

THE IMPACT OF ELIZABETH I'S PROGRESS IN HAMPSHIRE, 1591

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ABSTRACT

This article is part of research undertaken for a PhD on 'Royal progresses and regional hospitality in Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex 1525–1625' at the University of Chichester with Dr. Andrew Foster as supervisor. It specifically examines Elizabeth I's 1591 progress as it wound its way through Hampshire, and explores the impact of the royal visit on the gentry of the area, using it to comment on the religious and social situation at the time. The events demonstrate that the queen was quite content to visit prominent Catholic gentry as well as loyal Protestants, and that she could mix her visits in one progress. The article also shows the scale of the progress, exploring the accommodation and entertainments offered. Different types of sources have been used – the latest research on the queen's progresses; internet databases, and both local and national archives to obtain both the perspectives of the government on progress, and the local gentry entertaining their monarch. The progress clarified patronage and power at work in both national politics and Hampshire society.

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. There were only five individual years when the queen did not leave the palaces in the Thames area. On her progresses, she stayed with her hosts using the system of purveyance to subsidise their expenses, and the visits were accompanied by feasting and entertainment. Most recent work on Elizabethan progresses concentrates on matters from the royal perspective – the queen's intentions, entourage and selection of places to stay

and people to visit (see Hill Cole 1999, Archer *et al* 2007, and Nichols, 1823 – a University of Warwick project on John Nichols's published editions of sources for the progresses [1788–1823], included a conference in 2004, and a five-volume work to be published in 2011). Less has been written on the impact of a progress on the locality in question, and on how such visits affected prevailing social networks. This article stems from the author's research towards a PhD and examines the 1591 progress, and the society it affected while it was in Hampshire after it had come south through West Sussex, including a very successful stay at Cowdray. Elizabeth came into Hampshire on 26 August 1591, 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 her in magnificent style at Elvetham for at least three nights between 20 and 22 September, before she returned to Farnham, and thence to London (Fig. 1).

A variety of sources must be used to construct a picture of the 1591 progress from the point of view of Hampshire's gentry – and not all of the source material is local. It ranges from that used by researchers of great houses and estates, where questions need to be asked of how houses functioned and how this would have been affected by the appearance of royalty on the doorstep! Some accounts survive from the period but wills, inventories and some deeds are useful, while records for various families affected (for example, the Jervoise of Herriard manuscripts at Hampshire Record Office) are available in the three county record offices concerned: West Sussex and Hampshire Record Offices, and

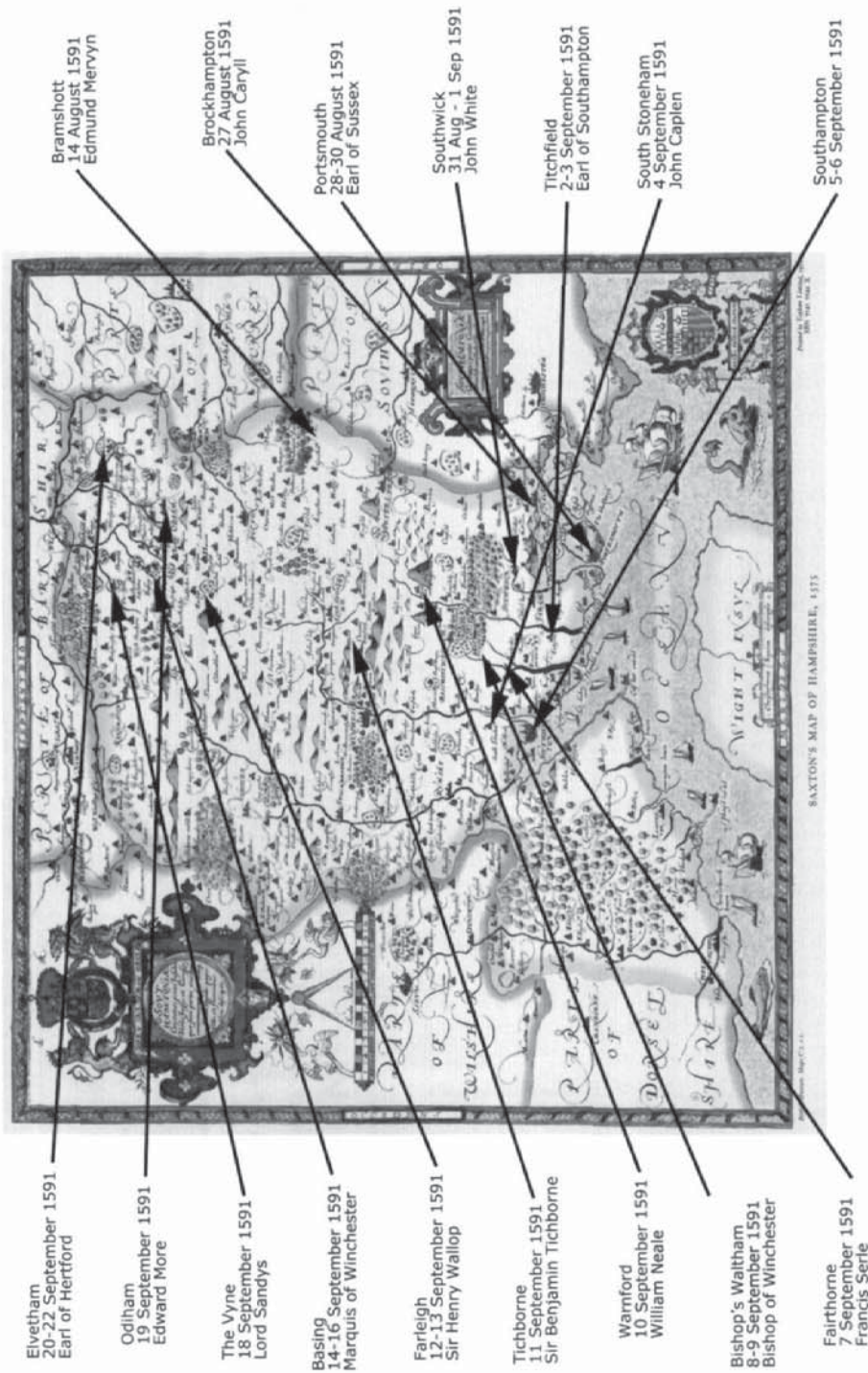


Fig. 1 Map of Elizabeth I's 1591 progress in Hampshire

Surrey History Centre. The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) has proved indispensable for the lives of the hosts and for making relationship and chronological links. Personal comments and worries of the hosts appear in the State Papers, available now on *State Papers Online*. Again, studies of so-called 'county communities', such as local histories and commentaries on religious issues, throw light on the social strata at the time. The old emphasis on political and economic history is giving way to an interest in cultural and social issues, and this article (and the thesis of which it forms a small part) will contribute to this debate.

Elizabeth's progresses have been a popular subject for study in the last 40 years. Ian Dunlop (1962) and June Osborne (1989) led the way, focusing on the royal palaces and other country houses (so-called 'prodigy houses' – supposedly built especially to entertain the queen). However the seminal work came out in 1999 – *The Portable Queen* by Mary Hill Cole (1999), a thorough investigation of the extent and topography of Elizabeth I's progresses and how they worked. Further work has focused on the literary side, particularly in relation to the pageantry and drama which took place during the progresses, and in civic entertainment, and the meaning of the symbolism displayed (Archer *et al* 2007). This article takes this genre further forward – sources to facilitate this include the collection of material gathered by the 18th-century editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, John Nichols, who spent many years borrowing original sources from friends and neighbours in order to publish them.

Elizabeth visited Hampshire a total of seven times, sometimes just passing through from the West Country, but on three occasions coming into the county to visit local gentry. By the late 16th century, Hampshire possessed distinct and well-used routes, most importantly down to Portsmouth and Southampton, and also west to east across its northern half. It was a well-known county to English monarchs, especially the Tudors, because of its two major ports – Portsmouth and Southampton – and travel to them from London was relatively easy. Thus, unlike their neighbours in West

Sussex, Hampshire gentry were used to visits by the Tudor monarchy. The queen's royal progresses were essentially a southern and English phenomenon. The furthest north Elizabeth ever went was into Lincolnshire to visit William Cecil at Stamford, and the furthest west was to Gloucestershire. Hampshire often provided a 'springboard' for visits to the West Country, and also seemed to be comfortably familiar territory if the queen did not want to go further afield. For example, in 1567, 1569 and 1584, she stayed in and around London and the Thames valley, but in 1574 she passed through Hampshire to the West Country, and in 1576 again traversed Hampshire to go northwards to Berkshire and Oxfordshire. In a long reign of 45 years, it is surprising that Elizabeth only visited the relatively accessible West Sussex once; she also visited East Sussex only once, in 1573.

While there are obviously questions about why Elizabeth visited where she did, ignoring other places, this study raises other basic queries about the preparation required by the hosts and the practicalities of making a visit successful. What impact did a visit have on the social hierarchy, on those present and invited, and equally those ignored and absent from the invitation list? What was the composition of the select few of the local establishment who might even be considered as fit to visit? And did the religious leanings of the local élite matter in such hospitality considerations? How did such a royal visit affect those who had no hope of being invited? In short, what was the impact of a progress on local society?

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF 1591

Figure 1 gives the queen's route through Hampshire in 1591. This tour, and her other progresses in 1560, 1567, 1569, 1574, 1576 and 1601, indicate that she took similar routes each time, taking her around the edge of the higher country of the Downs. These were well-trodden paths – in other words there was an obvious itinerary to follow – in which there were certain houses she would have been expected to visit.

Her father, Henry VIII, came to Sussex and Hampshire several times, usually mainly for pleasure in West Sussex, hunting and staying with friends at Arundel and Petworth, and then travelling to Portsmouth to inspect the building of ships or his castle at Southsea (Samman 1995). Both Edward VI and Mary I had also visited Hampshire, each time for their only major visit out of London (Edward made his first and only progress to West Sussex and Hampshire, and Mary's visit was for her marriage in Winchester to Philip of Spain). All the same, things change, and the people in favour in the 1550s were not necessarily so at the end of Elizabeth's long reign. In West Sussex, Elizabeth chose not to stay at Petworth, which must have been regarded as a slight. Equally, properties had changed hands, and Elizabeth did not stay at Halnaker or any of the Bishop of Chichester's palaces, which had previously been used by her father and brother.

In 1591, the royal party began its progress, leaving Nonsuch Palace on 2 August, and making its way along the top of the North Downs through Surrey to Leatherhead and East Horsley, where the party stayed with Edmund Tilney and Thomas Cornwallis respectively. The court then went on to Loseley, near Guildford in Surrey, where Sir William More had already entertained the queen twice in previous years. They then moved on to Farnham Castle, the main seat of the Bishop of Winchester, who was also to be a host later in the visit. On 14 August they stayed the night in Hampshire, at Bramshott Place, home of Sir Edmund Mervyn – William More having been asked to find a convenient stopping place between Farnham and Cowdray. From 15 to 22 August, Elizabeth spent a successful and glamorous week at Cowdray with Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, which was the highlight of the progress. Afterwards, she moved on to West Dean, then spent two nights in Chichester and a night at Stansted in the home of John Lumley, before crossing the border into Hampshire.

Elizabeth must have ignored Warblington Castle, which was en route between Stansted and her first night at Portsmouth; it was on the south coast just on the edge of what is now

Havant. There is no sign of a stay, or even of dining there, in the royal accounts surviving at the National Archives (TNA), in which teams of harbingers are shown 'making ready' the intended visiting places, and Warblington is not among them (TNA PRO E 351/542). Warblington Castle was a large and well-fortified manor house with a gatehouse, built by the Pole family at the end of the 15th 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, and Elizabeth was godmother to George's brother Henry.

In fact, 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 (Bowler and McCann 1986, 43), so presumably a stop for the royal party was out of the question. What the accounts do show, however, was that Elizabeth dined at Bedhampton with Mr 'Carrell' (TNA PRO E351/542). The VCHH (1908, 143) says that Bedhampton was owned by George Cotton at the end of the 16th century. I am indebted to Timothy J. McCann, who has found that Mary Cotton married John Caryll, and that they were living at Brockhampton, close to Bedhampton at the time – although the VCHH seems unsure as to whether Brockhampton was then part of Bedhampton or not:

'There are, however, certain conveyances of 'the manor of Brockhampton', ... 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' (VCHH online).

It is noteworthy that the Carylls, whose seat was at Harting, West Sussex, were well-known for their Catholicism, and were clients of the earl of Southampton. However the agreement to dine there must have been a nod to the Cotton family, and a political compromise, as Elizabeth would have been unable to accept a direct invitation from them because George was a convicted recusant.

From Bedhampton, the queen went on to Portsmouth. 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 Portsmouth's fortifications throughout the 1580s (Colvin 1982, 518–26). By 1591 it was considered that the town could call on a thousand men to hold it until help came, and another thousand men 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 (VCHH 1908, 174–87), and trouble could break out. Possibly because of this, the harbingers made Elizabeth a 'standing' outside the town (TNA PRO E351/542) 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, and 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 until his death in 1593 (Colvin 1982, 524), gathering intelligence from ships as they docked, and supplying men and ships when needed. However, his relations with his monarch seem 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 (ODNB: Radcliffe, fourth earl of Sussex). But no-one would resist the request for hospitality from a monarch, and it would have benefitted his standing in the local community.

Duty done, the queen stayed at Southwick, just north of Portsmouth, with John White. The White family were also Catholics (TNA PRO PROB 11/64), who in the 1540s had bought the site and the greater part of the estates previously belonging to Southwick Priory. 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 (TNA, Daly mss catalogue). 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. This John died in 1606 (VCHH 1908, 161). The White family became established local gentry, involved in local government as commissioners and sheriffs for the county. The priory was converted into a house just as Titchfield and Mottisfont had been (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), and the Whites were among the local gentry who had benefitted by the dissolution of the monasteries, and used their new found wealth to acquire positions of power locally. The house burnt down in 1750 (Pevsner and Lloyd 1973, 604).

At Titchfield, Elizabeth stayed with Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, and son-in-law of Anthony Browne at Cowdray. The Earl was the great patron of Shakespeare, whose father had entertained Elizabeth in 1569. Titchfield was the first house to be built from the physical remains of a dissolved monastery, and it has been said that Thomas Wriothesley (Henry's grandfather) 'perhaps profited more from the Reformation than any other man' (Carpenter Turner 1988, 69). Titchfield and Cowdray were examples of houses built by courtiers whose time was spent at court and rarely in Hampshire and Sussex, although both families (who had a strong friendship with each other) entertained Tudor royalty in their respective counties – Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth all visited both these places. But on the whole, 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 queen may have stayed a night, or may have merely dined with the Caplin family,

who were merchants in Southampton (HRO, 1609A/15), in South Stoneham near present day Eastleigh. (They were connected to the White family by marriage.) The main evidence for this is from the records of the harbingers in the royal accounts, which specifically allude to:

'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 Caplins in her goinge from Tychfeilde to South'ton 39s 4d.' (TNA, 351/542)

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. 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 (the VCHH suggests the Caplins bought the manor of South Stoneham in 1553, and were still there in 1600 [VCHH 1908, 481–9]). The famous antiquary, John James, may have recommended either as a place to stay or rest before entering the city of Southampton. He married Elizabeth Caplin (ODNB: John James), but his sister Mary married Thomas Fleming (ODNB: Sir Thomas Fleming). E. K. Chambers (1923, 4 105–6), an authority on the royal itineraries of both Elizabeth I and James I, suggests that she stayed the night, whereas the record of the harbingers' works (TNA PRO E351/542) suggests the progress used the Caplins' residence merely as a dining house between Titchfield and Southampton.

Elizabeth 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 £7 17s 4d'. (TNA PRO E351/542)

There are several places she might have stayed: either the earl of Southampton's own house, Bull Hall at the bottom of Bugle Street, or the large timber-framed house on St. Michael's Square, enlarged by Sir John Dawtry at the end of the 15th century (Roberts 2003, 83), would have provided comfort, and both fitted the description in the harbingers' description of 'a house' (TNA PRO E351/542). Otherwise, she may have resided at the castle, which, according to Speed, was very beautiful (VCHH 1908, 499), and 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 (VCHH 1908, 499), and the source of this, the Court Leet book, suggests that the castle was in some decay. On the other hand, the queen must have inspected the defences while she was in 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 (Nichols 1823, 3 98), but the mayoral expenses for 1591 have 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 hermajesties enterainment there & of her departure for Mr Recorders letter instructions therin & by his (his) desyre viijs.'

It was important to keep an eye on the progress so far, and the kinds of hospitality offered. At Elizabeth's 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.'

After this, another overnight stay took the queen to Fairthorne, the seat of Sir Francis Searle (who has no ODNB entry), and part

of the larger manor comprising the Bishop's Waltham estate. By 8 September, she was at Bishop's Waltham itself, which, like Farnham Castle, was another palace belonging to the Bishop of Winchester, described by Leland as 'a right ample and goodly Maner Place' (VCHH 1908, 277). The Bishop was Thomas Cooper, who had been translated to the see in 1584, probably because of his zeal against Catholic recusancy (ODNB: Thomas Cooper). He was a learned reformer, almost accused of Presbyterianism, who had met Elizabeth on her visit to Cambridge in 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, but the palace was well-known to the royal family anyway. Edward VI described it as 'a fair old home' (VCHH 1908, 278), 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.

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. She seems to have been prepared to stay or dine with compliant Catholics, but in 1591 she did not visit zealous Catholics, which the Tichborne family were well known to be; Chidiok Tichborne was involved in the Babington Plot, and had been executed in 1586 (ODNB: Anthony Babington). 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 while staying at Basing (even though two of the Tichborne family were executed in the same year). The Victoria

County History (VCHH 1903, 85) comments that 'the queen may not have been aware of his recusancy, and possibly Benjamin was as astonished as anyone.' The family evidently attracted the notice of the monarch and government, but, as we have seen, the circumstances at the time may have stopped Elizabeth actually staying with them. Tichborne is not mentioned in the harbingers' accounts, but is mentioned by Chambers (1923, 106).

Elizabeth then stayed at smaller places in between the grand visits. The following night, possibly 12 September, she stayed at Farleigh Wallop with Sir Henry Wallop, whom she had knighted in 1569 (VCHH 1908, 365). Her host was another prominent member of the local gentry, involved in county government as a JP and on commissions (ODNB: Sir Henry Wallop), and 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. 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.

By the middle of September 1591, the queen was back to visiting aristocracy rather than county gentry: William 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 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 Wyne, which was provided with hangings and plate from the Tower and Hampton Court, and with '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' (Howard 2002, 48). 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, first earl of Hertford. Hertford's relationship with the queen was difficult. (ODNB: Edward Seymour). Early in his career he had contracted a secret marriage with Katherine Grey, and Elizabeth, always sensitive about succession threats, was furious about the union, committing him to the Tower and 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. He 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. Hertford's son Thomas and grandson William also angered the queen over liaisons that could have been construed as detrimental to the succession.

Nevertheless, the queen visited Hertford at Elvetham. Nichols (1823, 101–3) says that once Hertford knew she 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 (Nichols 1823,

101 ftn), as well as a woodcut illustration, which shows an artificial lake with man-made islands and boats. This was similar to a display held at Kenilworth in 1575, which was still considered the height of magnificence, and the queen publicly expressed her gratitude. Mary Hill Cole (1999, 6) quotes Curt Breight, who says that the sumptuousness of this visit returned Hertford to royal favour, but the ODNB entry for Hertford suggests his efforts were more of a long drawn out strategy, and not always successful, for Hertford was back in the Tower in 1595. However, the online VCHH quotes his wife welcoming 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' (VCHH 1911, 74–6). 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 among 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 Elizabeth in such a way can only have helped him.

On 26 September, Elizabeth was back in Surrey again, visiting Sutton Place, an attractive red-brick mansion, where her retinue seem to have been (inadvertently) responsible for setting fire to the place (Manning and Bray 1804, 136) 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.

CATHOLICISM, PROTESTANTISM AND THE PROGRESS

What are we to make of Elizabeth's visits to all these Catholic families? Some commentators have supposed that the royal visit to Cowdray was used as a demonstration of the power still

exercised by the Catholic community over the monarch and her government (Breight 1989, 147–166). (Dr Birgit Oehle, at the Elizabethan Progresses conference at Stratford in April 2004, suggested that the entertainment at Cowdray was more military, and put on with economy, so that it could be seen that there was to be no glamour or extravagance.) However, the Cowdray visit needs to be put in the context of the whole progress, and then it becomes clear that most of Elizabeth's hosts were in fact, Catholics or men with fundamental Catholic leanings. In West Sussex, Viscount Montague was a Catholic who strongly emphasized his loyalty to the queen; and Lord Lumley, who entertained Elizabeth in Chichester and at Stansted, was suspected of Catholicism (ODNB: John Lumley) and had been implicated in the Ridolfi Plot of 1570–1 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, one 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 strong Protestant backgrounds. 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.

The progress of 1591 took place three years after the abortive attempted invasion of 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 16th 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 (Dovey 1996, 153). 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.

The reasons for the Queen's visits, therefore, must have lain somewhere between checking up on the Catholics and gracing them with her presence, and they can be seen as a 'reward' for the loyalty of people on the south coast. The progress 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 – the people of Sussex and Hampshire were still Catholic in nature and outlook, despite the efforts of Thomas Cooper. Parish churches were still very elaborate, and Catholic ornaments were even still being installed in chancels – the most sacred part of the church. 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 was not attempting to show favour to either Catholicism or the burgeoning Puritanism. In this respect her visit of 1591, while focusing on Catholic hosts, showed even-handedness to Protestants, who were, in the end, like the Bishop, the followers of the official church of which the queen was the head. If Elizabeth's government had been pursuing recusants in the way that perhaps Thomas Cooper might have hoped, it would have been a dangerous move to continue along the coast to the homes of so many Catholics. (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 quite draconian and seriously affected people she stayed with like the Carylls, the Cottons,

the Whites etc.' See also Michael Questier's argument (2006, 172–5) that the 1591 proclamation against Catholics was being prepared at this time, and his comments on moderate Catholics and toleration.)

TRAVEL

Overall, the progress must have been exciting for the residents of the surrounding countryside. The royal party would have taken some time to pass a village, and there might have been an opportunity for gifts or to catch a glimpse of the queen. Mostly Elizabeth and her retinue rode horses, but the royal party would have been preceded, usually by a day or two, by a huge baggage train comprising 200 carts drawn by teams of pack-horses or oxen, 'carrying everything necessary for queen, the court and the council – bedding, furniture, hangings, clothing, plate and kitchen equipment, documents and office requirements' (Dover 1996, 3). 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.

Travel was slow, and worse in some areas than others. Where Hampshire had routes southwards, either side of the Downs, Sussex had a reputation for being a 'sink' in between the two ranges of the Downs, where the clay stopped natural drainage. Water, such as a river or channel, might impede progress until it was followed long enough to find a safe crossing. It could be dangerous to strike out across country without a local guide, and it might be easier to follow whatever roads were in existence, as far as possible. However they were full of pot-holes, with no drainage, and often the hedgerows were not cut back as required by Parliament. Sixteenth-century commentators decried the state of the roads, but we still do even today, and the success or otherwise of travel at that time should not be viewed with 21st-century eyes. Journeys were not impossible and merchants, traders, and government and estate officials travelled frequently and at

most times of the year. Summer, unless it was very wet, would have been a good time to visit Hampshire, and the royal party could expect to make good progress. Hold-ups were more likely to be caused by outbreaks of plague, or political problems, than by routes being impassable. In fact, the consequences of having a royal entourage pass by in the vicinity must have been good, because presumably such repairs as were needed would have been ordered ahead. Afterwards the roads might well have been easier to travel for a while.

Maps of the period do not show roads until Norden's version of Camden's *Britannia*, in which was printed a road map (Box 1923, 221). However maps were carefully surveyed in the 16th century and they showed the relative positions of features such as hills, woods and rivers which could be used by travellers. There were fixed routes, particularly those radiating out of London, and these were followed as far as possible by all travellers, including royal ones. Although road books of the period tended to miss out West Sussex altogether, Hampshire figured in road tables, published in the later 16th century by Grafton, Holinshed, Smith and Norden. The tables give distances between towns, which were used as stages in a journey. Quite a sophisticated topographical knowledge had been built up through the knowledge of local people and travellers on government business, as evident from Leland (Box 1923, 222–4). But even if the 'giestes' were not always certain (the details of the itinerary of the royal progress were subject to change, as remarks in the State Papers often show, due to weather, the plague or the whim of the monarch), the route to the next stopping place probably was. Thus travel relied on routes not roads.

Other aspects of travel would have been harder for those not involved in the progress. For example all available accommodation and stabling would have been used up for miles around. Evidently it was not possible for the gentry to lead a normal life during the progress unless they were actually involved, so if they were not invited it was probably best for them to get out of the locality. In West Sussex, the Earl of Northumberland, by then residing at

Petworth, was evidently not part of the local society, as he left the area during that summer.

The Privy Council met frequently as they went around, operating a peripatetic life-style. By 1591, they were well-used to this, and by using a combination of the Acts of the Privy Council (Dasent 1890) and the State Papers, it is possible to see how efficient this strategy was. The Acts place-date the minutes of the meetings for many of the years of Elizabeth's reign, so that letters are written one day from Bramshott and the next from Cowdray, and letters now in the State Papers back this up. Business was kept up with the minimum disruption, and it seems evident that it was not lessened or postponed in any way during the progress. Huge care was also taken to keep postal lines open between the itinerant court and London. Royal postmasters were employed by the Exchequer to keep the operation running smoothly, with people and horses put on 'standby' at regular intervals along principal routes, in main towns and at junctions. Work by Mark Brayshay (1992, 121–34) shows that urgent messages could travel speedily depending on weather, on the provision of a number of fresh horses along the route, and on people paid to wait for them, especially in times of urgency.

The royal party expected to move about ten miles a day. Their usual practice was to be with their next host before supper, toward the end of the afternoon or in the early evening, and leave after dinner the following late morning. Often dinner was taken in a house close to one the queen was actually staying in, which can be seen from the accounts of the harbingers; for example, Elizabeth ate with the Carrells but stayed in Portsmouth.

ACCOMMODATION

Accommodation must have been a continual and frustrating problem as Elizabeth travelled from house to house. Sometimes in the Home Counties, she was able to stay in a palace of her own, but more often, as we have seen, she stayed in houses belonging to her subjects – either figures of national importance or local

gentlemen. However she retained the right to occupy anyone's house. If the owner was not sufficiently important he and his family might be disregarded. What they were expected to provide depended on their means – it might be just a clean empty house where the family had moved out of at least the main rooms (Kempe 1836, 268).

Arrangements were made by teams of 'harbingers' – ten members of the gentry who were responsible for 'making ready' the houses in which the monarch was to stay. However, it was not only the queen who had to be considered. Ministers and courtiers travelling with her had also to lodge in the neighbourhood. Often there were disputes over accommodation; there might not be enough of it, or it was not considered good enough. 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, which I find to be cross, or fortunes of the world which are most uncertain. ...'

(Cecil Papers 4, 135–41)

If the travellers were finding it uncomfortable, the hosts and people in the countryside around must have been similarly inconvenienced. It is now thought 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) to huge numbers of beds and truckle beds, as revealed in many inventories – although the rooms might otherwise be sparsely furnished. Rooms were not as set in their functions as today, so chambers normally used for other things could be turned into bedrooms or dor-

mitories. They might be subdivided 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. People were accustomed to using space in different ways according to the needs of the time.

PROVISIONING AND 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. 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 sum (usually below the market price). They also borrowed local horses and carts where necessary, as the monarch's retinue would likewise need moving. Recompense was slow, and relied on the honesty of local organisers, but the latter were unsalaried and expected to take their share from the payments. The system was also a major increase for royal household expenses, as the prices paid were usually higher than those from regular suppliers in London. Originally purveyance involved only the Home Counties. Hampshire and Surrey seem to have been hard hit, but 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 the reign, but without much success, except that slowly a system of payments in money rather than kind – 'composition' – took over (Woodworth 1945, 5).

Purveyance is mentioned often, but explored little, in the literature on the Tudor progresses. The best exponent of it at present is probably C J Sansom in his novel *Sovereign*. Here he describes in some detail how food and fodder

was gathered in from the citizens of York in readiness for Henry VIII's visit in 1541:

'In the yard all manner of produce was being unloaded from carts: apples and pears by the sackful, heaps of charcoal and bundles of faggots, armfuls of candles of every size, and bale after bale of hay. Servants were carrying the goods to the buildings and to a series of temporary huts. Rows of stockades had been erected, accommodating a whole flock of sheep, numerous cows and even some deer.' (Sansom 2006, 52).

Sansom's detailed descriptions of the way the progress was fed, watered and maintained derive from the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (Sansom 2006, 582), from a well-researched analysis and of course from a creative imagination, but his is the best attempt at demonstrating the practicalities of a progress. Otherwise, authors writing on Elizabeth's progresses, such as Jayne Archer, Jean Wilson and Ian Dunlop, rely on each other to provide a standard commentary on purveyance. This is because their interest has lain in the entertainments and plays put on during the progress, and the literary symbolism involved, rather than the practical nature of bed and board. There is only one article on purveyance itself, that by Allegra Woodworth (1945) much cited by others in their bibliographies. It examines the work involved in the royal household, including the legal restrictions and agreements required. It is told from the viewpoint of Elizabeth's government, using State Papers, the Ellesmere, Harleian and Lansdowne manuscripts (now in the British Library). Zillah Dovey (1996) uses material from the State Papers in her detailed examination of the 1578 progress into East Anglia and Mary Hill Cole (1999) examines who was responsible for what was entailed in Elizabeth's progresses in rather more detail. She distinguishes between what was supplied by the efforts of the purveyors and harbingers, and what a host might be expected to provide.

We are fortunate that the Jervoise of Herriard archive at Hampshire Record Office

(HRO, 44M69), provides excellent material from which to piece together what actually happened at a local level, although nobody seems to have used it for that purpose until now. Sir Richard Paulet's records are particularly important because, as in Sussex, there are no surviving Quarter Sessions records for this period. Papers 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 sheriffs for the county contain a rich archive of papers showing purveyance in practice. The documents extend over a longer period than that of the 1591 progress, and are not complete for any one particular year. However when put together, they show how the system worked, enhancing the value of this study because they demonstrate in a practical way the impact of the progress on the locality. For example they reveal the beginning of the process: there are surveys of land to assess for provisions for the Queen's household. The instructions ask:

'howe moche, and upon whome, the whole somm and rate of wheate, stuffe, Lambes, and pultrey, therby, may best be levied, for provision of the Ronenes ma'ties moste honourable howsholde, at suche tyme as the same shalbe Requested.' (HRO, 44M69/G3/99)

These assessments (HRO, 44M69/G3/99–102 for 1575) from the hundreds over which the family had jurisdiction, including Kingsclere, Evingar, Overton and Pasto, form terriers or surveys, listing each place right down to each farm and tenant, and giving quantities of arable land and meadow held by each tenant, along with estimates of their value. These include an inn, and the parsonage and its tithing. The documents demonstrate the detailed nature of this form of 'taxation' – it was difficult to escape its imposition if you were a farmer or small landholder. Consequently the 'Vewe of corn' (HRO, 44M69/G3/108) 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 landholding community.

Later documents show local carts being commandeered for carrying James I's supplies on his own progress in Hampshire and Berkshire:

'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 two 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 wyne' (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 1603 progress around the county. It reveals that he stayed in the same places as Elizabeth: 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 previous few years, but the stopping places demonstrate continuity with the hosts of Elizabeth I's 1591 progress.

The documents dealing with carts clearly reveal the 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...' (HRO, 44M69/G3/155/4)

The usual cry of too heavy a tax burden has been exacerbated here because of the topography of a small and isolated hundred. Evidently there were problems in getting carts and baggage in and out of the long narrow valley that constituted that hundred.

Returns showed that information went missing (HRO, 44M69/G3/155/12), that the number of carts taken was thought to be excessive (HRO, 44M69/G3/155/20), and that not all carts were returned:

'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 i cart
 between them
 Upnatly Roger Loker i 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'. (HRO, 44M69/G3/155/3)

The unpopularity of the scheme is also shown. In August 1592, 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 therein might long since have bin taken.' (HRO, 44M69/G3/113/1)

But the situation was not new, and, the Council viewed the plea with some sympathy. It ordered the Justices of the Peace in the county to meet together, to empower three or four of their number to make up a commission to authorise a method of composition, and to set down quantities of provisions to be provided in future. This would give a structure to the system. 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 the county was a maritime one, supplies of timber were already needed for other uses (HRO, 44M69/G3/113/4). While in any age, most communities would be likely to complain about the burden of taxes, these documents reveal the extra degree to which the progresses imposed on local communities. Farming and harvesting could be interrupted, and equipment go missing, without compensation being paid – or not until much later. It imposed extra work for the hundred officials, and the commissioners in overall charge. There was no benefit to the local community from it at all.

Overall these documents reveal the system of purveyance operating at a local level, alongside its difficulties. This selection demonstrates the gap between the expectations of the government on the one hand and the practical possibility of these farmers and yeomen parting with goods on the other. It confirms the difficulties of recompense in an economy that expected purveyors and middle men to take their own cut from any transaction. The contribution of the gentry working in commissions, or simply as landowners, might make a difference to the success of the operation since they could act as a middle party representing the interests of the providing community and the Privy Council to each other.

CONCLUSION

What does such a close inspection of a royal progress in the south finally tell us? First, it offers a spotlight on local society and reveals

who was in favour at that time with the queen. It may also reveal who she respected, or wished to win over to her cause. The hosts of the 1591 progress were both the great landowners, whose power and wealth needed to be recognised, and gentry families 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 seems to have been content to spend one or two nights with these men of lesser importance, and the Privy Council seems to have been as happy to hold their Council meetings in many of their homes. This suggests a certain amount of trust and satisfaction in the way these men conducted local business and government, even for those who were obviously Catholic.

Second, a close study such as this reveals that local religious leanings were respected – or at least tolerated – in the period immediately following the defeat of the Spanish Armada. As the 1590s progressed the government would tighten up again, but this Hampshire case study demonstrates a certain amount of satisfaction with local governance in the county, despite the work and misgivings of Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester. The Privy Council seem to have been prepared to work with Catholics where loyalty to Elizabeth could be – and was – displayed.

Third, 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 those people on the progress may not have fully appreciated. The route of the progress shows that summer travel could be undertaken in relative safety. This progress was one of the grander and longer of those in Elizabeth's reign, and there is no evidence of the changes of routes and events that happened with comparable progresses in the 1570s. (For example, the giestes of the 1575 progress, including the visit to Kenilworth, were radically altered when the Queen decided to return early.) The work carried out by local

gentry to keep these lines of maintenance and communication going can be traced through these papers, and deserves further study, which will be carried out in the author's doctoral study.

This study has also presented the background to patterns of patronage and power at court and in government. The gentry would have used the progress to further their own careers – through mixing with courtiers and Privy Councillors, and by seeking opportunities for patronage. 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 gentry, and also raised the morale of the local populace along with the soldiers and sailors working there. It was an opportunity for local and national government to meet, and for local concerns to be discussed with men of importance.

Consequently a case study like this is important, because it makes links and brings fresh evidence. I have borrowed from social, economic and cultural genres, and I hope to extend this work further, so that the detail of how such progresses operated at a local level is established. The tenor of the progress – the people visited and the entertainments given – suggest that the monarch and government were comfortable in Hampshire, and not overly worried about its Catholic nature. It was only in the later 1590s that this was to change.

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