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## **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

### **Henry VIII's court in the 1510s and 1520s**

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THE HENRICIAN COURT DURING CARDINAL WOLSEY'S  
ASCENDANCY c.1514-1529.

Submitted by Neil Samman to the University of Wales as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, November 1988.

I certify that this thesis is the result of my own investigation and that no material is included for which a degree has previously been conferred upon me.

Signed... Neil Samman .....

Signed..... J.M. Hughes .....

(Supervisor)

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7. The itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1529.
8. Katherine's pilgrimages to Walsingham - 1515, 1519 and 1521.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- AAJB Bourilly, V.L. and Vassière P. de Ambassades en Angleterre de Jean du Bellay (Paris, 1905)
- BIHR Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
- BL British Library.
- CCRO Coventry City Record Office.
- CSPM Calendar of State Papers, Milan.
- CSPS Calendar of State Papers, Spanish.
- CSPS FS Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, Further Supplement.
- CSPV Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.
- DNB Dictionary of National Biography.
- EHR English Historical Review.
- GEC The Complete Peerage of England by G.E. Cockayne (London, 1910-1959)
- HC Bindoff, S.T. The House of Commons, 1509-1558 (London, 1982)
- HL Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- HMC Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
- LJ Journals of the House of Lords (printed)
- LP Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII ed. J.S. Brewer et al. (London, 1864-1932)
- PPE The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth ed. Nicholas N.H. (London, 1827)
- St.P State Papers, King Henry the Eighth (London 1830-52)
- TP Tudor Royal Proclamations ed Hughes, P.L. and Larkin J.F. 1 (New Haven, Conn., 1964)
- VCH The Victoria County History of the Counties of England

Unless otherwise stated all references can be found at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane. When giving dates the Old Style has been retained, but the year is assumed to have started on 1st January.

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## SUMMARY.

This thesis is about court politics during the years of Wolsey's ascendancy and it is based upon a variety of different sources. The king's itinerary has received little attention, yet it was one of the most fundamental aspects of the court, and where the king was staying was of direct political importance. The way in which the court functioned changed during the summer progress and when the sweating sickness reached epidemic proportions the king disbanded the entire household. The nature of the royal 'progress' is discussed and with whom the king stayed during his progresses. Dr. Starkey has analysed the role of the privy chamber and its political significance. This study examines those courtiers who took part in the king's recreation. The role of chamber officers in the jousts and masks is considered and its implications for court politics.

Cardinal Wolsey is currently the centre of a revisionist debate. His relationship with the king and the royal court is central to a full understanding of his role as 'chief' minister. Wolsey's relationship with some of the senior officers of the chamber and household is explored and how he managed to retain his influence with the king. Henry summoned council meetings when he wished to hear a broader range of views and he did not rely totally on Wolsey's advice. The cardinal was interested in events at court and wished to be kept fully informed. The reconstruction of Wolsey's itinerary throws new light on his role in court politics. After comparing his itinerary with that of the king, it emerges that Wolsey visited the court more frequently than has traditionally been recognised. He met the king during the summer progress and his role at court is reinterpreted.

## INTRODUCTION.

In an age of personal monarchy it was of paramount importance who could obtain access to the king. The monarch was the centre of power. The 'game of politics' revolved around his person and offices, grants and promotion were all within his gift. The court provided a forum where men competed with one another for patronage, and policy was formulated by the ruling elite. Courtiers, in turn, reinforced the king's authority and took part in the ritualised splendour which encompassed the monarch. In the words of Sir Geoffrey Elton, the court was the 'true seat of power, profit and policy'. (1) The key to a courtier's success was attracting and retaining royal favour. Securing the king's ear could reap profit and reward for a courtier and his associates; not to mention the influence it could give in the affairs of state. Men whose interests coincided with those of the king were more likely to gain royal recognition and a share in the royal bounty.

Tournaments and court entertainment provided one avenue to the king and Henry VIII's passion for the tilt yard gave the joust a heightened political significance. The importance of spectacle in court politics has been appreciated in a general sense, but what about the individual fortunes of the men about the king? Could ability in the joust be transformed into concrete political advantage? Moreover, were such entertainments a barometer of favour? It is commonly believed that Henry VIII rarely stayed with members of his nobility or courtiers preferring instead to lodge at one of his numerous manors. (2) To entertain the king was a very important honour and no attempt has been made to analyse the king's



progresses and with whom he lodged. It was significant who the king visited during the summer progress, with which courtiers he jousted and who he invited to join his hunting expeditions.

It has been argued that by 1518-19 'the power of the court was concentrated and articulated in the hands of the privy chamber'. (3) Studies of the Henrician court as an institution have been mostly confined to the privy chamber and there has been a tendency to down-grade the significance of the chamber. Dr. Starkey has pieced together the role of the privy chamber and has illustrated how this department rose to political significance during the first half of Henry VIII's reign; its importance was formally recognised in the Eltham Ordinances of 1526. (4) Previously it had been the chamber servants, particularly the knights and esquires of the body who had enjoyed intimate access to the king, who dressed the monarch and slept on pallet beds in his chamber at night. (5) As Dr. Starkey has shown, this role was taken over by the gentlemen of the privy chamber. Did servants of the chamber still retain a political role or was this department in terminal decline?

Court politics in the first half of Henry VIII's reign were largely dominated by Wolsey and for fifteen years he acted as the king's 'chief' minister. In 1507 he had been made a royal chaplain and Henry VII had sent him on several diplomatic missions. He was promoted to almoner in November 1509 and sat on the council for the first time in June 1510. (6) Wolsey was still almoner in 1513 but in the following two years his rise to power was meteoric. He rose to pre-eminence after organising the French campaign in 1513 and in recognition of his services was given the see of Tournai which he held in commendam. In February 1514 Wolsey was made bishop of Lincoln and after the death of Cardinal Bainbridge in July, he

exchanged Lincoln for the archbishopric of York. With the king's help he was ~~elected~~<sup>created</sup> a cardinal in September 1515 and on 18th November an elaborate ceremony was staged at Westminster Abbey. Attended by the premiere magnates of the realm, he received his cardinal's hat and afterwards organised a lavish banquet at York Place. (7) William Warham resigned as lord chancellor in December and on the 22nd Wolsey was presented with the Great Seal. Wolsey gained authority over the English church when he was made legate a latere in 1518 after persistent pressure on the Vatican. Initially this was only a temporary appointment but in 1524 it was converted to a grant for life.

Wolsey has traditionally received a bad press and Pollard cited him as a striking 'illustration of the demoralising effects of irresponsible power'. (8) The cardinal is currently being rehabilitated although as Dr. Guy argues it is important not to overstate his defence. (9) Wolsey's role at court has been the subject of controversy and confusion. Did the cardinal obtain a monopoly of patronage? Did he work from within the court or set up his own rival political centre? Dr. Starkey has seen Wolsey as a competent politician who manoeuvred to outwit his enemies in the privy chamber. (10) The revisionist view of Wolsey, spearheaded by Peter Gwyn, argues that Wolsey was less interested in court politics and rejects the idea that he purged the privy chamber in 1519 and 1526. (11) Was Wolsey the 'alter rex' as some ambassadors and historians would have us believe? (12) The role of the king is central to this controversy. Was Henry a lazy king who left everything to his chief minister preferring to hunt all day, as Pollard has argued, or did he take an active interest in the affairs of state? (13) Some historians have depicted Henry as a

'strong king' before whom his subjects quailed, whilst others maintain that he was easily influenced and manipulated by those around him. (14)

The poem Why Come ye Not to Court is frequently quoted and it paints a picture of Wolsey and the king's court which is still accepted by many historians.

'Why come ye nat to court?  
To whyche court?  
To the kinges courte?  
Or to Hampton Court?  
Nay, to the kynges courte!  
The kynges courte  
Shulde have the excellence;  
But Hampton Court  
Hath the preemynence!' (15)

Dr. Walker, in a recent book has shown that Skelton cannot be trusted as an historical source. (16) Did Wolsey, however, try and deflate the political importance of the court in favour of his own centres of power? The cardinal's concentration of the king's council about himself in star chamber and his ostentatious palaces of York Place and Hampton Court have tended to confirm this interpretation. After a detailed examination of star chamber Dr. Guy has concluded that this gave Wolsey 'the capacity almost to rival Henry VIII's court as a centre of political attention'. (17)

The council continued to meet at court during Wolsey's ascendancy and the senior members of the chamber and household were also the king's councillors. In his most recent work Dr. Starkey has turned his attention to the role of 'privy' councillors around the king and argues that 'the intimate connection between household and Council .... is a central, and neglected, theme of the reign'. (18) He suggests that it was these men, rather than the gentlemen of the privy chamber, who were more important in court politics. (19) This is an important point and one which will be

discussed in Chapter 8. The role of the councillors at court will be examined and the cardinal's relationship with them.

These issues will be analysed using a wide range of material and a number of unused sources. Little use has been made previously of the jousting cheques for this period and they provide a new insight into one of the king's favourite pastimes. The cofferer's and comptroller's accounts are an unused source and, where they survive, provide an accurate itinerary for Henry VIII. The accounts have not been analysed in any published work and they help to throw new light on the Henrician court. Little attention has been paid by historians to the court's itinerary and yet it shaped the context in which politics functioned. In order to understand whether Wolsey overshadowed the court some mention must be made of court spectacle, its impact upon contemporaries and its political significance. This does not just include the jousts and masks put on at court but also the royal progress and the way in which Henry used this to strengthen his rule. The construction of Cardinal Wolsey's itinerary is a valuable source in the re-interpretation of court politics during his ascendancy. It helps to show how often he was at court and the distance which separated the king from his minister. This can provide important new evidence about the relationship between Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey and the nature of politics during his ascendancy.

Unfortunately, it would be impossible to consider every aspect of the court or Wolsey's rule in one Ph.D. thesis. This is not an 'institutional' study of the Henrician court. Instead it aims to throw new light on certain issues and in particular, to discuss the extent to which the royal progress, jousting and the traditional exchange of New Year's gifts reflected, and interacted with, court politics.

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19. Ibid. pp.23-31.

## CHAPTER 1.

### HENRY VIII'S ITINERARY : POLITICS AND THE ROYAL PROGRESS.

The fact that the court was itinerant is one of its most striking but nevertheless consistently underplayed features. Lack of precise information and the problems of compiling an accurate itinerary has resulted in misunderstanding and a general underestimation of the subject. The progress has received more attention in Elizabeth's reign when it reached its most dramatic expression, leaving an indelible mark upon the historical imagination. The brilliance of the progress in these years has tended to obscure the importance and relevance of this spectacle in the reign of Henry VIII. The progress left a lasting impression upon contemporaries and was of great political importance. The Great Chronicle described Henry VI's progress of 1470 as 'more lyker a play than the shewyng of a Prynce to wyne mennys hertys'. (1) Throughout this chapter the emphasis will be on the first twenty years of Henry VIII's reign. A study of the itinerary outside these years would be fascinating but outside the scope of this present study.

The progress is recognised as an important instrument of Tudor government. By visiting the localities a monarch reinforced his authority and was presented to his subjects against a background of ceremony and ritualised splendour. It is well known that Henry VII's success in consolidating the country after his victory at Bosworth was in large part due to his exhaustive round of progresses. (2) As the king grew older and the country more stable, Henry VII travelled less far afield. The

peripatetic court was a feature of medieval life and the 'saddle Kings' of the early medieval period, in particular, had continued their relentless journeys throughout the kingdom. (3) The gradual trend towards a more settled court was already under way by the reign of Henry VI and Dr. Wolffe has calculated that the king went on progress for an average of ninety days a year 'beyond his normal residences'. (4)

The development of larger and more splendid palaces in and around the capital reflected the growth of the court as an institution. Larger royal palaces were symbolic of the strength of the monarchy and further encouraged a more settled way of life. Edward IV, for example, enlarged the palace of Eltham and the great hall 'set a standard of architectural magnificence that was not easily to be surpassed' whilst Henry VII's palace of Richmond symbolised the permanence of the Tudor dynasty. (5) The same process is very much in evidence during Henry VIII's reign, the greatest royal builder of all time, and the development of Whitehall as a power base in the 1530s encouraged the further development of the court. Thus in many senses the link between architecture and politics is fundamental to a complete understanding of the early Henrician court. (6)

As the court became more settled the progress was increasingly limited to the summer months. Although the young Prince Henry ascended to a stable and peaceful throne in 1509, the council still acknowledged the expediency of the progress and the new king embarked on several long tours during the early years of his reign. In 1510 the court travelled through Hampshire and Dorset to Corfe Castle, Southampton and Salisbury. The king stayed with several courtiers: with William Sandys at The Vyne, with Robert Knollys, a gentleman usher, at Rotherfield Grey and with Mr. Fowler at Malshanger. (7) The king's progress concluded at the end of September

with jousts and tourneys at Woking. (8) In the best of medieval traditions, the Henrician progress still provided an opportunity for the redress of grievances. The Great Chronicle suggests that the complaints received by the king while on progress in 1510 directly resulted in the execution of Empson and Dudley. During this summer,

'the Kyng Rood In his dysport Into certayn Cuntrees of thys land, where beffore hym and some of his counsayll many of the commons shewid grevous byllis and complayntis agayn dudly and Empson.' (9)

The following year, 1511, witnessed a very impressive progress. The year began with the birth of a male heir on the 1st January. Henry did not wait for Katherine to recover from the birth and set out almost immediately on a pilgrimage to Walsingham to give thanks for a son. Unfortunately, Prince Henry survived for only seven weeks. (10) In July the king and queen set out on a splendid progress to the midlands with visits to Northampton, Leicester, Coventry and Warwick. At Nottingham the royal couple stayed at the castle, whereas at Leicester they lodged at the abbey. (11)

After this ambitious start the king's progresses, though extensive, took the court less far afield. During Wolsey's ascendancy they were confined in most years to the home counties and the south-east of England. The progress represents no homogeneous continuum but reflected the individual political and social circumstances of each year. Under Wolsey's guidance the progress became a part of his diplomatic overtures and included a joint progress with Charles V in 1522. After Charles V's entry into London the two monarchs travelled to Windsor, having stayed at Hampton Court, amidst a round of banquets, hunting expeditions and other celebrations. Henry accompanied the emperor back to Winchester before the Imperial retinue boarded their ships again at Southampton. (12)



The period before 1530 witnessed an uneven series of progresses ranging from the grand sweep of 1526 to the almost non-existent 'progress' of 1521 when the king alternated throughout the summer between Windsor, Woking and Guildford. This raises the problem of definition; what exactly was the royal progress? The term itself has been used very loosely for the sixteenth century. At one end of the spectrum the progress describes the elevated festivities of the Elizabethan age, whilst under the early Tudors it has been less clearly defined. Where did the king's progress finish and the itinerant court begin? Under Henry VIII the two can be easily confused and some writers have made no real distinction. Professor Scarisbrick, for example, describes the court of Henry VIII as

'essentially itinerant and for months of the year the King and his household went on progress, circling the capital and moving from Ampthill to Windsor, Windsor to Woking and so on'. (13)

Whether the king's court was itinerant or on progress depended not only upon where the king stayed but also on the time of year and its overall political significance. Henry's frequent visits to Newhall were usually part of the itinerant court, but his stay there with the French 'hostages' in 1519 was part of a grander progress calculated to impress. Contemporaries used the word progress to denote the king's movements during the summer months or 'grass season' and the survival of certain 'giests' in Henry VIII's reign make one possible differentiation between the court on progress and the itinerant court clearer. (14)

Each June the king's route for the summer was published at court. These 'giests', as they were called, detailed the king's precise location for each day and the exact number of miles between each resting-place. They were the result of considerable thought and calculation and the same procedure can be traced through to Elizabeth's reign. (15) The 'giests'

and the king's progress were inseparable to contemporaries. In August 1521, for example, Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham, informed Wolsey of events at court. The king was due to spend the night at Sir Edward Darrell's house and to then 'procede in hys progresse accordyng to the gists'. (16) It is not clear who was actually responsible for drawing up the royal 'giests', although the direction was obviously the king's own decision. In 1518 the king proclaimed his satisfaction with Wolsey's 'giests' for their dual progress to the north of England. (17) This was an unusual step since the 'giests' were usually prepared inside the royal court. Later in the same year, after the king had cancelled his northern progress, presumably because of the plague and the queen's pregnancy, Wolsey was again asked to make out the 'giests' for the 'kinges surety and my ladys'. (18)

The king's 'giests' were usually prepared at the court and the description of June 1528 is more representative. Fitzwilliam's letter to Wolsey reveals the king's interest in his summer progress. It was very much up to Henry where he went and how long he stayed; but he was also subject to the petitions of those courtiers around him. In this instance it was Wolsey's interests which were being represented to the king. Originally Henry had intended to go almost immediately to Ampthill (over forty miles from London) after a brief sojourn at 'Honyndon, Hartford and elliswhere'. (19) Fitzwilliam, however, had reminded the king that Wolsey would like to visit him whilst the court resided at Ampthill and this would be very awkward 'by reason of the terme'. At this Henry changed his mind and postponed the court's visit to Ampthill

'at which tyme, I am sure his highnesse would bee glad to have your grace there present'. (20)

In his letter, Fitzwilliam refers to the 'giests' enclosed. Until now these have been considered lost, they are, however, calendared in the Addenda volume of Letters and Papers. (21) These 'giests' have no year included on them but are in Fitzwilliam's hand and begin three days after his letter. In the event the court moved to Waltham Abbey on 16th June as pre-arranged but thereafter the 'giests' were thrown into complete disarray by the sweating sickness.

Few such 'giests' actually survive for the early Henrician period and the 'giests' of 1528 reveal something of the process which established the king's route. (22) The distance which the court intended to travel each day varied from five to seventeen miles, the average for this progress being nine miles. The designated amount of time for each stay varied from one night to fifteen days. On the day of the longest travelling distance the court was due 'to dyne by the weye at a place convenient'. (23) The 'giests' were only prepared for the king's outward journey and ended at Ampthill, where the court was to remain 'during the kings pleasure'. When the king's plans were finalised the actual logistical detail was based upon local knowledge. The route was largely confined by the need for substantial accommodation for the rest of the court and surveys were conducted in this respect. A report on Hertford Castle, for example, listed the repairs needed before a royal visit but concluded that there was convenient lodging 'against the tyme that the kyngs pleasure shalbe to logge there for any season'. (24)

Were 'giests' prepared each year? In 1521 Hall maintains that 'no great giests' were appointed and an examination of Henry's itinerary proves his point. (25) The king only used royal accommodation and the correspondence between the court and Cardinal Wolsey conveys the impression

that there was no set plan for these summer months. On 24th July, Pace informed Wolsey that the king intended shortly to leave Windsor for Easthampstead but in the event the court moved to Woking first. (26) It is likely that the king stayed close to the capital whilst Wolsey was absent in France and likewise in 1527 the court remained near to London.

The precision and detail which constituted the king's 'giests' suggests that the Henrician progress was perhaps more developed than has hitherto been suggested. The 'giests' were eagerly awaited and their contents quickly disseminated to the localities. Nobles unconnected with the intended progress were still appraised of the king's intentions. In June 1527, for example, Sir Arthur Darcy informed his father of the king's progress for that year. The court was due to travel through Hampshire to the bishop of Winchester's palace including a stay at The Vyne, home of Lord Sandys. (27)

The 'giests' provide one way of distinguishing between the court on progress and the normally itinerant court. The main drawback is that references to the king's 'giests' do not survive for every year. There is, however, no mention of them outside the summer months. The distance the court travelled was not necessarily a distinguishing factor, in some years the king moved out as far as Woodstock and in January 1525 the court spent some time at Ampthill, forty miles from London. (28) There is no common model for the king's itinerary, each year was a reflection of the individual circumstances and the plague, even in a relatively quiet year, could easily confuse the issue.

Henry rarely stayed for more than a month in one place without some form of a break. In the first five months of 1520, for example, the court was mostly based at Greenwich but the stay was broken up with visits to

Lambeth, Richmond, Windsor, Eltham and Wanstead. (29) Hygiene as well as boredom were the main reasons for the itinerant court. The concentration of such a large number of people in such a relatively small area made hygiene a real problem which in turn provided a breeding ground for disease. The squalor behind the magnificence is renowned and the court was forced to move on so that the palace could be made habitable again. Before the arrival of Charles V in 1522, Henry proposed to spend his Easter at Richmond so as to allow Greenwich, where the emperor was to reside for four nights, to be as clean as possible. In the event, Henry kept to his word and only stayed at Greenwich for eight days before moving south to meet the emperor. (30)

The king did not often stay in London for long periods. The destruction of a large part of the palace of Westminster by fire in 1512 meant that in effect the king was without a London palace. (31) In 1485 Westminster had been the king's principal residence. In the early years of Henry VIII's reign the court spent quite a lot of time at Westminster and in 1512, for example, the king was in residence throughout the month of February and most of March and November. (32) After 1512 the king did not stay at Westminster again. Henry stayed at the Tower of London for the occasional night, as on 23rd February 1510, but these visits were short and very infrequent. (33) For nine years, therefore, from 1513 until 1522 the king was without a suitable London residence. In 1509 the king had given Katherine Baynard's Castle, but he rarely used this residence and his brief stay in April 1515 was exceptional. (34) Instead Henry preferred to make use of Lambeth Palace, the home of the archbishop of Canterbury, and he stayed there whenever business necessitated a visit to the capital. Lambeth Palace was ideally situated just across the Thames from the palace

of Westminster. In 1514 the court spent approximately thirty-four days at Lambeth from 28th January until the 3rd March. This proved, however, to be an exceptional year and during the parliament of 1515 the court remained at Greenwich. When Henry made his two appearances in star chamber in October 1519 he lodged at Lambeth Palace and paid a further two visits in November and December of that year. (35)

The palace of Bridewell was completed in time for Charles V's visit in 1522. The emperor was lodged at Blackfriars and a special gallery was built to connect it to Bridewell. Despite spending over sixteen thousand pounds on the palace, Henry still did not feel inclined to reside for long periods in London. His stays were confined to ceremonial occasions and business, for example, the parliament of 1523 and the legatine court of 1529. (36) Instead Henry preferred to hover on the outskirts of what is now greater London as Table A shows.

TABLE A Number of nights spent by the king at his favourite palaces.

	<u>Greenwich</u>	<u>Richmond</u>	<u>Windsor</u>	<u>Newhall</u>	<u>Bridewell</u>	<u>Wanstead</u>
1510	134 (37%)	71 (19%)				
1515	233 (64%)	45 (12%)	25 (7%)			
1519	164 (45%)	64 (17%)	27 (7%)			
1520	142 (39%)	14 (4%)	32 (9%)			38 (10%)
1521	122 (33%)	44 (12%)	111 (30%)	15 (4%)		3 (1%)
1522	87 (24%)	40 (11%)	23 (6%)	66 (18%)	7 (2%)	
1523	114 (31%)	55 (15%)	49 (14%)		39 (11%)	
1526	144 (39%)	20 (5%)	37 (10%)			
1529	133 (36%)	18 (5%)	45 (12%)		16 (4%)	

Greenwich was without question Henry's favourite residence during the first half of his reign and in 1515 the court spent over two hundred and thirty-three days at this palace. This was an exceptional year and the amount of time that Henry spent at Greenwich fluctuated considerably. In 1522 the court spent only eighty-seven days in residence, or twenty-two per cent of the year. Usually there was a good reason why the king avoided the palace and in 1522 the plague was particularly bad near Greenwich throughout the autumn. (37) The king spent the majority of the year (on average sixty-four per cent) at just three palaces. In 1515 the percentage rose to as much as eighty-three per cent. After Greenwich, Richmond and Windsor were traditionally the most often frequented by the king. This changed in 1525, when Wolsey 'gave' the king his palace of Hampton Court and Henry's use of Richmond declined (hence the lower figures in 1526 and 1529). (38) In 1520 Wanstead was favoured more than the traditional residences of Richmond or Windsor and the king spent a total of thirty-eight nights there. By Henry VIII's reign, therefore, the court had become more settled around London, particularly during the law term. This was important as far as state matters were concerned, and although the king did not spend much time in London, he remained close at hand.

Royal palaces naturally played a fundamental role in shaping the itinerant court, although as Table A shows, there were considerable variations from one year to another. With the acquisition and building of Whitehall in the 1530s the king's sojourn at Westminster became a more important part of his itinerary. (39) The palace of Whitehall was large and provided the king with a magnificent palace at the heart of government. In other words, Henry's itinerary was largely determined by his residences and it was only when the court went on progress that this situation

changed. With the rebuilding of Newhall (renamed Beaulieu in 1523) the king visited Essex more in the 1520s. Henry purchased Newhall from Thomas Boleyn in 1516 and after subsequent rebuilding the king acquired a palace which was to come close, in some years, to rivalling even Richmond. The development of Newhall is one of the most interesting, though largely ignored, features of Henry's reign during Wolsey's ascendancy. H.M. Colvin leaves one in no doubt - 'the rebuilding of Newhall was one of Henry VIII's biggest works'. (40) Judged by Hall 'a costly mansion', the king spent seventeen thousand pounds on its construction between March 1517 and June 1521 - indeed this represents more than the reconstruction of Richmond by Henry VII. (41) This was reflected by its extensive use in 1522 when the king spent more time at Newhall than at Richmond and Windsor combined (forty and twenty-three days respectively). Newhall provided the king with a palace large enough to accommodate most of the household in comfort, situated in a good hunting area and yet within a convenient distance of London (about twenty-seven miles).

It is frequently argued that Henry VIII rarely stayed with his subjects, preferring instead to lodge at one of his numerous manors. By 1547 the number of royal residences had risen to around sixty whereas in 1530 the figure was more like thirty with most of these concentrated in the south-east. In addition the king made use of royal castles and he stayed at more than ten during the first half of his reign. (42) Despite owning more property than any previous or subsequent monarch, Henry still enjoyed visits to religious houses (that is, before he dissolved them) and lodging with courtiers or noblemen. Before 1530, in particular, the evidence of where the court lodged during the summer progress is especially sparse. The privy seal did not always follow the king and thus an itinerary



constructed from grants gives a misleading impression. In March 1523 the king travelled down to Portsmouth, but the privy seal was left behind at Richmond. (43) The cofferer's and comptroller's accounts, however, are an unused source and present a more detailed itinerary. The amount of time which the king spent with noblemen, courtiers, bishops and at monasteries fluctuated widely and is summarised in Table B.

TABLE B Number of nights spent by the king outside royal palaces.

	<u>No. of nights</u>	<u>As a % of the year.</u>
1510	68	19%
1511	68	19%
1515	24	7%
1518	58	16%
1519	56	15%
1520	51	14%
1521	14	4%
1522	100	27%
1523	14	4%
1525	77	21
1526	113	31%
1529	35	10%

The lowest figures for the years of Wolsey's ascendancy relate to 1521 and 1523, just fourteen days out of the year (or four per cent). This also provides some indication as to the amount of time which the court spent on progress. 1526 was the highest with a total of one hundred and thirteen days (or thirty-one per cent) followed closely by 1522 with one hundred days (twenty-seven per cent). The average was fifteen per cent of the year. Accurate figures can really only be obtained for the years covered by the cofferer's or comptroller's accounts and the remaining years are, at best, estimates based on the available material. These figures also include journeys by the king outside of the summer progress but they

make up a small percentage of the whole.

The most detailed description of an Henrician progress before 1530 is provided for the summer of 1526 and suggests some clue as to the nature and importance of the early Tudor progress. During this summer the king's journey encompassed seven counties beginning in Surrey and travelling through Sussex into Hampshire and then north into Wiltshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. Throughout the progress the emphasis was upon meeting the prominent men of the locality, staying with noblemen on the way and generally 'making good cheer'. When the king entered the county of Sussex in July 1526 he was met by a delegation including the earl of Arundel, Lord La Warre, Lord Dacre of the South and Sir David Owen who escorted the king to Petworth. (44) Sir David Owen was sheriff and a prominent courtier, although then in his seventies. He had just retired as chief carver to the king after the reorganisation of the chamber in the Eltham Ordinances. (45) Thomas West, Lord La Warre since 1525, was also close to the king; he was one of the king's sworn servants and had been deputed in December 1521 to wait on Henry in his privy chamber or wherever the king might eat. (46) The court initially resided at Petworth, a manor owned by the earl of Northumberland which nine years later was to become royal property when the sixth earl sold it to the king. (47) The earl himself was absent and the king was entertained by Northumberland's officers. Upon the king's arrival the traditional exchange of gifts was observed and the officers presented the king with six oxen and four wethers. When the court moved to Arundel Castle the earl of Arundel 'provided a right goodly present', but Fitzwilliam was unsure of its exact content. (48)

The progress was organised around the hunt and it was through this

medium that the king was entertained and met the prominent men of the county, liberally rewarding them with the spoils of the day's kill. Henry VIII has been criticised for his love of hunting. It is well known that he preferred the pleasures of the chase to the tedium of government, but the king's prowess did fulfil an important political role. A report by William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the royal household, to Cardinal Wolsey in August 1526 illustrates this process and deserves to be quoted in full

'In likewise hath reasorted and comme to his (the king's) said presence, sundry gentilmen of the countrey whom his grace hath also in suche famyllyer and loving maner entertaigned and rewarded, soo as I suppose verrely that there is not oon gentilman whiche hath soo repayred unto his graces presence but that hath had of his Highnes as well a good worde of his owne mouth spoken, as venyson of his gift, to their singlier comfort and contentacon.' (49)

It was a great honour for those who were invited to share in the king's hunt and these men of the shires temporarily became the king's boon companions. The enthusiasm with which Francis I led his own hunting expeditions is testament to the importance of this royal pastime throughout Europe. (50) Henry's success is clearly illustrated by Fitzwilliam's report. The ritual of the hunt was Henry's own way of communicating with his subjects and in a form which was pleasant to both. The progress allowed a wider group of men to take part in the king's sports and as such is comparable with jousting and the king's other pastimes. Whereas jousting was open to a smaller clique based at court a larger segment of the political nation could participate in the ritual of the hunt

Hunting removed some of the formality of court life. This was important in that it allowed easier access to the monarch, and this in turn opened up more opportunities for courtiers to put pressure on the king in pursuit of grants and rewards. Cardinal Wolsey probably saw the danger of this and from the king's point of view, too many followers could easily get

in the way. Courtiers were therefore encouraged to participate in the ritual of the sport but not necessarily in the actual hunt itself - as Wolsey made clear in the Eltham Ordinances.

'Whensomever the King's grace hath gone further in walkeing, hunting, hauking, or other disports, the most parte of the noblemen and gentlemen of the court have used to passe with his grace, by reason whereof, not onely the court hath been left disgarnished, but also the King's said disports, lett, hindered, and impeached'. (51)

In future, only those of the king's choosing were to accompany him. As Fitzwilliam makes clear, the liberal distribution of venison at the end of the day was an honourable reward and one which played an important role in the wider system of patronage. As numerous examples show, venison was an integral part of the patronage process and helped to lubricate the relationship between patron and client. (52)

Wherever the king was expected considerable sums of money were spent on preparing his accommodation, whether it was a royal residence or that of a courtier. In July 1511, for example, Henry Smith was paid for setting up a new house in Sunninghill Park before the king's arrival on his summer progress. (53) Royal manors might not be visited by the court for a considerable time and invariably they were spruced up before a royal visit. Likewise noblemen spent very large sums before the king's arrival. There was also the problem of space and the need to accommodate not only one's own household but also the king's entourage. In 1539, on a subsequent visit to Wolfhall, Seymour solved this problem by moving his servants to a refurbished barn while the king took over the house. (54)

Competition among noblemen was no less intense while the court was on progress; what might have been recreation for the king was a deadly serious business for his subjects. Courtiers vied with one another to put on the most lavish entertainment for their royal guest and whilst at

Arundel in August 1526, Lord La Warre declared that he was determined to make the king 'right greater chere'. (55) The king stayed with him at Halnaker, near Chichester where La Warre had imparked three hundred acres in 1517. (56) The court moved on to Downley, another residence of the earl of Arundel, and subsequently to Warblington, home of the countess of Salisbury. (57) The king's progress continued successfully at Winchester where he continued to have 'righte greate cheer' with the earl of Arundel, Lord La Warre, Lord Lisle and the bishop of Winchester. (58) This is important since it shows that after Arundel and La Warre had done their best to entertain the king they still continued to move with the royal progress.

The latter part of this progress is less well documented, but it is clear that the king stayed with the bishop of Salisbury at Ramsbury, Thomas Lisle at Thruxton, Sir Henry Norris at Compton, Sir Edward Seymour at Wolfhall, Sir William Compton at Compton Wynyates, Sir Edmund Bray at Edgecote and Thomas Empson at Easton Neston in September 1526. (59) The progress effectively ended at the king's manor at Ampthill where the king resided for sixteen days before making his way back to Greenwich via the priory of Dunstable.

A visit by the court could be very destructive for a nobleman's manor and estate. The Eltham Ordinances of January 1526 attempted to prevent this damage and summarises the common abuse of property.

'not only lockes of doores, tables, forms, cupboards, tressells, and other ymplements of household, be carryded, purloyned, and taken away by such servants and others as be lodged in the same houses and places; but also such pleasures and commodieies as they have about their houses, that is to say, deer, fish ....(is) taken, dispoiled, wasted and spent'. (60)

In an attempt to rectify the situation Wolsey decreed that gentlemen ushers

should make notes on the fittings of a manor in advance of the court's arrival. Each year the king gave 'compensation' for such acts of vandalism and general wear and tear as well as other necessities spent on the king's journey. The amounts varied from 20s. in 6 - 7 Henry VIII to £8.2s.8d. in 13 - 14 Henry VIII. (61) Wolsey's regulations appear to have been only partially successful, the amount paid out after the progress of 1526 was £8.1s; although it should be remembered that this progress was one of the longest of Wolsey's ascendancy. (62)

During Wolsey's ascendancy, the court's visit to Penshurst is the most frequently quoted, not only because of the documentation (a letter from Richard Pace is calendared in Letters and Papers) but also because of the subsequent fate of the duke of Buckingham. There can be little doubt as to the lavish nature of the king's reception. Richard Pace, reporting from Penshurst declared that Buckingham made the king 'excellent chere' although the exact nature of this is not made clear. (63) Dr. Rawcliffe has calculated from a summary of the duke's household accounts that he spent one thousand five hundred pounds on the king's visit. (64) Professor Harris has likewise noticed the very substantial increase in Buckingham's expenditure but in her analysis interprets this rise in terms of a 'convergence of factors' including his daughter's dowry and his son's wedding in 1519. (65) In any case what becomes clear is the sheer effort and financial strain which the king's visit imposed - though perhaps Dr. Rawcliffe exaggerates her financial estimate.

Historians, with the benefit of hindsight, have been quick to point to the inherent danger of such aristocratic display and interpret this episode in terms of the duke's eventual destruction. Dr. Rawcliffe believes that Buckingham's entertainment 'conveyed an exaggerated impression of wealth

and power' and goes on to call this 'one of a number of ill considered actions'. (66) More recent scholarship has tended to play down the significance of the king's visit. Dr. Bernard argues that Buckingham's fall was very swift and that long term factors do not need consideration. (67) Likewise Professor Harris ignores the king's visit as a factor in Buckingham's execution. (68) There is no evidence that Henry VIII was displeased with Buckingham's lavish entertainment, on the contrary, circumstantial evidence indicates that it was very appropriate for the occasion.

The 1519 summer progress should be seen in its proper perspective. The court's sojourn at Penshurst was only one among several such visits to noblemen, though probably the most elaborate. The presence of the four French 'hostages' at the court throughout 1519 gave a fresh impetus to the king's revels. In the words of Hall, Henry 'used familiarly these four hostages' and they accompanied the court to Penshurst. (69) The king had previously stayed with Sir John Ernley, Sir Richard Corvet, Lord Burgavenny and the duke of Norfolk at Chesworth, near Horsham. (70) The queen was also involved, she invited Henry and the 'hostages' to her manor of Havering-at-Bower in Essex where the festivities continued, 'and for ther welcomyng she purueyed all thynges in the most liberallest maner'. (71) This included a 'sumptuous banquet' whilst the king entertained his French guests in a daily round of hunting and shooting. Thus the royal progress of 1519 should be seen as another form of display. The climax of the summer progress came at the king's manor of Newhall where the king put on an impressive mask costing over two hundred and seven pounds. (72)

What was the political significance of the king's visit? Was it a sign of favour or an indication that a nobleman/courtier possessed an

impressive house or that it provided a convenient resting place? In essence all three factors at some point played a role. The visit to Penshurst was a one-off and its political importance has been exaggerated. In any case, Buckingham's extravagant entertainment did not save him from the king's wrath in October of the same year. (73)

Buckingham had illegally retained Sir William Bulmer, knight of the body to the king, and Henry considered this a grievous insult to his honour. He swore that

'he would none of his servauntes should hang on another mannes sleue and that he was as wel able to maintain him as the duke of Buckingham'. (74)

Dr. Rawcliffe, however, suggests that the duke expected far worse, even death; so perhaps his efforts in the summer were not totally in vain. (75)

The splendour and size of a courtier's house was one of the foremost considerations which determined the king's 'giests'. The close proximity of good hunting grounds was also a crucial factor. Household officials were sent into the county of the intended progress to find suitable accommodation. Leland described Horeham Hall, home of Sir John Cutte and host to the king in 1522, as a 'very sumptuous house'. (76) The king visited Elsings, the palatial home of Sir Thomas Lovell, more frequently than any other residence belonging to a lay subject. Colvin has established that there was no royal manor at Enfield during the first half of Henry's reign and instead the king stayed with Lovell whenever he visited the town. (77) A survey of all the available evidence confirms this view and there is no mention of a royal manor at Enfield. Foreign visitors were invariably housed at Sir Thomas Lovell's mansion. In August 1521 the French 'hostages' were sent to Elsings, ostensibly to avoid the plague, and Queen Margaret of Scotland was entertained there in 1516. (78)



As treasurer of the household, Lovell played an important role in Wolsey's administration but perhaps it was the splendour of Elsings coupled with its convenient location which most attracted the king. The inventory of 1524, produced after Lovell's death in May, is proof of the size of the mansion and indicates that a special suite of six rooms was reserved for the king and queen. These included the queen's privy chamber and the king's withdrawing chamber. (79) Elsings was clearly built with the intention of entertaining the king and Henry VII visited the mansion in May 1498. (80) This facility made a royal visit less awkward and less disruptive for the Lovell household. After Lovell's death in 1524, Henry continued to pay visits to the mansion and its new owner, Lord Ros, who was granted an earldom by the king in June 1525.

As Appendix II shows, the king almost invariably stayed with either a nobleman or a servant of the crown. Only two of the courtiers were gentlemen of the privy chamber, Nicholas Carew and Henry Norris, and the majority were men sworn to the chamber but not in wages. (81) Nevertheless, they were all held high in the king's favour and he returned regularly to the same courtiers. Sir Giles Capel of Berwick, in Essex, entertained the court in 1515, 1519 and 1527. He started giving New Year's gifts to the king in 1516 and was a regular jousting until 1520. Giles Capel was not a member of the privy chamber, nor did he hold any paid position in the chamber. He was, however, clearly in the inner circle at court and well favoured by the king. Capel is only one of a number of examples and Henry visited at least twelve men who had joined him in the tilt yard. (82) It is significant that Henry paid a visit to Mary Cary (née Boleyn) at Buckingham during his progress of 1529. Her husband, William, had died in July 1528 and his young son, Henry, had inherited his

father's estates. (83)

Some progresses, like that of 1526, were dominated by visits to noblemen, whilst the progress after the Field of Cloth of Gold was associated with those in the inner court circle. Hunting dominated the proceedings to the extent 'that the king turned the sport of hunting into a martyrdom'. (84) Richard Pace could find little other newsworthy of Wolsey's attention, but it is useful to examine in detail those who played host to the king. By 1520 Sir Edward Darrell was fifty-four with a long career of loyal service to the king and queen; he had served as a knight of the body to the king early in the reign and since 1517 had held the office of vice-chamberlain to the queen. (85) Henry Norris of Yattendon, was close to the king, a gentleman of the privy chamber, and was to achieve prominence later in the decade as groom of the stool. (86) Less information survives for Sir Edmund Tame, who had built a 'fair mansion' at Fairford and was sworn to the king's service as knight of the body. (87) The king's visit to Wolfhall in 1520 was hosted by Sir John Seymour also a knight of the body. (88) John Seymour did not die until 1536 but his son, Edward, was advancing rapidly in Henry's favour throughout the 1520s. Edward who was sworn to the household by 1524 and was one of the rising young gentlemen of the inner court circle who had featured prominently in the jousts of December 1524. In 1525 he became master of the horse to the duke of Richmond. (89) These men all owned impressive houses and it is no coincidence that they all came from the court circle. This also reflected the nature of this particular progress; it was a relaxed affair which the king used to unwind after the negotiations and effort of the Field of Cloth of Gold.

The king also paid frequent visits to courtiers and noblemen to dine

with them. Whilst the king and queen were staying at Greenwich in January 1519, they visited Charleton on the 25th and dined with the duke of Norfolk at Lambeth on the following day. (90) The amount of distance covered by the king should not be underestimated. In December 1518 Henry dined at Stone Castle, home of Sir Robert Wingfield, on his way from Eltham to Greenwich. (91) When Charles V visited London in June 1522, the king and emperor dined with the duke of Suffolk at Southwark and hunted in the adjacent park. (92)

It was considered a great honour for a courtier or nobleman to be visited by the king and to entertain him at his house. Some men who the king stayed with were just courtiers, like Nicholas Carew, whilst others held important positions in government. The duke of Norfolk was the lord treasurer, Sir John Ernley was the attorney general and Sir Thomas Lovell had enjoyed a notable career under the Tudors; he was treasurer of the household under both Henry VII and Henry VIII. Sir Henry Marney was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and at court was both vice-chamberlain and captain of the guard. In 1523 he was promoted to lord privy seal and created Baron Marney six weeks before his death. (93) Sir John Cutte, of Horeham Hall in Essex, was the under-treasurer of England. The noblemen who were honoured by the king's presence were all participants in court ceremonial and most had strong connections with the court. Lord Sandys, who was visited by the king at The Vyne in 1526, had been made lord chamberlain earlier in the same year. Thomas Manners, Lord Ros and earl of Rutland in 1525, was appointed to act as a cupbearer at court in December 1521 and jousted with the king on several occasions during the 1520s. (94) Henry visited Lord Burgavenny at Birling twice in 1513 and 1515 and at Mereworth in 1519. (95) This reflected the king's favour in

the 1510s. Burgavenny received lodging and daily liveries at the court in 1519, an honour reserved only for those closest to the king. (96) At the same time Birling was obviously one of the king's favoured manors and during Burgavenny's period of disgrace in the early 1520s, he was forced to sell the manor to Henry. (97) Henry continued to visit the manor while under royal control, as in September 1527. (98) Burgavenny was allowed to buy back the manor in 1530. (99)

This represents only one of a number of transactions between the king and his nobility with regard to their property. During Wolsey's ascendancy the king purchased Newhall from Thomas Boleyn in 1516, Ampthill in 1524, Hunsdon from the duke of Norfolk in 1525 and Grafton from the marquis of Dorset in 1526/7. (100) In the case of Grafton it is clear that the process had already begun by 28th May 1525 when Dorset agreed to grant the king this manor before Christmas. (101) Henry first stayed at Grafton in September 1526 and repairs had already been carried out before the king's visit. In February of this year instructions had been sent to Sir Thomas More, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and to Edmund Knightly, attorney general, for the repair of the manor. (102) The 1525 agreement was annulled and a new agreement was made on 28th June 1527, Henry's birthday, and in November 1528. (103) On two occasions the king bought a manor after paying a visit to the place in the 1520s. Henry was entertained at Hunsdon by the duke of Norfolk in February 1521 and then bought the manor from his son. (104) The king also paid a visit to Sir Thomas Boleyn at Newhall in June 1515 and in the following February the treasurer of the chamber paid Boleyn one thousand pounds for this manor. (105) During the second half of Henry's reign Miss Miller has highlighted a similar process in regard to Lord La Warre in 1538 and Lord Windsor some

three years later. They offered hospitality to the king and in the words of one historian, they 'were shortly induced to give up to the king the very houses in which they had done their best to entertain him'. (106)

Of more interest politically were the king's impromptu visits to courtiers or noblemen outside of the summer months and, therefore, not forming part of a larger progress. The king rarely stayed for long and most of the household was left behind at one of the larger palaces. During Elizabeth's reign it was common for the queen to visit the house of a favoured courtier in the spring. (107) Similar examples can be found under Henry VIII and in such cases it was the owner, rather than the house, that was more important. On several occasions Nicholas Carew, a member of the privy chamber, entertained the king at Beddington Place, near Croydon and the royal visit in February 1519 has left most documentation. (108) It is probable that most of the court was left at Greenwich with the privy seal and that only a small number of boon companions and household officers attended the king. (109) The young earl of Devonshire accompanied the king on the five day royal visit and his accounts reveal nightly gambling. (110) This was the first time that the king had been entertained by one of his 'minions' but Carew's hospitality was no match for Wolsey's persuasive tongue and he along with the other 'minions' was expelled from the privy chamber three months later.

Under somewhat different circumstances the king stayed at Beddington Place in November 1528. Henry had been advised by his councillors, that if he continued 'to give rein to his passion' it would be better for him to reside outside London where he would be less open to slander. The king took their advice and moved to a house 'five miles' from where Anne Boleyn was living. (111) The ambassador's report does not specify where Henry

stayed but the cofferer's accounts for this year are quite unambiguous.

(112) The king stayed with Nicholas Carew at Beddington Place until Anne persuaded him to return to London because she wanted a quick divorce.

More perplexing is the king's visit to Quarrendon for two days in May 1521. It is probable that Henry stayed at Sir Robert Lee's mansion, 'a goodly house with goodly orchards and a parke' and the only suitable accommodation in the vicinity. Henry VII had visited the house on several occasions in 1493 as the guest of Robert's father, Sir Richard Lee. (113) The king made a deliberate effort to visit Quarrendon and it represented the court's destination rather than a convenient resting place in a larger progress. The existence of a 'parke' suggests that hunting was one of the main attractions. A man named Robert Lee held a position in the wafery in the royal household as early as 1509 and was still in the same position in 1524. (114) Lee was a common name, but if it was the same person it is of great interest and indicates that a position in the household 'below stairs' could be of more political significance than historians often suggest. He started giving New Year's gifts to the king by 1529 at the latest. Sir Robert Lee was an important man in his county, he appeared on several commissions of the peace and the king 'pricked' him to be sheriff in 1522. (115) The distance which the king was prepared to travel implies that Robert Lee was more important than other evidence would suggest.

Henry rarely stayed for more than a few days with a courtier or a nobleman, five days was usually the uppermost limit, and the main reason was the lack of space. The king and his court resided for longer periods at ecclesiastical palaces and other religious houses. Monasteries featured prominently on the king's progress. They were expected to provide hospitality and during the medieval period religious institutions

were the only dwellings of sufficient size and prestige to accommodate the king and his court. It has been said of Henry VII, that his itinerary was 'determined by the monastic geography of England'. (116) The financial crisis of 1433-34 forced the court of Henry VI to spend over four months at the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. (117) On occasions Henry VIII was likewise forced to take refuge at monasteries but the reason was usually Henry's fear of the plague. In 1518, for example, the court was forced to spend more than three weeks at the abbey of Abingdon during the Easter festivities. Due to a shortage of room and 'horsemeat', the king had wished to return to Greenwich but the presence of the plague, close to London, prevented this. Instead the king was forced to remain at Abingdon 'though itt schalbe to hys grace payne considerynge the scarsnesse of the cuntrye here'. (118)

In more auspicious times the king's stay was more enjoyable and he frequently returned to some of his favourite monasteries. The Benedictine abbey of Reading was held high in the king's regard and in 1518, Pace reported to Wolsey that the abbot 'haith made to the (King's) grace and all hys seruants goodde chere'. (119) There was also a certain personal element and several abbots participated in court ceremony. The abbot of Reading, for example, possessed a house in London and exchanged New Year's gifts with the king. (120) The court did not stay at the abbey of St. Albans until Wolsey became abbot in 1521 and thereafter became a frequent visitor. During the king's progresses further afield he was often entertained at monasteries. The best example of this was in 1510 when the court stayed at ten monasteries during the course of the progress. Certain monasteries were favoured by the king and he paid frequent return visits, for example, to Woburn abbey and the priory of Dunstable. (121)

During his progress the king stayed at the homes of courtiers and noblemen more than has hitherto been suggested. Whilst this did not reach the same degree as Queen Elizabeth I it was still an important feature of Henry VIII's progress. Whereas in some years the king did not visit any noblemen or courtiers, usually when the plague was at its most severe, in other years Henry stayed with a number of men, who were closely associated with the court. Although the king acquired more property in the 1530s, the same process was continued, if not accentuated. (122) The dissolution of the monasteries was very important in this context. It removed one source of hospitality but at the same time encouraged a revival of building amongst courtiers. Dissolved monasteries were bought by leading courtiers who converted them into impressive residences. Sir Philip Hoby acquired Bisham Abbey, where the king had stayed on several occasions during his progresses. Lord William Sandys exchanged some of his own property for Mottisford Abbey. (123) Monasteries in convenient locations, such as Dartford, Dunstable, Reading, Rochester, St. Albans and Syon House were retained by the crown. (124)

The king often stayed at episcopal residences. His use of Lambeth Palace has already been discussed and there were several other palaces which the king frequently visited. Bishops owned a number of impressive palaces and manors. By the late 1520s the archbishop of Canterbury owned twenty-one houses and it is only in recent years that the splendour of Otford has been appreciated by architectural historians. (125) The king stayed at episcopal palaces because they were large and could accommodate the court. When the king travelled to Dover in 1520 and 1522 he stayed at the episcopal palaces of Otford, Charing, Canterbury and Rochester. Bishops Waltham, owned by Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, was one of the



king's favourite residences and he stayed there whenever he travelled down to Winchester. The king stayed with Wolsey, or at one of his residences, nearly every year after 1515. The significance of this will be considered in more detail in Chapter 6.

The reception of the king and his entourage by the host - whether nobleman, abbot or city corporation - was the occasion for elaborate ceremony and display. The work of Dr. Holt has illustrated the significance and impact of the royal entry which she argues was based on 'clearly established patterns of actions and behaviour'. (126) The ritual of the medieval royal entry was continued throughout the first half of Henry VIII's reign and only the course of the Reformation altered some of its religious aspects. (127) Some entries were obviously more spectacular than others, especially if a political point was being made, as in York in 1541, but whenever the king entered a town a grand reception was laid on for the royal party. (128) This elevated the king's journeys to the south coast, in particular to Dover, Southampton and Portsmouth, into grand progresses. Emphasis has been placed on one or two royal entries during Wolsey's ascendancy, for example, Charles V's entry into London in 1522, where contemporary descriptions are more readily available; but to ignore Henry's more common entries would be to miss an important point. The accounts of city corporations in local record offices are an under-used source and help to place the Henrician progress into its proper context. (129)

All royal entries were based around a common ritual. The king and his entourage were received by the mayor and other civic dignitaries outside the town and the two parties merged to form a procession which culminated at the cathedral. After making an offering at the church the

king was escorted to his lodging and the ritualised exchange of gifts took place. If the entry was of sufficient importance a range of pageants were devised; as in Charles V's entry to London, but they were not the exclusive preserve of state occasions. When the court was received by the city of Coventry in 1511 the king and queen were entertained by three pageants

'one at Jordan well, with the 9 orders of Angells. Another at Broadgate with divers beautifull Damsells. Another at the Cross Cheeping with a goodly Stage Play, and so passed forth and were received into the Priory'. (130)

Royal visits to some cities were more frequent than to others but the preparation was still costly on each occasion. The route for the royal procession had to be prepared and in 1522 this involved

'thexpens of caryage of sands for the stretes ayents the Emperour and Kyng coming to the citie. 30s. 7d'. (131)

The same ceremonial welcome was also reserved for other dignitaries when, for example, Wolsey passed through Canterbury after the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, a canopy was used to escort him through the city. (132)

The ritualised exchange of gifts was a feature of every progress; not only when visiting courtiers and noblemen, but also when the host was a city corporation. The size of the gift was frequently a reflection of the political situation and during the king's visit to York in 1541, for example, Henry was presented with twenty fat oxen and one hundred fat mutton. (133) When Katherine of Aragon first visited Canterbury she was presented with a silver gilt cup and thirteen pounds in new gold nobles.

(134) Gifts were also presented to other important visitors: Wolsey was given twelve capons during his visit to Canterbury in 1527 and the king's servants likewise were rewarded. (135) In 1513 whilst on the way to France, the lord steward, the lord chamberlain and Thomas Boleyn all received presents while staying at the Checker Inn at Canterbury. (136)

Disease, or rather Henry's fear of disease, was one of the biggest influences upon the court's itinerary and the progress. In most years it was the plague which affected the court, but other diseases could also have a profound effect. (137) The sweating sickness of 1517 and 1528 was the most disastrous and the cause of the epidemic has remained a mystery to doctors and historians alike. It struck only five times in England - in 1485, 1508, 1517, 1528 and 1551 - and has not reappeared since. Theories as to its cause have been wide-ranging and include Professor Patrick's belief that it was not an infectious disease but rather the result of mass food poisoning by a fungus or some other contamination of cereals! (138) Current medical opinion suggests that it was probably an influenza virus. (139)

What is clear, however, is the effect of the sweating sickness; during the autumn of 1517 and summer of 1528 the king made every effort to isolate himself from his subjects contrary to the very spirit of the progress. In both years the king disbanded his household and fled with a few attendants from one refuge to another in search of safety. Naturally the 'giests' were completely abandoned and as Hall writes, after the jousts of June 1517,

'the king appointed his gistes for his pastyme this Sommer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called swetyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose'. (140)

During the most intense periods of the epidemic state business came to a complete halt; the king refused to receive ambassadors and according to Du Bellay writing in June 1528, 'le roy demouré tout seul se tenant serré. Dieu vueille que inconvenient ne luy survienne!' (141) Likewise, the cardinal had 'stolen away' with only a few household servants and no one knew where he was staying. (142) The impact of disease, not only on the

progress, but on the whole court life cannot be underestimated.

In less dramatic years the plague still continued to shape the king's itinerary to a lesser or greater extent and only 1516 and 1519 appear relatively unaffected by the threat of disease. (143) Disease was one reason for the king's avoidance of London, and it was always at its worst in Westminster and the capital. In October 1521 the court took refuge at Windsor from the sickness 'whyche sum callith the newe murre and sum the wylde fever'. (144) Later in the same month Pace advised Wolsey, if he was returning from France soon, to go to Hampton Court rather than Westminster as in London the 'syknesse doith not cease but rather increase'. (145) The plague drove the king to Woodstock at Easter 1518, whilst in November 1522 the court was forced to remain at Hertford Castle because the plague was particularly bad at Greenwich, Richmond and the environs of London. (146)

The plague reinforced the impression of Wolsey's complete ascendancy. The cardinal rarely allowed himself the luxury of running away from infection, except when the sweating sickness was at its worst in 1517 and 1528, and he became infected on a number of occasions. In 1525 the Michaelmas law term was adjourned and Henry was forced to keep a quiet Christmas at Eltham with only a small following. The Venetian ambassador reported in January 1526 that the king was moving about his kingdom with a few attendants, leaving 'everything in charge of Cardinal Wolsey, who keeps a great Court, and has comedies and tragedies performed'. (147)

The king's 'giests' were refined each year to take account of the presence of the plague or other infectious diseases. During the progress of 1526, the king prolonged his stay at Winchester because of the plague and new 'giests' were prepared. At the same time the king was furious

with the duke of Suffolk for not informing him sooner of the death of one of his servants at Woodstock. (148) The king's progress to the north in 1518 was probably abandoned after the king had received reports of plague deaths at Nottingham, which was on the Great North Road. (149) Thus in any account of the royal progress disease was a prominent feature. It also helps to explain the uneven nature of the progresses from one year to another during the years of Wolsey's ascendancy. Moreover, an analysis of the impact of disease helps to place Henry in a better light. His trips away from the capital during the law term were not necessarily prompted by laziness or a disregard for public affairs. Whilst Henry stayed at Greenwich he remained in easy commuting distance of Westminster and the demands of business.

The royal progress was a time for the king's recreation but this did not necessarily preclude state business. Ambassadors were still received at court, although this was closely monitored, as usual, by Cardinal Wolsey. On occasions Wolsey prevented ambassadors from attending the court and the pretext was invariably that the king did not wish to be disturbed. (150) It is equally likely, however, that Wolsey had his own reasons which were linked to the current diplomatic negotiations. Sending ambassadors to a peripatetic court could cause problems of logistics as William Knight, the king's secretary, discovered in August 1526. Knight was appointed to escort the ambassadors from Burgundy to the king at Winchester but in an abject letter to Wolsey he confessed to having lost them en route! (151)

The progresses of Henry VIII are part of that transitional period between the typical 'medieval' style progress, designed to consolidate the realm, and the pleasure progresses and spectacular entertainments which

characterised Elizabeth's reign. After the initial round of progresses which asserted the new king's authority, internal threats to the security of the realm were a mere shadow compared to former times. Royal progresses were, therefore, largely a response to the prevailing political and social conditions of that time.

Defining the progress under Henry VIII provides no easy solution. There is frequently a 'grey' area between the itinerant court and the court on progress and on occasions distinguishing between the two becomes almost impossible. In some years - principally 1510, 1511, 1516, 1520, 1526 and 1529 - the progress is clearly identifiable. In these years there are few ambiguities and one can make a general distinction between progresses to towns earlier in the reign as in 1510, 1511 and 1516, and the greater emphasis on courtiers and noblemen during the 1520s; 1526 being the greatest manifestation of this. During 1519 and 1522 the king continued to stay with his subjects but diplomacy was the predominant objective.

What criteria can be established to define a progress? There are three main factors: evidence of a pre-planned route, an opportunity for display and a means of meeting and communicating with his subjects; this usually involved hospitality from a subject whether courtier or nobleman. 'Giests' are superficially indicative of the progress. They were confined to the summer and represent a real distinction between the court on progress and the itinerant court. The 'giests' for Princess Mary in 1518, however, would be an exception as they were used merely to indicate a route rather than a progress. (152) In 1521 it is not clear whether Hall's comment means that no 'giests' were made or that the scope of the 'giests' was not great; although the latter is the more probable. (153) The 'giests' of 1528, although abandoned through fear of the sweating sickness,

illustrate the kind of 'semi-progress' which is seen on more than one occasion during the 1520s. (154) The intended 'progress' of 1528 was to be predominately based at royal residences for fifty-one days as opposed to twenty-nine days at monasteries or episcopal manors. Hunting was to be the main recreation and each royal manor was close to a park. (155) The king was due to spend eleven days at Windsor, although not consecutively, so in this respect the progress cannot be defined as time spent outside the king's 'normal residences'. (156) Whether Henry intended to meet local dignitaries is not clear and only an understanding of the king's motives and conduct could, in the last analysis, finally determine whether this was a progress in the fullest sense. For contemporaries the issue was simple - the court went on progress during the summer months and the location was pre-determined by the 'giests'. (157)

Hospitality from subjects would, superficially, seem to represent an unambiguous factor in any definition. But, take the king's itinerary for 1522 and the situation becomes more complex! For twenty days in August and twenty-four in September, the king resided at his newly built palace of Newhall. The king's stay was interspersed by a visit to Layer Marney, Stanstead and Castle Hedingham; whilst in September the king spent five days at Horeham Hall. In other words, Newhall allowed the king to reside in comfort in the heart of Essex while providing a base for visits to adjacent courtiers and noblemen. Residence at a subject's house, therefore, was not necessarily indicative of a progress even during the summer. In 1528 when the sweating sickness was at its height, the king took refuge at Wolsey's manor of Tittenhanger, but this was in no sense a progress and Wolsey was not even allowed to reside there himself! (158)

Finally, the progress as a form of monarchical display and mode of

communication could cover a wide range of variations. At what point did a royal journey become a progress? When the king visited a coastal town, inspected a new ship or went on pilgrimage to Walsingham, can these be classified as progresses? (159) After all whenever the king visited a county there was inevitably an element of ceremony and display, as corporation records show, even if this was not the primary objective. Even when on pilgrimage, Henry was met by all the leading gentlemen of the shire. In October 1522, Sir Thomas Le Strange of Hunstanton Hall in Norfolk, travelled from Castle Acre to Raynham in order to meet the king. (160) It is conspicuous that when Henry travelled to Dover for the Field of Cloth of Gold he took a different route on his return, via Sittingbourne, as opposed to Maidstone and Charing on his outward journey. The mere sight of the royal entourage making its way through the countryside was impressive, even if the court was moving from one royal manor to another. Apart from providing guidelines, each year should be considered on its own merits.

Distance was not necessarily a factor. When Henry travelled as far afield as Woodstock in March 1518, or Ampthill in January 1525 these were not progresses but a continuation of the normally itinerant court. There were usually good reasons for such uncharacteristic movements and these have not always survived in the records. Thus only a detailed knowledge of the individual circumstances, an appreciation of the king's motivation and an understanding of Henry's actions can provide a basis for distinguishing the court on progress from the normally itinerant court.

Finally, the confusion created by the progress illustrates the need for a new category, and for want of a better term, perhaps we should also include Henry's 'pleasure progresses' as distinct from those which served



specific political ends. Recognised by contemporaries and delineated by the 'giests', the 'pleasure progress' represented a change of tempo in the life of the court and deserves to be made distinct from the rest of the king's itinerary. Whatever the problems of definition, it is the nature of the progress and its effect on court politics with which this study is most concerned.

Notes and References.

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13. J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Thomas More: The King's Good Servant', Thought: Fordham University Quarterly, lii (1977) p.251.
14. 'Grass season' was the period between August and October when the hay was cut and provided the best time of the year for hunting.
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16. SP1/21 f.42 (LP III i 957)
17. SP1/16 f.226v (LP II ii 4074)
18. SP1/17 f.2 (LP II ii 4326)
19. SP1/48 f.181 D.F. Vodden, 'The Correspondence of William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton', (London M. Phil. 1972) p.778 (LP IV ii 4367)
20. Ibid. f.181
21. SP1/235 f.266 (LP Addenda I 589).
22. The three surviving contemporary lists for the period 1509-30 are :-
  - (a) 18th July, 1518, 'giests' prepared for Princess Mary, SP1/17 f.4 (LP II ii 4326[2])
  - (b) 18th August, 1526, 'giests' for the second half of the king's summer progress from Winchester to Ampthill, SP1/39 f.46 (LP IV ii 2407[2])
  - (c) 13th June, 1528, 'giests' for the king's proposed summer progress, SP1/235 f.266 (LP Addenda I 589).
23. SP1/235 f.266 (LP Addenda I 589)
24. E101 465/16
25. Hall, Chronicle, p.622
26. SP1/22 f.254 St. P. I 19 (LP III ii 1437) E101 419/5 f.25-27v.
27. SP1/235 f.174-174v (LP Addenda I 538)
28. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1525, Appendix I
29. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1520, Appendix I
30. BL Cotton MS Titus BI f.323v (LP III ii 2130) E101 419/6 f.39-40
31. J. Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford 2nd Edn. (Oxford, 1971) II p.117.
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33. E101 416/15 f.11v
34. LP I i 94(35) E101 418/4 f.19v
35. E101 419/1 ff.4v,6v,7v-8v. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.354,355.
36. See below p.213.
37. CSPS FS p.164
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39. OBS1 1419 f.45v-79v.
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41. Ibid. p.223.
42. See Introduction, Appendix I
43. E101 419/9 f.15v-16. LP III ii 3495[9], 2992[3]
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45. LP IV iii 5774 SP/1 37 f.64 (LP IV i 1939[8]) LS 13/278 f.153
46. E36 130 f.196. BL Additional MS 21,116 f.1 (LP III ii 1899).
47. E101 419/13 ff.25-25v King's Works IV ii p.220
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53. E36 215 f.219 (LP II ii p.1451)
54. Longleat House, Seymour Papers XVII f.31
55. SP1/39 f.31v (LP IV ii 2768)
56. LP II ii 3311
57. SP1/39 f.1 (LP IV ii 2343) E101 419/13 f.26
58. SP1/39 f.75 (LP IV ii 2407)
59. E101 419/13 f.27-27v, 28v-29. See Appendix II.
60. Household Ordinances p.145
61. These payments are recorded at the end of the cofferer's and comptroller's accounts under a section entitled 'Gifts and Rewards'. E101 418/4 f.35, E101 419/7 f.33v.
62. E101 419/13 f.32
63. SP1/18 f.276v Original Letters Illustrative of English History. ed. H. Ellis 3rd series I 194. (LP III i 412)
64. C. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521, (Cambridge, 1978) p.138. Although on p.134 Dr. Rawcliffe estimates that an 'extra £1,000 was spent on hospitality for the Court'.
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67. G.W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility. (London, 1984) p.200
68. Harris, Edward Stafford, p.179.
69. Hall, Chronicle, p. 597. When Pace arrived at Penshurst, he found the king 'playynge wyth the hostagis'. SP1/18 f.276 (LP III i 412)

70. E101 418/15 f. 26. There is no direct evidence that the king stayed with Corvet, but he owned the largest property in Slangham and was influential in the area. VCH Sussex, VII p.183.
71. Hall, Chronicle, p.599.
72. E36 216 f.136 (LP III ii p. 1538).
73. H. Miller, Henry VIII and the English Nobility, (Oxford, 1986) p.101
74. Hall, Chronicle. p.599.
75. Rawcliffe, The Staffords, p.40.
76. The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, (London, 1908) II pp.30-31.
77. Colvin, The King's Works, IV ii p.87
78. SP1/23 f.29 (LP III ii 1516) Lambeth Palace Shrewsbury MS 3192 f.32v  
E. Lodge, Illustrations of British History, (London, 1883) I p.11  
(LP II i 1861.)
79. Prob 2/199.
80. Temperley, Henry VII, p.416.
81. Knights of the body: William Sandys, Richard Lewis, Edward Baynton, Edmund Bray, William Barentine LP I 20 p.13, E36 130 ff.181v,171, 198v,192.  
Esquires of the body: Richard Lee, Thomas Lisle. LP I 82 p.41  
E36 130 f.190v.
82. VCH Essex IV p.191 See Appendix IV
83. VCH Buckinghamshire III pp.480-6
84. SP1/21 f.34 (LP III i 950)
85. HC II pp.18-19. E36 130 f.171
86. Household Ordinances p.154
87. Smith, Itinerary of John Leland, I p.127. E36 130 f.203.  
VCH Gloucestershire VII pp.74-75. E36 216 p.203 (LP III ii p.1542)
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89. E101 419/13 ff.27-27v. Hall, Chronicle, p.690.
90. E36 218 f.6 (LP III i 152)
91. SP1/17 f.222 (LP II ii 4673)
92. Hall, Chronicle, p.641
93. GEC VIII p.523.
94. BL Additional MS 21,116 f.1 (LP III ii 1899) See Appendix IV
95. In 1519 the cofferer's and comptroller's accounts are imprecise and only specify that the king stayed with Lord Burgavenny. E101 418/15 f.26v.
96. SP1/19 ff.85-87. (LP III i 491)
97. SP1/22 f.154 (LP III i 1290)
98. The marquis of Exeter, as keeper of the manor, prepared Birling for the king's visit. E101 631/25 f.6 These accounts were calendared incorrectly as Lord Burgavenny's in Letters and Papers LP IV ii 3734[4]
99. M. Howard argues that the sale was cancelled in 1522 ('Courtier Houses in the reign of Henry VIII', London Ph.D. 1985 p.526.) but in fact Burgavenny was not allowed to buy Birling back until 1530.. C82/626 (LP IV iii 6363[11])
100. Colvin, King's Works, IV ii pp.40, 92, 155, 172.
101. C54/394
102. DL 42/95 f.89v.
103. C54/396 LP IV ii 4993. I am grateful to Miss Helen Miller for this information.
104. E101 419/5 f.13v Miller, Henry VIII and Nobility, p.217

105. E101 418/4 f.22v, 23 E36 215 p.430 (LP II ii p.1470)
106. Miller, op.cit. p.101.
107. E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923) I p.20. For an itinerary of Elizabeth I, see IV Appendix A pp.75-116.
108. E101 418/15 f.14
109. On 8th February the privy seal was at Greenwich. LP III i 102[15]
110. E36 218 f.67 (LP III i 152)
111. CSPS III 586 p.846.
112. E101 420/8 f.6
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114. LC 2/1 f.139 (LP I i 20 p.17) E179 69/23
115. E101 420/11 f.15v. LP IV i 1049(24), 2002(11) LP III ii 2020. In 1522 he was nominated to collect the subsidy. LP III ii 3504
116. Colvin, King's Works, IV p.3.
117. Wolffe, Henry VI, pp.74-75.
118. SP1/16 f.214. (LP II ii 4060)
119. BL Cotton MS Vit. B III f.245 (LP II ii 4034)
120. Rutland Papers, ed. William Jerdan, Camden Society, xxi (London, 1842) p.91. E101 420/11 f.15v.
121. See Appendix III. E101 420/11 f.15v. (LP V p.307) The abbot of Reading's servant received 20s. for delivering a New Year's gift to the king in 1529.
122. A quick conflation of Howard, Early Tudor Country House, p.200-7 and OBS1 1419 gives some indication of royal visits during the 1530s.
- |                  |                       |   |
|------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Allington        | (Henry Wyatt)         | July 1536.                                      |
| Arundel          | (Earl of Arundel)     | August 1538                                     |
| Beddington Place | (Nicholas Carew)      | February 1531, April 1538.                      |
| Cowdray          | (William Fitzwilliam) | August 1538, 1539, 1545.                        |
| Donnington       | (Duke of Suffolk)     | August 1539.                                    |
| Ewelme           | (Duke of Suffolk)     | August 1531-32                                  |
| Halnaker         | (Lord La Warre)       | August 1538                                     |
| Stoke            | (Earl of Surrey)      | August and September 1537.                      |
| Sutton Place     | (Richard Weston)      | August 1533                                     |
| The Vyne         | (Lord Sandys)         | August 1531 October 1535.                       |
| Westonhanger     | (Poynings)            | August and September 1538<br>April and May 1538 |
| Willington       | (John Gostwick)       | October 1541.                                   |
| Wolfhall         | (Edward Seymour)      | September 1535, August 1539<br>September 1543.  |
123. M. Howard The Early Tudor Country House, Architecture and Politics 1490-1550, (London, 1987) p.201, 203.
124. Colvin, King's Works, IV ii pp.68, 75, 220, 234, 240, 272.
125. Ibid. pp.25-26.
126. C.W.Holt 'The Royal Entry in Medieval and Tudor England', (Manchester Ph.D. 1969) p.1
127. Ibid. Chapter 9.
128. HMC 14th Report, Appendix Part VIII, p.36 A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson, Records of Early English Drama: York, (Toronto, 1979) I pp.272-5
129. Corporation of Canterbury Records. HMC 9th Report Appendix part I p.151. HMC 12th Report Appendix part IX pp. 443-5 for the entry of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn into Gloucester in 1535. J.S. Davies, A History of Southampton, (Southampton, 1883).
130. Records of early English drama: Coventry, ed. R.W.Ingram,

- (Manchester, 1981) p.107.
131. HMC 9th Report, Appendix part I p.151.
  132. Ibid. p.151
  133. HMC 14th Report, Appendix, Part VIII, p.36.
  134. HMC 9th Report, Appendix, Part I, p.150.
  135. Ibid. p.152
  136. Ibid. p.150
  137. A medical historian - Dr. J.F.D. Shrewsbury has attempted to pinpoint the exact nature of each infection, though his diagnosis is not very convincing! He argues that typhus afflicted the court in 1514, March 1518 and the winter of 1525 and flu in 1510 and 1511.  
J.F.D. Shrewsbury, A history of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles. (Cambridge, 1911) pp.160-164, 167-168.
  138. This theory was rejected by R.S. Roberts in 'A consideration of the nature of the English sweating sickness' Medical History, ix (1965) pp.385-389.
  139. R.E. McGrew, Encyclopedia of Medical History, (London, 1985) p.108.
  140. Hall, Chronicle, p.592.
  141. AAJB p.320 (LP IV ii 4440)
  142. Ibid. p.322
  143. Shrewsbury, Bubonic Plague, pp.160-164, 167-168.
  144. SP1/23 f.74 (LP III ii 1648)
  145. SP1/23 f.94 (LP III ii 1691)
  146. CSPS FS p.164.
  147. CSPV III 1193
  148. SP1/39 f.75 (LP IV ii 2407)
  149. SP1/16 f.226v (LP II ii 4074)
  150. For example, CSPV III 1220, 1227.
  151. SP1/39 f.68-9. (LP IV ii 2397)
  152. SP1/17 f.3 (LP II ii 4326)
  153. Hall, Chronicle, p.622.
  154. 1524, 1525. SP1/235 f.266. (LP Addenda 589)
  155. A list of all royal parks was compiled in 32 Henry VIII this document, now believed lost is published in: The genealogist, New Series, xxx (1914) p.153-4. I am indebted to Miss Hellen Miller for this information.
  156. Dr. Wolffe used this as a basis for defining the progress in the reign of Henry VI. Wolffe, Henry VI, p.94. How would you define the King's 'normal residences'?
  157. In June 1528 Fitzwilliam wrote to Wolsey:  
'Please it your grace to understande I sende unto the same herinclosed, the kinges giests and progresse, devised and determynd for this gras... season'. SP1/48 f. 181. (LP IV ii 4367)
  158. See Chapter 6.
  159. 1514 Dover, 1518 Southampton, 1520 Dover to embark for the Field of Cloth of Gold, 1522 Dover to meet Charles V, 1523 Portsmouth.  
Henry visited Walsingham in 1511 and 1522. Katherine of Aragon frequently went on pilgrimage to Walsingham: 1515, 1517, 1519, 1521.
  160. BL Additional MS 27,449 f.10 The king was entertained by Sir Roger Townsend at Raynham.

## CHAPTER 2.

### THE COURT ON PROGRESS: ITS STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

The political significance of the structure of the court has been underscored by Dr. Starkey. His emphasis on the privy chamber has resulted in a reappraisal of how the court functioned and of the relationship between court office and influence. (1) In what way did the king's progress affect the structure of the court in this context? Who travelled with the king on progress and how large was the court?

At the outset, it is important to make the distinction between the Domus Regie Magnificencie and the Domus Providencie or household 'below stairs'. The former consisted primarily of the privy chamber and chamber by 1526. Servants in these departments served and attended upon the king and had frequent access to the monarch. By contrast the household 'below stairs' consisted of twenty-four departments which prepared the food for the court as well as providing other essentials, candles from the chaundry, for example, as well as the cart-takers who moved the furnishings of the court during the progress. The overall structure of the court has been explored in various places and most recently by Professor Loades. (2)

The structure of the chamber was more versatile and whilst there were set ranks, it was easier for officers to leave during the summer. Indeed there are a few instances when Henry complained of being badly served because too many of the chamber had been granted licence to depart from the court. Members of the chamber, and particularly the privy chamber, were frequently sent on various missions in England and abroad. Gentlemen

ushers prepared a residence before the king's arrival and Robert Knollys was frequently used for such missions. He was a gentleman usher of the privy chamber and in August 1516 he was sent on ahead of the court to prepare Corfe Castle with the help of a groom, 'ayenst the Kings coming theder'. (3) Four years later in May 1520, Knollys was rewarded for building a partition at the archbishop of Canterbury's palace, in preparation for a royal banquet. (4) Officers of the jewel house were left behind to look after the king's plate whilst the court went on progress. John Porth and Richard Trees were paid 'board wages' at Woodstock for seven days whilst the king visited Southampton in 1518. (5).

By contrast the household 'below stairs' was more bureaucratic and specific numbers were required to prepare the king's meals. When the king stayed with a nobleman or courtier, his food was prepared by his own cook. When Sir Edward Seymour entertained the court at Wolfhall in August 1538, he gave over thirty pounds in 'rewards' to various servants of the king's household including four pounds to the clerk of the kitchen and the 'maister coke'. (6) The king also took with him his own entertainment including men to play his sackbuts, flutes, trumpets and viols. (7) The size of the king's retinue was considerably reduced during the summer progress and, therefore, it would follow that fewer men would be needed in the departments 'below stairs'.

The size of the court on progress is very difficult to estimate. There was no norm, each excursion depended on the individual circumstances of that year and the needs of the king and queen. A large retinue was essential to convey the majesty of kingship, but financial and physical limitations inhibited the number of household officers who could actually accompany the court. The court was at its largest on occasions when



diplomacy demanded superlative ostentation and splendour. The Field of Cloth of Gold of 1520 was in a class of its own. Described by contemporaries as the eighth wonder of the world, it was designed to augment the new era of 'Universal Peace'. Although one historian has called this Anglo-French summit a progress, its aims, character and distance disqualify it in this context. (8) Although the Field of Cloth of Gold was a very conscious form of political self-advertisement, it was performed on an international stage and the veneer of friendship and chivalry scarcely concealed the deeply felt enmity which existed between the two nations. For a fortnight England and France vied with one another for prestige and the food alone cost over seven thousand pounds. (9) Although this extravaganza does not fit into the category of the progress, the abundant evidence gives a vivid impression of the court on the move at its most spectacular.

Whilst it is said that the duke of Buckingham grumbled about the cost, in general no one wanted to miss such an event. Commissioners had a difficult job to keep the two retinues down to a manageable size and restrictions were placed on the number who could attend. The total retinue for Henry VIII was eventually set at three thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven persons and two thousand and eighty-seven horses, whilst the queen was permitted one thousand one hundred and seventy-five persons and seven hundred and seventy-eight horses. (10) Preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold provide the only surviving breakdown of who was allowed to follow the king, but the structure differed fundamentally from a 'normal' progress and the difference was not just a matter of degree. The vast majority of the English contingent was composed of noblemen and gentry representing the various counties of England; indeed many were sworn to the

king as extraordinary members of the royal household. (11) The king's actual chamber and household officers, including their servants made up twenty-two per cent of the whole. (12) This contrasts with the royal progress where the number of noblemen and knights, who usually attended the king, was small and mostly represented the court nobility and those closely associated with Henry.

When Henry VIII travelled to York in 1541 in the vain hope of meeting James V of Scotland, Charles de Marillac, the French ambassador, estimated that the king took with him a retinue comprising four to five thousand horses, compared with one thousand horses in a 'normal' progress. (13) The latter is the only estimate which survives for the summer progress but obviously needs to be treated with extreme caution. In view of a distinct lack of other evidence, however, it does provide some clue. If approximately correct it would correspond to the entourage which accompanied Wolsey to France in 1527. (14) The most precise indication of the size of the court on progress is provided by an example taken from later in the reign. Edward Seymour's detailed accounts for a three day royal visit in August 1539, illustrate the effect of the king's visit on the host noblemen and how the size of the court could fluctuate dramatically from one day to another. Although it dates from outside Wolsey's ascendancy it is worth noting for the insight it provides.

The strain on Seymour's estate was considerable. His mother and children were accommodated at one of his other residences, Tottenham Lodge, and a barn was refurbished for his own household servants. (15) Seymour's household dined separately from the king's entourage and he provided supper for seventy on the day of the king's arrival. The number of messes provided for the court on the first evening, gives an indication of the

number of courtiers following the king - two hundred messes, probably eight hundred persons. On the following two days the number of messes more than doubled to four hundred and seventy and four hundred and forty respectively. (16) This increase was directly the result of local families paying homage to their monarch and further proof of the political importance of the progress. Servants made up a large proportion of this increase. Lady Hungerford arrived with six servants and a gentlewomen whilst Sir Anthony Hungerford and his wife were accompanied by eight. (17) Where the eight hundred servants were lodged is not made clear, although when the king visited Wolfhall in 1543, Jackson shows that some of the king's servants were lodged at Burbage. (18) Thus whilst a basic core of servants followed the king, visitors to the court could dramatically increase its size. The numbers are not unreasonable, on special feast days the duke of Buckingham's household doubled or even trebled and at Epiphany 1508, four hundred and fifty-nine dined at Thornbury. (19)

When Henry departed on Tuesday 12th August, Seymour rewarded the king's household servants with gifts totalling over thirty-eight pounds. (20) It is difficult to estimate the full cost of the king's visit for Seymour. Jackson confidently asserts that most of the cost was borne by the king but provides little evidence to prove this assertion. (21) Seymour's accounts for supper on the first day - Saturday 9th August, totalled thirty-seven pounds and makes careful note of where the food was obtained. (22) Most was bought from the king's officers, whilst some was provided from Seymour's own store, which included congers, pike and eels. (23) Seymour was greatly helped by the generosity of his friends and his affinity. Before the king's arrival he had spent over fourteen pounds on sending letters to various people requesting their help and they had

responded by bringing food. Seymour rewarded 'maister hungerfords man' for bringing partridges, capons, pigeons and brawn for the king's visit.

(24) Even so, Seymour's expenditure on food was greatly increased for the month of August after the king's three day visit. Seymour's expenditure for providing food and drink for the month of August reached three hundred and thirty-nine pounds, this compares with seventy-two pounds for the month of June. (25)

These accounts suggest that the size of the court was in effect halved whilst the king went on progress, although visits by local landowners could dramatically change the situation. Rough estimates suggest that fifteen hundred people made up the court while at one of its central locations. In 1540, after Cromwell's reforms, the household 'below stairs' numbered two hundred and thirty and this suggests that all such servants went to the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. (26) This event probably witnessed the English court at its largest during Henry VIII's reign and the event must have been all the more impressive because everyone was lodged in one small area and not spread throughout London or Greenwich.

What does become clear, however, is the small size of the English court on progress, compared with its French equivalent. During the progress of 1526, for example, twenty-two thousand five hundred horses and mules were stabled at Bordeaux. (27) This was not necessarily a very good indication of how many accompanied the king as many horses would have been used to transport the royal baggage, but this phenomenal number does reveal a fundamental distinction between the English progress and the French.

Francis I systematically visited his provinces covering the entire kingdom: Provence in 1516, Picardy in 1517, Anjou and Brittany in 1518 and Poitou and Angoumois in 1519. (28) Indeed the spirit and distance of the French

progresses were more in keeping with Henry's progress to the north in 1541.

There are few expressions of hardship in England compared with those continually experienced by the larger French court. The Venetian ambassador in 1533 described the strain placed on a French town forced to accommodate the king. The town could not lodge or feed everyone causing great shortages and consequently food prices rose sharply; corn trebled in price during the king's stay. (29) When accommodation had been found for the king, the courtiers were embroiled in a desperate scramble to find their own lodging, sometimes being forced to reside up to six miles away. (30)

Such reports were only mirrored in England during extraordinary times. Many people complained about the lack of accommodation during the joint progress of Henry VIII and Charles V in 1522, when the court was almost three times its normal size. At the end of May 1522, Wolsey travelled south to Dover with an entourage of noblemen and knights appointed to accompany him as well as seven hundred yeomen. (31) Initial details of Charles V's retinue suggest that the total amounted to two thousand and forty-four persons and one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven horses but this was probably subsequently reduced. (32) With Henry's entourage this presented logistical problems of how to lodge all three retinues and Wingfield, writing on behalf of the king from Canterbury, suggested that Wolsey should ensure that

'othir noble men, os well off his own os off yors to be dislogyd ffor places to be hadd ffor such os the kings grace schall bring now with hym'. (33)

Those to attend Wolsey at Dover included seventeen noblemen and prelates with other gentlemen of the counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey, whilst those gentlemen attending the king were drawn from counties further away

including Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Hertford, Huntingdon, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Bedford, Buckinghamshire, Somerset, Dorset, Warwick, Northampton, Hampshire and Worcester. (34)

The situation was no better on the return journey to Southampton. At Windsor, where the two monarchs hunted and feasted, the Venetian ambassador was forced to lodge five miles outside the town due to the shortage of lodging there. (35) When Henry and Charles arrived at Bishops Waltham, owned by the bishop of Winchester, there were only six or seven houses in the village and in consequence, neither the chancellor nor the bishop of Palencia could be accommodated there. Both courts were ordered to Salisbury but this did not satisfy the Venetian ambassador who relates his unsuccessful efforts to find lodging closer to the two monarchs. (36) At Winchester the logistical problems continued unabated. Henry stayed at the royal castle attended only by his personal servants whilst the rest of the court and council were ordered to remain at Salisbury eight leagues away. The shortage of provisions had determined that the household was further from Southampton, so that food should not be scarce where the emperor was due to embark. (37) Other problems were the result of unusual external circumstances, as in 1518, when the plague disrupted the Easter festivities at Abingdon.

Whilst the problem of accommodating the court in England never reached the scale of its contemporary in France, the basic problem affected every court on progress. How was the court accommodated when the king moved to a smaller residence? What was the impact on the structure of the court when, for example, Henry moved from Greenwich to the house of a nobleman? Even with property owned by the crown, there was a considerable disparity in size and the Spanish ambassador suggested, for example, that the king's

manor of Grafton could only accommodate half of the ordinary household.

(38) Were most of the household left behind at Greenwich or one of the larger London palaces, or were other measures taken?

At the outset it is important to recognise that during the progress or even whilst the court resided at Greenwich, many courtiers and their attendant servants, who made up the greatest proportion numerically, were spread throughout the surrounding neighbourhood. When considering whether property was to be acquired by the king the close proximity of a town was an important prerequisite. When commissioners were making their report on the manor of Writtel, obtained by the crown on Buckingham's fall, the adjacent town was an important factor. They considered that Writtel would be a 'convenient hous' for Henry as it was close to Newhall and

'insomych as the toune of Writtell, even by the said maner, is a good large toune for lodging and within a myle or litle moor of the same is the toune of Chewmesforth'. (39)

A feasibility study was drawn up for the manor, the state of the building was considered and the report concluded that 'with noe great charge' the manor could be repaired for the king's use. The king took his commissioners' advice and retained the manor of Writtel. In April 1522, William Cary was appointed chief steward and Sir Thomas Cheyney succeeded him in 1528 after Cary's death. (40) There is no evidence that the king actually stayed there during the 1520s, although he paid frequent visits to Newhall only three miles away. The manor was probably used to house members of the court whilst the king stayed at Newhall.

Some indication as to the potential capacity for absorbing the court is provided from preparations for the arrival of Charles V. At Sittingbourne the document estimates that one hundred and five persons could be accommodated and three inns, the Lion, the George and the Bell,

are specifically noted. (41) Rochester could offer fourteen 'strange beyddes, one hundred beydds,' and provision for five hundred horses. At Greenwich the number of available lodgings was three hundred and sixty, and included in the estimate were a number of houses belonging to courtiers. The existence of this list is important as it shows which household officers owned property close to the palace. They included Nicholas Carew, Henry Bird, Christopher Garneys, Henry Norris, Cornish and Robert Lee. (42) A similar estimate for the city of London does not reflect the same bias towards courtiers, but there are some interesting entries; Poynings had a house in 'Temys strete', the earl of Derby, a residence with ten chambers and ten visitors were to be billeted in the queen's wardrobe. (43)

The court by its very definition was constituted wherever the king lay even though on occasions the majority of the household might be elsewhere. The king always took with him a small group of attendants and household servants to prepare his meals, even while staying with a nobleman. This practice was not confined to royalty; while visiting Lord Mountjoy in 1525, the marquis of Exeter hired his own cook. (44) This is further reflected by the cofferer's and comptroller's accounts. These show that money was still paid out for the various departments of household during Henry's short hunting expeditions. (45) When, for example, the king visited Langley during the first four days in September 1529 the majority of the court was left behind at Woodstock including the king's secretary, Stephen Gardiner. (46) The one and probably only exception to this was in June 1518 when the king planned to meet Wolsey at Greenwich for a few days and intended to leave Woodstock

'secretly wyth a small numbere off hys chiambre wyth owte ony suche



parsons as schulde make ony proiusion for hym'. (47)

For this reason Richard Pace asked Wolsey to organise their suppers and to command those of the king's wardrobe still in London to prepare Greenwich for the royal party.

The privy seal was frequently more of an indicator of the itinerary of the household than of the king himself. When Henry travelled to Portsmouth in March 1523, probably to inspect his ships before the forthcoming military campaigns, the privy seal was left behind at Richmond.

(48) The new royal palace of Newhall was likewise used as a base during Henry's pilgrimage to Walsingham in 1522 and three grants were confirmed by privy seal on 11th, 14th and 17th October. (49) As the itinerary in Appendix I shows, the privy seal was far from being a reliable guide and there were numerous discrepancies. Other councillors were also liable to be left behind at one of the king's palaces while he went on progress. Ralph Bolney, groom of the chamber, was paid 16d. for riding to Windsor to escort the bishop of Ely back to the court at Woking. (50)

It was the threat of disease, particularly the sweating sickness, which had the most impact upon the actual structure of the court. In June 1528, the king left attendants at various manors as he strove to escape the disease. John Russell reported that the king was 'yn grett fere and troubelle fore thys plage' and that he 'lifte some of hys chamber yn euere plase where he wente'. (51) Under such conditions those who actually remained with the king - usually members of the privy chamber circle - acquired a unique importance and access to the king by outsiders was 'virtually impossible as Wolsey found to his cost in 1528. Even during more normal times when the plague did not reach epidemic proportions, precautions were still taken which separated the king from his household.

The size of a palace, or wherever the king was staying, is somewhat misleading when considering the size of the court. In particular, Greenwich, as the king's favourite residence, was used as a base and the court while in residence was spread throughout the neighbourhood. Various inhabitants at Greenwich were paid for keeping the jackets worn by the yeoman of the guard; these included John Champion and Lawrence Englesfield. (53) Other property close to the palace was also rented by the king, a house belonging to Sir Christopher Garneys was loaned to the king for ten pounds a year. (54) Greenwich was one of the king's principle 'standing houses'. For Elizabeth's reign Professor Chambers suggests that there were royal residences which were kept permanently furnished. There is only one reference to the king's 'standing house' in the 1520s and the context in which it was used does not help the task of identification. (55)

The Eltham Ordinances did, however, make a distinction between the king's houses and identified seven of the largest palaces where the hall and chapel were to 'be kept'. They were: Beaulieu, Richmond, Hampton Court, Greenwich, Eltham and Woodstock. The king's whole chapel establishment was not continually in residence at court and when the king did not 'keep his hall', particularly during the progress or on 'riding journeys', then only six men with some officers of the vestry were required to travel with the court. (56) It is clear that at least four palaces were kept fully furnished; Greenwich, Richmond, Windsor and Beaulieu. Wardrobes were kept permanently at all the king's manors and in 1516 tapestries, hangings, beds and blankets were purchased for the king's newly acquired residence of Newhall. (57) Preparations for the arrival of Charles V in 1522, included the transport of 'Warderob stuff of the Kinges

beddes' from Richmond, the Tower, Baynards Castle 'and other places' to Dover and Canterbury. (58)

It is clear that not all the king's servants followed the court during the summer and some indication of those who accompanied the king is provided by the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber. (59) Wages for the yeomen of the chamber fluctuated from one month to another, and whilst this is not necessarily an indication of numbers as there were three different levels of payments - 12d., 8d., and 7d., per day - there were, however, certain seasonal variations. Take June 1515, for example, where there is mention of a roll of names 'subscribed by Sir Henry Marney' which showed how many of the yeoman were to be discharged from their daily attendance on the king. (60) Whilst in August 1515, their wages came to one hundred and five pounds, in December the amount was one hundred and twenty-five pounds. (61)

Rarely could all the household officers who travelled with the king or queen, be housed in the same residence. Courtiers were billeted on people who lived in adjacent houses or at the nearest town. In August 1529, for example, whilst the king was staying at Waltham Abbey the new secretary - Stephen Gardiner - and the almoner, Edward Fox, were billeted on a Mr. Cressey. (62) The accounts of 'Gifts and Rewards' are an unused source and can be found at the conclusion of the cofferer's and comptroller's accounts. They provide a detailed description of inns and places where household officers were housed on progress. This is of unparalleled importance and also helps to clarify some of the more enigmatic parts of the king's itinerary. The royal hunting manor at Guildford could house few of the household departments and whenever the court moved to this town they were lodged by the prior at the friary of Guildford. (63) Payment

was usually made on the same day that the court left the town providing a partial reflection of the king's progress. Some discrepancies do exist and these probably represent provision of food, etc. for the king while he was in transit and add more detail to the general picture. In July 1523 the king is recorded at Brentwood on 10th and 24th and neither reference occurs in the cofferer's or comptroller's accounts. (64) Payments range from 4d. to 40s. and apart from the prior of Guildford, no one of particular prominence is listed in these accounts. There are, for example, no payments to any of the noblemen and courtiers who it is known gave hospitality to the king. Indeed in 1520 whilst Sir Edmund Tame entertained the king at Fairford, William More was given 11s. for lodging officers of the household. (65) Innkeepers figure prominently as recipients of these rewards, in return for their hospitality. John Troughton was paid 40s. for providing accommodation for members of the household at the 'sign of the Swan' at Stony Stratford in September 1525. (66) Francis I lodged at inns during his progresses but these accounts provide no evidence to suggest that Henry may have followed suit. (67)

One important factor contributing to the size of the court was the presence of the queen. The king's and queen's households were separated both physically and financially and they each had their own separate suite of rooms as plans of royal palaces make clear. (68) The consort's household was smaller but played an important role in the social life of the court. The role of the queen and her ladies in the joust and the mask will be considered in another context, but the queen's chamber played a prominent role in all kingly and noble pastimes. The earl of Devon played shuffleboard with Sir Christopher Garneys, Sir Henry Sherbourne and Mr. Darcy in the queen's chamber in February 1519. (69) Ambassadors were

conducted to the queen, as in March 1522 when Laucraulx was escorted by the duke of Suffolk to Katherine and her ladies. (70) Early in the reign the queen played a prominent role in policy decisions, as the work of Garrett Mattingly has shown, and as late as 1524, the king was still discussing business with her after receiving letters from Wolsey at Hertford Castle. (71)

To a large extent the queen's itinerary was the same as Henry's and Katherine's piety, reflected in her visits to various shrines, was one of the main factors when the two households split. In 1517 the queen visited the shrine at Gracechurch in Ipswich, where in the previous year the daughter of Sir Roger Wentworth had been cured. (72) Whilst Henry hunted at Easthampstead in July 1522 Katherine visited the shrine at Caversham, approximately ten miles away. (73) Katherine went on pilgrimage to Walsingham at least four times, in 1515, 1517, 1519 and 1521. The cofferer's and comptroller's accounts reflect this divergence of the two households and provide two locations for the court. Henry spent most of his time at Newhall in 1515 and 1521, while the queen made her journey. (74) Her route was varied via Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester in 1515, compared to Newmarket in 1519 and Cambridge, Ipswich and Norwich in 1521. At Cambridge Katherine stayed at Queen's college. (75) The queen's fondness for Walsingham is reflected in the grant of lands to her in 1509. Katherine was given the manors of Great and Little Walsingham and it was here that she would have stayed during her pilgrimage. (76)

During the queen's pilgrimages she stayed with local magnates and such visits were not without some form of elaborate ceremony. In March 1517, the queen was met by the duke of Suffolk at 'Pykenham Wade' and conducted on her pilgrimage to Walsingham. Mary his wife was also present and made

the queen 'good cheer'. It emerges, after looking at the original manuscript, that Suffolk had been informed of Katherine's route by Wolsey and been given instructions to attend the queen. (77) Later in May 1519 whilst the queen was being entertained at Kenninghall, the city of Norwich paid for gifts to be sent to Her Majesty.

'William Styward for horses and expenses riding twice to Kennynghale-16d  
Paid for expenses and things presented to the queen viz Edmund  
Michelles for his horse to Kennynghale for two days-8d.  
Paid for bottles of .... .. queen .. .. Kennynhale'. (78)

The queen's pilgrimages were a form of royal progress and whenever she entered a city, she was met with considerable ceremonial. When she visited Norwich on the 2nd March 1521, all the livery companies went to meet her and the city presented her with one hundred marks. (79) During these 'progresses' the queen stayed with some of the most prominent noblemen and landowners on the way. At Parham she stayed with Lord William Willoughby, at Easterford with Richard Southwell and at Barkway with the earl of Oxford. (80) Katherine also stayed with some of the favourite gentlewomen from her household. Parham manor was more than just an overnight stop, Lord Willoughby had married one of Katherine's gentlewoman, Maria de Salinas. No doubt it was at Maria's invitation that the queen stayed at Parham; in December 1514 the Spanish ambassador reported that Katherine loved her 'more than any mortal'. (81)

The accounts of 'Gifts and Rewards' provide further indication as to whether the king and queen were together and throw more light, in particular, on their itinerary for October 1522. The accounts make quite clear that the king went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham but according to this source the queen did not accompany her husband. The king was at Ipswich on 9th October, whilst the queen moved south to Ingatestone where

she was entertained by William Thynne. Subsequently she travelled to Barnet where she gave one of her largest rewards of 4ls. 8d. to John Radnos. (82) The two households merged again at Bishops Hatfield, home of the bishop of Ely. The accounts, however, provide little help when trying to make sense of the strange position in August 1526 where on some days as many as three locations are included in the cofferer's accounts. On the 1st August, Petworth, Arundel and The Vyne are mentioned in the cofferer's accounts, though none of these locations was in close proximity to another. One possible explanation would be the location of the queen's household but in the fairly extensive reports which survive for this progress, the queen is only mentioned once, on the 24th August. (83) Such a theory, however, is undermined by a signed bill issued by Katherine from her manor at Chute on 10th September, and this location is not mentioned in the cofferer's accounts. (84) These accounts play a very useful role in the process of trying to compile the queen's itinerary, but whereas for the king they are very accurate, for the queen they are far from complete.

On both occasions when the sweating sickness created the greatest panic at court, the queen was with Henry during his desperate flight from one manor to another. In 1517 the king dismissed both their households and according to Thomas Leeke, their attendants numbered no more than twenty persons. (85) Provision was made on such occasions for individual members of the household. William Cornish was to be paid 20d. per week for the board of William Saunders, 'late child of the Chapel', when the king 'keepeth no househould'. (86) As late as 1528 whilst the court was taking refuge at Tittenhanger, Heneage assured Wolsey that every morning 'as soon as he (Henry) cometh from the queen' he asked for news of the cardinal. (87)

With Anne Boleyn's increasing influence in the late 1520's, Katherine's role at court became overshadowed, although Anne's impact was less than might initially be expected. Even after June 1527 when Henry told Katherine that he could no longer see her as his wife, the queen still continued to travel with the court, although her role was somewhat diminished. When Fox visited the court at Greenwich in May 1527, he was received by Henry in Anne's chamber. (88) The king's mistresses were usually a part of the queen's household but by 1528 this was no longer the case and Anne Boleyn had her own separate, and quite distinct chambers - a novel situation in the structure of the court. (89) By November 1528, the Spanish ambassador reported to Charles V that Henry had informed his wife that he wished 'to avoid living under the same roof as her', but according to the ambassador, Henry still continued to sleep with his wife whenever he visited Greenwich. (90) Bearing in mind Katherine's Spanish connection and the unreliability of ambassadoral reports, this needs to be treated with caution. The itinerary does show, however, that throughout the autumn of 1528, the queen was based at Greenwich and Henry moved back and forth between this palace and Bridewell. (91) This probably reflected Henry's dislike of lengthy stays in London, rather than any fondness towards Katherine, but on Christmas day 1528, Du Bellay reported that the court had returned to Greenwich

'et setient maison ouverte tant chiez le roy que chiez la royne, comme elle a acoustumé les aultres années'. (92)

Katherine continued to stay with the king and in January 1529 moved with him to Hampton Court. (93)

A small number of noblemen who were favoured by the king followed the court on progress, not by virtue of any office that they held, but by their



ability to grace the court, buttress the king's authority and join in his pastimes. (94) Whilst the king wished to be surrounded by 'sage personages', at the same time the presence of a number of noblemen could greatly increase household expenditure and place an unwelcome pressure on scarce accommodation. Liberality was to be expected from all great princes in the sixteenth century and a nobleman and his servants were granted bouche of court - an allowance of food and provisions - whilst staying at court.

In the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, Cardinal Wolsey attempted to rationalise the system, remove some of the inherent abuses and thereby economise on the cost of the household. He produced not only a list of who was actually allowed lodging at court but also the amount of bouche of court and the number of servants and horses permitted. A marquis, earl, bishop or countess, for example, who was lodged within the court was permitted to have ten servants with four receiving their meals in the hall. (one chaplain, one gentleman and two yeomen). (95) Wolsey makes a fundamental distinction, and this is an important point, between those lodged within the court and 'others of like degrees lodged without the court by the king's harbingers'. (96) Those officers and chief noblemen indicated on this list had permanent chambers allocated to them at all the principal palaces and these would remain the same each year. This means that chambers were taken up by noblemen who might be absent, but whilst on progress no such wastage of space occurred. This also helps to explain how the court was accommodated at smaller residences. At Eltham, for example, Wolsey had a suite of five rooms permanently allocated to him and a document drawn up between 1518 and 1528, describes the alterations to be carried out on his rooms. These included his bed chamber, closet, privy

chamber, withdrawing chamber, and dining chamber. The alterations were quite far reaching as this example shows.

'Item to take down a partition wall that standeth next my lord Cardynalls Bed Chambre and make theym booth in oon, and to sett upp a wall in the other parte of the same bedde chambre next the chymmney ther'. (97)

Whilst a nobleman was absent from court, his servants still continued to lodge there and were able to provide him with accurate news from the heart of government. In the Eltham Ordinances, Wolsey tried to stop these servants continuing to receive their bouche of court while their lord was absent

'all lords, ladyes and knights and others being lodged within the King's house, have no liveries nor bouch of Court to their chambers nor carriage after they be departed the Court, they being absent the space of 14 dayes till they returne againe'. (98)

Whilst on progress the court stayed at smaller dwellings and such chambers were not put aside for noblemen or bishops who were absent. If they arrived it would appear that others would be displaced lower down the social hierarchy to make room for them. At Grafton, the duke of Suffolk prevented this from happening in September 1529, and Wolsey was forced to stay with Sir Thomas Empson at his manor of Easton Neston three miles away.

(99) This also probably explains why Dr. Fell was put out of his chambers whilst the court was at Abingdon at Easter in 1518. Richard Pace, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, explained the incident and asked for the situation to be rectified .

'My lorde doctor fell is ueriaye euyl intreatidde bi the herbigers, in so mucche that thys nyght past, he was put owte off hys chiambre schamfully and other persons put in to the same not to be comparydde wyth hym'. (100)

The whole situation of 1518 deserves more attention and aptly illustrates some of the differences between the itinerant court and the

court on progress. A number of letters between the court and Wolsey provide an insight into how the court functioned. Throughout the early months of 1518, the plague kept the king away from London and he spent some time at Newhall and at Windsor. (101) Although forty miles away at Westminster, Wolsey continued to play a very prominent role in the affairs of state, not only in decisions on foreign policy, but also in respect to the actual running of the court. It was he who carried out the king's instructions and organised those noblemen who were to attend the court during the Easter festivities. Suffolk wrote to the cardinal asking 'how the frynche quyne schall by ordard tuchyng hyr comyng un to the kinges grace'. (102) When Henry desired the comptroller's attendance at court, he instructed Pace to inform Wolsey of his wish with instructions to write to Henry Marney. (103) This was the situation in 1518. Wolsey was acting very much as the 'middle man' and he was the person to whom courtiers or the king turned if something was to be accomplished. The queen made representation through Richard Pace that Wolsey might allow her chaplain, Christopher Plummer, to stay with her during this term 'as schee haith none other to saye matens wyth herre grace'. (104) When Thomas More and Dr. Clerk felt deprived of their proper allowance of bouche of court, it was from Wolsey that they requested help, in the hope that the cardinal would write to the lord steward of the household to redress the wrong. (105)

Easter was one of those times of the year when members of nobility and important office holders were expected to attend the court and participate in the festivities. The king always spent Easter and Christmas at one of his larger palaces, like Greenwich or Richmond, but the presence of the plague necessitated that he spend the Easter of 1518 at the abbey of

Abingdon. From the beginning the court was beset by problems. The town could offer very little accommodation and food was scarce. (106) Despite the shortage of lodging, noblemen were still invited to attend the king. The duke and duchess of Suffolk, as well as the lord steward, the earl of Shrewsbury, arrived on 1st April, and two days later the duke of Buckingham took up residence. (107) On the 3rd April, the king thanked Wolsey for his concern

'touchynge great personagis and doith ryght well perceue herby and most louyngly accepte the especiall regard that yor grace hath to the surertee off hys graces person'. (108)

Some historians have argued that this shows that Henry and Wolsey were afraid of a noble conspiracy in April 1518. (109) But the biggest threat from noblemen in 1518 was from their servants and the subsequent risk of infection as the letter soon makes quite clear. As we have seen it was common practice for servants of noblemen and office holders to be left in their chambers while they themselves were absent. In 1518, Henry used these servants to inform their lords 'to brynge wyth them but verraye small company'. The reason for this precaution was ostensibly the 'strayte loggyng herr' and the 'penurye off horse mete'. This was undoubtedly the case, but a close reading of the manuscript shows that Henry's fear of infection was the pre-eminent reason for this 'secret' operation. (110)

Three months later at Woodstock the king took further precautions. (111) Henry informed Wolsey (through Pace) of his decision that no lord should retain any servants or belongings in his apartment while absent from the court,

'considerynge the mysordre that is usydde bi there seruants, wherby infection off syknesse myght ensue'. (112)

When matters concerned his own safety Henry did not rely on Wolsey to make

or execute his decisions.

The 'pleasure progresses' of Henry VIII's reign deserve recognition; they represent a fundamental change in the tempo of court life. The summer months were a time when many officers from all levels of the household returned to their estates in the localities. This included those in the highest echelons of the household who held a seat on the council - the cofferer, comptroller, treasurer, etc., and this could make business more difficult. In August 1525, while Wolsey was working on drafts of the Eltham Ordinances, he attempted to obtain a book containing the statutes of the household. Sir Henry Guildford informed him from Barnet, where the court was staying, that it was at the cofferer's house in London and could not be fetched as John Shirley was at his estates in Sussex. (113) In this respect also the late summer of 1520 was not unique. During August, Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham, was summoned to the court at Yattendon, because the king had no councillors to wait on him. (114) This was not so unusual during the summer progress and such one-off examples should not be taken out of context and used to prove that Henry was ill served throughout the whole year.

It is difficult to make generalisations about the attendance of noblemen and chamber officers at court, but a comparison of Henry's visit to Woodstock in March 1518, as part of the normally itinerant court, and the summer progress illustrates the differences between the two. Officers were more likely to follow the itinerant court than when the king went on progress; although for every generalisation there are exceptions. Wolsey ensured that on each progress a courtier in his confidence followed the royal court. (115) Only a small number of noblemen regularly attended the court during Wolsey's ascendancy. For great ceremonial occasions as many

as possible were expected to attend. (116) Otherwise, only a small number of highly favoured men stayed at court. Those noblemen associated with the king's pleasurable pursuits were likely to visit the court, if only for a few weeks, while the king went on progress. The marquis of Dorset hunted with the king during the progress of 1520 and Lord Ros joined the court at Bishops Hatfield in October 1522, whilst Henry was trying to avoid the plague. (117) In July 1527 seven noblemen were present. Fitzwilliam informed the cardinal that it would be difficult to make economies in the expenditure of the household because of the number of noblemen present at court,

'the Kinges Highnesse kepeth here a verrey greate and a chargeable house,..... which is a thing to make the espenses of His Housholde to amounte to a greate some at the yeres ende'. (118)

The total of seven lords corresponds with approximately the same number lodged at Greenwich in October and November 1519. (119) The example of July 1527 is, however, not necessarily representative of the court on progress. The king was staying at Beaulieu, originally called Newhall, which was large enough to accommodate the court in comfort whilst at the same time providing easy access to good hunting ground. There was also the Wolsey factor - if Cavendish is to be believed, the cardinal's enemies took advantage of his absence in France to poison the king's ear against his chief minister. (120)

Attempts to disentangle reasons for absence or attendance at court prove very difficult. Individual courtiers or noblemen could have strong, private reasons for absence as Dr. Bernard has shown in the case of the earl of Shrewsbury in 1516. As steward of the household, Henry and Wolsey felt it imperative that he should attend the festivities connected with the arrival of Margaret, queen of Scotland. Shrewsbury feigned illness to

avoid attendance at court and to register his disapproval of the direction of both domestic and foreign policy. (121)

Although positions in the royal household were eagerly sought after, actually performing the duty was another matter and many officers allowed deputies to perform their duties. Wolsey attempted to curb this abuse. In the Eltham Ordinances under the heading of, 'None Officer to serve by substitute', Wolsey decreed that

'no manner of servant shall doe any service within the king's house in any room or office by any substitute or other servants under them....'. (122)

During the summer in particular, courtiers were eager to attend to their estates. It was in the localities that they could feel of most importance, reinforced by their court status. So much for a courtier's need for proximity to the king! How can this paradox be explained?

There was a tendency for courtiers to keep close to the king when they wanted something. In 1526 Lancelot Lowther, a gentleman usher, attended the king throughout the summer and gave him presents of hawks to help facilitate a royal grant. As constable of Holt Castle, he wanted to ensure that this office descended to his son-in-law, Thomas ap Howell, by including him on the patent. Wolsey was informed of this and how Lowther had

'done great pleasr unto his highnesse heretofore and this yere by bringing vnto hym certayn castes of hawkys and gevyng attendaunce upon his highnesse a grete parte of this sommyr'. (123)

Professor Ives has pieced together the way in which William and Randolph Brereton attempted to secure Ralph Egerton's offices in 1526 and the same theme emerges. Egerton wanted to secure the reversion of his offices for his son and heir, Richard. Randolph suggested to his brother, William, that he should work with Knyvet and in particular to

'gyff good attendunce by youre selph and other of youre frendes aboute the kyng, to thentent to haue knoleche what labur Master Eggerton makyth, and like wyse to my lorde cardynall'. (124)

William Brereton was a groom of the privy chamber and Anthony Knyvet a gentleman usher; by virtue of this post they were, therefore, in a prime position to keep close to the king.

The provision of lodging at court was an important privilege, though few noblemen resided at court for long periods of time continuously. The chance survival of three sets of personal expenses for Henry Courtenay illustrate how a young nobleman close to the king operated from the court. The accounts are most detailed for the summer of 1525 and coincide with the king's progress for that year. Whilst Exeter is not representative of other noblemen, his accounts are invaluable for the insight which they provide into his attendance at court during the progress.

The summer 'progress' of 1525 is enigmatic; few letters emanating from the court have survived and privy seals give only a patchy itinerary for these months. There are no references to 'giests' although this certainly does not preclude their existence. The year represents one of the king's 'pleasure progresses' confined largely to royal manors and following the conventional route to Ampthill. The only surprising feature was the court's absence from London during October and November and its residence at Reading Abbey for twenty-seven days. (125) The amount of time which a nobleman or courtier spent with the court is a perplexing issue and the accounts of the marquis of Exeter throw new light on his activities at court during the summer of 1525. Henry Courtenay was in a powerful position, created marquis of Exeter in June 1525, he was a member of the king's privy chamber and one of the king's boon companions. (126) The accounts reveal in unparalleled detail how Exeter operated from and within



the court, the logistical details of accommodating servants and horses as well as the role which his wife and son played at the court. The way in which these accounts were compiled does, however, present serious difficulties and the chronology is not always clear. The accounts represent a series of 'bills', or expenses incurred by Courtenay's servants on his behalf and compiled by William Turke. They appear in the order in which he reimbursed people for their service and this could sometimes be several weeks after the event.

At the beginning of June 1525 Courtenay and his wife, Gertrude, made a leisurely journey up from Devon, visiting William Sandys at The Vyne on the way and drinking with Lord Ros and Lord Mountjoy. (127) Courtenay arrived in London in time to prepare for his elevation to the marquise of Exeter, performed at an elaborate ceremony at Bridewell on 18th June. (128) For the rest of the summer and autumn, or at least until the accounts finish on 22nd November, Exeter was based at court. His presence was very real, money was continually expended on his chambers at court in order to make his stay more comfortable. Rushes were provided at each residence (129) and one hundred hooks at Windsor and Bishops Hatfield. (130) Exeter maintained a base at court continually throughout the progress and his 'stuff', as his belongings were invariably called, was transferred as and when the king moved. (131) There are few clues as to what Exeter carried around with him, but when the king moved to Hampton Court at the beginning of July, the accounts mention that he took with him his own bed and hangings, and when he left Windsor, conveyed 'certain quiltes'. (132)

Exeter's sojourn at court was not enforced by a lack of other accommodation. As keeper of the royal manor of Birling, Exeter used this as though it belonged to him and yet there are no specific references to

his staying there. Although Exeter was granted the mansion of Poultenay by 'Signed Bill' on 5th August, there is only one reference to a visit by him - he dined there on 6th September. (133) The manor of Bedwell, however, was visited frequently by the Courtenay family on brief trips from the court. Bedwell was owned by Gertrude's grandfather, Sir William Say, and under an agreement made in 1506 the manor was to pass on Say's death to his son-in-law, Lord Mountjoy and then to his daughter, Gertrude. (134) There are frequent references to Bedwell in the accounts, and Exeter, for example, paid for the 'carrage of 8 lods of wood from bedwell to mistress knytons.' (135) Visits by Exeter and his wife were usually brief as on their two day visit in the middle of July when Courtenay left twelve horses at Waltham Cross and a further two with Baron Carew. (136) The accounts suggest that for much of the summer Exeter's son ('my yong lord' as he was called) was in fact based at Bedwell. (137) When the court moved to Bishops Hatfield, only three miles from Bedwell, a reward was paid to a servant of his son to wash 'hys gere when he ranne with my yong lord to Court and home agayne'. (138) Two beds were borrowed from the king's wardrobe during Exeter's stay at Bishops Hatfield for his son to lie on and there is another reference to a cradle 'for my yong lord'. (139) Whilst Courtenay and his wife made frequent use of Bedwell, the marquis continued to reside at court even when the king reached Bishops Hatfield. Exeter obviously preferred the cramped lodgings of the court and the proximity to the king which this allowed him, rather than more spacious dwelling places in the vicinity. Indeed at Hatfield more effort was expended than usual to enhance Exeter's lodgings at court - carpenters were paid to 'dress my lords chamber'. (140)

Although Exeter always had a base at court, for much of the month of

September he was absent on his own independent excursions. It is clear that the marquis was with the king at the priory of Dunstable between 26th and 29th August but it appears that while Henry continued his progress to Stony Stratford, Exeter moved on to Enfield where he stayed with the earl of Rutland at Elsings for at least one week, and his wife stayed for a fortnight. (141) For each week of their stay Exeter and his wife paid Rutland's steward 20s. for their board and 2s.8d. for each of their servants. (142) On about 12th September Exeter visited Sir Thomas Tyrrel at Brentwood for nine days followed by a stay at Hollywell and 'mistress Knightons'. (143) Whilst Exeter was away some of his servants continued to travel with the court. When the court reached Olney on 17th September, there is a mutilated 'bill' for the 'hyre of a howse at olney ... to ley my lords stuff in'. (144) Davy, one of Exeter's servants, followed the court from Stony Stratford to the royal manor of Olney and then on to Ampthill and the accounts suggest that the marquis was present on 18th September when butter was bought for him. (145)

The role of Exeter's wife at court during these months is less clearly defined but it is clear that she spent a lot of time at court with her husband. The marchioness was included among those allowed lodging within the court issued with the Eltham Ordinances in 1526. (146) Bills which survive for her horses show that Gertrude was at Easthampstead and Woking for eight days, Bishops Hatfield for four days and The More for four days in August and a futher two days in October. (147)

Servants of courtiers and noblemen made up a large proportion of the court. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a large number of servants was seen as a reflection of a nobleman's power and prestige. (148) In 1526 Wolsey found it necessary to specify the precise number of servants

which a nobleman or office-holder was allowed to lodge at court. It is difficult to calculate the exact number of servants who accompanied Exeter to court, but estimates do not suggest that Exeter, himself, was flagrantly abusing the system. Twenty-four servants accompanied him up from Devon and thirty were dressed in Courtenay colours at the time of his elevation to the marquise. (149) The only figures given week by week are for 'board wages' and the number fluctuated from thirteen to sixteen. (150) This presumably relates to the number of servants not enjoying lodging and food at court. When Exeter visited Sir Thomas Tyrrel's manor at Brentwood, the number of those receiving board wages increased to eighteen. (151) One version of the Eltham Ordinances printed in Household Ordinances, and probably an earlier copy, (152) allowed a marquis to have eight servants sleeping at court; whilst the copy in an Harleian manuscript permitted a total of ten servants and specified that of these one chaplain, one gentleman and two yeomen were to be fed in the hall with two grooms to 'keep the chamber' and all

'the residue of his servants to have no meat or drink within the Court but to be at board wages within the town'. (153)

It is impossible to say how many of Exeter's servants were fed at court, or how many exceeded the stipulations laid down in 1526. There are few specific payments for servants' lodging outside the court. In August Turke was paid for riding ahead of the court (i.e. from Barnet to Hunsdon) in search of 'loggyng' for Courtenay's servants. (154) Bills for individual payments which are extant were associated with the larger palaces. When Exeter stayed at Greenwich in June, he paid for six beds for his servants for a week to be lodged at the 'Angel' and likewise for six beds at the Bell, Carter Lane with easy access to Bridewell. (155)

Commensurate with the logistical problems of lodging servants was the continual need of stabling for horses. In 1526 Wolsey tried to limit the number of horses that noblemen and office-holders were allowed to stable at court and for a marquis the number was set at twenty. (156) By 1525 Exeter had overcome the problem of stabling his horses at court by hiring his own stables from Jocelyn Percy. (157) Birling also provided a convenient place to keep spare horses, especially whilst Exeter was away in Devon; between 24th March and 22nd June, he paid for the shoeing of his 'gret horses and geldyngs' at Birling. (158) Courtenay used his stables at Greenwich and Birling to accommodate spare horses while the court was on progress. When the king gave him a 'gret horse', whilst they were both staying at Hampton Court, Courtenay paid one of his servants to take it back to Greenwich. (159) Later in August, after another such gift, the horse was transferred to Birling. (160) The number of horses which accompanied Exeter varied from one location to another. At Windsor he paid for fifty-one horses, eighteen belonging to himself and his yeomen and thirty-three to his gentlemen. (161) Most of the horses belonged to his servants and the clearest breakdown is provided for November 1525 while the court resided at Reading Abbey - eight horses belonged to Exeter and nineteen to his servants. (162)

The accounts also reveal something of Exeter's relationship with Cardinal Wolsey. Exeter made at least two specific journeys to visit the cardinal when the court was on progress, the first on 7th July (while the court was at Windsor) and the second at the end of September. (163) Exeter had dinner with the cardinal and one of the most notable features of this visit was the large number of rewards given to Wolsey's servants. (164) Exeter also met Wolsey when he followed the court to The More.

Wolsey was at his palace when the king arrived on 5th August and a grant was 'delivered' for the marquis. (165)

Exeter's accounts for 1527 are less detailed and relate almost exclusively to expenses for his horses. Courtenay's stables at Birling and Greenwich feature very prominently and explains why the editors of Letters and Papers attributed these accounts to Lord Burgavenny. (166)

Exeter used Birling and Greenwich alternatively as a base for his horses depending roughly upon where the court was situated. Between 11th January and 12th May most of Courtenay's horses were kept at Greenwich. (167)

From 8th June until 10th October Exeter's spare horses were kept at Birling which coincided with the king's progress; although the amounts spent for shoeing horses were significantly lower. (168) Throughout the summer the marquis followed the court - although the accounts are patchy, it is clear that he paid for 'horse meyt' while the king visited The More and a further 3d. at the 'kynnggs stabil at Hunssedon'. (169)

As keeper of the king's manor of Birling, Exeter used the manor very much as though it was his own. One of his duties involved preparation for a royal visit and Exeter's accounts provide the only documentation for the king's stay in September 1527. Exeter paid one of his servants 'for making clen of ye stabyls att byrlyng agenst ye kings comyng thither'. (170)

Other expenses included '9 dousyn of hors bred' for the king and 'other straungers' which was bought in Rochester. (171) 'Keeperships' were invariably given to those courtiers closest to the monarch, usually his boon companions or members of the privy chamber, and these accounts prove that they were far from being just honorary. Other keepers used royal property as one of their main residences as Dr. Howard has shown. Sir Henry Guildford used Leeds Castle as his principal residence, when not

at court, as an inventory of his property, taken after his death, makes clear. (172)

Throughout the summer progress of 1525, Exeter spent his time at court hunting, either with the king or alone with his associates. Like the king, Exeter took his hounds around with him to each manor and at Guildford, for example, he paid for their 'mete'. (173) Tents were sometimes used by courtiers or the king while on progress, and in July, Exeter had his tents transported to Finsbury Field, but whether this was on a hunting expedition, or accommodation for his servants, is not made clear.

(174) Exeter joined in the king's pastimes, he accompanied Henry on a hunting trip to Waltham Forest in June whilst the court was staying at Greenwich. (175)

The court was constantly mobile and, therefore, organised to be such. Much depended upon the individual whim of the monarch and the needs of that particular occasion. The king's 'removing day' was a big affair and it provided another excuse for Henry not to attend to the affairs of state.

(176) Courtiers and household officers were left behind at some of the main palaces. As regards the chamber, who followed the king depended upon a whole variety of factors - those who wanted to secure grants, etc. If the king went on a short visit to a courtier's house, to Beddington Place, for example, then most of the household would have been left behind at Greenwich. During the summer progress, however, many servants of the chamber returned to their estates, or were sent away on specific missions.

It is very difficult to calculate the number of officers from the household 'below stairs' who accompanied the king on his progress. When officers from these departments left the court their absence had to be more tightly regulated but unfortunately detailed evidence does not survive.

The number of servants required to prepare the court's food must have changed during the summer progress when the size of the court became smaller. When Henry paid a three day visit to Greenwich in July 1518 he travelled with only a very small retinue and the rest of the household was left at Woodstock. The king did not take everyone with him to Woodstock and some wardrobe servants were left in London. This was the only recorded occasion when Henry took no servants with him to prepare his own meals. There were thus a number of main and subsidiary locations for the court in between the king's random movements. The entire household was only completely disbanded when the plague or sweating sickness reached epidemic proportions as in 1517.

The court was far from static. It was ill defined and the king was also followed by a group of 'hangers on'. Its size could vary from one day to the next, visitors to the court became a part of the whole as the king's visit to Wolfhall in 1539 aptly illustrates. One thing becomes clear - it is impossible to make accurate generalisations. On the whole the court on progress was a lot smaller than the itinerant court, although some days provided exceptions to this rule. Wherever the king's progress took him the local gentry and chief men of the shires were expected to visit him. Although the English court on progress was a lot smaller than its French counterpart - it could be counted in hundreds rather than thousands - it still presented a very impressive sight. The large influx of courtiers could still cause problems for a small town or a nobleman. The analogy to a swarm of locusts, used by one historian, is very apt; the court went on progress 'eating and killing all it could find in its way'. (177) The majesty of kingship belied the misery of his followers, forced into cramped accommodation. Above all, the progress provided a context



within which court politics continued to function. It was important who travelled with the king, who attended upon him and who hunted with him. The king did not stick rigidly to office, he used whoever was available and suited his requirements; this was particularly the case during the upheavals of the progress.

Notes and References.

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2. D.M. Loades, The Tudor Court (London, 1986) pp.38-72.
3. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.231 (LP II ii p.1472)
4. LP III ii p.1541.
5. E36 216 f.14v (LP II ii p.1479).
6. Longleat House, Seymour Papers XVII f.55v.
7. *Ibid.* f.55v
8. P. Olver, 'The Tudor Royal Progress' (Swansea M.A. 1985) p. 25.
9. J.G. Russell, 'The Field of Cloth of Gold' (London, 1969) p.144
10. *Ibid.* pp.48-49.
11. E36 130 f.164-239.
12. Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 116, ff.95-99v. (printed in Russell, Field of Cloth of Gold, Appendix A pp.191-204.)  
The king's chamber - 70 with 150 servants  
The king's household - 266 with 216 servants  
This meant 902 officers and their servants (and 205 of the stable) out of a total of 3,977.
13. LP XVI 941
14. Hall, Chronicle p.278.
15. Longleat House, Seymour Papers XVII ff.31-31v.
16. J.E. Jackson, 'Wolfhall and the Seymours' Wiltshire Archaeologia xv (1875) p.170 1 mess was an allowance for 4 persons. This is illustrated in Seymour Papers XVIII f.144.
17. *Ibid.* p.147
18. *Ibid.* p.149
19. Harris, Edward Stafford p.78
20. Longleat House, Seymour Papers XVII f.55v.
21. Jackson, 'Wolfhall and the Seymours' p.147
22. *Ibid.* pp.169-170
23. Longleat House, Seymour Papers XVII f.21.
24. *Ibid.* f.55v.
25. *Ibid.* ff.22,18
26. Loades, Tudor Court p.65
27. R.J. Knecht, Francis I. (Cambridge, 1982) .p. 97
28. *Ibid.* p.93. See map of Francis I's progresses p.94-5 and R.J. Knecht, 'Francis I Prince and Patron of the Northern Renaissance' in A.G. Dickens, The Courts of Europe, 1400-1800, (London, 1977) pp.101-3.
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30. *Ibid.* p.98.
31. Rutland Papers, ed. William Jerdan, Camden Society xxi (London, 1842) p.72
32. *Ibid.* p.65
33. BL Cotton MS Galba B VI f.178 St.P i 98. (LP III ii 2289).
34. Rutland Papers, p.73
35. CSPV III 484
36. *Ibid.* 486
37. CSPS II 441
38. CSPS IV i p.222
39. E36 150 f.29 (LP III i 1286[2]).
40. LP III ii 2994(26), LP IV ii 4896(14)

41. Rutland Papers, p.83
42. Ibid. p.83 Robert Lee was assessed as a servant of the wafery in the subsidy list of 1524. E179 69/23.
43. Ibid. p.91
44. E36 225 f.72.  
M. Girouard, Life in the English Country House (Yale, 1978) p.64
45. These included the buttery, wardrobe, kitchen, poultry and stables.
46. E101 420/8 f. 27 LP IV iii 5885, 5918.
47. SP1/16 f.317 (LP II ii 4276).
48. E101 419/9 f.15v-16. LP III ii 2992 (3)
49. E101 419/9 f.4-4v. LP III ii 2648 (18), 2648 (14), 2643
50. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.198v. (LP II ii p.1468).
51. SP1/48 f.243 (LP IV ii 4428).
52. SP1/16 f.321 (LP II ii 4308)
53. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.229v. (LP II ii p.1472).
54. E36 216 f.175 (LP II ii p.1450)
55. E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, (Oxford, 1923) I p.8  
SP1/35 f.256 (LP IV i 1572)
56. Household Ordinances, pp.160-1. S. Thurley, 'Nonsuch and the planning of Henry VIII's later palaces', forthcoming article. I am grateful to Mr. Thurley for allowing me to read this paper and for drawing my attention this reference.
57. E101 622/31 William Cary was appointed keeper of the wardrobe at Newhall in 1522.
58. Rutland Papers, p.76
59. Two copies are extant for the years 1509-1518 which are almost identical. There are, however, occasional differences, for example, in the BL Additional MS 21,481 f.285 Abingdon is included as the place of offering on 28th March, 1518 whereas this is blank in E36 215 p.571
60. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.191. 170 (171 is crossed out) yeoman are mentioned in these accounts.
61. Ibid. f.198v, 211
62. J.G. Nichols, ed., Narratives of the Days of the Reformation Camden Society lxxvii (London, 1859) p.240
63. August 1521 E101 419/5 f.32  
March 1523 E101 419/9 f.31  
September 1523 E101 419/9 f.31  
Colvin suggested that this might be the case, but has no evidence to back up his assertion. King's Works IV ii p.123
64. E101 419/9 f.31
65. E101 419/1 f.31
66. E101 419/13 f.32
67. Knecht, Francis I, p.98.
68. Colvin, King's Works IV ii p. 197
69. E36 218 f.67 (LP III i 152).
70. CSPS FS p.73. John Taylor had audience with the king in the queen's chamber at St. Albans in October 1525. SP1/36 f.102 (LP IV i 1704).
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76. LP I i 94(35)
77. SP1/15 f.33 (LP II ii 3018)
78. Norfolk Record Office, Chamberlain's Account Roll, Mich. 1518-1519.  
I am grateful to Mrs. Susan Vokes for this information. Katherine also stayed with the earl of Surrey in May 1519 and at Stoke (home of the duke of Norfolk) in 1521.
79. Blomefield, History of Norfolk iii p.194
80. See Appendix II LP IV i 1857, LP I ii 2765. VCH Herts p.34.
81. GEC XII p.671. CSPS II 201
82. E101 419/9 f.31
83. SP1/39 f.92v. (LP IV ii 2428).
84. LP IV ii 2475
85. HMC Tenth Report Appendix IV p.447.
86. BL Additional MS 21,481 (LP II ii p.1475).
87. SP1/49 f.93v. St.P 1 312 (LP IV ii 4486).
88. BL Harleian MS 419 f.103. (LP IV ii 4251)
89. AAJB p.481 (LP IV ii 5016)
90. CSPS III ii 600.
91. E101 420/8 ff. 6-8v. Confirmed by Du Bellay AAJB p.481 (LP IV 5016).
92. AAJB p.518 (LP IV 5063).
93. E101 420/8 ff.10-11v. BL Additional MS 28,578 f.13  
CSPS III 617.
94. Miller, Henry VIII and Nobility, pp.78-101.
95. BL Harleian MS 642 f.129, 142. Egerton MS 2623 f.7
96. BL Harleian MS 642 f.129.
97. E101 497/1 f.5.
98. Household Ordinances. p.145
99. CSPS IV i 160 p.235.
100. SP1/16 f.201-201v: (LP II ii 4045).
101. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1518. Appendix I.
102. SP1/16 f.182 (LP II ii 4035).
103. Ibid. f.228 (LP II ii 4075).
104. Ibid. f.225 (LP II ii 4072).
105. SP1/16 f.206-207 (LP II ii 4055)
106. BL Cotton MS Vit. B III f. 245v.
107. SP1/16 ff.206, 210. (LP II ii 4055, 4057).
108. Ibid. f.210.
109. S.J. Gunn, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, (Oxford, 1988) p.58  
Dr. Starkey has suggested that this letter was written in April 1519. Starkey, Henry VIII p.81.
110. SP1/16 f.210.
111. SP1/17 f.6. (LP II ii 4331). This letter is calendared under 22nd July, in Letters and Papers, but this does not fit in with the rest of the itinerary; the court was at The More on this date. (See Henry VIII's itinerary 1518, Appendix I). Closer inspection of this document proves that the date is, in fact, 22nd June, and a mark above the 'n' shows why it was mistaken for July.
112. Ibid. f.6
113. SP1/35 f.256 (LP IV i 1572).
114. SP1/21 f.42 (LP III i 957).
115. SP1/39 f.31 (LP IV ii 2368).
116. BL Cotton MS Calig. D IX f.116. (LP IV i 1633)
117. SP1/21 f.33 (LP III i 946) SP1/26 f.123 (LP III ii 2636)

118. SP1/42 f.255 (LP IV ii 3318). These included the duke of Norfolk, duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earls of Oxford, Essex, and Rutland, viscounts Fitzwalter and Rochford. Ladies included the duchess of Norfolk and both the countesses of Oxford.
119. See Chapter 4, Table A.
120. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives p.47
121. G.W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility, (Brighton, 1985) pp.16-26
122. Household Ordinances, p.149
123. BL Cotton MS Titus BI f.312v (LP IV ii 2541)
124. Cited by E.W. Ives in 'Patronage at the Court of Henry VIII: The Case of Sir Ralph Egerton of Ridley', Bulletin of the John Ryland University Library of Manchester 111 (1970) p.368.
125. See itinerary, Appendix I
126. D.R. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber', p.129.
127. E36 225 f.11-12.
128. BL Additional MS 6113 f.61 (LP IV i 1431).
129. Greenwich E36 225 f.19, Barnet f.95, Hunsdon f.124. The total amount paid for rushes for Exeter's chamber between June and November, 1525 was 12s. 6d. f.228.
130. Ibid. ff.32, 116. The hooks were used to hang tapestries in his chamber. A lock and a key were bought for Exeter's chamber at Easthampstead f.89.
131. E36 225 ff.98, 100, 101, 115, 119, 124, 139, 181. The total amount paid for the carriage of Exeter's belongings between June and November 1525, was £10.3s.4d. f.228.
132. Ibid. f.61, 62.
133. Ibid. f.133.
134. VCH Herts. III p.460. Sir William Say died in 1529 and the manor passed to Gertrude in 1534 and was obtained by the crown on her attainder in 1539. Exeter's business transactions with Say have survived during this progress, they were concerned with an obligation for the constableness of Windsor Castle. E36 225 f.83.
135. E36 225 f.48
136. Ibid. f.52.
137. Exeter's son is never referred to by name and the accounts give little indication as to his age, although he was probably very young. If this was Edward the accounts reveal the need for a revision of his date of birth; the DNB suggests that Edward was born in 1526.
138. E36 225 f.114.
139. Ibid. f.119. The marquis and his wife also made a special visit to Bedwell while they were staying at Windsor.
140. Ibid. f.116.
141. Ibid. f.120, 123, 126. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1525, Appendix I.
142. Ibid. f.145-157. Ten servants were lodged the first week (f.139) and twelve servants during the second week (f.142).
143. Sir Thomas Tyrrel was vice-chamberlain to the queen. E36 225 f.152, f.157. (Holywell belonged to the earl of Rutland).
144. Ibid. f.213.
145. Ibid. f.213.
146. BL Egerton MS 2623 f.7. (Miscalendared as 1529 in the BL catalogue) In an exact copy Exeter and his wife are inadvertently missed out BL Harleian MS 642 f.142.
147. Easthampstead 4 horses E36 225 f.84.

- The More 2 " E36 225 f.91.  
 Bishops Hatfield 36 horses was the total combined with her husband f.117.
148. The duke of Buckingham's household consisted of 125 people.  
 Harris, Edward Stafford, p.77
149. E36 225 f.26 Exeter paid for crane coloured cloth varying from 3s.8d. to 5s.0d. per yard.
150. 13 servants - E36 225 f.93  
 16 " f.37  
 13 " f.121  
 14 " f.131.
151. Ibid. 151
152. The number of servants that a cardinal was allowed is missed out in Household Ordinances, but a version in Harleian MS allows for 40 servants with 4 chaplains, 6 gentlemen and 12 yeomen to sit in the hall with 4 grooms to keep the chamber. (BL Harleian MS 642 f.129)
153. Ibid. f.129.
154. E36 225 f.111
155. Ibid. f.28. Exeter paid 6d. per week for his servants' lodging making a total of 3s.0d. At Easthampstead the number rose to 10. Ibid. f.85.
156. Household Ordinances, p. 198
157. Jocelyn Percy is described as a cupbearer of the king's chamber in circa 1525. E36 130 f.220.
158. E36 225 f.31.
159. Ibid. f.71 The total charge for Exeter's horses which were kept in London from June to November, 1525 was £31.8s.4d. E36 225 f.228.
160. Ibid. f.113.
161. Ibid. f.36.
162. Ibid. f.128.
- |               |          |          |             |
|---------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| Lord Marquis  | 8 horses | 27 days  | £3. 9s. 6d. |
| Lady Marquis  | - "      | 27 "     | 50s. 0d.    |
| Wm. Dawbeny   | 2 "      | 27 "     | 22s. 0d.    |
| A. Harvey     | 2 "      | 27 "     |             |
| Turke         | 2 "      | 27 "     |             |
| Calverly      | 1 "      |          |             |
| R. Manners    | 3 "      | 11 "     |             |
| J. Taylor     | 1 "      | 15 "     |             |
| Lord Stewards | 2 "      | 2 nights |             |
| Carters       | 2 "      |          |             |
| Stevens       | 2 "      | 1 "      |             |
| Jeffer        | 2 "      | 3 days   |             |
163. Wolsey was at The More on 28th September, 1525. LP IV i 1673 (28)
164. E36 225 f.164.
165. LP IV i 1610 (5). Wolsey probably did not stay at The More with his household but instead moved to a place nearby.
166. E101 631/25 (LP IV ii 3734[4]).
167. E101 631/25 f.2. On 13th May, Elys moved Exeter's 'grett horses' from Greenwich to Birling, but the following day returned 6 geldings to Greenwich. Ibid. f.11.
168. Accounts for the shoeing of Exeter's horses.
- |           |                   |          |                  |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|------------------|
| Greenwich | 11 Jan. - 12 May  | 25s. 8d. | E101 631/25 f.2. |
| Birling   | 8 June - 10 Oct.  | 13s.10d. | " f.3. 83 shoes  |
| Greenwich | 10 Oct. - 22 Nov. | 21s. 4d. | " f.3. 128 "     |

- Birling - 26 Jan. 27s. 8d. " f.4. 167 "
169. E101 631/25 f.14
170. Ibid. f.6.
171. Ibid. f.6.
172. Howard, Tudor Country House, p. 30.
173. E36 225 f.79. Payments for the king's hounds to be moved from one residence to another can be found in PPE p.50.
174. E36 225 f.88.
175. Ibid. f.27.
176. BL Cotton MS Galba VI f.236 (LP III ii 2555).
177. J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Thomas More: The King's Good Servant', Thought: Fordham University Quarterly. 111 (1977) p.251.

## CHAPTER 3.

### JOUSTING AND COURT POLITICS

Tournaments and court spectacle have received the attention of historians throughout the ages. In recent years Professors Anglo and Young have examined the general political significance of court festivals, the importance of magnificence to a sixteenth century prince and the way spectacle was used to enhance, and comment upon, great diplomatic occasions. (1) The aim of this chapter is to go one stage further and use the evidence of jousts and other court entertainments to build up a clearer picture of the inner politics of the court. Little attention has been paid to the jousting cheques which survive for this period or to the importance of martial ability and its political significance. (2) Could a courtier's ability in the tilt yard be translated into material gains? (3) Previously the emphasis has been placed upon the king to the detriment of the other courtiers who took part, and the time has come to redress this imbalance.

Tournaments had first become popular at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were violent training grounds for military combat and only a thin line divided the mock war from the real thing. There was no barrier to separate the knights and participants rarely fought one another on an individual basis, but as one team against another. Prisoners were taken and held to ransom and one tournament in 1273 was remembered afterwards as the 'little battle of Chalons'. (4) Tournaments were sometimes used to pay off old scores; when, for example, William de



Valence was beaten up by the opposing side at Newbury in 1248, his men took their revenge at Brackley later in the year. (5) The sport was marred by the high rate of the fatality and some of the greatest noblemen in Europe were slain in mock combat.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the tournament had developed into an art form, but one which still required skill and prowess from the participants. The risks had been lessened, barriers had been introduced to separate opposing knights and strict rules had been laid down, but knights were still killed or injured. (6) Under the influence of the Burgundian court the emphasis was increasingly placed on allegorical display, elaborate pageantry and ceremonial. (7) Tournaments continued to be very popular at European courts. Primarily a form of entertainment, they allowed the display of prowess, honour and the chivalric values expected of a knight. Although chivalry, as a code of honour, was waning by 1500 - Ferguson has called the early sixteenth century the 'Indian Summer' of chivalry - its values still formed the basis for all tournaments and court spectacle. (8)

Tournaments consisted of a variety of different types of combat, but the principal feats of arms at the early Tudor court were: tilting, running with spears and tourneying on horseback with swords. Combat could also take place on foot, with or without a barrier, as seen on the 2nd January 1525 during the assault on the Castle of Loyaltie. (9) Tilting or jousting, as it is more commonly called, was the most popular form of combat at the Tudor court, but major tournaments were usually made up of a variety of feats of arms.

Henry VIII's influence can be traced back to the closing years of his father's reign, when as a young prince he had watched, and thereby

indirectly encouraged, the display of martial prowess. Although major events of Henry VII's reign were celebrated by tournaments, the king showed only minimal interest in the jousts. (10) In most years court spectacle was confined to meagre celebrations at New Year and Epiphany. The king did not take part in the tournaments and as a result jousting was of limited importance in court politics. Throughout May and June 1507, however, a tournament was privately sponsored by four knights and it consisted of a whole manner of different combats including wrestling, archery, tilting and tourneying. (11) There is a direct continuity between those who took part in this series of combats and those who joined the circle of royal favourites at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign. The initiative for a tournament came not only from the top but also from young courtiers eager to win a reputation in martial sports. In the closing years of Henry VII's reign they found a natural focus in the prince whose enthusiasm for the sport is recorded in a poem commemorating the tournament.

The poem is a useful source and although it employs artistic licence, it reveals Henry's attitude towards the joust before 1509. The poem is lengthy and includes forty-six verses on the combat in May with a further sixty-seven covering June and the role of the young prince is worth quoting in some detail.

'For to say true I exstreme verely  
Euery man of them was the more redy  
Perceyuyng that our yonge prince Henry  
Sholde it beholde

Whiche was to them more conforte many folde  
Than of the worlde all the treasure and golde  
His presence gaue theym courage and to be bolde  
And to endure

Syth our prynce moost comly of stature  
Is desyrous to the moost knyghtly vre

Of armes to whiche marcyall auenture  
Is his courage

Notwithstondyng his yonge and tender aege  
He is moost comly of his parsonage  
And as desyrus to this ourage  
As prynce may be

And thoughe a prynce / and kynges sone be he  
It pleaseth hym of his benygnyte  
To suffre gentylemen of lowe degre  
In his presence

To speke of armes and of other defence  
Without doyng vnto his grace offence.' (12)

There is no reference to Prince Henry jousting in public, but he must have practised in the palace tilt yards and by the time he took part in his first recorded tournament in 1510, he was a very accomplished jouster.

During the first few months of his reign, Henry VIII remained an unwilling spectator but in January 1510 he broke with tradition and rode in his first public joust. Henry, together with his groom of the stool, William Compton, took part in the combat incognito. Both scored well until one of the disguised knights was injured by Sir Edward Neville. The crowd feared that the king had been hurt and Henry was forced to throw off his disguise and reassure the rest of the court that he was safe and well.

(13) Once the taboo had been broken, Henry took part in every tournament at the court until 1526 and then made one final appearance on 5th March 1527. Henry VIII, as well as other young courtiers, was keen to establish a military reputation for himself and jousting was a first step before graduating to full scale warfare.

Dr. Starkey has discussed the political significance of Henry's participation and its impact upon court politics. The distance which Henry VII had established between himself and his courtiers was lost. Not only in the tournaments, but also in all other forms of court spectacle,

Henry VIII was at the very centre of the activity.

'A king who jousted acquired jousting partners, and a Privy Chamber staffed with royal boon companions (probably indeed the same men as the King jousted with) ceased to be a barrier protecting the monarch from pressure and faction and instead became the prime point of pressure and the very cockpit of faction'. (14)

Moreover, it has been argued that favour depended upon which side a courtier jousted - whether he was a challenger or an answerer.

Tournaments were divided into two groups, the challengers who enterprised the combat and the defenders who answered the challenge. Under Henry VII it did not matter on which side a courtier jousted and in fact for the tournament of 1501 (to celebrate the marriage of Katherine and Arthur) the two groups switched sides daily. (15) With two exceptions Henry VIII always challenged and it has been suggested that his aides who challenged with him became his boon companions and, therefore, were in a closer and more favoured position at court. (16)

The situation was, in fact, more complex and other variables were also at work. As Chapter 4 will show, those taking part in court entertainments did not come exclusively from a privy chamber dominated clique. Prowess in martial sports was an important factor and the survival of a number of jousting cheques for this period helps to throw new light on the politics of the tilt yard. (17)

From 1510 until 1516, Henry always chose good jousts to challenge with him. In the early years of the reign, the king usually challenged with three others, but after 1516, the format of the tournament changed and this point has been ignored by historians. Those who challenged with Henry in the opening years of his reign invariably came from his intimate court circle and enjoyed the king's favour. In May 1510, for example, Charles Brandon, Edward Howard and Thomas Knyvet, joined Henry in the

challenge at the barriers. (18) The answerers on the other hand were far larger in number. Some of Henry's favourites joined this side but others were relatively obscure courtiers; men like John Melton and William Wroughton. Even in the major tournament of May 1516, some participants were relatively unknown like Henry Pimpe and John Copping. (19) It is debatable just how spontaneous the tournaments were but in major jousts there can be little doubt that the king himself hand-picked both sides. Ability was essential for the king's fellow challengers and it was the athletic prowess of Bryan and Carew which earned them a place in the king's jousts and helped to retain Henry's favour. (20)

After 1516 the format of the tournament was changed for the rest of Henry's jousting career. The king no longer challenged with just three other courtiers but instead both sides had the same number of participants. It was now no longer so significant on which side a courtier jousted. Why did this change occur? No doubt Henry had lost some of the belligerence and energy of his late teens, but his disappointing performance in the tilt yard on 20th May 1516, had a profound effect upon him. This was no ordinary entertainment but a major tournament accompanied by spectacular ceremonial. It was designed to entertain, and above all, impress the king's sister, Margaret queen of Scotland, who was staying at the court. Henry chose the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Essex and Nicholas Carew to challenge with him and appointed twelve answerers for the first day and a further ten for the second. The king was attended by nineteen knight waiters, dressed in blue velvet and cloth of gold. They were led by five noblemen, the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Surrey (the lord admiral) Lord Burgavenny, Lord Hastings and Lord Ferrers and together they represented some of those closest to the king at court. (21) It was not unusual for

the king to be attended by one or two eminent knight waiters but never before had the number reached nineteen or been of such high status. On 19th May the joust went according to plan, the king's performance was judged the best by Edward Hall and this is also attested by the score sheet at the College of Arms.

On the following day, 20th May, things went less well. The king fought three rounds consisting of eight courses, the first against Sir Edmund Howard was satisfactory with both scoring four points, but the following two were poor. His opponents, Sir Geoffery Gates and Richard Cornwall only managed to score one shattered lance between them. By comparison the duke of Suffolk had three exciting contests and scored sixteen shattered lances as well as one broken on his opponent's head beating the king by over five points. (22) Thomas Alen watched the event and informed the earl of Shrewsbury about the 'gret justing at grenewiche'. For once Henry's reaction to this sport has been recorded, Alen wrote: 'as I her say the kyng p[ro]mised nev[er] to just agayn except hit be w[ith] as gud aman as hym selfe'. (23) Edward Hall, judiciously fails to mention that the king was beaten by Suffolk in overall points and instead claims that the king unhorsed Sir William Kingston - a very difficult feat indeed. (24) This is inaccurate, since according to the score sheet, Henry and Kingston did not fight each other on this day. (25) To be beaten was one thing, but for the king to be overshadowed so completely by Suffolk, particularly at such a major tournament, was a great blow to his honour. The degree of spontaneity which had characterised the earlier tournaments was now lost. Henry's supreme confidence in his prowess on the tilt yard had been dented and his enthusiasm was never quite the same again.

The next major tournament, fought on the 7th July 1517, revealed the

new format which was to characterise most of the tournaments for the next ten years. Both sides were equally matched and the number of challengers was exactly the same as the number of answerers. There was now little distinction between the two sides. Both entered with equal pomp and ceremony. The fourteen jousts who accompanied the king were described by a Venetian observer as 'great personages, whose horses were preciously caparisoned each with new fashion different from the others'. (26) The duke of Suffolk then led the answerers on to the field with 'equal array and pomp'. According to this observer, the king wanted to joust with all fourteen answerers, but this was forbidden by the council. In the light of Henry's performance in the previous year his enthusiasm sounds distinctly unconvincing. (27)

It is surprising to note that Sir Geoffery Gates was included as a challenger on the king's side in 1517 after failing to score in the previous major tournament. (28) Gates had been a spear of honour earlier in the reign, he was one of the knights sworn to the king's chamber and in December 1521 was appointed to serve the king in his privy chamber. (29) Henry's annoyance in 1516 does not seem to have harmed his career in the localities or at court. He took part in court ceremonial in 1518 and at the Field of Cloth of Gold; though not in the tournament! (30) In 1519 he was pricked by the king to be sheriff for Essex and was the recipient of at least three royal grants in the early 1520s. (31)

After 1517, the number of challengers and answerers continued to be roughly matched for the most part. (32) In February 1520, there were only four challengers but on this occasion the king was chief answerer. (33) In March 1522 seven courtiers challenged with the king against the duke of Suffolk and his 'band'. (34) In the following June, to entertain Charles

V and his retinue, the king accompanied by the earl of Devon and ten other challengers fought against the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset and ten other answerers. (35)

After the jousts of May 1516, Henry kept to his word and was careful to select only good and experienced opponents. In the opening years of his reign, Henry was willing to fight almost anyone and consequently his opponents were very varied. In May and June 1510 obscure men like William Edwards and Edward Coker fought against the king along with more distinguished opponents. (36) As the king was in the habit of challenging with only three others it allowed almost endless scope to the number of opponents the king could fight during a tournament. On 27th May 1510, for example, Henry fought against five different opponents - a very impressive performance by any account. (37) In February 1515, Henry and the marquis of Dorset answered 'all comers' to a total of fourteen and Henry broke twenty-three spears besides attaints. (38) As each course usually consisted of between six and eight runs, Henry obviously fought against numerous opponents. Before 1517, it was not pre-determined who the king fought but after the débâcle of May 1516 Henry was more cautious. Good opponents, like the duke of Suffolk, could ensure that the king's lance hit them. Suffolk enjoyed a very good reputation as a jouster and for the king to be seen beating him was a compliment indeed. Between 1517 and 1524, with the exception of the Field of Cloth of Gold, the records suggest that Suffolk was Henry's only opponent. (39) This ended after the near fatal accident in March 1524 when Suffolk vowed never to joust against Henry again. Although Suffolk took part in the following December, he did not oppose the king and his pre-eminence in the tilt yard was at an end. (40) Anthony Brown and Henry Courtenay succeeded the duke of Suffolk as



the king's principal opponents. Brown was a skilled jousting and Henry scored very well in their fight on 29th December, 1524. Henry broke one lance on Brown's head and five on his body in an exciting contest. They were in action again together in the tourney of 8th February 1525. (41) Courtenay, created marquis of Exeter in 1525, succeeded Suffolk as chief answerer and maintained this position until Henry's last joust in March 1527. (42) When Henry did not joust the format reverted to four challengers versus a larger band of answerers, as on 5th May, 1527. Henry chose Nicholas Carew, Robert Jerningham, Anthony Brown and Nicholas Harvey to be the four challengers in the tournament to entertain the visiting French embassy. The marquis of Exeter remained chief answerer and was accompanied by thirteen men. (43)

As we have seen, Henry wanted good jousting but one of the political rules of the game was 'don't beat the king'. Henry seemed never to tire of the monotonous ritual of winning first prize. How fixed was this score? Henry was undoubtedly a good jousting but does he live up to the constant eulogy given by Edward Hall, who never admits to the king being beaten? While Suffolk scored more points than Henry in 1516, there is only one occasion when the king lost directly to an opponent in England. On 12th February 1511 Richard Blount scored three shattered lances while Henry managed only one lance and three attainments. (44) This was the last time that Henry jousting against him. Otherwise, according to the score sheets which remain, Henry was never directly beaten by an opponent at the English court.

The king's true ability is perhaps better illustrated by his performance at the Field of Cloth of Gold against French courtiers, where nothing was to be gained politically by allowing Henry to win. The

survival of score lists for five days of the tilting helps to build up a more accurate picture. Some of Henry's contests were against English courtiers which helped to boost his score. When he fought against Lord Montagu, for example, Henry won an impressive victory, breaking four lances. (45) Otherwise, Henry's jousting was below standard. His scores were very erratic, varying from six broken lances obtained in six courses (a very good score indeed), to as low as only one out of six. Although it was difficult to be consistently good in the tilt yard, even for the best of jousts, unco-operative opponents could sharply reduce the king's score. On Thursday, 14th June, Henry scored only five broken lances in eighteen courses. (46) The king was in better shape two days later when he took on five opponents and broke eighteen lances in thirty courses. (47)

The evidence provided by Montfauçon makes it difficult to be precise about who actually fought against whom, but it appears that Henry was directly beaten by M. de Montmorency (François, younger brother of Anne) on 16th June. (48) To be fair conditions were not ideal for jousting. Strong winds affected play and on 13th June the combat had to be cancelled completely because of 'grands vents'. (49) There was also a problem with the counter lists which had been made in the French fashion and were eventually removed at Henry's request. (50) In the circumstances, Henry acquitted himself relatively well. He was one of the prize winners and other champion jousts from England also performed below their best. Montfauçon records only the number of broken lances and does not include attainments, making the scores appear lower than they actually were in reality. For a comparison of Henry VIII's score with those of some of his fellow challengers, see 'Table A' below.

Table A

Summary of scores gained in the joust at the Field of Cloth of Gold. (51)

		<u>Broken lances.</u>	<u>No. of courses.</u>
14th June	Henry VIII	1, 3, 1.	18
16th June	Henry VIII	4, 3, 2, 6, 3	30
12th June	F. Bryan	1.	6
14th June	F. Bryan	3.	6
15th June	F. Bryan	6, 1, 2	18
18th June	F. Bryan	2.	6
14th June	Duke of Suffolk	0, 4	12
16th June	Duke of Suffolk	4, 1, 2, 2	24
14th June	Francis I	1, 3, 0	18
16th June	Francis I	2, 2, 4, 6	24
14th June	Marquis of Dorset	2, 3	12
16th June	Marquis of Dorset	1, 2, 0	18
12th June	W. Kingston	0, 0	12
15th June	W. Kingston	1, 3,	12
12th June	G. Capel	2	6
15th June	G. Capel	3, 1.	6
14th June	Count de S Pol	0, 1, 3	18
16th June	Count de S Pol	2, 1, 1, 1	24
14th June	Rocheport	1, 0, 2, 1	24
16th June	Rocheport	2,	6

Henry failed to live up to Hall's continual praise and although a good jouster, incompetent or unco-operative opponents could undermine his ability. In short, ensuring the king's victory was essential for any aspiring courtier and politics cannot be divorced from the tilt yard. This is not to suggest that the tournaments were blatantly fixed, but that it was prudent to let the king win!

Although the combats were mere sport, Henry disliked losing to anyone, particularly the king of France. As Henry and Francis were both challengers they could not oppose one another directly in any of the

combats at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Despite this precaution, the dangerous rivalry between the two monarchs found expression at last in an impromptu wrestling match. Henry was keen to show his martial superiority and asked Francis to wrestle with him. The French king, however, turned out to be an expert wrestler and Henry was thrown unceremoniously to the ground. Henry wanted to try again but was stopped by the hasty intervention of his attendants. The English king was very bitter about his defeat and it is not surprising that the English records remain silent about the incident. (52)

There is some confusion over Henry's performance at Tournai in 1513, but apparently his jousting was again below standard. Chroniclers and observers were almost invariably biased in favour of their own nation making it more difficult to construct an accurate picture. This joust was an exception and for once Edward Hall remained ominously quiet about Henry's martial ability. Reading between the lines it appears that the king and Suffolk were shown up by the skill of the Burgundian nobles.

'There were many speres broken and many a good buffet geuen, the strangers as the lord Walon and lorde Emery and other dyd right well'. (53)

This is contradicted by the evidence of the Milanese ambassador, Paulo de Laude, who when writing to the duke of Milan after the event, was adamant that Henry was victorious and afterwards went on a triumphant ride about the lists. (54)

The importance of martial prowess at international tournaments is underscored by the jousts at Paris in November 1514. The French went to considerable lengths to discredit their English opponents and their efforts were unchivalrous to say the least! Francis, dauphin of France, organised 'solempne justes' to celebrate Louis XII's marriage to Mary Tudor. The

proclamation was reported in England and the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset, Lord Clinton, Sir Edward Neville, Sir Giles Capel, Thomas Cheyney as well as others not named by Hall, asked Henry's permission to attend. (55) Suffolk and Dorset had both earned themselves international reputations for skill in martial combat and the dauphin invited them to be two of his immediate aides. The tournament began on 7th November, with five courses at the tilt and continued for three days. Three hundred and five men took part and the combat was more dangerous than that usually seen in England with sharp spears and swords being used. Some participants were killed and there were many injuries. (56)

Edward Hall patriotically recorded the heroic combats performed by Suffolk and Dorset but bemoans the fact that the 'Frenchmen woulde in no wyse prayse them'. (57) Francis stooped to unorthodox methods to ensure Suffolk's defeat and substituted an Almayne, reputedly the strongest man at the French court, for his opponent. The judges were also biased and allowed many more strokes than were permitted. Undaunted Suffolk fought on and it was only when he made the Almayne 'rele and staggar' did the judges stop the fight. Despite being 'prively sett at and in many jeopardies' the English received much praise. (58) Whilst Hall, no doubt, embroidered some of the story, in essence it epitomises the very spirit of these international tournaments: the rivalry and the obsession with martial prowess. The 'dirty tricks campaign' orchestrated by the French undermined the chivalric façade and illustrates the importance attached to the tournament. The lengthy description of Suffolk's exploits is verified by the survival of a long score list in the British Library for this event. The list has not been used before and shows that Suffolk's score was indeed one of the highest, he broke twenty-one lances with four attaints. He was

only just beaten by Bonivet who broke twenty-two lances with three attaints and compares with the lowest scorer, Florenge, who only managed four broken lances. (59)

Taking part in foreign tournaments was the ultimate test of a jouster's ability. Unfamiliar ground and unknown opponents made scoring more difficult. As we have already seen, success in the lists was of paramount importance and the nation's honour, as well as that of her knights, was at stake.

Whilst for most courtiers taking part in Henry's tournaments was a mark of honour and an avenue for advancement, not everyone considered jousting to be an unmitigated pleasure. According to the records extant, there is only one person who refused to take part and that was Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham. When Henry chose the duke to be an answerer in a joust celebrating 1st May, he wrote an abject letter to Wolsey asking him to intercede with the king. Despite his dislike of Wolsey, Buckingham saw the cardinal as a very necessary ally. The minister was seen by nearly everyone, except perhaps some members of the privy chamber, as the best person to change Henry's mind. Although this letter is quite well known, it is worth dwelling on for the insight it provides into the preparation for a joust, as well as the king's relationship with the premier duke of the realm. Unfortunately, it is difficult to provide an exact date for the letter, although it must have been written between 1516 and 1519. (60) The letter was written at a time when Buckingham was in favour with the king and Henry's desire to see ~~his uncle~~<sup>him</sup> joust was considered a mark of honour. During Buckingham's stay at court at Easter 1518, the king enjoyed his company and gave him 'a goodly coursore, a ryche gowne, a lyke jakett, doublet (and) hosen'. (61) Henry's visit to

Penshurst in 1519 was another expression of royal favour and suggests that Buckingham's fall was sudden and his relations with the king had not been unduly strained.

Why was Buckingham so anxious to avoid taking part? As we shall see the duke's age would not necessarily disqualify him. He was in his late thirties but claimed to be unfit - 'it is longe tyme sith I exercised any fete thereof'. (62) In his prime the duke had been a champion joustier. In 1501 he had taken part in the four days of jousting which celebrated Katherine's marriage to Prince Arthur and Buckingham acquitted himself well. The duke issued the challenge and led his team into the tilt yard each day dressed in resplendent costumes. The standard on each of the four days was poor, but Buckingham consistently performed well and as the Great Chronicle informs us, he won both the 'pryse and honor'. (63) This is the only public joust at which Buckingham's presence is recorded and no doubt by circa 1516 he would have been out of practise. Henry admired men who had already made their military reputations and it was in this context that the king wished to see the duke joust again.

What frightened the duke more than taking part, however, was jousting against the king. The king's opponents had to be good joustiers and the duke confided to Wolsey that he had vowed never to joust against the king; in fact he would rather 'goo to Roome'. (64) Fear of hurting the king was probably a greater deterrent. Henry's participation in these martial sports introduced a new and dangerous element to the game. Although jousting was no longer used for military training, weapons were blunted and heavy armour prevented speed, accidents could still happen. There is a long catalogue of injuries sustained in the tilt. Sir Francis Bryan, for example, lost an eye in February 1526 and Sir James Parker had been

accidentally killed by Hugh Vaughan in 1492. (65) If Buckingham had to joust, then he would prefer to be a challenger where there was no possibility of opposing the king. 'It may please his highnes to appoynt me as oone of his seide scholers to ren on his parte'. (66) Buckingham wanted to take no chances, he had very little to gain by taking part and a poor performance on the tilt yard would have dented his pride and incurred the king's wrath. If he hurt the king his future would have been even more uncertain. Like all good champions he knew when to retire and realised that a comeback was out of the question. The outcome of Buckingham's plea is unknown. There is no record of a joust on May 1st between 1516 and 1519, nor evidence that Buckingham took part. (67)

The letter also shows how jousts were organised at the court and the degree of preparation. The king decided by 26th February to hold a joust on the 1st May, and had already chosen his challengers or 'scholers' for the occasion. Henry called the earl of Surrey, Buckingham's son-in-law since 1512, into his presence and asked him to write to Buckingham to inform him that he would be an answerer. Surrey represented the interests of his father-in-law to the king and correctly ascertained that the duke would be an unwilling participant. The king disagreed that Buckingham would be too unfit to run and informed Surrey that the duke would be fine after a little practice. (68)

Buckingham's fear of jousting against the king was not unfounded. Anyone who injured the king would put themselves in a very vulnerable and dangerous position - especially if they were already unpopular at court. Henry was nearly killed by the duke of Suffolk in March 1524 and as Edward Hall reports, 'if the Kyng had been a lytle hurt, the Kynges servauntes would have put the Duke in jeopardy'. (69) Henry had decided to try out a



new harness, made to his own design and chose the 10th March for a joust. The king led the challengers and the duke of Suffolk the answerers. The two men positioned themselves at either end of the field at the start of the tournament. The marquis of Dorset, who was attending the king on foot, handed him his spear while the visor on his headpiece was still up. This left the king's face completely exposed but Suffolk was unaware of the danger and both men started to gallop towards one another. The duke broke his lance on the king's headpiece filling it with splinters. Henry was unhurt but Dorset and the armourers were blamed for the accident. Suffolk received the worst shock and immediately ran to the king showing him the 'closenes of his sight' and swore that he would never run against the king again. Henry was undeterred by the accident and ran six more courses much to everyone's relief. (70)

All acknowledged the risks of jousting, and particularly early in the reign, there was considerable concern for the king's safety. Edward Hall reports the general mood of the people

'euery man feared, lest some yll chaunce might happen to the kyng, and fayne would haue had him a loker on, rather then a doer, and spake thereof as much as thei durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euer be at the one ende'. (71)

Henry enjoyed living life dangerously and the danger was not confined merely to the tilt yard. Hunting was also a hazardous sport and a worse accident befell Henry in 1536. (72) Henry II of France was not so fortunate and was killed jousting in 1559. When he ran against Gabriel de Lorge, count of Montgomery and captain of the Scottish Guard, on 30th June, the count's lance shattered on his headpiece and a splinter entered the king's right eye. Henry II died ten days later, his wife Katherine de Medici, had the lists destroyed and in 1574 ordered Montgomery to be

executed in her presence. (73)

Age accounted, at least in part, for the constant change in the king's jousting circle. Henry was always on the lookout for fresh talent to replace his ageing champions. The assault on the Castle of Loyaltie during Christmas 1524-5 saw the introduction of a new generation of jousts who were to figure prominently in the 1540s. This was one of the outstanding tournaments of the reign and is relatively well documented. During the 1520s the amount of evidence available for court jousts falls sharply. The death of William Cornish, master of the Chapel Royal, in 1523 and the lost chamber accounts between 1521 and 1528 makes analysis more difficult. (74) The historian is forced to rely more heavily on Edward Hall, a very valuable source but one whose accuracy on finer points of detail is open to question. It should not be assumed that less evidence necessarily means that court festivals declined in the 1520s. The initial splendour of the opening years of the reign was soon eclipsed by the wars with France and such an outburst of ostentation would be hard to match.

The tournament at Christmas 1524/5, incorporating both combat on foot and on horse, was centred around an elaborate castle, twenty feet square and fifty feet high which had been built in the tilt yard at Greenwich. It was one of the rare occasions that the king acted as the chief answerer in a tournament during the reign. (75) A number of young courtiers made their debut in the lists and all represented leading court families. Thomas Wyatt, Francis Pointz and Francis Sydney proved the importance of having court connections. Courtiers who were past their prime, or simply inept at jousting, were often represented by other members of their family in the tilt yard. Lord Leonard Grey and Lord John Grey followed their

brother, the marquis of Dorset into the lists. (76) More notable still was the appearance for the first time of Sir Edward Seymour and Sir John Dudley in the tournament performed on 29th December 1524. Both men were to excel in the lists during the revival of court festivities in the 1540s.

(77) Dudley's skill was already in evidence, scoring in one round against Nicholas Carew, four hits to the body and one to the head in six courses - an impressive debut. Seymour did less well and only scored one hit to the body of his opponent. (78) Both men were challengers and there is no evidence that they jousting against each other in the 1520s, foreshadowing the conflict which was to come! Dudley's participation shows that he was already one of the king's inner circle and the disgrace which had hit his family early in the reign had not affected his early rise in the king's favour.

On this occasion the defenders were markedly older than the challengers; their average age was thirty-three. (79) No handicap was given for age! The duke of Suffolk was forty and was pitched against Dudley, a man in his early twenties. The political significance of jousting might initially appear to have been undermined by age but closer investigation proves that this was not always the case. Suffolk's score was still one of the best - he broke five lances on Dudley's body - proving that his skill had not been tarnished by advancing years or an expanding waistline. (80) It certainly was not rare for men of over forty to be taking part. The earl of Essex, Sir William Kingston and the marquis of Dorset, all participated when they were forty-five and in each case deemed it a sensible age at which to retire. Appendix IV illustrates their distinguished jousting careers. Dorset and Kingston took part in the Field of Cloth of Gold where ability was paramount (England's reputation

depended upon good scoring by her knights in the lists). At the time they were aged forty-three and forty-four respectively, Dorset won a prize but Kingston was past his prime. (81) Richard Pace was less kind about Dorset's physical prowess. He ended a letter to Wolsey with the news

'my lorde marquys is thys daye cum to the courte, wythe leggis not so meate for the huntynge as is hys kendale cote quia laborat podagra!' (82)

Dorset's last recorded joust was in June 1522 in honour of Charles V's visit. (83) In the tournament of March 1524 he did not take part but instead attended Henry on foot with near fatal consequences for the king. Kingston's last entry in the lists was also at the age of forty-five on 10th February 1521; although possibly he was acting as a knight waiter. The earl of Essex was probably considered too old to take part at the Field of Cloth of Gold and instead performed the office of marshal. His last entry into the tilt yard was as an answerer in July 1517 at the age of forty-five. (84)

Although age did not necessarily discriminate against those who took part in the king's masks, nevertheless, it was rare for courtiers to take part who were over the age of forty-five. The main exception was in September 1519 when Sir Robert Wingfield took part at the age of forty-nine. (85) Whilst advancing years could disqualify knights from taking part in tournaments, youth could also be a handicap. It was rare for men to take part in major tournaments before they were eighteen. Henry was naturally very keen to learn the skills of martial combat and to seek honour in the tilt yard. One fascinating insight is provided by Edward Hall. On 19th April 1515, Henry summoned Nicholas Carew and Francis Bryan and lent them horse and harness 'to encourage all youthe to seke dedes of armes'. (86) Henry also organised other young men to be their opponents

and after this practice they performed as answerers on 1st May in their first major tournament. Afterwrds, they were each given 'iii koots of gueoyn saten bownd w[ith] gweyn uelluet'. (87) At the jousts in Paris of November 1514, Hall was particularly impressed by the performance of Edward Grey, youngest brother of the marquis of Dorset and aged only 19. Despite having to fight against a Frenchman of 'greate stature and strength', he acquitted himself very well and was of 'suche strength, powre and pollecy, that he stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed hym, al the face bare'. (88) No doubt there was some concern for his safety but he made up for any lack of experience.

The emphasis which Henry attached to jousting and revels in general, encouraged men not to retire if they could help it. A brief survey of the age of jousts in the reign of Henry VII shows that the sport was the preserve of younger men and the average age was lower. Indeed, as Appendix IV shows, many champion jousts at Henry VIII's court had enjoyed lengthy jousting careers in his father's reign. The earl of Essex began jousting in the early 1490s and had taken part in the tournament celebrating Prince Henry's new title as duke of York, in October 1494. (89)

It is important to distinguish at this point between the two forms of martial display. The first and least well recorded was primarily for recreation and can be ranked with Henry's other pastimes including dice, cards etc. The second and far more prolific form of display was primarily for ceremonial occasions. Whilst there is some overlap, especially in some of the earliest jousts, this differentiation helps to focus on the politics in both.

One of the best sources for recreational jousts can be found in the

expenses of the leading nobles at the court. On the 3rd February 1519, for example, the earl of Devonshire ran in the tilt yard for pleasure before the king and a month later ran with Parker in the tilt at Eltham.

(90) Devonshire is seen taking part in all Henry's princely pursuits including a snowball fight in January of that year. (91) In February he is found masking before the king in Burgavenny's chamber:

'Item for eggs brede, drynke and oranges for my lorde into my lorde of burgaynes chamber when theye wer ther a maskyng byfore the kyng'. (92)

None of these activities is recorded elsewhere and they provide a unique insight into day to day life at the court.

By contrast jousts celebrating state occasions were the centre of large and elaborate ceremonial. The actual combat was only part of the spectacle and the tournament was introduced by a long procession of splendidly clad knights. The impressiveness of this display is visually represented in a manuscript at the College of Arms which commemorates the jousts of February 1511. (93) The sheer cost involved also helps to illustrate the splendour of such an occasion - over four thousand pounds for this one tournament and the disguisings which accompanied it. (94) A very large number of people made up the grand procession into the tilt yard at a major state occasion and all were exquisitely dressed in matching livery at the king's expense. In July 1517, for example, Sir Edward Guildford was accompanied into the lists by forty footmen followed by twenty-four trumpeters. Forty gentlemen wearing elaborate gold chains made up the next part of the procession, followed by another forty carrying the king's spears. When the fourteen jousts who were to challenge with Henry entered they were each attended by twenty-four running footmen. Then came twelve heralds and one hundred running footmen - and that was

just the challengers! (95)

Tournaments should be seen in their international context. The language of chivalry and martial prowess was understood by everyone throughout Europe. Court spectacle and conspicuous ostentation were consciously employed by Henry VIII to buy European prestige and to establish England on the European stage. In the sixteenth century a spectacular court was interpreted by foreign observers as a powerful one. The tournament in England had developed in a similar fashion to that on the continent until the end of the fourteenth century. (96) During the fifteenth century, however, England had lagged behind the rest of Europe in court spectacle. In 1509 England was still a second rate power, and although Henry VII had been respected for his political acumen, the festivals at his court were dull in comparison to the rest of Europe. (97) Henry VIII was determined to change all of this and the young king took his lead from the cultural centres of Europe. The court of Burgundy epitomised splendour and magnificence during the fifteenth century and their festivals dwarfed the rest of Europe. The Pas de l'Arbre d'Or at Bruges in 1468 is the most striking example amongst numerous tournaments at the Burgundian court. Designed to celebrate the marriage of Margaret, sister of Edward IV, to Charles duke of Burgundy it became a byword for princely magnificence. (98)

When Henry VIII's reign opened with a spectacular outburst of court festivals the king deliberately followed Burgundian fashion for the first few years. The use of allegorical challenges and elaborate pageants to introduce the jousting, which incorporated a large degree of drama and play-acting, and the impressive tournament ceremonial came directly from the Burgundian tradition. In the tournament to celebrate the birth of a

Prince in 1511, for example, the same theme of an aged warrior and a prisoner led by a gaoler was copied from the Pas de l'Arbre d'Or of 1468.

(99) On 13th February, the second day of the jousting, the answerers were led into the tilt yard by Charles Brandon 'enclosid in a Towyr and led by a Jaylour holdyng a grete keye in his hand'. (100) When they reached the queen, the gaoler opened the gate and Brandon rode out dressed in a hermit's costume. Brandon asked the queen's permission to be allowed to take part in the tilt and when she gave her consent, he threw away his disguise revealing the armour underneath. (101) Pageants took a number of different forms. In the coronation tournament, for example, a pageant resembling a park was brought before the queen and deer released. These were pursued and killed by greyhounds, thus bringing together Henry's two favourite pastimes, hunting and jousting. (102) Tournaments followed Burgundian tradition until Henry's first war with France, after which the dramatic devices were dropped in favour of expensive costumes and fantastic horsebards. (103)

Other European monarchs also used court spectacle for political purposes. Henry's rival, Francis I, was equally fond of the tournament and the opportunities it provided for spectacle and display. In France, as well as other European countries, violent forms of combat were still practised and groups of knights continued to charge at one another, reminiscent of the early tournaments. (104) Francis I enjoyed such 'mêlées'. At Amboise in April 1518 the king, the duc d'Alençon and six hundred men defended a model town against an equal number of attackers resulting in injury and even death for some of the participants. (105) Francis I himself was nearly killed at Romorantin in 1521 when one of the defenders dropped a burning log on his head during a mock siege. (106) He



was knocked unconscious and remained dangerously ill for several days.

Emperor Maximilian had been even more addicted to the pleasures of the tilt yard than either Henry or Francis. He retired from the rigours of the tournament in 1500 and for the rest of his life set out to publicise his achievements. Maximilian supervised the preparation of a number of books covering a diversity of subjects from the Imperial hunt to ceremonial fishing: Freydal recorded all the different forms of martial combat and other festivals at the Imperial court and was illustrated with two hundred and twenty-five elaborate drawings. (107)

Although Charles V took part in tournaments, he was less inclined to show off his talent on the European stage. No jousts were organised during his meeting with the English king at Calais in 1520 and the emperor did not accompany Henry VIII in the lists in 1522. (108) Neither did anyone answer the challenge at the Field of Cloth of Gold from the emperor's dominions, despite the fact that the challenge was published in the Netherlands. The reason was probably political. Charles' dislike of the French king and his distrust of the Anglo-French meeting would discourage any of his subjects from taking part. (109)

Ambassadors were usually invited to witness ceremonial occasions and spectacle at court and their reports back home illustrate Henry's unqualified success. Foreign observers were invariably impressed and used superlative upon superlative to convey their admiration for Henry's prowess and the splendour of his court. (110)

Factional disputes and fierce in-fighting were a feature of court politics; a similar, although altogether more subtle form of aristocratic competition is reflected in the joust. Tournament ceremonial not only helped to bolster the king's image and authority on the diplomatic scene

but also that of his courtiers and nobility. These occasions showed both contemporaries and future historians who was in favour and well connected at court. As allegorical display declined after 1513, the emphasis was increasingly placed upon individual display. As well as the fantastic costumes, courtiers were also able to show off their own martial prowess, making tournaments great occasions for aristocratic ostentation and display. This also manifested itself in other forms.

The heraldic shields of the challengers were usually displayed at the joust and it was customary for the participants to enter carrying their own shields, as in June 1509. (111) At the Field of Cloth of Gold a special tree was constructed for the arms of everyone who took part. The Tree of Honour, as it was called, was one of the most impressive features dominating the lists and it was reckoned to be thirty-four feet high and one hundred and twenty-nine feet in circumference. When the participants entered the field their shields were carried before them and afterwards 'bourne about the lists', before being hung on the Tree of Honour. (112) Tournaments, therefore, helped to define and emphasize the traditional role of the aristocracy in society. An able jouster enhanced his prestige especially if he took one of the prizes. Prize-winners were usually regular jousters: they represented the best ability at court and were high in the king's estimation and favour. (113) All the chroniclers of the period were discreet about poor performance and Hall epitomized this sentiment when he always wrote X and Y did well but the king did best. Likewise in a poem describing the tournament of 1507 the author wrote:-

'Can I determyne who that wanne the pryce  
For eche man dyde the best he could deuyce  
And therefore I can none of them dyspyse  
They dyde so well'. (114)

Even so, in front of a large audience the aristocratic competitors were putting their reputations at stake.

The tilt was cloaked in the language and formalities of medieval chivalry. These followed a number of conventional forms; challenges were issued by lusty and valiant knights to 'eschew idleness' and allow exercise in feats of arms. (115) The knight on horseback was no longer the linchpin of warfare and yet in court spectacle knights in shining armour continued to joust for the honour of their ladies. It is important not to underestimate the significance of warfare at the early Tudor court and jousting was the next best thing. All those who took part in Henry's tournaments played an important role in French and Scottish campaigns or aspired to a dazzling military career. As Dr. Gunn has aptly written,

'Henry's peers and knights were a late medieval nobility, equipped for war conceptually even if their armour was sometimes rusty.' (116)

Many jousts were knighted during the wars of 1513 and 1523 as Appendix IV illustrates.

The queen and the ladies played a central role in tournament ceremonial and the courtly love tradition. Knights requested Katherine's permission to take part in the tilt yard and the theme of old knights jousting for the honour of their ladies was a favourite chivalric device. In December 1524, for example, two ladies entered the tilt yard leading two ancient knights with beards of silver. When they were before the queen

'Thei put vp a bill to her, the effect whereof was, that although youth had left them, and age was come, and would lette them to do feactes of armes: Yet courage, desire, and good will abode with theim, and bad them to take vpon them to breake speres, whiche they would gladly do, if it pleased her to geue them license'. (117)

When the queen had given her permission the two knights threw off their robes revealing the king and the duke of Suffolk ready to joust.

Katherine's heraldic symbols adorned the pageants and on 25th June 1509 the castle or turret pageant which accompanied the jousting was decorated with pomegranates. (118)

Occasionally the competitiveness broke through this veneer of chivalry. In 1509 the chronicler, Edward Hall, informs us that at the coronation tournament Henry was not happy about the challenge to fight to the death with swords because he sensed that there was a grudge between the two parties. Instead the young king proclaimed a tourney with a limited number of strokes. Such precautions, however, were ignored and the participants continued with 'such egyptness' that the marshals could not separate them 'tyll the kyng Cryed to hys Gard to help to dyssevir theym, which was not doon withouth grete payn'. (119) Many people were hurt during the general mêlée and it seems that the grudge had found expression at last. On 3rd January 1525, after yet another battle for control of the Castle of Loyaltie, some of the challengers started throwing stones at those inside and 'many honest men whiche threwe not wer hurt'. (120) The king was not taking part and the sport only became so violent when Henry was a spectator. It is debatable whether the violence represented an animosity between the parties, as Hall suggests, or whether it was merely competitiveness getting out of control. The mêlée of 1509 was reminiscent of the dangerous combats performed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when deaths occurred more frequently. It is more probable that the participants were so keen to establish their reputations in combat that they forgot that it was mere sport. (121)

Dress was another means of aristocratic display and the tournament provided the right setting for conspicuous ostentation. Throughout the first half of the reign, Henry's chief favourites were dressed in the same

colours as himself or given costumes of equal richness. Identification through dress with the monarch showed to contemporaries those in favour, and was a particularly powerful symbol in this period. The revels accounts provide a vivid source for the cost and type of cloth worn by each person. In 1511 Sir Thomas Knyvet, the king's chief boon companion, wore even more gold pieces than the king - eight hundred and ninety-three compared to eight hundred and eighty-seven to be exact. (122) In fact not many of these gold letters survived the evening. As a gesture of largess the king had arranged for the visiting ambassadors to pluck a few letters from him. This was witnessed by the rest of the mob who led a general assault on the rest of the courtiers. Knyvet climbed a scaffold but according to the revels account this evasive tactic still did not save his clothes. (123) Henry was stripped to his hosen and doublet and Hall enigmatically writes that the 'ladies likewyse were spoyled'. (124)

In the opening years of the reign, Thomas Knyvet was most closely identified with the king and on 28th February 1510 both wore black sarcenet in the disguising to distinguish them from the other courtiers. (125) After the death of Henry's close favourites, Thomas Knyvet and Edward Howard in 1512 and 1513 respectively, Brandon took on a new pre-eminence in the jousts and was most closely identified with the king. On 6th January 1513 Henry and Brandon wore more expensive jackets than the other courtiers and in October the king's sumptuous outfit was matched only by that of Suffolk. (126)

By the late 1510s, Suffolk was spending more time at his estates and his position in the joust was taken over by the earl of Devon. Courtenay spent long periods at court, as his accounts testify, and he played a prominent role in the king's pastimes. In the early 1520s Devon was

distinguished from the other courtiers in the joust and in February 1521 his bard and base were of equal richness to that of the king. Their mounts were dressed in cloth of silver and white velvet in contrast to the 'whytte wollen brod cloth' given to the other six challengers. Considerable effort was expended in the making of the bards for the king and Devon and they were covered in more than two thousand small lozenges of cloth of silver. (127) The cost of a jouster's costume depended upon his social status and position at court. On 2nd March 1522, in a joust performed in honour of the Imperial embassy a clear distinction was drawn between the challengers. The king naturally had the most expensive covering for his bard and base - cloth of silver of damask. Devon and Lord Ros were given white velvet, Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, white damask and the last four challengers a cheaper material still ('kooksaell whyght'). (128) Despite this, Devon and Carew were singled out for special attention and given costumes made of cloth of gold of damask from the king's store. (129)

The main benefit of being picked to challenge alongside Henry was the provision of elaborate costumes by the revels office. There is no record of any answerers being provided with garments, not even for the Field of Cloth of Gold. The king also paid for the livery of the men who attended upon himself, and the other challengers, as knight waiters or footmen. It was a great honour to wait upon the king in a tournament and this was usually reserved for men who had retired from the rigours of the tilt yard. (130) When Henry answered the challenge of Sir Richard Jerningham, Anthony Brown, Sir Giles Capel and Henry Norris in February 1520, his own costume came from his store but nothing was provided for the other participants. (131) Although the answerers had to pay for their own

costumes, or probably the chief answerer at major tournaments, the chroniclers were very impressed by their appearance. In July 1517, the answerers led by Suffolk all had bards and bases to match with lozenges of white velvet and crimson satin covered in gold letters of C and M. The symbolism was transparent and the men who jousting with Suffolk owed their allegiance to Charles and Mary. (132) The cost must have been very high and was probably met by a gift from the king.

Less attention has been paid by historians to Henry's disguising or masking but this form of entertainment also reflected, and interacted with, court politics. It is not my intention to give a chronological survey of the different revels for each year but instead to pick out some of the salient points. The cost could be very high, often more than some of the minor tournaments; the disguising of 18th January 1510 cost five hundred and eighty-four pounds compared with sixty pounds for a joust in June 1512. (133) Masks were often performed at banquets after major tournaments and those who had been foremost in the joust took part in the evening entertainments. (134) Dressing in foreign costume was one of Henry's favourite pastimes and during his reign the entertainment became a subtle blend of mumming, disguising and masking. A brief explanation will help to avoid confusion. A mummery was when characters in costume mimed a scene. By the fifteenth century the spoken word was added and the entertainment became a 'disguising'. The Italian mask had become fashionable at the French and Burgundian courts and was first introduced into England in 1512. It involved the wearing of masking visors and cloaks and at the end of the entertainment the maskers selected partners from the audience and danced. (135) Literary scholars have attached great significance to this 'innovation', but as Professor Anglo points out,

disguising and masking were very similar and it was more a case of Henry trying to be fashionable. The names of these entertainments were not clearly distinguished by contemporaries and were often blended together to provide a unique form of entertainment. (136)

On special occasions pageants were built at great expense and formed a central focus for the entertainment. From 1511 to 1517 pageants were built for the entertainment on Twelfth Night. (137) After 1517 pageants were no longer used for these celebrations and they were only built for special occasions. This usually meant the arrival of a foreign embassy, seen, for example, in March 1522 and May 1527. Banquets were enlivened by mock combats and represented an extension of the martial fights performed out of doors. These were frequently used during the first half of Henry VIII's reign and in January 1515, for example, eight knights defeated eight 'wild men' before the banquet on Twelfth Night

'sodainly came oute of a place lyke a wood, viii. wyldemen, all apparayled in grene mosse, made with slyued sylke, with Vggly weapons and terrible visages'. (138)

This was a well recognised tradition in Europe which stretched back to at least 1308, when mock combat was performed at a banquet at Avignon when Cardinal Pelagru entertained Pope Clement V. (139) There was one major difference: this was pure play-acting, ability was not needed as on the tilt yard where score cheques were assiduously kept and those knights who won the prize were accorded a special honour.

Although jousts and revels provide a mirror of court life, care should be taken not to see political significance where none exists. The mask at Newhall on 3rd September 1519 is a case in point. It has been argued that the mask 'symbolised the new party structure of the court'. The four knights of the body who had been placed in the privy chamber by Wolsey



earlier in the year were made to appear as 'ridiculous old buffers.... while the king and the 'minions' inhabited the gracious world of eternal youth'. (140) Moreover the entertainment has been seen as a triumph of the 'minions' over Wolsey. Although it witnessed the return of Carew and Bryan from exile, closer analysis of the evidence shows that the situation was far from clear cut.

The entertainment opened with the arrival of eight maskers disguised as old men with white beards and wearing long coats of blue satin.

'they daunsed with Ladies sadly, and comuned not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaued themselfes sadly'. (141)

Three of these men were the newly created knights of the body in the privy chamber - Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Richard Weston and Sir William Kingston but they were in no sense mocked or made fun of. Other members of this 'sad' company were distinguished noblemen - the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Essex and marquis of Dorset. (142) Lord Burgavenny, frequently at court before his disgrace in 1521, had entertained the king at his home in the previous month. (143) To describe the maskers as 'ridiculous old buffers' would be to miss the point entirely. Before a joust it was not uncommon for some of the most prestigious champions to enter dressed as old men, reminiscent of medieval romance. (144) Dr. Starkey describes Wolsey's appointees in the privy chamber as 'on the penumbra of royal favour'. (145) In regard to William Kingston this was plainly not the case. Kingston enjoyed a distinguished jousting career and in October 1519 took part alongside the king and William Cary in the joust celebrating the earl of Devon's marriage. (146) The ladies, according to Edward Hall, enjoyed the disguising particularly when the queen plucked off the visors, exposing their true identity. The king then

entered with his younger favourites and the French 'hostages' dressed in yellow and green 'and then every Masker toke a ladie and daunsed'. (147) Hall's account simplifies the proceedings and the revels accounts clearly show that more entertainment was provided by William Cornish. (148) The children of the Chapel Royal were dressed as a variety of characters including summer, lust, the sun, winter, wind and rain. The mask did not represent a victory for the 'minions' at the expense of Wolsey's appointees and the latter were in no sense degraded. On the contrary their appearance in the mask shows that three out of the four knights were continuing to reside at court.

What was Wolsey's attitude towards the joust and the mask? An important insight into the cardinal's attitude is provided in a diplomatic report written by the Imperial envoy in March 1522. A special joust had been arranged for the benefit of Henry's foreign guests during the Anglo-Imperial negotiations on 2nd March. The representatives from Charles V were conducted to court by Sir Richard Wingfield and spent the morning in discussion with the king and cardinal. Henry ended the interview early since he was riding in the tournament after dinner. The joust was a major state occasion and the ambassadors were presented to the queen and princess Mary. (149) Wolsey was uninterested in the actual entertainment and after the tilting had begun, he drew the ambassadors apart and continued negotiating for a truce. He was more interested in conducting business than watching the king's prowess in the tilt yard! (150) At the same time, however, such display and spectacle provided the perfect background for these negotiations. The cardinal knew by instinct how to use ceremony to obtain the greatest impact (much to the chagrin of some members of the nobility!) and it is in this context that Wolsey's attitude towards the

joust should be seen. The major tournaments of the reign were seen by Wolsey as an integral part of the negotiations and a deliberate form of display designed to impress foreign visitors. This point has been taken up by Professor Anglo who wrote that during Wolsey's ascendancy, 'display was consciously employed as a political instrument to proclaim every triumph of English diplomacy'. (151)

Wolsey was very conscious of the power of ceremony and ostentation. He frequently entertained the king, as well as foreign ambassadors, at one of his own palaces. On at least four occasions the king chose York Place as the location for a disguising and the cost was met by the crown. The disguising on 3rd January 1521 cost only £9.15s.4d. and made use of garments used in a mask at the Field of Cloth of Gold. (152) Guildford gave instructions to Richard Gibson to prepare the revel held on 4th March 1522 at York Place and a very elaborate pageant was built. A castle called the 'Chateau Vert' was the centre of attention and had taken over a fortnight to construct. (153) Wolsey also provided an impressive banquet for the visiting ambassadors but it is quite clear from the revels accounts that the cost of the pageant and disguising was met by the king.

Cavendish, Wolsey's gentleman usher, was keen to emphasize that the cardinal regularly entertained the king and he provides a very vivid description of one disguising. (154) The king and his company arrived by boat dressed as shepherds. Wolsey pretended to know nothing of this visitation and took a central role in the play-acting. The 'visitors' could only speak French and the cardinal had to ascertain which of the company was the king. Much to Henry's pleasure, Wolsey picked Sir Henry Neville (probably on purpose!) and it was only at this point that the maskers revealed their true identities. Cavendish does not provide a

date, but his description illustrates the spirit of the disguising and Wolsey's role in it.

After 1528 court festivals suffered an eclipse. Masks were still performed but they were inexpensive and the narrative descriptions were meagre. The internal political problems of the 1530s did not provide a conducive atmosphere at court for tournaments or other revels. It was not until Henry tried to recapture a semblance of youth in the 1540s with a bellicose foreign policy that the tournament became more fashionable again. Although Henry was too old to take part they returned to the theme of princely magnificence.

Henry chose court entertainment, whether in the joust or the mask, through which to express his power and kingship. As the next chapter will show, those who shared in the king's pastimes did not come from a narrow privy chamber dominated clique but from a wider court circle. The significance of jousting should, however, be kept in perspective. The main function of the chamber was to serve and entertain the monarch and it is into this context that the tournament fits. One did not need to be an expert jouster to be a member of Henry VIII's council or to run the administration! Jousting was only one sphere of court activity but it did reflect aristocratic competitiveness and the importance of ceremonial which formed the basis of court life. All this was disguised by the anachronistic ideals of medieval chivalry which failed to transcend the fundamental realities of court life: access to the king enabled a courtier to obtain reward and favour. What might have been a game for Henry VIII was a very serious business for those around him and likewise it should be for the historian.

### Notes and References

1. S. Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy, (Oxford, 1969)  
The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, (Oxford, 1968)  
A. Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, (London, 1987)
2. Dr. Gunn has used several of the cheques in relation to the duke of Suffolk to good effect and I gratefully acknowledge his help.  
S.J. Gunn, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Oxford 1988) p.67
3. For a similar study conducted for the early years of Elizabeth's reign, see R.C. McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tilt Yard: Robert Dudley's return to glory' Historical Journal, xxvii ii 1984
4. M.H. Keen, Chivalry, (New Haven, Conn., & London 1984). p.86.
5. Ibid. p.86. The origins of the tournament are discussed in Young, op.cit. pp.11-22.
6. Tiptoft's Ordinances were produced in the fifteenth century.  
College of Arms, MS.M.6 ff. 56-57.
7. See below p.112.
8. A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry. (Durham, N. Carolina, 1960).
9. Hall, Chronicle, p.690.
10. S. Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. xliii (1960) p.16.
11. BL Harleian MS 69 f. 2v. Printed in F.H. Cripps-Day, The History of the Tournament in England and France, (London, 1918) Appendix VI.
12. W.C. Hazlitt, Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, (London, 1864-6), II 128-9. There is a discrepancy between the poem and the articles of challenge. In the poem Charles Brandon is named as a challenger whilst he is included as an answerer beneath the challenge.
13. Hall, Chronicle, p.513.
14. D.R. Starkey, 'From feud to faction: English politics circa 1450-1550', History Today xxxii (1982) p.18.
15. College of Arms MS M.3 f.25v.
16. D.R. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber', p.89
17. List of Jousting Cheques :

November, 1501 (copy)	College of Arms MS M.3 f.25v
12th February, 1511	Bodleian, Ashmole MS 1116
	College of Arms tournament cheque no.1a
13th February, 1511	College of Arms tournament cheque no.1b
19th May, 1516	College of Arms tournament cheque no.1c
20th May, 1516 (copy)	BL Harleian MS 69 f.16v.
June, 1520	Practice Joust at Field of Cloth of Gold. C Ffoulkes <u>Archaeologia</u> lxxiii (1911-12) Plate 1X.
29th December, 1524	College of Arms tournament cheque no.1f
18. College of Arms MS L.12 ff.10-11 (LP I ii Appendix 9).
19. BL Harleian MS 69 f.16v.
20. Carew's exploits, for example, as the blue knight in July 1517, CSPV II 918.
21. Hall, Chronicle, pp. 584-5. E36 217 ff.232-51 (LP II ii pp.1507-9)
22. BL Harleian MS 69 f.16v. Gunn, Charles Brandon, p.67
23. Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers MS 3206 f.33 Lodge, Illustrations of British History I p.19 (LP II i 1935)
24. Hall, Chronicle, p.585.

25. BL Harleian MS 69 f.16v. Henry and Kingston did, however, fight one another on the previous day. College of Arms Tournament cheque no.1c
26. CSPV II 918.
27. Ibid. 918.
28. E36 217 f.77 (LP II ii p.1510).
29. E36 130 f.181v. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.89v, 21,116 f.1 (LP III ii 1899).
30. BL Harleian MS 433 f.294v-295 (LP II ii 4409) SP1/19 f.256 (LP III i 704[2])
31. LP III i 500, ii 2074, 2214, 3586.
32. There were only a few exceptions to this rule. On 10th February 1521 Henry jousted against all comers and on the 12th February Henry, the earl of Devon and four aides fought against sixteen answerers. (Hall, Chronicle, p.622.
33. Hall, Chronicle, pp. 600-1.
34. Nicholas Carew, the earl of Devon, Lord Ros, Anthony Kingston, Anthony Knyvet, Nicholas Darrell and Anthony Brown. Hall, Chronicle, pp.630-1. SP 1/29 ff. 219-24. (LP III ii pp.1557-8).
35. Ibid. pp.635-7. On 13th February 1526 Henry and eleven courtiers fought Exeter and his band of eleven. Ibid. pp.707-8.
36. College of Arms MS, L 12 ff.10-11 (LP I ii Appendix 9).
37. Ibid. ff.10-11.
38. Hall, Chronicle p.580.
39. See Appendix V. The king's opponents.
40. College of Arms tournament cheque no.1f
41. Hall, Chronicle. p.691.
42. Ibid. p.719.
43. Ibid. p.722.
44. Bodleian library, Ashmole MS 1116. C. Ffoulkes 'Jousting Cheques of the Sixteenth Century' Archaeologia lxxiii (1911-12) Plate VI. Knyvet received the prize for the challengers and Blount for the answerers.
45. B. de Montfauçon, Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française. (Paris, 1729-33) IV f.185-6.
46. Ibid. f.183.
47. Ibid. f.185.
48. Ibid. f.186.
49. Ibid. f.183.
50. J. Russell, The Field of Cloth of Gold. (London, 1969) p.111.
51. Montfauçon, Les Monumens, IV ff.183-187. Count de S Pol (François de Bourbon) and Seigneur de la Rochepot, (Anne de Montmorency, future constable of France) were two of the French challengers at the Field of Cloth of Gold.
52. Russell, Field of Cloth of Gold, pp.131-2.
53. Hall, Chronicle, p.566.
54. CSPM I 669
55. Hall, Chronicle, pp.570-1.
56. Ibid. pp.571-2.
57. Ibid. p. 572.
58. Ibid. p. 572.
59. BL Additional MS 30,543 f.114. The marquis of Dorset broke fifteen lances and scored six attaints.
60. SP1/15 f.22-3 (LP II ii 2987)
61. SP1/16 f.228 (LP II ii 4075).
62. SP1/15 f.22v-23

63. Great Chronicle, p. 314. College of Arms MS M.3 f.25v
64. SP1/15 f.22v-23.
65. Hall, Chronicle, pp.707-8. Great Chronicle, p.247.
66. SP1/15 f.22v-23.
67. Anglo, Tournament Roll, Appendix V.
68. SP1/15 f.22v-23.
69. Hall, Chronicle, p.674.
70. Ibid. p.674.
71. Hall, Chronicle, p.521.
72. LP X 200
73. Cripps-Day, History of the Tournament, p.120.
74. A summary of accounts exists for 1521/3 but these are of no help. LP III ii 2750. The privy chamber accounts have only survived from 1529 onwards.
75. Hall, Chronicle, pp.688-690. SP1/32 ff.271-6 (LP IV i 965). For a drawing of the castle and the challenge see College of Arms MS. M.6, ff.57v-58.
76. Hall, Chronicle, p.688. Other examples include Anthony Kingston, son of Sir William who made his début in 1522. (He must have been born earlier than the date given by HC [1512] otherwise he would have been aged 10 in his first joust!) HC II p.468.
77. In the joust held on May 1st 1540 John Dudley and Anthony Kingston were challengers. College of Arms tournament cheque nos.1d,1e.
78. College of Arms Tournament cheque no.1f
79. For example, of the defenders, the king was 33, the earl of Devon 28 the duke of Suffolk 40, Lord Ros 34, Lord Montagu, as he was styled, 34, Sir Nicholas Carew 28 and Sir Francis Bryan 34. Of the challengers, Sir Anthony Brown was 24, John Dudley 22 and Sir Edward Seymour 18.
80. According to the tournament cheque, the king performed better still with 5 hits to his opponent's body and one to the head. College of Arms tournament cheque no.1f
81. Montfauçon Les Monumens IV p.189.
82. SP1/21 f.33 (LP III i 946).
83. Hall, Chronicle, p.635.
84. Ibid. p.591 The earl of Surrey, born c.1473, took part in his last joust at the age of 44 in July 1517. This, however, did not signal the end of his involvement in tournament ceremonial and he acted as a knight waiter to the king in March 1524 at the age of 51.
85. Robert Wingfield was born in c.1470 HC III p. 642.
86. Hall, Chronicle, p.581.
87. E36 229 f.135 (LP II ii pp.1505)
88. Hall, Chronicle, p. 572.
89. BL Harleian MS 69 f.6v. John Pechey also took part in this joust.
90. E36 218 f.31,47. (LP III i 152)
91. Ibid. f.30
92. Ibid. f.18
93. See Anglo, Tournament Roll, for a very good reproduction.
94. E36 215 f.57v (LP II ii p.1450).
95. CSPV II 918. Edward Hall writes that the king was attended by 125 people including armourers etc. Hall, Chronicle, p.591.
96. Anglo, Tournament Roll, p.32.
97. Ibid. p.2
98. O. Cartellieri, The Court of Burgundy, trs. M. Letts (London, 1929)

- S. Bentley, Excerpta Historica, (London, 1831) pp.227-39.
99. Anglo, Tournament Roll, p.54.
  100. Great Chronicle, p.372.
  101. Ibid. p.372, Hall, Chronicle, p.518.
  102. Great Chronicle, p.342. Hall, Chronicle, p.512.
  103. Tournament Roll, p.63. In 1517, for example, there was no allegorical challenge.
  104. Ibid. p.42. CSPV III 702.
  105. Knecht, Francis I. p.84.
  106. Ibid. p.84.
  107. Anglo, Tournament Roll, pp.7-9.
  108. Hall, Chronicle, pp.620-2, 635-7.
  109. Russell, Field of Cloth of Gold, pp.107-8.
  110. R. Brown, Four years at the Court of Henry VIII (London, 1854) i pp.86-7.
  111. Hall, Chronicle, p.511.
  112. Ibid. p.611. For the costs involved in the construction of this tree, see LP III ii p.1553. On 12th February 1511 the arms of the four challengers were displayed at each of the four corners of the forest. E36 217 f.41. (LP II ii p.1494)
  113. Prize-winners in court tournaments 1509-24 :-  
 June 1509 Sir John Pechey (answerer), Lord Thomas Howard (challenger)  
 12th February 1511 Richard Blount (ans), Thomas Knyvet (chall)  
 13th February 1511 Edmund Howard (ans), Henry VIII (chall)  
 1st May, 1511 Essex, Devonshire and Dorset (ans) Henry VIII (chall)  
 1st May, 1514 Suffolk and Henry VIII  
 19th May, 1516 Giles Capel (ans) Henry VIII (chall)  
 20th May, 1516 William Kingston (ans) Suffolk (chall)  
 June, 1520 Henry VIII, Dorset, Francis Bryan, Ralph Ellerker (chall)  
 Devon, Arthur Pole, William Cary, John Neville, Anthony Brown, Richard Jerningham, Edmund Howard (ans)  
 29th December, 1524 Henry VIII (ans) William Cary (chall)
  114. Hazlitt, Early Popular Poetry, ii p.129
  115. Challenges:  
 October, 1494. BL Harleian MS 69 f.6.  
 May, 1507 BL Harleian MS 69 f.2v.  
 May-June, 1510 BL Harleian MS 69 f.5v:  
 College of Arms MS L. 12, ff 10-11.  
 12,13 Feb.1511 BL Harleian MS 69 f.4v  
 June, 1520 College of Arms MS M.9, ff.1-7  
 December, 1524 College of Arms MS M.6, ff.57v-58.
  116. S.J. Gunn, 'The French wars of Henry VIII' in The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe, J. Black ed. (Edinburgh, 1987) p.41.  
 Many of the knights who took part in the silken war of the tilt yard are included in the Muster Roll of 1513. E101 62/11 (LP I ii 2052, 2053)
  117. Hall, Chronicle, p.689.
  118. Ibid. p.511.
  119. Great Chronicle, p.343. Hall, Chronicle, p.512.
  120. Ibid. p.690.
  121. Keen, Chivalry, pp.86-7.
  122. E36 229 f.81 (LP II ii p. 1496).
  123. Ibid. f.81 2 H's and 3 K's were lost from Essex's garment.
  124. Hall, Chronicle, p. 519.



125. E36 217 f.19. (LP II ii p.1491)
126. Gunn, Charles Brandon, p. 9.
127. SP1/29 ff.212. (LP III ii p.1557). Edward Hall writes that Henry and Devon were attended by 4 aides whereas the revels accounts make it quite clear that there were 6. Hall, Chronicle, p.622.
128. SP1/29 ff.219-24. (LP III ii p.1557-8)  
Cost for material to cover the bards and bases: Henry VIII 43s. 4d. Devon and Ros 11s. 8d., Nicholas Carew 8s. Od., Anthony Knyvet Anthony Kingston, Nicholas Darrell and Anthony Brown 5s.Od.
129. Ibid. f.222v
130. In 1516, for example, the 19 knight waiters were :  
The marquis of Dorset, earl of Surrey, Lord Burgavenny,  
Lord Hastings, Lord Ferrers, Sir John Pechey,  
Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir William Compton,  
Sir John Sharp, Sir William Tyler, Sir Christopher Garneys,  
Sir John Seymour, Sir Henry Sherbourne, Arthur Pole,  
Sir Ralph Egerton, Sir Anthony Pointz, Sir John Neville,  
Sir Edward Walsingham, Sir William Hussey.
131. E36 217 f.110. (LP III ii p.1553)
132. Hall, Chronicle, pp. 591-2. CSPV II 918.  
On 20th May, 1516 all the answerers were clothed and barded in white satin and cloth of gold. Hall, Chronicle, p.585.
133. E36 215 f.23v, 95v (LP II ii p.1445, p.1457).
134. For example, 13th February 1511, 29th December 1524,
135. Anglo, Spectacle, pp.117-122.  
'The Evolution of the Early Tudor Disguising, Pageant and Mask'  
Renaissance Drama, N.S., 1, (1968) pp.4-8.
136. Ibid. p.8.
137. The only exception being in 1512 when the pageant and disguising was performed on 1st January instead of Twelfth Night.
138. Hall, Chronicle, p.580.
139. Anglo, 'Early Tudor Disguising' p.14.
140. Starkey, Henry VIII, p.81.
141. Hall, Chronicle, p.599.
142. Ibid. p.599.
143. E101 418/15 f.26v
144. For example, 29th December 1524, when Henry and Suffolk entered as two ancient knights.
145. Starkey, Henry VIII, p.81.
146. E36 217 ff.97-100 (LP III ii p.1551)
147. Hall, Chronicle, p.599.
148. E36 217 ff.89-97 (LP II ii pp.1550-1)
149. CSPS FS pp.69-71.
150. Ibid. p.71.
151. Anglo, Spectacle, p.4.
152. SP 1/29 ff.209-10v. (LP III ii p.1556). Other examples include Henry's visit to Wolsey on 5th January 1520 - E36 217 ff.103-4. (LP III ii p. 1552) - and on 3rd January 1527 (CSPV IV 4)
153. SP 1/29 ff.224v-33. (LP III ii pp.1558-9) Hall, Chronicle, p.631
154. Cavendish, 'The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey', in Two Early Tudor Lives, pp.26-30.

## CHAPTER 4.

### THE KING'S BOON COMPANIONS: THEIR POSITION AT COURT AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

This chapter will attempt systematically to examine those who took part in the king's pastimes and, in particular, those who became Henry's partners in the jousts and court masks. Dr. Starkey has suggested that it was the members of the privy chamber who jousted with the king. (1) How true was this? Moreover, was there a relationship between court office and those who joined Henry in the tilt yard? All sections of the court who participated in the jousts or the revels will be discussed: the spears of honour, the noblemen and those ladies of the queen's chamber who danced in the court entertainments. The final section will concentrate specifically on the king's chamber, its relationship with Henry and its role in the court's festivities.

One of Henry's successes as a king was to avoid the pitfalls of establishing a small favoured clique at court. The aim of this chapter is less to look at the privy chamber than to focus on those courtiers close to the king at court. Appendix IV lists every known appearance by courtiers in jousts and masks from 1509 to 1527 (if a courtier started his jousting career before Henry VIII's reign then this has been included to provide a fuller picture). The most striking feature of this list is the sheer number and range of those taking part in the king's jousts. At least one hundred and twenty-six men jousted alongside the king, whether during informal recreation or as part of an international display. This

represents only an absolute minimum, many of the records are far from complete and all too often the list of participants is patchy or non-existent. Some men only appeared once, whilst others enjoyed lengthy jousting careers stretching over a number of decades.

The identity of those taking part in disguisings, mummeries or masks on the other hand was more confined to an intimate court circle. Twenty-three women danced in the various revels throughout the first half of Henry's reign and most were either gentlewomen of the queen or of noble birth. Everyone who joined Henry in the jousts or revels was connected to the court. All were united by their service to the crown and nearly all were sworn servants of the king or queen. Important foreign guests were on special occasions invited to join in and in September 1519, for example, the French 'hostages' joined in the mask at Newhall. (2) Henry could have relied upon a small band of experienced joustiers to impress foreign visitors, but instead he constantly gave new courtiers an opportunity to excel in the lists. Moreover, there was a considerable diversity amongst the participants ranging from some of the premier peers of the realm to obscure courtiers.

In terms of court office the spears of honour were naturally the most prominent joustiers (in fact, it is fair to assume that they all took part in martial combat). The king's spears were deliberately expanded as a corps at the very beginning of the reign for training young men in martial exploits. Henry's desire for display and martial glory was reflected in this corps. A small number of spears had existed at the court of Henry VII but they had enjoyed a low profile in the life of the court. In September 1504, Maurice St. John was paid his wages and those for his 'coustrell' and page at 18d. per day and two archers at 6d. per day. (3)

The connection between the spears and jousting had already been established under Henry VII. On 20th February 1506, ten spears fought one another in a tournament to entertain Philip the Fair and were each paid £6.13s.4d.

(4)

The spears of honour have traditionally received only scant attention; commentators have looked at the body mainly as a prelude to the establishment of the gentlemen pensioners in 1539. (5) The band has not been studied as an entity in its own right and consequently its significance and importance at the early court of Henry VIII has been underestimated. Although the spears only lasted for five years, they reflected the new king's desire for martial glory and his determination to impress the rest of Europe. The spears, however, were not merely a rich ornament in a dazzling court but also provided the training ground for an elite corps of jousts and military leaders.

At the beginning of 1510 the original corps was expanded into a band of men, possibly numbering as many as fifty, with a captain, the earl of Essex and a lieutenant, Sir John Pechey. The exact figure is not known, and although the largest figure given wages at the end of each month was twenty-three Hall and Stow both give the figure of fifty. (6) No complete list has survived and the best source for identifying members is the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber. Payments were made at the end of each month to the band and payments to individuals are scattered throughout the accounts. Forty-five men are recorded as spears of honour (most of them appear in the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber) and they are all listed in Appendix VI. The exact date when Henry VIII enlarged the band of spears is also not known. Hall informs us that 'the kyng ordeined fiftie Gentle menne to bee spears' in the first year of his

reign. (7) This could have been any time from 22nd April 1509 until 21st April 1510. The first payments were made to the spears by the treasurer of the chamber in March 1510 and this is the most likely date. (8)

The reasons for expanding the spears were threefold: Henry was deliberately copying the corps set up by Louis XI of France in 1474. (9) Secondly it satisfied the king's desire for martial glory, and thirdly such an impressive corps added greatly to ceremonial occasions and display at court. There can be little doubt as to the spectacular appearance of the spears. It was, in fact, the cost of keeping such a large and well equipped band that resulted in their disbandment at the end of 1515.

'the apparell and charges were so greate, for there were none of them, but they and their Horses, were appareled and trapped in Clothe of Golde, Siluer, and Golde Smithes woorke, and their seruantes richely appareled also'. (10)

As Chapter 3 has demonstrated Henry wanted martial glory and international recognition at any cost. The spears were very different from the yeoman of the guard, not only in appearance but also in social composition. All spears were of high birth and included several sons of top ranking noblemen. Edmund Howard, son of the earl of Surrey and Leonard and John Grey, two brothers of the marquis of Dorset, were spears of honour. Such an impressive corps naturally played a prominent role at ceremonial functions. When Leonard Spinelly brought the cap and sword from Pope Leo X in 1514, he was met at Blackheath by the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Lincoln, the earl of Essex and all the king's spears. (11)

Each spear was to find and equip two archers, a page, and a 'coustrell' (an abbreviation for a coustillier, the servant of a man of arms armed with a coûtille - a kind of sword). (12) They were to attend

upon the spear and had to be mustered before the king or his deputy. If the total number of spears was as high as fifty, as Hall suggests, then that would mean a total establishment, including servants, of some two hundred and fifty men. The spear and his four attendants were to be paid 3s.4d. a day and they were to maintain three great horses. (13) The organisation was similar to that under Henry VII and at least four spears continued from Henry VII's reign: Charles Brandon, Griffith Don, Edward Neville and William Parr. (14) One difference was the rate of pay. As we have seen, under Henry VII the spear, his page and 'coustrell' were each paid 18d. per day and the archers only 6d. per day. Under Henry VIII each spear was paid 3s.4d. a day with which he also had to pay the wages of his attendants.

The reasons for the expansion of the corps were summarised in the ordinance setting out their duties, wages and their oath. Henry considered that there

'be many yong gentlemen of noble blod whiche haue none excercise in the feate of Armes in handling and Ronnyng the Spere and other faites of werre on horsbake like as in other Reames and cuntreys be dayly practised and vsed to the greate honour and laude of them that soo dothe'. (15)

These ordinances of early 1510 were very specific about the duties and obligations of the spears. They were to be stationed wherever appointed by their captain, whether in attendance upon the king or elsewhere outside the court. With other members of the household, they made up the nucleus of England's fighting force in 1513. Edward Dunn and Edward Cobham were sent to fight with the army in France whilst others including Sir Wiston Brown and Arthur Plantagenet joined the navy. (16)

The spears were entitled to lodging at court but they had to accept the decision of the king's harbingers

'... none of the said Speres shall presume to take his lodging by his owne auctoritie but be ordred therein and take suche lodging as by the Kinges herbiorgiers for that purpose deputed shalbe appointed vnto thim'. (17)

The ordinance ended with a special oath which had to be sworn by all new spears. Allegiance to the king was of primary importance and each spear had to swear to

'be retheyned to no man, persone, ne persones of what degre or condicon soever he be by Othe, Lyvree, Bagge (Badge), Promise or otherwise, but oonly to his Grace, without his especial Licence.' (18)

The spears played a very prominent role in the jousts at the beginning of the reign. On 23rd May 1510, for example, at least eight spears took part in the challenge at the barriers at Greenwich. Charles Brandon and Edward Howard joined the king as challengers whilst six spears were included amongst the answerers. (19) For the special celebrations in February 1511 to celebrate the birth of the prince, more than half of the answerers were spears on the first day of the tournament. (20) At the beginning of the reign a small number of the spears were particularly close to the king. At least five of Henry's closest boon companions identified by Dr. Starkey were spears of honour. The earl of Essex was the captain, Edward Howard was appointed in March 1510 and was one of Henry's closest favourites. (21) Edward Neville and Charles Brandon had both been spears under Henry VII and finally Henry Guildford was particularly prominent in the king's jousts and masks. (22) When new men came to the fore in 1512-1513, at least three of the six courtiers were spears of honour - Sir William Parr, Richard Jerningham and Thomas Cheyney. To be a spear did not necessarily entail close contact with the king, but it was a sign of favour and given Henry's obsession with martial prowess it helped to bring a courtier to the king's attention. Even when disbanded the 'ex-spears'

continued to feature prominently in the jousts, as Appendix IV aptly shows.

When the corps was expanded in the first year of Henry's reign many of the spears were recruited from the large number of esquires of the body and many had received livery from the crown for the funeral of Henry VII. (23) With a few exceptions, the spears were young men eager to prove themselves in the tilt yard and in war. (24) Anthony Wingfield was typical, an esquire of the body in 1509, he sailed with the 'Dragon' of Greenwich in the abortive campaign of 1512 and was knighted at Tournai in 1513. His grandfather was John Tuchet, sixth Lord Audley, and he later became vice-chamberlain of the household in 1539. (25) Nearly all of the spears came from families with long associations with the court. The father of John Blount, for example, had been knighted by Henry VII at the battle of Stoke in 1487 and his mother was the only legitimate child of Sir Hugh Pescal, a knight of the body to Henry VII. (26)

One spear was not a native Englishman but had already performed loyal service under the Tudors. Guyot de Heule was an Almayne 'a talle man, and a good man of armes' and was a spear of honour by March 1510. (27) His appointment was not exceptional, foreigners were frequently employed by Henry (he had a French cook and a Venetian organ player). Guyot enjoyed an excellent reputation for martial combat and Henry opposed him in the battle with axes in May 1510. Afterwards Edward Howard took on de Heule and succeeded in throwing the Almayne to the ground. (28) Guyot was totally trusted by Henry and in February 1512, he was paid for recruiting Almaynes for the forthcoming war. As Dr. Gunn has shown, Guyot fought for England in at least five campaigns between 1511 and 1523. (29)

Payments to the band of spears are recorded for most months in the treasurer of the chamber's accounts, beginning in March 1510 when wages



were paid for twenty-three spears. (30) It was during the French war of 1513 that Henry realised, probably at Wolsey's prompting, that the spears were too expensive to maintain during peace time. In May 1513, he signed a warrant to John Daunce, treasurer of the war, which instructed him to pay the spears out of 'warre money' rather than out of the treasury of the chamber, as had been the practice. (31) Daunce followed the king's wishes and for the rest of the year warrants were paid by him for the wages of the spears. At the beginning of July 1513, for example, Lord Richard Grey was paid in this manner. (32) The spears also appear in other accounts during the war. Sir Edward Bensted, treasurer of Tournai paid Sir Anthony Ughtred as marshal (6s.8d.) with an additional payment of 3s.4d. as one of the king's spears. (33) Likewise, Sir Richard Jerningham, was paid 6s.8d. as captain of the guard and 3s.4d. in his capacity as spear. (34) Payments became virtually non-existent in the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber from May to December 1513 but there were several exceptions. The earl of Essex received his wages as captain in June and Edward Wiseman was paid his wages for two months. (35) At the beginning of 1514 the payments by the treasurer of the chamber resumed and most spears received their wages in this way. The last payment was made in September 1515, although several spears including Thomas Cheyney, Lord Leonard Grey and Lord John Grey were paid their wages for two years in advance in September 1514. (36)

Some early commentators argued that the spears were not disbanded in 1515 but continued and were still in existence in 1526. (37) There is no validity in such arguments and a misdated ordinance in A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household

published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790 has caused much of the confusion. The ordinance of 1540 was dated 1526 in this volume and a payment of two hundred marks was made to the captain of the gentlemen pensioners. (38) Did Wolsey play a part in the disbandment of the spears? Although by 1515 Henry had lost some of his early adolescent desire for ostentation the demise of the spears exactly coincided with Wolsey's consolidation of power in that year. Whilst the cardinal revelled in ostentation equally he wanted to restrain Henry's unnecessary extravagance. (39) There is no record that it was Wolsey who finally ended the corps but circumstantial evidence does point in his direction.

Noblemen were the most natural partners to join the king in a joust. Hunting and jousting were the principal sports of noblemen who were brought up to enjoy and excel in the practice of martial skills. This was not confined to England and the noble way of life can be seen throughout Europe. In German cities, for example, only noblemen were allowed to joust and men of inferior social rank were prohibited from displaying their prowess in the tilt yard. (40) In England the code of conduct was less strict but the importance of being descended from noble stock was constantly reiterated in tournament ceremonial. The challenge of February 1511 stipulated that the four challengers were to present their shields for

'it is not lawful for any man to enterprise arms in so high a presence without his stock and name be of nobles descended'. (41)

In this context it is not surprising to find that certain noblemen took part more often than anyone else during Henry's jousting career. As Appendix IV shows, Charles Brandon participated more than anyone else, at least thirty-eight jousts and masks, although he was not enobled until 1513. The earl of Essex came a poor second by comparison with at least

seventeen jousts and masks. Whenever a nobleman took part he always played a prominent role, not only in the actual jousting, but also in the ceremonial of the tournament. Noblemen were frequently called to act as knight waiters, to attend upon the king in the tilt yard but not to joust themselves. Lord Ferrers, for example, was a knight waiter twice in 1516, in the jousts of May and January.

Only a small number of noblemen, however, actually took part. Only twelve out of a possible eighty during the years 1509-1527. (42) Those noblemen who did joust, however, were almost invariably royal favourites and it is safe to conclude that it was their skill with a lance which helped them to attract the king's favour. It was these men who joust frequently that were assigned liveries at court and were often present as Table A shows. (43)

Table A. Noblemen who were assigned liveries at court.

October 1519.  
 Duke of Suffolk.  
 Earl of Surrey.  
 Earl of Devon.  
 Lord Hastings.  
 Marquis of Dorset.  
 Lord Burgavenny.

November 1519.  
 Duke of Suffolk.  
 Marquis of Dorset.  
 Earl of Surrey  
 Earl of Devon.  
 Lord Hastings.  
 Lord Burgavenny.  
 Lord Ferrers.

November 1520.  
 Marquis of Dorset.  
 Lord Fitzwalter.  
 Lord Hastings.

1524 - June 1525.  
 Duke of Suffolk.  
 Marquis of Dorset.  
 Earl of Devon.  
 Lord Hastings.  
 Lord Ferrers.

Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex, was a frequent jouster until his retirement in 1517. His skill was already proven by 1509 and it was his physical stature and martial prowess which earned him the appointment of

captain of the king's spears. He was elected to the order of the Garter as early as 1499, at the age of sixteen. Essex died as he lived, thrown from his horse in 1540. (44)

As a family the Howards were particularly important in the jousts and revels early in the reign. Thomas, Edward and Edmund challenged in the coronation tournament of 1509 and were dressed in green with roses and pomegranates on their bards and bases as representatives of the king and queen. (45) Edward was one of Henry's closest favourites until his death in April 1513 and his loss was a great blow to the Howards in all senses. Thomas became earl of Surrey in 1514 and continued to joust frequently with the king until his retirement in 1517. He took part in the mask of 1518 and acted as a knight waiter to the king in 1524. (46) At the Field of Cloth of Gold Edmund led one of the bands of jousts. (47)

During the 1520s fewer noblemen joined the king in the tilt yard and although Dorset and Suffolk carried on, the limelight was transferred to Henry Courtenay, earl of Devon, and marquis of Exeter in 1525. The Buckingham 'conspiracy' was partly to blame for the decrease in the number of noblemen participating in the jousts. Burgavenny, who had frequently been at court in the 1510s, spent a year in the Tower after Buckingham's arrest in 1521 and he never regained his former intimacy with the king. In 1519 Burgavenny had been high in the king's favour. He had enjoyed livery at court and the king had stayed with him during the summer progress. (48) After Buckingham's execution he was never invited to join in jousts or revels again. Henry Pole, styled Lord Montagu, had been sent to the Tower after Buckingham's arrest but he had soon been released. (49) Pole was evidently forgiven by December 1524 when he took part in the tournament at court.

During the 1520s the earl of Devon, and Lord Ros were frequently at court and both held positions in the chamber. Ros was appointed to serve the king as a cupbearer in December 1521 and Devon was appointed to the privy chamber in 1519 or 1520. (50) From 1519 onwards, Courtenay took part in more jousts and court revels than any other nobleman. (51) He was one of the king's favourite hunting companions and in 1527, for example, he accompanied Henry on a hunting expedition in Waltham Forest. (52) Courtenay was at the centre of the social life at court and was the closest nobleman to the king during the early 1520s. He was at court from January to March 1519, and was assigned livery in October and November of the same year. (53) In 1525 Courtenay followed the court on progress and remained with the king for at least six months. (54) Ros also visited the court when it was away from London and in October 1522 he joined the court at Bishops Hatfield whilst Henry was trying to avoid the plague. (55) Both noblemen were promoted in June 1525 along with other men who had been frequent jousts. The earl of Devon was made marquis of Exeter, Lord Ros, earl of Rutland, Lord Fitzwalter, a viscount, and Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford. (56)

Ros' accounts for December 1524 to February 1525 provide a detailed picture of his preparation and expenses as one of the jousts in the series of assaults on the Castle of Loyaltie. The king had spent Christmas at Greenwich and Ros arrived at court with his wife and sixteen servants on 23rd December 1524. (57) He bought a new bard for the occasion and paid 26s.8d. for embroidering his base and bard with white velvet and cloth of gold with crimson satin. (58) Ros paid 2s.0d. for a chamber at court where he could keep all his steel saddles and paid an armourer to attend upon him for twelve days. (59) On 29th December Ros

joined Henry as an answerer but on this occasion his performance in the joust was not very inspiring: one broken lance compared to the six broken by the king. (60)

Nothing has been said so far about the role of the queen and her ladies who danced in the court revels. Although the queen took part in some of the masks early in the reign, after 1513 there is no record of her participation. The first time that the accounts mention the queen taking part was at Richmond on 14th November 1510. (61) The revels were often performed for Katherine's honour and enjoyment when, for example, the king and his twelve companions burst into the queen's chamber dressed as Robin Hood and his men 'the Quene, the ladies, and al other there, were abashed'.

(62) The queen presided over banquets at court and kept the 'estate' whilst the king took part in the entertainment, as on 18th January, 1510.

(63)

Edward Hall gives the impression that Katherine was a spectator throughout the reign and the chronicler does not specifically mention her participation in the revels. The revels accounts, on the other hand, are unambiguous and it is clear that the queen took part on at least four occasions. (64) A gown was made for the queen for the mask of 1512 when the entertainment was first introduced at court and it is probable that Katherine was invited to dance from the floor on this occasion. (65) The king and his eleven companions entered disguised and

'desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leaue'. (66)

In the disguising on Twelfth Night 1513, the queen was at the centre of the entertainment, but her role is disputed by the two sources. According to

Hall, the pageant came before the queen, and six ladies wearing 'French hoddes' descended from it. (67) The revels accounts, however, make it quite clear that Katherine was one of those ladies. After the entertainment the queen was given her head apparel by Henry and the other five ladies likewise were allowed to keep their costumes. (68)

The queen was continually honoured through symbolism, whether through dress or the use of her badges to decorate the pageants. Just as the answerers in the joust of July 1517 wore gold letters of C and M to show their allegiance to Charles, duke of Suffolk, and Mary, the French queen, (69) so too the jousts and maskers displayed their loyalty in similar fashion to the king and queen. At a basic level this was seen in the use of gold letters of H and K to adorn their costumes as in February 1511.

(70) Of more interest, however, was the prolific use of Katherine's heraldic symbols in the early years of the reign. Her badges were principally a pomegranate, a sheaf of arrows (a pun on Aragon) and a castle. These badges were used by courtiers throughout the country to symbolise their loyalty to the queen. At Ightham Mote, the home of Sir Richard Clement, Katherine's badges decorated the house. (71)

The significance could not be missed at court and the profusion of pomegranates and arrows must have been visually very impressive. At the disguising of the 28th February 1510 one thousand five hundred and sixty castles and sheaves of arrows were worn by the participants as well as one hundred and one roses and one hundred and eight pomegranates. (72) The king himself wore the queen's badges and on 17th March 1510 when Henry ran at the ring, castles and sheaves of arrows covered his costume.

'Item reseuyd of muster Wylliam Coumpton the same ovr and tyme cccclxxv kustells of golld'. (73)

In the early years of the reign Henry wore his wife's badges and jousted in her honour. On certain occasions the other challengers also wore pomegranates on their costumes to express their loyalty to the queen. In May 1512, the king and his three challengers entered the tilt yard with bards and bases of crimson and blue velvet embroidered with pomegranates.

(74) Henry also used imaginative ways to convey his loyalty to her as on 29th January 1516, when he wore a special headpiece decorated with 'a wrethe of greeyn satien in browdyd and set and kut wrowght lyke poomganets'. (75) In 1511, after the birth of a male heir, Henry jousted as 'Coeur Loyal' and showed off his prowess on the tilt yard in honour of the queen. (76) After 1516, references to Henry wearing pomegranates on his costume or jousting for Katherine's favour become very difficult to find. This could be due to less thorough accounts of the jousting by Edward Hall but it is more likely to have been the result of a change of style in the presentation of the tournament.

The ladies of the queen's household were foremost in the court revels as Appendix IV shows. This list shows only an absolute minimum for the ladies who took part due to the paucity of the records. Every lady who participated was either the wife of a leading courtier or nobleman or was a gentlewoman to the queen. Often the ladies fitted into both these categories. Margaret Bryan, wife of Sir Thomas Bryan, took part in some of the disguisings early in the reign. The Bryan family were very important at court and had strong connections with the Howards. Margaret Bryan was the half-sister of Thomas, Edward and Edmund Howard. She was in Katherine's household by 1509 and joined the queen in the festivities at Richmond on 14th November, 1510. (77) Margaret was one of six ladies wearing dresses of crimson satin and cloth of gold 'after the facion of



Spayne'. As one of Katherine's ladies it was appropriate that her dress should be decorated with pomegranates symbolising her attachment to the queen. (78) Her daughter, also called Margaret, married Henry Guildford in 1512 and accompanied him in the mummerly at Greenwich during the festivities of Christmas 1514. (79) In the disguising to celebrate the treaty with France and universal peace in 1518 she accompanied the admiral, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. (80) Margaret followed her mother into the queen's household and was one of Katherine's attendants by 1517. (81)

Every lady who took part in court revels during the early 1520's attended the queen at the Field of Cloth of Gold. (82) Some ladies were daughters of noblemen and there was a strict code of etiquette regarding who accompanied who in the disguisings. Elizabeth Daubenay, daughter of George Neville, Lord Burgavenny, and married to Henry, Lord Daubenay, was of sufficient social status to accompany the duke of Suffolk in disguising in October 1518. (83) Lady Anne St. Leger, was the daughter of the seventh earl of Ormonde and took part in at least three masks between 1514 and 1518.

Family connections were very important. There were only a limited number of places for Katherine's ladies to take part and to be related to Henry Guildford, master of the revels, was a great asset. His relatives and associates were particularly prominent in the festivities. Anne Brown, for example, was the niece of Henry Guildford, and Anne Wotton, daughter of Sir Edward, was the niece of Guildford's wife. (84)

Masking required elegance and the social skill of dancing. Those ladies who were most attractive were invited to take part more often. It was Elizabeth Blount's beauty and skill at dancing that first attracted Henry to her. Her skill was legendary; this 'damosel in singing, dancing

and all goodly pastimes exceeded all other'. (85) There were frequent references by Edward Hall to 'beautiful maidens' taking centre stage in the festivities and Elizabeth Blount fitted the bill perfectly. In the words of Lord Herbert of Cherbury she 'was thought for her rare ornaments of nature and education to be the mistress piece of her time'. (86)

Elizabeth first came to the king's notice at the mummary on New Year's Eve 1514. She was one of four ladies dressed 'after the fashion of Savoy' who entered the queen's chamber and danced for Katherine's pleasure. (87)

They wore masking visors and it was not until the end of the entertainment that the true identity of the maskers was known. The king himself took part as well as other courtiers close to Henry at court.

Elizabeth had, in fact, arrived at court several years earlier as a child of twelve or thirteen. The daughter of one of the king's spears, John Blount, Elizabeth had been placed in Katherine's household by at least May 1513 when she was given a year's wages. (88) Elizabeth Carew recently married to Nicholas, and Elizabeth Blount, were two of Katherine's most outstanding gentlewomen. As early as 1514 they had come to the attention of Charles Brandon who, in a letter to Henry VIII, sent his regards to them both! (89) Elizabeth Blount was related to the most senior officials of the queen's household: the lord chamberlain, William Blount, was a kinsman and Sir Edward Darrell, who became vice-chamberlain in 1517 was related through his wife. (90)

It is probable that Elizabeth was Henry's mistress by 1517 and she bore him a son in the summer of 1519. Her last recorded appearance in a court mask was in October 1518 to entertain the visiting French embassy and to celebrate the new treaty with France. Cardinal Wolsey provided a sumptuous banquet at York Place and afterwards twelve lords and ladies

entered attended by twelve torch bearers. Everyone was dressed in green satin and cloth of gold. Fortunately Hall lists those who took part. Henry led the dancers accompanied by his sister, Mary queen of France, Elizabeth was a partner to Francis Bryan, one of the most dissolute 'minions'. (91) When she became pregnant, Elizabeth retired from the court and gave birth to her son at the priory of St. Lawrence at Blackmore in Essex. This marked the end of her masking career as well as the end of her relationship with the king, although her son was later to acquire great political significance. In 1522 she married Sir Gilbert Tailboys and was assigned lands in Lancashire and Yorkshire by act of parliament. (92)

Henry's name has been linked romantically with other ladies of the queen's chamber but only Mary Boleyn has been authenticated as his other mistress. As early as May 1510, Henry was reputedly trying to woo one of the sisters of the duke of Buckingham. (93) There is no reference to her taking part in any of the court revels and her significance will be considered in more detail in relation to New Year's gifts in the next chapter. Even less is known about Jane Poppingcort, a French woman in the service of Katherine of Aragon since at least 1509. She took part in the festivities for Twelfth Night 1515 and was one of six ladies who were 'rychely apparayled and daunsed a great tyme'. (94) In May of the following year she left Katherine's service and returned to France. The reason for her departure is not known, but she was given one hundred pounds by Henry. (95)

There can be little doubt that Mary Boleyn preceded her sister into the king's bed chamber. Henry admitted his relationship with Mary in a revealing conversation with Sir George Throckmorton in 1533 who bluntly told the king that no good would come of his relationship with Anne Boleyn

'for it is thought you have meddled both with the mother and the sister'. Henry replied 'never with the mother' and it was left to Cromwell to redress the situation adding 'nor neither with the sister either'. (96) The precise dates of Mary's affair with the king are not known but it is probable that she became Henry's mistress after her marriage to William Cary in February 1520. One of the king's ships was named after Mary in 1523 and there was a rumour in 1535 that she had borne Henry a son. (97) Mary only once took part in court revels according to the evidence which has survived. She took part alongside her sister, Anne, in the elaborate pageant to honour the Imperial embassy in March 1522. Mary was cast as Kindness and Anne played Perseverance, very appropriate roles for both sisters! (98) Henry's mistresses were picked from the ladies of the queen's chamber and they enjoyed the revels frequently staged at court.

Members of the privy chamber, particularly the gentlemen, played an important role in the king's jousts and masks. Before 1518 there existed a group of the king's favourites - the 'minions' - who held a 'definable but unofficial position in the privy chamber'. (99) Dr. Starkey has used those who were foremost in the jousts and revels to establish a circle of regular cronies between 1509 and 1517. To clarify the situation I shall briefly reiterate Dr. Starkey's arguments.

At the beginning of the reign seven men stood out: Henry Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, the earl of Essex, Thomas Knyvet, Edward Howard, Edward Neville, Charles Brandon and Henry Guildford. Knyvet was killed in August 1512 during a fierce engagement with the French fleet off Brest and Edward Howard was drowned in April of the following year during another skirmish at sea. This circle was further depleted when the earl of Wiltshire lost favour at some point after February 1511 and was no longer invited to take

part in the court revels. New men took up a more prominent role in the jousts and revels: the marquis of Dorset, Thomas Boleyn, Sir William Parr, William Fitzwilliam, Richard Jerningham and Thomas Cheyney. In time these men were replaced by younger favourites who were on average eight to nine years younger than the king. They were William Coffyn, Anthony Knyvet, Henry Norris, Arthur Pole and Francis Pointz. (100) It was through their jousting ability that the 'minions' secured the king's favour. In the 1530s Nicholas Carew was painted by Holbein in full tilting armour and his jousting exploits were legendary. (101) In July 1517 after the days jousting he ran the length of the tilt yard with a twenty foot beam balanced on his head! (102) It was the arrival of the French embassy in September 1518 and the dictates of protocol which made these unofficial positions officially recognised. (103)

Dr. Starkey's contribution to the history of the court has been immense. The rise of the privy chamber as a household department is fundamental to an understanding of politics and the way in which the court operated. The privy chamber was filled with the king's boon companions and a post in this department guaranteed access to the king and intimate contact with Henry was part of the job. The privy chamber was important in the patronage process and the gentlemen had plenty of opportunity to encourage Henry to sign petitions. The privy chamber was very important but has its significance been overstated? Whilst many of the gentlemen of the privy chamber played a very prominent role in the king's pastimes, it was up to Henry to invite who he wanted to join him in the joust. Court office gave its holder a potential advantage but above all it depended upon what a courtier made of that office. Some members of the privy chamber, for example, were inconsequential, receiving few grants and taking part in

none of the king's leisure activities. Four of the grooms of the privy chamber, West, Wellesburn, Carvanell and Baildon did not take part in any of the jousts or revels nor did Robert Knollys, a gentleman usher. (104) Only one groom, John Parker joined the king in the tilt yard. After an ambitious start in 1510 William Compton, groom of the stool, was not invited to joust again although he remained one of the king's favourites. (105) Thus a rigid approach to the significance of office holding tells only half the story.

The small amount of published material on the rest of the chamber has encouraged a distorted view. Dr. Starkey goes on to argue that with the rise of the privy chamber

'both the lord chamberlain and the chamber were in full decline. The rise of the privy chamber had robbed the older department of the most important part of its function'. (106)

During Wolsey's ascendancy some officers of the chamber still enjoyed favour and close proximity to the king. During the early 1520s it is difficult to be precise about exactly who was a member of the privy chamber and some courtiers held a post in each. (107) Although gentlemen ushers of the chamber were less significant after the rise of the privy chamber they still continued to play an important role at court. Gentlemen ushers fulfilled a multitude of different roles. During the progress they were sent ahead of the court to prepare the next place of residence and to find the best chambers for the king. (108) Gentlemen ushers should 'know the king's mind' as to which carver, sewer and cupbearer Henry wanted to attend upon him at mealtimes. (109) Although gentlemen ushers and the rest of the chamber received scant attention in the Eltham Ordinances as Dr. Starkey has pointed out, this was not surprising. It was the privy chamber which was new and the duties and obligations of the staff needed to

be formulated and officially set down in an ordinance. The Eltham Ordinances apart from dealing with Wolsey's enemies in the privy chamber also set out to resolve specific problems which in Wolsey's view, were hampering the smooth running of the court. (110)

Four gentlemen ushers were invited to joust with the king and at least three of them played a prominent role in the court's festivities. Richard Blount only took part in one joust in February 1511 at Henry's court and he succeeded in beating the king. (111) Ralph Ellerker challenged with Henry in the elaborate jousts of July 1517, the tournament at the Field of Cloth of Gold, and finally in February 1521. He had been one of the spears of honour early in the reign and this probably accounts for his prominence in the jousts. Ellerker was a skilful jouster and was one of the prize winners at the Field of Cloth of Gold. (112) He became a gentleman usher by 1519 and was not the only spear to be given this position after the disbandment of the corps. William Cotton also became a gentleman usher and is included in the same household list. (113) The three jousts which Ellerker was invited to join in were very prestigious and as one of the participants he was the focal point of the splendour and ceremonial.

Christopher Garneys or Garnish, as he was sometimes known, was a gentleman usher at Henry VII's funeral and enjoyed a close proximity to the centre of court life. (114) Garneys accompanied Henry's sister, Mary, to France in 1514 and carried her ashore after the terrible crossing. Like other servants of the chamber, Garneys also held posts at Calais, a position which required complete loyalty to the crown and in Morgan's words Calais was almost 'an outward office of the chamber'. (115) In 1516 he was appointed to be a doorward of the town of Calais and three years later was promoted to chief gate keeper. (116) In September 1519 when Garneys

was sworn to the council at Calais there was a dispute as to whether he should enjoy pre-eminence over Sir Robert Wotton. (117) Garneys wrote an impassioned letter to Wolsey asking him to persuade the king in his favour. He thanked the cardinal for obtaining the post at Calais for him and declared that his promotion was entirely due to Wolsey's 'favor and preferment'. (118) 'The result of the dispute is not known but there can be little doubt that Garneys enjoyed Wolsey's favour and associated with the highest men of the court. Despite his office at Calais he continued as a gentleman usher until at least 1517 but with his promotion in 1519 he was forced to relinquish the post. (119) Garneys was on good terms with the earl of Devon and played shuffleboard with him in the queen's chamber in January 1519. (120)

Sir Ralph Egerton, the fourth gentleman usher close to the king in the jousts, has already received considerable attention from Professor Ives. He concludes that Egerton was 'one of the king's leading courtiers' and 'clearly one of that company of tilters and boon companions who were so often in the king's company'. (121) Egerton was a gentleman usher by 1509 and continued in this post until at least 1517. He was replaced before 1519 and enjoyed the honorary title of knight of the body. (122) His jousting career spanned twelve years from 1510 until 1522, by which time he was approaching fifty and was forced to retire through advancing age. (123) Egerton went on to become treasurer of Princess Mary's household in 1525 and received a whole string of profitable grants from the king. During Wolsey's ascendancy a gentleman usher skilled at jousting (Egerton, for example, was a man of physical prowess) could become one of the king's boon companions. (124) Tournament ceremonial, elaborate costumes and the emphasis placed upon skill in the tilt yard by the king could put a



gentleman usher in an influential position. The rise of the 'minions' did not disrupt the king's relations with established men of the court and skill in the tilt yard was an important political asset.

Carvers, sewers and cupbearers, who waited upon the king at meal-times, retained their importance and figured prominently in the jousts. In December 1521 the king designated twenty-four courtiers to attend upon him at dinner and they represented in effect a group of boon companions. This list was probably drawn up to fill gaps caused by servants absent on royal business but there is no concrete evidence either way. Members of the privy chamber made up the nucleus of this group: Francis Bryan was entered as a cupbearer, Nicholas Carew as a carver and Sir Edward Neville as a sewer. (125) The rest were known to Henry, men who had jousted alongside the king: Arthur Plantagenet, Geoffery Gates, John Carr and Edward Walsingham. (126)

Whilst the queen's gentlewomen played an important role in court masks only one gentleman in her household is recorded as having taken part in the king's military feats. John Pointz is listed as sewer to the queen in the chamber list accompanying the Eltham Ordinances of 1526 and enjoyed a high profile in the assault on the Castle of Loyaltie on 2nd January 1525. (127) He was one of the attackers trying to capture the castle and the scene is recaptured in vivid detail by Edward Hall. Pointz used his sword to dig holes in the bank in order to climb up to the castle and fought a fierce battle with his brother, Francis. Hall's comment on the event: 'there was neuer battail of pleasure, better fought than this was'. (128) Household office showed that a courtier was part of a charmed circle, but court connections were more important than anything else. Pointz's brother, Francis, had been a member of the privy chamber and his father had been

vice-chamberlain to the queen in 1509. (129)

The promotion of Henry's favourites to senior posts in the household imbued these positions with a new importance during the 1520s. When not on diplomatic missions, these men followed the court when the king went on progress. Fitzwilliam, who became treasurer of the household in 1525, had jousted alongside the king in July 1517 and acted as a knight waiter in the prestigious jousts of May 1516. The gentlemen of the privy chamber might have been physically closer to the king but Fitzwilliam enjoyed not merely the king's favour but the cardinal's ear and a seat on the council. It is a mistake to argue that all positions outside the privy chamber went into terminal decline after the establishment of this new department in the chamber. Fitzwilliam was also an able diplomat and went on four embassies abroad - with three visits to France and a special embassy to Margaret of Savoy. When Wolsey sent him on these diplomatic missions, he was not jealous of Fitzwilliam's friendship with the king but needed someone competent for delicate negotiations. Fitzwilliam's importance was emphasised when he was elected to the order of the Garter in 1526 and then succeeded Sir Thomas More as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in 1529. Fitzwilliam was not Henry's only 'boon companion' to be promoted to a senior position in the household. Henry Guildford, who had been particularly prominent in the jousts and revels throughout the first ten years of Henry's reign, became comptroller of the household in 1521. (130)

Appendix IV highlights the importance of the extraordinary members of the king's chamber. The chamber was composed of ordinary members i.e. those paid by the exchequer, the counting-house or the treasurer of the chamber and extraordinary servants i.e. those sworn to the king's service but without wages. The majority of those who joined the king in the tilt

yard were knights or esquires of the body, men sworn to Henry but not in receipt of wages. The whole subject of the extraordinary household has remained obscure and has been largely ignored by court historians. The fact that so many of these honorary servants took part in the court's festivities suggests that they were more important than hitherto thought. It is difficult to make generalisations about such a large and amorphous group of royal servants but their significance is beyond question. The household lists which survive were either left out of Letters and Papers or misdated, leading to inaccuracy and confusion. (131) The significance of the extraordinary officers of the chamber will be discussed before going on to examine their role in the joust. One in ten jousters was a nobleman, a small proportion received wages as members of the privy chamber or chamber and the rest were servants of the king without wages. Servants paid by the king formed only a very small proportion of those sworn to Henry by the lord chamberlain as Table B reveals.

Table B Number of servants (extraordinary) sworn to the king 1509-36.

<u>Date.</u>	<u>Knight.</u>	<u>Esquire.</u>	<u>Gentlemen Ushers.</u>	<u>Sewers.</u>	<u>Sewer of Chamber</u>	<u>Grooms.</u>	<u>Cup bearers.</u>
1509	56	68	59	1	20	60	
1519			104	37		54	1
1525	183	151	134	100		75	10
1536	103	73	48	14	20	6	1

Number of servants (ordinary) paid by the king 1509-36.

1509		4	12	4	6	15
1536	-	4	12	4	6	18

Whilst the number of ordinary servants remained stable throughout this period the number of the extraordinary servants varied considerably. The

list of 1525 is somewhat misleading as it represents a compilation of household lists between 1509 and 1525 and was probably drawn up when Worcester was preparing to hand over the post of chamberlain to William Sandys. (132) Moreover, the list includes all men sworn to the king including those with paid positions in the household. This is the only list of its kind and, in effect, sets out the king's affinity. As many as one hundred and eighty-three knights were sworn to the king between 1509 and 1525. It has been suggested that there were two hundred and fifty knights in England between 1509 and 1514 and two hundred between 1519 and 1526. (133) If this were the case then a very large proportion of the knights in England were sworn to the crown. All of the crown servants are listed under their county of origin and reflect those men Henry and Wolsey believed they could trust. Courtiers were deliberately drawn from every county in the realm to consolidate royal authority and to ensure that at least some of the leading knights of the shires were crown servants.

It is no coincidence that the largest number of servants sworn to the king lived in the county of Yorkshire. Twenty-two knights, fifteen esquires and nine gentlemen ushers were sworn to the king. (134) This was a large number in comparison with other counties. The total number of knights in Dorset, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Derbyshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Berkshire, Cornwall, Hertfordshire and Herefordshire were equal to the number of knights in Yorkshire. (135) This is not surprising and illustrates very aptly the king's and cardinal's policy towards the north. By ensuring the loyalty of the leading knights of the county they reinforced the power of the crown in the north. Between 1490 and 1520 'there was a significant movement among the younger generation of northern gentry to seek the king's favour'. (136)

Increasingly these knights owed their allegiance to the crown instead of performing service to one of the great magnates in the north. (137)

Knights sworn to the king were expected to uphold royal authority in their county. The process had begun under Henry VII and this was considerably expanded by his son.

No gentleman usher or groom extraordinary was included in any of the jousts and they can be despatched relatively quickly. As Table B shows in 1519 one hundred and four gentlemen ushers were without wages as opposed to twelve ordinary servants. The demand for places at court dramatically outstretched supply and this was one cheap way of ensuring loyalty without having to pay for it. From the courtier's point of view it was a great honour to be a royal servant, even if the title was purely honorary, and it considerably enhanced his standing in the locality. When places became vacant amongst the ordinary servants those without wages were the first to be promoted. In 1519, for example, Henry Ardern and Robert Acton were grooms of the chamber without wages; by 1526 they were members of the ordinary chamber. (138) By 1536 the gentlemen ushers extraordinary included at least one refugee from Wolsey's household - Miles Forest had been a gentleman usher with the cardinal before Wolsey's fall in 1529. (139)

Throughout the first half of Henry VIII's reign there was a group of men who did not hold paid office at court but nonetheless were sworn to the king and invited to join in the jousts. The tournament of December 1524 to January 1525 provides a very good illustration of this. Of the challengers, William Cary and Anthony Brown were gentlemen of the privy chamber, Oliver Manners was a sewer but otherwise the rest of the team were all sworn to the king without wages. John Dudley, Edward Seymour and

Thomas Wyatt were all esquires of the body by 1524. (140) George Cobham was a knight of the body and Lord Leonard Grey a sewer without wages. (141) The answerers on the other hand were men already established in the king's favour: the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Devon, Lord Ros and men from the privy chamber (Nicholas Carew, Francis Bryan, Henry Norris, Anthony Knyvet and Francis Pointz). (142) As Appendix IV shows, the situation in this tournament was far from unique and knights and esquires of the body took part in every joust throughout Henry's jousting career.

All knights of the body were unpaid during the reign of Henry VIII. When the four knights were placed in the privy chamber by Wolsey in 1519, they were given annuities by the king but were not included on the payroll. (143) Four esquires of the body continued to receive wages throughout the period and at least three of these men were prominent in the jousts. Sir William Sydney jousted with the king on at least two occasions and Arthur Pole and Francis Pointz also held offices in the privy chamber. (144)

The role of knights and esquires of the body at court had changed considerably in the decades preceding 1509. At Edward IV's court, as the name would suggest, they acted as the king's body servants. (145) They slept close to the king at night and were Edward's most intimate servants. The number of knights and esquires of the body rose dramatically as their proximity to the king diminished and the title became more honorary. Dr. Starkey has shown how the privy chamber replaced the knights and esquires as the king's body servants. By 1494 knights of the body were no longer mentioned in an ordinance of that year and instead the king was to be dressed by the esquires. (146) In 1501 they too were no longer admitted to the 'secret' chamber. (147) Dr. Morgan has calculated that there were

ten knights of the body in 1468, and twenty in 1471. In 1483 the number had risen to thirty with approximately thirty to forty esquires of the body. (148) At Henry VII's funeral fifty-six knights were allocated livery and the number of esquires of the body had risen to sixty-eight.

(149) By Henry VII's reign knights of the body no longer received wages in the chamber. (150)

During Henry VIII's reign more knights were sworn to the king than ever before and by 1536 there were one hundred and four knights of the body extraordinary. (151) The honorary title of knight or esquire of the body was bestowed upon a courtier for a variety of different reasons. Firstly, the title was given to young knights or esquires, close to the king, before they achieved court office. Nearly all of the king's favourites early in the reign fitted into this category: Thomas Boleyn, Charles Brandon, Giles Capel, Henry Guildford, to name but a few examples. (152) Secondly, the honour was bestowed when a courtier retired from a paid position at court. Sir William Sydney had been one of the ordinary esquires of the body and after his retirement he was included amongst the extraordinary knights of the body in 1536. (153) Thirdly, many knights and esquires of the body only came to the court infrequently. Their interest was more in local affairs than achieving intimacy with the king or a proper court office. As sworn servants of the crown, however, they continued to represent the interests of the king in the localities.

The increase in the number of knights and esquires of the body during the first half of Henry's reign and the large number of courtiers involved in the joust was all part of the process of politicization of the court. The king needed the attendance of the aristocracy to reinforce his own authority at the court. On the other hand it became increasingly obvious

that fortunes could be made at court. The number of offices in the chamber did not rise very significantly between 1509 and 1536. The size of the privy chamber increased considerably as it became more important as a household department and in 1519 the lord chamberlain recruited eight or ten new grooms for the chamber to replace those who had moved to the privy chamber. (154) Apart from this development it was the extraordinary officers which increased most dramatically during Wolsey's ascendancy and were then apparently cut down in number again after his fall. Whilst the list of 1525 could be misleading, a comparison of the household lists of 1519 and 1536 is very instructive. Of one hundred and four gentlemen ushers without wages in 1519, there were only forty-eight in 1536. Likewise of fifty-four grooms in 1519, there were a mere six seventeen years later. (155) A broad range of royal servants took part in the jousts and other royal pastimes, particularly hunting. A similar process can be observed in the large increase in the number of courtiers who gave New Year's gifts between 1509 and 1532 as the next chapter will show.

A large number of courtiers jousted with the king. Was this a deliberate policy to weld together the interests of the aristocracy and the crown? In any case, it worked very effectively: At one end of the spectrum the king's favourites took part whilst at the other end obscure courtiers fought in the tilt yard. Whilst they might be of little significance at the court, in their own localities they were men of great influence and administered the county. In the opening years of the reign Henry wanted to fight them all in the tilt yard. The series of combats in May and June 1510 illustrate the diversity amongst the participants. A number of knights and esquires of the body were of little consequence at court but their participation provided an important link between the court



and the country. Giles Allington and William Trevenyan were knights of the body, whilst Christopher Willoughly, Edward Hungerford and William Gibbys were esquires. (156) Far from being an idle extravagance, therefore, such tournaments played a very important political role. Apart from impressing foreign dignitaries, Henry also succeeded in leaving an indelible mark upon his subjects - no wonder winning was so important!

There were only a very small number of offices at court suitable for an influential knight of the shire. The expansion and development of the honorary title of knight of the body helped to cement the allegiance of the 'political nation' to the Tudor dynasty. At the end of the reign one hundred and eighteen esquires and sixty-one knights attended Henry VIII's funeral. Other categories of extraordinary servants were still very high and included over one hundred and forty-six yeomen and ninety-two gentlemen ushers. At the coronation of Edward VI, however, the office of knight and esquire of the body was no longer mentioned. (157)

Those courtiers who jousting with the king are also to be found at many of the other great ceremonial occasions at court. At the grand banquet provided by Henry at Greenwich, after the jousts on 7th July 1517, at least twenty-nine of the regular jousting attended the king and his guests. (158) Dr. Starkey has shown how the arrival of the French embassy in London in September 1518 gave the gentlemen of the privy chamber an official position in the court procession, when they were paired off with their French counterparts. (159) In many ways the same could be said for other men particularly close to the king. Of the eleven English 'pensioners', eight were regular jousting, as were six of the 'gentlemen of the palace'. All eight noblemen in the procession were prominent jousting and belonged to an inner court circle. (160) In other words the document very accurately

summarises the position at court in 1518 and those present were held high in the king's esteem.

It is clear that whilst the gentlemen of the privy chamber played an important part in jousts and court revels, a wider section of the court was included in Henry's pastimes. This was certainly true during the first half of the reign and the period covered by Henry's jousting career. What was the situation in the 1530s? The accounts of the privy chamber provide a detailed picture of those who played cards, diced and went shooting with the king. The evidence provided by these accounts is surprising. Between January 1530 and January 1532, thirteen men are named in the accounts and of these only two, Anthony Knyvet and Francis Weston can be positively identified as members of the privy chamber. A third courtier, Sir Edward Seymour was an esquire of the body but shortly to be promoted to the privy chamber. (161)

Those taking part with the king came from very different social backgrounds. The duke of Norfolk played dice with Henry in March 1530, Lord Rochford went shooting with him in July 1531 and William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household, won £4.10s. when he played bowls with the king. (162) It would be expected that these men should be present but other courtiers were less well known. Richard Hill, sergeant of the cellar, won £22.10s. (a very considerable sum) from the king at dice in March 1530 and played cards with Henry in 1531. (163) Unlike the jousts it was expected that the king should lose on occasions when gambling at cards or dice and it formed a kind of royal largesse. In 1512 the situation had got out of control when certain 'craftie persons' about the king had introduced some Frenchmen and Lombards who were skilled at tennis and dice and the king subsequently lost a great deal of money! (164) The privy chamber accounts

record only those occasions when the king lost giving an unfair picture of his ability. In April 1530, for example, Francis Weston beat Henry four times at tennis. (165)

To engage upon a detailed study of the extraordinary servants would be outside the scope of this thesis. What is clear, however, is their significance at the court. It is more important to study who actually attended the king, than to confine oneself merely to a study of those who held paid office. There were not enough paid positions at court to cope with the extra demand, particularly for some of the most eminent knights of the shire. Henry VIII established a large affinity, the court formed a nucleus of this affinity and the extraordinary servants played a major role in reinforcing Henry's power and authority. The king depended upon the loyalty of the leading men in the counties and invited a large number of courtiers to join him in his pastime.

There is little doubt that concrete political advantages accrued from participation with the king in the tilt yard. Those courtiers promoted to the nobility, or to higher ranks within the nobility were able jousts and close to the king at court. The king's boon companions were important politically and used their proximity to the king to advance their own careers. The jousts and other royal pastimes were an important aspect of court life and Henry's own way of exercising his authority over the aristocracy. As one historian has succinctly written

'The king's daily life was itself an aspect of government projecting his power in the ways which appealed to him most'. (166)

Skill with a lance could lead to a wonderful career at court and some of the men who took part in the jousts were relatively unknown. Such an opportunity to ride with the king in a tournament greatly enhanced a

courtier's prestige and his standing both at court and in his county. During the early years of the reign the court was militarised in a way not seen under Henry VII. The emphasis on military prowess and the expansion of the spears were both expressions of Henry's enthusiasm for war and his intention of making a mark on the European stage.

Throughout his reign Henry enjoyed the company of a wide circle of courtiers. Court office was a sign of favour and showed an association with the king but ultimately it is less than helpful in a study of the king's boon companions. Everyone who took part in the king's joust or court revel was a royal servant or enjoyed a close family connection with the household. Apart from that the king could choose whoever he wished to be his partner in the joust. There was no narrow clique of favour but very widespread participation in the king's pastimes as Appendix IV clearly illustrates. Not only did Henry's favourites take part but a wider circle of men including many knights and esquires of the body who were not at court frequently, but provided a crucial link between the king and the localities. Some jousters caught the king's eye more than others, but there was a group of young knights and esquires of the body who were always ready to show off their prowess in the tilt yard. The spears of honour from 1510-1515 provided the closest link between court office and jousting and whilst the gentlemen of the privy chamber played a prominent role in the joust, they were only one part of a much larger circle of boon companions around the king.

Notes and References.

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5. J.G. Sandeman, The Spears of Honour and Gentlemen Pensioners 1509-1550 (Hayling Island, 1912) pp.1-16.  
J.J. Goring, 'The military obligations of the English people, 1511-1558' (London Ph.D. 1955) pp.232-238.  
W.J.Tighe, 'The Gentlemen Pensioners in the reign of Elizabeth I' (Cambridge Ph.D. 1984) p.12.
6. Hall, Chronicle p.512.
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8. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.25 (LP II ii p.1445)
9. S. Pegge, Curialia (London, 1791) pt.2 p.18.
10. Hall, Chronicle p.512.
11. BL Lansdowne MS 818 f.13 (LP I ii 2929)
12. Pegge, Curialia pt.2 p.5.
13. BL Cotton MS Titus A XIII f.186
14. See Appendix VI.
15. BL Cotton MS Titus A XIII f.186
16. E101 56/25 ff.42, 53v. A. Spont, Letters and Papers relating to the War with France 1512-1513, Navy Records Soc., x (London, 1897) pp.81-3.
17. BL Cotton MS Titus A XIII f.188v-9.
18. Ibid. f.189
19. College of Arms MS L 12 ff.10-11 (LP I ii App.9)
20. The spears present on 12th February 1511 were:  
Lord Richard Grey, William Parr,  
Thomas Tyrrel, Christopher Willoughly.  
Robert Morton.
21. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.25v. (LP II ii p.1446)
22. E36 214 f.20. D.R. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber', p.80.
23. The following spears were esquires of the body at the funeral of Henry VII :-  
Anthony Wingfield, William Parr,  
Thomas Tyrrel, Edward Neville,  
Charles Brandon, Giles Capel,  
Wiston Brown, Thomas Parr,  
Edward Don, Edward Howard,  
John Carr, Thomas Cheyney,  
Christopher Willoughly, John Blount,  
Richard Tempest, Thomas Pointz  
John Audeley.  
LC 2/1 ff.120-134. (LP I i 20 pp.12-16)
24. The main exception to this rule was Sir Edward Darrell who was aged 44 in 1509. HC II p.18.
25. HC III pp.638-40.
26. HC I p. 447. W.S. Childe-Pemberton, Elizabeth Blount and Henry VIII with some account of her surroundings, (London, 1913) p.25.
27. Hall, Chronicle p.515 BL Add. MS 21,481 f.25. (LP II ii p.1445)

28. Ibid. p.515
29. BL Additional MS 21,481 f.83 (LP II ii p.1454) Gunn, 'French Wars' p.35
30. Ibid. f.25, (LP II ii p.1445)
31. BL Stowe MS 146 f.57 (LP I ii 1843)
32. Ibid. f.86 (LP I ii 2100) Other examples include William Parr who was also paid by Daunce. Ibid. f.99 (LP I ii 2356)
33. E36 236 f.343 (LP II ii p.1513).
34. Ibid. f.345 (LP II ii p.1514).
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38. Household Ordinances p. 168.
39. In 1516, for example, Wolsey drew up a list of annuities paid by the Crown. SP2 Fol A ff.1-17 (LP II ii 2736)
40. C.J.A. Armstrong, 'The Golden Age of Burgundy' in The Courts of Europe 1400-1800, ed. A.G. Dickens (London, 1977) p.72.
41. B.L. Harleian MS f.4v. Cripps-Day, History of the Tournament, p.xlix
42. Miller, Henry VIII and Nobility, Appendix pp.259-263.
43. October 1519 SP1/19 ff.85-7. (LP III i 491)  
November 1519 SP1/19 ff.117-8. (LP III i 528)  
November 1520 BL Cotton MS vesp. CXIV f.273.  
1524-June 1525 SP1/19 ff.148-9 (LP III i 577) Dr. Starkey has provided these dates in 'Privy Chamber' Appendix A.
44. GEC V pp.138-9.
45. Hall, Chronicle pp.510-511
46. S.Vokes, forthcoming Ph.D, 'The early career of Thomas, Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey and Third Duke of Norfolk 1474-1525'.
47. Montfauçon, Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, IV f.185.
48. E101 418/15 f.26v.
49. Miller, Henry VIII and Nobility, pp.46-7.
50. BL Additional MS 21,116 f.1. (LP III ii 1899) E36 130 f.198v. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber' p.129.
51. See Appendix IV.
52. E101 107/26 f.5v. (LP IV ii 3734[4])
53. E36 218 ff.5-75. (LP III i 152) SP1/19 f.85-7 (LP III i 491)  
SP1/19 f.117-8 (LP III i 528)
54. E36 225 ff.15-241 (LP IV i 1792)
55. SP1/26 f.123v (LP III ii 2636).
56. BL Additional MS 6113 f.61 Arthur Plantagenet was made Viscount Lisle on 26 April 1523. BL Egerton MS 2642 f.9v.
57. HMC Duke of Rutland MS. IV pp.265-6.
58. Ibid. p.265. A bard was traditional horse armour. In tournaments this usually consisted of ornamental cloth. A base was a deep skirt stretching from the waist to the knee.
59. Ibid. p.267.
60. College of Arms MS tournament cheque no.1f.
61. E36 217 ff.27-33 (LP II ii pp.1492-3).
62. Hall, Chronicle p.513
63. Ibid. p.513.
64. See Appendix IV E36 229 f.9,203 E36 217 f.32,184 (LP II ii pp. 1493, 1497, 1500)
65. E36 229 f.203 (LP II ii p.1498).
66. Hall, Chronicle p.526.

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72. E36 217 f.22 (LP II ii p.1492).
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74. Hall, Chronicle p.520.
75. E36 229 f.159 (LP II ii p.1506).
76. Hall, Chronicle pp.517-9.
77. LP I i 82. E36 217 f.32 (LP II ii p.1493)
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79. See Appendix IV
80. Hall, Chronicle p.595.
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82. See Appendix IV
83. Hall, Chronicle p.595.
84. See Appendix IV
85. Hall, Chronicle p.703
86. Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth (London, 1672) p.165.
87. Hall, Chronicle p.580. E36 217 ff.192-4. SP2/Fol.A. no.5 (LP II ii p.1501). The other courtiers in the mummery were:
- |                   |                     |                 |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| The King.         | Duke of Suffolk.    | Nicholas Carew. |
| Henry Guildford.  | Margaret Guildford. | Anne St. Leger. |
| Elizabeth Blount. | Elizabeth Carew.    | Thomas Boleyn.  |
| Master Boleyn.    | Robert Coke.        | William Coffyn. |
- It is unclear as to whether 'master Boleyn' refers to Edward or George. In this context, I believe that Edward is the most likely candidate. George was about 14 at the time and would not have been used as a 'torch bearer'.
88. E36 215 f.125v (LP II ii p.1461) Childe-Pemberton, Elizabeth Blount, p. 25.
89. BL Cotton MS Calig D VI f.155. (LP I ii 3387)
90. Darrell's wife was a daughter of Sir Robert Croft and a sister of Sir Thomas Blount's wife.
91. Hall, Chronicle 595.
92. J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (London, 1968) p.147.
93. LP I i 474.
94. Hall, Chronicle p.580.
95. E36 215 f.225 (LP II ii p.1471).
96. LP XII II 952. Cited by G.R. Elton in 'Tudor Government: the points of contact, iii, The Court', Transactions of Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 26 (1976) p.220.
97. LP III ii 3358. LP VIII 567.
98. SP1/29 f.232 (LP III p.1559) Ives, Anne Boleyn p.47-9.
99. D.R. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber' p.96.
100. Ibid. pp.80-90.
101. Starkey, Henry VIII, p.69
102. CSPV ii 918.
103. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber' p.97.
104. Ibid. p.126.
105. See Appendix IV. Compton was, however, invited to be a knight waiter

- in the joust of May 1516.
106. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber' p.282.
  107. Ibid. Appendix A. Francis Bryan, for example, was a cupbearer in the chamber (SP1/37 f.65 LP IV 1939[8]) and a member of the privy chamber.
  108. BL Additional MS 21,116 f.3.
  109. Ibid. f.7.
  110. For example, the vandalism of the houses of the nobility while the king was on progress. Household Ordinances p.145
  111. Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 1116.
  112. See Appendix IV. Montfauçon, Les Monumens IV f.189.
  113. SP1/37 f.65 Miscalendared in LP under 1526 (LP IV i 1939[8])
  114. LC 2/1 f.125 (LP I i 20 p.13)
  115. D.A.L. Morgan, 'The King's Affinity in the polity of Yorkist England' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, xxiii (1973) p.16.
  116. C82 479, C82 439 (LP II ii 2435, III i 423).
  117. SP1/39 ff.147-8. Miscalendared in LP under 1526 (LP IV ii 2507)
  118. Ibid. f.147.
  119. HMC Twelfth Report Appendix part IV (Duke of Rutland MS) vol.i p.21 Garneys does not appear in the household list of c.1519 SP1/37 f.64-9 (LP IV i 1939[8])
  120. E36 218 f.67 (LP III i 152).
  121. E.W. Ives, 'Patronage at the Court of Henry VIII: The Case of Sir Ralph Egerton of Ridley', Bulletin of the John Ryland University Library of Manchester, lii (1970) p.357.
  122. HMC Twelfth Report Appendix part IV (Duke of Rutland MS) vol.i p.21 Egerton does not appear in the household list of c.1519 SP1/37 f.64-9 (LP IV i 1939[8])
  123. Ives, 'Patronage at the Court of Henry VIII' p.359.
  124. Ibid. p.350.
  125. BL Additional MS 21,116 f.1 Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS B146 f.37v. (LP III ii 1899)
  126. One of the few exceptions to this rule was Sir David Owen who was approaching 70. J. Cromwell, 'The early Tudor gentry', Economic History Review, 2nd series xvii (1965)
  127. LS 13/278 f.155.
  128. Hall, Chronicle p.690.
  129. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber' p.112.
  130. Appendix IV. See below Chapter 7.
  131. Summary of Household Lists 1509-1536.
    - i. 1509 Henry VII's funeral LC 2/1 f.81. (LP I i 20) All servants sworn to the king, whether in wages or unpaid by the crown, were provided with livery for the funeral.
    - ii. 1509 Henry VIII's coronation LC 9/50 ff.154-215 (LP I i 80)
    - iii. c1519 (before May and Wolsey's reorganisation of the privy chamber). SP1/37 ff.64-68v (LP IV 1939[8]) In LP the list is included with the Eltham Ordinances but it clearly dates from 1519. It lists firstly the ordinary servants of the chamber and whether they were to be paid in the exchequer or counting-house. A list of all gentlemen ushers, sewers and grooms out of wages is then given.
    - iv. c1520 (possibly in preparation for the Field of Cloth of Gold) Rutland Papers p.101-3. The list is very similar to the previous one but it includes the four knights of the body of the



- privy chamber and how many servants and horses each officer was permitted.
- v. 1525 E36 130 f.164-231v. This lists all servants sworn to the crown and their county of origin. Under each county all knights esquires, gentlemen ushers, sewers, cupbearers and carvers are listed. At the end there is a list of grooms with their county of origin (f.230v-31v). The names are badly faded but with the help of an ultra-violet lamp all the names become legible. The document is mentioned in LP but no names are given and it is wrongly dated as 1519. (LP III i 578)
  - vi. 1526 List of officers in both the king's and queen's chamber to accompany the Eltham Ordinances. LS 13/278 f.153-7. BL Harleian MS 642 f.143v.
  - vii. 1536 List of all ordinary and extraordinary servants in the king's chamber. BL Royal MS 7F XIV ff100-107. Misdated in LP as 1516 (LP II ii 2735) I am grateful to Dr. Starkey for his help in determining the correct date of this document.
132. E36 130 ff.164-231v. I am very grateful to Miss Helen Miller for showing me this document after the State Papers Index recorded it as missing.
  133. J.P. Cooper 'The Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1436-1700' Economic History Review Second series, xx no.3 (1967) pp.422-3.
  134. E36 130 f.172v-173. Of these knights at least four took part in the king's jousts: Sir Richard Tempest, Sir William Hussey, Sir John Neville and Sir John Melton (See Appendix IV) and one knight was a spear of honour (Sir Anthony Ughtred)
  135. Ibid. ff.169v, 183, 184v, 187v, 193v, 197, 200, 201v, 204v, 209, 215.
  136. D.M. Loades, Politics and the Nation 1450-1660, 3rd ed. (London, 1986) p.140.
  137. R.R. Reid, The King's Council in the North (London, 1921; repr. 1975) p.102.
  138. SP1/37 f.68,68v (LP IV i 1939[81]) LS 13/278 f.154
  139. BL Royal MS 7F XIV f.105 (LP II ii 2735) BL Harleian 620 f.19 E179 69/10
  140. HC III p.669 E36 130 f.195v.
  141. Ibid. f.166v, 183v.
  142. Hall, Chronicle p.688.
  143. Rutland Papers p.101.
  144. SP1/37 f.65 (LP IV 1939[81]) LS 13/278 f.153.
  145. A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV (Manchester, 1959) p.11.
  146. Starkey, 'Privy Chamber' p.17.
  147. Ibid. p.24.
  148. Morgan, 'King's Affinity' p.13.
  149. Table B LC 2/1 ff.81-137. (LP I i 20)
  150. E101 416/11. Four esquires of the body were in wages and a fifth - Richard Weston - was mentioned but received no wages. Ibid. f.2.
  151. BL Royal MS 7F XIV ff.101-3. (LP II ii 2735)
  152. See Appendix IV.
  153. SP1/37 f.65 (LP IV i 1939[81]) BL Royal MS 7F XIV f.102 (LP II ii 2735)
  154. Rutland Papers p.103.
  155. See Table B.
  156. LC 2/1 ff.130, 120. (LP I i 20 p.15, 12) LP I ii 3582(31)

E36 130 f.168.

157. LC 2/2 ff.61-62v, 60v-61, 70-71, 63-64. LC 2/3
158. BL Additional MS 21,116 f.40-4 (LP II ii 3446)
159. Starkey, Henry VIII p.76.
160. BL Harleian 433 f.294v-295. (LP II ii 4409)
161. PPE pp.18-190. BL Royal MS 7F XIV f.100. (LP II ii 2735)
162. Ibid. pp.33, 144, 20.
163. Ibid. pp.32, 113, 115.
164. Hall, Chronicle p.520.
165. PPE p.37.
166. Miller, Henry VIII and Nobility p.79.

## CHAPTER 5.

### NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.

The ritual whereby gifts were exchanged on 1st January each year has been largely ignored by historians. Perhaps it has not been considered sufficiently important to warrant investigation, but in fact it is an important source which can give a new insight into the politics and life of the court. (1) Did New Year's gifts reflect court politics or were they merely part of a conventional tradition devoid of political significance? The practice of giving gifts on New Year's day was an old one, but during Henry VIII's reign it acquired a new importance. The tradition became very widespread and reflected a fundamental change in the significance of the court.

Only one detailed description has survived of the actual presentation of gifts to the king and although Hussey's account dates from 1538, it is equally applicable to the period of Wolsey's ascendancy. John Hussey was Lord Lisle's court agent whilst he served as deputy of Calais and kept him fully informed of all court developments. It was Hussey who actually delivered Lisle's gift to the king each year. The presentation of a New Year's gift helped maintain Lisle's contact with the king.

'... his Grace received it (the gift) of me smiling, and thanking your lordship did ask heartily how you and my lady did. His Grace spake few words that day to those that came. As far as I could perceive he spake to no man so much as he did unto me, which was no more words but this: 'I thank my lord. How doth my lord and my lady? Are they merry?...' The King stood leaning against the cupboard, receiving all things; and Mr. Tuke at the end of the same cupboard, penning all things that were presented' (2)

In this particular year only a few courtiers close to the king watched the arrival of the gifts and according to Hussey the king kept 'but a small court'. This was unusual.

When Hussey delivered Lady Lisle's gift to the queen in 1535 the procedure was somewhat different. He gave the gift to the queen's receiver, Mr. Taylor, on the 31st December and took up his position on the following day to meet the queen herself. Anne asked for information about Lady Lisle who was with her husband in Calais and Hussey was informed that the queen would send her a gift by a servant of her wardrobe. (3)

The New Year at court was celebrated with elaborate festivities and ceremonial and ambassadors were invited to attend and watch the festivities. Tournaments and masks were performed for everyone's entertainment. The French ambassador was invited to court for New Year's day in 1528 and was received by the king and Cardinal Wolsey. (4) At the end of December 1524 the Spanish, Papal, Milanese and Scottish ambassadors were invited to court to witness the entertainments which lasted for two days; although there is no indication that these ambassadors brought gifts for the king. (5) The 1st January was an important ceremonial day in the court calendar and during Wolsey's ascendancy was usually attended by a large number of people. The court was always based at one of the larger palaces - usually Greenwich - in order to accommodate the extra influx of people for the festivities. There were a few exceptions to this and for three years Henry stayed at the small palace of Eltham in order to escape the plague. (6) It is into this context that the exchange of New Year's gifts should be fitted.

The earliest list for Henry VIII's reign which is extant dates from 1st January 1513. Unfortunately it does not represent all the gifts given

by the king for that year, only seventeen people were included at a time when forty-eight gave gifts to the king. (7) This was only a part of the king's New Year's gifts list. Various goldsmiths made the gifts for Henry and this list represents only the work of William Holland. The total cost of these gifts was £223.1.8d. of which more than £194.16.8d. had already been paid in old plate, leaving only £28.5s. to be paid by John Heron, treasurer of the chamber. The total paid out by Heron in January 1513 was £118.18s.10d. and, therefore, at least a further ninety pounds was paid to other goldsmiths, for other New Year's gifts. (8)

By Henry VIII's reign the king's gifts had become standardised and were almost invariably cups, bowls or pots of gilt of varying weights. Gilt objects were made of silver with a gold covering on top which looked very effective from a distance and saved the king a lot of money. The cost of gilt was usually five shillings per ounce (compared with twenty-six shillings for gold) and the cost of each gift can be calculated. (9) This standardisation compares with the practice of mid fifteenth century kings who gave away a variety of different jewels and golden tablets. Many of Henry VI's gifts were from his store and had been given to the king in the previous year. In 1437, for example, Queen Jane, (widow of Henry IV) was given a tablet of gold with a great sapphire in the middle by Henry VI; this had previously been given to the king by the countess of Gloucester.

(10) Several of the larger gifts given by the king in 1513 indicated those high in his affection. The queen received the largest gift, a pair of great pots weighing a staggering five hundred and seventy-five ounces and costing over one hundred and forty-three pounds. Moreover considerable effort had been expended on the making of the queen's gift and William Holland ended his accounts with a plea to be rewarded for his

craftsmanship. £6.13.4d. was duly added to the document by another person. (11) This was the most expensive gift recorded by the accounts which the king gave to anyone during this period. By contrast, the second heaviest gift weighed thirty-four ounces and was given to the archbishop of Canterbury. Henry's gift to the queen was not mere convention but reflected his devotion to her in the early years of the reign.

This early list also provides important evidence on Lady Hastings. She was given the third most expensive gift weighing over thirty ounces, and whilst this was a considerable way behind the queen, it provides a clue to the validity of the report by the Spanish ambassador of the fracas in 1510. (12) Luiz Caroz wrote to Almazan in May 1510 reporting a dispute at court. Two sisters of the duke of Buckingham, Elizabeth wife of Robert Radcliffe (Lord Fitzwalter) and Anne wife of Lord Hastings, had lived at court and attended upon the queen. One of these ladies had reputedly caught the king's eye, but the report is unclear as to which one. In 1513, thirty ounces was an unusually high amount to be given to one of the queen's ladies by Henry suggesting that Lady Hastings was high in the king's affection and probably the lady mentioned in the report. (13) According to the ambassador, William Compton was a party to the intrigue. Lady Fitzwalter informed her brother, the duke of Buckingham of the situation and the duke confronted Compton in his sister's chamber. The king was furious with Buckingham who left the court immediately. Lord Hastings removed his wife to a convent and Lady Fitzwalter was dismissed from the court. (14) There is little reason to doubt the story, although Henry's feelings for Lady Hastings could have been exaggerated. In any case the dispute was quickly forgotten and Lady Fitzwalter forgiven.

Did courtiers who took part in this 'ceremonial' exchange of gifts

visit the court on New Year's day? Unfortunately the lists do not provide a reliable guide as to whether a person was at court. The gifts were delivered by servants, whether the person was at court or at home in his county. Even the queen had her gift delivered by a servant to her husband. (15) Delivering the king's gifts was very profitable and this ensured fierce competition amongst royal servants who were all very keen to deliver his gifts. The duke of Buckingham gave David ap Howell, a yeoman of the king's guard, five pounds when he presented the king's New Year's gift to the duke at Thornbury Castle in January 1520. He gave a similar amount to a servant of the queen for bringing her gift. (16) The countess of Devon rewarded the king's servant who brought Henry's New Year's gift in January 1524 with £3.6.8d. and to the queen's servant she gave £2.13.0d. (17)

The king's New Year's gift list of 1528 was also incomplete and headed 'Newerys gifts geven at Grenewyche to these personnes ensuying'. (18) Only six bishops were mentioned when there should have been twelve or fourteen. Only noblemen with strong connections with the court were included and several major court figures were absent. Henry's illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond was not included, nor Sir John Gage, the vice-chamberlain. Ninety-five people were included on this list when there should have been approximately one hundred and thirty. (19) The largest gift given by Henry was to his sister, the French queen, and this weighed forty-three ounces. Wolsey followed with two gifts with a combined weight of forty ounces. (20) The six bishops received gilt cups weighing from twenty to thirty-one ounces. The thirteen noblemen were given cups pots and 'salts' weighing from eighteen to thirty-one ounces. Eight of these recipients had received promotion either to or within the

nobility during Henry VIII's reign. (21) Eleven knights received gilt varying from thirteen to twenty-seven ounces. Thirty-two ladies - the wives of either leading courtiers or noblemen - received gifts weighing between sixteen and thirty-four ounces.

The tradition of New Year's gifts was not confined to the king. Noblemen exchanged gifts amongst themselves and with other close associates. Lord Ros spent Christmas 1524/5 at the court which was based at Greenwich. According to his accounts he received six gifts, a plume of russet feathers from the earl of Devon, a black velvet bonnet from the countess of Devon, a gilt battleaxe from Mr. Neville and a tuck (i.e. rapier) from Master Manners. (22) The accounts describe only two gifts given by Lord Ros, seven yards of black damask for 'my olde ladye' costing 46s.8d. and a bonnet for Harry Tyrrel. (23) In January 1523 the countess of Devon spent £49.17.0d. on 'Nuyeresgyfts' for that year. (24)

The servants of the king's household and chamber were given financial gifts every New Year's day. Not only the king, but a significant number of leading noblemen and councillors rewarded household servants. In January 1524, the countess of Devon gave New Year's gifts to the king's servants costing a total of £3.10.0d. (25) In the following year Lord Ros' gifts are recorded in greater detail. To the pages of the chamber he gave 20s., to the yeomen ushers 3s.4d., to the officers of the buttery, 6s.8d., to the officers of the pantry 6s.8d., to the henchmen 3s.4d., to the officers of the cellar 10s., and to the cart-takers 6s.8d. (26) A list of eighteen councillors headed by the king and queen gave gifts to the 'officers at arms' in January 1521. Henry gave them six pounds followed by the queen who gave £4.13.4d. The councillors gave gifts ranging from one pound (Wolsey and the bishop of Winchester) to 3s.4d. (William



Fitzwilliam). (27) This was an important perquisite of holding household office and would have substantially increased a courtier's income.

Wolsey did particularly well out of New Year's gifts and in 1519 it was reckoned that the cardinal made fifteen thousand ducats per year out of the exchange of gifts. (28) The first day of January provided an ideal opportunity for courtiers to gain Wolsey's goodwill and favour.

Unfortunately there are few details of gifts given to Wolsey but the examples which survive suggest that they were very impressive. On 26th November 1520, the duke of Buckingham gave a list of instructions to his chancellor. These included the making of a goblet of gold for the king's New Year's gift and a cup of gold with a cover for Wolsey. The latter was to be delivered by Thomas Willoughby. (29) Buckingham ordered an expensive gift for the king and cardinal at a time when he was already in debt to Robert Amadas. The recent discovery of Amadas' inventory taken after his death in 1532 reveals that Buckingham owed the goldsmith two hundred pounds when he was executed in 1521. (30) Likewise members of the cardinal's household were given gifts on New Year's day particularly if they were in a position to intercede with Wolsey. The tradition of New Year's gifts was used by foreign agents to secure their objective. John Joachim, a Cistercian and *maître d'hôtel* of the queen mother of France, was sent to England secretly to try and prepare the ground for an Anglo-French treaty. (31) The Spanish ambassador reported in January 1525 how Joachim had given five hundred gold crowns on New Year's day to Wolsey's confessor, physician and other household servants. This was in addition to what he secretly gave Wolsey. (32)

In a report of 1519 the Venetian ambassador explained how

'on the first day of the year it is customary for his Majesty to make presents to everybody, but the value of those he receives in return

greatly exceeds his own outlay.' (33)

Henry did indeed make a very substantial profit on New Year's gifts, but the amount varied from one individual to another. As one might expect Cardinal Wolsey's gifts to the king were spectacular. The survival of his accounts for plate make it possible to identify how much he spent on the king's New Year's gifts for seven different years. (34) The earliest gift to have been recorded was for January 1518. Wolsey gave Henry a flower of gold set with stones from his own store and a great 'table' diamond with three pearls. The cardinal spent 13s.4d. on the craftsmanship and the total cost was £6.4s.1d. (35) This was very cheap in comparison with Wolsey's other gifts and possibly this is partly accounted for by using jewels from his own store. Throughout the 1520s Wolsey's gifts to the king are more standardised and in each recorded case he gave a cup of gold weighing more than sixty ounces. In each case the craftsmanship was exquisite and cost the cardinal over thirteen pounds for making and decorating the cup. The decorations were usually very intricate and in January 1525 included 'an Anngell and Rooses with a shilde in theyme, and with a Corone Imperiall' (36) Between 1522 and 1527, the cost of these gifts varied from one hundred and seventeen pounds to one hundred and thirty-five pounds, depending upon the cost of the gold which was used and the degree of craftsmanship. (37)

In 1528 and 1529 Wolsey increased the size of his gifts and in both years they cost him one hundred and fifty pounds. (38) By contrast in 1528, Henry gave Wolsey two presents of gilt weighing forty ounces, costing approximately £10.6s.! In other words, in 1528 the cardinal's gift cost almost fifteen times more than that which Henry gave him! As far as the records survive, this was the most expensive gift given to the king and it

was probably a question of political expediency. As early as 1527 there were rumours of Wolsey's imminent fall from power circulating around the court. In May the Spanish ambassador reported that Wolsey feared an 'outbreak' against himself and wrote of speculation that Tunstal would replace him as lord chancellor. (39) When Wolsey returned from France in 1527, he found Anne Boleyn closeted with the king and anything which Wolsey wished to discuss had to be done in her presence. (40) The cardinal, therefore, had to use every opportunity to retain his influence with the king.

Henry made a very substantial profit from his exchange of gifts with Wolsey - almost one hundred and forty pounds in 1528. Such a large disparity, however, was not common. 1532 is the first year for which both the king's New Year's gift list and the list of what he received in return, has survived. The king made a very healthy profit from his bishops. The archbishop of Canterbury gave Henry two gilt pots weighing more than one hundred and eleven ounces and in return received a gilt cup weighing a mere twenty-nine ounces. (41) The bishops of Durham and Exeter gave Henry fifty pounds each and received gilt weighing thirty-five and thirty-three ounces respectively. These cost the king £9.0s.10d. and £8.10s.6d., assuming that the gilt was still at the 1528 price of 5s.2d. per ounce. (42) With other bishops the discrepancy was less marked. The bishops of Hereford and Lincoln both gave twenty pounds and received twenty-four and twenty-eight ounces respectively. (43) Unfortunately the amounts given by bishops to the king in previous years is unknown. Whether these large gifts were the result of the precarious position in which the bishops found themselves in January 1532, cannot be ascertained.

As a rule the king made less of a profit from the exchange of gifts

with his noblemen. The earl of Oxford in 1532 gave Henry ten sovereigns and received a gilt bowl weighing twenty-seven ounces and costing £6.19s.6d. (44) Lower down the social hierarchy the king's profit becomes less, particularly where his favourites were concerned. Thomas Heneage, previously one of Wolsey's servants, and in 1532 a gentleman of the privy chamber gave the king a gilt cup weighing twenty-seven ounces and received one weighing twenty-two ounces. (45)

There was a large variety in the type of gifts given to the king on New Year's day. The two lists of 1532 allow comparisons to be drawn between what Henry gave and what he received in return. Moreover, they provide a detailed insight into the kind of gifts given to the king. Whereas Henry always gave presents of gilt, he received in return all manner of presents ranging from swans to walking sticks. A small proportion of people had gifts of gold, silver or gilt made especially for the occasion. Bishops, abbots and other clergymen employed by the king usually gave gifts of money. Frequently the presents reflected Henry's keen interest in hunting. In 1532 Lady Lucy gave two elaborate greyhound collars, Lady Powes a dozen hawk's hoods of silver and the countess of Westmorland a 'brace of greyhounds'. (46) The king's martial interests were reflected in some of the gifts. Sir Edward Seymour gave the king a sword 'the hilte gilte w[ith] kalendars uppon it'. (47) Henry received a larger amount of clothing and ladies, in particular, were fond of giving the king bonnets and shirts. In January 1526 the marchioness of Exeter, Lady Hastings, Lady Shelton, Lady Wingfield, Lady Guildford and Mistress Norris each gave the king a shirt. (48) Courtiers close to the king also followed suit. The marquis of Exeter gave Henry a bonnet and gold brooch and another member of the privy chamber, Henry Norris, groom of the stool,

gave a shirt to the king. (49)

None of Katherine's New Year's gift lists has survived but one list can be reconstructed from a record of goldsmiths' work completed for the queen in preparation for 1st January 1523. Seven goldsmiths were involved namely Spooner, Wolf, Averil, Latham, Tweselton and Polstede. (50) The weight and price of each gift is recorded together with the name of the recipient and the person who was to deliver the present. This was unique and provides an important insight into how the gifts were distributed. All the queen's presents were delivered by her household servants who could expect large rewards from the recipient. In most cases it was gentlemen ushers or yeomen ushers of the queen's chamber who were given this duty. Men like John Maddison, George Frances, George Sutton, John Glyne, John Harrison who had performed many years of service in the queen's household. (51) Two pages delivered gifts, Lionel Biggins and Hugh Carr, as well as a sewer, David Morgan. (52) Some of the more exalted members of the queen's household also presented gifts to the recipients. Her close friend, Lady Willoughby, delivered the queen's gift to the king's secretary and Lord Mountjoy, her lord chamberlain, delivered the bishop of Llandaff's gift. (53)

The queen's New Year's gift list was very similar to Henry's only somewhat smaller. Katherine gave eighty-eight gifts at a time when the king could expect to receive more than one hundred and nine gifts. (54) Seven bishops and eight noblemen were included in Katherine's list. Wolsey received the largest gift weighing thirty-five and a quarter ounces (£8.16s.3d.) and the duke of Norfolk was a close second with a gift of thirty-four ounces. (55) Did the queen give larger gifts than her husband? The nearest New Year's gift list for Henry was 1528 and a

comparison of the two provides some interesting results. All the bishops, with the exception of the bishop of Llandaff, received larger gifts from the queen. In some cases the difference was quite small but whereas the bishop of Exeter received a cup weighing twenty-six ounces from the king, the queen gave him a cup of thirty-one ounces. (56) Whilst the duke of Suffolk received the same weight from both the king and queen (twenty-nine ounces) the duke of Norfolk received a gilt cup weighing three ounces more from the queen. (57) The people who were held high in the queen's regard were given larger gifts by her than the king; otherwise it was usual for the queen to give smaller gifts.

To the vast majority of people the queen gave an assortment of gilt pots, cups and spoons. Of particular interest is a list of ten women at the end of the document who were given presents from the queen's own store. They represented some of the most eminent ladies of the court and included the French queen, the marchioness of Dorset, the countess of Salisbury and the duchess of Norfolk. The French queen was given a gold ring with a heart shaped diamond and nine rubies which the bishop of Carlisle had given to the queen on New Year's day 1522. Likewise, Lady Darrell was given a pomander presented by the earl of Shrewsbury in the previous year. Several gifts had religious themes and Lady Fitzwilliam was given a gold pomander enamelled with the passion of Christ which had been a present from the earl of Devon. (58)

Katherine used the tradition of New Year's gifts in January 1531 to make a political point. The king had decided not to give Katherine or any of her ladies a gift and ordered his courtiers to follow suit. Undeterred, Katherine gave a very fine gold cup to a gentleman of the privy chamber which was to be presented to the king. At first Henry was very

angry that the gentleman had accepted the gift but several hours later asked to see the cup again. The king had suddenly realised that if he did not keep the cup Katherine could present it again in front of the rest of the court causing maximum embarrassment. No gift could be presented after 1st January and the king ordered the cup to be returned in the evening by which time the queen would be powerless to take any further action. (59) The ambassador reported that Henry also decided not to send a gift to his daughter Mary. This may have been the case, but in the following year Henry gave her several gilt presents weighing two hundred and eighteen ounces. (60)

The New Year's gift list of 1532 provides an opportunity to assess the situation after Wolsey's fall from power and his subsequent death. It differs greatly from the list of 1528 in a number of ways. The most obvious difference is the size of the two lists. In 1528 ninety-five people received gifts from the king and although this list is probably incomplete, in 1532 the number stood at one hundred and seventy-two. (61) The latter also reflected the changing structure of the court. Five of Anne's attendants received gifts and there was no mention of Katherine's ladies. (62) Henry was more generous in 1532 with the size of the gifts which he gave away, especially with members of his immediate family. His sister, Mary, was given gilt pots and a cup weighing more than one hundred and one ounces in comparison with the present of forty-three ounces which she received three years earlier. (63) Henry's illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond, was given gilt weighing ninety-five ounces and his mother Lady Elizabeth Tailboys was given a gilt goblet with a cover weighing thirty-five ounces. Other recipients also fared better. (64)

The leading councillors around the king who tried to fill the power

vacuum left by Wolsey's fall all did substantially better. (65) Stephen Gardiner, recently promoted to the see of Winchester, was given a gift weighing sixty-two ounces - an unusually high amount for a bishop. The duke of Norfolk received a gilt present of thirty-seven ounces, the duke of Suffolk thirty-six ounces, the earl of Wiltshire thirty-eight ounces and the lord chamberlain (Lord Sandys) forty-five ounces. (66) Henry Norris, groom of the stool, did particularly well receiving three gifts weighing more than sixty-six ounces. These consisted of a gilt bowl, a gilt cruse and a gilt goblet each with its own cover. This was an unprecedented amount for a member of the privy chamber and reflects Henry's favour. Norris only gave the king a cup weighing forty-nine ounces and this represents one of the rare occasions when a courtier actually made a profit out of the king. (67) It is not immediately clear why Henry's gifts should have been more generous after Wolsey's fall. Possibly Wolsey himself exercised a restraining hand during the years of an aggressive and expensive foreign policy. Wolsey's fall had allowed other councillors, particularly Gardiner and the noble faction at court, led by Norfolk and Suffolk, to play a greater role in government. Moreover, not everyone received more generous gifts and these higher amounts denoted royal favour.

Henry's two children also took part in the ceremonial exchange of New Year's gifts during Wolsey's ascendancy. Initially, servants bringing gifts to Princess Mary were rewarded by the treasurer of the king's chamber. In January 1518, when the princess was almost two years old, the cardinal gave her a gold cup, the French queen a pomander of gold and four other ladies presented gifts. (68) By 1523 the servants were rewarded by the princess' treasurer. John Gostwick, Wolsey's servant, delivered a saucer of gold and a 'berall' to the princess. The countess of Devon sent



Mary a silver gilt image of the Blessed Virgin and the duke of Norfolk gave the child a silver cup. (69) In January 1525 Wolsey gave Henry Fitzroy a 'karknett' and a hanging pearl worth £6.18s.8d. (70) 1525 represented a turning point. Henry Fitzroy was made duke of Richmond and was sent to Yorkshire whilst Mary was sent to Ludlow; both were given vice-regal households. There was some confusion as to who should be sent gifts and how large these presents should be. The princess' council wrote on 27th November to ask the cardinal whether they should send him a gift and another to the king. (71) The duke of Richmond's council, writing on 5th November 1526, from Sheriff Hutton, informed Wolsey that they intended to send the king a gift but were unsure as to whether they should send a gift to the queen, the duke of Suffolk and his wife, the duke of Norfolk and the marquises of Exeter and Dorset. (72)

Although only four New Year's gifts lists survive for the period 1509-1532, the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber can be used to determine how many courtiers were giving gifts to the king each year as Table A shows. (73) All gifts were delivered to the king by servants and he rewarded each one depending upon his master's status. When a cardinal gave a gift to the king the servant was given 66s.8d. The servant of a bishop received anything from 13s.6d. to 40s. and all these payments were recorded by the treasurer of the chamber each January. (74) This is a valuable source and although it is probably not completely accurate it is a very helpful guide. As far as the records are extant, there is no indication that any rewards were paid to servants for delivering gifts from the privy purse account. (75)

TABLE A.

Number of people giving gifts to the King 1507-1532.

Henry VII		
1507	29	E36 214 f.213.
1509	23	E36 214 f.314.
Henry VIII		
1510	30	BL Add. MS 21,481 f.20v - 21
1511	35	f.49 - 49v.
1512	33	f.78 - 78v.
1513	48	f.110v - 111v.
1514	49	f.141 - 141v.
1515	52	f.176 - 177.
1516	60	ff.209v - 210v.
1517	72	ff.244v - 245v.
1518	73	ff.278v - 279v.
1519	68	E36 216 f. 58 - 60
1520	94	ff. 144 - 148
1521	109	ff. 234 - 237
1529	131	E101 420/11 ff.14 - 15v.
1530	133	ff.72v- 74:
1531	131	ff.147-149.
1532	172	E101 420/15 ff.1 - 6

One of the most striking features of this source, as Table A shows, is the dramatic rise in the number of people giving gifts to the king during the first half of Henry VIII's reign. In 1510 thirty people gave gifts to the king and by 1532 the number had risen to one hundred and seventy-two. There had been a very gradual increase in the number of people giving gifts to the king in the fifteenth century. In 1437 Henry VI gave sixteen New Year's gifts and by 1507 Henry VII received twenty-nine presents. (76) During the first year of Henry VIII's reign there was little change in this pattern. It had taken seventy years for the number of recipients to almost double, but in the first six years of Henry VIII's reign the number of people giving gifts to the king doubled and by 1532 the number had increased six-fold. The number of people giving gifts to the sovereign continued to rise and by 1557 two hundred and ninety-six men and women

received gifts from Mary. (77) What caused this inexorable rise? To what extent was this nurtured by the Tudors or was it a spontaneous action?

This development of the practice of giving gifts on 1st January was symptomatic of the politicization of the court under the Tudors. It reflected a growing awareness of the importance of the court as a source of profit and reward. It was during the first half of Henry VIII's reign that this tradition became an important court ceremony which incorporated men and women from the whole spectrum of the court. Cardinal Wolsey helped to make the tradition more widespread. He was probably interested, not only in the profit which would accrue to both the king and himself, but also in the additional prestige. Traditionally the king gave New Year's gifts to members of the royal family and to the great noblemen and prelates of the realm with the occasional courtier being included on the list. In 1437 only two men were included: Richard Peaty, dean of the Chapel Royal and Robert Roleston, a servant in the wardrobe. (78) The same was true of Henry VII's and the first few years of Henry VIII's reign. By 1532 the whole court took part in the tradition and included many obscure men from the lower ranks of the chamber.

TABLE B

	<u>1510</u>	<u>1511</u>	<u>1512</u>	<u>1513</u>	<u>1514</u>	<u>1515</u>	<u>1516</u>	<u>1517</u>
Bishops	12	12	14	12	14	14	13	13
Noblemen	9	10	10	15	14	17	16	19
Courtiers	5	6	4	4	4	8	8	13
Ladies	0	0	0	6	8	6	12	12
	<u>1518</u>	<u>1519</u>	<u>1520</u>	<u>1521</u>	<u>1529</u>	<u>1530</u>	<u>1531</u>	<u>1532</u>
Bishops	15	12	14	14	12	11	12	14
Noblemen	18	18	23	18	22	27	31	31
Courtiers	16	11	28	34	31	35	31	56
Ladies	13	14	22	26	35	43	42	31

Table B shows which parts of the court were responsible for the dramatic expansion of the 'ceremony'. (79) The number of prelates giving gifts to the king had changed relatively little by 1532. Twelve servants were rewarded for bringing gifts to the king in 1510 and in 1532 fourteen prelates gave gifts to the king. The number of noblemen increased from nine to thirty-one in the same period. In 1510 only a small proportion of the nobility gave gifts and even those closely associated with the court were absent from the treasurer of the chamber's accounts. (80) Those noblemen who had traditionally given gifts continued to do so. The earl of Northumberland, the earl of Derby and the earl of Shrewsbury (who was also the lord steward of the household) gave gifts in 1507 and continued to do so throughout Henry VIII's reign. (81) By 1531 a greater range of noblemen gave gifts and these included all those courtiers who had been enobled by Henry VIII.

In 1510, with the exception of the queen, no ladies were recorded as having given gifts to Henry. Throughout his father's reign only ladies from the king's immediate family gave gifts. (82) According to the evidence of the chamber accounts no ladies gave gifts until 1513 when six were included on the list. At first they were the wives of the leading noblemen but gradually the number increased and incorporated wives of courtiers and in 1521 there was the first mention of the queen's gentlewomen including Mistress Reading and Mistress Philip. (83) The number peaked in 1530 with a total of forty-three ladies and then fell back to thirty-one in 1532. Katherine's gentlewomen were not included on the 1532 list and this was one of the reasons for the drop in number. (84)

The number of courtiers rose from just five in 1510 to thirty-four in 1521 and to fifty-six by 1532. Before Henry VIII's reign it was common

for a few courtiers (i.e. office holders at court below the rank of nobleman) to give New Year's gifts. Thomas Brandon gave Henry VII a gift in the last three years of his reign and likewise John Hussey in 1508. (85) Otherwise giving New Year's gifts to the monarch was the preserve of noblemen, bishops and the royal family. During the first half of Henry VIII's reign there was a dramatic change in this practice and by 1532 many officers of the chamber who were of little importance were giving gifts. It was courtiers close to the king who initially started to present gifts to him in the 1510s, men like Charles Brandon, William Compton, John Pechey and John Raynesford.

TABLE C.

List of courtiers who gave gifts to the king and the year in which they joined in this ceremonial exchange (1510-1521).

1510	Charles Brandon , John Hussey.
1511	John Raynesford.
1513	John Pechey, William Compton.
1514	Andrew Windsor.
1515	Edward Neville, John Carr, John Cutt, Stephen Jenyus.
1516	Giles Capel, William Sydney, Henry Guildford.
1517	Sir Thomas of the Larder, Francis Bryan, Henry Sherbourne, Thomas Boleyn.
1518	John Sharpe, Humphrey Bannister, William Sandys, Thomas Tempest, Nicholas Carew.
1519	Edward Darrell.
1520	Henry Norris.
1521	William Parr, Richard Weston, Nicholas Vaux, William Kingston.

A large proportion of these men also featured in the jousts and masks.

(86) They came from the same background at court and consisted mainly of members of the privy chamber and the knights and esquires of the body extraordinary. William Compton, the groom of the stool, was first recorded presenting a gift to the king in 1513. (87) William Sydney was

the first esquire of the body (ordinary) to give a gift to Henry in 1516.

(88) There was one surprising aspect in the early part of the reign when 'Sir Thomas of the Larder' started giving gifts in 1517. (89) In this year it suggests that men of the household could join the intimate circle of courtiers around the king.

By 1529 twenty-six men sworn to serve the king in the chamber presented New Year's gifts to Henry. All these men were close to the king, even if they were extraordinary servants of the crown. Sir Edward Seymour was an esquire of the body extraordinary but he enjoyed the king's favour. (90) 1529 was the first year that gentlemen ushers were recorded taking part in the ceremonial exchange of gifts with the king. John Cavalcanti, a merchant of Florence, and a gentleman usher of the chamber presented a gift to the king and likewise Robert Lee. (91) By 1532 the practice had become far more widespread and did not indicate particular favour with the king. (92)

The exchange of New Year's gifts was an old custom but one which received a new stimulus during Wolsey's ascendancy. Some gifts were conventional, particularly Henry's gifts to some of the bishops. The weight of each gift was very precisely recorded and those high in the king's favour received the heaviest and consequently the most expensive gifts. Whilst the value of the present did reflect to some extent the recipient's status, there was no natural progression from the most eminent of the realm to the lowest courtier. Those who enjoyed the king's favour received greater amounts in relation to their status. Henry did profit considerably from the exchange of gifts but this additional income was not very accessible. Whilst prelates on the whole gave the king money, this was the exception rather than the rule. Gilt presents could be melted

down by the king and some presents were probably given away the following year, as was practised by the queen, although there is no evidence of this.

Under Henry VII, and increasingly under Henry VIII, the court was seen as a natural focus which unified the upper classes and cemented their allegiance to the crown. The dramatic rise in the number of people who took part in the exchange of New Year's gifts reflected the position of the court in society. As the practice became more widespread at all levels of the court, it reflected a growing awareness of the profit, prestige and influence which could accrue from a career at court. It reflected a greater degree of interaction between the king and his servants right across the spectrum. At a time when the structure of the court was developing to allow the king greater privacy, nevertheless, Henry and Wolsey encouraged a far greater degree of participation in an old ritual. They provided the conditions whereby the exchange of New Year's gifts could expand and snowball as courtiers emulated the practice of the leading noblemen and councillors. New Year's gifts lists are a very useful source and one that deserves greater attention. The ceremony was an important event at court which not only reflected, but also interacted with, the politics of the court.

Notes and References.

1. Mrs. Glanville is working on Goldsmiths and has an article and book close to publication. P. Glanville, 'Goldsmiths' work in the age of Wolsey' in S. Gunn and P. Lindley ed. Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art (Cambridge, forthcoming).
2. M. St. Clare Bryne, The Lisle Letters, (London, Chicago, 1981) no. 1086. (LP XIII i 24)
3. Ibid. II p.373 no. 302.
4. AAJB pp.82-3 (LP IV ii 3757).
5. CSPS III i 1. There is only one recorded instance of a foreign ambassador giving the king a New Year's gift. In 1521 Henry rewarded the servant of the papal ambassador for bringing his master's gift. E36 216 f.236.
6. Between 1510 and 1529 the king spent Christmas eleven times at Greenwich, three times at Windsor, three times at Eltham and twice at Richmond. Appendix I.
7. SP1/229 f.104. (LP I i 1549). BL Additional MS. 21,481 f.110v.
8. Ibid. f.104 LP II ii p.1459. In 1517 a total of five goldsmiths made the king's New Year's gifts. BL Additional MS. 21,481 f.247v.
9. In 1528 the cost of gilt used by the king rose to 5s.2d. per ounce. E101 420/4.
10. BL Cotton MS. Cleo. F. 1V f.124-5 Printed in S. Bentley, Excerpta Historica (London, 1831) p.149.
11. SP1/229 f.104v. (LP I i 1549).
12. LP I i 474.
13. 1513 was the first year that Lady Hastings and Lady Fitzwalter were recorded giving a gift to the king. BL Additional MS.21,481 f.110v.
14. LP I i 474.
15. BL Additional MS. 21,481 ff.49, 78, 110v, 141, 176, 210, 245, 279 E36 216 ff.145, 235.
16. E36 220 ff.14,15 (LP III ii 1285 p.500).
17. E36 223 f.83 (LP IV i 771 p.341).
18. E101 420/4 m.1 (LP IV ii 3748).
19. E101 420/11 ff.14-15v. (see Table B.)
20. E101 420/4 m.2,1
21. The duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Rutland, Viscount Fitzwalter, Viscount Rochford, Viscount Lisle, Lord Sandys.
22. HMC Duke of Rutland vol.IV p.267.
23. Ibid. p.267.
24. SP1/28 f.221 (LP III ii 3370).
25. LP IV i 771 p.341.
26. HMC Duke of Rutland vol.IV p.266.
27. BL Harleian MS 369 f.96.
28. CSPV II 1287 p.560.
29. BL Cotton MS Tit. B. I f.171. (LP III i 1070)
30. PROB 2/486. I am grateful to Mrs. P. Glanville for bringing this inventory to my notice
31. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp.139-140.
32. CSPS III i 2 p.11.
33. CSPV II 1287 p.559.
34. E36 171 f.56-100 (LP IV iii 6748(5,6,7)) Printed in:



J. Gutch, Collectanea Curiosa or Miscellaneous tracts relating to the History and Antiquities of England and Ireland, the University of Oxford and Cambridge and a variety of other subjects. (Oxford, 1781) pp.283-344.

35. Ibid. ff.56-56v.  
36. Ibid. f.71  
37. 1522          66 ounces                  £135.11. 1d.                  Ibid f.59.  
         1525          61 ounces                  £117.17. 6d.                  f.71.  
         1526          63 ounces                  £131. 5. 5d.                  f.89v.  
         1527          58 ounces                  £135.10. 6d.                  f.90.  
38. Ibid. ff.91, 98v  
39. CSPS III ii 69 p.193.  
40. CSPS III ii 224 p.432.  
41. E101 420/15 ff.6,1. (LP V 686)  
42. Ibid. ff.6, 1. E101 420/4 m.1.  
43. Ibid. ff.6, 1.  
44. Ibid. f.2  
45. E101 420/15 ff.2v, 5. (LP V 686)  
46. Ibid. f.4v  
47. Ibid. f.3v.  
48. SP1/19 f.27 (LP IV i 1906)  
49. Ibid. f.27  
50. SP1/233 f.200. (LP Addenda I i 367)  
51. John Maddison, yeoman usher of the queen's chamber. E36 232 f.1.  
    LS 13/278 f.156.  
    George Frances, gentleman usher LP III ii 2297(6), 2415(8),  
    BL Cotton MS. Vesp. CXIV f.239  
    George Sutton, gentleman usher, BL Additional MS. 21,116 f.40  
    (LP II ii 3446) LP III i 716(12) BL Cotton MS. Vesp. CXIV f.239.  
    John Glyne, gentleman waiter to the queen, BL Cotton MS.Vesp.CXIV f239  
    John Harrison, yeoman usher, E36 232 f.5.  
52. Lionel Biggins, page of the queen's chamber, E179 69/24.  
    Hugh Carr, page of the queen's chamber, E179 69/24 (LP IV ii 2972)  
    E179 69/15, LS 13/278 f.156.  
    David Morgan, sewer of the chamber, LS 13/278 f.156.  
53. SP1/233 f.203v, 212 (LP Addenda I i 367)  
54. E36 216 f.234.  
55. SP1/233 f.211v.  
56. E101 420/4. SP1/233 f.202v.  
57. Ibid. ff.203,203v.  
58. Ibid. ff.222-222v  
59. CSPS IV ii pp.353-4.  
60. E101 420/15 f.1.  
61. Ibid. ff.1-5 E101 420/4 (LP IV ii 3748)  
62. There is no reference to Anne's ladies giving gifts to the king.  
    E101 420/15 passim.  
63. Ibid. f.1 E101 420/4 m.1 (LP IV ii 3748)  
64. E101 420/15 f.2,3.  
65. In 1528 the duke of Norfolk received a gilt cup weighing thirty-one  
    ounces, the duke of Suffolk twenty-nine ounces, Lord Sandys thirty  
    ounces and Henry Norris twenty-six ounces. E101 420/4 m.1.  
66. E101 420/15 f.1,2.  
67. Ibid. f.5,2v.  
68. BL Additional 21,481 f.280. The other four ladies were the countesses

- of Devon and Norfolk, and Ladies Darrell and Mountjoy.
69. LP III ii 3375 p.1409
  70. E36 171 f.71.
  71. BL Cotton MS Vesp. F XIII f.134 (LP IV i 1785)
  72. BL Cotton MS Calig. BVI f.79 (LP IV ii 2608)
  73. There was one other New Year's gift list but unfortunately the document is very badly mutilated. E101 425/6.
  74. BL Additional MS. 21,481 E36 215 (LP II ii pp.1441-1480) The rewards paid by the king to each servant who brought him a New Year's gift are not calendared in Letters and Papers for the years 1509-1518.
  75. PPE passim.
  76. Bentley, Excerpta Historica pp.148-150.
  77. BL RP/294
  78. Bentley, op. cit. p.150.
  79. The category of 'Ladies' in Table B includes: the queen's gentlewomen, and the wives of noblemen and courtiers.
  80. For example, the earl of Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Burgavenny. BL Additional MS. 21,481 f20v-21.
  81. E36 214 f.123.
  82. E36 214 ff.123, 314.
  83. BL Additional MS. 21,481 f.110v. E36 216 f.335.
  84. E101 420/15 ff.4v-5v
  85. E36 214 ff.123, 229, 315.
  86. See Appendix IV.
  87. BL Additional MS. 21,481 f.110v.
  88. Ibid. f.210v.
  89. Ibid. f.245v.
  90. LP IV iii 6654(20)
  91. E101 420/11 f.15v. LP III ii 2214(20) Robert Lee was assessed under the wafery in the subsidy list of 1524. E179 69/23 (LP IV i 136)
  92. Rawlings, a spear of Calais gave Henry a gift in 1532.

## CHAPTER 6.

### Cardinal Wolsey's Itinerary.

The main political significance of Wolsey's itinerary is its relationship to the king's itinerary. How often did they meet? How far were king and minister apart? Such questions are central to an understanding of Wolsey's relationship with the court. A comparison of the two itineraries can shed new light on how Wolsey and Henry worked together and thus on the politics at the very centre of the court.

Wolsey's itinerary was largely determined by his residences and his position as chancellor. It is important, in this context, to have a clear idea of his residences and when he acquired them. In 1509 Henry VIII rewarded Wolsey by granting him Sir Richard Empson's house at Bridewell. Empson was found guilty on 1st October and six days later Wolsey was granted the king's interest in St. Bride's vicarage which Empson had leased from Westminster Abbey. On 20th October, Wolsey acquired land accompanying the house when he was granted the messuages, orchards and twelve gardens which Thomas Docwra, prior of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem had demised to Empson for ninety-nine years. (1) This was Wolsey's first London house and provided an invaluable base from which he could operate. In June 1513 Wolsey was in residence and wrote to Lord Thomas Howard from his 'pour hose at Brydewell'. (2) In these early years Wolsey was frequently at court and according to Cavendish 'daily attended upon the king'. (3) In 1511 he acted as Bishop Fox's court agent, advising him of the events at court and in September he encouraged

the bishop to attend. (4) Wolsey followed the king to France in 1513 and was at the siege of Thérouanne. His rise to power was very swift but it was not until 1514, when he exchanged the bishopric of Lincoln for the archbishopric of York, that he acquired his first palatial residence in London.

York Place had been the London residence of the archbishop of York since the thirteenth century and it was to become Wolsey's principal palace. He was in residence by November 1514 when he wrote his first letter from York Place. (5) Wolsey added to the archbishop's palace and in the years 1516 and 1517 he spent over one thousand two hundred pounds on Hampton Court and York Place. (6) By 1519 he had transformed York Place into a very impressive palace and the centre of his power. It was here that Wolsey received ambassadors amidst opulent splendour. The Venetian ambassador provides ample evidence for this, he reported that York Place was indeed a very fine palace,

'where one traversed eight rooms before reaching his (Wolsey's) audience chamber. They were hung with tapestries which were changed once a week. Wherever he was he always had a sideboard of plate worth 25,000 ducats.' (7)

When not at court, Wolsey remained at York Place throughout 1515. Its proximity to Westminster was invaluable and when Parliament opened there on 5th January, Wolsey had only a very short distance to travel each day. According to the Journals of the House of Lords he frequently attended the parliamentary session throughout February and early March. (8) In December 1515 archbishop Warham resigned and Wolsey became the new chancellor and York Place was ideally suited for the cardinal's work at Westminster. During the law term he remained at York Place and each day rode to Westminster in a solemn procession. The Great Seal was carried

before him together with his cardinal's hat

'When he (Wolsey) was mounted, with his cross-bearers and pillar-bearers also, upon great horses trapped with red scarlet, then marched he forward with his train and furniture in manner as I have declared, having about him four footmen with gilt pole-axes in their hands; and thus he went until he came to Westminster Hall door. And there lighted and went after this manner up through the hall into the Chancery.' (9)

In 1523 Wolsey acquired another London palace - Durham Place - when he became bishop of Durham after Ruthal's death, in addition to holding the see of York. Durham Place was situated in the Strand and was eventually acquired by the king from Bishop Tunstal in 1536. (10) There is no evidence, however, that Wolsey used this new residence until 1528 and then only whilst building work was being carried out at York Place. In May of this year he stayed at Durham Place for at least one week whilst

'the hall of york place with other edifices ther being now in buylding my lords grace entending most sumptuously, and gorgiously to repaire and furnish the same'. (11)

In the last three months of 1528, between October and December, the cardinal was again in residence. (12) He stayed at Durham Place on occasions before he became bishop of Durham, particularly in 1516 whilst York Place was being extended. In addition, Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham in 1516, was a very important figure in the government and he worked closely with Wolsey in these years. Wolsey lost Durham Place in February 1529 when he exchanged the bishopric of Durham for the see of Winchester. Richard Fox died in September 1528 and Wolsey had petitioned the king for the richest see in England. (13) In October 1528, he was granted custody of the see of Winchester and in the following February became bishop. (14) Henry did not appoint a new bishop of Durham until 1530 and from February 1529 Durham Place came under royal control. There is no record that Wolsey used it after December 1528. The king found Durham Place useful

and stayed there for almost two weeks in July 1529 whilst the legatine court was being held at Blackfriars. (15)

During the law term Wolsey resided at York Place and it was only when the term finished, or was cancelled due to the plague or sweating sickness, that he retreated to one of his country residences. (16) He lavishly enlarged and rebuilt two of his principal country retreats: The More and Hampton Court. (16) The plague and sweating sickness were always at their worst in London and Westminster. Wolsey could escape to either of these residences where in most years he could feel relatively safe. This combined with their proximity to London made both sites very attractive.

Wolsey acquired the lease of Hampton Court for ninety-nine years from the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem in June 1514. (17) By May 1516 the rebuilding of the palace had progressed sufficiently for Wolsey to be able to invite the king and queen to dinner. (18) The cardinal did not start using Hampton Court extensively until the autumn of 1518. The sweating sickness had reached epidemic proportions and the law term was adjourned in October. Wolsey returned to Westminster in November for two days but again was forced to retreat to Hampton Court for fear of the disease. (19) He remained there for the rest of November and for much of December. Between 1518 and 1522 Hampton Court was Wolsey's only country seat and he took up residence there after the end of each law term. The cardinal also made occasional visits to Hampton Court during the law term, but his stay was always short in duration. (20)

Less attention has been paid to Wolsey's other palace of The More, in Hertfordshire, but after 1523 it acquired increasing importance. By 1527 Du Bellay considered that The More was even more sumptuous than Hampton Court. (21) Wolsey acquired The More (four miles from Rickmansworth) and

Tittenhanger (near Shenley) when he became the titular abbot of the abbey of St. Albans in 1522. (22) When the abbot of St. Albans, Thomas Ramryge, died in early November 1521 Wolsey made immediate suit to the king. Henry considered that his minister must have spent ten thousand pounds of his own money during his trip to France and he therefore deserved to have the abbey's revenues. (23) Although in France at the time Wolsey succeeded in becoming titular abbot and the grant was not sealed until February 1522. Wolsey stayed at The More in September 1520, as a guest and it was not until 21st September 1523 that his residence as owner left a mark on the records. From 1523 onwards Wolsey used The More as an alternative country retreat to Hampton Court. In that year he stayed there only for a brief period from 21st September until 1st October. The following year Wolsey stayed throughout most of September and in 1525 he stayed there more often than at any other time during his ascendancy. (24) Wolsey stayed at The More in August and September and it was here that the Anglo-French treaty was signed on 30th August. (25) In October 1525 the law term was adjourned and Wolsey returned again to The More and was in residence by 23rd October where he remained throughout much of November. (26)

Wolsey made only occasional use of the abbot's lodgings at the abbey of St. Albans. He stayed there for a few days at the beginning of October 1524 and a proclamation regulating the coinage was issued from St. Albans on 1st October. (27) The king took greater advantage of the abbot's lodgings and stayed at the abbey of St. Albans for eleven days in October 1525. (28) Tittenhanger was a large house which belonged to the abbey of St. Albans and according to the itinerary Wolsey only made one visit to this residence, in August 1529. The king stayed for a fortnight in June/July 1528 whilst trying to escape the sweating sickness. He was very

impressed by Wolsey's residence and returned again in August 1529. (29) Tittenhanger passed to the crown in 1539 after the dissolution of the abbey of St. Albans. (30) Wolsey concentrated his attention on just a few of his residences and used neither Tittenhanger nor the abbot's lodgings to any great extent.

As bishop of Winchester Wolsey acquired three more impressive country houses in 1529. Farnham Castle and Bishops Waltham were both frequently visited by the king during his progresses south during his reign. (31) There is no evidence, however, that Wolsey stayed there whilst bishop of Winchester. Esher was situated close to Hampton Court and had been built by Bishop Waynflete in the second half of the fifteenth century. Wolsey added a new gallery but he did not stay at Esher until after his fall in October 1529. (32) After Wolsey had surrendered the Great Seal, he was forced to move to Esher on 17th October and he remained there for three and a half months until February 1530. (33)

Wolsey's itinerary was, therefore, conditioned by his need to be at Westminster during the law term and by his use of Hampton Court and The More after the term had finished. Meanwhile, as Chapter 1 has shown, Henry spent a large amount of the year based at Greenwich or one of his other palaces close to London. Contrary to accepted opinion, Henry and Wolsey were for a large proportion of the year relatively close to one another. This can be represented statistically as Table A shows. This sample of five years shows that between 1519 and 1523 the king and his minister were less than ten miles apart for sixty-four per cent of the year. (34) Indeed for seventy-nine per cent of the year Henry and Wolsey were less than twenty-five miles apart. It was only when Henry went off on his progress that a considerable distance separated them but this was



only for a month or so. At such times Henry's interest in government was at its lowest.

Table A

Distances between Henry and Wolsey - expressed as a percentage

Year	0-1	2-6	7-10	11-15	16-25	25-50	50-99	100+ miles	
1519	5	45	21	4	12	13	-	-	%
1520	20	44	19	4	7	0.6	2	4	%
1521	2	34	12	0.5	13	5	1	32	%
1522	10	31	10	8	11	27	1	2	%
1523	11	37	12	5	18	4	13	-	%
Average	10	39	15	4	11	10	3	8	%

The amount of time which Henry and Wolsey spent apart varied from one year to another. The plague or sweating sickness often forced them further apart and at times completely disrupted the working of government. Table A does not include time when Wolsey visited the king for just a few hours. The percentage in the first column, when Henry and Wolsey were lodging within one mile was increased by the building of Bridewell which was completed by 1522. The palace of Bridewell was only a mile from Westminster and Henry stayed there during the 1523 parliament. The high percentage of twenty in 1520 is explained by Wolsey's presence at the Field of Cloth of Gold where king and minister shared a lodging. Column two mostly represents the time when Henry was at Greenwich and Wolsey at Westminster or when the king was at Richmond and Wolsey was at Hampton Court only four miles away. In 1519 Henry and Wolsey were never more than fifty miles apart at any time during the year. Wolsey's visit to France

in 1521 and the conference of Calais explains the unusually high percentage of thirty-two per cent when the king and minister were more than one hundred miles apart. In 1523 they were over fifty miles apart for thirteen per cent of the year because Henry spent several months at Woodstock during the autumn of 1523.

To what extent Henry and Wolsey deliberately tried to keep within a reasonable distance of one another is difficult to tell. There was only one occasion when Wolsey complained that the king and he were too far apart and that was during the progress of 1526. On 21st August, William Knight, who, as secretary, was handling Wolsey's correspondence at the court, informed the king that his minister considered

'how expedient yt were for the successes that his progresse wer more nere vnto yor grace (Wolsey)'. (35)

At this point the court was over fifty miles from Wolsey at Winchester and Henry thought this unnecessary, since he intended to see the princess and afterwards approach within thirty miles of Wolsey. (36) There were times also when the cardinal deliberately tried to track the king and this will be discussed below. King and minister were, therefore, rarely separated by long distances. It is well known that Wolsey used court agents to keep him informed of events at court and men who could argue his case with the king, but how often did he actually visit Henry? Did Wolsey disregard the court as many historians would argue?

There is almost universal agreement amongst modern historians that Henry and Wolsey 'rarely met'. Sir Geoffrey Elton has argued that within Wolsey's power structure there remained one major threat

'The Cardinal had no place amongst those in attendance on Henry, indeed he so rarely came to court (a ceremonious occasion every time he did) that one must wonder whether he fully realised how readily Henry could be made to listen to others.' (37)

This view has been taken for granted and for Professor Scarisbrick, it is a 'basic fact of Tudor politics' (38) whilst Elton has suggested that a 'quick flick through Letters and Papers' would prove his point. (39) This superficial impression fits neatly into the accepted view of the cardinal's almost complete disinterest in the court; but how accurate is this interpretation and can a more systematic survey change this?

Contemporaries imagined, correctly or otherwise that Wolsey 'hung' around the king. Perhaps it was one way of explaining the cardinal's incredible hold over Henry. Cavendish writes of a conspiracy by the council in 1527 to remove Wolsey from the 'King's daily presence'. (40) In the articles of accusation against the fallen minister and presented to the king on 1st December 1529, number six accused Wolsey of endangering the king's life by visiting Henry while suffering from the 'great'pox' he

'came daily to your Grace, rowning in your ear and blowing upon your most noble Grace with his perilous and infective breath'. (41)

These sources need to be treated with caution, Cavendish was writing thirty years after the event and in 1529 the lords would not stop at falsehood or exaggeration; but their evidence does suggest the need for a complete reappraisal.

At the outset it has to be admitted that the answer to this problem is not easy to find. A meeting between king and minister need have left no mark on the records. Despatches from ambassadors, used carefully, can provide some of the missing detail. There were, however, often long gaps between these letters and some are imprecise or plainly misleading. Secondly there has hitherto been no acceptable itinerary for Henry VIII.

Mr. Olver attempted to construct the king's itinerary in an M.A. dissertation but used only printed sources. (42) R.H. Brodie, constructed an itinerary after the Second World War but this has remained obscure and unpublished at the Public Record Office. Unfortunately this itinerary contains almost no references and little use has been made of it by historians. (43) Thirdly, no one has compiled an itinerary for Cardinal Wolsey and the aim of this thesis will be to remedy that situation.

Why should Henry and Wolsey need to meet? It is strange that there were only a few occasions on which Wolsey asked the king for patronage by letter, either for himself or others. One notable exception occurred whilst he was out of the country in 1521 when he wrote to the king asking for the abbey of St. Albans. (44) This is all the more surprising given the number of letters written by suitors to Wolsey (or members of his own privy chamber). The answer probably lies in Wolsey's ability as a 'courtier'. Cavendish refers to his 'filed tongue' (45) and his ability to obtain patronage by word of mouth. It appears that Wolsey rarely relied on his court agents to further his suits with the king but on his own 'ornate elegance'. A letter from Ghinucci to the cardinal in 1521 aptly illustrates this point. Ghinucci had petitioned Wolsey to secure for him the bishopric of Worcester but had been informed that the minister could not decide the matter until he had seen the king. Ghinucci had now heard that Wolsey was going to stay with the king for a few days and wrote to the minister to remind him of his petition. (46) Thomas Lark, one of Wolsey's servants, had told him that the cardinal had to wait for a suitable opportunity to speak with the king. Ghinucci was undeterred and used flattery to secure his aim. He assured Wolsey that such was his authority that he always had an opportunity to secure the king's support.

(47) This is a clear case which shows how important it was for Wolsey to have contact with the king.

It is clear that for important issues the cardinal needed to have a personal meeting with the king and even then he had to introduce the subject at just the right moment. Polydore Vergil, one of Wolsey's inveterate enemies, describes how he achieved his goal:

'Every time he wished to obtain something from Henry, he introduced the matter casually into his conversation; then he brought out some present or another, a beautifully fashioned dish, for example,.... and while the King was admiring the gift intently, Wolsey would adroitly bring forward the project on which his mind was fixed.' (48)

Ghinucci, like many contemporaries and subsequent historians mistakenly saw Wolsey as the 'alter Rex'. The minister may have appeared all-powerful at times, and indeed made great efforts to appear so, but in reality he had to work hard to achieve his aims. As Anne Boleyn became increasingly important in the late 1520s so Wolsey's task became all the harder. (49)

The initiative for a meeting came not only from Wolsey but also at times from the king. On 18th May 1527 the Spanish ambassador ascertained that Wolsey's position was slipping, there had been numerous rumours that the king intended to abandon his chief minister. The cardinal had

'absented himself from the Court for some days and the King went to visit him at his house, since which every mouth has been stopped'. (50)

The king enjoyed his company and Henry liked to discuss various issues with his chief minister especially if a matter lay close to his heart. In this connection Henry took a central role in the preparations for Campeggio's arrival at the end of September 1528. Wolsey in a letter to the king described how he was on his way to London to attend to business

'yet, neverthlas, rather than thise two thinges of so high moment shulde be neglected and pretermytted, without consultacion with your highnes upon the same, I wolde, knowing yoieur pleasure, disapoint my journey towardes London for a season and repaire

unto your grace'. (51)

Wolsey's offer was taken up by Henry. A letter from Thomas Alvard, a gentleman in Wolsey's privy chamber, to Cromwell suggests that the cardinal was still at Richmond two days later. (52) Moreover, Henry's interest in his 'Great Matter' is reflected by the French ambassador, Du Bellay who on 6th October, described how:

'.....depuis dix jours il (Wolsey) a merveilleusement travaille.  
Le Roy venoit a luy d'Emptoncourt a Richemont tous les matins, et ne bougeoient du Conseil jusques au soir'. (53)

Unfortunately Du Bellay does not specify how many days Henry kept up this vigorous routine.

During times of crisis or whilst the country was at war, Henry and his minister were in almost daily contact. In this context it is surprising to observe that the king spent much of the autumn of 1523 at Woodstock after an uneventful progress close to London. The court moved to Woodstock on 22nd September and at the same time Wolsey moved from Hampton Court to The More, in order to be closer to the king. In preparation for the law term, however, he returned to Hampton Court by 4th October. (54) For the next six to seven weeks king and minister remained over sixty miles apart at a crucial point in the war with Scotland. The distance between them inevitably slowed down the rate at which the earl of Surrey received instructions and he finally made a complaint on 8th October, 'and sory I am that the kingis highnes and yor grace be so far (apart)'. (55) Despite this obvious drawback it was not until 30th October that the king informed Wolsey of his intention to move closer to London so that the cardinal could visit the court regularly. (56) The king took up residence at Windsor and visited Wolsey at York Place on 26th November. (57)

How often did king and minister meet? Their itineraries in Appendix

I give the minimum number of times that they visited one another. There is also a manuscript in the State Papers containing a summary of Wolsey's household expenses for three years - April 1516 to April 1519. (58) One entry is entitled 'costs of the riding household going towards the King's Court as appears in the book of journeys'. Between April 1517 and 1518 this amounted to £153.17s.9d and for the same period April 1518-1519 the total rose to £248.19s.8d. How can one account for such a discrepancy? Unfortunately there is no other information giving a breakdown of these totals, or the variables upon which they were based. From the other entries on the accounts certain deductions can be made. These figures do not include wages or payments to the keeper of the boats. (59) By comparing these figures with similar accounts for Henry Courtenay, they would appear to be payments for 'bait' for the horses and dinner for the entourage on the way. (60) On an ordinary visit by Wolsey from Westminster to Greenwich, it would be unlikely that any cost would be incurred. Why should 1518/1519 be one hundred pounds higher than the year before? Wolsey's visit to the court at Woodstock at the end of May 1518 and his three week stay is the most likely explanation. The cardinal left London and was staying at Reading Abbey by 12th May and grants were delivered to him, as chancellor, at Woodstock from the 23rd onwards. (61) The amount of movement by Henry and Wolsey should not be underestimated. When Wolsey returned to Westminster from Hampton Court for the beginning of the law term in January 1518, the king, having spent Christmas at Windsor, made a brief appearance in London and then returned to Windsor. (62) Likewise in June 1525, when Henry was returning from Windsor to London, he visited Wolsey at Hampton Court. (63)

Henry and Wolsey did not frequently share the same roof. (64) The

number of attendants would make it difficult for a start. In the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, Wolsey specified the exact number of servants that a courtier or peer could have lodged within the court. (65) A cardinal was allowed forty servants compared to a duke or archbishop who were both allowed twelve. Having said this however, Wolsey stayed at Eltham from the 8th until the 22nd January 1526 to prepare the household ordinances with the king and his council. (66) On 30th December of the same year, Wolsey stayed overnight at Greenwich to prepare an answer to Mendocça's address and in June 1525 he resided at Windsor for four days during important diplomatic negotiations. (67) When Charles V visited England in 1522 Wolsey accompanied the two monarchs on their joint progress through Hampshire and at the Field of Cloth of Gold he had three apartments in the king's temporary palace at Guisnes. (68) When building Hampton Court the cardinal set aside special lodgings for the king's and queen's household and it now emerges that Wolsey usually remained in residence during a royal visit. (69)

Wolsey always had chambers allocated to him wherever the court was staying and there was only one exception to the rule. When the beleaguered minister visited the court at Grafton in September 1529, the duke of Suffolk ensured that there were no rooms available for him. Instead Wolsey had to lodge three miles away at Easton Neston, a house owned by Sir Thomas Empson. (70) Wolsey's name appears on all the lists which specified who could have lodging at the court 'when they repair to the same'. (71) Likewise Wolsey is listed among those having breakfast at court in October and November 1519 and in November 1520. (72) The names on these lists vary from one month to another and generally reflected who was staying at the court.



Throughout his ascendancy Wolsey came under the jurisdiction of the gentlemen harbingers and yet he never attempted to place one of his own nominees in the post. In March 1521 when Sir William Vampage died, it was Sir Edward Neville (a gentleman of the king's privy chamber) who was placed in this powerful position. (73) Bribery was an endemic abuse in this context as courtiers and members of the nobility vied with one another for the best possible accommodation, frequently offering financial incentives to the harbingers. This was one of the abuses which Wolsey attempted to curb in the Eltham Ordinances, but he was just as guilty as everyone else. There survives a set of instructions from Wolsey to an unidentified official concerning his accommodation on his way to the Field of Cloth of Gold. The official should persuade Mr Comptroller to speak to the harbingers

'for the assignation of a good and convenient lodgyng nere vnto Cristys church (or) saynt Augustynys.' (74)

To encourage their diligence Wolsey was prepared to pay the harbingers two nobles or twenty shillings. He specified where he would like to stay and reminded the harbingers to procure him lodging at Sandwich and Dover while the king stayed there. (75)

At this point it is important to distinguish between the law term and the king's summer progress. The law term was a major constraint on Wolsey's movements. He stayed at Westminster throughout its duration, and also held council meetings in star chamber outside the law term. (76) Occasionally he stayed at one of his other palaces but only for a few days at the most. In 1525, for example, Wolsey visited The More during the Michaelmas term. This took place on 24th October whilst the court was in residence. (77) The king was usually in the vicinity of London during the

law term, although there are some notable exceptions: for example in October 1523, when the court resided at Woodstock and in January 1525, when the king and queen travelled to Ampthill. (78) During the law term Henry and Wolsey met more frequently, about once a week according to Cavendish. He describes Wolsey's stately procession from Westminster to Greenwich and specifically writes that the cardinal 'used every Sunday to repair to the Court'. (79) Wolsey set off for the court by barge from York Place and landed at the 'Crane in the Vintry'. (80) He then rode on his mule through Thames Street until he reached Billingsgate where the cardinal took his barge again. At the court he was

'nobly received of the lords and chief officers of the King's house, as the treasurer and controllers with other; and conveyed unto the King's chamber, his crosses commonly standing (for the time of his abode in the court) on the one side of the King's cloth of estate'. (81)

According to Cavendish, Wolsey took the Great Seal with him to the court and this is confirmed by Appendix I. Frequently, the only evidence of Wolsey's visit to the court was a number of grants sealed with the Great Seal. Wolsey's audiences with the king were not exclusively confined to Sundays as the itinerary makes clear. Sunday, however, was a common day for Henry to give audience to foreign ambassadors and a goodly attendance of nobles and councillors was usually expected.

When Wolsey was negotiating a treaty with foreign ambassadors he often visited the king in order to discuss the latest stage of the negotiations and to learn Henry's own views on the subject. The ambassadors were also frequently at court and it was rare for the king to give an audience to a foreign envoy without Wolsey's assistance. At such times the cardinal visited the king whenever the need arose as January 1522 illustrates. The Spanish ambassador met him on his way to visit the king on Tuesday, 31st

December. (82) On Thursday 2nd January, and Sunday 5th, Wolsey attended the court where Henry received the ambassador. (83) The ambassador's reports then become vague until Monday 20th January when Henry was a guest at Wolsey's residence at York Place. (84) There is a suggestion in 1528 that a meeting between king and minister on Mondays was a regular fixture during the law term.

'his highnes sayeth that yor grace was allways accustomed to be with hym as upon mondaye ny(ght) so I do perceyve his highnes dooth ther in look for you at which tyme he and you shall have further comunication'. (85)

The following day, 21st January, Wolsey met the ambassadors to discuss foreign affairs with a number of councillors and the king took part at this meeting. (86) There was a further meeting with Henry and Wolsey on Thursday 23rd January. (87)

In May 1523 while the court was at Bridewell and Wolsey was staying at York Place, it was very easy for him to visit Henry. On Saturday 2nd May, the Spanish ambassador visited Wolsey and he then took him to see the king. (88) On Sunday 17th May, the same procedure was witnessed and Wolsey escorted the ambassador to the king at Bridewell. (89) The examples of Wolsey's visits to the court are numerous, as Appendix I shows and they are described in full by the Spanish ambassadors. Ambassadors held the view that Wolsey did indeed track the king. On 17 January 1524 De Praet reported to Margaret of Savoy that 'the Cardinal, seeing that the king is now at Greenwich, has moved nearer this town'. (90) Henry and Wolsey had spent Christmas at Windsor and Hampton Court respectively. Although the precise dates are uncertain, they did indeed both move closer to London. Having said this, however, Wolsey would have moved to York Place at some time at the beginning of January for the start of the law term; but from the evidence of the itinerary king and minister frequently took the

opportunity to be close to one another in the vicinity of London.

The building of Bridewell and its completion in 1522 gave the king a new, splendid London palace. When the king was in residence and Wolsey was staying at York Place, they were living only one mile apart. Despite the prodigious expenditure on Bridewell Henry only occasionally stayed in London. Bridewell was used mostly for ceremonial occasions: for the arrival of Charles V in 1522 and for the creation of the duke of Richmond in 1525. The king stayed in London to attend to state matters. In 1523, for example, the court stayed at Bridewell for five weeks in April and May for the session of parliament held at Blackfriars. (91) Henry stayed at Bridewell for the reception of Cardinal Campeggio (October 1528) and the Spanish ambassador remarked that the king had resided for twenty days in London which was very unusual. (92) Henry stayed in London more frequently at the end of 1528 and during 1529 because of his interest in his divorce. He stayed at Bridewell in June 1529 whilst the legatine court was in session, but he then chose to move to Durham Place on the 15th, whilst it was under royal control. (93)

Wolsey used Hampton Court increasingly after 1518. It is particularly conspicuous that whenever the king was at Richmond, the cardinal stayed at Hampton Court. The two palaces were only four miles apart and could easily be reached on the Thames. Indeed if Wolsey had wanted to go into Westminster, he would actually have to pass Richmond. At the end of each law term Wolsey usually moved to Hampton Court and in a number of years the king moved to Richmond at the same time. This was particularly noticeable in December 1521, and at Easter 1522 and 1523. In 1523, for example, Wolsey moved to Hampton Court on 16th March and stayed there until the 13th April. Meanwhile Henry had travelled down to

Portsmouth to inspect his navy and returned to Richmond on 26th March. The court stayed at Richmond until 13th April when both king and minister returned to London for the opening of parliament at Blackfriars. Wolsey lodged at York Place, the king at Bridewell. (94) At such times it is clear that king and minister were making a deliberate effort to retain a close contact with one another. This was not just a one-off example but a frequent occurrence.

The situation changed in 1525. The events surrounding Wolsey's gift of Hampton Court to the king are both controversial and confusing. The first problem is the date. Both Hall and Cavendish place the event in the middle of 1525. Stow agrees, but since his Annales were a compilation of their two accounts this comes as no surprise. (95) Alternatively, Galt insists that Wolsey gave Hampton Court to Henry after the abbess of Wilton affair in 1528. (96) The date is very important because it helps to shed light on the reason for Wolsey's gift and it also helps to explain the cardinal's itinerary. Unfortunately, as I shall show below, there was not just one date but a gradual transition. (97) The extravagant ostentation of the building has been seen by historians as the main reason why Wolsey felt obliged to hand over the lease to the king. (98) Closer inspection and the evidence of the itinerary can provide a somewhat clearer picture. Whilst Henry stayed at Hampton Court on certain occasions before 1525 the evidence suggests that he stayed there as Wolsey's guest.

In 1525 this situation changed and the exact date is easy to pinpoint. On either 13th or 14th June Henry returning from Windsor passed by Hampton Court and, according to the Spanish ambassador, it was at this point that Wolsey presented Hampton Court to the king. (99) Whilst one needs to be careful with such evidence, in this case the ambassador's additional

information is fairly accurate and it fits in with evidence from the other sources. The ambassador correctly predicted that Henry would soon move to Greenwich (which happened on the 23rd June) and from thence to Hampton Court. The court would then wait for Wolsey whilst he held the 'assizes' and 'in future Wolsey will lodge as any of the King's servant'. (100) This did indeed occur, the king took up residence at Hampton Court for at least a week whilst the cardinal remained at Westminster. (101) Edward Hall, imprecise about the date, takes up the narrative.

'therefore the Kyng of his gentle nature licensed hym to lie in his manor of Richmond at his pleasure, and so he laie ther at certain tymes.' (102)

This is verified when on 10th November Wolsey moved to Richmond and remained there throughout Christmas. (103) The problem, however, is not solved and Wolsey did not hand over the lease at this point.

Although Wolsey had made limited use of royal palaces before 1525, his use of Richmond at the end of this year achieved a new level of conspicuous ostentation and display. The plague had made its annual visit to the country and Henry responded in typical fashion by isolating the court at Eltham throughout the Christmas festivities 'for no man might come thether, but such as wer appoynted by name'. (104) Whilst the royal household endured a boring Christmas, appropriately dubbed 'the still Christmas', at Richmond Wolsey was entertaining in regal splendour with 'plaies, disguisings in most royal manor'. (105) Wolsey kept an open court for anyone who wished to come and far from 'clipping his wings' his offer of Hampton Court to the king had in fact increased his status.

The significance of Richmond was inescapable to contemporaries. It had symbolised Henry VII's power and authority and the dead king's servants in particular, were incensed that a 'bocher's dogge lye in the Manor of

Richmond'. (106) Wolsey's actions provoked considerable comment amongst ambassadors and the Venetian envoy, for example, reported that the king 'leaves everything in the charge of Wolsey who keeps a great court'. (107) The king himself had heard reports of Wolsey's festivities at Richmond and mentioned this to the bishop of Lincoln when he visited the court on the 5th January 1526. (108) One should, however be wary of generalising from one incident. Wolsey always seemed more omnipotent when the plague was ravaging the country. For the most part he remained more accessible and, therefore, appeared to be totally in control of events. Wolsey continued to use both Hampton Court and Richmond but did not repeat such a spectacle again. In fact in September 1528 Henry asked Wolsey to leave Hampton Court so that the court could stay there instead! (109)

In 1526 Wolsey made extensive use of Richmond while the king was absent. When the court moved to Waltham Abbey on 10th April, Wolsey moved into Richmond and sealed two grants on the 11th and 16th April. (110) When Henry visited Windsor from 17th May until the 23rd June Wolsey stayed at Richmond until approximately 3rd June. (111) In 1527 and 1528, the cardinal spent little time at Richmond whilst the king was absent. Indeed at Easter 1528 king and minister returned to their pre-1525 custom. Wolsey moved to Hampton Court on 15th March and remained throughout April. The king travelled to Richmond on 20th March and stayed until 24th April, with a short visit to see Wolsey at Hampton Court for three days in March. (112) In 1529, however, Wolsey started using Richmond again while the king was absent. (113)

The cardinal was the master of dramatic effects and did indeed offer the king his palace in June 1525. This was possibly to win favour after the fiasco of the Amicable grant in May. Henry responded in kind and

granted him the right of use of his palace of Richmond. At this stage, however, 'the king's manor of Hampton Court' was just a figure of speech and Wolsey continued to pay for all the alterations at the palace as a letter from Laurence Stubbs in 1527 illustrates. He informed the cardinal in August of this year that his building works were progressing well at York Place, Hampton Court, The More and at Tittenhanger. (114) As late as September 1528 Fitzwilliam still referred to Hampton Court as Wolsey's palace. (115) In March 1529, however, the king started paying for repairs and in April he paid two hundred pounds towards the palace. (116) The king appointed Henry Williams as surveyor and the prior of Newark, paymaster, to organise the work at Hampton Court. (117) In other words, Henry had gained full control of the palace by the beginning of 1529. Wolsey did not stay at Hampton Court in 1529, except on one occasion, the 3rd July. By contrast Henry used the palace extensively at the beginning of the year and was in residence for forty-one days during the first three months. (118) The cardinal, however, had only given the lease of the palace to the king. Hampton Court did not finally become crown property until June 1531 when Henry exchanged it for other property with the prior of St. John of Jerusalem. (119)

Henry often stayed at The More and in the 1520s the evidence suggests that Wolsey was also present. (120) The cardinal was in residence when Henry came to stay in September 1524. In a letter written to Richard Sampson by Wolsey on 26th of this month, he signed himself 'at The More' in one copy, whilst in another 'at the Court'. (121) In August 1525 Wolsey travelled from Richmond to The More on the 5th in order to entertain the king when he arrived from Easthampstead on the same date. The cardinal remained at The More for the rest of the month and the king stayed until at



least the 9th August. (122) It is clear that Wolsey entertained the king again in October 1525. The cardinal sealed two grants during the king's stay which indicate that he was also in residence. (123) On a few occasions the court stayed at The More whilst Wolsey was absent, as in July 1527, when he was in France. (124)

Wolsey used his palaces to cut down the distance between himself and the king and The More was no exception. Whilst the court was on progress south of London Wolsey resided at Hampton Court and conversely he moved to The More when Henry travelled north or to Woodstock. In 1523, for example, whilst the king remained south of London during his progress Wolsey stayed at Hampton Court. When Henry moved to Henley on the 17th September and then on to the benedictine abbey of Abingdon and his palace at Woodstock, Wolsey travelled north to The More. The cardinal only remained at his manor for a couple of weeks before having to return to Westminster for the start of the law term. (125) The same occurred in 1526. Wolsey stayed at Hampton Court throughout August whilst the king went on his grand progress through Sussex and then he moved to The More in September when the king travelled north to Langley and eventually to Stony Stratford and his manor at Amptill. (126) In August and September 1529 when Wolsey was so keen to see Henry he remained at his manors of Tittenhanger and The More whilst the king went on his progress to Reading Abbey, Woodstock and Grafton. (127)

The belief that Henry and Wolsey did not meet while the king went on his summer progress is frequently implied but rarely explicitly stated. Professor Ives in his perceptive biography of Anne Boleyn argues that:

'the summer vacation of 1529 began and promised to continue in the normal way, with the king and minister separated until Michaelmas and communicating by letter.' (128)

In the event king and minister met twice during the king's progress of 1529 and Wolsey entertained the king at Tittenhanger for three days in August. In fact Henry and Wolsey met every summer, on at least one occasion, with the possible exception of 1526. During this summer Henry went on a particularly long progress and the court remained away from London until 14th October. Henry offered to sup with his chief minister in London but there is no evidence that he did so and the cofferer's accounts for this year give no indication of this. There is one clue for 3rd October when Wolsey moved from Hampton Court to St. Albans while the court was based at Ampthill. Wolsey was back at Hampton Court by 5th October and it is possible that he travelled the extra twenty miles to the king. (129)

Otherwise Henry and Wolsey met during every royal progress. Wolsey's access to the king was even taken into account when the royal 'giests' were being prepared, as in June 1528. Special amendments were made to the king's proposed itinerary so that Wolsey could visit the court after the law term had finished. (130) Table B shows the minimum number of times that they met during the summer months from July to September. The Table does not include occasions when Wolsey stayed close to the court as in September 1516.

TABLE B : The minimum number of times that Henry and Wolsey met between 1st July and 1st October.

1515	1st August	at Richmond.
	12th August	at Richmond.
	19th August	at Windsor.
	c 1st September	at Woking.
1516	29th July	at Farnham Castle.
	c16th September	at Donnington
	30th September	at Greenwich.
1517	5th July	at Greenwich.
	7th July	at Greenwich.

1518	2-5 July c28 July 1st August 3rd August 5th August 25th September 26th September	at Greenwich. at Enfield. at Greenwich. at Greenwich. at Greenwich. at Greenwich. at Greenwich.
1519	c 4th August 15th August 4th September	at Whiligh ? at Greenwich. at Newhall.
1520	1-10 July 10-11 July 11-17 July 17th September	at Calais. at Gravelines. at Calais. at Woodstock.
1521	15th July	at Windsor.
1522	1-3 July 6th September	at Bishops Waltham. at Newhall.
1523	19th July 3rd August 7th August 7th September	at Hampton Court. at Richmond. at Richmond. at Easthampstead.
1524	21st August 8th September 26th September	at ? at Windsor. at The More.
1525	5th July 5-9 August	at Windsor. at The More.
1527	30th September	at Richmond.
1528	16th August 18th September 28th September	at Windsor. at Woking. at Hampton Court.
1529	14-16 August 19-20 September	at Tittenhanger. at Grafton.

The king did not always travel a long distance from London during the summer months. In some years he returned to Greenwich to meet important dignitaries as in August 1518 when Cardinal Campeggio was entertained at court. In 1519 Wolsey visited the court on the 15th August at Greenwich

and travelled to Newhall on the 4th September.

Wolsey travelled a considerable distance to see the king in certain years. 1516 marked one of Henry's longest progresses during Wolsey's ascendancy, when the court went as far as Corfe Castle over one hundred miles from London. During the two months that the king was away, Wolsey visited the court twice. At the end of July, Wolsey and the bishop of Durham visited the king at Farnham Castle and in September Wolsey travelled to the court at Donnington, whilst Henry was being entertained by the duke of Suffolk. Brandon travelled over from Letheringham, in Suffolk, especially to entertain the king. (131) The cardinal did not just visit Henry and then return to London, but spent at least a week close to the court. As chancellor, he sealed grants on the 10th September at Newbury and at Donnington on the 16th. (132)

At certain times a meeting between the king and minister during the summer progress has left only one or two clues in the records. I have attempted to reconstruct their meeting in August 1519, although the evidence is not very clear cut. The court stayed with John Courthope at Whiligh from 2nd - 5th August. Francis Pawne was paid 3s.4d. by the king for riding '4 myles beyonde mr saxfeld place to my lorde cardynall'. (133) The Sackvilles owned several residences within Sussex at this time, but this probably refers to Buckhurst owned by Richard Sackville. Moreover, Wolsey owned the manor of Bullockstowne which lay in the same parish as Buckhurst. It is, therefore, quite possible that he was staying at this manor in August 1519. Whiligh and Buckhurst were only ten miles apart. (134)

In 1518 king and minister even contemplated going to York on progress together. Commentators at the time reveal how close this enterprise came

to fruition. The Venetian ambassador heard a rumour that Henry and Wolsey were going to the 'confines of the kingdom' because the latter wanted to visit his diocese of York. (135) Wolsey's close participation in the intended progress is further proved by the fact that it was he who prepared the 'giests' - an unprecedented occurrence. (136)

On occasions the king would interrupt his progress to visit Wolsey if he felt matters were of sufficient importance. After receiving a letter from Wolsey in June 1518, the king decided that it was imperative that he discuss the matter with his chief minister. Accordingly, Richard Pace wrote to Wolsey informing him that Henry would visit Greenwich on the following Friday (2nd July) where they could meet. Did this clandestine meeting ever take place? A series of manuscripts can provide the answer. This remarkable sequence of four letters was written by Thomas Leeke to his brother Sir John, from the Fleet. Even in prison he was incredibly well informed and was in a position to send news reports back to the locality. On Friday 2nd July, he wrote about the imminent arrival of Cardinal Campeggio and ended:

'the King is coming this night to Greenwich and it is thought that he will not go far from London this summer.' (138)

The king stayed until Monday, 5th July and was back at Woodstock by the evening when the queen 'schewydde unto hym, for hys welcum home, herre belly sum thyngre grete'. (139)

The length of time that Wolsey actually spent at the court is more difficult to determine. In most cases the clue is provided by the place of the Great Seal. If Cavendish is to be believed and Wolsey took the Great Seal to the court every Sunday as part of the trappings and grandeur of his power, then it is equally likely that Wolsey would take the Great

Seal with him on his own progresses. (140) The mechanism by which a grant was sealed needs more investigation, not only as regards the itinerary but also to facilitate a better understanding of the patronage system.

Maxwell-Lyte and his work on the seals in the fourteenth century can provide little assistance in this context. (141) How was it possible for some grants to be delivered where Wolsey was on progress whilst others on the same day were delivered at Westminster? This does call into question the validity of the date, but whilst on progress the movements of the Great Seal are to a large extent verified by other evidence.

The aim of this final section will be to examine the implications of Wolsey's itinerary in its political context. The preceding discussion has highlighted some important questions; did distance from the king make Wolsey politically vulnerable and what was the significance of the cardinal's own progress?

As we have seen, for most years Wolsey remained close to the capital and resided in his own palaces. Before 1520, however, whilst Hampton Court was being built, he used other accommodation. The king's manor of Hanworth was something of a favourite with Wolsey early in the reign. On 6th and 9th September 1516, whilst the court went on progress to Corfe Castle, he stayed at Hanworth and similarly on 23rd and 29th October 1517.

(142) In November 1517 Wolsey used the king's manor of Guildford as a base before going on to the king at Farnham Castle; approximately ten miles away. (143) The bishop of Winchester's manor of Esher was first used by Wolsey at the beginning of August 1519, whilst the court stayed at the duke of Buckingham's mansion of Penshurst and William Wingfield was paid two pence for riding with a letter to the minister at 'Asshere'. (144) Bishop

Fox's letter to Wolsey on the 14th suggests that he was still in residence and he ends: 'vse it all wayes as often and as long as it shall please you, right as your owen.' (145)

Apart from Wolsey's two expeditions to France, he only went on two completely independent 'progresses' from the king. Both involved pilgrimages to Walsingham and took place in 1517 and 1520 respectively. Wolsey's journeys like the rest of his life-style, were ostentatious and modes of deliberate self-aggrandisement. In 1517 he genuinely appears to have wanted to give thanks for the sparing of his life; four times he had suffered from the sweating sickness and he had come very close to death. Wolsey and his entourage left London on about 7th September and returned by 26th of the same month. (146) By all accounts Wolsey went on a grand tour of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1517. He stayed overnight at Framlingham, the duke of Norfolk's chief residence in Suffolk, and his presence was recorded in the Parker's accounts.

'For the comyng of my lord cardinall, I buk  
He cam trow the park ad kylyd I buk ad a do  
On the next day I was syned to kyll for hym 12 bukkes.' (147)

Wolsey was always keen to establish impartial justice and whenever he entered an area men appealed to him as chancellor to arbitrate in their disputes. When he visited Bury St. Edmunds in 1517 the abbot asked him to settle a series of disputes between the abbey and the town over jurisdiction and the payment of tax. The cardinal called the abbot's opponents before him at Ipswich and they were forced to swear not to challenge the abbey's rights. (148) Whilst at Ipswich, Wolsey also visited the Gracechurch shrine where in the previous year a miracle had been reputedly performed. The thirteen year old daughter of Sir Roger Wentworth, who suffered from violent fits, was taken to Gracechurch in 1516

and there before a gathering of four thousand she was cured. (149)

Wolsey continued his 'progress' to Norwich where two aldermen had been elected by the city to ask him to settle their dispute with the priory of Christchurch. (150) 1517 was the first time that Wolsey returned to his county of origin during the years of his ascendancy and it was the first sign of a growing involvement in the area. He returned to Suffolk again in 1520 and later in the decade built Cardinal College at Ipswich. All grants sealed during Wolsey's pilgrimage of 1517 were delivered into the chancery at Westminster; which suggests that he did not take the Great Seal with him. (151) Wolsey's household accounts indicate lavish expenditure, in less than three weeks he spent £256.14s.10d during his tour of Norfolk and Suffolk and this was at a time when the sweating sickness was still very widespread. (152)

The cardinal's pilgrimage in 1520 merits closer attention. It came at a time when Professor Scarisbrick has described Wolsey as 'at the height of his power' and his 'semi-royal progress' reinforces such an assertion. (153) There is no clue as to when Wolsey left London. He was, however, at Colchester at some point during the first week of August. (154) By 8th August he had reached Ipswich and then went on to Walsingham, Norwich, and King's Lynn. (155) During this 'pilgrimage' the cardinal was the furthest distance from the royal court, except when he visited France, for the period covering the whole of his ascendancy. The king had gone off in the opposite direction into Hampshire and at one point at least one hundred and forty miles separated them - while Henry was at Yattendon and Wolsey at Norwich.

Historians have pointed to Wolsey's jealousy of the royal secretary and whilst in 1521 his distrust of Pace is evident, this should not



necessarily be back-dated or made into a general assertion. After the Field of Cloth of Gold Wolsey was displaying all the signs of supreme confidence. He felt secure enough to embark on a 'progress' and there is no indication that this confidence was misplaced. Pace sent three reports from the court and none contained any substantial news. On 12th August Pace described the king's hunting prowess and then concluded that he had nothing better to write about. (156) This was an opportune moment for the cardinal to be absent, the court was denuded of councillors, keen to return to their estates after the transient pleasures of the Field of Cloth of Gold. Such was the extent of this, that Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham, was called to the court from The More (at least thirty-five miles away) where he had gone to await Wolsey's return. (157) Historians have missed the fact that The More did not belong to the cardinal at this point, which suggests that he had made out his own 'giests' for the progress. The distance between king and minister created problems for any negotiations. It was common for ambassadors to visit Wolsey before obtaining an audience with the king. In August 1520 Marygue, the French ambassador, had to travel to Norwich in order to see Wolsey. (158)

The Venetian ambassador described Wolsey's journey as a 'pilgrimage' but it was far closer to a royal progress. (159) When he entered ~~King's~~ Lynn on Monday 20th August, he was accompanied by the bishop of Ely, an Irish bishop and a large entourage of 'many Knights and esquires'. The cardinal's entourage was met by a delegation including the ~~Lord~~ Mayor and presented with:

'twenty dozen bread, 6 soys of ale, 15 barrells of bere, 20 shepe, 10 signettes, 12 capons, 3 bustards, 3 shovellers (ducks) 13 plovers, 8 pikes and 3 tenches.' (160)

The cost of this gift together with rewards to Wolsey's household servants

amounted to £22.0s.6d. This reflected the customary gift given to any celebrity who entered the town.

After visiting the shrine at Walsingham, Wolsey continued his journey to Norwich where he spent more time trying to settle the dispute between the city of Norwich and the priory of Christchurch. Part of the disagreement was over a piece of ground called Tomland which was claimed by both parties and had been disputed since the reign of Edward I. In 1520 Wolsey determined that the land was to be left vacant and to be used by neither the city nor the priory except for fairs. There was also the problem of jurisdiction and Wolsey ruled that the city bailiffs could not 'meddle' with anyone caught stealing in Holme Street or 'Spittellonde' and they were to be tried by the prior's court. (161) This did not, however, completely solve the dispute and on 2nd September 1524 the corporation of Norwich was bound in the sum of five hundred pounds to abide by Wolsey's decision in their dispute with the prior and convent of Christchurch. (162) After visiting King's Lynn, the cardinal travelled south to Cambridge and then he made a deliberate effort to track the king staying, firstly at Notely Abbey, less than twenty miles from the court at Woodstock, and finally taking up residence at The More. Wolsey visited the court on at least 17th September where two warrants were sealed with the Great Seal and delivered into the itinerant chancery. (163) This was the last occasion when the cardinal travelled on an individual progress in England.

Wolsey's embassies to France in 1521 and 1527 come into a different category. Both represented impressive displays of his power and status on the international stage. In 1521 Wolsey attended the conference at Calais and was absent from England for four months. He left London at the end of July and returned at the end of November. The cost of all the pomp and

ceremony was immense: two thousand four hundred pounds was spent by the cardinal on livery for his retinue and daily provisions. (164) He took the Great Seal with him across the Channel and a number of warrants were delivered to him at Calais in September. (165) Before the start of the conference, Wolsey travelled to Bruges in great splendour with one thousand and fifty horsemen. According to Edward Hall the cardinal took the Great Seal with him to Bruges. No warrants, however, were sealed at Bruges and during the time that he was away warrants were delivered into the itinerant chancery at Calais. (166) His expenses were paid by Charles V and they concluded a secret treaty against France. (167) Despite this the negotiations at Calais continued until November.

On 9th October the king instructed Wolsey to send back the master of the rolls, Cuthbert Tunstal, with the Great Seal. The law term could not be held without the Great Seal and the king regretted the financial loss and the inconvenience to his subjects. (168) It appears unlikely that Wolsey acquiesced with the king's request and instead made other arrangements. On 15th October, Pace sent the cardinal writs prepared by the judges for the adjourning of the term in case the plague worsened. Henry wished Wolsey to seal them and then to return the writs. (169) Although a number of grants were delivered to Westminster, several warrants were still sealed at Calais on the 8th and 13th November. (170) Moreover, the warrant for the grant of the reversion of Pechey's lands to the earl of Devon was sent to Wolsey and sealed at Calais. (171)

In 1527 Wolsey spent three months in France as the king's lieutenant and plenipotentiary. He set out with a number of aims and principally hoped to secure the king's divorce, negotiate a personal interview between the monarchs and a new treaty of universal peace. The cardinal left

London on 3rd July with a magnificent retinue and one thousand two hundred horses - approximately the same size as the English court on progress.

(172) Wolsey met Francis I at Amiens and accompanied the French king on a triumphant progress across France. Pageants were prepared for Wolsey's entry into the towns of Boulogne, Montreuil and Amiens. The treaty of Amiens was signed on 18th August and Princess Mary was promised to the duc d'Orléans. Wolsey accompanied Francis to Compiègne and he attended a conference to discuss the government of the church during the Pope's captivity. (173) The Great Seal was left behind with the master of the rolls at Calais and Wolsey left instructions that no warrants were to be sealed without his authorisation except for common writs. (174)

Did Wolsey suffer politically during his absence in France? His position in 1521 remained firm whilst absent from the court and the king's presence, although cracks did start to appear in Wolsey's power. Dr. Walker has argued in his new book on John Skelton in the 1520s that the poet expected Wolsey to fall in 1521. Skelton believed that he would make a fatal slip at Calais and then be abandoned by the king. (175) It is possible to argue that Pace attempted to usurp some of Wolsey's control at court, but the situation is far from clear cut. (176) Wolsey trusted Richard Pace to represent his views to the king but towards the end of October he suspected that Pace was promoting people without reference to himself. A man named Chianon succeeded in obtaining a canonry in Wolsey's own archdiocese of York without Wolsey's consent. Pace secured the promotion of the chaplain of the master of the rolls to an office in chancery with the king's assent. Moreover Wolsey believed that Pace had misrepresented him to the king. (177) Pace defended himself vigorously in a long letter to the cardinal but it is clear that Wolsey was in a more

vulnerable position whilst he was a long way from the king. Wolsey never fully trusted Pace again but the secretary did help him to acquire the abbey of St. Albans in commendam at the beginning of November. (178)

Whereas in the late 1520s Wolsey sought to neutralise the effectiveness of his opponents in the privy chamber, it was from other councillors that the gravest threat lay; particularly if they were the king's boon companions. (179) Cavendish describes a conspiracy by the Boleyn 'faction' to remove Wolsey from 'the king's daily presence' in 1527 and thus give them the opportunity to undermine his position with the king. (180) Indeed, unlike 1521, many of the most prominent councillors were left behind and they chose to remain close to the king throughout his progress. (181) How successful were Wolsey's opponents in his absence? The king went behind his minister's back in an effort to secure his divorce and sent his secretary, William Knight, to see the pope in Rome. (182) King and minister were separated by two hundred miles and the Channel, and Wolsey's position was vulnerable. When the cardinal returned he discovered to his dismay that he no longer commanded the king's undivided attention. The evidence is contradictory for Wolsey's return to the court. According to the Spanish ambassador, when Wolsey returned from France, he found the king at Richmond and could only obtain a royal audience in Anne Boleyn's presence. (183) Cavendish implies that Wolsey's reception was cool but is adamant that the cardinal met the king at Sir Henry Wyatt's house in Kent. Moreover, Wolsey remained at court for several days before returning to York Place for the law term. (184) If Wolsey did suffer a setback during his trip to France he soon made up the lost ground.

Was distance from the king a factor in the competition for patronage

and was Wolsey more likely to lose when further away from the court? In 1517 Wolsey failed in his bid to gain the widow, Margaret Vernon, for one of his servants. (185) Instead William Coffyn, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, had worked with Nicholas Carew to obtain the rich prize. They succeeded after Carew persuaded the king to send a letter to Mrs. Vernon in Coffyn's favour. (186) Dr. Starkey has attributed Wolsey's humiliating defeat to his distance from the king.

'Wolsey's weakness was distance. In the six months following the jousts of 1517, for instance, Wolsey and Henry met once.' (187)

Closer examination of the itinerary shows that this was not necessarily the case. The king's letter in favour of Coffyn was written on Thursday 19th November and yet within the previous three days Wolsey had been present at the court. On the 16th Thomas Alen met Wolsey at Guildford on his way to the court at Farnham. (188) This was not the only time that king and minister met in six months. It is true that during the plague Henry and Wolsey met less frequently but according to Thomas Leeke writing on 25th October:

'As he (Wolsey) went from Westminster, there died one of his chapel, and now the King comes one day to him, and he goes another day to the King.' (189)

In his own words Wolsey declared to Sir Richard Wingfield that since his return to Walsingham he had been ill and had had little access to the king. He had only visited the court 'twies or thries' and then there had been no opportunity to speak to Henry about Wingfield's affairs, but

'nowe that I am amended (wherof I hartely thank god) I trust to repare to the courte more often then I have do[ne].' (190)

Unfortunately, the letter is a draft and there is no date attached so it is impossible to determine the length of time since Wolsey returned from Walsingham.

Throughout the summer of 1529 access to the king reached new levels of significance. The struggle between Wolsey and his opponents was fought out around the person of the king. It is usually argued that king and minister did not meet between the end of July and the famous episode at Grafton on 19th September. This proves not to be the case. Pollard mentions the king's refusal of Wolsey's offer to stay at The More. (191) There can be no doubt that Henry's excuse (fear of the plague) was genuine. Instead the court stayed at Tittenhanger for three nights in August and Wolsey was certainly at court on two of those days. (192) Moreover, he would have paid for the court's expenses during its stay. In the difficult circumstances of 1529, Wolsey needed regular access to the king. The king's visit to Tittenhanger helped the cardinal's ailing position, but it was only a temporary setback for his opponents. In the second week of September Wolsey tried to gain access to the king. He informed Henry that he had some very important news to tell him and that it was too sensitive to put in a letter. The king was unimpressed and told Wolsey to inform him in writing what subject he wished to discuss. (193) The minister was finally allowed to visit the court accompanied by Campeggio on 19th September. (194)

It would be foolish to argue that Wolsey spent all his time at court but the evidence makes it quite clear that king and minister were more frequently in contact than has hitherto been realised by historians. When the cardinal visited France in 1521 and 1527 it is clear that he felt vulnerable. Wolsey's visits often coincided with grand occasions of court ceremonial, but this did not necessarily pre-empt private discussion with the king. If important patronage was at stake Wolsey needed personal contact to ensure success and this became all the more conspicuous as the

reign progressed. Wolsey visited the court when business and his own need for patronage necessitated an audience with the king. During the summer progress or whilst the plague was ravaging the country, king and minister might not meet for over a month. On the other hand, Wolsey might be at court three times in one week or actually stay with the king when important treaties were being negotiated. How often Henry and Wolsey met depended upon the circumstances but it is clear that the cardinal kept a close eye, both personally and through his agents, upon the events at court.



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4. BL Cotton MS Titus BI f.104 (LP I i 880).
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11. BL Harleian MS 419 f.105 (LP IV ii 4251)
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17. E. Law, History of Hampton Court Palace, (London, 1890) vol.I p.341  
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18. Lambeth Palace Talbot MS 3206 f.33 (LP II ii 1935).
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20. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1528, Appendix I.
21. Colvin, King's Works, IV ii p.165.
22. The papal bull was not issued until 8th November 1522. Rymer, Foedera, XIII 775
23. VCH Herts IV p.409. BL Cotton MS Vit. BIV f.205 (LP III ii 1759).  
The king wrote to the pope to ask him if Wolsey could hold the monastery in commendam.
24. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1524, 1525, Appendix I.
25. LP IV i 1617.
26. See Appendix I. Hall, Chronicle p.707.
27. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, Tudor Royal Proclamations, (New Haven, Conn., 1964) I 100. Wolsey also visited the abbey in October 1526.
28. E101 419/13 f.4v-5.
29. Ibid. f.26v-27. SP1/49 f.72 St. P I 153 (LP IV ii 4463).
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31. See Henry VIII's itinerary, Appendix I.
32. Colvin, King's Works, IV ii p.89. Wolsey had, however, stayed at Esher as the guest of the bishop of Winchester before 1529.
33. See Wolsey's itinerary 1529, 1530, Appendix I.
34. Distances are 'as the crow flies'.
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47. Ibid. f.222
48. The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, ed. D. Hay, Camden Society, 3rd series, lxxiv (London, 1950) p.247
49. See below Chapter 7.
50. CSPS III ii 69 pp.190-1.
51. SP1/50 f.128v St. P I 169 p.327. (LP IV ii 4781).
52. SP1/50 f.137 (LP IV ii 4793).
53. AAJB p.410 (LP IV Appendix 206)
54. E101 419/9 f.28 See Wolsey's itinerary 1523, Appendix I.
55. BL Cotton MS Calig. B VI f369. Ellis 1st Ser. I 223 (LP III ii 3405)
56. BL Cotton MS Galba B VIII f.95. (LP III ii 3485)
57. BL Cotton MS Calig. B II f.11 (LP III ii 3568)
58. SP1/17 f.283 (LP II ii 4623).
59. Ibid. f.283.
60. E36 225 E101 631/25.
61. See Wolsey's itinerary 1518, Appendix I.
62. Brown, Four Years at the Court, II p.146 (LP II ii 3896).
63. CSPS III i 119 p.209.
64. Details of when the king stayed with Wolsey. 1515 - 1524..
- |      |                 |                |
|------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1515 | 30-31 July      | York Place     |
| 1516 | 24-25 September | Hampton Court. |
| 1518 | 5- 9 March      | Hampton Court. |
| 1520 | 17 October      | Hampton Court. |
| 1521 | 23-24 May       | Hampton Court. |
|      | 4- 6 June       | Hampton Court. |
|      | 5- 8 December   | Hampton Court. |
| 1522 | 10-11 June      | Hampton Court. |
|      | 28-30 July      | The More.      |
| 1524 | 5 August        | Hampton Court. |
|      | 26 September    | The More.      |
65. BL Harleian MS 642 f.129.
66. Hall, Chronicle, p.707.
67. CSPS III i 8. CSPV III 1037 LP IV 1466(4)
68. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1522, Appendix I Anglo, Spectacle, p.141
69. S. Thurley, 'The domestic building works of Cardinal Wolsey' in S. Gunn and P. Lindley ed Wolsey: Church, State and Art, forthcoming.  
This was less applicable after 1525.
70. CSPS IV i 160 p.235. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.98
71. BL Egerton 2623 f.7.
72. October, 1519 SP/19 f.85-7 (LP III i 491).  
November 1519 SP1/19 f.117-118 (LP III i 528).  
November 1520 BL Cotton MS Vesp. C XIv f.273.
73. LP III i 1215(5).
74. BL Cotton MS Calig. D VII f.236. (LP III i 851).
75. Ibid. f.236.
76. The law term varied from one year to another depending upon where Easter fell. The following is a general guide:- Michaelmas term began on 6th October and continued until 25th November. Hilary term started on 20th January and ended on approximately 12th February. Easter term

- commenced about seventeen days after Easter and finished four days before Ascension. Trinity term ran from eight days after Trinity until 8th July. C.R. Cheney Handbook of Dates for Students of English History, (London, 1978) p.68 Stow, Survey of London, II p.118-120 E407/51 Guy, 'Star Chamber' Ph.D. Appendix I
77. See Wolsey's itinerary 1525, Appendix I.
  78. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1523, 1525, Appendix I.
  79. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.26
  80. The Crane in the Vintry was situated near Blackfriars and consisted of three cranes on the wharf by the riverside. Wine was stored in a large house nearby, called the vintry, where merchants unloaded their wines.
  81. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.26.
  82. CSPS FS p.13
  83. *Ibid.* p.14
  84. *Ibid.* p.38
  85. SP1/48 f.112 (LP IV ii 4335)
  86. CSPS FS p.38,39
  87. *Ibid.* p.41
  88. *Ibid.* p.215
  89. *Ibid.* p.230
  90. *Ibid.* p.298.
  91. The parliamentary session ended on the 21st May, 1523 and adjourned to Westminster (10th June - 29th July and 31st July - 13th August).
  92. CSPS III ii 586.
  93. E101 420/8 f.24v
  94. See Henry VIII's and Wolsey's itinerary 1523, Appendix I.
  95. Hall, Chronicle, p.703 Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, pp.123,242. J. Stow, Annales, (London, 1631) pp.501-2.
  96. J. Galt, The life and administration of Cardinal Wolsey, (London, 1812) p.211.
  97. For a different interpretation see S. Thurley 'Domestic building works', forthcoming.
  98. King's Works, IV ii p.129.
  99. CSPS III i 119 p.209.
  100. *Ibid.* p.209
  101. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1525, Appendix I.
  102. Hall, Chronicle, p.703
  103. See Wolsey's itinerary 1525, Appendix I.
  104. Hall, Chronicle, p.707.
  105. *Ibid.* p.707.
  106. *Ibid.* p.704. Kipling, Triumph of Honour, pp.4-7
  107. CSPV III 1193.
  108. BL Cotton MS Vit. BV f.11 (LP IV i 995) This letter was misdated in Letters and Papers under 1525.
  109. SP1/50 f.123 (LP IV ii 4766)
  110. E101 419/13 f.17v-18 LP IV 2132(11,16)
  111. E101 419/13 f.20-21 See Wolsey's itinerary 1526, Appendix I.
  112. See Henry VIII's and Wolsey's itinerary 1528, Appendix I
  113. See Wolsey's itinerary 1529, Appendix I
  114. SP1/43 f.6v. (LP IV ii 3334).
  115. SP1/50 f.123. (LP IV ii 4766)
  116. E101 420/11 ff.30v, 33. (LP V p.311)
  117. Colvin, King's Works IV ii p.129.

118. LP IV 4754 E101 420/8 ff.11-16.
119. LP V 285,627
120. The king visited The More in 1522, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527.
121. BL Harleian MS 297 f.180. SP1/32 f.92 (LP IV i 684)
122. See Henry VIII's and Wolsey's itinerary 1525, Appendix I.
123. E101 419/13 f.5. C82 565 LP IV i 1736(23,24), 1718. CSPV III 1150.
124. SP1/42 f.194. (LP IV ii 3252).
125. See Henry VIII's and Wolsey's itinerary 1523, Appendix I.
126. See Henry VIII's and Wolsey's itinerary 1526, Appendix I.
127. See Henry VIII's and Wolsey's itinerary 1529, Appendix I.
128. Ives, Anne Boleyn, p.143.
129. E101 419/13 ff.10v-30. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1526, Appendix I.
130. SP/1 48 f.181 (LP IV ii 4367)
131. LP II i 2222. BL Cotton MS Calig. B VI f.119 (LP II i 2347)
132. C82 438 (LP II i 2370).
133. E101 418/15 f.26v. E36 216 f.112 (LP III ii p.1537)
134. T.W. Horsfield, History of Sussex (Lewes, 1835) I p.393-4  
VCH Sussex II p.317 Wolsey granted this manor to his college at Oxford in 1526. LP IV i 1913(2)
135. CSPV II 1024. Thomas Leeke, writing from the fleet, relayed the same news. 'At Midsummer he (Henry) and my Lord Cardinal will ride northward as far as York and further'. HMC Tenth Report Appendix, part IV p.448.
136. SP1/16 f.226 (LP II ii 4074).
137. SP1/16 f.317 (LP II ii 4276).
138. HMC Tenth Report Appendix, part IV p.448.
139. SP1/16 f.318 (LP II ii 4288).
140. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.26.
141. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, The Great Seal, (London, 1926). See Introduction, Appendix I
142. See Wolsey's itinerary 1516, 1517, Appendix I.
143. Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers MS 3192 f.45 (LP II ii 3807).
144. SP1/18 f.276 (LP III i 412). E36 216 p.112 (LP III ii p.1537).
145. P.S. & H.M. Allen, Letters of Richard Fox, (Oxford, 1929) p.122.  
SP1/18 f.278 (LP III i 414).
146. In an undated letter, written at the end of August, Wolsey informed the king that he was leaving for Walsingham on the following Monday. SP1/16 f.15 (LP II Appendix 38). The Venetian ambassador remarked upon Wolsey's return on 26th September. CSPV II 975.
147. BL Additional Roll 17,145 m 12. I am grateful to Mrs. Susan Vokes for this information.
148. E135/2/11 SP1/232 f.43 (LP Addenda I i 197)
149. D. MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors. Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600, (Oxford, 1986) p.145.
150. F. Blomefield, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk III (London, 1806) p.194.
151. Or alternatively none of the grants which Wolsey sealed has survived.
152. SP1/17 f.283. (LP II ii 4623).
153. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, (London, 1968). p. 125
154. E36 216 f.202.
155. See Wolsey's itinerary 1517, Appendix I.
156. SP1/21 f.34 (LP III i 950).
157. Ibid. f.42 (LP III i 957).
158. Ibid. f.35 (LP III i 951).

159. CSPV III 115.
160. KL C7/5 f.115d. King's Lynn Hall Books. BL Add. MS 24,346 f.30. printed in H. Harold, Report on the deed and reports of the Borough of King's Lynn, (King's Lynn & London, 1874), p.113.
161. SP1/21 ff.144-58 (LP III i 1113)
162. SP1/32 f.70 (LP IV i 655).
163. E36 216 f.206 LP III i 982, 1005(17), 1016.
164. BL Harleian MS 620 It would be outside the scope of this thesis to consider fully the aims and negotiations carried out at the conference at Calais. For a fuller discussion see P. Gwyn, 'Wolsey's Foreign Policy: The Conferences at Calais and Bruges reconsidered' Historical Journal, xxiii (1980).
165. LP III ii 1621(13,23,24,26,30)
166. Hall, Chronicle, p.625. LP III ii 1531(22).
167. CSPV III 298, 316. LP III 1493
168. SP1/23 f.75 (LP III ii 1650)
169. St. P I 74 (LP IV 1680)
170. LP III ii 1818(8,13)
171. BL Cotton MS Titus BI ff.298v. (LP III ii 1739) C82 510 (LP III ii 1773)
172. CSPV IV 129
173. LP IV ii 3356, 3434.
174. SP1/44 f.64 (LP IV ii 3410).
175. G. Walker, John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s. (Cambridge, 1988) p.184.
176. SP1/23 ff.101-103v St. P I 157 (LP III ii 1713).
177. Ibid. f.101
178. BL Cotton MS Vitellius B IV f.205-6 (LP III ii 1759)
179. Starkey, 'From Feud to Faction', p.19.
180. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.47.
181. SP1/42 f.255 (LP IV i 3318)
182. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p.159
183. CSPS III ii 224
184. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.67.
185. Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers MS 3192 f.45 (LP II ii 3807).
186. Ibid f.45. Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 1148, section XI.
187. Starkey, Henry VIII, p.73.
188. Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers MS 3192 f.45 (LP II ii 3807).
189. HMC Tenth Report, Appendix, part IV p.447.
190. SP1/16 f.98 (LP II Appendix 41)
191. Pollard, Wolsey p. 237
192. E101 420/8 f.26v-27 LP IV iii 5886, 5906(16)
193. BL Cotton MS Vit. BXII ff.165-166 St. P I 344 (LP IV iii 5936)
194. This event is well known and does not need to be repeated. Professor Ives provides a detailed discussion in Anne Boleyn pp.147-150.

## CHAPTER 7.

### Cardinal Wolsey and the Royal Court.

Wolsey's opponents were eager to criticise his handling of the royal court and in c.1526 a satirical list of the cardinal's 'achievements' was drawn up by John Palsgrave:

'We have put about the King and Quene syche as we lystyd. We have weryeed and put away bothe owt of the Kyng's consail and owt of hys howse all syche officers and counseillours as would do or try any thyng frely and retayned such as wold never contraye us.' (1)

In the forty-four articles of complaint signed by seventeen prominent councillors and presented to the king in the house of lords on 1st December 1529 number twenty-four read

'Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath misused himself in your most Honourable Court, in keeping of as great estate there in your Absence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there present in your own Person.' (2)

What was Wolsey's attitude towards the court? Could he ignore it with impunity? How influential was the cardinal? These are fundamental questions that lie at the basis of Wolsey's power and ascendancy. They are controversial and not easy to resolve. Dr. Starkey has argued that Wolsey was largely uninterested in the court as a whole and confined his attention to the privy chamber. He maintains that Wolsey organised the expulsion of the 'minions' in 1519 but this is being questioned in a new article by Dr. Walker. (3) He argues that Wolsey did not conspire to remove his opponents from the king's side and that senior members of the council were responsible instead. This is symptomatic of the problem. Did Wolsey interfere in the king's household as his opponents argued,

replacing courtiers with his own agents?

It would be outside the scope of this thesis to make a detailed examination of the personnel of Wolsey's household, but it is important to understand Wolsey's power base and, in particular, the use made by the cardinal of his own household servants and his retinue in relation to the king's household. (4) It is not easy to determine exactly who held positions in Wolsey's household. There are few lists extant: a record of those servants who accompanied Wolsey to France in 1521 has survived and there are two subsidy lists for men assessed under the cardinal's household for 1524. (5) A comparison of these lists with the servants known to be in the king's household reveals little overlap.

The only men who Wolsey introduced into the king's service came from the highest echelons of his household. In 1516 Richard Page became royal secretary and seven years later Richard Sampson was made dean of the Chapel Royal. In 1527 Richard Page and Thomas Heneage were introduced into the king's privy chamber. In 1528 Brian Tuke was made treasurer of the chamber and finally in 1529 Stephen Gardiner was made secretary. Ordinary sewers, gentlemen ushers, grooms etc. did not make the transition to the royal court during Wolsey's ascendancy. It was only after Wolsey's fall from power and his subsequent death that many of his ordinary household servants were absorbed by the royal court. When Wolsey lost the chancellorship, a number of servants left his household almost immediately. Ralph Sadler named five men specifically who had already been sworn to the king by 1st November. (6) Miles Forest, for example, accompanied the cardinal to Calais in 1521 and was assessed as a member of his household in 1524. After Wolsey's fall he immediately joined the royal household and by 1536 he was sworn to the king as an extraordinary gentleman usher. (7)

The cardinal did, however, nominate some of his closest servants to act on commissions of the peace. This process has been analysed by R.B. Smith for the West Riding of Yorkshire. During his ascendancy Wolsey removed local gentry from the commissions and replaced them with outsiders, often men from his own household. (8) Whilst in the troublesome north Wolsey's interference could be justified, in the south he continued this policy and succeeded in annoying the king. In March 1522, Henry expressed his dissatisfaction when Wolsey left a significant number of royal servants off the commission of the peace. Wolsey sent Richard Sampson to discuss the matter with the king and represent his point of view. The king was particularly concerned for his servants' honour and considered that it would be

'a great displeasor and rebuke to som worshipfull man his servant in a shire to see other off his felowes in commission and he omittyd os not regarded or in no favor with his master.' (9)

Sampson went to considerable lengths to explain. Firstly he hinted that some of the king's servants were disloyal 'lenyng to much towards othir'. Moreover, the number of commissioners would have been too great if all the king's servants had been expressly named. The matter concerned Henry greatly and he spent a considerable amount of time discussing the problem with Sampson. Wolsey's agent tried to spread the blame and assured Henry that the cardinal had used the advice and knowledge of the 'beste and moste worthy off the Kings counsell as well of the pryve counsyll'. After all this the king referred to only one servant specifically by name and that he wanted Mr. Waldon of Kent added to the commission. (10)

All senior servants in Wolsey's household appeared on commissions of the peace and not just for their own county. Richard Page, for example, was included on the commissions for Surrey, Lincoln and Middlesex between



1522 and 1524. (11) In 1525 when Page also acted as a servant and councillor to the duke of Richmond he was also named on the commissions for the East Riding and West Riding of Yorkshire and Cumberland. (12) Sir Richard Rokely, comptroller of Wolsey's household in 1520 and treasurer by January 1521 was included on the commissions for Surrey and Essex. (13) In 1522 Thomas Denyce appeared on the commission for Devon (his home county) and Middlesex in 1522. (14) Thus Wolsey sought to increase his control of local government through his servants.

Did the cardinal ensure that his servants received royal grants? Cavendish describes an emotional scene in November 1529 when Wolsey apologised to his household servants for not securing more royal grants for them.

'And if I should have promoted you to any of the King's offices and rooms, then should I have incurred the indignation of the King's servants, who were not much let to report in every place behind my back that there could no office or room of the King's gift escape the Cardinal and his servants'. (15)

On the whole this was true and Wolsey's servants were not mentioned in large numbers in the king's grants. On the other hand, some of those servants closest to the cardinal did enjoy some benefits from Wolsey's power and influence during his ascendancy. Thomas Heneage, a gentleman usher in Wolsey's privy chamber, enjoyed a succession of grants from 1517 onwards. In that year he obtained the custody of Sir George Tailboys - a lunatic - along with nine others. (16) In the following year Heneage was granted two wardships and in 1519 replaced William Compton as the customer of petty customs of the port of London. (17) Sir Thomas Denyce, was given authority to grant licences for tin in July 1521, and the following year received the reversion of the authority to grant licences for the export of tin from Cornwall and Devon held by Sir Henry Wyatt. (18) These grants,

however, should not be taken too seriously. The most prominent men in Wolsey's household also took part in government business.

Wolsey himself had a considerable amount of patronage at his disposal which his own servants usually enjoyed. As abbot of St. Albans, the cardinal was able to grant the keepership of his manor of Tittenhanger to John St. Clare, one of his own servants, who became vice-chamberlain of Wolsey's household by 1527. (19)

Through his close association with the cardinal, many courtiers and noblemen saw Thomas Heneage as the best person through whom to petition Wolsey. In 1524 the Imperial ambassador assigned Heneage a pension of one hundred crowns and he also received an annuity from the earl of Northumberland. (20) Leading courtiers, like Sir William Sandys, chose Heneage to advance their suits to Wolsey. It was common for the person presenting his petition to be sent to Wolsey as a 'bearer' by a more prominent councillor or nobleman. In January 1520, for example, William Sandys sent the secretary of Calais to Wolsey and asked Heneage to ensure that he was presented to the cardinal to help further his suit. (21) Throughout 1519 and 1520 Heneage was frequently at court and already acting in the same capacity as one of the king's own servants in the privy chamber. On five occasions he lent the king money to present rewards to visiting ambassadors and their servants. In January 1519, for example, Heneage gave the secretary of Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, ten pounds and was later reimbursed by the treasurer of the chamber. (22)

Wolsey was instrumental in setting up the two semi-royal households for Henry's children in 1525 and included some of his own servants amongst the senior officers. Sir Thomas Denyce was comptroller of Mary's household and acted as chamberlain of Wolsey's household when the cardinal

visited France in 1527. (23) John Veysey, bishop of Exeter, who had earlier been placed in the king's household by Wolsey, was made president of the council in the Marches. Richard Page accompanied Wolsey to France in 1521 and was one of the cardinal's most loyal servants. (25) When the duke of Richmond's household was established Page became vice-chamberlain and subsequently chamberlain to Wolsey. (26) Henry Savell, another of Wolsey's servants placed in Richmond's household, was accused of mistreating his wife in 1526. The duke's council did not indict him until they had first contacted Wolsey and asked for instructions. Brian Higdon wrote to Wolsey: 'By cause he is servaunt vnto yor grace ande my felow I dare not take upon me to melldell w[ith] hym'. The cardinal sent back instructions for Savell's indictment. (27)

What role did Wolsey play in the appointment of the king's household officers? Most cases were a result of consultation between king and minister and usually the outcome was favourable for Wolsey. The cardinal played a prominent role in promoting individuals but the king always had the final say - indeed it is becoming increasingly clear that the king was more in charge than he has traditionally been given credit for; even if he delegated tedious business to the cardinal. The death of a prominent courtier was invariably followed by a torrent of requests as all his offices flooded on to the patronage market. In such situations, Wolsey put forward all the various options open to the king explaining how the available patronage could be distributed.

In 1517, the mere rumour of Sir Nicholas Vaux's death brought a torrent of advice from Wolsey. (28) On his own initiative, the cardinal informed Henry of all the possible eventualities and the various options open to the king. Vaux had offered Henry Guildford the captaincy of

Guisnes and Wolsey believed that he would make instant suit for it. If Henry granted him the office, he could distribute Guildford's offices which were incompatible with the captaincy. (It was common practice for a courtier to offer up his existing offices when seeking preferment). Wolsey advised that Sir William Sandys or Sir Maurice Berkley, could be made master of the horse and Nicholas Carew, 'of your owne bryngyng up', could be elevated to the mastership of the henchmen. Sir William Kingston, described by Wolsey as a 'goodly tall p[er]sonage', was a possibility for the office of standard bearer. (29)

Wolsey can be seen trying to make the best deals for Henry. Ever wary of unnecessary extravagance, he also recommended that Henry could revoke Guildford's annuity of one hundred pounds. Wolsey calculated that Sir Thomas Parr would probably ask for Vaux's offices in Northamptonshire. If the king granted these he could resume Parr's manor of More End which he had granted to Parr and his wife. The exact date of this letter is uncertain but the circumstances would suggest either 1517 or 1519. In the event Vaux did not die and when he eventually died in 1523 the situation had changed completely, so Wolsey's suggestions were never put into practice. What is important, however, is that Wolsey had worked out all the potential ramifications if Vaux died and how his offices could be used to maximum advantage to reward the king's servants. At this early date, Wolsey was offering the king advice and was not strenuously promoting any one individual. Although Kingston and Sandys were both in Wolsey's favour the advice was not especially partisan. Indeed Nicholas Carew, a member of the privy chamber, is traditionally seen as being opposed to Wolsey, and yet he was prepared to see him become master of the henchmen. (30)

When it came to senior household appointments Wolsey worked harder to

ensure that men who were sympathetic to his views received promotion. It is difficult to ascertain Wolsey's relationship with the most prominent courtiers around the king. The evidence is thin and generalisations should not be made on the strength of one incident. Wolsey had a vested interest in deciding who should hold the most powerful positions at court and he initially objected to Boleyn's promotion to the comptrollership in May 1519. (31) In 1515 and in the subsequent four years the king had promised Boleyn that when Lovell retired as treasurer, Poynings would take his place and Boleyn would be promoted to comptroller of the household. Lovell's retirement had now been set for 29th May, and whilst the king still intended to promote Poynings for a year or so before making him a baron, Boleyn was no longer to be made comptroller at this stage. To add insult to injury Wolsey asked him to nominate someone else to be comptroller: a person with whom he would be able to work when he eventually became treasurer. Boleyn was in a weak position, he was on an embassy in France and unable to speak to the king in person. It appears that Wolsey had persuaded the king to change his mind. At the same time, the cardinal was determined to ensure that courtiers submitted to him and the council first - he did not want the king giving away senior household offices indiscriminately. Wolsey and Boleyn were not arch enemies as some historians would like us to believe - Dr. Woods writes of the cardinal's 'long running battle' with Boleyn - but neither were they close associates. (32) The king had reiterated his promise to make Boleyn comptroller right up until his departure for France. (33)

After reminding Wolsey of the king's promises to him, Boleyn then tried to win the cardinal over to his side. If Wolsey would be 'soo good lord unto him' and let him be comptroller then Boleyn promised that he

would serve Wolsey with the same loyalty as did the cardinal's own household servants. Even taking into account the exaggerated use of language at this time, Boleyn's pleading was unusual. His very honour was at stake. What would his friends think who knew of this promotion promised by the king? (34)

Wolsey's letter to Boleyn was written early in May 1519 at exactly the same time that the 'minions' were expelled from the court. The timing, I would argue, was not coincidental and Wolsey's decision to delay Boleyn's promotion to the comptrollership was probably linked with these expulsions from the court. There is no further record of Wolsey's next move until September 1519 when he reassured Boleyn of his good intentions.

(35) Boleyn's reply was full of exaggerated gratitude, thanking Wolsey for the favour shown to him 'wherein I think my self mor bownden to yor grce than evyr'. The cardinal had assured Boleyn that he would be promoted to the treasurership proving that the king and Wolsey were 'of oon wyll'.

(36) At the same time in September the gentlemen of the privy chamber who had been dismissed made their first recorded appearance back at court in a mask at Newhall. (37) The king kept his promise and Boleyn was made firstly comptroller and then treasurer of the household. There is some confusion as to the exact dates of these appointments but according to the comptroller's accounts Boleyn held the office between October 1520 and September 1521. (38) At the end of 1521 or beginning of 1522, he was promoted to the treasurership and Guildford replaced him as comptroller. (39)

In other respects senior household appointments were favourable to Wolsey. The cardinal used the two offices of dean of the Chapel Royal and almoner to insert his protégés directly into the king's household.

Richard Sampson, who succeeded John Clerk as dean of the Chapel Royal, rose to pre-eminence as Wolsey's chaplain and in 1515, whilst still in the employ of the cardinal, he was sent as ambassador to Lady Margaret of the Netherlands. The king's sister, Mary, was particularly annoyed when Wolsey gave his own chaplain, Sampson, the prebend of St. Stephens when he had already promised to give it to her almoner, Dr. Denton. (40) In 1519 Wolsey offered Sampson one of the senior posts in his household, but Sampson declined the offer. (41) The cardinal's chaplain was more use to Wolsey in the king's household and he became dean of the Chapel Royal by 1522. When Wolsey felt betrayed by Richard Pace in 1521, it was to Sampson that he turned to act as a new court agent. Sampson worked on Wolsey's behalf from the court between March and the end of July and was sent off on embassy in October. (42) As we have seen, it was Sampson who defended Wolsey from the king's wrath over the nominations to the commissions of the peace. In September Thomas More took his place at court. (43) Traditionally, historians have been quick to argue that Wolsey sent household officials away on embassy in a deliberate attempt to remove them from the king's presence and prevent any potential threat to his power. This may have been the case, but equally Wolsey needed men he could trust to act as ambassadors. Foreign affairs were of the utmost importance to the king and cardinal during these years and men like Richard Sampson were indispensable.

Three out of four of those knights of the body placed in the privy chamber by Wolsey and the council in May 1519 were promoted in the 1520s to higher positions at court. Whilst to call them Wolsey's 'creatures' - the word used by the Venetian ambassador - would be too strong, nevertheless, they worked closely with the cardinal. Sir Richard Wingfield was vice-

chamberlain by 1522. (44) When Wingfield was promoted to the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster in 1523, Richard Jerningham succeeded him as vice-chamberlain of the king's household. Wolsey informed Jerningham of the king's decision whilst he was away on embassy and Henry promised to keep the office open for him until his return to England. (45) In the same year, Sir William Kingston was appointed captain of the guard. These three knights, however, each enjoyed the trust and favour of the king - an essential pre-requisite for any promotion within the royal household. It was impossible for Wolsey to force anyone upon the king whom Henry did not like. William Kingston was one of the king's boon companions and was a frequent attender in the tilt yard. In October 1519, he was one of only two men chosen by the king to perform at the earl of Devon's marriage celebrations. (46) Buckland argues that Richard Wingfield was highly favoured by the king and a man of considerable influence. When he wished to succeed Thomas Lovell as high steward at Cambridge University, a post already promised to Sir Thomas More, the latter was persuaded by the king to give way. When Latimer related this incident to Richard Green he claimed that Wingfield had more influence than anyone else over the king. (47)

Wolsey helped William Sandys to become lord chamberlain. Sandys was in Calais at the time and thanked Wolsey for recommending him to the high honour of lord chamberlain with the lieutenantship of Guisnes, on giving up the treasurership of Calais. Moreover, Sandys asked Wolsey to choose the most suitable time to petition the king for his promotion. Clearly Sandys saw Wolsey as his patron and he succeeded to the post after Worcester's death in April 1526. Sandys was granted the office in February but the ailing Worcester refused to step down. The king, therefore, drew up a



special order whereby if Worcester came to court he could continue as lord chamberlain. (48) This unusual set-up continued for only a matter of weeks before Worcester's death on 15th April.

1527-28 represented a definite change in Wolsey's policy towards the court and with the growing threat from Anne Boleyn, his hand is more clearly discernible. The cardinal ensured that two members of his household, Richard Page and Thomas Heneage, were put into the king's privy chamber and Wolsey's secretary, Brian Tuke, became treasurer of the chamber. Before 1528 the treasurer of the chamber had been a man of limited political significance, who had neither opposed Wolsey nor worked as one of his court agents. John Heron had been a hard working civil servant but in no sense a favourite of either the king or cardinal. The same could be said of his successor - John Mickslowe. Wolsey had made quite sure that Brian Tuke would be the new treasurer. When John Mordaunt visited Hampton Court during Lent 1528, he asked Wolsey for the post but the cardinal replied that he had already decided to give it to Tuke. (49)

Dr. Starkey has argued that Wolsey deliberately expelled the 'minions' in 1519 and used the Eltham Ordinances to remove his opponents from the privy chamber in 1526. (50) There is currently a move away from seeing Wolsey as the politician, and whilst every movement that he made should not always be interpreted as political, nevertheless the cardinal needed to protect his interests with the king. Dr. Walker has helped to revise our view of the expulsion of the 'minions' in 1519, but Wolsey's role in the affair cannot be removed. (51) It now appears that in May 1519 Wolsey and the council were working in agreement. The 'minions' had annoyed not only Wolsey but also the other members of the council by their familiar manner with the king. The loss of the king's honour, however, was not the only

motive and Wolsey took advantage of the situation to purge some of the 'minions' from around the king. Many questions are still left unanswered. Not only were the 'minions' expelled from the privy chamber but also at least three other prominent courtiers left the court at the same time - Henry and Edward Guildford and Sir John Pechey. Like Thomas Boleyn, all three men were prominent courtiers and belonged to that circle of boon companions about the king. (52)

John Pechey had enjoyed a long and distinguished career under the Tudors. He had started jousting as early as 1494 and by 1509 was a knight of the body. Shortly after the accession of Henry VIII he was appointed lieutenant of Ruysbank at Calais and when the band of spears was expanded he became their lieutenant. Pechey continued to joust and featured prominently in the lists until 1520. (53) When he was sent away from court in May 1519 it was not in disgrace but because his services were needed in Calais. This was all part of the atmosphere of reform instituted by Wolsey in 1519. Calais was a very important post both diplomatically and militarily and the king obviously felt he needed someone with sufficient experience to replace Richard Wingfield as deputy. (54) There were eleven major offices at Calais and deputy was the most important. (55) Pechey had the necessary experience as lieutenant of Ruysbank and the deputyship was a very good promotion. He had never held a place in the privy chamber but he had been close to the king and his position in the spears of honour was a considerable mark of favour.

Edward Guildford was made marshal of Calais in May 1519. He had taken part in some of the king's pastimes but the number of times that he took part was far lower than many others at court. (56) Guildford had, however, performed loyal service for the crown. He became the king's

standard bearer along with Ralph Egerton in 1514. Guildford was sent abroad on a mission to Margaret of Savoy in 1515 and to France in 1516.

(57) Senior officers at Calais were usually staffed by trustworthy royal servants. According to Edward Hall, Nicholas Carew was annoyed to be made captain of Ruysbank but for Pechey and for Edward Guildford the posts at Calais were a mark of honour. (58)

In the Eltham Ordinances of 1526 Wolsey introduced economies into the household, reducing the size of the king's guard and attempting to prevent the abuse of court privilege. (59) The cardinal reduced the size of the privy chamber from nearly thirty men to fifteen. (60) Wolsey used this opportunity to remove some of those courtiers he disliked, Nicholas Carew and Francis Bryan, for example, and place some of his loyal adherents, such as John Russell, into the privy chamber. (61) Wolsey also used the Eltham Ordinances to remove certain men he disliked from the chamber and the case of William Coffyn is worth looking at in some detail. An undated list has survived with the names of various chamber servants who were to be 'put out of their rooms' and in the context it is quite clear that the document dates from 1526. (62) Whilst all the courtiers mentioned appear on the household list for 1519, a comparison with a similar list for 1526, which was to accompany the Eltham Ordinances, shows that they had all been removed. (63) The list also included six servants from the queen's chamber. Men like Sir David Owen, the king's carver, were over seventy and in the light of Wolsey's reforms were right for retirement. (64)

One man, however, was nowhere near retirement age. William Coffyn was born in 1492 and was just one year younger than the king himself. (65) Coffyn had joined the king in the jousts and revels early in the reign and in 1518 had been briefly a member of the privy chamber. Wolsey succeeded

in removing him from this post and in 1519 he was listed as a sewer of the chamber. (66) Coffyn became a gentleman usher in the chamber, but was discharged from court office in 1526. The reason was Wolsey's implacable dislike of him. Coffyn succeeded in securing Margaret Vernon in 1517 despite Wolsey's attempts to gain her for one of his own servants, Sir William Tyrwhit. Thomas Alen reported that 'my lord cardinal is not content withall'. (67) Despite his removal from the privy chamber, Coffyn continued to be one of the king's favourites and to keep a high profile in his jousts. He was a member of Edmund Lord Howard's band at the Field of Cloth of Gold and on 16th June succeeded in scoring three broken lances. His last recorded appearance in the lists was on 12th February 1521. Wolsey was still not satisfied having Coffyn in the chamber and took advantage of the Eltham Ordinances to remove him once and for all. After Wolsey's fall, Coffyn's career blossomed and he served both Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour as master of the horse. (68)

Although Wolsey visited the king more frequently than has hitherto been thought, he still needed to be kept closely informed of events at court. Dr. Starkey has argued that Wolsey

'ruled over and against the court, as "alter rex" (i.e. 'second king') and master of his own great household, which was a mirror image of the court itself: only latterly and reluctantly had he become a faction leader within the court.' (69)

This is a direct continuation of the Skelton tradition epitomised in the poem Why come ye not to Court. It is partly true that Wolsey's power was vested in the chancellorship and his unique ascendancy in the church, but Wolsey, the politician, also worked from within the court. Wolsey never enjoyed a monopoly of influence and he always had to work to maintain his hold over the king and his grip on power itself. The cardinal needed the

acquiescence and support of the senior household officers around the king. He had less control over the privy chamber and was powerless to prevent the informal boon companions gathering around the king. When Wolsey sought to redress this situation, his methods were more brutal; for example, the reformation of the privy chamber in the Eltham Ordinances of 1526. As regards the senior appointments in the household and in the chamber Wolsey continually tried to exercise a restraining hand. He ensured that the situation did not get out of control and that all the appointees were to a greater or lesser extent sympathetic to his views. Not only was this a political move, but it was also necessary to ensure the smooth running of government.

The role of Richard Pace and Thomas More at court and their relationship with Cardinal Wolsey has already been explored in some detail. (70) It is not my intention to go back over old ground, but a summary of the conclusions reached will help to clarify the situation. In 1516 Wolsey had ensured that his own secretary, Richard Pace, replaced Thomas Ruthal as the king's secretary. Before 1518, Wolsey had no one acting for him at the court. The disastrous events of the summer of 1517 which have been pieced together by Dr. Starkey, proved to Wolsey the necessity of having reliable informants around the king. (71) When Wolsey became distrustful of Pace in 1521, the errant secretary was sent off on embassy and Richard Sampson took his place as Wolsey's agent at court. Thomas More took over the position of acting secretary from autumn 1522 until late 1525 and managed to satisfy both the king and the cardinal. (72) Whilst Wolsey had control of the Great Seal he also sought to control the lesser seals as well. As Dr. Guy has shown, Thomas More was the key to Wolsey's success in this respect and 'came close to becoming Wolsey's "man at

court". (73) More handled the signet from February 1520 onwards and when he was away from court in December 1522, Wolsey himself took custody of the signet.

During this period other councillors were sent to the court on specific errands, but it was Pace, Sampson and More who actually followed the court. (74) After 1525 the situation became more complex. In 1526, William Knight replaced Richard Pace as the king's secretary but he quickly lost Wolsey's confidence. During the long progress of 1526 at least six courtiers followed the king and kept in contact with the cardinal at one time or another. They were Fitzwilliam, the treasurer of the household, William Knight, Sandys, lord chamberlain, More, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Sampson, dean of the Chapel Royal, and Wolman, the king's almoner. Of these men, however, William Fitzwilliam was Wolsey's main contact at the court.

Less attention has been paid to the role of William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household. He enjoyed the trust of both the king and Wolsey and is a key to understanding court politics during the second half of the 1520s. At the outset it is important to destroy a myth which some historians still continue to believe - William Fitzwilliam was not treasurer of Wolsey's household. Another man with the same name worked for the cardinal as well as sitting on the council and the two men are still sometimes confused. (75) By March 1521, Fitzwilliam had already caught the cardinal's attention and had impressed him during his embassy to France. (76) Wolsey's views were not changed with the passage of time and in 1529 considered Fitzwilliam 'a noble person of great valour'. (77)

In July 1525, Henry decided that Fitzwilliam should become treasurer of the household after Boleyn had been elevated to the peerage on 18th

June. To what extent this was due to Wolsey's persuasion is impossible to discover, but certainly the cardinal would have supported his promotion.

It was the king who actually informed Fitzwilliam of the promotion, but the exact details could not be discussed until Wolsey met the king at The More.

(78) Later in the year the newly appointed treasurer was sent on an embassy to France and he returned in the early months of 1526. As early as July 1525 Fitzwilliam was delivering the cardinal's tokens to the king and acting as a go-between. Wolsey decided that Sir William Morgan should be vice-chamberlain and the king approved this idea. (79)

Upon his return to England, Fitzwilliam continued to represent Wolsey's interests at the court. He was considered to be the best person by the cardinal through whom news could be relayed to the king. At the end of March 1526, Fitzwilliam became concerned over Wolsey's lack of action in respect of the sergeant of the ewery, Massey Villiard. Henry wished Villiard to be discharged from office and asked Wolsey to implement his decision. (80) By Good Friday, Wolsey had still taken no action. Neither the comptroller of the household (Henry Guildford) nor the treasurer (Fitzwilliam) could discharge the sergeant from office. Fitzwilliam, warned the cardinal that Henry 'lokethe to bee served with a newe Sergiaunt in the said office this Ester'. (81) Fitzwilliam promised, however, that he and Guildford would 'excuse the said matier' if the king mentioned the subject. Wolsey needed officers like Fitzwilliam at court to argue his case, to make his excuses if things went wrong and to protect him from the slander of his opponents. Why the king wanted to discharge Villiard is a mystery and in the event nothing happened; he was still sergeant of the ewery in the following year and was assessed as such in the subsidy of 1527. (82)

Fitzwilliam joined the king on his summer progress and Wolsey specifically asked him to report back any newsworthy events whilst he was staying with the court.

'where it pleased the same (Wolsey) to wille me, to advertise you of such news, as shulde chance to bee occurant from tyme to tyme in the cort.' (83)

Knowledge was one of the most important aspects of Wolsey's power and strength in these years. In 1528 the French ambassador reported that Wolsey knew everything that was happening inside the court, and for once, this does not appear to be too much of an exaggeration. (84)

Fitzwilliam's appointment was very important in this context. He followed the court down to the royal manor of Guildford and as keeper of the residence Fitzwilliam stayed behind for a few days to repair the damage inflicted by the court's stay. Fitzwilliam had little news to report back to Wolsey, except to enclose the king's 'giests' and the changes brought about by the plague. (85) He remained at Guildford whilst the court continued to Farnham Castle and when news arrived from Wolsey, Fitzwilliam rode down to visit the king. Afterwards he sent a full report of Henry's response and concluded with an exaggerated assertion of loyalty.

'yf there bee anything wherein I can doo your grace service or pleasur, there shall in me lakke noo good wille but shalbe assured to fynde me redy taccomplisse the same at all seasons to my power'. (86)

Lord William Sandys, the lord chamberlain also wrote to Wolsey relaying the events of the king's progress and pledging his loyalty to the cardinal. (87) Fitzwilliam, however, continued to act as the main contact with the king and when the duke of Suffolk wished to inform Henry of some important news he wrote to Fitzwilliam. (88) He followed the court to Ampthill at the end of September but no more of his communication with



Wolsey has survived.

The role of William Knight is enigmatic. He managed to lose the ambassadors when he was instructed to accompany them to the court and was made to look very foolish in front of both Henry and Wolsey. (89) Thomas More was partly responsible and whether this was a deliberate ploy on his part to make the new secretary look incompetent is debatable. He informed Knight of his duty to conduct the ambassadors to the king but failed to tell him that they were staying in London. Instead Knight heard that they were lodged at Kingston and hurried there to find them. At this stage Knight does not appear to have been very high in Wolsey's estimation. On two separate days he failed to gain audience with Wolsey and on both occasions the cardinal's excuse was poor. (90) William Knight sent an abject apology to Wolsey. To confound the situation he was taken ill and could not catch up with the court at Winchester until Monday the 24th August. When he eventually met the king, Henry handed over the signet to his secretary and Knight was able to relay Wolsey's news. (91) Knight's illness kept him out of action and William Sandys presented Wolsey's letters in his place. At the same time Richard Sampson, the dean of the Chapel Royal, continued to keep Wolsey fully informed. (92) Moreover, the cardinal was writing to both Richard Wolman (the king's almoner) and Thomas More (the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster) about different business, but it was to Wolman that he sent letters for the king to sign. (93) Although William Knight was not trusted by Wolsey, Henry thought highly of him. In October 1527 the king asked John Taylor, master of the rolls, to resign his prebend of Westminster in favour of William Knight. Taylor dragged his feet and wrote to Wolsey for help, but this was ineffectual and he was forced to give up the prebend in favour of Knight. (94)

When the official secretary was absent on business - whether short term or long term - his duties were taken over on an ad hoc basis by other officials at court who were either Wolsey's protégés or were sympathetic to his wishes. Courtiers like Fitzwilliam, More and Sandys were prepared to serve Wolsey at court as long as he was the most powerful man in the realm (after the king of course) and it suited their interests. Having both the king's and the cardinal's confidence was a powerful tool, not easily gained and quickly lost. From Wolsey's point of view these men were invaluable in his determination to ensure his ascendancy. With hindsight we know that the cardinal retained power for approximately fifteen years, but at the time nothing was inevitable. Wolsey only used courtiers who he knew he could rely upon to communicate his views to the king. There is no evidence that Wolsey ever wrote to Thomas Boleyn at court, or sent him to Henry to represent his views.

Throughout most of 1527 William Knight remained at court as the king's secretary. He played an important role liaising between Henry and Wolsey whilst the cardinal went on his splendid progress throughout France. His relations with Wolsey, however, were strained and the cardinal was wary of the royal secretary. Wolsey kept in contact at the same time with William Fitzwilliam and it is very conspicuous that the treasurer of the household felt it necessary to reassure the absent minister about Knight's loyalty.

'I assure your grace I esteme to bee a righte honest man, (Knight) and oone which is yor graces frynd'. (95)

Not only Fitzwilliam but also Richard Sampson continued to keep Wolsey informed of events at court. (96) But it was to Richard Wolman that Wolsey entrusted his most sensitive task. Wolsey and the king disputed who had the right to the patronage of certain benefices at Calais and the

cardinal wrote to Wolman asking him to put his case before the king. Wolsey claimed as chancellor to hold the right to these benefices, on the other hand, Sir John Daunce and Mr. Hales, who had just returned from surveying the king's lands, argued that Henry was the sole patron. (97) Wolsey was shocked when he discovered that Henry intended to send William Knight to the pope without consulting him in a direct attempt to settle the divorce problem. To make matters worse Knight was to visit Wolsey on his way to the pope but without disclosing his true mission. (98) After this escapade Wolsey no longer trusted the king's secretary to liaise between the court and himself and the cardinal sought more trustworthy spokesmen.

It was during the last two years of Wolsey's ascendancy that his household servants became pre-eminent in advising the cardinal of events at court. Fitzwilliam remained close to the king during the first half of 1528 and succeeded in retaining the cardinal's trust - no easy matter. In May, Fitzwilliam was sent specifically to the court and reported back to Wolsey how he had

'declared unto the kinges highnesse alle thinges as ye gave me in commaundement to doo, who liketh righte welle the ssame and coulde, ner did add anything therunto'. (99)

In June, Fitzwilliam helped the king draw up his 'giests' for the summer progress and then sent a copy to Wolsey. (100) The treasurer intended to follow the king on progress and would have played a far greater role in court politics throughout the summer had he not become ill. When Brian Tuke wished to know if Henry desired his presence at court, it was to Fitzwilliam that he wrote. (101) In fact, Fitzwilliam was suffering from the sweating sickness and had remained at Waltham Abbey whilst the king moved on to Hunsdon. For the next few months Fitzwilliam was forced out of the political arena. In July he wrote to Wolsey apologising for his

absence but excused himself on account of his illness. (102) Instead Fitzwilliam hoped that he and Wolsey might meet in the forest near Guildford and have dinner under a tree where Wolsey would be safe from infection. By the end of August, Fitzwilliam had fully recovered, was back at court and had resumed his primacy as Wolsey's contact at court. He continued to represent the cardinal's views and intervened when Henry wished to stay at Hampton Court at very short notice. At the time, Wolsey was in residence and Henry wished him to move and prepare for the court's arrival in just three days. Fitzwilliam succeeded in obtaining more time for the cardinal to move out. (103)

Fitzwilliam's place during the summer of 1528 was taken by three gentlemen of the privy chamber - Thomas Heneage, Richard Page and John Russell - who were particularly close to the cardinal. John Russell had been placed in the privy chamber by the cardinal after the reorganisation of the court in the Eltham Ordinances of 1526. (104) Thomas Heneage, previously Wolsey's gentleman usher, and Richard Page formerly the cardinal's chamberlain were two of his most loyal adherents. This was the first time that Wolsey had directly introduced two of his own household servants into the king's privy chamber. Moreover there was a considerable difference between men like Fitzwilliam, Sandys and Thomas More, who were prepared to work with the cardinal and Wolsey's own household servants. Du Bellay summed up the situation in August 1528, in his report on Wolsey and the court, 'if he (Wolsey) were once to stumble there are plenty to pick him up'. (105) The summer of 1528 was unique. The severe epidemic of sweating sickness transformed court politics. The gentlemen of the privy chamber acquired a new importance since only they and William Kingston (captain of the guard) followed the king during his desperate

flight from one manor to another to escape the disease. (106) Thomas Heneage and John Russell were most frequently in contact with Wolsey. They reported the king's latest itinerary, his views on patronage and they aimed to deflect criticism from the cardinal. On some occasions both gentlemen duplicated one another and informed Wolsey of exactly the same news as on 26th June when both independently wrote to him about the court's move to Bishops Hatfield and which courtiers had succumbed to the sweat. (107)

After writing to Wolsey expressing his anger with his minister for disobeying his explicit instructions in regard to the new abbess of Wilton, Henry softened the blow by summoning Heneage and Russell and speaking 'many kynd wordes of your gras'. (108) At the same time Thomas Heneage attempted to protect Wolsey from further annoying the king. Dr. Vaughan tried to petition the king and obtain a 'token' from him to ensure that Wolsey sealed his patent for the benefice of Marque and Oye in the Marches of Calais. Thomas Heneage prevented him from speaking to the king in case Wolsey's delay might further annoy Henry. At the same time he advised Wolsey 'in my por mynd now ys not the tyme for your gras to steke for so lytell a mater'. (109)

In 1529 Brian Tuke, the new treasurer of the chamber, started the year as the main link between the court and the cardinal. (110) Stephen Gardiner - the new royal secretary made his first appearance at court in this capacity on 28th July. Tuke remained at court for a few more days until the 30th when he sent his final letter to Wolsey from the king. (111) From then on throughout the rest of the king's progress Stephen Gardiner liaised with Wolsey.

Wolsey used only men he believed he could trust to convey information

to the king. In September 1529 Du Bellay, the French ambassador, reported that the cardinal had been betrayed by some of his court agents and yet Wolsey was still blind to their defection.

'I have less hope than before of his influence, from the conversation I have had with him, for I see he trusts in some of his agents (aulcuns faits de sa main) who, I am sure, have betrayed him (luy ont tourné la robe)'. (112)

In his despatch Du Bellay was probably referring to Gardiner and Tuke. When Ralph Sadler was trying to sort out Wolsey's affairs after his fall he told Thomas Cromwell that Gardiner was not to be trusted. (113) Wolsey needed accurate information from the court as well as trustworthy men around the king who could protect him when things went wrong. Without their help the cardinal's position became even more vulnerable throughout the summer of 1529.

The summer of 1528 provides one of the clearest and most detailed insights into the granting of offices at court, the haphazard way in which they were sometimes granted and the role of Cardinal Wolsey. Rarely before had so many offices come flooding on to the patronage market. Not only was Compton killed by the sweating sickness but also William Cary and Francis Pointz during the summer of 1528. Due to the epidemic the cardinal, as well as other courtiers, was forced to petition the king in writing and only a few could make their own verbal representations. It is perhaps for this reason that the disposal of patronage was so closely documented. Wolsey was still seen as one of the best people to petition the king when offices were available and the cardinal was besieged by anxious courtiers who could not visit Henry in person. Lord Sandys, the lord chamberlain, was taking refuge at The Vyne in Hampshire. He was usually in a good position to obtain grants for himself but on this

occasion he implored Wolsey to help him for 'without yor gracs help I shall bee out of remembrance, as well as out of sight'. (114) News of Compton's death travelled very fast, Henry was informed on 30th June, and the following day Sandys wrote to Wolsey for the stewardship of several monasteries which Compton possessed. The following day Sandys was writing again to the cardinal to recommend his friend Ralph Pescal for the office of under-treasurer. (115)

Competition was most intense for the under-treasurership of the exchequer, which was not only very lucrative, but also required little actual work. (116) The post was much sought after and reflected the king's favour. Thomas More had been promoted to the post in May 1521 and William Compton had given up the coveted position of groom of the stool in exchange for the under-treasurership in 1525. (117) It was in this capacity that Compton had attended a council meeting in 1526. (118) John Mordaunt offered Wolsey five hundred marks towards his college at Oxford and he promised to give the king a further one hundred pounds for Compton's office and ended with a plea to Wolsey to burn the letter. (119) Wolsey was seen by many as the best person to petition the king for patronage. Thomas Heneage wrote to Wolsey to recommend Sir Thomas Denyce for the position of under-treasurer, but warned him to act quickly since 'there ys grete labre made for master gage, the vichambrelen'. In the event it was Sir Richard Weston who obtained the under-treasurership, by what means, however, remains unclear. (120)

The death of John Broughton in June 1528 brought another rich prize onto the patronage market as courtiers vied for the wardship of his two sisters. Broughton was Lady Anne Russell's son by her first marriage to Sir John Broughton of Tuddington, Bedfordshire. (121) Anne had three

children by this marriage and with the death of her son the two sisters became his co-heirs. This resulted in a fierce wardship and marriage dispute which took a number of months to resolve. The king believed that the two sisters were his wards, but John Russell, their step-father, argued that the eldest sister, Anne, was no longer a ward and the wardship of the other girl, Katherine, had been granted to Wolsey. Thomas Heneage wrote to the cardinal supporting Russell's petition for the 'marge of the seydy youngest sister'. (122) Russell himself pleaded with Wolsey to give him the custody of the youngest daughter and promised not to bestow the other sister without Wolsey's consent. Russell saw Wolsey as his patron and asked him to be a good lord to him and reminded the cardinal of his unflinching loyalty

'I have borne my hart and service unto your grace above all men living saving only the King'. (123)

John Russell also wrote to Thomas Arundel, one of the gentlemen in Wolsey's privy chamber, asking him to represent his cause with the cardinal. (124) When a client wanted a patron to obtain some patronage for him writing to one of the members of their privy chamber was a common approach. Other courtiers also wrote to Wolsey for these wardships. John Mordaunt offered the cardinal two hundred pounds more than any other suitor but he was never a serious candidate for the patronage. (125) Sir Thomas Cheyney and Sir John Russell - two other gentlemen of the king's privy chamber - petitioned the king and Anne Boleyn to give them custody of the two girls. The privy chamber became polarised over the issue. Some gentlemen favoured Russell, others Cheyney and Wallop.

The factious and violent nature of court politics was highlighted in this patronage dispute, and the rivalry between Russell and Cheyney came to



the attention of the king. Wolsey asked Richard Page, who had previously held the post of chamberlain in Wolsey's household, to keep him fully informed. Page replied

'I have don my best to come to the knowledge what answer the King's grace didde mak unto them that sewed unto his highness for Mr. Cheney.' (127)

Page informed Wolsey that Cheyney was banned from the king's chamber until he had 'humbled him selff and confessed his fawt' and had made his peace with Russell. Henry recognised that the gentlemen of his chamber 'lovith both parties' and he wanted to avoid confrontation. (128) Thus individual dislikes could rise to the surface when important issues were at stake. Cheyney's friends sued to the king but Henry refused to admit him to his presence and reportedly used 'sor words' against Cheyney. The king told Cheyney to come before his council and they in turn would report back on the situation. Cheyney's friends were working hard on his behalf and advised him when he should attend the court. If Page was telling the truth then Henry's anger soon abated, or such was Anne Boleyn's ability to get her own way.

The issue of Broughton's sisters was at the centre of this dispute. The way in which both parties went about obtaining this patronage was symptomatic of the way the court operated. In Page's letter the king is shown to be not only very much in control of the situation but also a very dominant force at the centre of the court. At this stage Henry was still unsure as to whether the elder sister was too old to be his ward but he decided to let the law provide the answer. Although Wolsey backed the Russells, Anne Russell failed in her bid to gain the custody of her two daughters and to determine who they married. By 7th September, Anne Boleyn's charms had proved the greater and Cheyney and Wallop had been

promised the two girls by the king. (129) Wolsey did not give up the battle at this point and in January 1529 he had Cheyney removed from the court, probably after a dispute over Anne Broughton. Anne Boleyn had Cheyney promptly reinstated.

'Maistre Cheny, que cognoissez, avoyt offensé ces jours ledict légat et pour ce estoyt mys hors de la court; la damoiselle le y a remis, voulsist ou non, et se n'a esté sans luy mander rudes parolles'. (130)

Wolsey lost control of Anne Broughton and she eventually married Cheyney. He succeeded, however, in retaining the wardship of the younger daughter, Katherine, in spite of the king's promises to John Wallop. (131) After Wolsey's fall the wardship of Katherine was given to Agnes, duchess of Norfolk and grandmother to Anne Boleyn. (132) The dispute between Russell and Cheyney over the marriage settlement of the older sister was still unresolved as late as 1532. (133)

One of the recurring themes during Henry's reign, particularly during Wolsey's ascendancy, was the confusion over the granting of offices. On 10th July 1528 the king wrote to his illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond, and informed him of his decision that Sir Giles Strangeways and Sir Edward Seymour (Richmond's master of the horse) should be given certain offices in the duke's gift which had become vacant by Compton's death. Richmond's council, however, had already granted these offices to Sir William Parr and George Cotton on their own accord. Unbeknown to the king, Wolsey had previously told the duke's council that they were free to dispose of any offices as they became vacant. (134) This showed a lapse in the communication between king and minister. Wolsey did act, on occasions, independently and this resulted in confusion and disagreement.

Whilst Wolsey presented his views to the king and frequently petitioned for a particular grant, Henry always had the final say - the

cardinal was not allowed to work independently of his master. There was only one occasion when Wolsey deliberately disregarded the king's instructions in matters of patronage and that was in the summer of 1528. The circumstances were exceptional and deserve to be examined in greater detail. Both Henry and Wolsey wrote to one another suggesting that Compton's offices should not be given away instantly. Henry asked for a list of Compton's offices and Wolsey stalled for five days before responding to the king's demand. (135) On 30th June Wolsey advised Henry to stay the distribution of Compton's offices. Wolsey implored that the under-treasurership of the exchequer, in particular, should not be regranted until he could speak with the king. When the cardinal next visited the court, he intended

'to shewe your highnes suche thinges, as therby your grace shall not oonly bestowe the same upon an able person to yor pleasure agreable, but also by the meane therof, to provide for diverse other your good servauntes'. (136)

Wolsey wanted to ensure that Compton's offices were not given away indiscriminately, but instead spread as wide as possible. There was always a shortage of good offices with which to reward trusty crown servants and the cardinal intended that the king should resume and exchange other offices with his courtiers, as in 1517 when Vaux nearly died. Moreover, the cardinal needed to ensure that some of his 'clients' were rewarded in order to enhance his own reputation as a patron. In 1528, however, writing a letter to the king was not enough - Wolsey needed to speak to Henry.

The king himself wanted to have a say in the distribution of offices and fees that Compton had obtained from monasteries and other forms of episcopal patronage. (137) Henry took a very keen interest in how

Compton's offices were given away. He was particularly concerned about the administration of justice in the county of Worcestershire since Compton had been the sheriff. The king recommended that Sir Edward Ferrers from Warwickshire should take control, unless Wolsey could think of anyone more suitable. Moreover, when Wolsey next visited the court Henry intended to make further provision for the county with his minister's help. The king decided that the offices of the stewardship and bailiff of the town of Salisbury would be most suitable for Sir Edward Baynton, in recognition of his service and his landed interests in Wiltshire. Baynton was one of four ordinary esquires of the body and his residence was at Spy Park close to Salisbury. (138) The king chose Dr. Bell, not Thomas Heneage, to give Wolsey his instructions. Henry again used Dr. Bell three days later to inform the cardinal of his displeasure when he discovered that Wolsey had disregarded his wishes. Henry was annoyed that Wolsey had 'soo schortly yevyn' away the office of stewardship and bailiff of Salisbury to someone other than Edward Baynton. (139) Thomas Heneage knew of the king's displeasure but left it to Dr. Bell to inform Wolsey of the exact details. (140)

The breakdown in communication between Henry and Wolsey reached a shattering climax in the abbess of Wilton affair when for a second time Wolsey ignored the king's wishes. The selection of a new abbess for the nunnery of Wilton took three months but during the last crucial month Wolsey was unable to speak to the king. (141) The abbess died on 24th April, 1528 and the convent compromised their elective rights to Wolsey as legate. Anne Boleyn persuaded Henry to support Eleanor Cary - sister of the courtier, William - but Henry had to drop her as a candidate after her dissolute life-style had been exposed. Wolsey supported Dame Isabella

Jordan but Henry chose a new candidate. Wolsey went ahead with his own nomination and Isabella was accepted by the nunnery to Henry's intense irritation. (142)

Such events in themselves could not cause a major rupture between king and minister, but coming at a time when the trust between them was breaking down, it seriously undermined the cardinal's position. It is possible to argue that it was another instance of Wolsey's growing pretensions and that the cardinal felt he could disregard Henry's commands with impunity. More probably, however, it reflected Wolsey's frustration at not being able to speak to the king. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to when Henry and Wolsey last met before the king set out on his progress on the 16th June. It is clear that king and minister did not meet again until Sunday 16th August, at Windsor, although Wolsey tried to visit the king at the end of June. (143) When Wolsey heard of Compton's death and realised that such a large windfall was about to come onto the patronage market he took hurried steps to visit the court; but this was where he came unstuck. The cardinal left Hampton Court and arrived at The More by 28th June in preparation for an audience with the king at Tittenhanger (the manors were only ten miles apart). (144) The documents in Letters and Papers have been incorrectly dated making the situation all the more confusing. When they are placed in their proper order the sequence of events becomes apparent. When Wolsey reached The More he asked for an audience with the king, but Henry declined on account of the plague. The cardinal's letter has been lost but the king's reply was sent through John Russell on Sunday 28th June:

'he (Henry) was sore that your grase schold come yn the efexseon and alles[o] that here ys no loggen mette for your grase'. (145)

The same day Thomas Heneage wrote an almost identical reply to Wolsey. The king was pleased that Wolsey was close at hand, but hoped that the cardinal would defer his visit until a better time. The editor of State Papers placed this letter under 5th July because he maintains that it was the only Sunday when the court was at Tittenhanger. This was not the case and as Appendix I shows, the court had moved to Tittenhanger by Saturday 27th June. (146) Was the king's excuse for not seeing Wolsey a sham or was it genuine? Was this a reflection of the minister's slipping position? After all the cardinal had visited the court before in times of plague. (147) But in 1528 Henry was more paranoid than ever before. The sweating sickness had struck right at the heart of the royal household. Anne Boleyn was suffering from it and likewise several members of the privy chamber. Denied access to the king, Wolsey returned to Hampton Court the following day. (148)

I would argue that the subsequent conflict over patronage was a direct result of this denial of access. As Chapter 6 has shown, if important patronage was at stake Wolsey needed personal contact with the king to ensure success and this became all the more necessary as the reign progressed. In regard to the abbess of Wilton affair, Wolsey miscalculated the strength of the king's feelings about the issue. This was the only occasion during his ascendancy that Wolsey blatantly disregarded the king's instructions and I would argue that the sweating sickness was a crucial factor.

When discussing patronage, the queen is usually ignored. In fact, Katherine had a considerable number of offices at her disposal. William Compton had benefited from her generosity but in this situation Henry decided not to ask her for any of these after Compton's death. It was up

to the queen to 'bestow them at hir pleasur, to hir owyn servauntes'. (149) There was one exception, the king had decided that the keepership of 'Odyam Parke' would be secured for one of his own servants.

Wolsey had a lot of patronage at his disposal and on occasions Henry asked the cardinal to bestow certain offices in his gift to the king's nominees. After Wolsey had disregarded his instructions in July 1528, Henry asked for patronage for three royal servants. The king thanked his minister (through Russell and Heneage) for the collation of the prebend of Ripon and for giving Penne, the royal barber, a wardship. He desired Wolsey to give the benefice of Hurworth to Richard Croke, the duke of Richmond's schoolmaster, who had always performed good service. (150)

Wolsey was seen by many courtiers as one of the best people to secure a grant from the king either by a personal visit or a letter to Henry. Some of the greatest magnates of the realm used Wolsey as a channel through which to gain patronage if other avenues were closed. In April 1525, the duke of Norfolk had heard that Lord Marney was dying and he wrote to Wolsey to secure the custody of his two daughters. (151) Significantly, this letter was written at a time when the duke was absent from court at Kenninghall and unable to petition the king directly. Robert Lord Fitzwalter, upon hearing of William Cary's death in 1528 wrote to the cardinal requesting several of his offices near his own property as well as the stewardship of the duchy of Lancaster in Essex. (152) The duke of Suffolk wrote to Wolsey asking if there was any alternative way in which he could secure a grant or provide good lordship for one of his servants. There are a substantial number of letters calendared in Letters and Papers which were written by prominent men to Wolsey asking for his help. (153) There were, however, numerous other ways in which patronage could be

obtained. The gentlemen of the privy chamber played an important part in the patronage process. They could regulate the flow of petitions to the king and also choose the most opportune moment when Henry would be prepared to sign a 'bill'. (154) Their significance, however, should not be overstated. As Dr. Gunn has shown, the duke of Suffolk used the privy chamber as a 'short-cut to the king' rather than as a patronage system in itself. (155) In 1527 Suffolk tried to secure the comptrollership of the Ipswich customs for Henry Wingfield and he wrote to Walter Walshe, one of the grooms of the privy chamber, to enlist his help. Suffolk failed in his bid and the office was given to William Sabin. (156)

Men cultivated friends at court who could obtain grants, money owed to them etc. from the king. Often there were a number of links in the chain. While Hackett acted as ambassador in the low countries he used both William Knight (the king's secretary) and Brian Tuke to represent his interests at court. This worked well until November 1527 when Knight himself was sent abroad and Tuke had 'ben longe absent from the Corte by meanes of syknesse'. (157) In this case Hackett turned to Robert Wingfield who wrote to Stephen Gardiner, at this point Wolsey's secretary, from Calais urging him to help the unfortunate ambassador. After Wolsey's fall in November 1529, Thomas Cromwell needed the support of the duke of Norfolk. He sent Ralph Sadler to the court to help him secure a seat in the forthcoming parliament. Sadler spoke to John Gage, the vice-chamberlain and an influential person at court, and persuaded him to speak to Norfolk on Cromwell's behalf. The duke then spoke to the king who agreed to the proposal and Cromwell eventually sat for Taunton. (158)

The pursuit of patronage bred factions at court whereby individuals worked together towards a common aim. 'Faction' is a very complex term



and Professor Ives has helped to provide a definition. He defines 'a faction' as

'"a group of people which seeks objectives that are seen primarily in personal terms" - either positive (gaining or keeping privileges, grants, jobs, office for members or their associates), or negative (denying such things to rivals).' (159)

A small number of courtiers could operate together on a limited basis to secure a specific grant of patronage. Faction, in this sense, can be seen in action in the letters of William Brereton and how 'court groups' were 'organised to secure this grant or that'. (160) In order to understand fully how a courtier obtained patronage it is necessary to look at his role in the localities and this would be outside the scope of this present study. As Professor Ives has shown the fight for Egerton's offices in the 1520s revealed a complicated campaign fought at the court and in the country. (161) At the same time 'faction' could operate at a higher political level and one can talk, for example, in terms of the 'Neville - Courtenay' connection. (162) Dr. Starkey, however, only recognises faction on a large scale at court and argues that it was not until the late 1520s that faction 'became the principal element in politics'. (163) From Wolsey's point of view it was not until 1527 that his ability as patron was seriously undermined by the rise of Anne Boleyn in Henry's affections. (164)

Henry gave away much patronage without consulting his chief minister. Whilst Wolsey was away in France in 1521, the earl of Devon succeeded in obtaining the reversion of lands belonging to Sir John Pechey whilst Pechey was on his death bed. (165) The cardinal was keen to keep a close check on the distribution of patronage. Sometimes a grant could be given away twice as in 1517. The earl of Shrewsbury had been granted the custody of

Sir Richard Bosan, a lunatic but Sir Henry Sherbourne had also obtained a bill granting him the same. The earl, who was accompanying Queen Margaret back to Scotland, looked to Wolsey for redress of his grievance. (166)

Grants were not necessarily exclusively the result of royal favour. Henry believed that if an official had performed loyal service over a number of years he deserved promotion and the case of Sir Edward Poynings in 1519 is symptomatic of this. There was also an element of calculation and a deliberate effort was made by Henry and Wolsey to strengthen the position of loyal servants in the localities. The distribution of patronage in this context was far from haphazard. Sir William Kingston, a major landowner in Gloucestershire, was the main beneficiary from Buckingham's execution in 1521. Amongst other things Kingston became steward and bailiff of all Buckingham's possessions in Gloucestershire and constable of Thornbury Castle. (167) As constable, Kingston could use Thornbury as his official residence adding greatly to his power in the area.

Wolsey's suggestions were not always accepted by the king. If Henry made up his mind Wolsey was powerless to stop him. In April 1518, Friar Standish was appointed to the see of St. Asaph. Wolsey had supported the prior of St. Bartholomews (William Bolton) in his bid for the office, but the king overruled the cardinal's nominee. Richard Pace first warned Wolsey on 14th April that the king favoured Standish. If Wolsey tried to persuade Henry he was unsuccessful, and four days later Pace confirmed his appointment to St. Asaph. (168) This was a matter of personal taste and does not reflect any weakness on Wolsey's part.

The king was very much in charge at court and although Wolsey was the most influential man of those around the king he still had to obey Henry's wishes. The king was no cipher, he did not hesitate to amend, alter or

even veto any of the cardinal's decisions. When Wolsey drew up special measures for the town of Leicester in May 1526, he sent a draft to Henry who made a number of objections and changes. (169) Henry was dissatisfied when he heard that Sir Thomas Lovell had been included as a commissioner for Walmer and the New Forest in July 1521. The king imagined that Lovell had been included after pressure from Lister and he feared that Lovell would take little action against the earl of Arundel. (170) The king was uninterested in the tedium of administration but when it came to political decisions and patronage he was very much in control of the situation. Much of our evidence for Wolsey's supremacy comes from ambassadors' reports. It is clear, however, that Wolsey always tried to appear more influential and of greater importance than in fact was the case. When the Venetian ambassador called the cardinal the 'alter rex' in 1516 it showed just how successful Wolsey had been in his self presentation rather than being an accurate statement of his power. Du Bellay guessed at the truth in 1528, and although by this time Wolsey's power was being undermined, it is still indicative of the cardinal's whole approach to government. The French ambassador informed Montmorency 'as to Wolsey I do not believe he knows the state of matters however much he pretends so to do'. (171)

Although Wolsey was very influential at court and in the king's affairs, he never gained a monopoly of either influence or patronage. Wolsey had to work to maintain both his influence and his ascendancy at court. It is unhelpful, however, to make too many broad sweeping generalisations. The situation was essentially dynamic and varied from one year to the next. Just because Wolsey disagreed with a courtier on one occasion does not mean that they were constantly at loggerheads. Most courtiers were pragmatic and whilst many might dislike the pompous prelate

it was in everyone's interest to get on with him and maintain a good working relationship. From Wolsey's point of view, he needed the support and acquiescence of at least some men around the king. Traditionally the cardinal is seen as the arch enemy of William Compton (groom of the stool until 1526) and yet in 1516 Thomas Alen reported that they were 'marvelous gret'. (172) In 1517 dissent against Wolsey was not welcomed by the king and when Sir Robert Sheffield complained to Henry about his chief minister he found himself incarcerated in the Tower of London for a second time.

(173) Wolsey worked day by day to ensure that his influence and access to the king remained intact. There was also another political arena, the king's council. The council met at court, as well as in star chamber, and all courtiers who held senior positions in the household were sworn councillors. It is therefore only by examining the council that Wolsey's full impact on the court can be seen.

Notes and References.

1. SP1/54 f.250 (LP IV iii 5750) J. Palsgrave, The Comedy of Acolastus, ed. P.L. Carver (Early English Text Society ccii, 1937) p.xli.
2. Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth, (London, 1672) p.299. (LP IV iii 6075) The original document is now lost but draft articles of complaint can be found in E314/82.
3. Starkey, Henry VIII, pp.79-80. G. Walker, 'The "Expulsion of the Minions", of 1519, Reconsidered', Forthcoming article.
4. Mr. L. Gardiner is researching Wolsey's household and I am grateful for his help.
5. BL Harleian MS 620 f.19. E179 69/10 (LP IV ii 2972) One of the subsidy lists contains the names of 429 men in Wolsey's household, the other a list of 275.
6. BL Cotton MS Cleopatra EIV f.211 (LP IV Appendix 238) The five men were:- Thomas Alvard, John Seyntclere, Miles Forrest, Humphrey Lisle and Mr. Morris.
7. Ibid. f.211 BL Royal MS 7F XIV f.105. (LP II i 2735).
8. R.B. Smith, Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII. The West Riding of Yorkshire: 1530-46, (Oxford, 1970) pp.153-5.
9. SP/1 24 f.42 (LP III ii 2103)
10. Ibid. f.42v.
11. LP III ii 2415(6,18) LP IV i 137(8), 895(26)
12. LP IV i 1610(11)
13. LP III i 652(31), 1142, 1081, ii 2415(6)
14. LP III ii 2415(6)
15. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives. p.111
16. LP II ii 2979.
17. LP II ii 3902, 4199, III i 405(2)
18. LP III ii 1451(20), 2297(7)
19. LP IV i 1135 BL Cotton MS Calig. D X f.103v (LP IV ii 3216)
20. CSPS FS p.304 LP Addenda I 373, LP IV ii 3380.
21. SP1/19 f.165-165v (LP III i 595)
22. E36 216 f.6 The other examples include LP III ii pp.1534, 1537, 1539, 1541, 1542
23. BL Cotton MS Caligula D X f.103 (LP IV ii 3216)
25. BL Harleian MS 620 f.19
26. BL Harleian MS 589 f.192 (Printed by J.G. Nichols, Camden Miscellany iii (London, 1855) p.xxii LP IV ii 3380)
27. SP1/39 f.141, SP1/40 f.96 (LP IV ii 2501, 2729).
28. SP/1 232 f.41 (LP Addenda I i 196)
29. Ibid. f.41
30. The henchmen were the children at court - usually of noble origin and well connected with the king. From this letter it is apparent that Nicholas Carew was himself a henchman when Henry was a child, making it particularly appropriate that he should become master.
31. SP/1 18 ff.162-3 (LP III i 223)
32. R.L. Woods. 'The Amicable grant: some aspects of Thomas Wolsey's rule in England 1522-26', (University of California, Los Angeles Ph.D. 1974) p.91.
33. SP1/18 f.162v (LP III i 223)
34. Ibid. f.162v
35. SP1/19 f.21 (LP III i 447)

36. Ibid. f.21
37. Hall, Chronicle, p.599.
38. E101 419/5
39. E101 419/6
40. SP1/10 f.61 (LP II i 172).
41. LP III i 486.
42. SP1/24 ff.42-42v, 55-55v (LP III ii 2103, 2134)  
 SP1/25 ff.25-26, 41 (LP III ii 2374, 2385) Sampson was made dean of  
 the Chapel Royal before January 1523. SP1/26 f.259v
43. BL Cotton MS Galba B VI ff.236-7 (LP III ii 2555).
44. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.433.
45. SP1/29 f.95v St.P VI p.211 (LP III ii 3601)
46. E36 217 ff.97-100 (LP III ii p.1551)
47. P. Buckland, 'Sir Robert and Richard Wingfield', (Birmingham M.A. 1969)  
 p.284.
48. SP1/36 ff.139-40 (LP IV i 1752), C82/569 (LP IV i 1996) BL Cotton  
 MS Vesp. CXIV ff.295-7 (LP IV Appendix 66)
49. BL Cotton MS Titus B I f.326 (LP IV ii 4452)
50. Starkey, The English Court, pp.104, 105-107.
51. G. Walker, 'The "Expulsion of the Minions", of 1519, Reconsidered',  
 Forthcoming article.
52. See Appendix IV.
53. BL Harleian MS 69 f.6v LP I i 20 p.13. Hall, Chronicle, p.512. (Hall  
 confuses Pechey's rank with that of Essex)
54. LP III i 229 Buckland, 'Sir Robert and Richard Wingfield', p.181.
55. In 1535 Henry VIII laid down the order of precedence at Calais.  
 BL Harleian MS 353 f.186
- |                          |                                 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Deputy.               | 2. Lieutenant of Guisnes.       |
| 3. High Marshal.         | 4. Lieutenant of Calais Castle. |
| 5. Treasurer             | 6. Lieutenant of Ruysbank.      |
| 7. Lieutenant of Hammes. | 8. Comptroller.                 |
| 9. High Porter.          | 10. Lieutenant of Newhambridge. |
11. Under Marshal
56. LP III i 230. See Appendix IV
57. HC II pp.262-3
58. Hall Chronicle, p.598
59. Household Ordinances pp.137-164.
60. Starkey, The English Court, pp.106-7.
61. Starkey, Henry VIII, p.89.
62. SP1/18 f.65 (LP III i 151)
63. SP1/37 f.64 (LP IV i 1939(4)) LS 13/278 f.153-5
64. LP IV iii 5774
65. HC I p.666
66. SP1/37 f.64 (LP IV i 1939[81])
67. Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers MS 3192 f.45 (LP II ii 3807)  
 Starkey, Henry VIII, p.73-4.
68. LP III ii p.1557. Montfauçon, Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française,  
 IV p.186. HC I pp.666-7.
69. Starkey, The English Court, p.109
70. J.A. Guy, The Public Career of Sir Thomas More, (Brighton, 1980)  
 J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Thomas More: The King's Good Servant', Thought:  
Fordham University Quarterly lii (1977)  
 G.R. Elton, 'Thomas More, councillor (1517-1529)' in St. Thomas More:  
Action and Contemplation, ed. R.S. Sylvester (New Haven, Conn., and

- London, 1972), reprinted Studies I
71. Starkey, Henry VIII, pp.73-4.
  72. Scarisbrick, 'Thomas More', p.254
  73. Guy, Sir Thomas More, pp.17-18.
  74. See below, Chapter 8.
  75. Williams, N. Henry VIII and his court, (London, 1971) p.82
  76. SP1/21 f.215 (LP III i 1192)
  77. LP IV iii 5535
  78. SP1/39 f.2 (LP IV 2344) This letter is misdated in Letters and Papers under 1526.
  79. SP1/38 f.257 (LP IV i 2326)
  80. SP1/37 f.258 (LP IV i 2060)
  81. Ibid. f.258
  82. Massey Villiard had also held a position in the privy chamber earlier in the reign. He had attended Henry VII's funeral as a page of the chamber and in 1519 was formally described as a groom of the privy chamber. (LP I i 20 p.13, III i 102(121)) In 1524 he was assessed for the subsidy under the 'ewery'. E179 69/23 (LP IV i 136)
  83. SP1/39 f.31
  84. AAJB p.239 (LP IV ii 4206)
  85. SP1/39 f.1 (LP IV i 2343)
  86. Ibid. f.5v (LP IV i 2349)
  87. Ibid. f.38 (LP IV ii 2377)
  88. Ibid. f.75 (LP IV ii 2407)
  89. Ibid. ff.68-9 (LP IV ii 2397)
  90. Ibid. f.68
  91. SP1/39 f.87-8 St.P I 172 (LP IV ii 2420)
  92. SP1/39 f.92-3 (LP IV ii 2428) LP IV ii 2452.
  93. SP1/39 f.106 (LP IV ii 2445) SP60/1 f.100 (LP IV ii 2433)
  94. SP1/44 f.200 (LP IV ii 3527)
  95. SP1/43 f.55 (LP IV ii 3354)
  96. SP1/42 f.237 (LP IV ii 3302)
  97. Ibid. ff.239-241 (LP IV ii 3304)
  98. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, pp.158-162. J. Gairdner in 'New Lights on the Divorce of Henry VIII', EHR xi (1896) p.685
  99. SP1/48 f.49 (LP IV ii 4299) See also SP1/46 ff.124, 263 (LP IV ii 3812, 3936) SP1/47 ff.29-30 (LP IV ii 3993)
  100. SP1/48 f.181 (LP IV ii 4367) The 'giests' were separated from the letter and can be found in SP1/235 f.266 (LP Addenda I i 58)
  101. BL Cotton MS Vesp. C IV f.255. St. P I 293. (LP IV ii 4404)
  102. SP1/38 f.252 (LP IV i 2323) In Letters and Papers this letter was dated 1526 when it is clear it should belong to 1528.
  103. SP1/50 ff.123-4 (LP IV ii 4766)
  104. Household Ordinances p.154.
  105. AAJB p.365 (LP IV ii 4649). 'S'il choppoyt, ilz sont gens assez au guect pour le relever'.
  106. SP60/1 f.126 (LP IV ii 4422).
  107. SP1/48 f.245 (LP IV ii 4429) LP IV ii 4422.
  108. SP1/49 f.106 St. P I p.316. (LP IV ii 4508)
  109. Ibid. f.106
  110. BL Cotton MS Vit. B X f.92. (LP IV iii 5351)
  111. BL Cotton MS Vit. B XI f.217, Titus B I f.292 (LP IV iii 5798, 5802)
  112. LP IV iii 5945
  113. BL Cotton MS Titus BI f.375

114. SP1/49 f.54 (LP IV ii 4450)
115. SP1/49 f.58 (LP IV ii 4454)
116. Guy, Thomas More, p.24.
117. Starkey, Henry VIII, pp.88-89.
118. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.521
119. BL Cotton MS Titus B I ff.326-326v. (LP IV ii 4452)
120. SP1/49 f.53v. St. P I 152 (LP IV ii 4449) HC I p.590-2
121. Sir John Broughton's Will was proved in June 1519. 17 Aylofffe Prob 11/19/17. John Russell was Anne's third husband. D. Willen, John Russell, First Earl of Bedford, One of the King's Men, Royal Historical Society Studies in History Series, no. 23 (London, 1981) p.15.
122. SP1/48 ff.255-255v. St. P I 149 (LP IV 4436)
123. SP1/49 f.63
124. SP1/48 f.257 (LP IV ii 4437).
125. BL Cotton MS Titus B I ff.326-326v. (LP IV ii 4452)
127. SP1/49 f.167 (LP IV ii 4584)
128. Ibid. f.167
129. SP1/50 f. 96 (LP IV ii 4710)
130. AAJB. p.543 (LP IV iii 5210)
131. HC I p.634. Wallop was paid £400 in compensation. Ives, Anne Boleyn. p.127
132. LP IV iii 6072(21)
133. LP VI i 462
134. SP1/49 f.124 (LP IV ii 4536)
135. SP1/48 f.258 St. P I 148 p.304. (LP IV ii 4438).
136. SP1/49 f.80 St. P I 151 (LP IV ii 4468)
137. SP1/49 ff.84-5. (LP IV ii 4476)
138. LS 13/278 f.53
139. SP1/49 ff.95-95v. St. P I 158 (LP IV ii 4488)
140. SP1/49 f.102 St. P I 159 (LP IV ii 4497)
141. The election was not confirmed until November.
142. D.D. Knowles, "'The Matter of Wilton" in 1528', BIHR (1958) xxi pp.92-95
143. AAJB p.378 (LP IV Appendix 190).
144. LP IV ii 4430
145. SP1/48 f.243. (LP IV ii 4428)
146. SP1/49 f.74 St. P I 154 (LP IV ii 4467) In Letters and Papers the letter was also misdated 5th July. It was written on a Sunday and in the context this must have been 28th June.
147. See Chapter 6.
148. LP IV ii 4435(i)
149. SP1/49 f.53v. St. P I p.306 (LP IV ii 4449)
150. BL Cotton MS Titus BXI f.349 (LP IV ii 4562)
151. SP1/35 f.131 (LP IV i 1241)
152. SP1/48 f.224 (LP IV ii 4413)
153. Gunn, Duke of Suffolk, p.71 Other examples include: LP III i 1300, LP IV ii 3035, 3036, 3884.
154. D.R. Starkey, 'Court and Government' in Revolution Reassessed, ed. C. Coleman and D.R. Starkey (Oxford, 1986) p.50.
155. Gunn, Duke of Suffolk, p.99
156. Ibid. p.99
157. SP1/45 ff.89-90 (LP IV 3611)
158. BL Cotton MS Cleopatra EIV f.211. (LP IV Appendix 238)



159. E.W. Ives, Faction in Tudor England, Historical Association Appreciations in History, no.6 (London, 1979) p.1.
160. E.W. Ives, Letters and accounts of William Brereton of Malpas, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire cxvi (1976) p.22.  
E.W. Ives, 'Court and county palatine in the reign of Henry VIII' in Transaction of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxxiii (1972) pp.9-11.
161. E.W. Ives, 'Patronage at the Court of Henry VIII: The Case of Sir Ralph Egerton of Ridley', Bulletin of the John Ryland University Library of Manchester, lii (1970) p.367.
162. Ives, Anne Boleyn, p.124.
163. Starkey, 'From Feud to Faction', p.19, The English Court, p.108.
164. Ives, Anne Boleyn, pp.122-3
165. BL Cotton MS Titus BI f.298v (LP III ii 1739)
166. SP49/1 f.92 (LP II ii 3294)
167. HC II p.470 LP III ii 2016(29)
168. SP1/16 ff.229, 234. (LP II ii 4083, 4089).
169. SP1/38 f.155. (LP IV i 2191)
170. SP1/22 ff.254-254v. St. P I 19 (LP III ii 1437).
171. 'Quant à monseigneur le légat, je pense qu'il ne sçayt pas bien où il en est, quelque dissimulation qu'il en facze'. AAJB p.363.  
(LP IV ii 4649)
172. Lambeth Palace Talbot Papers MS 3192 f.39. (LP II i 1959)
173. Lambeth Palace Talbot Papers MS 3206 f.29v (LP II ii 3487)

## CHAPTER 8.

### THE COUNCIL AND THE COURT

'The King's Council was the centre of administration, the instrument of policy making, the arena of political conflict, and the ultimate means of dispensing the King's justice'. (1)

The king's council was the mainspring of Tudor government. It fulfilled a whole range of complex tasks and its primary role, as Professor Chrimes has argued, was to advise the king. (2) There was nothing neat or simple about the council - the number of councillors attending a meeting varied considerably as did its composition, venue and the issues discussed. The council and the royal court were inextricably intertwined. A large number of courtiers were councillors, the council met at court and the king looked to those around him for informal advice. The aim of this chapter will be to examine the council in the context of the court and the impact of the king's itinerary on the council, its function, composition and role in policy making.

Dr. Guy in his meticulous study of the council sitting in star chamber, has helped to clarify one aspect of the council's work. He argues that Wolsey reorganised the council about himself in star chamber, expanded the judicial function of the council's work and encouraged the hearing of 'poor men's' suits. Wolsey showed his determination to enforce the king's laws and did not hesitate to bring the mighty to justice. The cardinal humiliated noblemen and other councillors in star chamber and used 'his' court to increase his own personal standing and even pay off old scores. (3)

Less attention has been paid to the council meeting at court and the role of councillors around the king. The traditional belief that Henry's love of pleasure precluded attention to state business is beginning to be revised. (4) It is becoming clear that although Henry VIII had little desire for the minutiae of government, leaving the tedious aspects to Wolsey, he did, nevertheless, take a keen interest in overall policy and in particular the direction of diplomacy. A revised view of Henry's attitude to work must also change our perception of the council. The king was, however, unpredictable and this emerges as one of the key aspects of his reign. Although Wolsey acted as the king's chief councillor, he never enjoyed a complete monopoly of power. The cardinal had to take into account some of the chief officers of state and their role as councillors has been underrated. Whilst the chief minister dominated the council meeting in star chamber, this was only one aspect of conciliar government.

The council is central to a full understanding of the court, even if, as Dr. Guy argues, 'Wolsey virtually extinguished the king's continual council'. (5) He argues that Wolsey's concentration of the council about himself in star chamber lessened the importance of the royal court in the decision making process.

'since Henry VIII rarely attended formal council meetings, he relied on Wolsey to manage his council and keep him abreast of affairs either in person or by correspondence'. (6)

The king only attended four meetings of the council in star chamber during Wolsey's ascendancy and these were primarily ceremonial. They were the only meetings of the council attended by a very large number of councillors - as many as fifty-five in October 1519. (7)

The rise of Wolsey meant that the court was not the sole centre of attention. The cardinal encouraged councillors to join him in star

chamber and in the daily ritual of escorting the cardinal from York Place to Westminster. (8) In 1517 the Venetian ambassador remarked that since coming to London the duke of Suffolk was accompanying Wolsey to Westminster each day 'whereby his affairs will prosper'. (9) Several letters have survived in which Suffolk apologised to Wolsey for not attending the council more often. (10)

The key to understanding the council at court, and outside star chamber, is its flexibility and informality. The council was, in effect, a meeting of a group of councillors, whether they numbered two or fifty-five. Formal records were kept of meetings in star chamber and in the subsidiary judicial courts established by Wolsey to cope with the dramatic increase in suitors. (11) Otherwise council meetings were largely informal and the only evidence of what business was conducted comes from those who took part. Records were kept of the judicial and executive work of the council, but rarely when Henry sought advice or wished to discuss the latest diplomatic situation.

The 'council' is sometimes spoken of by historians as though it was a modern institution - rigidly defined and bureaucratic - in reality it was a collection of individuals. Councillors met the king when he needed advice and were sent off on a variety of government tasks; in short the council was an extension of the king's personal authority. There were customs as to when the king should consult his council, but no rules. The king decided who he wanted to advise him (even if he was away on a hunting expedition).

The council met in star chamber, but any meeting outside was up to the king's discretion. There was no such thing as a quorum and the secretary did not even have to be present. The only need was the king's desire for

counsel and one or two people to supply it. The king was not always present; he frequently delegated councillors to go away and decide on a matter. Council meetings at court were informal and there was no way of defining a collective entity. The king could obtain advice from individual councillors. The council, in effect, represented the most intimate men of the king's affinity. They were chosen and sworn for the purpose of advising the king. A monarch could ask anyone for advice, but he was constrained by custom to consult his councillors on matters of state.

At this stage a distinction has to be made between the itinerant court and the court on progress. As Chapter 1 has proved, for a high percentage of the year, the court remained within easy riding distance of London (although rarely staying in the capital). Whilst the court remained relatively close to Westminster the concept of the council 'attendant' becomes more difficult to substantiate. For a greater part of the year, therefore, it is perhaps the terminology which falls into abeyance, rather than the council 'attendant'. Owing to the twin foci of power, councillors moved between the court and star chamber and from king to minister as business demanded. During the law term whilst the court resided close to London, councillors (including Wolsey) could move with ease from Westminster to Greenwich, Richmond or Windsor. Previously historians have confused these two quite separate situations. Dr. Guy in his excellent work on star chamber, underestimates the importance of the king and his court.

'Discussion of affairs of state was almost entirely confined to domestic issues.... policy decisions... were despatched by Wolsey himself in liaison with the king, with the occasional intervention of whichever councillors had happened to secure Henry's ear while accompanying the royal progress'. (12)

In this chapter the two situations - the itinerant court as opposed to the court on progress - will be treated separately where possible.

During the law term it was customary for Wolsey and some of the king's councillors to be at court on Sundays and for feast days. Sunday was the main ceremonial day of the week and also the most common time for the king to receive foreign envoys. The king attended mass, the ambassadors were escorted to court and invited to dine with those councillors present. After dinner the king gave an audience and the pomp and ceremony depended upon the importance of the visit. The council in star chamber did not sit on Sundays, and the focus of attention was switched from Westminster to the court. Outside of the law term this routine was not repeated and ambassadors visited the king on other days of the week.

When the king met foreign envoys it was essential for him to be accompanied by some of his foremost councillors. The council was an integral part of Henry's honour and whether in the joust or in diplomacy, the king's honour was paramount. The image of himself surrounded by his councillors, buttressed by the great men of his kingdom, left an indelible mark upon Henry VIII. The council was an essential prop for any aspiring Renaissance monarch! Henry's image of himself ensured that unrealistic plans for the council were incorporated into the Eltham Ordinances.

'The King's highnesse shall always be well furnished of an honourable presence of councillors about his grace, as to his high honour doth apperteyne'. (13)

At no other time did Henry feel the need to be surrounded by his council so acutely as when Charles V visited England in 1522. The king informed Sampson when he arrived at Windsor on 14th June, that he wished

'besydys Mr. More to have som personages about hym as well to receyve strangers that shall chance to com as also that the same strangers shall not fynde hym so bare about hym'. (14)

No doubt Henry had in mind an incident in September of the previous year when some Spanish nobles arrived unexpectedly at court. This was a complete surprise for the king and the Spanish physician was used as an interpreter. (15) Sampson asked Henry if he had anyone in particular in mind but the king answered that 'he wold name noon'. (16) Henry was more interested in having great men about him to maintain his honour. On the previous day a large number of councillors had flocked to Westminster to hear Wolsey declare what

'great and urgent causys that his grace hath hadde before that he wold make ony declaration off warre'. (17)

It was honour which prompted the king's council to act in May 1519. Although Wolsey was, no doubt, the prime mover behind the expulsion of the 'minions' from court, (18) the council as a whole played a part in the affair

'The Kynges counsail thought it not mete to be suffred for the Kinges honor, and therefore thei altogether came to the king, beseching him al these enormitys and lightness to redresse'. (19)

The council was concerned for the king's honour and disapproved of the king's 'minions' who 'plaied light touches with hym' undermining Henry's authority. The king told his council that he had chosen them for the maintenance of his honour and would abide by their decision.

Large numbers of councillors were expected to be at court when important treaties were signed. The role of the court in ceremonial is beyond question and the council at court played a fundamental role in presenting a united front to foreign envoys. Complex arrangements were made for the most important state occasions. A memorandum has survived giving details of who was responsible for preparing the court for the ratification of the treaty between England and France.

'al the noble men both sp[irit]ual and temporal nowe being at Grenewich,

London and in al other places nere therin adjoynant shalbe warned by the vicechamberlain or such as he shal appoint to be at grenewich on Satur[day] by oon of the klok at afternoon at the furthest there to [be] redy and to geve there attendaunce upon the kings grace for the honourable furnitor of his court...' (20)

Whilst Wolsey carried on the day to day negotiations with visiting ambassadors, their audience with the king played an important part in the conduct of diplomacy. It helped to place the king on a pedestal and strenuous efforts were made to ensure that ambassadors did not exploit any disagreement between king and minister. Moreover, Henry showed himself to be in full control and as Dr. Bernard has explained the king was no 'puppet' to be wheeled out on these occasions. (21) When deciding on a course of action, the king did not depend solely on Wolsey but summoned his council to hear a broader range of views. The extent to which Henry took his councillors' advice is debatable but it is clear that Henry did summon council meetings and consult his most eminent councillors. During an audience with the Imperial ambassador on Sunday 5th January 1522, it was suggested that Henry should send an ambassador to Switzerland without delay. The king discussed it with his 'privy council' having first gone over it with Wolsey. Initially Henry was unconvinced, believing there was not enough time, but eventually it was decided to send Dr. Knight as quickly as possible. (22) Later in the same month the Imperial ambassadors were invited to a special meeting of the council to discuss the amount which England was prepared to lend to Charles V. The ambassadors provide the only evidence of how the meeting was conducted. Henry was present and

'spoke there in such warm and friendly fashion that all the councillors were converted to his opinion that your Majesty's (Charles V) needs should be met as far as possible.' (23)

It was eventually decided to grant the emperor a loan of one hundred



thousand crowns. Richard Wingfield and the ambassadors argued that the sum should be twice this amount but Wolsey rebuffed this suggestion and explained that the king had to prepare an army against Scotland as well as six thousand men for the emperor's voyage. Henry was seen to be playing a prominent role in the council meeting.

Whether councillors remained with the king during an audience with a foreign ambassador depended upon the situation. On 16th February 1522, the king spent an hour in discussion with his councillors before speaking to the Imperial ambassadors and all the councillors were dismissed except for Wolsey. (24) When the Imperial ambassadors visited Henry on Friday 19th December 1522, intending to discuss the plans for the following summer, the king informed them that he wished to consult his council first. They were told to return on the following Sunday when the king summoned his council and discussed the issue with them. (25) Henry's role in the negotiations was not confined to short and largely superficial discussion. Throughout Sunday and Monday (4th and 5th January, 1523) king and minister kept the Imperial envoy in conversation without coming to any agreement. Wolsey was, however, the prime mover and he made a 'long harangue' in the presence of the king and council on the subject of the aid. (26)

Henry did not always consider Wolsey to be his sole adviser and periodically took the initiative (always a dangerous sign for his chief minister). The king summoned and conducted council meetings on impulse and in 1519, for example, Henry decided that he was unhappy with the way that the issue of the French 'hostages' was being handled. It represented one of the few occasions when the duke of Suffolk acted as a link between king and minister

'plyssed yovr grace [Wolsey] acordyng vn[to] yovr commandmynt I schowd vn to the kynges grace scheck charge as yovr grace gaf me to

doo vnto hes grace'. (27)

Suffolk had informed the king that Wolsey was very pleased with the state of affairs which was to the king's 'great honour' but Henry replied that Wolsey was mistaken. The four gentlemen from France who were to act as 'hostages' for the restitution of Tournai were not members of the French king's chamber and moreover Francis' letter was not written in an appropriate way. The king wanted Wolsey to come to court for the debating of the matter on the following day. If Wolsey could not manage to come to court then the king expected him to express his views through Richard Pace. (28)

The council meetings described so far took place while the court was at Greenwich but Wolsey and the council continued to visit the court at Windsor. In June 1525 commissioners from the emperor spent several days at Windsor to discuss the proposed marriage between Princess Mary and Charles V. When the king gave a private audience to an ambassador, Wolsey was usually close at hand to help out. Henry was informed on 7th June, that Charles V expected Mary to reside in Spain and he immediately sent for Wolsey. In the presence of the cardinal Henry then asked what guarantee could be given that the emperor would consummate the marriage with his daughter. (29) Henry and Wolsey had two long conferences of six to seven hours each with the ambassadors and a third meeting was held in the council chamber at Windsor with the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Boleyn and other councillors. Henry remained in an adjoining room and periodically entered the council chamber to confer with his 'privy councillors'. (30)

Some council meetings were conducted by Wolsey alone at court usually with a small number of trusted councillors as on 17th April 1522 when the

number was six. (31) Sunday the 25th May 1516 witnessed the largest recorded council meeting at court. It was unlike those usually summoned and indeed the number of councillors present and the subject discussed more closely resembled the council meeting in star chamber. Nineteen councillors were present including four law officers:- Fineux, C.J.K.B., Read, C.J.C.B., Port, a solicitor and John Ernley, attorney general. Peers included the duke of Buckingham, earl of Surrey and marquis of Dorset. The chief officers of the household were also present:- Sir Henry Marney, Sir Edward Poynings and Sir Thomas Lovell. A memorandum was issued to ensure that all commissioners for muster would bring in their old commissions and have new ones issued. (32)

As the king's chief minister, Wolsey concentrated the council about himself, not only in star chamber, but also at his own palaces of Hampton Court, York Place and even The More. As Dr. Guy has ascertained the council meeting in star chamber did not generally discuss foreign policy, (33) but the council as a body continued to meet ambassadors as they had done under Henry VII. The expenses for Wolsey and 'the lords of our sovereign lord the kings most honourable counsayle', have survived for several years during Wolsey's ascendancy. These diets show that the council also met at the Savoy on Friday 11th April 1516 and Wednesday 4th February 1517. On 31st March 1516 £3.1s.2d. was paid for food when the council met the ambassador from Savoy at the Tower. (34) The council which Wolsey presided over, outside star chamber, was more important as a body for giving advice. Whereas any councillor could attend star chamber - and Wolsey was very anxious that councillors should participate - the council outside star chamber was in effect confined to a small group of intimate and trusted councillors. Wolsey sometimes conducted negotiations

alone with ambassadors but it was more usual for some of the councillors of the 'inner ring' to be present.

The importance of the negotiations dictated the way in which they were conducted. Particular emphasis was given to the discussions with the French envoy for the marriage of Princess Mary and Francis I in 1527. Some of the most eminent councillors were chosen to act as commissioners in the negotiations. (35) The account by Dodieu shows how the king, Wolsey and the council worked together to ensure that the treaty was finally sworn on Sunday the 5th May. The discussions were held almost daily for two months. Most of the work was completed by Wolsey and the commissioners but the king played a leading role. On Thursday the 7th March, the ambassadors were escorted to Greenwich where they were presented to the king in his 'arriere salle' surrounded by thirteen or fourteen eminent personages. Henry consulted with his councillors and remained very much in charge throughout. (36) On one day the negotiations were split between Wolsey and the court at Greenwich. Two of the French ambassadors were escorted to see the king by the bishop of London and Lord Rochford, whilst the other two were invited to Westminster. (37) When D'Ouarty arrived from France with instructions from the French king, Henry was pleased and said he would tell Wolsey to be reasonable. (38)

During the king's summer progress it became more difficult for Wolsey to assemble a credible council to meet ambassadors and to help him to conduct the negotiations. At a time when councillors were traditionally absent from the centre of affairs, attending their estates, and government business was generally less intense. During the Anglo-French negotiations in the summer of 1525, Wolsey summoned various councillors to attend upon him. At the end of July, Wolsey retired to Richmond because of the

plague, while the king continued his progress at Guildford before moving on to Easthampstead. (39) The cardinal appointed the 29th July, as the day on which the council would meet Brinon and Joachim. Wolsey summoned the bishop of Ely to attend but the prelate excused himself on the ground of illness. (40) The discussion went on for five hours with the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Exeter, the lord chamberlain, Thomas More, Brian Tuke and 'another secretary of the long robe' being present. The archbishop of Canterbury was not one of Wolsey's close political allies and his presence was more by virtue of his status than Wolsey's favour or trust. The main subject for discussion was the grant which Wolsey wished to be raised to two million crowns. (41) Councillors of high ranking office were again summoned to attend the signing of the treaty at Wolsey's residence of The More at the end of August, 1525. Warham, writing from his archiepiscopal palace at Otford agreed to be with Wolsey for the ceremony. The cardinal had offered lodging at The More, but Warham declined in favour of his 'old host', the vicar of Rickmansworth. (42) The marquis of Exeter, who had been following the king, left the court at Dunstable and travelled to The More for the ceremony. (43) The bishop of Ely had recovered by this stage and also took part, with the duke of Norfolk and the lord chamberlain. (44)

The king attended council meetings held by Wolsey, especially if the subject of discussion lay close to his heart. On the 6th October 1528 the French ambassador, Du Bellay recorded that for the last ten days Wolsey had been very busy. The king had travelled from Hampton Court (where he was staying) to Richmond every morning and spent the whole day in consultation with his council. (45)

This situation was in direct contrast to the visits which Henry VIII

paid to star chamber during Wolsey's chancellorship. Henry's presence at the cardinal's 'court' was more ceremonial and stage-managed than any other meetings of the council. The court moved to Lambeth Palace and resided at the archbishop's residence for three nights when the king made two special appearances in star chamber in 1519. (46) On Thursday, 27th October, Henry listened to a 'notable oration' made by his lord chancellor on how well the king's justice was being enforced. It was at this meeting that Sir Richard Jerningham and Sir William Kingston were sworn as councillors.

(47) Was this a coincidence or was it connected with the king's visit? Both these men had been placed in the privy chamber after the expulsion of the 'minions' in May 1519. Moreover William Kingston was highly favoured by Henry and one of his boon companions. (48) On the following day, the king received the submission of Sir William Bulmer. (49) Bulmer's crime deeply touched the king's honour and Henry's presence was an essential part of his humiliation. Bulmer was sworn to the king as knight of the body in the royal household and had had the audacity to wear the duke of Buckingham's livery in the king's presence. This directly contravened the oath which he had sworn as a member of the household 'not to wear another man's livery'. (50) Henry was particularly annoyed with Bulmer and swore that

'he would none of his servauntes should hang on another mannes sleue and that he was as wel able to maintain him as the duke of Buckingham'. (51)

Bulmer had already been examined by Wolsey and the council on 22nd October, and afterwards was committed to the fleet to await the king's decision.

(52) Bulmer begged the king for mercy and Wolsey with the rest of the council made a 'most humble intercession to the king on their knees'. (53)

Wolsey needed the presence of some of the most prominent councillors

and yet, at the same time, he wished to retain the initiative of government. In an undated letter which probably relates to October 1516 Wolsey wrote to a nobleman at court asking him to hasten the king's arrival in London. The diplomatic reasons were made very clear and the cardinal explained how important it was for the king to

'drawe ner to thes parts to theyentent that not only hys counsels ... maybe nere unto hys grace for the debatynge of the seyde maters but also that thambassadors may have accesse unto hys presens for the dyclosynge of ther [missions]'. (54)

Wolsey needed the tacit support and attendance of the magnates to provide the impression of unity. In reality the council was divided and even during Wolsey's ascendancy remained an arena for conflict.

The friction within the council in 1516 is perhaps best documented. Absence from the centre of affairs was one form of opposition and Dr. Bernard has shown the extensive lengths to which the earl of Shrewsbury went to in order to avoid being summoned to court. (55) Thomas Alen informed the earl that head officers of the household were expected to be with the king daily.

'my lord the saying is, suche as be hed officers of the kyngs houshold shall gif attendans and be nye the kyng dayle. her be so many thyngs out of ordre. I fer me som ther be wold take a thorne out of their owne fote and put hit yn yors'. (56)

Throughout May and June 1516 there was a 'gret snarling' between some of the principal councillors and Wolsey. Henry Marney was usually held high in the cardinal's favour but in May 1516 Wolsey was very annoyed with him. The marquis of Dorset, the earl of Surrey and Lord Burgavenny were put out of the council chamber at the end of May. Exactly what this entailed and the reasons for the dispute are not clear. Thomas Alen himself was perplexed and added 'what so ever that did mean'. (57) Fox and Warham registered their disapproval in the following October, by refusing to sit

with the council at court after the grand reception of the cardinal of Sion on 18th October. This meeting was confined to the 'inner ring', presided over by Wolsey and including the bishops of Durham and Norwich, the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Lovell and Henry Marney. (58) When the league was sworn on 1st November 1516 very few of the most eminent councillors were present. (59) The main cause of this conflict was the unpopular policies which Wolsey was following.

Friction and disagreement between Wolsey and members of the council continued throughout his ascendancy but the cardinal succeeded in retaining the upper hand until the summer of 1529. Disagreement over the direction of foreign policy can be glimpsed in ambassadors' reports. Although their accuracy is questionable certain incidents sound authentic. In August, 1522 the cardinal told the Imperial ambassadors that he had already been accused, in the king's presence, of serving the emperor rather than his king. To placate Henry, Wolsey had been obliged to make a contribution of twenty thousand angels to the war chest. (60) Wolsey used divisions in the council as a lever to encourage foreign ambassadors to agree to his terms. Towards the end of the negotiations, in April 1527, the French envoy was hesitating as to whether to sign the treaty. Francis I was not pleased with the terms but Wolsey kept pressing them to sign 'continually saying that Henry had been urged to break it off by many of his council'. (61) Wolsey then went on to be more specific and explained how he had had 'high words' with the duke of Norfolk in the king's presence. (62) The duke of Norfolk was more committed to Spain than to France and this dispute over the French alliance would be in keeping with the duke's character. Although Wolsey must have known of Norfolk's bias, it is interesting that he was still picked to be one of the commissioners for the negotiation.



At any one time, a large number of councillors were sworn to the king and indeed Elton's estimate of seventy in 1527 is probably too low. (63) The council was composed of the chief officers of household and state, peers of the realm, law officers and administrators of knightly rank. At court all the chief office holders were already councillors before they were promoted to high office. It would be outside the scope of this thesis to reiterate the institutional arguments which show that a privy council did not exist during Wolsey's ascendancy. (64) What does become clear, however, is that there was a small group of councillors who were privy to most of the secret negotiations and diplomatic proposals. According to the records which survive for star chamber no distinction was made between one councillor and another. The distinction which Henry and Wolsey made outside star chamber was ad hoc and varied according to the individual circumstances. The composition of the 'inner ring' fluctuated considerably and the number of councillors involved in the discussions depended upon the confidentiality of the subject. During Wolsey's ascendancy some of the leading councillors were excluded from secret negotiations. When, for example, the Imperial ambassadors joined Wolsey and the council, preparing musters of men fit for war, in March 1522, the cardinal withdrew afterwards into his private chamber so that they could speak more freely of other things. (65) On the other hand an envoy was dismayed that Wolsey had spoken about secret matters in front of at least ten other lords. (66)

Outside star chamber, Wolsey held council meetings with only a handful of the king's most trusted councillors. On Thursday, 17th April 1522 the Imperial ambassador found Wolsey conducting a council meeting at court with six councillors. (67) In January of the same year, Wolsey was in council with four or five of the 'king's most intimate councillors'. (68) The

cardinal needed to be kept fully informed by other state officers and in March 1522, he called in the vice-admiral (Fitzwilliam) and asked him about the readiness of English ships. (69) Wolsey's opponents accused him of surrounding himself and the king with 'yes men' and removing any who might stand in his way from the court and the council. (70)

Wolsey frequently conducted negotiations with, at least, one or two other prominent councillors present. Two Imperial ambassadors spent the 2nd July 1521 locked in negotiation with the cardinal at his house. The bishop of Durham (Ruthal), the master of the rolls (Tunstal) and Sir Richard Wingfield were also present. (71) It was the bishop of Durham, who accompanied Wolsey to the court at Farnham Castle when the Imperial ambassador arrived in August 1516. (72) The advice given by the other councillors was usually informal. When the Venetian envoy visited the court on Ash Wednesday 1516, for the traditional festivities, he found the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors in deep conversation with the king. On the arrival of the French ambassador, Henry drew aside the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and asked their advice. (73)

Throughout the years of Wolsey's ascendancy the composition of this 'inner ring' changed as members died or retired from active participation in politics or simply lost favour. Five of the chief officers made up the central core; the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, master of the rolls and the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Those closest to the centre of power varied according to the circumstances. In 1516 the Venetian ambassador reported that

'The whole direction of affairs rests, to the dissatisfaction of everybody with Wolsey, the bishop of Durham and the illustrious lord treasurer.' (74)

He claimed that Suffolk had left the court and was no longer in high favour

and Sir Thomas Lovell was 'an old servant who interferes but little'.

The existence of the twin foci of power meant that councillors (particularly those of the 'inner circle') moved between Wolsey and the royal court, as business demanded. Dr. Guy argues that Wolsey

'effectively divided the Council in Star Chamber, where he presided, from the councillors attendant on Henry VIII at his Itinerant Court'. (75)

Closer analysis shows that this is not true and, in fact, councillors provided a crucial link between king and minister. In a normal year, the only time when the king was a long way from Westminster, was during the summer progress when, of course, star chamber was not in session. Henry was interested in the affairs of state and expected to be kept closely informed by Wolsey. It was those councillors who were trusted by the cardinal and closely involved in the secrets of government, who were sent by Wolsey to the royal court. This continued, whether the court was at Woodstock, as in 1518, or as close as Richmond or Greenwich.

John Clerk, dean of the Chapel Royal in 1519, and bishop of Bath from 1523, was one of Wolsey's closest political allies. He had been sworn to the king's council early in 1518, (76) and although he did not hold office at court, was frequently sent to the king to convey information and ascertain Henry's opinion. On 20th March, 1518 he was sent to the Fleet prison by Wolsey, to release certain prisoners and probably joined the council and the king when they dined with the bishop of Durham, on the same day. (77) Six days later, Clerk was at court, which was residing at Reading Abbey. It is clear that he had been sent by Wolsey and Pace reported that the king

'haith yeuyn verraye wyse and substantiall preceptis to doctor clerke and mr more concernynge there chiarges and especially enempst forfaytures and haith myxte hys monitions wyth uerraye kynde & louynge

wardis.' (78)

On occasions, when Clerk was sent to the court by Wolsey, he waited just long enough to receive a reply from the king before returning to Westminster - as in June 1519. (79) Clerk's loyalty to Wolsey was not in question and in 1523, the Venetian ambassador described him as 'entirely a creature of Wolsey's'. (80) The king, in 1526, came to see Clerk as one of Wolsey's 'messengers'. When Clerk arrived at Windsor on 30th May, Henry greeted him with the words 'welcome my lord of bathe, what tydyngs from my lord Cardinal'. (81) If Wolsey had to communicate unpleasant news to the king, he chose John Clerk. On the same visit to the court, Clerk decided to leave Wolsey's message until the following day because the matter was 'so heynose and displeasent'. (82) As dean of the Chapel Royal, Clerk followed the court extensively and was one of those delegated to try petitions. (83) In 1526, although no longer a household officer, he was still included on a list of those to be given lodging at court. (84)

Councillors sent by Wolsey were expected not only to convey the latest news but also to justify the cardinal's decision and describe all his hard work. Sir Robert Wingfield was sent to Easthampstead on 16th July 1522. When the king eventually returned from hunting, Wingfield met him in the passage to his privy chamber and

'shewed the great besynesse and travyll which your grace [Wolsey] hath susteyned since ye cam to London in setting forward his besynesse and also addyd such other sayings the same as me thought myete, concerning the oppynion of the juge Pollarde and also what dexterity your grace used to defeat the saide oppynyon'. (85)

After the king had supped, Henry summoned Richard Sampson (who was to go on embassy to Venice) and Wingfield 'declaryd unto his grace, the hool charge which your grace gave me'. (86) Henry was attentive to all the latest news from Wolsey and expressed his satisfaction with his minister's work.

Due to the pressure of business, Wolsey was not always able to visit the king as often as he would have liked. The volume of correspondence between king and minister is substantially less while Henry was in the vicinity of London and the evidence suggests that fewer letters were, in fact, written. It was more common for a councillor or household officer to convey news in person. In November 1519, the king expressed his desire that Pace should remain at court and when Wolsey had any information to send for him. The only reason that this was actually recorded in writing was that Pace had suffered from a fever during the night and had been 'ioynydde wyth another troblesumme passion' and could not visit the cardinal. (87) When the court was at Greenwich in April 1521, Sir Richard Weston informed the king of the latest news from Wolsey. (88) Sir Henry Marney was sent twice to the king in July 1521 while the court was based at Windsor. (89)

King and minister also exchanged tokens with one another. In July 1525, Fitzwilliam delivered Wolsey's token to the king who agreed with the cardinal's advice to make Sir William Morgan, vice-chamberlain. (90) The bishop of Lincoln delivered a token to the king at Eltham on 5th January 1526, even though it was anticipated that Henry and Wolsey would soon meet. (91) Wolsey did not use councillors to convey information to the king if their loyalty was somewhat ambivalent. In April 1525, Henry sent a token to Wolsey, via Thomas Boleyn, and an offer to visit the cardinal if he thought it would be advantageous. Wolsey's reply showed his keenness for such a meeting. (92)

The best documentation of how councillors moved between the court and Wolsey is provided by a detailed letter written by Edward Fox, the king's almoner, in 1528. This was at a time when Henry was passionately

interested in the progress of his 'great matter' and Fox had just returned from Orvieto with news of his latest attempt in their efforts to secure the divorce. He went straight to Greenwich on Sunday where he expected to find the cardinal with the king, but discovered that Wolsey had already left two hours earlier. (93) Henry questioned him very closely about the latest developments and Fox did not reach Durham House until 10 p.m. He found Wolsey in bed but the cardinal still admitted Fox to his presence. (94) He spent Monday with the cardinal and the following day was sent to the king to report Wolsey's opinion. That evening Henry sent him back to Wolsey expressing his satisfaction with the state of affairs. (95) Wednesday morning, Fox went to Greenwich and returned in the afternoon. (96) Thursday was spent writing instructions to Gardiner, who was still abroad, and the following day Fox was sent again to court. (97) He spent Saturday with Wolsey and on Sunday returned to Greenwich with the cardinal as was customary. This was the first time that Henry and Wolsey had met for a week and the first time since Fox's return. The latest developments in the king's 'great matter' were discussed by Tuke, Wolman and Bell, at the court. (98)

Not only were those councillors, entrusted with the secrets of government, needed at the court and at Westminster, but also as ambassadors to help conduct Henry's ambitious and bellicose foreign policy. In 1525, for example, some of the most prominent councillors were absent abroad for varying lengths of time. John Clerk, bishop of Bath, spent almost the entire year at Rome. Cuthbert Tunstal, lord privy seal, and Richard Wingfield, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, were sent to Spain where Wingfield died. Fitzwilliam, Sampson, Knight, Pace and Robert Wingfield were all sent abroad on various embassies. This in itself put a strain on

the number of councillors left to advise Henry and Wolsey. Competition did sometimes exist between the court and Wolsey for the presence of councillors. The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham, Richard Pace and Sir Richard Weston, were at Greenwich on Thursday, 16th April 1521. The king expressed his pleasure with the papal brief and after dinner showed it to his episcopal councillors. Durham informed the cardinal, through Richard Pace, that he would have attended upon Wolsey but the king wanted him for the examination of Buckingham's servants. (99)

In July 1525 the king prevented Fitzwilliam from attending on the cardinal

'I moved his highness I might repayre unto your grace (Wolsey) and and shewed him [Henry] how you had appointed Master Broke and me to bee with you for matter concerning the ordering of the County of Guisnes'. (100)

The king saw no reason for Fitzwilliam to attend upon Wolsey.

'for he was sure yor grace would be with him, at his comyng to the More, where the said matter may be comoned of'. (101)

When the court moved further away from London, casual movement by councillors between the king and the cardinal became more difficult. During the king's summer progress fewer councillors remained with the court, Henry lost interest in the affairs of state and the whole tempo of court life changed. Henry kept in contact with Wolsey but his participation in government was, in general, reduced to a minimum. When the sweating sickness reached epidemic proportions in 1517 and 1528, business came to a standstill and even Wolsey refused to see ambassadors. In other years when the plague was less severe it could still have a serious effect on the implementation of policy. The Spanish ambassador was unable to visit the court in September 1522 while the king was based at Newhall. The ambassador could obtain little information but discovered that the king was

'accompanied only by a few persons, but making great cheer and taking his pleasure. War and business are not discussed in his court'. (102)

During the progress, the king occasionally took a sporadic interest in the affairs of state. The problem then was a lack of suitable councillors at court to cope with Henry's latest bout of enthusiasm. In August 1520, while on progress at Yattendon, home of Sir Henry Norris, the king decided that things were not to his liking. He had been informed that Francis I was continuing to fortify Ardres and Henry was very concerned about this development. Wolsey was making a leisurely journey through Norfolk and the bishop of Durham had gone to The More to await the cardinal's return. Wolsey's palace was at least twenty-five miles from the court but, notwithstanding, the bishop was summoned to the king. Henry had disclosed the issue to no one and needed a trusted councillor to write to Wolsey for advice. (103)

The Easter of 1518 does not fit into a category - the king was not on progress and yet he was over forty miles from London. The plague had forced Henry to leave and he took refuge at the abbey of Abingdon. The size of the council 'attendant' varied considerably throughout the year and depended entirely upon individual circumstances. Despite the restrictions imposed by the plague and a shortage of accommodation, at least seven members of the council were present at the beginning of April 1518. Too much significance should not be attached to one example. It was traditional for noblemen and important state officials to visit the king at Easter. However, it does show that the council 'attendant' was not in complete abeyance. The duke of Suffolk and the earl of Shrewsbury arrived at court on 1st April, to be followed shortly by the duke of Buckingham on 3rd April. (104) Thomas More and John Clerk were already at court.



Although they were councillors, they complained to Wolsey that they were not being allocated their proper allowance of bouche of court. (105) Sir Henry Marney, was playing an important role at court and safeguarding the king from the plague. (106) Lord Mountjoy, the queen's lord chamberlain was also at court along with the king's secretary, Richard Pace, who was in charge of correspondence with Wolsey. (107)

The council at court was summoned by the king on impulse. Much time and effort was given to deciding when and where the court would move next. The lord steward was closely involved and whilst at court it was he who actually gave the order for the household to move. (108) On 6th April, Henry summoned his council and

'schewydde vnto the same that boith hys highness and the qweans grace haith ben credibly informydde that hys gracs citie off london is su[m]what infectydde wyth the greate syknesse'. (109)

The king's absence from London was unwelcome to him, not only due to the 'scarsnesse off the cuntrieye here' but also because of Henry's interest in the affairs of state. To compensate for his absence the king instructed Wolsey to organise relays of horses so that he could be kept up to date with 'tyddyngs from yor grace in euery viith houre'. (110)

This was one occasion when Henry did not feel short of counsel. The king offered to send back some councillors to help Wolsey (if he needed them during the forthcoming law term) and Pace enclosed a list of those councillors at court. Henry was very much in control of his affairs, when he left Richmond he 'dydde depute certayne off hys counsaile to attend upon yor grace [Wolsey] duryng the tyme off the terme folowyng'. (111) This is hardly a picture of a king uninterested in government whilst his minister ran the country. Henry was not on progress and his avoidance of London was purely because of the plague. Moreover he was concerned for

Wolsey's safety and advised him to leave the capital as soon as possible 'to repare to such other yor place or els to wardis hys person'. (112)

Wolsey was suspicious when councillors were with the king, fearing that they might undermine his authority. The day after the king's decision not to return to London, the council were at great pains to stress through Richard Pace that the decision came entirely from the king. (113)

The circumstances of Easter 1518 were unusual. Rarely was the king so far from Wolsey with a large number of his council, especially at a time when important negotiations were taking place. Due to the pressure of business Wolsey could not leave London. Some councillors following the court also felt vulnerable: absence from the cardinal allowed enemies to malign and slander them. The duke of Suffolk was particularly anxious to squash any accusations by his enemies at Westminster. After he had received the sacrament on Easter Sunday he made a lengthy speech to Richard Pace (no doubt for Wolsey's attention) utterly rejecting the rumour that he had accepted protection from the French king and that he put

'the frenche orators at there beyng here or affore there cumyng in comfort off the restitution off tornaye'. (114)

Wolsey and Suffolk had worked together closely in the council in 1515 but thereafter Wolsey did not completely trust the duke. Three months later Suffolk wrote directly to Wolsey from Elmeswell Hall in Suffolk and assured him emphatically of his loyalty. He dismissed Wolsey's suspicions

'moste heartely desiring you that so ever yor lordship shalbe otherwise informed, that ye give noon credance ther unto suche tyme as ye shall knowe the trouth'. (115)

Suffolk denied reports that he had been working against Wolsey and informed the cardinal how anxious he was to see him again and explain everything.

The distinction between councillors was made very clear at the end of

April 1518. When John Clerk arrived back at court on 26th April, with letters and news for the king, Henry summoned his council which at this point included the dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, Sir Thomas Lovell and Sir Henry Marney. (116) Clerk had been sent by Wolsey to deliver a set of letters to the king and to keep Henry fully informed. The king appeared to be very much in control and he ordered Clerk not to mention 'london matters' before the other councillors. Although he was one of the most recent to be sworn to the council, Clerk was high in Wolsey's confidence. Lovell and Marney were both councillors high in the king's confidence; they were informed privately of the latest news and Lovell agreed to be with Wolsey by the following Saturday, i.e. the 1st May. The duke of Buckingham was in favour with the king at this point. He had remained at court throughout April and had been given 'a goodly coursore, a ryche gowne, a lyke jakett, doublett [and] hosen', even so, he was not trusted with the secrets of government. (117) Henry wished Clerk to say openly that Wolsey would be at court in five or six days and yet it is clear from the letter that this would not be the case. Instead the king desired Wolsey to visit the court at Woodstock as soon as business would allow. (118) In the event, Wolsey did not reach the court until approximately the 23rd May. (119)

The role of the council at court is not very clear cut, but it emerges that councillors with the king were being summoned regularly to hear the latest news and to discuss policies. In his letters Pace reports the king's views on a variety of subjects. When Henry arrived back at Woodstock on 5th July, after a brief visit to see Cardinal Wolsey at Greenwich, he found his council waiting for him at the palace gates. (120) Two days later the king informed his council after dinner about the

negotiations between Wolsey and the French ambassadors. (121) It was the councillors at court who pressed Wolsey to prepare 'giests' for the 'Kyngis surertie and my sayd ladys' (Princess Mary), when they heard reports that the plague was close at hand. (122) Matters concerning the king's safety were discussed by the 'attendant' council. When the king was informed by Thomas More that three children had died in Oxford, Henry ordered his council to discuss the issue. They approved of More's order that

'the inhabitants of thos howses that be and shalbe infectyd shall kepe in [and] putt owt wyspes and ber whyt roddys'. (123)

The council went on to discuss whether a forthcoming fair to be held in Oxford should be allowed to go ahead, since it was feared that the influx of people would make Oxford as dangerous as London. On the other hand the council feared unrest amongst the people, especially in London, if the fair was cancelled. After considerable debate, however, it was decided to err on the side of caution and proposed that the fair be stopped. (124) In terms of foreign policy, the council was not always informed of decisions taken by king and minister. When it was decided to send Richard Pace to Switzerland, his departure was to be kept secret, and no one was to be informed except the bishop of Durham. (125)

As Dr. Guy has shown, certain councillors were appointed by Wolsey to follow the court in order to hear petitions by suitors. (126) It is also clear, however, that the king intervened personally to have certain judicial matters examined by councillors at court irrespective of whether Henry was on progress or close to London. While the court was at Greenwich in February 1528, the king asked three of his councillors, the earl of Oxford, Fitzwilliam (treasurer of the household) and Kingston, to report on a 'bill'. The councillors examined those who had presented the

'bill' and informed the king of their findings. Henry was very annoyed that certain things were being spread about him and ordered the bill to be sent to Wolsey and those guilty to be apprehended immediately. (127)

When the court was on progress at Ampthill in September 1526, the king commissioned the bailiff of Ampthill to cut down some trees for building work at his manor. The king gave his authority by 'placard' but the bailiff complained that Underhill, one of the king's chaplains, had prevented him from carrying out the king's wishes. Henry ordered Underhill to be sent for 'to make answer afore his grace or his counsaill attending upon his person'. (128) The king was annoyed when his chaplain failed to appear on the appointed day 'nor sent noo reasonable excuse'. Four days later Richard Wolman, also one of the king's chaplains, received a letter from Underhill informing him that Wolsey wished the matter 'respited until the terme'. Underhill explained in the letter that the cardinal wished to investigate the matter himself with Thomas Englefield at Westminster. Wolman then wrote to the cardinal asking him to confirm this, either by sending William Kingston to inform the king by word of mouth or otherwise by letter. (129) This is the only recorded occasion when Wolsey took a judicial matter directly away from the king. Several questions remain unanswered. Was this a move to protect Underhill? Why did the chaplain prevent the bailiff from cutting down the trees in the first place? Underhill managed to secure the cardinal's direct intervention and presumably Wolsey succeeded in transferring the case to Westminster.

Although Wolsey had a great appetite and capacity for state business, he could not cope with everything. Henry was very interested in the case of Perpoynte Devaunter, a merchant of the Hanse and by all accounts a

'double agent'. (130) His deposition before Sir John Daunce in August 1522 is somewhat confused and the exact details are not very clear. What is important, however, is that it shows how king and minister worked together and the role played by councillors at court. Devauntter was asked to spy on England and he told this to Sir William Sandys at Calais in May 1522. Sandys sent him to the court at Richmond, the king was informed and he was sent on again to Wolsey at Hampton Court. When the merchant arrived he found Wolsey entertaining the queen and unable to see him. On the following day Devauntter tried to see Wolsey at Westminster but he was informed that the cardinal was far too busy and 'halff a crased'. When the merchant returned to the court, the king commanded him to attend upon Sir Henry Marney and Sir Thomas Boleyn who examined him in the king's chamber on two successive days. (131) Both were prominent councillors, Boleyn was treasurer of the household and Marney was vice-chamberlain. Devauntter had to report again to the king before he was finally given licence to depart.

One central problem emerges - when was a courtier a councillor? Dr. Guy has briefly addressed the problem, suggesting that those who followed the king's progress did so 'as much in the capacity of household officials and boon companions as of councillors'. (132) In an analysis of the council at court, this strikes at the very heart of the matter. The situation was essentially ambivalent. The king might spend the day hunting with his boon companions and then call them to a council meeting in the evening. Members of the privy chamber were not sworn to the council (with the exception of the four knights who replaced the 'minions' expelled in 1519 and the nobleman who was the head of the department). Many of those who took part in the joust were also the king's councillors.

Henry and Wolsey worked as a team. Wolsey needed the king's support and acquiescence for his policies, whilst the king for the most part took a lively interest in policy decisions, particularly foreign policy, a subject close to his heart. On the other hand, Wolsey wished to retain the initiative and the implementation of royal policy. The king was unpredictable and reliable information was an essential part of Wolsey's success.

Owing to the twin foci of power, councillors moved between court and star chamber, between king and minister as business demanded. Before Wolsey's ascendancy a small number of trusted councillors dominated the government of the realm. (133) Although the power of this 'inner ring' was substantially reduced after Wolsey's meteoric rise, the council, as an advisory body, was still important. Wolsey concentrated the judicial role of the council around himself in star chamber but he could not dispense with the advice of the chief officers of state. Henry wanted to be kept closely informed and wished to surround himself with a group of important councillors which he recognised as the essential prop of a Renaissance monarch. Councillors provided a crucial link between these two focal points of power. The court retained prominence in the affairs of state. Henry was always surrounded by at least some councillors and at times it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate between the court and the council. Understanding the court is essential for a complete view of the council; as Dunham wrote in 1944

'an intimate knowledge of the life at court .... is needed to understand fully the inner workings of the king's council'. (134)

Notes and References.

1. G.R. Elton, 'Why the History of the Early Tudor Council remains unwritten', Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government I (Cambridge, 1974) p.308
2. S.B. Chrimes, Henry VII, (London, 1972) p.100.
3. J.A. Guy, The Cardinal's Court, (Hassocks, 1977) Chapter II
4. G.W. Bernard, War, Taxation and Rebellion in early Tudor England, (Brighton, 1986) pp.40-45.
5. A. Fox and J. Guy, Reassessing the Henrician Age. Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500-1550. (Oxford 1986) p.134.
6. Guy, The Cardinal's Court, p. 29.
7. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.354.
8. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives, p.25.
9. CSPV II 878.
10. SP1/19 f.228 (LP III i 684).
11. Guy, The Cardinal's Court, pp.40-45.
12. Ibid. p.29.
13. Household Ordinances, p.160.
14. SP1/24 f.247v (LP III ii 2317).
15. SP1/23 f.47 (LP III ii 1558).
16. SP1/24 f.247v (LP III ii 2317).
17. Ibid. f.246
18. Starkey, Henry VIII, p.78.
19. Hall, Chronicle p.598.
20. BL Cotton MS Calig. D IX f.116 (LP IV i 1633).
21. Bernard, War, Taxation & Rebellion, p.43
22. CSPS FS p.16.
23. Ibid. p.41.
24. Ibid. p.58.
25. Ibid. p.175. The description of Henry VII meeting foreign envoys and the role of councillors on such occasions was very similar to that of Henry VIII. Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII, ed. C.G. Bayne and W.H. Dunham, Selden Soc. 75 for 1956 (London, 1958) pp. xliii - xlv.
26. Ibid. p.181.
27. BL Cotton MS Titus BI f.308 (LP III i 14). The date of this letter is possibly Sunday 2nd January 1519.
28. Ibid. ff.308-9.
29. CSPS III ii 111 p.192.
30. Ibid. pp.194, 196.
31. CSPS FS pp.124-6.
32. SP1/231 f.287. (LP Addenda I 160).
33. Guy, The Cardinal's Court, p. 29.
34. E407/51 unfol. It is clear from the council diets and Dr. Guy's own reconstruction of when the council sat in star chamber that the council sat outside the law term at Westminster. In each year, however, August and September were free and the council appears to have adjourned in the middle of July and not reconvened until the beginning of October. Outside the law term at Christmas and Easter the meetings of the council at Westminster were more patchy and there is no record of the council sitting on a feast day or Sunday. (One exception was Sunday, 15th February 1517 - the council also sat on the Saturday and Monday adjoining) E407/51



35. BL Additional MS 12,192 ff.43-61 (LP IV ii 3105).
36. Ibid. p.1399.
37. Ibid. p.1401.
38. Ibid. p.1404.
39. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1525 Appendix I.
40. SP1/35 f.201 (LP IV i 1524).
41. LP IV i 1531.
42. SP1/35 f.264 (LP IV i 1591).
43. E36 225 f.123.
44. LP IV i 1617.
45. AAJB p.410. (LP IV Appendix 206).
46. See Henry VIII's itinerary 1519 Appendix I.
47. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.354.
48. See Appendix IV.
49. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.353 (355 error in original folio number)
50. Ibid. f.349.
51. Hall, Chronicle, p.599. Hall is very accurate except that he places the Bulmer incident in November with the cases of Sir Matthew Brown and Sir John a Leigh.
52. HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.349.
53. Ibid. f.353.
54. SP1/14 f.78. (LP II i 2493).
55. Bernard, Early Tudor Nobility, pp.20-26.
56. Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers MS 3192 f.39 Lodge, Illustrations of British History I 21 (LP II i 1959).
57. Ibid. f.39
58. Brown, Four years at the Court. I p.307 (LP II i 2464).
59. Ibid. I p.321 (LP II i 2499).
60. CSPS FS pp.143-144.
61. LP IV ii 3105 p.1410.
62. Ibid. p.1411.
63. G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: the points of contact, the Council' in Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, III (Cambridge, 1983) p.26.
64. Elton, Revolution in Government pp.316-17.
65. CSPS FS p.78.
66. Ibid. p. 233
67. Ibid. pp.124-6.
68. Ibid. p. 38.
69. Ibid. pp.96-97.
70. SP1/54 f.250 (LP IV iii 5749).
71. LP III ii 1395.
72. LP II i 2222.
73. LP II i 1495.
74. LP II i 2183.
75. Fox and Guy, Reassessing the Henrician Age, p.134.
76. HMC Tenth Report Appendix part IV p.448. Clerk was a councillor by 24th March 1518.
77. Ibid. p.448
78. SP1/16 f.176 (LP II ii 4025).
79. SP1/18 ff.192-192v (LP III i 302).
80. CSPV III 651
81. SP1/38 f.178 St.P I 164 (LP IV i 2215).
82. Ibid. f.178.

83. Guy, Cardinal's Court, p.42. Clerk countersigned the king's warrant at Richmond in November, 1519. LP III i 523.
84. BL Egerton MS 2623 f.7 Harleian MS 642 f.142. Clerk's name was added by Wolsey)
85. SP1/25 f.55. (LP III ii 2393).
86. Wingfield was sent again to court on a similar errand. SP1/25 f.65. (LP III ii 2414).
87. SP1/19 f.94 (LP III i 504).
88. BL Cotton MS Vit. B IV f.97 (LP III i 1233).
89. SP1/22 ff.220, 245 (LP III ii 1387,1424)
90. SP1/38 f.257. (miscalendared under 1526 in Letters and Papers: LP IV i 2326)
91. BL Cotton MS Vit. B V f.11 (miscalendared under 1525 in Letters and Papers: LP IV i 995).
92. LP IV i 1234.
93. BL Harleian MS 419 f.103 (LP IV ii 4251).
94. Ibid. f.105.
95. Ibid. f.105v.
96. Ibid. f.105v.
97. Ibid. f.106v.
98. Ibid. ff.107-9.
99. BL Cotton MS Vit. B IV f.96-7 (LP III i 1233)
100. SP1/39 f.2 (LP IV i 2344). Miscalendared under 1526 in Letters and Papers.
101. Ibid. f.2
102. CSPS FS p.153.
103. SP1/21 f.42 (LP III i 957)
104. SP1/16 ff.206-206v, 210 (LP II ii 4055, 4057)
105. Ibid. ff.206-206v.
106. Ibid. f.210.
107. SP1/16 f.201-201v (LP II ii 4045)
108. SP1/16 f.157 (LP II ii 3985) This letter is wrongly dated in Letters and Papers as 5th March, when it should be dated 5th April 1518.
109. SP1/16 f.214 (LP II ii 4060).
110. Ibid. f.214v.
111. Ibid. f.214.
112. SP1/16 f.216 (LP II ii 4061).
113. Ibid. f.216.
114. Ibid. f.216v.
115. SP1/17 f.7 (LP II ii 4334).
116. BL Cotton MS Vesp. CXIV f.229 (LP II ii 4124).
117. SP1/16 f.228 (LP II ii 4075).
118. BL Cotton MS Vesp. CXIV f.229 (LP II ii 4124).
119. LP II ii 4184.
120. SP1/16 f.318 St.P I 2 (LP II ii 4288).
121. Ibid. f.319 (LP II ii 4293).
122. SP1/17 f.2 (LP II ii 4326).
123. SP1/16 f.246 (LP II ii 4125).
124. Ibid. f.246.
125. BL Cotton MS Vit. B XIX f.51v (LP II ii 4082).
126. Guy, The Cardinal's Court. p.43.
127. SP1/46 f.263 (LP IV ii 3936).
128. SP1/39 f.209 (LP IV ii 2534).
129. Ibid. f.209.

130. SP1/25 ff.120-126 (LP III ii 2446).
131. Ibid. f.122.
132. J. Guy, 'Wolsey, the Council and the Council Courts', EHR cclx (1976) p.482.
133. Guy, The Cardinal's Court, p. 23.
134. W.H. Dunham, 'The members of Henry VIII's whole Council, 1509-1527', EHR lix (1944). p.202.

## CONCLUSION

During Wolsey's ascendancy the court retained its political pre-eminence. Henry VII had set the royal court above other rival centres of patronage, magnificence and power. His son continued this tradition although some historians have seen the court overshadowed by the cardinal's 'court'. Wolsey was a very powerful man but the king remained the fount of patronage - even if the minister could help a suitor to obtain a grant. Wolsey flaunted his wealth and status but on the whole he was careful not to outdo the king. In terms of spectacle and image Wolsey did not surpass the king. The cardinal was careful to show Henry that the glory which he sought was only to add to the king's own prestige. There were only a few occasions when Wolsey did overtake the king; his palace of Hampton Court did surpass Henry's own building projects and his splendid entertainments at Christmas 1525 were in sharp contrast to Henry's boring 'celebrations' at Eltham. These instances, however, were the exception rather than the rule and the cardinal wisely offered his palace to the king.

Henry was determined not to be overshadowed by his minister. Cavendish's description of their 'rivalry' for the entertainment of the French envoy in 1527 neatly epitomises the situation. The cardinal provided a magnificent banquet at Hampton Court and the king was informed of his lavish hospitality. Henry 'gave a special commandment to all his officers to devise a far sumptuouser banquet for these strangers'. (1) The king was evidently successful and outshone the cardinal's entertainment, even Wolsey's gentleman usher, George Cavendish, admitted that it did 'far exceed the same as fine gold doth silver in weight and

value'. (2) The images of splendour and magnificence at the royal court represented wealth and political power in the eyes of contemporaries. It was impudent of Skelton to even suggest that Wolsey's court had the pre-eminence and no doubt was designed to fan Henry's disapproval of his minister. Subjects who displayed too much power were likely to be cut down as in the case of the duke of Buckingham in 1521. Wolsey fell from power not because of his magnificence but because he failed to procure the king's divorce and mishandled foreign policy.

Traditionally Wolsey has been seen almost as a rival to the royal court. In the words of one eminent historian 'the centre of politics swung away from the King's Court to Wolsey's Court' during the cardinal's ascendancy. (3) Wolsey's magnificence, and his conscious attempt to present himself as the 'alter rex' have all contributed to this view. From the evidence available, it appears that star chamber did not substantially detract from the royal court. Was the court denuded of councillors? This cannot be proven either way. On certain occasions Henry did feel deprived of 'sage personages' but a few isolated instances should not be taken as proof. The evidence suggests that during the law term, whilst the king was close to London, he was well served by councillors with ready access to the court. Councillors around the king played an important role in politics throughout the years of Wolsey's ascendancy and their significance should not be underestimated. During the summer progress they returned to their estates and it was then that the king sometimes felt neglected.

Although Henry disliked tedious administration, he took a keen interest in political decisions and matters of foreign policy. Wolsey needed to maintain a very close contact with the king and they were

continually in communication with one another. It was only during the king's summer progress that this contact was slightly relaxed. As chief minister the cardinal had to inform Henry of the latest twist and development in foreign affairs, secure his compliance on decisions and find out his views on a variety of subjects. At the same time Wolsey needed to keep a close eye on events at court and on the distribution of patronage. Wolsey established a number of links with the court during his ascendancy. He ensured that there was nearly always someone around Henry whom he could depend upon to represent his views to the king, defend him if things went wrong and relay news back from the court. Wolsey built up a number of informal contacts who relayed court news whenever they were staying with the king. The cardinal also sent trusted councillors to the court on specific errands, to establish Henry's view on a certain subject or break unpleasant news to the king. As soon as their mission had been accomplished the councillors returned to Wolsey at Westminster. The cardinal's own visits to the court were the most effective way in which he sought to maintain his grip on power. The chief minister visited the court depending upon the dictates of business and his own needs as a patron.

Wolsey was an able politician and he succeeded in securing the compliance of senior office holders around the king. Their support, however, lasted only as long as it was profitable and in their own interests. As soon as the king's confidence in his minister was removed, so too was their support. Even some of Wolsey's own 'agents' in the king's service, like Stephen Gardiner and Brian Tuke, turned against him in his hour of need. Wolsey did not command lasting loyalty from any of his servants. He used his position to place some of his own nominees into

court posts, particularly dean of the Chapel Royal and almoner, but the importance of this should not be exaggerated. There was a limit to what the cardinal could achieve. It is important not to ascribe all of Wolsey's actions to political motives, especially when the actual evidence is unclear. The cardinal did what was best for the king, what was most appropriate for foreign diplomacy and finally what was in his own best interests. Frequently Wolsey's 'protégés', like John Clerk and Richard Sampson were sent on foreign embassies not because of Wolsey's displeasure but because they were able diplomatists and the right men for the job.

Wolsey was in a powerful position at court, although he needed to work to maintain his dominance, and primarily his authority depended upon his relationship with the king. Wolsey and the king agreed on patronage for the most part and it was only in 1528, denied access to the king and under threat from Anne Boleyn, that Wolsey actually went against Henry's wishes. By contrast, in 1518, when Henry and Wolsey had disagreed over who should hold the see of St. Asaph, Wolsey accepted the king's command. Wolsey took a keen interest in who was appointed to high court office, but did not act independently of the king's wishes. Court patronage and faction is a very complex subject and more work needs to be completed on this topic. Too often much of the evidence is missing, particularly for the first half of Henry VIII's reign, and the localities also need to be considered in order to gain a fuller picture.

This study has highlighted the significance of the itinerary in historical research and this source has provided a brand new approach to some of the more familiar problems. In most years the king did not go far from London for long periods of time. The itinerary of the court played a crucial role in determining how the council operated within the court, how

councillors worked alongside the king and minister: in short, how the realm was governed. The evidence of the itineraries shatters the traditional fallacy that king and minister did not meet during the summer progress. It reveals that Wolsey made efforts to 'track' the court and that it was more rare than commonplace for Henry and Wolsey to be a long distance apart. The old notion that the king and minister 'rarely' met is not substantiated by a detailed examination of the evidence. It is the political implications of this which are of most interest and they reinforce the need for a complete reassessment of Wolsey's relationship with the king and his impact upon the court. Some historians have suggested that the minister ruled 'over and against' the royal court but the evidence does not support this interpretation. (4) It is no longer possible to argue that Wolsey was only interested in the privy chamber and that in all other respects he remained aloof concentrating his power instead at Westminster and in the church.

In several years during Wolsey's ascendancy the progress was a deliberate vehicle for conspicuous ostentation which the king combined with other forms of spectacle, particularly the joust and the mask, to gain the maximum effect. Visitors from abroad, the French 'hostages' in 1519 and Charles V in 1522, were the centre of elaborate progresses. The king was content for nobles, both lay and clerical, to be a part of this ostentation, only to surpass their efforts with his own entertainment. In this way the monarch's glory was both reflected and buttressed by his court. The king's authority was not undermined, provided of course, that he always did one better! Henry was very concerned about his image. Although he was a very competent jousting, courtiers realised that it was politically expedient to ensure that he won. The king was not a good



loser as the incident of 1516 shows. He was impressed by good jousters and they were frequently invited to join him in the tilt yard. The king's boon companions received distinction and reward, and the joust was seen by contemporaries as a barometer of favour - particularly through the symbolism of dress.

This is the first time that an attempt has been made to discover who the king stayed with during the summer progress. Contrary to conventional opinion, the king frequently stayed with courtiers and noblemen. In certain years, particularly 1526, the royal progress was constructed around visits to the king's leading subjects. From 1509 to 1530 the court stayed at forty-one monasteries, with sixteen noblemen and with thirty-two courtiers. This alone suggests that the Henrician progress was more developed than historians have hitherto suggested. The majority of these men were royal favourites. There was a significant overlap between those men who jousting with the king and those who entertained the court during the progress. Henry stayed with at least twelve men who had previously taken part in the tournaments at court. (5) To entertain the king and his retinue was a very high honour and a reflection of the king's favour. On certain occasions it was the location and size of a house that was responsible for attracting the king; this was usually the case with the episcopal residences. More frequently, however, Henry visited a courtier because he was high in the king's favour and this explains Henry's frequent return to the houses of Nicholas Carew and Henry Norris.

Whilst Henry VIII's progresses lacked the sophistication and elaborate devices of Elizabeth I, nevertheless the progress performed a similar role under both monarchs. The Tudors are celebrated for strengthening the links between the centre and the localities, a lesson in politics which the

Stuarts were to ignore at their peril, and the successful use of the progress was an inherent feature of this. Whilst the court was a 'point of contact' between the monarch and the political nation, the court on progress was a logical extension of this. The progress was mutually beneficial to both the king and courtier. Royal visits to the prominent men in the shires reinforced those links between the court and the county while from the standpoint of the courtier, they helped to strengthen his local power base and thereby indirectly strengthening royal authority.

Historians have acknowledged that the court was itinerant, but the impact of this upon court politics has been largely ignored. Courtiers were sent home during the summer progress and a much reduced household followed the king. When on progress the king stayed at smaller residences and consequently many of the courtiers were spread throughout the surrounding neighbourhood. Even people like the king's secretary were not always housed in the same building as the king. Moreover on several occasions the majority of the household was left behind at a palace, such as Woodstock whilst the king took only a small party with him to Langley. This altered the way that politics functioned and it gave increased political importance to the men who followed the king.

Wolsey used the court, particularly the chamber, to build up a loyal affinity concentrating on the role of the knights and esquires of the body extraordinary. This was not a new policy, although Henry and Wolsey took it further than previous kings. Servants of the court were drawn from every county in England including North and South Wales and Jersey. Two gentlemen ushers were sworn to the king from Ireland. (6) Only a small proportion, however, were paid wages. Extraordinary servants were sworn to the king's chamber, not the privy chamber, and this practice continued

into the 1530s. I would argue that the large number of servants sworn to the king, but not paid wages, was very important for the government and security of the country. (7) It is no coincidence that the largest number of knights sworn to the king came from Yorkshire. A large number of knights and esquires of the body took part in the king's pastimes. They joined him in the ritual of the hunt, when the court visited their county, and were prominent in the tournaments. Some extraordinary servants were rarely at court but could be counted upon to uphold the king's authority in their counties. Before 1530 Henry only stayed with two members of the privy chamber, Henry Norris and Nicholas Carew, and most of the remaining courtiers were knights and esquires of the body.

It is more important to study who was around the king than to concentrate exclusively on court office. During the 1510s and 1520s the chamber retained an important political function. Gentlemen ushers played an important role in the king's pastimes. A position at court provided a man with the opportunity to win the king's favour, but it depended upon what use he made of that office. An analysis of the progress, the jousts and the ceremonial exchange of New Year's gifts shows that certain officers from the household 'below stairs' were more important than previously thought. Robert Lee entertained the court at his house at Quarrendon and exchanged New Year's gifts with the king. Richard Hill, sergeant of the cellar, played cards with the king. The majority of servants in the household 'below stairs' were obscure but this did not prevent some men from attracting the king's attention.

Councillors close to the king at court played an important role in politics, particularly if they were also Henry's boon companions. William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household from 1525 onwards managed to retain

the trust of both king and minister and also sat with the council in star chamber. He jousted with Henry, hunted with him during the summer progress and took part in all the king's pastimes. In the 1520s the power of the court was concentrated in the hands of men like Fitzwilliam and William Sandys. These were men who not only held senior positions in the chamber and household but were also on good terms with the king and attended council meetings at court and at Westminster. During the 1520s administrators like Sir Thomas Lovell, who had been treasurer of the household or Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller, were replaced by men who were also the king's boon companions and depended upon courtly skills to secure their aims. With Henry's interest in foreign affairs, ability as a diplomat was very much an added advantage. There was, however, a wider circle of men around the king, some of whom were councillors, who took part in Henry's pastimes and entertained the court during the summer progress.

Notes and references.

1. Sylvester, Two Early Tudor Lives p.75.
2. Ibid. p.75.
3. Starkey, Henry VIII p.64.
4. Starkey, The English Court p.109.
5. The twelve men were:
  - Thomas Boleyn
  - Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex
  - Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk
  - Nicholas Carew
  - Giles Capel
  - Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey
  - Edward Hungerford
  - George Neville, Lord Burgavenny
  - Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland
  - Henry Norris
  - John Seymour
  - Thomas TyrrelSee Appendix II and Appendix IV
6. E36 130 ff.165-239.
7. The same point is made by Dr. Guy in Tudor England pp.164-173.

## APPENDIX I.

### The Itinerary of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey 1514-1530.

#### Introduction: the sources.

##### HENRY VIII'S ITINERARY.

1. Cofferer's and Comptroller's accounts. This is the main source for the king's itinerary and it is usually very accurate. If the queen travelled independently from the king her itinerary was also included. The cofferer's and comptroller's accounts were both exactly the same and there were usually only a few superficial differences. Unfortunately they survive for only seven out of the fifteen years of Wolsey's ascendancy.

2. The Privy Seal. The itinerary of the privy seal is usually easy to discover and in theory it should have been the same as that of the king. In the absence of either the cofferer's or comptroller's accounts this is a helpful source. When the king, however, went on progress in the summer the privy seal was often left behind at one of the major palaces providing an inaccurate royal itinerary. The problem was made worse by the fact that during the progress fewer grants were authorised by the king.

3. The Signet. This was the king's own special seal and although it is a less prolific source, it is valuable for constructing the king's itinerary. Again it is not totally reliable. During much of the 1520s the signet was handled by Thomas More but when he left the court, as in December 1522, the signet was controlled by Cardinal Wolsey. (LP III ii 2719)

4. The King's 'Giests'. These were made for the king in June and detailed his intended itinerary for the summer. Only a few of the king's

'giests' have survived and in each case Henry changed his itinerary to avoid the plague. On this account their importance is, therefore, diminished.

5. State Documents. There is a whole range of documents which can help build up the king's itinerary. Letters written from the court by the king's secretary are perhaps the most useful, as well as the king's payments in the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber.

6. Noblemens' Accounts. Few accounts exist for this period but they can be very helpful if it is clear that the nobleman in question was following the court. The only time when this source has been used in this itinerary is for the king's summer progress of 1525. The marquis of Exeter was following the king and his accounts record when the king moved from one place to another. There are a few other sources extant for this summer and Exeter's accounts help to build up a clearer picture.

7. Ambassadors' Reports. These provide an eyewitness account of the king's movements. They need, however, to be treated with considerable caution. Ambassadors were often unspecific about the date when they saw the king or cardinal and they do not always mention where they were staying. Occasionally they even become confused over the name of a palace, especially if they have only just arrived in England. Despite these obvious drawbacks they help to add another dimension to the itinerary and should not be ignored.

#### Discrepancy between the sources.

There are often discrepancies between sources as to where the king was staying. In most cases this can be resolved and incorrectly dated letters in Letters and Papers are frequently to blame. Where the

cofferer's or comptroller's accounts exist there is little doubt as to the king's itinerary. For the other years the situation is far from certain and the most difficult period to plot accurately is the summer progress. Given the nature of the sources and the complexity of the king's itinerary it is not surprising that serious discrepancies can arise between the sources. This is an important part of reconstructing an itinerary and where the sources disagree both places have been included.

#### CARDINAL WOLSEY'S ITINERARY.

1. The Great Seal. The Great Seal was the only way by which grants and commissions could be authenticated. As chancellor from December 1515 until October 1529, Wolsey was the custodian of the Great Seal. When he left Westminster the cardinal took the Great Seal with him and this is one of the most helpful sources for compiling Wolsey's itinerary. This source, however, should be handled with caution. When grants were sealed by Wolsey away from Westminster they were usually accurate. I have not included grants delivered into the chancery at Westminster since in this case they were too unreliable. A large number of grants were dated and sealed 'at Westminster' whilst the cardinal was elsewhere (perhaps they were sealed on his return)? The itinerary of the Great Seal was not, therefore, always an accurate reflection of Wolsey's itinerary.

2. State Documents. As the king's chief minister Wolsey wrote a very large number of letters to various people on state business. This is on the whole a very accurate source.

3. Ambassadors' Reports. These are often very helpful when trying to plot Wolsey's itinerary. Frequently they provide the only evidence when king and minister were together. An ambassador was unlikely to get this



point wrong even if his report was vague about the date of their meeting.

4. Council Meetings. Dr. Guy has compiled a list of all the council meetings held in star chamber and these have been included at the end of each month. Although Wolsey usually attended these meetings they have only been included in Wolsey's itinerary when it is specifically known that he took part in the council on that day.

#### The king's residences

The aim of the itinerary is also to show who the king and queen stayed with during their progresses. King's Works provides a list of royal residences but there are some obvious manors left out. In 1529 the king and queen owned:-

Amphill, Bedfordshire. Acquired in 1524.  
Bagshot Lodge, Surrey. In ruins.  
Baynards Castle, London.  
Bridewell, London. Completed in 1522.  
Clarendon, Wiltshire. Unused by the king.  
Collyweston, Northamptonshire.  
Ditton, Buckinghamshire.  
Easthampstead, Berkshire.  
Eltham, Kent.  
Ewelme, Oxfordshire. Held by the duke of Suffolk from 1525-1535.  
Grafton, Northamptonshire. Acquired in 1526/7.  
Greenwich.  
Guildford, Surrey.  
Hanworth, Middlesex.  
Havering-at-Bower, Essex.  
Hunsdon, Hertfordshire. Purchased in 1525 from the duke of Norfolk.  
Langley, Oxfordshire.  
Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire.  
Newhall, Essex. Purchased in 1516 from Thomas Boleyn.  
Parlaunt Manor, Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire. Escheated to the crown in 1523.  
Penshurst, Kent. Forfeited by the duke of Buckingham in 1521.  
Richmond, Surrey.  
Sunninghill Park, Berkshire.  
Tickenhill Manor, Worcestershire.  
Wanstead, Essex.  
Westminster Palace.  
Windsor Manor, Berkshire.  
Woodstock, Oxfordshire.  
Woking, Surrey. Colvin, King's Works, passim

To these should be added:-

1. Thornbury Castle - forfeited by the duke of Buckingham in 1521.
2. Birling, Kent - in royal control 1521-1530, after Lord Burgavenny came under suspicion in 1521.
3. The manors of Great and Little Walsingham, Norfolk - granted to the queen in 1509. (LP I i 94[35])
4. Hitchin, Herts - part of Katherine of Aragon's jointure, 10th June 1509. (LP I i 94[35]) On 16th October, 1522 Edward Hall relates how a fire swept through the king's lodging at Hitchin whilst Henry was staying there. The king was not at Hitchin in October of this year but did stay there in December. Alternatively, Hall could have mistaken the year in which case 1524 might be more accurate.  
Hall, Chronicle, p.650.
5. Petersfield Manor, Hampshire - bestowed on Edward, duke of Buckingham in 1486 - it returned to the crown in 1521. (LP III ii 1285[26])  
In January 1522 James Worsley, yeoman of the robes, was appointed to be chief steward of the lordship of Petersfield.
6. Olney Manor, Buckinghamshire - crown property. VCH Bucks IV pp.433-4.
7. Canford, Dorset - John Holt was appointed keeper in 1509 LP I 132(87)
8. Cornbury Manor, Oxfordshire - repaired in June 1518, possibly before a royal visit. (LP II ii p.1478).
9. Wittell Manor, Essex - forfeited to the crown after the duke of Buckingham's execution in 1521. A description of the manor is provided in E36 150 ff.28v-29. William Cary was appointed chief steward in 1522. (LP III ii 2994[26])
11. Burley Lodge, Hampshire - royal manor, visited by the king in September 1510. VCH Hants. IV p.611.

The court also stayed at royal castles during the progress:-

Corfe, Dorset.  
Dover, Kent.  
Hertford, Hertfordshire.  
Leeds, Kent.  
Nottingham, Nottinghamshire.  
Porchester, Hampshire  
Portsmouth, Hampshire.  
Tower of London,  
Wallingford, Oxfordshire  
Warwick, Warwickshire.  
Winchester, Hampshire.

Key

P.S. Privy seal.  
KP King's payments.

Any residences that were not owned by the king have been identified. If it has not been possible to discover who owned the residence, or who entertained the king, then a (\*) has been used to indicate this. Otherwise all residences were in royal control.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1514	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
2 Windsor	<u>LP I 2555</u>	
4 Windsor	<u>E101 417/2 f.145</u>	Signet
8 Richmond	<u>LP I 2684(22)</u>	
10 Richmond	<u>LP I 2617(44)</u>	
15 Richmond	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
18 Richmond	<u>LP I 2964(13)</u>	
19 Richmond	<u>LP I 2684(23)</u>	
21 Richmond	<u>LP I 2684(29)</u>	
22 Richmond	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
25 Richmond	<u>LP I 2617(46)</u>	Jan. 23 Parliament opens at Westminster.
27 Richmond	<u>LP I 2684(12)</u>	
28 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(35)</u>	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
29 Lambeth	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
31 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(25)</u>	
<b>February</b>		
4 Lambeth	<u>E101 418/5 f.35</u>	Signet. Archbishop of
5 Lambeth	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP) Canterbury's residence.
6 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(59)</u>	
10 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(71)</u>	
11 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(77)</u>	
12 Lambeth	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
13 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(69)</u>	
14 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(64)</u>	
18 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(83)</u>	
19 Lambeth	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
20 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(104)</u>	
22 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2684(106)</u>	
23 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2772(2)</u>	
24 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2772(5)</u>	
25 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2772(6)</u>	
26 Lambeth	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
27 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2678</u>	
<b>March</b>		
2 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2772(15)</u>	
3 Lambeth	<u>LP I 2772(26)</u>	
5 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
7 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2772(24)</u>	
8 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2772(27)</u>	
10 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2713</u>	
12 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2715</u>	
13 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2795</u>	
14 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2721</u>	
15 Greenwich	<u>LP I 2964(17)</u>	

	16	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2772(35)</u>	
	19	Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1463</u>	(KP)
20 -	21	Guildford		BL Lansdowne MS 1 f.147v.
21 -	22	Alton and Bishops Waltham		Earl of Arundel's residence. Bishop of Winchester's house.
22 -	23	Southampton		Priory (1)
23 -	24	Alton and Farnham Castle		Earl of Arundel's residence. Bishop of Winchester's Castle.
	26	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2772(63)</u>	
	31	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2861(21)</u>	
<b>April</b>				
	1	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2775</u>	
	2	Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	4	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2861(7)</u>	
	9	Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	11	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2861(25)</u>	
	13	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2861(28)</u>	
	16	Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	17	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2861(37)</u>	
	18	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2813</u>	
	19	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2817</u>	
	20	Greenwich	<u>LP I 2861(1)</u>	
	23	Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	30	Eltham	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
<b>May</b>				
	4	Eltham	<u>LP I 2964(25)</u>	
	5	Eltham	<u>LP I 2877</u>	
	6	Eltham	E101 417/2 f.50	Signet.
	7	Eltham	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	10	Eltham	<u>LP I 2964(23)</u>	
	12	Eltham	<u>LP I 2964(40)</u>	
	14	Eltham	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	15	Eltham	<u>LP I 2964(49)</u>	
	21	St. Pauls	<u>LP II p.1464</u> Hall p.568	(KP) The king was presented with the cap of maintenance and sword sent by the pope.
	22	Eltham	<u>LP I 2964(70)</u>	
	25	Eltham	<u>LP I 2943</u>	
	27	Eltham	<u>LP I 3049(14)</u>	
	28	St. Pauls	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
<b>June</b>				
	1	Greenwich	<u>LP I 3107(19)</u>	
	3	Eltham	C82 407	
	4	Eltham	E101 417/3 f.104	Signet
	11	Eltham	<u>LP II p.1464</u>	(KP)
	12	Eltham	<u>LP I 2992</u>	
	18	Eltham	E101 417/2 f.146	Signet.
	19	Eltham	C82 407	
	23	Eltham	<u>LP I 3049(24)</u>	

25	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1464	(KP)
26	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3226(25)	
27	Eltham	C82 407	
30	Eltham	C82 407	

### July

2	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
3	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3226(13)	
4	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3056	July 6 Greenwich <u>LP I</u> 3107(18)
9	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
11	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3408(35)	
12	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3070	
13	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3075	
16	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
19	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3226(16)	
20	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3107(48)	
21	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3107(46)	
23	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
30	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
31	Wanstead	<u>LP I</u> 3226(10)	

### August

6	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
11	Greenwich	<u>LP I</u> 3226(29)	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP I</u> 3139	
13	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.201 <u>CSPV II</u> 505	Marriage by proxy ceremony between Mary & king of France. Wolsey at court.
14	Greenwich	E101 418/5 f.34	Signet
16	Greenwich	E101 418/5 f.47	Signet.
18	Enfield	<u>LP I</u> 3168	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
20 - 21	Greenwich		BL Lansdowne MS 1 f.148.
21 - 22	Croydon		Archbishop of Canterbury's house
22 - 25	Esher		Bishop of Winchester's house.
25 - 26	Guildford		
29	Guildford	E101 417/2 f.182	

### September

3	Farnham Castle	E101 417/2 f.172	Sign manual. Bishop of Winchester's residence.
6	Farnham Castle	<u>LP I</u> 3324(22)	
7	Chertsey Abbey	<u>LP I</u> 3324(9)	
7	Esher	<u>LP I</u> 3324(14)	Bishop of Winchester's house.
9	Esher	<u>LP I</u> 3324(28)	
10	Croydon	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP)
11	Croydon	E101 417/2 f.174	Signet. Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
12	Eltham	<u>LP I</u> 3268	
17	Otford	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	(KP) Archbishop of
20	Otford	<u>LP I</u> 3324(41)	Canterbury's residence.
24	Otford	<u>LP II</u> p.1465	

25 Otford LP I 3408(1)  
29 Dover Castle LP I 3310

October E101 418/4 (unfol) Comptroller's accounts  
1 - 2 Dover Castle f.5  
2 - 7 Otford f.5 Archbishop of Canterbury's  
residence.  
7 - 30 Eltham f.5v-7 22, 23 Oct Wolsey at court.  
30 - 31 Greenwich f.7

November  
1 - 6 Greenwich f7-7v  
6 - 10 Windsor f7v  
10 - 27 Greenwich f7v-9 15 Nov. Wolsey at court.  
27 - 29 Stratford f9 Cistercian abbey  
29 - 30 Greenwich f9

December  
1 - 31 Greenwich f9-11v

Notes

(1) The privy seal was left behind at Greenwich when the king travelled to Southampton in March. LP I ii 2737, 2772(60,62)

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1515	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 9 Greenwich	E101 418/4 (unfol) f.11v-12	Comptroller's accounts. E101 418/5 f.24
9 - 22 Eltham	f.12-13	
22 - 31 Greenwich	f.13-13v	E101 418/5 f.28
<b>February</b>		
1 - 28 Greenwich	f.13v-15v	Feb.4 Henry visited Baynards Castle. Feb.5 Henry visited Westminster for the opening of parliament. Feb c24 Wolsey and the council at court. <u>LP II</u> 203
<b>March</b>		
1 - 17 Greenwich	f.15v-16v	E101 418/5 f.15, 21.
17 - 31 Richmond	f.17-17v	
<b>April</b>		
1 - 24 Richmond	f.18-19v <u>LP II</u> 379	E101 417/3 f.102. April 23 Wolsey at court.
24 - 25 Baynards Castle	f.19v	One of the queen's residences.
25 - 30 Greenwich	f.19v-20	
<b>May</b>		
1 - 4 Greenwich	f.20	May 1 Wolsey at court
4 - 7 Birling	f.20-20v	Lord Burgavenny's residence.
7 - 31 Greenwich	f.20v-22	E101 418/5 f.11
<b>June</b>		
1 - 5 Greenwich	f.22-22v	
5 - 8 Newhall	f.22v	Sir Thomas Boleyn's residence. (purchased by the king in 1516)
10 Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1468	(KP) The queen went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham.
11 Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 572	The king was on a hunting expedition 30 miles from London.
15	<u>LP II</u> 585	(KP) Sir Richard Lewis' house.
?	<u>LP II</u> p.1468	(KP) Sir Giles Capel's residence
17 Berwick	<u>LP II</u> p.1468	Sir Thomas Tyrrel's residence.
18 - 20 Heron	f.23v	June 24 Wolsey at court.
20 - 30 Greenwich	f.23v-24	E101 418/5 f.10.



Queen's itinerary

5 - 8	Colchester Priory	f.22v	
8 - 9	Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds	f.22v-23	
9 - 11	Monastery of Thetford	f.22v-23	P.S. remained at Greenwich. <u>LP II</u> 570, 572.
11 - 12	Litcham	f.23	(*)
12 - 13	Walsingham	f.23	(111)
13 - 14	Monastery of Thetford	f.23	
14 - 15	Colchester Priory	f.23	
16 - 18	Thornton	f.23-23v	Jane Ingleton's residence. (iv)

July

1 - 9	Greenwich	f.24v	E101 418/5 f.8.
9 - 12	Enfield	f.25	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
12 - 30	Greenwich	f.25-26v	E101 418/5 f.5, 6, 7.
30 - 31	York Place	f.26v	
31	Richmond	f.26v	

August

1 - 6	Richmond	f.26v	Aug.1 Wolsey at court.
6 - 11	Windsor	f.27	
11 - 13	Richmond	f.27-27v	Aug.12 Wolsey at court.
13 - 20	Windsor	f.27v-28	Aug.19 Wolsey at court.
20 - 26	Easthampstead	f.28-28v	
26 - 28	Windsor	f.28v	
28 - 31	Woking	f.28v	

September

1 - 3	Woking	f.29	Wolsey visited the king. Hall p.582
3 - 7	Guildford	f.29	
7 - 25	Woking	f.29-30v	P.S. at Windsor <u>LP II</u> 1016
25 - 27	Woburn Abbey	f.30v	
27 - 30	Windsor	f.30v-31	

October

4	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 1020	
7	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1469	(KP)
12	Westminster	<u>CSPS II</u> 228	
14	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1469	(KP)
15	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II</u> 655	
20	Greenwich	<u>CSPS II</u> 231	
21	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1469	(KP)
25		<u>CSPV II</u> 662 <u>LP II</u> 1113	The king dined on the 'Henry Grace à Dieu' and the bishop of Durham performed mass.
26	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1073	
27	Greenwich	<u>CSPS II</u> 236	

28 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP)  
31 Greenwich CSPS II 238

#### November

4 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP)  
11 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP)  
18 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP) The king and queen attended  
LP II 1153 a banquet at York Place.  
25 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP)  
28 Greenwich LP Addenda I 146

#### December

2 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP)  
9 Greenwich LP II p.1469 (KP)  
20 Eltham CSPV II 668  
22 Westminster LP II 1335(1) William Warham delivered the  
Great Seal to the king and he  
gave it to Wolsey.  
23 Eltham LP II p.1469 (KP)  
24 Eltham LP II 1335(2) Wolsey took the oath of office  
as the new lord chancellor.  
25 Eltham Hall, p.583  
28 Eltham LP II 1353 Wolsey at court.  
29 Eltham LP II 1354

#### Notes

(i) 'This Somer the kyng tooke his progresse Westward, and visited his tounes and catels there....and in the myddes of September he came to his maner of Okyng, and thether came the Archebishop of Yorke, whome he hartely welcomed and shewed him great pleasures.' (Hall, Chronicle pp.582-3)

(ii) There is some confusion as to the king's itinerary in June whilst Katherine went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham. The comptroller's accounts are for once unclear, but suggest that the king visited Newhall.  
E101 418/4 f.22v

(iii) The queen either stayed at Walsingham Priory or at her own manor at Walsingham.

(iv) Jane Ingleton was the great grand-daughter of Robert Ingleton, the chancellor of the exchequer in Edward IV's reign. By 1517 she was married to Humphrey Tyrrel. VCH Bucks IV p.245.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1516	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
4	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 1381
6	Eltham	Hall p.583
6	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1469
13	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1469
14	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1423
20	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1469
27	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1488
28	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1446
29	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1506
<b>February</b>		
2	Greenwich	BL Add. MS 21,481 f.213 (KP)
3	Greenwich	BL Add. MS 21,481 f.213 (KP)
5	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1507
6	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1495
10	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2402
16	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1546
17	Greenwich	BL Add. MS 21,481 f.213v (KP)
18	Greenwich	Birth of Princess Mary.
20	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1602
21	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1573
24	Greenwich	Christening of Princess Mary. Wolsey was present. Wolsey at court.
<b>March</b>		
2	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1642
3	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1750
9	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1470 (KP)
11	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1688
12	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1770
16	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1470 (KP)
17	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1851
20	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2571
23	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1470 (KP)
25	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1790
27	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1820
30	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1724
<b>April</b>		
1	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 1723
4	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 1925
6	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1470 (KP)
9	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 1828
11	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 1850
12	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 1952
13	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1470 (KP)
14	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 1777

16	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1821	
19	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1819	
20	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1788	21 Apr. Greenwich. <u>LP</u> II 1894.
27	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II p.1470	(KP)
29	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1926	
30	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1934	

May

2	Westminster Lambeth	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.178 <u>LP</u> II 1861	Henry attended a council meeting in star chamber. The king and queen dined at Lambeth with the duke of Norfolk.
3	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1917 <u>LP</u> II 1861	Henry met his sister, Margaret, at Tottenham (William Compton's house). Margaret was lodged at Baynards Castle.
4	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1901	
7	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1929	
8	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1865	
11	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
12	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1949	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1937	
18	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
19	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1910	19, 20 May Jousts Hall p.584.
20	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1916	Wolsey at court.
22	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1948	
23	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 1956 <u>LP</u> II 1935	The king and queen dined at Hampton Court with Wolsey.
24	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.154	(signet)
25	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2048	

June

1	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
4	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2005	
5	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.118	(signet)
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2109	
8	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
10	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.117	
11	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2049	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2086	
15	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
17	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2062	
18	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2069	
19	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2103	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2121	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2122	
29	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1471	(KP)
30	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2123	

July

1	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2116	
2	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2141	
6	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2143	
8	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2160	
9	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2198	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2174	<u>LP II</u> p.1472
14	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 2180	
16	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 2206	
17	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 2191	
18	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 2216	
20	Woking	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)
21	Woking	<u>LP II</u> 2211	The king moved to Guildford. <u>LP II</u> 2208
22	Guildford	<u>LP II</u> 2281	
26	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 2280	Bishop of Winchester's residence.
27	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 2218	
28	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 2278	
29	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 2222	Wolsey and the bishop of Durham went to stay with the king.

August

3	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP) Bishop of Winchester
10	Southampton	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP) Priory
11	Abbey of Beaulieu	C82 437	
17	Monastery of Christchurch	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)
18	Monastery of Christchurch	C82 437	
18	Abbey of Beaulieu	<u>LP II</u> 2287	
19	Monastery of Christchurch	<u>LP II</u> 2336	
24	Corfe Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)
25	Corfe Castle	<u>LP II</u> 2396	
28	Corfe Castle	E101 417/2 f.71	
29	Corfe Castle	<u>LP II</u> 2344	
30	Monastery of Christchurch	<u>LP II</u> 2320	
31	Canford	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)

September

2	Faulston	<u>LP II</u> 2345	Sir Edward Baynton's residence.
7	Salisbury	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)
8	Salisbury	<u>LP II</u> 2534	Bishop of Salisbury's residence
13	Ramsbury	<u>LP II</u> 2370	Bishop of Salisbury's residence
14	Ramsbury	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)
16	Donnington	<u>LP II</u> 2370	Duke of Suffolk's residence.
		<u>LP II</u> 2347	The duke was present and Wolsey visited the court.
21	Easthampstead	<u>LP II</u> p.1472	(KP)
24	Hampton Court	<u>LP II</u> 2389	Wolsey's residence.
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP II</u> 2436	

27	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2437	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1472	(KP)
<b>October</b>			
1	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2408	
2	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2421	
3	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2438	
5	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2429	Wolsey at court. <u>CSPV</u> II 783
8	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2434	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
14	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2459	
15	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2475	
18	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2461	Cardinal Sion visited the court Wolsey was also present.
19	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
20	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2479	
23	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2491	
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2489	<u>LP</u> II p.1473 (KP)
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2524	
<b>November</b>			
1	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2499	Wolsey and the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors swore to the league.
2	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
5	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2538	
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2588	
7	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2546	
9	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
10	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2574	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2557	
15	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2582	
16	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2577	<u>LP</u> II p.1473 (KP)
17	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2622	
20	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2576	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2594	
23	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2598	
30	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
<b>December</b>			
5	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2679	Windsor <u>LP</u> II 2663
7	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP)
9	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II 2687	
11	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II 2680	
14	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II p.1473	(KP) Richmond <u>LP</u> II 2674
15	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 2708	
20	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 2691	
24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2717	Richmond <u>LP</u> II 2818
25	Greenwich	Hall, p.585	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 2716	

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1517	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
2 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2771</u>	
4 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1473.</u>	(KP)
6 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2778</u>	Disguising at court Hall p.585
7 Greenwich	<u>E101 417/2 f.40</u>	
8 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2786</u>	
11 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1473</u>	(KP)
12 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2810</u>	
13 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2809</u>	
17 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2833</u>	
18 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2945</u>	<u>LP II p.1473</u> (KP)
22 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2852</u>	
23 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2843</u>	
24 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3147</u>	
25 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2944</u>	<u>LP II p.1473</u> (KP)
26 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2851</u>	<u>LP II 2901.</u>
31 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2931</u>	
<b>February</b>		
(1 - 28 Greenwich)		
1 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1474</u>	(KP)
2 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2900</u>	
3 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2885</u>	
4 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2906</u>	
5 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2937</u>	
7 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2899</u>	
8 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1474</u>	(KP) <u>LP II 3028</u>
9 Greenwich	<u>E101 417/2 f.138</u>	(Signet)
10 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3480</u>	
15 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2964</u>	<u>LP II p.1474</u> (KP)
17 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2946</u>	
18 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2951</u>	
22 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1474</u>	(KP)
25 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2971</u>	
26 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2978</u>	
<b>March</b>		
1 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1474</u>	(KP)
2 Greenwich	<u>LP II 2977</u>	
8 Greenwich	<u>LP II p.1474</u>	(KP) Wolsey at court.
9 Greenwich	<u>E101 417/2 f.112</u>	(Signet)
12 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3035</u>	
13 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3023</u> <u>LP II 3018</u>	The queen was making her pilgrimage to Walsingham accompanied by the duke of Suffolk and his wife.
14 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3037</u>	
15 Eltham	<u>LP II p.1474</u>	(KP)

20	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3031	
21	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3041	
22	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II p.1474	(KP)
24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3063	
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3055	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1474	(KP) Wolsey visited the court. <u>LP</u> II 3138
30	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II App.32	
31	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.109	(Signet)

April

1	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.82	(Signet)
3	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3126	
4	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.91	(Signet)
5	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1474	(KP)
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3112	
9	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3120	
10	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1474	(KP)
14	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f.161	(Signet)
15	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3152	
19	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1474	(KP)
20	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3148	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3166	
24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3187	
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1474	(KP)
30	Richmond	<u>CSPV</u> II 879	

May

1	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II p.1475	BL Cotton MS Vesp. CXIV f.241v (KP) BL Add.MS 21,481 f.257.
3	Richmond		
6	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3227	
7	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3271	
8	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3245	
9	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3242	
10	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II p.1475	(KP)
11	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3392	Henry moved to Greenwich. Hall p.590.
12	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3240	
14	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2654 f.233	Henry attended a council meeting in star chamber.
15	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3258	
17	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II p.1475	(KP)
18	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 3454	
19	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 3273	
22	Westminster	Hall p.591.	Henry forgave those who had rioted on May Day. Wolsey was present.
23	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3311	
24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II p.1475	(KP)
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3306	
27	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3348	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 3299	



	29	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3361	
	30	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3343	
	31	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	
<b>June</b>				
	3	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3362	
	7	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP)
	8 - 14	Croydon	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	Nicholas Carew's residence of Beddington Place. The P.S. remained at Greenwich <u>LP II</u> 3351, 3381. Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
	18	Otford	<u>LP II</u> 3391	
	20	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 3397	
	21	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP)
	22	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 3388	
	23	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 3405	
	24	Eltham	E101 417/3 f.11	(Signet) <u>LP II</u> 3396
	28	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP)
	28	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3498	
	29	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3428	
	30	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3482	
<b>July</b>				
	1	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3425	
	2	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3434	
	4	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3464	
	5	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP) Wolsey visited the court. <u>LP II</u> 3455 <u>CSPV II</u> 918.
	7	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3446	Wolsey at court. The king entertained the ambassadors with a tournament and banquet.
	11	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3502	
	12	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP)
	15	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3483	
	17	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 3488	
	19	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP)
	24	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3529	
	26	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1475	(KP)
	28	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3533	
	31	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 3794	But <u>CSPV II</u> 941 suggests that the king was on progress.
<b>August</b>				
	2	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	
	4	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 3568	Throughout this month Henry was trying to escape the sweating sickness. <u>LP II</u> 3558 (KP)
	8	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	
	10	Easthampstead	C82 451	Eltham <u>LP II</u> 3704
	12	Hanworth	<u>LP II</u> 3580	<u>HMC Tenth Report</u> App. IV p.447

13	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3625	
16	Richmond	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP) Windsor <u>LP II</u> 3583
17	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3663	
18	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3612	
19	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3624	
20	Windsor	C82 451	
22	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3637	
23	Easthampstead	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
27	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3638	Henry was attended by only a few servants.
30	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)

### September

6	Windsor	C82 452	Easthampstead <u>LP II</u> p.1476
7	Windsor	C82 452	
9	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3698	
12	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3675	
13	Easthampstead	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
15	Easthampstead	<u>LP II</u> 3696	
20	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
23	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3742	
26	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3716	
27	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
28	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3755	

### October

4	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
6	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3740	
8	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3753	
11	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
15	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3747	The king spent his time hawking.
18	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
19	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3757	
21	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3754	
25	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476 <u>HMC Tenth Report</u> Appendix IV p.447	(KP) Henry and Wolsey were meeting regularly.
26	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3780	
27	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3760	

### November

2 - 4	Esher	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP) Bishop of Winchester's residence.
4	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3784	Bishop of Winchester's house 5 Nov. Guildford <u>LP II</u> 3790.
8	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
12	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3824	Henry dismissed the household. <u>CSPV II</u> 987
15	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)

16 - 20	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3836	Wolsey stayed at the court. <u>LP II</u> 3807 (iii)
22	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP) Bishop of Winchester's
27	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3873	residence.

December

2	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3822	Bishop of Winchester's
6	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP) residence.
11	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3840	
13	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	
14	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3870	
16	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3833	
18	Farnham Castle	<u>LP II</u> 3835	
20	Easthampstead	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
22	Windsor	E101 417/2 f.225	
25	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
31	Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3878	

Notes

(i) Most of this itinerary is constructed from privy seals and is, therefore, not very accurate. The king's payments are more reliable, but there are problems reconciling their evidence with that given by the privy seals. The epidemic of sweating sickness only added to the confusion. The king's 'giests' for the summer were made but had to be abandoned when the disease became an epidemic. (Hall, Chronicle p.592)

(ii) The queen went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham in March and also visited the Gracechurch shrine at Ipswich.

(iii) On 17th November the French ambassadors travelled down to Farnham to visit the king. They were lodged in the town for three nights and all their expenses were met by the king. E101 418/10 f.14.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1518	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 Windsor	E36 171 f.56v	
3 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
5 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3870	Wolsey at court.
6 Windsor	E101 417/12 f.11	Wolsey at court. <u>LP II</u> 3873
7 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3915	
9 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3903	
10 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
17 Newhall	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
21 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3896 <u>CSPV II</u> 1002	Henry visited Wolsey in London and then departed for Windsor.
24 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	
27 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3916	
31 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1476	(KP)
<b>February</b>		
2 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1477	(KP)
5 Windsor	E101 417/2 f.94	Sign manual.
6 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3926	
7 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1477	(KP)
8 Windsor	E101 417/2 f.51	
10 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3938	
12 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 4002	
14 Windsor	E101 417/2 f.204	
15 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 4119	
16 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3967	
17 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3959	
21 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> p.1477	(KP)
22 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3998	
23 Windsor	<u>CSPV II</u> 1010	
28 Windsor	<u>LP II</u> 3980	
<b>March</b>		
1 Windsor	E101 417/2 f164	Wolsey at court. <u>LP II</u> 3979
5 Hampton Court	<u>LP II</u> 4006	Wolsey's residence.
6 Hampton Court	<u>LP II</u> 3998	Wolsey at court.
7 Hampton Court	<u>LP II</u> p.1477	(KP)
9 Hampton Court	<u>LP II</u> 4088	The king moved to Richmond <u>LP II</u> 4021
10 Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 4011	
14 Richmond	E101 417/2 f163	
15 Richmond	<u>CSPV II</u> 1015	Henry was trying to escape the plague - 3 of his attendants had already died.
16 Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 4093	
18 Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 4014	
20 Richmond	<u>LP II</u> 4030	The king, Wolsey and other

		<u>HMC Tenth Report</u>	councillors dined with the
		App. IV p.447	bishop of Durham.
21	Richmond	E101 417/2 f122	
22	Richmond	<u>LP II 4029</u>	
24	Reading Abbey	<u>LP II 4023</u>	
25	Reading Abbey	<u>LP II 4024</u>	
26	Reading Abbey	<u>LP II 4025</u>	The king moved to the abbey of Abingdon. <u>LP II 4023</u>
27	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4034</u>	
28	Abbey of Abingdon		BL Add. MS 21481 f.285 (KP)
29	Abbey of Abingdon	E101 417/2 f228	

April

1	Abbey of Abingdon	E101 417/2 f167	
3	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4057</u>	
4	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4058</u>	<u>LP II p.1477 (KP)</u>
5	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 3985</u>	
6	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4060</u>	Henry held a council meeting at court.
7	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4061</u>	
11	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4069</u>	<u>LP II p.1477 (KP)</u>
12	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4071</u>	
14	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4082</u>	
16	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II 4085</u>	
18	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4089</u>	<u>LP II p.1477 (KP)</u>
20	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4113</u>	
24	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4299</u>	
25	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4116</u>	<u>LP II p.1477 (KP)</u>
26	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4125</u>	Henry held a council meeting at court.
27	Woodstock	E101 417/2 f.200	
28	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4125</u>	
29	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4129</u>	Richmond E101 417/2 f.54

May

2	Woodstock	E101 417/2 f.169
4	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4192</u>
6	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4175</u>
9	Woodstock	<u>LP II p.1478</u>
16	Woodstock	<u>LP II p.1478</u>

23	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> p.1478	Wolsey at court.
25	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4187	
26	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4197	Wolsey at court.
28	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4199	Wolsey at court.
30	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> p.1478	(KP)
31	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4251	Wolsey at court.

## June

1	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4212	Wolsey at court.
6	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4214	Wolsey at court.
7	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4216 Hall p.592	Trinity term opened for one day at Oxford and was then adjourned to Westminster. (date unknown)
8	Abbey of Abingdon	<u>LP II</u> 4234	
10	Southampton Priory	E101 417/2 f116	
11	Southampton Priory	<u>CSPV II</u> 1041	The king and his courtiers went on board the flag galley.
12	Southampton Priory	<u>CSPV II</u> 1041	The king left after lunch and stayed at a palace of the bishop of Winchester (Bishops Waltham) (KP)
13	Southampton Priory	<u>LP II</u> p.1478	
15	Wolfhall	<u>LP II</u> 4315	Sir John Seymour's residence.
16	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4378	
17	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4248	
20	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> p.1478	(KP)
21	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4292	
22	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4331	(misdated as July in <u>LP</u> )
24	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4257	
25	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4278	
26	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4527	
27	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> p.1478	(KP)
28	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4266	

## July

2	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4276	The king travelled to Greenwich to meet Wolsey. <u>HMC Tenth Report</u> Appendix IV p.448
3	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4310	P.S. also left at Woodstock. <u>LP II</u> 4532.
5	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4288	Henry arrived back at Woodstock.
6	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4297	
7	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4293	Henry held a council meeting at court.
8	Woodstock	<u>LP Addenda</u> 214	
11	Woodstock	<u>LP II</u> 4308	
12	Ewelme	<u>LP II</u> 4308	The king moved on this day and most of the household lodged at Wallingford Castle.
15	Bisham Abbey	<u>LP II</u> 4320	The king moved on this day.

18	The More	<u>LP II</u> p.1478	Abbot of St. Albans' reidence.
20	The More	<u>LP II</u> 4415	
24	Enfield	<u>LP II</u> 4335	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
28	Enfield	<u>LP II</u> 4346	Wolsey at court.
28	Wanstead	<u>LP II</u> 4346	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4390	
<b>August</b>			
1	Greenwich	Hall p.593	Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio visited the king for mass and lunch.
3	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4362	Wolsey at court.
5	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II</u> 1053	Wolsey at court.
7	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4387	
8	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1479	(KP) Banquet given for Wolsey and Campeggio. <u>CSPV II</u> 1057.
9	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f124	
15	Eltham	E101 417/2 f153	<u>LP II</u> p.1479.
22	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1479	(KP)
28	Eltham	E101 417/2 f151	
29	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1479	(KP)
<b>September</b>			
1	Eltham	E101 417/2 f.142	
2	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 4455	
4	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 4431	
5	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> p.1479	(KP)
6	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 4433	
7	Eltham	<u>CSPV</u> 1070	8th Greenwich <u>LP II</u> 4443
11	Eltham	<u>LP II</u> 4427	
12	Eltham	E101 417/2 f90	Sign manual. <u>CSPV II</u> 1071
18	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4454	
19	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> p.1479	
20	Greenwich	E101 417/2 f66.	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP II</u> 4458	
25	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II</u> 1075	Wolsey at court.
26	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II</u> 1075	Wolsey at court.
30	Greenwich	Hall p.594.	Daily council meetings at court.
<b>October</b>			
		E101 418/15 (unfol)	Cofferer's accounts.
1	Greenwich	f.4v.	
2	Durham Place	f.4v.	Bishop of Durham's residence. Wolsey was present.
3	Durham Place and St. Pauls	f.5. Hall p.594. <u>CSPV II</u> 1074	General Peace proclaimed at St. Pauls. Mass celebrated by Wolsey. Lunch at bishop of London's palace (in the Strand). Supper at York Place (Wolsey's residence).
4	Durham Place	f.5.	The king moved to Greenwich.
4 - 9	Greenwich	f.5.	Oct.4 Mass performed by Wolsey. at court. <u>CSPV II</u> 1088.

9 - 23	Eltham	f.5-6.	Oct.10 Entertainments at Greenwich. <u>CSPV</u> II 1089.
			Oct.16 Ceremonies at Greenwich, Wolsey was present. <u>LP</u> II 4504.
23 - 31	Greenwich	f.6-7 <u>LP</u> II 4333	Oct.27 P.S. at Eltham <u>LP</u> II 4570
			Oct. 29 Cardinal Campeggio entered London.
<b>November</b>			
1 - 31	Greenwich	f.7-9	
<b>December</b>			
1 - 11	Greenwich	f.9-9v.	
11 - 22	Eltham	f.9v-10v.	Dec.22 The king had lunch at Stone (Wingfield's house) and reached Greenwich in time for supper. <u>LP</u> II 4673.
22 - 31	Greenwich	f.10v-11	

### Notes

(i) Henry and Wolsey intended to go on a joint progress to the north of England but Katherine's pregnancy and the severity of the plague prevented this from taking place. (CSPV II 1024)

(ii) The king probably stayed at his manors of Minster Lovell and Cornbury in July, since both they and Ewelme were repaired in this year and the court was in the district. E36 216 f.7v (LP II ii p.1478)

(iii) Katherine visited Oxford in May. (Dowling, Humanism, p.30)

(iv) The king's payments are unreliable for July. They suggest that the king was at Woodstock on 4th July whereas other evidence indicates that he was at Greenwich, or travelling back. (LP II p.1478, 4276).

(v) Henry was evidently very disturbed by Wolsey's news which reached him late on 30th June. The king left Woodstock early on 1st July and arrived at Greenwich by the evening of the following day. He had returned to Woodstock by the evening of 5th July. (LP II 4288)



THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1519	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 31 Greenwich	E101 418/15 (unfol) f.11-13v	Cofferer's accounts. Jan.25 Henry threw snowballs at Charleton. <u>LP</u> III 152 Jan.26 The king and queen dined with the duke of Norfolk at Lambeth. <u>LP</u> III 152.
<b>February</b>		
1 - 7 Greenwich	f.14	
7 - 12 Beddington Place	f.14	Nicholas Carew's residence.
12 - 28 Greenwich	E101 418/17 f.3 f.14-14v.	Feb. 8 Signet at Greenwich.
<b>March</b>		
1 - 21 Greenwich	f.14v-17	Mar.16,20 Wolsey visited the court. <u>LP</u> III 125,133.
21 - 31 Richmond	f.17-17v	
<b>April</b>		
1 - 30 Richmond	f.17v-19v	Apr.23 Henry visited Windsor for St. George's day. Hall p.598 E101 417/2 ff.18,19,24.
<b>May</b>		
1 - 3 Richmond	f.20	The queen went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham - see below.
3 - 26 Greenwich	f.20-21v E101 418/17 f.3	May 11 Wolsey visited the court twice in 3 days. <u>LP</u> III 217.
26 - 27 Richmond	f.21v	
27 - 31 Windsor	f.21v-22	
<b><u>Queen's Itinerary</u></b>		
2 - 4 Enfield	f.20	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
4 - 5 Barkway	f.20	Earl of Oxford's residence.
5 - 6 Newmarket	f.20	(*)
6 - 7 Brandon Ferry	f.20	(*)
7 - 9 Litcham	f.20	(*)
9 - 10 ?		Earl of Surrey's residence.
10 - 11 Kenninghall	f.20v	Duke of Norfolk's residence.
11 - 12 Newmarket	f.20v	(*)
12 - 13 Barkway	f.20v	Earl of Oxford's residence.
13 - 14 Enfield	f.20v	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
14 Greenwich	f.20v	The queen rejoined her husband.
<b>June</b>		
1 - 20 Windsor	f.22-23v	E101 418/17 f.11, 16, 18, 40.
20 - 30 Richmond	f.23v	E101 418/17 f.17, 9, 1.

**July**

1 - 4	Windsor	f.24-24v	
4 - 13	Woking	f.24v-25	
3 - 18	Guildford	f.25-25v	E101 418/17 f. 42.
18 - 28	Horsham	f.25v-26	Duke of Norfolk's residence (Chesworth)
28 - 30	Slangham	f.26	Sir Richard Corvett's residence.
30 - 31	Sidlesham	f.26	Sir John Ernley's residence.

**August**

1 - 2	Sidlesham	f.26-26v	Sir John Ernley's residence.
2 - 5	Whiligh	f.26v	John Courthorpe's residence.
5 - 8	Mereworth	f.26v	Lord Burgavenny's residence.
		E101 418/17 f38	Aug. 6 Signet at Greenwich.
8 - 11	Penshurst	f.27	Duke of Buckingham's residence.
11 - 12	Otford	f.27	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
12 - 18	Greenwich	f.27-27v	Aug. 15 Wolsey at court.
18 - 20	Enfield	f.27v	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
20 - 23	Havering-at-Bower	f.27v	One of the queen's palaces.
23 - 31	Newhall	f.28v	

**September**

1 - 12	Newhall	f.29v	Sept.3 Mask. Hall p.599. Sept.4 Wolsey at court. E101 418/17 f.27,38.
12 - 14	Heron	f.29v	Sir Thomas Tyrrel's residence.
14 - 16	Barwick	f.29v	Sir Giles Capel's residence.
16 - 30	Wanstead	f.29v	
		E101 418/17 f33	Sept. 26, Signet at Greenwich.
30	Croydon	f.30v	Sir Nicholas Carew's residence.

**October**

		E101 419/1 (unfol)	Cofferer's accounts.
1 - 26	Greenwich	f.2v-4v	E101 418/17 f.39,43.
26 - 29	Lambeth	f.4v	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
		HL Ellesmere MS	Oct.27,28 Henry attended two
		2655 f.354,355	council meetings at Westminster
29 - 31	Greenwich	f.5	The king wished to see Wolsey
		<u>LP III 490</u>	but the cardinal was ill.

**November**

1 - 21	Greenwich	f.5-6v	
21 - 26	Lambeth	f.6v	Archbishop of Canterbury's
26 - 30	Richmond	f.6v-7	residence.

**December**

1 - 10	Richmond	f.7v	
10 - 19	Lambeth	f.7v-8v	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
19 - 31	Greenwich	f.8v-9	Dec. 31 Mask at court.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1520	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>	E101 419/1 (unfol)	Cofferer's accounts
1 - 16 Greenwich	f.10-10v	
16 - 19 Lambeth	f.10v	Archbishop of Canterbury's palace.
19 - 23 Richmond	f.10v	
23 - 26 Windsor	f.11	
26 - 30 Richmond	f.11	
30 - 31 Greenwich	f.11v	
<b>February</b>		
1 - 29 Greenwich	f.11v-13v	
<b>March</b>		
1 - 24 Greenwich	f.13v-15	Mar.18 Wolsey visited the court.
24 - 30 Eltham	f.15-15v	<u>LP III 854(20),779(3,4)</u>
30 - 31 Greenwich	f.15v	
<b>April</b>		
1 - 25 Greenwich	f.15v-17v	Apr.12 Wolsey at court.
25 - 28 Wanstead	f.17v	
28 - 30 Greenwich	f.17v-18v	
<b>May</b>		
1 - 9 Greenwich	f.18v-19v	
9 - 13 Richmond	f.19v-20	P.S. remained at Greenwich. <u>LP III 854(14,23)</u>
13 - 21 Greenwich	f.20-20v	
21 - 22 Otford	f.20v	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
22 - 23 Maidstone	f.20v	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
23 - 24 Charing	f.20v	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence.
24 - 30 Canterbury	f.20v	May 26 Wolsey met Charles V and conducted him to Dover Castle. May 27 Henry met Charles V at Dover and both returned to Canterbury. Hall p.604.
30 - 31 Dover	f.21	
31 Calais	f.21	
<b>June</b>		
1 - 5 Calais	f.21-21v	
5 - 25 Guisnes	f.21v-23 <u>CSPV III 50,60</u>	The Field of Cloth of Gold. June 7 First meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I.
25 - 30 Calais	f.23	

## July

1 - 10	Calais	f.23-24v	
10 - 11	Gravelines	CSPV III 50 p.31 Hall p.621	Second meeting between Charles V and Henry VIII. (1)
11 - 17	Calais	f.24v	July 12 Lavish banquet at Staple Hall. Charles left Calais 14th.
17 - 19	Dover Castle	f.24v	
19 - 20	Canterbury	f.24v	Archbishop's palace.
20 - 21	Sittingbourne	f.24v	Hospital.
21 - 28	Greenwich	f.24v-25	
28 - 30	Richmond	f.25-25v	
30 - 31	Windsor	f.25v	

## August

1 - 13	Windsor	f.25v-26v	
13 - 16	Abbey of Reading	f.26v	Aug.16 signet at Greenwich. E101 418/17 f.29
16 - 18	Yattendon	f.26v	Sir Henry Norris' residence.
18 - 22	Littlecote	f.26v-27 E36 216 f.203	Sir Edward Darrell's residence.
22 - 25	Bradenstock Abbey	f.27	
25 - 27	Fairford	f.27-27v	Sir Edmond Tame's residence.
27 - 31	Langley	f.27v	

## September

1 - 17	Woodstock	f.27v-29	Sept.15,17 Wolsey at court.
17 - 18	Farringdon Abbey	f.29	
18 - 20	Hungerford	f.29	Sir Edward Hungerford's house.
20 - 21	Wolfhall	f.29	Sir John Seymour's residence.
21 - 30	Abbey of Reading	f.29-30	

## October

1 - 16	Windsor	E101 419/5 f.3v-4v	Comptroller's accounts E101 417/2 f.16, 17.
16 - 17	Hanworth	f.4v	
17	Hampton Court		CSPV III 130
17 - 18	Westminster	f.4v	
18 - 24	Eltham	f.4v-5	
24 - 31	Greenwich	f.5-5v	

## November

1 - 6	Greenwich	f.5v-6	
6 - 30	Wanstead	f.6-7v	P.S. and signet remained at Greenwich E101 417/2 f.10,15,30

December

1 - 10	Wanstead	f.7v-8v	Signet remained at Greenwich. E101 417/2 f. 9
10 - 19	Enfield	<u>LP</u> III p.1556 f.8v-9	Dec. 9 Revels at Greenwich(ii) Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
19 - 31	Greenwich	f.9-10	E101 417/2 f.8

Notes

(i) For once the cofferer's accounts are not fully accurate and Henry's visit to Gravelines was missed out in July 1520.

(ii) The large number of privy seals and the evidence provided by the revels accounts suggests that Greenwich might have been the location of the court in the first ten days of December.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1521	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 7	Greenwich	E101 419/5 (unfol)
7 - 11	Eltham	f.10-10v
11 - 31	Greenwich	f.10v
		f.10v-12
		E101 417/2 f.4
<b>February</b>		
1 - 20	Greenwich	f.12-13v
20 - 21	Enfield	f.13v
21 - 22	Hunsdon	f.13v
22 - 24	Wanstead	f.13v-14
	25 ?	f.14
26 - 28	Newhall	f.14
<u>Queen's Itinerary</u>		
22 - 23	Royston Abbey	f.13v
23 - 25	Cambridge	f.13v-14
25 - 26	Newmarket	f.14
26 - 27	Brandon Ferry	f.14
27 - 28	Litchen	f.14
	28 Walsingham	f.14
<b>March</b>		
1 - 13	Newhall	f.14-15
13 - 14	Romford	f.15
14 - 31	Greenwich	f.15-16v
		<u>CSPV III</u> 177
<u>Queen's Itinerary</u>		
	1 Walsingham	f.14
1 - 2	Tudenham	f.14
2 - 4	Norwich	f.14-14v
4 - 5	Mettingham	f.14v
5 - 6	Parham	f.14v
6 - 7	Ipswich Priory	f.14v
7 - 8	Stoke-by-Nayland	f.14v
8 - 9	Easterford	f.14v
<b>April</b>		
1 - 30	Greenwich	f.16v-18v
<b>May</b>		
1 - 18	Greenwich	f.18v-19v
18 - 23	Eltham	f.19v-20
23 - 24	Hampton Court	f.20
24 - 25	Beaconsfield	f.20
25 - 27	Quarrendon	f.20-20v
27 - 28	Beaconsfield	f.20v

28 - 29 Windsor f.20v  
29 - 31 Richmond f.20v

#### June

1 - 4 Richmond f.20v-21  
4 - 6 Hampton Court f.21 Wolsey's residence.  
6 - 20 Richmond f.21-22 (1)  
20 - 30 Windsor f.22-23

#### July

1 - 31 Windsor f.23-25 July 4 Wolsey at court.  
E101 417/2 f.33 July 29 Wolsey left for France.

#### August

1 - 5 Windsor f.25-25v  
5 - 22 Woking f.25v-26v  
22 - 31 Guildford f.26v-27

#### September

1 - 6 Guildford f.27v  
6 - 18 Woking f.27v-28v  
18 - 30 Windsor f.28v-29v E101 417/3 f.15

#### October

1 - 31 Windsor E101 419/6 (unfol) Comptroller's accounts.  
f.7-11

#### November

1 - 21 Windsor f.11-14  
21 - 30 Richmond f.14-16

#### December

1 - 2 Richmond f.16  
2 - 5 Bletchingley f.16 The king travelled into Kent to  
meet Wolsey upon his return. ii  
5 - 8 Hampton Court f.16 Wolsey's residence.  
8 - 21 Richmond f.17-18 Dec.6,8 Wolsey at court.  
LP III 1884 Dec.12 P.S. at Windsor.  
22 - 31 Greenwich f.19-20 Dec.16 Wolsey at court.

#### Notes.

(1) The king avoided Greenwich in June because of the plague.  
CSPV III 236.

(ii) Bletchingley was previously the duke of Buckingham's residence before his execution on 17th May. When the king visited the manor in December it was under royal control. The manor was given to Sir Nicholas Carew in July 1522. (LP III ii 2397)

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1522		<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>			
1 - 31	Greenwich	E101 419/6 f.20-24	Comptroller's accounts. Jan.2,5,23, Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> pp.14,16,23.
<b>February</b>			
1 - 28	Greenwich	f.24-28	Feb.2,16, Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> pp.42,58. E101 417/2 f.59.
<b>March</b>			
1 - 17	Greenwich	f.28-31	Mar.2 Tournament at court. Mar.2,9, Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> pp. 69, 73.
17 - 18	Romford	f.31	Sir Edmund Bray's residence.
18 - 31	Newhall	f.31-33	
<b>April</b>			
1 - 3	Newhall	f.33	Sir Thomas Tyrrel's residence. Signet Newhall <u>LP III</u> 2159. Hospital of St. Mary's. Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clarkenwell. Apl.7,17,22, Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> pp.118, 124, 126.
3 - 4	Brentwood	f.33	
4 - 5	Ilford	f.33	
5 - 7	'St. Johns'	f.33-34	
7 - 30	Richmond	f.34-37	
<b>May</b>			
1 - 17	Richmond	f.37-39 <u>LP III</u> 2446	May ? The queen visited Wolsey at Hampton Court.
17 - 24	Greenwich	f.39-40	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence. (Keeper - Sir Henry Guildford)
24 - 26	Otford	f.40-41	
26 - 27	Leeds Castle	f.41	Archbishop's palace. May 28 Henry met Charles V at Dover. <u>CSPV III</u> 463 (1)
27 - 29	Canterbury	f.41	
29 - 30	Dover Castle	f.41	The king was lodged at St. Augustines and Charles V at the archbishop's palace. Hospital
30 - 31	Canterbury	f.41 Hall p.635 <u>CSPS III</u> 463	
31	Sittingbourne	f.41	
<b>June</b>			
1	Sittingbourne	f.42	Hospital
1 - 2	Rochester	f.42	Henry stayed at bishop's palace



2 - 6	Greenwich	f.42	June 4,5, Tournament at court.
6 - 9	Bridewell	f.42	June 6 Entry of Charles V into
		Hall p.637-40	London. Charles V was lodged at
		<u>CSPV</u> III 466	Blackfriars, his noblemen at
			Bridewell.
		<u>CSPV</u> III 470	June 8 Henry attended mass at
9 - 10	Richmond	f.43	St. Pauls followed by a feast
			at Bridewell. Hall p.640
10 - 11	Hampton Court	f.43	June 9 Henry and Charles V
11 - 21	Windsor	f.43-44	dined at Southwark with the
			duke of Suffolk. Hall p.641.
			Wolsey's residence.
			June 16 Treaty with Charles V
			signed. <u>CSPV</u> III 479.
21 - 23	Farnham Castle	f.44-45	June 16 - 20 Wolsey at court.
23 - 24	Alresford	f.45	Bishop of Winchester's castle.
24 - 26	Winchester	f.45	Bishop of Winchester's house.
26 - 30	Bishops Waltham	f.45	Bishop's palace.
			Bishop of Winchester's manor.
			June 27, 29 Wolsey at court.
<b>July</b>			
1 - 4	Bishops Waltham	f.46	<u>CSPV</u> III 493
4 - 5	Farnham Castle	f.46	Bishop of Winchester's castle.
5 - 6	Windsor	f.46	
		E101 419/7	Itinerary continues in the
			cofferer's accounts.
6 - 14	Windsor	f.25v.-26	July 6 Charles V left Windsor
			to return home.
14 - 24	Easthampstead	f.26-26v.	July 17 The queen travelled to
		<u>LP</u> III 2393	the shrine at Caversham.
24 - 28	Windsor	f.26v-27	E101 417/3 f.103.
28 - 30	The More	f.27	Wolsey's residence.
30 - 31	Barnet	f.27	Wolsey's residence.
<b>August</b>			
	1 Barnet	f.27	Wolsey's residence.
1 - 2	Hollywell	f.27	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
2 - 5	Havering-at-		
	Bower	f.27	One of the queen's residences.
5 - 25	Newhall	f.27-29	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.142 <u>LP</u> III 2482(8)
25 - 27	Layer Marney	f.29	Sir Henry Marney's residence.
27 - 29	Stanstead	f.29	Earl of Essex's residence.
29 - 31	Castle		
	Hedingham	f.29	Earl of Oxford's residence.
<b>September</b>			
1 - 2	Castle		
	Hedingham	f.29v.	Earl of Oxford's residence.
2 - 15	Newhall	f.29v.-30v.	Sept. c.6 Wolsey at court.
			<u>CSPS FS</u> p.150

15 - 20	Horeham Hall	f.30v.	Sir John Cutt's residence.
20 - 30	Newhall	f.30v.-31v.	
October		E101 419/9 (unfol)	Cofferer's accounts
1 - 7	Newhall	f.3v-4	
7 - 8	Campes Castle	f.4	Countess of Oxford's residence.
8 - 9	Ipswich Priory	f.4	
9 - 10	Thetford Priory	f.4	
10 - 11	East Dereham	f.4	Giles Capel's residence. (iv)
		<u>LP</u> III 2648(14)	P.S. at Newhall
11 - 13	Walsingham	f.4-4v.	(v)
13 - 14	Castle Acre	f.4v.	Priory
14 - 15	Brandon Ferry	f.4v.	(*)
15 - 16	Newmarket	f.4v.	(*)
16 - 17	Cambridge	f.4v.	The king stayed at Hitchen Hall
17 - 21	Barnet	f.4v-5	Wolsey's residence.
21 - 30	Bishops		
	Hatfield	f.5-5v.	Bishop of Ely's residence.
30 - 31	Hertford Castle	f.5v.	Royal castle.
November			
1 - 17	Hertford Castle	f.5v-7	Henry was avoiding the plague.
17 - 30	Bishops		Bishop of Ely's residence.
	Hatfield	f.7-8	<u>LP</u> III 2894(22,27,29)
December			
1 - 9	Hitchen	f.8-8v.	The queen's residence.
9 - 16	Abbey of		Wolsey was the abbot.
	St. Albans	f.8v.-9	<u>LP</u> III 2749(18)
16 - 18	Enfield	f.9	Sir Thomas Lovell's residence.
18 - 22	Bridewell	f.9-9v.	
22 - 31	Eltham	f.9v.	

#### Notes.

(i) Between 28th May and 6th July Charles V accompanied Henry, together with his Spanish retinue, on a splendid progress.

(ii) The privy seal was left at Newhall while the king made his pilgrimage to Walsingham. According to the 'gifts and rewards' at the end of the cofferer's accounts the queen did not go on the pilgrimage with her husband but instead travelled south to Ingatestone on the 9th, and Barnet on the 22nd October, with some time spent at her own palace of Havering-at-Bower. (E101 419/9 f.31)

(iii) Barnet manor was a part of the abbey of St. Albans.

(iv) Alternatively this manor may have belonged to the monastery of Ely.

(v) The king travelled to Castle Acre via Raynham where he visited Sir Roger Townsend at Inglethorp manor. BL Additional MS 27,449 f.10.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1523	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 7 Eltham	E101 419/9 (unfol) f.10v. <u>CSPS FS</u> p.181.	Cofferer's accounts 4, 5 Jan. Wolsey & the councillors present at court.
7 - 31 Greenwich	f.10v-12	
<b>February</b>		
1 - 28 Greenwich	f.12v-14 <u>LP III</u> 3062(2)	c2 Feb. Wolsey at court. 14 Feb. P.S. at Richmond.
<b>March</b>		
1 - 6 Greenwich	f.14v.	
6 - 16 Richmond	f.14v-15v.	7 Mar. P.S. Greenwich. <u>LP III</u> 2900.
16 - 17 Guildford	f.15v.	16 Mar. P.S. Richmond. <u>LP III</u> 3495(9)
17 - 18 Petersfield (Royal manor)	f.15v.	17 Mar. P.S. Richmond. <u>LP III</u> 2992(3)
18 - 22 Portsmouth	f.15v-16.	Castle. (1)
22 - 23 Bishops Waltham	f.16.	Bishop of Winchester's house.
23 - 26 Farnham Castle	f.16.	Bishop of Winchester's castle.
26 - 31 Richmond	f.16-16v	
<b>April</b>		
1 - 13 Richmond	f.16v-17v	7,8 Apr. Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> p.212 <u>LP III</u> 2935.
13 - 30 Bridewell	f.17v-18v	15 Apr. Henry was present at the opening of parliament at Blackfriars. <u>LP III</u> 2956
<b>May</b>		
1 - 22 Bridewell	f.18v-20.	2, 17 May Wolsey at court.
22 - 31 Greenwich	f.20-21	26 May Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> pp.215, 219, 224.
<b>June</b>		
1 - 30 Greenwich	f.21-23 Hall p.658  <u>CSPS FS</u> p.244	10 June Parliament opened at Westminster. The king of Denmark was a guest at court. 20 June Wolsey attended a council meeting at court.
<b>July</b>		
1 - 17 Greenwich	f.23-24.	12 July P.S. at Eltham. <u>LP III</u> 3214(12)
17 - 31 Richmond	f.24-25	19 July Henry dined with Wolsey. <u>CSPS FS</u> p.259

## August

1 - 13	Richmond	f.25-26	c3, 7 Aug. Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS FS</u> p.260
13 - 21	Windsor	f.26	13 Aug. Parliamentary session closed.
21 - 31	Easthampstead	f.26v.	

## September

1 - 9	Easthampstead	f.26v-27. <u>CSPS III</u> 749	1,3,5,6 Sept. T. More at Woking <u>LP III</u> 3290, 3298, 3302.
9 - 17	Guildford	f.27-27v. <u>LP III</u> 3495(16)	12 Sept. T. More at Woking. (ii) <u>LP III</u> 3320. 14 Sept. P.S. at Guildford.
17 - 18	Easthampstead	f.27v.	
18 - 19	Henley	f.27v.	
19 - 22	Abbey of Abingdon	f.27v.-28	
22 - 30	Woodstock	f.28-28v.	

## October

3	Woodstock	<u>LP III</u> 3495(9)	
5	Woodstock	<u>LP III</u> 3394	
7	Woodstock	<u>LP III</u> 3495(9)	
14	Woodstock	C82 537	
27	Wolfhall	C82 537	Sir John Seymour's residence.
30	Woodstock	<u>LP III</u> 3485	

## November

2	Woodstock		Fiddes <u>Wolsey</u> p.105
11	Woodstock	C82 538	
12	Woodstock	<u>LP III</u> 3531	
14	Woodstock	<u>LP III</u> 3586(19)	
21	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 3586(24)	
23	London	C82 538	
26	York Place	<u>LP III</u> 3568	Henry visited Wolsey.

## December

11	Windsor	C82 539	
12	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 3631	
20	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 3655	
25	Windsor	Hall p. 672	The king spent a solemn Xmas at Windsor.

## Notes

(i) When Henry visited Portsmouth in March (probably to inspect his navy in preparation for war) the privy seal was left behind at Richmond.

(ii) Guildford and Woking are close to one another. The king's manor at Guildford was small and it would be quite feasible for Thomas More and other courtiers to be based at Woking whilst the king resided at Guildford.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1524	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
2	Windsor	C82 540
3	Windsor	<u>LP IV 86(3)</u>
14	Greenwich	C82 540
16	Greenwich	C82 540
c17	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.298
19	Greenwich	C82 540
20	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 40</u>
c26	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.305
		(1)
		Wolsey visited the king.
		Wolsey visited the court.
<b>February</b>		
3	Greenwich	C82 541
7	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 390(26)</u>
11	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 137(11)</u>
13	Greenwich	C82 541
16	Greenwich	C82 541
17	Greenwich	C82 541
18	Greenwich	C82 541
19	Greenwich	C82 541
c26	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.311
27	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 122</u>
		Wolsey at court.
<b>March</b>		
4	Greenwich	C82 542
6	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.312
7	Greenwich	C82 542
12	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.25v
13	Greenwich	C82 542
19	Greenwich	C82 542
25	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 184</u>
30	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.327
		Wolsey at court.
<b>April</b>		
2	Greenwich	C82 543
3	Greenwich	C82 543
7	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 297(14)</u>
10	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 787(12)</u>
13	Beaulieu	C82 543
14	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 297(16)</u>
16	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 297(16)</u>
17	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 297(18)</u>
18	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 297(28)</u>
21	Beaulieu	C82 543
23	Beaulieu	Hall p.677
25	Beaulieu	C82 545
		Previously called Newhall.

**May**

3	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.350	Wolsey visited the court.
4	Greenwich	C82 546	
6	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 311	
7	Greenwich	C82 546	
10	Greenwich	C82 546	
16	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.354	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 354	
25	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 369	
26	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 390(26)	
28	Greenwich	C82 546	

**June**

3	Greenwich	C82 547	
4	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 464(8)	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 413	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 464(17)	
15	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 464(27)	
26	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.364	Princess Mary was not at court because of the plague.
28	Havering-at- Bower	<u>LP IV</u> 546(2)	

**July**

3	Greenwich	C82 548	
4	Greenwich	C82 548	
9	Greenwich	C82 548	
10	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 546(16)	
11	Greenwich	C82 548	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 546(14)	
16	Greenwich	C82 548	
19	Greenwich	C82 548	
21	Enfield	E101 417/2 f.101	(Elsings) Residence of Lord Ros.

**August**

5	Hampton Court	C82 552	Wolsey's residence.
13	Chertsey Abbey	<u>LP IV</u> 613(13)	
15	Woking	<u>LP IV</u> 576	
21		<u>CSPS FS</u> p.376	Wolsey visited the king.

**September**

1	Easthampstead	C82 550	
3	Farnham Castle	E101 417/2 f.172	Bishop of Winchester's residence
6	Windsor	<u>LP IV</u> 638	All Soul's College MS no.20.
8	Windsor	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.388 Hall, p.684	Wolsey present at court. The rose sent by the pope was received by the king.
9	Windsor	<u>LP IV</u> 693(9)	
12	Windsor	<u>LP IV</u> 693(25)	
18	Windsor	C82 550	
22	Windsor	C82 550	

26	The More	BL Harleian MS 297 f.180	Wolsey's residence. <u>LP IV 684</u> Wolsey was present.
30	Abbey of St. Albans	E36 224 f.56	Wolsey was abbot.

October

1	Abbey of St. Albans	<u>TP I 100</u>	Proclamation.
7	Dunstable Priory	<u>LP IV 717</u>	
10	Amphill	<u>LP IV 722</u>	
11	Olney	E36 224 f.17.	Royal manor.
13	Woburn Abbey	<u>LP IV 787(18)</u>	
15	Amphill	C82 551	
17	Amphill	<u>LP IV 787(18)</u>	
20	Hertford Castle	C82 551	Royal castle.

November

1	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 791</u>	
6	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS p.403</u>	Wolsey at court.
8	Greenwich	C82 552	
10	Greenwich	E36 224 f.20	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 895(15)</u>	
18	Greenwich	C82 552	
19	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 895(25)</u>	
20	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 895(28)</u>	
24	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 1377(29)</u>	
25	Greenwich	C82 552	
29	Hertford Castle	<u>LP IV 882</u>	

December

1	Hertford Castle	<u>LP IV 961(5)</u>	
2	Hertford Castle	<u>LP IV 901</u>	
11	Hertford Castle	<u>LP IV 1049(24)</u>	
15	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS p.426</u>	
17	Greenwich	E36 224 f.40	
18	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS p.426</u>	Wolsey visited the king.
22	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS p.426</u>	E36 224 f.17 Wolsey at court.
23 - 31	Greenwich		<u>HMC Rutland MS IV p.265-7.</u>

Notes

(1) The Spanish ambassador reported in January: 'Seeing that the king is now at Greenwich he (Wolsey) has moved nearer' to London.  
CSPS FS p.298

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1525	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 5 Greenwich	Hall p.688-90	<u>HMC Rutland MS IV</u> p.265-7 Tournament. E36 224 f.55
6 Greenwich	C82 554	The queen was present.
7 Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 1049(7)	
8 Greenwich	C82 554	
19 Ampthill	<u>LP IV</u> 1230(7)	
22 Ampthill	C82 554	
23 Ampthill	<u>LP IV</u> 1049(28)	
25 Ampthill	<u>LP IV</u> 1032	The queen was present.
27 Ampthill	C82 554	
<b>February</b>		
8 Greenwich	Hall p.690-1	Tournament at court.
11 Bridewell	<u>LP IV</u> 1083	
20 Bridewell	<u>LP IV</u> 1128	Wolsey at court.
23 London	<u>LP IV</u> 1116	
25 London	<u>LP IV</u> 1230(1)	
26 Greenwich	Exeter R.O.	Ancient Letters III.
<b>March</b>		
2 Greenwich	C82 556	
5 Bridewell	Hall p.692	Wolsey visited the court <u>LP IV</u> 1152
7 Bridewell	Hall p.692	
8 Bridewell	<u>LP IV</u> 1188	Wolsey at court.
12 Bridewell	Hall p.693	Henry attended mass at St.Pauls.
16 Bridewell	<u>LP IV</u> 1220	Wolsey at court.
18 London	C82 556	
21 Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 1200	
24 Greenwich	C82 556	
30 Greenwich	<u>CSPS III</u> 1 60	The queen was present.
<b>April</b>		
5 Greenwich	C82 557	
7 Greenwich	E36 224 f.54	
11 Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 1261	Wolsey visited the court.
12 Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 1262	
14 Greenwich	C82 557	
18 Greenwich	<u>CSPS III I</u> 79	Wolsey visited the court.
20 Greenwich	<u>LP IV</u> 1276	
23 Greenwich	C82 559	
29 Greenwich	C82 559	



May

8	Windsor	E36 224 f.57	<u>LP IV 1377(28)</u>
11	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1377(11)</u>	P.S.
14	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1343</u>	
20	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1377(20)</u>	P.S.
22	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1466(8)</u>	P.S.
24	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1337(28)</u>	P.S. <u>CSPV III 1016</u>

June

1	Woking	E36 224 f.39	
3	Hampton Court	E36 224 f.40	
5	Windsor	<u>CSPS III i 105</u>	<u>CSPV III 1037</u>
6	Windsor	<u>CSPV III 1037</u>	Wolsey at court.
7	Windsor	<u>CSPV III 1037</u>	Council meeting attended by
		<u>CSPS III i 111</u>	Wolsey and leading councillors.
8	Windsor	<u>CSPS III i 111</u>	Further discussion between
			councillors and Spanish
			ambassadors. Wolsey present.
10	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1466(21)</u>	
11	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1409</u>	
14	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1416</u>	When Henry returned to London
		<u>CSPS III i 119</u>	he travelled via Hampton Court
		p.209	and Wolsey gave him the palace.
15	Bridewell	<u>LP IV 1466(15)</u>	P.S.
16	Bridewell	<u>LP IV 1466(22)</u>	P.S.
18	Bridewell	Hall p.703	Creation of Henry Fitzroy as
			duke of Richmond.
19	Bridewell	E36 225 f.19	
19	Greenwich	E36 225 f.19	Accounts of marquis of Exeter.
23	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III i 119</u>	
26	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS III i 122</u>	

July

2	Hampton Court	E36 225 f.38	
3	Hampton Court	E36 225 f.38	Probably removal day f.46.
4	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1533(4)</u>	P.S. E36 225 f.39
5	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1533(8)</u>	P.S. E36 225 f.39
6	Windsor	E36 224 f.43	
9	Windsor	E36 225 f.75	
10	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1610(22)</u>	Greenwich <u>LP IV 1533(12)</u>
12	Woking	<u>LP IV 1533(19)</u>	
17	Woking	<u>LP IV 1502</u>	
18	Guildford	<u>CSPS III i 160</u>	p.276
21	Guildford	E36 225 f.61.	Marquis of Exeter moved with the
			court. E36 225 f62
23	Guildford	<u>LP IV 1511</u>	
24	Guildford	E36 225 f.70	
26	Guildford	E36 225 f.77	
27	Guildford	E36 225 f.77	
29	Guildford	E36 225 f.84	
31	Easthampstead	E36 225 f.84	<u>LP IV 1581 Windsor</u>

**August**

1 - 5	Easthampstead	E36 225 f.83-6 LP IV 1557	Aug.3 Henry at Hampton Court ?
5	The More	E36 225 f.95	The court moved via Wooburn. Sir William Compton's manor.
7	The More	CSPS III i 160	Wolsey's residence.
8	The More	E36 225 f.90	Wolsey stayed at court. LP IV 1610(8)
9	The More	E36 225 f.91	
13	Barnet	E36 225 f.94 LP IV 1577(10)	Wolsey's residence. 14 Aug. P.S. at Windsor.
16	Barnet	E36 225 f.95	
17	Barnet to Hunsdon	E36 225 f.98	(Royal property)
20	Hunsdon	LP IV 1610(24)	P.S.
22	Hunsdon	E36 225 f.111	
23	Bishops Hatfield	LP IV 1676(1)	Bishop of Ely's residence.
24	Bishops Hatfield	LP IV 1681	E36 225 f.112, 231
25	Bishops Hatfield	E36 225 f.114	Bishop of Ely's residence.
26 - 29	Dunstable Priory	E36 225 f.120-6	LP IV 1676(10)

**September**

3	Stony Stratford	LP IV 1676(12)	Earl of Oxford's residence.
8	Stony Stratford	LP IV 1736(2)	P.S. PRO 30/5/1 11
10	Stony Stratford	LP IV 1676(14)	P.S. E36 224 f.59
11	Stony Stratford	LP IV 1676(13)	P.S.
13	Stony Stratford	LP IV 1736(5)	P.S.
17	Olney	C82 564	Royal manor.
20	Stony Stratford	LP IV 1649	Earl of Oxford's residence.
21	Amphill	LP IV 1799	
23	Amphill	LP IV 2132(28)	
29	Amphill	LP IV 1718	E36 225 f.160
30	Amphill	E36 225 f.160	

**October**

		E101 419/13 (unfol)	Cofferer's accounts.
1 - 10	Amphill	f.4-4v.	E36 225 f.181, 231
10 - 12	Dunstable Priory	f.4v.	E36 225 f.200
12 - 23	Abbey of St. Albans	f.4v-5.	E36 225 ff.211,231
23 - 26	The More	f.5	Oct. 23,24,26 Wolsey at court. Wolsey's residence.
26	Woburn Abbey	f.5	
27 - 31	Reading Abbey	f.5v.6	E36 225 ff.193,195

**November**

1 - 22	Reading Abbey	f.6-7v.	1 Nov. Windsor LP IV 1860(5) PS 4,5 Nov. Reading Abbey. Coventry R.O. A79/27,28 E36 225 ff.210, 233
22 - 30	Windsor	f.7v-8	Henry was avoiding the plague

December

1 - 11 Windsor	f.8-9 <u>LP IV 1821</u> <u>CSPV III 1187</u>	10 Dec. Greenwich <u>LP IV 1833 P.S</u> 1 Dec. Wolsey visited the court. Henry was not present in London because of the plague. Sir Henry Norris' residence.
11 - 14 Kew	f.9	18 Dec. Greenwich <u>LP IV 1826</u>
14 - 31 Eltham	f.9-10v.	18 Dec. Richmond <u>CSPV III 1181</u>

Notes:

(i) The evidence provided by the privy seals is sparse for the summer of 1525. The marquis of Exeter joined the court in June and remained with the king throughout July, August, October and November. His accounts help to piece together the king's itinerary and the date of the court's departure from a manor is sometimes recorded.

(ii) On 1st April 1525 the king sent a token to Wolsey and informed his minister that he would visit Westminster if it would be advantageous for the affairs of state. Wolsey replied that he would like nothing better. LP IV i 1234.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1526	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references.</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 22 Eltham	E101 419/13 (unfol) f.10v.12 <u>LP IV 995</u>	Cofferer's accounts. Henry spent Christmas at Eltham to avoid the plague. Hall p.707 Promulgation of the Eltham Ordinances. Jan.8-22 Wolsey stayed at court. Beddington Place Sir Nicholas Carew's residence.
22 - 31 Croydon	f.12-12v.	
31 Greenwich	f.12v.	
<b>February</b>		
1 - 27 Greenwich	f.12v.-14v.	Feb.13, Jousts (Hall p. 707-8) Feb.18, Wolsey visited Henry. <u>CSPV III 1220</u>
27 - 28 Richmond	f.14v.	
<b>March</b>		
1 - 14 Richmond	f.14v.-15v.	Mar.4,6, Wolsey visited Henry. <u>CSPV III 1227 LP IV 2014</u>
14 - 17 Parlond Park	f.15v.	Parlaunt Manor in Langley Marish
17 Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2132(9)</u>	Wolsey at court. <u>CSPV III 1235</u>
18 - 22 Richmond	f.16	
22 - 31 Greenwich	f.16-16v.	
<b>April</b>		
1 - 10 Greenwich	f.17-17v.	
10 - 20 Waltham Abbey	f.17v.-18.	
20 - 30 Greenwich	f.18-19.	April 29 Wolsey celebrated mass at Greenwich. Henry swore to a treaty with France. Hall p.708.
<b>May</b>		
1 - 16 Greenwich	f.19-20	BL Add. MS 6113 f.207v
16 - 17 Richmond	f.20.	
17 - 31 Windsor	f.20-21	Henry spent 30 May hunting. <u>LP IV 2215</u>
<b>June</b>		
1 - 23 Windsor	f.21-22v.	June 11, P.S. suggests Greenwich. <u>LP IV 2291 (28)</u> June 17, Wolsey at court. <u>CSPS III 463</u>
23 - 30 The More	f.22v-23 E101 420/1 f.66	Wolsey's residence. June 26 Windsor (signet)

## July

1 - 3	The More	f.23v.	Wolsey's residence.
3 - 10	Chertsey Abbey	f.23v-24	
10 - 17	Woking	f.24-24v.	
17 - 21	Guildford	f.24.	
21 - 27	Farnham Castle	f.24v-25	Bishop of Winchester's residence
27 - 28	Whateley and Petworth	f.25-25v.	Owned by Lewis priory. Earl of Northumberland's manor
29 - 31	Farnham Castle and Petworth	f.25v.	Bishop of Winchester's residence Earl of Northumberland's manor.
31	Arundel Castle and The Vyne.	f.25v.	Earl of Arundel's residence. Home of Lord William Sandys.

## August

1	Arundel Castle and The Vyne	f.25v.	Earl of Arundel's residence. Home of Lord William Sandys.
2 - 6	Arundel Castle Farnham Castle	f.25v-26	Aug.2 Henry dined with bishop of Chichester <u>LP</u> IV 2368 2367 2377
6 - 8	Halnaker	f.26.	Lord La Warre's residence.
8 - 9	Downley	f.26.	Earl of Arundel's residence.
9	Warblington	f.26.	Residence of the countess of Salisbury.
10 - 12	Farnham Castle	f.26.	Aug.12, Langley <u>LP</u> IV 2447(13)
12 - 13	Warblington	f.26v.	Countess of Salisbury's residence.
13 - 14	Alton, Alresford, Porchester	f.26v.	Bishop of Winchester's residence Henry lodged at the castle
14	Bishops Waltham and Winchester.	f.26v.	Bishop of Winchester's residence Bishop's palace <u>LP</u> IV 2397
15 - 21	Winchester	f.26v-27	<u>LP</u> IV 2428, 2420
21 - 25	Thrupton	f.27	Thomas Lisle's house.
25	Wolfhall and Ramsbury	f.27	Sir John Seymour's residence. Bishop of Salisbury's
26 - 28	Ramsbury	f.27v.	residence <u>LP</u> IV 2433, 2434
28 - 29	Wolfhall	f.27v.	Sir John Seymour's residence.
29 - 31	Ramsbury	f.27v.	Bishop of Salisbury's manor.
31	Compton	f.27v.	Sir Henry Norris' residence.

## September

1	Compton and Langley	f.27v.	Sir Henry Norris' residence.
2 - 10	Langley	f.28.	Royal manor. Sept. 10 the queen was at Chute. <u>LP</u> IV 2475
10 - 12	Compton Wynyates	f.28v.	Sir William Compton's residence.
12	Edgcote and Easton	f.28v.	Sir Edmund Bray's residence.
13 - 18	Easton	f.28v.-29	Thomas Empson's residence.
18	Grafton and Stony Stratford	f.29.	Earl of Oxford's residence.
19 - 25	Stony Stratford	f.29-29v.	<u>LP</u> IV 2500
25 - 30	Amphill	f.29v-30.	<u>LP</u> IV 2592 E101 419/20 f.11v.

October

1	Amphill	<u>LP IV 2541</u>	Oct 1 PS Greenwich <u>LP IV 2599(1)</u>
11	Amphill	<u>LP IV 2558</u>	
11	Dunstable Priory	<u>LP IV 2558</u>	<u>LP IV 2559</u> Oct. 14 Henry intended to 'depart secretly' from Dunstable and then to meet Wolsey in London. <u>LP IV 2559.</u>
18	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2599(18)</u>	
28	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f10	
29	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f9v	

November

(1 - 30)	Greenwich		
1	Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 734</u>	Wolsey at court. Henry invited foreign ambassadors to mass.
3	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f10	
4	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2673(4)</u>	P.S.
10	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f10v	
11	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2638</u> <u>CSPM I 737</u>	Henry received the Venetian ambassador - Wolsey present.
13	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2673(24)</u>	P.S.
14	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2673(17)</u>	P.S.
15	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2639</u>	
16	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.13	
17	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.13	
18	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f11	
22	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f 9	Nov.23 Westminster. <u>LP IV 2584</u>
24	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2761(1)</u>	P.S.
25	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2761(1)</u>	P.S.
26	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2761(1)</u>	P.S. Katherine present. <u>CSPS 621</u>
30	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2761(1)</u>	P.S.

December

6	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2761(15)</u>	P.S.
7	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.11	
10	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2761(13)</u>	P.S. E101 419/20 f.12
16	Greenwich	C82 581 f138	
18 - 19	Croydon	<u>LP IV 2761(18)</u>	Sir Nicholas Carew's residence.
19	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2712</u>	
21	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.12	
23	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.12	
27	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III ii 8</u>	Wolsey visited the king
29	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(12)</u>	
30	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III ii 8</u>	Wolsey held council meeting at court and stayed the night. Jousts. Hall p.719

Notes

(i) Parlaunt manor escheated to the crown in 1523 on the death of Sir Edward Stanley.

(ii) During July, August and September several places were mentioned in the comptroller's accounts for one day. Usually it meant that the queen had left the court and was travelling independently of the king, but in 1526 this was not the case. It appears that the court was split between several manors. The king had a large retinue during his progress in 1526 and it is probable that several manors were used to house the whole court.

(iii) On 2nd August, the king dined with Richard Sampson, the bishop of Chichester.

(iv) Princess Mary visited the court at Langley on 1st September.  
LP IV 2452.

(v) In August new 'giests' were prepared in order to avoid the plague.  
LP IV 2407(2).

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1527		<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references.</u>
<b>January</b>			
2	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2769</u>	
3	York Place	<u>CSPV IV 4</u>	Henry visited Wolsey in masking attire during a banquet.
4	Greenwich	PRO 31/3/3 f.58	
6	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(6)</u>	
7	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(7)</u>	
9	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(12)</u>	
11	Greenwich	E101 107/26 f.2.	Wolsey at court
13	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(1)</u>	
14	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2915</u>	
15	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(18)</u>	
18	Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 761</u>	Wolsey at court
21	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(24)</u>	<u>CSPM I 761</u>
23	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2817</u>	
25	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(25)</u>	
30	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.12v	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2839(2)</u>	
<b>February</b>			
4	Greenwich	<u>CSPS IV 23</u>	Wolsey visited the king c.4 Feb.
7	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(1)</u>	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(20)</u>	
14	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(16)</u>	Henry received the Bohemian ambassador. <u>CSPV IV 70</u>
15	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(14)</u>	
16	Greenwich	<u>CSPV IV 70 p.40</u>	Henry and Wolsey received the Milanese ambassador.
17	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.12v	
19	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(19)</u>	
20	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(21)</u>	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 2927(26)</u>	
23	Greenwich	E101 419/20 f.13	
27	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(7)</u>	
<b>March</b>			
1	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(1)</u>	
2	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(2)</u>	Henry and Wolsey received the Spanish ambassador. (Mendoza)
7	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III 32 p.84</u> <u>LP IV 3008(7)</u>	The Spanish ambassadors met the English commissioners. <u>LP IV 3105</u> Wolsey at court
10	Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 785 p.494</u>	Wolsey at court.
11	Greenwich	<u>LP III 3087(5)</u>	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3105</u> p.1401	The ambassadors were conducted to court by the bishop of London and Viscount Rochford.
13		E101 107/26 f.2	Princess Mary was at Richmond.
14	Greenwich	Hall p.720	<u>CSPM I 789</u>
15	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(18)</u>	



16	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(16)</u>	Wolsey at court. <u>CSPM I 789</u>
17	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3008(23)</u>	
18	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3008(18)</u>	
22	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3087(22)</u>	Wolsey at court.
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3105 pl406</u>	Wolsey at court.
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3105 pl407</u>	Wolsey was present.
29	Hampton Court	<u>E101 419/20 f.13</u>	

#### April

8	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3087(12)</u>	
11	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3087(11)</u>	
14	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3105 pl410</u>	Wolsey visited the king.
15	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3087(16)</u>	
23	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3105 pl411</u>	St. George's Day.
27	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3142(28)</u>	
28	Greenwich	<u>E101 419/20 f19v</u>	<u>LP IV 3073.</u>
30	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3080</u>	Anglo-French treaty signed.
		<u>E101 107/26 f.8v</u>	Marquis of Exeter's accounts. Wolsey at court.

#### May

4	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3213(18)</u>	Wolsey and Henry received
		<u>CSPV IV 105</u>	ambassadors. <u>LP IV 3105 p.1413.</u>
5	Greenwich	Hall p.721	Mass celebrated at Greenwich by
			Wolsey with 11 prelates present.
			The French swore to observe the
			peace. <u>LP IV 3105 p.1413.</u>
6	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3142(25)</u>	<u>LP IV 3097</u>
9	Greenwich	<u>CSPS IV 66 p.179</u>	Wolsey at court.
10	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3213(3)</u>	<u>CSPS IV 69</u>
14	Greenwich	<u>E101 419/20 f.20</u>	
15	Greenwich	<u>E101 419/20 f.20v</u>	
17	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3124</u>	Henry visited Westminster.
			<u>LP IV 3140 PRO 31/3/3</u>
20	Greenwich	<u>PRO 31/3/3 f.76</u>	
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3213(4)</u>	<u>LP IV 3213(20)</u>
21	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3142(21)</u>	
24	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3213(18)</u>	
30	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3142(30)</u>	

#### June

1	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3213(3)</u>	P.S.
2	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3213(2)</u>	P.S.
10	Windsor		BL Cotton MS Vesp.CXIV f.241v
12	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3174</u>	
14	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3213(16)</u>	
16	Windsor	<u>E101 419/20 f.21</u>	<u>LP IV 3213(16)</u>
17	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3213(21)</u>	
22	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3213(22)</u>	
30	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3324(6)</u>	<u>LP Addenda I 538</u>

July

3	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3324(3)</u>	<u>LP IV 3540(19)</u>
8	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3622(17)</u>	<u>LP IV 3407</u>
9	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3246</u>	Henry moved to The More.
10	The More	<u>LP IV 3252</u>	Windsor. <u>LP IV 3324(12)</u> P.S.
12	Enfield	<u>LP IV 3246</u>	Earl of Rutland's residence.
13	Enfield	E101 419/20 f.21	(M. of Exeter E101 107/27 f.10v)
14	Enfield	<u>LP IV 3265</u>	
17	Hunsdon	<u>LP IV 3324(17)</u>	
18	Hunsdon	<u>LP IV 3278</u>	
21	Hunsdon	E101 419/20 f.25	
23	Hunsdon	<u>LP IV 3302</u>	Henry left for Beaulieu.
25	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3302</u>	Previously known as Newhall.
26	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3304</u>	
29	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3324(29)</u>	
31	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3318</u>	

August

4	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3398(14)</u>	
6	Castle Hedingham	<u>LP IV 3318</u>	Earl of Oxford's residence.
7	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3335</u>	
10	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3398(14)</u>	
12	Beaulieu	C82 591	
15	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3612</u>	
17	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3354</u>	
19	Beaulieu	<u>LP IV 3360</u>	<u>CSPV IV 154.</u>
24	Beaulieu	C82 591	
26	Beaulieu	C82 591	
27	Berwick	<u>LP IV 3354</u>	Sir Giles Capel's residence. Henry intended to move to Stratford Abbey then Greenwich.
30	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3622(9)</u>	

September

c9 - 10	Birling	E101 107/26 f.6.	Owned by the crown, previously the residence of Ld. Burgavenny.
10	Otford	<u>LP IV 3407</u>	Archbishop of Canterbury's residence. Sept.12 Greenwich <u>LP IV 3540(26)</u>
18	Otford	<u>LP IV 3438</u>	
20	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3471(27)</u>	E101 107/26 f.3.
21	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3471(21)</u>	The king moved to Greenwich.
22	Greenwich	Hall p.734	
23	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3622(20)</u>	
25	Richmond	<u>TP I 116</u>	
26	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3540(29)</u>	
30	Richmond	<u>CSPS III 11 224</u> p.432	Wolsey returned from France and visited the king at Richmond. (1)

October

2	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3540(18)</u>	
3	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3540(18)</u>	
5	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3540(20)</u>	
7	Richmond	<u>LP IV 3540(20)</u>	<u>CSPV IV 182</u>
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3540(12)</u>	
17	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3540(18)</u>	
18	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3540(23)</u>	
21	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3516</u>	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3508</u>	<u>CSPV IV 192</u>
25	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3516</u>	
26	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3540(26)</u>	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3647</u>	

November

1		<u>CSPV IV 201</u> Cavendish p.70	Wolsey celebrated mass at St. Pauls with Henry in attendance & perpetual peace was proclaimed Henry dined at York Place.
6	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3622(8)</u>	
10	Greenwich	Hall p.734	<u>LP IV 3563</u>
11	Greenwich	<u>LP IV App.122</u> PRO 31/3/3 f.87	Wolsey at court. <u>CSPM I 737</u>
19	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3622(19)</u>	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3622(27)</u>	
27	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3609</u>	
30	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3622(30)</u>	<u>AAJB p.44</u>

December

4	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3747(10)</u>	
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3869(16)</u>	
7	Hampton Court	<u>AAJB p.49</u>	
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3747(12)</u>	
25	Greenwich	Hall p. 756	
28	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III p.19</u>	
30	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3710</u>	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3757</u>	Wolsey visited the king.

Notes

(1) From Dover Wolsey 'rode to the king (being then in his progress at Sir Harry Wyatt's house in Kent)'. Cavendish p.67 [This probably refers to Allington Castle.] On the other hand the Spanish ambassador claimed that Wolsey met the king at Richmond. Perhaps Henry was paying just a short visit to Sir Henry Wyatt and the court was based at Richmond.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1528	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1	Greenwich	E101 420/4 m.1
4	Greenwich	<u>LP IV App. 137</u>
7	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3869(18)</u>
8	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3779</u>
		<u>LP IV 3786</u> Marquis of Exeter. Jan. 12, 14, Wolsey at court.
17	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3812</u>
20	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3869(25)</u>
<b>February</b>		
7	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3991(12)</u>
8	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3991(8)</u>
9	Greenwich	<u>CSPV VI App.78</u>
11 - 12	York Place	<u>CSPV VI App.79</u>
		Wolsey at court. Henry stayed overnight with Wolsey.
13	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 4031</u>
15	Windsor	<u>LP IV 4124(3)</u>
17	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3936</u>
20	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3943</u>
25	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3969</u>
26	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3991(26)</u>
27	Windsor	<u>LP IV 4124(3)</u>
28	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3992</u>
		E101 420/1 f.1
<b>March</b>		
1	Windsor	<u>LP IV 3993</u>
4	Windsor	<u>LP IV App. 153</u>
16	Windsor	<u>LP IV 4080</u>
20	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4231(20)</u>
22	Richmond	<u>LP IV App.158</u>
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV App.158</u>
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV App.158</u>
26	Richmond	<u>LP IV App.158</u>
		Greenwich E101 420/1 f.42 Wolsey at court. Wolsey at court. Wolsey at court. Henry returned to Richmond.
<b>April</b>		
1	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4127</u>
5	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4144</u>
10	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4313(1)</u>
20	Windsor	E101 420/1 f.44
23	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4313(8)</u>
24	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4313(6)</u>
25	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 4206</u>
28	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 4313(20)</u>
30	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 4313(5)</u>
		(Signet)

May

1	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4236	
2	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4313(14)	
3	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4251	Wolsey visited the court and left at 3 p.m.
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4251	
10	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4251	Wolsey at court.
11	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(1)	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4313(15)	
19	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4280	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4299	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4303	

June

4	Greenwich	C82 603	
5		<u>LP</u> IV 4335	The king was hunting in Eltham Park.
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4335	
12	Greenwich	C82 603	
13	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4367	Fitzwilliam sent Wolsey the king's 'giests' for the summer. (i)
		<u>LP</u> Addenda I 589	
14	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4373	
15	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(21)	
16	Waltham Abbey	<u>LP</u> Addenda I 589	
21	Hunsdon	<u>LP</u> IV 4404	The king was forced to abandon his progress because of plague.
22	Hunsdon	<u>LP</u> IV 4406	
23	Hunsdon	<u>LP</u> IV 4408	P.S. Greenwich <u>LP</u> IV 4423.
26	Hertford Castle	<u>LP</u> IV 4429	
26	Bishops Hatfield	<u>LP</u> IV 4422	Bishop of Ely's residence. Henry moved on this day.
27 - 30	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 4428	Wolsey's residence. P.S. Hertford <u>LP</u> IV 4896(21).

July

2	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 4456	
4	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 4463	
7	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 4476	
8	Tittenhanger	C82 604	
9	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 4486	
10	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 4488	
10	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(12)	Wolsey's residence.
14	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 4507	
16	Amphill	C82 604	
18	Amphill	C82 604	
19	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(5)	
20	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 4594(22)	
21	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 4538	
24	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(1)	
29	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(20)	

**August**

4 Ampthill LP IV 4604  
 8 Ampthill LP IV 4896(28)  
 10 Ampthill LP IV 4687(26)  
 14 Ampthill C82 605  
 14 Windsor LP IV 4687(27)  
 16 Windsor LP IV App. 190  
                   LP IV 4687(20)  
 21 Easthampstead LP IV 4687(27)  
 24 Easthampstead LP IV 4896(6)  
 26 Easthampstead LP IV 4896(19)  
 28 Easthampstead LP IV 4801(4)  
 30 Easthampstead LP IV 4676  
 31 Easthampstead LP IV 4687(31)

Wolsey at court.  
 P.S. at Ampthill.

P.S. Beaulieu LP IV 5243(28)

**September**

4 Woking LP IV 4801(8)  
 6 Woking LP IV 4801(17)  
 18 Woking LP IV 4763  
 19 Woking LP IV 4829  
 23 Guildford LP IV 4766  
  
 25 Woking LP IV 4773  
 27 Woking LP IV 4896(10)  
 c29 Hampton Court LP IV 4766

Wolsey at court.

Henry informed Wolsey that he wished to stay at Hampton Court from 26th September.

**October**

1 - 8 Hampton Court E101 420/8  
                   f.3-3v.  
                   LP IV App.206  
 8 - 21 Greenwich f.3v-4v.  
 21 - 31 Bridewell f.4v-5

Comptroller's accounts.  
 For 10 days Henry travelled from Hampton Court to Richmond (where Wolsey was staying) every day.  
 E101 420/1 f.72 CSPS III 571  
 Arrival of Cardinal Campeggio.  
 Oct. 22, 28 Wolsey at court.

**November**

1 - 10 Bridewell f.5v -6.  
 10 - 14 Beddington  
           Place f.6  
 14 - 17 Bridewell f.6-6v.  
 17 - 30 Greenwich f.6v-7v  
                   CSPS III 593

Sir Nicholas Carew's residence near Croydon. (ii)  
LP IV 4942  
 P.S. Nov.20,24 at Bridewell. (iii)  
 Nov.24 The queen was at Hampton Court.

**December**

1 - 2 Greenwich f.7v.  
 2 - 11 Bridewell f.7v-8  
 11 - 16 Richmond f.8-8v.  
 16 - 18 Bridewell f.8v.  
 18 - 31 Greenwich f.8v-9v

Dec.29 Wolsey at court

Notes

(i) Henry changed his 'giests' so that Wolsey could visit him at Ampthill at the end of the law term. (LP IV 4367, Addenda I 589)

(ii) Some councillors persuaded the king to leave London where he would be less open to slander. Henry moved to a house five miles from where Anne Boleyn was staying and ordered the queen to go back to Greenwich. Anne Boleyn, however, persuaded the king to return to London. (CSPS IV 586 p.846)

(iii) Throughout most of October, November and December the king moved to and from London and Greenwich whilst Campeggio was in London.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1529	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 8 Greenwich	E101 420/8 (unfol) f.10v-11	Comptroller's accounts. Jan. 1,2, Wolsey at court. <u>LP IV 5134</u>
8 - 29 Hampton Court	f.11-12v.	
29 - 31 Greenwich	f.12-13.	
<b>February</b>		
1 - 25 Greenwich	f.13-14v.	
25 - 28 Hampton Court	f.14v.	
<b>March</b>		
1 - 18 Hampton Court	f.15-16.	Mar. 13,14,18, <u>LP IV 5375, 5389.</u> Mar. 13 Henry summoned his council at court.
	<u>LP IV 5375</u>	
18 - 31 Greenwich	f.16-17.	<u>LP IV 5393, 5395</u>
<b>April</b>		
1 - 14 Greenwich	f.17-18.	
14 - 21 Richmond	f.18-18v.	P.S. at Windsor. <u>LP IV 5624(5)</u>
21 - 30 Greenwich	f.18v-19.	
<b>May</b>		
1 - 11 Greenwich	f.19-20.	
11 - 13 Richmond	f.20-21.	
13 - 31 Windsor	f.21-21v.	<u>LP IV 5547, 5573</u>
<b>June</b>		
1 - 10 Windsor	f.21v-22	
10 - 14 Hampton Court	f.22-22v.	
14 - 21 Greenwich	f.22v-23	June 14, The king travelled by water and visited Lord Rochford on the way. <u>LP IV 5679</u> June 17 Wolsey at court. June 18 Legatine court opened at Blackfiars attended by the Queen
	<u>LP IV 5687</u>	
	<u>LP IV 5694</u>	
21 - 25 Bridewell	f.23 <u>LP IV 5702</u>	June 21 The king and queen were at Blackfriars.
25 - 28 Greenwich	f.23-23v.	
28 - 30 Bridewell	f.23v.	June c27, Henry visited Wolsey.
<b>July</b>		
1 - 6 Bridewell	f.24	
6 - 8 Greenwich	f.24	
8 - 15 Bridewell	f.24-24v.	



15 - 27	Durham Place	f.24v-25v. <u>LP IV 5815(22)</u>	July 22 P.S. at Bridewell July 20 signet at Greenwich E101 420/1 f.45
27 - 31	Greenwich	f.25v	<u>LP IV 5802</u>
<b>August</b>			
1 - 2	Greenwich	f.26	
2 - 11	Waltham Abbey	f.26-26v.	<u>LP IV 5825.</u>
11 - 14	Barnet	f.26v.	Wolsey's residence <u>LP IV 5844</u>
14 - 16	Tittenhanger	f.26v-27	Aug. 14,16, Wolsey at court. <u>LP IV 5886, 5906(16)</u>
16 - 17	Wooburn	f.27	Peter Compton's residence.
17 - 21	Windsor	f.27	<u>LP IV 5906(20)</u>
21 - 23	Reading Abbey	f.27	
23 - 25	Haseley	f.27-27v.	Sir William Barentine's house.
25 - 31	Woodstock	f.27v-28.	<u>LP IV 5875, 5885</u>
<b>September</b>			
1 - 4	Langley	f.28-28v.	The household & P.S.remained at Woodstock. <u>LP IV 5885,6072(15)</u>
4 - 9	Woodstock	f.28v. <u>CSPS 135 p.196</u>	The king had not yet granted permission for Wolsey to visit.
9 - 10	Buckingham	f.28v	Henry Cary's residence. (ii)
10 - 24	Grafton	f.28v.-29v.	Sept. 19, 20, Wolsey visited the king but could not find room to stay at court. <u>LP IV 5953</u>
24 - 25	Buckingham	f.29v	Henry Cary's residence. (ii)
25 - 27	Notely Abbey	f.29v-30	
27 - 28	Bisham Abbey	f.30	
28 - 30	Windsor	f.30	<u>CSPS IV 188</u>
<b>October</b>			
2	Windsor	<u>LP IV 5980</u>	
3	Windsor	<u>LP V p.315</u>	(KP) Signet at Greenwich E101 420/1 f.50
5	Windsor	<u>LP IV 5987</u>	
8	Windsor	<u>LP IV 5996</u>	Henry visited London for a day <u>LP IV 6002</u>
10	Windsor	<u>LP V p.315</u>	(KP)
11	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6072(4)</u>	
12	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6038(15)</u>	
13	Windsor	<u>CSPS IV 188</u>	
14	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6072(12)</u>	
15	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6038(16)</u>	
18	Windsor	E101 420/1 f.65	
19	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6038(29)</u>	
20	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6025</u>	The Great Seal was delivered to the king.
22	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6016</u>	
24	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6072(5)</u>	The king moved to Greenwich on this day. <u>LP IV 6072(23)</u>

25	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6025	Henry presented Thomas More with the Great Seal.
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(11)	
27	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(12)	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(20)	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(10)	

November

1	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p. 316	(KP)
2	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(5)	The king moved to York Place in the evening. <u>LP</u> IV Appendix 238
3	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 6043	Henry attended the opening of parliament.
4	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(9)	Henry took possession of York Place. Cavendish p.120.
6	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(10)	
7	York Place	<u>LP</u> V p.316	(KP)
8	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(11)	
9	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(18)	
12	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(17)	
14	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(23)	<u>LP</u> V p.316 York Place 6072(19)
17	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(18)	York Place <u>PPE</u> p.3.
18	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(24)	
20	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(20)	Greenwich <u>LP</u> IV 6135(3)
22	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6072(23)	
27	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(7)	York Place <u>LP</u> IV 6135(5)
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p.316	(KP) E101 418/1 f.43
29	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(3)	
30	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(6)	

December

2	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(13)	
4	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(11)	
5	York Place	<u>LP</u> V p.316	(KP)
6	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(9)	
9	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(13)	
12	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(17)	<u>LP</u> V p.316 (KP)
14	York Place	E101 418/1 f.43	
18	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(20)	
19	York Place	<u>LP</u> V p.316	(KP)
20	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(23)	
21	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(21)	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(22)	
23	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(26)	
25	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p.316	(KP)
26	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6135(26)	

Notes

- (i) There is a copy of the king's summer progress in BL Lansdowne MS I f.210 (LP IV 5695)
- (ii) Anne Boleyn probably wished to see her sister, Mary Cary. Her husband, William, had died of the sweating sickness in 1528.

THE ITINERARY OF HENRY VIII.

1530	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
2	Greenwich	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
9	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 6187(25)</u>
16	York place	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
20	York Place	<u>LP IV 6163</u>
21	York Place	<u>LP IV 6187(25)</u>
22	York Place	<u>LP IV 6187(28)</u>
23	York Place	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
25	York Place	<u>LP IV 6187(28)</u>
27	York Place	<u>LP IV 6187(29)</u>
28	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(16)</u>
29	York Place	<u>LP IV 6187(4)</u>
30	York Place	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
31	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(4)</u>
<b>February</b>		
1	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(8)</u>
2	York Place	<u>LP IV 6198</u>
3	York Place	<u>LP IV 6206</u>
4	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(4)</u>
5	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(11)</u>
6	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(17)</u> Katherine was at Richmond <u>LP IV 6199</u>
7	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(7)</u>
9	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(12)</u>
10	York Place	<u>LP IV 6213</u>
13	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(13)</u>
14	York Place	<u>LP IV 6214</u>
15	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(22)</u>
16	York Place	<u>LP IV 6218</u> The king travelled by barge to Battersea <u>PPE p.24</u>
17	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(21)</u>
18	York Place	<u>LP IV 6363(20)</u>
20	York Place	<u>LP IV 6248(20)</u> Windsor <u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
21	York Place	<u>LP IV 6301(2)</u> Westminster <u>LP IV 6234</u>
21	Hampton Court	<u>PPE p.26.</u>
24	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 6301(16)</u> 25 Feb. Richmond <u>LP IV 6301(3)</u>
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 6301(25)</u>
27	Windsor	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
28	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6301(1)</u>
<b>March</b>		
5	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6301(10)</u>
6	Windsor	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
7	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6301(16)</u>
8	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6301(10)</u>
9	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6542(4)</u>
13	Windsor	<u>LP V p.317</u> (KP)
14	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6301(26)</u>
15	Windsor	<u>LP IV 6275</u>

16	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6277	
18	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(25)	
19	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6301(28)	
20	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6289	
22	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6286	
25	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6301(31)	
27	Windsor	<u>LP</u> V p.317	(KP)
28	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6292	
28	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 6301(31)	(i)
30	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(6)	

April

3	Windsor	<u>LP</u> V p.318	(KP)
5	The More	<u>PPE</u> p.37	Apr.6 P.S. at Greenwich.
8	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(6)	P.S. at Windsor. <u>LP</u> IV 6363(11)
9	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 6322	
10	The More	<u>LP</u> V p.318	(KP)
10	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6331	
13	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(16)	
14	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(14)	
16	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(20)	
17	Windsor	<u>LP</u> V p.318	(KP)
18	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(25)	Apr.19 P.S. at Greenwich.
20	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6348	
21	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(25)	
23	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(4)	
24	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(2)	
25	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(25)	Parliament was prorogued until 22 June because of the plague.
27	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(4)	
27	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 6363(29)	
28	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(6)	

May

1	Hunsdon	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(10)	
2	Hunsdon	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(10)	
3	Hunsdon	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(28)	
4	Enfield	<u>LP</u> IV 6367	Earl of Rutland's residence.
6	Enfield	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(13)	
8	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(8)	(ii)
11	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(14)	
12	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6386	
13	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(28)	
15	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(23)	
17	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(21)	
22	York Place	<u>LP</u> V p.319.	(KP)
23	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6418(27)	
24	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6490(4)	
28	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6490	
29	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> V p.319.	(KP)

June

5 Windsor LP IV 6490(10)  
6 Windsor LP IV 6490(6)  
8 Windsor LP IV 6439  
11 Windsor LP IV 6490(23)  
12 Windsor LP IV 6490(27)  
13 Windsor LP IV 6490(23)  
17 Windsor LP IV 6460  
19 Windsor LP V p.319  
20 Windsor LP IV 6464  
21 Windsor LP IV 6466  
  
21 Hampton Court PPE p.53  
24 Hampton Court LP IV 6542(15)  
25 Hampton Court LP IV 6490(28)  
26 Hampton Court LP IV 6490(29)  
28 Hampton Court LP IV 6600(17)  
30 Hampton Court LP IV 6542(8)

(KP)

Parliament was prorogued until  
1 Oct. because of the plague.

July

1 Hampton Court LP IV 6542(7)  
2 Hampton Court LP IV 6542(3)  
3 Hampton Court LP IV 6506  
5 York Place LP IV 6542(11)  
6 Hampton Court LP IV 6517  
8 Woking PPE p.59  
10 Woking LP V p.320  
11 Woking LP IV 6542(16)  
12 Woking LP IV 6542(23)  
13 Woking LP IV 6600(22)  
14 Woking LP IV 6542(16)  
17 Woking LP IV 6600(4)  
18 Woking PPE p.62  
20 Woking PPE p.62  
23 Guildford PPE p.62  
24 Guildford LP V p.320  
25 Guildford PPE p.63  
26 Guildford LP IV 6600(2)  
27 Guildford LP IV 6600(1)  
28 Guildford PPE p.63  
29 Windsor PPE p.63  
31 Windsor LP V p.320

(KP)

(KP)

(KP)

August

3 Easthampstead LP IV 6547  
5 Easthampstead LP IV 6600(8)  
7 Easthampstead LP IV 6600(11)  
9 Windsor LP IV 6600(15)  
13 Hampton Court PPE p.65  
14 Hampton Court LP IV 6600(19)  
15 Hampton Court LP IV 6600(19)  
16 Hampton Court PPE p.66

17	Ashridge	<u>PPE</u> p.67	College of Ashridge.
18	Ashridge	<u>PPE</u> p.67	
20	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(1)	
21	Amphill	<u>LP</u> V p.321	(KP)
28	Amphill	<u>LP</u> V p.321	(KP)

### September

1	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(20)	
2	Amphill	<u>LP</u> IV 6603	
4	Hertford Castle	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(20)	
5	Hertford Castle	<u>PPE</u> p.71	
7	Hertford Castle	<u>PPE</u> p.72	
10	Hunsdon	<u>PPE</u> p.72	
11	Waltham Abbey	<u>LP</u> V p.321	(KP)
12	Waltham Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(20)	
17	Waltham Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(30)	
18	Waltham Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(23)	
20	Waltham Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(22)	
21	Enfield	<u>PPE</u> p.74	Earl of Rutland's residence.
23	The More	<u>PPE</u> p.74	
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(28)	
24	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6654(2)	
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> V p.321	(KP)
27	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(3)	
30	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6653	

### October

2	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(17)	
3	Chertsey Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(13)	Katherine was staying at Windsor. <u>LP</u> IV App. 263
4	Chertsey Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(6)	
6	Chertsey Abbey	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(28)	Hampton Court <u>LP</u> IV 6709(17)
7	Chertsey Abbey	<u>PPE</u> p.77	
7	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6667	
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(11)	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> V p.322	(KP)
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(17)	
11	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(11)	
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(12)	
13	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(15)	
14	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(27)	
15	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(25)	
16	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(16)	Greenwich in KP <u>LP</u> V p.322
17	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(17)	
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(24)	
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(25)	
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(24)	Greenwich in KP <u>LP</u> V p.322
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(28)	
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(29)	
27	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(11)	
27	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(29)	
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6709(29)	

29	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(29)	
30	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p.322	(KP)
31	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(12)	

November

1	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p.322	(KP)
2	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6725	
5	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(9)	
6	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p.322	(KP)
8	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(16)	
12	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(24)	
13	York Place	<u>LP</u> V p.322	(KP)
17	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(22)	
18	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(22)	
19	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(22)	
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(22)	
21	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6731	
22	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(6)	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(24) York Place
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(24)	
24	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6735	
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6751(29)	
27	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> V p.322	(KP)
30	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(21)	

December

3	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(24)	
4	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(14)	
5	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(10)	
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6760	
7	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(21)	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(26)	
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> V 80(9)	
11	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(11)	
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6768	
13	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(20)	
16	York Place	<u>LP</u> V 80(6)	
17	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(21)	
18	York Place	<u>LP</u> V 80(1)	
21	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(27)	
22	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 6803(29)	
25	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V p.323	(KP)
28	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V 80(10)	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> V 80(4)	

Notes

(i) Wolsey did not formally resign the abbey of St. Albans and the bishopric of Winchester to the king until 17th February. LP IV 6220. Henry, therefore, gained possession of The More in February but the manor was not formally surrendered to the crown until March 1531. King's Works IV p.165.

(ii) Wolsey was allowed to retain the archbishopric of York and all its possessions except for York Place which remained in royal control. LP IV 6214.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1514		<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>	
April				
	24	London	<u>LP I 2854</u>	(Bridewell) (i)
June				
	2	London	<u>LP I 2942</u>	(Bridewell)
August				
	12	London	<u>LP I 3141</u>	
	13	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 505</u>	Wolsey at court.
October				
	22	Eltham	<u>LP I 3379</u>	Wolsey was staying at court.
	23	Eltham	<u>LP I 3380</u>	Wolsey was staying at court.
	26	London	<u>LP I 3388</u>	
November				
	?	York Place	<u>LP I 3497</u>	(ii)
	15	Greenwich	<u>LP I 3440</u>	Wolsey was at court.
December				
	5	London		BL Add. MS 6113 f.159.

Notes

(i) Wolsey acquired his house at Bridewell in 1509.  
C82 341 (LP I 218[13], 357[43])

(ii) Wolsey acquired York Place in August 1514 when he became archbishop of York.



THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1515	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
(York Place)		
<b>February</b>		
1	York Place	<u>LP</u> II 91
5	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.18
c24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 203
Opening of parliament. Wolsey attended a council meeting at court.		
<b>March</b>		
15	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.33
20	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.35
21	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.35
24	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.36
26	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.37
28	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.37
29	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.38
30	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.39
31	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.40
Wolsey attended parliament.		
<b>April</b>		
2	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.40
3	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.41
4	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.41
5	Westminster	<u>LJ</u> 1 p.42
23	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 379
Wolsey attended parliament.  Wolsey visited the court. <u>CSPV</u> II 609		
<b>May</b>		
1	Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> II 614
Wolsey visited the court for the May day celebrations and for the reception of ambassadors.		
16	York Place	<u>LP</u> II 469
28	Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> II 623
Wolsey at court.		
<b>June</b>		
(York Place)		
24	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 636
Wolsey at court.		
<b>July</b>		
5	York Place	<u>LP</u> II 666
30 - 31	York Place	<u>E101</u> 418/4 f.26v
<u>CSPV</u> II 635 The king visited Wolsey and stayed overnight.		

## August

1	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 780	Wolsey at court.
12	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 887	Wolsey at court.
19	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II 851	Wolsey at court.
22	Windsor	<u>LP</u> II 889	Wolsey at court.

## September

c1	Woking	Hall p.583	Wolsey visited the king and stayed at court.
20	Hampton Court?	<u>CSPV</u> II 650	
25	London	<u>CSPV</u> II 651	Wolsey returned to London.

## October

15		<u>CSPV</u> II 655	Wolsey was ill.
25	Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> II 662	Henry dined on the ship 'Henry Grace à Dieu' <u>LP</u> II 1113
c26	York Place	<u>LP</u> II 1113	

## November

15	Westminster Abbey	<u>LP</u> II 1153	Reception of Wolsey's cardinal's hat from Rome.
18	York Place	<u>LP</u> II 1153	Wolsey attended Westminster Abbey where the hat was set on his head. Wolsey then held a feast for the king, queen and other noblemen.

## December

22	Westminster	<u>LP</u> II 1335(1)	Warham gave up the Great Seal to the king and he gave it to Wolsey.
24	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1335(2)	Wolsey took the oath as chancellor in the presence of the king at court.
28	Eltham	<u>LP</u> II 1353	Council meetings at Westminster Dec. 29,30,31.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1516	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
(York Place)		Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 29, 30, 31.
<b>February</b>		
(York Place)		
6 Greenwich	<u>LP II 1495</u>	Wolsey at court.
21 Greenwich	<u>LP II 1573</u>	Wolsey took part in Mary's christening.
24 Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 691</u>	Wolsey at court. Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27.
<b>March</b>		
(York Place)		Council meetings at Westminster Mar. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, (31 at the Tower of London).
<b>April</b>		
25 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.175	Wolsey attended a council meeting in star chamber. Council meetings at Westminster Apr. 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.
<b>May</b>		
2 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.178.	Wolsey attended a council meeting in star chamber. The king was also present.
20 Greenwich	<u>LP II 1920</u>	Wolsey at court.
22 London	<u>LP II 1928</u>	
23 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 1935</u>	The king and queen dined with Wolsey at Hampton Court.
28 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 181	Wolsey attended a council meeting in star chamber. Council meetings at Westminster May 2, 5, 6, 14, 17, 18, 25, 28.
<b>June</b>		
(York Place)		Council meetings at Westminster June 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

## July

25 Durham Place LP II 2218  
29 Farnham Castle LP II 2222

Bishop of Durham's residence.  
Wolsey and the bishop of Durham visited the king. (Bishop of Winchester's residence).  
Council meetings at Westminster July 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15.

## August

c17 London CSPV II 760  
21 Durham Place LP II 2353

Bishop of Durham's residence.

## September

2 London LP II 2338  
6 Hanworth LP II 2345  
9 Hanworth LP II 2352  
10 Newbury LP II 2383  
16 Donnington LP II 2370  
30 Greenwich LP II 2401

One of the royal manors.

Hospital of St. Bartholemew.  
Wolsey visited the court.  
Wolsey at court.

## October

3 York Place LP II 2442  
5 Greenwich LP II 2429  
10 Durham Place LP II 2451  
c14 Greenwich CSPV II 786  
15 York Place CSPV II 789  
16 York Place CSPV II 789  
18 Greenwich LP II 2464

Wolsey dined at the court.  
Bishop of Durham's residence.  
Wolsey at court.

Cardinal Sion dined with Wolsey  
Wolsey held a council meeting at court and welcomed Cardinal Sion.  
Council meetings at Westminster Oct. 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30.

## November

1 Greenwich LP II 2499  
4 Westminster HL Ellesmere MS  
2655 f. 209  
12 Westminster LP II 2542

Wolsey celebrated mass and the new league was sworn.  
Wolsey attended a council meeting in star chamber.  
Council meetings at Westminster Nov. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

## December

5 London LP II 2634  
11 Durham Place LP II 2751  
30 Durham Place LP II 2713

Bishop of Durham's residence.  
Council meetings at Westminster Dec. 1, 2.

## Notes.

(1) The Venetian ambassador heard on 17th August that Wolsey was going to stay with the king until Michaelmas - 29th September. (CSPV II 760)

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1517	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
19 Westminster	<u>LP Addenda I 181</u>	
20 Westminster	<u>LP II 2845</u>	
29 Westminster	<u>LP II 2846</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.
<b>February</b>		
19 Westminster	<u>TP I 80</u>	Proclamation
20 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 233	Wolsey attended a council meeting in star chamber.
24 Westminster	<u>LP II 2963</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 28.
<b>March</b>		
5 Westminster	<u>LP II 3005</u>	
8 Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 885</u>	Wolsey dined at court.
10 Westminster	<u>LP II 3010</u>	
19 Westminster	<u>LP II 3056</u>	
24 York Place	<u>LP II 3045</u>	
27 Westminster	<u>LP II 3100</u>	
28 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3138</u>	Wolsey at court.
29 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3081</u>	Wolsey visited the king. Council meetings at Westminster Mar. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19
<b>April</b>		
29 Westminster	<u>LP II 3383</u>	Council meetings at Westminster April 9, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30.
<b>May</b>		
14 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2654 f. 233	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber. The king was present.
19 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 239	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
22 Westminster	<u>LP II 3320</u> <u>CSPV II 910</u>	Hall p. 591 Henry forgave the rioters. Council meetings at Westminster May 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27.
<b>June</b>		
14 Westminster	<u>LP II 3371</u>	June 17 Wolsey was ill.
30 York Place	<u>LP II 3471</u>	Council meetings at Westminster June 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28, 30.
<b>July</b>		
5 Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 918</u>	Wolsey at court <u>LP II 3455</u>
7 Greenwich	<u>LP II 3446</u>	Jousts. Wolsey at court.

9	York Place	<u>LP II 3471</u>	
31	Hampton Court	<u>CSPV II 941</u>	Wolsey absent from London. Council meetings at Westminster July 2,3,4,7,9,10,11,13,14,15, 22.
<b>August</b>			
1	York Place	<u>CSPV II 941</u>	Wolsey intended to return to London on 1st August.
4	Westminster	<u>LP Addenda I 193</u>	
6		<u>CSPV II 945</u>	Wolsey had left London and was suffering from the sweating sickness.
<b>September</b>			
7		<u>LP II App. 38</u>	This is the most likely date when Wolsey started on his pilgrimage to Walsingham.
?	Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds		
17	Ipswich	<u>LP Addenda I 197</u>	Wolsey did not take the Great Seal with him.
?	Framlingham	BL Add.Roll 17745	Duke of Norfolk's residence. (Monastery of Christchurch)
?	Norwich		
26		<u>CSPV II 975</u>	Wolsey returned from his pilgrimage.
<b>October</b>			
23	Hanworth (Royal manor)	<u>HMC Tenth Report</u> Appendix IV p.447	'The king comes one day to him, and he goes another day to the king'.
29	Hanworth	<u>LP II 3763</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Oct. 10,12,13,14,19.
<b>November</b>			
16 - 20	Guildford	<u>LP II 3807</u>	Wolsey stayed at the court.
20 - 25	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3807</u>	Wolsey returned to Hampton Court.
28	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3810</u>	
<b>December</b>			
7	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3825</u>	
18	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3837</u>	

#### Notes

(i) Wolsey went on a pilgrimage to Walsingham in September to give thanks for recovering from the sweating sickness. During his triumphal progress through Norfolk and Suffolk, Wolsey stayed with the duke of Norfolk at Framlingham and tried to settle a dispute between the abbot of St. Edmunds and his opponents at Ipswich.

(ii) Wolsey returned to Westminster for two days in November but went back to Hampton Court to escape the plague. (CSPV II 987)

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1518	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references.</u>
<b>January</b>		
5 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3869</u>	Wolsey visited the court at Windsor.
6 Windsor	<u>LP II 3873</u>	Wolsey at court.
9 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3877</u>	
12 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3879</u>	
15 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3883</u>	
16 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3886</u> <u>LP II 3885</u>	Wolsey intended to return to Westminster by 22nd January.
18 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3890</u>	
21 London	<u>LP II 3896</u> <u>CSPV II 1002</u>	The king travelled from Windsor to see Wolsey and then returned.
25 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.258	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
26 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.259	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
29 Westminster	<u>LP II 3918</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.
<b>February</b>		
1 Westminster	<u>LP II 3914</u>	
8 Westminster	<u>LP Addenda I 206</u>	Wolsey held a council meeting.
11 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.265	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
23 Windsor	<u>CSPV II 1010</u>	Wolsey visited the king.
27 London	<u>LP II 3973</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.
<b>March</b>		
1 Windsor	<u>LP II 3979</u>	
5 - 6 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 3997</u>	The king visited Hampton Court for four days.
20 Durham Place	<u>HMC Tenth Report</u> App. IV p.447	Henry and Wolsey dined with the bishop of Durham.
<b>April</b>		
9 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4088</u>	The P.S. was with Wolsey.
11 London	<u>LP II 4073</u>	
16 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4089</u>	Council meetings at Westminster April 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30.
<b>May</b>		
1 Westminster	<u>LP II 4141</u>	
5 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4149</u>	
6 Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4151</u>	

	9	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4158</u>	
	12	Reading Abbey	<u>LP II 4162</u>	
	23	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4184</u>	Wolsey at court.
	26	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4191</u>	Wolsey at court.
	28	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4198</u>	Wolsey at court.
	31	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4202</u>	Wolsey at court.
<b>June</b>				
	1	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4212</u>	Wolsey at court.
	6	Woodstock	<u>LP II 4214</u> Hall p.592	Trinity term opened for one day at Oxford and was then adjourned to Westminster. (date unknown)
	11	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4224</u>	
	15	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4230</u>	
	17	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.272	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
	25	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.274	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber. Council meetings at Westminster June 16,17,18,19,21,22,23,25,26, 28,30.
<b>July</b>				
	2 - 5	Greenwich	<u>HMC Tenth Report</u> App. IV p.448	The king wished to see Wolsey about an urgent matter. <u>LP II 4276</u>
	13	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.279	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
	15	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4323</u>	
	17	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4325</u>	
	c27	Enfield	<u>LP II 4346</u>	Wolsey at court.
	29		<u>LP II 4333</u>	Campeggio met Wolsey at Bath Place. Hall p.593. Council meetings at Westminster July 1,2,5,6,8,9,10,12,13.
<b>August</b>				
	1	Greenwich	Hall p.593	Wolsey visited the king.
	3	Greenwich	<u>LP II 4362</u>	Wolsey at court.
	5	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 1053</u>	Wolsey at court.
	8	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 1057</u>	Wolsey attended a banquet at court. <u>LP II 4371.</u>
	12	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4372</u>	
	13	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4376</u>	
	16	Hampton Court	<u>LP II 4380</u>	
<b>September</b>				
	25	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 1075</u>	Wolsey at court.
	26	Greenwich	<u>CSPV II 1075</u>	Wolsey at court.



October

3	York Place	<u>CSPV</u> II 1074 <u>LP</u> II 4481	Wolsey celebrated mass at St. Pauls, had lunch at the bishop of London's palace, returned to Durham Place with the king and provided supper at York Place.
4	Richmond	<u>LP</u> II 4457	
5	Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> II 1088	Wolsey celebrated mass and took part in the entertainments at court.
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> II 4482	
7	Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> II 1088	Wolsey attended the jousts at court.
11	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.284	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
14	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.286	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
15	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.289	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
16	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> II 4504	Wolsey at court.
26	Westminster	<u>TP</u> I 82	Proclamation
27	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.291	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
29	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.291	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.

Council meetings at Westminster  
Oct. 11,14,15,27,29.

November

6	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.294	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
12	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.297	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.

Council meetings at Westminster  
Nov. 6,10,11,12,26.

December

8	Westminster	<u>LP</u> II 4663	
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Notes

- (1) Wolsey visited Oxford in May. Fiddes, Wolsey pp.28-9.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1519	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
12 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 17</u>	
18 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 55(18)</u>	
24	<u>CSPV II 1141</u>	Wolsey intended to return to London. Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 24, 27.
<b>February</b>		
c1 Hampton Court	E36 216 f.66	
14 Durham Place	<u>LP III 77</u>	Bishop of Durham's residence. Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 10.
<b>March</b>		
3 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 105</u>	
16 Greenwich	<u>LP III 125</u>	Wolsey visited the court.
20 Greenwich	<u>LP III 133</u>	Wolsey visited the court.
25 London	<u>LP III 137</u>	
<b>April</b>		
11 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 179</u>	
12 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 206(12)</u>	
13 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 206(13)</u>	
16 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 206(16)</u>	
<b>May</b>		
1 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 278(1)</u>	
3 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 278(3)</u>	
c11 Greenwich	<u>LP III 217</u>	Wolsey visited the court twice in three days. Council meetings at Westminster May 19.
<b>June</b>		
7 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.335	Wolsey held a council meeting.
9	<u>CSPV II 1237</u>	Wolsey left London.
18 Windsor	<u>LP III 317</u>	Wolsey visited the court.
c19 Hampton Court	<u>CSPV II 1237</u>	Wolsey expected at Hampton Court
29 Westminster	<u>LP III 396</u>	Council meetings at Westminster June 6, 7.

## July

8	Westminster	<u>LP II</u> 365	
10		Hall. p.599 <u>CSPV II</u> 1252	Wolsey attended mass at St.Pauls followed by dinner at Baynards Castle.
12	Westminster	<u>TP I</u> 83	
19	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> ?	
31	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 482	Council meetings at Westminster July 2,6,12,13,15.

## August

1	London	<u>LP III</u> 406	
c4	Bullockstowne ?	E36 216 f.112	(4 miles from Buckhurst) (1)
cl0	Esher	E36 216 f.113	Bishop of Winchester's residence
13	Esher	<u>LP III</u> 414	
15	Greenwich	<u>CSPV III</u> 1279	Wolsey at dined at court.
19	London	<u>LP III</u> 431	

## September

4	Newhall	<u>LP III</u> 436	Wolsey visited the court.
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## October

14	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.347	Wolsey held a council meeting.
22	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.349	Wolsey held a council meeting.
27	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.354	Wolsey held a council meeting. The king was present.
28	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.355	Wolsey held a council meeting. The king was present. Council meetings at Westminster Oct. 11,14,18,22,27,28.

## November

21	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.359	Wolsey held a council meeting. Council meetings at Westminster Nov. 21,29.
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## December

4	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 581(4)	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 540	
17	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 581(17)	
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 581(20)	

## Notes

(1) At the beginning of August, Wolsey followed the court to Sussex and stayed four miles from Richard Sackville's house. E36 216 f.112

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1520	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
6	<u>CSPV</u> III 3	Wolsey went to mass with the ambassadors 'as if he were king'
24 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.365	Wolsey held a council meeting.
<b>February</b>		
(York Place)		Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 8,10,12,13,14.
<b>March</b>		
18 Greenwich	<u>LP</u> III 689	Wolsey visited the court.
24 London	<u>LP</u> III 695	
<b>April</b>		
8 Greenwich	<u>LP</u> III 742	Wolsey dined with the king.
12 Greenwich	<u>LP</u> III 739	Wolsey visited the court for the swearing of the treaty with Charles V and Henry held a council meeting.
<b>May</b>		
26 - 30 Canterbury	<u>LP</u> III 843	Wolsey met Charles V at Dover.
30 - 31 Dover	<u>CSPV</u> III 50	Wolsey accompanied Henry to France.
31 Calais		Council meetings at Westminster May 8
<b>June</b>		
1 - 5 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 50,68	The Field of Cloth of Gold. June 23 Wolsey celebrated mass.
5 - 25 Guisnes		
25 - 30 Calais		
<b>July</b>		
1 - 10 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 50	Wolsey accompanied Henry to his second meeting with Charles V. Wolsey returned to Calais with Henry and Charles.
10 - 11 Gravelines	Hall p.621	
11 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 106	Henry returned to England whilst Wolsey remained behind at Calais Wolsey back in England by 27th. July <u>LP</u> III 933
17 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 933(17)	
19 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 933(19)	

## August

c6	Colchester	E36 216 f.202	(1)
8	Ipswich	<u>LP</u> III 967(8)	(Monastery)
10	Ipswich	<u>LP</u> III 951	
12	Ipswich	<u>LP</u> III 950	
16	Norwich	<u>LP</u> III 956	Monastery of Christchurch.
20 - 22	King's Lynn Priory	<u>LP</u> III 697(21)	BL Additional MS 24,346 f.30.

## September

?	Cambridge	<u>LP</u> III 1030	Wolsey stayed at Queen's College
?	Bishops Hatfield	<u>LP</u> III 1030	Bishop of Ely's residence.
c9	Notely Abbey	E36 216 f.206	
17	Woodstock	<u>LP</u> III 982	Wolsey at court.
21	The More	<u>LP</u> III 1016	The abbot of St. Albans' residence. (ii)

## October

18	Hampton Court	<u>CSPV</u> III 130	The king and queen dined with Wolsey.
24	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.385.	Wolsey held a council meeting.  Council meetings at Westminster Oct. 24,26.

## November

26	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.392.	Wolsey held a council meeting. Council meetings at Westminster Nov. 6,9,15,26,29.
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## December

6	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1121(6)	
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1121(10)	
13	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1095	
18	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1121(18)	

## Notes

(i) Wolsey went on a splendid progress throughout Norfolk and Suffolk and visited the shrine of Walsingham.

(ii) Wolsey had yet to become abbot of St. Albans and therefore had yet to acquire this property.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1521	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
6 Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> III 151	Wolsey celebrated mass at court.
30 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.396	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
<b>February</b>		
28 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1186(28)	Council meetings at Westminster Feb.14,26.
<b>March</b>		
4 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1215(4)	
5 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1215(5)	
6 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1202	
7 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1192	
8 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1215(8)	
12 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1215(12)	
24 Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> III 177	Wolsey celebrated mass & then dined at court.
<b>April</b>		
c15	<u>CSPV</u> III 187	Wolsey became ill and would not see anyone except for the king who stayed with him for a long time.
<b>May</b>		
12 St. Pauls	<u>CSPV</u> III 210 <u>LP</u> III 1274	Luther's books were ceremoniously burnt.
14 York Place	<u>LP</u> III 1279	
17 Greenwich	<u>LP</u> III 1292	Wolsey visited the court.
20 Westminster	<u>LP</u> III 1292	
c21 Eltham	<u>CSPV</u> III 219	Wolsey visited the court. Council meetings at Westminster May 8.
<b>June</b>		
3 Westminster	<u>LP</u> III 1371	
21 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 409	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
25 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 409	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.

## July

1 - 2	York Place	<u>LP</u> III 1395	
	4 Windsor	<u>LP</u> III 1395	Wolsey visited the court.
	5 York Place	<u>LP</u> III 1413	
	7 Westminster	<u>LP</u> III 1412	
	c15 Windsor	<u>LP</u> III 1433	Wolsey visited the court.
	18 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1432	
	20 Westminster	<u>LP</u> III 1426	
29 - 30	Dartford	<u>CSPV</u> III 272	Sir Richard Wiltshire's home. BL Harleian MS 620 f.50
30 - 31	Sittingbourne		Wolsey dined at Rochester on the way. BL Harleian MS 620 f.50
	31 Dover		BL Harleian MS 620 f.50.

## August

1 - 2	Dover	<u>LP</u> III 1453	
	2 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 278	
	4 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1473	
	5 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1466	
	10 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 283	
	12 Beoporto	<u>CSPV</u> III 294	(Six miles from Bruges)
	14 Odynborow	<u>LP</u> III 1488	The same day Wolsey entered Bruges and was met by Charles V.
		<u>CSPV</u> III 294	Wolsey & Charles V attended mass
	15 Bruges	<u>CSPV</u> III 298	Wolsey met the king of Denmark.
	16 Bruges	<u>CSPV</u> III 298	
	19 Bruges	<u>LP</u> III 1503	
	24 Bruges	<u>LP</u> III 1502	
	25 Bruges	<u>LP</u> III 1510	
	26 Bruges	<u>CSPV</u> III 316	Wolsey left on the same day.
	28 Gravelines	<u>LP</u> III 1515	
28 - 29	Dunkirk	<u>LP</u> III 1517	
29 - 31	Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 320	<u>LP</u> III 1536, 1539. Aug. 30 Conference at Calais.

## September

	2 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 323
	3 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1538
	4 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1544
	5 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 325
	6 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1549
	7 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 15553
	9 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 324
	11 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 335
	13 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1621(13)
	14 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1573
	20 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1595
	23 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1621(23)
	24 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1621(24)
	26 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1621(26)
	28 Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 342
	29 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1612
	30 Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1621(30)

October

1	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1622
2	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1643
4	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1634
5	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1635
6	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1638
16	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1683
18	Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 349
20	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1690
28	Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 352

November

2	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1732
3	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1738
6	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1746
8	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1818(8)
12	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1757
13	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1818(13)
14	Calais	<u>CSPV</u> III 362
17	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1773
25	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1806
27	Calais	<u>LP</u> III 1883

28	Canterbury	
30	Sittingbourne	

Wolsey had lunch at Dover.  
BL Harleian MS 620 f.61  
BL Harleian MS 620 f.61

December

6	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1928(6)
8	Richmond	<u>LP</u> III 1858
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1928(9)
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1928(12)
16	Richmond	<u>LP</u> III 1884
17	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1928(17)
24	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1892
26	York Place	PRO 31/3/2 f.86
29	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> III 1913
31	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.13

Wolsey at court.  
Wolsey at court.

Dec. ? Wolsey visited the court  
at Richmond. LP III 1913

Wolsey visited the king.

Notes

(1) On 9th October the king asked Wolsey to send back the master of the rolls from France with the Great Seal. (LP III 1650) In October all grants were dated at Westminster, but the Great Seal remained with Wolsey. (LP III 1680)



THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1522	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>	
<b>January</b>			
1	London	PRO 31/3/3 f.1.	
2	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.14	Henry & Wolsey gave audience to the Imperial ambassador.
5	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.16	Wolsey visited the court.
10	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 1986	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.16
c15	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.28	
20	York Place	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.38	Henry visited Wolsey.
21	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.38	Wolsey at court
23	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.41	Wolsey at court.
26	Westminster	<u>TP I</u> 86	Proclamation
31	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.42	Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 5.
<b>February</b>			
2	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.42	Wolsey celebrated high mass. After dinner the treaty of Bruges was sworn.
8	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 2088	
15	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 2068	
16	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.58	Wolsey at court.
20	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 2122	
23	Greenwich	<u>TP I</u> 87	Proclamation Wolsey at court.
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2074(25)	Wolsey made abbot of St. Albans.
28	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2074(28)	
<b>March</b>			
2	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.69	Wolsey at court.
7	Westminster ?	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.78	
9	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.73	Wolsey at court.
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2145(12)	
13	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.88	
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2145(26)	
28	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2145(28)	
29	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2145(29)	
30	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2145(30)	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.106.
<b>April</b>			
1	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2151	
4	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.113	
7	Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.118	Wolsey at court.
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(8)	
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(10)	
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(12)	Wolsey intended to visit the king at Richmond. <u>LP III</u> 2174.
13	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(13)	
16	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(16)	
17	Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.124	Wolsey at court.
18	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(18)	
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2188	

	22	Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.126	Wolsey at court.
	24	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(24)	
	28	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(28)	
	29	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2214(29)	
<b>May</b>				
	c1	Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.132	Wolsey at court.
	12	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 2254	
	15	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 2259	
	20	London	Hall p.634	Wolsey left London and started his journey to Dover.
	25	Canterbury	<u>TP I</u> 88	Proclamation.
	26	Dover	Hall p. 634	Wolsey arrived at Dover.
	27	Dover	<u>LP III</u> 2309	Wolsey met Charles V. They lodged at Dover Castle.
	28	Dover	<u>CSPV III</u> 463	
30 -	31	Canterbury	<u>CSPV III</u> 463	May 31 Mass at the cathedral.
	31	Sittingbourne	<u>CSPV III</u> 463	In the afternoon Henry & Charles travelled to Sittingbourne.
				Council meeting at Westminster May 15.
<b>June</b>				
	1	Sittingbourne		Wolsey accompanied Henry back to Greenwich.
1 -	2	Rochester		
	2	Greenwich	Hall p.635	
	8		<u>CSPV III</u> 470	Wolsey celebrated mass at St. Pauls followed by a banquet at Bridewell.
			Hall, p.640	
	12	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2356(13)	
	13	Hampton Court	<u>CSPV III</u> 475	Wolsey held a council meeting at Westminster.
			<u>LP III</u> 2317	
	14	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 2318	
	16	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 2356(16)	Wolsey at court.
	17	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 2363	Wolsey at court.
	18	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 2356(18)	Wolsey at court.
	19	Windsor	<u>CSPV III</u> 484	Wolsey at court. Hall, p.641.
	20	Windsor	<u>CSPS II</u> 430	
	21	Windsor	PRO 31/3/3 f.6	
	24	Winchester	<u>TP I</u> 89	Proclamation.
	25	Winchester	<u>LP III</u> 2356(25)	
	26	Winchester	<u>LP</u> 2356(26)	
	27	Bishops Waltham	<u>LP III</u> 2364	
	29	Bishops Waltham	<u>LP III</u> 2354	Bishop of Winchester's residence
<b>July</b>				
	3	Bishops Waltham	<u>CSPV III</u> 493	
	5	Alton	<u>LP III</u> 2415(5)	
	19	Windsor	<u>LP III</u> 2415(19)	

August

3	Westminster	<u>LP III 2419</u>	
5	Westminster	<u>LP III 2422</u>	
6	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.142	
9	Westminster	<u>LP III 2430</u>	
10	Westminster	<u>LP III 2432</u>	
11	Westminster	<u>LP III 2434</u>	
14	Westminster	<u>TP I 90</u>	
20	Westminster	<u>LP III 2463</u>	
24	Westminster	<u>LP Addenda I 348</u>	Proclamation. <u>TP I 91</u>
31	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.148	

September

2	Westminster	<u>LP III 2503</u>	
6	Newhall	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.150	Wolsey visited the court.
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2587(8)</u>	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2540</u>	
16	Hampton Court	<u>LP Addenda I 351</u>	
17	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2558</u>	
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2587(20)</u>	
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2593</u>	
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2587(26)</u>	
27	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2598</u>	

October

8	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2648(8)</u>	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2621</u>	
21	Westminster	<u>LP III 2627</u>	
22	Westminster	<u>LP III 2642</u>	
24	Westminster	<u>TP I 92</u>	Proclamation

November

5	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2694(5)</u>	
6	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.433	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
11 - 30	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.173 <u>LP III 2694(19,29)</u>	Wolsey very ill and unable to conduct business (or so he told the Spanish ambassador!)
24	Westminster	<u>TP I 93, 94</u>	Council meeting at Westminster Nov. 6.

December

1 - 13	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.173 <u>LP III 2701</u> <u>LP III 2749(12)</u>	Wolsey still very ill. Dec. 5 Wolsey at Westminster. Dec.13 Audience with Imperial ambassador.
18	York Place	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.173	Wolsey returned to Westminster.
21	Bridewell	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.175	Wolsey attended a council meeting at court.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1523.	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
4 - 5 Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.181.	Wolsey spent 2 days at court discussing foreign affairs with the Spanish ambassadors.
10 Westminster	<u>LP III 2764</u>	
<b>February</b>		
c2 Greenwich	<u>LP III 2811</u>	Wolsey at the court.
<b>March</b>		
6 Westminster	<u>LP III 2877</u>	
16 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2923(16)</u>	
20 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2923(20)</u>	
23 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2923(23)</u>	
30 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2923(30)</u>	
<b>April</b>		
1 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(1)</u>	
3 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(3)</u>	
6 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(6)</u>	
7 Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.211	Wolsey at court.
8 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(8)</u>	Wolsey visited the court at Richmond. <u>LP III 2935.</u>
10 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(10)</u>	
11 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(11)</u>	
12 Hampton Court	<u>LP III 2992(12)</u>	Wolsey present at the creation of Lord Marney at Richmond.
15 Blackfriars	<u>LP III 2956</u>	Wolsey attended the opening of parliament.
17 Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.124	Wolsey at court.
22 Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.126	Wolsey at court.
<b>May</b>		
2 Bridewell	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.215	Wolsey took the Imperial ambassador to see the king.
17 Bridewell	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.230	Wolsey took the Imperial ambassador to see the king.
24 Westminster	<u>LP III 3044</u>	
26 Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.224	Wolsey visited the court.
28 Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.237	
<b>June</b>		
12 Westminster	<u>LP III 3095</u>	
18 Westminster	<u>LP III 3134</u>	
19 Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.250	Wolsey met the king and queen of Denmark and conducted them to their lodging.

20	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.244	Wolsey dined at court and together with the king entertained the Imperial ambassadors.
21	Greenwich	<u>LP III</u> 3140	Wolsey at court.
29	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 3141	
<b>July</b>			
3	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 3153	
19		<u>CSPS FS</u> p.259	The king dined with Wolsey.
24	Blackfriars	<u>LP III</u> 3196	
<b>August</b>			
c3	Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.256	Wolsey at court
c7	Richmond	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.260	Wolsey took De Praet to see the king.
10	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 3231	
17	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 3248	
20	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 3256	
21	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3260	<u>TP I</u> 96 Proclamation.
22	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3289(22)	
24	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3267	
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3275	
30	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3281	Westminster <u>LP III</u> 1025
31	Hampton Court	PRO 30/5/1(unfol)	Fiddes, <u>Wolsey</u> p.108.
<b>September</b>			
1	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3308	
4	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3491	
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3319	<u>LP III</u> 3376(6)
7	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.270	Wolsey intended to speak to the king.
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3321	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3332	
c15	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.272	
16	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3376(16)	
21	The More	<u>LP III</u> 3352	
25	The More	<u>LP III</u> 3361	
30	The More	<u>LP III</u> 3372	
<b>October</b>			
1	The More	<u>LP III</u> 3379	
4	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3389	
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3495(6)	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.278
7	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3400	
9	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3495(9)	
10	Hampton Court	<u>TP I</u> 97	
11	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3420	
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP III</u> 3421	
16	Westminster	<u>LP III</u> 3445	

17	Westminster	<u>LP III 3433</u>	
20	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS p.279</u>	Wolsey visited the king.
23	Westminster	<u>LP III 3461</u>	

**November**

3	Westminster	<u>LP III 3505</u>	
6	Westminster	<u>LP III 3513</u>	
12	Westminster	<u>LP III 3541</u>	
26	Westminster	<u>LP III 3563</u>	Henry visited Wolsey.
29	Westminster	<u>LP III 3578</u>	

**December**

4	Westminster	<u>LP III 3601</u>	
5	Westminster	<u>LP III 3607</u>	
6	Westminster	<u>LP III 3609</u>	
7	Westminster	<u>LP III 3613</u>	
15	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 3677(15)</u>	
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 3677(20)</u>	
22	London	<u>LP III 3658</u>	
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 3677(23)</u>	
29	Hampton Court	<u>LP III 3677(29)</u>	

Notes

(i) Wolsey became bishop of Durham after Ruthal's death and acquired another palace in the capital - Durham Place on the Strand.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1524		<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>			
	12	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 22</u>
	14	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 26</u>
	c17	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.298
	26	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.305
			Wolsey visited the king. Wolsey at court. Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 23,25,26,27,28,29,30.
<b>February</b>			
	17		<u>CSPS FS</u> p.307
	25	London	<u>LP IV 119</u>
	c26	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.311
	28	Westminster	<u>LP IV 126</u>
			Wolsey at court. Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 1,3,4,5,6,8,9,11,12,13,15, 16,17.
<b>March</b>			
	2	Westminster	<u>LP IV 141</u>
	6	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.312
	16	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 213(16)</u>
	c22	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.319
	25	Westminster	<u>LP IV 186</u>
	30	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.327
			Wolsey visited the court.  Wolsey at court.
<b>April</b>			
	7	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 297(14)</u>
	11	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.335
	12	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.336
	13	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.338
	14	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.338
	17	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.342
	24	Westminster	<u>LP IV 275</u>
			Wolsey expected back at York Place, but he did not arrive. Wolsey travelled from Hampton Court.  Council meetings at Westminster April 13,14,15,16,18,19,20,21, 22,23,25,26,27,28,29,30.
<b>May</b>			
	3	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.350
	28	Westminster	<u>LP IV 374</u>
			Wolsey at court. Council meetings at Westminster May 2,7,9,10,11,12.
<b>June</b>			
	4	Westminster	<u>LP IV 394</u>
	11	Westminster	<u>LP IV 405</u>

20 Westminster LP IV 468  
28 Westminster LP IV 456

Council meetings at Westminster  
June 1,2,3,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,  
14,15,16,17,18,20,21,22,23,25,  
27,28,30.

### July

6 Westminster LP IV 474  
16 Westminster LP IV 497  
17 Westminster LP IV 510  
21 Westminster LP IV 523

Proclamation. TP I 98,99

Council meetings at Westminster  
July 1,2,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,12,13,  
14,15.

### August

1 Hampton Court LP IV 549  
6 Hampton Court LP IV 612(6)  
7 Hampton Court LP IV 567  
8 Hampton Court CSPS FS p.373  
9 Hampton Court LP IV 571  
11 Hampton Court LP IV 612(11)  
12 Hampton Court CSPS FS p.374  
15 Hampton Court LP IV 591  
18 Hampton Court LP IV 612(18)  
19 Hampton Court LP IV 571  
c21 Hampton Court CSPS FS p.376  
22 Hampton Court LP IV 612(22)  
23 Hampton Court CSPS FS p.367  
26 Hampton Court CSPS FS p.379  
c27 CSPS FS p.379  
  
c28 Hampton Court CSPS FS p.379  
31 The More LP IV 269

CSPS FS p.371

Henry was also present.

Wolsey visited the king.

Wolsey visited the king to  
discuss state business.

### September

2 The More LP IV 615  
8 - 9 Windsor CSPS FS p.388  
  
13 The More LP IV 693(13)  
14 The More LP IV 693(14)  
19 The More LP IV 693(19)  
26 The More LP IV 693(26)  
LP IV 684  
28 The More LP IV 687

Wolsey celebrated mass at court.  
Henry received the rose sent by  
the pope.

Wolsey entertained the king at  
his palace. BL Harleian 279 f.180

### October

1 Abbey of  
St. Albans TP I 100

The king stayed with Wolsey  
Proclamation.



	3	Abbey of St. Albans	<u>LP IV 701</u>	
12 -	16	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.401	
	18	Westminster	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.401 <u>TP I 101</u>	Wolsey returned from Hampton Court.
	21	London	<u>LP IV 758</u>	
	24	Westminster	<u>LP IV 766</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Oct. 14,19,20,21,22,24,25,26,27, 28,29.
<b>November</b>				
	2	Westminster	<u>LP IV 793</u>	
	5	Westminster	<u>LP IV 803</u>	
	6	Westminster	<u>LP Addenda I 430</u>	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.
	6	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.403	Wolsey visited the court.
	8	York Place	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.398	
	11	London	<u>LP IV 820</u>	
	cl7	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.410	Wolsey intended to see the king. Council meetings at Westminster Nov. 3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,14, 15,16,17,18,19,21,22,23,24,25, 26,28,29,30.
<b>December</b>				
12 -	18	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.425	Dec.15 Wolsey visited Greenwich.
	22	Greenwich	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.426	Wolsey met the Scottish ambassadors at court. Council meetings at Westminster Dec. 1.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1525.	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references.</u>
<b>January</b>		
12 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1049(12)</u>	
16 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1015</u>	
20 - 21 Hampton Court	<u>CSPS III 6 p.26</u>	<u>CSPS FS</u> p.433
24 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1049(24)</u>	Council meetings at Westminster: Jan. 25,26,27,28,30,31.
<b>February</b>		
1 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.497	Wolsey held a council meeting.
2 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1136(2)</u>	
4 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1136(4)</u>	
5 Bridewell	PRO 30/5/1	Fiddes, <u>Wolsey</u> p.117.
5 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1063</u>	
12 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1083</u> <u>LP IV 1078</u>	Council meeting & interrogation. of De Praet.
18 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1136(18)</u>	
20 Bridewell	<u>LP IV 1128</u>	Wolsey at court.
26 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1136(26)</u>	Council meetings at Westminster: Feb. 1,2,3,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,13, 14,15,16.
<b>March</b>		
2 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1157</u>	
5 Bridewell	<u>LP IV 1152</u>	Wolsey at court.
7 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1161</u>	
8 Bridewell	<u>LP IV 1188</u>	Wolsey at court.
10 Westminster	<u>CSPS III 43</u>	<u>CSPS III 39</u> p.86.
12 Bridewell	Hall p.693	Wolsey celebrated mass at St. Pauls before the king and the foreign ambassadors.
16 York Place	BL Add. MS 6113 f.207v.	Wolsey visited Bridewell, where the court was probably in residence. <u>LP IV 1220</u> .
25 York Place	<u>LP IV 1210</u>	
<b>April</b>		
3 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1240</u>	
7 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1249</u> <u>CSPS III 73</u>	Wolsey visited the court at Greenwich.
11 Greenwich	<u>LP IV 1261</u>	
13 Westminster	<u>LP IV 1264</u>	
18 Greenwich	<u>CSPS III 79</u> p.135	The Spanish commissioners were invited to court where they met the king and Wolsey.
21 London	<u>LP IV 1264</u>	
26 Westminster	Hall p.697	
28 - 29 Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1293</u>	<u>LP IV 1294</u>

May

1	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1377(1)</u>	
2	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS III 86</u>	
5	Hampton Court	<u>LP Addenda I 457</u>	
6	London	<u>CSPS III 90</u>	
9	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.503	Wolsey held a council meeting.
10	Westminster	<u>LP IV 1372</u>	
15	Westminster	<u>LP IV 1343</u>	
16	Westminster	<u>LP IV 1377(16)</u>	
17	Westminster	<u>LP IV 1372</u>	
29	Westminster	Hall p.701	
30	Westminster	Hall p.702	

Council meetings at Westminster:  
May 9, 19, 20, 27.

June

4	Windsor	<u>LP IV 1466(4)</u>	Wolsey at court.
6 - 8	Windsor	<u>CSPV III 1037</u> <u>CSPS III 111</u>	Reception of the Venetian ambassador and a series of council meetings.
14	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1417</u>	<u>CSPS III 119 p.209.</u>
18	Bridewell	Hall p.703	Wolsey witnessed the creation of the duke of Richmond.
25	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III 119</u> p.206	Wolsey intended to spend the day with the king at Greenwich. Council meetings at Westminster: June 23, 27.

July

1	Westminster	<u>LP IV 1470</u>	Wolsey wished to stay at the archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth.
5	Hampton Court	<u>CSPSFS</u> p.441	Wolsey visited the king at Windsor after dinner and stayed until 5 p.m. He then mounted his horse and returned to York Place Proclamation.
6	Westminster	<u>TP I 102</u>	
7	Westminster	<u>CSPS III 127</u>	
18	Hampton Court	<u>CSPS III p.276</u>	
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1533(19)</u>	
26	Richmond	<u>LP IV 1533(19)</u>	
27	Richmond	<u>CSPS III 160</u> p.278	Wolsey retired to Richmond to escape the plague. <u>LP IV 1525.</u>
29	Richmond	<u>LP IV 1525</u>	
31	Richmond	<u>LP IV 1531</u>	Wolsey and the council held negotiations with Brinon and Joachim. Council meetings at Westminster: July 4, 7, 10, 13.

August

4	Richmond	<u>LP IV 1610(4)</u>	
5	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(5)</u>	
8	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(8)</u>	
9	The More	<u>CSPS III 213</u>	
12	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(12)</u>	
14	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(14)</u>	Proclamation of the truce with France. <u>LP IV 1571.</u>
15	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(15)</u>	<u>TP I 103</u> Proclamation.
18	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(18)</u> <u>CSPV III 1097</u>	'The King is in the country and Wolsey directs everything'.
19	The More	<u>CCRO A79/59C</u>	
21	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(21)</u>	
22	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(22)</u>	
23	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(23)</u>	
24	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(24)</u>	
25	The More	<u>LP IV 1591</u>	
26	The More	<u>LP IV 1610(26)</u>	
27	The More	<u>LP IV 1594</u>	
29	The More	<u>LP IV 1591</u>	Treaty between Henry and Louise of Savoy read in the presence of leading councillors.
30	The More	<u>LP IV 1617</u>	The treaty of The More was signed.

September

1	The More	<u>LP IV 1676(1)</u>	
3	The More	<u>LP IV 1617</u>	
5	The More	<u>LP IV 1621</u>	
6	The More	<u>LP IV 1676(6)</u>	Proclamation <u>LP IV 1622</u>
8	The More	<u>LP IV 1647</u>	<u>LP IV 1676(8)</u>
12	The More	<u>LP IV 1676(12)</u>	
14	The More	<u>LP IV 1676(14)</u>	
18	The More	<u>LP IV 1646</u>	
19	The More	<u>LP IV 1676(19)</u>	
20	London	<u>LP IV 1651</u>	
22		<u>CSPV III 1116</u>	Wolsey expected at Richmond.
23	Richmond	<u>LP IV 1676(23)</u>	
26	Richmond	<u>LP IV 1676(26)</u>	
28	The More	<u>LP IV 1676(28)</u>	
30		<u>CSPV III 1141</u>	Wolsey was reported to be twelve miles from London.

October

2	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1736(2)</u>	
5	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1736(5)</u>	
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1736(10)</u>	The law term was adjourned because of the plague. Hall p707
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1736(12)</u>	
14	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 1577</u>	The More <u>LP IV 1577(14)</u>
23	The More	<u>LP IV 1736(23)</u>	Wolsey at court.
24	The More	<u>LP IV 1736(24)</u> <u>LP IV 1718.</u>	Wolsey visited the king whilst he was staying at The More.

26 The More CSPV III 1150 Wolsey at court.  
 30 The More LP IV 1736(30)

**November**

3 The More LP IV 1779  
 8 The More LP IV 1796(8)  
 9 The More LP IV 1756  
 10 Richmond LP IV 1796(10)  
 15 The More LP IV 1796(15)  
 29 Hampton Court LP IV 1796(29) Council meeting at Westminster:-  
 Nov. 12

**December**

2 The More LP IV 1804  
 4 Richmond LP IV 1860(4)  
 6 Windsor LP IV 1821 Wolsey visited the court.  
 8 Richmond LP IV 1813 LP IV 1821  
 9 Richmond CSPV III 1187  
 10 Richmond LP IV 1860(10)  
 11 Richmond LP IV 1860(11)  
 12 Richmond LP IV 1816  
 16 Richmond LP IV 1860(16)  
 18 Richmond LP IV 1828 LP IV 1829 CSPV III 1181  
 21 Richmond LP IV 1831 LP IV 1833  
 24 Richmond LP IV 2174 Wolsey spent Xmas at Richmond &  
 Hall p.707 kept an open house in 'royal  
 LP IV 995 manor' with disguisings.

Notes.

(1) This was one of the few occasions when Wolsey did not spend the months of October, November and December at York Place. The reason was simple: the law term had been adjourned because of the severity of the plague and the epidemic was particularly bad in London and Westminster.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1526	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
8 - 22 Eltham	Hall p.707 <u>CSPV</u> III 1203	<u>LP</u> IV 995 (miscalendared in <u>LP</u> under 1525)
<b>February</b>		
11	Hall p.708	Wolsey denounced heresy at St. Pauls.
18 Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> III 1220	Wolsey visited the court at Greenwich.
24	<u>CSPV</u> III 1223	Wolsey celebrated mass at St. Pauls. Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 1, 5, 9.
<b>March</b>		
2 Hampton Court	<u>CSPV</u> III 1227	Henry - Richmond.
4 Richmond	<u>CSPV</u> III 1227	Wolsey visited the court.
6 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2014	
17 Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> III 1235	Wolsey visited the court.
20 Westminster	PRO 31/3/3	BL Add. MS 48,965 f.24
20 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2065(20)	
21 Westminster	PRO 31//3/3 f.296	
22 Wesminster	<u>LP</u> IV 2044	
<b>April</b>		
6 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2132(6)	(Document defaced)
10 Westminster	<u>TP</u> I 107	Proclamation.
11 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2132(11)	
16 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2132(16)	
18 Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2161	
c23 Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> IV 1254	Wolsey at court.
29 Greenwich	Hall p.708	Wolsey celebrated mass at court.
<b>May</b>		
4 Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 2148	
5 Westminster	<u>TP</u> I 108	
6 Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 2163	
15 Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 521	Council meeting - Wolsey.
20 Richmond	PRO 31/3/3 f.50	
22 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2197	
25 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2218(25)	
26 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2203	
30 Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 2215	Council meetings at Westminster May 7, 15.

June

3 Richmond LP IV 2223  
6 Hampton Court LP IV 2291(6)  
13 The More LP IV 2248  
17 Windsor CSPS III 463  
26 Hampton Court LP IV 2291(26)

Wolsey visited the king.

Council meetings at Westminster  
June 30.

July

7 London LP IV App. 79  
16 Westminster LP IV 2320  
19 Westminster LP IV 2325  
28 London LP IV 2355

Council meetings at Westminster  
July 4, 13.

August

2 Westminster TP I 109  
2 Hampton Court LP IV 2367  
4 Hampton Court LP IV 2371  
7 Hampton Court CSPV III 1374  
10 Hampton Court CSPV III 1381  
11 Hampton Court CSPV III 1382  
12 Hampton Court LP IV 2392  
14 Westminster TP I 110  
17 Hampton Court CSPV III 1387  
20 Hampton Court LP IV 2412  
  
22 Hampton Court LP IV 2423  
27 Hampton Court LP IV 2447(27)

CSPV III 1374

LP IV 2392

LP IV 2447(17)  
Wolsey asked Henry to continue  
his progress closer to his own!  
Proclamation. TP I 111

September

4 The More LP IV 2594  
19 The More LP IV 2493  
27 The More LP IV 2540(26)  
29 The More LP IV App. 86

LP IV 2455

October

1 Hampton Court LP IV 2599(1)  
3 St. Albans LP IV App. 93  
5 Hampton Court LP IV 2599(5)  
8 Hampton Court LP IV 2558  
9 Hampton Court LP IV 2556  
16 Hampton Court LP IV 2562  
21 Westminster LP IV 2573  
23 Westminster LP IV 2583

Wolsey stayed at the abbey.

The More LP IV 2599(8)

LP IV App. 94, 95

November

1	Greenwich	<u>CSPM</u> I 734	Wolsey at court.
3	Greenwich	<u>CSPM</u> I 734	Wolsey at court.
5	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 2609	<u>TP</u> I 112
11	Greenwich	<u>LP</u> IV 2638	Wolsey visited the court.
18	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 335	Council meeting - Wolsey.
21	Westminster	<u>TP</u> I 113	
28	Westminster	<u>TP</u> I 114	
29	Westminster	HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f. 537	Council meeting - Wolsey.
29	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2729	Council meetings at Westminster Nov. 9, 18, 29, 30.

December

4	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 2691	
15	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2761(15)	<u>LP</u> IV 2709
16	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2712	
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 2761(19)	
27	Greenwich	<u>CSPS</u> III ii 8 p.19	Wolsey rushed to the court to inform the king and queen of the latest news.
30 - 31	Greenwich	<u>CSPS</u> III ii 8	Wolsey saw the Spanish ambass. and held a council meeting. Council meetings at Westminster Dec. 18. 23.



THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1527.	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
3 York Place	<u>LP IV 2770</u>	<u>CSPV IV 4</u> Wolsey provided a banquet for the ambassadors and Henry arrived in masking attire.
10 York Place	<u>CSPM I 759</u>	
11 Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 761</u>	Wolsey at court.
cl8 Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 761</u>	Wolsey at court.
25 Westminster	<u>HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.540.</u>	Wolsey held a council meeting.
<b>February</b> (York Place)		
<b>March</b>		
2 Greenwich	<u>CSPS III ii 32 p.84.</u>	Wolsey met the Spanish ambassador at court.
3 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1397</u>	
5 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1399</u>	
7 Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3105 p1399</u>	
8 York Place	<u>LP IV 3105 p1400</u>	
10 Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 785</u>	Wolsey at court.
12 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1402</u>	
15 York Place	<u>LP IV 3105 p1403</u>	
16 Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 789</u>	Wolsey at court.
18 Greenwich	<u>CSPS III 37</u>	Wolsey at court.
19 York Place	<u>LP IV 3105 p1405</u>	
21 York Place	<u>LP IV 3105 p1406</u>	
22 Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3087(22)</u>	Wolsey at court
23 Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3105 p1406</u>	Wolsey at court
26 Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 3105 p1406</u>	Wolsey at court
30 Richmond	<u>LP IV 3008(30)</u>	
31 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1408</u>	
<b>April</b>		
4 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1408</u>	
5 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1408</u>	
14 Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3105 p1410</u>	Wolsey visited the king.
15 Westminster	<u>LP IV 3105 p1410</u>	
17 York Place	<u>LP IV 3105 p1410</u>	
30 Greenwich	<u>CSPM I 800</u>	Wolsey at court.
<b>May</b>		
4 Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3105 p1413</u>	Wolsey visited the king.
5 Westminster	Hall p.721 <u>CSPV IV 105</u> <u>LP IV 3105 p1413</u>	Wolsey celebrated mass at Greenwich and returned to Westminster in the evening.

9	Greenwich	<u>CSPS</u> IV 66 p.179	Wolsey at court.
17	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 3140	Wolsey held judicial proceedings. Henry present.
20	Westminster	<u>LP Addenda</u> I 535	

June

2	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 3147
16	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 3178
18	London	PRO 31/3/3
20	London	PRO 31/3/3
21	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 3188

July

1	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 3217	
3	London	<u>CSPV</u> IV 129	Wolsey left with a retinue of 1,200 horses and in great magnificence.
3 - 4	Dartford	Hall p.728	<u>LP</u> IV 3324(3) Wolsey stayed at Sir Richard Wiltshire's house.
4 - 5	Rochester	Cavendish p.48	Wolsey stayed at the bishop's palace.
5 - 6	Faversham	Cavendish p.48	Wolsey stayed at the abbey.
6 - 8	Canterbury	Cavendish p.48	Wolsey was lodged in the abbey of Christ's Church & entertained by the abbot of St. Austin's.
		<u>LP</u> IV 3243	
		<u>LP</u> IV 3244	
10	Dover	<u>LP</u> IV 3251	
11	Calais	<u>LP</u> IV 3254	Dover. Hall p.728.
13	Calais	<u>TP</u> I 115	Proclamation.
14	Calais	<u>LP</u> IV 3264	
16	Calais	<u>LP</u> IV 3628	<u>LP</u> IV 3269, 3304.
17	Calais	<u>LP</u> IV 3324(17)	
18	Calais	<u>LP</u> IV 3279	
19	Calais	<u>LP</u> IV 3283	
24	Montreuil	<u>LP</u> IV 3294	Wolsey travelled to Abbeville.
29	Abbeville	<u>LP</u> IV 3310	
31	Abbeville	<u>LP</u> IV 3317	

August

3	Abbeville	<u>LP</u> IV 3337	
3 - 4	Picquigny	<u>LP</u> IV 3337	
4	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3337	Wolsey was met by the king of France.
9	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3337	
11	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3340	
16	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3350	
18	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3356	Treaty signed.
19	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3365	
24	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3381	
30	Amiens	<u>LP</u> IV 3391	The Great Seal was left at Calais. <u>LP</u> IV 3398(14)

September

5	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3400</u>	
10	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3420</u>	
11	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3411</u>	<u>LP IV 3420</u>
12	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3420</u>	
13	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3423</u>	The Great Seal was left at Calais. <u>LP IV 3471(4,26)</u>
16	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3434</u>	
17	Compiègne	<u>LP IV 3441</u>	Wolsey left Compiègne.
21	Boulogne	<u>LP IV 3441</u>	
23	Guisnes	<u>LP IV 3441</u>	
24	Calais	<u>LP IV 3441</u>	
30	Richmond	<u>CSPS III ii 224</u>	Wolsey returned to the king.
?	Allington Castle	<u>Cavendish p.67</u>	Sir Henry Wyatt's residence. (i)

October

12	Westminster	<u>TP I 117</u>	Proclamation.
20	The More	<u>LP IV 3540(20)</u>	
24	Westminster	<u>BL Lansdowne MS 639 f.27</u>	Wolsey held a council meeting.

November

1	York Place	<u>CSPV IV 201</u> <u>Cavendish p.70</u>	Wolsey celebrated mass at St. Pauls and then invited the king to dinner at Westminster.
8	The More	<u>LP IV 3622(8)</u> <u>CSPV IV 205</u>	Wolsey had just finished entertaining the French ambass. at Hampton Court for 3 days.
12	Westminster	<u>TP I 118</u>	Proclamation.
19	Westminster	<u>LP IV 3588</u>	
23	Westminster	<u>AAJB p.38.</u>	
25	Westminster	<u>HL Ellesmere MS 2655 f.540</u>	Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber.

December

5	Westminster	<u>LP IV 3663</u>	London <u>LP IV 3641</u>
7	The More	<u>AAJB no.21.</u>	Wolsey intended to visit the king at Hampton Court.
12	The More	<u>LP IV 3747(12)</u>	
14	The More	<u>LP IV App.130</u>	
15	The More	<u>LP IV 3662</u>	
16	The More	<u>LP IV 3669</u>	
27	London	<u>LP IV 3693</u>	
28	Greenwich	<u>CSPS III p.19</u>	Wolsey at court.
29	York Place	<u>LP IV 3707</u>	
31	Westminster	<u>LP IV 3713</u>	
31	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3757</u>	Wolsey stayed at court overnight

Notes

(i) After meeting the king Wolsey 'continued there in the court two or three days, and then returned to his house at Westminster'. Cavendish p.67

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1528	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 3757</u>
5	St. Pauls	<u>LP IV 3764</u>
		Wolsey celebrated the pope's release. <u>LP IV App. 140</u>
6	York Place	<u>LP IV App. 140</u>
7	London	<u>LP IV 3770</u>
12	Greenwich	<u>LP IV App. 142</u>
14	Greenwich	<u>LP IV App. 144</u>
31	Westminster	<u>LP IV 3858</u>
31	Richmond	<u>LP IV 4042</u>
		Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 25, 26, 29, 30.
<b>February</b>		
9	Greenwich	<u>CSPV VI App. 78</u>
11	Westminster	<u>LP IV 3900</u>
		Wolsey visited the court. Henry visited Wolsey at York Place and stayed overnight.
		<u>CSPV VI App. 79</u>
12	York Place	<u>CSPV IV App. 79</u>
13	Westminster	<u>LP IV 3926</u>
		Wolsey held a council meeting in star chamber. BL Add. MS 19,401 f4
14	Westminster	<u>LP IV 4116</u>
17	Westminster	<u>LP IV 4116</u>
<b>March</b>		
2	Westminster	<u>LP IV 4002</u>
4	Windsor	<u>LP IV App. 153</u>
		Wolsey visited the court.
c5	Windsor	<u>LP IV 4002</u>
10	Windsor	<u>LP IV 4124(10)</u>
		Wolsey at court.
15	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4124</u>
17	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4124(17)</u>
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV App. 156</u>
22	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4124(22)</u>
		Wolsey also visited the king at Richmond. <u>LP IV App. 158</u>
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4124(23)</u>
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV App. 158</u>
		<u>AAJB p. 181-3</u>
		The king stayed at Hampton Court and received the French Ambassdr.
29	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4124(29)</u>
<b>April</b>		
1	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(1)</u>
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(6)</u>
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(10)</u>
11	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(11)</u>
13	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(13)</u>
14	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(14)</u>
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(20)</u>
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4231(23)</u>
25	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 4225</u>

26 Hampton Court LP IV 4231(26)  
28 Hampton Court LP IV 4217

May

3 Greenwich LP IV 4251  
3 - 10 Durham Place LP IV 4251  
10 Greenwich LP IV 4251  
15 Durham Place LP IV 4357  
23 London LP IV 4289

Wolsey visited the king and left at 3 p.m. to return to Durham Place.

Wolsey visited the king.  
TP I 119

June

7 Hampton Court LP IV 4340  
13 Hampton Court LP IV 4391  
15 Hampton Court LP IV 4376  
17 Westminster TP I 120  
18 Hampton Court LP IV 4389  
  
LP IV 4391  
19 Hampton Court LP IV 4393  
22 Hampton Court LP IV 4409  
26 Hampton Court LP IV 4423  
28 The More LP IV 4430  
  
29 Hampton Court LP IV 4435  
30 Hampton Court LP IV 4439

Wolsey returned to York Place for the law term but because of the sweating sickness he left again.

LP IV 4424  
Wolsey tried to visit the court at Tittenhanger but Henry refused to see him.

July

1 Hampton Court LP IV 4453  
2 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(2)  
3 Hampton Court LP IV 4460  
5 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(5)  
6 Hampton Court LP IV 4471  
11 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(11)  
12 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(12)  
13 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(13)  
14 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(14)  
16 Hampton Court LP IV 4521  
18 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(18)  
20 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(20)  
22 Hampton Court LP IV 4594(22)  
26 Hampton Court LP IV 4557  
28 Hampton Court LP IV 4572  
29 Hampton Court LP IV 4574  
30 Hampton Court LP IV 4574

August

1	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(1)	
4	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(4)	
5	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4810	
6	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(6)	
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(8)	
10	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4622	
12	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(12)	
16	Windsor	<u>LP</u> IV App. 190	Wolsey at court.
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(19)	Gutch, <u>Collectanea</u> , p.339
20	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(20)	
21	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(21)	<u>AAJB</u> 141
26	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(26)	
27	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(27)	
28	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4687(28)	
30	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4677	

September

1	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4801(1)	
3	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4696	
6		<u>LP</u> IV 4702	The king intended to meet Wolsey while hunting.
8	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4726	<u>LP</u> IV 4801(8)
11	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4801(11)	
17	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4801(17)	
18	Woking	<u>LP</u> IV 4763	Wolsey at court.
19	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4759	
20	Woking	<u>LP</u> IV App. 203	Wolsey at court.
23	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4766	
24	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV App. 202	Wolsey returned to York Place.
27	Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 4781	
28	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4773	Henry wished Wolsey to come and stay at court for 2 or 3 days.
		<u>CSPV</u> VI App. 90	Wolsey visited the king.
29	Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV 4793	(Henry was at Hampton Court).
30	Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV App.206	

October

1	Richmond	<u>LP</u> IV App. 205	
4	London	<u>LP</u> IV 4813(2)	
6	Durham Place	<u>LP</u> IV 4824	
8		<u>LP</u> IV 4857	Wolsey conveyed Campeggio from Southwark to Bath Place.
10	Durham Place	<u>LP</u> IV App.207	
17	Durham Place	<u>LP</u> IV 4859	
22	Bridewell	<u>LP</u> IV 4857	Wolsey at court.
28	Bridewell	<u>LP</u> IV 4879	Wolsey spent the day at court. Council meetings at Westminster Oct. 16,18,19,20.

November

1	London	<u>LP</u> IV 4897	
6	Westminster		Fiddes, <u>Wolsey</u> p.105 PRO 30/5/1
24	Bridewell	<u>LP</u> IV 4985	
27	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV App.218	Council meetings at Westminster Nov. 16,23,30

December

4	Westminster	<u>TP</u> I 121	Proclamation
9	Durham Place	<u>LP</u> IV 5031	Westminster <u>LP</u> IV 5021
11	London	<u>LP</u> IV 5023	
19	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 5050	
23	York Place	<u>CSPV</u> IV 385	
29	Greenwich	<u>CSPV</u> IV 385	Wolsey at court <u>LP</u> IV 5134

Notes

(i) In May 1528 Wolsey stayed at Durham Place while a new hall was being built. (LP IV 4251)

(ii) In June 1528, the sweating sickness 'reduced Wolsey to such extremity that he withdrew into a corner of his house, not knowing whither to go: and only four men in his house remaining well.' (LP IV App. 185)

(iii) On 6th October Du Bellay, the French ambassador, reported that Henry was lodged at Hampton Court and had visited Wolsey every day for the previous ten days at Richmond. (LP IV App.206)

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1529		<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>			
1 - 2	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 5134</u>	Wolsey stayed at court for a no. of days to entertain Campeggio The king was at Hampton Court.
15	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5232</u>	
17	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5178</u>	
18	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5186</u>	
26	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5212</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Jan. 26, 28, 30.
<b>February</b>			
6	London	<u>LP IV 5271</u>	
7	Westminster	<u>LP IV 5272</u>	
15	Westminster	<u>TP I 123</u>	Proclamation.
20	Westminster	<u>LP IV 5313</u>	Council meetings at Westminster Feb. 11, 13, 15, 20.
<b>March</b>			
5	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5406 (5)</u>	The king was at Hampton Court.
12	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5406 (12)</u>	
13	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 5375</u>	Wolsey visited the king and Henry summoned his council.
14	Hampton Court	<u>LP IV 5375</u>	Wolsey at court.
18	Richmond	<u>TP I 124</u>	Proclamation.
<b>April</b>			
3	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 5416</u>	Wolsey at court.
6	Westminster	<u>LP IV 5428</u>	Council meetings at Westminster April 16.
<b>May</b>			
21	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5581</u>	<u>CSPS IV 28</u>
22	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5584</u>	
23	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5588</u>	
26	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5595</u>	
27	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5632</u>	<u>CSPS IV 22</u>
29	Richmond	<u>LP IV 5610</u>	
30	Blackfriars	<u>LP IV 5613</u>	Council meetings at Westminster May 5, 17
<b>June</b>			
8	Westminster	<u>LP IV 5690</u>	
17	Greenwich	<u>LP IV 5687</u>	Wolsey visited the court.
18	Blackfriars	<u>LP IV 5694</u>	Opening of the legatine court.
20	Westminster	<u>LP IV 5699</u>	



21	Richmond	<u>CSPS</u> IV 28	
21	Blackfiars	<u>LP</u> IV 5702	The king & queen were present.
22	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 5703	
24	London	<u>LP</u> IV 5711	
25	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 5715	
25	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 5715	Henry was present.
c27	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 5741	The king visited Wolsey at his lodging.
28	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 5732	5th session of legatine court. Council meetings at Westminster June 12.30.

### July

2	London	<u>LP</u> IV 5753	
3	Hampton Court	<u>LP</u> IV 4754	
19	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 5791	Legatine court
21	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 5791	Legatine court
23	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 5791	Legatine court
26	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 5793	
27	Westminster	<u>LP</u> IV 5797	
31	Blackfriars	<u>LP</u> IV 5791	Legatine court adjourned Council meetings at Westminster July 3,10.

### August

3 - 4	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(3)	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(4)
4	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(4)	
6	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(6)	
9	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(9)	
13	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(13)	
14	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 5886	Wolsey at court.
16	Tittenhanger	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(16)	Wolsey at court.
19	The More	<u>TP</u> I 125	Proclamation.
20	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(20)	
c21		<u>LP</u> IV 5872	Wolsey visited Hampton Court.
25	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5871	
27	The More	<u>TP</u> I 126	Proclamation.
29	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5879	<u>LP</u> IV 5906(29)

### September

1	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5911	
10	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(10)	
14	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(14)	
15	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(15)	
16	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5945	
19 - 20	Easton Neston	<u>LP</u> IV 5953 Cavendish p.100	Sir Thomas Empson's residence 3 miles from Grafton where the king was staying. Wolsey visited the court on both days.
20	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(20) Cavendish p.100	Wolsey visited the abbey of St. Albans on the way.

22	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(22)	
25	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(25)	
26	The More	<u>LP</u> IV 5978(26)	<u>LP</u> IV App.237.

October

3	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 5982	
6	Westminster	<u>CSPS</u> IV 182	Wolsey held a council meeting
8	Westminster	<u>TP</u> I	Proclamation.
9	Westminster	Hall p. 760	<u>Praemunire</u> charge was brought
			against Wolsey.
c17	York Place	<u>LP</u> IV 6025	Wolsey handed over the Great
			Seal to the dukes of Norfolk &
			Suffolk <u>LP</u> IV 6018 suggests 19th
17 - 31	Esher	Cavendish p.105	(ii)

November

1 - 30	Esher	Cavendish pp.105-125	(iii)
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December

1 - 31	Esher	Cavendish pp.105-125	<u>LP</u> IV 6113
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Notes

(1) The legatine court was held in the parliament chamber at Blackfriars and presided over by Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio. After one of the sessions of the legatine court, the king sent a message to Wolsey and asked to see him at Bridewell. After his audience with the king Wolsey returned to York Place. (Cavendish p.89)

(ii) The king took possession of York Place even though it was the property of the archbishopric of York. (Cavendish p.120).

(iii) There are a number of letters extant from Wolsey in November and December but they are mostly undated or badly mutilated.

THE ITINERARY OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1530	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Notes and additional references</u>
<b>January</b>		
1 - 31	Esher Cavendish p.125	
<b>February</b>		
1 - 2	Esher Cavendish p.125	
2 - 28	Richmond Lodge Cavendish p.130	Wolsey obtained permission to move to a house in Richmond Park
<b>March</b>		
1 - 2	Richmond Lodge Cavendish p.133	
2 - 31	Richmond Charterhouse Cavendish p.133	Wolsey stayed at a house built by John Colet.
<b>April</b>		
1 - 5	Richmond Charterhouse Cavendish p.136	
5 - 6	Hendon Cavendish p.136	Abbot of Westminster's residence
6 - 7	Rye House Cavendish p.136	Lady Parr's residence.
7 - 8	Royston Monastery Cavendish p.136	
9 - 10	Huntingdon Abbey Cavendish p.136	
10 - 21	Peterborough Abbey Cavendish p.136	
21 - 25	Milton Manor Cavendish p.137	Sir William Fitzwilliam's residence four miles from Peterborough.
25 - 26	Stamford Cavendish p.138	
26 - 27	Grantham Cavendish p.139	Francis Hall's residence.
27 - 28	Newark Castle Cavendish p.139	
28 - 30	Southwell Cavendish p.139 p.142	Wolsey's residence four miles from Newark. Due to lack of repair Wolsey was forced to stay in the prebendary's house.
<b>May</b>		
1 - 31	Southwell Cavendish p.142	
<b>June</b>		
1 - 30	Southwell Cavendish p.142	June 4 Wolsey moved into the archbishop's residence.

## July

1 - 30 Southwell Cavendish p.142 LP IV 6529

## August

1 - 31 Southwell Cavendish p.142 LP IV 6582, 6583

## September

c1 Abbey of  
Welbeck Cavendish pl44-6 Servants of the earl of  
Shrewsbury invited Wolsey to hunt  
Worksop Park but he declined.

c2 Rufford Abbey Cavendish p.147

c3 Blythe Abbey Cavendish p.147

c4 Scroby Cavendish p.147

c29 Cawood Castle Cavendish p.148 Wolsey travelled via St. Oswald's  
Abbey.

## October

1 - 31 Cawood Castle Cavendish p.148 Seven miles from York.

## November

1 - 6 Cawood Castle Cavendish p.164 Nov.4 Wolsey was arrested & the  
the earl of Northumberland  
arrived to take him back to  
London.

6 - 7 Abbey of  
Pontefract Cavendish pl65-6

7 - 8 Doncaster Cavendish pl66-7 Wolsey was lodged with the Black  
Friars.

8 - 24 Sheffield Park Cavendish pl67-8 Wolsey stayed at the Lodge owned  
by the earl of Shrewsbury.

24 - 25 Hardwick Hall Cavendish p.178 Earl of Shrewsbury's residence

25 - 26 Nottingham Cavendish p.178

26 - 29 Leicester Abbey Cavendish p.186 Wolsey died on Nov. 29 and was  
LP IV 6757 buried at Leicester.

## Notes

(i) Sir William Fitzwilliam (1460?-1534), treasurer of Wolsey's household, entertained Wolsey and his servants at his own expense in April (not to be confused with the William Fitzwilliam who later became earl of Southampton).

(ii) Wolsey summoned Northern Convocation to meet on 7th November and he intended to be solemnly enthroned at York on the same day.

APPENDIX II.

A list of where Henry VIII and Katherine stayed and with whom  
1509 - 1530.

Key: 'Q' indicates a visit by the queen on her own.

	<u>Noblemen</u>	<u>Courtiers</u>	<u>Bishops</u>
1509		Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings	Archbishop of Canterbury Croydon Bishop of Winchester Esher, Farnham Castle Alresford
1510	Baron Carew ? Earl of Arundel Worldham	Sir William Sandys The Vyne Robert Knollys Rotherfield Grey Mr. Fowler Malshanger	Archbishop of Canterbury Lambeth Knole Bishop of Winchester Bishops Waltham, Esher Bishop of Salisbury Salisbury
1511	Earl of Oxford Stony Stratford	Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings Sir Richard Lee Quarrendon Sir Robert Cotton Landwade Sir Nicholas Vaux Harrowdon	Archbishop of Canterbury Otford Bishop of Lincoln Liddington
1512	Earl of Arundel Worldham		Bishop of Winchester Bishops Waltham
1513	Lord Burgavenny Birling		Archbishop of Canterbury Canterbury
1514	Earl of Arundel Alton	Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings	Archbishop of Canterbury Lambeth Otford Croydon Bishop of Winchester Esher Farnham Castle Bishops Waltham
1515	Lord Burgavenny Birling	Sir Thomas Boleyn Newhall Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings Sir Richard Lewis ? Sir Giles Capel Berwick Sir Thomas Tyrrel Heron	Cardinal Wolsey York Place

		Jane Ingleton Thornton	
1516	Duke of Suffolk Donnington	Sir Edward Baynton Faulston	Bishop of Winchester Farnham Castle. Cardinal Wolsey Hampton Court. Bishop of Salisbury Ramsbury, Salisbury
1517		Nicholas Carew Beddington Place	Bishop of Winchester Farnham Castle. Esher. Archbishop of Canterbury Oxford
1518		Sir John Seymour Wolfhall Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings	Bishop of Durham Durham Place. Cardinal Wolsey Hampton Court Bishop of Winchester Bishops Waltham ?
1519	Lord Burgavenny Mereworth Duke of Buckingham Penshurst Duke of Norfolk Chesworth Kenninghall (Q) Earl of Surrey (Q)  Earl of Oxford Barkway (Q)	Nicholas Carew Beddington Place Sir John Ernley Sidlesham Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings  Sir Richard Corvet Slangham Sir Thomas Tyrrel Heron Sir Giles Capel Berwick Sir John Courthorpe Whiligh	Archbishop of Canterbury Oxford, Lambeth.
1520	Duke of Norfolk Kenninghall	Sir Henry Norris Yattendon  Sir Edward Darrell Littlecote Sir Edmund Tame Fairford Sir John Seymour Wolfhall Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings Sir Edward Hungerford Hungerford	Archbishop of Canterbury Lambeth Oxford Charing Maidstone Cardinal Wolsey Hampton Court

1521	Duke of Norfolk Hunsdon Stoke (Q) Lord Willoughby Parham (Q)	Sir Robert Lee Quarrendon  Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings Sir Richard Lewis ? Sir Edmund Bray Romford Richard Southwell Easterford (Q) William Wotton Tuddenhams (Q)	Cardinal Wolsey Hampton Court
1522	Earl of Oxford Castle Hedingham Countess of Oxford Carnes Castle  Earl of Essex Stanstead	Sir Thomas Tyrrel Brentwood Sir Giles Capel East Dereham Sir Thomas Lovell Holywell Sir Henry Marney Layer Marney  Sir John Cutt Horeham Hall Sir Thomas Lovell Elsings Sir Edmund Bray Romford	Archbishop of Canterbury Oxford, Canterbury  Bishop of Rochester Rochester Bishop of Winchester Bishops Waltham Alresford Winchester Farnham Castle Cardinal Wolsey Hampton Court, The More Bishop of Ely Bishops Hatfield.
1523		Sir John Seymour Wolfhall	Bishop of Winchester Farnham Castle Bishops Waltham Cardinal Wolsey Hampton Court
1524	Lord Ros Elsings		Bishop of Winchester Farnham Castle. Cardinal Wolsey The More Hampton Court
1525	Earl of Oxford Stony Stratford	Sir Nicholas Carew Kew	Bishop of Ely Bishops Hatfield Cardinal Wolsey The More Barnet
1526	Earl of Arundel Arundel Castle Downley Alton Lord Sandys The Vyne	Sir Nicholas Carew Beddington Place  Sir John Seymour Wolfhall	Bishop of Winchester Farnham Castle Bishops Waltham Alresford Bishop of Salisbury Ramsbury

	Lord Le Warre Halnaker Countess of Salisbury Warblington Earl of Northumberland Petworth.	Sir Thomas Empson Easton Neston Thomas Lisle Thruxton  Sir Henry Norris Compton Sir Edmund Bray Edgecote Sir William Compton Compton Wynyates	Cardinal Wolsey The More
1527	Earl of Rutland Elsings Earl of Oxford Castle Hedingham	Sir Henry Wyatt? Allington Castle Sir Giles Capel Berwick	Archbishop of Canterbury Oxford Cardinal Wolsey The More
1528		Sir Nicholas Carew Beddington Place	Bishop of Ely Bishops Hatfield Cardinal Wolsey Tittenhanger The More
1529		Sir William Barentine Hasely Henry Cary Buckingham Peter Compton Wooburn (Bucks)	Cardinal Wolsey Tittenhanger
1530	Earl of Rutland Elsings		



APPENDIX III

Monasteries stayed at by Henry VIII and Katherine 1509-1529

- 1509      Waltham Abbey  
          The More (Abbey of St. Albans)
- 1510      Hurstbourne Priory  
          Beaulieu Abbey  
          Wimborne Minster  
          Romsey Abbey  
          Cranborne Priory  
          Waverley Abbey  
          Monastery of Christchurch  
          Southampton Priory  
          Reading Abbey  
          Southwick Priory
- 1511      Pipewell Abbey  
          Merrivale Abbey  
          Leicester Abbey  
          Myssendon Abbey  
          Coventry Priory
- 1514      Stratford Abbey  
          Southampton Priory  
          Chertsey Abbey
- 1515      Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds Q  
          Thetford Priory Q  
          Colchester Abbey Q  
          Woburn Abbey
- 1516      Monastery of Christchurch  
          Beaulieu Abbey  
          Southampton Priory
- 1518      Reading Abbey  
          Abbey of Abingdon  
          Bisham Abbey  
          Southampton Priory
- 1520      Reading Abbey  
          Bradenstock Abbey  
          Farringdon Abbey  
          Sittingbourne hospital
- 1521      Monastery of Christchurch, Norwich Q  
          Ipswich Priory Q  
          Beaconsfield manor (Burnham Abbey)  
          Mettingham College

- 1522 Thetford Priory  
 Castleacre Priory  
 St. Augustines Abbey, Canterbury  
 Abbey of St. Albans  
 Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clarkenwell  
 Hospital of St. Mary's, Ilford  
 Barnet (Abbey of St. Albans)  
 Sittingbourne hospital
- 1523 Abbey of Abingdon
- 1524 Chertsey Abbey  
 Abbey of St. Albans  
 Dunstable Priory  
 Woburn Abbey
- 1525 Dunstable Priory  
 Abbey of St. Albans  
 Woburn Abbey  
 Reading Abbey
- 1526 Waltham Abbey  
 Chertsey Abbey  
 Dunstable Priory  
 Wantley (Lewes Priory)
- 1527 Stratford Abbey
- 1528 Waltham Abbey
- 1529 Waltham Abbey  
 Woburn Abbey  
 Reading Abbey  
 Notley Abbey  
 Bisham Abbey  
 Barnet (Abbey of St. Albans)
- 1530 Waltham Abbey  
 Chertsey Abbey  
 College of Ashridge

## APPENDIX IV.

### List of those who took part in jousts and masks at court and their position in the royal household, 1509-1529.

#### Key.

- M - Disguising, Mummary or Mask.  
F.G. - Field of Cloth of Gold.  
Coron. - Coronation of Henry VIII.

#### References

##### (1) Jousting

Full references can be found for each joust or mask in S. Anglo, The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster (Oxford, 1968) Appendix V.

If a courtier started his jousting career before 1509 the dates have been included for the sake of comparison.

References for jousts during Henry VII's reign:-

1494 Jousts celebrating the creation of Prince Henry as duke of York. BL Harleian MS 69 f.6v.

1501 Jousts celebrating the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Aragon. College of Arms MS M.3 f.25v.

1506 20th February. Henry VII paid £6.13.4 to ten spears who josted before him. E36 214 f.20.

1507 Various tournaments throughout May and the first two weeks of June. BL Harleian 69 f.3. These were celebrated in verse by Richard Grey in W.C. Hazlitt, Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England (London, 1864-6), ii 109-30.

##### (2) Position at court

It is difficult to be very precise as to when a courtier became a member of the privy chamber in this period, and most of the details have been taken from D.R. Starkey, 'The development of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547' (Cambridge Ph.D. 1973).

For knighthoods see:-

Walter C. Metcalfe, A book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath and Knights Bachelor Made Between Four Henry VI and the Restoration of King Charles II (London, 1885)

For noblemen see :-

H. Miller, Henry VIII and the English Nobility, (London, 1986).  
Appendix 'List of the English Nobility of the Reign of Henry VIII'

The year when courtiers started giving New Year's gifts to the king has also been included.

<u>NAME.</u>	<u>JOUSTS/MASKS.</u>	<u>POSITION AT COURT.</u>
ALINGTON, Giles	1510 May 27	Knighted 1509 Presented with livery at the funeral of Henry VII. <u>LP I 20 p.15</u>
AUDELEY, John	1510 June 1	Esquire of the body by 1509. <u>LP I 20 p.14.</u> Spear of honour
BLOUNT, Elizabeth	1514 December 31 M 1518 October 5 M	Mistress to Henry VIII, bore him a son in 1519. Married Gilbert Tailboys in 1522.
BLOUNT, Richard	1507 May 1511 February 12	1509 Gentleman usher <u>LP I 20 p.16</u>
BOLEYN, Anne	1522 March 4 M	Marchioness of Pembroke 1532 Queen of England 1533-6 (see Ives, <u>Anne Boleyn</u> )
BOLEYN, Edward	1514 December 25 M	Spear of honour. Younger brother of Thomas Boleyn
BOLEYN, Mary	1522 March 4 M	One of the queen's ladies by 1517. <u>HMC Twelfth Report</u> app. Part IV vol. 1 pp.21-22. Mistress to Henry VIII c.1522-3 married William Cary in 1520.
BOLEYN, Thomas	1510 January 18 M 1510 May 23 1511 February 13 1514 December 31 M 1517 July 7	Knighted 1509 Esquire of the body by 1509 Knight of the body by 1515 Comptroller 1520 Treasurer of the household 1521-25. New year's gifts: 1517 Viscount Rochford 1525-9 Earl of Wiltshire 1529-39
BOURCHIER, Henry	1494 October 1501 November 1510 January 18 M 1510 February 28 M 1510 June 1 1510 November 14 M 1511 February 13 M 1511 May 1, 15 1512 January 1, 6. M 1512 May 15 1512 June 1 1513 January 6 M 1515 May 1	Born 1472 Earl of Essex 1483-1540 Captain of spears c.1510

BOURCHIER, Henry (continued)	1516 May 19, 20. 1517 July 7 1519 September 3 M	
BRANDON, Charles	1501 November 1506 February 20 1507 May, June. 1509 June (Coron) 1510 February 28 M May 23, 27 June 1, 3 November 8 November 14 M 1511 February 13 February 13 M May 1, 15 1512 January 1, 6 M June 1 1513 January 6 M October 18 + M 1514 May December 31 M 1515 May 1 1516 January 29 May 19, 20 1517 July 7 1518 October 5 M 1519 September 3 M 1520 June (F.G.) 1522 March 2 June 4, 5. + M 1524 March 10 December 29 + M 1527 November M	Born 1484. Spear of honour. Viscount Lisle 1513-14. Duke of Suffolk 1514-45. (See Gunn, <u>Charles Brandon</u> ) New Year's gifts: 1510 Esquire of body, 1509 <u>LP I 20 p.12</u>
BROKE, Ralph	1520 June (F.G.)	Lancer of Calais <u>LP III 2074</u>
BROWN, Ann	1518 October 5 M 1522 March 4 M	Daughter of Mathew Brown and niece of Henry Guildford. Gentlewoman to the queen by 1520.
BROWN, Anthony	1519 September 3 M 1520 February 19 1520 June (F.G.) 1522 March 2, June 5 M 1524 December 29 1525 February 8 1527 May 5	<u>HC I pp.518-21.</u> Knighted 1522 Knight of the body 1522. Gentleman of privy chamber by 1519. Standard bearer 1528-34
BROWN, Wiston	1510 May 23	Knighted 1511 Spear of honour.
BRUGES, Mary	1518 October 5 M	

BRYAN, Francis	1515 April 19 May 1 1517 July 7 1518 October 5 M 1519 September 3 M 1520 June (F.G.) June 24 M 1524 December 29 1525 January 2, 3. 1526 February 13	<u>HC</u> I pp.527-9 1518-26 Gentleman of privy chamber, reappointed June 1528. Master of toils 1518-26. Esquire of the body by 1522 Knighted 1523 Carver 1521 <u>LP</u> III ii 1899 Cupbearer 1526. LS 13/278 f.153. New Year's gifts: 1517
BRYAN, Margaret	1510 November 14 M	Wife of Sir Thomas Bryan and mother to Francis. One of the queen's ladies 1509. <u>LP</u> I 82. Later, governess to Princess Mary.
CAPEL, Giles	1507 May 1509 June (Coron) 1516 May 20 1518 October 5 M 1520 February 19 June (F.G.) July 15	Knighted 1513 Spear of honour. Knight sworn to the king (Essex) E36 130 f.181v. Knight of the body, attended the banquet on 5 July 1517. Esquire of the body 1509 <u>LP</u> I 20 p.12 New Year's gifts: 1516
CAREW, Ann	1518 October 5 M	Sister of Nicholas Carew
CAREW, Elizabeth	1518 October 5 M 1522 June 5 M	One of the queen's gentlewomen by 1513. <u>LP</u> I 3387 Same position in 1517, <u>HMC Twelfth Report</u> Part IV Vol. 1 pp.21-2. Daughter of Sir Thomas Bryan and married to Nicholas Carew.
CAREW, Nicholas	1513 October 18 M 1514 December 31 M 1515 April 19 May 1 1516 May 19, 20 1517 July 7 1518 October 5 M 1519 September 3 M 1520 June (F.G.) June 24 M July 15 1522 March 2 1524 December 29 1527 May 5	<u>HC</u> I p.575 Knighted by July 1520 Groom of privy chamber c1511-12 Gentleman of privy chamber 1518 Master of the horse 1522. Carver 1521 <u>LP</u> III ii 1899 Expelled from the privy chamber and reappointed in January 1528 New Year's gifts: 1518
CARLEN, Thomas	1524 December 29	Esquire of king's household. (Hall p.688)

CARR, John	1506 February 20 1509 June (Coron) 1510 May 23	Spear of honour, 1506 Esquire of the body by 1509. <u>LP</u> I 20 p.13 1521 Carver <u>LP</u> III ii 1899 New Year's gifts: 1515
CARY, Elizabeth	1520 July 15 M	Daughter of Lord Fitzwalter Accompanied the queen to the Field of Cloth of Gold.
CARY, William	1519 September 3 M 1519 Oct. 21, 27, 28. 1520 June (F.G.) 1522 June 5 M 1524 December 29	Gentleman of privy chamber 1519 Knighted 1523 Sewer 1521 <u>LP</u> III ii 1899
CHEYNEY, Francis	1510 May 27	Esquire of the body by 1509. <u>LP</u> I 20 p.14.
CHEYNEY, Thomas	1507 May 1510 June 3 1511 February 12 1513 January 6 M 1520 June 24 M	Henchman in Henry VII's household. Spear 1510. Esquire of the body by 1509. Knight of the body by 1515. Gentleman of the privy chamber by June 1520.
CLEMENT, John	1510 June 1	Spear of Calais <u>LP</u> I i 857(10)
CLINTON, Thomas	1516 May 19	Lord Clinton 1514-17.
COBHAM, Edward	1525 January 2, 3	Knight sworn to the king E36 130 f.166v. Spear of honour.
COBHAM, George	1524 December 29 1525 January 2, 3	Knighted 1523 Knight sworn to the king (Kent) E36 130 f.166v. Son of Lord Cobham.
COFFYN, William	1514 December 31 M 1516 May 19 (Attendant) 1517 July 7 1520 June (F.G.) 1521 February 12	<u>HC</u> I p.666-7. Gentleman of privy chamber briefly in 1518. Sewer 1519 <u>LP</u> IV 1939(8) Gentleman usher, quarter waiter Discharged from his office 1526 <u>LP</u> III 151 Master of the horse to both Anne Boleyn (1534) and Jane Seymour (1536)
COKE, John	1510 June 3	
COKE, Robert	1514 December 31 M	of Sparham, Norfolk.

COKER, Edward	1510 June 3	
COMPTON, William	1510 January 12 1510 November 8 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	1509 Gentleman of privy chamber. 1510-26 Groom of the stool (See Bernard, 'William Compton' <u>EHR</u> 1981.) Knighted 1513.
COPPING, John	1516 May 20	
CORNWALL, Richard	1510 May 27 1516 May 20	<u>HQ</u> I p. 705-6 Spear of honour. Knighted 1522. Knight sworn to the king (Herefordshire). E36 130 f.215.
COURTENAY, Gertrude	1522 March 4 M 1527 May 5 M	Countess of Devon 1519. Marchioness of Exeter 1525.
COURTENAY, Henry	1519 February 3 February 27 M 1519 September 3 M 1520 June (F.G.) June 24 M 1521 January 4 1521 February 10, 12. 1522 March 2 1522 June 4, 5. + M 1524 December 29. 1526 February 13 1527 May 5 November M	Earl of Devon 1511-25. Marquis of Exeter 1525-38. Member of the privy chamber by 1520. New Year's gifts: 1520
COURTENAY, William	1507 May 1510 June 1 1511 February 12, 13. 1511 May 1, 15.	Earl of Devon 1511 (May - June)
COURTENAY, Katherine	1513 January 6 M 1515 January 6 M	Widow of William
DANET, Elizabeth	1522 March 4 M 1522 June 5 M	Accompanied the queen to Field of Cloth of Gold. Gentlewoman to the queen. <u>LP</u> III ii p.1545.
DARRELL, Mistress	1522 June 5 M	Daughter of Edward Darrell.
DARRELL, Edward	1494 1517 (Banquet)	<u>HQ</u> II pp.18-19 Spear of honour. Knight of the body by 1511. Vice-chamberlain to queen 1517 Knight sworn to the king (Wiltshire) E36 130 f.171. New Year's gifts: 1519



DARRELL, Nicholas	1522 March 2 1524 December 29	Son of Sir Edward.
DAUBENAY, Elizabeth	1518 October 5 M 1520 June (F.G.) M	One of the queen's attendants at the Field of Cloth of Gold. <u>LP III</u> i 704(3) p.245 Daughter of George Neville, Lord Burgavenny, married to Henry, Lord Daubenay.
DEVEREUX, Walter	1515 May 1 1516 January 29 (Knight Waiter) 1516 May 19 (Knight Waiter) 1520 June 24 M	Born 1489 Lord Ferrers 1501-50 Viscount Hereford 1550-8.
DON, Griffith	1506 February 20 1507 May 1509 June (Coron) 1511 February 13	Spear of honour. Sewer by c1519 <u>LP IV</u> 1939(8) Knight sworn to the king (South Wales) E36 130 f.212.
DUDLEY, John	1524 December 29	<u>HC II</u> pp.63-66. . Knighted 1523 Esquire sworn to the king. E36 130 f.195v. Viscount Lisle 1542-7 Earl of Warwick 1547-51 Duke of Northumberland 1551-3.
EDWARDS, William	1510 May 27	Surveyor for the king's mouth at the dresser. <u>LP I</u> i 20 pl6.
EGERTON, Ralph	1510 June 1 1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Knight Waiter) 1520 June (F.G.) (Attendant) 1520 July 15 1522 June 4, 5	Gentleman usher by 1509 Knighted 1513 Standard bearer 1514 Knight of the body by 1522. Treasurer of Princess Mary's household 1525. Knight sworn to the king (Staffordshire) E36 130 f.186. (See Ives, 'Ralph Egerton' <u>BJRL</u> vol.52 1970 pp.346-374)
ELLERKER, Ralph	1517 July 7 1520 June (F.G.) 1521 February 12	Knighted 1513 Spear of honour Gentleman usher by 1519 <u>LP IV</u> i 1939(8) 1526 gentleman usher, daily waiter. LS 13/278 f.153.
ELYOT,	1517 July 7	

EMERY, David	1518 October 5	M	Lord Howterrosche of Flanders distinguished in the king's service.
EURE, William	1510 May 27		Esquire sworn to the king (York) E36 130 f.172v.
FITZWILLIAM, William	1513 October 18 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1517 July 7	M	HC II pp.142-5 Knighted 1513 Gentleman usher 1509. Esquire of the body 1513. Spear of honour Knight of the body 1515. 1520 vice-admiral. Treasurer of household 1525-39. Earl of Southampton 1537-42.
FYNES, Mary	1518 October 5	M	
GARNEYS, Christopher (Garnish)	1510 June 1 1512 January 1, 6 1515 May 1 (Knight waiter) 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1517 (Banquet)	M	1509 Gent. usher LP I 20 p.12 1517 Gentleman usher. Daily waiter. HMC Twelfth Report, App. Part IV Vol.1 pp.21-2. Knight sworn to the king (Kent) E36 130 f.166v. Knighted 1513
GATES, Geoffery	1510 May 27 1516 May 20 1517 July 7 + (Banquet)		Knighted 1513. Spear of honour. 1518 'Pensioner' in procession with the French embassy. LP II 4409 1521 Carver LP III 1899 Knight sworn to the king (Essex) E36 130 f.181v.
GIBBYS, William	1510 June 3		Esquire sworn to the king (Devon) E36 130 f.168.
GIBSON, Richard	1515 May 1		Sergeant of the king's tents. Master of the revels.
GREY, John	1510 May 23 1511 February 13 1520 June (F.G.) 1524 December 29		Lord Grey (brother to the marquis of Dorset) Spear of honour.
GREY, Leonard	1510 May 27 1511 February 13 1520 June (F.G.) June 24 M 1524 December 29		Lord Grey Brother to marquis of Dorset. Spear of honour.

GREY, Richard	1509 June (Coron) 1510 May 27 1511 February 12 1520 June (F.G.)	Spear of honour.
GREY, Thomas	1501 November 1511 February 12 1511 May 1 1515 February 3 1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1517 July 7 1519 September 3 M 1520 June (F.G.) 1522 June 4, 5 1524 March 10 (Attendant)	Born 1477  Marquis of Dorset 1501-30. Member of privy chamber 1523-5.
GUILDFORD, Edward	1507 May 1509 June (Coron) 1510 January 18 M 1520 June (F.G.) 1520 July 15	<u>HC</u> II pp.262-3. Esquire of the body by 1509. Knighted 1513 Standard bearer 1514 Marshal of Calais, 1519
GUILDFORD, Henry	1510 November 18 M 1511 February 13 February 13 M 1512 January 1, 6 M 1513 January 6 M October 18 M 1514 December 31 M 1515 May 1 1516 May 20 1517 July 7 1518 October 5 M 1520 June (F.G.) 1520 July 15	<u>HC</u> II pp.263-5. Knighted 1512. Spear of honour. Esquire of the body by 1513. Knight of the body by 1515. Master of the horse, 1515-22. Master of the revels. Councillor 1516 Master of the henchmen 1517 Gentleman of the privy chamber 1518 Comptroller of the household 1521 New Year's gifts: 1516
GUILDFORD, Margaret	1514 December 31 M 1515 January 6 M 1518 October 5 M	Wife of Henry Guildford.
HART, Percival	1524 December 29	By 1520 sewer of the chamber <u>LP</u> III i 1114
HARVEY, Nicholas	1520 June (F.G.) 1527 May 5	<u>HC</u> II pp.310-11 Member of the household by 1519 In 1519 the king wrote to a widow requesting that she marry Harvey. <u>LP Addenda</u> I i 251.

HASTINGS, George	1510 January 18 M 1511 February 28 M 1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	Born 1488  Lord Hastings 1506-29 Earl of Huntingdon 1529-44
HERBERT, George	1525 January 2, 3	HC II pp.337-8. Esquire sworn to the king (Swansea) E36 130 f.212.
HEULE, Guyot de	1510 May	Spear of honour 'a gentleman of Almayne, a talle man, and a good man of armes' Hall p.515.
HOWARD, Edmund	1507 May 1509 June (Coron) 1510 May 27 1511 February 13 1516 May 20 1520 June (F.G.)	Son of the earl of Surrey. Spear of honour.
HOWARD, Edward	1507 May 1509 June (Coron) 1510 January 18 M 1510 February 28 M 1510 May 23, 27 1510 June 1, 3 1510 November 14 M 1511 May 1	Lord admiral 1512-1513 Spear of honour
HOWARD, Thomas	1509 June (Coron) 1510 May 23 1510 June 1 1511 Feb 13, May 1 1512 June 1 1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1517 July 7 1518 October 5 M 1524 March 10 (Attendant)	Born 1473 Earl of Surrey 1514-24 Duke of Norfolk 1524-47, 1553-54. Lord admiral 1513-25. Lord treasurer 1522-46.
HUNGERFORD, Edward	1510 May 27	Esquire of the body by 1509 LP I i 20 p.12. Knighted 1513.
HUSSEY, William	1510 May 23 1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	HC II p.427 Knighted 1513 Gentleman usher by 1509 Knight sworn to the king (York) E36 130 f.172v.

JERNINGHAM, Richard	1512 January 1, 6 M 1513 October 18 M 1520 February 19 1520 June (F.G.) July 15	Knighted 1513. Spear of honour Knight of the body. One of 4 placed in the privy chamber May 1519 Cupbearer 1521. <u>LP</u> III 1899
JERNINGHAM, Robert	1520 June (F.G.) 1527 May 5	Knighted 1523
KATHERINE OF ARAGON	1510 November 14 M 1512 January 1, 6 M 1513 January 6 M	Queen of England 1509
KENT, Rowland	1507 May 1509 June (Coron)	Knight sworn to the king. (Middlesex) E36 130 f.201v.
KINGSTON, Anthony	1522 March 2	<u>HC</u> II pp.468-70. Son of William. Sewer E36 130f.204.
KINGSTON, William	1507 May 1510 May 23 1516 May 19, 20 1517 July 7 1519 September 3 M 1519 Oct. 21, 27, 28 1520 June (F.G.) July 15 1521 February 10	<u>HC</u> II pp.470-1. 1504 Gentleman usher. 1510 Squire of the body. Knighted 1513 Spear of honour. Knight of the body placed in the privy chamber in May 1519. 1521 Carver. <u>LP</u> III ii 1899 1523 Captain of the guard. 1524 Constable of the Tower. New Year's gifts: 1520
KNYVET, Anthony	1516 May 19 (Attendant) 1517 (Banquet) 1517 July 7 1520 June (F.G.) 1521 February 12. 1522 March 2	Gentleman Usher E36 130 f.178 1526 Gentleman usher of privy chamber.
KNYVET, Edmund	1516 May 19 (Attendant) 1520 June (F.G.) (Attendant)	Sewer E36 130 f.177v.
KNYVET, Jasper	1516 May 19 (Attendant)	
KNYVET, Muriel	1510 November 14 M	Wife of Sir Thomas Knyvet.
KNYVET, Thomas	1509 June (Coron) 1510 February 28 M 1510 May 23, 27 June 1, 3	<u>DNB</u> XI p.339 Esquire of the body 1509 <u>LP</u> I 20 p.12. Knighted 1509 Master of the horse 1510

KNYVET, Thomas (continued)	1510 November 14 M 1511 February 12, 13 February 13 M 1512 January 1, 6 M June 1.	
KNYVET, William	1520 June (F.G.) (Attendant) 1525 January 2, 3	Gentleman usher E36 130 f.178 (discharged from court office 1526) <u>LP</u> III i 151.
LONG, Henry	1510 June 3	<u>HC</u> II pp.543-4. Knighted 1513
LUCY, Thomas	1511 February 13 1512 January 1, 6 M	1521 Sewer <u>LP</u> III ii 1899 Sewer E36 130 f.233v.
LYND, Thomas	1520 June (F.G.) (Knight waiter) 1520 July 15	One of the knights to attend upon the queen at Field of Cloth of Gold. <u>LP</u> III i 704 (2) p.245
MANNERS, Oliver	1524 December 29	1521 Sewer <u>LP</u> III 1899 Knighted 1523 1526 Sewer LS 13/278 f.153 Brother to Lord Ros.
MANNERS, Thomas	1522 March 2 1524 December 29	Born 1492 Lord Ros 1513-25 Earl of Rutland 1525-43 Cupbearer, to serve the king 1521 <u>LP</u> III 1899 E36 130 f.198v.
MELTON, John	1510 May 27 1511 February 13	Knight sworn to the king (York) E36 130 f.172v. Spear of honour.
MORTON, Robert	1510 May 27	Spear of honour.
NEVILLE, Edward	1506 February 20 1507 May 1509 June (Coron) 1510 January 12 1510 January 18 M 1510 February 26 1510 May 23 1511 February 12, 13 February 13 M 1511 May 1, 15. 1513 January 6 M October 18 M 1518 October 5 M	Spear of honour. Gentleman of privy chamber 1518 Dismissed from court May 1519 1521 Sewer <u>LP</u> III ii 1899 1526 Sewer LS 13/278 f.153. New Year's gifts: 1515

NEVILLE, George	1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1519 September 3 M	Lord Burgavenny 1492-1535
NEVILLE, John	1516 May 19, 20 (Knight waiter) 1517 July 7 1520 June (F.G.) July 15 1521 February 12	E36 130 f.172v Knight of the body.
NEVILLE, Thomas	1516 May 20	HC III pp.10-11. Knighted 1515 Speaker of house of commons.
NORRIS, Henry	1519 September 3 M 1520 February 19 1520 June (F.G.) June 24 M 1522 June 5 M 1524 December 29	Gentleman of the privy chamber by 1519, Groom of the stool in 1526. New Year's gifts: 1520
NUDIGATE, Sebastian	1524 December 29	Esquire of king's household Hall p.688
OURFRAY, Philip	1517 July 7	
PALMER, Thomas	1512 January 1, 6 M 1515 May 1 1516 May 19 (Attendant)	1517 Gentleman usher daily waiter. <u>HMC Twelfth Report</u> App. part 1V vol. I pp.21-22. 1525 Gentleman usher in privy chamber discharged in the reforms of 1526. Remained sewer of the chamber. LS 13/278 f.153.
PARKER, Jane	1522 March 4 M	Daughter of Henry Lord Morley Married George Boleyn. Accompanied the queen to the Field of Cloth of Gold.
PARKER, John	1520 June (F.G.) 1521 February 12	Groom of the privy chamber by 1519. 1521 Yeoman of cross bows E36 232 f.1 Groom of privy chamber discharged in 1526.
PARR, Thomas	1510 January 18 M 1510 February 28 M	Esquire of the body by 1509 <u>LP</u> I 20 p.13

PARR, William	1506 February 20 1509 June (Coron) 1510 January 18 M 1510 May 23 1510 February 12 1513 October 18 October 18 M	HC III p.60-2. Knighted 1513 Spear of honour. Esquire of the body 1507 Knight of the body 1512 1525-36 Chamberlain of Fitzroy's household. Lord Parr 1539-43 Earl of Essex 1543-7. Marquis of Northampton 1547-53, 1559-71.
PECHEY, John	1494 October 1501 November 1509 June (Coron) 1515 May 1 1516 January 29 (Knight waiter) 1516 February 5 1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1520 June (F.G.) July 15	Knight of body 1509 LP I 20 p13 1510 Lieutenant of spears Knighted 1513 May 1519, appointed deputy of Calais. New Year's gifts: 1513
PIMPE, Henry	1516 May 20	Related to Edward Guildford.
PLANTAGENET, Arthur	1510 June 1	<u>Lisle Letters</u> ed M. St. Clare Byrne. Esquire of the body by 1513 Spear of honour. Knighted 1513 1521 Carver LP III ii 1899. Viscount Lisle 1523-42.
POINTZ, Anthony	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1520 June (F.G.) (Knight waiter) 1520 July 15	Spear of honour.
POINTZ, Francis	1517 July 7 1518 October 5 M 1520 June 24 M 1524 December 29 1525 January 2, 3	Gentleman of privy chamber 1518. 1520 Esquire of the body. LP III 704 p.244. 1526 LS 13/278 f.153 Third son of Sir Robert Pointz Vice-chamberlain to queen 1509. Carver 1521 LP III ii 1899
POINTZ, John	1524 December 29 1525 January 2, 3	Sewer to the queen by 1526 LS 13/278 f.155
POLE, Arthur	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1517 July 7	Esquire of the body by 1519 LP IV i 1939(8) 1526 Esquire of the body.



POLE, Arthur (continued)	1518 October 5 M 1520 June (F.G.) June 24 M	LS 13/278 f.153 Second son of Margaret Pole.
POLE, Henry	1516 May 20 1520 June (F.G.) 1521 February 12 1524 December 29	Born 1492 Lord Montagu 1529-38
POPINGCORT, Jane	1515 January 6 M	Gentlewoman to the queen 1509 <u>LP</u> I 20 pp.11, 17.
RADCLIFFE, Robert	1510 January 18 M 1510 February 28 M 1515 May 1	Born 1483 Lord Fitzwalter 1505-25. Viscount Fitzwalter 1525-29. Earl of Sussex 1529-42.
RAYNESFORD, John	1516 May 19	<u>HC</u> III pp.182-4. Presented with livery at the funeral of Henry VII. <u>LP</u> I 20 p.13. Knighted 1523. Knight sworn to the king (Essex) E36 130 f.181v. New Year's gifts: 1511
ST. LEGER, Anne	1514 December 31 M 1515 January 6 M 1518 October 5 M	Daughter of 7th earl of Ormonde Married to Sir James St. Leger. Accompanied the queen to the Field of Cloth of Gold.
SEYMOUR, Edward	1524 December 29	Knighted 1523. Esquire of king's household 1524 Master of the horse to the duke of Richmond 1525 Viscount Beauchamp 1536-7 Earl of Hertford 1537-47 Duke of Somerset 1547-52
SEYMOUR, John	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	Knighted 1513 Knight sworn to the king (Wiltshire) E36 130 f.171.
SHARP, John	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	Joint groom of the stool under Henry VII. Demoted to groom of the privy chamber in 1509. Knighted 1513. New Year's gifts: 1518
SHERBOURNE, Henry	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	Knighted 1512 1513 Spear of honour. New Year's gifts: 1517 Knight marshal

SKIDAMORE, John	1516 May 19 (Attendant) 1520 June (F.G.) (Attendant)	Gentleman Usher by 1516 <u>HMC Twelfth Report</u> Appendix part 1V vol. I pp.21-22. Gentleman usher, daily waiter LS 13/278 f.153.
STAFFORD, Henry	1501 November 1507 May 1510 January 18 M 1510 February 28 M May 23 1511 February 13 February 13 M	Earl of Wiltshire 1510-23
STRANGWAYS, Giles	1520 June (F.G.) (Knight waiter) 1520 July 15	<u>HC</u> III pp.395-7. Esquire of the body by 1509 Knighted 1514.
SYDNEY, Francis	1524 December 29	Son of Sir William.
SYDNEY, William	1516 February 5 1520 June (F.G.)	Knighted 1512 Esquire of the body by 1519 <u>LP</u> IV 1939(8) Knight sworn to the king (Suffolk) E36 130 f.189 Spear of honour. New Year's gifts: 1516
TEMPEST, Richard	1511 February 13 1515 May 1	<u>HC</u> III pp.430-1. Esquire of the body by 1509 Knighted 1513. Knight of the body E36 130 f.172v. (Yorks)
TREVENYNAM, William	1510 May 27	Knight of the body. <u>LP</u> I ii 3582(31)
TUDOR, Mary	1510 February 28 M 1518 October 5 M 1522 March 4 M	Daughter of Henry VII. Queen of France Duchess of Suffolk.
TUDOR, Mary	1527 May 5 M	Daughter of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. Queen of England 1553-8.
TYLER, William	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter)	Groom of the chamber by 1502. Joint groom of the stool under Henry VII. Demoted to groom of the privy chamber in 1509. Knighted 1513 Gentlemen of privy chamber 1521.

TYLLNEY, Lady	1520 June (F.G.) M	One of the queen's attendants at the Field of Cloth of Gold. <u>LP</u> III i 704(3).
TYRREL, Thomas	1511 February 12	Spear of honour Knighted 1513
UGHTRED, Anthony	1510 May 27	Spear of honour.
VIEILLEVILLE, Roland de	1494 October 1506 February 20 1509 June (Coron)	Spear under Henry VII Native of Brittany in the king's service.
WALDEN, Elizabeth	1518 October 5 M	Daughter of Sir Richard Walden.
WALLOP, John	1516 May 20	Spear of honour Knight sworn to the king (Hampshire) E36 130 f.190v.
WALSINGHAM, Edward	1516 May 19 (Knight waiter) 1520 June (F.G.) July 15	1521 Sewer to the king <u>LP</u> III 1899
WESTON, Richard	1519 September 3 M	Knight of the body. One of four knights placed in the privy chamber, May 1519. Cupbearer 1521 <u>LP</u> III 1899
WILLOUGHLY, Christopher	1506 February 20 1510 May 23, 27 1511 February 12	Spear under Henry VII Esquire of the body by 1509 <u>LP</u> I 20 p.15.
WINGFIELD, Richard	1519 September 3 M	Esquire of the body by 1500 Knight of the body 1511. One of four knights placed in the privy chamber, May 1519. 1523 Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.
WINGFIELD, Robert	1519 September 3 M	<u>HC</u> II pp.642-4. Usher of chamber by 1505. Knighted 1509 Knight of the body by 1511 (See Buckland M.A. 1968).
WORSLEY, James	1516 May 19 (Attendant)	By 1511 Groom of the robes. By 1521 Yeoman of the robes. E36 232 f.1.

WOTTON, Ann	1518 October 5 M	Daughter of Sir Edward Wotton Niece of Henry Guildford's second wife. Accompanied the queen to Field of Cloth of Gold.
WROUGHTON, William	1510 May 27	
WYATT, Thomas	1525 January 2, 3	<u>HC</u> III pp.669-670. Esquire of the body by 1524. Clerk of the king's jewels 1524.
WYLESTHORPP, George	1510 June 3	

APPENDIX V.

Henry VIII's opponents in martial combat at court 1510-27.

23rd May, 1510.	Thomas Boleyn. Thomas Howard. William Parr.
27th May, 1510	Anthony Wingfield. John Melton. Edmund Howard. William Edwards. Christopher Willoughly.
3rd June, 1510	Thomas Cheyney. William Gibbys. Edward Coker.
1st June, 1510	Thomas Howard. John Clement.
May, 1510	Guyot de Heule.
12th February, 1511	Richard Grey. William Parr. Robert Morton. Richard Blount.
13th February, 1511	Thomas Howard. Charles Brandon. Richard Tempest.
19th May, 1516	William Kingston. Griffith Don.
20th May, 1516	Edmund Howard. Geoffery Gates. Richard Cornwall.
7th July, 1517.	Charles Brandon.
June, 1520. (F.G.)	M. de Grandville. M. de Montmorency. Ralph Broke. Lord Montagu.
2nd March, 1522. 4th June, 1522.	Charles Brandon. Charles Brandon.
10th March, 1524. 29th December, 1524.	Charles Brandon. Anthony Brown.
8th February, 1525.	Anthony Brown.
13th February, 1526.	Henry Courtenay.
5th March, 1527.	Henry Courtenay.

APPENDIX VI.

A list of the spears of honour 1510-1515.

HENRY VII (1506)

Maurice St. John. E36 214 f.20  
Charles Brandon.  
William Parr.  
Christopher Willoughly.  
John Carr.  
Edward Neville.  
Roland de Vielleville.  
George Bowaer.  
Griffith Don.  
Walter Bawmeffield.

HENRY VIII (1510-15)

Add. MS 21,481 (LP II ii)

Charles Brandon	f.25	p.1445	
Guyot de Heule.	f.25,46	p.1445,1446	
Edward Howard.	f.25v	p.1446	
Richard Jerningham	f.25v	p.1446	p.1514
Thomas Tyrrel	f.32	p.1446	
Giles Capel	f.34v	p.1446	
Henry Guildford	f.57v	p.1450	
Edmund Howard	f.89v		
William Kingston	f.89v		
John Burdett	f.89v		
William Sherbourne	f.89v		
Griffith Don	f.89v		
Robert Morton	f.89v		
John Audeley	f.89v		
Geoffery Gates	f.89v		
William Fitzwilliam	f.89v		
John Melton	f.89v		
James Delabare	f.89v		
William Sydney	f.89v		
Edward Neville	f.89v		
Edward Boleyn	f.92		
John Pechey (lieutenant)	f.98		Hall p.512
Richard Cornwall	f.98		
Edward Cobham	f.124		E101/56/25 f53v
Edward Darrell	f.142	p.1463	
Richard Candish	f.144	p.1463	
Wiston Brown	f.148v	p.1464	
Edward Donne	f.148v	p.1464	E101/56/25 f42
William Pyrton	f.148v	p.1464	
Henry Sherbourne	f.148v	p.1464	
Ralph Ellerker	f.148v	p.1464	
Anthony Pointz	f.148v	p.1464	

Edmund Wiseman	f.148v	p.1464	
Arthur Plantagenet	f.158		
John Blount	f.162		
Thomas Cheyney	f.166	p.1465	
Lord Leonard Grey	f.168	p.1465	Stowe MS 146 f57
Lord John Grey	f.168	p.1465	
Lord Richard Grey	f.168	p.1465	Stowe MS 146 f86
Anthony Wingfield	f.169v	p.1465	
William Parr			Stowe MS 146 f99
William Leigh			Stowe MS 146 f71
William Cotton			Stowe MS 146 f86
Anthony Ughtred			E36 236 f.343
Earl of Essex (Captain)			Hall p. 512

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Reserved Photocopies  
Royal Manuscripts  
Stowe Manuscripts

Lambeth Palace Library

Talbot Papers (MS 3192, 3206)

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C54 Chancery, Close Rolls  
C82 Chancery, Warrants for the Great Seal, Series II  
DL42 Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books  
E36 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Books  
E101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts  
E135 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Ecclesiastical documents  
E179 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Subsidy Rolls  
E314 Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Miscellanea  
E407 Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellanea  
LC2 Lord Chamberlain's Accounts  
LC9 Lord Chamberlain's Accounts  
LS13 Lord Steward's Accounts  
OBS1 Obsolete Indexes  
PRO31/3 Baschet Transcripts  
PROB2 Probate Inventories.  
PROB11 Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Wills  
SP1 State Papers, Henry VIII, General Series  
SP2 State Papers, Henry VIII, Folios  
SP49 State Papers, Scotland, Henry VIII  
SP60 State Papers, Ireland, Henry VIII

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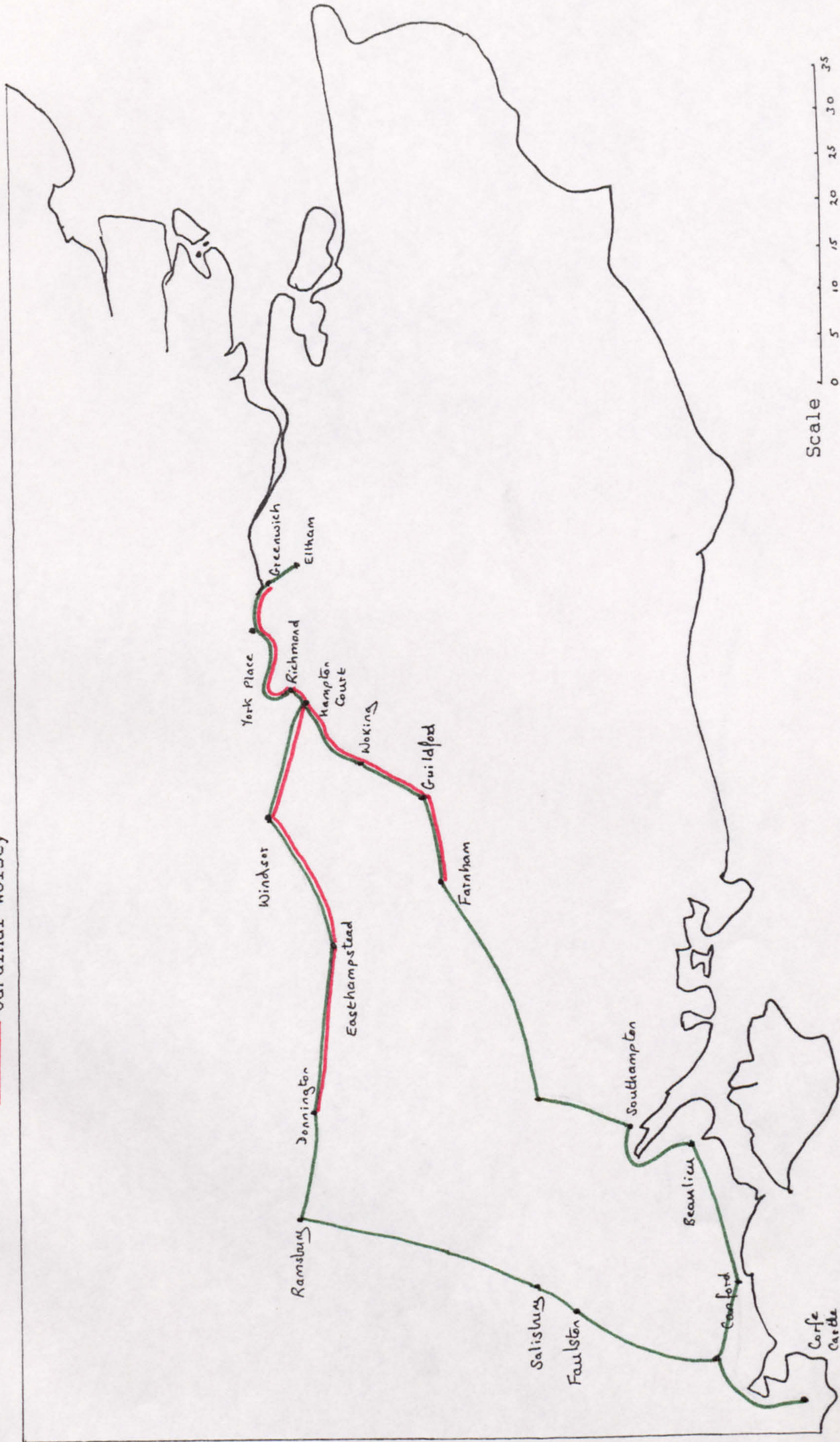


1. The itinerary of Henry VIII - 1511.



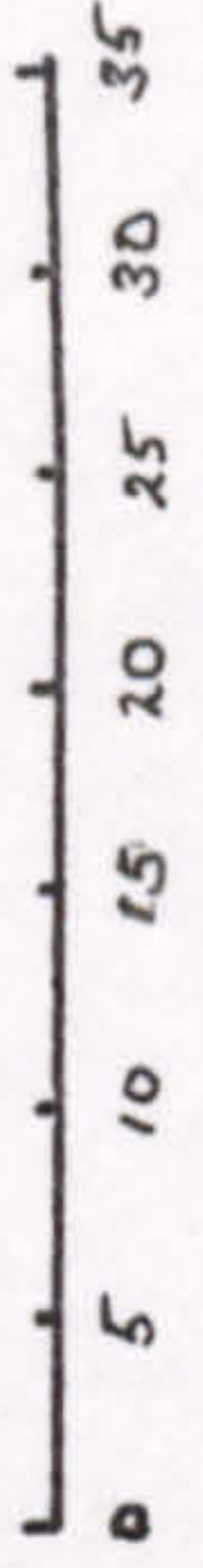
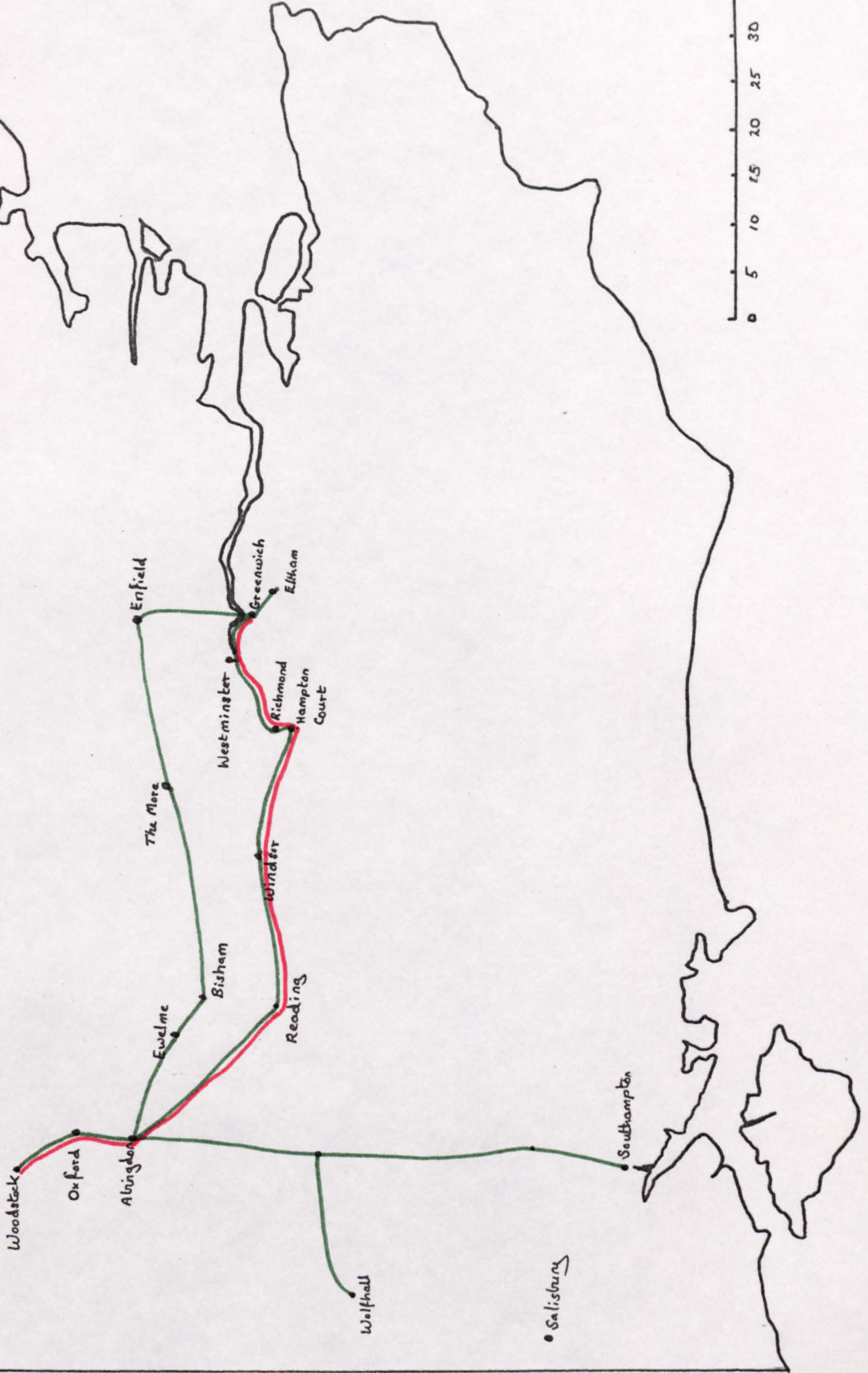
2. The itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1516.

Key: — Henry VIII  
— Cardinal Wolsey



3. The Itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1518

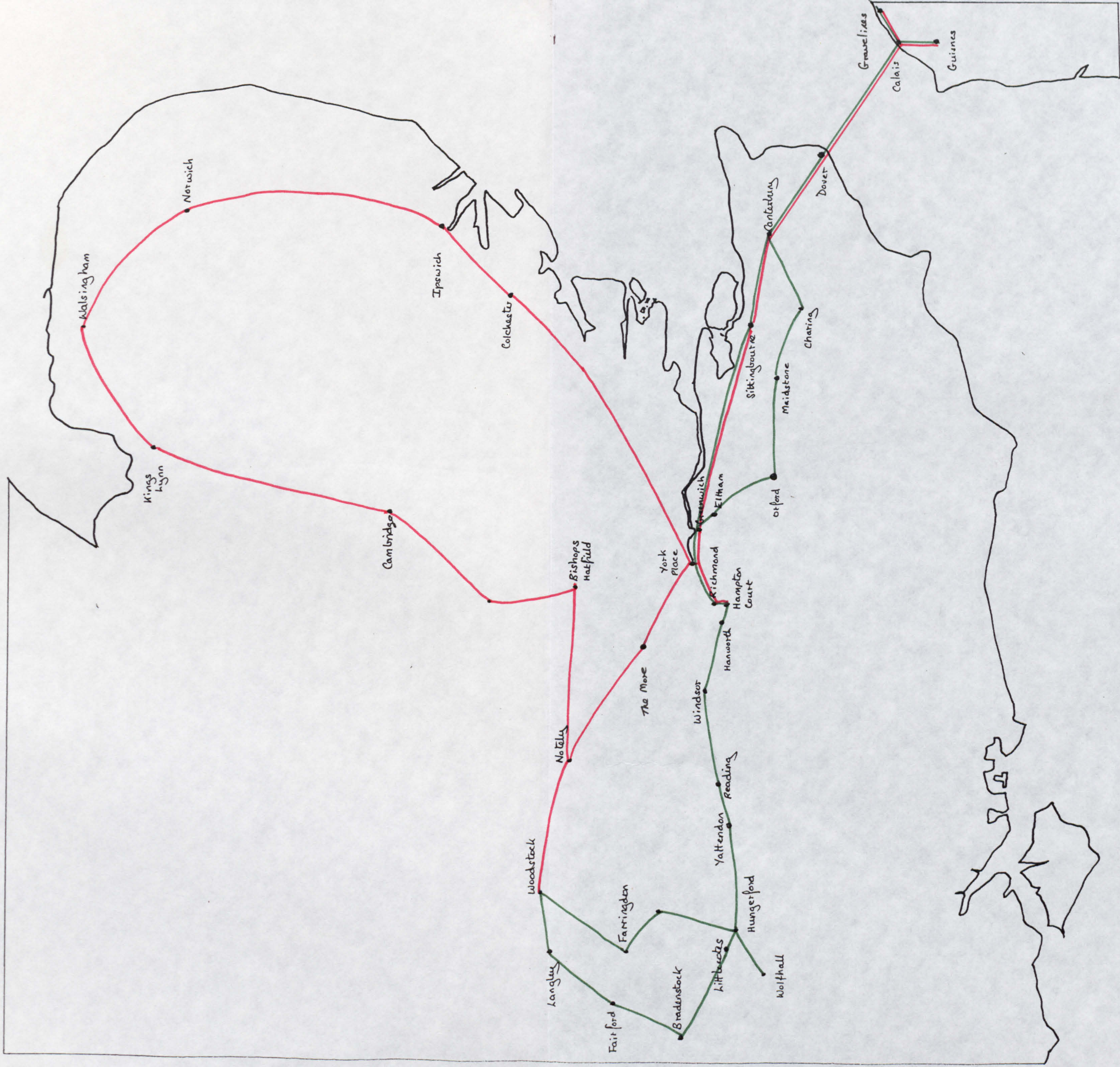
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— Cardinal Wolsey



4. The itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1520.

Key: — Henry VIII  
 — Cardinal Wolsey

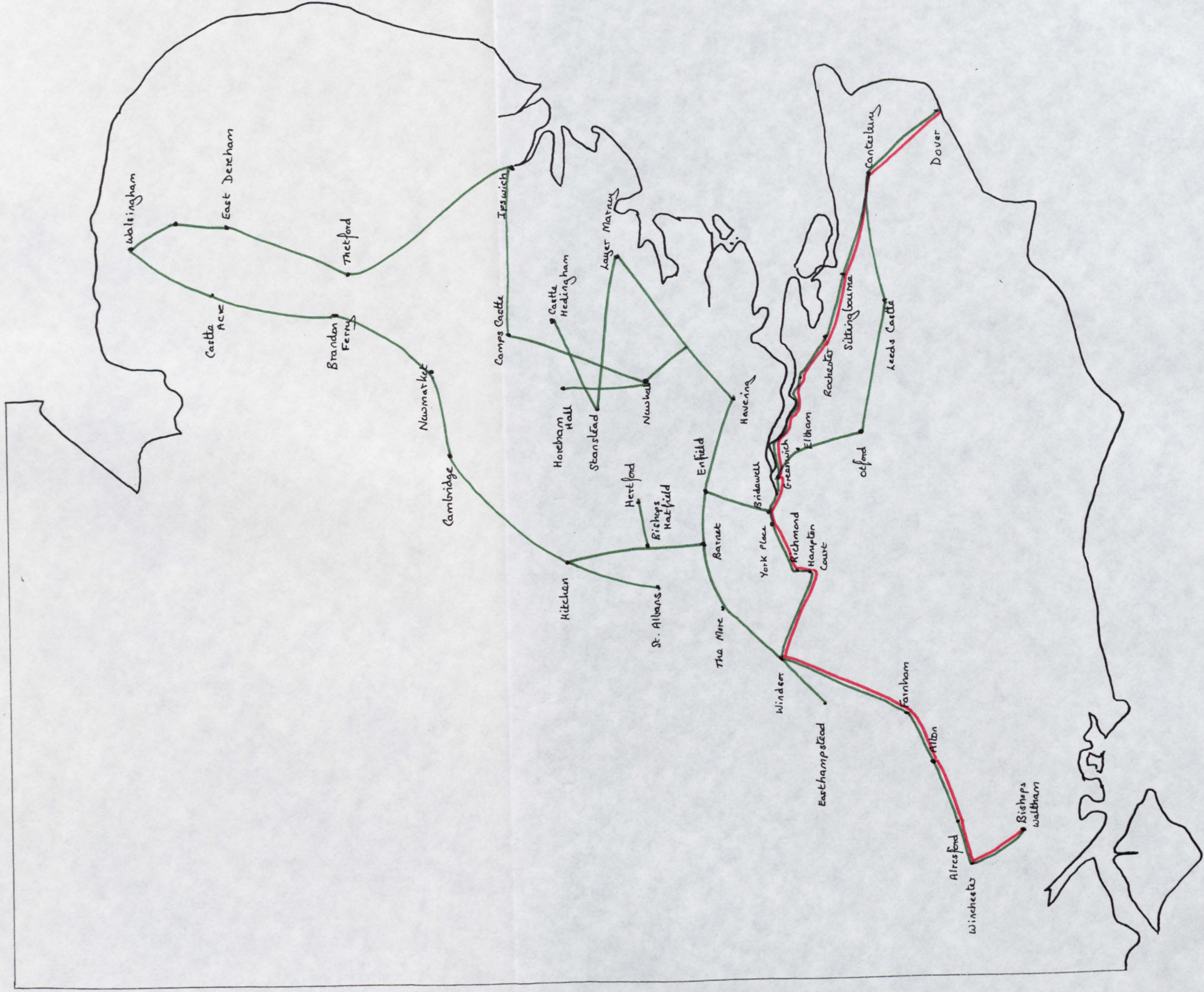
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5. The itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1522.

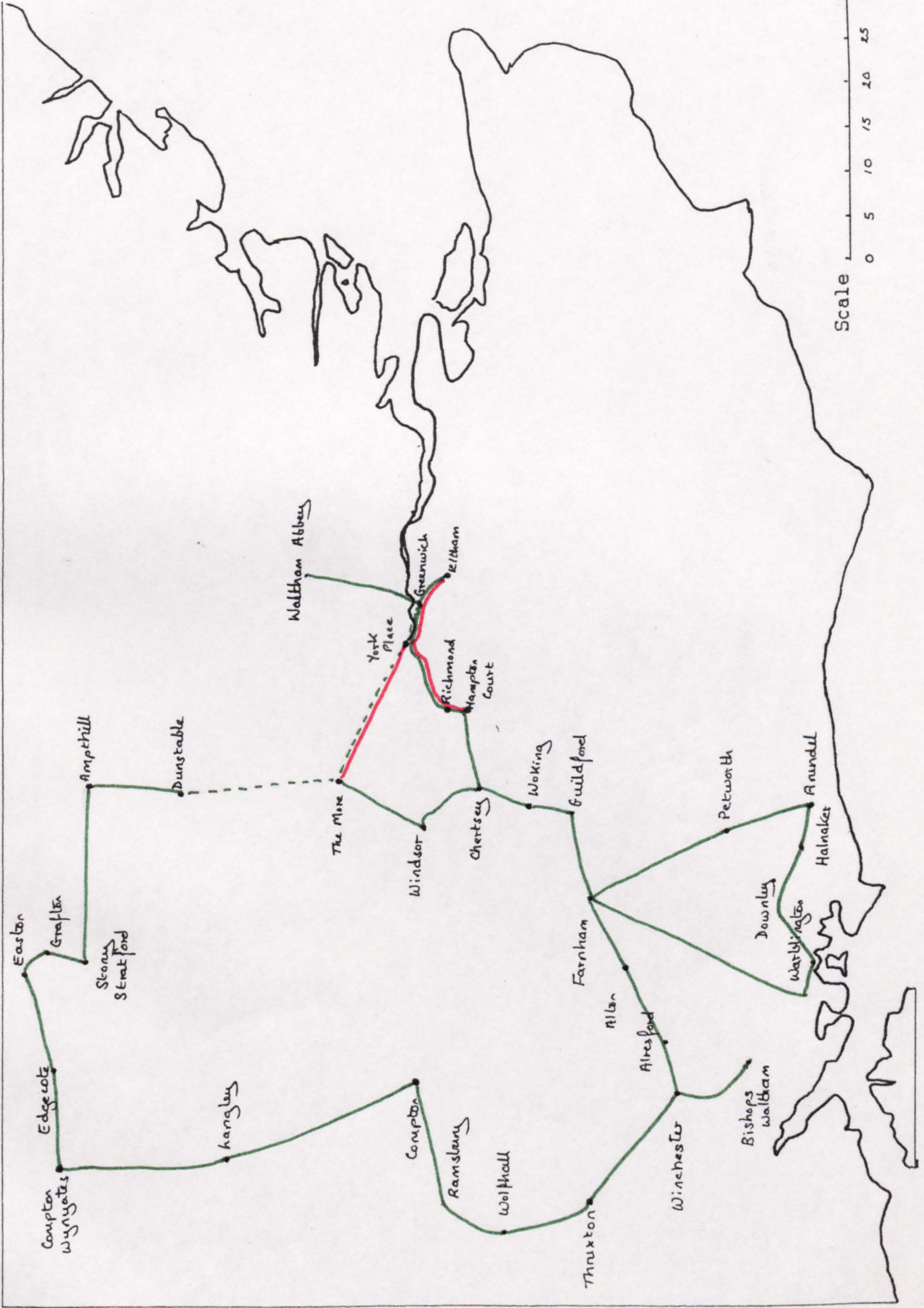
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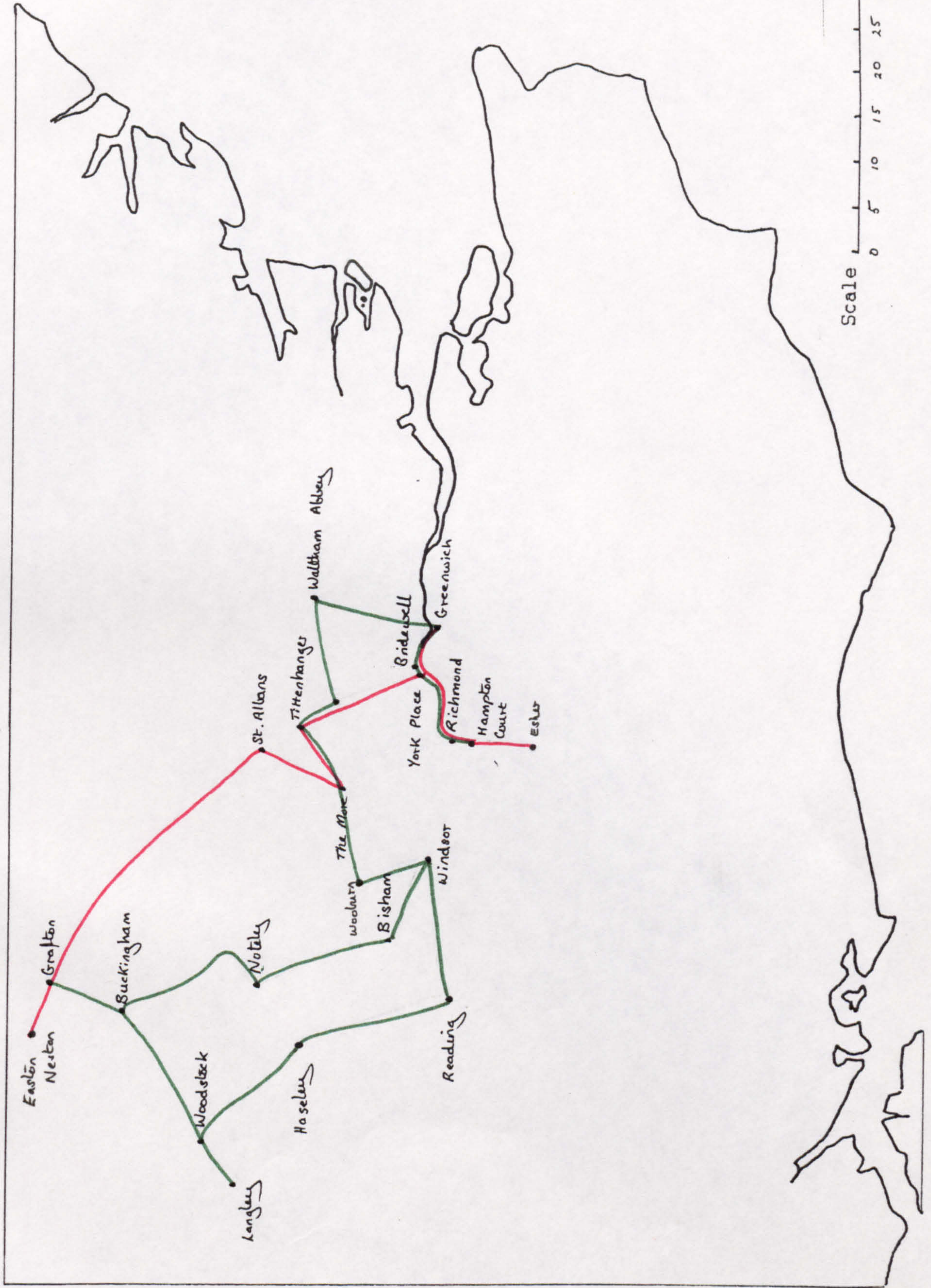
6. The itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1526.

Key: — Henry VIII  
 — Cardinal Wolsey



7. The itineraries of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey - 1529.

Key: — Henry VIII  
— Cardinal Wolsey



8. Katherine's pilgrimages to Walsingham 1515, 1519 and 1521.

Key: — 1515  
— 1519  
- - - 1521

Scale 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35

