

Long-distance royal journeys

Anne of Denmark's journey from Stirling to Windsor in 1603

Mark Brayshay University of Plymouth

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, travel by persons of high status, especially a prince or a monarch, meant much more than the provision of a suitable means of transport. Long-distance royal journeys were undertaken in order to achieve key political objectives. In addition to the need merely to reach a particular destination in an efficient, comfortable and secure manner, a ruler would want to be seen as frequently as possible by ordinary people, for whom the spectacle and pageant of monarchy were otherwise rarely witnessed.¹ By passing through the realm in person a prince could lay claim, both physically and symbolically, to the terrain through which their personal writ was supposed to run. Moreover, conferring royal favour by lodging in the houses of noble families *en route* meant that a prince might secure the loyalty of powerful provincial elites and gauge the support of the local gentry. Finally, the scale, splendour and theatricality of a royal entourage could convey messages about the power and prestige of the prince and the court. Thus royal journeys involved transport that was both symbolic and practical. By the early modern period a sovereign's travel was an essential tool of governance and a key element in the art of statecraft in England.²

Royal journeys necessarily required meticulous planning and the deployment of vast resources. While much is known about the purposes, itineraries and entertainment of Tudor and Stuart monarchs who embarked upon lengthy 'royal progresses' in the summer months, rather less work has been carried out to reconstruct the operational mechanics involved.³ Lists of the gifts bestowed by members of the regional aristocracy or local corporations and details of receptions and the entertainment provided in the localities have survived, but little is known, for example, about the precise sums spent by the Exchequer on transport for particular royal journeys. The scale and precise role of the retinue of officers and servants who travelled with a prince has not been established. Still less is known about the numbers and types of horses and vehicles that were employed, how the animals were fed, and who serviced the carriages and carts during a long journey. Moreover, no precise information has been presented about the accommodation and subsistence of ordinary servants obliged to accompany their master or mistress. A key reason for this dearth of knowledge about the 'nuts and bolts' of the arrangements for

the journeys of the high-born and their trains is a lack of quantitative documentary evidence. However, in the case of the journey southwards in 1603 from Scotland to Windsor Castle of Anne of Denmark, queen consort of James I, a remarkably detailed set of accounts has survived.⁴ Queen Anne travelled two months after the king left Scotland on his accession to the throne of England. Her status meant that her journey through the realm newly acquired by the Stuarts occasioned considerable pomp and ceremony. Opportunities were taken not only to establish bonds of loyalty with leading families whose country properties lay along the royal route, but also for the queen to be seen by as many of the ordinary people of England as possible. Thus, as well as being an exercise in the practicalities of transporting a noble lady and her large retinue, Queen Anne's progress through the length of England was also a journey of high political importance and active statecraft.

The focus of this article, however, is on the organisation and management of the queen's journey, rather than its political significance or its dynastic symbolism. Drawing principally on the Exchequer's audited financial statements, a reconstruction is presented here of the elaborate planning of the royal progress, the travel and transport arrangements, the size and make-up of the escorts, the character of the baggage trains and the requirement for horses, vehicles and attendants.

The journey of Anne of Denmark in June 1603

Following the death of Elizabeth I in March 1603, James VI of Scotland, anxious to secure his succession, as James I, to the English throne, set out from Edinburgh to travel to London. Departing in April, the new king, in his first month-long journey southwards into England, took the opportunity to show himself to the people and to cement ties with those in positions of importance in the localities through which he travelled, not least by conferring knighthoods and other honours on many of those that acted as his host *en route*.⁵ However, the queen, Prince Henry, Princess Elizabeth and Prince Charles remained behind in Scotland. Before departing, the king directed that his queen consort should follow him to London within about twenty days.⁶ The delay was partly practical: it was necessary for arrangements to be made. But it was also partly because the king realised that the queen's trip could help to reinforce more strongly the Stuart succession in England. By lodging during her journey with important noblemen, by receiving loyal addresses and gifts, by distributing alms to the poor, and by showing herself to the new monarch's English subjects, Anne of Denmark would continue the vital process of 'anchoring' the new dynasty in the realm that had been started by the king some weeks before. To make an impact, her retinue needed to be both large and splendid. Moreover the queen was pregnant and her transport arrangements must also ensure that she travelled at a fairly leisurely pace in as much comfort as possible.

2 Preliminary arrangements for the queen's journey were being made even before the king reached London in late April because, on 2 May 1603, an

escort party of 'noble personages' had been assembled and set out from Whitehall Palace to 'attend the queen from Scotland'.⁷ In fact they were sent to Berwick upon Tweed, and the group comprised Sir George Carew, Sir John Brooke, the Countesses of Worcester and of Kildare, Lady Anne Herbert and the Ladies Scroope, Rich and Walsingham. Sir Marmaduke Darell (paymaster of the journey) also travelled north at this time and a large retinue of attendants accompanied the party. The impressive scale of this escort was designed to convey an unmistakable message about the status and importance of those who were to be accompanied, namely the queen consort of the King of Scotland and England and the royal children.

Making very rapid progress, the escort party travelled in four days from London to Nottingham via regular post-stage towns, lodging overnight at commercial inns on the way (Figure 1). They had covered 129 miles at an average speed of thirty-two miles per day. Assuming they were on the road for six hours each day, they achieved an average speed almost equal to that expected of royal standing posts.⁸ The next day they travelled to the Worksop home of the Earl of Shrewsbury, where they rested on Saturday and Sunday. The high-born were not expected to travel on Sundays. Resuming their journey on Monday 8 May, the party travelled over forty miles a day to reach Newcastle, but less than half that speed to cover the final sixty-five miles between Newcastle and Berwick. They finally arrived at Berwick on Tuesday 17 May. Their average speed for the entire 357 mile journey was thirty-one miles per day. Given their apparent haste to reach Berwick, Queen Anne's arrival must have been thought imminent but, in fact, the royal party had been delayed in Scotland. Although orders were given for some hay and oats to be drawn from the royal stables at Edinburgh, for those horses sent into Scotland to form part of the queen's train departing from Holyroodhouse, it was necessary for the Exchequer to pay for most of the fodder costs and the subsistence expenses of the escort group for another sixteen days while it waited in Berwick until 3 June.

The delay occurred because the queen insisted that Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth should accompany her to Windsor.⁹ However, it was not at first the king's intention that his eldest son, Prince Henry, should accompany the queen. Instead, the king had ordered the prince to be sent to Stirling Castle and to remain there in the custody of the household of his guardian, the Earl of Marr. James may have planned for the prince to travel southwards at a later date, perhaps thereby providing yet more reinforcement for the new dynasty. But the queen was determined to take both Henry and Elizabeth into England with her and she travelled in person to Stirling Castle to collect her son. On her arrival the servants of the Earl of Marr denied her access to the young prince. Agitated and distressed, Anne suffered a miscarriage. News of these events reached the king in London by a messenger, riding post, and James immediately sent the Earls of Marr and Kildare back into Scotland with a warrant to deliver Prince Henry to the care of his mother at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh.¹⁰

Members of the Scottish nobility and a small contingent of English ladies who had apparently already travelled to Edinburgh, including the Countess



Figure 1 Journey of the queen's escort party northwards from Whitehall Palace to Berwick, 2–17 May 1603

of Bedford and the Ladies Hastings, Cecil, Hatton and Harington, were then, at last, able to accompany the queen and her two children to Berwick. Eight geldings, three packhorses and a litter with its team of six litter horses, that had been brought up to Berwick from Whitehall, had already been sent into Scotland to help transport this party on the first leg of its journey (Figure 2).

The queen remained in Berwick for four days as the guest of the garrison's governor, Sir John Cary. She also dined with Sir Ralph Gray and distributed 'rewards' to his household servants. Setting the tone for the rest of the

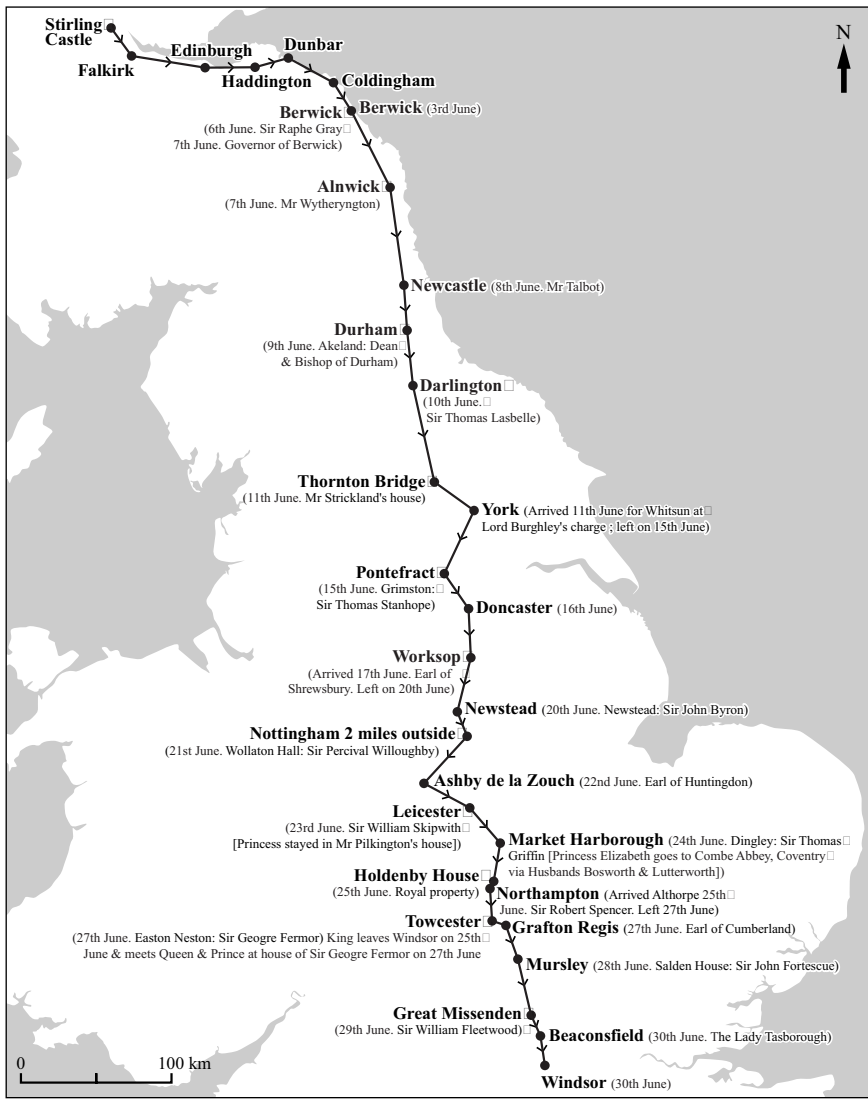


Figure 2 The queen's journey southwards into England, June 1603

journey, the queen made public appearances and distributed alms to the poor. On 7 June the royal family departed with their much increased retinue. Prince Henry rode on horseback, but it seems that both the queen and the young princess travelled, for part of the time at least, either by coach or 'close carr' or litter. Certainly, the accounts make it clear that a coach drawn by four horses, as well as a horse-drawn 'close carr' and a litter were at the royal disposal.¹¹ Where road surfaces were particularly poor it is possible that horseback may have been preferred. Facilities to enable the royal family

either to ride or to travel in the horse-drawn vehicles were provided for the entire journey.¹² But the queen's recent traumatic miscarriage and the fact that Princess Elizabeth was just six years old suggest that travel by coach is much more likely.

The itinerary was carefully planned and servants were constantly engaged to go ahead of the main train to ensure its smooth passage and to hire appropriate accommodation for the bulk of the party. Thus, as Figure 2 documents, the queen and her children were accommodated, wherever possible, in the houses of noble families at convenient locations on the route, but places for many other members of her enormous retinue would have had to be secured in nearby commercial lodgings.

Given the fraught circumstances that marked the start of her journey southwards, the speed of the queen's progress from Berwick to York is remarkable. Indeed, the pace was judged to be too rapid for the princess, and she proceeded more slowly and arrived in York later than the main group. The queen appears to have wished to make up time already lost in Scotland, and her party completed the first 153 miles of the journey in only five days. Their speed averaged almost thirty-one miles per day, which must have meant travelling for around six hours each day. Although the queen's progress had been slower between Newcastle and Darlington to allow for her reception by the Bishop of Durham, her generally rapid journey southwards surprised Robert Cecil, who was in York in his capacity as Lord President of the North to host the royal family during their time in the city. On 4 June he wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury to alert him to Queen Anne's speedier arrival.¹³ It was uncertain how long the party would remain in York, and Cecil was clearly concerned that the queen might arrive at the earl's home at Worksop before his household there was fully prepared. As a result of her rapid journey to York the queen was able to celebrate the Whitsun festival in the city. Arriving on Saturday 11 June, the royal family remained for three days, accommodated in the palatial surroundings of the King's Manor, the official residence in York of the Lord President of the North and formerly the house of the Abbot of St Mary's. The queen resumed her southward journey on Tuesday 14 June. Echoing the ceremonies that had witnessed the arrival of the king two months before, the queen's arrival at the boundary of the Liberty of York occasioned considerable civic pageantry. The city's sheriffs, dressed in their 'cremyson gownes', received the queen and attended her procession into York, where the lord mayor, recorder, aldermen and a large crowd greeted the royal family. Presents were bestowed, including a silver cup with a cover, weighing 48 oz, to the queen, another smaller silver cup of 20 oz to the prince, and a purse of gold coins was later given to the princess. The royal visits of first the king and now the queen had prompted the Lord Mayor of York to order all citizens to repair and clean the streets outside their doors: to remove all 'cloggs, stones, heppes, trees, donge hills and filth owte of the strets, and . . . also painte the owteside of ther howses wth some collors to the strete forwardes'.¹⁴ Royal visits, then as now, acted as a spur to the improvement of the external appearance of a town's fabric as well as the repair of principal thoroughfares.

The queen's entourage arrived in Worksop on 18 June, having travelled on average more than thirty-two miles each day since leaving York. The importance attached by the nobility to the favour of a royal visit is underlined by the Earl of Huntingdon's request that the queen should visit his house in Ashby de la Zouche. Having received royal approval of this change of plan, the Earl of Shrewsbury's man took the news to Ashby, thereby giving Huntingdon enough time to prepare for the queen's arrival on 22 June. Meanwhile the remainder of the queen's new English household had set out from Whitehall Palace on 20 June and journeyed north to meet her in the city of Leicester (Figure 3). In

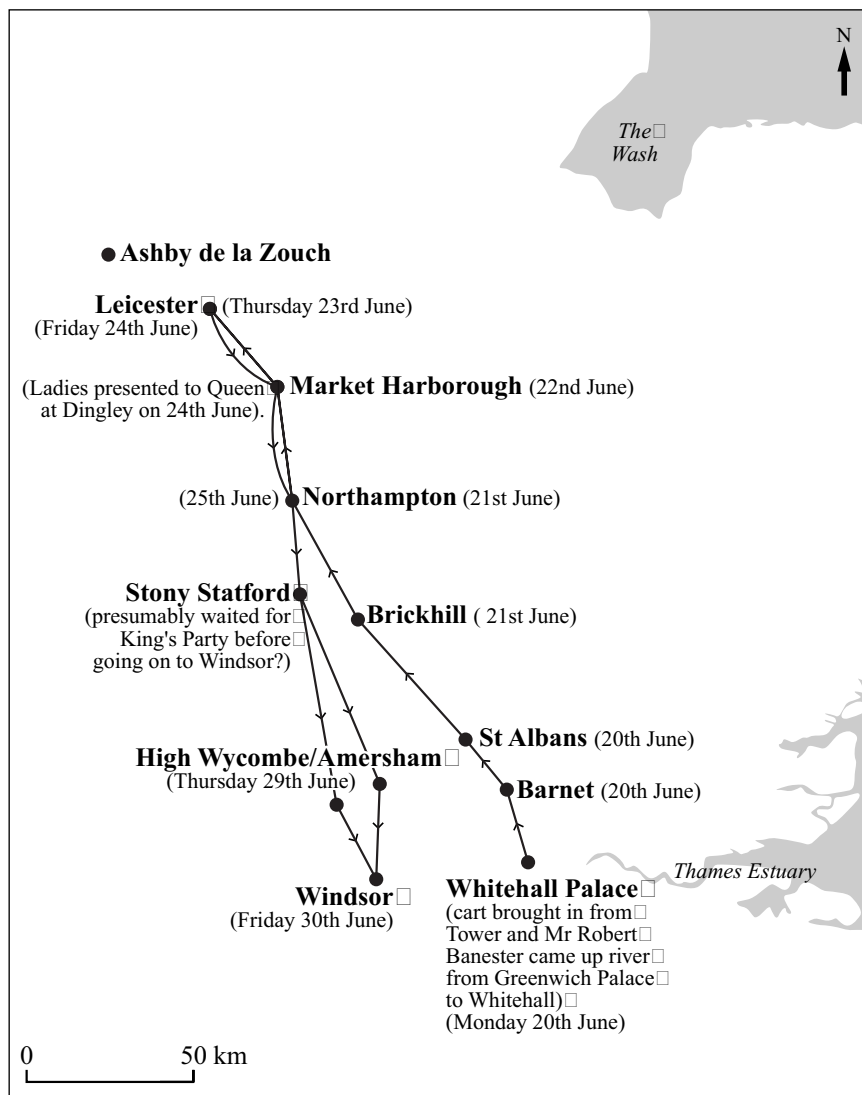


Figure 3 The outward and return journeys of the second escort party, 20–30 June 1603

fact, thanks to her slightly altered itinerary, this further large addition to the escort party linked with the queen at Ashby and the entire train then arrived together at the edge of Leicester on Thursday 23 June. The mayor and six previous mayors, preceded by the city's senior mace bearer, all on horseback, received them in great splendour. Behind followed the rest of Leicester's aldermen and other officers, on foot. Two weeks earlier a decision had been taken in the Common Hall to spend £40 on gifts for the royal family. Accordingly, during the arrival ceremonies another pair of silver cups was given, one to the queen and the other to Prince Henry, while a present of fine wine and sugar was bestowed on Princess Elizabeth.¹⁵

Accommodation for a retinue comprising more than 200 people posed considerable problems in Leicester. Queen Anne and Prince Henry's immediate party lodged with Sir William Skipwith, but the princess stayed in the home of Mr Pilkington.¹⁶ The next day, in the care of Lady Kildare and her guardian, Lady Harington, the young princess left her mother and brother to go to Combe Abbey, the Haringtons' mansion outside Coventry.¹⁷ From Combe Abbey the princess travelled separately to Windsor in time to enter the castle, with her parents and brother, on 30 June. This detour had spared Elizabeth the strain and exhaustion of the remainder of the extraordinary public progress that her mother's journey had now become. In particular, the princess was absented from the extravagant four-day festivities provided by Sir Robert Spencer at Althorpe. These began with an ambitious and lengthy masque performed before the queen and Prince Henry at the entrance to the park on their arrival.¹⁸ The Althorpe festivities allowed time for the king to journey northwards to greet the queen and his son and bring them personally to Windsor. Indeed, as the arrival masque was performed outside the gates of Sir Robert Spencer's home, James rode out of Windsor Castle on his two-day journey towards the appointed rendezvous at the home of Sir George Fermor at Easton.¹⁹ Following this reunion, the king and queen attended a lavish banquet hosted by the Earl of Cumberland at Grafton Regis.²⁰ The honour bestowed on the earl of providing the first banquet for both the new sovereign and his queen consort was clearly intentional. The earl was head of a family whose loyalty King James wished to acknowledge. Cumberland was father of Lady Anne Clifford, a member of the queen's household, who travelled to Ashby as part of the second escort party, and her letters provide incidental details of the final stages of the journey. Thus it is known that some sections of the huge entourage now travelled separately for part of the route through Buckinghamshire. While the king and queen went via Mursley, Great Missenden and Beaconsfield, a contingent travelled south via Stony Stratford and High Wycombe. In fact Lady Anne reported that a small detachment also journeyed via Amersham.²¹ These arrangements were undoubtedly a pragmatic response to the limited width of the roads and bridges, as well as a shortage of accommodation.

The speed at which the queen's entourage travelled reduced sharply after it was joined by the king and the second escort. For example, between Towcester and Windsor the retinue progressed barely twenty miles per day. This

leisurely pace contrasts sharply with the rapid pace – thirty-five miles per day – of the second escort party's outward journey from Whitehall. It seems likely that the sheer scale of the retinue may have impeded its speedy progress. Another explanation may be that rather longer was spent by the king and queen in the homes of their aristocratic hosts as the royal party drew closer to Windsor. Whatever the reason, the relatively slower pace of travel achieved over the final stages of the progress meant that the queen's average speed for her entire journey was less than twenty-five miles per day.

On Thursday 30 June 1603 the royal family and their vast procession arrived in Windsor. Paradoxically, no great welcome was provided in the town and the train passed quickly through the gates into the castle. This lack of ceremony was because plague was raging locally, and two days earlier Sir Dudley Carlton had written to Sir Thomas Parry that 'the sickness doth spread very much and it is feared it will prove a great plague'.²² Notwithstanding the inauspicious beginning and end of her journey, the queen's progress southwards provides a glimpse of the remarkable and meticulous organisation involved and demonstrates the manner in which her peregrinations were used to cement ties between Crown and country at a critical time of dynastic change. The composition of the queen's train and the travel and transport arrangements that were made to bring her to Windsor will now be examined.

The queen's transport arrangements in 1603

Harbingers

Initial preparations for major royal journeys were undertaken by sending letters of instruction from the court or Privy Council to officials in all the localities through which the entourage would pass. There is plentiful evidence that a flow of correspondence occurred both before and during the progress of Queen Anne with the purpose of making, finalising and sometimes altering plans.²³ However, the detailed arrangements were made, on the ground, by trusted servants of the royal household known as harbingers. Funds were therefore allowed by the Exchequer to cover the cost of a three-man team of harbingers sent out in advance to secure accommodation for the main train. Even in locations where members of the royal family were due to stay in the home of a local gentleman, knight or nobleman, further lodgings were needed in the vicinity for the large number of other personnel in the train. Thus Nicholas Hampshire, Richard Maddox and a servant rode out of Whitehall on 1 May to begin their work. They were paid 'board wages' (personal subsistence) and for their 'horsemeat' (fodder) for a period of almost nine weeks (sixty-one days).²⁴ Their modest official allowances of 3s each per day must be set against the rewards that they could customarily expect in the houses of the local noblemen and gentry, as well as in the towns and cities they visited in advance of their illustrious masters. Evidence suggests that harbingers thus supplemented their pay by accepting rewards ranging from a few shillings to as much as £1.²⁵ It was normal for harbingers to complete arrangements at least five days before the arrival of a royal

party.²⁶ In the case of the queen's journey, which did not begin for nearly another month, the harbingers clearly had ample time to complete their task. Harbingers also made a preliminary inspection of the physical condition of the highways, their suitability for the passage of the royal coach and the heavy volume of traffic that would comprise the train, and any potential dangers that might be posed. Their initial work would be followed up by the activities of a 'surveyor of the ways', who made a final check on the state of the roads, a task usually performed by one of the servants of the carriage and hobby stables. If stretches of road were deemed deficient for the passage of the retinue, last-minute repairs or widening might need to be undertaken by the local parish or civic authorities concerned. Again, it was customary for the 'surveyors' to receive rewards of between 10s and 13s 4d from the cities or boroughs through which the train passed.²⁷

The main escort party

The Exchequer accounts provide details of the large escort party that was sent from Whitehall to Berwick in order to accompany the queen on her journey to Windsor. As already noted, the king sent two countesses, two knights, four ladies and Sir Marmaduke Darell, as paymaster, to meet the royal family as they entered England, and to bring them south. The brief account of the journey published in the early nineteenth century by John Nichols suggests that the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Compton and Lord Norris were also members of the main escort.²⁸ However, this membership is not confirmed by the provision of Exchequer funds to cover the cost of their journey. To take part in the journey these four noblemen would have been obliged to meet their expenses from their own purse. Nichols also asserts that 'divers Ladies of honour went voluntarily into Scotland to attend her majesty in her journey into England'. As already noted, some of these are named: the Countess of Bedford, Lady Hastings, Lady Cecil, Lady Hatton and Lady Harington. Again, no evidence of Exchequer funds can be found to confirm their participation. Nichols's use of the word 'voluntarily' implies, of course, that they met their own costs. Moreover, Lady Harington's role as guardian of the young Princess Elizabeth suggests that she was indeed a member of the train between Edinburgh and Leicester, from where the princess was taken by her to rest briefly at Combe Abbey.²⁹

Funds were provided for the eight-strong party of noblemen and ladies, their twelve gentlemen attendants and seventy-five servants. In all, the escort comprised ninety-five people, while eighty-six horses were provided from the king's hobby (riding or 'saddle' horse) stables to convey this group. The addition of Sir Marmaduke and his supply of four horses brings the human total to ninety-six and the equine tally to ninety. Such a large group would have stretched to the limit the resources of the post stage towns through which it passed (Figure 1). Tents were probably used for servants when other lodgings could not be found.³⁰ The accounts make it clear that servants were allowed extra 'board wages' when lodged at some distance from the main

party and obliged to fend for themselves.³¹ However, most of the party would have been found accommodation of some kind when they reached the home of the Earl of Shrewsbury on 7 May.

A group of officers and servants of the king's household was despatched to Berwick upon Tweed on the same day as the main escort in order to be in readiness to serve the queen on her journey southwards. It is not clear whether the household group travelled together with the main escort. If they did, their presence would have swelled the party to 109 people and 103 horses. Senior officers each had their own servant, and all the men were provided with a horse and an allowance for subsistence and horse fodder. Anthony Browne, clerk of the kitchen, was in overall charge. Two purveyors, Jeffrey Duppa and Robert Clapham, had the job of going ahead of the queen's entourage to 'every howse for the provydinge of victuells and other things to be in readynes'.³² There was a chief and an assistant cook: Thomas Lovell and Robert Marshall. The yeoman of the scullery, John Roan, had charge of all the 'silver vessells and plate' sent by the king for use on the journey.³³ Nicholas Byrd, page of His Majesty's buttery, was sent up to join the team a little later than the rest.³⁴ Finally, Hugh Warden was engaged in 'taking upp of carriadges and horses at every remove', implying that he organised the hiring, loading and unloading required at each stage of the journey.³⁵ Although, during the journey, the queen and her entourage were regularly entertained to supper and dinner in the houses of noblemen, her own cooks and kitchen staff would have augmented any local corps of servants and perhaps taken charge of the preparations. They would certainly have been on hand to ensure that the meals of the royal family were of the right standard and that no untoward events occurred.

In all, this lavish provision for the journey of the queen's personal escort, as well as the travel and subsistence of those members of the royal household sent to work in the kitchens that were used during the journey, incurred an expenditure by the English exchequer that amounted to £888 3s 4d.

Officers and servants of the carriage and hobby stables

The physical means to transport the queen and her retinue from Scotland to Windsor were supplied from the royal stables (carriage and hobby) in London. A total of forty-four 'officers and servaunts of his maties stables' were sent with 'certain of his highnes horses, coaches and lytters' to attend 'upon her matie' in the journey. Three equerries (Sir Frauncis Darcy, Sir William Lane and Sir Richard Skipwith) and Henry Myners, sergeant of the carriage, led the corps. Thomas Apsley was in charge of a 'close carr' drawn by five horses. This vehicle was almost certainly a four-wheeled, windowless waggon-style coach.³⁶ Edward Gaunt and his two assistants served as drivers of the royal coach, drawn by four coach horses.³⁷ Such a vehicle would have always been used by the queen to enter a city or town, or to drive into the park of one of her noble hosts. Moreover, it seems highly probable that Queen Anne may have driven in her coach for a large part of her progress. Prestige coaches

were important symbols of status and it is therefore no surprise that Thomas Fortune, the royal coachmaker, was a member of the retinue.³⁸ He would ensure that the vehicle was maintained and presented at its magnificent best when the queen was received by civic authorities and premier courtiers along the way. John Kelley looked after the royal 'litter' and its six litter horses.³⁹ James Carr led a group of nine grooms of the hobby stables who cared for the king's nags and geldings. In addition, Thomas Powell was sent north as groom of the little nag specifically chosen for nine-year-old Prince Henry to ride.⁴⁰ All these key figures were supported by servants who ensured that the various means of transport were kept in serviceable order. Thus two groom farriers, Thomas Walton and Myles Caton, undertook the necessary 'shoinge and drenching' of the king's horses of the hobby stables. Henry Crosse, groom saddler, was engaged in 'mending and altering' Her Majesty's saddles and the 'furniture' belonging to her stable. As already noted, where road conditions were especially poor, it is possible that the queen abandoned her coach or her litter and chose instead to ride on horseback. Queen Anne's saddler, Henry Crosse, and Thomas Garland (yeoman of the stirrup) would be on hand to help her mount and dismount, and ride in comfort.

A team of sumpter horses (pack horses), each one in the care of its own sumpter man, riding his own horse, was sent up to carry the queen's baggage. But such was the quantity of equipment and other paraphernalia required to service the 'carriage' (i.e. means of transport) that a carter named William Gundy was engaged to acquire a waggon and hire teams to draw it. This vehicle carried all the saddles, harness and other items needed to support the horses and vehicles of the royal stables. Heavily laden, and driven over sometimes very rough roads, Gundy was also obliged to mend the cart several times during the long journey. He also served, when necessary, in the role of nightwatchman, guarding all the horses and vehicles of the royal carriage and hobby stables.

The king's horses were well fed and groomed. The usual daily allowance in the accounts for fodder for a nag or gelding was 1s 8d; this was more than the board wages of 1s 4d paid to an ordinary servant. Geldings, coach horses, close carr horses, litter horses and sumpter horses sent expressly for the use of the royal party were allowed 2s per day. While the accounts mention the purchase of hay, oats and straw, the exact quantities of fodder provided for each horse are not recorded. However, it may be deduced that the equine rations were at least as generous as those afforded to military horses, under war conditions, during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. In the 1580s an allowance of 5s per week is calculated to have bought 14 lb of hay, 7 lb of straw and a peck (i.e. a quarter of a bushel) of oats.⁴¹

Thomas Apsley, yeoman of the close carr, was reimbursed for 'dyverse thinges bought and used by him for bathinge of the kinges fyve close carr horses' at sundry times, and for mending of the close carr by the way'.⁴² The 'littermen', John Kelley, John Bonfield, John Parker and John Thorne, bought 'bere, butter, oyle and other thinges' used for 'bathing and annoyntinge the leggs of the kinges six lytter horses'.

In all, the transport provision sent initially from the carriage and hobby stables of Whitehall Palace to carry the queen and her two children to Windsor cost the Exchequer £497 13s 4d for a tour of duty that lasted sixty days. Since some horse fodder was drawn from the king's stores at Edinburgh while the escort waited in Berwick for the queen to arrive, the real total was even higher. Some forty-four officers and servants cared for seventy-two horses and four vehicles. In essence, the normally fixed comprehensive services and resources of the royal stables that provided for the needs of the monarch in and around London were mobilised and deployed in a journey of over 700 miles.⁴³ Moreover, as noted earlier, a small detachment of the stables corps (comprising eleven horses, and the litter with its team of six) was sent even farther, namely to Edinburgh and Stirling, to help carry the queen to Berwick upon Tweed.

The second escort party

The queen's train was increased when she reached the Midlands by the addition of another forty-four people and forty-two horses. Maids of honour (including the Lady Anne Clifford), ladies in waiting, a gentleman usher, footmen, a mounted bodyguard, 'pensioners' (i.e. gentlemen-at-arms), grooms of the stables and waggons, and an officer and groom of the poultry thereby joined the retinue for the final week of the journey.⁴⁴ The corps of soldiers augmented the queen's guard that had been provided by her equeries during the earlier stages of her journey. Mounted soldiers wearing the royal livery, riding behind the coach, would have added enormously to the splendour of the royal procession as it passed southwards and made its final entry into Windsor.

Three more horse-drawn vehicles were found for the second escort party. These included a second coach and four horses, which were hired for eleven days at a cost of 18s per day (i.e. £9). This represents 'royal purveyance' hire charges: usually half the normal commercial rate. An ordinary hired coach would generally have been much less splendid than the royal coach, but the high real cost of the vehicle procured on this occasion to serve in the queen's second escort suggests that it was a commercial coach of unusual quality. It was perhaps used to convey the senior noblewomen in a manner befitting their status as the entourage made its way into Windsor. A cart and its team were also hired; here the cost was at the much more modest purveyance rate of 2p per mile. Charges of 13s were thus incurred for the seventy-eight miles from London to Leicester and another 11s 4d for the sixty-eight-mile return journey to Windsor. Another cart was requisitioned from the Tower of London and 1s was paid for it to be brought down to Whitehall Palace, presumably because it was in need of some repair. Together with the cost of shoeing all the carthorses, repairs to this vehicle cost another 6s, while a further 8s were spent on fitting a strong 'boxe to carry mony in'. The queen and the prince had been showered with gifts and purses of money as they progressed south, and the carts were doubtless required to help bring such items to Windsor.

The complex arrangements for the second escort party were made by Robert Bannester, a clerk of the king's household. His need to consult the Lord Chamberlain involved a boat journey between Greenwich and Whitehall on two occasions, together costing 8s 6d. Though in service for only ten days, the second escort found for the final stages of the queen's journey, plus all the hired horses, vehicles and incidentals, cost the Exchequer another £122 16s 0½d.

Extraordinary expenses and the charges of the queen and prince's train

A section of the accounts records a set of 'extraordinary charges and expenses' that were incurred during the journey. These costs were authorised by a warrant issued by the lords of the king's Scottish council and, as a result, the details provided are rather limited. More than £450 was spent by James Tate (clerk of the royal household in Scotland) on transporting the queen and her retinue to Berwick. No breakdown is included, but this extra provision was of course in addition to spending listed elsewhere on the horses, pack-horses and the litter and its team, drawn from the Palace of Whitehall stables, sent into Scotland as a detachment of the main escort. It is not known for certain whether any Edinburgh horses or vehicles were included in Tate's expenditure, but it seems unlikely. As in the case of the king's journey some weeks earlier, Queen Anne's travel costs seem deliberately to have been charged to the English rather than the Scottish treasury. The details of the detour made by Princess Elizabeth to Combe Abbey (Figure 2) are not given, but the overall cost is recorded as £196 5s 0d.⁴⁵ Other incidental expenses are noted, including money for alms distributed by the queen to the poor in Scotland; the wages of Prince Henry's gentleman of the chamber, Davyd Murray; and an allowance for James Spotteswood, the queen's almoner. The accounts even record payment for the care of Andrew Carr, one of the queen's pages, who apparently fell ill on the journey and was left behind. In all, the Exchequer spent £738 5s 3d on these 'extraordinary charges' under the warrant of the Scottish council.

Sums of money laid out to provide meals for the queen and her party for each day of her journey from Berwick to Windsor are listed separately in the accounts. In addition, the money spent on rewards to the household servants of the noblemen with whom she lodged, and amounts allocated for alms given to the poor in the cities and towns through which the entourage passed, are recorded. Given that the queen was entertained to many of her meals by her hosts along the route, the costs to the Exchequer were a mere fraction of what they might have been. Thus when the Exchequer was obliged to bear a major share of the cost of supper and dinner for the queen's party in Leicester on 23 and 24 June respectively, the charge was £51 17s 10d. At that rate, in the absence of banquets, dinners and suppers provided by her many hosts, the cost to the English treasury would certainly have far exceeded £1,500 for a royal journey lasting four weeks. In fact the queen's charges came to only £465 8s 3d and this total includes at least £80 distributed during her journey

as alms to the poor and rewards to servants and officers. Some twenty-two members of the nobility and gentry entertained the royal party to meals and frequently also provided overnight accommodation during the journey. Ranging from the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Huntingdon and the Bishop of Durham to the Lord President of the North, various civic authorities and a number of relatively minor gentlemen, the queen's hosts were thus a representative sample of England's ruling elite; they invested heavily in entertaining their royal guest, presumably expecting future favours in reward.⁴⁶

Reassembling the royal entourage: the queen's travel and transport

Assembling the information in the Exchequer accounts to arrive at an overall view of the queen's journey, it is clear that upwards of 200 people were included in her train (Table 1). Expenditure for 209 individuals is specifically mentioned in the records. There were certainly others who would have travelled at their own expense. Moreover the precise number of people included in the queen's retinue from Scotland to Berwick is not available, nor are full details of the king's party that journeyed from Windsor to meet Queen Anne at Easton Neston near Towcester. Notwithstanding these imperfections in the surviving evidence, it is clear that the queen's entourage was immense. A large number of travellers, of course, required many horses. Fodder (or occasionally hire charges) for 215 can be readily identified. They comprised geldings and nags, sumpter horses, teams for coaches, the close

Table 1 Summary of the costs and composition of the train on the Queen's journey to Windsor: 'Chardges arrysing and accruing about the Journey in attendinge the Queenes highnes royal person, the Prynce and the Lady Elizabeth, there graces, wth there traynes from Barwick to Wyndsor'

	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Vehicles</i>	<i>Cost</i> <i>£ s d</i>
Harbingers	3	3		20 14 0
Main escort	108	102		888 3 4
Carriage and hobby stables	44	72	Coach, close carriage, litter, baggage cart	497 13 4
Second escort	44	38	Baggage cart, hired coach, hired cart	122 16 0½
Charges of the queen and prince's train	3			465 8 3
Charges for journey from Scotland to Berwick	7	<i>Not known</i>		738 5 3
<i>Totals</i>	209	215	7	2,733 0 2½

Note Charges of the queen's and prince's train are those for meals, on the relatively few occasions when these were not provided by the noblemen with whom they lodged during their journey, for alms given to the poor, and for rewards given to the household servants of their various hosts. Because details of the size and composition of the escort that came with the queen from Scotland, and continued onwards with her to Windsor, are not provided as fully as for other elements of the retinue, the numbers of people and horses are probably a little larger than has been deduced here. The total figures therefore represent a minimum estimate of the total scale of the royal retinue.

carr, the litter and three carts, as well as some hired post horses. Though it is impossible to be absolutely precise, assuming a minimum average daily ration for each horse of 14 lb of hay, 7 lb of straw and a quarter of a bushel of oats, the 'horsemeat' requirements for the entire journey could not have been less than seventy tons of hay, thirty-five tons of straw and 2,800 bushels (105 kl) of oats.

In all, the accounts indicate that seven horse-drawn vehicles were used in the journey. The royal coach was undoubtedly the largest and most impressive of these; in an era when such means of transport were still relatively uncommon it would have made a considerable impact on those who saw it pass. Although no precise details are to hand, the vehicle must have previously belonged to Queen Elizabeth and was possibly comparable with the coach sent by her as a gift to Boris of Russia, which is preserved in the Kremlin Armoury Museum. As the earliest surviving English-built carriage of magnificence, the 'Boris Gudunov' coach provides an indication of the kind of vehicle in which Queen Anne must have travelled through England in June 1603.⁴⁷ Measuring 4.4 m in length and 1.65 m wide, the vehicle is richly decorated. The body comprises an open box, suspended on leather straps, with unglazed, curtained windows at each side and deeply upholstered seating within.

Transporting a queen and her children had meant the mobilisation of resources and supplies that ensured that horses and vehicles were in peak condition and ready for service. In addition, the means to secure accommodation and supplies of food and horse fodder formed an essential part of the retinue. Ranks of servants, most of them recorded not only by their role but also by their name, are known to have attended all the central figures in the entourage, and many of the more important officers and servants of the household and stables in turn had their own lackeys. In essence, this enterprise amounted to an entire court and royal household in transit, and the cost to the Exchequer of a transport enterprise that lasted in all for sixty-one days was over £2,700 (Table 1).

In reconstructing the journey to Windsor of Queen Anne and her children in 1603, a glimpse has been provided of the meticulous and thorough preparations, arrangements and practical operations that underpinned royal travel at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Like the journeys of itinerant medieval kings, the queen's stately progress in June 1603 relied mainly on horses as the principal means of transport. Most of the courtiers and other members of the entourage rode, while baggage and other goods were carried on packhorses. The evidence presented in this article shows how the horses were fed and maintained on long journeys; in general, fodder costs exceeded the sums spent on subsistence for servants. The large corps of servants sent to care for the horses from the royal stables testifies to the central importance of equine transport. But the use of royal coaches and litters for lengthy journeys, begun on a modest scale towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, was clearly becoming a preferred form of conveyance for those of noble and royal status, especially women.⁴⁸ While Anne of Denmark's use of coaches was not entirely novel, the employment of such a vehicle as

a means of transport in such a lengthy journey appears to have been new.⁴⁹ In her summer progresses Elizabeth I normally rode on horseback and used a coach only in particularly inclement conditions.⁵⁰ King James rarely used a coach, but his queen's long trip by coach in 1603 undoubtedly reinforced and further popularised a new trend. Thus when Charles I visited York in 1633 it is known that he travelled everywhere in his coach.⁵¹ Belatedly following the precedents set in Europe, coachmaking by then had become an acknowledged craft in England and early seventeenth-century horse-drawn carriages were not only more solidly constructed but also customarily provided with the benefits of a suspension system of leather straps like that found on the Gudunov coach.⁵² These improvements meant that they were capable, at least during the dryer months of the year, of travelling considerable distances across the rutted and rough surfaces of England's rural roads while still providing a reasonable level of comfort for their passengers. The advent of the popularity of coaches, of course, had implications for wear and tear on the roads.⁵³ As traffic increased, better maintenance of road surfaces became more important and led, eventually, to the formation of the turnpike trusts and charging for road use.⁵⁴

The details of a major royal journey undertaken in the early seventeenth century shed light not only on the transport conditions that existed at the time but also on the manner in which the centre interacted with the localities to provide for the smooth passage of a very large retinue. Queen Anne's journey was clearly planned as a means to bind Crown and country. It was intended as a memorable pageant and spectacle to be witnessed by the provincial gentry and common people. The queen's exceptionally large retinue and her magnificent coach were intentionally impressive: this was transport at its most regal. In order to set such a journey in context, however, rather more needs to be known about the detailed transport arrangements of other long journeys undertaken in England during the early modern period.⁵⁵ While occasional and anecdotal references are well known, further systematic research is required to gather a significant body of comparable evidence of the costs, speed and means of travel by both the great and the humble in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is to be hoped that such follow-up studies will now be undertaken.

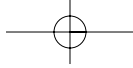
Notes

- 1 Z. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: the Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (1996), pp. 1–3; W. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (1993), pp. 376–8.
- 2 P. Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547–1603* (1995), pp. 128–31; MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth*, pp. 355–80.
- 3 J. B. Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his Royal Consort, Family and Court*, 4 vols (1828); *id.*, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (1823–25); J. Osbourne, *Entertaining Elizabeth I: the Progresses and Great Houses of her Time* (1989); Z. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress* (1996); P. Harrison and M. Brayshay, 'Post-horse routes, royal progresses and government communications in the reign of James I', *Journal of Transport History* 18 (1997), pp. 116–33.
- 4 Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), Audit Office (hereafter AO1) 2022/1.

- 5 An interesting episode is recorded in the records of the city of York, where the king stayed on 16–18 April 1603 during his journey southwards. Residing in the king's manor, he was due to go to the Minster and reportedly said, 'I will have no coach, for the people are desirous to see a king, and so they shall, for they shall as well see his body as his face.' See A. Johnston and M. Rogerson (eds), *Records of Early English Drama: York* (1979), p. 515.
- 6 Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, p. 168.
- 7 PRO, AO1 2022/1, ff. 1–2; Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, p. 167; M. A. Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (1855), pp. 4–5.
- 8 The posts were required to travel at an average speed of 4 m.p.h. in winter and 6 m.p.h. in summer. The escort managed 5.1 m.p.h. See M. Brayshay, 'Royal post-horse routes in England and Wales: the evolution of the network in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century', *Journal of Historical Geography* 17 (1991), pp. 79–104; M. Brayshay, P. Harrison and B. Chalkley, 'Knowledge, nationhood and governance: the speed of the royal post in early modern England', *Journal of Historical Geography* 24 (1988), pp. 265–88.
- 9 Prince Henry was nine, Princess Elizabeth was six, Prince Charles was not yet three years old. Charles was regarded as too young and weak to leave Scotland. See also Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, pp. 168–70. Although Princess Elizabeth's guardian, Lady Harington, was a member of the train, the feud between the Earl of Marr's people and the queen meant that the prince's guardian was excluded from her entourage. In fact the king removed the earl from his guardianship of Prince Henry a week before the queen finally reached Windsor.
- 10 Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, p. 169.
- 11 Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine*, p. 4. Useful summaries of the character of horse-drawn vehicles in use in the early seventeenth century may be found in P. Sumner, *Carriages to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (1970), pp. 1–2; S. Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage: Symbol and Status in the History of Transport* (1992), pp. 149, 151, 156–7. See also D. J. M. Smith (1988), *A Dictionary of Horse-drawn Vehicles*, pp. 35–6, 46–8. A 'close carr' was probably a four-wheel hooded or covered carriage with upholstered seats. A 'litter' was a wheelless carriage supported between horses in tandem.
- 12 PRO, AO1 2022/1, ff. 8v–11v.
- 13 Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, p. 168. Sir Robert Cecil had met the king on Saturday 16 April in his capacity as Lord President of the North.
- 14 House Books, York, North Yorkshire County Library, B32, 1598–1605, ff. 249v [13 March 1603], 276 [8 June 1603]. York City Archives, CB11, Chamberlain's Accounts, Expences Necessarye, 1602–03, f. 74. (Overall, including rewards to the royal harbingers, cooks and footmen, the city laid out £180 17s.) Spending in York on velvet, taffeta and embroidery for the new liveries of the city's officials worn at the time of the king's visit did not have to be repeated for the queen's arrival only a few weeks later; see also T. Millington, *The True Narration of the Entertainment of his Royall Maiestie from the Time of his Departure from Edenborough; till his Receiving at London: with all or the most speciall Occurrences. Together with the Names of those Gentle men whom his Maiestie honoured with Knighthood* (1603), pp. 1–24. Mayoral orders to clean the streets and paint houses in anticipation of a royal visit were common. See, for example, the description of the visit by James I to Coventry in 1617, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. Warwickshire d. 4 (31431), *A List of the Mayors & Sheriffs &c. of Coventry with Historical & Memorable Events touching the Antiquity of the Auncient City & Corporation*, ff. 33v–34.
- 15 Historical Manuscripts Commission, eighth report, *The Manuscripts belonging to the Corporation of the Borough of Leicester* (1882), Hall Books of the Borough of Leicester, p. 428b; Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, p. 171.
- 16 Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine*, p. 5.
- 17 PRO, AO1 2022/1, ff. 4v, 11v–12. Darrell's account notes payment to Henry Myners (sergeant of the carriage) and Francis Harrys for the 'expences of Lady Elizabeth, her grace, and such honorable p[er]sons and others as were appoynted to attend upon her, in regard she was not able to undertake soe great journeys as her matie did, and soe travelled apart from the rest, all the waye betwixt Barwicke and Wyndsor'.
- 18 The printed pamphlet, 'A Particular Entertainment of the Queene and Prince, their Highnesse to Althorpe, at the Right Honourable the Lord Spencer's on Saterdag, being the 25th of June 1603, as they came first into the Kingdome', is reproduced in full in Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities* I, pp. 176–87.

- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 189. Darrell's account notes that the queen arrived at Sir George Farmer's house (Easton) for supper on 27 June and that she was there for dinner on 28 June.
- 20 This excursion to Grafton Regis is not mentioned in PRO, AO1 2022/1, though the gap in the queen's recorded schedule on 27 June would have allowed her time to go to the home of the Earl of Cumberland for a banquet earlier that day. There are some peculiarities in Nichols's report of events (*ibid.*, p.189). He refers to the queen's arrival at the home of 'Sir Hatton Fermor' at Easton and to the banquet with George, Earl of Cumberland, and the journey to Muresley (Sir John Fortescue's house) all occurring on Monday 27 June. But Darrell's accounts make it clear that the queen did not leave Easton until after dinner on Tuesday 28 June, and arrived at Salden House in Muresley only later that day, for supper.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 190. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Series of the Reign of James I, 1603–1610*, ed. M. A. Everett Green (1857), p. 18, Dud. Carleton to John Chamberlain, 4 July, Windsor. Plague affected much of the south in the summer of 1603 and flared for example in Canterbury, Exeter and Plymouth.
- 23 See *Calendar of State Papers, Reign of James I*, pp. 14–18.
- 24 PRO, AO1 2022/1, f. 6v.
- 25 HMC, *The Manuscripts . . . of the Borough of Leicester*, Hall Books, p. xxx. See also City of Coventry Archives, Borough Accounts, BA/A/A/26/2, Chamberlain's and Warden's Accounts, 1574–75, f. 7, 'Itm pd to two of the queenes gard that came to survey for her Graces pgressse vjs viijd'; City of York Archives, Chamberlain's Accounts, CB 11 1602–03, ff. 73v–74. Here the payment was £1.
- 26 See, for example, Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Plymouth Borough Receiver's Accounts, W132, 1624–25, f. 208v, 'itm given to two of the kings guards wch came fower or five daies before the king to provide lodginge for noble men xs'. In 1617, when James I was due to visit Coventry, the city rewarded the yeoman harbinger and the surveyors of the ways with £1 each, but officers referred to as the 'knight harbinger' and the 'gentlemen harbinger' received £3 6s 8d and £2 respectively; see Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities III*, pp. 430–1.
- 27 These kinds of reward were paid to royal servants by long tradition. Thus, when Henry VIII visited Canterbury in 1539, the city paid his servants a reward of 6s 8d (Canterbury Cathedral Archives (CCA), Chamberlain's and Cofferer's Accounts, CC FA 13, f. 29). In 1555 6s 8d was paid to the servants of 'kyng Phylp . . . at his first comyng' to Canterbury (CCA, Chamberlain's and Cofferer's Accounts, CC FA 15, f. 78). King James I and his servants were rewarded by the city of York in April 1603 at a total cost of £180 17s (York City Archives, CB 11, 1603–04, f. 73v). When Charles I visited Plymouth in 1625 his 'surveyor of the wayes' received £1, his coachman received 10s, the 'yeoman harbinger' was paid £1 and the 'kings harbinger' received £3 6s 8d. In all, the borough spent more than £30 on rewards to servants in the royal entourage (Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, W132, f. 208).
- 28 Nichols, *Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities I*, pp. 167–9.
- 29 Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine*, pp. 5–9.
- 30 See N. Williams, 'The Master of the Royal Tents and his records', in F. Ranger (ed.), *Prisca Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History presented to A. E. J. Hollaender* (1973), pp. 168–70.
- 31 PRO, AO1 2022/1, f. 8.
- 32 *Ibid.*, f. 7.
- 33 *Ibid.*, f. 6v.
- 34 *Ibid.*, f. 7, 'Nich[ol]as Byrd, page of his maties buttery being also sent from the Courte to attend in this journey', was paid 'boordwages & horsemeat' for forty-six rather than sixty-one days.
- 35 *Ibid.*, f. 7v.
- 36 Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*, pp. 149–52; Smith, *Dictionary of Horse-drawn Vehicles*, pp. 35, 184.
- 37 PRO, AO1 2022/1, f. 9v. The three coachmen were allowed 1s 8d each for 'boordwages' and had one horse 'allowed amongst them all'; fodder allowances for the latter were at exactly the same as the men's board wage, 1s 8d. The fodder allowance for the four coach horses was 2s *per diem*. A clear distinction is made throughout the accounts between carriage and litter horses (i.e. animals that drew vehicles), geldings or nags and hobby horses (i.e. horses for riding, geldings being the fittest and swiftest, hobby horses normally going only at an ambling pace), and sumpter horses (i.e. packhorses)

- 38 *Ibid.*, f. 10. Queen Elizabeth I had employed a coachman from 1571.
- 39 *Ibid.*, f. 10. The litter men received 1s 8d per day for 'boordwages; they had two horses between them and allowance of 3s 4d for fodder. Like the coach horses, the 'kynges vj lyt-terhorses' were allowed 2s each per day for fodder.
- 40 *Ibid.*, f. 9. The use of the term 'nag', in the context of the mount provided for a boy of Prince Henry's age, implies not an inferior or old horse, but instead a small horse or pony suitable for a young person of high status. The groom's daily allowance of 4s 6d for his 'boordwages' and fodder 'for keapinge of the said nagg' suggests that the pony was well looked after.
- 41 Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (1978), pp. 6–9.
- 42 PRO, AO1 2022/1, ff. 10v–11v. Farriers and grooms were expected to 'dress' horses that were injured; there were of course no veterinarians.
- 43 In this journey the skills and long experience of the staff of the royal household and the carriage and hobby stables who had served Queen Elizabeth on her many extensive summer progresses were undoubtedly drawn upon. However, the distances involved in the journey of Anne of Denmark from Scotland represents a more ambitious project than any of the late queen's itineraries, mainly in southern and midland England. The journey from London to Berwick and thence to Windsor was around 700 miles. In addition, horses and a vehicle were sent another ninety-three miles from Berwick to Stirling. Thus, for part of the escort at least, the journey involved almost 900 miles of travel.
- 44 PRO, AO1 2022/1, ff. 12v–13.
- 45 *Ibid.*, ff. 11v–12.
- 46 Figure 2 shows the full set of names of the queen's hosts recorded in the Exchequer accounts of her journey.
- 47 See Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*, pp. 154–6. A scale model of the Boris Gudunov coach, built in 1974, is in the collection of the Science Museum in London. See also Sumner, *Carriages*, pp. 4–5; Smith, *Dictionary of Horse-drawn Vehicles*, p. 46.
- 48 Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*, p. 152. The use of coaches by male members of the royal family increased rapidly after 1603. Prince Rupert of the Rhine drove to the battle of Marston Moor in a coach drawn by six horses.
- 49 Sumner, *Carriages*, pp. 1–2. Detailed evidence of the means of transport employed for long-distance travel by royal ladies before Elizabeth I is scarce. However, the reception in York of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, during her journey to marry the King of Scotland in July 1503, is well documented. See House Books, York, North Yorkshire County Library, B9, 1503–19, ff. 5–7v. The princess travelled in a 'chare wch was apone two palfreys covered wth cloth of gold'. When she departed on 16 July 'hir grace toke hir chare to goo hir viage that night to Neweburgh'. Decades later, when Mary, Queen of Scots, was conveyed by coach the twenty miles from Wingfield to Tutbury, roads had to be widened and bridges made, and the journey took two days; see J. Crofts, *Packhorse, Wagon and Coach: Land Carriage and Communications under the Tudors and Stuarts* (1967), p. 118. Crofts argues that, before 1650, journeys beyond a thirty-five-mile radius around London were rare, exhausting and extremely slow. This assertion may now be in need of some revision.
- 50 There are numerous documentary records of Queen Elizabeth's reception in various cities. Many note that the queen was on horseback. For example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. Warwickshire d. 4 (31431), A List of the Mayors & Sheriffs &c. of Coventry, ff. 21v–22. This records the queen's visit to Coventry in August 1566 and makes it clear that Elizabeth rode on horseback.
- 51 House Books, York, North Yorkshire County Library, B35, 1625–37, ff. 208–11 [21 May 1633]. When the king arrived from Pontefract, on his way to Edinburgh, 'the day being very wett and raynye', he 'kept still in his caroch, as also all his nobilitye, and soe entred into the Cittye'.
- 52 Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*, p. 152; Smith, *Dictionary*, pp. 46, 90.
- 53 See Crofts, *Packhorse, Wagon and Coach*, pp. 18–19. Some of the assertions appear to be speculations, but there is also evidence that roads were rapidly deteriorating as the volume of wheeled traffic grew in the era before the Turnpike Acts began to address the problem.
- 54 W. Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663–1840* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 8; Sumner, *Carriages*, pp. 4–5, notes that in London there were already a few coaches for hire in 1605, but by 1700 there were more than 3,000.



- 55 The extraordinary journey in April, May and June 1613 from London to the Rhineland undertaken by Princess Elizabeth, following her marriage to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, is being reconstructed by the author.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his sincere thanks to the British Academy for the award of a grant (SG29713) towards the costs of the research upon which this article is based. Thanks are also due to Mark Cleary and Stephen Essex for their comments on early drafts of the article.

Address for correspondence

School of Geography, University of Plymouth, Drake Circus, Plymouth, Devon PL4 8AA. *E-mail* mbrayshay@plymouth.ac.uk

