ELIZABETHAN PROGRESSES
1559 TO 1603

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ABSTRACT

Although Queen Elizabeth I of England made summer journeys or progresses almost every year from 1559 to 1602 very little attention has been focused on them and on the reasons for or the results of these trips. The purpose of this paper is twofold: (1) to describe the summer progresses and (2) to arrive at some conclusions as to the significance of the progresses.

The principal source of this paper is the three volume Nichols' collection of original documents concerning the progresses. These documents were collected from widely varying sources and published in 1823 by a printer named John Nichols. This material, either in the Nichols' collection or in the original, is the only source of information on the progresses. Every secondary work examined by the author of this paper used one of these sources for his information about the progresses.

The main significance of the progresses was to allow the crown to keep in personal touch with the provincial officials and with the general public. Both the people and the officials were appreciative of this royal attention and it contributed to the favorable public opinion which Elizabeth enjoyed during her entire reign. The public exposure which the progresses gave to Elizabeth created a
bond between the Queen and her subjects which enabled her to govern with a freer hand than she would have been able to do otherwise. Of secondary importance these journeys allowed the Queen a chance to relax somewhat from the formality of the court and to enjoy some of the sporting entertainments such as hunting which were impossible to do in London.
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PREFACE

Almost every year from 1559 to 1602, Queen Elizabeth I of England made a summer progress. A progress is a royal journey or tour marked by much pomp and ceremony.

Elizabeth was not the first monarch to make progresses. It was the customary medieval practice of monarchs and records show that her father, Henry VIII, also engaged in the custom.¹ But there appears to be little printed detailed information on any progress prior to the reign of Elizabeth.

The principal source for this paper is John Nichols' collection entitled The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth; among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures, and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess. Collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, etc., etc. Illustrated with historical notes. As this apt title suggests, the books contain much besides accounts of Elizabeth's journeys about the country. There are lists of New Year's presents to and from the Queen, explanations of the history of the houses she visited and the history of the families who were involved. There are accounts of

masques and Christmas entertainments at the Inns of Court, and many other accounts which have nothing to do with progresses, but add to the general knowledge of upper class life during the sixteenth century. In sum, the information in this collection makes it possible to follow the progresses year by year and to gain some idea of their extent and value.

Nichols was a general printer and the official printer to the Society of Antiquaries. This was a group of men interested in ancient learning and objects who met to discuss their hobby. The society was formally chartered by George II in 1751. The first two volumes of Nichols' collection were published in 1788, a third volume appeared in 1807. Most of the third volume was destroyed in a fire so the entire collection was reprinted in 1823. This is the edition used in this paper.

Clergymen and university personnel apparently first suggested the undertaking and assisted Nichols with his collection. It appears that at least some of the men were members of the Society of Antiquaries. They obtained access to the records of various town corporations, of the Tower of London, of the Court of Exchequer, of the City of London, and of the Stationers Company, all of which they used in the books. An especially valuable source was the churchwarden accounts of the various London parishes. These help to date the Queen's movements by showing when the bellringers were paid for their services as the Queen passed into and out of the parishes. Many of the materials used were buried in the old
records, so that it must have been neither an easy nor a quick
task to sort them out.

Besides old records, Nichols used the better printed,
contemporary accounts, all of which are listed in
Conyers Read's *Bibliography of the Tudor Period*. Among them
are Camden's *Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth*, which Read
called the "most valuable contemporary account"; Strype's
*Annals of the Reformation* and his biographies of sixteenth
century churchmen such as Archbishops Parker, Grindel and
Whitgrif, which contain valuable documents from church and
parish records; and Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*,
which contains family papers of the Howards, Talbots, and
Cecils. Others are Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*,
family papers of the Bacons; Fuller's *Worthys of England*,
biographies of English noble families; Peck's
*Desiderata Curiosa*, valuable documents of the period; and
Collins' *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, family papers of the
Sidneys. Also included are Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*,
family papers of the Harington's; Harrison, *Description of
Britain*; and works by Churchyard and Gascoigne, authors of
some of the pageants and verses performed for Elizabeth's
entertainment which had been published as contemporary
pamphlets. Most of these printed materials were collected
and published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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2 All evaluations of printed sources are Conyers Read's.
3 *W. G. Macle. Queen Elizabeth I* (Garden City:
from the original manuscripts. Nichols calls one of his most extensively used sources Burghley's Diary. There is no record of this diary as such. In all probability these entries come from William Cecil's papers preserved at Hatfield by his descendants. They may stem from a collection of Cecil's papers made by Murdin and Haynes and entitled Collection of State Papers ... left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley. This collection appeared in 1740, so Nichols had access to it. It included papers from the Hatfield MSS and the Lansdown MSS which are in the British Museum.

This is a very incomplete list of Nichols' sources. As detailed in the Preface to his volumes, he tried to uncover every scrap of material from every source which added to the knowledge of Elizabeth's progress, and the history of the people and places that she visited. He was not able to find some specific published pamphlets that he heard about, and he thought that there may have been more undiscovered material in corporation and private hands which might be located in the future. Read considers Nichols' collection to be very valuable.\footnote{Conyers Read, ed., Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press,}.

One unique source is Bishop Richard Hurd's Dialogues Moral and Political, published in 1759. Bishop Hurd was a contemporary of Nichols who thanked him as a valuable contributor, but he is not listed in Read's bibliography.
Bishop Hurd speculates on the rumor that Elizabeth made her progresses in order to impoverish her wealthiest subjects.\(^5\) In view of Elizabeth's well known parsimony, it is an obvious speculation, but this was the only reference to it in the sources used. Both Nichols and Hurd apparently decided that this was not true, and that Elizabeth's hosts spent their money gladly for a chance to keep the Queen's good will and affection.\(^6\)

The three volumes present some difficulties for the user. Sixteenth century spelling and syntax are not easy for a twentieth century reader, and some of the speeches and debates at the universities are in Latin. The biggest difficulties, however, are the lack of a bibliography and the incomplete documentation of the references.\(^7\) The footnotes are full and very informative, but it is not always clear where the information came from. The books are written in the form of an annal, they are indexed, and there is a list of persons and places visited with references to where they will be found in the collection. There is also an index of New Year's gifts to and from the Queen.


\(^6\)Nichols, I, xxiv-xxv.

\(^7\)Incomplete by twentieth century standards of documentation. For this reason all references in the text are to Nichols' collection.
In spite of the difficulties, the Nichols' collection contains much useful information for anyone interested in the second half of the sixteenth century.
CHAPTER I

PUBLIC OPINION, PROCESSIONS, AND PROGRESSES

More than any previous dynasty, the Tudor rulers of England realized the value of public opinion to the crown. Henry VII had, at best, a tenuous hereditary claim to the throne. He became king by military victory and secured the position for his heirs by a combination of methods, including giving the people good, effective and cheap government. He appreciated the necessity of using ordinary men of ability to carry out his policies and run the government. These men, bound to the crown by loyalty or avarice, seldom posed the threat that the old feudal nobility, often wealthier and more powerful than the crown, did to previous rulers.

The first Tudor Henry, however, was a man and king to be respected, not loved. The common man could appreciate orderly government which benefited his life and business without necessarily feeling affection for the king. By contrast, Henry's son in his youth and especially his granddaughter, Elizabeth, not only garnered the respect and loyalty of the upper classes, but also the affection of the common people. Elizabeth embodied the astute political qualities of her grandfather, the personality of her father early in his reign, plus some special personal quality of her
own to inspire love from her subjects. Her popularity with
the people began before she became queen. On the journey
into custody at Woodstock during Mary’s reign, she was
cheered by crowds along the way, in spite of the danger this
demonstration implied both for Elizabeth and for her
supporters. ¹ She became the personification of England in
the minds of the majority of her people, regardless of
economic status or religion. In this Elizabeth agreed with
her people. She genuinely loved England and its people and
enjoyed being queen.² J. E. Neale asserts, "... Elizabeth’s
mind was ever fixed on popular favour, at first as an art of
government, and later as a profound emotional satisfaction."³

The people’s principal means of seeing the Queen was in
the procession of the court from one royal palace to another
around the London area, or during a summer progress when she
visited outside London and its environs. Although the govern-
ment was still wherever the Queen was, the London area was
becoming more important as the administrative center; thus it
was necessary to keep both the City and the surrounding areas
on the side of the crown.⁴ During the London processions, all
could see the monarch in person. The viewers shouted,

¹ Elswyth Thane, The Tudor Wench (New York: Duell, Sloan
& Pearce, 1932), 374.
² Christopher Morris, The Tudors (New York: John Wiley &
³ Neale, Queen Elizabeth, 209.
⁴ Clare Byrne, Elizabethan Life in Town and
"God save the Queen" and the ruler answered, "God save my people," or "Thank you, my people." Elizabeth used as much showmanship as possible during these processions. These necessary business trips were also opportunities to put on a magnificent display of splendor to entertain the populace. The jewels and glowing colors of the fine clothing of the courtiers, the beautiful horses stepping proudly along, and the church bells ringing as the Queen entered and left each parish added to the excitement of the spectators. Most of the royal palaces were along the Thames, and when the weather permitted, oarsmen rowed the Queen in her personal barge from one to another so that the people could see her.

The summer progresses were at once the same and somewhat different from the London processions. They were a combination of summer holiday and a chance for the people to see the Queen and for her to see and listen to men in authority outside the London area. She heard complaints of poor economic conditions in several towns, and by being available she increased the feeling of personal loyalty to herself and to the crown. It also gave her a chance to visit, as a mark of favor, members of the governing classes. While the main reason for the arrangement was surely to keep in touch with the English people, an additional reason was probably Elizabeth's sense

5Neale, Queen Elizabeth, 209.
6Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, I, xlix.
7Nichols. I, 196, 339, 448, 532, 543.
of thrift. She had a very limited income, and subsidies were hard to justify and get from the Commons; on visits to wealthy subjects she could economize for a time.

Members of the court who had to plan and arrange the progress and accompany the Queen faced many difficulties. It was a tremendously complicated undertaking, involving the entire court and mountains of belongings. Planners had to anticipate bad roads and foul weather. The accommodation situation was unknown in advance and at many stops the court lodged all over town. Once they were settled they must pack up and do the same thing again in a day or two. Under these conditions it was never easy to conduct governmental business which must still be attended to by court officials. Undoubtedly courtiers tried to persuade the Queen to stay close to London, especially at times of crisis.

The difficulties of travel in the sixteenth century cannot be minimized. Roads were mere tracks in most places—muddy in wet weather and dusty in dry. The roads of the middle ages had been kept up by the manorial system and the monasteries but as these institutions disappeared no one paid much attention to the roadways. The governments of Mary and Elizabeth tried, by statutes, to fix the responsibility for maintenance of the highways. But although each parish had a surveyor of highways, it was difficult to enforce the laws.

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8 Neale, Queen Elizabeth, 210.

9 Beale, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, 1, 540-541.
As many as possible evaded their payment of either money or labor. Another travel difficulty was the danger from beggars and bandits. There were many patches of thick woods to hide in and pounce upon a traveller. The beggars only annoyed or frightened victims to get money, but the highwaymen lost nothing by killing—they would be hung for stealing anyway. The Queen herself was disturbed by a group of beggars who surrounded her one evening in 1581 while she was on a short trip to Islington in Middlesex.

On progress Elizabeth had all the general travel difficulties, plus the special one of the entire court travelling together at the pace of the slowest. They covered, on the average, five or six miles a day. The Queen travelled by horseback, litter, or coach. Coaches had the advantage of being dry in wet weather, but they were unsprung and the bumpy roads prevented a comfortable ride. The luggage was hauled by carts, or more rarely, by pack horses. The party made at least one stop for a midday meal, usually at some nobleman’s home along the way.

By modern standards Elizabeth never went very far from London in her progresses. The farthest points were Stafford in the Northwest, Norwich in the Northeast, Bristol in the West, and Portsmouth in the South. None of these towns is

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10 Byrne, Elizabethan Life, 105-107.
11 Byrne, 115.
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over 150 miles from London. She never made a journey to the north of England. This was due to the difficulties of travel, as well as to the unsettled political conditions in that region.

The cost of these visits was hard on the host. Towns assessed special fees against each citizen, and borrowed money to provide for the Queen's entertainment and gifts. Officials gave orders to redecorate and clean up all areas of the town. Wealthy private hosts spent fortunes on gifts, entertainment, and just normal household expenses multiplied by the large numbers in the Queen's entourage. The most usual gifts were jewels, gold and silver plate, and money. Neale states that the host did not provide food for the Queen's visits, but several nobles mention monies spent for the Queen's diet. The Earl of Hertford built additions to his house to accommodate the Queen's train during a visit in 1591, and William Cecil built Theobalds especially large in order to make it adequate for visits from the Queen. Rapacious members of the court were another headache for the host.

15 Neale, *Queen Elizabeth*, 213.
18 Nichols, I, 308, note 1.
Valuables left unattended might disappear during a visit, and courtiers cheated the bailiff of Warwick during the visit there in 1575.

In spite of the expense, the work, and what must have been a trying rearrangement of everyday life, there are no accounts of grumbling about the Queen's progresses. Some there must have been, but aside from two references in Neale to officials' boredom and lack of general enthusiasm, no one admitted that the progresses were a trial. The grumblers appear to have been overlooked by the majority who enjoyed and felt themselves honored by the monarch's presence. The upper classes doubtless hoped for some lucrative preferment or monopoly from gaining Elizabeth's favor, even if they had no more creditable feelings about the visits.

From Elizabeth's viewpoint, the progresses served the necessary purpose of keeping her in close touch with as many people as possible in as much of the country as she could manage to travel. As an astute politician, she recognized the absolute necessity to keep the personal loyalty of the people in order to enable her to rule without factional support and to ensure that all knew who was Queen.

19 Neale, Queen Elizabeth, 216.
20 Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, I, 418.
21 Neale, Queen Elizabeth, 210, 213.
CHAPTER II

PROGRESSES PRIOR TO 1571

For a member of the royal family public processions began at birth. This was true for Elizabeth in spite of her unsettled childhood. These public displays did not have any personal political significance, however, until the last years of her sister Mary's reign. The journey from imprisonment in the Tower to imprisonment at Woodstock in 1554 gave the people a chance to recognize the Princess. The next few years with the Queen's confidence at least partially restored, Elizabeth moved to her house at Hatfield in Hertfordshire. She was no longer under guard, and there were excursions to court and other royal palaces for entertainment. All of these excursions allowed the people to see the Princess and compare her to the Queen and to their Tudor ancestors. Elizabeth appeared to be much more of a Tudor; she was younger, more attractive, and more spirited, and she reminded people of her father who many remembered with affection. This was a political advantage for Elizabeth whose hereditary claim could be disputed.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when Mary died in November,

\[1\] Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, I, 17-18. All references in this chapter are to Nichols.
1558. Her procession into London and the coronation procession in January, 1559, gave Londoners a chance to see the Queen and to show her their hopeful mood for the future. The streets were lined with tableaux and there were numerous speeches and pageants.²

The Queen's first summer progress was in 1559. On July 17 she left the royal palace at Greenwich and started a short journey through Kent and Surrey. She went first to the royal palace at Dartford and on July 18 to Cobham, the home of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, where "Her Grace was welcomed with great cheer."³ On August 5 Elizabeth was at Eltham, another royal palace in Kent. She left there, going to Nonsuch, the Surrey palace built by her father. She stayed there for five days, being feasted and entertained by the Earl of Arundel, who was caretaker of the palace.⁴ It was the custom to give one nobleman the responsibility of overseeing each royal palace. Sir Christopher Hatten was keeper of Eltham until his death in 1592 when Lord Cobham became keeper. The office of keeper must have involved some financial gain as it was a very desired one and was called a grant.⁵ On August 10 the Queen moved to Hampton Court, a palace built by Cardinal Wolsey and confiscated for the crown by Henry VIII.

²I, 36-60.
³I, 73.
⁴I, 74.
⁵I, 72.
On the seventeenth she dined at the home of Edward Lord Clinton, later Earl of Lincoln, the Lord High Admiral. The entries for the remainder of the year specify no location for the court, but it was probably in the London area, at Whitehall, Westminster, or St. James.

In 1560 Elizabeth went to Greenwich on May 14, staying there until July 29 when she left on a short progress through Surrey, Berkshire and Hampshire. She dined that day at Lambeth Palace with Archbishop Parker, before proceeding on to her palace at Richmond in Surrey. She stayed there for five days. Next, she moved to her palace of Oatlands in Surrey, and from there to Sutton Place, the house of Sir Richard Weston. She did not return to London, but the records mention no stops by name until August when she was in Winchester and at Basing, the home of the Marquis of Winchester, then Lord Treasurer. In September the Queen stayed for a time at Windsor Castle before returning to Westminster where she spent the remainder of the year.

The progress in 1561 was a longer one, through Essex, Suffolk and Hertfordshire. On July 10 she went into London, staying three days with Lord North at the Charterhouse. While there she dined at Mr. Secretary William Cecil's house in the

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6 I, 75.
7 I, 83, note 2.
8 I, 86.
Savoy. On July 14 she left London for Essex. She stayed that night at Wansted, a house belonging to Lord Rich, and the next at Havering, a royal house leased to John de Vere, the Earl of Oxford. On July 16 she stayed at Purgo, the home of Sir John Grey; the following day found her at Loughton Hall, the home of Sir Thomas Darcy; whence she proceeded back to Havering. On the twentieth Elizabeth went to Ingatestone, the home of Sir William Petre, Principal Secretary and Privy Counsellor to the Queen until his death in 1571.10

On July 21 the Queen went to stay at New Hall or Beaulieu. This palace was royal property at the time, but had been the home of Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth's mother. In 1573, Elizabeth granted it to the Lord Chamberlain, Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, purchased the estate in the seventeenth century. Upon his attaindment it reverted back to the crown from whom Oliver Cromwell purchased it. After the Restoration, General Monck owned the house. By 1823 successive owners had largely pulled down the dwelling.11

On July 26 Elizabeth stopped at Felix or Filliot's Hall, the property of Henry Long, a child, and his widowed mother. The dates are uncertain, but aside from one day spent at St. Osyth's with Lord Darcy, the Queen spent the next two weeks visiting the towns of Colchester, Harwich and Ipswich.

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10I, 92-94.

11I, 92-94.
During her stay each corporation paid an assessment for her entertainment expenses. In Harwich these expenses included lodging.\(^{12}\)

Elizabeth left Ipswich on August 11 and during the rest of the month visited seven homes of noblemen: Shelly Hall, owned by Lord Rich; Smallbridge, home of the Waldegrave family; Helmingham, property of Sir Lionel Tollmache; Gosfield and Leigh Priory, both properties of the Rich family; Allingbury Marley, home of the Morley family, distant relations of the Queen; and Standen, home of Sir Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.\(^{13}\) She spent a week in the town of Hertford, probably lodging in the castle, before going to the royal palace at Enfield. This was one of the palaces purchased by Henry VIII as a nursery for his children and Elizabeth had spent time there as a child. She was also there when her father died.\(^{14}\) On September 22 the Queen ended her progress at her palace of St. James in London. The rest of the year she spent in London, probably at Whitehall.\(^{15}\)

In the year 1562 Elizabeth planned a meeting with the Queen of Scotland at York, according to a letter to the Earl of Huntington,\(^{16}\) but the encounter did not take place. As

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\(^{12}\)I, 97, note 1.
\(^{13}\)I, 97-100.
\(^{14}\)I, 101, note 1.
\(^{15}\)I, 104.
\(^{16}\)I, 105.
1563 was a bad plague year in London, the Queen spent the summer at Windsor and visited Eton College. The plague continued in London during the spring of 1564 so the Queen stayed at Windsor where she signed the peace treaty with the French on April 13. By June 7 the plague abated and Elizabeth returned to Richmond. On July 27 she visited Theobalds, William Cecil's new house near Waltham in Surrey. This was the first of the twelve visits paid to Theobalds, at a cost of £2000 to £3000 each time.

The longest stay during the progress of 1564 was at the University of Cambridge. The Queen and all her court stayed from August 5 to August 10. She received gifts, attended plays and debates, and heard sermons and Latin speeches as she visited each college. Elizabeth made a Latin speech thanking the assembled students and faculty of the university for her visit. The university honored seventeen of Elizabeth's courtiers by creating them Masters of Arts. The Queen left Cambridge on August 10, dined with the Bishop of Ely at Stanton, then went to stay with Sir Henry Cromwell at Hinchin-

17I, 147.
18I, 142.
19I, 148.
20I, 149.
21I, 308, note 1.
22I, 159-189.
By the end of September she was at St. James palace. The records are incomplete for the year 1565. On August 17 the Queen visited Coventry in Warwickshire. She stayed only two days before visiting Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth. At some unspecified date that year, Elizabeth visited Lincolnshire, passing through Stamford and dining at the White Friary. William Cecil's family home was near Stamford and it is possible that the Queen stopped there to visit her secretary.

In 1566 the Queen made an extensive progress. On August 3 she was at Collyweston, a royal property in Northamptonshire; on August 5 at Burghley House, the family home of William Cecil, near Stamford; and then at the royal palace at Woodstock near Oxford. From there, on August 31, she went to Oxford. The arrangements for the visit were made earlier by a company of nobles headed by the Earl of Leicester who was chancellor of the university. In the evening the Queen arrived at the outskirts of the university territory. The chancellor, the vice-chancellor, and the heads of the colleges and houses greeted her. The chancellor

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23I, 189.
24I, 190.
25I, 192.
26I, 199.
27I, 205.
presented the Queen with the staves of the beadles signifying yielding their authority to her; she received them, and gave them back. At the same time, Roger Marback, a prominent teacher, made a welcoming speech in Latin. The company rode towards the town. As they came to the edge of the town, the mayor, the aldermen and some burgesses met them. The mayor presented the Queen with his mace and gave a welcoming speech in English. She returned the mace and the mayor presented her with a silver cup worth £10 filled with £40 of gold. Formerly the gifts from the town to a prince had been livestock, but that custom changed during this reign. The Queen entered the city and university through a double line of students and citizens, kneeling and crying "Vivat Regina." A representative of the students made a Latin speech and she heard a speech in Greek as she came to the doors of Christ Church. The company entered the church and heard a Thanks-giving service celebrating the Queen's safe arrival.

The next day was Sunday. There were morning and afternoon services in the Cathedral of Christ Church. Elizabeth did not attend in the morning, but in the afternoon she heard an English sermon by Thomas Harrys of New College. In the evening the Queen could not attend the performance of a Latin play in Christ Church hall because of a slight illness. On Monday the Queen and her attendant noblemen visited and heard the ordinary lectures and debates of the schools. In the afternoon, New College held a reception at
which there were more speeches by prominent teachers. Also that afternoon, Thomas Neale, the Professor of Hebrew, presented the Queen with his printed translation of the Book of the Prophets and some of his Latin poems about the colleges and other institutions of the university. That evening a performance of the first part of an English play, Palamon Arcyte, was marred by part of the stage falling. Three were killed and five more hurt. During the visit, the students wrote poems and hung them on the outside walls where the Queen saw them as she went from one place to another.

On Tuesday the finest scholars of all the colleges entertained the Queen and her company at St. Mary's Church with debates on natural and moral philosophy. These debates were all in Latin. Wednesday the company went to Merton College to hear more debates on philosophy. Elizabeth dined at Christ Church, but her council ate at Magdalen where they heard a debate by some Bachelors of Arts. A debate at St. Mary's on Civil Law filled the afternoon. The entertainment that evening was the second part of the English play. A Mr. Edwards wrote this play especially for the Queen's visit. The play was a huge success, everyone, including the monarch, agreed that it was very humorous.

Thursday afternoon there were debates on physics and divinity at St. Mary's College. At the end of the debates, Elizabeth made a speech in Latin thanking the university and praising the scholarship of the debates. As she left
a Mr. Edrick of Corpus Christi College presented her with a book of Greek poems. After supper the company attended a Latin tragedy written especially for this visit by James Calfhill.

On the last day of the visit the Queen's principal noblemen received honorary Masters of Arts degrees in a convocation at Christ Church Hall. At the same time the university presented Elizabeth with six pairs of gloves and every nobleman with one or two pairs each.

The procession from Oxford was the reverse of the one in--the officials of the city and university accompanying the Queen out of the gates through streets lined with students and townspeople. At the city limits, Elizabeth thanked the mayor, and the town officials left her; at the end of the university limits, she thanked the university officials and, with one final speech in Latin by Roger Marback, the officials left and she continued on her way. She went eight miles that day, to the home of Lord Norris at Rycot. 28

At some time during 1566 the Queen also visited an elderly Roman Catholic ex-Archbishop of York, Dr. Nicholas Heath, who was in retirement at Cobham in Surrey. 29

For the next few years, accounts only mention where the Queen made her progresses, but contain no details of the visits. She did manage to cover much of England, as a lock

28 I, 206-250.

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at the counties visited will snow. In 1567 the Queen was at Windsor in the first part of August; at Oatlands, a royal palace on the eighteenth; at the town of Guildford on the twenty-first; at Farnham on the twenty-fifth; and back at Windsor on the ninth of September. In this one month she visited Surrey and Berkshire.

The next year, 1568, Elizabeth visited Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Kent. On July 4 she was at Greenwich, and dined on July 6 with the Duke of Norfolk at the Charterhouse in London. On July 14 and 15 she stayed at Havering, a royal property leased to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. On the nineteenth she was at Copt Hall, the property of Sir Thomas Heneage. At some time she visited Giddy Hall, the home of Sir Anthony Cooke. On July 25 she was at Enfield, and on July 30 at Hatfield, both royal palaces.

In August, the Queen visited the town of St. Albans; Whaddon, the home of Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton; Easton Neston, the seat of Earl Pomfret; Grafton Regis, a royal property built by Henry VIII in Northamptonshire near Towcester; the town of Bicester; Rycot, the home of Lord Norris; and the towns of Newbury and Reading. In Newbury, she may have stayed with the Winchcombe family, the head of which was the

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30I, 252.
31I, 253.
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In 1569 the monarch visited many places in Surrey and Hampshire. She left Richmond on July 27, going first to Cowtlands, and then to the towns of Guildford and Farnham. In August she was again in Guildford, and in the next two months visited Titchfield, the home of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; The Vyne, the home of William Lord Sandys; and Basing, the home of William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. The Queen also spent an undetermined length of time in the town of Southampton where she lodged in the Tower, a fort built by Henry VIII as part of the defenses of the port. A letter from Elizabeth at The Vyne to the Earl of Huntington asking him to go to the assistance of the Earl of Shrewsbury in keeping watch over Mary of Scotland at Wingfield is evidence that she transacted official business while on progress. This was at the time of the Rebellion in the North, and the Scots Queen was a focal point of the rebels. Due to plague in London, the Queen spent October and November of 1569 at Windsor, and Christmas at Hampton Court. Very little information exists about 1570. On January 23 Elizabeth dined with Sir Thomas Gresham in London and named his newly built market place, the Royal Exchange or

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33I, 254.
34I, 257-258.
35I, 261.
36I, 262.
the Bourse. In April she was at Hampton Court; on July 19 at Cheynes, the home of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford; and on August 30 at Rycot, the home of Lord Norris.
CHAPTER III

PROGRESSES 1571 TO 1589

The middle years, from the Rebellion in the North in 1569 to the Spanish Armada in 1588, were the most peaceful, prosperous, and confident of Elizabeth's reign. For these reasons the progresses during this period were the longest and the entertainments the most lavish.

During the summer of 1571, Elizabeth went to Essex on progress. On August 7 she was at Hatfield in Hertfordshire. Apparently she spent the month there, visiting the town of Saffron Walden on August 19 while on her way to Audley End, the property of Lord Thomas Howard, later Earl of Suffolk.\(^1\) The townspeople of Saffron Walden spent £29 8s for the short royal visit. That total included a silver gilt cup worth £19 3s as a present for the Queen; 60s to be divided among the Queen's footmen, serjeants at arms and porters; 2s 6d as a reward for the Earl of Leicester's men; 37s 8d for sugar loaves as gifts to the Earl of Leicester, to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and to Sir Thomas Smythe; and payments for meat, beer, wine, oysters and firewood to feed the court.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, I, 279-280.

All succeeding unmarked references in this chapter are to Nichols.
On September 2 the Queen was at Audley End and on the fifth she was at Horeham Hall. This house belonged to Sir John Cutt, whose great-grandfather had been Master of Ordnance to Henry VIII, and who entertained so lavishly that he ruined his family. At his death many of his estates had to be sold to satisfy his creditors. On the fourteenth Elizabeth was at Mark Hall which she had granted to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and on the eighteenth she was at Leigh Priory, the principal seat of Robert Lord Rich.

She went from there to visit her cousin, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, at Hunsdon House near Stansted in Hertfordshire. Lord Hunsdon was the son of Mary Boleyn Carey, Anne’s sister. He served his cousin in many capacities including Lord Chamberlain and Privy Counsellor. Hunsdon house had been a royal nursery; Elizabeth was there when her mother was executed. The visit to Hunsdon is undated, but on September 21 the Queen was at Theobalds visiting Lord Burghley and on the twenty-second she went to St. James. In October she finished her progress at Richmond.

There are churchwarden records of payments on undated occasions in the summer of 1571 to the bellringers of Lambeth.

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3I, 281, note 4.
4I, 282.
5I, 284-285, note 2.
6Neale, Queen Elizabeth, 7.
and Kingston when the Queen rode to St. George Fields; when she paid two visits to Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, at Bermondsey House; when she visited the Earl of Lincoln at West Horsley in Surrey; and "when her boat went by." These places are all in the London area so the visits must have taken place before August 7 when the Queen went to Hatfield.

In 1572 Elizabeth made an extensive progress to Essex, Bedfordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire. She left Whitehall in July, going first to Havering in Essex, and on July 22 to Theobalds where she stayed three days. On her way to Warwick she stopped at Gorhambury near St. Albans, the home of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper and Privy Counsellor; at the town of Dunstable; and at Woburn Abbey, the newly acquired property of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford. On Monday, August 12, the bailiff, recorder and principal burgesses of Warwick met the Queen's coach at the edge of that town. Edward Aglionby, the recorder, greeted her with a welcoming speech and a gift of £20. The Queen thanked the men and they accompanied her and the court into the town and to Warwick Castle where the Queen lodged. She stayed in Warwick that night and the next day. On Wednesday she left her household in Warwick and rode to Kenilworth where she stayed "at the charge of the Lord of Leicester" until late .

8I, 290-291.

9I, 309.
Saturday when she returned to Warwick. She spent Sunday in Warwick being entertained by dancing, fireworks, and a mock military battle. This mock battle resulted in the burning of one home from careless fireballs flying over the town. The Queen and her courtiers collected a sum of £25 12s 8d and presented it to Henry Cowper and his wife who had lost their home and belongings. On Monday, August 21, Elizabeth returned to Kenilworth. She stayed there until August 26 when she left to visit Lord Compton at his home, Compton Manor.\textsuperscript{11} Henry Lord Compton was high sheriff of Warwickshire at this time.\textsuperscript{12} From Compton the Queen visited Henry Lord Berkeley at Berkeley Castle, then went to her palace at Woodstock. From there she visited the town of Reading, before going to Windsor on September 22. The dates of these entries do not always agree, apparently they are from different sources. One entry states that the Queen was at Kenilworth from August 21 to 26; but a letter from Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury is dated August 23 and headed from Compton.\textsuperscript{13} And a further entry states that Dr. Lawrence Humphrey of Oxford made a speech to her at Woodstock on August 21.\textsuperscript{14} At some time towards the end of September Elizabeth was ill of smallpox at Hampton Court,

\textsuperscript{11}I, 309-320.
\textsuperscript{12}I, 317.
\textsuperscript{13}I, 320, note 1.
but by October 22 she wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Windsor to reassure him of her recovery. As she described her illness it was very short in duration and may have been chicken pox or measles rather than smallpox. The Queen spent Christmas that year at Hampton Court.

During Lent of 1573 the Queen visited Dr. Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at his palace at Lambeth. From there she went to Greenwich. On March 15, Maundy Thursday, the monarch performed the medieval custom of washing the feet of the poor. That year the number of poor so washed was thirty-nine, the age of the Queen. She also presented each poor person with gifts of clothing, food and money.

On July 14 Elizabeth visited the Archbishop's palace at Croydon in Surrey for seven days. She left on progress to Sussex and Kent from Croydon. On this three month journey she visited an unusually large number of people. On July 21 the Queen arrived at Orpington, the home of Sir Percival Hart, a knight of the body to Henry VIII, where she stayed for three days. During that time she made a side trip to Plumstead, a house of Sir Thomas Fisher, who had been secretary to the Duke of Somerset. She next went to the royal palace of Knolle for five days; to Berling, the home of

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15I, 322-323.
16I, 324.
17I, 324-325.
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Henry Neville, Lord Bergavenny, for three days; and then to Mayfield, the property of Sir Thomas Gresham. On August 5 she was at Eridge, another property of Lord Bergavenny; on August 11 at Bedegbury, the home of Alexander Culpepper who Elizabeth knighted later in this same progress; then at Hempsted, the home of Thomas Guilford whom she also knighted.19

About August 15 the Queen and her court arrived in Rye where she conferred knighthood on the men previously mentioned and on Thomas Walsingham. She stayed in Rye for three days, leaving it to visit Sissinghurst, the home of Richard Baker, who was twice sheriff of Kent and was knighted in Dover later this year. On August 21 Elizabeth visited Boughton Malherb, the home of Thomas Wotton, who was also sheriff of Kent twice. On August 23 she stayed at Hathfield, the home of John Tufton, sheriff of Kent in 1576, but some of her court stayed at Surrenden, the home of Richard Dering. The Queen went next to Westenhanger, a royal palace which had previously belonged to Sir Edward Poynings, but was now under the care of Lord Buckhurst.20

Elizabeth arrived in Dover on August 26 where William Brooke, Lord Cobham, Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports, welcomed her. The cinque ports were seven fortified towns protecting the channel coast. From Dover she went to Sandwich. She received a cup valued at £100 as a

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19I, 331-334.

20 I, 335.
welcoming gift and the town entertained her with speeches and a mock military assault. As she was leaving on September 3, the town officials presented her with a petition for the "haven" which seems to concern some sort of desired harbor improvement. She dined that day at Wingham, a royal palace, and continued on to Canterbury where she stayed at the palace of St. Augustine. The archbishop entertained her royally for the next two weeks. About September 15 Elizabeth went to the town of Faversham for two days. This visit cost the town £4 19s 4d including a silver cup valued at £27 2s. During the rest of the month the Queen visited Fulston in Sittingborne parish, the home of Sir James Cromer; Tunstall Hall, the home of Sir William Cromer, who served at various times as sheriff and justice of the peace; and the town of Rochester where she lodged for four days at the Crown Inn, attended church at the Cathedral, and surveyed the docks at Chatham. The Queen always attended church services on Sunday, never travelling on that day. She also dined at Bushy Hill, the home of Richard Watts, who several

21I, 339.
22I, 339-346.
23I, 352, note 1.
24I, 353, notes 1 and 2.
26I, 353, note 3.
times was a member of Parliament from Rochester. Elizabeth ended this progress by a short visit to Lord Cobham at Cobham Hall before returning to her palaces of Dartford and Greenwich.

In 1574 Elizabeth went on one of the longest progresses in terms of distance, with the apparent objective of visiting Bristol. She went to Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Bristol, and Wiltshire. Before leaving the capital she paid several visits. On March 2 she visited Archbishop Parker at Lambeth Palace for two days. She went back to Greenwich, leaving there on March 12 to visit Sir Nicholas Bacon at Gorhambury. She stayed for a time at St. James, but held the Maundy Thursday ceremony at Whitehall. She intended to visit the archbishop at Croydon in May, but for some reason changed her plan. She did spend six days at her palace at Havering. The progress began in July. The Queen stopped first at Wadley near Farringdon, Berkshire, the home of Sir Edward Upton. Then, moving into Gloucestershire, she visited the widowed Lady Chandos at Sudeley Castle; George Huntley at his home in Frocester; and Lord Berkeley

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27I, 354, note 2.
28I, 354.
29I, 368.
30I, 384-385.
31I, 387.
at Berkeley Castle.32

On August 14 the officials and citizens of Bristol greeted the Queen with much joy and ceremony. She lodged at the home of John Young and knighted him before departing. Part of a collection printed in 1575 by Thomas Churchyard entitled The Firste Parte of Churchyarde's Chippes contains an account of the visit to Bristol.33 After leaving Bristol, the monarch visited Sir Thomas Thynn at Longleat and Sir Henry Charington at Hoytesbury on her way to Wilton and Salisbury.34 Wilton was the home of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who was in charge of the castle at Cardiff and who in 1566 became President of the Council for Wales.35 The Queen stayed at Wilton for three days before going to Salisbury. At some time during this progress she visited New Sarum, probably before she left Salisbury to return to London. According to a letter written by the Earl of Leicester, there may have been some question about the state of the Queen's health during this progress.36

Early in 1575 Elizabeth visited Dr. John Dee at his home, Mortlake, in Surrey. Dr. Dee was a notorious astrologer. The authorities expelled him from England for

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32I, 391-392.
33I, 393.
34I, 408.
35I, 408, note 4.
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practicing magic in 1583, but allowed him to return in 1589. According to rumor, he was really engaged in securing intelligence information for the crown. 37

The journey of 1575 is the most famous of all Elizabeth's progresses, chiefly because of the extravagant entertainment at Kenilworth, the home of the Earl of Leicester. George Gascoigne wrote most of the pageants and published them in 1576 as a pamphlet entitled The Princely Pleasures at the Courte at Kenelwoorth. Gascoigne was a poet and in attendance upon the Queen. 38 There is also a long letter from Robert Laneham to his friend, Humphrey Martin, mercer of London, describing the visit in detail. Laneham was a protege of the Earl of Leicester and was clerk and keeper of the Queen's council chamber door. He accompanied the Queen on progress. This letter was also published, but not until the eighteenth or nineteenth century. 39

On May 24, 1575, Elizabeth was at Theobalds with Lord Burghley. 40 On July 9 she arrived at Long Ichington, a ruin belonging to the Earl of Leicester, where she dined and hunted, going from there to Kenilworth. Many of her attendants went on to Warwick where they stayed during the

37i, 414, note 1.
38i, 485, notes 1 and 2.
39i, 420-426.
The town expected to entertain the Queen also, but she stayed at Kenilworth for the entire visit.\(^2\)

The Queen arrived about eight in the evening. A girl, dressed in white silk portraying one of the ten sibyls or prophetesses, met her at the outer gates and made a welcoming speech in English. As the Queen moved into the tiltyard, the porter, a tall man also dressed in white silk and carrying a club, appeared protesting the noise and commotion. When he saw that it was his monarch, he gave her his club and made a welcoming speech begging her pardon for not realizing who had arrived. This was all part of the entertainment. Elizabeth granted her pardon and as she proceeded into the inner castle yard, trumpeters along the walls played music to welcome her. When the Queen came into the courtyard, a girl dressed as the Lady of the Lake greeted her from a floating island in a large pond. Elizabeth crossed this lake upon a bridge especially built for her. There were seven posts on each side of the bridge. The first set were covered with caged birds of all kinds representing the God of birds, Sylvanus. The second were covered with fruits representing Pomona, the Goddess of fruits; the third by grains representing Ceres; the fourth with grapes and glasses of wine representing Bacchus; the fifth with trays of fish representing Neptune; the sixth with armor representing Mars; and the seventh with

\(^1\)I, 418-419.
\(^2\)II, 177.
musical instruments representing Phoebus, the Goddess of music. All of the decorations were gifts for the Queen. A man arrayed as a poet read a poem which explained the gifts. As the Queen dismounted and went to her room there was a display of artillery and fireworks.

The next day, Sunday, the court spent the morning at the parish church services and the afternoon in music and dancing. That night there was another artillery and fireworks display. Monday was a hot day and the entire company stayed inside until the late afternoon when they went deer hunting, a favorite sport of Elizabeth's. As they were returning to the palace about nine that night, Savage Man and Echo met and entertained them by a dialogue in verse on the superior qualities of Elizabeth and the joy felt by all at her visit. At some point in this play, the savage threw his staff and frightened the Queen's horse. The horse jumped, but the Queen was not hurt, to everyone's relief. Music and dancing entertained the company on Tuesday and Wednesday was another day of deer hunting.

On Thursday morning the company watched dogs fighting bears in the outer courtyard and that evening an Italian tumbler entertained them. Friday and Saturday the weather became wet and windy and the courtiers amused themselves. Sunday was fair. After church the Queen and her court attended a bride-ale or rural wedding performed in the courtyard. It was complete with the men, including the bridegroom, attached to a cross-
piece that mounted men attack with a heavy lance, trying to hit the short weighted end and gallop out of the way before the weight could come round and hit them on the back. This wedding would appear to have been a chance for the members of the court to amuse themselves at the expense of simpler country people. Upon this same Sunday, the Queen received a delegation of men from near-by Coventry, petitioning her to allow them to resume their fair and pageants on June 14 and on Hokeday, the second Tuesday after Easter. The more puritan of the protestant Coventry clergy forbade the presentation of these plays, and the suppression of the accompanying fairs had hurt the city economically. This petition took the form of presenting a play under Elizabeth's window, but unfortunately she did not see it as she was watching the dancing within the palace. Apparently she heard about it though, because the Coventry men were told to replay it on Tuesday when the Queen watched the entire play and rewarded the players, without answering their petition however.

That Sunday evening there was a play and then a banquet of some 300 different dishes. The Queen ate little of this and left early. As it got later the guests at the banquet became rather unruly. This forced the cancellation of a masque planned for after the banquet. On Monday the court went to hunt about five in the afternoon. On their return

\[43\], \[44\], note 3.
they watched a pageant by the lake, featuring Neptune, the
Lady of the Lake, Triton and assorted mythical and mystical
characters. They greeted the Queen with a speech and
serenaded her with music which she seemed to enjoy very much.
Also on that day the Queen knighted Thomas Cecil, son of
Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer; Henry Cobham, brother of
Lord Cobham; Thomas Stanhope; Arthur Basset; and
Thomas Tresham. She also allegedly cured nine people of
scrofula or the King's Evil by laying on of her hands.

On Tuesday the men from Coventry returned and presented
their petition and play for the Queen. Wet and windy weather
on Wednesday forced cancellation of both a picnic at a place
called Wedgnock Park and a performance by an ancient minstrel
recalling old stories and songs. The Queen remained at
Kenilworth for another week, but there is no account of her
entertainment for this final week. This visit must have
been very expensive for the host, the Earl of Leicester, and
for the people of Warwick who were host to many of the Queen's
company, but there seem to be no remaining accounts of the
sums spent.

On July 27 the Queen visited the city of Lichfield in
Staffordshire. The bailiff's accounts list the expenses
connected with the royal visit. These include a gift of
£40 in gold to the Queen and a payment of five shillings to
"William Hollcraft, for kepyng Madde Richard when her Matie
was here. The town spent a total of £79 11s 8d on the various items for the visit.

Elizabeth went next to Chartley Castle, the property of Walter Devereux, the Earl of Essex; from there to Stafford Castle, the home of Edward Lord Stafford; and then to Chillington, the home of John Giffard who had been sheriff of Staffordshire in 1573. On August 12 and 13 the Queen visited Dr. Nicholas Bullingham, the Bishop of Worcester, at Hartlebury Castle. On August 14 the bishop accompanied the Queen to the city of Worcester where she stayed for a week, lodging at the bishop's palace. The city presented her with a gold cup containing £40 and there were many ceremonies and entertainments. While she was at Worcester, she paid short visits to Hinlip and Hallow Park, both properties of Thomas Habington, her Cofferer, who was in charge of her personal jewels.

On August 20 the Queen visited Elmley Bredon; on August 22 she journeyed into Gloucestershire where she probably stayed at Sudeley Castle, home of Edward Bridges, Lord Chandos. This was the logical stop on her way to her

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46 I, 529.
47 I, 529-531.
48 I, 532.
49 I, 533.
50 I, 548.
palace at Woodstock. Upon leaving Woodstock, she visited Reading for several days. She spent the rest of the year at Windsor, Greenwich, and Christmas at Hampton Court.

In 1576 it was uncertain where the progress would go. Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, that the Queen changed her plans every five hours. The only two places visited with any certainty are Havering in Essex around July 30, and Windsor Castle in September. In August she may have visited Sir William More at Losely, near Guildford in Surrey; Hertford; Hatfield; St. Albans; the Earl of Bedford at Cheynes; Lord Sandys at the Vyne in Hampshire; and Reading. There was fear of the plague in Surrey; therefore the Queen stayed away from her palace at Oatlands.

Fifteen hundred and seventy-seven was another bad plague year in parts of the country. In Oxford the mortality rate was especially high. It is probably for this reason that Elizabeth stayed most of the year at Greenwich. She did spend May 14 at Theobalds with Lord Burghley, and a

52I, 552.
53I, 599.
54II, 4.
55II, 6.
56II, 7.
57II, 64.
58- 60.
week at Gorbombury with Sir Nicholas Bacon. Sir Nicholas spent nearly £600 on the Queen's visit, most of it on food and drink. He also lost pewter and table linens worth £8 16s, presumably stolen by members of the Queen's entourage.\(^59\) She spent a few days in July with Sir William More at Losely in Surrey, and a few days in September with Lord Clinton at West Horsley in Surrey.\(^60\) Henry Goring, who was expecting a visit from the Queen, wrote a letter to Sir William More asking if the Queen provided her "own stuffe, beer, and other provisions, or whether Sir William provided every part?"\(^61\) Judging by Sir Nicholas Bacon's accounts, and by other accounts, the host provided everything for the royal visits.

Elizabeth not only visited noblemen and gentry, but also London citizens. John Lacy, a member of the Clothworker's Company, entertained her often at his home in Putney. She stayed with him in 1578 and ten more times in the succeeding years, and dined there at least four times.\(^62\)

The Queen made a very extensive progress to Suffolk and Norfolk beginning in July of the year 1578. Earlier, in May, she visited Theobalds; Henry Lord Compton at Mockings near Tottenham; Edward Bashe, Surveyor-General of the Navy,
at Stansted Abbas near Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire; Edward Barrett, who had been High Sheriff of Kent in 1571, at Bill House; and the Earl of Leicester at Wansted, where she watched a pageant written for the occasion by Sir Philip Sidney. 63

In July Elizabeth again visited her cousin Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, at Hunsdon House, and Sir Ralph Sadler at Standen. Both of these houses are in Hertfordshire. After entertaining the Ambassador from Scotland at Hunsdon and Standen, she started her progress into Suffolk. 64 The first stop on progress was at Audeley End near the town of Saffron Walden, there the Queen received a delegation from the University of Cambridge who entertained her with speeches and debates and presented gifts of gloves to her and to the noblemen of her court. 65 The town of Saffron Walden had expenses of £21 16s 6d for the royal visit which included the gift of a cup worth £14. 66 A large group of young men dressed in velvet and silk met the Queen at the borders of Suffolk and escorted her to Long Melford Hall, the home of Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls and Privy Counsellor. From there she dined at Lawshall Hall before going to stay at Hawsted Place, both the property of William Drury who was

63II, 94.
64II, 104.
65II, 111-114.
knighted on this visit. Both of these houses were near the town of Bury St. Edmunds which the Queen visited, but she left immediately as there were cases of plague found in the vicinity. On August 10 she was at Euston Hall, the home of Edward Rockwood. Rockwood was a Roman Catholic. For some reason, at the time of entertaining the Queen, he was charged with recusancy and imprisoned at Bury St. Edmunds, where he ultimately died. Another Rockwood, Ambrose, was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot and executed at Tyburn in 1605.

The Queen left Suffolk about August 11, and rode into Norfolk where she was again met by a large company of men led by the sheriff. She went first to Kenninghall, the home of Lord Thomas Howard, later Earl of Suffolk, where she was lavishly entertained. On August 16 she dined at Bracon-Ash with Lady Style, and that afternoon, as she continued toward Norwich, Edward Downes of the manor of Erlham met her at Hartford Bridge. Downes chose this occasion to pay his feudal dues of a pair of golden spurs.

The Queen's visit to Norwich was an important occasion for the town. The town was completely cleaned and refurbished, important citizens were ordered to dress themselves

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67II, 117-120.
68II, 216-217.
69II, 249, note 1.
70II, 130.
71II, 120-121.
splendidly or pay a fine, entertainment was planned, and several hundred pounds were borrowed to provide for the visit. 72 Robert Wood, the mayor, accompanied by the city officials and all the important citizens of the city met Elizabeth at Hartford Bridge. The mayor welcomed her with a speech in Latin, gave her the sword of the city, and a gift of a cup filled with £100 in gold. Elizabeth thanked the mayor, assuring him that she visited for the good will and love of her subjects, not the gifts. The people of the city entertained her with pageants as she moved towards the cathedral where the company attended a thanksgiving service. When this was over, the Queen moved to the bishop's palace where she lodged during her stay in Norwich. The next day, Monday, the weather was bad and she stayed in the palace. Early that morning the god Mercury appeared under her window to announce that there would be pageants for her entertainment that day. The weather delayed these plays until Tuesday when they were presented as the monarch rode from the city to hunt. Also on that Tuesday evening, the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church preached a sermon to the Queen and presented her with the gift of a cup. On Wednesday, another pageant was planned, to take place upon the river. But again the weather forced a cancellation. Elizabeth did go to Mount Surrey, another house of Lord Thomas Howard's in the neighborhood. Upon her return on Wednesday evening,
Stephan Limbert, the schoolmaster, met her. He made a speech in Latin and Greek to the Queen, some of the English nobles, and three French ambassadors who were with the court on this progress. When it was over, Elizabeth thanked the schoolmaster and gave him her hand to kiss. She then returned to the palace for the night.

The next night, Thursday, there was a masque for the Queen after dinner. A Mr. Goldingham wrote this show which featured the ancient gods and goddesses giving gifts and speaking poetry, both accompanied by music. The royal entourage departed Norwich the next day. With music playing, the mayor and aldermen accompanied them through streets hung with flowers, signs and banners. Because of the lateness of the hour, the mayor cancelled his last speeches. But the Queen did take copies of the speeches and promised to read them. Thomas Churchyard, the author of the previous pageants, was forced to cancel his last production because of the late hour. Elizabeth thanked the city officials for their courtesy and good will and knighted the mayor, now Sir Robert Wood.73

One unfortunate result of the royal visit to Norwich was that plague infected the town and killed many citizens in the next few years.74

The Queen visited a number of homes on her return from Norfolk to Wansted where the progress ended. Each host

73II, 137-179.
entertained her royally. Included was Kimberley, the home
of Sir Roger Woodhouse; Wood Rising, the home of
Sir Robert Southwell; Thetford Manor, the home of
Sir Edward Clere; and Hengrave Hall, the home of
Sir Thomas Kitson.75 These places are all in Norfolk or
Suffolk as the court retraced their route in going to
Norwich. Besides Sir Thomas Kitson, she probably was en-
tertained either going or coming by several other Suffolk men.
Among them were Sir William Spring of Lavenham, sheriff of
Suffolk;76 Sir Arthur Higham of Barrow near Bury St. Edmunds;
and others not named.77

From Suffolk the Queen went into Cambridgeshire where
the first stop was at Chippenham, seat of James Revett, whom
she knighted during this progress.78 From there she visited
Roger Lord North at Kirtling. Lord North spent a total of
£762 4s 2d for the Queen's provisions, gifts, and entertain-
ment. This included the gift of a jewel worth £120, and the
loss of a pewter dish.79 From there Elizabeth stopped at
Horsheath, the home of Sir Giles Allington; Chiderley, the
home of Sir John Cutts; Hadham Hall, the seat of
Sir Edward Capel; Hide Hall, the seat of Sir Thomas Jocelyn;

75II, 214-215.
76II, 116.
77II, 129.
78II, 215, note 2.
Rockwood Hall, the property of George Browne; Loughton Manor, the property of Francis Stonard; and finally she reached Wansted. Besides those already named, Elizabeth knighted fifteen other men from Norfolk and Suffolk during this progress.

In the early winter of 1579, the Queen visited Osterley Park in Middlesex, the home of Sir Thomas Gresham, the best financial mind of his day. That summer she visited Essex and Suffolk for the third time. This was not a long nor an extensive progress. She left Greenwich on July 16 and stopped first at Havering, still in the hands of the Earl of Oxford. Next she went to Onger, the home of James Morris; Leigh Priory, the home of Lord Rich; Gosfield, the home of the widowed Anne Lady Maltravers; and the town of Colchester where she stayed with Sir Thomas Lucas. In September she visited George Tuke at Layer Marney; Mrs. Vincent Harris at Malden; Sir Thomas Mildmay at Moulsham near Chelmsford; Lady Petre at Ingatestone; and back to Havering and Greenwich. This was the last long progress until after the Armada in 1588.

The sources do not reveal any progress made in 1580. In 1581 there was no progress as such. Elizabeth occupied

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80II, 221-222.
81II, 224-225.
82II, 279.
83II, 285-286.
her time in entertaining ambassadors from France and entertaining the Duke d'Anjou who was still seeking marriage with her. On April 4, 1481, before the French arrived, she went to Deptford, dined on board the Golden Hind and knighted the captain, Francis Drake.

At some time during this year she also dined at the Manor House, Chelsea, now the home of the Earl of Nottingham. This was the first of four visits to this house where Elizabeth lived with Katherine Parr and Thomas Seymour after her father's death.

In February of 1582, the Duke d'Anjou left England for the Low Countries. He left from Sandwich, accompanied by a number of English nobles. The Queen accompanied him as far as Canterbury. Fifteen hundred and eighty-two was another bad plague year in London. On August 29 Elizabeth was at Oatlands and at some time during the year she was at Hampton Court. Both of these royal palaces are in Surrey.

In 1583 the Queen was at Greenwich in April; stayed

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85II, 312.
86II, 337.
87II, 303.
88II, 389, note 1.
89II, 386-387.
90II, 394.
91II, 392.
92II, 390.
for five days with Lord Burghley at Theobalds in May; and returned to Richmond and Greenwich for the rest of the summer. She dined at Barnsleys House and at Clapham at some time during this summer. There is evidence that the monarch intended to visit Sir William More at Losenly Hall in Surrey in August, but it is doubtful if the visit took place. She did go from Greenwich to Oatlands and on October 5 returned to St. James. Dispatches from Oatlands reveal that the court was there on September 2 and 15, 1584, and that the Queen returned to St. James on November 12 of that year.

In March of 1585 the Queen was at Greenwich. She went to Lambeth on the twenty-sixth and returned to Greenwich on the twenty-ninth. On July 11 she went from Richmond to Barn-Elms to visit her secretary and ambassador, Sir Francis Walsingham. On August 11 she was at Nonsuch Palace in Surrey. On November 19 she visited the Earl of Nottingham who had just been made Lord High Admiral, at

93II, 400.
94II, 404.
95II, 405.
96II, 412.
97II, 422-423.
98II, 431.
99II, 440.
his home in Chelsea. Elizabeth visited William Lord Borough in Lambeth on December 21 before returning to Greenwich. 101

Fifteen hundred and eighty-six was the year of the Babington Plot and Elizabeth stayed close to London except for a visit to Windsor in August. 102 In February, March and April the Queen visited Archbishop Whitgift in Lambeth and on April 6 she went to Greenwich. 103 In October she again visited the archbishop at Lambeth and on December 31 she went from Richmond to visit William Lord Borough at his house in Lambeth. She returned to Greenwich on January 1, 1587. 104

On February 8, 1587, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, was executed at Fotheringay palace in Northamptonshire. She was buried on August 1, 1587, at the Cathedral in Peterborough. 105 Because of possible crises following the execution, Elizabeth spent the year in her palaces in the London area. She dined with the Earl of Nottingham in Chelsea and with Lord Montague at Stockwell. 106

Fifteen hundred and eighty-eight was the year of the Spanish Armada. The Queen again stayed in the London area. She dined in Chelsea with the Lord Admiral on July 5 and

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101 II, 446.
102 II, 481.
103 II, 455.
104 II, 482.
105 II, 502-508.
106 -- 509.
she visited and addressed the troops at Tilbury on August 8.\textsuperscript{107}

In November there were ceremonies and celebrations for the victory over the Spaniards.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{107}II, 530.

\textsuperscript{108}II, 537-540.
CHAPTER IV

PROGRESSES 1589 TO 1603

During the last fifteen years of the reign, the Queen curtailed her progresses in length of time away, in the number of miles covered and in the number of places visited. That was probably due both to Elizabeth's age and the age of her favorite hosts. Some of her favorites died during that period: the Earl of Leicester in 1588, Sir Thomas Gresham in 1579, Sir Christopher Hatton in 1591, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, in 1596, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in 1598. These were also years of turmoil in foreign and domestic affairs. That fact made it more important to stay close to London.

In 1589 Elizabeth made only three short trips away from the London area, all into Surrey. On May 26 she visited Sir Francis Walsingham at his house, Barn-elms; on June 11 she visited Richard Cornwallis at his home Highgate; and on June 18 she went to her palace of Oatlands.

On May 28, 1590, the Queen went from the Kings Hold in Hackney, the home of Sir Richard Haywood, to visit

1Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, III, 28. All succeeding unmarked references in this chapter are to Nichols.
Sir Christopher Hatton at his new home. Sir Christopher built his home on the former site of the London palace of the Bishop of Ely. After a succession of minor court posts, Hatton was made Lord Chancellor in 1587. On September 4 Elizabeth answered a petition made to her earlier by the city of Winchester. To relieve their economic distress, they were given permission to manufacture certain fabrics. On September 12 she visited Sir Julius Caesar, a judge, at his home, Mitcham. This one day visit and losses on preparations for earlier contemplated visits cost him £700 for gifts and entertainment plus the cost of provisions.

The Queen left Mitcham for her palace at Nonsuch on September 13 and was at Windsor on October 23. In November she was at Richmond where she remained except for one day spent at Somerset House on the Strand.

In 1591 the Queen made a progress to Portsmouth, Southampton, and Winchester during the summer. Prior to this she made several visits closer to London. On February 11 she visited Archbishop Whitgrif at Lambeth palace. On May 10 she visited Lord Burghley at Theobalds for ten days. At this time she knighted Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley’s second son. On July 10 she again visited Lord Burghley, this time at his

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3 III, 40.
4 III, 68.
5 III, 69.
6 III, 71.
townhouse, Burghley House, on the north side of the Strand. On progress to Portsmouth, the Queen stayed with Sir William More at Losten; and on August 15 she dined at Farnham Castle with the Bishop of Winchester before arriving at Cowdrey in Sussex, the home of Lord Montague. The entertainment there was quite lavish during her seven day stay. Before leaving she knighted six young men including George Browne, second son of Lord Montague. She next visited the town of Chichester for several days, before proceeding to Petworth. This royal property formerly belonged to the Percy family, Earls of Northumberland. At the restoration Petworth was granted to Charles Seymour who was made Duke of Somerset. Elizabeth also visited Stanstead, the home of John Lord Lumley, on the way to Portsmouth.

The sources used record no dates for the visit to Portsmouth, but after leaving the town she stayed at Titchfield, the home of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, where Lord Burghley dated his dispatches September 2, 1591. During this progress the Queen also visited the towns of Southampton and Winchester, but no records of either visit

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7III, 79, note 1.
8III, 83, note 1.
9III, 90-96.
10III, 97.
11III, 98, note 1.
are available. On her way back to the London area she visited Farley Wallop near Basing, the home of Sir Henry Wallop; the royal palace of Odiham; and Elvetham, the home of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The Earl had his house especially enlarged for this royal visit. During this four day visit, the entertainment consisted of many elaborate masques and pageants. The Earl was always very anxious to please the Queen because he had antagonized her by his unfortunate marriage to Lady Catherine Grey, Lady Jane's sister. There is mention of how lavish "his cheare and provision" were, but there are no references to specific sums spent.

On September 24 Elizabeth was at Farnham Castle again; and on the twenty-sixth at Sutton Place, the home of Sir Richard Weston. By October she had returned to Richmond. On November 11 she visited Sir Christopher Hatton during his last illness. He died on November 20, 1591. The Queen was at Hampton Court for New Year's.

In the summer of 1592, Elizabeth made a last progress to Oxford. During the spring she remained in the London area, dining with Sir George Carey at his home in Surrey; and with

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12 III, 98, note 2; 99, note 1.
13 III, 100.
14 III, 101-102.
15 III, 109.
16 III, 121-122.
Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral, at Chelsea. In August she visited Sir Henry Lee at Quainton in Buckinghamshire. Sir Henry was Master of the Armory and the Queen’s Champion. On her way to Oxford in September, the Queen made a wide swing to the north and west of England. She visited Alderton, the home of John Higford; Sudeley Castle, the home of Giles Bridges, Lord Chandos; Kelweston, the home of her godson, Sir John Harington; the town of Bath; and her palace of Woodstock in Oxfordshire. Elizabeth arrived at Oxford on September 22 for a stay of six days. During her stay she enjoyed splendid entertainment by the colleges who were each taxed proportionally on the basis of their rents for this entertainment. The Queen left Oxford, going to Rycot, the home of Henry Lord Norris, where she spent the next week-end before returning to the London area.

At some time during the year 1592, Elizabeth visited the widowed Lady Russel at the home of her son, Sir Edward Hoby, Bisham in Berkshire. There the entertainment

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18 III, 125.
19 III, 42-43.
20 III, 250-251.
21 III, 129.
22 III, 144-160.
23 III, 160.
24.
was a pageant of mythical creatures. In 1592 or 1593 the Queen may have visited Francis Bacon and his family at Twickenham Park. She spent the autumn of 1592 at Windsor due to an outbreak of plague in London.

The only record in the sources used for the year 1593 is of Elizabeth at Windsor in August. Because there was some sickness there, she was expected to move, perhaps to Hampton Court, but whether she did or not is not recorded.

In 1594 there is only one visit recorded except for short journeys from one royal palace to another within the London area. The visit to Kew, the home of Sir John Puckering, who was made Lord Keeper in 1592, took place on August 14. There is a list of things provided for the visit, but no record of the sums spent for each item of food, drink, entertainment, or gifts. At some time during this year the Queen visited Bishop Aylmer, Bishop of London, at his palace at Fulham.

In 1595 Elizabeth dined with Sir John Puckering at Kew where she had a "great and costlie meale," and several very costly gifts including a jewel worth £400.

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26 III, 190-191.
27 III, 214.
28 III, 227.
29 III, 252-253.
30 III, 269.
In 1596, 1597 and 1598 there is no record of the Queen leaving the London area. At some time in 1596 she visited Thomas Lord Borough at his home in Lambeth; Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, at his home in Wimbledon; and Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, at his home in Chelsea. In 1597 she visited Lord Burghley at Theobalds. In August of 1598 William Cecil, Lord Burghley, died at his house in the Strand. Elizabeth had visited him at his country house, Theobalds, a few days prior to his death. On September 17, 1598, the Queen visited Sir Julius Caesar at Mitcham on her way to her palace of Nonsuch in Surrey.

On July 26, 1599, the Queen visited Bartholomew Clarke at his home Foxeshall in Lambeth. Clarke leased this house from the crown. She left on July 27 and on her way back to Greenwich dined with Sir Noel Caron, the Ambassador from Holland, at his home in Lambeth. She stayed three days with the new Lord Burghley, Thomas Cecil, at Wimbledon, and was at her palace of Nonsuch in Surrey by August 1. During August she visited Sir Francis Carew at Bedlington in Surrey.

32 III, 413-414.
33 III, 419.
34 III, 427, note 1.
35 III, 428.
36 III, 436.
37 III, 440.
for three days.\textsuperscript{38}

Early in 1600 Elizabeth dined at Norbiton in Surrey with George Evelyn who seems to have been a gunpowder manufacturer,\textsuperscript{39} and in June she dined with Lady Lumley at Greenwich.\textsuperscript{40} On June 23 the Queen attended the wedding of Lord Herbert and Mrs. Anne Russel at Blackfriars.\textsuperscript{41} Progresses to North Wiltshire or to Hampshire were considered for this year. The court was clearly reluctant to go on such a long journey, and although she seemed to be displeased by this reluctance, Elizabeth only went as far as Surrey.\textsuperscript{42} On July 27 she dined with the Lord Admiral at Chelsea; on August 8 and 9 she was at Nonsuch and Oatlands, both royal palaces. The Queen spent three days at Tooting with Sir Henry Maynard, lord of that manor, and returned to Nonsuch. While at Nonsuch she dined at Bedlington with Sir Francis Carew and at Croydon with Archbishop Whitgriff. By August 26 Elizabeth was at Oatlands where she hunted and dined twice with a Mr. Drake. She hunted at Hanworth Park and dined at the house where she had lived for a short time with Catherine Parr and Thomas Seymour immediately after her father's death. How long Elizabeth stayed in Surrey is not

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38}III, 441.
\item \textsuperscript{39}III, 489.
\item \textsuperscript{40}III, 498.
\item \textsuperscript{41}III, 499.
\end{itemize}
certain, but by the middle of November she was back in London.43

In February of 1601 the Earls of Essex and Southampton were tried and executed for treason. The Queen remained at Whitehall during this period of crisis.44 In May of 1601 she dined with Archbishop Whitgift at Lambeth, and in August with Dr. Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, at Fulham.45 At some time during the summer she visited Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, at his town house, York House, where she watched the presentation of a masque called The Lottery.46

In the year 1601, Elizabeth went on the last long progress of her reign. On August 13 the Queen was at Windsor; from there she visited a Mr. Warder; and then she stopped at Reading.47 While staying at Reading she dined and was lavishly entertained at Causham, the home of Sir William Knollys, who had been made Treasurer of the Household in 1601.48 She dined with Sir Edward Norris at Englefield and stayed with Sir Humphrey Foster at Padworth49 before arriving on September 5 at Basing, the home of

43III, 513-514.
44III, 547.
45III, 550.
46III, 570.
47III, 567.
48III, 564.
49III, 568.
William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester and Earl of Wiltshire. While at Basing, Elizabeth entertained a company of visiting Frenchmen numbering in the hundreds, including the Duke of Biron, the French Ambassador. The French stayed four or five days at the Vyne, the home of Lord Sandys, at the Queen's great expense; the Queen stayed thirteen days at Basing at great expense to the Marquis. Upon leaving Basing she knighted ten men, making a total of fifteen knights created on this progress. Elizabeth cancelled her plans to visit Littlecote, the home of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench and Elvetham, the home of the Earl of Hertford, because of the long time spent at Basing with the French. She did visit Sir Edward Coke, the Solicitor-General, at Stoke Pogis in Buckinghamshire before reaching Windsor. On October 20 the town of Kingston on Thames gave the Queen a gift of a pair of gloves and £4 6s.

There was talk of a progress as far as Bath and Bristol in 1602, but in fact the Queen went no farther than Middlesex. In the spring Elizabeth visited Henry Lord Hunsdon in Lambeth; on Mayday she visited Sir Richard Buckley at his

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50III, 655, note 1 and 2.
51III, 566, note 2.
52III, 568.
53III, 568.
54III, 569.
55--- 750.
home, Lewisham; and a week later dined with Sir William Knollys at St. James Park.56

The progress itself was begun on July 28 when Elizabeth left Greenwich for Chiswick, the home of Sir William Russel. From there she visited Ambrose Copinger at Harlington; Sir Thomas Egerton at his country home, Harefield Place, where the entertainments were unusual masques and pageants; and Sir William Clarke at Burnham.57 The Queen still intended to go farther on progress, but due to the bad weather and an outbreak of smallpox she went instead to Oatlands for a time, and was in Greenwich by October.58 In November, she went to Whitehall where she stayed for Christmas that year. She dined at Sir Robert Cecil's new house and at the home of the Lord Admiral during December.59

Towards the end of January 1603, the court moved to Richmond where on March 24 the Queen Elizabeth I died.60

56 III, 577.
57 III, 578-579.
58 III, 600.
59 III, 601.
60 III, 607-609.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Most writers on the sixteenth century ignore Queen Elizabeth's progresses. The general histories of the reign only mention that they were made, and the biographies go into little detail. At most, they tell about the well publicized visit to Kenilworth in 1575. Neale's definitive biography of Elizabeth devotes very few pages to her progresses. Even the Calendar of State Papers does not discuss them. The overall impression is that they were not very important.

However, the progresses do add to the knowledge of sixteenth century England in several ways. In spite of the high cost to the host of a royal visit there was no shortage of men willing and anxious to entertain the Queen and court. Many of these hosts were not of ancient noble families, but recently ennobled persons or mere gentry. This fact shows that not only was England becoming wealthier and more prosperous, but that this prosperity was being diffused into more hands and that a larger and wealthier middle class was becoming more important. The accounts of the visits also show what was considered suitable entertainment for the
middle and upper classes in general and the court in particular. And it is possible to get an idea of the cost of certain commodities during that period.

Most important, the progresses give evidence of the personal touch in Elizabeth's relationship with her subjects, and evidence of how they felt about the Queen. It is these reciprocal feelings, on the part of crown and people, which have contributed to the Elizabethan legend of Gloriana and a happy, prosperous England.
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