

THE PROGRESS OF KING EDWARD VI.
IN SUSSEX.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

“Inde Guilfordam, Petwoorthaque transit in arva ;
Commodat inde suos Coudria villa lares.
Non fuit immunis tanti Halfhakera triumphii,
Non Warblingtono proxima ripa freto.”

THOMAS STAPLETONUS, in *Collegii Wychemensis
Carminibus Gratulatoriis.*

OUR monarchs, in the middle ages, were of necessity migratory. Their large households, and the concourse of suitors which attended their courts, not merely for extraordinary favours, but for the ordinary administration of justice—the numerous retainers attendant both upon the suitors and the courtiers, and their troops of friends and witnesses—all occasioned a demand for extensive supplies of provisions ; whilst the badness of the roads, at least in certain soils and seasons, and the imperfect means of conveyance, conduced to render those supplies, after a time, scarce and inadequate. Thus, when the products of one neighbourhood were nearly exhausted, it became expedient to remove to another locality. That this inconvenience was felt, as much as ever, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, we have his own testimony ; for he tells us in his Journal, that in his progress of 1552, when he was at Petworth, it was found necessary to send away the greater part of his train, for “they were enough to eat up the country.”

In the days of our earlier kings the royal manors and castles were scattered over the whole area of the realm, and they would generally pass from one to another without taxing the hospitality of their subjects ; but, if the intermediate distance was

such as to require some entertainment by the way, there was always some well-revenued abbey, bound by its religious duty to afford lodging to all wayfarers, and bound by loyalty as well as religion to receive the royal train. The equivalent was returned, when required, in lands and privileges; and, when the church was satiated with riches, she was content to be repaid with the royal countenance and protection, and the customary offerings upon her altars.

The dissolution of religious houses destroyed these capacious and ever-open hostelries. The civil wars had previously dismantled many castles, or a change of manners rendered them disagreeable for residence; whilst improvident grants and reckless favouritism alienated many royal manors. In numberless cases both castles and manors became hereditary possessions in the families of those who had been appointed their keepers for the crown. When the sovereign now made his progresses, he could only occasionally occupy his own castles or palaces; but in most of his stages he was lodged under the roof of the wealthy among his subjects. This mode of passing a summer arrived at its height of splendour and enjoyment in the reign of Elizabeth, who put her nobility to enormous and sometimes ruinous expense in her entertainment, and whose "princely pleasures" at Kenilworth, at Theobalds, at Cowdray, and other mansions too numerous to recount, were largely celebrated by chronicler and poet.¹ The same custom was continued in the reign of James I.,² in whose piping times of peace the dramatic talents of Ben Jonson, Dekker, Marston, and Chapman, with all the galaxy of minor poets, were frequently invoked, to give grace and spirit to the sylvan interludes and the more gorgeous domestic masques, enacted with the most splendid scenery and costume, and the magnificent architectural conceptions of Inigo Jones, with which the monarch was welcomed and amused. These gay doings continued during the reign of Charles I., until the royal progress was merged in the march and countermarch of Cavaliers and Roundheads.

Some memorable progresses were made by Henry VIII.;

¹ See *The Progresses and Public Pro-
cessions of Queen Elizabeth*. By John
Nichols, F.S.A. 3 vols. 4to. 1823.

² See *The Progresses, &c. of King
James I.* 4 vols. 4to. 1828.

but I am not aware whether with him they were customary year by year. At any rate, they have not hitherto found an historian, except in one instance, which is of the year 1541, shortly after a great rebellion in Lincolnshire. The King then passed through that lately disturbed county, and afterwards proceeded as far as York. In the volumes of the Archæological Institute, Mr. Hunter has given, in two portions, a very interesting account of this progress of King Harry.

His youthful successor made only one progress, properly so called, which was in part through the county of Sussex, and which therefore, I venture to believe, offers an appropriate subject for the attention of this Society. This occurrence has been already twice mentioned in the Society's *Collections*, but, as it has happened, in both places with wrong dates. In our fifth volume, at page 185, it is said to have taken place in the year 1547; in our sixth volume, at page 53, it is stated that King Edward VI. visited Petworth in 1551, and again in 1554. In fact, he was only in Sussex once, and that was in the year 1552.

I have said above that this was King Edward's only progress, which must be understood to mean that it was his first and only progress in which he went any distance from home; his former journeys, probably on account of his youth, having scarcely exceeded the round of his own palaces. Thus, two years before, on the 8th of June, "the gests of my progress," he writes in his Journal, "were set forth, which were these:—from Greenwich to Westminster, from Westminster to Hampton Court, from Hampton Court to Windsor, from Windsor to Guilford, from Guilford to Oatlands, from Oatlands to Richmond."

These were all the King's own houses; and in the following summer Edward's removes were to Hampton Court, Richmond, Windsor, thence to the Bishop of Winchester's at Farnham, to Windsor again, to Oatlands, and to Hampton Court again.

The gests of a progress were its prearranged stages, drawn up in the form of a calendar, noting, together with the places, the days on which the King was to remove, and the distances he would have to travel. I have not found any gests for the progress of 1552, but all its stages are precisely recorded, and may be described without hesitation.

On "the 27th of June the King's Majesty removed from Greenwich by water unto Putney, and there he took his horse unto Hampton Court, on his progress."¹ On the 7th of July he removed thence to Oatlands; on the 15th to Guilford; and on the 21st he entered Sussex, and came to Petworth; on the 25th he proceeded to Cowdray; on the 27th to Halmaker; and on the 2nd of August (quitting Sussex) he came to Warblington. He afterwards visited Bishop's Waltham, Portsmouth, Titchfield, Southampton, Beaulieu, Christchurch, Woodlands in Dorsetshire, Salisbury, Wilton, Mottisfont, Winchester, Basing, Donnington Castle, Reading, and so came to Windsor, where he arrived on the 15th of September.

Some time before the commencement of the progress, it had been arranged that the King should be accompanied by a considerable armed force, in addition to his own yeomen of the guard. It was to be composed of detachments of the bands which were then maintained (with allowances from the crown) by the principal nobility. Under the 23rd of May, the King entered in his Journal:—

"It was appointed that theis bandes of men of armes should goe with me this progresse:—

Lord Treasourour . . .	30	Lord Admiral	15
Lord Great Master . .	25	Lord Darcy	30
Lord Privy Seale . . .	30	Lord Cobham	20
Duke of Soffolk	25	Lord Wardein	20
Earl of Warwike	25	Mr. Vice Chamberlein .	15
Earl of Rutland	15	Mr. Sadler	10
Earl of Huntington . .	25	Mr. Sidney	10."
Earl of Penbroke	50		

A month after, on the 23rd of June:—

"It was agreed, that the bandes of men of armes appointed to Mr. Sidney, Mr. Vice Chamberlein, Mr. Hobby, and Mr. Sadlier, should not be furnished, but left of."

But still it was found, when the King was staying at Petworth, that his troops of followers were more than the country could support:—

"Because," he writes, "the nombre of bandis that went with me this progresse, made the traine great, it was thought

¹ Machyn's *Diary*.

good they should be sent home, save only 150, wich were pickt out of al the bandis. This was bicause the traine was thought to be nier 4,000 horse, wich ware inough to eat up the country; for ther was litle medow nor hay al the way as I went."

The following is the record of the same change of arrangements, as entered in the Register of the Privy Council:—

"At Petworth, the xxiiijth July. The King's Ma^{tie} being enformed that the nombres of his bandes of horsemen that are presently following his Highnes' trayne by his Ma^{ts} appointment, are more than, havinge regarde to the want of provision and forrage, may well be continewed without some hinderaunce to the cuntrie, and pestering of the trayne, his Ma^{tie} this day resolved that the sayd numbers shold be deminished, and divided in sort as followeth:¹—The Lord Treasurer, xx. ; the Lord Privie Seal, xv. ; the Duke of Suffolke, xv. ; th' Erle of Huntingdon, x. ; the Lord Admyrall, x. ; the Lord Chamberlayne, xv. ; the Lord Cobham, x. ; the Lord Warden, xv. ; th' Erle of Warwik, xxv.—Total, Cl."

Thus the bands of the great lords, at first amounting to 345, were reduced to 150; but the King was besides attended by his own guard, to whom, by warrant dated the 5th of June, had been delivered cxxvj. liverie bowes and iiiij^{xx} guilt javelinges, for their furniture for this year, and cxxv. sheaves of arrows, which with their cases and girdles cost xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.² Nor do these figures represent the numbers of the men; for, in anticipation of the progress of 1550, there was "a warrant to Sir Philip Hobie, Knight, master of the ordonance, and to his deputies, to deliver unto John Pers, clerke of the checque, ccc livery bowes, ccc sheefs of arrows, with girdells and cases to the same, and also ccc halberds, for the furniture of ccc of the King's majesties yeomen extraordinarie, to attend on his Highnes' person during his pleasure;" and on the 6th September following, "a warrant to Sir Edward Peckham, for vjCxx li. to the yomen of the garde extraordinarye, for wayting this progresse for Julie and August."

The King was also accompanied, for greater state, by several

¹ So the numbers appear in the copy of 14,026, but one item appears to be deficient, to complete the total of 150. the Privy Council Register, MS. Addit.

² MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 219 b.

of the heralds, who, by a warrant dated the 9th of October, "were allowed for their diet, in their attendance on his Majestie during his progress, from the 5th of July to the 7th of October: —to Garter King of Arms, xs. per diem; to Clarenceux and Norroy, each vj s. viij d.; to Somerset, iiij s.; to Rougedragon and Bluemantle, each ij s.; and to Ulster the same as the other provincial Kings, to the 2nd of September only."¹ Besides these allowances, they also received a gratuity of xx s. from each of the great towns into which the King entered for the first time; which were Guilford, Portsmouth, Southampton, Salisbury, Winchester, and Reading. He did not visit the city of Chichester, though staying at Cowdray and Halnaker.

The King's sixteen trumpeters had also received their accustomed liveries shortly before the commencement of the progress. On the 3rd of May the sum of iiiC xv li. iiij s. had been issued, for the provision of red cloth for liveries for the yeomen, gromes, pages, and others belonging to the privy chamber; and on the 5th of June was issued "a warraunt to th' Exchequier to pay to Edmond Standon, clerk of the stable, the summe of C li. towards the furniture of things necessarie for the King's Ma^{tie} agaynst this progresse."

Such were some of the preparations made for those who constituted the King's personal servants and guards. But, together with the King, the greater part of the council, who were the real governing body of the kingdom, also went this progress. One of them, Sir Philip Hoby, was left in the Tower of London, with special charge of the metropolis, and a weekly allowance of xx li. for his diets;² and in consequence he caught a fit of ague in that moat-encircled fortress. The rest were, more or less, attendant upon their sovereign. On examination of the Privy Council Register, I have found that seven counsellors accompanied him throughout the whole progress, viz.:—the Lord Treasurer (Winchester), the Lord Privy Seal (Bedford), the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain (Northampton), the Lord Chamberlain (Darcy), the Vice-Chamberlain (Gates), and Secretary Cecill. The Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Admiral (Clinton), and Sir John Mason, joined the cavalcade at Salisbury: Secretary Petre came to Basing.

¹ MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 261.

² Privy Council Book.

The houses at which the King sojourned in Sussex were three only—Petworth, Cowdray, and Halmaker. I have no new information to give respecting either of these well-known mansions, but may beg for indulgence in making a few remarks upon the state of each at the period in question.

PETWORTH was the principal southern manor of the great house of Percy, Earls of Northumberland. But they had ceased to occupy it for some time before Leland was there; for he says, "The market towne of Petteworthe, in the wold of South Sax, is right well encreasid syns the yerles of Northumbreland used litle to ly there." Their ownership had in fact temporarily ceased for some fifteen years before King Edward's visit; for Petworth was among the estates vested in the crown by act of Parliament 27 Henry VIII., in the event of the decease of Henry sixth Earl of Northumberland without issue, which happened in 1537. During the reign of Edward VI. this honour remained in the hands of the crown,¹ and Henry Earl of Arundel was master of the game there; we may therefore presume that the charge of the King's entertainment in great measure fell on that nobleman. In the next reign Petworth was restored to the Percies, by letters patent of 4 and 5 Philip and Mary.

At Petworth the King slept four nights; and, on the 25th of July he removed to Cowdray, where he remained until the 27th.

In a letter which Edward soon after wrote to his friend Barnaby Fitz-Patrick (who was then in France, accompanying the French King in his campaign against the Emperor), he thus pleasantly alludes to the difference in their recent occupations:—

"For whereas you al have been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in pained journays, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaltes, we have been occupied in killing of wild bestes, in pleasant journeyes, in good fare, in vewing of fair countries, and rather have sought how to fortifie our own [*i. e.* at Portsmouth] then to spoile another man's. And, being thus determined, came to Gilford, from thens to Petworth, and so to Coudray, a goodly house of Sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvelously, yea

¹ In the MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 17, is a paper containing "The Names of the Lordships of the Honour of Petworth,

with the Members of the same," from a Survey dated Sept. 3, 1552.

rather excessively, banketted. From thens we went to Halvenaker, a prety house besides Chichestir. From thens to Warblington," &c.

COWDRAY, when Edward was so sumptuously entertained there, was still in its early splendour. It had been built by Sir William Fitz-William, Earl of Southampton, shortly after 1533, when he received a license for its embattlement, and proceeded to surround with his new and magnificent towers the ancient pile of his predecessors, the Bohuns, within which he formed his kitchen. I need not enter into further details of the architecture of Cowdray House, which has been already so fully described in our *Collections*; but I cannot omit to remark that its paintings—those historical paintings by which Cowdray was distinguished beyond any other house of its own or even any subsequent time—were also presented in their fresh colours to the eyes of the youthful monarch.

They consisted of some of the most memorable scenes in the reign of Henry VIII., in which the late Sir Anthony Browne (who died in 1548) had taken a part; and among them was one of King Edward's own procession from the Tower of London to Westminster, on the day before his coronation.¹

The King perhaps slept at Cowdray, as his sister Elizabeth subsequently did on her visit in 1591, in what was called the "velvet bedchamber," which was then painted in fresco, with the naval battle fought in the harbour of Brest, in the year 1513, in which Sir Edward Howard was killed. Subsequently the same chamber was hung with tapestry worked from the cartoons of Raffaele.

Sir Anthony Browne (the second of that name), who entertained King Edward, remained, like his cousins, the Poles, and as his father had been before him, an adherent to the ancient faith, and he consequently was highly favoured by Queen Mary, who created him Viscount Montague. His first wife, Lady Jane Ratcliffe, daughter of Robert Earl of Sussex, died at Cowdray² within a year after King Edward's visit, viz. on the 22nd of July, 1553,—not 1552, as printed in Dallaway's

¹ Engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, in a large size, in 17 . . . and described in *An Account of some English Historical Paintings at Cowdray, in Sussex*. By Sir Joseph Ayloff, Bart., V.P.A.S. and F.R.S. London: 1774. 4to.

² See, in Machyn's *Diary*, p. 39, the funeral, on the 4th of August, 1553, of "my Ladé Browne, the whyche she ded in chyld-bed, the wyff of Ser Anthony Brown in Sussex."

Rape of Chichester, an error the more remarkable on the present occasion, as, if that date had been correct, her corpse would have been in the house during the "marvellous banquetting" with which the King was entertained. She was only twenty at her death, and therefore only nineteen at the King's visit.

HALNAKER, OR HALVENAKER, as King Edward wrote the name, and which he described as "a pretty house beside Chichester," was the seat of Thomas Lord de la Warre, by whose father, Thomas the eighth lord, it had been erected early in the reign of Henry VIII. In its great hall, on the wainscot paneling, among the arms and cognizances of the family of West, were placed the royal arms of England and Aragon, which denoted the period of its decoration. To this lordly hall was attached a kitchen of suitable capacity, but which would have furnished but a small portion of the requirements of Edward's numerous train; of whom probably the greater number was lodged in the town of Chichester itself.

That the concourse attendant on the royal progress continued to be inconvenient, in its latter as well as its earlier stages, is shown by the titles of two proclamations which were issued during the following month:—

"Aug. 8. A proclamation for th' advoyding of sutche as have taken up thaire lodging at Southampton without th' order of th' arbengers, with a commandement that other hereafter doe not attempt the like either theare or any other place, upon paine of the Kinges greate indignation," &c. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 250 *b*.)

"Aug. 30. A proclamation to avoyde all manner of persones infected with pestilence or other contagious diseases, or having any persons in their houses therewithall infected, from the courte and other places whereunto the Kinges Ma^{tie} shall repaire in this his Ma^{ties} progresse, And also forbydding any th' inhabitantes of Poole or Wynborne Mynster, by reason of the plage theare, to resorte to the courte at Woodland or Canford during his Ma^{ties} abode theare." (Ibid. p. 252.)

Such were the fetters imposed upon anything like popular enthusiasm or spontaneous exhibitions of loyalty in the reign of Edward VI.

These documents, however, take us out of the county of

Sussex, and are only to our present purpose as general illustrations of the circumstances with which the King's progress was attended. With the three names already noticed, Petworth, Cowdray, and Halnaker, the stages of the progress in this county are concluded; and we are unable to guess the name of the place intended in the following anecdote, though the house in question, if really in this county, must have been situated somewhere near the line of the royal travels:—

“A Sussex (and not a Kentish) knight, having spent a great estate at court, and reduced himself to one park and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain, not the Queen [Elizabeth], but her brother, at it; and to that purpose had new painted his gates, with a coat of arms and a motto over-written—

O I A V A N I T A S,

in great golden letters. Sir Anthony Cooke (and not his son Cecil¹), offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by O I A? who told him it stood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, ‘Sir, I wonder, having made your *omnia* so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your *vanitas* so large.’” (David Lloyd’s *State Worthies*, 1670, p. 385.)

In this passage the parenthetic remarks, “not a Kentish,” “not the Queen,” and “not his son Cecil,” must be in correction of some former relation of the same story; but whether they refer to the first edition of Lloyd’s book, in 1655, or to some other writer, I have not been able to ascertain.

¹ Sir William Cecil, afterwards the one of the daughters of Sir Anthony great Lord Burghley, married Mildred, Cooke.

Note.—The Privy Council sat at Petworth on the 23rd and 26th of July; at Cowdray on the 27th, 28th, and 29th; at Halnaker on the 30th and last day of July, 1st and 3rd of August. On the first day named there were two sittings, unless one of the dates is miscopied in the MS. Addit. 14,026. At the first sitting were present the Lord Privy Seal (Bedford), the Lord Cobham, Mr. Treasurer (Sir Thomas Cheney), Mr. Vice-Chamberlayne (Sir John Gates), Mr. Secretarie Cecill, and Mr. Gage (Sir John Gage); at the second, the Lord Chamberlayne (Darcy), in addition. The Lord Treasurer (Winchester) and the Duke of Suffolk were present in council at Petworth on the 26th, and at Halnaker; and the Lord Great Chamberlain (Northampton) at Cowdray and Halnaker. A grant to Sir John Cheke, the King’s school-master, that one of his household servants, at all times, might shoot in the cross-bow, hand-gun, hack-butt, or demy-hack, at certain fowl and deer therein mentioned, notwithstanding the statute of 33 Henry VIII., was dated at Petworth on the 23rd of July.