



# A ROYAL VISIT

Henry VIII's stay at Waltham Palace, with his guest  
the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V,  
in June and July 1522



TONY KIPPENBERGER

# Where are we in English history?

1377-1399 Richard II House of Plantagenet

Henry IV usurped the unpopular Richard II, and didn't find it easy hanging onto the throne. But he did manage to leave it to his son...

1399-1413 **Henry IV** House of Lancaster

The king made famous by his stunning victory over the French at the Battle of Agincourt. Afterwards named heir to the King of France!

1413-1422 **Henry V** House of Lancaster

1422-1461 **Henry VI** House of Lancaster

The son of Henry V and Catherine of Valois, the daughter of the King of France. He was the only English King to also be crowned King of France!

1461-1483 **Edward IV** House of York

Edward IV seized the crown from the weak Henry VI. From 1455 until 1485 England was consumed by the long-running and very costly civil war known as the Wars of the Roses.

1483-1483 Edward V House of York

1483-1485 Richard III House of York

Returned from exile to beat Richard III at Bosworth and founded the Tudor dynasty. Became unpopular but rebuilt England after its civil war.

1485-1509 **Henry VII** House of Tudor

1509-1547 **Henry VIII** House of Tudor

**We are here! Between 1509-1522**

Henry VIII is probably England's best known king but what was he really like?

Was he the most Terrible Tudor?

How many wives? Six!



Anne Boleyn...  
"off with her head!"  
Catherine Howard...  
"off with her head too!"  
Sir Thomas Moore?  
"off with his head as well!"

Vindictive "off with all their heads!" in their hundreds...  
Spendthrift Distrustful  
Cruel Paranoid!  
An over-weight, over-bearing autocrat

Certainly not in his younger days!

- ❖ The second son, so probably destined for the Church
- ❖ Proper, conventional religious upbringing
- ❖ Highly educated – fluent in Classical Latin, French and Italian
- ❖ Interested in physics, astronomy, maps and ships, literature and the arts
- ❖ Musically gifted, lute player, song-writer
- ❖ Physically exceptional – horse-riding, archery, tennis, hunting, jousting
- ❖ Charismatic, open-handed and generous



Attributed to Meynart Wewyck - Berger Collection.

# Becoming King when you are 18



Unknown artist Royal Collection

His older brother, Arthur (left), died suddenly in 1502 when Henry was 9 years old and his mother Elizabeth of York died the following year. So he was raised by his grandmother.

In 1508, when he was 16, his father Henry VII confined him to the Palace. His only way out was through the King's own chambers and he was only allowed to use an enclosed park for his leisure activities with a few selected friends.

Henry VII was either desperate to secure the Tudor dynasty by protecting his only remaining son... or he feared that this handsome, popular, athletic youth might be persuaded by disgruntled nobles to lead a rebellion to unseat him! We will never know...

In 1509 Henry VII died and his son, aged 18, was crowned. His coronation was greeted with universal joy and enthusiasm. This story covers the period when Henry was aged 18 to 31 – his early manhood...

## So, how does it start?

**Catherine of Aragon**

**Richard Foxe**

Lord Privy Seal



Johannes Corvus, Corpus Christi College, Oxford

**William Warham**

Lord Chancellor



After Hans Holbein the Younger (1527)



Michael Sittow, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Two trusted councillors... a full Treasury... and a lovely new wife  
 What's not to like... and enjoy?

But there was something else he wanted...  
 to be like the Black Prince or Henry V!

Great English victories like Crecy, Poitiers, Agincourt...  
 I want glory too!



Unknown artist – from illuminated manuscript of Jean Froissart's Chronicles

- After the Battle of Agincourt, Henry V was recognised as heir to the French throne
- He married the King of France's daughter, Catherine of Valois
- Henry V died before the French King and so never became King of France, but their son, Henry VI, was crowned both King of England and later King of France
- After Henry V died, Catherine of Valois married Owen Tudor – so she was Henry VIII's great grandmother!
- **Directly descended from the King of France, Henry believed that France belonged to him!**

# But the times... they'd been a'changing

## EUROPE IN 1509

For more than 50 years England had been self-absorbed by its own civil war

United under the King, France had become a powerful military force

Spain was now united and its ships were bringing back untold wealth in gold and silver from the New World

The Holy Roman Empire – dozens of separate states – was being secured by the Hapsburg dynasty through marriages...

The Ottomans were expanding rapidly into Europe!

The Pope had the power to excommunicate any King!

With so many separate states, held by different countries, Italy was the "sandpit" in which Kings played at war with each other!

# But within 10 years... the old order has changed completely

Henry VIII is aged 28 by 1519

Crowned 1509

Died 1519

Charles I of Spain aged 19 also becomes Holy Roman Emperor Charles V

Francis I aged 20 becomes King of France

Died 1515

Leo X aged 38 is the first Medici Pope

Charles I aged 16 becomes King of Spain

Died 1516

Confined 1516

Died 1513

FRANCIS I

MAXIMILIAN I

JULIUS II

FERDINAND II

JOANNA

LOUIS XII

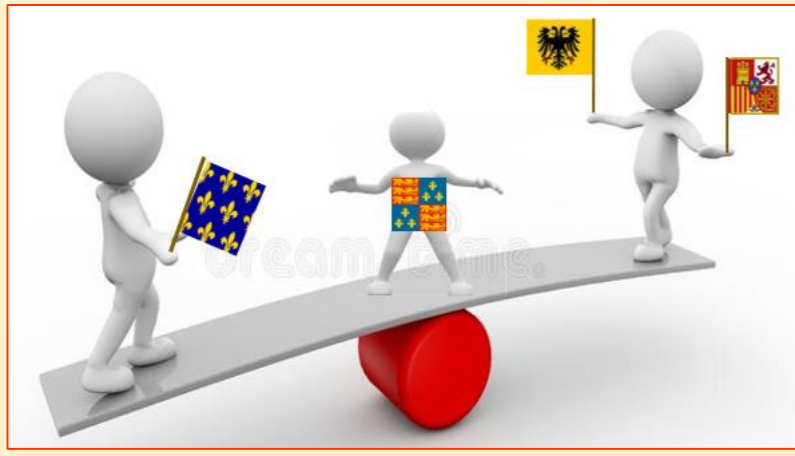
CHARLES I

CHARLES V

LEO X

So a new game of diplomatic chess must begin... Charles, as King of Spain AND Holy Roman Emperor, is the most powerful ruler in Europe, while Francis I of France wants to prove himself, just like Henry!

# Learning diplomacy the hard way!



England had been a key player in European affairs. But 50 years of self-absorption during the Wars of the Roses meant that by the early 1500s Henry had little diplomatic muscle. He would have to build a reputation!



**First try:** In the first year of his reign Henry renewed his father's "alliance" with Louis XII of France. But he then got drawn into an anti-French alliance that included Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian the Holy Roman Emperor. Henry invaded France in 1513 with 30,000 men as his part of the bargain but his partners Ferdinand and Maximilian signed a deal with France without consulting him. He was left feeling betrayed, with empty coffers and little to show for it!



**Second try:** Four years later, Thomas Wolsey had risen to become Henry's Lord Chancellor. So when the new Pope wanted a European Peace Treaty to fight the Ottomans, Wolsey, in a spectacular display of diplomatic skill, persuaded 22 states to sign the "Treaty of London" in 1518. Also known as the "Treaty of Universal Peace", it made Wolsey's name as the key negotiator in Europe.



This put England at the forefront of European diplomacy, drew her out of isolation and made her a desirable ally!



**Third try:** Wolsey lost no time in building on his success and arranged a diplomatic spectacular between Henry and Francis I of France. Held in 1520, it was called the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The



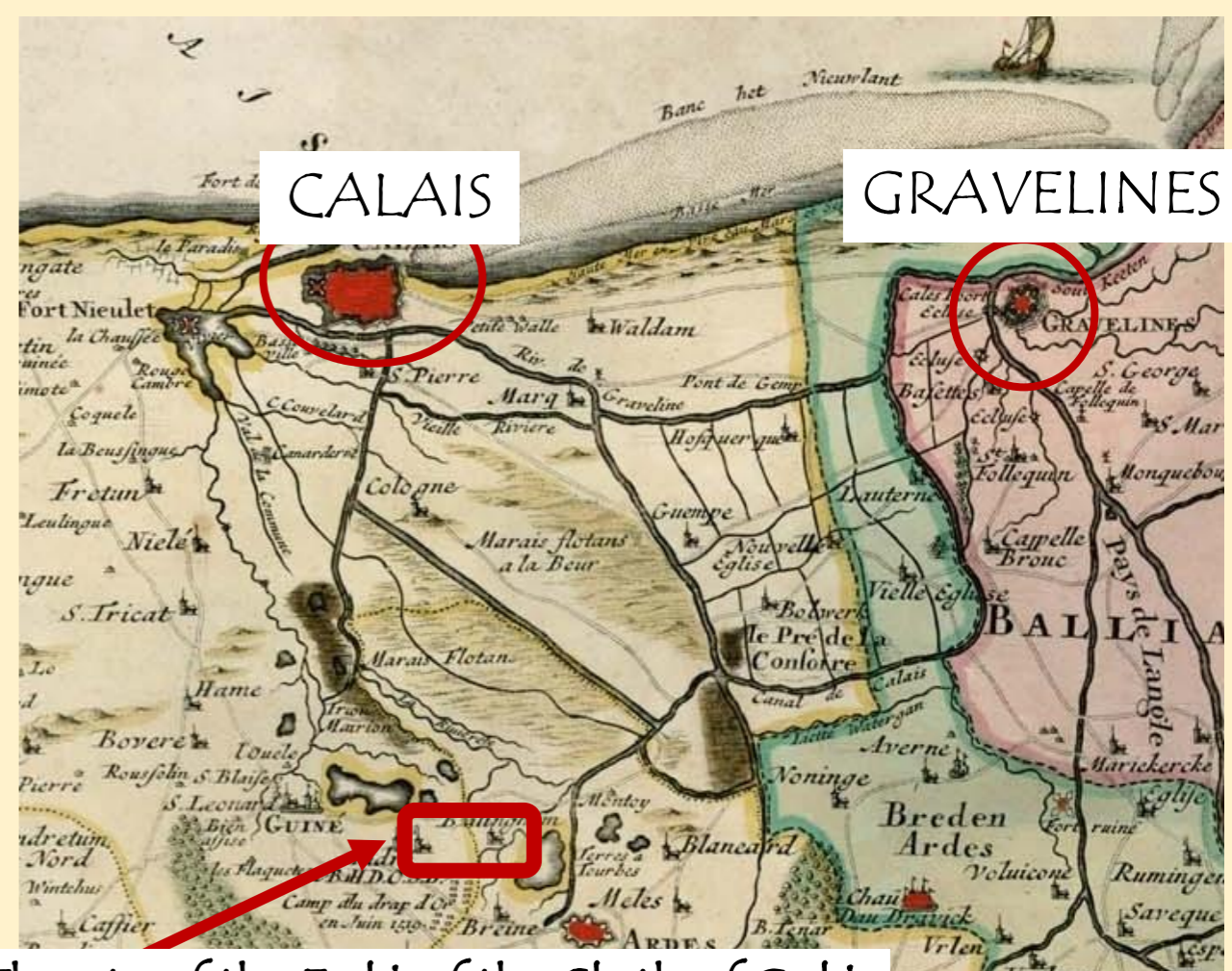
two-week meeting took place on the French border in the Pas-de-Calais. 6,000 workers created a vast tented town – like a giant film-set – on open fields. Henry had a timber-frame Palace erected and covered with painted canvas (see left). He took a retinue of 4,000 people and Queen Catherine brought 1,175 of her court too. Francis and his Queen Claude, who used tents made of 'cloth of gold', brought similar numbers each.

Days of jousting and sports were followed by evenings of entertainment and feasting. Each King sought to impress the other and to display ever more largesse and magnificence. Both Kings swore eternal friendship to the other and peace seemed assured. It became known as the "8<sup>th</sup> Wonder of the World"!



## A fourth try (and a double-cross?)

Within days of this extravaganza ending, Henry met Francis's sworn enemy, Emperor Charles V. The Emperor had been waiting at Gravelines (part of his Spanish Netherlands possessions) only 15 miles away. Henry and Catherine (Charles V's aunt) now entertained Charles and his court in Calais where they made a pact NOT to make any more agreements with Francis! On hearing reports of the meeting, Francis expressed deep betrayal. The following year, 1521, Wolsey met Charles's Chancellor and they signed the **Secret Treaty of Bruges** which laid plans for Charles to visit England in 1522 to form a proper alliance.



The site of the Field of the Cloth of Gold

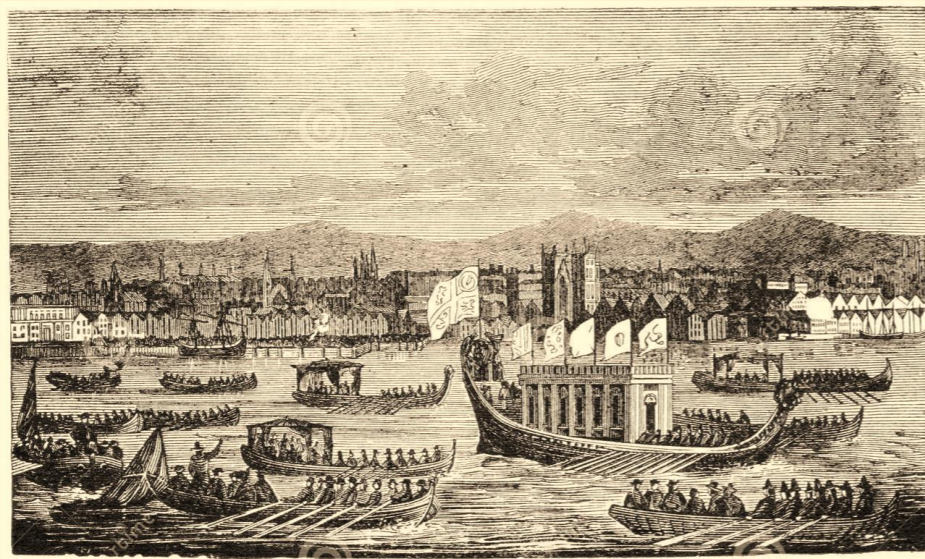
# Charles V's six-week diplomatic visit 1522

One of the six "great occasions of State" in Henry's reign

Charles V arrived at Dover on Friday 26<sup>th</sup> May 1522 with a retinue of about 2,000 people – his closest councillors, nobles from across his domains, bishops, courtiers, court officials, chaplains, and all their servants. In addition he brought his personal physicians, cooks, chefs, household staff, equerries, and many more, with all their servants too! He also brought about 1,000 horses.

He was greeted by Wolsey and was then joined at Dover Castle by the King and his own large retinue. This huge entourage of between 3-4,000 people then began a six-week state visit, travelling across southern England!

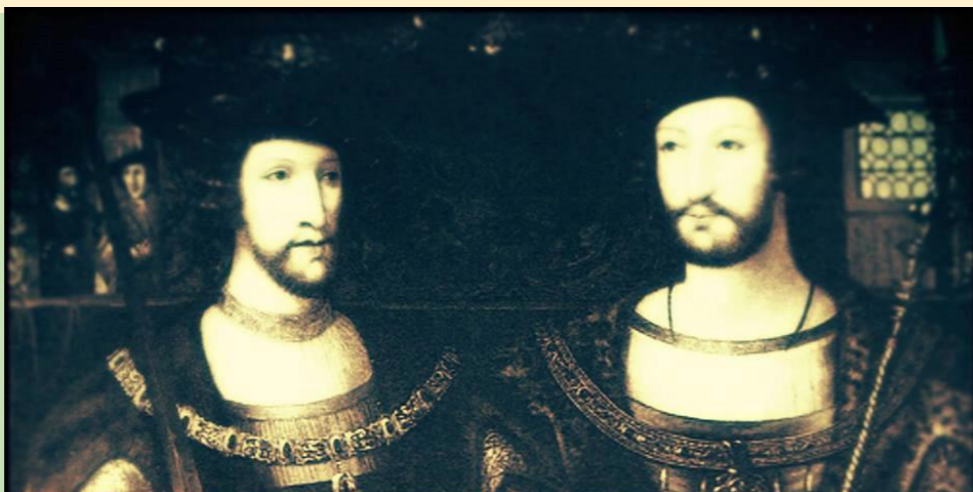
The two huge retinues spend five days travelling through Kent, staying at Canterbury on the way.



On Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> June they arrive at Gravesend where 30 decorated barges transport them up the Thames to Greenwich Palace where Queen Catherine greets them.



On 6<sup>th</sup> June Charles and Henry enter London dressed identically and are greeted by huge cheering crowds.

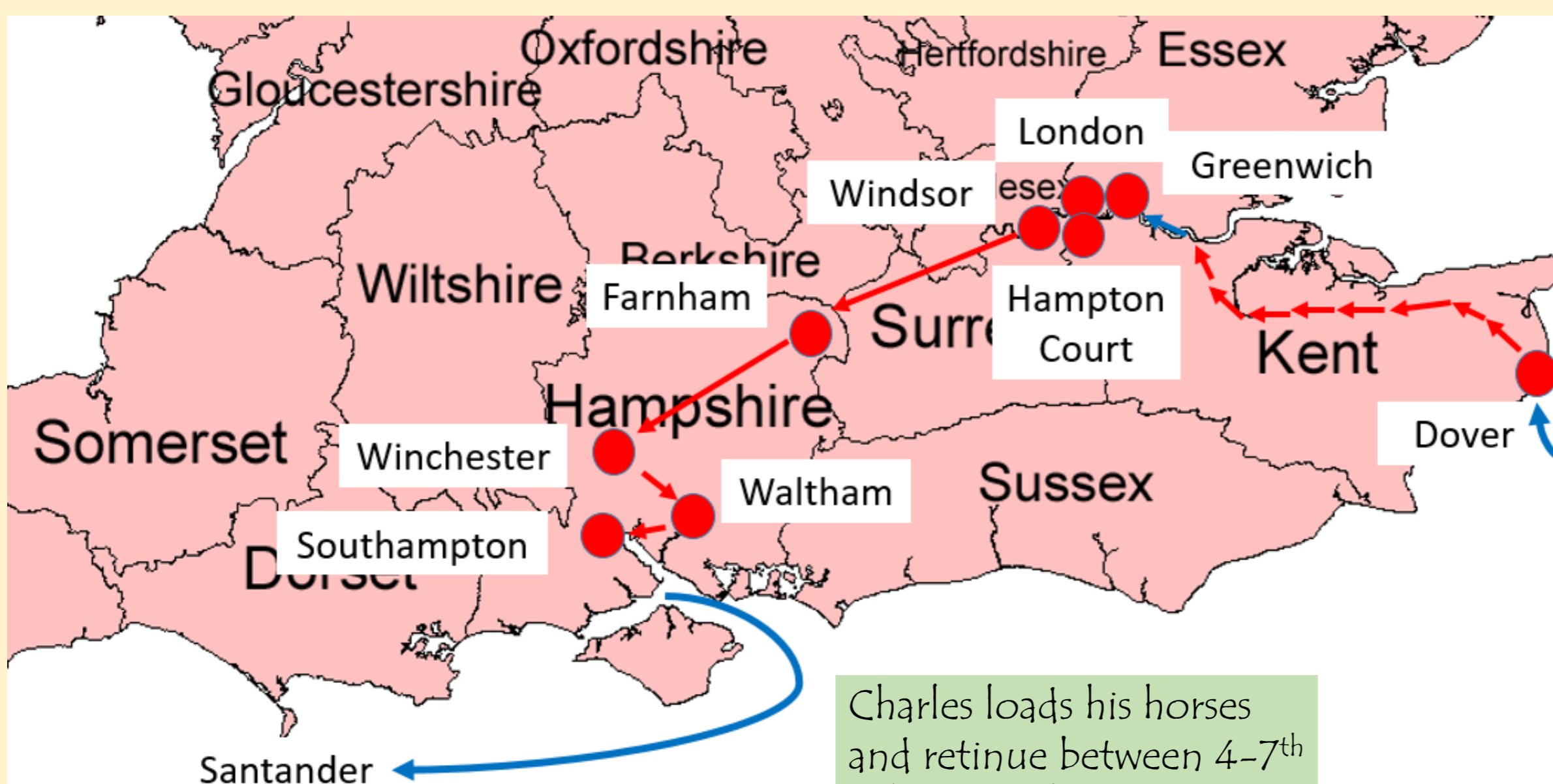


After several days of playing tennis, feasting and entertainment, they all move on to Hampton Court on the 10<sup>th</sup> June for 3 days. Then they move to Windsor Castle where there is excellent hunting but also serious work to be done. Over three days they agree the Treaty of Windsor – a plan to attack France.

From Windsor the two Royal parties move to Winchester Castle where they feast around the "Arthurian" Round Table (specially repainted with the Tudor Rose for this occasion). But the threat of plague cuts short the visit.



So Charles and Henry move on to Waltham Palace earlier than expected. Here they spend 10 days (25<sup>th</sup> June-4<sup>th</sup> July) hunting, feasting and signing the Treaty of Waltham which added vital detail to the earlier Treaty of Windsor.



Charles loads his horses and retinue between 4-7<sup>th</sup> July and sails to Spain

The Treaties of Windsor and Waltham concluded the purpose of the visit – to sign an alliance to invade France and agree dates and military contributions.

# The two Courts came to Waltham Palace in June 1522

The original plan for the visit was to spend some time in Winchester, England's ancient capital. But a threat of Plague made Henry want to move on immediately to the next place on the itinerary: Waltham Palace. He had visited the Palace before, with Queen Catherine, in 1510, 1512, 1514 and 1518, so knew it well – and the excellent hunting it offered.



Hans Holbein the Younger National Gallery of Art, Washington DC



The Palace, owned by the Bishops of Winchester, had been started in the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century and been added to ever since. In early Tudor times it was a beautiful, white set of buildings. Approached from Winchester over the brow of Beeches Hill the entrance route branched off to the right down to Pondsides Lane. With trees cleared to reveal the gleaming white Palace, it would have been an awe-inspiring approach down to the Bishop's Great Pond and the Western Gatehouse.

But how do a King, a Queen and an Emperor with around 4,000 other people, and some 2,000 horses, stay at Waltham?

Each of the two south towers had three high-status apartments and Henry and Charles would have separately occupied these. Other rooms were available above and near the cloister quadrangle.

**But that is only scratching the surface! What do you do with thousands more people?**

The next best lodgings were the 22 double rooms at the north of the Palace. Each had its own entrance and fireplace!



## Widespread dispersal – across southern Hampshire

### The local...

Situated at the halfway point between Winchester and Portchester, Waltham at the time boasted two inns, both in Free Street, one called "The Inne" and the other "The George".



By Tudor times, such inns had several smart rooms for wealthy travellers. These would have been snapped up, as would some of the lesser rooms!

Other important courtiers would have been put up at the houses of the wealthier residents that could provide space both in Waltham and in nearby villages like Droxford, Botley and as far as Alresford.

### The great houses...

The Bishops of Winchester had many residences in the area. The nearest was at Marwell along the narrow track past Durley, but there were others at

Hambledon, East Meon, Bishop's Sutton, Fareham and Merdon Castle (near Hursley).

There were also the Royal castles at Southampton and Portchester, and priories at Titchfield and Netley. All would have housed a good number of guests and most were within about an hour's ride from the Palace.

### Other places...

Large ornate tents, with all the necessary furniture and bedding, would have been pitched on flat ground around the Palace and near the Moors. Lesser folk would have used barns and other farm buildings, the most menial would have used basic bivouac tents.

### Domestic servants...

Most were used to sleeping on the hall and kitchen floors on straw bedding. This would all have to be cleared away early, before the Court awoke!

# Just imagine you'd been there!

On Sunday 25<sup>th</sup> June 1522 it was mid-summer and not yet 4 o'clock in the morning. As the sky first lightened, the old cockerel in the barnyard at the top end of Brook Street stood up, shook his feathers, stretched his body skywards, threw his head forward and began to crow. His call was quickly echoed by others across the upper Hamble valley, waking the villagers of Waltham to start what would be a day of hard labour with little time to rest, but some amazing sights.



As dawn broke figures could be seen making their way toward the huge Palace that was so familiar to them, yet which dominated their streets and cottages with its high, bright white walls. A physical expression of the power of the immensely rich Bishops of Winchester, the lords of the manor. But on this June day, such magnificence would be completely eclipsed by the imminent arrival of England's king, Henry VIII, and his queen, Catherine of Aragon, escorted by an entourage of many hundreds of nobles, bishops and courtiers. And just as dazzling and splendid were the hundreds of dukes, lords, knights and other nobles from as far away as Austria, Spain and Italy who accompanied the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Henry's guest and travelling companion for the past five weeks.

Those making their way out into the dawn had already been busy for the last 24 hours. The combined visit by the court of England's King and that of the most powerful monarch in Europe had suddenly been brought forward because the threat of plague curtailed their stay in Winchester. Around 4,000 people connected to the two courts, including all their servants, belongings and horses were on the move. Many would seek their appointed lodgings in and around Waltham, others would journey on to lodgings elsewhere in southern Hampshire.

By mid-morning those locals who could spare a moment would have watched with curiosity and then astonishment as a huge stream of packhorses, mules, wagons and carts crested Beeches Hill and started down Pondsider Lane toward the west gate of Waltham Palace. When a King's court moved, as they did frequently each summer, much was moved with it. The thrones, beds, gold and silver plate, tapestries and many changes of clothing followed the King and Queen. The Emperor had arrived in England with a similar train who brought their own possessions and court essentials too. They would all have to be unloaded, unpacked and put in their proper place within just a few hours before the two entourages arrived at the Palace.



So while the two courts heard Mass in Winchester Cathedral, their possessions had moved ahead of them to be ready for their arrival. Although many servants travelled with their Lord's possessions, it was the local workers, directed by the Bishop's Steward who knew the Palace layout and what should go where!

By mid afternoon, almost everyone would have watched in awe and wonder as many hundreds of sumptuously dressed noblemen, accompanied by Yeomen of the Guard and the Emperor's own Imperial bodyguard, also descended the hill past the Great Pond to the Palace and the streets of Waltham. Many of "the great and the good" of Europe were arriving, in their hundreds, to stay at Waltham.

These were the monarch's nobles and courtiers, the Gentlemen of the Household and the Ladies-in-waiting, the whole panoply of Royal and Court officers and officials as well as their personal and domestic servants, chefs and cooking staff, their horses and even the King's hunting dogs, in their own special carts. It would have been a sight never to be forgotten for those who witnessed it.



# So what did the locals see and hear?

They changed the plan... they've all come early! When the King's messengers told us, all the Bishop's people and us local folk went frantic getting ready for 'em!



When the baggage train came over Beech's Hill and down Pondsides Lane it seemed to go on forever! Wagons, carts, pack horses, mules – carrying all the royal furnishings, beds and even their thrones. Everything they used! All packed up in coffers and chests and leather bags!

They told us there was two whole Courts together! They say there are 3,000, maybe 4,000, nobles, officials, attendants and servants! And they have 2,000 horses! Mercy me! We couldn't've looked after all of 'em!



Course we never saw all of 'em... lots went off to other places nearby. But those who've stayed will be able to hunt with the King – he loves it here with a huge park, full of deer! And they say the Queen shoots them too – with a crossbow!

Some of the more important ones are staying in The Inne and The George – y'know, the two inns at either end of Free Street. Others are in people's houses in the village and hereabouts. Some are even having to sleep in barns and cowsheds...



There are so many people that they've pitched a whole town of tents alongside the Royal Road to East Mill, by the Moors there. With fire pits and cauldrons at the bottom of Coppice Hill to feed some of them... and cess pits of course!

Queen Catherine has brought all her Ladies-in-Waiting and lots of Maids of Honour. Oooh, they all look so beautiful. Like the wives of some of the Lords who've come too...



The King's brought his whole pack of hunting dogs – in carts! So the Bishop's hounds had to go all the way to Hambledon to stay. Of course his wonderful horses, like the Emperor's, had to go in the Palace stables in the outer court...

Have you heard...? The Emperor has brought his own Cellar Master to cart around the barrels of wine for his nobles. White Rhineland stuff, not like the Frenchie red wines our nobles like!

Have you seen all the sheep and pigs they're driving in, hundreds of 'em! And chickens.. With cartloads of wild birds too...

Yes... and they've both brought all their kitchen staff – dozens of 'em. Cooks of every kind – sauce-makers, pastry makers, vegetable cooks and of course, the Royal chefs themselves!

But look at what they eat! I'm told that in just one day the King's court ate 6 oxen, 8 calves, 40 sheep, 12 pigs, 132 chickens, 7 swans, 20 storks, 34 pheasants, 192 partridges, 56 herons, 240 pigeons... imagine... all that meat, and we just eat vegetable potage!

...And they have to cook three hot meals a day for everyone. God's truth... that must be thousands of meals! No wonder they've made fire pits and bread ovens



And have you seen all the horses? Seven or eight hundred tethered in the fields next the river, above the Great Pond? We've only just cut the hay harvest and they'll eat it all. That'll leave none for anyone else, y'know!

**Fifteen Kings and Queens of England stayed at Waltham Palace, but no visit would have rivalled this one!**

# And the Treaty of Waltham itself...

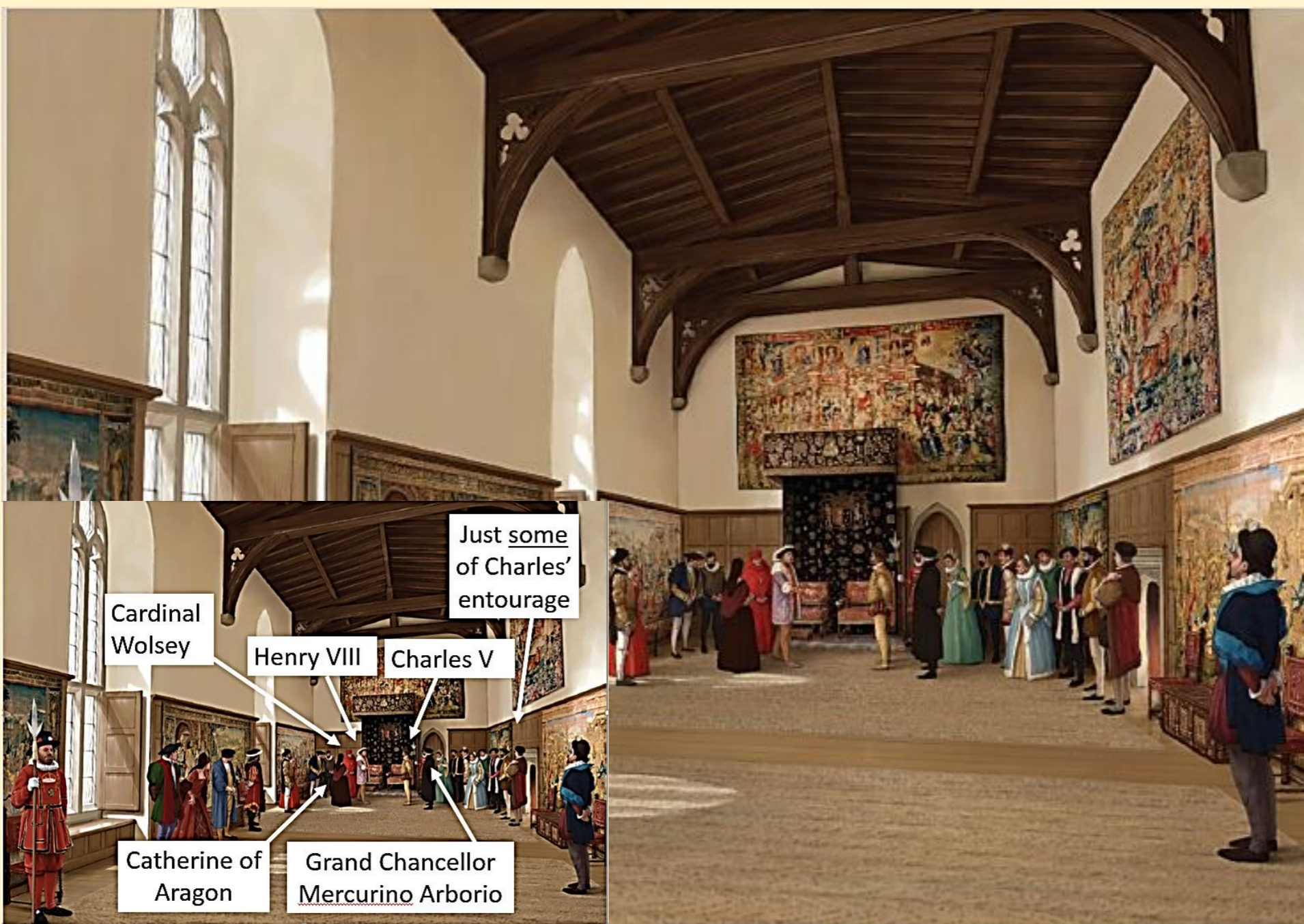
... was signed at the Palace on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1522

But first: the Treaty of Windsor...

This earlier treaty, signed at Windsor Castle on 19<sup>th</sup> June, established a broad set of principles for an alliance between England, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.

At its core was the betrothal of Henry and Catherine's six year-old daughter, Princess Mary, to Charles V – when she came of age.

The Treaty confirmed that before the end of May 1524 Charles would lead an army from Spain into France and Henry would invade northern France. An additional article, inserted at the last minute, postponed this until 1526!



This English Heritage commissioned illustration, by Peter Urmston, shows Henry VIII greeting Charles V in the magnificent Great Chamber at Waltham Palace, before the formal signing of the Treaty of Waltham

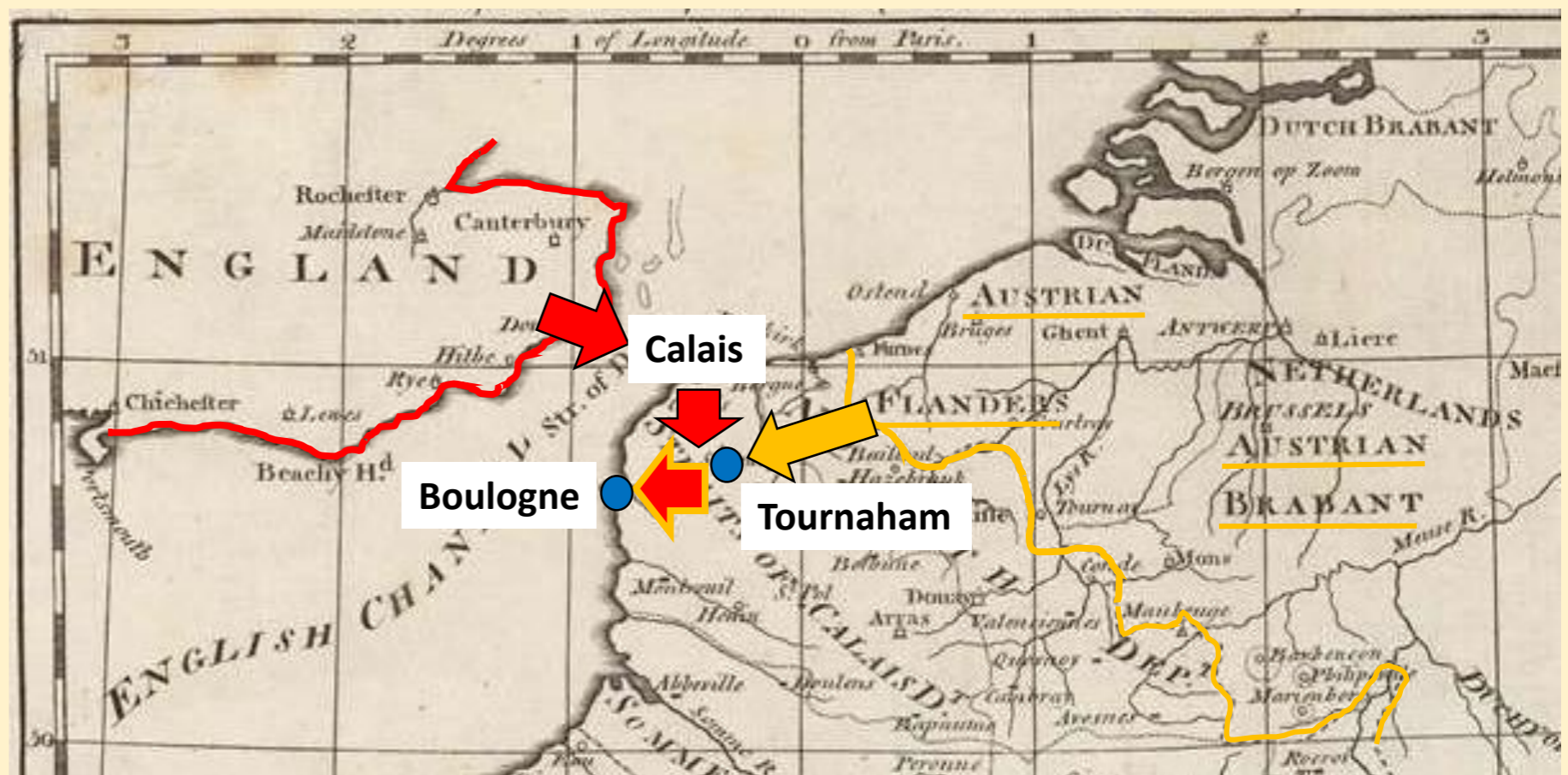
## The Treaty of Waltham

This second treaty, signed at the end of Charles's six week visit, provided much more detail to the alliance's plans. Perhaps most importantly it brought forward the invasion of France from 1526 to 1523. By bringing it forward to the following year, the plans for attacking France simultaneously from north and south had to be abandoned. Under the new Treaty both armies would invade northern France. The points of invasion, the rendezvous and the size and nature of the respective military contributions, as well as the first objective, were defined. Both King and Emperor would personally lead their forces.

In particular, Henry would land at English-held Calais before 1<sup>st</sup> August 1523 with a strong force of foot soldiers, archers and others, alongside two good batteries of artillery. Six days later this army would have marched south and encamped at Tournaham [today Tournehem-sur-la-Hem].

Simultaneously the Emperor would arrive from Flanders with 250 men-at-arms, 1,000 Flemish soldiers and 3,000 German foot soldiers. These to be joined by several thousand Spanish soldiers and 12 pieces of field artillery.

Under the joint command of Count de Buren and the Earl of Surrey, the force would then move to capture Boulogne.



Warfare in this period saw the crossover from arrows to gunpowder

# Waltham Palace: 400 years of Royal visitors (1182-1591)



# A final perspective on Charles's visit

Today state visits by foreign rulers are regular occurrences and are seen as an integral part of international diplomacy. In the medieval period, however, Kings were seen as the very personification of a nation. They did meet with one another, but only at carefully selected sites on the border between their countries. Fearful of kidnap or murder, both parties would be heavily armed and within easy reach of a fortified castle. Deep distrust was the prevailing sentiment. Indeed, in the nearly 500 year period from the Norman Conquest in 1066 until Charles V's visit in 1522 only seven other foreign rulers had stepped onto English soil.

Like his visit, three were carefully orchestrated diplomatic events. In 1207, the then Holy Roman Emperor Otto visited his uncle, England's King John, in search of money, but received little. In 1400, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus spent weeks in England hosted by Henry IV vainly hoping for support to defend Constantinople against the Ottomans. And in 1416 the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund was entertained by Henry V in a failed bid to bring peace between England and France.

Three were involuntary. The first was King David of Scotland who, in 1346, invaded England in support of France during the Hundred Years' War. He was captured when his army was defeated and held as a prisoner in England for eleven years until he was ransomed for 100,000 silver marks. Just before King David's release King John II of France was taken prisoner at the Battle of Crecy in 1356. He was held to ransom in England for eight years until a punitive peace treaty was signed and a ransom of three million silver crowns paid. A later unplanned visit that turned into an extended "diplomatic stay" occurred in 1506 when Philip, Duke of Burgundy and (the about-to-be-crowned) King of Castile was shipwrecked near Falmouth on a voyage from Brussels to Spain. He and his wife Juana were invited to King Henry VII's court where they were entertained but kept until Philip had agreed to sign a commercial treaty that was highly detrimental to his Dutch subjects.

The riskiest visit was in 1179 when a desperate King Louis VII of France arrived unannounced at Dover to pray for the life of his seriously ill son at the tomb of St Thomas Beckett in Canterbury – then the most important martyr's shrine in Europe. Henry II of England, who had paid penance for causing Beckett's murder, felt he had little choice but to welcome Louis and provide food and lodging during his brief three-day visit.

**In other words the 1522 six-week state visit of Charles V was a rare and special occasion and Waltham Palace was a key part of it.**



The July 2022 celebration of the visit of Henry VIII of England and Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, to Bishop's Waltham Palace in 1522 was a collaboration between the Bishop's Waltham Society, the Bishop's Waltham Town Team, and the Bishop's Waltham Museum.

None of it would have been possible without the unstinting work of dozens of volunteers who committed time, energy and a great variety of skills to the project. More than 90 people helped to plan, organise, and administer the event.

**This free souvenir publication is for the non-commercial purposes of informing and educating**

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based on the free exhibition at



BISHOP'S  
WALTHAM  
MUSEUM

Images of the Palace and Treaty Signing © English Heritage

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