute must always be helped.⁷⁹

Almsgiving was always an uncomfortable topic for discussion throughout the century. It was much easier to offer traditional forms of hospitality to tenants and to friends. Etiquette of hospitality demanded certain modes of behaviour, and it was led by complimentary and mutual visiting and exchanges of gifts:

In practice the English acknowledged a system which traded in the less tangible assets of honour, loyalty, alliance and beneficence.⁸⁰ The country estates still provided the theatre, or perhaps one should say the scenery, within which the social rituals of local power were enacted.⁸¹

The twin concepts of hospitality and patronage in the setting of one's own country house underpins the discussions in this thesis about the way in which the gentry of the region approached the notion that they might entertain royalty or members of the Privy Council. Later on, Heal and Holmes showed that the country house could become an important social environment to express a vision of hospitality. Hospitality was important in confirming an individual's standing in society, either in

⁷⁵ See chapter 5.

⁷⁶ Fletcher, A., *Sussex, 1600-1660: A county community in Peace and War* (London: Longman, 1975).

⁷⁷ Heal, F., *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

⁷⁸ Heal, *Hospitality*, 93-94.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 127.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 19-20.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 141.

business or family matters, and this could be damaged or improved by the advent of a royal progress coming into the region.⁸² Routines of visiting for special occasions, festivities or business can be surmised from authors such as Ronald Hutton and David Cressy, who explored patterns of every day life.⁸³ By looking one particular region, it is possible to pick up what might be expected and what actually happened.

One advantage of this study is that there is enough original material to piece together how royal progresses and their hosts operated, especially for the region. Most local record offices, holding the archives of a region, are organised by county. This is because administrative units were organised this way from the early middle ages, and the records mostly reflect that. The Quarter Sessions and Assize courts - the main methods of keeping law and order - were organised under counties, and then under the smaller units of wapentakes (called 'rapes' in Sussex), and then under hundreds, and finally at a local level under parishes or manors. Archives of administrative and judicial courts and other units of authority follow this pattern, particularly of being kept under a county system, and this will be shown throughout this thesis where primary sources are used. Because of this organisation in the records, modern researchers have categorised their thinking along these lines. However, the reality in the sixteenth century was more complicated than that. The office of sheriff could cover more than one county, for example that of Sussex and Surrey was combined and separated during the period.⁸⁴ The lord lieutenant of one county could live in another.⁸⁵ Manors and the influence of their lords stretched across borders, and their territory might well reflect geographical contours to suit farming methods and agricultural production, rather than convenient or useful administrative areas. People did not feel they belonged in one area or one county only, and this thesis sets out to show how the work of hosting a progress and the expectations of the royal party themselves were of a cross-border nature.

For material on individual visits and patterns of visiting, this thesis leans heavily on the correspondence of Sir William More in the Loseley manuscripts.⁸⁶ Most of the Loseley papers are at SHC (with some at the Folger-Shakespeare library in America). This is an extremely detailed and useful archive; because Sir William More was an assiduous official for local government, the papers are full of information on the network of society and how it operated. Thus it provides useful information which can be applied to the situation in West Sussex, when the relevant

⁸² Heal, F. and Holmes, C., *The Gentry in England and Wales* (Stanford, USA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

⁸³ Hutton, R., *The Stations of the Sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Cressy, D., *Bonfires and Bells* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1989; new edition, 2004).

⁸⁴ Dallaway, *History*, lxviii-lxxv lists the Sheriffs for each year.

⁸⁵ For example, William Paulet, 3rd Marquess of Winchester was joint lord lieutenant for Dorset in 1569: H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Paulet, William, third marquess of Winchester (c.1532-1598)', *ODNB*, online edn, Jan 2008.

⁸⁶ The Loseley manuscripts of the More-Molyneux family.

archives have not survived - for example on Viscount Montague's activities at Cowdray.⁸⁷ Here the stream of letters echoes a country house life of people coming to and going from Loseley, conducting business, visiting friends, and engaging in the rites of hospitality. It means that examples are available for the concept of the emergence of civic society, as acknowledged by Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, and this thesis will use the letters for exploring the role of hospitality. Members of the landed gentry had mixed motives for offering hospitality to each other and to the poor, and the Loseley manuscripts bring this out to full effect. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, tradition held that the duty of a gentleman was to live on his estates and to conduct his life in and through his household.⁸⁸ Honour and reputation could be displayed at the house, and the daily rituals of estate life were played out with reference to keeping up their standing with their neighbours.⁸⁹ Some types of hospitality came with rank, such as almsgiving and providing for tenants, retainers and dependents. Others might be forced upon them, such as hosting a house arrest.⁹⁰ A public position, such as being a Justice of the Peace, might impose another kind of hospitality in dispensing justice in manorial courts (often held at the manor house) or through the Quarter Sessions and Assizes,⁹¹ and magnanimity could be shown through hospitality to tenants through celebratory feasts or listening to manorial affairs in the great hall of a country house. Gentry life in the countryside was structured around these assumptions.

Apart from the family and estate papers, wills and inventories give an insight into material wealth. For reasons of wealth, the aristocracy and upper gentry in the area were more likely to use the Prerogative Court of Canterbury⁹² than to use the local consistory courts to prove wills, sometimes when it was unnecessary, perhaps because they felt it gave the family status. Many of the gentry wills should have been proved in the Chichester Archidiaconal court, and should therefore be at WSRO, but in fact can be found at TNA instead.⁹³ Wills give family links, but also give an idea of other relationships with friends and neighbours, and some indication of the testator's status. Local legal records can be used to evaluate the network of the gentry. Assize records are at the National Archives, but

⁸⁷ For example, a letter from the Loseley Manuscripts at SHC, from Viscount Montague, asked for help to 'have the country within my rules forthwith put in order and mustered', SHC: 6729/8/1; More's close work with commissioners of all ranks is revealed in these papers.

⁸⁸ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, 283.

⁸⁹ Heal, *Hospitality*, 92.

⁹⁰ See this chapter, 8-9.

⁹¹ The work of the commissions continued through out the year, and was not confined to the meetings only.

⁹² This ecclesiastical court was where the gentry and aristocracy of southern England (and those owning property in both the north and the south) registered their wills from the late fifteenth century up to 1858.

⁹³ Or one of the peculiar courts, also held at WSRO. They are referenced under STC/I, and are now available through a personal names index and microfiche in the searchroom.

have been published for Sussex and Surrey.⁹⁴ They are listed in such a way that they are most useful for those researching criminality, but at the front of each session there is a list of the JPs called to attend. This also gives information as to whether they actually attended, and so it is possible to surmise who was working with whom as justices.⁹⁵ The lists of names and the order in which they appeared also indicated the status of the gentry, and whether they felt the need to attend. The Quarter Sessions records start too late in all three counties to be any use for this thesis.

One of the most important sources for the thesis is the *ODNB*.⁹⁶ This website has proved very useful indeed, since in essence this thesis is formed on prosopographical methods, that is, the individual study of the gentry and nobility in this region lets us examine the social and cultural attributes of society at this time.⁹⁷ The biographies give activities and circles of friendship, as well as their kinships and residence. Marriages and details of children provide connections between families, and give information for the databases in the thesis. The *ODNB* has become increasingly useful in order to build up social networks – who knew who, and who was visiting or working with whom and when these relationships were taking place. It led to an easy comparison of ages, and consequent generational differences. Different generations and different branches of the same family acted in different ways, so further detail on individuals was useful. For London, this method can be taken a step further by using place names as search terms, and the resulting list of biographies shows that Blackfriars was a very active and exciting place, and that it developed during the sixteenth century.⁹⁸

A product of this thesis is the Gazetteer of relevant sixteenth-century houses in the three counties, and an overview like this has not been carried out before. It provides a unique insight into the geographical network of gentry families living in the area, and compiled using a number of sources. Most of the historical evidence and literature of such houses tends to set them in their county.⁹⁹ This is because evidence for what was available in the period 1525-1625 comes from county histories, such as the antiquarian ones discussed earlier,¹⁰⁰ and more modern ones

⁹⁴ JS Cockburn (ed.), *Calendars of Assize records, Sussex and Surrey Indictments*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1975 (Sussex), 1982 (Surrey)).

⁹⁵ See section on the social calendar.

⁹⁶ Op cit.

⁹⁷ The online Oxford English Dictionary (www.oed.com) gives as an example: 'We decided .. to create a prosopographical database that would help us examine .. the activities and social attributes of leading businessmen.'

⁹⁸ See chapter 5.

⁹⁹ Because original local archives tend to be in county record offices, the researcher would be using the county as a reference point for finding material, but the royal progresses and their management crossed county boundaries, and I believe cross-border links were strong amongst the affected gentry.

¹⁰⁰ Dallaway, *History*; Horsfield, T.W., op. cit.

such as the Phillimore series of Darwen County Histories.¹⁰¹ There is a map of gentry houses in Sussex for the Tudor and Stuart period in Armstrong's *History of Sussex*, and a more detailed one in the *Historical Atlas for Sussex*.¹⁰² Neither of these maps lists every house that might have been available as accommodation for a royal progress, and there is no equivalent for Hampshire and Surrey. Sussex has a further antiquarian guide, by Elwes, which describes the history and remains of mansions and castles.¹⁰³ Hampshire has a modern guide to vernacular houses, which includes suitable mansion houses as well.¹⁰⁴ Pevsner is helpful on what remained to be seen of these houses in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ All these describe the houses with some architectural detail and often information on the families who made them their residences, helpful for both the Gazetteer and the Prosopography, but sometimes it is difficult to find material on the Tudor and early Stuart period.

The thesis explores the aspect of fashions and themes in architecture where it is relevant for hosts who were hoping to attract visits by influential patrons and monarchs, as well as peers and neighbours.¹⁰⁶ For country houses, Marc Girouard started the ball rolling with his seminal work, which described the operation of the household and how architecture and decoration was influenced by it.¹⁰⁷ More recent work on architecture has been carried out by Maurice Howard, Nicholas Cooper and Malcolm Airs for the Tudor and Jacobean period, and Marc Girouard again on the Elizabethan period.¹⁰⁸ A series of conferences at Rewley House, Oxford, run by Malcolm Airs, clarified issues and themes of fashion and 'visitor flow',¹⁰⁹ and influenced my thinking on this problem, as did a visit to Lacock Abbey and subsequent correspondent with its curator.¹¹⁰ It was evident that the rise in activity in the land market, created by the dissolution of the monasteries and subsequent ascendancy of the gentry, was relevant to the way in which the hosts saw their

¹⁰¹ Armstrong, J.R., *A History of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1995); Carpenter Turner, B., *A History of Hampshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988); Janaway, J., *Surrey; a county history* (Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside Books, 1994).

¹⁰² Armstrong, *History of Sussex* - I am grateful to Kim Leslie, local historian and writer, who points out that, although this is a classic history for the county, the map may not necessarily be completely accurate, as it was the first of its kind, and further work has been carried out; such as Leslie, K. and Short, B., *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999).

¹⁰³ Elwes, D.G.C., *A History of the Castles, Mansions and Manors of Western Sussex* (London: Longman, 1876).

¹⁰⁴ Roberts, E., *Hampshire Houses 1250-1700: their dating and development* (Hampshire County Council, 2003).

¹⁰⁵ Pevsner, N and Lloyd, D., *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967, repr. 1973); Pevsner, N. and Nairn, I., *Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

¹⁰⁶ See chapter 6.

¹⁰⁷ Girouard, M., *Life in the English Country House* (Yale University Press, 1978).

¹⁰⁸ Girouard, M., *Elizabethan Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Howard, M., *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: architecture and politics 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987).

Cooper, N., *Houses of the Gentry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Airs, M., *The Tudor and Jacobean House: a building history* (London: Sutton, 1995).

¹⁰⁹ Annual series on the state of research into great houses, University of Oxford, Department for Continuing Education, c.1995-2001.

¹¹⁰ See chapter 6.

position in society and their relationship with their monarch.¹¹¹ This ties in with the evidence from royal progresses, which allow us to put a spotlight on sixteenth-century gentry society – who was on the invitation list, what houses were available; how a local society was developing.

Conclusion

Something must be said briefly of current debates, because besides making many warm friendships during this work, I owe a great deal to many people. Jayne Kirk was working for two years on the architecture of Parham House, overturning the notion that it was all built at once.¹¹² Emily Cole, who was working on a thesis on James I and Apethorpe, gave me useful information on James I's progresses.¹¹³ Chery Butler helped me with evidence of Southampton's preparations for the arrival of Elizabeth I in 1591, and she is leading the 'Tudor Revels' project on Southampton.¹¹⁴ Maurice Howard was encouraging his students to explore the use of space in a country house, and published his own research in this period.¹¹⁵ Tim McCann and Michael Questier continue to question the role of Catholics in early modern Southern England.¹¹⁶ Rewley House at Oxford University ran several further courses on architecture and on Henry VIII and Elizabeth, which discussed their court, patronage and public face.¹¹⁷ Most fruitful of all was the research led by members of the University of Warwick AHRC Centre, who held and contributed to conferences on Elizabethan progresses in Stratford-on-Avon in 2004 and Kenilworth in 2005.¹¹⁸ Out of this came a volume of essays mentioned previously.¹¹⁹

The study of royal progresses and the local history of a region interconnect in this thesis. This is because examining a royal progress in detail, such as that of the 1591 summer progress, sheds light on the region and network of gentry which hosted it. Equally, by exploring the gentry involved in the progresses and the

¹¹¹ Youngs, J., *The Dissolution of the monasteries* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971); Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, 138.

¹¹² Kirk, J., *Parham: an Elizabethan house and its restoration* (Chichester, 2009).

¹¹³ Cole, E., 'The state apartment in the early Stuart country house, 1603-25' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2011).

¹¹⁴ <http://www.tudorrevels.co.uk>.

¹¹⁵ Howard, M., *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁶ Questier, M., *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹¹⁷ The courses run by the Department for Continuing Education (ODCE) I was able to attend included: 2005: 'Recusants and the English Local Community'; May 2006: 'The Architecture of the Tudor and Jacobean Age'. The latter included Malcolm Airs on the 'Great Rebuilding' and Maurice Howard on 'Re-appraising the Elizabethan Great Houses of Sussex'. Debates on the new overviews of architecture, combining it with archaeological evidence were helpful. Another in March 2010: 'From warlords to Courtiers? The Tudor and Early Stuart nobility', questioned patronage and relationships at the Tudor Court.

¹¹⁸ 'The Elizabethan Progresses' conference in April 2004, held at Stratford-on-Avon; 'Kenilworth Revisited: Perspectives On The Castle And The 1575 Festivities' in September 2005, held at the University of Warwick and Kenilworth.

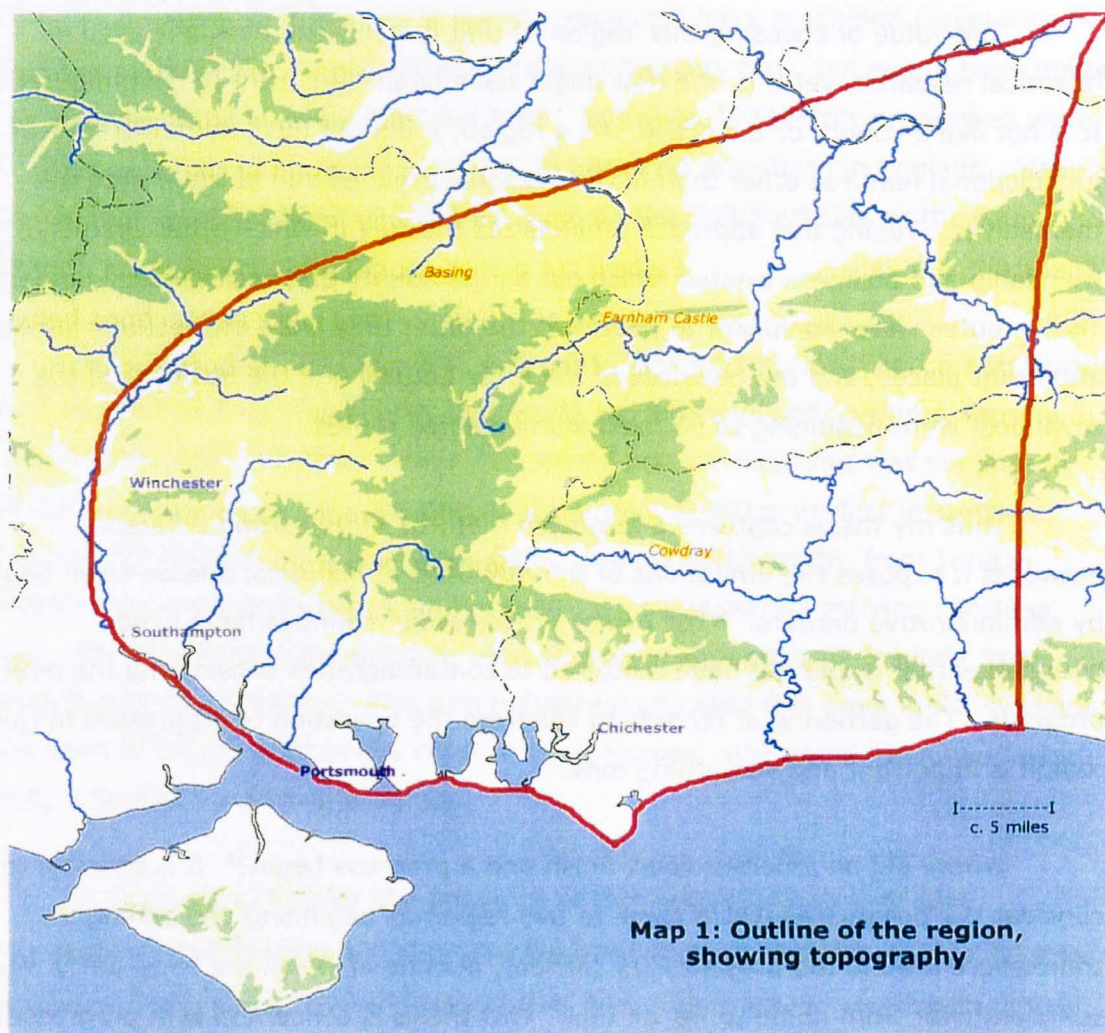
¹¹⁹ Archer, *Progresses*.

society in which they lived and worked, this thesis will in turn allow valuable understanding of the way in which the royal progresses operated. Thus it unites several different strands of thinking. There is increasing interest in the image and propaganda of the Tudor monarchy¹²⁰ and the relationship of the crown with the nobles and gentry, and the thesis adds to the new genre coming from such research, that of royal progresses. It also adds to research from a regional perspective by examining a local sixteenth century society. From the early nineteenth century, research has been carried out on local houses and families, and on the position of gentry in society. More recently, there has been research on the architecture of great houses and their owners' efforts to attract important visitors. Further, the thesis adds to debates about the emergence of civil society and the rise of the gentry during the sixteenth century. Its broad coverage of a century, 1525-1625, shows how society was developing in its thinking on hospitality. Within this theme is that of the dissolution of the monasteries, which had an effect on hospitality, the land market, the rise of 'new' gentry, and architectural fashions. This thesis uses all these different elements to reveal new information on all sides.

¹²⁰ See also chapters 3 and 6 of Sharpe, K., *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: authority and image in sixteenth-century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

Chapter 3 The 'Region'

This chapter explores the region covered in this thesis, in order to set the scene for examining the impact of the progresses. It discusses the region as the progress participants might have seen it; the landscape, ease of travel and routes available. Was this terrain so difficult that it made progresses arduous? It then discusses the houses available for a progress, their suitability and assumptions that are now made about them, which often stem from their visibility today: the ruins of Halnaker, Warblington and Bishop's Waltham, to name a few, belie their size and importance in the sixteenth century.¹ The chapter goes on to introduce the aristocracy and gentry of the area.² These were the people the court would have met, or who were involved in the planning of the progresses. The chapter explains how they benefitted from the dissolution of the monasteries, because of a more active land market, but also how this changed ideas of hospitality.



¹ See Appendix 3: The Houses Gazetteer.

² See Appendix 1: The Gentry Database and Appendix 2: The Prosopography.

The geographical scope of this thesis is an important consideration, and the area I have chosen is approximately the environs of the progresses during the period 1525-1625, particularly that of 1591. It includes the western half of Sussex (visited several times by Henry VIII, but only once by Elizabeth), most of Hampshire³ (visited often by royalty), and the part of Surrey which was more than a day's ride from London (visited frequently). The outline of this area makes a curved but triangular shape, with the apex in West London and the eastern side coming some fifty miles south to take in most of what is now West Sussex.⁴ The western limits follow a curve slightly west of what is now the M3, taking in most of modern Hampshire and coming south to Southampton, a distance of about seventy miles. The southernmost ends of these two sides, nearly sixty miles apart, are joined by the south coast. The area covered by this region is therefore approximately 1,500 square miles, and royal progresses seem to have travelled between seven and fourteen miles per day.

The value of choosing this 'region' is that it is not one normally used in historical research, yet it is one that might have been significant to contemporaries. It is not like a county or a diocese. As a region, it did not have administrative or jurisdictional features other than in the seasonal organisation of the progresses themselves. Taking this approach emphasizes the way in which other circuits of friendship and business existed which cut across county and ecclesiastical borders. These routes were significant to people at the time; they were connections between important places, and the business of the Privy Council and the business of the royal post were beginning to be fixed along defined routes.

Thus my thesis captures a forgotten map: by emphasizing different networks it exposes the limitations of the approach of historical atlases often bound by administrative borders. Most books written about counties have fixed boundaries that would not have mattered to contemporaries considering the next progress. The gathering of records to illustrate the operation of progresses in this region is important and something new.⁵

Where did an itinerant court finish and a progress begin?⁶ It is possible to consider the progresses which came to this region as beginning and ending somewhere around the present M25 corridor, outside of which the royal party were sufficiently far from home to be 'on tour'. This thesis is concerned with progresses

³ Apart from the far west which is now Dorset.

⁴ See Map 1: 'Outline of the region, showing topography'.

⁵ The visualisation of the work of the harbingers in one area, caught in map 7 in chapter 7, is something that is hitherto been unknown.

⁶ This interesting and fundamental question was raised by Samman, *Progresses*, 59.

in the three counties rather than in the Thames area, because there the monarch was not on his/her own territory (to use a twenty-first century phrase, in his/her 'comfort zone'). In this region, the monarch could be described as having a definite impact on a society which was not used to seeing him or her, and the progress would cause an interruption to normal life in the county. On the outskirts of the capital were places in Surrey such as Nonsuch and Oatlands palaces, and these generally acted as springboards at the beginning of a summer tour, or the point in the autumn at which the royal party could safely say they were home. This thesis treats them as the finishing and starting points for the progresses.

In general the region's landscape is of softly rolling hills, woodlands and heath, all on a base of chalkland.⁷ The chalk strata of the Chilterns dips under London, runs along the North Downs and reappears in the South Downs. Within the chalk are three different layers, which wear away in different ways, accounting for the sometimes cliff-like sides of the hills.⁸ The steepness of hills such as Bury Hill in West Sussex and Box Hill in Surrey would not have precluded travel with horses (on the whole, horses can go wherever humans can), but would have made it difficult for them to pull a baggage train. However, Elizabeth's progresses were planned to take account of such terrain, not unusual anywhere in England. Many travellers found ways through the hills, such as the Guildford Gap or the Arun valley.

On the sides of the hills, and in the dip between the North and South Downs, which acquired a bowl-like shape, the Weald soil was exposed, giving a densely wooded landscape with heavy clay. The Weald was an area that was supposedly difficult to navigate, as clay can turn to thick mud in winter or dust in summer. Because of this there were few roads going directly north-south, from London towards the coast, except through Horsham, which became a thriving coaching town. The Weald was controlled by men of smaller property, particularly iron founders and glass makers. The iron industry dominated this area, which was not composed of bigger estates like most of West Sussex, and would have had fewer suitable houses for a royal progress.

In Surrey and Sussex the presence of thin soils of the Downs had encouraged sheep-rearing and a successful trade in wool, but the Weald clay was intractable, and Arthur Young observed that after travelling in France and all over England he had never met with any clay like that of Sussex.⁹ The chalk base is

⁷ See map 1 above. For more on the topography of the region, see Brandon, P. and Short, B., *The Southeast from AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1990).

⁸ Brandon and Short, chapter 3.

⁹ Brandon and Short, 10.

porous, and will hold water, and the valleys can become water-logged. The 'bowl' between the North and South Downs affected Kent and Sussex in the same way – in winter or in a wet summer it could become a huge lake, with mud at its base, too treacherous to cross. Travel by a large party would need to be thought out, and a wet summer might preclude it.

To the west of this area, the Hampshire Downs provide similar terrain: rolling chalk and deep and sheltered valleys, and ridges and escarpments.¹⁰ The soil is clay-and-flint, different from that of Sussex and Surrey, and its routes to London seem to have been developed more successfully than those from Surrey to Sussex. North of the Downs, the landscape dips gently into the Thames basin, a wide and fertile valley. The Thames was used frequently for both business and leisure travel, and the soil around it was London clay, and home to hunting forests. The royal forests in this area were Epping Forest, Alice Holt and Woolmer, and down in the south-west of Hampshire, the New Forest. This landscape provided the itinerant court with easy travel and leisure pursuits such as hunting.

The coastal plain along the foot of the Downs in both Hampshire and West Sussex was much easier to travel on, consisting of gravel beds, and it was also an extremely fertile arable area. Sussex had a number of small but successful ports in the sixteenth century, but people do not seem to have used the sea as an alternative route from London to Chichester and its environs, possibly because of cross-currents to the east of Dover and the possibility of attacks by the French.

Sussex (both West and East) seems to have acquired a reputation for difficult travel before the few main roads it had were turnpiked.¹¹ If that is so, it should be explained by major changes in topography between that county, and those of Surrey and Hampshire, which do not seem to have quite the same reputation, but, other than the problem of Sussex clay, such differences are not obvious. It is possible that this reputation was one of the reasons for Elizabeth I's reluctance to come into Sussex. There is a view that the state of the roads at that time explains the lack of frequent visits from London, but it fails to take account of evidence of the post being delivered speedily, the communications between frequent royal commissions and the Privy Council, and cattle from Sussex being taken to London markets.¹² If travel was so difficult, hospitality (both that offered

¹⁰ Short, B., *England's Landscape: the South-East* (London: English Heritage, 2006), 44.

¹¹ This may have been down to one or two quotes being picked up and used again and again. For example, Dr John Burton wrote: 'Why is it that the oxen, the swine, the women, and all other animals, are so long-legged in Sussex? May it be from the difficulty of pulling the feet out of so much mud by the strength of the ankle?' Blaauw, W.H., 'Extracts from the *Iter Sussexiense*,' SAC, 8 (1856), 257.

¹² I am indebted to Kim Leslie, for several conversations on the difficulties of travel across Sussex, and the conflict of the evidence available.

to royalty, and internally between the gentry and aristocracy) would have been curtailed. This thesis suggests that the landscape was not a barrier to this, and not one of the main causes for Elizabeth's absence.

Travel in the region 1525-1625

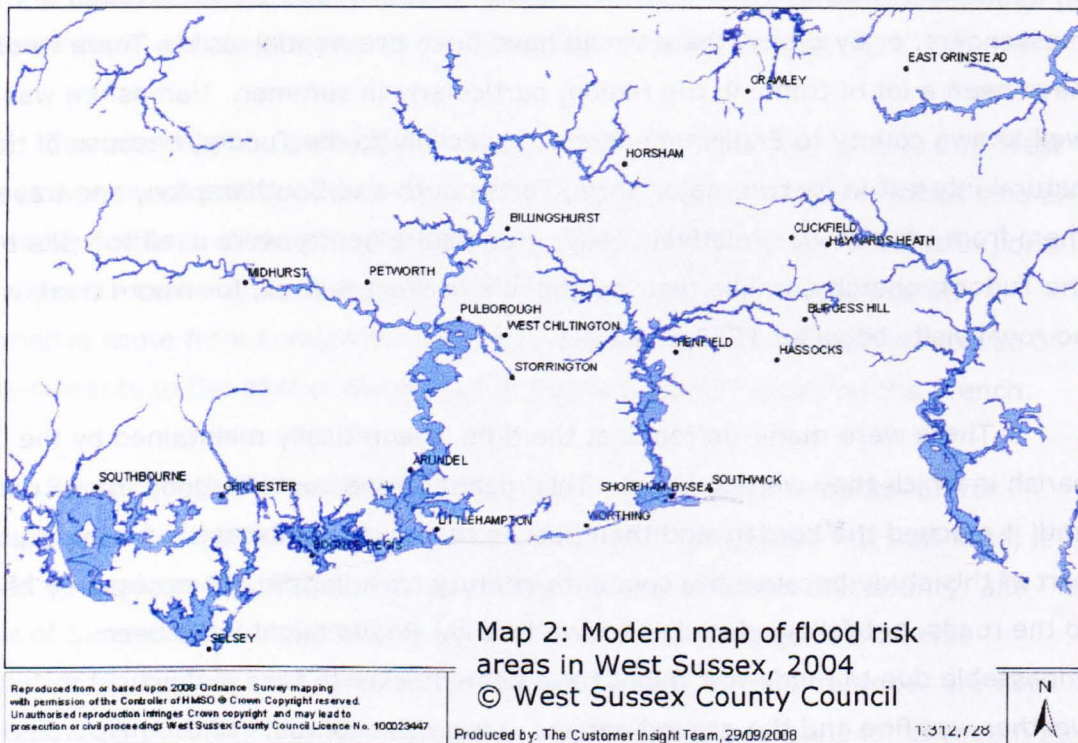
The amount of activity and travelling, taking place in this region during the sixteenth century suggests that it was not true that 'Sussex was then an extremely inaccessible district and practically without roads'.¹³ The men in this region were constantly on the move, engaged in local business for their own estates, on business on commissions or attending Quarter Sessions or Assizes. Those who were MPs travelled to London for Parliamentary sessions. Marriages between local families may have been preceded by visits and invitations to family events or annual festivities, such as New Year or Easter. Higher-class marriages were made with families of the same social status but who might live in Kent, Buckinghamshire or Somerset. Although many of the negotiations were carried out through messengers, or by proxy, there would have been pre-nuptial visits. There would have been a lot of traffic in the region, particularly in summer. Hampshire was a well-known county to English monarchs, especially to the Tudors, because of their natural interest in its two major ports, Portsmouth and Southampton, and travel to them from London was relatively easy. Hampshire gentry were used to visits by the Tudor monarchy, unlike their neighbours in West Sussex, for whom there were no royal visits between 1552 and 1591.

There were made-up roads at the time, theoretically maintained by the parish in which they were situated. This meant a road could be good in one parish, until it reached the border, and then poor in the next. Landscape is an important part of this study because the sixteenth-century traveller did not necessarily keep to the roads, but followed routes known locally. Roads might have been impassable due to mud, or it might have been quicker to take a short cut if the weather was fine and the ground easy to cross. The contours of the hills would make a difference to ease of travel, however, especially if it involved a large retinue, with possibly two hundred carts and several hundred horses. Many rivers would have been impassable, except at a bridge, and so the traveller would have had to look for places to cross, which might have taken him out of his way. Travel between the houses of the gentry therefore needs to be placed in this context, rather than relying on the modern emphasis of the roads dictating how we perceive a location. A journey was taken by using a known route between two points, not

¹³ Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, J., *Parham in Sussex* (London: Batsford, 1947), 43.

necessarily keeping to roads.¹⁴ The royal party would have used local guides as far as we know.¹⁵

For such travellers, rivers were important, because they needed to be crossed or avoided, or alternatively could be used as a mode of transport. Map 2 emphasizes the rivers within the landscape, and it is easy to see that if the royal progress had stayed at Parham House, for example, they would have had to cross the Arun at Arundel or Stopham. The present possible flood areas in West Sussex illustrate the problem¹⁶ – a wet summer or autumn would make crossing the Arun almost impossible. The area south of Pulborough is composed of marshy pasture and floods regularly. In inclement weather it might well have impeded travel. Similarly, the river Em was not possible to cross near the coast and Elizabeth I would have had to travel further inland to cross it in 1591.¹⁷



In summary, the terrain did not present the legendary difficulties of travel, unless it was a very wet summer. There were often royal progresses in Surrey and the Thames basin, which have similar-sized hills and marshy ground, and the methods of moving huge quantities of people and baggage were efficient.¹⁸ We know that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries corn and cattle produced in

¹⁴ Ogilby, J., *Britannia*, vol. 1 (A. Duckham & Co, Ltd, 1939).

¹⁵ I am indebted to Malcolm Walford for his help on the use of roads in this area in the sixteenth century.

¹⁶ See map 2 (© West Sussex County Council).

¹⁷ See Chapter 8 on her route in this area in 1591.

¹⁸ See chapter 7.

the region were taken to London (having to cross the Weald from West Sussex), so the reputation derives from the remarks of a very few travellers, who were being inconvenienced at the time.

The Houses in the region

West Sussex, Hampshire and the southern part of Surrey had over one hundred houses that were a good size for hospitality on a large scale.¹⁹ They longed to the nobility and the upper gentry, rather than the rest of the gentry.²⁰ In the 1540s, when the dissolution of the monasteries increased the number of exchanges in the land market, there was much new building in this region, and again in the 1570s. Consequently, there were changes in suitability of these houses for entertaining large numbers of visitors between 1525-1625.

Map 3 suggests that it was the lie of the land that mattered most for the position of a country house.



¹⁹ See Map 3: Important gentry houses in the region; Appendix 4 is a larger version of this map. The table shows that there are too many to put on one map, and Map 3 gives the most important, and which might have been considered by the royal progress organisers. See also chapter 8, for the choice of houses used in progresses.

²⁰ These terms are explained later in this chapter.

In the region many houses were built on the side of hills, for example along the edges of the Downs in West Sussex (such as Parham, Wiston and Danny), and the northern edge of the Downs in Surrey (but not the southern edge). In Hampshire the houses circle around the higher ground. The houses in West Sussex also avoid the territory we now know as the Pulborough Brooks – several miles of marshy ground which floods in most winters. Both Parham and Amberley Castle look down onto this area, and the manorial deeds for the former show that it owned property here. Probably some areas were recognised as poor ground for building on and continued to be used as flood plains until the twentieth century. It is also possible that the big estates, such as Petworth, were squeezing out available territory for would-be builders. Gentry might not buy into an area already dominated by big landowners. A recent study of eastern England in the early medieval period shows that the gentry did not build near crown-held property, but were prepared to build near each other if resources were good.²¹

In the present day, more assumptions and myths surround these houses. Our view of country houses is perhaps influenced by the National Trust and its advertising: we look at the house first and its history second. Hudson's *Historic Houses and Gardens* offers a good 'day out' at about twenty important historic houses from the period in this region.²² People expect houses that were important in the sixteenth century to look important today: an example of this might be the relationship between Halnaker and Goodwood in West Sussex. The latter is an impressive house now, and its estate includes a world class race course, an airfield and a national motor-racing track. It has a strong influence over the everyday life and planning decisions of the neighbouring city of Chichester, and this has been so for centuries. However in the sixteenth century Goodwood was a mere hunting lodge on the Halnaker estate; and Halnaker was an important mansion, visited by both Henry VIII and Edward VI. Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the relationship changed; Halnaker became part of the Goodwood estate, and it was Goodwood that was patronised by royalty, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century. Now Halnaker is a picturesque ruin in a private garden.²³ Consequently our view of local landmarks and influences needs to be carefully examined, and the fact that there were actually about 113 eligible houses in the region for Elizabeth to visit comes as a surprise to people now.

²¹ Lowerre, A., 'Why here and not there?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 29 (2007), 121-144

²² Hudson's *Historic Houses and Gardens* (Wyndham: Heritage House Group, 2010), 82-92,

²³ Appendix 3: Gazetteer for Halnaker. The ruins were visited by members of the Boxgrove History Group in March 2009.

There were many substantial houses in the region, often overlooked now, as there are very few physical remains. Hampshire seems to have had the most. First there were the big residences of the Bishops of Winchester: at Farnham, Bishop's Waltham and Wolvesey, just outside Winchester.²⁴ All three of these places were used to accommodating royalty throughout this period; we know that Henry VIII stayed at Farnham as early as 1516,²⁵ for example; that Elizabeth was still visiting in 1601,²⁶ and that James visited regularly throughout his reign.²⁷ Thus these houses can be categorised as most likely to receive royal visits. Similarly, in Surrey, the Archbishop's palace at Croydon was used frequently by Elizabeth, although this seems to have as much to do with the horse racing as any other motive.²⁸ However, when the Queen visited West Sussex in 1591, she does not appear to have stayed with Bishop Thomas Bickley in his palace in Chichester (although she held some sort of court in the cathedral), but with Lord Lumley in his town house a few steps away in East Street.²⁹ The Bishop of Chichester also owned Amberley Castle and Aldingbourne, and although they both received extensive refurbishment in the 1530s there is no evidence that either provided a stopping point for the Tudor monarchy. There is some evidence, however, that Henry dined at Amberley.³⁰ By Elizabeth's reign, Aldingbourne and Amberley were held by tenants and in need of repairs.³¹ In 1591, the Queen evidently did not consider the Bishop of Chichester as a suitable host. James did not visit West Sussex or the Bishops of Chichester.³²

Other substantial houses in the area belonged to nobility. In Hampshire, Elvetham belonged to the Earls of Hertford, and elaborate masques and plays were staged there during royal visits. Basing, which belonged to the Marquis of Winchester, and The Vyne, which belonged to Lord Sandys (both Henry VIII's Chamberlain and his grandson of the same title), were big houses, able to accommodate huge numbers of guests, and they had been used by the monarchy to house visiting ambassadors.³³ These three were in the north of the county, further out from London than a day's ride, but comfortably close to Farnham or Guildford. There is nothing remaining of the Tudor house at Elvetham, but the ruins of Basing are visible, and The Vyne is still a substantial house. There were

²⁴ All three are now owned by English Heritage and are open to the public, but they are all ruins.

²⁵ I am indebted to Emily Cole for her help on James I's progress routes.

²⁶ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 201.

²⁷ Information from Emily Cole, email of 6 October 2008.

²⁸ M. Colthorpe, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Croydon horse race, with a check-list of the Queen's visits to Croydon,' *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. 77 (1986), 181-186.

²⁹ See Chapter 9 on the 1591 progress; Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, III, 96-97.

³⁰ See Chapter 4 on royal progresses 1525-1625 in the region.

³¹ A substantial part of Amberley remains, and is open to the public as a restaurant, but nothing whatsoever is visible of the palace at Aldingbourne.

³² I am indebted to Emily Cole for this information.

³³ Basing was supposed to have had 380 rooms, and was the largest house in the country: www3.hants.gov.uk/museum/basing-house; for The Vyne, see M. Howard and E. Wilson, *The Vyne: a Tudor house revealed* (London: National Trust, 2003), 87.

also some mansions belonging to nobles along the south coast: Warblington, near the West Sussex / Hampshire border, was a large castle, held by the Dukes of Suffolk and then the Cotton family. Only a tower, which was part of the gatehouse, now remains.³⁴ By the 1540s Titchfield was a substantial house, and the Wriothesleys entertained Henry VIII, Elizabeth and James there.³⁵ In West Sussex, Cowdray House was the principal residence in the area - as a courtier's house it must have dominated all aspects of hospitality in the county. It is now possible to visit the ruins and see how the house operated. The other substantial mansion in the county was Petworth, visited by Henry VIII and Edward, but not by Elizabeth or James, as the Percies were out of favour from the 1570s onwards. In Surrey there were several such houses: Clandon Park, Sutton Place, Nonsuch Palace (in and out of royal hands during this period, but refurbished by both John, Baron Lumley and the Earls of Arundel), and West Horsley were all substantial dwellings, the size of Cowdray or larger. These were the 'London country houses' of the nobility, where they could reside in luxury and entertain in style, but still be close to the capital for the royal and legal courts.³⁶

Before moving on to smaller properties, there is one other type of house to consider: those which were crown property, and where the monarch could entertain or be entertained without deference to the host. Of course these changed over the period - Nonsuch Palace, started by Henry VIII in a highly fashionable style, was held by other nobility during Elizabeth's reign. Many crown properties were acquired by Henry VIII, who spent time and money refurbishing them. Hainaker, just north of Chichester in West Sussex, was relinquished to the King by Lord de la Warr (who retired to Offington³⁷), and it was used for visits by both Henry and his son Edward. Ecclesiastical properties were taken by the crown at the Dissolution - some, such as Titchfield, stayed in crown hands for less than 24 hours; others, such as Amberley Castle were kept and leased out. Out of the five monarchs considered in this study, only Henry was interested in owning and renovating properties further afield than the environs of London.

Elizabeth was prepared to stay in smaller properties than her predecessors.³⁸ Houses such as Loseley, West Dean, Southwick, and others used

³⁴ Information from the English Heritage 'Pastscape' website: <http://www.pastscape.org>; with thanks to John Mills, West Sussex County Archaeologist.

³⁵ The present ruins demonstrate to the visitor the interconnection of the abbey remains and the house which grew out of it, and this is the most interesting example of a conversion from an abbey. See chapter 6.

³⁶ Knight, C., *London's Country Houses* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009) discusses the role of these houses in relation to their proximity to London.

³⁷ This is the modern-day Broadwater area in Worthing.

³⁸ See chapter 8.

on the 1591 progress³⁹ were considered suitable for one-night stops, or as places to dine. There are many of these, especially in the Downs area. They were occupied by estate-owning gentry who were probably serving as JPs and on commissions, and houses of this size became included in Elizabeth's choice of accommodation. They seem to have survived into the twenty-first century much better than the grand mansions of the nobility. This may be because the cost of their upkeep was always less, and there was a wider scope for furnishing them - they could be furnished quite simply or grandly according to the status of the family. A slightly smaller size also meant that the houses could be used more flexibly for accommodation and various functions when the fortunes of the families who owned them changed over the centuries. West Sussex still has Wiston, Parham and Danny all operating as fully functioning houses for present-day use.

The nobility and gentry of the region 1525-1625

The Gentry Database⁴⁰ was compiled to show the status and working connections of the families involved, and to identify which part of the region they came from. It divides the gentry into three lists: the nobility, upper gentry and the rest of the gentry, because they had different parts to play on a royal progress. In a nutshell the nobility were instrumental in planning progresses and accompanying them. The upper gentry who helped them do so were responsible for providing accommodation (whether their own house or somebody else's) and ensuring the smooth operation of the progresses. The rest of the gentry were not directly involved, but may, in working for the upper gentry, have ensured that purveyance was carried out and travel made easier.

The most important people are listed in the Prosopography.⁴¹ It is a select list of 65 men and women, almost all of whom were connected with the royal progresses in the region. Of these 19 were nobility, and 33 were from the gentry. The gentry involved, or potentially involved, in the progresses outnumber the nobility 2:1, even though the period covered is greater than just that of Elizabeth's progresses. From this, and the account of the 1591 progress, we can see that Elizabeth was prepared to use the progresses to be seen by and to favour gentry. Because she did not just use friends as had her predecessors, but stayed with people she hardly knew, decisions as to where to stay must have been political rather than social.

This level of society was what has been termed 'the country house society', that is the nobility and gentry whose lives (at least in the provinces) revolved

³⁹ See chapter 9.

⁴⁰ Appendix 1.

⁴¹ Appendix 2.

around their power as landowners of large country estates and suitable houses to go with it.⁴² The range within the level was varied, and included people from both the sections for the nobility and the upper gentry of the Gentry Database.⁴³ These people would be part of the local community, and would feel at home when they came into the region, but were equally at home elsewhere. Some of them were on familiar terms with the monarch, for example Sir Anthony Browne, and his successor of the same name, Viscount Montague, and this relationship often included older and younger generations.⁴⁴ Many were in royal service, and some were of national importance, such as Charles Howard of Effingham, who was in charge of the English fleet that sailed against the Armada. The fortunes of these people rose and fell with factions at court (an example is Thomas Wriothesley).⁴⁵ Some of families had to take a back seat during the period because of their religion (such as the Carylls). Included amongst the people involved are women who were important in their own right. Some like Jane Lumley and Lady Clinton were women of learning and property respectively.⁴⁶ It is much harder to find out about the wives of the lesser gentry (as opposed to the nobility) who appear as names in wills, and sometimes in property exchanges, but little elsewhere.

There were approximately eighteen noble families that held seats in the region.⁴⁷ Some, such as the Clinton family, Earls of Lincoln; the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton; the Percies, Earls of Northumberland; and John, Baron Lumley, held their main seat elsewhere and had little to do with local politics or administration. They were familiar with court procedures and personalities, and probably felt they were based mostly in London or with the court, or on estates held elsewhere. Others such as the Sackvilles, Earls of Dorset; the Brownes, Viscounts Montague; and the Radcliffes, Earls of Sussex, were heavily involved in local affairs.

Ranking just below the nobility were the leading gentry families, including men who had a decent amount of property, and would have been well known in their area, such as William More, the Palmers of Parham, the Wallop family of Farleigh Wallop and Wield in Hampshire, and the Westons of Sutton in Surrey. I have used the term 'upper gentry' to denote these men, who had power and influence within their locality, and who used it to cultivate relationships with the nobility and, where they could, with the court. These names appear on

⁴² This term was used at the conference: 'The Intellectual Life of the British Country House 1500-1700' at the University of Sussex, 13-15 July 2011.

⁴³ Appendix 1.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 2: 'Prosopography' for details of their relationship with the crown.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Both these have their own *ODNB* entry.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 1.

commissions, in State Papers, and in land transactions and business correspondence. They would have had local standing; all were involved in local politics, all bought and sold small amounts of property in the newly-flexible land market, and many served on commissions, such as for musters, keeping the peace or ecclesiastical purposes. Many had used the dissolution of the monasteries and the resulting increased land market for their own benefit, such as Thomas Sherley, who used his new-found wealth to increase his holdings in Sussex, and to rebuild his house at Wiston.⁴⁸ There were probably something in the region of seventy of these families, and they form the second part of the database.⁴⁹

Finally, and these are the most elusive, the third group comprises 'the rest of the gentry': literally hundreds of gentry families all over the region whose family names are hardly recorded, except in a monument in their local parish church, or in its registers. Included in the third part of the Gentry Database are as many of these as possible, by using written histories, title deeds, and lists of gentry where available⁵⁰.

The division between 'upper gentry' and 'the rest of the gentry' is used for the purposes of this thesis; but I hope it is one that the men themselves would have recognised. It is also an artificial and fluid division - there was no defined division between the lower and upper ranks of the gentry, and links became stronger between the ranks during Elizabeth's reign. Between 1525 and 1625, the increase of work for the crown given to provincial gentry, and the active land market meant that many of the families in the 'upper gentry' would have been amongst the lower ranks in the early part of the sixteenth century. The Lewkenors, for example, were raised to prominence by Richard Lewkenor, a Sergeant-at-law in the Middle Temple of the Inns of Court in London. Lewkenor played a large part in legal affairs at home in Sussex⁵¹ and his patrons included Viscount Montague. Consequently he became well known and was able to buy property all over south-west Sussex. In 1591, he became host to Elizabeth at West Dean on her progress between Cowdray and Chichester.

There was much interaction between the gentry in all three counties at county business level. William More of Loseley, for example, who lived in Surrey, was Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex and executor to the Bishop of Winchester, Robert

⁴⁸ J. Pennington, 'Sherley, Sir Thomas (c.1542-1612)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

⁴⁹ For further information on these men, see *ODNB*, Armstrong, J.R., *A History of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1995); Dallaway, *History*; Manning, O. and Bray, W., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (London: John White, 1804).

⁵⁰ Lists of Sussex gentry are included in Dallaway, Cooper, W.D., 'Certificate concerning the justices of the peace in Sussex in 1587', *SAC*, 2 (1849), 58-62 and Lower, M.A., 'Names of the Sussex gentry in 1580. With notes', *SAC*, 1 (1848), 32-37.

⁵¹ See Appendix 2: Prosopography.

Horne (and then an administrator of his estates in Hampshire whilst the see was vacant).⁵² He and Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, who lived at Cowdray in Sussex, worked together on commissions, and in estate matters.⁵³ The latter had been at court with Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who lived at Titchfield in Hampshire, and many such connections were made through the court. Kinship and friendship ties took no account of administrative borders, but were influenced by estates, which might cross county borders. Consequently, when the royal progresses entered a region they were likely to be met by men who saw their responsibilities and power stretching over a wider area than their own county. Those in charge of the organisation of the progresses would also view the region in this way, and the itineraries were mainly based on visiting the gentry of the area and their houses. In addition there would usually be a particular destination in mind, for example in this region they might head towards the ports of Portsmouth and Southampton where there were always ships and building works to inspect. From the point of view of the visiting court, therefore, county borders were of secondary importance.

The effect of the dissolution of the monasteries

From the mid 1530s, a period of dynamic change occurred in property-owning in England, as huge amounts of former monastic property came on to the market. The results were immediately apparent in this area. As early as 1540, wealthy merchants such as the Palmers were buying the newly-available property; in their case, it was the Parham estate, previously owned by Westminster Abbey, and bought by Robert Palmer in 1540. Robert came from the Somerset branch of the family, but obviously hoped to join his cousins who were at Angmering. Both branches were already buying or exchanging small pieces of property in order to develop or build up estates in West Sussex.⁵⁴ Tellingly, it was another 38 years before Robert's son and grandson were able to lay the foundation stone of the present house. Their money was put into developing the estate before adding a house to match. However, it would have been the house, rather than the estate, that would have attracted a visit from a monarch. In the 1570s and 1580s, the Palmers joined their cousins - and the Apsleys and the Sherleys⁵⁵ - all building or rebuilding medium-sized houses in West Sussex. It is possible that these families

⁵² Dallaway, *History*, f.lxxiv; Loseley Mss.

⁵³ SHC: the Loseley Mss, various, for example 6729/8/8, a letter from Montague to More in 1562, complaining of his treatment over his attempts to curb poaching in Windsor Forest; or 6729/8/60 of 1576, referring to the subsidy commission; Elzinga, J.G., 'Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528-1592)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁵⁴ WSRO, Parham archives - the fine collection of deeds in section 1 of the catalogue (accessible through the online catalogue) shows that the Palmers were involved in the frequent exchanges of small pieces of land in West Sussex, part of an active and busy property market between local owners.

⁵⁵ The Palmer cousins were building at New Place, Angmering, the Apsleys at New Place, Pulborough; and the Sherleys at Wiston (WSRO, various collections).

felt that there was a good chance or even a promise of a royal visit; Elizabeth's visits to lesser gentry must have been known by that time.⁵⁶ The nobility and upper gentry were also taking advantage of changing conditions in the first half of the sixteenth century, especially as many were involved in the Court of Augmentations, which was responsible for acquiring and redistributing the property.⁵⁷ Henry VIII manipulated church patrimony and exchanged properties, so not just ex-church lands were involved in these property exchanges. In this region the interest of the nobility was exemplified by Thomas Wriothesley's acquisition of the abbey of Titchfield, and its subsequent conversion into a great house.

The dissolution of the monasteries gave the pace of architectural fashion new vigour. First it freed up the land market, giving rising gentry opportunities to show off, and to build according to latest styles, in order to make their guests comfortable, and to add novelties such as gatehouses. Secondly, it permitted architectural experiments in ways of making an abbey and its cloisters usable for the lay aristocracy. People like Wriothesley and Sharrington at Lacock Abbey made this into a fine art.⁵⁸ Such conversions probably attracted both Henry VIII and Elizabeth, partly out of curiosity, and partly because these buildings offered a new style of comfort and the ability to house a large number of guests in comfort. The noble mansions built in the 1520s and 1530s would have been harder to modernise, and perhaps could not offer such convenience. At the same time, builders were experimenting with new building materials and external decorations, changes in the structure of the house as 'visitor flow' developed, and increased use of courtyards, gardens and the parkland surrounding the house. Expressions of cultural knowledge and taste in hospitality emphasised the desire of these people to attract important visitors, especially, if possible, the monarch.

One of the great problems created by the dissolution of the monasteries was the reduction in the number of establishments where particular social care took place: a traveller might be able to stay the night, the sick might get care and the poor receive relief. Books on manners and obligations make it clear that the gentry and aristocracy were to fulfil at least the first of these social obligations.⁵⁹ Before the Tudor period, large establishments such as country houses might well receive unexpected guests at meal times and provide beds for strangers.⁶⁰ Equally, in theory, there would be alms given at the gate. Felicity Heal concludes that such traditional hospitality lasted well into the seventeenth century, but the architectural

⁵⁶ Chapter 8 explores Elizabeth's visiting preferences further.

⁵⁷ The court was set up in 1536 to handle monastic lands acquired by the crown other than through the treason of the abbots.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 6.

⁵⁹ Heal, *Hospitality*, chapter 3, esp 93, 104.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 108-9.

and other evidence suggests that practice was beginning to change from the early sixteenth century.⁶¹ New country houses were given more private rooms for the family and important visitors. Because life for gentry was becoming less public and more private, the gentry were choosing newer and less traditional methods of looking after the poorer members of society. Alms at the gate was giving way to the foundation of hospitals and schools in the locality, where the landowner might have his generosity acknowledged by his name over the door, but not have to take personal responsibility for the project. The country house became more 'professional' - less welcoming to all comers, and more focussed on entertaining invited guests.⁶² In this region, the change was reflected in the houses newly built in the 1570s, and the setting up of private charities.⁶³

Summary

This chapter has established a picture of a region that was not very different from other parts of England, with a gentle landscape and no great difficulties for travel, relatively speaking. It did not have the hilly terrain of northern counties of England, but it was not as accessible as the immediate area around London. The houses that belonged to the nobility and gentry were as good as anywhere else in England, and varied in size. Many of the grand houses offered suitable accommodation for progresses and had been used by Elizabeth's predecessors. The scope of those available was widened by the fact that Elizabeth was prepared to use those of lesser gentry to break the journeys in between the residences of the nobility. The region had many houses the size of Parham and Wiston, especially as the gentry in the region had taken full advantage of the land market in the middle years of the sixteenth century. The attraction of the region for progresses was increased by the fact that Elizabeth knew the nobility of the region, some of whom were at court, and her Privy Council knew that they could trust the gentry.

However, Elizabeth only visited West Sussex once, and the southern part of Hampshire only three times. The general nature of the region, acceptable to the Privy Council, does not explain Elizabeth's prolonged absence from West Sussex. In order to look at the whole picture, the next chapter gives a fuller picture of royal progresses in the region during this period.

⁶¹ Ibid, 141, 399-400, but see chapter 6.

⁶² See chapter 4.

⁶³ An example of this is Dame Elizabeth Gresham (1590-1664)'s charity in Henfield, founded in 1661 by Elizabeth Bishop who had married Thomas Gresham in 1612, but kept a local connection in Henfield. The charity still exists, and provides relief for the needy out of the rent of two fields in the parish. See WSRO, Add Mss 1018-1034

Chapter 4

Royal Progresses of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and James I

The royal progresses in the region for the period 1525-1625 provide a framework for this thesis. The practices of Elizabeth's predecessors gave her examples and experiences to draw on, and in order to understand her *modus operandi*, this chapter now explores the progresses of her Tudor predecessors. What practices did Henry VIII inherit for progresses from his father and his medieval forebears? Did he follow certain routes? Which families, and which houses, were in favour over the period? The routes taken by each monarch are examined here; the favoured stops of Henry VIII and Edward within this region are not wholly repeated in the progress of 1591. Elizabeth ignored houses used again and again by her father, such as Petworth and Arundel. Edward VI made only one progress, which was into these counties – his comments on what happened would have given Elizabeth food for thought regarding the way in which the progress was planned. Mary made no progresses, other than the return trip to London from Winchester, where she had married Philip II of Spain. Elizabeth conducted her own progresses in a different style from Mary; she did not revert to the model her father used, but had her own preferences. When James I came to throne, with a very different upbringing in Scotland, he had, in turn, another approach. This chapter takes each monarch in turn, and looks at the routes of their progresses and their motives in order to see whether the earlier progresses had any bearing on the itineraries and methods of Elizabeth's. It is the detail of these visits, the hosts and the routes which point to each monarch's preferences in the way they conducted their progresses, and throw light onto the working methods and hospitality of the nobility and gentry at the time.¹

Medieval royal progresses: the inheritance of the Tudors

The Tudors inherited a tradition of royal progresses going back to the Norman period, when William the Conqueror journeyed regularly around the south of England, spending Easter at Winchester, Whitsuntide at Westminster and Christmas at Gloucester.² Each of these visits was treated as an opportunity to emphasise his power and his right to the throne through special 'crown-wearings'.³ Medieval royal itineraries were filled with civil and religious ceremonies; and also with hunting, jousting, feasting and later pageantry, which were some of the main elements of both Henry and Elizabeth's progresses. Medieval kings were more itinerant than the Tudors for hygienic as well as political and dynastic reasons; they moved on when they had exhausted the food and environmental resources of the place where they were staying. They travelled more habitually, and expected to ride 35-45 miles a day, and,

¹ Elizabeth's own progresses are examined in chapter 8.

² Steane, J., *The archaeology of the medieval English monarchy* (London: Routledge, 1999), 71ff.

³ *Ibid.*

as with the Tudors, the removal of a noble court and its trappings was a huge undertaking. The Marshalsea was in charge of the organisation, and obtained horses for transport of goods and for riding, using farms and studs all over England.⁴ Henry III moved an average of eighty times each year of his long reign (although he did move around less as he grew older, whereas Elizabeth kept up her pace), and in one year John changed residence 150 times.⁵ Quantities of clothing, furniture and textiles were carried with the party, including personal jewels. Carts were organised from within the royal household, as shown by a household ordinance of 1279, which prescribes seven long and five short carts, and a total of 41 packhorses.⁶ Provisioning of early medieval progresses relied on the royal household, and this developed into a system of purveyance.⁷

The medieval monarchs were also on the Continent a great deal - John spent nearly four years of the first ten of his reign abroad. Because of dynastic and marriage links, they were familiar with western Europe. The Tudors were the first dynasty not to need to travel abroad to maintain control; despite this, Henry did so several times, unlike his daughter Elizabeth, who never left the south of England.⁸ By the mid-fifteenth century, the court became more settled. There was no longer an urgent need to establish authority in northern and western parts of the kingdom (although it could be argued that that was Henry VIII's reason for the progress up to York in 1541).⁹ It is now generally accepted that although his demonstration of authority was still an important part of the progress, the ritualised show of splendour encompassed many motives, including leisure and travel, political and religious influence, patronage and emphasizing the 'otherness' of the monarch. It also fulfilled a form of vanity by showing off the glamour of court.

Henry VIII's progresses

It was Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, who really developed the Tudor progress into a more leisurely and recreational activity, to cultivate patronage and ostentation. The elements of his progresses reflected his image of himself as a Renaissance monarch, in the same way as the famous full-length painting by Holbein.¹⁰ Both reflect Tudor monarchy at its height; demonstrating extreme wealth and power and using the most modern fashion and ideas. Progresses were one of the foremost symbols of the strength of the monarchy, and in Henry VIII, England had a ruler anxious to manifest his power.

⁴ Steane, *Archaeology*, 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

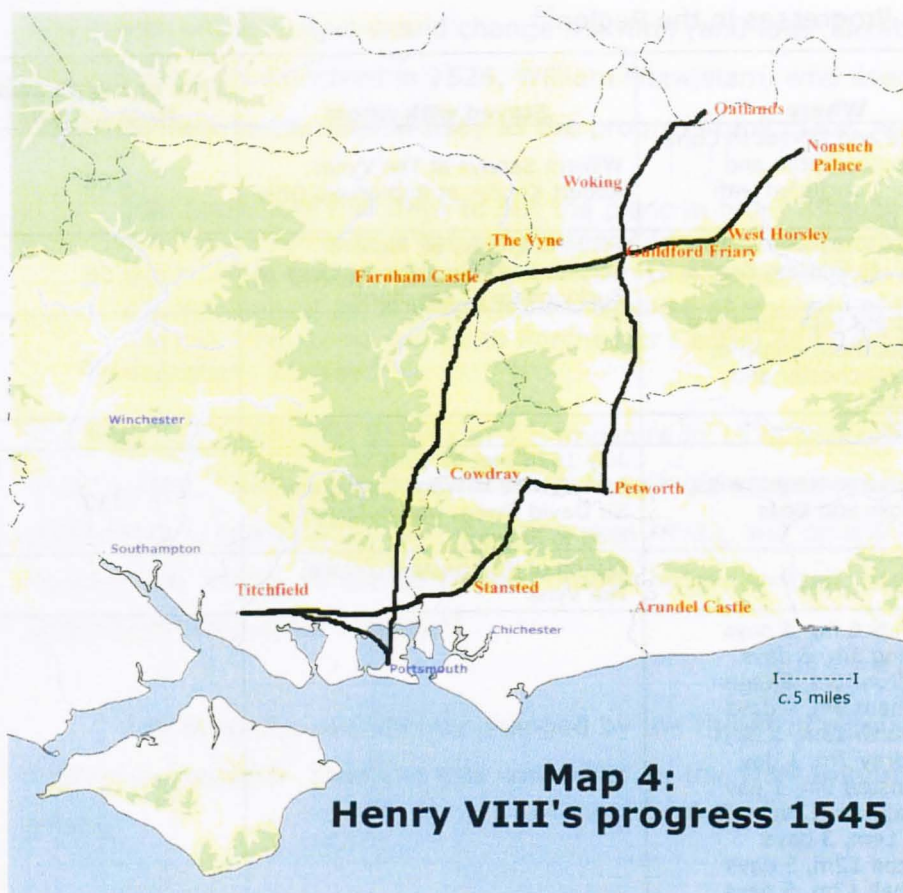
⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁷ See chapter 7.

⁸ Cole, *Portable Queen*.

⁹ Wooding, L., *Henry VIII* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009)

¹⁰ A copy can be seen at Parham House.



It may be that the shift in emphasis of the progresses meant that the monarch was freer to explore the south, rather than feeling the need to exercise a visual presence in the further reaches of the realm. Henry VIII came to the region several times: in 1510, 1519, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1526, 1527, 1533, 1539 and 1545, and made a brief visit to Woking and Guildford in the September of 1546.¹¹ He appears to have stayed with the same people each time (although not necessarily in the same order), and his favourite houses in this area were Woking, Guildford and Farnham in Surrey; Petworth, Cowdray, Arundel and Stansted in West Sussex; and Titchfield, Winchester, Bishop's Waltham and The Vyne in Hampshire. He was usually heading for Portsmouth, to inspect the ships or his building work taking place at Southsea. He evidently enjoyed hunting at Petworth and Arundel, and his route south generally included these two. The routes seem to have been worked out by members of what became the Privy Council in his reign, and are sometimes set out in the State Papers. For example, a note sets out a route for the summer of 1528, taking in Woking, Guildford and Farnham, but spending the latter part of August in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire.¹²

¹¹ The progress in 1521 was just to Guildford and Farnham. Table 1 shows the progresses, with their length as far as possible. It was less after 1533, presumably because of Henry's marital statutes, and also because of his fall from his horse, which took place in 1536. Map 4 shows the 1545 progress, for which we have the most information for a progress in this region.

¹² SP 1/235 f.315, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Addenda, 1: Part I, from *State Papers Online*.

Table 1: Henry VIII Progresses in the Region¹³

Date	Where	Stayed with whom	No. of nights away from palaces
1510	Hampshire and Dorset to Corfe Castle, Southampton and Salisbury. Concluded with jousts at Woking	William Sandys at The Vyne; Robert Knollys at Rotherfield Grey	68
1519	Progress to impress four French 'hostages', to Sussex, Kent and Essex	Sir John Ernley, Sir Richard Corbet, Lord Bergavenny, Duke of Buckingham at Penshurst	56
1522	Joint progress with Charles V through Southern England, including Winchester and Southampton		100
1523	Portsmouth		14
1526	Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, Berks, Bucks and Beds	July 1526 met by Earls of Arundel, De la Warr, Dacre, and Sir David Owen, who escorted King to Petworth.	113
1527	Hampshire	Bishop of Winchester's palace; The Vyne	
1539	7th Oatlands 6 m, 4 days 12th Woking 5m, 6 days 18th Guildford 6m, 5 days 23rd Farnham 9m, 4 days 27th Petworth 13m, 3 days 30th Cowdray 7m, 1 day 1 Aug Stansted 9m, 1 day 3rd B's Waltham 12m, 4 days 6th Wade 14m, 3 days 9th Thruxton 12m, 5 days 12th Wolfhall 13m, 5 days 17th Donnington 12m, 1 day 18th Welford 5m, 1 day 19th Compton 12m, 3 days 20th Langley 12m, 3 days 23rd Woodstock 7m, 1 day Nd Buckingham 14m, 6 days 29th Grafton 8m, 3 days 3rd Sep Ampthill 12m, 7 days 7th Dunstable 8m, 1 day 12th Missenden 10m, 1 day 13th Windsor 13m		67
5 July - 13 Sept 1545	Nonsuch, Horsley, Guildford, Farnham, Portsmouth, Titchfield, Stansted, Cowdray, Petworth, Guildford, Woking, Oatlands, Chobham, Windsor		c.71
8 - c.15 Sept 1546	No progress except brief visit to Woking and Guildford in September		

A letter from Gregory Cromwell to Thomas Cromwell ten years later, in 1538, demonstrates the uncertainty of the details of the route:

Chr. Chappman, yeoman of the Guard, sent to search the state of the country where the King has directed the "giestes" of his progress, came this day to your Lordship's house at Lewes and viewed the lodgings, stating that the King would be here, but how long was uncertain. Feels it right to mention that the plague which lately infected the town is not yet wholly gone, and has given him a certificate of one that died this day in an inn, and of all who have died since Christmas. Lewes, 29 June.¹⁴

¹³ Samman, 'Progresses'.

¹⁴ SP 1/133 f.231, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 13: I: 1538, from *State Papers Online*.

Any threat of the plague would change the King (and later Elizabeth)'s route immediately. At Guildford in 1526, William Fitzwilliam, who seems to have been reporting back to Cardinal Wolsey as the progress took place, wrote that he:

Has been here two days to put the place in order after the King's visit. Said in his former letter that the King intended to have stopped at Stanstyd and Southwike; but as the parish in which the former stands is infected with plague, he will go to Warblington, a house of my lady of Salisbury, two miles distant. Thence he will go to Porchester Castle, and next day to Winchester. Guildford, 26 July.¹⁵

The King's progress into Sussex and Hampshire in 1526 is comparatively well-documented,¹⁶ and is a good example of the King's progresses. It shows an emphasis on the King's relationships with his friends as hosts, and on the leisurely pursuits of hunting and dining. It can be traced through letters written, as above, by William Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey.¹⁷

The progress was slightly changed by the threat of plague, but proceeded into Sussex as planned. There he was welcomed by the most important people in the county:

The King is merry and in good health. On entering the county of Sussex, he was met at Petworth by the earl of Arundel, lord Delaware, lord Dacre of the South, Sir Davy Owen, the sheriff, and other gentlemen. The officers of the earl of Northumberland, to whom the place belongs, presented him with 6 oxen and 40 wethers, and he had good game and recreation, entertaining those gentlemen who resorted to him in familiar manner and with good words, and presenting them with venison.¹⁸

He was of course amongst friends, as these were members of his Privy Council, or at least close to him at court. Petworth was owned by Henry Percy, a powerful magnate in the north of England, whose son was a good friend and kinsman of the Earl of Arundel's son. The Earl was William Fitzalan, around fifty years old, whose son, Henry, was an MP under his own title, Lord Maltravers. In 1538 a papal report was to declare that Arundel was of 'great power, little wit, and less experience', while his son was 'young and lusty, of good wit, and likely to do well'.¹⁹ Thomas West, Lord de la Warr was to entertain the King at Hainaker later on the progress. Lord Dacre of the South was Thomas, 8th Lord Dacre, probably accompanied by his son, Thomas, who became 9th Lord Dacre a few years later.²⁰ David Owen was the builder of Cowdray in

¹⁵ SP 1/39 f.1, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 4: I: 1524-26, from *State Papers Online*.

¹⁶ *Letters and Papers*, 3; Cal. SP 1/38 and 39.

¹⁷ SP 1/39 f.1, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 4: I: 1524-26, from *State Papers Online*.

¹⁸ SP 2/B f.152, Jan 1526; Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 4: Part I: 1524-26, from *State Papers Online*.

¹⁹ Julian Lock, 'Fitzalan, Henry, twelfth earl of Arundel (1512-1580)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

²⁰ Luke MacMahon, 'Fiennes, Thomas, ninth Baron Dacre (b. in or before 1516, d. 1541)', *ODNB*, 2004

the 1520s, although he sold it to William Fitzwilliam three years after this progress. All these men were courtiers, well known to Henry, and probably used to entertaining him.

When the King was staying at Arundel Castle, Fitzwilliam wrote: 'Since his coming hither, my Lord, the owner thereof, has made him good game, and provided him a goodly present, all of which has not yet come.'²¹ Arundel was evidently luxurious, but in need of modernisation; Lord Sandys also wrote to Wolsey on 6 August:

'The noblemen and gentlemen of these parts have been attending on the King, to his great pleasure. He likes much the castle of Arundel. It is in great decay, but he supposes the King has furthered repairs.'²²

This must mean that the prospect of the visit meant that the old Earl had done some much-needed maintenance. As at Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, where a later generation of nobility entertained Elizabeth in a cold and old-fashioned ancestral home,²³ large ancient castles must have been financially ruinous, and difficult to keep up with a standard expected by the royal court.

On 2 August 1526, the Bishop of Chichester, Richard Sherburne, invited Henry VIII to dine with him, and there has been debate as to whether that might have been at Amberley, and if so, whether the King stayed there as well. In particular, Sherburne had employed the artist Lambert Barnard to paint a series of panels of warrior Queens at the castle, having previously commissioned a set of Kings at the cathedral in Chichester. The Amberley panels²⁴ might have been completed by this time; the same letter from William Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey says that the King dined with the Bishop of Chichester the previous day. He praised the house:

For in mine opinion within an hundred miles of the same cannot be found a properer, a better cast house more neatly kept with fairer and pleasanter walks...And I assure your grace I wished that ye had seen the howse, for sundry and diverse devices be therein right commodious and proper, which I have not seen in none other place.²⁵

The letter refers to one of Sherburne's residences, but it is not clear which one. Karen Coke argues a strong case for Amberley, and that the 'devices' might well have been the Barnard panels, finished in time for the King's visit.²⁶ It has been suggested that they might have been specially painted for the visit, and that the King might have

²¹ From: 'Henry VIII: August 1526, 1-10', *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 4: 1524-1530 (1875), 1057-66.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Cole, *Portable Queen*, Appendix 1, 187-88.

²⁴ K. Coke, 'The Amberley Castle panels and a drawing by William Henry Brooke', *SAC*, 145 (2007), 137-152. I am very much indebted to Karen for her generous help.

²⁵ TNA: PRO: *Cal SP Dom* 1/39, ff26-27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

stayed at Amberley.²⁷ However, the castle was probably too small to accommodate him, and it would not have been worth the royal party giving up the splendour of Arundel Castle. A modern map shows that a route from Arundel to Amberley, either along the bottom of the Arun valley around the Arundel rising ground, or on the high ground in good hunting territory, would not take more than two hours on horseback.²⁸ The word 'dined' need not suggest an evening meal, as it would now, and the meal was probably taken in early afternoon, or even mid-morning, leaving plenty of time for the ride back. The royal party might even have taken a boat either way, as the Arun was navigable even for merchant ships, and there was plenty of traffic from the port at Littlehampton up to Arundel and beyond to the Bishop's residence at Amberley.²⁹ This offers interesting insights into how the progress may have worked on the ground. The route was presumably decided before the progress, and we know from Elizabeth's reign that the harbingers applied the same treatment to places where she was to dine as to those where she stayed, so an equivalent for Henry's reign would have given us the answer for the location of Sherburne's hospitality.³⁰ Presumably the harbingers would have approved of the panels!

However, there also survives for the 1526 progress the account book of John Shirley, cofferer of the household, which lists, day by day, provisions for the royal party.³¹ Its format makes it difficult to work out what is going on, but it does show the route of the progress taken during that summer, by adding the place at the end of each daily list. Apparently the household was providing for two parties, who were sometimes quite far apart from each other. It is unlikely that the two parties were just two halves of the retinue, as their locations are too far apart in each entry. The other half could have been the Queen's party, but if so the King and Queen were travelling completely separately.³² It is more likely the first party were the harbingers, and the second the King's party.³³ When these dates are compared to the 'giestes' for a much later progress – that of 1539, not only are the venues the same, but the dates of the month for the places coincide as well!³⁴ It is possible that they were reusing their calculations, or copying previous accounts in a formulaic manner, as was often the case.

²⁷ Alan Wood during talk in July 2009 on behalf of Pallant House Gallery, Chichester (where the surviving panels are now).

²⁸ The route has been checked with a horse-riding expert, who says the steep escarpment on the northern side of the hunting territory would not prove a problem to fine horses used to long journeys and hunting.

²⁹ 'Arundel', *VCH*, 5, 1: Arundel Rape: south-western part, including Arundel (1997), 10-101.

³⁰ For example, the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 1579-96, show that she dined at West Dean on her way to Chichester: TNA, PRO: E 351/542.

³¹ TNA, PRO: E 101/419/13. It is in Latin and mostly abbreviated and formulaic.

³² Starkey, D., *The reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics* (London: Vintage, 2002). Although the relationship between Henry and Katherine was failing in 1526, this progress took place too early to draw that conclusion.

³³ The role of the harbingers in royal progresses is explored in Chapter 7.

³⁴ Copy at WSRO, Cowdray 4935: King's giestes in letter of 1539, Thomas Warley to Lord Lisle. 'Giestes' or 'gestes' were the itinerary or list of stopping places on a proposed progress.

Table 2: Provision book for the 1526 progress³⁵

Sunday	15th	July	Woking	Sunday	5th	August	Farnham & Arundel
Monday	16th	July	Same ³⁶	Monday	6th	August	Same & Halnaker
Tuesday	17th	July	Same & Guildford	Tuesday	7th	August	Same
Wednesday	18th	July	Guildford	Wednesday	8th	August	Same & Douneley
Thursday	19th	July	Same	Thursday	9th	August	Same & Warblington
Friday	20th	July	Same	Friday	10th	August	Farnham & Warblington
Saturday	21st	July	Same and Farnham	Saturday	11th	August	Same
Sunday	22nd	July	Farnham	Sunday	12th	August	Farnham & Warblington
Monday	23rd	July	Farnham	Monday	13th	August	Alton also Portchester
Tuesday	24th	July	Same	Tuesday	14th	August	Bishops Waltham & Winchester
Wednesday	25th	July	Same	Wednesday	15th	August	Winchester
Thursday	26th	July	Same	Thursday	16th	August	Same
Friday	27th	July	Whateley & Petworth	Friday	17th	August	Same
Saturday	28th	July	same	Saturday	18th	August	Same
Sunday	29th	July	Farnham & Petworth	Sunday	19th	August	Winchester
Monday	30th	July	Arundel & The Vyne	Monday	20th	August	Same
Tuesday	31st	July	Same	Tuesday	21st	August	Thrupton
Wednesday	1st	August	Same	Wednesday	22nd	August	Thrupton
Thursday	2nd	August	Farnham & Arundel	Thursday	23rd	August	Same
Friday	3rd	August	Same	Friday	24th	August	Same
Saturday	4th	August	Same	Saturday	25th	August	Wolf Hall & Ramsbury

The progress seems to have run smoothly. From Arundel, the King moved to Halnaker, just north of Chichester, and then proceeded into Hampshire. Lord Sandys wrote from Arundel on 6 August:

Today the King leaves Arundel for Halfacre, a place of my lord Delaware's. He will be at Winchester on the eve of the Assumption, and will spend the time he intended to be at Romsey, where the sickness is. The rest of his "giests" he intends to keep.³⁷

The King liked Halnaker so much that Thomas West was forced to give it up a few years later.³⁸

The size of the royal entourage has been much debated.³⁹ The State Papers contain clues, such as that in a document of 1526, entitled 'The Royal Household'. Efforts were made to control numbers at court, and this seems to have applied

³⁵ TNA, PRO: E 101/419/13.

³⁶ The document gives the word 'ibidem' [same place] throughout.

³⁷ From: 'Henry VIII: August 1526, 1-10', Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 4: 1524-1530 (1875), 1057-1066.

³⁸ Michael Riordan, 'West, Thomas, eighth Baron West and ninth Baron de la Warr (1472-1554)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004.

³⁹ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 41-42; Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*, 2-3; Girouard, M., *English Country House*, 84 and 111; Thurley, S., *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 69-70.

whether the court was at one of the royal palaces along the Thames, or on progress.

The document states:

'No one lodged in the court to be allowed to bring with him more servants than a person of his degree is allowed to keep there, unless it be to bring in his lord or master perhaps to drink, and immediately to depart; but they may keep the rest of their servants in the town or outside the court gate, if they be men of honest conversation... No one to keep within the court any hawks, spaniels, or hounds without the King's licence, nor ferrets, pursnetts [large fishing nets], hayes, or nets either in the house, or at their lodgings in the town; nor to hunt or fish without licence of landowners.'⁴⁰

Further regulations for economy in fuel and light, bread, ale, and wine, were intended to keep costs down. Another problem was petty theft and misappropriation, and regulations were made:

'to prevent the purloining in the King's houses, and places of noblemen and gentlemen where he may lodge, of doorlocks, tables, forms, cupboards, tressels, &c., which has been frequently done, to the King's great dishonour...'⁴¹

There were strict rules on the amount of accommodation given to members of the court, according to rank, but although harbingers, whose job was to sort it all out, are mentioned in the document, there are no rules for the court on the move. We know that royal palaces were crowded, but it is more difficult to be certain about progresses. Calculations for the events at Cowdray in 1591 suggest three to four hundred people attended the week there, but this is speculation.⁴²

Henry's progresses were in a period of transition between the medieval style of progresses and the elaborate sophistication of Elizabeth's.⁴³ The most important development at this period was the introduction of focussing the progresses around the nobility and courtiers as hosts. This transition was accelerated in the later part of the reign, no doubt, by the disappearance of hospitality offered by the abbeys and monasteries.⁴⁴ The reliance on such hosts to provide accommodation, and the nobility accompanying the monarch to provide guidance and protection for the monarch was increased in the next reign where Edward's own presence was much less dominant than Henry's.

Edward VI's progress into Sussex and Hampshire

Edward VI did his best to emulate his father in what appears to have been the only progress of his reign, in 1552 through Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire and Dorset. It was his only trip away from the royal palaces along the Thames in his brief reign,

⁴⁰ SP 2/B f.152, Jan 1526; Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 4: Part I: 1524-26, from *State Papers Online*.

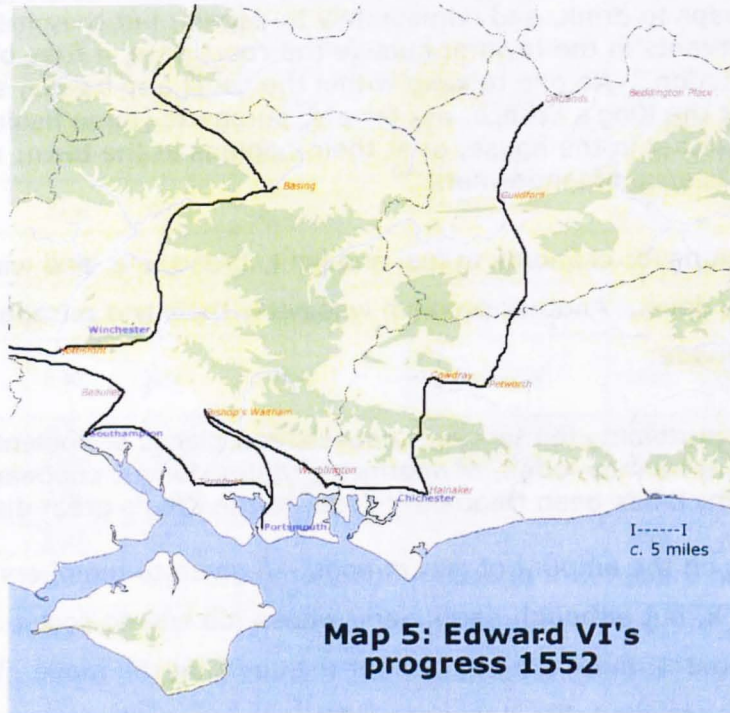
⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² See chapter 9, where this is discussed further.

⁴³ N. Samman, *Progresses*, p.73.

⁴⁴ See chapter 6.

which ended less than 12 months later with his death at the age of 15. (Two years earlier, he had recorded a 'progress' in his diary, but it was merely a leisurely trip from Greenwich to Richmond.)



The story of the 1552 tour is told by the King in a letter he sent to his friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick.⁴⁵ The letter's details are supported by Edward's own journal.⁴⁶ The latter is written in a more detached style, and includes news on troop movements and the activities of the French on the continent.

Biographies of the young King tend to concentrate on his youth and the influence of those around him, and even his progress is seen as a means of promoting rivalry and faction within his retinue. However the journal and letter imply a keen interest in the people the King met, and the sights he saw, even if he had little control over what happened. Other supporting evidence lies in the State Papers, as described above, and in an article by John Gough Nichols⁴⁷ in 1858. Nichols used the diary of Henry Machyn, which he edited, and which provides information about the gossip and concerns of a Londoner between 1550 and 1563.⁴⁸ Together they give information on the length of the progress, its management, and the events surrounding it, such as the reduction in its retinue.

⁴⁵ The letter is now housed in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, but WSRO has a typescript copy: WSRO, MP 3827. It was spotted by a West Sussex County Councillor whilst on a trip to Windsor, and copies made for WSCC. WSRO lacks a Royal Archives reference for them, despite enquiries to the Royal Archives.

⁴⁶ First published in G. Burnet and E. Nares, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (D. Appleton, 1843), and then in North, J. (ed), *England's Boy King: the diary of Edward VI* (Welwyn Garden City: Ravenhall Books, 2005).

⁴⁷ Nichols, 'Edward VI'.

⁴⁸ Nichols, 'Machyn'.

The progress was deemed to have started at Greenwich.⁴⁹ From there, the royal entourage took a boat to Putney, and thence to Hampton Court.⁵⁰ On 7 July Edward moved on to Oatlands, and arrived in Guildford on 15 July. Then the part of the letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick which deals with the journey into Hampshire and Sussex runs thus:

And being this day determined ca(me) to Gilford from the(n)s to Petworth and so to Coudray⁵¹ a goodly house of Sir Anthony Brownes, where we were marvelously, yea rather excessively banketed. From thens we went to Halvenaker a prety house besides Chichestir. From thens we went to Warblington a faire house of S(ir) Richard Cottons, and so to Whaltam a faire great old house in times past the Bishop of Winchestirs and now my Lord Treasourours house. In al theis places we had both good hunting and good chere. From thens we went to Portismouth toune, and there viewed not only the toune itself and the haven but also divers Bulwarkes as Chatertons, Haselford with other for viewing of wich we find the bulwarkes chargeable, massie wel rampared but il facioned it flanked an set in unmete places, the toune weake in comparison of that it ought to be, so huge great, (for within the wallis ar faire and large closis and much vacant rome) the haven notable great, and standing by nature easie to be fortiefied. And for the more strength therof we have devised tow strong castellis on either side of the have(n) at the mouth therof. For at the mouth the haven is not past tenscore over, but in the middle almost a mile over and in lenght for a mile and a hauf hable to beare the greatest ship in Cristendome. From thens we went to Tichfeld th'erle of Southamptons house, and to Southampton toune. The citesens had bestowed for our comeng great cost in printing repairing and remparing of ther wallis. The toune is ansome, and for the bignes of it as faire houses as be at London. The citeserns made great chere and many of them kept costly tables.⁵²

From there, the young King went on to Beaulieu and Christchurch.⁵³

It is possible to unpick much of this and draw conclusions, and the journal entries can be used to add extra information. Despite a change in personnel on the Privy Council since Henry VIII's death, these visits were made to the same places at which Henry had stayed. It is a matter of conjecture how much say Edward would have had in the planning of the progress. It seems that the men who prepared it drew on their experiences of Henry's progresses in the region. The visit to Guildford on 15 July was probably to the castle, then in royal hands. Edward stayed there nearly a week, and then went on to stop, like his father, at Petworth House, formerly owned by the Earls of Northumberland but in the hands of the crown in 1552. This time it was the seat of the 7th Earl, Thomas Percy, a young man only nine years older than the King. He had been disinherited by his uncle, and his father had been

⁴⁹ T. Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (1655), 412-13. I am indebted to Dr Andrew Foster for this reference.

⁵⁰ Nichols, J.G., 'The progress of King Edward VI in Sussex,' *SAC*, 10 (1858), 197.

⁵¹ William More, writing in 1591, stated that Edward had stayed at Shillingley between Guildford and Cowdray, but there is no other evidence for this. Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts*, 272, quoting 6729/7/83.

⁵² WSRO, MP 3827.

⁵³ North, *Edward VI*, 163. At that time the two places were in Hampshire; Christchurch is now in Dorset.

executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537.⁵⁴ Percy was restored to his title in 1549, but was allowed much less property than his forebears.⁵⁵ Home for the Percys was in the north of England, especially Yorkshire, where the extent of their power was partly a problem and partly helpful to the crown which was based mainly in the south. If there had not been the background of Henry VIII having made it a practice to visit Petworth when in Sussex, it would seem a slightly surprising place to choose.⁵⁶ However the house had been in crown hands at several times in this period, so it would not have been a problem to the royal organisers. The Earl of Arundel was in charge of receiving the royal party and the entertainment there.⁵⁷

It was at this point that Edward tells us in his journal that he had to send most of his entourage back home 'for they were enough to eat up the country'.⁵⁸ Nichols amplifies this: he says that before the progress set off, it had been arranged that the young King would be accompanied by a considerable force of men-at-arms, supplied by the nobility – Edward listed them in his diary. The men belonged to courtiers and the Privy Council, rather than the aristocracy of Sussex and Hampshire. The diary says:

..the nombre of bandes that went with me this progresses, made the traine great, it was thought good they should be sent home, save only 150, wich were pickt out of al the bandes. This was because the traine was thought to be nier 4,000 horse, wich ware inough to eat up the country; for ther was little medow nor hay al the way as I went.⁵⁹

This is an interesting comment on the countryside in Surrey and north-west Sussex, which was some of the more fertile land in the country, and should have been well able to provide enough fodder for the royal party. Either the progress was badly managed at this point (for which we only have this evidence) or the system of purveyance must have let them down at that time. Did the Privy Council and court feel it was necessary to have armed protection on this progress, or were individual nobles showing off? Either way, the progress had not been properly planned. Nichols says that these figures did not even include the King's own men, for whose arms a special warrant had been issued earlier in the year, or the herald and his men, whom Nichols picked up from records of food allowances.⁶⁰ Seven Privy Councillors attended the King, and the Privy Council continued to meet as they toured round. Nichols gives these dates: at Petworth on 23 and 26 July, at Cowdray on 27, 28 and 29, at Hainaker

⁵⁴ Julian Lock, 'Percy, Thomas, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008. Thirty years later he was involved in a plot with Mary Queen of Scots, and was executed in 1572.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ At this time, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was acquiring Percy estates in the north from the early 1550s, was a hindrance to the prospects of the young Earl. It is doubtful that the latter would have come south for this progress, as it was so awkward politically.

⁵⁷ JG Nichols, 'Edward VI', 201.

⁵⁸ *Op.cit.*, 198.

⁵⁹ *Op.cit.*, 198-99.

⁶⁰ *Op.cit.*, 200.

on 30 and 31 July, and 1 and 3 August.⁶¹ The *APC* do not quite match with these dates, but there are no severe discrepancies.⁶²

At Cowdray, a relatively modern house about thirty years old, Edward felt that 'we were marvelously, yea rather excessively banketed'.⁶³ At this time, Sir Anthony Browne was a young man of 24, his father having died four years previously. His wife Jane Radcliffe was still a teenager and was to die in childbirth the following year.⁶⁴ Browne was Elizabeth's host nearly forty years later, on the 1591 progress.⁶⁵ Like his father he was a courtier, and his Catholicism does not seem to have curbed his enthusiasm for entertaining royalty – in fact he seems to have rather overdone it for King Edward's more severe tastes.

Halnaker, just outside Chichester, was an interesting choice as the next stop for the royal party in that it was chosen rather than somewhere inside the city or at one of the Bishop's residences. At that time the Bishop of Chichester was John Scory, who held the office for a brief period.⁶⁶ At Halnaker, a small medieval house, there would not have been room for all the entourage, and the main part must have found lodgings in the town or camped nearby.⁶⁷ Henry had stayed here on the progress of 1526. When Thomas West, its previous owner, found himself in trouble with the King in the late 1530s for openly criticising the government, and possibly as part of a conspiracy, he had had to hand over the house to Henry VIII, receiving instead the dissolved nunnery at Wherwell in Hampshire. He then made his main residence at Offington, Broadwater, where his father had lived – a smaller and less comfortable house than Halnaker.⁶⁸ During the 1540s, he regained the trust of the government, continuing to serve on commissions, and he was Lord Lieutenant in 1551, but although he may well have acted as host at Halnaker, he never regained the house.⁶⁹ Edward made no comment on his host, except to say that Halnaker was 'a prety house besides Chichestir'.⁷⁰

⁶¹ *Op.cit.*, 204.

⁶² *APC, 1552-54*, new series, vol. IV. (London, HMSO, 1892), which gives: Guildford 17, 20 and 21 July; Petworth 23 (twice) and 26 July, Cowdray 27 July, Halnaker 1 and 3 August, Warblington 5 August, Waltham 7, 8, 10 August, Portsmouth 12 August, Titchfield 13, 14 and 15 August and Southampton 16 August.

⁶³ *WSRO*, MP 3827.

⁶⁴ J. G. Elzinga, 'Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528-1592)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2009 – the *ODNB* entry is incorrect for Jane's date of death. Nichols points out that if Dallaway (presumably the source of the *ODNB* entry) had been correct, her corpse would have been in the house at the time of the royal visit!

⁶⁵ See chapter 9 for an account of the 1591 visit.

⁶⁶ George Day was deprived 10 October 1551, John Scory was nominated 23 May 1552 and then deprived August 1553.

⁶⁷ See chapter 8 for comment on progress accommodation.

⁶⁸ 'Broadwater', *VCH Sussex*: 6, 1: Bramber Rape (Southern Part) (1980), 66-81.

⁶⁹ Michael Riordan, 'West, Thomas, eighth Baron West and ninth Baron de la Warr (1472-1554)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

⁷⁰ *WSRO*, MP 3827.

There is no evidence that Edward went into Chichester, but he might have done, for he granted the city a charter in 1547,⁷¹ and just before setting off on the progress, he granted on 5 July 1552 Letters Patent, which gave the City Council property within the city formerly belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁷² The grant had obviously been sought and planned ahead, as it is endorsed 'This grant was purseued and obteynid by the Sewte and means of Briane Bankes then Meier of the Citie of Chichestre'.⁷³ There would have been the usual welcome by civic dignitaries for their royal visitor – speeches, plays and petitions. Edward then went on to stay with Sir Richard Cotton, who had been granted Warblington the year before, and it was to become the latter's main residence.⁷⁴ Sir Richard was having a good year: he was Sheriff of Hampshire; he surveyed Calais and Guînes in January; and became a Privy Councillor in May. Following the death of Sir Anthony Wingfield on 15 August, he was made comptroller to the royal household, and from 4 September he accompanied the progress.⁷⁵

Edward seems to have been more interested in the fortifications of the two ports he visited in Hampshire (Portsmouth and Southampton) than in his hosts and their houses. Both the letter and the journal comment on the bulwarks, and also those of Berwick, being enlarged at the same time.⁷⁶ Waltham and Titchfield were mentioned in passing – Bishop's Waltham, which belonged to the Bishop of Winchester, was often used as a staging post by the Tudor monarchs. Edward described it as a 'fair great old house'.⁷⁷ Stephen Gardiner, the previous Bishop, had been removed from his post the year before, and John Ponet had been nominated in his place, although he had not yet taken up residence.⁷⁸ Consequently neither was there to act as host, but the royal court would have been familiar with the house, and the steward, or a local member of the gentry would have been found to act as host. At Titchfield, Henry, the second Earl of Southampton was a minor of seven, his father having died two years previously. His wardship was with his mother at this time, and he was being brought up a Catholic. He was almost certainly at home in Titchfield to greet the King. Edward records that after Southampton, they went on to Beaulieu,⁷⁹ and then to Christ Church, Salisbury and Wilton in Wiltshire. The progress returned by way of Mottisfont [Motsounde] and Basing, which both belonged to Lord Sandys. From there they passed through Berkshire (Donnington and Reading), before

⁷¹ WSRO, CHICTY/A/9/(16).

⁷² WSRO, CHICTY/B/1.

⁷³ Dr Andrew Foster suggests that this might have been a property within the Pallants in Chichester, a quadrant of the city long associated with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁷⁴ Catharine Davies, 'Cotton, Sir Richard (*b.* in or before 1497, *d.* 1556)', *ODNB* 2004; online edn, Jan 2008

⁷⁵ *APC, 1552-1554* – a list of those attending the Privy Council is given at the beginning of each set of minutes.

⁷⁶ North, *Edward VI*, 161.

⁷⁷ WSRO, MP 3827.

⁷⁸ Powicke, M. and Fryde, E.B., *Handbook of British Chronology* (2nd ed., London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), 259.

⁷⁹ WSRO, MP 3827.

returning to Windsor by 15 September. This route went further west than those of Henry for which we have evidence.

As a whole, Edward's progress was very much based on those of his father, visiting the same places, doing much the same things. There seem to have been no overtly political machinations by the Council towards the local gentry, except perhaps one of a demonstration of power. Their concerns (and those of Edward) lay in the events happening in France. The Duke of Northumberland wrote from Knole on 3 September that:

I am glad that the king, on the council's advice, cuts his superfluous progress, whereby the council may better attend to his affairs in these troublesome days. . . The honour of the king, council and realm is marvellously touched.⁸⁰

There is no other evidence of the progress being curtailed or the route changed in any way, and by the time this was written Edward was heading back towards London. How much control the King had over the route is open to question; it sounds from his journal as if he had none, but was being taken from house to house. However, his interest in the south coast fortifications suggests that he might have had some input into the direction of the progress. It would be quite natural for him to have followed in his father's footsteps to inspect the docks and castles.⁸¹

Queen Mary's progress

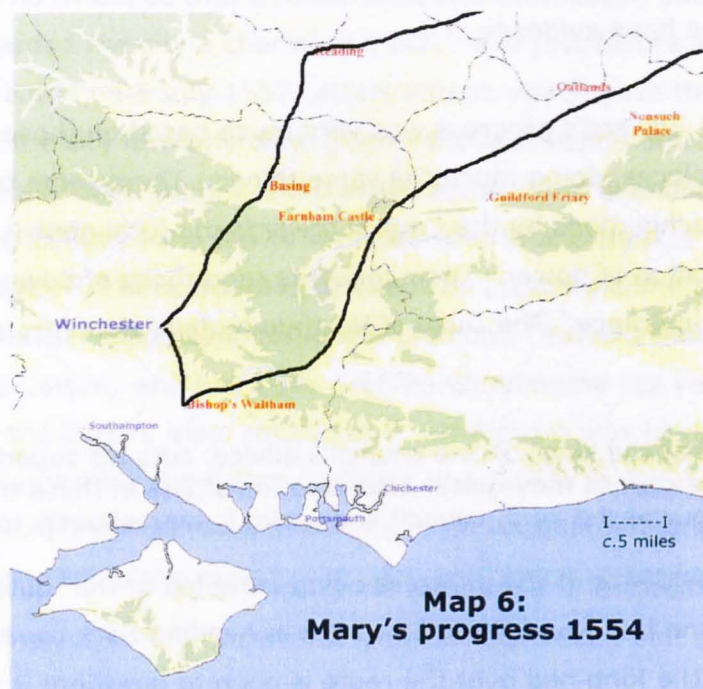
Mary did not make similar progresses, perhaps because her concerns – taking the country back into the Catholic faith, negotiations for her marriage, and subsequent relations with her husband - kept her in London.⁸² The exception was her triumphal progress back to London after her marriage to Philip II of Spain which took place at Winchester. It therefore involved the nobles and gentry in Hampshire, but also included the Spanish retinue and was influenced by their desires. The ceremony of the marriage, the days spent in Winchester after it, and then the slow journey back to London, was based more on Katherine of Aragon's entry into England before her marriage to Prince Arthur, than on the progresses of Mary's father or brother, in that it was chiefly a state procession rather than a tour of subjects' houses. Problems over the size of the Spanish retinue, Philip's double household, the rivalry between the nations and misunderstandings over customs, dogged the ceremony and etiquette, causing arguments and delays.⁸³

⁸⁰ TNA, PRO: Cal. SP 10/15 f.1.

⁸¹ North, *Edward VI*, 8.

⁸² Eamon Duffy suggests that Mary's counter-reformation was proactive, but brutal; so it is possible that progresses could not play a part (Duffy, E., *Fires of Faith* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009)).

⁸³ He had brought his own, but was provided with an English household in Winchester, see David Loades, *Mary Tudor* (London, TNA, 2006), 126. For a while, he had a double entourage: Hardacre, J. in Winfield, Flora (ed.), *The marriage of England and Spain* (Catalogue for exhibition of the same name, summer 2004, Winchester cathedral), 14.



It seems Winchester had only had a few weeks to prepare for the wedding and the hospitality that the royal party would need:

In any event, it seems that the Cathedral authorities had only a few weeks' notice to prepare for this great occasion and the city to accommodate the thousands of nobility, attendants, footmen, soldiers and courtiers of both Mary and Philip, who, in the event had a double set, one English and one Spanish. The money to pay for all these arrangements came only ten days before the wedding. On 15 July twelve carts laden with 'Treasury' were sent to Winchester from the Tower of London.⁸⁴

Mary had come from London via Farnham and Bishop's Waltham (Stephen Gardiner had been restored to his see soon after Mary's accession), and then waited for Philip's ships to arrive. Philip's fleet was sighted off the Isle of Wight on 19 July, and Mary moved to Wolvesey. All her stopping places were those well used to entertaining royalty, and the Bishop of Winchester was her main host. Philip was escorted to the Hospital of St. Cross on the outskirts of Winchester, where he changed, and then to the cathedral for mass, before arriving at the Bishop's palace in the early evening to meet Mary. The wedding took place on 25 July 1554 in the cathedral, and the wedding banquet was held at Wolvesey, to the south of the city.⁸⁵

Philip had to reduce his Spanish household – one reason being that there simply would not be room for all of its members on the progress to London.⁸⁶ Evidently it was perceived that there would not be enough accommodation on the

⁸⁴ Hardacre, J. in Winfield, *The marriage of England and Spain*, 13-14.

⁸⁵ Winfield, *op.cit.*; Sheila Himsworth, 'Marriage'. Both these publications give more detail on the progress than biographies of Mary Tudor.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

route, and that it would be too difficult to feed everyone. It may be that preparations had already been made for a smaller number, and it was too difficult to change arrangements, or that resources in the countryside around would not run to feeding the greater number. On 31 July the royal party left the city of Winchester. They spent two nights at Basing with the Marquis of Winchester, and one night at Reading. They reached the royal palace of Windsor on 3 August, where they stayed a week, and Philip was installed as a Knight of the Garter. They then moved on to Richmond. Here Philip again reduced his household, quite significantly this time, and eighty members of the Spanish nobility went home (with their servants and retinue).⁸⁷ On 17 August, the royal couple moved to Suffolk Place in Southwark, and entered the city of London the next day, crossing London Bridge and processing to Whitehall, still with a huge retinue of two households.⁸⁸

The court and council accompanied the monarch on Tudor progresses, and despite its brevity this one was no different, with both monarchs working on their own separate concerns. A small amount of detail is given in Spanish letters of the time:

Great rogues infest these roads and have robbed some of us, among others Don Juan Pacheco, son of the Marquis of Villena, from whom they took 400 escudos, and all his silver and some gold things; not a trace of has been found of them nor of the four or five boxes missing from the King's lodgings... Owing to conditions here only the early comer gets good lodgings... On Tues 31 July, after dinner, the King and Queen left for a place about 15 miles from here, the country house of the Treasurer... All the English knights had gone to their houses to return for the entry into London that is those who are not usually at court. The ambassadors took road straightaway to wait in London.⁸⁹

The letters suggest a degree of disorganisation, manifest in the lack of arrangements for accommodation for the Spanish. As for entertainment and leisure, besides the banquets and balls, hunting was laid on at Windsor and Southwark,⁹⁰ but there is no mention of pageants on the progress until the city of London put some on for their procession.⁹¹ The lack of display of power that her father mounted on his progresses may be put down to the event having the tenor of a submissive welcome for a foreign prince, who was not only to become King, but to promote full reconciliation with Rome. This appears to have been the only time Mary ventured out of the Home Counties. She did not follow the tradition of her father's progresses in the way Elizabeth did. However, the resident aristocracy of Hampshire were involved in her marriage and procession in the same way as in the later progresses of Elizabeth, firstly as hosts, then as support for her retinue, and they would have been involved in the organisation of local purveyance.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Don Pedro Enríquez in a letter of 1554, quoted in Himsforth, *op.cit.*, 93.

⁹⁰ Prescott, H.F., *Mary Tudor: the Spanish Tudor* (1940, rev.ed. 1952; London: Phoenix, 2003), 352.

⁹¹ Machyn does not mention anything special laid on to welcome the King and Queen: Nichols, *Machyn*, 66-67.

Conclusion

The routes of the progresses in West Sussex, Hampshire and Surrey were similar for all four monarchs.⁹² Even Mary, who did not have a progress in the way the others understood it, used the same staging posts as her brother and father. Her 'progress' may be seen as a sign of the discomfort she felt, in that she chose not to take longer summer progresses as they did. During the first half of the sixteenth century, visits and routes became traditional, and similar routes were used by Elizabeth (except that she only visited West Sussex once). The personnel changed, and the fortunes of the families certainly changed, but the routes stayed pretty much the same.

What then did Elizabeth pick up from her predecessors, and what did she choose to discard? Although her progresses had a sophistication of their own, they were underpinned by those of Henry VIII. The latter took a more personal view of his power than that of his father, and this is manifested in using his friends as hosts in his progresses, and making the visits a leisure pursuit. Elizabeth's choices seem to have depended first and foremost on hosts, but unlike Henry's preferences, these were not just friends from court. Her knowledge of the viability of the routes in West Sussex was not used until 1591, and then she chose to use some of the houses and add extra ones. In Hampshire she used the hospitality of the Bishop of Winchester, staying at his palaces of Bishop's Waltham, Wolvesey and Farnham, as her predecessors had done. Elizabeth would have had more houses to choose from, partly because of her wider choice of hosts, and also because the nobility and gentry had refurbished houses (such as Elvetham) or built new ones (such as Parham and Southwick).⁹³

Similarly Edward's progress may have given Elizabeth and her advisors food for thought. The retinue was too large, and some of the houses which had changed owners no longer had a suitable host, such as at Petworth. Elizabeth may have felt that the politics of the region had moved on, and she may not have liked the way in which Edward had very little control over where the progress went. Her more personal style of government suggests that she might have taken a more particular interest in the choice of hosts. She kept the processional magnificence of Mary in order to show off her own splendour. However, she clearly saw the importance of reaching out to those of her subjects who did not live in London; she travelled around the home counties⁹⁴, and chose to do so most years of her reign. This was a deliberate contrast to her sister's reign. In terms of the routes and topographical issues, and what her reception would be from the gentry in the region, she learnt what

⁹² Full discussion of the progresses of Elizabeth I in this region may be found in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

⁹³ Appendix 5: Available houses for a progress.

⁹⁴ These are discussed in chapter 8.

to expect and how to make these things work in her favour. She inherited the pleasure that her father took in hunting, and there was usually time for the sport in her progresses, but she also took her court and Privy Council with her. Altogether she mixed parts from all their progresses, and added different aspects of her own.⁹⁵

A brief note is provided here on the reign of James I; his visits to the region marked a departure from those of the reign of Elizabeth I, and suggest rather different concerns. James established a routine with his summer progresses, generally alternating going north or west. His westerly progresses always took in Surrey and Hampshire. Thus he was in the area in 1606, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1618, 1620, 1622 and 1623. He does not appear to have visited Sussex at all.⁹⁶ Where Elizabeth was interested in meeting a wide range of people in local communities, James was more interested in his hunting and leisure pursuits, and his visits to the region might suggest a return to Henry VIII's mode of visiting friends.⁹⁷

The changes taking place in civil society and local government over the period⁹⁸ gave first the nobility and courtiers and then the gentry a more prominent role in government, and this was emphasized in the way in which the progresses were conducted. Henry's hosts were powerful in the region, and his use of them led to strong links between central government and the localities.⁹⁹ In turn, this led to greater security on his progresses. Elizabeth too made this her practice. She used courtier's houses as some of her staging posts along her journey, and built her use of them on the practices of Henry, for example taking up hunting opportunities. By 1591 she was also able to rely on the gentry who ran local government to organize her progresses and provide hosts. She used Henry's routes, although they were adapted to meet her own requirements. In this region, she too headed towards the ports of Portsmouth and Southampton at the points of furthest reach from home. The methods of both monarchs were helped on a practical level by the dissolution of the monasteries and the obligation of hospitality thus being diverted onto the shoulders of the local landowners. The next chapter examines the nature and make-up of the aristocracy and gentry who gave her hospitality.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ I am indebted to Emily Cole of English Heritage for summarising some of her research for me.

⁹⁷ This discussion needs to be taken further and would repay further study, but there is so much more work to be done on James's progresses, that it does not have a relevant place in this thesis.

⁹⁸ Sharpe, J.A., *Early Modern England: a social history* (London, Arnold, 1997); Gleason, J.H., *The Justices of the Peace in England 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)

⁹⁹ This can be seen in the use of the Lords Lieutenants and Justices of Peace sitting in Quarter Sessions, and the use of the Assize Courts and Star Chamber to maintain the peace.

Chapter 5 The Nobility and Gentry Hosts of the Region

Underlying the success of a royal progress in any part of the country was the network of local nobility and gentry who provided the accommodation and entertainment, supervised the procurement and generally enabled the progress to take place.¹ All these men were powerful in their own locality; some were powerful at court as well. Their relationships with each other supported the hospitality they offered the monarch and helped their efforts to increase their standing amongst their peers. This chapter analyses a provincial society influenced by, but away from, court and brings out the importance of social and business networking of the gentry and nobility in West Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire. The period covered is the century approximately from 1525 to 1625, but with special attention on those involved in the 1591 progress. First it looks at perceptions of hospitality, and the rules by which they might be supposed to welcome visitors, from the royal party down to the local poor. What were their responsibilities in this? Secondly it looks at their relationships with each other. What were the divisions in such a society, and how did the its members work together across the ranks? What were their roles within the local community, and who might expect to host a progress? Thirdly, the chapter examines the lure of the capital, and whether this made a difference to their ideas of hospitality, and their eagerness to host the royal progress. Furthermore the personal level on which these people operated was important in terms of age groups, kinship and strong friendships, such as that between Viscount Montague and William More,² which was important for county business and consequently for the success of the 1591 progress.

Perceptions of hospitality

In 1602 Richard Carew, a member of the country gentry of Cornwall, published a *Survey* of his county. Describing his own lifestyle (or at least his aspirations), he wrote:

They keep liberal but not costly builded or furnished houses, give kind entertainment to strangers, make even at the year's end with the profits of their living, are revered and beloved of their neighbours, live void of factions amongst themselves (at leastwise such as break out into any dangerous excess), and delight not in bravery of apparel... A gentleman and his wife will ride to make merry with his next neighbour, and after a day or twain those two couples go to a third, in which progress they increase like snowballs, till through their burdensome weight they break again.³

¹ See chapter 3 and Appendix 2: 'Gentry Database' for an introduction to the gentry of the region.

² This chapter will show how this friendship, made between a member of the nobility and a middle-ranking member of the gentry, gave support to them both.

³ Carew, Richard, *Survey of Cornwall 1602* (Launceston: Tamar Books, 2004): the book uses a modern transcription, and I have quoted directly from it.

Richard Carew's views sum up the things the gentry considered most important about their lifestyle, particularly emphasizing hospitality. Their houses must be neither mean nor extravagant, according to their status; gentlemen should offer liberal hospitality, yet live within their means; they should keep their standing in the neighbourhood, without quarrelling with their neighbours. Richard Carew's thoughts were on friendship and 'making merry', to which one might add family visits and celebrations such as marriages and feast days. Furthermore, during the day the great hall of a country house might be filled with business visitors: tenants, messengers, other JPs and commissioners, and so a different sort of hospitality would be offered on a more formal footing. Good hospitality gave rise to the hope and expectation of entertaining not only peers, but important high-ranking nobles, officials, ministers and perhaps even the monarch at one's country seat. Like Richard Carew, contemporary commentators held strong opinions on the status of a gentleman, and therefore the hospitality he should offer. Hospitality was a Christian duty incumbent on all men,⁴ but especially should be practiced by those with large enough households to be open and generous:

The preachers... were passionately convinced that the landed orders and their rich allies were themselves destroying God-given social harmony. Thus, William Turner acknowledged that there were a few noblemen who kept 'honest and honourable houses', but denounced the majority for failing to use their resources properly for the domestic relief of the poor...⁵

This chapter now examines these aspects of behaviour, and why they were so important for men who were hoping to host a royal progress.

One of the driving forces of society was the need to keep one's standing at the correct level of the hierarchy, and a member of the gentry had more in common with his peers all over England than he did with his lower-class neighbours in his local community. Being a gentleman implied membership of a universal status category, with certain standards of behaviour, culture and wealth.⁶ Behaviour was most important and outweighed other criteria (such as wealth and dress). The website for the Court of Chivalry⁷ includes a case from 1637-38: 'Baker v Spenser' in which Spenser had procured a remarkable petition signed by sixty-eight of the villagers of Boughton-under-Blean which declared that Baker was a yeoman 'of small estate and no inheritance', who was 'no way agreeable to the degree of a gentleman'. It also claimed that Baker had shown little hospitality to

⁴ Woolgar, C.M., *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 21.

⁵ Heal, *Hospitality*, 126.

⁶ This was explored in an OUDCE conference on the English Gentry 1550-1700 (Rewley House, October 2009) when discussion afterwards brought out that various studies of Tudor and Stuart gentlemen showed a uniform attitude towards these attributes, even though the culture of hospitality changed during the sixteenth century. A gentleman could rely on other gentry for support more than he could his neighbours.

⁷ <http://www.court-of-chivalry.bham.ac.uk/>

the poor.⁸ So it was important to be accepted by neighbours and those in one's social circle as a gentleman, and to keep that reputation, and offering suitable and relevant hospitality was a well-defined way of doing this. The seventeenth-century architectural writer Sir Henry Wotton [1568-1639] wrote that a man's country house was:

the Theatre of his Hospitality, the Seat of Selfe-fruition, the Comfortablest part of his own Life, the Noblest of his Son's Inheritance, a kind of private Princedom [...] an Epitomie of the whole World.⁹

This quotation puts the importance of hospitality first in Wotton's list of assets of a country seat, and shows how important country houses were to the structure of gentlemen's lives and position in society.

Hospitality therefore defined a gentleman. However, in the highly ordered society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was not expected of him to live outside his rank or to offer hospitality beyond his means, even when entertaining royalty:

What they were expected to provide varied according to their circumstances; for minor country gentleman of modest means, it would only be a clean, empty house, the family having moved out from at least the main rooms.... The Queen herself was unwilling to cause her subjects too much expense, though naturally more was expected of the wealthy and ambitious, who were anxious to display their loyalty.¹⁰

It was certainly important to be generous and keep a good table: Henry, Earl of Derby's household consumed per week,

approximately 112 bushels of wheat, 8¾ hogshead of beer, three-quarters of an ox or cow, nine muttons... An expenditure similar to this guaranteed the cheerful hospitality always freely extended by the nobility to guests, were such visitors friends or strangers.¹¹

Both over- and under-spending were resented. Sir William Holles was known for his hospitality, but there seems to have been some doubt whether he overstepped the proper boundaries:

... The truth is he ever did affect a freedome of life and to be loved and honoured at home amongst his neighbours, wch he attayned to beyond others his concurrents by his honesty, humanity and hospitality. This last was so great and constant all his life yt was even to a wonder. . . being asked why he dines so late, he answered that for ought he knew there might a friend come twenty miles to dine with him and he would be loth he should lose his labour. This liberall hospitality of his caused the first Earl of

⁸ <http://arts-itsee.bham.ac.uk/AnaServer?chivalry+0+start.anv>; court case no. 24 Baker v Spenser, 1637-1638.

⁹ Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London 1624, Farnborough 1969), 82. I am indebted to Helen Whittle who found this quoted in L. Worsley, *Cavalier* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), 5.

¹⁰ Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*, 4.

¹¹ Brunt Jones, P. Van, *The Household of a Tudor Nobleman* (1918, Memphis: General Books, 2010), 49.

Clare to let fall once an unbecoming word, that his grandfather sent all his revenues downe the privyhouse.¹²

The same account relates his generosity at Christmas, and he was obviously seen to be living as a gentleman should, and as his position in society demanded, but his virtue must have been a strain for his family! Gentry were not expected to offer entertainment on the lavish scale that the aristocracy - and particularly courtiers - were able to achieve.¹³

Whilst traditions ruled the niceties of hospitality and people knew what to expect, perceptions were changing. Over the period, 'economic pressures nibbled away at many social assumptions',¹⁴ and contemporary commentators were concerned about the true order of life being lost, as people no longer had respect for rank. In a treatise on English gentry,¹⁵ two travellers comment:

Vandante: It is pyttyfull hearynge that they have no Regard of ther state; nor of ther posteryte. But who be the gent' that bereth the swaye now in theis dayes, for som Swarme in euerye place in Gowld Silks and Juells as neuer was the lyke in pryde befor this tyme.

Seluaggio: those be penne and Inkhorne gent', whose fathers wer yomen,... Theis be the Children (as is said in the first Booke of moyses), who becam myghtye in aucthoryte Renowne and Crueltie. But of such I have hard of ther beginnynges and have seene ther endynges. That where by ther parentes and ffryndes theye pocessed two or thre knyghtes lyvinges, Now the beger hange on ther sleeve, and others that wer in greate auctoryte in his contrye died xx li in debte to the utter undoinge of manye honeste men, that gave ther bonds for him, and as the Sainge is soone Ripe Soone Rotten.¹⁶

Contemporary anxiety that society was being turned upside down was pertinent to the gentry in the region. The men keeping control in their locality by working on commissions and running their estates would have accorded with this view. Their view of the hierarchy of society underpinned everything they did. It must have seemed particularly necessary that the old order should be kept if a royal progress was anticipated. The men of the region would have expected a progress to confirm this view, but whether the Elizabethan progresses actually did is discussed later.¹⁷ On the other hand, the gentry of this period were used to change in their own lives, from fluctuating expectations of religious practice to developing fashions in architecture and changes in traditional views of hospitality. Stephen Alford comments:

¹² Wood, A.C. (ed.), *Memorials of the Holles family* (Camden Society 3rd series, vol. 55, 1937).

¹³ See Chapter 5.

¹⁴ Alford, S., 'Introduction to State Papers Online, Part 1' from Gale Cengage Learning website, *State Papers Online*.

¹⁵ Spelman, W., *A dialogue or confabulation between two travellers which treateth of civile and polittike government in dyvers kingdomes and contries* (London: Roxburghe Club, Nichols and sons, 1896).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

¹⁷ See chapter 7.

The Tudor century was one of rapid, profound and irreversible change. Society was turned upside down by tectonic shifts in politics and religion... For a society that...prided itself on a careful and settled order, this was bewildering - yet we have to say that the Tudors coped remarkably well with what was, in all kinds of ways, little short of a revolution in many aspects of life in the sixteenth century.¹⁸

There was therefore a tension in society and relationships. Many may not have liked the changes, and were worried about the order of society, but in order to maintain peace and keep their own standing, the gentry had to adapt to change.

Contemporary commentators on society also had views on being a visitor – what was acceptable, and what was not, despite the changing nature of hospitality explained above. For example, misbehaviour by a younger generation (allegedly part of a feud between families) was drawn to the attention of Robert Cecil in 1600.¹⁹ When a hunting party, headed by some members of the Eure family, forced themselves on the hospitality of Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby at Hackness, Yorkshire, he was forced to welcome them, even though his wife was ill in bed. His visitors ate his supper and played cards, much to his distress:

which was spent by the gentlemen partly in discoursing of horses and dogs, sports whereunto Sir Thomas never applied himself, partly with lascivious talk where every sentence was begun or ended with a great oath, and partly in inordinate drinking unto healths, abuses never practised by Sir Thomas... After supper Sir Thomas willed to have their chambers made ready, and came himself to bring them to their lodgings, but they being at dice told him they would play awhile, so he did leave them and went down and set his household to prayers as they were accustomed. When Sir Thomas and his family had begun to sing a psalm, the company above made an extraordinary noise with their feet, and some of them stood upon the stairs at a window opening into the hall, and laughed all the time of prayers. The next morning they went to breakfast in the dining-room, and Sir Thomas hearing them call for more wine, sent for the key of the cellar and told them they should come by no more wine from him. Presently Sir Thomas sent to Mr. Ewre to know how he would bestow that day, and told him if he would leave disquieting him with carding, dicing and excessive drinking, and fall to other sports, they should be very welcome.²⁰

Here the unwelcome party overstepped the mark on several counts. Sir Thomas had asked them not to come on account of his wife being ill; they had come anyway. They had behaved badly by playing cards in the house of a Puritan, and by swearing and drinking, by refusing his offer to show them where they were to sleep at the appropriate time, by disrespectfully disrupting the family prayers and by outstaying their welcome. All these were actions of disrespect to their host. This case ended up in court,²¹ which would have been scandalous for both parties.

¹⁸ Alford, S., 'Introduction', *State Papers Online*.

¹⁹ Extract from evidence in *Hoby v Eure, 1600-1602*. 'Cecil Papers: September 1600, 1-15', *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 10: 1600* (1904), 302-315, 5 Sep 1600.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 26 Sep 1600. The outcome of the case is not given.

Hospitality was so important for both host and guest that it could destroy one's status as well as emphasize it, and this was true across all ranks of gentry society. Consequently, the rules of hospitality had an important part to play when hosting a royal progress.

These rules created a world in which behaviour mattered a great deal, as a buttress to the hierarchy of society, especially in the uncertainty created by the Reformation. The gentry in the region therefore had a framework in which to carry out their own hospitality and visiting, and in which to welcome a royal party. The next part of this chapter examines the men involved in the region, and their relationships with each other, and it starts with a discussion of power.

The powerful men in the region

The nobility were the most powerful in the region, running large estates.²² Their relationships with each other were important for them and for the region. There were always tensions between family pressures and local obligations in the region, and, for some of the nobility and gentry, the demands of the royal court. Sometimes local friendships could offer a bulwark against the dangers of attendance at court; other times they backed up one's standing in the locality, thus offering more weight at court. To illustrate this, we turn to some case studies of power within the community: the contrast between the Wriothesley family at Titchfield and the Brownes at Cowdray, and then several families within the upper gentry, to show how their relationships also gave them power and influence.

Titchfield in Hampshire²³ was seen as a great house and power base, and the Wriothesley family, who gained the title Earl of Southampton, was one of the most powerful in the region. Thomas Wriothesley bought Titchfield Abbey from the crown the day it was dissolved and built a mansion out of the buildings on the site.²⁴ He was visited there by Henry VIII on 31 July 1545,²⁵ but actually he preferred to be at court, and that was where he spent most of his time. As he accumulated government offices, he also gained local power,²⁶ but most of Wriothesley's activities were still based in London around court life, and not at Titchfield. He was deeply involved in court factions, and his fortunes rose and fell from 1547 until his death in July 1550. He was only 45 then, and he must have left a young family behind, but there is no evidence that they were brought up in Hampshire. Jane his widow lived until 1574.²⁷ If the Countess had friends around

²² See Appendix 1: the Gentry Database, section 1.

²³ See Appendix 4: Map of gentry houses.

²⁴ See chapter 6.

²⁵ *APC*, I.

²⁶ See Appendix 2: Prosopography.

²⁷ TNA, PRO: PROB 11/56/437.

Titchfield, they were not close enough to be remembered in her will; the only people outside the family who were mentioned in the will were John and Jane Sevell, her surveyor and god-daughter.²⁸ The poor in areas where she had property in Hampshire and Holborn were remembered, and all the goods in 'my Holborn house called Southampton Place' was left to her son Henry. Her will suggests, as far as we are able to surmise, that her circle of friends were further afield than Hampshire.²⁹ So although Titchfield was a centre of power and patronage in Hampshire, the Wriothesleys' personal interests lay elsewhere, in London and at court. The family held great power locally, but used it to bolster their standing at court, rather than form relationships in the locality.

Titchfield the house may have been modelled on Cowdray,³⁰ near Midhurst in Sussex, home to another local member of the nobility, William FitzWilliam, Earl of Southampton.³¹ Here, in contrast, an equally powerful family chose to maintain local interests and relationships. FitzWilliam and his half-brother Anthony Browne grew up in the royal household, and were successful courtiers at Henry VIII's court,³² and they would have known Wriothesley there, working in the same circles. By 1519 (aged about 20) Anthony Browne was a member of the Privy Council.³³ But whereas Wriothesley's sights were set on court life, the Brownes were more firmly entrenched in the region. By 1528, Anthony Browne had married Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage of Firle in East Sussex.³⁴ This union was to cement a long-lasting friendship between these families. From 1532 he was a JP for Surrey, where he and other members of his family became very influential. In 1539 Henry VIII visited his house at Battle.³⁵ After the death of William FitzWilliam, Sir Anthony inherited Cowdray,³⁶ which he and his family used regularly, together with Battle Abbey. Sir Anthony became involved in local government and its social life.³⁷ In the 1540s Browne owned approximately 11,000 acres of land in Sussex worth £679 a year for those in his actual possession and £147 in reversion, as well as about 8500 acres in Surrey, worth almost half that amount and including the priory of St Mary Overie, which he obtained in 1544. His successor, Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague was one of the wealthiest peers in the region, with an annual income of between £2000 and £3000. From his letters to Sir William More, he also appears to have been usually resident at Cowdray, and visited Sir William at

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ See Appendix 4.

³¹ (The earldom died with William Fitzwilliam, but Thomas Wriothesley was recreated 1st Earl of Southampton after Henry VIII's death, on 15 February 1548.)

³² William B. Robison, 'Fitzwilliam, William, earl of Southampton (c.1490–1542)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

³³ William B. Robison, 'Browne, Sir Anthony (c.1500–1548)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Loseley Mss.

Loseley on his trips up to and down from London.³⁸ In 1546 he married Jane, the daughter of Robert Radcliffe, 1st Earl of Sussex, who was based at Portsmouth. They had a son, Anthony Browne (who died in 1592, the same year as his father) and a daughter Mary. Jane died in 1552, and Montague married in 1556 Magdalen, daughter of William, 3rd Baron Dacre, another Catholic family. They had five sons and three daughters. Their family ties were now further afield, with families in Buckinghamshire and Kent, and so the family changed emphasis in its relationships, and looked away from the locality for support.³⁹

However Montague was still actively involved in all three counties of Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire. He had already been sheriff of Surrey and Sussex from 1552 to 1553,⁴⁰ and was returned as MP for Petersfield, Hampshire, in March and October 1553, and as knight of the shire for Surrey in April 1554. Other local appointments kept him in the area, and his local influence led to his reappointment as joint lord lieutenant of Sussex in November 1569. In the 1570s Montague was often suspected of being involved in Catholic plots, and in 1580 there were rumours that Montague and Southampton would be arrested for contemplating rebellion, but these seem to have been unfounded.⁴¹ Montague was aware of his vulnerability, and things must have been tense in West Sussex in the 1580s. Most of its aristocracy were in trouble – the Percys were in the Tower or under surveillance, and Henry Howard and Philip Howard were arrested. Montague was removed from his lord lieutenancy on the outbreak of war with Spain in 1585. Perhaps to test his loyalty, he was among the peers commissioned in October 1586 to try Mary, Queen of Scots. The threat of the Spanish Armada directly concerned this south coast county, and the commissioners of the peace were busy raising and maintaining troops. Montague was able to confirm his loyalty to Elizabeth when he actively supported the defence against the Armada by leading a troop of horsemen with his son and grandson. He seems to have lived on a fine line, loyal to the Queen but distrusted by many at court, because he was openly Catholic. It does not seem to have affected his standing or friendships locally. This was the situation when he played host to the progress in 1591.

These two noble families demonstrate contrasting ways of dealing with their standing in the region. The Wriothesleys based their interests elsewhere, and presumably their hospitality followed. Viscount Montague however, can be seen to

³⁸ Loseley Mss.

³⁹ M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 75-87, which explores the relationship between the Brownes, the Dacres and the Dormers.

⁴⁰ He was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex during the succession crisis and received a letter from the Privy Council in support of Lady Jane Grey on 8 July and a signet letter from her to the same effect on 10 July 1553. There is no evidence that he supported either faction, and his popularity in the region remained unscathed.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

have been actively engaged on local business throughout his working life, and perhaps he surmised that was his best way of keeping local support. We can see from the Loseley manuscripts that he frequently gave and received hospitality locally.⁴²

Most interesting of the local nobility from the point of view of the progresses were the Earls of Northumberland. Petworth House, about ten miles away from Cowdray, was owned by the Percy family, whose real authority and power was based in the north of England, but who had recently been made to live in the south by the Privy Council.⁴³ At the time of Henry VIII's visits, it was a modest manor house and although it was the centre of an estate which brought the family a substantial income, it had not been used regularly whilst the 6th Earl, Henry Algernon, concentrated on his property in the north of England.⁴⁴ This family was one of the most important in the kingdom, but also the most controversial. In 1537 the 6th Earl died, having broken up the family's large estates in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Cocker mouth, and in the same year his brother Sir Thomas was executed for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the third brother Ingram died in the Tower. The 7th Earl of Northumberland was executed in 1572 for his part in the Northern Rising of 1569. He was succeeded by his brother Henry, who managed to keep the title and estates, but was required to live in the south of England. Around 1574-76, the 8th Earl started to take an interest in Petworth house and undertook remedial work on the fabric. Neighbours around Petworth must have been watching events in the family with interest. A break-up of the southern estates would affect landowners in Sussex, possibly producing opportunities for aggrandisement of their own estates.

At the time of the 1591 progress, the 9th Earl, who had succeeded in 1585) was just beginning to rebuild Petworth.⁴⁵ His predecessors had fallen well out of favour (the last two died in the Tower), and Henry was to spend over twenty years there himself. When there had been some idea back in 1583 that his predecessor Henry the 8th Earl might have been asked to act as host, the latter had written:

her Majestie will never thank him that hath perswaded this progreysse considering the wayes by which she must come to them, up the hill and down the hill, so as she shall not be able to use ether coche or litter with ease, and those wayes also so full of louse stones, as it is carefull and painfull riding for any body, nether can ther be in this cuntrey any wayes devised to avoyd those ould wayes.⁴⁶

⁴² Loseley mss; see also Chapter 3.

⁴³ See Appendix 4: Map of great houses in the region.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 3: Gazetteer of houses.

⁴⁵ Batho, G.R., 'The Percies at Petworth 1574-1632', SAC, vol. 95 (1957), 1-27.

⁴⁶ TNA, PRO: SP 12/181, f.34.

The truth was that the 8th Earl did not want her to visit, perhaps because he may have been involved in a conspiracy with Charles Paget, a Roman Catholic conspirator who was in Sussex in the same period. He was certainly being accused of it by contemporaries.⁴⁷ William Durrant Cooper, writing in the nineteenth century, says that 'although the earl expressed pleasure at the contemplated honour, every quiet mode was adopted to put aside the visit'.⁴⁸ In contrast, Henry the 9th Earl was desperately trying to change his own image, acquired in his youth, of being more fonder of wine and women than of managing his estates.⁴⁹ According to Fonblanque the biographer of the Percy family, the 9th Earl, unlike his predecessor, would have welcomed a visit from his monarch.⁵⁰ However, in 1591 the Queen chose to ignore the Earl, coming down from Bramshott to Cowdray and then moving on to Chichester. At some time the decision was made not to visit the Earl, which must have been regarded as a snub to him, although the Queen restored the governship of Tynemouth Castle to him that year.⁵¹ It must have become evident that a visit was not in the 'giestes' because Henry chose to visit Bath⁵² as the progress set off, and he does not appear to have been on any of the guest lists for the progress. Although he was friendly with Montague, he was not necessarily in with the 'in-crowd' in that part of Sussex.⁵³

Nor does the Queen appear to have stayed in 1591 with the Bishop of Chichester, Thomas Bickley. The Bishop should have carried local weight and influence, and his position contrasted with that of the Bishop of Winchester, who was well used to entertaining royalty at his palaces. However, as possibly the oldest man consecrated under Elizabeth, Bickley has been seen as 'a tired old man slumbering away in his diocese ... the most procrastinatory bishop in England'.⁵⁴ However, Kenneth Carleton is kinder:

The balance of probabilities, however, is that he continued into old age as a conscientious administrator who monitored nonconformist activity, at least within the immediate vicinity of Chichester itself, and attempted to provide for regular sermons and other measures of control in a diocese where Catholicism remained more strongly entrenched among the ruling élite than anywhere else in the home counties.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ Fonblanque, E.B. de, *Annals of the House of Percy*, (London: Richard Clay, 1887), 164.

⁴⁸ Cooper, W.D., 'Queen Elizabeth's visits to Sussex' *SAC*, 5 (1852), 193.

⁴⁹ Batho, G.R. and Clucas, S., *A facsimile and transcript from the manuscripts of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland at Petworth House* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2002).

⁵⁰ Fonblanque, op.cit., 193.

⁵¹ Mark Nicholls, 'Percy, Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

⁵² *WSRO*, PHA 425 for 1591.

⁵³ Fonblanque, op.cit., 201 suggests that the Earl was indifferent to his magisterial duties in the south, and was reproached by Lord Buckhurst for declining to join the justices of Sussex in stopping the export of corn and munitions from the county.

⁵⁴ Manning, R., *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), 204.

⁵⁵ Carleton, K., 'Bickley, Thomas (c.1518–1596)', *ODNB*, 2004.

Bickley was seventy-three at the time of the progress. He may have been too old to fulfil his duties as host, and been excused. The Bishop's Palace was probably the largest residence in the city,⁵⁶ but the Queen was not always disposed to stay in the biggest places available.

We now turn to the 'upper gentry', the leading men in the region.⁵⁷ These men looked both locally and further afield for influence and power, and their standing in the local community contributed to their success or otherwise. The adage of 'one generation building, one consolidating, and the third generation ruining their success' certainly applied to the Palmers of Parham, who never achieved the standing of their cousins at New Place in Angmering. Part of this was probably due to a quick succession of deaths of the heirs to Parham in the 1580s, and also a lack of interest in the property and the area on the part of the younger generation.⁵⁸ Robert Palmer had bought Parham in 1540, when he was in his 60s: the estate was manorial land once owned by the Abbey of Westminster, and available through the dissolution of the monasteries. The property consisted at that time of some land – not a park – with a steward or bailiff's substantial farmhouse on it. With hindsight, we can see Robert Palmer's intentions of aggrandizement and work out who were the people he was hoping to impress. Robert was the second son of John Palmer of Angmering, but he styled himself and his family 'of Parham', even when he and his son were staying at Goodwood, probably whilst building work was going on at Parham.⁵⁹ During his lifetime he went on buying up Sussex property. Robert and his father were members of the Mercers' Company of London, the foremost Livery Company, and they wanted a property which would reflect their status. Members of the family in Angmering were forging careers as Treasurers of Guisnes (near Calais) under Henry VIII.⁶⁰ Robert himself died and was buried on 14 May 1544 at Parham, thus marking it as the family seat. He must have hoped that his own branch of the family were rising in importance, and that he could establish this with a new house and a large estate. However, it would be another thirty years before the foundations of a new house were laid, and by 1598 his great grandson Thomas was unwilling or unable to keep the house.⁶¹ By 1591, the family did not have the standing to be invited to the events at Cowdray on the royal progress.

⁵⁶ Morgan, R., *Chichester*, 160.

⁵⁷ See Appendix 1: Gentry Database, section 2.

⁵⁸ Fitzwilliam, A.W., *Parham in Sussex* (London: Batsford, 1947), 39-49.

⁵⁹ Portsmouth Museum and Records Office: 'Copies of Divers parts of the ancient book of evidence in the possession of the Devises in trust of the late Earl of Halifax 1787', including survey of Goodwood house 1575: 780A/1/1/5.

⁶⁰ APC, I. Letters from the Privy Council were sent regularly to him, concerning the governance of the province.

⁶¹ It was leased and then sold to the Bishops in 1598 and 1601 respectively.

One of the most interesting of these gentry, from the point of view of the progresses, was Edmund Mervyn of Bramshott, who was a host on the 1591 progress. He was a significant landowner in the area of Rogate, Petersfield and Durford.⁶² The family was what we might term 'nouveau riche', having, like the Palmers and many more, taken advantage of the active land market of the 1570s.⁶³ They were a cadet branch of the Mervyns of Fonthill Gifford in Wiltshire, which could trace its roots back to the fifteenth century.⁶⁴ The family had been in Rogate some time, so they were well known locally.⁶⁵ Mervyn would probably have conducted business from the great hall of his house, so people in the area would have been familiar with his name and his influence. It would still have been a great honour to play host to Elizabeth I, and there may have been a change of route to accommodate him.⁶⁶

By the 1570s, several of the gentry of this region had increased their power and wealth through the land market or working for the crown or both. Sir William More of Loseley would count himself amongst these men: he had influence in all three counties. He owned a solid comfortable mansion house at Loseley near Guildford, and his relatives included people at court (such as his son-in-law, Richard Polsted), and he numbered his friends amongst the nobility, such as Sir Anthony Browne. The Queen visited him at Loseley four times.⁶⁷ Sir William was a meticulous man, holding many local offices as a JP, commissioner of the peace, an MP for Guildford and Surrey and serving on other commissions. Despite being obviously fastidious, he seems to have been well-liked. He enjoyed the friendship of hugely powerful people at court: William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln; Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester; and Sir Francis Walsingham; and also of Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester.⁶⁸ However he does not seem to have aspired to the same lifestyle.

A contrasting example of a member of the upper gentry over-reaching himself was Thomas Sherley, of Wiston, who had inherited a stone manor house on the edge of the Downs near Steyning, where he was born. Sherley married Anne,

⁶² From his will, it would appear that he owned extensive lands in the region, and his son's *ODNB* entry describes him as of Durford and Petersfield: McCaughey, R., 'Mervyn, Sir Henry (*bap.* 1583, *d.* 1646)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁶³ Bramshott was bought by his father Henry in 1580 (*WSRO*, Add. Ms. 47347), and various title deeds at *WSRO* and *HRO* show the family to be involved in the very active land market at this time, in particular, *WSRO*, Add Mss series, Parham and Goodwood collections and *HRO*, various.

⁶⁴ Thrush & Ferris, *The History of Parliament*, V, 319.

⁶⁵ Some of his twelve children were baptised (and some of those buried) at Rogate in Sussex (*WSRO*, Par 159/1/1/1). His presence in the area would have brought him to the attention of William More, who would have appreciated his Puritan leanings (see *ODNB*, op.cit.).

⁶⁶ See chapter 9, p.3.

⁶⁷ His father Christopher had served at court in the same generation as Gage, Wriothesley, Sir Anthony Browne and William Fitzwilliam. He had bought a medieval manor house at Loseley, but it was his son William who built the present house from 1562.

⁶⁸ Robison W.B., 'More, Sir Christopher (*b.* in or before 1483, *d.* 1549)', *ODNB*, 2004.

daughter of Thomas Kempe of Wye, Kent on 20 February 1560, and they had ten or twelve children, including three sons, Thomas, Anthony and Robert in the succeeding decades, all born at Wiston.⁶⁹ Sherley evidently saw local influence as important; he entered local politics and had a good annual income, about £1,000 from his landed property, and he also had an interest in the iron industry in Sussex, including a furnace from about 1580. He was knighted by the Queen at Rye on 12 August 1573, and some time around that date he must have decided he needed a larger house, which he built in the following two years. In 1588, he was one of fifteen Sussex gentry to pay over £100 to the war effort.⁷⁰ However it was this period in which his debts began to mount up. Despite being treasurer for the war in the Low Countries in the 1580s, Sherley became insolvent and then bankrupt. The rest of his career was spent evading his debts to the Crown.⁷¹ Although Sherley himself was something of a survivor, the family lost the house to the Crown, and his sons inherited huge debts. Their influence in the region disappeared with the sale of the house.

The experiences of these gentry families show that although mercantile or military careers might take the men away from the region for some of the year, the focus of their family was in the neighbourhood, concentrating on building and embellishing their country seats and furthering their dynastic ambitions. Unlike the two noble families seen above, marriage and friendship ties were mainly local for the gentry, and offices within local government were important to further their careers and increase patronage.

The business network in the region

The *Acts of the Privy Council*⁷² show clearly that the Privy Council relied on the upper gentry to keep order in the counties. Justices of the Peace who were called to be on ad hoc commissions would probably be from the upper gentry level of society. Men with specific tasks tended to be those who were on the rise, having proved themselves in the routine commissions of array or in the Assizes. These would be appointed to work such as serving on commissions on recusancy or military musters in the late 1580s, or on a commission to check out the numbers of horses in each county.⁷³ They would bring their work to the Quarter Sessions, the main unit of local government at this time. Quarter Sessions were held four times a year in the main towns of each county, and for Sussex they had been divided into

⁶⁹ <http://www.familysearch.org>

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ J. Pennington, 'Sherley, Sir Thomas (c.1542–1612)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁷² *APC*, new series, (London: HMSO, 1890-1900).

⁷³ SHC, 643/1 comprises JP documents from the Carew of Beddington papers, showing the types of work they were expected to do (643/1/9, 23 June 1605) together with various orders from the Privy Council and lists of JPs. TNA, PRO: SP 12/144/65 is a letter of complaint from Viscount Mountague and the Earl of Northumberland about the impossibility of undertaking county surveys in Sussex, 18 Nov 1580.

western and eastern divisions for 'time out of mind'.⁷⁴ In contrast, the justices of the Assizes were not particularly well off or high-ranking, nor were they called on to work on commissions. The Assizes therefore provide an interesting window on the operation and movements of the lower ranking gentry, but generally it appears that these people were not hosts to a royal progress in Elizabeth's reign, nor did they own the size of house that would attract a monarch.⁷⁵

The Privy Council kept a close eye on the men 'serving on commissions. In 1587, a certificate was made up, listing them under each rape, with comments on their loyalty and their religion. For Bramber Rape East, the certificate comments: 'Mr. Thos. Sherley, Knight, Mr. Tho. Bishop, Mr. John Sakwyll; good justices - young men.'⁷⁶ It was important to the Privy Council that these men could represent it in the shires, and that they could be trusted. A letter to the Lord Chancellor of 5 May 1591 shows that neither Thomas Sherley nor Thomas Palmer was at home in Sussex:

Being given to understand that her Majestie's services in the countie of Sussex can not be so wel performed as were requisite in respect that both the number of the Deputie Lieutenantes thear residing is so small, as also for that some of them for other just causes can not give such attendance thear as ys convenient, Sir Thomas Sherley by reason of Her Highnes' services there [sic] for the Lowe Countries, being continually employed in these cawses, and Sir Thomas Palmer, being now with his wife and family to remaine with his house at Blackwall, so as then only two remaining, namely Walter Covert and Nicholas Parker, esquires, and their owne urgent occasions manie times calling them out of the shire, the service in such case cannot be executed for that under the number of two noe service can be accomplished.⁷⁷

The Privy Council seemed to be worried about unrest in the county – or perhaps its members thought the work devolved on the remaining deputy lieutenants was too great. There were two lieutenants for the whole of Sussex, but these had several deputy lieutenants under them. It was unusual to have so many, and it has been suggested that the county had many different factions amongst the gentry⁷⁸ – but this cannot have been unusual for England as a whole, and it is probable that the west-to-east length of the whole of Sussex and the difficulties of communication with London were the more likely causes. In the letter cited above, Viscount Montague and the Earl of Northumberland complain about the length of Sussex:

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1: Gentry Database, where all three of the sections representing different classes of gentry contain JPs.

⁷⁵ Most of the names appearing in Assize records have not been used in this analysis, because they do not relate to the class of people involved with the progresses.

⁷⁶ Ellis, H. and Cooper, W.D., 'Certificate concerning the justices of the peace in Sussex in 1587', *SAC*, 2 (1849), 58–62.

⁷⁷ *APC, 1591* (New series, vol. XXI, 1900).

⁷⁸ Manning, *Religion*, 222.

for at thys time there ys not one of the commissioners to whome yr Ld ys directed within this countrye but onlie wee two, who not be able considring the lardgnes of the countre, the time of the year the farr distanc of our parte of the shier which ys now then three score miles from henc to execut this service as is by your L appointed.⁷⁹

The role of JP within gentry society therefore gives a good indication as to how these networks were working and who was on the rise.⁸⁰ Those serving on certain commissions or attending Quarter Sessions were noticed by the royal government more than those called to Assizes. It may be that the latter was a starting point for a political career in the locality, but the men involved must have realised they would need to rise through the ranks in order to achieve better and more worthwhile patronage.

Occasionally, a commissioner or JP would give problems to the Privy Council, for example Thomas Palmer's daughter Elizabeth, who had married John Leedes of Steyning, a recusant, and the couple had fled abroad. This was a marriage that did not work out, and in 1577 she wanted to come home to Parham. Thomas Palmer, well aware that some regarded him as having Catholic leanings (nothing was proved, but other members of the family were suspected as well⁸¹), decided he would have to let the Privy Council know. And quite rightly; they were most interested:

11 October [probably at Windsor]

A letter to Thomas Sherley, knight, and – Morley, esquire, that where their Lordships are informed from Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, thelder, of that countie, of the arrival of his daughter, wief unto Mr. Leedes, fugitive beyonde the seas, whome the said Sir Thomas refuseth to deale withal unless it maie stande with their Lordships' good favour and liking, they are required to call Mistress Leedes before them, and to examyn her of the cause of her returne into this realm, where and with whome she hath remained during her absence, and whether she canne be contented upon her abode here to lyve as a dutifull and an obedient subject towards her Majestie and the lawes of this realm, and therof to advertise their Lordships.⁸²

This incident shows how someone working for the government as a commissioner and a JP still had his own priorities, and sometimes these clashed. He took his daughter back, but he knew he had to have the permission of central government first. This sort of incident might well spoil one's chances of being picked to host a royal progress.

⁷⁹ TNA, PRO: SP 12/144/65.

⁸⁰ See also Gleason, J.H., *The Justices of the Peace in England 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), chapter 2, where the network of the JPs in Kent is discussed.

⁸¹ Manning, *Religion*, 83.

⁸² *APC* (New series, X, 1577-78 HMSO, 1895), 50.

Personal relationships amongst these men

The exercise of taking various networks within the gentry, and looking at different concerns within those groups shows that it is a mistake to talk about the gentry as an entity. Different historical views of the gentry in the past have provided different groupings, for example the 'county community' or the 'Catholic community'.⁸³ There were other tensions within local society which were not political or religious, and this account now turns an unusual categorization; that of age, which would have been an important factor to draw people together. Age influences relationships, and in this society it would also influence what they would offer in terms of hospitality.⁸⁴ For example, by 1540 Thomas Wriothesley, William Fitzwilliam and Anthony Browne, and also Thomas Howard and John Gage, may be seen to have formed an 'old guard' of the area.⁸⁵ Howard and Gage were in their 60s; Fitzwilliam and Browne were 50 and 40 respectively, and Wriothesley was 35. They had made their money and fortunes at Henry VIII's court; they had been at court through the difficult period of the 1530s; and they must have given each other support in the increasingly volatile court of the 1540s. In the latter years of the reign they had lived through dangerous times, but they were old enough to remember court life when Henry VIII was young and glamorous. Their shared experience perhaps formed a bond between them. This group were consequently from a different generation from the rising gentry such as the Palmer and Lewkenor families. Their friendship bonds would have been closer than those of mere business associates, and they would have been able to support each other in offering hospitality, influence or patronage.

The role of the younger generation in the area made a difference to the power and local standing of a family, but does not seem to have influenced where the Queen stayed, despite her penchant for young men at court. Fifty years later, the people she went to see on the 1591 progress, and those she took with her, were mostly of her generation.⁸⁶ One of the noticeable aspects of the 1591 progress is the age of the group of people involved. The Queen was 58, Anthony Browne was 63. Amongst the visitors from the court, William Cecil was 71, Thomas Sackville was 58, Henry Carey was 65, Henry Lee 58, William Broke 64, Thomas Heneage just about 60. The local gentry greeting them were not much younger: William More was 71, Lord Lumley 58, Thomas and Sir Richard Lewkenor were 53 and 49 respectively and Thomas Sherley was 49. Presumably, they were finding the constant travel and inconvenience even more uncomfortable than during earlier progresses.

⁸³ Manning, *Religion*; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

⁸⁴ See chapter 6, where personal preferences of hospitality are discussed in more detail.

⁸⁵ See Appendix 2: Prosopography.

⁸⁶ See chapter 9.

Another aspect in looking at the ages of the people concerned is that it is possible to work out when people were bringing up families in the region, and would have that in common – for example William More and the first Thomas Palmer were exactly the same age. They would have met through their work as both were JPs and on various commissions in Sussex and their families were the same generation, and so they would have similar problems and outlooks. We have no evidence for a close relationship, but it is fair to surmise there was some sort of friendship. Similarly the friendship between Sir Anthony Browne and Thomas Wriothesley was not just based on their relationship at court or even their shared Catholicism, but that Jane Wriothesley and Viscount Montague were the same age. In 1566 Southampton married Mary, the daughter of Viscount Montague, indicating that the Brownes and Wriothesleys kept their friendship over the intervening twenty-odd years. Similar ages had contributed to friendship, which in turn had led to kinship connections.

Thomas Wriothesley had died in 1550, but his widow Jane was to live on for many years yet. She may have been as much as fifteen years younger than Thomas, and much the same age as Montague, and they both had teenage children at this time. Henry her son was now twenty-one, and Mary was between fifteen and twenty years old. The match was a love match, but turned hostile despite both families' best efforts. Their son, also Henry, was used as a go-between until he was forbidden to see his mother. Henry the father was arrested on 18 June 1570 for intriguing with the Spanish ambassador, Guerau de Spes, and for suspected involvement in the conspiracy to marry Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, to Mary, queen of Scots. He was placed under house arrest with Sir William More at Loseley from July to November 1570, which must have caused some embarrassment for Montague, who had a strong friendship with Sir William. However, the confinement passed amicably, and Southampton said he was treated with consideration and courtesy. Familial relationships were a key factor in making society operate smoothly or otherwise.⁸⁷

Several marriages did not work well, or fell apart: John Leedes and Elizabeth Palmer; Thomas Palmer (III) and Dorothy Mallett; Henry Wriothesley and Mary Browne; and Henry, the 9th Earl of Northumberland and Dorothy, who were reconciled again. Some of these marriages were made for dynastic reasons, but that does not seem to have been the main reason for the failure. Closer examination of the individuals suggests personal reasons – the personalities of those involved, or strong feelings over religion. From this, we may surmise that

⁸⁷ Questier, M., *Catholicism and Community*, 83. See chapter 6 for a discussion on house arrest, and chapter 9 discusses the effect this had on the progress.

their relations must have found it difficult to work together, as family matters were very important.⁸⁸ Ages and personal relations were instrumental in the smooth running of the administration of the area; discomfort and bad feeling would have had an impact on hospitality offered within the upper gentry and nobility, and made offering and receiving patronage awkward.

When a visit from a monarch became a reality for provincial society, some things changed temporarily, and some 'more permanently'. A royal progress distorted the hierarchy of social order in a community and also confirmed it. It distorted it because the normal routine of hospitality was disrupted; instead of being able to continue with the usual round of visiting family, touring estates, dealing with business and, whilst doing so, perhaps even going on their own little progresses, the landed gentry were expected to prepare for the visit in all sorts of aspects, and perhaps attend for as much as a week. At the same time, the progress confirmed the hierarchy in local communities because it gave added status to those involved. It emphasized and re-established everyone in their place, slighting people like Henry Percy, who may not have been part of local society anyway, and bringing to the fore lesser landowning gentry who were doing well in their own locality. From the point of view of the Privy Council, the presence of a progress in a region underpinned society there – its political masters were able to check and confirm the ways in which it was working. It is also possible to see how the two sides of the conundrum, referred to above, applied to all parts of the community, when the area was being visited by royalty. It was as important for individual members of the gentry as it was for society collectively. Natalie Mears emphasizes the importance of the individual when discussing a subject usually referred to in group terms:

I see the court as a collection of individuals, some with official positions, others without - rather than an institution or a physical space, circumscribed by the palace walls or dictated by proximity to Elizabeth.⁸⁹

Here she is referring to the court, but the point applies equally to provincial society - relationships, patronage and attitudes of hospitality were held by individuals, as well as by the community. For example, Stephen Alford emphasizes in his biography of William Cecil⁹⁰ the importance of family as an institution to Lord

⁸⁸ More work could be done on the women in these families – how much say they had in the building of their house, and in subsequent hospitality; whether they led the same lives as their husbands, going to and from London, or stayed in the county and brought their children up there. There is work being carried out by Dr J. Eales and others for the period of the Civil War on this level, but there is a need for more work on sixteenth century women, and how civil changes in the work of the gentry and ideas of hospitality made changes in their domestic routines.

⁸⁹ Mears, N., *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9.

⁹⁰ Alford, S., *Burghley: William Cecil at the court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2008), chapter 10.

Burghley in a number of key areas - position, power, inheritance, lands. Each host had, in the end, to deal with the visit of the monarch in his own house on his own terms. These things were important to the society in the region as well, and were reflected in rites of hospitality.

Contact with London

The Reformation, too, had a part to play in the changing residential landscape, which in turn affected property owners from the southern counties. The world was being turned upside down and 'new' gentry had little respect for the traditions of those long-established in the ranks. Provincial life was changing, but the most rapid transformation was in the culture of those who had contact with London. The region is largely rural, and possibly because of this, the lure of London and the court became stronger during this period, and families based in this region began to spend more of their time at their London houses. Heal discusses the counterbalancing of court life and country life for the gentry:

...The notion that London exercised an increasing pull upon the élite is not entirely mythic: its attractive force undoubtedly did affect a growing group of families from the Elizabethan period onwards, with the 1580s and 1590s apparently marking the beginnings of a significant change in their patterns of behaviour.⁹¹

At the beginning of the period, the aristocracy or upper gentry were borrowing or renting houses for short terms in London; Heal remarks on the greater families achieving permanent contact with court by keeping a senior member of the family permanently in London.⁹² By the 1620s people began to buy larger properties, and their presence in London turned from *piéds à terre* for brief visits, into places to stay for a significant part of the year and in which owners could entertain visitors in a fashionable style.

One of the things that emerges clearly from the conclusions of this thesis is the contrast between court life and the life of the gentry at their seats in the country. As in the present day, London life was exciting and innovative. It was where new fashions were being created and styles of living could be copied. Although the Court obviously attracted people to London, it was newly fashionable areas such as the Strand, Fleet Street and the growing importance of the mercantile centre of the city which were developing at an accelerating rate during the sixteenth century. The law courts also provided places to meet friends and new acquaintances and opportunities for new patronage. Traditionally historians have put the move towards London later than this, into the early seventeenth century,

⁹¹ Heal, *Hospitality*, 142.

⁹² *Ibid.*

and to treat the period as the prequel to greater things in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁹³ However, a closer look at a cross-section of the gentry community, such as this thesis on Sussex and Hampshire gentry, suggests an earlier date.

The nobility would have had a town house in London, if they could afford it, for ease of access to court, since royal patronage and royal appointments of Sheriffs and Lord Lieutenants mattered crucially in regional politics. During the sixteenth century, these houses became as important as their country seats. Although their style of living in the countryside was considered more virtuous than that in the city, growing numbers of landed families travelled to London for the emerging winter season, visiting court and participating in the latest fashions.⁹⁴ Anthony Browne's daughter Jane married at Southampton House in 1566 rather than from Cowdray. Her father-in-law, Henry Wriothesley of Titchfield, was a good example of a courtier finding it at least as important to have a fine house in London. The active property market of the early Reformation provided the same opportunities in London as in the courtiers' home counties, and they chose to seize the opportunity. In 1594, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, caught by the credit crunch, used the property to his advantage by leasing out part of Southampton House. Another noble from the region with a presence in London was Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, who rented Nonsuch Palace in the 1550s from the crown, and became its custodian. Later it was taken by the Lumley family, who had previously had a house in Hart Street near Tower Hill. It seems likely that Lumley erected the grove of Diana, England's first allegorical garden (an area of inscriptions, sculptures, and tableaux away from the formal privy garden) at Nonsuch as an apology for his involvement in the Ridolfi Plot. In 1592 it was agreed that he would give Nonsuch to the queen but remain resident as keeper. He was allowed a lease on the great park and was excused from paying after a few years. Lumley's library was one of the largest in Elizabethan England. It was housed at Nonsuch and contained nearly 3000 books. These people were beginning to move their lives into London, even though they may still have seen their country seat as their home.

⁹³ There is no separate social history for London in the sixteenth century, but Porter, R., *London: a social history* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994) discusses gentry as developers changing the status of areas, and Stone, L. *Family and Fortune: studies in aristocratic finance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) also discusses urban development in London, and the part played by the Wriothesley family.

⁹⁴ Historians such as Lawrence Stone made much of this gap, but in 1970s and 1980s this was criticized. Court and country could not become radically separated. Gentry needed to worry simultaneously about their reputation among their neighbours and their standing at court, and when two came into conflict, they were caught in middle. Smuts, R.M., *Culture and power in England 1585-1685* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 80.

Sandwiched between the hubs of the Strand where many nobility were building large town houses, and the City which was prospering, was the area of Blackfriars. In the sixteenth century it was developing into a very active and newly-fashionable place to live, for the gentry who were spending more and more time in London. The site of the dissolved monastery was in an excellent position for men like William More. It was still inside the city walls near Ludgate, close to the expanding mercantile activity of the City of London. To the west, quite walkable, were the Inns of Court, the legal centre of the kingdom during the law terms. Further west lay the grand mansions on the Strand, belonging to nobles such as the Duke of Somerset and later William Cecil. Here was another centre of power, as the administration of government spread outwards from Westminster. Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Tents and Revels for the royal court acquired the site of the monastery in 1550.⁹⁵ He bequeathed it to William More of Loseley in 1559, and it was Sir William who saw the potential of the site and developed the residential area, so that by 1625 it was an important place in which to have a foothold, and many of the gentry for Sussex and Hampshire put down roots there.⁹⁶ Thomas Sherley had a town house there in the 1570s. These gentry families from Sussex and Hampshire were turning more to London for entertainment and social networking and patronage, and Blackfriars seems to have been a popular place to settle.

Men leading a more rural life did not have the same values as urban gentry, who were more influenced by the new wealth produced in trade, through the property market or in investments overseas. In towns and cities, led by London and the court, wealth, office-holding and lifestyle became more important than land ownership and one's standing in the community. By the seventeenth century, these were the criteria that mattered to a new and upwardly-mobile society.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the nobility and gentry of the region who were most involved with the progresses. It has built up a picture of a society in tension and coping with the changes forced upon them over the course of the sixteenth century. Inevitably, it has had to have a general tenor; Heal comments that we need a

⁹⁵ Robison, W.B., 'Cawarden, Sir Thomas (c.1514-1559)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

⁹⁶ The *ODNB* allows a sight of social networks at work. The Earls of Northumberland, the Sherleys, William More, and various gentry from the region started settling in and around Blackfriars and the Strand in London. Other property holders were as varied as the Archbishops of Canterbury and the theatre group to which Shakespeare belonged. Such entries let us see the growth in popularity of Blackfriars, and why people from provincial Surrey and West Sussex might wish to have a foothold here

Continuous awareness of the dangers of assuming that new ideas were necessarily modifiers of behaviour; at the complex interface between ideas and action a variety of possible causal patterns can be discerned, and indeed any form of monocausal explanation for something as elusive as a decline in hospitality may prove inappropriate.⁹⁷

In the framework in which these men spent their business and leisure time, the nobility and gentry of the region were no different from their equivalent all over England. Within the increasingly flexible hierarchy, men worked to attract patronage for themselves and their family. The most powerful amongst them used the court or their standing locally to do so; the upper gentry used their work on commissions and in local government to bring them wealth and power. The next chapter explores the way in which they were developing these relationships and how the network was developed. It does this again in terms of hospitality and visiting, and by showing the important part that their country houses had to play in this.

⁹⁷ Heal, *Hospitality*, 94.

Chapter 6 Houses and 'Visitor Patterns'

This thesis has defined the number of houses available for hospitality on a large scale and what they were like.¹ There were several grand houses owned by the aristocracy, and used for highly sophisticated entertainment, such as Cowdray and Elvetham. We have also seen how Elizabeth often stayed at smaller houses such as Loseley and Bramshott. This chapter further defines ways in which these houses were normally used. It first concentrates on patterns of visiting and the practical ways in which the network of gentry and aristocracy interacted with each other. It discusses familial and business visiting, and dutiful hospitality, such as house arrests. It also examines types of entertainment available, which will contrast with the magnificent entertainment offered to Elizabeth, and discussed in the next two chapters. This grounds the thesis in the social and hospitality network in the region and shows how a royal progress might interrupt or support them. Much of the source material for daily business and family visiting is taken from the detailed accounts of William More, and this chapter leans heavily on these documents.² It then examines further the ways in which these people tried to make their houses attractive for visitors, and how new ideas on hospitality influenced architectural fashions. The increased activity in building in the second half of the sixteenth century brought these aspects to the fore, and this chapter explores whether Sussex and Hampshire were able to keep up with the latest fashions, because the actions of people like Robert Dudley³ suggest that everything must be at the absolute best in order to attract the monarch. How would they express comfort and luxury?

Patterns of hospitality

Much of the visiting took place on a larger scale than perhaps we are used to now. The scale of such exchanges amongst upper gentry would be unfamiliar to us, but *Gosford Park*,⁴ the film of a 1930s week-end house party at a country house, gives some idea. In it, each aristocratic guest brought a valet or maid, or more than one, and the organisation below stairs was enormous and detailed. During the early sixteenth century, a great house might expect to entertain nearly the same number of people as in the household originally. By then, within large aristocratic households those who were present in the house but not members of the household might be as much as 30-50% of the total; in other words a third to a half were visitors for business or friendship reasons. Hospitality was a fact of life in such a household, not

¹ See chapter 3.

² Loseley mss. Other family manuscripts, such as the Jervoise of Herriard papers at HRO do not contain this level of detail for personal visiting.

³ Robert Dudley's efforts to welcome Elizabeth and show off his magnificence aroused much interest at the time. 'The context of the 1575 progress' (Simon Adams) at the conference *Kenilworth Revisited*, September 2005.

⁴ 'Gosford Park', directed by Robert Altman, 2001.

an occasional event, as it is now.⁵ Perceptions of obligations of hospitality continue on into the Tudor and early Stuart period; there was an added anxiety that guests might turn up uninvited,⁶ and a gentleman was still expected to keep open house and offer unexpected visitors the same hospitality as if he had anticipated them. The financial implications of hospitality, whether routine, planned or surprise, exercised the minds of authors of advice books of the period. The 9th Earl of Northumberland, in his *Advices* to his son, wrote:

'where men resort, meate must be had, and where ouer-abundance of meate is, there men will be noe strangers'. The 'mans care, if this hospitallitie be nourished, must be content to trudge abroade; to employ his wife at home; and not to spare the heels of his horse and cater in the service.'⁷

Consequently a modern reader has to be careful not to over-emphasize the burden of a royal progress. Although entertaining the Queen would mean more magnificent and expensive entertainment than for one's peers, gentry society was set up for large-scale visits.

Then as now, visits could be formal and planned, or friendly interchanges. Individual visiting friends could be casual: where we would text or telephone in the present day, a letter could be a quick form of communication, and a note in the Loseley manuscripts shows this: in September 1575, Thomas Stoughton found he could not, after all, visit that evening, but hoped to meet William's son-in-law, Richard Polsted, in Guildford Park with his dogs the following morning, and come on from there.⁸ Heal discusses the excessive sentimental and gratuitous courtesy practised by some: Thomas Meautys wrote to Lady Cornwallis: 'I shall wish my own house on fier every time I see you passe by it to sleep in any other'.⁹ On the other hand, people could be as particular as they are now: a letter from Robert Balam to William More's wife, who was not known for her flexibility, says he will visit, but he must be allowed 'to go when I list to, come when I list to, eat when I list, leave when I list and to use such mirth as with my old years best agreeth'.¹⁰ Otherwise more formal arrangements might be made, especially by those with more standing: a letter from Montague's steward, Anthony Garnett, tells of Montague being on a 'petty progress', visiting the Countess of Arundel at Arundel, Lord and Lady Lumley at Stansted, then briefly Cowdray 'to see his works', Petworth or Parham and then Battle.¹¹

⁵ Chris Woolgar discusses this aspect in *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 23-24.

⁶ Heal, *Hospitality*, 55.

⁷ Batho, G.R. and Clucas, S., A facsimile and transcript from the manuscripts of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland at Petworth House (London: Roxburghe Club, 2002), 38.

⁸ SHC: LM/COR/3/183, 26 Jul 1575.

⁹ Heal, *Hospitality*, 195.

¹⁰ SHC:LM/COR/3/627, undated [1567 x 1571].

¹¹ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/8/80, undated, 1576 x 1587 Some of the nobility, such as Viscount Montague, still used the summer to go on long tours, in imitation of royal progresses, but also carrying out a tradition that went back to at least the fifteenth century.

As well as official and obligatory occasions, visits and visiting played an important part in the ideas of what a gentleman ought to do, and besides that, they could relieve the boredom of a country existence. Heal and Holmes call these visits by friends and family 'relatively routine'.¹² The social round might produce a summer of 'interlocking progresses', such as that of Montague above. Owners of landed estates would spend the summer checking their property and visiting friends as well. At Ladyday (March) and Michaelmas (September) they or their steward might travel to collect rents. Similarly churchmen had their own progresses to make, such as archdeaconary or diocesan visitations, or the Bishop touring his see or palaces. These tours could be lengthy, and the visitor would expect to stay with friends, in local great houses, or in inns. Gentry society would visit in much the same way as we see in the novels of Jane Austen in the early nineteenth century. Having made a journey of over fifty miles, one might expect to stay with friends or cousins for some time. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Jane Bennett goes to London to stay with her aunt and uncle for several weeks.¹³ It would be nice to find certain families visiting others always at the same times of year, but surviving records for this region are not detailed enough.¹⁴ However, such visiting was carried out, particularly in summer, and was also influenced by the rituals of the year, such as Christmas or Easter.

The rituals of the year and patterns of visiting

Then as now, society life was dictated by yearly rituals, especially religious ones, and this gives us some insight to the conduct of everyday life, and when hospitality was at its most stretched.¹⁵ Various festivals over the year offered a number of occasions when the gentry would be expected to provide food or entertainment to their workers or family. 'The routines of specific great houses seem to have varied according to local tradition, but must have been well known in their own neighbourhoods...'¹⁶ The year fell into a pattern, and hospitality was offered accordingly;¹⁷ the gentry were required at home in their country seat for religious festivals and hospitable obligations, but equally they were drawn towards London for court events and legal requirements in some months. This chapter will now look more closely at this.

¹² Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, 288.

¹³ Austen, J., *Pride and Prejudice* (1813, London: Penguin Classics, 1996), chapter 26.

¹⁴ There is some correspondence in the 'F' section of the Jervoise of Herriard papers at HRO, for 1604 onwards, concentrating on family news and household matters, and the Loseley manuscripts at SHC also mention such visits.

¹⁵ For the persistence of a liturgical calendar in governing movements of the royal court and household, see Kisby, F., 'Kingship and the royal itinerary: a study of the peripatetic household of the early Tudor kings, 1485-1547', *Court Historian*, 4:1 (1999), 29-39

¹⁶ Heal, *Hospitality*, 73.

¹⁷ See Appendix 6: 'The Year's Calendar for the Gentry'.

We have seen that philanthropic hospitality was considered a duty, but in practical terms it was easier for a landowner to offer hospitality to dependents and tenants than to strangers. Because everyone knew their status, everyone knew what they were expected to give or receive, and that the country house owner would make sure he was present on such occasions. On the other hand, the issue of offering largesse to strangers or the poor was a topic for contemporary commentators,¹⁸ and it seems to have been an uncomfortable matter. The ritual of gentry providing food for the poor may have grown up as an obligation after the dissolution of the monasteries, although there had always been the obligation to provide for the 'poor at the gate'. Felicity Heal and Ronald Hutton have suggested that the gentry may not have felt obliged to be at home for these expressions of philanthropic hospitality.¹⁹ The poor were served on several such feast days, for example on St. Thomas's Day, 21 December, which was a customary day on which to provide for them, either by leaving parcels at their doors, or providing a huge dinner. The idea of crossing social barriers in order to offer largesse was not taken up with enthusiasm by the gentry during this period.²⁰

Christmas was the obvious time for providing a feast for tenants, sometimes over several days, if the number of tenants involved was high.²¹ It was originally given for services rendered, and the tenants would supplement the food themselves, but by the sixteenth century the size of this feast depended on the generosity and status of the gentleman host. In 1588 Sir William More was advised that New Year's Day was the best time to bestow charity to tenants, in the form of several joints of meat.²² In winter, traditional hospitality would draw the gentry and aristocracy back home if they were not needed at court. They were obliged by custom to provide employment for actors, mummers, wassailers and musicians seeking employment. The twelve days were as important at a local level as they were at court, and this was a time for family and friends to get together, for example in 1584 Anthony Browne was invited to Loseley and wrote that he hoped to be there for Twelfth Night.²³ Winter feasts were popular, but Candlemas in February was officially reduced in status after the Reformation. The latter brought a ban on processing with candles in church, but the festival was still marked in the calendar, as part of the entertainments season. Chancery business at this time of year might keep gentry in London, and, delightfully, William More expected to be in London because the reading of the Lottery was to take

¹⁸ Carew, *Survey of Cornwall 1602*, 78-79; Heal, *Hospitality*, 97.

¹⁹ Heal, 85; Hutton, R., *The stations of the sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), chapter 6.

²⁰ I am indebted to Susan Millard, my colleague at West Sussex Record Office, who suggests that 'there was an element of largesse actually being *demande*d, and a more equal expectations of right prevailed, the usual order of society being overturned on these occasions - a reminder to the powerful of the threat of 'the mob', if discontented, even if only temporary'. This may have created a more pragmatic attitude towards charity than I have suggested.

²¹ Heal & Holmes, *Gentry*, 286.

²² SHC, Loseley mss, LM/COR/6/96.

²³ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/8/122.

place in February 1567.²⁴ He had to be there because he was a collector of the monies (contributions seem to have been compulsory, at least for the gentry).²⁵ Shrovetide was also marked (and used to date documents), as the end of a chain of cold season celebrations. Shrove Tuesday was (and is) the last day before Lent, which was a period when traditional fasting was taken seriously. Celebrations (the precursors of the Mardi Gras) involved lots of drink and food before fasting and scarcity became the norm for the forty days of Lent.²⁶ Royal and aristocratic household accounts show payments for food and entertainment at this festival.²⁷ It was another opportunity for being with the family, but also a good time for business as the improvement in weather made it easier to travel.²⁸

The Loseley letters show that William More expected to be at home for Easter, if possible, but would be carrying out business there.²⁹ A landlord might be expected to be at home for Easter in order to take communion on that day.³⁰ This became increasingly important in the second half of the sixteenth century, when participating in holy communion was a sign of orthodox faith, and refusing to do so might be taken for Catholicism. The Bishop of Winchester also expected to be at home, that is Wolvesey in Winchester, for Easter, but was travelling to London on Easter Monday 1582.³¹ This shows the importance of being with the court, even setting off immediately after the most important day of the year at Winchester Cathedral.

Visiting, both for family and business, took place mostly in the late spring and summer months, as we might expect - travelling was easier, and the law courts were in recess. This was the time for checking on estate matters, settling domestic affairs, and visiting friends. Again, the Loseley manuscripts are full of such examples. When John Johnson, the surveyor of the royal lottery, called on William More at Loseley in July 1568, he was told that More himself was away, visiting the Bishop of Winchester.³² (More was constable of Farnham Castle, one of the Bishop's residences, which had extensive parkland.)³³

²⁴ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/7//144q. The lottery was expected to raise money as a tax would.

²⁵ May, S., 'Loseley and the Lottery of 1567-9', at conference 'Godliness and Good Cheer: a day of talks inspired by the Loseley manuscripts', 18 Nov 2006.

²⁶ Hutton, R., *The seasons of the sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 157.

²⁷ Mertes, K., *The English Noble Household 1250-1600*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 152-54.

²⁸ The Loseley manuscripts show an increase in business travel as the weather got better in the spring.

²⁹ Several of the Loseley mss are from correspondents promising to come to see More at Loseley in Easter week.

³⁰ Heal, *Hospitality*, 77-78.

³¹ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/7/70.

³² Loseley mss 6729/7/144j: 9 Jul 1568.

³³ Robison, W.B., 'More, Sir Christopher (*b.* in or before 1483, *d.* 1549)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

Ecclesiastical visitations also took place at this time. In the late spring of 1563, 1568 or 1574,³⁴ Matthew Parker, then Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to More to ask for lodgings - he proposed to visit the Deanery of Stoke and desired to stay on Wednesday 5 May and the following night, 'with not more than 7 or 8 persons' - the rest of his 'folks' would lodge in Guildford.³⁵ He, too, was on a summer 'progress'. Conversely, someone like William More, who was in charge of the Bishop of Winchester's property, might find himself called away from his own estates in order to attend to the Bishop's business. In October 1570, William More was still dealing with business from the Bishop's summer visitation three months after it had taken place; attending to progresses of a patron might severely disrupt one's own life.³⁶ Generally it seems that the summer months were used for visiting people socially, and that a gentleman might expect to be back on his own estates for harvest time in September.

The other point about summer in the country was the importance of Midsummer day, which was celebrated in agrarian communities and so was significant for landlords as well. Popular rituals could be dangerous; street disorder was common at Shrovetide, and at midsummer fires were lit all over the country. Lammastide took place around 1 August, used by lawyers for dating documents (as was Midsummer), payment of rents, election of officials and opening of common lands.³⁷ It must have been incumbent on an estate owner to remain on good terms with and well liked by the community around his country house. Hence the importance of keeping such rituals. With this in mind, it is easy to see how the arrival of a royal progress would call a halt to social visiting, perhaps for the whole of the summer, since preparations had to be made. If a person was expected to be on the royal progress, then his own social and business interests would have to give way to those of the monarch.³⁸ He might not even be in the vicinity of his own estates, let alone being able to deal with its business or offer food or entertainment to his tenants.

The law terms might well attract a gentleman to London, when business could be transacted more easily. There were four legal terms, the principal ones being Michaelmas, which lasted approximately from September to the beginning of December, and Hilary in the spring.³⁹ It was easier to network at times when courts were in session and people could meet up. For someone like William More, the proximity of Loseley to London was useful (although he was not at court himself) because he could meet and do business with gentry from other parts of the country.

³⁴ It is not possible to give an exact date; Parker was Archbishop 1559-1575; 5 May fell on a Wednesday in 1563, 1568 and 1574.

³⁵ SHC: Loseley mss, 6729/6/2 nd [1563 x 1574].

³⁶ Ibid.: 6729/6/17.

³⁷ Hutton, *Stations of the sun*, p.331.

³⁸ See Appendix 6: The Year's Calendar.

³⁹ Ibid.

In 1566, More found himself in a predicament that present-day homeowners would be very familiar with, and his letter said that attending to trouble with builders at Blackfriars would have to wait until the Michaelmas term, when neighbouring house owners would all be there.⁴⁰ However, September was also a busy month at home, when local elections were held and manorial courts and surveys took place. More based himself at Loseley for most of his business, and it seems that his business contacts came to him.

Friendships, kinship, business and neighbourliness were confirmed by such hospitality and in these counties, visiting was important throughout most of the period. Duties of hospitality, framed by the seasons of the year, were taken seriously. It was only towards the end of Elizabeth's reign that the culture began to change. By then, the attraction of London life started to affect the ritual of the year at home, and gentry might stay in London for important occasions such as Christmas. Perceptions of hospitality too had changed, and what was expected of a gentleman on his estate in 1525 was not considered as important - at least by the gentry involved - in 1625.

Family visiting

In Surrey, Hampshire and West Sussex, there were about seventy families visiting each other, linked by familial or friendly business ties. Amongst William More's letters there are numerous mentions of friends and family calling in on each other, especially on their way to London, and evidence of contact with relatives included in-laws, an aunt, and distant cousins.⁴¹ Friends were many and various, friendships and family links were maintained through hospitality and entertainments, and marriage feasts might last several days. Thus the interweaving of family and friendship ties were confirmed by visits and gossip. Paul Van Brunt Jones came to the same conclusion in his thesis on Tudor households:

'The gossipy interlude played by hosts and guests, offers one explanation for the universal custom of lavish hospitality observed by all noblemen in those days. For most people, life was very isolated, travelling precarious and costly - naturally then, how welcome were those who brought in news of the outside world - "occurrences at Norfolk"!'⁴²

Christenings, marriages and funerals were a way of expressing familial or patronage ties, and demanded that people would travel some distance. At the highest rank, Sir Thomas Cheyne was sent to France as an ambassador and stood proxy for Henry VIII at the baptism of the Dauphin's daughter, where the christening ceremony

⁴⁰ SHC, Loseley mss: LM/COR/3/61.

⁴¹ SHC, Loseley mss.

⁴² Brunt Jones, P. Van, *The Household of a Tudor Nobleman* (1918, reprinted, Memphis: General Books, 2010), 110.

impressed him: 'Such a triumph at a christening as I think was never seen nor heard of as this is like to be'.⁴³ Sometimes it was not possible to take time off to travel the distance: in 1581 Anne, Countess of Warwickshire wrote to Lady More that she was pleased to have been asked to the christening of Lady More's grandson Robert, but could not attend in person, and would send a servant with a gift for the mother (Ann).⁴⁴ It was not unusual for those at court to send a proxy in their place: the Earl of Sussex asked More to go in his place as proxy godfather to Viscount Montague's son's christening in June 1593 as he was unwell and not fit to travel.⁴⁵ Some family occasions meant even the priest had diary problems: in 1576 Tobie Matthew (at that time Dean of Christ Church) wrote to Sir William More and blamed the number of baptisms, marriages and christenings for not keeping an appointment.⁴⁶

On the whole, kinship ties were held in high regard, and then, as now, family events seem to have been most important for bonding and socialising. In March 1576, Elizabeth Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, wrote to William More, informing him that Lady Poynings had visited her, and that George More's courtship of Lady Poyning's daughter would be unsuccessful - in fact the marriage did take place before 1581.⁴⁷ The Countess was the third wife of Edward Fiennes de Clinton, Lord High Admiral, and widow of Sir Anthony Browne,⁴⁸ father of Viscount Montague, who was a close friend of William More. The Earl of Lincoln's mother had belonged to the Poynings family.⁴⁹ Marriages were the most important way of keeping bonds and patronage, and so were considered important for lavish displays of hospitality. The wedding between Richard Polsted and William More's eldest daughter Elizabeth was a very grand affair. It was held at Blackfriars in London, possibly because Loseley was being rebuilt at the time, but probably also because then, as now, it was more desirable to hold wedding celebrations where all could see and be seen. The wedding took place at the house of Lady Elizabeth Cawarden, who was by now a widow (William More had been an executor, and continued to look after Lady Cawarden). The feasting carried on for a fortnight, which must have been a burden for Lady Cawarden, and a financial one for William More (and also Richard Polsted, who was

⁴³ Lehmborg, S., 'Cheyne, Sir Thomas (c.1485–1558)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

⁴⁴ SHC, 6729/6/102, 25 May 1581.

⁴⁵ SHC, 6729/9/34, and 6729/10/87, both June 1593.

⁴⁶ Sheils, W.J., 'Matthew, Tobie (1544?–1628)', *ODNB*, , 2004; online edn, Oct 2009; SHC: Loseley Mss, 6729/6/29, 9 Dec 1576.

⁴⁷ Knafila, L.A., 'More, Sir George (1553–1632)', *ODNB*, Sep 2004; online edn, Jan 2008

⁴⁸ Brigden, S., 'Clinton, Elizabeth Fiennes de, countess of Lincoln (1528?–1589)', *ODNB*, Sep 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

⁴⁹ Duffin, A., 'Clinton, Edward Fiennes de, first earl of Lincoln (1512–1585)', *ODNB*, Sep 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

expected to play his part, and he was sufficiently wealthy). The guests seem to have brought food as gifts, presumably part of the ritual for such a prolonged affair.⁵⁰

Sickness would stop both business and family arrangements. There is no sign in the Loseley letters of carrying on business as usual in the event of disease or infections. A letter of 1569, addressed from the court by Lady Clinton hopes to hear that More and his wife will be recovered 'of this troublesome sickness' - evidently More was not able to be in London.⁵¹ Equally, he did not always stay at home and support the family: another time he was away from home and unable to visit Horsley because Loseley was 'visited with the measles'.⁵²

Business hospitality

The evidence of the Loseley manuscripts suggests that Sir William More had a constant stream of visitors coming to the Great Hall at Loseley, perhaps several men on business each day, especially at busy periods when courts were in session or commissions under way.⁵³ Judging from the overall tenor of the Loseley letters, the majority of visits were for business. The aristocracy and gentry were brought up to lead an active life in their local society and be responsible for the management of their estates. These activities were based at home, and their hospitality involved receiving agents from other landowners, who were sent about estate matters such as deer parks⁵⁴ or local community matters.⁵⁵ The gentry were also expected to be seen in the local area and to take a part in local politics.⁵⁶ Much of the correspondence shows that both William More and his fellow justices of the peace were continually making visits to transact work.⁵⁷ Most were JPs at some time in their lives, and men like William More devoted most of their time to working on endless commissions – of the

⁵⁰ Evans, J., 'An Account of the Presents received and Expenses incurred at the Wedding of Richard Polsted, of Albury, Esquire, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William More, of Loseley, Esquire: in a letter from John Evans, Esq. F.S.A. to J.Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary', *Archaeologia*, vol. 36 (1885), 33-52.

⁵¹ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/9/118 2 Apr 1569.

⁵² SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/10/142, in 1565 or 1571.

⁵³ I tried to use the database of the Loseley letters to count, in any given year, how many friends and business associates visited Sir William More, but the numbers (in single figures) suggest that the database does not give a true picture. To get a good picture of this, one would have to undertake detailed research into the letters both at Surrey History Centre, and those in the Folger Shakespeare library. There is much potential in this collection to find out in some depth what life was like for More's rank of gentry, who on the one hand had contact with the royal court and Privy Council, and on the other hand, also with the constables of the hundreds and local JPs.

⁵⁴ SHC, 6729/9/161 23 Dec 1586.

⁵⁵ For example, deciding what should happen about money given by parishioners for the use of the Church of St Nicholas in Guildford - the sum was now worth only half its original value, and the matter had to go before the Privy Council. The latter asked More to examine the matter. SHC 6729/10/14, 1 June 1553. Matters like these show that landowners had to make some effort to keep their standing in the locality, so that they could be trusted by both the neighbourhood and the Privy Council.

⁵⁶ Sometimes this could endanger patronage locally: in 1563, he was accused of 'meddling' and 'a want of due consideration' in the forthcoming elections - More replied that he had not heard from the Earl of Arundel or Lord Lumley that he should withdraw, and in fact he was elected to Parliament. SHC, 6729/7/13/2.

⁵⁷ In 1573 Mr Agmondesham threatened to enclose some of East Horsley common, and More was asked by the Earl of Lincoln and Viscount Montague not to give his consent as a JP at the Quarter Sessions - he was asked to meet them at Pyrford (the Earl of Lincoln's house) to look at the situation. Here More's role as a local JP means he was useful to nobles who would not normally expect to attend Quarter Sessions, but it was he who had to do the travelling to transact the business. SHC, 6729/6/67.

peace, against recusancy, checking the state of defences on the south coast, and so on.⁵⁸ His letters show he travelled a great deal, and spent some time at his house in Blackfriars for the legal terms.

Business occasionally got in the way of kinship or friendship. In the late 1560s Robert Balaam wrote apologising that he could not visit More more often because of Chancery business and the musters. At the time he was interested in the proposed marriage of More's daughter, Elizabeth (but was backing an unsuccessful suitor).⁵⁹ But on the whole, business relationships would confirm the standing of a country house owner. Thus business and hospitality ran hand in hand, both securing patronage.

Another type of dutiful hospitality was hosting house arrests, which were usually concerned with the vexed problem of Catholicism and suspected disloyalty to the Queen.⁶⁰ The Tudor monarchs used this method of confinement as a way of keeping both the suspected person and the host under control without raising local ill-feeling. Perhaps the most famous example of this is the enforced captivity of Mary, Queen of Scots, who crossed the border into England of her own free will in 1568, but remained under house arrest for the rest of her life, as a guest of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Amyas Paulet respectively.⁶¹ This well-documented hospitality gives us an example of how house arrest was managed. Mary ran her own household, and

'paid her servants' wages, while her keepers (subsidized haphazardly by the English government) provided their food and accommodation.'⁶²

She became good friends with the earl's wife, Bess of Hardwick, and she was occasionally allowed to visit Buxton, a spa town and social centre, where she was allowed to meet with other nobility. Julian Goodare states that:

'Her position could be regarded as house arrest rather than imprisonment. Her household aimed to be a royal court, with privy and presence chambers, dais, throne, and cloth of state. She usually had about forty servants, and guarding them was an administrative challenge—some were armed with swords and even pistols.'⁶³

Here there was almost a role reversal of what we might expect, and the rules of hospitality must have governed their behaviour; the status of Mary as a prisoner was subsumed by her rank. Consequently, she was allowed to carry out activities which

⁵⁸ Robinson, W.B., 'More, Sir Christopher (*b.* in or before 1483, *d.* 1549)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁵⁹ SHC, Loseley mss: LM/COR/3/217, nd [1567 x 1571].

⁶⁰ The *ODNB* lists c. 95 people under various house arrests for the period 1525-1625, which is probably a fair assumption of the numbers involved. The status of people who have an entry in the *ODNB* probably accords with the status of those likely to find themselves under house arrest, i.e. nobility and gentry rather than yeomen and lower, who would simply be sent to prison.

⁶¹ Julian Goodare, 'Mary (1542-1587)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2007.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

seem incredible to us today: she went out visiting and hunting; she even had her own armed guards, who were presumably helpless against the Crown's representatives. An understanding of this type of hospitality must have existed between Mary, her hosts and those guarding her; it must have been one which had traditional rules, such as those discussed earlier, but which would be abused if either side behaved in the way which would seem obvious in that context: that is, they would be broken if Mary tried to escape, or her host tried to limit her activities or her privileges. Her confinement really only became imprisonment after 1585, when political tension increased, her privileges were withdrawn, and she was transferred to the care of Sir Amyas Paulet at Chartley.⁶⁴ Possibly both sides recognised that the Throckmorton plot had broken the rules of hospitality, or at least made them irrelevant.

For the gentry and nobility in the region of Surrey, Hampshire and West Sussex, the disgrace of a house arrest was public, and onerous for both prisoner and host. In this area, for example, the recusants George Lewkenor and John Shelley were handed over into the custody of George Johnson on 29 May 1607, and on 23 December of the same year James Thatcher, William Thatcher and John Gage were given into the custody of George More of Loseley.⁶⁵ There were two notable instances of house arrest for the nobility during the period: in the early 1580s, Philip Howard's wife Anne, normally resident at Arundel Castle, was ordered to stay with Sir Thomas Sherley at Wiston, where her first child Elizabeth was born in 1583.⁶⁶ Whilst there she wrote 'pitifully to Sir Francis Walsingham on 10 June 1584 for release from 'my unfortunate estate''.⁶⁷ Philip joined her there, later claiming to have been 'insulted and frightened' by his house arrest, but eventually abandoned her in order to sail for the continent.⁶⁸ He was supposed to have been mixed up in the Throckmorton conspiracy.⁶⁹ From the point of view of the host, there was little choice in keeping a prisoner for the monarch. It would certainly have strengthened Thomas Sherley the elder's standing in the local neighbourhood, because he was acting for the Queen, and likewise disgraced Philip Howard, who was a member of the nobility while Sherley was not.

Sometimes these enforced stays ironically led to firm friendships. The two Annes (Howard and Sherley) are supposed to have become friendly and kept their relationship for the rest of their lives (Anne Sherley had a two-year-old when Anne's daughter was born, and this may have strengthened the bond). So, despite the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ BL. Add. 34765, ff. 20 and 18 respectively. I am indebted to Timothy J. McCann for this information.

⁶⁶ Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Howard [Dacre], Anne, countess of Arundel (1557-1630)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Elzinga, J.G., 'Howard, Philip [St Philip Howard], thirteenth earl of Arundel (1557-1595)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

appearance of prisoner and gaoler, this house arrest seems to have strengthened local ties. Another similar example was that of Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton, arrested in June 1570 for suspected involvement in the proposed marriage of the Duke of Norfolk to Mary Queen of Scots. He was placed under house arrest at Loseley with William More, and stayed there for four months.⁷⁰ The latter had a firm friendship with Southampton's father-in-law, Viscount Montague. Southampton was then placed in the Tower of London for another six months, but allowed to spend time at Cowdray.⁷¹ During this period, Montague wrote to William More several times to thank him for looking after Wriothesley and his daughter Mary:

'your most kind and friendly performance of my earnest request to the great good of my dear friend'⁷²; 'for the great friendship shown to mine'⁷³ and 'if anything be undone... that ought in honour and reason to be offered with great thanks to you, let me freely understand it.'⁷⁴

This was before the couple's split, which caused so much animosity between Montague and Wriothesley,⁷⁵ but even so both remained friends with William More, in whose household Wriothesley had been educated.⁷⁶ The house arrest had strengthened the bond between Viscount Montague and William More, and probably confirmed the one between More and Wriothesley.

What could visitors expect? Entertainment in a country house

A member of the gentry going to stay with another gentry household would have certain expectations. He knew that the food would be good, as it was incumbent to keep a good table, as we have seen. In more fashionable houses, accommodation would be good, even luxurious, and convenient. Entertainment was also an important part of household life, and this chapter now explores what might be on offer to a visitor.

In the summer, hunting and hawking were popular sports, and gentry would invite each other to their parks. In the southeast, hunting was very good.⁷⁷ On huge estates, owned by wealthy nobles and ecclesiastical landowners such as the crown and the Bishop of Winchester, swathes of Surrey and Hampshire were emparked to provide hunting, for example Alice Holt and Woolmer forests on the borders of West

⁷⁰ Elzinga, J.G., 'Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528–1592)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2009. The catalogue entry for SHC: Loseley Mss: 6729/8/48 gives the dates 1 May - 14 July 1573.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/8/45.

⁷³ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/8/47.

⁷⁴ SHC, Loseley mss: 6729/8/46.

⁷⁵ Elzinga, J.G., 'Wriothesley, Henry, second earl of Southampton (bap. 1545, d. 1581)', *ODNB*, , 2004; online edn, May 2011.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Hunting as practised by nobility and gentry was an organised and ceremonial affair, very unlike its developed form in the twentieth century; and parks were carefully nurtured and maintained: Brandon and Short, *The Southeast*, 70-74.

Sussex and Hampshire.⁷⁸ The New Forest was also set aside. In West Sussex, parkland owned by nobles such as on the Petworth and Cowdray estates, offered good deer hunting. The Monday of the week at Cowdray on the 1591 progress was given over to it.⁷⁹ Other sports grew more fashionable towards the turn of the century; James I included both cricket and football on his progresses, but as a spectator.⁸⁰ Wrestling matches and bear-baiting were common entertainments, and some of the richer nobles, such as Lord Lumley, maintained their own menageries.⁸¹

Household entertainment, especially revels, and later on masques, were extremely popular.⁸² Most of the nobility were patrons of companies of players: professional performers, who, when not needed at home for special occasions or festivals, toured provincial towns, monasteries and private residences. For this region, during this period, their patrons included the Brownes at Cowdray; Philip and Thomas Howard, the Earls of Arundel and the Dukes of Norfolk, all based at Arundel; William Fitzwilliam, the Earl of Southampton, based at Cowdray in this region; Baron Lumley at Stansted and Chichester; the Percy family at Petworth; Robert and Henry Radcliffe, the Earls of Sussex, in Portsmouth; Edward Seymour, the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham; the West family, Lords de la Warr at Hainaker and Offington; and the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton at Titchfield.⁸³ The list shows, not only the companies' social acceptance and even necessity amongst noble households, but also how ubiquitous they were. These groups played a full part in the social life of the community: for example, in 1521 the Earl of Arundel's players were paid for their contribution to entertainment in Chichester for St. George's Guild.⁸⁴ In 1543, the cathedral communitar paid the same players for coming in Christmas week, 'as was their custom'.⁸⁵ However, neither set of accounts has anything for the years in which we know there were royal visits to the city, and so we cannot say for certain whether the companies belonging to great houses were used on a progress. Generally it can be surmised that these companies were called back to their patron's residence for

⁷⁸ Short, B., *England's Landscape The South-East* (London: English Heritage, 2006), 54-56.

⁷⁹ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, III, 91.

⁸⁰ TNA, PRO: E 351/544. James Maxwell's team made ready some stands for watching football at Farnham, 1612.

⁸¹ The most famous was at the Tower of London, which was opened to the public in Elizabeth's reign. These animals were held, not for scientific interest as much as a manifestation of power and wealth. See Historic Royal Palaces factsheet on the menagerie.

⁸² Much can be made of early modern drama, from which it is possible to interpret political and social commentary, but I do not propose to expand on something that has been widely written about. See chapter 2, and also, for example: Westfall, S., *Patrons and Performers: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

⁸³ The website for Records of Early English Drama: <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>, under Patrons and Performances can be searched for counties, but only Sussex has been covered at present. The detailed research may be found in Louis, C. (ed.), *Records of Early English Drama: Sussex* (Toronto: University of Toronto and Brepols Publishers, 2000) 293-330, and throughout.

⁸⁴ WSRO, Chichester City Archives AE/1 f38v, quoted in Louis, C., op.cit, 16 and 230.

⁸⁵ WSRO, Cap I/23/2, quoted op.cit, 231.

special performances during such an important visit, and the spectacles at Cowdray and Elvetham show how high the quality of their performances could be.⁸⁶

Household revels were generally unscripted and were different from civic drama or the staged spectacles on a progress, where the performances were public and noted. Private revels were not amateur stage plays of the modern variety, but servants and members of the household contributing to artistic and musical events, with themes specific to traditions within the family. Modern readers, scholars and audiences may well have difficulty understanding them because they are so alien to our own culture:

'No longer is our society organized into residential alliances like great households; no longer are patrons recognisable human beings with whom we live and for whom we work. Few will ever watch entertainments remotely resembling household revels produced specifically for them, with themes applicable to them, within their own communities. Thus, on even the most general level, household revels have become difficult to comprehend and impossible to integrate into our theatrical lives.'⁸⁷

Here danger mixed with pleasure: topical references and 'in-jokes', which the household might take pleasure in, and which the patron could use for propaganda, could serve to alienate, or worse, offend the visitor. The most famous example of this is the offence Elizabeth I took from Shakespeare's *Richard II*.⁸⁸ But generally the household provided a political freedom and protection not available in public performances. Even great household chapels might have performing groups, protected as they were from the effects of the dissolution.⁸⁹ Significant religious feasts and special household events offered the opportunity to experiment with theatre, dance, music and art.⁹⁰ Different parts of the house, for example the great hall or outside courtyards, could be used as suitable stages for each type of activity and it is possible that the arrangement of the architecture of Theobalds was planned to make revels that much easier.⁹¹ Minstrels were used on a day-to-day basis, for the ceremony connected with main meal of the day and the music accompanying it. They were more tied to the house itself, and not free to roam in the way companies of

⁸⁶ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, III, 90-96 and 101-121.

⁸⁷ Westfall, S., *Patrons and Performers: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 200. I am indebted to Sue Millard, who points out that something similar does still exist in close communities such as workplaces. For example the County Hall players of West Sussex County Council put on a performance twice a year, which, although each play is well-known nationally, has been adapted to contain recognisable local figures and employees, in-jokes and comments on the economy and environment. These types of events serve to bind those who are present, and so there are similarities between them and the household revels.

⁸⁸ *Richard II* earned a reputation among Elizabethan audiences as a politically subversive play. In 1601, supporters of the Earl of Essex, who would the next day (February 7) mount an unsuccessful rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, paid Shakespeare's company to put on a special performance of the play. Queen Elizabeth was compared to Richard because of her lack of an heir and due to what some subjects viewed as her inclination toward heavy taxation and indulgence of her favourites. Sixteenth-century critics often viewed the play as a politically dangerous commentary on the monarchy.

⁸⁹ Westfall, *Patrons and Performers*, 202-203.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Sutton, J.M., *Materializing Space at an early modern Prodigy House* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), especially chapter 3.

players did.⁹² So for a visitor, a feast of cultural activity could be expected on a visit to another member of the nobility or upper gentry, and he might well not have seen or partaken of anything like it elsewhere.

Furnishings, tapestries and sculpture showed off wealth and classical knowledge, and portraits emphasized lineage and family. For visitors, much of the emphasis of enjoyment was placed on the 'reveal', when curtains over a portrait, or cloth over a sculpture, were removed to reveal a work of art.⁹³ Heraldic devices were much admired, and were used as a brand logo would be used today: they were used to decorate plaster work, furniture, or ceiling strapwork. Novelty was needed to attract guests. The Tudors maintained a love of 'devices', which demonstrated wealth, novelty and 'cunning' - the attraction would be clever, or witty or fantastical. In the 1580s, Anthony Garnett, steward to Viscount Montague, wrote to William More and his wife, asking them to visit and see 'a number of costly devices, newly made by my lord, now being an old man, and whereof the ladies will make you judge whether they be well or ill done.'⁹⁴ An example of this type of decoration still extant are the decorated wall panels created for Nonsuch Palace,⁹⁵ showing pagan divinities and Christian virtues. Described as 'quite an eye-opener', they were 'frivolous, delicate, fantastical'.⁹⁶

Recent work has shown that various groups met to discuss the latest scientific discoveries or literary interests. Many of the nobility and gentlemen actively encouraged experts in such pursuits, for example, the 9th Earl of Northumberland at Petworth was the patron of the astronomer Harriot, who worked at Syon.⁹⁷ The Earl himself owned a telescope and a globe.⁹⁸ John, Baron Lumley loved genealogy and collected books, paintings and sculpture. He probably knew Camden, and was in a set of men who met to discuss art and literature. William More also kept a library at Loseley, which was intended to indicate that the house was a place of culture and sophistication. As printed works expanded, libraries grew to be a source of pride, and gentlemen collected both the latest printed works and manuscripts of well-known histories to show their guests.⁹⁹

This then was the picture of hospitality at work in the region during this period. The kinship and business ties were confirmed and strengthened by a gentleman's

⁹² Westfall, *Patrons and Performers*, 202-203.

⁹³ Gillian White, 'Tudor Royal Palaces', course run at Rewley House, Oxford, March 2010.

⁹⁴ SHC, Loseley mss, 6729/8/80.

⁹⁵ They are now at Loseley; information from Loseley Park guidebook (Derby: Heritage House Group Ltd, 2005), 6.

⁹⁶ Gillian White, 'Tudor Royal Palaces' course, March 2010.

⁹⁷ WSRO, exhibition on Harriot by Alison McCann, 2010.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ McKisack, M., *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 50-75.

ability to offer entertainment or leisure pursuits, and to do so in the most comfortable and convenient surroundings. The country house, in which all this took place, represented the core of a landowner's power base across all strata of society with which this thesis is concerned, from members of the nobility to prominent members of the local gentry. The house therefore had to be suitable for entertaining friends and family socially, especially on high days and holidays. It also needed to be a base to transact business, both for the estate itself and for legal or judicial proceedings if the owner was a JP. How the house itself operated depended on the owner's standing - whether he was at court most of the time, and the house was a retreat for the summer and festivals, or whether he took part in local politics and administration, and his house was the base of his operations. Either way the owner saw it as an opportunity to offer and accept patronage, and so there were certain things he wanted from his country seat. It must be able to attract the sort of people he needed to impress; perhaps people at court, or even the monarch him or herself. This remained true throughout the period, and towards the end of the sixteenth century the lure of the court made those wealthy enough set up a residential base in London as well.¹⁰⁰ The next part of this chapter concentrates on what an owner might do to make his property attractive enough for a monarch to visit.

Making a house attractive for visiting

There is no doubt that, although it was a 'doubtful honour', as Mary Hill Cole put it,¹⁰¹ playing host to the Queen was still a very desirable event. Courtiers such as Robert Dudley and Christopher Hatton spent vast amounts on luxurious houses to tempt the Queen.¹⁰² That sort of expenditure was not expected from any but the wealthiest, and not from most of the hosts on the 1591 progress. For most of Elizabeth's reign, houses in West Sussex were not on her primary progress routes - neither en route to other houses nor seemingly worth visiting themselves. But hosts within the county evidently hoped to entertain the Queen. Strong traditions of visits persist at these houses, such as Parham,¹⁰³ and New Place in Pulborough,¹⁰⁴ and yet there is no evidence that she visited any houses within the county other than those she saw in 1591.¹⁰⁵ It seems that a royal visit was so important to local gentry that hope and expectation translated, over the next four hundred years, into a myth that it actually happened. Evidently, they considered themselves rising in success and importance and were keen for her to visit. New building in the 1570s and 1580s was

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 1: 'Gentry Database'.

¹⁰¹ 'Monarchy in motion' (Cole, M.H.) at Elizabethan Progresses conference, April 2004.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ The earliest mention of this tradition is from 1814, by Katherine Annabella Bishop in a picture catalogue kept privately at Parham. She seems to have taken an interest in historical research, and may have looked at original documents, but not made much of them.

¹⁰⁴ Here a plaque suggests that the gatehouse was put up for the Queen's visit in 1591 - see Appendix 3: 'Gazetteer of Houses'.

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 7.

taking place in the region like everywhere else in England, and some of it was to a very high standard.¹⁰⁶ Besides the gentry, there were also courtiers resident here as elsewhere, and they must have hoped to entertain the monarch in order to further their career and increase their standing at court. This chapter now explores how they made their houses seem an attractive prospect to those responsible for arranging the itinerary of a royal visit.

The use of architecture began to be very important, especially after the dissolution of the monasteries, when there was more freedom and money to express ideas of hospitality. The layout of the rooms and the structure of the household came to reflect 'visitor flow', and so public and private areas needed to be created. Although the Great Hall was losing its multi-functional purpose, it must still be imposing and suitable for transacting business and greeting visitors. Guest accommodation would serve the owner best if it was kept up with prevailing fashions. Room to eat in comfort, perhaps with separate banqueting areas, became more desirable by the end of the sixteenth century. Fashion was the key to attracting influential people. It was led by the court, and the wealthiest people in the region strove to prepare a house along the lines of the latest trends. In fact the relationship between London and the provinces was symbiotic in this sense, because new gentry, who had created their wealth through trade or administration in the Tudor period, became 'gentlemen architects', taking their cue from trends in fashion in London, and in developing their country houses and estates accordingly.

Consequently, the sixteenth century saw new innovations in style and decoration and an increase in domestic building. The opportunity created by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the resultant freeing up of the property market, brought new wealth to upcoming men such as merchants and lawyers, as well as giving those with traditional power the opportunity to aggrandize their landed estates. The 1530s and 1540s opened the door to opportunities which were unheard of a decade or so earlier, but which could lead to advancement of a political career or the standing of a family. The need to express their new importance led the gentry of the region to follow fashion closely. A country house expressed importance and standing in the local community, wealth (and equally important, consumption of wealth), and taste and knowledge of classical art and architecture. It needed to look impressive to visiting dignitaries and to those living in the area. Secondly comfort was likely to be an issue for a court which was on the move during a progress, and facing uncertainty over the quality of their accommodation. To attract a progress, the house would need a high degree of comfort, and preferably would express luxury, perhaps with the use of 'devices': art or decoration intended to delight the visitor. The Tudors loved novelty

¹⁰⁶ For example, Cowdray and Sutton: see Appendix 3: 'Gazetteer of Houses'.

and surprises, so that the best houses became stage sets both in their interiors and in their gardens and settings. This was reflected both in noble mansions and gentry houses, but the architecture of houses built by people who had the money, and who were aware of the latest trends, particularly illustrates that hospitality was important enough to affect it. Two examples of noble houses in the area illustrate this:

Titchfield, a substantial mansion, built from a converted abbey, was built by Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. It has been said that the Earl 'perhaps profited more from the Reformation than any other man'.¹⁰⁷ Titchfield seems to have been considered for dissolution early in the process despite the size of its income; it must have been promised to Wriothesley some time before.¹⁰⁸ For such cases 'surrender' was considered, and two commissioners were appointed to oversee this at Titchfield. They wrote to Thomas Wriothesley on 22 December 1537, describing the church as 'most naked and barren' and its property as 'ruinous'. The King was owed 200 marks by the abbey, which was already paying several pensions, and they thought the cost of the alterations would amount to 300 marks,¹⁰⁹ so it was an expensive proposition for Wriothesley. Although this letter described Titchfield as 'the late monastery', the formal surrender was not actually until 28 December 1537, when Wriothesley immediately took possession of the property as a grant in fee simple.¹¹⁰ The property was renamed Place House. We might see this aggressive rebuilding as a statement of the power and status that Wriothesley felt was owed to him, and his somewhat undue haste as a bid to increase his standing at court. It was not just to show off to his neighbours.



Image 1: The gatehouse at Titchfield, driven through the nave of the former abbey.
© author, Feb 2010.

¹⁰⁷ Carpenter Turner, B., *History of Hampshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988), 69.

¹⁰⁸ This put it outside the criteria for a small religious house (under £200 p.a.).

¹⁰⁹ *VCH, Hampshire*, 2, 185-186.

¹¹⁰ This was a sixteenth-century version of the modern 'freehold'.

The manner of conversion and the style of the house supports this supposition as the conversion was carried out in the height of fashion for house owners of the highest rank. Work on the transformation was carried out the month after his acquisition of the property, when marble, tiles and other fabric from the monastery were sold off. Several schemes of adaptation were considered, and eventually it was decided to make the Great Hall out of the monastic frater, a chapel out of the chapter house, and the cloister was kept as a walkway around the main courtyard.¹¹¹ Most striking was a large gateway with four turrets built across the old nave, created in the leading fashion of the time.¹¹² It was intended to demonstrate its owner's power, both local and national. However, Wriothesley was not interested in a social life in Hampshire or in his neighbours. He was a successful courtier, involved closely with the King, and over the next decade he managed to build up a huge estate, mainly in Hampshire and centred on Titchfield.¹¹³ The resulting mansion may have been modelled on Cowdray, home to another local member of the nobility, William Fitzwilliam (and then followed by his half brother Anthony Browne), who knew Wriothesley at court, working in the same circles.¹¹⁴

Titchfield was successful. Henry VIII, Edward and Elizabeth all visited it. It must have represented comfort and luxury, and of course it was on a well-used route to Portsmouth and Southampton. There were other properties in this area which had arisen out of the dissolution of the monasteries. Mottisfont in Hampshire, granted to William, 1st Lord Sandys (of The Vyne) had been an abbey, and Lord Sandys again chose to use the church itself for his main house; the outbuildings being 'in ruin and decay'.¹¹⁵ He was hoping to use it as a retirement home, but it was unfinished at his death in 1540. These nobles must have been confident that things were not going to change back, and that they would be able to take ecclesiastical buildings apart permanently without any retaliation. Jayne Kirk has argued that Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire confirmed her hypothesis that the gentry were worried about politics swinging into reverse, and were therefore not changing the buildings a great deal.¹¹⁶ However, Titchfield in particular would suggest otherwise. At Lacock Abbey, William Sharyngton also converted an abbey, and his model confirms that he was more influenced by fashion and the need to be able to invite important visitors without

¹¹¹ As at Lacock in Wiltshire, see below.

¹¹² See image 1 and *VCH* for Hampshire, 3, 222-223.

¹¹³ His property included Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight (granted in 1537 at the same time); the eleven manors and 5000 acres of Titchfield Abbey; Beaulieu Abbey (1538); and Micheldever Manor, purchased from the King in 1544.

¹¹⁴ William Fitzwilliam, who was then Earl of Southampton, and Wriothesley were both involved in Henry's repudiation, and then divorce, of Anne of Cleves.

¹¹⁵ Sandys was Lord Chamberlain to Henry VIII. This was an exchange of land - the King obtained property in Paddington and Chelsea! Information from the National Trust guidebook.

¹¹⁶ Jayne Kirk, on a visit to Lacock, September 2009. She is an expert on 16th century vernacular architecture, and author of *Parham: an Elizabethan house and its restoration* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009).

reducing their comfort than by worries of losing the property, should politics swing back again. Annelise Holt, house steward at Lacock Abbey, confirmed this:

The first thing Sharington did was knock down the church attached to the Abbey - and I wondered whether this was to stop the Church thinking it was worth trying to get it back in the event of things turning about. Especially as Lacock is a small establishment (only ever had a maximum of about 25 nuns) I hypothesised that they may not think it worth their while if they had to rebuild the church to make it useful again. I was working partly on the thought that the Church would probably not fully compensate people for the amount of money they had spent buying the places, let alone the amount they had then invested in converting them into a family home. Generally, what Sharington did in keeping so much of the existing building intact is very unusual. Most people completely butchered the buildings for materials to build elsewhere or to flatten and rebuild a nice fashionable residence on the same site. As you can see from going round Lacock Abbey, one of the main reasons - apart from fashion - was that the communal living spaces round a Cloister Garth do not make for a very practical living space for a family or to invite influential guests to stay. Sharington travelled abroad, including Italy, and was much influenced by the Italianate style. He was advising a lot of country house owners on building works. So much so that I have even found one book that refers to 'The Sharington School' as a style.¹¹⁷

Men like Sharington and Wriothesley were confident in their assumption that they were safe to develop and even be creative in their efforts to change these newly-acquired buildings into their own convenient and comfortable residences. Cowdray near Midhurst in Sussex, was an equally large and fashionable house.



Image 2: Present day Cowdray showing the gatehouse.
© Owen Adams

It was not a converted monastery, and was built before the increase in the property market brought about by the dissolution of the monasteries, but it has a very similar style. It was completed in the 1530s by William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, and after his death it was inherited by Sir Anthony Browne.¹¹⁸ The mansion was built in the contemporary style around a courtyard, with a massive four-turreted gatehouse,

¹¹⁷ Email correspondence, September 2009.

¹¹⁸ The earldom died with William Fitzwilliam, but Thomas Wriothesley was recreated 1st Earl of Southampton after Henry VIII's death, on 15 February 1548.

like Titchfield. It was actively used, along with Battle Abbey, by the Brownes, and Sir Anthony became involved in local government and its social life. Even so, the extra rooms for visitors show that both Fitzwilliam and Viscount Montague were prepared to entertain on a grand scale. At both Titchfield and Cowdray both sides of the main courtyard were enclosed by a series of two-room or one-room apartments, providing for a large number of guests and servants (as at Knole and Hampton Court).¹¹⁹ The plans of both houses exhibit a layout that has strong associations to present-day student lodgings.¹²⁰ Consequently, the communal spaces that were used by the monks would have been changed to create individual residential spaces. A converted monastery might give a huge amount of living space, but the structure may have been more awkward to convert into comfortable visitor accommodation than a traditional mansion. The importance of the conversion lay in what the owners were trying to do, and what the fulfilment of the building work was to be; hospitality for large parties of visitors seems to have been the priority in both cases.

Gatehouses became an outward sign of awareness of fashion. The two gatehouses of Cowdray and Titchfield were created with tall turrets and rooms for banquetting and other hospitality, popular at the time; they can also be seen in the royal palaces of Hampton Court, Whitehall and Richmond. Gatehouses became important symbols of power; this can be seen at its finest at Oxburgh in Norfolk and Layer Marney in Essex, where they reach into the sky and are a visible sign of status and prestige; the idea was echoed in this region by Titchfield and Cowdray, which have shorter but strong and definitive gatehouses. Even quite small houses, such as New Place in Pulborough, or Bramshott, were given elaborate gatehouses which still survive.¹²¹

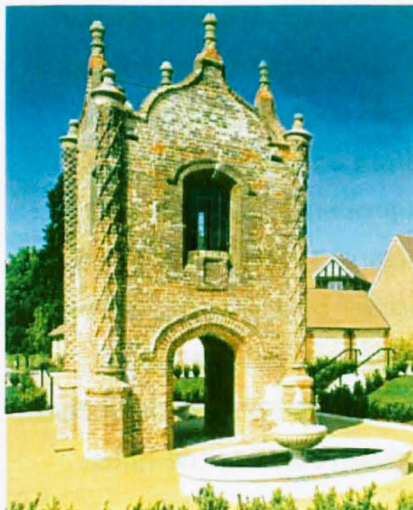


Image 3:
Bramshott gatehouse. The brickwork is finely tooled, and there would have been an upstairs room for dining.
© Author, April, 2010

¹¹⁹ Information from Ed Town on a visit to Knole in November 2009; and Gillian White during course on Tudor Royal Palaces at OUDCE, 21 March 2010.

¹²⁰ *VCH for Hampshire*, op.cit; St. John Hope, W.H., *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex* (London: Country Life, 1919).

¹²¹ See Appendix 3: Gazetteer of houses.

It is possible that putting up gatehouses at medium-sized properties (where there may not have been the financial means to do more) was a provincial idea, perhaps just in this region; an outward sign of upper gentry trying to emulate the nobles in the neighbourhood and attract the monarch. Both these gatehouses were built in the 1580s when it must have been well-known that the Queen was prepared to stay in smaller houses. Besides impressing neighbours and visitors, perhaps these gatehouses were put up to send a message to the royal party.

Some houses were not fashionable, but had been favoured by Henry VIII. In 1526, he paid an extended visit to Arundel, where he hunted in the park, and visited the neighbouring Bishop of Chichester.¹²² Arundel was a substantial castle, and several centuries old. It might have been the luxury which appealed to him, because Arundel was not on the route to Portsmouth. Henry VIII also stayed at other houses in the area, which were more accessible geographically and which belonged to wealthy courtiers: Cowdray in the 1530s, when the house would have been relatively new, Stansted, Titchfield, Bishop's Waltham and the Vyne; all substantial houses.¹²³ Henry also stayed at Petworth.¹²⁴ Neither Petworth nor Stansted were fashionable houses, and Arundel may have been equally old-fashioned.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined patterns of visiting together with architectural styles that the gentry used to deploy hospitality to its full effect. These confirm the networking that the gentry undertook, and show that their society reflected the changes happening nationally. This chapter has shown how important hospitality was to the men who might hope to host a progress. The dissolution of the monasteries gave the pace of architectural fashion new vigour. First it freed up the land market, giving rising gentry opportunities to show off and to build according to latest styles in order to make their guests comfortable, and to add novelties such as gatehouses. Secondly, it gave way to architectural experiments in making an abbey and its cloisters usable for the lay aristocracy. Such conversions probably attracted both Elizabeth and Henry, partly out of curiosity, and partly because these buildings offered a new style of comfort and the ability to house a large number of guests in comfort. At the same time, builders were experimenting with new building materials and external decorations, changes in the structure of the house as 'visitor flow' developed, and increased use of courtyards, gardens and the parkland surrounding the house.

¹²² TNA, PRO: SP I/39, f.26.

¹²³ Samman, 'Progresses'.

¹²⁴ These were visited on the progresses of 1526 and 1539, and there may have been other times not recorded. See chapter 4 for details.

Expressions of cultural knowledge and taste in hospitality emphasised the desire of these people to attract important visitors, especially, if possible, the monarch.

What was happening locally needed to dovetail into the arrangements made for the royal progresses. Some of the routines usually carried out by local gentry, such as planned summer visits and the routine tours of estates, could be ignored by those responsible for the royal itinerary, and would therefore be disrupted. However, the progress was also reliant on the same men - such as the JPs on commissions and those in charge of purveyance - for its smooth operation. There therefore had to be some co-operation between them. The gentry provided contacts up and down the social strata, as well as within them, so that Viscount Montague could feel at ease paying visits to William More at Loseley, for example. This loosening of hierarchical ties had been brought about by the Reformation and the Tudor monarchy using gentry to carry out local government. It was this social scene that a royal progress intruded into, and it helps us understand the way the gentry worked together and how the progress operated in the region. The next chapter explores such visits from the royal perspective.

c



Chapter 7: The Practicalities of Royal Progresses

This chapter builds on the last by explaining how the royal progresses worked in practice, particularly in the counties of Hampshire and Sussex. There are three 'well-known facts' about royal progresses, especially those of Elizabeth I: that the hosts were 'eaten out of house and home', and were ruined financially after a visit; that the monarch, especially Elizabeth, dictated the route and changed his or her mind on a whim; and that the arrival of the royal party heralded a huge baggage train. These ideas are only partially true, and popular myth has skewed our concept of the practical management of a progress and how these journeys were undertaken. This chapter attempts to get closer to the reality for the 1591 progress by using sources such as royal accounts for the work carried out ahead of the monarch's arrival,¹ and purveyance accounts from the papers of local families,² which directly tell us what was going on. It develops Mary Hill Cole's work by drawing on local sources to add detail³ and to show how the arrangements made by the administrators of the progress impinged on those made by the hosts.

The events at Cowdray would have been provided by the Viscount,⁴ but provisioning for the visiting party may well have been mostly supplied by the royal household. The boundaries of who supplied what, were either expected as tradition or sorted out beforehand - we do not have specific evidence. But wherever the responsibilities lay, it would be certain that things were done as the royal household wanted rather than as the host household may have assumed. It must have led to friction and wasted resources, for example the harbingers' accounts for the 1591 progress show preparations at Abbotstone and The Holt,⁵ which do not seem to have become part of the final arrangements. One of the best descriptions at present of the way a royal progress worked is not from the sources, but from fiction. This chapter makes reference to extracts from C.J. Sansom's *Sovereign*,⁶ which has stimulated speculation on how the organisation operated. Browne was the owner of Cowdray and host of a week of celebrations on the progress in 1591, but no documents survive to suggest he had much notice that Cowdray had been chosen for a visit.⁷ How much preparation the hosts had to make, and the practical side of making such a visit work are some of the issues examined in this chapter.

¹ TNA, PRO: E 351/542 Accounts of Treasurers of the Chamber 1579-96.

² The family and estate papers of Jervoise of Herriard contain a great deal of information; the Loseley mss have references within the letters.

³ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 35-62, chapter 3 on 'The Challenge of Royal Travel'.

⁴ See chapter 9; events are described in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*.

⁵ TNA, PRO: E 351/542.

⁶ Sansom, C.J., *Sovereign* (London: Macmillan, 2007).

⁷ Correspondence between William More and the Lord Chamberlain discussing the route of the progress took place about six weeks' before. Cowdray was definitely on the itinerary then.

The Court on progress - preparations

Two seminal books– *The Portable Queen* and *An Elizabethan Progress* - both analyse how the court moved from place to place.⁸ It would have been on a vast scale, especially for the larger progresses. Dovey describes the travelling arrangements:

Mostly the Queen and her retinue rode, but they would have been preceded by or accompanied by an immense baggage train, between 200 and 300 two- or four-wheeled carts drawn by teams of six horses carried everything necessary for the Queen, the Court and the Council – bedding, furniture, hangings, clothing, plate and kitchen equipment, documents and office requirements. The main body moved 10 to 12 miles a day.⁹

Although she makes it clear that the Queen was preceded by teams of men who made the arrangements,¹⁰ this does not accord with the huge baggage train she describes, or at least not for Hampshire and Sussex in 1591. Whilst the Downs presented travel problems that were not experienced in the East Anglian progress of 1578 that she describes, the evidence for Elizabeth's progress of 1591 essentially suggests a different process. The accounts of Treasurers of the Chamber make it clear that actually the Queen travelled light, and there were small teams of men going ahead of her.¹¹ It is interesting that the surviving records for Elizabeth's reign suggest that arrangements had been honed to a fine degree by the early 1590s, and some of the process is now described.¹²

The royal party was preceded by the harbingers: three teams of men, each headed by a gentleman usher. These men were members of the gentry and court officials. In 1591 they were Simon Bowyer (who had been in the job at least twenty years by then), Richard Coningsby and Richard Brackenbury.¹³ The royal accounts¹⁴ relate which houses they worked in, and how long it took them. There were standard procedures: a longer stay by the Queen would entail six days' work; a shorter stay two or three days work. However, there does not appear to have been a specific relative connection between the number of days the work took and the size and importance of each visit.¹⁵

⁸ Cole, *Portable Queen*; Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹ TNA, PRO: E 351/542 Accounts of Treasurers of the Chamber 1579-96. A transcript for the 1591 progress is given in Appendix 7.

¹² TNA: PRO: E 351/542-544.

¹³ See Appendix 2: 'Prosopography'. See also Hasler, P.W., *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (London: HMSO, 1981), vol. I, p.473 for Simon Bowyer; and the accounts TNA, PRO: E 351/541, f.164, shows him as a team leader for the progress as early as 1574. For Richard Conningsby, see Hasler, *House of Commons*, 637. Richard Brackenbury does not appear in Hasler, *House of Commons*, or the *ODNB*, and I have not been able to find much information on his career.

¹⁴ TNA, PRO: E 351/541-543.

¹⁵ See Table 3, showing their preparations around the 1591 progress route.

Table 3: The Harbinger teams at work on the 1591 Progress

	Richard Coningsby	Richard Brackenbury	Simon Bowyer
Teams	One yeoman usher, three yeomen and two grooms of the Chamber, two grooms of the wardrobe & one groom porter	One yeoman usher, three yeomen, two grooms of the Chamber, two grooms of the Wardrobe and one groom porter	One yeoman usher, three/four yeomen, two grooms of the Chamber, two grooms of the Wardrobe and one groom porter
August 1591	Farnham 4 days	Mr Cornwallis's house at Horsley 6 days	Lord Lumley's house at Stansted 8 days
	Chichester 8 days	Mr Tilney's house at Leatherhead 2 days	Sir William More's house at Loseley 6 days
	The church at Chichester 6 days	Sir Henry Weston's house at Clandon 2 days	Guildford Park 2 days
	Lord De La Warr's house at The Holt 4 days		Katherine Hall 2 days
	Mr. Marven's house at Bramshott 4 days		Lord Montague's house at Cowdray 6 days
	Mr. White's house at Southwick 6 days		The priory house at Lord Montague's 2 days
			Lodge in North Park for EI to rest as she came to Cowdray 2 days
			Three standings at Lord Montague's - 6 days
			Mr Richard Lewkenor's house between Cowdray and Chichester 2 days
			Earl of Sussex's house at Portsmouth 6 days
			Standing ¹⁶ outside Portsmouth to see soldiers 2 days
			Aberston 6 days
			Mr. Tichbourne's 2 days
			Mr William Wallop's house between Abbotstone and Fairley 2 days
			Abbotstone 6 days
			Mr Carrell's house at Bedhampton 2 days
September 1591	Dining house between Farnham and Sir Henry Weston's 2 days	Sir Henry Weston's house at Sutton 6 days	Mr. Auditor Neale's house 6 days
	House at Southampton 8 days	Sir Henry Wallop's house at Fareley 6 days	Bishops Waltham 6 days
	Bagshott 6 days	Titchfield 6 days	Bishop of Winchester's house at Winchester 6 days
	Farnham Castle 8 days	2 standings at Titchfield (4 days)	Lord Hertford's house at Elvetham 6 days
	Fairthorne 2 days	Dining house at Mr. Caplens between Titchfield and Southampton 2 days	Dining house at the Earl of Hertford's 2 days
	Travel with team and horses from Elveton to Oatlands to make it ready and then back to Fafnham in all haste 3 days	Marquis of Winchester's house at Basing 6 days	
	Mr. More's house at Odiam 6 days	A standing in the Great Park at Basing 2 days	
	A standing at Odiam 2 days	Oatlands 6 days	
		Hampton Court dining house 2 days	
		A standing in the Great Park at Basing when she was hunting there 2 days	
		A dining house at Mr. Shelleys at Fairthorne 2 days	

¹⁶ A 'standing' was a platform for viewing, or a shelter or lodge - a temporary building to suit the purpose. See chapter 9 for those put up for the 1591 progress.

For each piece of work the month is given, which is the same month as the Queen's visit. However no exact date is given, so it is not possible to say how far ahead of the royal party the harbingers were running. They worked on groups of houses in specific areas.¹⁷ It is immediately obvious that Simon Bowyer was the senior officer, for his team prepared the big and important places: in August and September his team prepared, amongst others, Cowdray (including the priory at Easebourne for an evening event, and 'standings' for rest and to watch the hunting in the park), Richard Lewkenor's house at West Dean, the Earl of Sussex's house at Portsmouth (with a 'standing' to inspect the troops), both Bishop's Waltham and Wolvesey, and Elvetham. Richard Brackenbury's team was largely concerned with houses in Surrey during that summer, but they also helped Richard Coningsby's teams in the Southampton area. The latter team served Farnham, and then worked in the smaller houses in a north-south route using the gap in the Downs. Although this cannot be a precise measurement of the way the teams worked, this example shows the methodology that had developed.

Elizabeth's court and council had become accustomed to being on progress, so that preparations were efficient, taking account of the topography of the area to be visited. By working in this way, each team could transport baggage and provisions and avoid difficult terrain. For example, it was not possible in the sixteenth century to cross the river Em between Chichester and Stansted without going considerably further upriver, especially if a horse or ox and cart was involved.¹⁸ The Queen and her retinue would probably have been on horseback. (There were coaches in existence by this period and the Queen had several, with beautiful internal furnishings, but they were very uncomfortable for long-distance travelling. It is unlikely that they were taken out of central London.)¹⁹ In 1591, the Queen and her retinue would have therefore been able to take the route out of Chichester towards Stansted, but it would have been impossible for the carts carrying the royal goods. Richard Coningsby's team, having been at Chichester, had time to make their way further north and then go on to Southwick whilst the Queen went to Stansted, where Simon Bowyer's team were waiting (having come from West Dean), and so they changed about and covered each other throughout the progress. Having separate teams of harbingers and baggage alternating with each other meant that the heavier items did not have to make such crossings, because they had time to find easier routes.

¹⁷ See Map 7, showing each team's areas of work.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Malcolm Walford for sharing his expertise on the landscape in this area at that period.

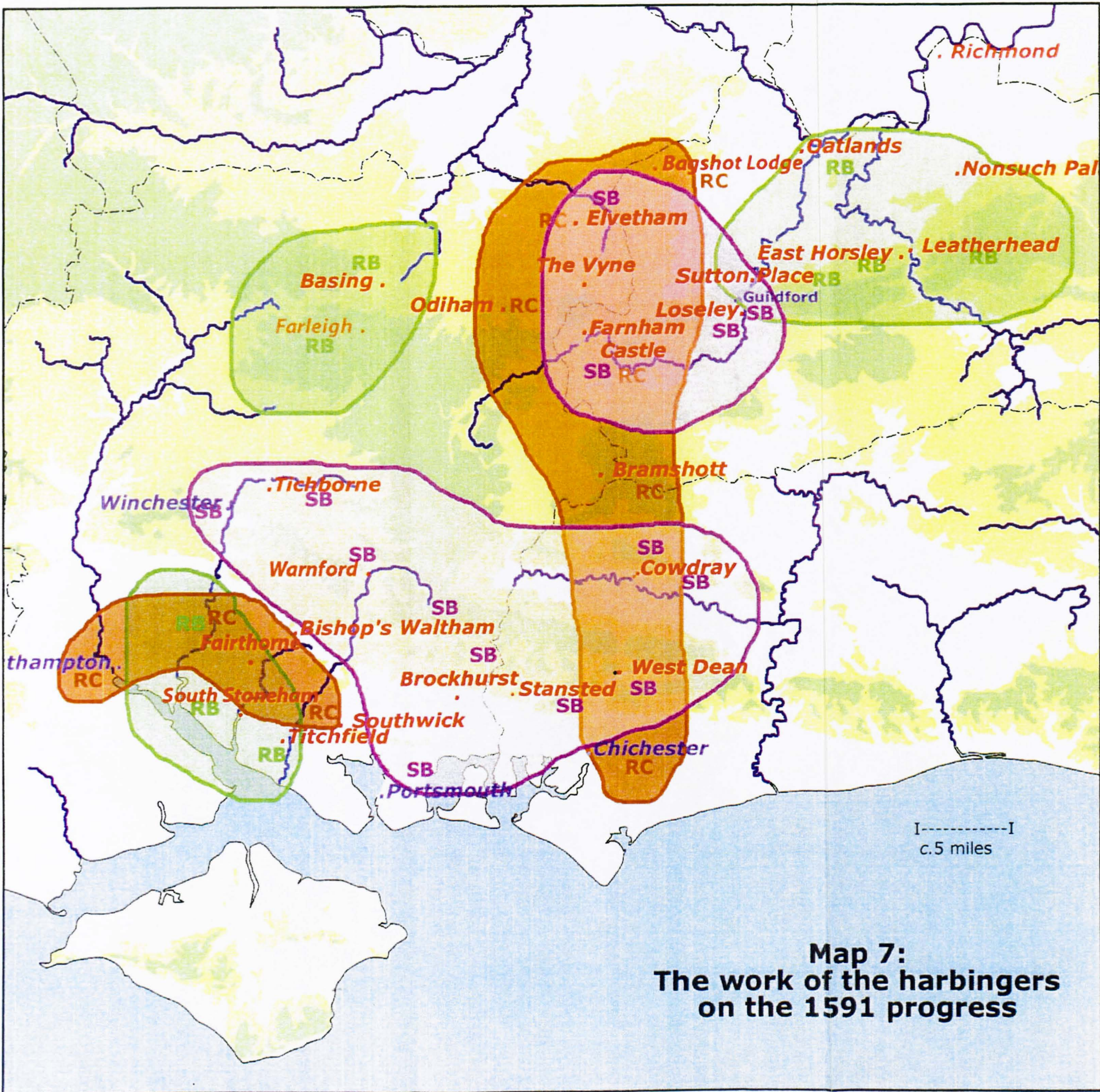
¹⁹ Munby, J., 'Queen Elizabeth's Coaches: the wardrobe on wheels', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2003), 311-367

KEY TO MAP 7:

Green areas: Richard Brackenbury's team; the initials RB are next to the houses his team worked on.

Purple areas: Simon Bowyer's team; the initials SB are next to the houses his team worked on.

Brown areas: Richard Conningsby's team; the initials RC are next to the houses his team worked on.



**Map 7:
The work of the harbingers
on the 1591 progress**

These accounts do not necessarily give the work in chronological order, and only mention the month and not the day in each entry, so we are left to guess exactly how the three teams interacted with each other.²⁰ There were presumably messengers running between the three teams, and between them and the court, but there is no extant evidence for this. However, the system was efficient by Elizabeth's time. It may have devolved from a system used in her father's reign; the 'diet book' of Henry VIII's progress in this region in 1526 could be said to show the same sort of arrangements.²¹ Here, food was being prepared for two parties moving around the region separately: possibly the King's party and the harbingers. Whether we can deduce that or not, the evidence points to the once-huge baggage train devolving into smaller separate teams as royal household organisation developed out of the medieval model into a more efficient system.²²

The transportation of goods was something that the peripatetic royal court had practised for centuries. The packing and transportation of Henry VIII's belongings was an organised, if burdensome exercise.²³ Using the 1547 inventory of royal goods for her research, Maria Hayward found that 'boxes and the host of related items such as coffers, chests, cases, standards and trunks ... were the chief means of both storage and transportation.'²⁴ (Henry had 21 coffers.) Various more 'robust' chests held smaller, finer ones, decorated with leather, fustian or velvet.²⁵ Locks, padlocks and wax seals were used to secure them. Smaller, highly decorated boxes held jewellery or small personal possessions. Furnishings and tapestries were carried in bags, cases and cloth sacks.²⁶ Wicker baskets were also used for temporary storage. For a progress, these items had to be portable and able to be packed on carts without sustaining too much damage. Furniture was more portable than we are used to now:

Bedsteads dismantled, tables consisted of separate tops and trestles and chairs either folded side to side or they were hinged and folded front to back. The textile items - the wall hangings, tapestries, bed hangings, cloths of estate, curtains and traverses - could all be folded or rolled for transportation.²⁷

²⁰ TNA, PRO: E 351/542.

²¹ TNA, PRO: E 101/419/13: a fuller analysis of the document is given in Chapter 4.

²² It was less important for the Tudor monarchs than for the medieval Kings to show off their wealth and power as they travelled around, or to have a military accompaniment. This gave them the freedom to organise the tours better, in the way described above. By the time James was on progress this meant the he could just take what he needed for an extended 'holiday'.

²³ Hayward, M., 'The Packing and Transportation of the Possessions of Henry VIII with Particular Reference to the 1547 Inventory', *Costume*, vol. 31:2 (1997), 8-15.

²⁴ Society of Antiquaries, MS 129, and British Library, BL Harley MS 1419; Hayward, *Transportation*, 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

Despite this, there were rarely enough cases for the items,²⁸ and decisions would have to be made as to which items deserved the most protection. Although there is no specific evidence for what the royal court carried around with them, the quantities suggest that the royal household felt the need to take plenty of chattels and business papers with them, and the members of the retinue would have needed similar arrangements. The Privy Council would have needed their own desks and furniture to carry out business, as well as their papers and other belongings.

The same inventory lists carts held at five important locations: the Tower of London, Portsmouth, Calais, Berwick and Newcastle.²⁹ Carts, and drivers, were also hired locally (except on the Continent where it was too expensive for Henry VIII's household) under a system of purveyance (see below), and a great deal was taken with the court.³⁰ In contrast to its predecessors, Henry's court developed a system of staying in London and then travelling away from it as excursions out from 'home', rather than being on the move all of the time.³¹ Moves between the palaces on the Thames gave his men the expertise to travel further afield with a smaller amount of baggage. The royal household was peripatetic, but the article shows that some items were considered more necessary and moved more than others.³² Elizabeth and James hired carts for shorter journeys between locations.³³ By Elizabeth's reign, the practical arrangements for moving had evolved into a routine, if inefficient, system, and they could use their predecessors' experience to take the court much further afield and for a longer period.

The 'Works' royal accounts show preparations ahead of the visit.³⁴ At the end of each section giving the cost of maintenance work on royal property, the account usually deals with work carried out on other people's houses during royal progresses, and this is an extract for the progress of 1591:

Diverse houses in ye tyme of her Mat[ie]s Progresse

Also allowed to the same accomptauntes for money yssued paide & defreyed for workes and Reparacions done at sondreye houses within the tyme of her ma'ties progresses viz at Hackney Sir Rowlande Howardes house £4 4s 5d Theobalds the Lord Treasurers £28 4s 5d ob qu Mycham [blank] house 78s 10d Nonesuche £6 9s 5d Horseley 55s 6d ob Lowseley £4 16s 7d Farneham £7 9s 6d qu Bramshotte [mark] 55s 6d ob Cowdrey the

²⁸ Ibid., 11-12.

²⁹ Ibid., 12 Presumably the carts at Portsmouth were used on progresses in the area, although in 1591, they might well have been taken over to the Netherlands for military demands over there.

³⁰ Op.cit., 13.

³¹ See Chapter 4.

³² Op.cit., 12.

³³ See below.

³⁴ TNA, PRO: E 541/3224.

Lo Montague house 7 7s 9d ob qu Chichester [mark] £8 5s 2d Stansted [mark] 104s 5d Portesmouth [mark] 102s 5d ob Southwick [mark] 106s 3d Warmeforth [mark] 30s 3d qu Aberstone [mark] 12s 3d ob Titchfield [mark] £4 2d ob Sowth'ton 6 5d ob Bishoppes Waltham [mark] 74s 3d ob Wynchester [mark] 62s 7d ob Aberston againste her Mate retourne [mark] 67s 3d Fareley 58s 5d ob Basinge [mark] 104s 3d ob Odyam [mark] 101s 3d Elverton [mark] £4 16s 7d Bagshotte [mark] 29s 3d Farneham in the Retourne 50s 10d ob and Sutton [mark] 6 9d In all amountinge to as by two particular paye books warranted & subscribed by the said Officers and hereupon seene & examined maye appeare the some of 148 15s 6d qu³⁵

Here the accounts more or less give the itinerary of the progress, and these costs can be compared with those claimed by the harbingers.³⁶ The 'Works' accounts were for the costs of the work done, and the claims by the harbingers represent supervision of that work. There are therefore two sets of accounts involved, and since there is no detail in either set, we have to speculate on the type of work being undertaken. The harbinger teams had a daily rate of 19s 8d, which was presumably allocated by the team leaders to individual members of the teams, including themselves. In their accounts, six days is the maximum number of days' work for any one stop - even though the duration of the Queen's visit varied.³⁷ The sums for the main two stops of the progress, Cowdray and Elvetham, show that the harbingers put most effort into these places; the works' sum for Elvetham is about half that spent on Cowdray. Significant sums were spent by the royal party: for the visit to Cowdray, the harbingers' and buildings' works together cost them £23 2s 5¾d. The details shown in the 'Works' accounts above, however, were for practical labour, and must have varied with the amount needing to be done.³⁸ It would make more sense if the sums in the accounts above were less than those claimed by the teams of harbingers, and it is difficult to say why the two sets of accounts do not reflect each other in their costs for the amount of work undertaken.

Together these accounts show that the royal party had a firm hold on the proposed accommodation for the Queen, although not necessarily for the people accompanying her.³⁹ It was not just the Queen who had to be considered. Ministers and courtiers who travelled with her, and if they had not been given a place in the main house, had to lodge in the neighbourhood. Often there were disputes over accommodation; there might not be enough of it, or it was not good enough.

³⁵ TNA, PRO: E 541/3226.

³⁶ See Appendix 8.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ One can speculate that some houses were more solid than others - for example, Cowdray was newer and may have had less need for altering than, for example Bishop's Waltham. But the work might also include making the houses ready for drama and pageantry.

³⁹ See Chapter 8 on Elizabethan progresses.

Even at Croydon Palace, which was one of the residences of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in which Elizabeth frequently stayed, there were problems. The steward wrote:

For the Queen's waiters I cannot find any convenient rooms to place them in, but I will do the best I can to place them elsewhere, but if it will please you, sir, that I do remove them; the grooms of the privy chamber, nor Mr Drury, have no other way to their chambers but to pass through that where my Lady Oxford should come.

Worse still was the problem of responding to particular requests, for as the steward continued:

I cannot then tell where to place Mr Hatton; and for my Lady Carewe there is no place with a chimney for her, but that she must lay abroad by Mrs A Parry and the rest of the privy chamber. For Mrs Shelton there are no rooms with a chimney; I shall stay one chamber without for her. Here is as much as I am able to do in this house. From Croydon.⁴⁰

Courtier sensitivities and rank had to be taken into account. The average age of the participants of the 1591 progress was between fifty and sixty, so it cannot have been easy. For example, by 18 September Sir Henry Lee had had enough and wrote to Sir Thomas Heneage, who was nominally in charge of all accommodation:

I find myself evil provided for, of all things necessary for me as I am. I am old, and come now evil away with the inconveniences of progress. I followed her Majesty until my man returned and told me he could get neither fit lodging for me nor room for my horse. All these things considered hath made me return, with my more ease, to my poor home, where I am much more fit to pray for Her Majesty than now to wrestle with the humours of Court...⁴¹

From this letter it seems that the hosts were not obliged to find accommodation even for all the courtiers, let alone the servants and retinue that came with them. Elizabeth's progresses must therefore have had some uncertainty about them, if people were not sure that they would be offered good accommodation. Only in the noble houses could people like Sir Henry Lee be sure that he would have a good night's sleep.

⁴⁰ Quote used by A. Bradstock in talk to conference at the Old Palace, 15 May 2004.

⁴¹ From: 'Cecil Papers: September 1591', Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 4: 1590-1594 (1892), pp. 135-141, online.

Purveyance

The government made its own arrangements for provisions when on the move or staying in less well-endowed homes. Supplies, such as wheat, meat, fodder for the horses and money were sent direct from London or provided through a purveyance system.⁴² This was a way of provisioning the royal household as it moved about. Purveyors were given a royal licence to purchase local food from markets, farmers or other suppliers at a fixed price (usually below the market one). They also borrowed local horses and carts where necessary, in order to move the monarch's baggage and provisions from place to place.⁴³ It was a system arranged under the hundreds,⁴⁴ and was gathered as if it were a tax in kind, except where it had been commuted to a money payment. Recompense was slow, and relied on the local organisers to be honest, but they were unsalaried and expected to take their share from the payments. It was purveyance which hit the general population the hardest in the event of a progress. The system was also a major increase for royal household expenses as the prices paid were usually higher than those from their own regular suppliers in London, presumably despite the purveyors' best efforts.

This study can therefore add useful evidence to our picture of purveyance. Amongst the Jervoise manuscripts from the 1570s and 1580s, relating to the family activities as Justices of the Peace, and those of Sir Richard Paulet and Benjamin Tichborne as Sheriff, is a rich archive of papers showing purveyance in practice. They show that the system, although disorganised and unpopular, was comprehensive, for they include surveys of land to assess for provisions for the Queen's household:

howe moche, and upon whome, the whole somm and rate of wheate, sturffe, Lambes, ...pultrey, therby, may best be levied, for provision of the Royal [?illegible] ma'ties moste honourable howsholde, at suche tyme as the same shalbe Requested.⁴⁵

These assessments come from the hundreds in Hampshire, over which the Jervoise family and their successors had jurisdiction.⁴⁶ They form terriers or surveys, listing each place, down to each farm and tenant, giving quantities of arable land and meadow held by each with an estimate of value. The assessments include an inn, and the parsonage and its tithing, and it is at this level that the impact of the

⁴² Woodworth, 'Purveyance'.

⁴³ They did not always follow the same route; many of the retinue went away and came back during the progress (see Chapter 8).

⁴⁴ Hundreds were units of administration, usually about the size of half a dozen parishes. In the middle ages, English and Welsh defence was organised under areas which could provide a hundred fighting men.

⁴⁵ HRO: 44M69/G3/99.

⁴⁶ HRO: 44M69/G3/99-102 for 1575. The hundreds included Kingsclere, Evingar, Overton and Pastro, to the north of the county. Their location meant that they were often on the path of a progress.

progresses was felt amongst the yeomen farmers of the region. The 'Vewe of corn' taken by the constable in the parishes in Micheldever hundred give individual names of farmers and the quantity of corn available, c. 1585-1586. The number of dependents of each farmer is also recorded, and it shows that these taxes affected people down to the very lowest orders of the local community: this is the survey of the hundred of Abbas Worthy and Hide Burton, taken by the constables⁴⁷:

A vewe taken in Abbas Worthy & Hide Barton of corne:

Mistris Coram by estimacion in wheate 6 quarters; In malt – 11 quarters.

Persons in hir house 16

William Caper in wheate 13 quarters; In malt – 27 quarters. In barley – 4 quarters. Persons 18

William Purdy In wheate 4 quarters. Persons in his house 10

Mr. Warbertin In wheate 4 quarters. Persons in his house 2

Mr. Pilson In wheate 8 quarters; In barley – 4 quarters. In malt – 5 quarters.

Persons 15

Thomas Proctor a malter In malt 4 quarters; In Barly - 2 quarters.

Persons in his house 4

Larrence Kent In malt 5 quarters; In wheate – 4 bushells.

Persons in his house 4

Thomas Wayte In wheate; 6 bushells; In malt – 12 bushells.

Persons in his house 6

Evidently the number of dependents was supposed to be taken into account, because they were recorded, but the accounts do not show that it made a visible difference to the amount purveyed. A later enquiry made the uncertainty and inconvenience clear:

The Cuntrie is much abused by the Purveyours and others in the payment of Composition Wheat,ottes and Lambes for sometimes Comaundment cumynge to stay the delivery wherof at the usuall tymes. The same is called for on the Sudden and then some Smale defaltes made, advantage is taken therof. And somtymes some other will answeere the Kinge that wantes of the dew, and take yt up of those that made default, and be satisfied at What price they will, sumtymes duple the valew els purveyaunts shall Carry them away, with other such like.⁴⁸

It seems that it was difficult to make sure that recompence for the purveyed items was paid at a fair rate and to the right person.

Carts were also commandeered. The royal household owned a number of carts:

All the household departments hired carts and drivers by the month, on the basis of there being 28 days in the month, at a rate of 3s. 4d. a day... Transportation costs within England were much lower [than on the Continent]. The jackets for the King's guard were regularly transported by cart, and in the

⁴⁷ HRO: 44M69/G3/108. The survey was undertaken by William Purdy and Roger Wayte with five other constables, which shows that even this was a costly and time-consuming business.

⁴⁸ HRO: 44M69/GE/155/20.

early years of the reign, payment for this was made from the Chamber funds. The usual rate was 2d. a mile. This rate seems to have been fairly universal, for William Harper, the clerk of the closet with Catherine Parr, paid a 1d. a mile for his half share of the cart that was used to remove the Queen's closet stuff.⁴⁹

However, for shorter journeys between houses it was more feasible to appropriate carts from local farmers, and this is what local documents from the region show. Documents from the Jervoise archive show local carts being commandeered for carrying James I's supplies in 1603:

The Liberty of Bentley
 First, Two Cartes for his Ma'ties service from Winchester to Otlandes
 From Otlandes to Hampton Court Two cartes
 From Loossely Sir Georg Mores too Farnham Two Cartes
 From Farnham Castle to Basinge Two Cartes
 From Basing to Newberie Two cartes
 From Farnham to Winchester Two Cartes
 for Carriage of his Ma'tes wyne⁵⁰

The carts must have been collected up and taken wherever the harbingers felt the need. There is no specific evidence for the connection between the system run, as we have seen, at the local level and the system run by the harbingers. But the documents dealing with carts clearly reveal local problems arising over the system. One from Holshot, asks for the abatement of the warrant, because:

'The on Cawse for that wee have no horsteemes within our hondrethe but all ox teemes & that one Jovrue hathe bin diverse times far of the other the infeckion hathe bin in diverse partes of our hondrethe & Becaws our hondrethe being of a small vallew: & it lyethe of a great Lengthe, that it doethe ... beare gretter preposion than any other hondrethe, for the quantitie within the sheere...⁵¹

This not-unusual complaint of too heavy a tax burden has been exacerbated because of the topography of a small and isolated hundred. The lie of the valley meant that there was less good arable land available for the farmers, and so they felt that they were unfairly taxed.

Returns showed that information was missing,⁵² that the number of carts taken was thought to be excessive,⁵³ and that not all carts were returned:

⁴⁹ Hayward, *Transportation*, 12-13.

⁵⁰ HRO: 44M69/G3/155/2 This document not only shows the number of carts provided by the Liberty of Bentley, but here we have a rough itinerary for James's progress around Hampshire in 1603. It shows that he stayed in the same places as his predecessor: Sir George More was William More's son, and the Bishop of Winchester and the Marquis of Winchester again figure prominently. These were people who had been courting James over the last few years.

⁵¹ HRO: 44M69/G3/155/4.

⁵² HRO: 44M69/G3/155/12.

⁵³ HRO: 44M69/G3/155/20.

Charged by warrant from Robert flecher purveyor for the Remove of his ma'tie from losle to Farnham the full number of xx cartes but returned xviii that is to say:

Mapleldorwell:	Christopher leciter	i cart
Tonworth	Thomas meriat	i cart
	Michel elingworth	i cart
Clidgden	2 names	1 cart between them
Upnatly	Roger Loker	1 cart
Natley sewers	henries Leche was there but had not carriage	
i cart		
Winslade	John Cook	i cart default

Charged by warrant from Robert flecher for the remove of his ma'tie from Farnham to basing the full number of xxxv cartes but returned xxviii.⁵⁴

Although absence of evidence does not necessarily show evidence of absence, we might speculate that the purveyance system was arranged to satisfy the needs of the royal party, but there may have been little organisation to get the carts back safely. Local providers therefore suffered. Overall, there seems to have been a gap between the organisation for the royal party and the local system of purveyance.

The unpopularity of the scheme at the local level is also shown in these documents. In the aftermath of the 1591 progress, complaints were sent to the Privy Council about abuses practised by the purveyors. The Council replied that although Her Majesty was greatly offended by these abuses, it was felt that some blame should lie with the local gentry:

importeth first some fault in you all, in your slacke retourninge those Certificattes; ...& then that in theis many yeres, you have neyther proceeded to reformation of those offences, in the Countie by order of lawe provided for the same, nor delivered information therof hether, that order therin might long since have bin taken.⁵⁵

However, the Council did view the situation with some sympathy, and ordered the Justices of the Peace in the county to meet together, and authorise three or four of their number to make up a commission to authorise a system of composition⁵⁶ and set down quantities of provisions to be provided in future. Walter Sandys organised a meeting, but the new commission's letter to the Council the following April still complained about the heavy burden put upon the county by the purveyors, adding that because Hampshire was a maritime county, supplies of timber were already needed for other uses.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ HRO: 44M69/G3/155/3.

⁵⁵ HRO: 44M69/G3/113/1 for August 1592.

⁵⁶ Payments in money, rather than kind. Although it then became a tax, it was fairer than removing a large proportion of the produce of the region.

⁵⁷ HRO: 44M69/G3/113/4. The ports would have used a great deal of timber. Ship timber was grown especially but supplies would have been needed for the men stationed there.

These documents reveal how much extra the progresses imposed on local communities.⁵⁸ Unlike the work of the harbingers and other royal preparations, purveyance was locally administered and resourced. The impact of a progress would have been long-term because carts were taken at the height of the harvest season (i.e. August and September), and fodder and grain not reimbursed until much later. Nor did the producers of the resources gain by being part of the progress; they were not likely to even see it. Consequently it was a burden on communities otherwise unrelated to the progress. Originally only involving the home counties, it came to be a tax on the vicinity of each progress, and was generally thought to be unfair and corrupt. Elizabeth and her chief minister, Lord Burghley, tried to reform the system towards the end of her reign, but without much success.⁵⁹

The practicalities of accommodation

Accommodation for the people in the royal progress was always problematic, as people quarrelled over types of accommodation and how acceptable it was. Suitable accommodation, fit for aristocracy and gentry, was always in short supply. If the travellers were finding it uncomfortable, the hosts and people in the countryside around must have been similarly inconvenienced when so many people descended on them. As for the servants, they had to put up wherever they could, sometimes in inns, sometimes in tents. When stationary, the whole train was probably scattered over a considerable distance, and any uninvited visitor to the area would have found it impossible to find accommodation.

Not unexpectedly, the royal court had alternative arrangements for accommodation when on the move. One of the officials of the royal household was the Master of Tents, Hales⁶⁰ and Pavilions, some of whose accounts for 1559-1571 and 1608-1611 survive.⁶¹ Originally, this must have been for military purposes, but the popularity of jousts, hunting and other military sports grew in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and tents became finer and decorated as they were used for other purposes. The Loseley papers include earlier records of the office because William More, who owned Loseley, became firm friends with, and then the executor of, Sir Thomas Cawarden, who held that position with Master of Revels until his

⁵⁸ West Sussex Record Office has nothing to complement this, and the only detailed sixteenth century estate records there (other than title deeds) are those of the Earls of Northumberland at Petworth. This is not a matter of survival, which is the usual problem with lack of evidence, because this archive is very detailed indeed, but the omission lies in the fact that the sixteenth-century Earls never joined in society in West Sussex, and in any case were too high a rank to be carrying out this sort of task. It was people like William More and Sir Richard Paulet who were involved in the day to day business of the commissions of peace and Privy Council orders.

⁵⁹ Woodward, 'Purveyance', 16-17.

⁶⁰ A hale was a large tent, such as a pavilion or marquee.

⁶¹ TNA, PRO: E 351/2935-2939.

death in 1554.⁶² The site of the Blackfriars in London was used by Cawarden as a store for the royal tents until 1550 when the house and precinct were granted to him by Edward VI as a reward for service. The records show that management of the tents was an important and professional post. They include pay books, lists and accounts relating to erecting, repairing and drying tents 1536-1551;⁶³ warrants, accounts, receipts and other papers relating to the office of the Tents, including a rough inventory of royal tents, round houses etc,⁶⁴ a list of tents provided for the royal household on the expedition to France, 1545⁶⁵ (for the Field of the Cloth of Gold – see below); and an inventory of serviceable and unserviceable tents. They also include accounts for moving the tents out of Blackfriars to other places in London and the Home Counties, and these accounts suggest that they were used for progresses as well as ceremonial and military events: for example, a book of wages paid to tailors, carpenters, etc. who were occupied on the King's tents not only at Westminster, but also at Nonsuch and Petworth.

Later accounts are more forthcoming about the tents being used on progresses. The records suggest the progresses were an opportunity to claim over and above the department's everyday work. Under the heading 'Rewards' we find accounts for 1565-71:

Also allowed for Monye paied and distributed in Rewarde to diverse persones by the consente of Thofficers of the said Office for woorkes by them donne in the saied Office at Extraordinarye tymes within the tyme of this accompte, *aswell in the progresse, as at other tymes*, viz to diverse persones @ sondry tymes 6li 3s 4d for the lyke at one other tyme 40s. To 6 Tuylers for woorke by them donne at diverse extraordinary tymes 20s and *for the attendaunce given in the progresse tyme anno 12th and Labour day in keapyng the hailes and setting them uppe and taking them downe which was donne by commaundment of the Ld Chamberlaine 4?li 19s* And for the wages of 6 Tuylers, and one Carpenter *that wroughte upon the Tentis against the said progresse tyme 38s 6d* St (summa totalis) 6li 17s 6d as in the sayed booke is expressed
Total 8li 5s 10d

Also allowed for Monnye by the said Accomptaunce likewise paide for carriage of stuffe to and fro the office at *sondrie tymes abd in the progresse tyme*, viz. for cord of diverse cordes at 2d the myle and for sondry other charges in carriage of the sayed Stuffe as in the saied booke particlerly is specified and declared
Total: 7li 9s 7d⁶⁶

⁶² Cawarden's papers joined More's own papers and are amongst the Loseley Mss at SHC. Further papers relating to the Revels, tents and the Blackfriars site, are now held by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, USA.

⁶³ SHC: LM/25/1-50.

⁶⁴ SHC: LM/25/141.

⁶⁵ SHC: LM/25/101.

⁶⁶ TNA, PRO: E351 2937 [Italics mine].

These accounts show large tents (hales) being put up and taken down, with the need for carpenters to work on them, and extra canvas. Unfortunately, the accounts only survive for a short period and those quoted above are for six years as a block. It is difficult to know how much of the work involved the progresses, except where it is specific, as the italicised text in the extract above shows.

The accounts list the items needed for the work. During the six years of the account above, the materials bought included canvas, Holland cloth (for hangings inside), ropes for various iron hooks and lines, timber for masts, poles and boards, trunks to carry goods in, ironmongery, and paint for painting pots (wooden roundels for the tops of round tents) and for gilding vanes⁶⁷. The finials and external decorations were considered important. In the Cawarden accounts, there is a receipt from Antony Totto [Toto, alias Antonio del Nunziata] for £20 paid him by Thomas Cawarden for painting hatchments to be set upon the King's tents and pavilions. Also, there is an account of 'thinges made and paynted for the Kinges Maiestie by Antony Totto Serjeaunt Paynter', delivered to Sir Thomas Cawarden: including pots, 'vanes' painted with the royal arms and badges, 'penselles', and hatchments.⁶⁸

Other types of temporary accommodation are mentioned in the More-Molyneux records: a 'Warrant of Council to Sir Thomas Cawarden to deliver canvas 'round houses''⁶⁹ and 'Charges for making 13 new tents and repairing an old kitchen for delivery to the Earl of Huntingdon';⁷⁰ and an 'Inventory of the King's tents, hales, pavilions and timber houses'.⁷¹ The term 'old kitchen' might suggest use on a progress rather than a ceremonial event, and the timber houses suggest buildings that were equally temporary. Although these tents were too good for military use, they evidently needed extra work to bring them up to standard for a progress. Some of the work could be quite exceptional, and Henry VIII's expedition to France in 1520 is a famous and revealing example. The ways in which such tents were used can be seen in the painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.⁷²

⁶⁷ A useful website: <http://www.greydragon.org/pavilions/index.html>, is dedicated to the study of medieval pavilions and tents and their materials. It has been put together by Peter Barclay, who is evidently in the US army. Amongst various instructions on how to create a pavilion, and the different types of stitching on the tents, are several photos from a visit to the Historical Museum (Barfüsserkirche) in Basel, Switzerland, where an early seventeenth-century pavilion has been erected, with a finial last used in 1591. It shows how the tent would have looked, how the ropes were used, and the finial on the top of the roof.

⁶⁸ SHC: Loseley Mss: LM/1892, nd [after 1544]. Examples of royal tents used in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and perhaps also for progresses, are given in Starkey, D. (ed.), *Henry VIII: a European Court in England* (London: Collins and Brown, 1991), 53.

⁶⁹ SHC: Loseley Mss: LM/33.

⁷⁰ SHC: Loseley Mss: LM/34.

⁷¹ SHC: Loseley Mss: LM/28.

⁷² 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold', from The Royal Collection © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Image 4: The Field of the Cloth of Gold

This was a ceremonial meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I, the King of France, which took place near Calais in 1520. The picture shows the huge 'palace' tent constructed for Henry and his retainers, and other luxurious marquees and tents for the English aristocracy. It is an extremely luxurious example of canvas hospitality, but it shows the skills available and should inform such discussion. The erection of buildings which were half wooden structure and half tents had been raised to a high standard. The tents were highly decorated, and the amount of gold and decoration used was intended to impress. The scale of the cooking, and the number of people involved give some idea of how catering might be achieved on Elizabeth's progresses, for example at Kenilworth in 1575 (which was very special indeed) and on her visit to Cowdray in 1591. From other sources we know that on her visits a great deal of effort was put into creating artificial lakes, with islands peopled by nymphs and mythical figures, or gardens with symbolic plants and statues, so it is unlikely that the hailes and pavilions used for progresses were the equivalent of rows of army tents.⁷³ These tents would be just as luxurious and ornamental, and special in themselves. They were after all, also used for jousts and ceremonial events.

This chapter has given an overview of the enormous amount of work and planning undertaken for a progress. It shows the administrative process, the vast amount of staff and equipment needed, the detail of the planning, and the practicalities of accommodation on the move. Some parts of the counties were greatly affected by the burden of having to find food and carts at the time of a progress. The royal party did not rely on provisions from the hosts alone, and their

⁷³ For example: Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth, I*, 485-495 for Kenilworth in 1574; III, 100-103 for Elvetham in 1591.

advent was more like a film crew setting up a rival establishment in one's own house or village, providing all their necessities, but at the same time changing the locks on the front door, the colours of the interior decorations and ornaments, and at the same time expecting the would-be host to provide entertainment and added value to their visit. Elizabethan progresses were therefore formalized and running on an clear, if less than efficient, system. However, there are further aspects of Elizabeth's progresses, such as her choice of houses and hosts, and the next chapter sets this in context by looking at her approach and methods, and using the progresses in this region to draw out those aspects.

Chapter 8

Elizabethan Progresses in the Region

Introduction

Over the century between 1525 and 1625, progresses were developing and evolving, as was the relationship of the monarch with society in general. Displays of dynastic legitimacy and military power had given way to shows of wealth, magnificence and sophistication. Elizabeth built on this and was able to cultivate it in her own style.¹ She developed the cult of the Virgin Queen, by building on the stability provided by her grandfather's reign and the personal aspects of her father's rule. Like her father, she enjoyed other people's hospitality away from the Thames-side palaces. However, Elizabeth was different from her predecessors: she had alternative motives and preferences, and in this she seems to have been different from every other medieval and early modern monarch. She took her Privy Council and court with her, and stayed at places too small to accommodate everyone. She expected different levels of hospitality from different ranks of gentry, and because she was not tied to noble houses she was able to explore the countryside more widely. In this, she gave hope to all sorts of would-be hosts. This chapter explores those facets which were peculiar to her and her progresses, in relation to West Sussex, Hampshire and Surrey. It starts by examining her progresses generally to set the 1591 progress in context, and then concentrates on those in this region in particular - how did they fit the general picture, and how do they illustrate her relationship with this area? It also explores the size of Elizabeth's retinue. Secondly, it looks at the criteria for the houses and the choices of host that Elizabeth made. Elizabeth's Privy Council took more than a passing interest in the gentry in Sussex, and the chapter explores how this fact contrasts with the lack of visits made by Elizabeth to the area. Finally, the chapter looks at the progresses from the hosts' point of view, especially those who were Catholic.

The context of the progress of 1591

It is well known that Elizabeth travelled around her subject's houses for most of the summers during her reign. She took the opportunity of the summer season, and the need to leave London for hygienic reasons, to travel around the southern part of the kingdom, visiting loyal nobility and gentry, and sometimes being entertained magnificently. The heyday of her visiting was in the 1570s, and again in the early 1590s, as can be seen from this Table:

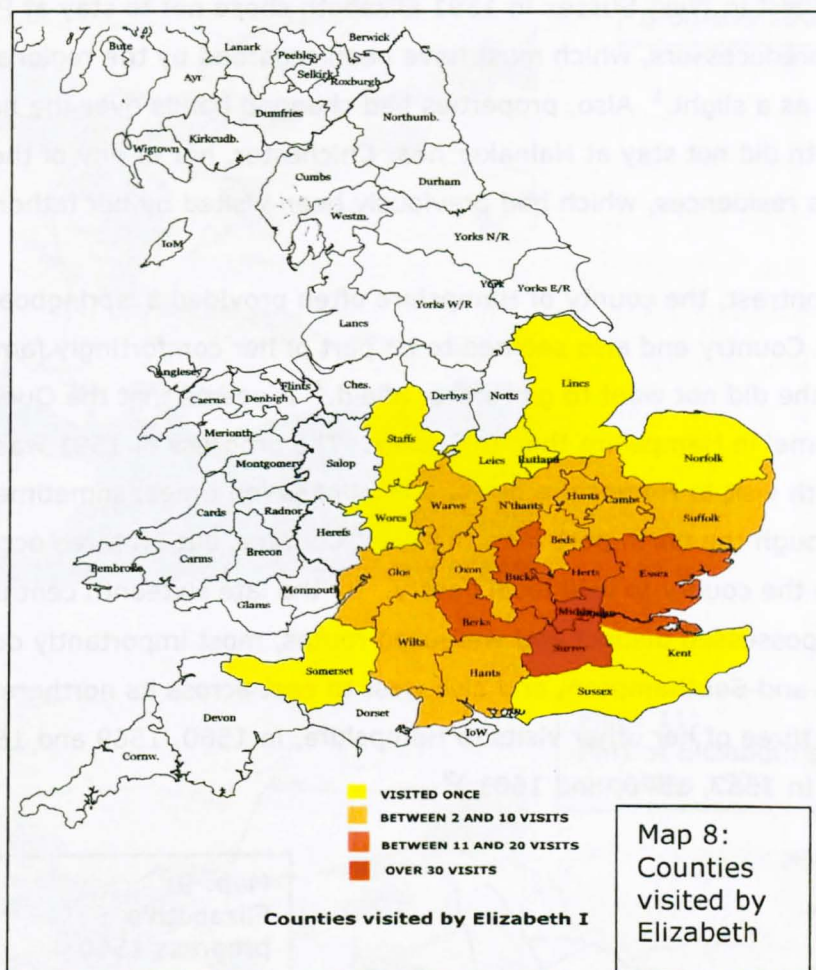
¹ This is explored in, for example, Frye, S., *Elizabeth I: the competition for representation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Doran, S., *Queen Elizabeth I* (London: The British Library, 2003); Leahy, W., *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (London: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005). In McIntosh, J.L., *From heads of household to heads of state: the preaccession households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516-1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), Ms McIntosh suggests that Elizabeth (and Mary) established a recognisable political profile through use of their households and property. Elizabeth was already an authority figure by the time she acceded.

Table 4: Counties visited by Elizabeth I

(taken from information in Cole, *Portable Queen*, Appendix 1)

Year	Months	Counties visited
1559	July - Aug	Middlesex, Kent, Surrey
1560	July - Aug	Surrey, Hampshire
1561	July - Sep	Essex, Suffolk, Hertfordshire
1562	?	Surrey
1563		
1564	July - Sep	Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex
1565	July - Sep	Berkshire, Surrey, Middlesex
1566	July - Sep	Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey
1567	August	Surrey, Hampshire, Surrey
1568	July - Sep	Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire
1569	July - Sep	Surrey, Hampshire
1570	July - Sep	Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire
1571	July - Sep	Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Hertfordshire
1572	July - Sep	Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire
1573	July - Sep	Kent, E. Sussex, Surrey
1574	July - Sep	Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Surrey
1575	May - Oct	Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire
1576	May - Oct	Surrey, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire
1577	May - Sep	Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Deptford, Middlesex, Berkshire
1578	April - Sep	Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Essex
1579	April - Sep	Essex, Kent
1580	May - Oct	Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire
1581	June - Sep	Essex, Kent, Surrey
1582	Feb, July - Sep	Kent, Surrey, Berkshire
1583	July - Sep	Middlesex, Surrey
1584	July - Sep	Surrey, Berkshire, Surrey, Hampshire
1585	July - Aug	Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey
1586		
1587	July - Aug	Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey,
1588	April - Aug	Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Essex
1589		
1590	June - Sep	Kent, Surrey, Berkshire
1591	July - Sep	Surrey, Hampshire, West Sussex
1592	April - Oct	Middlesex, Surrey, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire
1593		
1594	June - July	Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex
1595	Autumn	Surrey
1596	Autumn	Surrey
1597	July - Sep	Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Surrey
1598	Autumn	Surrey
1599	Autumn	Surrey, Middlesex
1600	July - Sep	Surrey
1601	July - Sep	Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire, Surrey

The map below offers a visual image of the table.² It reveals the Queen's penchant for staying around the areas she knew best; mostly in the area we would now know as within the M25 boundary, and next most frequently, the Home Counties.³



The map gives some idea of her stamping ground – it shows that the whole phenomenon of her progresses was essentially southern and English. Despite the Queen's personal curiosity to see her subjects and new places, she did not venture into the further reaches of her Kingdom, even during the safest part of her reign in the 1570s. Her desire to stay in the south-east however did not mean she was familiar with Sussex or most of Kent.

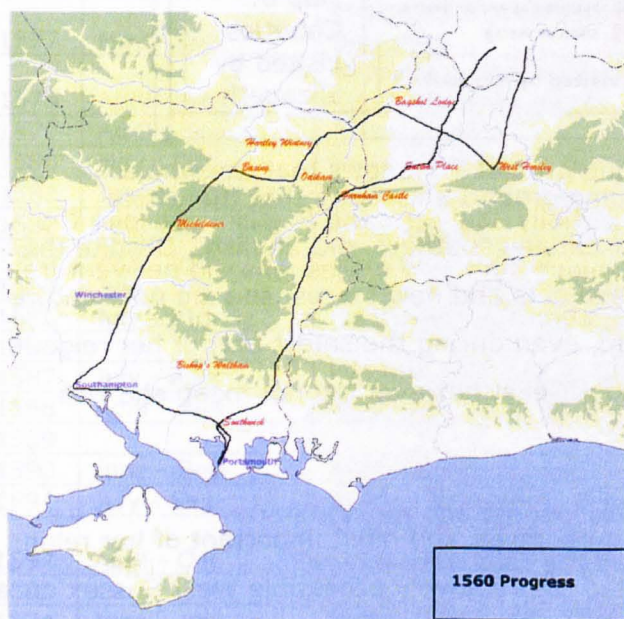
The 1591 progress was one of the longest and most important of her reign. It is surprising that Elizabeth only visited the relatively accessible West Sussex once in a long reign of 45 years; she also visited East Sussex only once in 1573.

² I am indebted to the appendices in Cole, *Portable Queen*, which enable me to compile these maps and tables. It shows the pre-1974 counties of England, and is colour-coded to show the frequency of Elizabeth's visits to each county.

³ It does not tell the whole story because she did not go to every part of the counties shown as coloured in: for example, the map makes it look as if she went almost all the way up to Yorkshire in 1566, because Lincolnshire stretched so far north. In fact she just went to Stamford to visit Cecil at Greyfriars (Burghley House was only started in 1555) – Stamford is about a fifth of the way north into the county. The furthest west any of the Queen's progresses went was to Gloucestershire, although the shading looks further west because Somerset stretches that way.

Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, came to Sussex and Hampshire several times, and both Edward VI and Mary had made progresses in this area, each time for their only major visit out of London.⁴ All the same, things change, and the people in favour in the 1550s were not necessarily so in the 1590s or at the turn of the seventeenth century. Whilst in West Sussex in 1591 Elizabeth chose not to stay at Petworth, unlike her predecessors, which must have been regarded by the regional community as a slight.⁵ Also, properties had changed hands over the half century, and Elizabeth did not stay at Hainaker near Chichester, nor at any of the Bishop of Chichester's residences, which had previously been visited by her father.⁶

In contrast, the county of Hampshire often provided a 'springboard' for visits to the West Country and also seemed to be part of her comfortably familiar territory if she did not want to go further afield.⁷ It seems that the Queen was more 'at home' in Hampshire than in Sussex. The progress of 1591 was the Queen's sixth visit to Hampshire out of a total of seven times, sometimes just passing through the north part from the West Country, but on three occasions coming into the county to visit local gentry. By the late sixteenth century, Hampshire possessed distinct and well-used routes, most importantly down to Portsmouth and Southampton, and also west to east across its northern half. The maps show three of her other visits to Hampshire, in 1560, 1569 and 1574.⁸ (She also visited in 1567, 1576, and 1601.)⁹



Map: 9:
Elizabeth's
progress 1560

⁴ See chapter 4.

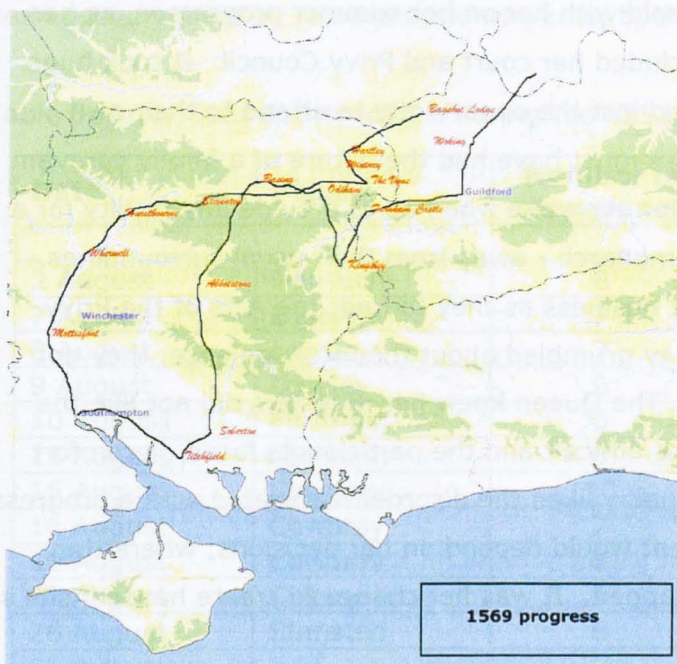
⁵ See below.

⁶ For example Amberley, see chapter 4.

⁷ For example, in 1567, 1569 and 1584, she stayed in around London and the Thames valley, but in 1574 she passed through Hampshire to the West Country, and in 1576 again used Hampshire to go northwards to Berkshire and Oxfordshire.

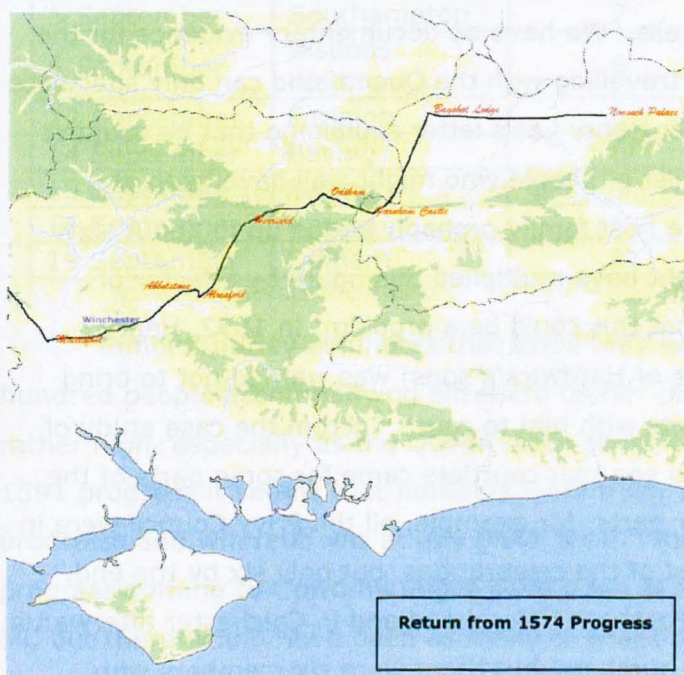
⁸ Maps 9-11.

⁹ Information taken from Cole, *The Portable Queen*; Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*; and TNA, PRO: E351/542, the accounts of the Treasurers of the Chamber.



Map: 10:
Elizabeth's
progress 1569

1569 progress



Map: 11:
Part of Elizabeth's
progress 1574

Return from 1574 Progress

Maps 9-11 indicate that Elizabeth took similar routes each time, taking her around the edge of the higher country of the Downs. These were well-trodden paths (some of them are the routes of modern roads such as the M3, the A3 and the A27/M27), and she chose to use them on her return route to London in 1591.

Size of progress and retinue

Elizabeth took her household with her on her summer progresses, as her father had done, but she also included her court and Privy Council. It took huge organisation, and those concerned lost the opportunity to attend to their own concerns at home.¹⁰ The progress must have had the nature of a family caravan holiday – absolutely exhausting for everyone who had to provide any facility for a demanding child, or in this case monarch – away from their usual surroundings. The Privy Council met to conduct business as they toured; the Acts of the Privy Council suggest that although they grumbled about the inconvenience, they got used to a peripatetic life-style.¹¹ The Queen knew her ministers did not like the constant travel. It made business difficult and the participants faced discomfort and inefficiency. The Queen probably liked the disorder associated with a progress; the smooth running of government would depend on her decisions; where they would be next and what would happen. It was her chance to create havoc if she so fancied.¹²

Despite all the sources available, it is very difficult to ascertain the size of the visiting party on a royal progress. We have no documentary evidence for the number of people expected to be travelling with the Queen, and can only speculate from pieces of evidence such as Sir Henry Lee's letter explaining that he couldn't find accommodation.¹³ From the list of people who might well have been at Cowdray,¹⁴ the royal party and the host family probably added up to about sixty people. Servants and retinue might have multiplied this figure by a factor of between six and ten. We know that this could be a problem: in 1592, Henry Cavendish of Tutbury (one of Bess of Hardwick's sons) was warned not to bring more than eighteen named servants with him to court.¹⁵ From the case study of the 1591 progress, it is possible to see that courtiers came for some parts of the progress and went home for other parts; for example, all the Privy Council were in attendance at Cowdray at the start of the celebrations, but only six by the end. There were five in attendance at Farnham beforehand and in Chichester afterwards. The rest of the progress varied in numbers, but there were six members who travelled with Elizabeth throughout: The Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, the Vice Chamberlain, John Wolley, and Robert Cecil.¹⁶ Presumably those closest to the Queen would have had to stay for most, if not all of it. Other

¹⁰ See chapter 9.

¹¹ *APC*, 1591, new series. The minutes are place-dated, so it is possible to follow the route of the progress from these minutes, and ascertain who was on what part of the progress.

¹² Cole, *Portable Queen*, 62.

¹³ See chapter 7.

¹⁴ See chapter 9, figure 33.

¹⁵ *APC*, 1592, p.492 for 26 May 1592.

¹⁶ See table 5.

men may have been able to obtain leave for business or family matters. It has already been noted that all these people, from the nobles downwards, would have been accompanied by retainers and servants, both personal and household.

Table 5: Privy Council attendance during the 1591 Progress

Date	Place	Number in attendance
2 August	Nonsuch	8
7 August	Loseley	7
8 August	Loseley	7
9 August	Loseley	6
10 August	Farnham	6
11 August	Farnham	5
15 August	Cowdray	10
18 August	Cowdray	7
20 August	Cowdray	6
22 August	Chichester	5
26 August	Stansted	6
31 August	Southwick	6
1 September		
3 September	Titchfield	6
5 September	Southampton	7
6 September	Bishops Waltham	6
12 September	Farleigh	6
14 September	Basing	6
15 September	Basing	5
16 September	Basing	6
19 September	Odiham	6

Simon Thurley estimates that there may have been as many as eight hundred people accompanying Elizabeth on her progresses.¹⁷ This seems to be rather high, especially as the Queen often chose to stay at smaller places. For the 1591 progress it seems that numbers were fluid, according to the length of the progress, and where it was at any given time. The visiting party in the royal progress coming to Cowdray might have been in the region of 150-200 people in all, but there would have been as many to greet them.¹⁸

In the Downshire papers is a list of the entourage of James I, when he made his visit back to Scotland in 1617.¹⁹ James took eighteen noblemen, officials and bishops who made up his Privy Council and Household. He also took 71 named Officers of the Chamber. Along with these must have been the women who naturally accompanied them, both wives and servants. It was his first visit since

¹⁷ Simon Thurley in *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 70 states that it was approximately half the number to be found at court when it was in London.

¹⁸ See chapter 9.

¹⁹ HMC Downshire (HMSO 1995) VI.

his accession to the English throne in 1603 and he would want to make a strong demonstration of his new power and wealth, so he would take as many people, particularly aristocracy, with their own retainers, as possible. Conversely, the journey was to be long and arduous, so he might have cut back, but this list gives some idea of the size of the royal progress by the early seventeenth century – not that long after Elizabeth's in 1591. How do they compare? Elizabeth's journey was short in comparison (although, as already discussed, one of her longer progresses), and since they would be staying within the area, they may have felt that the resources of the countryside around would not cope with a huge number of people. Her need to impress might not have been as great as that of James, who was journeying through the centre of England.²⁰ All the same, Elizabeth took her government around with her, whereas James tried to keep his progresses for leisure, and business stayed in London. The evidence of the 1591 progress, as far as it goes, would suggest numbers of about 200-300 travellers, with about the same number joining them at any of the larger places. These figures, smaller than those suggested by Thurley, and a fraction of the size of James's retinue in 1603, seem realistic. These were routine events for Elizabeth, and although she needed to make an impression of the local populace, she also needed the progresses to work smoothly.

The choice of houses for the progress

How do we establish what was available to the monarch? For Elizabeth, there was no set standard for a stopping place's suitability (within reason). One would think that one of the primary criteria in assessing the suitability of a house to have a royal progress visiting, is the size of the place. It seems an obvious issue, when the royal party might number so many people. However, size does not seem to have been too important to Elizabeth. The progress of 1591 proves this point: the Queen stayed at Loseley, Bramshott, Southwick, and Soberton. These were good-sized houses for the gentry, but would probably have been considered far too small by her father and siblings, even if their hosts had been acceptable to the royal party.

Smaller houses served as a place to dine, or in which to sleep one or two nights, in between the larger houses. In those cases, who owned the house might not really matter, and the Queen could comfortably use the place to entertain, or be entertained by someone else.²¹ Thus a long journey between two noble mansions, or heading towards a city such as Chichester or Southampton, could be

²⁰ The north of England had only seen its monarch once before 1617 (James's journey in 1603). Before that, the last royal visit had been in 1545, which was probably only remembered by very few.

²¹ For example, the Exchequer accounts show that the Queen dined at Bedhampton with the Carylls: TNA, PRO: E 351/542, but did not stay there.

broken up by a stay at West Dean or South Stoneham respectively. However, this idea seems to have been peculiar to Elizabeth's progresses - at least in this region. It does not seem to have applied to Edward VI's short progress, and there is no evidence that Mary and Henry stayed in anything other than large mansions belonging to nobility. James stayed primarily at friends' houses, such as Basing and Tichborne, where the hunting was likely to be good, so these were almost always noble houses. Elizabeth's policy of suitable accommodation differed from that of the other monarchs of this period, and this region reflects her tastes.

In fact the Queen stayed in many such houses, which would not have been able to provide the space or luxury that a house belonging to a noble might offer. For smaller landowners, particularly those with some presence and respect locally, being asked to accommodate a royal progress would have been frustrating and difficult. For example, Loseley House was visited by Elizabeth four times. It was by no means a grand house; it is about the same size as Parham and Wiston. The rooms are small, and in the sixteenth century there were not many bedrooms. Only after the Queen's second visit had the house been enlarged as we see it today.²² Sir William More does not seem to have had grand designs, although he mixed in court circles. It has been commented that: 'it is thought that he designed [the house] himself; it has indeed the feel of a house planned to suit its owner, rather than impress outsiders.'²³ One of the rooms, still extant, was created as his own library, with specially made book shelves and the inscription (in Latin): 'I soothe troubled minds and while away the centuries'.²⁴ It might suggest that Sir William saw his new home as a retreat from politics and local government. The Queen stayed at Loseley four times in all,²⁵ but information about the visits is scanty. The house was built between 1562 and 1568, and the Queen was in the area in 1567 and August 1569, and may well have visited. She expressed a wish to visit Loseley in August 1576, and William More seems to have done his best to avoid it by suggesting to other courtiers that the rooms were too small, and hoping such advice would reach the ears of the Queen.²⁶ The visit was on/off during August, but she eventually came in the September. The small size of the house may have created problems in accommodating her entourage, especially in 1591, when she stayed for three days with a large retinue and extra baggage for the length of the progress, but Elizabeth evidently liked Loseley.

²² It was subsequently given another wing by his son George, and further enlargement took place in the eighteenth century. It is now at the size it was when William was building it.

²³ Osborne, J., *Entertaining Elizabeth I: the progresses and great houses of her time* (Bishopsgate Press, 1989), 106.

²⁴ Sir William's study is still open to the public.

²⁵ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, appendix I.

²⁶ Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts*, 264-5.

Elizabeth was not so keen on old houses. She chose to ignore the 9th Earl of Northumberland at Petworth in 1591, and nor did she stay at Arundel. At the age of 57, she probably also valued comfort, which just may not have been available in castles which were medieval in origin. For example, on her first visit to Gloucestershire in 1574, she stayed at Berkeley Castle. Henry, Lord Berkeley, a conservative man, would have been the leading figure in the county at the time, holding the castle throughout the period, from 1553 to his death in 1613.²⁷ However it does not seem to have been made very comfortable, as there were few alterations in the 16th century except re-roofing the kitchen and replacing the wooden drawbridge with one of stone.²⁸ There were no elaborate celebrations for the Queen, as far as we know, and she did not stay with him again. It may be that she expected a certain amount of comfort and luxury from the nobility, which old castles like Berkeley and Arundel were unable to give; and that Petworth, an old mansion undergoing structural work, as well as having a dubious host, was not attractive.

From the late 1570s, the government, and in particular Lord Burghley, were interested in gentry houses and their owners. There are two pieces of evidence which make an interesting contrast, and tell us something about the decisions made over the choice of accommodation. William Cecil owned his own copy of a Saxton atlas and annotated his copies of these beautiful maps, making lists on the back of some of them.²⁹ The date of the atlas is 1579, but it seems that Cecil acquired the maps as they were published, so he may have had access to them earlier, and then continued to add notes to the maps from then until his death in 1598. His annotations on the maps included the names of gentry next to their seats, and sometimes he put in extra place names or houses. For Sussex, he also compiled a list of houses, with their owners - this was for both West and East Sussex.³⁰ In addition to this list, Burghley marked houses and their owners on the map itself - Table 6, an amalgamation of these two groups, is therefore the combined list of houses in which Burghley was especially interested.³¹ They number over thirty houses for West Sussex. The owners were both Catholic and Protestant, and most of them served as JPs or MPs. The houses cover a wide area. It may have been a tentative list for a progress.

²⁷ Andrew Warmington, 'Berkeley, George, eighth Baron Berkeley (1601-1658)', *ODNB*, 2004.

²⁸ N. Kingsley, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire, Vol. 1 1500-1600* (Phillimore, 1989, 2nd ed. 2001), 52.

²⁹ BL, Royal 18 D III.

³⁰ Appendix 9 gives a transcript. The houses in West Sussex have an asterisk. The appendix also shows the map, ref WSRO, Parham 1/5/7/9.

³¹ Some of the entries in his list are not on my own table, because the place name is unrecognisable and he may have got some information wrong.

Table 6: Combined list of houses in which Burghley was interested.

Place (with original spelling)	Notes	Resident	Explanation if needed	List/Map
Aldingborne / Atheryngton	Palace at Aldingbourne	L Bishops	The Bishop of Chichester	List and Map
Angmaring	New Place, Angmering	Sir Tho Palmer	Just 'Palmer' written on map	List and Map
Aldrington		Sr Edw Lewknor		List
Aldingbourne	Bishop's Palace	L Bishop	The Bishop of Chichester	Map
Apledram		L Howard		Map
Burton		Hen: Goring		List and Map
Cakeham	Bishop's Palace	Bish	The Bishop of Chichester	Map
Coudray / Cowdray by Amersham		L Montacute	Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague	List and Map
Danny				Map
Durford	Dissolved abbey	Sir Hen Marus		List
Halfnaked	Halnaker	L Lumley		Map
Henfield		Mr Thos Bishop		List
near Horsham	Possibly Chesworth	Stam? ery app?		Map
Knep	Knepp Castle	Mr Edw Carrell		List
Petworth		Er. North	Earl of Northumberland	List and Map
Parham		Mr Palmer		List and Map
Pulborough	New Place, Pulborough	Mr Apsley		List
Pedeform [?]		Mr Richard Blunt		List
Patcham	Patching [Michelgrove]	Mr. Rich Shelley		List and Map
Preston		Sir Anthony Sherley		List
River Park		L. Montacute		List
Stansted howse near Westbourne	Stansted	L. Lumley		List
Selsey Iland		Sir Thos Lewkenor		List
Slyndon		Mr Anth Kempe		List
Stopham		Mr Wm Bartlet		List
Slaugham		Mr Wal Covet		List and Map
Shepeley		Mr Ed Carrell		List
Tarring	Old Palace in West Tarring		The Bishop of Chichester	Map
Trotton		La Lewkenor		List and Map
Tullington	Tillington	E of Northumberland		List
Westwittering		Mr. Ernley		List
Warnam	Warnham	Mr John Carrell		List and Map
Wyston	Wiston	Sir Thos Sherleye		List and Map
Wormingherst	Warminghurst	Mr Hen. Shells		List and Map
Westgrynsted	West Grinstead	Mr Thos Sherley		List and Map

Secondly, in the Cecil papers is a planned progress of 1586,³² in which Elizabeth would have come down into West Sussex. The itinerary, and the date of the document appear to make it look as if it happened, but there is no evidence for it in any accounts, and there is a small amount of evidence that the Queen was

³² 'Cecil Papers: September 1586', Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 3: 1583-1589 (1889), 178. See table 7.

elsewhere.³³ So this plan was never used, but it is evident that it is following the old route inherited from Elizabeth's brother and father. It includes all the houses Henry was fond of visiting.³⁴ Five years later, on the 1591 progress, many of the houses chosen were in a different league.³⁵ What changed in the meantime? If Cecil's own list was compiled around the same time as the planned progress of 1586, it does not include the same sort of houses. Cecil's interests were more wide-ranging, and in his list smaller, not necessarily noble, houses have been chosen. The two lists have different view on appropriate houses. It is possible the list in the atlas arose out of the reasons the prospective 1586 progress failed; the Privy Council may have taken the time at this point to look closer at the owners of the properties they planned to visit. Cecil's notes clearly shows that Elizabeth I was prepared to stay frequently in smaller houses, and his list of houses make up the greater part of the 1591 progress.³⁶

Table 7: Planned progress of 1586

Month	Date	Day	To	for days
July	12	Tues	Richmond	10
	22	Fri	Stoke	1
	23	Sat	Woking	3
	26	Tues	Loseley	3
	29	Fri	Uchester?	1
	30	Sat	Petworth	5
August	4	Thurs	Cowdray	6
	10	Tues	Halnaker	3
	13	Fri	Chichester	3
	16	Tues	Stansted	1
	17	Weds	Warblington	2
	19	Fri	Portsmouth	7
	26	Fri	Tichfield	3
	29	Mon	Bishop's Waltham	3
September	1	Thurs	Winchester	4
	5	Mon	Tilsted	2
	6	Tues	Basing	4
	10	Sat	Odiam	3
	13	Tues	Farnham	2
	15	Thurs	W?	2
	17	Fri	Reading	4
	21	Tues	Basing	2
	23	Thurs	Drayton	1
24	Fri	Hampton Court		
			Total	75

³³ It seems that the progress was called off because of the plague; however, the Queen seems to have stayed in London for the summer, which was not usually chosen if there was a threat of sickness. *APC, 1586-87*, new series, vol. XIV (London, HMSO, 1896) suggests that the Queen was in Richmond and Windsor in late August and September; Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 102 shows that she stayed in the Thames valley that summer, although there is just enough room for doubt as the references are vague.

³⁴ It includes none of those belonging to the upper gentry summarised in chapter 3.

³⁵ See chapter 9.

³⁶ See map 3, chapter 3. It is noticeable that many wrap around the lower slopes of the Downs, and most of the others are along the coastal strip - see chapter 3.

Yet the lack of visits to West Sussex show that some other criteria must have been operating. There were plenty of suitable houses, so this was not the reason for her long absence. Providing Elizabeth was happy with the accommodation (and she was willing to stay in a wide range of houses), it must have been the nature of the hosts that made or broke a decision to stay in a house. Despite the fact that More was originally told to provide a 'clean, empty house'³⁷ (that is, the family were not to be present) the host mattered to the Queen, and the houses were not the only reasons for the choice of accommodation. If Elizabeth had used luxury, leisure opportunities and modernity as her main criteria, she would have chosen only noble houses in the way that her father did. There is a common assumption that Elizabeth bankrupted her hosts when she visited them. Another assumption is that she was capricious and changed her mind abruptly, leaving hosts with huge unpaid bills. Neither of these was confirmed by the 1591 progress. Her hosts' capacity for producing lavish entertainment would have been limited, but the Queen was able to limit a progress to two or three spectacular events, and the rest of the time she seemed to be happy to tour.

There is a further point about the planned progress of 1586 and the progress of 1591: they show that the houses would need to be on a usable route. For example, Parham and Wiston in the middle of West Sussex were not on recognised routes that the monarch might use on the way to somewhere more important. The county does not seem to have had a 'tourist attraction' worthy for frequent visits by royalty. The progresses in the south-coast counties were usually marked by a visit to the docks and defences at Portsmouth or Southampton or both, and presumably the royal party would not want to deviate too far from the route towards them. The only port that might have had fortifications on the south coast of West Sussex was Shoreham, and it does not seem to have received a visit from any monarch in this period.³⁸ On the other hand, some of the progresses went out of their way to visit a large or important house - Mottisfont, tucked away on the river Test on the western edge of the Downs north-west of Romsey in Hampshire, was used this way in 1574, when the progress was heading towards home on its way back from the west country.³⁹ Places like Danny, Parham and Wiston fulfilled the criteria of size and attractiveness, but were just too far off main routes.

³⁷ More himself did not own a grand house, and was originally told by the Privy Council that it only needed to be made 'sweete and cleane' and that the family should 'avoyde' the house when the Queen came. Kempe, 269 (section 109): letter from Sir Christopher Hatton, 4 August 1583.

³⁸ The port was recommended by Walter Covert and Thomas Palmer in their survey of the coast of Sussex, 1587: M.A. Lower, *A survey of the coast of Sussex* (Lewes: W. E. Baxter (Sussex Agricultural Press), 1870).

³⁹ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 188.

Using these criteria, there are a surprising number for an area that was supposed to be a backwater: 113 houses: 23 in Surrey,⁴⁰ 36 in Hampshire and 54 in West Sussex.⁴¹ This high figure seems astonishing, primarily because people judge suitability by size,⁴² and we have seen that this was not a deciding factor. Consequently it is possible to say that the criteria for Elizabeth differed from those used by other monarchs. Elizabeth was prepared to stay with local landowners who were well-known in the vicinity, and who were probably known to the Privy Council as working hard on their behalf in commissions and in Parliament.

The hosts' perspective

What difference, in practical terms, did the royal progress in 1591 make to the gentry of West Sussex and Hampshire? First, it emphasized some people's importance, such as that of William More, who worked for the Privy Council and had a close relationship with the court. His choice as host and the fact that his advice was sought on the route the progress was to take must have emphasized his rank in the neighbourhood. The ability of a royal progress to change people's attitudes and standing must have been like a large ship leaving a bow wash in its wake. The 1591 progress⁴³ shows this disruption of normal rules of hospitality as the royal party proceeded around West Sussex and Hampshire. Gentry with small houses were honoured with a visit, whilst others such as the Earl of Northumberland were missed out. It was, however, important that the hosts were gentry who had been approved by the Privy Council or their acquaintances. Thus we find a letter⁴⁴ in the Loseley manuscripts, where William More has been asked his opinion as to where the Queen might stay between Farnham Castle and Cowdray, where she was due to spend a week in August 1591. More suggested a Mr Elliott at Godalming, Surrey, or the Bonners at Shillingly, West Sussex, neither of which houses were large, but would be suitable for an overnight stay. The gentry would have been able to use their new standing to attract patronage.⁴⁵ The Queen was able to bestow favour by varying her accommodation instead of staying with friends only. It is Elizabeth's choice of hosts which make this progress so fascinating, especially in the light of traditional etiquette.

Preparations at the house would include making ready accommodation for huge numbers of people. Chapter 7 showed how the royal court might prepare in

⁴⁰ My figures include less in Surrey because I am discounting those within a day's ride of the city.

⁴¹ See map 3, chapter 3.

⁴² When I asked other historians how many houses there might be in the region that they thought might be suitable, most people guessed at figures between a dozen and forty. However, confusion also stems from a present-day expectation that there would not be many available in this area, and this is partly explained by the lack of physical evidence on the ground. See chapter 3, and Appendix: Gazetteer of houses.

⁴³ See chapter 9.

⁴⁴ Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts*, 270-272. This incident is expanded upon in chapter 9.

⁴⁵ See chapter 5.

advance for its accommodation, but hosts also made preparations. It is now thought⁴⁶ that a range of temporary solutions were available to owners of larger country houses, ranging from a roof gallery for retainers, such as the massive one at Knole,⁴⁷ and some inventories show huge numbers of beds and truckle beds, although the rooms might be otherwise sparsely furnished.⁴⁸ People were accustomed to using space in different ways according to the needs of the time. Rooms were not as set in their functions as today, so parts of the house that were usually used for other purposes could be turned into bedrooms or dormitories. They might have been divided by hanging up curtains or tapestries, or temporary rooms might be made out of halls or corridors. It is possible that timber-framed structures were built in the grounds of such houses, and when a large party was expected a canvas framework would be added on top to provide extra accommodation.

Despite the royal party being able to maintain itself, the host would expect to offer hospitality in the form of a banquet, a dinner or just light refreshment. When a country house owner hosted a royal progress, normal routines of hospitality were suspended. First, the accessibility of the household might change when the Queen came to stay. Visitors, including business visitors, family or anyone else had to have had an invitation. Alms-giving might have been part of traditional hospitality but when royalty came to visit, traditional all-open generosity was cancelled in favour of tight security and exhaustive bureaucracy. Having changed the furnishings and locks, presumably searched the area thoroughly and sorted out who was going to sleep where, the men in charge of security around the Queen's presence were not going to allow strangers to come into the house precincts. Viscount Montague would have found his household comings and goings tightly controlled and regulated at Cowdray in August 1591.

The progress retinue must have expected to be able to use facilities such as lodging houses and inns in the neighbourhood, so that the location of the house visited by Elizabeth may have mattered more than its internal dimensions, as a criterion for a royal visit. Consequently, the need for local accommodation (other than the house chosen) may have excluded some houses, but it is worth remembering that all sorts of accommodation were available at this period. Travellers would expect places to stay, such as inns or public houses every few

⁴⁶ Maurice Howard, 'The archeologies of the country house: buildings, contents and documents': lecture at 'The Intellectual culture of the British Country House, 1500-1700' conference in July 2011 at Sussex University.

⁴⁷ Private visit to Knole, autumn 2009.

⁴⁸ For example, the inventory for Firle shows enormous amounts of bedding and plate, but smaller quantities of furniture: Garraway Rice, R., 'The household goods etc of Sir John Gage of West Firle, co, Sussex, KG, 1556,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 45 (1902), 114-127.

miles, or at least they would expect to be able to procure refreshment. Private houses put up travellers, and people made use of large buildings such as barns. So most large houses or mansions would be surrounded by other watering holes and travelling stops, where at least menial servants attached to a visiting party could stay. The houses themselves were well used to providing refreshment for large numbers of travellers, including complete strangers.⁴⁹ From the point of view of local people, all accommodation and stabling for miles around would have been booked ahead. Tradesmen, especially innkeepers, might find they were doing exceptionally well, as the visitors would need accommodation for themselves, their servants and their horses, and food for meals other than the main ones which were eaten with the progress. Even travelling salesmen and players, who might not have been invited into the royal presence, might still make money in nearby inns and on village greens from people on the progress who had to find accommodation in the neighbourhood.

It has been shown that the impact of the progress might make difficulties for farmers and landowners in the area.⁵⁰ It interrupted or cancelled the seasonal routine, and inconvenienced the normal patterns of farming and land ownership. The favourite months for royal progresses, July to September, were the same months for harvesting, and it must have inconvenienced local farmers. Not only did carts and fodder disappear through purveyance, but land in the vicinity might be requisitioned and fields used for pasture or dug up for latrines. That particular time, when a gentry landowner might be attending to his estates, had perforce to be taken up with arrangements for the progress, and the progress itself. The law terms had ended and the nobility, courtiers, lawyers and gentry in London or elsewhere might have preferred to escape to the country and deal with their own affairs, rather than to be tied to the needs and wishes of the royal court as it travelled around Sussex and Hampshire. This was also the time for travel around one's own estates, and for visiting friends - Anthony Browne's steward refers to him being on a 'petty progress' himself - and so private plans might be disrupted. Presumably a progress might take weeks out of a normal summer, even if it was only actually in the vicinity for ten days.

Despite many smaller houses being chosen on the 1591 progress, Elizabeth was entertained very royally indeed on some occasions. For grander entertainments, the house would need to be much larger, so Cowdray and Elvetham were used for the masques, dances and plays in the summer of 1591. It was probably a deliberate arrangement to have two magnificent spectacles in the

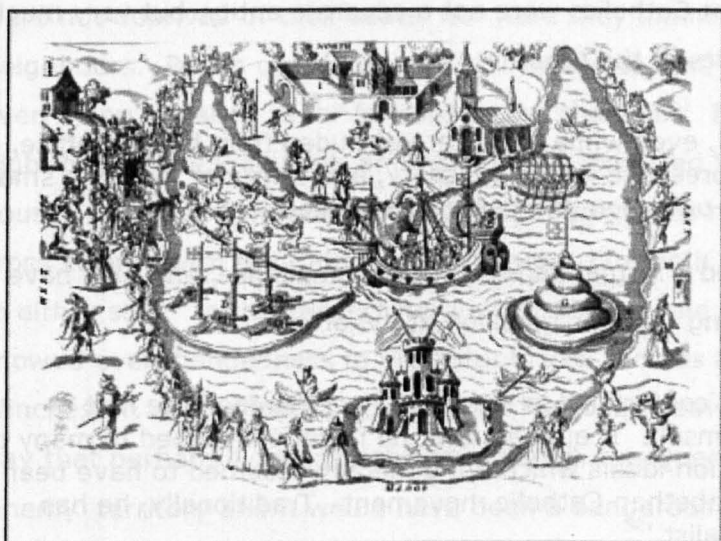
⁴⁹ See Chapter 6, which explains how accommodation could be expanded.

⁵⁰ See chapter 7 on purveyance.

progress to emphasize Elizabeth's royalty and power. These spectacles were put on by the nobility, and were the highlights in the progress. Although they have received much attention, they were not the norm for most of the hospitality given in a progress.⁵¹ At those events the best possible arrangements were planned, and we need to envisage that these were at the height of expectations and fulfilment of hospitality. The Queen would expect more from her nobility than she would from the gentry offering overnight stops.

When the progress stopped at larger houses, people must have wanted to be part of it. The sort of entertainment experienced by Elizabeth I at Cowdray and Elvetham was restricted to the very few. Not many could afford the theatrical drama and costumes that characterized the days spent at Cowdray, when knights, porters, nymphs, a pilgrim, a wild man, an angler and a fisherman were placed around the grounds for the Queen's delight.⁵²

Image 5: Woodcut of the entertainment for Elizabeth at Elvetham 1591



At Elvetham, an artificial lake was made in the shape of a half-moon, with three islands on it, each representing a ship and having a different name.⁵³ There were boats on the lake containing musicians, a water pageant was staged as well as other events such as five-a-side handball, fireworks and a banquet.⁵⁴ The cultural impact of such a visit with plays and speeches full of classical references and symbolic meanings must have been overwhelming for the people present. The sophistication of such staged events was not usually seen by the gentry, or only in

⁵¹ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, I-IV; J. E. Archer, E. Goldring, and S. Knight, *The progresses, pageants, and entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁵² Louis, REED, 190-196.

⁵³ A woodcut of the event is illustrated in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, III, opp. 101.

⁵⁴ Cowling, J. and Greenfield, P., *Monks, Minstrels and Players: Drama in Hampshire before 1642*, Hampshire Papers, no. 29 (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 2008) 5-6. The spectacle is also described in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, III, 100-104.

London. Bringing such spectacles to the provinces must have involved a much wider audience, and perforce changed the culture of those who saw it. Like the present day, London culture and provincial society were very different, and such entertainment and the effects of the progress generally may well have made these families hanker after a social life in the capital.

Visiting Catholics

It is generally thought that Elizabeth did not visit West Sussex very often because of the Catholic nature of the county - but Hampshire, Gloucestershire and other counties that were visited more often were equally firm in their adherence to Catholicism.⁵⁵ Elizabeth did not find the Catholic nature of the region off-putting. In 1591 Elizabeth was travelling through countryside where the general population were traditional and reactionary in their views, possibly influenced by the great houses in the area.⁵⁶ Although most of the gentry outwardly conformed, families like the Wriothesleys at Titchfield, and the Brownes at Cowdray were strongly influential in maintaining a Catholic presence in their locality. However, there has been recent work to show that Catholics were not a separate entity, but very much part of local society and politics at the time:

... Catholics continued, even while they were excluded from holding office, to maintain a visible presence within a locality, and were not merely a small and huddled group of put-upon and persecuted nonentities...⁵⁷

Viscount Montague maintained a formal appearance of compliance, and may have been responsible for preventing Catholic rebellion in the area:

The greatest Catholic 'conformist' in the county was, in fact, the first Viscount Montague himself. It appears that he never subscribed to many of the Counter-Reformation ideals which are generally assumed to have been at the core of the Elizabethan Catholic movement. Traditionally, he has been accounted a 'loyalist'.⁵⁸

Even so, the Catholic nature of gentry society in Sussex at this time can be inferred from the visit of Charles Paget in 1583, who was able to visit several houses as a well-known recusant. He had been living in France, and working for Mary, Queen of Scots, and in 1583 the Throckmorton plot developed in which French troops were to land on the Sussex coast. Paget came across the Channel from Rouen, and stayed first in Patching with William Davies. He then stayed at Conigar Lodge in the grounds of Petworth House, where he met with the eighth Earl of Northumberland,

⁵⁵ *VCH* for Hampshire, II, 76; author's talk to Historical Association, Cheltenham and Gloucester branch, October 2008.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Questier, M., *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 60. See also forthcoming PhD thesis 'Catholicism in Jacobean England: a parliamentary perspective', by Denise Warner.

⁵⁸ Questier, 59.

whose sons had been staying with him in Paris. He also had a meeting with William Shelley, and also probably met Henry, Lord Howard. There might have been some idea of involving the Earl of Northumberland's sons in the plot, and in any case this is a clear example of the number of people prepared to meet him, and of the Catholic network in this area of Sussex. Paget was not a discreet man, the conspiracy came to light and on his return to the Continent both Shelley and the Earl were arrested.⁵⁹

In the face of pressure from the nobility, men like Walter Covert and Richard Lewkenor, who were both Protestants and on commissions against recusancy, merely maintained the status quo, which during this period could be said to be a pragmatic balance of interests. For the majority of the gentry at this time, if their preferences were Catholic, they outwardly conformed, and whilst the balance was maintained, things were allowed to continue without enough interference to upset all but the most Catholic of gentry. The Carylls at West Grinstead,⁶⁰ and the Tichborns in Hampshire⁶¹ paid heavy fines for their Catholicism, but the families were not deprived of their seats, nor were they diminished in standing with their neighbours. Parish churches were still elaborate, and Catholic ornaments were even being installed as far forward as the chancel.⁶² Elizabeth herself favoured a high form of the Eucharist, and would have expected to be able to practise it in the houses where she worshipped. So the progress was not an orchestrated attempt to cross swords with the Catholics in the area: Elizabeth did not want to show favour to either side. In this respect her visit of 1591, while focusing on Catholic hosts, showed even-handedness to Protestants like Thomas Cooper, the Bishop of Winchester. If Elizabeth's government had been heavily pursuing recusants in the way that perhaps Cooper might have hoped, the Queen would indeed have been in 'enemy' territory and it would have been a dangerous move to continue along the coast in the homes of so many Catholics.⁶³ However in 1591, the Queen evidently

⁵⁹ Questier, 164; Peter Holmes, 'Paget, Charles (c.1546–1612)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006. There is also a tradition, if it can be put that strongly, that he hid at Parham House. A picture catalogue (now privately owned) compiled by Katherine Annabella Pechell in 1815, captions a portrait of Charles Paget:

'He was concerned in the conspiracy of 1583 in favour of Mary Queen of Scots and was concealed for some time in Sussex under the counterfeit name of Mope in expectation at the Duke of Guise would accomplish his intended landing on that coast. Probably Parham House was the asylum of Paget as his sister Eleanor married William Palmer 1586 one of the family then established at Parham.'

Romantic as this thought might be, William actually married Elizabeth Verney, and died in 1586, and his son William had died the previous year.

⁶⁰ I am indebted to T.J. McCann, who has carried out research on the Carylls of West Grinstead.

⁶¹ *VCH* for Hampshire, II, 85.

⁶² I am indebted to Joan Barham and other members of the Early Modern Studies Group at the University of Chichester for this information and comments on the situation.

⁶³ However, T.J. McCann does not agree that Elizabeth 'was pursuing a policy of 'middle way'. The Recusancy Acts of 1581 (23 Eliz c.1) and 1587 (28, 29 Eliz, c.6) were pretty draconian and seriously affected people she stayed with like the Carylls, the Cottons, the Whites etc.' See also Michael Questier's argument that the 1591 proclamation against Catholics was being prepared at this time, and his comments on moderate Catholics and toleration in M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge

felt comfortable being entertained by Catholics. She was prepared to acknowledge tacitly the maintenance of the status quo, and visited Catholic and Protestant families alike.

Some commentators have supposed that the royal visit to Cowdray was used as a demonstration of the power still held by the Catholic community to the monarch and her government.⁶⁴ However, the Cowdray visit needs to be put in the context of the whole progress, and then it becomes clear that most of the Queen's hosts were in fact Catholics or men with fundamental Catholic leanings. In West Sussex, Viscount Montague strongly emphasized his loyalty to the Queen; and Lord Lumley, who entertained Elizabeth in Chichester and at Stansted, was suspected of Catholicism.⁶⁵ He had been implicated in the Ridolphi Plot and in the marriage negotiations between the Duke of Norfolk and Mary, Queen of Scots. In Hampshire, we have seen that the Carylls, the Whites and Henry Wriothesley (and the Tichbornes if they were visited) were all Catholics. On the other side of the coin, the host who most definitely was not a Catholic was of course the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cooper, whose efforts to curb and control Catholicism in the county made him unpopular and caused him much frustration. Equally Southampton was a Protestant city, and people like John James and Thomas Fleming had strongly Protestant backgrounds.⁶⁶

There has been much debate surrounding the fact that Elizabeth stayed with a Catholic family at Cowdray, but this was not unique. On the 1578 progress to East Anglia the court dealt with local disputes and recusancy cases as they travelled, sometimes even staying with Catholics whom they charged afterwards or during the visit.⁶⁷ The 1591 progress visited many Catholic hosts but the Acts of the Privy Council⁶⁸ give the impression that this was not the government's first concern. Letters to and from the Privy Council, which met frequently during this period, suggest it was fully occupied by the Earl of Essex's expedition to the Netherlands. Hampshire has been classed as a recusant county⁶⁹, where the Bishop was finding it difficult to keep such activity under control, but the hosts of

University Press, 2006), 172-175.

⁶⁴ C. C. Bright, 'Caressing the great: Viscount Montague's entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray 1591,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 127 (1989), pp. 147-166; Dr Birgit Oehle's talk at Elizabethan Progresses conference at Stratford, April 2004, suggested that the entertainment put on at Cowdray was more military, and that the entertainments were put on with economy, so that it could be seen that there was to be no glamour or extravagance.

⁶⁵ Kathryn Barron, 'Lumley, John, first Baron Lumley (c.1533-1609)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2007.

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Professor Tom James for making this point.

⁶⁷ Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*.

⁶⁸ Whilst at Cowdray in 1591, they discussed relief for a distressed surety, sent a rebuke to Sir Henry Knevett for keeping a servant after he was found to be a thief, discussed a room for an almsman at Chester, prison for a notable thief, a begging licence, complaints from the Baltic traders, freedom for a prisoner at Fleet, and requisitioned a search for notes by Peter Wentworth who wrote a book questioning the royal succession, sending the author to prison, *APC*, 1591, New series, XXI.

⁶⁹ *VCH* for Hampshire, II, 76.

the 1591 progress do not seem to have suffered unduly for their faith, and it does not look as if this progress was undertaken because of problems with Catholic gentry.

1591 was three years after the abortive invasion attempt by the Spanish Armada. At the time, the victory might not have seemed as great as it does with today's insight. There were other attempts at invasion by the Spanish in the 1590s, and the south coast was also never entirely free from attempts to land by the French: during the sixteenth century, they had managed to hold both the Isle of Wight and parts of Kent for brief spells. In this context, doubts about the loyalty of Catholics in the south must have always been present, even in this period when the Queen was enjoying a revival of her popularity. On the other hand, it is interesting to compare this progress with that of East Anglia in 1578, when some of the visits to Catholics were followed by reprisals and arrests.⁷⁰ This simply did not happen on the 1591 progress. The Privy Council were perhaps much too concerned with the expedition of the Earl of Essex to the Netherlands, so this might have been where their energies lay.

Consequently the reasons for the Queen's visits must have lain somewhere in between checking up on the Catholics and gracing them with her presence – it could be seen as a 'reward' for the loyalty of people on the south coast. It was certainly an opportunity to examine what was happening in the region and to see where any connections lay. For the hosts there was the opportunity to impress the royal Majesty on the local population and to distribute largesse. The progress was also an exercise in pragmatism – Alexandra Walsham points out that:

Church papistry needs to be taken seriously as a method of diffusing suspicion and of reaching with the heretical enemy a mutually beneficial *modus vivendi*.⁷¹

The progress shows that the desire for peace was greater than that of marking differences in religious outlook. The people of Sussex and Hampshire were still very Catholic in nature and outlook, but needed to be able to live undisturbed with their neighbours. This study of the progress shows that Catholics and Protestants were able to work together and get on well with each other in the local community, so the Queen was able to visit both.⁷²

⁷⁰ Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*, 153.

⁷¹ Walsham, A., *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1993), xiv.

⁷² Mary Hill Cole argues that in fact 1591 was a turning point in Elizabeth's policy towards staying with Catholics on progresses: 'it was the last significant time that the Queen made a public effort to include Catholic sympathizers in her travels, and it began the sustained participation of Protestant hosts from Catholic families that, as a group, would mark all her remaining annual visits.' Cole, M.H., 'Religious Conformity and the Progresses of Elizabeth I' in Levin, C, Carney, J. Eldridge, Barrett-Graves, D. (eds.), *Elizabeth I: always her own free woman* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003), 73.

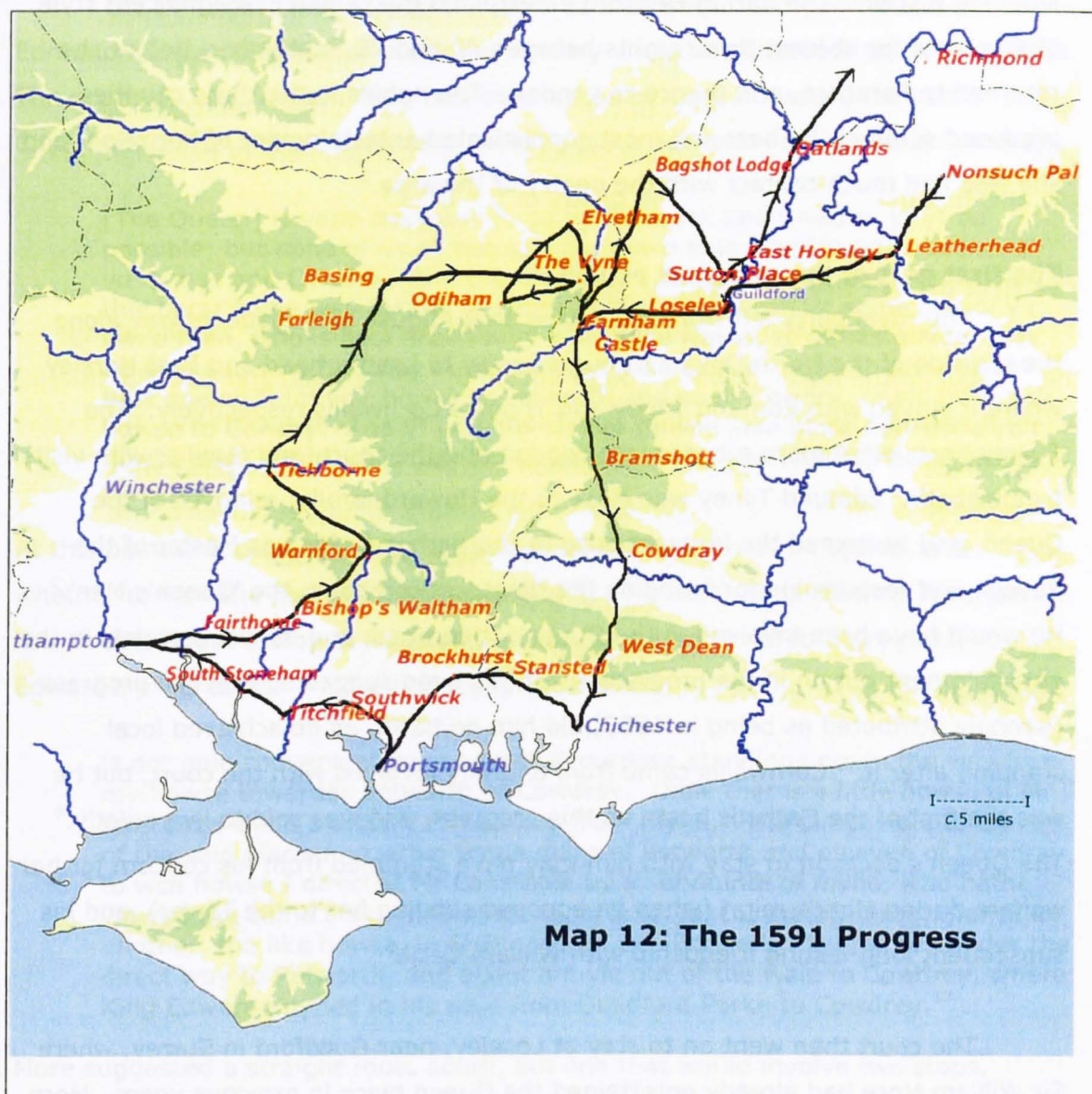
Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the peculiar characteristics of Elizabeth's progresses. Most notable is the fact that she stayed in houses that were not necessarily large or luxurious, nor could they necessarily fit in the whole entourage. She stayed with gentry who were only well known locally, and whom she might not herself have known, and in doing so she relied on the advice of local upper gentry as much as the courtiers whom she knew well. Despite the attraction of expensive and fantastical 'devices' found in noble houses, which were a constant source of amusement to the Tudors, she was happy to have chosen places where luxury and comfort were less accessible, and which her entourage must have found difficult in terms of accommodation and welfare. This seems to have been a deliberate policy, and Lord Burghley made it his business to take notes on the gentry and use them to influence the route of the 1591 progress. The region felt the impact of the progress at several levels - from the effect of the practical arrangements of accommodation and provisioning, to the private plans and relationships of the gentry being altered or disrupted. Elizabeth was also prepared to stay with conforming Catholics, and the region must therefore have developed a heightened awareness of their position.

Most recent work on Elizabethan progresses has concentrated on matters from the royal perspective – the Queen's intentions, entourage and selection of places to stay and people to visit.⁷³ Less has been written on the impact of a progress on the locality in question and on how such visits affected prevailing social networks. Because of the importance of the 1591 progress in illustrating the main themes of this thesis, I have taken a closer look at the this progress. This thesis now moves on to a detailed account of the 1591 progress as a case study.

⁷³ See chapter 2.

Chapter 9: The 1591 progress



Introduction

The culmination of this thesis is a case study of the 1591 progress taken by Elizabeth through Surrey, West Sussex (for the first and only time) and Hampshire. It formed part of a regular routine: almost every summer of her reign, Queen Elizabeth I and her court left the comparative comfort of her London palaces and embarked on a tour of her subjects' houses, usually for five or six weeks. She stayed with her hosts using the system of purveyance to subsidise their expenses, and the visits were accompanied by feasting and entertainment. The 1591 progress, taken in the later years of her reign, was one of her longer progresses. She was away from her London palaces for six weeks. In summary, Elizabeth and her entourage left Nonsuch Palace on 2 August, entering West Sussex on 15 August, and after a very successful week at Cowdray they carried on

south to Chichester and then turned west. They entered Hampshire on 27 August, and proceeded along the coast to Portsmouth and Southampton, turning northwards on 7 September, and heading for Basing and The Vyne, favourite stopping places. The Earl of Hertford entertained the Queen in magnificent style at Elvetham for at least three nights between 20 and 22 September, before she returned to Farnham, and thence to London. The nobles in the three counties produced some of the best and most sophisticated entertainment of her reign, and she also had much contact with the gentry of the area.¹

The first part of the progress of 1591

The royal party left Nonsuch Palace on 2 August, and made its way along the top side of the North Downs through Surrey to Leatherhead and East Horsley, where it stayed with Edmund Tilney and Thomas Cornwallis respectively. The Surrey hosts were more attuned into London and the court, and familiar with visits by Elizabeth. Edmund Tilney was close to the Howard family, relatives of the Queen, and he owned the largest house in Leatherhead. He was Master of the Revels, and responsible for founding the theatrical company, the 'Queen's Men'.² He would have been involved in the Queen's itineraries, and almost certainly in the entertainment put on in the progresses. It has been suggested that the progress (wrongly attributed as being in 1593) did him no harm, as he achieved local standing after it.³ Cornwallis came from a family involved with the court, but he was the first of the Catholic hosts on this progress, and was said to live quietly.⁴ The Queen's decision to stay with him may have stemmed from his concern for her welfare during Mary's reign (when he opposed sending her to the Tower), and his subsequent long-lasting friendship with William Cecil.⁵

The court then went on to stay at Loseley, near Guildford in Surrey, where Sir William More had already entertained the Queen twice in previous years. More was now a widower, but apparently the Queen had never liked Lady More.⁶ This time, it seems he was not asked to move his family out, as on a previous visit.⁷ More's son-in-law, John Wolley, was secretary to the Privy Council at this time, which met twice at Loseley. They then moved on to Farnham Castle, the main seat of the Bishop of Winchester, where William More was the steward. Farnham would have been a familiar stopping place for the Queen, used on westward progresses as

¹ For the full itinerary, see Appendix 10.

² Tilney controlled the content of all plays staged in and around London, and published various works himself. Dutton, R., 'Tilney, Edmund (1535/6–1610)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Weikel, A., 'Cornwallis, Sir Thomas (1518/19–1604)', *ODNB*, 2008.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ From one of the guides at Loseley, visit 2006.

⁷ Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts*, 269 - in the letter Hatton gives More three days' notice.

well as those into Hampshire. The Privy Council, familiar with meeting here, met twice more.

On 14 August they stayed the night at Bramshott Place, home of Sir Edmund Mervyn, the first of the 'lesser' gentry visited by Elizabeth on this progress. The previous July, William More had been asked by Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain,⁸ to find a convenient stopping place between Farnham and Cowdry:

[The Queen] is verie desyrus to go by Petworth and Cowdry, yf yt be possible; but none of us all can sett her down anie wher to be at betwene yo' house and Cowdry. And therefore I am to require you that you will set this berer some way for her to passe, and that you will let some one of y'r owne men, who is best acquaintyd wth those wayes, to be his guyde, that he may see whether they be fit for her Ma'tie or noe. And whether yt be best goeing from yo'r howse to Petworth and so to Cowdry, or els from yo'r howse to Cowdry. And yf you can set her downe anie place betweene yo'r howse and Cowdry that may serve for one night, you shall do her a greate pleasure..⁹

At this point it is clear that they were discussing Petworth as an option, and whether to visit the Earl of Northumberland.¹⁰ The letter hints that the royal party had doubts about a stay at Petworth, as had been traditional for Henry and Edward's progresses.¹¹ More had replied that there

is not anie convenient howse for that purpose standinge neare the way from my howse towardes Petworth or Cowdrey. Onlie ther is a little howse of Mr Lawrence Elliott's distant three miles from myne,¹² the direct waie to either of the said plac's and wthin tenne miles of Petworth and eleaven of Cowdrey, to wch howse I directed Mr Constable by a servaunte of myne, who hathe viewed the same and canne make reporte to yo' Lo' therof. From thence is another, the like howse, in Shillinglie, of one Bonner's, distant five myles the direct way to Petworth, and about a myle out of the waie to Cowdrey, where King Edwarde dynd in his waie from Guildford Parke to Cowdrey.¹³

More suggested a straight route south, but one that would involve two stops, although, as he pointed out, there was a precedent for dining at Shillinglee. It would not have been difficult to change the route along the Arun, but More's suggestions were not used. In the event the Queen did not go to Petworth, but went considerably out of her way, not necessarily on better terrain, to Bramshott. Both the route she took, and a speculative one of 1586,¹⁴ which took in Petworth, included a climb over the Downs. Although Petworth was suggested as an option in

⁸ MacCaffrey, W.T., 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526-1596)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2009.

⁹ Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts*, 271, quoting 6729/7/84.

¹⁰ Their reasons for not going there were discussed in chapter 5, 71-72.

¹¹ Henry VIII had visited often, and Edward VI had followed in his footsteps, see chapter 4.

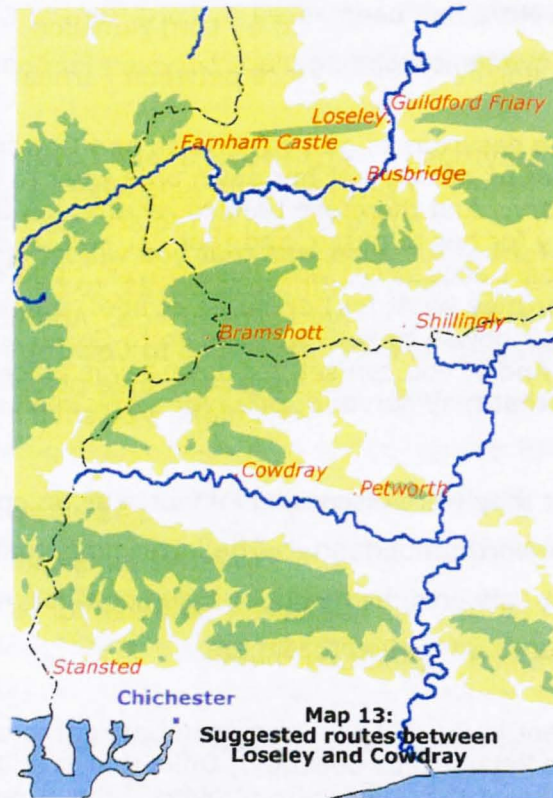
¹² Kempe suggests this is Busbridge, near Godalming.

¹³ Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts*, 272, quoting 6729/7/83. There is no other evidence that Edward visited Shillinglee.

¹⁴ See chapter 6, 140.

both letters, they also show that there were already doubts about visiting it, in which case Bramshott is not so far off the route to Cowdray.¹⁵

Map 13: Area of suggested routes between Loseley and Cowdray



[Length of map: c.30 miles]

Thus Edmund Mervyn was chosen as the overnight host. He and More may have worked together on commissions, or it may be that the Queen would have been unable to proceed on this route south to Cowdray without coming through his property. Bramshott Place¹⁶ still retains the gatehouse,¹⁷ thought to have been put up at the end of the 1580s, or possibly for this visit.

The visit to Cowdray

On Sunday 15 August, the royal party crossed the border into West Sussex. The Queen reached Cowdray,¹⁸ seat of Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, about 8 o'clock that evening. The harbingers' accounts suggest that as she came down through the north park of the estate, she made time for a 'comfort stop':

To [Simon Bowyer, the harbinger] more for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for making readye a lodge in the

¹⁵ It may be that the desire to visit Mervyn meant that Petworth could not be an option, but it would be unlikely that a visit to an Earl was given up for a member of the lesser gentry.

¹⁶ The house has now been demolished and replaced by a gated community development; see <http://www.bramshottplace.co.uk/>.

¹⁷ See Appendix 3: Gazetteer of Houses. The brickwork of the gatehouse is to a very high standard, and there is a dining place over the top, which suggests a sophisticated culture.

¹⁸ See Appendix 3: Gazetteer of Houses.

Northe parke for her ma'tie to reste as she came to Cowdrey by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d.¹⁹

A pamphlet²⁰ published later the same year gives an account of this fascinating visit to one of the most important houses in the south-east. From the moment the Queen approached the house she was greeted by poetry and music, and symbolism emphasizing her grace and eternal power, and the whole visit was themed towards these renaissance ideas. Various mythological figures, such as the Pilgrim, the Wild Man and the Angler appeared to make speeches throughout the visit. More practically, breakfast the morning after her arrival included three oxen and 140 geese.²¹ On the Monday morning the Queen rode into the park for hunting with all her retinue. Having retired to the house for dinner, there was further hunting in the early evening arranged by Viscount Montague's third son, Henry. The Queen's visit was filled with hunting, for which 'delicate bowers' or standings²² (depending on the view of the author of the tract, or the clerk writing the accounts) had been specially set up in the park, and deer were driven towards her. On the Tuesday the Queen went to dinner at the priory at Easebourne (just on the edge of Cowdray Park), hosted by the Viscount, and the evening's entertainment was held outside as she viewed the 'walkes'. On the Wednesday, meals were served outside at tables 24 yards long, with further dramatic speeches, followed by hunting. On the final day, Thursday, the Queen and her retinue again dined outside at tables 48 yards long this time, after which there was a grand dance. On the Friday, after knighting six men including George Brown, the Viscount's second son, 'she departed towards Chichester'.²³

Considerable work has been carried out on the politics involved in the drama.²⁴ It has been suggested that in the post-Armada general anxiety, the visit was carried out 'in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion', and the drama might be interpreted in this way.²⁵ It may be that the visit was 'put on with economy'; that there were only two or three plays compared with the many spectacles that formed part of the visit to Kenilworth twenty years earlier, and that there were underlying

¹⁹ TNA, PRO E351/452, f.152v.

²⁰ A copy of the original tract, printed by Thomas Scarlet, is in the British Library, ref. C.142.dd.23, but it has been printed in various sources, particularly in Nichols, *Progresses*.

²¹ Ibid.

²² TNA, PRO E351/452, f.152v.

²³ Original tract.

²⁴ Bright, SAC, 127; Heale, E., 'Contesting terms: loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague's entertainment at Cowdray, 1591' in Archer, *Progresses*, 189-206; also correspondence between T.J. McCann and Dr Oehle, April 1997, is useful for sources of material (WSRO, File AV85, currently staff only).

²⁵ Dr Oehle suggested that although the Queen arrived with 'a great traine', she was met by an equally robust military welcome from the porter, who handed over the keys but hung onto his club. She also suggests the porter's speech, although superficially submissive, had undertones of aggression and negotiation for power. She points out that Montague was not part of the welcoming party on the bridge, which she thinks was a gesture of non-cooperation.

hostile messages in the drama.²⁶ However, it seems unfair to compare the visit with that to Kenilworth, where the host was Robert Dudley, who at the time probably had his own agenda as he was hoping for the Queen's hand in marriage. There the facilities and entertainment were so luxurious that the Queen called a halt and went home early in disapproval.²⁷ In 1591 the Viscount seems to have personally attended the Queen every day of the visit - it is true he is not mentioned in the welcome party on the bridge, but he may well have met her at the borders of his property or of the county, and he certainly accompanied her to her next dining place when she left. Compared to the visit to East Anglia in 1578,²⁸ Catholic hosts on the 1591 visit reaped the benefit of this progress; indeed, the Queen rewarded the Viscount by knighting his son.

The party at Cowdray

For the hosts and ordinary people in Sussex, it was a special occasion. This was a rare and unusual opportunity, made all the more valuable by the fact that this was Elizabeth's first visit to West Sussex, and with hindsight, it would be her last. The first main event of the progress was the week at Cowdray, and the occasion was to be as magnificent as possible. Some of Viscount Montague's household would have been sent away during the visit, but many more people would have come, and his extended family might well have expected not only to be there, but to be staying at the house.²⁹ Numbers could have swelled to as much as three to four hundred that week.³⁰ From the Acts of the Privy Council we can see that attendances of the council itself comprised fewer people towards the end of July and beginning of August, but that there was nearly a full attendance during the time the court was at Cowdray.³¹ A guest list of at least the main participants of the festivities at Cowdray can be put together.³²

It is possible to make an educated guess as to who made up the main party, composed of about fifty people. They can be divided into several groups. The main one was of course Viscount Montague and his family. By 1591, Anthony Browne was sixty-three years old, involved at court and the Privy Council, and this visit was important for him; he had gathered his family and friends around him. His second wife, Magdalen; his widowed sister, Mabel, Countess of Kildare; and possibly her son, Henry, the 12th Earl of Kildare would have been present, as would Anthony

²⁶ Conference on 'Elizabethan Progresses', Stratford on Avon, 2004. This thesis is not the place to argue the finer points of Elizabethan drama, and in any case I am not qualified to comment on the content and meanings of sixteenth century drama. See comments in chapter 5.

²⁷ 'The context of the 1575 progress', a talk by Simon Adams at the 'Kenilworth Revisited' conference in September 2005.

²⁸ Dovey, *Elizabethan Progress*, 107-08.

²⁹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community* demonstrated how strong their kinship ties were.

³⁰ See chapter 8.

³¹ *APC*, new series, XXI.

³² The list is put together from sources mentioned in my text.

Browne's own children: his sons Anthony Maria, George and Henry, his daughter Mary (widow of their close friend Henry Wriothesley) and possibly her son Henry.

Table 8 List of people at Cowdray

Person	Notes
Family	
Anthony Browne	
His wife, Magdalen	
His sister, Mabel, Countess of Kildare	Earl of Kildare d. 1585
Henry, 12th Earl of Kildare	Her son
Anthony Maria Browne, eldest son	
Sir George Brown, 2nd son	Knighted at the end of the visit
Sir Henry Browne, 3rd son	Ranger of Windsor Forest
His daughter Mary	Widow of Henry Wriothesley; not yet remarried
Grandson Henry, 3rd Earl of Southampton	
Lady Dormer, Browne's daughter	
Sir Robert Dormer, son-in-law	Knighted at the end of the visit
Henry Wriothesley junior, 17	
Court	
Elizabeth I	
Lord Burghley	
Henry, Earl of Derby	
Sir Robert Cecil	
Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor	
Charles Howard, Lord Admiral	
Henry Carey, Lord Chamberlain	
William Brooke, Lord Cobham	
Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst	Montague's son's father-in-law
John Wolley, Secretary of PC	Son-in-law of William More
Thomas Heneage, Vice Chamberlain	Checking up on his teams' work
Sir Henry Lee	Followed progress round but left it at Basing
Sir William More	
John Wolley and his wife Elizabeth	Elizabeth was the daughter of William More. John Wolley was the Latin secretary
Lord North	Delivering letter on 16th
Team (7) of grooms and ushers from Office of the Chamber	Providing material comforts
Post boy(s)	Ready to take post to London, Chester and Dover
Sir Henry Goring	Knighted at the end of the visit
Sir Henry Glenham	Knighted at the end of the visit
Sir John Carrell	Knighted at the end of the visit
Sir Nicholas Parker	Knighted at the end of the visit; Browne's sister-in-law's new husband after his brother died.
Lady Cheyney	
Lady Katherine Paget	
Thomas Phillips	
Frances Brooke, Lady Cobham	Lady of the bedchamber; married to William Cobham
Neighbours	
Walter Covert/Nicholas Parker	Sheriff of Sussex
Thomas Sherley and family	Both Thomases and Lady Anne
John Hill, Mayor of Chichester	Host in Chichester
The Lumleys	About to act as hosts
Lewkenor family	The Lewkenors entertained at the next stop, and were friends of the Brownes.

The court included Elizabeth herself of course, and ten privy councillors, including Lord Burghley, Robert Cecil, Christopher Hatton and Lord Buckhurst, who was himself from Sussex.³³ Henry Carey was the son of Mary Boleyn, and therefore cousin to the Queen. In 1545 he had sat in parliament for Horsham as a nominee of his wife's kinsman, the third duke of Norfolk, so he had connections with West Sussex.³⁴ Thomas Heneage, nominally in charge of progresses at this time, had been MP for Arundel in 1559, probably through the influence of his friend and patron at the time, Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel.³⁵ He soon became a member of the Privy Council, and had been Vice-Chamberlain for thirteen years by 1591. Genuine friendship with Elizabeth led to many gifts of land and offices. He may have decided on his second wife at Cowdray, for in 1594 he married Anthony Browne's eldest daughter Mary, the widow of Henry Wriothesley.³⁶

Many of these nobles were married to Ladies of the Bedchamber, powerful women close to Elizabeth, including Frances Brooke, wife of Lord Cobham. We also know that Roger, Lord North arrived on the Monday to deliver a letter.³⁷ Lord North, whose patron was Robert Dudley, was an able administrator and diplomat. He was known for having been a long-term partner at cards with Elizabeth, but in 1591 he was 60 and may not have wanted to accompany the progress for its duration.³⁸ The letter was a report on horses available for military purposes.³⁹ Thus members of the Privy Council had connections with the area through family or property, and it would have made a difference to Sussex society to see the courtiers connected with their lord and the context of his life outside the locality.

Also at Cowdray were the local gentry who would have been invited for the occasion. Henry Goring, Henry Glenham, John Carrell and Nicholas Parker were knighted during the stay. Thomas Sherley the younger of nearby Wiston was there with his mother and son. They might have been invited to stay as although they lived in West Sussex it would have been a long journey, and too attractive a prospect to miss.⁴⁰ Local families such as the Lumleys and Lewkenors, who also acted as hosts, are mentioned in correspondence and wills, and were likely to be

³³ Zim, R., 'Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (c.1536–1608)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009.

³⁴ MacCaffrey, W.T., 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2011.

³⁵ Hicks, M., 'Heneage, Sir Thomas (b. in or before 1532, d. 1595)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

³⁶ The *ODNB* entry for Heneage, *op.cit.*, says that they had probably been close friends for years, but at this time he was still married to his first wife, Anne Poyntz. Mary had had a difficult marriage to Henry Wriothesley, which had ended in separation from both her husband and son.

³⁷ TNA, PRO: SP 12/239 f.208.

³⁸ Craig, J., 'North, Roger, second Baron North (1531–1600)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

³⁹ TNA, PRO: SP 12/239, f.208.

⁴⁰ Wiston to Cowdray is about twenty miles along modern roads.

there.⁴¹ John Cawley, the Mayor of Chichester, was to host the next part of the trip, and so may well have come up to Cowdray to meet his guests.⁴²

While they were staying at Cowdray, Thomas Sherley and Robert Cecil, together with Lady Cheyney, Lady Katherine Paget and Thomas Philips, were embroiled in an argument over Sherley's marriage to Frances Vavasour, which had taken place without the consent or knowledge of the Queen.⁴³ It is quite possible that being on progress caused the secret of the marriage to be uncovered, and tempers to rise at the court at Cowdray; but this has to be pieced together from various sources. Thomas Sherley, who was twenty-seven years old at this time, was back at court after service in Ireland and evidently restless. He was engaged to be married to Frances, Lady Stourton, the sister of Lord Cobham, and sister-in-law of Robert Cecil, so it was a powerful match for the Sherley family of Wiston. Thomas, however, who is described as having 'unlimited bravura and glib sales talk',⁴⁴ met and secretly married Frances Vavasour earlier in the summer. Worse still, he attempted to hide the fact by continuing to pay court to Lady Stourton. The ensuing argument over this clandestine union would have been considered an insult, not only to the families involved in his previous engagement, but also to Sir Anthony Browne, owner of Cowdray, because it abused his hospitality by creating discord in his carefully-planned schedule for the week he was hosting the progress. Furthermore the Queen saw it as an act of contempt to her Court, and an insult to herself, and indeed 'wilful perjury and disobedience' to his father.⁴⁵ The court and their base at Cowdray become as one in this perceived contempt for the rules of hospitality, and so Thomas Sherley the younger was in very great trouble indeed. In the State papers is a letter from Robert Cecil to Thomas Sherley the elder:

[The writer] could not be so simple as not to see the injury Sir Thomas's son offered to him at Cowdray, in abusing a lady and her friends, whom the writer ought to regard; but seeing that he forgot his duty to his father, remembered his own wrongs no longer, and was content to write to him as he did on his son's behalf, to relieve his grief.⁴⁶

Sherley the elder must have been beside himself with worry, especially as his financial affairs with the crown were also coming under scrutiny.⁴⁷ He wrote back to Robert Cecil that

⁴¹ For example, the will of Elizabeth Lewkenor: WSRO STC I/14 f 235 of 1592 mentions the Browne family.

⁴² I am grateful to Alison McCann for information on the Mayor.

⁴³ Raiswell, R., 'Sherley, Sir Thomas (1564-1633/4)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Harrison, G.B., *An Elizabethan Journal* vol. 1, 1591-1591 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1928).

⁴⁶ 'Queen Elizabeth - Volume 240: September 1591', *Cal SP Dom: Elizabeth, 1591-94* (1867), 100-110.

⁴⁷ Lord Willoughby, commander of the English forces after Leicester's departure for England in December 1587, believed Sherley was making £20,000 per annum; see Pennington, J., 'Sherley, Sir Thomas (c.1542-1612)', *ODNB*, 2004.

It is true I moved you directly to break to her Majesty my dislike of the match of my unfortunate son, and did beseech you in my name that her Highness might be moved to have regard unto the wrong done unto me in having my son inveigled (for so I do conceive it) and in a sort stolen from me... . I am most willing to obey her Majesty's pleasure by public act to declare my dislike of the great offence done to her Highness, and so I have continually done, , but I know not by what other open act I can shew my dislike, having forbidden him my house and abandoned him from me and out of my sight... I deal plainly and honestly with you and so will do ever, and never did nor had mind to do otherwise. I send you herein the letter I had from the lady Pagett, according to your request.⁴⁸

Katherine Paget⁴⁹ had written to Sir Thomas Sherley the elder in an effort to soothe matters:

His great displeasure taken against his son moves her to write on his behalf, and on that of her niece, not to excuse him, but to pray him to place against his offence his now most grievous case; the action was caused by love, not treachery, and is most like a tragedy, if Sir Thomas does not make a comedy of it, to his own comfort. All other parties whom he supposed would hold themselves wronged will be satisfied; Sir Robert Cecil will so signify for himself. Her Majesty is well appeased, and acknowledged that, from some speeches of the writer's nephew to her, she better dispenses with the matter now than at the first hearing. He should be careful lest, by his displeasure, she take occasion further to discountenance his son. Has no doubt but this will be a true joy to him in time to come.⁵⁰

However, it seems to have had the opposite effect. Thomas's father wrote:

I never had any such, neither do I know her to be with child nor do care whether she be or not. Once again, I beseech you to think that I am a plain honest man, and have ever been, towards you and all others.⁵¹

The episode is amusing for its personal side, and its echoes of modern life, but it also shows that the affairs of the court, both political and social, were carried on in just the same way when the court was away from London. It may have been scandalous to other members of the court that new eyes were watching, and the episode must have been excellent gossip for the gentry of the area. The aftermath went on for some time, and Thomas was sent to the Marshalsea prison, where he remained until the spring of 1592,⁵² ruined not only by his marriage, but by his disregard for the hospitality offered by Sir Anthony Browne.⁵³ Suitable and relevant hospitality was expected by one's peers and monarchy alike, and stepping outside the rules was frowned upon. Abusing a neighbour's hospitality might land a person in court; abusing hospitality offered on a royal progress would emphasize and

⁴⁸ 'Cecil Papers: September 1591', Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 4: 1590-1594 (1892), pp. 135-141.

⁴⁹ Katherine Paget was the widow of Henry Paget, Lord Beaudesert (Staffordshire Record Office, D603/A/1/7).

⁵⁰ CSP, op.cit.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Hasler, P.W., *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (London: HMSO, 1981), III, p.376.

⁵³ Richard Raiswell, 'Sherley, Sir Thomas (1564-1633/4)', *ODNB*, 2004.

enlarge the crime. Whether the Sherley affair blew up because of the court's proximity to Wiston is doubtful, unless some visit there had been arranged, and was then quashed. There is no evidence of that, but the Sherley family were beginning to look like trouble-makers to Robert Cecil, who had been personally involved in this affair, and who continued to keep a close eye on their dealings.

We can speculate further. Sir William More of Loseley, who was partly responsible for organising at least the early stages of the progress, may well have continued to accompany the royal party, as he and Anthony Browne enjoyed a strong friendship which lasted all their adult lives, even though Browne was a Catholic and More was Protestant.⁵⁴ It was probably important for local gentry to have an invitation to at least one event in the six-day spectacle. It would have been a sign of one's importance, and a chance to network with the local gentry as well as the court, and to offer or receive patronage. For people like the Sherley family, it should have confirmed their rise in status. In the same way, to miss out on this visit must have been similar to not being invited to a family wedding. Although kinship and friendship ties crossed borders, it would still have been possible for local magnates, such as the Earl of Northumberland⁵⁵ and other gentry within the county to have felt snubbed through no invitation, or perhaps to send a message to the Queen by non-attendance at the festivities.

So for a week, all the great and the good of West Sussex were gathered in one place, and this must also have provided some excitement for lesser folk in the countryside around. Some of those involved would have been celebrities – people would have heard of William and Robert Cecil, Christopher Hatton and Lord Buckhurst, but they may never have seen them. There were probably opportunities for the tradesmen in the area, as there certainly were for innkeepers, stable owners and other providers of day to day needs. The interruption to normal social life was great. On the other hand, the visit offered access to the Queen, at least for the people mentioned and maybe for other gentry in the neighbourhood. How much such progresses gave her access to ordinary people, or them to her is debateable. There are comparisons to be made with a visit of the present monarch to a locality; people might be able to see her from a distance, but security measures would stop them getting too close. One must not forget the excitement caused for most ordinary people, and the rarity of the event. In the usual fashion of sixteenth-century society, access would have been requested to present petitions, ask favours and present gifts. Such events are not recorded, unless they were unusual,

⁵⁴ SHC: Loseley mss.

⁵⁵ See discussion earlier in this chapter.

but there is no doubt that they would have been frequent and continuous, and would reaffirm the hierarchy of the locality.

The visit to Chichester

From Cowdray, the Queen went to dine with the Lewkenors in West Dean. The only source for this information is from the accounts for the harbingers, who going ahead of the royal party, made 'readye Mr Richarde Lewkenours house for her ma'tie to dyne at betwixte Cowdreie and Chichester'.⁵⁶ It can be corroborated perhaps, by the fact that the Brownes and Lewkenors were evidently good friends, for in her will Lady Elizabeth Lewkenor (who died the following year) left Lady Browne a ring.⁵⁷

The Queen then moved on to Chichester, and was settled there by Sunday 22 August. Nichols says 'and of her Majesty's entertainment in that City there was a full account in one of the Corporation Books; but unfortunately the Book is lost'.⁵⁸ The historian T.G. Willis, writing in 1928, embellished the visit, describing the streets of the city as 'gay with flags', and a flourish of trumpets announcing the arrival of the Queen.⁵⁹ He adds that the Queen was welcomed by the Earl of Scarborough, and taken to the audience chamber. Both agree that John Lumley prepared a house for her in East Street near the Cross, with a spacious banqueting room in which she gave audience to the Mayor and Citizens. This is believed to be the 'Royal Arms', or 'Old Punch House'.⁶⁰ There is a possibility that the internal decoration was put up specially for the visit.⁶¹ The Queen does not appear to have stayed with the Bishop of Chichester, Thomas Bickley, but only at the town house. Despite previous assertions,⁶² it is more likely that the Queen actually gave her audiences in the cathedral, which would have provided a far larger space than Lumley's town house, and which the Queen's soldiers could keep secure. The harbingers' accounts give the preparation time as six days, preparing 'the Churche at Chichester' as well as an unspecified entry which just says 'at Chichester' (eight days).⁶³ It is likely that she would have occupied the Bishop's chair at the top of the nave with the Dean and Bishop either side of her⁶⁴. From accounts of other civic visits, she would have been welcomed by the Mayor and citizens, and speeches would have been made by both parties. She would have heard petitions and accepted gifts. It was an important time for the city, whose last royal visit was

⁵⁶ TNA, PRO: E351/452, f.152v.

⁵⁷ Cobby, E., *The Lewknors of Sussex* (Cranleigh, published by author, 1991).

⁵⁸ Nichols, III, 97.

⁵⁹ Willis, T.G., *Records of Chichester: some glimpses of its past* (Chichester: T.G. Willis, 1928), 147

⁶⁰ See Appendix 3: Houses Gazetteer.

⁶¹ Cutten, M.J., *Some Inns and Alehouses of Chichester* (Chichester Papers, no. 46, 1964).

⁶² Op.cit.

⁶³ TNA, PRO E351/452, f.152v.

⁶⁴ I am indebted to Dr Foster, for these ideas in a discussion Feb 2011.

that of Edward VI in 1552. The Queen's visit made such an impact that it was used in dating by people around the area; in a dispute over woodland at Cocking it was recorded that 'they cutt downe and felled about the tyme that Queene Eliz was laste at Chichester'.⁶⁵

The Queen stayed in Chichester for three nights, and then moved to Stansted, five miles west of Chichester and just inside the county border. The most likely route⁶⁶ out of the city was via the north gate, over the Broadwash bridge on the Funtingdon road, and through Hambrook Common.⁶⁷ This would have been easier than taking the coastal route. It was probably not possible to cross the river Ems on her way towards Portsmouth - the river was notorious for being difficult to cross as it was tidal up to Emsworth. The accessibility of the route dictated the choice of visits. Stansted was held at the time by Lord Lumley, so he would probably have accompanied the Queen along the road, which must have been familiar to him. It has been thought that Lumley had ceased to be at court or known to Elizabeth by this time.⁶⁸ Yet he was host to her for four days. At the time of the progress he was delicately negotiating with the government over a debt owed by his late father-in-law, the Earl of Arundel, and the year after the progress he agreed to sell Nonsuch to the crown and lease it back. As a scholar and owner of much property around Chichester, he would have been able to keep the Queen in good company.

The progress in Hampshire

For the second part of the progress, which took place in Hampshire, the Queen was on more familiar territory, perhaps 'comforting' in its own way, for she had now been away from London for over three weeks. At this stage of the progress, the Queen must have felt it was going well. The decision to stay at Bramshott had worked well, and presumably local gentry were pleased that one of their number had been able to play host. The entertainment at Cowdray had been magnificent enough for it to be written up and sold as a pamphlet in London.⁶⁹ The entertainments at Chichester had been well received, to judge by nineteenth-century comments on documents now lost,⁷⁰ and the visit would do the city good in economic and patronage terms. In West Sussex, she had stayed with four hosts in just under a fortnight: two members of the aristocracy: Viscount Montague and

⁶⁵ WSRO, EP I/II/12 f.30 - c. 1612.

⁶⁶ I am indebted to Malcolm Walford, local historian for the Emsworth area, and Hampshire generally, for his advice on the likely roads taken by the Queen; discussion, 21 Feb 2011.

⁶⁷ This is not a route we would use today, as we are so used to the coastal road of the A259, and the route might appear surprising.

⁶⁸ Barron, K., 'Lumley, John, first Baron Lumley (c.1533-1609)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2007.

⁶⁹ BL, C.142.dd.23: *The honourable entertainment given to the Queenes Maiestie in progresse, at Cowdreie in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montecute, 1591* (London, printed by Thomas Scarlet, to be sold by William Wright, 1591).

⁷⁰ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, 97; Willis, *Records of Chichester*, 147.

Lord Lumley, and two members of the lesser gentry, Edmund Mervyn and Richard Lewkenor (at least dining with the latter). Now the second part was to be double the length of the progress in West Sussex, being four weeks, and Elizabeth stayed with three Earls, the Bishop of Winchester and Lord Sandys. She also stayed with seven men of the same - or less - stature as Mervyn and Lewkenor. Thus the two counties had a similar profile of hosts for the progress. On the south coast, in the ports of Portsmouth and Southampton, she was in places she and her predecessor knew well, and she would also have been very familiar with Winchester and Bishop's Waltham, and it may be that comforting familiar territory meant that she felt able to stay with more members of the gentry than in West Sussex.

The terrain of the two counties was similar,⁷¹ but the houses in Hampshire would have provided more contrast. Out of the four in West Sussex, Bramshott was probably almost new,⁷² but Cowdray was seventy years old,⁷³ and the two dwellings belonging to Lord Lumley were both probably centuries old.⁷⁴ In Hampshire, two of the houses she was to occupy were converted monasteries: Southwick and Titchfield,⁷⁵ providing their owners with exciting possibilities of updating the buildings to the latest level of fashion. The houses belonging to the Earls were probably also furnished well and would be comfortable; and Bishop's Waltham was known to Elizabeth, as she and her predecessors had often stayed there. Although it is difficult to compare the incomes and holdings of the hosts,⁷⁶ the overall picture suggests that those in Hampshire were generally wealthier.

An overview of the Hampshire part of the progress

For the first part of the journey westwards from Stansted, the territory was difficult.⁷⁷ It was unlikely that the Queen was able to cross the river Ems, but there were military roads and tracks in that area. She would have been able to make her way back to the coast along these at this point. However, by doing this, Elizabeth ignored Warblington Castle, which would have been en route between Stansted and Portsmouth if she had gone along the south coast - it is just to the south of what is now Havant. There is no sign of a stay, or even of dining there,

⁷¹ See Chapter 3.

⁷² See Appendix 3: 'Gazetteer of Houses'.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Entries in the *ODNB* show that a variety of financial positions existed amongst these men, from the extremely rich hosts, like the Earls of Hertford and Southampton, to those in debt, but still determined to entertain the Queen, such as the Earl of Sussex. It is not possible, or relevant, to work out if they could afford to host a progress. 'Wealth at death' is not given for all the biographies, or is couched in such terms as giving a reference for a will, which complicates simple comparisons.

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Malcolm Walford, local historian and expert on travel in Hampshire, for his help in defining the Queen's route.

in the royal accounts.⁷⁸ Warblington was a large and well-fortified manor house, with a gatehouse, and was built by the Pole family at the end of the fifteenth century. By 1591 it was the home of George Cotton, son of Sir Richard Cotton, who had served in Edward VI and Mary's governments. Elizabeth had been godmother to his brother Henry. However, George Cotton was at that time in prison in Winchester, his family were being heavily fined for their Catholicism, and George had previously had a spell in the Fleet prison for debt,⁷⁹ so presumably a stop for the royal party was out of the question.

What the accounts do show, however, was that she dined at Bedhampton with 'Mr Carrell' on Friady, 27 August.⁸⁰ Bedhampton was owned by George Cotton at the end of the sixteenth century.⁸¹ Research has found that Mary Cotton married John Caryll, and that they were living at the time at Brockhampton, close to Bedhampton.⁸² The Carylls, whose seat was at Harting, West Sussex, were landowners of the same standing as the Mervyns at Bramshott; not people whom Elizabeth's predecessors would have expected to play host. Interestingly, they were well-known for their Catholicism, and were clients of the Earl of Southampton, but the agreement to dine there must have been an acknowledgement of the Cotton family, and a political compromise, as Elizabeth would have been unable to accept a direct invitation from them while George was in prison.

The Queen went on to Portsmouth the same day. It was then an overcrowded garrison town, which, with its neighbouring hundreds, was on permanent standby in case of invasion. The Privy Council had been concerned with the strengthening of its fortifications all the way through the 1580s.⁸³ By 1591 it was considered that the town could call on a thousand men to hold it until help came, and another thousand would be available from neighbouring parishes. There were several commissions during Elizabeth's reign to train the townsmen, and also men available on the Isle of Wight. However, relations between the military and the townsmen were tense,⁸⁴ and trouble could break out. Possibly because of this,

⁷⁸ TNA, PRO: E 351/542 shows teams of harbingers 'making ready' the intended visiting places, and Warblington is not amongst them.

⁷⁹ Dom H. Bowler, T.J. McCann, *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1481-1592*, Catholic Record Society, 71 (1986), 43.

⁸⁰ TNA, PRO: E351/542.

⁸¹ *VCH*, Hampshire, III, 143.

⁸² I am indebted to Timothy J. McCann for his research. The *VCH* entry says:

'There are, however, certain conveyances of 'the manor of Brockhampton,' viz. by James Engler to Robert Woods in 1589, by John Woods to Arthur Baylie in 1635-6, and by Arthur Baylie to Richard Stones in 1636, from which it might be inferred that Brockhampton was separate from Bedhampton at those dates, unless they refer to the tenancy of the bishop's lands at Brockhampton. Feet of F. Hants, Mich. 31-2 Eliz. East. 12 Chas. I; Mich. 12 Chas. I.'

From 'The parish and liberty of Havant', *VCH* Hampshire III, 122-127.

⁸³ H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, IV (Part II) (London: HMSO, 1982), 518-526.

⁸⁴ *VCH* Hampshire vol. III, 174-187.

the harbingers made Elizabeth a 'standing' outside the town⁸⁵ so that she was able to inspect the troops from comparative safety. Henry Radcliffe, the Earl of Sussex, with whom she stayed for three nights, was the Governor of the town, a busy and able man. He was a JP and Commissioner for Hampshire, MP for Portsmouth, Constable of Portchester Castle, and Lieutenant of Southbere Forest. From 1585 he was joint Lord Lieutenant for the county with Lord Sandys. His work for Portsmouth included supervising the new building work, which he continued to do until his death in 1593,⁸⁶ gathering intelligence from ships as they docked, and supplying men and ships when needed. However, his relationship with his monarch seems to have been cool; he had to ask Elizabeth to reduce his debt to the government; he was never employed at court or on her Council, and he was consequently short of patronage.⁸⁷ But no-one would resist the request for hospitality from a monarch, and it would have benefitted his standing in the local community. The Queen stayed with him for three nights, presumably because there was much work to be inspected in Portsmouth. There were no meetings of the Privy Council between Stansted and Southwick, the next stop after Portsmouth, for ten days.⁸⁸ It must be assumed that the Privy Council were concerned with the work going on at the port.

Duty done, the Queen stayed at Southwick, just north of Portsmouth, with John White, another member of the lesser gentry. The White family were also Catholics, who in the 1540s had bought the site and the greater part of the estates previously belonging to Southwick Priory.⁸⁹ John, the purchaser, was a servant of Thomas Wriothesley, and after this acquisition, he became involved in local affairs, especially in Portsmouth, where he had family connections and was a burgess.⁹⁰ On John's death in 1567, the property had passed to his son Edward, and then to the grandson John, who entertained the Queen, in 1591; the latter died in 1606.⁹¹ The White family became established local gentry, involved in local government as commissioners and sheriffs for the county.⁹² The priory was converted into a house just as Titchfield and Mottisfont had been,⁹³ and the Whites were amongst the local gentry who had benefitted by the dissolution of the monasteries and used their

⁸⁵ TNA, E351/542.

⁸⁶ H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, vol. IV (Part II) (London: HMSO, 1982), 524.

⁸⁷ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Radcliffe, Henry, fourth earl of Sussex (1533-1593)', *ODNB*, 2004.

⁸⁸ *APC 1591*, new series, vol. XXI. There are no letters in the State Papers Domestic at this point, either.

⁸⁹ Will of John White, TNA, PRO: PROB 11/64, 20 May 1567.

⁹⁰ TNA A2A website, catalogue for the Daly mss held at Hampshire Record Office, administrative history, accessed 4 Sep 2009.

⁹¹ *VCH Hampshire*, III, 161.

⁹² Cal SP, SP11/9 f.41 and SP 12/38 f.75.

⁹³ Thomas Wriothesley led a local trend or preference for using the church itself to make a grand residence, rather than enlarging the abbot's residence, as Anthony Browne had done at Battle.

new-found wealth to acquire positions of power locally. The house burnt down in 1750.⁹⁴

At Titchfield, the Queen stayed with a noble again: Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, and son-in-law of Anthony Browne at Cowdray. This was the great patron of Shakespeare, whose father had entertained Elizabeth in 1569. Both families entertained Tudor royalty – Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth all visited both these places. The social circles of Anthony Browne and Henry Wriothesley revolved around court life, and thus the dissolution of the monasteries gave them the opportunity to increase their standing not only in the neighbourhood but at court as well. It should be noted, again, that both these men were Catholics.

The route used by the progress at this point is of interest. It was unlikely that the Queen was accompanied by a huge baggage train⁹⁵, but she would have been accompanied by courtiers, members of the Privy Council and their servants, and probably some, if not all, of their luggage. The royal party would have had to cross rivers at Wallington and at Fareham, and the rivers Meon at Titchfield, the Hamble at Botley and the Itchen at Mansbridge. All of these might have had bridges (there was certainly one at Mansbridge), but there is no extant evidence for them. At Titchfield, the monastery had been responsible for the crossing at the river Meon, and the Earl would have taken this duty on, as he would have been able to extract tolls or fees, depending on whether it was a bridge or a ferry. At Fareham, between Southwick and Titchfield, the river was tidal, and needed care, and possibly good timing to get across. The Queen then went further inland to use the bridge at Redbridge, which was extant from the thirteenth century. This was near South Stoneham, and the route may have influenced her choice to stop at South Stoneham near present day Eastleigh.⁹⁶

The Queen may have stayed a night or may have just dined in South Stoneham with the Caplin family, who were merchants in Southampton.⁹⁷ (They were connected to the White family at Southwick by marriage.)⁹⁸ The main evidence for this is from the records of the harbingers in the royal accounts, which specifically allude to:

⁹⁴ N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967, repr. 1973), 604.

⁹⁵ See chapter 8.

⁹⁶ See Appendix 10: The itinerary of the 1591 Progress.

⁹⁷ HRO: 1609A/15, Will of Peter Caplin (Capelin) of All Saints, Southampton, Hampshire, merchant, 1609.

⁹⁸ J. W. Binns, 'White, Richard (1539–1611)', *ODNB*, 2004.

To [Richard Brackenburye] more for Thallowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a dyninge house for her ma'tie at Mr Caplens in her goinge from Tychfeilde to South'ton 39s 4d.⁹⁹

However, Sir Thomas Fleming, who was by then the recorder of Winchester, resided at 'Stoneham Park', and, on the face of it, would be a much more likely person to offer the Queen hospitality.¹⁰⁰ Fleming had an important career as an MP, and also served on local commissions all his life, whereas the Caplins appear to have been less well known.¹⁰¹ The government archivist at the time, John James, may have recommended either as a place to stay or rest before entering the city of Southampton. He married Elizabeth Caplin,¹⁰² but his sister Mary married Thomas Fleming.¹⁰³ E.K. Chambers¹⁰⁴ suggests she stayed the night, whereas the record of the harbingers' works¹⁰⁵ suggests the progress used the Caplins' residence just as a dining house between Titchfield and Southampton.

The Queen then spent the weekend of 5 and 6 September in Southampton. The accounts for the harbingers' work read:

To him [Richard Conningsby] more for the allowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie a house at Southampton by the space of 8 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] £7 17s 4d.¹⁰⁶

There are several places she may have stayed: both the Earl of Southampton's own house, Bull Hall at the bottom of Bugle Street, and the large timber-framed house on St. Michael's Square, enlarged by Sir John Dawtry¹⁰⁷ at the end of the fifteenth century, would have provided comfort, and both fitted the description in the harbingers' accounts of 'a house'.¹⁰⁸ Otherwise, she may have resided at the castle, which, according to Speed, was very beautiful. It was owned by the Queen, but by this time it was rather run down. The effect might well have been spoilt by the fact that the bailey area was let to the local butchers to use as an abattoir, and the source of this, the Court Leet book, suggests that the castle was in some decay.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, the Queen must have inspected the defences whilst she was in

⁹⁹ TNA, PRO: E 351/542.

¹⁰⁰ I am indebted to Professor Tom James for his comments on this.

¹⁰¹ The *VCH* suggests the Caplins bought the manor of South Stoneham in 1553, and were still there in 1600: from 'Parishes: South Stoneham', *VCH*, Hampshire III, 481-489.

¹⁰² F. Jeffrey Platt, 'James, John (c.1550-1601)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

¹⁰³ J. H. Baker, 'Fleming, Sir Thomas (c.1544-1613)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008. James was working on government papers from 1578, and in 1591 was working on Walsingham's papers under the direction of the Privy Council. He forms an interesting link between the government and local gentry.

¹⁰⁴ E.K. Chambers was an authority on the royal itineraries of both Elizabeth I and James I and *The Elizabethan Stage* gives an itinerary of Elizabeth's travels.

¹⁰⁵ TNA, PRO: E351/542.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses 1250-1700: their dating and development* (Hampshire County Council, 2003), p.83; I am indebted to Prof T. James and Cheryl Butler for all their help.

¹⁰⁸ TNA, PRO: E351/542.

¹⁰⁹ *VCH*, Hampshire, 3, 499.

the city, so one would expect the place to have been 'cleaned up' for her, and the castle had been an important line of defence three years earlier. No account survives of the Queen's visit to the city,¹¹⁰ but the mayoral expenses for 1591 provide a few clues. The entry for 20 August reads:

Item paid for the Charges of my sonn & for his horshyre to Chichester to take notice of her majesties enterainment there & of her departure for Mr Recorders letter instructions therin & by his (his) desyre viijs.

It was important for the standing of the city that the Mayor of Southampton should keep an eye on the progress so far, and the kinds of hospitality offered. At her entrance to the city, entertainment was laid on, of which we have a glimpse:

Item Layd out for seck at the meeting of her majestie ijs.

and the cost of at least some of the event appears at the end of the accounts for that year:

Item more I lent you in money against the Queenes majesties coming as appeareth by a noat under your handes xxx li.¹¹¹

Then another overnight stay took the Queen to Fairthorne, the seat of Sir Francis Searle¹¹², and held by the same group of families for the previous three hundred years.¹¹³ Searle therefore represents another member of the established but lesser gentry that the Queen was prepared to visit. Little is known now of the Searle family, who do not appear to have played a conspicuous part in local government or Parliament, and this suggests that the Privy Council did not know Sir Francis personally, but were prepared to trust a recommendation, as they had for Edmund Mervyn. However there is no evidence for how he came to be included as a host.

By 8 September, the Queen was at Bishop's Waltham itself, which, like Farnham Castle, was another residence belonging to the Bishop of Winchester, and was described by Leland as 'a right ample and goodly Maner Place'.¹¹⁴ The Bishop was Thomas Cooper,¹¹⁵ who had been translated to the see in 1584, probably because of his zeal in persecuting Catholics. He was a learned reformer, almost accused of Presbyterianism, who had met Elizabeth on her visit to Cambridge in

¹¹⁰ Nichols, III, 98.

¹¹¹ I am indebted to Cheryl Butler for her generous help in advance of the publication of her work, *The Book of Fines: The annual accounts of the Mayors of Southampton, Volume II* (Southampton Record Society, 43), from which these extracts are taken (229).

¹¹² Francis Searle does not have an entry in the ODNB, and I have not been able to find information elsewhere.

¹¹³ June Jones, in her history of Fairthorne, says that at some time in the early 17th century the estate came into the hands of the Wriothsley family, which seems more likely than the VCH's contention that it was part of the larger manor comprising the Bishop's Waltham estate. Whether it had been held by the Bishop at the time of the progress, its descent is indicative of the aggrandisement being carried out by the Earls of Southampton, and also of strong activity of the land-holding market in general.

¹¹⁴ VCH Hampshire, III, p.277.

¹¹⁵ Margaret Bowker, 'Cooper, Thomas (c.1517-1594)', ODNB, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

1566 and had been in continual contact with the court over the suppression of Catholics ever since. He had spent his time at Winchester working hard and worrying about the loyalty of resident Catholics in the see, should there be an invasion on the south coast. He would almost certainly have been at Bishop's Waltham to greet the Queen, although the palace was well known to the royal family. Edward VI described it as 'a fair old home',¹¹⁶ which suggests a high degree of familiarity. Both of the Bishop's palaces used on this progress – Bishop's Waltham and Farnham Castle – were standard places for the monarch to stay, whether on progress or not. They provided a route for the busy Bishop from his residence in London down to Winchester, and, like Wolvesey, they were of sufficient size and luxury to entertain royalty.¹¹⁷

Elizabeth then stayed at smaller places in between the grand visits - Chambers gives six places for two nights: Warnford (William Neale), Tichborne (Sir Benjamin Tichborne), Winchester (presumably Wolvesey) (the Bishop), Abbotstone (the Marquis of Winchester), Weild (William Wallop), and Farleigh (Sir Henry Wallop) - all for the dates of 12 and 13 (but more likely 11 and 12) September.¹¹⁸ Although its possible that Elizabeth may have dined in some and stayed at others, it is more likely that this is a result of confusion in the correspondence and state papers that Chambers uses - it shows that the itineraries were probably not cleared until the party set off. The harbingers 'made ready' the houses at 'Aberston 6 days', 'Mr. Tichbourne's 2 days', 'Mr William Wallop's house between Abbotstone and Fairley 2 days', 'Abbotstone 6 days', 'Mr. Auditor Neale's house 6 days', 'Bishop of Winchester's house at Winchester 6 days', Sir Henry Wallop's house at Fareley 6 days'.¹¹⁹ There is some muddle in the entries, as three different teams of harbingers were active in the area - and evidently some duplication! Again, these names are no guarantee that the Queen stayed there, but there are places in the accounts which do point out that the Queen never arrived or changed her mind, which gives more credence to these particular entries. The *Acts of the Privy Council*¹²⁰ helpfully reveal that the Council met at Farleigh on 12 September.

The Queen may have stayed one night with Sir Benjamin Tichborne, although since he was always in trouble with the Bishop over recusancy this seems unlikely. While the Queen was prepared to stay or dine with compliant Catholics, she did not otherwise visit hard-core Catholics in 1591, which the Tichborne family were well known to be; Chidiok Tichborne was involved in the Babington Plot, and

¹¹⁶ VCH Hampshire, III, p.278.

¹¹⁷ I am indebted to Dr Andrew Foster for his comments on the use of Bishops' residences.

¹¹⁸ Chambers, IV, 106.

¹¹⁹ TNA, PRO: E351/542.

¹²⁰ APC, op.cit.

had been executed in 1586.¹²¹ However, the family were prominent local landowners, influential and powerful. Ten years later, in 1601, Sir Benjamin was, somewhat surprisingly, knighted with ten others by the Queen, who was supposed to have been in a good humour whilst staying at Basing (even though two of the Tichborne family were executed in the same year).¹²² The family evidently attracted the notice of the monarch and government, but present circumstances at the time may have stopped Elizabeth actually staying with them. She perhaps just dined with them, as the harbingers' entry states two days, rather than the more usual six.¹²³

The following night, possibly 12 September, she stayed at Farleigh Wallop with Sir Henry Wallop, whom she had knighted in 1569.¹²⁴ Her host was another prominent member of the local gentry, involved in county government as a JP and on commissions. He was a freeman of the City of Southampton. His major service to the government, however, was in Ireland from 1579, when the protracted conquest and attempted government by the English was at its most difficult. Wallop struggled to suppress the Desmond rebellion and then had to deal with the Spanish survivors of the failed Armada invasion. In 1589 he had come home to Hampshire and stayed so long that there were complaints from his deputy in Ireland.¹²⁵ Evidently local government and gentry life in Hampshire were preferable as he did not go back to Ireland until 1595. At the time of the 1591 progress, he was at the height of his career, respected both locally and as a commander in Ireland.¹²⁶

By the middle of September the Queen was back visiting aristocracy rather than county gentry: Lord Sandys at his two great houses in the north of Hampshire, Basing and The Vyne, both often visited by Tudor monarchs. William was the grandson of the William Sandys who had entertained Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in fine style in 1535. This William too was used to magnificent entertaining. Ten years after the 1591 progress, he was commanded by the Queen to entertain the French ambassador, the Duc de Biron, at The Vyne. Elizabeth was then staying with the Marquis of Winchester at Basing. For four or five days the ambassador and his entourage, numbering nearly 400 people, were sumptuously entertained at The Vyne, which was provided with hangings and plate from the Tower and

¹²¹ Penry Williams, 'Babington, Anthony (1561–1586)', *ODNB*, 2004.

¹²² *VCH Hampshire II* 1903, p.85 – which says 'the Queen may not have been aware of his recusancy, and possibly Benjamin was as astonished as anyone.'

¹²³ Tichborne is mentioned in both the harbingers' accounts, TNA, PRO: E351/542; and by E.K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 106.

¹²⁴ *VCH Hampshire III*, 365.

¹²⁵ Ronald H. Fritze, 'Wallop, Sir Henry (c.1531–1599)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

¹²⁶ Having entertained the Queen, he returned to Ireland as treasurer-at-war in 1595. His last years in Ireland were unhappy, with never enough troops and money to fight the Nine Years' War, and his son was killed in a skirmish with the rebels. He died in Dublin in 1599.

Hampton Court, and with, to quote, 'seven score beds and furniture which the willing and obedient people of Hampshire upon two days' warning had brought thither to lend to the Queen'.¹²⁷ Elizabeth was highly satisfied with the reception accorded to her visitors and affirmed that 'she had done that in Hampshire that none of her ancestors ever did, neither that any Prince of Christendom could do, that was, she had in her Progress in her subjects' houses entertained a royal ambassador and had royally entertained him'.

The final staged spectacle of 1591 was at Elvetham, the home of Edward Seymour, the first Earl of Hertford. His relationship with the Queen was difficult; he had incurred her displeasure and was anxious to regain favour.¹²⁸ He therefore turned the visit to Elvetham into a spectacular and magnificent part of the progress. He built further pavilions in the grounds and decorated them with Renaissance themes.¹²⁹ Two surviving texts of the elaborate and well-known entertainment have survived,¹³⁰ as well as a woodcut illustration, which shows an artificial lake with man-made islands and boats.¹³¹ This was similar to a display held at Kenilworth in 1575, and was still considered the height of magnificence, and the Queen publicly expressed her gratitude. It has been said that the sumptuousness of this visit returned Hertford to royal favour, but it is possible that his efforts were more of a long drawn-out strategy and not always successful, for Hertford was back in the Tower in 1595.¹³² His wife is supposed to have welcomed the royal visitor 'most humbly on her knees as she alighted from horseback at the hall door, and was by the queen most graciously embraced.'¹³³ This visit demonstrates how much it mattered to the aristocracy for the Queen to come and stay; it affected not only one's standing at court and amongst the local gentry, but could also make a difference to one's relationship with the Queen herself. Such a visit could make or break an aristocratic family. Even though Hertford's career was rocky, being able to entertain the Queen in such a way must have helped him.

¹²⁷ National Trust Guide: M. Howard, *The Vyne, Hampshire* (London: National Trust, 2002), 14.

¹²⁸ Early in his career he had contracted a secret marriage with Katherine Grey, and the Queen, always sensitive about succession threats, was furious about the union and committed him to the Tower, refusing to recognise the legitimacy of the marriage. Despite Katherine's death seven years later in 1568, it took much longer for Hertford to regain favour. Hertford married twice more, but there were no children from these marriages, and he and his sons from his first marriage did their best to have the first marriage recognised as legitimate, without success. His son Thomas and grandson William also angered the Queen over liaisons that could have been construed as detrimental to the succession. Susan Doran, 'Seymour, Edward, first earl of Hertford (1539?-1621)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn.

¹²⁹ Appendix 3: Houses Gazetteer.

¹³⁰ Nichols, III, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, 101.

¹³¹ Nichols, III, *Progresses of Elizabeth I*, 100. This woodcut has been used in recent research on the Kenilworth entertainments in 1575 as it illustrates how the flooded ground around the castle might have looked. Cf. Kenilworth guide, and by several speakers at the conference 'Kenilworth Revisited' at the University of Warwick in Sep 2005.

¹³² Susan Doran, 'Seymour, Edward, first earl of Hertford (1539?-1621)', *ODNB*, Sep 2004; online edn, May 2008.

¹³³ 'Parishes: Elvetham', *VCH Hampshire, IV*, 74-76.

On 26 September, Elizabeth was back in Surrey again, visiting Sutton Place, an attractive red-brick mansion, where her retinue seem to have been responsible for setting fire to the place¹³⁴ – not deliberately – and causing a good deal of damage. She arrived at Oatlands Palace (Weybridge), at the end of September, after one of her bigger and more important progresses. She had been away from her London palaces for six weeks. The nobles in the three counties had produced some of the best and most sophisticated entertainment of her reign, and she had also had much contact with the gentry of the area.

Conclusion

What does such close inspection of a royal progress in the south tell us? First, it offers a spotlight on local society and reveals who was favoured by the Queen. It may also reveal whom she respected or wished to win over to her cause. The 1591 progress hosts were both the great landowners whose power and wealth needed to be recognised, and also gentry who were influential in their own locality, but not at court. The Hampshire part of the progress was divided between courtiers, such as the Earl of Southampton, Lord Sandys and the Earl of Hertford, and the gentry, such as John White and Sir Henry Wallop, who were important locally but lacked the standing of the aristocracy. The Queen appears to have been happy to spend one or two nights with these men of less importance, and the Privy Council seems to have been as happy to hold their Council meetings in many of these places. This suggests a certain amount of trust and satisfaction in the way these men were conducting local business and government, even with those who were obviously Catholic.

Secondly it shows that local religious leanings were respected or at least tolerated in this period after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. As the 1590s progressed the government would tighten up again, but this case study demonstrates a certain amount of satisfaction with the local governance and its efforts against recusancy in the county, despite the misgivings of Thomas Cooper, the Bishop of Winchester. The Privy Council seem to have been prepared to work with Catholics where loyalty to Elizabeth could be – and was – displayed.

Thirdly, through various family and local government papers, the practical aspects of the progress can be established, working at a grass-roots level – a level which people on the progress may not have fully appreciated. The route shows that summer travel could be undertaken in relative safety. It was one of the grander and longer progresses of Elizabeth's reign, and there is no evidence of the

¹³⁴ O. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (London: John White, 1804), 136.

changes of routes and events that happened with the greater ones in the 1570s.¹³⁵ The work carried out by local gentry to maintain the provision of goods and services and keep communication lines open would have contributed to the stability and success of this progress. It is a new study of the society which the progress affected whilst it was in West Sussex, and includes a detailed examination of the stay at Cowdray. It brings the same focus to the Hampshire part of the progress, which was undertaken from a slightly different angle as far as the Queen was concerned, because she was on more familiar territory. West Sussex was new territory for the Queen, but in Hampshire she was on familiar ground. Perhaps she and her court were able to relax more, and this chapter marks differences in the nature of the visits between the counties.

This study also throws light on patterns of patronage and power at court and in government. The local gentry would have used the progress to further their own careers – through mixing with courtiers and Privy Councillors and by seeking opportunities for patronage. Authority within the progress would have led to respect and patronage outside it. It might have introduced some of the gentry to court, or increased their status within it. Although the business of the Privy Council at that time was chiefly concerned with Essex's expedition to the Netherlands, their inspection of the fortifications at Portsmouth and Southampton would have been beneficial for the local gentry, and the visit of the Queen and the progress as a whole would have raised the morale of the local populace and the soldiers and sailors working there. It was an opportunity for local and national government to meet, and local concerns to be discussed with men of importance. The tenor of the progress – the people visited and the entertainments given - suggests that the monarch and government were comfortable in West Sussex and Hampshire and not overly worried about their Catholic nature.

¹³⁵ For example, the giestes [itinerary details and programme] of the 1575 progress, including the visit to Kenilworth, were radically altered when the Queen decided to return early; information from 'Kenilworth Revisited: Perspectives On The Castle And The 1575 Festivities' in September 2005, held at the University of Warwick and Kenilworth.

Conclusion

This thesis has opened up exploration of the nature of royal progresses by focussing on a particular region - as governed by the progress itinerary - its aristocracy and gentry in some detail, and showing how a progress actually worked on the ground in a given area. This approach sheds light on both the nature of royal progresses and their connection with, and impact upon, the development of local social networks. The thesis thus aims to contribute to our understanding of the place of royal progresses in national and local politics. It also deepens our understanding of the important role of hospitality in the emerging civil society of the day.

The thesis suggests that the general function or role of royal progresses shifted during the sixteenth century, and this has been reflected in this regional approach. At first progresses were undertaken to fulfil a political need to keep an eye on subjects at close quarters. Henry VII's careful preparation for a position of stability, so that his own dynasty could stay on the throne, included progresses around the kingdom.¹ That the preparation was good is borne out by the nature of Henry VIII's progresses into this region, and there is much information on his visits to the region which demonstrates this. He used the progresses to visit friends and go hunting, and also to view defence works at Portsmouth and Southampton. Henry's progresses became holiday-centred, staying with friends at Horsham and Arundel and hunting in the parks belonging to such nobles. Edward VI's only progress followed his father's footsteps into West Sussex and Surrey, staying in the same places as he did. While the practicalities were not well thought out,² the progress was intended not to be political, and had the nature of an outing given to a teenager. In the same vein as his father's later progresses, there was no serious political purpose to show the monarch to his subjects, other than meeting people who must have known him at court. Edward's own interests lay in the building of defences on the south coast, and even this seems protected and unreal compared to the position of the recipient of his letters, Barnaby Fitzwilliam who was encamped with the army in France.³ By the time of James I and VI, progresses were again concentrating on hunting and visiting friends, and politics and business were left in London.⁴ The need for the monarch to show himself or herself to their subjects was diminished.

¹ Samman, 'Progresses'.

² Nichols, *Edward VI*, 198.

³ WSRO, MP 2837.

⁴ See chapter 4 for further information.

In contrast, the progress became a multi-functional device under Elizabeth, and this thesis has explored the nature of her progresses in depth, using this region and the 1591 progress as a case study. One of the main findings is that, whereas Henry, Edward and James always stayed with friends who were generally nobility, Elizabeth chose to stay with lesser gentry, whom she might not have met before, and used this to confirm her position in regional society and with the Privy Council. In the region, she chose to raise the importance of small landowners, such as John Caryll of Brockhampton, or Richard Lewkenor of West Dean,⁵ by dining with them, and by receiving gifts and giving auditions in Chichester.⁶ In this way she showed her interest in local society, especially as the incentive for the monarch to be 'seen' by people in the region was no longer necessary. The Privy Council members may not themselves have wished to stay at (or near) smaller places such as Southwick, but 'she preserved her authority by reinventing herself by the media of the times...'⁷ Elizabeth took a stronger interest in regional society than any other monarch, and it has echoes of the present Queen Elizabeth and her 'walkabouts'. In doing so, she confirmed and helped develop new social networks in local communities.

Secondly, she took her Privy Council with her, and business continued as normal, with arrangements made for bringing the necessary documents with them, and supplying postal services from wherever she was staying. By the time of Elizabeth, the long baggage train of medieval monarchs had gone, and in its place was a smart system of harbingers. This study has demonstrated that the harbingers worked in teams, each with a leader who was a member of the gentry and well versed in these practical arrangements. The case study of the 1591 progress shows that each team was allotted an area, a certain number of houses to prepare and a definite time-frame in which to work. The practice of purveyance and the provision of tents and supplies by the royal household was developed into a smooth operation. It left the house owners to add to their efforts and supply as much entertainment as was feasible, and the contribution of the hosts dovetailed with the machinery of central administration. The management of royal tents was important and professional, and a royal official was responsible for their correct supply for each occasion and their long-term maintenance. The tents were used not only for military events or celebrations, but on progresses, and were probably combined with those owned by the house at which the Queen was staying. Therefore, some traditional assumptions, such as the host of a royal progress being bankrupted, or the long train of goods and people following the monarch, have not been supported in this thesis.

⁵ See Appendix 2: Prosopography.

⁶ See chapter 9.

⁷ Cole, *Portable Queen*, 170.

Thirdly, although the need to widen the power-base of the monarch was no longer so vital, Elizabeth's practice and ability to stay with smaller gentry or Catholics⁸ such as Edmund Mervyn, Viscount Montague, John Caryl and the Tichborne family shows that she had few worries about her own security. She may have been checking the loyalty of such people, but the progresses in this region show that she was able to do so in a relaxed style, and there were no political repercussions for the region itself after 1591. She was able to undertake such progresses for her own uses, such as meeting new people and seeing new landscapes.

The case study of the 1591 progress offers an examination of the way in which such progresses worked on a practical level and of her relationship with the hosts. Close enquiry brings up fresh revelations such as the fact that Elizabeth only visited West Sussex once in 45 years, but she visited Hampshire three times and passed through it four other times. Evidently she was more at home in Hampshire, probably because the Bishop of Winchester could provide places to stay where the monarch felt comfortable through familiarity and luxury. The sole visit to West Sussex may not have been as odd as it seems: for a Queen who kept within the home counties normally, the territory further south than the Sussex and Hampshire Downs was out of her 'comfort zone'. However, this progress emphasizes the contrast between the picture of the Queen who liked new places and fresh faces and the reality of a monarch who did not actually travel far. She did not go abroad as her father and grandfather had done, or to the north or west of England, or into Wales. The 1591 progress was a long itinerary with important meetings and celebrations, but it did not break much new ground for Elizabeth. Because it was not unusual, the progress makes a good case study of the routines and practicalities of Elizabethan progresses.

Detailed case studies within the 1591 progress⁹ offer evidence on how the relationships of the participants worked. It is possible to work out from family history and local and regional sources who attended the week of celebrations at Cowdray, and see that although the party from court was numerous, Anthony Browne had gathered friends and family around him, and these may have outnumbered his guests. Did the two parties have equal footing? Although there has been discussion of the possibility that Browne and his family were wary of the Queen's presence, this study shows that the Queen was always the most important person in the house, and that theoretically she became the host whilst she was in it. We now know that the Queen stayed in the town house that was known as the

⁸ See chapter 8.

⁹ Ibid.

Punch House in Chichester and that Lord Lumley played host. Elizabeth probably gave her audience in the cathedral, not in the upper room of Lumley's town house as previously supposed, but Lord Lumley was her host in the city, not Thomas Bickley, the Bishop of Chichester. The relative importance of this Bishop is therefore contrasted with the position of Thomas Cooper, the Bishop of Winchester, who played host three times during the progress (twice at Farnham and once at Bishop's Waltham). Again, if one was not invited to progress, it may have been best to just disappear off the scene, as did the Earl of Northumberland. Viscount Montague and Lord Lumley played the most important parts in West Sussex. These events show that the most important people were not necessarily those we might first think, and it gives a clearer idea of relationships within the gentry, and of their relationship with the monarch.

The details of the 1591 progress also show the inequality of the places at which she chose to stay: a small manor house such as Bramshott (where Edmund Mervyn was the host) is in direct contrast to her stay at Elvetham, home of Edward Seymour, the Earl of Hertford. His efforts as a host included new buildings put up for her with sophisticated imagery and a staged spectacle with an artificial lake and a 'sea-battle'. Sometimes there must have been very little entertainment for the Queen (which we do not hear about), and at other times the cultural impact must have been overwhelming for people in the region, because some of the refined noble entertainment was up to courtly and London standards. To those gentry invited to host or dine at less important places, the sight of the grand occasions must have increased the lure of taking up a residence in London, where the lights were brighter and a new sophistication brought fresh treats and 'novel devices'.

Looking at the region's affairs in the light of the progresses therefore gives new insight into interaction between the centre of government and a local community. Gentry in the locality were aware of their own power in commissions and as landowners, but were used to working with the Privy Council, and the 1591 progress highlights how much the Privy Council used men like William More to do their governance for them. This thesis confirms the historiography of the emergence of new county gentry, who were rising in importance for the Privy Council. Their relationships were tight-knit, and they knew each other through working on commissions of the peace and the musters. At the same time the thesis refutes the notion of a 'county community' (the notion that the gentry in a given county created a strong faction deliberately within those limits). It is an important point that there was a circle of gentry working within the region defined by the royal progresses across Surrey, Hampshire and Sussex. The study of the

progresses themselves confirms the cross-border operation of responsibilities, governance and friendship.

The personalities and network of gentry society at this date have been established by this thesis, and the events of the 1591 progress expanded this study. Some members of the gentry were brought to the fore and others rebuffed by a visit from the monarch on progress. However, the assumption that Elizabeth was capricious and changed her mind abruptly, leaving hosts with huge unpaid bills, is wrong for this region. Some of the nobility were more interested in London and court life; but others such as Anthony Browne became very involved in the governance of the region, and his interest paid off when the royal progress stayed at Cowdray in 1591. As for the debate on local Catholicism, the gentry and nobility of the area were mainly Catholic but this did not influence the route of the progresses. It was not a definite reason for not visiting a host, unless they were strongly recusant - the Cottons at Warblington were passed by, because George Cotton was in prison at the time for that reason. Nor did the Queen visit the Earl of Northumberland at Petworth. However, besides Viscount Montague, several other hosts on the 1591 progress were known to be Catholics, and generally the Queen was as happy to visit Catholic families such as the Carylls and the Tichbornes as she was the strongly Protestant Bishop of Winchester.

Although Elizabeth stayed with 'lesser' gentry, they were still men of property. The dissolution of the monasteries brought about a significant increase in the local land market, and also changes in perception of hospitality. After the wholesale alienation of estates from the crown in the 1530s and 1540s, there was huge activity in buying and selling property throughout the mid-sixteenth century. By the 1570s many small pieces of property were being bought, sold and exchanged, as evidenced by the number of deeds for smallholdings from that period now kept at local record offices. Consequently a local study such as this highlights a fast-growing expanding land market. The men involved in the progresses were the same men who were increasing the standing of their families by buying up a messuage or a few fields adjacent to land they already held. With their new-found wealth, they were also building and re-building their country houses. The fortunes of country houses in the area changed over the sixteenth century, as local country house architecture was influenced by a desire to offer hospitality to important people, and especially to the monarch.

The increased availability of estate land provided a new culture in which the old orders of hospitality were questioned. This thesis has provided an exploration of what kinds of hospitality the local gentry and nobility thought were most

important. The responsibility of the country house owner towards the poor in the parish changed; they were expected to pick up the responsibilities of the local dissolved monasteries, but they did not see it as their duty to keep philanthropy as personal as it had been in the past. The men who could welcome a monarch into their homes found dealings with the local poor awkward. Hospitality became more self-serving and an expression of power and wealth, and kinship ties were most important as men sought to increase the power of their families. The idea that good hospitality was expected from nobility and gentry did not change, but it was also a means of giving and receiving patronage, and this was highlighted in the progresses.

The changing rules on the duties of hospitality were one of the consequences of the progresses. Hosts became aware that new trends in architecture and hospitality mattered, and they interpreted this in their own way. Viscount Montague and the Earl of Hertford were able to build houses to reflect the number of guests they were hoping to entertain. Other houses in the area, such as New Place, Pulborough, or Bramshott, were given new gatehouses. The development of 'visitor flow', so obvious in the alterations to Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire, required changes to the design and structure of a country house, which were taken up in the bigger houses in this region, such as at Loseley, Cowdray and Titchfield. In the sixteenth century, there were about 113 houses in the region which might have been attractive to the planners of a progress.

As far as the hierarchy of local gentry was concerned, there are two ways of looking at the consequences of the progresses. It could be said that the natural order of local society was given a shake-up by the progress because Elizabeth stayed with certain gentry who were just small landowners, and did not stay with some important nobles. However, it is more likely on the other hand, that the progress may have reflected what was already happening within the community. In 1591, the Earl of Northumberland evidently was not taking part in the governance of the region, and his visitors seem to have been recusants and men who were not approved by the Privy Council. At the other end of the scale, Edmund Mervyn was a rising member of the gentry whose success was confirmed by the visit on the 1591 progress. The visits on the 1591 progress may have confirmed what was already taking place.

There were practical consequences of a royal progress. The progress would have inconvenienced local society routine at harvest-time, when men were busy checking their estates, even going on small progresses of their own. There was a regional 'calendar' for local nobility and gentry, dictated by the rituals of the church

and agricultural year, which would have been disrupted by preparations for the arrival of a monarch. At the same time, preparations for the progress may have made travel and accommodation easier for other travellers once the progress had moved on. Travel in the region was dictated by the chalk of the Downs, the marshy area between the Downs, and the rivers — but the summers at the end of the sixteenth century tended to be warm enough for these not to hinder travellers. Progresses opened up the countryside by extending the number of available places to stay for future progresses, whether carried out by the monarch or other officials.

New information technology, increasing even while this research has been carried out, has improved access to some primary and secondary sources, provided online finding aids, enabled analysis and made manipulation of data easier. Access to primary sources has been opened up, in the first place by many record offices putting their catalogues online, and by the appearance of A2A, which combines those online catalogues into one big database.¹⁰ For the first time, an overview of documents relevant to a particular topic could be brought together. It was possible to see, for example, the activities of the land market, because the lists of deeds bring all the exchanges of property together, regardless of which collection they came from. Consequently, in West Sussex the number of conveyances showing small exchanges of land is particularly marked in the 1570s and 1580s.¹¹ Online catalogues therefore provide a new form of access, enabling searches on themes which were relevant for this thesis (other examples include purveyance, place names, commissions and so on). This provides a new direction of enquiry, in addition to seeking advice on which collections would be best. However this also narrowed down the ways in which the results were presented: because a computer program will present entries which contain the search word, this is not as intuitive as personal advice, for example on which families included men who were responsible for purveyance. This created the need for careful use of a glossary, especially when dealing with databases such as State Papers Online, where the printed calendars of state papers were married up with their images from microfilm, but only made available through key words. The possibilities of manipulation of data and presentation of findings was much easier through programs such as Adobe Photoshop and Excel.

Having sources such as the *Victoria County History* for Sussex and Hampshire online made research easier. The best database of all, and a real delight to use, was the *ODNB*. It enabled comparisons of ages and backgrounds of the key people involved in the thesis, so that it was possible to assess their roles in

¹⁰ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a>

¹¹ www.westsussex.gov.uk/ro - the Search Online facility.

local society and on commissions. It also contributed to research on the nature of places such as Chichester or Blackfriars in London, where residential development meant that people from Sussex were obtaining a foothold, possibly influenced by what they had seen on the progresses.

Research for this thesis has posed many more questions than I have been able to answer. In concentrating on Surrey, Hampshire and West Sussex, I am conscious of the problem of how typical my findings might be in relation to other parts of the country. What I hope I have achieved is to establish a methodology that will enable others to clarify the often-overlooked practicalities of what was entailed in any progress. There are questions which have come up during the research, which need more work and which cannot be covered in this thesis. Finding out if this region was typical of others that Elizabeth visited would be possible by applying the same methodology, and by visiting other record offices and looking at local sources. Accounts such as those by Nichols can be added to the itinerary created by E.K. Chambers and Mary Hill Cole, and information on local gentry can be obtained from the *ODNB* and local archives. Were the same questions asked of the hosts in other areas, and did they fulfil their hospitality obligations in the same way? Were the motives of the royal party the same? Dovey has looked at the 1578 East Anglian progress in some depth, and I have studied the 1574 and 1575 progresses in Gloucestershire enough to know that issues raised by a progress changed with the hosts. An account of the East Sussex progress will be combined with information from this thesis for a volume of essays,¹² and already it seems that Elizabeth was much more at home in Kent than the other side of Sussex. Consequently, there are new avenues to explore.

From the point of local history, the gentry database can never be complete, but I hope to add it to the many name indexes in West Sussex Record Office. The picture built up in this thesis of the region in the sixteenth century has not been presented before, and so I hope it will be possible to publish it. Finally, to return to my original agenda, with which I started this research, I hope to contribute to the history of Parham. I can offer three things about Parham in the sixteenth century: first, that its owners, the Palmer family, were absolutely right to put themselves in the frame. Their new house offered all the facilities expected for entertaining on a grand scale, notably the long gallery stretching across the top of the house, and the great hall in which to meet and greet guests. It was typical of the places Elizabeth visited. Secondly, the owners were of the rank that might have expected a royal visit - they were involved in local government, serving as JPs and working on

¹² *The Intellectual Culture of Early Modern Sussex - a finger of the Realm* (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming, no editors given)

commissions, and their social networks included the right sort of people, such as Viscount Montague. But sadly, by 1591, the final generation of Palmers at Parham had undone the good work of the previous two, and Elizabeth probably did not visit Thomas Palmer, a wild seventeen-year old who had little interest in Parham. As with other houses in the area, the house holds a tradition of Elizabeth's visit and these legends are important to local people. As a third point, I am happy to take account of Fitzwilliam's view that '[a visit] seems to us to be based on little evidence except that of tradition, which in many cases has proved to be true.'¹³

¹³ Fitzwilliam, *Parham*, 48.

Appendix 1: Gentry Database of local nobility and gentry

The following Database is divided into four tables, including the nobility, the upper gentry and the rest of the gentry of the region covered by this thesis. The fourth table lists the Bishops of Chichester and Winchester at the time, with their dates, and whether they were hosts to the royal progresses. The database as a whole offers an overview of regional society, giving the most important families, and their activities in local and national government. It gives the place of their country seat, active dates as far as possible, and whether members of those families were hosts to the royal progresses. Their religious persuasion is given where known, and whether the family had a London house. Locally held offices are given, and finally I have indicated whether the member of the family has an entry in the ODNB.¹

Although the nobility are not technically gentry, I have included them as the first table and when talking about provincial gentry as a whole. Although some of the nobility who held land in the progress region did not consider it as their base, many did, and the tables indicate how involved they were in local society. The second table gives members of the 'upper gentry', that is those involved with the organization of the progresses of hosts on them. The third table consists of other local gentry, not important enough to be concerned with the progresses unless they were responsible for purveyance. These terms are established in Chapters 3 and 5, which give further explanation, establish the most important families in the area, and give numbers as far as is possible for an increasingly fluid society.

Neither these tables nor the list in Appendix 2 can be considered exhaustive, as further details of careers and families come to light all the time. One way in which this thesis could be taken further is by a trawl through all the local sources, such as wills, grants of land and the various lists of people that exist in the three Record Offices. The extensive nature of the work would be repaid by a fuller knowledge of their connections with each other, their financial positions, and their standing in the county, and this would lead to a much better idea of the emergence of a post-medieval provincial society.

¹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com>]. I have noted *ODNB* beside each person if they have an entry in *ODNB*.

Appendix 1 Gentry Database: Nobility

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
Browne, Viscounts Montague	Sir Anthony	1500-48	Sussex	Cowdray and Battle; Easebourne Priory	✓	-	Southwark				✓	✓	✓		
	Anthony, 1st Viscount	1528-92			✓	C		✓	✓	1552-53	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Anthony Maria, 2nd Viscount	1592-				C					✓		x		
Browne	George	1591			✓	C				✓		x			
Clinton, Earl of Lincoln	Edward	1512-85	Surrey	West Horsley; Pyrford	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓		
Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter	Henry	1498 - 1538	Surrey	West Horsley		-	Lived at court				✓	✓	✓		
Fitzalan, Earls of Arundel	Henry, 12th Earl	1512-80	Sussex	Arundel	✓	C	Nonsuch: Arundel House	✓			✓	✓	✓		
	William														
	Thomas														
	William														
Fitzwilliam	William, Earl of Southampton	-1542	Sussex	Cowdray											
Herbert, Earls of Pembroke			Hampshire												
Howard, Earls of Arundel	Agnes, Duchess of Norfolk	1477-1545	Sussex	Chesworth, Horsham		C	Lambeth				✓	✓	✓		
	Thomas, 3rd Duke of Norfolk	1473-1554		Arundel Castle; Chesworth	✓	C	Arundel House, Strand; Howard House after 1564				✓	✓	✓		
	Philip, 13th Earl	1557-95			C	✓			✓	✓	✓				
	Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk	1585-1646		✓	C	✓		✓	✓	✓					
Howard	Lord Charles of Effingham	1536-1624	Surrey and Sussex	Reigate Priory	Guest on progress	P	Oatlands (for Queen)		✓		✓	✓	Privy Council	✓	

Appendix 1 Gentry Database: Nobility

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
Lumley, Lord	John	1533-1609	Sussex and Surrey	Stansted; town house in Chichester	✓	C	House on Hart Street; Arundel House, Strand; Nonsuch	✓				✓	✓	✓		
Neville, Lords Abervagenny	Francis							✓								
Paulet, Marquis of Winchester	William, 1st Marquess	1483-1572	Hampshire	Basing, Abbotstone; Herriard, Odiham, Netley	✓	Pragmatic		✓	✓	✓		✓	Privy Council	✓		
	John, 2nd Marquis	c.1510-76														
	William, 3rd Marquis	c.1532-98							✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	
	Richard	d.1614														
Percy, Earls of Northumberland	William	c.1560-1629			✓	C								✓		
	Thomas, 7th Earl	1528 - ex. 1572	Sussex	Petworth		C								✓		
	Henry, 8th Earl	1532-1585				C	Northumberland house; Syon								✓	
	Henry, 9th Earl	1564-1632				C		✓								
Algernon, 10th Earl									✓				✓	✓		
Radcliffe, Earls of Sussex	Henry, 2nd Earl	1507-57	Hampshire	Portsmouth	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		
	Thomas, 3rd	1525-83													✓	
	Henry, 4th Earl	1532-93							✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	
	Robert, 5th Earl	1573-1629													✓	
Sackville, Barons Buckhurst, Earls of Dorset	Sir Richard	1563, 1608	Kent and Sussex	Knole; Lord's Place, Lewes				✓	1563							
	Robert	1584-1601							✓	1585						
	Thomas								✓	✓						
	Sir Robert	1592, 1597							✓	1592						
	Sir Edward									1597					✓	✓
								1614								

Appendix 1 Gentry Database: Nobility

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
Sandys	Sir William	1530s, 1547	Hampshire	The Vine; Mottisfont	✓				✓				✓	✓	
	Sir William	1601			✓										
Seymour, Earls of Hertford	Edward, 1st Earl	1591	Hampshire	Elvetham	✓									✓	
West, Lords de la Warr	Thomas	1458-1526	Sussex	Halnaker; Offington, The Holt							✓	✓			
	Thomas	1472-1554			✓			1524-25						✓	
	William	1519-1595			✓					✓					✓
Wriothsley, Earls of Southampton	Thomas, 1st Earl	1505-50	Hampshire	Titchfield	✓	C	Southampton House						✓	✓	
	Henry, 2nd Earl	1545-81			✓	C		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Henry, 3rd Earl	1573-1624			✓	P			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Appendix 1: Gentry Database Upper Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
Apsley	John	1567	Sussex	Thakeham		C		✓		1567-68					Dallaway	
	William	1570s		Thakeham / Pulborough												SAC 39
Askew	Anne	1582	Surrey	Byfleet	✓									x		
Audley	Richard	1569	Hampshire	Melchet, nr Romsey; Fawley	✓				✓					x		
	John	1606		Romsey; Fawley	✓										x	
Backhouse	Nicholas	1569	Hampshire	Kingsley	✓									x		
Bartelott	John	d.1521	Sussex	Stopham and Boxgrove												
	William	d. 1585														
Bishop	William	d. 1601	Sussex	Henfield, Parham		P		✓	x					x	SAC I	
	Thomas	1553-1627			Symp		✓	✓	1600-01					x	Dallaway	
	Edward				Symp										x	
Bowyer	William	early 16th c	Sussex	Petworth												
	Robert	d. 1567		Chichester							Mayor of					Dallaway
	Edmund	1560s, 1599		North Mundham / Cuckfield	Pres						1599-1600					Dallaway
	Thomas	late 16th c		Leythorne, North Mundham												SAC I
Bray	Henry		Surrey and Sussex	Chobham				✓								
	Sir Edward	1538			✓			✓			1521-22 1538-39					Dallaway SAC 39
Browne	Sir Anthony, KG	1520s-1548	Sussex	Cowdray and Battle		C					✓	✓	✓			
Caesar	Julius	1558-1636	Surrey	Mitcham	✓	P	Bishopsgate; Tottenham					✓	✓	✓		
Caplen	John	1591	Hampshire	Stoneham, South	✓									x		
Carew	Richard	Early 16th c	Surrey and Sussex	Beddington						1518-19					Dallaway	
	Sir Francis	1567-1600			✓			✓	✓	✓			✓		x	
Caryll	Sir John	d. 1524	Sussex and Hampshire	Warnham											Dallaway	
	John	Late 16th century		Warnham; Harting; West Grinstead		C		✓	1552-53 1555	1587-88		Att. Gen for Duchy of	Knighted at Cowdray	x	Dallaway SAC I	
	John	1591		Brockhampton				✓							x	

Appendix 1: Gentry Database Upper Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
	John	1560s	Surrey	Tangley				✓						x		
	Edward	1569-1609	Sussex	Harting; West Grinstead; Shipley				✓		1569-70			x	x	Dallaway	
Cawarden	Thomas	1514-59	Sussex and Surrey	Place House, Bletchingley		Blackfriars		✓	✓	1547-48	✓	Keeper of Tents and	✓		Dallaway	
Chalener Clerk	Ninion Edmund	1570s 1560	Sussex Hampshire	Cuckfield Micheldever		Hampstead								x x		
Colbrand	James	d. 1600	Surrey and Sussex	Warminghurst & Chichester		Blackfriars		✓		1597-98					Dallaway	
	Sir John	d. 1627		Chichester & Boreham							Created Bart 1621				Dallaway	
Cornwallis	Thomas	1518/9-1604	Surrey	Horsley, East	✓	C			✓		✓	Family at court		x		
Cotton	George	1590s	Hampshire	Warblington; Brockhampton		C								x		
	Richard			Warblington; Brockhampton		C								x		
Covert	Richard	Early 16th c	Sussex	Slaugham						1522-23					Dallaway	
	Walter	1584-92				P		✓	1586	1582-83 1591-92					x	Dallaway
	John	1554	Surrey and Sussex								1554-55				x	Dallaway
	Edward	1558														SAC I
	Richard	1563				C		✓		1563-64					x	Dallaway
Walter	1625															
Cranfield	Lionel	1575-1645	Sussex	Wiston		P	Chelsea				✓		✓	✓		
	Edward	1561-1630				C		✓						x	SAC I	
Culpepper	Edmund	1595, 1606	Sussex	Wakehurst						1595-96 1605-06				x	Dallaway	
	John	1530, 1559						✓		1559-60					x	Dallaway SAC 39
	Thomas								✓						x	
	William								✓						x	

Appendix 1: Gentry Database Upper Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source												
Ernley	Richard	1588	Sussex	Cokeham		N/A			✓						SAC I												
	William	1501-46																									
Edmondess	John	1571	Sussex	Bailliff's Court & Yapton											SAC I												
	Walter	1588																									
Ernley	William	d. 1545	Sussex	Ernley & Wittering					1542						Dallaway												
	Richard	1577																									Dallaway
	Richard	d. 1631																									
Eversfield	John	1588	Sussex	Worthing, then Denne, Horsham											SAC I												
	Thomas	1598	Surrey and Sussex																	1598-99							Dallaway
Fleming	Thomas	1544-1613	Hampshire	Stoneham, North	P				✓			✓		✓													
Gage	Edward	1556-88	Sussex	Ifield											Dallaway												
	Sir John	1595														Firle					✓						SAC I
Gifford	Henry	1591	Hampshire	Somborne																							
Glenham	Henry	1591	Sussex									Knighthd															
Goring	George	1577, 1588	Sussex	Danny; Michelgrove				✓		1577-78					Dallaway												
Goring	John	d. 1521	Sussex	Burton					1547	1550-51					Dallaway												
	Sir William (I)	d. 1553																								Dallaway	
	Sir Henry (I)	d. 1594														P	✓						1561-62				Dallaway
	Sir Henry (II)	d. 1626																					1568-69				Dallaway
	Sir William (II)	d. 1601																									Dallaway
Gresham	John		Surrey					✓		✓																	
	William	1562, 1576, 1605										✓		1562-63 1575-76					Dallaway								
Hammond	John	1602	Surrey	Chertsey	✓																						
Holland	William	1588, 1614	Sussex	Steyning											SAC I												
Howard	Charles	1580s-1624	Surrey and Sussex	Reigate Priory				✓	1601, 1603				✓														
James	Richard	1500-57	Hampshire	Stoneham, North																							

Appendix 1: Gentry Database Upper Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source			
	Sir Thomas	1587-1654	Hampshire	Richmond														
Kempe	Anthony	1588	Sussex	Slindon; Olantigh											SAC I			
Lawrence	Lady Anne	1569	Hampshire	Soberton	✓													
Leedes	John	1588, d. 1606	Sussex	Wappingthorne, Steyning											SAC I			
Lewkenor	Edward	1526-51	Sussex	East Preston, Kingston Buci														
	Thomas	1579		Selsey, Goodwood		C		✓										
	Sir Richard	1542-1616		West Dean, Trotton	✓	symp	Middle Temple (Serjeant-at-law)	✓	✓			Recorder of Chichester				Dallaway		
	Sir Roger	1530								1510-11 1531-32						SAC 39		
Mason, Sir John	Sir John	1560s	Hampshire	Hartley Wintney	✓													
Mervyn	Edmund	1583-1646	Hampshire	Bramshott and Durford	✓		Middle Temple	✓	✓	✓		✓			Dallaway			
	Sir Henry																	
More	Christopher	1530s	Surrey	Loseley	✓			✓	✓	1532-33 1539-40					Dallaway			
	Sir George	1601			✓		Blackfriars	✓		✓					Dallaway			
	Sir William	1520-1600			✓		Blackfriars	✓	✓	✓				✓		Dallaway		
Moore	Edward		Hampshire	Odiham	✓			✓										
Morley	William	late 16th century	Surrey and Sussex	Glynde, Hainaker				✓		1579-80					Dallaway SAC I			
Neale	William	1591	Hampshire	Warnford	✓													
Pagett		1560, 1580	Hampshire	Grove Place, Nursling														
	John	1530-70		Angmering: New Place				✓	1571	1533-34 15434-4					Dallaway SAC 39			
	Robert	1540, 1544						Parham										
	Sir Thomas (I) of Parham	1520, 1582						Parham			✓	1554	1558-59					

Appendix 1: Gentry Database Upper Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
Palmer	Sir Thomas (II) of Parham	1574	Sussex	Parham				✓	1589							
	Sir Thomas of Angmering	1540s		Angmering: New Place				✓	✓							
	Thomas (III)	1574, 1598		Parham												
	William	1544-86		Parham												
Parker	Sir Nicholas	1585, 1597	Surrey and Sussex				✓	1597		1585-86 1592-93	Knights at Cowdray			Dallaway		
Pelham	Sir Nicholas	1550s	Sussex				✓	1557-9		1549-50					Dallaway	
	Anthony	1564					✓			1564-65					Dallaway	
	John	1570s						1571		1570-71				Dallaway		
	Henry	late 16th c.	Surrey and Sussex							1574-75 1589-90				Dallaway		
	Thomas	1588, 1611		Laughton			✓	1586,		1588-89					Dallaway	
	Edmund		Sussex				✓									
	Herbert						✓									
Pexall	Sir Richard	1569	Hampshire	Steventon	✓											
Polsted	Sir Richard	1570s	Surrey and Sussex	Thorpe	✓					1573-74					Dallaway	
Poynings	Sir Adrian	1569	Hampshire	Wherwell	✓											
Puttenham	George	1574	Hampshire	Herriard	✓											
Remington	Sir Robert	1601	Hampshire	Beaurepaire	✓											
Searle	Sir Francis	1591	Hampshire	Fairthorne (part of Bishop's Waltham)	✓											
Shelley	Richard	1580	Sussex	Michelgrove, Warminghurst				✓								
	William	1580							✓							
	John	1530, 1588														SAC I SAC 39
	Henry								✓							

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
Agmondesham	John	1560s	Sussex	Pulborough											
Amersham	Adam		Surrey				✓								
Ashburnham	William	1500-20	Sussex	Ashburnham; Broomham	C		✓			1516-17 1523-24				Dallaway	
	Thomas	1530													SAC 39
	John							1544							Dallaway
Aylwin	John	early 16 c.	Sussex	West Dean											
	William	d.1572		Treyford											
	William	d.1592													
Backhouse	Nicholas	1569	Hampshire	Kingsley	✓										
Barentyne	Drew		Sussex	Horsted Keynes	C		✓								
Bedon	Richard	1560s	Surrey				✓								
Bellingham	John	1530	Sussex	Lyminster											
	Edward	1566		Newtimber; Hangleton			✓		1566-67					Dallaway	
	Richard	1542							1542-43					Dallaway SAC I	
Benion	John	1588	Sussex	Aldingbourne									SAC I		
Bettesworth	Peter	1558-89	Sussex	Rogate; Chithurst											
	Thomas	1588													SAC I
Bickley	Henry	1503-67	Sussex	Chidham											
	Thomas	1594		Thorney											
Birch	John	1560s	Surrey				✓								
Blank, Lady		1591 1594	Surrey	Mitcham	✓										
Blanden		1601	Surrey	Ebbesham Court	✓										
Blount	Richard		Sussex				✓								
Bostock	Richard	1584	Surrey and Sussex							1584-85				Dallaway	
Borde	Stephen	1588	Sussex	Borde Hill, Cuckfield											

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
	Thomas	1588	Sussex	Paxhill, Lindfield											SAC I
Bowyer	John	1560s	Surrey					✓							
Bromley	Thomas							✓							
Brown	Richard	1585	Surrey and Sussex						1586-87						Dallaway
Brown	Thomas	1560s 1581	Surrey and Sussex					✓	1581-82						Dallaway
Burton	Nicholas	1560s	Surrey												
Bynde	John	1588-1600	Sussex	Washington											SAC I
Carey	John	1553	Sussex						✓						
Carey	Henry	1600	Surrey & Sussex	Newington	✓				1602						Dallaway
Carus	Thomas	1560s	Surrey					✓			Serjeant				
Chalener	Thomas	1530	Sussex	Lindfield											SAC 39
Chalener	Francis	1588	Sussex	Chiltington											SAC I
Cholmley	Ralph	1560s	Surrey					✓			Serjeant				
	Sir Roger	1560s						✓							
Cooke	Robert	1570s	Sussex	West Burton											
	Richard	1588													SAC I
Coke	John	Mid 16th c.	Sussex	Heene											
	Thomas	Mid 16th c.	Sussex												
Copley	Roger	1500-50	Sussex						1514-45 1529-30						Dallaway
	Thomas	1560s	Surrey					✓							
Cowper	John	1588	Sussex	Slinfold				✓							SAC I
Cox	John?		Surrey	Kingston	✓										
Crane	Anthony	1560s	Surrey					✓							
Damrell	John	1588	Sussex												SAC I
Darell	Thomas	1541	Surrey and Sussex					✓	1541-42						Dallaway
Dawrey	John	1545	Surrey and Sussex	Deworth					1526-27						Dallaway
									1545-46						SAC 39

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
Dowry	William	1563 1576	Surrey and Sussex	Networth			✓	1563	1565-66					Dallaway
Dent	John	1595	Surrey	Mitcham	✓									
Devenish	Thomas	1550s	Sussex	West & East Hampnett										Dallaway
Doning	Ralph	early 16th c	Sussex	Chichester										Dallaway
Doyle	Thomas	1560s	Surrey				✓							
Draper	Henry	1560s	Surrey				✓							
Drew	Roger						✓							
Drury	John						✓							
Esmondes	Lady Dorothy	1600	Surrey	Molesey										
Egerton, Elrington	Sir Thomas Richard						✓							
Elson	John	d.1592	Sussex	Climping, Barnham, Oving										
	John	early 17 c.												
Eston	John	1560s	Surrey				✓							
Evelyn	Evelyn	1584-1600	Surrey	Kingston	✓									
Fane	Sir Thomas						✓							
Farnfold	Richard	1588	Sussex	Steyning										SAC I
Farrington	John	1588	Sussex	City of Chichester						Alderman				SAC I
Fenner	Edward	d.1611	Sussex	Earnley & Wittering			✓			Searjeant				Dallaway
Fenner	John	d.1558					✓							Dallaway
Finch	Sir Miles		Sussex				✓							
Ford	Edmund	d.1531	Sussex	Uppark & Harting										
Fortescue	Francis		Sussex				✓							
Gage	James		Sussex				✓							
Gardeaux	William		Sussex						1593-94					Dallaway

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
Garton	Thomas	mid 16 c.	Sussex	Billingshurst & Woolavington											Dallaway	
	Francis	1588														SAC I
	William	mid 16 c.														Dallaway
	Sir Peter	1603/4											Knighthood at Tower 1603/4			Dallaway
Gawdy	Thomas		Sussex				✓									
Gerard	Gilbert	1560s	Surrey				✓				Attorney-General					
Goodwin	Edward	1588-97	Sussex	East Grinstead											SAC I	
Gratwick	Roger	1588	Sussex	Angmering											SAC I	
Greene	Thomas	1588	Sussex												SAC I	
Grey	William		Sussex	Heyshott												
	Edmund			Woolbeding												
	Edward	1588														SAC I
Grymes	Thomas	1605	Surrey				✓									
Guildford	Sir Thomas						✓									
Gunter	Sir George	early 16th c	Sussex	Racton											Dallaway	
	Richard	d.1608		Chichester & Aldingbourne												Dallaway
Harris	Robert	1560s	Surrey					✓								
Heron	Nicholas	1560s	Surrey					✓								
	William	1560s							✓							
Hill	Roland	1560s	Surrey					✓								
Hogan	Thomas								✓							
Howard	William	1560s	Surrey					✓								
Hussey	John							✓								
Hygons			Sussex	Bury												
Jeffery	John	1572	Sussex					✓	1572		Serj. at law				Dallaway	

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source	
Juxon	Richard	d.1583	Sussex	Chichester								Receiver General of Bishop of Chi's estates			Dallaway	
Kingsmill	George							✓								
Lee	Francis	1605	Surrey					✓								
	Nicholas	1560s						✓								
	Olliphe	1605						✓								
Leech	Richard	1594	Surrey and Sussex				✓		1594-95						Dallaway SAC I	
Levett	Lawrence						✓									
Leyfield	Thomas	1590	Surrey	Stoke d'Aubernon	✓											
Linsey	Robert	1590 1604							1590-91 1602-04						Dallaway	
Little	Thomas	1560s	Surrey					✓								
Lovell	Gregory	1560s 1574	Surrey	Merton Abbey	✓			✓								
Lunsford	John		Sussex					✓								
Luxford	Edward	1588	Sussex	Hurstpierpoint											SAC I	
May	Thomas		Sussex					✓								
Miller	John		Sussex					✓								
Mitchell	Thomas	1588	Sussex	Horsham											SAC I	
Norton	John	1560	Hants	Rotherfield	✓											
Nowell	Henry	1589	Sussex						1589						Dallaway	
Oglethorpe		1602	Surrey	Thorpe	✓											
Onley	Thomas							✓								
Onslow	Richard	1560s	Surrey					✓								
Overton	William		Sussex					✓				Treasurer of Chichester cathedral			Dallaway	

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
Oxenbridge	Sir John	1551-56	Hampshire	Hurstbourne	✓			✓		1551-52					Dallaway
Page	John	d.1591	Sussex	Donnington											
Paine	Edward	1588	Sussex	East Grinstead											SAC I
Peckham	Henry	late 16th c.	Sussex	East Hampnett											
	Thomas	late 16th c.		Chichester											
Pellatt	Richard	1584	Sussex	Charlton & Bignor;											
	Benjamin	1603		Steyning; Bolnéy							Knighthd 1603				Dallaway SAC I
Poole	Henry							✓							
Porter	John							✓							
Powner	John	1547	Sussex						✓						
Puckering	Sir John							✓							
Rackton	Adam	1580-88	Sussex	Walberton											SAC I
Reed	John	1573	Sussex							1573-74					Dallaway
Rivers	George							✓							
Roberts	Thomas							✓							
Rose	John (I)	d.1574	Sussex	Eastergate											
	John (II)	1588													
Rushe	Anthony							✓			Dean of Chichester				
Sackville	John	1540						✓		1540-41					Dallaway
	Edward	1547						✓		1546-47					
Saunders	Sir Thomas	1553 1560s	Surrey					✓		1553-54					Dallaway
	William	1555 1560s						✓		1555-56					Dallaway
	John	1548		Surrey and Sussex							1520-21, 1548-49				Dallaway

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts	Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office / commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
	Richard	1560s						✓							
Selwyn	John							✓							
Sharpe	John							✓							
Sheppard	Robert							✓							
Shurley	John							✓	1625						
Skinner	John	1560s	Surrey					✓							
	John (II)	1560s						✓							
Slyfield	Edmund	1560s	Surrey and Sussex												
	Edward	1580						✓		1580-81					Dallaway
Smith	Thomas	1560s	Surrey					✓							
Southcote	John	1560s	Surrey					✓							
Spelman	Francis							✓							
Stanney	Richard		Sussex	Sidlesham				✓							
Stapley	John							✓							
Stidolph	John	1560 1562	Surrey					✓		1560-61					Dallaway
Stoughton	Adrian	late 16th c.	Surrey & Sussex	Stoughton				✓				Recorder of Chichester			Dallaway
	George							✓							
	Lawrence	1560s						✓							
	Thomas	1560s			Stoughton				✓						
Tawke	Thomas	d.1573	Sussex	Appledram								Prebend of Chichester cathedral			
Thatcher	William	1544 1570						✓		✓					
Timperley	Thomas								✓						
Tufton	John							✓							
Upton	William							✓							
Vaughan	John, , L.D	1560s	Surrey					✓							
Waller	John							✓							

Appendix 1: Gentry database. Rest of the Gentry

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Country house in region	Progress Hosts Religious affiliation	London house	JP	MP	Sheriff	Ld Lieutenant or deputy	Other office/ commission	At court	In ODNB?	Other source
Waller	Sir Thomas						✓							
Warner	Robert	1560s	Surrey				✓							
Watersfield	John	1588	Sussex											SAC I
Wayte	Anthony	1560s	Surrey				✓							
Whitfield	Robert	1588	Sussex	Worth										SAC I
Whitpaine	Robert	1588	Sussex	Hurstpierpoint										SAC I
Wildgoose	John						✓							
Willoughby	Thomas						✓							
Wray	Christopher						✓			Serjeant				

Appendix 1: Gentry Database Bishops

Family	Name	Active dates	County	Palace	Progress Hosts
Bishops of Chichester:			Sussex	Aldingbourne; Amberley; Bishop's Palace, Chichester; Cakeham	
Sherburne	Robert	1508-36			
Sampson	Richard	1536-43			
Day	George	1543-52, 1553-56			
Christopherson	John	1557-58			
Barlow	William	1559-68			
Curtis	Richard	1570-82			
Bickley	Thomas	1586-96			
Watson	Anthony	1596-1605			
Andrewes	Lancelot	1605-09			
Harsnett	Samuel	1609-19			
Carleton	George	1619-28			
Montague	Richard	1628-38			
Bishops of Winchester:			Hampshire / Surrey	Farnham Castle; Bishop's Waltham; Wolvesey; Bishop's Palace, Winchester	
Fox	Richard	1501-28			
Wolsey	Thomas	1529-30			
Gardiner	Stephen	1531-51, 1553-55			
Ponet	John	1551-53			
White	John	1556-59			
Horne	Robert	1560-80			✓
Watson	John	1580-84			
Cooper	Thomas	1584-94			✓
Wickham	William	1595			
Day	William	1596			
Bilson	Thomas	1597-1616			✓
Montague	James	1616-18			
Andrewes	Lancelot	1619-26			

Appendix 2: Prosopography of hosts, would-be hosts and local gentry involved with the progresses

The following is a select list of men and women who held country houses in the region, and were involved with royal progresses within the boundaries of this thesis.¹ This list narrows down the overview provided by the Gentry Database (Appendix 1) and gives more detailed information on each person. The geographical cover of the list is slightly wider than this thesis, so it includes hosts in Surrey within the M25 corridor, because not only were they hosts to the monarch on progresses, but they were also involved with local business and social life in the county. To miss them out would have left a gap. However, the bulk of this discussion is about the people who held property in the region described in chapter 3.² It also includes people who aren't on the gentry database, but were involved in the progresses because they were travelling with the court or were harbingers. It does not include well-known national figures such as the Queen or Lord Burghley, since it is so easy to find information on them.

This list is given to provide the reader with background of the men and women's careers and social standing, and to show the activities of both the visitors on progress and their hosts. It has been drawn up using a number of sources; particularly the *ODNB*³, which gives details of family and political careers, and Hasler.⁴ Other information has been drawn from county histories in the bibliography, especially where they give useful lists, such as the list of sheriffs in Dallaway.⁵ Neither this list nor the table in Appendix 1 can be considered definitive; further information could be obtained from many more sources. In all cases, the reader is advised to consult the bibliography for further details.

¹ I have also included Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, who should have been involved with the 1591 progress, and wasn't; and others who might well have been involved in progresses, but there is no evidence for them being so.

² Many of them did have London townhouses, but their seat was provincial.

³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com>]. I have noted *ODNB* beside each person if they have an entry in *ODNB*.

⁴ Hasler, P.W., *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (London: HMSO, 1981), 3 volumes.

⁵ Dallaway, J., *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (London: 1815)

ASKEWE, LADY ANNE of Byfleet, Surrey

Host on progress of 1582

Life: Appears as a correspondent in the Loseley manuscripts, addressing William More as 'my very good son', and refers to her neighbour Dr Heath [Nicholas Heath, formerly Archbishop of York, d.1578, of Chobham Park].⁶

AUDLEY, RICHARD of Melchet, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1569

Melchet was owned by the Crown, and at this time held by Sir William Compton, for whom Richard Audley was Chief Ranger of the Forest. In 1577 Audley obtained a grant from the Crown for some woodland there, and a royal licence to enclose the property. Local opposition led to disputes which lasted until the woodland was turned into arable and pasture some fifty years later.⁷

BACKHOUSE, NICHOLAS of Kingsley, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1569

BISHOP, THOMAS (1553-1626) of Henfield and Parham after 1598⁸

Family: Father was attorney to Bishop of Chichester, settled in Henfield. From him, Thomas inherited a great deal of Sussex property. Minor, ward of the Sackville family.

Married (1) Ann Cromer of Tunstall, Kent 1577; (2) Jane Weston of Sutton, Surrey, before 1589. Three sons and three daughters by Jane Weston

Knighthood 1603; created Baronet 1620

Local career: 1578 onwards JP in Sussex, on recusancy commission 1585; in the 1587 report on Sussex justices, Bishop was commended as a 'good justice'⁹. 1583-84 Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey. MP 1584 for Gatton, 1586 and 1604 for Steyning. 1598 leased Parham from Thomas

Palmer, buying it in 1601.

He seems to have been a patron of Henry Sherley, a poet and grandson of Thomas, and left him an annuity of £40 in his will, and directions to his son to pay it. In fact his son killed Henry in a duel.

He died 26 Nov 1626, and was buried at Parham.

BOWYER, Simon (c.1550-1606) of London

Led team of harbingers 'making ready' property for the arrival of the Queen on her progresses.

Family: Younger son of John Bowyer of Hartfield, in the north part of east Sussex. Married Barbara Carne of Glamorganshire.

Career: Gentleman Usher to the Queen 1569-97; gentleman of the Black Rod from 1593; captain of St. Andrew's Castle, Hampshire c.1577-c.96. 1572 MP for Great Bedwyn. Held licence to regulate the wool trade.

BRACKENBURY, Richard

Led team of harbingers 'making ready' property for the arrival of the Queen on her progresses.

⁶ SHC: Loseley mss, LM/COR/3/663, 31/12/1578.

⁷ 'Parishes: Melchet Park', *VCH, Hampshire: Volume 4* (1911), pp. 540-42.

⁸ Picture ref: Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, J., *Parham in Sussex* (London: Batsford, 1947).

⁹ W. D. Cooper, 'Certificate concerning the justices of the peace in Sussex in 1587', *SAC*, 2 (1849), 58-62.

BRAY, EDWARD of Chobham, Surrey

Host on progress of 1580, 1587, 1589 and 1590. Not to be confused with Edward Bray 1519-81 of Shere, Surrey, who was better known.

Local career: Worked with William More as JP, and correspondence between them is in the Loseley mss.

BROWNE, ANTHONY (1500-48) of Cowdray and Battle, Sussex, and Southwark

Host to Henry VIII at Battle 1539

Family: Married by 1528 Alice (d. 1540), daughter of Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower. They had seven sons—Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague (1528-92), William, Henry, Francis, Thomas, George, and a second Henry—and three daughters, Mary, Mabel, and Lucy. 12 December 1542 married Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald (1528?-89) the 15 year old daughter of the ninth earl of Kildare.

Career: Probably grew up in Henry VIII's household, like his elder half-brother Sir William Fitzwilliam, later Earl of Southampton. Maintained an intimate friendship with Henry throughout the latter's reign. Regularly at court when not engaged in diplomatic, military, or other official duties.

1518 appointed surveyor and master of hunting for the Yorkshire castles and northern lordships. Included in an embassy to hand over Tournai to François I. By October gentleman of the privy chamber. In 1520 in tournament at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Knighted on 1 July 1522 following the English raid on Morlaix, and made a knight of the body. 1525 became lieutenant of the Isle of Man.

Ambassador to France in 1527, and royal standard-bearer jointly with Sir Edward Guildford in 1528-34, alone in 1534-46, and with eldest son, Anthony, in 1546-48. 1532 at Calais for Henry's meeting with François I. With Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1533, at Marseilles when Bishop Edmund Bonner presented Henry's appeal for a general council to Pope Clement VII. In 1536 he and Fitzwilliam assisted Thomas Cromwell in engineering Queen Anne Boleyn's downfall. In 1539 made privy councillor, master of the horse, and captain of the gentleman pensioners. Helped to suppress the Pilgrimage of Grace and helped secure peace with Scotland in February and March. Present at Prince Edward's baptism on 15 October 1537. Browne became a knight of the Garter on 23 April 1540. In 1542 the brothers served against the Scots under Norfolk. 1543 became master of the king's harriers, further military service in the Boulogne campaign of 1544, working closely with Suffolk. He, Suffolk, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley also secured loans for Henry in Antwerp. Served under Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, defending the English coast in 1545-6, and was on muster commissions in several southern counties. Executor of Henry VIII's will.

Local career: From 1532 JP for Surrey, where he, Fitzwilliam, and cousin Sir Matthew Browne headed a locally powerful faction. Granted former monastery of Battle in Sussex on 15 Aug 1538; lived in former abbot's house. 1539 Henry visited his house at Battle. Knight of the shire for Surrey in 1539, 1542, 1545, and 1547. Also served on other local commissions from 1535 onwards. He was nominated for sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in November 1539, but lost out to Sir Christopher More of Loseley. 1542, after the death of Fitzwilliam, Browne inherited his entailed lands, including Cowdray in Sussex, where he became a JP in 1544. Browne died on 28 April 1548 at Byfleet, Surrey.

BROWNE, ANTHONY, VISCOUNT MONTAGUE (1528-92)¹⁰ of Cowdray and

Battle, Sussex and Southwark

Host on progress of 1591.

Family: Born on 29 Nov 1528, the eldest of seven sons of Sir Anthony Browne, KG (c.1500- 28 April 1548) and first wife Alice (d.1540), daughter of John Gage. Married 1st c.1546 Jane (1531/2- 22 July 1552) daughter of Robert Radcliffe, 1st Earl of Sussex; 2nd 1556 Magdalen Dacre (1538-1608). Children: By 1st wife: Lord Anthony Browne 1552-1592, Mary (d.1607); by 2nd wife: 5 sons and 3 daughters, including George and Mary who married Henry Wriothesley the 2nd Earl of Southampton (both George and Henry involved in Ridolfi plot and imprisoned. Henry and Mary under house arrest

1570-73).

Career: joint standard-bearer for England with father, 1546; Ambassador to Spain 1561; 1554 appointed Master of the Horse to Philip of Spain with an annuity of £200, but, with other household officers replaced by Spaniards in Sept. 2 Sep 1554 became 1st Viscount Montague. 12 Nov took seat in House of Lords - attended regularly. 1555 member of embassy Queen sent to Pope for return of Catholicism. October installed in order of Garter. 1557 active in military campaigns. Member of PC, but attended few meetings; dropped from Privy Council by Elizabeth. 1559 speech against oath of supremacy. Nearly implicated in Ridolfi Plot; 1560, however, special ambassador to Spain. 1570 suspected of trying to flee abroad with Southampton. 1571-2 implicated in plot to marry Mary Queen of Scots to Norfolk - but October 1586 he was amongst peers to try her.

Local career: MP for Guildford 1545 and 1547; 1552-53 Sheriff of Sussex & Surrey;¹¹ 1553 March and October MP for Petersfield; Oct 1553 on Keeper of Guildford Park; 1554 Knight of the shire for Surrey; JP for Surrey and Sussex from 1554; Commissioner of the Peace for Sussex; 1558 Lord Lieutenant of Sussex. Lieutenant of Sussex and Surrey from 1569 to 1585 - shared with Sir Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (moderate Protestant). United front against Earls of Arundel and Fitzalan family. 1569 Appointed joint Lord Lieutenant with Buckhurst and William West (later Lord de la Warr). Removed in 1585, on outbreak of war with Spain and not reinstated, unlike Lord Buckhurst, because of Catholicism. August 1591 Queen spent six days at Cowdray.

One of wealthiest peers in Sussex, with annual income in 1560s of between £2-3,000. Cowdray huge establishment - watched for Catholicism after mid-1580s. Died at West Horsley, 15 October 1592.

CAPLEN, JOHN of South Stoneham, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1591

CAREW, SIR FRANCIS (c.1530-1611) of Beddington, Surrey¹²

Host on progresses of 1567, 1576, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1585, 1587, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1595, 1598, 199 and 1600

Family: Eldest son of Nicholas Carew. His mother was sister to a favourite of Henry VIII, Sir Francis Bryan, so his upbringing was comfortable, and possibly at court.

Career: Entered Queen Mary's service in 1553. Regained possession of Beddington with the rest of his father's estates during her reign. Remained a courtier under Elizabeth. Evaded being an ambassador to France, and similarly to Scotland. Military duties in 1590s. Rebuilt Beddington.

Died unmarried in 1611 and left his estates to Nicholas Throckmorton, youngest son of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Anne Carew, his sister of Francis.

¹⁰ Picture credit: National Portrait Gallery

¹¹ Dalloway, *Sussex*, 74.

¹² Picture credit: <http://www.tudorplace.com>

CAREW, SIR NICHOLAS (d.1539) of Beddington, Surrey



Family: Father, Sir Richard Carew was Sheriff of Surrey in 1501. Nicholas succeeded him in 1520.

Career: Master of the Horse to Henry VIII. In 1539 he was attainted for high treason as an adherent of the Marquis of Exeter and was executed in March of that year.

Local career: Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1518-19

CLERK, EDMUND of Micheldever, Hampshire
Host on progress of 1560

CLINTON, EDWARD FIENNES DE, EARL OF LINCOLN (1512-1585) of West Horsley and Pyrford, Surrey



Host at West Horsley on progresses of 1559, 1560 and 1571, at Pyrford in 1576, 1577, 1580 and 1582, and in Lincolnshire in 1566

Family: Married (1) c.1540 Ursula Stourton; (2) Elizabeth, widow of Sir Anthony Browne, youngest daughter of Earl of Kildare.

Career: Summoned to Parliament 27 April 1536. Knighted 1544 at Leith on the expedition to Scotland. One of twelve chief mourners at funeral of Henry VIII in 1547. Chief Captain of Boulogne at its surrender 25 April 1550. Lord High Admiral 1550-1553, and 1557-death. Created Knight in 1551, same year as ambassador to France. Constable of the Tower of London 1553. Present at Marriage of Philip and Mary. On Privy Council 1557 to Mary, and 1558 to Elizabeth. 1569 in charge of the army against the rebellion. Created Earl of Lincoln 4 May 1572. Peer at the trial of the Duke of Norfolk 1572. 1584 on commission on breeding of horses. Died 16 January 1584/85, in London.

CLINTON, ELIZABETH FIENNES DE, COUNTESS OF LINCOLN (1528?-1589)



Family: Daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, 9th Earl of Kildare, and her mother first cousin of Henry VIII. After five years in Ireland, Elizabeth grew up in the household of her royal cousins; by June 1539 in Elizabeth's service. 1542 married Sir Anthony Browne, and arranged step-daughter Mabel's marriage to her brother Gerald, whose fortunes restored by Edward VI. Two sons, Edward and Thomas, both died in infancy. Browne died in 1548 and 1552 she married Edward Clinton, but no more children.

Life: Some political influence, most well-known as 'fair Geraldine' of poet, Earl of Surrey.

CONINGSBY, Richard (d.c.1620) of London

Led team of harbingers 'making ready' property for the arrival of the Queen on her progresses.

Family: Son of Henry Coningsby of Leominster.

Career: Gentleman Usher from at least 1591. MP for Leominster 1593. Knighted 1603. Order of the Garter by 1601. Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod by 1601, and of the Parliament Chamber by 1604. Acquired property in Berkshire and Wiltshire. Held various licences to tax some trades.

COOPER, THOMAS, Bishop of Winchester (1517-1594)

Host at Farnham, Bishop's Waltham and Wolvesey for progress of 1591, and again at Farnham in 1601

Career: Cooper translated Latin and created own dictionary whilst at Magdalen College, Oxford (later became headmaster of the school attached). When Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1566, arranged theological discourses for her. 1571 Bishop of Lincoln, teaching clergy the correct theology for the English Reformation. Cooper's vigour in promoting reform and suppressing dissent well known. In 1589 he wrote *An Admonition to the People of England* as a broad defence of the Elizabethan settlement in answer to the Marprelate tracts circulating at the time.

Accumulated much silver gilt; collection of armour included 72 pikes, 6 cases of pistols, 29 daggers, and considerable ammunition. At Farnham had 12 geldings and 5 'stone' horses, and at Waltham at least 7 other horses. All those may have been the necessary perquisites of an active bishop. More remarkable was Cooper's note 'of such ready money as I have in possession this 9 April 1594'. It included 'one bagge £150; in one other bagge £140, in one other bagge £160', and £480 in further bags.

Local career: In 1584 he became Bishop of Winchester. Worried about recusants harbouring priests from Douai and Rome and smuggled in along channel coastline. He would not allow recusants burial in church ground and suggested that the able should be sent to swell Earl of Leicester's army in the Low Countries. Jesuits were known to avoid Winchester, but neither the death penalty, severe fines, nor imprisonment deterred the Catholics. As ecclesiastical commissioner, examined recusants and handed over to the secular authorities. Wrongly assumed that as Armada approached, English Catholics would support Spaniards. Cooper died at Winchester on 29 April 1594.

CORNWALLIS, THOMAS of East Horsley, Surrey (1519-1604)

Host on progress of 1591

Family: Married Anne Jerningham by 1540. Two sons, William and Frederick.

Career: 1549 served against rebellion led by Ket in East Anglia, taken prisoner, but recaptured. 1553 proclaimed Mary, rewarded by seat on Privy Council, and wife became lady of the privy chamber. MP for Gatton. 1553 treated with Scots at Berwick. Major part diffusing Wyatt's rebellion. Brought Princess Elizabeth from Ashridge to London, but opposed sending her to Tower. 1554 treasurer of Calais, until it fell. 1557 treasurer of household. MP for Suffolk. 1558 removed by Elizabeth, retired to Suffolk. Interrogated after northern rising of 1569. After 1578 Catholic recusant, but longstanding friendship with Cecil.

Died 24 December 1604, buried at Brome, Suffolk.

COTTON, SIR RICHARD (c.1497-1556) of Bedhampton and Warblington, Hampshire

Host to Edward VI in 1552.

Family: 1538 married Jane Onley; six sons and three daughters.

Career: Attorney in sheriff's courts in London, then entered royal service. 1538 JP in Hampshire. 1541-47 on Prince Edward's council. Knighted at Edward VI's coronation. When Somerset fell, Cotton's fortunes rose - he surveyed Calais and Guisnes and became a privy councillor in 1552. Comptroller of royal household soon after. 1550s expanded property in Cheshire. 1553-1555 again in France. 1536 awarded stewardship of Bedhampton with brother George, and lease of manor the following year (amongst other properties). 1551 granted rectory, house and park of Warblington in Hampshire. Sheriff of Hampshire 1551-2. Visit from Edward VI and Mary of Guise in August and October 1552 respectively. Warden of Holt Castle.

Local career: 1553 MP and JP for Hampshire.

Died at Warblington 2 October 1556, buried at Warblington church.

COVERT, WALTER of Slaugham

Almost certainly at Cowdray or Chichester in 1591

Career: 1586 MP for Sussex; 1582-83 and 1591-92 Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey; prominent magistrate; Father of the House (of Commons)

CURTEYS, Richard (1532? - 1582), Bishop of Chichester 1570-82

Career: Born in Lincolnshire and entered Cambridge in 1550. He was elected a fellow of St John's in 1553 and pursued an academic career there. However, he was part of a zealous reform campaign which failed, and he was driven out in 1566. He became Dean of Chichester in 1567 and Bishop three years later.

In 1577, Curteys sent out nearly forty Cambridge graduates into the diocese, to reform administration in the parishes, and enforce unity of worship. He failed to seek the co-operation of the local gentry first, and summoned 32 local landowners to appear before the consistory court, rather than taking the softer and more usual method of individual interviews. There were several complaints to the Privy Council, who appear to have listened sympathetically to the local gentry and written to Curteys. The Council recognised that people who aspired to hold local office generally conformed in some way, but Curteys felt that this was not good enough. His actions forced the gentry to react as a unit, led by Richard Earnley, Thomas Lewkenor and Thomas Palmer, who complained that being summoned to appear before court diminished their local standing. These three had considerable local influence and had served as JPs and on other commissions. Palmer was in his fifties, and Lewkenor was just short of forty, so they were well established in local society. The dispute spread to other aspects of local life – Curteys was active as a JP – such as smuggling, the export of grain and illegal trading; all aspects that usually came under the aegis of the local gentry. The controversy turned into a campaign to discredit Curteys and other members of his family.

In 1578 he was in further trouble with the Privy Council and his Episcopal licence was partially removed; the suspension was never revoked.

Died at Chichester on 30 August 1582.

FITZALAN, HENRY, 14th EARL OF ARUNDEL (1512/3-80) of Arundel Castle, Nonsuch, Surrey and Arundel House, London
Host on progresses of 1559, 1562, 1565, 1567, 1574 and 1576



Family: December 1545 married Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundell of Cornwall. Son and heir died 1556 on embassy to Brussels. Daughter died the following year, having just given birth to Philip, and Mary died the same year.

Career: 1536 sat on jury at Anne Boleyn's trial. 1544 Knight of the Garter 1547 Marshall of England. Privy Counsellor to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Governor of Calais. When Henry VIII besieged Boulogne in Picardy he was chief marshal of army, and afterwards lord chamberlain to Henry VIII and Edward VI. High Constable

for Mary's coronation, afterwards steward of household, and President of the Council for both Mary and Elizabeth I. 1549 returned rapidly to Sussex in order to put down uprising; supposed to have had enough members of his own household to do this without need for further troops. He then heard petitions from them at the castle, and acquired a reputation for fairness.

Acquired Thomas Seymour's London House on the Strand after the latter's fall, and renamed it Arundel House. 1550, when politics turned against him, he lost the chamberlainship and membership of the Privy Council, and spent brief period in the Tower. 1555 Lord Steward under Mary. 1556 granted Nonsuch. Lord Lieutenant of Sussex and Lord Steward of Queen's household, but began to lose favour after

1564. 1566-67 went to Padua, Italy, ostensibly to take a cure for gout. 1570 back on Privy Council, but soon after implicated in Ridolfi plot. Under house arrest 1571-72. From 1579, gout forced him out of national affairs and court politics. Perhaps 4th richest Earl in England, but did not make much impact on national affairs. Neither was he 'much affected by the educational reforms of the Renaissance'.¹³ Wealth at death £1900 p.a.

Local career: Acted as commissioner of array in 1545 during invasion scare, and in charge of the army in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. 1568 joint Lord Lieutenant of Sussex and Surrey. 1574 Privy Council supported him against Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering, over a slander accusation. Involved in local movement against Curteys, Bishop of Chichester, and informed Privy Council, who admonished Curteys.

Died at Arundel House, London on 24 February 1580.

FITZWILLIAM, WILLIAM, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (1490-1542) of Cowdray, West Sussex¹⁴



MR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON 1534
 EARL ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND ETC 1544
 LORD PRIVY SEAL 1539
 FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING BY MICHAEL COOPER AND
 REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL TRUST

Family: William's father, Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam died when he was six, and his mother married Sir Anthony Browne. In November 1513 he married Mabel Clifford, but had no children by her (although he did have an illegitimate son).

Career: William was close to his half-brother Anthony, and both lived at court as companions for Prince Henry. He was a gentleman usher at Henry VII's funeral, and held offices at court under Henry VIII. His duties abroad kept him on the Continent for most of the 1520s, but he was also at court: in October 1525 Henry had appointed him as treasurer of the royal household. April 1526 the King made him a Knight of the Garter, and he became the Privy Council's expert on Calais in succeeding years. Because of his friendship with the King, kept through the 1530s and 1540s, he became a member of commissions of the peace in all but four counties from 1530 on, though he remained especially active in Surrey.

Henry visited Fitzwilliam at one of his Surrey houses, either at Byfleet or Guildford, in 1533, and he became steward of Petworth in 1535. Fitzwilliam played an active role in the

dissolution of the monasteries and was one of the principal beneficiaries of the redistribution of ecclesiastical lands. Apparently he failed to report corruption at Waverley Abbey in Surrey in 1535, probably because he had placed several men there himself. Besides houses at Byfleet (acquired in 1533), Cowdray, and Guildford, he had owned since 1539 the Bishop of Bath's house in the Strand in London, which apparently replaced his earlier town house in Cannon Row (acquired by 1533).

Southampton was immensely wealthy. Though incomplete figures undervalue his property, at his death he held over 16,000 acres in Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex, worth over £1020 a year, not to mention additional lands in Berkshire, Devon, Hertfordshire, Kent, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Yorkshire. Besides houses at Byfleet (acquired in 1533), Cowdray, and Guildford, he had owned since 1539 the bishop of Bath's house in the Strand in London, which apparently replaced his earlier town house in Cannon Row (acquired by 1533).

Local career: From 1513 he began to acquire land in Surrey, especially around Guildford. He became keeper of Bagshot Park, and was a JP between 1515 and 1518, and with the Brownes became part of a persistent feud against the Howards, played out amongst Surrey JPs. In 1519 he served on a commission to examine

¹³ Stone, L., 'Patriarch and Paternalism in Tudor England: the earl of Arundel and the Peasants' Revolt of 1549', *Journal of British Studies*, 13, 2 (May 1974), 19-23.

¹⁴ Picture credit: St. John Hope, W.H., *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex* (London: Country Life, 1919).

suspect persons in Southwark. In 1520 he became a JP in Kent and Middlesex. During the 1520s and 1530s he continued to build a power base in Surrey, even after the demise of the Howards. He was keeper of Byfleet Park in 1527 and of Windsor Great Park in 1529. He also began building an estate in neighbouring Sussex, purchasing Cowdray in 1528 for £2193 6s. 8d., though he did not occupy the house until 1535. When England seemed threatened with invasion in 1539, he helped secure the south-eastern counties and took command of the fleet at Portsmouth. In 1538 he investigated rumours in western Sussex and Hampshire about a plot involving Sir Geoffrey Pole, interrogating the suspect and his mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, whom he kept in custody at Cowdray. Pole's arrest eventually led to the discovery of a conspiracy headed by Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, who was arrested in November. Cromwell conducted an extensive inquiry, in which Southampton and the Brownes played a leading role, in part because much of the treasonable activity had occurred at Exeter's house in Surrey. One further result was Sir Nicholas Carew's arrest at the end of the year and his eventual execution (Sir Anthony succeeded Carew as master of the horse). He died in Newcastle upon Tyne on 15 October 1542 while leading the vanguard of the English army as it marched towards Scotland under Norfolk.

GIFFORD, HENRY of King's Somborne, Hampshire (d. 1592)

Host on progress of 1574

Family: Related by marriage to the Marquis of Winchester, the Wallops, the Kingsmills and the Nortons. 1st son of Richard Gifford, and Anne Goring of Burton. Married Susan, daughter of Henry Brouncker of Erlestoke, Wiltshire.

Career: MP in 1572, Sheriff 1578-79; JP from 1583. Bought parsonage at Tytherley in 1581. Provost marshal 1589. Knighted 1591.

Died 1592 at King's Somborne. Left £1000 in his will for his children.

GLEMHAM, HENRY of Glemham, Suffolk (d. 1632)

Knighted at Cowdray during progress of 1591

Family: By 1600 married Anne, daughter of Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset

Career: MP for Lewes 1593, 1597, and for various East Anglian seats 1601, 1604, 1614, 1621. JP from 1601, Deputy Lieutenant by 1613. Died 13 August 1632.

GORING, HENRY of Burton Park, West Sussex (d.1626)

Knighted at Cowdray during progress of 1591

Family: Married Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Sydmonton, Hampshire. On good terms with 9th Earl of Northumberland, and son William married daughter and heir of the Earl's steward Sir Edward Fraunceys.

HORNE, ROBERT Bishop of Winchester (c.1514-79)

Host at Farnham for progresses of 1560, 1567, 1569, 1574, 1576

Family: Married Margery? Five daughters: Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, Margery and Rebecca

Career: Studied at St. John's College Cambridge, and became known as an evangelical preacher after appointment as Dean of Durham. He was exiled during Mary's reign but returned within a month of Elizabeth's accession. Consecrated Bishop of Winchester 1561. He reported that he and the gentlemen of his division of Hampshire had charged the most substantial inhabitants to return certificates of breaches of statutes, finding this more successful than threats of excommunication. However, John Paulet, Lord St John, the eldest son of the Marquis of Winchester expressed his dislike of Horne. Even after some changes during the next three years the Hampshire commission of the peace still contained a minority of men disaffected to the established religion, according to Horne's detailed report to the Privy Council of November 1564. The conservative group proved strong enough to secure the return of Winchester's grandson Sir John Berkeley as one of the knights

of the shire in a sharply contested by-election in November 1566. Horne, however, managed to prevent the addition of more associates of the Paulets to the commission of the peace in 1569, and Winchester's death in March 1572 hastened the eclipse of the conservative group in the government of Hampshire. In Surrey, where Horne knew of no 'mislikers' in 1564, he had a valuable ally and friendly correspondent in William More of Loseley. He vigorously pursued his goal of making the clergy literate and properly trained.

He died at Winchester Place in Southwark in June 1579, and bequeathed a large book collection to Winchester cathedral and Cambridge University.

HOWARD, CHARLES OF EFFINGHAM (1536-1624) of Reigate Priory after 1581



Family: Eldest son of Lord William Howard.

Career: Educated mainly at Reigate by John Foxe. Began career as soldier 1553, serving in France, but switched to navy. Popular at court under Mary and Elizabeth. 1559 special ambassador to France. 1573 Knight of Garter, 1584 made Lord High Admiral (until 1619). Conducted English operations from The Ark Royal against Spanish Armada. Created Earl of Nottingham in 1596 in recognition of skills when English fleet captured Cadiz, destroying Spanish fleet sheltering there.

Local career: Lord Lieutenant of Sussex 1585 - 1603, sharing with Lord Buckhurst from 1586.

HOWARD, PHILIP, EARL OF ARUNDEL (1557-89) of Arundel Castle

Host on progress of 1578 at Kenninghall and Mount Surrey in East Anglia.



Family: Son of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, and Mary FitzAlan, who died soon after. Father executed for treason in 1572. Married Anne Howard, née Dacre, in 1569, when both were 12, and the marriage was solemnised in 1571. He lived in his London house, Howard House, but left his wife at Arundel Castle, and she converted to Catholicism. She was committed to house arrest at Wiston under Sir Thomas Sherley's care, where daughter Elizabeth was born in 1583. Son Thomas born 1585. After Philip's trial, she lived under house arrest at

Arundel House, then smaller properties in London.

Career: He was 'spendthrift and sycophantic'.¹⁵ Unsuccessful in pursuit of Elizabeth's patronage. Title to the Earldom on father's death in 1580 questioned, and only allowed in 1581. His uncle John, Baron Lumley made over his life interest in Arundel Castle to him, and he gained Arundel House in London, as well as Howard House. From 1583, his failure to condemn his wife's Catholicism meant that he too became suspected, and was questioned about harbouring priests and recusants. Became Catholic 1584, and decided to flee abroad, not even telling his wife. Sailed from Littlehampton in 1585, but arrested and taken to Tower. Brought before Star Chamber as a recusant and conspirator. Attainted at trial 1589. Died in the Tower 15 October 1589.

LAWRENCE, LADY ANNE of Soberton, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1569

¹⁵ J. G. Elzinga, 'Howard, Philip [St Philip Howard], thirteenth earl of Arundel (1557-1595)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004.

LEWKENOR, RICHARD (1542-1616) of Trotton and Downley, West Dean, Sussex
Host on progress of 1591 at West Dean

Family: Second son of Edmund Lewkenor of Tangmere. At least two sons by first wife, second wife Margaret Atkins of London

Career: Lawyer admitted to Middle Temple 1560. MP for Chichester 1572, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1598. JP for Sussex from 1583, serving on many commissions. Surveyor of lands for Bishop of Chichester 1571. Witnessed or took part in many exchanges of property in West Sussex in 1580s and 1590s. 1589 bought manor of West Dean from Lord Lumley. Searjeant at law 1594, Recorder of Chichester 1588-1600. 1588 presiding justice at Chichester sessions, and sentenced four seminary priests to death. Despite this, may have had Catholic leanings, but loyal to crown first. Knighted 1600. Chief Justice of Chester 1600-16. Died April 1616.

LUMLEY, JOHN, LORD LUMLEY (1533-1609)¹⁶ of Nonsuch, Surrey; Stansted and Chichester, Sussex.



Host on progresses of 1584, 1591 and 1600

Family: Only son of George Lumley and Jane Knightley of Northamptonshire. George executed for part in Pilgrimage of Grace, and John inherited estates from grandfather, fifth Baron Lumley. Arundel's heirs died, and Lumley began to be looked on as heir.

1550 married Jane, daughter of Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel. Met her brother Henry at Cambridge, where they matriculated together in 1549. 2nd wife 1582 Elizabeth Darcy (two sons and daughter; none survived).

Career: 1 Oct 1553 attended Mary's coronation. Moved to Nonsuch c. 1557. Keeper of Great Park there 20 August 1559 to death. High Steward University of Oxford 24 Feb

1559, and gave books to Bodleian. 1558 accompanied Elizabeth I from Hatfield to London. Implicated in Ridolfi plot and proposals to marry his brother-in-law, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, to Mary, Queen of Scots. Imprisoned Sep. 1571 in Tower and other locations until 1573. During this time avoided other plots, but it had ended political career. But put Grove of Diana in gardens at Nonsuch as apology for Ridolfi plot. Commissioner for trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and present at Fotheringhay. In court of Star Chamber 1586. On other commissions. Death of Arundel meant huge debts. Owed money to Elizabeth, so gave her Nonsuch, but remained there as keeper. Stopped having to pay for lease after a few years. Owner of number of properties in and around Chichester, and exercised patronage over its parliamentary seat. Sponsored Anthony Watson, who became Bishop of Chichester in 1596.

Committed Catholic, but 1591 and 1592 on commissions to search out Jesuit priests.

Collected books, paintings and marbles. Library one of largest in England; housed at Nonsuch; about 3000 titles.

Not Member of Society of Antiquaries; but loved genealogy; probably knew Camden. Henry Prince of Wales supposed to have visited him at Stansted in Sep. 1603, but no evidence.

Local career: Died 11 April 1609 in London

MASON, SIR JOHN of Hartley Wintney, Hampshire (1503-66)

Host on progress of 1560

Family: Married Elizabeth Isley of Kent (related to the Dudleys), no children

Career: Secretary to Sir Thomas Wyatt 1537-41, clerk of the Privy Council 1540s, master of the posts 1545, clerk to Parliament in 1550s, ambassador to France

¹⁶ Picture credit: National Portrait Gallery

1551. Leading part in framing foreign policy. Master of the Court of Requests c.1551-58. Chancellor of Oxford University 1552-56 and 1559-64.

Local career: JP by 1547; Steward and Keeper of late abbey of Abingdon, Berkshire, 1549, Dean of Winchester 1549-53. Considerable estates in Hampshire. Died April 1566.

MERVYN, EDMUND (-1604) of Durford, Petersfield and Bramshott, Hampshire
Host on progress of 1591

Family: Married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edmund Pakenham. Son Henry (d.1605).

Career: Bramshott bought by his father Henry in 1580. Family involved in the very active land market at this time. Some of his twelve children were baptised (and some of those buried) at Rogate in Sussex.

MORE, CHRISTOPHER (c.1483-1549) of Loseley House, Surrey

Career: On various commissions with Thomas Pope and Thomas Cawarden. 1539-40 Sheriff of Sussex & Surrey.¹⁷ Good friends with Thomas Cawarden.

MORE, EDWARD of Odiham, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1591

MORE, SIR GEORGE (1553-1632) of Loseley House, Surrey

Host on progress of 1601

Family: Son of Sir William More and 2nd wife Constance. Married Ann Knight, nee Poynings. Children: Robert (b.1581), Frances and Ann, who married John Donne.

Career: 1596-1597 Sheriff of Sussex & Surrey;¹⁸ MP for Guildford and Surrey 1584-1626; Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; Lieutenant of Tower of London; Treasurer to Henry Prince of Wales. James I stayed twice at Loseley. Assiduous Commons committee attender, and more prominent in Parliament than father. 1601 Sir George bought Manor and Hundred of Guildford from Crown for £1,341 8s 2d and 3 farthings.

Local career: JP in Surrey from 1582, on several commissions. Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex 1597-8, and for Sussex from 1601.

MORE, SIR WILLIAM (1520-1600) of Loseley House, Surrey

Host on progresses of 1567, 1576, 1583 and 1591



Family: Son of Christopher More. Married (1) Mabel, 1545 (d. by 1551); (2) Constance, widow of William Heneage. Children: Robert, George (m. Anne Poynings who d.1590), Elizabeth Egerton (m. John Wolley, d.1600).

Career: MP for Reigate 1547, for borough of Guildford 1553, 1554, 1555, 1572, 1589 and 1597, for Surrey 1563, 1571, 1584, 1586 and 1593, and for Grantham Lincs 1559; Commissioner for overseeing collection and sale of church plate and other goods - active in western half of county; Sheriff of Sussex & Surrey 1558-59 (Letters patent 23 Nov 1558) and 1579-80 Vice-Admiral for Sussex under three Lord High Admirals of England: Edward Lord Clinton and Say (from 18 Feb

1559), Edward Earl of Lincoln (from 14 Feb 1577), and Charles Lord Howard of Effingham (from 4 Aug 1585), Constable of Farnham Castle 1565; Deputy lieutenant 1569, 1580 and 1585, 1590; Collector of the Lottery 1568-69; Alnager of

¹⁷ Dallaway, *History*, 74.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

cloth for Surrey and Sussex 26 Jan 1560 (office passed from father to son); JP 1568, 1574, 1587, 1593; Muster commissioner on several occasions; Commissioner for sewers, reporting on the state of the river Wey, between 1565-68; Verderer and woodward within the Surrey bailliwick of the royal forest of Windsor; knighted in 1576; moved Sussex County Gaol from Horsham to Lewes 1579; appointed executor for will of Bishop of Winchester; on Commons committee to consider the case of Mary, Queen of Scots 4 Nov 1586; Commissioner to seize weapons of recusants and arrest seminary priests and Jesuits 1591-92; Commissioner to survey and administer the see of Winchester 1594, 1595/6, left vacant by death of Thomas Cooper; on committee to consider goods of late Bishop of Norwich, Jan 1598; Steward of royal manor of Witley.

Rental of goods in 1551 includes land in Blackfriars with two tennis courts worth £164 10s and the Surrey lands worth £334 16s 4d.¹⁹ Bought manor of Polsted 1558, Catteshall 1565. Acted as executor to Sir Thomas Cawarden of Bletchingley and Blackfriars, Master of the Tents and Revels from 1544. Purchased the Blackfriars property under the terms of TC's will 1560; estate charged with annuities, and also subject to dower until death of Elizabeth Cawarden. WM kept it for his own use, and his daughter Elizabeth was married to Richard Polsted there. Executor of Alice Mellershe of Womershe 1559 and other small estates.

One of overseers of will of Richard Worsley of Appuldurcombe, Captain of the Isle of Wight, who d. in 1565. Close friend of Montague. Latter is known to have unsuccessfully attempted to use his influence over More to obtain the release of his son-in-law Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who stayed at Loseley under house arrest while suspected of treason for his Catholicism. Library recorded in inventory of 1556.

Died in 1600.

NEALE, WILLIAM of Warnford , Hampshire

Host on progress of 1591

PAGET, LADY KATHERINE²⁰



Family: Sister of Thomas, Lord Knyvett and daughter of Sir Henry Knyvett of Charlton, Wilts., gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

Married 20 May 1567 Henry Paget of Beaudesert (b. 1537) at West Drayton. Henry had sat as MP for Arundel in 1555. There were no children. Henry died 1568. Married (2) Sir Edmund Carey of Aldenham, Herts, who became Master and Treasurer of the King's Jewels to James I. One son, Henry, 1st Viscount Falkland. Daughter Elizabeth, died aged 2.

Life: Involved in row over Thomas Sherley's secret marriage in 1591. D. 20 December 1622 at Aldenham, Hertfordshire, and was buried two days later. Her will, proved 9 April 1623, was

signed 'Kath Pagett'

PALMER, SIR THOMAS (1520-82) of Parham, Sussex

Family: Eldest son of Robert Palmer, citizen and merchant of London and Parham. Married (1) Griselda Bridget, dau of John Caryll; (2) Catherine, daughter of Sir Edward Stradling of St.Donat's, Glamorganshire.²¹ Children: By Griselda, at least first two: Mary, b.14 Dec 1545, m. Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering; Dorothy, b. 1 July 1548, m. Henry Roberts of Steyning; Elizabeth, m. to John Leeds of Steyning (who went abroad for religious reasons; estates sequestrated); William, Thomas.

¹⁹ SHC, Loseley 6729/7/4.

²⁰ Picture ref: <http://www.kateemersonhistoricals.com>.

²¹ Dallaway, *History*, 53.

Career: JP in Sussex from 1547; knighted Oct 1553 by Henry, Earl of Arundel; Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1559-60 and 1571-72;²² MP for Arundel Mar 1553, Oct 1553; for Sussex Apr. 1554, Guildford 1559; on commission against piracy 1565; regularly on other commissions, incl. musters, grain supplies. Deputy lieutenant 1569; described by Bishop of Chichester as 'faint furtherer' of religion. Visitation of diocese in 1569 (see vacant) included him among gentlemen who 'at Easter receive communion at home in their chapels, and choose priests from a distance'. On bad terms with Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester: 1577 cited with 32 other prominent gentlemen to appear before consistory court, and court case ensued with three of them, incl Thomas. But probably not Catholic.²³ 1574 July in trouble with PC, committed to Fleet, apologised, released again.²⁴ 1577 needed Privy Council's permission for daughter Elizabeth to come and see him after being abroad with husband John Leedes; 1579 on commission to chase massing priests, such as John Apsley's schoolmaster, but in 1581 in trouble himself for matters of religion and having to produce bond for surety.²⁵ Large number of land transactions - £300 worth of Sussex property, much formerly belonging to Tortington Priory. Manor of Donnington held from 1557 with Catherine his wife; held as of honour of Petworth.

PARKER, NICHOLAS of Ratton and Willingdon, East Sussex (1547-1620)

Knighted at Cowdray during progress of 1591

Family: Married (1) Jane, daughter of Sir William Coutenay of Powderham Castle, Devon and widow of Francis Browne, brother of Anthony, 1st Viscount Montague; (2) Elizabeth Baker of London; (3) Katherine Temple of Stowe, Buckinghamshire; (4) Avis Erisey. No surviving children! Cousin of Robert Sackville.

Career: 1597 MP for Sussex; on various Parliamentary committees. 1585-86 and 1592-93 Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey. JP from 1580, and on various commissions. Suspected of recusancy in 1580s but 1592 appointed a recusancy commissioner. Deputy Lieutenant in 1587. 1596 provided 100 fighting men for Cadiz. 1597 it was planned that he would be in charge of defence of Sussex in event of invasion. Died March 1620.

PAULET, WILLIAM, 3RD MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER (c.1532-98) of

Abbotstone, Basing, and Odiham, Hampshire



Host on progress of 1569 at Abbotstone; and 1591 at Abbotstone and Basing

Family: Married 1548 Agnes/Anne, dau of William, 1st Baron Howard of Effingham (unsuccessful marriage). Son and 3 daughters (also 4 sons by mistress Jane Lambert, whose family inherited most of his wealth).

Career: 1546 Inner Temple; 1553 Knight of Bath; 1560-61 High Sheriff for Hants; 1569 commissioner for musters; 1571 MP for Dorset; 1572 4 Nov father d., William became Marquis; 1585 joint Lord Lieutenant of Hants; 1586 Lord Lieutenant for Dorset; October 1586 was one of commissioners appt to try Mary, Queen of Scots; 1588 took part in defence of south coast against Armada; 1589 took part in trial of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel; 1596 Lord

Lieutenant for Hants; 1597 first commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in diocese of Winchester.

Local career: Inheritance from de Port family, including great house at Basing. Died 24 Nov 1598 at Basing, Hants

²² Dallaway, *History*, 74.

²³ FitzWilliam, *Parham in Sussex*, 43-46.

²⁴ Parham House: *Parham Papers*, I.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

PEXALL, SIR RICHARD of Steventon , Hampshire
Host on progress of 1569

PERCY, HENRY, 9TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND (1564-1632)²⁶ of Petworth, Sussex
Not on any progress



Family: Eldest son of Henry Percy (8th Earl) and Katherine Neville. Married Lady Dorothy Perrott (d.1619). Stormy marriage, separated in 1599, but they were reconciled and she visited him often later in the Tower. Six children (two died in infancy). His difficult temper meant he was involved in duels and rows at court.

Career: Abroad, probably in Paris, when father died in the Tower, on Grand Tour, self-confessed profligate. Series of initiatives to improve property both in the

south and in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Restored to Governship of Tynemouth Castel in 1591; Knight of Garter 1593. Served on many Parliamentary committees. In Low Countries 1588, 1600-1601. Known as 'Wizard Earl' for interest and patronage in sciences - astronomy and astrology, military affairs, architecture, medicine and travel. He owned a large library. Problem with deafness may have led to him not taking part in local affairs.

Courted James I in 1603, and after Elizabeth's death made member of Privy Council and captain of gentlemen pensioners. However in 1605 one of the conspirators was a relation and friend, Thomas Percy, and Northumberland was sent to the Tower, where he remained until 1621. On his release he lived quietly at Petworth, Bath and with his daughter at Penshurst.

Died 5 November 1632 at Petworth.

POLSTED, RICHARD of Thorpe, Surrey
Host on progress of 1576

PUTTENHAM, GEORGE of Herriard, Hampshire
Host on progress of 1574

RADCLIFFE, HENRY, 4th EARL OF SUSSEX (1533-93) of Portsmouth
Host at Portsmouth on progress of 1591

Family: Married Honor Pound of Drayton in Farlington, Hampshire, 1549.

Career: 15 July 1553 joined Mary at Framlingham; knighted by the Earl of Arundel 2 October 1553. Served in Ireland from the 1550s to 1565. MP for Malden 1555, Hampshire 1557, Portsmouth 1572-83. May 1571 made Warden and Captain of Portsmouth. Joint Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire 1585.
Died 14 December 1593.

REMINGTON, SIR ROBERT of Beaurepaire, Hampshire
Host on progress of 1601

²⁶ Picture credit: Petworth House; author's photo

SACKVILLE, THOMAS, LORD BUCKHURST (1536-1608) of Knole

Present at Cowdray on 1591 progress

Family: Married Cicely, daughter of John Baker of London and Sissinghurst (d. 1 October 1615). 4 sons, 3 daughters: Robert, MP with Thomas Shirley, m. Margaret Howard, daughter of attainted Duke of Norfolk; Thomas, owned monopoly on iron; daughter Jane m. Anthony Maria Browne.

Career: Jan 1558 MP for East Grinstead and Westmorland. Re-elected for Elizabeth's 1st Parliament, sat for East Grinstead, family's traditional borough. 1559 JP in Sussex and Kent. 1561 foedary for lands in Sussex belonging to Duchy of Lancaster. 1563 involved in papal negotiations. 1563-6 MP for Aylesbury. Nov 1569 became Lord Lieutenant with Viscount Montague. 1585 displaced when

daughter-in-law Margaret Sackville (ardent Catholic) in Tower, but reinstated in 1586 until 1603. Commissioner of the Peace. Feb 1586 in Privy Council. May 1586 present at Star Chamber interrogation of Earl of Arundel (half-brother of Margaret) in connection with Ridolfi Plot. Also involved in trial of Babington and nominated for that of Mary, Queen of Scots, but did not attend. Sent to Netherlands, where concern over soldiers' welfare put him in conflict with Leicester - on return in disgrace, but slowly used legal and courtier skills to get himself out of it. 1588 busy organising local defence on Sussex Downs. 1588 advised deputy lieutenants of Sussex against being too hasty. 1590s busy in Privy Council. On Cecil's death became treasurer, reappointed by James in 1603. Partnership in financial matters with Robert Cecil.

Died 19 April 1608 at the council table, as if he fell asleep. Buried at Withyam, Sussex.

SANDYS, SIR WILLIAM (c.1470-1540) of The Vine and Mottisfont, Hampshire
Host to Henry VIII at The Vyne 1510 and 1531 (rebuilt house in between), and 1535 with Queen Anne.

Family: Hampshire gentry. 1496 married Margary Bray (d. March 1539); they had three sons. **Career:** Knight of the body to Henry VIII in 1509; on several missions for him, and frequently absent from country. Treasurer of Earl of Dorset's expedition to Gascony 1512. Made treasurer of Calais in 1517, held until 1526. 1518 Knight of the Garter, 1520 attended Field of the Cloth of Gold. 1523 became Baron Sandys. 1524 founded Guild of the Holy Ghost at Basingstoke with Fox. 1526 Lord Chamberlain to Henry VIII, involved in royal affairs in 1530s.

Local career: Constable of Southampton castle and Sheriff of Hampshire 1510. Entertained Henry VIII at The Vyne in 1510, 1531 and 1535. 1517 suppressed riot at Southampton Castle, earning praise of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester. 1536 King gave him Mottisfont Priory and its lands.

He died in December 1540, either at The Vyne or Mottisfont.

SANDYS, SIR WILLIAM of The Vine and Mottisfont, Hampshire

Host on progresses of 1569, 1574 and 1591

3rd Lord Sandys. Sep 1601, Fr ambassador, Duc de Biron stayed at The Vine with suite of 400, who were conducted to house by Walter Raleigh. 1601 fined £5000 and in Tower for his part in Earl of Essex's insurrection.

Died 1623.

SERLE, FRANCIS of Fairthorne, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1591

SEYMOUR, EDWARD, EARL OF HERTFORD (1539?-1621) of Elvetham and Netley, Hampshire, and Tottenham Lodge, Wiltshire

Host on progress of 1591 at Elvetham, and to James I at Tottenham Lodge 1603, 1617 and 1620.

Family: Educated with Prince Edward and knighted at his coronation. 1550 briefly sent as hostage to France; ward of crown 1552 when father attainted. Restored to title and lands by Elizabeth in 1559. 1560 secretly married Katherine Grey; September 1561 both placed in Tower where two sons born. May 1562 ecclesiastical commission decided marriage invalid. Fined heavily. Katherine died 1568. 1578-1598 married Frances Howard; no children. 1601 married Frances Prannell; no children. 1589 second son Thomas tried to declare himself legitimate; supported by Hertford in 1592 who was sent to the Tower for a year 1595-96.

Career: 1570s slowly gained favour and went to court. JP and commissioner for musters for Wiltshire.

1592 Commissioner for oaths in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Northumberland. 1601 Lord Lieutenant for Wiltshire, Somerset and Bristol. Strong military interests. 1603 *custos rotulorum* for Wiltshire. 1605 ambassador to Brussels. 1605 and 1611 granted property; 1612-19 high steward to Queen Anne.

Fell off his horse at the age of 83 but remained active until his death at Netley in April 1621.

SHERLEY, THOMAS (1542-1612) of Wiston

Mixed up in row with Robert Cecil on 1591 progress

Family: Married Anne Kempe (daughter of Sir Thomas of Wye, Kent) c.1559. Twelve children: three sons: Thomas (1564-1633/4); Anthony (1565-1636?); Robert (1581-1628), three others died in infancy, and six daughters survived.

Career: Politician and courtier. Town house in Blackfriars. Patronised by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, accompanying him to the Low Countries in 1585, and was made joint treasurer-at-war, and then sole treasurer in 1587. Accompanied by his two eldest sons, and all three maintained a company of soldiers each. Despite his success, financially things began to go awry – £1.5 million was supposed to have passed through his hands during the next decade, and he was accused of embezzling the Queen by William Cecil. By March 1597 he was bankrupt, and was in danger of losing Wiston. The following month he was sent to Fleet prison, and eventually in 1602 his property, including Wiston was sequestered. He reneged on the arrangements to pay his debts, but was able to retrieve his lands in 1604, when he was again elected MP for Steyning. Riding through London with the King when again arrested for debt, and the succeeding debate over the question of immunity for members of Parliament resulted in a special bill being passed through Parliament – the final form of this law was known as Sherley's case.²⁷

Local career: MP for Sussex 1572, 1584, 1593 and for Steyning 1601 and 1604. 1569 deputy lieutenant. Knighted by the Queen at Rye on 12 August 1573, some time around that date he must have decided he needed a larger house, built between then and 1575. 1576-77 Sheriff of Sussex. Commissioner for recusancy 1580 and 1585 (although there was some doubt over his own leanings). Justice of the Peace for many years – referred to in 1587 together with his friend Thomas Bishop of Henfield (the latter did not move to Parham until 1598) as 'good justices – young men'.²⁸ He had a good annual income, about £1,000 from his landed property, and he also had an interest in the iron industry in Sussex, including a furnace from about 1580. Anne Howard, wife of Philip, Earl of Arundel, under house arrest at Wiston in 1584, where gave birth to daughter. In 1588, he was one of fifteen Sussex gentry to pay over £100 to the war effort.²⁹ But it was this period in which his debts began to mount up.

Died in 1612, aged about seventy. His eldest son, also Thomas, inherited his vast debts, but was able to also claim immunity from prison by being an MP.

²⁷ J. Pennington, 'Sherley'

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid

SUTTON, SIR HENRY of Bagshot, Surrey
Host on progress of 1569

TICHBORNE, SIR BENJAMIN of Tichborne , Hampshire
Host on progress of 1591

TILNEY, EDMUND (1535/6-1610) of Leatherhead, Surrey
Host on progress of 1591

Family: As child probably taken into the household of Agnes Howard, the Dowager duchess of Norfolk. Close to the Howard family. Married Mary Bray 1583.

Career: April 1569 became MP for Gatton in Surrey, with Charles Howard. Owned largest house in Leatherhead. 1579 became Master of the Revels; success owed much to greater reliance on professional actors. 24 November 1581 Tilney received special commission, giving him powers to impress workmen and materials at fair prices, to require actors to rehearse plays before him (1586-1607 in his spacious quarters in St John's, Clerkenwell), and to revise them for court performance. In 1583, instructed by Sir Francis Walsingham, Tilney created the Queen's Men, an elite company picked from finest performers available, who then dominated court theatricals for several years.

Involved in the Queen's itineraries, and almost certainly in entertainment put on for them.

WALLOP, SIR HENRY (1531-99) of Farleigh Wallop, Hampshire
Host on progress of 1591

Family: Married Katherine Gifford from a local family - both families strongly Protestant.

Children: 3 sons incl. Oliver d.1598, Henry (1568-1642), 3 daughters

Career: Once in Parliament, served on committees for legal matters, weapons, port bills, cloth bills, wine, church discipline, and wharves. Sent to Ireland in 1579 as under-treasurer during Desmond's rebellion of 1579-83. After peace made, took part in the plantation of Munster, and acquired property in county Wexford. In 1589 sailed for England, and stayed until July 1595 while deputy covered in Ireland. Wallop's long absence meant royal auditor had to travel to Wallop's Hampshire home to clear his accounts. Returned to Ireland in 1595 to serve as treasurer-at-war just as Nine Years' War was starting, and Queen unwilling to finance him properly. By the late 1590s, increasingly ill, and son Oliver was killed in skirmish in Ireland.

Local career: One of largest landowners in Hampshire, 1558-94 JP in Hampshire, contested seat for MP in 1566, lost. 1569 knighted by Elizabeth I at Basing. Freeman of Southampton 1572 (owned property there) and elected burgess same year. Served as commissioner for musters, piracy and as an ecclesiastical commissioner during the 1570s in both Hampshire and Surrey. Died in Dublin in April 1599, and his wife died three months later.

WALLOP, WILLIAM (c.1553-1617) of Wield, Hampshire
Host on progress of 1591

Family: Married (1) Margaret Ashley of Wimborne, Dorset; (2) Averine Knight, widow, of Southampton; (3) Margery Fisher of Chilton Candover
Half-brother of Henry Wallop.

Career: Burgess and leading citizen of Southampton. On commission of peace for Hampshire in 1580s and 1590s, and owned property in the county. MP for Lymington; Mayor of Southampton 1596-97, 1610-11; Sheriff 1599-1600.

WEST, THOMAS, 8th BARON WEST, 9th BARON DE LA WARR (c.1472-1554)

Host at Halnaker 1536

Family: Married Elizabeth Bonville of Halnaker. Childless

Career: Attended funeral of Henry VII and served at coronation of Henry VIII. Fought in French wars, present at Field of the Cloth of Gold. Served at court, and sat on panel of peers condemning Anne Boleyn. Present at Baptism of future Edward VI and at funeral of his mother. Friends with Viscount Lisle and unhappy over reforms of 1530s, but prepared to conform. Commissioner for oaths for royal supremacy 1534.

Incriminated in Courtenay conspiracy, examined by Privy Council, and placed in Tower December 1538. 1549 tried to disinherit nephew William when the latter attempted to poison him. 1553 joined Privy Council, but only attended 2 meetings.

Local career: Inherited Halnaker in 1498 and held it for forty years, but had to give it up in 1539 to Henry VIII in exchange for Wherwell. Henry Machyn, in reporting his funeral, gave him the epitaph of the 'best howsse-keper in Sussex'.³⁰ JP in Sussex and Hampshire, Sheriff of Sussex 1524-26. Conservative opinions regarding the traditional Catholic-held beliefs, and Anthony Wayte, Bishop Sherburne's servant, told Lady Lisle that de la Warr was 'the whole stay of our corner of Sussex, for if we lacked him we might well say to have lost the greatest part of wealth and catholics, for he is surely a good lord and just'³¹. As owner of Halnaker and rights of Boxgrove Priory's founder, established a chantry in 1530s. When prospect of dissolution in 1536, immediately wrote to Thomas Cromwell and pleaded for Boxgrove's survival as a priory, but if it were to be dissolved he asked that he might have the farm. Reiterated this request a few months later, asking also to buy the ornaments, and that priory might remain as a parish church. Granted lease of the priory; commissioners reported 'the King, by the vigilance and diligence of lord Lawarre, has more profit there than in any other house dissolved in Sussex'.³²

lived at Offington after 1539, when in charge of defence of Sussex coast. Vice-Admiral to Earl of Sussex 1543; on ecclesiastical commission in Sussex; Lord Lieutenant from 1551.

Died at Offington 25 September 1554, and buried at Broadwater 10 October 1554.

WEST, WILLIAM, 1st BARON DE LA WARR (c.1519-95) of Halnaker, then Offington, Sussex and Wherwell, Hampshire

Host at The Holt on progress of 1591

Family: Married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Strange of Chesterton, Gloucs; then Anne, widow of Thomas Oliver. Son Thomas.

Career: 1549 accused of attempting to poison uncle, and spent short time in Tower.

1556 involved in Dudley conspiracy; convicted of treason and sentenced to death but pardoned 1557. 1563 restored in blood to title. 1570 knighted. Lord Lieutenant of Sussex 1569, 1570; active in pursuit of recusants. 1572 took part in Duke of Norfolk's trial. 1589 took part in Earl of Arundel's trial.

On various commissions in Sussex, became Lord Lieutenant. Active in prosecution of recusants, took part in trials of Duke of Norfolk 1570 and Earl of Arundel 1589. Died 30 December 1595 at Wherwell, Hants.

WESTON, SIR HENRY (c. 1534-92) of Woking, Bagshot, Sutton and Clandon, Surrey

Host on progresses of 1560, 1584, and 1591 and 1601

Family: Son of Sir Francis and Anne Pickering of Killington, Westmorland. Half brother of Henry and Thomas Knyvet. Married (1) Dorothy Arundell of Wardour

³⁰ Nichols, *Machyn*, 71

³¹ *Lisle Letters*, 2.265

³² *LP Henry VIII*, 12/1, no. 747

Castle, Wiltshire; (2) Elizabeth Lovell of Harling, Norfolk. Bought further property in Surrey. One surviving son, Richard, and daughter, Jane.

Career: Involved in defence of Calais. 1564 in Fleet Prison with Edward Bray for short while. MP for Petersfield 1554-1563, and 1584; and for Surrey 1571. KB 1559. But overshadowed in Surrey by William More, with whom there seems to have been some antagonism.

Died April 1592 at Guildford.

WHITE, JOHN of Southwick, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1591

Children: Edward (succeeded him), Honor (married Thomas Worsley of Appuldercombe)

Purchased Southwick Priory

WHITE, RICHARD of South Warnborough

Host on progress of 1601

WOODRUFFE, LADY of Seale, Surrey

Host on progress of 1601

WOLLEY, JOHN (c.1530-96) of Chobham and Pyrford, Surrey

Host on progresses of 1580, 1582 and 1583

Family: Married (1) Jane, daughter of William Sanderson; (2) 1577 Elizabeth, widow of Richard Polsted and daughter of William More. Son, Francis, in 1583.

Career: Eloquent in Latin and French, secretarial skills, entered Queen's service 1563. Dec 1568 became Latin secretary to Queen. Although layman, 1569 prebend of Compton Dundon, Somerset, 1577 Dean of Carlisle. Sat in every Parliament from 1571 (only got Surrey in 1593).

Local career: 1583 JP for Surrey; 1589 chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

October 1586 was one of commissioners appt to try Mary, Queen of Scots, but also March 1587 examined William Davison for expediting her execution. 1590 various properties in Surrey; subsidy assessment £40. Died at Pyrford 28 February 1596.

WRIOTHESLEY, HENRY, 2ND EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (1545-81) of Titchfield, Hampshire

Host to Elizabeth at Titchfield 1569.

Family: Only surviving son of Thomas Wriothesley. Became minor, wardship granted to William Herbert, but remained with mother and brought up Catholic. 1560 wardship passed to William More of Loseley.

Married Mary Browne, daughter of Viscount Montague on 19 Feb 1565-66 at Montague House in London - unhappy marriage, despite both families' efforts.

Children: Henry, 3rd Earl; Jane (died young), Mary.

Career: Looking after residences and managing estates. Landed income between £2000 and £3000 in the 1560s; maintained large and lavish household. Appointed JP for Hampshire on 12 July 1574.

But arrested 1570 for suspected complicity in proposed marriage of Duke of Norfolk to Mary, Queen of Scots. Confined to the Tower until 1 May 1573. During imprisonment allowed to visit his father-in-law and spend time at Cowdray. But not good relations with Montague, causing break in relations between latter and Mary. Died 4 October 1581 in Crondall, Hampshire. Ordered large monument at Titchfield.

WRIOTHESLEY, HENRY, 3RD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (1573-1624) of

Titchfield, Hampshire

Host on progress of 1591

Host to Queen Anne at Southampton House 1604.

Family: Father Henry, died when 7 years old, and became ward of William Cecil, while his lands were held by Lord Howard of Effingham. Grew up at Cecil House on the Strand, but refused to marry Elizabeth Vere, and huge fine as a result. When he turned 21, he had to sell some of property.

Married Elizabeth Vernon hastily August 1598. 3 daughters, Penelope (1598), Anne, Elizabeth; 2 sons: James (1605) and Thomas (1608)

Career: Made name at court in late teens as comely, possibly had homosexual affairs. Spent great deal on clothes and pleasure. Patron of Shakespeare 1592-94. Passion for books and literature all his life. Friend of Essex, accompanied him to Cadiz 1596, Azores 1597, Paris 1598. After hasty marriage, Queen angry, and both committed to the Tower for a while. Did not regain Elizabeth's favour. Accompanied Essex to Ireland 1599. 1600 involved in Essex's rebellion; spent two years in prison. Freed on James's accession, made Knight of the Garter and recreated Earl. Political difficulties led him to organizing colonial enterprise after 1610.

Local career: Given Captaincy of the Isle of Wight and further property in Hampshire and other counties. 1604 Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire.

Died, with his son James, in the Low Countries in November 1624, and both were buried in the church at Titchfield.

WRIOTHESLEY, MARY of Titchfield, Hampshire (c.1552-1607)

Host on progress of 1591

Family: Married (1) Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton. Unhappy marriage, despite both families' efforts. After his death, married twice more: (2) Sir Thomas Heneage on 2nd May 1594; Mary was about ten years younger and had only a small dower, meaning that the couple married for companionship, not expecting children, and had probably been close friends for years.

(3) Sir William Hervey, been in army service in Netherlands. Sometimes thought to be the 'M^r W. H.' in Thomas Thorpe's dedication to *Shake-Speares Sonnets* (1609).

Life: 'Put away, suspected of incontineny' loyally made excuses for her husband to her father, who was angry that Southampton had 'barred [her] his bord and presence'. In 1579 the couple separated, Mary accused of adultery with commoner named Donesame. In a long, rambling, somewhat incoherent letter to her father, claimed that as for 'donesame his coming hither' for a secret tryst at the family's Dogmersfield Hampshire estate, this could 'never' be proved, but her husband was obdurate, unforgiving, and convinced of his own rightness. Serving as a go-between for his difficult parents, their son Henry, then aged 6, carried a letter from the Countess to his father, after which he was forbidden to see his mother. Southampton expressly stated in his will of 29 June 1581 that his daughter should be brought up by either his sister, Katherine Cornwallis, or his aunt, Lawrence, insisting that she 'be not in howse with her Mother'³³. He did not make specific provisions for his widow, only that she should not try to possess Dogmersfield, which was to be allotted to his heir, who inherited lands worth £1097 6s. per annum.

Her will, dated 22 April 1607 and proved on 14 November, instructed that she be buried with Southampton at Titchfield.

³³ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/65, sig. 45.

WRIOTHESLEY, THOMAS, 1ST EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (1505-50) of

Titchfield, Hants³⁴

Host to Henry VIII

Family: Married Jane Cheney from Chesham, Bucks 1509-1574. Children: William, Anthony (died in infancy), Henry (2nd earl); Elizabeth (m Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex); Mary (m. William Shelley of Michelgrove); Katherine; Anne and Mabel.

Career: at court of Henry VIII; secretary for Thomas Cromwell. Intelligence, diligence, managerial skills. Attended baptism of Edward VI. Difficult relationship with Stephen Gardiner. On Privy council, was one of Henry VIII's principal secretaries and was created Lord Chancellor in April 1544. Involved in failure of marriage to Anne of Cleves. Prominent in downfall of Katherine Howard, and examination of Agnes, Duchess of Norfolk and her household. Administrative and financial responsibilities for King. Announced his death to Parliament. Deeply involved in court factions, and fortunes rose and fell in 1547, after Henry's death, when created Earl of Southampton, but then dismissed from the Privy Council and Lord Chancellorship for abusing position. He did manage to claw his way back at the end of the year, enjoying a brief period of being close to Edward VI and serving on the Privy Council, but his enmity towards Somerset brought him down again. In January 1550 he and Arundel were under house arrest, but Wriothesley was seriously ill, and in June he was allowed to retire to Titchfield. He was too ill to complete the journey.

Local career: MP for Hampshire, and as Lord Chancellor summoned and opened 1545 Parliament. 1547 created Earl by new King, but a fortnight later political fall as enemy of Edward Seymour. Released on 29 June 1547, fine remitted, and by 17 January 1549 resumed place at council board. He regularly attended parliament in 1547. As accumulated government offices, also gained local power: the constablerships of castles at Southampton, Christchurch and Portchester; he was a JP for Hampshire from 1538 and MP for Hampshire from 1539. The stewardship of Ringwood and Christchurch gave him power in the north of the county. He 'Perhaps profited more from the Reformation than any other man'³⁵ Between 1537 and 1547 acquired, chiefly through royal grant, former monastic manors and religious houses in eight counties, as well as three houses and a manor in London. Nucleus of estates in Hampshire: Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight (granted in 1537); the eleven manors and 5000 acres of Titchfield Abbey (1537); Beaulieu Abbey (1538); and Micheldever Manor, purchased from the king in 1544. Leland wrote that 'Mr Wriothesley hath buildid a right stately house embatelid, and having a goodely gate, and a conducte castelid in the midle of the court of it'.³⁶ Died at London house, Lincoln House in Holborn, on 30 July 1550. Buried at St Andrews, Holborn, but body later removed to Titchfield.

³⁴ Picture credit: © Photo RMN.

³⁵ Carpenter Turner, B., *A history of Hampshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988).

³⁶ Leland, *Itinerary*, 1.281.

Appendix 3: Gazetteer of Houses

There are thirty-nine houses in this Gazetteer, which is a distillation of the 103 houses in the table in Appendix 5. The Gazetteer lists the most important houses in the region in the sixteenth century. Each house has been given its own entry, with information (where possible) on its building, owners, appearance and current access. It has been created to provide a sample overview of the houses available in the region for large-scale hospitality, and also to show which physical remains are visible now.¹ This is to emphasize the point that the important locations in the region were not necessarily so in the sixteenth century, and that others which played a vital part then are long since gone.

Even within the period, their importance was changing, and it is possible to draw some simplified conclusions from the houses in the Gazetteer. Comparing their ownership in 1525 and 1625, the numbers look like this:

	1525	1625
Crown	1	1
Nobility	13	13
Upper Gentry	5	20
Church	12	5
Non-existent	8	
Totals	39	39

The most obvious point is that the level of society, which was concerned with the progresses, increased their wealth and presence in the region by 1625. Houses of a significant size owned by the upper gentry quadrupled during the period. It was not all new building; the ownership of Warblington, for example, was transferred from nobility to the upper gentry, but the change was due to the increased importance of this level of society. Eight houses were fresh creations: Bramshott, Cowdray, Danny, Loseley, Michelgrove, New Place Pulborough, Parham and Wiston. The dissolution played a significant part in this movement: Southwick, Syon and Titchfield were converted from monastic buildings after the dissolution and two of the new houses, Loseley and Parham were built either with materials from a dissolved monastery or on the site of former monastic property. Amberley, Easebourne and Reigate Priory were former church properties transferred to lay

¹ C.f. discussion in chapter 3 of how what remains now can change our viewpoint of its importance, and how this needs to be taken into account when considering houses available for the Queen.

owners. The number of noble houses remained constant, but there was some movement. Sir Anthony Browne built Cowdray and gained Easebourne Priory. His son, Viscount Montague had sold the Punch House in Chichester by 1595. The noble mansions stayed in the same ownership, even if the fortunes of their owners fluctuated: the same families throughout owned Arundel, Basing, Chesworth, Elvetham, Petworth, Stansted and The Vine.

Of these houses now, nineteen can be visited (twelve are privately owned); eleven are private and not available for viewing, and nine no longer exist.

Aldingbourne

Place and County	Near Chichester, West Sussex
OS Grid ref	SU 92408 04832
Date built	Pre-16th century
Appearance	Good sized manor house, with gardens
Owners	Bishops of Chichester
Other information	Chapter Acts of 1606 confirm a faculty to pull down ruinous buildings, <i>Sussex Record Society</i> , 58: 167 (no. 1027).
References	Peckham, W. D., <i>The Acts of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester 1545-1642</i> (Oxford: <i>Sussex Record Society</i> , vol. 58, 1959), 167
Picture reference	No picture available
Public Access	There is hardly any trace of this house

Amberley Castle



Place and County	Amberley, West Sussex
Postcode	BN18 9LT
Date built	12th century
Appearance	Great hall and range of two-storey buildings built in 12th century; chapel built at end of 13th century. Curtain walls up to 60 ft high in Caen stone built by Bishop Reede c.1377. Standing water to the north, and moat to south. Further domestic range built in 14th century, which Sherborne modernised in 16th century. He divided the dining hall into two floors, creating the Queen's room.
Owners	Property given to Bishop Luffa in 1103, and held by Bishops of Chichester until the dissolution; thereafter leased out. In 1526 Sherborne probably entertained

Henry VIII here. In 1538 held by William Shelley and William Goring and leased to the Earnley family. In 1588, Elizabeth I took on a 50-year lease of the castle, but never visited it

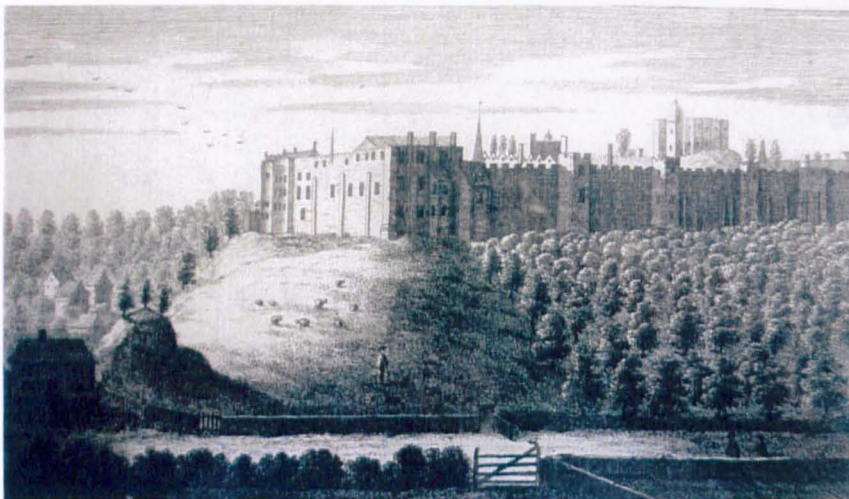
Other information Bishop Sherborne commissioned Lambert Barnard to paint the Amberley panels of warrior Kings and Queens

References Arcott, D., *Amberley Castle 1103-2003: a celebration of 900 years* (Wimborne: The Dovecote Press, 2002)

Picture reference Views by Grimm in Farrant, J., *Sussex depicted: views and descriptions 1600-1800*, (Sussex Record Society, 85 2001), and Godfrey, W.H., and Salzman, L.F., *Sussex Views from the Burrell Collection 1776-1791* (Oxford: Sussex Record Society, 1951; re-issued 2001) 2

Public Access Private hotel: www.amberleycastle.co.uk

Arundel Castle



Place and County Arundel, West Sussex

OS Grid ref TQ018072

Date built Early Norman [now mostly 19th cent Gothic]

Appearance One of chain of castles along south coast. Four miles from the sea, protecting the Arun where it flows through the Downs. Pulborough stone and Sussex flintwork

Owners Fitzalan family, Earls of Arundel; after 1580 the Howard family, Dukes of Norfolk

Other information Henry VIII visited in 1526, see chapter 4. May have been old-fashioned by mid-16th century

References Robinson, J.M., *Arundel Castle: a guide* (Arundel: Arundel Castle trustees [2007])

Picture reference WSRO, PD 2205

Public Access Privately owned; open to the public: www.arundelcastle.org

Bagshot



Place and County	Bagshot, Surrey
OS Grid ref	SU 90563 65727
Date built	Original 14th century lodge demolished in 1539 and replaced. Repairs carried out 1572-3, but house very little used in 16th century. Extensively renovated in 1609-10 and 1631-2
Owners	Crown
Other information	Sir Henry Weston played host to the Queen 1591
References	Loades, D., <i>The Tudor court</i> (London: Batsford, 1986)
Picture reference	http://www.oldprints.co.uk/prints/surrey/25746.htm ; 25746 Bagshot Park, Rooker, c.1785
Public Access	No longer exists. The present building dates from the 1880s and is in a slightly different position.

Basing House



Place and County	Basing, Hampshire
Postcode	RG24 7HB
Date Built	Basing House was built on the site of a Norman castle
Appearance	The large earthwork banks of the Norman castle still look down on what is left of the Paulet palace. It was once perhaps the largest private residence in England.
Owners	William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester
Other information	The house played host to Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, and

Mary I and Philip II of Spain spent their honeymoon in the mansion. Its reputed 360 rooms were once reported to have accommodated a party of 1,500 guests of the English sovereign, who were later joined by the Spanish ambassador and his entourage of a further 400 persons.

The Paulets were Catholics, who backed Charles I in the English Civil War. The proximity of Basing House to London, its importance as a fortified base and its possession of a large arsenal combined to make it a threat that the Parliamentarians could not ignore. After withstanding a two-year siege, the trapped Royalists were eventually faced with Oliver Cromwell himself, who led a force of 7,000 men to capture the house. After the defeat of the King at Naseby in Leicestershire in 1645, Cromwell decided to crush the King's supporters at Basing as an example to those holding out in other Royalist strongholds. The house was stormed, and fell to Cromwell's forces, on the night of 14 October.

References

'Time Team' report on Basing, 2005;
<http://www3.hants.gov.uk/basing-house.htm>

Picture reference

www.hants.gov.uk/museum/archaeology/basinghouse

Public Access

Open in the summer months

Beddington



Place and County

North of the parish of Beddington, Surrey

OS Grid ref

TQ 29112 65392

Date built

Beddington Park was probably built by Sir Nicholas Carew in the 1530s.

Owners

Carew family. Sir Richard Carew was Sheriff of Surrey in 1501. His son Sir Nicholas Carew, succeeded him in 1520,

but was attainted for high treason and executed in March 1539. After this Henry VIII used it as a residence and inclosed a park where he used to hunt. It was restored by Mary to Sir Francis Carew, son of Sir Nicholas, who rebuilt the house. Sir Francis entertained Queen Elizabeth here; a road in the neighbourhood is called Queen Elizabeth's Walk, but it is not certain that the name is ancient. In 1658 John Evelyn visited Beddington and thus describes it: 'To Beddington, that ancient seat of the Carews, a fine old hall but a scrambling house, famous for the first orange garden in England, but now over-grown. The Pomegranates bear here.'

Beddington was particularly famous for its orangery. The original oranges, possibly brought from Italy, and grown by Sir Francis Carew (died 1611), were planted in the open and preserved in winter by a moveable shed or covering. It is also possible that Carew might have purchased his orange trees in Paris.

Other information	The house has been recased externally and internally and has lost many of its ancient features, but a remarkably fine open timber roof of the hall, resembling closely the roof of the hall of Hampton Court, still exists.
References	'Parishes: Beddington', <i>VCH, Surrey</i> :4 (1912), 168-178. http://www.british-history.ac.uk
Picture reference	Carew Manor, wikipedia:Beddington
Public Access	Park open; house private

Bishop's Waltham



Place and County	Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire
OS Grid ref	SU 55187 17348
Date built	A moated Bishop's residence built in 1135 by Henry de Blois but destroyed apart from part of the outer wall in the 1160s. Between 1160 and 1180 it was reconstructed as a luxurious palace and was extended at the end of the 15th century. It is this later work that is visible now. It was fortified during the Civil War which led to it being slighted after being captured by Parliament.
Appearance	Much of what can be seen today was the work of William Wykeham, Bishop from 1367.
Owners	Medieval palace used by both the Bishops of Winchester and royalty as they travelled in the area.

References
Picture reference
Public Access

www.english-heritage.org.uk; <http://www.ecastles.co.uk>
 Author, June 2010
 English Heritage: May - September

Bramshott



Place Liphook
County Hampshire / West Sussex border. Present day Bramshott is in Hampshire, but the site of the house is now in West Sussex.
Postcode GU30 7GA
Date built The original Bramshott Place Village was an Elizabethan mansion built in 1580 by local merchant John Hooke in a five-acre estate. This was knocked down in the mid-19th Century by the Erle family, who replaced it with Bramshott Grange.
Owners Sir Edmund Pakenham, 1528 Sir Edmund Mervyn, 1552 Henry Mervyn, 1611 John Hooke
References <http://maps.google.co.uk>; *VCH Hampshire* (Bramshott is not covered by the *VCH*, but there is information in volume III), <http://www.bramshottplace.co.uk/>
Picture reference Author, July 2010
Public Access Gatehouse is now Grade II listed folly in centre of gated development

Burton Park

Place and County In Barlavington parish, 3km south of Petworth, West Sussex
OS Grid ref SU9617
Date built 16th century by John Goring; earlier medieval house on the site. Elizabethan house largely destroyed by fire in 1826
Appearance Three storeys with a central entrance, probably on the west front, a pitched roof and two projecting gables on the main elevation with three towering chimney stacks.
Owners Goring family
References T.P. Hudson, 'Burton Park, Sussex' *Recusant History*, 1970; <http://burtonpark.com/public/history.html>

Picture reference	No picture available
Public Access	Private
	http://burtonpark.com/public/history.html

Cakeham



Place and County	Half mile south of West Wittering, West Sussex
OS Grid ref	SZ78489757
Date built	Bishops' residence on site from at least 13th century. Early house in ruins by 1363, although one bay of the hall and its undercroft survive. Rebuilt in 16th century. Principal survival is a tall hexagonal red brick tower, with taller stair turret, built by Bishop Sherborn about 1519. To the south of this is one contemporary bay with trefoil-headed windows with dripstones over. In 1447, granted licence to crenellate, along with other manor houses of the see of Chichester, but no work from this time.
Appearance	Spacious mansion, Dallaway says calculated to receive episcopal retinue, with hall, chapel and large apartments. Main farmhouse to the south and is of two parallel ranges.
Owners	Bishops of Chichester from 13th century. Mid 16th century leased to William Ernley, and then possibly transferred to him, and inhabited by his descendants. Soon after Restoration, William Stanley obtained lease.
References	Dallaway, <i>History</i> 14; http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info for Cakeham manor; Emery, A., <i>Greater Medieval Houses</i> , 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 440; Thompson, M.W., <i>Medieval bishops' houses in England and Wales</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998) 168, 173; Pevsner, N. and Nairn, I., <i>Sussex</i> (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965); Salzman, L.F. (ed), 1953, <i>VCH Sussex</i> , 4, 217-8; Elwes, D.G.C., <i>A History of the Castles, Mansions and Manors of Western Sussex</i> (London: Longman, 1876) 269
Picture reference	Author's photo, January 2011; Godfrey, W.H., and Salzman, L.F., <i>Sussex Views from the Burrell Collection 1776-1791</i> (Oxford: Sussex Record Society, 1951; re-issued 2001)
Public Access	None

Chesworth



**Place and
County**
OS Grid ref
Date built
Appearance

Horsham, half a mile south-east of parish church, West Sussex
TQ1729

c.1520s

Large two-storeyed timber-framed range, late 15th or early 16th century, perhaps work of Thomas Howard, who lived at Chesworth in 1520s. Extended southwards in the mid 16th century by another range of brick with elaborate details including niches on the inner walls and octagonal buttresses at corners of south front. Possibly approached from north through two courtyards, of which outer one, base court in 1650, had gatehouse. Inner courtyard perhaps extended alongside brick range, with first floor doorway in east wall, possibly giving access to a gallery. 1549 house included hall, great chamber, dining chamber, chapel, besides at least 20 other rooms and service buildings. Later description refers to a tower called the Earl of Surrey's tower.

Owners

Howard family: after death of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1524 manor was held in dower by his widow Agnes until her attainder in 1542. Like him, she lived at Chesworth, and Katherine Howard spent part of her childhood there with her. After 1542, Agnes's son Thomas, Duke of Norfolk also lived there until it was forfeited in 1547. 1549 Crown granted life interest to Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, who died a year later. By 1560 it had come to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who exchanged it two years later with the Crown; in 1570 he received a 21-year lease of the demesnes, which was forfeited on his attainder in 1572. Thereafter the manor remained with the Crown.

**Other
information**

In 1570 Chesworth House was said to be greatly decayed, and despite repairs carried out c. 1590 it remained so in 1608, when its site was described as low and unhealthy. Between 1611 and c. 1636 most of the house was demolished. The present west range is 17th-century, built of stone, and abutting on the junction of the two surviving earlier ranges.

References
**Picture
reference**

VCH Sussex, 6: 2,156-66

<http://www.geograph.org.uk/reuse.php?id=68819>. Image Copyright Simon Carey. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic License.

Public Access

None

The Punch House, Chichester



**Place and
County**
OS Grid ref
Date built
Appearance

Chichester, West Sussex
SU 86088 04806
Pre - 16th c

Owners
**Other
information**

The Royal Arms, or The Old Punch House, had a disastrous fire in 2005 [1], but still retains its richly ornamented ceiling. Mervyn Cutten's notes examine the theory that the Queen's audiences took place in the guest chamber on the first floor there: WSRO, MP 421. Willis says the beautiful ceiling was created specially for the visit, using Italian craftsmen, and employing a geometric design. He also says that the Queen slept in the room above the audience chamber, and that the ceiling there was decorated with carved shields. The strap work included bosses of the Tudor rose, and there was panelling in the house and ceilings on both the first and second floors [2].

John, Lord Lumley; William Holland

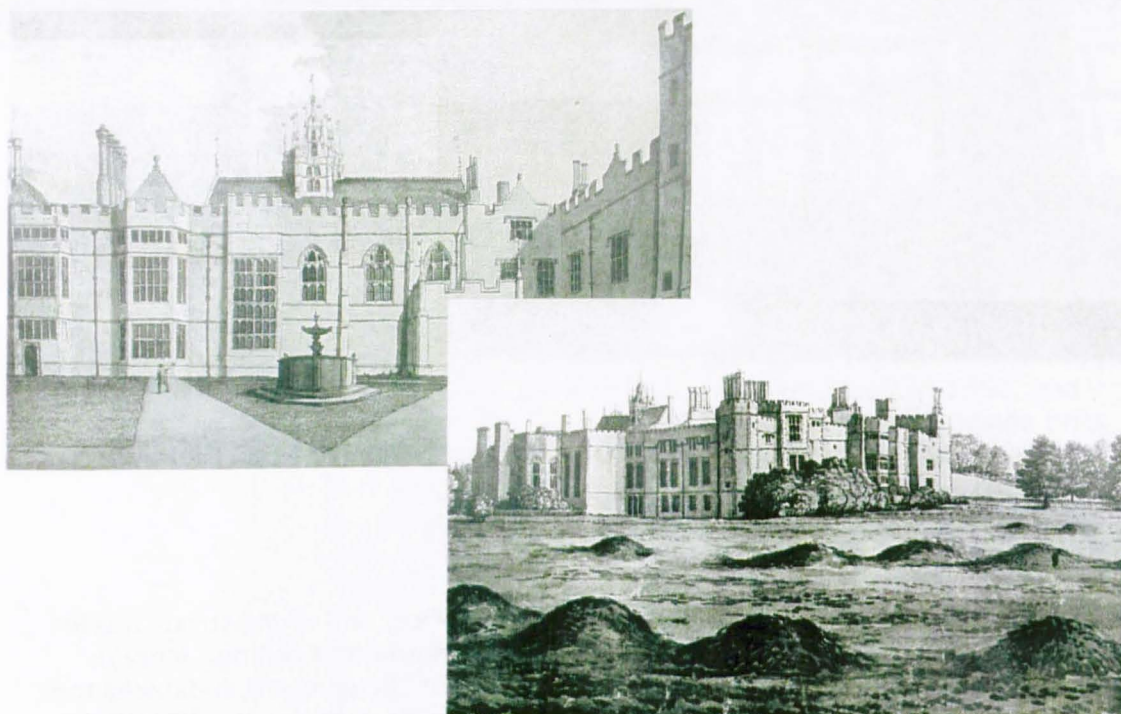
The present building was either put up or altered considerably in 1595, four years after the Queen's visit, by William Holland, who was three times Mayor of the city, and also founded Steyning Grammar School. He could have completely rebuilt it, or changed the construction, so it puts some doubt on whether this was the ceiling the Queen saw. However, the historian Spershott,[3] writing in 1750, suggests that the building was 500 years old at the time of the Queen's visit, so it may just be possible Holland's work was an addition, and she really did use the banqueting room there.[4]

References

1. WSRO, MP 5362, Photographic Record of the Royal Arms (The Punch House) East Street, Chichester, prepared by HNW Architects, Chichester, 2006.
2. Country Life, 31 Jan 1947, 286, correspondence.
3. Spershott, quoted in Willis, T.G., Records of Chichester: some glimpses of its past (Chichester: T.G. Willis, 1928), 147.
4. I am indebted to Caroline Horstead at Chichester University, afterwards a volunteer at WSRO, who gave me the Country Life reference, and has done much work on the ceiling herself.

**Picture reference
Public Access**

Author, November 2011, WSRO, MP 5362
Ground floor shops only

Cowdray House**Place and County
OS Grid ref
Date built**

Easebourne, near Midhurst, West Sussex

SU 891 217

1520s Sir David Owen built east and north ranges, and west range as far as gatehouse. Sir William FitzWilliam completed quadrilateral plan in 1530s

Appearance

Quadrilateral plan of 1530s remained virtually unchanged until fire of 1793. In west range, three-storied gatehouse has double door of oak surmounted by white marble slab with arms of Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague. Flanking three-storied turrets have parapet and are octagonal in plan. Chambers lit by cross-shaped oillits and small-chamfered window openings, while those behind slightly taller and semi-octagonal in shape. Either side of gatehouse are 2 stories of chambers ending with 3-storied blocks with bay windows.

Owners

David Owen; Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton; Sir Anthony Browne (1542), half-brother; Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, son; Anthony Maria Brown, 2nd Viscount Montague, grandson

Other information	Elizabeth I visited in August, 1591, staying a week.
References	St. John Hope, W.H., <i>Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex</i> (London: Country Life, 1919) Southern, A.C., <i>An Elizabethan recusant house: the life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Mountague</i> (London: Sands & Co, 1954)
Picture reference	St. John Hope, W.H., <i>Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex</i> (London: Country Life, 1919) Grimm engravings
Public Access	Open to public through Heritage Trust

Croydon Palace



Place and County	Croydon, Surrey
OS Grid ref	TQ320654
Date built	12th century. Various additions by Archbishops; John Morton added rooms, extended Chapel westwards, linking it with the main house, added rood screen and gateway.
Appearance	15th cent banqueting hall, guard room and chapel, Tudor long gallery, EI's bedroom; west wing has some of earliest brickwork in England
Owners	Archbishops of Canterbury. Morton lavishly entertained Henry VIII here; Parker and Whitgift entertained Elizabeth. Elizabeth went to horse races in Croydon during 1580s
Other information	Principally staging post for archbishops when travelling around the diocese, or between his most important houses in London and Canterbury
References	A talk given by Andrew Bradstock at a Conference 'The Old Palace: Croydon's Best Kept Secret', held at Croydon Palace, 15 May 2004 ; Walker, Y.M., <i>The Story of Croydon Old Palace and the Archbishops of Canterbury 871-1780</i> (AMCD and Croydon Libraries, London, 1990)
Picture reference	Friends of the Old Palace, Croydon
Public Access	Very limited. Owner: The Whitgift Foundation

Danny



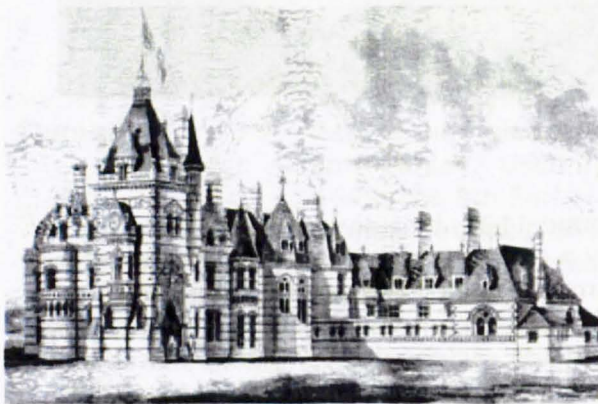
Place and County	Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex
Postcode	BN6 9BB
Date built	1595
Appearance	Brick, traditional Elizabethan H-shape design. The oldest part is four storeys high. The main frontage has two bay windows either side of the porch; the south ones lighting the Great Hall.
Owners	Pierpoint family until 14th century, then Dacre family. Sir Gregory Dacre converted what may have been a hunting lodge into a mansion house and deer park. Dacre sold it to George Goring (younger son of Sir William Goring of Burton) in 1582. The house was remodelled and enlarged in the 1590s, but was unfinished when George Goring died in 1594. Three generations of Goring followed him.
Other information	Study of Goring family shows how house used as expression of rising power and importance (George II) but that building and development led to rising debts). Hung onto Danny until George IV forced to sell because of political position at end of Civil War. But by that time, Gorings grown out of Sussex society - Georges III and IV rarely at Danny because of diplomatic and military careers.
References	Memegalos, F.S., <i>George Goring (1608-1657)</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) <i>Danny: a brief guide to the house</i> (Aynho: Country Houses Association, n.d.)
Picture reference	WSRO, PH 230
Public Access	Residential home; access limited www.dannyhouse.org.uk

Easebourne Priory



Place and County	Easebourne, just north of Midhurst, West Sussex
OS Grid ref	SU8922
Date built	The priory was founded in 1248; and accommodation for the nuns was built adjacent to the church. The eastern range was used as overflow accommodation for Cowdray.
Appearance	Buildings altered considerably in 17th century, and eastern and southern ranges still remain.
Owners	At the dissolution of the Priory in 1535, the buildings were given to William Fitzwilliam, the owner of Cowdray. Browne family of Cowdray
Other information	Elizabeth was entertained here in 1591: 'Her Majesty went to dinner to the Priory where my Lord himself kept house'
References	Nichols, J.G., 'The progress of King Edward VI in Sussex,' <i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i> , 10 (1858), 195-204 ; Field, M.C.; <i>Guide to Easebourne Priory</i> (1977)
Picture reference	WSRO, PH 7510
Public Access	The church has regular services. The priory refectory is available for hire.

Elvetham



Place and County	Hartley Wintney, Hampshire
OS Grid ref	RG27 8AS
Date built	Pre 16 th century. The house was destroyed by fire in 1840.
Appearance	Nichols says that once Hertford knew the Queen was to come, he set 300 workmen enlarging his house with new

rooms and offices, adding another Great Hall for the celebrations, and creating further buildings in the park to accommodate the other nobles and gentlemen. For special effect, the outsides of the walls of these buildings were covered in greenery with clusters of ripe hazel nuts, and the insides with arras, and the floors with strewn sweet herbs and green rushes. Two surviving texts of the elaborate and well-known entertainment have survived, as well as a woodcut illustration, which shows an artificial lake with man-made islands and boats.

Owners

The Seymour family acquired Elvetham in 1426. After the death of Thomas Seymour, the estates were forfeited, but eventually restored to his son Edward, Earl of Hertford.

Other information

It was here that Edward entertained Elizabeth on the 1591 progress. The oak tree that she was supposed to have planted here still exists in the grounds.

References

<http://www.elvethamhotel.co.uk/history.aspx>;
Nichols, J.G., 'The progress of King Edward VI in Sussex,' *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 10 (1858), 195-204

Picture reference

www.elvethamhotel.co.uk

Public Access

The present hotel was built on the site in 1860.

Farnham Castle

**Place and County**

Farnham, Surrey

OS Grid ref

SU839474

Date built

Building began around 1138, by Henry of Blois, although there was probably a substantial building on the site before that. The chapel may be older. After that the Keep and surrounding buildings were continuously developed, but they are difficult to give dates. In the 1520s, Bishop Fox made extensive alterations, and the appearance of many of the buildings was changed in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Appearance

Motte and Bailey Castle. Bishop's Palace has Tudor and Jacobean additions

Owners

Bishops of Winchester. Keeper: Sir William More

Other information

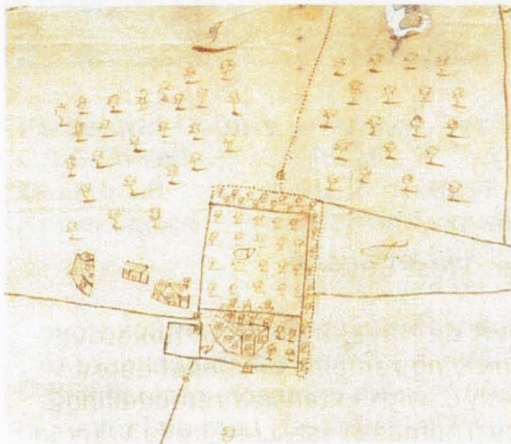
Stopping place for Tudor monarchs and James I. Henry VIII wrote from there in 1516. Elizabeth I visited in 1569, 1591, 1601. JI visited it in 1603 and took a liking to it because of

References

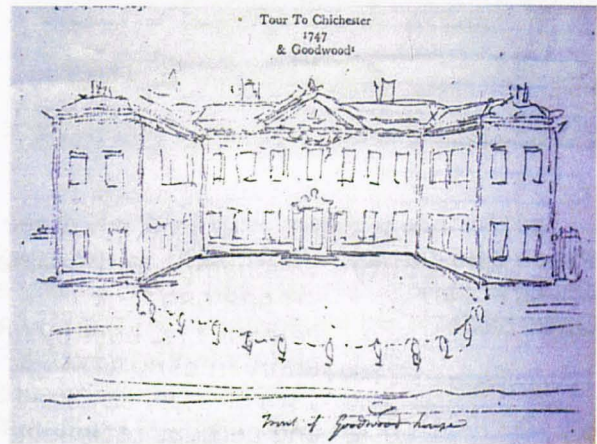
the hunting - he took a lease of it for the bishop's life
SHC, Loseley mss; Cole, M.H., *The Portable Queen*, Rait,
R.S., *English Episcopal Palaces* (London: Constable & Co,
1910)

**Picture reference
Public Access**

Author's photograph, n.d.; <http://www.farnhamcastle.com>
Open to the public through Farnham Castle event
management; tours arranged.

Goodwood

1575



1616

**Place and County
OS Grid ref
Date built**

Chichester, West Sussex

SU888088

Pre-1575, another 1616; present day is enlargement of
Jacobean house**Appearance**

Survey of 1575 describes a courtyard with a brick wall, and
inside the house, a great hall, service rooms, a parlour and
several chambers on the ground floor, and upstairs a great
chamber and a further eight bedrooms. Outhouses, a stable,
garden and orchard are all included in the survey.

The new house, built in 1616, was Jacobean in style with a
cellar, ground and first floors and a long gallery in the 'attic'.
The front of the house had three gables, a 'generous' amount
of windows, and the roof was finished with Horsham stone
Part of the Halnaker estate. Held by the Earls of Arundel and
Lord Lunley. Used by Palmers in 1575 (hunting lodge). In
1608, the 9th Earl of Northumberland bought Goodwood Park,
demolished most of the house described in the 1575 survey,
and built another around 1616. Presently owned by Duke of
Norfolk.

Owners**References**

780A/1/1/5 Bound volume containing 'copies of Divers parts
of the ancient book of evidence in the possession of the
Devises in trust of the late Earl of Halifax 1787', including
survey of house 1575

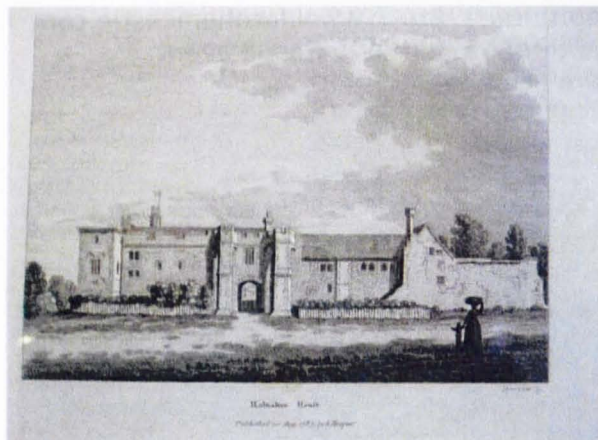
**Picture reference
Public Access**

WSRO, PHA 12026 part

Access to present house in summer months:

www.goodwood.co.uk

Halnaker



- Place and County** Westhampnett, Chichester, West Sussex
- OS Grid ref** SU 908 089
- Date built** Perhaps first built by Robert de Haye, founder of Boxgrove Priory in early 12th c. Surviving remains of chapel date to 13th c. Main structure 14th c. with extensive remodelling, and perhaps replanning by Thomas West, Lord de la Warr in mid-16th c., evident in upper floor of gatehouse.
- Appearance** Semi-fortified manor house, surrounded by a curtain wall with gatehouse in south range and square tower at south-west angle. Inventory of 1701 lists 39 residential rooms with 17 hearths. The gateway, flanked with small octagonal towers, led into a square court. The house included a large hall and several widely-spread bay windows, ornamented with the armorial bearings of the family of West, and their alliances. The wainscot of the hall was carved in oak, with knots, scrolls and devices.
- Owners** In 1105 it was owned by Robert de Haia from whom it passed to Roger de St. John, and then to Elizabeth Bonville, who married Thomas West, Lord de la Warr. 1539 it came to crown from Lord La Warr by exchange. In 1561 it was granted to Henry, 12th Earl of Arundel, and it then passed to John, Lord Lumley, who sold it to John Morley in 1587. It remained in the Morley family until 1752.
- Other information** Mainly built by Sir Thomas West. Dallaway calls it 'An almost solitary specimen, in this part of the county, of castellated style peculiar to age of Tudors, and was very spacious when perfect.'
- References** Dallaway, *History*; WSRO, MP 3827: Photograph of letter from Edward VI to Barney Fitzpatrick, 22 August 1552; Goodwood archives catalogue; Leslie, K., and Short, B., *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999), 27; Farrant, J., *Sussex depicted: views and descriptions 1600-1800*, Sussex Record Society, vol. 85 (2001), and Godfrey, W.H., and Salzman, L.F., *Sussex Views from the Burrell Collection 1776-1791* (Oxford: Sussex Record Society, 1951; re-issued 2001); photos by author January and March 2009
- Picture reference** WSRO, PD 899, by Hooper, 1783
- Public Access** Now in private garden; no access

Herriard



Place and County	Herriard, near Basingstoke, Hampshire
OS Grid ref	RG25
Date built	16th century?
Appearance	Herriard House, set in Herriard Park, was the seat of the Jervoise family from 1601. The original mansion was destroyed by fire around 1704 and was replaced by a stately brick building in 1706 but Herriard House became derelict and was demolished in the 1960s.
Owners	Estate built up by Richard Jervoise, mercer and alderman of London, early 16th century. Succeeded by son Thomas. Next generation Thomas, minor, and wardship passed through several hands until reached Richard Paulet in 1601, who married Thomas to his daughter Lucy. Latter brought manor of Herriard with her. Thomas knighted in 1611 at age of 20, became prominent figure in Hampshire.
References	HRO, 44M69; http://www.herriard-pc.gov.uk/
Picture reference	http://www.herriard-pc.gov.uk/herriard/about/history.asp
Public Access	House no longer extant.

Loseley Park



Place and County	Loseley, near Guildford, Surrey
OS Grid ref	SU975471
Date built	Begun 1562, using stone from Waverley Abbey
Appearance	First Surrey mansion in E-plan
Owners	Sir William More, his son George – house still in same family. Present owner: Sir Michael Molyneux
Other information	1563-9, William More built a new house on a more impressive

scale than the medieval manor. A further west wing including a chapel was added by George More 1602-05; the wing fell into disrepair and was pulled down 1826. By mid-17th century, during tenure of Poynings More, the family began to encounter financial difficulties, and a lease of Loseley was apparently considered at that time. Disputes over the inheritance of William II's estate appear to have led to the sale of some Guildford property, and by the time Robert More's death in 1689 ended the male line, the estate was in debt and probably in poor repair. The marriage of Margaret More, the heiress to Thomas Molyneux of Lancashire 1689 brought new money to Loseley: the house was leased to Lord Torrington in 1691 for 7 years. Subsequently improvements and alterations were made to the house (the position of the front door, the staircase and probably the carved gallery) and the garden.

Elizabeth I visited four times

VCH Surrey, 3 (1911), pp. 3-10; SHC: Loseley Mss;

<http://www.loseleypark.co.uk/>

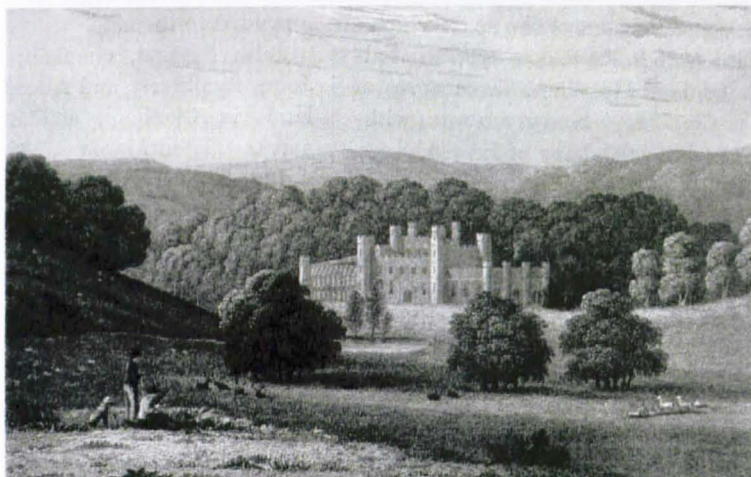
From Guide book to the house

Private house, open to the public in the summer months

References

Picture reference Public Access

Michelgrove



- Place and County** Findon, nr Worthing, West Sussex
- OS Grid ref** TQ 081 083
- Date built** William Shelley built house in 1534 (originally recorded above arcade), on the site of a medieval house.
- Appearance** Brick, quadrangular with open internal courtyard and hexagonal towers at outer angles. Central hall open to roof, 53' x 25' x 40' high. Gateway in the south front. Possibly resembled Herstmonceaux in external features. Inventory of 1585 names 53 rooms. South facade had 3 bay Doric or Tuscan arcade in stone.
- Owners** Estates came to Shelley family in 1474. The house was neglected while William Shelley was attainted in the 1590s
- Other information** Mostly demolished after 1828, when it was sold to the Duke of Norfolk. The park sold off in the 19th century. One wall remains.

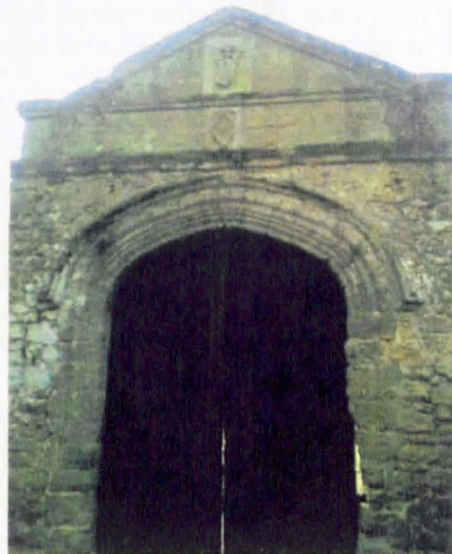
References

Farrant, *Sussex depicted*

Whitley, H. M., 'An inventory of the goods and chattels of William Shelley of Michelgrove, 1585', *SAC*, 55 (1912), 284-298; Cartwright, E., *The Parochial Topography of the rape of Arundel in the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (1832)

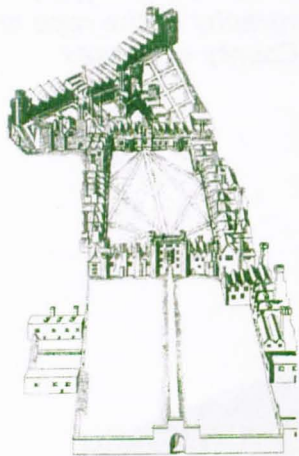
Picture reference WSRO, PH 13617
Public Access No longer extant

New Place, Pulborough



Place and County Pulborough, West Sussex
OS Grid ref TQ0534119321
Date built 1580s when the Apsley Family moved on from Old Place, near the church in Pulborough.
Appearance Built in 1580s of stone. Another wing added in 1660s, now demolished. Gatehouse, still extant, with coat of arms
Owners John, William and then Anthony Apsley, followed by succeeding generations of the Apsley family
Other information Depicted on tithe map of 1839. A tradition exists that Elizabeth visited in 1591, and that the gatehouse was built in her honour. However, the owner states that the lower part is medieval, and that the portico was added in honour of Elizabeth's visit.
References Information on the house from Annabelle Hughes, Feb 2010. Information on the gatehouse from Diane Ladlow, April 2012.
Picture reference 1. <http://www.hamptons.co.uk/>, 2010
 2. Gatehouse © Diane Ladlow, 2012
Public Access None; private house

Oatlands



Place and County	Weybridge, Surrey
Postcode	KT13 9HB
Date built	Large house, added to considerably between 1537 and 1545 at cost of £17000. 1538 stone used from dissolved Chertsey Abbey. Work resumed in EI's reign, continued spasmodically into 17th century. 1603 Prince Henry took up residence there.
Owners	Crown acquired by exchange from heirs of Sir Bartholomew Reed c.1536. Regularly used by Henry VIII. Popular as summer retreat from London.
References	Loades, D., <i>The Tudor court</i> (London: Batsford, 1986)
Picture reference	Janaway, J., <i>Surrey; A County History</i> (Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside Books, 1994), 68
Public Access	House burnt down 1794. Late Georgian replacement now a hotel.

Offington Park



Place and County	Broadwater, Worthing, West Sussex
OS Grid ref	TQ 135050
Date built	Possibly 16th century, although a house was recorded there from 1357.
Appearance	Tudor courtyard house
Owners	Thomas West, Lord de la Warr (d. 1525), received from Henry

VII a large part of the Sussex estates of the attained Duke of Norfolk in 1485. He lived mainly at Offington, was buried in Broadwater church. His son Thomas, Lord de la Warr, moved to Offington unwillingly after the king had, in effect, compelled him to exchange Halnaker (in Boxgrove) for other lands in 1540. He died there without issue in 1554, devising Offington to his nephew William West for life. William, however, had been attainted for trying to poison his uncle, and in 1557 the Crown leased the manor and park for the support of William's wife Elizabeth and their children. William, restored in blood in 1563 and created Lord de la Warr in 1570, held Offington in 1583 and died seised of it in 1595. His son and heir Thomas apparently mortgaged it in 1598 or 1600 to Edward Barker of London, who with Thomas and his son Thomas sold it in 1601 to the trustees of Edward Alford.

Other information From Cartwright: 'This mansion is a commodious house, anciently of a much larger extent, and probably enclosing a court. On the north side was a chapel, of which there are some remains. In the Burrell collection is a minute inventory of all the chattels of the last Thomas Lord la Warre. As a proof of the then magnitude of this mansion, sixty-five bedrooms, and ninety-eight bedsteads are enumerated. There are at the back part of the house, some indications of the architecture of the sixteenth century. It is situated in a small park, where the trees are large, and the scenery wild.'

References

Picture reference

Public Access

Cartwright, *The rape of Arundel*, 31.

Ibid.

Not surviving

Parham House



Place and County

OS Grid ref

Date built

Appearance

Owners

Storrington, West Sussex

TQ060143

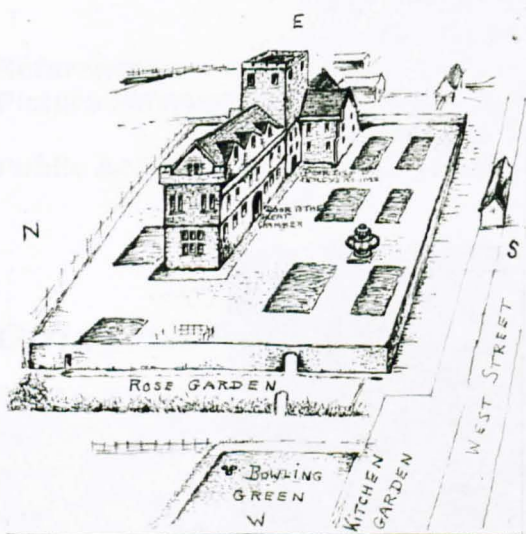
1578 - ?1583

H-shaped 'Elizabethan' style. Built in poor quality stone, rendered in lime plaster from the beginning.

Palmers: Robert (d.1544), Thomas (d.1582), William (d.1586), Thomas jnr, who sold it to Thomas Bishop. Thomas was succeeded by his son Edward, and succeeding generations stayed in the house until the early 20th c. In 1922, it was sold to the Pearson family, and their descendant, Lady Emma Barnard lives in the house with her family. The

	house is owned by a Trust.
Other information	Robert Palmer bought the property in 1540, after the property had come to the crown from Westminster Abbey at the dissolution. The Palmers already had cousins at Angmering, and over the next thirty years bought small pieces of land to add to it. On 28 Jan 1578 three generations of the Palmer family laid the foundation stone. It may have been finished in 1583, when a plaster relief bearing that date and the royal coat of arms was put up in the Great Hall. It was leased in 1598, and then sold in 1601 by Thomas Palmer to the Bishop family: Thomas and his son Edward. The shell of the house was complete by 1583, and the rest of the house fitted out after 1600 by the Bishops.
References	Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, J., <i>Parham in Sussex</i> (London: Batsford, 1947); Kirk, J., <i>Parham: an Elizabethan house and its restoration</i> (Chichester, 2009); Tritton, V., Coombs, D., Barnard, E., and Gibbs, R., <i>The Guide for Parham House</i> (Parham Park Ltd, 2003)
Picture reference	WSRO, PH 24402
Public Access	Open to the public in the summer www.parhaminsussex.co.uk/

Petworth House



Place and County	Petworth, West Sussex
OS Grid ref	SU976218
Date built	Manor extant from at least 12th century
Appearance	The 16 th c. house was cross-winged with a central tower. The Percy manor was repaired and extended by the 8th, 9th and 10th Earls of Northumberland in the late 16th and early 17th-centuries. Present house rebuilt in 17 th century, and is set at edge of Capability Brown deer park and pleasure gardens, with separate servants' quarters.
Owners	Petworth came to the Percy family in 1151, but was not their principal residence until they were forced to live in the south in the 16th century.
References	Petworth House Archives, especially accounts (see bibliography)

- Picture reference** Private sketch by Gill Beck, with thanks to Alison McCann, archivist to Petworth House
- Public Access** National Trust; open in the summer
Petworth House Archives, a detailed estate and family archive, available to view at West Sussex Record Office; catalogues online. The earlier part of the 16th century is covered by the archives of both Syon and Alnwick, both now at Alnwick Castle.

Reigate Priory



- Place and County** Reigate, Surrey
- Postcode** RH2 7RL
- Date built** The Priory was originally founded in the early 13th century and was converted to a house following the dissolution of the monasteries.
- Appearance** Grade I listed building, set in 65 acres of open parkland, with gardens and lake.
- Owners** In June 1541 Henry VIII granted the Manor and Priory of Reigate to Lord William Howard. Charles Howard of Effingham inherited it from 1581. It is now occupied by Reigate Priory School and Reigate Priory Museum.
- Other information** A stone fireplace was built into the north wall of the great hall with the Howard arms carved in the pointed arch, a lion rampant carved at each corner. On the outside a high chimney stack was constructed with three Tudor brick chimneys. In the early 17th century a magnificent carved oak fireplace surround was installed at Reigate Priory around the Howard stone fireplace. It was said to be designed by Hans Holbein and was originally commissioned by Henry VIII for Nonsuch Palace in Ewell. Later the fireplace surround was installed at Bletchingley Place, possibly for the divorced Queen, Anne of Cleves, and moved to its present position at Reigate Priory by 1655.
- References** <http://reigatepriorymuseum.org.uk/priory>
Janaway, J., Surrey; *A County History* (Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside Books, 1994)
- Picture reference** Janaway, *Surrey: A County History*, 79
- Public Access** Open on certain days between Easter and October

Shillinglee



Place and County	Kirdford, West Sussex
OS Grid ref	SU 96854 32526
Date built	Present house built in 1785. Before that it was a manor belonging to the Arundel estate, origins unknown.
Appearance	Unknown for 16 th century. House in Dallaway's picture built in 1785, after Turnour created Earl Winterton. The house was burnt down during the second World War, but rebuilt, keeping the façade of the old house.
Owners	1541 William Earl of Arundel exchanged the manor with Henry VIII for other property. It was assigned to Richard Parker, the Crown Parker, and later became part of the Honour of Petworth. Mary rescinded Henry VIII's act, and restored it to the Earl of Arundel. It remained in the family until 1641, when it was sold to a London merchant, Gerard Gore.
Other information	1552 Edward VI is supposed to have been entertained there (see chapter 9) but there is no evidence for this.
References	<i>Sussex County Magazine</i> , 10, 787
Picture reference	Dallaway, J., <i>History</i>
Public Access	Private

Southwick



Place and County	Near Portchester, Hampshire
OS Grid ref	SU 62990 08364
Date built	House built after the dissolution

Appearance	Only part of the refectory wall of the Augustinian Priory remains.
Owners	The monastery was suppressed in 1538, and assigned to the White family.
Other information	'The priory of Southwick was assigned to one John White, a mean, fawning servant of Wriothsesley's. He wrote to Wriothsesley five days after the surrender, saying that by the provision of God and his master's help he has attained what he had desired all his life, namely, an honest house in which to bid his guests welcome! He complained however that the stuff in the house was but slender, only four feather-beds and the furniture old and in manner rotten. He also was much aggrieved with Dr. Layton [the King's servant for the dissolution], for he took from hence twelve of the best of the twenty bacon hogs hanging in the roof, which the other visitors had given him'. <i>VCH, Hampshire</i> , II, 166.
References	http://www.english-heritage.org.uk ; 'Houses of Austin canons: Priory of Southwick', <i>VCH, Hampshire: II</i> (1973), 164-168
Picture reference	http://www.english-heritage.org.uk
Public Access	English Heritage; open access

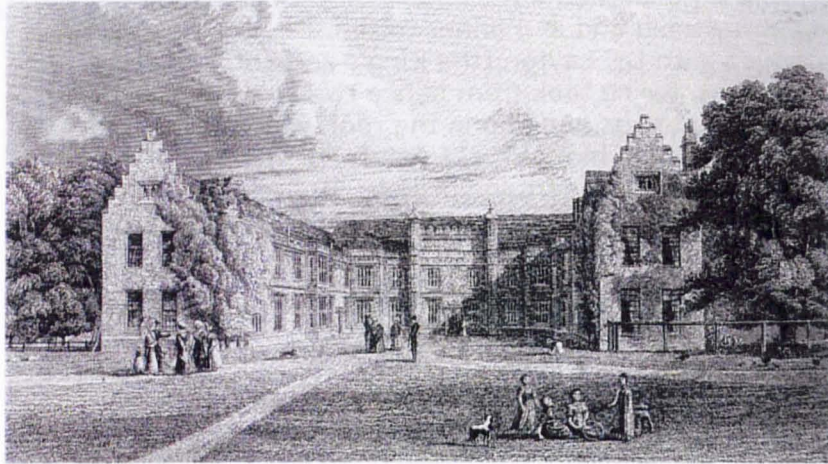
Stansted



Place and County	Stansted, near Rowlands Castle, Hampshire / West Sussex border (parkland in both)
Postcode	PO9 6DX
Date built	Manor in 15th century. Rebuilt by Lord Maltravers, son of Earl of Arundel in 1480.
Appearance	Turreted gateway and courtyard
Owners	Owned by Earls of Arundel in 15th century; little known after that. 1552 passed to Lord Lumley.
Other information	Defoe writing in 1624, describes it: 'From Chichester the road, lying still west, passes in view of the Earl of Scarborough's fine seat at Stansted, a house seeming to be a retreat, being surrounded with thick woods, through which there are the most pleasant, agreeable vistas cut that are to be seen anywhere in England; particularly because through the west opening, which is from the front of the house, they sit in the dining-room of the house and see the town and harbour of Portsmouth, the ships at Spithead, and also at St. Helen's; which when the Royal navy happens to be there, as often happened during the late war, is a most

- References** glorious sight.
Piper, A.C., 'Stansted Park and its owners', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 8,3 (1919), 289-301; <http://www.stanstedpark.co.uk/>
- Picture reference** Kindly donated by Helen Poole; copy in Dallaway, *History*, II
- Public Access** Open in summer months

Sutton Place



- Place and County** 4 miles north of Guildford, Surrey
- OS Grid ref** TQ 09762 45645
- Date built** 1523-25
- Appearance** Richard Weston influenced by chateaux when touring Loire region on the King's business. Brick and terracotta, latter used for moulded decoration, but also string courses, mullions, turrets, arches and parapets (usually stone). Originally nearly square, ranges of rooms on two storeys built round courtyard.
- Owners** Sir Richard Weston
- Other information** 1786 north side, including main gatehouse, demolished. Remains still exist
- References** Janaway, *Surrey; A County History*, 70
- Picture reference** *Ibid.*, 72
- Public Access** None

Syon



Place and County	Greater London, Surrey
OS Grid ref	
Date built	13th century nunnery, converted to mansion in 1540s.
Appearance	Robert Adam interior
Owners	After the suppression of the abbey, the estate became Crown property and became the possession of the 1st Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector to the young son of King Henry VIII, Edward VI. He built Syon House in the Italian Renaissance style, over the foundations of the west end of the huge abbey church. Under Mary, the nuns returned for about 3 years. 1559 reverted to use as an occasional royal residence and place of entertainment. 1594 leased to Earl of Northumberland, but continued to be maintained by the Crown.
Other information	Catherine Howard imprisoned there in 1541. Appears to have been used as Ordnance factory between then and 1547.
References	Loades, D., <i>The Tudor court</i> (London: Batsford, 1986); http://www.syonpark.co.uk
Picture reference	http://www.syonpark.co.uk
Public Access	Presently owned by the Duke of Northumberland, open to the public during summer months.

Titchfield Abbey



Place and County	Titchfield, Hampshire. The house was known as Place House.
OS Grid ref	SU544067
Date built	13th century abbey; house built from 1537
Appearance	13th century abbey overshadowed by Tudor gatehouse. Thomas Wriothesley made the abbey into his country house by setting a gatehouse in the nave, and making the cloisters into a courtyard. By time Leland visited in 1542, Canon's cloister garth converted into fountain court, entrance way driven through nave, south front denuded of its buttresses and flanked with embattled towers, and square-headed windows took place of double lancets.
Owners	Thomas Wriothesley was granted it in fee simple the day after the monks left the abbey. He was succeeded by his son and grandson, both Henry.
Other information	John Sampson, titular Bishop of Thetford and last Abbot of

Titchfield surrendered abbey's vast possessions to King's Commissioners in 1537-38, and by Letters Patent of 30/12/1537, buildings and estates granted by Henry VIII to Thomas Wriothesley; including 14 other manors, 200 messuages, 100 cottages, 9500 acres of arable land, woodland, mills etc. Henry Wriothesley, 2nd earl and a minor, entertained Edward VI in 1552. In Sep 1569, and September 1591, Elizabeth I visited received at Titchfield. Henry, 3rd Earl, was the benefactor of Shakespeare, but there is no evidence that Shakespeare performed here.

References

Minns, G.W., 'Titchfield Abbey and Place House', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 3, 317-338

Picture reference Public Access

Author, February 2010
English Heritage; all year

The Vyne



Place and County OS Grid ref Date built Appearance

Sherborne St John, nr Basingstoke, Hampshire
SU637566

Moated site with two entrances. Leland 1542 referred to a Base Court, which may have been similar to Wolsey's Base Court at Hampton Court Palace. Leland said it was one of principal houses in Hants. Brick with Tudor chapel, Renaissance glass. First classical portico in England in mid-17th c.

Owners

Sir William Sandys bought house in 1488, and his son, also Sir William inherited it in 1496, who was then probably in his mid-twenties. Lord Sandys, Henry VIII's Lord Chamberlain, was based here, but his descendants tended to use Mottisfont. Descendant William inherited in 1623, and latter's half-sister Elizabeth in 1629. Her son, Col Henry Sandys lived at house. Royalist, but house occupied by Parliamentary troops under Sir Wm Waller in 1643. Col Sandys d 1644, after wounded nr Alresford. His son Wm forced to sell house 1653 to Chaloner Chute (1659 speaker of House of Commons).

Other information	William, 3rd Lord Sandys entertained Elizabeth I here in 1569. September 1601, French ambassador, Duc de Biron stayed there with retinue of 400, who were conducted to house by Walter Raleigh. Queen stayed in nearby Basing House, home of Marquess of Winchester & came to visit him. Hangings and plate imported from Tower and Hampton Court. Stow relates stay.
References	Howard, M. and Wilson, E., <i>The Vyne: a Tudor house revealed</i> (London: National Trust, 2003)
Picture reference	From HRO, no ref given
Public Access	National Trust

Warblington



Place and County	3 miles south of Havant, Hampshire
OS Grid ref	SU7293805566
Date built	Between 1515 and 1525
Appearance	Surviving fragment of a large courtyard house. Only one of the two turrets of the main gate remains after destruction in the Civil War. Foundations, believed to be of the dining hall exist in the paddock to the south of the present farm.
Owners	House built for Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, who was executed in 1541. By Elizabeth's reign it was held by the Cotton family.
References	www.pastscape.org
Picture reference	Author, July 2009
Public Access	Private (very)

Wiston



Place and County	Near Steyning, West Sussex
Postcode	BN44 3DZ
Date built	Wiston was built by Thomas Sherley, when he was treasurer to the English army fighting in the Netherlands. The new house at Wiston was built between 1573 and 1575, probably on or near the site of the old part-stone manor house mentioned in 1357. In particular it retains the Great Hall from that period, with a splendid double hammer beam roof.
Appearance	'Elizabethan' architectural design of local stone. In particular it retains the Great Hall from that period, with a splendid double hammer beam roof.
Owners	The Sherleys were forced to relinquish the house by the beginning of 17 th c. The house passed to Lionel Cranfield for a short time, and then to the Fagge family. During the English Civil War, Wiston House was occupied, first by forces loyal to King Charles I, then by parliamentary soldiers. Sir John Fagge purchased the estate in 1649 and his granddaughter, Elizabeth, became heiress to the estate in 1740. She married Sir Charles Goring, a neighbouring landowner and the house has been owned by the Goring family ever since.
Other information	
References	Pennington, J., 'The Wiston estate, Sussex: crown sequestration and its effects 1596-1634' (MA thesis, Brighton Polytechnic, 1989) http://: www. Wistonhouse.org.uk
Picture reference	Dallaway, <i>History</i> , II, 76
Public Access	Wiston is now leased by Wilton Park, of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Conferences and weddings take place there, but it is not normally open to the public.

Wolvesey



Place and County	Winchester, Hampshire
Postcode	SO23 9LX
Date built	Standing next to Winchester Cathedral, the extensive surviving ruins of the palace date largely from the 12th-century work of Bishop Henry of Blois.
Appearance	At its height, the building was a luxurious palace. The original approach to the palace, through a gate in the city wall, led into an outer courtyard containing stables, barns, a great wool store, and the bishop's prison. Close to the ruins is the remaining wing of a baroque house, built in the 1680s to replace the old palace. It is still the private home of the present bishop of Winchester.
Owners	Wolvesey has been an important residence of the wealthy and powerful Bishops of Winchester since Anglo-Saxon times.
Other information	On 25 July 1554 Queen Mary and Philip of Spain held their wedding breakfast in the East Hall.
References	English Heritage (guidebook, website); other
Picture reference	Author, June 2010
Public Access	English Heritage. Open in the summer months.



**Appendix 4:
Great houses in the region**

**Appendix 5:
Houses in the area available for a Royal Progress**

House	County	Host family	Visited by a royal progress						Built or rebuilt	In Gazetteer
				Crown	Nobility	Upper gentry	Rest of gentry	Church		
Abbotstone	Hampshire	Marquis of Winchester	Elizabeth I		X					
Angmering, New Place	West Sussex	Palmer	Elizabeth I				X		1570s	
Aldingbourne	West Sussex	Bishop of Chichester	Henry VIII?					X	Pre 16th c	X
Aldrington	West Sussex	Lewkenor	Not visited			X			By mid 16th c	
Amberley Castle	West Sussex	Bishop of Chichester	Henry VIII?	X				X	12th c; modernised mid 16th c	X
Appledram	West Sussex	Howard	Not visited						By mid 16th c	
Arundel Castle	West Sussex	Fitzalan / Howard	Henry VIII		X				11th c	X
Bagshot Lodge	Surrey	Weston	Elizabeth I			X			1540s; 1570s	X
Basing	Hampshire	Marquis of Winchester	Elizabeth I		X				Building work in 1461	X
Beddington Manor	Surrey	Carew	Elizabeth I	X		X				X
Bignor Park	West Sussex		Not visited				X		Pre 16th c	
Bishop's Palace, Chi	West Sussex	Bishop of Chichester	Elizabeth I?					X	Remodelled 1520s	
Bishop's Waltham	Hampshire	Bishop of Winchester	Elizabeth I					X	Pre 16th c	X
Bramshott	Hampshire	Mervyn	Elizabeth I				X		Pre 16th c	X
Brockhampton	Hampshire	Cotton	Elizabeth I			X			Pre 16th c	
Burton	West Sussex	Goring	Not visited			X			Elizabethan over medieval	X
Busbridge, near Godalming	West Sussex	Elliott	Not visited				X		By mid 16th c	
Byfleet	Surrey	Royal	Henry VIII	X					Pre 16th c	
Cakeham	West Sussex	Bishop of Chichester / Ernley Hammond (physician to James I)	Not visited					X	Pre 16th c; enlarged mid 16th c	X
Chertsey	Surrey		Elizabeth I				X		Post dissolution Late 15th c; extended early 16th c	
Chesworth	West Sussex	Howard	Henry VIII?		X				Extensively renovated 1535	X
Chobham	Surrey	Royal / Wolley	Henry VIII	X			X		Elizabethan	
Clandon Park	Surrey	Weston	Elizabeth I			X				
Cowdray House	West Sussex	FitzWilliam / Browne, Visct Montague	Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth I		X				1520-25	X
Croydon Palace	Surrey	ABC	Elizabeth I					X	12th c; 15th c	X

**Appendix 5:
Houses in the area available for a Royal Progress**

House	County	Host family	Visited by a royal progress						Built or rebuilt	In Gazetteer
				Crown	Nobility	Upper gentry	Rest of gentry	Church		
Cuckfield Place	West Sussex	Bowyer, ironmasters	Not visited						1573	
Danny	West Sussex	Goring	Not visited			X			1582-93	X
Denne, nr Horsham	West Sussex	Eversfields	Not visited				X		1605	
Durford	West Sussex	FitzWilliam	Not visited		X				Post dissolution	
Easebourne Priory	West Sussex	Browne, Visct Montague	Elizabeth I		X				Post dissolution	X
Elvetham	Hampshire	Somerset, Earls of Hertford	Henry VIII; Elizabeth I		X					X
Fairthorne	Hampshire	Serle	Elizabeth I				X		Pre 16th c	
Fareigh	Hampshire	Wallop	Elizabeth I							
Farnham Castle	Surrey	B of Winchester	Elizabeth I					X	12th c; Tudor & Stuart additions	X
Goodwood	West Sussex	Lewkenor	Not visited?			X			16th c hunting lodge	X
Grove Place, Nursling	Hampshire	Pagett	Not visited						1560s-1580s	
Guildford Priory	Surrey	Royal	Henry VIII; Elizabeth I	X					Pre 16th c; kept in repair mid 16th c	
Hainaker House	West Sussex	West / royal	Henry VIII; Edward VI		X				14th c; remodelled mid 16th c	X
Hartley Wintney	Hampshire	Mason	Elizabeth I				X			
Henfield	West Sussex	Bishop	Not visited			X			By mid 16th c	
Herriard	Hampshire	Paulet /Jervoise	Elizabeth I				X			X
Holt, The	West Sussex	West	Elizabeth I		X					
Horsley, East	Surrey	Cornwallis	Elizabeth I				X			
Horsley, West	Surrey	Clinton, Earls of Lincoln	Elizabeth I				X		Pre 16th c; remodelled mid 16th c	
Hurstbourne	Hampshire	Oxenbridge	Elizabeth I				X			
Kingsley	Hampshire	White	Elizabeth I				X		Pre 16th c	
Knepp Castle	West Sussex	Carrell	Not visited				X		Pre 16th c	
Leatherhead	Surrey	Tilney	Elizabeth I				X			
Legh Manor, nr Cuckfield	West Sussex		Not visited							
Loseley Park	Surrey	More	Elizabeth I				X		1562	X
Melchet, nr Romsey	Hampshire	Audley	Elizabeth I				X			
Micheldever	Hampshire	Clerk	Elizabeth I				X		Converted from abbey 1540s	

**Appendix 5:
Houses in the area available for a Royal Progress**

House	County	Host family	Visited by a royal progress						Built or rebuilt	In Gazetteer
				Crown	Nobility	Upper gentry	Rest of gentry	Church		
Michelgrove	West Sussex	Goring	Not visited				X		1534	X
Mitcham	Surrey	Blank / Caesar	Elizabeth I				X			
Mottisfont	Hampshire	Sandys	Elizabeth I		X				Converted from abbey 1540s	
New Place, Pulborough	West Sussex	Apsley	Not visited				X		1580s	X
Nonsuch Palace	Surrey	Royal / Earls of Arundel / Lumley	Henry VIII / Elizabeth I	X	X				1538-1550s	
Netley	Hampshire	Paulet	Elizabeth I	X					Post dissolution	
Oatlands	Surrey	Royal	Henry VIII; Elizabeth I	X					Renovated 1537-1545	X
Odiham	Hampshire	Royal	Elizabeth I	X						
Offington	West Sussex	West, Lords de la Warr	Not visited		X					X
Ote Hall, nr Wivelsfield	West Sussex		Not visited						Early 17th c	
Parham House	West Sussex	Palmer / Bishop	Not visited				X		1578-83?	X
Petworth House	West Sussex	Percy			X				1580s, 1620s	X
Portchester Castle		Royal	Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; Elizabeth I	X					Pre 16th c	
Portsmouth	Hampshire	Town/Royal	Elizabeth I	X					Rebuilding 1520s	
Preston	West Sussex	Sherley	Not visited			X			By mid 16th c	
Punch House, Chichester	West Sussex	Lumley	Elizabeth I	X					By mid 16th c	X
Pyrford	Surrey	Clinton, Earls of Lincoln	Elizabeth I	X						
Reigate Priory	Surrey	Howard	Elizabeth I				X		Converted from priory 1540s	X
River Park	West Sussex	Browne, Visct Montague	Not visited		X				By mid 16th c	
Rotherfield	Hampshire	Norton	Elizabeth I				X		Pre 16th c	
Seale	Surrey	Woodruffe	Elizabeth I				X			
Selsey	West Sussex	Lewkenor	Not visited			X			By mid 16th	
Shillingly	West Sussex	Bonner	Not visited				X			X
Slaugham	West Sussex	Covert	Not visited				X		early 17th c	
Slindon	West Sussex	Kempe	Not visited				X		1560s	
Soberton	Hampshire	Lawrence	Elizabeth I			X				
Somborne	Hampshire	Gifford	Elizabeth I				X			
Southampton	Hampshire	Town/Royal	Elizabeth I	X						

**Appendix 5:
Houses in the area available for a Royal Progress**

House	County	Host family	Visited by a royal progress						Built or rebuilt	In Gazetteer
				Crown	Nobility	Upper gentry	Rest of gentry	Church		
Southwick	Hampshire	White	Elizabeth I				X		Converted from priory 1540s	X
Shillinglee	West Sussex	Bonner	Not visited			X			By mid 16th c	
Shipley [Bentons]	West Sussex	Carrell	Not visited			X				
Stansted House	West Sussex	Lumley	Elizabeth I	X					1480s	
Steventon	Hampshire	Pexhall	Elizabeth I				X			
Stoke D'Abernon	Surrey	Vincent	Elizabeth I				X			
Stoneham, North	Hampshire	James	Elizabeth I				X			
Stoneham, South	Hampshire	Caplen	Elizabeth I				X			
Stopham	West Sussex	Bartellott	Not visited			X			Pre 16th c	
Sutton Place	Surrey	Weston	Elizabeth I	X					1523-25	
Syon		Percy, Earls of Northumberland	Elizabeth I	X					Converted from nunnery 1540s	X
Tarring	West Sussex	Bishop of Chichester	Not visited					X	13th c	
Thorpe	Surrey	Polsted / Bereblock	Elizabeth I							
Tichborne	Hampshire	Tichborne	Elizabeth I			X			Early 16th c	
Tillington	West Sussex	Percy, Earls of Northumberland	Not visited	X					By mid 16th c	
Titchfield Abbey	Hampshire	Wriothesley, Earls of Southampton	Elizabeth I	X					Converted from abbey 1539-1540s	X
Trotton	West Sussex	Lewkenor	Elizabeth I			X				
Vyne, The	Hampshire	Sandys	Henry VIII; Elizabeth I	X					1520s	X
Wakehurst	West Sussex	Culpepper	Not visited				X		1590s	
Wappingthorne	West Sussex		Not visited						c. 1609	
Warblington	Hampshire	Pole / Cotton	Henry VIII?						Pre 16th c	X
Warminghurst	West Sussex	Shelley	Not visited				X		By mid 16th c	
Warnford	Hampshire	Neale	Elizabeth I				X		Pre 16th c	
Warnham	West Sussex	Carrell	Not visited			X			By mid 16th c	
West Dean	West Sussex	Lewkenor	Elizabeth I			X				
West Grinstead	West Sussex	Carrell	Not visited				X			
West Wittering	West Sussex	Emley	Not visited				X		By mid 16th c	
Wherwell	Hampshire	Poynings	Elizabeth I				X			

**Appendix 6: The Year's Calendar for
The Gentry**

Month and Popular and religious festivals	Gentry	Monarch and court	Law courts	Clergy
January New Year's Day traditional time for exchange of gifts at royal court and elsewhere Twelfth Night Big celebrations - wassailing etc	New Year's Day used for dating letters, even though the year began on 25 March. New Year's Day used as a festival to give food and presents to tenants. Gentry also expected to give to peers on New Year's Day - quite expensive presents for court. Lots of visiting around New Year and for Twelfth Night, but weather a problem	Winter and spring Queen and court stay around river palaces New Year's Day All courtiers expected to present the Queen with a New Year's gift, and in return the Queen would present them with a gilt plate to the value of their status. Masques and plays at court for Twelfth Night (payments in Acts of Privy Council)	Courts not active until 20 January, because of Epiphany octave (which could actually last until mid-February). The Hilary term, but broken up by feast days	Although the Bishops were at their own cathedrals for Christmas, they might well travel to court for Twelfth Night celebrations.
February Candlemas; Shrovetide and Shrove Tuesday: Street disorder common. Marks the end of chain of cold season celebrations Ash Wednesday and Lent: Laws for observation of Lent and fish days	Candlemas: Reading of the lottery takes place - gentry such as Sir William More expected to be in London - 6729/7/144q	Royal and aristocratic household accounts show payments for food and entertainment at Candlemas. Shrovetide and Shrove Tuesday: Stuart court winter season concludes with masque	Assizes held Candlemas: Chancery business might keep gentlemen in London Shrovetide and Shrove Tuesday: these feast days were used to date documents; so we know that business was being carried out at this time, despite traditional estate business needing gentry to stay at home	Candlemas and the beginning of Lent
March Ladyday - the beginning of the financial year, and one of the main days that rent was due in. Lent - no feast days and no meat eaten. Theoretically no weddings should take place.	Busy period for landowners, who would try to be at home, but some gentry would expect to be in London for the Hilary term.		Quarter Sessions held in local major towns. They were generally held for the county, but important cities such as Chichester held their own as well.	
April Palm Sunday, Maunday Thursday, Good Friday; Easter and Easter week. End of Lent. Local parish church services and celebrations would demand the presence of landowners and most people in the parish.	JPs would be expected to be at Quarter Sessions, held in their own county. Manorial courts held	St. George's Day celebrated at Windsor, as was Maudy Thursday. Elizabeth often at Windsor for Easter.	Easter used for dating documents. Easter term began about a fortnight after Easter Day, depending on practice.	Easter Bishops expecting to be at Winchester and Chichester respectively to celebrate Easter in own cathedrals.
May Whit Sunday and Rogationtide		Queen and court short forays to nobles' palaces and own hunting lodges in counties surrounding London	Trinity term began.	Visitations by Bishops or Archdeacons took place in May and June
June		Summer hunting in parks around London. Court celebrates Midsummer Day		
July	JPs at Quarter Sessions and Assizes. July and August gentry and nobility at country seat attending to estate business, but also going on tours to visit friends and family.	Elizabeth usually set off on progress around July	Quarter Sessions and Assizes held. Trinity term finished around 8 July. It could be as little as a fortnight, but not more than six weeks.	
August Lammastide	Harvest time on estates	Henry VIII on progress around now. Elizabeth on progress for most of month		
September Michaelmas - start of new year for law and estate business	Manorial courts held and rent-collecting, stock-taking. Accounting year end. Michaelmas local government elections, Quarter Sessions and Assizes. But Michaelmas law terms pulling gentry back to London after the summer	Queen's Birthday (7th) - customary to present Queen with gifts. Elizabeth usually on progress for most of month. Annual royal household and other accounts start at Michaelmas	Michaelmas term started a few days after Michaelmas and continued until Advent. Michaelmas conflicted with Quarter Sessions.	
October	Gentry attending to commission business and law courts	Elizabeth often still on progress, but usually returning to London Palaces sometime after 20th. Queen and court in London area.	London courts in session, so many gentry in London this month.	
November		Accession Day - 17 November - customary to present Queen with gifts		
December Christmas and 12 days of Christmas - Actors, mummers, wassailers, musicians etc seeking employment	21 December St Thomas's Day - traditional ritual of gentry providing food for poor Christmas - Gentry obliged to provide tenant feast at Christmas, possibly taking more than one day if lots of property. Parliamentary elections for MPs could take place on Christmas Day	Mid-winter hawking rather than hunting Christmas and 12 days of Christmas: Henry VIII and Elizabeth at Whitehall	Law courts were not supposed to be operating during Advent, but business became more pressing, and the statute was changed after the Reformation.	Advent and Christmas

Appendix 7
E 351/542 Treasurers of the Chamber 1590-1591

Apparaylinge and makinge readye sondrye the Quenes ma'tie owne houses and other menes in the progresse tyme

[Simon Bowyer]

To Symon Bowyer afore sayde for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher iiiior yeomen and twoe gromes of the chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe and one gromeporter for makinge readye and alteringe the house at **Renewech** when her ma'tie was at Hackney and Theobaldes by the space of 6 dayes mense Maii 1591 as appereth by bill signed by the lorde Chamberleyne [mark] £6 10s

To the sayde Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher 3 yeomen and twoe twoe gromes of the chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe and one gromeporter for makinge readye the Lorde Thres' house at **Theobaldes** by the space of 6 dayes mense maii 1591 as appereth by bill signed by the Lord Chasmbleyne [mark] 108s.

To Symon Bowyer aforesaide for the lyke allowaunce of him selfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Sir Richarde martyns house** for her ma'tie againte her retourne from Theobaldes by the space of twoe dayes mense Maii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Symon Bowyer for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the sayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye the **Lorde Lumleyes house at Stanstede** by the space of 8 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 16s 4d.

To thafore sayde Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe and the sayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Sir William mores house at Loseley** by the space of 6 dayes Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe and thaforesayde number of yeomen and gromes for the makinge ready for her ma'tie a standinge in **Gilforde parke** by the space of two dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe and one grome porter for makinge readye for her ma'tie a dyninge house at **katheryne hall** by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To Symon Bowyer aforesaide for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye my **Lorde mountagues house at Cowdrey** for her ma'tie by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the sayde Symon Bowyer for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **the priorye house at my Lorde Mountagues** for her ma'tie by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for making readye **a lodge in the Northe parke for her ma'tie to reste as**

she came to Cowdrey by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe and thafore sayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **three standinge for her Ma'tie at the lorde montagues** by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To Symon Bowyer for one of thordenarye gen' ushers of her ma'tie Chamber for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeomen usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe & one gromeporter for makinge readye **Mr Richarde Lewkenours house** for her ma'tie to dyne at **betwixte Cowdrey and Chichester** by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as appereth by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Symon Bowyer for the allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **the Erle of Sussex his house at portesmouthe** for her ma'tie by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge [f.153] readye a standinge for her ma'tie **without portsmouth** to see the soldiers by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the sayd Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe and thaforesaide number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie at **Aberston** by the space of six dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To Symon Bowyer aforesayde for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a dyninge house for her ma'tie at **Mr Tychbournes** by the space of two dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lord Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To Symon Bowyer aforesaide for thallowaunce of him selfe one yeoman usher four yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe and one grome porter for makinge readye a dyninge house for her ma'tie at **mr William Wallops house between Abberston and Fareley** by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie at **Abberston** at which tyme she came not, by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 116s

To him more for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Mr Auditour Neales house** for her ma'tie by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the sayde Symon Bowyer for the same allowaunce of himselfe and the foresayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie at **Bishopp Walton** by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To Symon Bowyer one of thordinarye gen' ushers of her ma'tie Chamber for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the

Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe & one gromeporther for makinge readye **the Bishoppe of Winchestere house at Winchester** by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the same Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **the Lorde of Hertefordes house at Elverton** by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the sayde Symon Bowyer for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie **a Dyninge house at Therle of Hertfordes** by the space of twoe dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

[Richard Connyngesbye]

To Richard Connyngesbye one of thordinarye gen' ushers of her ma'tie Chamber for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe & one gromeporther for makinge readye for her ma'tie **Hackney house** agaynste her retourne from Theobaldes by the space of 6 dayes mense Maii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the sayde Richard Connyngesbye for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie **Haveringe of the Bower** by the space of 6 dayes mense Maii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the sayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Farneham Castle** for her ma'tie by the space of 4 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 28s 8d

To the same Richard Connyngesbye for thallowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen & gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie at **Chichester** by the space of 8 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] £7 17s 4d

To Richard Connyngesbye aforesayde for the same allowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen & gromes for makinge readye the **Churche at Chichester** for her ma'tie by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye the **Lorde Delawares house in the Holte** by the space of 4 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 78s 8d

To the same Richard Connyngesbye for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie **Mr Marvens house at Bramshott** by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To Richard Connyngesbye aforesayde for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie **a Dyninge house betwixte Farneham and Sir Henry westons** by the space of twoe dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To him more for the allowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie **a house at Southampton** by the space of 8 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] £7 17s 4d

To Richard Connyngesbye aforesayde for the allowaunce of him selfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe & one gromeporter for makinge readye for her ma'tie at **Bagshott** by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the sayde Richard Connyngesbye for thallowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Farneham Castle** for her ma'tie in her retourne from the progresse be the space of 8 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] £7 17s 4d

To him more for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a dyninge house for her ma'tie at **Fayrethourne** by the space of twoe dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

[Richard Brakenburye]

To Richard Brakenburye one of thordenarye gen' ushers of her ma'tie Chamber for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe & one gromeporter for makinge readye for her ma'tie **Mr Cornwallye his house at Horsley** by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the Lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To the sayde Richard Brakenburye [f.153v] [DSCF1518] for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **mr Tilneyes house at Letherhyde** for her ma'tie to dyne at by the space of two dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To hym more for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a dyninge house for her ma'tie at **Sir Henrye westons at Clandon** by the space of twoe dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Richarde Brackenburye for thallowaunce of himselfe & the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Sir Henry Westons house at Sutton** for her ma'tie by the space of six dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe and thaforsayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Sir Henrye wallops house at Fareley** agaynste her ma'tie comynge thether be the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris 1591 [mark] 118s

To the same Richarde Brackenburye for thallowaunce of himselfe & the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye for her ma'tie at **Tychfeilde** by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To Richard Brackenburye aforesaide for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher 3 yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe & one gromeporter for makinge readye for her ma'tie **twoe standings at Tychfeilde** by

the space of 4 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 78s 8d

To him more for Thallowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a **dyninge house for her ma'tie at Mr Caplens** in her goinge from Tychfeilde to South'ton [mark] 39s 4d

To the same Richarde Brackenburye for thallowaunce of himselfe & the sayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **the Marquis of Wynchesters house at Basinge** for her ma'tie by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a standinge for her ma'tie in **the lytle parke at Basinge** by the space of two dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To the sayde Rycharde for thallowaunce of himselfe & the sayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readyea standinge for her ma'tie in **the greate parke at Basinge** by the space of two dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe and the foresayed number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Otelands house** for her ma'tie by the space of six dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To Richarde Brackenburye aforesayde for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe & one gromeporther for makinge a standinge readye for her ma'tie in the **greate Parke at Basinge** when she was there a huntinge by the space of two dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To Richarde Connyngesbye one of thordenarye gen' ushers [DSCF1521] of her ma'tie Chamber for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher 4 yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe & one gromeporther for the chardges of them selves there men and horses **from Elverton to Otelandes** to have made readye there and beinge in there Service were sente for **backe to Farneham** in all haste by the space of three dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 45s

To Richard Brackenburye aforesaide for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe & one grome porter for makinge readye **the ladye Blankes house at mycham** for her ma'tie by the space of 4 dayes mense Julii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 78s 8d

To Symon Bowyer aforementioned for thallowaunce of himselfe and the lyke number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **mr Carrells house at Bedhampton** for the Quenes ma'tie to dyne at by the space of two dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

To Richard Brackenburye aforesaide for thallowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye a dyninge house for her ma'tie at **mr Shieleyes at Fayrthorne** by the space of two dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

[DSCF1522] **To** Richarde Connyngesbye aforesaide for the allowaunce of himselfe one yeoman usher three yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the warderobe & one grome porter for makinge readye for her ma'tie **Mr whites house at Southweeke** by the space of 6 dayes mense Augustii 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

To him more for the lyke allowaunce of himselfe and the same number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **Mr Mores house at Odyam** for her ma'tie by the space of 6 dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 118s

And to the sayde Richarde Connyngesbye for thallowaunce of [f.154] [DSCF1523] himselfe and the foresayde number of yeomen and gromes for makinge readye **a standinge at Odyam** for her ma'tie by the space of two dayes mense Septembris 1591 as apperethe by bill signed by the lorde Chambleyne [mark] 39s 4d

Amountinge in all as by 74 Billes subscribed by the righte honourable [Sir] Henrye Barron of Hunston lorde chambleyne to her ma'tie upon this Accompte showed and examined together with the severall acqyittaunces for proof of the paymente thereof may appeare And allowed byfoure [?] a warraunte dormaunte remayinge with the Threasorer of her ma'tie Chamber

[Total in margin] £337 15s 8d

Date	Day	Where	Who with	Harbinger team	Harbinger days	£ 351 / 541	£ 351 / 3224
Aug-02	Mon	Nonsuch Palace	Royal / Lord Lumley	Richard Brakenbury			
3	Tues	East Horsley / Leatherhead	Cornwallis / Tilney	Richard Brakenbury	6 + 2		55s 6d ob
4	Weds	Guildford		Symon Bowyer	2	39s 4d	
5	Thurs						
6	Fri						
7	Sat	Loseley	William More	Symon Bowyer	6	118s	£4 16s 7d
8	Sun						
9	Mon						
10	Tues						
11	Weds	Farnham Castle	Bishop of Winchester	Richard Conningsby	4	28s 8d	£7 9s 6d
12	Thurs						
13	Fri						
14	Sat	Bramshott	Edmund Mervyn	Richard Conningsby	4		55s 6d ob
15	Sun						
16	Mon						
17	Tues				6 + priory 2 + lodge 2 + three standings 6	118s + 39s 4d + 39s 4d + 118s	£7 7s 9d ob qu
18	Weds	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer			
19	Thurs						
20	Fri						
21	Sat						
22	Sun	West Dean / Chichester	Lewkenor / Lord Lumley	Symon Bowyer	2	39s 4d	
23	Mon						
24	Tues	Chichester	Lord Lumley	Richard Conningsby	8 + church 6	£7 17s 4d + 118s	£8 5s 2d
25	Weds						
26	Thurs	Stansted	Lord Lumley	Simon Bowyer	8	16s 4d	104s 5d
27	Fri	Dining at Bedhampton, then Portsmouth	John Caryll / Earl of Sussex	Symon Bowyer for both	2		
28	Sat						
29	Sun	Portsmouth	Earl of Sussex	Symon Bowyer	6 + standing 2	118s + 39s 4d	102s 5d ob
30	Mon						
31	Tues	Southwick	John White	Richard Conningsby	6		106s 3d
Sep 1	Weds						
2	Thurs	Titchfield	Earl of Southampton	Richard Brakenbury	6 + standings 4		£4 2d ob
3	Fri						
4	Sat	South Stoneham	John Caplen	Richard Brakenbury	2		
5	Sun						£6 5d ob
6	Mon	Southampton		Richard Conningsby	8		
7	Tues	Fairthorne	Francis Searle	Richard Conningsby / Richard Brakenbury	2; dining house 2		
8	Weds	Bishops Waltham	B of Winchester	Symon Bowyer	6	118s	74s 3d ob
9	Thurs						
10	Fri	{Warnford	William Neale	Symon Bowyer	6	118s	30s 3d qu
11	Sat	{Tichborne	Sir Benjamin Tichborne	Symon Bowyer	2	39s 4d	
12	Sun						
13	Mon	Farleigh	Sir Henry Wallop	Symon Bowyer / Richard Brakenbury	6 + 2*	39s 4d	58s 5d ob
14	Tues						
15	Weds	Basing	Marquis of Winchester	Richard Brakenbury	6 + standing 2 [twice]		50s 10d ob
16	Thurs						
17	Fri						
18	Sat	The Vine	Lord Sandys				
19	Sun	Odiham	Edward More	Richard Conningsby	6 + standing 2		
20	Mon						
21	Tues	Elvetham	Earl of Hertford	Symon Bowyer	6 + dininghouse 2	118s + 39s 4d	
22	Weds						
23	Thurs	Farnham	B of Winchester	Richard Conningsby	8 + dining house 2		
24	Fri						
25	Sat	Bagshot		Richard Conningsby	6		
26	Sun	Sutton Place	Sir Henry Weston	Richard Brakenbury	6		£6 9d
27	Mon	Oatlands	Royal	Richard Conningsby / Richard Brakenbury	3 Incl travel from Elvetham; 6		
					*Both teams claimed for H. Wallop's house		
Places claimed for that do not appear in the itinerary							
		Abbotstone	Two claims but the second explains the Queen did not come	Symon Bowyer	6	118s (twice)	12s 3d ob + 67s 3d
		Winchester	Presumably day or days spent in city whilst at Fairthorne or Bishop's Waltham	Symon Bowyer	6		62s 7d ob
		The Holt	Maybe a dining place in Alice Hot forest near Bramshott	Richard Conningsby	4	78s 8d	
		Katherine Hall	Farnham Castle?	Symon Bowyer	2	39s 4d	

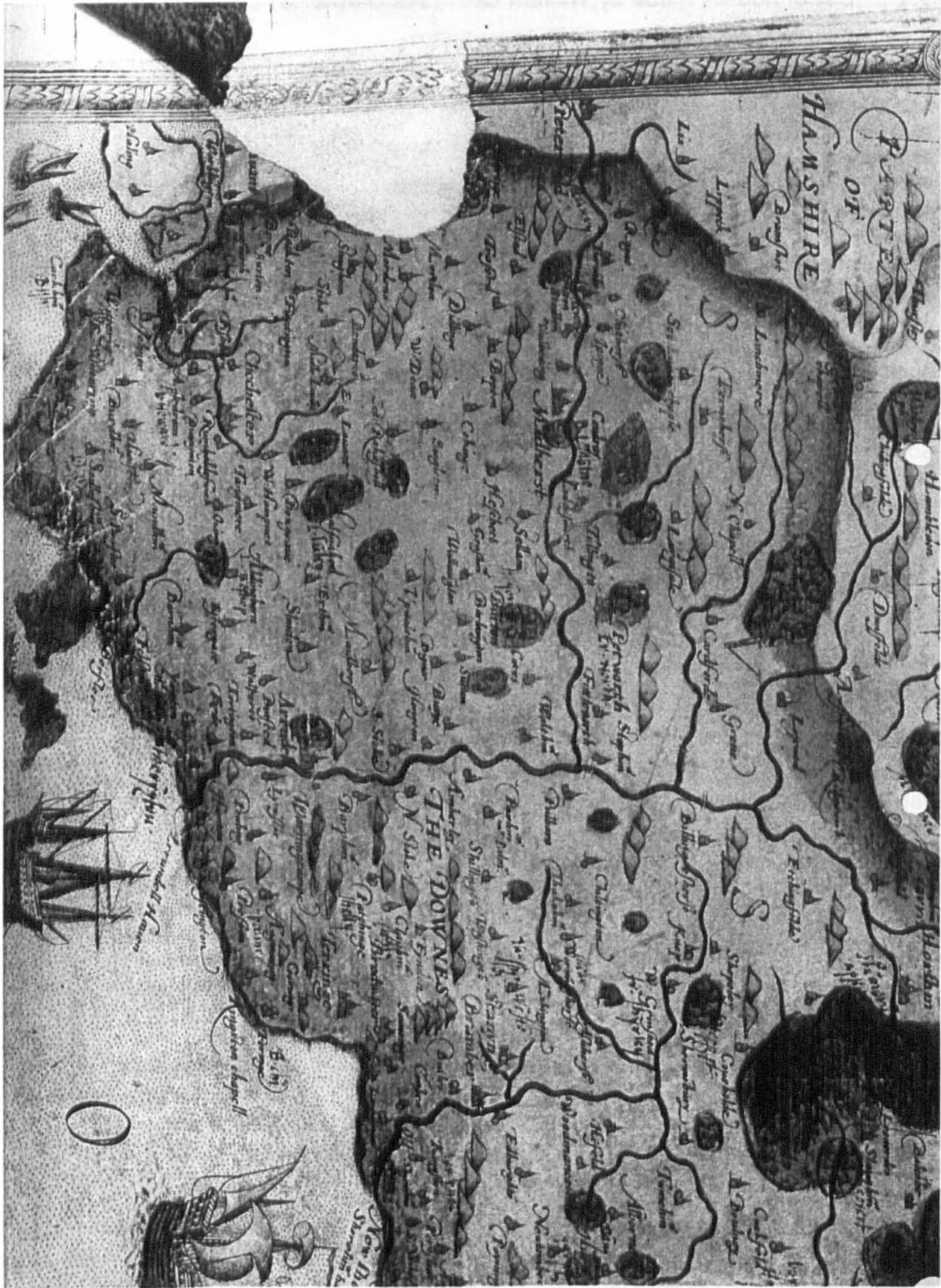
**Appendix 9: William Cecil's notes in his Saxton atlas
(BL, Royal 18 D III)**

9.1 List of houses made by William Cecil (see chapter 8)

A			
Aldingborne*	L Bishops	K	
Angmaring*	Sir Tho	Knep*	Mr Edw Carrells
Palmer			
Angleton	Mr Rich	L	
Belingham		Laughton	Mr. Thos Pelham
Aldrington*	Sr Edw		
Lewknor		M	
Ashburnham	Mr	More	Mr Drawtrey
Ashburnham			
B			
Bucton:	L.	[blank]	
Montacute		O	
Burton:*	Hen:	Ovingdon.	Wm Goring
Goring			
Barckham:	L.	P	
Buckhurst		Petworth.*	Earl of
Borne:	Mr Barton	Northumberland	
Battill:	L.	Parham.*	Mr Palmer
Montacute		Pulborough.*	Mr Apsley
		Pedeform [?]	Mr Richard Blunt
		Patcham.*	Mr. Rich Shelley
		Preston*	Sir Anthony Sherley
C			
Cowdray by Amersham*:	L		
Montacute			
D			
Durford:*	Sir Hen	R	
Marus		River Park*	L. Montacute
E			
[blank]		S	
		Stansted howse*}	L. Lumley
		near Westbourne}	
		Selsey Iland*	Sir Thos Lewkenor
		Slyndon*	Mr Anth Kempe
		Stopham*	Mr Wm Bartlet
		Slaugham*	Mr Wal Covet
		Shepeley*	Mr Ed Carrell
F			
Friston	Mr Selwin		
G			
Glyne:	Mr Morley	T	
Gestling:	Mr	Trotton:*	La Lewkenor
Ashburnham		Tullington:*	E of Northumberland
		Torte:	Mr Gage
H			
Henfield.*	Mr Thos	W	
Bishop		Westwittering:*	Mr. Ernley
Hedlling Light harbere.	Tho	Warnam:*	Mr John Carrell
Pelham		Wyston:*	Sir Thos Sherleye
Herstmonses	L. Dacres	Wormingherst:*	Mr Hen. Shells
		Westgrynsted:*	Mr Thos Sherley
		Wellington:	Mr. Parker
J			
[blank]			

* The asterisks are next to placenames which appear on both Cecil's list and the map by Saxton.

9.2 Photograph of the map of Sussex with Cecil's notes beside the house names



**Appendix 10:
The Itinerary for the 1591 Progress**

Month	Date	Day	Where	Who with	Harbinger team
August	2	Monday	Nonsuch Palace	Royal / Lord Lumley	Richard Brakenburye
	3	Tuesday	East Horsley / Leatherhead	Cornwallis / Tilney	Richard Brakenburye
	4	Wednesday	Guildford		Symon Bowyer
	5	Thursday	Loseley	William More	Symon Bowyer
	6	Friday	Loseley	William More	Symon Bowyer
	7	Saturday	Loseley	William More	Symon Bowyer
	8	Sunday	Loseley	William More	Symon Bowyer
	9	Monday	Loseley	William More	Symon Bowyer
	10	Tuesday	Farnham Castle	B of Winchester	Richard Connyngesbye
	11	Wednesday	Farnham Castle	B of Winchester	Richard Connyngesbye
	12	Thursday	Farnham Castle	B of Winchester	Richard Connyngesbye
	13	Friday	Farnham Castle	B of Winchester	Richard Connyngesbye
	14	Saturday	Bramshott	Edmund Mervyn	Richard Connyngesbye
	15	Sunday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	16	Monday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	17	Tuesday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	18	Wednesday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	19	Thursday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	20	Friday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	21	Saturday	Cowdray	Viscount Montague	Symon Bowyer
	22	Sunday	West Dean / Chichester	Lewkenor / Lord Lumley	Symon Bowyer
	23	Monday	Chichester	Lord Lumley	Symon Bowyer / Richard Connyngesbye
	24	Tuesday	Chichester	Lord Lumley	Symon Bowyer / Richard Connyngesbye
	25	Wednesday	Chichester	Lord Lumley	Symon Bowyer / Richard Connyngesbye
	26	Thursday	Stansted	Lord Lumley	Symon Bowyer / Richard Connyngesbye
	27	Friday	Brockhampton / Portsmouth	John Caryll / Earl of Sussex	Symon Bowyer for both
	28	Saturday	Portsmouth	Earl of Sussex	Symon Bowyer
	29	Sunday	Portsmouth	Earl of Sussex	Symon Bowyer
	30	Monday	Portsmouth	Earl of Sussex	Symon Bowyer
	31	Tuesday	Southwick	John White	Richarde Connyngesbye
September	1	Wednesday	Southwick	John White	Richarde Connyngesbye
	2	Thursday	Titchfield	Earl of Southampton	Richard Brakenburye
	3	Friday	Titchfield	Earl of Southampton	Richard Brakenburye
	4	Saturday	South Stoneham	John Caplen	Richard Brakenburye
	5	Sunday	Southampton		Richard Connyngesbye
	6	Monday	Southampton		Richard Connyngesbye
	7	Tuesday	Fairthorne	Francis Searle	Richard Connyngesbye / Richard Brakenburye
	8	Wednesday	Bishops Waltham	B of Winchester	Symon Bowyer
	9	Thursday	Bishops Waltham	B of Winchester	Symon Bowyer
	10	Friday	{Warnford	William Neale	Symon Bowyer
	11	Saturday	{Tichborne	Sir Benjamin Tichborne	Symon Bowyer
	12	Sunday	Farleigh	Sir Henry Wallop	Symon Bowyer / Richard Brakenburye
	13	Monday	Farleigh	Sir Henry Wallop	Symon Bowyer / Richard Brakenburye
	14	Tuesday	Basing	Marquis of Winchester	Richard Brakenburye
	15	Wednesday	Basing	Marquis of Winchester	Richard Brakenburye
	16	Thursday	Basing	Marquis of Winchester	Richard Brakenburye
	17	Friday			
	18	Saturday	The Vine	Lord Sandys	
	19	Sunday	Odiham	Edward More	Richarde Connyngesbye
	20	Monday	Elvetham	Earl of Hertford	Symon Bowyer
	21	Tuesday	Elvetham	Earl of Hertford	Symon Bowyer
	22	Wednesday	Elvetham	Earl of Hertford	Symon Bowyer
	23	Thursday	Farnham	B of Winchester	Richard Connyngesbye
	24	Friday	Farnham	B of Winchester	Richard Connyngesbye
	25	Saturday	Bagshot		Richard Connyngesbye
	26	Sunday	Sutton Place	Sir Henry Weston	Richard Brakenburye
	27	Monday	Oatlands	Royal	Richard Brakenburye

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643: The Carew Family of Beddington archive, for example, 643/1: the documents illustrating the work of JPs

1.7 West Sussex Record Office

Add Mss 1018-1034: deeds concerning Dame Elizabeth Gresham (1590-1664)'s charity in Henfield

Chichester City records:

CHICTY/A/9/(16): Charter of Edward VI, 1547, confirming another of Henry VIII

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For information on Warblington: the English Heritage 'Pastscape' website:
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5. Conferences and courses

'The Elizabethan Progresses' conference in April 2004, held at Stratford-on-Avon

'The Old Palace: Croydon's Best Kept Secret', day conference May 2004, held at Croydon Palace

'Kenilworth Revisited: Perspectives On The Castle And The 1575 Festivities' conference in September 2005, held at the University of Warwick and Kenilworth

Conference on Sir William More and Loseley to celebrate the conclusion of the listing of the More-Molyneux database, November 2006

Conference on the English Gentry 1550-1700 (Rewley House, October 2009)