

SOME HOUSEHOLD ORDINANCES OF HENRY VI

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THE ordinances printed below are provisions, hitherto unpublished, for regulating the household of Henry VI. The sole copy of them which appears to have survived is to be found in a manuscript in the British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 1, fols. 86a-93b. This manuscript is part of the Burghley Papers, having "descended from Sir Michael Hicke, Lord Burghley's secretary, to his great-grandson Sir William Hicke, who about 1682 sold them to Richard Chiswell, a stationer in London, who again disposed of them to the reverend John Strype, vicar of Low Leighton in Essex. On Strype's decease his representatives sold them to Mr. James West - - -. After Mr. West's death, they came into the possession of Lord Lansdowne." ¹

For both political and financial reasons Lord Burghley was interested in the good order of the royal household; ² and among the items of Lansdowne MS. 1 said to be written in his hand is No. 62 (fols. 197a-201b), which is a hastily scribbled copy of notes of orders for the royal household in the time of Henry III, Edward III, Henry IV, Edward IV, Henry VIII, with the names of various officials of the court in the reigns of these kings. ³ It seems likely that Lord Burghley was responsible for the incompatible headings: "Amongst the petitions offered in parlement in the XXII^lth. yere of K. Henry the sixt is found as followeth" and "Prouisions made for the kynges houshold. 1458". It does not appear probable that the ordinances date

¹ *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1819), p. ix.

² In the "Ten precepts which William, Lord Burghley, gave to his second son Sir Robert Cecil", Book II estimates Queen Elizabeth's annual expenditure, and Part 2 of this book lists the offices, salaries, fees, and perquisites of her household. (F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i (London, 1779), 58-61.)

³ The text of the ordinances of Henry VI is in a fair secretary hand, and may have been copied by an amanuensis.

from 1458, for no parliament was held in that year, and there is no mention of Prince Edward, for whom provision was made in the ordinances of 1454.¹ Moreover, the situation had deteriorated too much by 1458 for the Lancastrian government to have either the authority or the leisure to make ordinances for the reform of the household. In the twenty-third year of Henry VI, on the other hand, a Parliament assembled on 25 February 1445, and Prince Edward was not yet born. In the lists of authorized household staff at the end of the ordinances provision is made for the attendants of a queen, and the newly-wedded Queen Margaret arrived in England in April 1455. Revenues of nearly £6,700 were assigned to her in the Parliament of this year; ² her coming must have increased the need for economy in the royal household and the desirability of new ordinances to promote this object.

For by 1445 the financial position of the Crown was already very grave. The position had been very serious as long ago as 1433 as the statement of the treasurer, Lord Cromwell, to Parliament had strikingly shown.³ The normal revenue had suffered a further heavy fall during the minority, owing in part to the corruption and incompetence of the council and the growing strain of the French war; and the increasing inability of the government to pay its way was reflected in a large and mounting debt—from £168,000 in 1433 to £372,000 in 1449.⁴ This in turn made it more difficult to raise loans and drove up the rate of interest which had to be paid for them—to between 25 and 33½ per cent., according to Sir John Fortescue.⁵ The deepening financial insolvency and confusion was reflected in

¹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. N. H. Nicholas, vi (London, 1837), 233.

² She was later able to dispose of a larger revenue than this. In the only account of hers still preserved in the Public Record Office (D.L.28/5/8) her total income for the year 31-2 Henry VI amounted to £7,563 12s. 0d. Perhaps this increase was due at least in part, to her share in the spoils from the estate of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in 1447. (*Rotuli Parliamentorum* v. 133-5.)

³ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 433-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 43, 463.

⁵ Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England* (ed. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1885), p. 118; K. B. McFarlane, "Loans to the Lancastrian Kings: The Problem of Inducement" in *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1947), pp. 51-68.

the increasing debts of the household, which added to the growing dissatisfaction in the country against the government. For the reign of Henry V¹ and the early years of Henry VI² it could be pleaded that the household had helped to finance the war; but the fact remains that by 1432 fifteen accountants of the household were having to ask in a parliamentary petition for pardon for arrears of accounts as far back as the beginning of the reign³ and by 1433 the debts of the household totalled approximately £11,000.⁴ And as the burden of the French war on the household was lightened, the position grew, not better, but worse. In 1433 the expenses of the household had been estimated about £13,000; by 1449 they were reckoned at £24,000, as against a total basic royal revenue (lyvelode) of only £5,000.⁵ By 1449 the serjeants, gentlemen, yeomen, priests, and clerks of the household were forced to petition Parliament for arrears of wages, overdue by several years and amounting to £3,800.⁶

Attempts were made to remedy this position. Assignments of specified items of revenue were repeatedly made for the expenses of the household,⁷ as had been done in the days of Henry IV;⁸ but as these items had often been allocated already to other purposes or granted away to other persons, this device did not solve the problem of chronic deficits.⁹ As in the reign

¹ Cf. the summary of Miss Eileen de L. Fagan's M.A. thesis entitled "Some Aspects of the King's Household in the Reign of Henry V" in *Bull. of Inst. of Hist. Research*, xiv (1937), 194-5; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, iv (Manchester, 1928), 225.

² The household accounts of the earlier years of Henry VI deal with amounts far higher than those for his later years, and it is clear that much, if not all, of these extra sums were for war expenditure. In the accounts of John Hotoft for 8-9 Henry VI and of John Tirrell for 9-15 Henry VI they are described as "custos garderobe hospicij regis nunc Henrici Sexti ac thesaurarij guerre eiusdem regis" (E101/408/9, 13).

³ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 397.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 436.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 435, 463.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 157-9.

⁷ E.g. *ibid.* iv. 7, 32, 62, 474; v. 7, 58, 63, 70-2, 174-6, 183-99, 217-24, 229, 246-7, 293, 300, 320-1.

⁸ E.g. *ibid.* iii. 528, 548, 579, 586.

⁹ Only a minority of the household accounts are now available, and of these only the smaller part is complete; but where a balance can be struck, the result is either a plain excess of expenditure over receipts (e.g. in the account book of

of Henry IV, the weakness of the monarchy and the widespread discontent with the management of the royal household resulted in repeated demands for its reform. In 1442 the king granted a petition of the commons in parliament that "as many of your Lordes as it pleasith your Highnesse, to have suffisaunt power and auctorite to se establish, apoynte and ordeign, that good and sadde ruele be hadde in and of your seid Household, and that redy paiement in hand be hadde for the dispences of the same Household, in the fourme above said".¹ Perhaps it was partly as a result of this commission's labours that detailed ordinances for the reform of the household were introduced in Parliament in 1445 and apparently received the royal assent.²

In many ways the character of the ordinances resembles that of the household ordinances of both past and future reigns—for example, of Edward II or of Edward IV and Henry VIII.³ There are many detailed provisions designed to prevent waste and peculation; some of these recur in the ordinances of 1478.⁴

Sir John Stourton, keeper of the wardrobe for 30-1 Henry VI the total receipts are £13,248 13s. 2d. against total expenses of £15,976 3s. 0d.; E101/410/9) or a small credit balance, achieved only with the help of subventions from the queen's income (e.g. the account of William Fallan, keeper of the wardrobe, for the period 3 December, 33 Henry VI, to 11 May, 34 Henry VI, shows a credit balance of just over £1,273, but the queen's receiver had contributed £3,668; E 101/410/15).

¹ *Rot. Parl.* v. 63.

² It is true that no royal assent is recorded; but in two places in the manuscript (fols. 88a, 90a) the royal sign manual, R H, appears.

³ The Household Ordinances of Edward II, 1318 and 1323, in T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (2nd ed., Manchester, 1936), pp. 244-84; The Ordinances of 1478, edited by the present writer and to be published in a volume of the Camden Series by the Royal Historical Society; The Ordinances of Eltham, 1526, in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary* (Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp. 137-207.

⁴ Such provisions as (a) That the ushers of the hall are to keep out of the hall at meal times all men except those who have a right and duty there and except such strangers as they think will be for the king's advantage. (A similar rule is to be found in the Ordinances of York of 1318 (Tout, *Edward II*, p. 275).) (b) That no horses are to be maintained within the king's gates but the king's own, and (c) That no lord, knight, squire, court official, or any other person was to have any carriage at the royal expense of their unauthorized private goods.

There are regulations for financial supervision ; and orders for such a purpose are a common feature of household ordinances.¹ The ordinances end with lists of permitted personnel and their proper allowances ; and such provisions can be found in rules for the government of the royal household from the twelfth century to the seventeenth.

But if these ordinances of Henry VI have a family likeness to household regulations of other generations, there are also significant differences. We are given a glimpse of the weak kindness of Henry VI in the concession that all the king's squires and officials who were not on the establishment should have the right to come to the king's court at the five principal feasts of the year, during sessions of parliament and great councils, or even at the "coming of strangers", if they could persuade one of the chief officials of the household to authorize it.² The royal improvidence necessitated a provision that if the king should order any additional charges for his household, he should also find the money for them, and that if any privy seal or other warrant were directed to the officers of the household, telling them to undertake any charge not allowed by the establishment, they should disregard such a warrant.³ We are reminded of a very injurious feature of the government of Henry VI when we read that no lord, knight, nor squire, nor any other person, was to try to persuade the king or any household official to find a household post for a friend or dependent, to the overburdening of the establishment of the household and the prejudice of its good order, until the proposed appointment had been considered by the counting-house.⁴

If this ordinance was ever effective, it did not remain so for long. In 1453 the king's first attack of madness began, and in consequence a Great Council was held in 1454. One of its measures was to cut down the size of the royal household to 424 officials and servants for the king, 120 for the queen, and 38 for the prince ; nevertheless the numbers remained greater

¹ E.g. dealing with the perennial question of abuse of purveyance, against which the Commons petitioned in this same Parliament (*Rot. Parl.* v. 103).

² See below, p. 458.

³ See below, pp. 458-9.

⁴ See below, p. 457.

than were contemplated by the ordinances of 1445.¹ The Council composed a preamble to the ordinances of 1454 and gave as one of their chief reasons for making them that the king had before his illness been fully determined to reform his household and to set up and establish therein such rules to be observed, both in number of persons, and otherwise, as had been used "of olde tyme";² if true, this would show that even before 1453 the king had become dissatisfied with the adequacy of the ordinances of 1445.

But as the king recovered his wits about Christmas, 1454, the ordinance of that year probably remained effective for a far briefer span than its predecessor. In July 1455, the chancellor, Archbishop Bouchier, in revealing to Parliament the reasons for its summons, declared that the first cause was "to establish an ordinate and a substantiall rule for the Kynges honourable Household, and to ordeigne where redy paiement shall growe for th' expenses of the same". A committee of lords was therefore appointed to consider its management;³ but if it suggested any remedies, they were unsuccessful, for soon afterwards we find a chronicler complaining that the king was still in debt although he "helde no householde ne meyntened no warres".⁴ By this time the Lancastrian government was too weak and too preoccupied with the struggles which were shortly to lead to its downfall to have time and energy to spare for household reform.

That very important task—to combine the efficiency necessary for financial solvency with the magnificence essential for political prestige—could not be successfully tackled until the monarchy had regained its strength. Under the Yorkists, and

¹ Ascribed by the Society of Antiquaries' edition of 1790 (Household Ordinances, pp. *15-*24) to the year 1455, this ordinance was correctly dated by Sir N. H. Nicolas and more accurately printed in *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vi (Record Commission, 1837), 220-33. The household of the king remained about the same in size in 1454 as it had been in 1445; but the queen's household was doubled by 1454, and the prince's staff was, of course, additional.

² *Ibid.* vi. 220.

³ *Rot. Parl.* v. 279.

⁴ *An English Chronicle, 1377-1461*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Society, 1st ser., 1856), p. 79.

especially after 1471, there began the revival of the importance of the royal household in the administration of the realm, an importance which was to reach its height in the days of the early Tudor.¹ In and after 1445 the government of Henry VI was too weak and impecunious for the ordinances then made to be effective; but they are nevertheless of interest for the history of the great age of household administration which was to follow. They had evidently not been forgotten in Yorkist days, and some of their provisions were incorporated in Edward IV's ordinances of 1478. By his reign, as the Black Book of the Household of Edward IV shows, the counting-house was clearly established as the controlling authority of the household in accounting, an authority which it was to retain for centuries to come,² and the greatest officials of the household were already, as they were always thereafter to remain, the steward and the chamberlain. This is a striking contrast to the ascendancy of the wardrobe as the accounting authority in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the importance of the keeper and controller of the wardrobe in those centuries. In the ordinances of 1445 the counting-house is plainly the financial superior and auditor of the household accountants; and its managing personnel, consisting of steward, treasurer, controller, and cofferer of the household, two clerks of the accounts, and clerk controller, is already that of Yorkist days.³ This transformation had started as long ago as the reign of Richard II; but the first household regulations to show the newer pattern as clearly established are the ordinances of 1445.

¹ The importance of the household in early Tudor days, outlined by A. P. Newton's "Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household" in *Tudor Studies presented to A. F. Pollard*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London, 1924), pp. 231-56, has recently been demonstrated in much greater detail by W. C. Richardson's *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547* (Univ. of Louisiana Press, 1952) and G. R. Elton's *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (C.U.P., 1953).

² Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 247, n. 42, and the preface to the P.R.O. manuscript catalogue, "Summary of the Records of the Lord Steward (Board of Greencloth)".

³ Cf. below, pp. 456-9, 462, and *Household Ordinances*, pp. 65-8 *et passim*.

LANSDOWNE MS. I

DOCUMENT No. 37

f. 86a

Amongst the petitions offered in Parlement in the xxiiiith yere of K. Henry the Sixt is found as followeth.

Prouisions made for the kynges houshold. 1458[sic].

First, that al the lordes, knyghtys, squiers and other yeue into the countynghous the names of the nombre of her seruants after the appointment, and that they leue no men behinde hem for keeping of her chambre after there departinge fro courte and that they haue no dyners out of meles ayenst the old rule of courte.

Also, that the usshers of the chambre come dayly with her recordes to the countynghous of the expens of the kynges chambre, and that he that recordith sette his name in his recorde for this intent, that yf so be that they doo any excesse that it may be seen who is most wastfull. And whatsoever be fette for the kynge, that is to sey, in the offices of the pantrie, buterie, celer, picherhouse, spicerie, and chauderie, or in any other office, that it be fette by the usshers and that they recorde it. And that they recorde no thing in her recordes but such as is spendid in the kynges chambre.

Also, that the officers of the wardrobe and of the vestiariie trusse noon other mannys harneys in ther offices undir colour of the kinges but the kynges owne.

Also, that the marshall of the halle suffre no lord ne other persone that haue men syttyng in the halle by appointment to haue mo sittinge therein but after the appointment. And that they dayly set no straunger in the halle but suche as they thenken by there discrecions ben for the kynges worship. And that they come in there owne persones dayly to the countynghous with there recordes and that they sette nothing in her recordes but such as is spendid within the halle, and that they sette there names in ther recordes to the entent that it may be seen hoo doth best his deuer. And that they comaunde nothings out of the halle to no man, but to straungers if any come to court out of melys and that in the absence of the soueraignes, and that it be set in her recordes, and that the ordre of sittinge in the halle be kept aftir the old custume.

Also, that the usshers of the halle kepe out of the halle dore all men at mele tymes but suche as shoulde come in of deute and strangers such as they thynten by there discrecions ben for the kynges worship. And yf eny be sette at mete without the marshall that they take hem up, and that they kepe the halle that no persone bere out noone almes.

f. 86b

Also, that the offices of the panetrie, buterie, seller, and all other offices, bene kept that no man come not in hem, nouthir to mete ne soper ne at non othir tyme, but such as bene ordeyned therto. And that the officers of the seid panetrie, buterie, and seller deliuer to no man nether breade, ale, ne wyne by the comaundement of the usher of the chambre and marshall of the halle, but if it be to straungers out of mele tymes in the absence of soueraignes, and that noon of this said officers deliuer neither breue upon no man more than they deliueren after the forme of appointment and that is truly spendid to the kynges worship. And that the butiller abrooche non ale into the tyme that it be seyne by the countrolloures clerke and the prise made.

Also, that the clerk of the spicerie deliuer nothinge that longeth unto his office unto no man but after the forme of appointment, and that he spend nothinge that longith to his purueance unto the tyme that the countrollour or oon of his clerkys haue seene yt and the prises, to wite whethir the prises bene resonable or noone.

Also, that the clerk of the cechyne and the maister cokes taken hede that ther be no waste do by them in there offices ne by noon othir undir hem, and that euery man of the seid office go to the halle at her meles but such as ben ordeyned the contrarie. And that the countrollour or oon of his clerkys with the seid clerk of cechynne se that non of the seid officers haue no fees in ther offices but suche as haue bene of old tyme acustumed, and that noon of them take no mete out of the cechynne, neither for hem self ne for noon othir, but by deliuerance by suche as haue the gouernaunce. Also, that the clerk of cechyne sette the nombir of messes both of the chambre, the halle, and the liueres dayly in the panetrie rolle, and the ussher of the cechynne suffre no mannys man ne other persone to come into the cechynne but such as ben of the office self.

Also, that the sergeantes of the squillerie, saucerie, and picherhouse diliuer no vesselle, pottes, ne cuppes to no man, but liuere vesselle to such as shuld haue of deute, as they shulden haue warnynge out of the countinghous.

Also, that the porters of the yate ne suffre no vessell, pottes, cuppes, torches, no botell of wyne passe the yate, ne fees of the/cechynne ne of the panetrie f. 87^a unserched; ne that they suffre no straung man come in at the yate, but such as they thenken by there discessions be for the kynges worship, and also pore men for to come in for hir paymentis at the kynges remeuinge. And also that they lette euery squier and sergeant haue in a man at the yate, and euery two yemen a man, and euery foure gromes of the chamber a child and no mo without speciall comaundement of the stuard by aduyse made in the countynghous; and that they comen dayly summe at oon mete summe at an othir into the halle to mete.

Also, that there be no hors logged withinne the kynges yates but the kynges owne, and that the sojourne be logged fro the kynges court v mile at the leste; and that there be no man kepe mo horse at the kynges cost then be appointed ne that noon othir officer haue no hors standing amonges the kynges.

Also, that no manner of man that longen to the kynges courte kepe neither children, dogges, ne ferettys withinne the kynges court, but aftir the forme of appointment.

Also, that no lord, knyghte, no squier, ne noon othir persone, labour neither to the kyng ne to the stiward ne to noon officer of the kynges for charging of non officer in non office unto the tyme that thappointment be seine in the countynghous, to the entent that no mo such inconuenient of excedinge of officers be not founde in the kynges house her after, and that it may be sene by good aduys what personnes shallen so come into office, there good rule and abylyte.

Also, that no maner lord, knyghte, ne noone othir persone, haue no cariage of the kynges cariage ne of the countre, but of her owne, ne that no maner of officer trusse no mannys harneys in ther offices among the kynges cariage but the kynges owne.

Also, that all the wyne the which is graunted as wel by the kyng our souueraigne lord that nowe is as by his noble progenitours to diuers houses of religioes in perpetuall almesse, and to diuers persones terme of there liues, and to diuers

officers by cause of there offices and the wages of the mwes [mews], with all such othir foreyne expenses, be sett in thaccompt of the tresorer of houshold in/ a parcell by it self, so that it may clerly appere what is expended withynne the houshold.

Also, that all purueiours and yemen of the stable lese her wages and her horsmete when they be out of court, but yf so be that they be in the kynges seruice, and that the auenar recorde yt truly in his dayly accompt; and that noon of hem ete in the halle dayly but such as be appointed.

Also, that the porter of the kynges chambre kepe the light and the wode that he fecchith for the kynges chambre, and that he yeue away noon to no man; but yef any leue in his keepinge that it be kept and spendid to the kynges vse.

Also, that the aumener se that euery man haue his seruice, that is to sey, euery messe in the halle haue a lof, euery two messe a gallon of ale at mete, and euery iij messe a gallon of ale at soper, and euery iij messe of gentilmen dim' pitcher of wyne, and euery v messe of yemen dim' pitcher of wyne at both meles, and that the gromes and chamberleyns haue none. And that he bring into the countynghouse a recorde of the seid seruice, and also of what rewardes the mareshall setith in the halle. And also that he se the pottys both of wyne and ale ben fylled as the mesure woll, and that he suffre no maner of man to giue away his mete that should go to the kynges almesse.

Also, that all maner of the kynges squiers and surpluse of officers excedinge the nombre of appointemente mowen resorte to the kynges courte at the v festes of the yere, at parlamentes, grete counsell, or for comynge of straungers, and at othir tymes necessarie after the case requireth, by the discrecion of the stiward or of sume of the soueraignes of the kynges house.

Also, that the styward or on of the soueraignes seen that these persones that shullen go to her houses excedinge the nombre of appointment shullen be such persones as hauen owthir fees or offices of the kynges yeft, and tho that shullen abide bene such as hauen lest or nought of the kynges yeft.

Also, that all the huntys that noon of hem be in court but euerith of hem aftir ther sesons, and as son as their sesons be do / that they go fro court. And as for the tyme that they be in court that her wages for bouch of court be rebatid in the certificate made by the tresorer of houshold by the aduyce of the controller of [sic] unto the priue seale for her warantes for her payment as the statutys of houshold wollen.

Also, that in all the places that the kyng resortith unto that ther be parker, keepers of beddys, gardiners, as such other foreine officers haue no liuere of the court ne bouche of courte but only the keepers of the placys. And in cas be that any such keepers be of the kynges hous and haue bouch of court, that they haue no such liuere.

Item, that all maner of prystes auanced to the summe of xl li. be yer, euery squier hauinge xl li. yerly of the kynges yefte, and eche yeman that hath xx marc yerly of the kynges yefte, shullen haue no dayly wages in his chekerrolle.

Item, that no sergeant of the kynges house put into his office be his owne auctorie no page without the aduyce of the stuard or of oon of the soueraignes of the kynges house for the tyme beinge.

Item, if the kyng comande any owteward chargis into his household mo than ben appointed, that than hit shall plese him of his noble grace for to ordeyne

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money for all such charges ; or ellis yf there be any priue seall or other warrant direct vnto the officers of the seid houshold comaundyng them with ony maner of chargis in the houshold our the appointemente, that than the said officers for the tyme beinge shullen haue auctorite by these present ordinance not for to obey hem.

Item, be it ordayned for the kynges profite that all his grete horse ordayned for to be at sojourne nowe from hens forward sojourne to gidre yn a certayne place, to be limited after aduys and discrecion of the styward and tresorer of the houshold, and not in diuers places as it hath ben vsed before this tyme.

R.H. Prouisions which be semene necessarie for the kynges houshold.

First, that no payment be made in payment nor in taille by the tresorer or cofrer or clercks of the grene cloth but openly in the countynghouse beinge present the stuard or countroller.

Item, that euery quarter of the yere the stuard sitte in the countynghouse and se the estate of the houshold, that is to say, all that is owinge that / tyme, f. 88b to thentent that of such goode as there is in honde in money, taylles, or assignementis, payement maye be made to the creditours in the sergeantries be thause and discrecion of the stuard and the officers.

Item, that none officer of the kynges house, of what estate or condicions that he be, nor officer's clercke nor seruant, from the hiest to the lowest, by him or any mesne persone to his behoue any taille, obligacion, or assignement of any creditour, vpon peyne of to be putte oute of his office and the kynges seruice for euer.

Item, that at euery yeres end the tresorer of the kynges houshold delyuer the names of all the creditours to whom any goode is oweinge in his office and the summes due vnto hem, and wherfore, to the stuard or the countrollour of the kynges house, to thentent that the kyng mowe yerly knowe his estate and by the auisse of his consaille ordeine for contentinge of the same creditours.

Item, that all the purueours and acatours for the kynges housholde be made in the presence of the stuard, tresorer, and countrollour of the kynges houshold, and be thaire aduys ; and that such as shall be named or taken thereto be sobre and peisible men, and men of good sufficeance and power, such as wyll se that the purueance and acate to be made by thayme be duely made for the kynges worship and profite, and in such wyse that the grete clamour had afore tymes vpon purueances and acates made for the kynges household mowe cesse. And that such purueours be not chaunged withoute grete and notable cause, and that in the presence abousesaid, and that euery such purueoure and acatour afore his admyttinge to such office make his othe in manere and fourme folowinge : —That he shall truly, justely, and egally, withoute oppression of the poore or fauor of the riche, obserue and vse his commission and occupie his said office, to the most profite and behoue of the kyng and eschuyng of the hurt of his people, and yn especiall that he shall obserue and keepe thynges that folwene. That is to say, that he shall nothings take vppon him to do be any depute in any place there as he shall make any achate or purueiance be force of his commission or office. And that he shall before thenne he any such achate or purueiance make or any good take of any persone, before the constable or other officer hauing

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rule or auctorite / there, and before the people there openly shewe and make to be redde his commission. And that neither for affection nor fauour of any persone ne for receyuinge of any reward or good, ne for hope to resceyue any good, he shall forbere to take yn due manere mesure for the kynges [sic] there as shall mowe take, ne for euyll wyll or hate of any persone, nor to thentent to hurte or to compelle any persone to doe any thyng to the assiethyng or to the fulfillinge of his owne or of any other persons pleisir, nor to auenge his owen or any other persons displeisir, take stufe or vitaille belonginge to his achate or purueiance of any of the kynges subiectes nor vndre colour of his office anythynges take to the behoue of himself or of any other persone, saue only of the kyng and his houshold. And that the prouision, swich as he shall make or take yn any manere of thinges, he shall withoute any sale thereof or chaungyng or applyinge to his owen or to any othir persones profite truly withoute fraude or male engyne or lessinge therof bryng hit or make it to be brought to the vse of the kyng and of his houshold, and make a treue and full certification thereof to the kynges countynghous by writyng, describenge clerly all the parcels of his achates and purueiaunces, and the pris, and the persones names that the said parcels be taken of.

Also, that all pardons to be graunted to any of the sergeantes of the kynges houshold for any thinge wherof they shall stand chargeable yn their said offices be examined by the stuard and the hede officers of the kynges houshold before any suyte to be made therefore to the kyng, to thentent that the kyng mowe be clerely enformed of the causes which shulde moeue hym to graunte hem or not graunte hem. And yf any thyng be done in the contrarie hereof, that it be of non effect but stand for naughte and void and of none auaille.

Also, that the tresorer of Ingland for the tyme beinge first pay and preferre in payment the payment and contenting of the expenses of the kynges household of the reuenues of the roialme as well as of wardes, mariages, voydance of byshop-ryckes, abbes, prioures, forfaitures, eschetes, and all other casuelties, commodities and profitz of the roialme afore any payment to be made to any other persone. Alwey forseyne that be the strength of this ordinaunce or act no preiudice be done to the kynges justices of the oone benche nor of that other, nor to none other justice of assise, nor to the kynges seriantz of lawe, nor to his atourne in his courtez, nor to non acte or ordinaunce touchyng them made in the parliament holden / atte Westminster the xvij yere of the kyng our soueraigne lord that nowe is or to any other of the kynges justices, or to any graunte or assignement made to any persone afore this present parlement, nor that any persone be hurte nor preiudiced in any wise of his right, his freehold, his enheritance, office or fee, wages or rewardes, for his entendances to the kynges counseiles, nor of any other fee be the strength of this act or ordinance.

And if any officer abouesaid do the contrarie of the said article or any of hem, he to lese his office and to be putte out of the kynges hous forever.

¶ h

Vne duke	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{j chapelain} \\ \text{iiij escuiers} \\ \text{ij valetz} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mangeant en} \\ \text{le sale. ij} \\ \text{liueres pur} \\ \text{sa chambre} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \right\} \text{et pur}$ $\left. \right\} \text{la nuyt}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ij pains} \\ \text{j pitchere de vine} \\ \text{ij gallons de} \\ \text{seruoise} \end{array} \right.$

f. 89b

HOUSEHOLD ORDINANCES OF HENRY VI 461

Le confessour
du roy

{	j chapelain	}	mangeant en la sale. j liuere pur sa chambre
	j escuier		
	j vallet		

}	et pur la nuyt	j pain
		j pitchere de vine
		j gallon de seruoise

Chapelleins pur
la roy

Oue le confessour et son chapelain soient deux auters chapelains seculers assignez, et prendrent pur tout la nuyt demi pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise.

Le chamberlain
del hostelle

{	toutz ces gentz mangeant en la sale, et liueres pur sa chambre
	se doyt bien gouverner pur doner as autres ensamble de soy contenter de moderatz costagez en lostielle.

iiij cheualiers,
keruers, et
cupberers

{	chescun ne escuier	}	et pur la nuyt
	et j vallet mangeant en la sale. j		
	liuere pur sa		
	chambre		

}	j pain
	j pitcher de vine
	j gallon de
	seruoise

Le secretarie

{	j escuier	}	mangeant en la sale. j liuere pur sa chambre
	ij clerkes		

}	et pur la nuyt	j pain
		j pitcher de vin
		j gallon de
		seruoise

iiij phisiciens
et surgeons

Lasmoigner

{	souz asmoigner	}	mangeant en la sale et pur la nuyt
	j vallet		
	ij clerkes pur		
	garder lasmoigne		

}	j pain
	demi pitcher de vine
	j gallon de seruoise

Le dean de la
chapell

{	j escuier mangeant	}	et pur la nuyt
	en la sale, et		
	j liuere pur sa chambre		

}	j pain
	demi pitcher de vine
	j gallon de seruoise

Les autres chapelleins
de la chapell entre
eux toutz a nuyt

{	j pain	}	et soient chapelleins et clerks xx en nombre, enfantz pur la chapell vij, valletz du vestiaire ij.
	j pitcher de vine		
	i gallon de		
	seruoise		

Pur la chambre du roy soient
assignez xij cheualiers dont
soient vj overt les officers
continuelment demurantz
en la court, qe tantsole-
ment prendront liuere des-
quex

}	chescun auera un chambre mangeant en la sale; pur la nuyt

}	j pain
	demi pitcher de vine
	j gallon de
	seruoise

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Et sil ne soit as iours de }
 festez, ne serront en la }
 court plusours qe vj }
 dez xij cheualiers sus- }
 dictz }

iiij escuiers pur la corps soient habergez }
 ensemble, et preignent a nuyt . . . } j pain
 et sils soient autrement } demi pitcher de vine
 habergez, chescun preigne } j gallon de seruoise
 solonc lafferant }

iiij vsshers pur la chambre, preignantz liueres }
 come les escuiers pur le corps, desquex }
 vshers soient deux en la court continuelment }

j assewer et }
 j surueour } preignent liuere come lez escuiers de la corps.

viiij escuiers pur la chambre } et prendrent iiij pains, et iiij
 dont j assewer pur la chambre } gallons de seruoise

iiij Herlaultz

iiij messagers

ij valletz vsshers pur la chambre

xxiiij valletz pur la chambre, des queux soient xij continuelment en la court qe
 continuelment soient entendantz a la persone de nostre dit seigneur le roy
 quant il doit chiuacher

ij valletz pur les robes de queux lun pelter, j page, j grome

j vallet pur les lectes, ij gromes, j page

vj garcons pur la chambre, des queux j pur lez arcus

iiij pages pur le chambre

vj henxmen pur le roy

xij memstrealx oue le gaite

j sergeant, j vallet, j grome pur larmorie

Le gardein dez mewes

v valletz fauconers, chescun a vjd., des queux vn contrebener

vj porteurs, chescun a ijd

xx faucons, chescun a jd

ij cheens, chescun a ob

f. 91a

Pur le Countynghous

Le seneschall } toutz lour gentz mangeant en la sale, et liueres pur lour chambre,
 Tresorer } se doivent ben gouverner pur doner a autres ensample de soy
 Counproller } contenter de moderatz costagez en lostiell

Le coffrere

ij clerckes dez accomptz

j clerk countrollour

j clerke de souz luy

j sergeant

j messenger

j grome

j page

Pur la sale

j cheualier vssher	}
Le cheualier mareschall	
Le cheualier herberciour	
iiij mareschalx	
j sergeant vssher	
ij assewers	
ij surueours	
xij escuiers pur la sale	
iiij valletz vsshers	
iiij garcons	
ij pagez	

Pur ma dame la royne

Countesse	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>ij dauncelles</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j chambriere</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>ij escuiers</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>ij valletz</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	ij dauncelles	}	{	j chambriere	}	{	ij escuiers	}	{	ij valletz	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>mangeant en la salle,</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j liuere pur sa</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>chambre</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	mangeant en la salle,	}	{	j liuere pur sa	}	{	chambre	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>et pur la nuyt</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>come pur un conte</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	et pur la nuyt	}	{	come pur un conte	}
		{	ij dauncelles	}																										
		{	j chambriere	}																										
		{	ij escuiers	}																										
{	ij valletz	}																												
{	mangeant en la salle,	}																												
{	j liuere pur sa	}																												
{	chambre	}																												
{	et pur la nuyt	}																												
{	come pur un conte	}																												

Baronesse	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>ij dauncelles</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j escuier</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j chamber</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j vallet</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	ij dauncelles	}	{	j escuier	}	{	j chamber	}	{	j vallet	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>mangeant en la salle,</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j liuere pur sa</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>chambre</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	mangeant en la salle,	}	{	j liuere pur sa	}	{	chambre	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>et pur la nuyt</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>come pur un barone</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	et pur la nuyt	}	{	come pur un barone	}
		{	ij dauncelles	}																										
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{	j vallet	}																												
{	mangeant en la salle,	}																												
{	j liuere pur sa	}																												
{	chambre	}																												
{	et pur la nuyt	}																												
{	come pur un barone	}																												

ij dames, chescun	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>j dauncell</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j vallet</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	j dauncell	}	{	j vallet	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>mangeant en la sale,</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>et j liuere pur sa</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>chambre</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	mangeant en la sale,	}	{	et j liuere pur sa	}	{	chambre	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>en pur la nuyt</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>come pur un</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>bachilier</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	en pur la nuyt	}	{	come pur un	}	{	bachilier	}
		{	j dauncell	}																							
{	j vallet	}																									
{	mangeant en la sale,	}																									
{	et j liuere pur sa	}																									
{	chambre	}																									
{	en pur la nuyt	}																									
{	come pur un	}																									
{	bachilier	}																									

f. 91b

vj dauncelles pur ma dame le[sic] royne de lesqueles eiant trois chescun	}	j seruant mangeant en la sale sanz autre liuere
--	---	--

ij chamberers
ij lauenders

Le chamberleyn de la royne	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>j escuier</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j vallet</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	j escuier	}	{	j vallet	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>mangeant en la</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>sale, j liuere</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>pur sa chambre</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	mangeant en la	}	{	sale, j liuere	}	{	pur sa chambre	}	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>et pur la nuyt</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>come pur un</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>dez keruers</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	et pur la nuyt	}	{	come pur un	}	{	dez keruers	}
		{	j escuier	}																							
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{	pur sa chambre	}																									
{	et pur la nuyt	}																									
{	come pur un	}																									
{	dez keruers	}																									

Chapelleins pur la royne	<table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>j confessor</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j chapellein seculer</td><td>}</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>j clerk du closet</td><td>}</td></tr> </table>	{	j confessor	}	{	j chapellein seculer	}	{	j clerk du closet	}	mangeant en la sale
		{	j confessor	}							
		{	j chapellein seculer	}							
{	j clerk du closet	}									

Keruers et cupberers pur la royne	. . . . .	ij	
Secretarie pur la royne	. . . . .	j	
Vssher pur la royne	. . . . .	ij	
Asshewers pur la royne et sa chambre	. . . . .	ij	
Escuiers pur sa chambre	. . . . .	iiij	
Mestre de chiuax	. . . . .	j	et liuere come un dez escuiers pur la corps

Henxmen . . . . .	. ij	
Vssher vallet . . . . .	. j	
Valletz de la chambre	viiij	dont vn pur lez robez et j pur lez litez
Garcions pur la chambre	iiiiij	dont vn pur lez robez et j pur les litez
Page pur la chambre . . . . .	. ij	

Paneterie { j sergeant
iiiiij valletz
iiiiij gromes
ij pagez

92a Wafrere { ij wafreres
j gromes

Le pistrine { j sergeant
ij valletz pistours
ij valletz purueiours
j clerk
j vallet pur la bouch du roy
iiij boulters
j gryndere
ij pagez

Le seller
et le
botillerie { j sergeant
j vallet pur la royne
ix valletz
viiij garceons
iiiiij pages

Le spicerie { j chief clerk
iiij valletz, dez queux soit vn clerk
ij garceons
ij pagez

f. 92b La chaunderie { j sergeant
ij valletz
iiiiij garcions
ij pagez

La cusine { j cheif clerk
iiiiij sergeant pur la cusyne
ij soubz clerces
x valletz, dez queus ij pur le bouche du roy et j pur le bouch
du royne
viiij garcons, dez queux j pur le bouche du roy et j pur le bouch
du royne
viiij pagez, dez queux j pur le bouche du roy et j pur le royne

La larderie	{ j sergeant iiij valletz j clerk iiij garceons iiij pagez
La caterie	{ j sergeant iiij valletz j clerk iiij bouchours ij portours de la bocherie j pastour et son seruant j cariour dez pik
Fyshers	{ j vallet j garcion
Fureters	{ j vallet j garcion
La pultrie	{ j sergeant j clerk j vallet j garceon iiij purueours iiij soutremen ij pagez
La squillerie	{ vne sergeant iiij valletz v garceons iiij pagez iiij portones
La salcerie	{ j sergeant j vallet j clerk iiij garceons iiij pagez
Napperie et eawerie	{ j sergeant iiij valletz iiij garceons ij pagez
Lauenders	{ j vallet j garcion ij pagez

La porte	{	j sergeant iiij valletz ij garceons j page	
Herberieurs	{	j sergeant ij valletz j clerk	
Scaldinghouse	{	j vallet j garceon j page	} pur le celler du roy
Pur le stable du roy	{	iiij dextrers vj bastardz xij coursours xij trotters viii palfreys	

vj pur le chariot

xij pur somers pur le chambre

Pur lez chariotz	cxxvj	chualx	}
pur le mestre dez chualx . . . . .	. ij	chualx
pur le aueigneur . . . . .	. ij	chualx
pur le sergeant du cariage . . . . .	. ij	chualx
pur le ferour . . . . .	. ij	chualx
pur ij clerk del aueignerie . . . . .	. ij	chualx
pur le garnere . . . . .	. ij	chualx
pur le vj purueours . . . . .	. vj	chualx
pur iiij ferours	iiij	chualx	
pur vn palfrey et vn purueour ij	chualx	
pur vn seller j	chivalx	
pur vn wheller j	chiuall	

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Someres	{	pur le closet j
		pur le panetrie j
		pur le seller et botillerie ij
		pur le spicerie et chaunderie ij
		pur le larder . . . . .	. j
		pur la squillerie . . . . .	. ij
		pur le saucerie . . . . .	. j
		pur lesmoignerie . . . . .	. j
		pur les liures du roy . . . . .	. ij
		pur le ferour . . . . .	. ij
pur le countinghous . . . . .	. j		
pur lewerie et napperie . . . . .	. ij		

GLOSSARY

Abrooche	= broach, pierce a cask
acates } achates }	= purchases, provisions, especially of meat and fish
afferant	= assignment, allowance
arcus	= bows
asmoigner	= almoner
assewer	= sewer, an attendant at the meal who superintended the arrangements of the table, especially the high table, and the tasting and serving of the dishes
aveigner	= avener, supplier of oats or fodder
bastardz	= cross-bred horses
bouch(e)of court	= court rations, allowances
boulters	= those who sifted out the bran from the flour
chevalier } herberciour }	= knight harbinger
cheens	= chiens, dogs
chivacher	= chevaucher, to ride
dextrer	= destrier, charger, battle-steed
dauncelles	= young ladies
escuier	= squire
ferour	= blacksmith, ironsmith
garceon, garcion	= groom
gaitte	= guette, watch or wait
haberger	= to lodge, accommodate
herberious	= harbingers
herlaultz	= heralds
lauender	= laundress, washerwoman
lectes, litez	= beds
memstrealx	= minstrels
pelter	= skinner
pistrine	= bakehouse
portones	= porters
prystes	= prests, advances of money, loans
rebatid	= reduced, subtracted
seruoise	= ceruoise, ale, barley-beer
soutremen	= sumptermen, men who looked after pack-horses
someres	= pack-horses
surueour	= an officer of the royal household who superintended the preparation and serving of the food
valet, vallet	= yeoman
vestiaire	= vestiary, vestry