

THE HOUSEHOLD OF QUEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU, 1452-3

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THE Account Book printed below is of particular interest for at least two reasons: for the light it throws on the financial and political situation of the time and for the information it gives about the organization of the queen's household in the fifteenth century. It is of especial value, since the form in which it is constructed and the unusual wealth of detail that it provides make it more informative than the other extant household accounts of this century. But its worth is increased by the fact that so few of the household accounts of the fifteenth-century queens of England have survived. There are only two accounts of Queen Joan extant, none of Queen Catherine, no other of Queen Margaret, and only one of Queen Elizabeth Wydeville¹; only one of these is the account of a queen-consort—Elizabeth—and not merely of a queen-dowager, and none is both as balanced and as informative as this account of Queen Margaret.

¹ (a) Queen Joan's household accounts both dated from the reign of Henry V when she was only a queen-dowager, living comfortably but in captivity: Exchequer Accounts 406/30 for the period 1 October to 15 December 1419, and Rylands Latin MS. 238 for the period 17 March 1420 to 7 March 1421, published by the present writer, *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY* vol. 24, pp. 263-84; vol. 26, pp. 82-100

(b) Queen Elizabeth Wydeville: Exchequer Treasury of the Receipt, Misc. Books No. 207. This account was transcribed by a former pupil of the present writer, Mr. D. H. Jones, M.A., in an unpublished thesis, entitled "A Household Account of Queen Elizabeth Woodville" and presented to the University of Liverpool in 1949.

One may also mention here the account of the household of Queen Elizabeth of York for the period 24 March 1502 to 3 March 1503 (Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Misc. Books 210, published by N. H. Nicolas in *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, London, 1830). This account illustrates the point made above; that Queen Margaret's account best combines balance and information. Queen Elizabeth's account-book gives particulars of daily expenditure and supplies more details of costs than Queen Margaret's; but its information about receipts is comparatively slight, and the account as a whole is less balanced and digested in form.

Mrs. M. A. Everett-Wood briefly drew attention to its interest and value as long ago as 1846¹; but it does not appear to have been used by any of the biographers of the queen and has hitherto remained unpublished.

It is well known with what degree of poverty and financial disorder the Lancastrian monarchy was struggling by the reign of Henry VI; yet the resources provided for his queen were on a lavish scale from the first. In 1433 Lord Cromwell, the Treasurer of England, had estimated the net income from the crown lands at only £8,399 19s. 11d.²; and Mr. A. B. Steel has calculated that in the 1440's the average amount of cash actually reaching the Exchequer each year was only £9,907 11s. 7½d.³ Yet a sum of £5,129 2s. could be provided to bring Henry's bride into England in 1445;⁴ and next year parliament was induced to assign as her dowry £3,000 a year from the Duchy of Lancaster and £3,666 13s. 4d. a year in cash from other sources.⁵ It is true that this total of 10,000 marks was based on precedent. Queen Joan had received a dowry of this sum on her marriage to Henry IV in 1403⁶, and a dowry of the same amount was guaranteed to Queen Catherine by the Treaty of Troyes, which added that the queens of England were wont to enjoy such a dowry.⁷ But in the

¹ M. A. Everett-Wood, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain*, i (London, 1846), 97-9.

² *Rot[uli] Parl[iametorum]*, iv (London, 1777), 435.

³ A. B. Steel, *The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 216-34.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 23,938, "Compotus Johannis Breknoke et Johannis Euerdon de expensis domine Margarete Regine venientis in Angliam", fol. 62; *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth*, ed. J. Stevenson, i (London, 1861), 448.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.* v. 118-20. £2,000 was to come from Duchy of Lancaster estates assigned to her, £1,000 from a cash annuity to be drawn from Duchy of Lancaster estates, and £3,666 13s. 4d. from customs, the Duchy of Cornwall, and the royal Exchequer.

⁶ *C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls]*, 1401-5, p. 213; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 532.

⁷ Clause 3 of the Treaty of Troyes reads: "Item, concordatum est, quod praedicta carissima Filia nostra Katherina percipiet & habebit Dotem in Regno Angliae, quemadmodum Reginae Angliae hactenus percipere & habere consueverunt, videlicet, ad Summam Quadraginta Millium Scutorum annuatim; quorum Duo semper valeant unum Nobile Anglicanum" (T. Rymer, *Foedera*, etc. (Hague ed. 1740), iv. 2, p. 171). For the contemporary English version of this clause, see *ibid.* p. 179.

fourteenth century “ £4,500 was the total often regarded by the convention of the time as a suitable dower ”¹ for the queen consort ; and in any case to fix the dowry in 1445 by traditional standards was a luxury which the royal finances could not afford. Margaret’s successor, in a reign when the finances of the Crown were being restored to a healthier state, seems to have enjoyed a dowry of only about £4,750² in nominal value.

To be assigned a dowry of 10,000 marks was, however, one thing ; to succeed in collecting this amount was a different matter. It has been said that in the fourteenth century “ there was often grave discrepancy between the nominal value of the queen’s possessions and the amount which actually reached her coffers ”³; and this is particularly true of Queen Margaret’s household. This account includes many items where she claims revenue but nothing has in fact been received for the year under review. Her income should by now have reached £7,000 a year ; for on the sudden death of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, at Bury St. Edmunds in 1447, Margaret shared in the spoils of his possessions by taking an additional annuity of 500 marks from the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁴ At first sight her income for the year 31-32 Henry VI might appear to have not only equalled but exceeded this, for the total receipts amounted to £7,563 12s. 1d. But apart from the fact that £52 16s. 2d. of this was from a source not included in her dower,⁵ the sum of £2,808 19s. 10½d., forming part of the “ regular ” income, was arrears from previous

¹ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, v (Manchester, 1930), 281. As the essay in this volume on “ The Queen’s Household ” is not by T. F. Tout but by Professor Hilda Johnstone, this source will henceforward be referred to as *Johnstone I*, to distinguish it from her second essay on “ The Queen’s Household ” in *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, vol. i, ed. J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940), which will be designated *Johnstone II*.

² Jones, *op. cit.* p. 12.

³ *Johnstone I*, p. 282. Queen Catherine’s income fell considerably short in fact of the 10,000 marks promised to her ; a valor of 1432 shows a gross income of only £5,098 16s. 7d., or about 6,540 marks net income (R. Somerville, *A History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (London, 1953), 208).

⁴ *Rot. Parl.* v. 133 ; cf. Rymer, *op. cit.* v. 1, p. 170 (24 February 1447).

⁵ Queen’s gold, to be dealt with later. See below, pp. 85-86 of the introduction, and fols. 8b-11a of the text.

years.¹ Moreover, many items were not received until after Michaelmas, 32 Henry VI, when the account was supposed to close.² The queen's revenues were thus by no means in such a healthy state as they seem at first sight. The total is both shrunken and swollen; shrunken by the lack of many items which her officials claimed but could not collect, and swollen by the inclusion of many items which should have been paid in a previous year—or, in a less important class, by forestalling revenue which should have been left to the following year's account.

The income of the queen's household was still derived from the same sources as in the fourteenth century. Then, the queen's revenues had come from dower lands, from supplementary grants in cash, and from queen's gold.³ Each of these sources is still to be found in the account of Queen Margaret's household. First place is given to the income from her dower lands. In the Parliament of 1445-6 lands estimated to be worth in all £2,000 were assigned to her from the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster—especially the honours of Tutbury, Leicester, and Kenilworth, lands in Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, London, and Surrey, and the southern parts.⁴ Many of these lands had been part of the dowries of fourteenth-century queens, and some were to be included amongst the dower lands of Margaret's successor.⁵ The revenue from these lands seems to have come in comparatively well, a fact which will not surprise us, for the receiver-general

¹ £2,662 were arrears from the customs of Southampton, and £146 19s. 10½d. from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall (below, fols. 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b). The arrears stretched as far back as the 25th year of Henry VI (fol. 6a).

² One item was not paid until 5 July, 32 Henry VI (below, fol. 1a); and although this was a special case, since the receiver in question (Robert Whitgreue) had died during the year of the account and the money had to be extracted from his executors, there are many other instances where the items were not received until January, February, March, or April, 32 Henry VI (below, fol. 1a-6b *passim*). No doubt they were included, nevertheless, to make the account solvent, since the expenses totalled £7,539 15s. 4¾d. (below, fol. 21b).

³ *Johnstone II*, p. 253. For a definition of queen's gold see below, p. 85. References to treatises by William Prynne and William Hakewill on *Aurum Reginae* are to be found on p. 263 of *Johnstone II*.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.* v. 118-19.

⁵ E.g. the High Peak, Haverford, Rockingham, Odiham, Gillingham, Plessaunce, Sheen, Queenhithe, Havering-at-Bower, Hadley, Radwell, etc. (*Johnstone II*, pp. 254, 258, 260; E36/207, fols. 1a-7b).

of the queen's revenues, William Cotton, was also the receiver-general of the Duchy. According to a long tradition, going back to 1354,¹ the receiver-general was also the treasurer of the queen's household.² The auditors of the account were also Duchy officials (one of them, John Walsh, being a Duchy auditor) and were therefore well placed to know whether the queen was receiving all her income from the Duchy. The Act of 1445-6 had also provided for a cash annuity of £1,000 from Duchy of Lancaster revenues; and this, too, seems to have been paid promptly.³

In contrast to this efficient payment from the Duchy revenues is the dearth of income from a source granted to Margaret in 1447, the revenues of the earldom, shire, and lordship of Pembroke.⁴ According to an inquisition of 20 May, 29 Henry VI, this source should have produced a net income of £400 2s. 8d.; but although it had been assigned as part of the queen's dowry, it was taken into the king's hands by the act of resumption of 1450 and had been granted to Jasper, Earl of Pembroke.⁵ The king promised that the queen should receive all arrears of income from the earldom of Pembroke, and assigned to her other revenues in compensation⁶; the manors and feefarms from which they are to come are named in this account.⁷ But nothing had been received from them for the year under review, nor had the queen had any of the arrears of revenue from the earldom of Pembroke which had been reserved to her.⁸

Besides allocating revenues from the Duchy of Lancaster to her, the Act of Parliament of 1446 had assigned to the queen £1,000 from the customs of Southampton, £1,008 15s. 5d. from the issues of the Duchy of Cornwall, and £1,657 17s. 11d. from the royal Exchequer.⁹ None of these sources had proved satisfactory to her, however. The revenue from the customs of Southampton seems to have slipped four years into arrears, and to have been paid in full for only one of those years.¹⁰ The inadequacy of this source was largely due to the fact that

¹ *Johnstone I*, p. 252.

² Somerville, *op. cit.* pp. 209, 399; below, fol. 1a.

³ Below, fol. 5a.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.* v. 260b.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 260b-261b.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 261b-262a.

⁷ Below, fol. 8a.

⁸ Below, fol. 2b.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.* v. 120.

¹⁰ Below, fols. 5a, 6a, 6b.

parliament had in 1457 given priority to the payment of £20,000 from the customs of Southampton to the king from Christmas, 29 Henry VI, to Christmas, 31 Henry VI, with the result that she had received nothing during this period. Therefore it was enacted in the Parliament of 1453-4 that she should have the arrears of the £1,000 annual grant, and that in future this sum should be a first charge on the customs of Southampton.¹ The payments from the Duchy of Cornwall had been no better. Most of the sums due had remained unpaid, and of the £1,008 15s. 5d. owed for the current year the queen's treasurer had received only £386 19s. 8½d.² But the most difficult source of all seems to have been the royal Exchequer. Over a period of four years, 28-32 Henry VI, it should have provided Queen Margaret's household with £6,631 11s. 8d. According to this account it had furnished her with merely £1,037 5s. 1d. for the year under review, and then not in ready cash but by the method of tallies or other assignments on the issues and profits of various manors, lordships, and fee-farms.³ The royal revenues were by this time in such a bad state that it would be extremely surprising if William Cotton had not found many of the tallies wholly or partially worthless, because the particular item of revenue had already been paid out to another creditor ; and such proved to be the case.⁴ For the many uncollected items of the queen's revenue, her treasurer could only record the claims for the current and previous years, in the rather forlorn hope that the Exchequer might be able to pay the outstanding balances in future years. The unhappy experiences of Queen Margaret in her attempts to collect assignments on royal revenue may have helped to convince the government of Edward IV, in its effort at financial retrenchment and reform, that it was better not to make any grants of this kind to the queen. At any rate Queen Elizabeth's sole surviving account-book shows no revenue, or claims for revenue, from such a source ; though her receiver apparently succeeded in collecting a much higher proportion of her smaller nominal income.⁵

¹ *Rot. Parl.* v. 258b-259b.

² Below, fol. 6a.

³ Below, fol. 8a.

⁴ Below, fols. 6b-8a.

⁵ Apart from the claim made by both queens to queen's gold, Queen Elizabeth Wydeville's income appears to have been drawn entirely from lands and

Both queens, like their fourteenth-century predecessors, maintained their claim to queen's gold, "a sum accruing automatically to the queen consort when anybody entered into a voluntary obligation or fine with her husband, reckoned at one-tenth the value of such fine, but payable in addition to it".¹ Queen's gold had long been hard to collect, partly because those liable to pay it were sometimes unaware of their obligations, partly they were often unwilling to make this further payment in addition to their fine, and partly because it was not easy to draw the line between voluntary and compulsory fines. This prerogative, probably as old as the reign of Henry I, had needed watchful attention in the reign of Henry II²; fourteenth-century queens had met with much opposition to their claims³; and in the next reign it was to be regarded as an intolerable imposition.⁴ But whereas there was to be delay in payment of queen's gold in only two cases in Queen Elizabeth Wydeville's household account,⁵ in that of Queen Margaret most of the items of queen's gold actually received had been paid after a delay not only of months but of years, and in the great majority of instances it had so far been impossible to exact any payment.⁶ This section of the account, on the 'Aurum Reginae', confirms the impression derived from

fee-farms. Her total actual income for the year 6-7 Edward IV was approximately £4,540 (the treasurer did not add up the items of revenues, but the auditors made the total £4,540 18s. 11½d., E36/207, p. 17) as compared with the £7,500 collected by Queen Margaret's receiver; but, as was pointed out above, nearly £3,000 of Queen Margaret's income for the year 31-32 Henry VI consisted of arrears, whereas nearly all the payments to Queen Elizabeth's household seem to have been for current income.

¹ *Johnstone II*, p. 263. Cf. the definition given in Queen Margaret's account (below, fol. 8b).

² *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1950), pp. 122-3.

³ *Johnstone I*, p. 226; *Johnstone II*, pp. 263-4.

⁴ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, p. 208 and note on p. 430.

⁵ For queen's gold from William Canynges Queen Elizabeth had had to wait only a few months; for the payment from the Prior of Bridlington there had been a delay of about 18 months (E36/207, p. 15; *C.P.R. 1461-1467*, pp. 433, 496).

⁶ Payments of queen's gold included in this account had arisen from fines made to the king more than five years earlier (e.g. below, fols. 9a, 10a); and unpaid claims were included on fines made as far back as 1445 and 1446 (below, fols. 8b, 10a). Of the fifty-nine claims recorded in this account, forty-three remained unpaid.

earlier sections of the receipts, that the queen's servants were experiencing great difficulty in collecting her revenues, but displaying tenacity (probably by her orders) in maintaining her claims to them. The number of claims for queen's gold, and the length of time over which Margaret's treasurer was pursuing them, contrast markedly with the fewness of the claims included in Queen Elizabeth Wydeville's account and the brief period which they cover.¹ This tenacity is in keeping with what is already known of the Queen. Whenever the arrangements for the queen's dower had to be altered, care was taken to try to ensure that she should not lose by the change²; and numerous instances are to be found of the reservation of income to the queen when royal revenues were assigned to the royal household or acts of resumption were passed.³ A study of Margaret's revenues confirms the impression of her as a woman eager for power and ever watchful to gain and to keep all the income she could,⁴ especially in view of the difficulty she experienced in collecting many items of her nominal revenue. In 1449 we find her securing a parliamentary confirmation of a royal licence to her to ship wools elsewhere than to Calais⁵; but if this, or any other money-making schemes, brought in any additional income, it did not help the finances of her household in the year reviewed in the account.

As the income of Queen Margaret's household is typical in its weakness of the revenues of the Lancastrian monarchy in this period, so the outgoings are characteristic in their lavishness. The liberality of the expenditure where Queen Margaret was concerned had been in evidence even before she reached England. The estimates for the cost of bringing her to England included provision for fifty-six ships to transport her and her household, and

¹ Queen Margaret's account includes fifty-nine, stretching back nearly eight years (below, fols. 8b-11a); Queen Elizabeth's account has only eleven claims (all but one of which were paid, compared with forty-three remaining unpaid in Queen Margaret's account) and none goes back further than two years.

² Cf. *Rot. Parl.* v. 133, 139, 164-5, 260-2, 300.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 139, 143, 146, 158, 159, 175, 184, 218, 229, 232, 244, 246, 247, 250, 254, 264, 268, 289, 294, 302, 303, 330, 363.

⁴ Doubtless her appreciation of the value of money had been enhanced by the experiences of her childhood and adolescence—the impoverishment of her parents and the careful financial management of her guardian and grandmother, Queen Yolande of Aragon.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 146, 150.

her escort was to include five barons and baronesses, thirteen knights, forty-seven esquires (each with his own valet), eighty-two valets, twenty sumptermen, and others.¹ The actual cost, which included not only conventional household expenses, such as food and wages, but items such as the payments of 23s. 4d. to seven trumpeters, and of 65s. 4d. for transporting a lion (given to her at Titchfield, to the Tower of London), exceeded the receipts by nearly £500.² To end accounts with a deficit was to be characteristic of Margaret's finances.³ Nor was this by any means the only considerable expenditure incurred on the strength of inadequate resources for her arrival into England. The sum of £7,000 was, for example, taken from a half-fifteenth granted in the Parliament of 1445 to pay off debts incurred for jewels and clothing for the queen's coronation⁴; and the king's council ordered large sums to be spent on building for the queen's arrival, as, for instance, erecting a new hall with scullery, saucery, and serving place at Eltham Palace, rebuilding the gatehouse at Sheen and walling the garden there with brick, repairing the Great Chamber, the Queen's Lodging, the Parliament Chamber, and the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace, and constructing a coronation scaffold in Westminster Abbey. Yet we find William Cleave, clerk of the works, who had just supervised the construction of a new kitchen at the Tower of London and a new drawbridge there, petitioning the council because so far he had received no payment, and his workmen had not had their wages.⁵

¹ Stevenson, *op. cit.* i. 463-4.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 23,938, fol. 21a, correctly states the total cost at £5,563 17s. 5d. Stevenson, *op. cit.* i. 460 gives a figure of £5,573 17s. 5d.; but this is £10 too much, as may be seen by adding the "superplusagium" (debt due to the treasurer) of £434 15s. 5d. to the receipts of £5,129 2s. 0d.

³ As was shown above, her household account for the year 31-32 Henry VI has a small surplus only because it includes nearly £3,000 which should have been included in previous accounts. The five surviving accounts of her treasurers of the chamber and keeper of the jewels reveal considerable deficits (E101/409/14, 17; E101/410/2, 8, 11, for the years 24-25, 25-26, 27-28, 30-31, 31-32 Henry VI, for which the respective deficits were £31 12s. 3d., £931 18s. 7d., £786 9s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., £234 7s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and £540 15s. 4d.). The account for 31-32 Henry VI (E101/409/11) is to be published by the present writer in a later number of the BULLETIN.

⁴ Rymer, *op. cit.* v. 1, pp. 141-2.

⁵ N. H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1837), vi. 31-2.

It is therefore not surprising to find in Margaret's household account for the year 31-32 Henry VI that in spite of the financial difficulties of the monarchy, expenditure was on a lavish scale. Some of the items were probably essential such as the wages of the household staff, their expenses while on duty, the cost of materials for drawing up the accounts—pen, ink, parchment, paper, red wax, green cloth, boxes—and so on.¹ But we also find other items which are not routine expenses. Richard Bulstrode was paid £25 9s. 0d. for materials and wages for a "disguising" at the manor of Pleasaunce at Christmas; a Venetian merchant received £73 12s. 6d. for cloth, silk, and gold; Matthew Philip, a goldsmith of London, was owed £125 10s. for jewels and goldsmith's work.² These, however, are small items compared with the £566 13s. 4d. provided for the queen's privy purse, the £733 16s. 5d. paid to Edward Ellesmere, treasurer of her chamber and keeper of her jewels, and the £2,073 5s. 8¼d. delivered to John Norris, keeper of her great wardrobe.³ It is true that the queen was spared the large expense which she had two years later, when she gave £3,668 to shore up the tottering finances of her husband's household⁴; but her total household expenditure of £7,539 15s. 4¾d. seems to have been higher than the usual outlay of fourteenth-century queens, and it was much greater than the cost of her successor's household.⁵

The interest of the expenditure section of this account does not end, however, with the light it throws on the scale of the queen's spending. It is of especial value for the unusual information it affords of the organization of the queen's household at this time. The arrangement of the account is not by any means entirely unconventional. The statement of receipts is similar in form to that in the account of John Forster, receiver-general of

¹ Below, fols. 12a-18a.

² Below, fols. 18b, 19a.

³ Below, fols. 20a, 20b, 21a. The expenditure on Queen Elizabeth Wydeville's great wardrobe for 6-7 Edward IV was only £209 13s. 9½d.

⁴ E101/410/15. Account of William Fallen, treasurer of the royal household for 33-34 Henry VI. The queen's contribution was not even for a whole year, for the account covered merely the period 3 December, 33 Henry VI—11 May, 34 Henry VI.

⁵ *Johnstone I*, pp. 231 ff, esp. pp. 264-84; *Johnstone II*, pp. 253-66. Queen Elizabeth's account is not totalled but the expenses amount to about £4,600 (E36/207, pp. 18-40).

Queen Elizabeth Wydeville for the years 6-7 Edward IV ; and both accounts open their statement of expenses with “ Feoda militum dominarum et damicellarum infra curiam Regine ”.¹ This section includes the same officials in both accounts,² except that John Forster’s account illogically includes the wages of the clerk of the signet at this stage, whereas this official is more rationally grouped with the other clerks in William Cotton’s account. But whereas John Forster’s account goes straight on to the section “ Feoda et vadia officiariorum Regine extra hospicium ”, William Cotton interposes three sections, giving us the names and wages of all the esquires, clerks, yeomen, grooms, and pages of the queen’s household, together with the number of days they were in attendance in her court.³ This is unique among the extant accounts of the queens of this century ; it affords a valuable insight into the organization of the queen’s household, especially as the amount states, wherever possible, the special occupation of the clerk, yeoman, groom, or page in question.⁴ These particulars were compiled, as William Cotton tells us, from the checkrolls in which were entered the names of all those serving the queen in her household and the number of days when they were in attendance on her.⁵ The normal method of making a statement of accounts of the royal household for audit in the Exchequer in this century was to give simply the total spent day by day on basic daily wages. If anything else relating to wages was included, it was only a relatively brief statement of the quarterly or half-yearly fees (feoda) and rewards (regarda), which

¹ Below, fol. 12a ; E36/207, pp. 18-19.

² The amounts paid were the same in each account, except that Barbalina, one of the principal ladies-in-waiting in the household of Queen Margaret, received 40 marks a year, whereas her successor in Queen Elizabeth’s household received only 20 marks.

³ Below, fols. 12b-14a.

⁴ It does not appear that we are provided with a complete list of the queen’s household staff ; the chaplains are conspicuous by their absence. Cf. *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou* (ed. C. Munro, Cam. Soc. 1863), p. 91, for a letter from Queen Margaret to the Abbess of Shaftesbury in 1447 to obtain the rectory of Corfe Castle for her chaplain, Michael Tregory.

⁵ E.g. fol. 12b : vt in rotulis vocatis chekrolles annotati existant vbi omnium armigerorum nomina ac numerus dierum sic seruiencium et expectancium singillatim specificantur.

were supplements to the basic wage.¹ This is the only account of this century which reveals the basic rates of pay for the different grades in a royal household. It is additional evidence that the Black Book of the Household of Edward IV was correct in its statement of the rates of wages for the various grades of household officials.² The list also shows that the queen was not stinted in the number of her servants, and that she was successful in avoiding much reduction of her household in the following year. In 1454 the King's household was reduced in size as an economy measure during his illness, and Queen Margaret's household was to consist of 120 persons.³ In this account we see that the total number of her officials and servants within the household was not many more than that in 1452-3, so that the reduction to be made in her staff the following year can have been only slight.⁴

Not only the number of her servants but the payment to them was not meagre. The sections which follow in the account deal with higher officers of the household, their expenses outside the household, and payments to persons outside the household who have rendered some service to it during the year under review. These sections are paralleled by corresponding parts in the household account of Queen Elizabeth Wydeville. The officials and the amounts to be paid to them are often the same in the latter account as in the former; indeed, John Forster twice refers to an account of Queen Margaret's household as a precedent—probably this very one.⁵ But quite a number of expenses which

¹ E.g. E101/409/9, fols. 36a-38a; E101/409/11, fols. 37b-40a; E101/409/16, fols. 33b-36b; E101/410/9, fols. 42b-45a (Accounts of controllers and treasurers of the household for the years 20-21, 22-23, 25-26, 30-31 Henry VI, sections on "Feoda et roba").

² *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (London, 1790), pp. 36, 38. Cited hereafter as *Household Ordinances*.

³ Nicolas, *op. cit.* vi. 233. The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV allows the queen's household only 100 servants (*Household Ordinances*, p. 24).

⁴ It is difficult to draw a clear line between the queen's servants who are to be reckoned within the household, and those who are to be counted as servants outside; but it looks from this account as though the number of officials and servants who should properly be included within her household was not more than 130. It is true that, as stated above, no provision seems to have been made for some kinds of household officials, e.g. chaplains; perhaps such persons were paid by the treasurer of the king's household.

⁵ E.g. £10 is to be paid to Queen Elizabeth's chancellor, Roger Radcliff, for his

are set down by the accountant at the same figure as in William Cotton's account (or at a lower figure) are either totally disallowed by the auditors or reduced substantially, usually to half the original amount.¹ These reductions are always said to be by the queen's orders—"mandato domine Regine". Moreover, where in some cases Elizabeth made do with one official, Margaret had had two. Thus whereas John Aleyn seems to have acted both as clerk of the signet and secretary in the household of Queen Elizabeth, and at a fee of only £4 (which was disallowed), George Ashby was clerk of the signet, at a fee of £6 13s. 4d., and Nicholas Carent was her "secretarius".² In addition, the highest paid official of Queen Margaret's account, the chief steward of her estates, Viscount Beaumont, at a fee of £66 13s. 4d., does not appear in Queen Elizabeth's account. This fee had been that of the steward of the queen's lands in the fourteenth century³; and indeed the spirit behind the fees paid to Margaret's household officials seems in general more akin to the generosity or extravagance of Isabella and Philippa than to the parsimony or thrift of Elizabeth.⁴

In general, however, the organization of Queen Margaret's household was, as one might expect, nearer to that of Elizabeth

household in London, "pro vt Laurentius Bothe, clericus, nuper cancellarius Margarete . . . de eadem habuit et percepit et pro vt huiusmodi allocacio facta fuit eidem Laurencio in compoti Willelmi Cotton, nuper receptoris generalis eiusdem Margarete, de anno XXXI^{mo} Henrici" (E36/207, p. 19). (William Cotton's account, printed below, relates to a year, eleven months of which lay within 31 Henry VI). The same authority is given for an allowance of 20s. for wages for Radcliff's journey on business from London to Windsor, for a fee of £10 to John Forster and for an allowance of 45s. to him for a journey from London to Windsor (*ibid.* pp. 19-21). William Cotton had in turn quoted Queen Catherine's household as a precedent. Below, fol. 14b.

¹ E.g. Robert Radcliff's fee of £40 as chancellor (the same as Laurence Bothe's in Queen Margaret's household) is reduced by the auditors to £20; and the fee of £10 for his household, referred to in the previous note, is disallowed entirely. There are twelve more such amendments by the auditors (E36/207, pp. 19-31).

² E36/207, p. 19; below, fols. 12b, 17b. "Secretarius" may merely mean "confidential clerk", as it had originally done; Carent does not seem to have been as important as Ashby.

³ *Johnstone I*, p. 254.

⁴ E.g. Queen Philippa's general attorney in 1337 received a fee of £6 13s. 4d. for that part of his work relating to the household revenues (*Johnstone II*, p. 287); Robert Tanfield, Queen Margaret's general attorney, was allowed £10 a year (below, fol. 15a); and John Dyve, attorney-general to Queen Elizabeth, was conceded only £5 (E36/207, pp. 21-2).

than to those of the fourteenth century. Both queens had a chancellor—Margaret's being Laurence Bothe, already prebendary of St. Paul's, and soon to be its Dean. In this he resembled the chancellor of Queen Elizabeth in the year 6-7 Edward IV, Robert Radcliff, who was also, at the time of the year under review, a prebendary of St. Paul's, of which he also later became dean.¹ The subsequent careers of the two men were, however, very different, probably in large measure because of the contrasts in the characters and opportunities of the queens they served. Robert Radcliff died in 1471 still Dean of St. Paul's.² The dominating personality of Queen Margaret, always quick and determined to help those in whom she trusted, did much better for her chancellor. He probably owed his position in the first place to the confidence reposed by the queen in his brother, and predecessor as her chancellor, William Bothe, created in 1447 Bishop of Lichfield, whom her influence had helped in 1451 to secure promotion to the archbishopric of York.³ It may have been her backing which advanced Laurence to the office of keeper of the privy seal in 1456⁴; it was certainly her support which led to his appointment in January 1457 as one of the tutors to the Prince of Wales, and in September of the same year as Bishop of Durham. Indeed, the latter appointment was a striking testimony to her forcefulness; for Henry VI had already nominated his physician, John Arundell, to the vacant see, and the more energetic recommendation of Queen Margaret was one of the factors which led Pope Calixtus III to provide Laurence Bothe to the bishopric instead.⁵ While he was chancellor to

¹ J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (rev. T. D. Hardy) (Oxford, 1854), ii. 421, 313, 383, 313.

² Whereas he held only one prebend from 1458 until his appointment as dean ten years later, Laurence Bothe was given two more prebends in 1453, both on the same day, 21 November (*ibid.* pp. 407, 449), five years after his appointment to the first prebend in 1449 and less than two months after the close of this household account. Two years later, on 22 November 1456, he was elected Dean.

³ Rymer, *op. cit.* v. 1, pp. 171-2; v. 2, p. 43; William Bothe had also been a prebendary of St. Paul's; he was appointed in 1443 (*Le Neve, op. cit.* ii. 375).

⁴ *The Paston Letters* (ed. J. Gairdner, London, 1910), i. 408.

⁵ Rymer, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 77-8. After reciting how the king had formerly written on behalf of Laurence Bothe, the papal bull continues: "In cujus etiam singularem & praecipuam commendationem novissime accepimus Litteras,

Queen Margaret, his post seems to have been no sinecure. The account shows how at every stage almost all payments of importance were authorized by warrants or letters patent under the queen's great seal ; and the scale of activity of the queen's household must have kept the chancellor and his subordinates busy.

Both chancellors had a clerk of the registers to help them, but Elizabeth was not prepared to pay to her clerk the £5 fee which Margaret allowed to hers.¹ All these warrants and the receipts for payments were stored away ready for the compilation of the account, as is carefully stated in each case. The chancellor's clerk was not the only one writing documents for the queen, however. There was a clerk of the receipt, who deputized for the receiver-general in his absence, and wrote a roll of the knights' fees, indentures, acquittances, obligations, and other memoranda relating to the office of the receiver-general. Margaret's clerk of the receipt, William Nanseglos (who was also receiver of the queen's revenues from Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and London) was also paid a fee of £5 which was denied to the corresponding official in Queen Elizabeth's household.² The clerk of the jewels kept records of the queen's purchases and gifts, and of her personal expenditure, under the direction of the treasurer of her chamber and keeper of her jewels.³ The clerk of the signet presumably wrote the documents which were sealed with her signet seal ; in the nature of the case this account does not include any mention of such documents, for once money had been paid into the queen's chamber and the treasurer of the household had been given receipts for it under her great seal,⁴ his responsibility was at an end. The queen's secretary had a particular responsibility for the acts of the council⁵; and, finally,

carissimae in Christo Filiae nostrae, Margaretae Reginae Angliae Illustris Consortis tuae, & aliorum plurimorum Dominorum ac Nobilium tui Regni, quibus facile judicare potuimus quam Utilis, Accommoda, & Laudabilis foret Provisio de Persona ipsius Laurentii ad eandem Dunelmensem Ecclesiam."

¹ Below, fol. 16a ; E36/207, p. 24.

² Below, fols. 1b, 16a ; E36/207, p. 24.

³ Below, fols. 12b, 20a and b. Edward Ellesmere, Queen Margaret's treasurer of the chamber, was also receiver of her revenues from Marlborough and Devizes (below, fol. 2a). The queen also employed a clerk of the closet, who may also have worked under the treasurer of the chamber (fol. 12b).

⁴ Below, fols. 12b, 21a.

⁵ Below, fol. 17b.

the clerk of the auditors had the task of engrossing the accounts of various receivers, bailiffs, and feodaries, as well as compiling the treasurer's account.¹ Some idea of the relative amount of writing done by three of these clerks may be gained from the amount of writing materials bought for them during the year of the account. The parchment, paper, red wax, and ink bought and expended by the queen's chancery cost 60s., the materials for the receiver-general's office cost 46s. 8d., and the secretary of the council was supplied with writing materials to the value of 40s.²

The clerical and financial officials were not the only important members of the staff of the queen's household. There was the chamberlain, Sir John Wenlock,³ whose financial activities did not leave much mark on the treasurer's account; his chief financial function was presumably to authorize payments from the queen's privy purse, which did not concern the treasurer of the household.⁴ It is significant, in this age of litigation, that a much more prominent place in the accounts is occupied by the law-officers of the queen. Chief among them was Robert Tanfield. As her attorney-general he had the task of prosecuting and defending all kinds of pleas and actions for or against the queen in all the king's courts; but his usual work seems to have been in the exchequer, where most of the queen's legal business would naturally lie.⁵ Indeed, he had two assistant attorneys to help him in the Exchequer, so great was the pressure of business there. The queen had also three other attorneys, John Vailard, Thomas Lloyd, and Simon Elleryngton, who looked after her interests in the royal chancery and the courts of king's bench

¹ Below, fol. 18a. Margaret's clerk of the auditors slipped in the statement that this was a "great labour" and was paid 40s. for his pains. Elizabeth's account was compiled by her clerk of the receipts; he was less fortunate, for his fee of £5 was disallowed by the auditors (E36/207, p. 24).

² Below, fol. 17b.

³ He had been usher of the queen's chamber since at least January 1447, and chamberlain since at least January 1450 (*C.P.R. 1446-1452*, pp. 28, 311).

⁴ See below, fol. 21a, for five large payments, totalling £566 13s. 4d., into the queen's chamber.

⁵ Below, fol. 15a; cf. E36/207, p. 22, for a similar description of the duties of John Dyve, attorney-general to Queen Elizabeth. John Dyve does not appear to have had the two assistant attorneys in the Exchequer enjoyed by Robert Tanfield (below, fol. 16a).

and common pleas.¹ Besides this, five apprentices-at-law were retained at a fee of 26s. 8d. each per annum to be of the queen's council.²

The queen's council played an important role in administering the large share of the Duchy of Lancaster estates which had been assigned as her dowry, and the household which those estates substantially helped to support. It met every day,³ and the queen had a council chamber assigned to her in the palace of Westminster.⁴ To this council chamber some of the members of the council travelled at times from a distance,⁵ and it was doubtless of this council chamber that William Randolf was the usher.⁶ The council had an envoy, Roger Morecroft, who was also usher and keeper of the "new tower" at Westminster which the king had assigned to the queen not only for the meetings of her council but also for the safe custody of her books and evidences.⁷ The council included not only officials of the household but persons from outside—some of them very important, as, for instance, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.⁸ Some of its members were not only household officials but collectors of her revenues, thus linking the central and local administration of her affairs.⁹

¹ Below, fol. 16a. Queen Elizabeth's account names attorneys in the courts of Common Pleas (Thomas Thoralde) and King's Bench (Thomas Luyt), but not in the Chancery. On the other hand it names a solicitor-general, Robert Iseham (E36/207, pp. 23, 25).

² Below, fol. 16a. Queen Elizabeth paid only two apprentices-at-law (Henry Suthill and Thomas Urswick), but she also paid two serjeants-at-law (Thomas Young and John Catesby,) (E36/207, pp. 25, 26).

³ Below, fol. 19b. Thomas, Lord Scales, was paid "pro diurna diligencia et attendencia in consilio eiusdem Regine".

⁴ Below, fol. 16b; *C.P.R. 1452-1461*, pp. 114, 487.

⁵ E.g. William Cotton from Suffolk to London.

⁶ Below, fol. 16a; cf. E36/207, p. 26, where John Wode is also called "hostiarius domus magni consilii" and seven other ushers are paid, as in Queen Margaret's household, "pro eorum attendencia consilio prefate Regine in officijs suis".

⁷ Below, fol. 16b; cf. E36/207, p. 26, for the payment of David Gogh for the same duties, where the precedent of "Roger Morescroft", messenger for the council and keeper of the new tower, "tempore Margarete, nuper de facto set non de jure Regine Anglie", is adduced. ⁸ Below, fol. 17a.

⁹ Cf. William Nanseglos, collector of the queen's revenues in Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and London, who was also clerk of the Queen's receipt (below, fols. 1b, 16a), and Edward Ellesmere, collector of the queen's revenues from Marlborough and Devizes, who was also treasurer of the chamber (below, fols. 2a, 20a).

The principal members of Queen Margaret's council at the time of this account seem to have included Viscount Beaumont, her chief steward, Sir John Wenlock, her chamberlain, Laurence Bothe, her chancellor, William Cotton, her receiver-general and treasurer of her household, Edward Hall and Andrew Agard, her knight carvers, Edward Ellesmere, the treasurer of her chamber, Robert Tanfield, her attorney-general, and ten other attorneys and apprentices-at-law.¹

It is easier to note members of Queen Margaret's council in her account than to discern clear evidence of its functions. A century earlier the queen's council had had judicial, administrative, and advisory functions²; and it may well have continued to exercise these as actively in the fifteenth century. It seems to be suggested by the daily meetings of the council, and the recorded journeyings of members of the queen's council about the country engaged on her business.³ Queen Margaret's council could make appointments and perform executive actions⁴; but there are few references in this account to such exercises of authority. In theory the queen was the mainspring of the household organization, as she had been in the days of Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa⁵; and all the instructions to the household officials were issued in her name alone. Doubtless with a queen so vigorous and determined as Queen Margaret the theory was also the reality; and the council, though active, may well have been strictly subordinate to the wishes and commands of the queen. Not that Queen Margaret failed to appreciate the labours of her councillors and officials on her behalf. On the contrary, her ardent nature impelled her to push their interests as energetically as possible. We have already observed an instance

¹ Below, fols. 14b-15a, fols. 20a-20b, fol. 12a, fol. 15b, fol. 16a. Viscount Beaumont was the steward of the queen's lands, not, apparently, of her household, and received the same fee as Philippa's steward of the queen's lands had done (*Johnstone II*, p. 254). It is interesting that neither Margaret's nor Elizabeth's account mention the steward, controller, or cofferer of the household, who had been so prominent in the fourteenth century households (*Johnstone I*, pp. 236-57).

² *Johnstone II*, p. 292.

³ Below, fols. 14b-16b; E36/207, pp. 21, 22.

⁴ Below, fols. 16a, 16b. Roger Morecroft was sent to various parts of England "per mandatum dicte Regine et consilij sui".

⁵ *Johnstone II*, p. 291.

of this in the case of Laurence Bothe, her chancellor, and other examples may be found in her letters. Some of them were written on behalf of officials of her household mentioned in this account,¹ and almost all were addressed to influential persons on behalf of protégés of hers. And, as her most recent biographer has pointed out, when her influence was dominant in the government in 1457 and 1458 “ she used her period of influence and power to secure promotion for those whom she favoured ”.² This eager and incautious support met with varying response from the officials of her household. William Cotton, her treasurer and receiver-general, died fighting on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455³ and Viscount Beaumont, her chief steward, perished in the Lancastrian cause at the battle of Northampton in 1460.⁴ On the other hand, Laurence Bothe made his peace with Edward IV, and found sufficient favour with him to be elevated in 1476 to the archbishopric of York⁵; and Sir John Wenlock, her chamberlain, deserted to the Yorkist side as early as 1455.⁶

¹ *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou*, p. 94 (for Nicholas Carent, Dean of Wells, her secretary); p. 97 (for Thomas Burneby, sewer for the mouth); pp. 107, 108 (for Thomas Sharnborne, a squire of her household); p. 114 (for George Asheby, clerk of her signet); p. 115 (for Margaret Stanlowe, one of her gentlewomen); p. 119 (for Viscount Beaumont, her chief steward, and Edmund Clere, a squire of her household); p. 133 (for Thomas Hery, a groom of her chamber); p. 151 (for Thomas Mowsherst, a yeoman of her household); cf. below, fols. 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 17b. On p. 112 of the *Letters* is a message of 1447-8 from the queen to the customers of Southampton, exhorting them to pay the overdue instalment of her dowry from that port.

² J. J. Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England* (London, 1948), p. 85.

³ *Paston Letters*, i. 333.

⁴ *An English Chronicle, 1377-1461* (Camden Society, 1856, ed. J. S. Davies), p. 97.

⁵ Rymer, op. cit. v. 3, p. 70.

⁶ At the first battle of St. Albans (22 May 1455) he was wounded while fighting on the Lancastrian side (*The Paston Letters*, i. 331); but in July of the same year he was elected speaker of the commons in the Yorkist Parliament summoned after the battle (*Rot. Parl.* v. 278), and by 1458 he was sufficiently in the confidence of the Duke of York to be sent to treat for the marriage of one of the duke's sons to the grand-daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, and, failing that, to one of the French princesses (Stevenson, op. cit. i. 361-77). In 1460 we find Wenlock's cook, John Byschoppe, leading the attack on the carts of victuals sent to Queen Margaret and her army by the lord mayor of London after the 2nd battle of St. Albans (*Gregory's Chronicle*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society, 1876, p. 214). In view of his subsequent desertion to the Lancastrian side, with Warwick, in 1470,

The effects of the queen's dominating personality are also to be seen in some of the largest payments recorded in this account. One of them, it is true, was fixed by custom—the payment for the expenses of the queen and her servants at the rate of £7 a day when she was residing in the king's household.¹ This accounted for £967 7s. 3d. paid to Lord Stourton, formerly treasurer of the king's household, during the years 28-31 Henry VI, and for £797 8s. 11½d. paid to Lord Dudley, his successor for the years 31-32 Henry VI.² But even in this case the expenditure appears to have exceeded that of Queen Elizabeth Wydeville, in whose account there was no corresponding allocation, though she must have dwelt in her husband's household for part of the year; and in all the other large items Queen Margaret's expenditure was on a grander scale than that of her successor. Margaret's clerk avener, who looked after her stables, was allowed £418 19s. 3½d. to maintain them for the year; Elizabeth's clerk avener received only £208 6s. 8d. for the same purpose.³ To her great wardrobe, which supplied articles of clothing and stocks of dress materials, Queen Margaret assigned £2,073 5s. 8¼d.; her successor allocated only £1,200 3s. 0¾d. for the purchase of such items.⁴ At first sight it may appear as though Queen Margaret's personal resources for exercising her influence were smaller than those of Queen Elizabeth. The latter took for her privy purse £918 18s. 0¼d. for the year 6-7 Edward IV compared with only £566 13s. 4d. recorded as paid into her predecessor's chamber during the year of the account.⁵ But Queen Elizabeth's account makes no mention of an allocation to the treasurer of the chamber and keeper of the jewels; whereas Edward Ellesmere, the holder of this position in 1452-3, received in all for his office £800 9s. 9d.⁶

the story of his end as told by Edward Hall seems credible, that at the battle of Tewkesbury the Duke of Somerset suspected Wenlock of changing sides yet again and "with his axe he strake the braynes out of his hedde" (Hall's *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis, 1809), p. 300).

¹ See the statement of the Black Book of the Household of Edward IV on this matter (*Household Ordinances*, p. 24).

² Below, fol. 20b. In the fourteenth century "it was common for the queen's wardrobe to make grants to the king's" (*Johnstone I*, p. 283).

³ Below, fols. 19a, 20a; E36/207, p. 39.

⁴ Below, fol. 20a; E36/207, pp. 37, 38.

⁵ E36/207, p. 40; below, fol. 20b.

⁶ Below, fols. 20a, 20b.

Thus Queen Margaret received for all aspects of her chamber expenditure £1,719 7s. 9¼d., an unusually impressive sum with which to make her influence felt. With its aid she could reward her friends by gifts of cash, presents of jewels and other favours, and overawe her foes by the extent of her power.¹ In the struggles which were soon to usher in the Wars of the Roses the queen increasingly took the lead in organizing the forces of the house of Lancaster; and in this task she would need every penny she could gain from her household resources.² In following her indomitable efforts in that struggle we are helped by the light shed by this account on the extent of those resources, the way in which they were used, and the organization and personnel of her household which carried out her purposes.

THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF WILLIAM COTTON, ESQUIRE,
RECEIVER-GENERAL OF QUEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU,
FOR THE YEAR 31-32 HENRY VI³

fol. 1a

Compotus Willelmi Cotton,⁴ armigeri, generalis receptoris Margarete Regine Anglie et Francie filie Regis Sicilis et Jerusalem', omnium castrorum, honorum, annuitatum, reddituum, reuencuum, terrarum, et tenementorum suorum ac aliarum commoditatum quaruncumque eidem pertinentium, videlicet, tam de

¹ See, for example, the five surviving accounts of her treasurers of the chamber for the years 24-25, 25-26, 27-28, 30-31, 31-32 Henry VI (E101/409/14, 17; E101/410/2, 8, 11), which show long lists of gifts of jewels and other presents to servants, friends, and allies. Cf. *Paston Letters*, i. 378: "The Quene is a grete and stronge labourid woman, for she spareth noo peyne to sue hire thinges to an intent and conclusion to hir power" (John Bocking to Sir John Fastolf, 9 February 1456).

² Davies's *Chronicle*, p. 79, says of her in the year 1459-60: "The queen with such as were of her affynyte rewled the reame as her lyked, gaderyng ryches innumerable"; but all the indications are that the struggle against her foes was a heavy drain on her resources instead of augmenting them. The same source goes on to tell, in the same paragraph, how in order to gain support in Cheshire she kept "open household" there and caused her son the prince to give a livery of swans to all the gentlemen of the countryside.

³ P.R.O. MS. Duchy of Lancaster 28/5/8.

⁴ For an annotated biography of William Cotton see Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 399. In addition to the information given there it may be mentioned that the patent roll tells us he had surrendered the office of keeper of the great wardrobe by 14 June 1453 (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 77).

huiusmodi receptoris per ipsum causa officij sui receptis quam de solucionibus, misis, custubus, et expensis a festo Sancti Michelis anno xxxjmo Regis Henrici sexti vsque idem festum extunc proxime sequentem anno eiusdem Regis xxxijdo, scilicet per vnum annum integrum.

Arreragia—Nullum, quia in superplusagio super terminacione vltimi compoti sui anni proxime precedentis—Nullum.

Recepta denariorum de receptore de Tuttebury ¹

Et de denariis receptis de Roberto Whitgreue,² armigero, nuper receptore ibidem, tam de arreragiis suis anni precedentis quam de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad iij vices, videlicet, prima vice xvo die Maij dicto anno xxxj^{mo} de exitibus xxxiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d., secunda vice xxj die Julij eodem anno per manus Johannis Norrys de arreragiis suis vij.li.viiij.s.ij.d.ob.q., et tercia vice per manus administratoris bonorum et catallorum dicti Roberti ad manus Johannis Hattecliff primo die Marcij supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xx.li., per iij indenturas restitutas

lx.li.xiiij.s.x.d.ob.q.

Et de denariis receptis de Roberto Hill' ³ receptore ibidem de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad iij vices, videlicet, prima xv^o die Decembris dicto anno xxxij.^{do} cc.li., secunda vice xj^{mo} die Februarij eodem anno cx.li.ix.s.ij.d., et tercia vice xvj^o die eiusdem mensis cum iiij.li. per manus Radulphi Pole xx.li., per iij indenturas vt supra restitutas—

cccxxx.li.ix.s.ij.d.

Et de eodem de huiusmodi exitibus recepte sue per manus Walteri Blounte,⁴ balliui Alti Pecci,⁵ xxiiij^{cio} die Nouembris dicto anno xxxij^{do} xl.li., et altera vice xxix^{no} die Marcij eodem anno xxxix.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., per ij indenturas

lxxix.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Et de eodem de huiusmodi exitibus recepte sue per manus dicti Walteri, balliui Alti Pecci, xij^o die Aprilis supradicto xxxij^{do}, per indenturas inde restitutas

xx.li.

Et de eodem de huiusmodi exitibus recepte sue per manus Thome Whitgreue, clerici, et Humfridi Whitgreue,⁶ executorum testamenti predicti Roberti Whitgreue

¹ Tutbury and High Peak were both parts of the honour of Tutbury, from which revenues to the annual value of £927 17s. 4½d. were assigned to the queen in 1446 (*Rot Parl.* v. 118). It will be noted that for the year covered by this account she had received only £526 9s. 8¾d., and then only by including items paid in well after the end of the financial year.

² For Robert Whitgreue's career see Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 543; also J. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies of Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509* (H.M.S.O., 1936), p. 941. He attended the coronation of Queen Margaret (Exchequer Accounts, 361/6). He died in 1452 (not in 1449, an alternative suggested by Somerville), and this explains why the first two payments were made by him and the third was made by the administrators of his goods and chattels.

³ See Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 540 and Wedgwood, *op. cit.* p. 455.

⁴ Walter Blount later became Lord Mountjoy (1465). Cf. Somerville, *op. cit.* pp. 551, 553.

⁵ See note 1 above.

⁶ Humphrey Whitgreue was the son of Robert Whitgreue. See Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 550, Wedgwood, *op. cit.* p. 941, and *C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 326. It is not known what kinship Thomas Whitgreue was to Robert.

nuper receptoris ibidem, v^{to} die Julij dicto anno xxxij^{do}, per indenturam

xx.li.xix.s.

Et eidem receptori de huiusmodi recepta sua per manus dicti Roberti Hille, receptoris ibidem, ad manus auditoris super vadiis suis——vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Et eidem receptori per manus eiusdem Roberti, de huiusmodi recepta sua, iiij^{to} die Junij dicto anno xxxij^{do}, per indenturam——viiij.li.

Summa pagine——Dxxvj.li.ix.s.viiij.d.ob.q.

fol. 1b

Leycestr' ¹

Et de Thoma Staunton,² armigero, receptori ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad vij vices, videlicet, prima vice nono die Maij dicto anno xxxj^{mo} xxxvij.li., secunda vice xix^{no} die Septembris supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xxiiij.li., tercia vice xxj^{mo} die Nouembris eodem anno xx.li., iiij^{ta} vice xxij^{do} die eiusdem mensis xx.li., quinta vice xxiiij^o die eiusdem mensis per manus Johannis vicecomitis Beaumont xxxiiij.li.vjs.viiij.d., sexta vice xxvij^o die Januarij dicto anno xxxij^{do} l.li., et vija vice xj^{mo} die Februarij eodem anno per manus Johannis Stanford cx.s.ij.d.ob., per vij indenturas inde restitutas

^{xx}
ciiijix.li.xvj.s.x.d.ob.

Summa——^{xx}
ciiijix.li.xvj.s.x.d.ob.

Recepta denariorum de recepta de Kenelworth ³

Et de Johanne Beaufitz,⁴ receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad ij vices, videlicet, vna vice tercio die Maij dicto anno xxxj^{mo} vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., et altera vice xix^{mo} die Februarij supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xij.li.xj.s.viiij.d., per ij indenturas inde restitutas——xix.li.v.s.

Et de eodem de huiusmodi exitibus recepte sue per manus Johannis Walssh auditoris super feoda et vadia sua sine indentura——x.li

Summa——xxix.li.v.s.

Recepta denariorum de recepta de Berkhamstede ⁵

Et de Johanne Thirlowe, receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni per manus Johannis Stanford ad diuersas vices, videlicet, prima vice xj^{mo} die

¹ Revenues to the annual value of £250 7s. 11½d. were assigned in 1446 to the queen from the honour of Leicester (*Rot. Parl.* v. 118a). She managed to draw only just over £180 of this for the year of this account.

² See Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 566, also Wedgwood, *op. cit.* p. 803. Usher of the chamber, 1439-60.

³ The annual value of the castle and lordship of Kenilworth assigned to the queen in 1446 was said to be £15 4s. 6¼d. (*Rot. Parl.* v. 119a); so she may have received some arrears this year.

⁴ See Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 562.

⁵ The revenues from Berkhamstead should have amounted to 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) a year (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 340). The honour and manor of B. were in 1495 assigned in jointure to Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 462b).

Februarij anno xxxij^{do} vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., secunda vice xxvij die Junij eodem anno vij.li.xj.s.viiij.d., tertia vice ad manus Johannis Walssh auditoris super feoda et vadiis suis vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., et iiij^{ta} vice dicto xxvij die eiusdem mensis viij.s.vj.d., per vnam indenturam restitutam—————xxj.li.vj.s.x.d.

Summa—————xxj.li.vj.s.x.d.

*Recepta denariorum de recepta comitatus Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, et Londonie*¹

Et de Willelmo Nanseglos,² receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad xj vices, videlicet, prima vice vltimo die Maij dicto anno xxxj^{mo} ^{xx}iiij xij.li., secunda vice iiij^{to} die Junij eodem anno xxij.li.x.s., tertia vice xij die Octobris supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xx.li., iiij^{ta} vice xxiiij^{to} die eiusdem mensis x.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., v^{ta} vice nono die Nouembris eodem anno lxxix.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., vj^{ta} vice iiij^{to} die Decembris anno predicto xxxix.li.v.s.x.d., vij^a vice xij^o die Januarij eodem anno xlj.li.x.s., viij^a vice xx^{mo} die Octobris anno supradicto per manus Petri Preston' iiij.li.xvij.s.vj.d., ix^{na} vice xx^o die eiusdem mensis per manus firmarij terre domanij de Walden cvj.s.viiij.d., x^{ma} vice xx^{mo} die Februarij anno predicto iiij.li.xv.s.q.d., et xj^{ma} vice secundo die Aprilis dicto anno xxxij^{do} xxxiiij.li.xxij.d. per v indenturas inde restitutas—————cccliij.li.xiiij.s.vq.d.

Summa—————cccliij.li.xiiij.s.v.d.q.d.

Summa pagine—————^{xx}Diiij xiiij.li.ij.s.j.d.ob.q.d.

fol. 2a

*Recepta denariorum de recepta in partibus australibus*³

Et de Willelmo Osgodby,⁴ receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad v vices, videlicet, prima vice vij^o die Junij dicto anno xxxj^{mo} xl.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., secunda vice primo die Augusti eodem anno xxij.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d., tertia vice xx^{mo} die Octobris supradicto anno xxxij^{do} vij.li.ix.s.viiij.d.ob., iiij^{ta} vice x^{mo} die Nouembris eodem anno lx.li., et quinta vice xxvij^o die Januarij eodem anno xliiiij.li., per v indenturas—————clxxiiij.li.xvj.s.iiij.d.ob.

Summa—————clxxiiij.li.xvj.s.iiij.d.ob.

*Recepta denariorum de Marleburgh et Devyses*⁵

¹ These are the revenues of the honours of Tutbury, Lancaster and Leicester in the shires of Essex, Hertford, Middlesex, and London, assigned to the queen in 1446 (*Rot. Parl.* v. 118b). Their annual value is not stated separately.

² See Somerville, op. cit. p. 608.

³ The term "south parts" denoted an administrative unit of the Duchy of Lancaster and comprised its estates in the shires of Southampton, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Berkshire, Oxford, Hereford, and Worcester. (Somerville, op. cit. p. 99, 104 n. 1, 113 n. 4).

⁴ See Somerville, op. cit. p. 622.

⁵ Cf. *C.P.R. 1446-1452*, p. 559, where a grant of the revenues of Marlborough and Devises and other lands, originally made to her by letters patent dated 24 February 1447, is now (28 February 1452) confirmed to her for life. M. and D. were granted to Queen Elizabeth Wydeville in 1467 (*Rot. Parl.* v. 627b).

Et de Edwardo Ellesmere,¹ receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni xj^{mo} die Marcij anno xxxij^{do} dicti Regis Henrici Sexti, per indenturam inde restitutam—————^{xx} ciiij.li.

Summa—————^{xx} ciiij.li.

Recepta denariorum de recepta de Middelton' et Merden'

Et de Johanne Thornebury,² armigero, receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni per manus Edwardi Ellesmere ad duas vices, videlicet, vna vice penultimo die Januarij supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xl.li., et altera vice tercio die Marcij eodem anno xl.li., per ij indenturas inde restitutas—————^{xx} iiij.li.

Summa—————^{xx} iiij.li.

*Recepta denariorum de feodo nomine Comitis Essex*³

Et de Johanne Pygote, vicecomite comitatus Essex, anno xxv^{to} dicti regis Henrici sexti de parte xl.li.x.s.x.d. per annum de feodo nomine comitis eiusdem comitatus Ducatui Regis Lancastrie pertinente annuatim, percipiendo per manus vicecomitis eiusdem comitatus pro tempore existentis ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis equaliter et dicte Margarete Regine in dotem concessio, videlicet, in partem solucionis feodi predicti pro dicto anno xxv per indenturam inde penes dictum Johannem remanentem—————x.li.x.s.x.d.

De xxx.li. residuentibus dicti xl.li.x.s.x.d. de feodo nomine comitis comitatus predicti dicte Regine anno xxv^{to} debitis non reddit, eo quod restant in manus dicti Johannis Pygote vicecomitis ibidem eodem anno nondum solute vnde idem vicecomes debet Regine respondere. Et recepit—————Nihil.

Nec reddit de xl.li.x.s.x.d. de consimili feodo nomine comitis eiusdem comitatus domino Regi ducatu sue predictae pertinente annuatim, percipiendis vt supra ad terminos predictos equaliter et eidem Regine vt pro anno xxviii^o dicti Regis Henrici Sexti debitis, eo quod remanent in manus Georgij Langham vicecomitis predicti eodem anno xxviii^o nondum soluti, vnde idem vicecomes debet Regine respondere. Et recepit—————Nihil.

Set reddit de denariis receptis de Johanne Godmerston, vicecomite comitatus predicti, supradicto anno xxxij^{do} de feodo nomine comitis eiusdem comitatus xl.li.x.s.x.d. per annum percipiendis ad terminos supradictos equaliter, videlicet, in persolucione feodi predicti pro eodem anno xxxij^{do} per indenturam inde penes dictum Johannem remanentem—————xl.li.x.s.x.d.

Summa—————li.li.xx.d.

Summa pagine—————^{xx} cccciijv.li.xviiij.s.ob.

¹ See Somerville, op. cit. p. 550.

² See Wedgwood, op. cit. pp. 847-8.

³ The Fee of the Shire of Essex, granted in 1446, should have been worth £40 10s. 10d. a year (*Rot. Parl.* v. 119a).

Recepta denariorum de thesaurarij domanij et comitatus Pembroke ¹

De aliquibus denariorum summis per ipsum recepturis de arreragiis aliquorum balliuorum aut ministrorum diuersorum et maneriorum ibidem hoc anno non reddit, eo quod aliquos [sic] huiusmodi denarios ad manus dicti receptoris generalis Regine minime liberati fuerunt vt dicit super sacramentum suum
nihil.

Nec reddit de aliquibus exitibus comitatus castri et domanij de Pembrok' cum membris et pertinentibus suis in comitatu Hereford ac marchia Wallie eidem comitatui adiacente aut castri ville et domanij de Kilgarran cum membris et pertinentibus suis necnon castri ville siue domanij de Llanstephan cum membris et pertinentibus suis in comitatu et marchia predictis valoris cccc.li.ij.s.viiiij.d. per annum supradicte Margarete Regine nuper concessis in partem recompensacionis et deduccionis cuiusdam summe MMMDClxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiiiij.d. eidem Regine concessa et assignate in partem dotis ad terminum vite sue, videlicet, de exitibus aut proficuis eorundem diuersorum maneriorum terrarum aut tenementorum a supradicto festo sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} seu postea, eo quod idem rex ex assensu prefate Regine ac de ausamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium ac communitatis regni sui Anglie in parlamento suo apud Redyng anno regni sui xxxj^{mo} inchoato et tento existente auctoritate eiusdem parlamenti dedit et concessit Jaspero de Hatfeld, Comiti Pembroch' fratre suo, comitatum, castra, domania, et villas predicta cum membris et pertinentibus suis, habenda a festo sancti Michelis dicto anno xxxj^{mo} eidem Comiti et heredibus masculis de corpore sue exeuntibus et ad effectum quod rex recompensacioni prefati consorti sue pro dictis comitatu castris domanijs ac ceteris premissis concedere dignaretur
nihil.

Recepta denariorum de recepta domanij de Hauerford West ²

Set reddit de denariis receptis de Thoma Parker,³ armigero, receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni xxviii^o die Julij supradicto anno xxxj^{mo} per manus Mathei Phelipp', per indenturam—————cxxv.li.x.s.vij.d.

Summa—————cxxv.li.x.s.vij.d.

¹ In 1451 the revenues of the shire, castle, lordship, and towns of Pembroke (including those of Kilgarran and Llanstephan), amounting in all to £400 2s. 8d. a year, were granted to the queen as part of her dowry. In 1453 they were transferred to Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke; and not only was the queen fully compensated by other grants but it was provided that all arrears from Pembroke due down to the transfer of the lands to Jasper should be paid to the queen (*Rot. Parl.* v. 261a-262b).

² The lordship, castle, manor and town of Haverford West was estimated to be worth £121 2s. 9d. a year (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 340).

³ Thomas Parker was an usher of the king's chamber and king's esquire in June 1453, i.e. during the year of this account (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 77).

*Recepta denariorum de recepta de Rokyngham*¹ et aliorum maneriorum in comitatu Northampton

Et de denariis receptis Johanne Hattecliff, receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad duas vices, videlicet, vna vice xv^o die Septembris supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d., et alia vice vltimo die Februarij eodem anno cxi.li., per ij indenturas—————clij.li.vj.s.viiij.d.

Summa—————clij.li.vj.s.viiij.d.

*Recepta denariorum de recepta de Odyam' et Guillyngham*²

Et de Edwardo Ellesmere,³ receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad duas vices, videlicet, vna vice de exitibus domanij de Guillyngham xlvi.li., et altera vice de exitibus domanij de Odiam xx.li. sine indentura
lxvi.li.

Summa—————lxvi.li.

Summa pagine—————cccxlviij.li.xviij.s.iiij.d.

fol. 3a

*Haueryng atte Bowere Bradwell' Kiddeswell' Hadley et Colcestr'*⁴

Et de Willelmo Nanseglos,⁵ receptore ibidem, de exitibus recepte sue huius anni ad iij vices, videlicet, vna vice xx^{mo} die Februarij supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xxxiiij.li.xiiij.s.ix.d.ob., secunda vice xxvj^{to} die eiusdem mensis xxxvj.li.xj.s.ij.d., et tercia vice per manus balliui de Kiddeswell ad manus Nicolai Shapp' auditoris vij.li.x.s., vt patet per comptum suum de hoc anno—————lxxviij.li.xiiij.s.xj.d.ob.

Summa—————lxxviij.li.xiiij.s.xj.d.ob.

*Manerium de Plesaunce in Grenewiche*⁶

De aliquibus denariorum summis per ipsum recepturis de Roberto Cheseman collectore reddituum et firmarum ibidem de exitibus officij sui huius anni non reddit, eo quod aliquos huiusmodi denarios per tempus predictum minime recepit, nec idem Robertus ad comptum suum pro eodem officio reddendum hoc anno comparuit—————nihil.

¹ The castle, manor, lordship and forest of Rockingham formed part of the estates granted to Margaret in 1453 as compensation for the loss of Pembroke (*Rot. Parl.* v. 261b). See p. 104 note 1. In 1467 it was granted to Elizabeth Wydeville (*ibid.* p. 627a).

² The castle, lordship, manor, and hundred of Odiham (Hants.) and the manor, town, barton, and forest of Gillingham (Dorset) were also granted as compensation for the loss of Pembroke.

³ See p. 103 note 1.

⁴ The revenues from these sources should have totalled £156 a year (*C.P.R.* 1452-1461, p. 340).

⁵ See p. 102 note 2.

⁶ The manor of Plesaunce in Greenwich, which later formed part of Queen Elizabeth Wydeville's dowry, had formerly been enjoyed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (*Rot. Parl.* v. 627b).

Feodifirma de le Quenehithe in London

Set reddit de denariis recepturis de Ricardo Lee et Ricardo Allee, nuper vicecomitibus ciuitatis Londonie, per manus Edwardi Ellesmere xiiij^o die Februarij anno xxxij^{do}, de quadam summa x.li. per annum eidem Regine pro termino vite sue per dictum Regem Henricum sextum per literas suas patentes¹ concessa parcella quinquaginta librarum feodifirme ripe Regine Londonie, percipienda a xxiiij^{to} die Februarij anno xxv^{to} annuatim per manus maioris et communitatis ciuitatis Londonie aut per manus vicecomitum comitatus Londonie et Middlesex siue aliorum occupatorum aut receptorum eiusdem ripe siue firme pro tempore existencium ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michelis per equales porciones, videlicet, de huiusmodi feodi firma, tam ab eodem xxiiij^{to} die Februarij anno xxv^{to} vsque festum Pasche tunc proxime sequentem, accidentem ix^{no} die Aprilis, per xliij dies iuxta ratam dictarum x.li. per idem tempus, quam ab eodem festo Pasche vsque festum Sancti Michelis anno xxix^{no}, scilicet pro terminis Michelis et Pasche anno xxvj^{to}, Michelis et Pasche anno xxvij^o, Michelis et Pasche anno xxviii^o, et Michelis anno xxix^{no} infra tempus accidentibus, per indenturam penes eosdem remanentem
xxxv.li.xviiij.s.xl.d.ob.

De xxx.li. de dicta firma x.li. per annum eidem Regine in forma predicta pro termino vite sue concessis, et eidem pro annis xxx^o, xxxj^{mo}, et xxxij^{do} dicti Regis Henrici sexti debitis, non reddit, eo quod remanent in manibus maioris communitatis et vicecomitum ciuitatis predictae nondum solute. De quibus quidem xxx.li. predicti maior communitas et vicecomites ciuitatis predictae per tempus predictum existentes debent Regine respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Nec reddit de xxx.li.,² parcella l.li feodifirme ripe Regine Londonie percipienda annuatim in forma supradicta prefate Regine per dictum Regem Henricum sextum in recompensationem supradicti domanij de Pembrok' a festo Sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} Regis predicti ad terminem vite sue in partem dotis sue concessae auctoritate parlamenti sui apud Redyng inchoati et tenti dicto anno xxxj^{mo}, per literas suas patentes soluende terminis Pasche et sancti Michelis equaliter, videlicet, per predictum tempus huius compoti, eo quod remanent in manibus predictorum maioris communitatis et vicecomitum ciuitatis predictae nondum solute. De quibus xxx.li. predicti maior communitas et vicecomites ciuitatis predictae per tempus supradictum debent Regine respondere. Et recepit
nihil.

Summa—————xxxv.li.xviiij.s.xj.d.ob.

Summa pagine—————cxiiij.li.xiiij.s.xj.d.

fol. 3b

*Feodifirma ville Norhampton*³

De Willelmo Clerk et Thoma Dauentr', nuper balliuis ibidem per manus Johannis Norrys penultimo die Nouembris supradicto anno xxxij^{do}, de quadam summa x.li. per annum eidem Regine prefate Regine pro termino vite sue per dictum Regem Henricum sextum per literas suas patentes concessa, parcella

¹ This grant was confirmed for life by letters patent dated 28 February 1452 (C.P.R., 1446-1452, p. 559). Nevertheless the payments were in arrears.

² Rot. Parl. v. 262b.

³ C.P.R., 1446-1452, p. 559. Cf. note 1 above.

illarum centum et viginti librarum feodifirme ville Norhampton siue firme ville Norhampton quam burgenses siue homines eiusdem ville pro eadem villa Regi et heredibus suis annuatim reddere tenentur, percipienda a xxiiij^{to} die Februarij anno xxv^{to} dicti Regis Henrici sexti per manus burgensium hominum seu balliuorum aut aliorum receptorum, firmariorum, siue occupatorum ville predicte pro tempore existencium ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michelis per equales porciones, videlicet, tam ab eodem xxiiij^{to} die Februarij anno xxv^{to} vsque festum Pasche tunc proxime sequentem, accidentem nono die Aprilis, per xliiij dies, iuxta ratam dictarum x.li. per annum, per idem tempus quam ab eodem festo Pasche vsque festum Sancti Michelis anno xxx^{mo}, scilicet pro terminis Michelis et Pasche anno xxvj^{to}, Michelis et Pasche xxvij^o, Michelis et Pasche anno xxviii^o, Michelis et Pasche anno xxix^o, et Michelis anno xxx^{mo}, infra tempus accidentibus, per indenturam penes ipsos remanentem———xlvi.li.xj.s.iiij.d.

De xx.li. de quadam summa x.li. per annum, de parte cxx.li. feodifirme ville predicte eidem Regine in forma supradicta pro termino vite sue concessa, et sibi pro hoc anno et anno proxime precedente debite hoc anno non reddit, eo quod restant nondum solute. De quibus quidem xx.li. balliui ville predicte per tempus predictum existentes debent Regine respondere. Et recepit———nihil.

Summa———xlvi.li.xj.s.iiij.d.

*Annua pensione abbatis de Oseney*¹

Et de abbate et conuentu de Oseney per manus Edwardi Ellesmere penultimo die Januarij supradicto anno xxxij^{do} de illis x.li. annuis, parcella illarum viginti librarum annuarum quas abbas et conuentus de Oseney qui de patronatu Regis existit, Regi et heredibus suis reddere tenentur per annum de siue pro medietate duorum molendinorum aquaticorum subtus castrum Oxonie et toto prato iuxta Oseney vocato Kyngesmede ac medietate cuiusdam piscarie vocata Themse a ponte vocato Hidebrugge vsque eadem molendia que Ricardus Foreste nuper tenuit ad terminum vite sue ex concessione Regis pro viginti libris Regi annuatim reddendis, percipiendis annuatim eidem Regine decem libras illas a predicto xxiiij^{to} die Februarii dicto anno xxv^{to} pro termino vite sue per manus eiusdem abbatis et successorum suorum aut aliorum occupatorum, firmariorum, siue receptorum molendinorum predictorum, aut firme predicte ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis per equales porciones, videlicet in persolutione dictarum x.li. pro hoc anno, per indenturam penes ipsos abbatem et conuentum remanentem———x.li.

Summa———x.li.

*Manerium de Feckenham*²

De aliquibus denariorum summis per ipsum receptoris de officiariis et ministris Regine ibidem hoc anno non reddit, eo quod aliquos huiusmodi denarios (sic) ad manus dicti receptoris generalis per tempus predictum minime liberati fuerunt, vt dicit super sacramentum suum———nihil.

Summa pagine———lvj.li.xj.s.iiij.d.

¹ Ibid.

² The manor of Feckenham should have produced £25 6s. 8d. a year (C.P.R. 1452-1461, p. 340).

fol. 4a

Feodifirma ville de Scardeburgh et ville de Walgrave ¹

De clxxij.li.xiiij.s.ij.d. de quadam summa xxvij.li. eidem Regine pro termino vite sue per dictum Regem Henricum sextum per literas suas patentes concessa, percipienda annuatim a predicto xxiiij^{to} die Februarij anno xxv^{to} pro termino vite sue tam de feodifirma villa de Scardeburgh quam de feodifirma ville de Walgrave alias dicte Wallesgrave alias dicte Waldegrave et sexaginta acrarum terrarum cum pertinentibus per manus burgensium hominum siue balliuorum eiusdem ville aut aliorum receptorum firmariorum siue occupatorum ville manerij et terrarum predictarum pro tempore existencium ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis per equales porciones et eidem Regine pro hoc anno et vj annis precedentis debita vltra xvj.li.v.s.x.d. de parte dictarum xxvij.li. anno xxvj^{to} debitorum per manus Johannis Lumbard et Roberti Ammlith balliuorum ville predicte anno xxvij^o eiusdem Regis soluturarum hoc anno non reddit, eo quod remanent in manibus balliuorum eiusdem ville nondum solute, vnde ijdem balliui ibidem pro tempore existentes debent Regine respondere. Et recepit *nihil*.

Feodifirma ville Bristoll' ²

Set reddit de denariis receptoris de Johanne Stanley, nuper maiore ville Bristoll', in persolucionem cij.li.xv.s.vj.d. de feodifirma ville predicte per annum prefate Regine pro termino vite sue in partem dotis sue per dictum Regem Henricum sextum concessa, percipiende annuatim de exitibus, proficuis, et reuencibus, firmis, et quibuscumque alijs commoditatibus ville predicte per manus maioris balliuorum burgensium receptorum siue aliorum occupatorum quorumcumque eiusdem ville ad terminos Sancti Michelis et Pasche per equales porciones, et supradicte Regine pro termino Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} debitis, videlicet, pro eodem termino, per acquietanciam penes dictum Johannem maiorem ville predicte eodem anno remanentem———li.li.vij.s.ix.d.

Et de Willelmo Codder, nuper maiore ville Bristoll', in persolucionem cij.li.xv.s.vj.d. de feodifirma ville predicte prefate Regine in forma predicta concessa, percipienda annuatim, vt supra, et eidem pro hoc anno xxxij^{do} debito, videlicet, pro supradictis terminis Pasche et Sancti Michelis infra tempus predictum accidentibus ad ij vices, vna vice iiij^{to} die Decembris dicto anno xxxij^{do}, li.li.vij.s.ix.d. et altera vice die (sic) eodem anno, li.li.vij.s.ix.d. per ij indenturas penes dictum Willelmum remanentes———cij.li.xv.s.vj.d.

Summa———cliiij.li.iijs.iiij.d.

Firma et incrementum ville Suthampton' ³

Et de Thoma Payne, nuper vicecomite ville predicte, de quadam summa c.li. de firma et incremento eiusdem ville per annum prefate Regine concessa, habenda et percipienda annuatim a dicto festo sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} pro termino vite

¹ *C.P.R. 1446-1452*, p. 559. Cf. p. 106 note 1.

² Queen Elizabeth Wydeville was in 1467 assigned the same sum from this source (*Rot. Parl. v. 625a*).

³ These revenues from Southampton, Norwich, Ipswich, Nottingham, and Derby were all part of the compensation for the loss of Pembroke, assigned to Margaret in the Parliament of Reading in 1453 (*Rot. Parl. v. 262b*).

sue per manus hominum eiusdem ville pro tempore existencium ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis equaliter in recompensacionem supradicti domanij de Pembroke cum membris, videlicet, pro dictis terminis Pasche et Sancti Michelis infra tempus compoti accidentibus—————c.li.

Summa—————c.li.

Summa pagine—————ccliij.li.iiij.s.iiij.d.

fol. 4b

Feodifirma ciuitatis Norwici ¹

Et de denariis receptis de Thoma Elys et Roberto Sirede, nuper vicecomitatibus ciuitatis Norwici, de quadam summa centum marcarum de feodi firma ciuitatis Norwici siue de firma ville Norwici per annum prefate Regine concessa, habenda et percipienda a dicto festo Sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} pro termino vite sue per manus ciuium ciuitatis aut ville predictae pro tempore existencium ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis, videlicet, pro eisdem terminis infra tempus compoti accidentibus per indenturam penes eosdem remanentem

lxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Summa—————lxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Firma ville Gippewici ²

Et de (sic) ville Gippewici, in partem solucionis xxxiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d. per annum concessis, habendis et percipiendis a dicto festo sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} pro termino vite sue per manus burgensium eiusdem ville pro tempore existencium ad terminos Pasche et sancti Michelis equaliter—————xx.li.

De xiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d. residuis dictorum xxxiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d. de firma ville predictae prefate Regine in forma predicta concessis non reddit, eo quod remanent in manibus dictorum burgensium nondum soluti. De quibus quidem xiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d. burgenses ville predictae debent Regine respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Summa—————xx.li.

Firma ville Notyngham ³

De xl.li. de firma ville Notyngham supradictae Regine concessis, habendis et percipiendis annuatim a supradicto festo Sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} pro termino vite sue per manus hominum eiusdem ville pro tempore existencium ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis equaliter non reddit, eo quod remanent in manibus hominum eiusdem ville nondum solute. De quibus quidem xl.li. homines ville predictae debent Regine respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Firma ville Derb' ⁴

Set reddit de denariis recepturis de Johanne Weston et Stephano Thomson nuper balliuis ville Derb' de parte xxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. de firma ville Derb' prefate Regine concessorum, habendorum et percipiendorum annuatim a dicto festo

¹ These revenues from Southampton, Norwich, Ipswich, Nottingham, and Derby were all part of the compensation for the loss of Pembroke, assigned to Margaret in the Parliament of Reading in 1453 (*Rot. Parl.* v. 262b).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} pro termino vite sue per manus hominum eiusdem ville pro tempore existencium in recompensacione dicti domanij de Pembroke cum membris ad festa predicta equaliter, per indenturam penes dictos balliuos remanentem—xvij.li.viii.d.

De ix.li.xij.s.viii.d. residuis dictorum xxvj.li.xiii.s.iiiij.d. de firma ville predictae prefate Regine in forma predicta concessis non reddit, eo quod remanent in manibus hominum eiusdem ville nondum soluti. De quibus quidem ix.li.xij.s.viii.d. iidem homines ville predictae debent Regine respondere. Et recepit—nihil.

Summa—xvij.li.viii.d.

Summa pagine—ciii.li.xiiiij.s.

fol. 5a

Recepta denariorum de receptore generali Ducatus Lancastrie ¹

Set reddit de denariis receptoris de Willelmo Cotton ² armigero, receptore generali domini Regis Ducatus sui Lancastrie, in persolucionem M.li. prefate Regine concessarum, habendarum et percipiendarum eidem Regine ad terminum vite sue annuatim ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis in partem dotis sue de exitibus, proficuis, et reuencibus omnium reddituum castrorum, domaniorum, maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum honorum, reddituum hereditamentorum et aliorum emolumentorum quorumcumque dicti Ducatus Lancastrie tam in Anglia quam in Wallia in manibus Regis existencium et remanencium, vltra predicta castra domania terras et tenementa ac cetera premissa parcelle ducatus predicti in partem dotis sue assignate, per manus receptoris generalis ducatus predicti pro tempore existencis—M.li.

Et de eodem Willelmo receptore generali dicti ducatus vt pro annuitate, D marce concessae prefate Regine ad terminum vite sue, percipiende annuatim de omnibus castris, honoribus, domanijs, manerijs, terris, et tenementis, redditibus, et seruicijs ducatus predicti ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michelis equaliter, videlicet, pro eisdem terminis infra tempus compoti accidentibus

cccxxxiiij.li.vj.s.viii.d.

Summa—M.cccxxxiiij.li.vj.s.viii.d.

Recepta denariorum de custumis in portu ville Suthampton ³

De Thoma Cooke et Johanne Somerton, collectoribus custume et subsidii in portu ville Suthampton, in persolucionem ccxx.li.vij.s.xj.d. anno xxviii^o dicti Regis Henrici sexti prefate Regine debitorum de parte M.li. de illis MMMDclxvj. li.xiiiij.s.iiiij.d. concessis et assignatis eidem Regine, habendis et percipiendis annuatim ad terminum vite sue ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis per equales porciones in partem dotis sue, videlicet, dictarum M.li. tam de paruis quam de magnis custumis Regis heredum et successorum suorum in predicto portu ville Suthampton per manus collectorum earundem customarum pro tempore existencium xx die Octobris supradicto anno xxxij^{do}, per indenturam penes customarios predictos remanentem—ccxx.li.vij.s.xj.d.

Et de eisdem collectoribus per manus Johannis Norrys xx^{mo} die Octobris dicto anno xxxij^{do} in persolucionem M.li. anno xxix^{mo} dicti Regis Henrici sexti

¹ Part of the original dowry of 1446 (*Rot. Parl.* v. 119b, 120a).

² See p. 99 note 4.

³ See note 1.

prefate Regine debitarum et sibi concessarum in forma supradicta, percipiendarum ad terminos predictos ut supra, per indenturam penes dictos custumarios remanentem—M.li.

Et de eisdem collectoribus de parte M.li. anno xxx^{mo} dicti Regis Henrici sexti debitarum prefate Regine et sibi concessarum, percipiendarum modo et forma supradictis ad terminos supradictos equaliter ad vj vices, videlicet, prima vice predicto xx^o die Octobris anno xxxij^{do} cclxxix.li.xij.s.i.d., secunda vice dictis die et anno xlvij.li.xij.s.iiij.d., tercia vice xxiiij^{to} die Januarij eodem anno c.li., per tres indenturas penes eosdem remanentes—ccccxxviiij.li.v.s.v.d.

De Dlxvj.li.xiiij.s.vij.d. residuis dictarum M.li. concessarum et assignatarum dicte Regine in forma supradicta et eidem pro dicto anno xxx^{mo} debitarum non reddit, eo quod restant in manibus dictorum collectorum nondum soluti. De quibus quidem Dlxvj.li.xiiij.s.vij.d. ijdem collectores vel collector ibidem pro tempore debent Regine respondere. Et recepit—nihil.¹

Nec reddit de MM.li. eidem Regine pro hoc anno et anno proxime precedente debitis de supradictis MMMDclxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. concessis et assignatis dicte Regine in partem dotis sue in forma supradicta, eo quod restant in manibus collectorum predictorum nondum soluti. De quibus quidem MM.li. ijdem collectores vel collector ibidem pro tempore existentes debent Regine respondere. Et recepit—nihil.

Summa—MDcxlviij.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Summa pagine—MMD^{xx}cccciiijij.li.

fol. 5b

*Recepta denariorum de receptore generali Ducatus Cornubie*²

De clxvij.li.xij.s.j.d. de parte ^{xx} ciiijxiiij.li.xij.s.j.d. de illis cccxxiiij.li.xj.s.iiij.d. prefate Margarete Regine ad terminum vite sue concessis percipiendis annuatim de exitibus, proficuis, et reuencibus ducatus predicti ac de exitibus, proficuis, et reuencibus cunagij stanni in comitatibus Cornubie et Deuonie per manus generalis receptoris ibidem et quorumcumque aliorum receptorum, occupatorum, siue firmariorum eorundem proficuorum et reuencuum pro tempore existencium in recompensationem cccxxiiij.li.xj.s.iiij.d. diuersorum annuitatum diuersis personis ad terminum vite separatim concessarum de castris, domanijs, manerijs, terris, et tenementis ac alijs parcellis Ducatus Regis Lancastrie predictae Regine in partem sue dotis assignatis et eidem pro anno xxix^{mo} dicti Regis Henrici sexti debitis et non plus quam xxvj.li. de annuitate Thome Gresley chualero deuenta in manibus Regine per mortem eiusdem deducuntur et defalcuntur non reddit, eo quod restant in manibus dicti Johannis Breknok³ generalis receptoris dicti

¹ In 1454 it was enacted that Margaret should have first claim on the customs of Southampton for her thousand pounds; for she had been unable to collect this sum in 1451 and 1452 owing to the fact that in 1451 it had been enacted that the king was to be preferred in payment of £20,000 from the customs of Southampton and London for two years from Christmas, 1450 (*Rot. Parl.* v. 259, 214).

² The original grant in 1446 from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall was £108 15s. 5d. a year (*Rot. Parl.* v. 120b).

³ See Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 642; Wedgwood, *op. cit.* pp. 106-7.

Ducatus nondum soluti. De quibus quidem clxij.li.xij.s.j.d. idem Johannes debet respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Nec reddit de xliij.li.x.d. de parte ^{xx}iiijxv.li.xiiij.s.ij.d. de supradictis cccxxiiij.li.xj.s.iiij.d. prefate Regine ad terminum vite sue concessis, percipiendis annuatim vt supra et eidem pro anno xxx^{mo} dicti nunc Regis debitis et non plus quia xxvj.li. de annuitate dicti Thome Gresley per mortem eiusdem et xxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. de annuitate Johannis Penycoke, armigeri, auctoritate parlamenti anno xxix^{mo} eiusdem Regis tento resumpta deuenta in manibus Regine deducuntur et defalcantur, eo quod restant in manibus dicti Johannis nondum soluti. De quibus quidem xliij.li.x.d. idem Johannes debet Regine respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Nec reddit de xliij.li.x.d. de parte cccxxiiij.li.xj.s.iiij.d. prefate Regine ad terminum vite sue concessis, percipiendis annuatim modo quo supra eidem Regine anno xxxj^{mo} debitis et non plus quia ^{xx}cciiij.li.x.s.v.d. de annuitate diuersarum personarum deuenta in manibus Regine per mortem eorundem eodem anno deducuntur et defalcantur, quarum nomina et summe in vna cedula compoto de dicto anno xxxj^{mo} consuta annotantur, eo quod restant in manibus dicti Johannis nondum soluti. De quibus quidem xliij.li.x.d. idem Johannes debet Regine respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Nec reddit de xliij.li.x.d. de parte cccxxiiij.li.xj.s.iiij.d. prefate Regine ut supra concessis percipiendis annuatim modo et forma predictis ac eidem Regine pro hoc anno xxxij^{do} debitis et non plus causa supradicta, eo quod restant in manibus dicti Johannis nondum soluti. De quibus quidem xliij.li.x.d. idem Johannes debet Regine respondere. Et recepit—————nihil.

Set reddit de denariis recepturis de predicto Johanne Breknok armigero, generali receptore dicti Ducatus Cornubie, in persolucionem Mviiij.li.xv.s.v.d. de quadam summa MMMDclxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. concessa et assignata dicte Regine habenda et percipienda annuatim ad terminum vite sue ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michelis archangeli per equales porciones in partem dotis sue videlicet dictorum Mviiij.li.xv.s.v.d. de exitibus, reuencibus, et proficuis stannarie et cunagij stanni in comitatibus Cornubie et Deuonie per manus receptoris generalis sui heredum et successorum suorum eiusdem Ducatus et quorumcumque aliorum receptorum, occupatorum, siue firmariorum eorundem proficuorum exituum et reuencuum et dicte domine Regine anno proxime precedenti debitis, vltra Dccclxj.li.xv.s.vj.d.ob. eodem anno oneratur xv^o die Maij dicto anno xxxj^{mo} per manus Thome Scotte per indenturam penes dictum Johannem remanentem
cxlvj.li.xix.s.x.d.ob.

Summa pagine—————cxlvj.li.xix.s.x.d.ob.

fol. 6a

Adhuc recepta denariorum de receptore generali Ducatus Cornubie

Et de eodem Johanne Breknok in partem solucionis Mviiij.li.xv.s.v.d. concessorum et assignatorum dicte Regine, habendorum et percipiendorum vt supra ad terminos supradictos equaliter in partem dotis sue et eidem Regine pro hoc anno xxxij^{do} debitis ad vij vices, videlicet, prima vice per manus Johannis dominj de Duddeley thesaurarij hospicij Regis penultimo die Octobris supradicto anno xxxij^{do} D.li., secunda vice decimo die Nouembris eodem anno per manus Johannis

domini de Stourton cc.li., tercia vice xv^o die Decembris eodem anno per manus
 Johannis Wode c.li., quarta vice dictis die et anno per manus eiusdem Johannis
 l.li., quinta vice die et anno predictis per manus Thome Scotte lx.s.j.d.ob., sexta
 vice xvij^o die Aprilis dicto anno xxxij^{do} per manus Johannis Hardewik xxiiij.li.xix.s.
 vij.d., et septima vice xxvj^{to} die Aprilis eodem anno per manus Johannis Pury
 x.li. per vij indenturas penes dictum Johannem remanentem

^{xx}
 Dccciiijvj.li.xix.s.viiij.d.ob.

De cxxj.li.xv.s.viiij.d.ob. residuis predictorum Mviiij.li.xv.s.v.d. prefate Regine
 hoc anno vt supra debitis non receptis, eo quod restant nondum soluti. De
 quibus quidem cxxj.li.xv.s.viiij.d.ob. predictis Johannes debet Regine respondere.
 Et recepit————— nihil.

Summa—————^{xx}Dccciiijvj.li.xix.s.viiij.d.ob.

(To be continued)